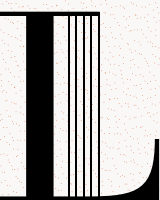


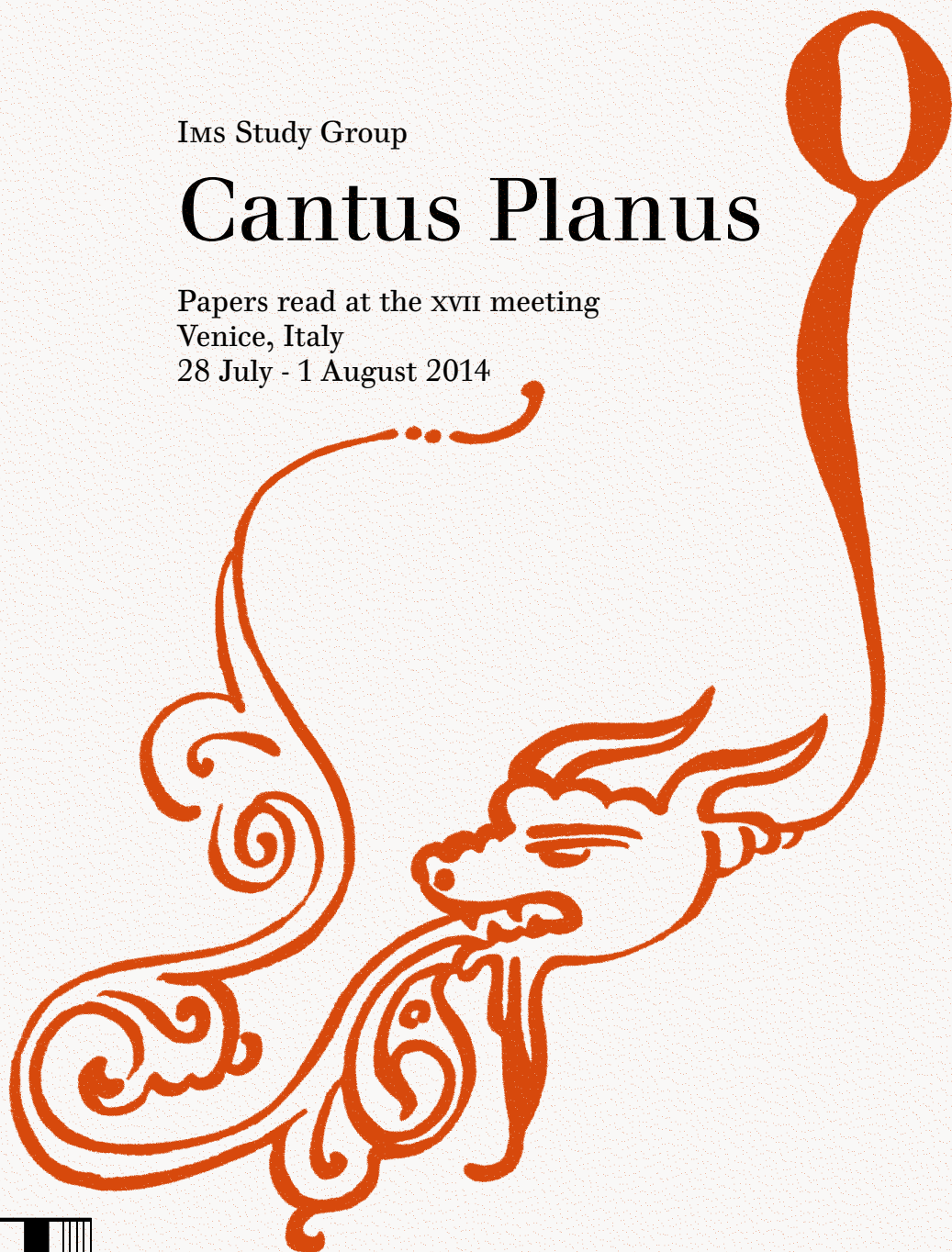
Ims Study Group

Cantus Planus

Papers read at the xvii meeting
Venice, Italy
28 July - 1 August 2014



Fondazione
Ugo e Olga Levi
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IMS Study Group
Cantus Planus

Papers read at the XVII meeting
Venice, Italy, 28 July - 1 August 2014

edited by James Borders



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Program of the meeting

Davide Croff

Presentation

Ten years or so ago, professor Antonio Lovato, the then President of the Scientific Committee, who had just returned from the Vienna edition of an important meeting of the International Musicological Society – Study Group ‘Cantus Planus’, recommended that, thanks to the Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, Venice should offer to host the following edition of the meeting, which had, until then, never been held in Italy.

The Foundation was honoured to accept the proposal and to take on the organization of the event, which appeared to be very challenging given the number of participants. At the moment of celebrating the meeting, Luisa Zanoncelli, the President of the Scientific Committee of the Levi Foundation, guided the entire staff of the Foundation, which moved to the Laguna, on the island of San Servolo, a venue that was perfect for hosting the event. Giorgio Busetto, Ilaria Campanella, Claudia Canella, Fabio Naccari, Alberto Polo and Anna Rosa Scarpa, along with the community service volunteers, Emilia Cervero and Filippo Gazzola, dedicated their time to the event, organizing, among other things, the organ concerts by Letizia Butterin and the Ensemble Oktoechos, directed by Lanfranco Menga in San Servolo and San Francesco della Vigna, where it was also possible to visit the important Franciscan Library and to witness the illustration of a number of codices delivered by Massimo Bisson. Another very important moment was the visit to the monumental Sansoviniane halls of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana where, for the occasion, a display of Byzantine codices with musical notation was prepared, and of which the Foundation Levi edited the catalogue. Sandra Martani guided the initiative, and Silvia Tessari prepared the labels. Since then, the Levi Foundation has worked closely with these researchers and has even just recently prepared important initiatives on Byzantine music. A collective volume edited by Tessari, which includes the proceedings of another conference held in the Foundation and is dedicated to the subject, is forthcoming.

We are now proud to announce that – after a long and difficult editing process, for which we must thank Luisa Zanoncelli, who tenaciously directed it, and those who collaborated with her in diverse manner: Lucia Boscolo, Paola Dessì, Alessandra Ignesti, Nausica Morandi, Silvia Tessari and Claudia Canella together with Ilaria Campanella – the volume of the Proceedings is now complete.

Thus again, the Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi confirms the importance of its role as a point of reference for the musicological studies of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, while rapidly increasing its editorial production, which is now on-line and open access.

Roberto Calabretto - Luisa Zanoncelli

Preface

Collected here are the proceedings of the seventeenth IMS Study Group Cantus Planus Conference, which was co-organized by the Department for Historical, Artistic, Musical and Demo-anthropologic Heritage of the University of Padua, and the Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi in Venice, and which was held in Venice (Palazzo Giustinian Lolin / Isola di San Servolo) from July 28 - August 1. 2014.

The Fondazione Levi is proud to have participated in the event as well as to have funded it: numerous scholars from three continents attended the event, which celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the Study Group's meetings (1984-2014), listed below:

IMS STUDY GROUP
CANTUS PLANUS
1984 ————— 2014

Veszprém, Hungary, 1984	Budapest/Visegrád, Hungary, 2000
Bologna, Italy, 1987	Leuven, Belgium, 2002
Tihany, Hungary, 1988	Lillafüred, Hungary, 2004
Pécs, Hungary, 1990	Niederaltaich, Germany, 2006
Madrid, Spain, 1992	Zürich, Swiss Confederation, 2007
Eger, Hungary, 1995	Dobogókő, Hungary, 2009
Sopron, Hungary, 1995	Vienna, Austria, 2011
London, United Kingdom, 1997	Venice, Italy, 2014
Visegrád, Hungary, 1998	

During the conference – which was divided into twenty-three sessions and two posters, an exhibit dedicated to Byzantine notation in the codices of the Biblioteca Marciana, and three concerts – the results of complex and original studies were presented. The proceedings – edited by James Borders with the support of the Fondazione Levi, and, for the musical examples, with the kindly advice offered to us by David Hiley and Marco Gozzi – demonstrate the depth of the Group's projects,

which have broadened the central themes during their thirty years of activity to include new methodology and stimulating perspectives, also through a progressive branching off into active subgroups. Along with two of the subgroups (Historiae and Byzantin Music) the Fondazione Levi then organized two other conferences (2017, *Historiae: Liturgical chant for offices of the Saints in the Middle Age*; 2018, *Bessarione e la musica: concezioni, fonti teoriche e stili*). The relative proceedings are in the process of being published and forthcoming. In confirming its readiness to cooperate further, the Fondazione Levi wishes to express its satisfaction for the superior scientific level of the papers published here.

James Borders, Chair, IMS Study Group «Cantus Planus»

Foreword to the Meeting

Founded in 1984 at the initiative of Professors Helmut Hucke and László Dobszay with the approval of the Directorium of the International Musicological Society (IMS), the Study Group «Cantus Planus» (IMS-SGCP) has met regularly at international congresses of the IMS and independently every two or three years ever since. The objective of the IMS-SGCP is the advancement of research in fields relevant to the history and practice of liturgical plainchant as branches of learning and scholarship. In pursuing this objective, the IMS-SGCP encourages international cooperation and facilitates constructive interactions among researchers.

The Study Group held its seventeenth meeting on the small and peaceful island of San Servolo in the Venetian lagoon, once the site of a Benedictine monastery, between 28 July and 1 August 2014. This five-day gathering was co-sponsored by the Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi and the Department for Historical, Artistic, Musical and Demographic Heritage of the University of Padua. The organizers were Prof. James Borders, IMS-SGCP chair, and Dr. Nausica Morandi, Università degli studi di Padova. The call for papers attracted over a hundred abstracts for sessions on individual topics, panel discussions, free papers, and posters on Western European and Eastern Mediterranean chant, as well as a session on polyphony. The program comprised twenty-three sessions, most of them simultaneous; many papers read at these sessions are published in this volume. Meeting participants also enjoyed a visit to a manuscript exhibition at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana near the Basilica di San Marco.

The IMS-SGCP is most grateful to the Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi for generously sponsoring both the Venice meeting and the publication of these proceedings. We extend special thanks to Luisa Zanoncelli, former Presidente del Comitato scientifico della Fondazione Levi, Giorgio Busetto, Direttore e direttore della Biblioteca Fondazione Levi, as well as the members of the Advisory Board, Christelle Cazaux-Kowalski, Zsuzsa Czagány, Lori Kruckenberg, Jeremy Llewellyn, Christian Troelsgaard, and Anna Vildera.

Marco Gozzi

Manuscripts in Cortona: fragments and liturgical books in the Archivio storico diocesano

In this paper I wish to present an important set of virtually unknown manuscripts and fragments that are conserved in the Archivio Storico Diocesano in Cortona (I-CTd). The genesis of my discovery is the following. In the midst of doing research for the facsimile edition of the famous *Laudario of Cortona*, I was studying the handwriting of the scribe and searching for other instances of the same handwriting in liturgical books, when it occurred to me that it might be helpful to start by comparing the paleography of notated liturgical manuscripts from the same epoch. In the course of this investigation, I came across a great number of very interesting liturgical books.

From the overview of liturgical collections conducted by Giacomo Baroffio and published in his *Iter liturgicum Italicum* (2011), I extrapolated a preliminary list, comprising many manuscripts from the late thirteenth century in the areas of Tuscany and Umbria. The number of sources is vast: over six hundred in just a short time span and in a restricted area. Limiting the investigation to important churches within a radius of eighty kilometers from Cortona known to have renewed or copied ex novo the series of liturgical books results in the following list of twenty-one churches:

Churches and cathedrals

Arezzo, Pieve of Santa Maria

Grosseto, cathedral

Gubbio, San Pietro

Impruneta, Santa Maria

Massa Marittima, cathedral

Prato, Santa Maria dell'Umiltà (Chiesanuova)

Siena, cathedral

Dominicans

Arezzo, San Domenico (two antiphonaries in Arezzo – I-ARd –, two in the Municipal Library of Castiglion Fiorentino)

Città di Castello, San Domenico

Firenze, Santa Maria Novella

Orvieto, San Domenico

Perugia, San Domenico

Spoletto, San Salvatore (now in Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, I-PEc mss. 2790-2798)

Franciscans

Carmignano (Prato), San Francesco (now in Pistoia, Archivio Diocesano, I-PSad)

Cortona, San Francesco

Firenze, Santa Croce

Todi, San Fortunato

Augustinians

Massa Marittima, Sant'Agostino

Firenze, Santo Stefano al Ponte

Servites (Servants of Mary)

Firenze, Santissima Annunziata

Siena, Santa Maria

Seven important churches or cathedrals around Cortona were in possession of liturgical books, as were six churches of Dominican convents (namely the Order of Preachers), four Franciscan churches, two Augustinian churches, and two belonging to the Servants of Mary.

The second half of the thirteen century was a period of great fervor in the foundation of new convents of religious orders, especially among the Dominicans and the Franciscans. During the same years and further north, San Nicola in Pisa (Augustinians), San Francesco in Pisa (Franciscans), San Romano in Lucca (Dominicans), and San Francesco al Prato in Pistoia (Franciscans) were also provided with choral books.

This is an impressive list, yet it is clearly incomplete. Many manuscripts have been lost, and others are not listed in Baroffio's catalogue. As a matter of fact, Baroffio mentions only one of the manuscripts I am going to present to you, and he lists it under the heading 'Biblioteca del Seminario' (Baroffio 2011, p. 105), although it is no longer held there, and is instead kept with the other liturgical manuscripts in the Historical Diocesan Archive of Cortona (I-CTd). In addition to fourteen fragments, they amount to seven major manuscripts in all, including five antiphonaries and two graduals. These seven choral books are briefly described in *I manoscritti medievali della Provincia di Arezzo. Cortona* (Caldelli, et al. 2011, pp. 10-12, 99-103), whose only bibliographic reference is to a 1976 article by Bruno Frescucci. Frescucci's article, however, is riddled with errors and inaccuracies; after all, it was just an amateurish description written by a priest for an antiques showroom catalog. Today these manuscripts are designated by alphabetical lettering from A to G, with the letters written on sheets of white paper placed at the beginning of each volume, as is common practice in identifying manuscripts. However, these handwritten marks are certainly not the originals.

The cycle of five Antiphonaries formed part of a single copying job carried out in 1331. The documents were copied by a scribe for the church of the Dominican convent of San Domenico during the rule of Ranieri Casali, Lord of Cortona, and they were commissioned by the Cortona nobleman Martino Mattei, who was once married to a Genoese noblewoman named Alinor Salvago. We learn all of this from two large rubrics, one placed in front of fol. 1 of codex B and the other at the end of codex G, fol. 193v, which both read as follows:

In Christi Dei nomine Ihesu, anno domini Millesimo CCC° XXX° primo, indictione XIII^a, tempore domini Iohannis pape XXII. Hoc opus fieri fecit vir nobilis, sapiens et discretus Martinus magistri Mathei de Civitate Cortone, ad honorem Dei et gloriose Virginis Marie matris eius et beati Dominici patris et fundatoris ordinis fratrum Predicatorum, pro salute anime sue et patris et matris et domine Alinore de Salvaticis de Ianuis, uxoris olim dicti Martini, tempore honorabilis et nobilis militis domini Raynerii, generalis populi et Civitatis Cortone domini.

In the name of Jesus Christ, God, in the year of the Lord 1331, fourteenth indiction, in the time of Pope John XXII. The noble, wise and discreet Martino of master Matteo of the town of Cortona, had this work done, in honor of God, and of the glorious Virgin Mary, his mother, and of the Blessed Dominicus, father and founder of the Preacher Fathers, for the salvation of his soul, his father's and mother's, and of Mrs. Alinor Salvago of Genoa, formerly wife of the said Martin, at the time of the honorable and noble captain Ranieri, the general of the people and lord of the city of Cortona.

Frescucci provides an inaccurate translation of the text. For instance, he interprets «de Ianuis» as a patronymic, something like '[daughter] of Janus' (of John). Nevertheless, his article contains an interesting photograph on page 23 showing that manuscript A displayed exactly the same rubric, in the verse of the first folio. That rubric is now missing.

The following is a list of the contents of the antiphonaries:

I-CTd ms. A	From Dominica I Adventus to Octava Epiphaniae Sanctorale from Saint Andreas to Saints Innocentes
I-CTd ms. G	From Dominica I in Quadragesima to Sabbatum Sanctum
I-CTd ms. B	From Sabbatum Sanctum to Festa Sanctissimae Trinitatis et Corporis Domini Commune sanctorum
I-CTd ms. C	From Dominica I post Trinitatem to Dominica I mensis septembris From Saint Iohannes Baptista to Saint Catharina
I-CTd ms. F	From Dominica XIV post Trinitatem to Dominica XXV post Trinitatem

The content of the antiphonaries is complete, but the books are not currently arranged in the form in which they were originally copied. In the second half of the seventeenth century, a number of fascicles were moved, and the manuscripts were reassembled.

For example, we can see that the volume containing the proper of the saints was split into two parts, now found separately in the current manuscripts A and C.

The cycle was intended to be richly illustrated. The Cortona, Archivio Storico Diocesano, ms. A (I-CTd A), fol. 3v contains a blank space that was reserved for a large illuminated capital *A* for *Aspiciens a longe*, the first responsorium for the first Sunday of Advent. However, this ornamentation was never realized, and just a few initials were added by inexperienced hands, probably much later. Many initials were added a century after the completion of the five large volumes. Most likely, the missing illumination reflects a lack of funds for completing the manuscripts.

Instead, the double set of twenty-one choral books now preserved in Perugia is richly decorated (Parmeggiani 2006). The oldest series, consisting of three graduals and five antiphonaries, is dated to the late thirteenth century. The second set consists of four graduals, eight antiphonaries and a proser, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century. The first group may come from the Dominican convent of Spoleto and the second from San Domenico in Perugia. These are now kept in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta of Perugia (I-PEc: the city library) and are fully accessible for viewing online at <http://augusta.alchimedia.com/>

The cycle of Cortona antiphonaries has a clear Dominican structure. As we know, each Dominican manuscript had to conform to the normative exemplar, a model established in 1256 by Umberto De Romans (Humbert of Romans), the fifth master general of the Order of Preachers (Boyle, Gy and Krupa 2004).

The series of antiphonaries was not executed by a single scribe. Codex A, for instance, shows different hands: from fol. 135 on, where the santorale starts, the copyist changed. The same hand that copied the first few pages of ms. A can also be seen in the Commune sanctorum and other sections of ms. F (from fol. 69). The team of copyists, the scriptorium, seems to be different from that of the Perugian manuscripts, as there are no striking similarities in the handwriting.

As for mss. D and E, they contain two graduals by the same copyist. Their content is as follows:

Cortona, Archivio Storico Diocesano, ms. E (I-CTd E)

fols. 1-231	Proprium de Tempore (from Dominica I Adventus to Sabbatum Sanctum)
fols. 232-234	Sequence <i>Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus</i>
fols. 234-247	Kyriale
fols. 248-252	two Credo [<i>Regis</i> and <i>Dominicalis</i>]

Cortona, Archivio Storico Diocesano, ms. D (I-CTd D)

fols. 1-170	Proprium de Tempore (from Dominica Resurrectionis to Dominica XXIII post Pentecosten)
fols. 170v-174	Dedicatio ecclesiae
fols. 174-181	Missae votivae
fols. 181v-185	Antiphonae ad aspersionem aquae (<i>Vidi aquam, Asperges me</i>)
fols. 184-201	Kyriale
fols. 202-221	Sequentiae
fols. 222-229	Missae Corporis Domini
fols. 230-234	Credo <i>Regis</i> , Sanctus with trope <i>Divinum misterium</i>

It is clear that at least one volume (containing the proprium and the commune of the saints) is missing, and also that both volumes lack several sequences of the Dominican series.

The fact that the mass of Corpus Domini is present but as a later addition proves that the manuscripts were written prior to 1317, when Pope John XXII extended the feast of Corpus Domini to the entire Catholic Church (cf. Oppenheim and Toschi 1950 for a different date: 1314). The Solemnity of Corpus Christi was instituted in 1264 by Pope Urban IV as a feast on the Thursday after Pentecost for the entire Latin rite. The traditional narrative has it that this act was inspired by a procession to Orvieto in 1263 after a village priest in Bolsena witnessed a Eucharistic miracle: while celebrating mass, he broke the consecrated host and saw it bleed. Although this was the first papally imposed universal feast for the Latin rite, it was not in fact widely celebrated for half a century. It became a truly universal feast after the bull issued by Urban IV, but was promulgated only by Pope John XXII in 1317 (Rubin 1991, pp. 181-182; Walters 2006). The dating of the gradual is therefore a little earlier than the date of the antiphonaries, and can be established as the early years of the fourteenth century.

I-CTd D contains the rubrics of the Sundays after Pentecost, and follows the Roman rite of counting Sundays starting from Pentecost as opposed to the Dominican rubric, which denominates Sundays as post Trinitatem Sundays. Nevertheless, the content was Dominican and followed the exemplar provided by Humbert of Romans.

Both volumes contain an addition from the fourteenth century (probably not much later than their completion), the so-called *Credo regis* or *Regis Siciliae*, composed by Robert of Anjou, King of Sicily. This Credo, together with the *Credo Cardinalis*, is the prototype of cantus fractus, or rhythmicized plainchant, a technique that became increasingly common from the fourteenth century forward (Gozzi 2012; Gozzi and Manganello 2014).

A complete set of sequences following the Dominican exemplar would come to twenty-seven pieces. Of these, the codex Cortona, Diocesan Historical Archive, ms. D (I-CTd D) contains the following seven:

Victime paschali laudes (In resurrectione Domini), fol. 201

Omnes gentes plaudite (In ascensione Domini), fol. 205

Sancti Spiritus adsit (In die Pentecosten), fol. 207

Veni sancte Spiritus (Alia sequentia in Pentecosten), fol. 211

Profitentes unitatem (De Trinitate), fol. 215

Rex Salomon fecit templum (In dedicatione ecclesie), fol. 217

Lauda Syon (interpolation) [Corpus Christi], fol. 224

The first sequence of the Dominican series, *Letabundus*, can be found on its own in codex E, in fol. 234, before the Kyrie and after the proprium de tempore that ends with Holy Saturday. The other, missing sequences must have been placed in a different book, which is now lost.

The Dominicans arrived in Cortona in around 1240 and settled outside Porta San Domenico (formerly Peccioverardi), but construction of the monastery was halted for lack of funds. The church was completed in 1314 and the convent in 1320. The original church building was demolished due to structural problems and likely to build the new church, now called San Domenico Vecchio, or old Saint Dominic. Built in the early fifteenth century, this church still stands. The books of Cortona probably remained in use until the eighteenth century and in fact show signs of heavy usage, despite their lack of decoration and missing illuminated initials in many sections. In 1681, all of the manuscripts were rebound and re-assembled. This is revealed by the numerous marginal notes in Italian (some of them bearing a date) scattered throughout the manuscripts. We find them mainly in the antiphonaries, such as:

I-CTd ms. C, fol. 54v

Nota che il resto di questo responsorio ‘O crux gloriosa’ con tutte le altre antifone stanno nel libro B a carte 55. Cerca come ti dico et non ti perdere d’animo et ivi troverai ancora in festo Michaeli et cetera.

Note that the rest of this responsory ‘O crux gloriosa’, along with all the other antiphons, are in book B, folio 55. Seek as I tell you and do not lose heart, and there you will still find In festo Michaeli et cetera.

I-CTd ms. B, fol. 178

Nota in festo Translationis Patris Dominici cerca nel libro A carte 96.

Note in festo translationis Patris Dominici look in book A, folio 96.

Antifona super psalmos in primis vesperis *Gaude felix* cerca nel libro A carte 96 a tergo. Al *Magnificat* antifona si dice *Magne pater* in libro A carte 101.

Antiphon super psalmos in primis vesperis *Gaude felix*, look in book A, folio 96 on the back. For the *Magnificat* antiphon one sings *Magne pater* in book A, folio 101.

In secundis autem vesperis antifona super psalmos *Pie pater Dominice*, questa antifona non ci sta, potrai perciò pigliar *Pie pater* della Messa, che sta nel libro F carte LXXI.

In secundis autem vesperis antifona super psalmos *Pie pater Dominice*, this antiphon is not available, so you can use *Pie pater* of the mass, which is in book F, folio LXXI.

Al *Magnificat O lumen* in libro A carte cento dieci a tergo.

The *Magnificat* antiphon *O lumen* in book A, folio one hundred and ten on the back.

I-CTd ms. B, fol. 126v

Nota che l’Antifona *Memoria* la troverete nel libro V 5 e la memoria della domenica infra deto la troverete nel libro V 74.

Note that you will find the antiphon *Memoria* in book V, folio 5, and you will find the memory of Sunday infra the day aforementioned in book V, folio 74.

The choir books, and in particular the antiphonaries, were reassembled in the second half of the seventeenth century. There is no known documentation for the reasons behind restructuring the Dominican books, but it was probably just to create a more functional arrangement of the songs, for example, by putting the chants for the feasts of the saints together with the single volumes containing the proprium de tempore.

Since similar records as well as eye-catching ink foliation can also be found in the series of manuscripts now preserved in Perugia, it is reasonable to assume that at around this time (the late seventeenth century) the Dominican choral books in Perugia and Cortona were updated and rearranged by a single team of friars, who intervened with rearrangements, corrections, and suggestions for using the various books. These instructions may have been intended for a scribe who would then be responsible for executing a new manuscript, since in the seventeenth century handwriting was still in use for books of such dimensions, a feat that printing was not yet able to accomplish.

The same is likely to have occurred with all of the liturgical books with notation in the areas of Umbria and Tuscany, and perhaps in all of the other convents of the Dominican Order.

Figures 1a and 1b (pp. 56-57) show two different manuscripts from the series of Cortona and Perugia. Comparing their foliation, it is difficult to argue that number 178 was not written by the same hand, even though the two series have very little else in common.

The first thing one notices is that the page numbering, a later addition in both the Perugia and the Cortona books, were certainly written by the same hands. It seems that at least two hands were at work, and maybe more, unless the two annotators changed pen or completed their task over a number of different sessions. The notes in the margins are also a shared feature in the two sets of manuscripts. In Perugia, one of them bears the date 1716 (Parmeggiani 2006, p. 143).

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Acta oia de coi
cu. i. glis tar pascal
tpii. In f. l. i. t. i. c. e.
b. r. o. m. a. s. i. p. s. a. n. t.

mag. Evonac.

Ad est dies leticie quo
beati domini mei exaltauit
rex glorie per otorem mi
nificu. Alle lu ia.

ps. Luro. pue. Evonac.

Figure 1a. Cortona, Archivio storico diocesano, ms. B (I-CTd ms. B), fol. 178

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ut uideret si ne. **E**ti
gissus est petri in atriū pni
cipis sacerdotum. ut. R.
Sic ouis ad occisionem duc
tus ē et dū male tractaretur
non aperuit os suū ut

Figure 1b. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale augusta, I-PEc ms. 2795, fol. 178

The fragments

Finally, I would like to briefly describe some of the still unpublished fragments in the Archivio Storico Diocesano di Cortona (I-CTd). I want to thank the archivist, Barbara Giappichelli, for supplying photos.

The first fragment belongs to a noted fifteenth-century breviary. The folio contains the first two responsories for the Feast of Corpus Christi:

Responsorium I. [Immolabit haedum multitudo fili]orum Israel ad vesperam Paschae. Et edent carnes et azimos panes. *V.* Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus itaque epulemur in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis.

Responsorium II. Comeditis carnes et saturabimini panibus iste est panis quem dedit vobis dominus ad ve[scendum].

The second fragment belongs to a fifteenth-century gradual and contains the *Missa votiva de Sancta Maria in Sabbato* (graduale *Benedicta et venerabilis*, alleluia *Post partum*, offertorium *Ave Maria*) and the *Missa pro peccatis* (introtitus *Misereris omnium*, alleluia *De profundis*).

The third fragment is from a fifteenth-century missal and contains some prefaces to the Sanctus.

The fourth fragment belongs to the same gradual as fragment 2 (*Missae votivae*) and served as the cover for a Register of Marriages 1540-1757.

The fifth fragment belongs to an antiphonary (possibly fifteenth-century) containing the common of saints (we notice the unusual presence of a text belonging to the Secreta and Postcommunio in the *verso*).

The sixth fragment is an antiphonary (possibly fifteenth-century) containing a folio from Officium defunctorum.

The seventh fragment is an antiphonary (thirteenth/fourteenth-century) containing a section of the Officium of Saint Michael.

The eighth is the fragment of a gradual (fourteenth-century) containing the end of the Epiphany mass (offertorium *Reges Tharsis* and communio *Vidimus stellam*) and the *Dominica infra Octavam Epiphaniae*.

The ninth fragment, the oldest, and therefore rather rare, is a twelfth century antiphonary containing the Epiphany feast.

The tenth fragment is probably a notated breviary (fourteenth-century) containing the feast of the Visitation of Mary (the fragments of text that can be read in it, however, lack correspondences in the repertoires). Due to its apparent originality, it might be interesting to examine this fragment, but as it is in very poor condition, it would require sophisticated equipment to decipher it.

The eleventh fragment is from an antiphonary (fifteenth-century) with the Commune BVM: responsory *Felix namque es sacra virgo Maria et omni laude dignissima quia ex te ortus est sol iustitiae*. Responsory *Virgo dei genitrix quem totus non capit orbis in tua se clausit viscera factus homo* (CAO 6353).

The twelfth fragment contains the tractus for Holy Saturday: *Cantemus Domino gloriose*, followed by the oratio and the prophetia *v* (*Haec est hereditas*) derived from a plenary missal from the fourteenth century.

The thirteenth fragment contains two responsories for the feast of Corpus Christi and belongs to an antiphonary from the fourteenth century.

The fourteenth fragment contains the songs of the proprium missae for the second and third Sundays of Advent from a fourteenth-century gradual.

On the basis of the foregoing observations, it is my view that the Cortona manuscripts presented herein deserve to be rescued from their relative obscurity and taken duly into consideration and researched. I-CTd mss. D and E consist of graduals, and were written by a single scribe before 1317, probably in the first years of the fourteenth century. They present a Dominican format but occasionally employ Roman rubrics, which is unusual for the liturgical sequence of this order.

As we have seen, the homogeneous antiphonaries (I-CTd mss. A, B, C, F and G) present a documented date (1331) and were written by several copyists following the Dominican exemplar. Although their format proves that they were intended to be illuminated, they were decorated with just a few bare capital letters and occasional ornamentation. The scribes of the antiphonaries are different from those of the Perugia manuscripts, which are also older and come from a much more organized and well-funded scriptorium. But comparison of the manuscripts with the well-known Perugia corpus could lead to interesting discoveries and developments in the knowledge of this fascinating topic of Dominican liturgy. The order of both sets of manuscripts was rearranged during the second half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, and marginal notes were added. It would be valuable to investigate these glossae, taking into consideration the similarity in content of both the Perugia and Cortona manuscripts.

Investigation of other manuscripts from this area between Tuscany and Umbria, as well as a broader foray into the Dominican manuscripts, may provide valuable insight into this phenomenon of rearrangement, and could also lead to other unforeseeable discoveries in a field which is considered so consistent and uniform as not to deserve much further attention. In spite of the fixed norm that has inspired the Dominican liturgical tradition in an unaltered form since 1256, we cannot help noticing that those documents are not so similar to each other after all, and further study of the single documents could present exciting and stimulating surprises for the scholar.

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The Birgittine Abbey of Maria Refugie Five hundred years of manuscript production

The liturgical manuscripts from the Birgittine Abbey Maria Refugie in Uden, the Netherlands, are a demonstration of the fact that handwritten manuscripts continued to be produced even after the introduction of the printing press in Europe. Undertaking such an expensive and laborious process as book printing was probably out of the question for small liturgical communities, especially when they could continue producing books using the same method they had relied on for centuries. Here we discuss one such handwritten text preserved in the abbey library at Maria Refugie, where the manuscript tradition can be traced from ca. 1500 up to the nineteenth century. The abbey library at Maria Refugie belongs to the Order of Saint Birgitta of Sweden (ca. 1305-1373), and the abbey will be referred to hereinafter by two different names: Mariënwater and Maria Refugie. The latter name was adopted when the community moved to the city of Uden in 1713, as further described below. The abbey and the sources used and produced there, including manuscripts held in other collections today, will be referred to as Uden and the *Uden sources*.

The very first Birgittine abbey was founded at Vadstena (Sweden) in 1384. The abbey, which became wealthy through donations, testaments and dowries, was Sweden's major land owner in the late Middle Ages, until it closed in 1595 due to the Reformation. Outside Sweden, the foundress, Saint Birgitta, is mainly known as a mystic. The fact that she herself took an active part in the creation of her Order and its liturgy is perhaps less well known. An ideal Birgittine abbey was designed as a double abbey for a maximum of sixty nuns and thirteen friars. The friars' primary task was to assist the sisters with the celebrations of mass and to hear confessions. The Order was particularly devoted to the Virgin Mary in her role as Mother of the Redeemer.

The Birgittine Order spread to the continent in the fifteenth century, and became particularly popular in the Low Countries and Lower Rhine area. Mariënwater, founded in ca. 1434, was the first Birgittine abbey in this area. During the period 1437-1482, other double abbeys were founded there as well, with Mariënwater as their mother abbey.

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