

# Music and Performance in the Book of Hours

**Michael Alan Anderson**

First published 2022

ISBN: 978-0-367-69132-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-367-69138-7 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-14051-1 (ebk)

## **2 Antiphons**

(CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003140511-4



ROUTLEDGE

**Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group

LONDON AND NEW YORK

## 2 Antiphons

\*

In books of hours, as in the liturgy, psalm recitation is usually incomplete without the enclosure of an antiphon. A breviary containing the Divine Office for the year (or part of a year) may easily contain a thousand antiphons to pair with psalms, the bulk reserved for feast days requiring proper liturgical chants. Those prescribed in books of hours are much fewer because there are only two core offices. One might expect around 50 antiphons across the offices in a given book of hours. Antiphons may further be found in the suffrages of a book of hours, about which more will be said in Chapter 8.

Antiphons are short liturgical chants with a prose text. The name of the genre is regrettable, as nothing in the performance of the antiphon proper requires alternation, or “antiphony,” as we find in the practice of psalmody. A psalm and its assigned antiphon have a connection, though, one to which Rachel Fulton has called attention in her illuminating study of the Office of the Virgin Mary. There is a “dialogue” between psalms and the antiphons that frame them, an interchange infused with Marian meaning, not obvious on the face of it, but recognized by medieval exegetes.<sup>1</sup> Scribes too read antiphons as Marian that were not plainly so. A rubric for the antiphon *Pulchra es decora* in one book of hours indicates that the Old Testament text (Song of Songs 6:3) is an antiphon for Our Lady (*antienne de n[ost]re da[m]e*).<sup>2</sup> But a different dialogue is also at play between psalm and antiphon in the offices—namely, a musical one.

Structurally, the antiphon wraps around the psalm, setting it up tonally and then securing the proper chant at the psalm’s conclusion. The return of the antiphon strengthens the conversation between the poetry of the psalm and the antiphon’s brief statement. A governing tonality binds the dialogue. In Chapter 1, it was mentioned that an antiphon’s tonal classification, known as the melodic mode, in fact determines the recitational pitch of the psalm tone. The tonal linkage between the psalm and assigned antiphon further creates a cohesive musical experience that separates them from other parts of a liturgical service. Antiphons were cast in one of the eight modes. Once that mode is ascertained, the recitation tone can be determined, drawn from a number of *differentiae*. In the ear or voice of the user, the execution of the antiphon and psalm holds both limiting and liberating aspects. The antiphon’s mode fixes relationships among pitches, but the sounding pitch frequency on which the melody is placed may vary widely, though usually in an unstrained vocal range. As the mode is affirmed through the singing of the antiphon, the structure of the psalm tone is foreshadowed, even though a concluding formula has not been articulated. The shared mode draws the two parts together in an exchange.

The dialogue between antiphon and psalm continues yet further in the area of musical style. Antiphons are modest in their melodic shape, but contrast noticeably with the conservative, static style of a psalm tone.<sup>3</sup> The mode of the antiphon often had a powerful influence on its melodic contour, as stock gestures within a mode began to act as recurring possibilities for navigating tonal space.<sup>4</sup> Important for study of the book of hours, more narrowly defined options for melodies were likely a boost to memory, especially for those who had knowledge of the antiphons and were familiar with their basic melodic profile.

This chapter does not set out to examine all of the antiphons one would witness in a book of hours; rather, it provides an overview of the topic and explores select issues that emerge in the study of the genre in these precious xbooks. After a survey of antiphons commonly found in the offices of the *horae*, the investigation turns to the realm of performance by examining the use of incipits in the execution of antiphons. It then focuses on a peculiar treatment of the first antiphon found in the Office of the Virgin—the invitatory *Ave Maria gratia plena*. The chapter concludes with observations of select antiphons, including the famous Marian antiphons and the prevalent antiphon *Veni sancte spiritus*.

### Antiphons for the core offices

Some global observations can be made about the antiphons that lie within the Office of the Virgin and the Office of the Dead. First, scribes regularly provided rubrics for them, usually with *a.*, *an.*—also *antiphona* or *antienne* when spelled out. They also tended to record the antiphon in a script size noticeably smaller than one finds with the psalms (and hymns too, as we will see in Chapter 3). It is tempting to view the reduced script size as signaling something unimportant or possibly unperformable by the user. Katherine Zieman has remarked that the smaller script in books of hours was reserved for texts that were “sung,” but she saw no reason to posit a special kind of performance.<sup>5</sup> If we cannot penetrate the level of engagement of books with such a broad usage, we might still make some observations about how to understand the genre. Given the close adherence to the liturgy in books of hours, it is unlikely that the user disengaged at the sight of the antiphon. Instead, we could reasonably suggest that a demonstrable change of vocal texture took place between antiphon and psalm, whether understood aurally or enacted physically. The intentional and pervasive changes in script size may awaken what Emma Dillon calls the “visual map of the musical memory.”<sup>6</sup> From a sonic point of view, the diminished script may thus be understood as an exchange of vocal textures from a contoured antiphon to a recitation-dominated form of speech-song. Or vice versa: antiphons resounded on either side of the psalm.

But not always. While antiphons generally frame psalms in liturgical practice, they do not always frame them individually in books of hours. Occasionally, psalms may appear in groups of two or three, and the full set is wrapped by a single antiphon. Groups of three are common in the more modest minor hours in the Office of the Virgin (Prime, Terce, Sext, and None). Table 2.1 shows common antiphons found in the Roman rite for the Office of the Virgin, building on Table 1.1 from earlier. Being from some of the earliest layers of ecclesiastical plainchant, the antiphons include the CAO number from Hesbert’s seminal *Corpus antiphonalium officii*. Compilers imported the antiphons from two main reservoirs, the Common of Virgins and Marian feasts (Assumption, Purification, and Nativity especially). The indicated mode is the prevailing classification asserted by those who have cataloged the extant sources, with privilege given to French liturgical books. The table italicizes the antiphons of the minor hours, since these melodies are recycled from the service of Lauds. From

a textual perspective, it may be noted that *Benedicta tu in mulieribus* (MA1) builds on the preceding invitatory antiphon *Ave Maria gratia plena*. Even though the items are discrete in practice, they pair well in devotion, together constituting what was the most widely uttered prayer in Christian devotional life—the “Ave Maria.”<sup>7</sup>

The melodic modes of the antiphons for the Virgin Mary are crucial for narrowing the sound world of this office in books of hours. By securing the most likely mode of these framing antiphons, the user is constrained in the possibilities for how the psalm will sound, though each mode still had several options for a termination formula. The musical choices for the psalm tone are further limited when we consider the repetition of the modes in the Office of the Virgin. Users might well apply a single tone in their experience, avoiding formulas with slight variants. There is in fact evidence supporting the idea that the design of the Office of the Virgin relied on melodic exemplars that likely eased recollection and execution.

Owners of books of hours could not only apply a consistent formula in the practice of psalmody but also streamline sounds of several antiphons as well. In the late Middle Ages, newly developed liturgical offices often followed a strict pattern of modal ordering through the offices, antiphons cycling through the eight modes systematically in Matins (MA1=mode 1; MA2=mode 2, etc.).<sup>8</sup> Table 2.1 shows no such evidence of this practice in the antiphons of the Office of the Virgin. A pattern of modal organization of a different sort does emerge in

Table 2.1 Antiphons for the Office of the Virgin

<i>Service</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Antiphon</i>	<i>CAO no.</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>Psalm/Canticle</i>
Matins	MI	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena</i>	1041	7	94
	MA1	<i>Benedicta tu in mulieribus</i>	1709	4	8
	MA2	<i>Sicut myrra electa</i>	4942	4	18
	MA3	<i>Ante thorum huius virginis</i>	1438	4	23
	MA4	<i>Specie tua et pulchritudine</i>	4987	7	44
	MA5	<i>Adiuvaabit eam Deus</i>	1282	7	45
	MA6	<i>Sicut letantium omnium nostrum</i>	4936	7	86
	MA7	<i>Gaude Maria virgo</i>	2924	4	95
	MA8	<i>Dignare me laudare te</i>	2217	4	96
Lauds	MA9	<i>Post partum virgo</i>	4332	4	97
	LA1	<i>Assumpta est Maria</i>	1503	7	92
	LA2	<i>Maria virgo assumpta est</i>	3707	8	99
	LA3	<i>In odorem unguentorum</i>	3261	4	62, 66
	LA4	<i>Benedicta filia tu</i>	1705	7	Canticle of the Three Children
Lauds	LA5	<i>Pulchra es decora</i>	4418	1	148, 149, 150
	LAB	<i>Beata dei genetrix</i>	1563	8	Canticle of Zechariah
<i>Prime</i>		<i>Assumpta est Maria</i>	1503	7	53, 84, 116
<i>Terce</i>		<i>Maria virgo assumpta est</i>	3707	8	119, 120, 121
<i>Sext</i>		<i>In odorem unguentorum</i>	3261	4	122, 123, 124
<i>None</i>		<i>Pulchra es decora</i>	4418	1	125, 126, 127
Vespers	VA1	<i>Dum esset rex</i>	2450	3	109
	VA2	<i>Leva eius sub capite</i>	3574	4	112
	VA3	<i>Nigra sum sed formosa</i>	3878	3	121
	VA4	<i>Iam hiems</i>	3470	4	126
	VA5	<i>Speciosa facta es</i>	4988	4	147
	VAM	<i>Beata mater et innupta</i>	1570	2	Canticle of Mary
Compline	CA	<i>Sub tuum presidium</i>	5041	7	Canticle of Simeon

the service of Matins: the three antiphons assigned to each of the three nocturns of Matins bear the same mode. MA1 through MA3 and MA7 through MA9 present mode 4 antiphons, while the intervening second nocturn (MA4 through MA6) carries three mode 7 antiphons. Modes 4 and 7 in fact account for more than two-thirds of the antiphons in the Office of the Virgin. Modal conformity alone does not necessarily simplify musical material as individual gestures can vary in theory. The musical constraints extend further than this, effectively narrowing the set of melodies users committed to memory.

The mode 4 antiphons adhere to a model that accommodated the brief texts assigned to them. Example 2.1 reveals the remarkable melodic uniformity of these antiphons, as seen in early fourteenth-century breviaries from the Cathedral of Notre Dame of Paris (BnF, lat. 15181 and 15182), sources that will be valuable for melodic reference throughout this study due to their geography, chronology, and notational clarity. As Rebecca Baltzer has shown, the cathedral was one of the early cultivators of the “Little Office” of the Virgin.<sup>9</sup> Each of the mode 4 antiphons are transposed up a fourth, finishing on *a* with secondary emphasis on *d*. The antiphons of the first nocturn (MA1–MA3) consistently open with the notes *g-a-c-d*, two of them establishing a narrow compass around *c-e* toward the midpoint of the antiphon. The second half of these three antiphons descends to the *f* below the final, rising up past it precisely to *c* before descending by skip or step to the final *a*.

The three antiphons from the third nocturn (MA7–MA9) all begin with similar gestures (*c-g-a-c-d*), nearly identical to the first set of mode 4 antiphons except for the initial descent of a fourth. These three antiphons also share with MA1 and MA2 the skip down of a minor

MA1  
Be-ne-di - cta tu in mu-li - e - ri - bus et be-ne-di - ctus fru-ctus ven-tris tu - i.

MA2  
Si-cut myr-ra e - le-cta o - do - rem de-di-sti su - a-vi-ta - tis san-cta de-i ge-ni-trix.

MA3  
An-te tho - rum hu-ius vir - gi - nis fre-quen-ta - te no-bis dul - ci-a can - ti-ca drag-mis.

MA7  
Gau-de Ma-ri - a vir - go cun - ctas he-re-ses so - la in-te-re-mi - sti in u-ni-ver-so mun-di.

MA8  
Di-gna-re me lau-da-re te vir - go sa-cra-ta da mi - chi vir - tu - tem con-tra ho-stes tu - os.

MA9  
Post par-tum vir - go in - vi - o - la - ta per - ma-ni-sti de - i ge-ne-trix in-ter-ce-de pro no-bis.

Example 2.1 Antiphons from the Office of the Virgin, transcribed from BnF, lat. 15181, fols. 445v–446r (MA1, MA2), 448v–449r (MA7, MA9), 530r (MA3) and BnF, lat. 15182, fol. 309r (MA8).

MA4

Spe - ci - e tu - a et pul - chri - tu - di - ne tu - a in - ten - de pro - spe - re pro - ce - de et reg - na.

MA5

Ad - iu - va - bit e - am De - us vul - tu su - o De - us in me - di - o e - ius non com - mo - ve - bit - tur.

MA6

Si - cut le - tan - ti - um o - mni - um no - strum ha - bi - ta - ti - o est in te san - cta De - i ge - ne - trix.

Example 2.2 Mode 7 Antiphons MA4–MA6 from the Office of the Virgin, transcribed from BnF, lat. 15181, fol. 447r (MA4, MA5) and BnF, lat. 15182, fol. 307v (MA6).

second (*d-b*). This skip breaks the recitational emphasis around *d* in each chant and unleashes the concluding gesture toward its final. Since the common musical gestures were limited among these six Matins antiphons, one presumes that by seeing the text, a user could easily unlock the short, near-formulaic mode 4 melody. The melody of the antiphon *Ante thorum huius virginis* (MA3), however, reminds us of the thorny issues around *b-flat*. This pitch would normally be assumed in a transposed mode 4, but it is ambiguous in the sources. In the experience of a book of hours, owners bypass the problem of notation and modal theory, relying on memory to recreate the sound of the antiphons from the written words alone.

There are four additional mode 4 melodies deployed in the Office of the Virgin (LA3, VA2, VA4, VA5). *In odorem unguentorum* appears in both Lauds and the service of Sext and takes the same melodic shape as the antiphons from Matins. VA, VA3, and VA5 follow suit, most resembling the first three Matins antiphons in their initial pitches (*g-a-c-d*). The homogeneity of the mode 4 antiphons in the Office of the Virgin greatly reduced the sounds a book of hours user needed to remember in the execution of this office.

Mode 7 antiphons are also overrepresented in the Office of the Virgin. Here too we see unusual consistency among some of them that would have likely strengthened aural recall of the melodies in the absence of notation in books of hours (Example 2.2). The three consecutive mode 7 antiphons of Matins (MA4 to MA6) each unfold in two brief musical phrases ending on the final *g*. They all begin with same five pitches above the final (*d-b-d-e-d*). Emphasizing the mode's recitation tone on *d*, these chants traverse the pentachord down to the *g* at the conclusion of the first phrase. The second phrase takes up a recitation of between three and six notes on *c*; it then dips down to *a* and returns to *c*. The phrase winds down by filling in the tetrachord down to the final again before a short, arched concluding formula (*g-a-b-a-g*). The model is simple but distinct, each phrase beginning above the final almost recitationally and working its way down to *g*.

Comprising only three services of Vespers, Matins, and Lauds, the Office of the Dead in books of hours offers 22 antiphons, five fewer than the number found in the Office of the Virgin. Compared to the Marian office, the antiphons for the defunct are even shorter in length, many just a single musical phrase.<sup>10</sup> The Office of the Dead is sometimes referred to simply by its opening Vespers antiphon, *Placebo*, an incipit that may either precede or lie beneath a miniature depicting the funeral service. Table 2.2 reveals the progression of antiphons encountered in the Roman rite along with their presumed modes.

Table 2.2 Antiphons for the Office of the Dead

<i>Service</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Antiphon</i>	<i>CAO no.</i>	<i>Mode</i>	<i>Psalms/Canticle</i>
Vespers	VA1	Placebo Domino	4293	3	114
	VA2	Heu mihi	3038	2	119
	VA3	Dominus custodit	2402	8	120
	VA4	Si iniquitates observaveris	4899	8	129
	VA5	Opera manuum	4159	2	137
	VAM	Omne quod dat	4115	7	Canticle of Mary
Matins	MI	Regem cui omnia vivunt	1131	6	94
	MA1	Dirige Domine	2244	7	5
	MA2	Convertere Domine	1921	8	6
	MA3	Nequando rapiat	3875	8	7
	MA4	In loco pascue	3250	8	22
	MA5	Delicta iuventutis	2146	8	24
	MA6	Credo videre bona	1948	4	26
	MA7	Complaceat tibi	1861	2	39
	MA8	Sana Domine	4696	2	40
MA9	Sitivit anima	4972	2/8	41	
Lauds	LA1	Exultabunt Domino	2810	1	50
	LA2	Exaudi Domine	2767	8	64
	LA3	Me suscepit dextera	3725	7	62
	LA4	A porta inferi	1191	2	Canticle of Ezechias
	LA5	Omnis spiritus	4154	7	148, 149, 150
	LAB	Ego sum resurrectio	2601	2	Canticle of Zechariah

Unlike the Office of the Virgin, no antiphon is slated to repeat across the services. Nearly all are drawn directly from the psalms with which they are paired, reinforcing the texts with different vocal expressions.<sup>11</sup> Across the services, mode 8 dominates the collection of antiphons, with G-mode chants (modes 7 and 8) accounting for at least half of the modes in the Office of the Dead.<sup>12</sup> The low-ranging Mode 2 also plays a noticeable role in the melodies of this office. The four consecutive mode 8 antiphons in Matins do not assume a consistent formula beyond adhering to basic modal behavior. One could not fall back on a prescribed melodic shape for recalling the antiphons in this office. Yet, it will be recalled that they were heard in public with regularity. Any variations in melodic shape are tempered by the antiphons' general conciseness.

## Incipits

For all of the built-in brevity of the office antiphons, there is another level of succinctness that accompanies their presentation in the *horae*. A careful eye will notice in the unfolding of antiphons that only the incipit is given at its initial appearance before the psalm. One must wait until the end of the psalm or group of psalms for the full text of the antiphon to be revealed. This customary asymmetrical feature has not been addressed in scholarship on books of hours nor in the musicological literature. The phenomenon can be witnessed in two contrasting examples, one from each of the core offices in books of hours.

We may first examine the incipit of a brief chant, characteristic of the antiphons in the core offices. *In loco pascue* (CAO 3250) is the fourth antiphon of Matins in the Office of the Dead. Figure 2.1a places us in the transition from the first to the second nocturn in the service. In the middle of the folio, the three-word incipit *In loco pascue* follows the truncated rubrication of that antiphon (*antipho[na]*). This incipit, written in a slightly smaller script, leads directly to the recitation of Psalm 22 (“Dominus regit me”), rubricated *psalmus* and



Figure 2.1 a/b Antiphon, *In loco pascue* with Psalm 22 (beginning and end). Paris, BnF, Ars. Ms-637 réserve, fols. 122r, 123r.





Figure 2.1 (Continued)



Example 2.3 Antiphon, *In loco pascue*. Transcribed from BnF, lat. 15182, fol. 423v.

drawn with larger script as was conventional. The antiphon text is extracted from the end of the first verse of Psalm 22: “He has set me in a place of pasture.” The psalm’s opening letter “D” of *Dominus* spans two lines and features a large gold capital filled with a red interior and a surrounding blue field, a pattern that will alternate in the succeeding psalm verses.

The third and fourth lines of Figure 2.1b in turn divulge the complete text of *In loco pascue*, a scant six words capping the nine verses of the psalm (five not shown) plus the doxology-like “Requiem.” The incipit and the full antiphon differ only by the concluding clause of just three words (“ibi me collocavit”) usually cast syllabically to the letter notes *b-c-a-b-a-g-g* in the eighth melodic mode, as shown in Example 2.3. The six-syllable intonation “In loco pascue” (*g-f-a-c-c-bg*) sets up the seven-syllable conclusion, but only after the recitation of the psalm. Limited to a perfect fifth in its range, the mode 8 *In loco pascue* is built for any voice to murmur or sing out in performing the psalm. Like other short antiphons in the offices, the intonation of *In loco pascue* is about half the length of the antiphon itself, highly memorable on its own and helped by its syllabic melodic profile.

A second example shows a lengthy antiphon, *Beata dei genetrix* (CAO 1563), which frames the Benedictus at Lauds in the Office of the Virgin. Figure 2.2a indicates the incipit, again kept to just three words. The return of the antiphon at the end of the Cantic of Zechariah (Figure 2.2b) is extensive and far more ornate than *In loco pascue*. While the incipit of *Beata dei genetrix* consumes about half a line, the complete mode 8 antiphon occupies more than a third of the page’s text block, even with a script noticeably smaller than the preceding verses of the cantic. Still, a musical response could reasonably be enacted. *Beata dei genetrix* retains a relatively syllabic profile with occasional two-note groupings, but full of familiar mode 8 gestures.<sup>13</sup>

The incipits themselves are an especially curious feature in the presentation of antiphons in books of hours. Were they supposed to signal a full recitation of the antiphon? At the end of a psalm, for example, the *Gloria patri* was to be said in full, but usually only those two words are provided. Do the first two or three words of the antiphon function similarly? If the full antiphon was to be sung at the beginning, why was it invariably written out after the psalm or group of psalms were completed? Our modern “textbook” understanding of antiphons is that they were to be declaimed in full both before and after the psalm recitation. And while a cantor may intone the incipit of the antiphon, the choir seems to have performed the antiphon in full before proceeding to the psalm.<sup>14</sup> This uncontested principle of practice does not concord with the prescriptions given in books of hours. What was the convention?

A clue can be found in the rare instances in which the psalm is abbreviated because it is found earlier in a book of hours. On these occasions, it would seem like some condensing of the antiphon might be in order. An example from BnF, n.a.l. 3258 (illustrated by the Master of the Hours of Louis of Savoy) is representative of the scribal inclination to delineate liturgical practice even in the face of a compressed liturgical item.<sup>15</sup> Though the psalm is found elsewhere in the book of hours (and could well have been memorized by the user), the incipit and full antiphon still surround the cue for the psalm in the customary fashion.<sup>16</sup> The third line of Figure 2.3 indicates the antiphon *Nigra sum sed formosa* (VA3 in the Office of the Virgin), leading to its usual psalm “Letatus sum” (Psalm 121) in large script. A rubric alerts the owner to seek (*require*) the full psalm earlier in the Office of the Virgin in the minor hour



Figure 2.2 a/b Antiphon for the Benedictus at Lauds, *Beata dei genitrix* (beginning and end). Paris, BnF, lat. 1160, fol. 59v, 60v.



Figure 2.2 (Continued)



Figure 2.3 Vespers Antiphons in the Office of the Virgin. Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 3258, fol. 67v.

of Terce.<sup>17</sup> The complete *Nigra sum* follows, consuming three lines. The pattern continues on this folio with the fourth antiphon of Vespers (*Iam hiems*). The incipit gives way to Psalm 126 “Nisi Dominus” and an instruction to turn back earlier to the service of None for the psalm’s remainder; the item then resolves with the full provision of *Iam hiems*.

The incipit specified before the psalm was both necessary and sufficient in its prescription. With more space presumably available from the abbreviated psalm, the framing antiphon retains its two forms. No full declamation of the antiphon was required before the psalm recitation in the Office of the Virgin or the Office of the Dead. This arrangement was rigorously reflected in liturgical practice. For celebrations that were not major, which included these office liturgies, a cantor intoned only the incipit before the choir chanted the psalmody, after which the choir sang the whole antiphon for the first time. Early evidence for this practice can be found in the *Liber quare*, an eleventh-century treatise about the liturgy, set in the form of a catechism.<sup>18</sup> Subsequent testimony of this custom of singing of antiphons and psalms comes from the anonymous *Speculum de misteriis ecclesiae* and Iohannes Belet’s *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*.<sup>19</sup> The influential thirteenth-century bishop and liturgical writer Guillaume Durand further bore witness to the tradition in detail in the famous *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*.<sup>20</sup>

Only on the church’s major feast days (Easter, Christmas, Epiphany, Ascension, etc.) could one witness the “textbook” practice of singing the antiphon in full before and after the psalm. This “double” performance of the antiphon in fact explains the notion of a *duplex* feast, a classification of high rank and solemnity.<sup>21</sup> Capturing the full extent of the calendar feasts, medieval breviaries and psalters regularly show what we find in books of hours—the intonation only before a psalm or canticle. Corroborating this practice from a different point of view, extant books prescribing liturgical rituals and movements called ordinals refer to special cases of the “doubling” practice with the instruction *antiphona duplicatur*. Therefore, we can similarly deduce that the conventional practice must have been to deliver only the incipit before the antiphon. The book of hours thus represents a norm of the liturgical rite, not an exception, in its precise deployment of incipits in the office antiphons.<sup>22</sup>

The length of the incipit for a given antiphon was not uniform across books of hours, raising questions about the envoicing or audiation of the sounding fragment. The inconsistency was no doubt a function of space more than a reflection of practice. Depending on the available line space at the beginning of the antiphon *In loco pascue* (MA4, Office of the Dead), for example, the scribe may opt for either “In loco” or “In loco pascue” as the incipit, leaving the musical gesture at differing points if strictly adherent to the written words (Example 2.3). In practice, a cantor would have been unlikely to halt the incipit after “loco” in the midst of the mode 8 antiphon’s characteristic rising gesture *f-a-c*. Extreme truncation of incipits to a single word (or even an initial syllable) occasionally occurred, again producing an unreasonable-sounding melodic fragment to establish a stable tonality if taken literally on the page.<sup>23</sup>

### Invitatory intercalations

If the intonation of the antiphon before the psalm was a conventional practice, there was one antiphon in the Office of the Virgin that did not follow this routine and instead called for extraordinary execution in books of hours. While we have seen the antiphon abbreviated in the case of the incipit, we now see this antiphon multiplied, encroaching on the territory reserved for the psalm in the *mise-en-page*. This invitatory antiphon of Matins, *Ave Maria gratia plena*, frames the singing of Psalm 94 (“Venite exultemus”)—and then some. Opening the Night Office, the psalm’s inaugural command “Venite” (“Come”) summoned the monastic community out of its sleep to worship. The owner of the book of hours could imagine or act out the experience of Matins similarly.

There are two invitatory melodies with the title “Ave Maria”—CAO 1041 and 1042. Neither will be familiar to modern ears. The well-known antiphon of the same title (CAO 1539) is a syllabic setting in mode 1 known for its rising fifth and neighbor tone *b*-flat. This antiphon was found in numerous positions for the feasts of the Virgin Mary, but never accompanying the invitatory psalm. Between the two *Ave Maria* invitatories, CAO 1041 was clearly the one called for in books of hours. Not only is it the more widespread of the two, but CAO 1042 includes text that exceeds the prescription at the beginning of Matins.<sup>24</sup> Namely, it extends beyond the six words of the angel Gabriel (“Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum”), appending Elizabeth’s words from Luke 1:42 (“benedicta tu in mulieribus”). Example 2.4 juxtaposes the ornate invitatory CAO 1041 with the popular and more modest *Ave Maria* antiphon (CAO 1539), which also attaches Elizabeth’s declaration at the scene of the Visitation. With the invitatory CAO 1041 in mind, we can examine its peculiar unfolding at the beginning of Matins for the Virgin Mary.

The invitatory antiphon *Ave Maria* not only appears in its entirety before Psalm 94, but it is remarkably interlaced in the course of the psalm’s recitation. The practice was not novel for books of hours but rather a centuries-old practice, if little acknowledged. Joseph Dyer found evidence in early Christian psalmody of antiphon repetitions between verses of the psalm. The number of times the antiphon was intercalated into the psalm verses “varied according to circumstances which may never be understood.” As the Christian monk and theologian John Cassian observed in the fifth century, this practice greatly prolonged the performance of the psalms. Dyer noted that there were certainly cases in which the antiphon was repeated by the choir after every psalm verse.<sup>25</sup> The great Carolingian chronicler Amalarius of Metz appears to suggest this type of execution in his description of the organization of the Night Office.<sup>26</sup> A modified version of this practice was maintained into the later Middle Ages in only a single liturgical genre—the invitatory.

The practice of interpolating the antiphon in the recitation of Psalm 94 was consistent in books of hours but not straightforward. In the course of the psalm intonation, the antiphon resurfaced in two different ways. At the end of odd-numbered verses, the antiphon was sung in its entirety. After even-numbered verses and after the doxology, the choir declaimed only the final words of the invitatory antiphon, “Dominus tecum.”<sup>27</sup> As would happen with any antiphon and psalm in the office, the invitatory antiphon is repeated in full to conclude. In the Office of the Virgin in books of hours, the *mise-en-page* reflects the liturgical practice at every turn, mirroring the proper repetitions so that the eyes and ears can experience the extraordinary and refreshing appearance of the antiphon throughout Psalm 94.

Figure 2.4 demonstrates the characteristic unfolding of *Ave Maria gratia plena* in Psalm 94, as shown in a book of hours from the city of Rennes in France’s Brittany region ca. 1420 (BnF, Ars. 616).<sup>28</sup> As was the convention, the invitatory antiphon on the verso follows the

a

A - ve — Ma - ri - a gra - ti - a ple - na —  
Do - - - mi - nus — te - - cum.

b

A - ve Ma - ri - a gra - ti - a ple - na Do - mi - nus te - cum be - ne - dic - ta tu in - mu - li - e - ri - bus.

Example 2.4 (a) Invitatory, *Ave Maria gratia plena*, CAO 1041; and (b) Antiphon, *Ave Maria gratia plena*, CAO 1539. Transcribed from BnF, lat. 15181, fols. 467v, 471r.

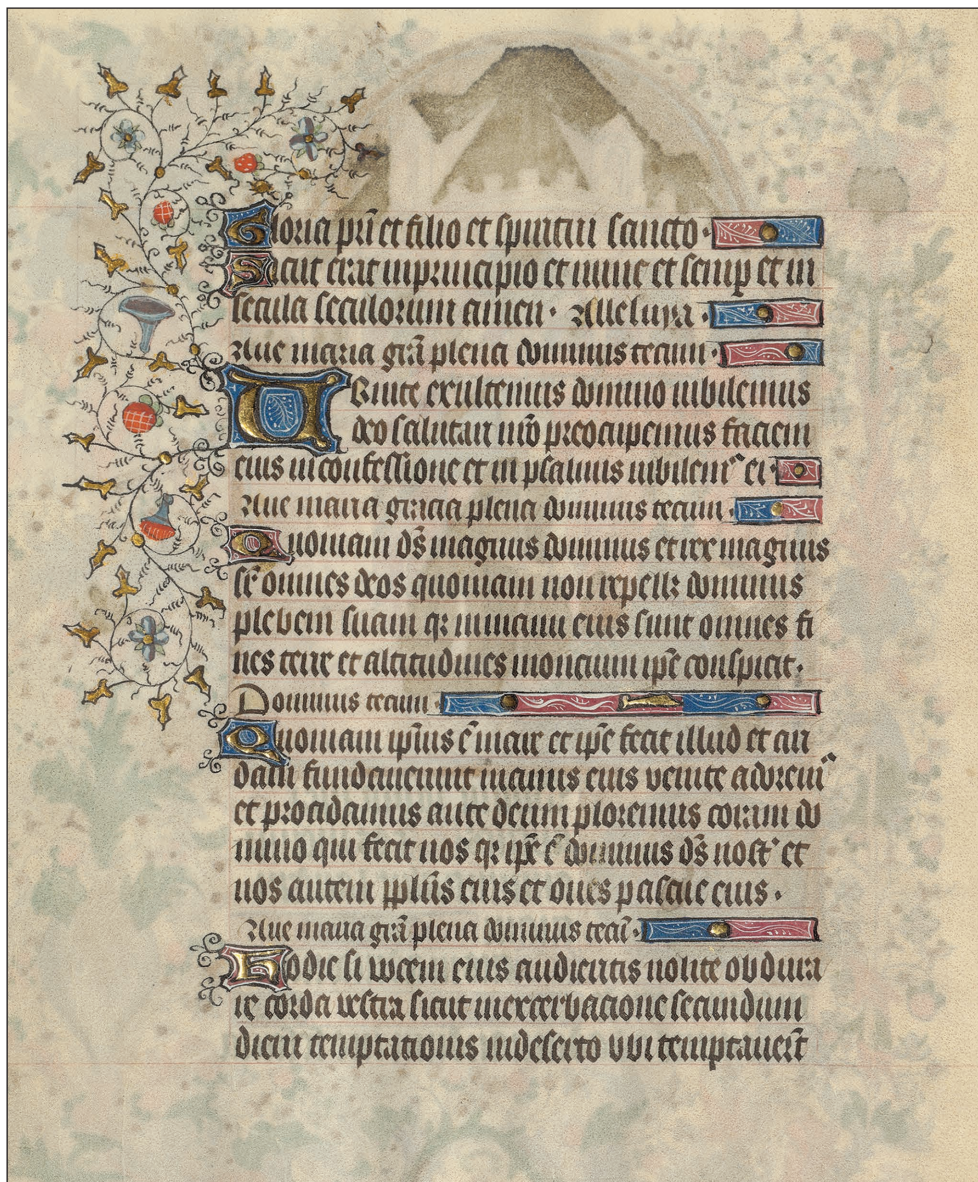


Figure 2.4 Invitatory antiphon, *Ave Maria gratia plena* with Psalm 94. Paris, BnF, Ars. Ms-616 réserve, fols. 13v–14r.



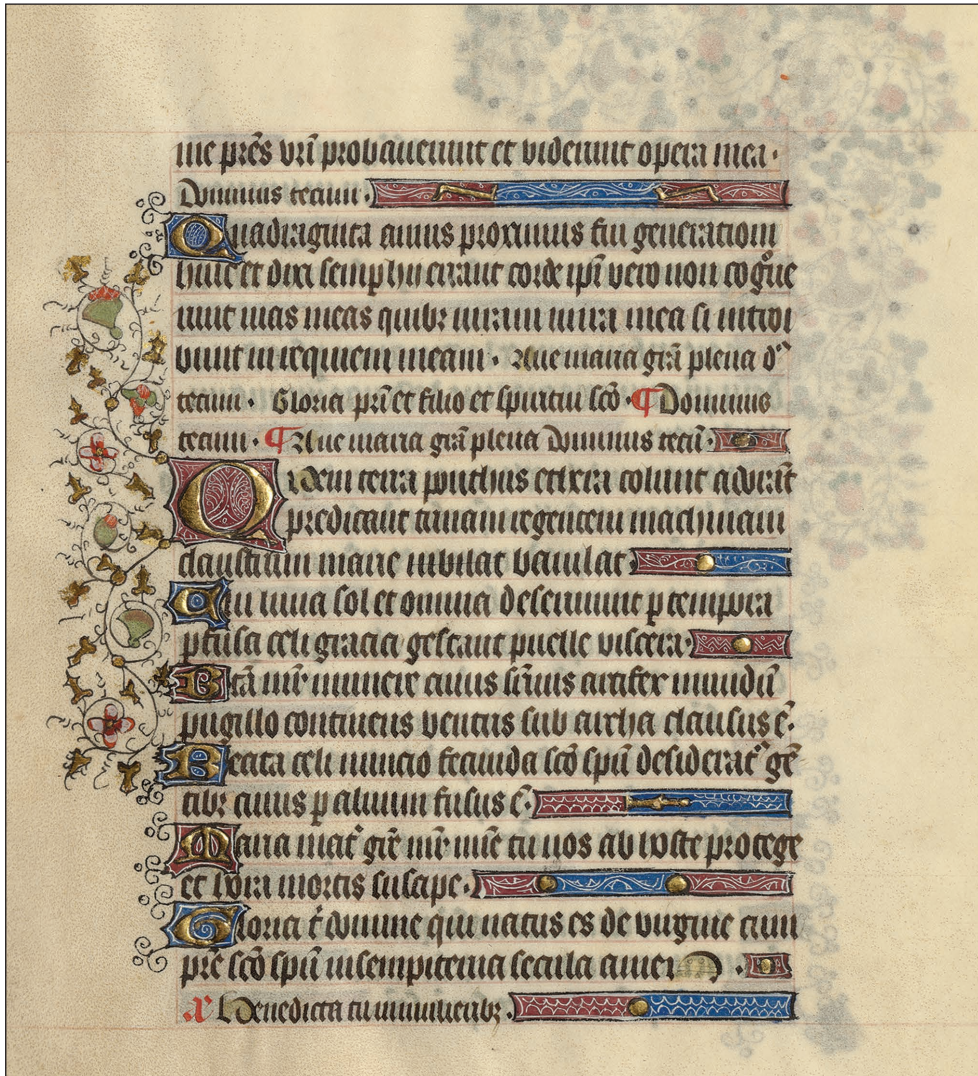


Figure 2.4 (Continued)

doxology of the opening versicle and response of Matins in the Office of the Virgin. Its genre of antiphon unrubricated, *Ave Maria gratia plena* appears on the fourth line of the verso; it is presented in a small script size, consistent with what we have witnessed for antiphons. A line-fill after the short antiphon text leads the user to the large initial “V” of *Venite* to begin Psalm 94. The antiphon returns in full after the first verse grouping of the psalm, consuming much of the line as it did for the first iteration. The scribe provided ample separation between the psalm verses and the interleaved antiphon, always placing line-fills after the antiphon and maintaining the antiphon’s reduced script size to match its initial appearance. The delineations do not signal a change of forces—both were choral—but perhaps a shift in musical style (from recitational to more contoured). As expected, the return of the antiphon in full emerges after the first, third, and fifth verse combinations, while the partial “Dominus tecum” appears after the second and fourth pairings.<sup>29</sup> As the invitatory comes toward its conclusion on the recto, the words of the angel Gabriel intensify. After the final verses of Psalm 94 (10–11, beginning “Quadraginta annis”), the complete antiphon is heard according to the pattern of alternation. The doxology follows, curiously in small script in this example. Because the *Gloria patri* is treated as psalm verse musically, another reference to the antiphon is in order with the abbreviated “Dominus tecum.” Even though the end of the antiphon has been reached at that point, it was only partially accomplished, which means that the full *Ave Maria* would be heard again in its entirety.

The braiding of the *Ave Maria* through Psalm 94 gave books of hours users multiple opportunities to utter in song some or all of the angelic salutation at the outset of Matins. Gabriel’s greeting to Mary had overwhelming significance in late medieval Europe. As Rachel Fulton notes, “For those who were able, the most perfect service [of Mary in order to serve God] was to sing with the angels the psalms that they sang before the throne of God, but even those . . . who did not know the psalms could serve her with their bodies and hearts, and all could join with the angel Gabriel in his salutation.”<sup>30</sup> With each full or partial iteration of CAO 1041 amid Psalm 94, the supplicant steps into the role of the angel by repeating those words, while also savoring the mystery of the incarnation contained in that short sentence.

The Office of the Dead featured a parallel invitatory antiphon *Regem cui omnia vivunt* at the start of Matins. Its full text, also a mere six words like the *Ave Maria* invitatory, evinces a direct connection to the first word of Psalm 94 that should not go unnoticed (“*Regem cui omnia vivunt venite adoremus*” or “Come, let us adore the King, unto whom all live”). The melody of *Regem cui omnia vivunt* can be securely mapped to CAO 1131 (Example 2.5) and is widely found in liturgical books assigned to the same office *pro defunctis*. Its modest mode 6 profile spans just a major third in range, hardly stretching the voice in execution.

In books of hours, *Regem cui omnia vivunt* remains less conspicuous than the corresponding invitatory in the Office of the Virgin, not only because the office falls much later in the book, but also because Vespers, not Matins, is the opening service of the Office of the Dead. It is not uncommon to see only the incipit for Psalm 94 provided to avoid duplication with the earlier Matins invitatory psalm. When *Regem cui omnia vivunt* does



Example 2.5 Invitatory antiphon, *Regem cui omnia vivunt*. Transcribed from BnF, n.a.l. 1535, fol. 129r.

appear with the full Psalm 94, it is typically threaded into the psalm like its counterpart in Office of the Virgin. The antiphon unfolds in two musical phrases, with a brief medial cadence before the “venite.” Grammatical and musical intuition alone could make us confident of the moment of division between these phrases, but we are assured of the partition by following cues for partial repetition of the antiphon interpolated into Psalm 94 in the Office of the Dead. An exquisite book of hours thought to be in the possession of Charles of Orléans, Count of Angoulême (1459–1496) and Louise of Savoy (1476–1531) reveals the expected interweaving of *Regem cui omnia vivunt* with the invitatory psalm (Figure 2.5).

Encased by the stunning marginal images of both nature and the specter of death, the opening of Matins highlights the varied textures of the invitatory, toggling between the melodious antiphon, delineated in smaller script, and the more imposing verses of Psalm 94. In the first two iterations of the antiphon (on the verso), a dot of division breaks up the phrasing of *Regem cui omnia vivunt*, assisting the user’s performance, while a subtle splash of yellow through the capitals (*piéd-de-mouche*, a scribal marking to be discussed in Chapter 4) signals either the shift of genre or the antiphon’s phrasing (on the recto), or both. Clues thus abound to engage the noble owners with these crucial texts; death was quite literally staring them down if their eyes wandered into the margin in the reenactment of the liturgy for the deceased.

## Marian antiphons

The Marian antiphons are a distinct category of sacred song drawn from liturgical practice. The repertory is small and did not emerge together as a unit, but rather over the course of centuries. These stand-alone chants honoring the Virgin are sometimes called “votive,” suggesting their use beyond the proper liturgy. From the thirteenth century onward, the Marian antiphons were prescribed at the end of the Compline liturgy, no matter the feast. In many books of hours, they are usually placed after the service of Compline in the Office of the Virgin. There are some exceptions to this positioning, and by no means do all books of hours include a Marian antiphon. The Office of the Dead lacks the Compline service, so therefore it does not carry the antiphon. Within the subgenre of Marian antiphons, four larger-scale melodies deployed seasonally have commanded attention: *Alma redemptoris mater* (CAO 1356); *Ave regina caelorum* (CAO 1542), *Regina caeli* (CAO 4597) and *Salve regina*.<sup>31</sup>

The *Salve regina* was (and is) undoubtedly the best known of these four Marian antiphons. Liturgically, this melody was stipulated for the largest span of the year—from Trinity Sunday until the start of Advent. Known as a processional chant in Cluny as early as 1135,<sup>32</sup> the *Salve regina* could be heard year-round in processions of both Dominican and Franciscan orders by the first half of the thirteenth century. Like the other Marian antiphons, it is an independent melody with no accompanying psalm recitation; neither does it have traditional characteristics of an office antiphon. For users of books of hours observing the liturgical day, the *Salve regina* was usually the “last word” of the Office of the Virgin. As such, the omnipresent tune must have been held securely in the memory by lay and religious alike. We have already noted its use by seafarers in the fifteenth century. Despite its length and uneven lines, the *Salve regina* lends itself to relatively easy retrieval as a mode I melody (Example 2.6). David Rothenberg has called the opening four notes (*a-g-a-D*) a “motto of Marian devotion”; this deeply ingrained, clarion opening became the subject of several important works of Renaissance polyphony.<sup>33</sup> The first two phrases of the *Salve regina* are nearly parallel,



Figure 2.5 Invitatory antiphon, *Regem cui omnia vivunt* with Psalm 94. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 411, fols. 95v–96r. Photo credit: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.



Figure 2.5 (Continued)

making it distinct from typical office antiphons. Further, more than half of the phrases return to the *D* final and the vowel sound [e], creating consistent musical and poetic assonance (lines 1–4, 7, 9). These features provided aids to memory and allowed the lengthy melody to proceed without hesitation.

Marian antiphons on the whole are generally marked by short phrases—attributive or exclamatory—but none is more striking than the three poignant “O”s reserved for the conclusion of the *Salve regina*—“O clemens, O pia, O dulcis virgo Maria” (“O clement, O

Sal - ve re - gi - - na\_\_\_ mi - se - ri - cor - - di - - e

2  
vi - ta dul - ce - - do\_\_\_ et spes no - stra\_\_\_ sal - - ve.

3  
ad te cla - ma - mus ex - u - les\_\_\_ fi - li E - ve,

4  
ad te su - spi - ra - mus ge - men - tes et flen - tes in hac\_\_\_ la - cri - ma - rum\_\_\_ val - le.

5  
E - ya er - go ad - vo - ca - ta\_\_\_ no - stra

6  
il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des\_\_\_ o - cu - los\_\_\_

7  
ad nos con - ver - te.

8  
Et ihe - sum be - ne - dic - tum fru - ctum ven - tris tu - i

9  
no - bis post hoc ex - i - li - um o - sten - de.

10  
O\_\_\_ cle - mens, O\_\_\_ pi - a,

11  
O\_\_\_ dul - cis\_\_\_ Ma - ri - a\_\_\_

Example 2.6 Antiphon, *Salve regina*. Transcribed from BnF, lat. 15182, fol. 313r-v.



Figure 2.6 *Salve regina*. LBL, Add. MS 35214, fol. 84v. © The British Library Board.

loving, O sweet Virgin Mary”). At this point in the antiphon (lines 10–11 in Example 2.6), the moderately flowing melody yields to decorative flourishes on the vocative “O” for each of the cries to the Virgin. Regional variances were rampant in the *Salve regina*, more than most antiphons, a byproduct of its heavily oral transmission. Despite the slight melodic differences, it would have been recognized that the first two O’s are nearly identical, circling around *a*. The third “O” (“O dulcis”) takes a dramatic leap down toward the home *D* before climbing back in stepwise fashion toward a still-suspended destination of *a*. Only by naming the subject of the prayer—“Maria”—does the mode 1 melody return to its resting place on *D*.

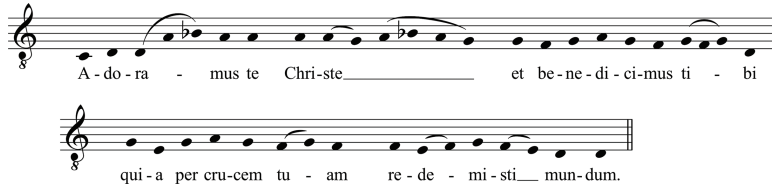
In the many books of hours that write out the text of the *Salve regina*, scribes occasionally reveal traces of its envoicing. Notably, the concluding triple “O”s tend to be underscored in different ways. In LBL, Add. MS 35214, a book of hours in humanistic script prepared in the early sixteenth century for a member of the French royal family, the *Salve regina* falls not at the end of Compline in the Office of the Virgin but at the end of the Hours of the Holy Spirit (Figure 2.6). Despite its status as a melody, the antiphon is labeled “Oratio ad beatam mariam” (“Prayer for Blessed Mary”), reminding us of the blurred nature of prayer and song. In the unfolding of the prayer in this book, the *Salve regina* proceeds with regular phrasing marked by capitals drawn with yellow *pieds-de-mouche*. Most books of hours provide little clue as to the execution, probably reflecting an already firm grasp of this deeply embedded melody to the Virgin. In the example, dots of division intercede in the three Os as the spacing opens up relative to the poetry above, perhaps reflecting an awareness of the outpouring of melody at that moment.

While the four Marian antiphons that cycle through the year have been well studied, only the *Salve regina* and occasionally the *Regina caeli* (for use in Eastertide) appear in books of hours.<sup>34</sup> Sometimes construed as a Marian antiphon, *Sub tuum praesidium* (CAO 5041), the oldest known melody for the Virgin, appears in fifteenth-century books of hours with regularity. The text was part of the Ambrosian liturgy, surviving from as early as the third century.<sup>35</sup> The mode 7 melody is largely syllabic, its compass spanning a seventh in most renderings.<sup>36</sup> In medieval service books, *Sub tuum praesidium* was assigned to various Marian feasts (for example, Assumption, Annunciation, Nativity, and Conception) and in an array of liturgical positions (even extraliturally). Users of books of hours only encountered the antiphon within the Compline service from the Office of the Virgin, not at its conclusion but in a more prestigious position than the *Salve regina*. In Roman usage, *Sub tuum praesidium* is the framing antiphon for the “Nunc dimittis,” or Cantic of Simeon, the cornerstone of Compline. The liturgical day thus concludes with at least one Marian antiphon—*Sub tuum praesidium*—and, oftentimes, two (*Salve regina*).

### Antiphons for the Cross and Spirit

The Hours of the Holy Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit are supplemental offices regularly found in books of hours, though without a fixed position. They were abbreviated services that could be experienced in two ways. More commonly, these devotional hours were grouped together, one after the other, following the Office of the Virgin. However, occasionally the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit appear “mixed,” meaning their individual services follow the respective hours within the Office of the Virgin.<sup>37</sup> Each “hour” of these auxiliary devotions is highly compressed, most offering a few versicles and responses, a hymn verse, an antiphon, and a prayer. In both offices, a single antiphon was





Example 2.7 Antiphon, *Adoramus te*. Transcribed from BnF, lat. 15182, fol. 355v.

assigned to every service, set to familiar texts associated with each topic (Cross and Spirit). Repeated in each of the seven hours, the antiphon for the Hours of the Cross is *Adoramus te* (“We adore you”); the Hours of Holy Spirit feature *Veni sancte spiritus* (“Come Holy Spirit”). Both antiphons follow the hymn verse.<sup>38</sup> Inconsistent labeling and rendering of these items sparks uncharacteristic confusion for one trying to retrieve the musical sound that the user of these ancillary offices might imagine or perform.

Categorized as CAO 1287, *Adoramus te* is an antiphon from the earliest layers of chant, occurring unsurprisingly in connection with the two principal feasts for the Holy Cross—the Invention (May 3) and the Exaltation (September 14).<sup>39</sup> The full text reveals two short parallel statements and a causal clause: “Adoramus te Christe et benedicimus tibi, quia per crucem tuam redemisti mundum” (“We adore you, O Christ, and we bless you, for by your Cross you have redeemed the world”). The antiphon is a mode 1 melody with some of the contour of the well-known antiphon *Ave Maria* (CAO 1539) rising the fifth *D* to *a* with neighboring *b*-flat (Example 2.7). A performative pause would be appropriate before the clause beginning *quia*, effectively parsing this antiphon into two phrases of medium length. Additional moments of brief repose might be made after the words *Christe* and *tuam*.

Many books of hours designate *Adoramus te* as an antiphon (rubricated “a” for *antiphona*) and continue with this text.<sup>40</sup> Other books of hours, however, classify the text as a versicle and response, the sentence separated after the word *tibi*.<sup>41</sup> Those familiar with the *horae* and liturgical sources more generally are accustomed to rubrication errors involving genre, but this particular common case is further muddled by the fact that a versicle and response do exist for the “Adoramus te” text, namely CAO 7936. This versicle is likewise found in the two offices for the Holy Cross in various liturgical positions. Unlike the antiphon, however, notation of the versicle is rare in service books. It is thus difficult to posit or imagine one particular sound when a book of hours user encounters the text “Adoramus te.” The antiphon more commonly occurs, but the versicle-response categorization is too widespread to dismiss as scribal error.<sup>42</sup> A more perplexing situation arises with *Veni sancte spiritus* in the Hours of the Holy Spirit in books of hours.

The title *Veni sancte spiritus* recalls the popular liturgical sequence, a rhymed and rhythmical poem for the feast of Pentecost, which unfolds in musical couplets. Though sequences were to be found in books of hours (as we will see in Chapter 8), they were not appropriate for the short commemorations of the Holy Cross and the Holy Spirit. Indeed, compilers of books of hours were not referring to the sequence; rather, they rubricated *Veni sancte spiritus* specifically as an antiphon. Designated as such, *Veni sancte spiritus* securely maps to CAO

Ve - ni san - cte spi - ri - tus re - ple tu - o - rum cor - da fi - de - li - um  
 et tu - i a - mo - ris in - e - is - ig - nem - ac - cen - de  
 qui per di - ver - si - ta - tem lin - gua - rum mul - ta - rum  
 gen - tes in u - ni - ta - tem fi - de - i - con - gre - ga - sti. Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya.

Example 2.8 Antiphon, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. Transcribed from Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, Mrs. William E. Kelley Collection, MS 1911.142b, fols. 57v–58r.

5327, a mode 8 melody found in differing liturgical positions in offices for Pentecost. The antiphon is centuries older than the sequence, rendering the latter a kind of gloss of the former in some of its recycled verbiage associated with Pentecost.<sup>43</sup>

In contrast to *Adoramus te* from the Hours of the Cross, we don't find nearly the genre confusion with *Veni sancte spiritus*. To be sure, liturgical books do not even show a versicle by that name. The text is almost always rubricated as an antiphon and consistently followed by a separate versicle and response (*Emitte spiritus/Et renovabis*). We are not out of the woods yet, though. When *Veni sancte spiritus* is compared to the melody CAO 5327, we find that the antiphon in liturgical sources presents a text that is noticeably longer than the version preserved in books of hours. The excess text given in italics: “Veni Sancte Spiritus reple tuorum corda fidelium et tui amoris in eis ignem accende *qui per diversitatem linguarum cunctarum gentes in unitatem fidei congregasti. Alleluia, alleluia.*” In the absence of a link to the mode 8 melody (CAO 5327), the antiphon *Veni sancte spiritus* as found in books of hours does not seem to refer to any other known melody. It extends only to the command “accende.”

Could the abbreviated *Veni Sancte Spiritus* in books of hours still “fit” with CAO 5327? Perhaps if there were a cadence on the final *g* of “accende,” one could make the case that the melody from the *horae* was a truncated version of the antiphon sung at Pentecost. Indeed, the melody preserved in extant sources points in this direction. Example 2.8 shows the mode 8 *Veni sancte spiritus*, transcribed from a thirteenth-century antiphoner from an Italian convent. The three-syllable “accende” at the end of the second line is set to the notes *fgf-g-g*, suggesting a reasonable cadential gesture and arrival.<sup>44</sup> A similar cadential gesture—repetition of the final *g* coming from the *f* beneath—is also found at the end of this chant, at both the word “congregasti” and the final “Alleluia.”

The repose on *g* connecting these moments is by no means confirmation that *Veni Sancte Spiritus* could have ended earlier. More importantly, this marks a rare instance when an antiphon in a book of hours would not match its liturgical counterpart precisely. A final point to

consider is that while the antiphon *Veni sancte spiritus* survives widely in service books, it appears unknown in French liturgical sources.<sup>45</sup> France, though, was at the center of production for books of hours in the fifteenth century. It is possible that a lack of familiarity with *Veni Sancte Spiritus* in liturgical practice caused a branch of variance in the transmission of this antiphon in books of hours.

The issues uncovered with *Adoramus te* and *Veni sancte spiritus* in the Hours of the Cross and Spirit respectively may at first seem of little consequence. After all, these services are supplemental to the core offices for the Virgin and for the deceased. They are also unusually brief, nearly akin to a suffrage or commemoration. Illuminators, however, brought great attention to these services, often providing elaborate drawings for each of the seven hours. Further, unlike any antiphons surveyed in this chapter, *Adoramus te* and *Veni sancte spiritus* were prescribed multiple times in the liturgical day. In a “mixed” arrangement, users of books of hours would encounter the auxiliary Hours of the Cross and the Spirit with each passing service for the Virgin. In the more common consecutive arrangement, the antiphons would be repeated so regularly as to become a mantra for these supplemental devotions. Either way, *Adoramus te* and *Veni sancte spiritus* would each greet the owner seven times over the course of the book of hours. Every encounter meant some kind of performance of these short antiphons. For antiphons heard with this level of frequency, far more than any office antiphon, it is astonishing that sonic referents for these cannot rest on more secure terrain.

## Notes

- 1 Fulton, *Mary and the Art of Prayer*, 103–235. The sources of the antiphons vary from Old Testament texts to newly written texts naming the Virgin Mary.
- 2 BnF, lat. 1156B, fol. 69v.
- 3 Helmut Hucke identified three stylistic categories for the melodies of antiphons based on the degree of flexibility in accommodating other texts. See Hucke, “Untersuchungen zum Begriff ‘Antiphon’ und zur Melodik der Offiziumsantiphonen”; Hucke, “Musikalische Formen der Offiziumsantiphonen,” 7–33.
- 4 For example, François Gevaert (*La mélopée antique*, 230–381) identified 47 “themes” among the 1,000 opening formulas of antiphons for the Divine Office recorded by Regino of Prüm (ca. 900).
- 5 Zieman, *Singing the New Song*, 36–37.
- 6 Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*, 220.
- 7 Luke 1:28, 42. For a review of the complicated history of the two-part form of the devotion and the role of music in promoting it, see Anderson, “Enhancing the Ave Maria.”
- 8 Hughes, “Modal Order and Disorder in the Rhymed Office.”
- 9 Baltzer, “The Little Office of the Virgin.”
- 10 On the brevity and memorability of the antiphons in the Office of the Dead, see Schell, “The Office of the Dead in England,” 203–204.
- 11 The exceptions are *Omne quod dat* (VAM), *Regem cui omnia vivunt* (MI), and *Ego sum resurrectio* (LAB). Antiphons drawn from the assigned psalm sometimes undergo slight modification.
- 12 The precise calculation depends on whether MA9 is considered a mode 8 or mode 2 chant. *Sitivit anima* exists in two different versions, preventing a single modal determination.
- 13 For a notated example of *Beata dei genetrix*, see the early twelfth-century antiphoner from the Monastery of St. Maur-des-Fossés (BnF, lat. 12044, fol. 174v).
- 14 The custom is driven not only by a prescription in *LU*, lxi, but also by other resources. See, for example, Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 89; Burkholder et al., *A History of Western Music*, 50–51.
- 15 Another example of this phenomenon is found in Walters Art Museum, MS W.289, fol. 37r.

62 *Music of the Offices*

- 16 The practice extends to antiphons accompanying psalm-like liturgical recitations such as the Benedictus of Lauds. See, for example, the antiphon *Ego sum resurrectio* surrounding an abbreviated Benedictus in the Office of the Dead (BnF, n.a.l. 3204, fol. 126v).
- 17 The full psalm 121 is found in BnF, n.a.l. 3258, fol. 53r.
- 18 Götz, *Liber quare*, 87–88. For another witness to the practice, see Sarbak and Weinrich, *Sicardi Cremonensis episcopi Mitralis de officiis*, 229–30 (Bk. IV, ch. I, 153).
- 19 Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, 51. See also the anonymous *Speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae* in PL 177: col. 343C (Ch. III). Migne wrongly credited this treatise to Hugh of St. Victor.
- 20 Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, 2: 26 (Bk. V, Ch. II, 28–29). The practice is described in Nowacki, “The Latin Antiphon,” 26.
- 21 Semiduplex rank required doubling of the antiphons only at the major hours (i.e., Vespers, Matins, and Lauds).
- 22 The *Liber usualis* thus reflected a change with the revision of the rubrics in 1960, when it was prescribed that all antiphons should be sung complete before and after the psalm.
- 23 For example, the word *In* serves as the incipit for the antiphon *In odorem unguentorum* in the service of Sext in the Office of the Virgin in Montpellier Méditerranée Métropole, MS 332 (fols. 55bis-v). In the preceding service of Terce in the same manuscript (fol. 54v), the single syllable *Ma-* signals the beginning of the antiphon *Maria virgo assumpta est*. The manuscript on the whole is pressed for space; five words or fewer per line is common.
- 24 CAO 1041 is found in six of the earliest sources (E, M, H, R, D, and F), while CAO 1042 is found in just G and S. Descriptions of the early antiphoners may be found in Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, 1: XVII–XXIII and 2: VI–XXIV. Melodically, the two could not be more different: CAO 1041 is cast in mode 7, whereas CAO 1042 varies in its modal classification in the few sources that contain it.
- 25 Dyer, “The Singing of Psalms,” 540.
- 26 Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia*, 3: 24 (*Liber de Ordine Antiphonarii* 3.4).
- 27 Different than most psalms, Psalm 94 grouped its 11 verses mostly into pairs (1–2, 3–4, 8–9, 10–11, with the exception being 5–7), instead of unfolding verse by verse. Interjections of the antiphon occurred after each grouping.
- 28 For a description of this book, see Deuffic and Booton, *Le livre d’heures enluminé en Bretagne*, 412–14.
- 29 In many sources, only the incipit “Ave Maria” appears after the odd-numbered verses, but it is meant to cue the full recitation of the invitatory antiphon.
- 30 Fulton, *Mary and the Art of Prayer*, 454.
- 31 The melody is not assigned a CAO number, as it was not part of the early antiphoners cataloged by Hesbert. The Cantus Index database online lists *Salve Regina* with the identification number 204367.
- 32 Snow, “Salve regina,” in NCE 12:1002. The earliest surviving manuscript to transmit the plainchant is a mid-twelfth-century Cistercian antiphoner from the abbey of Morimondo, outside Milan (BnF, n.a.l. 1412, fol. 42v). On the history of the melody, see Chapter 1, fn. 1.
- 33 Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise*, 133–141.
- 34 An exceptional placement of all four Marian antiphons following the Hours of the Holy Spirit can be found in BnF, Ars. 434, fols. 136v–139r.
- 35 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 105.
- 36 For a notated medieval source of the melody (with the range *f–e*), see BnF, lat. 12044, fol. 178r.
- 37 The service of Lauds is omitted in these auxiliary offices. Their first service of Matins begins after Lauds in the Office of the Virgin.
- 38 Exceptionally, the antiphon *Adoramus te* is prescribed on either side of the hymn verses in the Hours of the Cross in BnF, lat. 1184, fols. 124r–128r.
- 39 *Adoramus te* is recorded in 7 of the 12 early antiphonaries as cataloged by Hesbert.
- 40 See, for example, BnF, lat. 9471, fol. 137r.
- 41 See, for example, BnF, n.a.l. 3187, fols. 63v, 69r. In BnF, lat. 923 (fol. 31v), the text *Adoramus te* is parsed as a versicle and response following the hymn verse. The hymn verse is preceded by the antiphon *Salve crux* (CAO 4694), an antiphon that occasionally is found in place of *Adoramus te*.
- 42 While most scribes rubricate *Adoramus te* as an antiphon, BnF, lat. 9473 classifies the text as a versicle-response pair for all but one of the Hours of the Cross (fols. 97v–100v).

- 43 The first three words are of course identical. The antiphon's command *reple tuorum corda fidelium* corresponds with the *reple cordis intima* in the sequence. Further shared commands include *accende* and *fove*, both meaning "inflammé" or "warm up."
- 44 A medial cadence on *f* can be imagined after the word *fidelium*. One book of hours marks the division of the text with a colon at this halfway point. See Bethlehem, Lehigh University, Special Collections, Codex 18, fol. 74v.
- 45 Of the 44 sources in the Cantus Index that contain CAO 5327, none of them is of French provenance.