Plainsong and Medieval Music, **28**, 2, 115–132 © Cambridge University Press 2019
doi: 10.1017/S0961137119000044

Liturgy and chant in a twelfth-century Exeter missal

ANNE MANNION*

ABSTRACT. *Exeter Cathedral Library and Archives MS 3515 (hereafter EXcl 3515), a notated missal located in Exeter Cathedral, has to date received very little scholarly attention. This neglect may be due to the absence of a liturgical kalendar and evidence of local saints in the* Sanctorale*. Its assignment to the thirteenth century with a generic English origin suggests that critical questions concerning provenance and dating have been overlooked. The source itself comprises four disparate sections assembled so as to create a complete liturgical cycle. Yet the parts are not as separate as hitherto believed. A comparative investigation reveals not only an Exeter provenance and a twelfth-century dating, but also a new witness to the St Denis/Corbie tradition. Research also reveals unexpected threads of liturgical continuity with the Anglo-Saxon past. As a complete pre-Sarum source of Mass prayers, chants and readings, EXcl 3515 offers a useful lens with which to view a transitional period in the development of a medieval secular liturgy in England. (By contrast, the three dominant cathedrals – Salisbury, York and Hereford – all lack notated chant sources from this period.) EXcl 3515 adds not only significant new data to the current information on secular liturgies, but also challenges accepted theories on the shaping of a distinctive English Use in southwest England.*

Exeter Cathedral Library and Archives MS 3515 (hereafter EXcl 3515) is the only complete pre-Sarum noted missal with pitch-legible notation representing early Norman and perhaps pre-Conquest traditions.[1] Because no in-depth study of the manuscript has ever been undertaken – either by a musicologist or any other scholar – essential questions concerning its date, provenance, liturgical texts and chants remain.[2] The present study will address some of these questions, revealing the unique position of EXcl 3515 as a conveyor of a complete liturgy representing the transitional period before the Use of Salisbury became widespread in England in the thirteenth century.[3] The main objective is to examine the missal's liturgical and musical contents to determine which traditions of the sacramentary and gradual lie beneath the layers of emendations and

*annemannion@gmail.com

[1] The Leofric Missal (GB-Ob Bodley 579) is the earliest complete Anglo-Saxon missal used at Exeter by Leofric, the city's first bishop (1050–72). Produced in Lotharingia for English use, it contains a select few chants notated in adiastematic neumes; most are marginal incipits. See Nicholas Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society, 113, 114 (London, 2002), 1: 125–31. Karl Drew Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 containing Music* (Woodbridge, 2006), notes the existence of fifty-nine fragmentary insular missals (many comprising merely one or two leaves), setting EXcl 3515 apart as a unique complete source.

[2] Perhaps the absence of distinctive initials or images may explain the lack of attention amongst palaeographers and art historians.

[3] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford and New York, 1993), 583–4, and Richard Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England* (Cambridge and New York, 2009), 350–87, discuss the spread of the Use of Salisbury (or Sarum).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

additions made to it over a period of perhaps two hundred and fifty years. EXcl 3515 indeed betrays many signs of conscious 'updating' to the Sarum Use, often in the form of marginal additions. These provide valuable clues, not only in relation to dating, but also in establishing hitherto unidentified links between the different sections of the manuscript.

EXcl 3515 comprises 181 parchment leaves measuring 243 x 175 mm, with a written space of approximately 185 x 120 mm. It is generally ruled in two columns of thirty-four lines, although this varies. At quire nineteen (fols. 138–45), for example, the format changes temporarily to a single column. The manuscript was rebound in the fifteenth century.[4] The complex palaeography of the corpus, which can only be broadly summarised here (see Table 1), points to the last quarter of the twelfth century as the time when the missal's three main sections – *Temporale*, *Sanctorale* and *Commune Sanctorum* with some Votive masses – were copied.[5] The fourth section (fols. 163r–177v), which comprises two additional fifteenth-century quires (without notation) containing votive masses, prefaces and the Canon of the Mass, will not be examined in detail.

Scholars including Walter Howard Frere, Peter J. Underwood and David Hiley have acknowledged the diversity of medieval English liturgies,[6] Hiley asserting that these 'liturgies are composed of layers of material, each with its own history'.[7] Yet to date our understanding of the medieval Mass liturgy of Exeter from the Anglo-Saxon period through the liturgical reforms of Bishop John de Grandisson (d. 1369) has not taken account of all the relevant sources, including EXcl 3515. It has instead been based mainly on GB-Ob Bodley 579, the Leofric Missal, compiled during the tenth and eleventh centuries, and GB-Mr Crawford MS Lat. 24, the thirteenth-century Sarum Missal of Henry of Chichester, canon of Exeter Cathedral. Frere recognised even in these two sources, widely separated in date, a distinctive Use of Exeter.[8] For his part, however, Richard Pfaff observed that 'there is little, if any, discernible continuity between his [Bishop Leofric's] liturgical program and that of Grandisson', a difference of opinion which is not especially surprising since he too omitted EXcl 3515 from consideration.[9] The following comparative study of the Leofric Missal and EXcl 3515 will shed new light on the question of liturgical continuity in post-Conquest Exeter.

[4] See Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1969–2002), 2: 826; and Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 192–3.

[5] Hartzell includes EXcl 3515 in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 184–93, indicating its pre-1200 date. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 2: 825–7, however, proposes an early thirteenth-century date for the older sections of the manuscript.

[6] Walter Howard Frere, 'The Connexion between English and Norman Rites', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 4 (1903), 205–14, reprinted in *Walter Howard Frere: A Collection of his Papers on Liturgical and Historical Subjects*, ed. John Henry Arnold and Edward G. Wyatt, Alcuin Club Collections 35 (London, 1940), 54–71; Peter J. Underwood, 'Melodic Traditions in Medieval English Antiphoners', *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, 5 (1982), 1–12; David Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions in Normandy, Britain, Sicily', *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association*, 107 (1981), 1–33.

[7] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 148.

[8] Walter Howard Frere, 'Use of Exeter', *Alcuin Club Collections*, 35 (1940), 54–71.

[9] Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 388.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1. Summary of the contents, dating and palaeography of EXcl 3515.

1. *Temporale* (*saec. xii*^{2}) Hands A, B, C	
1r–133v	*Temporale* from the First Sunday of Advent to the end of the liturgical year. Several masses in the post-Pentecostal section (fols. 119–122; 123v–133v) without music notation.
133v–134r	Mass for '*De Sancta Maria*' (incipits)
134rv	Blessing of salt and water
2. Supplementary *Sanctorale* (*saec. xii*^{2}) Hand D	
135r–137v	Prayers *In purificatione Sancta Marie,* Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday and Easter Saturday, followed by collect, secret and post-communion for Saints Agnes, Vincent, George and Blaise. Prayers (incipits mainly) chant texts and readings for Saints Paul, Chair of Peter, Mark and Invention of the Cross (no music notation). List of householders' names ('*Carta de Welesford*') on fol. 137v
3. *Sanctorale* (*saec. xii*^{2}) Hands E, F, G, H	
138r–151r	*Sanctorale* from 2 February to 21 December starting with the feast of the Purification. Feasts of the *Temporale* are interspersed throughout, including Ash Wednesday (partial), Easter, Rogation, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday (all chants notated). Twenty-nine saints' feasts (Chair of St Peter, Mathias, Mark, Philip & James, Invention of the Cross, John Baptist, Peter & Paul, Margaret, Mary Magdalene, James, Chains of Peter, Lawrence, Assumption, Bartholomew, Decollation of John Baptist, Nativity of BVM, Exaltation of the Cross, Michael the Archangel, Luke, Simon and Jude, Vigil of All Saints, All Saints, Leonard, Martin, Clement, Katherine, Andrew, Nicholas, Conception and Thomas the Apostle)
151v–159v	Common of Saints (notated)
159v–160r	Dedication of Church (notated)
160r–162r	Votive masses: *De Sancta Cruce* (notated), *Missa de Sancta Maria*, *Missa de Sancta Maria per Adventum* (with notation to the gradual)
4. Added folios (*saec. xv*) Hand J	
163r–166v	Votive masses (no notation from this point on)
166v–169r	Prefaces
169v–173r	Canon of Mass (donor inscription, fol. 169r)
173r–177v	Diverse Masses including *Missa pro defunctis*
177v–178r	Prayers; *Gloria in excelsis* and *Credo* added
178v	(void)

Let us begin by surveying the contents and structural format of EXcl 3515. The inventory in K.D. Hartzell's recent *Catalogue* of pre-thirteenth-century English sources recognises four sections 'of disparate format which, despite overlaps, form a single book'.[10] Table 1 summarises the basic structure, dating, liturgical contents and scribal hands.

Both Hartzell and Neil Ker[11] identify only two scribal hands, but my own palaeographical analysis of text and music notation reveals the work of multiple copyists with strong links to the Protogothic script and a late twelfth-century notational style of point-neumes characterised by spikes or finials on three notational figures: the virga,

[10] Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 184. An inscription inserted by a chantry priest on fol.169r allows us to trace the manuscript's fifteenth-century location. It identifies Johannes Hyotte (Annuellar) as the donor of the missal to St Anne's chapel (a building which still exists today), located in the parish of St Sidwell, Exeter: *Dominus Iohannes Hyotte Anniuellarius in Ecclesia Cath' Exon' contulit hunc librum Missale deo et capelle sancta Anne in paroch' sancta Satiuole situat' ob honore sancta anne et beati Johannis Euang' ibidem pro celebrant' quamdiu durauerit remansurum*. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 2: 826. Nicholas Orme, *The Minor Clergy of Exeter Cathedral* (Exeter, 1980), includes registers of bishops and clerics at Exeter Cathedral, allowing us to trace Hyotte's attachments to various chantries between 1445 and 1499.

[11] Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 2: 826.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

torculus and pes.[12] The Anglo-Norman neumes are inserted on staves of four red or black lines including a wide variety of clefs (on c, d, g, a and b).

The first section of EXcl 3515 (fols. 1r–134v) encompasses the *Temporale* from the First Sunday of Advent through the Twenty-Third Sunday after Pentecost. (Several masses in the post-Pentecostal section lack music notation.) The feast of St Thomas of Canterbury (29 December), which one might expect to find after Christmas, is lacking.[13] This is noteworthy considering that Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter (1161–84) and staunch supporter of the archbishop, preached the sermon on the occasion of Thomas's canonisation at Canterbury in 1173. Provision for this feast was made in a twelfth-century kalendar of Exeter provenance, GB-Lbl Harley 863, closely contemporary with EXcl 3515, which suggests a *terminus ante quem* of *c*.1173 for the latter.

Section two (fols. 135r–137v), though comprising only three leaves, provides the key to unlocking the relationship of the manuscript's sections, indicating a conscious effort to complete the book's liturgical cycle. Among other contents it gives prayers, blessings and chants for three feasts in January, supplementing the *Sanctorale* (section three), which begins with February.[14] It also supplies two missing feasts (St George and St Blaise) and serves as a guide to the revision and/or upgrading of three others (the Chair of Peter, St Mark and the Invention of the Cross).[15] The latter three feasts had been supplied with collects, secrets and post-communions in the *Sanctorale*. The added, supplementary folios do not duplicate these – the prayers are indicated as incipits – but give the texts of chants and readings in full, indicating that the scribe had the main *Sanctorale* in hand during redaction.

Added to folio 137v is a list, presumably of householders' names, referring to a place (parish?) called 'Welsford'. Both Ker and Hartzell agree that this addition indicates the location of the manuscript in an Exeter parish at the time of writing. Accompanying the names, many crossed through, are varying amounts of monetary value (farthing, halfpenny or penny)[16] connected perhaps with a Pentecostal tithe introduced by Bishop Marshall (1194–1206) at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[17] The scribe who copied this list (Hand D) in a distinctive hand employing lengthened ascenders appears also to have made marginal and interlinear additions to the *Temporale* (section one), suggesting that it predates addition of the *Sanctorale* to the three-sections corpus of the manuscript.

[12] 'Spike' and 'finial' are terms used in John Haines, 'From Point to Square: Graphic Changes in Medieval Music Script', *Textual Cultures: Texts, Contexts, Interpretation*, 3/2 (2008), 30–53.

[13] Marginal additions, however, of prayers and chant texts for St Thomas of Canterbury were inserted by Sarum redactors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

[14] It should be noted that these folios contain prayers and blessings of ashes, psalms, and new fire for Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday and Easter Saturday (see Table 1).

[15] The odd placement of St Blaise's feast between that of St George (23 April) and St Mark (25 April) inclined Christopher Hohler to suspect a defective exemplar (Exeter Cathedral Library, C 17851, 1970, unpublished notes). We may however possibly be witnessing an example of local variation: an eleventh-century calendar associated with Exeter, GB-Lbl Vitellius A xii gives another alternate date for St Blaise (June 14).

[16] Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 2: 826.

[17] See Frank Barlow, ed., *Exeter, 1086–1257*, English Episcopal Acta 12 (Oxford, 1996), 170.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Section three (fols. 138r–162v) comprises thirty-eight feasts of the *Sanctorale* beginning with the Feast of the Purification (Feb. 2) – as noted previously, January is missing. There is no saint of obvious local importance, although Christopher Hohler draws attention to the feast of St Leonard and the special grading it received in the twelfth-century Exeter kalendar, Harley 863.[18] Section three also includes six feasts of the *Temporale*, namely Ash Wednesday (partial), Easter, Rogation, Ascension, Pentecost and Trinity Sunday, duplicating material found in section one. In sum, both external and internal evidence indicates that the first three sections of EXcl 3515 were assembled so as to constitute a complete liturgical cycle for the church year. Let us now consider the liturgical and melodic traditions represented in the manuscript.

EXcl 3515 in historical context

Hiley has noted that 'while the derivation of the monastic uses in England is reasonably clear, the use of the secular cathedrals survives in a frustratingly incomplete state'.[19] From the nine secular cathedrals of post-Conquest England, namely Salisbury, York, Wells, St Paul's, Lincoln, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield and Chichester, very few complete service books from before *c*.1200 survive.[20] The question whether EXcl 3515 more closely corresponds to an earlier (Anglo-Saxon) or later (Sarum) practice will be addressed by framing it within a tripartite comparative investigation: the Anglo-Saxon Leofric Missal on one side and sources representing the Sarum Use on the other.[21]

These sources have been chosen as representatives of secular liturgies from pre- and post-Conquest England. Comparison with the Leofric Missal will determine the extent to which EXcl 3515 represents, at Exeter, continuity in liturgical observance from the Anglo-Saxon period to the later Middle Ages.[22] Conversely, it is important to assess the extent to which EXcl 3515 is dependent or independent of the liturgical models that gave rise to the Use of Salisbury. Not only does EXcl 3515 provide prayers, chants and readings for the entire liturgical year, it also supplies additional prayers inserted as marginal entries or replacements in the body of the text by various scribes over a period of at least 200 years. These marginalia – evidence of a book in continuous use – reflect changes of place and fashions in liturgy.

[18] Holher, unpublished notes (see note 15).
[19] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 583.
[20] Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London, 1958), 3.
[21] J. Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal Edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1916), forms the basis of the non-musical material presented in this article. Legg based his edition on three manuscripts from the mid-thirteenth to the early fourteenth century, namely F-Pa 135, I-Bu 2565 and GB-Mr Crawford MS Lat. 24 (the 'Crawford Missal'), the latter probably being the earliest, dated by Hiley to *c*.1260. See also relevant entries in Nicholas Sandon, *The Use of Salisbury*, 6 vols. (Lustleigh, 1984–99).
[22] There is an acknowledged lack of sources representing the secular tradition in medieval England. In fact, the three dominant traditions, Sarum, York and Hereford, all lack early notated sources prior to the thirteenth century. Exeter alone provides us not only with unique sources from the pre-Conquest era, but also with a seemingly complete notated missal, dating to the later twelfth century. We must depend here on single readings and evaluate their significance in representing a local tradition.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Nicholas Orchard describes the Leofric Missal as a complex book, a 'combined sacramentary, pontifical and ritual'.[23] He accepts Frederick Edward Warren's division of the manuscript into three sections, reflecting the chronology of its creation: Leofric A (the main Sacramentary), Leofric B (three quires, comprising a calendar and computus tables) and Leofric C (numerous later additions and emendations).[24] Though copied in Lotharingia, Orchard argues that the sacramentary (Leofric A) was prepared for Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury (890–923), from a book of English origin, this correspondence rendering possible the preservation of an insular liturgy dating back to the eight century.[25] In a form comprising Leofric A and B, the manuscript arrived in eleventh-century Exeter as Bishop Leofric's personal possession. Emendations were made during his episcopate, a process which continued through the end of the eleventh century (Leofric C).

Many scholars of medieval liturgy and chant have examined the origins and development of the Sarum rite.[26] Nicholas Sandon observes that 'like virtually every other Use of medieval Europe, that of Salisbury was liturgically and musically a dialect of the Romano-Frankish *lingua franca*'.[27] Matthew Cheung Salisbury has recently challenged prior assumptions regarding the stability and/or fixity of the tradition,[28] but scholars generally acknowledge the melodic stability of the Mass chants.[29] In this study, Frere's *Gradual Sarisiburiense*, a facsimile edition of GB-Lbl Add. 12194 (13th cent.), is the main source of the chant melodies.[30]

As for other Mass texts, J. Wickham Legg points to specific prayers that distinguish Sarum books, in particular a group of secrets and post-communions unrelated to other secular Uses including the secrets for Ember Friday in Advent (*Sacrificiis quesumus*) or the Second Sunday after the Epiphany (*Ubi tibi gratia*).[31] The assignment of the Feast of

[23] Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, 1: 1. Digital images of the Leofric Missal are accessible online at: http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msbodl579 (accessed 22 April 2019).

[24] Frederick Edward Warren, ed., *The Leofric missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter during the episcopate of its first bishop, A.D. 1050–1072…* (Oxford, 1883). https://archive.org/details/theleofricmissal00unknuoft (accessed 22 April 2019).

[25] Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, 1: 8.

[26] See Walter Howard Frere, *The Use of Sarum*: *The Sarum Customs as Set Forth in the Consuetudinary and Customary*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898–1901); Diana Lynne Droste, 'The Musical Notation and Transmission of the Music of the Sarum Use 1225–1500', Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto (1983); Nicholas Sandon, 'Salisbury, Use of', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 2nd edn (London, 2001), 22: 158–62; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 583–4.

[27] Sandon, 'Salisbury, Use of', 22: 161.

[28] Matthew Cheung Salisbury, 'Stability and Variation in Office Chants of the Sarum Sanctorale', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 27/1 (April, 2018): 1–26. See also, Nigel Morgan, 'The Sanctorals of Early English Sarum Missals and Breviaries, c.1250–c. 1350', in *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England*, ed. George Brown and Linda Voight (Tempe, AZ, 2010), 143–62.

[29] For example, Sandon remarks that 'melodies concur to a remarkably high degree', but when differences arise 'the notation was susceptible to considerable variation'. 'Use of Salisbury', 2: iii and 3: ii, respectively.

[30] Howard Frere, *Graduale Sarisburiense: a reproduction in facsimile…* (London, 1894), accessible online at: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=msu.31293009360953;view=1up;seq=7 (accessed 22 April 2019). The earliest extant notated sources of the Sarum chant, which like GB-Lbl Add. 12194 date from the first part of the thirteenth century, are GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d. 3, a gradual, and GB-Cu Mm. 2. 9, an Office antiphoner. See Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 584.

[31] Legg, *The Sarum Missal Edited from Three Early Manuscripts*, xiv–xv.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Relics to 15 September and the numbering of summer and autumn Sundays from the feast of the Trinity rather than Pentecost are also often used to classify thirteenth-century Sarum sources.[32]

The earliest layers of EXcl 3515 display no affinity to Sarum Use; none of the hallmarks just listed is present. Yet the numerous additions and emendations cannot be ignored since many of these replace original prayers or chant texts with Sarum substitutes. Although some would date the introduction of the Sarum Use at Exeter to the period of Bishop Grandisson's reforms, that is, the early fourteenth century,[33] Frere asserts that the identification of books in the 1327 Exeter inventory as '*non de usu*' or '*de veteri usu*' indicates that some type of liturgical reform had been undertaken prior to Grandisson's episcopacy.[34] Moreover, we should not overlook the fact that GB-Mr Crawford MS Lat. 24 ('Manuscript C' in Legg's edition) is a Sarum missal copied *c*.1240–60 for a canon of Exeter Cathedral.

The Sacramentary of EXcl 3515

In light of the earlier history of Gregorian sacramentaries, we would expect many elements to survive in later medieval sources.[35] This is indeed the case with EXcl 3515, the Leofric Missal and the Sarum witnesses compared in Table 2, which surveys the opening of the church year for purposes of demonstration.[36]

Table 3 summarises Mass prayers in E, L and S for the entire *Temporale*; degrees of correspondences are tabulated as percentages. Note that the collects are remarkably uniform (92%), with still closer connections between the Leofric Missal and Sarum (96%) and EXcl 3515 and Sarum (96%). It is instead among the secrets that L and E show near complete agreement (92%) between them with forty-one examples of disagreement with Sarum (67%). These figures clearly point to a close connection between the two Exeter missals on days which notably include the Ember days of Advent, the Second, Third and Fifth Sundays after Epiphany, and Lent. Finally, post-communions in E and L have a higher rate of concordance (92%) than with Sarum (77.6%). In sum,

[32] In 1319 this feast was transferred to the Sunday after the Translation of St Thomas Beckett (7 July).

[33] George Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter* (Exeter, 1861), 219–30. Though dated, this source remains relevant for its comprehensive introduction to the lives of Exeter's bishops and history of its cathedral, with additional material relating to inventories, charters and vestments. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=yale.39002007667455;view=1up;seq=17 (accessed 2 May 2019).

[34] Frere, 'Use of Exeter', 56, who further notes that 'this slender information is all that can be gleaned so far as to the Use of the Cathedral'.

[35] On the history of Gregorian and earlier Gelasian sacramentaries, see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*: *An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. and revised by William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Washington, 1986), 64–105. In addition, unpublished studies by Christopher Hohler and Frank Edward Brightman, based on collated texts from the liturgies of York, Westminster and Sarum will also be drawn upon to highlight the liturgical idiosyncrasies of EXcl 3515.

[36] For coverage of the entire liturgical calendar, see Anne Mannion, '*Missale Vetus*: Liturgy, Palaeography and Repertories in the Notated Missal EXcl 3515', Ph.D. diss., University of Limerick (2012), 215–23, tables 5.1a–k. https://ulir.ul.ie/bitstream/handle/10344/6767/Mannion_2012_Missale.pdf?sequence=6 (accessed 24 April 2019).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 2. Comparison of prayers and chants in EXcl 3515 (E), the Leofric Missal (L) and Sarum Use (S) for the period from the First Sunday of Advent through the feast of St John the Evangelist.

	Adv. I	Adv. II	Adv. III	Ember W	Ember F	Ember Sat.	Adv. IV	Christmas I	II (Dawn)	III (Day)	St Stephen	St John Evang.
Introit	=	=	L PsV	E PsV	=	=	L Int/PsV	=	=	=	=	L PsV
Collect	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	E differs	=
Epistle	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Gradual	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Alleluia	=	E/L agree	=				E differs	E/L none	=	=	=	=
Sequence	=	Added	Added				Added	=	Added	Added	Added	Added
Tract						=						
Gospel	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Offertory	E + 2Vv	E + 2Vv	E + 1V L differs	E + 1V L differs	=	E + 1V	E + 1V L differs	=	=	=	L differs	L differs
Secret	=	=	=	E/L agree	E/L agree	E/L agree	E differs L differs	=	=	=	=	=
Communion	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Post-comm.	=	=	=	L differs	E/L agree	=	E/L agree	=	=	=	=	=

Notes: The abbreviations E, L and S represent EXcl 3515, Leofric Missal and Sarum sources, respectively.
Equal signs indicate agreement; other entries signal divergence.
'E/L agree' indicates that the two sources agree but differ from Sarum.
Plus signs in the entries indicate additions of some kind.

Table 3. Summary of prayers for the *Temporale* in EXcl 3515 (E), the Leofric Missal (L) and Sarum Use (S).

Prayer	Number of items	Agreement
Collects	115/125 E, L and S agree	92%
	120/125 are shared between E and S	96%
	120/125 are shared between L and S	96%
Secrets	115/125 shared between E and L	92%
	41/125 E and L differ from S	67%
Post-communions	114/125 shared between E and L	92%
	28/125 E and L differ from S	77.6%
SUMMARY	343/375 shared between E and L	92%
	79/375 E and L differ from S	78.9%

the evidence suggests that E and L either share a common source of secret and post-communion prayers, or that E is for the most part based on L.

A connection between the Leofric Missal and EXcl 3515 can now be confirmed, the high rates of concordance among Mass prayers pointing to their retention into the later twelfth century. Let us now expand the comparative investigation to the chants.

The repertory of chants in EXcl 3515

The following repertorial study will shed new light on questions of transmission and chronology.[37] The Alleluias for Easter Week, Paschal Time and the Sundays after Pentecost will be a particular focus since comparisons of lists of these chants have proven useful in establishing relationships between ecclesiastical centres, as demonstrated by Karl-Heinz Schlager,[38] Hiley,[39] David Hughes[40] and others. As regards the assignments of other genres of chant throughout the church year, some prove to be more stable than others. A high level of uniformity is for instance noticeable throughout Lent, with the exception of the Second Sunday and Saturday in the Fifth Week of Lent, which is not surprising since both days are aliturgical in the early unnotated graduals of the *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (hereafter *AMS*).[41] Last but not

[37] For this purpose, I have drawn on the previous comparative research by Walter Howard Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898–1901; reprint, Farnborough, 1969); James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000); and Karl Drew Hartzell, 'The Musical Repertoire at St. Albans, England in the Twelfth Century', 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester (1971).

[38] Karl-Heinz Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts: ausgenommen des ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire*, Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Munich, 1965), hereafter abbreviated ThK. See also *idem*, ed., *Alleluia-Melodien II, ab 1100*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 8 (Kassel, 1987).

[39] Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions'; *idem*, 'The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily: A Study centered on Manuscripts 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20–4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.', Ph.D. diss., King's College, University of London (1981); *idem*, 'Thurstan of Caen and Plainchant at Glastonbury: Musicological Reflections on the Norman Conquest', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 12 (1986), 57–90.

[40] David Hughes, 'The Paschal Alleluia in Medieval France', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 14 (2005), 11–57.

[41] René-Jean *Hesbert, Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935). See also Mannion, '*Missale Vetus*', 217–18, tables 5.1d–e.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

least, in order to identify the predominant musical tradition of EXcl 3515, melodic variants among its notated chants will be collated and compared with melodies of the Leofric Missal and ultimately a select group of English, Irish and French sources.[42]

Introits and communions

McKinnon remarks on the uniformity of introits within a core group of some 144 chants.[43] One thus expects to encounter few discrepancies in assignment, a level of consistency indeed reflected in the sources under consideration. For example, there is full agreement on the liturgical assignment of introits between Easter Sunday and the Twenty-Fifth Sunday after Pentecost, a uniformity that is only slightly less complete in other seasons.

Certain differences of assignments among introit antiphons and psalm verses in *AMS* sources are, however, reflected in our sources.[44] For example, three different introits are assigned to the Fourth Sunday in Advent. Leofric follows *AMS*: S (*Rorate caeli*) while EXcl 3515 and Sarum both agree with *AMS*: C (*Memento noster*). *Memento noster* is also assigned to the Fourth Sunday in Advent in twelfth-century English sources from Haughmond (GB-SHRs XXX) and St Albans (GB-Lbl Royal 2. B. IV).[45] Thus EXcl 3515 represents a new link in the chain of insular liturgical influences in the transition between the Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest periods at Exeter.

Further examples of discontinuity between the Leofric Missal and EXcl 3515 occur. For example, the psalm verse for the introit *Miserere mihi* (Monday in the Fifth Week of Lent) is *Ab altitudine* (*AMS*: S) in Leofric, but *Conculcaverunt* (*AMS*: C, K) in EXcl 3515 and Sarum. On Passion Sunday, the psalm verse *Quare me* is indicated in EXcl 3515 (introit *Iudica* me [*AMS*:K]) while both Leofric and Sarum have *Emitte lucem* (*AMS*: C, S). The assignments in EXcl 3515 can also be found in two insular sources: GB-Ob Bodley 775 and the Lismore Gradual, GB-Ob Rawl. C.892.[46] Winchester, Lismore and Exeter all follow Corbie (*AMS*: K).

As previously observed, there is a striking level of stability in the assignment of the communions between the Exeter missals and the Sarum Use. Yet there is evidence of

[42] The select sources are presented in Mannion, '*Missale Vetus*', 252–3, table 5.17. Liturgical books from England, Ireland and France are included in the comparative investigation, based on the variant readings of the respective sources as given in *Le graduel romain 4: Le texte neumatique, Vol. I: Le groupement des manuscripts* (Solesmes, 1960), 33–85. Hiley draws attention to the omission of significant English sources in the Solesmes survey, including the two English tropers GB-Ob Bodley 775 and GB-Ccc 473 (Hiley, 'Thurstan of Caen', 65, and note 1). I have added the York gradual GB-Ob lat.lit.b.5 to my comparative investigation. Furthermore, the select group also incorporates service books from the Loire region, in particular, the twelfth-century Fleury missal, F-H 187 and the Tours missal, Orleans F-O 117, since both traditions bear witness to possible liturgical influence in EXcl 3515, as observed in the post-Pentecost alleluia series and the liturgical assignment of chants.

[43] McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 198.

[44] For abbreviations of the sigla of the six *Sextuplex* sources, see Hesbert, *AMS*; and Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 298.

[45] Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 310, 564.

[46] *Ibid*., 431, 483. For a comprehensive study of the Lismore gradual, see Frank Lawrence, 'An Irish Gradual of the Twelfth Century in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawl. C 892: A Palaeographical, Liturgical and Repertorial Study', Ph.D. diss., 2 vols., University College Dublin (2008).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

an Exeter Use when EXcl 3515 differs from other sources. For example, it designates *Acceptabis* for the Saturday after Ash Wednesday; Leofric and Sarum have *Servite*. Hartzell's *Catalogue* includes a total of twenty-four entries for *Acceptabis* with alternate designations in English witnesses but EXcl 3515 alone gives this unusual liturgical assignment.[47]

Besides Winchester, there is evidence of some Breton influence with the offertory *Domine deus meus* and the communion *Custodi me* for the Second Sunday of Lent; Leofric also preserves the tract *Confitemini dominus*.[48] Breton influence in Leofric thus survives in EXcl 3515, onto which is also superimposed elements of the Winchester tradition. Equally striking, the liturgy for Saturday in the Fifth Week of Lent in twelfth-century Exeter includes prayers of Breton provenance as well as the communion *Ne tradideris*. EXcl 3515 would appear to be a rare example of Breton influence extending into the Mass Proper tradition of south England in the late twelfth century, but this may not be so remarkable considering its brief but significant presence at Canterbury, not to mention the connection between Leofric and EXcl 3515.

Offertories and graduals

It is among the offertories that one encounters a relatively high incidence of discontinuity between the earlier and later Exeter Missals, four offertories in EXcl 3515 pointing to a break in the tradition. On Thursday in the Fourth Week of Lent, for example, EXcl 3515 has *Domine in auxilium*, the Leofric Missal and Sarum *Domine adjuvandum*. The remaining three cases occur during the Paschal season: Vigil of Ascension, Ascension and Saturday after Pentecost. The order of *Ascendit Deus* (assigned to the Vigil of Ascension) and *Viri Galilaei* (assigned to Ascension) in section one (*Temporale*) of EXcl 3515 is interesting because it contrasts with that encountered in most other graduals and missals.[49] (The customary assignment – *Viri Galilaei* for the Vigil and *Ascendit Deus* for Ascension day – is indeed found in the later *AMS* sources:

[47] Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 186. Outside of this particular liturgical allocation, *Acceptabis* is frequently assigned to other calendar days, including the post-Pentecost season.

[48] Emma Hornby has drawn attention to Breton influence at Canterbury in the tenth century, noting the presence of Breton notation in sources from southwest England including Horton and Sherbourne. The results of her examination of the Linenthal fragment (London, Mr. R.A. Linenthal) suggest that not only was notational influence introduced from Brittany but also repertorial and melodic influences, albeit for a brief time. See Hornby, 'Interactions between Brittany and Christ Church, Canterbury in the Tenth Century: The Linenthal Leaf', in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography,* ed. Emma Hornby and David Maw (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 2010), 47–65, at 58–65 (a list of pre-Conquest insular manuscripts with Breton notation).

[49] The feast of the Ascension occurs twice in EXcl 3515, in both sections one (*Temporale*) and three (main *Sanctorale*). The assignment of *Ascendit Deus* to Ascension in section three aligns with most other sources, but disagrees with EXcl 3515, section one. An explanation for the conflict may lie in the fact that section three was probably intended for use in a parish church, possibly at Welesford. Because Ascension is one of only six Temporal feasts in this section of the book, the traditional offertory *Ascendit Deus* would be the expected choice. One could argue, however, that section three incorporates the liturgical assignment of the Leofric Missal (*Ascendit Deus*) and may reflect an earlier phase in the liturgical development at Exeter Cathedral. It should also be noted that further concordance with EXcl 3515 is found in the Tours Missal (F-O 117) for both assignments. The older *AMS* sources (B and R) assign *Viri Galilee* to the feast of the Ascension, but this is not the case with the later ones.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

English Mass books from Winchester, Canterbury, St Albans, Haughmond and indeed in section three (*Sanctorale*) of EXcl 3515.) Only two of fourteen manuscripts in Hartzell's *Catalogue* agree with EXcl 3515 section one, namely GB-Oas, Miscel. (missal fragment, early twelfth century) and GB-Ob b.18, f. A.7 (a fragmentary gradual). That this arrangement is highly unusual is confirmed by the scarcity in concordances among English sources.

As for the graduals, there are very few repertorial differences among the sources under consideration. Where EXcl 3515 diverges from Leofric and Sarum one finds links with two English uses. For instance, EXcl 3515 concords in assigning *Domine refugiam* to the Friday after Ash Wednesday with the Hereford and Westminster Missals, as well as *AMS:* C.[50] (The Leofric Missal and Sarum have *Unam petii a domine*, in agreement with most early *AMS* sources, namely BCKS.) EXcl 3515 agrees with the same two insular sources in assigning the graduals *Venite filii* and *Propitius esto* to the Seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost and Ember Wednesday (in September), respectively. Considering the late date of the Hereford and Westminster Missals, EXcl 3515 is possibly the earliest English witness to the assignment of these graduals.

Alleluias

It is well known that identical series of post-Pentecost alleluias can indicate similar origins and/or close relations between ecclesiastical centres. Because the alleluia series in many English graduals and missals have an affinity with those of predominantly Norman origin, the unusual presence of the Fleury series, to which Hiley draws attention, is noteworthy.[51] During the eleventh century, the impact of reforms undertaken at Canterbury by Lanfranc of Bec and his successor, Anselm, can be seen in the widespread adoption of the Bec alleluia series in manuscripts not only from Christchurch, Canterbury, but also from St Albans, Worcester, Durham and Whitby.[52] Hiley observes that the Dijon alleluia tradition makes a very limited appearance in British sources, most noticeably in the Lismore Gradual with two differences as does the Amiens series which is closely linked to the Leofric Missal.[53] Pre-Conquest books from Winchester, such as F-LH 330 and Bodley 775, are strongly connected to the St Denis/Corbie tradition.[54] With regard to Sarum, Hiley observes that the sources display an affinity with Norman secular Uses, predominantly from Rouen and

[50] The classic editions of these two English missals are William George Henderson, ed., *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiæ Herfordensis* (Leeds, 1874); and John Wickham Legg, ed., *Missale ad usum ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis*, 3 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 1, 5 and 12 (London, 1891, 1893, 1897).

[51] David Hiley, 'Post-Pentecostal Alleluias in Medieval British Liturgies', in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford, 1993), 145–74, at 165. The Fleury alleluia series is identical to that of EXcl 3515 with the exception of the final psalm verse, *Lauda Jerusalem* (ThK 147^{12}) given in the twelfth-century Fleury missal D-TRb H 187 and the thirteenth-century ordinal F-O 129. EXcl 3515 has *Qui posuit* (ThK 147^{14}).

[52] Hiley, 'Thurstan of Caen', 63.

[53] *Ibid*., 60–1. See also Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, 1: 127–30.

[54] Hiley, 'Post-Pentecost Alleluias', 151.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Evreux.[55] By contrast, the series in EXcl 3515 stands apart from all these traditions. One could even argue that EXcl 3515 preserves a series from the Anglo-Saxon past, pointing to continental influences which may have been imported at the time of the liturgical revival.[56]

By contrast, the Easter Week alleluias in EXcl 3515 may be linked to missals of Hereford Use, which share four of the five alleluias.[57] The fifth, *Surrexit pastor bonus*, assigned to Feria vi, is a very rare text and melody found in sources from Lotharingia, Auberive and a select few German books.[58] It appears to be a unique among extant medieval English chant sources to EXcl 3515, perhaps reflecting a local preference.

Identifying musical traditions in English Sources

Quite a number of chant scholars have identified musical traditions in medieval English chant sources, and their investigations have given us a clear idea of the various influences to which chant in England was subject in pre- and post-Conquest times.[59] Hiley identifies three distinct traditions: St Denis/Corbie, Bec and Dijon/Fecamp. The first is encountered in books from Winchester, Worcester, Crowland, Ely and Downpatrick. The Bec tradition is most noticeable in books from St Albans, although the Haughmond gradual (SHRs XXX, *c*.1175) shows an affinity to the Dijon tradition.[60] As a pre-Sarum service book, one would expect to find affiliations in the chant tradition of EXcl 3515 with one of the three groups.

The Solesmes monks omitted the Leofric Missal from their survey on melodic variants due to the scarcity of examples, thus the chant tradition behind both Exeter missals has remained unidentified to date. Despite the obvious limitations, I have compared the incipits in the Leofric Missal with the corresponding items in EXcl 3515.[61] In total, the former includes twenty-seven notated items, mostly incipits. Remarkably, even within this limited group, there was a noticeable lack of disagreement (55%) between the sources.

[55] Hiley, 'Thurston of Caen', 63.

[56] The presence of a Fleury alleluia series in EXcl 3515 also challenges existing theories concerning continental liturgical influences in eleventh- and twelfth-century England. For example, in the introduction to his *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, xxiv, Hartzell argues that all contact with Fleury ceased in the tenth century, following the contribution of the Fleury monks to the monastic reform in tenth-century England.

[57] See Mannion, '*Missale Vetus*', 236, table 5.15.

[58] F-CHU 44 (Auberive, 13th cent.) and F-Lm 26 (Lille, 14th cent.). See Mannion, '*Missale Vetus*', 264, table 6.4.

[59] See Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions; *idem*, 'Thurston of Caen', 57–90; and Underwood, 'Melodic Traditions, 1–12. K.D. Hartzell, 'An Unknown English Benedictine Gradual of the Eleventh Century', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 131–44; Joan Halmo, 'A Sarum Antiphoner and Other Medieval Office Manuscripts from England and France: Some Musical Relationships', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 11/2 (2002), 113–26.

[60] See Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions', 9–11; and *idem*, 'Thurston of Caen', 65–6.

[61] It is outside the scope of this article to present the complete results. See Mannion, '*Missale Vetus*', 237–51, table 5.16.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

I have based my collation of melodic variants in EXcl 3515 on the Solesmes survey despite Hiley's having drawn attention to the omission of significant English sources, including the English tropers Bodley 775 and GB-Ccc 473.[62] To compensate for the lack of insular representatives, I have included the Winchester missal GB-LH 330 (despite its many lacunae) and the York gradual OB-Lat.lit.b.5, an important late witness to a secular tradition. I have also examined two service books from the Loire region, namely the twelfth-century Fleury missal (F-H 187) and the Tours missal (F-O 117), since both bear witness to possible liturgical influence on EXcl 3515, as observed in the post-Pentecost alleluia series and the liturgical assignment of other chants.[63]

The findings of the present analysis offer compelling evidence of a strong relationship not only with the Worcester gradual GB-WO F.160 (86% agreement), but also with the Lismore and York graduals, confirming a clear affiliation to the St Denis/Corbie tradition which, as mentioned above, was a predominant influence on many insular sources prior to the introduction of the Sarum Use.[64] Evidence drawn from various comparative surveys, both repertorial and musical, indicates that the liturgical continuity of the Anglo-Saxon past and witnessed in the Leofric Missal was maintained into the twelfth century at Exeter. The musical tradition behind EXcl 3515 thus differs from that of both the Leofric Missal and the Sarum sources in its being closely linked to Winchester, which in turn was influenced by the St Denis/Corbie tradition.

Departures from the tradition

Ruth Steiner refers to the benefits of utilising the Solesmes method for grouping manuscripts, but warns that it is less useful in identifying salient features of a chant tradition – the features by which it would be remembered as distinctive. For this, more conspicuous musical features need to be focused upon: unusual melodies or melodies with unexpected turns of phrase.[65]

A select number of chants in EXcl 3515 emerged as potentially interesting because of their departure, either melodically or modally, from their Sarum counterparts: the introit *Accipite jocunditatem*, a group of ten alleluias including *Dies sanctificatus*, *Hodie Sancti Innocentes* and *Rex noster*, and the communion *Oportet te fili.* (Some of these chants, including the introit *Accipite jocunditatem* and the alleluia *Dies sanctificatus*, have been previously studied.)[66] Analysing the workings and behaviour of this group of chants should shed light on the distinctiveness of the liturgy in EXcl 3515. For the present study, we will turn our attention to three of these items.

[62] See Hiley, 'Thurston of Caen', 65.
[63] The author gives a summary of the melodic variants in Mannion, '*Missale Vetus*', 252–3, table 5.17.
[64] *Le graduel romain 4: Le texte neumatique, Vol. I: Le groupement des manuscripts,* 33–85.
[65] Ruth Steiner, 'The Liturgical and Musical Tradition of Bec', reprinted in *Studies in Gregorian Chant* (Aldershot, 1999), 5.
[66] See Urbanus Bomm, *Der Wechsel der Modalitatsbestimmung in der Tradition der Messgesange im IX bis XIII Jahrhundert* (Einsiedeln, 1929), 38–9; and Theodore Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant* (Evanston, IL, 1998), 135–80, 245–6.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

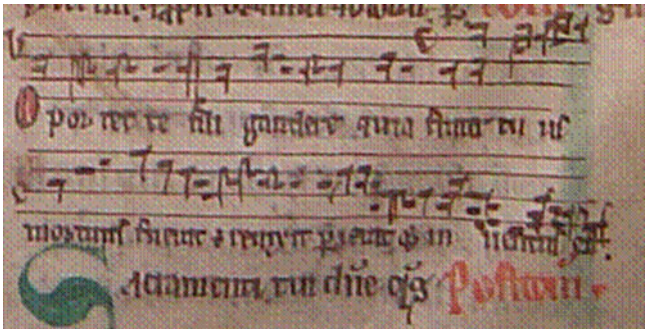


Fig. 1. Communion, *Oportet te fili*, EXcl 3515, fol. 40r.

Oportet te fili (Fig. 1) belongs to a group of communions for Lent referred to as Gospel communions because their texts come from the Gospel pericope of the day.[67] It is assigned to the Second Saturday of Lent.[68] The melody in EXcl 3515 deviates considerably from the Sarum version (from Frere's *Graduale Sarisburiense*) and is indeed rare among insular and continental sources. The most widely known (syllabic) setting of *Oportet te fili* is given in Figure 2.[69] Categorised as melody A-4 by Steiner, it is found in at least sixty manuscript sources of east and west Frankish provenance; among English sources, representatives come from Lismore and Salisbury.[70]

In contrast to the widely disseminated A melody, only two versions of Steiner's B melody have to date been located: B-1 in three adiastematic northern Italian sources (I-VCd 146, 161 and 162) and B-2, which survives in only one pitch-readable Norman source (F-R 305).[71] Comparison of the latter with the melody in EXcl 3515 reveals unexpectedly close correspondences but also significant differences (see Ex. 1, in which variants are indicated by symbols above the staves).[72]

If an ornate style signals a more recent melody, then EXcl 3515 is possibly unique among the insular secular sources, not only in presenting a modern chant, but also in providing a new variant of the melody.

[67] A peculiar trait of these communions is that they appear in both simple syllabic and ornate melismatic styles. McKinnon (*Advent Project*, 338) argues that their origins can be traced to Office antiphons. For his part, Hiley (*Western Plainchant*, 117) asserts that they may be indicative of the various chronological layers of the communion chant repertory with syllabic versions pointing to early roots.

[68] Ruth Steiner, 'Epulari autem et gaudere oportebat', in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music Written in Honor of James McKinnon*, ed. Sean Gallagher, James Haar, John Nádas and Timothy Striplin (Aldershot, 2003), 331–50.

[69] *Graduale Triplex* (Solesmes, 1979), 95.

[70] Steiner, 'Epulari autem et gaudere oportebat', 334–5. Within Steiner's melody A category there are seven variants, identified as A 1–7.

[71] Steiner, 'Epulari autem et gaudere oportebat', 345–6.

[72] This discussion draws on David Hughes criteria for distinguishing between trivial and substantive variants. See his 'Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the American Musicology Society*, 40/3 (Autumn, 1987), 377–404, at 381.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

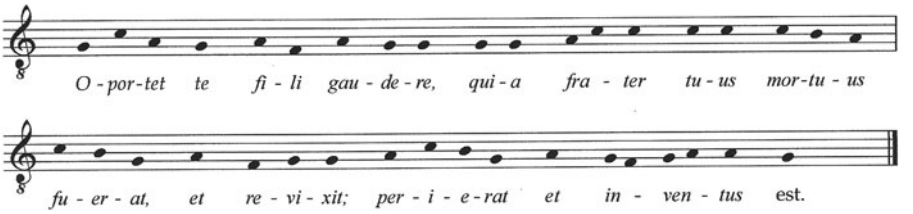
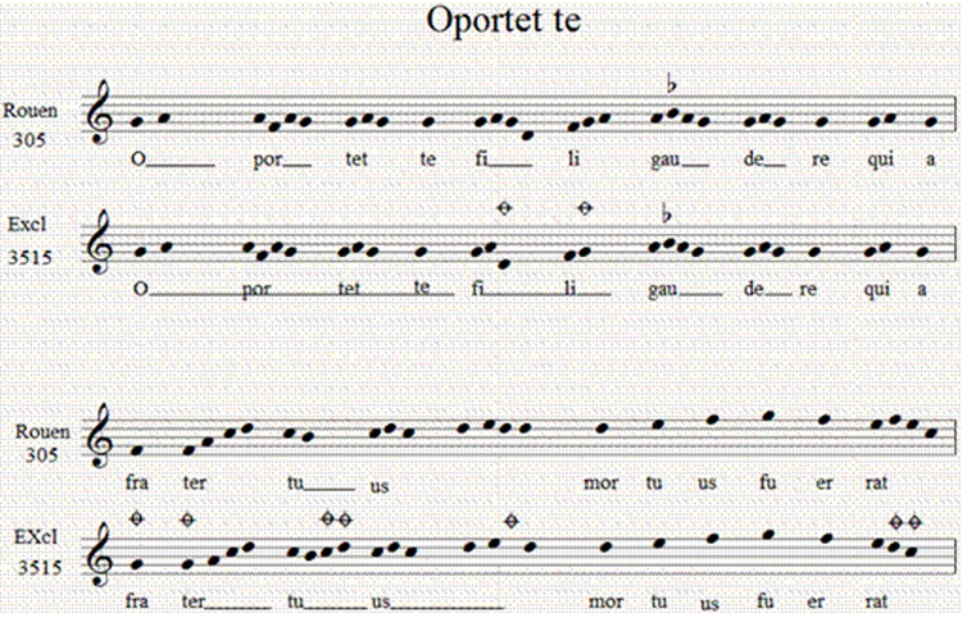


Fig. 2. Communion, *Oportet te fili*, syllabic version, *Graduale Triplex* (Steiner's A-4).



Ex. 1. Comparison of *Oportet te* fili, F-R 305 and EXcl 3515.

EXcl 3515 is one of the very few sources to preserve the alleluia *Hodie Sancti Innocentes* for the feast of the Holy Innocents (see Fig. 3).[73] No alleluia is assigned to this day in *Sextuplex*; among later notated sources the alleluia *Te martyrum* is a common insular choice, being found, for example, in the English tropers Bodley 775 and

[73] We have already considered the Easter week and post-Pentecostal alleluia series in EXcl 3515; the former implies links with insular secular practice (Hereford) while the latter points to influence from Fleury. Based on Schlager's work (*Thematischer Katalog der altesten Alleluia-melodien*, 2: 21–226; see also Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 131) it should be noted that the earliest sources had a limited repertoire of some sixty melodies, increasing to around 410 by the end of the twelfth century. The replacement of psalmodic alleluias with New Testament-texted alleluias in the tenth century has been observed by David Hughes, 'The Paschal Alleluia in Medieval France', 16. Frere's index to *Graduale Sarisburiense* can often be helpful in tracing a source and/or its liturgical assignment, as well as distinguishing Sarum from non-Sarum chants. Hartzell's *Catalogue* is invaluable in tracing alleluia repertories in English sources up to 1200.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Ex. 1. Continued

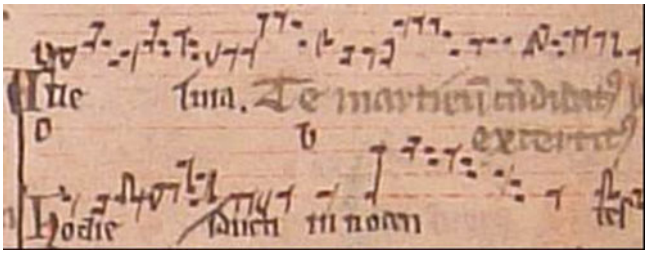


Fig. 3. Alleluia *Hodie sancti innocentes*, EXcl 3515, fol. 12r.

GB-CCC 473, in Rawlinson C 892 and virtually all Sarum books.[74] Because *Te martyrum* enjoyed popular and widespread usage in England both before and after the Conquest and indeed into the later Middle Ages, it is not surprising that a reviser inserted it – the Sarum choice – into EXcl 3515.

A far smaller number of manuscripts include the lesser-known alleluia *Hodie Sancti Innocentes* for Holy Innocents.[75] Besides EXcl 3515, Hartzell cites only two English sources copied before 1200: GB-DRu Cosin V.v.6 and F-SK A 128 (a fragment).[76] Not

[74] Regarding the latter see K.D. Hartzell, 'An Eleventh-Century English Missal Fragment in the British Library', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 18, (1989), 45–97.

[75] See Mannion, '*Missale Vetus*', 264, table 6.4.

[76] For both these sources, however, Hartzell quotes Schlager's catalogue number ThK 97, which distinguishes it from the Exeter melody, cited as ThK 97*. A comparison of the melodies reveals closer agreement between Cosin V.v 6 and EXcl 3515 than between F. 160 and EXcl 3515.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

until the thirteenth century does it reappear in books from Worcester Cathedral (F 160) and Hanley Castle (GB-CUL KK. ii.6). As to when and how it was adopted at Exeter, we may presume that it was in circulation at Canterbury in the latter part of the eleventh century, and in use at Exeter in the later twelfth. At the very least, the selection of *Hodie Sancti Innocentes* is indicative of the English provenance of EXcl 3515.

The inclusion of the alleluia *Rex noster* (Schlager ThK 7) is also an insular preference.[77] The earliest sources give *Veni domine et noli* for the Fourth Sunday of Advent. By contrast, the alleluia *Rex noster* is assigned to the Fourth Sunday of Advent in eleventh-century chant books from Winchester and Canterbury; it is also found in two twelfth-century insular sources: EXcl 3515 and Lismore gradual Rawlinson C.892.[78] Exeter thus retained a pre-Conquest tradition in the liturgical assignment of this alleluia.

Conclusion

The findings presented here reveal the importance of EXcl 3515 to chant scholarship. It retains prayers from the Anglo-Saxon past and preserves a full cycle of Mass liturgies independent of Sarum influence. Its chants are rooted in the St Denis/Corbie tradition, thus presenting us with a significant and previously overlooked insular witness to this pre-Conquest influence. Yet among the various unusual chants the diversity of liturgical influences emanating eastwards from Lotharingia to Aquitaine in the south of France may be seen. These rare items offer a lens with which to view the shaping of the post-Conquest liturgy in Exeter. That EXcl 3515 preserves a Fleury post-Pentecost alleluia series suggest the retention of a tradition whose origins are found in the historic period of the monastic revival when the monks of Fleury contributed to the formation of Anglo-Saxon liturgy. EXcl 3515 may possibly be the sole surviving witness to a tenth-century continental influence. Both old and new influences co-exist together in the various sections of the missal. Of special significance is the recognition of its representing a distinctive 'Use', the Use of Exeter, for which further evidence should be sought and assessed. EXcl 3515 deserves a prominent place as a representative of that Use, standing alongside the sources of the other established secular Uses of Sarum, York and Hereford.

[77] See Mannion, '*Missale Vetus*', 264, table 6.4.
[78] *Ibid*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137119000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press