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## Two fragments in German Sangallian notation at the Biblioteca Estense in Modena

The Biblioteca Estense in Modena contains various fragments with musical notation, mostly recovered from bindings of manuscript volumes or printed books. Of particular interest are two of these, shelfmarked *a.&.1.0* n. 14a and 14b, kept in box *a.&.1.0*, with the description *Fragments of manuscripts, endpapers of old bindings*. They had been used as endleaves to bind a copy of the incunabulum *Supplementum summae Pisanellae* by Niccolò da Osimo, published in Venice in 1474,<sup>1</sup> and come from an antiphonary dating from the early decades of the 11th century, with a musical notation of the German Sangallian type.

### *Description*

The presence of the two fragments was reported in 2012 by Alessandra Chiarelli, who mentions them among others that came to light during restoration work.<sup>2</sup> Their size is about cm 17×26, the text is in Carolingian script, mutilated both horizontally and vertically, and arranged on 14 lines in fragment a, on 15 in fragment b, with an interline of 1,1 cm and a lower margin of 1,5 cm. The state of preservation is poor, as the side originally glued to the cover is badly damaged, and residues of the leather binding,

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<sup>1</sup> The volume, published by Franciscus Renner de Heilbronn et Nicolaus de Franckfordia, is kept at Biblioteca Estense under shelfmark *a.E.5.5*. Cfr. *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, IV, edited by Centro nazionale d'informazioni bibliografiche, compiled by Enrichetta Valenziani and Enrico Cerulli, Rome, Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1965, p. 139, no. 6871; DOMENICO FAVA *Catalogo incunaboli della Biblioteca Estense di Modena*, Florence, Olschki, 1928, p. 47 no. 203; and *Catalogo degli incunaboli*, edited by Milena Luppi, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, 1997, p. 249, N\*61.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. ALESSANDRA CHIARELLI, "Disiecta membra" in musica: da frammenti di codici perduti a un'ipotesi di ricostruzione, «Quaderni estensi», IV, 2012, pp. 273-279: 275-76. Online journal, available at: <[http://www.quaderniestensi.beniculturali.it/qq4/25\\_QE4\\_lavori\\_chiarelli.pdf](http://www.quaderniestensi.beniculturali.it/qq4/25_QE4_lavori_chiarelli.pdf)> [accessed 23 November 2020].

which have remained glued following clumsy attempts at detaching it, block out both text and music in large areas. The parchment was cut out to adapt the size to that of the volume, so even on the best preserved side, with respect to the page's composition, vertically a line of text and music is missing,<sup>3</sup> while horizontally the two fragments each constitute about a folio and a half of the original antiphonary. The latter was made up of folios measuring about cm 22×17, a very small format, compatible with its antiquity, and moreover very similar to that of the famous Hartker antiphonary (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 390-391), one of the most prestigious witnesses in Sangallian notation, compiled around the year 1000. The small size seems to suggest that it was used as a reference book by a single person, a figure not unlike that of the *cantor* documented in Bobbio, who was in charge of intoning songs while conducting the choir.<sup>4</sup> Both fragments bear the ink stamp of the Biblioteca Estense (B.E.) and, in addition to their current shelfmark, they also show that of the volume of which they were the endleaves: *α.E.5.5*. In 14a this shelfmark was affixed on the lower margin, in the opposite direction to the orientation of the writing, since the parchment had been glued in that way to the cover of the volume. In 14b instead it is located along the fold of the paper in the middle. A detailed analysis of legible texts shows that the two fragments were sequential within the original manuscript. 14b was located in a more external position, with 14a inside, forming a portion of the central sheet of a fascicle.

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<sup>3</sup> Fragment 14a only lacks the musical part, 14b lacks both text and music, which were removed in both cases from the upper part of the folio.

<sup>4</sup> On the figure of the *cantor* see LEANDRA SCAPPATICCI, *Presentazione*, in “*Quod ore cantas corde credas*”. *Studi in onore di Giacomo Baroffio Dahnk*, edited by Leandra Scappaticci, Vatican City, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2013, pp. 5-9. In particular, on p. 6 we read that, concerning the Bobbio monastery, “il *cantor* è citato in un *Breve memorationis* (833-835) disposto dall’abate Wala: egli risulta responsabile dell’attività liturgico-musicale [...] e dirige gli altri monaci cantori” (the *cantor* is mentioned in a *Breve memorationis* (833-835) ordered by abbot Wala: he appears to be in charge of liturgical-musical activities [...] and conducts the other singer monks).

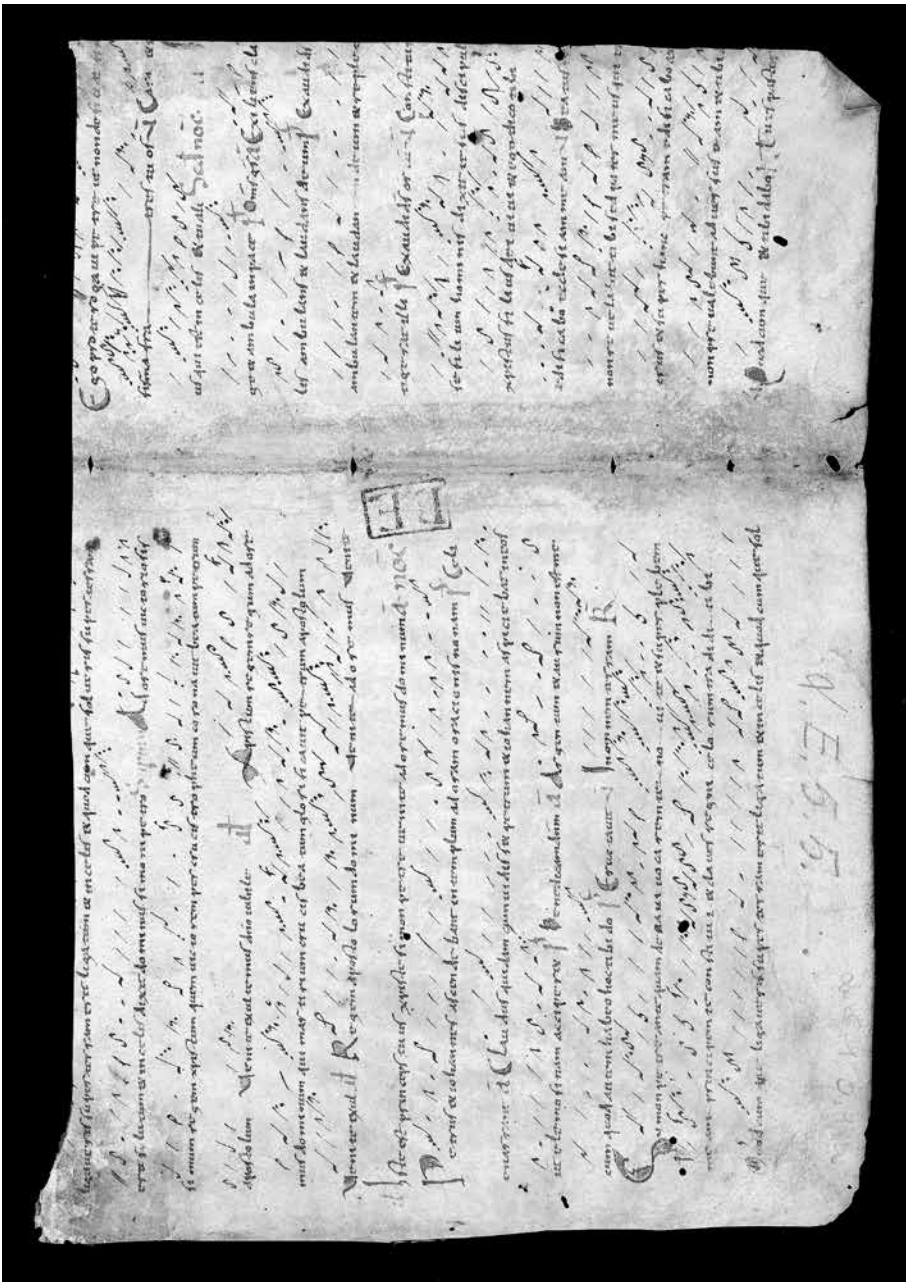


Fig. 1 – Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Fragment α.&.1.0 14a (external side).  
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Fig. 2 – Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Fragment a.&.1.0 14a (internal side)

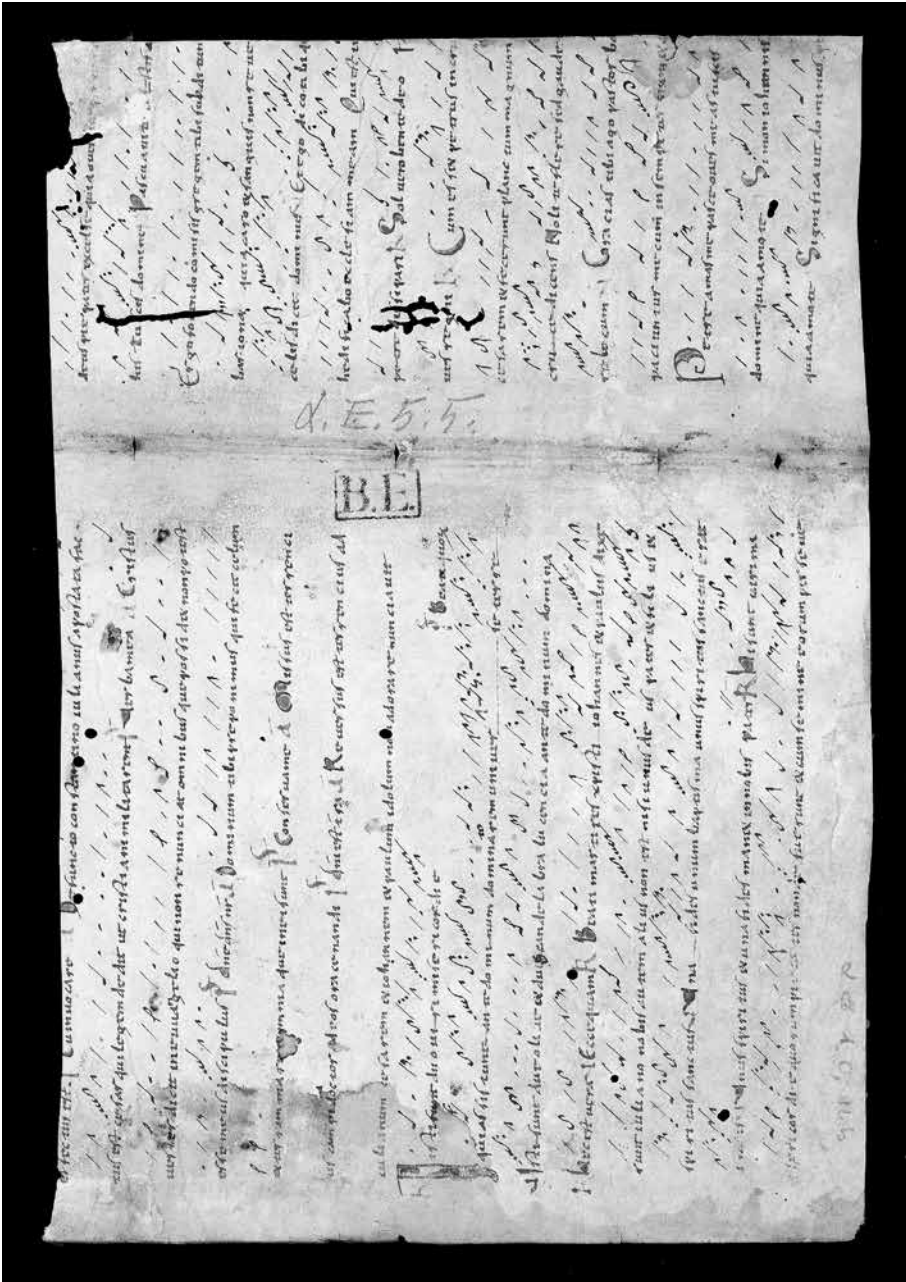


Fig. 3 – Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Fragment α.&.1.0 14b (external side)

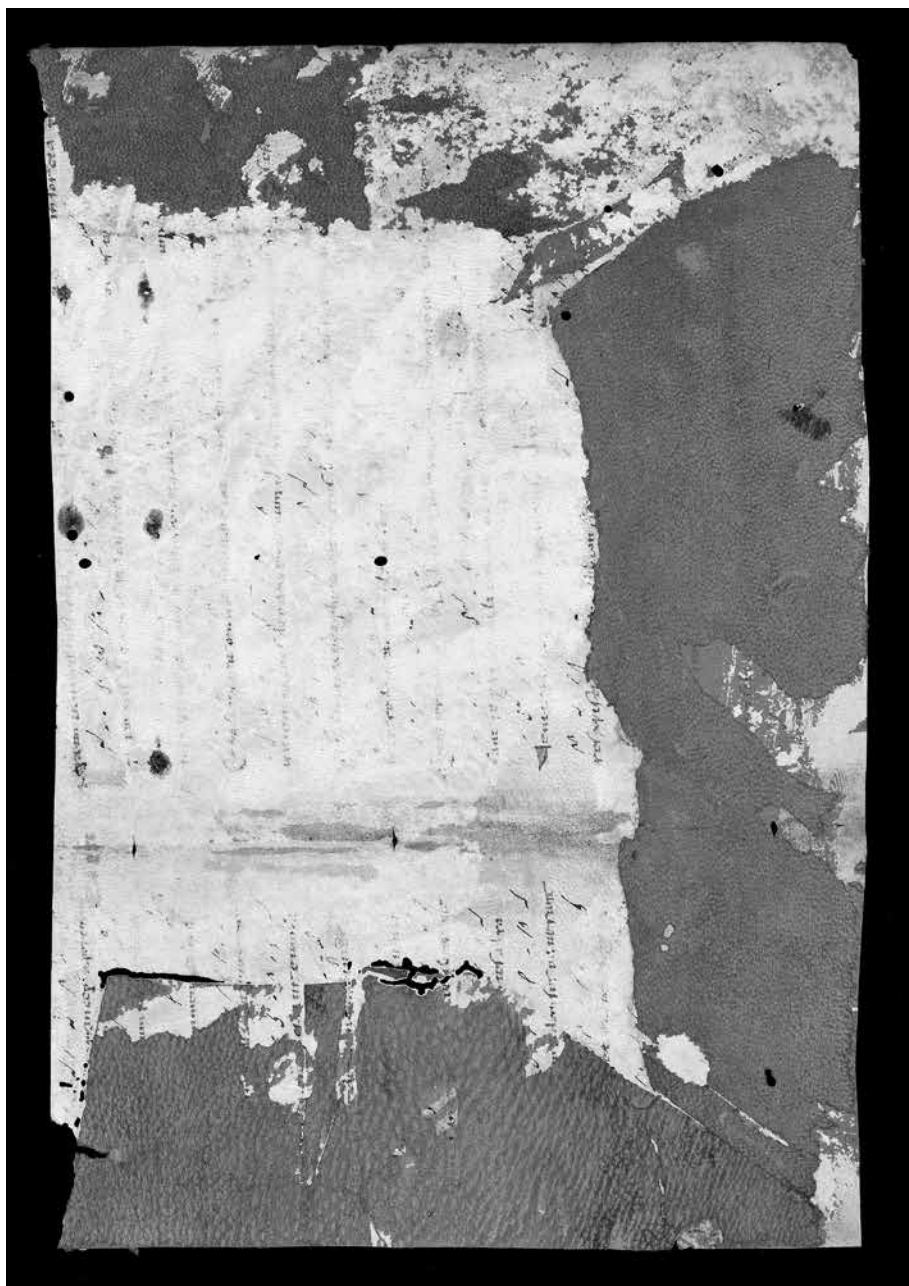


Fig. 4 – Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Fragment *a.&.1.0* 14b (internal side)

*Script and decoration*

The script is Carolingian, in brown ink, with a small module, thick strokes and uneven make. The letters are rather tight, sometimes the separation between words is uncertain. The stems are too poorly developed to leave room in the interline for musical notation. Alignment on the line is irregular at times. We can distinguish the uncial *a* with its back inclined to the left, while the cursive *a* is missing. The *d* is in upright form, at times the top of the stem is slightly bent to the right. The *e* has a horizontal line that starts from the counter and extends to the right until it almost touches the following letter, while a shorter stroke left tends to connect it to the previous letter. The *g*, with a thin horizontal upstroke, has a wide-open counter, with the loop not curving upwards. The stem of *f* does not descend below the line, while the descenders of *p* and *q*, very short, are slightly bent to the right. The bar in *r* is slightly wavy and never comes in 2 shape. The *t* is low, with the stroke bending to the left. In *x* the lower left stroke extends beyond the baseline. The *u* is also used as *v*. The diphthong *ae* is rare, and *c* cedille is altogether absent. The *st* ligature is always loose, the arm of *t* does not touch the stem of *s*. The capital *Q* is drawn in a counter-clockwise direction. We can note the abbreviation *&* for *et* as a conjunction, but also at word end, the corresponding Tironian note is absent. There are few abbreviations; only at the incipits of psalms are horizontal dashes frequent on a vowel or part of word; in the remaining text, only the round *r* cut by the typical vertical stroke for “rum” is noteworthy. A few peculiarities of the script described above<sup>5</sup> allow to set the date of the antiphonary in the early decades, or at least within the first half of, the 11th century, and this is confirmed by the ornamental features. We find the following rubrics in orange or brown ink: R(esponsorium), V(ersus), A(ntiphona), ps with the descender of *p* cut by a slanted stroke for p(ro)s(a) and Ps(almus), the latter marked with an *s* shaped as *f* located within the upper interline. The initials are designed in a very

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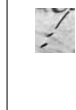

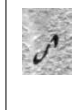
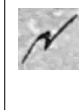


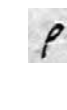
<sup>5</sup> Following the dating criteria for Carolingian script published by Cherubini and Pratesi, the fragments under examination do not display features typical of the script of the second half of the 11th century, while the lack of regular spacing between words, the uncial *a* with its back still inclined to the left, the loose *st* connector with the arm of *t* not touching the stem of *s*, the *&* abbreviation for *et* also used at word end, would suggest a dating even prior to 1000. However, considering that they belonged to a liturgical codex, whose script was usually more archaic, and based on some peculiarities in the decoration, we believe that the fragment can be dated to the early decades, or at least the first half, of the 11th century. See PAOLO CHERUBINI – ALESSANDRO PRATESI, *Paleografia latina. L'avventura grafica del mondo occidentale*, Vatican City, Scuola di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2010, chap. 31: *Criteri di datazione della carolina*, pp. 397-403: 399-400.

simple way, their bodies and counters filled with orange or brown pigment, or inked in with the same colors. Three initials (I, S, P) are bigger in size, have the same colours, and are placed in the first responsory of the first Nocturne and in the Lauds, and painted with a very sparse decoration.


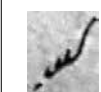





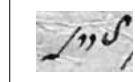
*Notation*

The notation shows forms and characters that can be traced back to the German Sangallian script, one of the oldest and most widespread musical notations, developed since the 9th century and widely used especially in the German region, with various attestations also in northern Italy. In particular, the most significant examples in the Po Valley area are concentrated in Monza and Bobbio, while in Modena three fragments have been identified in the State Archives by Renata Martinelli,<sup>6</sup> written by a different hand than that of the fragments at hand. The neumes are elongated upwards, with thin marks tilted to the right, and occupy a substantial portion of space in the composition of the page.

Tab. 1.1 – Neume forms in fragments *a.&.1.0* 14a and 14b (Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria)

Punctum Tractulus	Virga Bivirga	Pes	Clivis	Scandicus	Climacus	Torculus	Porrectus	Oriscus	Ancus	Cephalicus
										

Tab. 1.2 – Neume forms in fragments *a.&.1.0* 14a and 14b (Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria)

Pes quassus	Scandicus quilismatico	Comma + virga	Due punti + clivis	Torculus + virga	Virga + pes	Torculus + clivis	Pes + distropha + torculus
							

<sup>6</sup> See RENATA MARTINELLI, *I frammenti musicali dell'Archivio di Stato di Modena*, «Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le antiche Province modenesi», series X, 12, 1977, pp. 53-66.



The tables 1.1 and 1.2 contain the main neume forms emerging from the study of the two fragments. It is not an exhaustive list, but an example of the peculiarities of the writing that has been handed down. We find the following elementary neumes: punctum (even in isolation), tractulus, virga (often very elongated) and oriscus. The other simple neumes that can be identified are: round and angular podatus, the latter formed by a very marked tractulus combined with a thin virga; round and angular clivis; scandicus formed by a virga above two dots; climacus in its basic form with a virga followed by two dots placed obliquely in a descending direction and, in compounds, even followed by three dots, at times with a vertical extension of the last stroke; torculus with a rounded, open initial stroke; porrectus in cursive script, resulting from the addition of a virga to the clivis. Often we find liquescent forms characterized by a curling of the initial or final stroke of the neume. Among these are cephalicus, ancus and a neume with a particular shape, formed by a broad comma topped by a virga.<sup>7</sup> There are many disaggregate neumes, resupine forms, praepunctis and subpunctis with signs that are mostly attributable to the German Sangallian notation. However, there are various differences with this older notation, especially evident in the quilisma, written with a well-marked, rounded, three-hook sign that develops vertically. It mostly appears in compounds, in scandicus quilismaticus as well as in complex quilismatic forms and shows some affinity with that found in the endpapers of codexes Vat. Lat. 5749 and Vat. Lat. 5575 originally from Bobbio.<sup>8</sup> The pes is less sharp than the Sangallian one, and this stroke too, although less distinctive because it is more common, is found in the Bobbio witnesses. Episemas are absent, while the number of significant letters is limited compared to the frequency with which they were used in manuscripts from the monastery of St. Gallen. We find five types of indications: f (fragor), s (sursum), I (inferius), c (celeriter), p (parvum).

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<sup>7</sup> Mauro Casadei reports a particular comma “with a large semi-circle” both in Angelica 123 and in the Gregorian fragment contained in incunabulum 159.70 at Cesena’s Biblioteca Malatestiana. In this case, too, we notice a similar character in the comma, although in a different final form, topped by a virga. Cfr. MAURO CASADEI TURRONI MONTI, *Nota su un frammento gregoriano nell’incunabolo 159.70 della Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena*, «Studi Gregoriani», XXIV, 2008, pp. 123-131: 127.

<sup>8</sup> On the notation of the Bobbio manuscripts see LEANDRA SCAPPATICCI, *Codici e liturgia a Bobbio. Testi, musica e scrittura (secoli X ex. - XII)*, Vatican City, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2008. On p. 136 is the table of neumes. In the quilisma, the vertical development and the curling of the stroke stand out. There are various affinities in writing also for the other neumes appearing on the final endpaper of the manuscript Vat. lat. 5575.

### Content

The presence of some rubrics allows us to infer that both fragments come from an antiphonary. The reconstruction of the texts, although incomplete, through comparison with the main study repertories and in particular with the *Corpus Antiphonale Officii*,<sup>9</sup> allows us to identify most of the songs or portions of them, which are related to the feasts of St. John the Baptist (June 24), Saints John and Paul (June 26) and St. Peter (June 29). Based on the order of performance handed down from the sources examined in CAO, we can determine the position of the folios (Fig. 5) and the succession of the songs, starting on the right side, which was originally glued to the cover of fragment 14b (f. 1r), with some antiphons for the feast of St. John the Baptist and the beginning of the feast of Saints John and Paul.

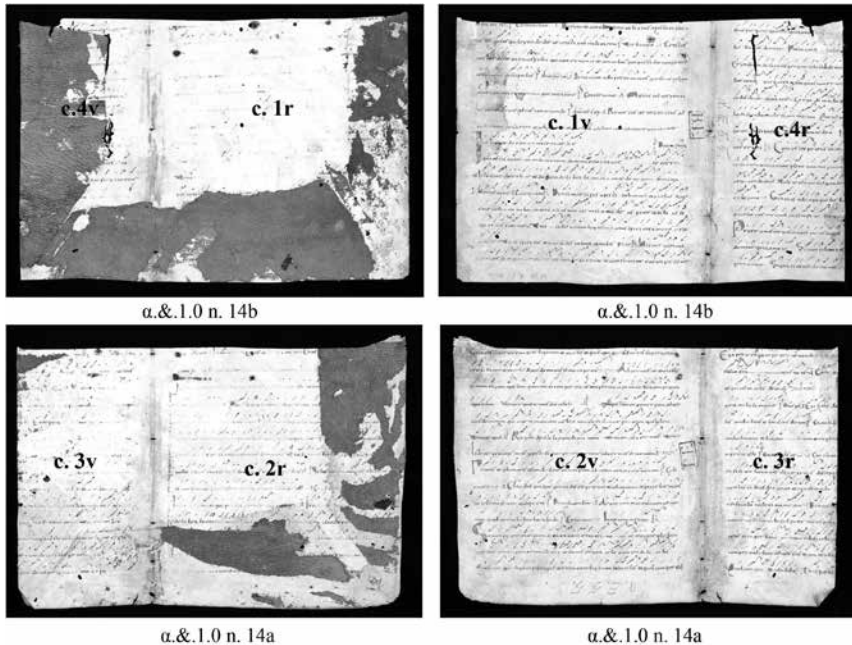


Fig. 5 – Scheme of the cards succession

<sup>9</sup> Cfr. RENÉ-JEAN HESBERT, *Corpus Antiphonale Officii*, 6 vols., Rome, Herder, 1963-1979 («Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta Cura Pontifici Athenaei Sancti Anselmi de Urbe Edita – Series maior: Fontes», VII-XII). Henceforth cited as CAO. In round brackets next to the incipits of the various songs are inserted numbers from 1001 to 5517 for vol. III: *Invitatoria et antiphonae*, Rome, Herder, 1968, and from 6001 to 8455 for the IV: *Responsoria, versus, hymni et varia*, Rome, Herder, 1970. For the acronyms of the cited manuscripts please refer to the introductory legend to the transcription of the texts.

The songs for this feast continue on the same folio (f. 1v), which is clearly legible as it is in an external position with respect to the binding, then on fragment 14a in the more damaged side, but again in the wider part, which includes the full line of the text (f. 2r). In the last lines the feast of St. Peter begins, which continues on the verso (f. 2v) and on the portion of paper next to it (f. 3r), as fragment 14a is part of the central sheet of a fascicle. Antiphons and responsories for this feast continue on the verso (f. 3v), then on the fragment 14b in the portion of paper on the right (f. 4r) and on its verso (f. 4v), almost totally illegible.<sup>10</sup>

The succession of songs for the feast of Saints John and Paul seems to follow a monastic cursus. We find an antiphon for the first Vespers, an invitatory, six antiphons and five responsories probably for only one Nocturne<sup>11</sup> and eight antiphons for Lauds. The invitatory and the following six antiphons have a limited spread and are only handed down by the L codex of CAO. Most of the other antiphons and responsories are instead widely documented in the witnesses of both monastic and Roman cursus, with the exception of *Hī sunt viri misericordie V Isti sunt duo* (6817), only handed down in codex V, and a *Nobis autem* antiphon, not published in CAO but documented in the ancient Roman repertoire.<sup>12</sup> The feast of Saint Peter was celebrated with three Nocturnes. Despite the gaps, we can identify four invitatories, and a succession that included approximately three antiphons and three responsories for each Nocturne,<sup>13</sup> plus another five responsories, and only four antiphons for Lauds, since the following songs are not legible. The performance order of the antiphons and psalms of the first two Nocturnes corresponds to that appearing in codices E and V of CAO. All texts of the antiphons and responsories identified are however very common, although with a different performance order, in the various sources. Their succession seems to follow a Roman cursus, but many are also recorded in monastic cursus manuscripts and some only by this group of witnesses, for instance the antiphon *Erat Petrus* (2660), or the responsory

<sup>10</sup> For a detailed list of the various pieces and their order within the folios see the transcription of the texts.

<sup>11</sup> Since the explanatory rubric is missing, the antiphons appearing in this position could be used for both Nocturnes and Vespers, as indicated for example in the L codex of CAO.

<sup>12</sup> The antiphon is documented in f. 131v of the Saint Peter antiphonary. Cfr. *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio San Pietro B 79 (sec. XII)*, Fac-simile, edited by Giacomo Baroffio and Soo Jung Kim, Rome, Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1995, 1, («Musica Italiae Liturgica», 1) f. 131v of fac-simile.

<sup>13</sup> The second responsory of the first Nocturne is missing due to the paper trimming. In the third Nocturne there appear to be four antiphons, but the context has many gaps.

*Quodcumque ligaveris V Et claves regni* (7503). This is an anomalous situation, and had already been documented in other cases, for instance by Laura Albiero for fragments of an antiphonary in Beneventan script from the 12th century, and for the Cassino manuscript 542.<sup>14</sup> Very interesting is the presence of tropes and proses for the extension and ornamentation of traditional songs for the major festive occasions of the liturgical year, often linked to the cult of local saints. The last responsory of the third Nocturne for the feast of Saint Peter, *Petre amas me* (7382/A), has been particularly enriched: on the vocalism to sing on the syllable *Pa* (*Pasce oves meas*) a trope was inserted, *Deus pie pater excelse* (perhaps lacking a few initial words), while at the closing of the verse we find two proses (or the same prose organized in two similar sections): *Pascua vite* and *Ergo fovendo*. The first trope, inserted in the course of the sung section, shows a melody that alternates a first part with syllabic chant and more dynamic passages, while the prose (or prosula), to be placed at the end of the responsory, has a structure close to that of the sequence, with syllabic chant and a schematic duplication of a few melodic inserts. Two similar sections are evident, both preceded by the marking *ps* (prose). The first, having as its incipit *Pascua vite celesti*, is documented as an extension of the same responsory on f. 262r of the famous codex Angelica 123, the 11th century Bologna gradual kept at Biblioteca Angelica in Rome.<sup>15</sup> The other two texts draw on images and terms peculiar to the liturgy devoted to St. Peter, but the gaps and especially the limited occurrences of similar passages have made it impossible to identify them in other manuscripts or printed repertories. The particular prominence given to the feast of St. Peter is confirmed by the presence of four invitatories, whose manners of performance cannot be inferred from what emerges from the source at hand: perhaps, although placed in this position, they were sung on other feasts dedicated to the saint, or on the days closest to the feast, or they had to alternate with the verses of the Invitatory Psalm. Three of them are published in CAO: *Adoremus victoriosissimum* (1019) is documented for Saint Andrew, *Cristum regem regum* (1051) was sung for Saint Peter and Saint Andrew, *Regem apostolorum dominum* (1125) is prescribed for all the feasts dedicated to Saint Peter (san Pietro, Pietro in vincoli and Cattedra di san Pietro), as well as the Common of the apostles, and for a long series of other saints, while *Iste est princeps tuus* is not to be found in the repertories consulted.

<sup>14</sup> Cfr. LAURA ALBIERO, *Un antifonario in scrittura beneventana. Studio sui frammenti dell'Assunta di Arpino*, in *Per Gabriella, Studi in ricordo di Gabriella Braga*, edited by Marco Palma and Cinzia Vismara, Cassino, Edizioni Università di Cassino, 2013, pp. 27-57.

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. HELMA HOFMANN BRANDT, *Die Tropen zu den Responsorien des Officiums*, Erlangen, Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1971, n. 487, p. 96.

Considering the data gathered from the transcription of the texts as a whole, a predominantly Italic liturgical tradition emerges. In particular, there are marked influences from Benevento for the feast of Saints John and Paul, from the Ivrea area for the feast of St. Peter, and from the Verona area for numerous variants of the texts that agree with this witness. There are also references to Hartker's antiphony, with which the fragments share the characters of the notation.<sup>16</sup>

### *Hypothesis of origin*

The two fragments, as already mentioned, had been used as front and back endleaves to line the inner board of the cover in a copy of the incunabulum *Supplementum summae Pisanellae* by Niccolò da Osimo, kept at Biblioteca Estense under shelfmark *α.E.5.5*. The volume has been recently restored and fitted with new endpapers, but we can note a perfect correspondence of the size of the fragments and those of the cover, as well as consistency between the type and color of the binding and the leather residues glued to the parchment.

On the first endpaper of the incunabulum, originally from a 12th-century missal, we can see an ownership note informing about the permission to use the volume, granted to friar Bartolomeo from the convent of San Nicolò di Carpi,<sup>17</sup> which is confirmed by an inscription in the margin of the first page, reading «*Supplementum loci sancti Nicolai intra Carpum*». The church of San Nicolò di Carpi, whose existence is documented since 1123, was granted to the Observant friars in 1451. In that period, expansion and reconstruction works began, in order to build the new convent.<sup>18</sup> *Supplementum summae Pisanellae*, a text included among the study books for the Observants, probably came to Carpi from a monastic or bishop's library of the neighboring area, as Giuseppa Zanichelli writes, commenting on the decoration of the volume:

Both the refinement of the graphic letters and the presence of endpapers written in a beautiful 12th century Carolina suggest that the volume was initially destined [...] to a northern religious community. The ornamentation, sober and elegant, was

<sup>16</sup> For details, please refer to the notes in the margin of the text transcription.

<sup>17</sup> The manuscript note on the first endpaper reads: «*Iste liber est ad usum fratris bartolomei de carpo or[dinis] mi[norum] obs[eruant]e | concessus ad usum suum per prouintiales uicarios et pertinet loco | S[an]c[t]i nicolai intra carpum in q[uo] habitant fr[at]res minores de obs[er]ua[n]tia no[m]i[n]ati*».

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. ALFONSO GARUTI, *La chiesa di San Nicolò di Carpi come continuità di valori artistici e storici*, in ALFONSO GARUTI – ROMANO PELLONI – DANTE COLLI, *San Nicolò in Carpi un modello del classicismo emiliano*, Modena, Artioli, 1992, pp. 7-38.

entirely entrusted to a professional calligrapher, who executed the initials with great precision. Both the canonical red and blue bifessa bifurcated letter and the sepia ink watermarks [...] are such a widespread typology that it is impossible to identify the place of original destination of the volume, even though external circumstances would suggest a religious institution in the surrounding area.<sup>19</sup>

If we expand our focus to include books with surviving musical notation that date back to before the 12th century, and can be traced to the area of Emilia Romagna, we find just over twenty witnesses, referring to a few areas: the district of Ravenna, Piacenza-Bobbio, and the Nonantola-Modena-Bologna triangle.<sup>20</sup> The latter is the closest area to Carpi from which to begin our investigation. The manuscripts created for Nonantola are easily recognizable because they are characterized by a very peculiar type of musical writing, with neumes that have stems (*astati*), which does not conform to those found in the fragments under examination. For this period it is not possible to document the activity of a *scriptorium* in Modena,<sup>21</sup> where various witnesses with musical notation produced in Bologna are kept today. The type of decoration of the fragments shows some features which, according to Silvia Battistini's studies, can be identified as distinctive of the Bolognese illumination. In particular, as the scholar notes, the overwhelming use of the color orange, sometimes used to fill

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<sup>19</sup> Cfr. GIUSEPPA ZANICHELLI, *Immagini da una biblioteca conventuale* and *Scheda n. 85*, in *Tesori di una biblioteca francescana. Libro e manoscritti del convento di San Nicolò in Carpi sec. XV-XIX*, edited by Anna Prandi, Modena, Mucchi-Comune di Carpi, 2000, pp. 43-53: 47 e 159: «Sia la raffinatezza delle lettere grafiche che la presenza delle guardie scritte in una bella carolina del XII secolo fanno ritenere che la primitiva destinazione [...] sia stata per una comunità religiosa settentrionale. La sua ornamentazione è sobria ed elegante interamente affidata ad un calligrafo professionista che, con molta precisione, ne eseguì le iniziali. Sia la canonica lettera bifessa rossa e blu, che le filigrane a inchiostro seppia [...] costituiscono una tipologia talmente diffusa da rendere impossibile una precisa identificazione del luogo di originaria destinazione del volume, anche se le circostanze esterne farebbero pensare ad una istituzione religiosa dell'area contermina». On p. 47 the scholar also points out that the volume belonged to the book collection of the convent of San Nicolò di Carpi in the 15th century, when it was granted for use to the above mentioned friar Bartolomeo, and later returned there through the bequest of count Ottavio Greco (1744-1811), donated to San Nicolò around the middle of the 19th century.

<sup>20</sup> Cfr. GIAMPAOLO ROPA, *Codici liturgico-musicali come documenti d'ambiente*, in *Varietà d'armonia et d'affetto. Scritti in onore di Giovanni Marzi per il LXX compleanno*, Lucca, LIM, 1995 («Studi e testi musicali», 5), pp. 45-61: 46.

<sup>21</sup> Cfr. MARIAPIA BRANCHI, *Modena*, in *La sapienza degli angeli. Nonantola e gli scriptoria padani nel Medioevo*, edited by Giuseppa Zanichelli and Mariapia Branchi, Modena, Panini, 2003, pp. 75-76.

even the counters of the letters in titles or in salient parts of the text, is peculiar to the codices made in Bologna in the first decades of the 11th century.<sup>22</sup> More specifically, the initial letters in our fragments show affinities with those found in the endpapers of ms O.I.13 of Biblioteca Capitolare in Modena,<sup>23</sup> originally from a Bolognese gradual with elements of musical notation very close to those of Angelica 123, and probably slightly earlier than the latter, whose dating has recently been postponed to around the middle of the century.<sup>24</sup> These elements, coupled with the even more telling presence of the prose *Pascua vite*, documented only in Angelica 123, suggest that the antiphonary to which the fragments belong may have been made in Bologna in the busy *scriptorium* of St. Peter's Cathedral: the German notation of St. Peter's fits well into the city's political and cultural context of the time, pervaded by influences from the German area. The manuscript was probably compiled at the beginning of the office of Bishop Adalfredo (1031-1055), a prelate of German origin who, through his political and cultural action, supported the imperial reorganization plan of Henry III<sup>25</sup>. The type of musical notation suggests a possible use of the antiphonary in the Bolognese monastery of San Colombano, whose existence is confirmed in the 11th century. Without ruling out the possibility that it might have been used in other ancient religious communities of the Bolognese or neighboring area, including the city's cathedral<sup>26</sup>, what seems particularly clear is the link with San Colombano which, according to the tradition,

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<sup>22</sup> Cfr. SILVIA BATTISTINI, *La decorazione libraria*, in *Bologna e il secolo XI*, edited by Giovanni Feo and Francesca Roversi Monaco, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2011, pp. 163-188: 170.

<sup>23</sup> Images of the two papers, and their descriptive cards, were published with an editing by Giacomo Baroffio in *Nonantola nei secoli XI-XII. Rinascita e primato culturale del monastero dopo le distruzioni*, edited by Maria Parente e Loretta Piccinini, Modena, Panini, 2003, pp. 88-90.

<sup>24</sup> Cfr. MADDALENA MODESTI, *La chiesa di Bologna: i codici e la sua scuola*, in *Bologna e il secolo XI*, cit., pp. 297-346: 313.

<sup>25</sup> Cfr. LORENZO PAOLINI, *La chiesa e la città (secoli XI-XIII)*, in *Bologna nel Medioevo*, edited by Ovidio Capitani, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2007, pp. 653-759: 656. On the influences of the German area in the liturgical codices of Bologna in the 11th century see CESARINO RUINI, *Il codice Angelica 123. Musica e politica tra i secoli XI e XII*, in *Bologna e il secolo XI* cit., pp. 239-252: 242-243.

<sup>26</sup> The peculiar cult of St. Peter and the liturgical links with Angelica 123 connect the two fragments to the Cathedral of Bologna, but the liturgy for the feast of Saints John and Paul would seem to be of monastic cursus, with close ties to the Benevento area, and there are no known reasons that justify the use of Sangallian notation in codices produced for the cathedral.

was inhabited in 1008 by Benedictine monks from the Abbey of St. Gallen, a historic institution that employed the musical notation named after it.<sup>27</sup> The recent archaeological excavations, carried out between 2006 and 2009 during the restoration and preservation works<sup>28</sup>, have brought to light under the presbytery a large crypt with features of Romanesque architecture<sup>29</sup>, and have directly documented the construction of the church in the 11th century. A more precise dating is not possible at the moment – the first documents dating back to the 70s-80s of the century<sup>30</sup> – although, according to Ropa, «il monastero di San Colombano [...] non può essere posteriore al Mille quando anche per Bobbio, focolare dell'ideale colombaniano in Italia, incomincia la decadenza [the monastery of San Colombano [...] cannot date after the year 1000, when an age of decadence began also for Bobbio, which had been the hearth of the Colombanian ideal in Italy]». Citing previous literature, the author also points out the close link between the two foundations.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> The Bolognese literature on the history of the monastery contains inconsistent information. The presence of the monks of St. Gallen in Bologna remains mysterious, probably due to a 16th-17th-century tradition no longer considered reliable by the most recent studies, although in some Bolognese manuscripts a link with the Irish saint Gallus, a companion of St. Columbanus, emerges. On these issues and the history of the monastery see PAOLA FOSCHI, *Il culto di San Colombano fra Modena e Bologna nel Medioevo*, «Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna», Nuova Serie, LX, 2009, pp. 95-162, in particular pp. 133-135. On the year 1008, no longer recorded by recent scholarly literature, but widely reported by popularizing texts, see CANDIDO MASINI, *San Colombano a Bologna e Modena*, in *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi colombaniani: Colombano pioniere di civilizzazione cristiana europea*, Bobbio 28-30 August 1965, edited by Michele Tosi, Bobbio, Columba, 1973, pp. 175-190: 177.

<sup>28</sup> FRANCISCO GIORDANO, *Il complesso di San Colombano in Bologna*, «Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna», Nuova Serie, LX, 2009, pp. 163-187: 165.

<sup>29</sup> Cfr. PAOLA PORTA, *Pietre sacre di Bologna romanica: alcune considerazioni*, in *Bologna e il secolo XI* cit., pp. 41-77: 47.

<sup>30</sup> The earliest evidence is a document dated 1074, in which Pope Gregory VII confirms to Lamberto, Bishop of Bologna, ownership of the assets of the Bolognese church, and mentions a *Monasterium S. Columbani*. The most recent studies have questioned the authenticity of the papal bull; however, somewhat later three more acts mention the monastery between 1083 and 1089. Cfr. RENATA CURINI - ROBERTA MICHELINI, *La chiesa di San Colombano tra archeologia e storia: dati preliminari*, in *Bologna e il secolo XI* cit., pp. 27-40: 30 and note 12.

<sup>31</sup> Cfr. GIAMPAOLO ROPA, *Vita liturgica e devozionale sino alla fine del Medioevo*, in *Storia della chiesa di Bologna*, edited by Lorenzo Paolini and Paolo Prodi, Bergamo, Edizioni Bolis,



Commenting on the decoration of ms. 523 of the Library of the Seminary of Padua, of Bolognese origin, historians of illumination also hypothesize the presence in the city of models introduced by St. Columbanus monks who, at least for some time, would have kept in touch with their mother convent and would have had their own book collection.<sup>32</sup>

In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, therefore, San Colombano was an active monastery, of Benedictine order and probably owned by the bishop:<sup>33</sup> this legal status would help explain the anomalous coexistence of elements of monastic and Roman cursus emerging from the fragments. The liturgy dedicated to the city's patron Peter,<sup>34</sup> particularly elaborate due to the presence of four invitatories, tropes and unique songs, could be justified by the fact that on this solemn feast even the monks of San Colombano were required to adapt to the bishop's liturgy, confirming the close relationship existing between the Church of Bologna and the Benedictine order, also documented in this period for the monastery of Santo Stefano.<sup>35</sup> Also, if we look at the location, as Paola Foschi writes, San Colombano was not far from the Cathedral and the gates of St. Peter's, and fairly close to the Baptistry, and hence was an ideal continuation of the street now named via Manzoni, but formerly called Galliera, which began in Piazza Maggiore, went past the church of St. Peter's and continued along a route roughly corresponding to the current Via Manzoni.<sup>36</sup>

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1997, II, pp. 79-111: 107, note 98. The uncertain and incomplete documents regarding the origins have led scholars to different conclusions and, in the most recent literature, the hypothesis has emerged that St. Columban, inhabited by Benedictine nuns in the 12th century, was actually a female Benedictine monastery ever since its foundation. Cfr. CURINA – MICHELINI, *La chiesa di San Colombano* cit., p. 31. However, given the frequent transfers and exchanges of residence between the various communities, the dedication to Columban, and what can be inferred from the oldest literature, in my opinion it is more likely that San Colombano was an originally male institution closely linked to Bobbio, and only later became the seat of a female monastery, which retained the name.

<sup>32</sup> Cfr. BATTISTINI, *La decorazione libraria* cit., p. 173 with previous literature.

<sup>33</sup> There is an agreement on this point between the studies of FOSCHI *Il culto di San Colombano* cit., p. 132, and CURINA – MICHELINI *La chiesa di San Colombano* cit., p. 31.

<sup>34</sup> The cult of Saint Peter became widespread in the Bologna diocese, to the point that in the 14th century there were twenty-one religious institutions dedicated to the saint. Cfr. PAOLO GOLINELLI, *Santi e culti bolognesi nel Medioevo*, in *Storia della chiesa di Bologna* cit., II, pp. 11-43: 33.

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. CURINA – MICHELINI, *La chiesa di San Colombano* cit., p. 31.

<sup>36</sup> Cfr. FOSCHI, *Il culto di San Colombano* cit., p. 128.

### Conclusions

In the 11th century the activity of the *scriptorium* of Saint Peter's in Bologna found its highest expression in the creation of Angelica 123. Still, as Silvia Battistini writes, summarizing the view of scholars of different disciplines, «it is unlikely that such a rich cultural center [...] had suddenly begun its book production with a text so complex, and of such high formal quality, as Angelica».<sup>37</sup> According to Giuseppa Zanichelli «the codex itself is the best proof that highly specialized scriptoria must have existed in Bologna, which were not only able to transcribe an already codified musical tradition in relatively modest booklets, but also to endow it with a luxurious look».<sup>38</sup>

Among the relatively modest booklets we can include the antiphonary examined in this article, which was certainly conceived for everyday use and for practical purposes, with a poor decorative design and a thin, low-quality parchment. In spite of the obvious different features, the fragments do have a few elements in common with Angelica 123, in particular the specific cult of Saint Peter, with the same prose not documented in other sources, the mixture of liturgical elements of monastic and Roman tradition,<sup>39</sup> influences from the German area,<sup>40</sup> and the predominance of the orange colour, also used to fill in the counters and bodies of letters. Concerning musical writing, what the two sources have in common is an abundance of liquescences and episemas, while in relation to individual signs the fragments and Angelica

<sup>37</sup> Cfr. BATTISTINI, *La decorazione libraria* cit., p. 169: «è improbabile che un centro culturale così ricco [...] avesse improvvisamente iniziato la sua produzione libraria con un testo tanto complesso e di così alta qualità formale quale è l'Angelica».

<sup>38</sup> GIUSEPPA ZANICHELLI, *Thesaurus armarii aggregatus: il codice miniato a Bologna tra XI e XII secolo*, in *La cattedrale scolpita*, edited by Massimo Medica and Silvia Battistini, Ferrara, Edisai, 2003, p. 147: «il codice stesso è la miglior dimostrazione che dovevano esistere a Bologna *scriptoria* altamente specializzati e in grado non solo di trascrivere una tradizione musicale già codificata in libelli di minor impegno, ma anche di pensare a conferire a questa una veste di lusso».

<sup>39</sup> Cfr. GIUSEPPE VECCHI, *Canto liturgico e codici neumatici*, in *La musica a Bologna. Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Bologna, Amis, 1970, pp. 5-21. On p. 15 we find a description of the monastic influences in the liturgy handed down in Angelica 123 and, citing previous literature that suggested a monastic origin for the manuscript, a cooperation between local religious-artistic actors is hypothesized.

<sup>40</sup> A trend towards the German area has been identified in Angelica 123 for the tropes repertory, in which Massimiliano Locanto identifies a few pieces recorded in codices from South-western Germany. Cfr. MASSIMILIANO LOCANTO, *I tropi liturgici a Bologna nell'XI secolo*, in *Bologna e il secolo XI* cit., pp. 253-296: 279.

123 only share a few strokes of the most common neumes of German and Sangallian origin,<sup>41</sup> and not the more particular, distinctive scripts peculiar to the Bolognese writing. While there are still uncertainties about the development of this peculiar notation, we do have confirmations about its links to the Ravenna-Pomposa area,<sup>42</sup> where influences from the Sangallian writing have been documented.<sup>43</sup> This varied context is further enriched by the presence of our antiphonary in Bologna, probably just before the illustrious gradual, which was certainly part of a larger book collection. Together with other volumes that have been lost for the most part and a few surviving folios<sup>44</sup> our manuscript, too, contributed to create the “web of relationships” which, according to Cesarino Ruini, was «indispensabile in order for [Angelica 123] to no longer be seen – from a paleographic-musical point of view – as an isolated monument, almost detached from the contemporary Italian context».<sup>45</sup>

Thus the discovery of the two fragments, of particular importance for their antiquity and the liturgy they hand down, adds a small piece to the reconstruction of a rich and stimulating cultural environment, in which the development of a typical Bolognese script originated, and which shows many points of contact with the Sangallian one.

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<sup>41</sup> According to tables 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4 and 4.1 referring to the Angelica 123 neumes, published by Luciana Battagin, the shapes of tractulus (1), virga (1), bivirga, clivis (5), pes (2) and ancus are similar to those appearing in the fragments. The scandicus (A) is also not very different (although in Angelica the virga is next to the two points, while in the fragments it is above) as well as the clivis praepunctis (2) (but while Angelica uses the tractulus, the fragments have the punctum). Cfr. LUCIANA BATTAGIN, *Tavole dei neumi*, in *Codex Angelicus 123. Studi sul graduale-tropario bolognese del secolo XI e sui manoscritti collegati*, edited by Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani and Giampaolo Ropa, Cremona, 1996 («Saggi e ricerche», 7), pp. 123-153: 134-138.

<sup>42</sup> Cfr. MAURO CASADEI TURRONI MONTI, *Nota su un frammento gregoriano nell'incunabolo 159.70 della Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena*, «Studi Gregoriani», XXIV, 2008, pp. 123-131: 123.

<sup>43</sup> Cfr. MAURO CASADEI TURRONI MONTI, *Le prime testimonianze di musica scritta a Ravenna: i frammenti adiastematici*, in *Melodie dimenticate. Stato delle ricerche sui manoscritti di canto liturgico*, Conference proceedings, Spoleto 2-3 October 1999, edited by Gioia Filocamo, Florence, Olschki, 2003 («Historiae Musicae Cultores», 91), pp. 113-126: 123.

<sup>44</sup> For a synopsis and description of the sources linked to Angelica 123 see RUINI, *Il codice Angelica 123* cit., pp. 239-252.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239: «indispensabile perché [Angelica 123] non continui a sembrare – dal punto di vista paleografico-musicale – un monumento isolato ed in apparenza quasi avulso dal contesto italiano coevo».

APPENDIX  
*Transcription of texts*

The texts have been transcribed in adherence to the source, therefore they are given according to the succession of the folios in the original antiphony. In square brackets are the inserts of unreadable text and the completion of words at the beginning or end of the folio, which are provided in the version proposed by CAO but with the graphic standardization  $j=i$ . Round brackets mark the expansion of abbreviations. The parts that lack musical notation are underlined. In the transcription, upper and lower case letters have been respected, and no punctuation has been inserted, except for the point at the end of each piece. Next to each song, in round brackets, is the corresponding reference number in CAO. When missing or illegible, the rubrics in square brackets are inserted with the following abbreviations: Mt=Matins, N=Nocturne followed by the numbers 1, 2 or 3, V=Vespers followed by the numbers 1 and 2, L=Lauds.

Acronyms of manuscripts cited in CAO

Roman cursus

C: (Compiègne antiphony), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17436, second half of 12th century

G: (Durham antiphony), Durham Chapter Library, B.III.11, 11th century

B: (Bamberg antiphony), Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, lit. 23, end 12th c.

E: (Ivrea antiphony, lat. Eporedia), Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, 106, 11th c.

M: (Monza antiphony), Monza, Biblioteca capitolare, ms. C. 12/75, early 11th c.

V: (Verona antiphony), Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, 98, 11th c.

Monastic cursus

H: (Hartker antiphony), St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 390-391, years 980-1011

R: (Rheinau breviary), Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 28, 13th c.

D: (Saint-Denis antiphony), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17296, 12th c.

F: (Saint-Maur-des-Fossés antiphony), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12044, 12th c.

S: (Santo Domingo di Silos antiphony), London, British Museum, add. 30850, 11th c.

L: (Benevento antiphony, perhaps originally from San Lupo), Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, 21, end of 12th c.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the dating of manuscripts reference has been made to GIACOMO FRIGO – ANGELO CORNO, *L'Ufficio divino, in Alla scuola del canto gregoriano. Studi in forma di manuale*,

*Fragment a. &.1.0 n. 14b, c. [1]r*

*[Saint John the Baptist]*

[L o V2]

[Antiphona]

Bapt[ista Christi Ioann]es te [deprecamur supplices ut peccatorum veniam ad] gaudia [aeterna nobis apud De]um [obtineas].<sup>2</sup> (1551)

[gap]

[Antiphona]

[Apertum] est [os Zachariae et] prophe[tavit di]cens [Benedictus D]eus [Is-rael].<sup>3</sup> (1448)

*[Saints John and Paul]*<sup>4</sup>

[gap]

[V1]

A(ntiphona)

A[stiterunt iusti ante Dom]inum [et ab invicem non] sunt<sup>5</sup> s[eparati ca]li[cem Domini bibe]r[unt et amici Dei appellati sunt].<sup>6</sup> (1505)

Veni[te adoremus dominus iubilemus]<sup>7</sup>

[Mt]

Inv[itatorium]

Iohan[ne]s et [Paulus martyr]es xpisti [verissimi] sub const[antino Augusto

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edited by Fulvio Rampi, Parma, Musidora, 2015, pp. 637-712: 640-641.

<sup>2</sup> Only handed down in codex E of CAO.

<sup>3</sup> Commonly found antiphon, handed down in all the manuscripts of CAO with the exception of G. Usually placed at the lauds and *In Evangelio*.

<sup>4</sup> The invitatory and the following six antiphons are only handed down in codex L.

<sup>5</sup> Agrees with the version handed down in H and R which give *sunt separati* instead of the more common *separati sunt*.

<sup>6</sup> The antiphon is recorded in six manuscripts, four of monastic cursus (H, R, D, F) and two of Roman cursus (C, E). It agrees with D in its placement at first Vespers.

<sup>7</sup> The verses of the invitatory psalm were probably already inserted in this position, in analogy to the feast of Saint Peter's, which has four invitatories.

milantes fide[m] Christi suscipere meruerunt]. (3502)

[N1]  
[gap]<sup>8</sup>

[Sanctorum co]nsilio [Ioannis et Pauli Gallicanus accepto novit se esse christianus et statim victor]

*Fragment a. & 1.0 n. 14b, c. [1]v*

effectus est. (4761)

Ps(almus)  
Cu(m) invocare(m)<sup>9</sup>

A(ntiphona)  
Defuncto constantino iulianus apostata factus est cesar qui legem dedit ut cristiani militarent. (2139)

Ps(almus)  
Verba mea

A(ntiphona)  
Cristus vester dicit in evangelio<sup>10</sup> qui non renunciat omnibus que possidet non potest esse meus discipulus. (1799)

Ps(almus)  
D(omi)ne d(omi)n(u)s n(oste)r

A(ntiphona)  
Dominum tibi preponimus qui fecit celum et terram mare et omnia que in ei sunt. (2399)

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<sup>8</sup> In the succession of songs the identification of an antiphon is likely missing.

<sup>9</sup> Due to the paper trimming, it is impossible to determine the presence or absence of the musical part. We assume it is missing by analogy with the incipit, of which only the text is recorded.

<sup>10</sup> The letter *n* is overwritten.

Ps(almus)  
Conserva me

A(ntiphona)  
Missus est<sup>11</sup> terrencius campidoctor ad eos<sup>12</sup> ora cenandi. (3796)

Ps(almus)  
D(omi)ni est t(er)ra

A(ntiphona)  
Reversus est terrencius ad iulianum cesarem et iohannem et paulum idolum  
no[n] adorare<sup>13</sup> nunciavit. (4646)

Ps(almus)  
Beati quo(rum)

R(esponsorium)  
Isti sunt duo viri misericordie qui assistunt ante dominum dominatorem<sup>14</sup>  
universe terre.  
V(ersus) Isti sunt due olive et duo candelabra lucencia ante dominum. Do-  
mina(torem). (7015)

R(esponsorium)  
Hec est vera. V(ersus) Ecce quam (6804/A).<sup>15</sup>

R(esponsorium)  
Beati martires xpisti iohannes et paulus dixerunt iuliano nobis autem alius  
non est nisi unus deus pater et filius et spiritus sanctus. V(ersus) Una fides  
unum baptisma unus spiritus sanctus<sup>16</sup> erat in eis. V(ersus) Unus spiritus et una  
fides manet in nobis. Pater.<sup>17</sup>(6178/BA)

<sup>11</sup> *Est* is missing in CAO.

<sup>12</sup> In CAO *cum militibus* is also inserted.

<sup>13</sup> CAO has *adorasse*.

<sup>14</sup> The syllable *to* is overwritten.

<sup>15</sup> The responsory is intended for various feasts, therefore only the incipit is indicated.

<sup>16</sup> Only F and L, witnesses of Cluniac tradition, add *sanctus*.

<sup>17</sup> Both verses documented in CAO are present, while each witness usually hands down one of the two. Verse A, placed in second position, shows *manent in nobis* instead of *erat in eis* in the final version, not documented in CAO.

R(esponsorium)

Hi sunt viri misericordie quorum pietates non defuerunt et cum semine eorum perseve

*Fragment a. & 1.0 n. 14a, c. [2]r*

[rant bona gloria aeternae vitae adepti sunt et in diebus suis habentur in laudibus. V(ersus) Isti sunt duo] olive (6817).

V(ersus) In omnem

R(esponsorium) Exultabunt sancti<sup>18</sup> V(ersus) Exul[tationes Dei in gutture eorum et gladii ancipites in manibus eorum. Le(tabunt)ur. (6703/?)

[L]

[Antiphona]

Iohannes et paulus dixerunt ad gallicanum fac votum [Deo coeli et eris victor me]lior quam [fui]sti. (3500)

A(ntiphona)

Paulus et iohannes dixerunt iul[iano nos unum Deum col]imus qui [fecit coel]um et terram. (4251)

A(ntiphona)

Iohannes et paulus cogn[oscentes tyranni]dem iu[li]ani facultates suas pauperibus erogare ceperunt. (3499)

A(ntiphona)

[Paulus et Ioa]nnes di[xe]runt ad terrencianum si tuus dominus est iulianus habeto pacem cu[m illo] nobis alius non est nisi dominus iesus xpistus. (4250)

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<sup>18</sup> This is probably the incipit of the responsory *Exsultabunt sancti* (6703), prescribed for the Common of several martyrs in the codes H and R of CAO. In this case, however, it is combined with an undocumented verse whose text, drawn from Psalm 149, is a continuation of that of the responsory. This hypothesis is confirmed by the repetenda *laetabuntur*, which goes back to the second part of the text (*Exsultabunt sancti in gloria laetabuntur in cubilibus suis*), not reported here. Due to the trimming of the parchment it is impossible to clearly establish the presence or absence of music in the responsory and the incipit of the verse, yet we assume it was absent because the musical part is missing in the following line, where most of the text of the verse is found.



A(ntiphona)

Nobis autem non est alius nisi unus deus pater et filius et spiritus sanctus  
all(eluia)<sup>19</sup>

V(ersus) Exultent

(Antiphona)

Isti sunt sancti qui pro dei amore.<sup>20</sup> (3442)

A(ntiphona)

Isti sunt due o[livae et duo can]delabra lucencia ante dom[inum habent]  
potestatem claudere [coelum nubibus et aperire portas eius quia linguae  
eorum] claves celi facte sunt. (3438)

In [evangelio?]<sup>21</sup>

(Antiphona)

Spiritus et anime iustorum hymnum dicite deo n[ostro alleluia alle-  
luia].<sup>22</sup> (5000)

[*Saint Peter*]

[V1]

[Antiphona]

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<sup>19</sup> The text is taken from the second part of the antiphon *Beati martyres Christi* (1583). In this version, with the incipit starting from *Nobis*, as reported by Giacomo Baroffio in digital catalogues, it is documented in the ancient Roman repertory, in particular in manuscript B 79 of the Archives of St. Peter's in Rome. Cf. *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio San Pietro B 79 (sec. XII)* cit., f. 131v of the facsimile.

<sup>20</sup> Only the incipit of the antiphon is given, with the indication “req(ui)re a,” which refers to another point in the antiphonary.

<sup>21</sup> The antiphon has been added vertically in the inner margin of the card, and it is unclear where it should be inserted, so here it is placed at the end of the various antiphons presented. It is preceded by a rubric, but *In* is the only part that can be read, followed by a few letters indicating an abbreviation. Given the position, one could assume *In evangelio*. In the various manuscripts it is mostly placed in fourth position between the antiphons for Lauds.

<sup>22</sup> A commonly found antiphon, although for the feast of saints John and Paul it is only recorded by codices V, M, and S.

Inse[parabilis fides passioque germana lau]dabilis<sup>23</sup> [eos per]petuam [transmi]sit ad vitam quorum<sup>24</sup> doctr[inam suam morte fortissima consecra]runt.<sup>25</sup> (3354)

*Fragment a. & 1.0 n. 14a, c. [2]v*

[gap]

[Antiphona]

[Quodcumque] ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in celis et quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum et in celis dixit dominus simoni petro. (4561)

[Mt]

Sup(er) inv(itorium)

Adoremus victoriosissimum regem xpistum quem<sup>26</sup> victorem per crucis trophæum coronavit beatum petrum<sup>27</sup> apostolum. (1019)

Venite exultemus d(omi)no iuble(mus)

A(n)t(iphona)

Xpistum regem regum adoremus dominum qui martirium<sup>28</sup> crucis beatum glorificavit petrum apostolum. (1051)

Venite exult(emus)

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<sup>23</sup> The variant *laudabilis* in lieu of the more widespread *laudabiles* is only handed down in codex R.

<sup>24</sup> *Quoniam* in CAO.

<sup>25</sup> This antiphon is documented for the feast of St. Peter only in manuscript E of CAO, where it is intended for Second Vespers *in Evangelio*. It is also recorded in codices F and R, but for the feast of St. Paul, to be sung respectively in the third Nocturne and the second Vespers. The few words we find seem to be reported without music.

<sup>26</sup> *Qui* in CAO.

<sup>27</sup> *Andream* in CAO. The invitatory is reproduced in manuscripts B, M, V, H, R, but for the feast of Saint Andrew.

<sup>28</sup> *Martyrio* in CAO. The invitatory is also documented for the feast of Saint Andrew.

A(n)t(iphona)

Regem apostolorum dominum venite adoremus.<sup>29</sup> (1125)

Venite

A(n)t(iphona)

Iste est princeps tuus xpiste simon petre venite adoremus dominum.<sup>30</sup>

A(ntiphona) Noc(turnum)

Petrus et iohannes ascendebant in templum ad oram oracionis nonam.  
(4287)

Ps(almus)

Celi enarrant

A(ntiphona)

Claudus quidam cum vidisset petrum et iohannem aspiciebat in eos<sup>31</sup> ut elemosinam acciperet. (1829)

Ps(almus)

Benedicam(us) d(omi)n(u)m

A(ntiphona)

Argentum et aurum non est mecum<sup>32</sup> quod autem habeo hoc tibi do. (1480)

Ps(almus)

Eructavit

V(ersus)

In omnem terram

R(esponsorium)

Symon petre antequam de navi vocarem te novi te et super plebem meam

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<sup>29</sup> Very common and dedicated to different saints. For Saint Peter, it appears in codices C, E, H, L.

<sup>30</sup> Not recorded in CAO.

<sup>31</sup> All manuscripts of CAO containing the antiphon hand down *coepit rogare eos* in lieu of *aspiciebat in eos*.

<sup>32</sup> Codices C, M, and V of CAO hand down *mecum* in lieu of the more widespread *mibi*.

principem te constitui et claves regni celorum tradidi tibi. [Versus] Quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in celis et quodcumque sol

*Fragment a. & 1.0 n. 14a, c. [3]r*

[veris super terram erit solutum et in coelis]. (7674)

[gap]<sup>33</sup>

[Responsorium]

Ego pro te rogavi petre ut non deficiat fid[es tua et tu aliquando conversus con]firma fratres tuos. V(ersus) Caro et [sanguis non revelavit tibi sed pater me]us qui est in celis. Et tu ali.<sup>34</sup> (6630/A)

S(e)c(un)d(um) noc(turnum)

A(ntiphona)

I[n nomine Iesu Christi Nazareni sur]ge et ambula in pace. (3260)

Ps(almus)

Om(ne)s g(ente)s

A(ntiphona)

Exiliens cla[udus et ambulabat et intravit cum il]lis ambulans et laudans deum. (2803)

Ps(almus)

Exaudi d(eu)s

(Antiphona)

[Vidit populus claudum] ambulantem et laudantem deum et replet[i sunt stupore et exstasi in eo quod con]tigerat illi. (5416)

Ps(almus)

Exaudi d(eu)s or(ationem) m(eam)

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<sup>33</sup> A responsory is probably missing here, no longer readable due to paper trimming.

<sup>34</sup> The repetenda also records *alii* unlike the manuscripts of CAO which only have *Et tu*.

V(ersus)  
Constitu[e]s

[Responsorium]  
[Quem dicunt homines esse filium hominis dixit iesus discipulis suis respondens Petrus dixit tu es] xpistus filius dei vivi et ego dico tibi [quia tu es Petrus et super hanc petram] ædificabo ecclesiam meam. V(ersus) Beatus [es Simon Bar Iona quia caro et sanguis] non revelavit tibi sed pater meus qui e[st in coelis]. (7467/A)

[Responsorium]  
[Tu es Pe]trus et super hanc petram edificabo æc[clesiam meam et portae inferi] non prevalebunt adversus eam et tibi [dabo claves regni coelorum]. V(ersus) Quodcumque.<sup>35</sup> Et tibi dabo.<sup>36</sup> (7788)

R[esponsorium]  
Tu es pastor [ovium]<sup>37</sup>. (7787)

*Fragment a. & 1.0 n. 14a, c. [3]v*

[N3]  
[Antiphona]  
[Occidit autem Iacobum fratrem Ioa]nnis gladio.<sup>38</sup>

[Psalmus]  
Confitebimur

[Antiphona]  
[Videns autem quia placeret Iudæis apposuit appre]hendere et petrum volens<sup>39</sup> [post Pascha producere eum populo].

<sup>35</sup> Only codes B and M show the verse, with the incipit limited to *Quodcumque*.

<sup>36</sup> The repetenda closes with *tibi* in all codices of CAO. Here, an undocumented *dabo* is added.

<sup>37</sup> The remaining part of the responsory is missing, and it is impossible to determine what the verse looks like.

<sup>38</sup> It was not possible to find a reference repertory for this antiphon, whose text is taken from the Acts of the Apostles, Chapter 12.

<sup>39</sup> Continuation of the text from the Acts of the Apostles. The antiphon is documented in the *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* [ed. Frere], quoted by Giacomo Baroffio in online repertories, but

[Psalmus]  
[Dominus] reg(navit) exultet

A(ntiphona)  
Petrus quidem<sup>40</sup> s[ervabatur in carcere et oratio fiebat pro e]o sine [intermi]ssione ab [ecclesia ad] deum. (4286)

[gap]<sup>41</sup>

A(ntiphona)  
Erat pet[rus dor]mi[ens inter] duos [milites vinc-tus catenis duabus et cus]to[des ante ostium custodiebant carcere]m.<sup>42</sup> (2660)

[Responsorium]  
[Domine si tu es iube me venire ad te super aquas et exten]dens [manum ap]prehendit eum et dixit Iesus modicae fidei quare dubitasti V(ersus) Cumque [vidisset ventum validum venientem timuit et cum coepisset mer]gi clamavit dicens domine sal[vum me fac]. (6515)

[Responsorium]  
[Surge p]etre et indue te vestimento tuo<sup>43</sup> accipe [fortitudinem ad salvandas gentes] quia ceciderunt catene de manibus [tuis]. [Versus] [Angelus autem Domini astitit et l]umen refulsit in habitaculo carceris [percussoque latere Petri excita]vit eum dicens surge velociter. (7731)

[Responsorium]  
[Petre amas me tu s]cis domine quia amo te pa

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ends with *Petrum*. The addition after *volens* (the word is well-readable) has been hypothesized in order to give full meaning to the sentence, and considering the space available for the text.

<sup>40</sup> *Quidem* in lieu of *autem* is only recorded by codex E.

<sup>41</sup> It is not possible to reconstruct the psalm's incipit.

<sup>42</sup> This antiphon is only handed down by codices F, S, L. It may occupy different positions within the liturgy: in S we find it at Vespers, in F at the second Nocturne, in L at the first Nocturne of the feast of San Pietro in Vincoli [saint Peter in Chains].

<sup>43</sup> The variant *Vestimento tuo* only agrees with V.

*Fragment a. & 1.0 n. 14b c., [4]r*

deus pie pater excelse quia oves<sup>44</sup> [gap].  
[Versus] [Simon Ioannis diligis me plus] his.<sup>45</sup> Tu scis domine. (7382/A)

P(ro)sa Pascua vite celestis a[gnos meos refice pastorum pastor].<sup>46</sup>  
P(ro)sa Ergo fo[v]endo comisis gregem tibi subditum.<sup>47</sup>

[Responsorium]  
[Beatus es Simon] bar iona quia caro et sanguis non reve[lavit tibi sed pater  
meus qui est in] celis dicit dominus. V(ersus) Et ego dico tibi q[ui]a tu es Pe-  
trus et super hanc petram] hedificabo ecclesiam meam. Qui est in.<sup>48</sup> (6206)

[Responsorium]  
[Qui regni claves V Ipse tua] petre dissipari.<sup>49</sup> (7483)

R(esponsorium)  
Solve robente<sup>50</sup> deo V[ersus] F[ac ut amor].<sup>51</sup> (7678/B)

<sup>44</sup> Fragment of a trope, perhaps missing in the first part, inserted on the vocalization sung on the syllable *Pa* in *Pasce*, within the responsory *Petre amas me*. No correspondence was found in any other source, but the text reproduces words that are peculiar to trope language, for instance *Deus excelse pater* is the incipit of a trope in *Kyrie* which is named for it (AH 47, 180). Cfr. *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, edited by Clemens Blume, Guido Maria Dreves, Henry Marriott Bannister, 55 vols., Leipzig, Reiland, 1886-1922. Cited with AH followed by a reference to the volume and page.

<sup>45</sup> Short verse ending with *his* as in H and E, while the repetenda adds *domine*, which is usually missing.

<sup>46</sup> This is a prose (or prosula), inserted on the vocalization to be sung on the syllable *Pa* of the verse *Pasce oves meas*, documented in Angelica 123, at f. 262r. Cfr. HOFMANN BRANDT, *Die tropen* cit., n. 487, p. 96.

<sup>47</sup> Fragment of a prose, not documented in other sources. The melodic module is similar to that of the former, and may be the continuation of it.

<sup>48</sup> The repetenda *Qui est in* is not documented in CAO.

<sup>49</sup> The text forms part of the verse of the responsory *Qui regni claves V Ipse tua* (7483), only in the variant found in codices C and V: *Ipse tua Petre dissipare vincula iussit*. It would have been impossible to reproduce the whole song in the available space. We therefore assume that only the incipit was inserted, as is required for the following responsory. *Dissipari* is in lieu of *dissipare*.

<sup>50</sup> *Robente* is in lieu of *iubente*.

<sup>51</sup> The responsory is not complete, only the incipit is present. The verse, which can be identified by the first letter, is handed down in manuscripts V, S and L.

[Responsorium]  
[Quodcumque ligaveris V Et cla]ves regni.<sup>52</sup> (7503)

R(esponsorium)  
Cum esset petrus in cru[ce venit turba multa maledicebant] cesarem et fe-  
cerunt planctum magnum [ante crucem Petrus exhortabat eos de] cruce di-  
cens Nolite flere sed gaude[te mecum quia vado vobis para]re locum. V[ersus]  
Gracias tibi ago<sup>53</sup> pastor bo[ne quia oves quas tradidisti mihi com]paciuntur  
mecum in sempiternum et [cum hoc dixisset ait].<sup>54</sup> (6363)

[L]  
[Antiphona]  
Petre amas me pasce oves meas tu scis domine quia amo te. (4281)

A(ntiphona)  
Simon iohannis [diligis me plus his tu scis Domine] quia amo te. (4960)

A(ntiphona)  
Significavit dominus pe[tro qua morte clarificaturus esset Deum alleluia].  
(4947)

*Fragment a. & 1.0 n. 14b, c. [4]v*

A(ntiphona)  
[Tu es pastor ovium] princeps apo[stolorum tibi tradidit Deus claves regni  
coelo]rum. (1167)<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> The only readable part in this song is *ves regni* which, similarly to what was hypothesized for the previous responsories, could be the only incipit of the responsory *Quodcumque ligaveris V Et claves regni* (7503).

<sup>53</sup> *Domine* is missing as in V.

<sup>54</sup> The responsory is handed down by codices E, V, F and L.

<sup>55</sup> The remaining part of the folio is badly damaged. We can perhaps recognize *vit eum, tes ad ro, servaverunt*, although it is not possible to identify which songs these portions belonged to.



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*Abstract*

The Biblioteca Estense in Modena contains various fragments with musical notation, mostly recovered from bindings of manuscript volumes or printed books. Of particular interest are two of these, shelfmarked *a.&.1.0 n. 14a* and *14b*. They come from an antiphonary with musical notation of the German Sangallian type. The text is in Carolingian script and hands down antiphons and responsories for the feasts of Saints John and Paul and Saint Peter, but it is well readable only on one side of the parchment, as well as being mutilated both horizontally and vertically: the two fragments each cover about a folio and a half of the original manuscript, which was made up of folios measuring about cm 22 × 17, a very small format, compatible with its antiquity. In all likelihood, the original codex was assembled in Bologna, perhaps for the monastery of St. Colombano, just before the middle of the 11th century, in the years immediately preceding the making of the famous Bolognese gradual preserved in the Angelica Library in Rome under no. 123. Thus the discovery of the two fragments, of particular importance for their antiquity and the liturgy they hand down, helps in the reconstruction of a rich and stimulating cultural environment, where the development of a typical Bolognese musical notation originated, which shows many points of contact with the Sangallian one.

*Keywords*

Fragments, antiphonary, 11th century, Bologna, German Sangallian notation

*English translation by Elisabetta Zoni*