

ABSTRACT

Ecce Lignum Crucis – Medieval Piety, Ingenuity, and Music:
A Transcription and Translation of the Good Friday Liturgy in the Jennings MS 9

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Music has played a crucial role in Christian worship since the beginning of Christianity itself. Over the course of the first millennium of this era, a large repertory of monophonic chants was developed and disseminated through oral transmission. The Western Church encouraged the development of systems of musical notation to preserve these chants, of which square notation eventually became dominant. Scribes compiled and copied various types of liturgical books, including Graduals that contained both chants and rubrics for the observance of the Mass. This study investigates a manuscript Gradual of plainchant in square notation, the Baylor University Jennings Collection MS 9, which originated in Spain during the late fifteenth century, endeavoring to contextualize it within its historical and liturgical framework. Focusing particularly on the Good Friday section within Holy Week, the study considers the paleographic, codicological, and musical features of the manuscript, transcribing and translating both music and text.

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ECCE LIGNUM CRUCIS – MEDIEVAL PIETY, INGENUITY, AND MUSIC:
A TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY LITURGY IN
THE JENNINGS MS 9

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PREFACE

This thesis grew out a combination of the diverse interests and skills I have acquired while at Baylor University. As a University Scholar concentrating in piano performance and German, I have been privileged with the flexibility to pursue my interests in music and languages, taking advanced hours in both Latin and German, in addition to music performance. My experience in Latin paleography stems from my three years of participation with the Green Scholars Initiative (GSI), a collaboration between students and faculty to undertake research on biblical manuscripts in the Green Collection. Over my years engaged in transcribing and translating several medieval Latin manuscripts—namely, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (with Dr. Melinda Nielsen and Dr. David Jeffrey) and the *Frater Petrus* homilies (with Dr. Daniel Nodes)—I have produced modern versions of several thousand lines of medieval Latin.

As a music student, I have also been honored to participate in the Early Music Ensembles under the direction of Dr. Jann Cosart, serving as continuo harpsichordist for six semesters. Reading and performing music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance from facsimiles of original scores has sparked my imagination and interest in early music. Additionally, enrolling in one of Dr. Cosart's classes (History of Music before 1600) broadened my knowledge and understanding of this period.

I am very excited to be able to integrate two of my most diverse interests—music and medieval Latin paleography—in this thesis.

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I am indebted to many individuals who have graciously shared their time and expertise with me. Dr. Melinda Nielsen and Dr. David Jeffrey in the GSI have been very generous of their time, instructing me how to read the medieval Latin and decode the scribal abbreviations. My piano professor, Dr. Bradley Bolen, has been wonderfully supportive of all my endeavors at Baylor.

I must also express my thanks to the Baylor Libraries, especially the Crouch Fine Arts Library, and Clayton Crenshaw, music liaison librarian. It is thanks to their generous approval and endorsement that I was permitted to study this manuscript at length, both through high-resolution scans as well as through personal visits. Dr. Michelle Brown, former manuscript curator at the British Library and perhaps the most eminent scholar in the field of manuscript studies today, courteously shared a few hours of her time with us while visiting Baylor in November 2014, examining the manuscript and discussing possible research connections.

Dr. Jann Cosart—my ensemble director, teacher, and thesis director—has helped to shape this thesis and my understanding of early music (and music history in general) more than anyone else. Despite her own commitments, she has always graciously found time to meet with me, encourage my continued efforts, and evaluate my work. Thanks to her gracious invitation to join her research into the Jennings MS 9, I have been able to carry this exciting work with a primary source while benefiting from her considerable guidance and experience.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Music has always played a particularly pivotal role in Christian worship. Not only does the incorporation of music into worship services provide practical benefits—chanted or intoned psalms, prayers and Scripture project much more successfully in spacious basilicas than spoken words, for example—but it also contributes to the spiritual power of the service by evoking a sense of grandeur appropriate to religious worship, capitalizing on the long-recognized power of music to affect the emotions of its listeners and enhance the meaning of its text. By the close of the Middle Ages, the singing of plainchant (monophonic vocal music performed without accompaniment) in Christian services was the apex of cultural experience for the vast majority of the European population. These listeners heard it on a near daily basis, entwined with spiritual and doctrinal precepts presented to them *ex cathedra*.

To enforce orthodoxy and ensure homogeneity in a liturgical practice that stretched from Rome as far west as the Iberian peninsula, the Western Church encouraged the development of systems of musical notation to preserve a core repertory of previously orally-transmitted chants. Scribes, largely monks and nuns working in monastic *scriptoria*, compiled and copied a variety of types of liturgical books that contained the texts for the services and, increasingly, notated music for the sung portions of those services.

These liturgical books fulfilled a crucial purpose in the lives of hundreds of people; a small fraction of them have survived the long centuries to the present day. One of these is the Jennings Collection MS 9, a bound codex on parchment that is part of the Jennings Collection of Medieval Music Manuscripts and Early Printed Music, a collection of notated liturgical plainchant in various formats that comprises one of the Special Collections of the Baylor Libraries.¹ This codex is the current research interest of my thesis director, Dr. Jann Cosart, and I am grateful for her invitation to work on such a substantial manuscript: the Jennings MS 9 contains no less than 142 folios, preserving chants for the celebration of the Mass for nearly the entirety of the liturgical year. This primary source serves as the core focus of this study, and the research into the document and the transcription and translation of the material within forms the bulk of the following chapters. Considering the scope of the manuscript, this study necessarily treats only a short section in detail, but a section that is nonetheless significant: a portion of the manuscript containing the chants assigned to Holy Week, the week immediately preceding Easter. Serving as a commemoration of the Passion of Christ, one of the most important events in Christian theology, this week accordingly features elaborate chants and rituals that constitute one of the highlights of the liturgical year.

Given that the Jennings MS 9 has not received scholarly attention other than from Dr. Cosart, no literature dealing specifically with this manuscript is in existence. Artifacts and primary sources such as these are rich resources for direct research of the kind undertaken in this study. As a result, this introductory chapter will seek to provide

¹Jennings MS 9, Gradual leaves bound, manuscript on parchment, Jennings Collection, Crouch Fine Arts Library, Baylor University, Waco, TX. Hereafter, this manuscript will be referred to as the Jennings MS 9.

the crucial background information necessary to understand the Jennings MS 9 and its historical context. Basic knowledge of the liturgical atmosphere in which the manuscript originated and served its purpose is vital for successfully comprehending it, and thus the following sections are devoted to a discussion of four main topics: the structure of the Roman liturgy, the organization of chants within the service of Mass, the different types of liturgical books, and the typical progression of Holy Week.

Liturgy of the Roman Rite

While the early gatherings of Christians to partake in communal worship (for example, through fellowship, prayer, psalm singing and Scripture reading, and especially the Eucharist) were relatively unstructured, the promulgation and diversification of Christianity in the first few centuries of the Common Era saw the development of specific, regulated procedures for worship that varied greatly by region. These procedures, or rites, consisted of two main components: a calendar, which scheduled the commemoration of saints and events, and a liturgy, which dictated the organization of the worship services and had its own attached repertory of plainchant.² Numerous rites thrived from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages throughout Europe, and so too did various chant dialects, containing different monophonic musical selections to accompany the texts and rituals of their respective liturgies. However, as this study investigates a liturgical manuscript belonging to the Roman rite, this section will focus on the Roman liturgy, and its associated chant dialect, Gregorian chant.

Of the Latin rites that existed in Western Europe, the Roman rite became by far the most widespread, largely due to its sponsorship by the increasingly powerful popes of

²J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed (New York: Norton, 2010), 26–28.

the Roman church. According to legend, Pope Gregory I (r. 590-604), one of the first popes to assert the universal authority of the Western papacy, divinely received the body of the chant repertory from the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, which he subsequently recorded and disseminated. Such an account is doubtful, given Gregory's primary interest in securing the administrative power of the papacy and the fact that no musical notation is recorded until nearly two centuries after his papacy. However, Gregory's role in standardizing a liturgy and its chant repertory and training a dedicated choir of singers to perform and disseminate such a repertory was extremely influential—leading to the naming of the Gregorian chant dialect in his honor. The adoption of the Roman rite by the powerful rulers Pepin (r. 751-768) and especially Charlemagne (r. 768-814), who closely allied themselves with the Roman papacy, further grounded and established this repertory. During the reigns of these monarchs, singers who were familiar with the plainchant melodies were brought to newly established singing schools in the Frankish kingdom. Furthermore, the very atmosphere of the so-called Carolingian Renaissance (a period of intellectual rejuvenation ignited by Pepin and Charlemagne) provided both the means and the motive for the invention of musical notation.³

It must be stressed that the chant repertory existed in a more or less continuous process of development. Prior to the development of musical notation in the West around the ninth century, all chants were composed, performed, and taught through the processes of oral transmission.⁴ The only way to learn a chant was to hear it from someone else.

³Nicolas Bell, *Music in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 7–11; Richard H. Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 42–48.

⁴Burkholder, *A History of Western Music*, 32. Although accurate musical notation had been invented by several civilizations (most notably the ancient Greeks), this knowledge had been lost to Europe. Isidore of Seville, a seventh century Spanish scholar, famously wrote in his *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*: “Unless sounds are remembered by man, they perish, for they cannot be written down.”

Although the Gregorian chant repertory bears a remarkable homogeneity considering this origin, several variants do exist among the earliest manuscripts and traces of the influence of other chant dialects (especially the Greek Byzantine liturgy, which served as a model and even a source for Gregorian chant) are evident. It seems likely that the Gregorian chant repertory stabilized with the advent of Romano-Frankish manuscripts that carried the developing liturgy between the two areas. As a general consensus, however, one may say that the body of Gregorian chant existed—in roughly its present form—by 1000 AD, although compositional activity continued well beyond that year.⁵

Liturgy, deriving from the Greek *leitourgia* (“an act of public service”), can be broadly defined as the more or less organized method by which the Christian church orders and directs its expressions of public worship.⁶ The Roman liturgy is remarkably rigid and detailed in its way of accomplishing this, having structured the entire year by c. 600 into two concurrent and integrated liturgical cycles: the *Proprium de Tempore* or *Temporale* (the Proper of the Time), which commemorates the events in the life of Christ, and the *Proprium Sanctorum* or *Sanctorale* (the Proper of the Saints), which commemorates saints, other holy persons, and momentous occasions. Individual days devoted to commemorations of either cycle feature additional material appropriate to their subject. Sundays (*dominica*, “the Lord’s [day]”) typically feature more elaborate services than *feria*, ordinary weekdays lacking a special feast or commemoration. (The Latin word *feria* eventually came to signify exactly the opposite of its original meaning,

W. Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler, eds., *Source Readings in Music History*, Rev. ed (New York: Norton, 1998), 93.

⁵Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 48–50.

⁶David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 2–4.

“feast.” Since *dominica* is technically counted as the first feria, Monday is feria II, Tuesday is feria III, and so on.)

The Temporale cycle consists both of fixed-date events, associated with Christmas and the solar calendar, and movable events, associated with Easter and the lunar calendar.⁷ The successful integration of these two calendars requires a certain flexibility in the intervening days, which is accomplished through the insertion of a sort of variable “filler” time, known as Ordinary Time. As previously mentioned, the primary purpose of the Temporale is to commemorate the most important events in the life of Christ, which are assigned to specific periods of the year in chronological order. Thus, the liturgical year begins with Advent, the time of preparation for Christ’s coming and birth. Advent begins on the Sunday closest to November 30 (St. Andrew’s Day), and contains four Sundays before Christmas. Christmas, celebrated on December 25, commemorates Christ’s birth and begins the period known as Christmas Time, or Christmastide. This period ends with Epiphany on January 6, which commemorates the visit of the Magi to the Christ-child. Following Epiphany is a short section of ordinary time that fills the gap between the Christmas-based and Easter-based feasts; depending on the date of Easter, this period may be as short as one week or as long as six.

On Ash Wednesday, forty-six days before Easter Sunday, the period of Lent (*Quadragesima*, “fortieth”) begins, commemorating Jesus’ forty-day fast in the wilderness. Lent continues up until the evening of Maundy Thursday in Holy Week. Holy Week (*Hebdomada Sancta*) comprises the week immediately prior to Easter and

⁷The Christian holiday of Easter is closely associated with the Jewish Passover, which itself is calculated from a lunar calendar. Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), 6–13; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 8–12; Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine M. Beaumont (Collegeville, MN: Pueblo Books, 1998), xxiii–xxiv.

recalls the events of Christ's passion: Palm Sunday commemorates Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, while Maundy Thursday (*cena domini*, "the Lord's supper"), Good Friday (*parasceve*), and Holy Saturday (*sabbatum sanctum*) liturgically recreate the Last Supper and Christ's betrayal, crucifixion, and burial.⁸ The Paschal Triduum, the three days from the evening of Maundy Thursday until the evening of Easter Sunday, forms the focal point of the entire liturgical year, as it remembers Christ's death and burial.⁹

Easter Sunday, commemorating Christ's triumphant resurrection, initiates the period called Easter Time (also known as Paschal Time or Eastertide), which contains Ascension (the Thursday forty days after Easter, commemorating Christ's ascension into heaven) and ends with Pentecost or Whitsunday (the Sunday fifty days after Easter, commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit). Immediately after Pentecost a second, much more substantial portion of Ordinary Time begins; once again, the length of this Ordinary Time depends on the date of Easter, and thus may last between twenty-three and twenty-eight weeks until Advent begins once again.¹⁰ See Figure 1.1 on the following page for a graphic depiction of the liturgical year, illustrating the progression from Advent through the liturgical year to the next Advent.

⁸Parasceve is a word borrowed from a Greek term used by Hellenistic Jews, originally meaning the day of preparation before the Sabbath.

⁹Note that the liturgy often observes the ancient practice of beginning days following sunset; thus, evening services actually occur at the beginning of a new liturgical day.

¹⁰Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 6–9; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 10–13; Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 53–55; Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 3–6.

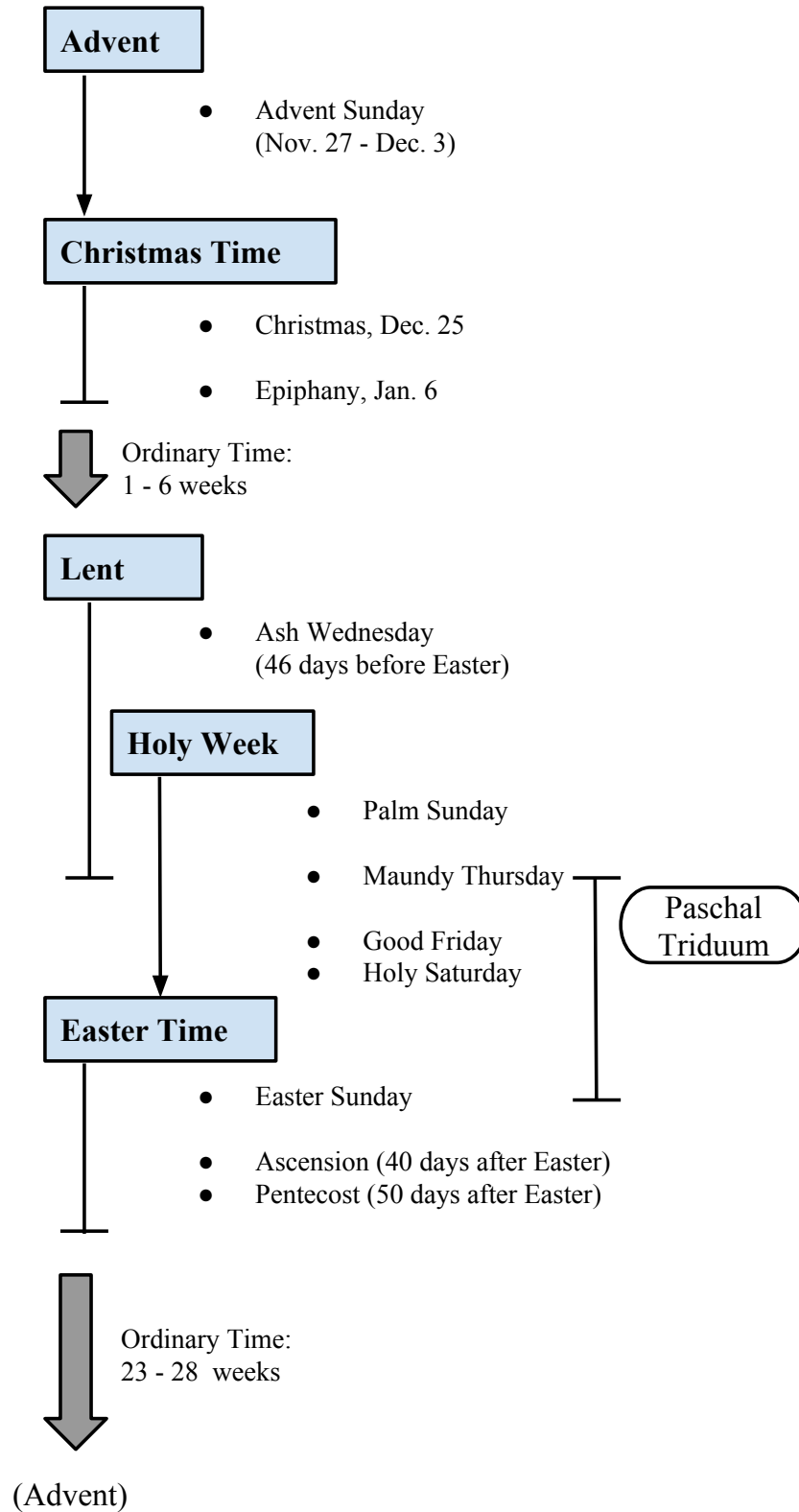


Figure 1.1. The Temporal.

Throughout the liturgical year, worship services occur daily, their content partially determined by their position in the Temporale and the Sanctorale. These services can be broadly categorized as belonging to two principal avenues of formal public worship: the Divine Office or the Mass. The Divine Office (or the Liturgy of the Hours) arose as an extension of devotional prayers and psalm singing; the eight daily services, or Hours, described in the Rule of St. Benedict (c. 530) soon became standard for Western Christendom. While most closely associated with monastic life, in which it formed an integral part of the reverent *opus dei*, “the work of God,” the Divine Office was also observed in public services, as well as in cathedral and college churches.¹¹

However, the most important service of the day was the Mass. At its core, the Mass was and remains the ritual reenactment of that most important Christian observance: the Lord’s Supper and the sacrament of the Eucharist. Deriving from the Latin word *missa* meaning “dismissal” (as in the final words of the service, “*Ite, missa est*” — “Go, it is the dismissal”), the Mass was the most complex and most musically creative of the services, employing elaborate chants of all types and genres.¹² Although the Mass—as in the case of the chant repertory—was in a continuous process of development during the Middle Ages and was partially subject to regional variation, a reasonably stable arrangement of the content of the Mass emerged around the eleventh century.¹³

¹¹Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 92–94; Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, 113–116.

¹²Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 16–19; Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 116.

¹³Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 121.

Chant Genres and their Organization within the Mass

The observance of the Mass contains multiple actions, texts, and rituals, which were formalized only after a lengthy period of development. Most scholars agree that the practices of communal Scripture reading and the singing of hymns and especially psalms have their roots in Jewish worship. The Christian tradition, although rapidly diverging from Jewish worship, retained these core components in both the Mass and the Office. Particularly in the Office, where the singing of the psalms is most important, the practice of framing each psalm with a freely composed, prose-texted antiphon developed. While the psalms themselves were intoned according to fairly simple recitation formulas, the antiphons that were sung both before and after the psalms were much more elaborate.¹⁴ As will be explained presently, the Mass includes several chants that derive from this psalm-antiphon tradition.

Structurally, the Mass can be divided into two major components—the Liturgy of the Word, which provides instruction and Scripture readings, and the Liturgy of the Eucharist, which deals with observing the sacrament. Although the early Church strongly observed this distinction, dismissing the unbaptized catechumens (those preparing for baptism and hence not yet eligible to partake of the sacrament) from the service following the conclusion of the Liturgy of the Word, by the High Middle Ages this dismissal had disappeared, leaving only the shift in character and emphasis.¹⁵ Throughout the Mass,

¹⁴Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 484–485; Jeremy Yudkin, *Music in Medieval Europe* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 87.

¹⁵Indeed, the Liturgy of the Word is considered a Fore-Mass, and is sometimes called the Mass of the Catechumens. By the High Middle Ages, very few (if any) members of a typical church congregation were unbaptized, making the dismissal superfluous. Burkholder, *A History of Western Music*, 50; Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 118–121.

ceremonial actions, clothes, books, gestures, and scents accompany the multiple clergy members involved in the service, heightening the solemnity of the observance.

Nevertheless, it is the music that has the unique power to unite and at the same time differentiate the many texts and actions of the Mass. Some of the music for the Mass is sung by the choir, while other items (predominantly readings and prayers) are intoned by the cantor or priest according to simple recitational formulas.¹⁶ As the former chants are those that appear most frequently in notation in liturgical books, these hold the most importance for this study.

Liturgical material for the Mass (such as chants, prayers, and readings) is typically grouped into two main categories: proper and ordinary. A liturgical item is proper if its content is proper to the day—that is, the item’s content changes from day to day; conversely, an item is ordinary when its content remains the same from day to day.¹⁷ Collectively, proper items are referred to as the Proper of the Mass, and ordinary items as the Ordinary of the Mass. Table 1.1 below presents the ordering of the Mass, distinguishing the items of the Mass both by their manner of performance (sung or spoken/intoned) and by their status as proper or ordinary.

¹⁶Yudkin, *Music in Medieval Europe*, 134–136.

¹⁷Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 8. The musical setting of a chant also contributes to an item’s “properness.” While a chant text may remain unaltered from day to day (and thus would be considered ordinary), there may be multiple musical settings of that chant. Some musical settings may be closely connected to certain days or seasons, and in that sense are proper.

Table 1.1. The Order of the Liturgical Items in the Roman Mass

	Sung		Spoken or Intoned	
	Proper	Ordinary	Proper	Ordinary
Prefatory Section	1. Introit	2. Kyrie 3. Gloria	4. Collect	
Liturgy of the Word	6. Gradual 7. Alleluia (Tract) (8. Sequence)	10. Credo	5. Epistle 9. Gospel	
Liturgy of the Eucharist	11. Offertory 18. Communion	14. Sanctus 17. Agnus Dei 20. Ite, missa est (Benedicamus domino)	12. [Secret] 13. Preface 19. Postcommunion	15. Canon 16. Pater Noster

There are several terms and categories with which these proper and ordinary chants may be further analyzed. Chants may be considered syllabic, melismatic, or neumatic, according to their manner of text-setting. Syllabic chants set each syllable of text to one note of music, while melismatic chants feature melismas, long strings of notes on a single syllable; neumatic chants set each syllable to a single neume, which generally contains two to five notes.¹⁸ Stylistically, the proper chants lend themselves to division into the two general categories of Antiphon-based and Responsorial. The former category of chants (to which the Introit, Offertory, and Communion belong) is structured

¹⁸Ibid., 52. In Gregorian notation, a neume is a musical symbol that specifies one or more pitches to be sung; see Chapter Two for more information.

according to the psalm-antiphon tradition, although the psalm verses themselves are largely phased out. The latter category, the Responsorial chants (Gradual, Alleluia, and Tract), feature alternation between a soloist or group of soloists and the choir. Finally, the ordinary chants, whose texts—but not their music—remain fixed are the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. These were originally sung by the congregation, but eventually the trained choir assumed this function, allowing the music to reach heights of increasing complexity and intricacy.¹⁹

In order to further concretize the content of Table 1.1, the following paragraphs describe the observance of a typical Mass. As the officiating priest for the Mass (known as the celebrant) and his assistants approach the altar, the choir sings the Introit, consisting of a free antiphon repeated on both sides of a psalm verse. Originally, the Introit contained a full psalm, but as the Introit evolved from a processional chant into more of a musical introduction to the service, the psalm was reduced to a single verse.²⁰ Following the Introit, the choir sings the Kyrie and Gloria. The Kyrie is the only chant in the Mass with a Greek text, consisting of the three-fold invocation *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison* (“Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy”). The Gloria sets the text of the Greater Doxology, which describes the nature of the Trinity, expresses praise, and petitions for divine mercy; due to its subject matter, the Gloria is typically omitted on penitential days and ordinary weekdays.²¹ After the priest intones the Collect prayer, the prefatory section of the Mass cedes to the Liturgy of the Word.

¹⁹Burkholder, *A History of Western Music*, 60.

²⁰Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 123–124.

²¹*Ibid.*, 134–135.

Two lessons or readings occur next, one from the writings of the apostles (the Epistle) and the other from one of the gospels. Between these two readings are sung two responsorial chants: the Gradual, consisting of a choral respond with a solo biblical verse, and the Alleluia, a setting of the word “Alleluia” on both sides of a biblical verse. During penitential seasons, the Alleluia is replaced by the Tract, a setting of two to fourteen verses of a psalm. On very solemn occasions, a long chant known as a Sequence may also be performed. Following the Gospel, the Credo, a setting of the Nicene Creed, is sung.²²

After the Credo, the content and tone of the Mass change, reflecting the structural shift from doctrinal instruction to the celebration of the Eucharist. The first item of the Liturgy of the Eucharist is the Offertory, an antiphon that accompanies the placement of the bread and wine on the altar. After silently reciting a prayer known as the Secret, the priest begins the Preface, a dialogue between priest and congregation that segues naturally into the Sanctus. The prayers of the Canon and the Pater Noster accompany the solemn consecration of the bread and the wine, typically consumed by the priest only during the Middle Ages. Following the Agnus Dei, the altar is cleared while the choir sings the communion chant and the priest intones the Postcommunion prayer. Finally, the congregation is dismissed, either with *Ite, missa est* (in Masses that include the Gloria) or *Benedicamus domino* (in other, more penitential times).²³

²²The Credo was the last chant to become a standard component of the Mass, remaining unauthorized by Rome until 1014. Ibid., 131.

²³Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 24.

Liturgical Books

With the understanding that the term “book” refers to a collection of material that may or may not be in a single volume, it can be asserted that the number and variety of liturgical books used in the services of the Mass and the Offices are very great. Some books were intended for different users, such as the celebrant, the cantor, or the bishop; most books distinguished between sung material and material that was recited or intoned. Nearly all books, however, can be categorized as belonging to the Mass, the Office, or other ceremonies.²⁴ As this study deals with a particular type of liturgical manuscript, it is important to be able to distinguish between the several types of books that contained material for the Mass. Accordingly, this section will briefly list and describe the content and function of the most important liturgical books.

The variety of books intended for the celebration of the Mass differ widely in their content and intended use. The *Ordo misse* provides instruction on the proper observance of the Mass by listing chants, readings, prayers, and other actions and rituals, indicating what should be spoken or sung through rubrics.²⁵ Rubrics (from the Latin *rubrica*, “red”) indicate performance directions, and were typically written in red ink.²⁶ A Calendar primarily contains the dates of saints’ feasts in the *Sanctorale*, but can also record the dates of local events, such as a church dedication. The prayers of the Mass are

²⁴Ibid., 287.

²⁵The *Ordo misse* belongs to a class of books known as *ordines*, which provided detailed instruction on the performance of the liturgy without including music. Of these *ordines*, the *Ordines Romani* are the most important source for knowledge of the performance of the Roman rite in general, and many of the directions of these Ordines were entered into liturgical books at appropriate points. Ibid., 289.

The opening lines of the Jennings MS 9 (transcribed and translated in Appendix D) consist of a short *ordo*, regulating the intended performance of the manuscript.

²⁶Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 148.

contained in the Sacramentary, while the readings for the Mass are supplied through the Evangeliary (containing the Gospels) and the Epistolary (containing the Epistles), and these two are frequently found combined as a Lectionary. Books known as Kyriales present the musical versions of the ordinary chants, typically providing all the musical settings of the Kyrie first, before proceeding to those of the Gloria, Sanctus, and so on. Chants intended for soloists (such as the Alleluia and the Gradual) were contained in Cantatoria (singular Cantatorium), and tropes and sequences were occasionally collected—along with other material—in special books known as Tropers and Sequentiaries. Sometimes antiphons and hymns intended for processions were also grouped into books known as Processionals. Finally, Graduals (also known as Mass Antiphonals) contain the chants for the Proper of the Mass.²⁷ The Jennings MS 9, the subject of this study, is a Gradual.

As the Middle Ages progressed, collections of specialized material became less and less frequent; instead, their contents tended to be absorbed into the Gradual and another book known as the Missal. The majority of the chanted material gravitated towards the Gradual, while the Missal encompassed all of the prayers of the Sacramentary, the readings of the Lectionary, and eventually, even the chants of the Gradual. This trend toward integration was partially motivated by a practical desire to compile model liturgical books to serve as examples for other churches—but more importantly by a growing expectation that the celebrant should be able to recite all the chants of the Mass.²⁸

²⁷Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 287–302, 313–319; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 100–101, 117–123; Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, 69–110. Note that Kyriales frequently appear within Graduals.

²⁸Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 314, 320.

There are many other specialized books for the Mass, intended for a wide variety of uses and users, but these are largely beyond the scope of this study.²⁹ However, brief mention should be made of the liturgical books for the Office: the Antiphonal, containing chants; the Psalter and Hymnal, containing psalms and hymns, respectively; and the Collectar and Lectionary, the former containing prayers (collects) and the latter containing readings. The majority of these were integrated into the Breviary, a compilation of all liturgical texts for the Office; thus the Breviary can be considered the Office counterpart to the Missal.³⁰

Holy Week and Good Friday

As noted earlier, Holy Week forms the focal point of the liturgical year, comprising a celebration and commemoration of what is arguably the most central event in Christian theology—the redeeming act of Christ’s death on the cross. Due to this momentous occasion, numerous ceremonies and processions, counting among the Church’s oldest and most universal, disrupt the normal order of services during this week. The Offices are substantially abridged; parts of the Mass are enlarged, added, or removed; and extra material for the observation of special ceremonies (sometimes occurring during Mass itself, and sometimes incidentally related to Mass) frequently appears in Mass books such as Missals and Graduals.³¹ Given the centrality of Holy

²⁹To name but two: the Pontifical, explicitly intended for a bishop’s use, and the Tonary, a listing of chants according to their tone, or mode (see Chapter Two for a brief introduction to the medieval modes).

³⁰Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 288, 303–313. For an extended discussion of both the structure and the liturgical books of the Office, see Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, 113–160, and especially Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 160–244.

³¹Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 33; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 245–246.

Week for this study, it is necessary to provide an overview of each of the days of Holy Week, specifying their most important and most common processions, rituals, ceremonies, and chants. A detailed analysis of the Jennings MS 9, along with a transcription and translation of the Good Friday service contained therein, forms the bulk of Chapter Three, while Chapter Four discusses the progress of the service. Nevertheless, the central position of this day and service within this study necessitates additional description, as presented below.

Holy Week occurs at the end of Lent, a general time of penitence, which is also sometimes associated with an exclusion from the Mass until a reconciliation on Maundy Thursday. Paralleling the gospel narrative of Christ's trials, death and resurrection, the catechumens were prepared and examined (through multiple "scrutinies") for baptism during Lent and Holy Week, with baptism taking place on Holy Saturday. The symbolism of this time—associating Christ's death and resurrection with both the transition from winter to summer and admission (and sometimes re-admission) to communion—is immensely potent, and was heightened by the additional rituals, ceremonies, and processions.³²

Processions were a common feature in the medieval observance of special feast days, and their primary purpose was to visit holy places of importance within or without the main church (for example, an altar in the main church, or other churches in the vicinity). The Procession of Palm Sunday, during which the priest enters his own church in commemoration of Jesus's triumphant entry into Jerusalem, is typically one of the longest and grandest processions, often covering a considerable distance and visiting

³²Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 33; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 249.

numerous churches. In consequence, a large number of ceremonial antiphons, for the consecration and distribution of the palm branches, and processional antiphons and hymns, to accompany the procession itself, are provided in liturgical books.³³

Following the procession, Mass begins, notably featuring the longest tract in the Gregorian chant repertory, *Deus deus meus*, and the first of the four Passions, which takes the place of the usual Gospel.³⁴ During Holy Week, each of the four gospel accounts of the Passion of the Christ is intoned during four different Masses: from Matthew on Palm Sunday, from Mark on Tuesday, from Luke on Wednesday, and from John on Good Friday. Unlike other recited readings (such as the typical Gospel), each Passion receives three contrasting tones to dramatically depict the words of Christ, the Jews, and the narrating Evangelist.³⁵ Some scholars believe three different singers may have been used to further emphasize the contrasting characters.³⁶ The Passions are also unusual in that they appear in nearly consecutive Masses; it is rare for Masses to include all four Gospels in succession, and for the same story to be told in each.

Aside from including two Passions, the Masses of Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in Holy Week are structured in a typical fashion, according to the model of Table 1.1 with the omission of the Gloria.³⁷ Maundy Thursday, however, commemorating the Lord's Supper, brings a return to ceremonial and ritual complexity.

³³See Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 30–34, for a discussion of this and other processions.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 34.

³⁵Here, a tone is a recitation formula, dictating the pitch at which most of the reading is intoned together with certain melodic gestures that serve to punctuate phrases and sentences. Burkholder, *A History of Western Music*, 54.

³⁶Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 207; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 246–247.

³⁷Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 31.

The name *Tenebrae* (“shadows”) is given to the time from Maundy Thursday until Holy Saturday, due to the fact that the observance of the Offices on these days was accompanied by a gradual extinguishing of the lights. Prior to the Mass, a procession takes place during the ceremony of the Reconciliation of Penitents, in which those excluded from communion since Ash Wednesday are dramatically reconciled. At Mass itself, two important consecrations take place: the consecration of a special oil (called chrism, resulting in the name *Missa Chrismalis* for this Mass) for the baptism of the catechumens, and the consecration of an extra amount of the host to be reserved for future use. Another procession forms to follow the Reservation of Host, which is carefully transferred and stored, and sometimes even buried in a sepulchre.³⁸

After the Mass, the altars of the church are stripped bare and washed with holy water to the accompaniment of antiphons and psalms. At this point (although sometimes during the Mass itself) the most important ceremony of the day occurs, the ceremony of foot-washing (or *pedilavium*), where the officiating priest washes the feet of twelve men in commemoration of Christ’s washing of the feet of his disciples. Various ceremonial antiphons accompany this action, the first of which is the antiphon *Mandatum novum do vobis*, a corruption of which produced the English name “Maundy” for the day.³⁹

As part of the Masses of the Paschal Triduum in Holy Week, the Masses of Good Friday and Holy Saturday differ radically in their composition from all other Masses. Dispensing with nearly all of the typical opening selections, the Good Friday Mass (also

³⁸Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 34–35. Although Maundy Thursday had three Masses during the early middle ages, the outer two fell into disuse, leaving behind their ceremonies of the Reconciliation of the Penitents and the *pedilavium*. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 247–249.

³⁹Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 35. The title and text of this antiphon come from John 13:34 (“A new commandment I give unto you”), from Jesus’s discussion with his disciples during the Last Supper.

known as the Mass of the Presanctified, since the reserved host from the previous day is used) begins with alternating lessons and tracts—including the final Passion from the Gospel of John. After nine solemn collects, an important ritual known as the Adoration of the Cross takes place: while the antiphon *Ecce lignum crucis* is sung three times, each at a rising pitch level, a veiled cross is brought in and gradually uncovered (although the cross may also be uncovered during the singing of the next chants, the *Improperia*).

After the cross is fully unveiled, the congregation venerates it while the choir and soloists sing two special refrain chants, known as the *Improperia* (Reproaches). Each of these are chanted rebukes against the unfaithful Jews, using texts drawn from the Old Testament but imagined as Christ's words to his people.⁴⁰ Finally, the antiphon *Crucem tuam adoremus* and the hymns *Crux fidelis* and *Pange lingua* are sung. There may be two additional processions before the end of the Mass, one to bring the reserved host from its place of storage, and another to ceremonially bury it, in re-enactment of Christ's burial.⁴¹

The Mass of Holy Saturday is the most extended and elaborate of all Masses. Following the ceremonial and highly elaborate lighting of the Paschal Candle, a symbolic representation of the light of Christ and the official end of *Tenebrae*, the long and elaborate *Praeconium paschale* ("Easter proclamation"), also known as the *Exultet* chant, is sung. A series of twelve lessons (also known as Prophecies, as all are sourced from the Old Testament), prayers, and occasional tracts occurs, largely for the benefit of the expectant catechumens. Following this, a procession forms to travel to the baptismal

⁴⁰Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 31; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 36. See Hiley for a detailed diagram of the structure of the *Improperia*. The first of the *Improperia* uses an alternating Greek and Latin refrain known as the *Trisagion*, while the second uses a simpler Latin refrain (*Populus meus*) derived from the opening respond of the first *Improperia*.

⁴¹Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 37; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 249, 253.

font, accompanied by the Tract *Sicut Cervus* and the Litany of the Saints, an invocation of numerous Christian saints and holy figures. Once the baptismal water has been blessed, ritually touched by the Paschal Candle, and mingled with the chrism oil, the baptism of the catechumens is performed. The Kyrie, Gloria, and a few other selections complete the Mass, which is finally dismissed by the *Ite, missa est*, drawing Holy Week to a close.⁴²

Implications

The preceding sections have been intended to provide the reader with the fundamental knowledge necessary to understand the liturgical context of the primary source, the Jennings MS 9, which forms the subject of this study. Over the course of its long life as a functional music manuscript, this Gradual was almost certainly a vital component in the religious lives of hundreds, if not thousands, of individuals. As a surviving manuscript, it represents one of relatively few manuscripts favored by sturdy construction, reliable preservation, and chance. Moreover, the traditions it represents—such as notated music, the Roman liturgy, and to a lesser extent the scribal tradition—retain their importance today. A study of the Jennings MS 9 will provide detailed knowledge and insight into the musical and paleographical practices of a liturgical community and their place in a tradition that continues to impact the modern world.

The following chapters now begin to turn towards this document, first by presenting the methods by which this manuscript has been studied. In light of the manuscript's extensive sections of music in Gregorian notation and heavily abbreviated Latin-language rubrics, Chapter Two will provide background for Jennings MS 9's

⁴²Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 38–39; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 250–251; Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 30–31.

notational, paleographic, and codicological features, in addition to a discussion of the process of transcription and translation. Chapter Three will showcase the results of this labor, investigating the Jennings MS 9 and presenting a transcription and translation of the Good Friday section. Deviations from typical Holy Week observances and peculiarities of the music and rubrics in this section of the manuscript will merit particular attention. Finally, Chapter Four will discuss the results of this analysis, reconstructing the Good Friday Mass according to the Gradual in addition to discussing and explaining the results and contributions of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

Methods and Materials

The Jennings MS 9, like all other medieval manuscripts, was the product of hundreds of hours of careful work and labor, requiring the cooperation and skills of many different individuals. Long before the scribes could set their pens down, the writing materials had to be produced and assembled: animals had to be slaughtered and their skins refined into reliable writing supports, prepared for writing, cut into sheets, and folded. Inks, dyes, and paints had to be created. Trained scribes and illustrators could then get to work on the laborious process of writing the manuscript, most often by painstaking copying from a pre-existing source, known as an exemplar. Optionally, the pages of the manuscript might then be assembled and bound in a variety of ways. During the Middle Ages, these processes largely took place in monastic communities, where monks and nuns found time between their spiritual duties and prayers to work in *scriptoria*.

The results of this concentrated expenditure of effort are often exquisitely beautiful, yet require significant training to fully understand and interpret. Indeed, for researchers in the fields of medieval paleography and codicology, every facet of the manuscript's physical construction and calligraphic content can assist in uncovering its history. Beyond the issues of textual content, the preparation and organization of the writing support can provide substantial evidence for a likely timeframe and place for the

manuscript's origin.¹ Within the manuscript, both the selection of the various types of scripts available and the presence of initials and other decorations can provide further revealing information. These issues are briefly discussed in the section on codicology below.

As suggested by its etymology, a manuscript (from Latin *manu* “by hand” and *scriptus* “written”) exclusively contains hand-written text; scribes were trained in several kinds of scripts that they utilized according to their historical and geographical environment, the purpose of the manuscript, and the function and context of the text to be entered. The majority of books copied during the Middle Ages are in Latin, which functioned as the common European language for the literate minority. Although Medieval Latin closely resembles the Classical Latin in use during the Roman Empire, the language exhibits certain morphological changes and simplifications, as well as an influx of vocabulary through neologisms and loanwords. Due to the exigencies and expense of both time and material necessary for the writing of manuscripts, scribes employed a quasi-standardized system of abbreviations to shorten commonly used words, phrases, and parts of words. As the Middle Ages progressed, the expansions of these abbreviations could become quite obscure—especially when the intended audience was composed of others initiated in the scribal tradition.

For music, the systems of plainchant notation provide their own challenges in reading. While the square notation used in the Jennings MS 9 became prevalent across Europe from the end of the twelfth century, it developed out of earlier musical notation

¹To name but a few examples: minutiae such as the use of a specific animal skin, certain procedures of pricking and ruling, the arrangement of leaves, or even whether the text begins on the first ruled line or below it may prove to be vital pieces of evidence.

systems dating back to the ninth century. As with the text, the musical notation frequently exhibits both individual and localized features, which can assist with understanding the provenance and context of the manuscript.

This chapter will provide a brief introduction to the topics of manuscript construction, codicology, medieval Latin, chant notation, and characteristics of medieval music, in preparation for a detailed analysis of the Jennings MS 9. As these features and their interpretation comprise the methods and materials of this study, it is vital to understand them fully. After an overview of the processes by which a manuscript was created and a discussion of specific issues of codicology, the chapter will consider textual features: the morphological and syntactical peculiarities of medieval Latin, the different types and grades of scripts, and the techniques of scribal abbreviation. Plainchant notation will also be investigated, touching on the underpinnings of medieval music theory that would have doubtless been in the minds of those scribes who copied music, in addition to some general characteristics of the plainchant repertory. Finally, the chapter will conclude with the editorial decisions that guide the transcription, translation, and analysis of the Jennings MS 9 as presented in this study.

Codicology and Page Layout of Medieval Manuscripts

To borrow the words of noted medievalist François Masai, codicology, an integral part of the field of manuscript studies, can be defined as “the archaeology of the book.”²

While paleography primarily studies the types and forms of the handwritten text,

²John Haines, ed., *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music*, *Musicalia Medii Aevi* 1 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011), 13. Codicology derives from the term codex, which refers to a book consisting of numerous, separate pages held together, in the same overall layout as modern books are constructed. By the beginning of the Middle Ages, the codex had largely replaced the earlier scroll as the dominant book form.

codicology deals with the material itself: the type, condition, and preparation of the writing support; markings, prickings and rulings of the folio prior to the entering of text; the folding of the writing support into gatherings; and any possible bindings.³ In order to elucidate the many elements of the Jennings MS 9, this section will consider the processes of the construction of a manuscript, from preparing the animal skins to entering text, music, and decorations.

Even though many materials can serve as writing supports, the vast majority of manuscripts prepared in medieval Europe utilized a membrane processed from animal skin, known as parchment.⁴ Given that the skin of an average calf produced only seven usable folios (that is, leaves or individual pages) for a medium-sized manuscript, dozens of animals would have to be slaughtered in order to provide enough material for the creation of a book of any magnitude.⁵ In a process that took several days, skins would be cleaned, fully de-haired, and stretched tightly on a frame to dry, in order to transform them into a thin, strong material suitable for writing. Once this process was complete, the parchment could be cut into sheets, which were then folded together to form two conjoint leaves known as a bifolium. Next, these folded sheets were arranged into gatherings

³Ibid., 13–16.

⁴Parchment was most commonly made from the skins of calves, sheep, or goats. The related term vellum, while sometimes used interchangeably with parchment, properly belongs only to supports derived from calfskin.

⁵Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 11. Due to the cost of livestock and the extended process of preparation of the animal skin, parchment was extremely (and often prohibitively) expensive. In many cases, scribes would choose to recycle unwanted manuscripts rather than use new sheets of parchment. These recycled books, having been scraped or washed to remove the original text, are known as palimpsests. Ibid., 67.

known as quires—most commonly containing either four or five bifolia to produce a quaternio or quinio, of eight or ten leaves, respectively.⁶

In final preparation for writing, the quire would be tacketed, or lightly tied together to keep the bifolia together, and ruled. To serve as a guide for horizontal and vertical ruling, scribes would prick small holes in the outer margins of the folia with knives, awls, compasses, and in some cases, even a spiked wheel; pricking could occur either before or after the sheets of the membrane were folded. Using these prick markings as guides, the scribes would then rule horizontal lines to guide the entry of text and vertical lines to delineate columns, thereby defining the page layout of the manuscript and creating a template for the insertion of text and decorations. Until the eleventh century, ruling was typically accomplished in drypoint—that is, by pressing the hard edge of a knife or stylus into the membrane to create a groove—but ruling with leadpoint (also known as plummet) became widespread from the late eleventh century, and by the end of the Middle Ages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, ruling with ink also became common.⁷ In the case of music manuscripts that included staves, these staves also had to be inserted before the primary scribe's work could commence. While pricking might also be used to guide the drawing of the staff lines, it would generally require a different spacing than the text pricking. In some cases in the later Middle Ages, scribes might employ a *rastrum*, a rake with multiple quills that allowed for parallel lines to be drawn. While *rastra* could be used to create margin bounding lines or rulings to

⁶Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 11–15. Scribes would choose how to arrange the two sides of the parchment (the hair-side, which typically retained some traces of the animal's follicles, and the flesh-side, which was much smoother) within the quire. Except for a brief deviation by scribes of the British tradition, the most common practice was to situate the quire so that like sides would be facing one another in the finished manuscript.

⁷*Ibid.*, 15–16.

guide text entry, they also enabled music scribes to draw a uniform, multi-line staff at a single sweep.⁸

Following the ruling of the parchment, the scribe was finally ready to enter text and images into the manuscript. Scribes were equipped with both quill pens (for which goose feathers were preferred) and penknives. Penknives served the triple purpose of sharpening the quill, steadying the springy parchment during writing, and erasing mistakes by scratching off the ink from the membrane. In almost all cases, scribes created manuscripts by copying from exemplars, and medieval representations frequently show them working at slanted desks or from lapboards.⁹

The *mise-en-page* describes how the text, music, and decoration are entered on the page; in order to successfully create a manuscript with many folios and quires, the scribe needed to employ considerable planning when preparing the page layout. In most cases, text written in plain ink was entered first, and the scribe carefully left space for future initials, titles, and decorations, sometimes leaving brief notes concerning their content in marginal areas to serve as cues. Next, a rubricating scribe (often, but not always, a different individual from the main text scribe) would add titles, initials, and rubrics.¹⁰ Initials, commonly used to strengthen the structural divisions of the text, consist of enlarged first letters of words, which could be artistically enhanced in a

⁸Haines, *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music*, 16, 24–28.

⁹Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 18–23. A variety of inks, dyes, and pigments were available to medieval scribes. For a full discussion, see *ibid.*, 19–20, 25–34.

¹⁰As noted in Chapter One, the words “rubric” and “rubrication” both come from the Latin *ruber*, “red.” Indeed, red pigment was by far the most common source of color for titles and initials, with the result that the provision of titles and instructions in a manuscript is referred to as rubrication. Other colors (especially green and blue) were also possible, and could appear particularly lavishly in expensive or deluxe manuscripts.

number of ways, depending on the importance of the initial, the skill of the scribe, and the function and status of the book. Most simply, initials might simply be written with colored ink; more ornately, they might be built-up initials, composed of several pen-strokes, or utilize various of types of decoration, ranging from simple pen flourishes to complex depictions of people, animals, and events.¹¹

For manuscripts like the Jennings MS 9 that include music, the exact ordering of entering elements is more complicated: because the music and the text underlay must be parallel, these two elements are strictly interdependent. Particularly when the text and music scribes are separate individuals, this necessity of parallelism can create difficulties, and the order in which musical and textual elements were entered is often unclear.¹² Finally, any illustrations or illuminations (in which gold and silver were applied to illustrations, decorations, or initials) would be the very last elements added.¹³

The completed manuscript was then reviewed for errors, which would be corrected, typically by a separate scribe. Many methods of binding were available for medieval manuscripts, if desired. In one common technique, the quires would be assembled in order and sewn individually onto cords or thongs known as sewing supports, which would in turn be channeled into wooden boards that served as covers. These boards were generally covered on the inside by parchment leaves called pastedowns, and on the outside by animal skin. A medieval manuscript such as the

¹¹Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 20–21, 25–29. Some of the most common types of initials are decorated (employing non-figural, decorative elements), anthropomorphic (composed of human figures), zoomorphic (composed of animal figures), inhabited (containing human figures), and historiated (depicting discernable scenes or figures). Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Malibu, CA: Getty Publications, 1994), 11, 47, 73.

¹²Haines, *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music*, 33–34.

¹³Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 21, 33.

Jennings MS 9 might receive many bindings over the course of its life, whether to replace a decayed binding or to bring it into conformity with the bindings of a new library. Because medieval binders generally trimmed the leaves of a codex flush with its cover, margins (and all information contained within them, such as prickings, notes and other marginalia, and scribal cues and directions) tended to be reduced with each subsequent rebinding.¹⁴

Medieval Latin

As with virtually all liturgical manuscripts of the Roman rite, the rubrics and chant texts of the Jennings MS 9 are written in medieval Latin. In preparation for the study of these textual features of the manuscript, it is necessary to describe how medieval Latin differs from the classical Latin of ancient Rome. Latin became the official language of the Western Church when the Roman Empire adopted Christianity, and the Church's command of the educational system ensured the continuation of the language: for much of the Middle Ages, literacy was tied to the church and effectively meant a command of Latin. Around the turn of the ninth century, Latin became to be seen as separate from the Romance vernacular languages; and at the same time, it ceased to be a native tongue. Anyone with a command of the Latin language had learned the language from books and teachers, and had not acquired the language in his or her infancy.

¹⁴Ibid., 35, 49–53. In preparation for binding, the quires could be ordered by using a system of quire numeration or by employing catchwords, wherein the first word of the subsequent quire was entered at end of each quire. By no means were all medieval books bound; many simply remained in loose quires or were given only flimsy parchment covers.

Vernacular languages were the mother tongues of scribes and scholars, and this fact often influenced their use of Latin syntax and vocabulary.¹⁵

In the Middle Ages, the vernacular languages changed and evolved rapidly, often ejecting complex syntactical structures and simplifying their grammar and word-forms. In contrast, there was little pressure to simplify or modify Latin's complex system of declensions, cases, conjugations, and tenses due to Latin's status as a language of record. Apart from the pronunciation change that transformed the Classical Latin genitive feminine singular ending *-ae* to *-e*, the inflectional system of Classical Latin remained intact. Most of the syntactical peculiarities of medieval Latin are due either to the ubiquitous influence of the language of the Latin Vulgate Bible or the influence of users' native vernacular languages, which were invariably analytic (where meaning is conveyed through word order) in contrast to Latin's synthetic structure (where meaning is conveyed through inflections).¹⁶ Nevertheless, Latin remained a living language until the beginning of the Renaissance, when the humanists attempted to revive the strict style of Classical Latin, using the orator Cicero (106 – 43 BC) as a model. Their activity essentially replaced organic, malleable medieval Latin with a static, artificial, and eminently scholarly language known as Humanistic Latin or "Neo-Latin."¹⁷

¹⁵F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg, eds., *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 70–73, 94. Although vernacular languages began to establish their own orthography, they were still seen as inferior to Latin until well into the fourteenth century.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 74. The Vulgate, itself a translation from Greek and Hebrew, contains numerous non-Latin idioms. Perpetuated by patristic authors, religious devotions, and the scripture readings and psalm chanting of religious observance, the syntactical peculiarities and Greek- and Hebrew-influenced vocabulary of this "Christian Latin" quickly became established parts of medieval Latin. Of particular note is the interchangeable use of *quod*, *quoniam*, and *quia* to introduce indirect speech, often preferred over the Classical accusative-infinite construction.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 76, 85–90, 145.

In contrast to the limited wordbank of Classical Latin, the vocabulary of medieval Latin is exceedingly rich. Written Latin during the Classical period was a highly stylized language; elements of Vulgar Latin, the commonly spoken language, began to appear in writing only during Late Antiquity. While trained writers drew on classical and patristic vocabulary, or invented new Latinate words for their purposes, the increasing demand for and use of the written word meant that more Latin was written by less educated people, who relied extensively on colloquialisms and vernacular expressions. New formations from Latin roots and loanwords from Greek or vernacular languages swelled the vocabulary. Existing words developed additional meanings. Spellings varied widely, influenced by vernacular formations and regional changes in pronunciation. For example, the diphthongs *ae* and *oe* both became simply *e*, occasionally leading to ambiguity. An initial *h* could be omitted from or added to words; *c* sometimes appeared as *ch*; the letter pairs *i* and *j* and *u* and *v* might or might not be distinguished.¹⁸

As a result of this proclivity to both invention and borrowing—as well as the high degree of local and individual variation in morphology, orthography, and usage—there is no authoritative, complete dictionary of medieval Latin. Nevertheless, medieval Latin is conservative enough that a serviceable Classical dictionary supplemented by specialized medieval dictionaries and lexicons is sufficient to understand the language.¹⁹ This method is effective in the study of the Jennings MS 9.

¹⁸Ibid., 93-99.

¹⁹Ibid., 93. Dictionaries used for the purposes of translating the Jennings MS 9 include J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2002); and the dictionaries in the Database of Latin Dictionaries (Brepols Publishers), <http://clt.brepolis.net/dld>.

Scripts and Scribal Abbreviations

To one uninitiated in the scribal tradition, interpreting and decoding the handwritten words and their often-nebulous abbreviations is a major obstacle to accessing the content of a document. Even before the text itself is considered, the appearance of the script in a manuscript can provide an astonishing amount of information about the function of a manuscript, its time and place of origin, the number and skill of the scribes employed in the manuscript's construction, in addition to many other factors. In addition to the type of script itself, the aspect (the overall appearance of the hand) and the ductus (how the letters are formed as well as the speed and degree of care in which they are written) are also telling factors.²⁰

Various scripts were available to scribes depending on both the context of the text within the manuscript and the manuscript's intended use; for example, a scribe might employ separate scripts to distinguish the main text from any glosses or commentary. In the Gothic System of Scripts (prominent throughout Europe from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries) there are four grades of script, each of which are distinguished by the treatment of the minim.²¹ The main text of the Jennings MS 9 is Gothic rotunda, the lowest grade of the Gothic scripts. Throughout, minims are not given formal "feet," which would require an extra pen stroke, but are rounded off by a natural curve of the pen.²² Several unique features of Gothic bookhands are seen in the Jennings MS 9, such as "biting of the bows" (that is, the overlapping of two consecutive letters that have bows facing one

²⁰Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600*, 2nd edition, revised (University of Toronto Press, 1993), 3.

²¹A minim is the basic upright stroke of a letter. For example, the letter *i* is itself a single minim, while the letter *m* has three minims.

²²Brown, *Guide to Western Historical Scripts*, 80–81, 88.

another), a fondness for the uncial form of the letter *d* (with a lengthened, left-leaning extender), the use of the 2-shaped form of the letter *r* following letters with a bow, and a preference for tall *s* (except at word endings, where round *s* is most commonly employed).²³

Due to the limited amount of both space and the scribes' time, most medieval manuscripts use varying degrees of abbreviations in their text.²⁴ This tradition originated in ancient times, and certain symbols are derived from Roman legal shorthand (*notae iuris*) or the shorthand system attributed to Cicero's secretary Tiro (Tironian notes). While some abbreviations are particular to a place and time (and thus can potentially provide evidence for the provenance of a manuscript), several abbreviations belong to a common scribal repertory. For ease of classification, abbreviations may be divided into three categories: suspensions, contractions, and symbols. In suspensions, letters are omitted from the ends of words or syllables; in contractions, the two outer letters of a word (and perhaps a few interior letters) are retained while the rest are omitted. In the case of both suspensions and contractions, some kind of marking was entered by the scribe to indicate the omission. One of the most common of these markings is a short horizontal line above the letters; sometimes termed a macron, these were particularly favored for indicating the omission of *m* and *n*, or entire syllables. Finally, the most

²³Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 153–157. Round *s* is the modern form of the letter, and was typically employed at the ends of words. If an *s* occurred at the beginning or middle of a word, the tall or long *s* (resembling a modern, lowercase *f*) was generally preferred.

²⁴The primary materials used for expanding the abbreviations in the Jennings MS 9 are Adriano Capelli *Lexicon Abbreviaturarum: Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, 8th edition (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli Editore, 1929); and Olaf Pluta and the Ruhr-Universität Bochum, *Abbreviationes Online*, <http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/philosophy/projects/abbreviationes>.

common words, prefixes, and suffixes (such as *et*, *est*, and *con-*) are abbreviated through symbols.²⁵

The use of scribal abbreviations narrowed the already limited audience of literate readers. Abbreviations appear in great density in manuscripts from the Late Middle Ages that were intended for scholarly study or personal religious devotion, and are rare in texts intended to be read aloud, such as liturgical texts. (Rubrics in liturgical texts, which provided instructions and were never intended for chanting or recitation, are frequently heavily abbreviated). Nevertheless, the *nomina sacra*, the “holy names” of God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, were almost always abbreviated in emulation of Greek practice, itself a reflection of Hebrew reverence for the name of the Deity. These special forms of contractions may be the only words abbreviated in a manuscript, and many contain traces of Greek letters.²⁶

If abbreviations generally served to obfuscate passages, scribes also attempted to improve the clarity and understandability of their writing through punctuation. Over the course of the Middle Ages, the use of punctuation evolved significantly. Starting from the *scriptura continua* of Late Antiquity, in which words were written without any punctuation or separation, scribes developed a system of punctuation known as *distinctiones*, where a single point, the *punctus*, was placed at different heights on the text line, in order to indicate varying degrees of pauses. By the eighth century, another system known as *positurae* had been developed, in which different lengths of pauses

²⁵Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 89–91.

²⁶Ibid. For example, the first two letters of the abbreviation for *christus* (*xpc*) come from the Greek letters chi and rho, and the c in the abbreviation for *spiritus* (*spc*) comes from the Greek sigma, whose capital form resembles the Roman C. In the abbreviation for *iesus* (*ihs*), the *h* is derived from the Greek letter *eta*, whose capital form resembles the Roman H. This origin had fallen into obscurity in the Middle Ages, and if scribes wrote out the name of Jesus in full, they tended to use the invented form *ihesus*.

were represented by distinct symbols. Despite these intricate systems, many manuscripts used the *punctus* more or less exclusively for all punctuation.²⁷ The Jennings MS 9 predominantly uses the *punctus* for punctuation purposes in its rubrics and text underlay, although the *punctus elevatus* (a *positura* indicating a major medial pause) is employed in exceptional cases.

Plainchant Notation

The system of notation most commonly used to notate plainchant from the thirteenth century to the present, known as square notation, was the result of a lengthy process of innovation and evolution. As noted in Chapter One, the Gregorian chant repertory was originally developed and transmitted without the aid of any written notation. Singers could only learn new chants if they could hear them sung by others. As the Catholic Church sought to disseminate a fixed repertoire of liturgical chant across Europe, it quickly became apparent that oral transmission exposed melodies to the possibility of mutation and variation, which defeated the desire for a uniform liturgy. Starting around the ninth century, a means of indicating the melodies for chants began to be employed, originally merely as mnemonic aids that would assist a singer already familiar with the melody to recall its features. These neumes were most likely derived from grammatical accents.²⁸ In their earliest forms, neumes were placed above the text

²⁷M. B. Parkes, "The Impact of Punctuation: Punctuation or Pause and Effect," in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), 127 – 142; Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 82–86.

²⁸David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 365–367. The word derives from the Greek *neuma*, "nod, sign, gesture." In addition to the "prosodic accent-signs" of the classical grammarians, scholars have also considered medieval systems of punctuation as possible antecedents of neumes.

and indicated only the most basic melodic information for the chant—the general direction of the melodic line and the number of notes per syllable.²⁹

In the course of time, scribes began to use the vertical space above the text to indicate the direction and relative size of the musical intervals. Staffless neumes, written *in campo aperto* (“in an open field”), clearly showed the relative orientation of the notes, but gave no indication of the actual intervals involved. Other scribes employed heightened or diastematic neumes, carefully arranging the neumes vertically to make the pitch contour clear. Around the tenth century, the imaginary horizontal lines around which these neumes were oriented became real, first as a single line scratched in the parchment and subsequently as multiple lines distinguished by colors and labeled with letter names of the pitches. These notes were most typically F or C, the notes immediately above the two semitones in the medieval modes, and thus important landmarks. The influential music theorist and monk Guido of Arezzo (c. 991 – 1033) is usually credited with the completion of the four-line staff, along with a system of solmization syllables, still in use today, that he claimed would allow singers to learn completely new melodies simply by reading from notation. As the four-line staff became prevalent, the letter names evolved into stylized clefs, receiving their names from Guido’s solmization syllables: the fa-clef (indicating the note F) and the ut-clef (indicating the note C).³⁰

²⁹J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed (New York: Norton, 2010), 33–34; Richard H. Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 57.

³⁰Burkholder, *A History of Western Music*, 35; Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 58–60; Carl Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1978), 9. In order to aid singers in learning melodies from notation, Guido devised both a system of interlocking hexachords and a solmization system that associated syllables to pitches. These syllables (*ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*) are still in use today. For a brief overview of Guido’s contributions, see Burkholder, *A History of Western Music*, 35–37.

This system of notation, which could accurately indicate pitches and intervals, was groundbreaking for the history of Western art music and would enable composers to unambiguously commit ever-more complex music to paper. While notation never completely replaced oral transmission and memorization in the chant repertory, it did allow singers to learn many more chants at a much faster speed, and reproduce them faithfully every time.³¹ Square notation, named from the square appearance of the neumes (partially due to the thicker writing of the quill pen that replaced the more slender reed pen), originated in the northern France during the twelfth century.³² By the beginning of the thirteenth century, almost all Gregorian plainchant had come to be written in this notation.³³ Figure 2.1 on the following page displays some of the most common neumes in square notation, together with their forms in the Jennings MS 9 and a transcription into modern notation.³⁴

³¹Burkholder, *A History of Western Music*, 35.

³²Square notation was one of many different traditions of neumatic notation. Its unprecedented accuracy in conveying relative pitch gave it an advantage over many of the other systems, and it was particularly well-suited for the notation of polyphonic music. A discussion of other medieval schools of neumatic notation is beyond the scope of this chapter, but the interested reader should see Nicolas Bell, *Music in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 12–31 and Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music*, 3–31.

³³Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), 123; Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 60; Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music*, 10, 25. Issues of historical performance of the plainchant repertoire remain an area of active discussion in the musicological community.

³⁴All the manuscript examples in the figure have been modified from their original forms on fol. 91r in order to include the clef from the beginning of the line. The two transcription columns were both generated by this author, and demonstrate the editorial principals discussed on pp. 46–48. Although the selected neumes are stepwise, note that these neume forms are by no means restricted to certain intervals in notation. For more information on neumes, see Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 61, and Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music*, 3–31.


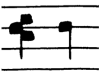

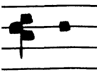


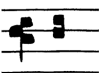


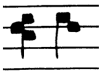


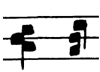


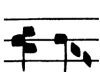




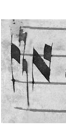
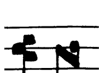

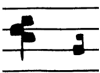


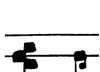

Name	Neume (in MS)	Transcription (square)	Transcription (modern)
<i>Virga</i>			
<i>Punctum</i>			
<i>Pes/ Podatus</i>			
<i>Clivis/ Flexa</i>			
<i>Scandicus</i>			
<i>Climacus</i>			
<i>Torculus</i>			
<i>Porrectus</i>			
<i>Epiphonus</i>			
<i>Cephalicus</i>			

Figure 2.1. Common Neumes of Square Notation. Manuscript examples have been adapted from fol. 91r of the Jennings MS 9.

The two kinds of single-note neumes, the *virga* (“rod”) and the *punctum* (“point, dot”), are some of the oldest neumes and seem to have developed from the oratorical markings of classical grammarians. In early staffless notation, the *virga* denoted a pitch higher than the preceding note, while the *punctum* indicated a pitch either the same or lower than the preceding note, but once intervals could be exactly notated on staves, this distinction became less important, and one of these neumes was gradually phased out.³⁵

Melodic gestures of multiple notes are expressed by combinations of these fundamental signs into groupings known as ligatures. The two-note neumes, *podatus* or *pes* (both meaning “foot”) and *clivis* or *flexa* (“slope” or “bend”), indicate ascending or descending motion, respectively. The three-note neumes express the various possible melodic gestures for three notes: The *scandicus* (“climb”) represents three notes moving up, and the *climacus* (“ladder”) indicates three notes moving down, using diamond-shaped notes known as *currentes* (“runners”) to represent the descending notes. The *torculus* (“twist”) represents a melodic gesture of three notes moving up and then down, while the *porrectus* (“stretch”) indicates the opposite motion. Although an oblique stroke represents the first two notes of the *porrectus*, this is merely a scribal convenience, and does not indicate multiple notes.³⁶

Compound neumes containing more than three notes can be understood as combinations of the previously described neumes and ligatures. Some neumes are thought to express various vocal ornaments, the performance of which remains unclear. Most important of these are the liquescent neumes, which are generally thought to be

³⁵Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 101. While many late medieval manuscripts (as well as the modernized notation of the *Liber Usualis*) use only the *punctum*, the Jennings MS 9 employs the *virga* to notate single notes.

³⁶Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 100–101; Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 60–62; Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music*, 4–7.

directly associated with the pronunciation of the text, and often appear on certain diphthongs, adjacent consonants, and the semi-consonants of *j* or *i*. The manner of their performance remains in dispute; however, it is generally agreed that the liquescents represent some vocal ornament, but are essentially pitch-indeterminate. The *epiphonus* (“on the voice”) is a special version of the podatus, and the *cephalicus* (“little head”) a liquescent form of the clivis.³⁷ In the Jennings MS 9, the only special neume seen by this researcher is the cephalicus, which is written in a curving way. In addition to neumes, music scribes also often drew short vertical bars, known as *tractus*, to indicate pauses or phrase endings, and a *custos* (“guard”) at the end of lines to indicate the first note of the following line of music.

Medieval Music Theory and General Characteristics of Plainchant

Before turning to the plainchant of the Jennings MS 9, it is important to understand the basic structural elements of plainchant in Western Europe. This section will describe the system of eight melodic modes and discuss other characteristic features of the melodies themselves. The medieval system of the modes was not fully developed until the tenth century, at which point the great majority of the chant repertory had already been firmly established. Despite this, the system of modes effectively describes most of the features of plainchant, with few exceptions.³⁸ Music theory in the Middle Ages was based upon ancient Greek theory—particularly as transmitted by the Late

³⁷Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 62; Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music*, 7.

³⁸Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 68, 71–72. There are certainly plainchant manuscripts (especially early ones) that contain chants that do not conform to modal organization. As the Middle Ages progressed, some of these chants were modified, whether intentionally (most notably during the Cistercian reform of the twelfth century, where the Cistercians modified offending chants to bring them into conformity with the modal system and its limited range) or unintentionally (through the process of regional variations).

Roman philosopher Boethius (c. 480-c. 524) in his *De institutione musica*. Books known as tonaries, the earliest of which date from the eighth and ninth centuries, show the early beginnings of modal theory, as they list chants according to their mode for practical purposes of liturgical performance.³⁹ Drawing on ancient Greek writings about music, medievalists codified a system of eight modes.⁴⁰

Nearly every chant in the in the Gregorian repertory was assigned to a specific mode, providing a way to group and classify chants, easing the task of singers in learning and memorizing. Every mode has a *finalis*, or final, which serves to generate the entire mode, and is frequently the last note of the chant. These finals were theoretically restricted to the four notes D, E, F, or G—sometimes indicated by the Greek ordinal numbers *protus*, *deuterus*, *tritus*, and *tetrardus*. Each of these finals generates two different modes, one that is authentic (in which most notes occur above the final) and one that is plagal (in which the final falls roughly in the center of the notes). A second important note of each mode is the tenor, a tone around which the melody often gravitates.⁴¹ In an attempt to understand ancient Greek sources, medieval theorists assigned Greek names to these modes, providing the four authentic modes with the

³⁹Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 326–329. As mentioned briefly in Chapter One, the mode of antiphons determined the tone of the psalm with which they were paired. Hence, grouping antiphons by mode eased the burden of learning which psalm tones were associated with which antiphons.

⁴⁰Burkholder, *A History of Western Music*, 17, 40. Cornerstones of the development of modal theory are the anonymous treatises *Musica* and *Schola enchiriadis* (ninth century), and Guido of Arezzo's celebrated *Micrologus* (eleventh century).

⁴¹This tone is also known as the dominant or reciting tone. However, this study will use the term “tenor.”

designations Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Mixolydian; the corresponding plagal mode received the same names with the prefix *hypo*-.⁴²

In general, the chant repertory is written in a relatively limited range, rarely extending beyond a ninth or tenth, suitable for performance by same-gendered choirs.⁴³ The note B has two versions, which correspond to the modern B-natural and B-flat; the latter of these was employed to avoid the interval of a tritone, when sung in the vicinity of the note F. Two shapes of the letter *b*, *b rotundum* (for B-flat) and *b durum* (for B-natural), were used to indicate which form of the note should be sung. In the plainchant repertory, other accidentals occur only rarely; some earlier chants that required intervals not found in the mode were transposed so that their accidentals would occur on the note B.⁴⁴ See figure 2.2 on the following page for a depiction of the eight modes, with their finals, tenors, typical ranges, and potential B-flats indicated.⁴⁵

⁴²Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 133–137; Burkholder, *A History of Western Music*, 41–43; Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 64–70. In both medieval and modern chantbooks, the modes are typically referred to by number, rather than their Greek names.

⁴³It should be remembered that all systems of plainchant notation specify only the sizes of the intervals, and not exact pitches; any convenient pitch could be chosen, as long as the sizes of the intervals were preserved. As conceived by Guido and other theorists, the overall range available was from the lowest G (called *gamma ut* in Guido's system) to the high G or A approximately two octaves up. Burkholder, *A History of Western Music*, 44; Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 70–74.

⁴⁴Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 152; Burkholder, *A History of Western Music*, 44; Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 70–74.

⁴⁵This figure contains material created by the author, although referencing and incorporating information found in Burkholder, *A History of Western Music*, 42 and Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 61.

	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;"> <i>F</i> = <i>finalis</i> <i>T</i> = <i>tenor</i> </div>	<u>Authentic</u>	<u>Plagal</u>
Protus		<p>1. Dorian</p>	<p>2. Hypodorian</p>
Deuterus		<p>3. Phrygian</p>	<p>4. Hypophrygian</p>
Tritus		<p>5. Lydian</p>	<p>6. Hypolydian</p>
Tetrardus		<p>7. Mixolydian</p>	<p>8. Hypomixolydian</p>

Figure 2.2. Structure of the Eight Melodic Modes.

Editorial Decisions and Transcription/Translation Methodology

Central to this study is the transcription and translation of the music and rubrics of the Good Friday section of the Jennings MS 9, which have been prepared according to certain editorial principles described in this section. The goal of transcription is to present the contents of the manuscript in a clear, understandable, and accessible way, while simultaneously remaining as faithful to the original as possible. The next step, translation, involves presenting the material in a modernized guise—in modern English with regard to text, and in modern notation with regard to music.

The following principles have been observed during the transcription of the Jennings MS 9: text written in red ink is transcribed in red, and text written in black ink is transcribed in black, boldface. A period (.) represents the use of the *punctus*, and a semi-colon (;) stands in place of the *punctus elevatus*. Abbreviations have been expanded and their expansions underlined. Initials have been transcribed as capital letters. Spellings have not been altered. Tall *s* has been transcribed as modern *s*, but the distinction between such letters as *i* and *j* and *u* and *v* has been preserved. All editorial corrections, suggestions, or clarifications (including spaces between words and hyphens at the end of lines) have been set apart using square brackets ([]). Any scribal corrections are indicated by angle brackets (< >). Original line length and layout have been preserved as much as possible.

Chants have been transcribed into a standardized form of square notation in an attempt to emulate the Jennings MS 9. Text underlay for the modernized square notation has been handwritten according to the same principles as above, with all abbreviations expanded and underlined; however, initials and verse indications have been emulated.

For a graphic depiction of the transcription methodology for many of the musical elements, please refer to figure 2.1 above. The chants appear first in a modernized form of square notation, employing a four-line staff, based on the notation used in the *Liber Usualis*.⁴⁶ Clefs, neumes, and the custos have been modernized; however, the manuscript's unusual use of both fa- and ut-clefs simultaneously, the arrangement of neumes into ligatures, and the position and length of the tractus have all been retained.

A translation into modern chant notation has also been provided, employing a modern 5-line staff, octave treble clef, and stemless note-heads to represent the neumes, has also been provided. For this, text underlay has been typed, without indicating expanded abbreviations, rendering initials as capital letters and employing the modern verse symbol (V̇). The text underlay remains in the original Latin, but English translations appear in Appendix B. Slurs above the note-heads indicate the ligatures of the original, and the lozenge-shaped *currentes* of the *climacus* are rendered as smaller note-heads. Liquescent neumes are presented as a small note-head a step below or above the main note, with a slash through the slur connecting them. In both the transcription and the translation, the text underlay has been hyphenated for ease of comprehension.

In several places, the performance convention of *musica ficta* (“false” or “feigned music”) has been applied to the transcription into modern notation, where certain notes are slightly modified to ensure consonances and proper cadential motion. In modern parlance, this involves adding certain accidentals, primarily to avoid tritones; these generally would occur between a notated B-natural and F. Throughout the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, treatises advised the application of *ficta* to avoid melodic tritones

⁴⁶Catholic Church, *The Liber Usualis* (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée, 1963). This modernized edition of liturgical plainchant for the Roman rite has been prepared by the Benedictine monks of Solemnes. See Chapter Four for a brief description of this work and the scholarly activity of these monks.

or smoothen melodic lines, eventually becoming crystallized in the concise rhyme “*una nota super la / semper est canendum fa*” (one note above *la* is always to be sung as *fa*)—referring to Guido’s system of hexachords and specifying that a single note above the hexachord should be lowered by a half-step.⁴⁷ These *ficta* are indicated only in the translation into modern chant notation, and represented as accidentals above the staff.

With this background—on the processes of manuscript construction, features of medieval Latin, the scripts and scribal abbreviations for text and the system of square notation for music, as well as medieval conceptions of music theory and general melodic and textual characteristics of the plainchant repertory—all elements are in place to allow a full understanding of the Jennings MS 9. The following chapter contains an in-depth consideration of the codicological, textual, and musical features of the manuscript, focusing on the Good Friday section of the manuscript.

⁴⁷Bruce R. Carvell, “Notes on ‘Una Nota Super La,’” in *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Gwynn S. McPeck*, ed. Carmelo Peter Comberiati and Matthew C. Steel (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1988), 94–111. For considerations of *ficta* and methods of avoiding tritones by renaissance music theorists, see Hermann Fink, *Practica Musica* (1556) and Johannes Tinctoris, *De natura et proprietate tonorum* (1476).

CHAPTER THREE

Results: Good Friday in the Jennings MS 9

After two chapters of essential background information on liturgy, codicology, and paleography, this study is now able to approach its central topic and focus, the Jennings MS 9. This chapter will present findings on the codicology and page layout of the manuscript, describing in detail the physical aspects of the Gradual, before proceeding to a consideration of the scribal characteristics in both the text and the music. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a presentation of the transcription and translation of folios 90r–97r: the Good Friday section of Holy Week. After discussing the manuscript and presenting a transcription and translation of the section under investigation, this study will conclude with a reconstruction of the service according to the manuscript and a discussion thereof in the subsequent and final chapter.

History, Codicology, and Page Layout of the Jennings MS 9

As mentioned previously, the Jennings Collection MS 9 belongs to the Jennings Collection of Medieval Music Manuscripts and Early Printed Music, one of the Special Collections of the Baylor Libraries. The manuscript's history prior to the purchase of the Jennings collection in 1935 by Dr. Roxy Harriette Grove, then the chair of the Baylor School of Music, is uncertain. It appears to have been displayed in the Spanish building during the 1933 Chicago World's Fair, but its origins on the European continent and

subsequent voyage to the new world remain obscure. Current research indicates a likely provenance on the Iberian peninsula during the late fifteenth century.¹

The Jennings MS 9 is a medium-sized, bound Gradual in codex form, containing 142 parchment folios, three paper fore-leaves, and three paper end-leaves. Two of each of the three fore-leaves and end-leaves contain watermarks. The current binding (tentatively estimated in the nineteenth century) consists of a pasteboard cover (constructed, at least partially, from leaves of a much larger liturgical music manuscript, the notes and text of which are still visible on the front and back), held together with binding strips and strings. Stab-stitching has been employed incautiously through the entirety of the manuscript, with six sets of double holes through the leaves, two at the top and bottom, and one in the center. Vacant holes towards the center testify to at least one earlier binding.

As is customary for re-bindings, the folios of the Jennings MS 9 have been trimmed flush with their binding, with the unfortunate result that any pricking marks and most of the marginalia have been excised; even some of the original foliation has been interrupted. More unusually, the bifolia that had been grouped into the original quires have been separated into individual, independent folios. Indeed, aside from some remaining quire numeration that survived the trimming process on folios 61v–64r, all information about the original grouping of quires has been lost. More dramatically, several sections of the manuscript are out of order. Two sets of foliation run throughout the manuscript. The first set (Roman numerals in ink in the upper left-hand margin of most verso folios) appears to be contemporary with the manuscript. The second set of

¹“Mrs. J. W. Jennings Collection of Medieval Music Manuscripts and Early Printed Music,” *Baylor University Libraries*, accessed January 23, 2015, <http://www.baylor.edu/lib/finearts/index.php?id=30285>; Jann Cosart, email message to author, February 14, 2015.

foliation (Arabic numerals in pencil loosely centered in the lower margin of most folios) appears to be by a much later hand and is likely contemporary with the current binding. These have been written hurriedly and carelessly; the hand has sometimes scratched out the original foliation, so that the numbering conforms to the present arrangement of pages.

Each leaf of the Jennings MS 9 presents a strikingly consistent layout, exclusively in single-column format. (See Figure 3.1 on the following page for a graphical depiction of the page layout.) Although the quires have been separated, the manuscript arranges the folios of parchment so that like sides are facing one other (that is, a hair side faces a hair side, while a flesh side is paired with another flesh side). In its present condition, the average leaf of the Jennings MS 9 measures 330 mm by 503 mm, but several bounding lines restrict the space available for writing.² Single upper (29-30 mm from the top of the leaf) and lower (86 mm from the bottom) bounding lines, along with both left and right double vertical bounding lines (outer lines ~21 mm from binding and 54-60 mm from the edge, ~9 mm between each pair) are employed, entered in leadpoint. Text elements are restricted to the area between the inner vertical bounding lines (resulting in a writing area of 235 mm by 367 mm), while musical elements are free to extend to the outer vertical bounding lines (~254 mm by 367 mm), and sometimes beyond. Both text and music begin below the top bounding line.³

²These and all following measurements were taken directly from the manuscript by the author (data collected from fols. 91r, 92r, 92v, and 93v) and collated with previous measurements taken by Dr. Cosart.

³After the thirteenth century, this practice of entering material below the top-most ruled line became standard across Europe. Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 21.

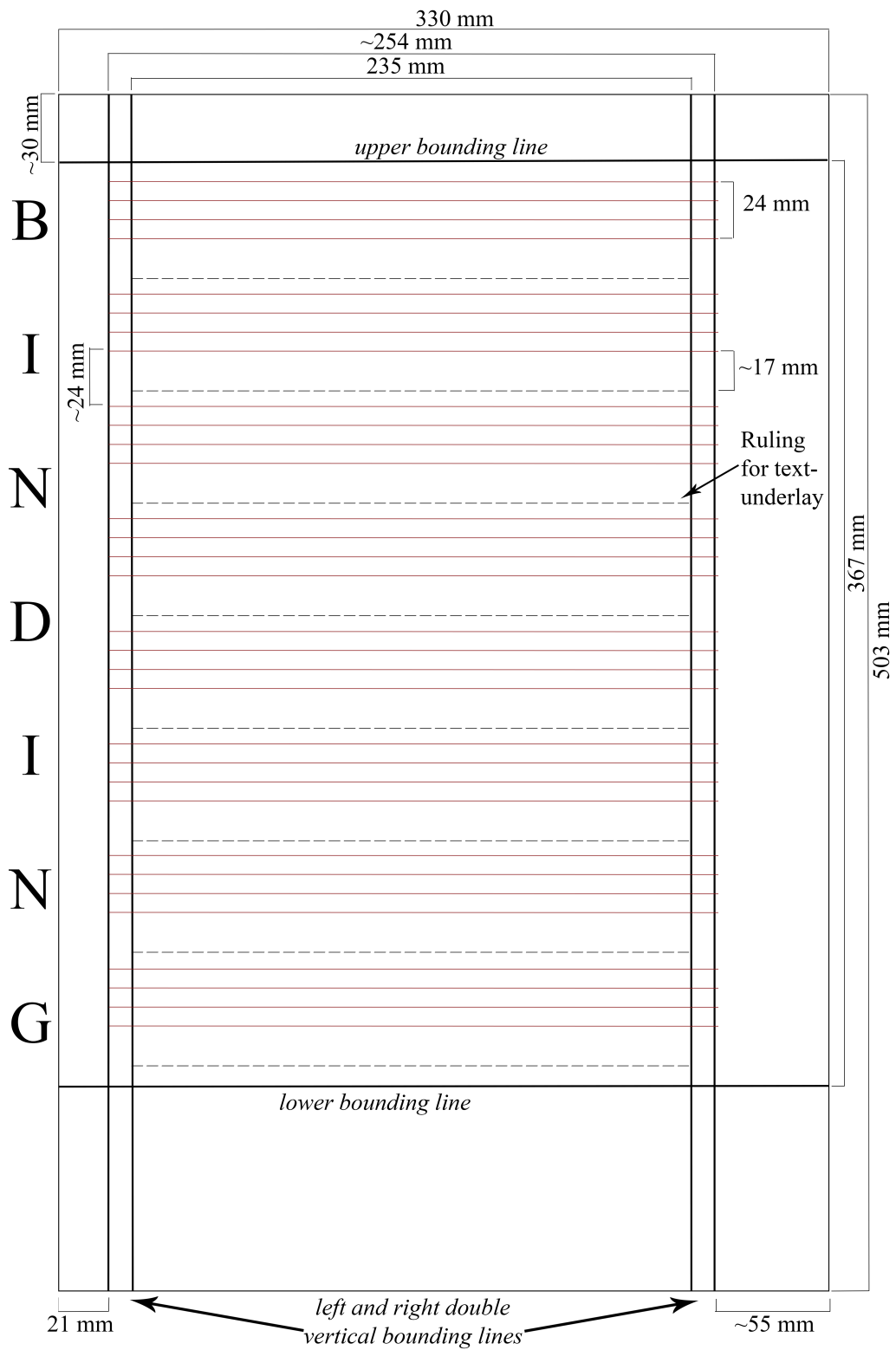


Figure 3.1. Page Layout for an Average Recto Folio in the Jennings MS 9.
(With the vertical axis flipped, verso folios have identical dimensions.)

Each folio contains a complement of eight four-line staves, drawn in red ink.⁴ At times, rubricated text may replace the staves, but the spacing of the staves remains consistent throughout. The width of the staff is 24 mm, and another 23-24 mm separate each staff from the next. Text underlay for the music is written on a ruled line approximately 17 mm below the lowest line of each staff. The ruling for the text (entered in leadpoint) is in dimensions that correspond exactly with the staff lines; hence, the distance between one staff line to the next, or one text line to the next, is approximately 8 mm. Although the staves and rulings are almost impeccably straight and consistent, it seems that a rastrum was not employed, as the end of the staves are quite ragged.

Primarily, initials and decorations are completed with the pen, using the main colors red, black, and blue. However, a few sections also contain examples of green and yellow ink. Certain exceptional initials (outside of the Holy Week section) also employ oil-based paints tinted with bright, mineral-based dyes. Although the exact entering of each of the elements is unclear, a probable sequence can be surmised from clues in the document. According to the dedicatory section that opens the Gradual (fol. 1r, see Appendix A for a transcription and translation), the monastic order in charge of the creation of the Gradual took great pride in the fact that “the lettering is written openly and distinctly, so that the notation can be arranged suitably over [it],” implying that the text-underlay was written prior to the musical notation. Evidence from fols. 43r and 52r suggests that the staff lines were entered prior to the notation, and the rubrication prior to the main text-underlay (see figure 3.2 below).

⁴There are isolated instances of 5-line staves (for example, fol. 1r), but the vast majority of the manuscript employs the traditional 4-line staves.



Figure 3.2. Clues to the Ordering of Page Elements in the Jennings MS 9.

- Left: Detail from fol. 43r, end of first line.
- Right: Detail from fol. 52r, end of first line.

In the left image, it is clear that the staff lines were entered prior to the music, and thus the scribe had to draw extra staff lines to fit the required material. In the right image, the rubricated “Communio” at the end of the line was entered in advance of the text-underlay and the musical notation, requiring the text scribe to write on top of the rubrication and then supply another marker for the communion.

Scribal Characteristics

As mentioned earlier in Chapter Two, the script employed throughout the Jennings MS 9 for both rubrics and text-underlay is Gothic rotunda, and the majority of evidence suggests that a single scribe was employed for both of these textual areas. Most minims are simply rounded off, as is typical of the low-grade rotunda script. As expected, the scribe typically restricts the round form of *s* to the ends of words, and employs the two-shaped form of *r* following letters with bows.⁵ A preference for uncial *d* (with an elongated, downward-curving ascender when space permits) is seen throughout, although straight *d* also occurs. The angular form of the letter *v* is exceedingly rare, apart from the verse abbreviation. Of particular note is the very frequent habit of the scribe to

⁵On isolated instances the scribe does not follow these conventions, most likely out of carelessness. For example, on fol. 91r, the scribe employs the 2-shaped *r* in “*corde*” (line 4), but uses round *r* in “*eorum*” (line 7).

insert dash-like lines at the end of lines of text in both rubricated sections and the text-underlay; unlike modern hyphens, these signs are entered regardless of whether the word has been broken across lines. Also unusually, the scribe generally prefers to write out the word *et* (“and”) in full, even in rubrics, rather than use the Tironian abbreviation. In most Latin manuscripts, this extremely common word is almost exclusively abbreviated.

The notation of the music also provides intriguing and unique scribal characteristics. Most obvious of these is the downward sloping aspect of the neumes, which is particularly evident in the clivis and torculus. The tractus are generally placed at the same height on the staff as the previous notes, and extend approximately two staff lines. In general, they appear to serve as phrasing marks or to disambiguate which neumes belong to which syllables. In some places double tractus are inserted, which may possibly indicate performance directions for the choir.⁶ The scribe seems to enjoy combining many neumes into complicated ligatures, some with six or more notes. Intriguingly, the scribe also employs two visibly different forms of fa- and ut-clefs and often uses them simultaneously, as displayed below in figure 3.3.

⁶Dominican and Franciscan chant books often employed these double lines to indicate intonations for the cantor to perform alone, or places where the choir was intended to repeat musical material. John Haines, ed., *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music*, Musicalia Medii Aevi 1 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011), 198.

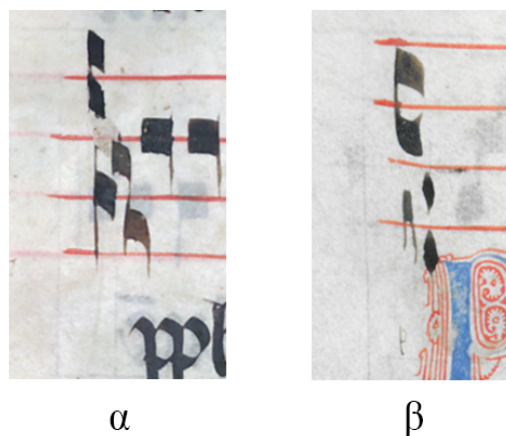


Figure 3.3. Clef Forms in the Jennings MS 9.

- Left: Detail from fol. 84v, first line, showing an α ut-clef over an α fa-clef.
- Right: Detail from fol. 108v, fifth line, showing a β ut-clef over a β fa-clef.

The use of simultaneous clefs in music manuscripts is extremely uncommon, and does not add any essential information. The two forms of the fa-clef are easily differentiable, exhibiting considerable disparity; yet in both cases, the fa-clefs resemble neumes to a certain degree. In the first form (designated α), the ut-clef is angular, and the fa-clef appears to be constructed somewhat like a virga and clivis. In the second form (β), the ut-clef is much more rounded, and the fa-clef appears more neatly constructed, resembling a plicated virga with two lozenge-shaped currentes. In general, a single version of these clefs is used in a single chant, but the form of the clef may also change in the middle of chant, frequently on the following folio and occasionally on the subsequent line of the same folio.

In every case observed by this researcher in which the α fa-clef is employed, there appears to have been ink scratched off from the staff line immediately above, as is observable in Figure 3.3. This suggests that this particular form of the fa-clef may be the result of a correction, or perhaps a later modernization of the clef. Note how the original form of the clef closely resembles a plain, uppercase letter *F*, harkening back to the

earliest forms of the fa-clef that were in use several centuries prior to the creation of the Jennings MS 9.⁷ Why a scribe working in the fifteenth century (or later) would choose to employ such an outdated clef, and why subsequent scribes would consider it necessary to change this clef at its every occurrence (a tedious task that would have consumed many hours) remains unknown.

All of these textual and musical scribal peculiarities can be observed in figure 3.4 on the following page, which examines the first two lines of fol. 91r. In particular, note the dash-like marks at end of the lines of text. A transcription of this material appears in later in this chapter, on pages 67–68.

⁷Richard Rastall, *The Notation of Western Music: An Introduction* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 30, 34–35.

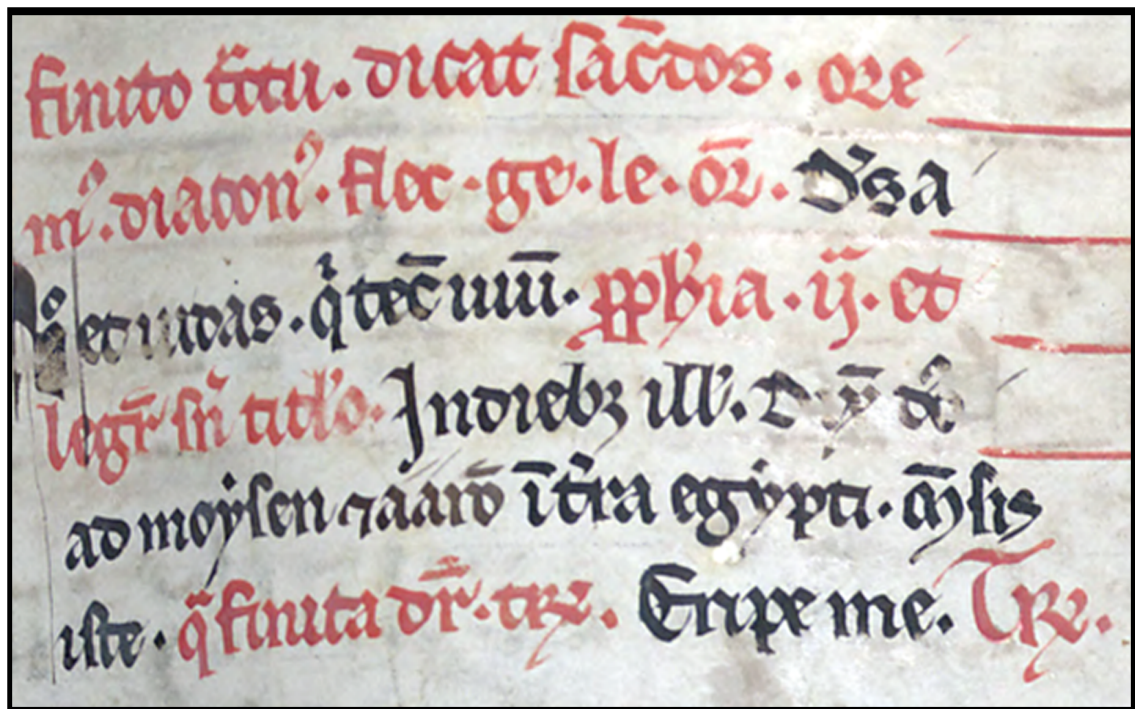


Figure 3.4. Scribal Characteristics in the Rubrics and Musical Notation of the Jennings MS 9.

- Top: Detail from fol. 91r of the Jennings MS 9, lines 1 and 2.
- Bottom: Magnification of the rubrics in the center of line 1 of the same folio.

The Good Friday Section of the Jennings MS 9

The Jennings MS 9 Holy Week section is complicated by the insertion of material that properly belongs elsewhere in the manuscript. Two folios from later in the liturgical year have replaced folios 85 and 86 in Maundy Thursday, and three folios that replace folios 94, 95, and 96 appear in the middle of Good Friday. These three missing folios from Good Friday have not been found in the remainder of the manuscript; they are assumed to be permanently missing.⁸ Nevertheless, the Good Friday section provides an excellent example of the chants and rubrics in the Jennings MS 9. As discussed in Chapter One, Holy Week represents the climax of the liturgical year, celebrating the central story of the Christian faith; Good Friday (or Parasceve) commemorates Christ's crucifixion and burial, and thus forms the dramatic center of the week. The Mass for this day varies greatly from its typical content (refer to Table 1.1 for an overview of the Roman Mass), omitting several items and commencing with two lengthy tracts. The striking ritual of the Adoration of the Cross and the dramatic dialogue of the Improperia add weight to the observance, while the beautiful hymn *Pange lingua* completes the service. This section will showcase the entirety of the passage in the manuscript, presenting the author's transcription and translation of the music and text. See Table 3.1 below for the chants that comprise the Good Friday section of the Jennings MS 9.

⁸Jann Cosart, interview by author, February 4, 2015.

Table 3.1. Chants for Good Friday in the Jennings MS 9, Fols. 90r – 97r

Incipit	Genre	Final	Ambitus ⁹	Mode	Clef employed	Folio(s)
<i>Domine audiui</i>	Tract	D	c – a; two low A's	Hypodorian	fa-clef (α)	90r – 91r
<i>Eripe me</i>	Tract	D	A – b	Hypodorian	fa-clef (α)	91r – 92r
<i>Ecce lignum</i>	Antiphon	F	c – c'	Hypolydian	fa- + ut-clef (β , α)	92v
<i>Popule meus</i> (Improperia)	Improperia	D	c – c'	Dorian	fa-clef (α) fa- + ut-clef (α)	92v – ??
[Replaced material]						[94r – 96v] ¹⁰
<i>Pange lingua</i>	Hymn	D	c – c' [c – e'] ¹¹	Dorian	fa- + ut-clef (α)	?? – 97r

This chapter has surveyed the codicological and paleographic features of the Jennings MS 9, noting many of the peculiarities of the manuscript, and outlining the basic structure of the Mass for Good Friday. The pages that follow are dedicated to the presentation of the transcription and translation of the Good Friday section, which constitute the primary results of this study.

In the *Transcription and Translation* that follows, each folio is presented in two forms: first in a transcription of the rubrics and chant music into square notation, and then a translation of the rubrics (into English) and the chant music (into modern chant

⁹Ambitus refers to the range of a melody, most commonly in a plainchant context. The convention employed here uses a combination of capital and lowercase letters and primes to indicate pitches in specific octaves. Notes lying in the octave above middle C (indicated by the ut-clef throughout the Jennings MS 9) are represented as lowercase letters with one prime (c' – b'), the octave below as lowercase letters without a prime (c – b), and the octave below that with capital letters (C – B).

¹⁰The bracketed numbers refer to the foliation of the folios that have been removed. Two of the three leaves that currently inhabit this location bear original foliation of 164 (recto and verso) and 155 (recto and verso); the third folio is lacking foliation.

¹¹Note that only the end of this chant remains in the Jennings MS 9. The ambitus given first derives from the material on fol. 97r, while the bracketed range given is from the complete version of the hymn in the *Graduale Romanum*. Catholic Church, *Graduale Romanum*, ed. Ferdinand Portier (Solesmes, France: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1974), 182–184.

notation), using the editorial and transcription procedures described at the close of Chapter Two. In order to effectively convey the parallel rendering of music and text, the following section is presented in double-sided format, so that transcriptions and translations of the same folio occur on facing pages. Each folio number is indicated in square brackets in the top-left corner; comments are indicated via a series of asterisks and daggers (in the rubrics) and numbers in parentheses (in the chant music), and appear in the *Commentary to the Transcription and Translation*, which appears at the end of this chapter, beginning on page 81. General comments and a reconstruction of the Good Friday service, conducted according to the Jennings MS 9, follow in Chapter 4 after the transcriptions and translations. Translations of chant texts are included in Appendix B, and selected prayers referenced in the rubrics are provided and translated in Appendix C.

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY LITURGY
IN THE JENNINGS MS 9

[fol. 90r]*

feria .vi. in parasceue hora .vi. conuenientes fratres ad ecclesiam. dicunt no[-]
nam. et interius** sacerdos ministri induti missalibus indumentis. completa
nona. sine luminaribus et incenso procedunt. et ante altare prostrati. aliquam[-]
diu orant. Acoliti uero interim. unam tantum toliam extendunt super al[-]
tare. et sacerdos finita oratione sua deosculatur altare. et in loco suo
cum ministris sedet. Vnus uero subdiaconus. procedit ad legendum et sine titulo

incipit prophetia.***

Haec dicit dominus.

In[tribula[-]

tione sua.

quae finita

dicitur .tractus.

Domine audiui.

(1)

o-mi - ne

au-di-ui au-di-tum tu - um et ti-

(2)

mu-i consi-de-ra-ui o-pe-ra tu - a et ex-pa-

ui. In me - di-o duorum an-i-

(2) (2)

ma- li-um in-no-tes - cer-is dum

Tractus†

[fol. 90r]

The sixth feria on Parasceve: At the sixth hour, the brothers, gathering together to the church, say the Nones.

And within the priest [and] ministers put on their vestments for the Mass

When the Nones are completed, they proceed without lamps and incense. And having been prostrated before the altar, they pray for some time. But the acolytes meanwhile stretch out only one cloth over the altar

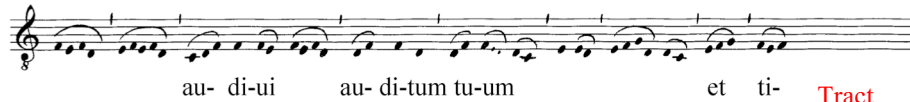
And the priest, with the prayer having been ended, kisses the altar affectionately and sits in his place

with the ministers. But one subdeacon proceeds to read and, without a title,



begins the prophecy:

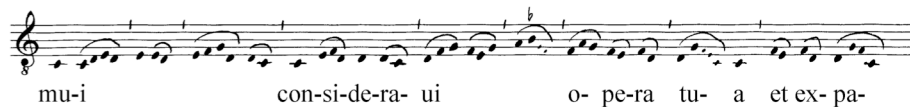
Thus saith the Lord:



In their

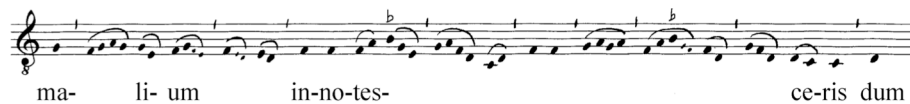
tribulation

Tract which finished,



The tract is said:

Domine audiui



ap-pro-pin-qua-ue-rint an-ni cog-nos-ce-ris dum ad ue-

ne-rit tem-pus o-sten-de-ris. In e-

o dum con-tur-ba-ta fu-e-rit an-i-ma me-a in i-

ra mi-ser-i-cor-di-e me-mo-re-ris.

De-us a li-ba-no ue-ni-et

et sanc-tus de mon-te um-bro-so et con-den-so.

O-per-u-it ce-los ma-ie-

stas e-ius et lau-de e-ius ple-na est ter-

[fol. 90v]

ap- pro-pin- qua-ue-rint an- ni cog-nos-ce-ris dum ad ue-

ne-rit tem- pus o- sten- de- ris. V. In e-

o dum con-tur-ba -ta fu- e- rit a- ni- ma me-a in i-

ra mi- se- ri- cor- di- e me- mo- re- ris. V.

De- us a li- ba- no ue- ni- et

et sanc- tus de mon- te um- bro- so et con- den- so

V. O- per- i- ut ce- los ma- ie-

stas e- ius et lau- de e- ius ple- na est ter-

[fol. 91r]*



finito tractu. dicat sacerdos. ore[-]

mus. diaconus. flectamus. genua. leuate. oratio.**

Deus a

quo*** et iudas. qui tecum uiuit. prophetia .ii. et

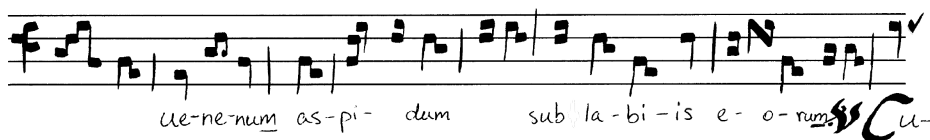
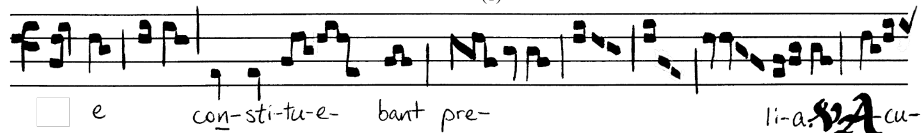
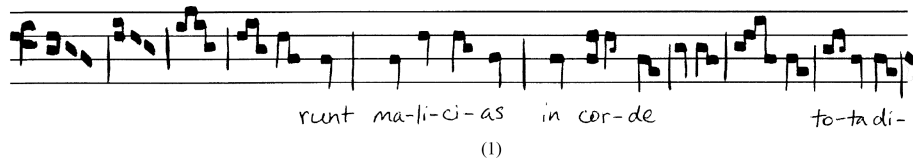
legitur sine titulo. In diebus illis. Dixit dominus

ad moysen et aaron in terra egypti. Mensis

iste. quae finita dicitur .tractus. Eripe me.



Tractus.



[fol. 91r]



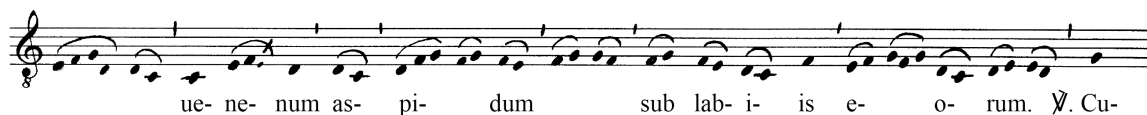
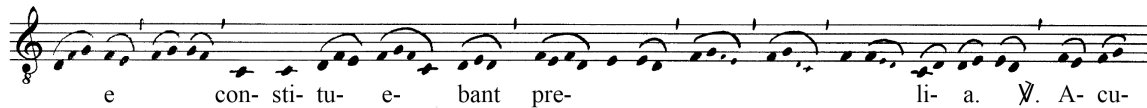
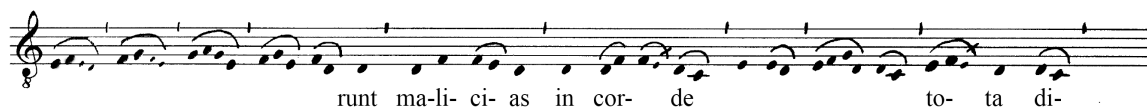
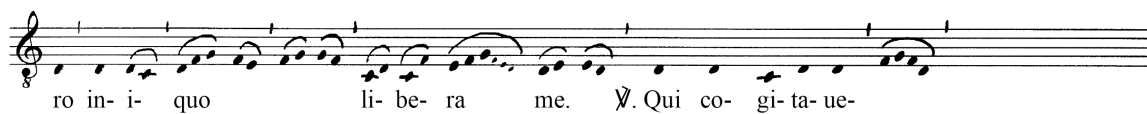
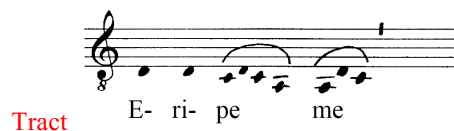
When the tract is finished, let the priest say:

“Let us pray.” [And let] the deacon [say]: “Let us kneel. Rise.” Prayer: “God from whom both Judas [. . .] who lives with you.”

And the second prophecy is read without title: “In those days, the Lord said

to Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt: This month [. . .]”

which finished, the tract Eripe me is said.



[fol. 91v]

ris et ab ho-mi-ni-bus i-ni-quis li-be-ra

me. ¶ Qui co-gi-ta-ue-runt sup-plan-ta-re

gres-sus me-os ab-scon-de-runt su-per-bi

la-que-os mi-chi. ¶ Et fu-nes ex-ten-

de-runt in la-que-o ped-i-bus me-is iux-ta i-ter

scan-da-lum po-su-e-runt mi-chi. ¶ Di-xi do-mi-

no de-us me-us es tu ¶ ex-au-di do-mi-ne uo-cem

or-a-ti-o-nis me-e. ¶ Do-mi-ne do-mi-ne uir-tus sa-lu-tis

me-e ob-um- braca-put me-um in di-e bel-li.

Ne tra-das me a de-si-de-ri-o

me- o pec-ca-to- ri co-gi-ta-ue-runt ad-uer-

(1)

sum me ne de-re-lin-quas me ne um-quam ex-al-ten-tur.

Ca

put cir-cu-i-tus e-o-rum la-bor la-bi-o-rum

ip-so-rum o-pe-ri-et e-os.

(2)

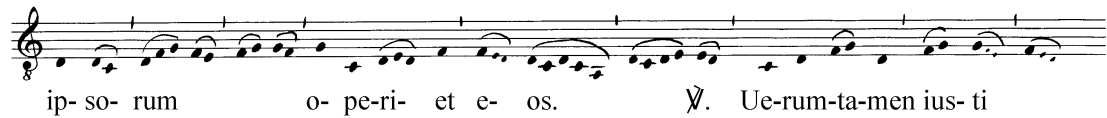
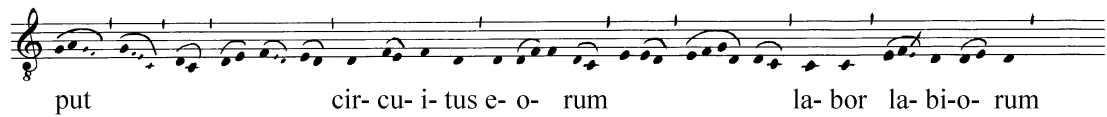
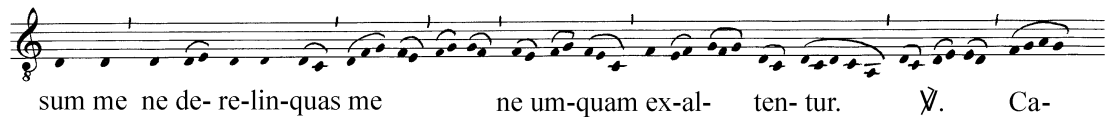
Ue-rum-ta-men iu-sti

(2)

con-fi-te-bun-tur no-mi-ni tu-o et ha-bi-ta-bunt rec-ti

cum uul-tu tu- o.

[fol. 92r]



[fol. 92v]*

Completo tractu. passio super nudum pulpitum dicitur. passio domini nostri ihesu christi secundum iohannem. In illo tempore Egressus

ihesus. qua finito. sacerdos dicit subscriptas sollempnes orationes. Incipiens absolute. Oremus dilectissimi nobis.

cum reliquis. Completis orationibus. sacerdos deposita tantum casula. ** procedit ad posterius cornu*** altaris dextrum.

et ibi accepit crucem a[] ministris sibi preparatam. quam uersa facie ad chorum. a[] summitate parum discooperit. incipiens solus. antiphona.

Ecce lignum crucis. et ab illo loco in antiphona iuuatur in cantu. a[] ministris. usque. Venite adoremus. choro uero cantante.

Venite adoremus. et omnes se prosternunt.

Antiphona



postea procedit sacerdos ad reliquum dextrum cornu altaris. et discope[-] riens amplius crucem eleuans eam paulisper alcius quam primo. incipit. Ecce lignum cru[-] cis. aliis cantantibus et adorantibus ut

supra. deinde sacerdos procedit ad medium al[-]

taris. et discoperiens crucem totaliter. ac eleuando eam tercio. alcius incipit. Ecce lignum crucis. cantantibus aliis et ado[-]

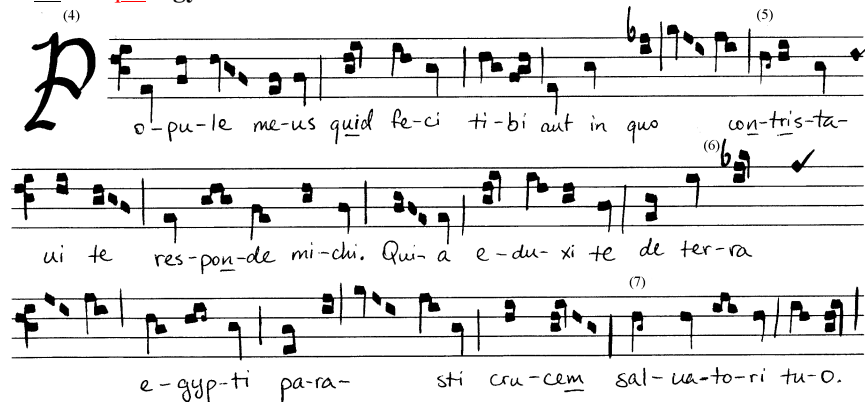
rantibus ut supra. postea sacerdos deponit crucem. in loco ad hec preparato ante altare. deinde deponit calciamenta

et accedit ad adoracionum. ter genua flectens. ante deosculacionem crucis. Hoc facto reuertitur ad sedem suam. et

ibi recipit deposita calciamenta et casulam. postmodum ministri altaris. deinde alii ter flexis genibus ut dictum

est. crucem adorant. et interim cantantur impropria et alia quae secuntur totaliter uel in parte. prout multitudo adoran[-]

tium uel paucitas requirit. Hoc modo duo fratres ex parte. cantant in medio choris. versus popule meus. usque. agyos.



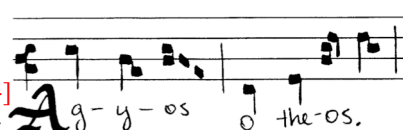
chorus

ex par[-]

te ebd[-]

madarii†

cantat.



alius

chorus

respondet.



Item

primus

chorus.

[fol. 92v]

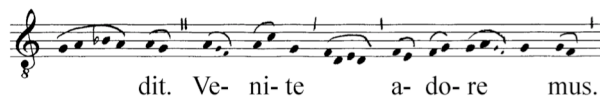
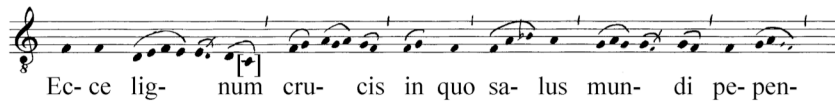
With the tract having been completed, the Passion is said upon a bare pulpit. The Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ according to John: **In that time, Jesus left.**

Which ended, the priest says the approved solemn prayers, beginning completely: **Let us pray, ones most dear to us [dearly beloved],**

with the remaining [prayers]. The prayers having been completed, the priest, with only the chasuble removed, proceeds to the back-right horn of the altar, and there receives the cross prepared for him by the ministers; which, having been turned to face the choir, he uncovers a little from the top, beginning alone the antiphon

Ecce lignum crucis. And from that place in the antiphon, he is aided in singing by the ministers, up to **Venite adoremus**, with the choir, however, singing

Venite adoremus. And all prostrate themselves. Antiphon.



Afterwards, the priest proceeds to the remaining right horn of the altar and uncovering the cross more, elevating [his voice] a little higher than at first, he begins: **Ecce lignum crucis**, with the other singers and adorers [behaving] as

above. Then the priest proceeds to the middle of the

altar. And uncovering the cross completely, and raising [his voice] a third time higher, he begins:

Ecce lignum crucis, with the other singers and adorers [behaving]

as above. Afterwards, the priest sets aside the cross in a place prepared for this before the altar.

Then he sets aside his shoes

and draws near for adoration, genuflecting three times before the kissing of the cross. This done, he returns to his seat and

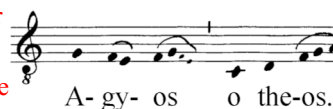
there receives his shoes and vestment, which had been placed aside. Then, presently, the other ministers of the altar (having genuflected three times, as was said)

adore the cross. And meanwhile, the Improperia are sung and the other [verses] which follow, completely or in part, just as the multitude or

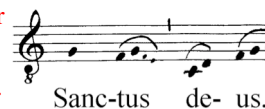
shortage of adorers requires. In this way, two brothers from [one] part sing, in the middle of their [respective] choirs, the verses **Popule meus** up until **Agyos**.



The choir from the part of the hebdomadary sings.



The other choir responds.



Again the first choir.

[fol. 93r]*

Secundus chorus. Item primus chorus.

A-gy-os y-s-ky-ros. Sane-tus for-tis. A-gy-

Secundus chorus. (3)

os a-tha-na-tos. Re-ley-son y-mas. Sane-tus

postea duo fratres de secundo cho[-] ro cantant ver[-] sum. Quia edu[-] xi te. Qui-

et im-mor-ta-lis mi-se-re-re no-bis.

(4)

a e-du-xi te per-de-ser-tum qua-dra-gin-ta an-nos et man-

na ci-ba-ui te et in-tro-du-xi in ter-ram sa-tis op-ti-man.

Deinde chori al[-]
ternatim respondent.

agyos et cetera. et

Sanctus

et cetera. Ita tamen

quod pri[-]

mus chorus semper rein[-]

ciat. agyos.

postea duo

fratres de pri[-]

mo choro

cantant uersum.

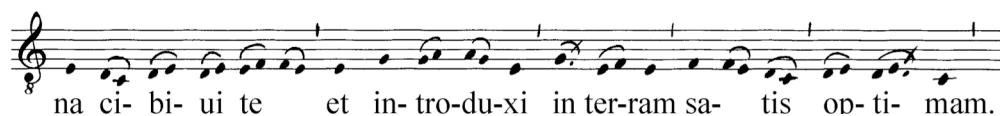
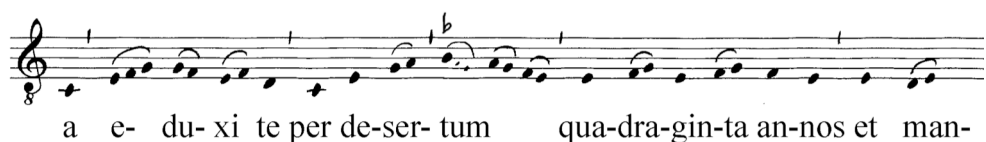
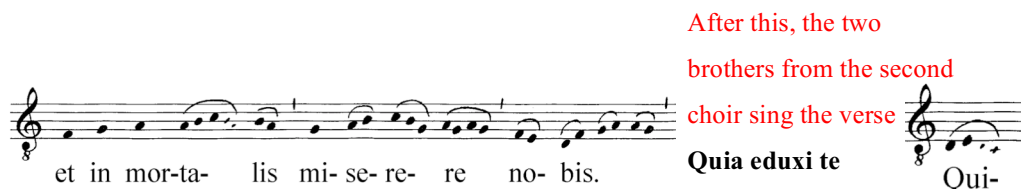
Quid ultra.

Quid ul-tra de-bu-i

fa-ce-re ti-bi et non fe-ci e-go qui-dem plan-ta-ui te ui-ne-

am me-am spe-ci-o-sis-si-man et tu fac-ta es mi-chi ni-mis a-

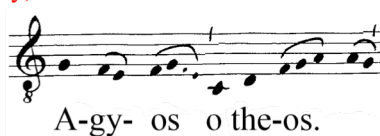
[fol. 93r]



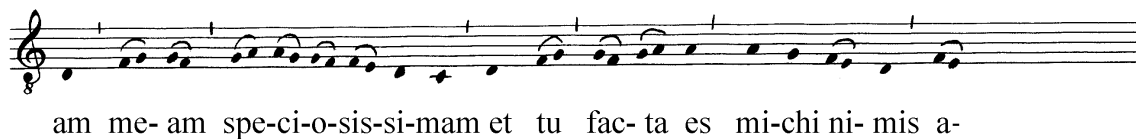
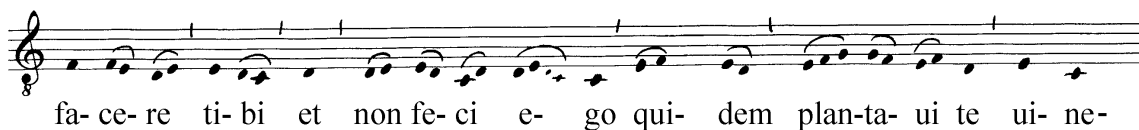
Then the choirs respond alternately,

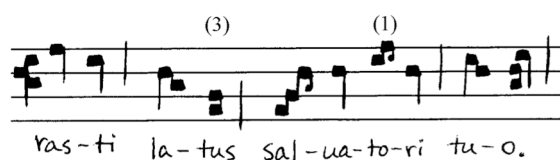
Agyos etc. and Sanctus etc., in such a way that

the first choir still always begins again [with] Agyos.

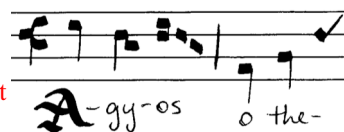


Afterwards, the two brothers from the first choir sing the verse Quid ultra.

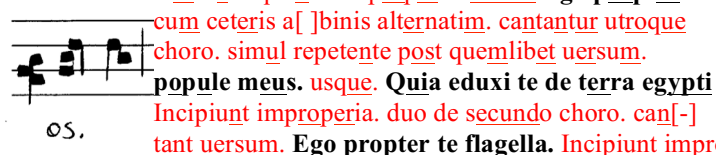




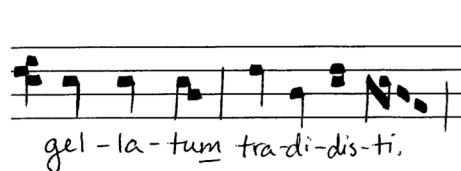
Iterum chori
alternatim
respondent. versum.
agios et cetera. et
Sanctus. et cetera. ut
dictum est ut supra.



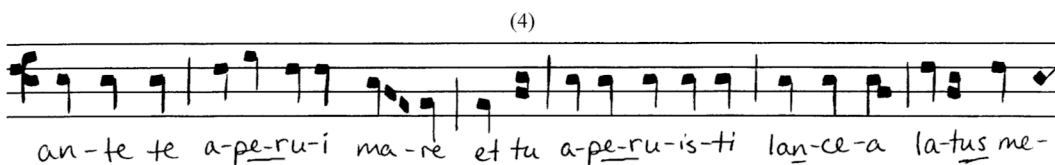
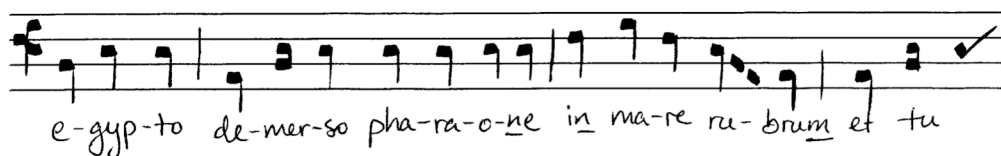
Versus sequentis improprietatis scilicet Ego propter te.

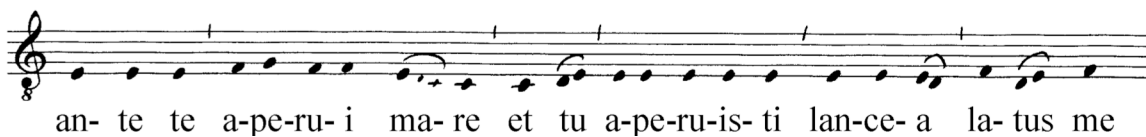
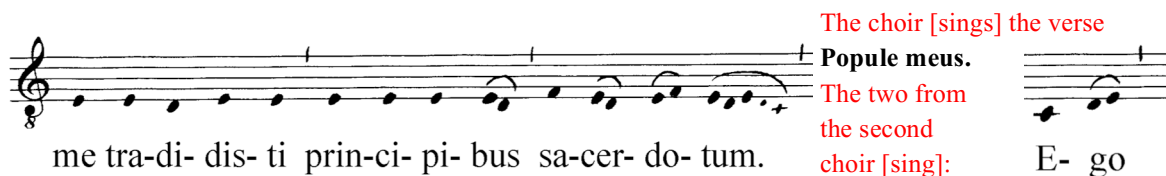
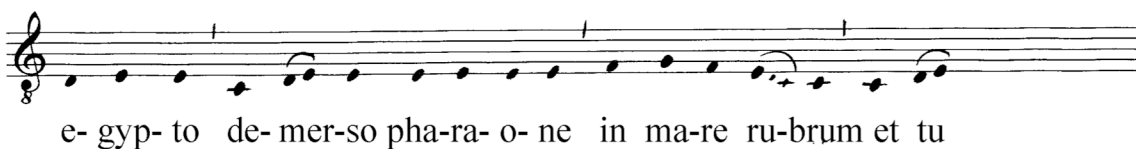
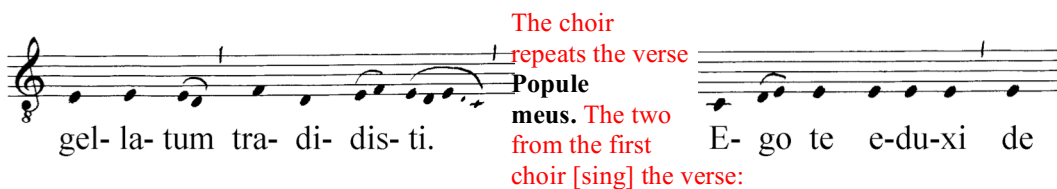
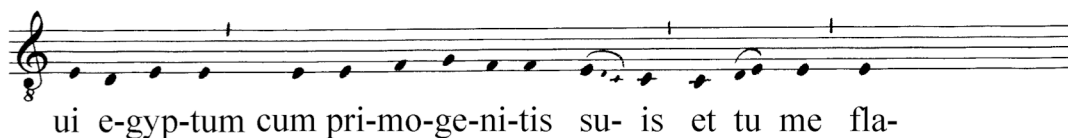
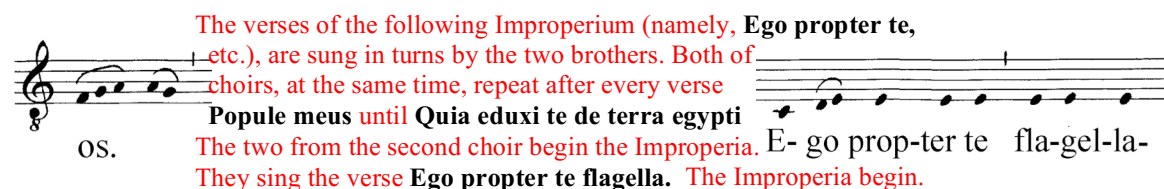
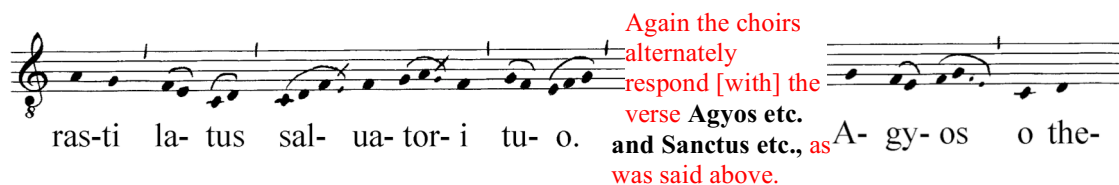
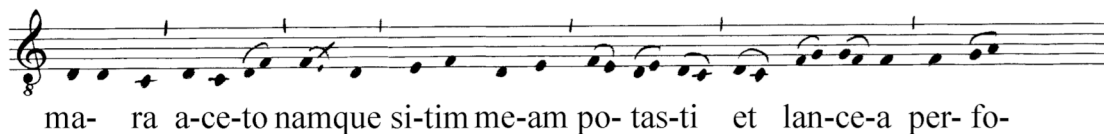


cum ceteris a[]binis alternatim. cantantur utroque
choro. simul repetente post quemlibet versum.
popule meus. usque. Quia eduxi te de terra egypti
Incipiunt impropria. duo de secundo choro. can[]
tant versum. Ego propter te flagella. Incipiunt impropria.



chorus re[]
petit ver[]
sum. popule
meus. duo
de primo
choro. versum.





[fol. 97r]*



Dum supra cantantur, palla super toaliam extenditur, et corporale** a[]diacono

super pallam, et finita crucis adoratione, crux super altare reponitur, et cir[-]

ca altare luminaria accenduntur, deinde calice*** super altare et domini corpore col[-]

locatus, et incensatione ac manuum ablutione a[]sacerdote peractis, postquam.

Orate fratres, uersus ad populum, idem sacerdos dixerit, consequenter dicit innota
con[-]

sueta, absolute, Oremus praeceptis salutaribus moniti, chorus respondet.

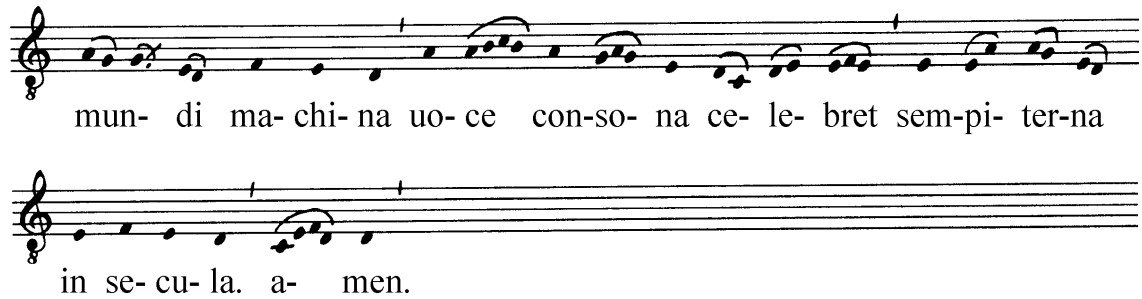
Sed libera nos a[]malo, Sacerdos uero subsilentio dicto, amen, In[]eadem uoce qua dixit, pater noster,
absolute sine, oremus, in[]tono

orationis misse dicit, Libera nos quaesumus domine ab[]omnibus malis, per eundem dominum, Et
respondet chorus, amen, pax tibi† sit semper, non dicitur.

agnus dei, non cantatur, nec pacis osculum datur, facta communione, postcommunio, non dicitur, sed
sacerdote cum ministris in uestiarium reuerte[n]tibus

†dicuntur uespere sine cantu.

[fol. 97r]



While the above is sung, a cover is extended over the cloth by the deacon, and the corporal [is placed] over the cover. And with the adoration of the cross completed, the cross is replaced over the altar, and around the altar, lamps are lighted. Then the chalice and the body of the Lord [are] arranged upon the altar and both the incensing and cleansing of hands are performed by the priest. Afterwards,

Let the same priest have said **“Let us pray, brothers,”** turned towards the people.

Subsequently, he says the customary observances completely: **“Let us pray, taught by the commands for salvation.”** The choir responds:

“But deliver us from evil.” The priest, however, having said in silence **“Amen,”** in the same voice [pitch-level] with which he said **“Our Father,”** completely without **“Let us pray,”** he says, in the tone of the prayer of the Mass: **“Deliver us, we seek Lord, from all evils. Through the same Lord.”** And the choir responds: **“Amen.”** **“Peace be with you always”** is not said.

Agnus Dei is not sung, nor is the kiss of peace given. With the communion done, the postcommunion is not said. But, as the priest returns with his ministers into the vestry, the Vespers are said, without singing.

Fol. 90r

* The first three lines of this folio have not been transcribed, as they contain the end of the concluding antiphon of Maundy Thursday (*Ubi caritas*). The Good Friday section begins immediately on the fourth line. The first six lines of rubrics are written in the staff space immediately following the first line of chant—indeed, on the second and third lines of the rubrics, the words “[–]nam et” and “nona” are partially obscured by the last two neumes, the tractus, and the custos. The remaining seven lines of rubrics appear in the space to the right of the second line of chant.

** Another possible transcription is *interim*, “meanwhile.”

*** There is no marking above the final *a* to suggest an accusative –*am* ending for the reading “he begins the prophecy.” This may be an error, or *prophetia* itself may be the subject: “the prophecy begins.”

† This genre indication typically appears above the top line of the chant, but due to the placement of the rubric text, this was impossible. The indication thus appears next to the text-underlay, immediately to the left of the final rubrics.

(1) This initial is relatively large, extending from the top line of the staff to the ruling for the text-underlay. The solid initial is entered in bright blue ink, without further decoration. The smaller initials (which measure from the bottom line of the staff to the

¹²This commentary presents information exclusively on the musical, paleographic, and codicological aspects of the manuscript. A discussion and interpretation of the service occurs at the beginning of Chapter Four. For translations of chant texts and full versions of selected prayers, please see Appendices B and C, respectively.

ruling for the text-underlay) that begin each of the verses in this chant alternate between red with blue pen-flourishes and blue with red pen-flourishes.

(2) All three of these Bs are flattened in the *Liber Usualis*.¹³ Given the importance of F in this mode and in these particular places, as well as the fact that the chant never surpasses B, these notes have been given *ficta* (as discussed at the end of Chapter 2) on the accompanying transcription into modern notation. On future folios, application of *ficta* is not specially noted in this Commentary.

Fol. 90v

(1) In the *Liber Usualis*, this note is an F, rather than a D.¹⁴ This is a very striking difference, as the basic notes and gestures of the chant in the manuscript are generally identical to the *Liber*.

(2) In the *Liber Usualis*, this word is *laudis*.¹⁵ The meaning, however, is identical, as *plena* may take either genitive or ablative.

Fol. 91r

* Due to formatting restrictions, it is impossible to render this folio in exactly the same format as in the manuscript. In the manuscript, all of the rubricated text occurs in the staff space between the end of *Domine audiui* and the beginning of *Eripe me*, which share the same line, as seen in Figure 3.4.

** As is very common words in liturgical practice, the scribe has taken the liberty of abbreviating heavily, providing only a few initial letters and ending with a punctus.

¹³Catholic Church, *The Liber Usualis* (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée, 1963), 722–723.

¹⁴Ibid., 723.

¹⁵Ibid.

*** The *q* in *quo* is almost completely covered by the last neume of the preceding chant.

(1) The membrane around these neumes has been extensively scraped, most likely by a penknife and presumably to correct errors in the musical notation.

Fol. 91v

(1) In the manuscript, this syllable *–os* is simply centered in the middle of this passage. The *Liber Usualis* places it at the next clivis, which makes more sense given the melodic gestures involved.¹⁶

(2) On both lines four and five, the *Liber* replaces the forms *laqueos* and *laqueo* with *laqueum*.¹⁷

(3) Instead of a clivis from F to E, the *Liber* has a clivis on D to C.¹⁸

Fol. 92r

(1) This pes has a trailing line, almost as if it were originally written as a single-note virga.

(2) For both of these cephalici, the plica extends to the D staff line, rather than ending a step below the principle note, as was the case for the cephalici on line 1 (on *–um–* of *obumbra*) or line 3 (on *–ue–* of *cogitauerunt*). According to scholars' general understanding of this neume, the cephalicus specifies some type of vocal ornament that is essentially pitch-indeterminate, so this difference may not be indicating a significantly

¹⁶Ibid., 726.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

different performance. In the accompanying transcription into modern notation, the secondary note is transcribed as the step below the principle note.

Fol. 92v

* This folio exhibits extensive minor damage, most likely due to water exposure. In many places throughout the rubrics, musical notation, and text-underlay, the ink has been smudged or rubbed off.

** The *casula* is the chasuble, the outer liturgical garment worn by the priest specifically for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. This partial disrobing of the priest recalls the stripping of the altar that occurred on Maundy Thursday (see Chapter One).

*** The "horns" of the altar are its corners. Ancient Jewish altars were required to have four projections at each corner, and this name was retained in Christian worship to refer to the corners of the altar. The right side of the altar was associated with the Gospel, while the left side was associated with the Epistle.¹⁹

† A hebdomadary (from Latin *hebdomada*, "week") is an official appointed for a week's duration to lead the singing of the Mass.

(1) This relatively large initial (extending from the top line of the staff to the ruling for the text-underlay) is entered in bright blue ink. The crossbar and arms of the *E* are slightly decorated, but the appearance of the initial as a whole is plain.

(2) The lower note (C) of this clivis has been almost completely erased, most likely due to the aforementioned water damage.

(3) This natural sign is unnecessary to specify the pitches. The earlier B-flat has already been canceled by the double tractus, and the chant never even reaches another B.

¹⁹*Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Kevin Knight, s.v. "Altar Horns," accessed March 30, 2015, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01354a.htm>.

Nevertheless, this scribe feels it necessary to include the natural in the notation; the singers must be conscious of all intervals, even those they are *not* singing.

(4) This relatively large, solid initial (extending from the top line of the staff to the ruling for the text-underlay) is entered in bright red ink, with little decoration. The cue for this initial is still clearly visible in the lower-right corner. As before, the smaller initials (measuring from the bottom line of the staff to the ruling for the text-underlay) that begin the dialogues and verses in this chant alternate between red with blue pen-flourishes and blue with red pen-flourishes.

(5) As on the previous folio, these cephalici have plicae that extend to the line below, and have been transcribed in the same fashion.

(6) This flat overlaps with the second *t* in *contrista*— in the text-underlay for the line above.

Fol. 93r

* This folio also exhibits extensive water damage, as was the case in the previous, facing leaf. Here there is considerably more damage, including places where the ink has run and where ink from neumes on the previous folio has transferred over, creating some ambiguity.

(1) This initial *K* is highly unusual and not easy to explain. The Greek word is usually transliterated simply as “eleison” or “eleyson.”

(2) It is somewhat unclear whether the lower note (D) of the pes on *hymas* has been transferred from a neume on the facing leaf (fol. 91r), due to its faint and rhombus-shaped appearance. However, this same melodic gesture repeats on the following line, where the pes on *nobis* is unambiguous.

(3) This minor initial breaks the alternating red and blue color scheme, which has heretofore been dominant. The *S* is blue with red pen-flourishes, exactly like the previous initial *K*.

(4) This tractus was probably entered at a later stage, most likely as a correction, since it is squeezed very tightly between the pes and the climacus and angled slightly.

Fol. 93v

(1) As on the previous folios, these cephalici have plicae that extend to the line below, and have been transcribed in the same fashion.

(2) The vertical stroke for this clivis is missing in the manuscript. In the *Liber*, this neume is a pes indicating the notes C and D.²⁰

(3) In the *Liber*, the notes of this pes are D and F, rather than C and D.²¹

(4) The scribe did not leave enough vertical space between the notes of this pes, and so the effect is of a continuous rectangle of ink.

Fol. 97r

* Due to formatting restrictions, it is impossible to render this folio in exactly the same format as in the manuscript. In the manuscript, the first six lines of the rubricated text are entered in the space immediately following the last line of chant.

** The corporal (from *corporale* [*pallium*]) is a linen cloth on which the chalice (containing the sacramental wine) and the paten (containing the Host) are placed. The

²⁰Ibid., 738.

²¹Ibid., 739.

palla (“cover”) referred to at the beginning of the line specifies the pall, which at that time was a very large piece of cloth that served much the same purpose as the corporal.²²

*** The word *calice* appears to be the ablative singular form of the noun *calix*, *calicis*, although the nominative form is syntactically required. This may be an error, or an example of a later variant of the word—in Italian, this word did indeed develop into *calice*.

† The *t* in *tibi* strongly resembles an uncial *d*; it was most likely corrected from an originally written *d*.

‡ These final words are entered at the end of the next line, separated from material about Holy Saturday by a short, vertical, wavy line.

²²Nikolaus Gehr, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass: Dogmatically, Liturgically, and Ascetically Explained* (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder, 1902), 261.

CHAPTER FOUR

Discussion and Conclusions

The previous three chapters have considered elements necessary for understanding and analyzing the Jennings MS 9, dealing with the structure of the liturgy, manuscript construction, and medieval music notation, applying such concepts to the Good Friday section of the manuscript under investigation. This final chapter will firstly discuss and interpret the transcription and translation presented in the preceding chapter, reconstructing the Good Friday service. Secondly, it will attempt to contextualize the manuscript in its geographical and liturgical framework, speculating on its possible provenance and use and considering its place in the centuries-old plainchant tradition.

Reconstruction of the Good Friday Service in the Jennings MS 9

In the Jennings MS 9, the brothers must prepare for the Good Friday Mass. The rubrics instruct them to arrive at the church “at the sixth hour,” or at about midday, in order to sing the Nones, part of the Divine Office. The Nones (from Latin *nona*, “ninth [hour]”) are typically observed later, at the ninth hour, but apparently the service is completed early this day, perhaps due to the Good Friday Mass. Inside the church, the priests also prepare for the Mass, putting on their special garments. As the service occurs during the time of *Tenebrae*, in which all lights are extinguished in reflection of Christ’s death and burial, the service does without lamps and incense.

Once everything is ready, the priests, ministers, acolytes, choristers, and worshippers enter the church in a solemn procession, prostrating themselves before the

altar in silent prayer. The acolytes place a great cloth over the altar (which has been stripped bare since the foot-washing ceremony of Maundy Thursday), and the priest kisses the altar reverently before taking his seat with the other ministers. A subdeacon then begins the Fore-Mass, launching into the first lesson of the service, without prefacing it with a title.¹ This lesson comes from the Old Testament (and thus is a *prophetia*, a Prophecy), taken from Hosea 6:1-6, in which the prophet urges the nation of Israel to repent and return to the Lord. Then the tract *Domine audi*, setting the prayer of Habakkuk from Habakkuk 3:1-3, is sung, devoutly contemplating the majesty and power of God.

Following the first tract, the priest reads a prayer, entreating God to bestow the grace of Christ's propitiation upon his faithful. After the priest recites the prayer, the subdeacon reads the second lesson, also a *prophetia* from the Old Testament, Exodus 12:1-11, and again without a title. The second tract, *Eripe me*, follows, setting portions of Psalm 139, asking God to rescue believers from their enemies.

After the tract, an unadorned lecturn or pulpit is produced for the third lesson, which is the Passion from the Gospel of John. This is the fourth and final Passion recited during Holy Week, as the Passions of Matthew, Mark, and Luke were heard on Palm Sunday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, respectively. Although Passions were often given exceptionally dramatic settings for multiple singers, the Jennings MS 9 gives only a small amount of information concerning the performance of Passions, noting that they are recited in "the tone of the Gospel," yet without the preliminary Benediction and

¹This Good Friday Fore-Mass is distinguished by its principal content of four lessons and two tracts (arranged in the order LT LT L L) with nine sacred prayers or collects. The usual opening items of the Mass outside of Holy Week (Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Gradual, Credo) are conspicuously absent. Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 260-261.

communal response typical of Gospels and bringing out incense towards the end of the Passion.² Typically, the Passion will be immediately followed by the fourth and final lesson, which also comes from the Gospel of John.³

Following the reading, the priest begins the nine “*sollemnes orationes*” or the Solemn Collects. This portion of the service is only briefly mentioned in the Jennings MS 9; presumably, the priest would rely on the Missal for this part. Each of the prayers is introduced by a special formula: the priest intones “*Oremus, dilectissimi nobis*” (“Let us pray, dearly beloved”), the deacon (or sometimes the priest) instructs the congregation to genuflect (“*Flectamus genua*”) and then to rise (“*Levate*”).⁴

After the prayers, the priest removes his cope and prepares for the Adoration of the Cross. Ministers bring the cross, obscured by a veil, into the sanctuary in a procession, where the priest receives it immediately behind the right corner of the altar, turning it toward the congregation so that all may see it. The priest partially uncovers the cross, as he and the ministers sing the beautiful antiphon *Ecce lignum crucis*—“Behold the wood of the cross.” The choir sings the final phrase *Venite adoremus* (“Come, let us adore”), and all kneel and adore the cross in silence. The priest then proceeds to the cross and uncovers it further, singing the antiphon again at a higher pitch. The choir sings the final phrase, and all members of the congregation kneel and adore once more. Finally,

²David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 34; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 260–261. The Jennings MS 9 includes rubrics describing the performance of Passions on Palm Sunday (fol. 79v), where the first Passion occurs. This is transcribed and translated in Appendix E.

³Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 260.

⁴The traditional number of prayers is seven, which are a) for the church, b) for the Pope, c) for clergy, d) for rulers, e) for the catechumens (who will be baptized on Holy Saturday), f) for the faithful, g) for the unity of the church, h) for the conversion of the Jews, and i) for the conversion of the heathens. Catholic Church, *The Liber Usualis*, 732–735; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 248–249, 260–261.

the priest uncovers the cross completely, and sings the antiphon a third time, at a still higher and more intense pitch, with the choir assisting and the congregation kneeling and adoring as before. The priest moves the cross, setting it up in front of the altar. He and the other ministers remove their shoes and adore the cross individually, genuflecting three times before kissing the foot of the cross reverently.

Next, the Improperia, or Reproaches, are performed, in which Christ is imagined to reproach the unfaithful Jews using texts drawn from the Old Testament. During the performance of this section, the members of the congregation approach the altar to venerate the cross themselves; consequently, the rubrics authorize the singers to omit (and presumably, repeat) verses so that the music lasts roughly the duration required for this adoration. The choir divides itself into two bodies of singers, who will alternate antiphonally a refrain in both Greek and Latin. Two soloists, who will sing the words that are attributed to Christ, stand in the middle of their respective two choirs.

Throughout the Improperia, the chant invites worshippers to contemplate the comparison between God's liberation of the Jews out of Egypt and Christ's redemption of humanity on the cross, in a sort of typological exegesis set to music. The soloists begin with "*Popule meus*" adapted from Micah 6:3, recalling the rescue of the Jews from Egypt and demanding an answer from those who "have prepared a cross for [their] Savior."

The two choirs then sing the Trisagion, an threefold invocation of God that originated in Eastern worship, first in Greek (choir one) and then in Latin (choir two): "Holy God, holy strong, holy immortal, have mercy on us"—the only possible response to such an inquiry. Two new soloists from the second choir reflect further on God's grace to the Jews during the Exodus and the Jews' mistreatment of their savior ("*Quia*

eduxi te”), and the two choirs repeat the Trisagion. Two soloists from the second choir then consider God’s kindnesses and favors shown to the Jews (“*Quid ultra debui facere tibi*”), who have responded by “pierc[ing] with a lance [their] Savior’s side,” and the two choirs again respond with the Trisagion.

Soloists, alternately drawn from each of the two choirs, begin the Improperia proper, presenting a series of reproachful verses that contemplate how the treatment of Christ during the Passion can be viewed as a reversal of the Exodus narrative: Christ was handed over to be scourged, while God scourged Egypt through the death of the firstborn (*Ego propter te*). Christ was given over to the high priest, whereas God rescued the Jews from the hand of Pharaoh (*Ego te eduxi*). God parted the sea for the Jews, while Jesus’s side was parted by a sword (*Ego ante te*). In between each verse, both of the choirs chant the opening refrain *Popule meus*.

Unfortunately, the account of Good Friday in the Jennings MS 9 is interrupted shortly before the end of the third verse by displaced material from elsewhere in the Gradual. Over the course of the missing folios, the Improperia would continue, most likely with six further verses. Presumably, the antiphon *Crucem tuam* and the hymn *Crux fidelis* would be sung, praising and honoring the cross and Christ’s crucifixion, which has been ceremonially recreated during the service.⁵ Next, the hymn *Pange lingua* would be sung, of which only the end fragment is attested in the Jennings MS 9. Both *Crux fidelis* and *Pange lingua* derive their text from a sixth century hymn, *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium* written by the Frankish bishop and poet Venantius Fortunatus.⁶ The hymn’s

⁵Catholic Church, *The Liber Usualis*, 740–742.

⁶Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy* (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters Publishers, 2001), 229.

concluding stanza, the final words of which appear when Good Friday resumes in the manuscript on fol. 97v, do not come from Fortunatus, nor do they match the concluding material present in the *Liber Usualis*. While the final verse of the *Liber* is strongly trinitarian, the concluding verse present in the Jennings MS 9 reflects on the purpose of singing hymns, envisioning the whole world singing God's glory together.

After the hymn is complete, the Adoration of the Cross is finished, and the cross is replaced on the altar. After acolytes have prepared the altar for the observance of Eucharist, placing a cloth known as a corporal over the altar, a chalice containing the sacramental wine and the Host (which was reserved by the priest on Maundy Thursday) are brought and set upon the altar. The priest begins the Lord's Prayer, which serves as the communion chant for Good Friday. After introducing it with the customary preface (*Oremus praeceptis salutaribus moniti*), the priest recites the *Pater Noster* in full, concluding with a prayer known as the Embolism (*Libera nos quaesumus domine*). After the choir responds *Amen* (and presumably after the communicants have partaken of the Eucharist), the Mass is complete; the remaining items (Agnus Dei, Postcommunion) are omitted. The priest and his ministers leave the sanctuary; the Vespers service follows immediately, but it is completed without the customary singing.

The Jennings MS 9 in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

The Jennings MS 9 originated in a particularly unique cultural and liturgical environment. The Roman Rite was established late in most of the Iberian peninsula (with the exception of Catalonia in the northeast of the peninsula, which was closely linked to France for much of the Middle Ages). The north-central area of Castile and the rest of the peninsula were strongly influenced by the Muslim occupation; the Christians who

resided in Muslim Al-Andalus were known as *Mozarabs*, and these worshippers developed a separate rite and plainchant dialect known as Mozarabic. Beginning with the Council of Burgos around 1080, the Mozarabic Rite was gradually replaced with the Roman Rite. The *Reconquista* of Spain from the Muslims, lasting the next four hundred years, served to remove Arabic influences and solidify the dominance of the Roman Rite.⁷ Thus, by the time of the creation of the Jennings MS 9, Spain would have already rid itself of most, if not all, of the Muslim presence.

During the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries, the plainchant repertory coexisted with polyphonic service music written by Spanish composers, among whom Cristóbal de Morales, Francisco Guerrero, and Tomás Luis de Victoria are the most well known examples. These composers wrote their service music largely to replace certain of the standard monophonic chants at special occasions, and frequently quoted the chant music in addition to the words.⁸ Nevertheless, such polyphonic settings were exceptional and largely restricted to courts and major cathedrals in Spain with international orientation; in general, Spain remained liturgically and musically conservative during the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, preferring to look back to tradition rather than to pursue innovations.⁹ In the more rural cathedrals across the Iberian peninsula, the monophonic plainchant of the Roman Rite would likely continue to be performed as it

⁷Richard B. Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1958), 20–26; Jeremy Yudkin, *Music in Medieval Europe* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 302.

⁸Kenneth Kreitner, *The Church Music of Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2004), 6–7. Founded by St. Francis (1182–1226) in 1223, the non-cloistered Franciscans immediately spread across Europe, pledging themselves to lives of poverty, simplicity, and ministry among the people. Jeremy Yudkin, *Music in Medieval Europe*, 297.

⁹Stanley Boorman et al., s.v. “Sources, MS,” *Grove Music Online*, n.d., accessed March 13, 2015.

had been through the centuries. Aside from the great courts and city cathedrals, the liturgy (with its chants) might also be observed in smaller churches and universities, as well as monasteries and convents of various orders.

Where would the Jennings MS 9 find its place in this complex liturgical topography? Evidence in the manuscript suggests that it has close associations with the widespread Franciscan order, who had been active in Spain almost since the establishment of the order in the early thirteenth century; as the “*joculatores Domini*” (minstrels of the Lord), they supported a rich musical life in addition to theological and intellectual endeavors.¹⁰ As observed in Chapter Three, the entirety of Jennings MS 9 is laid out in a single column, which is consistent with Franciscan practices.¹¹ The opening *ordo*, outlining the procedures and policies of the manuscript (fol. 1r, transcribed and translated in Appendix B), clearly puts the production of the manuscript in the hands of a clerical community and literally quotes the standard rule established by the Franciscans for the transcription of notated liturgical books.¹² Unfortunately, this *ordo* does not describe the specific conditions leading to the document’s creation or its intended use or place. Perhaps it was intended for use by the members of the local community, or created for a newly established Franciscan church or mission.

What is clearer is that the Jennings MS 9 was almost certainly actively used by a liturgical community. The manuscript is intended for practical use, lacking the excessive

¹⁰Peter Loewen, *Music in Early Franciscan Thought* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2013), 2–5. The phrase “jongleurs of the Lord” is attributed to St. Francis himself, who frequently employed music and song in his preaching. Ibid., 58–60.

¹¹Jann Cosart, interview by author, April 7, 2014.

¹²This *Statutum Ordinis Minorum* of the Franciscans was supposed to be reproduced at the beginning of every Gradual produced. Thomas Forrest Kelly, ed., *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 43–44.

decoration appropriate for deluxe, display manuscripts.¹³ Signs of wear and water damage are evident in many places. Future hands have made additions and changes to the book, both to ease its use (by cross-indexing chants) and to customize it for an individual church's service (by replacing sections of text and even music). The codex's fairly modest size would have precluded its use by large numbers of singers. The Jennings MS 9 could have been used by a small choir, five or six singers at most, who could have gathered around the document; or, the majority of a larger choir might have sung from memory while the cantor or soloists sang from the manuscript. During its life, the Jennings MS 9 was rebound, possibly many times. At some point, the original quires of the manuscript were separated into single pieces of parchment, which subsequently came into their present state of disorder, with folios missing or appearing out of order.

The musical paleography in the Jennings MS 9 shows several unique features, which were described in Chapter Three. Most unusual of these are the use of simultaneous ut- and fa-clefs and what appears to have been an archaic form of the fa-clef. The community in charge of producing the manuscript (or its future users) evidently believed it important to modernize the fa-clef, resulting in an unusual, unmeticulous form of the clef (designated as α , for the purposes of this study). This may speak to the importance of the legibility of the musical notation, which is echoed in the *ordo* of the Jennings MS 9, and the tendencies of Franciscan music books toward utmost clarity in notation. Indeed, two clefs do assist in reading the music more quickly, and the α fa-clef is nonetheless much more consonant with contemporary orthography. Other features of

¹³However, a few initials are painted, or show much more decoration than the others. Some of these more ornately worked initials appear to have been scraped off and replaced with plainer initials. In general, luxurious decorations are rare in Franciscan books; the use of gold was actually prohibited due to the vow of poverty. John Haines, ed., *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music*, Musicalia Medii Aevi 1 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011), 200–201.

the aspect of the script and music (such as the tendency to slant and curve neumes, or the use of dashes at the end of text lines) are likely peculiar to the scribe.

The Enduring Tradition of Plainchant

The music in the Jennings MS 9 belongs to an ongoing tradition of liturgical plainchant, stretching back over a millennium. Although the use of the plainchant repertory of the Roman Rite has competed with polyphonic sacred settings and contemporary worship styles for centuries—declining significantly in the past decades as a result of the Second Vatican Council, which permitted vernacular language in the Holy Mass, and the subsequent revision of the Roman Missal during the 1960s—it remains the Vatican’s preferred type of sacred music.¹⁴ It has been staunchly endorsed in the twentieth century by Popes Paul IV, Paul VI, and John Paul II, among others.¹⁵ More recently, Pope Benedict XVI has reflected on “the primacy of Gregorian chant as a supreme model of sacred music . . . [and] the value of the great ecclesial patrimony of sacred music or the universality that is characteristic of Gregorian chant.”¹⁶

¹⁴For more information on the changes to the liturgy made during Vatican II, see the excellent and highly accessible Richard R. Gaillardetz and Catherine E. Clifford, *Keys to the Council: Unlocking the Teaching of Vatican II* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2012), 22-30.

¹⁵The *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the Church’s current constitution on the sacred liturgy, states that “[t]he musical tradition of the universal Church is a treasure of inestimable value, greater even than that of any other art. The main reason for this pre-eminence is that, as sacred song united to the words, it forms a necessary or integral part of the solemn liturgy . . . The Church acknowledges Gregorian chant as specially suited to the Roman liturgy: therefore, other things being equal, it should be given pride of place in liturgical services.” Catholic Church, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Vatican, December 4, 1963, accessed March 13, 2015, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html.

¹⁶Pope Benedict XVI, Letter to the Grand Chancellor of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music on the Hundredth Anniversary of its Foundation, Vatican, May 13, 2011, accessed March 13, 2015, http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/letters/2011/documents/hf_ben-xvi_let_20110513_musica-sacra.html.

In large part due to the work of monks in the Benedictine Abbey of Solesmes, France, Gregorian chant has experienced a revival. For over a century, the monks have worked to create critical editions of the plainchant repertory of the Roman Rite. Using some of the oldest manuscripts available, they are responsible for compiling, editing, and publishing the now standard editions of the *Liber Usualis* and the *Graduale Romanum*, which have proved indispensable tools in this study.¹⁷ While very few Catholic churches have retained the use of plainchant as service music in its original context, there are many calls for its return to modern liturgy.¹⁸

Conclusion

Plainchant occupies a crucial position, both in the history of music and in the history of the Christian church. The entire body of written Western music ultimately derives from the unadorned melodies sung in medieval churches, and the rich history of Western musical composition would scarcely have been possible without the system of written notation developed for chant. As a vital part of a long-standing tradition of sacred music that has continued up to the present day, plainchant additionally commands respect for its efficacy in expressing religious piety and devotion; more than any other music, plainchant is perfectly suited to the sacredness of the services in which it functions. The study of primary sources such as the Jennings MS 9 is thus highly relevant, considering

¹⁷Eugène Cardine, David Hiley, and Richard Sherr, s.v. "Solesmes," *Grove Music Online*, n.d., accessed March 14, 2015. For more information on the work of the monks of Solesmes, see Pierre Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, trans. Theodore N. Marier and William Skinner (1969; repr., Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003). For a more abridged summary, see Daniel Saulnier, *Gregorian Chant: A Guide to the History and Liturgy*, trans. Mary Berry (2003; repr., Brewster, MA: Paraclete Press, 2009), 12–17.

¹⁸For instance, consider Lawrence Donnelly, "Why We Sing Gregorian Chant," *Sacred Music* 134, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 40–41; "Gregorian Chant Today," *Pastoral Music* 32, no. 5 (June 2008): 60.

the heated debate over the use of plainchant in modern Catholic services and in light of the scholarly approaches by the monks of Solemnnes.

The principal way in which this particular manuscript, the Jennings MS 9, (and by extension, medieval liturgical music in general) has been investigated in this study is through transcription and translation. This approach is necessary in order to understand the manuscript in its proper context, both within its scribal and musical context. Only by actively transcribing and translating can one become immersed in the styles, techniques, and philosophies out of which the manuscript originated, and thus be qualified to discourse about them. Additionally, transcription and translation produces a faithful version of the document that is accessible to modern audiences, who may be unfamiliar with medieval Latin, scribal abbreviations, and square notation.

Although this chapter has speculated on possible uses and locations of the manuscript, much remains to be investigated regarding the provenance of the codex. The few more ornate initials scattered throughout the document may provide clues to a more specific region in Spain, and the use of two simultaneous clefs may also point to a specific community or area, if comparable manuscripts are extant. More advanced procedures, such as DNA analysis of the membrane, could further identify the area from which the materials of the manuscript originated. The liturgical content is another intriguing avenue of research—this manuscript was customized for an individual religious community through the modification of text and music, which clearly had deep implications for the users of this codex. Minor deviations in both text and music as the fundamental components of the liturgy should also be scrutinized.

What is clear, however, is that the Jennings MS 9 stands as a testament to the ingenuity—and piety—of medieval Europe. Despite the difficulties of recording music in a reproducible and durable manner that could be performed in churches and cathedrals across the continent, liturgical communities succeeded in creating works that have endured to this day. Liturgical manuscripts such as the Jennings MS 9 have lost little of the practicality, beauty, and complexity that made them so effective in contributing to the sacredness of Christian worship.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Liturgical Content of Good Friday in the Jennings MS 9

Incipit	Genre	Type of content	Source	Folio(s)
<i>Haec dicit dominus. In tribulatione sua</i>	Prophecy	rubrics	Hosea 6:1-6	90r
<i>Domine audiui</i>	Tract	music	Habakkuk 3:2-3	90r – 91r
<i>Deus a quo et iudas</i>	Prayer	rubrics		91r
<i>In diebus illis. Dixit dominus ad moysen et aaron in terra egypti</i>	Prophecy	rubrics	Exodus 12:1-11	91r
<i>Eripe me</i>	Tract	music	Psalm 139:2-10, 14	91r – 92r
<i>Passio domini nostri ihesu christi secundum iohannem. In illo tempore Egressus</i>	Passion	rubrics	John 18-19	92v
<i>Oremus, dilectissimi nobis</i> (Nine Solemn Collects)	Collects	rubrics		92v
<i>Ecce lignum</i>	Antiphon	music		92v
<i>Popule meus</i> (Improperia)	Improperia	music		92v – ??
[Replaced material]				[94r – 96v]
<i>Pange lingua gloriosi proelium</i>	Hymn	music (fragment)	Venantius Fortunatus, <i>Pange lingua gloriosi proelium</i>	?? – 97r
<i>Oremus praeceptis salutaribus moniti</i>	Prayer	rubrics		97r
<i>Pater noster</i>	Pater Noster	rubrics	Matthew 6:9-13	97r
<i>Libera nos quaesumus domine ab omnibus malis</i> (Embolism)	Prayer	rubrics		97r

APPENDIX B

Translations of Chant Texts

The translations below were produced by the author and have been arranged to match the lines of music in the Jennings MS 9. While it was not practical to translate the lyrics of the chants during the *Transcription and Translation* section at the end of Chapter Three, it is still vital to understand the meanings and sources of these texts. References to Psalms are here given according to their numbering in the Latin Vulgate.

[*fol. 90r*]

Tract – Domine audiui (adapted from Habakkuk 3:2-3)

O Lord, I have heard your report and

I was afraid; I considered your works and I shrank back

Verse. In the middle of two animals shall you be made known; when

[*fol. 90v*]

the years approach, you shall be known; when

the time arrives, you shall be displayed. Verse. In that

time when my soul will be disturbed—in

wrath, be mindful of mercy.

Verse. God shall come from Libanus [i.e., the Mount of Lebanon]

and the holy one from his shaded and densely covered mountain.

Verse. His majesty envelops the heavens

and the earth is full with his praise.

[fol. 91r]

Tract – Eripe me (Psalm 139:2-10, 14)

Rescue me,
O Lord, from the evil man; from the
unjust man set me free. Verse. They who thought
evil things in their heart; all the day
they stir up wars. Verse. They
sharpen their tongue like serpents;
the venom of asps is under their lips. Verse. Guard
me, O Lord, from the hand of the sinner;

[fol. 91v]

from unjust men set me
free. Verse. They who thought to trip up
my steps, the proud conceal
traps for me. Verse. And the ropes
in their nets they have spread out for my feet; next to the road
They have placed a stumbling block for me. Verse. I said to the Lord,
you are my God. Lord, hear the voice
of my prayer. Verse. Lord, Lord, the strength of my salvation,

[fol. 92r]

overcloud my head on the day of war.
Do not give me up from my desires

to the sinner;¹ they have thought against
me. Do not abandon me, lest they ever be exalted. Verse. [My] head
[is] their circuit; the labor of their lips
shall overwhelm them. Verse. Nevertheless, the just
shall give praise to your name, and the upright shall dwell
with your countenance.

[fol. 92v]

Antiphon – Ecce lignum crucis

Behold the wood of the cross, on which the salvation of the world
hung. Come, let us adore him.

Improperia – Popule meus

My people, what have I done to you or in what have I afflicted
you? Answer me. Since I led you out of the land
of Egypt, you have prepared a cross for your savior.

(Greek) Holy is God! (Latin) Holy [is] God!

[fol. 93r]

(Greek) Holy [and] strong! (Latin) Holy [and] strong!

(Greek) Holy immortal one, have mercy on us!

(Latin) Holy immortal one, have mercy on us!

Since I led you out through the desert for forty years and
fed you with manna and led you into the best land of plenty.

¹This word is plural (*peccatoribus*) in the Vulgate. It is singular (*peccatori*) in the Jennings MS 9, which is likely a mistake, as the “sinners” are referred to in the plural immediately following.

(Greek) Holy is God! [etc.] What more should I
do and have not done? Indeed, I planted you as
my most beautiful vine, and you have become extremely

[fol. 93v]

bitter to me. For in my thirst, you gave me vinegar to drink and pierced
the side of your savior with a lance. (Greek) Holy is God! [etc.]
On your account I whipped
Egypt with its first-born, and yet you
handed me over, whipped. [My people, etc.] I lead you out from
Egypt, having submerged Pharaoh in the Red Sea, and you
Handed me over to the high priests. [My people, etc.] I
parted the sea in front of you, and you parted my side with a lance.

Hymn – Pange lingua

[With these harmonious hymns, we sing glory to God,
which [glory] the whole earth, with us at the same time,²]

[fol. 97r]

by a great plan may celebrate with a consonant voice, for
ages eternal. Amen.

²Due to seventeenth-century revisions of the Roman liturgy, the concluding stanza of the hymn does not match the conclusion of the *Liber Usualis*. Here, some of the missing text in the Jennings MS 9 has been reconstructed from another, nearly contemporary Gradual, which reads “Gloriam deo canamus hymnicis concentibus quam simul magna nobiscum tota **munda machina uoce consona celebret sempiterna in[]secula**” (boldface text also in the Jennings MS 9). Perkins MS 4, Gradual leaves bound, manuscript on parchment, Perkins Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Claremont Colleges, Claremont, CA, accessed February 15, 2015, <http://ccdlibraries.claremont.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/scg>, fols. 54r–55v.

APPENDIX C

Selected Prayers

The following three prayers are referenced in the Jennings MS 9 rubrics for Good Friday. Presumably, the officiating priest would have read or recited the prayers in full from the Missal. As these prayers are essential for the service, they have been reproduced below using the texts in the *Liber Usualis*, together with a parallel translation by this author. It is possible that the users of the Jennings MS 9 employed slightly different formulations of these prayers, as minor variants did exist. However, the prayers in the *Liber Usualis* are almost certainly very close to what would have been recited. Text in boldface is here employed to indicate what portions of the prayers are present in the Jennings MS 9.

“Deus, a quo et Judas reatus sui poenam,	God, from whom both Judas received the
et confessionis suae latro praemium	penalty of his guilt and the thief the reward
sumpsit, concede nobis tuae	of his confession, grant us the effect of your
propitiationis effectum: ut, sicut in	propitiation: so that, just as in
passione sua Jesus Christus, Dominus	his Passion, Jesus Christ our Lord
noster, diversa utrisque intulit stipendia	paid everyone diverse wages
meritorum; ita nobis,	of merit; thus to us, our
ablato vetustatis errore,	long age of error having been taken away,
resurrectionis suae gratiam largiatur.	he may bestow the grace of his resurrection.

Qui tecum vivit et regnat

in unitate Spiritu Sancti, Deus, per omnia
saecula saeculorum.”¹

He who lives and reigns with you

in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God, through
all ages of ages.

**“Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus
moniti, et divina institutione formati,
audemus dicere:”**²

**Let us pray. Taught by the commands
for salvation** and formed by divine
principles, we are bold to say:

**“Libera nos, quaesumus Domine, ab
omnibus malis, praeteritis, praesentibus,
et futuris: et intercedente beata et gloriosa
semper Virgine Dei Genitrice Maria, cum
beatis apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo, atque
Andrea, et omnibus Sanctis, da propitius
pacem in diebus nostris; ut, ope
misericordiae tuae adjuti, et a peccato
simus semper liberi et ab omni
perturbatione securi. Per eundem
Dominum** nostrum Jesum Christum

**Deliver us, we seek, O Lord, from all
evils, past, present, and future: and
interceding with the blessed and glorious,
perpetual Virgin Mary, Mother of God, with
your blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and
Andreas, and all the Saints, [be] gracious
and grant us peace in our days; so that we
may be aided by your work of mercy, free
always from sin, and safeguarded from all
perturbations. Through the same
Lord** of ours, Jesus Christ,

¹Catholic Church, *The Liber Usualis*, 724. This appears in the Jennings MS 9 on fol. 91r.

²Ibid., 747. This appears in the Jennings MS 9 on fol. 97r. This short, standard introduction to the Lord’s Prayer serves as an invitation to the congregation to join in prayer.

Filium tuum: Qui tecum vivit et regnat	your son: He who lives and reigns with you
in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia	in the unity of God the Holy Spirit, through
saecula saeculorum.” ³	all ages of ages.

³Ibid., 747–748. This appears in the Jennings MS 9 on fol. 97r. This is the Embolism, traditionally said following the Lord’s Prayer.

APPENDIX D

Transcription and Translation of Fol. 1r of the Jennings MS 9

The Jennings MS 9 opens with an *ordo* that outlines the policies guiding both the creation and the intended use of the Gradual. This *Statutum Ordinis Minorum* is required to grace the opening pages of every Gradual produced by the Franciscans. As such, the *ordo* is important in understanding the philosophy and intentions of those responsible for creating and employing the Jennings MS 9. A transcription and translation appears on the following pages; as with the *Transcription and Translation* section of Chapter Three, these are double-sided so that transcription and translation occupy facing pages.

[fol. 1r]

In¹ nomine domini dei eterni et gloriose uirginis marie. Incipit graduale per[]totum annum. ameN;²

[I]³ primis iniungitur fratribus. ut de cetero tam in[]gradualibus. quam antiphonariis nocturnis et aliis
faciant

notam quadratam. et quattuor. lineas omnes rubeas. siue nigras. et littera aperte et distincte scribatur. ita

quod nota congrue super litteram ualeat ordinari. et fiant lineae modo debito. distantes. ne nota

hinc inde comprimatur ab eis. Secundo⁴ quod custodiant eandem litteram. eandem notam. cum suis li[-]

gaturis. easdem pausas que in[]exemplaribus correctis. cum magna diligentia continentur. nichil scientur

addito uel remoto. Tercio quod quemlibet librum scriptum post exemplaria ter ad[]minus antequam

ligetur uel ponatur in[]choro. corrigant diligenter. tam in littera quam in nota. ne ista opera sicut solitum est

propter defectum correctionis corrumpantur. Item dicitur de ordinariis breuiarii. et missalis. et missalibus

etiam postquam ea habuerint. Quarto ut postquam habuerint correcta gradualia ordinaria et missalia.

faciant officium secundum quod in[]eisdem continetur. Nec faciant huiusmodi opera scribi uel notari a
secularibus

aliqua ratione si habere ualeant fratres ordinis. qui hec scribe[re] et notare nouerint competenter. quod si
nesci[-]

unt addiscant. et cogantur ad hoc per suos superiores. quia seculares omnia fere quae scribunt uel notant
cor[-]

rumpunt. Item notandum quod quandocumque cantor uel cantatores aliquid incipiunt ad graduale perti[-]

nens. Dicitur usque ad duas pausas simul iunctas. Similiter quando graduale uel alleluia in choro dicitur. a

duobus contineant usque ad duas pausas simul iunctas. Cum autem duo qui cantant uersum gradualis.

uel alleluia. uel ultimum uersum tractus peruenerint ad duas pausas ultimas simul iunctas. Chorus
comple[a]t

residuum quod sequitur et non plus. Item notandum quod illa alleluia quae notata sunt in[]marginibus
gradua[-]

lium. iunguntur introitibus. offertoriis. et communionibus inter pascha et pentecosten tantum. In omnibus

dominicus per[]annum. finita tertia. a[]sacerdote celebraturo missa. primo aspergatur aqua benedicta altare

maius tantum. genibus coram altari flexis. et statim a cantore incipiatur. antiphona scilicet **asperges me.** et
dum

communiter cantatur a[]fratribus cum suo versu. et. **Gloria patri.** ab eodem sacerdote aspergantur fratres.

[fol. 1r]

In the name of the eternal Lord God and the glorious Virgin Mary. Here begins a Gradual through the whole year. Amen.

Firstly, it was assembled by the brothers, so that from the rest, both in the Graduals and the Antiphonals of the night and the other [books], and they made the square notation and the four lines, all red or black. And the lettering is written openly and distinctly, so

that the notation can be arranged suitably over the lettering. And let the lines be made in the proper way, standing apart, so that the notation may not hence on that account be withheld from them. Secondly, that they may guard that same lettering, that same notation with its

ligatures, those same pauses, which [are] in corrected exemplars. With great diligence, they are preserved; they shall be understood with nothing added or removed. Thirdly, that they correct diligently whatever book [is] written from exemplars at least three times, before

it is bound or placed in the choir, both in lettering as well as in notation, lest that work, as often happens,

be corrupted on account of deficit in correction. Likewise, it is said, concerning the Ordinaries, Breviaries, and Missals

they will have also [done this] afterwards. Fourthly, that after they shall have had the corrected Graduals, Ordinaries, and Missals,

they should make a service according to that which is contained in these same things. And they should not let works of this sort be written or notated by laymen

for any reason, if they can have brothers of the Order who know how to write and to notate competently, because if they

do not know, they may learn. And they may be compelled to this by their superiors, since all the laymen generally

corrupt what they write or notate. Likewise [it must be] noted that the singer or singers should begin, whenever anything pertaining to the Gradual [i.e., a chant in the Gradual]

is said, up to the two pauses [that are] as if joined. Similarly, when a Gradual or Alleluia is said in the choir by

two [singers], let them hold back until the two pauses [that are] as if joined. When, however, the two who are singing a verse of a Gradual

or Alleluia or the last verse of a Tract, let them come to the two final pauses [that are] as if joined. [Let] the choir complete

the rest which follows and no more. Likewise [it must be] noted that the Alleluias which are notated in the margins of the Gradual

are joined with the Introits, the Offertories, and the Communions between Easter and Pentecost only. On the days

of the Lord [i.e., Sundays] through the year, Terce having been completed, holy water [is] first sprinkled only on the larger altar by the priest who is to celebrate the Mass.

With [the priest] having genuflected facing the altar, immediately an Antiphon (namely, **Asperges me**) is begun by the cantor. And while

it is sung communally by the brothers, with its verse and **Gloria patri**, from there, the brothers are sprinkled by the priest.

Endnotes

¹This initial *I* is a large, pen-flourished initial, extending approximately 10 lines down the page. The main body of the letter is in blue, with red vine-like flourishing that stretches both above and below the initial.

²This punctuation mark is a *punctus elevatus*. The last letter of *amen* is strangely enlarged and lightly ornamented.

³The first *i* of this word is apparently supplied by the initial on line 1. This *n* is enlarged and ornamented, similar to the previous *n* at end of the preceding line.

⁴Each of these initials are small and of the pen-flourished variety, roughly the size of the main text. They are entered in blue ink, with some filigree in red ink.

APPENDIX E

Selected Holy Week Rubrics from the Jennings MS 9

Although these rubrics occur in the Jennings MS 9 outside of Good Friday, they are nonetheless exceedingly helpful in understanding how the Good Friday service would have operated. The first rubric (from Palm Sunday) describes the procedure for performing Passions, while the second (from Maundy Thursday) describes the reservation of the Host—meaning that the Host offered on Good Friday would have been pre-sanctified.

[fol. 79v (Palm Sunday)]

passio domini nostril ihesu christi absque
benedictione et **Dominus**
uobiscum. Luminaribus et incenso. absolute
incipitur. nec
respondetur. **Gloria tibi domine.** peruenio
tamen ad partem illam
quae in tono euangelii legitur. benedictio petitur
ac
incensu. portatur sicut consuetum est fieri ad
euangelium. Si[-]
militur fit aliis diebus quando legitur passio.

The Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, completely
without a benediction or **The Lord**
[be] with you or lit lamps is begun. Nor is
Gloria to you, Lord responded. Nevertheless,
having reached that part
that is read in the tone of the gospel, the
benediction is sought and
the incense is carried, just as it is customary to
be done for the gospel.
This is done in a similar way on all days when a
Passion is read.

[fol. 84v (Maundy Thursday)]

Hodie reseruat sacerdos in loco

honesto et conuenienti. unam hostiam
consecratam. pro die
sequenti. in quo non conficitur. uel etiam plures
si necesse
fuerit pro infirmis. Sanguinem uero totum sumit.
de inde
fratres immediate com[m]unicant. et postea
completur missa.

Today the priest reserves in

a worthy and fitting place one set of consecrated
Host for
the following days, in which it will not be
prepared. Or even more, if necessary,
should be for the sick. But he takes all the
blood, [which] from this point
the brothers immediately receive. And after this,
the Mass is completed.

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