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Abstract

New light is shed on the song culture of St Gall almost a century before its earliest notated sources through consideration of the poetic section of a manuscript copied at the Abbey shortly after the year 800, i.e. the second part of Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Vossianus Lat. Q. 69. The predominantly Merovingian accentual Latin verse (*rhythmi*) and metrical verse by the late-antique poet Prudentius (his *Liber Cathemerinon* and *Liber Peristephanon*) were written out in song forms. It is newly proposed that Prudentius' verse from the *Liber Peristephanon* was arranged into a liturgical cycle. The poetic section of the Leiden manuscript is accordingly understood as a collection of songs, which prompts reflection on the way in which earlier sung *versus* at St Gall may have provided models for the later *Liber ymnorum*. Witnesses to the song culture of St Gall in the first half of the ninth century are re-examined and a leading role during this period for the nearby Abbey of Reichenau is proposed. Finally, it is suggested that Iso's advice to Notker that *singulae motus cantilenae singulas syllabas debent habere* was at least partly informed by the existing tradition of sung *versus* at both abbeys.

Latin Song at the Abbey of St Gall from c. 800 to the *Liber ymnorum**

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The following manuscript sigla and abbreviations are used:

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Hamilton 542	Berlin 542
Berne, Burgerbibliothek 264	Berne 264
Berne, Burgerbibliothek 394	Berne 394
Berne, Burgerbibliothek 455	Berne 455
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique 8860-8867	Brussels 8860-8867
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 223	Cambridge Corpus 223
Cologne, Dombibliothek 212	Cologne 212
Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Burm. Q. 3	Leiden Burm. Q. 3
Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Vossianus Lat. Q. 69	Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España 289	Madrid 289
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ambros. D. 36 sup.	Milan Ambros. D. 36 sup.
Montpellier, Université. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine	Montpellier 219
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 14395	Munich clm 14395
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 18922	Munich clm 18922
Naples, Biblioteca nazionale IV. G. 68	Naples IV. G. 68
Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F. 3. 6	Oxford Auct. F. 3. 6
Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. T. 2 22	Oxford Auct. T. 2 22
Oxford, Oriel College 3	Oxford Oriel 3
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 1154	Paris lat. 1154

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 8084	Paris lat. 8084
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France n.a. lat. 1064	Paris n.a. lat. 1064
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 2	St Gall 2
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 20	St Gall 20
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 133	St Gall 133
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 136	St Gall 136
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 228	St Gall 228
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 185	St Gall 185
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 381	St Gall 381
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 484	St Gall 484
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 548	St Gall 548
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 566	St Gall 566
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 869	St Gall 869
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 876	St Gall 876
Trier, Stadtbibliothek 1093	Trier 1093
Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile 2	Udine 2
Verona, Biblioteca capitolare LXXXVIII	Verona LXXXVIII
Verona, Biblioteca capitolare XC	Verona XC
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Aug. 56.18	Wolfenbüttel 56. 18

AH *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. G. M. Dreves, C. Blume and H.

M. Bannister, 54 vols., Leipzig, 1886-1922

CLA *Codices Latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, ed. E. A. Lowe, 11 vols., Oxford, 1934-71

CRM *Corpus rhythmorum musicum saec. iv-ix I Songs in Non-Liturgical Sources 1. Lyrics*, ed. F. Stella and S. Barrett, Florence, 2007

KfH B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der Wisigotischen)*, 4 vols., Wiesbaden, 1998-2017

Sung Latin poetry at the medieval Abbey of St Gall is typically associated with the generation of Notker Balbulus (d. c. 912), Tuotilo (d. c. 913), and Ratpert (d. c. 900), as well as their immediate pupils and successors.¹ The most celebrated corpus of sung verse is the collection of sequences entitled *Liber ymnorum* that Notker dedicated in 884 to Liutward, Bishop of Vercelli, Abbot of Bobbio, and Archchaplain and Chancellor to Emperor Charles the Fat.² To these *versus ad sequentias* may be added processional hymns or *versus* composed by Ratpert, Waldram (c. 900), and Hartmann (d. 925).³ Further examples of sung poetry in

MS B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1966-1981

PLAC E. Dümmler, L. Traube, P. von Winterfeld and K. Strecker (eds.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1881-1923

¹ For an introduction to sung liturgical poetry at St Gall that traces indirect witnesses as back as far as the mid ninth century and extends forwards mainly to the early eleventh century, see W. Arlt, 'Liturgischer Gesang und gesungene Dichtung im Kloster St. Gallen', in *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter: Die kulturelle Blüte vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. P. Ochsenbein, Stuttgart, 1999, pp. 137-165.

² For Notker's celebrated cycle of sequences, see C. Bower, *The Liber ymnorum of Notker Balbulus*, Henry Bradshaw Society 122-3, 2 vols., London, 2016, which follows on from W. von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*, 2 vols., Berne, 1948. On the earliest sources for the *Liber ymnorum*, see S. Rankin, 'The Earliest Sources of Notker's Sequences: St Gallen, Vadiana 317, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 10587', *Early Music History* 10 (1991), pp. 201-33.

³ The poetry of Ratpert is discussed in at length in P. Stotz, *Ardua spes mundi: Studien zu lateinischen Gedichten aus Sankt Gallen*, Berne, 1972, pp. 15-130. Melodies that can be securely reconstructed are found in B. Stäblein (ed.), *Hymnen I Die mittelalterliche Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*, Kassel and Basel, 1956, nos. 1018-1021. The relation between music and poetry in

the liturgy at St Gall in this period include versified introductions to tropes, especially in the form of what appears to be a cycle composed in hymnic forms for the Introit, several of which have been cautiously attributed to Notker.⁴ Latin poetry sung outside of the liturgy is represented chiefly by notations added to a large number of *metra* from Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae* and other independent poems in a collection of didactic works whose earliest layer of text was copied at St Gall in the last quarter of the ninth century.⁵ By contrast, the singing of Latin verse at St Gall before the last third of the ninth century remains

the processional *versus* repertory recorded in St Gall 484 & 381 is discussed in E. Stratton Hild, 'Verse, Music, and Notation: Observations on Settings of Poetry in Sankt Gallen's Ninth- and Tenth-Century Manuscripts', Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Colorado, 2014, pp. 58-113.

⁴ Ten of the versified Introit tropes found in St Gall manuscripts before 1000 are labelled 'dubia' in von den Steinen's edition: *Notker der Dichter*, Editionsband, pp. 152-54. On the hymnic forms of the Introit cycle, see G. Björkvall and A. Haug, 'Tropentypen in Sankt Gallen', in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia XXXVI, ed. W. Arlt and G. Björkvall, Stockholm, 1993, pp. 119-174, at pp. 130-138; and *idem*, 'Primus init Stephanus: Eine Sankt Galler Prudentius-Vertonung aus dem zehnten Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 49 (1992), pp. 57-78. To the notated sources listed in the latter should be added the neumed text in the upper margin of Leiden Burm. Q. 3, fol. 181^v.

⁵ On the poems added to Naples IV. G. 68, see D. Schaller, 'Frühmittelalterliche lateinische Dichtung in einer ehemals St. Galler Handschrift', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 93 (1964), 272-91. For plates and detailed discussion of the neumes, see E. Jammers, 'Rhythmen und Hymnen in einer St. Galler Handschrift des 9. Jahrhunderts', in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Ruhnke, Kassel, 1967, pp. 134-42. The hands that added the poetry are dated to the later ninth and early tenth century in S. Rankin, 'The Song School of St Gall in the Later Ninth Century', in *The Arts and Letters in Medieval and Baroque St Gall Viewed from the Twentieth Century*, ed. J. C. King, New York, 1993, pp. 173-98, at p. 176 and p. 195.

almost entirely unknown, compounded by the fact that notated manuscripts of tropes, sequences and *versus* survive only from the closing years of the ninth century onwards.⁶

Such a pattern of surviving evidence has contributed to the view that there was a flowering of music and poetry at St Gall from Notker's generation onwards, enabled by a growth in learning fostered by a sequence of famed Masters beginning with Notker's teachers, Iso and the Irishman Marcellus (both d. 871).⁷ In turn, the fostering of a song school at the Abbey has been seen to reflect the

⁶ On St Gall as a centre, see the overview in A. Haug, 'Sankt Gallen', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*. 2, new ed., *Sachteil 8*, ed. L. Finscher, Kassel, 1998, cols. 948-969, esp. sections III ('Phasen musikbezogener Aktivität') and IV ('Aspekte der Zentralität'). On layers in the trope repertory, see W. Arlt & S. Rankin, *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, 3 vols., Winterthur, 1996, i. 'Einordnungen und Ausblick: Conclusions and Perspectives', pp. 165-73; and S. Rankin, 'From Tuotilo to the First Manuscripts: The Shaping of a Trope Repertory at St Gall', in *Recherches nouvelles*, pp. 395-413.

⁷ The idea that there was a 'song school' at St Gall crystallized as early as the mid nineteenth century, see P. Anselm Schübiger, *Die Sangerschule St. Gallens vom achten bis zwölften Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Gesangsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Einsiedeln and New York, 1858. The complementary notion that there was a school of poetry at St Gall was fully articulated by the turn of the twentieth century, see P. von Winterfeld, 'Die Dichterschule St. Gallens und der Reichenau unter den Karolingern und Ottonen', *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik* v (1900), pp. 341-61. For an early expression of the view that St Gall was a centre for all the liberal arts with a 'golden period' from the second half of the ninth century onwards that reached its zenith during the abbacy of Salomo (890-920), see J. M. Clark, *The Abbey of St Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art*, Cambridge, 1926, esp. pp. 285-95.

wider cultural growth and self-confidence of the institution following confirmation of its status as an imperial abbey by Emperor Louis the German in 833 and the rebuilding of the abbey church under Abbot Gozbert in the 830s.⁸ This familiar narrative of a golden period is supported by an in-house history of the abbey begun by Ratpert and then continued in a colourful vein by Ekkehard IV (d. c. 1060).⁹ At the same time, it has tended to obscure aspects of St Gall's musical history that cannot be linked with named individuals, notated sources and vivid anecdotes. In particular, the repertories available to the generation of Notker, Tuotilo and Ratpert, the versified models that Iso taught and used as the basis for his advice, and the nature of the musical culture of the abbey before the period characterized by new composition by identifiable individuals and the development of a highly sophisticated notation, remain an open question.

⁸ A direct link between political freedoms gained by the Abbey in the first half of the ninth century and its subsequent cultural flourishing is often asserted. To cite one relatively recent example, 'Emperor Louis the Pious granted immunity to the abbey in 818, Louis the German extended this privilege in 833 by granting the free election of the abbot, and in 854 the last obligations to pay tribute to the Bishop of Constance were lifted. Now the framework was created in which St. Gall in the following centuries could develop fully in a spiritual and cultural sense and achieve a hitherto unseen brilliance', W. Vogler, 'Historical Sketch of the Abbey of St. Gall', in J. C. King (trans. and ed.) and W. Vogler (ed.), *The Culture of the Abbey of St. Gall: An Overview*, Stuttgart and Zurich, 1991, p. 13.

⁹ H. Steiner (ed. and trans.), *Ratpert St. Galler Kloster geschichten (Casus sancti Galli)*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores in rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 75, Hannover, 2002; and H. F. Haefele (ed. and trans.), *Ekkehard IV. St Galler Kloster geschichten*, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 10, Darmstadt, 1980.

New light is shed on the culture of sung Latin verse at St Gall around the turn of the ninth century by a collection long known to literary scholars, but whose musical implications have not previously been explored in any detail, i.e. Leiden Voss. Lat. Q 69.¹⁰ This collection is significant firstly because the verse collection within the codex transmits rhythmical and metrical Latin verse in sung forms, thereby witnessing to song culture at the Abbey of St Gall substantially before our earliest previous witnesses. It provides evidence of an ongoing process of adaptation and correction to verse texts in the central years of Carolingian rule, which in turn served to provide models for later developments. The Leiden collection also stands at the very beginnings of a tradition of verse collections that extends from the ninth through to the mid-eleventh century and whose contents afford a glimpse into a clerical culture of song outside of the regular liturgical cursus.

I THE VERSE COLLECTION OF LEIDEN VOSS. LAT. Q. 69

In its current state, Leiden Voss lat. Q. 69 comprises six separate books, the second of which spans some forty folios (fols. 7-47). The second book was copied by multiple scribes whose work cannot always be simply distinguished, but their

¹⁰ Arlt noted that Leiden Voss. lat. Q 69 had implications for the musical performance of rhythmical poetry as an aside in his survey of sung liturgical poetry at St Gall: Arlt, 'Liturgischer Gesang', p. 163. For catalogue descriptions of the manuscript, see K. A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, 4 vols., Leiden, 1973-84, ii. 159-163; and R. H. Bremmer Jr. and K. Dekker, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile 13 Manuscripts in the Low Countries*, Tempe, Arizona, 2006, no. 157 (pp. 89-105).

neat and clear scripts are consistent with the overall elegant presentation within a codex of medium dimensions (25 x 16 cm). The physical construction of the second book is regular and marked by clear sectional divisions: eight folio gatherings were maintained except at the end of the two main sections where local arrangements were made to ensure that new content began on new gatherings.¹¹ The ruling is likewise regular throughout the book: two columns are marked out by three pairs of perpendicular lines set 5-6 mm apart; there are usually 35 horizontal lines per page, with small changes made during the copying project seemingly to accommodate the material within a set number of gatherings.¹² Care was also taken in the ordering of materials: the book divides neatly into two sections, beginning with poetry of various types (fols. 7^r-19^v) and then a glossary followed by prose excerpts (fols. 20^r-46^r). Blank covers originally preceded both the opening mainly rhythmical and accentual Latin poems followed by the poetry of Prudentius (fol. 7^r), and the inscriptions and epigrams (fol. 18^r). The clearest changes of scribe align with new contents across both sections, i.e. the opening of the inscriptions (fol. 18^v), the glossary (fol. 20^r), and the patristic excerpts (fol.

¹¹ At the end of the first section, the final three leaves of gathering II before the opening of the glossary on fol. (20^r) were cut to stubs. At the end of the second section, the final gathering (VI) consists of a singleton followed by three leaves from an originally larger quire of twelve folios.

¹² A switch to 36 lines from the glossary onwards seems to have been motivated by an intent to complete it within three gatherings. When the text spilled over into the first column of a third gathering, the opening recto maintained 36 lines, which accords with the previous verso on the same opening, before reverting to 35 lines for the remainder of the gathering. A final increase to 37 lines occurs at the beginning of the final gathering, which may have been an attempt to complete the copying of the Pliny extracts on as few folios as possible.

36^{rb}). The work of multiple scribes can be discerned within sections, closely interwoven to the extent of one scribe copying the first strophe of a poem then completed by another (*Plus solito coeunt*, fol. 16^r).¹³ This combination of physical, compilational, and copying features suggests that several scribes worked in close proximity to execute a carefully planned project, with the blank spaces allowing flexibility in completing the copying of individual sections.

Ludwig Traube, Bernhard Bischoff, and Elias Lowe agreed in assigning the copying of the manuscript to several different scribes writing Alemannic minuscules at the Abbey of St Gall around the year 800.¹⁴ The grounds for their attribution are not fully elaborated, but a later St Gall provenance for the collection is assured by the thirteenth-century charter and list of abbots copied by Manegold, Dean of St Gall, that makes up Pt V of the manuscript.¹⁵ More pertinently, the scripts in Pt II are consistent with the style of Alemannic minuscule employed at the abbeys of St Gall

¹³ For a detailed account of the work of two scribes in copying the glossary, see J. H. Hessels, *A Late Eighth-Century Anglo-Saxon Glossary Preserved in the Library of The Leiden University* (*MS. Voss. Q^o lat. N^o. 69*), Cambridge, 1906, pp. xix-xx.

¹⁴ Traube's dating ('fere 800...vel s. ix in.') is reported in *PLAC IV.2*, p. 449. Bischoff notes 'der Leidener Codex aus Sankt Gallen von etwa 800' in his 'Gottschalks Lied für den Reichenauer Freund', *MS II*, pp. 26-34 at 26; cf. *idem*, *KfH II*, no. 2222 ('St. Gallen, VIII./IX. Jh.'). Lowe writes 'Saec. VIII/IX... Written presumably at St. Gall, as script and contents of the attached thirteenth-century texts suggest', *CLA X*, no. 1585.

¹⁵ i.e. a St Gall charter copied by Manegold, Dean of St Gall and dated 1262; he also added a list of the abbots of St Gall from 720 to 1277.

and Reichenau c. 800.¹⁶ The formation of specific letters, frequent ligatures, and distinctive descenders in the rustic capital forms indicate a relatively late stage in the Alemannic script;¹⁷ in particular, the ensemble of features recalls scripts found

¹⁶ Foundational studies of scripts used at St Gall and Reichenau highlighted the particular difficulty of distinguishing between the work of the two centres around the turn of the century on purely palaeographical grounds: see, especially, K. Löffler 'Die Sankt Galler Schreibschule in der 2. Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts', *Palaeographia Latina* VI (1929), pp. 5-66 at p. 35, and A. Bruckner, 'Die Bibliothek und Schreibschule St. Gallens VII.-XII. S.', *Scriptoria medii aevi Helvetica III Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz – St. Gallen II*, Geneva, 1938, 20. Bernhard Bischoff underlined these difficulties, while pointing to the utility of the St Gall charters for determining relative chronology given the proximity between charter scripts and the bookhand at St Gall: see the summary provided in B. Bischoff, 'Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Großen', *MS III*, pp. 5-38 at pp. 21-22. Several manuscripts written in Alemannic minuscule previously assumed to have been copied at St Gall have recently been attributed to Reichenau, see N. Maag, *Alemannische Minuskel (744-846 n.Chr.): frühe Schriftkultur im Bodenseeraum und Voralpenland*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 18, Stuttgart, 2014, Part III 'St. Gallen und Reichenau – Ähnlichkeiten und Verschiedenheiten'. Leiden Voss lat. Q 69 is not mentioned in Maag's study: see, further, D. Ganz's review in *Peritia* 27 (2016), pp. 275-77.

¹⁷ Key features include the use of both *cc* and minuscule *a*, *t* with a beam that sometimes curls on its left-hand side (but rarely back down to the line), a *g* that is at times in a classic 3-form but at times pulls diagonally to the right below the line, and *r* and *s* forms that mostly sit on the line. A large number of *r* ligatures are used (with all vowels, also *rt* and *rp*), as well as *nt* within and at the end of words, and there is the occasional use of a subscript *i* joined to *n*. The mainly rustic capital forms (which occasional uncial *A*, *D* and *E* forms) feature *U*, *N* and *V* forms with right-hand descenders often running below the line and sometimes curling to left, and a *L* whose lower stroke extends and curves below line. On the presence of these features in Alemannic minuscule scripts in sources copied c. 800, see Maag, *Alemannische Minuskel*, pp. 54-68, noting in particular

in two collections, one of biblical-historical and biblical-geographical texts copied c. 800 (St Gall 133) and one of grammatical texts copied towards the end of the eighth century (St Gall 876). There are visual similarities to St Gall 876 in the mostly undecorated hollow majuscule capitals and uncoloured hollow initials, whose non-figural decorations include internal bands and comb-like shafts, as well as upper globules in leaf-like configurations and extended tails often ending in dashes and a headed diagonal stroke or swirl.¹⁸ The use of several insular abbreviations and at least one insular ligature as noted by Lowe aligns with the well-attested reception of insular texts at St Gall, while the presence of Old High German accords with the tradition of glossing in Old High German at St Gall from c. 750 onwards.¹⁹

the plates and descriptions of St Gall 6 and St Gall 12 (both s. viii-ix, St Gall), and Colmar 15 (s. viii-ix, Reichenau).

¹⁸ Similarly formed capitals and initials can be seen in Quodvultus' compendium of scriptural testimonies relating to salvation history, *Liber promissionum et praedictorum Dei* (St Gall 185), Isidore of Seville's *Sententiae* (St Gall 228) and lives of ancient Roman Saints (St Gall 548), all of which were copied in the late eighth century. See A. von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, Monasterium Sancti Galli 3, 2 vols., St Gall, 2008, II Tafelband Abb. 30-40 for images of initials from St Gall 124, 185, 228, 548 and 567, all of which are assigned to the last thirty years of the eighth century. Von Euw does not include Leiden Voss. Lat. Q 69 in his discussion entitled 'Die Dichtungen des Prudentius in der St. Galler Überlieferung bis zu Sang. 135 (Nr. 167)', vol. I Textband, pp. 283-94. Maag assigns a date of 's. viii ex' to St Gall 185, 228, 548 and 876, giving an origin of 'Reichenau? St Gallen?', whereas St Gall 133 is listed as 's. viii-ix, St Gall?': Maag, *Alemannische Minuskel*, 'VII. Katalog 1. Codices'.

¹⁹ For an introduction to the copying of insular texts at St Gall during this period, see J. Duft, 'Irish Monks and Irish Manuscripts in St. Gall', in *The Culture of the Abbey*, pp. 119-132. For a survey

There is therefore a strong case for attributing the copying of the second book of Leiden Voss. Lat. Q. 69 to St Gall during the time of Abbot Werdo (784-812), a period characterized by the systematic correction, collation and improvement of codices, and expansion of the previous concentration on copying biblical and patristic literature to include commentaries and compendia, grammatical, geographic and other technical writings as well as Saints' lives.²⁰ The customarily assigned date of c. 800 may be qualified on internal grounds. Alcuin's dedicatory poem for Charlemagne's newly added chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle was copied towards the end of a series of epigrams and tituli as part of the earliest layer of Pt II.²¹ The presence of this poem sets boundaries on the dates for the copying of this part of the manuscript. A letter written by Alcuin in 798 records that construction of the Palatine Chapel was almost complete, although it was not until 805 that Pope Leo III consecrated the chapel.²² It remains possible that the dedicatory

placing the survival of Old High German at St Gall in a wider context, see S. Sonderegger, 'German Language and Literature in St. Gall', *ibid.*, pp. 161-84, esp. pp. 166-8, and idem, 'Althochdeutsch in St. Gallen', in *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter*, ed. P. Ochsenbein, Stuttgart, 1999, pp. 205-22.

²⁰ Bruckner, 'Die Bibliothek und Schreibschule', p. 20; von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst I* Textband, pp. 37-40.

²¹ Alcuin's dedicatory verses (fols. 19^{r-v}) seem originally to have ended the series of epigrams and inscriptions. The extended 'l' of the ascenders used for the title of the prayer by Eugenius of Toledo that immediately follows (fol. 19^v) indicates the work of a new scribe, who also employs extended ascenders and descenders for 's' in the text of the metrical prayer. The use of uncial 'a' and 'm' forms in the title of the Dynamius text similarly sets the addition apart as the work of a new scribe.

²² C. B. McClendon, 'Aachen: Buildings: Palatine Chapel: Architecture', in *The Dictionary of Art. 1: A to Anckerman*, ed. J. Turner and H. Brigstocke, New York, 1996, pp. 2-4.

verses, which can still be seen today encircling the chapel above the first tier of the octagonal arches, were transmitted as a text before 805, but it is most likely they were copied into the Leiden manuscript sometime after the consecration. Taking this into account, a cautious date for the copying of Pt II would be the first decade of the ninth century.

The second book of Leiden Voss. Lat. Q. 69 has been described as a ‘Schoolbook or Proto-Encyclopaedic Miscellany’ on the grounds of its contents, many of which can be traced back ultimately to insular sources (see **Table 1**).²³ To begin with the second section, the Latin-Anglo-Saxon glossary has been traced to the teaching of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury from the years 670-690.²⁴ The brief technical, geographical and philosophical excerpts from patristic authors on diverse topics that follow (including dimensions of the ark, the seven man-made wonders of the world, and the character of the Saxons) can be traced back to texts familiar in Anglo-Saxon England and strongly suggest compilation with a didactic purpose in mind.²⁵ The subsequent 28 short exegetical notes contain much

²³ R. H. Bremmer Jr., ‘Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus Q. 69 (Part 2):

Schoolbook or Proto-Encyclopaedic Miscellany?’, in *Practice in Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. R. H. Bremmer Jr and K. Dekker, Paris, 2010, pp. 19-53.

²⁴ M. Lapidge, ‘The School of Theodore and Hadrian’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), pp. 58-9. For an edition of the glossary, see Hessels, *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*.

²⁵ Almost all the extracts are identified in Bremmer Jr, ‘Leiden, Vossianus Lat. Q. 69 (Part 2)’, pp. 28-48.

material from the Canterbury School at the time of Theodore and Hadrian.²⁶ An insular origin has likewise been suggested for the excerpts from Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, which concentrate on Britain, Ireland, the Orkneys and Greenland.²⁷ The confection of astronomical excerpts, which may have been put together in the circle of Bede after his death, also seems particularly suited to teaching.²⁸ A later ninth-century addition, a letter of Charlemagne to Alcuin on the celebration of Septuagesima, closes the second section in its current state.²⁹

<Insert Table 1 near here>

A didactic purpose is likewise probable for the first section, which is set apart by its concentration on poetry and in which insular connections are again to the fore. Inscriptions and epigrams as collected together in *syllogae* from the seventh century onwards served as models for imitative literary composition, as well as

²⁶ For the exegetical notes, see B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge (eds.), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, Cambridge, 1994, Appendix I, pp. 546-7.

²⁷ For the excerpts, see K. Rück, *Die Naturalis Historia des Plinius im Mittelalter. Exzerpte aus der Naturalis historia auf den Bibliotheken zu Lucca, Paris und Leiden*, Munich, 1898, i. pp. 257-87. For further comment, see Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 545; and the summary discussion in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford, 1983, pp. 110-11.

²⁸ J. Desanges, 'Le manuscrit (Ch) et la classe des "recentiores" perturbés de l'Histoire Naturelle de Plinie l'Ancien', *Latomus* 25 (1966), p. 509.

²⁹ E. Dümmler (ed.), *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 2, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolarum 4, Berlin, 1895, pp. 228-30 (Alcuini epistolae no. 144).

offering up role models for emulation and reinforcing an imaginative cultural connection to Rome.³⁰ The epigrams and *tituli* in this manuscript open with a series of poems whose ordering is lightly adapted from a seventh-century Spanish collection of short poems of Italian origin known as the *Anthologia Isidoriana* (so-called because the poems are found in a few manuscripts that also contain Isidore's *Etymologiae*).³¹ Pope Gregory the Great is given particular prominence in the sequence presented in this manuscript by the simple operation of moving the opening two poems in the *Anthologia Isidoriana* to the end. The effect of this reordering is to place the Roman poems at the head of the collection, i.e. poems on Pope Gregory (2), St Peter's Rome, St Paul's Rome, and Pope Damasus.³² An insular source may lie behind this reshuffle given the esteem in which Gregory was held in England,³³ although it remains most likely that the switch was made directly from a copy of the *Anthologia Isidoriana* given the preservation of most of

³⁰ See further, with specific reference to the collection in Leiden Voss. lat. Q 69, P. Lendinara, 'Gregory, Damasus and Anglo-Saxon England', in *Rome and the North: The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe*, ed. R. H. Bremmer Jr, K. Dekker, & D. F. Johnson, Paris, Leuven and Sterling, VA, 2001, pp. 137-56 at pp. 150-1.

³¹ For the *Anthologia Isidoriana*, see G. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 2 vols., Rome, 1857-1888, ii.1 pp. 250-54.

³² In short, in Leiden Voss. lat. Q 69 the auto-epitaph of Pope Damasus and the poem dedicated to St Augustine's mother, Monica, are removed from their customary positions as nos. 1 & 2 respectively in the *Anthologia Isidoriana* and placed at the end of the selection of epigrams and *tituli* from this collection.

³³ The addition to the previously blank folio before this section of an epigram by Pope Damasus on St Paul that circulated widely in insular sources also points in this direction without providing any definitive evidence: see Lendinara, 'Gregory, Damasus and Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 150-1.

the ordering from this collection. A prayer by Eugenius of Toledo and a letter by Dynamius the Grammarian to his pupil were added after the inscriptions and *tituli*.³⁴ Turning to the opening poetic material, the association of Prudentian *metra* and rhythmic poetry with teaching is well established. The work of Prudentius was central to the canon of Christian poets that formed the basis of learning during the Carolingian era, providing a model of both grammatical and doctrinal orthodoxy.³⁵ The collection of mainly rhythmical Latin poems that opens this section of the manuscript may similarly be broadly associated with teaching in so far as non-liturgical rhythmical poetry of this era has tended to be regarded within the monastic context as edificatory material for cloister, cell or schoolroom.

There is therefore ample justification for describing the whole of Part II of Leiden Voss. Lat. Q. 69 as a carefully planned collection of material suited to supporting learning. It was evidently copied from multiple different collections

³⁴ See C. Jeudy, 'Fragments carolingiens de la grammaire de Dynamius (ms Darmstadt 3303)', in *History of Linguistic Thought in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. V. Law, Amsterdam, 1993, pp. 127-44.

³⁵ Evidence from literary witnesses and library catalogues for the place of Prudentian poetry within a canon of texts used in teaching in the Carolingian era is collected together as part of a wider survey in Günter Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekansons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 5, Munich, 1970, pp. 10-61. An overview that sketches a gradual decline in the use of Christian epic poets, including Prudentius, in texts used in teaching from the highpoint of the Carolingian era through to a preference for classical poets c. 1100 is provided in *idem*, 'Die Rolle der Schulauforen im Unterricht von 800 bis 1100', in *La scuola nell'Occidente latino dell'alto Medioevo II*, Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 19, 2 vols., Spoleto, 1972, ii. pp. 617-38.

of material, several (although not all) of which may be traced back to insular sources. The copying of the second book of Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 is thus consistent with the wider project of compiling and copying texts under Abbot Werdo, but it is not simply a didactic compilation or encyclopaedic miscellany. It is newly proposed here that the opening poetry in this manuscript, i.e. the *rhythmi* and the Prudentian *metra*, can also be considered a collection of songs.

The two groups of poetry copied at the opening of the manuscript will be considered here in turn. Before considering internal evidence, perhaps the strongest visual index of singing and one which extends across both groups of material should be considered, namely layout. Both the *rhythmi* and the Prudentian *metra* are copied in strophes, which open with a *littera notabilior* but whose internal line endings are not marked by majuscules or punctuation (**see Plate 1**). This continuous strophic layout was not inherited from antiquity, but newly introduced in the Middle Ages. It is first found in the Bangor Antiphonary of 680-691 and was later used in a series of ninth-century hymn collections, as well as being employed for *rhythmi* on secular topics.³⁶ As summarized by Malcolm Parkes, 'since the melodies were familiar, scribes could copy the verses of a hymn stanza across the page or column like a prose text'.³⁷ The continuous strophic format adopted therefore implies that melodies were known for all the

³⁶ See, principally, P. Bourgain, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un vers au Moyen Âge?', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 147 (1989), pp. 231-82, esp. pp. 266-70, and M. B. Parkes, *Pause & Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*, Aldershot, 1992, pp. 97-8.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 98.

texts; in other words, the layout requires melodies to be heard in the mind of the reader in order to appreciate the poetic lines, which would have been particularly important for comprehension of the more complex Prudentian *metra*. A case may therefore be made for considering music as integral to the design of the verse collection in Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69.

<Insert Plate 1 near here>

II INDIVIDUAL POEMS

The poetry in the Leiden manuscript has previously attracted attention as the earliest substantial corpus of *rhythmi*, standing at the beginning of an initially Carolingian tradition of collecting together accentual Latin poetry composed from the seventh through to the ninth centuries.³⁸ *Rhythmi* of this kind remained in

³⁸ See K. Strecker, 'Zu den karolingischen Rhythmen', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* XXXIV (1909), pp. 599-652, which paved the way for Strecker's monumental edition of *rhythmi*, in which the Leiden manuscript took pride of place as one of four manuscripts transmitting series of *rhythmi* then considered to have been copied at St Gall: *PLAC* IV. 2, p. 454. A critique of Strecker's notion of a St Gall exemplar for the Carolingian dissemination of *rhythmi*, which follows consideration of many of the poems in Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 as individual items with ultimately unreconstructable histories of transmission, is to be found in D. Norberg, *La poésie latine rythmique du haut moyen âge*, *Studia Latina Holmiensia* II, Stockholm, 1954, ch. XI ('Les recueils des chants rythmiques'), pp. 112-14. More recent studies of the *rhythmi* in Leiden collection in the context of other Carolingian verse collections include P. Bourgain, 'Les recueils carolingiens de poésie rythmique', in *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes: mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine, à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire, par ses élèves, amis et*

circulation up to the mid eleventh century, as witnessed by the Cambridge Songs, before being overtaken by new repertories of sung *versus* and *conductus* characterised by regular accentuation through the line and newly created verse forms. It has previously been argued that individual collections of *rhythmi*, which typically also include occasional strophic metrical verses from late antiquity onwards, were collections of verse intended to be sung, whether or not notation was added to individual songs. Jan Ziolkowski, for example, has argued that the Cambridge Songs was the result of a compilation made by a ‘song-lover’.³⁹ I have proposed elsewhere that three of the main Carolingian poetic collections dating from the second half of the ninth century were drawn up as collections of sung items.⁴⁰

collègues, ed. Louis Holtz et al., 3 vols., Paris, 1992, ii. pp. 117-127 at pp. 121-2; and, in partial defence of Strecker, F. Stella, *La poesia carolingia latina a tema biblico*, Spoleto, 1993, pp. 421-6.

³⁹ J. M. Ziolkowski (ed. and trans.), *The Cambridge Songs (Carmina Cantabrigiensia)*, Tempe, Arizona, 1998, lv. Ziolkowski makes clear at several points his debt to Hans Spanke’s notion of the Cambridge Songs as a ‘Liederbuch’: H. Spanke, ‘Ein lateinisches Liederbuch des 11. Jahrhunderts’, *Studi Medievali* n.s. 15 (1942), pp. 111-42.

⁴⁰ With respect to Brussels 8860-8867, Paris 1154 and Berne 455, respectively, see S. Barrett, ‘The Sponsorship of Early Medieval Latin Song: The Musical Evidence of Two Carolingian Poetic Collections’, in *Patrons and Professionals in the Middle Ages*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies XXII, ed. P. Binski and E. A. New, Donington, 2012, pp. 122-140, at pp. 131-40; *idem*, ‘New Light on the Earliest Medieval Songbook’, in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. H. Deeming and E. E. Leach, Cambridge, 2015, pp. 9-34; and *idem*, ‘Glimpses of Carolingian Song: A Laon Verse Collection Reconsidered’, in *Music in the Carolingian World: Witnesses to a Metadiscipline*, ed. G. M. Boone, Turnhout, forthcoming.

Several of the poems gathered together at the opening of Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 have hymnic features (see **Table 2**). Almost all are abecedary *rhythmi*, i.e. accentual poems organized into strophes that begin with successive letters of the alphabet. The formal model was Sedulius' fifth-century hymn, *A solis ortus cardine*, which also provided a template for basing a hymn on the main events of Christ's life, namely the incarnation, the coming of the magi, Christ's miracles, the raising of Lazarus, the Passion, the Harrowing of Hell and the Resurrection. The mnemonic and didactic value of both the abecedary framework and the narrative structure is clear. Of the four poems that do not follow the Sedulian model in either structure or content, one traces a similar set of themes in hymnic fashion (*Gratuletur omnis caro*, no. 7) and is copied amid the abecedary verse, another concentrates on a single topic (Dives et Lazarus) and was later used as a processional hymn (*Homo quidam*, no. 13). This leaves only two poems, the first of which is the opening metrical poem attributed to Venantius Fortunatus (*Lingua prophetarum cecinit*, no. 1), whose truncated version focuses on Old Testament prophecies of the incarnation.⁴¹ The second is a rare cosmographic poem paraphrasing Isidore's *Etymologiae* that survives in a different version in two earlier manuscripts copied at St Gall (*Asia ab oriente*, no. 3).

⁴¹ The opening forty-four lines copied here are replete with allusions to singing and the incarnation drawn from Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Psalms. The Leiden manuscript is the earliest explicitly to attribute the poem to Fortunatus, whose authorship remains disputed. For the complete poem, a French translation and a defence of Fortunatus' authorship, see M. Reydellet (ed. and trans.), *Venance Fortunat: Poèmes*, 3 vols., Paris, 1994-2004, iii. pp. 140-4 and pp. 165-9.

The ordering of the poems in the Leiden collection is also significant. The collection opens with the only *metrum* by a recognised *auctoritas*, Venantius Fortunatus, who is also the only author mentioned in the rubrics (no. 1). There follow historical and geographical poems (nos. 2-4), before poems that hint at a liturgically organised Temporal series, i.e. a poem whose rubric mentions Advent (5), then Nativity poems (6-7) followed by one relating to Easter (no. 8). Poems on individual figures are placed at the end in hierarchical order, beginning with Mary (no. 11), then priests (good and bad, nos. 11 and 12), then the laymen Dives and Lazarus (no. 13). The significance of these groupings should not be overplayed since they were not emphasized by the rubricator. Even so, the only metrical poem is placed first and a highly regarded author is named, followed by abecedary poems tracing events in the life of Christ, then poems on other figures.

Similar features have been observed in the ordering of other ninth-century collections of poetry all of whose items appear to have been sung. In two later ninth-century poetic collections associated with St-Denis (a hymnal and verse collection now held in Berne, and a capitulary now held in Verona to which verse was added in the margins), the poetry of Fortunatus is again placed at the head, followed by poems by named authors, then anonymous abecedary *rhythmi*, with Boethian and Prudentian *metra* handled separately.⁴² In a late ninth-century verse collection copied at St-Bertin now held in Brussels, the mutilated opening of the collection begins with poems that paraphrase Old Testament stories, followed

⁴² For further discussion of the ordering of the poetry in Berne 455 and Verona LXXXVIII, see Barrett, 'Glimpses of Carolingian Song'.

by a collection of abecedary *rhythmi* loosely ordered by topic, beginning with poems in the order of the Temporale and ending with those for individual figures.⁴³ A series of moralistic poems is copied next before hymnic poems that divide in broad terms into those dealing with the life of Christ, and those addressed to individual Saints. Again, the groupings are not absolute and may reflect patterns of transmission as much as overarching patterns imposed as a distinct programme by a single compiler. The point nevertheless needs emphasising that authorship, arrangement by poetic style (metrical, rhythmical, alphabetical) and content (historical, hymnic, moral-didactic), as well as a broad distinction between events in the life of Christ and other individual figures, are present in a number of ninth-century collections of Latin poetry suited to sung performance.

<Insert Table 2 near here>

In considering the musical implications of the individual poems in the Leiden collection in more detail, four indexes of singing will be addressed in turn: i) notation for the same poems in later manuscripts, ii) refrains, iii) internal references to singing, and iv) abridged versions of texts. None of these factors is sufficient in itself as a sign of musical performance but taken together they build a strong case for considering the poems as sung items and create a picture of the state of sung *versus* at St Gall at the beginning of the ninth century.

⁴³ On the ordering of *versus* in Brussels 8860-8867, see S. Barrett, 'Music and Writing: On the Compilation of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1154', *Early Music History* 16 (1997), pp. 65-9.

1. Notated Concordances

The absence of notation from the Leiden manuscript is not in itself surprising in view of its early date of copying.⁴⁴ It is also the case that few non-liturgical *rhythmi* survive with notation before the twelfth century. Indeed, no systematically notated corpus of *rhythmi* survives from this period; where neumes were added, they were typically inserted at a later date, by a number of different scribes, between the lines of manuscripts not prepared for notation. In total, there are around only 30 surviving notated *rhythmi* out of several hundred composed before c. 900 whose texts were in all probability sung.⁴⁵ While the number of surviving notated *rhythmi* is small, a far larger number may be presumed to have been sung on the grounds of their form (strophic and refrain forms) and contents (hymns, laments, ballads, love-songs, computus etc).⁴⁶

⁴⁴ The earliest securely datable example of neumatic notation has been assigned to 820-840, see Susan Rankin, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation*, Cambridge, 2018, pp. 77-84.

⁴⁵ The number of c. 30 notated non-liturgical *rhythmi* before c. 900 is reached by adding together the 28 *rhythmi* in *CRM*, and the notation for *Bachifer, eia* not included in that volume, for details of which, see B. Bischoff, 'Caritas-Lieder', *MS II*, pp. 70-1, and Rankin, *Writing Sounds*, pp. 101, 102, 131 and 246.

⁴⁶ An indication of the scope of the field to be considered is provided by P. Dronke, 'Generi letterari della poesia ritmica altomedievale', in *Poesia dell'alto Medioevo europeo. Manoscritti, lingua e musica dei ritmi latini*, ed. F. Stella, Florence, 2000, pp. 171-185.

Key evidence for singing *rhythmi* outside the liturgy at St Gall is provided by the fact that the opening strophes of nos. 4, 7, 8 and 9 were added in the same order to a previously blank leaf in a later ninth-century St Gall compilation of (Naples IV. G. 68). Three of the four poems were notated in the Naples manuscript and the other presented in a similar way in so far as only the opening strophe was copied, thereby strongly implying an interest in musical properties. There is also a close textual relation between the versions of the poems found in the Leiden and Naples manuscripts; Dieter Schaller observed that three of the four share unique variants and the other (*Audite omnes*) is found only in these two sources.⁴⁷ *Ante saecula et mundi* provides a particularly strong case as of the three manuscripts that transmit the poem, all of which were copied at St Gall, only the Leiden and Naples manuscripts include the refrain. Francesco Stella has noted further that the Leiden version seems to correct an earlier text that lies closer to oral tradition as reflected by the earlier St Gall source (St Gall 2, 760-780), and that while the Leiden and Naples version share common variants, the Naples version offers further grammatical regularization.⁴⁸ It is therefore most likely that the scribe who added texts and neumes to the Naples manuscript had either the Leiden version or a closely related to hand, and continued a process of *correctio* begun in the earlier source.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Schaller, 'Frühmittelalterliche lateinische Dichtung', pp. 274 and 289.

⁴⁸ F. Stella, 'Ante saecula et mundi principio', *CRM*, pp. 91-2.

⁴⁹ In addition, the poem retelling the story of Dives and Lazarus (*Homo quidam*, no. 13) survives with notation in three manuscripts beyond St Gall before the end of the eleventh century. In all three manuscripts, it appears with the first strophe used as a refrain, and in two it appears within

2. Refrains

A second index of musical performance is the presence of refrains, which were recorded for five of the *rhythmi* (nos. 2, 4, 5, 6 and 10). Andreas Haug has argued that refrain in Latin song before the advent of the 'New Song' in the eleventh century is 'real, performative, and functional', introducing a shift in focus from the narrative function of the strophes to a repeating thematic core.⁵⁰ By extension, the presence of a refrain in the 'Old Song' strongly implies sung performance, drawing on a ritual distinction between verses sung by soloists and a respond sung by a group. Theodefrid's *ritmus* on the six ages of the world (*Ante saecula et mundi*, no. 4), for example, reads *Deus qui iustus semper es laudabilis*, which matches the rhythmical scheme of the strophe (an imitation of an iambic trimetre) while having the quality of a liturgical prose formula. The wording brings to mind the Cantic of the Three Boys:⁵¹

Ante saecula et mundi principio
tu, pater sancte, genuisti filium,
qui tecum regnat cum sancto spiritu.

liturgical sources, strongly implying later adaptation as a processional song: see Sam Barrett, 'Homo quidam', *CRM*, pp. 283-92.

⁵⁰ A. Haug, 'Ritual and Repetition: The Ambiguities of Refrains', in *The Appearances of Medieval Rituals: The Play of Construction and Modification*, ed. N. Holger Petersen et al., Turnhout, 2004, pp. 83-96.

⁵¹ *CRM*, p. 95.

Novem fecisti ordines angelicos,
Deus qui iustus semper es laudabilis.

Canticle of the Three Boys (Daniel 3: 26-7):

Benedictus es domine deus patrum nostrorum, et laudabilis, et gloriosum
nomen tuum in secula./ Quia iustus es in omnibus quae fecisti nobis...

The poem also features a marked shift in voice. The opening two strophes, both beginning with the letter A, are part of an introduction whose author is identified in the second strophe as Theodefrid. The first two strophes thus assume a personal, almost prayer-like quality of dedicatory address:⁵²

Aspice, deus, de supernis sedibus
quos Theodofredus condedit versiculos
de sex aetatas et mundi principio
a protoplausto usque in novissimo,
Deus qui iustus semper es laudabilis.

Thereafter, the abecedary poem proper begins, in which the strophes retell a universal history stretching from Adam to the Last Judgement. This sets up a tension between reported biblical narrative in the strophes and direct address in the mode of praise in the refrain. The overall impression is of a refrain that is communal and laudatory in character, set against a story told by single narrator assuming the authorial position of Theodefrid.

⁵² Ibid.

There are several other examples of what appear to be quotations in refrains that suggest liturgical and communal rendition. Two previously noted are the refrains for *Angelus venit de caelo* (6) and *A superna parte* (5), which seem to be direct imitations. The refrain of *A superna parte* appears to be a direct imitation of the refrain of *Angelus venit de caelo*, which is most likely earlier since it is taken from Psalm 65:16:⁵³

Angelus venit de caelo directus a domino,
Ut conciperet Maria de sancto spiritu.
Venite et audite, quanta fecit dominus.

Psalm 65:16: Venite, audite, et narrabo, omnes qui timetis Deum, quanta fecit Dominus anima meae.

A superna caeli parte angelus dirigitur,
Ut Maria fecundaret de sancto spiritu.
Venite et gaudete nato Christo domino.

The decidedly anti-semitic *Arve poli conditorem*, which reworks passages from Pseudo-Hegesippus' *De excidio urbis Hierosolymitanae* as adapted from Josephus' *The Jewish War*, has a refrain with an even more distant echo. The language of Psalm 2, which speaks in bellicose terms of the Lord's anointed conquering the Gentile nations and having them in possession as an inheritance, is arguably

⁵³ PLAC IV. 2, nos. 41 and 7.

inverted to describe the exploits of Emperors Vespasian and his son Titus in crushing Jewish rebellion during the first Jewish-Roman War:⁵⁴

Arve, poli conditorem, ponti, mundi, fluminum

Iudaeorum gens adfixit per crucis patibulum,

Quem tandem Vespasianus ulciscitur per filium.

Ad delendam sevam gentem convenerunt principes

Psalm 2:2 (& Acts 4:26): Astiterunt reges terrae, et principes convenerunt
in unum adversus Dominum, et adversus Christum ejus.

What is significant in these cases is not simply the presence of refrains but the fact that they quote from sung texts, which is itself consistent with wider practice in rhythmical poetry of this period. The so-called Mozarabic *preces*, penitential strophic songs with refrains used in the Old Spanish rite that seemingly date back to the second half of the seventh century, feature many such examples of refrains that appear to be quotations from liturgical formulae, e.g. *Deus miserere*, / *Deus miserere* / *miserere nobis* / *pro peccatis nobis*. As argued by Norberg, these refrains introduced lines that have no direct classical precursors and may have served as the basis for new rhythmical poetic forms.⁵⁵ In addition, the

⁵⁴ *PLAC IV. 2*, no. 38.

⁵⁵ On *rhythmi* that draw on Mozarabic *preces*, see D. Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 5, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 149-160.

phenomenon suggests a basis in ritual practice, articulating a distinction between narrative verses suited to performance by soloists, and refrains that reprise a thematic core and suggest communal performance.⁵⁶ This distinction in kind is articulated clearly at the opening of *Angelus Domini Mariae* (10), whose refrain, found only in this manuscript, refers to itself as a communally performed hymn:⁵⁷

Angelus domini Mariae nuntiat:

‘Spiritus sanctus super te veniat.’

Hymnum cantemus de Christo domino

3. Internal References to Singing

Angelus domini introduces the third index of musical performance, the possibility that the Leiden abecedary *rhythmi* were festal songs or hymns of some sort. Two follow the Sedulian model referred to above closely in terms of theme and structure (*A superna caeli parte*, 5, and *Angelus venit de caelo*, 6), one is abecedary, focused on retelling the Christmas story and described in its rubric as ‘De adnuntiatione Sanctae Mariae (*Angelus domini Mariae nuntiat*, 10), and two more are transmitted as hymns in later manuscripts (*Gratuletur omnis*, 7, and *Homo*

⁵⁶ Haug, ‘Ritual and Repetition’, p. 93.

⁵⁷ A second refrain, *Beata virgo et dei genetrix*, appears only at the very end of the poem as copied in Leiden Voss. lat. Q 69. There was evidently some flexibility in practice as *Beata virgo* is the sole refrain in the version found in the Brussels *versus* collection, where it blurs the boundary between strophe and refrain by appearing initially as part of the angel’s speech in the Annunciation scene: see *PLAC IV.2*, no. 6 and Haug, ‘Rituals and Repetition’, pp. 87-8.

quidam, 13). All of these hint at sung performance through shared generic characteristics as hymns. In addition, two *rhythmi* contain internal references to their own sung performance. *Alma vera ac praeclara* (9) is abecedary, but thematically consists of alternating strophes on *caritas* and its opposite, *avaritia*. From strophe R onwards, the focus shifts to praise of God and reference is made to the poem as a hymn that is communally sung.⁵⁸

Ymnum tibi nunc dicamus, sacra sancta caritas,
tu es quia benedicta celsa scandens aethera,
quae es homen atque nomen die patris gloriae.

Audite omnes (8) is particularly instructive. It begins in common with several abecedary *rhythmi* with an appeal to an audience to listen to the song about to be sung, using a formula that alludes to an oral tradition in which a singer gathers an audience.⁵⁹ What follows is a song in two parts, the first of which describes the Harrowing of Hell (strophes A-I),⁶⁰ before the second part turns to the Easter

⁵⁸ CRM, p. 74.

⁵⁹ cf PLAC IV.2 nos. 15, 42, 45, 47 and PLAC III, p. 404.

⁶⁰ For the sources of the Harrowing of Hell passages, which are identified as Pseudo-Augustine Sermo 160 and fragments from sermons by Eusebius 'Gallicanus' incorporated within it, see Z. Izydorczyk, 'The *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the Latin Middle Ages', in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 158, ed. Z. Izydorczyk, Tempe, Arizona, 1997, pp. 43-102 at p. 98.

resurrection story (strophes L onwards). The antepenultimate and penultimate strophes (X and Y) add more detail about the supposed performance context.⁶¹

Audite omnes canticum mirabile	Listen, everyone, to a wonderful song
de cruce Christi, quantum fructum praeuit,	about the cross of Christ: how it bore a great fruit,
sponsa que casta prodiit ex latere,	and how a chaste bride came forth from its side,
dotem detulit ex aqua et sanguine,	how it bestowed a dowry from water and blood,
auctorem mortis vincens per estipitem.	conquering the author of death by its stem.
Bellum peractum inclinato capite	The battle done, with bowed head
somnum quieuit in sepulcro tridue.	He rested asleep in the tomb for three days.
Inferni claustra penetrans intrepide	Breaking the bonds of hell, fearlessly
portas confregit et depressit demones:	He destroyed the gates and put down the demons:
principem fortem potenter conteruit.	He powerfully defeated the mighty leader.
Xristum laudemus, exultemus odie,	Let us praise Christ, let us rejoice today,
paschalem diem celebremus plurimi,	let us celebrate, all those who can, Easter day.
sobria sistant nostraque convivia;	and let our feasts be sober;
pauperum cutis contingentes clamida,	as novices joining together with their abbot
abbati iuncti simul et neophitae.	cover the bodies of the poor with a cloak.

⁶¹ *PLAC IV. 2*, no. 42. The translation of the X and Y strophes follows a number of suggestions made in Norberg, *La poésie latine rythmique*, p. 58. The manuscript reading, 'abbati', in line 5 of the X strophe is retained: the passage recalls the eleemosynary duties of religious communities on high feasts as described in Luke 14:13-14: 'Cum facis convivium, voca pauperes, debiles, claudos, et caecos: et beatus eris, quia non habent retribuere tibi'. I thank Christopher Jones for considerable assistance in understanding and translating an obscure text

Ymnorum sonus modulantur clerici	Priests and powerful persons
ad aulam regis et potentes personae:	chant hymns at the court of the king:
procul exclusit saeculares fabulas,	the tongue, now unbound, has shut out
memora divae epulae splendidae:	worldly fables; recalling the splendid,
flammas exurit defrenata lingua.	heavenly banquet, it burns up with flame.

The image of different social circles united in song at court has been understood as realistic. Norberg suggested that the poem may refer to performance at the Merovingian court at a time when mayors of the palace (the *potentes personae*) held sway, thus after the reign of Dagobert which ended in 639.⁶² The poet expresses a visionary hope that the redemption promised by the Harrowing of Hell and Resurrection will bring together high and low, rich and poor, abbot and novice, cleric and king. Whatever the original performance context, the poem as copied in Leiden manuscript records a richly allusive Easter hymn suited to performance outside of the regular liturgical round.

4. *Shortened Versions*

Among *rhythmi* in the main Carolingian collections, the number of strophes for songs of diverse kinds generally stands between 9 and 15 strophes, in contrast to Office hymns that typically have 8 strophes. There are two exceptions to this

⁶² Ibid. pp. 54-9. See, further, Stella, *La poesia carolingia*, pp. 436-8.

pattern. Poems that paraphrase biblical stories are much longer in their full versions, ranging from circa 35 to circa 70 strophes, from which shorter versions of between 8 and 20 strophes were made, seemingly for purposes of sung performance since the concise versions typically concentrate on narrative, excising theological reflection.⁶³ Abecedary poems are also typically longer, for the most part standing at a full 23 strophes, occasionally with an extra doxology, although a number of shorter abecedary poems also survive.⁶⁴

Shortened versions of poems in the Leiden manuscript divide into two types. First, abecedary poems in which copying was cut abruptly short with space left to complete the whole, as for *Ante saecula et mundi* and *Angelus venit de caelo*, nos. 4 and 6 (see **Plate 2** for *Ante saecula et mundi*). In these cases, the cessation of copying around the mid-point of abecedary poems was linked by Karl Strecker to mounting grammatical errors in the text, which implies that the scribe stopped copying from an exemplar with the intent of finding a better version, leaving sufficient space to do so at a future point.⁶⁵ No such proliferation of grammatical

⁶³ See, for example, my comments on the shortened versions of *versus* by Paulinus of Aquileia in *CRM*, namely *Fuit Domini* (pp. 230-1), *Gloriam Deo* (p. 250) and *Tertio in flore* (pp. 425-6).

⁶⁴ A number of abecedary poems of less than 15 strophes are transmitted alongside full-length abecedary poems in Verona XC, for a brief introduction to which see *CRM*, pp. CXIV-CXV. The shorter abecedary poems cover a range of different genres and there is no indication that they were originally longer compositions. In the 10-15 strophe range are nos. 45, 48, 50, 62; shorter poems are nos. 54, 57, 63 and 64 (numbers refer to *PLAC IV.2*).

⁶⁵ The copying of Theodefrid's *Ante saecula* terminates after an L strophe in which the final line is entirely omitted: see Strecker's notes in *PLAC IV.2*, p. 562. For extended discussion of the

errors can be proposed for *Aquarum meis* (no. 12), which similarly breaks off before the M strophe, but with no space left before the beginning of the next poem. It is possible that space was originally left for continuation of *Aquarum meis* since the next poem, *Homo quidam*, seems to have been added by a new scribe or at least copied in a way that sets it apart from the preceding poetry, suggesting at least a different exemplar. It is the only text among the individual poems to have initials that are not left empty, and the only poem in the whole collection to have blackened strophic initials throughout, including for the first strophe. Another unusual feature is that a single line was left blank before the rubric of this last poem before the Prudentian *metra* (see **Plate 1**, fol. 13^v). If space was originally left for the continuation of *Aquarum meis* and *Homo quidam* was added in the gap, then this would reduce the number of non-abecedary verse in the earliest layer of Leiden Voss. lat. Q 69 to only three out of twelve: the opening *metrum*, the cosmographic *ritmus*, and *Gratuletur omnis*.⁶⁶

<Insert Plate 2 near here>

increasing difficulties in the text of *Angelus venit de caelo*, which breaks off following an L strophe in which neither line is regular and the readings become deeply problematic, see Strecker, 'Zu den karolingischen Rhythmen', pp. 612-18.

⁶⁶ In the two earlier cases of truncated abecedary poems, precisely one column was left blank, which suggests a mechanical solution to the problem of completion. If a gap was originally left after *Aquarum meis* on fol. 13^v, it would have been one column and six lines, which is precisely the amount of space taken up for strophes M to the end of the previous poem *De bone sacerdote*. In other words, the space left may have been a deliberate calculation in this instance.

Leaving aside abecedary poems, a number of other texts exist in versions significantly shorter than those found elsewhere (nos. 1, 3, 7 and 13). In the first two instances, the Pseudo-Fortunatus and the cosmographic poem, much longer texts are significantly reduced. The shortened version of the Pseudo-Fortunatus, *Lingua prophetarum*, stands as a poem of 44 lines or 22 couplets, which aligns it with other sung poems in the collection, i.e. equivalent to 11 strophes of a poem written in four-line strophes. The cosmographic poem, *Asia ab oriente*, is substantially longer, appearing in a version of 30 strophes that follows the westward march of description from Asia as far as Spain, but cutting short before passing to Africa, Italy and Britain.⁶⁷ The whole gives the impression of a poem suited to teaching, somewhat akin to the more lengthy computus songs that can extend up to seventy strophes and are intent on summarising technical information, while also being sung.

Gratuletur omnis (no. 7), like many hymnic *rhythmi*, is transmitted with a variable number of strophes found in many different orders. The version recorded here does not transmit the more conventional closing strophes offering praise but does feature the middle strophes summarising Christ's miracles and the harrowing of hell; in other words, the version given is closer to the pattern of the abecedary verses than a conventional hymn. Something similar may be traced for the final poem in the collection, *Homo quidam* (no. 13), whose version is not as short as those found in later hymnals, which are reduced to the typical eight strophes, but

⁶⁷ See, further, Norberg, *La poésie latine rythmique*, ch. 7 ('Versus de Asia et de universi mundi rota').

still sits within the typical range of sung poems at ten strophes. A case for reduction in overall length on associated musical grounds may therefore be made for three out of the four non-abecedary shortened poems, and for one on the basis of a didactic parallel with *computus* songs.

The overlapping indices for musical performance that have been highlighted within this section are: i) the presence of notation for the same poems in later manuscripts from the same centre (4, 7, 8, 9) or elsewhere (13); ii) the use of refrains, especially when using language redolent of sung liturgical formulae (2, 4, 5, 6, 10); iii) internal references to singing (1, 2, 8, 9 and 10); and iv) shortened versions of texts (1, 3, 7, and 13, possibly also 4, 6 and 12). One or more indices of musical performance can therefore be found for all but one of the poems in the collection, i.e. *Ad perennis vitae fontem* (11), which seems to be merely a case of happenstance since this poem forms a pair with the following one as abecedary verses on the theme of good and bad priests respectively. As stated earlier, none of the indications is sufficient by itself to guarantee musical performance and other motivations informing this gathering of poems are not ruled out by highlighting musical factors. There is, for example, a clear educational component to the assembly of poems on historical and geographical topics, as well as the poems that summarize key aspects of Christian teaching through biblical paraphrase. To reduce the poetry to a solely didactic purpose, though, even one that included music as an aid to learning, obscures a number of key points. To highlight only a couple, there remains a tension between a presumed used for teaching and the poor state of the texts by any assessment of their grammatical content. In addition, the mix of themes (didactic, moral, penitential, satirical,

festal) is identical to that found in later Latin collections that have been recognised as anthologies of sung texts, such as the Cambridge Songs.

III PRUDENTIAN *METRA*

The Prudentian poems that follow the *rhythmi* in the Leiden collection have not attracted significant previous comment. Catalogue entries and previous studies of the manuscript have recorded the fact that the poems are taken in series from his two collections of lyric poems, namely the *Liber Cathemerinon* (hereafter LC), which contains hymns for hours and seasons, and the *Liber Peristephanon* (hereafter LP), which contains hymns for Saints. It has also been noted that the poems appear in this manuscript in significantly shortened forms. It will be argued here that both the shortened versions of the Prudentian lyric poems and the ordering of the poems in the *Liber Peristephanon* can be linked to musical performance and a liturgical frame of reference for reading the poetry.

A survey of the shortened forms of the Prudentian poems is provided in **Table 3**.⁶⁸

As may be seen, centos were constructed by taking lines from the beginning and

⁶⁸ Line numbers for the Western Hymn Tradition are provided as indications of general practice in adapting Prudentian poetry for liturgical use rather than as an attempt to trace historical derivation. Line numbers are derived from the texts as edited in *AH* 50, which for the most part reproduces texts from hymnals, tropers and sequentaries dating from the eleventh century onwards. Exceptions include LC 1, 2a, 2b, which appear as part of the earliest layer of the New Hymnal. Processional hymns appear not to have achieved standardised forms: LC 3-5 appear in a wide range of different versions from the twelfth century onwards; the versions given here

end of each poem to produce shortened versions of between 6-9 strophes. The main exceptions are the stichic poems and the seventh poem of the *Peristephanon*, which is the only one copied in full, presumably for reasons related to its position at the end of the Prudentian selection in this manuscript. Taking lines from the beginning and ending strophes of each poem makes some sense given Prudentius' general pattern of working, according to which the theme of each poem (the hour of the day or the particular saint) is introduced at the opening and a summary provided at the end. In between, Prudentius typically turns to *exempla* that often interweave several different stories combined with exegesis.

<Insert Table 3 near here>

As might be expected, the abridged texts that result in the Leiden collection vary in their success as adaptations. Two contrasting examples may be highlighted by way of example. *Pastis visceribus*, the fourth poem in the *Liber Cathemerinon*, is entitled *Hymnus post cibum* and is found in later medieval collections as a

follow the selection of sources cited in AH 50. A few hymns beginning with internal lines (LC 6b, 9b and LP 6b) seemingly derive from the Old Spanish hymn tradition. They are included since they reflect similar line choices for hymns at the end of poems and are also recorded in a handful of early non-liturgical Frankish sources. LC 10 is aligned with the Old Spanish tradition given the proximity of the selection, the isolated use of the hymn in the Spanish Office of the Dead, and the absence of a comparable hymn in the Western tradition. For an account of Prudentian centos in the Old Spanish rite, see AH 27, pp. 35-41.

processional hymn after the main meal on Easter day.⁶⁹ The selection of lines given in the Leiden manuscript focuses on giving thanks and praise for the taking of food, passing over reflection on the body as an unclean shrine, Christ as true food, and the story of Daniel receiving heavenly sustenance while in the lions' den. The top and tailed text works relatively well, although the starving lions in the penultimate strophe appear without introduction and there is no explicit thanks for the meal just taken. Later adaptations within the hymn repertory overcome these faults by introducing a strophe from the middle of the poem that renders due thanks, and by omitting the penultimate strophe.⁷⁰

Pastis visceribus ciboque sumpto,	Now that we have been fed, and taken our meal,
quem lex corporis inbecilla poscit,	to satisfy our feeble body's needs,
laudem lingua deo patri rependat,	to God the Father let our tongue give praise:
 patri, qui Cherubin sedile sacrum	 the Father, Who upon the highest throne
nec non et Seraphin suum supremo	His sacred seat possesses, holding sway

⁶⁹ It appears as part of a series of *conductus* for use on Easter day in Madrid 289, fol. 145^v, under the rubric *Conductus episcopi ad mensam Salve, festa dies. O crucifer. Pastis visceribus*: see Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*, 2 vols., Cologne, Darstellungsband, p. 225. cf Udine 2, 86^r-86^v, a fourteenth-century Gradual from Mositz (Moggio), with the rubric *In die sancto paschae. Versus post cibum*.

⁷⁰ The orthography of the Latin texts discussed here and immediately below follows M. P. Cunningham (ed.), *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis carmina*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina CXXVI, Turnholt, 1966, pp. 19 and 22 (LC 4), and pp. 29 and 34 (LC 6). Translations are lightly adapted from N. Richardson (trans.), *Prudentius' Hymns for Hours and Seasons: Liber Cathemerinon*, London and New York, 2016, pp. 43, 46, 51 and 54-5.

subnixus solio tenet regitque.	over the Cherubin and Seraphim.
Hic est quem Sabaoth deum vocamus;	For Him we name the God of Sabaoth:
expers principii carensque fine,	He is without beginning, without end,
rerum conditor et repertor orbis, /	Maker of all, Creator of the world, /
His sumptis licet insolens potestas	After this food, although a haughty power
pravum iudicet inrogetque mortem,	may pass false judgment and demand our death,
inpasti licet inruant leones,	although the starving lions may assault us,
nos semper dominum patrem fatentes	we shall, our Lord as Father ever confessing,
in te, Christe deus, loquemur unum,	proclaim Him One in Three, O Christ our God,
constanterque tuam crucem feremus.	and we shall bear Thy Cross with constancy.

The reduction of *Ades Pater supreme*, a hymn before sleep, works well initially by cutting off before mention of the river Lethe in the 5th strophe. The poem continues onto consideration of dreams, Joseph's interpretations of dreams and St John the Divine's revelations. The abridged version picks up again in the penultimate strophe, but the cut is jarring, beginning with the command 'discede' or 'depart!', which is addressed to the deceptive serpent who disturbs our hearts at rest as described in the immediately preceding strophe that was not included. A neater solution was found in hymn traditions by beginning seven strophes from

the end with the words *Cultor Dei*, resulting in a coherent hymn dispelling sinful thoughts before sleep.⁷¹

Ades, pater supreme,	Be present, Father highest,
quem nemo vidit umquam,	Whom no one ever looks on,
patrisque sermo Christe,	and Christ, Word of the Father,
et spiritus benigne,	and Thou, O Spirit kindly:

O Trinitatis huius	Who of this holy Trinity
vis una lumen unum,	one power and single light art,
deus ex Deo perennis,	God from God, eternal,
deus ex utroque missus!	and God from both proceeding.

Fluxit labor diei,	The work of day is over,
redit et quietis hora,	the hour of rest returning,
blandus sopor vicissim	and once more gentle slumber
fessos relaxat artus.	our weary limbs relaxes.

Mens aestuans procellis,	The mind, by tempests storm-tossed,
curisque sauciata,	and by our troubles wounded
totis bibit medullis	through all its inmost being

⁷¹ *Cultor Dei* is found as a Compline hymn in the Old Spanish tradition, see *AH* 27, p. 37. The rubric *Ymnus ad Completorium* is found before the line beginning *Cultor Dei* in LC6 in a complete copy of the works of Prudentius transmitted in Berne 394, which suggests that the Old Spanish tradition was known in Western Francia by c. 900. As early as the second quarter of the ninth century, these lines are set apart in another Prudentius codex, Leiden Burm. Q 3, which was copied at St-Denis: see Bischoff, *KfH II*, no. 2177.

obliviale poclum./	drinks in the cup of oblivion./
Discede, Christus hic est.	Be gone, for Christ is present!
Hic Christus est, liquesce!	Vanish, for Christ is near us!
Signum quod ipse nosti	This sign, to you familiar,
damnat tuam catervam.	condemns your brood of terrors.
Corpus licet fatiscens	Although our weary bodies
iaceat recline paulum,	may for a time lie sleeping,
Christum tamen sub ipso	yet even in our slumbers
meditabimur sopore.	our thoughts will rest in Christ.

The shortened versions in the Leiden collection and the poems that were transformed into liturgical hymns share some overlap in the choice of extracts (**see Table 3** where the overlaps are indicated by underlining), but none of the adaptations is precisely the same. The liturgical hymns show greater flexibility of practice, including drawing on lines from within the middle of the poem, on occasion changing the order of lines, and from time to time not taking lines from both the beginning and the end. The Leiden versions, by contrast, take a schematic approach to reduction, selecting only opening and closing strophes. The closest surviving comparison is found in the Prudentian extracts in another varied ninth-century collection of strophic poetry, all of which may be shown to have been sung, i.e. a notated verse collection that opens with a cycle of hymns most likely copied at St-Denis in the second third of the ninth century, Berne 455. In a section of this manuscript that also contains shortened *metra* in strophic form from Boethius' *De*

consolatione philosophiae, the scribe systematically copied out only the opening eight strophes of a selection of Prudentian poems from the *Liber Cathemerinon* that had not already found a place in the Office.⁷²

It is possible that the abridged Prudentian poems in the Leiden manuscript represent an attempt at reducing longer poems to functional liturgical hymns. There are already hints that Prudentius' poetry was being adapted to hymnic forms in the two earliest surviving manuscripts. A Trinitarian formula was added by a seventh-century scribe to the end of *Scripta sunt caelo* (Per 1) in a sixth-century Italian copy of Prudentius' poetry now held in Milan.⁷³ Horizontal lines appear in the other surviving sixth-century copy now held in Paris, setting apart the opening two strophes of *Pastis visceribus* (LC 4, 1-6) and *Deus ignee fons* (LC 10, 1-8).⁷⁴ The earliest Frankish documented examples of adaptation in liturgical sources are the three Prudentian office hymns adapted from the two opening

⁷² i.e. the LC Preface (full), followed by LC 3-11 (the opening 8 strophes each); LC 11 is preceded by LP 4 (str. 1-8), 13 (lines 1-28) and 3 (str. 1-6), and followed by the preface to the *Psychomachia*. For discussion of the verse contents of Berne 455 paying particular attention to the Prudentian *metra*, see Barrett, 'Glimpses of Carolingian Song', and *idem*, 'Neumes in a Ninth-Century Verse Collection and the Early History of Messine Notation at Laon', *Études Grégoriennes* 40 (2013), pp. 161-189, at pp. 166-77.

⁷³ Milan Ambros. D. 36 sup. *CLA* III no. 331. On the poetic addition (*quo beatae trinitatis concinatur gloria*), see M. P. Cunningham, 'The Nature and Purpose of the *Peristephanon* of Prudentius', *Sacris Euridiri* 14 (1963), pp. 40-45 at p. 43. Cunningham also suspects that the Trinitarian doxology at the end of *Inventor rutili* (LC 5, 161-4) was an early addition to Prudentius' text.

⁷⁴ Paris lat. 8084. *CLA* V, no. 571a.

poems of the *Liber Cathemerinon* that appear in the first layer of the New Hymnal, which was dated by Donald Bullough to the court of Louis the Pious in the 820s.⁷⁵ In a Prudentius collection copied at St Denis in the second quarter of the ninth century, dividing lines are found in the margin that broadly correspond to the adaptations of the same two poems in the New Hymnal.⁷⁶ In addition, the internal line *Cultor Dei memento* (LC 6, 125), which marks the beginning of a hymn later established in the New Hymnal, is set apart by being copied in capitals.

⁷⁵ LC 1, 2a and 2b in Table 3. On the drawing up of the New Hymnal at the court of Louis the Pious in the 820s, see D. A. Bullough and A. L. Harting-Corrêa, 'Texts, chant, and the chapel of Louis the Pious', in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-40)*, ed. P. Godman & R. Collins, Oxford, 1990, pp. 489-508. For a defence of the traditional association of the spread of the New Hymnal with the reforming work of Benedict of Aniane and his contemporaries, see Helmut Gneuss, 'Zur Geschichte des Hymnars', in *Der Lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter: Überlieferung, Ästhetik, Ausstrahlung*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi. Subsidia 4, ed. A. Haug, C. März, L. Welker, and A. März, Kassel & London, 2004, pp. 63-86 at pp. 72-4. Jullien has placed the origins of the New Hymnal even earlier, arguing that it emerged from experiments in the circle of Alcuin: see Marie-Hélène Jullien, 'Les hymnes dans le milieu Alcuinien', in *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes II Antiquité tardive et christianisme ancien (VIe-IXe siècles)*, ed. Louis Holtz, Jean-Claude Fredouille, M.H. Jullien, Paris, 1992, pp. 171-82, and earlier P.-M. Gy, 'Le trésor des hymnes', *La Maison-Dieu* 173 (1988), pp. 19-40, at p. 25.

⁷⁶ The dividing lines are found for *Ales diei nuntius* (LC 1) 1-4, 81 and 97 and *Nox et tenebrae* (LC 2) 1-4, 57, 97, 100 and 105. The former suggests an abridged form nearly identical to the New Hymnal form (1-8, 81-94, 97-100). The latter marks out lines from both of the hymns drawn from this poem in the New Hymnal, i.e. *Nox ex tenebrae* (1-8, 48-49-52-57, and 59-60-67-68) and *Lux ecce surgit* (25-93-94, 96-108).

While the idea of the Leiden collection as an early experiment at hymnic adaptation is intriguing, the non-sequiturs seem unlikely even as a trial run. An alternative hypothesis is that the Leiden texts were not sung at all but functioned as educational digests. This remains a possibility, but to remove singing from the picture entirely would be to overlook the fact that the abridged versions fall consistently within the length of hymns (6-9 strophes). It is also worth noting at this point that the parallel abridged versions in the verse collection from the St-Denis manuscript now held in Berne were notated most likely before the second third of the tenth century with melodies that match those recorded for hymns at a later date.⁷⁷ A more powerful explanation is that the Leiden reductions witness to a parallel tradition of singing Prudentius outside of the liturgy that was not under the same institutional pressures to result in a final, polished text that were brought to bear on the fashioning of hymns. The motivation for making these sung reductions may have been manifold: to learn an edificatory text, to learn metre, to practise making hymns from longer late antique texts, and to practise making hymns and songs. All of these possibilities will be kept in mind, but in seeking to narrow possibilities further, a final index of the way in which the Prudentian *metra* were understood in the Leiden manuscript may be considered, namely their ordering.

⁷⁷ See Barrett, 'Neumes in a ninth-century verse collection', pp. 169-176, for preliminary demonstration.

The standard ordering of the poems in modern editions of the *Peristephanon* dates back to an edition published in Vienna in 1501.⁷⁸ The earliest sources display four separate traditions of ordering as identified by the first philologist to study the manuscript tradition in depth, Joannes Bergman. Two of these ordering traditions date from the sixth century (which he designated Aa and Ab), and two date back to ninth-century sources (Ba and Bb).⁷⁹ While various theories have been proposed for the earliest 'A' orderings, the most authoritative view is that no overarching rationale can be detected behind any tradition of ordering.⁸⁰ A common feature of the Ba and Bb traditions is that the *Peristephanon* is copied immediately after nos. 1-10 of the *Liber Cathemerinon*, whose nos. 11-12 are placed straight after the *Peristephanon*.⁸¹ The conception of the two works as

⁷⁸ A. Manutius (ed.), *Prudentii poetae opera*, Poetae Christiani veteres 1, Venice, 1501.

⁷⁹ J. Bergman, 'De codicum Prudentianorum generibus et virtute', *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaftlichen* 157 (1908), no. V, pp. 1-64, esp. pp. 6-26.

⁸⁰ 'on ne trouve aucun principe d'organisation de ces poèmes dans les manuscrits, quel que soit le critère envisagé (forme métrique, origine des martyrs, calendrier liturgique)', P.-Y. Fux, *Les sept passions de Prudence*, Fribourg, 2003, p. 89. For the suggestion that metrical patterning lies behind the ordering in the Aa and Ab traditions, see W. Ludwig, 'Die christliche Dichtung des Prudentius und die Transformation der klassischen Gattungen', in *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'antiquité tardive en Occident*, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique XXIII, ed. M. Fuhrmann, Geneva, 1977, pp. 303-63. Most recently, it has been argued that the Ba ordering tradition structures an imaginative journey for the reader, beginning in northern Spain and circling the Mediterranean before returning again: see C. O'Hogan, *Prudentius and the Landscapes of Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2016, pp. 30-34.

⁸¹ Bergman, 'De codicum Prudentianorum', pp. 24-34.

complementary books of hymns may be traced back as far as Gennadius, writing at the end of the 5th century, who added a short section on Prudentius to Jerome's *De viris illustribus* that bracketed the two together.⁸² In a number of manuscripts from the ninth century onwards, the *Liber Cathemerinon* is referred to as the first book of hymns and the *Peristephanon* as the second.⁸³

As for the rationale of the ordering traditions, a closer look at the German or Bb tradition, which is particularly associated with manuscripts from the Abbey of St Gall and first represented by the Leiden manuscript, suggests that the poems from the *Peristephanon* were ordered in part according to the liturgical calendar (see **Table 4**).

<Insert Table 4 near here>

Number 10, which appears at the foot of the list, is placed outside the ordering scheme since it is the only poem to refer to an Eastern saint (St Romanus of Antioch) and is substantially longer than any other poem in the *Peristephanon*. It

⁸² 'Fecit et in laudem martyrum sub aliquorum nominibus invitatorium ad martyrium librum unum et hymnorum alterum', Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*: see Wilhelm Herding (ed.), 'Hieronymi De viris inlustribus liber: accedit Gennadii catalogus virorum inlustrium', Part II of E. K. Heydenreich (ed.), *Incerti auctoris de Constantino Magno eiusque matre Helena libellus*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 76-77 at p. 77.

⁸³ e.g. St Gall 134 copied at St Gall s. ix/x (Bischoff, *KfH III*, no. 5592), where the *Liber Peristephanon* opens with the title 'Incipit liber secundus Peristephanon'. See, further, R. Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften*, Berlin, 1895, pp. 72-77.

was transmitted separately from the rest of the *Peristephanon* throughout the Middle Ages, leading most modern scholars to conclude that it does not belong with the collection.⁸⁴ This poem also does not feature in the Leiden excerpts; it is included in **Table 4** simply because it usually follows the *Peristephanon* in the wider Bb tradition. A second preliminary observation is that the Bb tradition opens and closes with poems on the martyrs of Calahorra (nos. 1 & 8), which was in all likelihood Prudentius' home town. This is understandable as the first poem introduces the themes of the collection as a whole, while the last stands apart as an epitaph inscribed on a baptistery. Within these bookends, ordering appears to be determined by class of Saint and date of martyrdom. Widely celebrated individual martyrs are placed first, organized internally according to date of celebration as widely recorded in early Sacramentaries: Vincent, Lawrence, Hippolytus and Cyprian. There follow two poems for what might be described as the class of several martyrs: Peter & Paul, and the 18 Martyrs of Saragossa. Then come the two poems for Virgin Martyrs, again in calendrical order: Agnes followed by Eulalia. Finally, there are the saints who were not widely celebrated in the ninth century but are nevertheless ordered according to their calendrical date of martyrdom as recorded in early martyrologies beginning with Pseudo-Jerome: Fructuosus and his two companions, Quirinus of Sisicia and Cassian of Imola.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ See Fux, *Les sept passions*, pp. 53-5.

⁸⁵ The martyrology of Pseudo-Jerome, a list of saints to be celebrated at Mass arranged in calendrical order, enjoyed widespread dissemination in the eighth century before suspicions arose about its authenticity in the ninth. The height of its influence was during the 780s and 790s when it was known in court circles and attained 'significant levels of popularity... among

There are two anomalies in the ordering. The first concerns the 18 Martyrs of Saragossa, whose date of observation should place them before SS Peter & Paul. The most likely reason for this displacement can be found if the Bb tradition is compared to its immediate ancestor, the Ab tradition (see **Table 5**). Comparison of the traditions reveals that two blocks of material remained unchanged between the Ab and Bb traditions: the coupling of 4 and 14 (the Martyrs of Saragossa and Agnes), and the ordering of minor saints (6, 7, 9 and 8). The latter raises the possibility that their ordering of minor saints was simply retained from the Aa tradition rather than the non-Calahorran saints being newly placed in the correct liturgical order. Indeed, there is some evidence for the idea that the dates of celebration for these obscure saints were not known at St Gall. An introductory remark added to a calendar of saints copied at the Abbey in the early tenth century (St Gall 566) states that Cassian's date of celebration among others was not known there at this time.⁸⁶ In a similar vein, the date for the celebration of the Martyrs of Saragossa, which does not feature in the same calendar, was in all probability not known at St Gall where they were not observed. In these circumstances, it would make some sense to copy the poem after the hierarchically more important feast of SS Peter & Paul and, as in the Aa tradition, immediately before the poem about Eulalia.

the elites of Francia': F. Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627-827*, Notre Dame, 2006, p. 72.

⁸⁶ See Arlt & Rankin, *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, i. p. 47.

<Insert Table 5 near here>

The second anomaly is that in the Leiden manuscript alone of the Bb tradition Quirinus (no. 7) is placed at the end of the selection, after the Unknown martyrs of Calahorra (see the last column of **Table 5**). As already noted, the text is presented differently from all others in being copied in full. No definitive reason for its unusual presentation can be identified at present, although it may be connected with the fact that the poem was moved to the end of the sequence, most likely from an earlier manuscript of the Bb tradition that preserved the original Aa ordering of 6, 7, 9, 8.

Further evidence can be brought to bear upon the significance liturgical ordering in the *Peristephanon* by reading it alongside the *Liber Cathemerinon*. The closing two poems of the *Liber Cathemerinon* do not follow the *Peristephanon* in the Leiden manuscript, unlike in the rest of the Bb tradition. The omission of poems celebrating Christmas day and Epiphany (LC 11 and 12) leaves an overall sequence across the two books that begins with the daily round (cockcrow, morning, before and after the main meal, for the lighting of lamps, and before sleep, LC 1-6) and then hymns for occasional use (for times of fasting, for every hour, and for the burials of the dead, LC 7-10), before passing to the *Liber Peristephanon* for hymns for individual Saints subdivided into celebrated individual martyrs, several apostles, several martyrs, virgin martyrs, and minor martyrs. A parallel may be drawn with the rapid expansion in the early decades of the ninth century in hymns assigned to weekdays and to specific feasts, and

hymns for the Sanctorale.⁸⁷ In seeking to understand further the ways in which the Leiden collection fits into wider Carolingian developments, it is time to turn to its historical context both at St Gall and beyond.

IV LEIDEN VOSS. LAT. Q. 69 IN CONTEXT

The poetic contents of the second book of Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 are consistent with what is known of the wider context of copying at St Gall at the time in so far as they show evidence of copying from a number of different sources brought to the Abbey.⁸⁸ As mentioned above, insular sources probably lie behind the epigrams and *tituli*. As for the Prudentian *metra*, the Bb textual tradition is found first in Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 and then during the ninth century predominantly, but not exclusively, in manuscripts from St Gall.⁸⁹ Since the ordering in Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 is already an adaption of the Bb tradition found predominantly in German-speaking areas, it is most likely that the Prudentian *metra* were copied from an Alemmanic exemplar. The specific exemplar used was in all probability

⁸⁷ H. Gneuss, *Hymner und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter*, Tübingen, 1968, ch. 3 ('Die Ablösung des Alten Hymnars').

⁸⁸ On St Gall as a centre for copying manuscripts imported especially from Insular, Rhaetian and North Italian centres around the turn of the ninth century, see B. von Scarpatetti, 'Das St. Galler Scriptorium', in *Das Kloster St. Gallen*, pp. 31-68, at p. 36 and pp. 48-50.

⁸⁹ Bergman, 'De codicum Prudentianorum generibus', p. 25. All three of the complete ninth-century St Gall copies of the LC transmit the Bb tradition, i.e. Leiden Voss. lat. Q 69, St Gall 136, and Berlin 542. Berne 264 ('Reichenau möglich, kaum St. Gallen' – Bischoff, *KfH I*, no. 566) contains a variant of the Bb order as noted by Bergman.

not written out in continuous strophes since the scribes of the Leiden manuscript erred in calculating the length of strophes on two occasions.⁹⁰ The ordering of *metra* found in Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 is not found anywhere else and may have been created at the Abbey of St Gall around the time of the copying of the manuscript.

A different background may be sketched for the *rhythmi*, which may be traced back ultimately to a centre for the composition of abecedary verse at Luxeuil and Corbie as early as the seventh century.⁹¹ The fact that the alphabetical verses appear in series from *Ante saecula et mundi* through to *Aquarum meis* (interrupted only by *Gratuletur omnis*) implies that they were copied *en bloc*, especially since alphabetical *rhythmi* were copied out separately in later ninth-century northern French poetic collections.⁹² It is impossible to say whether the specific versions of *rhythmi* found in the Leiden manuscript, including shortened versions and refrains unique to this collection and to St Gall, were the result of an in-house

⁹⁰ The last line of the 5th strophe of *Ales diei* (LC 1) was omitted in copying, as was the last line of the 4th strophe of *Christe servorum* (LC8).

⁹¹ On the likelihood that Luxeuil and Corbie were centres for the production of *rhythmi* closely associated in theme and content that stretch back to the seventh century, see Strecker, 'Zu den karolingischen Rhythmen', p. 638; Norberg, *La poésie latine rythmique*, pp. 112-14; and F. Stella, 'Le raccolte dei ritmi precarolingi e la tradizione manoscritta di Paolino d'Aquileia: nuclei testuali e rapporti di trasmissione', *Studi Medievali* ser. 3. 39 (1998), pp. 809-32 at pp. 820-8.

⁹² On the ordering in the St-Bertin and St-Denis collections, see, respectively, Barrett, 'Music and Writing', pp. 65-69 and idem, 'Glimpses of Carolingian Song'.

redaction.⁹³ Yet it may be observed that the interlinear corrections by hands writing an Alemannic minuscule similar to the base scripts, which are found with some regularity following the truncated version of *Ante saecula et mundi*, imply a marked concern for *correctio* in reception.

The copying of Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 is therefore consistent with an active reception of texts at St Gall c. 800 in terms of compilation, correction, and adaptation. Its relation to the later song tradition at the Abbey is initially puzzling due to the lack of evidence for a continuous song culture at St Gall in the first half of the ninth century. If we turn our attention instead to the song culture in the region, then a far richer and continuous picture emerges. At nearby Reichenau, with which St Gall shared books, commemorative obligations and on occasion the same abbot, there is evidence in the first half of the ninth century for learned teaching, literary composition in metrical verse, the composition of hymns, and even an interest in singing Prudentian verse. There was certainly an active engagement with and possibly even contribution to hymn reform at Reichenau in this period: all three versions of the hymnal (Old, Frankish and New) were available at the Abbey with hints of another stage of reform in the survival of a previously unknown hymn for Lauds copied by the librarian, Reginbert (d. 846).⁹⁴

⁹³ Shortened versions unique to the Leiden manuscript are found for *Lingua prophetarum*, *Asia ab oriente*, *Gratuletur omnis caro* and *Homo quidam*, while the refrain for *Ante saecula et mundi* is specific to St Gall and first found in this source.

⁹⁴ A summary of the unusually rich evidence relating to the various stages of hymn reform at Reichenau is given in Gneuss, 'Zur Geschichte des Hymnars', pp. 80-1. For the hymn copied by

In addition, Walahfrid Strabo (d. 849), who was a pupil of the earliest attested teacher at Reichenau, Wetti (d. 824), not only composed metrical verse, including several hymns, but also composed poetry in a liturgical cycle for feasts of both Temporale and Sanctorale.⁹⁵ He also provides the first evidence of historical interest in the singing of Prudentian verse, writing in his liturgical handbook composed in the early 840s that hymns by Prudentius were sung alongside those of Ambrose, Hilary, and Bede in previous centuries, thereby justifying the practice of singing metrical compositions in church in his time.⁹⁶ Strabo's views may well have been shaped by his experience of the New Hymnal at the Court of Louis the

Reginbert, see Klaus Gamber, 'Ein Brevier-Fragment aus der 1. Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts', *Revue Bénédictine* 95 (1985), pp. 232-9.

⁹⁵ Strabo's poetry is collected together in *PLAC* II, pp. 259-473. His hymns are most easily appreciated as a group in *AH* 50, nos. 121-131. On Strabo's poetry, see P. Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, London, 1985, pp. 34-40. The authorial colophon of his liturgical cycle of distichs (*PLAC* II, 365, no. 20) suggests that these were intended for individual reading: 'Haec quicumque legas, veniam deprecere Strabo/ Sis memor et cunctos hos voca in auxilium.'

⁹⁶ Walahfrid Strabo wrote in chapter 26 of his treatise, in the context of discussing hymns in the early Church and following directly on from a discussion of hymns composed by St John of Constantinople, 'Notandum autem ymnos dici non tantum, qui metris vel rithmis decurrunt, quales composuerunt Ambrosius et Hilarius, Beda Anglorum presbyter et Prudentius Hispaniarum scolasticus et alii multi, verum etiam ceteras laudationes'. 'However, it should be noted that not only were hymns sung which flow in metres or rhythms, such as those which Ambrose, Hilary, Bede, Priest of the English, Prudentius, scholar of the Spaniards, and many others composed, but also other chants of praise were sung'. A. L. Harting-Corrêa, *Walahfrid Strabo's 'Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum': A Translation and Liturgical Commentary*, Leiden and New York, 1996, pp. 158-9.

Pious, where he was tutor to the future Charles the Bald from 829 to 838, followed by his interrupted return to Reichenau as abbot from 838 to 842.

Strabo's poetry was certainly known at St Gall by the second half of the ninth century.⁹⁷ Evidence for close connections between St Gall and Reichenau in the first half of the ninth century is attested by the St Gall school plan, which was copied by Reginbert for Abbot Gozbert of St Gall (816-837).⁹⁸ Further indication of Reichenau's intellectual leadership in this period comes in the form of the later dates at St Gall of the first-attested librarian (Uto, 860), school teacher Iso (d. 871), and library list (mid 9th century).⁹⁹ It is therefore perhaps not surprising that an interest in Prudentian verse and *rhythmi* at St Gall after Leiden Voss lat. Q. 69 may be traced only in the second half of the ninth century.

That Prudentius's poetry was taught, known and admired at St Gall, is evident from Notker's letter to his pupil Salomo, *De viris illustribus*, in which he made suggestions for reading, beginning with Prudentius' corpus as a model for learning

⁹⁷ A manuscript of Strabo's poetry was copied at St Gall in the latter half of the ninth century, St Gall 869 (Bischoff, *KfH III*, no. 5855).

⁹⁸ On the scribe of the St Gall school plan, see Bernhard Bischoff, 'Die Entstehung des Sankt Galler Klosterplanes in paläographischer Sicht', *MS I*, pp. 41-49 at p. 43, and Maag, *Alemannische Minuskel*, pp. 77-80.

⁹⁹ W. Berschin, *Eremus und Insula: St. Gallen und die Reichenau im Mittelalter – Modell einer lateinischen Literaturlandschaft*, Wiesbaden, 1987, p. 14.

metre.¹⁰⁰ Notker's recommendations also reflect the works available at St Gall, for in the St Gall catalogue of mid ninth century, in a section labelled *De metris*, comes the work of Christian poets (Iuvenus, Sedulius, Arator, Avitus, Prosper), followed by no. 383 *Metrum Aurelii Prudentii libri VII in volumine I*.¹⁰¹ Prudentian turns of phrases also came to mind in composition. As has been shown by literary scholars, Prudentian verse is alluded to on several occasions in the processional *versus* gathered together in St Gall 381. This is most notable in Hartmann's hymn for Holy Innocents, *Cum natus esset dominus* which makes repeated reference to Prudentius' Epiphany hymn and specifically the section beginning *Salvete flores* describing the slaughter of the Innocents.¹⁰² More or less explicit Prudentian vocabulary can also be found in Ratpert's *Ardua spes mundi* and *Annua sancte Dei*, as well as in several of the poems for St Magnus as traced by Peter Stotz.¹⁰³ That Prudentian verse was also drawn into the ritual of the liturgy is likewise seen in the way the *titulus* for St Stephen, one of the forty-nine quatrains that constitute

¹⁰⁰ For text of this letter, see E. Rauner, 'Notkers des Stammlers *Notatio de illustribus viris*: Teil I. Kritische Edition', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 21 (1986), p. 65.

¹⁰¹ Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter*, p. 26. This manuscript may be St Gall 136, a collection of Prudentian *carmina* copied at the Abbey during the second quarter of the ninth century (Bischoff, *KfH III*, no. 5593), which provides evidence not only of engagement with the text through glossing, but also of singing in the form of interlinear and marginal notation by several different hands added to a wide range of Prudentian *metra*. For an analysis of the neumes added to the Prudentian verse in St Gall 136, see Stratton-Hild, 'Verse, Music, and Notation', pp. 233-46.

¹⁰² Von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter*, Darstellungsband, p. 51.

¹⁰³ Stotz, *Ardua spes mundi*, pp. 60, 125, 128, 157, 166, 174, 176-8, 187, and 199.

the *Dittochaeon*, was adopted as a self-standing introduction to the Introit in the late ninth-century cycle.¹⁰⁴

For all this interest in Prudentius' poetry at St Gall later in the ninth century, sung Prudentian verses in later non-liturgical St Gall manuscripts show no signs of direct contact with the Leiden versions and there is a striking absence of Prudentian processional *versus* at St Gall.¹⁰⁵ From the late ninth century onwards there is instead a clear preference for newly composed sung *versus* by St Gall authors; indeed, the only processional *versus* not by a St Gall poet in St Gall 381 is Venantius Fortunatus' *Salve festa dies*.¹⁰⁶ A substantial change in the reception of Prudentius at St Gall seems to have occurred by the end of the ninth century, by which time the singing of *versus* at St Gall was not just a matter of creative

¹⁰⁴ For an edition of the text within the context of the cycle, see von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter*, Editionsband, pp. 152-4; for the melody and detailed commentary, see Haug & Björkvall, 'Primus Init Stephanus'.

¹⁰⁵ The Prudentian verses in the Naples manuscript that directly follow the *rhythmi* are taken from an internal selection of lines rather than the beginning and end of the *metrum* as in the Leiden manuscript. The notations added to Prudentian verse in St Gall 136 show no clear overlap with the sung portions indicated in Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69: two of the three notated Prudentian items are not included in the Leiden manuscript (LC 12 and the Preface to *Psychomachia*), and the notation for the other does not imply any specific connection (the first strophe of LC 3).

¹⁰⁶ For tables listing the two series of *versus* in St Gall 381, see Arlt & Rankin, *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, i. pp. 217-18 & 240; and Stratton-Hild, 'Verse, Music, and Notation', p. 64.

reception of older texts; rather, older sung *versus* were drawn upon as a resource and inspiration for new liturgical composition.

Symptomatic of this new phase in reception is the extended Prudentian reference in the opening lines of the first sequence of *Liber ymnorum*:¹⁰⁷

1a. Natus ante saecula Dei Filius invisibilis, interminus,	1a. He, born before the beginning of time, the Son of God, beyond perception, without limit,
1b. per quem fit machina caeli ac terrae, maris et in his degentium,	1b. Through whom the edifice of heaven and earth comes to be, the sea and of all that dwell therein,
2a. per quem dies et horae labant et se iterum reciprocant,	2a. Through whom the days and hours flicker and then again are rekindled,
2b. quem angeli in arce poli voce consona semper canunt;	2b. Whom the angels in the citadel of heaven continually proclaim with harmonious voice...

Corde natus ex parentis ante mundi exordium,
alfa et w cognominatus, ipse fons et clausula,
omnium quae sunt fuerunt quaeque post futura sunt.

¹⁰⁷ Latin text, translation and commentary in Bower, *Liber ymnorum*, i. 133 and ii. 12-13.

Prudentius, LC 9, ix-xiv and xxii-xxi, trans. Richardson, *Prudentius' Hymns*, 63-64; Latin text from Cunningham (ed.), *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis carmina*, pp. 47-8.

Ipse iussit, et creata, dixit ipse, et facta sunt
terra caelum fossa ponti trina rerum machina,
quaeque in his vigent sub alto solis et lunae globo...

Psallat altitudo caeli, psallite omnes angeli,
quidquid est virtutis usquam psallat in laudem dei;
nulla linguarum silescat, vox et omnis consonet.

From the Father's heart before the world's beginning He was born,
named both Alpha and Omega, He the fount and closure too
of all things that are, and have been, all in future still to be.

At his word they were created: when He spoke they came to be,
earth and sky and depth of ocean, threefold fabric of the world,
and whatever lives beneath the lofty orbs of sun and moon...

Let the heights of heaven sing in praise, and all the angels sing,
and let every power of virtue hymn the glory of their God:
let not any tongue be silent: every voice in concert ring!

The relation between *Natus ante saecula* and *Corde natus* (from LC 9) is one of a shared sequence of ideas, concisely and richly expressed.¹⁰⁸ Both texts announce a hymn in praise of one born before the beginning of time, who is the origin of the world and time itself, and whom angels praise in celestial harmony. The placing

¹⁰⁸ cf von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter*, Darstellungsband, 559; Bower, *Liber ymnorum* ii. 12-

13.

of this Prudentian allusion at the head of the cycle of the *Liber ymnorum* arguably serves as a means of legitimizing a newly composed lyric cycle of hymns, as well as paying homage to a model that is being emulated and transformed. Prudentius seems to have served as a source of stylistic inspiration for introducing a lyric voice into hymnody, combining elegant expression with a masterful handling of lyric forms, thereby extending Strabo's defence and practical promotion of *ymni* in the previous generation.¹⁰⁹ Even more pertinently, Prudentian hymns as presented in the Bb tradition provided a model for a liturgically ordered lyric cycle with a strong emphasis on Roman martyrs, perhaps with a silent nod to Strabo's use of the liturgical *cursus* as a structure for a newly composed poetic cycle.

It was not only the Prudentius tradition as represented in Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 that provided a creative model for later generations at St Gall, but also *rhythmi*. As noted above, the scribe who added *versus* to blank folios in the Naples manuscript appears to have had Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 or a closely related manuscript before his eyes, given the preservation of the ordering and sharing of unique variants in all four cases. Principles of rhythmical verse also informed the poetry of the *Liber ymnorum*, especially the use of poetic lines with repeating patterns of cadential

¹⁰⁹ On the similar terms used by Strabo and Notker in their attempt to justify the introduction of *ymni* into the Roman liturgy in the ninth century, see, further, F. Heinzer, 'Medial Ambiguity: Liturgical Books of the Latin Church and Their Changing Status in Medieval Tradition', *Manuscript Cultures* 10 (2017), pp. 31-50 at pp. 40-41.

accent. The workings of paired isosyllabic and even isotonic stanzas may be appreciated through two adjacent versicles from *Congaudent angelorum*:¹¹⁰

quae síne viríli còmmixtióne génuít 14pp

fílium, qui súo mún-dum cruóre médicat. 14pp

(isosyllabic)

Nam ípsa laetátur, quod cáeli iam conspicátur príncipem 17pp

in térris cui quóndam sugéndas vírgo mamíllas práebuit. 17pp

(isotonic, stressed syllables: 2, 5, 8, 10, 13, 15)

In the first cited versicle, the number of syllables in the line is fixed between lines, but the accent pattern varies at the opening of the line. In the second versicle, not only the number of syllables, but also the placement of the accent is fixed throughout each line. What results is not the rhythmical poetry of the previous generation, which imitated inherited classical forms, but the same fundamental principles remain, namely definition of the poetic line or *versus* by syllable count and accent pattern, fixed especially at cadences. It was in *rhythmi* of the first half of the ninth century, as epitomized by the accentual poetry of Gottschalk of Orbais and Paulinus of Aquileia, both of whose poetry was known to Strabo, that the crucial step away from direct *imitatio* of classical models to new *compositio*,

¹¹⁰ On isotonicism as a working principle of the poetry in the *Liber ymnorum*, see J. Davis-Secord, 'Rhythm and Music: The Sequences of Notker Balbulus', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 22 (2012), pp. 117-148. Latin text from Bower, *Liber ymnorum*, i. p. 238.

drawing on extrapolated principles of syllable count and accent pattern, was first undertaken.

In sketching connections between sung poetry at St Gall in the first and second half of the ninth century, and directing attention to developments at Reichenau as a crucial intermediary step, the tantalising question arises whether Iso had the earlier Prudentian and *rhythmi* tradition of *versus* in mind when recommending to Notker his principle of setting texts to sequence melodies, i.e. *singulae motus cantilenae singulas syllabas debent habere*.¹¹¹ Clear evidence is lacking in so far as melodies recorded at a later date for Prudentian verse and *rhythmi* are not predominantly syllabic in the manner of sequences.¹¹² Even so, there is a shared principle at work in *versus* traditions and the sequences of the *Liber ymnorum* in so far as both proceed from the syllable as the fundamental unit of design. Fixed syllable count or isosyllabism is characteristic not only of *rhythmi* but also of Prudentian *metra* due to the lyric and fixed-syllable metrical forms

¹¹¹ In his edition and commentary, Calvin Bower translates this as ‘The gestures of individual melodic segments ought to have individual syllables’: Bower, *Liber ymnorum*, ii. 1. For an earlier translation reflecting the view that the phrase should read *singuli motus cantilenae* as found in sources copied after Notker’s lifetime, see A. Haug, ‘Re-reading Notker’s Preface’, in *Quomodo cantabimus Canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. D. B. Cannata et al., Middleton, WI, c. 2008, pp. 65-80 at p. 70: ‘Single motions of the melody ought to have single syllables.’

¹¹² For melodies added to Prudentian extracts later used as processional hymns, see Stäblein, *Hymnen*, nos. 1001-6.

employed.¹¹³ Evidence that melodies of *versus* were conceived syllabically lies in the way that melodies were shared. The association of particular syllables in the line (the first, second, third etc.) with specific melodic gestures may be seen in detail for two *rhythmi* copied in the Leiden manuscript which share a melody in the late ninth-century Naples manuscript, i.e. *Gratuletur omnis* and *Alma vera*. Both of the poems are accentual imitations of a trochaic trimetre, or 3 x 8p +7pp.¹¹⁴ The two poems also share both regular accentuation through the line and routine division at the quarter-line.

The neumes added to the first strophes of the two poems as copied in the Naples manuscript are almost identical from syllable to syllable, tracing a highly articulated melodic form delineated by melodic contour and repetition at strophe, line, half-line and quarter-line. As may be seen from **Example 1**, the neumes for the opening lines of both *Gratuletur omnis* and *Alma vera* repeat in the third line, creating a closed strophe articulated by linear melodic repetition, ABA'. The half-line of the initial A is also articulated through melodic contour as the melody of the first half of the line traces a single melodic arch, creating an internal a+b divided by the caesura in the opening melodic A. Elaine Stratton-Hild has also pointed to the way that the melody articulates the poetry at the quarter-line

¹¹³ It is only in the elegiacs of LP 8 & 11, and the alternating hexameter and iambic trimetre lines of LP 9, that significant variation in linear syllable count is found in the poetry of the *Liber Cathemerinon* and *Liber Peristephanon*.

¹¹⁴ CRM, pp. 69-75 and pp. 257-75.

through repetition of melodic contour in the second line, resulting in a B-line melody with a threefold melodic repetition over syllables 1-4, 5-8, and 9-12.¹¹⁵

<Example 1 near here>

Similar working principles can be traced for the melodies for Prudentian *metra* in the form of the neumes added to the opening lines of *O crucifer bone* in St Gall 136. The neumes trace a melody later recorded for this text both in non-liturgical sources and as a processional hymn. The melodic tradition is stable not only in the set of notations transcribed in **Example 2** but also in all other notated non-liturgical manuscripts identified to date.¹¹⁶ This is not to say that the melody remained unchanged in transmission, as is clear from the different number of pitches signalled at the last syllable in the first line, rather the melodic shape is retained between versions and melodic direction is identified with specific syllables. In all versions the melody rises to reaches its peak at the fourth syllable,

¹¹⁵ For a detailed reading of the levels of melodic articulation in the poem from strophe through to quarter-line, see Stratton-Hild, 'Verse, Music, and Notation', pp. 224-9.

¹¹⁶ The neumatic notations in Example 1 are transcribed from Berne 455 (fol. 32^r), St Gall 136 (p. 11), Oxford Auct. F. 3. 6 (fol. 3^v) and Trier 1093 (fol. 3^r). Neumes were on occasion not added over the first syllable, which was copied as an initial. Neumed versions have also been identified to date in Berne 394, Cambridge, Corpus 223, Montpellier 219, Munich clm 14395, Munich clm 18922, Oxford, Oriel 3 and Oxford Auct. T. 2 22. The pitched versions are reproduced from Paris n.a. lat. 1064 (Beauvais Cantatorium, fol. 20^v, Stäblein, *Hymnen*, no. 1004) and Udine 2 (fol. 85^v, as signalled in the notes to Stäblein, *Hymnen*, no. 1004, p. 616).

falls from the fifth to sixth syllable, and then follows a jagged melodic motion through to the final syllable in the first line.

<Example 2 near here>

These creative practices are in evidence again in the processional *versus* collected together in St Gall 381, which was copied c. 930 but includes a number of earlier texts composed by Ratpert (d. c. 900) and Hartmann (d. 925). Several make use of refrains and in the case of Hartmann's *Humili prece* and the rhythmical litany *Votis supplicis* draw on a distinctive feature of the *rhythmi* tradition, namely the use of prose refrains. There are also a striking number of melodic *contrafacta* in St Gall 381: of the twenty-three *versus* in the collection, shared melodies may be traced for at least six.¹¹⁷ In these instances, the same process to that traced above for *Gratuletus omnis* and *Alma vera* was followed, i.e. units of melodic movement (or *motus* as represented by a single neume) were routinely transferred intact between poetic texts with only occasional adjustments to adapt to changing metrical subdivisions.

The general observations made here are sufficient to make two fundamental points. First, melodies recorded for *rhythmi* and Prudentian verse demonstrate

¹¹⁷ A couple of different *contrafacta* may be noted from those proposed in Stratton-Hild, 'Verse, Music, and Notation', p. 64; specifically, *Salve lacteolo* and *Annua sancte Dei* (instead of *Laudes omnipotens*), and *Carmina nunc festis* (refrain only) and *Suscipe clementem* (instead of *Humili prece*).

that each syllable typically had no more than one melodic motion (as represented by a single neume) as in the vast majority of hymns. Second, syllabic identity is routinely preserved in so far as melodic motions are associated with particular syllables within the poetic line. These two principles accord with the basic principle of the Isonian rule, namely *singulae motus cantilenae singulas syllabas debent habere*. A practice of aligning at first pre-existing and later newly-composed texts to melodies conceived as short segments made up of individual *motus* was familiar from the *versus* tradition. In all probability this tradition of sung strophic *versus* was well known to Iso by the mid ninth century and informed his recommendation to Notker, whatever other models he may have known for the sequence at this time.

V FROM *CORRECTIO* TO *EMULATIO*

The fundamental claim made in this study is that Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 was part of a copying, correction, and compilation phase at St Gall c. 800 that included sung texts. The melodies for the poems transmitted in the Leiden manuscript are not recoverable, but their existence is signalled by the abridged forms of the Prudentian *metra*, the wider sung tradition of the *rhythmi*, and the continuous strophic layout adopted for both sets of material. Melody may therefore be said to be immanent in the codex in so far as the text prompted melodic recall in the mind of the reader, who drew upon this melody to make sense of the poetic designs. It has also been argued that the Leiden songs remained in transmission and served as a foundational stage for later compositions at St Gall. The *rhythmi* provided a model for sequence poetry through their patterning of accent and for

the later tradition of St Gall processional *versus* through their use of refrain forms. The Prudentian *metra* also served as a model for lyric verse arranged in a liturgical cycle as later found in the *Liber ymnorum*.

The collection of verse in Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 may be considered symptomatic of wider Carolingian developments. Michel Huglo argued that the emphasis on studying classical and late antique texts under the Carolingian *renovatio* coincided with a desire to add hymns of various kinds into the rather austere liturgy as received from Rome, which excluded versified texts.¹¹⁸ He located the initial impetus for this development in northern France around the turn of the ninth century, tracing the adaption of longer poems into largely processional *versus* by Fortunatus variously to Angilbert at St-Riquier, court circles, and churches in the region of Paris. Viewed against this background, the Prudentian centos in Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 may be understood as part of two related endeavours being pursued contemporaneously in northern France. The first involved identifying suitable adaptations from longer late antique poems for use as processional or other *versus* in the liturgy, especially in Holy Week. The second employed late antique lyric in the context of teaching and learning, which appears to have extended into singing as implied by both the addition of musical notation at an early date to non-

¹¹⁸ M. Huglo, 'Les versus de Venance Fortunat pour la procession du Samedi-saint à Notre-Dame de Paris', *Revue de musicologie* 86.1 (2000), 119-126; *idem*, 'Les versus "Salve festa dies": leur dissémination dans les manuscrits du processional', in *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group: Cantus Planus Lillafüred/Hungary 2004. Aug. 23-28.*, ed. L. Doboszay, Budapest, 2006, pp. 595-605.

liturgical manuscripts, and other indications of sung performance as supplied by rubrics and distinctive patterns of copying.

It is also proposed here that a historiographic tendency to focus on composition by named individuals at single institutions has obscured the role played by Reichenau as a forerunner to the later song culture at St Gall. The fundamental requirements for song composition were already in place at Reichenau, namely a store of corrected texts to use as a basis for lyric composition, manuals for learning metre, and high levels of literacy and learning. The justification of hymn composition given by Walahfrid in his *Libellus* also assumes particular interest given Notker's care to legitimize his new compositions with title *Liber ymnorum*. The practice of composing sung *metra* at Reichenau in the first half of the ninth century also provides an immediate background in hymnic composition, whose definition at the level of individual syllables and procedures of melodic exchange were fundamental to later St Gall *versus* composition of all kinds. A tradition of sung *versus* at Reichenau may therefore be understood to form a practical link between the traditions of singing received texts implied in Leiden Voss lat. Q. 69 and the later song tradition at St Gall.

There is also ample evidence to support the claim that the opening section of Part II of Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 stands within a series of Latin song collections stretching from the ninth century up to the Cambridge Songs manuscript of the mid-eleventh century. These song collections transmit a repertory characterised by several distinct types of sung Latin verse, but which also has consistency in its inclusion of extracts from classical authors, late antique metrical verse by authors

such as Boethius, Prudentius and Martianus Capella, rhythmical verse dating back to the 7th century, and early medieval occasional metrical verse. The formation of what might be generally termed a *versus* repertory at individual centres and within compilations with different immediate ends was inflected differently but shared a nucleus of texts. The formation of this repertory appears to have been a Carolingian achievement and one that deserves recognition as a distinctive product of the Carolingian *renovatio*.

Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 therefore provides insight into a stage at St Gall when verse texts were being copied, corrected and ordered as a resource for creating new song traditions. The focus of this work appears initially to have been didactic, by which is meant simply any form of learning that took place outside of the liturgical round, and at least some melodies were evidently known for these texts at St Gall by the late ninth century at the latest. It is not possible on the basis of the evidence to speak of a song school or the flourishing of a song culture at the turn of the ninth century at St Gall, but what was happening appears to have been just as crucial; namely, a reception of song models, initially for *correctio*, and later for *imitatio* and eventually *emulatio*. The overall trajectory in the ninth century at St Gall may therefore be characterized as one leading from *correctio* and *ordinatio* of inherited models at the beginning of the century through to independent compositions by the last quarter. The evidence of Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69 is that melody played a role alongside text throughout this process.

Examples

1. Melodies for *Gratuletur omnis caro* and *Alma vera*, Naples IV. G. 68, fol. 207^r

Gratuletur omnis caro nato christo domino

Alma vera ac praeclara inlibata caritas

qui pro culpa protoplausti carnem nostram induit

quam qui habet deum amat diligitque proximum

ut salvaret quod plasmavit dei sapientia

qui non habet nullum auget incrementum veniae

2. Melodies for Prudentius' *O crucifer bone* (LC 3), line i

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bern 455	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Gall 136	-	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Oxford Auct. F. 3. 6	/	/	/	/	/	.	/	.	/	/
Trier 1093	/	/	/	/	/	.	/	.	/	/
Paris n.a. 1064										
Udine 2										
	O	cru-	ci-	fer	bo-	ne	lu-	ci-	sa-	tor

Plates

1. Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek Vossianus Lat. Q. 69, fol. 13^v
2. Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek Vossianus Lat. Q. 69, fol. 9^v

Table 1 The Contents and Copying of Pt II of Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69

Section	Contents	Folios	Main Scribes	Gatherings
1. Poetry	Vacat	7 ^r	A	I (7 ^r)
	i. Metrical poem attributed to Fortunatus followed by 12 <i>rhythmi</i>	7 ^v -13 ^v		
	ii. Prudentius <i>metra</i> from <i>Liber Cathemerinon</i> then <i>Liber Peristephanon</i>	13 ^v - 17 ^v		II (15 ^r)
	Vacat – addition of Pope Damasus' epigram in praise of St Paul	18 ^r		
	iii. Epigrams and tituli	18 ^v - 19 ^v	B	
2. Glossary and Prose Excerpts	iv. Glossary	20 ^r - 36 ^{ra}	C	III (20 ^r) IV (28 ^r)
	v. 19 patristic excerpts followed by 28 exegetical notes	36 ^{rb} - 39 ^{va}	D	V (36 ^r)
	vi. Pliny, <i>Historia naturalis</i> , excerpts	39 ^{vb} - 46 ^r		VI (44 ^r)
	Letter of Charlemagne to Alcuin on Septuagesima (s. ix ex?)	46 ^v -47		

Table 2 The Verse Collection in Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69

1. INCIPIT OPUS FURTUNATI IN LAUDEM SCAE MARIAE, Lingua prophetarum cecinit

Ps. Venantius Fortunatus , vv. 1-44/360

2. HAEC EST PREFATIO DE IESU CHRISTO DOMINO INTER VESPASIANUM ET TITUM QUOMODO
VINDICAVERTUNT CHRISTUM, Arve poli conditorem R Ad delendam sevam gentem
convenerunt principes

Abecedarius, c. 700

3. VERSUS DE ASIA ET DE UNIVERSI MUNDI ROTA, Asia ab oriente

inc. 636-738, str .1-19, 21-30, 32/ 48

4. DE SEX AETATIBUS MUNDI, Ante saecula et mundi, R Deus qui iustus semper es
laudabilis

Abecedarius, Theodefrid of Luxeuil/Corbie (d. c. 690), str. 1-19 (A-M)

5. INCIPIT VERSUS DE ADVENTU DOMINI, A superna caeli parte R Venite et gaudete nato
Christo Domino

Abecedarius, s. vii/viii

6. ITEM VERSUS DE IESU DOMINO CHRISTO, Angelus venit de caelo, R Venite et audite
quanta fecit dominus

Abecedarius, s. vii, str. 1-11 (A-L)

7. ITEM VERSUS DE IESU CHRISTO DOMINO, Gratuletur omnis caro

inc. s. viii^{2/2}, 9 str. 1-5, 7, 8, 10, 9

8. Audite omnes canticum mirabile

Abecedarius, inc. s. vii med.

9. DE CARITATE ET AVARITIA, Alma vera ac praeclara

Abecedarius, inc. s. viii^{2/2}

10. Angelus domini Mariae nuntiat, R1 Hymnum cantemus de Christo Domino R2

Beata virgo et dei genetrix

Abecedarius, s. viii

11. DE BONE SACERDOTE, Ad perennis fontem

Abecedarius, s. vii/viii

12. DE MALO SACERDOTE, Aquarum meis quis det fontem oculis

Abecedarius, s. viii, str. 1-11 (A-L)

13. DE DIVITE ET PAUPERO LAZARO, Homo quidam

inc. s. vii/viii, 9 str.

Table 3 Extracts from Prudentian *metra* in Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 69

METRUM	INCIPIT	LEIDEN Q 69	WESTERN HYMN TRADITION
LC 1	<i>Ales diei nuntius</i>	9 str. 1-23, <u>89-100</u>	4 str. 1-8, <u>81-94</u> , <u>97-100</u>
LC 2a	<i>Nox et tenebrae</i>	7 str. 1-16, <u>97-112</u>	4 str. 1-8; 48, 49, 52, 57; 59, 60, 67, 68
LC 2b	<i>Lux, ecce, surgit aurea</i>		4 str. 25, 93, 94, <u>96-108</u>
LC 3	<i>O crucifer bone</i>	7 str. 1-20, 191-205	a) 10 str. 1-20, 86-95, 177-180, 196, 200; b) 7 str. 1-25, 171-80.
LC 4	<i>Pastis visceribus</i>	5 str. 1-9, <u>97-102</u>	a) 8 str. 1-3, 28-39, 70-75, <u>100-103</u> ; b) 7 str. 1-15, 73-75, <u>100-103</u> .
LC 5	<i>Inventor rutili</i>	6 str. 1-12, <u>153-164</u>	selections from: 1-32, <u>149-164</u>
LC 6a	<i>Ades. Pater supreme</i>	6 str. 1-16, <u>145-52</u>	---
LC 6b	<i>Cultor Dei memento</i>	---	7 str. <u>125-52</u>
LC 7	<i>O Nazarene</i>	6 str. 1-15, 206-220	3 str. 1-10
LC 8	<i>Christe, servorum</i>	6 str. 1-12, 69-80	---
LC 9a	<i>Da, puer, plectrum</i>	6 str. 1-9, <u>106-114</u>	---
LC 9b	<i>Corde natus</i>	---	6 str. 10-12, 19-27, <u>109-111</u>
LC 10	<i>Deus ignee fons</i>	7 str. 1-16, <u>161-172</u>	Old Spanish: 1-16, 45-48, 57-68, <u>158-68</u>

LP 1	<i>Scripta sunt caelo</i>	6 str. 1-9, 112-120	---
LP 2	<i>Antiqua fanorum parens</i>	7 str. 1-16, 573-584	6 str. (<i>En martyrīs Laurentiī</i>). 18, 397-8, 21-32, 549-550
LP 3	<i>Germine nobilis</i>	9 str. 1-25, <u>210-215</u>	6 str. 1-20, <u>211-215</u>
LP 4	<i>Bis novem noster</i>	6 str. 1-12, 189-200	---
LP 5	<i>Beate martyr</i>	7 str. 1-12, 565-575	6 str. 1-12, 545-548, 557-560
LP 6a	<i>Felix Tarraco</i>	7 str. 1-12, 153-162	---
LP 6b	<i>O triplex honor</i>		6 str. 142-6, 148, 150-2, 100-3, 99, 97-98, 84, 159
LP 7	<i>Insignem meriti virum</i>	18 str. 1-91 (full – end of collection)	---
LP 8	<i>Electus Christo locus est</i>	Couplets 1-8	---
LP 9	<i>Sylla Forum statuit</i>	Couplets 1-6	---
LP 11	<i>Innumeros cineres</i>	Couplets 1-8, 241- 246	---
LP 12	<i>Plus solito coeunt</i>	Couplets 1-8, 63-66	Couplets 1-6, 11-20, 23-28, 55-56, 59, 60
LP 13	<i>Punica terra</i>	Stichic 1-5, 101-106	---
LP 14	<i>Agnes sepulcrum</i>	Stichic 1-15, 131-133	---

Table 4 Ordering of *metra* in the German (Bb) tradition of the *Liber Peristephanon*

No.	SAINTS	CATEGORY	DATE OF FEAST
1	<i>Emeterius & Chelidonius</i>	<i>Martyrs of Calahorra</i>	<i>(3 March)</i>
5	Vincent	Martyr	22 January
2	Lawrence	Martyr	10 August
11	Hippolytus	Martyr	13 August
13	Cyprian	Martyr	14 September
12	Peter & Paul	Several Martyrs	22 June
4	18 Martyrs of Saragossa	Several Martyrs	(16 April)
14	Agnes	Virgin Martyr	21 Jan
3	Eulalia	Virgin Martyr	12 Feb or 10 Dec
6	Fructuosus, Auguris & Eulogius	Bishop and two deacons	21 Jan
7	Quirinus	Bishop	4 June
9	Cassian of Imola	Teacher	13 August

8	<i>Unknown Martyrs</i>	<i>Martyrs of Calahorra</i>	<i>(3 March)</i>
[10	Romanus of Antioch	-	-]

Table 5 The Ab (s. vi-), Bb (s. ix-) and Leiden Ordering Traditions of the *Liber Peristephanon*

Ab	SAINTS	Bb	SAINTS	LEIDEN Q. 69
1	Emeterius & Chelidonus	1	Emeterius & Chelidonus	1
2	Lawrence	5	Vincent	5
3	Eulalia	2	Lawrence	2
5	Vincent of Saragossa	11	Hippolytus	11
4	18 Martyrs of Saragossa	13	Cyprian	13
14	Agnes	12	Peter & Paul	12
6	Fortunatus, Augurius & Eulogius	4	18 Martyrs of Saragossa	4
7	Quirinus	14	Agnes	14
9	Cassian of Imola	3	Eulalia	3
8	Unknown Martyrs of Calahorra	6	Fructuosus, Auguris & Eulogius	6
11	Hippolytus	7	Quirinus	9
12	Peter & Paul	9	Cassian of Imola	8
13	Cyprian	8	Unknown Martyrs of Calahorra	7
		10	Romanus of Antioch	-