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A Glimpse at Twelfth-Century Plainchant in Abruzzo in a Beneventan Bifolium at the Cathedral of San Pelino*

In his monumental survey of the Italian peninsula, *Italia Illustrata*, of 1474, the humanist Flavio Biondo noted that «sub ipso monte Maiella adiacet monasterium sancti Liberatoris templo aedificiis: et quod nos illuc traxit multis et elegantibus libris vetustissimis longobarda scriptis littera ornatissimum...».¹ It was not the first time that the presence in Abruzzo of manuscripts written in the characteristic Beneventan script of southern Italy had been recorded. Biondo might have referenced the very same books at San Liberatore catalogued by the abbot Theobald in his *Commemoratorium* of 1019.² In this work, Theobald listed the large number of liturgical books, which included six antiphoners, copied at or acquired for San Liberatore under his watch.³ These would have been written in Beneventan script and notation. Before becoming the abbot of Montecassino in 1022, Theobald had been the prior of San Liberatore Maiella for fifteen years.⁴ It was

* I am extremely grateful to Bishop Angelo Spina of the diocese of Sulmona-Valva and Don Maurizio Nannarone, archivist of the Cathedral archive of the diocese of Sulmona-Valva, for granting me hospitality and access to the archive to examine these Beneventan fragments. Portions of this research were presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on 6 November 2014.

¹ «[...] at the foot of Monte Maiella is the abbey of San Liberatore, with his fine church, buildings and (what took me there more particularly) many elegant old books written in Lombardic script», in FLAVIO BIONDO, *Italy illuminated*, edited and translated by Jeffrey A. White, Cambridge, Mass.-London, Harvard University Press, 2016, vol. 2, libri V-VIII («The I Tatti Renaissance Library», 75), p. 226 (English translation p. 227). First edition: FLAVIUS BLONDUS, *Italia illustrata*, Romae, Philippus de Lignamine, 1474.

² ENRICO CARUSI, *Intorno al "Commemoratorium" dell'abate Teobaldo (1019-1022)*, «Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano», XLVII, 1932, pp. 173-190.

³ *Ivi*, pp. 182-188.

⁴ From 1022-1035.

thanks to him that San Liberatore became a thriving center of culture and book production. Moreover, San Liberatore had been the most important Cassinese dependency in Abruzzo since the eighth century.⁵ Theobald's inventory attests to a dynamic exchange of liturgical items, including codices, between Montecassino and its Abruzzese dependencies.⁶

Today, most of the medieval books and fragments that survive from San Liberatore and other Abruzzese institutions are at the abbey of Montecassino. Because of the transfer of items over time from Abruzzo to Montecassino and the poor survival and fragmentary nature of manuscripts in Abruzzo, it is hard to have a complete picture of the liturgical codices found there during the burgeoning era of manuscript production in the eleventh and twelfth century.⁷ Some monasteries in Abruzzo also had their own scriptoria; unfortunately, the relocation and dearth of complete sources from this time period makes it difficult to know exactly what these scriptoria and their manuscripts were like.⁸ Several Abruzzese manuscript fragments are important witnesses to the once-extensive presence of liturgical books with Beneventan script and notation in the region. Studying liturgical manuscript fragments from Abruzzo can shed light on the nature of plainchant, its sources and its notation in Abruzzo during the eleventh- and twelfth-century period of bibliographic expansion, and can even help determine whether

⁵ The most important catalogue and study of the archival items from San Liberatore kept at Montecassino is MARIANO DELL'OMO, *Le carte di S. Liberatore alla Maiella conservate nell'archivio di Montecassino*, Montecassino, Pubblicazioni cassinesi, 2003 («Miscellanea cassinese», LXXXIV). See pp. XVII-XLIII for details of the importance of San Liberatore as a dependency of Montecassino.

⁶ Several recent publications have focused on the exchange of repertoire and books between Montecassino and surrounding areas. For a summary, see NICOLA TANGARI, *Musica e liturgia a Montecassino nel medioevo: vent'anni di ricerca*, in *Musica e liturgia a Montecassino nel medioevo*. Atti del simposio internazionale di studi (Cassino, 9-10 dicembre 2010), a cura di Nicola Tangari, Roma, Viella, 2012 («Scritture e libri del medioevo», X), pp. 11-20. See also LAURA ALBIERO, *Frammenti liturgico-musicali nel Martirologio dell'Assunta di Arpino*, in *ivi*, pp. 51-78. Abruzzo continued to be instrumental in the dissemination of cassinese repertoire even after the twelfth century. See FRANCESCO ZIMEI, *Da Montecassino all'Umbria: Nuova luce sul "Planctus" della "Compactio XVIII"*, in *ivi*, pp. 189-198.

⁷ FRANCIS NEWTON, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058-1105*, in *Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology*, VII, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 11-16, 240-247. THOMAS FORREST KELLY, *The Sources of Beneventan Chant*, Burlington, Vermont, Ashgate Publishing, 2011, vol. I, p. 396. As Kelly states, «Geography remains a problem. Though we have many manuscripts, there are significant lacunae»; and, «The details of transmission [of chant in Southern Italy] need much careful study».

⁸ NEWTON, *The Scriptorium* cit., pp. 310-311.

some liturgical manuscripts were copied locally. Through these fragments, one might be able to identify chants, liturgical customs, or manuscripts native to the Abruzzo region. Despite their potential for illuminating aspects of local liturgical practice, Abruzzese notated liturgical fragments have been little studied in terms of repertoire and notation.

In what follows, I will examine a bifolium fragment from a once-complete gradual in Beneventan notation at the archive of the Cathedral of San Pelino in the Diocese of Sulmona-Valva in Abruzzo, bearing the shelf mark ACSPe 973.⁹ I will compare the chants in this fragment and their notation to those in more complete Beneventan-script codices. Their differences highlight the local features of plainchant and liturgy in Abruzzo evidenced in the fragment and can indicate where the fragment originated and where it was used. Images of the fragment can be seen in the Appendix.

This study amplifies extant work on notated fragments in Beneventan script in the diocesan archive of Sulmona-Valva by investigating the bifolium specifically in terms of the musical items it contains. Paleographers Virginia Brown and Pasquale Orsini recorded the presence of notated folios in Beneventan script and other fragments of what Brown determined on paleographic grounds were part of late twelfth-century manuscripts.¹⁰ Orsini conducted extensive paleographical analysis of the fragments in Beneventan script within the archival complex of the diocese of Sulmona-Valva in conjunction with his project, completed in 2005, to create a renewed inventory of the approximately 7,400 items contained in this archive.¹¹ The

⁹ The Diocese of Sulmona-Valva, comprised of what were once two separate dioceses (Sulmona and Valva), was united as a single diocese under one bishop by Pope Gregory I around 600 a.D. See *Cenni Storici, La Diocesi di Sulmona-Valva* <<http://www.diocesisulmona-valva.it/la-storia/>> [accessed 14 August 2020]. I will therefore refer to the diocese as that of Sulmona-Valva even when discussing its medieval history despite the fact that the actual connectedness of the two locations was hotly disputed in the Middle Ages.

¹⁰ VIRGINIA BROWN, *A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (IV)*, «Studi Medievali» LXI, 1999, pp. 325-393, p. 339; VIRGINIA BROWN, *Beneventan Discoveries: Collected Manuscript Catalogues, 1978-2008*, edited by Roger Edward Reynolds, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Department of Publications, 2012 («Monumenta liturgica Beneventana», VI, «Studies and Texts», CLXXIX); GIACOMO BAROFFIO, *Iter Liturgicum Italicum*, Padova, Italy, Cooperativa Libreria Editrice Università di Padova, 1999.

¹¹ PASQUALE ORSINI, *Scheda 10 di descrizione del manoscritto Sulmona, Complesso archivistico della diocesi di Sulmona-Valva, Messale di S. Pelino, e Salterio*, in *Illuminare l'Abruzzo: Codici miniati tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Catalogo della mostra, edited by Gaetano Curzi, Francesca Manzari, Francesco Tentarelli, Alessandro Tomei, Pescara, CARSA Edizioni, 2012, pp. 178-180. PASQUALE ORSINI, *Archivio capitolare della Cattedrale di San*

Beneventan fragments in this archive are also cited by Giacomo Baroffio in his database *Iter liturgicum Italicum*.¹² In his 1999 article *I frammenti in beneventana e carolina nell'archivio di Corfinio*, Francesco Mottola cited three fragments in Cassinese-type Beneventan script.¹³ By far the most studied Beneventan-script codex originating from this archive is Vat. Lat. 1197, which contains a 'lives of the saints,' including that of S. Pelino.¹⁴ Since liturgical manuscripts usually reflect the customs of the location at which they were used, manuscripts such as those found in Abruzzo sometimes differ from central sources as a result of local adaptations of plainchant. Thus,

Panfilo a Sulmona, Sulmona, Diocesi di Sulmona-Valva, 2003; PASQUALE ORSINI, *Archivio capitolare della Cattedrale di San Pelino a Corfinio: Inventario*, Sulmona, Diocesi di Sulmona-Valva, 2005; PASQUALE ORSINI, *Archivio storico della Curia diocesana di Sulmona: Inventario*, Sulmona, Diocesi di Sulmona-Valva, 2005; PASQUALE ORSINI, *Frammenti in scrittura Beneventana rinvenuti nell'Archivio della Cattedrale di San Panfilo a Sulmona*, «Aevum», LXXVII, 2, 2003, pp. 363-377. The new archive catalogue was subsequently made available on the web in 2003 (for the archive of the cathedral of S. Panfilus) and in 2005 (for the capitular archive of S. Pelino and for the archive of the diocesan Curia of Sulmona). See the Web page *Complesso archivistico della Diocesi di Sulmona-Valva (Sulmona)*, in *Anagrafe: Istituti Culturali Ecclesiastici: Archivi, Biblioteche e Musei ecclesiastici Italiani* <http://www.anagrafebbcc.chiesacattolica.it/anagraficaCEIBib/public/VisualizzaScheda.do?codice_cei=CEI010A00001> [accessed 14 August 2020].

¹² BAROFFIO, *Iter Liturgicum Italicum* cit., nr. 1430.

¹³ FRANCESCO MOTTOLA, *I frammenti in beneventana e carolina nell'archivio di Corfinio*, in *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel Mezzogiorno longobardo*. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio (Badia di Cava, 3-5 ottobre 1990), edited by Francesco Mottola and Giovanni Vitolo, Cava de' Tirreni, Abbazia della Trinità della Cava, 1991 («Acta Cavensia», I), pp. 91-124; ELIAS AVERY LOWE, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Miniscule*, Oxford, 1914, 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown, 2 vols., Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980, I, 47. Although the fragments cited by Mottola will not be investigated in detail here, further research may reveal whether they are part of the sources examined here or whether they come from different codices.

¹⁴ LOWE, *The Beneventan Script* cit., p. 76; ORSINI, *Catalogo dell'Archivio di S. Pelino a Corfinio* cit., p. 10. This codex was given to Vatican librarians Federico and Marino Ranaldi in 1579 by the canons of the cathedral of S. Pelino in Corfinium. See also: ANICETO A. CHIAPPINI, *Codici liturgici di Sulmona e Tagliacozzo*, «Collectanea Franciscana», XXX, 1960, pp. 208-218; ANICETO A. CHIAPPINI, *Profilo di codicografia abruzzese*, «Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia», XXVI, 1958, pp. 433-458, p. 443; ALDO MARTINI, *Notizia su tre libri liturgici della Cattedrale Valvense di S. Pelino*, «Ephemerides Liturgicae», XCIII, 1979, pp. 38-63; DANTE D'EGIDIO, *Un frammento di Graduale-Sequenziario in Beneventana nell'Archivio Capitolare di Corfinio*, «Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra», XX, 1999, 2, pp. 120-137. The most in-depth codicological analysis of the S. Pelino Missal was written by Pasquale Orsini. See ORSINI, *Scheda 10* cit.

viewing these liturgical manuscript fragments in their historical context gives us a better understanding of the late-medieval bibliographic patrimony of Abruzzo, answers questions about the nature of plainchant in this region, and shows how manuscripts used here compare to those used in Benevento and Montecassino, considered the hubs of Beneventan-script manuscript production.

The folios of the bifolium fragment measure 307x215 mm with a writing area of 325x139 mm containing twelve lines of music (where present) and are labelled CXXXVIII and CXXXVIII (hereafter folios 144 r , 144 v , 149 r , and 149 v). The plainchant contents of this bifolium are outlined in Table 1.¹⁵

Tab. 1 – ACSPe 973 bifolium contents

Folio	Feast	Genre	Chant incipit
Fol. 144 r	SS. Cornelius and Cyprian	Introit	<i>Sacerdotes*</i>
		Gradual	<i>Sacerdotes*</i>
		Alleluia	<i>Exsultabunt*</i>
		Offertory	<i>Exsultabunt*</i>
		Communion	<i>Sint lumbi vestri</i>
	SS. Lucia and Geminianus	Introit	<i>Intret in conspectu*</i>
		Gradual	<i>Vindica Domine*</i>
		Offertory	<i>Mirabilis*</i>
		Communion	<i>Iustorum anime*</i>
	Vigil of S. Matthew	Introit	<i>Ego autem*</i>
		Gradual	<i>Iustus ut palma*</i>
		Offertory	<i>Gloria et honore*</i>
		Communion	<i>Posuisti*</i>
	S. Matthew	Introit	<i>Os iusti*</i>
		Gradual	<i>Beatus vir*</i>
		Offertory	<i>Gloria et honore*</i>

¹⁵ The symbol * indicates incipit only. Any missing chants in the formulary (i.e., the lack of an Offertory and Communion for SS. Cosmas and Damian) indicates that they are illegible in the manuscript. /// indicates a lacuna

Tab. 1 – ACSPe 973 bifolium contents (*continued*)

	SS. Cosmas and Damian	Introit	<i>Sapientiam*</i>
		Gradual	<i>Clamaverunt*</i>
	Vigil of SS. Simon and Jude	Introit	<i>Intret in conspectu*</i>
		Gradual	<i>In omnem terram</i>
	SS. Simon and Jude	Introit	<i>Michi autem</i>
		Gradual	<i>Nimis honorati sunt</i>
Fol. 144v		Verse	<i>Dinumerabo eos</i>
		Alleluia	<i>Vos estis qui permansistis</i>
		Alleluia	<i>Vos estis lux huius mundi</i>
		Sequence	<i>Clare sanctorum ///</i>
Fol. 149r	S. Martin	Sequence	<i>/// Gloriosa dies adest</i>
		Offertory	<i>O virum ineffabilem</i>
		Verse	<i>O beatum virum Martinum</i>
		Communion	<i>Sacerdos Dei Martine</i>
	S. Cecilia	Introit	<i>Loquebar*</i>
		Gradual	<i>Audi filia</i>
		Verse	<i>Specie tua</i>
Fol. 149v		Alleluia	<i>Expansis manibus</i>
		Offertory	<i>Offerentur iniquitatem</i>
		Communion	<i>Confundantur superbi*</i>
	S. Clement	Introit	<i>Dicit Dominus sermones</i>
		Gradual	<i>Exaltent eum in ecclesia ///</i>

Given its contents, this bifolium came from the end of the gradual codex, which likely would have been dismembered from the back. The formularies for these feasts and the melodies of the chants are similar to those in other coeval graduals from southern Italy in Beneventan script and notation. Unfortunately, there are not many. The only complete gradual in Beneventan script and notation from Montecassino is the first of a two-part volume and contains the *pars hiemalis* of the liturgical year; the formularies in this fragment would have been in the *pars aestivalis*, from Easter to the end of the liturgical year.¹⁶ Thus, we cannot directly compare the fragment to complete contemporaneous Beneventan-script graduals from Montecassino containing the same formularies. While not graduals, the Cassinese missals MC127 and Vat. lat. 6082, copied in Beneventan script and dating from the eleventh and late twelfth centuries, respectively, can offer a point of comparison.¹⁷ The formularies and chants of the bifolium can be compared to those in these missals and in the graduals in Beneventan script and notation kept at the Biblioteca Capitolare of Benevento: the codices Ben 34, Ben 35, Ben 38, Ben 39, and Ben 40 (these and other manuscripts cited are outlined in Table 2).

Tab. 2 – Manuscripts cited

Name	Type	Date	Origin	Destination
MC127	Missal	Late XI	Montecassino	Albaneta, Santa Maria
Vat. Lat. 6082	Missal	Late XII	Montecassino	Montecassino?
Ben 20	Missal-Breviary	XII	Benevento	Benevento
Ben 29	Missal	XII	Benevento	Benevento, San Pietro
Ben 34	Gradual	First half XII	Benevento	Benevento
Ben 35	Gradual	Early XII	Benevento	Benevento
Ben 38	Gradual	Beginning XI	Benevento	Benevento
Ben 39	Gradual	End XI	Benevento	Benevento, San Pietro

¹⁶ MC 546.

¹⁷ MC127 was copied at Montecassino for the monastery of Santa Maria in Albaneta. LOWE, *The Beneventan Script* cit., p. 70.

Tab. 2 – Manuscripts cited (*continued*)

Ben 40	Gradual	First half XI	Benevento	Benevento
Ben 42	Breviary et al.	2nd half XII	Benevento	Benevento, San Pietro
Ben 44	Breviary	XIII	San Salvatore, Goletto	Dip. di San Salvatore
Ben 66	Ordinal	Late XII	Benevento	Benevento, San Pietro
ACSPe 973	Gradual	End XII	?	Abruzzo?

Since there are two missing bifolia between f. 144 and 149, the bifolium was not the central part of a gathering in the dismembered source, and there is a significant lacuna between the chants for the feast of SS. Simon and Jude (28 October) on f. 144*v* and the ones for S. Martin (11 November) on f. 149*r*. All the Beneventan graduals transmit a large number of chants for the Feast of All Saints (1 November), so it is reasonable to believe that the fragment would have included something similar at one time. F. 144*r* contains the feasts that come first in liturgical order and is the least legible part of the bifolium. It contains textual incipits for the proper chants for the Masses of SS. Cornelius and Cyprian, S. Matthew and SS. Cosmas and Damian. The formularies seem incomplete as listed, but they are simply illegible in the source. F. 149*r* contains the last part of the sequence for S. Martin; the first part of this feast is missing as well as the last part of the sequence and the rest of the chants for the proper of SS. Simon and Jude.

There are a few notable similarities between the bifolium, the Cassinese missals, and the Beneventan graduals. One is the presence of the communion *Sint lumbi vestri* for the Feast of SS. Cornelius and Cyprian. As Luisa Nardini points out, this communion is a rare example of a chant that was transmitted from the Roman liturgy to Benevento and other areas of southern Italy, possibly through Montecassino.¹⁸ In the bifolium, it is notated in full and has

¹⁸ LUISA NARDINI, *Roman Intruders in non-Roman Chant Manuscripts: The Cases of Sint lumbi vestri and Domine si tu es*, «Acta Musicologica», XXVIII, 1, 2010, pp. 1-20; LUISA NARDINI, *Interlacing Traditions: Neo-Gregorian Chant Propers in Beneventan Manuscripts*, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2016 («Monumenta liturgica beneventana», 8), pp. 35, 108. This communion is used for the feasts of Sts. Felix, Faustinus, and Beatrix, but also for the common of confessors, which explains its use here and in several other manuscripts (including MC 127 and Vat. Lat. 6082) for the feast of Sts. Cornelius and Cyprian (see NARDINI, *Interlacing Traditions* cit., 172).

the same melody as found in Beneventan manuscripts. Indeed the bifolium shares with other Beneventan sources several Neo-Gregorian chants in addition to *Sint lumbi vestri*, as identified by Luisa Nardini: *O virum ineffabilem, Sacerdos Dei Martine, Exaltent eum in ecclesia, Gloria et honore*.¹⁹ Despite their similarities, differences between the bifolium, the Cassinese missals, and the eleventh- and twelfth-century graduals from Benevento give clues as to its origin. Through this fragment we can catch a glimpse of what a twelfth-century gradual might have looked like in Abruzzo.

For the most part, the chants on the bifolium appear in the same order as they do in Beneventan graduals,²⁰ but there are a few notable differences. Ben 34 and Ben 38 do not have formularies for the vigil of S. Matthew (Ben 34 has only the introit *Ego autem* as an incipit); Ben 35 has the offertory *Veritas mea* instead of *Exultabunt* in the formulary for SS. Cornelius and Cyprian, while Ben 40 has both. Ben 35 and Ben 40 have formularies for the feasts of S. Nicomedes (in Ben 35 and Ben 40) and S. Euphemius (in Ben 35) between those for SS. Cornelius and Cyprian and the Vigil of S. Matthew. All the Beneventan graduals except Ben 39 omit formularies for the vigil of SS. Simon and Jude. Other differences between the Abruzzese fragment and the graduals at Benevento include the presence of an additional alleluia, *Loquebar de testimoniis*, for the feast of S. Cecilia in Ben 34, Ben 39, and Ben 40.

One formulary in the bifolium that is not present in the Beneventan graduals is likely a local, Abruzzese feature of the parent source of the bifolium fragment, and confirms that the codex was used in Abruzzo and perhaps in Corfinium. The formulary of SS. Lucia and Geminianus on 16 September on the bifolium is a duplicate of the feasts of these saints, also (and more commonly) celebrated on 13 December and 31 January, respectively. It is not surprising, then, that none of the Beneventan graduals contain this feast on September 16. However, the Beneventan missal Ben 29 copied at S. Sofia of Benevento for the female monastery of S. Pietro intra muros, the ordinal Ben 66 and the breviary Ben 42 copied for the same monastery do include formularies for this feast on 16 September, as does the breviary Ben 44 and the Cassinese missal MC 127.²¹ This makes the bifolium fragment unusual in that it is a gradual and not a breviary or missal that contains this formulary.

¹⁹ See Table 1 and NARDINI, *Interlacing Traditions* cit., pp. 172-174.

²⁰ JEAN MALLET – ANDRÉ THIBAUT, *Les manuscrits en écriture bénéventaine de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent*, 3 vols, Paris, CNRS Editions, 1984-1977 («Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'I.R.H.T.»), 71).

²¹ MALLET – THIBAUT, *Les manuscrits* cit., II, pp. 287-288.

The chants are used in the formularies for many other feasts, and are found notated in other manuscripts. Its presence in the Beneventan codices could indicate that this feast was particularly celebrated in female monasteries in Benevento. Its presence in the bifolium, however, provides evidence that the gradual from which the bifolium was taken was in fact used in the diocese of Sulmona-Valva, and perhaps in the cathedral of S. Pelino in Corfinium itself. It would have been important to transmit the formulary for this feast in a liturgical codex used in the vicinity of Corfinium because the relics of S. Lucy had been kept in Corfinium, taken there by the duke of Spoleto, Faraold II (who reigned from 703-724) from Sicily, as narrated by the monk Sigebert of Gembloux in an eleventh-century sermon.²² Moreover, documents of the possessions of Montecassino in Abruzzo indicate that there was a church of S. Lucy in Abruzzo that was a dependency of S. Liberatore Maiella. It had passed to S. Liberatore (and, consequently, to Montecassino), from the diocese of Chieti in 1046.²³ It is very likely, therefore, that the gradual from which the bifolium was taken was used in Corfinium in the twelfth century.

Its use in Abruzzo may also explain the presence in the bifolium of the notated alleluia *Vós estis qui permansistis* for the feast of SS. Simon and Jude. None of the Beneventan graduals transmit this Alleluia for this feast, and neither do the Cassinese missals Vat. Lat. 6082 and MC 127, but in the fragment it is found in this formulary notated in full. This is only notated in one other manuscript from Benevento, the missal-breviary Ben 20. The only other source in the Biblioteca Capitolare to have this text at all is the missal Ben 29, and there it is only an *incipit*. This alleluia has the same text as that for an office antiphon of SS. Philip and James, the Common of the Apostles, and S. Matthias. The melody of the chant is the same for both the alleluia and for the verse. This melody belonged exclusively to this text since it has no melodic concordances with any other text. The melody presents many Italic traits, including the use of recurring formulae, the repetition of the same melody for verse and for alleluia and the limited melodic range and stepwise contour centered on the pitch G, as shown in Ex. 1.

²² SIGEBERT VON GEMBOUX, *Acta Sanctae Luciae*, edited by Tino Licht, Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag, Carl Winter, 2008. The relics of S. Lucy did not stay long in Corfinium, later traveling to the Church of S. Vincent in Metz in the tenth century by order of the Emperor Otho I, thereafter found in Constantinople, and eventually to S. George in Venice. See JAMES BRIDGE, *St. Lucy*, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, New York, Robert Appleton Company, 1910, <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09414a.htm>> [accessed 14 August 2020].

²³ DELL'OMO, *Le carte di S. Liberatore* cit., LXXXVIII doc. 34, p. 186, doc. 219.

Al - le - lu - ia

lu - ia

Vos

es - tis qui

per - man - sis - tis me - cum

Ex. 1 - Alleluia *Vos estis qui permansistis* in the bifolium

This chant is also present in the formulary for SS. Phillip and James in a few northern and central Italian sources: From Modena (Modena O.I.13 f. 175*v*), Pistoia (Pistoia 119 and 120, where it is used for the feast of S. Bartholomew), Ravenna (Roma, Biblioteca Angelica 123) and Norcia (Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana C 52).²⁴ It may therefore be an Italian melody,

²⁴ KARLHEINZ SCHLAGER, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire*, Munich, W. Ricke, 1965; for the presence of the Alleluia in Pistoia choirbooks, see JAMES MAIELLO, *The Pistoia Choirbooks: An Introduction to the Sources and Repertory*, Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2007, p. 138. This is Schlager

and perhaps a witness to transmission between southern and northern Italy; its presence here indicates that institutions in Abruzzo were also part of this inter-regional transmission of chant repertoire.

The omission in the bifolium of a formulary for the feast of the dedication of S. Michael (September 29) also hints that the gradual would have been used in Abruzzo. The formulary and chants for the dedication of S. Michael should have come between the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian (September 27) and that of SS. Simon and Jude (October 28). The Beneventan codices contain rich formularies for this feast, as for example that in the gradual Ben 40. But in southern Italy S. Michael's feast was also celebrated for the Invention of S. Michael in Monte Gargano, on May 8. This was the more important and local of the two feasts dedicated to the archangel.²⁵ Thus the chants for the feast of S. Michael in the original manuscript from which the bifolium was taken would have been found in the sanctoral cycle during the month of May; that it is not also found on September 29 is an archaic trait.²⁶ The phenomenon of peripheral survival of older traditions was already observed by Richard Gyug and Hana Breko with regards to Dalmatian Beneventan-script liturgical sources.²⁷

Another retrospective feature of the Beneventan bifolium, as well as one that reveals a connection to the chant tradition for this feast at Benevento in particular is the inclusion of the offertory verse *O beatum virum* for the offertory *O virum ineffabilem* for the feast of S. Martin. Offertory verses were used less and less as time went on.²⁸ This offertory in the bifolium resembles that in Ben 34, Ben 38, Ben 39, and Ben 40, which each have the respond and one verse (*O beatum virum Martinum*), whereas this same

melody 328.

²⁵ LUISA NARDINI, *The Diffusion of Gregorian Chant in Southern Italy and the Masses for St. Michael: To Barbara Hagg and to the Memory of Michel Huglo*, «The Oxford Handbook of Music and World Christianities», 2015, <<https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199859993.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199859993-e-32>> [accessed 6 October 2020].

²⁶ KELLY, *The Beneventan Chant* cit., pp. 11, 65-73.

²⁷ *Missale Ragusinum: The Missal of Dubrovnik* (Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon. Liturg. 342), edited by Richard Gyug, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1990; HANA BREKO, *Among the Beneventan, Italian, South German and Hungarian Traditions: Research Aspects of Croatian Medieval Plainchant Manuscripts*, «Journal of Croatian Studies», XLII, 2001, pp. 71-91.

²⁸ For the rarity of offertory verses in later sources, see REBECCA MALOY, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 14, 62, 69, 214.

chant in MC 127 and Vat. lat. 6082 and a few other sources contain only the respond.²⁹ Like Ben 34 and Ben 38, the bifolium only transmits one offertory for S. Martin along with one verse; Ben 39, Ben 40, MC 127, and MC 6082 transmit two offertories for this feast. The formulary for S. Martin in the bifolium would have begun with the introit *Beatus Martinus*, which Alejandro Planchart notes is of southern Italian origin. Another formulary for this feast in a more retrospective missal from Abruzzo, Vat. Lat. 4770, seems to have been transmitted from southern France; the presence of both the southern Italian and the southern French formularies for S. Martin in sources used in Abruzzo shows the variety of influences in the liturgy of the region.³⁰ Institutions in Abruzzo apparently shared with those at Benevento the custom of including local and ancient offertory verses for this feast. The use of offertory verses indicates a more formal liturgy, as offertory verses were used to accompany processional movements during the Mass.³¹ The presence of *O virum ineffabilem* here with a respond and a single verse as in Ben 34 and Ben 38 gives insight into the transmission of chants for S. Martin in southern Italy.

Besides differences in formularies that indicate local Abruzzese use, there are melodic variants and differences in notation between the bifolium and the Beneventan graduals that may reflect regional differences of notation in the twelfth century. An example of a melodic variant can be seen in a divergent cadential formula in the introit *Dicit Dominus*, where Ben 34 and Ben 35 agree against the bifolium (see Fig. 1-3).

²⁹ NARDINI, *Interlacing Traditions* cit., p. 326. Ben 35 is unusual in that it contains the respond and four verses.

³⁰ ALEJANDRO PLANCHART, *The Geography of Martinmas*, in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music*, edited by Sean Gallagher, James Haar, John Nádas, and Timothy Striplin, Burlington, Ashgate, 2003, pp. 119-156. See especially *ivi*, pp. 146-147.

³¹ MALOY, *Inside the Offertory* cit., p. 27; *Chant and its Origins*, edited by Thomas Forrest Kelly, New York, Routledge, 2016, p. 273.

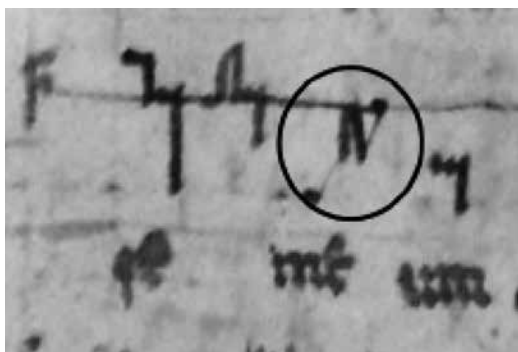


Fig. 1 - *Dicit Dominus*, final cadence in bifolium

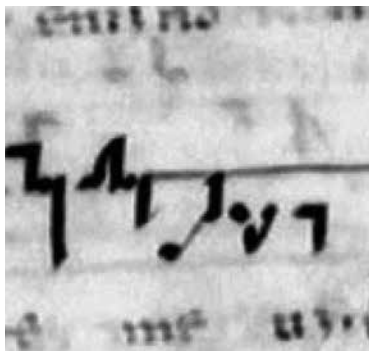


Fig. 2 - *Dicit Dominus*, final cadence in Ben 35, f. 155r

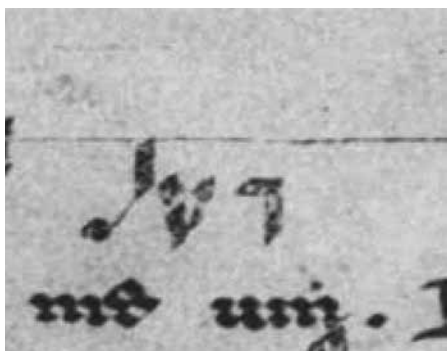


Fig. 3 - *Dicit Dominus*, final cadence in Ben 34, f. 244v

Both of these cadences are common. While the cadence in the fragment involves a repetition of the F before the final clivis on E-D, the melody in the Beneventan graduals descends immediately after reaching the pitch F so that E and D are repeated under a porrectus neume before the final clivis on these same notes. The non-repetition of the final cadence notes or the avoidance of a descent after the F might have been features of cadential style in the place where the fragment was copied. This is more than just idle speculation, since the same variant recurs as an internal cadence of the same introit at the words «de ore tuo adest» (see Fig. 4-6).

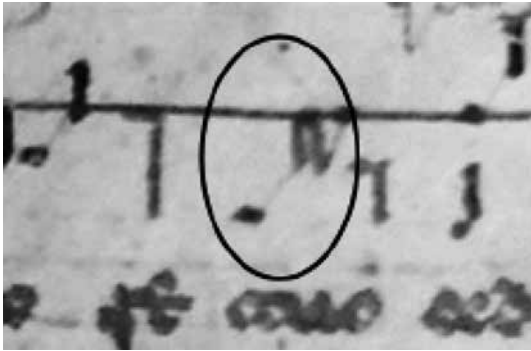


Fig. 4 - *Dicit Dominus*, internal cadence in bifolium

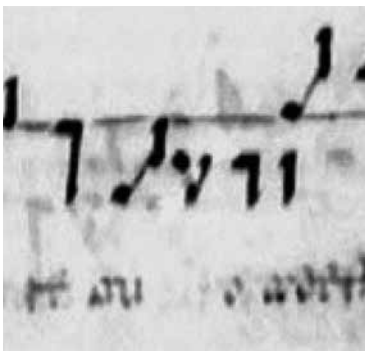


Fig. 5 - *Dicit Dominus*, internal cadence in Ben 35, f. 155r

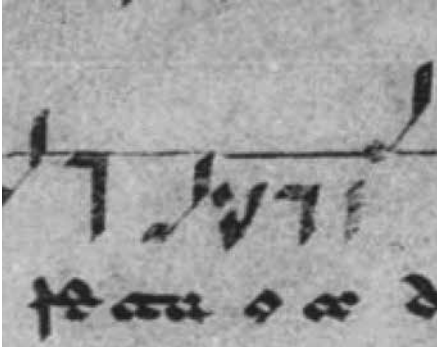


Fig. 6 - *Dicit Dominus*, internal cadence in Ben 34, f. 244v

Clearly, if cantors performed from this codex, the chant would have been sung and heard differently at the place where this gradual was used than at Benevento.

In terms of notation, the bifolium resembles that of other early twelfth-century manuscripts that include a great number of notational signs indicating vocal nuance: liquescent signs such as the looped tractulus and the cross-shaped virga. Liquescent signs were increasingly falling out of use by the end of the twelfth century. In the notated communion incipit for S. Cecilia in the bifolium, *Confundantur superbi*, the final word «confundar» includes a liquescent clavis above the letters «nd» (see Fig. 7-9). This is an example of a melodic variant in conjunction with the inclusion (or exclusion) of a liquescent neume.

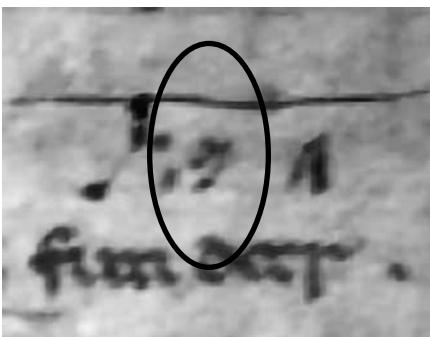


Fig. 7 - Bifolium final cadence of *Confundantur superbi*

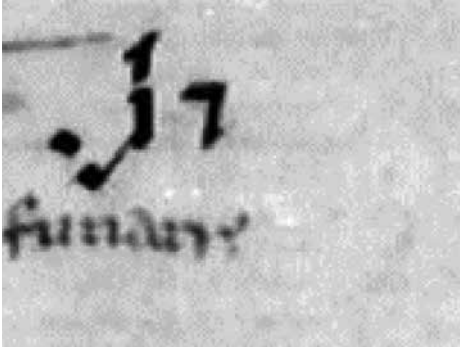


Fig. 8 - Ben 35 f. 155r final cadence of *Confundantur superbi*

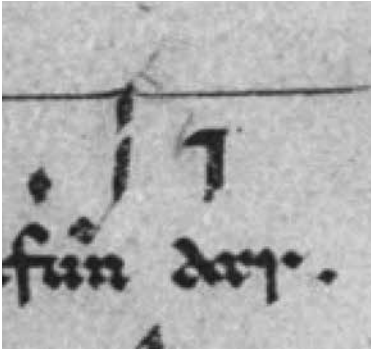


Fig. 9 - Ben 34 f. 244v final cadence of *Confundantur superbi*

Similarly, at the word ‘acceptaverunt’ of *Dicit Dominus*, Ben 35 and the bifolium fragment both include a liquescent virga; Ben 34, which in general is much less nuance-rich compared to the other two graduals, reports a melodic variant instead of the liquescence: a rising neume culminating in a torculus, perhaps an attempt at capturing a vocal nuance which, in the absence of the use of liquescences, results in an actual notated melodic variant (see Fig. 10-12).

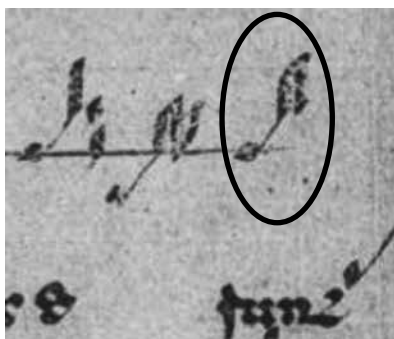


Fig. 10 - Rising neume in *Dicit Dominus* Ben 34, f. 244v

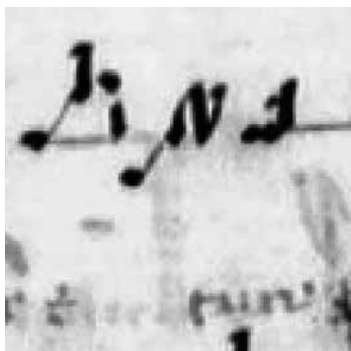


Fig. 11 - *Dicit Dominus*, Ben 35 f. 155r liquescent neume

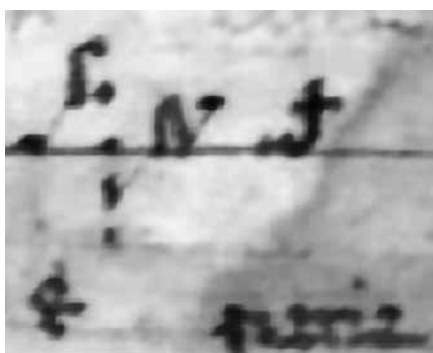


Fig. 12 - *Dicit Dominus*, bifolium f. 149v liquescent neume

Perhaps variants for vocal nuance, something that could be perceived aurally, over time became melodic variants in notation due to the disappearance of special neumes to indicate liquescence.

These differences between the bifolium and the graduals in Benevento point to its use in Abruzzo. But might it also have been copied there? The presence of archaic features such as offertory verses and liquescences where they had disappeared elsewhere seems to suggest this. Or could this have been similar to the volumes made by Abbot Theobald for S. Liberatore Maiella at Montecassino, copied at the larger monastery for one of its Abruzzese dependencies? If locally copied, then the scribal norms in Abruzzo were remarkably similar to those at Montecassino. More evidence from other fragments in the Abruzzo region known to be locally copied is needed before ascribing local origin to the sources of this fragment. Nevertheless, the decorated initial “D” of *Dicit Dominus*, the introit for the Mass of S. Clement, on f. 149v of the bifolium, as well as the Cassinese-type Beneventan script and use of a red F line closely resembles the notation of liturgical manuscripts copied at Montecassino. For example, the Schøyen fragment MS 1681, a folio fragment from an antiphoner copied at Montecassino in the second half of the twelfth century, also contains a red F line and a decorated initial in black ink with interlacing foliage but in which no human or animal forms are discernible.³² This would seem to suggest that the scribe of the Abruzzese gradual either copied it at Montecassino or at least was familiar with the scribal norms of Montecassino at the time.

The differences between the Abruzzese fragment and other notated Beneventan graduals allow for the reconstruction of scribal, cultic or liturgical practices in the region. Beneventan fragments from peripheral areas such as Abruzzo beg for an investigation of the processes whereby formularies and chants were adapted to local liturgical customs. In the case of Abruzzo, the presence of fragments that resemble those from larger scriptoria yet show adaptation for their local destination indicate that a lively bibliographical exchange was coupled with a strong adherence to local traditions. The chants on fragments such as those of the gradual bifolium from the archive of Sulmona-Valva show how largely standardised liturgical sources were nevertheless ‘domesticated’ to reflect the importance of local feasts and how peripheral sources may have retained older scribal and repertorial features that were disappearing elsewhere. The similarities with central sources remind us of the lively exchange of liturgical books in the region which led

³² *The Schøyen Collection* <<https://www.schoyencollection.com/music-notation/beneventan-neumes/antiphonal-beneventan-neumes-ms-1681>> [accessed 7 August 2020].

to a high degree of scribal uniformity. The story of peripheral fragments has the potential to be not only one of origins and destinations, but also of travel, exchange and local practices.

The similarities between the notation and decoration of the Schøyen fragment MS 1681 and the bifolium fragment make the origin of the Abruzzese fragments at the scriptorium at Montecassino very likely. Historical context corroborates this assumption. Not only did Montecassino have many possessions in Abruzzo, the geographical position and socio-political situation of the diocese of Sulmona-Valva in the late Middle Ages also allowed for the travel of liturgical custom and musical material, both notated and un-notated, which gave rise to similarities in the liturgical characteristics and codices used at Montecassino and in Abruzzo. Present-day Abruzzo was one of the most well-connected locations in medieval times, given the large number of Roman roads still in use there: the *Via Claudia Nova* and the *Via Valeria* from West to East and another road from North to South leading down into present-day Molise, well-traversed thoroughfares which would later form the *Via degli Abruzzi*.³³ The region of Abruzzo was also furrowed by the famous and still-extant *tratturi*, the millennial paths along which shepherds led flocks southward into Apulia and to the Adriatic coast during the harsh winter months in an annual migration known as *transumanza*. The physical connection between Abruzzo and Montecassino accounts for an actual material exchange of sources from there into Abruzzo, and presumably also into the diocese of Sulmona-Valva, and a standardization of scribal production and homogeneous liturgical practices.

As Francis Newton points out, numerous literary items preserved at Montecassino show that «there was a flow of students and scholars» between Montecassino and the Abruzzi, and in particular of «a significant group of young monks who seem often to have been of noble birth, who in a number of cases rose to high ecclesiastical station, and who certainly possessed literary interests and training in the arts».³⁴ Specifically in the matter of writing Montecassino was closely connected to ecclesiastical institutions in the region of Abruzzo, especially with Chieti and Sulmona.³⁵ Francis Newton,

³³ *L'Abruzzo Romano, Percorsi Didattici in Abruzzo: Beni Archeologici* <<http://www.spazio-vidio.it/arqueo/HTML/romano.html>> [accessed 14 August 2020]; ELENI SAKELLARIOU, *Southern Italy in the Late Middle Ages: Demographic, Institutional and Economic Change in the Kingdom of Naples ca. 1440- ca. 1530*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2012, pp. 144-146 («The Medieval Mediterranean», 94).

³⁴ NEWTON, *The Scriptorium* cit., p. 247.

³⁵ *Ivi*, p. 178.

in a study of the scriptorium and literary holdings of Montecassino in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, notes that

[Although] Sulmona is not in the old Beneventan territory, but the abbey [Montecassino] had extensive possessions and influence in the region of the Marsi and the Paeligni [tribal/family names of present-day Abruzzo], and it shows a strong interest in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that two of the three oldest complete manuscripts were written in this period in Beneventan, and that one certainly came to Monte Cassino no later than the first half of the twelfth century, probably as a gift.³⁶

Similarly, Newton notes that the manuscript Montecassino 465, a life of S. Gregory from the eleventh century, came from the monastery of S. Petrus de Avellana, Abruzzo. Dom Mauro Inguanez, in his published lists of Beneventan manuscript fragments at Montecassino, noted that several came from the region of Abruzzo.³⁷ The presence and exchange of material in Beneventan script between Montecassino and the Abruzzi accounts for the similarity between the Beneventan fragments in the diocese of Sulmona-Valva and more complete sources in Montecassino.

Whatever their origin, subsequent exchanges of written material within the diocese of Sulmona-Valva are much harder to characterise due to the impermanence of its archive's location in the Middle Ages. The diocese of Sulmona-Valva featured the singular phenomenon of an itinerant episcopal archive, since the diocese comprised two official episcopal sees, with two cathedral chapters in two separate locations. Both the churches of S. Pelino at Corfinium and St. Panfilus at Sulmona were officially-recognised cathedrals of the diocese, as a Papal bull of Leo IX in 1058 declared this to be so, although it seems that the bishops preferred to use the Cathedral of St. Pelino at Corfinium as their official residence until the end of the 13th century.³⁸ Since capitular archives resided with the bishop, over the years different bishops' domiciliary preferences at one or another cathedral provoked the constant migration of archival documents and treasures, along with the

³⁶ *Ivi*, p. 278.

³⁷ MAURO INGUANEZ, *I Frammenti onciali cassinesi delle Enarr. in Psalmos e dei tractatus in Joannis Evang. di S. Agostino. II. Nota su un documento del IX. sec. di S. Martino al Volturno. III. Frammenti di un necrologio cassinese del sec. XI. IV. Un documento cassinese del sec. XIII*, Montecassino, [s.e.], 1932 («Miscellanea cassinese», XI); NEWTON, *The Scriptorium* cit., p. 240. Unfortunately, Newton informs us that «these fragments, preserved at Monte Cassino down to the Second World War, have not been seen since, as far as the present writer knows» (p. 240).

³⁸ ORSINI, *Archivio Storico della Curia* cit., pp. 9-10.

mingling of episcopal documents with two different sets of archival records, namely, those belonging to each of the cathedrals' canonical chapters.³⁹ Compounding this clerical confusion, in times of *sede vacante* before a new bishop was elected, the archives were sometimes sacked by the very canons of the cathedrals, and battles took place over which cathedral chapter had the right to retain archival documents.⁴⁰ As if squabbles and sackings were not enough to despoil the diocesan treasures of Sulmona-Valva, in 1706, when archival documents were kept in the Cathedral of S. Pamphilus, a terrible earthquake that caused the entire structure of the cathedral to collapse led to further documentary destruction.⁴¹

The fact that the chants in the gradual bifolium fragment seem to recall local practices suggests that the parent source was at least used at an institution in Abruzzo. Thus it was either an import adapted to an Abruzzese institution at a major scriptorium outside the region such as Montecassino, or else it was copied locally in Abruzzo. If locally copied, this might explain why there was more of a survival of older features such as the inclusion of offertory verses. If locally copied, then the scribal norms in the Abruzzo region were remarkably similar to those at Montecassino. Giorgia Corso's hypothesis in her study of the liturgical manuscripts and their illuminations at the cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore in Guardiagrele, separated from Corfinium by the mountain Maiella, of what the ecclesiastical library at Santa Maria Maggiore would have looked like can be similarly applied to the cathedral of S. Pelino: «We can reasonably suppose that it was formed by codices of the monastic type, perhaps produced in the Benedictine scriptoria of the Maiella, of which S. Liberatore, S. Salvatore and that of S. Clemente in Còmino were extremely active since the high Middle Ages».⁴² Corso affirms that there was a rich scribal tradition within Abruzzo of liturgical book production emanating

³⁹ *Ivi*, p. 11.

⁴⁰ *Ivi*, p. 20.

⁴¹ ORSINI, *Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale di San Pamphilo* cit.; ORSINI, *Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale di San Pelino* cit.; ORSINI, *Archivio Storico della Curia* cit. Today, the documents in this archive offer a glimpse at some unique characteristics of the local medieval liturgy and at the vicissitudes of regional ecclesiastical politics, particularly interesting given the historical tensions between the cities Valva and Sulmona and their bi-cathedral diocese.

⁴² GIORGIA CORSO, *Manoscritti miniati di Santa Maria Maggiore a Guardiagrele*, in *Mezzogiorno Medievale*, II, Pescara, Edizioni ZiP, 2006, p. 18: «Possiamo ragionevolmente supporre che fosse formata da codici di tipo monastico, forse prodotti dagli scriptoria benedettini della Maiella, quali S. Liberatore, S. Salvatore e quello di S. Clemente a Còmino, estremamente attivi fin dall'età altomedievale».

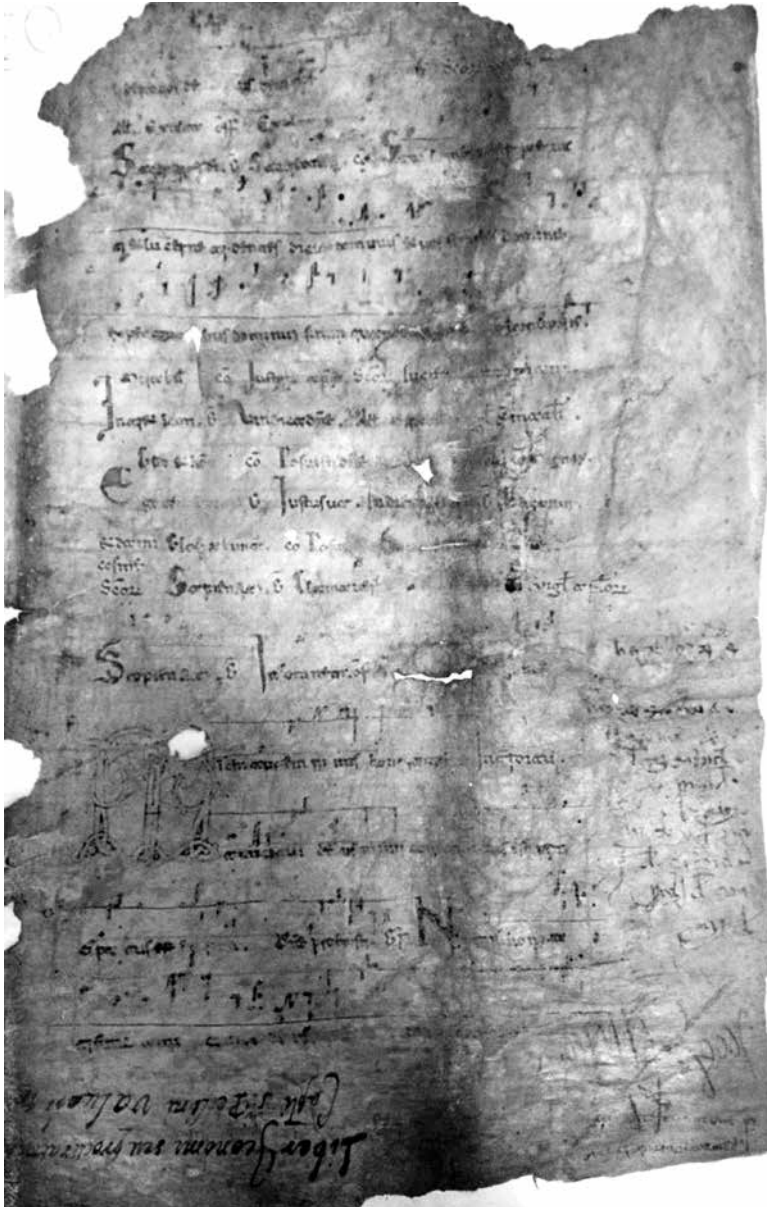
from the Abruzzese Benedictine abbeys of S. Liberatore, S. Salvatore and S. Clemente, all surrounding this mountain. Like S. Pelino, Santa Maria Maggiore in Guardiagrele was a cathedral; perhaps at one time the local Benedictine scriptoria provided the books for the area's monasteries, which were then transferred to the cathedrals when older books were replaced by newer ones. This replacement of liturgical books corresponded to the increase in the power of cathedral canons (with a concomitant interest in the purchase of new liturgical books for their libraries) and the reforms of liturgical texts implemented by the ever-growing mendicant orders and Pope Nicholas III.⁴³ Corso describes this massive and concerted effort to replace old liturgical books with newly-copied, imported ones right at the end of the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth century: «the beginning of the Trecento saw a long and capillary diffusion of reformed [liturgical] books, which replaced the liturgical libraries by now obsolete yet remaining in use in many religious institutions».⁴⁴ When new books were being imported in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, the obsolete volumes could have been dismembered and used as flyleaves and binding reinforcements for these new codices. Unfortunately, because of the poor survival of sources with notation copied locally in the Abruzzo region, the hypothesis of local copying of the Beneventan bifolium in question must remain speculative. Although substantial material evidence from a scriptorium in the Abruzzo region where «elegant books in Lombard script» were copied remains elusive, these fragments, which however contain significant musical material for drawing comparisons with more complete sources from central areas, serve as tantalizing suggestions of what the products of such a scriptorium might have looked like in the late Middle Ages.

⁴³ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*: «L'inizio del Trecento vide una larga e capillare diffusione dei libri riformati, che andarono a svecchiare le biblioteche liturgiche ormai obsolete, rimaste ancora in uso presso numerose istituzioni religiose»

APPENDIX

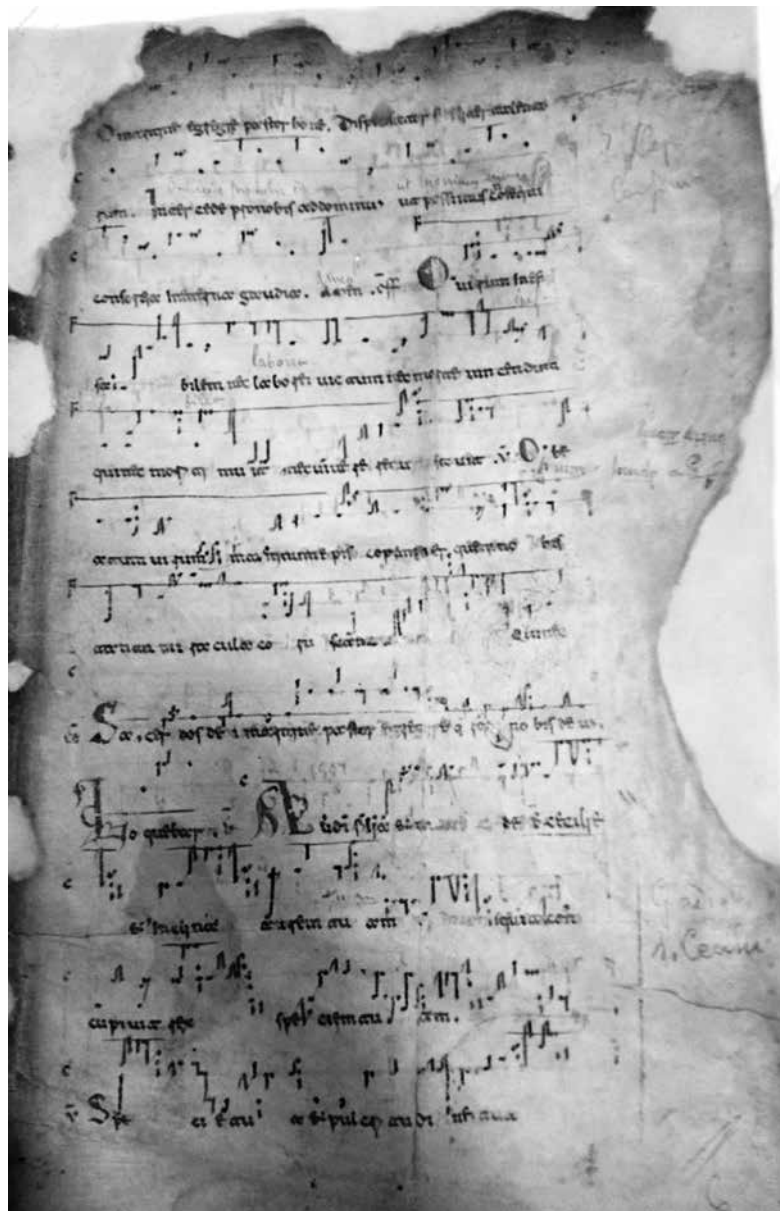
The bifolium at the Cathedral of San Pelino



Corfinium, San Pelino Cathedral Archive, ACSPe 973, f. 144r. This image and the following ones are published by permission of the Cathedral Archive of the diocese of Sulmona-Valva.

Principat ante o sum. Dimittit probo
 of si si per ase. nam quid
 pi co hui ar. **R** ele. tu ro.
 epi qui per u si st
 me cum in ari p car. soni bus me q ego au. aem hui
 di o iate sum fcaor qui. **R** ma
 tu ro. **C** of si si hui hui hui mundi
 eui p q. **P** si de. bi. an. ari ma f uel ari.
Sicut sine ari p. se. ma. ari. a. p. f. o. l. o. p. a. n. o. t. e.
 p. n. o. t. e. a. b. i. s. i. s. t. a. r. u. m. f. i. c. a. o. r. q. s. i. g. n. o. r. u. m. **E** c. c. l. e. s. i. a.
 p. a. n. m. o. s. i. s. u. a. t. e. m. o. d. e. r. a. t. e. s. **Q**ui p. r. i. d. o. c. q. r. n. o. i. s. f. u. a. t.
 p. o. s. i. t. e. n. f. u. a. t. e. s. **A** n. a. p. o. s. t. o. l. i. c. i. s. c. o. n. c. e. d. u. n. t. e. a. b. i.

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Abstract

A twelfth-century bifolium fragment of a gradual in Beneventan script at the archive of the Cathedral of S. Pelino in Corfinium (Abruzzo) bears significant similarities to contemporaneous graduals copied in Montecassino and Benevento while simultaneously manifesting local re-contextualization of musical, liturgical, and paleographic traditions for use in Abruzzo. I discuss the historical context and musical significance of the chants in the fragment by analyzing its formularies, melodies, and notation. Despite its similarity with the Beneventan graduals, the fragment contains local and archaic features: the inclusion of offertory verses, the presence of a formulary for SS. Lucia and Geminianus, the omission of a September 29 formulary for S. Michael, the meticulous use of quilismas and liquescences, a recurring variant cadential formula in the introit Dicit Dominus and the presence of the Alleluia Vos estis qui permansistis, found fully notated in one other source from Benevento. These details help determine the fragment's origin, give clues as to how the chants might have been sung, and provide a tantalizing glimpse into how once more numerous Beneventan-script liturgical manuscripts used in Abruzzo might have looked.

Keywords

Beneventan notation, Abruzzo, Corfinium, gradual, chant