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Sequence Melodies in Icelandic and Norwegian Manuscripts

This study is concerned with melodic variability in chants notated in manuscripts in medieval Nidaros. The archdiocese of Nidaros was established in the medieval town of Nidaros in 1152-53 and lasted until 1537. At its greatest extent, the archdiocese consisted of mainland Norway, Iceland, Greenland, The Faroe Islands, the Orkney Islands, the Western Isles of Scotland and the Isle of Man.

The surviving Nidaros manuscripts are a varied group of sources. Some manuscripts were imported from England or the Continent while many younger manuscripts were written in Scandinavia, in local scriptoria. Chant books and manuscripts that were in use in the archdiocese of Nidaros in the medieval ages only survive in fragmented form.¹ Thus, most liturgical chants themselves survive only in part within these now fragmented pages of manuscripts that once were in use in Nidaros.

In the mainland European tradition, a medieval chant is often notated with small melodic or textual variations particular to the Anglo-French, or former west Frankish, area or the German-speaking, or former east Frankish, area. Such variations have been shown to be quite consistent with, and particular to, manuscripts from one of the two areas.

Sequence chants notated in Nidaros manuscripts show melodic influences from different geographical regions. Lilli Gjerløw considered the Nidaros repertory of sequences a fusion of west Frankish and east Frankish traditions.² Previous research has focused on her hypothesis of “dual transmission” in which repertoire reached Nidaros in two separate streams, one German and one Anglo-French, and where a blending of the two traditions took place after they reached Scandinavia. According to this hypothesis, this blending produced melodic and textual features unique to the Nidaros repertory.

In recent research, I differ from this hypothesis by identifying more detailed relationships between melodic transmissions in Nidaros fragments and in manuscripts from mainland Europe. I have identified how and in what way individual manuscripts from the ‘zone of transition’, or areas in the northeast part of France, the Low

- 1 See also Gunnar I. Pettersen, “From Parchment Books to Fragments: Norwegian Medieval *Codices* Before and After the Reformation,” in *Latin Manuscripts of Medieval Norway. Studies in Memory of Lilli Gjerløw*, ed. Espen Karlsen (Oslo: Novus Press 2013), 41-66.
- 2 Lilli Gjerløw, ed., *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae. Libri liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi*, vol. 2 (Oslo: Norsk Kjeldekrift-Institutt, 1968), 433.

Countries and the northwest part of Germany,³ often mix regional melodic features independently from one another.⁴ Then, a case study on the sequence *Iohannes Iesu Christo* produced evidence to support the notion that mixed melodic traditions found in Nidaros manuscripts were, in fact, imported from regions on the mainland. This study suggests that the melodic blending did not happen in Nidaros and that it was by no means unique to this region. Instead, surviving melodic variants in the Nidaros transmission of *Iohannes Iesu Christo* bear witness to contact between medieval Nidaros and regions in or near the 'zone of transition'.⁵ The notion of monolithic "German" and "Anglo-French" practices can thus be further refined to reveal regional differences and chronological layers that may be helpful in analysing sequence transmission. In three earlier studies, I demonstrated how this applies also to sequences in the Nidaros tradition.⁶

In early research on Nidaros sequence melodies, Erik Eggen posited that there is a significant difference between the Norwegian and the Icelandic sequence manuscripts: "The sequences of Norway speak strongly of a connection with France and England while those of Iceland mainly show a similar dependence on Germany."⁷ In her doctoral dissertation of 1998, Gisela Attinger also asks whether Icelandic manuscripts preserve a different tradition from the Norwegian ones. Attinger examines a different chant genre, the antiphons, and she finds that five of her six Icelandic manuscripts differ frequently from the Norwegian fragments with regard to the antiphon melodies.⁸ On the other hand, the Icelandic melody variants do not show close relationships with melodies transmitted through any of the non-Nidaros sources she uses for comparison.⁹ More recently, Alison Altstatt and Caitlin Snyder examine the sequence *Clare sanctorum* in seven Nidaros sources. They find that two manuscripts from Iceland

3 The area is named "la Zone de Transition" in Gunilla Björkvall, Gunilla Iversen, Ritva Jonsson, eds., *Tropes du proper de la messe 2; Cycle de Pâques*, Corpus Troporum III. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 25 (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1982), 33. See also the map in Gunilla Iversen, *Tropes de l'Agnus Dei*. Corpus Troporum IV. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 26 (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1980), 26.

4 Marit Høye, "Melodic Identity of Sequences in Pa 833" (Paper presented at the 19th Congress of the International Musicological Society, Rome, July 1-8, 2012).

5 Marit Høye, "Melodic Identity in Fragmented Nidaros Sources: The Transmission of Notker's Sequence *Iohannes Iesu Christo*," in *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 40 (2014): 153.

6 Marit Høye, "The Sequence *Sancti Spiritus* in the Nidaros Tradition," in *Cantus Planus Study Group of the International Musicological Society. Papers read at the 16th meeting. Vienna, Austria, 2011*, ed. Robert Klugseder (Wien: Verlag Brüder Hollinek 2012), 168-177, Marit Høye, "Sequences of German Origin at Nidaros", in *XVI Nordic Musicological Congress, Stockholm 2012: Proceedings*, eds. Jacob Derkert and Peder Kaj Pedersen (Stockholm University: 2014), 248-267, (Link: diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:770575/FULLTEXT02.pdf), and Høye, "Melodic Identity in Fragmented", 139-161.

7 Erik Eggen, *The Sequences of the Archbishopric of Nidaros*, vol. 1, Bibliotheca Arnemagnæana 21-22 (København: Munksgaard, 1968), xxi. He points out, however, that not all of the manuscripts testify to this difference, see Eggen, *Sequences*, vol. 1., xxi-xxvi and 82.

8 Gisela Attinger, *A comparative study of chant melodies from fragments of the lost Nidaros Antiphoner*, Dr. art. dissertation (University of Oslo, 1998), 304-305 and 318.

9 Attinger remarks, however, that the representative spread of her selection of non-Nidaros sources can be questioned. Further, she points out that sources from the north of Germany are absent from her investigation. See Attinger, *A comparative*, 120.

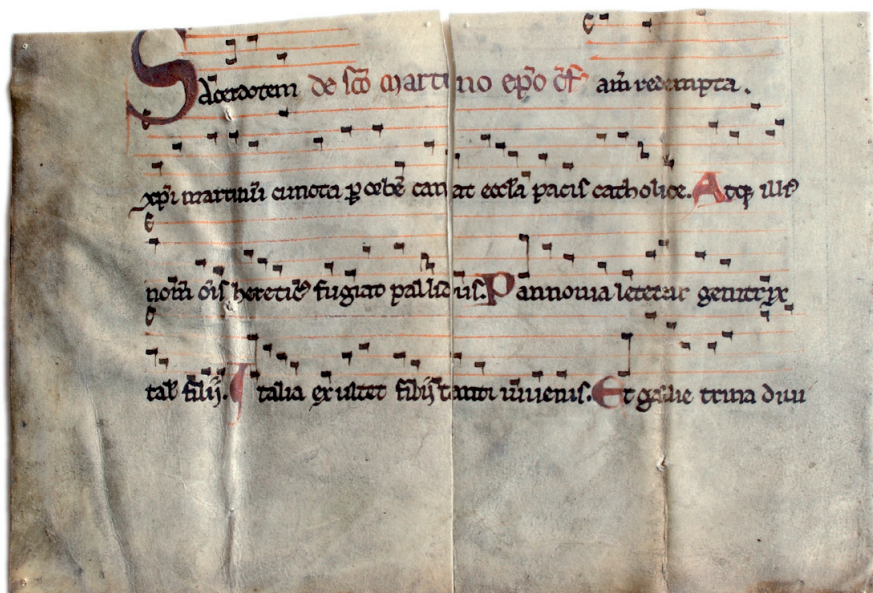


Figure 1. N-Ora 418, fol. 2v; *Sacerdotem Christi*, phrases 1-3. The National Archives of Norway; Lat. fragm. 418 1-46, 1-2v.

adhere to German traditions with regard to their sequence text while two Norwegian sources transmit Anglo-French features with the same text.¹⁰

In this article, I wish to explore further the assumption that there is a difference between the Norwegian and the Icelandic sources and, more specifically, I wish to examine whether Icelandic manuscripts transmit more German features with their sequence melodies. In order to examine the musical traditions of Iceland and mainland Norway and their relationship to each other, I will discuss four sequences and their surviving manuscripts in Nidaros. The sequence *Sacerdotem Christi* provides an interesting opening.

Sacerdotem Christi

The sequence *Sacerdotem Christi*¹¹ survived in two manuscripts from Nidaros: the Icelandic DK-Kar 1¹² from the fifteenth century; and the thirteenth-century Norwegian N-Ora 418 (see Figure 1). By comparative analyses of the sequence melody as found

10 Three of the seven sources remain indeterminate with regard to their text. See Alison Altstatt and Caitlin Snyder, 'Oriens et occidens, immo teres mundi circulus: Notker's *Clare sanctorum* in the German, Anglo-French, and Nidaros Traditions', in *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory & Its European Context*, ed. Lori Kruckenberg and Andreas Haug (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2006), 230-232. Altstatt and Snyder consider the sequence melody to feature a combination of both older-German and Western melodic dialects in Nidaros manuscripts. In this article, I take a fresh look at the melody of *Clare sanctorum*.

11 Text edited in Clemens Blume and Henry Bannister eds., *Thesauri hymnologici prosarium: Die Sequenzen des Thesaurus Hymnologicus H. A. Daniels und anderer Sequenzenausgaben. Analecta hymnica medii aevi* 53 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1911), nr 181.

12 I use the RISM library sigla to refer to manuscripts in this study.

1:D

1a *Sacerdotem Christi, Mar-ti-num cun-cta per or-bem ca-nat ec-cle-si-a pa-cis ca-tho-li-cae*
 1b *At-que il-li-us no-men o-mnis hae-re-ti-cus fu-gi-at pal-li-dus;*

2a *Pan-no-ni-a lae-te-tur ge-ne-trix ta-lis fi-li-i;*
 2b *I-ta-li-a ex-sul-tet a-li-trix tan-ti iu-ve-nis;*

3a *Et Gal-li-ae tri-na di-vi-si-o sa-cro cer-tet li-ti-gi-o, cu-ius es-se de-be-at prae-sul;*
 3b *Sed pa-tri-ter ha-be-re se pa-trem o-mnes gau-de-ant; Tu-ro-ni so-li cor-pus e-ius fo-ve-ant.*

4a *Hu-ic Fran-co-rum at-que Ger-ma-ni-ae plebs o-mnis plau-dat,*
 4b *Qui-bus vi-den-dum in-ve-xit Do-mi-num in su-a ve-ste.*

5a *Hic ce-le-bris est Ae-gy-pti pa-tri-bus Grae-ci-ae quo-que cun-ctis sa-pi-en-ti-bus,*
 5b *Qui im-pa-res se Mar-ti-ni me-ri-tis sen-ti-unt at-que e-ius me-di-ca-mi-ni.*

6a *Nam fe-bres se-dat dae-mo-nes-que fu-gat, pa-ra-ly-ti-ca mem-bra glu-ti-nat,*
 6b *Et mor-tu-o-rum su-a pre-ce tri-um red-dit cor-po-ra vi-tae pri-sti-nae.*

7a *Hic ri-tus sa-cri-le-gos de-stru-it et ad Chri-sti glo-ri-am dat i-do-la i-gni-bus.*
 7b *Hic nu-dis my-ste-ri-a bra-chi-is con-fi-ci-ens prae-di-tus est cae-le-sti lu-mi-ne.*














8a *Hic o-cu-lis ac ma-ni-bus in cae-lum et to-tis vi-ri-bus sus-pen-sus ter-re-na*
 8b *E-ius, o-ri-nun-quam Chri-stus ab-fu-it, si-ve iu-sti-ti-a, vel quic-quid ad ve-ram*
cun-cta re-spu-it.
vi-tam per-ti-net.

9a *I-gi-tur te cun-cti po-sci-mus, o Mar-ti-ne, ut, qui mul-ta mi-ra hic os-ten-di-sti,*
 9b *E-ti-am de cae-lo gra-ti-as Chri-sti no-bis sup-pli-ca-tu tu-o sem-per in fun-das.*

Example 1 *Sacerdotem Christi* from GB-Ob 5.

in manuscripts from different regions in Europe, I have identified seven points of regional variability within it.¹³ Example 1 shows a transcription of *Sacerdotem Christi* from York (GB-Ob 5) where the melodic motives that vary between Anglo-French and German traditions are marked with boxes. In Example 2, I compare these seven points of melodic variance in the fifteenth-century English GB-Ob 5 to a manuscript that shows the German melodic tradition with this chant (fourteenth-century D-Mbs 19267 from Regensburg). The Anglo-French and the German variants are then compared with the two Nidaros sources, N-Ora 418 and DK-Kar 1.

13 See Høye, "Sequences," 250-251 and 253.

GB-Ob 5		
	1a <i>Sa-cer-do-tem</i>	1b (At-)que il-li-(us)
D-Mbs 19267		
N-Ora 418		
DK-Kar 1		
GB-Ob 5		
	2a (Panno-)ni-a lae-te-(tur)	
	2b (Ita-) li- a ex-sul-(tet)	
D-Mbs 19267		
N-Ora 418		
DK-Kar 1		
GB-Ob 5		
	3a Gal-li-ae	(di-vi-)si- o sa-cro cer-(tet)
	3b pa-ri-ter	pa-trem o-mnes gau-(de-ant)
D-Mbs 19267		
N-Ora 418		
DK-Kar 1		
GB-Ob 5		
	4a (Ger-)ma-ni-ae	9a cun-cti po-sci-mus,
	4b Do-mi-num	9b cae-lo gra-ti-am
D-Mbs 19267		
N-Ora 418		
DK-Kar 1		

Example 2 Points of melodic variation in *Sacerdotem Christi*, Phrases 1a, 1b, 2, 3, 4 and 9.

Considering the prevalent view regarding different influences on Norwegian and Icelandic manuscripts discussed above, one would expect the Icelandic manuscript to preserve the sequence melody with German variants while the Norwegian manuscript fragment would adhere to an Anglo-French melodic tradition. Transcriptions of

the melody in the two Nidaros sources show, however, that the Icelandic DK-Kar 1 preserves this melody with Anglo-French features. The Norwegian N-Ora 418, on the other hand, preserves the melody of this sequence with both German and Anglo-French features within its surviving phrases.¹⁴

It is interesting to see that an initial examination of the two manuscript fragments points in a different direction than what has previously been assumed. Next, I will examine the sequence *Eia recolamus*.

Eia recolamus

The fifteenth-century Icelandic manuscript DK-Kar 1 also transmits the sequence *Eia recolamus*¹⁵ and Example 3 shows a transcription of the chant from the Icelandic source. To identify regional variations in this melody, I have examined the sequence in the sources listed in Table 1. Through synoptic analyses, I have then identified eight points of melodic variation particular to Anglo-French manuscripts and to manuscripts from the German-speaking area, in this sequence.

Table 1: Manuscripts Consulted for *Eia recolamus*

Manuscript	Provenance	
GB-Cu 710	Dublin	xiii
F-Pn 10508	Normandy	xii
F-Pn 904	Rouen	xiii
F-LG 2	Fontevroult	xiii
F-RS 227	Reims	xii
F-RS 264	Reims	xiii
F-RS 285	Reims	xv/xvi
F-CHUm 45	Montier-en-Der	xiii
F-CA 61	Lille	xii
F-LA 263	Laon	xii/xiii
F-Pn 833	St. Stephan at Arne	xii
F-VN 130	Verdun	xiv
F-VN 759	Verdun	xiii
F-VN 100	Verdun	xv
F-Pn 10511	Auxerre	xii
D-KNd 220	Köln?	xvi
D-KNd 226	unknown(Köln?)	xiv
D-DÜsl 19	Düsseldorf	xv
D-LEu 391	Leipzig	xiii
A-Wn 15501	Kuttenberg	xv/xvi
CH-SGs 546	St. Gall	xvi
CH-SGs 383	Lausanne	xiii

14 In N-Ora 418, four of the seven melodic motives shown in Example 2, the first motive of phrase 1 together with phrases 2, 3 and 9, comply with GB-Ob 5 and the Anglo-French melodic tradition. The second motive of phrase 1 is, however, notated in accordance with the German melodic tradition represented by D-Mbs 19267 (the second motive of phrase 3 and the variant in phrase 4 did not survive in N-Ora 418).

15 Text edited in Blume and Bannister, *Analecta hymnica* 53, nr 16.

1 E- ia, re-co-la-mus lau-di-bus pi-is di-gna

2a Hu-ius di-e i car-mi-na, in qua no-bis lux o-ri-tur gra- is- si-ma,
2b No-ctis in-ter-it ne-bu-la, per-e-unt no-stri cri-mi-nis um-bra-cu-la.

3a Ho- di-e sae-cu- lo ma- ris stel-la est e- ni- xa no-vae sa-lu-tis gau-di-a,
3b Quem tre-munt ba-ra-thra, mors cru-en-ta, cpa-vet i- psa, a quo per-i-bit mor-tu-a;

4a Ge-mit ca-pta pe-stis an-ti-qua, co-lu-ber li-vi-dus per-dit spo-li-a;
4b Ho-mo la-psus, o-vis ab-du-cta re-vo-ca-tur ad ae-ter-na gau-di-a.

5a Gau-dent in hac di-e ag-mi-na an-ge-lo-rum cae-le-sti-a,
5b Qui-a e-rat dra-gma de-ci-ma per-di-ta et est in-ven-ta.

6a O cul-pa ni-mi-um be-a-ta, qua re-dem-pta est na-tu-ra!
6b De-us, qui cre-a-vit om-ni-a, na-sci-tur ex fe-mi-na.

7a Mi-ra-bi-lis na-tu- ra, mi-ri- fi- ce in-du- ta, as-su-mens, quod non e-rat,
7b In-du-i- tur na-tu- ra di- vi- ni-tas hu-ma-na. Quis au-di- vit ta- li- a,
ma-nens, quod e-rat,
dic- ro- go, fa-cta?

8a Quae-re-re ve-ne-rat pa-stor pi-us, quod per-i-e-rat;
8b In- du- it ga-le-am, cer-tat ut mi-les ar-ma-tu-ra.

9a Pro-stra-tus in su- a pro-pri-a ru- it ho-stis spi-cu-la; au-fe-run-tur te-la,
9b In qui-bus fi-de-bat; di- vi-sa sunt il-li- us spo-li- a ca-pta prae-da su-a.

10a Chri-sti pu-gna for-tis-si-ma sa-lus no-stra est ve-ra;
10b Qui nos su-am ad pa-tri-am du-xit post vi-cto-ri-am,

11 In qua si-bi laus est ae-ter-na. A- men.

Example 3 *Eia recolamus* from DK-Kar 1.

F-Pn 10508

1 E- ia, re-co-la-mus lau-di-bus pi-is di-gna Al-le- lu-ia

D-DÜsl 19

F-Pn 10508

2a Hu-ius di- e- i car-mi-na, in qua no- bis lux o- ri- tur gra-tis-si-ma,
2b No-ctis in-ter-it ne-bu-la, per-e-unt no-stri cri-mi-nis um-bra-cu-la.

D-DÜsl 19

2a no-bis lux o- ri- tur
2b per-e- unt no-stri cri- mi-nis

F-Pn 10508

3a Ho- di- e sae-cu-lo est e- ni- xa ma-ris stel-la no-vae sa-lu-tis gau-di-a,
3b Quem tre-munt ba-ra-thra, mors cru-en-ta, pa-vet i- psa, a quo per-i-bit mor-tu-a;

D-DÜsl 19

F-Pn 10508

4a Ge-mit ca-pta pe-stis an-ti-qua, co-lu-ber li-vi-dus per-dit spo-li-a;
4b Ho-mo la-psus, o-vis ab-du-cta re-vo-ca-tur ad ae-fer-na gau-di-a.

D-DÜsl 19

F-Pn 10508

5a Gau-dent in hac di- e ag-mi-na an-ge-lo-rum cae-le-sti-a,
5b Qui-a e-rat dra-gma de-ci-ma per-di-ta et est in-ven-ta.

D-DÜsl 19

Example 4 *Eia recolamus*, phrases 1-5.

Example 4 shows the first half of the melody, and five of the eight points of variance, in one French manuscript (F-Pn 10508 from the late twelfth century and representing an Anglo-French melodic tradition) and one fifteenth-century German manuscript (D-DÜsl 19 representing a German melodic tradition).¹⁶

Also with this chant, the Icelandic manuscript transmits Anglo-French variants throughout, corresponding to the manuscript F-Pn 10508 in Example 4. With one exception: The second motive in phrase 5 is a variant that is mainly used in German

16 I only mark the differences that appear between the main groups of manuscripts in the two traditions. There are still individual differences between the two melodic transcriptions that are only found in this or in a few more manuscripts. Such differences are not accounted for here.

sources, corresponding to D-Düsl 19 in Example 4. The motive is, however, also found in thirteenth-century F-VN 759 and fifteenth-century F-VN 100 from Verdun in the northeast part of France, in twelfth-century F-Pn 10511 from Auxerre, and in a thirteenth-century manuscript from Dublin, GB-Cu 710. With this second sequence chant of DK-Kar 1, then, the melody still suggests an influence on the manuscript from Anglo-French regions but points more directly towards eastern France, or possibly the British Islands.

Eia recolamus survives in three more Nidaros sources: N-Ora 336 and N-Ora 1101 from mainland Norway and DK-Kk-NKS 138-4 from sixteenth-century Iceland. When compared to the synoptic transcriptions, we get the following result: The early thirteenth-century manuscript N-Ora 336 transmits its five surviving points of variance with Anglo-French melodic features. The fifteenth-century manuscript N-Ora 1101 transmits its four surviving points of variance with German melodic features and the Icelandic source DK-Kk-NKS 138-4 transmits all eight points of variance with German melodic features.

Thus, in their transmission of *Eia recolamus*, one manuscript from Iceland and one from mainland Norway show relationships with Anglo-French sources and one Norwegian and one Icelandic manuscript show relationships with German melodic traditions.

Clare sanctorum

The melody of *Clare sanctorum*¹⁷ is preserved in two Icelandic manuscripts – the already discussed DK-Kar 1 and DK-Kar 2 – both from the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The chant is also notated in a fragmented fifteenth-century manuscript from Norway, N-Ora 952, in thirteenth-century N-Ora 418, and in a fifteenth-century manuscript that is now supposed to be of Swedish origin, N-Ora 627.

Clare sanctorum has a wide international transmission. The sequence has previously been analysed by Alison Altstatt and Caitlin Snyder.¹⁸ Altstatt and Snyder find that the Nidaros sources transmit a combination of German melodic dialects with more Western melodic types and tentatively conclude that their study “offers an extra layer of evidence affirming Gjerløw’s original assessment of Nidaros as a fusing of Western and German traditions”.¹⁹ They view the fragmented Nidaros manuscripts as a group and state that a combination of a Western versicle division type, type X₃, and the blending of Anglo-French and German melodic features found in the Nidaros manuscripts “affirms some element of English influence over the archdiocese as a whole”.²⁰

I have re-examined Altstatt and Snyders findings for the Nidaros manuscripts, viewing each manuscript not as part of a group, but separately.²¹ This gives the following result:

17 Text edited in Blume and Bannister, *Analecta hymnica* 53, nr 228.

18 Altstatt and Snyder focus on versicle division typologies but also discuss regional melodic variants that relate to Anglo-French or German traditions with this sequence. See Altstatt and Snyder, “*Oriens et occidens*”, 182-240.

19 Altstatt and Snyder, “*Oriens et occidens*”, 232.

20 Altstatt and Snyder, “*Oriens et occidens*”, 231.

21 For melodic transcriptions of all five manuscripts, see Altstatt and Snyder, “*Oriens et occidens*”, 226-229. See also Table of versicle types, 231, and textual and melodic analyses, 224-232.

The Norwegian N-Ora 952 transmits Anglo-French melodic features in all of its five surviving phrases. N-Ora 418 transmits only a few tones in the opening of the chant and thus it is not possible to determine regional variants in this manuscript. The Swedish N-Ora 627 transmits only two phrases, but they give a clear German reading of the melody. N-Ora 627 should, however, not be viewed as part of a Norwegian-Icelandic group of manuscripts.²² Thus, we are left with only one manuscript fragment from mainland Norway, N-Ora 952 which preserves Anglo-French features with both melody and versicle division type.²³

The two Icelandic sources give a slightly different reading. DK-Kar 2²⁴ preserves all phrases of *Clare sanctorum* while only the first three phrases survive in DK-Kar 1.²⁵ The three phrases shared by the sources are, however, closely related. The first phrase in the Icelandic manuscripts gives a melody variant that is predominantly found in Germany but that is also notated in sources from northeast France and England. Analyses of *Sacerdotem Christi* and *Eia recolamus* above have already established a relationship with Anglo-French traditions for two of the sequences transmitted in DK-Kar 1. In a previous study, I identified Anglo-French melodic features in DK-Kar 1 with a third sequence, *Sancti spiritus*. With this sequence, the Icelandic source was shown to correspond closely to F-LA 263, a late twelfth-century manuscript from Laon in the northeast part of France.²⁶ This suggests to me that one should also examine the melody of *Clare sanctorum* in northeast French sources that were not examined by Altstatt and Snyder. I therefore include the following manuscripts: F-LA 263 from Laon, F-SMbm 73 from St. Mihiel (15th century), F-Pn 833²⁷ from St. Stephan-at-Arne (12th century), F-VN 130 from Verdun (14th century) and F-VN 98 from Metz (14th century). When assessing the melodic content of phrases 2 and 3 of *Clare sanctorum* in the Icelandic sources, we find a clear Anglo-French influence, as already noted by Altstatt and Snyder. When comparing the melody of DK-Kar 1 and DK-Kar 2 to manuscripts from the northeast part of France, however, we see that three of these, F-Pn 833, F-VN 130 and F-VN 98, share the melodic feature of combining a German-influenced phrase 1

22 Altstatt and Snyder list N-Ora 627 as Scandinavian and seem to include the manuscript in the group as a possible Norwegian manuscript. More recently, Åslaug Ommundsen lists the source as Swedish based on palaeographic evidence (in Åslaug Ommundsen, *Books, scribes and sequences in medieval Norway*, 2 vols., PhD dissertation (University of Bergen, 2007), 33-36).

23 See Altstatt and Snyder, "*Oriens et occidens*", 225-231, for melodic transcription and analysis of *Clare sanctorum* in N-Ora 952. See also Table of versicle types, 231.

24 DK-Kar 2 is also referred to as *Graduale Gufudalense*, or GG, and this terminology is used by Altstatt and Snyder. In this study I use the RISM library sigla to list manuscripts throughout. Altstatt and Snyder have, however, confused the two Icelandic sources and list what is really source GG, as MSc. They also list the manuscript MSc as GG, in Altstatt and Snyder, "*Oriens et occidens*", 224-240. Thus, we find DK-Kar 2, or *Graduale Gufudalense*, listed as MSc in the analyses of Altstatt and Snyder.

25 *Missale Scardense*, or MSc, the manuscript DK-Kar 1 is listed (wrongly) as GG in Altstatt and Snyder, "*Oriens et occidens*", 224-240.

26 Høye, "The Sequence *Sancti Spiritus*", 170.

27 F-Pn 833 was consulted by Altstatt and Snyder and the versicle division of *Clare sanctorum* was categorised to be of an older-German type. The melody, however, was not transcribed and melody variants in this source are not discussed in their study. See Altstatt and Snyder, "*Oriens et occidens*", 234 and 238.

with an Anglo-French-influenced phrase 2. Phrase 3 of the melody in the three northeast French manuscripts nevertheless adheres to the German tradition again, in contrast to the third phrase notated in the Icelandic manuscripts. Further, all three manuscripts transmit what Altstatt and Snyder refer to as an older-German versicle division type, type O₂. According to Altstatt and Snyder, DK-Kar 2 also transmits versicle division type O₂.²⁸ The English manuscript GB-Ob 5 corresponds to the three northeast French sources regarding the melodic shape of the first three phrases. GB-Ob 5 also transmits the same versicle division type as the northeast French and Icelandic sources, the older-German type O₂. Four other English sources on the other hand, transmit a melodic shape that corresponds closely to the melodic transmission shown in DK-Kar 1 and DK-Kar 2. These manuscripts do, however, transmit the other versicle division type, the western type X₃.²⁹ Thus, the two Icelandic manuscripts show close correspondence with a small group of both northeast French and English sources, although they transmit small differences from them as well. So far then, in contrast to what was implied by Altstatt and Snyder, we do not have manuscript evidence to show that the combination of versicle division X₃ and the blending of German and Anglo-French melodic features were in use at Nidaros. Between the few surviving Nidaros manuscripts, the Icelandic DK-Kar 1 and DK-Kar 2 are the only sources transmitting the blending of German and Anglo-French melodic features, and DK-Kar 2 preserves versicle division type O₂, not the X₃-type.

To conclude, both Icelandic manuscripts transmit the sequence *Clare sanctorum* with melodic features that point mainly to an Anglo-French influence but more specifically either towards the northeast part of France, where we find a blending of Anglo-French and German features, or to the British Islands.

Sancti Baptiste

The sequence *Sancti baptiste*³⁰ survived in one Norwegian and one Icelandic manuscript as well as in N-Ora 627, a manuscript that is now supposed to be of Swedish origin. None of the fragmented manuscripts preserves the full melody: N-Ora 418 from thirteenth-century Norway transmits phrases 1-3, the fifteenth-century Icelandic DK-Kar 241b transmits the last part of the melody, while N-Ora 627 transmits small pieces throughout the melody. *Sancti baptiste* has previously been analysed by Rebecca Maloy.³¹ At the time, the manuscript N-Ora 627 was included as a possibly Norwegian source. Maloy summarises that Norwegian and Icelandic traditions both show a strong German influence with regard to this melody. The conclusion is reached even though she also points to Norman features, in particular in the text but also at some

28 DK-Kar 1 remains indeterminate at this point, see Altstatt and Snyder, "*Oriens et occident*", 231 and 234.

29 See Altstatt and Snyder, "*Oriens et occident*", 231.

30 Text edited in Blume and Bannister, *Analecta hymnica* 53, nr 163.

31 See Rebecca Maloy, 'Poetry, Melody, and Mode: The Transmission of Notker's *Sancti baptiste*', in *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory & Its European Context*, ed. Lori Kruckenberg and Andreas Haug (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2006), 233-272.

points in the melody. She does, however, characterise this blending of Norman and German features as unique to the Nidaros tradition.³²

A new examination of the three fragments, built on a slightly different premise, differs to this conclusion. My premise is that the manuscripts do not represent Nidaros as a group but that they are individual fragments. Further, based on the new provenance given by Ommundsen in 2007, I view N-Ora 627 as a Swedish manuscript.³³ Individual analyses of the three manuscripts give the following results: The Swedish N-Ora 627 transmits a version of the melody that adheres closely to the German melodic tradition. Maloy previously compared Swedish manuscript fragments with *Sancti baptiste* and she found that most of the Swedish sources transmit an essentially German version of this sequence.³⁴ The melodic shape of *Sancti baptiste* in N-Ora 627 thus conforms well to other Swedish manuscripts.

The Norwegian N-Ora 418 on the other hand, transmits a blending of Anglo-French and German melodic features in the three phrases that survive with this melody: Phrases 1 and 3 transmit a melodic variant that is found also in French and English manuscripts, while phrase 2 transmits a German melodic variant. This should not, however, be viewed as a feature unique to this manuscript. Such a blending of regional features is in no way unique to Nidaros manuscripts and in several recent sequence studies I have shown how manuscripts from the northeast part of present-day France often transmit a blending of regional melodic features with sequence melodies.

I have therefore examined *Sancti baptiste* in seven manuscripts from this area: F-LA 263 from Laon, F-SMbm 73 from St Mihiel, F-Pn 833 from St. Stephan-at-Arne, F-VN 130 and F-VN 759 from Verdun, F-VN 98 from Metz, and GB-Lbl 18032 from Belgium. All seven manuscripts transmit the same blending of regional features within the first three phrases of *Sancti baptiste*, that we find with the melody in N-Ora 418. Thus, the melodic transmission in N-Ora 418 indicates a direct link to this region, situated in the middle of the old east Frankish and west Frankish area.³⁵

The Icelandic DK-Kar 241b has been viewed as part of a small group of German influenced Nidaros-sources. The manuscript has been suggested as showing early German melodic features within this sequence, features that were later also included in French manuscripts.³⁶ The chant is notated in DK-Kar 241b with D-final instead of the more commonly used G-final and thus it relates modally to many German but also a few Anglo-French, sources.³⁷ The text, on the other hand, relates solely to French and English sources.³⁸

32 Maloy, "Poetry", 260-261.

33 Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 35.

34 Maloy, "Poetry", 259-260. See also list of Swedish manuscripts on page 272.

35 This corresponds well with Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 16. She suggested, based on paleographic evidence, that the scribe of N-Ora 418 was influenced from France and the Low Countries.

36 Maloy, "Poetry", 260-261.

37 See Table 4 in Maloy, "Poetry", 262. The English F-Pa 135 and two northeast French manuscripts (F-Pn 842 and F-Pa 595 from Châlons-sur-Marne) also preserve the D-final as well as the same pitch-level variants as DK-Kar 241b in phrases 6-9 of *Sancti baptiste*. Maloy does, however, show how such modal emendation was a theoretical concern among scribes at the time and she suggests that it was done locally in Iceland, Maloy, "Poetry", 263-268.

38 Maloy, "Poetry", 249.

Further, when examining the melody that survived in DK-Kar 241b as a unique transmission independent from other Nidaros manuscripts, we see that all six phrases of *Sancti baptiste* that survived in this fragmented manuscript in fact adhere to the Anglo-French melodic tradition.³⁹ A small melodic variant in the opening of phrase seven may point more specifically towards the British Isles since the variant is also found in GB-Cu 710 from Dublin, GB-Ob 5 from York and F-Pa 135⁴⁰ from London. But the variant is also notated in a manuscript from Verdun in northeast France, F-VN 759.

I therefore suggest that this fragment does not preserve an early German melodic tradition. Instead, I find that DK-Kar 241b preserves a melodic tradition from the former west Frankish area – a tradition that arrived in Nidaros either by way of the British Isles or from the northeast part of France.

Summary

The Icelandic DK-Kar 1 shows mostly Anglo-French melodic features within its sequence *Sacerdotem Christi*, while the Norwegian manuscript N-Ora 418 preserves more German melodic features with this chant. However, N-Ora 418 blends melodic features from the two traditions in a way that points to an influence from the northeast of France or the ‘zone of transition’. Further, we have seen that all three Icelandic manuscripts, DK-Kar 1, DK-Kar 2 and DK-Kar 241b, sometimes transmit a blending of Anglo-French and German melodic traditions. More detailed analyses have revealed relationships between each of the three Icelandic sources and manuscripts from the northeast part of France and from the British Isles. The fourth Icelandic manuscript, DK-Kk-NKS 138-4, on the other hand, shows a clear German melodic reading within its sequence chant. The two Norwegian sources N-Ora 952 and N-Ora 336 transmit sequences with Anglo-French features, while N-Ora 1101 gives its surviving phrases of *Eia recolamus* with German melodic features.

This study shows that Icelandic manuscripts do not transmit a unified melody repertory that is distinct from sequence melodies notated in manuscripts from mainland Norway. Further, Icelandic manuscripts do not always preserve more German features than the Norwegian manuscripts. We have seen how the opposite also occurs in the transmission of *Eia recolamus*, where Norwegian source N-Ora 1101 shows a relationship with German traditions while Icelandic source DK-Kar 1 preserves an Anglo-French melodic tradition within this sequence.

39 For a transcription of *Sancti baptiste* in DK-Kar 241b, and melody variants, see Maloy, “Poetry”, 256–258. Note however, that Maloy transcribes the melody from the three manuscript fragments N-Ora 418, N-Ora 627 and DK-Kar 241b, on the same line. In phrase 5b this may create some confusion since the phrase is assigned to ‘N-Ora 627/DK-Kar 241b’. The German melodic features in phrase 5 are, however, transcribed only from N-Ora 627. This part did not survive in DK-Kar 241b. See facsimiles of the two manuscript fragments in Eggen, *Sequences*, vol. 2, 33 and 126.

40 F-Pa 135 shows the variant only in phrase 7b. The manuscript does, however, share both the variant in phrase 7 as well as the pitch-level variants mentioned above, with DK-Kar 241b.

APPENDIX

Summary of Nidaros Manuscripts that preserve *Sacerdotem Christi*, *Eia recolamus*, *Clare sanctorum* and *Sancti baptiste*.

Manuscript	Provenance	Sequences
DK-Kar 1	Iceland, xv 3/4 ⁴¹	<i>Eia recolamus</i> <i>Sacerdotem Christi</i> <i>Clare sanctorum</i>
DK-Kar 2	Iceland, xv ⁴²	<i>Clare sanctorum</i>
DK-Kk-NKS 138-4	Iceland, xvi ⁴³	<i>Eia recolamus</i>
DK-Kar 241b	Iceland, xv ⁴⁴	<i>Sancti baptiste</i>
N-Ora 336	Norway, xiii ⁴⁵	<i>Eia recolamus</i>
N-Ora 418	Norway, xiii ⁴⁶	<i>Sancti baptiste</i> <i>Sacerdotem Christi</i> <i>Clare sanctorum</i>
N-Ora 627	Sweden(?), xv ⁴⁷	<i>Clare sanctorum</i> <i>Sancti baptiste</i>
N-Ora 952	Norway (?), xv ⁴⁸	<i>Clare sanctorum</i>
N-Ora 1101	Norway (?), xv ⁴⁹	<i>Eia recolamus</i>

41 Merete Geert Andersen, *Katalog over AM Accessoria 7: De latinske fragmenter*, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 46 (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels forlag, 2008), 3-9. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, vol. II, pl. 199-218, 226-233, 279-294 and 310-312.

42 Geert Andersen, *Katalog*, 9-15. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 219-225, 234-259 and 313-316.

43 <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/17/dan/> (Manuscript online), fol. 55v-57r.

44 Eggen *Sequences*, I, xliii. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 188-191.

45 Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 18-22. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 40-47.

46 Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 13-17. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 1-39.

47 Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 33-36. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 58-67.

48 Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 61-64. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 86-93.

49 Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 27-32. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 52-55.