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New evidence of the Old Beneventan chant

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The material presented here summarizes information that has come to light in the last ten years regarding the repertory and practice of the Beneventan chant of southern Italy. The information itself is provided in tabular form; the commentary that precedes it gives some brief background and points out a few interesting details.

The Beneventan chant is one of those varieties of liturgical song that made the early medieval musical landscape so much more interesting than it later became, after the Carolingian urge to unity, combined with ecclesiastical reform, created a universal music that we now call Gregorian chant. Some of these early chant repertories have survived: the Ambrosian chant of Milan; the music of the Old Spanish liturgy. Others, like the Gallican chant, have disappeared.

The Beneventan chant falls somewhere between these two categories; there are no splendid complete books of Beneventan chant, as there are such books from the repertories of Spain and from Milan. The Beneventan chant, probably like others, was systematically suppressed, mostly in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in favour of the imported repertory we now call Gregorian. The result is that the Beneventan chant survives mostly in fragments and palimpsests, and in a few odd places in manuscripts of Gregorian chant where a scribe, out of some archaizing tendency, or some Beneventan *campanilismo*, has included a piece or two of the older repertory alongside the chant that ultimately replaced it.

This chant is called Beneventan because it was written by scribes who practised what Elias Avery Lowe called the Beneventan script,[1] a characteristic and calligraphic hand that was written in an area of Italy south of Rome that included Naples, Bari, and essentially every other place in Latin southern Italy and along the Dalmatian coast until at least the thirteenth century, and sometimes far longer. The chant itself is centred on Benevento, the capital of the Lombard

[1] See Lowe in the bibliography at the end of this article.

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duchy of southern Italy, whose dukes in the eighth century asserted their independence at the fall of the northern Lombard kingdom to Charlemagne. They crowned themselves, struck coins, built the palace church of Santa Sofia, and they endowed and influenced many monasteries including Montecassino. The capital city of Benevento was until the eleventh century a stronghold of Lombard culture. The principal sources of the chant are there, and the repertory itself has a Beneventan cast, preserving music for feasts of special significance to the southern Lombards; the south Italian feast of St Michael on 8 May, commemorating an appearance by the archangel on Monte Gargano; Saint Barbatus, Bishop of Benevento; and the Holy Twelve Brothers, whose relics were entombed in the palace church of Santa Sofia.

But nobody in southern Italy called this music Beneventan chant; when they referred to it by name, they called it 'Ambrosian' chant. It was not, however, the Ambrosian chant which we know from manuscripts of the area around Milan: it was the southern Ambrosian chant. There are connections, however, liturgical and musical, between the northern and southern Ambrosian chants and they suggest that the Lombard kingdom, north and south, once shared a similar ('Old Lombard'?) liturgy and music, whose subsequent separate developments produced the repertories we now call Beneventan and Ambrosian. We will continue to call the southern Italian chant 'Beneventan'; more properly it should be called by the name its users gave it, but the result is just too confusing.

A word of background about the fragmentary aspect of this repertory is in order. Without it the information reported here will look very paltry, but in fact in its context it does contribute to our knowledge of this chant.

Three sources give us about 90 per cent of the surviving Beneventan music. Two of these, now Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare manuscripts 38 and 40, are eleventh-century Gregorian graduals in which the scribes have included duplicate Masses, in Beneventan chant, for a number of principal feasts. Each of these manuscripts is incomplete at the beginning, so we are deprived of any Beneventan music they may have contained for the time before Holy Week. This lacuna is filled to some extent by the third source, a single folio (now fol. 202 of Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 35) from a pure Beneventan gradual, containing portions of the Masses of Christmas and St Stephen. Altogether in these three sources there is music for twenty-two feasts, including much interesting music for Holy Week. The surviving repertory is not enormous, and these three sources preserve most of what we have.

And yet there are about a hundred sources that give some evidence of the Beneventan chant. For the most part they are fragments or palimpsests, or a piece or two included in another manuscript; most of them do not add to the known repertory, but they do tell us a great deal about the geographical and chronological extent of the Beneventan chant, and they confirm that the chant was widely copied and used.

Ten years ago, in *The Beneventan Chant* (from which the introduction here is summarized) I published a list of all the sources of Beneventan chant known at

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the time. It is inevitable that further searching should unearth a few more items, and my purpose here is to bring the record up to date, to enumerate the sources of and about Beneventan chant that have come to light since 1989.

It would be pleasant to report the long-awaited discovery of a complete book of Beneventan chant, filling in all the lacunae and revealing at last the many details of the Beneventan liturgy which remain undocumented. This is not that moment, alas, although that book may still exist somewhere in an unvisited cupboard in a distant library. What I can report is a number of small additions to what we know. Some of these new items are very modest indeed, but they add to the growing evidence that the Beneventan chant was widely practised, that it is not a curious phenomenon limited to a few odd manuscripts. They add also to our liturgical knowledge, documenting music for feasts of which we previously had no evidence, and they increase the known repertory of Beneventan pieces.

A number of the documents listed here have already been reported in the literature; I include them for the sake of completeness, so that this list, together with the one printed in 1989, will provide a complete conspectus of the known sources of Beneventan chant.

Let us turn to the sources themselves. I have divided them into categories according to the sort of information they supply, and numbered the entries for ease of reference.

In category A are three mentions in archival documents of books which are likely to have contained Beneventan chant. Two of these are 'antiphonaria' which are called 'ambrosianum': undoubtedly a reference to the local variety of Ambrosian chant. The documents date from late tenth-century Salerno and from Bari in the middle of the eleventh century. Whether the books were new when they were mentioned is impossible to tell. These two important cities are known from other sources to have practised the Beneventan chant, but no substantial source from either place has been found; now, however, we know at least that they existed. The third book mentioned is from Benevento, included in an inventory of books made in the 1370s. At that time the book in question was described as 'a missal in Lombard – that is to say, Beneventan – script, *secundum antiquatam consuetudinem*'. There are of course many things that might be meant by 'antiquatam consuetudinem'; but that ancient custom, whatever it was, was recognized as such at Benevento and needed no further explication. I include it in this list because it may well be a book of the Beneventan liturgy. If so, it is interesting that in the latter part of the fourteenth century a Beneventan bibliographer seems to have recognized it as part of a disused tradition. The lost Capuan manuscript, no. 4, surely contained the Exultet in its Beneventan form, but may or may not have been a book of the Beneventan liturgy.

In category B, I include two obscure, if fascinating, references to the monastic Office at Benevento being performed according to the 'old custom', or being an 'officium longobardum'. As late as the sixteenth century the nuns of San Vittorino, even if they no longer sang, performed this 'officium longobardum'. It may

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have been performed according to the same 'antiquatam consuetudinem' mentioned in the fourteenth-century inventory. I wonder whether it was Beneventan chant.

Category C consists of sources that are further witnesses to elements of the Beneventan chant already known. They give evidence of the sheer numbers of written sources of the chant that once existed, and in some cases they show the remarkable persistence of the tradition.

Many of these sources preserve music for Holy Week and Easter. This is not surprising, given the archaizing nature of Holy Week on the one hand, and the fact that the sources known heretofore are also mostly sources of music for Holy Week and Easter. These pieces were the last to disappear.

The Beneventan Vespers of Good Friday, having only three psalm-antiphons and a fourth for *Magnificat*, each accompanied by a *versus ad repetendum*, are already known to have been widely disseminated, appearing as far north as Subiaco. The second of the two tonaries in the important music-theoretical manuscript Montecassino 318 (whose liturgical tradition is not that of Montecassino or of Benevento) includes the Beneventan antiphons of Good Friday Vespers among its many Gregorian examples sorted into differentiae, with no evidence that these antiphons are in any way remarkable to the scribe. Further sources (nos. 8 and 9) give the full text of the Vespers music, but without notation: these include a pontifical of Benevento, and a remarkable series of manuscripts from Salerno, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, but all stemming, it appears, from a liturgical reform operated in the twelfth.

Those Salerno manuscripts retain, well into the fifteenth century, a substantial amount of music for the Beneventan rites of Holy Saturday, including one piece, no. 12, that does not survive anywhere else.

The Beneventan Exultet has two elements: a text, which disappears early everywhere except at Salerno, where it survives in the two fifteenth-century missals (no. 13 in the list); and a melody, known from many other places in the Beneventan liturgy, which often survives even when the text of the Exultet has shifted to the now-universal Franco-Roman version. This melody has been identified in a further fragmentary source from Stroncone in central Italy, no. 14. The lost ordinal of Capua, no. 4, known only from eighteenth-century quotations, evidently contained the Beneventan Exultet, and probably much else besides.

The alleluia of the Beneventan Mass of the paschal vigil, with its remarkable text, shared by the Ambrosian liturgy, about arising like a drunken man from wine, is at the centre of a complex of melodic adaptations. The alleluia itself appears occasionally as a substitute for the responsory at Easter Vespers in the Roman rite (nos. 15 and 16); its text is prescribed in eight copies of the ordinal of Montecassino and in the Salerno breviary, suggesting its widespread use in southern Italy from the eleventh to at least the fifteenth century (a corroborating thirteenth-century witness is already known in the gradual Benevento 30).

The melody of this alleluia was adapted to new texts, usually beginning with the word 'Hodie', for a variety of other feasts. Beneventan Masses for these

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feasts do not survive, but the alleluias have passed into the Roman repertory in a few places. Such adaptations were already known for Christmas (*Hodie natus est nobis*, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 6, fol. 86), for Saint Peter (*Hodie migravit ad Dominum*, Benevento 39, fol. 121), and for the Transfiguration (*Hodie transfiguratus est Dominus*, Benevento 39, fol. 140v). The keen eye of Alejandro Planchart noticed three further examples of this melody, all appearing in the Old Roman gradual of Santa Cecilia. These include a further witness of *Resurrexit tamquam dormiens*; a second copy of *Hodie natus*, together with a new second verse; and a new member of the group, *Hodie baptizatus*, for Epiphany. These were evidently borrowed into the Roman manuscript from a south Italian gradual-troper; and since they were borrowed along with the sequences they accompanied, it is clear that the source for the Roman borrowings was not a book of old Beneventan chant. But these new pieces strengthen the idea that this melody may have been more widespread in the Beneventan liturgy than was hitherto supposed, and that there may have been a series of alleluias, like the *Dies sanctificatus* series in the Roman chant, of which these are the surviving fragments.

The translated Greek sticheron *Pascha ieron*, known to have been sung at the end of Easter Vespers in twelfth-century Rome, is found without notation at the end of the Beneventan Mass for Easter in Benevento 40. A second witness, perhaps erased personally by Boccaccio and certainly overwritten by him, contains this piece with its notation (see no. 19) in fragmentary form on two parts of a single folio now divided between two manuscripts in Florence (and one of these has paper pasted over it). Unfortunately, not much of the notation can be read with certainty, but the original manuscript was a late thirteenth-century Gregorian gradual. It also contained the Easter alleluia *Resurrexit*, no. 18.

At Benevento itself, certain items of purely local interest survived for quite a long time. The fourteenth-century antiphoner now in the Biblioteca capitolare, no. 22 on the list, continues to transmit the series of old Beneventan antiphons for two local feasts: Saint Barbatus (Bishop of Benevento in the sixth century) and the Holy Twelve Brothers, martyrs 'invented' and buried in the church of Santa Sofia in the eighth century. Indeed, one of the antiphons of Saint Barbatus, or at least its text, was converted into a alleluia-verse and appears in a group of local Masses published at Benevento in 1868. I wonder if it was ever sung, and to what melody?

So much for the new evidence of pieces already known from other sources – most of those discussed so far have been published in facsimile, as indicated in the list. Now we turn to new sources that extend the known repertory of Beneventan chant.

The first of these, no. 25, is not really a separate piece, but an *alleluia* added to the end of a Gregorian antiphon *Deus de celis qui es pius*. The alleluia, added in the margin, has a clearly Beneventan cast, even though it is incomplete. Perhaps it was a remnant of the old order used from time to time in festival seasons and applied to new music.

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In a private collection in the Adriatic city of Bisceglie, near Bari, is a bifolium from an eleventh-century gradual now serving as a book-cover (no. 26). It contains, in addition to the Gregorian Office of the Epiphany, an almost complete Vespers for the Epiphany or its Octave in Beneventan chant. There are four antiphons, each with the characteristic Beneventan *versus ad repetendum*, and a great responsory with a prosula; this responsory bears a close kinship to a piece known at Milan. It is incomplete here, and presumably an antiphon followed for *Magnificat*, as in the other two surviving Beneventan Offices (for Good Friday and for St John the Baptist).

Number 27 is a fragment wrapped around the spine inside the cover of a sixteenth-century book in the Biblioteca comunale of Lucera (Province of Foggia); the parchment, shaped like two combs, comes from an eleventh-century manuscript and includes the beginning of a Beneventan Mass for Saint John the Evangelist. The fragment shows a Gregorian responsory and a series of antiphons, followed by an ingressa, all for the feast of St John the Evangelist.

The ingressa is the opening chant of the Beneventan Mass, and this fragment is in itself an important addition to our knowledge, for it provides confirmation of a missing piece of the calendar of the Old Beneventan rite. We know almost nothing of the time between St Stephen's Day and Holy Week (except for the Epiphany Office just mentioned), owing to the incomplete state of the two main manuscripts, Benevento 38 and Benevento 40. We do have part of a Mass for St Stephen in the fragmentary leaf in Benevento 35 mentioned earlier, and it is easy to suppose that the Beneventan liturgy, like the Roman and the Ambrosian, would have celebrations for all three days after Christmas: Stephen, John, the Holy Innocents. Now we have confirmation of one more.

The text of the ingressa, so far as I can tell, is not used in the Roman liturgy nor in the Milanese. It is a non-biblical text, apparently beginning with the word 'Hodie', as do a number of other Old Beneventan texts. Its melody, fragmentary as it is, is indisputably Old Beneventan.

How can we be sure that this fragmentary ingressa is the beginning of a whole Mass? Nothing but the discovery of the next folio will make this certain. Generally, though, an ingressa is followed by at least an alleluia, offertory and communion. Nowhere is a Beneventan ingressa presented in another function than as the opening chant of the Mass. But nowhere so far has there been discovered a Beneventan Mass preserved in a Gregorian book for the Office. This fragment does so, and it raises questions about the larger contents of its parent manuscript.

We can imagine that the manuscript might have presented the full day's music for each feast in each rite: first the Gregorian music, with the Mass chants inserted after the music for Lauds; and then the Beneventan, beginning with the Mass and perhaps continuing with Office music.

This is not the way music manuscripts are organized in the Gregorian tradition, which normally separates Mass and Office. But it is the way music books are organised in the Ambrosian liturgy, and in the Old Spanish. Moreover, there is

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evidence in southern Italy of liturgical books combining Mass and Office in what we might call 'Ambrosian' fashion. At Benevento there is a pair of volumes of this kind, MSS 19 and 20, and they suggest that the 'Ambrosian' type of chant-book is not unknown in the south. A twelfth-century fragment now in the Vatican (Vat. lat. 10645, fol. 63) may be further evidence of this kind of book. Neither of these south Italian examples, however, gives any evidence of wishing to transmit both the Gregorian and the Old Beneventan repertories together in a single series; they are books of the Gregorian tradition.

This tiny fragment might possibly be extracted from a volume – more likely a set of volumes – incorporating in a single series the music for Office and Mass in the two Latin liturgical rites practised in eleventh-century southern Italy. Such a compendium would be bulky, but the discovery of further portions of it would be of enormous historical and musical value.

A final item, no. 28, helps to fill the liturgical lacuna between Christmas and Lent, for it has a Beneventan Mass for the Purification of the Virgin, 2 February. Fragments of four twelfth-century leaves now in Penne were part of a gradual with tropes and sequences, a manuscript similar in repertory to the gradual Benevento 35. One of the leaves preserves portions of this Beneventan Mass coming after the Gregorian Mass for the Purification. The Mass seems to consist of an ingressa and two further pieces, probably an offertory and a communion. Curiously, the ingressa never received musical notation. We have only tiny fragments of this Mass, but they are enough to provide further information about the shape of the Old Beneventan liturgy. Although we already have two antiphons in Beneventan style for the feast of the Purification, these are preserved in the repertory of Gregorian chants, and are thus not consciously transmitted as Beneventan.

The texts here are fragmentary. The surviving portions of the ingressa do not correspond to any liturgical text known to me from the Roman or Milanese liturgies, though some texts include one or another of these excerpts. The presence of non-biblical composed texts for the ingressae is characteristic of the Beneventan liturgy; this ingressa is a paraphrase relating to Mary's virginity, the prophesy of Simeon, and the Song of Mary. The second piece of the Mass, probably an offertory, has a fragmentary text whose surviving portion matches the text of the psalmellus *Senex puerum portabat* in the Milanese liturgy. The third and last item in the Mass is presumably a communion. Its text, admittedly fragmentary, corresponds to the antiphon *O dei genitrix* found, so far as I know, only in the antiphoner Benevento 21, where it has the melody of the well-known 'O-antiphons' of Advent. But there is evidence, in Benevento 21 and elsewhere, of Old Beneventan communions appearing in Gregorian manuscripts as antiphons. Although the Penne fragment preserves only a tiny portion of this text, it seems a reasonable supposition that the text as a whole is that preserved in Benevento 21 with a Gregorian melody.

The items listed in this survey do not significantly alter our view of the Old Beneventan chant. They are distributed like the Beneventan chant already known:

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Masses preserved as doublets in Gregorian graduals; a few treasured items for Holy Week and for local saints, preserved persistently and often in places where the Gregorian repertory had no substitute to offer; and a few tantalizing reminders that this liturgy was once widely copied and disseminated in a purer form.

I should like to acknowledge here the generosity of my colleagues. I am not the discoverer of most of the items in this list, though I may have been the first to recognise them for what they were. Were it not for colleagues like John Boe, Virginia Brown, Carmelo Lepore, Alejandro Planchart, and many others, this list could not have been assembled. There is a small but dedicated group of scholars who work on Beneventan matters, and the information produced in the last few years is astounding: Herbert Bloch's long-awaited book on Montecassino; Francis Newton's study of the scriptorium of Montecassino; Jean Mallet and André Thibaut's staggeringly complete catalogue of the manuscripts of Benevento; John Boe and Alejandro Planchart's edition of Beneventan tropes (*Beneventanum Troporum Corpus*); the continuing cataloguing and description of Beneventan sources by the Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana project in Toronto, led by Virginia Brown, Roger Reynolds and Richard Gyug. There never was a finer group of collaborators, or of friends. I wish for all scholars the blessing of such splendid colleagues.

A. References to lost books of the Beneventan rite

1. **Salerno 990**: From a document of donation of Prince John and Princess Sikelgaita to the church of Sancta Maria in Salerno.

'. . . sed et offeruimus ibidem unum calicem de argentum et due patene similiter de argentum, et unum turibulum similiter de argentum seu et quadtuor circitoria cerica et quadtuor copertoria similiter serica, quam et offeruimus ibidem codices quem inferius declaramus: duobus liber comites, unum indifanario de die et unum de nocte, **et alium ambrosianum**, una omelia quadragintam et alia feriale, et unum collectarium qui abet de apocalipsin et de moralia iob, eptati-/p.200/cum unum et unum salomon, una moralia iop et dua questionaria, et gestarulum unum, et unum manule serico . . .' (Morcaldi *et al.*, *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, vol. 2 (1875), doc. 425, pp. 297–300 at 298.)

2. **Bari, April 1067**: from a document in which Iohannes, basilicos cliricos et cubuclisius, gives under certain conditions to the monk Nicolaus presbiter et monachus of Bari the church of Sanctus Priscus de loco Sao.

'De mobilibus vero [Iohannes] dedit mihi [Nicolao] omelia et feriale cum gestis de sanctis. antifonarium de dia et alium de nocte, **unum ambrosianum**. et solomonem psalterium. orationale. viginti tribus quaterni de gestis sanctorum. una cortina. sabano rosata . . .' (G. B. Nitto de Rossi, Francesco Nitti di Vito, *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 1, Le pergamene del duomo di Bari (952–1264) Bari, n. p., 1897. No. 26, anno 1067, April.)

3. **Benevento, 1370s**: An inventory of the goods of fifty-three parish churches under bishop Ugo Guidard of Benevento, made in the 1370s. Of the books listed,

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forty-seven (24 per cent) are either *antiqui* or *de lictera longobarda*, four of these *cum notis*; from 'ecclesie sce Marie abbatis arnonis' is listed '**missale unum de lictera longobarda secundum antiquatam consuetudinem**'. (Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 295, fol. 60; Lepore, 'L'Eglise de Bénévent', 65, n.2; see also Lepore, 'Gli *scriptoria* beneventani'.)

4. **Capua, 11th century**: Natale, *Lettera*, pp. 65–6, mentions a lost 'Rituale o sia Messale Capuano', s. 11, from which he cites the Beneventan text of the Exultet. See Kelly, *The Exultet*, 142.

B. References to older (Beneventan?) practice

5. Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 71, fol. 2r Capitula constitutionum of bishop Ugo Guidard, 1371: 'Item statuimus et ordinamus ut officium semper et integraliter secundum usum et consuetudinem romane curie et hic approbatum, persolvatur et dicatur, abietta **consuetudine antiqua, que peius dicenda est corruptela**, circa laudum decantationem . . .' (Lepore, 'L'Eglise de Bénévent', 65, n.2; see also Lepore, 'Gli *scriptoria* beneventani')

6. Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 322, fol. 13v (Visitation of the monastery of S. Victorinus, 17 April 1542); the abbess, and others, say they perform the 'officium longobardum', but without music (by this time the number of nuns had been reduced to seven): 'Interrogata quomodo persolvunt divinum officium, dixit quod officium predictum dicunt tam diurnum quam nocturnum horis debitis, sed semper in verbis et non cantatum, et quod faciunt dicta domna abbatissa cum aliis sororibus et monialibus **officium longobardum secundum regulam sancti Benedicti**'. (Lepore, '*Monasticon*', 167n600)

C. New witness to known Beneventan music

a. Good Friday: Vespers

7. Good Friday Vespers antiphons are included in the second tonary of Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, MS 318 (11c.). On the tonary, see Brunner, 'A Perspective'; Merkley, *Italian Tonaries*, 120–8, 244–85; Huglo, *Les tonaires*, 193–7.

8. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 614, pontifical of Benevento (12/13c.), has Good Friday Vespers, s. n., fols 150v–51.

9. Salerno, Museo Diocesano: five manuscripts have full text of Good Friday Vespers s. n. The manuscripts have no shelf numbers; they are described in Capone, *Il duomo*, vol. 2; sacramentary, Capone no. 5 (13c.); ordinal, Capone no. 7 (14c.); breviary, Capone no. 6 (15c.); two missals, Capone nos. 3 and 4 (15c.). Facsimile from Salerno 3 in PM 21, p. 279.

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b. Holy Saturday

i. Pieces retained at Salerno (on all of these see PM 21, pp. 388–90; Kelly, 'La liturgia')

10. *Ad vesperum demorabitur fletus*: cited in sacramentary, notated in the ordinal and the two missals.

11. *Sicut cervus*: cited in sacramentary, notated in the two missals; in Capone 3 the melody has subsequently been simplified.

12. *Transivimus*: cited in sacramentary, notated in the ordinal and the two missals.

13. *Exultet*: Beneventan text of the Exultet cited in sacramentary and ordinal, and highly ornamented melody notated in the two missals (see Kelly, *The Exultet*, 111–12; Latil, 'Un Exultet inedito').

ii. Exultet

[13. Salerno manuscripts (above)]

14. Stroncone (near Terni), Archivio Storico Comunale Frammenti, Giudiziario 21-1, a single leaf from a notated missal of central Italy, 12 1/2c., shows the beginning of the Exultet with the Beneventan melody. The threefold *Lumen Christi* has the ornamented melody found also in the central Italian manuscripts New York, Morgan Library, M 379; Rome, Vall. F 29; Rome, Vall. B 32; Subiaco XVIII (on these see Kelly, *The Exultet*, 154–5). Facsimile of the fragment (but not showing *Lumen Christi*) in Baroffio, *Frammenti*, 81, description p. 18.)

[4. Capua, lost ordinal, cited Natale]

c. Easter:

i. Alleluia Resurrexit tamquam dormiens

15. The ordinals of Montecassino and related ordinals of Benevento, 11–13c., cite the text at Easter Vespers. ('ad uesp. . . . *Alleluia*. v. *Resurrexit tamquam dormiens dominus*'.) The manuscripts containing this ordinal include five in the Montecassino tradition: Vatican MS Urb. lat. 585 (*c*. 1100); Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 364 (*c*. 1100); Los Angeles, Getty, MS 83.ML.97 (ex Ludwig IX.1; ex Montecassino MS 199; *c*. 1100); Montecassino MS 198 (12/13c.); Montecassino MS 562 (13c.). Three further twelfth-century versions, based on the Montecassino ordinal, were made for churches in Benevento: Naples, Bib. naz., MS VI E 43 (for a church dedicated to St Mary); Vatican MS Vat. lat. 4928 (Santa Sofia); Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 66 (s. Petri *intra muros*). An edition of these sources is forthcoming.

16. Salerno, Museo Diocesano, breviary s. n. (Capone, *Il duomo*, no. 6). The full text is given s. n. at Easter Vespers.

17. Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, MS 74, fol. 80v, at Easter Mass (Kelly, 'A Beneventan Borrowing'; facs. PM 21, p. 226)

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18. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS 33.31, fol. 41 (see the entry below), at Easter Mass (Brown, 'Bocaccio'; facs. PM 21, p. 231)

ii. Pascha yeron imin

19. This Greek sticheron, found without notation in Benevento 40 at the end of the Beneventan Easter Mass, is found with barely discernible notation on a palimpsest folio from a Neapolitan manuscript of the late thirteenth century now divided between two autograph manuscripts of Boccacio: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS 29.8, fol. 77v and MS 33.31, fol. 45r (Brown, 'Bocaccio'; facs. PM 21, p. 232)

d. Adaptations of alleluia Resurrexit tamquam

20. *Hodie natus est nobis dominus, gaudent omnes angeli in celo*, second verse *Gaudete in domino semper gaudete cum letitia quia natus est nobis saluator mundi*, Christmas, third Mass, Bodmer 74, fol. 12v (Kelly, 'A Beneventan Borrowing'; PM 21, p. 226)

21. *Hodie baptizatus est dominus in iordane ab Iohanne Baptista*, Epiphany, Bodmer 74, fol. 19v (Kelly, 'A Beneventan Borrowing'; PM 21, p. 226)

e. Offices of local saints

i. Saint Barbatus (antiphon-series in Beneventan style: see Kelly, TBC, 257)

[15. Three Beneventan ordinals of the Montecassino group, 12–13c., cite these antiphons: Naples, Bib. naz., MS VI E 43 (for a church dedicated to St Mary); Vatican MS Vat. lat. 4928 (Santa Sofia); Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 66 (s. Petri *intra muros*)]

22. Benevento, Bibl. capitolare, MS 61 (Offices of Bartholomew, Januarius, Barbatus, 14/15c., non-Beneventan script, perhaps a copy of older material; a seventeenth-century copy is Vatican MS Vat. lat. 11800) contains the Office s.n.

23. Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare, MS without shelf-number, antiphoner 14c., the full Office notated.

24. *Missae propriae* (see bibl.) of Benevento (1868), p. 9 has an alleluia-verse whose text corresponds to one of the antiphons: *Vir domini Barbatus actionibus celeber et coruscus miraculis, sectam internecionis pellendo Beneventi effulsit*.

ii. The Holy Twelve Brothers (antiphon-series in Beneventan style: see Kelly, TBC, 258)

[15. Three Beneventan ordinals of the Montecassino group, 12–13c., cite these antiphons: Naples, Bib. naz., MS VI E 43 (for a church dedicated to St Mary); Vatican MS Vat. lat. 4928 (Santa Sofia); Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 66 (s. Petri *intra muros*)]

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[23. Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare, MS without shelf-number, antiphoner s.n. 14c., the full Office notated]

D. Sources of hitherto-unknown Beneventan music

25. Vatican City, BAV Ottoboni lat. 145 (already noted for Beneventan communions used as antiphons of mandatum: see Boe, 'A New Source'); fol. 126v, an appended alleluia, partly cut off, for a. *Deus de celis qui es pius* (the antiphon itself does not look Beneventan). Also a. *Pater sanctus dum intenta*, fol. 123 (cf. this ant. in PM 21, see index p. 443)

26. Bisceglie, private collection without shelf number: fragmentary Office of the Epiphany or of its Octave (Kelly, 'A Musical Fragment at Bisceglie')

27. Lucera, Biblioteca comunale, Cinquecentina 658, binding fragments. Beginning of a Beneventan Mass (ingressa) of St John the Evangelistss, in a context that may be a *totum*. Transcription: 'Item Ingressa. *H<odi?>e beatus Io<hannes> . . . meruit | <a?> domino de<le?>gi sic eum <volo manere donec> veni<am> quia preparatum est < . . . .> gaudium ////*' (Kelly, 'New Beneventan Liturgical Fragments')

28. Penne, Archivio Storico dell'Archidiocesi di Pescara-Penne, frammenti 6-10. Fragments of four leaves from a twelfth-century gradual-troper, including portions of a Beneventan Mass for the Purification. Transcription: 'Ingressa: . . . *-cepit virgo . . . -hel quod est . . . -is* [or *-us*] *misericor- . . .* [Offertory? (text supplied from Ambrosian psalmellus] *<Senex puerum portabat,> puer autem <senem regebat, quem virgo concepit et pos>t par-<tum quem genui->t adoravit*. [Communion? (text supplied from antiphon in Benevento 21)] *<O dei genitrix virgo ave gratia plena; ex te enim ort->us est sol iustitie quem Sym<-eon vidit, exclamavit dicens: Nunc dimittis, domine, servum tuum in pace*.]' (Kelly, 'New Beneventan Liturgical Fragments')

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