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The Proper Office for St Pancras (Pancratius) in the Cluniac Breviary–Missal of Lewes, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 369

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ABSTRACT

A plainchant office (*historia*) for St Pancras was composed for the Cluniac monastery dedicated to the saint at Lewes, Sussex, England. The style of its Latin texts and melodies suggests a date close to the foundation of the monastery in 1077.

Keywords: plainchant, saints' offices, *historiae*, Cluniac

IZVLEČEK

Svetniški koralni oficij (*historia*) za sv. Pankracija je bil komponiran za clunijski reformirani samostan, posvečen temu svetniku v Lewesu (Sussex, Anglija). Slog njegovih latinskih besedil in melodij kažeta na to, da je oficij nastal približno v času ustanovitve samostana leta 1077.

Ključne besede: liturgično enoglasje, svetniški oficiji, *historiae*, clunijski brevir

St Pancras and the Priory of Lewes

As is well known, numerous saints venerated in the medieval church were martyrs who had lost their lives during the persecution of Christians from the late third century onward, culminating in the Great Persecution of 303 under Emperor Diocletian, and ending with Emperor Constantine's acceptance of Christianity in 313. The cult of many martyrs remained a local or regional phenomenon, while for others the passage of their relics to different areas spread their veneration far from their original home. Wherever they were celebrated, the composition of proper chants for the Hours of the Divine Office would emphasize the special solemnity of their feast day. Such cycles of chants, known as *historiae*, marked the importance of the saint to a greater degree than the more usual practice of using chants from the Commune Sanctorum.

Jurij Snoj, to whom this essay is dedicated, edited two *historiae* fully typical of the genre, for saints martyred in Aquileia: the office of Hellarus and Tacianus (martyred in 284), and the office of saints Cancius, Cancianus, Cancianilla and Prothus (martyred about 290).¹ The transmission of their offices remained characteristic of the area where they died. The office of St Pancras discussed here is of the other type, created for the veneration of a saint far removed from the place where he died. According to legend, the fourteen-year-old Pancras was brought by his uncle Dionysius from Phrygia to Rome, where they became Christians and suffered death as martyrs in the year 303 or 304.² Pancras' body was buried in the catacombs; Pope Symmachus (498–514) later erected a basilica dedicated to the saint. In the course of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons in the seventh century, relics of St Pancras came to Britain. The earliest witness to this is Bede, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (completed 731). He relates how Pope Vitalian, in a letter to King Oswiu of Northumbria dated 655, says he is sending relics to Oswiu. The priest Wighard had travelled from England to Rome to be consecrated archbishop, but had unfortunately died there. Vitalian writes: "We are deeply distressed that he should have died. [...] We have directed, however, that blessings of the Saints – that is, relics of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the holy martyrs Laurence, John and Paul, Gregory, and Pancras – be given to the bearers of this letter for delivery to your Excellency."³ However, later accounts indicate an earlier date for

1 Jurij Snoj, ed., *Two Aquileian Poetic Offices*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen / Musicological Studies 65/8 (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2003).

2 *Acta Sanctorum: Maii*, vol. 3 (Antwerp, 1680), 17–22. Feast day is 12 May, which is the same as that of the (unrelated) Nereus and Achilleus. For further texts see the references in *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* [BHL], Subsidia hagiographica 6 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1899, repr. 1992), nos. 6420–6428.

3 *Bede: A History of the English Church and People*, trans. Leo Shirley-Price, rev. R. E. Latham (London: Penguin Books, 1968), 200. Bede's Latin text from Book 3, chapter 29: "[...] valde

the veneration of Pancras, specifically in Canterbury. According to the late fourteenth-century chronicler William Thorne, the first church which St Augustine erected in Canterbury was dedicated to Pancras, which implies the presence of the saint's relics.⁴ (The ruins of the church may still be seen in the grounds of the later Benedictine abbey dedicated to Augustine, also ruined.) If this were true, one would expect Bede to have reported it, so perhaps it is a pious later invention. In fact, when Bede writes of the time when Augustine came to Canterbury, he describes how "an old church, built in honour of Saint Martin during the Roman occupation of Britain," was the first church where Augustine and his followers assembled "to sing the psalms, to pray, to say Mass, to preach and to baptise [...]."⁵

We have no evidence that a proper office for Pancras was sung in Canterbury, although it is possible that one such has been lost.⁶ Instead, we find one in a breviary-missal from the Cluniac priory of St Pancras in Lewes, near the south coast of England in the county of Sussex. The priory was founded by William de Warenne, an important follower of Duke William of Normandy. He fought at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 and was rewarded by William, now King of England, with extensive lands. Like the king himself, William de Warenne was a supporter of the Cluniac Benedictines. He and his wife Gundrada made a pilgrimage to Rome, visiting Cluny on the way. They had resolved to found a priory on their lands in Sussex and requested Abbot Hugh of Cluny to send monks. Lanzo and three others were the first monks of the new foundation.⁷ According to the foundation charter, William gave them an already existent church dedicated to St Pancras: "[...] quae fuit ab

sumus contristati, cum hic esset defunctus. Uerumtamen gerulis harum nostrarum litterarum uestris missis, et beneficia sanctorum, hoc est reliquias beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et sanctorum martyrum Laurentii, Iohannis, et Pauli, et Gregorii, atque Pancratii eis fecimus dari, uestrae excellentiae profecto omnes contradendas." Charles Plummer, ed., *Venerabilis Baedae Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, Historiam Abbatum, Epistolam ad Ecgberctum una cum Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonymo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), 198.

4 Willelmus Thorne, *Chronicon S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, ed. Roger Twysden, *Historiae anglicanae scriptores: Ex vetustis manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi* X (London, 1652), col. 1760. See the article on St Augustine's abbey in "Houses of Benedictine Monks: The Abbey of St Augustine, Canterbury," in: William Page, ed., *A History of the County of Kent*, vol. 2 (London: Victoria County History, 1926), 126–133. *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/kent/vol2/pp126-133>.

5 Bede, *A History* (see fn. 3), Book I, chapter 26, also chapter 33, where no saint's name is mentioned.

6 The saints' offices known to have been written in Canterbury are for Dunstan (by Osbern, late eleventh century), Mildred (by Goscelin, also late eleventh century), and possibly Mellitus. The customary of St Augustine's abbey (Edward Maunde Thompson, ed., *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 23 and 28, London 1902 and 1904) is not concerned with the liturgy of individual feast days or commemorations.

7 David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, second ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 151–153. See also the chart of the derivation of Cluniac houses in England, [723].

antiquo tempore in honore sancti Pancratii [...].”⁸ The date of the new foundation is usually given as 1077.

The Manuscript of the Office and a List of the Chants for St Pancras

The notated breviary-missal of Lewes in which the proper office for St Pancras survives is now manuscript 369 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (henceforth Fitzwilliam 369), written in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The manuscript is one of the most important documents of liturgical chant from a Cluniac Benedictine house. In 1935 Victor Leroquais gave an account of its composition and significance, and a complete, detailed inventory of the manuscript was published by Bryan Gillingham in 2008. A short article by Stephen Holder of 1985 singled out the offices for Thomas of Canterbury and Pancras for special mention.⁹ More could undoubtedly be written about the manuscript and its relations with other sources, but the present article limits itself to remarks on the unique office for St Pancras.

The office for Pancras in Fitzwilliam 369 stands out somewhat because it is the only one in the book for a ‘local’ saint. The office for Thomas of Canterbury *Pastor cesus in gregis medio* (fol. 105r) is present in full, but veneration for Thomas had already become international by the early thirteenth century. The feast days of the abbots of Cluny are naturally to be found in the Sanctorale, but only chants from the Commune Sanctorum are specified: for Hugo (fol. 344v), Maiolus (353r) and Odo (445v). These, together with the special cycle for the Feast of the Transfiguration attributed to Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny (386v), mark the book as Cluniac. For martyrs we find only widely-known chant cycles: for Fabian and Sebastian (313v), Vincent (317r), John and Paul (363r), Lawrence (390v) and Maurice (417r). For others, the Commune chants suffice.

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- 8 William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655), 615 [new enlarged edition by John Caley, Henry Ellis, and Bulkeley Bandinel, vol. V (London: James Bohn, 1825), i, 12]. The text is reproduced by Leroquais (see below note 9), 13, and Gillingham (see below note 9), xiv–xv. It is also possible that the discussions about the promotion of monasticism in England known to have taken place between King William, Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury and William de Warenne may have resulted in the translation of Pancras relics from Canterbury to Lewes. The narrative concerning an older church of St Pancras in Lewes echoes the account by Bede of Augustine’s restoration of a church in Canterbury dating back to Roman times (Bede, *A History*, Book I, chapters 26 and 33).
- 9 Victor Leroquais, *Le Bréviaire-missel du prieuré clunisien de Lewes* (Paris: Georges Andrieux, 1935); Bryan Gillingham, *Indices to Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 369*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen / Musicological Studies 89 (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2008); Stephen Holder, “The Noted Cluniac Breviary-Missal of Lewes: Fitzwilliam Museum Manuscript 369,” *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society* 8 (1985): 25–32. See also the description of the book by Phyllis M. Giles in: Iain Fenlon, ed., *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 57–59.

The chants, prayers and lessons for Pancras are copied on fols. 349r–352v, first Mass and Vespers on the eve of the feast, then Matins, Lauds and Prime on the day itself, Mass, Sext, None and Second Vespers. Later in the book (fols. 428r and 430r) we find rubrics and chant incipits for a secondary feast “In excepcione reliquiarum sancti Pancracii,” that is, his Translation (20 October), and its octave.¹⁰

The cycle of chants for the office hours is given in Table 1. It will be seen that most of the chants are arranged in a numerical series according to their mode: the first eight Matins antiphons are in modes 1–8, the Lauds antiphons in modes 1–5; the first eight responsories are in modes 1–3, 2, 5–8, where the fourth responsory departs from the numerical order.¹¹ All mode 6 chants are notated a fifth higher than is traditional, with final on *c* instead *F*. (This is a common English practice.) In Table 1 the letter *t* (= transposed) is added to the number of the mode.

One other feature may be mentioned here. As Holder pointed out, nearly all the responsory verses replace the traditional verse tone with a new melody: this is indicated in the table by the word ‘new’. Other verses modify the traditional tone, in most cases so that it ends on the *finalis* of the mode: this is indicated in the table by the letters ‘mod’.

Table 1: The office of St Pancras in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 369

Abbreviations:

1V First Vespers, M Matins, L Lauds, 2V Second Vespers

A Antiphon, Am Magnificat antiphon, Ac Canticle antiphon, Ab Benedictus antiphon

H Hymn, R Responsory, V Verse

no.	position		mode	range
FIRST VESPERS				
1	1V-A1	<i>Laudis sacrificium summe</i>	1	C–d
2	1V-A2	<i>Glorioso martyri Pancracio</i>	2	A–a
3	1V-A3	<i>Assit igitur vobis virtus</i>	5	F–f
4	1V-A4	<i>Ut semper et ubique vigilemus</i>	6t	F–g
5	1V-R	<i>Verbum patris summi vera V. Ut tue dextera</i>	6t new	F–a
6	1V-H	<i>Beate martyr prospera</i>	1	C–a

10 Gillingham, 369–374, 547–553, and 555–556. The Translation feast is not entered in the calendar at the front of the manuscript.

11 It also has a very restricted tonal range, which might be classified as either mode 1 or mode 2. One wonders whether this responsory replaces an earlier one in mode 4 with wider compass.

7	1V-Am	<i>Sancti martyrīs Pancracii prevenientes festum</i>	8	C-f
MATINS				
8	M-I	<i>In sancti Pancracii sollempnitate</i>	2	C-bflat
9	M-H	<i>Dei testis egregius agonista Pancracius</i>	2	C-a
First Nocturn				
10	M-A1	<i>Fervente nimium procella</i>	1	C-bflat
11	M-A2	<i>Namque Cornelium papam</i>	2	A-bflat
12	M-A3	<i>Teneri penis affligi Christiani</i>	3	D-c
13	M-A4	<i>Tentus ligatur ligatus</i>	4	C-bflat
14	M-A5	<i>Quem verbis huiusmodi</i>	5	F-d
15	M-A6	<i>Audi fili te diligentem</i>	6t	G-f
16	M-R1	<i>Tempore Diocletiani sevissimi V. Deo soli parare</i>	1 mod	C-d
17	M-R2	<i>Eodem tempore puer Pancracius V. Arbore fidei</i>	2 mod	A-bflat
18	M-R3	<i>Suscepto atque baptizato V. Dolens infelix</i>	3 new	C-e
19	M-R4	<i>Dum hec agerentur V. Dum Christi miles</i>	2 new	C-bflat
Second Nocturn				
20	M-A7	<i>Si michi dilecte fili dederis</i>	7	F-f
21	M-A8	<i>Si mea dicta non curas</i>	8	D-c
22	M-A9	<i>Miles Christi nobili progenie</i>	2	A-g
23	M-A10	<i>Etenim promissa refutavit</i>	3	C-bflat
24	M-A11	<i>Ubi vero princeps se decideri</i>	5	F-f
25	M-A12	<i>Sic sanctus migravit ad Christum</i>	6t	G-g
26	M-R5	<i>Insanus princeps sic alloquitur V. Audi que dux</i>	5 new	F-g
27	M-R6	<i>Nobili progenie sanctis V. Amplectens per Christo</i>	6t new	G-aa
28	M-R7	<i>Tunc imperator non se ferens V. Videns iuvenem</i>	7 new	F-g

29	M-R8	<i>Martyr gloriose Pancrati V. Exaudiat te orationem</i>	8 mod	D-f
Third Nocturn				
30	M-Ac	<i>Iam vere sine tempore</i>	8	D-e
31	M-R9	<i>Sancti martyris Pancracii celebrantes V. Qua cuncta creantur</i>	2 new	A-bflat
32	M-R10	<i>Presentus vite contemptor V. Ut in celis tecum terram</i>	5 new	F-a
33	M-R11	<i>Ihesu fili dei cuius precepto V. Te corde te labiis</i>	6t new	G-a
34	M-R12	<i>Cum iubilo cordis precibus V. Patrociniis sancti martyris</i>	8 new	C-f
LAUDS				
35	L-A1	<i>Gloriose martyr Pancrati condescende</i>	1	C-d
36	L-A2	<i>Adesto pater alme adesto nobis</i>	2	A-b
37	L-A3	<i>Ne superbus nos teneat</i>	3	D-d
38	L-A4	<i>Eterne sub tempore noctis</i>	4	C-bflat
39	L-A5	<i>Ut omni obstaculo</i>	5	F-f
40	L-R	<i>Sancte martyr Pancrati preces nostras V. Ut sine fine tecum regnum</i>	4	A-bflat
41	L-Ab	<i>Magni patris Pancracii quem tyranni</i>	7	F-g
SECOND VESPERS				
42	2V-R	<i>O benigne pater Pancrati servulos V. Ut domini Christi conspectu</i>	5 new	F-g
43	2V-Am	<i>O martyr preces tuorum attende</i>	6t	G-g

The only other source for chants from this office is a processional from the priory of Castle Acre in Norfolk, manuscript 158.926.4e of the Castle Museum, Norwich.¹² The priory was founded from Lewes in 1089, once again by William de Warenne (dedicated to Mary, Peter and Paul, rather than Pancras). In fact only five chants are found there, as one would expect in a processional. Four of them are responsories: nos. 8, 11 and 12 of Matins and the Lauds responsory. One responsory appears among the Rogation chants, two on the

12 Inventory by Malcolm Floyd, "Processional Chants in English Monastic Sources," *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society* 13 (1990): 19-23.

main feast day,¹³ and two more for the Translation. The long processional antiphon *Rex martirum* and its verse are mainly addressed to Christ, with Pancras invoked toward the end. This chant does not appear in Fitzwilliam 369. The chants are listed in Table 2.

Table 2: Chants for St Pancras in Norwich, Castle Museum, ms. 158.926.4e

				position in Fitzwilliam 369
“Tercia die rogationum”	61r	R	<i>Cum iubilo cordis V. Patrociniis sancti martiris</i>	M-R12
“In festivitate sancti Pancratii”	93r	R	<i>Cum iubilo cordis</i> (incipit)	
	93r	R	<i>Martir gloriose Pancrati</i> (without V.)	M-R8
	94v	A	<i>Rex martirum Christe</i> <i>V. O benigne redemptor</i>	-
“In excepcione sancti Pancracii”	118r	R	<i>Ihesu fili dei cuius precepto</i> (without V.)	M-R11
	118v	R	<i>Sancte martyr Pancrati preces nostras</i> (without V.)	L-R

Although the sources from Lewes and Castle Acre are from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the style of the chants for Pancras suggests an earlier date of composition, perhaps at the time of the priory’s foundation towards the end of the eleventh century, or in the early twelfth century. In what follows I shall try to set out the considerations which might have determined the choice and style of the chant texts and their melodies.

The Chant Texts

Once it had been decided to celebrate the feast in an especially solemn way, that is, going beyond the employment of Commune chants, it would have been natural to turn to the *vita* of the saint for material.¹⁴ The chant texts need not repeat everything in the *vita*. Extracts from the *vita* were recited in the lessons of Matins,¹⁵ and also during meals in the refectory. In the chants of the Pancras

13 After the first two responsories at the main feast, the antiphon *Regina celi letare* for the Blessed Virgin Mary is given in full.

14 For the standard account see *Acta Sanctorum: Maii*, vol. 3 (Antwerp, 1680), 17–20 (introduction), 21–22 (text). Bibliographical information in *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, 928–929.

15 In Fitzwilliam 369 only short extracts are given as Lessons 1–8. In Benedictine usage the ninth lesson was preceded by a gospel reading, and lessons 10–12 were usually homilies on the gospel. At this point in the Pancras office in Fitzwilliam 369 we find short extracts from Homily 27 in Book

office, only the antiphons and responsories of Matins refer to the life and death of the saint. Those of Vespers and Lauds are directed to God, Christ and the saint, as prayers for intercession or songs of praise.

All the Latin texts are in prose. They do not use hexameter or other traditional Latin metres, which were often employed in offices of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Nor are they formed in the rhythmic rhyming verse which became popular from the late twelfth century onwards.¹⁶ (The office for Thomas of Canterbury *Pastor cesus in gregis medio*, composed by Benedict of Peterborough shortly after the murder of Archbishop Thomas in 1170, is typical of the new direction.) In many of the texts, however, the prose is rhymed or at least assonant. Here, for example, are the texts of the first, third and twelfth Matins antiphons. Events described at greater length in the *vita* are here summarized in elegant pairs of phrases.

*Fervente nimium procella persecucionis
puer Pancracius cultum vere suscepit religionis.
Alleluya alleluya.*

(When the storm of persecution raged beyond measure, the boy Pancras adopted the worship of true religion. Alleluia, alleluia.)

*Teneri penis affligi Christiani iubentur
cum quibus Pancracius tenetur.
Alleluya.*

(The Christians were ordered to be arrested and suffer punishments, along with whom Pancras was arrested. Alleluia.)

*Sic sanctus migravit ad Christum
quem se gaudebat habere dominum et amicum.
Alleluya.*

(And so the saint crossed over to Christ whom he rejoiced to have as his Lord and friend. Alleluia.)¹⁷

II of the *Homilia in Evangelia* of St Gregory as Lessons 9–12 (see Gregory the Great, *Homilia in Evangelia*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 76 (Paris, 1849), and also with German translation *Evangelienhomilien*, ed. Michael Fiedrowicz, Fontes Christiani 28 (Freiburg: Herder, 1998)).

16 David Hiley, “The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10 (2001): 23–37, and, with greater precision about the texts, Henry Parkes, “The Composition of English Saints’ Offices in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,” in *Papers Presented at 15th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, 23–29 August 2009, Dobogókő, Hungary*, eds. Barbara Haggh-Huglo, Debra Lacoste, and Nicolas Bell (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2012), 629–647.

17 These and other translations by Henry Howard. The texts and musical transcriptions are part of my forthcoming edition *English Saints’ Offices* in the series *Early English Church Music*.

Nearly all the Matins antiphons are of this type. In fact it is not difficult to put together two short statements with the same ending, the same declension for a noun or the same conjugation for a verb. The same may be said of the longer responsory texts: over half of them are in rhyming or assonant prose. This technique means that exact quotations from the *vita* of the saint are unlikely. Responsory 7 refers to the *vita* a little more closely than the others; assonance is hardly present:

*Tunc imperator non se ferens a tali puero sic derideri
Cum capitali sententia puniri precepit.
Alleluia.
V. Videns iuvenem
de Christi trophæo exultantem
(Cum capitali sententia puniri precepit.
Alleluia.)*

(Then the emperor, being unable to bear being thus scorned by a young man such as this, ordered him to be punished with a sentence of death. Alleluia.

V. Seeing the young man exulting at Christ's triumph, he ordered him to be punished with a sentence of death. Alleluia.)

The corresponding sentence in the *vita* reads as follows (words used in the responsory are printed bold):

*Tunc jussit eum Diocletianus **Imperator** duci in viam Aureliam,
& ibi **capitalem** subire **sententiam**:
quia turpe illi fuit ut **a tali puero** superaretur & debonestaretur.*

The texts of the chants at First Vespers, Lauds and Second Vespers, as already stated, do not refer to the *vita*, but are addressed to God, Christ or the saint himself. The last chant of all, the Magnificat antiphon at Second Vespers (with three assonant phrases), returns to the most important reason for venerating Pancras, asking for his intercession on Judgement Day:

*O martyr, preces tuorum attende,
et de tua gloria iam secure
pro nostra et omnium interveni salute.
Alleluia.*


(Martyr, hear the prayers of your servants and from your glory now intercede with certainty for the sake of our salvation and that of everyone. Alleluia.)

The Melodies


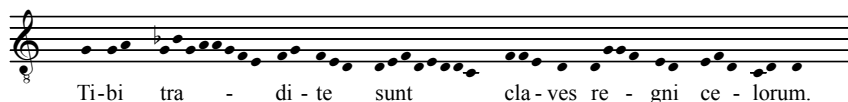

If the style of the texts suggests a date of composition not too long after the foundation of Lewes in 1077, can we see any characteristics of the melodies which support such a date? As mentioned above, Holder pointed out how the responsory verses departed from the traditional verse tones. That is not always the case in new offices. For example, three out of the thirteen responsory verses in the Office of the Transfiguration attributed to Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny (1122–1156), still use the old tones.¹⁸ Generally speaking, the Pancras office does not often reflect the idioms of the older offices of the Sanctorale. The antiphons do not use the old typical melodies classified by Gevaert, Frere, and presented in melodic families in the edition by Dobszay and Szendrei. In the responsories we do not find the typical phrases identified by Frere and once again presented by Dobszay and Szendrei according to a melodic taxonomy.¹⁹ The melodic features which distinguish the new offices have been elucidated in several studies by the present author and by Roman Hankeln.²⁰ To what extent are they to be found in the Pancras office? Not every stylistic feature can be investigated here, and there is space only for a small selection of examples, but they are characteristic of the office as a whole.

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- 18 David Hiley, "The Office of the Transfiguration by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny (1122–1156) in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Latin 17716," in *Chant and its Peripheries: Essays in Honour of Terence Bailey*, eds. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen / Musicological Studies 72 (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1998), 224–240.
 - 19 François-Auguste Gevaert, *La Melopée antique dans le chant de l'église latine* (Ghent: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1895); Walter Howard Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1901–1924); László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei, *Antiphonen*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 5 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999); László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei, eds., with the collaboration of Beáta Meszéna, *Responsories* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2013).
 - 20 For example, David Hiley, "Das Wolfgang-Offizium des Hermannus Contractus: Zum Wechselspiel von Modustheorie und Gesangspraxis in der Mitte des XI. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Offizien des Mittelalters: Dichtung und Musik*, eds. Walter Berschin and David Hiley, Regensburger Studien zur Musikgeschichte 1 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1999), 129–142; David Hiley, "Early Cycles of Office Chants for the Feast of Mary Magdalene," in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts, Paleography and Performance: Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes*, eds. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Routledge, 2004), 369–399; Roman Hankeln, "Old and New in Medieval Chant: Finding Methods of Investigating Chant in an Unknown Region," in *A Due: Musical Essays in Honour of John D. Bergsagel & Heinrich W. Schwab / Musikalische Aufsätze zu Ehren von John D. Bergsagel & Heinrich W. Schwab*, eds. Ole Kongsted, Niels Krabbe, Michael Kube, and Morten Michelsen (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2008), 161–180; Roman Hankeln, "Zum musikalischen Stil der Anno-Offizien," in *In Festo sancti Annonis tibi cantemus: Zwei Offizien zu Ehren des heiligen Anno*, ed. Dirk van Betteray (Niederhofen, 2018), 20–32; Roman Hankeln, "Zur musikstilistischen Einordnung mittelalterlicher Heiligenoffizien," *Lingua mea calamus scribae: Mélanges offerts à madame Marie-Noël Colette par ses collègues, étudiants et amis*, eds. Daniel Saulnier, Katarina Livljanić, and Christelle Cazaux-Kowalski, Études grégoriennes 36 (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 2009), 147–157.

Peter



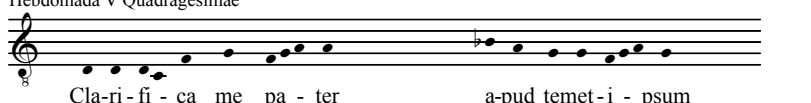
Pancras


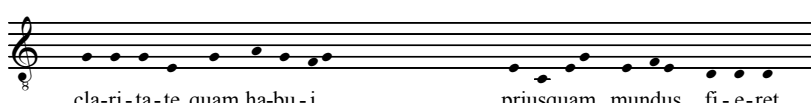

Example 1: Invitatory in mode 2 *In sancti Pancracii sollempnitate*.

The lower staff gives the rendering in Fitzwilliam 369. The more traditional melody is given on the upper staff, *Tu es pastor ovium* for St Peter.²¹ The most obvious non-traditional feature of the Pancras invitatory is the ending *C-D-D* for all four phrases. For Peter it is used only at the end.

Hebdomada V Quadragesimae



Pancras

Example 2: Antiphon in mode 1 *Gloriose martyr Pancrati*.

21 Fitzwilliam 369, fol. 364v. Cf. Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, 62.

The lower stave gives the rendering in Fitzwilliam 369. A more traditional melody is given on the upper stave, the Lenten antiphon *Clarifica me pater*.²² The ascent to the upper fifth *a* in the first phrase is continued in the Pancras antiphon to the upper octave. The descent from *a* to *C* for “nosque pater” is repeated for “[com]menda pastori”.

Magni patris Pan-cra - ci - i
 quem ty - ran-ni se-vi-ci - a de-ca-pi - ta - vit
 Christi pi - e - tas no - bi - li-ter de - co-ra - vit
 sollem - pni-a ce - le - bre - mus
 ut e-ius o - pten-tu di-vi - na pro-te - cti - o no - bis
 semper et u - bi-que ad - es - se di - - gne - tur.
 Al-le-lu - ya al-le - lu - ya.

Example 3a: Antiphon in mode 7 *Magni patris Pancracii* (Pancras).

The longer antiphons for the Magnificat at Vespers and the Benedictus at Lauds are often individual and melodically adventurous, even in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the antiphon chosen for comparison, *Anima mea liquefacta est* for the Assumption,²³ three periods have endings from below, *c-d-d* and *F-G-G*, and the range extends to the upper octave. The Pancras antiphon has four endings from below; it reaches the upper octave three times, there is a deliberate alternation of phrases in the range *G-d* and those in the range *d-g*.

22 Fitzwilliam 369, fol. 181r. Cf. Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, 66; Dobszay and Szendrei, *Antiphonen*, no. 1090 (see note 18).

23 Fitzwilliam 369, fol. 398v.

A-ni - ma me - a lique-fa-cta est ut di - lectus locu-tus est.
 Que-si-vi et non in-ve-ni illum, vo-ca-vi et non respondit mihi.
 In-ve-ne-runt me custodes ci-vi-ta-tis, percusserunt me et vul-ne-ra-verunt me,
 tu-lerunt pal-li-um me-um cu-sto-des muërorum.
 Fi-li-e ie-ru-sa-lem, nunci-a-te di-le-cto qui-a a-mo-re langue-o.

Example 3b: Antiphon in mode 7 *Anima mea liquefacta est* (Assumption).

Su - sce-pto at - que ba - pti - za - to be - a - to Pan - cra - ci - o
 a san - cto Cor-ne - - - li - o
 Ty-ran - nus pre - ce - pit cunctos Christi - a - nos te - ne - ri
 et si-ne mo - ra pu - - - ni-ri. Al - le - lu - ya.
 ¶ Do - lens in - fe-lix de pro-ve-ctu Christi-a - ne fi - de - i.

Example 4a: Responsory in mode 3 *Suscepto atque baptizato* (Pancras).

The responsory *Me oportet minui* uses melodic periods traditional for mode 3, and its verse is sung to the traditional tone.²⁴ The Pancras responsory ignores

24 Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, 29 and 4.

these. It is not interested in cadences on *F* or *D*, but instead ends two periods on *b*, a feature absent from older melodies.²⁵

Example 4b: Responsory in mode 3 *Me oportet minui* (Advent).²⁶

Excursus on Melodic Style

The non-traditional melodic features shown in these examples from the Pancras office raise many questions. One of these questions might be formulated thus: Since it would have been possible to use old, traditional, typical ways of singing the new texts – using stock turns of phrase, melodic formulas, available in abundance for each mode – what is the justification for moving into new musical territory? One answer might be the influence of music theory. Numerous medieval writers about chant stress the importance of those tones which are consonant with the *finalis* of each mode. Taking their lead from Boethius, they describe the tetrachords and their component intervals, from which the scales in each mode are formed. These musical structures reflect the

25 On the melodic characteristics of newer mode 3 chants, see Roman Hankeln, “E-Mode in Theory and Practice: Comments on Tradition and Innovation in the Tonality of Saints’ Offices,” in *St. Emmeram: Liturgie und Musik vom Mittelalter bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Harald Buchinger, David Hiley, and Katelijne Schiltz, Forum Mittelalter – Studien 19 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2023), 131–149.

26 Fitzwilliam 369, fol. 87v.

universal harmony which lies at the heart of all God's creation: "Sed omnia in mensura et numero et pondere dispositi" (*Liber Sapientiae* 11:21).²⁷ Yet only very rarely does a writer cite an example from the chant repertory which reflects these theoretical principles. Hermannus Contractus, for instance, one of the chief proponents of scale structures dominated by *finalis*, upper fifth and upper octave, and composer of several saints' offices which clearly reflect these structures, never cites an example from his own chants or any other in the same melodic style. A possible exception is the anonymous author of the *Dialogus de musica*, formerly known as Odo or Pseudo-Odo of Cluny, writing in the decades around the turn of the millenium in north Italy.²⁸ At one point he stresses the importance of starting and ending phrases in a chant melody on the *finalis* of the mode. I give this important passage in full, together with a transcription of the chant he cites, the Epiphany Magnificat antiphon *Tribus miraculis ornatum diem*.

*The distinctions, too, that is, the places at which we repeatedly pause in a melody and at which we divide it, ought obviously to end in each mode with the same sounds with which a melody in that mode may begin. And where each mode best and most often begins, there as a rule it best and most suitably begins and ends its distinctions. Several distinctions ought to end with the sound which concludes the mode, the masters teach, for if more distinctions be made in some other sound than be made in this one, they desire the melody to be ended in that other sound and compel it to be changed from the mode in which it was. A melody, in other words, belongs most to the mode in which the majority of its distinctions lie. For the beginnings, too, are found most often and most suitably on the sound which concludes the melody. You may confirm what has been said by example in the Antiphon "Tribus miraculis": this is one distinction; "ornatum diem sanctum colimus" is a second; "hodie stella Magos duxit ad praesepium" is a third; "hodie vinum ex aqua factum est ad nuptias" is a fourth; "hodie a Joanne Christus baptizari voluit" is the last. And so you see that in a regular melody several distinctions begin and end in the mode and that melodies begin and end on the same sound.*²⁹

27 "But thou hast ordered all things in measure and number and weight." (*Wisdom of Solomon* 11:20). Charles Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus: Tone-System, Mode, and Notation in Early Medieval Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) is the most comprehensive discussion of this main stream of medieval music theory. See also the essays by Meyer and Schlager. Christian Meyer, "Die Tonartenlehre im Mittelalter," in *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, vol. 4, *Die Lehre vom einstimmigen liturgischen Gesang*, eds. Thomas Ertelt and Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: WBG Academic, 2000), 135–215; Karlheinz Schlager, "Ars cantandi – Ars componendi: Texte und Kommentare zum Vortrag und zur Fügung des mittelalterlichen Chorals," *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, vol. 4, *Die Lehre vom einstimmigen liturgischen Gesang*, eds. Thomas Ertelt and Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: WBG Academic, 2000), 217–292.

28 For his version of 'classical' theory see Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus*, 211–219.

29 "Distinctiones quoque, id est loca, in quibus repausamus in cantu, et in quibus cantum dividimus, in eisdem vocibus debere finiri in unoquoque modo, in quibus possunt incipi cantus eius modi, manifestum est. Et ubi melius et saepius incipit unusquisque modus, ibi melius et decentius suas distinctiones incipere vel finire consuevit. Plures autem distinctiones in eam vocem, quae modum terminat, debere finiri, magistri tradunt; ne si in alia aliqua voce plures distinctiones, quam in ipsa, fiant, in eandem quoque et cantum finiri expetant, et a modo, in quo fuerant, mutari compellant.

The antiphon *Tribus miraculis* is available in several modern editions, all in a version which corresponds to that described in the *Dialogus*.³⁰ I transcribe it here from the Augsburg antiphoner of the later sixteenth century (Example 5a). For Second Vespers on the Octave of Epiphany this manuscript has an expanded version of the melody, transforming it into a responsory with Verse (rhymed), Doxology and “Tropus” (a prosula for the melisma at the end of the respond) (Example 5b). It appears to be unique to Augsburg Cathedral. This too follows the ‘rules’ recommended by the theorist, expanding the range to the lower fourth and introducing more extended scalar movement. In both antiphon and responsory one may note the frequent phrase endings from below, *C-D-D*.

Tribus mi - ra - cu - lis or - natum di - em sanctum co - li - mus:
 ho - di - e stel - la Ma - gos du - xit ad pre - se - pi - um:
 ho - di - e vinum ex a - qua fa - ctum est ad nu - pt - i - as:
 ho - di - e a Jo - han - ne Christus ba - pt - i - za - ri vo - lu - it,
 ut sal - va - ret nos, al - le - lu - ia.

Example 5a: Antiphon *Tribus miraculis ornatum diem*.³¹

Ad eum denique modum magis cantus pertinet, ad quem suae distinctiones amplius currunt. Nam et principia saepius et decentius in eadem voce, quae cantum terminat, inveniuntur. Dictae rei exemplum in hac antiphona comprobabis: *Tribus miraculis*; ecce una distinctio: *ornatum diem sanctum colimus*; ecce alia: *Hodie stella magos duxit ad praesepium*; ecce tertia: *Hodie vinum ex aqua factum est ad nuptias*; ecce quarta: *Hodie a Iohanne Christus baptizari voluit*; ecce ultima. Vides itaque, ut in regulari cantu plures distinctiones in suo tono incipiant et finiatur, ut et in eadem voce cantus incipiant et finiatur.” Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* [GS], vol. 1 (St. Blasien, 1784), 257–258. English translation in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: Norton, 1950), 113–114.

30 *Antiphonale Romanum* (Tournai, 1949), 318; *Antiphonale Monasticum* (Tournai, 1934), 296; Dobszay and Szendrei, *Antiphonen* (see footnote 18), vol. 1, no. 1462, 252–253 (see also the general commentary 57*–58*). The antiphon is no. 5184 in Hesbert’s *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* and the CANTUS database (cantus.uwaterloo.ca).

31 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. S. 3449, 8°, vol. 2, fol. 169r.

Tri-bus mi-ra - cu - lis hunc di-em or-na - tum co - li - mus:
 ho - di - e stel-la ma - gos du - xit ad pre - se - pi - um:
 ho - di - e vinum ex a - qua fa - ctum est ad nu - pti - as:
 * ho - di - e Christu s a Jo - han - ne
 ba - pti - za - tus est.
 ♪ Pec - ca - ta que non de - tu - lit nos ab - lu - en - do su - stu - lit. Hodie.
 Glo - ri - a Pa - tri et Fi - li - o et Spi - ri - tu - i San - cto.
 Tropus: Na - tus si - ne se - mi - ne ex vir - gi - ne. E.
 So - lus si - ne cri - mi - ne ab ho - mi - ne. E.
 Mox in mo - di - co flu - mi - ne. E.
 A ser - vo De - us ho - di - e. Ba - pti - sa - tus est.

Example 5b: Responsory *Tribus miraculis hunc diem ornatum* V. *Peccata que non detulit*
 Prosula *Natus sine semine*.³²

The antiphon *Tribus miraculis* does not belong to the oldest layer of antiphons. Its earliest fully notated source is the Hartker antiphoner, St. Gallen 390–391, from the same time as the *Dialogus de musica*. The triple announcement “Hodie ...” reminds one of the numerous introit trope verses, many of them for Christmas, some for Epiphany.³³

32 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. S. 3449, 8°, vol. 2, fol. 186r.

33 There are nearly thirty in the edition of trope texts of Christmas season by Ritva Jonsson, *Tropes*

Coda

The copious writings on music theory, of which a tiny sample was given in the excursus above, do not seem as directly concerned as one might expect with such chants as those for the St Pancras office. Despite their quantity and sophistication, they remain somewhat dissociated from actual practice. Their precepts are largely abstract. A modern scholar may well be disappointed that they do not refer to the newer chants which were composed in such vast quantities, starting in the ninth century and continuing throughout the Middle Ages. The precepts they expound do not always seem relevant to the older layers of the chant repertory, yet the theorists do not refer to the chants which would illustrate their ideas much more easily.

Does this mean that the practice of chant composition followed the theory? This seems unlikely, since the beginnings of the ‘post-Gregorian’ idiom – if we may call it that, meaning the layer of chant developed in the late eighth and early ninth century, reputedly inspired by Roman usage – can already be sensed in chants such as alleluias and sequences of the ninth century, that is, substantially earlier than the heyday of theoretical writing in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Thoughts such as these may seem to have brought us very far from Lewes, its Cluniac priory, and the chants for the feast day of St Pancras sung there. But the Pancras office is entirely typical of its time, and therefore as appropriate as any other for an attempt to understand the processes of composition. As more and more of the vast repertory of saints’ offices is examined, we may hope to find more accurate answers to our questions about their musical character.

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du propre de la messe, vol. 1, *Cycle de Noël*, Corpus Troporum I, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis 21 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1975). Four are for Epiphany. The triple “Hodie ...” in *Hodie regi magno magi munera obtulerunt* (Jonsson, *Tropes*, 112) is closest in its text to the antiphon *Tribus miraculis*. Its sources are all South French. Its musical setting is edited from two (frequently divergent) sources by Günther Weiß, *Introitus-Tropen I: Das Repertoire der südfranzösischen Tropen des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 141–143. They naturally share the mode of the Epiphany Introit *Ecce advenit*, mode 2, but the static Introit melody is not reflected in the trope verses; these are closer to the idiom of the antiphon, though there are no exact matches between antiphon and trope verses.

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POVZETEK

Oficij svetega Pankracija v clunyskem brevirju-misalu iz Lewesa, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 369

William de Warenne, privrženec Viljema Osvajalca, je ok. leta 1077 v Lewesu (Sussex, Anglija) ustanovil benediktinski samostan clunyske tradicije. Za praznik zavetnika samostana sv. Pankracija je bil sestavljen oficij (*historia*), ki se je ohranil v notiranem brevirju s konca 13. ali začetka 14. stoletja, rokopisu Ms. 369 v Cambridgeu (Fitzwilliam Museum). Pankracijev oficij sestavlja več kot 40 spevov, 26 antifon, 15 rezponzorijev in trije himnusi. Razprava pojasnjuje okoliščine, v katerih je oficij nastal, in njegovo povezavo z življenjem (*vita*) svetnika ter obravnava slog oficijskih latinskih besedil in njihovih melodij. Primerjava z drugimi oficiji iz časa med 11. in 12. stoletjem kaže na datum nastanka, ki je časovno blizu ustanovitvi samostana. Latinska besedila so v prozi, ne uporabljajo latinskega metruma niti ritmičnega rimanega verza, vendar imajo pogoste aliteracije in rime. Tradicionalne melodične fraze (značilne melodije »gregorijanskih« antifon, pogosto uporabljeni melodični vzorci tradicionalnih rezponzorijev in standardni toni za verze rezponzorijev) so redke. Pogosto pa je mogoče opaziti zgoščevanje melodij okoli zaključne note *finalis*, zgornje kvinte in oktave ter spodnje kvinte. Nekatere od teh »post-gregorijanskih« potez ustrezajo glasbenoteoretskim idejam tega obdobja, vendar avtorji koralnih traktatov kljub temu ne govorijo pogosto o novih melodijah, ki so nastale za svetniške oficije.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

DAVID HILEY (David.Hiley@psk.uni-regensburg.de) studied Music at Oxford and King's College London, and from 1976–1986 he was Lecturer in Music at Royal Holloway College, University of London. From 1986–2013 he was Professor at the Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Universität Regensburg. From 1978 and 1990 he edited the *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society*, and from 1988–1997 he was Chair of the Research Group 'Cantus Planus' of the International Musicological Society. Since 2016 he has been President of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society. He has written extensively on plainchant, and has contributed several editions of saints' offices to the series *Historiae*.

O AVTORJU

DAVID HILEY (David.Hiley@psk.uni-regensburg.de) je študiral glasbo v Oxfordu in na Kraljevem kolidžu v Londonu. Med letoma 1976 in 1986 je bil predavatelj za glasbo na Kolidžu Royal Holloway Univerze v Londonu, med 1986 in 2013 pa je bil profesor na Oddelku za muzikologijo Univerze v Regensburgu. Med letoma 1978 in 1990 je bil glavni urednik mednarodne znanstvene revije *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society* ter med letoma 1988 in 1997 predsednik študijske skupine Mednarodnega muzikološkega društva Cantus Planus. Od leta 2016 je predsednik koralni in srednjeveški glasbi posvečenega društva Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society. Veliko je pisal o gregorijanskem koralu in liturgičnem enoglasju, za serijo *Historiae* pa je prispeval več izdaj svetniških oficijev.