XIX.—*On the Use of the Greek Language, written phonetically, in the early Service Books of the Church in England; and on the earliest system of Musical Notation upon lines and spaces, one hitherto unnoticed, and seemingly peculiar to English use.* By WILLIAM CHAPPELL, Esq. F.S.A.

Read May 11, 1876.

WHILE collecting materials for a new history of music I had occasion to examine many of the earliest Psalters and Books of Antiphons for the service of the English Church, and then noted three distinctive peculiarities, which seemed worthy of attention by the literary antiquary and by the historian. The first was, that parts of the service, such as the *Gloria in excelsis* and the Nicene Creed, had been sung occasionally in Greek, and that the Greek was written phonetically in English characters. The second, that the hymns and sequences differed from those which had been sung on the continent of Europe, and therefore few, if any, are included in the printed collections by Daniel, by Mone, or Morel; and, further, that many of them are remarkable for the intermixture of Greek and of Græco-Latin words. Not only did our ancestors substitute *protus*, *deuterus*, *tritus*, and *tetardus* for *primus*, *secundus*, *tertius*, and *quartus*, but also employed such addresses to the deity in their hymns and sequences as “*Kyrie eleison, o theos agye*”—“*Pater, creator omnium, tu theos ymon*”—“*Pater ymas te exoramus* ;” half Greek and half Latin. The third peculiarity was that, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the music of new hymns was written upon four lines and spaces, and yet upon a different system from that which prevailed over Europe at subsequent dates. In the later and general system only three letters, or their representatives, were, as they still are, employed upon the staff, viz. F, C, and G; but they had not in early times the distinctive meaning which they now possess—that F is for the bass octave, C for the tenor octave, and G for the treble octave; for often C was placed under F. In the English system, which seems to have preceded not only the square and diamond-shaped notes, but also all other uses

of four lines with the three intermediate spaces, any one of the seven letters, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and the square or the round B, for natural or flat, were placed not only upon a line, as now, but perhaps as frequently upon a space. We find A, or D, as commonly as F, C, or G, and the letter was transferred from one line or space to another, upwards or downwards, whenever the descent or ascent of the voice would otherwise have exceeded the boundary of the staff of four lines. By this means the use of ledger lines was avoided.

Specimens of this written music are here shown. They are reduced from a folio volume by photography, but other examples will be found among the MSS. in the British Museum,—as a Hymn to Saint Mildred, in Harleian MS. No. 3908, of the eleventh century; again, in the Cotton MSS., Caligula A. 14, and Julius, A. vi.; and in the beautifully written St. Alban's MS. (MSS. Reg. 2 B. iv.), which also affords ample examples of the substitution of Greek words for Latin. The photographs now exhibited are all taken from the Bodleian MS. No. 775, by the kind permission of the Rev. H. O. Coxe, M.A. Bodley's Librarian. The MS. seems to be one of those given to the University of Oxford by Sir Thomas Bodley. We may infer that it had belonged to Winchester Cathedral, from the hymns addressed to S. Swithun and S. Athelwold, who were bishops of that see. The date of the volume is proved by the Third Litany, in which we find, "Vt æpelredum regem et exercitum anglorū conservare digneris te [rogamus]" (fol. 19). (See Plate XVIII.) The writing is therefore anterior to the death of Ethelred II. in 1016, and we may attribute the Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, which is written phonetically on folio 72 of the MS.^a to the first quarter of the eleventh century. The musical notation seems not to be altogether so early, for, in some cases, new hymns have been written over old ones; but still the writing is in no case later than the twelfth century. Except as to the hymns, the notation in the MS. is by those indefinite guides for chanting, which were originally termed *pneumata* (breathings), and later in Latin, *neumæ*, Anglice *neumes*. They are signs for the rise, fall, or continuance of the voice, but, when without lines, they do not indicate the note to which the voice should rise or fall; therefore they are only fitted for indefinite recitation, and not for music proper. The probability is, that the improved notation was suggested by an absolute requirement for definite musical notes for performances on the organ. In the year 951, the great organ at Winchester Cathedral had four hundred pipes, which were controlled by forty keys

^a A fac-simile of this, and of the Third Litany, which supplies the date, will be found herewith. (See Plate XIX.)

and ten stops. It must have been impossible to make efficient use of such an instrument without an exact indication of the chords which were to be played upon it. Wolstan, to whom we owe the extant contemporary description of that organ,^a was also the author of a musical treatise, "De tonorum harmonia," and this work is mentioned by William of Malmesbury as "valde utile," even at the date when he was writing. It has never been found an easy task to harmonize Church tones, and surely no such treatise could have continued in use for more than a century without distinct and intelligible musical examples. It is not, however, to the musical part of the subject that I would now draw attention, so much as to the phonetic Greek. The latter may not only be useful in determining the former pronunciation of that language in England, but may likewise assist in deciding similar questions as to our own. Theologians also may take interest in the Greek versions, as they were probably introduced in the seventh century, although the language may have been corrupted in its descent to scribes of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

There can be but little doubt as to the main source from which the cultivation of the Greek tongue sprung up in England. It was in the year 668 that Pope Vitalian sent Theodore, as Archbishop of Canterbury, and with him Hadrian, as Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Augustine's, then named Saint Peter's, at Canterbury. Theodore was a Greek, and Hadrian, who was born in Africa, had been sent with him (according to Bede) to take especial care that Theodore should not introduce "anything contrary to the true faith into the Church over which he was to preside." In other words, he was to conform entirely to the Western, and not to the Eastern, Church; for even a Pagan would not have been more obnoxious at Rome than a Christian who differed from the Western Church in the calculation of Easter. "Forasmuch," says the Venerable Bede, "as both Theodore and Hadrian were well read in sacred and in secular literature, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and there daily flowed from them rivers of knowledge to water the hearts of the hearers; and, together with the books of holy writ, they also taught them the arts of ecclesiastical poetry, astronomy, and arithmetic." "A testimony of which is," he continues, "that there are still living at this day some of their scholars, who are as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own, in which they were born." (*Eccles. Hist.* iv. 2.)

It is probable that the Greek was written into the Service Books phonetically as a provision for priests who might not understand the Greek language. Bede

^a Preceding his metrical account of the miracles of S. Swithun. See MS. Reg. 15, c. vii. fol. 54, or *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, by Mabillon, fol. Paris, 1685. *Saeculum*, v. p. 630-1.

says, that "Theodore was the first Archbishop whom all the English Church obeyed;" but it does not yet appear that the custom of singing in the Greek language, or the peculiar system of writing music, extended beyond the province of Canterbury.

When any two persons wrote down phonetically, they would not agree upon all points; and it would, therefore, have been interesting to compare a northern version, if such a one could have been found. In the mean time, two phonetic versions of "Glory be to God on high," or "in the highest," are offered; the one from Winchester, and the other from Canterbury. The second MS. which is also of the first half of the eleventh century, is from Hadrian's own monastery of Saint Augustine's, and is now in the public library at Cambridge (G. g. 5, 35). It contains, in addition, the Nicene Creed, and two other examples in Greek.

As the scribes of phonetic copies often join several words in one, after the example of the Codex Alexandrinus and other early manuscripts, I have written the Greek under the following example to save the reader's time in disentangling them. It will be found essential to read the phonetics with the northern and continental pronunciation of the vowels. The Greek *upsilon*, whether aspirated or not, is represented by our letter "y," often formed like the Greek capital letter, and so a true "y Grec." The exception is when two vowels come together. In such cases the Greek *ou* is expressed by our letter "u," which we may assume to have been pronounced "oo," with the lips elongated, as in Italian at the present time, and sometimes in our own tongue. The northern pronunciation of the vowels proves the truth of Puttenham's remark, that, although in the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was not thought expedient to adopt the pronunciation of even the best of "our Northern Clerks, yet," says he, "no man can deny that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day."

Without further preamble, permit me now to turn to the manuscripts. The Winchester copy of the "Gloria" is headed, "YMNUS ANGELICUS GRECA LINGUA COMPOSITUS." (See Plate XIX.)

"Doxa enypsisistis theo ke episgis irinien antropis eudochia. Enumense
[Δόξα εν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ [τῇ]ς γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. Αἰνοῦμέν σε,]

Eulogumense Proskinumense Doxologumense Eucharistumensi diatin megalinsu
[Εὐλογοῦμέν σε, Προσκυνοῦμέν σε, Δοξολογοῦμέν σε, Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σοῦ]
doxan. Kyrie basileu epuranie thee pater pantocrator. Kyrie ye monogeni isu criste
[δόξαν. Κύριε, βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε θεέ πατέρ παντοκράτωρ. Κύριε, υἱὲ μονογενῆ Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ,]
ke agion pneuma. Kyrie otheos Oamnos tutheu. O yos tupatros. O eron tin amarṭian
[καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. Κύριε ὁ θεός, Ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, Ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν]

Tu solus altissimus **Q**ui respicias humilia
 in celo. exalta: **I**hu xpe. **ALIA.**
GLORIA INEXCELSIS DEO. ET IN TERRA.
Tantum deum colentes. **L**audamus te.
Benedicimus te.
Pacem in filio. filium in patre. Spiritum
 in utroque. **A**doramus te. **B**anc unam
 summam quod desideramus amantem. **O**lon
 ficamus te. **S**ancram maiestatem tuam.
GLORIA INEXCELSIS DEO. **E**MITTERE
O gloria sanctorum lausque angelorum
 quamsecutus est sanctus iohannes. **L**au
 damus te. **O** detus acutus laus que beati
 sanctorum quem laudat sanctus iohes.
Bened. **C**antemus tibi laudes de peccato
 tuo teque cum sancto adoremus iohes.

Alia dei iohannes
 deo. Gratias.

potentiam
 deo. Gratias.

Adhoramus. **A**ngelicus tibi adstas
 clarissimus ordo. cum quo te semper
 glorificat sanctus iohannes glorific.

VARIUS ANGELICUS GRECA LINGUA COMPOSIT.
Doxa omnipotenti deo. **K**exisignis inimici
 antropis audobia. **E**nunienfe. **E**ulogu
 menfe. **P**ros kinumenfe. **E**ozologumenfe.
Eubarsu mensi diatin megalinsu doxan.
Kymio basileu epuranie. **H**ec patry panto
 craton. **K**ymio xē mono geni iſu ciste
 keagon pneuma. **I**ymie otheos. **O**am
 nos tubeu. **O** yof upatros. **O**eron
 in amastian tu cosimu eleſon ymas.
Oeronas amaritan tu cosimu. **P**ros dexe
 an dei simon. **O** kaximenos en dexia
 tu patros eleſon imas. **O** assimonos

tucosmu, eleison ymas. O eron tas amartian [sic] tu cosmu Prosdexe tin dei sinimon.
 [τοῦ κόσμου ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου, Προδέξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν.]
 Okatimenos en dexia tu patros eleyson imas Otis simonos agios, si monos cyrrios,
 [Ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς Ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος ἅγιος, σὺ εἶ μόνος κύριος,]
 si monos ypsistos Isos Cristos sin agion pneumatini is doxan theu patros, Amin."
 [σὺ εἶ μόνος ὑψίστος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς, Ἀμήν.]

Two versions of the above are extant, the one in MS. Harl. 5642, fol. 47 v, and the other in the Canterbury MS. now in the Public Library, Cambridge. The Canterbury version is as follows :—

"Doxa enipistis theu ke epis gis yrine enantropis eudochia, enumense, eulogumense, pros kinumense, doxologumense, eucharistumensi diatin megalinsu doxan. Kyrrie basileu epuranie thee patir pantocrator. Kyrrie ye monogeni isu xpe, ke agion pneuma. Kyrrie o theos, o amnos tu theu, oios tu patros. O eran tis amartian tu cosmu eleison imas. O eran tis amartian tu cosmu prosdexe tin deisin imon. O catimenos en dexian tu patros eleison imas. Otis simonos agios, si monos kirrios, si monos ipsistos, Ysos Cristos, sin agios pneumatini is doxan theu patros, Amin."

The following version of the NICENE CREED is written upon the same page as the last, with the Latin superlineation :—

"Credo in unum deum patrem omnipotentem factorem celi et terre, visibillum omnium et Pisteugo isenan theon patiran pantocratoran pyitin uranu ke gis oraton te panton ke invisibillum, et in unum dominum iesum cristum filium dei unigenitum; et ex patre a oraton ke is enu kyrrian ison christon ton ion tu theu ton monogenin, ton ek tu patros natum ante omnia secula. deum de deo, lumen de lumine, deum verum de deo genithenta propanton ton eonon theon ek theu fos ek fotos theon alithinon ek theu vero genitum, non factum, consubstantialem patri, per quem omnia facta sunt, qui propter nos alithinu genithenta upyrthenta omo usion to patri, diu ta panta egeneto ton dimastus homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de celis et incarnatus est de spiritu anthropos ke diatin meteran sotirian katelthonta ek ton uranon kes sarchothenta ek pneumatos sancto et Maria virgine et homo factus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub pontio pilato agio Kemarias tis parthenu keen antropis anta. Staurothenta te yperimon epi pontiu pilatu passus et sepultus est et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas, et ascendit in celum. ke patonta ketafenta. ke anastanta titriti ymera kata tas grafas ke anelthonta istus uranus sedit ad dexteram patris, et iterum venturus est cum gloria iudicare vivos et ke katezomenon en doxian tu patros ke palin erchomenon meta doxis krine zontas ke mortuos, cujus regni non erit finis. et in spiritum sanctum, dominum et vivificantem, qui ex necrus utis basilias uk estetos ke is to pneumatoni agion to kyrrian ke zo opion to ek tu patre filioque procedit. qui cum patre et filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur. patros ke io ek poreugomenon ton sin patri ke io sin pros kynumenon ke sin sindoxa

qui locutus est per prophetas, et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam. confiteor
 zomino to lalisan dia ton propheton is mian agian katholikyn ke apostolicen ecclesian omo logo
 unum baptismia in remissione peccatorum, et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam venturi
 en baptisma is aphenin amartion Pros doko anastasin nekron ke zoin tu mellontos
 seculi. Amen.
 eonos, Amin.

A second phonetic copy of the Nicene Creed will be found in Addit. MSS. 23,892, fol. 51-53, in the British Museum. The red ink has there become so pale as to be in parts scarcely decipherable.

The following Litany of the Saints (entitled the Third Litany in the Winchester MS.) is copied from the last leaf of the manuscript known as the Psalter of King Ethelstan, but which is partly of earlier date. (Cotton MSS. Galba A. xviii. fol. 200.) The phonetics are again interlined with the usual Greek spelling, to save the reader's time.

+ HIC PRECIPUUNT GRECORUM LETANIE:

Xp̃e epacus onimin.
 χριστὲ ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.
 Aie michael̃euxe yperimon.
 Ἄγιε μιχαὴλ εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.
 Aie gabriel̃euxe yperim on.
 Ἄγιε γαβριὴλ εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.
 Aie raphael̃euxe yperimon.
 Ἄγιε ραφαὴλ εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.
 Aie mariãeuxe yperimon.
 Ἄγια μάρια εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.
 Aie petrẽeuxe yperimon.
 Ἄγιε πέτρε εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.
 Aie paulẽeuxe yperimon.
 Ἄγιε παῦλε εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. et rl. [reliqui.]
 Pantas yaies̃euxe yperimon.
 Πάντες ἄγιοι εὗξασθε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.
 Ileos̃ genucẽ fise [sic] ymas̃ cyrie.
 Ἰλεως̃ γενοῦ καὶ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε.
 Ileos̃ genucẽ lutrosẽ ymas̃ cyrie.
 Ἰλεως̃ γενοῦ καὶ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε.

Apopantes̃ cacũ lutrosẽ ymas̃ cyrie.
 Ἀπὸ παντός̃ κακοῦ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε.
 Diatus̃ taurusũ lutrosẽ ymas̃ cyrie.
 Διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ σου λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε.
 Amarthulusẽ paraca lumeñ epacus̃ onimin.
 Ἀμαρτωλοὶ σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.
 Inagrinin [sic] dosissẽ paraca lumeñ epacus̃
 Ἰνα εἰρήνην δωσισσε̃ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.
 Ygie [sic] tutheusẽ paraca lumeñ epacus̃
 Τὴ τοῦ θεοῦ σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.
 Ao amnos̃ tutheũ o errontin [sic] amartiastũ
 Ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ
 cosmũ eleisoñ imas̃.
 κόσμον ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

The above is followed by the *pater noster* in the manuscript :—

“ HIC JNCIPIT PATER NOSTER JN LINGUA GRECORŪ.

Pater imon oynys uranis agiastituto onomansu, elthetu ebasilias genit thito to
Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθῇτω τὸ
theli mansu, os sen uranu. kepitisgis tonartonimon tonepussion. dos simin simero
θέλημό σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τον ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον,
keaffi simin ta offalimatu imon Os ke jmis affiomen tusophiletas jmon. ke mies ininkis
καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς
imas isperasmon. Ala ryse jmas apitu poniru.
ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

The last is followed by the Apostles' Creed :—

Pistheu istheu patera panto cratero ce is Criston ihū yon aututon mono-
Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν [τὸν] υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονο-
genton quirion imon tongenegenta ecpneumatus agiu cemariatis parthenu ton epipontio
γενῇ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου
pilatu staurothentecta finta tetríte imera anastanta egnicron anaunta istos ura-
Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρα-
nos catimenon indexia tu patros oten erchete crinezon tas cenicros ceispreuma [sic] agion
νοὺς, καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον
agria fis inamartion sarcos anasta. amin.
ἄφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάρτασιν, ἀμήν.

The last piece in the manuscript is the *SANCTUS*, which is now left unfinished, owing to the following leaf having been torn out. All that remains is—

Agios agios agios cyrus otheos sabaoth plyris urano cegaetis doxis . . .
“ Ἄγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς σαβαὼθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης . . .

This is again found in the Harleian Manuscript No. 5642 but written in Greek uncial letters, four of the words being there omitted. If any one should be curious in the acquisition of medieval Greek, he could hardly do better than to study the Greek and Latin vocabulary of this Harleian Manuscript, and of a Greek and Latin Dictionary on parchment, in uncial letters, seventh century, Harl. No. 5792.

In conclusion, it may be observed that similar examples of Greek phonetically written have been found in manuscripts of St. Gall and of Einsiedeln,

which are attributed to the ninth century. Also in several manuscripts of the Gallican Church. An entire mass was sung in Greek at the royal Abbey of Saint Denis, under the idea that the patron Saint of France was Dionysius the Areopagite, a Greek, who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles as one who believed, and whose name appears in the Calendar of Saints as Bishop of Athens and martyr. This custom was continued to a comparatively recent date. D. Martène, in his *De antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus* (Antwerp, 1736) cites divers examples of the employment of the Greek language in certain parts of the Gallican liturgy, and says: "Hodie, in percelebri S. Dionysii in Francia monasterio, epistola et evangelium in quinque præcipuis festivitibus græce et latine pronunciantur. In octava vero S. Dionysii quidquid a choro in missa præcinitur totum græco sermone canitur." (vi. p. 281 D.)

One noteworthy feature of the Winchester manuscript is, that it exemplifies the antiquity of Salisbury Use. The sequences, which are written with neumes upon four lines and spaces, are nearly all to be traced through other manuscripts down to the Salisbury Graduals of 1528 and 1532. These printed copies have the square and diamond notes instead of neumes, but, when the neumes are written upon lines and spaces, they are as easy to read as the other, the time being indefinite in both cases.

Sequences are usually in a sort of scanning prose, varying in length of lines, but sometimes hymns, which were written in Latin rhymes, were also used as sequences. Thus, the Evening Hymn :

" O Lux beata Trinitas
Et principalis Unitas,
Jam sol recedit igneus
Infunde lumen cordibus." (2 stanzas and a Gloria.)

This recalls to us the "Well could he counter *O Lux!* upon a pot," in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and is more probably alluded to than the :

" O Lux, beata Trinitas,
Tres unum, trium unio,
Imperialis unitas
In trium contubernio,"

which was sung on Trinity Sunday. These hymns, however, being choral, are usually found in Antiphonals rather than in Graduals.

There are twelve sequences with neumes on four lines and spaces in the

donans mox & ab ipsa donans puerticia. **P**ari
deniq; pretia decipitio pandit alumpio monia.
Te cum inquit adpropria. uolo pater hunc reuocare
patiam. **P**ater adhuc uerba uox corde
comota inquit felicia. **P**roles tui caro filium
o iuste quid loqueris talia. **S**icque aduersa
tibi inua. **C**ontingant ego prore magna
flecto tristitia. **N**oli mater mi inque
plorare. pater omia xpi me liberabit gra.
Hic uirtute angelica pergit longinqua iuncta.
fiactem liberant. **I**usto puero presignat
preparata ante secula adest gloria. **T**ena
passus membra celo dant animam. **C**andida
rubicunda. fulget in purpura. **O**mniflua
te uoce supplica. **Q**uam comenda.
precamur xpo famuliam. **E**tingentia se
tecum esse leticia. **I**ulio deo magna parua
(scilicet)

Cela pueri concerpent melodia. **E**la innocenti
colentes eripudia. **Q**uos infans xpi bodie uxor
ad alba. **H**os erudit aut frendens insania.
erodiane franchi obnulla crimina. **I**n beb-
leamplius cuncta & p confinia. **A** bimatu
simba iuxta nalgendi uerora. **H**erodes rex
xpi nati uerens inuis impia. **I**n frenne
uox & erigit arma supba dextera.
Querit lucis & xpi regē cā mte turbida.
Nextinguat qui uitam prestat per sua iacula.
Qui non ualene inuerti lucenti splendida nebulola
quiescent pictora. **I**ta feruet fraudes auge
herodes leui ut p dact piaz agmina. **C**astra
militum dux iniquis aggregat ferro figit in mem-
bra teneta. **I**nter ubera lac effundit auge
qualanguinis frigenti coagula. **H**olstis natu

OXFORD. BODL. MS. 775. F. 132. B. 133.

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W. CRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. LONDON. S. E.

Winchester Volume, the last being imperfect. The other portions of the volume are noted only by indefinite neumes which are guides for accentuation of the words in recitation, in monotone, and in singsong chanting by indefinite intervals—more like speaking than singing, for which Saint Athanasius was famed. It is in these parts of the volume that we find the *Tropi in depositione Sancti Suuithini Episcopi*, followed by *Tropi Translationis Sancti Suuithini* (folios 46 to 47 vo.) and, towards to end of the book, *De Sancto Suuithino, Alleluia*, (fol. 182) and *Sequentia de Sancto Srvithvno, Alleluia*, followed by *De Sancto Athelrvoldo* (fol. 189). From examples of this kind it is inferred that the volume belonged to Winchester Cathedral. Swithun was born about 800, and died in 862. Athelwold, “the Father of Monks,” was Bishop of Winchester in 963, and died in 984. The diphthongs throughout the manuscript are marked by a sedilla under the “e,” but they are not always marked when they should be.

The following are the words of the twelve sequences to which reference has been made, and of which a few facsimiles from reduced photographs are given. (Plates XX. XXI.) References to other copies in the Library of the British Museum, are here added, especially to two manuscripts which have the same kind of neumes upon lines and spaces—the Saint Alban's Book, 2 B IV. in the King's Library, and Caligula A. 14 in the Cotton. Collection. Eight of the twelve are found in the Sarum Gradual of 1532.

i. De Sancto Stephano Martyre. Alleluia. [Sequentia.]

Magnus Deus in universa terra, Magna sunt eius ubique omnia in cælo atque in terra opera, Qui est rex regum dominus omnium, a patre genitus ante sæcula, Cuius caritas vera cælo subleuat Stephanum de terra Atque perhenni vita ornat candida digniter corona. Plenus etenim Stephanus ueritate atque gratia Magna dabat prodigia, docens uerissima dogmata, Cum autem predicaret jam presentia Nostre redemptionis noua gaudia, Intento in superna, cæli patet ianua, Dixitque circumstanti plebi uoce publica, Sacra plenus gratia, Ecce dei uideo admirabilem gloriam Claritate fulgida Atque iesum stantem, in uirtutis dei, dextera. Cum hoc audisset impia gens iudaica, Dans fremitum, concita Quassat lapidibus Stephani membra, Sed stat fortiter patiens martir et orat Ne eis xpe noxam statuas, Sed jam accipe animam meam. Et cum hoc dixisset. in domino obdormiuit pace eterna Tu et nobis martir o Stephane sempiterna Impetra gaudia. Amen.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 131b. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 46. Sarum Gradual, 1532, f. 27.]

ii. In Festo SS. Innocentum. Sequentia.

Celsa pueri concrepent melodia, Eia innocentum colentes tripudia, Quos infans xps hodie uexit ad astra. Hos trucidauit frendens insania Herodiane fraudis, ob nulla crimina, In bethleem ipsius cuncta et per confinia Ab imatu et infra, iuxta nascendi tempora. Herodes rex, xpi nati

uerens infelix imperia, Infremit totus, et erigit arma superba dextera. Querit lucis et cæli regem cum mente turbida, Ut extinguat qui uitam prestat per sua iacula, Dum non ualent intueri lucem splendidam nebulosa quærentis pectora. Ira feruet, fraudes auget Herodes seuus, ut perdat piorum agmina. Castra militum dux iniquus aggregat, ferrum figit in membra tenera, Inter ubera lac effundit antequam sanguinis figerent coagula, Hostis naturæ natos euiserat atque iugulat [f. 133b] Ante prosternit quam etas paruula sumat robora Quam beata sunt innocentum ab erode cesa corpuscula Quam felices existant matres quæ talia fuderunt pignora O dulces innocentum acies o pia lactentum pro xpo certamina Paruorum trucidantur milia membris ex teneris manant lactis flumina Ciues angelici ueniunt in obuiam mira uictoria uitæ captat premia turba candidissima Te xpe petinus mente deuotissima Pfa qui uenisti reformare sæcula innocentum gloria Perfrui nos concedas per eterna.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 133. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 49. Sarum Gradual, 1532, f. 30.]

iii. Incipiunt prosæ de natiuitate Domini. Alleluia. [Sequentia die sexto.]

Celica resonant clare camenas agminas, Nunc regis celebrando gratulanter nuptias. Lux noua iam terras illustrans, ueteres pellens tenebras, Reserat superna gratia diu clausa palatia. Felix mater! et sola intacta æterna puerpera, Cum nato stas grauida, cum uiri sis cubili nescia, Omnis cæterua nostra te rogat, domina, Soluas quo nostra cuncta peccaminum uincula, uirgo sempiternæ beata. Digna fuisti sola tollentem crimina Intra uteri claustra portare qui gubernans omnia supera infra. [f. 136b.] Hunc sua laudant facta. gaudentes bona qua uiunt super essentia Nos humilima tuba damus debita, poscentes eius clementiam, Vt nostra prestat tempora nunc quietæ. Det placida frui uita, Vtilia donando famulis munera. Hac inter nos discrimina seuæ saluans Post funera derelicta Sedem ducat mortis ac malorum ignaram Qui ad dexteram patris almam sedens conregnat coæternus per omnia Potenter cuncta disponendo cum eo sedæ presentia et futura Beata iustis donat omnibus præmia Preclara qua lux uere micat. que est salus æterna et nostra gloria.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 136. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 45, vo. Sarum Gradual, 1532, f. 34.]

iv. Prosæ adsq. [ad sequentias?] de Sancto Iohanne Euuangelista. Alleluia.

Laus armoniæ! resultet alleluia! Matre fecunda! domini gratia proles adest eximia. Euuangelista iohannes, diuina adnuntians preconia, Vel, ut aquila, figens lumina in alta, deitatis archana supergrediens omnia cordis oculo condita, Mente liquida contemplans illa excelsa uoce palam prolata, in principio cum patre erat uerbum per secula. Hic de adoranda deitate plurima, ipse atque [f. 138] de humanitate scripserat, omni mundo salubria. Ipse et defunctam excitauit uiduam, ipse et lapillos claritate gemmea compsit uirgas et aureas. Post tanta talia. per eum patrata, xpi magnalia, Nonagenaria nouena addita, transacta iam uita. Saluator, a summa descendens patria, dilectum ad regna uocat aurea. Et apostolica ad conuiuia in patria angelica. Nos iohannes adiuua, ut eadem sempiterna Consequamur gaudia!

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 137b.]

Insones culpa non est que noxios faciat
aliquos & mortis subeunt discrimina.

Oxipiti miranda semper & misit gratia.

Pro se passis aeterna quibus est laetius
premia. **I**psi laus sit nunc & in saecula.

SEQ. MULTIPHONIAE. ALLELUIA.

Nato canunt omnia domino pie agmina.

Syllabam pneumatica perstringendo or
ganica **H**ec dies sacrata in qua noua sunt

gaudia mundo plene dedica. **H**ac nocte

precelsa insonuit & gloria in uoce angelica.

Fulserunt & inmania nocte media pas
toribus lumina. **D**um fouent sua pecora

subito diua percipiunt monica. **N**atus

alma uirgine qui exeat ante saecula.

Est immensa in celo gloria pax & in terra:

Hinc ergo opti cetera alius sine subila.

Vitanto canore tremat alta poli machina.

Sonoc & per omnia hac indig gloria uoco

dapa reddita. **H**umana concerpent cuncta

deum natum in terra. **C**onfracta sunt

& inperna hostis crudelissima. **P**ax in terra

sedata: nunc letetur omnia nati per

exordia. **S**olus qui inuener omnia. **S**olus

qui condidit omnia. **I**pse sua pietate

soluat omnia peccata. **ROGNA.**

SEQ. CHORUS INEPIPHANIAE. ALLELUIA.

Ophphania domino caritatis gloriosa.

Qua prolem dei uere magi adorant.

Limeniam chaldaei diuis persequer ueneran

tur potentiam. **Q**uem cuncta prophetae

praenere uenturum gentes ad saluandas

v. [*Sequentia*,] *multiphariæ. Alleluia.*

Nato canunt omnia domino piæ agmina, Syllabatim pneumata perstringendo organica, Hæc dies sacrata in qua noua sunt gaudia mundo plene dedita, Hac nocte præcelsa intonuit et gloria in voce angelica. Fulserunt et inmania, nocte media pastoribus lumina. Dum fouent sua pecora subito diua percipiunt monita. Natus alma uirgine qui extat ante sæcula, Est immensa in cælo gloria, pax et in terra. Hinc ergo cæli caterua altissime iubila Vt tanto canore tremat alta poli machina. Sonet et per omnia hac in diæ gloria uoce clara reddita Humana concrepent cuncta deum natum in terra Confracta sunt et imperia hostis crudelissima Pax in terra reddita nunc letentur omnia nati per exordia Solus qui intuetur omnia Solus qui condidit omnia. Ipse sua pietate soluat omnia peccati regna.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 139b. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 44. MSS. Reg. 2, B. iv. f. 68. Sarum Gradual, 1532, f. 22.]

vi. *Sequentia. Chorus in Epiphania. Alleluia.*

Epiphaniam domino canamus gloriosa, Qua prolem dei uere magi adorant. Immensam chaldei cuius persequere uenerantur potentiam, Quem cuncti prophetæ precinere uenturum gentes ad saluandas, Cuius maiestas ita est inclinata ut assumeret serui formam Ante secula qui deus et tempora homo factus est in maria. Balaam de quo uaticinans Exhibit ex iacob rutila inquit stella Et confringet ducum agmina Regionis moab maxima potentia. Huic magi munera deferunt preclara, aurum simul thus et myrram, T[h]ure deum predicant. Auro regem magnum, hominem mortalem myrra. In somnis hos monet angelus ne redeant ad regem commotum propter regna Pauebat etenim nimium regem natum uerens amittere regni iura. Magi stella sibi micante preuia Pergunt alacres itinera patriam Qua eos ducebat ad propria linquentes herodis mandata Qui perculsus corde nimia preira Extemplo mandat eludia maica Non linquens aliter impunitas sed mox priuari eos uita Omnis nunc caterna tinnulum iungat laudibus organi pneuma. Mystice offerens regi regum xpo munera pretiosa Poscens ut per orbem regna omnia protegat in sæcula sempiterna.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 140. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. 49, v. Sarum Gradual, 1532, f. 40.]

vii. *Sequentia de Resurrectione, in die sancto Paschæ. Fulgens preclara. Alleluia.*

Fulgens preclara rutilat per orbem hodie dies in qua xpisti lucida narrantur ouanter prelia. De hoste superbo quem iesus triumphauit pulchre castra illius perimens teterrima. Infelix culpa euz qua carnimus omnes uita, Felix proles Mariæ qua epulamur modo una. [f. 142b.] Benedicta sit celsa regina illa, Generans regem spoliantem tartara, Pollentem iam in æthera. Rex in eternum suscipe benignus preconia nostra Sedule tibi canentia, Patris sedens ad dexteram, Victor ubique, morte superata atque triumphata, Polorum possidens gaudia. O magna O celsa O pulchra clementia xpisti luciflua o alma Laus tibi Honorque Ac uirtus qui nostram antiquam leuiasti sarcinam Roseo cruore agni benignissimi empta florida micat hæc aula Potenti uirtute nostra qui lauit facinora tribuant dona fulgida. Stupens ualde in memet iam miror hodierna Tanta indignis pandere modo sacramenta [f. 143] Stirpe dauitica, Ortus de tribu iuda, leo potens surrexisti in gloria Agnus uisus es in terra, Fundens olim arua, Regna petens supera iustis reddens premia in secula Dignanter ouantia. Dic, impie zabule, quid ualet nunc fraus tua Igneis nexus loris a xpisti

uictoria? Tribus lingue admiramini quis audivit talia miracula Vt mors mortem sic superaret rei perciperent talem gratiam. Iudea incredula, cur manes adhuc inuerecunda? Perspice xpistocolas qualiter leti scandunt inclita Redemptori carmina Ergo pie rex xpe nobis dans peccamina Solue nexorum uincula Electorum agmina. Fac tecum resurgere ad beatam gloriam Digna rependens merita Paracliti sancti consolationem piam. Expectamus sanctam^a re promissionem tuam Per acta ascensionis sancta solennia Qua es regressus in cœlum nube tectus clara Pollens laude æterna.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 142. Cott. Cal. xiv. f. 53. MS. Reg. 2, B. iv. f. 73 vo. Sarum Gradual, 1532, f. 122.]

viii. Sequentia. Feria III. post Pascha.

Pro me casta conc[e]o carmina, organa subnectens ypodorica,^b Regi claustra deo tartarea rumpenti, decanta nunc symphoniam, Morte qui uicta resurgens gaudia mundo gestat colenda Ac insolita morantes perdita cociti confinia. Aspectant lumina intrante illo luce beata Terrore perculsa tremescit demonum plebs ualida. Dant suspiria, Fletuum alta Repagula qui sic audax frerit mirantur tunc fortia Sic ad supera Redit cum turma Gloriosa ac timida refouet discipulorum corda. Precelsa huius trophea admirantes flagitæmus nunc uoce decliua Virginum inter agmina mereamur pretiosa colere ut pascha, Galilea inquæ sacrata prefulgide contueri lucis exordia.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 143 vo. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 54 vo. MS. Reg. 2, B. iv. f. 78 vo. Sarum Gradual, f. 126 vo.]

ix. Prosa adsequentia Cithara, de Ascensione Domini. Alleluia.

Rex omnipotens, die hodierna, Mundo triumphali redempto potentia, Victor ascendit cœlos unde descenderat Nam quadraginta postquam surrexerat Diebus sacris confirmans pectore Apostoloru[m] pacis clara reliquens oscula Quibus et dedit potestatem laxandi crimina, Et misit eos in mundum baptizare cunctas animas, In patris et filii et sancti spiritus clementia Et conuescens precepit eis ab ierosolomis Ne abirent sed expectarent promissa munera. [f. 145b.] Non post multos enim dies mittam uobis spiritum paraclitum in terra Et eritis mihi testes in ierusalem iudea siue samaria. Et, cum hoc dixisset, uidentibus illis elevatus est, et nubes clara Suscepit eum ab eorum oculis intuentibus illis æra. Ecce steterè amicti duo uiri in ueste clara Juxta, dicentes quid admiramini cœlorum alta? Jesus enim, hic qui assumptus est a uobis ad patris dextera[m] Vt ascendit ita ueniet querens talenti commissi lucra, O deus maris poli arcei. hominem quem creasti fraude subdola Hostis expulit paradiso et captiuatum secum traxit ad tartara. Sanguine proprio quem redemisti deo [f. 146] Illuc et rediens unde prius corruit paradisi gaudia, Iudex, cum ueneris iudicare secula, Da nobis petimus sempiterna gaudia in sanctorum patria In qua tibi cantemus omnes alleluia.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 145. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 61. MS. Reg. 2, B. iv. f. 97 vo. Sarum Gradual, f. 143 vo.]

^a Secundum.

^b The Hypodorian organ was a small instrument used only for ecclesiastical chanting. It had no sharp or flat key in its three octaves except for B flat.

v. In pretiosa sollempnitate Pentecosten. Alleluia.^a

Benedicta sit beata trinitas deitas æterna pariter coequalis gloria. Deus genitor natus genitus cum sacro pneumate permanens super omne quod extat Quibus est una semper uoluntas et a se discrepat haud umquam triplicata persona Nam constat deitas una non in tres deos diuisa quam fides fatetur a xpo orthodoxe dedita [f. 146*b*] Hæc namque pellit delicta patriam cedit serenam quam dulcem iubilant agmina simphoniam celica Altithroni uestigia imitantur stolis candidata Operiuntur que binas quas captant post secli discrimina Et nos quos illustrat gratia dei supera demus nostra debita Quatinus caterua celica nobis maneat post funera socia Vltimaque peracta discrimina possimus alta perfrui mox palatia Quo perspicula flagrat lux accensa constanti flamma que est deus uisio nostra et salus æterna Angelorum que illustrat fortiter pectora Vt in xpo solo sua defigant lumina [f. 147] Hæc namque est illa sitis flagrans qua tunc sitiunt anime sanctorum uel corpora Dum fuerint datâ perpetua nobis pro eis a iudice premia.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 146. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 66. MS. Reg. 2, B, iv. f. 206. Sarum Gradual, f. 157.]

vi. In hac laude Deum meum adorabo. Alleluia.

Salve mater xpisti o inclita! Porta cæli, decus orbis, et uirginum gemma pulchra! Atque domina angelorum, et aurea clara scala, Perquam fideles superna leti scandunt gaudia. Que sola extas post xpm spes nostra sanctissima. Te agmina celi semper dominam benedicant. Te uox omnis pulchra iam glorificet per Aurea cæli pandat et astra. Nobis corusca. Amen. Fiat.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 178.]

The twelfth Sequence is imperfect, but commences—

Concentu parili hic te Maria veneratur populus teque piis colit cordibus.

This is in small writing, with the music on four red lines.

The antiquity of Salisbury Use, and the sources from which it was derived, might be much further elucidated if any especial search were made. The library of the British Museum includes a Salisbury Missal printed in folio on vellum in Paris in 1527 (Reference Case 41, K.) An Antiphonarium in 2 vols. 1519-20, and a Graduale in 1532 (both in Case 35, b.) The Cambridge Public Library contains an edition of the last-named, published in 1528, and there are variations between that and the edition of 1532 which should be noted. For instance, I was induced to search for a Kyrie by Saint Dunstan through reading the Chronicle of John of Brompton, Abbot of Jorevall in Richmond, Yorkshire. It is

^a In the Salisbury Gradual the above was to be sung on Trinity Sunday, instead of on Whitsunday as here directed.

alluded to in the following passage: "Beatus eciam Dunstanus semel soporatus, audivit spiritus angelicos cum suavi nota *Kyriel*, *Kyriel* psallentes; cujus modulos harmonicæ adhuc continet Tropus ille apud Anglos famosus, *Kyrie rex splendens*, qui in Sanctorum cantare majoribus solet festis." (Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, pp. 878-9.) This Kyrie was only to be found without the words in the Sarum Gradual of 1532, and I am indebted to Henry Bradshaw, Esquire, Librarian of the University of Cambridge, for pointing out to me a complete copy in the Sarum Gradual of 1528, and for transcribing it. The omission in 1532 seems to have been a lapse, because it is there referred to in the following rubric. Under "Pro defunctis" fol. lv. towards the end of the volume, after directions for the use of other Kyries, it says: "In festo Sancti Michaelis, in mense Septembris dicitur 'Kyrie rex splendens' cum versibus: et in festibus Sancti Dunstani et Sancti Michaelis in monte tumba (Saint Michael of the Mount, in Cornwall) dicatur cantus de 'Kyrie rex splendens' absque versibus."

As this Kyrie of Saint Dunstan's dream has not before been identified, and takes but a page in print, while the Gradual of 1528 is of extreme rarity, owing to the heavy penalty inflicted upon the possessor of a copy in the reign of Henry VIII., it has been thought to be a curiosity worthy of reproduction, and is therefore subjoined.

A KYRIE ELEYSON by Saint Dunstan.

In festo sancti Michaelis in mense Septembris (29th Sept.) dicitur KYRIE, REX SPLENDENS cum versibus:—

Ky - ri - e Rex splen-dens ce - li ar - ce sal - ve ju - gi - ter et cle - mens ple - bi tu - e sem - per e - le - y - son.

Im - ni - di - ce quem tur - me che - ru - bin lau - de per - hen - ni - ter pro - cla - mant in - ces - san - ter no - bis e - le - y - son.

* In - si - gui - ter ca - ter - ve pre - cel - se et qui - bus se - ra - phin re - spon - den - te lau - dan - tes no - stri e - le - y - son.
[Tu si - gni - fer]

Chri - ste rex al - ti - thro - ne or - di - nes an - ge - lo - rum no - men quem laudant in - ces - san - ter pul - cre di - gna - re ser - uis tu - is sem - per e - le - y - son.

Chri - ste quem to - to or - be u - ni - ca ec - cle - si - a y - inni - zat sol et lu - na a - stra tel - lus ma - re cu - i et fa - mu - lan - tur sem - per e - le - y - son.

I - psi i - dem in - cli - te pa - tri - e per - pe - tu - e he - re - des san - cti o - mnes di - gno car - mi - ne pro - clamant quam o - van - ter no - bis e - le - y - son.

Vir - gi - nis pi - e ma - ri - e o al - ma pro - les rex re - gum be - ne - di - cte re - dem - ptor cru - o - re mer - ca - tis

pro - pri - o mor - tis ex po - te - sta - te sem - per e - le - y - son. In - si - gnis - si - me in - ge - ni - te o ge - ni - te

o - ri - gi - ne jam - ex - pers et fi - de mor - tu - e ex - cel - lens o - mni - a ca - ter - ve hu - ic tu - e

cle - mens e - le - y - son. Lim - pi - dis - si - me glo - ri - e sol ju - sti - ti - e ar - bi - ter o - mnes gen - tes

di - stri - cte dum ju - di - ces tur - me ob - ni - xe pre - ca - mur tunc a - stan - ti cle - mens e - le - y - son.

* "Insigniter," in the text, seems to be a mistake in copying from manuscript "Tu signifier."

In festis sancti Dunstani (19th May) et sancti Michaelis in monte tumba (16th Oct.) dicitur cantus de KYRIE REX SPLENDENS absque versibus:—

Ky - ri - e Rex splendens ley - son. iii.

Chri - ste ley - son. iii.

Ky - ri - e ley - son. iii.