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Two rhymed offices composed for the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary: comparative study and critical edition

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Two rhymed offices composed for the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary: comparative study and critical edition

Dvě rýmovaná officia, složená pro svátek Navštívení Panny Marie: srovnávací studie a kritická edice

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Declarations

I hereby declare that this thesis is the results of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. All other sources are acknowledged by bibliographic references. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree unless, as agreed by the University, for approved dual awards.

I hereby declare that this thesis is submitted with the agreement of my supervisors.

Signature:

Abstract

The feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary was one of the last medieval Marian feasts to be introduced into the Roman Calendar, and is unusual in the wealth of contemporary, and near contemporary, documentation available for study in relation to its introduction.

The offices written by Jan of Jenštejn [1347-1400] and Adam Easton [1330-1397] for the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary have never been the subject of detailed examination or comparison, nor have critical editions of these offices been produced. This thesis addresses both these gaps in scholarship and presents an analysis and comparison of the texts, melodies, and dissemination of the offices. Using contemporary evidence and secondary sources the reasons for the institution of the new feast, the motivations of both Jenštejn and Easton, their compositional styles including choice of texts and melodies, and the introduction process itself are examined within the wider context of contemporary Marian devotion and fourteenth-century textual and musical composition.

Chapter One provides a contextual background to the celebration of the Visitation, from its inclusion in the Gospel of Luke and apocryphal sources to contemporary sermons, showing the importance of the Visitation in the West long before the new feast's introduction. Chapter Two examines the lives of Jan of Jenštejn and Adam Easton focussing particularly on their motivations for composing for the feast of the Visitation. Contemporary accounts including Jenštejn's *Vita*, letters written by Jenštejn to the pope, and reports by Nicholas of Rakovník are used within Chapter Three to detail the introduction process of the feast, from Jenštejn's initial conception of the feast as an intercession for the healing of the Schism, to the papal decision to promulgate Easton's *Accedunt laudes virginis* as the official office. The authorship of the two offices is discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, confirming the ascriptions to Easton and Jenštejn. The co-authorship of Jenštejn's office, *Exurgens autem Maria*, is raised, with Jenštejn's assistant at the Papal Curia, Nicholas of Rakovník, proposed as the most likely contributor, and a possible division of authorship suggested.

Detailed information on the sources used within the thesis is provided in Chapter Four, and the editorial principles used for the edition are given in Chapter Five. The textual and musical editions are placed at the close of the thesis. Analysis of Jenštejn's office, *Exurgens autem Maria*, in Chapter Six demonstrates that the texts were composed to foreground the biblical authority of the new feast, focussing particularly on Mary's role as Mediatrix for humanity. Jenštejn's melodies adhere to contemporary composition norms, particularly

through the use of pre-existing melodies for hymns and responsory verses and the use of standard melodic phrases. Easton's office, *Accedunt laudes virginis*, is analysed in Chapter Seven, with particular regard to his modification of the melodies of Julian of Speyer's office for St Francis of Assisi, leading to the suggestion that Easton's office should be classified as a 'modified contrafact'. Examination of the text reveals that his office was written to demonstrate the importance and relevance of the Visitation within contemporary lives.

The dissemination of both offices and later modifications are examined in their respective chapters which demonstrates that although Easton's office was officially promulgated, Jenštejn's continued to be in active use across Europe until at least the mid-sixteenth century. The Conclusion presents a final comparison between Jenštejn's and Easton's offices and suggests avenues for further research that have been revealed by this thesis.

Abstrakt

Svátek Navštívení Panny Marie představuje jeden z posledních mariánských svátků, které byly zařazeny do římského kalendáře a který se také vyznačuje neobvyklým množstvím současné a téměř současné dokumentace, která je k dispozici pro moderní studium v souvislosti s jeho uvedením.

Oficia pro svátek Navštívení Panny Marie složená Janem z Jenštejna [1347-1400] a Adamem Eastonem [1330-1397] se dosud nestala předmětem podrobného zkoumání nebo srovnání, a rovněž nejsou přistupná v kritických hudebních edicích. Předkládaná disertace vyplňuje obě tyto mezery v moderním výzkumu a přináší analýzu a srovnání textů, melodií a jejich rozšíření. S využitím soudobých primárních a sekundárních pramenů jsou zde popsány důvody pro zavedení nového svátku, zájem Jenštejna i Eastona, jejich kompoziční styl i strategie při volbě existujících textů a melodií, a to vše v širším kontextu současné mariánské zbožnosti a kompozičních postupů ve čtrnáctém století.

První kapitola se zabývá kontextuálním pozadím svátku Navštívení, od začlenění příběhu do biblických a apokrifních pramenů až po soudobá kázání, a dokumentuje význam obrazu Navštívení v západní církvi dlouho před uvedením nového svátku do církevního kalendáře. Druhá kapitola popisuje život Jana z Jenštejna a Adama Eastona a zaměřuje se zejména na jejich důvody ke složení repertoáru pro svátek Navštívení. Ve třetí kapitole jsou shrnuty údaje ze soudobých dokumentů včetně Jenštejnovy biografie (*Vita*), dopisů, které psal Jenštejn papeži, a výpovědi Mikuláše Rakovníka. Ty jsou dále použity k podrobnému popisu procesu uvedení svátku, od Jenštejnovy původní myšlenky uvést svátek jako přímluvu za "uzdravení" církve v době Schizmatu až po papežské rozhodnutí o uvedení Eastonova oficia *Accedunt laudes virginis* jako závazného repertoáru. O autorství obou oficií pojednávají kapitoly šest a sedm, které potvrzují původní autorské atribuce. U Jenštejnova oficia je zařazena diskuse o možném spoluautorství a konkrétním podílu Jenštejnova pobočníka u papežské kurie Mikuláše Rakovníka.

Podrobné informace o pramenech použitých v disertační práci jsou uvedeny ve čtvrté kapitole a pátá kapitola shrnuje ediční zásady použité v kritické edici. V závěrečné části disertační práce je zařazena textová a hudební edice. Analýza Jenštejnovy oficia *Exurgens autem Maria* v šesté kapitole ukazuje, že texty byly sestaveny tak, aby vyzdvihly biblické potvrzení nového svátku a že text především vyzdvihuje roli Marie jako *mediatrix* (zprostředkovatelky). Jenštejnovy melodie se drží současných kompozičních norem, zejména

přebíráním již existujících melodií pro hymny a responsoriální verše a používáním standardních melodických frází. Eastonovo oficium *Accedunt laudes virginis* je analyzováno v sedmé kapitole, se zvláštním zřetelem na úpravu melodií oficia pro svátek svatého Františka z Assisi Juliana ze Špýru. Výsledek analýzy vede k návrhu klasifikovat Eastonovo oficium jako "modifikované kontrafaktum." Studie textu odhaluje, že tento text byl sepsán k zvýraznění významu a platnosti svátku Navštívení v tehdejším životě.

V příslušných kapitolách je rovněž diskutováno rozšíření obou oficií a pozdější úpravy, které ukazují, že navzdory uvedení Eastonova oficia jako oficiálního repertoáru do římské církve se Jenštejnovo oficium aktivně tradovalo v Evropě do poloviny 16. století. Závěrečná kapitola přináší detailní srovnání Jenštejnova a Eastonova oficia a navrhuje směr, kam se na základě předkládané disertace může ubírat další výzkum.

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I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr Hana Vlhová-Wörner and Professor Sue Niebrzydowski for their support, encouragement, and constructive criticism throughout my studies. My thanks also to Professor Chris Collins and Dr Pwyll ap Siôn for their support and advice.

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Introduction

The Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary is one of the Marian feast days celebrated in the Middle Ages, alongside her Conception (8 December), her Nativity (8 September), her Presentation at the Temple (21 November), the Annunciation (25 March), her Purification (2 February), and the Assumption (15 August). This thesis examines two offices for the feast of the Visitation, composed in the last two decades of the fourteenth century – *Exurgens autem Maria* by Jan of Jenštejn [1347-1400], and *Accedunt laudes virginis* by Adam Easton [1330-1397]. The Visitation is unusual in that we have contemporary, documentary evidence for the introduction process in the Papal Curia as well as information regarding the authors of two different offices.

The text and melodies of these two offices have never been the subject of detailed examination and comparison, and this thesis presents the first critical edition of both offices as well as textual and musical analysis. My research fills the lacuna in current scholarship regarding the context of the feast within contemporary Western Marian devotion and the circumstances surrounding the offices' creation. My study of the lives of Jenštejn and Easton examines the events which connect both composers as well as their personal and political motivations for composing for the Visitation. Of forty-seven manuscripts and printed books identified which contain either office, sixteen have been used to create a full textual and melodic critical edition, which includes a full English translation and identification of biblical quotations, paraphrases, and allusions. The textual and musical analysis carried out in this thesis reveals new information about the composition of liturgical chants in the late-fourteenth century, and a comparison of the two offices suggests why Easton's office was chosen over Jenštejn's for official promulgation. The dissemination of Jenštejn's and Easton's offices throughout Europe is traced for the first time, uncovering later variations to both offices as well as regional and monastic adaptations.

The feast of the Visitation was a late addition to the corpus of Marian feasts in the Roman Calendar, only introduced in the last two decades of the fourteenth century after a campaign by Jan of Jenštejn, the third Archbishop of Prague. Jenštejn was convinced by a vision in October 1378 that the institution of the Visitation as a feast would heal the wounds from the Great Western Schism – the split in the Roman Church which led to two or three simultaneous popes. He began campaigning for its introduction in 1386, and submitted a three-lesson office,

Exurgens autem Maria, to Pope Urban VI [1318-1389] who agreed to launch an investigation into the proposed feast. The investigative panel, which examined the theology of the feast as well as the liturgy submitted by Jenštejn, included Adam Easton, an English Benedictine Cardinal living in Rome. In 1389 Urban VI announced his intention to institute the feast, but died before he could issue the requisite bull. Jenštejn was requested to expand his office to a full nine-lessons. Urban's successor, Pope Boniface IX [1350-1404], issued a bull in November 1389, although the authorised text and chants had not yet been chosen. By the time Jenštejn visited Rome in 1390 to petition for the completion of the process, an additional seven offices had been submitted for consideration, including *Accedunt laudes virginis* written by Easton. A second investigatory panel, again including Adam Easton, examined the eight potential Visitation offices and chose Easton's office for promulgation throughout the Church, although Jenštejn's office continued to be used throughout Europe until at least the mid-sixteenth century.

Most scholarly interest in Jenštejn and Easton has focused on their political lives rather than compositional activities. Jenštejn's involvement in the introduction of the feast of the Visitation is often overlooked, with many non-academic websites attributing the initial celebration to the Franciscans.[1] Other authors incorrectly identify Easton as the composer of the first Visitation office,[2] with Andrew Lee's popular but unreferenced book stating that Easton proposed that the feast would heal the Schism.[3] Contemporary writings regarding Jenštejn and his involvement in the feast – including his *Vita*, written shortly after his death by Petrus Clarificator, two letters from Jenštejn to the pope regarding the new feast, and reports on the introduction process by his assistant Nicholas of Rakovník [c.1350-1390] – are frequently ignored by West-European works on the archbishop. It is my hope that this thesis can correct these errors, bring both composers' involvement in the feast of the Visitation to prominence, and shed light on the oft-ignored contemporary sources.

In Chapter One I examine the cultural context of the Visitation, to show that the biblical event of Mary's visit to Elizabeth was unofficially celebrated in the West long before its

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[1] See, for example the recent 'Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary', 31 May 2020, <https://angelusnews.com/faith/saint-of-the-day/feast-of-the-visitation-of-the-blessed-virgin-mary/>, last accessed 10 January 2021.

[2] L. J. Macfarlane, *The life and writings of Adam Easton O.S.B Vol.1* (unpublished PhD thesis, London: University of London, 1955), p. 209.

[3] Andrew Lee, *The Most Ungrateful Englishman: The life and times of Adam Easton* (Lydney: Corpus Publishing Limited, 2006).

adoption into the Roman Calendar. The Visitation's inclusion in early and contemporary sources is explored, from the Bible and early apocryphal sources to the *Legenda Aurea* (The Golden Legend), the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (Meditations on the Life of Christ), sermons and homilies of early and medieval Christian theologians, and even its presence within Books of Hours and pregnancy and birthing rituals.[4] In Chapter Two I compile backgrounds for Jan of Jenštejn and Adam Easton and examine their reasons for composing for the feast of the Visitation. The chapter demonstrates that the Virgin Mary and the Visitation itself was important to both composers, but that their motivations for composing for the new feast were very different. In Chapter Three I detail the introduction process of the feast, from its inception and Jenštejn's original office to the promulgation of Easton's office and consider evidence from both primary and secondary sources that Jenštejn was not the sole composer of his office. The reactions to Jenštejn's proposition in Prague and in the Papal Curia are analysed, before I propose new composition dates for each office, based on the backgrounds of the two composers. A timeline of the events described in Chapters Two and Three is given in Appendix One.

Chapter Four examines the sources, both manuscripts and printed books, used in my thesis, providing physical information and details on relevant Visitation contents. In Chapter Five I detail the editorial principles used for the text and music editions, and the chapter concludes with a neume table which gives examples of non-standard neumes found in the manuscripts, how they have been transcribed in the edition, and how they appear in the critical commentary if specific symbols are used. The textual and musical editions are presented after the conclusion at the close of the thesis. The text edition provides a full transcription of each chant, fully expanded, with biblical passages identified, and an English translation. Textual variations are recorded underneath each chant. The musical edition gives a full transcription of each chant in modern chant notation. Melodic variations are given under the transcription, giving both the original melodic line and the variation in that particular manuscript.

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[4] The *Legenda Aurea* is a collection of saint's lives and biblical and apocryphal events, written by Jacobus de Voragine (1228-1298). See Jacobus de Voragine, William Granger Ryan (trans.), *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

The *Meditationes Vitae Christi* is a devotional text from the mid-fourteenth century, now attributed to Pseudo-Bonaventure. See an English translation in *St. Bonaventure's Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (New York: P. J. Kenedy, 1881). For an edition of the Middle-English translation by Nicholas Love in the fifteenth century, see Nicholas Love, Michael G. Sargent (ed.), *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

In Chapter Six I examine the text of Jenštejn's office, *Exurgens autem Maria*, looking specifically at the use of biblical quotations and the way in which the office's original texts were composed. I analyse the music composed for the office with regard to its adherence to contemporary composition norms. The criticism of the office by two investigative panels is addressed, using Jenštejn's replies as well as my own analysis. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the dissemination of Jenštejn's office throughout Europe and later modifications. Finally, Chapter Seven examines Easton's office, *Accedunt laudes virginis*, starting with an analysis of Easton's creation of contrafact chants from Julian of Speyer's office for St Francis of Assisi, *Franciscus vir catholicus*. The text of the office is examined, particularly the way it is inspired by Speyer's versification, followed by an analysis of the music with regards to Easton's use of contrafacta and the compositional style of new melodies. The close of this chapter traces the repertory transmission of Easton's office and identifies later variants and regional modifications. In my conclusion I present a comparison between Jenštejn's and Easton's offices and propose avenues for future research.

This thesis thus places the establishment of the feast of the Visitation within its spiritual, theological, and political context, and fills a lacuna within the understanding of the medieval celebration and establishment of Marian feasts. The creation of the critical editions and English translations provides a foundation for future research on these offices, and the textual and musical analysis enables new conclusions to be drawn regarding the composition practices and motivations of both composers as well as the Papal Curia's choice of office for official promulgation.

Chapter One
The Cultural Context of the Celebration of the Visitation

O dies omni voto recolenda o dies omni studio veneranda[5]

'O day to contemplate with all prayer, O day to be venerated with all study'

Veneration of, and devotion to, the Virgin Mary can be seen throughout the history of the Church from the fourth century, rising to a peak in the Late Middle Ages. Marian feasts were celebrated; churches, chapels, and altars were dedicated to the Virgin; and Marian chants and songs resonated throughout both liturgical services and secular life. Mary's song (the *Magnificat*), taken directly from the Visitation passage in Luke, was sung every day during Vespers, and the music for its antiphon was frequently more complex than the other Vespers antiphons. From the sixth century, six Marian feasts from the East were introduced into the Roman Church: her Immaculate Conception, her Nativity, the Annunciation, her Purification, her Presentation at the Temple, and her Assumption. New texts were composed for these feasts during the Carolingian renaissance in the eighth and ninth centuries, and Margot Fassler suggests that the reason for these changes was to develop Mary's character 'while maintaining a biblical framework for her person'.[6] The feast of the Visitation, unlike the Marian feasts observed before it, was not introduced from the East, but rather added in the 1380s by Popes Urban VI and Boniface IX after an initiative by Archbishop Jan of Jenštejn. This chapter focuses specifically on the cultural and historical background of the Visitation to demonstrate the theological and social context in which Jenštejn and Easton composed.

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[5] JMR2.4, lines 1-2.

[6] Margot Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chatres, and the Stirps Jesse: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and Its Afterlife', *Speculum*, 75 (2000), 395-396.

Early Sources for the Visitation

The Gospel of Luke

The Visitation of the Virgin Mary is a biblical event, described only in the Gospel of Luke 1:39-56.

> [39] And Mary rising up in those days, went into the hill country with haste into a city of Juda. [40] And she entered into the house of Zachary, and saluted Elizabeth. [41] And it came to pass, that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the infant leaped in her womb.
>
> And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost: [42] And she cried out with a loud voice, and said: Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. [43] And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? [44] For behold as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in my ears, the infant in my womb leaped for joy. [45] And blessed art thou that hast believed, because those things shall be accomplished that were spoken to thee by the Lord.
>
> [46] And Mary said: My soul doth magnify the Lord. [47] And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. [48] Because he hath regarded the humility of his handmaid; for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. [49] Because he that is mighty, hath done great things to me; and holy is his name. [50] And his mercy is from generation unto generations, to them that fear him. [51] He hath shewed might in his arm: he hath scattered the proud in the conceit of their heart. [52] He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble. [53] He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away. [54] He hath received Israel his servant, being mindful of his mercy: [55] As he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed for ever.
>
> [56] And Mary abode with her about three months; and she returned to her own house. [7]

The biblical Visitation passage can be split into four sections: the first detailing Mary's journey and arrival; the second spoken by Elizabeth; the third spoken by Mary; and the final verse giving Mary's departure. It was this third section that was included as a canticle in Vespers, called the *Magnificat* after the opening line (*Magnificat anima mea Dominum*), often with an elaborated antiphon.

Apocryphal Lives of the Virgin

A number of the apocryphal writings provide additional details about Mary's life and introduce key medieval doctrines including Mary's own immaculate conception, her

---

[7] Gospel of Luke 1:39-56, 'Douay-Rheims Translation of the Latin Vulgate', <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/49001.htm>, last accessed 24 January 2021.

presentation at the temple, her vow to keep her virginity (and later her virginity *in partu* and *post partum* – during and after birth of Jesus), her relationship with Joseph, and her Dormition and Assumption. The Visitation, however, is rarely mentioned. The *Protoevangelium of James* is possibly the oldest apocryphal infancy gospel, written in Syria or Egypt by the third century, and gives a short account of Mary's journey to Elizabeth in chapter twelve.

> And Mary rejoiced and went to Elizabeth her kinswoman and knocked on the door. When Elizabeth heard her, she put down the scarlet and ran to the door and opened it,
>
> and when she saw Mary she blessed her and said, 'How is it that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For behold, that which is in me leaped and blessed you.'
>
> But Mary forgot the mysteries which the archangel Gabriel had told her, and raised a sigh towards heaven and said, 'Who am I, Lord, that all generations of the earth count me blessed?'
>
> And she remained three months with Elizabeth. Day by day her womb grew, and Mary was afraid, went into her house and hid herself from the children of Israel.[8]

There are clear similarities between the Lucan and *Protoevangelium* passages, with the apocryphal version also being split into four similar sections. The architectural setting of the meeting is changed: within the biblical account Mary '*intravit in domum Zachariae*' (entered into the house of Zachariah) whereas James states that Elizabeth 'ran to the door and opened it' and Mary 'raised a sigh towards heaven' positioning the two women outside. This difference in setting can be seen in artistic representations of the Visitation – with some depicting the two women outside, and others showing the interior of a structure, often in a setting contemporary with the artist in order to create a cultural proximity for viewers and allow a sense of familiarity with the two women. Elizabeth's speech is very familiar in the *Protoevangelium* – almost a direct quotation of Luke verses 43-44. Mary's response, however, is remarkably different. Whereas in the biblical account Mary rejoices in the Lord and her new position as mother of God, stating that 'because he hath regarded the humility of his handmaid, for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed', in the *Protoevangelium* Mary is forgetful of the archangel Gabriel's message and questions why she should be blessed. The question Mary asks – 'Who am I, Lord, that all generations of the earth count me blessed?' – is both reminiscent of the *Magnificat* from the Gospel of Luke, and functions as a reminder of the Annunciation.

---

[8] J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation based on M. R. James* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 61-62. Sectioning is my own.

The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* gives a great amount of detail regarding the situation of Mary's parents and her conception and childhood as well as her subsequent marriage to Joseph. It also includes a very detailed account of Mary proving her purity against the slanders of the priests and townspeople. Originally known as the *liber de Infantia* or the *Historia de Nativitate Mariae et de Infantia Salvatoris*,[9] the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* uses material from both the *Protoevangelium of James* and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, and Elliott argues that 'it was the main vehicle for popularizing' the two earlier texts, and that 'much medieval art is indecipherable without reference to books such as Pseudo-Matthew'.[10] Despite using material from the *Protoevangelium of James*, the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* does not include the Visitation, rather moving from the Annunciation straight to the proving of Mary's virginity. However, the inclusion of virgin companions in some depictions of the Visitation may have been influenced by this popular apocryphal text, as discussed below.

The Visitation in Western Medieval Art

Artistic representations of the Visitation were common in both Western and Byzantine art long before the feast's official promulgation in the late fourteenth century.[11] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine Visitation art in detail, however a brief consideration of some key aspects of depictions of the scene will help place the feast into its wider cultural context.

One of the earliest extant images of the Visitation is a Byzantine mosaic in the Church of San Mauro in Poreč, Istria, which is dated by Thomas E. Schweigert to 546-549.[12] The image portrays the two women, visibly pregnant, with their hands outstretched to each other in a familiar greeting. An architectural structure to the right surrounds a short figure, unidentified although possibly female and with uncovered head, holding the curtain open in the doorway. The golden halos shown around both Mary and Elizabeth are frequently shown in Visitation images, representing the holy nature of the figures; and in heraldry, gold (*or*) represented

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] For a comprehensive examination of the Visitation in Western medieval art, see Anne Marie Velu, *La Visitation dans l'art: Orient et Occident, V^e-XVIe siècle* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2012) and Gertrud Schiller, Janet Seligman (trans.), *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1 (London: Lund Humphries, 1969).

[12] For more information, see Thomas E. Schweigert, 'The Apse Mosaics in the church of San Mauro at Parentium: A Justinianic Interpretation', *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 23:2, 693-707. The Visitation image is shown on p. 703.

prestige and virtue. However, the garb of the two women does not conform to many of the later standard characteristics: the women are dressed in black and gold, and both have their hair covered. In later Visitation art, it was common to emphasise the difference in age and status between Mary and Elizabeth through their clothes. As a married woman, Elizabeth's hair is frequently covered: 'a white scarf which covers her entire head, wraps around her neck and frames her mature features'.[13] Mary, on the other hand, commonly has her hair uncovered and loose, often shown trailing down her back, as a mark of her virginity. In late-medieval images, the colour of Mary and Elizabeth's clothes also reflects their status. Mary is often clothed in blue and red, common throughout both Western and Byzantine art traditions. Heather Pulliam notes that, in Western art, blue and green were 'seen as celestial colors symbolizing heaven and the gospels',[14] and the *azure* tincture in heraldry stood for eternal truth and the heavenly divine.[15] Red was used to symbolise Christ's blood as well as the Holy Spirit in the form of tongues of fire sent down at Pentecost, and in heraldry the red (*gules*) tincture represented humanity. Velu notes, however, that this combination of red and blue in Mary's clothing can also be seen in the Byzantine tradition where, opposingly, 'the blue symbolises the human nature, the creature coming from the waters of Genesis, the red the divine nature which united with Mary when she bore the Son of God'.[16] Elizabeth, in contrast, is commonly dressed in grey or purple-grey, which P. J. Heather notes is used in the Bible 'chiefly in descriptions of old age'[17] thus emphasising the age difference between the two women as well as the miraculous nature of Elizabeth's conception at an advanced age.

An early but contested example of the Visitation in Western art is panel S5 of the Ruthwell Cross. Brendan Cassidy notes that 'partly because of the extensiveness of the iconographic program and the epigraphy, and partly because its checkered history has left the carvings and inscriptions scarred and incomplete, almost every aspect of the cross has been the subject of

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[13] '*...une guimpe blanche qui lui couvre entièrement la tête, s'enroule autour du cou et encadre son visage aux traits mûrs*': Anne Marie Velu, *La Visitation dans l'art*, p. 57. English translation is my own.

[14] Heather Pulliam, 'Colour', *Studies in Iconography*, 33 (2012), 8.

[15] Désirée Koslin, 'Value-added stuffs and shifts in meaning: an overview and case study of medieval textile paradigms', in Désirée G. Koslin and Janet E. Snyder (eds.), *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 235.

[16] '*...le bleu symbolise la nature humaine, la créature issue des eaux de la Genèse, le rouge la nature divine, qui s'est unie à Marie dès lors qu'elle a porté le Fils de Dieu*': Anne Marie Velu, *La Visitation dans l'art*, p. 16. English translation is my own.

[17] P. J. Heather, 'Colour Symbolism: Part I', *Folklore*, 59:4 (December, 1948), 174.

scholarly controversy'[18] but states that most scholars now agree to a date between the late seventh century and the early to mid-eighth century. The figures in the panel are positioned in a typical Visitation gesture – with the figure on the right (believed to be Elizabeth) extending her hand out to touch Mary's stomach and Mary's hand above in a comforting position on Elizabeth's upper arm or shoulder. Similar gestures can be seen in the illustrated initials in Jenštejn's Vat.lat.1122 manuscript.

While the Lucan Visitation passage only mentions Elizabeth and Mary, some artists included secondary characters in depictions of the scene, and Anne Marie Velu notes that these 'secondary characters also play the role of witnesses, affirmed or hidden'.[19] These figures, male or female, can include Zachariah, Joseph, and even artistic representations of a patron or contemporary local clergy. The inclusion of two female accompanying figures, referred to by Velu as 'two women, maids, friends, confidants',[20] was not uncommon. Manuscript Vat.lat.1122 (1376-1400), which contains the full Visitation office and many of Jenštejn's writings, includes five illustrated images of the Visitation.[21] Three of these images (on ff. 4r, 138v, and 187v) portray two female companions behind Mary, their uncovered heads and flowing locks reflecting their virgin status. While these two virgin companions are not biblical in nature, chapter eight the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* states that Joseph requested virgin companions for Mary while she lived in his house. The high priest Abiathar agreed and sent five virgins to live with her; Rebecca, Sephora, Susanna, Abigea, and Cael.[22] It is possible that the two depicted virgins are representative of these companions. A second possibility is that the two women represented are Mary of Cleophas and Mary Salome, the younger sisters of the Virgin Mary as described in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*.[23]

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[18] Brendan Cassidy, 'The Later Life of the Ruthwell Cross: from the Seventeenth Century to the Present', in Brendan Cassidy (ed.) *The Ruthwell Cross: Papers from the Colloquium sponsored by the Index of Christian art Princeton University, 8 December, 1989* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 3.

[19] '*...personnages secondaires jouent aussi le rôle de témoins, affirmés ou cachés*': Anne Marie Velu, *La Visitation dans l'art*, p. 82. English translation is my own.

[20] '*...deux femmes, servantes, amies, confidentes*': *Ibid.* English translation is my own.

[21] For more information, see Chapter 4.
Ms Vat.lat.1122:
<http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=present&term=@5Vat.lat.1122_ms&item=1&add=0&search=1 &filter=&relation=3&operator=&attribute=3040>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[22] 'The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. From Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol 8 (1886)', <http://gnosis.org/library/psudomat.htm>, last accessed 24 January 2021.

[23] '*And Anne had three husbands, Joachim, Cleophas, and Salome; and of the first she had a daughter named Mary, the Mother of God, the which was given to Joseph in marriage, and she childed our Lord Jesu Christ. And when Joachim was dead, she took Cleophas, the brother of Joseph, and had by him another daughter named Mary*

The Legenda Aurea

The *Legenda Aurea* (or *The Golden Legend)*, a collection of saints' lives and biblical and apocryphal scenes, was written by Jacobus de Voragine [1228-1298], the Archbishop of Genoa from 1292, and was crucial for the European dissemination of the apocryphal narratives, including the events associated with the Visitation. The presence of the *Legenda Aurea* in fourteenth century manuscripts in England and Bohemia reflect the widespread reception of Voragine's work, particularly within the cultural centres around both Jenštejn and Easton.[24] Voragine's *Golden Legend* includes a short but detailed account of the Visitation within the section on 'The Nativity of John the Baptist' (24 June).

> In Elizabeth's sixth month Mary, who had already conceived, came to her, the fruitful virgin to the woman relieved of sterility, feeling sympathy for her in her old age. When she greeted her cousin, blessed John, already filled with the Holy Spirit, sensed the Son of God coming to him and leapt for joy in his mother's womb, and danced, saluting by his movements the one he could not greet with his voice. He leapt as one wishing to greet his Lord and to stand up in his presence. The Blessed Virgin stayed with her cousin for three months, helping her, and when the child was born, as we read in the *Scholastic History*, she lifted it from the earth with her holy hands, kindly acting as a nursemaid would.[25]

There is no mention of Elizabeth or Mary speaking other than Mary greeting her cousin, focusing mainly on the reaction of the unborn John to Jesus' presence. Mary's involvement in the birth of John the Baptist is not found in the previous sources examined, however the phrase 'as we read in the *Scholastic History*' suggests that it was an established apocryphal concept. The *Scholastic History* mentioned is likely Petrus Comestor's [1100-1178] *Historia Scholastica* from the twelfth century, which states '*Mansit autem Maria ibi mensibus tribus, ministrans cognatae donec pareret, et tunc rediit in domum suam*'[26] ('And Mary remained

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also...Then the second husband being dead, Anne married the third named Salome, and had by him another daughter which yet also was called Mary': Jacobus de Voragine, William Caxton (trans.), *The Golden Legend: Or, Lives of the Saints* 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), pp. 97-98.

[24] For example: Ms Royal 19 B XVII, dated to 1382 and created in France for a member of the Beaufort family in England: <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8527>, last accessed 26 January 2021.

Ms CZ-Pu XIX B 1, dated to 1366 with a Czech provenance:
<http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=RASTIS-NKCR__XIX_B_1_____1S6BDN4-cs>, last accessed 7 January 2021.

[25] Jacobus de Voragine, William Granger Ryan (trans.), *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, p. 330.

[26] Magistri Petri Comestoris, 'Magistri Petri Comestoris Historia Scholastica', *Patrologia Cursus Completus [Series Latina]*, 198 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: J.-P. Migne Editorem, 1855), p. 1538.

there for three months, attending her kinswoman while she bore [John the Baptist], and then returned to her home'). This additional act brings Mary firmly into the mortal sphere – she visited relatives, cared for them in hard times, and acted as a nursemaid.

As this chapter of Voragine's *Golden Legend* is primarily concerned with the birth of John the Baptist, it understandable that Mary's leaving is not described, and as she is not mentioned in the child's circumcision or the rest of the chapter, it could be understood that Mary left between the birth and the circumcision on the eighth day. William Granger Ryan, in the introduction to his translation, states that 'the popularity of the *Legend* was such that some one thousand manuscripts have survived, and, with the advent of printing in the 1450s, editions both in the original Latin and in every Western European language multiplied into the hundreds'.[27] Given the spread of Voragine's *Golden Legend* throughout Europe, it is almost certain that both Jenštejn and Easton (both learned men with access to university and private libraries) would have been familiar with this version of the Visitation. Indeed, a number of Easton's chants refer to the aid and constant assistance offered to Elizabeth by Mary, possibly referring to the idea of Mary as a nursemaid as described by Voragine.

Homilies and Writings

The Visitation is mentioned in homilies and writings of medieval Latin theologians which often focus specifically on the *Magnificat* and highlight Mary's humility. The Venerable Bede [d.735] wrote an advent homily based on the Visitation passage in Luke which examines each phrase for theological instruction.[28] Bede mostly refers to other biblical passages, either where earlier Old Testament passages foreshadow aspects mentioned in the Visitation (both explicitly or implicitly) or where Bede requires a comparison to another New Testament passage. Bede begins his homily with an explanation of the importance of Mary's visit to her older cousin Elizabeth:

> The reading of the holy gospel which we have heard proclaims to use the source of our redemption as something we must always venerate, and it commends to us the saving remedies of the humility we are always to imitate. Now because the human race had

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[27] William Granger Ryan, 'Introduction', in Jacobus de Voragine, William Granger Ryan (trans.), *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, p. xiii.

[28] The Venerable Bede, 'Venerabilis Bedae, Anglo-Saxonis Presbyteri, Opera Omnia', *Patrologiae Cursus Completus [Series Latina]*, 94 (Paris: J.-P. Migne Editorem, 1862), pp. 15-22. English translation found in Lawrence T Martin and David Hurt OSB (trans.), *Bede the Venerable, Homilies on the Gospels: Book One Advent to Lent* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1991), pp. 30-43.

perished at the touch of the plague of pride, it was proper that the time of salvation should first begin with the putting forward of the medicine of humility by which it might be healed. And because death entered the world through the rashness of a woman who was led astray, it was fitting that as an indication of the return of life, women should anticipate one another in the services of humility and piety.[29]

The humility aspect is found throughout Bede's homily, mostly focused on Mary's actions (her committing 'herself to ministry to a woman of advanced age'[30]) and words (to the angel in the Annunciation and to Elizabeth in the words of the *Magnificat*). However, Bede's phrasing in the introductory passage 'women should anticipate one another in the services of humility and piety' shows an appreciation for Elizabeth's humility too. This virtue was commonly illustrated for both Mary and Elizabeth in artistic representations of the Visitation, shown by lowered heads and positions within the scene. In many images, Mary is given the prominent position as befits her status, with Elizabeth's humility and deference shown by her lowered gaze or hand gestures. In the Visitation images in Jenštejn's Vat.lat.1122 manuscript, however, Mary is consistently depicted with her head lower than Elizabeth's: Mary bowing her head while standing, being positioned further down on a slope, or being given a lower position when kneeling. As well as highlighting Mary's humility, this position also demonstrates Mary's deference to her cousin's older age and experience.

Bede discusses in detail the Holy Spirit filling Elizabeth, explaining that by the Holy Spirit she prophesied Mary's role and understood at once the past, present, and future.

> And in a marvelous manner the same Spirit, when he filled her, instructed her in the knowledge of present things along with past and future things. She pointed out that she was fully informed concerning present things when, calling blessed Mary the mother of her Lord, she indicated that [Mary] bore in her womb the Redeemer of the human race. Hence too [Elizabeth] avowed that the fruit of [Mary's] womb was singularly blessed. She expressed her reception of an awareness of past things when she divulged the fact that both the words of the angel to Mary, and the consent of Mary who believed her, had been made known to her. But she told also how knowledge of future things had not been denied to her when she made clear that those things which had been said to [Mary] would be accomplished by the Lord.[31]

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[29] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

This theme is found in many of Easton's office texts, which emphasise the difference between Mary and Elizabeth: Mary had independent knowledge of hidden and future things while Elizabeth was given this knowledge by the Holy Spirit.[32]

The biblical and apocryphal Visitation scenes mention only two people: Elizabeth and Mary. However, Bede mentions the possibility of witnesses to the Visitation scene, which is in keeping with the tradition of including additional characters in depictions of the Visitation.

> Hence to those who were present and listening, this same mother of the Lord's precursor [Elizabeth] took care to plainly bring the good news of those things which she had recognized in a hidden way, for she went on...[33]

In the concluding paragraphs, Bede includes information on Marian devotion in the late seventh to early eighth centuries which confirms the importance of the *Magnificat* for early Christians and that the reciting of the *Magnificat* during Vespers was an established practice in the Church at this time.

> Now also a very good and most beneficial custom has developed in holy Church, of her [Mary's] hymn being chanted daily by everyone along with the psalmody of the evening office, so that in this way a very frequent reminder of the Lord's incarnation may enkindle the minds of the faithful to a feeling of devotion, and by reflecting very often on the example of his mother, they may be confirmed in the stability of virtues.[34]

Bede would likely have been well known by Easton and Jenštejn. His writings were known in the Czech lands, as demonstrated by the twelfth-century manuscript DF III 1 which survived in the Strahov monastery library,[35] and his homilies are found in extant manuscripts from Paris and Boulogne[36] where Jenštejn studied during his university years. Bede's writings were also known across England, and Easton may have had access to the homily during his years at Oxford University, and possibly before that in the Benedictine monastery.

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[32] See Chapter Seven for more information on Easton's texts.

[33] Lawrence T Martin and David Hurt OSB (trans.), *Bede the Venerable, Homilies on the Gospels*, pp. 34-5.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

[35] Joshua Allan Westgard, *Dissemination and Reception of Bede's* Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum *in Germany, c. 731-1500: The Manuscript Evidence* (unpublished PhD thesis, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2005), p. 38.

[36] Verity L. Allan, *Theological Works of the Venerable Bede and their Literary and Manuscript Presentation, with Special Reference to the Gospel Homilies* (unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford: University of Oxford, St Cross College, 2006).

Rabanus Maurus [d.856], another Benedictine monk and theologian, also wrote on the Visitation with an exposition on the *Magnificat*. Maurus also focused predominantly on Mary's humility:

> *Haec quoque audiens Maria, non se iactanter inani gloria extulit, sed magis per humilitatem tota intentione animi gratias Deo retulit dicens*

> And when Mary heard this [Elizabeth's words], she did not become proud, boasting, or vainglorious. Instead, in humility, she devoted her complete attention to thanking God.[37]

A twelfth- or thirteenth-century manuscript of Maurus' homilies was present in the Norwich Cathedral Priory Library which Easton would certainly have had access to,[38] and again, Jenštejn may have had access either in Prague or during his university years abroad.

The Meditationes Vitae Christi

Other later writings add details to the Visitation, including additional characters (as suggested by Bede and often seen in artistic depictions). The *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, currently attributed to Pseudo-Bonaventure, written between 1336 and 1364, highlights Mary's other virtues, and allows Joseph to accompany her, an element found later in East Anglia in the N-Town Play.[39] The full text concerning the Visitation in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* is given in Appendix Two.[40] Sarah McNamer states that the work was 'the single most influential devotional text written in the later Middle Ages' and that 'it was rapidly disseminated in Latin

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[37] Rabanus Maurus, 'Canticum Mariae Matris Domini', *Patrologia cursus completus [Series Latina]*, 112, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: J.-P. Migne Editorem, 1852), p. 1162B. Translation found in Luigi Gambero, Thomas Buffer (trans.), *Mary in the Middle Ages: The Blessed Virgin Mary in the Thought of Medieval Latin Theologians* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000), p. 42.

[38] N. R. Ker, 'Medieval Manuscripts from Norwich Cathedral Priory', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1:1 (1949), 1-28

[39] The location of the N-Town Play in East Anglia and its possible link to Adam Easton is discussed in Chapter Two.
For more information on the N-Town Play, see Penny Granger, *The N-Town Play: Drama and Liturgy in Medieval East Anglia* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009).

[40] For more information on the origins of this work, including the possibility of female authorship, see Sarah McNamer, 'The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*', *Speculum*, 84:4 (October 2009), 905-955.

and translated into all of the major European vernaculars, including English, French, German, Irish, Spanish, Catalan, and Swedish; well over two hundred manuscripts survive'.[41]

The *Meditationes*' Visitation scene is far more detailed than many, especially regarding the nature of John the Baptist and the infant's reaction within the womb to Mary and her son. The text has two focuses: firstly, on the ordinary details – on the way Mary walked to Elizabeth without escort or horse, on the way the two women sit, and on the relationship between Mary and Elizabeth, which humanises both women and allows readers to feel a sense of empathy and familiarity. Secondly, on the spiritual meeting of the cousins and their unborn children: the 'words of the salutation were no sooner graciously uttered by our blessed Lady, than they pierced even to the bowels of St. Elizabeth, inflaming both mother and son with the divine Spirit'.[42] Pseudo-Bonaventure also elaborates on Mary's duties during and after the birth of John the Baptist, explicitly stating that John was received into the Virgin Mary's arms, echoing and elaborating upon Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*. While the humility of both women is certainly highlighted, so too are poverty of spirit (and material poverty), modesty, and indeed all gracious virtues, emphatically arguing that pious people should spiritually contemplate the virtues displayed by both women and follow in their example. In a similar manner, the texts of Easton's office promote Mary's virtues: 'the steadfastness of her character' (EMA2.2); 'cheerful in strife' (EMA2.3); 'true humility' (ELA3); 'full of grace' (ELA4); 'highest piety' (EV2AM).[43]

It is not within the scope of this chapter to analyse each medieval Visitation re-telling, but to show that there were multiple versions which embellished the biblical and apocryphal scene with details that influenced depictions of the Visitation scene: both literary and artistic. While the biblical and apocryphal scenes focused on the event itself, many of the later versions focus on the women involved, and their elevation from mere mortal women to bearers of divine children, and the close relationships between both Mary and Elizabeth but also the unborn Jesus and John. Many of these would have been accessible to both Jenštejn and Easton, in their personal collections or in libraries to which they had access.

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[41]*Ibid.*, 905.

[42] English translation in Pseudo-Bonaventure, 'Chapter IV. Our Blessed Lady Visits Her Cousin St. Elizabeth, in Whose House the Magnificat and Benedictus Are Composed.', in *St. Bonaventure's Life of Our Lord*, pp. 30-35.

[43] These designations are explained fully in Chapter Five (pp. 113-115).

The Visitation in Books of Hours

From the thirteenth century, Books of Hours, collections of prayers to be used by lay people, often included images of the Virgin Mary. Roger Wieck notes that, along with an increasing desire to imitate the clergy in daily devotions, 'there is a second factor that helps to explain the emergence and subsequent popularity of the Book of Hours: the cult of the Virgin'.[44] Adelaide Bennett adds that

> Books of hours came into popularity because they were commissioned by patrons for themselves or their families. Many French books of hours show that they were made for and used by well-to-do women, and they provide good evidence for laywomen's literacy, spirituality, and patronage of the arts.[45]

Included within Books of Hours was the Hours of the Virgin, first found in manuscripts from the eleventh century,[46] and owners of Books of Hours often added 'special prayers, Mass texts (such as the Mass of the Virgin), and Eucharistic prayers, personalizing the manuscript for private devotion'.[47] It became tradition for the Hours of the Virgin to be accompanied by images related to the Virgin's life in chronological order, with the Visitation scene often paired with the Lauds office. Roger S. Wieck states that:

> The standard cycle, with common variations, is as follows:
> Matins: Annunciation,
> Lauds: Visitation,
> Prime: Nativity,
> Terce: Annunciation to the Shepherds,
> Sext: Adoration of the Magi,
> None: Presentation in the Temple,
> Vespers: Flight into Egypt (or, Massacre of the Innocents),
> Compline: Coronation of the Virgin (or, Flight into Egypt, Massacre of the Innocents, Assumption of the Virgin, Death of the Virgin)[48]

The Visitation's prescription for Lauds within Books of Hours shows its importance, not only for those laywomen who owned such prayer books, but also for the wider lay community. It

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[44] Roger S. Wieck, *The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1988), p. 27.

[45] Adelaide Bennett, 'A Thirteenth-Century French Books of Hours for Marie', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), 21.

[46] Wieck, *The Book of Hours*, p. 28.

[47] Denise L. Despres, 'Immaculate Flesh and the Social Body: Mary and the Jews', *Jewish History*, 12 (1998), 48.

[48] Wieck, *The Book of Hours*, p. 60.

also emphasises the Visitation's importance within the liturgical devotions the Books of Hours were emulating, and especially the daily singing of the *Magnificat* at Vespers.

Outside of the artistic, liturgical, and lay prayer circles, the characters of the Visitation as well as the *Magnificat* were evoked in pregnancy and childbirth in the late Middle Ages. The *Knowing of Woman's Kind in Childing*, found in manuscripts from the fourteenth century[49] includes mention of strips of parchment cut up and ingested or bound to the thigh as talismans to aid pregnancy or childbirth.

> Strips of parchment, onto which were written the names of the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, St Margaret (the patron saint of childbirth) or the Magnificat in which Mary humbly accepts her forthcoming pregnancy, were recommended as talismans. Sometimes to this list were added the names of Anne and Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist, whose successful motherhood was venerated...The parchment was either cut up and ingested, as suggested in the *Knowing of Woman's Kind in Childing*, or bound to the woman's thigh. In some instances to aid labour, the wearing of a belt was recommended, upon which was written the Magnificat. [50]

The use of both Elizabeth's name and the *Magnificat* during pregnancy and childbirth once again highlights the scene's importance to the laity (and specifically lay women) and the comfort it brought during difficult times. The new office for the Visitation brought the realities of womanhood and parenthood into public prominence, presenting both the miracle and difficulty of birth within a biblical setting, which must surely have resonated with both men and women – religious, secular, and lay.

Conclusion

Despite the late official observance of the feast in the Church, celebration of the Visitation event and participants is clearly evident throughout the Middle Ages. Early artistic representations from the sixth century include details used in the Visitation images found in Jenštejn's manuscript Vat.lat.1122. Homilies by theologians and philosophers added details to the biblical and apocryphal scenes, explaining the visit between the two cousins and facilitating

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[49] For example, BL MS Sloane 3525, an early fourteenth-century manuscript from Paris. See Alexandra Barratt (ed.), *The Knowing of Woman's Kind in Childing: A Middle English Version of Material Derived from Trotula and Other Sources* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001).

[50] Sue Niebrzydowski, *Bonoure and Buxum: A Study of Wives in Late Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Peter Lang AG, 2006), p. 144.

a sense of community and familiarity between the two women and the contemporary audience. Links between the Visitation and Lauds in Books of Hours from the thirteenth century, and its appearance in fourteenth century medical gynaecological manuscripts, demonstrate the importance of the Visitation event and characters to the pious laity, bringing comfort in times of distress or uncertainty such as pregnancy, and being used as an example of spiritual richness despite human poverty. The introduction of the feast of the Visitation and the texts written by Jenštejn and Easton elaborated on the biblical event, combining personal beliefs with generally understood theological concepts described in apocryphal works and homilies.

Chapter Two
The Composers

In Marie nunc gaudia tota psallat ecclesia[51]
'Now to the joys of Mary let the whole Church sing the psalms'

The introduction of the feast of the Visitation was brought about through the actions of Jan of Jenštejn. Although there are known to have been several offices submitted for consideration, the two which appear to have been most widely used (as evidenced by their inclusion in contemporary manuscripts) are those by Jenštejn and Adam Easton. Both composers have been the subject of scholarly interest, mostly focusing on their political and ecclesiastical lives, but remain relatively unknown in the landscape of medieval composers: for example, neither are mentioned in Thomas Forrest Kelly's 2006 article 'Medieval composers of liturgical chant'.[52] My thesis, and this chapter in particular, seeks to address this omission by concentrating on the lives of both composers in the context of the Visitation and their contribution to late medieval composition. This chapter looks at the background of both Jenštejn and Easton in order to bring their lives into focus and understand the social, political, and personal circumstances surrounding their compositions for the Visitation. A timeline of important dates for both composers is given in Appendix One.

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[51] JVH, verse 1, lines 2-3.

[52] Thomas Forrest Kelly, 'Medieval composers of liturgical chant', *Musica e Storia*, 14:1 (2006), 95-125.

Jan of Jenštejn

Et beata que credidisti quoniam perficientur in te que dicta sunt tibi[53]

'And blessed art thou that hast believed, because things shall be accomplished in thee that were spoken to thee'

Jenštejn was born in 1347-1348 to a noble family in Prague closely connected to both the Church and the Crown.[54] His grandfather, John of Kamenice, had been a court notary for King John[55] and his father, Paul of Jenštejn, was responsible for the treasury of Charles IV as chief notary of the Royal Chamber.[56] Two of his uncles also had important positions within the Church and State: John Očko of Vlašim was the second Archbishop of Prague and a minister for the Emperor, and Michael of Vlašim had accompanied Charles IV to Rome.[57] Due to his family's wealth and position, Jenštejn's childhood was both comfortable and privileged, and, as Albert Wratislaw notes, Jenštejn was already the incumbent of seven benefices during his student years.[58] He studied initially in Prague at the University founded in 1348 by Charles IV, and continued his studies between 1370 and 1376 abroad: Padua, Bologna, Montpellier, and Paris. Jenštejn began to rise quickly through the Church: by 1375 he was a subdeacon and the Provost of Wetzlar (the head of the Cathedral Chapter),[59] and on the 4 July, was appointed to the bishopric of Meissen by Pope Gregory XI [c. 1329-1378]. The bishopric also came with the responsibility of the position of Chancellor to King Wenceslas IV,[60] although this post was mostly honorific.[61] Being granted a bishopric at such a young age was unusual, and Weltsch posits that it could not have been due solely to his education, but had likely been influenced by his family's position and connections. Weltsch further suggests that Jenštejn's 'sojourn in France [to study in Paris] had given him an opportunity to visit the Curia in Avignon, and Pope Gregory XI may have had exaggerated notions about the young man's family wealth'.[62]

Jenštejn was consecrated as Archbishop of Prague by Pope Urban VI [1318-1389] in 1378 at only thirty years of age, taking over from his uncle John Očko of Vlašim. It is likely that this

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[53] JVA5.

[54] Ruben Ernest Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein (1348-1400): Papalism, Humanism and Reform in Pre-Hussite Prague* (Paris: Mouton, 1968), p. 10.

[55] Jan Lucemburský, known as John the Blind, ruled Bohemia from 1310 to 1346.

[56] Karel IV, son of Jan Lucemburský, ruled Bohemia from 1346 to 1378, and ruled as the Holy Roman Emperor as 'Charles IV'.

[57] Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, pp. 10-11.

was once again, at least in part, due to his familial ties and the political instability of Pope Urban VI's position. Urban appears to have taken steps to ensure friendly relations with, and thus support from, Prague and the Bohemian rulers. Weltsch argues that this led to the pope granting high positions to influential clerics close to the new Emperor Charles IV, including raising John Očko to Cardinal, and thus conferring the Archbishopric of Prague on Jenštejn.[63] R. N. Swanson suggests that Jenštejn in turn stimulated loyalty to Pope Urban VI in Prague.[64]

An Ascetic Lifestyle

Many sources, including his own *Vita*, refer to a dramatic shift in Jenštejn's personality in 1380, caused by him falling ill to what is called '*pestis generalis*'.[65] David Mengel notes that fourteenth century chronicles point to 'periodic outbreaks of disease (*pestilencia*) in Bohemia both before and after 1348, including a 'magna pestilencia' in 1380'.[66] This is likely to be the Black Death which killed up to fifteen percent of the population of the Prague archdiocese in 1380, and around thirty percent of the clergy.[67] Before his illness, Jenštejn is described as a passionate huntsman versed in 'military and courtly exercises' similar to King Wenceslas IV [1361-1419] (Charles IV's son), of being of 'worldly mind' and using his interests and abilities to curry favour with the king.[68] His illness is said to have given Jenštejn a new, more ascetic, outlook. His *Vita* notes that he started to fast, not only by 'the fruitless ingestion of food, but

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[58] Wratislaw does not name these benefices, however. Rev. Albert H. Wratislaw, 'John of Jenstein, Archbishop of Prague, 1378-1397', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 7 (1878), 32.

[59] Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, p. 12.

[60] Václav IV, son of Karel IV, ruled Bohemia from 1378 to 1419, and ruled as Holy Roman Emperor until 1400.

[61] Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, p. 15.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[64] R. N. Swanson, *Universities, Academies and the Great Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 29.

[65] Petrus Clarificator, Josef Truhlář (trans.), 'Život Jana z Jenšteina, Arcibiskupa Pražského', *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum, Tom. 1, Vitae Sanctorum et Aliorum Quorundam Pietate Insignium* (Prague: Palackého, 1873), p. 441.

[66] David C. Mengal, 'A Plague on Bohemia? Mapping the Black Death', *Past & Present*, 211 (May 2011), 10.

[67] Eduard Maur, 'Morová epidemie roku 1380 v Čechách', *Historická demographie: Ústav československých a světových dějin ČSAV*, 10 (1986), 37-71.

[68] Wratislaw, 'John of Jenstein', 32.

the renunciation of all the pleasures of the physical and the worldly, and all the sensual tastes',[69] and that he began the practice of self-mortification using hair shirts, thorns, and self-flagellation. He even put 'aside the shirts and linen one after the other, which he had worn since his first youth, and renounced the splendour of the bishop's bed' to lie on a bench or a stone instead.[70]

J. Loserth, however, in the introduction to his codex of Jenštejn's letters argues against this stark transformation.[71] He states that 'we find in his letters no indication of lavish feasting and joyful huntsman's pleasure. Nothing of jokes and dancing!'[72] Instead, Jenštejn's letters show a young man who already led a disciplined life, quick to reprimand clergy and his friends and family for material and spiritual excesses.

An examination of Jenštejn's *Vita* reveals its biased nature, and suggests a reason for the disparity in contemporary sources. The *Vita*, written shortly after Jenštejn's death, is dedicated almost entirely to Jenštejn's 'saintly' and ascetic disposition and good deeds, specifically contrasting these with his earlier 'lavish' lifestyle. Jenštejn's miraculous saving from the plague is framed as the turning point in his life, which leads to his subsequent conversion from a life of pleasure and decadence to a physically ascetic and thoroughly spiritual life. The *Vita* even details a number of miracles (*De miraculis per eum aut circa eum factis*), including Jenštejn bringing rain to wherever he sheltered during a drought, and stopping a fire which raged in the town of Roudnice with his prayers. The layout and contents suggests that it may have been prepared with the intention of aiding a future canonisation application, which must be taken into consideration.

It is likely that Jenštejn did have an illness in 1380 (and given the timing, feasibly the Black Death) which intensified his already-ascetic tendencies. Jenštejn's brush with death may also have deepened his Marian devotion, as František Urban notes that the Archbishop was healed after two months 'on Saturday, a day dedicated to Marian devotion from time

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[69] '...*jímž nerozumí se pouze neplodné nepožívání pokrmu, nýbrž zřeknutí se veškerých rozkoší tělesných a světských a všech smyslných choutek*': Clarificator, 'Život Jana z Jenšteina', p. 445. The translation here is that of the Czech and not the Latin, and is my own.

[70] '*Neboť odloživ jemné košile, jakož i lněné jednu po druhé, jež od prvního mládí byl nosil, a zřeknuv se nádhery lůžka biskupského*': *Ibid.*, p. 446. The translation here is that of the Czech and not the Latin, and is my own.

[71] J. Loserth, *Beiträge zur geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung: I. Der Codex Epistolaris Des Erzbischofs von Prag Johann von Jenzenstein* (Vienna: Buchhändler der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1877).

[72] '*Wir finden in seinen Briefen keinen Hinweis auf üppige Gelage und fröhliche Weidmannslust. Nichts von Scherzen und Tänzen!*': *Ibid.*, p. 275. English translation is my own.

immemorial, so Jenštejn attributed his salvation to Mary's intercession'.[73] The illness also appears to have affected Jenštejn's theological views, specifically regarding lay communion: Fudge notes that Jenštejn presided over synods in 1388 and 1389 which limited communion for the lay community but that he reconsidered in 1391 (after his illness) and presided over a third synod which 'legitimized frequent lay communion and permitted the laity to commune as frequently as they wished'.[74]

Jenštejn's ascetic life put severe strain on his body, which suffered from both colic and rheumatism on top of his personal chastisement,[75] and also appears to have affected his relationships. Weltsch notes that Jenštejn appears to have been disliked by members of the clergy and court in both Prague and abroad for his militant and over-disciplined actions and viewpoints, with even the pope using unfriendly language to him.[76] Early in his career, Jenštejn was very politically involved, however his behaviour meant that by May 1383 his work within such circles had ceased. Jenštejn's severe and argumentative attitude set him at odds with many in Bohemia including the Prague clergy and King Wenceslas IV.[77] Loserth notes that 'it is generally admitted today – also from the church side – that this man had been unsuitable for the high position to which he came at a young age',[78] and Weltsch suggests that Jenštejn 'lacked

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[73] '*Nacházíme v ní např. arcibiskupovo vyjádření k uzdravení ze své nemoci, kdy byl dva měsíce připoután na lůžko. K uzdravení došlo v sobotu, což je od nepaměti den zasvěcený mariánské úctě, a proto Jenštejn svou záchranu přičítal právě Mariině přímluvě.*': František Urban, *Mariologické a mariánské inspirace v českém středověku: Mariologie Arnošta z Pardubic, Jana z Jenštejna, Jana Husa a Jana Rokycany* (Oloumoc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2016), p. 100. English translation is my own.

[74] Thomas A. Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998), pp. 57-8.

[75] For an in depth examination of Jenštejn's behaviour, see Wratislaw, 'John of Jenstein'.

[76] *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, pp. 5-38.

[77] Jenštejn's conflict with Wenceslas IV is well documented, and will therefore not be commented on in this thesis. For more information, see: Clarificator, 'Život Jana z Jenšteina', pp. 439-468; Wratislaw, 'John of Jenstein, Archbishop of Prague, 1378-1397', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 7 (1878), 30-57; Eva Doležalová, 'Spove krále Václava s arcisbiskupem Janem z Jenštejna', in František Šmahel and Lenka Bobková (eds.), *Lucemburkové: česká koruna uprostřed Evropy* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2012), pp. 656-663; František Michálek Bartoš, *Václav IV, a arcibiskup Jan z Jenštejna: otisk z "Jihočeského sborníku historického"* (Prague: Emporium, 1940); and Jaroslav V. Polc, 'Jean Jenstejn (Jenstein, Genzenstein, etc; bienheureux), archevêque, 1347/8-1400', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 1964), pp. 8558-8565.

[78] '*Es wird heute allgemein – auch von kirchlicher Seite – zugegeben, dass dieser Mann für die hohe Stellung, zu der er in jungen Jahren kam, wenig tauglich gewesen sei*': Loserth, *Beiträge zur geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung*, p. 272. English translation is my own.

the skill and adaptability of the politician'.[79] However, he was known for being charitable to the poor, giving generously both monetarily and through gifts of food.

Resignation and Later Life

Jenštejn's conflicts with members of both Church and State alike ostracised him, and Wratislaw notes that Jenštejn had 'little or no enjoyment in his high position, and found little sympathy in, and absolute refusal of aid from, the clergy of his diocese'.[80] After the confiscation of his estates and the drowning of his friend John of Nepomuk [1345-1393] on the orders of King Wenceslas IV, Jenštejn agreed to resign as Archbishop of Prague, and in 1395 nominated his nephew, Olbram III of Škvorce [d.1402], as his successor. This was found agreeable by both the king and the pope, and on 31 January 1396, Pope Boniface IX issued a bull to this effect. Jenštejn formally resigned on 2 April, and Olbram was consecrated Archbishop of Prague on 2 July 1396 by Jenštejn,[81] who then retired to Helfenburg Castle in the north of Bohemia. In 1399 he went to Rome, and stayed in the Monastery of St Praxedes as the Patriarch of Alexandra. He died on 17 June 1400, and was buried in the Basilica of St Praxedes near the papal basilica of St Maria Maggiore in Rome.[82]

Jenštejn's Writings

Jenštejn composed a number of works, both textual (theological and political) and musical. Manuscript Vat.lat.1122, kept in the Vatican Archives and available in digital form on their website, contains many of Jenštejn's writings.[83] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine all of Jenštejn's works, although they demonstrate his devotion to Mary and the Visitation in particular.[84] Jenštejn's musical and liturgical compositions are found in the middle of the

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[79] Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, p. 28.

[80] Wratislaw, 'John of Jenstein', 54.

[81] Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, p. 75.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[83] A full table of contents is given in the Vatican Manuscript Catalogue: <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=present&term=@5Vat.lat.1122_ms&item=1&add=0&search=1&filter=&relation=3&operator=&attribute=3040>, last accessed 30 July 2020.

[84] For more information, see Jaroslav V. Polc, 'Jean Jenstejn', pp. 8558-8565 and Pavel Spunar 'Iohannes de Ienstein (Genzenstin, Jenzenstin) - Jan z Jenštejna', in *Repertorium Auctorum Bohemorum Provectum Idearum*

manuscript, although with no music provided, and comprise: the offices and masses of the feasts of the Visitation and of the Virgin Mary of the Snows; the mass for the Transfixion of Mary (the piercing of Mary's heart to reflect Jesus' piercing on the cross), Sequences, Hymns, and *Cantiones* (Songs).[85] His *Cantiones* cover a range of topics, including the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, the Schism, the Annunciation, the Body of Christ, and the Bohemian Saints Sigismund and Wenceslas. Four works within the manuscript reveal Jenštejn's relationship with Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio, who was an early and outspoken critic of the Visitation feast.[86] A number of Jenštejn's letters also survive, many edited by Loserth,[87] which allow a glimpse into Jenštejn's relationships. Jenštejn's involvement in the introduction of the feast of the Visitation, including two letters from him to the pope are examined in more detail in Chapter Three.

Interest in the Visitation

Jenštejn appears to have been interested in the Visitation from a young age, and Weltsch suggests that the 'Gospel story of the Visitation of Mary with the *Magnificat* had long exerted a particular appeal on him as a pleasing combination of theological instruction with an epitome of Mary's virtues'.[88] This emphasis on Mary's virtues, particularly her humility, can be seen within Jenštejn's letters to the pope regarding the Visitation, as well as the text of his office: for example in the first two verses of the Compline Hymn *O Christi mater fulgida*.

O Christi mater fulgida	O shining mother of Christ,
scatens fons omni gratia	fountain abounding with all grace,
lux pellens queque nubila	light banishing any clouds,
Maria venustissima.	most beautiful Mary.
Gestas que castimonia	You the daughter who bears the
intacta patrem filia	father with chastity intact,
virgo monarcham inclita	a virgin named queen,
genetrix pudicissima.	purest mother.

Post Universitatem Pragensem Conditam Illustrans, 1 (Wrocław: Institutum Ossolinianum Officina Editoria Academiae Scientiarum Polonae, 1985), pp. 57-77.

[85] For a full index of the manuscript, see:
<http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=present&term=@5Vat.lat.1122_ms&item=1&add=0&search=1&filter=&relation=3&operator=&attribute=3040>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[86] Ranconis' objections and Jenštejn's replies are examined in Chapter Three.

[87] Loserth, *Beiträge zur geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung*.

[88] Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, pp. 87-88.

František Urban also expands on the reason for Jenštejn's love of the biblical Visitation, stating that the archbishop saw 'a feast of ecclasial unity'.[89] Jenštejn was also known to celebrate other Marian feasts, including the feast of the Virgin Mary of the Snows, the Sacrifice of Our Lady and the Feast of Our Lady of Seven Sorrows.[90] His devotion to the Virgin Mary influenced his actions during his tenure as archbishop, including through the granting of indulgences. His *Vita* states:

> In addition to the generous sharing of individual places of persons, he has granted forty days forgiveness to all who overheard the sweet names of Jesus and Mary kneeling in all the services of God. Furthermore, for every office in the octave of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, forty days. Furthermore, the song of the Virgin Mary's 'Magnificat', forty days. And to all who contribute to the collection at the Mass to the Blessed Virgin Mary.[91]

Jenštejn commissioned a number of depictions of the Visitation during his life. Neumann notes that when Jenštejn became the Bishop of Meissen, at only twenty-seven or twenty-eight, he had an image of the Visitation placed in the window of the castle chapel in Megerlein.[92] Manuscript Vat.lat.1122, dated to 1376-1400, contains five individual images of the Visitation which are presented in Chapter Four, along with a sentence in the margin of folio 157r to the right of an image of the two women with *ex utero* Jesus and John the Baptist:

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[89] '*Právě v oslavě Mariina navštívení vidí arcibiskup svátek církevní jednoty*': Urban, *Mariologické a mariánské inspirace*, p. 100. English translation is my own.

[90] '*...dal Jenštejn v pražské arcidiecézi oficiální svolení ke slavení svátku Panny Marie Sněžné.*' and '*Zároveň se třetí pražský arcibiskup snažil zvýšit i lesk starších svátků, jako např. Obětování Panny Marie nebo svátku Panny Marie sedmibolestné.*': *Ibid.*, p. 97, 97 n.294. English translation is my own. See also Zsuzsa Czagány, 'Mitteleuropäische Offizien zum Fest Beatae Mariae Virginis de Nive', *De musica disserenda*, 9 (2013), 223-240.

[91] '*Kromě štědrého podělení jednotlivých míst neb osob udělil všem, kteří zaslechnuvše při všech jakýchkoli službách božích sladká jmena Ježíš a Maria pokleknou, čtyřicetidenní odpustky na věky. Dále na každou hodinku v oktávě navštívení panny Marie 40 dní. Dále na píseň panny Marie 'Magnificat' 40 dní. Dále toliktéž všem, kteří přispějí na sbírku při mši k blahoslavené panně Marii.*': Clarificator, 'Život Jana z Jenšteina', p. 452. The translation here is that of the Czech and not the Latin, and is my own.

[92] Augustine Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna na zavedení svátku Navštívení P. Marie', *Pax: Časopis pro přátele liturgie a řádu sv. Benedikta*, 10 (1935), 432.

> *Item visitatio quomodo Elizabeth visitavit, cum pueris, sicut depictum est in turri mea in Praga ubi leo est depictus in angulo* [93]

> Also the visitation, how she [Mary] has visited Elizabeth, with the boys, as depicted in my tower in Prague, where the lion is painted into a corner.

The use of the first-person possessive pronoun 'my' indicates Jenštejn's authorship of the marginal sentence, and Weltsch suggests that the 'tower in Prague' was the archiepiscopal palace in Prague.[94] A second artistic depiction in the archiepiscopal palace was a wall painting of the vision Jenštejn received in 1378 which inspired him to institute the feast of the Visitation,[95] which Weltsch suggests was the subject of public attraction until its destruction in a fire in 1420.[96]

As well as his own personal Visitation images, Jenštejn influenced Marian and Visitation art within Prague itself: František Urban states that 'Jenštejn took care mainly of the decoration and completion of Prague Cathedral. He placed the statues of Christ and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary on the last two pillars in the choir',[97] which were finished by 1399 at the latest,[98] and that it is likely that the archbishop also 'dedicated the altar painting of Mary's visit to Elizabeth'.[99] The addition of a Visitation image to an altar in St Vitus Cathedral suggests that Jenštejn may have been trying to foster local devotion to, and observance of, the new feast.

Jenštejn's interest in the Visitation from a young age is clear, from his creation of the Visitation window at Megerlein Castle at twenty-seven, to his granting of additional indulgences for the celebration of the Visitation as archbishop. His sponsorship of Visitation art in multiple media – illustrations and illuminations in manuscripts, altar decorations, wall paintings, windows – demonstrates the importance of the biblical event in his devotional life.

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[93] f. 157r, MS Vat.lat.1122,
<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1122/0001?sid=657aa97e0a46735a61e5e3900fc279e0>, last accessed 12 December 2020.

[94] Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, p. 88.

[95] For more information on the vision, see Chapter Three.

[96] Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, p. 84.

[97] '...*pečoval Jenštejn hlavně o výzdobu a dostavbu pražské katedrály. Na dva poslední pilíře v chóru katedrály nechal umístit sochy Krista a Panny Marie nanebevzaté.*': Urban, *Mariologické a mariánské inspirace*, p. 97. English translation is my own.

[98] 'St. Vitus Cathedral, <http://prague-castle.org/st-vitus-cathedral.html>, last accessed 9 January 2021.

[99] '*Katedrále věnoval se vší pravděpodobností i oltářní obraz Mariina navštívení u Alžběty*': Urban, *Mariologické a mariánské inspirace*, p. 97. English translation is my own.

This dedication, encouraged by the vision he received regarding the Schism, was the impetus for his campaign to the Papal Curia to introduce the feast of the Visitation. As evidenced by Ms Vat.lat.1122, Jenštejn was a prolific composer, and his office for the Visitation, *Exurgens autem Maria*, stands as a testament to his compositional ability and commitment to the new feast.

Adam Easton

sed nihil impossibile Deo nec infactibile per verbum suum dictans[100]
‘But nothing is impossible for God, nor unmakeable through his commanding word’

Adam Easton was born around 1330,[101] and probably came from the village of Easton, six miles north-west of Norwich in Norfolk.[102] Margaret Harvey notes that ‘the majority of Norwich monks, as Easton became, were from the Norfolk estates of the priory.’[103] There is no information concerning his background before he entered the Benedictine cathedral priory in Norwich. Julia Bolton Holloway suggests that Easton and Julian of Norwich (an East-Anglian anchorite and mystic) may have been siblings, although, no evidence has been found thus far to support this theory.[104] Easton entered the priory around 1348, where he was surrounded by Marian, and specifically Visitation, motifs.

East Anglia, of which Norfolk is a part, was an area of particular Marian devotion in England, and Douglas Sugano notes that ‘this region’s religious piety was recognized in

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[100] EMA3.3, lines 3-6.

[101] Harvey also notes that ‘in 1378 he [Easton] described himself as ‘more than forty years old’.’ Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362-1420: Portrait of an Expatriate Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 188. Macfarlane adds that Easton gave his age in November 1379 as *‘xl annorum et ultra’* and *‘quod xxx annis et amplius maiora mundi studia frequentayl’* indicating that if the first description is translated as ‘not yet fifty’, Easton could not have been born before 1330, but if the translation is rather that Easton was middle aged, he could have been born around 1327. The 1327 date would fit with the second description as it was rare in those days that a monk would attend a University before twenty-one or twenty-two. Macfarlane, *The life and writings of Adam Easton*, p. 1 n.2.

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[103] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, p. 188.

[104] Julia Bolton Holloway, ‘Textual Communities and Gendered Audiences. *The Cloud of Unknowing* and Julian of Norwich*’*, <www.umilta.net/exempl.html>, last accessed 7 July 2020.

England and in Western Europe'.[105] The mystic Margery Kempe [c.1373-1438] and the anchorite Julian of Norwich [1343-1416] both lived in Norfolk with ties to Norwich, and were devoted to the Virgin Mary.

Norwich Cathedral contains over 1000 roof bosses, many of which feature the Virgin Mary.[106] The bosses were added in stages, with some scholars suggesting dates from 1299 to 1330.[107] Mary C. Erler states that 'Perhaps the earliest Norwich Visitation images are the roof bosses in the south cloister walk of the Cathedral, carved between 1327 and 1329'.[108] The Visitation appears more than once in the roof bosses, including those added at a later stage. In addition to the ones mentioned by Erler, the West nave includes a Visitation scene and a depiction of Mary en route to Elizabeth, the North transept includes a Visitation scene and a number of bosses depicting Elizabeth and Zachariah as well as one described as 'Unknown. Perhaps a moment before Mary meets Elizabeth'.[109] Other Marian depictions include Mary in Glory over the high altar and numerous pomegranates along the West nave, the fruit often being associated with the virtues of the Virgin Mary and her authority over death as well as more generally symbolising resurrection and the hope of eternal life. The inclusion of multiple Visitation images as well as the circumstances surrounding the scene itself (Mary's journey and Elizabeth and Zachariah) within the public area of the church indicates the importance of the scene within Christianity. As the Visitation bosses date to both before and after the institution of the Visitation as a feast, it is possible that Easton was inspired by the early depictions above his head, and that later bosses may have been influenced by the popularity of Easton's office once officially chosen by the Roman Church.

Ethelreda Sansbury suggests that the 'choice of subjects [for the roof bosses in the Cathedral] may have been influenced by the miracle plays enacted in the city streets at various

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[105] Douglas Sugano, 'The N-Town Plays', *TEAMS Middle English Texts Series* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), <https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/sugano-n-town-plays-introduction>, last accessed 10 August 2020.

[106] A roof boss is an architectural protrusion, often made out of stone or wood, found in the ceiling of a building.

[107] Francis Woodman, 'The Gothic Campaigns' in Hassell Smith (ed.), *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City, and Diocese, 1096-1996* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), pp. 158-196.

[108] Mary C. Erler, 'Home visits: Mary, Elizabeth, Margery Kempe and the feast of the Visitation', in Maryanne Kowaleski and P.J.P. Goldberg (eds.), *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.259-276.

[109] Description found on Norwich Cathedral roof bosses app, <www.cathedral.org.uk/visit/things-to-see-and-do/roof-bosses-app>, last accessed 19 September 2019.

times of the year'.[110] The monks within the priory are likely to have been aware of the public plays in Norwich throughout the late-medieval period which may have included scenes on the Visitation. A late but documented example of a Corpus Christi play found in the Norwich area is the N-Town Play,[111] believed to have been written and performed in East Anglia in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[112] The N-Town play is a cycle of forty-two mystery plays: five of these short plays are joined together as 'The Mary Play', and Douglas Sugano states that it 'is clear that this [Mary] play was relatively new to the manuscript, but that it also led a life apart from and prior to its inclusion into the larger N-Town compilation'.[113] The depiction of the Visitation within the Mary Play is clearly influenced by apocryphal and later sources. Stephen Spector notes that the speech by Contemplacio[114] follows Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* so closely as to almost echo it, and that

> Several elements in the play, such as Joseph's presence during the visit, as well as Mary's reasons for urging that they walk in haste, appear in the *Meditationes*, Love's *Mirrour*, and related English accounts.[115]

Although the N-Town Play as a whole is dated post-Easton, the suggestion that the Mary Play was performed before its inclusion within the larger play cycle could mean that Easton may have watched it, or some precursor which also focused on Mary's pregnancy and visit to Elizabeth. Another possibility is that the inclusion of the Visitation within the Mary Play could have been influenced by the promulgation of Easton's office throughout England.

Easton would also have heard about the Visitation during sermons at Norwich. He may even have heard sermons initially preached by the first bishop of Norwich, Herbert de Losinga [d.1119], who was known to admire the humility displayed by the Virgin Mary, especially in

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[110] Ethelreda Sansbusy, *An Historical Guide to Norwich Cathedral* (Norwich: Dean and Chapter of Norwich, 1994), pp. 4-5.

[111] A cycle of 42 mystery plays found in BL MS Cotton Vespasian D.8 depicting biblical and apocryphal events that would have been performed throughout a town.

[112] Sugano, 'The N-Town Plays'.

[113] Plays 8 (Joachim and Anne), 9 (Presentation of Mary in the Temple), 10 (Marriage of Mary and Joseph), 11 (Parliament of Heaven; Salutation and Conception), and 13 (Visit to Elizabeth). *Ibid*.

[114] The figure of Contemplacio 'serves as a kind of wise counselor/narrator with his insightful meditations/mediations that both pace and advance the action of the plot and, at the same time, engage the spirit of Christian culture as it contemplates the events unfolding before the very eyes and ears of the audience.' *Ibid*.

[115] Stephen Spector, 'The N-Town Play: Cotton MS Vespasian D.8 Vol. 1+2', *The Early English Text Society*, 11 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 462.

the *Magnificat*, and who includes a passage on the Visitation in his sermon on the Purification of St Mary:

> Speak also thou, Elisabeth, thou aged woman, newly become a mother. Bear thou also a testimony to Him, Who needeth no testimony, by Whose power the reproach of barrenness is rolled away from thee, and it is given thee joyfully to conceive seed. And whence is this to me that the Mother of my Lord should come to me?[116]

The sentiments expressed by Losinga – that Elizabeth should speak and bear testimony to Jesus – are mirrored and highlighted in Easton's office, as noted in Chapter Seven.

From Norwich to Oxford

Easton was sent to Gloucester College, Oxford c. 1350-51 to read theology,[117] where he became known as a preacher. In 1352 Bishop William Bateman [c.1298-1355] recalled Easton and a fellow monk back to the priory but Easton, having appealed to the Pope, remained in Oxford.[118] In 1355-1356 Easton was successfully recalled to Norwich to celebrate and preach at the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the 14 August.[119] This recall implies that Easton was knowledgeable about Marian issues, and was familiar with the vocabulary used in preaching at Marian feasts: vocabulary which he later employed when composing his Visitation office. Easton remained in Norwich until 1363 to preach and confute the mendicant friars who were attacking the Benedictines and other orders with anti-monastic sermons.[120] Harvey argues that Easton's recall and subsequent preaching in Norwich implies that he was involved in the secular-mendicant conflict[121] which began at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century over the supplying of pastoral care and the subsequent diverting of monetary bequests, alms, and legacies from the clergy to the mendicant friars.[122] Easton's

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[116] Herbert de Losinga, Edward Meyrick Goulburn and Henry Symonds (trans.), *The Life, Letters, and Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga*, 2 (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1878), pp. 84-85.

[117] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, pp. 1-2. Oxford University's Gloucester College (now Worcester College) was a specifically Benedictine College from the college's founding in 1283 until the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century, and housed thirteen monks. *History of the College*, <http://www.worc.ox.ac.uk/about/history-college>, last accessed 10 August 2020.

[118] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, p. 188.

[119] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[120] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[121] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[122] For more information, see Andrew Traver, 'Chapter Six. The Forging of an Intellectual Defense of Mendicancy in the Medieval University', in Donald Prudlo (ed.), *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011), pp. 157-196. See also Michael W. Dunne, 'Richard

involvement in the secular-mendicant conflict suggests both that he was highly regarded and that he was already a persuasive preacher and an intellectual authority.

Easton returned to Oxford in 1363 and, after his inception in 1365-1366 as a Master of Divinity, remained at Oxford University as a regent master and *prior studencium*.[123] He left Oxford in 1367 and, while he may have returned to Norwich for a period, by May 1368 Easton was sent by Pope Urban V as an envoy to King Edward III.[124]

Easton's Introduction to the Papal Curia

R.B. Dobson suggests that it was during this time that Easton met Simon Langham whom he joined in the summer of 1369.[125] Simon Langham [1310-1376], a Benedictine monk from the Abbey of St Peter at Westminster, had a defining influence on Easton's career and may have been the inspiration for Easton's progression to cardinal.[126] In November 1368, two months after his appointment to the cardinalate of San Sisto Vecchio by Pope Urban V, Langham resigned from the Archbishopric of Canterbury and moved to Avignon.[127]

Easton joined Langham in Avignon in the summer of 1369, and remained as the cardinal's *socius*[128] until Langham's death in 1376. The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources (DMLBS) defines *socius* as: someone '**1** who keeps association with another … **5** one

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FitzRalph' Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, March 2019, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2019/entries/fitzralph/>, last accessed 19 October 2020.

[123] Macfarlane, *The life and writings of Adam Easton*, p. 10.

R. B. Dobson gives his inception in the academic year 1363-4. R. B. Dobson, 'Easton, Adam (c.1330-1397), Benedictine monk, scholar, and ecclesiastic', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, May 2014, <www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.bangor.ac.uk/view/article/8417?docPos=1>, last accessed 1 January 2021. This position, the equivalent of a modern dean of students, was often followed by advancement to a high office within the Benedictine order or a position with responsibility for a monastery.

[124] Macfarlane suggests that Easton left Oxford at the end of the Trinity Term. Macfarlane, *The life and writings of Adam Easton*, pp. 10-11.

[125] Dobson, 'Easton, Adam'.

[126] Langham had many important positions within both the English and European Church and the State, including the Abbot of Westminster, Bishop of Ely, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Treasurer of England. For more information, see E. B. Pryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter, I. Roy (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology: Volume 2 of Guides and handbooks, Royal Historical Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 105 for Treasurer, p. 244 for Bishop of Ely, and p. 233 for Archbishop of Canterbury.
For more information on the political ramifications of Langham's appointment to cardinal, see Walter Gumbley, 'Cardinals of English Sees', *Blackfriars*, 19:215 (February 1938), 83-91.

[127] Dobson, 'Easton, Adam'.

[128] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, p. 191.

who accompanies another, companion … **6** one who shares a responsibility, possession, or interest … **7** member of a *collegium* or similar association **b** monk'.[129] The use of the term thus suggests that Langham and Easton had shared interests and responsibilities and appears to justify Dobson's statement that Easton was 'obviously an ideal companion for a new English Benedictine at the papal court'.[130] Little is known of Easton's activities while with Langham, although Margaret Harvey suggests that Easton may have been involved in political mediation between France and England[131] and R. B. Dobson suggests that Easton served as a proctor for the English Benedictine chapters.[132]

On Langham's death in 1376 Easton was named as both a beneficiary and one of the executors of Langham's will, [133] and after petitioning the pope, was granted Langham's former benefice of Somersham in Huntingdon.[134] Further concessions for Easton included the ability to choose his confessor and permission to have a portable altar and to say mass in otherwise prohibited areas.[135] The granting of these papal allowances demonstrates Easton's progression within the curia, gaining import as he followed Langham's path, and there can be no doubt that Easton's future was influenced and directed by his companionship with Cardinal Langham.

Easton: The English Cardinal

Unlike Jenštejn, Easton was positioned within the epicentre of the schism that split the Church. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to describe the events or effects of the split papacy, and many books and articles have already examined this in detail.[136] However, it is worth

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[129] 'The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources', <http://logeion.uchicago.edu/index.html#socius>, last accessed 23 August 2020. Bold font present in source.

[130] Dobson, 'Easton, Adam'.

[131] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, pp. 191-192.

For more information on the mediation between France and England, see Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*: *Volume 1 of Dukes of Burgundy* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2002), p. 10.

[132] Dobson, 'Easton, Adam'.

[133] Macfarlane, *The life and writings of Adam Easton*, p. 15.

[134] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, p. 194.

[135] *Ibid.*

[136] See, for example, Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki (eds.), *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378-1417)* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2009); Daniel Williman, 'Schism within the Curia: The Twin Papal Elections of 1378', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 59:1 (January 2008), 29-47; and Joseph Canning, 'Chapter 6 – The power crisis during the Great Schism (1378-1417)', in Joseph Canning, *Ideas of Power in the Late Middle*

examining Easton's involvement, as the Schism became one of the drivers for the institution of the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary.

In 1377 Pope Gregory XI returned the curia to Rome. His death on 27 March 1378 led to the election of Pope Urban VI on 8 April 1378, for which Easton was present. Dobson notes that the day after Urban's appointment, Easton 'prophesied that Urban's election should be highly popular in England because it would emancipate so many wealthy benefices from the acquisitive appetites of the French clergy'.[137] The effects of this election are well documented: Urban's reformist views and undignified language did not sit well with the mainly French curia who deemed him to be culturally inferior. This resulted in cardinals slowly leaving Rome, citing various justifications including 'the unsanitary conditions of the intense Roman summer heat',[138] until mainly Italians remained. The French cardinals invited the Italians to join them, and on 9 August 1378 they declared the election of Urban VI void, claiming that they had been pressured into the original election, and on 20 September 1378 Robert of Geneva [1342-1394] (who became Pope Clement VII) was elected by only thirteen cardinals (the Italians abstained from voting).[139]

Easton stayed loyal to Urban VI, and he was rewarded with a papal appointment to cardinal on 21 December 1381. It has been suggested that the position of cardinal was bestowed upon Easton both in recognition that the English had remained loyal to Urban VI throughout the Schism, and in approval of Easton's *Defensorium ecclesiasticae potestatis*,[140] which presents a study of dominium as a dialogue between *Episcopus* and *Rex*, and was written c.1378-1381 and dedicated to Urban VI. Macfarlane notes that

> There can be little doubt that the significance and topicality of this major work would not have escaped Urban's attention and his approval would almost certainly have established Easton's reputation as an outstanding theologian and Biblical scholar.[141]

Ages, 1296-1417 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 165-191; Unn Falkeid, *The Avignon Papacy-Contested: An Intellectual History from Dante to Catherine of Siena* (London: Harvard University Press, 2017).

[137] Dobson, 'Easton, Adam'.

[138] Joëlle Rollo-Koster, 'Civil Violence and the Initiation of the Schism', in Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki (eds.), *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378-1417)* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2009), p. 12.

[139] *Ibid*, pp. 12-13.

[140] Macfarlane, *The life and writings of Adam Easton*, pp. 20-21.

[141] *Ibid.*

Easton's induction to cardinalship marked the beginning of a string of papal appointments, as in March 1382 Easton was given the benefice of York, the wealthiest non-episcopal benefice in England,[142] followed by at least four other English benefices over the next three years, becoming the Dean of York, Rector of Somersham, Provost of St John's Beverley, and Archdeacon of Wells.[143] However, Easton did not remain in favour with Pope Urban VI for long.

The Papal Plot

Pope Urban VI's relations with his allies deteriorated, and in June 1384, Urban moved the curia from Rome to Naples, and took refuge from Charles Durazzo [1345-1386], the King of Naples, in Nocera Inferiore twelve miles south-east of Naples. In January 1385, the pope was informed by Cardinal Thomas d'Orsini of an agreement by six cardinals to subject him to rule by a committee thus restricting his authority and power which may have included handing Urban over to Durazzo. Easton was named as one of the six cardinals,[144] but given Easton's previous support of, and the King of England's public alignment with, Urban it seems unlikely that the English Cardinal would have actively worked against the Pope. Despite the inconclusive evidence against them, the six were stripped of their benefices, arrested on 11 January 1385 and tortured at Nocera Inferiore in Campania until they provided written confessions.[145] Thomas Walsingham states:

> Then, after they had been tortured, as mentioned, the aforementioned cardinals confessed their so-called crime, compelled either by conscience, or to be rid of the severity of the punishments. Yet the English cardinal confessed to nothing except that he had said that the pope was too proud.[146]

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[142] Dobson, 'Easton, Adam'.

[143] For a summary of benefices received by Easton see Macfarlane, *The life and writings of Adam Easton*, pp. 66-69.

[144] The six named cardinals: Johannes Corfiensis (cardinal priest of St Sabina), Marinus de Judice (cardinal priest of St Pudentiana), Gentile de Sangro (cardinal deacon of St Adrian), Ludovicus Donati (cardinal priest of St Mark), Bartolomeus de Cucurno (cardinal priest of St Laurence), and Adam Easton. Macfarlane, *The life and writings of Adam Easton*, p. 23.

[145] Dobson, 'Easton, Adam'.

[146] '*Igitur, postquam torti fuissent, ut praefertur, dicti Cardinales confessi sunt, ut dicitur, delictum suum, sive conscientia stimulati, sive pro carenda poenarum acerbitate. Cardinalis tamen Angliae nihil fatebatur praeter id, quod dixisset Papam esse nimis superbum.*': Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana Vol. 2: A.D. 1381-1422* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864), p. 123. My thanks to Daniel Bate for his translation.

This certainly suggests that Easton was tortured along with his fellow cardinals, but that he did not confess to being involved in any papal plot. Macfarlane notes that

> Against Easton alone, it would seem, no accusation could be levelled other than that he had once said that the pope was a difficult man, and that although not implicated in the plot, he had lent it his tacit assent through failing to reveal it to Urban.[147]

Believing that Charles Durazzo was involved in the plot, Urban placed Naples under an interdict, causing Charles to besiege the town of Nocera. The pope, his prisoners, and his diminished entourage escaped to Benevento in July 1385 and then to Genoa, arriving on 23 September.[148] By the end of 1385, five of the arrested cardinals had been executed, with Easton alone surviving, likely in part because he was not particularly implicated in the plot and had not confessed, even under torture. Francis Godwin, who states that seven cardinals were arrested on the 2 January, suggests a particularly gruesome ending for the other cardinals:

> And that, while he [Pope Urban VI] was travelling across the sea from Nocera to Genoa, five of them were tied up in sacks, and, with cruelty beyond barbarism, were thrown into the sea and drowned.[149]

The political relationship between the Roman pope and the English King may also have influenced Urban's decision not to execute Easton. Three letters dated 3 December (possibly 1387) from King Richard II [1367-1400] survive which petition the pope to release Easton and restore his benefices, as well as one from the regent masters of the University of Oxford, and two from the presidents of the General Chapter of the English Benedictines. [150] The letters show that Easton was not only held in high regard by his former University and his Order, but also by the king, and Macfarlane comments that within the letters Easton 'is referred to as a man of great honour, integrity and knowledge'.[151] The late dating of these letters (1387) means that

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[147] Macfarlane, *The life and writings of Adam Easton*, p. 24 and p. 24 n.2.

[148] Francis Godwin, '31. Adamus Easton', in *De praesulibus Angliae commentarius* (n.l.: Billium, 1616), pp. 173-174.

[149] '*...& dum Nuceria Genuam per mare defertur, quinque ex illis saccis involutos, immanitate plusquam barbara in mare praecipitatos demersisse.*': Godwin, *De praesulibus Angliae commentarius*, pp. 173-174. My thanks to Daniel Bate for his translation.

[150] Macfarlane, *The life and writings of Adam Easton*, p. 25 n.3.

[151] Macfarlane *The life and writings of Adam Easton*, p. 25 n.3.

they could not have influenced the Pope's decision in 1385 when the other five cardinals were killed, but may have encouraged Urban to release Easton from imprisonment.

When released, Easton remained a simple monk (rather than a cardinal) in the custody of a French camera clerk until the death of Urban VI in 1389 and the subsequent election of Boniface IX as his successor as the Roman pope (Clement VII remained the French pope until 1394).[152]

Back in Favour

Soon after the election of Boniface IX on 2 November 1389 Easton was reinstated to his former position as cardinal, initially as cardinal-priest of St Cecilia in Trastevere.[153] Much of Easton's later life is unclear, but Dobson argues that, by the 1390s, Easton was no longer deeply involved in the relationship between England and the Papal Curia.[154] Easton died in Rome in September 1397 (although his epitaph gives 15 September 1398) and was buried in the Church of St Cecilia in an English style tomb.[155] On Easton's death, six barrels of his books were sent back to Norwich Cathedral priory which arrived in 1407.[156]

Easton's Writings

As well as his office for the feast of the Visitation, a number of other theological and political works have been associated with Easton. Macfarlane has examined these in detail and identified twenty-eight writings which have been attributed to the English Cardinal.[157] Of these, Macfarlane argues that only nine can be definitively accredited to Easton: three letters (to the Abbot of Westminster, the English Black Monks, and the Abbess and convent of Vadstena in Sweden); a set of academic exercises *Questiones et Determinacio*; two testaments regarding the election of Pope Urban VI; the *Defensorium ecclesiastice potestatis*; the *Defensorium*

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[152] *Ibid*, p. 26. The Papal (or Apostolic) Camera was the financial board within the Papal administrative system.

[153] For more information on individual benefices received by Easton, see *Ibid*, pp. 66-69.

[154] Dobson, 'Easton, Adam'.

[155] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, p. 211.

[156] N. R. Ker, 'Medieval Manuscripts from Norwich Cathedral Priory', 17.

[157] Macfarlane *The life and writings of Adam Easton O.S.B Vol.1* (unpublished PhD thesis, London: University of London, 1955), p. 81.

Sanctae Birgitte; and the Visitation office.[158] Easton also appears to have been a scholar of Hebrew: Francis Godwin notes that Easton also wrote many books 'in the Hebrew language, were translations of foreign works from Hebrew into Latin, or were at least written about Hebrew'.[159] The letters, academic exercises, and testimonials are not addressed in this thesis, but a brief comment on the two *Defensorium* works demonstrates Easton's literary competence which can also be seen in his Visitation texts. Reinhard Strohm suggests that Easton may have composed a motet, *Alme Pater*,[160] although Margaret Harvey suggests that this is improbable due to Easton's imprisonment during the period suggested for the motet's composition.[161]

The *Defensorium ecclesiastice potestatis* (The Defence of Ecclesiastical Power) was Easton's study of *dominium*,[162] set as a dialogue between *Episcopus* and *Rex*, and was dedicated to both Pope Urban VI (as *mundi monarche divino*) and the college of cardinals.[163] The prologue states that it consisted of six books, however only the prologue and the first book survive (MS Vat.lat.4116 which spans 366 folios) and Harvey suggests that it is likely that Easton never finished the full six books.[164]

The *Defensorium Sanctae Birgitte* (The Defence of Saint Bridget),[165] was a defence of Bridget of Sweden [d.1373] which answered 'accusations that her speech and revelations were neither divinely inspired nor suitable for a woman'.[166] Bridget of Sweden's revelations covered a variety of topics, and were frequently framed as a conversation with a biblical person who

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[158] For more information, see *Ibid.*

[159] '*Vel Hebraea lingua exarata sunt; vel translationes fuerunt alienorum operum ex Hebraea in Latinam linguam; vel saltem de lingua Hebraea conscripta sunt.*' Francis Godwin, *De praesulibus Angliae commentarius*, pp. 173-174. My thanks to Daniel Bate for his translation.

[160] Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 17.

[161] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, p. 204.

[162] From *dominium mundi* (dominion over the world), the idea that there was one overarching authority on Earth, which led to friction between ecclesiastical and secular (non-religious) powers.

[163] W. A. Pantin, 'The Defensorium of Adam Easton', *The English Historical Review*, 51:204 (October, 1936), 675.

[164] Margaret Harvey, 'Adam Easton and the Condemnation of John Wyclif, 1377', *The English Historical Review*, 113:451 (April, 1998), 323.

[165] For in-depth studies on Easton's *Defensorium Sanctae Birgitte* see: Macfarlane, *The life and writings of Adam Easton*; and Sara Danielle Mederos, *Devotion and Obedience: A* devotio moderna *construction of St Bridget of Sweden in Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Manuscript 114* (unpublished PhD thesis, Lincoln: University of Lincoln, October 2016).

[166] Mederos, *Devotion and Obedience*, p. 24.

described events, theological issues, or parables, and included a conversation with Mary regarding the Visitation.[167] Bridget's book, *Revelationes*, includes accounts of her visions revealed to her by God, Christ, or the Virgin Mary, and was widely read throughout the Middle Ages. Luigi Gambero clarifies Bridget's importance in relation to fourteenth century mysticism:

> She [Bridget] presented a model that could be understood by a large number of the faithful, one that could attract them to undertake an itinerary of the Christian life in which the Blessed Virgin could occupy a prominent place and play a real and important role on their behalf.[168]

Bridget's canonization was promoted soon after her death in 1373, and in May 1376 a committee was appointed to collect evidence for the process. In c. 1382-83 Urban VI commissioned three cardinals - Adam Easton, Lucas Radulfulco de Gentilis and John Corfiensus (who later joined Easton as a prisoner of Urban VI) - to view the findings of the committee, and Macfarlane suggests that this may have been Easton's first theological task after becoming a cardinal in 1381.[169] Bridget's devotion to the Virgin Mary is clear in her *Revelationes*, and she wrote specifically on the Visitation:

> Chapter 59. The mother [Mary] tells the spouse [Bridget] what she felt after the conception of her son, and what Elizabeth and she felt at their meeting, and how an angel comforted and taught both Joseph and her. The mother [Mary] said to the spouse [Bridget] that she felt in herself wonderful things and stirrings as she had conceived Christ, and how the child [John the Baptist] made great mirth in the womb of Elizabeth when they met together beside a well.[170]

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[167] For more information on Bridget of Sweden's Revelations, see: Bridget Morris (ed.), *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden: Volume I: Liber Caelestis, Books I-III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); or Roger Ellis, ''Fores ad Fabricandam...Coronam': An Investigation into the Uses of the Revelations of St Bridget of Sweden in Fifteenth-Century England', *Medium Ævum*, 51:2 (1982), 163-186.

[168] Luigi Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, p. 275.

[169] Macfarlane, *The life and writings of Adam Easton*, pp. 30, 221.

[170] '*Capitulum lix. Þe modir telles to þe spouse what sho felid onone eftir concepcion of hir son, and what Elizabeth and sho felid at þair metinge, and how ane aungell comforted and taght bothe Joseph and hir. The modir saide to þe spouse þat sho felid in hirselfe woundir þinges and stiringes fro sho had conceiued Criste, and how þe childe made grete mirth in þe wombe of Elizabeth when þai mete togedir beside a wele.*': Bridget of Sweden, Roger Ellis (ed.) *The Liber Celestis of St Bridget of Sweden: The Middle English Version in British Library MS Claudius B i, together with a life of the saint from the same manuscript*, 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 447. Modern English translation is my own.

Easton would certainly have read this as part of this review as well as her foreseeing of the Great Schism (*Liber Celestis* VI.63). During his imprisonment in Nocera, Easton vowed to Bridget that if he survived, he would actively work for her canonization, and it has been suggested that Easton wrote his *Defensorium Sanctae Birgitte* in thanksgiving for being spared in 1385. Easton's writing of the *Defensorium* confirms his belief in Bridget and her Revelations. James Hogg notes that while there is no evidence that Easton and Bridget ever met, 'he almost certainly met her daughter Katherine, as he gave evidence on 9 March 1379 along with her and Alphonso Pecha concerning the election of Urban VI'.[171] Could his meeting with Bridget's daughter Katherine have influenced his decision to avow to Bridget during his imprisonment, or even his appointment on the review panel for her canonization?

From his progression from monk at Norwich Cathedral priory to cardinal in the Papal Curia, it is clear that Easton was politically astute, with an understanding of contemporary political-spiritual conflicts and Marian theology and historiography. Harvey argues that 'Easton was one of the leading Benedictine scholars of his generation',[172] which certainly seems to be borne out by his position and works as well the official promulgation of his office. Easton's *Accedunt laudes virginis* office must therefore be understood as being situated within the impressive compositional and political output of a remarkable man.

Jenštejn and Easton

While there is no direct evidence for Jenštejn and Easton knowing each other, they would certainly have known of each other and probably met during the investigation into the feast (see Chapter Three). Neumann notes that Urban VI called a consistory in May 1389 at which at least one member of the panel of theologians (which included Easton) was present, and during the second round of examinations, the four cardinals (including Easton) negotiated with Jenštejn.[173] They also may have a mutual acquaintance in Matthew of Kraków [1355-1410], a

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[171] James Hogg, 'Adam Easton's *Defensorium Sanctae Birgittae*', in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition England, Ireland and Wales: Exeter Symposium VI: Papers read at Charney Manor, July 1999* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), p. 231.

[172] Margaret Harvey, 'The Household of Cardinal Langham', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 47:1 (January 1996), 23.

[173] Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 469, 471-472.

close associate of Jenštejn's who was heavily involved, with Easton, in the canonization of Bridget of Sweden.[174]

Conclusion

Both Jenštejn and Easton developed their personal devotion to the Virgin Mary in very disparate locations and circumstances. However, it is clear that their lives were touched by Mary, and the Visitation in particular, long before their involvement in the institution of the Visitation feast, which may explain their personal interest in its establishment and contributions to its liturgy. Whether Jenštejn and Easton were acquainted or not, their work on the Visitation led to the feast's official promulgation throughout the Roman Church and left an enduring legacy of their (perhaps unintentional) teamwork.

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[174] Stephen Mossman, 'Dorothea von Montau and the Masters of Prague', *Oxford German Studies*, 39:2 (July, 2013), 118-119.

Chapter Three
From Inception to Promulgation

Accedunt laudes virginis admirande indaginis noviter promulgate[175]
'Praises come forth of the virgin's wondrous visitation, newly promulgated'

We are fortunate in knowing a considerable amount about the introduction process for the feast of the Visitation from contemporary sources, including Jenštejn's *Vita*, two of his letters which survive in the Codex Epistolaris (CZ-Pa 2449 ff. 1-54), and a collection of contemporary reports regarding the feast of the Visitation in Ms PL-WRu I F 777. This chapter details the process, from Jenštejn's vision which became the impetus for his campaign, through many stages of investigation and critique, to the official promulgation of Easton's office throughout the Roman Church. A timeline of important dates within the introduction process for the feast of the Visitation is given in Appendix One.

Jenštejn's *Vita* was written shortly after the archbishop's death[176] by his spiritual advisor, Petrus Clarificator [active 1382-1406],[177] the Prior of Roudnice monastery. The *Vita* details a close relationship between Jenštejn and Petrus Clarificator, with the author often referring to conversations between himself and the archbishop on various topics as well as noting that Jenštejn stayed frequently at Roudnice castle.[178] Two letters written by Jenštejn to the pope regarding the Visitation survive in the *Codex Epistolaris* CZ-Pa 2449 ff. 1-54.[179] The first, dated July-August 1386, concerns the feast in general, and the second, dated 1386-1388, describes the vision Jenštejn experienced. They are referred to in this thesis in their edited context as transcribed in Loserth's *Der Codex Epistolaris Des Erzbischofs von Prag Johann*

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[175] EVA1, lines 1-3.

[176] Josef Emler suggests a dating of between 1400 and 1402 due to references to contemporary figures and their positions within the Church. Josef Emler, 'Introduction' in Clarificator, 'Život Jana z Jenšteina', p. xxxiv.

[177] For more information on Petrus Clarificator, see František Michálek Bartoš, 'Mag. Claretus de Solencia a Petrus Clarificator', *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum, Tom. 1, Vitae Sanctorum et Aliorum Quorundam Pietate Insignium*, 60:2 (1933), 153-157.

[178] Clarificator, 'Život Jana z Jenšteina', p. 447.

[179] Originally referred to as 'Codex 183' by Loserth.

von Jenzenstein (The Book of Letters of the Archbishop of Prague, John of Jenstein).[180] Loserth also mentions another letter, likely from Ramond of Capua, the Master General of the Dominican Order, commenting on the feast of the Visitation. Unfortunately this letter is not given in full in Loserth's edition, and so cannot be commented on further in this thesis.[181] Ms PL-WRu I F 777 details much of the introduction process for the new feast of the Visitation, including the criticism received and Jenštejn's response. The authorship of this manuscript is established by Pavel Spunar, who notes that ff. 55r-138v were written by Nicholas of Rakovník [c.1350-1390], a rector at the university in Prague and Jenštejn's friend.[182] F. 129v[183] of this manuscript notes in the first person that the office was expanded by the author, indicating that the additional chants needed for the nine-lesson office were written and composed by Nicholas of Rakovník, which is examined in Chapter Six. I gained access to part of the Wrocław manuscript (PL-WRu I F 777) at a late stage of my research and, unfortunately, it has not been possible to translate all the relevant passages within the available timescale. Both Polc and Neumann refer to this manuscript in their works on the Visitation, and it is to them that I refer in this chapter.

Franciscan Attribution

The introduction of the Visitation into the Roman Calendar is sometimes attributed to the Franciscans.[184] Luke Wadding O.F.M. [1588-1657] stated in the *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum ad anno 1263* Vol. 15 (The Annals of the Franciscans for the year 1263) that the Visitation was celebrated in the Order in 1263.[185] This attribution was refuted in 1911 by Hieronymus Golubovich in the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*

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[180] Loserth, *Beiträge zur geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung*, pp. 344-350, 351-359.

[181] *Ibid.*, p. 398.

[182] Pavel Spunar, 'Nicolaus de Rakownik (Racownik, Rakowecz, Racowicz, Racownyk, Raconicz) – Mikuláš z Rakovníka', in *Repertorium Auctorum Bohemorum Provectum Idearum post Universitatem Pragensem Conditam Illustrans* Vol.1 (Wrocław: Institutum Ossolinianum Officina Editoria Academiae Scientiarum Polonae, 1985), pp. 86-88.

[183] F. 124v in the old foliation.

[184] My research has uncovered this commonly repeated, but unreferenced, statement in non-academic sources online. See, for example, the recent 'Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary', 31 May 2020, <https://angelusnews.com/faith/saint-of-the-day/feast-of-the-visitation-of-the-blessed-virgin-mary/>, last accessed 10 January 2021.

[185] Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum ad anno 1264*, 15 (Rome: Jo. Bernabo et Josephi Lazzarini, 1732).

regarding the General Chapter in Pisa in 1263. The *Archivum* states that the *Annales* contain 'confusions' which were erroneous but have been repeated, including that four new feasts were admitted into the Order in that General Chapter: Mary's Conception and Visitation, and the feasts of St Anne (Mary's mother) and of the virgin Martha of Bethany.[186] Pfaff notes that 'the Visitation is not found in Franciscan service books before its general promulgation of 1389' following Jenštejn's initiative.[187] As the thirteenth-century Franciscan observance has been shown to be erroneous, and Jenštejn's *Vita* and letters testify to his own personal motivation and impetus for pushing for the feast's introduction as well as identifying a gap within the liturgy for such a celebration, it is with confidence that I ascribe the first Visitation office to the archbishop.

Initial Impetus and Responses in Prague

Jenštejn believed, due to a vision he experienced on 15 October 1378,[188] that the celebration of the Visitation as a feast would appeal to Mary to heal the wounds of the Schism within the Church, which he called 'accursed and pestilential' (*execrabili et pestifero scismate*).[189] This sentiment is also expressed in a *cantione* he composed on the Schism - *Verto luctum in citharam* – in which he called the antipope a serpent and ended with a plea to Mary for intercession: *Maria, mater gratie, nunc placa regem glorie* (Mary, mother of grace, now appease the King of Glory).

Jenštejn's vision and belief was corroborated by a pious lady in Prague who also received a vision. Polc states that the woman had informed her confessor, Matthew of Kraków, that she had visions from the Virgin Mary, by whom she was instructed to tell Jenštejn to continue with

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[186] '*Confusionem hanc et aliam statutorum diverso tempore editorum, iteravit et auxit compilator brevis Chronicae...Iussum item, ut novae hae festivitates admitterentur in Ordine, videlicet Conceptionis b. Virginis Mariae, Visitationis eiusdem, beatae Annae illius genitricis, et Marthae Virginis... cetera vero omnino desunt, tum quia quaedam (ut illa quae de quatuor festivitatibus refert) sunt erronea, tum quia alia alibi, et alio tempore emanata esse oportet credimus.*': Hieronymus Golubovich, 'Statuta Liturgica seu Rubricae Breviarii Auctore divo Bonaventura in GLI. Capitulo Pisano An. 1263 Editae', in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (Florence: Quaracchi Press, 1911), pp. 65-66.

[187] R. W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 42.

[188] Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, p. 84. Weltsch argues in n.25 for a date of 1378 for the vision, as Jenštejn includes the detail "*eodem anno, quo tu iam in summum pontificem electus era*s" referring to Urban's election as pope in April 1378.

[189] Loserth, *Beiträge zur geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung*, p. 345.

the new feast's introduction with the assurance of eternal salvation.[190] Stephen Mossman suggests that this lady may have been named Elizabeth, and was married to an unnamed 'notable citizen of Prague'.[191] It is not clear why this woman's testimony is not mentioned in either Jenštejn's *Vita* or his letters to the pope as corroborating evidence for the feast's importance. However, the Visitation is not mentioned in detail in the *Vita*, possibly due to the focus on Jenštejn's survival of the plague and its effect on his life, and neither Polc, Mossman, nor Neumann (who also refers briefly to 'a pious Prague woman')[192] give dates for the meeting between her and Jenštejn, which could therefore have occurred after Jenštejn's letters were sent.

Jenštejn's letter to the pope dated 1386-1388[193] gives an explanation of his vision followed by a discussion of its legitimacy, in which he draws on similar visions experienced by Old Testament figures, including Jacob, Daniel, and Solomon, to place himself in a long tradition of biblical forefathers who have received visions of divine revelation. This appears to be phrased to emphasise the authority of the vision and its biblical precedents.

Jenštejn's description of his vision is vivid: a black Satan, clothed in red bishop's vestments and wearing the episcopal mitre, hands two great keys (the papal keys) to an antipope. This antipope is permitted to wear the mitre and scarlet cape, and once clothed in this way turns black and transforms into a demon most foul (*teterrime demone*), surrounded by cardinals who offer supplications (*qui supplicaciones offerebant*). Behind Satan stands Christ, who is indescribably beautiful with a cheerful and pleasant appearance (*erat ineffabilis pulchritudinis...hilari et iocundo aspectu*), wearing blue like that of the sky in fine weather (*celum melioris serenitatis*). In the distance the Virgin Mary sits in the most pretty and most beautiful meadow (*pulcherrimo et amenissimo prato*) in a blue garment, and Jenštejn states that it is only with sorrow that he draws his attention back to the scene in the foreground. Jenštejn's vision depicts a theological struggle behind the events of the Great Schism, which,

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[190] Jaroslav V. Polc, 'De origine festi Visitationis B. M. V.', in *Series Piazza S. Giovanni in Laterano*, 4 (Rome: Libreria Editrice Della Pontificia Universita Lateranense, 1967), 42.

[191] Stephen Mossman, 'Dorothea von Montau', 116.

[192] '*V téže době měla podobné vidění i jakási zbožná žena pražská*': Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 432. English translation is my own. Neumann's reference for this appears to be Ms PL-WRu I F 777 which gives details of Jenštejn's involvement in the introduction of the feast of the Visitation.

[193] For the full letter, see Loserth, *Beiträge zur geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung*, pp. 351-359.

when taken with his personal support of the Roman pope, demonstrates his belief that Pope Urban VI was the 'true' pope, and that the French pope, Clement VII, was appointed by Satan.

The two different colour palates described highlight this struggle as in the medieval period colours were often understood in spiritual terms. The red and black of the antipope and Satan reflect humanity and a separation from God respectively, while the blue and green of Christ and Mary's clothes and the fertile meadow in which she sits were viewed as 'celestial colors symbolizing heaven and the gospels' as noted by Heather Pulliam.[194] The detailed description of the vision including such symbolic colours is very visually dramatic, and reads almost like a description of an illustration in a manuscript – similar to those seen in Jenštejn's manuscript Vat.lat.1122. A similar descriptive style is used for some of Jenštejn's office texts, for example in the first verse of his Compline hymn: O shining mother of Christ, fountain abounding with all grace, light banishing any clouds, most beautiful Mary.[195]

In his letter, Jenštejn articulates an argument that the Schism might become the cause of destructive evil (*perniciosique mali causa fieret*) and likens the situation to a small ship on swelling waves with all aboard proclaiming '*Domine salva nos, perimus*' ('Lord, save us, we perish' Matthew 8:25).[196] Jenštejn also uses the familiar medieval image of Mary, the mother of the Church, commanding the sea and the winds, that 'she may settle the attack of the storm and lead the troubled small ship to port'.[197] He argues that the evils of the Schism would perish if Christ and Mary were pleased, and that in order for them to act, the pope should hasten to introduce the feast of the Visitation so that Mary is adored in all the lands.[198]

In his letter from July-August 1386, Jenštejn argues that the celebration of the Visitation would be appropriate in many ways: it is a celebration of Mary's journey as she approached the mountains, a celebration of Mary's greeting when she met Elizabeth, a feast which demonstrates Mary's personal views as seen through the *Magnificat*, and it also highlights

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[194] Pulliam, 'Color', 8. For more information on colour symbolism see: M. J. Huxtable, *Colour, seeing, and seeing colour in medieval literature* (unpublished PhD thesis, Durham: University of Durham, 2008).

[195] '*O Christi mater fulgida scatens fons omni gratia lux pellens queque nubila Maria venustissima*': JCH verse 1.

[196] Loserth, *Beiträge zur geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung*, pp. 353-4, 357-358.

[197] '*...sedetque impetum procellarum et ad...portum perturbatam naviculam perducat*': *Ibid.*, p. 345. English translation is my own.

[198] '*...si vis cum Christo et Marie gaudere, fac toto orbe visitacionis festum festinare, ut secundum gaudium Marie veneretur in terris, ut te una mecum gaudere faciant in celis, quod eius filis precibus pie matris efficiat, qui sine fine vivit et regnat in secula seculorum.*': *Ibid.*, p. 359.

Mary's humility as she helped her older cousin through pregnancy.[199] Jenštejn doesn't appear to elaborate specifically on how these are appropriate to the Schism, which suggests rather that these are appropriate for pleasing Mary more generally. He also argues that the feast is as much of Jesus Christ as of Mary (*quia principaliter festum tam Iesu Christi est, quam Marie*), and that the feast is additionally about Christ's humility and John's exultation within the womb upon knowing Jesus (*Christi humilitatis, qua Iohanni innotuit, Iohannis exultacionis, qui in utero prophetavit*), an idea which can be seen in the text of his office. But possibly most importantly, Jenštejn argues that Mary herself prophesied the celebration of the Visitation:

> in this feast the glorious maiden herself sung and prophesied, in order that this feast might be celebrated, when she said: for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed [Luke 1:48] [200]

In another reference to the Lucan passage, Jenštejn also explains that Urban VI should join Elizabeth in supporting Mary so that he too may be able to say Elizabeth's words 'whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?'.[201]

Following his vision, Jenštejn consulted with a group of theologians from Prague. Neumann, Polc, and Mossman provide lists of these counsellors, albeit with variances. All three list Albert, who was the prior of the Carthusian house, Mariengarten, near Prague [dates unknown], and Jan Marienwerder, a theologian from the university in Prague [1343-1417]. Mossman and Polc also add Jenštejn's spiritual advisor, Petrus Clarificator, and a second university theologian, Matthew of Kraków who was the confessor of the pious woman whose own vision corroborated Jenštejn's. Neumann, however, gives Master Kuneš of Třebovel [d.1397], the custodian of St Vitus Cathedral in Prague, and the unnamed Abbot of the Augustinian canonry at the Church of St Charles (Na Karlově) in Prague [dates unknown], but does note that there were additional counsellors, who may be those named by Mossman and Polc.[202] Jenštejn's suggestion of celebrating the Visitation as a new feast was unanimously agreed upon by these theologians, and the archbishop is said to have been so inspired that he

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[199] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

[200] '*...in hoc festo ipsamet virgo gloriosa prophetando cecinit, ut hoc festum celebraretur, quando dixit: Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generaciones*': *Ibid.*, p. 349. English translation is my own.

[201] '*Suscipe igitur eam cum Elizabeth in gaudio leticie et exultacionis, sicut in tuis necessitatibus gliscis eam adesse presentem, ut tandem merearis dicere: Unde michi hoc, ut veniat mater domini mei ad me?*': *Ibid.*, p. 349.

[202] See Mossman, 'Dorothea von Montau', 115; Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 432; and Polc, 'De origine festi Visitationis B. M. V.', 43.

wrote the office within a few days.[203] This consultation and initial office draft is mentioned within Jenštejn's *Vita*: 'Discussing this first with some religious men and apparently urged to do so, ordered to be ordained in his diocese at Easter time on St. Vitalis with three readings'.[204] A feast with three lessons is a lesser feast within the Church, which includes fewer chants in Matins than a full office of nine lessons. Jenštejn was later asked to expand his office to a full nine lessons, and the version examined in this thesis is the nine-lesson office with additional chants composed at a later stage.

Jenštejn announced the Visitation as a feast within his archdiocese on 16 June 1386, and established the feast date as 28 April, the feast of St Vitalis.[205] His reasoning for this suggested date is expressed in his letter to the pope dated July-August 1386. He notes that between Mary's Annunciation (25 March) and her Assumption (15 August) there is no Marian feast apart from the feast of the Our Lady of the Snows[206] on the 5 August.[207] Within this timeframe, Jenštejn suggested that the feast should not fall on Easter, but rather within *Temporale Paschalia* (the fifty days which follow Easter, also known as Eastertide, ending on Pentecost) which can fall between 22 March and 14 June depending on the date of Easter. The dates between 26 April and 10 May would be within *Temporale Paschalia* each year. Jenštejn suggested a second criterion: that the feast should not fall on a Rogation Day.[208] Jenštejn's suggested date of 28 April would only fall on a Rogation Day if Easter itself was celebrated on 22 or 23 March but would be within *Temporale Paschalia* each year. It is my contention that Jenštejn's office was composed with 28 April specifically in mind, which particularly affected the texts of his chants, as is discussed in Chapter Six.

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[203] '*...pracoval s takovou chutí, že v několika dnech byl s officiem hotov*': Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 432.

[204] '*De quo primum cum quibusdam...etiam revelationibus instigatus, tempore paschali in die s. Vitalis in dioecesi sua tenendum decreverat cum tribus lectionibus*': Clarificator, 'Život Jana z Jenšteina', p. 464. The translation here is that of the Czech and not the Latin, and is my own.

[205] Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, p. 88.

[206] This refers to the dedication date of the Basilica of St Mary Major in Rome which was built, according to legend, after a vision of Mary who sent snow in August to cover the ground upon which the basilica should be built.

[207] '*Preterea inter festum Annunciacionis Marie et festum Assumpcionis eiusdem nimis magnum intervallum est, ubi nullum festum Marie celebratur preter festum beate Marie Nivis*': Loserth, *Beiträge zur geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung*, p. 349.

[208] Rogation Days are specific days of fasting and prayer, which fall on 25 April, and then on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Ascension Day (the fortieth day after Easter).

The new feast of the Visitation was not well-received by all in Prague, with the *scholasticus* Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio [1320-1388] vocally opposing the feast's introduction. Jenštejn's reply to Ranconis' criticism survives in manuscript Vat.lat.1122 in the Vatican archives. Folios 4r-26r contain Jenštejn's *De festo b. Mariae Virginis Visitationis contra Adalbertum Ranconis de Ericinio* (On the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Visitation against Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio). A full translation of Jenštejn's reply is beyond the scope of this thesis, however both Weltsch and Neumann provide details on both the *scholasticus*' arguments and the archbishop's counters.[209] Ranconis opposed the feast on a number of grounds, the first being that 'an important new feast should not be instituted without apostolic authority'.[210] Jenštejn argued that many other bishops and archbishops had instituted regional feasts within their (arch)dioceses and that he was well within his rights as archbishop to do likewise.[211] According to Neumann, the second objection was that the feast was 'superstitious', which Jenštejn refuted by pointing out that the Visitation was a gospel event and therefore a true event, noting that it was even prefigured by Mary's words in the *Magnificat* 'for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed' (found quoted within his office in the Matins responsory verse *Ecce enim exhoc* (JMR3.3v)). Ranconis then inquired whether the archbishop had the power to add a new feast, and Jenštejn explained that theologians had been consulted and the feast had been approved in a provincial synod on 16 June 1386.[212] Ranconis also questioned whether 'the visions of a susceptible metropolitan constitute a sound basis for a religious celebration'.[213] Jenštejn referred to similar biblical visions as well as arguing that the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Snows was also founded on a dream. Finally, the *scholasticus* queried why, if the Visitation was to be celebrated, the Church did not also celebrate other gospel characters, including Pilate, Judas, Caiaphas (the High Priest), or even the donkey which carried Jesus on Palm Sunday.[214] Neumann states that in reply Jenštejn 'noted that his scholastic scholar [Ranconis] had forgotten to distinguish between rational and

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[209] The full text can be found digitized, at
<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1122/0001?sid=657aa97e0a46735a61e5e3900fc279e0>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[210] Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, p. 127.

[211] Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 436.

[212] Urban, *Mariologické a mariánské inspirace*, p. 97. A provincial synod contains all bishops within an ecclesiastical province.

[213] Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, p. 129.

[214] *Ibid.*

unreasonable, and had fallen into blasphemy'.[215] Many of these objections appear to be personal or irrelevant, or even quasi-heretical, and imply that Jenštejn and Ranconis may already have had a tense relationship.

Criticisms from the Papal Curia

Despite Ranconis' objections, Jenštejn submitted his office (*Exurgens autem Maria*), which already had local observance, to the Papal Curia for consideration. Between 1386 and 1388 an investigation into the feast was carried out by thirty-seven canonists and theologians.[216] Adam Easton, who had been released from imprisonment by the end of 1385 although not yet reinstated to his former cardinal status, was one of the theologians commissioned for this investigation. On 8 April 1389, Pope Urban VI called a Consistory (a council of cardinals) in order that objections to the feast could be presented. These objections are listed by Neumann:

1. The feast of the Visitation can never be called Catholic.

2. The pope is (allegedly) not qualified to implement it.

3. If there are already different kinds of Visitation offices, how can Jenštejn's office be sent to everyone?

4. Whether Jenštejn's office "written in harsh style, is to be corrected in some way or changed in less important things?"

5. Should the new feast be named after the visit of the Virgin Mary to St. Elizabeth or some other scene?

6. On what day should the feast be celebrated.[217]

The first of these objections appear to have been ignored, with the pope later officially introducing the feast of the Visitation into the Roman Calendar and promulgating Easton's office. The fifth and sixth objections do not appear to be arguments at all, but rather questions which were answered before the feast's official introduction. The fourth objection listed

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[215] '*Arcibiskup k tomu poznamenal, že jeho učený scholastik zapomněl rozlišovati mezi rozumným a nerozumným a upadl do rouhačství.*': Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 437. English translation is my own.

[216] *Ibid.*, 469.

[217] '*1. Svátek Navštívení nelze nikdy nazvati katolickým. 2. Papež (prý) není kompetentní k jeho zavedení. 3. Existují-li již různé druhy hodinek Navštívení, jak možno poslati Jenštejnův elaborát všem? 4. Zdali Jenštejnovo officium „sepsané drsným slohem, má býti nějak opraveno anebo v podřízených věcech změněno?" 5. Má býti nový svátek pojmenován podle návštěvy P. Marie u sv. Alžběty anebo podle některého jiného výjevu? 6. Kterého dne má býti svátek slaven?*': *Ibid.*, 469. English translation is my own.

provides critical information about Jenštejn's office: that it was composed in a 'harsh style' and needed revisions.

Two additional objections were publicly raised at the Consistory and countered by Edmund, an English Benedictine abbot. The first queried why another Marian feast was needed – were there not enough already? Edmund's rebuttal reminded listeners that many saints have several feast days ('for example, St. Peter has three days, St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, and St. Stephen all have two days')[218] alongside their birthdays, deaths, and even relocation of relics. Why, therefore, could Mary not have one more feast, being such a biblically and theologically important person? The second objection was of a more socioeconomic nature: that a new feast would mean one less day's wages; this would particularly affect low-wage earners. He responded that if the Church had to consider such things when introducing new feasts, then she would relinquish all liturgical authority.[219] Following Abbot Edmund's speech, Pope Urban VI declared that he would institute the Visitation as a feast, specifically stating that he was doing so to heal the Schism, legitimising Jenštejn's suggestion.[220] At this point, however, neither the date for the feast nor the office for promulgation were decided.

As Jenštejn's original office included only three lessons at Matins, he was asked to resubmit a full office with nine lessons, and it is this full office that is examined in this thesis. These new additions appear not to have been composed by Jenštejn himself, but instead by his assistant at the curia, Nicholas of Rakovník, as noted in Ms PL-WRu I F 777 f. 129v.[221] Although this co-authorship is noted in Neumann's 1935 article and Polc's 1967 book, it is not mentioned in later English-language sources about Jenštejn or his composition.

After Jenštejn submitted a full office, Pope Urban VI set the date of the new feast: 2 July, the feast of the martyrs SS. Processus and Martinian. Polc states that the reason for this choice is not clear, but notes that in the Byzantine Church, another Marian feast is celebrated on 2

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[218] '*Tak např. sv. Petr má tři dny, sv. Pavel, sv. Jan Kř. a sv. Štěpán po dvou dnech*': *Ibid.*, 470. English translation is my own.

[219] '*...kdyby tyto věci měly býti respektovány Církví, pak by to znamenalo konec její autority v tomto liturgickém směru.*': *Ibid.*

[220] *Ibid.*

[221] F. 124v in the old foliation.

For more information on Nicholas of Rakovník, see Spunar, 'Nicolaus de Rakownik', pp. 86-88. See also, Jaroslav Kadlec, 'Mistr Mikuláš Rakovník', in *Studie o Rukopisech*, 19 (Prague: Masaryk Institute and Archives of the CAS, v.v.i., 1980), pp. 23-29.

July: the feast of the *Depositio vestis B.M.V. Blanchernae* (the Deposition of Mary's Veil – from Jerusalem to the Church of St. Mary of Blachernae in Istanbul).[222] The feast of the Visitation was then celebrated for the first time in Rome (in 1389), according to Jenštejn's office or, more specifically, the 'Prague rubric' indicating that *Exurgens autem Maria* was established as a feast within Prague at that time.[223] Unfortunately, Urban VI died on 15 October 1389, before he could officially institute the feast with a papal bull. In 1390 Jenštejn approached his successor, Pope Boniface IX, to petition for the completion of the process. Boniface agreed to investigate the feast, and commissioned a second panel of four Cardinals, again including Adam Easton (now restored to his cardinalship), to examine *Exurgens autem Maria* alongside seven newly submitted offices. Included among these seven was *Accedunt laudes virginis*, by Adam Easton.

This second investigation raised more objections, although the focus was on the content of Jenštejn's office rather than the social and theological implications of the feast's introduction. According to Neumann, 'Some things in them are said to be dubious, others are not acoustic, some expressions are unusual or even unknown, and here and there the syllables are too short.'[224] Polc's account agrees, stating that Jenštejn's text was 'judged harshly on account of his rough style and of certain things that were regarded poorly by the experts' (*ob stylum rudem atque ob quaedam, quae magistris male sonabant*).[225] Polc also notes that Easton 'reproves the lessons written by John of Jenštejn because "they do not show the reason for the feast's institution"'.[226] Jenštejn's response to this criticism is discussed in Chapter Six.

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[222] '*Cur haec dies pro festo celebrando eligatur, non constat; silent acta, silent et alia documenta. Verisimile tamen nobis non videtur, sicut quidam opinati sunt ita factum esse ob hanc rem, quod et Ecclesia Byzantino-Graeca a temporibus antiquioribus aliud festum Mariae,* Depositio vestis B. M. V. Blachernae, *eodem die celebrabatur.*': Polc, 'De origine festi Visitationis B. M. V.', 123.

[223] Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 471.

[224] '*Některé věci v nich prý jsou pochybné, jiné nejsou libozvučné, některé výrazy jsou neobvyklé nebo dokonce neznámé, tu a tam jsou slabiky příliš krátké.*': *Ibid.*, 472. English translation is my own.

[225] Polc, 'De origine festi Visitationis B. M. V.', 87.

[226] '*Quam ob rem Adam Easton lectiones a Ioanne Jenštejn scriptas obiurgat, quia <causam institucionis festi debite non manifestant>*': *Ibid.*, 98. My thanks to Daniel Bate for his translation.

Official Promulgation

On 9 November 1390, Pope Boniface IX finally issued the bull *Superni benignitas Conditoris*,[227] officially instituting the Visitation as a feast to be celebrated on 2 July. The office chosen for official promulgation was *Accedunt laudes virginis*, by Adam Easton. Although both Batts and Weltsch state that Jenštejn's office, *Exurgens autem Maria*, was of only regional importance,[228] manuscript evidence reveals that it was in active use until at least the mid-sixteenth century, and spread throughout Europe.[229]

Dating the Offices

The *Exurgens autem Maria* office was written in two stages and it is possible to date each of these to within a year. Jenštejn's *Vita* states that the initial draft of the office was written after a discussion with 'some religious men'[230] which likely refers to the provincial synod in 1386 which unanimously agreed that the Visitation should be celebrated as a feast. The latest possible date for the composition of this short three-lesson office is 1386 when Pope Urban VI commissioned a panel of canonists and theologians to investigate the concept of the feast and Jenštejn's submitted office. Although the possible time frame for the composition of this initial stage is one year (1386), Neumann notes that, in Ms PL-WRu I F 777, Rakovník states that Jenštejn's office was written within a few days.[231] The possible effect of this suggested speed of composition on the quality and sophistication of the office chants is raised in Chapter Six,

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[227] '*Institutio festivitatis Visitationis B. Mariae Virginis pro die 2 iulii, cum adhortatione ad ieiunium vigiliae, indulgentiisque pro interessentibus officiis dictae festivitatis, ex constitutione Urbani VI.*': in Luigi Tomassetti, 'Institutio Festivitatis Visitationis B. Mariae Virginis pro Die 2 Iulii, Cum Adhortatione Ad Ieiunium Vigiliae, Indulgentiisque pro Interessentibus Officiis Dictae Festivitatis, Ex Constitutione Urbani VI.' in *Bullarum, Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensisi*, 4 (Augustae Taurinorum: Seb. Franco et Henrico Dalmazzo editoribus, 1857), pp. 602-604.

[228] James Boyd Batts, *A Rhymed Office for the feast of the Visitation by John of Jenstein* (unpublished Master's thesis, Houston: Rice University, May 1995), p. 21; and Ruben Ernest Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, p. 91.

[229] For more information on the dissemination of each office in the manuscripts examined in this thesis, see the maps in Figure 22 in Chapter Six and Figure 37 in Chapter Seven.

[230] Clarificator, 'Život Jana z Jenšteina', p. 464.

[231] '*Pracoval s takovou chutí, že v několika dnech byl s officiem hotov*': Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 432. English translation is my own.

Neumann here refers to Ms PL-WRu I F 777, ff. 55r-55v (ff. 50r-50v in the old folation).

particularly with regard to the specific criticism Jenštejn received from both investigative panels.

After Pope Urban VI's announcement in 1389 that the feast of the Visitation would be introduced into the Roman Calendar, Jenštejn was asked to resubmit his office after expanding it from three to nine lessons. Neumann states that Jenštejn delegated this task to his assistant at the Papal Curia, Nicholas of Rakovník.[232] This second stage must have been completed by 1390 when a second panel was commissioned, this time by Pope Boniface IX, to investigate a number of Visitation offices including the newly expanded *Exurgens autem Maria*.

The exact date of composition for Easton's office is unknown, although Macfarlane suggests a date of between 1379 and 1384. He argues that Easton was unlikely to have composed the office before 1379 when he finished his *Defensorium ecclesiasticae potestatis* (The Defence of Ecclesiastical Power), and that Pope Urban VI would not have considered Easton suitable for the task after January 1385 when the English Cardinal was stripped of his benefices and arrested for conspiring against the pope.[233] However, Macfarlane's suggested dating seems too early when Jenštejn's involvement in the feast's introduction is taken into consideration. This is explained by Macfarlane incorrectly identifying Easton's office as the first written for the Visitation.[234]

I propose a later date of composition of between 1386 and 1390. The latest possible date of composition can be set to 1390, as after Jenštejn's visit to Rome in that year a panel of four theologians examined eight offices for the Visitation, including Easton's *Accedunt laudes virginis*.[235] There is no evidence of independent interest in the Visitation from Easton, nor of his composing an office in isolation, and so the earlier boundary for the composition date must surely be set by Easton's first contact with Jenštejn's office during the investigation launched in 1386.

I have found no contemporary evidence which suggests why Easton chose to compose an office for the Visitation. However, one possibility could be his personal devotion to the Virgin

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[232] '*Jenštejn však nemohl dostáti novému úkolu, pročež jej přenesl na svého pomocníka, M.[istr] Mikuláše z Rakovníka. Ten vypracoval nejen oněch šest lekcí, nýbrž i responsoria a všechny antifony*': *Ibid.*, 470. This is described on Ms PL-WRu I F 777 f. 129v (f. 124v in the old foliation).

[233] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, p. 208

[234] *Ibid.*, p. 209

[235] Polc, 'De origine festi Visitationis B. M. V.', 96-97.

Mary, influenced by his involvement in St Bridget of Sweden's canonisation and his subsequent *Defensorium Sanctae Birgitte* (Defence of St Bridget), combined with his involvement in the examination and criticism of Jenštejn's office. In order to give critical feedback to Jenštejn on his office as well as on the concept of the feast, Easton would have examined the office in detail, as well as the archbishop's reasoning behind requesting the feast's introduction – the healing of the Schism. Easton's Compline hymn for the Visitation, *O Christi mater celica*, includes a reference to this. The first verse reads:

O Christi mater celica	O heavenly mother of Christ
fons vivus fluens gracia	living spring flowing with grace
lux pellens cuncta scismata	light that banishes all schisms,
maria deo proxima.	Mary, closest to God.

The inclusion of such a reference could imply that Easton agreed with Jenštejn's original motive or possibly that the chant was carefully texted to pander to the pope and cardinals in the selection process. In his antiphon for the *Benedictus* in Lauds, Easton argues that Mary will offer assistance 'because she has been called. For she is the mother of the wave-tossed ship of the Church' (*cum fuerit vocata. nam mater est, ecclesiae fluctuantis naviculae*), echoing the words used in Jenštejn's letter to the pope regarding his vision in which he describes Mary saving a ship covered by waves (*Naviculam fluctibus operiret*).[236] There is no evidence that Easton read this letter, but the use of this trope by the two composers demonstrates a common belief held by both.

Conclusion

The introduction of the feast of the Visitation was a complicated process with multiple stages of acceptance and objections. As evidenced by his *Vita* and letters to the pope, Jenštejn believed that the celebration of the feast of the Visitation would please Mary, who would then help to heal the wounds of the Schism. His office was composed specifically with this in mind, with text and melodies tailored to the date he suggested, and sent to the Papal Curia for consideration. The archbishop succeeded in convincing the Papal Curia that the Visitation was a theologically and liturgically important event, worthy of its own feast. Unfortunately, the

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[236] Loserth, *Beiträge zur geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung*, p. 358.

texts of his office were criticised by two investigative panels and it was not accepted by the Papal Curia. Easton's office was subsequently chosen for official promulgation.

Easton was heavily involved in the examination process of Jenštejn's office, and it is likely that he contributed to the criticism of the archbishop's texts. He may therefore have felt that he understood what would be required for an office for the Visitation to be accepted and promulgated throughout the Church. His (possible) agreement with Jenštejn's motive and his intimate knowledge of the criticism given, combined with his Marian devotion and familiarity with the Visitation scene from a young age, may have compelled Easton to create an office which was, in his eyes, less textually flawed than Jenštejn's and thus more fitting to honour the Virgin.

<center>

Chapter Four
Sources

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<center>

Nunc adoretur Dominus Ihesus qui nos dilexit[237]
'Let the Lord Jesus, who has loved us, now be adored'

</center>

For this thesis I examined forty-seven manuscripts and printed books which contain either Jenštejn's or Easton's Visitation office, and selected sixteen from which to create an edition. The sixteen manuscripts were chosen for inclusion based on their accessibility, either physically or digitally, and an assessment of their contribution of information on the feast or its later promulgation and transmission. The sources not used in full in the edition have been indexed and used to confirm the geographic and temporal spread of the offices in Europe[238] or to identify content variations (see Chapters Six and Seven). Most of the manuscripts examined within this thesis were identified using the Cantus Index, an online catalogue of Western liturgical chants for the office and mass, which integrates a number of individual project databases.[239] I also identified manuscripts using additional online databases not incorporated in the Cantus Index, including the Vatican Archives and manuscriptorium.com.[240] Manuscriptorium, hosted by the National Library of the Czech Republic, was especially valuable for manuscripts held in the Czech Republic. A full list of the chants given in each manuscript is given in Appendix Four (Jenštejn's *Exurgens autem Maria*) and Appendix Five (Easton's *Accedunt laudes virginis*).

Table 1 lists all manuscripts used in this thesis with *siglum*, dating, and provenance. Each manuscript is given an identifying number which corresponds to those given on the maps in Figures 22 and 37 in Chapters Six and Seven. There are certainly other manuscripts which include all or part of these two offices, but a complete listing is beyond the scope of this thesis.

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[237] JMI2, lines 3-4.

[238] For maps displaying this, see Figure 22 in Chapter Six and 37 in Chapter Seven.

[239] 'Cantus Index', <www.cantusindex.org>, last accessed 15 January 2021. For more information, see: Debra Lacoste, 'Networking Chant Databases – The *Cantus Index*' *Musiktheorie* 3 (2019), 196-214.

[240] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, <mss.vatlib.it/guii/scan/link.jsp>, last accessed 16 January 2021. Manuscriptorium database, <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?envLang=en>, last accessed 2 January 2021.

Many manuscripts will not have been indexed or added to the databases and online repositories I used throughout my studies. Further research will undoubtedly identify more manuscripts which may aid in further analysis of the offices. I did not identify any insular manuscripts which include either Jenštejn or Easton's offices, likely due to a combination of the destruction of manuscripts in the sixteenth century English Reformation and the scarcity of insular manuscripts in the databases I have been working from.[241] It was also outside of the scope of this thesis to examine manuscripts which give only Visitation mass chants, however a future project into this would widen our understanding of the observance of the feast of the Visitation throughout Europe.[242]

In this chapter I give a formal description of each source identified, what Visitation chants are included, and any relevant marginalia, rubrics, or marks. The formal description includes the following elements where known: manuscript *siglum*, dating, provenance, type of source (for example, antiphonal), number of folios, size of folios, whether parchment or paper, if printed, whether notation is given, and the folios on which the Visitation chants are given. For sources included in the edition, further information is given on the layout of the folios, the stave, and information on the textual and melodic variations between that source and the primary manuscript for that office. Throughout this thesis I use chant identification codes to give precise information on the chant position within each office, a full explanation of which is given on p. 115-117.

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[241] For more information on the introduction of the feast of the Visitation into England, see Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*.

[242] For example, the Usuarium database lists missals which include Visitation chants. Usuarium: <https://usuarium.elte.hu/calendarlabel/1422/view>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

	Jenštejn			
	Sigla	**Date**	**Provenance**	**Page**
1	CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16	1386-1419	Roudnice nad Labem (CZ)	76
2	CZ-Bsa R 626	1397	Olomouc (Moravia/CZ)	78
3	CZ-Pak Cim 7	c.1390	Roudnice nad Labem (CZ)	79
4	CZ-Pn XIII A 7	1412	Germany	79
5	CZ-Pu XII A 9	15th C	Bohemia	80
6	MA Impr. 1537	1537	Münster (DE)	81
7	PL-PłS 36	15th C	Płock (PL)	82
8	SK-Bra BAI EC Lad.3	15th C	Bratislava (SK)	83
9	Vat.lat.1122	1376-1400	unknown (likely Prague/Bohemia)	84
10	SK-Sk 2	15th C	Slovakia	91

17	CZ-LIBsm ST 1779	15th C	Zittau (DE)	99
18	CZ-Pmn XII A 21	1470-1477	Kolín (CZ)	99
19	CZ-PRm L 262	c.1598	Bohemia	100
20	CZ-Pu XIV B 6	14th C	Bohemia	101
21	CZ-S M-7	15th-16th C	Bohemia	101
22	CZ-UL ST 1491	15th C	Ústí nad Labem (CZ)	101
23	D-AAm G20	13th C	Aachen (DE)	102
24	D-Bsb Theol. Lat. Qu. 149	unknown	Lubiń (PL)	102
25	D-KA Aug. LX	12th C (13th, 14th, 15th C additions)	Zwiefalten (DE)	102
26	D-MZb C	1430s	Mainz (DE)	103
27	F-AS 893	14th C	Arras (FR)	103
28	F-CA Impr XVI C4	1508-1518	Cambrai (FR)	103
29	F-CA Ms. 71	1458-c.1470	Cambrai (FR)	103
30	F-CA Ms. 73	14th C (15th-18th C additions)	Cambrai (FR)	104
31	H-BA Rath F 1042	1484	Esztergom (HU)	104
32	I-CFm XLIV	14th-15th C	Cividale (IT)	104
33	I-CFm LVII	15th C	Cividale (IT)	104
34	I-CFm XLVIII	15th C	Cividale (IT)	105
35	PL KIk 1	1372	Kielce (PL)	105
36	PL-Kkar 1 (Rkp 12)	1397	Kraków (PL)	106
37	PL-Kkar 3 (Rkp 15)	1468	Kraków (PL)	107
38	PL-WRu R 503	14th C	Wrocław (PL)	107
39	SK-BRm EC Lad.4	15th C	Bratislava (SK)	108
40	TR-Itks 42	c.1360	Esztergom (HU)	108
41	US-NYpm M.A.G.7	15th C	Hungary	109

Easton				
	Sigla	**Date**	**Provenance**	**Page**
11	NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)	12th C (13th, 14th, 15th C additions)	Utrecht (NL)	91
2	CZ-Bsa R 626	1397	Olomouc (Moravia/CZ)	92
12	CZ-OLu M IV 6	~15th C	Olomouc (Moravia/CZ)	93
4	CZ-Pn XIII A 7	1412	Germany	94
13	CZ-Pu III D 10	1440s	Passau (DE)	96
14	DK-Kk 4339 8o IX	c.1580	Augsburg (DE)	96
15	P-BRs Ms. 028	16th C	Braga (PT)	97
16	P-BRs Ms. 034	1510-1515	Braga (PT)	97
10	SK-Sk 2	15th C	Slovakia	98

42	AA Impr. 1495	1475	Augsburg (DE)	109
43	A-Wda C-10	15th C	Kirnberg (AT)	109
44	A-Wda D-4	15th C	Kirnberg (AT)	109
45	D-FUl Aa 55	14th/15th C	Rasdorf (DE)	109
32	I-CFm XLIV	14th-15th C	Cividale (IT)	110
33	I-CFm LVII	15th C	Cividale (IT)	111
34	I-CFm XLVIII	15th C	Cividale (IT)	111
46	NL-ZUa 6	15th C (16th C additions)	Zutphen (NL)	111
47	SI-Lna 19 (olim 18)	1491-1492	Kranj (SI)	111

Table 1: List of sources identified with Jenštejn's and Easton's offices.

Edition Sources

Sources which contain Exurgens autem Maria

1. **CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16:** 1389-1419,[243] Roudnice nad Labem (Czech Republic),[244] 78ff, 339 x 234mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 1v-18v.

This manuscript is one of the earliest known sources of Jenštejn's office,[245] and is now held in the private collection of the House of Lobkowicz, in Nelahozeves Castle (Nelahozeves, Czech Republic). A facsimile of the relevant folios is given in Appendix Three.[246]

Marginalia: Two marginal corrections on folios 1v and 2r may have been written by Jenštejn which would narrow the dating to 1389-1400. Further palaeographic analysis of these marginal annotations along with those in Ms Vat.lat.1122 (see p. 90) and those identified by Zdeňka Hledíková as Jenštejn's hand may confirm a possible Jenštejn authorship.[247]

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[243] The manuscript includes the full nine-lesson office which can have been completed no earlier than 1389, see Chapter Three. František Fišer, 'Nejstarší exemplář Jenštejnova oficia Navštívení p. Marie', *Strahovská knihovna*, 4 (1968), 81-85.

[244] My thanks to Dr. Hana Vlhová-Wörner for provenance information.

[245] František Fišer suggests that the manuscript is the oldest source of Jenštejn's office. See, Fišer, 'Nejstarší exemplář', 81-85.

[246] My thanks to Mr Lobkowicz for his permission to view the manuscript and for allowing the inclusion of the images in this thesis, and to the library and archives curators at the Lobkowicz Collections (Nelahozeves Castle) who made both my visit and the photographs possible.

[247] Zdeňka Hledíková, 'Lastnoročne opombe in korekture Jana z Jenštejna v njegovem epistolariju', *Ars et humanitas*, 8:2 (2014), 72-86. See also Zdeňka Hledíková, 'Rukopis listáře Jana z Jenštejna', in *Studie o Rukopisech*, 44 (Prague: Masaryk Institute and Archives of the CAS, v. v. i., 2014), pp. 57-83.
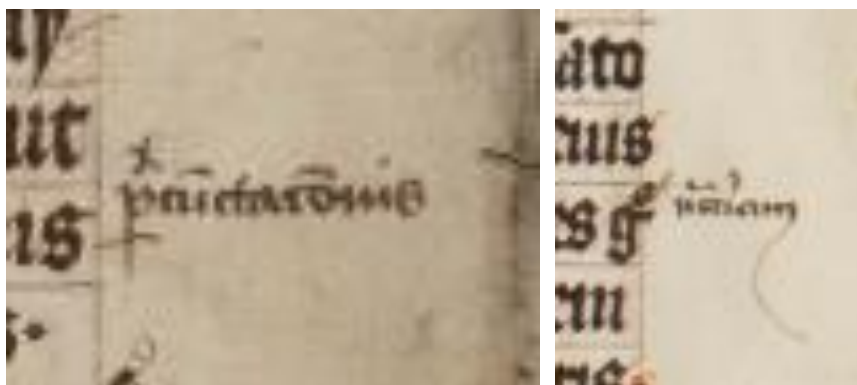
Figure 1: Marginal corrections in Ms CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16, ff. 1v, 2r.[248]

Visitation content: The manuscript contains all chants in *Exurgens autem Maria*, including the trope *Mater Christi veneranda*, prayers, full readings for Matins, and instructions and incipits for the Little Hours (Prime, Terce, Sext, and None). It was chosen as the primary source for my edition based on its complete office as well as the unusual modal order in the Lauds antiphons which is examined in Chapter Six. Most of the sources I identified follow the order found in this manuscript, indicating that it was a common way of performing the office and should therefore be recorded in the edition. Unfortunately, the final line of music for the Lauds hymn *En miranda prodigia* is not provided; the first three lines are written (with notation) on the *verso* of a folio, and the final line (*Maria sacratissima*) is written on the *recto* of the next folio with no stave. For this hymn, Ms CZ-Pu XII A 9 was used as the primary source, chosen due to its similarity to Ms CZ-Nlobkowicz F VI Fb 16 throughout the office.

Layout: The folios of the manuscript are laid out with one column per page with up to ten four-line staves or thirty lines of text, and ruled in brown ink. Long vertical red lines are used in Vespers to delineate the point at which an antiphon ends and the following psalm begins; later in the office, this is replaced by a faint vertical black-brown line. This faint black-brown line is also used in the Matins responsories to indicate the beginning of the second half of the respond, and its repetition incipits after both the verse and doxology.

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[248] © The Lobkowicz Library and Archives, Nelahozeves Castle, Czech Republic.

2. **CZ-Bsa R 626:** 1397, Olomouc (Moravia/Czech Republic), breviary (summer part), 325ff, 600 x 410mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 101r-114v and ff. 318v-325v.[249]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes both Jenštejn's and Easton's offices for the Visitation: *Exurgens autem Maria* within the main corpus (ff. 101r-114v) and *Accedunt laudes virginis* added later at the end of the manuscript (ff. 318v-325v, see p. 92). This suggests that Jenštejn's office was originally used to celebrate the Visitation in Olomouc, but that after Easton's office was officially promulgated, *Accedunt laudes virginis* was added.

The manuscript has suffered later damage, including the removal of decorated initials and possibly marginal decorations, which has resulted in the partial omission of Jenštejn's Vespers hymn *Assunt festa iubilea*. There are also a number of folios missing between folios 101v and 102r which would originally have included the responsories in the first nocturn and antiphons of the second nocturn of Matins.

Other than the omitted responsories and antiphons due to later damage, the manuscript includes nearly all of Jenštejn's chants: *O dies omni* (JMR2.4) is omitted completely and *Magnificat anima mea* (JMR3.3) is moved to Vespers. The manuscript also provides full readings and prayers in Matins as well as incipits and instructions for the Little Hours. Jenštejn's antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis*, *Gaude Maria mater*, is given twice within the manuscript: once in Jenštejn's office, and once with variations in Easton's.

Variants: There are a few minor textual variations between this manuscript and the primary source. Melodic variations are mostly small pitch alterations, additions, and deletions or changes to the alignment of notes to syllables.

Layout: The folios are laid out with two columns, allowing up to thirteen four-line staves and up to thirty-nine lines of text. Some corrections have been made to the chant texts, for example those shown in Figure 2. In these cases, the melody is correct – the neumes for the added notes are already present – suggesting that the text was written first and that additions may have been made by the musical scribe, or that the errors were noticed when the office was celebrated.

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[249] Ms CZ-Bsa R 626: <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-BOPPRBR_626_____2D0JG33-xx>, last accessed 25 January 2021.
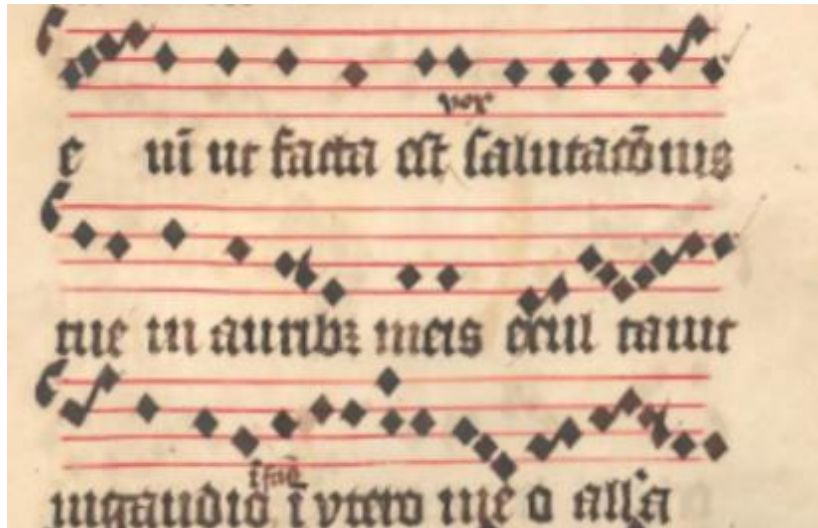
Figure 2: Textual corrections in Jenštejn's office in Ms CZ-Bsa R 626.

3. **CZ-Pak Cim 7:** 14th century (c.1390), Roudnice nad Labem (Czech Republic), psalterium and hymnal, 170ff, 540 x 360mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 138r-139r.[250]

Visitation content: This manuscript, known as the "Roudnice Psalter', contains Jenštejn's hymns and was likely compiled in Prague and then used at Roudnice nad Labem.[251] I was unable to view the manuscript, and have thus relied on Mráčková's transcription of the first verse of each hymn in the Fontes Cantus Bohemiae database.

Variants: The texts of the first verses show no variations, and melodic variants are small.

4. **CZ-Pn XIII A 7:** 1412, Germany, antiphonal, 296ff, 330 x 440mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 275r-279r.[252]

Visitation content: The office given within the manuscript is Easton's *Accedunt laudes virginis*, although the responsory given within Vespers (f. 275v) is Jenštejn's *O preclara stella* (JMR2.3). The inclusion of Jenštejn's responsory within Easton's office in this manuscript

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[250] Ms CZ-Pak Cim 7: <http://cantusbohemiae.cz/chants?source=9138&feast=1836>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[251] Manuscript chants and information indexed by Veronika Mráčková: <http://cantusbohemiae.cz/source/9138>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[252] Ms CZ-Pn XIII A 7: <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NMP___XIII_A_7____3V20OJD-cs>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

suggests that the scribes of this manuscript had access to both offices and chose a responsory they felt was textually or musically appropriate. The manuscript also includes most of Jenštejn's Vespers antiphon *Exurgens autem Maria* (JVA1) on a half-page inserted between folios 278v and 279r, labelled as '279 bis r' and '279 bis v' in the Manuscriptorium database.

Variants: There are no textual variations between the two Jenštejn chants in this manuscript and the primary source, although there are some small melodic variations.

Layout: The manuscript is ruled in red, with twelve five-line staves on each page. The half-page 279 bis appears to be ruled in the same manner and ink as those for Easton's office, although the hands are completely different. The bottom half of 279 bis appears to have been cut off, and so only six of the five-line staves are given. The *recto* side includes one full and two partial chants for the office of the dead written in a second hand, and the *verso* side includes a full chant for Mary's Presentation (*Fons ortorum redundans*), and nearly all of Jenštejn's *Exurgens autem Maria*, both written in a third hand. The *alleluia* which finishes Jenštejn's antiphon is missing due to the damage to the page. The alignment of the neumes with the syllables is not always clear, so the scribe has utilised light diagonal (/) or vertical lines to indicate syllable breaks in the notation, shown in Figure 3.
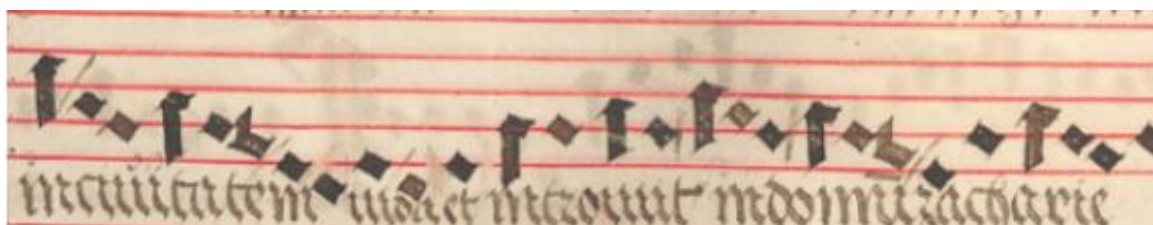
Figure 3: Clarifying lines in *Exurgens autem Maria* in Ms CZ-Pn XIII A 7.

5. **CZ-Pu XII A 9:** 15th century, Bohemia, antiphonal, 168ff, 295 x 210mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 59v-75r.[253]

Visitation content: This manuscript contains all chants found in the primary manuscript, including both Matins invitatories, the trope *Mater Christi veneranda* and the instructions for the Little Hours in incipit form. It also includes an additional Mass Alleluia.

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[253] Ms CZ-Pu XII A 9: <http://hun-chant.eu/source/1656>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

Layout: Each folio is ruled with red ink and contains seven four-line staves also ruled in red. The notes are not always placed precisely above the syllable to which they are connected, and so the melodic scribe has added clarifying lines to indicate where a note should be attributed to the next syllable, as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Clarifying line above *Exurgens autem* in Ms CZ-Pu XII A 9.

Variants: The text of the manuscript is the same as the primary source, other than one short textual variation, and in many chants there are no musical differences. Where they do occur, the musical variations are generally short or related to melody-text alignment. Neither the Vespers hymn *Assunt festa iubilea* or the Compline hymn *O Christi mater fulgida* are fully notated which appears to be due to a misallocation of space for each chant. The melodies of the second and fifth antiphons in Lauds are switched, and are given in full in the edition.

6. **MA Impr. 1537:** 1537, Münster (Germany), printed in Cologne (Germany) by Hero Alopecius, antiphonal, 501ff, 425 x 290mm, paper, printed book, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 356r-361r.[254]

Marginalia: Marginalia within this source indicates that Jenštejn's Visitation office was still in active use in Münster after 1537. Jenštejn did not compose a Compline antiphon for the Visitation, and in the earliest sources the antiphon *Cum iocunditate*, commonly found in Lauds in the feast of Mary's Nativity, is given only as an incipit. In this printed book the Compline antiphon is not given in the original text, either fully written out or as an incipit. Instead a marginal addition in the outer right margin of f. 357r states that the Compline antiphon *Cum iocunditate* is found on f. 500v. On this folio, the *Cum iocunditate* antiphon is given in full for the feast of Mary's Presentation at the Temple. The inclusion of these specific instructions

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[254] MA Impr. 1537: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123724>, last accessed 13 October 2020. This manuscript is now held in the National Library of South Africa, Cape Town.

indicates that the users of the antiphonal recognized that a part of the office was missing – either by knowing the office and the chants within it, or by having access to a source which explicitly included this chant as the Compline antiphon.

Visitation content: The Münster Antiphoner contains nearly a full office for the Visitation; it omits only the hymns and the second Matins invitatory antiphon. All responsories are given, although *Magnificat anima mea* (JMR3.3) is given in full in Vespers and as an incipit only in the third nocturn of Matins.

Variants: There are four one-word textual variations within this printed source, and the melodic variations are all short or concern text-music alignments.

Figure 5: Decoration on capital letter I on f. 357r, MA Impr. 1537.

Layout: Each folio contains ten five-line staves ruled in black ink. The **b** flats, added before notes and as a key signature for certain chants, appear to be handwritten. The initial I (for the invitatory *In honore Marie*) at the start of Matins includes the profiles of two faces wearing laurel crowns facing inward to the I, each within their own laurel wreath (see Figure 5). A similar design, although with different faces, is used just after the Visitation office for the first Vespers antiphon *Viri vere portendentes* for the feast of *Divisio Apostolorum* (the Sending Forth of the Apostles, 15 July).

7. **PL-PłS 36:** 15th century, Płock (Poland), antiphonal, 162ff, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 74r-79r.[255]

Visitation content: This manuscript contains a full office for the Visitation; it omits the second Matins invitatory and the responsory *Suscepit Israel* (JMR3.4). The responsories *Magnificat anima mea* (JMR3.3) and *O dies omni* (JMR2.4) are moved within the office, as

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[255] Ms PL-PłS 36: <http://cantus.edu.pl/source/14458?page=9>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

shown in Table 2. The hymns are given only as incipits, and the Lauds hymn is replaced by the incipit *De sacro tabernaculo*, a hymn found in very few manuscripts but within both Jenštejn's and Easton's offices (see Chapter Seven).

Chant ID	CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 order	PL-PłS 36 order
JVR +v	*Magnificat anima mea **	*Magnificat anima mea*
JMR2.4 +v	*O dies omni*	--
JMR3.3 +v	*Magnificat anima mea*	*O dies omni*
JMR3.4 +v	*Suscepit Israel*	--

Table 2: Moved responsories in Ms PL-PłS 36.

(* incipit, -- no chant given)

Variants: There is only one textual variation between this manuscript and the base source: an added *est* within the first Lauds antiphon. Most musical variations are short or concern the alignment of notes to syllables. Only *Benedictus Dominus* (JLAB) contains a longer variant, where the text of *sicut locutus est* and the *alleluia* are not set to the original high melody, but rather a lower one.

Layout: Each folio is ruled with red ink, with ten four-line staves above the chant texts. The neumes are mostly carefully placed above the text, although on some occasions not enough space was given by the text scribe. Vertical red lines are occasionally used to denote the border between the two halves of a respond, and between the verse and the incipit for the repeated second half of the respond.

8. **SK-Bra BAI EC Lad.3:** 15th century, Bratislava (Slovakia), antiphonal, 223ff, 525 x 355mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 78v-88r.[256]

Visitation content: This manuscript contains all chants of Jenštejn's Visitation office apart from the second Matins invitatory, with some discrepancy in the order of the responsories, shown in Table 3. It also gives the readings for Matins in full. A small hole within the lowest textual line on ff. 86r-86v has removed some of the text.

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[256] Ms SK-Bra BAI EC Lad.3: <http://cantus.sk/source/14828>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

Chant ID	CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 order	SK-Bra BAI EC Lad.3 order
JVR +v	*Magnificat anima mea* *	*Ibo ad montem*
JMR1.3 +v	*Ibo ad montem*	*Magnificat anima mea*
JMR2.3 +v	*O preclara stella*	--
JMR3.3 +v	*Magnificat anima mea*	*O preclara stella*
JMR3.4 +v	*Suscepit Israel*	--
JV2R +v	*Suscepit**	*Suscepit Israel*

Table 3: Moved responsories in Ms SK-Bra BAI EC Lad.3.

(* incipit, -- no chant given)

Variants: There are a number of small textual variations between this source and the primary manuscript; usually either one-word additions or alterations. Most melodic variations tend to be small or due to textual alignment. The responsory *O preclara stella* (originally JMR2.3, but in this manuscript given for JMR3.3) is transposed a fifth higher. This may have been an error in the clef used, or a deliberate decision – possibly to emphasise the text.

Layout: The first folio on which the Visitation office is found has two columns while subsequent pages are laid out with only one column. The pages are ruled in red, with ten four-line staves above the chant texts. The ends of antiphons are identified with a vertical red stroke, distinguishing the antiphon text from the psalm tone (given either to the psalm incipit or the *Euouae* abbreviation). This vertical red stroke is also used within responds, to identify the end of the first half and beginning of the second half, as well as after the responsory verse to mark the incipit of the returning second half of the respond.

9. **Vat.lat.1122:** 1376-1400 [office – 1389-1400], provenance unknown (likely Prague/Bohemia), collection of Jenštejn's writings, 293ff, 260 x 365mm, parchment, not notated. Visitation chants: ff. 138v-148v and 153r.[257]

The date provided in the Vatican Library's online database is 1376-1400, however a slightly later date can be suggested for some parts of the manuscript. Firstly, the inclusion of

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[257] Ms Vat.lat.1122: <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=shortDetail&id=213672>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

the writings countering the argument of Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio must be dated after 1386 as Jenštejn refers within them to the provincial synod in that year which approved the feast. Secondly, the Visitation office contained within this manuscript is a full office, containing nine lessons at Matins, and must therefore date to after the Consistory on 8 April 1389 following which Jenštejn was asked to resubmit an expanded office.[258]

Visitation content: This manuscript contains many of Jenštejn's writings, including his poetic and musical works.[259] The office for the Visitation is found on ff. 138v-148v, and includes the full texts of the chants and readings for the office without notation. The hymns within the office are given only as incipits, but are given in full on f. 153r.

Variants: The text is almost identical to that in the primary manuscript – with just five chants having one-word differences.
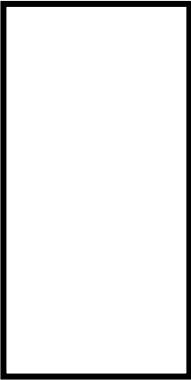
Images and marginalia: The manuscript contains illustrated initials as well as images added to the margins and decorative floral and faunal motifs. Images, in some cases illuminated, depict various biblical, apocryphal, saintly, and even mundane scenes.[260] Five Visitation images are included, shown in Table 4, as well as a potential Annunciation image on f. 171r and additional Mary and child depictions.

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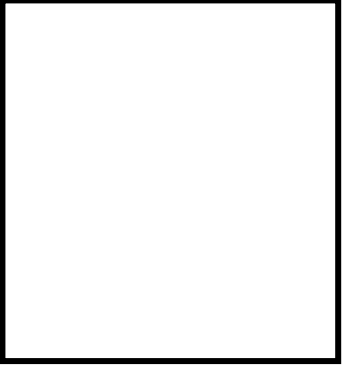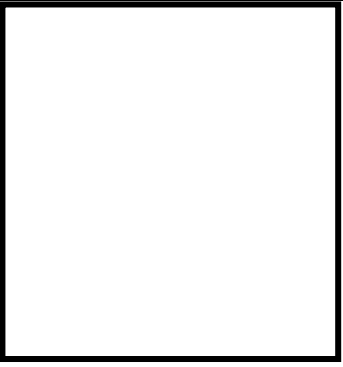
[258] For a detailed examination of the feast's introduction and an explanation of these dates, see Chapter Three.

[259] For a full index of the manuscript, see:
<http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=present&term=@5Vat.lat.1122_ms&item=1&add=0&search=1&filter=&relation=3&operator=&attribute=3040>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[260] For example, the Virgin Mary of the Snows with Jesus (f. 148v), a sermon given from a pulpit to an audience (f. 223v), a composite image of scenes from Jesus' crucifixion (f. 272r), Jesus' circumcision (f. 281r), a two-man team ploughing (f. 26r), and even a figure riding out of a gaping hellmouth carrying a scythe and with snakes for hair (f. 65v).

Folio	Image and description	Context	
4r	Left inside a capital letter I: An architectural structure in the mountains. Right margin: Mary and two handmaidens walk into the mountains towards the architectural structure.	*De festo b. Mariae Virginis Visitationis contra Adalbertum Ranconis de Ericinio* *Rubric: Incipiunt duo libelli ad honorem dei et beate marie virginis visitacionis sequitur in veccionis contra eumdem Adalbertum*	On the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Visitation against Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio. Rubric: Here start two books to the honour of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Visitation which follows in conveyance against the same Adalbertus.

13v	In a capital letter N: Mary and Elizabeth greet each other in an architectural setting	*De festo b. Mariae Virginis Visitationis contra Adalbertum Ranconis de Ericinio* *Rubric: Incipit libellus secundus. Ad honorem dei et beate marie visitacionis in quo nitimur ostendere prelibatum festum per certas circumstancias. Sed deinceps usque ad finem huius secundi tractatus non ad te sed ad devote inclinatos huic festo dirigimus sermonem*	On the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Visitation against Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio. Rubric: The second booklet begins. To the honour of God and the Blessed Mary of the Visitation, in which we strive to show the aforesaid holiday through reliable circumstances. But, following right up to the end of this second tract, we direct this sermon not to you but to those devotedly inclined to this feast.
138v	Two scenes in a capital letter E. Left: Mary and two handmaids greet Elizabeth outside an architectural structure. Right inside a cross-section of the structure: Mary and Elizabeth kneel to pray.	*Officium rhythmicum et missa in festo Visitationis b. Mariae Virginis* *Rubric: Incipit historia de visitacione In vigilia visitacionis sancte Marie. Ad matins pro ix leccione Ewangelium Secundum Lucam.*	Rhymed office and mass for the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary. Rubric: Here begins the historia [rhymed office] of the Visitation. Matins according to the ninth reading from the second Gospel of Luke.
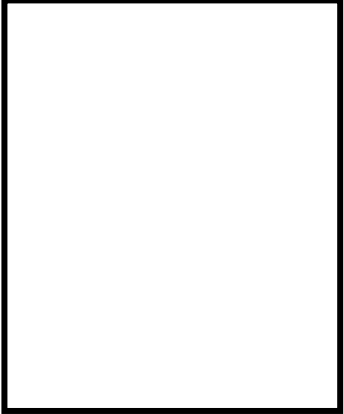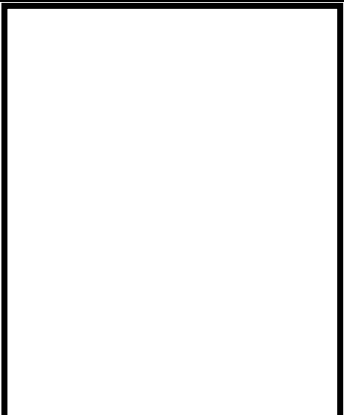
157r	In a capital letter A: Mary and Elizabeth greet each other, with *ex utero* Jesus and John the Baptist.	*Miracula beatae Mariae Visitationis*	Miracles of the Blessed Virgin of the Visitation.
187v	Mary and two handmaids greet Elizabeth in the mountains.	*Omelie super Exurgens Maria*	Homily on 'Exurgens Maria' [the beginning phrase from the Visitation passage in the Gospel of Luke]

Table 4: Visitation images within Ms Vat.lat.1122.[261]

Otto Pächt argues that, as images are integral parts of medieval manuscripts, it should be determined how they are 'anchored in the organic structure of the book, both physically and conceptually'.[262] The five Visitation images are strategically positioned within the Vat.lat.1122 codex: three with texts which are relevant to the office itself, and two within the treatise against Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio who objected to the new feast (see Chapter Three). Jenštejn's

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[261] Images removed due to copyright. See the digitalised manuscript: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1122/0001?sid=657aa97e0a46735a61e5e3900fc279e0>, last accessed 13 October 2020. English translations are my own.

[262] Otto Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 32.

text for the office suggests a conscious effort to highlight the biblical and liturgical significance of this particular feast. It is therefore likely that the images were also chosen to highlight the biblical and apocryphal authority for, and the familiar nature of, the feast, as images of the Visitation were commonplace from at least the sixth century. The different styles shown in the images suggests that they are the work of multiple artists, and were designed to depict the significant and well-known details within biblical and apocryphal Visitation scenes.

The artists do not attempt to show a realistic representation of the Visitation, but rather depict the theological and spiritual (or 'inner') truth of the scene, as demonstrated by the *ex utero* images of Jesus and John the Baptist on f. 157r. Portrayals of the foetal state of Jesus and John the Baptist were not unusual in Western art, either *in utero* where the children are represented as embryos, or *ex utero* where a level of detachment from their mothers is shown. *Ex utero* images can range from small babies in mandorlas to fully formed children dressed and standing in front of their respective mother. Despite this detachment, *ex utero* imagery was not intended to depict the meeting of Jesus and John post-birth, but rather presented a spiritual representation of the foetuses. Anne Marie Velu notes that 'from a geographical standpoint, they [*ex utero* images] are very largely from the Germanic world'.[263] Movement of manuscripts from German speaking areas into Bohemia was common in the Middle Ages, and so the image of an *ex utero* Jesus and John would have been familiar in Bohemia during the fourteenth century.

Further evidence of the importance of these images is given in the margin of f. 157r, to the right of the *ex utero* image.

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[263] '*Du point de vue géographique, elles sont très majoritairement issues du monde germanique.*': Velu, *La Visitation dans l'art*, p. 121. English translation is my own.
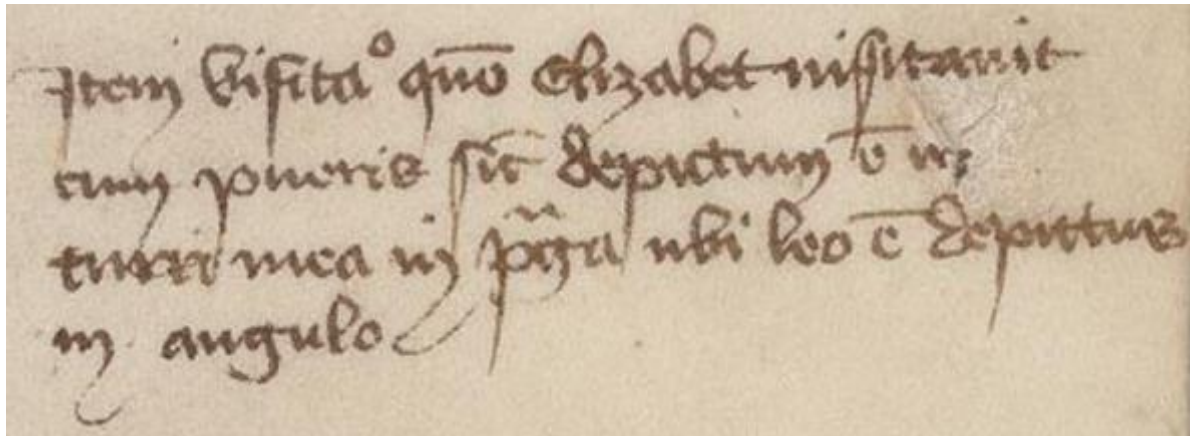
Item visitatio quomodo Elizabet visitavit, cum pueris, sicut depictum est in turri mea in
Praga ubi leo est depictus in angulo

'In addition the Visitation, how she [Mary] has visited Elizabeth, with the boys, as depicted
in my tower in Prague, where the lion is painted into a corner'

Figure 6: Marginalia on f. 157r in Ms Vat.lat.1122.

The use of the first-person possessive determiner *mea* suggests that this sentence was written by Jenštejn himself, which is supported by a 'general note' in the manuscript's record on the Vatican Archive database.

> By the hand of John of Jenstein, in the margins, some things seem to be apt not only for the sake of amending, but also for copying or to adorn the initials already written with pictures of trifles, so that f. 4v, f. 13v, f. 30v, f. 38v, f. 112v, f. 157v, f. 171r, 277v although other things of that sort have been erased and to some pictures no writing has been added.[264]

It therefore looks as if Jenštejn checked the manuscript once complete, possibly to ensure an accurate representation of his office. This also suggests that at least some of the images were chosen specifically by Jenštejn, possibly in order to remind readers of the scriptural authority of the feast.

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[264] '*<Iohannis de Ienzenstein> manu in marginibus aliqua non solum emendandi causa apposita esse videntur, verum etiam ad exscribendum aut ad ornanda picturis initia opusculorum praescripta, ut f. 4v [...], f. 13v [...], f. 30v [...], f. 38v [...], f. 112v [...], f. 157v [...], f. 171r [...], [sic] 277v [...] etsi alia id genus [...] erasa sunt et aliquibus picturis [...] nihil ascriptum est.*': 'General information', <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=shortDetail&id=213672>, last accessed 15 January 2021. My thanks to Daniel Bate for his assistance with this translation.

10. **SK-Sk 2:** 15th century, Slovakia, antiphonal, 259ff, 570 x 370mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 67r-73r.[265]

Visitation content: This manuscript gives Easton's office as well as Jenštejn's second Matins invitatory, *Quem virginalis*, in a later hand in the lower margin of f. 68r, set to an alternative melody.

Sources which contain Accedunt laudes virginis

11. **NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7):** 12th century with 13th, 14th, and 15th century additions, St Mary's Church, Utrecht (the Netherlands), antiphonal, 256ff, 325 x 255mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 243r-247v.[266]

This manuscript was chosen as the primary source for Easton's edition because it is one of the earliest complete instances of Easton's office. Many of the other manuscripts include variations which appear unique to that manuscript or document a potential geographic variant. The Visitation is the antepenultimate office in the manuscript (followed only by the offices for St Adrian and the Finding of the Cross), and Ike de Loos suggests that ff. 243-50 (which contain the Visitation) are fifteenth-century additions.[267]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes Easton's full office for the Visitation, including additional recommendations for the Little Hours and an additional Vespers responsory, *Rex inspirator cordium*, found only once on Cantus Index. The melody of the responsory is a contrafact of the responsory for St Catherine *Surge virgo et nostras*, common throughout Europe. The chant appears to be unique to this manuscript and not one of Easton's compositions, and has therefore not been included within the edition of *Accedunt laudes virginis* or in the analysis of the office.

Layout: Each folio has a single column, with thirteen four-line staves and the manuscript uses both inked and dry-point ruling.[268] The scribe uses some less common forms of neumes,

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[265] Ms SK-Sk 2: <http://cantus.sk/source/6777>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[266] Ms NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7): <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123641>, last accessed 13 October 2020. For more information on the manuscript as well as a facsimile, see Ruth Steiner (ed.), 'Utrecht, Bibliotheek Der Rijksuniversiteit, MS 406 (3.J.7)', *Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts series*, 21 (Institute of Mediaeval Music: Ottawa, 1997).

[267] Ike de Loos, 'Introduction', in *Ibid.*, vii.

[268] *Ibid.*

which are given in the Neume Table in Chapter Five (Table 14). Flat and natural signs are frequently added, suggesting that this manuscript was used by singers to celebrate the Visitation.

2. **CZ-Bsa R 626:** 1397, Olomouc (Moravia/Czech Republic), breviary (summer part), 325ff, 600 x 410mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 101r-114v and 318v-325v.[269]

Visitation content: Easton's office is added at the end of this manuscript, although it is incomplete due to a physical lacuna within the manuscript from the doxology of the responsory *Stella sub nube* (EMR2.3) to the beginning of Lauds. As Easton's office does not include an antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis* at Compline, the scribe of this manuscript has added the relevant chant from Jenštejn's office, *Gaude Maria mater*. This reiteration of the chant is not quite the same as the version written in full in Jenštejn's office earlier in the manuscript, suggesting that it may have been copied from another source or from scribal memory. In this version, Christi and Christum are not spelt with the traditional Greek *xp* but rather a lower case *cr*, a spelling not used elsewhere in either Visitation office and which could have been copied from the exemplar source.

Variants: Most textual variations are small, and are often also found in Ms CZ-OLu M IV 6, also with a Moravian (Olomouc) provenance; for example, in the responsory *Rosa de spinis* (EMR2.2) where the word *perficitur* (complete/finish) is altered in both manuscripts to *reficitur* (repair/restore). The responsory verse *Ut audivit Elyzabeth* (EMR1.1v) includes a larger textual variation where the phrase *salutes mox* has been extended in both to *salutes Marie surgens mox* (*surgens* – rise/grow). The manuscript contains many small musical variations, with short pitch and alignment differences, longer phrase variations, and even whole chants (in Matins, Lauds, and Second Vespers) set to alternative melodies. Similar to the textual differences, the melodic variations in this manuscript are frequently the same as those found within Ms CZ-OLu M IV 6, especially the alternative melodies.[270] Two chants have also been altered to more fully resemble Speyer's original melodies, and are transcribed in full in the edition. The similarity between this manuscript and Ms CZ-OLu M IV 6 suggests that those chants missing from this

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[269] Ms CZ-Bsa R 626: <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-BOPPRBR_626_____2D0JG33-xx>, last accessed 25 January 2021.

[270] For more information on this, see Chapter Seven.

manuscript due to the physical lacuna may originally have followed the same variations as those present in the other Moravian manuscript.

Layout: The folios are ruled in brown ink, with ten four-line staves in one column. The notes are mostly carefully positioned above syllables, although in some places not quite enough space was left by the text scribe resulting in a less clear alignment.

12. **CZ-OLu M IV 6:** possibly 15th century, Olomouc (probably the Convent of the Poor Clares) (Moravia/Czech Republic), antiphonal, 291ff, 650 x 430mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 189v-196v.[271]

Visitation content: Within this manuscript, Easton's office begins at the second syllable of the penultimate line of the first Matins antiphon, *De celo velut*. The Vespers chants are no longer extant due to missing folios, however all other chants are present. Given the similarity between this manuscript and Ms CZ-Bsa R 626, it is likely that the missing chants would have been similar to those found in the other Moravian manuscript, with similar textual and melodic variations.

Variants: Most textual variations are small, and often in agreement with those found in Ms CZ-Bsa R 626: for example, in the antiphon *Ihesu redemptor optime* (EV2AM) the original phrase *pari forma nos* is found as *pari nos forma* in only these two manuscripts. Melodic variations are more significant, with several chants (from Matins, Lauds, and Second Vespers) set to alternative melodies which are again similar to those found in the other Moravian manuscript CZ-Bsa R 626 (see Chapter Seven). In addition to these alternative melodies, two chants have been altered to more fully resemble Speyer's original melodies, and in the edition, this manuscript is compared to a fully transcribed version from Ms CZ-Bsa R 626, further highlighting the link between the two manuscripts.

Layout: The folios are ruled in red ink, with ten four-line staves given in one column.

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[271] Ms CZ-OLu M IV 6: <http://dig.vkol.cz/dig/miv6/popis.htm>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

4. **CZ-Pn XIII A 7:** 1412, Germany, antiphonal, 296ff, 330 x 440mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 275r-279r.[272]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes almost a full office for the Visitation, omitting the hymns and giving Jenštejn's responsory *O preclara stella* (JMR2.3) in Vespers. The chant *Ihesu redemptor* (EV2AM) appears not to have been originally included as it is given at the end of the office, but in a later hand and without notation.

Variants: Textual variations are mostly small, although there appear to be a few scribal errors. The antiphon *Acceleratur ratio* (EVAM), for example, includes an additional p^2 at the end of the first line, shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Scribal error on f. 275v in Ms CZ-Pn XIII A 7.

The text should read *ratio in puero*, and the addition of the p^2 must be a dittography of the following *puero* as no Latin word is abbreviated in this way.[273] This is corroborated by the melody above, which is, in all other sources, sung only to the word *in*.

A second error within the same chant affects both the text and the melody where the word *adoravit* is split over two lines (shown adjacent in Figure 8 for ease of reference). The primary text reads *adoravit*, however in this manuscript the second syllable (o) is missing, as is the associated note **c**. The *custos* on the right edge of the line (just after *ad* in the left image) indicates that the next note should be a **c**, however the syllable *ra* on the following line is set to three descending notes starting on **b**. This indicates that the source from which this

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manuscript was copied did originally have the full word and correct note, and that the omission is a scribal error.

Figure 8: Textual and melodic error on f. 275v in Ms CZ-Pn XIII A 7.

This manuscript includes many small melodic variations – both small changes and alignment differences. Transposed phrases and alternative melodic phrases are also present: see, for example, EMA1.2 (*Inter turmas femineas*) for which line one is transposed up a third, and an alternative melodic phrase is given for line two and the first half of line three. Some chants within Matins are set to entirely alternative melodies, apparently unique to this manuscript. The responsory *Thronum lucis prospexerat* (EMR3.2) also includes a significant variation. The primary manuscript, in agreement with all other sources, is split into two three-line sections, with the second half of the respond (which is repeated after the verse) starting at *Elyzabeth*. In this manuscript, the first half of the responsory is four lines, and the second half only two lines. The melody for this chant is significantly different, taking additional material from the original Speyer chant to adjust for the structural change, and has been transcribed in full in the melodic edition.

Layout: Each folio has one column, with twelve five-line staves ruled in red ink. The placing of notes above syllables is occasionally a little unclear.

13. **CZ-Pu III D 10:** 1440s, Passau diocese (Germany), antiphonal, 227ff, 290 x 220mm, paper, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 131v-140r.[274]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes nearly all chants for Easton's Visitation office, excluding only the Compline hymn.

Variants: The manuscript has a few one-word textual differences, and most melodic variations are short or concerning alignment. There are some short transposed phrases, and the Vespers hymn *In Mariam vite viam* is set to a transposed melody a third higher than the original. The responsory *Rosa de spinis* (EMR2.2) appears on first glance to be set to an alternative melody, but a closer examination reveals that the melody is similar although aligned with the syllables differently. It is given in full in the edition.

Layout: Each folio has nine four-line staves in a single column. Notes are clearly written, although in a few places it is slightly unclear to which syllable they are joined.

14. **DK-Kk 4339 8o IX:** c. 1580, Augsburg Cathedral (Germany), antiphonal, 224ff, 160 x 110mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 106r-145v.[275]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a full office for the Visitation, and unusually gives the full text and melody for all psalms. The normal Vespers hymn *In Mariam vite viam* is given in Compline and in its place the hymn *De sacro tabernaculo* is given (see Chapter Seven).

Variants: All textual variations are short one-word differences, in which a noun is often given in the wrong declination, for example changing *manus* to *manum* or *Maria* to *Mariam*. Most musical variations are short pitch or alignment variants.

Layout: The manuscript is in small, octavo format, with each folio containing only five four-line staves.

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[274] Ms CZ-Pu III D 10: <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__III_D_10_____1R7PVL2-cs>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

My thanks to Dr. Jan Ciglbauer for informing me of this manuscript, and suggesting the date and provenance. Jan Ciglbauer, "Ein Passauer Antiphonar in Prag, oder ein Prager Antiphonar aus Passau? CZ-Pu III D 10 als Quelle der Passauer Musikgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts", Robert Klugseder (ed.) *Musik und Liturgie in der Diözese Passau im Mittelalter* (= Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Kulturraumforschung Ostbaierns und der Nachbarregionen 73) (Passau: Klinger, 2020), pp. 63–82.

[275] Ms DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123697>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

15. **P-BRs Ms. 028:** first quarter of the 16th century, Braga Cathedral (Portugal), antiphonal, 305ff, 295 x 400mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 94v-100r.[276]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes nearly all of Easton's Visitation chants, excluding only the Vespers and Compline hymns.

Variants: Textual differences are short, usually one word, differences; and musical variations are mostly short or concerning alignments. A number of the Matins responsories are set to alternative melodies, which appear to be unique to this manuscript and therefore may be a Braga Cathedral or regional variation.

Layout: The folios have ten five-line staves in one column. Faint horizontal lines are given in the staves to indicate the beginning of a new word. There is significant ink fading, especially on ff. 94v-95r and 99r, so much so that in some cases the notes are not clear. This may be due to the type of ink used or later damage to the manuscript.

16. **P-BRs Ms. 034:** 1510-1515, Braga Cathedral (Portugal), gradual with vesperal, 419ff, 280 x 380mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 179-181 and 273-276.[277]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes chants for the Visitation in two places: chants for the mass on ff. 179-181,[278] and Vespers chants on ff. 273-276 with the responsory *Dixit verba prophetica* (EMR1.2). Although most of the manuscript is a gradual, a vesperal is included on ff. 243-301 which explains the presence of the Vespers Visitation chants.

Variants: The text of the manuscript varies very little from the primary source: only twice in the Vespers hymn. There are a few melodic variations, most of which agree with Ms P-BRs Ms. 028, although the hymn *In Mariam vite viam* is partly transposed a third or fourth lower.

Layout: Each folio is laid out with one column, with up to nine five-line staves. As in Ms P-BRs Ms. 028, this manuscript includes faint horizontal lines within the music of the chants which align with new words in the text.

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[276] Ms P-BRs Ms. 028: <http://pemdatabase.eu/source/4547>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[277] Ms P-BRs Ms. 034: <http://pemdatabase.eu/source/2350>, last accessed 13 October 2020. The designations *recto* and *verso* are not used in the foliation in this database.

[278] These mass chants appear to be commonly used within masses for many offices, particularly Marian feasts.

10. **SK-Sk 2:** 15th century, Slovakia, antiphonal, 259ff, 570 x 370mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 67r-73r.[279]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes nearly a full office for the Visitation. It omits the first Vespers antiphon (due to a missing folio), the Compline hymn, and the Vespers responsory. The hymns for Vespers and Lauds are given only as incipits, with *De sacro tabernaculo* indicated as the Lauds hymn (see Chapter Seven). The antiphon *Transivit in itinere* (EMA2.2) is given in full as the antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis* at Lauds, and so is given only as an incipit in Matins.

Variants: There are very few textual variants in this manuscript. In general, melodic variations are small or concerning alignment, although there are a few short transposed sections (for example, line two of *Rosa de spinis* – EMR2.2).

Layout: Each folio is ruled in red ink, with one column of ten five-line staves. There is significant fading of both text and notes on some lines of the manuscript, especially on ff. 67r-68r which means that in a few cases the exact notes are unclear. In addition to Easton's Matins invitatory antiphon, f. 68r also includes a Matins invitatory from Jenštejn's office. This chant, *Quem virginalis* (JMI2), is added in the lower margin in a later hand and is set to an alternative melody.

Additional Sources

It was beyond the scope of this thesis to create a critical edition using every identified manuscript. Sources not used in the edition were used to identify content variations and to note the geographic and temporal spread of the two offices examined, see Figures 22 and 37. For some of these source I could only access content listings on online databases, and so not all elements of the formal description are available for each source.

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[279] Ms SK-Sk 2: <http://cantus.sk/source/6777>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

Exurgens autem Maria

17. **CZ-LIBsm ST 1779:** 15th century, Zittau (Germany), antiphonal, 24ff, 360 x 530mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 7v-14r.[280]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a full office as well as an additional Matins invitatory antiphon: *Mariam plenam gratia*.

Variants: The text of the first and third antiphons within the third nocturn of Matins are swapped, as shown in Table 5. The melodies, however, are given in the original order, meaning that in this manuscript, the text for *Novum tibi virgo* is set to the original melody for *Magna mirabilia* and vice versa. This variation does not occur in any other manuscripts examined, and so may represent a solitary variant or scribal error.

ID	CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 order	CZ-LIBsm ST 1779 order
JMA3.1	*Magna mirabilia*	*Novum tibi virgo*
JMA3.2	*Exultet terra propere*	*Exultet terra propere*
JMA3.3	*Novum tibi virgo*	*Magna mirabilia*

Table 5: Antiphon order in third nocturn in Ms CZ-LIBsm ST 1779.

18. **CZ-Pmn XII A 21:** 1470-1477, Kolín (Czech Republic), antiphonal, 304ff, 325 x 630mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 32r-41r.[281]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes most of Jenštejn's chants, excluding the hymns (JVH, JCH, JLH), the Compline antiphon for the *Nunc dimittus* (JCAN), and the second invitatory antiphon (JMI2). All responsories are present, although some have been given alternative positions within the office (see Table 6).

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[280] Ms CZ-LIBsm ST 1779: <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-SML___INVCST1779__3K5F196-cs>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[281] Ms CZ-Pnm XII A 21: <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NMP___XII_A_21____30TXYP6-cs>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

ID	CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 chant	CZ-Pmn XII A 21 chant
JVR	*Magnificat**	*Magnificat anima mea*
JMR2.3	*O preclara stella*	*Suscepit Israel*
JMR3.3	*Magnificat anima mea*	*O preclara stella*
JMR3.4	*Suscepit Israel*	--

Table 6: Moved responsories in Ms CZ-Pmn XII A 21.

(* incipit, -- no chant given)

Variants: The melodies closely follow those transcribed from the primary manuscript, although the antiphons of Lauds follow the modal order given in Ms CZ-Pu XII A 9: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5/6.

19. **CZ-PRm L 262:** c. 1598, Bohemia, antiphonal, 137ff, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 30v-35r.[282]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a limited office. There are significant alterations to Matins: the three antiphons for the first nocturn are given, followed immediately by the responsory *O preclara stella aris* (JMR2.3). This is followed by the responsories *Magnificat anima mea* (JMR3.3) and *Suscepit Israel* (JMR3.4), as shown in Table 7.

ID	Chant incipit	Folio
JMA1.1	*Quam gloriosam*	32r
JMA1.2	*Celi stupent*	32r
JMA1.3	*Ferax est terra*	32v
JMR2.3 +v	*O preclara stella*	32v-33r
JMR3.3 +v	*Magnificat anima mea*	33r-33v
JMR3.4 +v	*Suscepit Israel*	33v-34r

Table 7: Chants in Ms CZ-PRm L 262.

The position of these chants within the manuscript (for example, with *O preclara stella* beginning on the same folio as *Ferax est terra* despite not being in the same nocturn) indicates that the omissions are not due to missing or damaged folios. Instead the manuscript appears to

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[282] Ms CZ-PRm L 262: <http://www.clavmon.cz/limup/dbRukopis.asp?ID=1241>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

deliberately include only one full nocturn, with the antiphons taken from the original first nocturn, and the responsories taken from nocturns two and three.

Many other offices within this manuscript (for example the offices for Ss. Peter and Paul and St. John the Baptist) also only include one full nocturn in Matins formed in a similar pattern: the antiphons of the first nocturn followed by responsories taken from any of the three nocturns. The Visitation office, therefore, follows the tradition for this manuscript to create offices with only three lessons used for lesser feasts and ferial days.

20. **CZ-Pu XIV B 6:** 14th century, Bohemia, vesperale, 102ff, 360 x 260mm, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 83v-85r.[283]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes the first antiphon of Lauds and limited chants for Second Vespers taken from other Marian feasts.

21. **CZ-S M-7:** 15th-16th century, Bohemia, antiphonal, 134ff, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 81r-82r.[284]

Visitation content: The database states: 'Exurgens autem maria ... Magnificet dominum totum genus'. This gives the first and last chants within Jenštejn's office, which suggests that a full office may be present.

22. **CZ-UL ST 1491:** 15th century (second half), Ústí nad Labem monastery (Czech Republic), antiphonal (summer half), 675ff, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 210-226.[285]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes the office, although the exact contents are unknown.

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[283] Ms CZ-Pu XIV B 6: <http://hun-chant.eu/source/1654>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[284] Ms CZ-S M-7: <http://www.clavmon.cz/limup/dbRukopis.asp?ID=809>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[285] CZ-UL ST 1491: <http://www.clavmon.cz/limup/dbRukopis.asp?ID=876>, last accessed 13 October 2020. The designations *recto* and *verso* are not used in the foliation.

23. **D-AAm G20**: 13th century (second half), Aachen (Germany), antiphonal, 406ff, 320 x 220mm, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 364r-377v.[286]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes all chants for the office and mass. Both Matins invitatories are provided, as well as a third: *Mariam plenam gratia*, which is discussed in Chapter Six. The responsory *O preclara stella* (JMR2.3) is moved to Vespers and the Lauds hymn *En miranda prodigia* is moved to Second Vespers.

24. **D-Bsb Theol. Lat. Qu. 149:** date unknown, Lubiń (Poland), breviarium, 185ff.[287] Visitation chants: ff. 18r-18v.

Visitation content: This manuscript includes the three hymns (JVH, JCH, JLH).

25. **D-KA Aug. LX:** late 12th century with 13th, 14th, and 15th century additions, Zwiefalten (Germany) (taken to the Benedictine Reichenau Abbey in the 16th century), antiphonal, 276ff, notated. Visitation chants: ff. a33v-a34v.[288]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes chants for Matins and Lauds. The manuscript appears to contain an adaptation of Jenštejn's office for monastic use, with a reordering of the existing chants and a number of new chants added. A similar adaption is found within the Benedictine manuscript F-AS 893 and is examined at the close of Chapter Six. The responsory *Vox turturis audita* is found only twice on Cantus Index: within this manuscript and Ms D-MZb C from Mainz, and so may be a regional responsory.

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[286] Ms D-AAm G20: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123714>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[287] Ms D-Bsb Theol. Lat. Qu. 149: <http://cantus.edu.pl/source/22868>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[288] Ms D-KA Aug. LX: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123612>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

26. **D-MZb C:** 1430s, Carmelites of Mainz (Germany), antiphonal, 334ff, 605 x 415mm, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 196r-214v.[289]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a full office including the Little Hours. The responsory *Vox turturis audita* (also found in Ms D-KA Aug. LX) is given in Vespers.

27. **F-AS 893:** 14th century, Benedictine Monastery of St Vaast d'Arras (Arras, France), breviary, 554ff, 191 x 133mm, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 538v-547r.[290]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a full office apart from the Vespers antiphons. The Matins service has been significantly restructured, similarly to Ms D-KA Aug. LX, apparently for monastic use, discussed in Chapter Six.

28. **F-CA Impr XVI C4:** 1508-1518, Paris for Cambrai, antiphonal, 256ff, 385 x 264mm, printed book, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 142r-147r.[291]

Visitation content: This printed book includes a full office, although Jenštejn's text is set to alternative melodies.

29. **F-CA Ms. 71:** 1458-c.1470, Cambrai Cathedral, processional, 189ff, 225 x 160mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 91r-94r.[292]

Visitation content: This source includes four matins responsories (JMR1.1, 2, 3, JMR3.3) and the antiphon for the *Benedictus* at Lauds. Jenštejn's texts are set to the alternative melodies found in F-CA Impr XVI C4.

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[289] Ms D-MZb C: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123622>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[290] Ms F-AS 893: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123593>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[291] F-CA Impr. XVI C4: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123602>, last accessed 13 October 2020. It was not within the scope of this thesis to examine this variant office in depth. For a musical analysis, see Batts, *Rhymed Office for the Feast of the Visitation*. Batts concludes that both the text and the melody for this office (the variant in this manuscript) were composed by one person, a conclusion which is disputed by the evidence presented in my thesis.

[292] My thanks to Prof. Barbara Haggh-Huglo for sending me images and descriptions of this source.

30. **F-CA Ms. 73:** 14th century with additions from the 15th-18th centuries, Cambrai Cathedral, processional, 220ff, 215 x 150mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 137r-139v.[293]

Visitation content: This source includes four matins responsories (JMR1.1, 2, 3, JMR3.3) and the antiphon for the *Benedictus* at Lauds. Jenštejn's texts are set to the alternative melodies found in F-CA Impr XVI C4.

31. **H-Ba Rath F 1042:** 1484, Nürnberg for Esztergom (Hungary), breviary, 416ff, printed book, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 271r-274r.[294]

Visitation content: This printed book includes a full office excluding the Compline hymn.

32. **I-CFm XLIV:** 14th-15th century, Cividale Cathedral (Italy), antiphonal. Visitation chant folios unknown.[295]

Visitation content: This source includes Easton's full office as well as the trope *O Mater Christi veneranda* and *Nunc dimittis* antiphon *Gaude Maria mater* from Jenštejn's office.

33. **I-CFm LVII:** 15th century, Cividale Cathedral (Italy), antiphonal. Visitation chant folios unknown.[296]

Visitation content: This source includes Easton's full office as well as the trope *O Mater Christi veneranda* and *Nunc dimittis* antiphon *Gaude Maria mater* from Jenštejn's office.

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[293] My thanks to Prof. Barbara Haggh-Huglo for sending me images and descriptions of this source.

[294] H-Ba Rath F 1042: <http://hun-chant.eu/source/1470>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[295] Ms I-CFm XLIV: <https://www-app.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/PKGG/Musikwissenschaft/Cantus/ChantAquReg/sources.php>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[296] Ms I-CFm LVII: <https://www-app.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/PKGG/Musikwissenschaft/Cantus/ChantAquReg/sources.php>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

34. **I-CFm XLVIII:** 15th century, Cividale Cathedral (Italy), antiphonal. Visitation chant folios unknown.[297]

Visitation content: This source includes Easton's full office as well as the trope *O Mater Christi veneranda* and *Nunc dimittis* antiphon *Gaude Maria mater* from Jenštejn's office.

All three manuscripts from Cividale Cathedral include chants from Jenštejn's office, and a further two manuscripts (Mss I-CFm LXXIX and I-CFm LVI) include his mass chants. It therefore appears as though the scribes for these manuscripts had access to both Jenštejn's and Easton's offices. They used Easton's office where he provided chants, but took chants from Jenštejn's office to supplement Easton's (including the antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis* and Mass chants).

35. **PL KIk 1:** 1372, Kielce (Poland), antiphonal, 287ff, 270 x 390mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 282v-293v.[298]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a full office (including the Little Hours). The Matins hymn given is *De sacro tabernaculo* (see Chapter Seven) and the only Matins invitatory given is *Mariam plenam gratia*. The fourth and fifth Lauds antiphons are in reverse order and the responsory *O preclara stella* (JMR2.3) is given as the Vespers responsory. The manuscript also does not use Jenštejn's responsories in the third nocturn of Matins: see Table 8. These alternative chants are found only within this manuscript on Cantus Index, and are not given in any other sources examined in this thesis. It is possible, therefore, that they represent a regional or individual church's variant. They have not been included within the edition or analysis in this thesis.

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[297] Ms I-CFm XLVIII: <https://www-app.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/PKGG/Musikwissenschaft/Cantus/ChantAquReg/sources.php>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[298] Ms PL KIk 1: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123736>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

ID	CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 chant	PL KIk 1 chant
JMR3.1 (+v)	*Speciosas filias*	*Benedicamus matrem*
JMR3.2 (+v)	*Ait autem Maria*	*Regni sponsum*
JMR3.3 (+v)	*Magnificat anima mea*	*Felix nata es celi*
JMR3.4 (+v)	*Suscepit Israel*	--

Table 8: Responsory order in the third nocturn of Matins in Ms PL KIk 1.

(-- no chant given)

36. **PL-Kkar 1 (Rkp 12):** 1397, Carmelite convent in Kraków (Poland) although copied in Prague, antiphonal, 402ff, 340 x 510mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 77-80 and 193.[299]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes Vespers chants, although it looks as if some of the original Jenštejn chants were changed at a later date, and an alternative Matins invitatory. I was unable to view this manuscript and have relied on the cataloguing on Cantus Index which is shown in Table 9. Four of the Vespers antiphons (1, 2, 4, and 5) follow Jenštejn's original text. The third antiphon appears to have originally followed Jensetjn's office but was erased at a later date and replaced by *Sollemnitatem Magdalenae*. This is a Vespers antiphon found primarily within the feast of Mary Magdalene, but also in the offices for Saint Anne (the mother of Mary) and Saint Catherine of Alexandria.

Similarly, the original Vespers antiphon (which could have been the *Magnificat anima mea* given in the primary manuscript) has been erased and replaced with *Christi virgo dilectissima* and its associated verse *Quoniam peccatorum mole*. This is a common responsory (in either Vespers or the third nocturn of Matins) for Mary's Annunciation and, less commonly, other Marian feasts.

The manuscript does not give either of Jenštejn's Matins invitatories. Instead, over a hundred folios after the Vespers chants, it provides the invitatory *Visitationem virginis Mariae*, a chant most commonly found in the feast of Mary's Nativity with the incipit *Nativitatem virginis Mariae*. The Visitation variant for this chant appears within this manuscript on the

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[299] Ms PL-Kkar 1 (Rkp 12): <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123686>, last accessed 13 October 2020. The designations *recto* and *verso* are not used in the foliation in this database.

same folio as the original Nativity chant (f. 193). Two variants of the *Nativitatem virginis Mariae* chant are given on Cantus Index, both in manuscripts for the Carmelite convent in Kraków: the Visitation variant in this manuscript, and one for Mary's Conception in Ms PL-Kkar 2 (Rkp 14).

ID	CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 chant	PL-Kkar 1 (Rkp 12) chant
JVA1	*Exurgens autem Maria*	*Exurgens autem Maria*
JVA2	*Et factum est*	*Et factum est*
JVA3	*Exclamavit Elyzabeth*	*E--* *Sollemnitatem Magdalenae*
JVA4	*Et unde michi*	*Et unde michi*
JVA5	*Et beata que credidisti*	*Et beata que credidisti*
JVR	*Magnificat anima mea**	*M--* *Christi virgo dilectissima*
JVRv		*C--* *Quoniam peccatorum mole*
JVAM	*O quanta vis amoris*	*O--*
JMI	*In honore Marie* *Quem virginalis*	*Visitationem virginis Mariae*

Table 9: Chants in Ms PL-Kkar 1 (Rkp 12).
(* incipit)

37. **PL-Kkar 3 (Rkp 15):** 1468, Carmelite convent in Kraków (Poland), antiphonal, 205ff, 475 x 345mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 111r-114r.[300]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a limited Matins and full Lauds and Second Vespers.

38. **PL-WRu R 503:** 14th century (second half), Wrocław (Poland), antiphonal, 252ff, 480 x 335mm, parchment, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 246r-247v.[301]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a full set of chants for First Vespers and the first and second nocturns of Matins (apart from the verse for the third responsory in the second nocturn). The hymns are given only as incipits. The cut off of the office just before the end of

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[300] Ms PL-Kkar 3 (Rkp 15): <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123709>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[301] Ms PL-WRu R 503: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123756>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

the second nocturn of Matins indicates that the manuscript is missing folios, and likely originally contained the full office.

39. **SK-BRm EC Lad.4:** 15th century, Bratislava (Slovakia), antiphonal, 215ff. Visitation chants: ff. 78v-87r.[302]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a full office. All but one of the Matins responsories are included, although not all in the original order, which leaves only three responsories in each nocturn.

ID	CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 chant	SK-BRm EC Lad.4 chant
JVR +v	*Magnificat**	*Ibo ad montem*
JMR1.3 +v	*Ibo ad montem*	*Magnificat anima mea*
JMR2.3 +v	*O preclara stella*	--
JMR3.3 +v	*Magnificat anima mea*	*O preclara stella*
JMR3.4 +v	*Suscepit Israel*	--

Table 10: Moved responsories in Ms SK-BRm EC Lad.4.

40. **TR-Itks 42:** c. 1360 with later additions, Esztergom (Hungary), antiphonal, 303ff, 465 x 316mm, paper, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 296v-298r.[303]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes the full office excluding the Compline hymn *O Christi mater fulgida*. The responsory *Magnificat anima mea* is given in Vespers as opposed to in the third nocturn of Matins. The Matins antiphons *Torrens sacrati* and *O dilecta civitas* are also missing, although the catalogue on Cantus Index does give an entry for these chant positions (written in the database as '--') suggesting that a chant was originally present in the manuscript, but is not now legible, possibly due to damage to the folio or later defacement or erasure.

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[302] Ms SK-BRm EC Lad.4: <http://hun-chant.eu/source/1320>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[303] Ms TR-Itks 42: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123706>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

41. **US-NYpm M.A.G.7:** 15th century, Hungary, breviary, 215ff. Visitation chants: ff. 165-166.[304]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a full office.

Accedunt laudes virginis

42. **AA Impr. 1495:** 1475, Augsburg (Germany), vesperal, 90ff, 348 x 238mm, paper, printed book, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 61r-62r.[305]

Visitation content: This printed book includes chants (an antiphon, a responsory, and the antiphon to the *Magnificat*) for both Vespers and Second Vespers.

43. **A-Wda C-10:** 15th century, Kirnberg (Austria), antiphonal, 265ff, 305 x 215mm, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 112v-117v.[306]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes all chants for Matins and Lauds.

44. **A-Wda D-4:** 15th century, Kirnberg (Austria), antiphonal, 326ff, 320 x 215mm, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 212v-215r.[307]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes all chants for Vespers, Lauds, and Second Vespers. The responsories *Elyzabeth congratulans* (EMR1.3) and *Elizabeth ex opere* (EMR3.3) are given in Vespers and Second Vespers respectively.

45. **D-FUI Aa 55:** 14th or 15th century, Rasdorf (Germany), antiphonal, 214ff, 260 x 353mm, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 106v-112r.[308]

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[304] Ms US-NYpm M.A.G.7: <http://hun-chant.eu/source/1382>, last accessed 13 October 2020. The designations *recto* and *verso* are not used in the foliation.

[305] AA Impr. 1495: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123668>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[306] Ms A-Wda C-10: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123644>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[307] Ms A-Wda D-4: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123649>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[308] Ms D-FUI Aa 55: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123685>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a full office, although with significant alterations. The Vespers hymn, *In Mariam vite viam*, is given only as an incipit. The incipit given for the Compline and Lauds hymns is *Servit major*. This is the incipit of the fifth verse of *In Mariam vite viam*, and it is likely that it is to this verse that this incipit refers, rather than being a hymn in its own right (see Chapter Seven). The antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis* in Compline (not provided by Easton in the original office) is a reiteration of the antiphon *Vocat hanc matrem* (EMA1.3).

There are also significant alterations to the Matins responsories, see Table 11. Each of these alternative responsories are found only once on Cantus Index - in this manuscript – which suggests that they may be unique chants specific to this manuscript, region, or the collegiate Church of Rasdorf.

ID	CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 chant	D-FUI Aa 55 chant
EMR2.1 +v	*Maria parens filios*	*Adduxit in cellaria*
EMR2.2 +v	*Rosa de spinis prodiit*	*Egressa est pulcherrima*
EMR2.3 +v	*Stella sub nube*	*O mater montem saliens* (also given as VR*)
EMR3.1 +v	*Occasum virgo*	*Cultus magnae laetitiae*

Table 11: Alternative responsories in Ms D-FUI Aa 55.

(* incipit)

32. **I-CFm XLIV:** 14th to 15th century, Cividale Cathedral (Italy), antiphonal. Folios are unknown for Visitation chants.[309]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes Easton's office as well as a chant identified as a prosula – *O Mater Christi veneranda*. It appears likely that this is the trope *Mater Christi veneranda* from Jenštejn's office. The antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis* in Compline is also taken from Jenštejn's office: *Gaude Maria mater*.

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[309] Ms I-CFm XLIV: <https://www-app.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/PKGG/Musikwissenschaft/Cantus/ChantAquReg/search.php>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

33. **I-CFm LVII:** 15th century, Cividale Cathedral (Italy), antiphonal. Folios are unknown for Visitation chants.[310]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes Easton's office as well as the trope *O Mater Christi veneranda* and *Nunc dimittis* antiphon *Gaude Maria mater* from Jenštejn's office.

34. **I-CFm XLVIII:** 15th century, Cividale Cathedral (Italy), antiphonal. Folios are unknown for Visitation chants.[311]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes Easton's office as well as the trope *O Mater Christi veneranda* and *Nunc dimittis* antiphon *Gaude Maria mater* from Jenštejn's office.

46. **NL-ZUa 6:** 15th century (first half) with 16th century additions, Zutphen (the Netherlands), antiphonal, 258ff, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 199v-204v and 245r.[312]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a full office excluding the Compline hymn and giving an incipit only for the Vespers hymn. The hymn *In Mariam vite viam* is given on f. 245r in a short hymnal (ff. 242r-252r).

47. **SI-Lna 19 (olim 18):** 1491-1492, Kranj (Slovenia), antiphonal, 236ff, 550 x 539mm, notated. Visitation chants: ff. 66v-71v.[313]

Visitation content: This manuscript includes a full office excluding the Compline hymn and giving an incipit only for the Vespers hymn.

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[310] Ms I-CFm LVII: <https://www-app.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/PKGG/Musikwissenschaft/Cantus/ChantAquReg/search.php>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[311] Ms I-CFm XLVIII: <https://www-app.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/PKGG/Musikwissenschaft/Cantus/ChantAquReg/search.php>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[312] Ms NL-ZUa 6: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123648>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[313] Ms SI-Lna 19 (olim 18): <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123659>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

Chapter Five
Editorial Principles

Concrepet armonica laude cohors angelica in Marie gaudia[314]
'Let the angelic court sound with harmonious praise to the joys of Mary'

An integral part of this thesis is the creation of a critical edition of both Jenštejn's and Easton's offices: *Exurgens autem Maria* and *Accedunt laudes virginis*. The texts of both offices are included within Dreves' *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, although Jenštejn's prose texts are excluded.[315] Until now, no full critical edition has been produced for either office, nor has a study of the dissemination and variants in manuscripts across Europe been conducted. The critical edition in this thesis thus provides a resource for future research. A future project to create an online version of this edition will widen its accessibility, expanding the possibilities for later analysis and comparison.

Editorial Principles

Due to the similarity in material being considered, the editorial principles in this thesis are based on those used by the *Historiae* series (a collection of edited saints' offices produced by the Cantus Planus study group of the International Musicological Society) and other editions of late-medieval liturgical chant. The principles have been modified to account for features particular to the offices and manuscripts studied in this thesis. Grier notes that each editor should take a unique approach to their edition:

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[314] JV2AM, lines 3-5.

[315] Jenštejn's office: Guido Maria Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 48 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1905), pp. 427-429.
Easton's office: Guido Maria Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 24 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1896), pp. 89-94.

> No set of guidelines could accommodate the plurality of solutions to each editorial problem. Every project generates the editorial procedures that best represent the editor's critical engagement with the subject of the edition and its sources.[316]

The edition is presented in two halves: firstly, a textual edition with translation[317] and variant readings from other sources; and secondly, a musical edition with modal information and variants. This format allows additional information (such as textual source identification and transposed melodies) to be presented while keeping the edition as simple as possible.

For each office I selected a primary manuscript from which to transcribe both the text and the music in full: Ms CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 for Jenštejn's office and Ms NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) for Easton's. An explanation for this choice is given in Chapter Four.

Chant Abbreviations

Throughout this thesis, chant abbreviations are used to identify a chant and give precise information regarding its position within the office. Such abbreviations are not uncommon, and the style adopted in this thesis is based on that found on Cantus Index. Each abbreviation is formed of five components.

Component	Information provided	Possibilities for component
1	Composer (required)	E – Easton J – Jenštejn S – Speyer

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[316] James Grier, 'Editing', *Grove Music Online*, January 2001, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000008550>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[317] Translated by Daniel Bate.

Component	Information provided	Possibilities for component
2	Service within the Divine Office (required)	V – First Vespers C – Compline M – Matins P – Prime T – Terce S – Sext N – None L – Lauds V2 – Second Vespers
3	Genre of chant (required)	A – Antiphon R – Responsory I – Invitatory antiphon H – Hymn T – Trope
4	Position of chant within the service (this component may not be stated if only one chant of that genre is found in the service)	For invitatory antiphons: 1, 2 – the first or second invitatory antiphon For antiphons excluding Matins: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 – the position of the antiphon within the service M, N, B – the canticle to which the antiphon is attached: • *Magnificat* at First Vespers/Second Vespers • *Nunc dimittis* at Compline • *Benedictus* at Lauds

Component	Information provided	Possibilities for component
		For chants within Matins: 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4 – the position of the chant within Matins. The first number is the nocturn number (first, second, or third), and the second is the position of the chant within that nocturn (first, second, third, or fourth).
5	Additional responsory/hymn information (this component may not be stated)	v – the verse for a responsory v1,2,3, etc – the number of the verse in a hymn

Table 12: Chant abbreviation components.

For example:

EVA3			
E	V	A	3
Easton	First Vespers	Antiphon	third position
The third antiphon for First Vespers in Easton's office: *Accendit ardor spiritus*			

JMA1.3			
J	M	A	1.3
Jenštejn	Matins	Antiphon	first nocturn, third position
The third antiphon in the first nocturn of Matins in Jenštejn's office: *Ferax est terra*			

EMR2.1v				
E	M	R	2.1	v
Easton	Matins	Responsory	second nocturn, first position	verse
The verse for the first responsory in the second nocturn of Matins in Easton's office: *Elisabeth quaesierat*				

Textual Edition

In the textual edition, the full text and English translation of each chant is given.[318] The original Latin text is given in verse form unless it is a biblical citation, where it is given in the original prose form. For chants without consistent versification and rhyming the closest estimate of a verse form is given, based on the text and melodic phrasing. The versification is not always replicated in the translation.

As they are not given in all manuscripts, neither rubrics nor the psalm attached to each antiphon (or the psalm indicator *Euouae*) are given. Doxologies are not included in the textual edition, as, when present, the text is standardized. They are included in the musical edition.

A responsory is formed of two parts – a respond, which is subdivided into two halves, and a verse – as well as a doxology. This is performed as R1-R2-v-R2-D-R2. In manuscripts, the repetition of the second half of the respond is usually given by an incipit of one or two syllables after both the verse and the doxology. The incipits have not been given in either the text or music edition.

Where the chant text is taken from the Bible (as is often the case in Jenštejn's office), the English Douay-Rheims translation of the Latin Vulgate is provided and the quoted passage is underlined in both the original Latin and the English. Where psalms have been quoted, the Septuagint (and thus Latin Vulgate) numbering has been used.[319] Any words not underlined were added by the composer.

In this edition, the correct pronouns, including the specific gender referred to by a third-person he/she/it noun, are added without note. Words in square brackets in the English

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[318] My thanks to Daniel Bate for his translation.

[319] For a numerical index of psalms giving both the Latin and Hebrew numbering systems, see 'Appendix 2: The Psalter' in John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 242-250.

translation are those which are implicit in the original Latin: for example, in *Maria parens filios* (EMR2.1), *relevet* and *sublevet* on lines four and five respectively, are translated as 'lift [them]' and 'support [them]'.

The original Latin orthography of the primary manuscript is kept with only minor exceptions:

- the Latin version of *Christus* and its declensions are given (translating the Greek *Xp-* to Latin *Chr-*),

- proper nouns are capitalised,

- *aeuia* is expanded to *alleluia* without note,

- and the orthography of *u-v* and *ci-ti* are standardised.

Orthographic variations between manuscripts are not noted.

Abbreviated words in the original sources are fully expanded without note. All the examined manuscripts shorten or abbreviate words to some degree. Figure 9 displays an example of some frequently-used abbreviations and their full expansions as given in this edition – the added letters are underlined in this example for clarity. Rarer abbreviations are frequently given in Cappelli's *Lexicon abbreviaturarum*.[320] Where a non-standard abbreviation occurs in a manuscript but is not given in Cappelli, a full word is suggested based on other sources and the most likely meaning within the context.

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[320] Adriano Cappelli, *Lexicon Abbreviaturarum* (Leipzig: Ulrico Hoepli Editore, 1928), <https://www.adfontes.uzh.ch/en/ressourcen/abkuerzungen/cappelli-online>, last accessed 21 September 2020. See also Adriano Cappelli, *The elements of abbreviation in medieval Latin paleography* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1982).
For an examination of scribal hands from 1300 to 1350 in Bohemia see Marta Hradilová and Hana Pátková, *Scriptores: Písemná kutura a její tvůrci v pozdně středověkých Čechách 1300-1350/Scriptores: Written Culture and Its Creators in Late Medieval Bohemia in 1300-1350* (Prague: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy and Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, 2017).
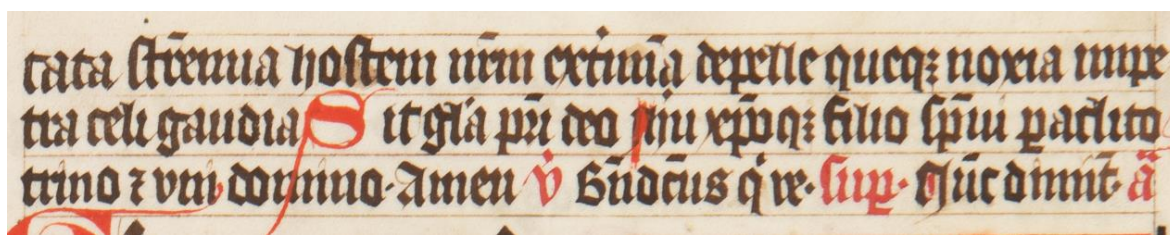
Figure 9: Ms CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16, p. 7 (according to the foliation marked in pencil), verses 4 and 5 of hymn *O Christi mater*.

With abbreviations
Sit gl'a pri deo jh'u xpoq̄: filio spui paclito trino 7 uni domino.

Fully expanded
Sit gloria patri Deo
Ihesu Christoque filio
spiritui paraclito
trino et uni Domino.

The original texts tend not to use punctuation, although in some cases the end of a chant or the first half of a respond is indicated by a dot. For consistency, a full stop has been added at the end of all chants and to denote the end of the first half of a respond where none exists in the original source. Any other punctuation given in the Latin text in the edition is found within the original text in the manuscript. Punctuation is given in the English translation to allow for easier understanding. Words missing due to folio damage are provided in curly brackets "{}".

Textual variations between the base manuscript and the other manuscripts examined in this thesis are provided below each chant's text. The manuscript *siglum* is given, followed by the line in the Latin on which the variant occurs in bold, the base text, the variant text, and, if applicable, in which hymn verse the variant occurs. I.e.:

Manuscript *siglum*: verse of hymn (if applicable) – **line** base text/variant text.

For example, in JVH "SK-BR BAI EClad.3: v2 – **3** virgo gravida/virgo" indicates that the words *virgo gravida* on the third line of verse two of the base text are altered in manuscript SK-BR BAI EClad.3 to simply *virgo*. And in JMA1.3 "MA Impr 1537: **3** hominis/hominum" indicates that in manuscript MA Impr 1537, the base text *hominis* on line three is replaced by *hominum*.

If there are no variations within a chant in a manuscript, this is noted. If a manuscript can be surmised to have given the full office, then any chant not included is identified and, if known, the reason for its omission is given. If a manuscript includes only a limited selection of Visitation chants (for example, only the hymns or the Vespers chants), then the omission of

a chant is not mentioned. If the chant is used in another position in a manuscript (for example, as the Vespers hymn rather than the Lauds hymn), the relevant chant abbreviation is stated. For more information on the contents of each manuscript, see Chapter Four.

Musical Edition

In the musical edition, the text follows the editorial principles devised for the textual edition. For hymns, the format of the original manuscripts is followed, with only the first verse fully notated. The text of the later verses is given in the textual edition, but any versification issues are given in the notes section of the musical edition. Doxologies after responsory verses are written out in full if they are given in the manuscript. Antiphon psalms are not given as they are only given as incipits in some manuscripts.

In order to distinguish between flats added with and without manuscript authority, three types of flat identification have been used.
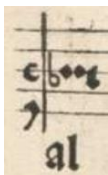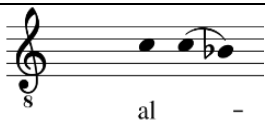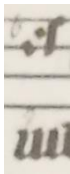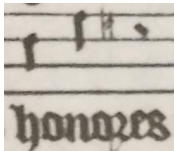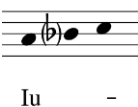
Type of flat	Manuscript example	Notated in this edition
Flat signs present in the original hand in the manuscript are displayed before the note in question.		al –
Flat or natural signs added in a later hand are given in parentheses before the note.		Iu –
Editorial flats not present in the manuscript but necessary for the melody are added above the stave.		in

Table 13: B flat identification in the musical edition.

If a chant has numerous **b**'s which would have been sung as **b** flat (for example, in F mode), an editorial flat has been added to the key signature as is standard. In this case, scribal flat signs within the chant are not noted.

Ligatures are shown using slur marks above the relevant notes within a syllable. A downward comma on the left edge of a note-head indicates the presence of liquescence in the original source (see Table 14). Editorial bar lines are not added within a chant: double bar lines are added at the end of all chants, other than responds where single bar lines are used to indicate that the verse follows immediately.

The melody of the last three syllables of *In Marie virginis* (JLA1) has been emended to finish on the *finalis*. These notes are given within parentheses, with the original melody stated in a footnote.

As with the textual edition, the primary manuscript used for each office is stated before the first chant. Where the primary manuscript does not include the full melody for a chant (for example JLH *En miranda prodigia*), a secondary manuscript is used as the base version for that chant, with the new manuscript *siglum* stated above the melodic transcription.

Each chant is identified by its chant abbreviation as well as its two- to four-word incipit. Modal indicators are given: the mode (in number and text format: for example, Mode 1 – D authentic), *finalis*, and ambitus (as highest and lowest notes and as a numerical interval). The two halves of a responsory (the respond and the verse) are listed separately in this edition, but are considered as one chant for the modal indicators.

A full musical transcription of the melody in the primary manuscript is provided, using standard modern stemless chant notation. Below this, melodic variations between the primary manuscript and the other sources examined in this thesis are provided in shorthand. If the chant is used in another position in a manuscript, the relevant chant abbreviation is given. As with the textual edition, if a manuscript includes a full office, then chants not included are identified; if a manuscript includes very few chants, then a chant's omission is not noted. Manuscript Vat.lat.1122 does not contain melodies, and so is not referred to in the musical edition.

When recording variances, the manuscript *siglum* is given, followed by the line in the Latin on which the variant occurs in bold, the base text, the base melody, the variant melody, and, if different to the base text, the variant text. I.e.:

Manuscript *siglum*: **line** syllable(s) – base melody/variant melody.

Manuscript *siglum*: **line** base syllable(s)/variant syllable(s) – base melody/variant melody.

Melody variants are written in text format, using the conventional letter styles (given in Figure 10) to indicate to which octave a note belongs.

Γ   A-G   a-g   a'-g'
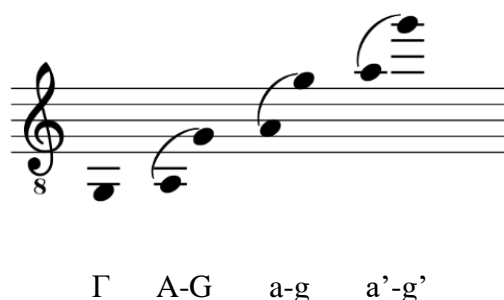
Figure 10: Octave ranges.

The following criteria for variant descriptions have been followed throughout the edition. These criteria are based on those identified in the *Historiae* series and other editions of late-medieval liturgical chant, modified to fit the requirements of this edition.[321]

- Words are given in full. The syllable with the variant melody is underlined. If the word is present multiple times within a line, the following word is given in square brackets to indicate which is meant.

- Alignment variations between the text and melody are noted, but ligatural and orthographic variations are not.

- **B** flats are represented by the letter h (H, h, h' depending on the octave).[322]

- Differences in **B** flats between manuscripts are only noted when a manuscript specifically states (in the original scribe's or later hand) a flat or natural which is unusual.

- If the variant melody continues over multiple syllables, the syllables are distinguished using a hyphen (for example a-bc-d).

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[321] My thanks to Dr Hana Vlhová-Wörner and Dr Jan Ciglbauer for allowing me access to their editions and giving feedback on my musical edition.

[322] To note, this is contrary to some European notational traditions where the letter h is used to denote a B natural.

- If the variant melody continues over multiple words, the words are distinguished using a space (for example a bc-d).

- If a word contains a single varied syllable or consecutive varied syllables (i.e. Ely̱zabeth where there is a melodic variation over the syllables 'Ely'), only the melody for the varied syllables is given.

- If a word contains a mix of varied and identical syllables that are not consecutive, the full melody is given but only the varied syllables are underlined (for example: Elyzabeth – FD-C-CD-D/ED-C-CD-DD).

- In longer passages where only the beginning or end varies, ellipses are used to indicate that the rest of the syllable is identical (for example: abaGF.../abGGF...).

- If (nearly) a whole line is different, then the text may not be given (for example: **5** – abF-GE D-E-D-C CD-D/ahFG-E E-D-E-D C-D).

- Longer melismatic variants may be displayed on a stave.

- Where a piece has multiple variations in close proximity (i.e. on one line), their grouping is based on the type of variation: if the variations are related they are grouped together. For example: an entire six-word line is melodically varied, with the first four words set to a transposed melody (down a third, say), and the last two words misaligned. The transposed melody is given in one variant and the misaligned melody in a second variant so that any potential relationship between the original melody and the variant can be identified.

- If a note is missing due to obvious erasure, and the note is still discernible, it is given in parentheses (for example a-b(c)-d).

- If a note is missing, either due to possible erasure where the note is not clear or scribal error, the note is represented by a question mark (for example a-?-c).

- If a note is missing because the syllable it is paired with is also missing, this is noted with an x (for example a-b/a-x).

- If a note is missing but the syllable is present, this is noted with a y (for example a-b/a-y).

As an example, the following variant in Ms CZ-Pu XII A 9 is shown in stave form and shorthand.
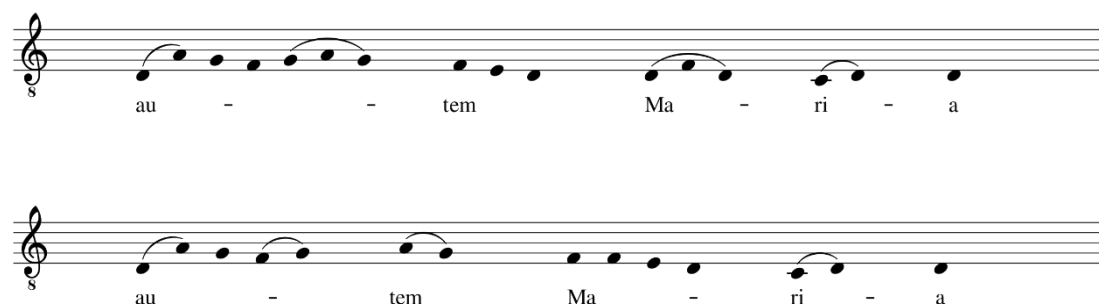
Figure 11: CZ-Pu XII A 9: **1** <u>au</u>tem <u>Ma</u>ria – DaGFGaG-FED DFD/DaGFG-aG FFED.

Alternative Melody Identification

If the melody given in a manuscript is completely different from the melody in the primary manuscript, this is stated (although the alternative melody is not given in full) and numbered in order that similar alternative melodies across manuscripts can be identified. The numbering system is not shared between chants, thus each number can be used to describe multiple alternative melodies: for example, the first alternative melodies for both JVA2 and JMR2.2v are numbered 1, although they are not the same melody, and may not be found in the same manuscript. The decision to classify a chant as using an alternative melody was made using a series of criteria:

1. the chant contains long passages of alternative melody;

    a. 'long' refers to at least fifty percent of the piece overall. If the chant is four lines long, then at least two lines need to be set to an alternative melody. These passages do not have to be consecutive (for example, in a six-line chant, lines 1-2 and 4-5 could be set to an alternative melody).

2. the melody is significantly different: a transposed or miscopied melody is not counted as an alternative;

3. the melody is not misaligned (where the notes are the same but the positioning beneath the syllables is unusual and so on an initial glance appears vastly different);

4. and, in the case of Easton's office, the melody does not conform to Speyer's original melody: for example, where sections of Speyer's chant were not used by Easton, but were used in one specific manuscript.

Neume Table

The table below gives examples of rarer neumes found in the manuscripts, how they have been transcribed, and how they appear in the variance notes if special symbols are required. Examples of how other marks, such as scribal erasures and damage to the manuscript, are transcribed are also included.
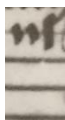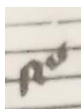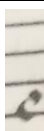
Manuscript example	Notated in this edition	In variance notes (n=note)
		n,
		N/A
		N/A
		N/A
 An erased neume		(n)
 A hole in the manuscript		{n} {text if known}

Table 14: Neume Table.

The full textual and musical edition is given at the close of the thesis, on pages 230-413.

Chapter Six
Jan of Jenštejn: Exurgens autem Maria

Novum tibi virgo canticum decantamus[323]
'Virgin, we chant to you a new song'

The first office examined in this thesis is Jenštejn's *Exurgens autem Maria*. In this chapter I analyse the text and music of the office, focusing particularly on the use of biblical quotation and its effect on the office texts; the modal order; the creation of contrafact chants; the composition of original melodies in relation to contemporary composition norms; and the relationship between the text and melodies of Jenštejn's chants. I then discuss the criticism of *Exurgens autem Maria* and the possibility that Jenštejn was not the sole composer of the office. The chapter concludes with an examination of the dissemination and modification of the office throughout Europe.

Jenštejn's final office contains fifty-one chants for First Vespers, Compline, Matins, Lauds, and Second Vespers.[324] As was common in late-medieval offices, it does not include specific festal versions of the responsory in First Vespers, the Matins hymn, and chants for the Little Hours and Second Vespers. Instead, as evidenced by the earliest known manuscripts which include his office, Jenštejn provided incipits which indicated that a chant from elsewhere in the office should be repeated (such as the rubric which states that the first antiphon of Lauds should be sung as the antiphon for Prime) or a chant should be borrowed from older repertory (such as the indication that the common antiphon *Asperges me Domine* should be sung as the second antiphon in Terce). The earliest manuscripts[325] specify the same chants for these positions in the office, suggesting that Jenštejn himself proposed these particular chants. As well as his office chants, Jenštejn also wrote five Mass chants for the Visitation (two alleluias and three sequences) which are outside the scope of this thesis.[326]

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[323] JMA3.3, lines 1-2.

[324] For more information on the contents of a standard office, see John Harper, *The Forms and Orders*.

[325] CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16, CZ-Pu XII A 9, and Vat.lat.1122.

[326] For all of Jenštejn's rhymed Visitation chants (office and Mass), see Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 48, pp. 421-451.

Although in this thesis I suggest that the final version of the office was the work of two composers – Jenštejn and Rakovník – I shall in this chapter generally refer to the whole as 'Jenštejn's office' for the sake of conciseness and simplicity.

The Text of *Exurgens autem Maria*

The text of Jenštejn's office appears to have been carefully composed to emphasise the new feast's importance, its place in the canon of Marian and Dominical feasts, its scriptural authority (in First Vespers and Matins) and its contemporary significance (in Lauds). The text is characterised by extensive use of direct biblical quotations, from both the Old and New Testaments, with original text, often composed in a similar non-versified form, which complements the quotations.

Nearly the entire Lucan Visitation passage (Luke 1:39-56) is directly quoted in Jenštejn's office; only the last verse, Luke 1:56, 'And Mary abode with her [Elizabeth] about three months; and she [Mary] returned to her own home'[327] is omitted. The sources of biblical material for the office are listed in Table 15 and are given in two categories. The first category includes chants where all (or nearly all) of the text is directly quoted from the Bible, allowing for only a small number of additional words. The second category includes chants where the biblical phrase is only part of a longer text. Verses shown in bold are taken from the Lucan Visitation passage.

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[327] Gospel of Luke, 1:56, 'Douay-Rheims Translation of the Latin Vulgate', <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/49001.htm>, last accessed 15 November 2020.

Fully quoted				
Chant ID	**Biblical quotation**		**Chant ID**	**Biblical quotation**
JVA1	**Luke 1:39-40**		JMR3.1v	Isaiah 12:6
JVA2	**Luke 1:41**		JMR3.2	**Luke 1:49**
JVA3	**Luke 1:42**		JMR3.2v	**Luke 1:50**
JVA4	**Luke 1:43-44**		JMR3.3	**Luke 1:46-48**
JVA5	**Luke 1:45**		JMR3.3v	**Luke 1:48**
JMR1.1	Song of Songs 2:10-11		JMR3.4	**Luke 1:54-55**
JMR1.1v	Psalm 44:11		JMR3.4v	Psalm 131:11
JMR1.2v	Psalm 118:103		JLA3	**Luke 1:51**
JMR2.1	Song of Songs 2:8-9		JLA4	**Luke 1:52**
JMR2.1v	Psalm 18:6-7		JLA5	**Luke 1:53**
JMR2.4v	Psalm 117:24		JLAB	Luke 1:68, 70
Partially quoted				
Chant ID	**Biblical quotation**		**Chant ID**	**Biblical quotation**
JVAM	**Luke 1:46**		JMR1.2	Song of Songs 2:10
JCAN	Luke 2:32		JMR1.3v	Psalm 118:32

Table 15: Direct biblical quotations within Jenštejn's office.
Visitation passages are shown in bold.

Many of the non-Visitation quotes would have been familiar from other, often Marian, feasts, setting this feast within the wider Marian canon. For example, the Luke 2:32 phrase 'a light to the revelation of the Gentiles' used in *Gaude Maria mater* (JCAN) was also used in an antiphon for the Purification of Mary.

First Vespers and Lauds Chants

As shown in Table 15, the First Vespers antiphons are set to the text of the first seven verses of the Visitation passage, describing Mary's journey into the mountains to her cousin, the greeting of the two women and John the Baptist's immediate recognition of Jesus, and Elizabeth's speech which begins 'Blessed art though among women'. These antiphons are then followed by the Vespers hymn, with original text, which describes Jesus' conception and then recaps the antiphon material. The antiphons and hymn thus contextualise and point to the

Magnificat canticle and its associated antiphon which follow. The first three lines of the *Magnificat* antiphon are original text, while the fourth and part of the fifth directly quote the first four words of Mary's song: *Magnificat anima mea Dominum.* As the *Magnificat* canticle (Luke 1:46-55) would be sung directly after this, the Visitation passage (excluding verse 56) would be sung in its entirety and in biblical order within Vespers. The message of the *Magnificat* is further accentuated by the later repetition of some verses within the responsories for the third nocturn of Matins and three of the antiphons in Lauds.

Where the Vespers texts explain the biblical context of the Visitation, the Lauds texts indicate the feast's relevance in contemporary life. The texts of the Lauds antiphons are given below, with biblical quotations underlined and identified.

JLA1 *In Marie virginis utero* *parata sedes tua Deus* *a seculo alleluia.*	In the womb of the Virgin Mary, your place, O God, is prepared by the world, alleluia.
JLA2 *Iubilet Deo omnis terra* *et celestis yerarchia* *serviat ei alleluia.*	Let all the world sing out to God in joy and let the celestial hierarchy serve Him, alleluia.
JLA3 *Fecit Dominus <u>potentiam in brachio</u>* *<u>suo dispersit superbos mente cordis</u>* *<u>sui</u> alleluia.*	The Lord <u>hath shewed might in his arm: he hath scattered the proud in the conceit of their heart</u>. Alleluia. *Luke 1:51*
JLA4 *<u>Deposuit potentes de sede et</u>* *<u>exaltavit humiles</u> alleluia.*	<u>He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble</u>. Alleluia. *Luke 1:52*
JLA5 *<u>Esurientes implevit bonis et divites</u>* *<u>dimisit inanes</u> alleluia.*	<u>He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away</u>. Alleluia. *Luke 1:53*

The verses of the *Magnificat* used in Lauds are the only ones which describe God's direct actions. Given Jenštejn's intentions in the composition of this office, the choice of these specific verses may also have a political and schismatic interpretation: the antipope could

represent the 'proud', the 'mighty', and the 'rich' who God scatters, puts down, and sends away; and the 'true' Roman pope (Pope Urban VI at the time of composition) could represent the 'humble' and 'hungry' who are exalted and filled with good things. If so, the Lauds antiphons may be being used to suggest that the *Magnificat* itself indicates how God can help with the Schism, and that Mary will intercede on mankind's behalf because she is the Mediatrix, as referenced in *In Marie virginis* (JLA1).

Matins Chants

Where the Vespers and Lauds chants are used to indicate the specifically Gospel authority for the feast, the Matins chants put the new feast into a wider scriptural context. The text of the Matins responsories include quotations from the books of Isaiah, Psalms, and the Song of Songs which refer either to the celebration of a feast day (and thus, in this context, the Visitation) or, either directly or indirectly, to Jesus or Mary.

The responsories within Matins employ scriptural quotations in two ways: firstly, pairing biblical verses to complement and expand upon each other; and secondly, pairing a biblical quotation with original text to add scriptural authority to the new text.

The first technique is seen in four Matins responsories, where the respond text is taken from either Luke or the Song of Songs and the responsory verse is a psalm quotation. The Songs of Songs was a popular biblical book during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and mariological interpretations, present as far back as St Ambrose [c.340-397], came to prominence in the twelfth century when Jesus was identified as the bridegroom and Mary took on the role of the Bride of Christ.[328] The first of these passages is used in the responsory *Surge propera amica* (JMR1.1):

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[328] See E. Ann Matter, 'The Virgin Mary in Song of Songs Commentary', in *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), pp. 159-167.

Surge propera amica mea formosa mea. Et veni iam enim hyemps transiit ymber abiit et recessit alleluia.	Arise, make haste, my love, my beautiful one, and come. For winter is now past, the rain is over and gone. Alleluia.

Song of Songs 2:10-11 |
| *Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam.* | Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thy ear.

Psalm 44:11 |

The Song of Songs passage used as the respond text relates direct speech from the bridegroom to the bride and would therefore evoke the imagery of Jesus addressing Mary. This particular quotation is also used in four other related feasts which predate and postdate the Visitation, all with Marian connotations: Mary's Assumption, the *Recollectio Festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis*, the Common of one virgin, and the Common of several virgins.[329] The psalm verse also addresses a bride,[330] and while the speaker of the original psalm verse is unclear, the conflation of the psalm and Song of Songs verses in this responsory allows for a Marian interpretation. The responsory thus addresses the Virgin Mary in direct scriptural speech.

The second responsory that uses biblical quotations in this way is *En dilectus meus* (JMR1.2), which creates direct speech for Mary.

En dilectus meus loquitur michi. Intra precordia mea dat vocem suam alleluia.	Behold my beloved speaketh to me. Within my breast he imparts his voice, alleluia.

Song of Songs 2:10 |
| *Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua* Domine *super mel ori meo.* | How sweet are thy words to my palate! Lord, more than honey to my mouth.

Psalm 118:103 |

The Song of Songs quote within the respond text is spoken by the bride, and therefore Mary. The psalm verse is also direct speech although not originally spoken by a bride. Due to

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[329] The *Recollectio Mariae* is a later feast, with chants composed by Guillaume De Fay (1397-1474) in 1457, which commemorated six Marian feasts (Conception, Nativity, Purification at the Temple, Annunciation, the Visitation, and Assumption). See Barbara Helen Haggh (later Haggh-Huglo), 'The Celebration of the "Recollectio Festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis", 1457-1987), in *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 30:1/4 (1988), pp. 361-373.

[330] See <https://www.studylight.org/commentary/psalms/45-10.html>, last accessed 26 January 2021.

its pairing with the Song of Songs passage, however, the psalm verse gains a Marian interpretation, particularly with the addition of *Domine* (Lord). Within Matins, the responsory *En dilectus meus* follows and responds to the previous responsory, *Surge propera amica*, examined above. In *Surge propera amica* Jesus talks to Mary, and in *En dilectus meus* Mary mentions that her 'beloved' – the bridegroom – speaks to her and then responds directly to Jesus.

The third responsory which uses this technique, *Ecce iste venit* (JMR2.1), also allows Mary additional direct speech:

Ecce iste venit saliens in montibus transiliens colles. Similis est dilectus meus hynulo capreeque cervorum alleluia.	Behold he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping over the hills. My beloved is like a roe deer, or a young hart. Alleluia. *Song of Songs 2:8-9*
Exultavit ut gygas ad currendam viam a summo celo egressio eius.	He hath rejoiced as a giant to run the way: His going out is from the end of heaven. *Psalm 18:6-7*

The biblical verses are not quoted in their entirety in this responsory: the opening words of Song of Songs 2:8 are omitted – *Vox dilecti mei* (The voice of my beloved), which would confirm that it is the bridegroom (and thus Jesus) who comes to the bride (Mary). Similarly, Psalm 18:6 also includes the phrase *et ipse tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo* (and he, as a bridegroom coming out of his bride chamber) which is not included within this responsory.[331] These omitted phrases would have been implicit in the text, indicating that Jesus is coming and going.

The final responsory in which this technique is used is *Suscepit Israel* (JMR3.4) which quotes directly from the Gospel of Luke 1:54-55, referring to the prophecy given to David. The responsory verse also alludes to this prophecy, stating that 'The Lord hath sworn truth to David: of the fruit of thy womb I will set upon thy throne' (Psalm 131:11). While the original psalm verse refers to the Lord talking to David about his future descendants, it can in this context be

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[331] Book of Psalms 18:6, 'Douay-Rheims Translation of the Latin Vulgate', <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/21018.htm>, last accessed 6 December 2020.

understood more literally as addressing Mary about the child within her womb. This also serves to confirm Mary and Jesus' lineage and that Jesus' birth was foretold.

Suscepit Israel puerum suum recordatus misericordie sue. Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros Abraham et semini eius in secula alleluia.	He hath received Israel his servant, being mindful of his mercy: as he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed for ever. Alleluia. *Luke 1:54-55*
Iuravit Dominus David veritatem de fructu ventris tui imponam super sedem tuam.	The Lord hath sworn truth to David: of the fruit of thy womb I will set upon thy throne. *Psalm 131:11*

Other responsories pair biblical quotations with newly composed text in order to elaborate on theological concepts, such as *Speciosas filias* (JMR3.1). The respond text refers to the 'treasure of her pregnant womb', mentioning Mary's pregnancy without directly naming Jesus. The responsory verse, quoting directly from Isaiah 12:6, expands upon this treasure, addressing Mary as the 'habitation of Sion' and stating that 'the Holy One of Israel' is 'in the midst of thee'. This simultaneously explains the mariological interpretation of the Isaiah verse as well as placing it directly within the Visitation context.

Speciosas filias cumulantes divitias. Thesauro ventris gravidi transcendit mater Domini alleluia alleluia.	By the treasure of her pregnant womb, the mother of the Lord has surpassed the beautiful daughters who amass riches, alleluia, alleluia.
Exulta et lauda habitatio Syon quia magnus in medio tui sanctus Israel.	Rejoice, and praise, O thou habitation of Sion: for great is he that is in the midst of thee, the Holy One of Israel. *Isaiah 12:6*

In a similar way, the psalm text used for the verse of the responsory *O dies omni* (JMR2.4) adds scriptural authority to the original text of the respond which refers to the feast of the Visitation itself, stating that the day should be venerated by all. This idea is then immediately reinforced by the responsory verse with text taken from Psalm 117:24 – 'This [is] the day which

the Lord hath made: let us be glad and rejoice therein'. This phrase is commonly used within chants, in both the office and the Mass, particularly on Easter feasts. The psalm verse is therefore used to justify the introduction of the new feast of the Visitation by alluding to a well-known and commonly quoted biblical authority.

O dies omni voto recolenda *o dies omni studio veneranda.* *Inqua tot misero* *fulserunt gaudia mundo* *alleluia.*	O day to contemplate with all prayer, O day to be venerated with all study, in which so many joys have shone upon the wretched world, alleluia.
<u>*Hec dies quam fecit Dominus*</u> <u>*exultemus et letemur in ea*</u>.	<u>This</u> [is] <u>the day which the Lord hath made:</u> <u>let us be glad and rejoice therein</u>. *Psalm 117:24*

The final responsory where this technique is used is *Ibo ad montem* (JMR1.3) which demonstrates the composer's understanding of biblical authority.

Ibo ad montem *mirre festinanter* *et videbo verbum hoc.* *Quod factum est in auribus meis* *ab angelo salutante* *alleluia.*	I will go with haste to the mount of myrrh and I will see the word that has been made by the angel's greeting in my ears, alleluia.
<u>*Viam mandatorum tuorum*</u> <u>*cucurri*</u> *iuxta verbum tuum*.	<u>I have run the way of thy commandments</u> according to your word. *Psalm 118:32*

The initial words of the respond, *Ibo ad montem mirre festinanter*, paraphrase a verse given by the bride in the Song of Songs: 'I will make my way to the mountain of myrrh and to the hill of frankincense' (Song of Songs 4:6).[332] This is then followed by a reference to Gabriel's greeting to Mary. With the phrase *in auribus meis* (in my ears) the composer draws a parallel to Eve who had heard and followed the serpent's coaxing. Miri Rubin notes that 'it was imagined that drama of sin and redemption was located in a single organ: Mary's ear. As Eve

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[332] '...*vadam ad montem myrrhae, et ad collem thuris*': Song of Songs 4:6, 'Douay-Rheims Translation of the Latin Vulgate', <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/24004.htm>, last accessed 22 January 2021.

had listened to the serpent, so Mary conceived her saving son through her ear'.[333] The combination of direct speech, allusion to the bride who is often equated with Mary, and the mentioning of the Annunciation allows the inference that it is Mary who is speaking at this point.

The responsory verse text is also direct speech, stating that the speaker – understood to be Mary – follows 'thy' (God's) commandments. The original text in the responsory verse, *iuxta verbum tuum* (according to your word), is reminiscent of Mary's speech within the Annunciation – Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word (*fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*).[334] Rather than quoting Mary's own direct speech from the Gospel of Luke, the composer chose to create a similar phrase using a psalm verse and original text, possibly in order to emphasise Mary's actions as much as her speech. Both the respond and verse within the responsory indicate Mary's obedience and the speed at which she undertakes her tasks: the respond specifies that Mary goes into the mountain 'with haste' and the psalm verse states that the speaker (Mary) 'runs'. In a similar way, while the Annunciation verse places Mary in a more passive role, simply accepting her fate, both halves of the responsory give Mary agency – she will go and she has run. This responsory therefore develops Mary's character as well as dramatising her role within the Visitation feast.

Biblical Allusions and Non-Chant Items

In addition to direct biblical quotations, the chant texts also include allusions to other biblical people, events, and places, as well as familiar Mariological concepts. For example, the responsory *Ibo ad montem* (JMR1.3) refers to the mountain of myrrh from the Song of Songs, and the antiphon *O dilecta civitas* (JMA2.3) mentions the beloved city of God – Jerusalem. The first two lines of the antiphon *Torrens sacrati* (JMA2.2) – 'The torrent of the holy river delights the city of God' – also reference the city of God by paraphrasing Psalm 45:5 – 'The stream of the river maketh the city of God joyful'.[335]

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[333] Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A history of the Virgin Mary* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 37.

[334] Gospel of Luke 1:38, 'Douay-Rheims Translation of the Latin Vulgate', <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/49001.htm>, last accessed 17 November 2020.

[335] '*Fluminis impetus laetificat civitatem Dei*': The Book of Psalms 45:5, 'Douay-Rheims Translation of the Latin Vulgate', <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/21045.htm>, last accessed 10 December 2020.

The Vespers hymn *Assunt festa iubilea* (JVR) includes a number of scriptural references. The use of *paranympho*, or bridesman, in the third verse likely refers to Gabriel and his role in Mary's Annunciation: 'While she trusts in the bridesman (Gabriel), the holy spirit filled her, the belly swells and bears the word of the Father, because she has deserved it'.[336] This descriptor for Gabriel is mentioned by the Augustinian preacher Jordan of Quedlinburg [c.1300-1380] in his Sermon on the Assumption (Sermon 8, *De Assumptione virginis gloriose*).[337] In verse five of the hymn, John the Baptist is called *milesque*, meaning soldier, a reference to the allegory of the *milites Christi*, or 'soldier of Christ'. Finally, verse seven states that the abyss (*abissus*) should praise God with Mary, which may be a reference to Psalm 148:7: *Laudate Dominum de terra, dracones et omnes abyssi* (Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons, and all ye deeps).[338]

The fourteenth-century manuscript Vat.lat.1122 expands on the office with the inclusion of a number of non-chant items, including short readings and prayers. These include quotes from the Bible, the works of earlier Christian writers (such as Johannes Chrysostomus and St Augustine), and relevant papal bulls and festal chants (for example, for the feast of the Trinity). It is not within the scope of this thesis to examine all quotations used within the non-chant items of the Visitation, however Jenštejn's repeated use of Revelation 12:1-2 highlights his understanding of contemporary theological arguments. The passage describes the woman of the Apocalypse, who was widely identified with Mary throughout the Middle Ages:

> And a great sign appeared in heaven: A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars: And being with child, she travailing in birth, and was in pain to be delivered.[339]

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[336] '*Hec paranympho dum credit sacrum hanc pneuma replevit alvus tumescit et gerit verbum patris quod meruit*': Verse three of *Assunt festa iubilea* (JVR).

[337] '*...ex hocque Gabriel archangel fuit nobilissimus Marie paranymphus*': Jordan of Quedlinburg, *Opus sermonum patris Iordani Augustiniani*, (n.l.: In officina Damiani Hichman, 1521), p. 203.

[338] The Book of Psalms 148:7, 'Douay-Rheims Translation of the Latin Vulgate', <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/21148.htm>, last accessed 10 December 2020.

[339] '*Et signum magnum apparuit in caelo: mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus ejus, et in capite ejus corona stellarum duodecim: et in utero habens, clamabat parturiens, et cruciabatur ut pariat*.': The Apocalypse of St John (Revelation) 12:1-2, 'Douay-Rheims Translation of the Latin Vulgate', <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/73012.htm>, last accessed 6 December 2020.
For more information, see Hilda Graef, '1. Mary in the Scriptures', in *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 2009), pp. 1-24.

Jenštejn repeatedly quotes these two verses: in some cases the entire passage is used, while in others, he carefully omits the last four words *et cruciabatur ut pariat* (and was in pain to be delivered). The omission of the section which describes pain mirrors some medieval beliefs regarding the painless nature of the birth of Christ. A number of Doctors of the Church explicitly stated that the birth of Christ was painless, often citing Isaiah 66:7: 'Before she was in labour, she brought forth; before her time came to be delivered, she brought forth a man child'.[340] This verse is explained by St Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), in his *Summa Theologiae*: 'Christ came forth from the closed womb of His Mother, and, consequently, without opening the passage. Consequently there was no pain in that birth'.[341] This particular aspect of Mariology can also be found in the second verse of Jenštejn's Compline hymn: *gestas quae castimonia intacta* (you who bear with intact chastity).

Non-Biblical Texts

Twenty-five chants within Jenštejn's office have non-biblical texts, which appear to be original. These texts appear to have been written to complement the biblical chant texts by paraphrasing concepts already established through scriptural quotation and emphasising Mary's role as Mediatrix. The treatment of Mary and Elizabeth within the texts is the subject of separate discussion below (see p. 139). A number of the original texts appeal directly to Mary to intercede, for example the trope *Mater Christi veneranda* 'To you we sinners sigh, most distinguished leader. We devoutly beg you: bestow the joys of life'.[342]

I have identified three chants where short passages are also found in chants for other feasts on Cantus Index, shown in Table 16 with identical phrases indicated in bold font.

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[340] '*Antequam parturiret, peperit; antequam veniret partus ejus, peperit masculum*': Isaiah 66:7, 'Douay-Rheims Translation of the Latin Vulgate', <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/27066.htm>, last accessed 6 December 2020.

[341] '*...et sic nulla apertio meatuum ibi fuit. Et propter hoc in illo partu nullus fuit dolor*': Thomas Aquinas, 'Part III, Question 35, Article 6', in *Summa Theologiae*, *Latin-English Opera Omnia series* (n.l.: Emmaus Academic, 2012), pp. 367-368.

[342] '*Ad te rei suspiramus dux excellentissima. Te devote exoramus confer vite gaudia.*': JMT, lines 4-5.

Chant ID	Chant text	Feast and earliest manuscript date	Text in other feast
JVAM	***O quanta vis amoris** illibate tunc **mentem accenderat** virginis ut in spiritu sancto rapta iubilaret magnificat anima mea Dominum alleluia alleluia.*	Mary Magdalen Before 1313	***O quanta vis amoris** hujus mulieris **mentem accenderat** quae a monumento domini etiam discipulis recedentibus non recedebat*
JMR1.3	***Ibo ad montem mirre** festinanter et videbo verbum hoc. Quod factum est in auribus meis ab angelo salutante alleluia.*	Mary's Nativity and Assumption 12th century	[3 variants: the most common is given here] ***Ibo** mihi **ad montem mirre** et ad collem Libani et loquar sponse mee tota speciosa es proxima mea et macula non est in te veni a Libano veni et transibis ad montem Seir et Hermon a cubilibus leonum a montibus leopardorum alleluia*
JLA2	***Iubilet Deo omnis terra** et celestis yerarchia serviat ei alleluia.*	St Erasmus After 1400	***Iubilet Deo omnis terra***

Table 16: Phrases found in other feasts.
Identical phrases shown in bold.
* indicates an incipit.

These do not, however, appear to be direct textual copying. The phrase *O quanta vis amoris* appears to be commonly used, with St Bernard of Clairvaux [1090-1153] using the phrase (*O quanta amoris vis*) in his seventh sermon *De amore ardenti quo anima diligit Deum* (Concerning the Burning Love with which the Soul loves God).[343]

The phrase *Ibo ad montem mirre* is, as mentioned earlier, a paraphrase of Song of Songs 4:6 *vadam ad montem mirre* (I will make my way to the mountain of myrrh).[344] The chant for

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[343] St Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Sermon 7.3', in *S. Bernardi, Claræ-Vallensis Abbatis Primi, Opera Omnia*: *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series latina,* 183 (Paris: J.-P. Migne Editorem, 1862), p. 808.

[344] Song of Songs 4:6, 'Douay-Rheims Translation of the Latin Vulgate', <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/24004.htm>, last accessed 7 December 2020.

Mary's Nativity and Assumption expands this with a paraphrase of the rest of the biblical verse: *et ad collem thuris* (and to the hill of frankincense). *Libani* can mean both Mount Lebanon and frankincense, and Mount Lebanon is mentioned two verses later in Song of Songs 4:8. The similarity between the two chants must therefore be coincidental, with both authors choosing to paraphrase the same biblical verse.

The final example, *Jubilet Deo omnis terra*, is a little more complicated as the Erasmus chant is given only as an incipit, and thus it is unclear whether the rest of the chant is also similar to the antiphon from Jenštejn's office. However, the phrase itself is not uncommon, and is likely a variation of Psalm 65:1 *Jubilate Deo, omnis terra* (Shout with joy to God, all the earth).[345] The only difference between the psalm and the two chants is that the *Jubilate* (in the present active imperative second-person plural) – a command issued to multiple people – is lessened in severity by placing it in the present active subjunctive case, *Jubilet*. The command 'Shout with joy!', is mollified to a less severe 'Let [the world] rejoice'.

The Treatment of Mary and Elizabeth

The Lucan Visitation celebrates two women – Mary and Elizabeth. Jenštejn's letters to the pope establish that the archbishop believed that the observance of the Visitation would be a fitting celebration of Mary; Elizabeth and John the Baptist were of secondary importance. Jenštejn felt that Mary herself had, within the *Magnificat*, prophesied the introduction of this particular feast and that the feast celebrated Mary's physical journey, her greeting to her cousin, her personal views through the *Magnificat*, and her humility. In his writings, Elizabeth is given a merely supporting role, with Jenštejn stating that Pope Urban VI should join with Elizabeth in supporting Mary.[346] This juxtaposition between the two women is also clear in the texts of Jenštejn's office, with Mary enjoying a prominent position and Elizabeth's role lessened.

One marked difference between Jenštejn's and Easton's textual treatment of Mary and Elizabeth is the use of named references for the two women. Within the text of his office, Easton refers to the women fifty-six times by name: Mary thirty-two, and Elizabeth twenty-four. Jenštejn's office, in comparison, refers by name to Mary only eleven times, and Elizabeth

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[345] Book of Psalms 65:1, 'Douay-Rheims Translation of the Latin Vulgate', <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/21065.htm>, last accessed 7 December 2020.

[346] Loserth, *Beiträge zur geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung*, p. 349.

five. It is possible that Jenštejn's infrequent use of named references was influenced by earlier writers, specifically St Augustine whose writings Jenštejn knew, and even quoted within the non-chant items in manuscript Vat.lat.1122. Tina Beattie notes that St Augustine, in his writings on Mary and Eve, rarely refers to the two women by name, but rather describes them as '*femina* in general'.[347] A second reason for the low number of named references to both women is the preponderance of biblical quotations which use pronouns, or which refer only obliquely or symbolically to Mary.

References to both women in Jenštejn's office are listed in Table 17. This table only includes clear references to either woman given in the third-person, although there are additional references in the second-person (you) and the first-person (I), the majority of which relate to Mary.

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[347] Tina Beattie, 'The Magnificat of the Redeemed Woman', in *New Blackfriars*, 80:944 (October 1999), p. 447.

Mary total references: 56			Elizabeth total references: 15		
By name		11	By name		5
By third person pronoun (her/she)		8	By third person pronoun (her/she)		4
mater Christi/Domini	Mother of Christ/the Lord	7	*anus*	Old woman	2
virgo/virginis	virgin	11	*mater*	mother	1
filia	daughter	3	*grandeve matris*	aged mother	1
monarcham	queen	1	*matrem vatis mirifici*	mother of the wonderful prophet	1
genetrix	mother	1	*cognatam*	kinswoman	1
advocata	counsellor	1			
virginalis uterus	virginal womb	1			
ancillam	handmaiden	2			
terra Domini	land of the Lord	1			
amica mea	my love	1			
formosa mea	my beautiful one	1			
stella maris	star of the sea	1			
datrix sancte spei	giver of holy hope	1			
fons indeficiens	unfailing source	1			
nubem	cloud	1			
habitatio Syon	habitation of Sion	1			
dux excellentissima	most distinguished leader	1			
Iesu Christi gerula	bearer of Jesus Christ	1			

Table 17: References to Mary and Elizabeth in Jenštejn's office texts.

There is a clear difference between the descriptions of Mary and of Elizabeth. The descriptive references to Elizabeth do not refer to her as an individual, but rather to her connection to others – the mother of John the Baptist or the kinswoman of Mary – or to her advanced age. The miraculous nature of Elizabeth's conception is thus emphasised, while simultaneously lessening her importance within the Visitation. In contrast, the descriptive references to Mary are both more diverse and more respectful, often referring to her virgin status or role as mother of God. A similar dichotomy is present in the adjectives and descriptions used for the two women: Mary is *venustissima* (most beautiful), *sacratissima* (most sacred), and *paris...expers omnis maris* (without equal in all mankind) while Elizabeth is *etate marcida* (withered by age) with *gelida viscera* (ice-cold organs), referring to her previous infertility.

The importance of Mary within the office is also emphasised by her direct speech. Mary's *Magnificat* is given in full twice – within the office texts as well as the standard *Magnificat* canticle in First Vespers. The use of passages from the Song of Songs and the book of Psalms, along with some original texts, allows Mary additional direct speech and foregrounds her humility, obedience, and spiritual proximity to Jesus (as his bride). Elizabeth, in contrast, speaks only through the quotation of the Lucan Visitation passage.

Jenštejn's office appears to have been carefully written as a theological response to the Schism, without direct reference to the Schism itself. Within the office, Mary's position close to God is highlighted: both God the Father who 'has chosen for himself' a daughter within whom he 'clearly accomplished many great wonders' (JMA3.1); and God the Son, dually as Mary's son and as the bridegroom. The office also presents the *Magnificat*, not only as a premonition of the Visitation feast itself, but also within the Lauds antiphons as a guide as to how God can help. And finally, through a number of chants addressed to Mary, Jenštejn's office pleads for intercession. Jenštejn explains his focus on Mary in his letter to Pope Urban VI regarding his vision, in which he argues that if Mary and Jesus were pleased, they would act to heal the wounds of the Schism.[348]

Rhyme and Versification within Exurgens autem Maria

In the late fourteenth century, the creation of 'rhymed offices' with versified texts which have a clear rhyming scheme was common, and David Hiley notes that rhyme had 'reached a brilliant apogee in the songs for the festal liturgies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries'.[349] This is seen within Easton's office for the Visitation and Speyer's office for the feast of St Francis of Assisi in Chapter Seven.

However, Jenštejn's office does not follow the regular rhyme and versification schemes expected of a rhymed office. The repeated use of prose biblical quotations means that many of the chants have prose texts, and many of the original texts are written in a similar prose manner. Could the original texts have been intentionally written in a more 'traditional' style to create the audible effect that the office was not a new composition, but was placed clearly within the

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[348] '*...si vis cum Christo et Marie gaudere, fac toto orbe visitacionis festum festinare, ut secundum gaudium Marie veneretur in terris, ut te una mecum gaudere faciant in celis, quod eius filis precibus pie matris efficiat, qui sine fine vivit et regnat in secula seculorum.*': J. Loserth, *Beiträge zur geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung*, p. 359.

[349] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 284.

corpus of long-established Marian feasts? It is also possible that this was the result of the speed at which Jenštejn composed – Jenštejn is said to have composed his three-lesson office within a few days[350] – which precluded careful versification, and that this style was replicated by Rakovník during the expansion of the office. Whatever the reason, the 'rhymed office' classification cannot be applied to Jenštejn's office. A table showing the rhyme and versification schemes employed within the original chants is given in Appendix Six.

However, it is clear from Jenštejn's compositional corpus that he was an able poet, capable of writing in a more modern style.[351] For example, his rhymed office for the feast of the Virgin Mary *ad Nives* (of the Snows), introduced in 1385,[352] is mostly written in verse. His non-office chants also demonstrate a poetic ability, with chants composed in a range of metres and rhyme schemes, including his four-verse cantio *Phoenix una virgo* for Mary's Nativity which is set to the common Stabat Mater metre – a trochaic septenarius variation 8p+8p+7pp.[353] Rakovník also appears to have been a sophisticated textual composer: Jana Nechutová states that 'according to Jan Hus, "Nicholas of Rakovnik was an outstanding poet"'.[354]

In *Exurgens autem Maria*, the trope *Mater Christi veneranda* (JMT) is particularly sophisticated: the chant, shown in Table 18, comprises four sections, each of which follow an 8787 metric and abab rhyme scheme plus an additional concluding alleluia.

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[350] Ms PL-WRu I F 777 ff. 55r-v (ff. 50r-v in old folation). This is noted in Neumann: '*pracoval s takovou chutí, že v několika dnech byl s officiem hotov*': Augustine Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 432.

[351] For the text of Jenštejn's rhymed chants, see Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 48, pp. 421-451.

[352] For more information on this feast, see Zsuzsa Czagány, 'Mitteleuropäische Offizien zum Fest Beatae Mariae Virginis de Nive', *De musica disserenda*, 9 (2013), pp. 223-240.

[353] This metre is named after the thirteenth-century hymn *Stabat mater dolorosa*. See Dag Norberg, Jan Ziolkowski (ed.), Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skubly (trans.), *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification* (Washington, D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, 2004).

[354] '*Podle slov Jana Husa byl "Nicolaus Rakownik poeta prestantissimus"*': Jana Nechutová, *Latinská literatura českého středověku do roku 1400* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2000), p. 225.

line	metre	rhyme		
1	8p	a	Mater Christi vene**randa**	
2	7pp	b	sublevamen mis*eris*.	
3	8p	a	Prole tua ado**randa**	
4	7p	b	subveni pestif*eris*.	
5	8p	c	Ad te rei suspi**ramus**	
6	7pp	d	dux excellentissim*a*.	dux excellent**issima**.
7	8p	c	Te devote exo**ramus**	
8	7pp	d	confer vite gaud*ia*.	confer vite gaud*ia*.
9	8p	e	Per ascensum hodi**ernum**	
10	7pp	f	ad montana ag*ilem*.	
11	8p	e	Nos ad regnum duc et**ernum**	
12	7p	f	per vitam laudab*ilem*.	
13	8p	g	Ut soluti mundi m**ole**	
14	7pp	h	et carnis penur*ia*.	et carnis penur*ia*.
15	8p	g	De tua letemur pr**ole**	
16	7pp	h	virgo preclarissim*a*	virgo preclar**issima**
			allelu*ia*.	allelu*ia*.

Table 18: Versification and rhyme in *Mater Christi veneranda* (JMT).

This trope employs a double-layered rhyming scheme, shown by the last two columns in Table 18. In the first layer, shown in the fourth column, each four-line section is set to an abab rhyme scheme. For most textual lines, the composer has ensured that the rhyme encompasses multiple syllables: for example, *-randa* and *-eris* in the first section. The only exception to this is the one-vowel assonance *-a* at the end of lines six, eight, fourteen, and sixteen. These four lines along with the alleluia display a second rhyming layer, shown in the fifth column in Table 18. Lines six and sixteen end on the longer *-issima* and lines eight, fourteen and the alleluia end on *-ia*. The text of the chant also strictly adheres to an 8787 metre, with the first and third lines ending in a *paroxytone*, the second line ending in a *proparoxytone*, and the fourth alternating between *paroxytone* and *proparoxytone*.[355]

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[355] There are three types of accented words: *oxytone*, where the accent falls on the last syllable of the word; *paroxytone*, where the accent falls on the penultimate syllable; and *proparoxytone*, where the accent falls on the antepenultimate syllable. For more information, see Dag Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*.

Alleluias

Jenštejn's texts are characterised by the addition of at least one alleluia at the end of every antiphon and responsory. In most cases, the alleluia is additional and surplus to the text, as shown by the Matins invitatory antiphon *Quem virginalis* (JMI2), where the text rhymes and scans without the added alleluia. However, in some chants, for example *Magnificet Dominum* (JV2AM), the alleluia is crucial to either the line length or the rhyme scheme or both.

		JMI2	
8	a	*Quem virginalis uterus*	He who the virginal womb
7	b	*super montana vexit*	bore over the mountains,
8	a	*nunc adoretur Dominus*	let the lord Jesus,
7	b	*Ihesus qui nos dilexit*	who has loved us, now be adored,
4	c	*alleluia.*	alleluia.
		JV2AM	
7	a	*Magnificet Dominum*	Let all the faithful people glorify
8	a	*totum genus fidelium*	the Lord, let the angelic court
7	b	*concrepet armonica*	sound with harmonious praise to
7	b	*laude cohors angelica*	the joys of Mary, alleluia.
7	c	*in Marie gaudia*	
4	c	*alleluia.*	

The inclusion of frequent alleluias would be particularly appropriate for a feast celebrated within *Temporale Paschalia* – as Jenštejn had originally proposed (see Chapter Three). *Temporale Paschalia* is a joyful time within the Church year, and the addition of exclamatory alleluias was common in the Easter celebrations and the following weeks,[356] as were antiphons composed solely of alleluias.[357] However, Pope Urban VI's choice of 2 July, which can never fall within *Temporale Paschalia*, for the new feast made the inclusion of so many alleluias inappropriate. Although the new date was known during Rakovník's expansion of the office, the new chants written in this second stage also prominently feature alleluias, suggesting that they were an important part of the office.

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[356] My thanks to Dr. Jan Ciglbauer for his comments regarding this.

[357] See, for example, the Matins invitatory antiphon *Alleluia alleluia alleluia*, <http://cantusindex.org/id/001023>, last accessed 23 January 2021.

The Music of *Exurgens autem Maria*

Modal Order

The chants of an office written in the late fourteenth century would usually follow a standard modal order, as seen in Easton's and Speyer's offices (see Chapter Seven).[358] David Hiley notes that modal orders were common in offices with both versified and prose texts.[359] In the traditional order, the Vespers antiphons are set to modes 1-5 (D authentic to F authentic). The Matins antiphons similarly start at mode 1 and progress through to mode 8 before restarting on the ninth antiphon with mode 1; the Matins responsories parallel the antiphons, with the first responsory set to mode 1, the second to mode 2, and so on. The Lauds antiphons are more varied, sometimes restarting at mode 1 and sometimes continuing the cycle from the last of the Matins antiphons.

Jenštejn's office does not always adhere to the standard modal order. His Vespers antiphons progress from mode 1 to 5, and his Matins antiphons mostly follow the modal order: the antiphons in the third nocturn are set to modes 8-7-1 instead of the expected 7-8-1 order. The Matins responsories are more varied – only those in the first nocturn follow the expected modal order – and the Lauds antiphons present a case of modal variance between manuscripts. The earliest known manuscript containing Jenštejn's office, Ms CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16, presents an unusual 1-5/6-3-4-2 modal order, shown in Table 19. This order is followed by nearly all manuscripts used within the critical edition, suggesting that it was the accepted modal order for this office and so has been preserved within the edition. Only the fifteenth-century manuscripts CZ-Pu XII A 9 and D-MZb C follow the expected modal order, which suggests that the office was originally composed with the unconventional order.

JLA1	*In Marie virginis*	Mode 1	D authentic
JLA2	*Iubilet Deo*	Mode 5/6	F *mixtus*
JLA3	*Fecit Dominus*	Mode 3	E authentic
JLA4	*Deposuit potentes*	Mode 4	E plagal
JLA5	*Esurientes implevit*	Mode 2	D plagal

Table 19: Modal order in Jenštejn's Lauds antiphons.

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[358] For more information on modal orders, see Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 454-476. Also, Andrew Hughes, 'Modal Order and Disorder in the Rhymed Office' *Musica Disciplina*, 37 (1983), 29-51.

[359] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 273.

The relationship between the text and melody in the antiphon *Iubilet Deo* may suggest a reason for this unusual melodic order. The text of the antiphon is jubilant, expressing that the whole world should praise and serve God. The 5/6 *mixtus* mode melody found in most manuscripts studied has an extended ambitus, from a **C** to a high **f** and is more melismatic than the alternative mode 2 melody, especially throughout the last line *serviat ei alleluia*. In contrast, the mode 2 melody has an ambitus of only an octave (**A**-**a**) with several iterations of the low characteristic mode 2 motif **D**-**C**-**A**-**C**-**D**. While the first line of both melodies follow a similar melodic arch, a short descending passage followed by a rise up an octave, this melody is higher in the 5/6 *mixtus* mode, culminating in a high **f** on *omnis*. From a performance perspective, the high and more complex chant seems appropriate for a chant which states that the whole world should rejoice in God, particularly with the melodic emphasis on *omnis* (all) and *serviat* (serve). The melody thus amplifies the concepts found in the text. The text of the fifth antiphon, *Esurientes implevit*, is taken directly from the *Magnificat*, and the adoption of a lower and less melismatic chant melody does not diminish the textual impact.
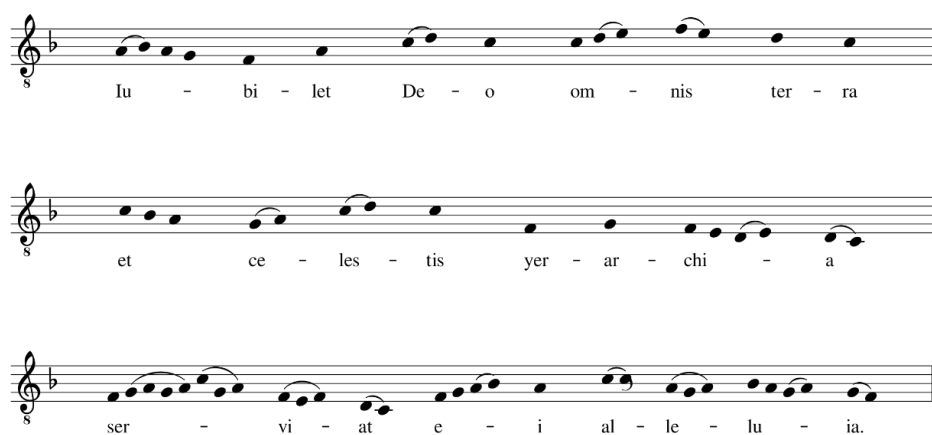
Translation: Let all the world sing out to God in joy and let the
celestial hierarchy serve him, alleluia.

Translation: <u>He hath filled the hungry with good things;</u>
<u>and the rich he hath sent empty away</u>. Alleluia.

Luke 1:53

Figure 12: *Iubilet Deo* (JLA2) and *Esurientes implevit* (JLA5).

Use of Pre-existing Melodies within the Office

At the time of composition, it was common practice for new hymn and responsory verse texts to be set to pre-existing melodies.[360] I have identified four such chants within Jenštejn's office: the three hymns, *Assunt festa iubilea* (JVH), *O Christi mater fulgida* (JCH), and *En miranda prodigia* (JLH), and the responsory verse *Audi filia* (JMR1.1v). It is possible that other chants are unidentified contrafacta, where alternative uses of the melodies have not yet been catalogued on Cantus Index or Cantus Database.

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[360] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 140.

In the analysis below, I have, where possible, compared the Visitation melodies to those in Czech sources likely to have been known to Jenštejn or Rakovník, but it is possible that they were familiar with alternative texts set to these melodies.

Assunt festa iubilea (JVH)

Jenštejn's Vespers hymn, *Assunt festa iubilea*, is set to a pre-existing melody also used for the hymn *Chorus nove Iherusalem*, listed on Cantus Index in a number of sources, although mostly given as an incipit only.[361] *Chorus nove Iherusalem* is found most frequently within the Octave of Easter, as well as in a number of feasts within both the Proper of Time (those feasts centred on the story of Jesus) and the Proper of Saints (saints' feasts). It is likely that Jenštejn was familiar with these words, as they are set to this melody in the fourteenth-century manuscript CZ-Pak Cim 7 from Roudnice (f. 124v), where Jenštejn stayed frequently.[362] Jenštejn's Visitation hymn replicates the melody almost exactly, with similar note-to-syllable divisions, as shown in Figure 13. The end of the second line is altered, however, with a repeat of the following descending scalic passage which moves the semi-cadence from an **a** (the *semi-finalis*) to a **G** which is a less important note within the mode. This change is reversed in the version of *Assunt festa iubilea* found in Ms CZ-Pak Cim 7, which ends *gaudia* with the original **ba**.

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[361] *Chorus nove Iherusalem*: <http://cantusindex.org/id/830063>, last accessed 18 December 2020.

[362] This is noted by Petrus Clarificator, the prior of Roudnice, in Jenštejn's *Vita*. Clarificator, 'Život Jana z Jenšteina'.

Figure 13: Comparison between *Assunt festa iubilea* (JVH) in Ms CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 and *Chorus nove Iherusalem* in Ms CZ-Pak Cim 7.

O Christi mater fulgida (JCH)

Jenštejn's hymn for Compline, *O Christi mater fulgida*, is a contrafact of Julian of Speyer's hymn *In celesti collegio* written for the feast of St Francis of Assisi. I was unable to view a notated version of this hymn in a contemporary manuscript, and so the comparison in Figure 14 uses the *Liber Hymnarius*.[363] Jenštejn's hymn follows Speyer's melody closely, although with some ornamental differences at the end of lines one and four and the beginning of line

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[363] *In celesti collegio*, Office for St Francis of Assisi, in *Liber Hymnarius cum invitatoriis & aliquibus responsoriis* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1983), p. 453.

three. As with his Vespers hymn, Jenštejn closely follows the contrafact source chant's division of notes to syllables, varying only at the end of line two. Easton's office *Accedunt laudes virginis* is a contrafact of Speyer's office for St Francis of Assisi, and also uses this Speyer melody for the Compline hymn. The textual similarities between Jenštejn's and Easton's Compline hymns are examined in Chapter Seven.

Figure 14: Comparison between *O Christi mater fulgida* (JCH) in Ms CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 and *In celesti collegio* in the *Liber Hymnarius*.

En miranda prodigia (JLH)

Jenštejn's Lauds hymn, *En miranda prodigia*, is set to a pre-existing hymn melody also used for the Lenten hymn *Ecce tempus ydoneum*, found on Cantus Index in six manuscripts.[364] Figure 15 presents a comparison between *Ecce tempus ydoneum* in the Roudnice manuscript CZ-Pak Cim 7 (f. 121v) and *En miranda prodigia* in Ms CZ-Pu XII A 9.[365] The presence of *Ecce tempus ydoneum* within the Roudnice manuscript suggests that Jenštejn may have been familiar with this combination of text and melody. *En miranda prodigia* is composed with the same 8888 metre as *Ecce tempus ydoneum*, meaning that the text can be replaced with very little alteration to the melody or note-syllable division. Unlike the addition of the descending scalic passage in *Assunt festa iubilea*, the omission of the **Gab** at the start of the fourth line in *En miranda prodigia* does not particularly change the melodic line.

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[364] *Ecce tempus ydoneum*, <http://cantusindex.org/id/830110>, last accessed 18 December 2020.

[365] The primary manuscript used in the edition, Ms CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16, does not include music for the last line.

Figure 15: Comparison between *En miranda prodigia* (JLH) in Ms CZ-Pu XII A 9 and *Ecce tempus ydoneum* in Ms CZ-Pak Cim 7.

Audi filia (JMR1.1v)

The final example identified within Jenštejn's office is the responsory verse *Audi filia*. This text is set to the standard Mode 1 responsory verse melody, as given in the *Liber Responsorialis*.[366] The melody has been modified slightly, mostly due to the different number of syllables in the two chants, but with the addition of a **Gaca** elaboration at the end of *aurem* in the second line of the Visitation chant. Of sixty-three chants identified on Cantus Database set to slightly modified versions of this Mode 1 melody, the **Gaca** elaboration is found in only two – Jenštejn's *Audi filia* and *Tradiderunt corpora*. *Tradiderunt corpora* is found in a number

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[366] *Liber Responsorialis pro festis I. classis et communi sanctorum*, (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1895), p.50.

of manuscripts, including two with a Bohemian provenance,[367] suggesting that it may have been a variant with which Jenštejn or Rakovník were familiar.[368] The modification of the final cadence to end on **G** is discussed later within this chapter (see p.162).

Figure 16: Comparison between *Audi filia* (JMR1.1v) in Ms CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 and the Mode 1 responsory verse melody in the *Liber Responsorialis*.

Jenštejn's Original Chants

The remaining chants within Jenštejn's office appear to be set to original melodies which display many of the expected melodic compositional features of late-medieval liturgical chants as described by David Hiley.[369] Within the office, the antiphons for psalms are fairly simplistic, with often syllabic or semi-syllabic melodies. The Matins antiphons are generally simpler than those for First Vespers and Lauds, while the antiphons for canticles are longer, far more melismatic, and more melodically complex. The responsories are even more complex, with the responsory verses less ornate than the preceding respond.

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[367] Ms CZ-Pu XIII C 4 which is dated 1290-1325 from Prague, and the twelfth century Ms CZ-Bu R 387 from Rajhrad.

[368] Ms CZ-Pu XIII C 4, f. 54v:
<http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-NKCR__XIII_C_4_____1GXDV7F-cs>, last accessed 18 December 2020.
CZ-Bu R 387, f. 137r: <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-BOPPRBR_387_____01WOV04-xx>, last accessed 18 December 2020.

[369] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*.

A number of the responsory verses follow the generic pattern noticed by Hiley of having a 'rising intonation and a falling cadence'.[370] The responsory verse *Quam dulcia faucibus* (JMR1.2v) is an example of this, with the melody beginning with a rising fifth interval from the *finalis* **D** to an **a**, a characteristic leap within Jenštejn's D mode chants; the chant ends with a descending scalic passage **a-G-F-E-D-D** to conclude on the *finalis* of the mode. Jenštejn does not always adhere to Hiley's pattern, however, as demonstrated in the responsory verse *Felix domus* (JMR2.2v), where the D mode melody begins with a descent from the dominant note (**a g f**), and ends with a rise from **C** to the repeated *finalis* **D**.

Hiley also notes that late-medieval liturgical chants commonly used melodic repetitions,[371] which are seen frequently within Jenštejn's office, both within and between chants. These repetitions can be found in the form of repeated phrases, repeated transposing cells, and the reuse of similar melodic shapes. Many of the repetitions found within Jenštejn's chants are formulaic phrases used by many late-medieval chants, and would therefore have made the chants within the Visitation office fairly easy to learn as well as fostering a sense of familiarity. They also ensure that traditional texts are paired with similarly traditional melodies.

The antiphon *Exurgens autem Maria* (JVA1) is a good example of a repeated four-note transposing cell, shown in Figure 17 where solid boxes indicate direct transposition, and the dotted boxes similar transpositions with one varied interval.

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[370] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[371] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*.

Figure 17: Instances of a four-note transposing cell within
Exurgens autem Maria (JVA1).

Nearly all of Jenštejn's non-contrafact chants begin with standard chant openings, identified through the melody search on both Cantus Index and Cantus Database. For some chants, this standard opening is only five or six notes long: for example, the initial phrase of the responsory verse *Ecce enim exhoc* (JMR3.3v) is set to **cd-c cdef**, identified as the opening phrase for ten other chants.[372] Other chants have an extended standard opening, some of which can span up to half the chant melody. These standard melodic openings are often modally specific, found almost exclusively in chants in one or two modes: for example, either in both D modes (modes 1 and 2) or specifically in D plagal (mode 2). Only four of the non-contrafact

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[372] *Memoria memor* (responsory verse for Corpus Christi), *Gabrielem archangelum* (responsory verse for Mary's Purification), *Ascendente Iesu* (antiphon for fourth Sunday after Epiphany), *Flavit auster* (responsory for Mary Magdalene), *Benedicta sit creatrix* (antiphon for the Trinity), *Gloriosi principes* (antiphon for St Peter), *A pueritia requisivit* (responsory verse for St Bernard), *Spinis coronavit* (responsory verse for the Commemoration of the Crown of Thorns), *Ludere se simulant* (responsory verse for Eleven Thousand Virgin Martyrs of Cologne), and *Ore vero spiritali* (antiphon for Corpus Christi).

Visitation chants do not begin with a standard opening,[373] indicating that both Jenštejn and Rakovník were familiar and confident composing with them.

The responsory verse *Felix domus* (JMR2.2v) is a good example of a longer opening. The first half of the melody is found in another chant: the responsory verse *Erat enim valde* for the feast of St Nicholas (6 December), as shown in Figure 18.[374]
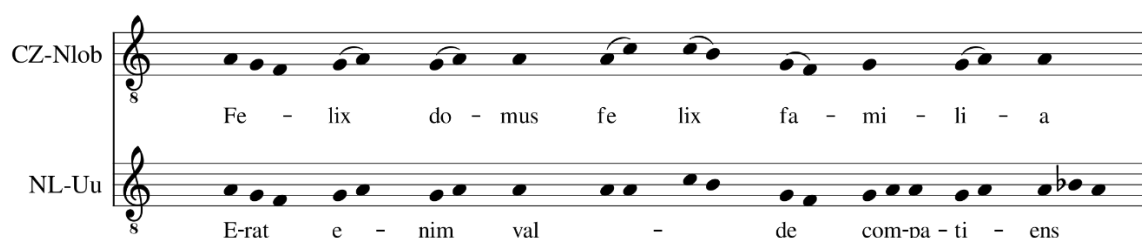
Figure 18: Comparison between the first melodic line in *Felix domus* (JMR2.2v) in Ms CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 and *Erat enim valde* in Ms NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7).

This is not, as it may appear at first sight, a contrafact. A melody search on Cantus Database reveals that the first seven notes (**a G F G a G a**) are used as an opening line by six hundred and three melodies within the database, mostly in mode 4. Adding one note (to make **a G F G a G a c**) brings that number down to nineteen melodies in modes 1, 7, and 8. The additional notes in common between *Felix domus* and *Erat enim valde* – **b G F G G A A** – are a common phrase found, sometimes transposed, in many chants for all modes (with over 4800 matches on Cantus Database).

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[373] *Viam mandatorum* (JMR1.3v), *O preclara stella* (JMR2.3), *Hec dies quam* (JMR2.4v), and the trope *Mater Christi veneranda* (JMT).

[374] *Erat enim valde* in Ms NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7): <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chant/497224>, last accessed 19 December 2020.

The chants in *Exurgens autem Maria* also contain repeated cadential phrases as well as internal semi-cadences. The responsory *Ait autem Maria* (JMR3.2), for example, ends each melodic line with one of two distinct cadences, shown in blue and red in Figure 19. The solid lines indicate exact replication of the melody while the dotted lines denote slight variations within a similar melodic phrase. The second and third lines follow the same descending line rising up to end on the *finalis* **D**. The first, fourth, and fifth lines conclude with the same four-note sequence, which is preceded by a similar (although not identical) rising scalic passage.
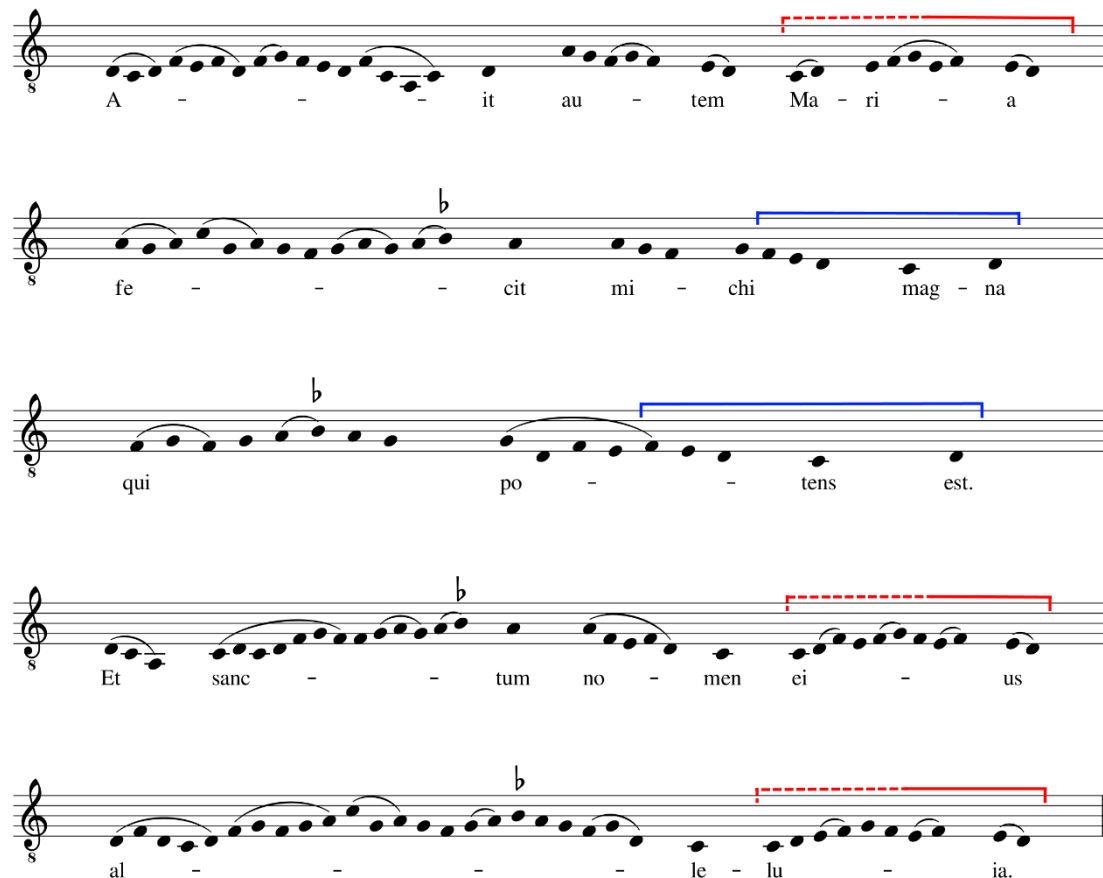
Figure 19: Melodic cadences within *Ait autem Maria* (JMR3.2).

The Matins responsory *Felices matres*, shown in Figure 20, uses a cadential pattern with a descending scalic passage followed by a rise of a tone to the *finalis* which is often repeated. This cadence is found in many late-medieval chants, and is used at least once in most of the chants within Jenštejn's office. In Figure 20 the blue boxes denote the standard cadence (the solid boxes indicate direct transpositions while the final cadence in the dotted box does not repeat the *finalis* **D**); and a modified cadence without the **E** within the descending notes is shown by red boxes (again, the cadence within the dotted box does not repeat the *finalis* **D**).

Figure 20: Melodic cadences within *Felices matres* (JMR2.2).

Jenštejn also makes use of mode-specific melodic phrases within his chants. Four of the most common are identified within Table 20, along with the mode (or modes) within which the phrase is found and examples from Jenštejn's Visitation office.

Mode-specific motif	Chant	Instances
Mode 1 – D authentic **D a**	*Novum tibi virgo* JMA3.3	No - go can - mus al
Mode 2 – D plagal **D C A (B) C D**	*Et factum est* JVA2	Et fac - tum est Ma - ri - e ex - ul - ta - vit san - cto al - le - lu - ia.
Mode 5 – F authentic **F a c**	*Et beata que credidisti* JVA5	be - a - ta fi - ci - en - tur
Mode 7/8 – G authentic/plagal **G c b**	*In honore Marie* JMI1	In ho - a - do -

Table 20: Mode-specific motifs within Jenštejn's Visitation chants.

It can therefore be seen that Jenštejn's Visitation chants were composed according to contemporary composition norms, displaying the length and complexity standard for each genre as well as using standard modal openings, formulaic endings, and short mode-specific melodic figures. From a performance perspective, the result of this is an office that would likely have been easy to learn and to sing as many of the melodic phrases were already familiar. Further examination of Jenštejn's compositional corpus could shed light on whether this is true of all his work, or whether the Visitation office was affected by the short compositional time

frame described by Rakovník in Ms PL-WRu I F 777. Further analysis of late-medieval composition would also determine the extent to which Jenštejn's office can be described as conventional.

Links between Text and Melody

Neumann notes that in Jenštejn's response to the criticism of his office, discussed later in this chapter, the archbishop stated that he 'placed more weight on adapting words to the meaning than the meaning to the words',[375] indicating that words were chosen specifically to relate the key elements of the Visitation as understood by Jenštejn rather than for the number of syllables or rhyme or for any aesthetic consideration. The importance of some words in the office is evidenced by the way melodies, including melismas, are used to highlight key textual elements.

Although most melismas do not appear to be specifically related to the text, some of the long melismas effectively emphasise certain words within a chant. For example, the Matins responsory *Ibo ad montem* (JMR1.3) includes a long (twenty-seven note) melisma on the first syllable of *salutante* (greeting). This word, referring to the Annunciation from the Angel Gabriel to Mary, is highlighted by the melisma as well as the arching melody which spans the entire ambitus (a ninth) of the chant in a rising six-note phrase before slowly descending. The final alleluia within the office chants is frequently melismatic to some degree: for example, the thirty-four note melisma on the alleluia within the Matins responsory *Ait autem Maria*. This may have been an effort to musically highlight the jubilant alleluias suitable for a feast placed within *Temporale Paschalia*.

Surge propera amica (JMR1.1) presents an example of how the composer adapts a biblical quotation to emphasise the meaning. The responsory is formed of two biblical quotations: two verses from the Song of Songs for the respond, and one psalm verse for the responsory verse, as shown in Table 21. The text for the respond includes a natural textual break after the phrase *et veni* where the new biblical verse starts, which in the English translation is given a full stop. The melody of the Visitation chant parallels this break, with the same **FEDCD** cadence also heard at the end of the responsory, however the text of the respond breaks before the *et veni*

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[375] '*Neurovnanou délku slabik omlouvá Jenštejn, že na hodinkách pracoval ze zbožnosti a proto prý kladl větší váhu na přizpůsobení slov smyslu, nežli látky slovům.*': Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 472.

phrase, as shown in Table 21 and Figure 21. The natural cadence on *et veni* thus starts the new melodic line, meaning that the previous phrase *formosa mea* ends on a weaker **aG** cadence on the *semi-finalis*. As noted by David Eben, this cadence on the **G** creates a melodic link between the end of the first half of the respond and the following melody, allowing a fluid translation to the strong melodic cadence on *Et veni*. The modification of the Mode 1 responsory verse melody to end on **G** allows the same fluidity between the verse and the repeated second half of the respond. The reiteration of *et veni* (and come), reinforced by the strong melodic cadence, creates a sense of urgency as well as repeating the action asked of Mary, emphasising her obedience.

Text of JMR1.1	**Douay-Rheims Translation**	**Text from Latin Vulgate**
R1: *Surge propera amica mea formosa mea.* R2: *Et veni iam enim hyemps transiit ymber abiit et recessit alleluia.*	Arise, make haste, my love, my beautiful one, and come. For winter is now past, the rain is over and gone. Alleluia. *Song of Songs 2:10-11*	2:10: *Surge, propera, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni:* 2:11: *jam enim hiems transiit; imber abiit, et recessit.*
Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam.	Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thy ear. *Psalm 44:11*	*Audi, filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam*
R2: *Et veni iam enim hyemps transiit ymber abiit et recessit alleluia.*	And come, for winter is now past, the rain is over and gone. Alleluia. *Song of Songs 2:10-11*	2:10: *et veni:* 2:11: *jam enim hiems transiit; imber abiit, et recessit.*

Table 21: Comparison of Jenštejn's text and the biblical source text for *Surge propera amica* (JMR1.1) and *Audi filia* (JMR1.1v).
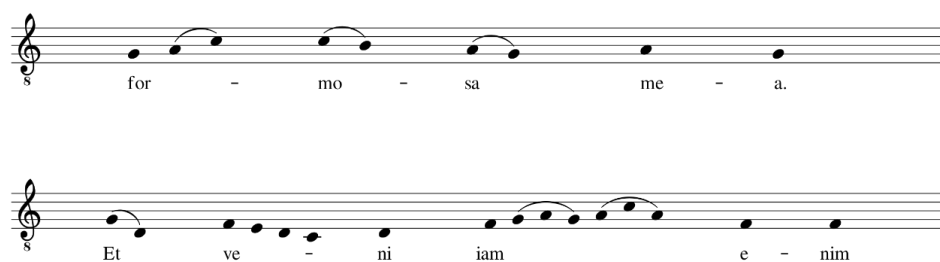
Figure 21: Lines three and four of *Surge propera amica* (JMR1.1).

As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, Mary's *Magnificat* appealed to Jenštejn from a young age, and is highlighted within the Visitation office by both text and music alike. The *Magnificat* is sung twice within the office: once as the Vespers canticle, and once in its entirety within the antiphons and responsories in Vespers, Matins, and Lauds. The responsory *Magnificat anima mea* and its verse, with text taken from the first three verses of the *Magnificat*, is melodically the highlight of the office. It is the highest chant, reaching a high **d'**, and is the only chant within the office to use the high **b'**, **c'**, and **d'**. It also has a large ambitus of a twelfth as well as being very melismatic for Jenštejn's office. This responsory is followed by a trope, with a text directly addressing Mary pleading for her to 'rescue us from destructive things' (*subveni pestiferis*), likely a reference to the Schism. The inclusion of a trope after the responsory highlights its importance within the office, and the juxtaposition between Mary's direct speech in the responsory and the plea in the second-person in the trope indicates that the trope (and by extension the whole office) is a direct response to Mary's speech during the Visitation itself.

Responses to the New Feast and Jenštejn's Office

According to Rakovník, the initial response in Prague to Jenštejn's proposal of a new feast for the Visitation was unanimously positive.[376] The later opposition from the Czech *scholasticus* Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio focused primarily on the authority of Jenštejn to institute a new feast, and is discussed in Chapter Three.

Jenštejn submitted his proposal for a new feast and initial three-lesson office to the Papal Curia in 1386, which was examined by a panel of thirty-seven theologians which, according to Neumann, raised eight objections to the feast although only one related specifically to Jenštejn's office: that it was 'written in harsh style'[377] There is no evidence to indicate whether Jenštejn's original chants were corrected or changed after this criticism. The feast proposal, however, was accepted and Pope Urban VI announced his intention to introduce the Visitation into the Roman Calendar.

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[376] Ms PL-WRu I F 777, ff. 55r-v (ff. 50r-v in the old foliation). See Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 432

[377] '...*sepsané drsným slohem*': *Ibid.*, 469.

Asked to resubmit a full office of nine lessons, Jenštejn gave the task of expanding his office to Nicholas of Rakovník.[378] It was this nine-lesson office that was examined by a second panel of four Cardinals, and the criticism from this panel is given in Ms PL-WRu I F 777, f. 137r.[379] Neumann, in his commentary on this manuscript, states that the criticism was that 'some things in them are said to be dubious, others are not acoustic, some expressions are unusual or even unknown, and here and there the syllables are too short'.[380] It therefore appears as though it was the text of Jenštejn's office which was criticised, rather than his melodies.

Regarding the first criticism, it is not within the scope of this thesis to examine the theological appropriateness of Jenštejn's office. However, the use of biblical quotations along with the conservative nature of his original texts, ensures that his office texts were not controversial. Nor were his non-chant items, with his frequent quotations of Church Fathers including St Augustine and Iohannes Chrysostomus as well as the citation of biblical passages and chants from other Marian and Dominical feasts.

The second and fourth critical remarks – that some office texts did not follow a regular rhyme or versification scheme – have already been considered. Jenštejn himself addressed this criticism, giving a reason for his choice, which is recorded by Rakovník in Ms PL-WRu I F 777, ff. 137v-138v.[381] Neumann states:

> Jenštejn apologizes for the uneven length of syllables; that he worked on his office out of piety and therefore said that he placed more weight on adapting words to the meaning than the meaning to the words.[382]

Jenštejn also addressed the third criticism regarding unknown expressions or words, giving detailed examples of where specific words are used by both classical and Christian Latin authors. This may indicate that he had been given detailed feedback including precisely which

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[378] Ms PL-WRu I F 777, f. 129v (f. 124v in the old foliation).

[379] F. 132r in the old foliation.

[380] '*Některé věci v nich prý jsou pochybné, jiné nejsou libozvučné, některé výrazy jsou neobvyklé nebo dokonce neznámé, tu a tam jsou slabiky příliš krátké.*': Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 472. English translation is my own.

[381] Ff. 132v-133v in the old foliation.

[382] '*Neurovnanou délku slabik omlouvá Jenštejn, že na hodinkách pracoval ze zbožnosti a proto prý kladl větší váhu na přizpůsobení slov smyslu, nežli látky slovům.*': Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 472. English translation is my own.

words were considered 'unknown'. Jenštejn's response is given on ff. 137v-138v of Ms PL-WRu I F 777, although Neumann's article is translated below.[383]

> The word: dragma, [a handful or small bundle] refers to the form of the Greek dragma, dragmatis, which is also in the antiphon, ending with the words: "dulcia cantica dragmatis".[384]

The antiphon referred to here is *Ante torum huius*, an antiphon found in the feast of Mary's Purification, and Jenštejn argues that this word cannot be opposed because it is found elsewhere in the canon of Marian feasts accepted and approved by the Papal Curia.

> He [Jenštejn] defends the word "nervus" [sinew/nerve/vigour] by pointing out that it occurs with the poet Prudencius. In the word "recordamentum", Jenštejn argues that it is a derivative of the verb "recordor" [to think over/call to mind/remember], which was allowed to be constructed in this case, as it corresponds to the words of Flacius Horatius: "Sic, licuit, semper licebit." The word "marcida" [withered/lacking rigidity/exhausted] is not unusual, for it is used by the poet Sedulius. He rejects the objection against the verse: "Assunt festa iubilea" by quoting the principles of Prician and Remigius.[385]

In this way Jenštejn demonstrates not only his knowledge of Latin vocabulary and grammar, but also his familiarity with Church authorities and early Latin writers.

The Expansion to a Full Office

John Harper states that a simple feast of three lessons, such as Jenštejn's original office, would contain nine antiphons with their corresponding psalms and three lessons, each followed by a responsory.[386] It is therefore likely that Jenštejn's original three-lesson office followed this form, with chants for First Vespers; Compline; one nocturn in Matins containing at least one invitatory antiphon, nine antiphons for psalms, and at least three responsories; Lauds; and

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[383] Ff. 132v-133v in the old foliation.

[384] '*U slova: dragma, poukazuje na formu řeckou dragma, dragmatis, která jest přece i v antifoně, končící slovy: „dulcia cantica dragmatis".*': Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 472. English translation is my own.

[385] '*Slovo „nervus" hájí poukazem, že se vyskytuje u básníka Prudencia. Při slově „recordamentum" hájí se Jenštejn, že běží o odvozeninu od slovesa „recordor", kterou bylo dovoleno v tomto případě zkonstruovati, neboť to odpovídá slovům Flacia Horátia: „Sic licuit, semperque licebit." Slovo „marcida" není neobvyklé, neboť jest u básníka Sedulia. Výtku stran verše: „Assunt festa jubilea" odmítá citováním zásad Pristiniánových a Remigiových.*': *Ibid.*, 472. English translation is my own.

[386] Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, p. 88.

Second Vespers. Jenštejn's expanded nine-lesson office includes chants for First Vespers; Compline; three nocturns in Matins containing two invitatory antiphons, nine antiphons for psalms, and eleven responsories; Lauds; and Second Vespers – an addition of at least six, possibly eight, Matins responsories and possibly one invitatory antiphon. Contemporary reports (found in Ms PL-WRu I F 777) name Nicholas of Rakovník as the composer of these later additions.

The textual and musical composition of the chants is similar: both composers wrote chants which rhyme and scan, and those which do neither; both use biblical quotations, including from the Lucan Visitation passage and other biblical books; both use standard openings, endings, and mode-specific motifs; both refer to concepts mentioned in Jenštejn's letters to the pope; and both have a range of melismatic and syllabic, complex and simple pieces. This suggests that they had access to the same materials and primary sources when composing, that there may have been some collaborative discussions, and that Rakovník carefully mirrored Jenštejn's compositional style when adding the required chants. It is therefore difficult to identify a particular composer using textual and melodic traits in this case.

Neumann states that Rakovník wrote 'the responsories [for the six new lessons] and all antiphons',[387] although I have been unable to identify this detail within Ms PL-WRu I F 777. If Neumann is correct, and the antiphons within Matins can also be attributed to Rakovník, it is likely that the Matins antiphons in the original three-lesson office were borrowed from other, likely Marian, feasts.

However, examination of the adherence to the modal order and the Latin used suggests a possible authorship for the Matins chants which disagrees with Neumann's statement. As described within this chapter, the First Vespers antiphons, Matins antiphons, responsories of the first nocturn of Matins, and most of the Lauds antiphons follow the modal order expected of an office composed in the late-fourteenth century. The responsories in the second and third nocturns do not, which may suggest that they were written by a second composer. This division appears to correlate with a difference in the style of Latin used: the style used in the chant texts for First Vespers, Compline, Lauds, and Second Vespers is similar to that used in the nine antiphons and the responsories in the first nocturn of Matins. The responsories of the second

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[387] '*Ten vypracoval [Rakovník] nejen oněch šest lekcí, nýbrž i responsoria a všechny antifony.*' Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 470. English translation is my own.

and third nocturns are written in a more sophisticated Latin,[388] and Rakovník was known as a good poet: as mentioned earlier, Jan Hus himself stated that Rakovník was an 'outstanding poet'.[389]

Table 22 gives a summary of this suggested division of labour between Jenštejn and Rakovník within the *Exurgens autem Maria* office. Further research – particularly additional translation of Ms PL-WRu I F 777 – may reveal specific information on the chants included within the initial three-lesson office or even evidence regarding the composer of specific chants.

Group of chants	Jenštejn – original three-lesson office	Rakovník – expanded nine-lesson office	Jenštejn/Rakovník – uncertain
First Vespers	All chants		
Compline	All chants		
Matins	At least one invitatory antiphon		Second invitatory antiphon
	All antiphons in the three nocturns		
	All responsories in the first nocturn	At least three responsories in the second and third nocturns	One responsory in each of the second and third nocturns

Trope |
| Lauds | All chants | | |
| Second Vespers | All chants | | |

Table 22: Suggested division of labour within *Exurgens autem Maria.*

It is also possible that the three-lesson office followed the example of the Easter offices for the Holy Lance, St Sigismund, and St Adalbert and contained one nocturn with only three antiphons and three responsories.[390] Further research on Easter offices may reveal which format the initial three-lesson office took.

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[388] My thanks to Daniel Bate for a discussion regarding the style of Latin used within Jenštejn's Visitation chants.

[389] '*Podle slov Jana Husa byl "Nicolaus Rakownik poeta prestantissimus"*': Nechutová, *Latinská literatura českého středověku*, p. 225.

[390] My thanks to Prof. David Eben for this suggestion.
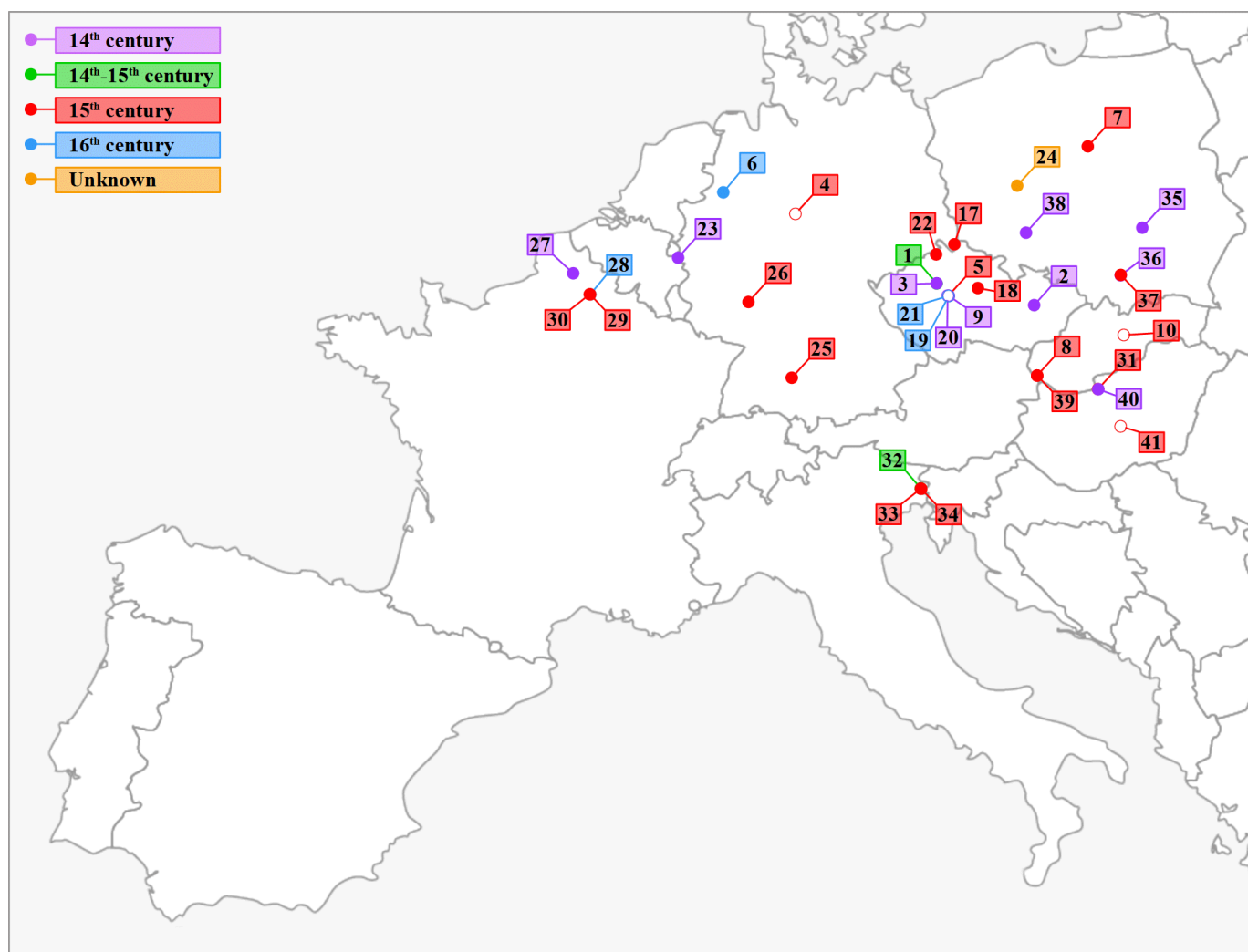
Figure 22: Map showing sources which contain Jenštejn's Visitation office.
Coloured dots represent city provenances: unfilled dots represent general country provenances.
The numbers given are those assigned with manuscript information in Chapter Four.

Transmission of *Exurgens autem Maria*

The locations of manuscripts examined in this thesis which contain Jenštejn's Visitation office are shown on the map in Figure 22. The numbers correspond to the table of manuscripts in Chapter Four, pp. 74-75. Despite not being chosen for official promulgation, Jenštejn's office was in widespread use by the fifteenth century, especially in West Slavic countries (present-day Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia). *Exurgens autem Maria* continued to be in active used until at least the mid sixteenth century, evidenced by the inclusion in the printed book MA Impr. 1537 of marginalia instructing users where to find a missing chant elsewhere in the manuscript: see Chapter Four, p. 81. The office is also found in later text-only breviaries, including the 1771 *Breviaire de l'ordre de Cisteaux*.[391] It is not possible to state that Jenštejn's office was not used to celebrate the Visitation in countries where there is no manuscript data, which can be explained by the lack of sources from these areas catalogued in the databases used within this thesis. However, due to the large numbers of manuscripts catalogued and digitised from West Slavic countries, it is clear that Jenštejn's office was popular throughout Central Europe, particularly within the fourteenth century. Jenštejn's office was observed within Prague as early as 1386, and may have spread quickly before Easton's office was officially promulgated. I have been primarily working with data available on Cantus Index and manuscriptorium.com, and future research on manuscript identification and cataloguing will allow a more detailed understanding of the dissemination of both Jenštejn's and Easton's offices.

The earliest known manuscripts with Jenštejn's office – CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16, CZ-Pu XII A 9, and Vat.lat.1122 – also include a number of additional items: an alternative Matins invitatory antiphon, a trope for the responsory *Magnificat anima mea Dominum* (JMR3.3), and two alternative responsories in the second and third nocturns.[392] Ms Vat.lat.1122 contains the texts (although not notated) for all chants in the office along with detailed rubrics. In this manuscript, the second Matins invitatory on f. 139v is given the rubric *aliud invitatorium* ('another invitatory antiphon'), indicating that only one was intended to be sung but that a choice of two was given, the first Marian and the second Dominical. The second and third

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[391] 'La Fête de la Visitation de la Sainte Vierge', in *Breviaire de L'ordre de Cisteaux, avec les Rubriques en François; Imprimé de L'autorité de Monseigneur le Révérendissime Abbét Général. Partie d'été* (Paris: Michel Lambert, 1771), pp. 331-338.

[392] These chants are given in some of the later sources, although not all: for more information, see Chapter Four and Appendix Four.

nocturns are given on folios 141r-v, where the rubrics *sive istud* and *istud* respectively are given before the final responsory in each nocturn.

JMR2.3: *O preclara stella*	JMR3.3: *Magnificat anima mea*
JMR2.3v: *Ad te clamant*	JMR3.3v: *Ecce enim exhoc*
Rubric: *sive istud*	JMT: *Mater Christi veneranda*
JMR2.4: *O dies omni*	**Rubric: *istud***
JMR2.4v: *Hec dies quam*	JMR3.4: *Suscepit Israel*
	JMR3.4v: *Iuravit Dominus*

The rubric *sive istud*, meaning 'or this', specifies that the responsory *O dies omni* could be sung in place of *O preclara stella*. Given its similar wording, the rubric *istud* following the trope *Mater Christi veneranda* may have indicated a similar choice. Many later manuscripts contain only three of the four responsories in the second and third nocturns.

Only two of the later sources include both invitatory antiphons – D-AAm G 20 [No.23] and H-BA Rath F 1042 [No.31]. Most manuscripts give *In honore Marie* as the sole invitatory antiphon, which refers to both Elizabeth and Mary by name and follows the well-established pattern of Marian Matins invitatories starting with *In honore*: for example, *In honore beatissime Marie virginis* which was used for Mary's Assumption, Nativity, and Conception. There are, however, two additional invitatory antiphons given in some manuscripts – *Visitationem virginis Marie* and *Mariam plenam*.

Visitationem virginis Marie appears to be specific to a particular convent. It is only found in manuscript PL-Kkar 1 (Rkp 12) [No.36], copied in Prague and brought to the Carmelite convent in Kraków in 1397, and is a variant of the common invitatory antiphon *Nativitatem virginis Marie*. There are three manuscripts from this convent catalogued on Cantus Index, which include the original invitatory *Nativitatem virginis Marie* as well as adaptations for both the Conception and the Visitation.

The *Mariam plenam* invitatory is found in three manuscripts: CZ-LIBsm ST 1779 [No.17] from Zittau, D-AAm G20 [No.23] from Aachen, and PL KIk 1 [No.35] from Kielce. It is not found elsewhere on Cantus Index, suggesting that it was not a well-known invitatory adopted from another feast. Given the distance between the provenances of these three manuscripts, it seems unlikely that this is a coincidental regional variation. Instead, it suggests that there could be a link between the manuscripts which further examination may uncover, possibly related to

the *via regia*.[393] Future research may reveal additional musical and manuscript links along this trade route.

The manuscripts used for the edition often concur to a high degree for both the texts and melodies of the chants within *Exurgens autem Maria*. However, there do appear to be two modified forms of the office, the first of which appears in the three Cambrai manuscripts examined: F-CA Impr XVI C 4 (1508-1518) [No.28], Ms F-CA Ms. 71 (1458-c.1470) [No.29], and Ms F-CA Ms. 73 (fourteenth century with later additions) [No.30].[394]. The office for the Visitation in these three manuscripts uses Jenštejn's text but not his original melodies. It is to these melodies that James Boyd Batts refers and analyses in his Master's thesis titled 'A rhymed office for the feast of the Visitation by John of Jenstein'.[395]

A second modified form of the office appears to be an adaptation for monastic use, with additional antiphons and responsories, found in two Benedictine manuscripts: D-KA Aug LX [No.25] from Zwiefalten and F AS 893 [No.27] from Arras. Both manuscripts follow the monastic three-nocturn Matins form described by Harper, where the first two nocturns contain six antiphons and four responsories, and the third nocturn includes only one antiphon and four responsories.[396] The chants within the Matins nocturns in these two manuscripts are listed in Table 23. Chants which are found in their original position are noted as 'same'; chants which are taken from elsewhere in Jenštejn's office are identified and their original location is noted; and chants which are not included in Jenštejn's office are given in bold.

Why these two Benedictine monasteries adapted Jenštejn's office to celebrate the Visitation and not the 'official' office written by Cardinal Adam Easton, a fellow Benedictine monk, is not clear. While they have not adapted *Exurgens autem Maria* in exactly the same way, the similar nature of the Matins additions in these two geographically distant manuscripts suggests a level of coordination, or possibly that they were both adapted from an earlier manuscript. Most of the differences between Jenštejn's office and these two manuscripts are explained by items moving between nocturns in Matins, and chants from Vespers and

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[393] The *via regia*, the longest and oldest linked route through Europe, goes through Aachen, to two towns near Kielce (Kraków and Sandomierz), and one town near Zittau (Görlitz). For more information, see the Via Regia site hosted by the European Centre for Culture and Information in Thuringia, 'Via Regia', <https://www.via-regia.org/eng/>, last accessed 13 January 2021.

[394] My thanks to Prof. Barbara Haggh-Huglo for introducing me to Mss F-CA Ms. 71 and 73.

[395] Batts, *Rhymed Office for the Feast of the Visitation by Jenstejn*.

[396] Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, pp. 91-92.

Compline being repeated. However, some new chants have been added, shown in bold in Table 23. Three of these newly added chants - *Hec est que nescivit*, the antiphon *Vox turturis audita*, and *Beatam me dicent omnes* – are common to other Marian feasts, most notably the Assumption and the Annunciation. They may have given the new feast more authority by placing it amongst other long-established Marian feasts. Three - *Misericordia et veritas, Redemptoris mater pia spes,* and *Gaude Maria virgo cunctas* appear to be unique to these manuscripts. The responsory *Vox turturis audita*, is found in three manuscripts on Cantus Index – the Benedictine D-KA Aug LX (Zwiefalten, fifteenth century) as well as Ms D-MZ b C (Mainz, after 1430) and Ms CZ-Pu 42 G 28 (Bohemia, 1492) – and only within Jenštejn's Visitation office, and could therefore be a regional responsory. Further research into the way in which other secular feasts were adapted for (Benedictine) monastic needs could determine whether this mix of office restructuring and addition of commonly-used and unique chants was common to the Benedictine order.

Chants from Jenštejn's office are also found within manuscripts which contain Easton's office. For example, in Ms CZ-Pu XIII A 7 [No.4], Jenštejn's responsory *O preclara stella* (JMR2.3) is given as the Vespers responsory within Easton's office. The manuscript SK-Sk 2 [No.10], a fifteenth-century antiphonal from Slovakia, also uses Easton's office, but includes Jenštejn's *Quem virginalis* (JMI2) as an additional Matins invitatory antiphon in the lower margin on f. 68r, written in a later hand and set to a new melody. This may suggest that celebration of the feast of the Visitation using Jenštejn's office was more widespread than is currently understood.

ID	Original office	Ms D-KA Aug LX	Ms F AS 893
JMA1.1	*Quam gloriosam*	Same	Same
JMA1.2	*Celi stupent*	Same	Same
JMA1.3	*Ferax est terra*	Same	Same
JMA1.4	--	*Verbum bonum* (JMA2.1)	
JMA1.5	--	*Torrens sacrati* (JMR2.2)	
JMA1.6	--	*O dilecta civitas* (JMA2.3)	**Hec est que nescivit**
JMR1.1	*Surge propera amica*	Same	Same
JMR1.2	*En dilectus meus*	Same	Same
JMR1.3	*Ibo ad montem*	*Ecce iste venit* (JMR2.1)	Same
JMR1.4	--	*Ibo ad montem* (JMR1.3)	*Ecce iste venit* (JMR2.1)

ID	Original office	Ms D-KA Aug LX	Ms F AS 893
JMA2.1	*Verbum bonum*	*Et beata que* (JVA5)	**Misericordia et veritas**
JMA2.2	*Torrens sacrati*	**Vox turturis audita**	*O dilecta civitas* (JMR2.3)
JMA2.3	*O dilecta civitas*	*Magna mirabilia* (JMA3.1)	
JMA2.4	--	*Exultet terra propere* (JMA3.2)	
JMA2.5	--	*Bonum/Novum tibi virgo* (JMA3.3)	
JMA2.6	--	**Redemptoris mater pia spes**	**Gaude Maria virgo cunctas**
JMR2.1	*Ecce iste venit*	*Felices matres* (JMR2.2)	
JMR2.2	*Felices matres*	*Speciosas filias* (JMR3.1)	**Beatam*** (**Beatam me dicent omnes**)
JMR2.3	*O preclara stella*	**Vox turturis audita**	*Speciosas filias* (JMR3.1)
JMR2.4	*O dies omni*	Same	Same

ID	Original office	Ms D-KA Aug LX	Ms F AS 893
JMA3.1	*Magna mirabilia*	*Gaude Maria mater* (JCAN)	**Beatam*** (**Beatam me dicent omnes**)
JMA3.2	*Exultet terra propere*	--	--
JMA3.3	*Novum tibi virgo*	--	--
JMR3.1	*Speciosas filias*	*Ait autem Maria* (JMR3.2)	
JMR3.2	*Ait autem Maria*	*Magnificat anima mea* (JMR3.3)	
JMR3.3	*Magnificat anima mea*	*Suscepit Israel* (JMR3.4)	
JMR3.4	*Suscepit Israel*	*O preclara stella* (JMR2.3)	

Table 23: Comparison between Jenštejn's office and the extended monastic office found in Mss D-KA Aug LX and F AS 893. New chants added to Jenštejn's office are shown in bold.

Conclusion

Exurgens autem Maria was composed as part of Jenštejn's petition for the introduction of a new feast into the Roman Calendar – the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary. It was successful in that the Papal Curia agreed that the Visitation was a theologically and scripturally important event, which should be granted a feast day with specifically-composed proper chants. However, the text was criticised and *Exurgens autem Maria* was not chosen for official promulgation.

The extensive use of biblical passages, as well as paraphrases and allusions in original texts, foregrounds the scriptural context of the feast, and the office's focus on Mary and her child may have helped legitimise the feast by portraying it as a predominantly Marian and Dominical feast. The texts used demonstrate the composers' knowledge of contemporary theological understanding and literary ability, but the lack of consistent versification and rhyme schemes means that the office cannot be classified as a rhymed office. The melodies composed for the office follow contemporary composition norms, with four chants influenced by already-existing melodies, a common practice at that time. The non-contrafact chant melodies are traditional, using standard melodic openings, cadences, and mode-specific motifs to create a sense of familiarity for those celebrating the feast. Some elements of the text and music are linked to emphasise specific textual passages.

Jenštejn's office was observed in Prague before the official introduction of the feast to the Roman Calendar, and appears to have been well established in Bohemia and Central Europe. Although Easton's office, examined in Chapter Seven, was chosen for promulgation, *Exurgens autem Maria* was popular throughout Europe until at least the mid-sixteenth century, and its texts are found in breviaries published as late as 1771. Further research into the partnership between Jenštejn and Rakovník, not previously examined in modern West-European research, may open new avenues for discussions on office composition in the late Middle Ages.

Carisma sancti spiritus diffudit se divinitus[397]
'The gift of the Holy Spirit has poured itself out from heaven'

The second office for the feast of the Visitation examined in this thesis is *Accedunt laudes virginis*, written by Adam Easton, which is acknowledged as a contrafact of the office *Franciscus vir catholicus* written by Julian of Speyer.[398] In this chapter I examine the use of Speyer's chants as source material and analyse the text and music of *Accedunt laudes virginis*, which leads me to the conclusion that Easton's office should be reclassified as a 'modified contrafact'.

Easton's office comprises forty-three chants for First Vespers, Compline, Matins, Lauds, and Second Vespers. The sources looked at in this thesis are inconsistent in the chants given as the responsory in First Vespers, the antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis*, the hymns for Matins and Lauds, and the chants for the Little Hours (Prime, Terce, Sext, and None) and Second Vespers (excluding the antiphon for the *Magnificat*). This suggests that Easton did not compose specific festal versions of these chants, leaving the manuscript scribes free to include other appropriate chants, which was not uncommon in late medieval offices. The chants chosen for inclusion were often repetitions from within the Visitation office (for example, reusing the last responsory from the second or third nocturn in Matins as the Vespers responsory) or from another, often Marian, feast.

A Contrafact of *Franciscus vir catholicus*

Easton's *Accedunt laudes virginis* office is commonly identified as a contrafact of an earlier office, *Franciscus vir catholicus*, written for the feast of St Francis of Assisi by Julian of Speyer [d. c. 1250], a German Franciscan monk. The earliest possible date of composition for Speyer's office has been identified as 25 February 1229, when Pope Gregory IX approved

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[397] EVA5, lines 1-2.

[398] For example, Macfarlane, *The Life and Writings of Adam Easton*, pp. 212-214.

the Franciscan Thomas of Celano's [c.1185-c.1265] *Vita Beati Francisci* (The Life of Blessed Francis) which provided the text for the office.[399] The first recorded performance of part of the office was 4 October 1235.[400]

In a contrafact a new text is applied to an existing texted melody, a technique which is commonly found in plainchant repertory where new feast texts were associated with older melodies.[401] Falck, on Grove Music Online, describes contrafacta as 'the substitution of one text for another without substantial change to the music...in the strictest sense, a contrafactum would not only employ the melody, rhymes and metric scheme of the model, but would also be in some sense an adaption of the meaning of the original poem'.[402] Piotr Wiśniewski refers to four forms of contrafacta; the first form is regular contrafacta where 'the new work coincides with its model in terms of the design of the strophes and the number of syllables, and the melody of both the new and the old work are the same, give or take minor variants'.[403] The second form is irregular contrafacta 'where the contrafactum adopts the original melody unaltered, but changes the structure of the text (this is manifest in the shortening or lengthening of the strophes or lines)'.[404] The third is basic contrafacta 'where only some segments are taken from the original melody, such as the *initium* or some of the cadences (the textual structure is altered)'.[405] The final form identified by Wiśniewski is initial contrafacta 'where two or more songs begin in their opening segment with the same melody, but the melodic line then diverges as the works progress'.[406]

As will be shown in this chapter, Easton's texts are heavily influenced by the rhyme scheme and versification of Speyer's office, and the majority of his melodies are based – either

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[399] The *Vita Beati Francisci* is also known as the *Vita prima*. Gilbert Wdzieczny, 'The Life and Works of Thomas of Celano', *Franciscan Studies*, *New Series*, 5:1 (March, 1945), 58.

[400] J. E. Weis, *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier: zu den Reimoffizien des Franziscus- und Antoniusfestes* (München: J. J. Lentner'schen Buchhandlung, 1901), p. 24.

[401] Robert Falck, 'Contrafactum', *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000006361?rskey=UfgjB2&result=2>, last accessed 15 January 2021.

[402] *Ibid.*

[403] Revd. Piotr Wiśniewski, 'Mass antiphons *De Sanctissima Trinitate* in the 1974 *Graduale Romanum*. A musicological study', in *Annales Lublinenses pro Musica Sacra*, 5:5 (2014), p. 107 n.34.

[404] *Ibid.*

[405] *Ibid.*

[406] *Ibid.*

entirely or partly – on Speyer's chants. However, in some cases, Easton's melodies deviate dramatically from Speyer's original, and so do not conform with the definitions of contrafacta suggested by Falck or Wiśniewski. Due to Easton's textual deviations (in terms of versification and rhyme scheme) and his modifications to Speyer's melodies I argue that his office cannot be classified as a 'true contrafact' and should rather be identified as a 'modified contrafact'.

I identified sixteen sources with Speyer's office for St Francis, in manuscripts dating from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries and with provenances throughout Europe, including five from Central Italy where Easton was located during my suggested composition period. As five of the manuscripts contain only a limited repertory, I also examined the edited offices in Guido Maria Dreves' *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*[407] and J. E. Weis' *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier: zu den Reimoffizien des Franziscus- und Antoniusfestes*.[408] Appendix Seven provides an index of the chants found within these sources. The manuscripts and two editions concur to a high degree: the only significant difference between the sources is the ordering of responsories in Matins which is discussed below.

I examined the chant melodies in two manuscripts for which digitised images were available online, Mss CH-Fco 2[409] and DK-Kk 3449 8o XII,[410] as well as J. E. Weis' *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier*. The chant melodies in the three sources are remarkably similar, with most differences occurring in the ligation within a syllable, the addition or deletion of one note within a melismatic passage, or the given pitch of a single note a tone lower or higher in one source. It was not within the scope of this thesis to create a comparative edition between Easton's and Speyer's offices, however it is my hope that a future project to create an online edition will allow for the chants within Speyer's office to be presented in parallel with Easton's chants.

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[407] Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 5 (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1886), pp. 175-179.

[408] Weis, *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier*, pp. i-xxi.

[409] Ms CH-Fco 2: late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century, unknown geographic provenance although Franciscan, antiphonal, ff. 211v-217r. <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123672>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

[410] Ms DK-Kk 3449 8o XII: c. 1580, Augsberg (Germany), antiphonal, ff. 36v-72v. <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123700>, last accessed 13 October 2020.

Easton's Source

Jenštejn's contrafact of Speyer's hymn *In celesti collegio* for his Compline hymn *O Christi mater fulgida* may have influenced Easton's own choice of source material. The first verse of Easton's Compline hymn, *O Christi mater celica*, is a textual paraphrase of Jenštejn's hymn and uses the same source melody from Speyer's office, as discussed on p. 193. Easton's use of Speyer's office as the base for his contrafacta suggests that he must have been at least somewhat familiar with it, and the high level of concordance between *Accedunt laudes virginis* and those parts of Speyer's office that were used indicates that Easton must have been able to view a notated manuscript with Speyer's chants during his composition period.

Within the sixteen manuscripts studied which contain Speyer's office, two versions of the office can be identified, identical apart from the number of responsories listed. The first version contains three responsories in each nocturn, while the second version, found only in Franciscan manuscripts, lists an additional three responsories after those for the third nocturn. Table 24 lists the responsories associated with the third nocturn in those manuscripts which include chants for this part of the office. The version with twelve responsories is likely to have been the original, as all responsories in these manuscripts are given in the same order while there are significant differences between the responsories given in those manuscripts which only contain nine.

Easton's office follows a secular *cursus*, and so contains three responsories in each nocturn.[411] Easton takes inspiration in the first two nocturns of Matins from the corresponding Speyer chant: for example, Easton's first Matins responsory *Surgens Maria gravida* (EMR1.1) is a contrafact of Speyer's first Matins responsory *Franciscus ut in publicum* (SMR1.1). For the third nocturn, this is not the case, see Table 24. The first two responsories for this nocturn within Easton's office are musically based on Speyer's *Carnis spicam* and *De paupertatis* respectively, which are the first two responsories for the third nocturn in the second version of Speyer's office. However, the final responsory used by Easton is not the third-position *Sex fratrum*, but instead *Euntes inquit* which is given as the antepenultimate responsory in those manuscripts which include twelve responsories.

This could mean that Easton had access to a manuscript which included all twelve responsories, probably in the standard order, and deliberately chose to use the antepenultimate

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[411] For a detailed discussion of secular and monastic *cursus*, see Harper, '2. Liturgy and the Medieval Church', in *The Forms and Orders*, pp.24-42.

responsory as his inspiration rather than the third in the third nocturn, possibly due to aesthetic preferences. However, this seems unlikely given Easton's strict adherence to the chant-order throughout the rest of the office, with only four other occurrences of the Visitation chant not being musically inspired by the corresponding chant in the office for St Francis. I propose a second and more likely possibility: that Easton's source manuscript included only three responsories, *Carnis spicam*, *De paupertatis*, and *Euntes inquit*, which he used consecutively as inspiration for his corresponding chants in the office for the Visitation. *Euntes inquit* appears in the third position in two manuscripts which show the first version: Ms DK-Kk 3449 8o XII and Ms PL-Kłk 1, although they do not have both *Carnis spicam* and *De paupertatis* in the first and second position.

Manuscript	Provenance	MR3.1	MR3.2	MR3.3	MR3.4	MR3.5	MR3.6
CH-Fco 2	Franciscan	*Carnis spicam*	*De paupertatis*	*Sex fratrum*	*Arcana suis*	*Euntes inquit*	*Regressis quos*
CH-SGs 388	St Gall Abbey Cathedral (Benedictine)	*De paupertatis*	*Sex fratrum*	*Arcana suis*	-	-	-
Dk-Kk 3449 8o XII	Augsberg Cathedral (secular)	*Sex fratrum*	*Arcana suis*	*Euntes inquit*	-	-	-
D-Ma 12o Cmm 1	Franciscan	*Carnis spicam*	*De paupertatis*	*Sex fratrum*	*Arcana suis*	*Euntes inquit*	*Regressis quos*
H-Bu lat. 121	Franciscan	*Carnis spicam*	*De paupertatis*	*Sex fratrum*	*Arcana suis*	*Euntes inquit*	*Regressis quos*
I-Nn vi.E.20	Franciscan	*Carnis spicam*	*De paupertatis*	*Sex fratrum*	*Arcana suis*	*Euntes inquit*	*Regressis quos*
I-Rvat lat. 8737	Franciscan	*Carnis spicam*	*De paupertatis*	*Sex fratrum*	*Arcana suis*	*Euntes inquit*	*Regressis quos*
NL-Zu 6	Zutphen chapter (secular)	*Carnis spicam*	*De paupertatis*	*Sex fratrum*	-	-	-
PL-Kłk 1	Kielce (secular)	*Carnis spicam*	*Arcana suis*	*Euntes inquit*	-	-	-
US-CHNbcbl 097	Franciscan	*Carnis spicam*	*De paupertatis*	*Sex fratrum*	*Arcana suis*	*Euntes inquit*	*Regressis quos*
US-Cn 24	Franciscan	*Carnis spicam*	*De paupertatis*	*Sex fratrum*	*Arcana suis*	*Euntes inquit*	*Regressis quos*
US-Nycub Barnard 1	Franciscan	*Carnis spicam*	*De paupertatis*	*Sex fratrum*	*Arcana suis*	*Euntes inquit*	*Regressis quos*

Table 24 Responsories in third nocturn of Matins in the office for St Francis of Assisi. Cantus Index identification codes are used here (e.g. MR3.3).

Easton's Self-Identification within *Accedunt laudes virginis*

The identification of Adam Easton as the composer of the text of the *Accedunt laudes virginis* office is supported by the text of the chants itself. The initial letters of the first nine antiphons (the five Vespers antiphons, the Matins invitatory antiphon, and the first two antiphons in the first nocturn of Matins) read: **ADAM CARDI**[NALIS].[412]

Accedunt laudes virginis	VA1	**A**
Divo repletur munere	VA2	**D**
Accendit ardor spiritus	VA3	**A**
Monstrans culmen	VA4	**M**
Carisma sancti spiritus	VA5	**C**
Acceleratur ratio	VAM	**A**
Reginam celi Mariam	MI	**R**
De celo velut	MA1.1	**D**
Inter turmas femineas	MA1.2	**I**

The abbreviation of Cardinal to 'Card.' appears to have been commonly used and understood. The *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae catholicae*[413] and the *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*[414] both identify 'card.' as a common abbreviation for 'Cardinalis': it is even listed within the former under '*Abbreviationes, quae plurimum occurrunt*' (Abbreviations which most frequently occur). Even without the additional 'I' from *Inter turmas femineas*, the descriptor 'Card' would have been sufficient to identify Adam the Cardinal as Adam Easton.

The inclusion of such acrostics within the text of a poetic work or office was not uncommon, and Dag Norberg writes regarding medieval acrostics that 'often an author preserved for posterity his own name by slipping it into his poem in this way'.[415] A similar acrostic can be seen in Easton's earlier work, the *Defensorium ecclesiastice potestatis* (The Defence of Ecclesiastical Power), which contains four parts. Macfarlane notes that 'his

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[412] Macfarlane, *The Life and Writings of Adam Easton*, p. 205.

[413] Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae catholicae* (Verlagsanstalt: Graz Akademische Druck, 1857).

[414] Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi* (Regensberg: Monasterii Sumptibus et typis librarie Regensbergianae: 1913).

[415] Norberg, *An Introduction to the study of Medieval Latin versification*, p. 48.

[Easton's first] name may be arrived at by joining together the initial letters of the words beginning each of the four parts of the book' which spells **ADAM**.[416]

References to Easton's Authorship in Manuscripts

Evidence of Easton's authorship can also be found in the rubrics of manuscripts which include his Visitation office. Dreves identifies two manuscripts which contain rubrics naming Adam Easton as the composer of the *Accedunt laudes virginis* office, including one written shortly after the promulgation of the office in 1397.[417]

Manuscript sigla	Rubric	Translation
Ms CZ-Bsa R 626, f. 235v[418] c.1397	*Explicit historia de visitatione sanctae Mariae, quam composuit dominus Adam Cardinalis et doctor sacrae theologiae, confirmata per Bonifacium papam nonum, quae singulis annis in ipso festo occurrente debet cantari sub anathemate.*	Here ends the *historia* of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, which the lord Adam, cardinal and doctor of holy theology, has composed, having been confirmed by Pope Boniface IX, [and] which, occurring each year on the feast itself, must be sung under pain of anathema.[419]
D-DS Hs 1021 15th Century[420]	*Reverendissimus dominus Cardinalis Adam Anglicus, tituli S. Caeciliae, composuit hanc historiam.*	The most reverend lord Cardinal Adam the Englishman, of the titular Church of Saint Cecilia, composed this *historia*.

Table 25: Rubrics which identify Easton as the composer of *Accedunt laudes virginis*.

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[416] Macfarlane, *The Life and Writings of Adam Easton*, pp. 136-137.

[417] Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 24, p. 93.

[418] Ms CZ-Bsa R 626: <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?envLang=en#search>, last accessed 25 January 2021.

[419] Anathema was a formal sanction by the pope or a Church council which could result in excommunication.

[420] Ms D-DS Hs 1021: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/?xdbdtdn!%22obj%2090039918,T%22&dmode=doc#|4>, last accessed 25 January 2021.

An antiphonal dated c. 1400 from Venice, Italy now held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (accession number 90.61.3) includes an artistic representation of Adam Easton at the start of the Visitation office.[421] The leaf displays the notated incipit of the Vespers antiphon *Accedunt laudes virginis*, two illustrations, floral and animal decoration in the left margin, and a rubric above the antiphon which reads:

> *Incipit officium sanctissime visitationis Beate Marie Virginis. Ad vesperas antiphon.*
>
> Here begins the office of the most holy Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The antiphon at Vespers.

The illuminated capital letter A at the start of the chant depicts the meeting of Elizabeth and Mary. A second illustration is found in the lower margin of the folio (Figure 23), with three figures depicted surrounded by floral decoration. The central figure has been identified by Barbara Drake Boehm as Adam Easton who wears 'the characteristic red vestments of a cardinal and holds a model of his parish church in Rome and an open book, presumably his newly written office'.[422] The book in his right hand is shown to have small distinct shapes, not unlike simple notation, and could therefore represent the music of his office as displayed in full on the folio above the image. The figure on the right is St Dominic, identifiable by the white lily (a reference to his chastity) and book (the Epistles of St Paul) in his arms. The figure on the left is not identified by Boehm, although could represent St Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) who is often shown holding a red book.

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[421] 'Manuscript Leaf with the Visitation in an Initial A and Cardinal Adam Easton with a Dominican Saint and Saint Dominic, from an Antiphonary', <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/468975>, last accessed 17 January 2021. Image is in the Public Domain, Credit: Bequest of Mrs. A. M. Minturn, 1890.

[422] Barbara Drake Boehm, *Choirs of Angels: Painting in Italian Choir Books, 1300-1500* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), pp. 27, 30.

Figure 23: Image of Adam Easton in fifteenth-century Venetian manuscript.[423]

It is possible that Easton was the writer of the text (as evidenced by his name as an acrostic in the first nine antiphons) but not the composer of the music. However, at this stage of my research, having found no evidence against Easton's authorship of both text and music, and with the combination of manuscripts crediting Easton with the composition of *Accedunt laudes virginis*, through rubrics and marginal images, and the acrostic found in the antiphons of Vespers and the start of Matins, I ascribe the office in its entirety to Adam Easton, the English Cardinal. Although most research on Easton states that the Visitation office is his only compositional output, further research may determine that other works (such as the *Alme Pater* motet) can be ascribed to his hand.

The Text of *Accedunt laudes virginis*

Inspired by Speyer's Office

The texts composed by Easton for the Visitation were highly influenced by Speyer's office for St Francis, partially mirroring the versification and rhyme structures used (a comparison of which can be found in Appendix Eight). Speyer employed different metres and rhyme schemes

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[423] Image taken from 'Manuscript Leaf with the Visitation in an Initial A and Cardinal Adam Easton with a Dominican Saint and Saint Dominic, from an Antiphonary', <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/468975>, last accessed 17 January 2021. Image is in the Public Domain, Credit: Bequest of Mrs. A. M. Minturn, 1890.

for different services and chant genres, and grouping Speyer's chants according to their metre and rhyme scheme reveals seven distinct categories (shown in Table 26). The chants within the first five groups are set to iterations of two different 'metric blocks' (887 and 87) and three 'rhyming blocks' (aab, ab, and abc), while the chants within the final group employ individual schemes (for example, SMR3.2 respond – 88 88 88 ab cb cb, verse – 88 88 dd ed).

	Group	Metre	Rhyme scheme
1	Vespers and Lauds antiphons[424]	887 887	aab ccb
2	Matins antiphons (all nocturns)	87 87	ab ab
3	Matins responsory verses (nocturns 1, 2, 3.3)	887	aab
4	Matins responsory responds (nocturn 1)	87 87 87	ab ab ab
5	Matins responsory responds (nocturn 2, 3.3)	887 887	abc abc
6	Hymns	448 448 / 8888	aab ccb / abab
7	Other (responsories 3.1, 3.2, antiphons to canticles (SVAM, SV2AM, SLAB))	irregular	

Table 26: Grouping of Speyer's chants according to metre and rhyme scheme.

Easton's office follows a far more rigid versification structure, with most chants set to iterations of the 887 and aab metric and rhyming blocks used by Speyer for his responsory verses and antiphons in Vespers and Lauds. This static metre may be due to Easton's inexperience with writing in verse form, combined with his knowledge of the criticism of Jenštejn's texts. Composing in verse is more complicated than writing in a prose format, as the author is not only constrained by the number of syllables in a line, but also by the endings of each line within the chosen rhyme scheme. An additional complication for experienced poets is to also consider the accented or stressed syllables within a line. It is therefore possible that Easton felt more comfortable composing nearly all chants in a similar versification (with some lines including an additional syllable here or there) rather than having to master multiple metres.

As noted in Chapter Two, nine works have been identified and confidently attributed to Easton: three letters, a collection of three academic exercises, two works regarding the election of Pope Urban VI, the *Defensorium ecclesiastice potestatis* (The Defence of Ecclesiastical

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[424] SVA4, *Franciscus evangelicum*, includes one extra syllable on line four in one source, and one extra syllable on line five in all sources: 887 [8/9]97.

Power), the *Defensorium Sanctae Birgitte* (The Defence of St Bridget), and the rhymed office *Accedunt laudes virginis*. In addition to these, Macfarlane identifies four works which may have been written by Easton (and are noted as such in Bale's *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*),[425] but for which the location is currently unknown: *De diversitate translationum* (On the Difference of Translation), *De modo conferendi beneficia* (On the Manner of Collecting Benefices), *De forma procedendi contra hereticos* which may also have been titled *Opus vite contra hereticos* (On the Form of Proceeding Against Heretics), and *De perfectione vite spiritualis* (On the Perfection of Spiritual Life).[426]

Of the nine extant works attributed to Easton, eight are prose texts and the titles of the four additional unlocated works also suggest that they are written in prose form. Reinhard Strohm has suggested that Easton also wrote the motet *Alme Pater*,[427] although Margaret Harvey argues that 'in view of Urban's treatment of Easton this seems improbable, even as an exercise in flattery'.[428] Further research on this motet and its similarity to the style of Easton's Visitation office may support or refute Easton's authorship. It therefore appears that the Visitation is a rare (or the sole) versified work by Easton.

Given Easton's involvement in the examination and subsequent critique of Jenštejn's *Exurgens autem Maria* texts, it is unsurprising that Easton's office displays a high level of sophistication and uniformity with regards to the verse and rhyme schemes. Easton was involved in both panels commissioned to review potential offices for the Visitation, the first of which suggested that Jenštejn's office was 'written in a harsh style'.[429] The second panel, conducted after Easton composed his office, criticised Jenštejn's for its unstructured versification (see Chapter Six).[430] The adherence to a metric scheme therefore appears to have been important to the review panels, possibly in order for the office to satisfy the criteria of a 'rhymed office'. Easton's office was written with an understanding of the initial evaluation of Jenštejn's texts, and it is possible that he composed in a strict metre to avoid the same criticism.

[425] J. Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (Oxford: n.p., 1920).

[426] Macfarlane, *The Life and Writings of Adam Easton*, pp. 84-92.

[427] Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, p. 17.

[428] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, p. 204.

[429] '*...sepsané drsným slohem*': Neumann, 'Účast arcibiskupa Jenštejna', 469. English translation is my own.

[430] 'Here and there the syllables are too short': '*tu a tam jsou slabiky příliš krátké*': *Ibid.*, 471-472. English translation is my own.

Easton's text demonstrates an advanced level of Latin grammar throughout, shown by his use of gerunds[431] and *Accusativus cum infinitivo* (AcI) constructions.[432] Cuzzolin notes that between 100 BC and 600 AD the AcI construction was slowly replaced by the phrase *dicere quod* ('to say that'), and that the AcI came to be used 'only as a Latinism of very high register'.[433] Easton's use of these constructions along with his impressive grammar while sticking to a strict metre and rhyme scheme reveals the cardinal to be a careful textual composer with a knowledge of sophisticated Latin constructions and vocabulary. As Jenštejn's text was criticised for its 'rough style',[434] the sophisticated Latin used in Easton's office may have influenced the second investigative panel in its favour.

Textual Content of the Office

The base of Easton's office text is the biblical Visitation, which he describes in full and in detail following the account in the Gospel of Luke although without direct quotation. Easton also describes the wider spiritual context of the feast, including its relationship to the Annunciation, Mary's role as intercessor for humanity, and John the Baptist's role as the precursor of Jesus.

The structure of the office is similar to Jenštejn's, with the antiphons in Vespers and Lauds providing an overview of the Visitation. The Vespers antiphons cover the Annunciation, Mary's journey from Nazareth to the mountains, her greeting to Elizabeth and Elizabeth's reply, and John the Baptist's recognition of Jesus within Mary's womb. The first four Lauds antiphons paraphrase the *Magnificat*, and the fifth explains how Mary stayed to tend to her cousin for three months and then returned home. The phrase 'tending to Elizabeth' in the fifth

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[431] A verb which is given the function of a noun.

[432] AcI constructions are used as a way to 'express a subordinate clause after a verb of saying or thinking' in which the subject of the clause is placed into the accusative case and the verb is given as an infinitive. Pierluigi Cuzzolin, 'The Latin Construction *Dicere Quod* Revisited', *Graeco-Latina Brunensia*, 18 (2013), 23. An example of this construction can be seen in line seven of *Maria tribus mensibus* (ELA5) in the phrase *mutum audivit eloqui* (she has heard the mute one speak). Here, *audivit* is the verb 'she has heard', *eloqui* is the verb *eloquor* in the infinitive 'to speak out', and *mutum* (originally an adjective meaning 'mute' or 'silent') is the subject of the verb *eloqui* and the object of the verb *audio*. My thanks to Daniel Bates for his explanation of the sophistication of the Latin.

[433] *Ibid.*, 24.

[434] Jaroslav V. Polc, 'De origine festi Visitationis B. M. V.', 87.

Lauds antiphon recalls the detail in the *Legenda Aurea* of Mary acting as Elizabeth's nursemaid.

The Matins antiphons and responsories reinforce the key spiritual and theological aspects of the Visitation, focusing especially on the concepts initially introduced in the Vespers antiphons. The texts are reminiscent of Pseudo-Bonaventure's writings on the Visitation in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (see Appendix Two) which focus on the two forms of greeting: the human greeting of the two women, and the spiritual greeting of their sons. The responsories are generally more abstract in nature than the antiphons, referring to symbolic concepts including light pouring from heaven, the Spirit as a river of waters [sic], the throne of light, and the relationship between the moon and the sun. The last two chants in the office, *Adiutrix visitatio* (ELAB) and *Ihesu redemptor* (EV2AM), reiterate the different roles in which Mary was revered (for example, her roles as helper of the world, mother of Jesus, guide to sinners, and visitor to all) and how she may help humanity. This structure is important to the understanding of Easton's office: the celebration of the feast starts at the beginning of the story, introduces the key elements of the feast, reiterates and reinforces these elements, concludes the story, and then reminds listeners who Mary is and why she should be praised.

Easton focuses on a small number of key concepts and repeats them to allow the listener to fully understand what he felt were the main points of the Visitation: the juxtaposition of Mary and Elizabeth's pregnancies, Mary as Mediatrix, that nothing is impossible through God, and finally, the role of the Holy Spirit in the Visitation.

The pregnancies of both Mary and Elizabeth are frequently mentioned in Easton's text, often with reference to the miraculous nature of their conceptions – the former a virgin, and the latter infertile. However, Easton's texts also refer to the burden of pregnancy. Table 27 shows the five instances of the English translation 'burden' within the text. The two words used to describe Elizabeth's pregnancy, *gravidata* and *gravidam*, each have connotations of a weight or a heavy load. For Mary, the first word used, *munere* can also refer to a duty or an offering, and so relates more to the burden of duty rather than a physical burden; the second, *gravis*, can also be translated as heavy, painful, or burdensome; and the third, *pondere*, refers to a weight or an impediment. Therefore, Easton clarifies that Mary's pregnancy is a burden of duty but is not heavy or painful. In fact, Mary is stated as being completely unaware of the weight of Jesus within her womb, reinforcing that her son is God in human form. This is presented as a juxtaposition to Elizabeth's pregnancy which, despite her miraculous conception, appears to

be described as a 'normal' physical pregnancy, complete with the expected weight of a child. This image of Elizabeth's pregnancy would resonate with listeners, who would recognise the symptoms of a regular mortal pregnancy, and Mary's divine weightless burden would further emphasise her blessed nature.

Chant	Reference	Mother referred to
EVA2	Mary is filled with a divine burden [*munere*]	Mary
EVH verse 4	Pregnant and burdened [*gravidata*]	Elizabeth
ECH verse 2	Burdened [*gravidam*] by the precursor	Elizabeth
EMA2.1	Christ has not been a burden [*gravis*], Nor a mass of a son heavy On the organs of the worthy mother, But unaware of the burden [*pondere*] With bodily strength She cheerfully makes haste.	Mary

Table 27: References to the burden of pregnancy within Easton's office.

The final two Matins antiphons, *Adest mira credulitas* (EMA3.2) and *Fit nature propinquius* (EMA3.3) both mention that a lesson can be learnt from the miraculous conceptions of both Mary and Elizabeth – that nothing is impossible for God. And specifically, nothing is impossible through the word of God: *per verbum datum* – through the given word, and *per verbum suum dictans* – through his [God's] commanding word. The phrasing of these two antiphons appears to speak directly to the listeners, informing them of the important theological lesson the Visitation provides.

Easton also focuses on the knowledge that Mary can and will intercede on behalf of mankind (as Mediatrix), not only in general but also specifically regarding the Schism. Evidence of his agreement with this can be seen within the office texts as he frequently refers to Mary's ability to save mankind, for example in the responsory *Maria parens filios* (EMR2.1) where 'she [Mary] might lift them, she places her hand to support them' (*ut relevet manum ponit ut sublevet*), with 'them' being those who are 'set down in mortal sin' (*depositos in scelere mortali*). He also specifically describes Mary as the 'light that banishes all schisms' (*lux pellens cuncta scismata*).

Finally, Easton emphasises the role of the Holy Spirit in the Visitation, as well as reminding listeners that Mary was conceived by the Holy Spirit, an apocryphal concept.[435] Elizabeth's divinely-given prophetic gift is mentioned frequently, for example in the third Matins antiphon *Vocat hanc matrem* (EMA1.3) where Elizabeth is described as knowing what is hidden to others only through heavenly power and inner knowledge. Both women prophesy and know hidden things, however Mary does so independently while Elizabeth is given knowledge by the Holy Spirit. This reinforces the difference between Mary and Elizabeth: Mary is the mother of God, while Elizabeth is an ordinary woman who has been blessed. Easton presents a similar juxtaposition between Jesus and John the Baptist, as seen in the antiphon *Acceleratur ratio* (EVAM):

Acceleratur ratio	Reason is hastened
in puero nondum nato	on the boy not yet born,
instinctu sacri pneumatis	by the instigation of the Holy Spirit
divinitus sibi dato	divinely given to him,
novit presentem Dominum	he has recognised the present Lord
in virgine clam latentem	in the virgin secretly hidden,
adorauit cum jubilo	he has worshipped with a joyful cry
ad servulum venientem.	the coming servant-lad.

The text of the chant introduces the idea that the infant John's wisdom, already evident in the womb, was divinely given by the Holy Spirit. It is this wisdom that allows him to recognise Jesus as both Lord and servant and worship him with a 'joyful cry' or even, as stated in verse six of the Vespers hymn, 'announces with his finger the teacher and cleanser of the world'. The striking image of John the Baptist in the womb pointing at Jesus evokes the illustrated initial in Ms Vat.lat.1122 of the two *ex utero* children motioning to each other. The description of John the Baptist in Easton's text does not correspond exactly to the image (shown in Chapter Four), but the visual nature of the text suggests that Easton was familiar with similar images.

Mary and Elizabeth are treated very differently by Easton, both in terms of how they are presented and the way in which they speak. Mary is repeatedly referred to by phrases which evoke her unique and queenly status, for example in the Matins invitatory antiphon:

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[435] For a brief discussion on Mary's Immaculate Conception, see Kathleen Coyle, 'The History of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception', in *Mary in the Christian Tradition: From a Contemporary Perspective* (Leominster: Gracewing Ltd, 1996), pp. 36-38.

<table>
<tr><td>Reginam celi Mariam</td><td>Let us worship harmoniously</td></tr>
<tr><td>concorditer adoremus.</td><td>Mary, the Queen of Heaven,</td></tr>
<tr><td>Que visitans Elisabeth</td><td>who, visiting Elizabeth,</td></tr>
<tr><td>spem contulit ut laudemus</td><td>brought hope, so that we might praise.</td></tr>
</table>

The contrast between the treatment of Mary, who is the Queen of Heaven and should be worshipped, and Elizabeth, who is given no descriptor and appears as more of a passive recipient of Mary's visit elevates Mary in a reader or listener's mind and simultaneously grounds Elizabeth. Throughout the office, Elizabeth's response is to rejoice, praise Mary and God, to recognise the wondrous nature of Mary's conception, and to 'fall down, burning in love' (as the responsory verse *Luna soli conuingitur* (EMR2.3v) states). In other words, Elizabeth responds as all good Christians should when presented with a divine miracle – acknowledgement, praise, and awe – which encourages listeners to identify with Elizabeth.

In the biblical passage, both women speak, with Mary's *Magnificat* and Elizabeth acknowledging that both Mary and Jesus are blessed and stating that John the Baptist leapt for joy. As shown in Chapter Six, outside of the biblical Visitation quotations, Jenštejn allows only Mary direct speech, with references to Elizabeth's words given in indirect terms. In contrast, Easton gives Elizabeth direct speech but not Mary. There are many references to Elizabeth speaking (often referring to her prophetic and divinely-inspired words), and the responsory verse *Venit ex te sanctissimus* (EMR1.2v) and the following respond *Elizabeth congratulans* (EMR1.3) are both written from Elizabeth's point of view.

<table>
<tr><td>Venit ex te sanctissimus</td><td>Out of you comes the holiest,</td></tr>
<tr><td>vocatus Dei filius</td><td>called the son of God,</td></tr>
<tr><td>sicut predixit angelus</td><td>just as the angel has announced</td></tr>
<tr><td>sue matri in via.</td><td>to his mother on the road.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Elyzabeth congratulans</td><td>Rejoicing Elizabeth,</td></tr>
<tr><td>profunde se humilians</td><td>deeply humbling herself</td></tr>
<tr><td>in adventu Messye.</td><td>at the arrival of the Messiah,</td></tr>
<tr><td>Unde ait condeceat</td><td>'How', she says, 'might it be fitting</td></tr>
<tr><td>quod mater Dei veniat</td><td>that the mother of God should come</td></tr>
<tr><td>ad me cum plausu vie.</td><td>to me by the striking of the road?'</td></tr>
</table>

The creation of a narrative from Elizabeth's point of view which expresses similar ideas to those given in her speech in the Bible, develops the role of Elizabeth at the meeting and allows the listener to connect with her and understand her point of view. Mary's voice, however, is

taken away, as seen by the paraphrasing of the *Magnificat*, the beginning of which is given in the second antiphon of Lauds:

> *Tunc exultavit animus*   Her soul then rejoiced,
> *cum ipsius fit filius*   for it is her son
> *angelo nuntiante*   in the angel's announcement,
> *ancilla Dei credidit*   the handmaid of God believed,
> *confestim verbum genuit*   at once she begot the word,
> *Maria supplicante.*   with Mary humbling herself.

The dramatisation of Elizabeth's voice which expands her characterisation in the office, combined with the silencing of Mary, allows the audience to identify more strongly with Elizabeth as she views her cousin. When combined with the physical differences between their pregnancies, the source of their knowledge (inner or given through the Holy Spirit), and the age difference, the physical and spiritual disparity of the two women is accentuated. Mary is the unobtainable ideal (through the paradox of maternal virginity) while Elizabeth is the every-woman who struggles (with fertility or other issues) looking to her younger cousin, the mother of God, in awe and wonder.

The structure of Easton's office, along with his repeated key concepts, are evocative of glosses around a biblical text (for example the thirteenth-century *Glossa Ordinaria*).[436] Easton's office texts describe a feature of the biblical Visitation, and then proceed to explain its meaning, allowing the audience to understand its importance within their own lives. Three examples of this gloss-esque technique are clear within the text, and all three are found within the Vespers antiphons and subsequently explained throughout Matins. In this way, the singers and listeners of Easton's Visitation office are informed of the importance of the feast and its relevance for their own lives, with the Visitation acting as a teaching moment, almost as a parable with a spiritual lesson at its heart. This approach may have been influenced by Bridget of Sweden. Gambero states that

> She [Bridget] presented a model that could be understood by a large number of the faithful, one that could attract them to undertake an itinerary of the Christian life in which the Blessed Virgin could occupy a prominent place and play a real and important role on their behalf.[437]

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[436] Norwich Cathedral Priory owned a *Liber Glossarum* from the end of the thirteenth century, now known as GB-NWm 99.20. N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 138.

[437] Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, p. 27.

The first example of Easton's gloss-esque technique is the nature of the pregnancies of the two women. Easton's text repeatedly reminds listeners of the miraculous nature of *both* pregnancies: not only is Mary's virginal conception divine, but so is Elizabeth's – an old woman (frequently described as barren or sterile) is made pregnant. This is addressed in the last two Matins antiphons (*Adest mira credulitas* and *Fit nature propinquius*) where Easton states that these miracles are only possible through God and through his word. He goes further, reminding the listeners that nothing is impossible for God.

The second facet of the biblical event emphasised in this manner is Mary's journey to Elizabeth. Unlike Jenštejn, Easton does not focus on the physicality of the journey, but rather what it means for Elizabeth and thus for humanity. He states that Mary visited Elizabeth to aid her through her struggle (her pregnancy), and that Mary will aid humanity in the same way (see for example, the Lauds antiphon *Magna perfecit Dominus* which states that Mary is full of grace and has pity on all). In his Compline hymn, *O Christi mater celica*, Easton also states that 'the visitation of Mary gives an example of a reward, because it is provided to all who piously seek it', suggesting that if anyone were to piously seek something worthy, they may also be rewarded.

The third and final aspect is the knowing of hidden truths by Elizabeth and John the Baptist. As discussed earlier, Easton highlights the role of the Holy Spirit, acknowledging that the Spirit works through ordinary people to let them know spiritual truths about God and Jesus, not just in their words but also in their actions, as seen in his responsory verse *En felix salutatio* (EMR1.3v).

En felix salutatio	Behold, blessed salutation
duplata exultatio	and double exultation
dabantur vi sophie.	were given by the power of wisdom.

Throughout the office, Elizabeth is portrayed as the every-woman, someone with whom medieval lay people could relate, could understand, and even see as a reflection of themselves within the Visitation. Showing that Elizabeth's reaction and knowledge were given by the Holy Spirit encourages listeners to believe that their actions praising Mary are also guided by the Spirit and may result in a similar blessing.

Through the description and subsequent explanation of these three facets of the biblical event, Easton fosters a sense of relevance and spiritual proximity for listeners, allowing them a deeper understanding of the importance of the Visitation, not only within the lives of those

in the biblical event (Mary, Jesus, Elizabeth, and John the Baptist) but also for the listeners within their own personal lives.

The Music of *Accedunt laudes virginis*

Accedunt laudes virginis is recognised as a contrafact of Speyer's office for St Francis of Assisi, although as I have shown, there are significant differences in the versification and rhyming structures between the offices. The table in Appendix Nine lists Easton's chants and provides the melodic source chant for each. From this it is clear that, in general, Easton used the music of the corresponding chant within Speyer's office: for example, the melody of Easton's first antiphon for Vespers (*Accedunt laudes virginis*) is based on the melody of Speyer's first antiphon for Vespers (*Franciscus vir catholicus*), and so on. There are a few key exceptions to this rule, however: the hymns *In Marie vite viam* (EVH) and *O Christi mater celica* (ECH), the responsory verse *In Marie presentia* (EMR2.3v), and the antiphons *Adjutrix visitatio* (ELAB) and *Iesu redemptor optime* (EV2AM).

O Christi mater celica

In the primary manuscript used for my edition of Easton's office, Ms NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) [No. 11], only two hymns are given: *In Mariam vite viam* for Vespers and *O Christi mater celica* for Compline. There are no hymns given for Matins or Lauds. The Compline hymn *O Christi mater celica* is a contrafact of Speyer's hymn *In celesti collegio*, which is frequently given as the Matins hymn in offices for St Francis of Assisi. Easton's hymn could also be considered to be a contrafact of Jenštejn's Compline hymn *O Christi mater fulgida*. The three hymns are compared in Figure 24 along with the translation of Jenštejn's and Easton's first verses. Although Easton had access to Jenštejn's contrafact of the earlier Speyer melody, he appears to have used Speyer's original melody from which to create his own contrafact. Some melodic phrases more closely resemble Speyer's melody than Jenštejn's, such as the end of the first line – *fulgida/celica/-legio*. Easton has also paraphrased the text of Jenštejn's first verse, using many of the same words in the same positions: for example, *O Christi mater* at the beginning and *gratia lux pellens* in the second and third lines. This is only the case for the first verse; subsequent verses are not textually similar. This appears to be the only chant in which

Easton references Jenštejn's office, and may represent an acknowledgement of the archbishop's office and efforts to institute the new feast.

O Christi mater fulgida verse 1:

O shining mother of Christ,
Fountain abounding with all grace,
Light banishing any clouds,
Holiest most beautiful Mary.

O Christi mater celica verse 1:

O heavenly mother of Christ
Living spring flowing with grace
Light that banishes all schisms,
Mary, closest to God.

Figure 24: Comparison between Jenštejn's *O Christi mater fulgida* (JCH), Easton's *O Christi mater celica* (ECH), and Speyer's *Franciscus fulget gloria* (SMH).[438]

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[438] Speyer transcription taken from the *Liber Hymnarius*, p. 453.

In Marie vite viam

Easton's Vespers hymn *In Mariam vite viam* does not appear to be a contrafact of either of Speyer's other two hymns (*Decus morum* or *Proles de celo*) and is treated as an original composition within this thesis. It does, however, mimic the 448 448 metric and aab ccb rhyme schemes of Speyer's *Decus morum* hymn, suggesting that Easton may have had access to at least the text of this hymn in his source. It is possible that Easton's source did not provide notation for this particular hymn, or that Easton deliberately chose not to use Speyer's melody for aesthetic reasons.

In Marie presentia

The melody for the responsory verse *In Marie presentia* (EMR3.2v) is not a contrafact of the corresponding chant in Speyer's office (*Pro paupertatis*, SMR3.2v). Instead, it appears to be a contrafact of another chant within Easton's office, *Vocat hanc matrem* (EMA1.3) which is itself a contrafact of a Speyer chant. It is not clear why Easton did not use the *Pro paupertatis* melody. It is possible that his source did not contain this chant, although it seems unlikely that a source which included at least thirty-eight chants from Speyer's office would omit only one responsory verse unless there was a physical lacuna in the manuscript. It is also possible that the composition was a conscious decision on Easton's part – a suggestion which is looked at in more detail later in this chapter (see page 216).

Adjutrix visitatio and *Iesu redemptor optime*

The antiphon for the *Benedictus* at Lauds, *Adjutrix visitatio*, is a contrafact, but not of the corresponding chant in Speyer's office. Easton bypasses Speyer's *Benedictus* antiphon (*O martyr desiderio*) and instead uses the melody from the next and final chant of the office, *O virum mirabilem* (SV2AM) as shown in Appendix Nine. The final chant of Easton's office, *Iesu redemptor optime*, cannot therefore be set to the melody of its corresponding Speyer chant, and instead is set to an adapted and significantly expanded version of *Libera me Domine*, an antiphon found in many offices, mostly in the Lenten period or on Palm Sunday.

It is not clear why Easton did not use the melody of Speyer's *O martyr desiderio* (SLAB), but it is possible that Easton's source did not include this chant (possibly due to a physical lacuna) or that it gave *O virum mirabile* as the Lauds *Benedictus* antiphon and *Libera me*

Domine (either the chant as a whole or the melody set to a relevant text) as the antiphon for the *Magnificat* at Second Vespers. It is also possible that Easton was familiar with the chant in that position, as it is found in a number of manuscripts on Cantus Index as the set antiphon for the *Magnificat* at Second Vespers for the fifth Sunday of Lent and the following Monday. However, the chant is short and relatively simplistic and syllabic in character, meaning that the original melody had to be significantly extended by Easton to fit his nine-line chant.

Other hymns

Within the other manuscripts examined, two additional hymns are given within Easton's office: *Servit major* and *De sacro tabernaculo*. *Servit major* has as yet been identified only within Ms D-FUl Aa 55 [No.45], a fourteenth or fifteenth century manuscript from Rasdorf (Germany), given as an incipit in both Compline and Lauds. The fifth verse of the hymn *In Mariam vite viam*, given in Vespers in the manuscript, begins with the words *Servit major*. It therefore seems likely that, rather than referring to the title of a new and unique hymn, the *Servit major* incipits indicate a repetition of the Vespers hymn in Compline and Lauds. The reason for giving the incipit of verse five specifically is not clear – perhaps only that verse was sung, or only the last three verses.

The hymn *De sacro tabernaculo* is found in two manuscripts with Easton's office as well as two manuscripts containing Jenštejn's office (as noted in Chapter Four).[439] The content of the text suggests that it was written specifically for the feast of the Visitation, as it refers to Mary's journey and the greeting of the two women. The hymn cannot be attributed to Jenštejn, as it is not included in Ms Vat.lat.1122 [No.9] which lists all hymns written by Jenštejn for the Visitation. It is also absent from the oldest notated sources (Mss CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 [No.1] and CZ-Pu XII A 9 [No.5]) for Jenštejn's office, which both contain a full complement of (three) hymns without this chant. It is also unlikely that the hymn was composed by Easton as it is only found in two manuscripts which contain his office (and only given in full in one). However, the geographic spread of these manuscripts (two in Poland and one each in Slovakia and Germany) raises the possibility that it was a regional Visitation hymn in central Europe which spread to Germany, and specifically Augsburg, in the sixteenth century.

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[439] Jenštejn's office: Mss PL-KiK 1 (1372, Kielce, Poland) and PL-PłS 36 (15th century, Płock, Poland). Easton's office: Mss SK-Sk 2 (15th century, Slovakia) and DK-Kk 3449 8o [09] IX (1580, Augsburg, Germany).

Accedunt laudes virginis as a Contrafact

Examination of Easton's Visitation office reveals three distinct categories: 'true contrafacta', 'modified contrafacta', and new compositions. I have classified each chant into one of these three categories according to the level of concordance with Speyer's office, as shown in Table 28. To do this, I have identified three forms of variance: an insignificant error/variant, a later error/variant, and a significant variant. Differences in ligatures are not counted here as variants.

- A variation has been classified as an insignificant error/variant where one or two notes are slightly different, possibly due to a deliberate variant or scribal error in the source manuscript used by Easton, a variant deliberately introduced by Easton or subsequently (but where this cannot be proven and where the difference is small), or a scribal error introduced in one of the later Visitation manuscripts. These are predominantly small differences: for example, in the antiphon _Divo repletur munere_ (EVA2) where an additional note D is added into the third line.

- A later error/variant classification is used where the Easton manuscripts differ, with some agreeing with the St Francis source chant. As some manuscripts concur with Speyer, those manuscripts which do not may have had a later error or variation introduced after Easton's initial composition.

- Significant variants include any instances of additions or deletions which appear deliberate or are of significant length (more than 3 consecutive notes).

Chants within the 'true contrafacta' classification include only insignificant or later errors or variants, while those within the 'modified contrafacta' category include all three forms of variance. It is of course possible that any and all significant variations found between the two offices were present within Speyer's chants in Easton's source manuscript. However, as this source has not yet been identified and the St Francis offices examined concur to a high degree, at this point in my research I suggest that these changes were made by Easton. It is outside the scope of this study to explain in detail each difference between the two offices, however for each category at least one chant will be examined as a case study to show my methodology.

'True contrafacta'	'Modified contrafacta'	New compositions
EVA1	EVAM	EVH
EVA2	EMA1.1	EMR3.2v
EVA3	EMA1.2	
EVA4	EMA1.3	
EVA5	EMR1.1	
ECH	EMR1.2	
EMI	EMR1.2v	
EMR1.1v	EMR1.3	
EMR1.3v	EMA2.1	
EMR2.1	EMA2.2	
EMR2.1v	EMA2.3	
EMR2.3v	EMR2.2	
EMR3.3v	EMR2.2v	
ELA2	EMR2.3	
ELA3	EMA3.1	
ELA4	EMA3.2	
	EMA3.3	
	EMR3.1	
	EMR3.1v	
	EMR3.2	
	EMR3.3	
	ELA1	
	ELA5	
	ELAB	
	EV2AM	

Table 28: Contrafact categories in Easton's office.

'True Contrafacta'

The fifteen chants within this category (given in Table 28) preserve Speyer's original material. They mimic the metre of the corresponding Speyer chant almost exactly, with only two slight exceptions – *Monstrans culmen* (EVA4) and *Reginam celi Mariam* (EMI) – where two lines include one extra syllable, as shown in Appendix Eight. This metric similarity meant that Easton could easily overlay Speyer's melody onto his new chant text with minimal or no modification. The antiphon *Divo repletur munere* (EVA2) provides a clear case study for this category, where the differences as shown in Table 29 are minimal and do not have a large impact on the melodic line.

Easton text underlay	Easton chant	Speyer chant (not split into syllables)
mu-ne-re	A-CD-D	A<u>C</u>CDD
cum fi-li-um	D <u>D</u>-C-D	DCD
et	CA	<u>CD</u>CA

Table 29: Melodic differences between Easton and Speyer for the second antiphon in First Vespers. Differences are shown underlined.

'Modified Contrafacta'

Most chants within Easton's office fall within the 'modified contrafacta' category (see Table 28) which is comprised of chants which contain significant variations as well as insignificant or later variations. While the responsory verse *In Marie presentia* has been identified as a 'contrafact of a contrafact', the additional level of deliberate modification necessitates its inclusion within the newly composed category.

Johner, in his seminal work on word and tone in chant, refers to the melodic changes that may be made during the process of creating a contrafact with a different length text.[440] He states that if the text is shorter, notes may be deleted (apheresis – at the beginning of the chant; syncope – in the middle; and apocope – at the end) or notes may be grouped together (synereisis – grouping notes of different intervals onto one syllable; crasis – grouping notes of the same pitch together). If the text is longer, notes may be added (prosthesis – at the beginning;

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[440] P. Dominicus Johner, 'XIII. Kapitel: Veranderungen der melodischen formeln infolge kurzeren oder langeren textes', in *Wort und Ton im Choral: Ein Beitrag zur Aesthetik des gregorianischen Gesanges* (Leipzig: Veb Breitkopf & Härtel Musikverlag, 1953), pp. 150-165.

epenthesis – in the middle; and epithesis – at the end of a chant) or groups may be dissolved (dieresis). However, Easton's modifications far exceed those described by Johner.

Within this category I have identified three forms of modified chant: those where sections of Speyer's original melody are deleted, those where new melodic sections are added, and those where both additions and deletions are present, as shown in Table 30. In order to demonstrate the differences between Speyer's original melody and Easton's Visitation chants, I provide the corresponding Speyer chant below Easton's in musical examples within this section of the thesis. The Speyer chant is melodically aligned with Easton's in order to show the musical similarities, and therefore is not presented in its original textual and musical lines (in some cases, a syllable may even span a line break).

Deletions	Additions	Additions and Deletions
EMR2.2	EMA1.1	EVAM
	EMA1.2	EMA1.3
	EMR1.2v	EMR1.1
	EMA2.1	EMR1.2
	EMA2.3	EMR1.3
	EMR2.2v	EMA2.2
	EMA3.2	EMR2.3
	EMA3.3	EMA3.1
	ELA5	EMR3.1
	EV2AM	EMR3.1v
		EMR3.2
		EMR3.3
		ELA1
		ELAB

Table 30: Forms of modified chant in Easton's office.

There is one chant where only deletions occur – the respond *Rosa de spinis* (EMR2.2). The versification of Easton's chant and the Speyer source chant (*Amicum querit*, SMR2.2) is the same (887 887), so the deletion was not required due to a difference in the length of the chant or versification. However, the two chants are structured differently. Responsories are divided into two sections, the respond and the verse, with the former subdividing again into two parts

(here designated R1 and R2). In performance, therefore, responsories are often sung in the form R1-R2-v-R2(-Doxology-R2).

<div style="display: flex;">

R1:
Rosa de spinis prodiit
virga de Yesse floruit
Maria visitavit.
R2:
Vis odoris diffunditur
tota domus perficitur
gratia cum intravit.
Easton, EMR2.2

R1:
Amicum querit pristinum
qui spretum in cenobio
tunicula contexit
contemptu gaudens hominum.
R2:
Leprosis fit obsequio
quos antea de spexit.
Speyer, SMR2.2

</div>

In the text above, the two halves of the respond are shown using the bold R1 and R2 designations. A comparison of the melodies of the two chants is given in Figure 25. Speyer's respond is split into unequal sections of four and two lines, with the second section being far more melismatic than the first. Easton's respond, in comparison, is divided into two equal three-line phrases. This difference in textual structure is seen between all but one of Easton's responsories and the corresponding Speyer chant, and in most of these, Easton chooses to use Speyer's original melodic division (see p. 205). *Rosa de spinis* is the only occasion where this is not the case: the start of Easton's second half at *Vis* is set to the last line of Speyer's first half, beginning on *contemptu*. The deletion of the two melodic sections (shown in Figure 25, between *domus* and *perficitur*, and between *perficitur* and *gratia*) ensures that the last two lines of Easton's chant are stylistically and melismatically similar to the rest of the chant. As will be discussed later in this chapter, Easton sometimes uses melismas to melodically enhance a word or phrase, and his deletion in *Rosa de spinis* appears to ensure that no words are emphasised by a melisma.

Figure 25: Comparison between *Rosa de spinis* (EMR2.2) and
Amicum querit (SMR2.2).

The second form of modified chant are those which have new sections added to Speyer's original melody, of which there are ten: eight antiphons and two responsory verses. For most of these, Easton's chants are longer than the corresponding Speyer chant (see Appendix Eight) and so require additional melodic material. This is not the case for the responsory verse

Miranda salutatio (EMR2.2v), however, where the modification appears to have been made to create a melodic emphasis on a particular word. The responsory verse *Miranda salutatio* is shown in melodic alignment with its source chant *Sub typo trium* from Speyer's office in Figure 26.

Although the two verse texts have the same 887 versification, Easton has added new melodic material for the phrase *gratulatio que fructum* created from two melodic quotations from within the chant. The solid box indicates an almost direct quotation, while the dotted box shows a freer repetition. As the versification is the same, Easton could have easily laid his new text under Speyer's melody with little effort, as seen in the 'true contrafacta' chants. The addition therefore must have been used to signify or emphasise a textual element; in this case, the third syllable of *expec**ta**vit* (have waited) which has been given an unusually long melisma for Easton (twenty notes, originally set to eight syllables in Speyer's chant). The elongation of the verb *expectavit* would evoke feelings of waiting in singers and listeners, mirroring the experience of those in the text who await the fruit (Jesus).

Figure 26: Comparison between *Miranda salutatio* (EMR2.2v) and *Sub typo trium* (SMR2.2v).

The chants in the third category are those in which new material has been added even though sections of Speyer's original chant have not been used. For four of these chants – *Elyzabeth congratulans* (EMR1.3), *Stella sub nube* (EMR2.3), *Occasum virgo* (EMR3.1), and *Thronum lucis prospexerat* (EMR3.2) – the modifications are due to a difference in the structure of Easton's and Speyer's chants. Most responsories in Easton's office maintain the melodic divisions between the first and second halves of the respond from Speyer's office: the first half of Easton's text is set to the melody for Speyer's first half, and the second half of Easton's text is set to the melody for Speyer's second half. Easton's responds are, with the exception of *Dixit verba prophetica* (EMR1.2) written in two equal halves of three lines each. Most of Speyer's chants, however, are split unequally with four lines in the first part and two in the second. This difference in textual structure necessitated extensive changes to ensure that the melodic divisions were kept, with phrases removed from the first half to avoid an unusually melismatic section and new phrases added to the second half to make up for the lack of source material, as shown in Figure 27. Keeping this musical division between the two halves of the respond also retains the original melodic links between the end of the verse (or doxology) and the beginning of the repeated second half of the respond. For example, in *Stella sub nube* (shown in Figure 27), the verse and doxology end on an **F** which would then be followed by the rising notes **ac** at the beginning of *Elyzabeth* on the fourth line to create the **F**-**a**-**c** triad typical of F authentic chants.

For *Dixit verba prophetica* (EMR1.2), the similar 4-2 structure means that the chant needed very little melodic modification as the Visitation text could be easily added to Speyer's chant melody.

Figure 27: Comparison between *Stella sub nube* (EMR2.3) and *Audit in evangelio* (SMR2.3).

Easton's Melodic Addition Techniques

Johner describes the addition of notes at the beginning of a chant as prosthesis, in the middle as epenthesis, and at the end as epithesis.[441] While these three terms can be applied to Easton's modifications, they refer to the position of the modification within a chant, and not to the actual modification technique. I have identified a number of approaches used by Easton to add melodic phrases within his modified chants:

1. the use of short mode-specific motifs such as **DCACD** for a chant in D plagal (mode 2),

2. the direct or slightly modified repetition of short neighbouring phrases (two to three syllables or two to five notes),

3. the addition of a slightly elaborated or elongated version of ligatures found directly before or after in the melodic line,

4. the use of short phrases from omitted sections elsewhere in Speyer's original chant,

5. the re-use of melodic phrases from elsewhere in the chant,

6. the creation of short linking sections which elaborate on one or two notes,

7. and the creation of completely new melodic phrases.

It is outside the scope of this thesis to elaborate here on each individual addition made by Easton to Speyer's original melodies. Instead, specific chants will be used to demonstrate each of these approaches.

An example of a short mode-specific motif is given in the responsory verse *Venit ex te sanctissimus* (EMR1.2v), shown in Figure 28. The five-note melodic addition, indicated by the solid black box, is a variant of the **DCACD** melodic motif typical of mode 2 chants. A similar motif is used in Speyer's original melody, seen at the beginning of the third line of Easton's chant.

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[441] Johner, *Wort und Ton im Choral*, pp. 150-165.

Figure 28: Addition of mode 2 motif in *Venit ex te sanctissimus* (EMR1.2v)

The first line of the antiphon *Transivit in itinere* (EMA2.2) presents an example of the use of repetition of melodic phrases within a chant, as shown in Figure 29 with solid black boxes indicating additions to Speyer's original melody. The opening melodic line, added by Easton, is created from overlapping segments of the melody from the second line, shown by the solid pink and orange boxes. This technique is also used for the phrase *lascivium propter morum constantiam* in the fourth and fifth lines, with the red, green, and light and dark blue boxes indicating the origin of the melodic material.

The third line of the antiphon displays a slightly modified repetition of a short melodic phrase within the word *monticulos*, shown by red boxes, with a lowering of the first **f** to an **e**, as well as the elongation of a preceding ligature in *scandendo* denoted by blue boxes. The reason for these additions is clear: Easton's antiphon is two lines longer than its corresponding Speyer chant *Iam liber patris* (SMA2.2) and so needed significant melodic elongation.
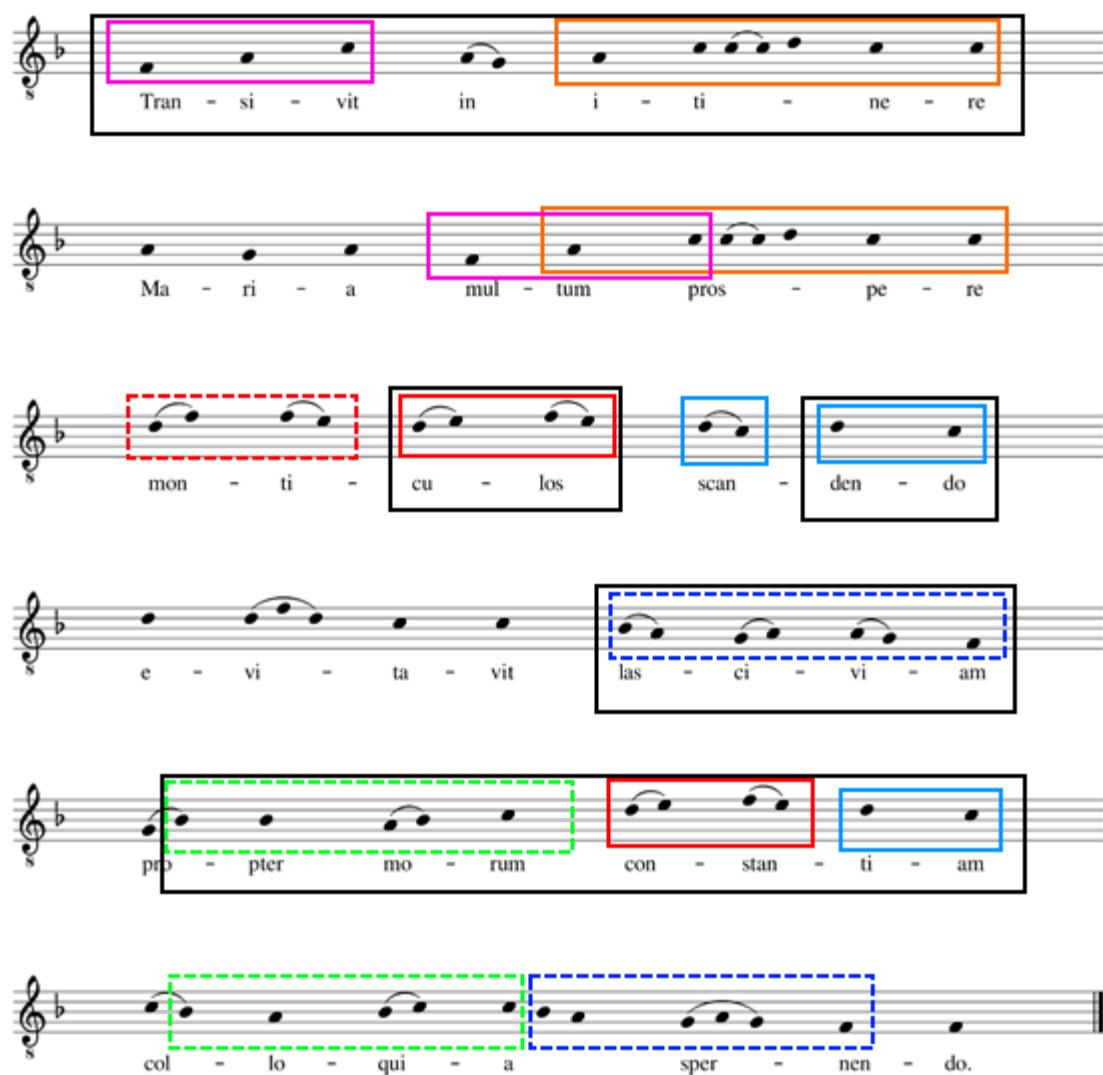
Figure 29: Melodic additions within *Transivit in itinere* (EMA2.2).

The respond *Elizabeth congratulans* gives a second example of the repetition of a short melodic phrase, indicated in Figure 30 by the solid blue boxes, combining the originally separate **d c** into one **dc** ligature. The solid black boxes indicate additions to Speyer's original chant melody. The chant also displays the use of short phrases from omitted sections of Speyer's original melody. The single line above the respond, underlined in red, is a section of Speyer's melody, part of a longer phrase which was originally found between the melodies used for *Messye* and *Unde* in Easton's text. This nineteen-note phrase was not used in its original location by Easton, but nine notes are used with some modification in three places within the chant to add new material to the melodic line, as shown by the red dotted boxes in the figure. The second half of the phrase is also used to add material over the syllables *-dece-* in the fourth line where two ligatures (**cb-aG**) are added after the original phrase **cbab** to create

the familiar motif. In none of these instances is the last **c** found, suggesting that the source used by Easton did not contain this note.
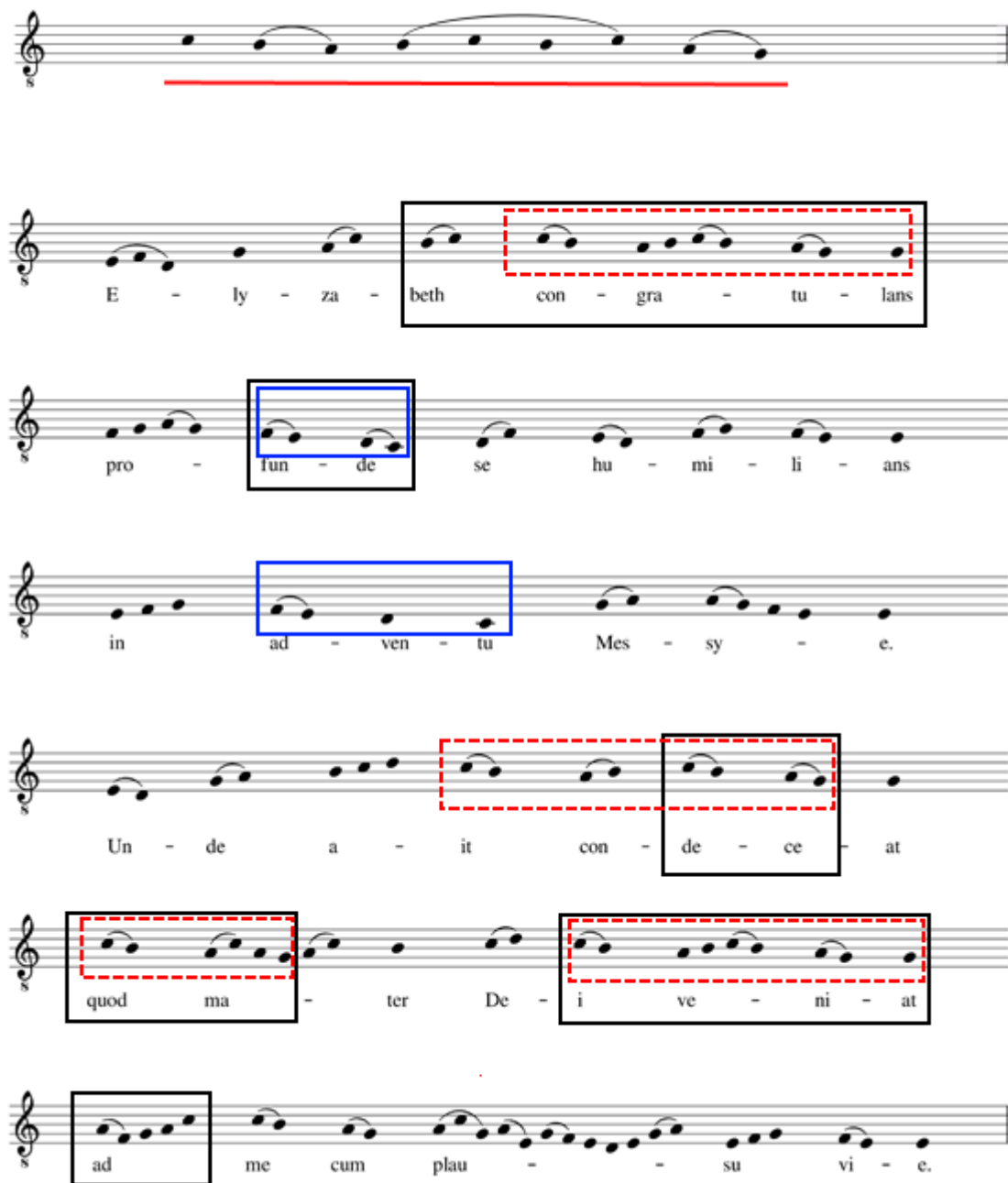
Figure 30: Melodic additions within *Elizabeth congratulans* (EMR1.3).

An example of the creation of short linking passages which elaborate primarily on one or two notes is shown in the second line of the antiphon *Vocat hanc matrem* (EMA1.3), shown in Figure 31, with new sections indicated by solid black boxes. The new melodic phrase on *primo famine* on the second line is principally formed of **G** and **a**. Additionally, the fifth and sixth

lines of the antiphon demonstrate the reuse of melodic material from elsewhere in the chant, shown in red and blue boxes. The melody for *–liis in velatis mysteriis notitia in* comprises a direct quotation of Speyer's melody set here to the earlier phrase *–ne Domini* in the first and second lines, followed by a slightly modified repetition of the melody for *Elyzabeth vi su-* with an additional **G** added as the fifth note. The melodic phrase for *Elyzabeth vi su-* in the third line is a mixed phrase – part Speyer and part Easton – which suggests that Easton may have composed the melody for his chants in a linear fashion, working from his own melody to add phrases rather than relying solely on Speyer's original.

Figure 31: Melodic additions within *Vocat hanc matrem* (EMA1.3).

Finally, the respond *Stella sub nube* (EMR2.3) presents an example of the addition and elaboration of a ligature in line two (indicated by dotted blue boxes in Figure 32) as well as the creation of a completely new melodic line, set to the words *ad solamen lux spar-* in the fifth line (indicated by a solid black box). This new phrase is similar in style to the rest of the chant, although it raises the ambitus up to a ninth by rising to the **d** (Speyer's original melody only reached a **c**). The creation of a stylistically similar phrase demonstrates Easton's compositional ability and indicates that he was cognisant of Speyer's melodic approach.
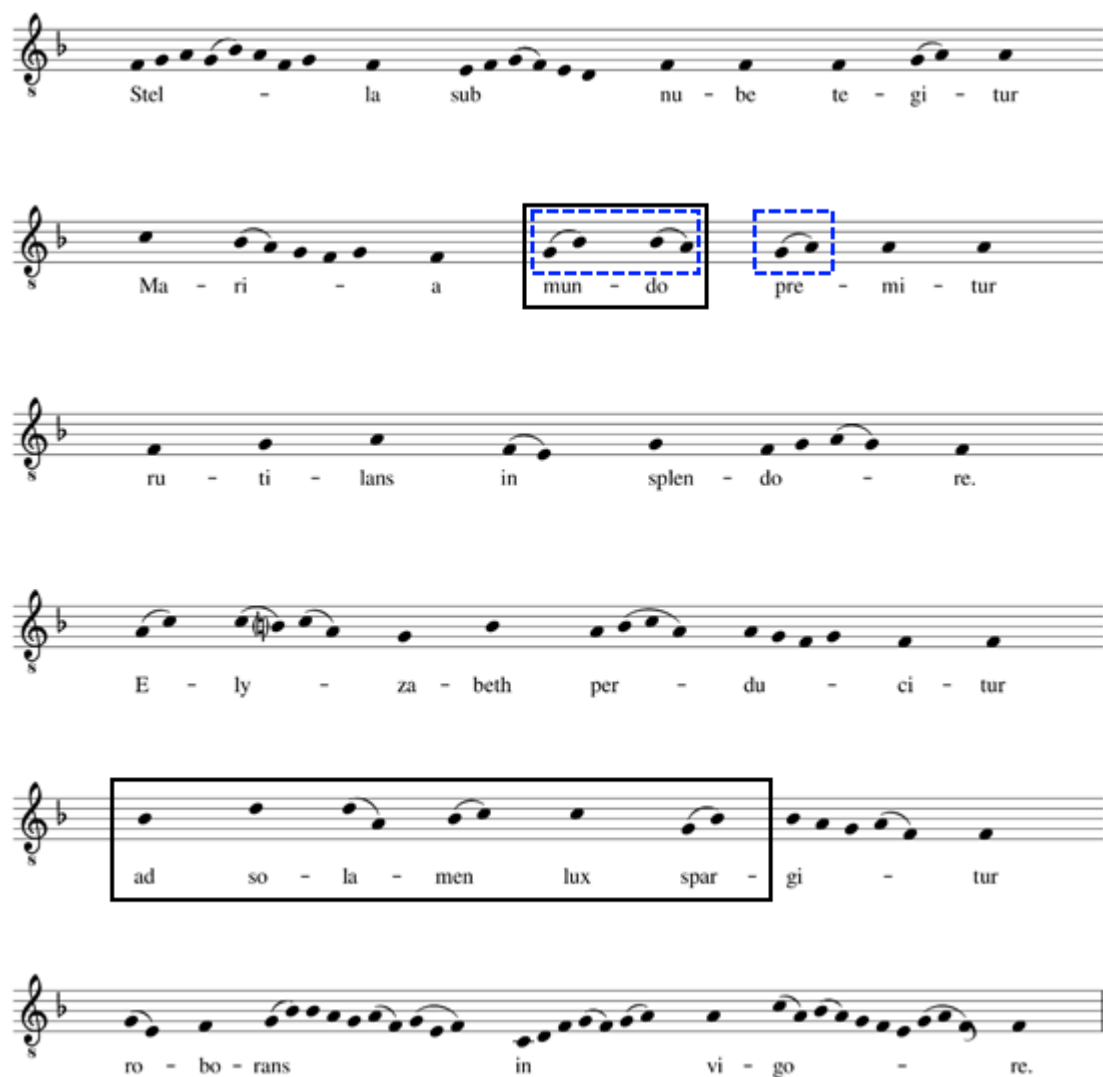
Figure 32: Melodic additions within *Stella sub nube* (EMR2.3).

Newly Composed Chants

The third, and final, category contains chants which have been newly composed, of which there are two: the hymn *In Mariam vite viam* and the responsory verse *In Marie presentia*. It is possible that these are both contrafact chants with as-yet-unidentified source melodies, however at this point of my research I am treating them as newly composed chants.

In most chants within *Accedunt laudes virginis*, the music does not highlight textual elements, likely due to the use of pre-existing melodic material. Both of Easton's newly composed chants, however, display melodic emphasis on certain textual features which demonstrates his understanding of the way in which music can be used to amplify the text.

Figure 33: Construction of *In Mariam vite viam* hymn (EVH).

The Vespers hymn *In Mariam vite viam* (shown in Figure 33) is stylistically in keeping with the rest of the office, and is composed in a style similar to Speyer's hymn *In celesti collegio* which was used by Easton for his Compline hymn *O Christi mater celica*. For example, the repetition of the melodic phrase in the first and last line is a technique seen in *O Christi mater celica* (see Figure 24 on p. 195) and the direct repetition of two notes at the end of the first line is a common addition technique used by Easton. The **c-ba-G** melodic phrase at the end of line two is repeated transposed down a fifth in line three, a technique not seen within his modifications to pre-existing melodies.
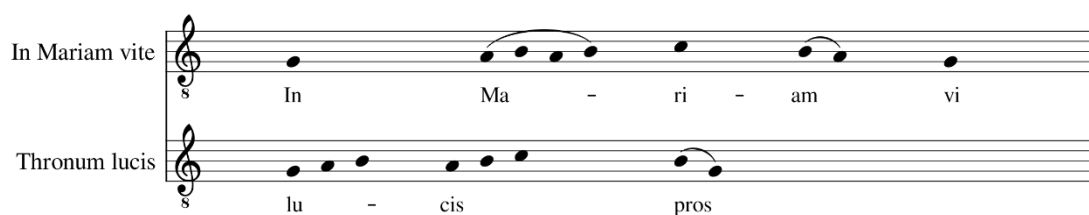
Figure 34: Comparison between *In Mariam vite viam* (EVH) and *Thronum lucis prospexerat* (EMR3.2).

The opening phrase of the hymn is similar to a three-syllable section from the responsory *Thronum lucis prospexerat*, although with an added note **a** in the penultimate position. It is therefore possible that Easton took inspiration from *Thronum lucis prospexerat* (rather than its Speyer source chant, *De paupertatis*, which does not include the second **a**) when composing this hymn. However, while the two phrases are almost identical with regards to the notes, the feel and sound of the section is very different: the three-note progressions on *lucis* create a very different sound to the four-note ligature on *Ma-*. The two phrases also have different harmonic centres despite both being written in G plagal mode: the **abab-c** phrase in *In Mariam vite viam* draws attention to the high **c**, while the rising three-note passages in *Thronum lucis prospexerat* focus on **G** and **b**.

In most chants within Easton's office the music does not emphasise the text, however the textual composition of this hymn led to the creation of a short melodic motif which highlights the names of both Mary and Elizabeth. The first four syllables of the second line of each verse contain a reference to either Elizabeth or Mary: *matrem veram* (v1), *Maria multum* (v2), *Elizabeth* (v3), *fit mater olim* (v4), *Maria fert* (v5), *Maria manu* (v6), and *Maria cunctos* (v7). Each verse in the hymn is set to the same melody, and so these four syllables are set to the same melodic phrase: **b-d-c-b**.
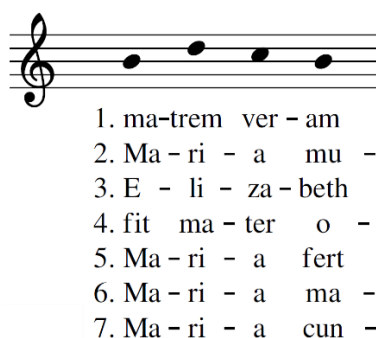
Figure 35: References to Mary and Elizabeth in *In Mariam vite viam* (EVH).

This melodic motif which rises to the highest pitch in the chant before falling creates an audible familiarity for singers and listeners and melodically links nearly all references to Elizabeth and Mary in the hymn.

The second chant in this category, the responsory verse *In Marie presentia* (EMR3.2v), is technically not a newly composed chant. Instead it appears to be a 'contrafact of a contrafact', and is included within this category due to the high degree of modification. The original melody, from Speyer's antiphon *Mansuescit sed* (SMA1.3) has been modified in two stages. The first stage, discussed above and shown in Figure 31 (p. 212), adapted Speyer's original melody to fit Easton's new Visitation text *Vocat hanc matrem* (EMA1.3). This modification included reusing melodic phrases within the chant to create new material as well as changing the melody for one textual line. The melody for Easton's *Vocat hanc matrem* was then adapted for the responsory verse *In Marie presentia*, as shown in Figure 36. In this figure, the melodic borrowings are indicated by solid boxes of corresponding colours: for example, the melody in the red box in *In Marie presentia* is the same as that in the red box in *Vocat hanc matrem*.

The majority of the *In Marie presentia* melody is lifted directly from *Vocat hanc matrem*. From a comparison of Figures 31 and 36 it can be seen that the sections used in *In Marie presentia* encompass those in *Vocat hanc matrem* which were previously adapted from Speyer's melody (whether through melodic additions to the tune or repetitions within the chant). For example, the melodies in *Vocat hanc matrem* set to the text *famine Ely-* and *-liis in velatis misteriis noticia in* are both additions to Speyer's original melody, added in the first stage of modification, and are both found (in various forms) within *In Marie presentia*. This must therefore mean that in the composition of this responsory verse, Easton did not return to Speyer's office but rather chose to create contrafact from an antiphon within the Visitation office itself.

An examination of the text of both chants reveals a possible motive for this unusual procedure:

Vocat hanc matrem nomine
Domini primo famine
Elyzabeth vi superna
quod fuit clausum aliis
in velatis mysteriis
notitia in eterna.

EMA1.3

In Marie presentia
plura patent latentia
Elizabeth dicente.

EMR3.2v

At her first word, Elizabeth
calls this mother in the name of the Lord –
through heavenly power,
for it was closed to others
in veiled mysteries
in eternal knowledge

In the presence of Mary,
more hidden things are exposed
by Elizabeth's words.

The similarity in the text is striking: both refer to Elizabeth talking in the presence of the Virgin Mary and having knowledge of 'hidden things' which are 'closed to others in veiled mysteries', a key concept within Easton's office. The responsory verse *In Marie presentia* could be said to be a textually and musically more concise version of *Vocat hanc matrem*, and I argue that the similarity between the two texts is a key reason for the recomposition and adaptation of the melody, resulting in two chants which are both textually and musically linked. *In Marie presentia* is also the most melismatic chant within Easton's office and the highly melismatic nature (for Easton's office – Jenštejn's is far more melismatic) suggests that the chant was deemed important by Easton. Elizabeth's name is even melodically linked between the two chants, with the *famine Elyzabeth* phrase in *Vocat hanc matrem* used and directly repeated for her name in the responsory verse. The treatment of these two chants, therefore, musically reinforces Easton's textual emphasis on Elizabeth and her role within the Visitation.

Figure 36: Comparison between *Vocat hanc matrem* (EMA1.3) and *In Marie presentia* (EMR3.2v).
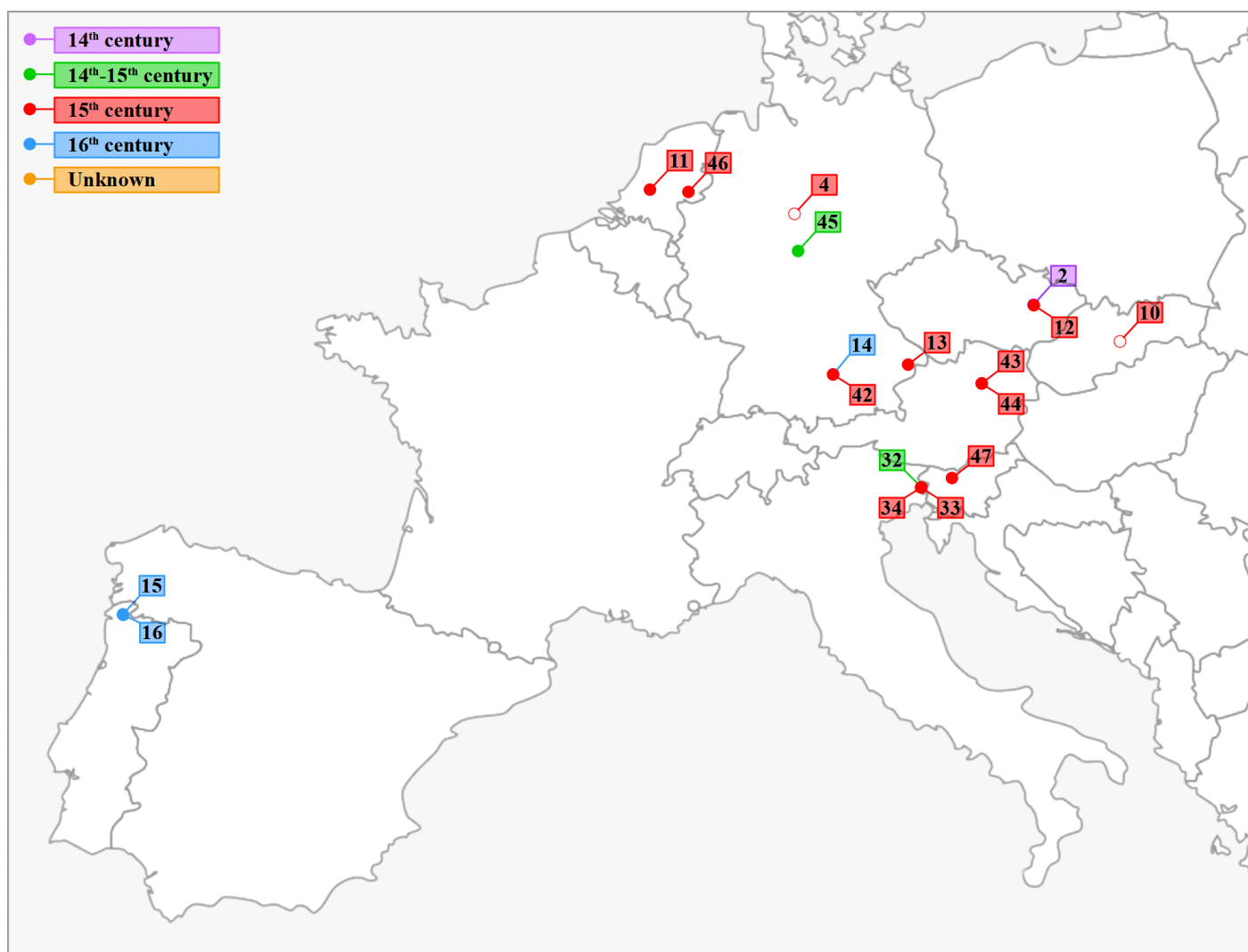
Figure 37: Map showing sources which contain Easton's Visitation office.
Coloured dots represent city provenances: unfilled dots represent general country provenances.
The numbers given are those assigned with manuscript information in Chapter Four.

Transmission of *Accedunt laudes virginis*

The locations of manuscripts examined in this thesis which contain Easton's Visitation office are displayed on the map in Figure 37. The numbers correspond to the table of manuscripts in Chapter Four (Table One, pp. 74-75). Comparison between this map and that which displays manuscripts containing Jenštejn's office (Figure 22, p. 168) reveals that although Easton's office was used throughout Europe, it does not appear to have enjoyed the same regional celebration in central Europe as Jenštejn's did, particularly in the modern-day Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia. Easton's office also appears to have been disseminated much later than Jenštejn's: many of the manuscripts which contain Jenštejn's office are firmly dated to the fourteenth century. The only manuscript with Easton's office dated within the fourteenth century is CZ-Bsa R 626, where *Accedunt laudes virginis* has been added later at the end of the manuscript. It is not possible to claim that Easton's office was not celebrated in countries such as France, Spain, or Italy, as the lacuna in source information can be easily explained by a lower number of manuscripts from those countries catalogued in the databases I used for my research. However, it is possible to suggest due to a high number of digitised and indexed manuscripts, that in West Slavic countries (the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia), Easton's office appears to have been less popular than Jenštejn's. This is likely to be due to a number of reasons, including Jenštejn's position as Archbishop of Prague and his introduction of the feast of the Visitation – celebrated using his office – in his archdiocese on 16 June 1386, four years before the feast was officially promulgated by the Papal Curia. It is therefore likely that in those regions close to the Prague archdiocese, celebration of the feast of the Visitation with Jenštejn's office was common before Easton's *Accedunt laudes virginis* office reached them.

Within the manuscripts examined in this thesis, there appear to be three modified versions of the office. The first of these is a Moravian variant, found in the two Olomouc manuscripts (Mss CZ-Bsa R 626 [No.2] and CZ-OLu M IV 6 [No.12]). Within these two manuscripts a significantly altered version of Easton's office is documented, with new melodies for a number of chants in Matins, Lauds, and Second Vespers. The main corpus of Ms CZ-Bsa R 626 is dated to 1397. However, this modified version of Easton's office was added later to the end of this manuscript, possibly at the same time as the creation of the second Olomouc manuscript in the fifteenth century.

The second modified version of the office is a Portuguese variant, found in both manuscripts from Braga Cathedral (Mss P-BRs Ms. 028 [No.15] and P-BRs Ms. 034 [No.16]). The text of Easton's office is kept almost entirely, but both manuscripts set some Matins responsories to alternative melodies unique to these two manuscripts.

The third and final modified version of the office is found in the German manuscript CZ-Pn XIII A 7 [No.4]. This manuscript includes four alternative melodies (EMA3.1, EMR3.1+v, and EMR3.3) which appear to be unique to this manuscript, and which contain additional Speyer material omitted from Easton's original office. For example, the first two lines of *Tunc ad sermonem* (EMA3.1) in this manuscript correspond to the opening of Speyer's antiphon *Cor verbis nove*, a phrase that Easton omitted almost entirely from his melody. In addition to the four unique melodies, the respond *Thronum lucis prospexerat* within this manuscript has been significantly altered in order to adhere more closely to the original Speyer melody. The text of the respond has not been changed, but the division between the two halves of the respond now follows Speyer's uneven four-two split, and the melody has also been altered to follow Speyer's melodic division. It is possible that the users of this manuscript were familiar with Speyer's office for St Francis of Assisi, and chose to keep as much of the original melody as possible.

There is far more melodic variation between different instances of Easton's office than Jenštejn's as shown in the edition, both in terms of the creation of alternative melodies for his texts, but also the use of shorter melodic changes. It is likely that in the case of many instances of Jenštejn's office, the users of the manuscript made a conscious decision to include that particular version of the office, and therefore remained relatively true to the source material. Users of manuscripts with Easton's office may have used *Accedunt laudes virginis* as it was the officially promulgated version, but may have felt comfortable adapting the melodies to their needs and preferences.

There are also a number of manuscripts which contain chants from both composers. The Moravian manuscript CZ-Bsa R 626 [No.2] includes Easton's office tacked on the end while Jenštejn's enjoys prime position within the main corpus of offices in the summer antiphonal. The manuscripts from Cividale Cathedral (Mss I CFm XLIV, I CFm LVII, and I CFm XLVIII [Nos.32, 33, 34]) as well as the German manuscript CZ-Pn XIII A 7 [No.4] all include *Accedunt laudes virginis* but add chants from Jenštejn's office to fill lacuna in Easton's (for example the Vespers responsory and Compline antiphon). This suggests that although Easton's was officially promulgated by papal bull, Jenštejn's office may have enjoyed wider appreciation.

Conclusion

Accedunt laudes virginis was composed by Adam Easton after the first investigative panel commissioned by Pope Urban VI and his submission undoubtedly benefitted from his knowledge of the first panel's response to Jenštejn's office. The textual references to the Schism suggests that the cardinal understood, and may have believed in, Jenštejn's reasons for instituting the new feast, and his strict adherence to metric and rhyme schemes throughout his office texts may be a response to the criticism of the style of *Exurgens autem Maria*.

Easton's office texts use a gloss-esque technique to explain the importance of the Visitation within the Bible as well as within the personal lives of those celebrating the feast. His emphasis on Elizabeth and her humanity, presented in contrast to her younger cousin who is the mother of God, encourages listeners to relate to the older woman. His description of the difference in their pregnancies – Mary's is painless and weightless while Elizabeth's is a heavy burden – highlights the normalness of Elizabeth's trials, while simultaneously emphasising Mary's unique status.

Most of Easton's office is a contrafact of Speyer's office for St Francis of Assisi, *Franciscus vir catholicus*. However, as I have shown in this chapter, the degree of modification surely means that it cannot be classified as a 'true contrafact'. I therefore propose an alternative classification for Easton's office: a 'modified contrafact' where the versification and melodic lines are inspired by Speyer's chants but where the chant melodies have been significantly altered. The amount of modification – both where differences between Easton's and Speyer's texts necessitated melodic adaption and changes for apparent aesthetic reasons – along with some new melodic composition means that Easton must have been musically literate. The creation of stylistically similar new material demonstrates his understanding of, and ability to mirror, Speyer's compositional approach. The musical highlighting of key textual elements within the two newly composed chants indicates that Easton understood the relationship between text and music, and used melodic figures to reinforce and amplify his particular views on the Visitation.

Although most research on Easton agrees that the Visitation office is his only compositional output, examination of the *Alme Pater* motet and comparison with *Accedunt laudes virginis* may reveal that Easton was more prolific than previously imagined. Further analysis of other contrafact offices may determine whether the level of modification in Easton's office was normal or anomalous for late-fourteenth century contrafacta.

Conclusion

The Visitation was the final Marian feast derived from events in the Bible to be introduced into the Roman Calendar. The new feast celebrated medieval womanhood and motherhood, and provided a window into Mary's life and her familial ties. This thesis has examined the feast of the Visitation, from Jenštejn's vision in 1378 to the official promulgation of Easton's office in 1390 and the later parallel observance of both offices throughout Europe.

It is unusual to have such a wealth of contemporary evidence concerning the authors of two late-medieval offices and on the process for introducing a new feast into the Calendar. Existing scholarship on Jenštejn and Easton concentrates mainly on their political lives, whereas this thesis looks particularly at the theological and cultural context in which the new feast of the Visitation was introduced and the motivations behind Jenštejn's and Easton's involvement. The multiple layers of discussion demonstrate the theological, practical, and social complications when instituting a new feast through the Papal Curia; further research may determine whether this process was usual for the introduction of new feasts.

Analysis of the text and melodies of Jenštejn's *Exurgens autem Maria* and Easton's *Accedunt laudes virginis* reveals two contrasting approaches to the feast. Jenštejn wrote his office to ensure that the Visitation was accepted by the Papal Curia, and so his text repeatedly demonstrates the biblical authority of the new feast. This is shown by his significant quotation of the Lucan Visitation passage itself, and specifically in the repetition of the *Magnificat* which is also musically emphasised. Other passages, from both the Old and New Testaments, were carefully selected to emphasise Mary's status and the power of Jesus and God. In the Bible, the Visitation reveals Mary's 'normal' familial relationships, but Jenštejn's repeated statement that Mary is unequalled ('peerless') reinforces her unique pregnancy and childbirth. Mary is someone from whom mankind should request help; she will give people hope and aid just as she helped Elizabeth during pregnancy. In Jenštejn's office, Elizabeth is relegated to a lesser role within the Visitation: non-biblical descriptions of the older kinswoman are not flattering (for example, *anus* – old woman) or refer to her in relation to her links to Mary or John the Baptist and not as an individual. The use of so many biblical texts and Marian themes gives a theologically conservative text, with chants that have neither rhyme nor metric scheme, which

was criticised by the second investigative panel commissioned in 1390. However, the scriptural authority of the feast is undeniable.

Jenštejn's melodies are similarly 'safe': his use of standard modal openings and cadences as well as mode-specific motifs places his chant melodies firmly within contemporary compositional norms. Further research into Jenštejn's non-Visitation corpus may reveal whether this compositional approach was typical of him, or whether these melodies are unusually 'safe'. His use of pre-existing melodies for the hymns and one responsory verse is also not unusual for a late-medieval office. Jenštejn's intended date for the feast (28 April) is reflected in the unusual number of alleluias embedded in the texts and chant melodies, which became problematic when the feast was formally assigned to 2 July by the pope.

An outcome of my research not previously considered in any detail in modern scholarship is the co-authorship of the *Exurgens autem Maria* office by Jenštejn and his assistant Nicholas of Rakovník. This co-authorship, documented in the contemporary manuscript PL-WRu I F 777 and later mentioned briefly by Polc and Neumann, is not mentioned in modern Western research. The finding contradicts previous analytical studies of the office and raises questions regarding the authorship of the rest of Jenštejn's compositional corpus: could other non-Visitation chants have been delegated to his assistant, Rakovník, or to someone else? Future research may reveal that co-authorship of offices, and possibly other liturgical and secular music, was far more common that is currently understood.

Easton's office, in contrast, was written after the pope had agreed that the feast was necessary. He not only had access to Jenštejn's chants and reasoning for the feast's introduction, but had also been part of the first investigative panel into Jenštejn's office. Easton was thus writing with a certain amount of insider knowledge and an understanding of what was expected from an office for it to be accepted. It is not surprising, therefore, that Easton's chant texts do not suffer from the same grammatical and versification issues as Jenštejn's. The Latin used is grammatically sophisticated, and the rhyming texts are strictly versified. Whereas Jenštejn's office texts were written to convince the Papal Curia of the importance and legitimacy of the feast, Easton's office appears to have been composed to demonstrate the feast's importance and relevance to everyone. His chant texts are exegetic in nature, repeating his key theological points and almost glossing the biblical Visitation passage.

Unlike Jenštejn who presents Elizabeth as a one-dimensional character, Easton deliberately emphasises her humanity. He specifically notes that anything 'special' she can do,

such as pregnancy at an advanced age or prophetic speech, is only possible through the action of the Holy Spirit. His creation of direct speech both humanises Elizabeth and expands her characterisation within the Visitation scene. Unlike Jenštejn's office where the holy and peerless Mary is the focus, the emphasis on the mortal Elizabeth within Easton's office encourages listeners to relate to the older woman. Elizabeth, an ordinary woman blessed by the Holy Spirit, shocked and in awe that her younger cousin – the mother of her Lord – has come to visit and give aid. Elizabeth rejoices in the presence of her Lord and praises Mary. Elizabeth is thus presented as an example to mankind: ordinary people who are blessed by God should rejoice in the presence of the Lord and praise Mary for her key role in humanity's salvation, both in general and specifically during the Schism.

Easton's texts also demonstrate his knowledge of, and potentially his agreement with, some of Jenštejn's reasons for introducing his feast, as written in the archbishop's letters to Pope Urban VI. For example, the first verse of *O Christi mater celica*, Easton's Compline hymn, states that Mary is *lux pellens cuncta scismata* (the light that banishes all schisms), which reflects Jenštejn's belief that the introduction of the Visitation would heal the wounds of the Schism.

The Visitation office appears to be Easton's sole musical composition. The melodies of all except two of Easton's chants are contrafacta, suggesting that he may have felt more comfortable modifying pre-existing chants than creating entirely new melodies. However, many of these contrafact chants have significant alterations within their melodic lines, demonstrating some level of musical – and specifically compositional – ability, and leading to the suggestion that Easton's office should be classified as a 'modified contrafact'. Further research on late medieval contrafacta could determine whether such a high level of modification is common, or whether Easton's office is anomalous. It is also possible that Easton was inspired by Jenštejn's own use of contrafacta, which does not appear to have been criticised by either investigative panel. Easton's choice of source material may have been influenced by Jenštejn's Compline hymn *O Christi mater fulgida*, which is a contrafact of Speyer's hymn *In celesti collegio*. Within his own Compline hymn, Easton acknowledged Jenštejn's text as well as his use of Speyer's melody: Easton's first verse is a paraphrase of Jenštejn's and appears to be the only occasion where Easton has been directly influenced by the content of Jenštejn's office.

I have not identified any contemporary explanation of the decision to choose Easton's office to promulgate over Jenštejn's. However, Jenštejn's office, *Exurgens autem Maria*, was criticised for its unsophisticated Latin and lack of consistent rhyme and versification schemes. It is reasonable to speculate that the inclusion of alleluias unsuitable for the feast date assigned by Pope Urban VI may also have affected the office's reception and led to its dismissal. In contrast, Easton's office, *Accedunt laudes virginis*, addresses the criticism received by Jenštejn by using rhymed and versified texts, and the setting of the texts to pre-existing (although modified) melodies may also have offered a feeling of familiarity and influenced the Papal Curia in its decision to select this office.

It is also possible that the choice was influenced by personal ambition as much as spiritual devotion: Easton was one of the four cardinals in the second panel, and may have directed criticism towards Jenštejn's office in order to raise the profile of his own composition. The choice of Easton's office may also have had a political dimension. Easton was a cardinal who had written on papal authority, and stayed loyal to the Roman pope throughout the Schism, even after being arrested and tortured. Easton was also known to King Richard II of England, the regent masters of the University of Oxford, and the General Chapter of the English Benedictines as demonstrated by their letters petitioning the pope for his release. The choice of his office may therefore have been a placating gesture to the King of England.

The dissemination of the feast throughout Europe, as evidenced by the forty-seven manuscripts examined in this thesis, shows that although Easton's office was promulgated by the Papal Curia, Jenštejn's was used to celebrate the feast across Europe as late as the mid-sixteenth century. Both offices appear to have been adapted to suit local conditions; in some manuscripts, both are given in full, while other manuscripts use Jenštejn's chants to supplement Easton's full office. The fact that *Exurgens autem Maria* was still being used and promulgated alongside the official version suggests that while Easton's office was included within manuscripts because it was officially promulgated, Jenštejn's was added simply because it was liked. This suggests that, despite its lack of versification, something resonated with those choosing the repertory, perhaps the scribe, the manuscript patron, or clergy of the cathedral or monastery, or even the local congregation. The popular adoption of Jenštejn's office within West Slavic countries, as shown in Figure 22, may reflect the recognition of Jenštejn himself within that geographic area. Future research, aided by the discovery, digitisation, and cataloguing of further manuscripts, will no doubt add to the understanding of the dissemination of these two offices and discover additional variants. It would be particularly interesting to

chart the use of Easton's and Jenštejn's offices in insular manuscripts. For this thesis I was unable to find either office within British manuscripts, which may be due to the low number of notated insular manuscripts that have been catalogued and digitised. Further research on insular Visitation offices would be particularly interesting.

The critical edition within my thesis has made the full text and music of both offices available for the first time along with an English translation. This will facilitate research into the repertory in the future, both analytical and regarding its dissemination and later variants, and also encourage performances. Some chants from my edition of Jenštejn's office will be sung in a concert in March 2021 for the anniversary of the canonization of St. Jan of Nepomuk (c.1345-1393), the vicar-general under Jenštejn. This will allow a greater understanding of the performativity of the chants as well as a consideration of the impact of the chants on the listeners and how the melodies acoustically interact with the environment. Collaboration with performers of late-medieval liturgical chant may reveal performative nuances within each office that could further suggest why Easton's office was chosen or why Jenštejn's continued to be popular.

During my research I also investigated the possibility of creating an online edition, using MEI (the Music Encoding Initiative)[442]. While it was beyond the scope of this thesis to fully realise these ambitions, I hope to continue the process in a later project. The creation of an online version would widen the accessibility of this edition and facilitate future analysis into the dissemination and modification of the offices throughout late-medieval Europe.

This thesis has challenged the previously accepted understanding of both offices, demonstrating that Easton's contrafact is highly modified, and exploring the possibility of a second composer for some chants within Jenštejn's office. It is my hope that this thesis will serve as a platform for future research into contrafacta, co-authorship, and the way in which medieval feasts and offices were chosen, transmitted, and modified. As Jenštejn states in his office, the Visitation is *O dies omni studio veneranda*: O day to be venerated with all study.

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[442] See, for example, the Music Encoding Initiative website: <https://music-encoding.org/>, last accessed 5 January 2021.

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Textual Edition
Jenštejn: Exurgens autem Maria[443]

Primary manuscript: CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16
Underlined text is directly quoted from the Bible. The book, chapter, and verse are given under the chant.

JVA1

<u>Exurgens autem Maria abiit in montana cum festinatione in civitatem Iuda et introivit in domum Zacharie et salutavit Elyzabeth</u> alleluia.	<u>And Mary went into the hill country with haste into a city of Juda and she entered into the house of Zachariah and saluted Elizabeth</u>. Alleluia. *Luke 1:39-40*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: missing alleluia due to page damage

JVA2

<u>Et factum est ut audivit Elyzabeth salutationem Marie exultavit infans in utero eius et repleta est spiritu sancto</u> alleluia.	<u>And it came to pass, that, when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and</u> she <u>was filled with the Holy Ghost</u> alleluia. *Luke 1:41*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

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[443] My thanks to Daniel Bate for the English translations.

Exclamavit Elyzabeth <u>voce magna et dixit</u> <u>benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus</u> <u>fructus ventris tui</u> alleluia.	And Elizabeth <u>spake out with a loud voice,</u> <u>and said, 'Blessed art thou among women,</u> <u>and blessed is the fruit of thy womb</u>.' Alleluia.
	Luke 1:42

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

MA Impr. 1537: **1** et dixit/et ait

JVA4

Et unde michi hoc ut veniat mater Domini <u>ad me ecce enim ut facta est vox salutationis</u> <u>tue in auribus meis exultavit in gaudio</u> <u>infans in utero meo</u> alleluia.	'And whence is this to me that the mother of <u>the Lord should come to me? For behold as</u> <u>soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded</u> <u>in my ears, the infant in my womb leaped</u> <u>for joy</u>.' Alleluia.
	Luke 1:43-44

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **3-4** exultavit in gaudio infans/exultavit infans

Vat.lat.1122: **2** ad me/mei ad me

JVA5

Et beata que credidisti quoniam perficientur in te <u>que dicta sunt tibi</u> alleluia.	'And blessed art thou that hast believed, <u>because things shall be accomplished</u> in thee <u>that were spoken to thee</u>.' Alleluia.
	Luke 1:45

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

v1	Assunt festa iubilea in Marie nunc gaudia tota psallat ecclesia devota laudum dragmata.	They, jubilant, attend the feast, now to the joys of Mary let the whole Church sing the psalms, devoted dramas of praises.
v2	Cuius sacrata viscera Dei invisit gratia ut esset virgo gravida thori virilis nescia.	Whose sacred organs God's grace has visited so that the virgin might be pregnant not knowing man.
v3	Hec paranympho dum credit sacrum hanc pneuma replevit alvus tumescit et gerit verbum patris quod meruit.	While she trusts in the bridesman,[444] the holy spirit filled her, the belly swells and bears the word of the Father, because she has deserved it.
v4	Confestim montes adiit Elyzabeth salutavit obviis eam suscipit ulnis stringit et circuit.	Immediately she went to the mountains, greeted Elizabeth, receives her with open arms, presses and embraces [her].
v5	Sacri iunguntur uteri milesque sui Domini presentiam dum percipit hunc exultando suscipit.	The sacred wombs are joined, and the soldier,[445] when he perceives the presence of his Lord, receives him with exultation.
v6	Clamat anus cum iubilo plena sancto paraclito beata tu in filio que credidisti Domino.	With a joyful cry, the old woman shouts, filled with the Holy Paraclete, 'Blessed with a son are you who have trusted in the Lord'.
v7	Exultet celi regia et mundialis machina abissus atque Maria laudent Deum per secula.	Let the court of heaven rejoice, so too the earthly realm, let the abyss[446] and Mary also praise God throughout the centuries.
v8	Patri summo cum filio spiritui quoque sancto sit sempiterna gloria in unitate solida. Amen.	To the highest Father with the Son, also to the Holy Spirit, may everlasting glory be in complete unity. Amen.

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[444] *Paranympho*, bridesman, may refer to Gabriel.

[445] *Milesque*, soldier, refers to John the Baptist.

[446] *Abissus*, abyss, may refer to Psalm 148:7 '*Laudate Dominum de terra, dracones et omnes abyssi* (Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons, and all ye deeps)'.

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, Vat.lat.1122 (given later in Ms), CZ-Pak Cim 7 (only v1 available)

CZ-Bsa R 626: hole - -devota (v1) to confestim (v4)-; v5 – **3-4** percipit hunc exultando/agnoscit tripudiando; v8 – **2** spiritui/spiranum

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: v2 – **3** virgo gravida/virgo

Given as incipit only: PL-PłS 36

Not given: MA Impr. 1537

JVAM

O quanta vis amoris illibate tunc mentem accenderat virginis ut in spiritu sancto rapta iubilaret <u>magnificat anima mea</u> <u>Dominum</u> alleluia alleluia.	O how much power of undiminished love had then inflamed the mind of the virgin that, seized by the Holy Spirit, she might joyfully cry '<u>my soul doth magnify the Lord</u>,' alleluia, alleluia. *Luke 1:46*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

v1	O Christi mater fulgida scatens fons omni gratia lux pellens queque nubila Maria venustissima.	O shining mother of Christ, fountain abounding with all grace, light banishing any clouds, most beautiful Mary.
v2	Gestas que castimonia intacta patrem filia virgo monarcham inclita genetrix pudicissima.	You the daughter who bears the father with chastity intact, a virgin named queen, purest mother.
v3	Tua prece hanc miseram pusillamque plebeculam subleva per auxilium que iacet nexu criminum.	By your prayer, through your help, lift this wretched and insignificant rabble, brought low by the bond of sins.
v4	O advocata strenua hostem nostrum extermina depelle queque noxia impetra celi gaudia.	O quick counsellor, banish our enemy, drive out each fault, procure the joys of heaven.
v5	Sit gloria patri Deo Iesu Christoque filio spiritui paraclito trino et uni Domino. Amen.	Glory be to God the Father, and to Jesus Christ the son, to the Spirit the helper, to the triune Lord. Amen.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pak Cim 7 (only v1 available)

CZ-Bsa R 626: v5 – **3** spiritui/amborumque

CZ-Pu XII A 9: v5 – **3** spiritui/amborum queque

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: v5 – **2** Iesu Christoque/Iesuque Christo

Vat.lat.1122 (given later in MS): v1 – **4** venustissima/sacratissima

Given as incipit only: PL-PłS 36

Not given: MA Impr. 1537

JCAN

Gaude Maria mater Christi que singulari privilegio meruisti portare Christum Dominum lumen ad revelationem gentium alleluia.	Rejoice Mary, Mother of Christ, who by unique privilege has deserved to carry Christ the Lord, a light to the revelation of the Gentiles, alleluia. *Luke 2:32*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as JCAN), CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, Vat.lat.1122

CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as ECAN): **1** Christi/Christri (error), **5** alleluia/x.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **3** portare Christum Dominum/portare Dominum

JMI1

In honore Marie virginis Elyzabeth visitantis adoremus Dominum alleluia.	In honour of the Virgin Mary's visit to Elizabeth, let us adore the Lord, alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, Vat.lat.1122

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **3** visitantis/salutantis

JMI2

Quem virginalis uterus super montana vexit nunc adoretur Dominus Ihesus qui nos dilexit alleluia.	He who the virginal womb bore over the mountains, let the Lord Jesus, who has loved us, now be adored, alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, SK-Sk 2 (given in margin underneath EMA1.3), Vat.lat.1122

Not given: PL-PłS 36, MA Impr. 1537, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, R 626

JMA1.1

Quam gloriosam et admirabilem in universa terra fecit Deus ancillam humilem alleluia.	How glorious and admirable throughout the land God has made a humble handmaiden, alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

JMA1.2

Celi stupent in Maria cui tot singularia sunt collata donaria alleluia.	The heavens marvel at Mary, to whom so many unequalled treasure chambers are compared, Alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

JMA1.3

Ferax est terra Domini venter sacrate virginis qui thesaurum fert hominis nostre parem ymaginis alleluia.	Fruitful is the land of the Lord, the womb of the sanctified virgin, who bears the treasure of mankind, equal to our image, Alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

CZ-Bsa R 626: **3** hominis/homini

MA Impr. 1537: **3** hominis/hominum

JMR1.1

Surge propera amica mea formosa mea. Et veni iam enim hyemps transiit ymber abiit et recessit alleluia.	Arise, make haste, my love, my beautiful one, and come. For winter is now past, the rain is over and gone. Alleluia. *Song of Songs 2:10-11*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

| Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam. | Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thy ear.
Psalm 44:11 |

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

JMR1.2

| En dilectus meus
loquitur michi.
Intra precordia
mea dat vocem suam
alleluia. | Behold my beloved speaketh to me. Within my breast he imparts his voice, alleluia.

Song of Songs 2:10 |

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

JMR1.2v

| Quam dulcia faucibus meis
eloquia tua Domine
super mel ori meo. | How sweet are thy words to my palate! Lord, more than honey to my mouth.

Psalm 118:103 |

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

JMR1.3

Ibo ad montem mirre festinanter et videbo verbum hoc. Quod factum est in auribus meis ab angelo salutante alleluia.	I will go with haste to the mount of myrrh[447] and I will see the word that has been made by the angel's greeting in my ears, alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JVR), Vat.lat.1122

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

JMR1.3v

Viam mandatorum tuorum cucurri iuxta verbum tuum.	I have run the way of thy commandments according to your word. *Psalm 118:32*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JVRv), Vat.lat.1122

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing for Vi-

JMA2.1

Verbum bonum virgo paris manens expers omnis maris fecundaris pneumate alleluia.	Virgin awaiting the good word, without equal in all mankind, you are made fertile by the spirit, alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

MA Impr. 1537: **2** manens/manes

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[447] From the Song of Songs 4:6 'I will make my way to the mountain of myrrh and to the hill of frankincense'.

<u>JMA2.2</u>

Torrens sacrati fluminis urbem Dei letificat dum Maria vi numinis ore Deum magnificat alleluia.	The torrent of the holy river delights the city of God,[448] as Mary, by divine power, glorifies God with her speech, alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A9, Vat.lat.1122, PL-PłS 36, MA Impr 1537, R 626

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** urbem/verbun (error)

<u>JMA2.3</u>

O dilecta civitas Dei rei poscimus qui te noscimus ora pro nobis Deum alleluia.	O beloved city of God, we sinners, who come to know you, ask God 'pray for us', alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

<u>JMR2.1</u>

<u>Ecce iste venit saliens in montibus transiliens colles. Similis est dilectus meus hynulo capreeque cervorum</u> alleluia.	<u>Behold he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping over the hills. My beloved is like a roe deer, or a young hart.</u> Alleluia. *Song of Songs 2:8-9*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3

Vat.lat.1122: **1** venit saliens in/venit in

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[448] Psalm 46:4: There is a river whose streams make glad the city of God.

JMR2.1v

Exultavit ut gygas ad currendam viam a summo celo egressio eius.	He hath rejoiced as a giant to run the way: His going out is from the end of heaven. *Psalm 18:6-7*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

JMR2.2

Felices matres sed nati feliciores. Et que gessere felicia facta fuere alleluia.	Blessed are the mothers but more blessed are the children, and they who have born them have been made blessed, alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

JMR2.2v

Felix domus felix familia quis sunt visa tot mirabilia.	Blessed is the house, blessed is the family, by whom so many wonderful things are seen.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

CZ-Bsa R 626, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122: **2** quis/quibus

JMR2.3

O preclara stella maris	O bright star of the sea, peerless virgin
virgo mater singularis	mother who has [have] visited her
que cognatam visitasti	kinswoman, you have illuminated John with
Iohannem illuminasti	your most glorious offspring. We beseech
prole preclarissima.	you on this feast day, may you be a comfort
Te precamur in hoc festo	to all who sorrow, put death to flight, bring
sis solamen omni mesto	our fate into the heavenly home, alleluia.
fuga mortem confer sortem	
nobis in celi patria	
alleluia.	

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pn XII A 7 (given as EVR), CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JMR3.3), Vat.lat.1122

JMR2.3v

Ad te clamant omnes rei	All we sinners cry to you, bountiful giver of
larga datrix sancte spei	holy hope, O unfailing source.[449]
o fons indeficiens.	

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pn XIII A 7 (given as EVRv), CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JMR3.3v)

Vat.lat.1122: **1-2** omnes rei larga/omnes larga

JMR2.4

O dies omni voto recolenda	O day to contemplate with all prayer, O day
o dies omni studio veneranda.	to be venerated with all study, in which so
Inqua tot misero	many joys have shone upon the wretched
fulserunt gaudia mundo	world, alleluia.
alleluia.	

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36 (given as JMR3.3), SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JMR2.3), Vat.lat.1122

Not given: R 626

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[449] *Fons*, source, has a number of meanings, all of which Jenštejn could have been intending for the reader to understand: fountainhead, fountain, well, source.

JMR2.4v

Hec dies quam fecit Dominus exultemus et letemur in ea.	This [is] the day which the Lord hath made: let us be glad and rejoice therein.
	Psalm 117:24

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36 (given as JMR3.3v), SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JMR2.3v), Vat.lat.1122

Not given: R 626

JMA3.1

| Magna mirabilia
in filia
quam sibi elegit
terre marisque Dominus
celi nichilominus
signanter peregit
alleluia. | The Lord of earth, sea and sky has nevertheless clearly accomplished many great wonders in the daughter whom he has chosen for himself, alleluia. |

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

JMA3.2

| Exultet terra propere
multe letentur insule
en nubem rore celico
replevit sanctus spiritus
alleluia. | May the earth in haste rejoice, may many islands rejoice, behold! the holy spirit has filled a cloud with heavenly dew, alleluia. |

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

<u>JMA3.3</u>

Novum tibi virgo canticum decantamus ut per te vite viaticum habeamus alleluia.	Virgin, we chant to you a new song so that through you we may have provision for life, alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

<u>JMR3.1</u>

Speciosas filias cumulantes divitias. Thesauro ventris gravidi transcendit mater Domini alleluia alleluia.	By the treasure of her pregnant womb, the mother of the Lord has surpassed the beautiful daughters who amass riches, alleluia, alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

<u>JMR3.1v</u>

<u>Exulta et lauda habitatio Syon quia magnus in medio tui sanctus Israel.</u>	<u>Rejoice, and praise, O thou habitation of Sion: for great is he that is in the midst of thee, the Holy One of Israel.</u> *Isaiah 12:6*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

Ait autem Maria <u>fecit michi magna qui potens est. Et sanctum nomen eius</u> alleluia.	Moreover, Mary says '<u>He that is mighty, hath done great things to me; and holy is his name</u>.' Alleluia. *Luke 1:49*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

JMR3.2v

<u>Et misericordia eius a progenie in progenies timentibus eum</u>.	<u>And his mercy is from generation unto generations, to them that fear him</u>. *Luke 1:50*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

JMR3.3

<u>Magnificat anima mea Dominum et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo. Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue</u> alleluia.	<u>My soul doth magnify the Lord. And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. Because he hath regarded the humility of his handmaiden</u>. Alleluia. *Luke 1:46-48*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as JVR), CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537 (given as JVR), PL-PłS 36 (given as JVR), SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JMR1.3), Vat.lat.1122

JMR3.3v

<u>Ecce enim exhoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes</u>.	<u>For behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed</u>. *Luke 1:48*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as JVRv), CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537 (given as JVRv), PL-PłS 36 (given as JVRv), SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JMR1.3v), Vat.lat.1122

JMT

Mater Christi veneranda
    sublevamen miseris.
Prole tua adoranda
    subveni pestiferis.
Ad te rei suspiramus
    dux excellentissima.
Te devote exoramus
    confer vite gaudia.
Per ascensum hodiernum
    ad montana agilem.
Nos ad regnum duc eternum
    per vitam laudabilem.
Ut soluti mundi mole
    et carnis penuria.
De tua letemur prole
    virgo preclarissima
alleluia.
	The venerable mother of Christ, solace to the wretched.
	By your honoured offspring, rescue us from destructive things.
	To you we sinners sigh, most distinguished leader.
	We devoutly beg you: bestow the joys of life.
	Through a quick ascent today to mountainous places
	lead us to the eternal kingdom through a praiseworthy life
	so that we may rejoice, freed from the world and the wants of the flesh by your offspring, most glorious virgin, alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, Vat.lat.1122

Not given: PL-PłS 36, MA Impr. 1537, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, CZ-Bsa R 626

JMR3.4

Suscepit Israel puerum suum recordatus misericordie sue. Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros Abraham et semini eius in secula alleluia.	He hath received Israel his servant, being mindful of his mercy: as he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed for ever. Alleluia. *Luke 1:54-55*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as JMR3.3), CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, Vat.lat.1122

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JV2R): hole – **1** -suum recor-

Not given: PL-PłS 36

| Iuravit Dominus David veritatem de fructu ventris tui imponam super sedem tuam. | The Lord hath sworn truth to David: of the fruit of thy womb I will set upon thy throne.

Psalm 131:11 |
|---|---|

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as JMR3.3v), CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JV2Rv)

Vat.lat.1122: **2** imponam/ponam

Not given: PL-PłS 36

JLA1

In Marie virginis utero parata sedes tua Deus a seculo alleluia.	In the womb of the Virgin Mary, your place, O God, is prepared by the world, alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

PL-PłS 36: **2** parata sedes/parata est sedes

JLA2

Iubilet Deo omnis terra et celestis yerarchia serviat ei alleluia.	Let all the world sing out to God in joy and let the celestial hierarchy serve him, alleluia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

JLA3

| Fecit Dominus potentiam in brachio suo dispersit superbos mente cordis sui alleluia. | The Lord hath shewed might in his arm: he hath scattered the proud in the conceit of their heart. Alleluia.

Luke 1:51 |
|---|---|

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

JLA4

Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles alleluia.	He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble. Alleluia. *Luke 1:52*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

JLA5

Esurientes implevit bonis et divites dimisit inanes alleluia.	He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away. Alleluia. *Luke 1:53*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, Vat.lat.1122

SK-BR BAI EClad.3: hole – **1** -t inanes-

v1	En miranda prodigia concepit nam virguncula fit Iesu Christi gerula Maria sacratissima.	Behold, the wondrous portents, for the virgin has conceived, she becomes the bearer of Jesus Christ, most sacred Maria.
v2	Anus etate marcida prolis gestat solatia tument ad partum gelida grandeve matris viscera.	The old woman withered by age bears the comforts of offspring, for the birth they swell the ice-cold organs of the aged mother.
v3	Hic perit omnis regula natureque molimina hic cessat omnis ratio cedens Dei miraculo.	Here disappears all principle and the efforts of nature, here all reason is remiss yielding to the miracle of God.
v4	Salutat mater Domini matrem vatis mirifici et vates cum preconio reddit salutes Domino.	The mother of the Lord greets the mother of the wonderful prophet, and the prophet with praise returns the greetings to the Lord.
v5	Laudemus et nos Dominum patrem et patris filium sanctum quoque paraclitum nunc et per omne seculum. Amen.	May we too praise the Lord, the father and the father's son, the holy paraclete too, now and throughout all time. Amen.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pak Cim 7 (only v1 available), CZ-Pu XII A 9, Vat.lat.1122 (given later in Ms)

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: v5 – **1** et nos/et

CZ-Bsa R 626: v2 – **1** etate/matrice; v5 – **1** Laudemus/Gaudemus

Given as incipit only: PL-PłS 36

Not given: MA Impr. 1537

JLAB

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel quia <u>visitavit et fecit redemptionem plebis sue</u> <u>sicut locutus est per os sanctorum</u> alleluia.	Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; because <u>he hath visited and wrought the redemption</u> <u>of his people: as he spoke by the mouth of</u> <u>his holy</u> [prophets]. Alleluia. *Luke 1:68, 70*

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

<u>JV2AM</u>

Magnificet Dominum totum genus fidelium concrepet armonica laude cohors angelica in Marie gaudia alleluia.	Let all the faithful people glorify the Lord, let the angelic court sound with harmonious praise to the joys of Mary, alleluia.

<u>Notes:</u>

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3, Vat.lat.1122

MA Impr. 1537 (given as incipit in Visitation, and in full for the Visitation Octave): **3** armonica/armoniaca

Primary manuscript: NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)

EVA1

Accedunt laudes virginis	Praises come forth of the virgin's wondrous
admirande indaginis	visitation, newly promulgated,
noviter promulgate	behold, by heavenly virtue the mother Mary
en visitat Elyzabeth	herself visits Elizabeth.
Maria mater ipsamet	
celica probitate.	

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, P-BRs Ms. 034,

CZ-Bsa R 626: **4** en/nam

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

SK-Sk 2: page missing

EVA2

Divo repletur munere	Mary is filled with a divine burden,
Maria sine murmure	when without a whisper she conceived a
cum filium concepit	son, by the prophecy she rose,
surrexit ab oraculo	[and] immediately she departed and
statim in montis calculo	advanced into the mountains.
abiit et perfecit.	

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, P-BRs Ms. 034, SK-Sk 2

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

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[450] My thanks to Daniel Bate for the English translations.

EVA3

Accendit ardor spiritus	The fire of the spirit, reaching from heaven,
Mariam tangens celitus	has inflamed Mary,
de Nazareth migrando	by departing from Nazareth,
mox ad montana transtulit	soon she came to the mountains,
ubi tumultu caruit	where she was removed from tumult,
superna degustando.	[by] touching the heavens.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, P-BRs Ms. 034,

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **4-5** montana transtulit/montana se transtulit

SK-Sk 2: **4** mox ad/mox in; **4-5** montana transtulit/montana se transtulit

EVA4

Monstrans culmen dulcedinis	Showing the summit of her sweetness
Maria sui sanguinis	Mary greets Elizabeth, her own blood,
Elyzabeth salutat	who stays in the house of a neighbour,
stantem in domo proximi	close to the temple of the Lord
propinqua templo Domini	she devotedly gives [her] aid.
devote subministrat.	

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, P-BRs Ms. 034, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** Monstrans/Monstrat

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

Carisma sancti spiritus diffudit se divinitus in puerum cum sensit conceptum salutiferum Marie sibi obvium Elyzabeth consensit.	The gift of the Holy Spirit has poured itself out from heaven into the boy, when she felt Mary's healing pregnancy against herself, Elizabeth feels it too.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, P-BRs Ms. 034, SK-Sk 2

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

EVH

v1	In Mariam vite viam matrem veram viventium pie venit qui redemit peccata delinquentium.	Into Mary, the way of life, true mother of the living, piously comes he who redeems the sins of wrongdoers.
v2	Gressum cepit cum concepit Maria multum properans visitavit confortavit Elyzabeth compatiens.	She took up the path when she conceived, Mary, with much haste, visited and comforted Elizabeth, suffering with her.
v3	Salutatur inflammatur Elyzabeth et filius inaudita fiunt ita de dono sancti spiritus.	Elizabeth is greeted, the son is excited, thus unheard-of things are made by the gift of the Holy Spirit.
v4	Impregnata gravidata fit mater olim sterilis infans datus nondum natus exultat Christo iubilis.	Pregnant and burdened becomes the once sterile mother, the given child, not yet born, exults with joyful cries to Christ.
v5	Servit major gaudet minor Maria fert solatium visitatis preparatis ad spiritum propheticum.	The greater serves, the lesser rejoices, Mary brings solace to those she visits, those prepared for the prophetic spirit.
v6	Precursorem et doctorem Maria manu indicat qui rectorem purgatorem digito mundi nuntiat.	Mary indicates with her hand the precursor and teacher, who announces with his finger the teacher and cleanser of the world.
v7	Leva gregem duc ad regem Maria cunctos visitans ut salvetur et letetur cum tu sis mater medians.	Lift up the flock, lead them to the king, Mary, who visits all, so that they may be saved and rejoice, because you are the interceding mother.

No variation: CZ-Pu III D 10

CZ-Bsa R 626: v2 – **1** cum/dum; v2 – **2** multum/ultro; v4 – **1** gravidata/gravida; v7 – **1** duc/nunc

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX (given as CH): v2 – **2** Maria/Mariam

P-BRs Ms. 034: v7 – **3** salvetur/solvetur; v7 – **4** medians/meditans

Given as incipit only: P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

Not given: CZ-Pn XIII A 7

EVAM

Acceleratur ratio in puero nondum nato instinctu sacri pneumatis divinitus sibi dato novit presentem Dominum in virgine clam latentem adoravit cum iubilo ad servulum venientem.	Reason is hastened in the boy not yet born, by the instigation of the Holy Spirit divinely given to him, he has recognised the present Lord in the virgin secretly hidden, he has worshipped with a joyful cry the coming servant-lad.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, P-BRs Ms. 034 (end of the Visitation office), SK-Sk 2

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **2** in puero/in p² puero (error); **7** adoravit/adravit (error)

v1	O Christi mater celica fons vivus fluens gratia lux pellens cuncta scismata Maria Deo proxima.	O heavenly mother of Christ living spring flowing with grace light that banishes all schisms, Mary, closest to God.
v2	Ex motu veri luminis transivit in monticulis virgo iuvare vetulam de precursore gravidam.	By the motion of the true light, the virgin has gone into the mountains to aid the old woman burdened by the precursor.
v3	Mater venit de Nazareth ut salutet Elyzabeth replentur dono spiritus anus et eius filius.	The mother comes from Nazareth, to pay respects to Elizabeth, by the gift of the spirit the old woman and her son are replenished.
v4	Elyzabeth complacuit quod mater Dei affuit infans gaudet in utero presente Christo Domino.	It has pleased Elizabeth that the mother of God has been present. the child rejoices in the womb at the presence of Christ the lord.
v5	Marie visitatio exemplum dat pro bravio quod sit parata omnibus ipsam pie querentibus.	The visitation of Mary gives an example of a reward because it is provided to all who piously seek it.
v6	Trinitatis clementia cuncta laxet facinora per matris Christi merita nos ducat ad celestia.	May the mercy of the Trinity relieve all evil deeds through the merits of the mother of Christ may it lead us to the heavens.

Notes:

Not given: CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Bsa R 626: 1 – **1** O Christi mater/O mater Christi

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

EMI

Reginam celi Mariam concorditer adoremus. Que visitans Elyzabeth spem contulit ut laudemus.	Let us worship harmoniously Mary, the queen of heaven, who, visiting Elizabeth, brought hope, so that we might praise.

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

SK-Sk 2: **2** adoremus/veneremus

EMA1.1

De celo velut radius	As if a ray of light
descendens sacer spiritus	descending from heaven
Elyzabeth intravit	the Holy Spirit entered Elizabeth,
mox benedictam virginem	soon to the blessed virgin
sanctitatis propaginem	and the child of holiness
prophetice clamavit.	she called prophetically.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** velut/venit

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing until '-ctitatis'

CZ-Pn XIII A 7, P-BRs Ms. 028, R 626, SK-Sk 2, CZ-Pu III D 10

EMA1.2

Inter turmas femineas	Among the companies of women
et sanctarum excubias	and the guard of the saintly ones,
Maria collaudatur	Mary is praised
propter fructum qui queritur	because of the fruit who is sought
quo iure mundus emitur	by which law the world is bought
et plene visitatur.	and fully visited.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **6** visitatur/vivificatur

EMA1.3

Vocat hanc matrem nomine	At her first word, Elizabeth calls this mother
Domini primo famine	in the name of the Lord
Elyzabeth vi superna	through heavenly power,
quod fuit clausum aliis	for it was closed to others
in velatis mysteriis	in veiled mysteries
notitia in eterna.	in eternal knowledge.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **6** in eterna/interna

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **6** in eterna/interna

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **3** vi superna/in superna

CZ-Pu III D 10: **2** primo/prime

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **6** in eterna/interna

P-BRs Ms. 028: **3** vi superna/in superna; **5** in velatis/imbellatis; **6** in eterna/interna

SK-Sk 2: **3** vi superna/in superna

EMR1.1

Surgens Maria gravida	Arising, the pregnant Mary
migravit per cacumina	travelled through the mountain peaks
in civitatem Iudee.	into a city of Judah,
Intravit domum propere	with haste she entered
Zacharie cum opere	the house of Zachariah
salutis consobrine.	with the task of greeting her cousin.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

EMR1.1v

Ut audivit Elyzabeth	As soon as Elizabeth has
salutes mox de Nazareth	the greetings from Nazareth,
exclamat mirative.	she exclaims in wonder.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Bsa R 626: **2** salutes mox/salutes Marie surgens mox

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **2** salutes mox/salutes Marie surgens mox

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **3** exclamat/exclamavit

P-BRs Ms. 028: **3** exclamat/exclamavit

EMR1.2

Dixit verba prophetica	Prophetic words
Elyzabeth celicola	says Elizabeth, worshipper of heaven,
de virgine Maria	about the Virgin Mary:
beata est que credidit.	blessed is she, who has believed,
In hac fient que didicit	in her have been made those things
a Domino mente pia.	that she has learned from the Lord with a pious mind.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pu III D 10, P-BRs Ms. 028, P-BRs Ms. 034 (given as EVR), SK-Sk 2

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **5** que/quod

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **5** fient que/fiat quod

EMR1.2v

Venit ex te sanctissimus	Out of you comes the holiest,
vocatus Dei filius	called the son of God,
sicut predixit angelus	just as the angel has announced
sue matri in via.	to his mother on the road.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, P-BRs Ms. 034 (given as JVRv), SK-Sk 2

EMR1.3

Elyzabeth congratulans	Rejoicing Elizabeth,
profunde se humilians	deeply humbling herself
in adventu Messye.	tt the arrival of the Messiah,
Unde ait condeceat	'How', she says, 'might it be fitting
quod mater Dei veniat	that the mother of God should come
ad me cum plausu vie.	to me by the striking of the road?'

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

EMR1.3v

En felix salutatio	Behold, blessed salutation
duplata exultatio	and double exultation
dabantur vi sophie.	were given by the power of wisdom.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **2** duplata/du(m)placa; **3** vi sophie/phisophie

CZ-Pu III D 10: **3** vi sophie/phylosophye

EMA2.1

Non fuit Christus oneri	Christ has not been a burden,
nec gravis moles pueri	nor a mass of a son heavy
visceribus matris digne	on the organs of the worthy mother,
sed ignara de pondere	but unaware of the burden
cum corporali robore	with bodily strength
transiliit benigne.	she cheerfully makes haste.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Pu III D 10: **4** de pondere/in pondere

EMA2.2

Transivit in itinere Maria multum prospere monticulos scandendo evitavit lasciviam propter morum constantiam colloquia spernendo.	Mary travelled on the road very quickly [by] climbing mountains, she avoided wantonness because of the steadfastness of her character spurning conversations.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10,

CZ-Bsa R 626: **2** prospere/propere

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **2** prospere/propere

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **2** prospere/propere

P-BRs Ms. 028: **2** prospere/propere; **6** colloquia/eloquia

SK-Sk 2 (given as CAN, and only as incipit at EMA2.2): **2** prospere/propere

EMA2.3

Longam viam pertransiit Maria montes circuit hilaris laborando honores mundi respuit devotionem tenuit celica meditando.	She passed along the long road, Mary went around mountains cheerful in exertion, she rejected the honours of the world, she held to her devotion meditating on heavenly things.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

EMR2.1

| Maria parens filios plangens querit deperditos in scelere mortali. Clamans clamat ut relevet manus ponit ut sublevet ne pena ruant mali. | Mary, bearing her children, lamenting, seeks those set down in mortal sin, shouting, she cries out, so that she might lift [them], she places her hand to support [them], lest with the price of evil they fall down. |

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, SK-Sk 2

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **4** relevet/revelet; **5** manus/manum

P-BRs Ms. 028: **5** manus/manum

CZ-Pu III D 10: **5** manus/manum

EMR2.1v

| Elyzabeth quesierat Iohannem doctum noverat de vita supernali. | Elizabeth had asked, she had recognised that John had been taught about heavenly life. |

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

EMR2.2

| Rosa de spinis prodiit virga de Yesse floruit Maria visitavit. Vis odoris diffunditur tota domus perficitur gratia cum intravit. | The rose has appeared from the thorns, the rod of Jesse has flourished, Mary has visited, the power of the perfume is diffused, the whole house is bathed in grace as she entered. |

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu III D 10, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Bsa R 626: **5** perficitur/reficitur

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **5** perficitur/reficitur

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **3** Maria/Mariaa (error)

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **3** Maria/Mariam

EMR2.2v

Miranda salutatio	A wondrous greeting,
fit plebi gratulatio	joy is made for the people,
que fructum expectavit.	who have waited for the fruit.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, SK-Sk 2

P-BRs Ms. 028: **3** que/quem

EMR2.3

Stella sub nube tegitur	The star is covered under a cloud,
Maria mundo premitur	Mary is concealed by the world
rutilans in splendore.	turning red in splendour,
Elyzabeth perducitur	Elizabeth is led
ad solamen lux spargitur	to consolation, light is cast
roborans in vigore.	strengthening in vigour.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Bsa R 626: **2** premitur/panditur

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **2** premitur/panditur

Luna soli coniungitur	The moon is united to the sun,
Elyzabeth devolvitur	Elizabeth falls down,
estuans in amore.	burning in love.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, SK-Sk 2

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** soli/celi

EMA3.1

Tunc ad sermonem virginis	Then at the word of the virgin,
dabatur donum flaminis	the gift of the spirit was given
matri simul et proli	at once to mother and child,
hic gaudebat in utero	he rejoiced in the womb,
hec providit de puero	she took care of the boy
et de regina poli.	and the queen of the heavens.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX,

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

P-BRs Ms. 028: **5** providit/providet

SK-Sk 2: **5** providit/previdit

EMA3.2

Adest mira credulitas	Wondrous trust is present
ac virginis fecunditas	and the fertility of the virgin,
per exemplum monstratum	through the remarkable example,
concepit prius sterilis	she who was once infertile has conceived,
que vox est impossibilis	a voice that is impossible
nisi per verbum datum.	unless through the given word.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

CZ-Pu III D 10: **2** ac/et; **4** prius/preses

EMA3.3

Fit nature propinquius	It is made closer to nature,
quod sterili fit filius	for a son is made by the barren one,
quam virgo fiat pregnans	as a virgin might be made pregnant,
sed nihil impossibile	but nothing is impossible
Deo nec infactibile	for God, nor unmakeable
per verbum suum dictans.	through his commanding word.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-OLu M IV 6, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** Fit/Est

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** nature/natura

EMR3.1

Occasum virgo nesciit	The virgin has not known a sunset,
velut lux mundi profuit	a light that, just as light flows through the world,
de summo fundens lumen.	pours out from the highest,
Elyzabeth applicuit	Elizabeth has joined,
devotas sibi attrahit	the divine will, extending from heaven,
de celo pandens numen.	draws the devoted to itself.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pn XIII A 7

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **2** profuit/profluit

CZ-Pu III D 10: **2** profuit/profluit

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **2** profuit/profluit

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** nesciit/nescit; **3** numen/lumen

SK-Sk 2: **2** profuit/profluit

Spiritus rapit symbola	The spirit seizes the symbols
celestibus conformia	akin to the divine
tamquam aquarum flumen.	as if a river of waters.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

EMR3.2

Thronum lucis prospexerat	She had foreseen the throne of light,
qui ut aurora fulserat	which like the dawn had gleamed
sole mane splendente.	a shining morning sun,
Elyzabeth ubi vidit	when Elizabeth saw
verbaque palam protulit	and uttered openly the words
speculo suadente.	a mirror exhorting.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: Respond break between *vidit* and *verbaque*

P-BRs Ms. 028: **2** qui/que

EMR3.2v

In Marie presentia	In the presence of Mary,
plura patent latentia	more hidden things are exposed
Elyzabeth dicente.	by Elizabeth's words.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing until '-lyzabeth'

EMR3.3

Elyzabeth ex opere	Elizabeth from the work
signorum dat pro pignore	of the miracles gives as a pledge
Mariam invocare.	to call Mary,
Quam gratia contraxerat	whom grace had bound
et pietas commoverat	and piety had moved,
vetulam visitare.	to visit the old woman.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as EVR): **4** Quam/Qua

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **4** contraxerat/constrinxerat

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** ex opere/in opere

EMR3.3v

Nullus diffidat hodie	Let none despair today
ad Mariam confluere	coming to Mary together
sibique supplicare.	and humbling ourselves.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as EVRv), CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **3** confluere/defluere

ELA1

Sacra dedit eloquia	Sacred words
Maria responsoria	Mary gave, responses
Elyzabeth laudanti	to praiseful Elizabeth,
clamavit Deo canticum	she cried out a song to God
magnificando Dominum	glorifying the Lord
de sursum bona danti.	who gives goodness from on high.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, SK-Sk 2

P-BRs Ms. 028: **3** laudanti/laudat

ELA2

Tunc exultavit animus	Her soul then rejoiced,
cum ipsius fit filius	for it is her son
angelo nuntiante	in the angel's announcement,
ancilla Dei credidit	the handmaid of God believed,
confestim verbum genuit	at once she begot the word,
Maria supplicante.	with Mary humbling herself.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

ELA3

Vera humiliatio	True humility
fuit Christi conceptio	has Christ's conception been
Deo respiciente	with God looking on,
ex hoc laudabunt singuli	out of this, every man will praise
Mariam matrem seculi	Mary, mother of the world,
ipsamet sic dicente.	she herself saying so.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

ELA4

Magna perfecit Dominus	Great things has the Lord achieved
in Marie virtutibus	in the virtues of Mary
Deum concipiendo	conceiving God,
fit mater plena gratie	the mother is made full of grace
et impetratrix venie	and the acquirer of mercy
omnibus miserando.	having pity on all.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

ELA5

Maria tribus mensibus	Mary for almost three months
quasi stetit laboribus	remained in her labours
Elyzabeth subdendo	tending to Elizabeth,
conferebat de angelo	she bore from the angel
et verborum mysterio	and the mystery of his words
que protulit salutando	those things it had brought forth by his/its greeting;
mutum audivit eloqui	she has heard the mute one speak
prophetias Dominii	and the prophecies of the Lord
de Christo declarando	revealed in Christ,
plura vidit de puero	she has seen more things about the
mirabili ab utero	wondrous boy, who from the womb
precursorem vocando	calls upon the precursor;
facta post reverentia	after these reverent deeds
reversa est ad propria	to her own people
Maria contemplando.	Mary returned, contemplating.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu III D 10

CZ-Bsa R 626: **8** Dominii/Domini

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **8** Dominii/Domini

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **2** vocando/notando

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **8** Dominii/Domini

P-BRs Ms. 028: **2** stetit/vistitit (error); **8** Dominii/ Domini

SK-Sk 2: **8** Dominii/Domini

ELAB

Adiutrix visitatio et frequens ministratio Elyzabeth oblata Mariam dat propitiam ad impetrandam gratiam cum fuerit vocata nam mater est ecclesie fluctuantis navicule subditos gubernando promptos suo regimini dirigentique flamini devios visitando.	May the helper, the visitation and the constant assistance offered to Elizabeth deliver gracious Mary to grace's gain because she has been called. for she is the mother, of the wave-tossed ship of the Church, steering her subjects, those eager for her guidance and to the guiding spirit who visits the erroneous.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **11** dirigentique/dirigentes que

CZ-Pu III D 10: **3** oblata/oblatam; **12** devios/devotos

EV2AM

Ihesu redemptor optime ad Mariam nos imprime ut mundi advocata pari forma nos visitet sicut fecit Elyzabeth per summam pietatem mores et actus dirigat et ad celos alliciat per gratiam collatam.	Jesus, best redeemer, impress us towards Mary, as helper of the world, may she visit us in like appearance as she did to Elizabeth through the highest piety may she direct our character and deeds, and draw us toward the heavens through grace bestowed.

Notes:

No variations: DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, SK-Sk 2

CZ-Bsa R 626: **3** advocata/advocatam; **4** pari forma nos/pari nos forma

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **3** advocata/advocatam; **4** pari forma nos/pari nos forma

CZ-Pn XIII A 7 (later hand, text only): **3** optime/seculi

CZ-Pu III D 10: **3** advocata/advocatam

P-BRs Ms. 028: **3** advocata/advocatam

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Primary manuscript: CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16

<u>JVA1</u>   *Exurgens autem Maria*

Mode 1 – D authentic   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-d   9th

Ex – ur – gens au – tem Ma – ri – a

a – bi – it in mon – ta – na cum fes – tin – a – ti – o – ne

in ci – vi – ta – tem Iu – da et

in – tro – i – vit in do – mum Za – cha – ri – e

et sa – lu – ta – vit E – ly – za – beth al – le – lu – ia.

<u>Notes:</u>

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** <u>autem</u> – DaGFGaG-FED/DGaGFEF-ED; **1** Ma<u>ria</u> – DFD/FED; **3** Iu<u>da</u> – C/D; **5** <u>et</u> – ac/Fa.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** Ma<u>ria</u> – CD/D; **5** <u>alleluia</u> – missing due to page tear

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **1** <u>autem</u> Ma<u>ria</u> – DaGFGaG-FED DFD/DaGFG-aG FFED.

MA Impr. 1537: **1** Exur<u>gens</u> – C/CD

PL-Płs 36: **1** <u>autem</u> Ma<u>ria</u> – DaGFGaG-FED DFD/DaGFG-aG FED; **3** Iu<u>da</u> – C/CD; **4** Zacha<u>rie</u> – GFE/GF.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** <u>autem</u> Ma<u>ria</u> – DaGFGaG-FED DFD/DaGFG-FE FEDEFD; **3** Iu<u>da</u> – C/D.

Et factum est

Mode 2 – D plagal   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: A-b   9th

Et fac – tum est ut au – di – vit E – ly – za – beth sa – lu – ta – ti – o – nem

Ma – ri – e ex – ul – ta – vit in – fans in u – te – ro ei – us

et re – ple – ta est spi – ri – tu san – cto al – le – lu – ia.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** fac*tum* – C/CD; **1** sa*lu*tationem – G-F/F-G; **2** ex*ulta*vit – C-CD/CD-D.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **1** Eliza*beth* – G/F; **2** ex*ulta*vit – C/CC,.

MA Impr. 1537: **1** *salu*tationem – G/F.

PL-PłS 36: **1** fac*tum* – C/CD.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** salutati*o*nem – FE/F; **2** ex*ulta*vit – C-CD/CD-D; **3** *a*lleluia – B/C.

JVA3   *Exclamavit Elyzabeth*

Mode 3 – E authentic   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: D-e   9th

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** di̲xit – DE/D; **3** tu̲i – EF/DF; **3** al̲leluia – GF/F.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **1** E̲xclamavit – EFED/EFD; **3** al̲leluia – GF/F.

MA Impr. 1537: **1** di̲xit/a̲it; **3** be̲nedictus – ab-c-a/Ga-FE-D; **3** ve̲ntris – FE-D/aGF-G; **3** al̲leluia – GF/F.

PL-PłS 36: **3** al̲leluia – GF/F.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** vo̲ce – G/aG; **1** di̲xit – DE/D; **3** al̲leluia – GF/F.

Mode 4 – E plagal   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: C-c   8ve

Et   un – de   mi – chi   hoc   ut   ve – ni – at   ma – ter   do – mi – ni   ad   me

Ec-ce   e – nim   ut   fac-ta   est   vox   sa – lu – ta – ti – o – nis   tu – e   in   au – ri – bus   me-is

ex – ul – ta – vit   in   gau-di – o   in-fans   in   u – te-ro   me – o   al – le – lu – ia.

Notes:

No variations: PL-PłS 36

CZ-Bsa R 626: **2** u̲t f̲a̲c̲t̲a̲ e̲s̲t̲ – G-G-F-G/a-a-G-a; **3** exu̲l̲t̲avit – EF/EFG; **3** i̲n̲ [gaudio] – G/ac.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **2** a̲u̲r̲ibus – G/GG,; **3** g̲a̲udio – a/aa,.

MA Impr. 1537: **1** E̲t̲ – CDF/DC; **3** al̲l̲el̲u̲ia – FE-D/GF-E.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** salutatio̲n̲i̲s̲ – G/aG; **3** i̲n̲ g̲a̲u̲d̲i̲o̲ – missing.

Et beata que credidisti

Mode 5 – F authentic   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: F-f   8ve

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **3** <u>dic</u>ta – GaGah/GaGac.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **3** <u>dicta</u> – GaGah-a/GaG-aha.

MA Impr. 1537: **4** <u>alle</u>luia – FGaGa-h/F-GaGah.

PL-PłS 36: **4** <u>alle</u>luia – FGaGa-h-aGFG/F-GaG-ahaGFG.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** <u>cre</u>didisti – f/e; **2** <u>quon</u>iam – chaGahaG-F/cchaGaha-GF; **4** <u>alle</u>luia – FGaGa-h-aGFG/F-GaGa-haGFG.

Mode 4 – E plagal *Finalis*: E Ambitus: C–c 8ve

As – sunt fes – ta iu – bi – le – a

in Ma – ri – e nunc gau – di – a

to – ta psal – lat ecc – le – si – a

de – vo – ta lau – dum drag – ma – ta.

Notes:

Later verses: no versification issues.

CZ-Bsa R 626: **2** gaudia – bacbaG/baGF; **4** missing due to manuscript defacement.

CZ-Pak Cim 7: **1** Assunt – GFE/GFEE; **1** festa – DE/EDE; **2** Marie nunc gaudia – c baG a-c-bacbaG/b c baGa-c-ba; **3** psallat – G/GG; **4** laudum – cbaGFG/cbaGFGG; **4** dragmata – ...EFG/...EFGG.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **2** gaudia – c-bacbaG/cba-cbaG; **4** devota laudum – ab cbaGFG/abcbaG FG; dragmata – music not available.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** Assunt – GFE/(G)FE; **1** iubilea – EDC-D-FED-EF/DC-D-FFED-E(F); **2** in – EDC/EED(C); **2** nunc – baG/bbaG; **2** gaudia – bacbaG/bbaG; **3** tota – cbaG/ccba(G); **3** psallat – GFED/(G)GFED; **4** laudum – cbaGFG-a/(c)cbaG-FGa; **4** dragmata – GFEDEFG-FED/GGFEDEFG-FFED.

Given as incipit only: PL-PłS 36

Not given: MA Impr. 1537

O quanta vis amoris

Mode 7/8 – G mixtus   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: D-g   11th

O quan - ta vis a - mo - ris

il - li - ba - te tunc men - tem ac - cen - de - rat

vir - gi - nis ut in spi - ri - tu san-cto ra - pta iu - bi - la - ret

ma - gni - fi - cat a - ni - ma me - a

Do - mi - num al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

CZ-Bsa R 626: **3** spiritu – aG/a; **5** second alleluia – cdeccba/cdebcba.

MA Impr. 1537: **3** virginis – fdefg-fe/fdef-ed; **3** spiritu – aG/a; **5** Dominum – GaGF/GaG; **5** second alleluia - ...cba-ba/...cbaG-GaG.

PL-PłS 36: **2** illibate – c/cd; **2** accenderat – fc/ec; **3** spiritu – aG/a; **5** second alleluia – cdeccba/cdedcba.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** amoris – E-FED-D/G-E-FFED; **2** illibate – Gcb-c-d/G-Gcb-c; **3** iubilaret – dfe-fg-gfg/d-fe-fgfg; **5** – second alleluia – cdeccba/cdebcba.

O Christi mater fulgida

Mode 8 – G plagal   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: G-c   10th

O   Chri – sti   ma – ter   ful – gi – da
sca – tens   fons   om – ni   gra – ti – a
lux   pel – lens   que – que   nu – bi – la
Ma – ri – a   ve – nus – tis – si – ma.

Notes:

Later verses: v3, line 2 – one extra syllable; v4, line 3 – one less syllable; v5, line 4 – one extra syllable.

CZ-Bsa R 626: **4** Maria – D-?.

CZ-Pak Cim 7: **1** Christi – C/D; **2** scatens fons omni – a G a/aa GG aa

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **2** omni – a-GFE/aGF-E; **3-4** – music not available.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** omni gratia – GFE F-G/GF E-F

Given as incipit only: PL-PłS 36

Not given: MA Impr. 1537

Gaude Maria mater

Mode 8 – G plagal   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: C-d   9th

Gau - de Ma - ri - a ma - ter Chri - sti

que sin - gu - la - ri pri-vi-le - gi - o me - ru - i - sti

por - ta - re Chri - stum Do - mi - num

lu - men ad re - ve - la - ti - o - nem gen - ti - um

al - - - le - - lu - ia.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as JCAN): **1** <u>Gau</u>de – GaFGE.../GaGE...; **2** me<u>rui</u>sti – acbabc**dd**c.../acbabc**d**c...; **3** por<u>ta</u>re – G-GFEDE/GGFE-DE; **5** al<u>le</u>luia – below.
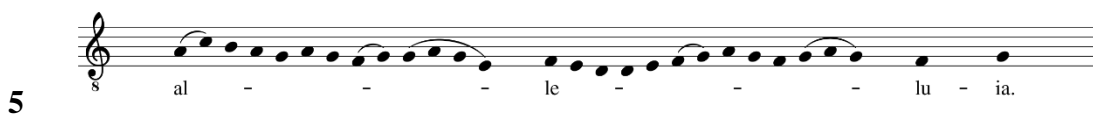
5   al – – – le – – – lu – ia.

CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as ECAN): **1** <u>Gau</u>de – GaFGE.../GaGE...; **1** <u>ma</u>ter – GFEDEFED-C/GFEDEFE-DC; **1** <u>Chri</u>sti/<u>Chri</u>stri (error) – FGaGFGa-G/GaGFGa-G; **2**me<u>rui</u>sti – F/FG; **3** por<u>ta</u>re – GFEDE/GFEDEFE; **3** <u>Do</u>minum – acGaGFGaG-F/acGaG-FG; **4** <u>gen</u>tium – aGaGFE/E; **5** al<u>le</u>luia/x – not given.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **1** <u>Gau</u>de – GaFGEF.../GaFEF...; **4** <u>gen</u>tium – F/EF; **5** al<u>le</u>luia – acbaGaGFGGaFGEFED/acbaGaGFGGaGEFED.

MA Impr. 1537: **1** <u>Gau</u>de – GaFGE.../GaGE...; **1** <u>ma</u>ter - ...FED-C/...FE-DC; **3** por<u>ta</u>re – GFEDE/GFE; **3** Do<u>mi</u>num – F/FG; **5** – al<u>le</u>luia – below.

5   al – – – le – lu – ia.

PL-PłS 36: **1** <u>Gau</u>de – GaFGEF.../GaGDF...; **1** <u>ma</u>ter – GFEDEFED-C/GFEDEFE-DC; **2** me<u>rui</u>sti – acbabcddcbaGaG-F-G/acbabcdcbaG-aG-FG; **3** por<u>ta</u>re – GFEDE/GFEDEFE; **5** al<u>le</u>luia – DEFGaGFGaG/DEFGaGaG.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** <u>Gau</u>de – GaFGEF.../GaGEF...; **2** me<u>rui</u>sti – acbabcddc.../acbabcdc...; **3** por<u>ta</u>re – GFEDE/GGFEDEFE; **3** <u>Chri</u>stum/x – not given; **3** <u>Do</u>munim – acG.../GacG...; **4** <u>lu</u>men – FED/FFED; **4** revelatio<u>nem</u> – FED/FFED; **5** al<u>le</u>luia – below.

5   al – – – – le – lu – ia.

In honore Marie

Mode 7 trans – G authentic trans   *Finalis*: C   Ambitus: B-c   9th

In ho – no – re Ma – ri – e

vir – gi – nis E – ly – za – – beth

vi – si – tan – tis a – do – re – mus

do – mi – num al – le – lu – ia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

Not given in: CZ-Bsa R 626, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3

Given in later manuscripts: base manuscript: CZ-Bsa R 626

Mode 7– G authentic   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: F-g   9th

In ho – no – re Ma – ri – e

vir – gi – nis E – ly – za – – beth

vi – si – tan – tis a – do – re – mus

do – mi – num al – le – lu – ia.

Notes:

MA Impr. 1537: **1** hono<u>re</u> – Gcb-cd-dc/G-Gcb-cd; **4** al<u>le</u>luia – decbaG-Gacab/decbcdaG-Gacac.

PL-PłS 36: **2** Ely<u>za</u>beth – edcbcdcbc/edcbc; **4** al<u>le</u>luia – decbaG/decbcdaG.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** hono<u>re</u> – dc/d; **2** Ely<u>za</u>beth – edc.../eedc...; **3** <u>visitantis/salutantis</u>; **3** ado<u>re</u>mus – dc/d; **4** al<u>le</u>luia – decbaG/decbcaG.

Not given in: CZ-Pu XII A 9

JMI2   *Quem virginalis*

Mode 7 trans – G authentic trans   *Finalis*: C   Ambitus: C-c   8ve

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – SK-Sk 2 (given in margin underneath EMA1.3)

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

Not given: CZ-Bsa R 626, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3

Quam gloriosam

Mode 1 – D authentic   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-a   6th

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3

CZ-Bsa R 626: **3** <u>in</u> <u>uni</u>versa – G a-G/a G-F.

MA Impr. 1537: **4** <u>fecit deus</u> – C-D FG/CD-F G.

JMA1.2   *Celi stupent*

Mode 2 – D plagal   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: A-b   9th

Ce – li   stu – pent   in   Ma – ri – a

cu   i   tot   sin – gu – la – ri – a

sunt   col – la – ta   do – na – ri – a

al – le – – – lu – ia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, CZ-Bsa R 626

MA Impr. 1537: **2** <u>cu</u>i – FGah/DFGah.

PL-PłS 36: **3** <u>do</u>naria – ED/FD; **4** a<u>ll</u>eluia – EF-GFEDCA/FGa-aGFEDCB.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** sin<u>gu</u>laria – FED/FFED; **4** a<u>ll</u>eluia – GFE.../GGFE...

JMA1.3   *Ferax est terra*

Mode 3 – E authentic   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: D-e   9th

Fe – rax   est   te – rra   Do – mi – ni

ven – ter   sa – cra – te   vir – gi – nis

qui   the – sau – rum   fert   ho – mi – nis

nos – tre   pa – rem   y – ma – gi – nis

al – le – lu – ia.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **3** hominis/homini; **4** ymaginis – E/EF.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **4** ymaginis – E/EF.

MA Impr. 1537: **3** hominis/hominum – E-F-G/E-FG-G; **4** ymaginis – E/EF.

PL-PłS 36: **4** ymaginis – E/EF; **5** alleluia – DEF/DE.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **3** hominis – f/fg; **5** alleluia – def/de.
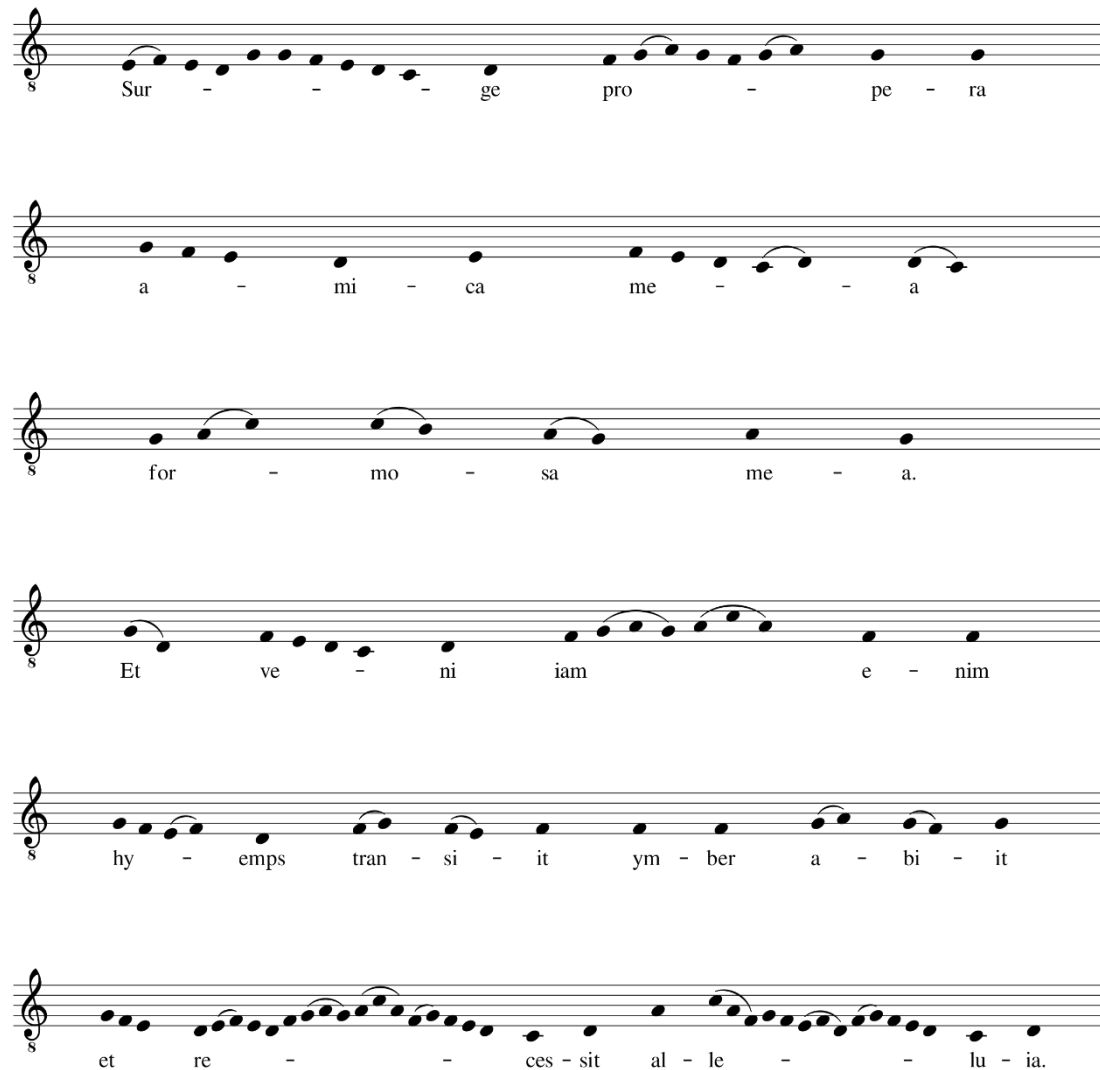
JMR1.1   *Surge propera amica*

Mode 1 – D authentic   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-c   8ve

Sur – – – ge pro – pe – ra

a – mi – ca me – – a

for – mo – sa me – a.

Et ve – ni iam e – nim

hy – emps tran – si – it ym – ber a – bi – it

et re – – ces - sit al – le – – lu – ia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

MA Impr. 1537: **1** Surge – EFEDGGF.../EFEDGGGF...; **5** transiit – FE/F; **5** abiit ('biit' treated as one syllable) – Ga-GF-G/F-GFEF.

PL-PłS 36: **1** Surge – EFE.../DFE...; **2** mea – FEDCD-DC/FED-CD; **3** iam – FGaGaca/GFaGacca.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **4** veni – FEDC/FEDCD.
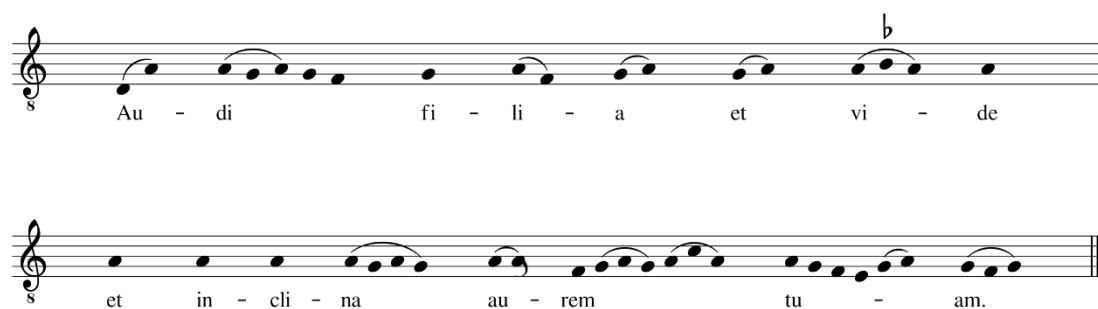
Notes:

No variations: CZ- Pu XII A 9

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

MA Impr. 1537: **2** <u>au</u>rem – aa,/a.

PL-PłS 36: **2** <u>au</u>rem – aa,/aG; **2** tu<u>am</u> – GFG/GF.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** <u>au</u>rem – aa,/aF; **2** <u>tu</u>am – aGFEGa/aaGFEEFGa.

Mode 1/2 – D mixtus   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: A-d   11th

En di – lec – tus me – us

lo – – qui – tur mi – chi.

In – – – tra pre – cor – di – a

me – a dat vo – – – cem su – am

al – le – – – – lu – ia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

MA Impr. 1537: **1** di<u>lec</u>tus – DCDCA/DCDCCA; **3** pre<u>cor</u>dia – aGFGFEFD/aGFGDFED.

PL-PłS 36: **4** <u>me</u>a – FGFaGFGa/FGFaGFG.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** <u>lo</u>quitur – FEFDEFG/FFEDEFG; **2** <u>mi</u>chi – ED.../EED...; **3** Intra -
...cbaG/...cba; **3** pre<u>cor</u>dia – aGF.../aaGF; **4** <u>me</u>a – FGFaGFGa/FGFGa; **4** dat –
cdcbcacbcaF.../cdcbcaF...; **4** <u>vo</u>cem – aGF...GaG-FED/aaGF...Ga-aaGF; **4** <u>su</u>am –
EDCBC/EEDCBC; **5** al<u>le</u>luia – below.

al – le – – – – – lu – ia.

5

Quam dulcia faucibus

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

PL-PłS 36: **1** <u>Quam</u> <u>dulcia</u> – DaGFGa FG-FEDC/DaGFGaG FED-CD.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** <u>dulcia</u> – FG-FEDC/FGFED-C.

Mode 3 – E authentic   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: C-d   9th

I - - - bo ad mon - tem

mir - re fes - tin - an - ter

et vi - de - bo ver - bum hoc.

Quod fac - tum est in au - ri - bus me - is

ab an - ge - lo sa - - - lu - tan - te

al - le - - - lu - ia.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **4** fac<u>tum</u> – GFEDC/GFE.

MA Impr. 1537: **1** I<u>bo</u> – EFEDEFGF.../EFEDEFGGF...; **4** fac<u>tum</u> – GFEDC/GEFE; **5** <u>ab</u> – cbGaG/cbbGaG; **5** <u>sa</u>lutante - ...abcbGaG/...abcbbGaG; **6** al<u>le</u>luia – FEDGGFE/FEDGGGFE.

PL-PłS 36: **1** I<u>bo</u> – EFEDEFGFEDCD/EFEDFaGFEDC; **3** vi<u>debo</u> – aGa-bcb/aGabcb-b; **4** fac<u>tum</u> – GFEDC/GFE; **4** m<u>eis</u> – bcba/bcb; **5** <u>sa</u>lutante – EFGFEFEDCDEb.../EFGFEFEDCDb...; **6** al<u>le</u>luia – FEDGGFE/FEDGFE.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JVR): **4** fac<u>tum</u> – GFEDC/GFE; **5** <u>ab</u> an<u>ge</u>lo – cbgaG FE-DE/cbG aG-FE; **5** <u>sa</u>lutante – EFGFEFEDCDE.../EFGFEDE...; **6** al<u>le</u>luia – FEDGGFED/FED(a)GFED.

Vi - am man - da - to - rum tu - o - rum cu - cu - rri iux - ta ver - bum tu - um. Glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o et spi - ri - tu - i sanc - to.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** <u>Vi</u>am - page missing.

MA Impr. 1537: **2** <u>ver</u>bum – FGa/FGaG.

PL-PłS 36: **3** pa<u>tri</u> <u>et</u> <u>fili</u>o – a b c-dcba/ bc bcd cb-a; **3** <u>sanc</u>to – FED/GFED.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JVRv): **2** <u>tu</u>um – FED/FFED; **3** pa<u>tri</u> – a/ba; **3** <u>sanc</u>to – FED/FFED.

JMA2.1   *Verbum bonum*

Mode 4 – E plagal   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: C-d   9th

Ver - bum bo - num vir - go pa - ris

ma - nens ex - pers om - nis ma - ris

fe - cun - da - ris pneu - ma - te

al - le - lu - ia.

Notes:

No variation: SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** <u>Ver</u>bum – CDFGFED/CDFED; **1** <u>virgo</u> – Gab-cbaG/Gabcba-G; **2** <u>om</u>nis – cb/cbaG.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **3** <u>pneu</u>mate – DEFE/DEFEE,.

MA Impr. 1537: **1** Ver<u>bum</u> – C/D; **2** ma<u>nens</u>/ma<u>nes</u>; **3** fe<u>cundaris</u> – EDC-D-C/FED-E-E.

PL-PłS 36: **1** <u>Verbum</u> – CDFGFED-C/CDF-GFED; **4** <u>alle</u>luia – D-DEF/E-FG.

Torrens sacrati

Mode 5 – F authentic   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: F-g   9th

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

CZ-Bsa R 626: **2** Dei – def-e/defe-dc; **2** letificat – fedc/dcaG; **3** – e fg-efedcd-c fe dcd-c-c/e f-g-efedcd c fe-dc-c.

MA Impr. 1537: **2** Dei letificat – def-e fedc/defe-dc dcha; **3** – e fg-efedcd-c fe dcd-c-c/e f-g-efedcd c fe-dc-c; **4** magnificat – dchc/dchah.

PL-PłS 36: **2** Dei letificat – def-e fedc-h-c/defe-dc d-cha-h; **3** vi numinis – fe dcd-c/d fe-dc; **5** alleluia – ah/ahc.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** urbem/verbun; **2** Dei letificat – def-e fedc/defe-dc dcha; **3** – e fg-efedcd-c fe dcd-c-c/e f-g-efedcd c fe-dc-c; **5** alleluia – caFGaha-FG/caF-GaG.

O dilecta civitas

Mode 6 – F plagal   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: D-f   10th

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, PL-PłS 36

MA Impr. 1537: **2** <u>rei</u> – FGFEDE/ahaG; **2** <u>posci</u>mus – ah-c/F-ah; **5** al<u>le</u>luia – Gaha/FGaha.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** O – aGF.../aaGF...; **2** <u>rei</u> – FGFEDE/FGFED; **2** <u>posci</u>mus – ah/Fa; **4** – below; **5** al<u>le</u>luia – F-Gaha-GF/a-aha-G.

5

Ecce iste venit

Mode 3 – E authentic   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: C-e   10th

Ec – ce is – te ve – nit

sa – li – ens in mon – ti – bus

trans – i – li – ens col – les.

Si – mi – lis est di – lec – tus me – us

hy – nu – lo ca – pre – e – que cer – vo – rum al – le – lu – ia.

Notes:

No variations: PL-PłS 36

CZ-Bsa R 626: **2** mon<u>ti</u>bus – GaGaGFE/GaGFE; **5** al<u>le</u>luia – GFE/GGFE.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **5** al<u>le</u>luia – GFE/GGFE.

MA Impr. 1537: **5** cer<u>vo</u>rum – GFEDCD-EF/GFEDC-DEF; **5** al<u>le</u>luia – D/DE.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** <u>sa</u>liens – GFE.../GGFE...; **2** mon<u>ti</u>bus – GaGaGFE/GaGFE; **4** <u>me</u>us – FEDCD/FFEDCD; **5** cer<u>vo</u>rum – GFEDCD-EF/GGFED-CDEF; **5** al<u>le</u>luia – GFE/GGFE.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, PL-PłS 36

MA Impr. 1537: **3** e<u>g</u>ressio – GFED/GFE.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** <u>ut</u> <u>g</u>ygas – a GFE/aaGF E; **3** e<u>g</u>resssio – GFED/GGFED.

Felices matres

Mode 1 – D authentic   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-c   8ve

Fe – – – li – ces ma – tres

sed na – ti fe – li – ci – o – res.

Et que ges – se – re fe – li – ci – a

fac – ta fu – – – – e – re

al – le – – – – lu – ia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **5** al<u>le</u>luia – D/DD,.

MA Impr. 1537: **1** <u>ma</u>tres – FGFEFDC/FGFEDCD; **2** <u>feli</u>ci<u>o</u>res – below; **3** <u>ge</u>ssere – aGF-GFGa/aG-Ga; **5** alle<u>lu</u>ia – C/CD.

fe – li – ci – o – – – res.

2

PL-PłS 36: **2** <u>na</u>ti – gf/agf; **3** ges<u>se</u>re – GFGa/Ga.

Felix domus
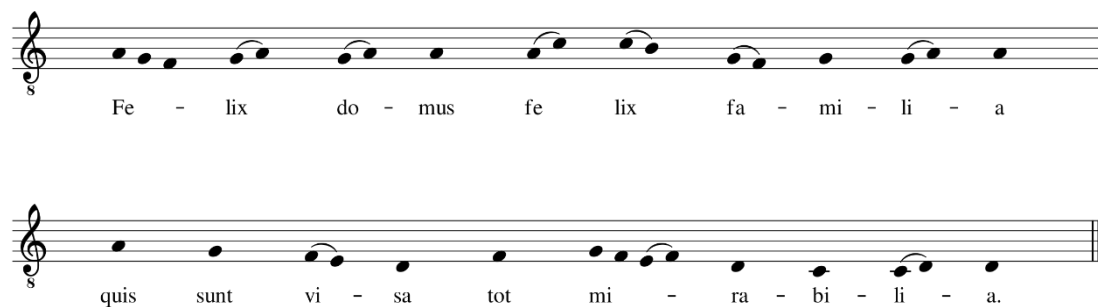
Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** do<u>mus</u> – a/Ga; **2** <u>qui</u>/<u>quibus</u> – a/a-a.

MA Impr. 1537: **2** <u>qui</u>/<u>quibus</u> – a/a-a; **2** mira<u>bi</u>lia – C/D.

PL-PłS 36: **2** <u>qui</u>/<u>quibus</u> – a/a-a.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** <u>qui</u>/<u>quibus</u> – a/a-a.

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JMR2.3   *O preclara stella*

Mode 5/6 – F mixtus   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: C-a'   13th

O ... pre - cla - ra   stel - la   ma ... ris

vir - go   ma - ter   sin - gu - la - ris

que   cog - na - tam   vi - si - ta - sti

Io - han - nem   il - lu - mi - na - sti

pro - le   pre - cla - ris - - si - ma.

Te   pre - ca - mur   in   hoc   fes - to

sis   so - la - men   om - ni   me - sto

fu - ga   mor - tem   con - fer   sor - tem

no - - - - bis in ce - li pa - tri - a

al - le - - - - lu - ia.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** O – FED.../FFED...; **1** pre<u>cla</u>ra – a-haG/h-cha; **4** Io<u>ha</u>nnem – cc,/c; **4** il<u>lumi</u>nasti – G-FED/GFE-D; **8** fu<u>ga</u> – c/e; **10** al<u>le</u>luia – FEDEFF.../FEDFF...

CZ-Pn XIII A 7 (given as EVR): **3** cog<u>na</u>tam – GahaG/GahaGG,; **4** <u>Io</u>hannem – a-cc,-ahaGF/c-ah-aGF; **5** pro<u>le</u> – C/D; **9** <u>no</u>bis – Facdcdefedeffga'gfedcdefdecdhcahaG-F /Facdcdefedefga'gfedcdefdecchcahaG-a; **10** al<u>le</u>luia – FEDEFF.../FEDFF...

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **4** Io<u>ha</u>nnem – cc,/c.

MA Impr. 1537: **4** Io<u>ha</u>nnem – cc,/c; **4** il<u>lumi</u>nasti – G-FED/GFE-D; **9** <u>no</u>bis – below; **10** al<u>le</u>luia – FEDEF.../FEDF...

no - - - - - - bis

9

PL-PłS 36: **1** O – FED.../FFED...; **1** preclara – haG/haGFG; **4** Iohannem – cc,/c; **5** prole – D/C; **8** fuga – efed/efedc; **9** nobis - ...haG/...haGFG; **10** alleluia – FEDEF.../FEDF...

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JMR3.3): transposed.

O pre - cla - ra stel - la ma ris

vir - go ma - ter sin - gu - la - ris

que cog - na - tam vi - si - ta - sti

Io - han - nem il - lu - mi - na - sti

pro - le pre - cla - ris - - si - ma.

Te pre - ca - mur in hoc fes - to

sis so - la - men om - ni me - sto

fu - ga mor - tem con - fer sor - tem

no - - - bis in ce - li pa - tri - a

al - le - - - - - lu - ia.

Ad te cla – mant om – nes re – i

lar – ga da – trix sanc – te spe – i

o fons in – de – fi – ci – ens.

Glo – ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i sanc – to.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr. 1537

CZ-Pn XIII A 7 (given as EVRv): **1** A̲d̲ t̲e̲ c̲la̲mant – FGah a acd/ahcd c cef.

PL-PłS 36: **1** r̲e̲i – haG/haGFG; **4** fil̲i̲o – haG/haGFG.

SK-BR BAI EClad.3 (given as JMR3.3v): transposed (below).

Ad te cla – mant om – nes re – i

lar – ga da – trix sanc – te spe – i

o fons in – de – fi – ci – ens.

Glo – ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i sanc – to.

JMR2.4   *O dies omni*

Mode 8 – G plagal   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: D-e   9th

O   di – es   om – ni   vo – to   re - co - len – da

o   di – es   om – ni   stu   di - o   ve – ne - ran‑da.

In - qua   tot   mi – se - ro

ful - se‑runt gau – – – di - a   mun - do

al – le – – – – lu – ia.

Notes:

CZ-PU XII A 9: **4** fu<u>l</u>serunt – acbabcdcbaG/acbabcddcbaG.

MA Impr. 1537: **1** <u>O</u> – GF.../GGF...; **2** <u>ve</u>neranda – GaGEFED/Gaggefed; **4** <u>gau</u>dia – below; **4** <u>mun</u>do – FEF/FFEF; **5** al<u>le</u>luia - ...GaaGFED/...GaGFE.

4   gau – – – – – di – a

PL-PłS 36 (given as JMR3.3): **5** al<u>le</u>luia – FEFEDDEFGaaGFED/FEFEDDEFGaGFED.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JMR2.3): **1** vo<u>to</u> – cbaG/ccbaG; **2** <u>o</u> – DFEFEDFEFGaG/DFEFEDFGaG; **3** <u>mi</u>sero – aGaGFE/aGFE; **4** <u>gau</u>dia - ...cdcbcba...-FEFG-FED/...cdcba...-FEFG-FFED; **5** al<u>le</u>luia - ...GaaGFED/...GaGFE.

Not given: CZ-Bsa R 626

Hec dies quam

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pn XII A 9

MA Impr. 1537: **2** le<u>te</u>mur – EF/FEF; **3** <u>Glori</u>a – acbabcd-edcbc/acbabcdedcb-cd; **3** <u>patri</u> <u>et</u> – ddcbc-aG a/dcb-c aG.

PL-PłS 36 (given as JMR3.3v): **1** <u>die</u>s – edcbc/dcbcd; **2** exul<u>te</u>mus – dcbabcd/dcbabc; **2** le<u>te</u>mur – EF-ED/FEF-D; **3** Glo<u>ri</u>a – edcbc/dcbc; **3** <u>patri</u> – ddcbc/dcbc; **3** <u>et</u> – a/aG; **3** <u>sanc</u>to – FEFEDEF/FEF.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JMR2.3v): **1** <u>quam</u> – d/dd,; **1** <u>fe</u>cit – dcbc/ddcbc; **2** exul<u>te</u>mus – G-d-dcbabcd/d-ddcba-bc; **2** le<u>te</u>mur – EF/FEF; **3** <u>Glori</u>a – acbabcd-edcbc/acbabcdedcb-c; **3** <u>patri</u> – ddcbc-aG/dcbc-a; **3** <u>filio</u> – aG/aGaG; **3** <u>et</u> d/G.

Not given: CZ-Bsa R 626

Magna mirabilia

Mode 8 – G plagal   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: E-f   9th

Mag – na   mi – ra – bi – li – a

in   fi – – li – a

quam   si – bi   e – le – git

ter – re   ma – ris – que   Do – mi – nus

ce – li   ni – chi – lo – mi – nus

sig – nan – ter   per – e – git

al – – – le – lu – ia.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **4** Do<u>mi</u>nus – cd/c.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **4** Do<u>mi</u>nus – cd/c.

MA Impr. 1537: **4** Do<u>mi</u>nus – cd/c.

PL-Płs 36: **2** <u>fili</u>a – dcba-baG/dcb-ab; **4** <u>terr</u>e – c/cb; **4** Do<u>mi</u>nus – cd/c.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** <u>fili</u>a – dcba-baG/ddcba-bc; **4** Do<u>mi</u>nus – cd/c; **7** – cbabcd-cba-ba-g/cba-bcdcba-a-g.

Exultet terra propere

Mode 7 – G authentic   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: F-g   9th

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** Ex<u>ul</u>tet – b/Gcb; **2** <u>mul</u>te – d/de; **2** <u>letentur</u> – f-edc-edefd/fedc-ed-efd.

MA Impr. 1537: **1** Ex<u>ul</u>tet – b/Gcb; **2** <u>mul</u>te – d/c; **2** <u>letentur</u> – edc-edefd/edced-efed; **3** <u>celico</u> – edefd/eded.

PL-PłS 36: **1** Ex<u>ul</u>tet – b/Gcb; **2** <u>mul</u>te – d/c; **2** <u>letentur</u> – f-edc-edefd/edc-ed-ef.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** Ex<u>ul</u>tet – b-c/Gcb-cd.

Novum tibi virgo

Mode 1 – D authentic   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-d   9th

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-Pu XII A 9, MA Impr 1537

PL-PłS 36: **5** alleluia – aGF-GFEDC/aGFGFED-C.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **5** alleluia – aFG-GFEDC/aGFGFD-C.

Speciosas filias

Mode 5 – F authentic   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: F-g   9th

Spe – ci – o – sas fi – – li – as

cu – mu – lan – tes di – vi – ti – as.

The – sau – ro ven – tris gra – vi – di

trans – cen – dit ma – ter Do – mi – ni

al – le – lu – ia al – le – lu – – ia.

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Bsa R 626

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **1** Speci<u>o</u>sas – cd/cdc.

MA Impr. 1537: **5** second <u>alleluia</u> – below.

5 al – le – – – lu – ia.

PL-PłS 36: **5** al<u>le</u>luia – f/(f); **5** second al<u>le</u>luia – below.

5 al – le – – – lu – – ia.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** <u>fil</u>ias – cdefedcd-c/cdefec-d; **2** di<u>vi</u>tias – cha/ccha; **5** <u>alleluia</u> – e-f-g-efedc/efg-e-fed-c; **5** second <u>alleluia</u> – below.

5 al – le – lu – – – ia.

Exulta et lauda

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1-2** habitati<u>o</u> <u>Sy</u>on – dcha h/c dchah; **2** <u>mag</u>nus – cc,/c.

MA Impr. 1537: **2** <u>mag</u>nus – cc,/c.

PL-PłS 36: **2** <u>mag</u>nus – cc,/c.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1-2** habitati<u>o</u> <u>Sy</u>on – dcha h/c dcha; **2** <u>mag</u>nus – cc,/c; **2** <u>me</u>dio – fedefe/fe; **3** <u>sanc</u>tus – cha/ccha.

Ait autem Maria

Mode 2 – D plagal   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: A-d   10th

A – – – it au – tem Ma – ri – a

fe – – cit mi – chi mag – na

qui po – – tens est.

Et sanc – – tum no – men ei – us

al – – – – le – lu – ia.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** autem – aGFGF-ED/aGFG-FE; **1** Maria – EFGEF/EFGFEF; **2** fecit – aGacGaGFG.../aGacGaGFFG...; **3** qui – FGFG.../FGFFG...

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **1** Maria – EFGEF/EGEF; **3** qui – FGFGahaG/FGFFGahaG.

MA Impr. 1537: **1** Ait – ...DFCAC/...DECCAC; **1** Maria – EFGEF/EFGFEF; **2** fecit – aGacG.../acG...; **2** michi – aGF-GFED/aGFG-FED; **4** Et – DCA/DCCA; **4** nomen – aFEFD/aGFEFD; **5** alleluia – CDEFGFEF/CDFGFEF.

PL-PłS 36: **1** Maria – CD-EFGEF/CDEF-GFEF; **2** fecit – aGacGaGFG.../aGacGaGFFG...; **5** alleluia – below.

al – le – – – – lu – ia.

5

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** fecit – ...GaGah/GaGac; **5** alleluia – below.

al – – – le – lu – ia.

5

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **2** <u>in</u> – cc,/cbc.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **2** <u>in</u> – cc,/c.

MA Impr. 1537: **2** <u>in</u> – cc,/cb.

PL-PłS 36: **2** <u>in</u> – cc,/cb.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** <u>in</u> – cc,/c; **3** t<u>imen</u>tibus – aGF/aaGF.

Magnificat anima mea

Mode 7/8 trans – G mixtus trans   *Finalis*: c   Ambitus: G-d'   12th

Mag – ni – fi – cat a – ni – ma me – a Do – mi – num

et ex – ul – ta – vit

spi – ri – tus me – us in De – o

sa – lu – ta – ri me – o.

Qui – a res – pe – xit hu – mi – li – – – ta – tem

an – cil – le su – e al – le – – – lu – ia.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as JVR): **1** Magnificat – dcdfcdcha/cdecdcha; **2** et – cdfeg.../cdedfeg...;
2 exultavit – ha/h; **3** in – dgfedcdfcchaG/dgfedcdecchaG; **5** humilitatem –
ga'c'b'c'd'.../ga'c'c'd'...

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **6** ancille – dedegcfed-c/dede-gcfedc; alleluia – G-acc.../a-Gacc...

MA Impr. 1537 (given as JVR): **3** spiritus – efg/eg; **3** meus – a'a'g.../a'g...; **3** in – dg.../cg...; **6**
alleluia – accdfeggf.../accdedgggf...

PL-PłS 36 (given as JVR): **3** in – dg.../cg...; **4** meo – a'gfgfed/a'gfegfed; **5** humilitatem –
ga'c'b'c'd'gc'b'a'ggfedefe-dc-c/g-a'c'b'd'gc'b'a'ggfedefe-dc; **6** ancille – dedegcfed-
c/dedegc-fedc; **6** alleluia – G-accdf.../Gac-def...

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JMR1.3): **1** Magnificat – dcd.../cd...; **2** et –
cdfeggfedc/cdfdgfedcd; **3** meus – a'a'gfedcdefed-c/a'gfedcdef-eedc; **3** in – dgfe.../dfe...; **4**
meo – a'gfgfed/a'gfefed; **5** humilitatem – below; **6** ancille – dedegcfed-c/dede-gcfedc; **6**
alleluia – accdfeggf.../accdfegf...

5

Ec - ce   e - nim   ex - hoc   be - a - tam

me   di - cent   om - nes   ge - ne - ra - ti - o - nes.

Glo - ri - a   pa - tri   et   fi - li - o   et   spi - ri - tu - i   sanc - to.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as JVRv): **2** <u>dicent</u> – cd-cba/cdcba-a.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **2** om<u>nes</u> – c/cc.

MA Impr. 1537 (given as JVRv): **2** gene<u>rati</u>ones – def-efcdc/defec-dc; **3** <u>Glori</u>a – cd-cdef/cdcdef-e; **3** <u>pa</u>tri – ggf.../gf...; **3** <u>spiri</u>tui – dcdef-e-fc-dc/dc-defe-e-fcdc.

PL-PłS 36 (given as JVRv): **2** di<u>cent</u> – cba/cbaG; **3** <u>spiri</u>tui – dcdef-e/dc-defe.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JMR1.3v): **1** ex<u>hoc</u> – gfe/ggfe; **2** <u>me</u> – aGac/aGabc; **2** di<u>cent</u> – cba/ccba; **3** <u>pa</u>tri – ggfe.../gfe...; **3** <u>spiri</u>tui – dcdef-e-fc/dc-def-efc.

Mater Christi veneranda

Mode 7/8 trans – G mixtus trans   *Finalis*: C   Ambitus: Γ-a'   17th

Ma – ter   Chri – sti   ve – ne – ran – da   sub – le – va – men   mi – se – ris.

Pro – le   tu – a   a – do – ran – da   sub – ve – ni   pes – ti – fe – ris.

Ad   te   re – i   sus – pi – ra – mus   dux   ex – cel – len – tis – si – ma.

Te   de – vo – te   ex – o – ra – mus   con – fer   vi – te   gau – di – a.

Per   as – scen-sum   ho – di – er – num   ad   mon – ta – na   a – gi – lem.

Nos   ad   reg – num   duc   e – ter – num   per   vi – tam   lau – da – bi – lem.

Ut   so – lu – ti   mun – di   mo – le   et   car – nis   pe – nu – ri – a.

De   tu – a   le – te – mur   pro – le   vir – go   pre – cla – ris – si – ma

al – le – – – – lu – ia.

Notes:

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **4** gaudia – cba/cbaa,; **6** vitam laudabilem – f edc/fe dc; **9** alleluia – cuts off after gfedc as the scribe ran out of space, so 'luia' is placed under the c.

Not given: CZ-Bsa R 626, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3

Mode 4 – E plagal   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: C-e   10th

Sus – – – ce – pit Is – ra – el

pu – – – e – rum su – um

re – – – cor – – da – tus

mi – – se – ri – cor – di – e su – e.

Si – cut lo – cu – tus est ad pa – tres nos – tros

Ab – ra – ham et se – mi – ni ei – us

in se – cu – la al – – – le – lu – ia.

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as JMR3.3): **4** <u>miseric</u>ordie – EFEDEbcbaG-F-G-aa,/EFEDE-bc-baG-FGa.

MA Impr. 1537: **2** <u>pue</u>rum – GaGacbcdcde-d/GaGacb-cdcded; **4** miseri<u>cor</u>die – aa,/a; **6** <u>et</u> <u>se</u>mini – EFGFE GaDG/EFGFEGaD G; **5** <u>al</u>leluia - ...GaFEFD/...GaFEFFD.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JV2R): **1** <u>Sus</u>cepit – EFEDEFGGF.../EFEDEFGF...; **2** pue<u>rum</u> – dcbabG/ddcbabG; **3** <u>suum</u>/{<u>suum</u>} – ab-b/{ab}-{b}; **3** <u>recor</u>datus/{<u>recor</u>}datus – cGaFFEFD-FaGFGaG/{cGaFEFD}-{FaGFGaG}; **4** miseri<u>cor</u>die – aa,/a; **4** <u>sue</u> – EFGFED/EFGF; **7** se<u>cu</u>la – FED/FFED; **7** al<u>le</u>luia – below.

7

Not given: PL-PłS 36

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as JMR3.3v): **4** impo<u>nam</u> – E/GE; **5** spi<u>ri</u>tui – d-cbaGa/dcba-Ga.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **5** <u>sanc</u>to – D/CD.

MA Impr. 1537: **5** spi<u>ri</u>tui – d-cbaGa/dcba-Ga; **5** <u>sanc</u>to – D/DE.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3 (given as JV2Rv): **1** <u>Iu</u>ravit – EFGGFE/EFGFE; **5** <u>Glo</u>ria – EFGGFE/EFGFE; **5** <u>et</u> <u>fi</u>lio – acbaGa GFE/acbaG aGFE; **5** spi<u>ri</u>tui – cbaGa-G-FE/ccbaG-a-GGFE.

Not given: PL-PłS 36

JLA1   *In Marie virginis*[451]

Mode 1 – D authentic   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-c   8ve

Notes:

No variations: CZ-Pu XII A 9

CZ-Bsa R 626: **3** al<u>le</u>luia – FE-D-D/F-F-F.

MA Impr. 1537: **3** al<u>le</u>luia – FE-D-D/F-F-F.

PL-PłS 36: **1** u<u>te</u>ro – G/Ga; **2** parata sedes/parata <u>est</u> sedes – a-ac-a GF-G/a-ac-a **a** GF-G, **3** al<u>le</u>luia – FE-D-D/F-F-F.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** u<u>te</u>ro – G/a;

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[451] The melody for the last three syllables of this chant has been emended. The original melody (F-F-F) is not correct for the mode of the piece, and has been replaced by a standard ending for Mode 1 chants, as found within other Mode 1 chants in this manuscript and in this chant in Mss CZ-Pu XII A 9 and SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3.

<u>JLA2</u>   *Iubilet Deo*

Mode 5/6 – F mixtus   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: C-f   11th

Iu – bi – let De – o om – nis ter – ra

et ce – les – tis yer – ar – chi – a

ser – vi – at e – i al – le – lu – ia.

<u>Notes:</u>

CZ-Bsa R 626: **2** yer<u>archi</u>a – G-FEDE/GFE-DE; **3** <u>alle</u>luia – cc,/c.

MA Impr. 1537: **2** yer<u>archi</u>a – FEDE-DC/ahaG-F; **3** serv<u>iat</u> – DC/D; **3** <u>alle</u>luia – cc,/c.

PL-PłS 36: **1** <u>ter</u>ra – d/dc; **2** yer<u>archi</u>a – FEDE/FEF; **3** <u>alle</u>luia – cc,/c.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** yer<u>archi</u>a – G-FEDE/aGF-E; **3** <u>alle</u>luia – cc,-GaG-haGa-GF/c-aaGF-G-F.

Given in manuscript CZ-Pu XII A 9

Mode 2 – D plagal   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: A-a   8ve

Iu – bi – let De – o om – nis ter – ra

et ce – les – tis yer – ar – chi – a

ser – vi – at e – i al – le – lu – ia.

<u>Notes:</u>

Not given in: CZ-BSA R 626, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3

Mode 3 – E authentic   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: D-d   8ve

Fe - cit   Do - mi - nus   po - ten - ti - am

in   bra - chi - o   su - o   dis - per - sit

su - per - bos   men - te   cor - dis   su - i

al - le - lu - ia.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **3** mente – bcdd,/bcd.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **4** alleluia – D/DE.

MA Impr. 1537: **3** mente – bcdd,/bcd; **4** alleluia – D/DE.

PL-PłS 36: **2** suo – G-aG/Ga-G; **3** mente – bcdd,/bcd.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **3** mente – bcdd,/bcd.

<u>JLA4</u>   *Deposuit potentes*

Mode 4 – E plagal   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: D-c   7th
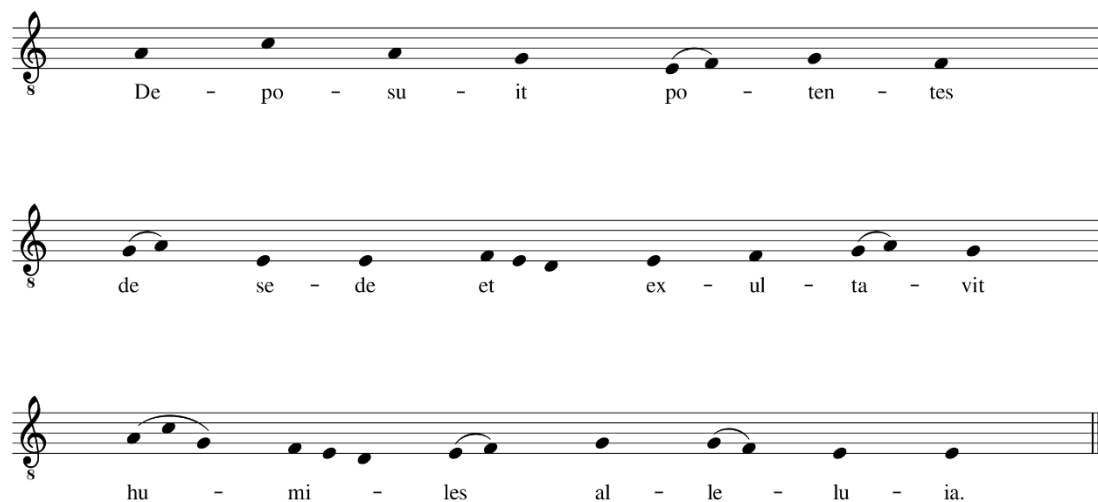
Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **3** <u>hu</u>miles – acG/aca; **3** al<u>le</u>luia – GF/F.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **3** al<u>le</u>luia – GF/F.

MA Impr. 1537: **3** al<u>le</u>luia – GF/F.

PL-PłS 36: **1** <u>De</u>posuit – a/G.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **3** hu<u>mi</u>les – FED/FFED; **3** al<u>le</u>luia – GF/F.

<u>JLA5</u>   *Esurientes implevit*

Mode 2 – D plagal   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: A-a   8ve

R   E – su – ri – en – tes   im – ple – vit

R   bo – – nis   et   di – vi – tes

R   di – mi – sit   in – a – nes   al – le – lu – ia.

Notes:

No variations: MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36

CZ-Bsa R 626: **2** <u>divi</u>tes – E-FG/EFG-G.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **3** <u>inanes</u>/{?} – FG-FED-CA/{FG}-{FFED}-{CCA}.

Given in manuscript CZ-Pu XII A 9

Mode 5/6 – F mixtus   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: C-f   11th

Cz   E – su – ri – en – tes   im – ple – vit

Cz   bo – nis   et   di – vi – tes

Cz   di – mi – sit   in – a – nes   al – le – lu – ya.

Notes:

Not given in: CZ-BSA R 626, MA Impr. 1537, PL-PłS 36, SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3

Mode 3 – E authentic   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: D-d   8ve

CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 missing last line: base manuscript: CZ-Pu XII A 9

En mi – ran – da   pro – di – gi – a

con – ce – pit   nam   vir – gun – cu – la

fit   Ihe – su   Chri – sti   ge – ru – la

Ma – ri – a   sa – cra – tis – si – ma.

Notes:

Later verses: no versification issues.

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** miran<u>da</u> – b/c.

CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16: **4** – no music given.

CZ-Pak Cim 7: **1** mi<u>ran</u>da – c/cc; **1** prodi<u>gi</u>a – aca/ab; **2** <u>con</u>cepit – a/aa; **2** <u>nam</u> – a/aa; **4** <u>Ma</u>ria – c/Gabc; **4** sa<u>cra</u>tissima – a-G-FED/Ga-GF-ED.

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** prodi<u>gi</u>a – c/b; **3** <u>fit</u> <u>Ihe</u>su – a c/G b; **4** <u>Ma</u>ria – c/b; **4** <u>sacra</u>tissima – F-a-G-FED/GFEF-D-FaGa-F.

Given as incipit only: PL-Pł*S* 36

Not given: MA Impr. 1537

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Mode 5/6 – F mixtus   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: C-g   12th

Be – ne   –   dic – tus   Do – mi – nus   De   –   us

Is   –   –   ra – el   qui –   –   –   a

vi – si – ta – vit   et   fe – cit   re – demp – ti – o – nem

ple – bis   su – e   si – cut   lo – cu – tus   est

per   os   sanc –   –   –   to – rum

al – le –   –   –   –   lu – ia.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** Do<u>mi</u>nus – ac/a; **3** <u>et</u> <u>fe</u>cit – a chaG/G baG; **3** redemp<u>tio</u>nem – hah-c/ha-hc; **4** <u>ple</u>bis – chahaG-FEDC/chahaGFED-C; **4** locu<u>tus</u> – haGFG/haGa.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **3** fe<u>cit</u> – F/(F).

MA Impr. 1537: **3** <u>fe</u>cit – chaG/cha; **3** redemp<u>tio</u>nem – hah-c/ha-h; **5** <u>sanc</u>torum - FGaG**a**cFGFEDC/FGaGcGF**F**EDC; **6** <u>alle</u>luia – f-gfefedcc.../e-fedcdcbac...

PL-PłS 36: **3** <u>et</u> <u>fe</u>cit – a chaG/F haG; **3** redemp<u>tio</u>nem – hah-c/ha-hc; **4** <u>ple</u>bis – chahaG-FEDC/chahaGF-EDC; **4** <u>sicut</u> <u>locutus</u> – below; **5** <u>sanc</u>torum – FGaGacFGFEDC-DE/FGacFGFEDC-DF; **6** <u>alle</u>luia – below.

4

6

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **1** B<u>ene</u>dictus - ...FEDC/...FED; **2** <u>Isra</u>el - ...Gaha-GF/Ga-haGFG; **2** <u>quia</u> – cdcf...haGFG/cf...haG; **4** <u>ple</u>bis – FEDC/FFEDC; **4** <u>sicut</u> – fedcdcha/fedc; **5** <u>os</u> – GFEFEDC/GFEFED; **5** <u>sanc</u>torum – FGaGacFGFEDC/FGaGacFbaGFEDC; **6** <u>alle</u>luia – below.

6

Mode 8 – G plagal   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: E-f   9th

Mag – ni – fi – cet Do – mi – num

to – tum ge – nus fi – de – li – um

con – cre – pet ar – mo – ni – ca

lau – de co – hors an – ge – li – ca

in Ma – ri – e gau – di – a

al – – – le – – – lu – ia.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **3** co<u>ncre</u>pet – cbacbcd-d/cbacb-cd.

CZ-Pu XII A 9: **1** Do<u>min</u>um – c/cd; **4** <u>lau</u>de – d/dd,; **4** co<u>hors</u> – acd-cbaG/acdcba-G; **5** <u>gau</u>dia – F/FF,; **6** al<u>le</u>luia – acbabcddcbaGaG/acbabcdcbaGaG.

MA Impr. 1537 (given as incipit in Visitation, and in full for the Visitation Octave): **1** <u>Do</u>minum – defed-c/defe-cd; **3** ar<u>mon</u>ica/ar<u>moni</u>aca – d-fed-c-d/d-fed-c-d-d; **6** al<u>le</u>luia – below.

6

PL-PłS 36: **1** Do<u>min</u>um – c/cd; **3** co<u>ncre</u>pet – cbacbcd-d/cbacb-cd; **5** in <u>Mari</u>e – below; **6** al<u>le</u>luia – below.

5

6

SK-BR BAI EC Lad.3: **2** to<u>tum</u> – cba/ccba; **2** ge<u>nus</u> – cbaG/ccbaG; **3** ar<u>mon</u>ica – fed/ffed; **4** co<u>hors</u> – cbaG/ccbaG; **5** Ma<u>rie</u> – cbaGaG-FE/bcaG-aGFEe; **6** al<u>lelu</u>ia – below.

6

Primary manuscript: NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)

<u>EVA1</u>   *Accedunt laudes virginis*

Mode 1 – D authentic   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-d   9th

Ac – ce – dunt lau – des vir – gi – nis

ad – mi – ran – de in – da – gi – nis

no – vi – ter pro – mul – ga – te

en vi – si – tat E – ly – sa – beth

Ma – ri – a ma – ter ip – sa – met

ce – li – ca pro – bi – ta – te.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **4** en/nam; **4** visitat Elyzabeth – FE-D FD-C-CD-D/F-FE D-FE-DC-C; **5** Maria – CD-E-F/C-D-EF; **5** ipsamet – a/Ga; **6** celica probitate – F EFG/E FG.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** Accedunt – Dac/Dah; **3** noviter – c cd/cd d; **3** promulgate – d-c-haG-F/c-baGF-ga-a; **4** Elyzabeth – FD-C-CD/D-FE-DC; **5** Maria – CD-E/C-DE; **6** celica probitate – F EFG/EF G.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **3** noviter – c-cd/cd-d; **4** Elyzabeth – FD-C/EF-D; **5** Maria – CD/D; **6** celica – C-D-F/CD-F-EF; **6** probitate – EFG/Ga.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** Accedunt – Dac/Dah; **3** noviter – c cd/cd d; **4** Elyzabeth – FD-C-CD-D/ED-C-CD-DD; **5** Maria – CD/D; **5** ipsamet – a/y; **6** celica probitate – C-D-F EFG/CD-F-EF G.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** Accedunt – Dac/Dab; **2** indaginis – CD/(C)D; **3** noviter – cd/d; **3** promulgate – F/FED; **4** en visitat Elyzabeth – F G-FE-D FD/D F-DC-D ED; **5** Maria – CD/D; **6** celica probitate – C-D-F EFG/CD-F-EF G.

P-BRs Ms. 034: **1** Accedunt – Dac/Dah; **3** noviter – cd/d; **3** promulgate – F/FED; **4** en visitat – F G-FE/D E-DC; **4** Elyzabeth – FD/ED; **5** Maria – CD/D; **6** celica probitate – C-D-F EFG/CD-F-EF G.

SK-Sk 2: page missing

Mode 2 – D plagal   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: A-a   8ve

Di – vo   re – ple – tur   mu – ne – re

Ma – ri – a   si – ne   mur – mu – re

cum   fi – li – um   con – ce – pit

sur – re – xit   ab   o – ra – cu – lo

sta – tim   in   mon – tis   cal – cu – lo

a – bi – it   et   per – fe – cit.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** – EF-F F-FE-DC A-CD-D/CD-D D-FEDE-CA C-CD-D; **6** – C-D-F CA CD-D-D/C-DE-C D CA-CD-D.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** repl<u>tur</u> <u>mu</u>nere– DC A/DCCB C; **2** Ma<u>ri</u>a – E/EF; **6** a<u>biit</u> <u>et</u> – C-D-F CA/C-DE-C DCCB.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** <u>Divo</u> <u>r</u>epletur – EF-F F/CD-D D; **5** mon<u>tis</u> – FG/FGFEF; **5** <u>calcu</u>lo – F-E/D-CD; **6** ab<u>it</u> – F/E; **6** <u>et</u> <u>perfe</u>cit – CA CD-D/FD DA-CD.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** <u>Divo</u> <u>r</u>epletur – EF-F F/CD-D D; **2** <u>mur</u>mure – G/GG; **5** mon<u>tis</u> – FG/FGF; **5** <u>calculo</u> – F-E-D/D-CD-D; **6** ab<u>it</u> – F/E.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** <u>Divo</u> <u>r</u>epletur – EF-F F/CD-D D; **3** <u>fi</u>lium – D/C; **5** mon<u>tis</u> – FG/FGF; **5** <u>calcu</u>lo – F-E/D-CD; **6** <u>et</u> – CA/C.

P-BRs Ms. 034: **3** <u>fi</u>lium – D/C; **5** mon<u>tis</u> – FG/FGF; **5** <u>calcu</u>lo – F-E/D-CD; **6** <u>et</u> CA/C.

SK-Sk 2: **1** – DF-F F-FE-DC A-CD-D/CD-D D-FE-DCA C-CD-D; **5** mon<u>tis</u> – FG/FGFE; **5** <u>calcu</u>lo – F-E/D-CD; **6** <u>et</u> <u>perfe</u>cit – CA CD-D/DCA C-CD.

Accendit ardor spiritus

Mode 3 – E authentic   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: D-e   9th

Ac – cen – dit   ar – dor   spi – ri – tus

Ma – ri – am   tan – gens   ce – li – tus

de   Na – za – reth   mi – gran – do

mox   ad   mon – ta – na   trans – tu – lit

u – bi   tu – mul – tu   ca – ru – it

su – per – na   de – gu – stan – do.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** spir*itus* – dcb/d; **2** M*ari*am – ac-ba/c-ac; **4** mon*ta*na – F-G/E-F; **5** – G-cd c-de-d d-cba-G/bc-d dc-d-ded cb-a-G; **6** super*na* – FG-a/F-Ga; **6** de*gu*stando – G-GF/GEEC-DEF.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** A*cc*endit – G-ac/Gac-c; **1** spir*itus* – c-dcb/cb-b; **2** M*ari*am – ac-ba/cbaG-a; **2** ce*litus* – F-G/FED-E; **3** Naz*areth* – G/Ga; **4** mon*ta*na tr*anstulit*/ mon*ta*na *se* tr*anstulit*– DG ac/F D Gac; **5** *ubi* – G-cd/bc-d; **5** tu*multu* – de-d/d-cb; **5** c*aruit* – d/ab; **6** super*na* – FG-a/F-Ga; **6** de*gu*stando – G-GF/GEEC-DE.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** spir*itus* – c-dcb/cb-b; **2** M*ari*am – ac-ba/ab-cba; **3** *mi*grando – GF/GE; **5** *u*bi – G/b; **6** super*na* – F/GE.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** spir*itus* – c-dcb/cb-b; **2** M*ari*am – ac/ab; **5** *u*bi – G/b; **6** super*na* – F/GF.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** A*cc*endit – G/?; **1** spir*itus* – c-dcb/cb-a; **2** M*ari*am – ac/ab; **4** monta*na* – DG/G; **5** *u*bi – G-cd/b-c; **6** super*na* – F/GF.

P-BRs Ms. 034: **1** spir*itus* – c-dcb/cb-a; **2** M*ari*am – ac/ab; **4** mont*a*na – DG/G; **5** *u*bi – G/b; **6** super*na* – F/GF.

SK-Sk 2: **1** spir*itus* – c-dcb/cb-b; **2** M*ari*am – ac-ba/abc-aG; **4** mox *ad*/mox *in*; **4** montana/montana *se* – x/G; **5** *u*bi – G/b; **5** tumul*tu* – d/dc; **5** c*aruit* – cba-G/cb-aG; **6** super*na* – F/GF.

Mode 4 – E plagal   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: D-d   8ve

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** Monstrans/Monstrat; **1** c<u>u</u>lmen – DE-E/D-C; **1** d<u>u</u>lcedinis – DE-G-G-GF/G-a-G-G; **2** Ma<u>ri</u>a – Ga-aG/ab-c; **2** s<u>ui</u> – GFE-E/aG-FE; **2** s<u>a</u>nguinis – DGa-G-a/F-G-G; **3** E<u>l</u>yzabeth – cba-G/cbaG-e; **4** <u>in</u> <u>d</u>omo – F G/E F; **4** prox<u>im</u>i – c/b; **5** prop<u>in</u>qua – bc-d-cb/bcd-b-c; **5** tem<u>pl</u>o – cG/G; **6** sub<u>mi</u>nistrat – GFE-DE/GF-GaG.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** c<u>u</u>lmen – DE-E/E-D; **1** d<u>u</u>lcedinis – DE-G-G-GF/G-G-F-G; **2** Ma<u>ri</u>a – Ga-aG/a-G; **2** s<u>ui</u> – E/G; **2** s<u>a</u>nguinis – DGa/a; **4** prox<u>im</u>i – G-a-c/F-G-a; **5** prop<u>in</u>qua templo <u>D</u>omini – bc-d-cb a cG EF/bcd-cb-a b-G F; **6** sub<u>mi</u>nistrat – GFE-DE/G-GF.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **4** prox<u>im</u>i – G-a-c/Gabc-b-b; **5** tem<u>pl</u>o – a-cG/acG-G; **6** sub<u>mi</u>nistrat – DE/DEF.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **4** prox<u>im</u>a – G-a-c/Gab-b-b; **5** tem<u>pl</u>o – a-cG/abG-G.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **2** Ma<u>ri</u>a – aG/G; **3** s<u>a</u>lutat – GF-E/G-FE; **4** prox<u>im</u>i – G-a-c/Gab-b-b; **5** prop<u>in</u>qua – bc-d/b-c; **5** tem<u>pl</u>o – a-cG/abG-?; **6** <u>d</u>evote sub<u>mi</u>nistrat – D-E-F GFE/?-?-(G) ?.

P-BRs Ms. 034: **2** Ma<u>ri</u>a – aG/G; **3** s<u>a</u>lutat – GF-E/G-FE; **4** prox<u>im</u>i – G-a-c/cab-b-b; **5** prop<u>in</u>qua – bc-d/b-c; **5** tem<u>pl</u>o – a-cG/abG-G; **5** Do<u>mi</u>ni – D/E.

SK-Sk 2: **2** s<u>ui</u> – GFE/FGFE; **3** E<u>l</u>yzabeth – cba/aba; **4** prox<u>im</u>i – G-a/Gac-c; **5** tem<u>pl</u>o – a-cG/abca-G; **6** sub<u>mi</u>nistrat – GFE-DE/G-GF.

Carisma sancti spiritus

Mode 5 – F authentic   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: F-f   8ve

Ca – ris – ma   sanc – ti   spi – ri – tus

dif – fu – dit   se   di – vi – ni – tus

in   pu – e – rum   cum   sen – sit

con – cep – tum   sa – lu – ti – fe – rum

Ma – ri – e   si – bi   ob – vi – um

E – ly – za – beth   con – sen – sit.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** Carisma sancti – a-aG-Fa ch-aG/a-F-ac ha-G; **4** – G-a-c d-c-eef-ed-c/a-c-d c-e-fe-d-c; **5** Marie – fe-d-e/e-f-g; **5** obvium – c/aG; **6** Elyzabeth – haG/G; **6** consensit – GaG/G.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** Carisma – a-aG-Fa/a-F-ac; **2** diffudit – h/c; **2** divinitus – dc/c; **4** conceptum – G-a-c/a-c-d; **4** salutiferum – c-eef-ed/e-fe-dc; **5** obvium – c/aG; **6** Elyzabeth – haG/G.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** Carisma sancti – a-aG-Fa ch/aG-F-ac c; **1** spiritus – a-G-F/cd-c-c; **2** – F-a-h c h-dc-h-c/c-a-h aG F-Gah-G-a; **3** in – a/c; **4** conceptum – G-a-c/GaG-F-ac; **4** salutiferum – eef/ef; **5** sibi – dc/ch.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** Carisma sancti – a-aG-Fa ch/aG-F-ac c; **1** spiritus – a-G-F/ccd-c-c; **2** diffudit – F/c; **2** se divinitus – c h-dc-h-c/aG F-Gah-G-a; **3** in – a/c; **4** conceptum – G-a-c/GaG-F-ac; **4** salutiferum – eef-ed/efe-d.

P-BRs Ms. 028: (no clef for Charisma sanc-, clef assumed from *custos* at end of line) **1** Carisma – Fa/Fac; **1** sancti – ch/c; **1** spiritus – a-G-F/ccd-c-c; **2** diffudit – F-a-h/c-a-ha; **2** se divinitus – c h-dc-h-c/a F-Gah-G-a; **4** in – a/c; **4** conceptum – G-a-c/GaG-F-a; **4** salutiferum – d-c-eef-ed-c/c-c-de-fe-dc; **5** – fe-d-e fe-dc dc-h-c/d-e-d cd-dch cd-c-c.

P-BRs Ms. 034: **1** Carisma – Fa/Fac; **1** sancti – ch/cc; **1** spiritus – a-G-F/ccd-c-c; **2** – F-a-h c h-dc-h-c/c-a-ha ag F-Gah-G-a; **3** in – a/c; **4** – G-a-c d-c-eef-ed-c/GaG-F-a c-c-de-fe-dc; **5** – fe-d-e fe-dc dc-h-c/d-e-d cd-dch cd-c-c.

SK-Sk 2: **1** Carisma – a-aG/aG-F; **1** sancti – ch/c; **1** spiritus – a-G-F/cd-c-c; **2** – F-a-h c h-dc-h-c/c-a-h aG F-Gaha-Ga-a; **3** in puerum – a h/ac ac; **4** conceptum – G-a/F-GaGa; **4** salutiferum – eef-ed/defe-dc; **5** obvium – dc/d; **6** consensit – GaG/G.

Mode 8 – G plagal   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: C-d   9th

In Ma – ri – am vi – te vi – am

ma – trem ve – ram vi – ven – ti – um

pi – e ve – nit qui re – de – mit

pec – ca – ta de – lin – quen – ti – um.

Notes:

Later verses: no versification issues.

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX (given as CH): **1** M<u>ari</u>am – abab-c-ba/ab-c-b; **2** vi<u>ven</u>tium – c-ba/cb-a; **3** ve<u>nit</u> <u>qui</u> – G EDE/GF E; **3** re<u>demit</u> – ED-C/E-D; **4** pe<u>ca</u>ta – abab/ab; **4** dilin<u>quen</u>tium – ba-G-a-F-G/b-G-aG-F-G.

Given as incipit only: P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

Not given: CZ-Pn XIII A 7

CZ-Pu III D 10: mostly transposed 3rd higher – below.

In Ma – ri – am vi – te vi – am
ma – trem ve – ram vi – ven – ti – um
pi – e ve – nit qui re – de – mit
pec – ca – ta de – lin – quen – ti – um.

P-BRs Ms. 034: partly transposed 3rd/4th lower – below.

In Ma – ri – am vi – te vi – am
ma – trem ve – ram vi – ven – ti – um
pi – e ve – nit qui re – de – mit
pec – ca – ta de – lin – quen – ti – um.

EVAM   *Acceleratur ratio*

Mode 5/6 – F mixtus   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: C-f   11th

Ac – ce – le – ra – tur ra – ti – o

in pu – e – ro non – dum na – to

in – stinc – tu sa – cri pneu – ma – tis

di – vi – ni – tus si – bi da – to

no – vit pre – sen – tem Do – mi – num

in vir – gi – ne clam la – ten – tem

a – do – ra – vit cum iu – bi – lo

ad ser – vu – lum ve – ni – en – tem.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** – FG-a-F-G-F Gaha-G-a/FGaF-G-F-Ga-ha G-a-a; **2** in /in p² – error, no note attached; **2** pue̲ro nondum nato – G-F G-FE FGaF/F-G FE-FGaa GF; **3** instinc̲tu – F-ccd-chaG/a-ccd-chaGa; **3** pneu̲matis – G-FE-DF/GFED-E-F; **5** presen̲tem – haGF-G/c-haGFG; **5** Do̲minum – E/EF; **6** in – cc/c; **6** clam – c/cc,; **7** a̲doravit – c/x [syllable missing between lines, but *custos* indicates the intended presence of a c for the missing syllable]; **8** - below.

8　ad　ser – vu – lum　ve – ni – en – tem.
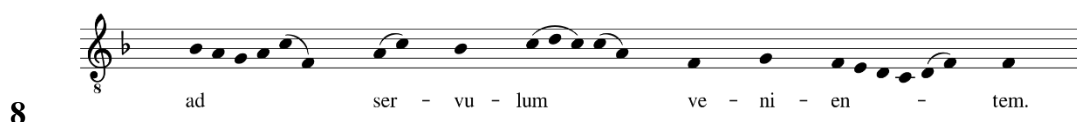
CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** Ac̲celeratur – FG/Ga; **1** ra̲tio – G/Ga; **3** instinc̲tu – F-ccd/a-cd; **3** pneu̲matis – FE-DF/FED-F; **4** di̲vinitus – G/Ga; **6** in – cc/c; **6** clam – c/cc; **8** ad – haGahccaaF/haGaccaF.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **3** instinc̲tu – F-ccd/a-cd; **3** pneu̲matis – G-FE-DF/GG-FED-F; **5** Do̲minum – E/F; **6** in – cc/c; **6** clam – c/cc; **7** a̲doravit – haG/haGF; **8** ad – haGahccaaF/haGaccaaF.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** ra̲tio – Gaha/FGaha; **3** instinc̲tu – F-ccd-chaG/a-cd-cha; **3** pneu̲matis – FE-DF/FED-F; **4** si̲bi da̲to – c-d c/a-c d; **5** Do̲minum – E/EF; **6** in – cc/c; **6** clam – c/cc; **6** la̲tentem – de-fe-dc/cd-fed-(d)ch; **7** a̲doravit – c-haG/cha-G; **8** ad – haGahccaaF/haGaca; **8** ser̲vulum – F-FE-DC/h-a-GF.

P-BRs Ms. 034 (end of Visitation office): **1** ra̲tio – Gaha/FGaha; **2** pue̲ro – a-G-F/h-a-G; **3** instinc̲tu – F-ccd-chaG/a-cd-cha; **3** pneu̲matis – FE-DF/FED-F; **4** si̲bi da̲to – c-d c/a-c d; **5** Do̲minum – E/EF; **6** in – cc/c; **6** clam – c/cc; **6** la̲tentem – de-fe-dc/cd-fed-ech; **7** a̲doravit – c-haG/cha-G; **8** ad – haGahccaaF/haGaca; **8** ser̲vulum – F-FE-DC/h-a-GF.

SK-Sk 2: **2** in – ahca/aca; **3** instinc̲tu – F-ccd/a-cd; **3** pneu̲matis – FE-DF/FEDE-F; **4** da̲to – c/h; **5** Do̲minum – E/EF; **6** in – cc/c; **7** – h-c-haG-F Ga-ha-GF-F/(transposed 3rd higher)d-e-dch-a hc-d-dcha-a; **8** ad – haGahccaaF/haGahcaF; **8** ve̲nientem – F/G.

Mode 8 – G plagal   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: D-e   9th

O Chri – sti ma – ter ce – li – ca

fons vi – vus flu – ens gra – ti – a

lux pel – lens cunc – ta scis – ma – ta

Ma – ri – a De – o pro – xi – ma.

Notes:

Later verses: no versification issues.

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** O Christi mater/O mater Christi; **1** celica – GE-FG/E-F; **2** fons – acb/abcb; **2** vivus – aG/G; **2** fluens gratia – G GE-FG/GFE F-G; **3** scismata – acG/abG; **4** proxima – GE-FG/E-F.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

Not given: CZ-Pn XIII A 7, CZ-Pu III D 10, DK-Kk 4339 8o IX, P-BRs Ms. 028, SK-Sk 2

Reginam celi Mariam

Mode 2 – D plagal   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-a   6th

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** <u>ce</u>li – DEFDD/DEFE; **1** Ma<u>ri</u>am – CD/C; **3** Elyza<u>beth</u> – DF/DE; **4** <u>con</u>tulit – FE-FG-FED/F-E-D; **4** <u>ut</u> <u>lau</u>demus – FD CD-D-D/a FE-DE-E.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** <u>ce</u>li – DEFDD-D/DE-FED; <u>Ma</u>riam – FD/ED; **3** <u>vi</u>sitans – Ga-aG-FE/G-Ga-aG; **3** Elyza<u>beth</u> – FG-F-E-DF/FEFG-F-E-DE; **4** <u>ut</u> – FD/ED.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** <u>Re</u>ginam – DC/D; **1** <u>ce</u>li – DEFDD/DEFD; **3** Elyza<u>beth</u> – DF/DE.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** <u>ce</u>li – DEFDD/DEFD; **1** <u>Ma</u>riam – FD/ED; **3** <u>vi</u>sitans – Ga-aG-FE/G-Ga-aG; **3** Elyza<u>beth</u> – DF/DE.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** <u>ce</u>li – DEFDD/DEFD; **1** <u>Ma</u>riam – FD-CD/ED-C; **3** vi<u>si</u>tans – aG-FE/a-?; **3** E<u>lyza</u>beth – F-E-DF/FE-DE-E; **4** <u>lau</u>demus – CD/C.

SK-Sk 2: **1** <u>ce</u>li – DEFDD/DEFD; **2** <u>ado</u>remus/<u>vene</u>remus; **3** E<u>lyza</u>beth – FG-F-E-DF/FGFEF-D-CD-D.

EMA1.1   *De celo velut*

Mode 1 – D authentic   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-d   9th

De ce – lo ve – lut ra – di – us

de – scen – dens sa – cer spi – ri – tus

E – ly – za – beth in – tra – vit

mox be – ne – dic – tam vir – gi – nem

sanc – ti – ta – tis pro – pa – gi – nem

pro – phe – ti – ce cla – ma – vit.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** c<u>elo</u> – DEFD-DCD/DCDEFE-CD; **2** <u>sacer</u> – cb-aG/c-a; **2** <u>spiritus</u> – F-E/G-F; **3** El<u>yza</u>beth – EF-G/E-FG; **3** <u>intravit</u> – G-GF-Ga/FE-D-D; **4** <u>mox</u> – FG/a; **4** bene<u>dictam</u> <u>vir</u>ginem – FE-D F-G/a-GF G-Ga; **5** – c-ba-Ga-a aG-F-E-D/a-c-d-c aGF-G-FE-DC; **6** <u>prophet</u>ice – C-DE/D-E.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **1-5**(sanc) – missing; **5** – c-ba-Ga-a aG-F-E-D/x-c-d-c aGF-G-FE-DC; **6** <u>prophet</u>ice – C-DE/D-E.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **2** sa<u>cer</u> <u>spiritus</u> – aG F-E-D/aGF G-F-ED; **3** E<u>lyza</u>beth – D-EF/E-FG; **4** vir<u>gine</u> – G/Ga; **5** – c-ba-Ga-a aG-F-E-D/a-c-ba-G a-aG-FE-D; **6** pro<u>phet</u>ice <u>cla</u>mavit – DE-F-G FE/DEF-ED-ED CD.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **3** El<u>yza</u>beth – C-D-EF/D-E-F.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: 1 ve<u>lut</u>/ve<u>nit</u>; **6** clama<u>vit</u> – D/DD.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** c<u>elo</u> – DCD/DC; **2** <u>descendens</u> – a/c; **3** El<u>yza</u>beth – C-D-EF-G/C-D-E-F; **5** sancti<u>tatis</u> – Ga/F.

SK-Sk 2: **1** ce<u>lo</u> – DCD/CD; **3** El<u>yza</u>beth – D-EF/DE-F; **5** <u>sancti</u>tatis – c-ba/cb-a; **6** <u>prophet</u>ice – C-DE/CD-E.

Inter turmas femineas

Mode 2 – D plagal   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: A-a   8ve

In – ter   tur – mas   fe – mi – ne – as

et   sanc – ta – rum   ex – cu – bi – as

Ma – ri – a   col – lau – da – tur

prop – ter   fruc – tum   qui   que – ri – tur

quo   iu – re   mun – dus   e – mi – tur

et   ple – ne   vi – si – ta – tur.

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1-3** – below; **4** fruc<u>tum</u> – D/DC; **4** que<u>ritur</u> – DF-FC/D-DC; **6** <u>et</u> – CA/DCA; **6** ple<u>ne</u> – D/DC; **6** <u>visi</u>tatur – EF-E/D-EFE.

1-3
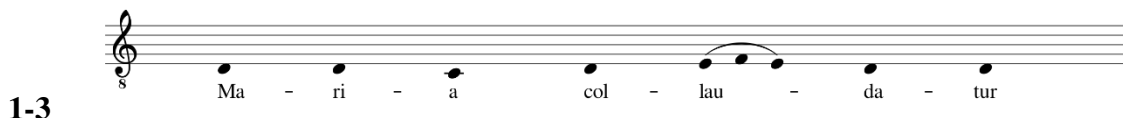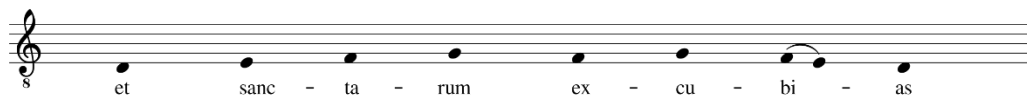
CZ-Pu III D 10: **3** <u>collau</u>datur – FD-FGF/FE-FGFEF; **4** <u>prop</u>ter – CA/C; **4** fruc<u>tum</u> – D/DC; **4** <u>qui</u> – D/DF; **4** que<u>ritur</u> – FE-DF-FC/FD-DF-DC; **5** mun<u>dus</u> – FGFE/FGFEF; **6** <u>et</u> – CA/DA; **6** ple<u>ne</u> – D/DC; **6** <u>visi</u>tatur – EF-E/D-EFE.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** <u>Inter</u> – D/DD; **2** <u>et</u> – FD/ED; **4** <u>prop</u>ter – D/DD; **4** fruc<u>tum</u> <u>qui</u> – D D/DC DE; **4** que<u>ritur</u> – DF-FC/DE-EC; **6** ple<u>ne</u> – D/DC; **6** <u>visi</u>tatur – EF-E/D-EFE.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** <u>Inter</u> – CA/DCA; **2** <u>et</u> – FD/ED; **2** <u>sanctarum</u> – CD-D/C-CD; **3** <u>collau</u>datur – FD/FE; **4** <u>qui</u> – D/DE; **4** que<u>ritur</u> – DF-FC/DEC-DE; **5** <u>quo</u> – E/DE; **5** mun<u>dus</u> – FGFE/FGF; **5** <u>emi</u>tur – D-CD/FE-D; **6** <u>et</u> – CA/DCA; **6** <u>visi</u>tatur – EF-E/D-EFE.

SK-Sk 2: **3** <u>collau</u>datur – FD/FE; **4** que<u>ritur</u> – FC/DC; **6** <u>visi</u>tatur – EF-E/E-FE.

EMA1.3   *Vocat hanc matrem*

Mode 3 – E authentic   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: D-d   8ve

Vo – cat   hanc   ma – trem   no – mi – ne

Do – mi – ni   pri – mo   fa – mi – ne

E – ly – za – beth   vi   su – per – na

quod   fu – it   clau – sum   a – li – is

in   ve – la – tis   mys – te – ri – is

no – ti – ti – a   in   et – er – na.

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **2** <u>Do</u>mini – d-cba/dcb-a; **3** <u>vi</u> superna/<u>in</u> superna – Ga G/Ga GF; **5** <u>my</u>steriis – a/aG.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **2** Do<u>mi</u>ni – cba-G/cb-aG; **2** pri<u>mo</u> – b/c; **3** <u>vi</u> superna – Ga G/G GF; **5** <u>my</u>steriis – a/aG.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **2** Do<u>mi</u>ni – cba-G/cb-aG; **3** <u>vi</u> superna – Ga G/G GF; **5** <u>my</u>steriis – a/aG; **6** <u>in</u> eterna/<u>inte</u>rna – G GF/GGF.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** <u>matrem</u> – Gac-c/G-ac; **2** Do<u>mi</u>ni – cba-G/cb-aG; **2** <u>primo</u> <u>famine</u> – G-b Ga-a-a/a-c ab-b-b; **3** <u>Elyzabeth</u> – ac-a-g-F/b-a-b-G; **2** <u>vi</u> superna/<u>in</u> superna – Ga G/G GF; **5** in velatis/imbellatis; **5** <u>my</u>ste<u>ri</u>is – a-ac-aG-G/aG-ac-a-G; **6** <u>in</u> eterna/<u>inte</u>rna – G GF/GF.

SK-Sk 2: **3** <u>vi</u> superna/<u>in</u> superna – Ga G/Ga GF; **5** <u>my</u>steriis – a/aG.

Surgens Maria gravida

Mode 1 – D authentic   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-d   9th

Sur - gens   Ma – ri – a   gra – vi – da   da

mi – gra – vit   per   ca – cu – mi – na

in   ci – vi – ta – tem   Iu – de – e.

In – tra – vit   do – mum   pro – pe – re

Za – cha – ri – e   cum   o – pe – re

sa – lu – tis   con – so – bri – ne.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** Sur<u>gens</u> - ...ECDEDEF.../...ECDEF...; **1** <u>Ma</u>ria – FD/ED; **2** <u>mi</u>gravit – FD/ED; **2** cacu<u>mi</u>na – DEFD/DEFEDC; **3** civi<u>ta</u>tem – GFGa/GFG; **3** <u>Iu</u>dee – ahc/hc; **4** In<u>tra</u>vit – ccd/cd; **4** <u>do</u>mum – aGFG/aFG; **5** Zacha<u>ri</u>e – FDCDFGEFD/ECDEFGEGD; **5** <u>o</u>pere – ccd-d-chaGahGaFGa/cd-dchaGahGaFG-a; **6** sa<u>lu</u>tis – FFG-GFGaG/FGGFG-aG.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** Sur<u>gens</u> – DC-DEFDECDEDEFGF/CD-DEFDECDEFDEFGGE; **1** gra<u>vi</u>da – aGFG-aD/aGF-GaD; **2** <u>mi</u>gravit – FD/EFD; **3** <u>ci</u>vitatem – a-GF-GFGa/GF-G-Ga; **4** In<u>tra</u>vit – ccd/cd; **4** <u>do</u>mum – aGFG/aFG; **5** Zacha<u>ri</u>e – FDCDFGEFD-D/ECDEFGEFFD-E; **5** <u>o</u>pere – ccd-d-chaGahGaFGa/cd-d-chaGahGGFGa; **6** sa<u>lu</u>tis – FFG-GFGaG/FG-GFGa.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** <u>Ma</u>ria – FD/ED; **2** <u>mi</u>gravit – FD/ED; **3** civi<u>ta</u>tem – GFGa/GFG; **4** In<u>tra</u>vit – ccd/cd; **4** <u>do</u>mum – aGFG/cab; **5** Zacha<u>ri</u>e – FDC.../DC...; **5** <u>o</u>pere – ccd/cd; **6** sa<u>lu</u>tis – FFG-GFGaG/FG-GFGaGa.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** Sur<u>gens</u> – DEFDECDEDEFGF/DEFDEC; **1** <u>Ma</u>ria – FD/DED; **1** gra<u>vi</u>da – aGFG-aD/aGF-GaD; **2** <u>mi</u>gravit – FD/ED; **2** per – DFGFGaG/EFEG; **3** civi<u>ta</u>tem – GFGa/G; **3** Iud<u>ee</u>/Iude – a/x; **4** In<u>tra</u>vit – ccd-dcba/a-a; **4** <u>do</u>mum – aGFG/aFG; **5** <u>Za</u>charie – C-D-FDCDFGEFD/CDEC-D-EFGEFD; **5** <u>o</u>pere – ccd-d-chaGahGaFGa/c-chahGaGF-Ga; **6** sa<u>lu</u>tis – FFG-GFGaG/FG-GF.

SK-Sk 2: **1** Sur<u>gens</u> – DEFDECDEDEFGF/DEFDECDDEFGFF,; **1** <u>Ma</u>ria – FD/EFD; **1** gra<u>vi</u>da – aGFG-aD/aGF-GaD; **2** <u>mi</u>gravit – FD/FE; **2** per – DFGF.../EFGF...; **2** ca<u>cu</u>mina – CD-DEFD/D-CD; **3** civi<u>ta</u>tem – GFGa/Ga; **4** In<u>tra</u>vit – ccd/cd; **4** <u>do</u>mum – aGFG/GFG; **5** Za<u>cha</u>rie – D-FDCDFGEFD/DFCD-EFGEFD; **5** <u>o</u>pere – ccd-d-chaGahGaFGa/cd-dchaGahGaGF-Ga; **6** <u>sa</u>lutis – DC-FFG-GFGaG/DCFG-Ga-GaG.

Ut audivit Elyzabeth

Ut au – di – vit E – ly – za – beth

sa – lu – tes mox de Na – za – reth

ex – cla – mat mi – ra – ti – ve.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **2** salutes – EF-G-FED/aF-GF-ED; **2** mox/Marie surgens mox – a/CD-EGEF-ED a-FEFGF ED; **2** de Nazareth – cc d/a cd; **3** exclamat – F-Ga-aGFEDC/FGa-aGF-EDC.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **2** salutes – EF-G-FED/aF-GF-ED; **2** mox/Marie surgens mox – a/CD-EFDE-DC a-FEFGF ED; **2** de Nazareth – cc d/a-cd; **3** exclamat – F-Ga-aGFEDC/FGa-aGF-EDC.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** audivit – GaGF-G/Ga-GFG; **2** salutes – EF-G/a-FEFG; **2** de – cc/c; **3** exclamat/exclamavit – aGFEDC/aG-FEDC.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** audivit – hG/aF; **1** Elyzabeth – ahc/Gahc; **2** de – cc/c; **3** exclamat – Ga-aGFEDC/GaG-FED; Doxology given – below.

Dox

Glo-ri – a pa-tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu-i sanc-to.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **2** mox de – a cc/aa c; **3** exclamat – Ga-aGFEDC/GaaG-FED.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** audivit – GaGF-G-hG/aG-aGFG-hGa; **1** Elyzabeth – ahc-ha-Ga/ahcha-aG-a; **2** salutes – EF-G-FED/DEF-FE-DC; **2** de – cc/c; **2** Nazareth – d-cha-G/dcha-G-a; **3** exclamat/exclamavit – aGFEDC/aGF-ED; **3** mirative – D-EFE-D/DE-FE-FE.

SK-Sk 2: **1** audivit – hG/ha; **2** de – cc/c; **2** Nazareth – cha-G/c-haG.

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EMR1.2   *Dixit verba prophetica*

Mode 2 – D plagal   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: A-b   9th

Di – xit   ver – ba   pro – phe – ti – ca

E – ly – za – beth   ce – li – co – la

de   vir – gi – ne   Ma – ri – a

be – a – ta   est   que   cre – di – dit.
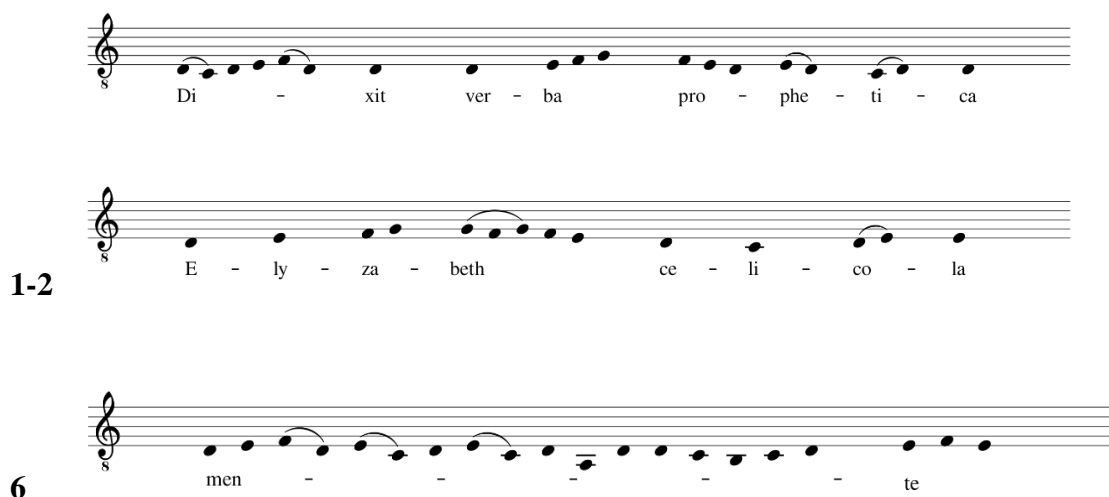
In   hac   fi – ent   que   di – di – cit

a   Do – mi – no   men – – – te   pi – a.

Notes:

Alternative melody give: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1-2** – below; **3** et virgine – F E/D D; **4** beata est que – F-F-EC D FC/D-D-CA CD EC; **4** credidit – FEDE-ED/FED-D; **5** hac fient que didicit/hac fiat quod didicit – aGF GhGa a F Ga/GF Ga-a FGa a; **6** a Domino – FGFE D/FG FED; **6** mente – below; **6** pia – CD/C.

1-2

6
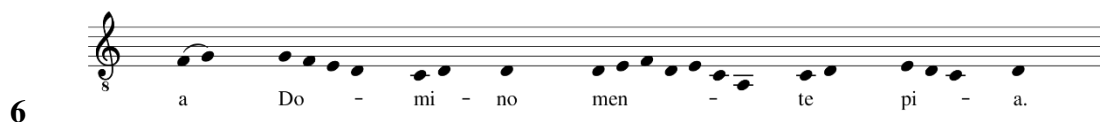
CZ-Pu III D 10: **1-2** prophetica Elyzabeth – D-DFG-F-ED FCACB/D-EFGF-F-EDFCA CB;
2 celicola – D-E-FG-GFGFED/D-DEFG-G-GFGFED; **3** de – F/E; **4** beata – F-F-EC/D-F-ED;
4 est que – D FC/CD EDC; **4** credidit – FEDE-ED/FEDEFD-D; **5** hac fient – aGF
GhGa/GFG aha; **6** a – FGFE/FGFEF; **6** mente – below.

6

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1-2** prophetica Elyzabeth – ED FCACB/EDECA CB; **2** celicola – E-
FG/EFG-G; **3** de – F/E; **4** beata – EC/CD; **4** que – FC/DC; **5** hac – aGF/aF; **4** que/quod; **6**
mente- below.

6

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** Dixit – DC-DEFD/DCDEFD-D; **2** Elyzabeth – FCACB-CD-D/D-DC-CD;
2 celicola – E-FG-GFGFED/EFG-G-GFED; **3** de – F/E; **4** et que – D FC/CD DF; **4** credidit –
DF/F; **5** hac – aGF/aG; **5** fient – GhGa/GGa; **6** – below.

6

P-BRs Ms. 034 (given as EVR): **1** Dixit – DC-DEFD/DCDEFD-D; **1** prophetica – DFG/EFG;
2 Elyzabeth – FCACB-CD-D/D-DC-CD; **2** celicola – E-FG-GFGFED/EFG-G-GFED; **3** de –
F/E; **4** est que credidit – D FC DF/CD DF F; **5** hac – aGF/GF; **5** fient – GhGa/GGa; **6** –
below.

6 a Do – mi – no men – te pi – a.

SK-Sk 2: **1-2** prophetica Elyzabeth – ED FCACB/EDECA CB; **2** celicola – E-FG/EFG-G; **3** virgine – E/F; **4** beata est que – F-F-EC D FC/D-D-CA CD CDF; **4** credidit – ed/fd; **6** mente – below.

6 men – – – – te

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Venit ex te sanctissimus

Ve – nit ex te sanc – tis – si – mus

vo – ca – tus De – i fi – li – us

si – cut pre – di – xit an – ge – lus

su – e ma – tri in vi – a.

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** Ve<u>nit</u> – D/ED; **1** <u>ex</u> – CDFFFG/C; **1** <u>te</u> – F/D; **1** sanc<u>tissi</u>mus – Ga-G/FG-F; **2** vo<u>catus</u> <u>Dei</u> – FE-FG EF-ED/F-FE FG-EF; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – ED/FD; **3** <u>sicut</u> – D-CA/F-D; **3** predi<u>xit</u> an<u>ge</u>lus – F ED-C/C DEF-E; **4** <u>sue</u> <u>matri</u> <u>in</u> – F-E CB-A CD/DCA-CD DC-D EFE.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **1** Ve<u>nit</u> – D/DC; **1** <u>ex</u> – CDFFFG/C; **1** <u>te</u> – F/D; **1** sanc<u>tissi</u>mus – Ga-G/FG-G; **2** vo<u>catus</u> <u>Dei</u> – FE-FG EF-ED/F-FE FG-EF; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – ED/FD; **3** <u>sicut</u> – D-CA/F-D; **3** predi<u>xit</u> an<u>ge</u>lus – F ED-C/C DEF-E; **4** <u>sue</u> <u>matri</u> <u>in</u> – F-E CB-A CD/DC-ACD DC-D EFE.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** <u>ex</u> – CDFFFG/CDFG; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – DEFE-ED/D-EFEFD; **3** <u>sicut</u> – D-CA/CB-CD; **3** an<u>ge</u>lus – ED-C/EDF-CD; **4** <u>matri</u> – CB/DC.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** <u>ex</u> – CDFFFG/CDFG; **1** sanc<u>tissi</u>mus – F-Ga/FGa-a; **2** vo<u>catus</u> <u>Dei</u> – FE-FG EF-ED/F-FE FG-EF; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – ED/FD; **3** si<u>cut</u> – CA/DA; **3** an<u>ge</u>lus – ED-C/FD-CD; **4** – F-E CB-A CD D-D/A-CD DC-D F EFGEF-ED.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** <u>ex</u> – CDFFFG/CDFFG; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – DEFE/DEF; **3** an<u>ge</u>lus – C/CD; **4** <u>sue</u> – E/ED.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** <u>ex</u> – CDFFFG/CDFFG; **2** vo<u>catus</u> – FG/FGEF; **2** <u>Dei</u> – EF/DEFE; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – D-DEFE-ED/DC-D-D; **3** si<u>cut</u> – CA/DA; **3** an<u>ge</u>lus – C/CD; **4** <u>sue</u> – E/ED; **4** <u>matri</u> – CB/C; **4** <u>in</u> – CD/C.

P-BRs Ms. 034 (given as JVRv): **1** <u>ex</u> – CDFFFG/CDFFG; **2** vo<u>catus</u> – FG/FGEF; **2** <u>Dei</u> – EF/DEFE; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – D-DEFE/CD-D; **3** si<u>cut</u> – CA/DA; **3** an<u>ge</u>lus – C/CD; **4** <u>sue</u> – E/ED; **4** <u>in</u> – CD/C. Doxology given – below.

Dox Glo – ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i sanc – to.

SK-Sk 2: **1** <u>ex</u> – CDFFFG/CDFG; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – ED/FD; **3** an<u>ge</u>lus – C/CD.

Mode 4 – E plagal   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: C-d   9th

E – ly – za – beth   con – gra – tu – lans

pro – fun – de   se   hu – mi – li – ans

in   ad – ven – tu   Mes – sy – e.

Un – de   a – it   con – de – ce – at

quod   ma – ter   De – i   ve – ni – at

ad   me   cum   plau – su   vi – e.

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** Ely<u>za</u>beth – EFD-G-ac-bc/ED-G-ac-c; **1** <u>congratu</u>lans – cb-abcb-aG/bc-d-cbaG; **2-3** – below; **5** <u>mater</u> – acaGac/ababc; **5** <u>Dei</u> – cd/d; **5** <u>veni</u>at – abcb-aG/ab-cbaG; **6** <u>ad</u> aFGac/ab; **6** <u>plau</u>su – acGaEGFEDEGa/acGaEFEDEFGa.

2-3

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** <u>Ely</u>za<u>beth</u> – EFD-G-ac-bc/ED-G-ac-c; **2** pro<u>fun</u>de – FE-DC/a-FE; **2** <u>se</u> – DF/DE; **2** hu<u>mi</u>lians – FG/G; **3** Mes<u>sye</u> – aGFE/GFE; **4** Un<u>de</u> – Ga/Gab; **5** <u>mater</u> – acaGac-b/aba-ab; **5** <u>Dei</u> – cd/d; **6** <u>ad</u> – aFGac/aEGac; **6** <u>plau</u>su - ...FEDEGa/...FED.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** <u>Ely</u>za<u>beth</u> – EFD-G-ac-bc/ED-G-ac-c; **1** <u>congratu</u>lans – cb/aG; **2** pro<u>fun</u>de – FGaG/FGa; **2** <u>se</u> – DF/DE; **3** ad<u>ven</u>tu – D/DD; **5** <u>mater</u> – acaGac/abGab; **5** <u>Dei</u> – cd/d; **6** <u>me</u> – cb/c.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** <u>Ely</u>za<u>beth</u> – EFD-G-ac-bc/ED-G-ac-c; **2** pro<u>fun</u>de – FGaG/EFGFE; **2** <u>se</u> – DF/DE; **3** ad<u>ven</u>tu – FE-D/F(E)-(D)D; **3** Mes<u>sye</u> – aGFE/GFEE; **4** conde<u>ceat</u> – aG/a; **5** <u>mater</u> – acaGac/bcab; **5** <u>Dei</u> – cd/d; **5** <u>veni</u>at – abcb/acb; **6** <u>ad</u> – aFGac/aFac; **6** <u>plau</u>su - ...EDEGa/...ED.

SK-Sk 2: **1** Ely<u>za</u>beth – bc/c; **2** <u>se</u> – DF/DE; **2** hu<u>mi</u>lias – FG/EFG; **3** Mes<u>sye</u> – aGFE/GFE; **5** <u>mater</u> – acaGac/abGa; **5** <u>Dei</u> – cd/d; **6** <u>plau</u>su – acGaEGFEDEGa-EFG/acGaFGFEDEGaEF-G.

En felix salutatio

En fe – lix sa – lu – ta – ti – o

du – pla – ta ex – ul – ta – ti – o

da – ban – tur vi so – phi – e.

Glo – ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i sanc – to.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** felix salutatio – a-G a-F-G-FE-E/aG-a G-F-G-F-EFG; **2** exultatio – F-Ga-GFE-E/FG-a-G-GFE; **3** vi sophie – Ga GF-GFE/GF Ga-GF; **4** – below.

4 Glo – ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i sanc-to.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **1** felix salutatio – a-G a-F-G-FE-E/aG-a G-F-G-F-EFG; **2** exultatio – F-Ga-GFE-E/FG-a-G-GFE; **3** vi sophie – Ga GF-GFE/GFGa GF-E; **4** – below.

4 Glo – ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i sanc-to.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** salutatio – a-F-G-FE-E/a-GF-G-F-EFG; **2** duplata/dumplaca – bcd-b-cba/cbd-b-cba; **2** exultatio – (F)-Ga-GFE-E/G-a-G-GFEF; **3** vi sophie/phisophie – Ga-GF-GFE-E/Ga-GF-GFFE-E; **4** – below.

4 Glo – ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i sanc – to.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **2** dupl<u>ata</u> – cba/cbaG; **3** <u>vi</u> <u>sophie</u>/<u>phylosophye</u> – Ga GF-GFE-E/Ga GF-GF-E-E; **4** – below.

4   Glo - ri - a   pa   –   tri   et   fi   –   li - o   et   spi - ri - tu - i   sanc   –   to

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** <u>En</u> – cb/ccb; **1** <u>salutatio</u> – a/aa; **4** – below.

4   Glo-ri - a   pa - tri   et   fi   –   li - o   et   spi - ri   –   tu - i   sanc   –   to.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** <u>En</u> – cb/ccb; **1** <u>salutatio</u> – a/aa; **4** – given in margin in later hand - below.

4   Glo   –   ri - a   pa   –   tri   et   fi   –   li   –   o   et   spi - ri - tu - i   sanc - to.

SK-Sk 2: **1** <u>salutatio</u> – a/aG; **4** – below.

4   Glo   –   ri - a   pa - tri   et   fi - li - o   et   spi   –   tu - i   sanc - to.

EMA2.1   *Non fuit Christus*

Mode 4 – E plagal   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: C-c   8ve

Non   fu – it   Chris – tus   on – e – ri

nec   gra – vis   mo – les   pu – e – ri

vis – ce – ri – bus   ma – tris   dig – ne

sed   ig – na – ra   de   pon – de – re

cum   cor – po – ra – li   ro – be – re

tran – si – li – it   be – nig – ne.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** Chris<u>tus</u> – FG/F; **3-5** – below; **6** <u>transili</u>it – G-G-GF/EDC-EFG-F; **6** <u>be</u>nigne – FGF/GF.

vis - ce - ri - bus ma - tris dig - ne

sed ig - na - ra de pon - de - re

3-5   cum cor - po - ra - li ro - be - re

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **1** Christus – FG/F; **2** gravis moles – a-GF G-FE/b-aG aG-F; **3-5** – below; **6** transiliit – G-G-GF/EDC-EFG-F; **6** benigne – FGF/GF.

vis - ce - ri - bus ma - tris dig - ne

sed ig - na - ra de pon - de - re

3-5   cum cor - po - ra - li ro - be - re

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** fuit – DF/F; **2** moles – G-FE/GG,-FEDC; **3** visceribus – a-aGaac/aG-ac; **3** digne – DEF-EDC/EFG-FEDDC; **4** ignara – DF-DC/DE-D; **5** robere – DF/DE; **6** transiliit – Ga/G; **6** benigne – FGF/GaG.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **2** gravis – a-GF/aG-F; **2** pueri – DE-E/DC-DE; **3** visceribus – a-aGaac/aG-ac; **4** sed – DF/DDF; **4** ignara – DF-DC/DE-E; **4** de pondere/in pondere; **5** robere – EDC/FDC; **6** benigne – FGF/GF.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** fuit – DF/EF; **3** visceribus – a-aGaac/aG-ac; **4** ignara – DF-DC/DE-E; **5** robere – DF/DE.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** fuit – DF/EF; **2** moles – G-FE/GF-E; **3** visceribus – a-aGaac/aG-ac; **3** digne – DEF-EDC/DEFE-DC; **4** ignara – DF/DE; **4** de pondere– C DF/CD F; **5** robere – DF/DE.

SK-Sk 2: **3** visceribus – a-aGaac/aG-ac; **3** digne – DEF-EDC/DEFE-DC; **4** ignara de – DF-DC C/DE-E D; **5** robere – DF/DE; **6** benigne – FGF/GF.

Transivit in itinere

Mode 5 – F authentic   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: F-f   8ve

Tran – si – vit   in   i – ti – ne – re

Ma – ri – a   mul – tum   pros – pe – re

mon – ti – cu – los   scan – den – do

e – vi – ta – vit   las – ci – vi – am

pro – pter   mo – rum   con – stan – ti – am

col – lo – qui – a   sper – nen – do.

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** Transivit in – F-a-c aG/a-G-a F; **1** itinere – cccd/ccd; **2** prospere – cccd/ccd; **3** monticulos scandendo – de-fe dc-d/dc-d ded-c; **4-6** – below.

4-6

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** in itinere – aG a-cccd/c aG-cd; **2** prospere – cccd/cd; **4** evitavit – dfd/ded; **4** lasciviam – aG/haG; **5** constantium- d/dc; **6** colloquia – ch-a-hc-cha/c-ahc-c-ha.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** in itinere – aG a-cccd/c aG-ccd; **2** prospere/propere – cccd/ccd; **4** civitavit – dfd/ded; **5** constantiam – d/dc; **6** colloquia – a-hc-cha/ahc-c-ha.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** itinere – cccd-c/c-cdc; **2** prospere/propere – cccd/ccd; **3** monticulos – df-fe-de-fe/d-d-d-d; **4** evitavit – dfd/ded; **4** lasciviam – ha-Ga/c-chaa; **5** propter morum – Gh-h Gh-c/F-ac h-c; **6** colloquia/eloquia – ch-a-hc-cha/cha-ahc-c-ha.

SK-Sk 2 (given as CAN, and only as incipit at EMA2.2): **1** itinere – a-cccd/ac-cd; **2** prospere/propere – cccd/cd; **4** evitavit – dfd/ded; **4** lasciviam – Ga-aG/Gaha-GF; **5** constantiam – de-fe-d-c/df-fe-dc-c; **6** colloquia – a-hc-cha/ahc-ha-a.

Longam viam

Mode 6 – F plagal   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: C-c   8ve

Long – am   vi – am   per – tran – si – it

Ma – ri – a   mon – tes   cir – cu – it

hi – la – ris   la – bo – ran – do

ho – no – res   mun – di   res – pu – it

de – vo – ti – o – nem   te – nu – it

ce – li – ca   me – di – tan – do.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** vi<u>am</u> – G/a; **2** Ma<u>ri</u>a – G-a/GF-F; **3** hi<u>la</u>ris – haG/ha; **4** respu<u>it</u> – E/F; **5** devoti<u>o</u>nem – FG/G; **5** te<u>nu</u>it – a-GFG/h-aG.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** vi<u>am</u> <u>per</u>transiit – G Ga-ha-GF-F/aGa F-Gaha-Ga-a; **2-3** below; **4** mun<u>di</u> <u>res</u>pu<u>it</u> – aF G-F-E/aGF GaG-F-F; **5** <u>devoti</u>onem – C-D-F-FG-F/F-a-F-Ga-a; **5** te<u>nu</u>it – GFG-a/GF-ED; **6** <u>celica</u> <u>me</u>ditando – c-h-aG F; C-D-F G.

Ma – ri – a mon – tes cir – cu – it

2-3 hi – la – ris la – bo – ran – do

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** vi<u>am</u> – G/aG; **1** pertran<u>sii</u>t – GF/G; **4** hono<u>res</u> – b/h.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** vi<u>am</u> – G/aG; **1** <u>per</u>transiit ('siit' treated as one syllable) – Ga-ha-GF-F/Gaha-G-F; **4** hono<u>res</u> – b/a; **4** <u>mun</u>di – c/h; **4** respu<u>it</u> – E/F.

SK-Sk 2: **1** vi<u>am</u> – G/aG; **1** <u>per</u>transiit – Ga-ha-GF-F/Gh-ha-G-F; **5** te<u>nu</u>it – a-GFG/aGF-G.

Maria parens filios

Mode 4 – E plagal   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: C-d   9th

Ma – ri – a pa – rens fi – li – os

plan – gens que – rit de – per – di – tos

in sce – le – re mor – ta – – – li.

Cla – mans cla – mat ut re – le – vet

ma – nus po – nit ut sub – le – vet

ne pe – na ru – ant ma – li.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – P-BRs Ms. 028

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** Maria – EDFEDFC/EDFEDEC; **1** parens filios – GFE-D E/G-FE DEF; **2** plangens – Ga-aG/D-Ga; **2** querit – aG/aGaG; **2** deperditos – DG-G-FE-E/D-G-F-E; **3** scelere mortali – cb-cGa-G EFG-GEFDECGFGaGa/cbGa-G-EFGEFDG FGaGa-e; **4** clamat – cb-aG/ed-cbaG; **4** ut relevet – EF G-G-G/EFG aG-FE-E; **5** manus ponit – DG-ac c/EF-DG ac; **5** sublevet – ab-b/abcb-a; **6** – below.

6   ne pe – na ru – – – ant ma – li.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **1** <u>Mari</u>a – EDFEDFC/EDFEDEC; **1** <u>paren</u>s – GFE-D/G-FE; **1** <u>fili</u>os –
E/DEF; **2** <u>plang</u>ens – Ga-aG/D-Ga; **2** <u>que</u>rit – EF/aGEF; **2** <u>deperdi</u>tos – DG-G-FE-E/D-G-F-
E; **3** <u>scele</u>re – cb-cGa-G/cbGa-G-EFGEFDG; **3** <u>morta</u>li – EFG-GEFDECGFGaGa/FGaGa-E;
4 <u>clama</u>t – cb-aG/ed-cbaG; **4** <u>ut</u> <u>rele</u>vet – EF G-G-G/EFG aG-FE-E; **5** <u>manus</u> <u>po</u>nit – DG-ac
c/EF-DG ac; **5** <u>suble</u>vet – ab-b/abcb-a; **6** – below.

6

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** <u>Mari</u>a – EDFEDFC-D-EF/ED-FEDEC-DEF; **1** <u>paren</u>s <u>fili</u>os – GFE-D
E/G-FE D; **2** – Ga-aG aG-EF DG-G-FE-E/E-Ga aG-aGFEF D-G-F-E; **3** <u>scele</u>re – cb-
cGa/cbcG-a; **3** <u>morta</u>li – EFG-GEFDECGFGaGa/GFEDG-FGaGa; **4** <u>claman</u>s <u>clama</u>t <u>ut</u> – G-
bcd cb-aG EF/G-b c-d cbaG; **4** <u>rele</u>vet – G/EG; **6** below.

6

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** <u>Mari</u>a – EDFEDFC-D/ED-FED; **1** <u>paren</u>s <u>fili</u>os – GFE-D E-E-E/G-FE D-
DE-E; **2** <u>plangen</u>s <u>que</u>rit – Ga-aG aG-EF/E-Ga a-GEF; **2** <u>deperdi</u>tos – DG/DE; **3** <u>in</u> <u>scele</u>re –
G cb/ED Gac; **3** <u>morta</u>li – GEFDECGFGaGa/GEFDCGaGFG; **4** <u>ut</u> <u>rele</u>vet – EF G-G-G/aG
EFG-FE-E; **5** <u>manus</u>/<u>manum</u>; **5** <u>po</u>nit – c/hcd; **6** – below.

6

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** <u>Mari</u>a – EDFEDFC-D/ED-FEDECE; **1** <u>paren</u>s <u>fili</u>os – GFE-D E-E/G-
FE D-DE; **2** <u>plangen</u>s – Ga-aG/E-Ga; **2** <u>que</u>rit – EF/aGGEF; **3** <u>scele</u>re – cb-cGa/Gcb-bGa; **3**
<u>morta</u>li - ...CGFGaGa/...CGaGa; **4** <u>rele</u>vet/<u>reve</u>let; **5** <u>manus</u>/<u>manum</u>; **6** <u>ne</u> –
bcdccdGaG/bcdcdGaG; **6** <u>pe</u>na – cba**c**GaGF/cba**b**GaGF; **6** <u>ruant</u> <u>mal</u>i – FEDC-DE E/FGaG-
FE EF.

SK-Sk 2: **1** <u>Mari</u>a – EDFEDFC/EDFEDEC; **1** <u>paren</u>s – GFE-D/G-FED; **2** <u>plangen</u>s – Ga-
aG/E-Ga; **2** <u>que</u>rit – EF/aG; **2** <u>deperdi</u>tos – DG/EFDG; **3** <u>in</u> <u>scele</u>re – G cb-cGa/Gc cbGa-G; **3**
<u>morta</u>li – EFG-GEFDECGFGaGa/EFGEFEDECG-FGaGa; **4** <u>ut</u> – EF/F; **5** <u>manus</u> <u>po</u>nit – DG-
ac c-cb/DGac-c cb-aG; **5** <u>suble</u>vet – b/bcdc; **6** <u>ne</u> – bcdccdGaG/aG; **6** <u>pe</u>na – cbacGaGF-
GE/cbabG-aGFGE; **6** <u>ruant</u> – FEDC-FE.

Elyzabeth quesierat
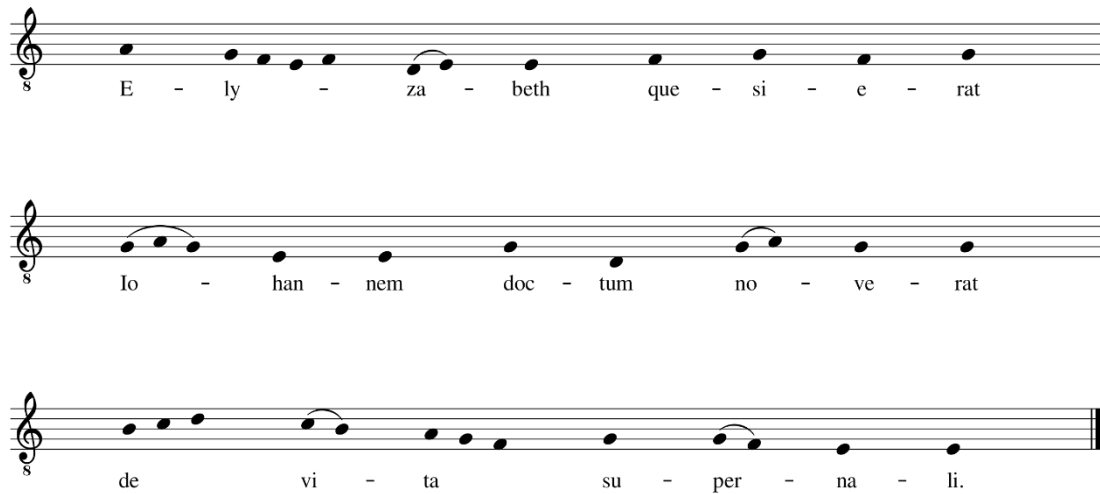
Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – P-BRs Ms. 028

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** Ely<u>za</u>beth – DE/D; **2** Iohan<u>nem</u> – E/F; **3** su<u>per</u>nali – GF/GaG.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **1** <u>Elyza</u>beth – a-GFEF-DE/c-baGFEF-D; **3** su<u>per</u>nali – GF/GaG.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** <u>Elyza</u>beth – a-GFEF-DE/G-aGFE-DE; **2** <u>doc</u>tum – G/GG; **2** <u>no</u>verat – Ga/GGa.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** <u>Elyzabeth</u> – a-GFEF-DE-E/c-baGa-G-G; **2** que<u>si</u>erat – G-F/a-GF; **3** de <u>vita</u> – bcd cb-aGF/G bcd-cbaGF.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** Ely<u>za</u>beth – DE/D.

SK-Sk 2: **1** <u>Elyza</u>beth – a-GFEF-DE/aGF-EF-D; **1** quesi<u>erat</u> – F-G/E-F; **3** vi<u>ta</u> – aGF/aG; **3** <u>su</u>pernali – G/FGa.

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Rosa de spinis

Mode 5/6 – F mixtus   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: C-f   11th

Ro - sa   de   spi - nis   pro - di - it

vir - ga   de   Yes - se   flo - ru - it

Ma - ri - a   vi - si - ta - vit.

Vis   o - do - ris   dif - fun - di - tur

to - ta   do - mus   per - fi - ci - tur

gra - ti - a   cum   in - tra - vit.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – P-BRs Ms. 028

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** Ro<u>sa</u> <u>de</u> – achcaG acGa/ac chcaGahGa; **1** spi<u>nis</u> <u>prodiit</u> – F ahc-dcfec-ec/ahc dcfec-dh-c; **2-3** (mostly misaligned) – below; **4** <u>diffun</u>ditur – ac-aFG/ahc-aGFG; **5-6** – below.

vir - ga   de   Yes - se   flo - ru - it

2-3   Ma - ri - a   vi - si - ta - vit.

to - ta do - mus re - fi - ci - tur

gra - ti - - - a cum in - tra - vit.

5-6

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** Ro<u>sa</u> – achcaG/achcaaG; **1** <u>de</u> – acGa/ahGa; **1** pro<u>diit</u> – dcfec/dcfe; **2** <u>vir</u>ga – dchc/dhc; **3** Mar<u>ia</u>/Mar<u>iam</u> – FEFFG/FEFG; **3** vi<u>si</u>tavit – FCD/ECD; **5** to<u>ta</u> – cdfd/cded; **5** <u>do</u>mus – fchaa,/ecca; **6** <u>in</u>travit – FGaG-ahcaF-GFF,/FGaF-ahcaaF-F.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **1** Ro<u>sa</u> <u>de</u> – achcaG acGa/ahc chcaGahGa; **1** spi<u>nis</u> pro<u>diit</u> – F ahc-dcfec-ec/ahc dcfec-dhc-c; **2-3** (mostly misaligned) – below; **4** o<u>doris</u> – a-haG/ah-aG; **4** <u>diffun</u>ditur – ac-aFG/ahc-aGFG; **5-6** – below.

vir - ga de Yes - se flo - ru - it

Ma - ri - a vi - si - ta - vit.

2-3

to - ta do - mus re - fi - ci - tur

gra - ti - - - a cum in - tra - vit.

5-6

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** – below; **2** <u>vir</u>ga – dchc/dhc; **2** floru<u>it</u> – aha/ahaa,; **3** <u>Maria</u> vi<u>si</u>tavit/<u>Mariaa</u> vi<u>si</u>tavit – GF-D-FEFFG FED-FCD/D-FEF-GFE-DEC D-F; **4** o<u>doris</u> – a/G; **4** <u>diffun</u>ditur – ac-aFG/ahc-aGFG; **5** to<u>ta</u> – cdfd/cd; **5** <u>do</u>mus – fchaa,-F/fdecch-a; **5** <u>perfi</u>citur – a-cbca-Ga-aF/F-GEFGaF-GEFEDCDE-F; **6** <u>cum</u> <u>in</u>travit – D FGaG-ahcaF-GFF,/C FF-GaGahcaaGGFGG,-FF,.

Ro - sa de spi - nis pro - di - it

1

SK-Sk 2: **1** <u>de</u> – acGa/chaG; **1** pro<u>diit</u> – dcfec-ec/dc-fedec; **2** <u>virga</u> – dchc/dh; **2** <u>Yesse</u> <u>floruit</u> – aF-GaG F-G-aha/(transposed 3rd lower)FD-EFE D-E-FGF; **3** <u>Maria</u> – GF-D-FEFFG/GFE-FE-FG; **4** <u>diffunditur</u> – ac-aFG/acaF-G; **5** to<u>ta</u> – cdfd/cd; **5** <u>domus</u> – fchaa,-F/fde-caF; **5** <u>perficitur</u> – a-chca-Ga/achca-FGa-hG; **6** <u>cum</u> – D/CD; **6** <u>intravit</u> – FGaG-ahcaF-GFF,/FG-aGacaF-GF.

CZ-Pu III D 10: mostly misaligned – below.

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Miranda salutatio

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – P-BRs Ms. 028

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** Miran<u>da</u> – cdccaca/cdcaca; **1** sa<u>lu</u>tatio – ac-cccd/a-cd; **2** <u>ple</u>bi – hah/chah; **2** gra<u>tu</u>latio – Ga-ch/GF-Gaha; **3** – cdd hah-c c-d-hchaaGahcFGFGaFDEFFG-F/ah-GFG-a a-c-haGaFDEFG-F.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** Miran<u>da</u> - ...aca/...aha; **1** sa<u>lu</u>tatio – ac-cccd/a-ccd; **3** <u>que</u> – cdd/cd; **3** expec<u>ta</u>vit – hchaaG...DEFFG/hchaG...DEFG.

SK-Sk 2: **1** Miran<u>da</u> – cdccaca/cdcaaha; **1** salu<u>ta</u>tio – cccd/cd; **2** <u>ple</u>bi – hah/cah; **3** <u>que</u> – cdd/cd; **3** <u>fruc</u>tum – hah/cah; **3** <u>expecta</u>vit – below.

3

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: below (mostly same melody, different alignment).
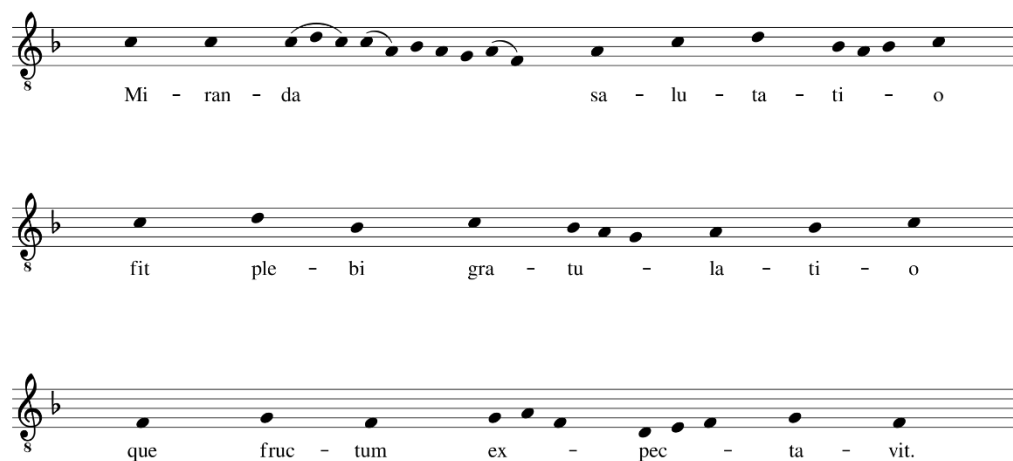
CZ-Bsa R 626: set to Speyer without Easton additions – below.

CZ-OLu M IV 6 (compared to R 626): **1** Mi<u>randa</u> – c-cdcahaGaF/cdc-ahaGaF.

EMR2.3   *Stella sub nube*

Mode 6 – F plagal   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: C-d   9th

Stel – la sub nu - be te - gi - tur

Ma – ri – a mun - do pre - mi - tur

ru - ti - lans in splen - do - re.

E – ly – za - beth per – du – ci – tur

ad so - la – men lux spar - gi – tur

ro - bo - rans in vi - go – re.

Notes:

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** stella sub – FGaGhaFG-F EFGFED/FGaG-haGaF E; **1** nube tegitur – F F-Ga-a/G FEDF-F; **2** Maria mundo – c-haGFG-F Gh-ha/F-Ga-a chah-aGF; **4** Elyzabeth – cbca-G/cbc-bab; **4** perducitur – ahca/ahcaa,; **5** – h d-da-hc c Gh-haGaF-F/a c-dahc-d G h-haGa-F; **6** – below.

ro - bo – rans in vi – go - re.

6

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** Stella – FGaGhaFG/FGaGhaaFG; **1** sub – EFGFED/FED; **1** tegitur – F-Ga/Gah-a; **2** mundo – Gh/Ga; **2** premitur – Ga-a/G-Ga; **3** splendore – FGaG-F/FGaGFG-GF; **4** perducitur – aGFG-F/haGF-G; **5** ad solamen lux spargitur– h d-da-hc c Gh /a c-dh-hac ca h; **6** roborans – GE-F-GhhaGaEGEF/FD-EFGFhaGaF-F; **6** vigore - ...GaF,/...GaG.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **3** <u>splen</u>dore – G/GG; **4** E<u>ly</u>zabeth – cbca/chca; **4** per<u>du</u>citur – aGFG-F/aGF-G; **5** <u>lux</u> <u>spar</u>gitur – c Gh/cG h; **6** <u>robo</u>rans – GE-F-GhhaGaFGEF/GD-EFGh-haGaFGEF; **6** vi<u>go</u>re - ...aF,/...aF.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** <u>Stel</u>la – FGaGhaFG/FGaFG; **1** <u>sub</u> – EFGFED/FGFED; **1** te<u>gi</u>tur – Ga-a/Gh-h; **2** <u>Ma</u>ria – c-haGFG/h-aGFG; **2** <u>pre</u>mitur – Ga/G; <u>3</u> splen<u>do</u>re – FGaG/FGaGFGF; **4** E<u>ly</u>zabeth – ac-cbca-G-h/a-chc-a-Gh; **4** per<u>du</u>citur – ahca/ahc; **5** <u>so</u>lamen – d-da-hc/h-ca-ah; **5** <u>lux</u> <u>spar</u>gitur – c Gh-haGaF/hG-hhaGa-F; **6** <u>robo</u>rans – GE-F-GhhaGaFGEF/FD-ED-C; **6** in <u>vi</u>gore – CDFGFGa a-cahaGFEGaF,-F/CD FEacaGhaGa-FGG.

SK-Sk 2: **1** <u>Stel</u>la - ...aFG/...aFGF; **1** <u>sub</u> <u>nu</u>be – EFGFED F/EF GFED; **5** <u>so</u>lamen – d-da-ha/c-dh-c-c; **5** <u>lux</u> <u>spar</u>gitur – c Gh-haGaF/F haG-aF; **6** – below.

6

CZ-Bsa R 626: (mix of misalignment and Speyer additions) – below.

CZ-OLu M IV 6 (compared to R 626): **1** <u>Stel</u>la – FGaGha-F/FGaG-haF; **3** splen<u>do</u>re – FGahaG-F/FGah-aGF; **4** per<u>du</u>citur – c/h; **5** <u>lux</u> – ahcaG/ahcaaG; **6** <u>robo</u>rans – F-GaGaF.../FGaG-aF...; **6** in <u>vi</u>gore – c-haGFE/h-aGFE.

Luna soli coniungitur

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – P-BRs Ms. 028

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** con<u>iung</u>itur – F-E/FE-F; **2** <u>Elyz</u>abeth – aG-F/a-G; **3** <u>amor</u>e – DF-G/DC-DE; **4** missing (possibly due to missing page).

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **1** con<u>iung</u>itur – F-E/FE-F; **2** <u>Elyz</u>abeth – aG-F/a-G; **3** <u>amor</u>e – DF-G/D-E; **4** – below.

4 Glo-ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i to.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** con<u>iung</u>itur – E/EF; **2** <u>Elyz</u>abeth – aG-F-F-a/aGF-F-a-c; **3** <u>in</u> – FEC/FEDC; **3** <u>amor</u>e – DF-G/D-F; **4** – below.

4 Glo-ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i sanc – to.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** <u>Luna</u> – a/aG; **1** so<u>li</u> – FE/F; **1** con<u>iung</u>itur – E-G/G-F; **2-3** mostly misaligned – aG-F-F-a h-c-haG-F a-F-G FEC DF-G-F/aG-F-a-c a-h-aGFG-a F-G-FE C DF-G-F; **4** – below.

4 Glo-ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i sanc – to.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** so<u>li</u> – G-FE/GFD-F; **1** con<u>iung</u>itur – D-F/FF-E; **2** devol<u>vi</u>tur – haG-F/haGF-a; **3** <u>estuans</u> <u>in</u> – a-F-G FEC/F-G-FE C; **4** – below.

4 Glo-ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i sanc – to.

SK-Sk 2: **2** de<u>volvi</u>tur – c-haG/cha-G; **3** a<u>mor</u>e – G/GF; **4** – below.

4 Glo-ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i sanc – to.

Tunc ad semonem

Mode 7 – G authentic   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: F-f   8ve

Tunc ad ser – mo – nem vir – gi – nis

da – ba – tur do – num fla – mi – nis

ma – tri si – mul et pro – li

hic gau – de – bat in u – te – ro

hec pro – vi – dit de pu – e – ro

et de re – gi – na po – li.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-OLu M IV 6, **2** – CZ-Pn XIII A 7

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

CZ-Pu III D 10: **4** <u>hic</u> – Gd/Gc; **5** <u>de</u> <u>puero</u> – ed c-cd-d/c dc-hc-c; **6** <u>et</u> <u>de</u> <u>regina</u> – dc ha GF-G-aha/c dc haG-ahc-ha.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **5** <u>de</u> – ed/fd.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** <u>ad</u> – f/d; **1** vir<u>gi</u>nis – h/hc; **2** – ha-G-G ha-G a-h-c/ch-d-e ch-a h-c-d; **3** pro<u>li</u> – a/G; **4** <u>hec</u> – Gd/Gde; **4** gau<u>de</u>bat – dch-c-ahc/dchc-a-hc; **5** pro<u>vidit</u>/pro<u>videt</u> – cd-d/c-d; **5** <u>puero</u> – c-cd/cdh-c; **6** <u>et</u> – dc/d; **6** re<u>gina</u> – GF/G.

SK-Sk 2: **1** <u>Tunc</u> – Gd/Gchcd; **3** si<u>mul</u> <u>et</u> – h ch/ch cdcc,; **4** gau<u>de</u>bat – c-ahc/chc-d; **5** <u>hec</u> – G/Gahc; **5** pro<u>vidit</u>/pre<u>vidit</u>; **5** <u>de</u> – ed/d; **6** re<u>gina</u> – aha/ahaa,.

Adest mira credulitas

Mode 8 – G plagal   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: D-e   9th

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** mira – c/a; **1** credulitas – F-Ga/aG-F; **2** fecunditas – FaG-FG-G-G/FGabab-c-cd-d; **4** prius sterilis – e-d c-b-Ga; b-c a-G-a; **5** impossibilis – F/FG; **6** nisi – a/Ga; **6** verbum – ca/ba.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** credulitas – Ga-a/a-G; **2** ac/et – G/a; **2** virginis – FEF-D/F-E; **2** fecunditas – FaG-FG-G/F-aG-FG; **4** prius/preses; **6** verbum – ca/ba.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **2** fecunditas – FaG-FG-G/F-aG-FG; **3** exemplum – a/FG; **5** impossibilis – F/FF; **6** verbum – ca/bc.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** Adest mira – Ga-a c/G-GFD F; **1** credulitas – Ga-a/G-G; **2** fecunditas – FaG-FG-G/F-aG-FG; **3** monstratum – F-Ga/FG-a; **4** concepit prius – Fa-c-d e-d/Fac-c-c cd-c; **5** – a G FE F-D-E-F-G/G FE-F D-E-F-G-G; **6** nisi – G/Ga; **6** verbum – ca/ba.

SK-Sk 2: **1** credulitas – F-Ga-Ga-a/aG-E-FG-G; **2** fecunditas – FG/F; **4** sterilis – Ga/a; **6** verbum – ca/cb.

Mode 1 – D authentic   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-c   8ve

Fit na – tu – re pro – pin – qui – us

quod ste – ri – li fit fi – li – us

quam vir – go fi – at preg – nans

sed ni – hil im – pos – si – bi – le

De – o nec in – fac – ti – bi – le

per ver – bum su – um dic – tans.

<u>Notes:</u>

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** <u>Fit</u>/<u>Est</u>; **1** na<u>tu</u>re – DF/(D)F; **2** – acG a-G-FE FGFE D-CD-D/ac G-a-G FE FG-FED-D; **3** preg<u>nans</u> – F/FF; **4** <u>sed</u> – DF/CD; **4** impossi<u>bile</u> – F-Ga/Fa-a.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** na<u>tu</u>re/natu<u>ra</u>; **2** <u>fit</u> – FGFE/FGFEF; **3** <u>fi</u>at – G/Ga; **3** preg<u>nans</u> – F/FE; **4** impossibile – C/DC; **5** infa<u>cti</u>bile – FE-FGFE/FD-FGFEF.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **2** <u>fit</u> – FGFE/FGFEF; **3** <u>fi</u>at – G/Ga; **3** preg<u>nans</u> – G-F/GG-FE; **4** <u>sed</u> – DF/DE; **4** im<u>p</u>ossibile – C/DC.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** na<u>tu</u>re – DF/DEF; **2** <u>quod</u> – acG/aG; **3** <u>fi</u>at – G/Ga; **3** preg<u>nans</u> – F/FE; **4** <u>sed</u> – DF/DE; **4** ni<u>hil</u> – C/D; **4** im<u>pos</u>si<u>bile</u> – C-D-E-F-Ga/DC-D-EFG-F-E; **5** in<u>fa</u>ctibile – FGFE/FGF.

SK-Sk 2: **1** <u>Fit</u> – D/C; **3** preg<u>nans</u> – F/EFD.

EMR3.1   *Occasum virgo*

Mode 7 – G authentic   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: G-a'   9th

Oc – ca – sum vir – go ne – sci – it

ve – lut lux mun – di pro – fu – it

de sum – mo fun – dens lu – men.

E – ly – za – beth ap – pli – cu – it

de – vo – tas si – bi at – tra – hit

de ce – lo pan – dens nu – – – men.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-OLu M IV 6, **2** – CZ-Pn XIII A 7; **3** – P-BRs Ms. 028

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** <u>Occa</u>sum – G-Gd/Gd-d; **1** <u>ne</u>sciit - ...dcba/...dcbca; **2** pro<u>fuit</u>/pro<u>fluit</u>; **3** – efg fe-dc db-cd ed-d/efgfef d-c d-c ded-d; **4** <u>Ely</u>zabeth – g,g,/g; **4** ap<u>plicuit</u> – efed-cd-d/defe-dc-cb; **5** – d-cb-cd d-ed cbaced-cd-d/cb-cd-d ed-cba ced-cd-d; **6** pan<u>dens</u> – cde/e; **6** <u>nu</u>men – fgefdec.../ec...

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** <u>Occa</u>sum – G-Gd/Gd-d; **2** pro<u>fuit</u>/pro<u>fluit</u>; **3** <u>de</u> <u>summo</u> – efg fe-dc/efgfe d-c; **4** <u>Ely</u>zabeth – g,g,/g; **6** <u>pandens</u> – de-cde/decd-e; **6** <u>nu</u>men – fgefdecd.../efdecd...

SK-Sk 2: **1** <u>vir</u>go – e/d; **2** ve<u>lut</u> – babc/bac; **2** pro<u>fuit</u>/pro<u>fluit</u>; **3** <u>summo</u> – fe-dc/fed-c; **3** <u>fundens</u> – db-cd/dc-d; **4** <u>Ely</u>zabeth – g,g,-a'/g-ga'; **6** ce<u>lo</u> – edc/dedc; **6** <u>pandens</u> – de-cde/dedcbc-d; **6** <u>nu</u>men – fgefdecdcbaGacG/?dfcd(bd)cbaGFG.
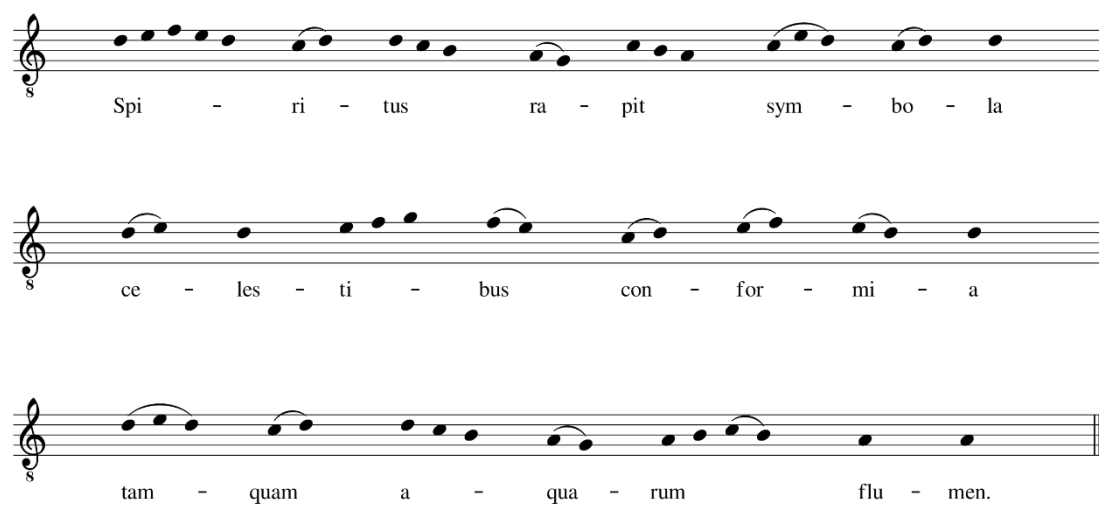
Spiritus rapit

Spi - ri - tus ra - pit sym - bo - la

ce - les - ti - bus con - for - mi - a

tam - quam a - qua - rum flu - men.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-OLu M IV 6, **2** – CZ-Pn XIII A 7; **3** – P-BRs Ms. 028

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** Spi<u>ritus</u> – cd-dcb/cb-cdcb; **3** <u>flumen</u> – a-a/aG-G.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** Spi<u>ritus</u> – cd-dcb/cb-cdcb; **1** sym<u>bo</u>la – cd/c; **2** <u>con</u>formia – cd/c; **3** <u>flumen</u> – a/aa.

SK-Sk 2: **1** <u>Spiritus</u> – defed-cd-dcb/def-ed-cbcdcb; **1** ra<u>pit</u> – cba/acba; **3** <u>flumen</u> – a-a/aa,-G.

EMR3.2   *Thronum lucis prospexerat*

Mode 7/8 – G mixtus   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: C-g   12th

Thro - num   lu – cis   pros – pe – xe – rat

qui   ut   au – ro – ra   ful – se – rat

so – le   ma – ne   splen – den – te.

E – ly – za – beth   u – bi   vi – dit

ver – ba – que   pa – lam   pro – tu – lit

spe – cu – lo   sua – – – den – te.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Bsa R 626: page missing

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** Thro<u>num</u> – aFacGGEFDDCG/aGacGaEFEDG; **1** <u>lucis</u> – Gab-abc/Gac-bcd; **1** <u>prospexerat</u> – bG/cG; **2** <u>fulserat</u> – dcbaGbG/dcbacG; **3** <u>mane</u> – cba-G/x-aG; **3** <u>splendente</u> – aba-GaG/aca-G; **4** <u>ubi</u> – dc-fed/dcf-ed; **6** <u>speculo</u> – c,c,ahGaGF/FGa; **6** <u>suadente</u> – cahGaFGEFGFEFD-EFG/cbac-GaG.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** Thro<u>num</u> – aFa...FDDCG/aGa...FDDDCG; **4** <u>ubi</u> – dc-fed/dcf-ed; **5** <u>palam</u> – bcdcb-aG/bcd-cbaG; **6** <u>speculo</u> – c,c,a.../ca...; **6** <u>suadente</u> - ...EFGFEFD/...EFGFD.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** Thro<u>num</u> – aFacGGEFDDCG/aGabca; **1** <u>lucis prospexerat</u> – Gab-abc bG/FG-Gac G; **2** <u>qui/que</u>; **2** <u>ut</u> – ac/Gac; **2** <u>aurora</u> – cd/c; **2** <u>fulserat</u> – dcbaGbG-a-b/d-cba-Ga;

3 so<u>le</u> – b/cb; **3** ma<u>ne</u> – G/aG; **3** splen<u>den</u>te – GaG/G; **4** <u>E</u>lyza<u>beth</u> – d-efg-fe-c/?-efg-fe-d; **4** <u>ubi</u> – dc-fed/dcf-ed; **5** ver<u>ba</u>que – cd/d; **6** – below.

6
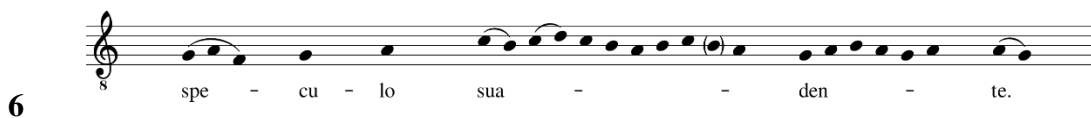
SK-Sk 2: **1** Thro<u>num</u> – aFacGGEFDDCG/aGacGaEFDCCG; **1** <u>lu</u>cis – Gab/Gac; **2** <u>ful</u>serat – dcbaGbG-a/dcbaG-cb; **3** splen<u>den</u>te – aba/aca; **4** El<u>y</u>za<u>beth</u> – fe-c/f-ed; **4** <u>ubi</u> – dc-fed/de-ed; **4** <u>vi</u>dit – ce/cd; **5** protu<u>lit</u> – G/a; **6** <u>spe</u>culo – c,c,ahGaGF-G-ac/cacGFGFE-Ga-a; **6** <u>sua</u>dente – cahG...chcG...

CZ-Pn XIII A 7 (takes from Speyer melody): given below.

In Marie presentia

In   Ma – ri – e   pre – sen – ti – a

plu – ra   pa – tent   la – ten – ti – a

E – ly – za – beth   di – cen – te.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626 (page missing until '-lyzabeth'), CZ-OLu M IV 6, **2** – CZ-Pn XIII A 7; **3** – P-BRs Ms. 028;

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** Marie – c-cdccbaGaG/cb-cdcbaGaG; **1** presentia – ba/ca; **2** plura – aGa/Ga; **2** patent – Gc/ac; **2** latentia – aG-Ga-aGFG/ac-G-Gaca; **3** Elyzabeth – Gca-aGaca-GF/G-acaGaca-GaF.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** Marie – c-cdccbaGaG/cb-cdcbaGaG; **3** Elyzabeth – Gca-aGaca/Gaca-aGaba; **3** dicente - ...cba-acaGaG/...cbaabaG-aG.

SK-Sk 2: **1** Marie – c-cdccb.../cb-cdcb...; **2** latentia – aGFG/GaGFG; **3** Elyzabeth – aGaca-GF/aG-aGFE.

Elyzabeth ex opere

Mode 5 – F authentic   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: E-f   9th

E – ly – za – – beth ex o – pe – re

sig – no – rum dat pro – pig – no – re

Ma – ri – am in – vo – ca – re.

Quam gra – ti – a con – tra – xe – rat

et pi – e – tas com – mo – ve – rat

ve – tu – lam vi – si – ta – re.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6, **2** – CZ-Pn XIII A 7; **3** – P-BRs Ms. 028;

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** Elyzabeth – a-aGF-acdhcaGacaGG-F/Ga-aGF-acdhcaaGFaG-F; **1** ex – c,c,c,/c; **2** signorum – fdec-hcdc/fdcb-ded; **2** propignore – fedec/fdec; **3** invocare – GF/G; **4** Quam – ffedcdec/fedcdec; **6** vetulam – h-c-dhcdec/hag-ha-c.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** Elyzabeth - ...aGacaGG/...aGahaG; **1** ex – c,c,c,/c; **2** propignore – fedec-d-chaG-F/fdfc-d-chaGa-F; **3** invocare – chcaF/chcaaF; **4** Quam – ffed.../fed...

SK-Sk 2: **1** Elyzabeth – aGF-acdhcaGacaGG-F/GaGF-ac-cdccaGahaGF; **1** ex – c,c,c,/c; **1** opere – de/def; **2** signorum – fdec-hcdc/fdfc-dc; **2** propignore – fedec-d-chaG-F/fedfc-d-c-haGF; **3** Mariam – GFE/FEDF; **4** Quam – ffedcdec/fedcdfc; **4** gratia – de/df; **6** – h-c-dhcdec FcdchaGF-GaG-F-F/c-d-ecfedec FcdchaG-F-GaG-F.

Nullus diffidat hodie

Nul – lus dif – fi – dat ho – di – e

ad Ma – ri – am con – flu – e – re

si – bi – que sup – pli – ca – re.

Glo-ri – a pa – tri et fi – li – o et spi – ri – tu – i sanc – to.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626 (given as EVRv), CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** diffidat – ha/dcha; **1** hodie – dchca-h/defe-dc; **2** confluere/defluere – defe-d-f-ec/defe-d-e-ec; **3** sibique supplicare – ahcdh-ca-GF GaG-F-GaF,/ahcdh-caaG-FE G-GaG-F; **4** below.

4   Glo-ri – a   pa   –   tri   et   fi – li – o   et   spi   –   ri – tu – i   sanc-to.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **2** Mariam – c/cdc; **2** confluere – defe-d-f-ec/fedc-d-c-c; **3** sibique – ahcdh-ca-GF/Fac-dhcahaG-FE; **3** supplicare – GaG-F-GaF,/G-GaG-F; **4** – below.

4   Glo-ri – a   pa   –   tri   et   fi – li – o   et   spi   –   ri – tu – i   sanc-to.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** Nullus – c/cc; **1** hodie – dchca/dhca; **3** sibique – ahcdh-ca/ahc-dhca; **3** supplicare – GaF,/GaF; **4** filio – defed-f-ec/defe-de-dc; **4** spiritu – dhcaaG/dhcaG.

P-BRs Ms. 028: (very faint) **1** diffidat – c/cdc; **1** hodie – dchca-h/(dc)?(ca)-?(c); **2** ad Mariam – F a-c/c F-ac; **2** confluere – defe-d-f-ec/a-cd-c-c; **3** sibique supplicare – ahcdh-ca-GF GaG-F-GaF,-F/c?hahc(d)-c-c c-a(Gaa)?-(F)-(F); **4** – no doxology given.

SK-Sk 2: **1** diffidat – ha/aG; **1** hodie – dchca/dhca; **2** confluere – defe-d-f-ec/de-fe-de-fedc; **3** sibique – ahcdh-ca-GF/ahc-c-ha; **3** supplicare – GaG-F-GaF,-F/G-F-GaG-F; **4** filio – defed-f-ec/fede-fe-dc; **4** spiritui – dhcaaG-FE/h-chaGFE; **4** sancto – FGF/F.

Sacra dedit eloquia

Mode 1/2 – D mixtus   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: A-d   11th

Sa - cra de - dit e - lo - qui - a

Ma - ri - a res - pon - so - ri - a

E - ly - za - beth lau - dan - ti

cla - ma - vit De - o can - ti - cum

mag - ni - fi - can - do Do - mi - num

de sur - sum bo - na dan - ti.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** S<u>a</u>cra – C/CD; **1** de<u>dit</u> – FD/ED; **1** e<u>loquia</u> – D-EFE-D/DEFE-DC-C; **2** <u>responsoria</u> – Ga-G-FE-D/G-F-G-FE; **3** El<u>y</u>zabeth – DF-DC/D-C; **4** <u>clamavit</u> <u>Deo</u> – a-ccd-d cb-aG/A-CD-D DC-AΓ; **4** <u>canticum</u> – F-G-a/C-D-E; **5** <u>magnifican</u>do – FGa-aG-FE-FGFE/F-Ga-G-FE; **5** <u>Dominum</u> – CD-D-D/E-D-C; **6** <u>de sursum bona</u> – A CDF-FE G-FE/D D-C D-EFE.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **1** S<u>a</u>cra – C/CD; **1** de<u>dit</u> – FD/ED; **1** e<u>loquia</u> – D-EFE/DEF-ED; **2** <u>responsoria</u> – Ga-G-FE-D/G-F-G-FE; **3** El<u>y</u>zabeth – DF-DC/D-C; **4** <u>clamavit</u> <u>Deo</u> – a-ccd-d cb-aG/A-CD-D DC-AΓ; **4** <u>canticum</u> – F-G-a/C-D-E; **5** <u>magnifican</u>do – FGa-aG-FE-FGFE/G-a-G-FE; **5** <u>Dominum</u> – CD-D-D/E-D-C; **6** <u>de sursum bona</u> – A CDF-FE G-FE/D D-C D-EFE.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** de<u>dit</u> – FD/ED; **1** e<u>loquia</u> – D-EFE/DEF-E; **2** <u>responsoria</u> – Ga-G-FE-D/G-F-G-FE; **3** El<u>y</u>zabeth – DF-DC/D-C; **4** <u>clamavit</u> <u>Deo</u> – a-ccd-d cb-aG/A-CD-D DC-CB; **4** <u>canticum</u> – F-G-a/C-D-E; **5-6** – below.

5-6
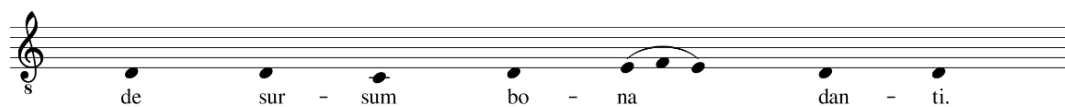
CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** <u>Sacra</u> – C-D/A-CD; **1** de<u>dit</u> – FD/D; **1** el<u>oquia</u> – D-EFE/DEFD-CD; **2** res<u>pon</u>so<u>ria</u> – G-FE-D/FE-D-CD; **3** <u>lau</u>danti – EFE/FE; **4** cla<u>ma</u>vit – ccd/cd; **4** De<u>o</u> – aG/baG; **5** ma<u>gni</u>fi<u>cando</u> – aG-FE-FGFE/a-G-FE-FGFEF; **5** <u>Domi</u>num – CD-D/D-CD; **6** <u>bo</u>na – G/FG.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** de<u>dit</u> – FD/ED; **2** res<u>pon</u>soria – G/GG; **4** cla<u>ma</u>vit – ccd/cd; **6** <u>bo</u>na – G/FG.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** de<u>dit</u> – FD/ED; **2** res<u>pon</u>so<u>ria</u> – FE-D/F-E; **3** <u>Elyzabeth</u> – D-DF-DC-D/DF-DC-C-E; **3** <u>lau</u>danti/<u>lau</u>dant ('t' treated as separate syllable) – EFE-D-D/DEFE-D-D; **4** – a-ccd-d cb-aG F-G-a/a-G-F GF-F D-E-F; **5** <u>magnificando</u> – FGa-aG-FE-FGFE-D/FaG-aG-FE-FGFED-D; **5** <u>Domi</u>num – CD-D/D-C; **6** <u>sursum</u> – CDF-FE/CD-DFE; **6** <u>bo</u>na – G/Ga.

SK-Sk 2: **1** – CD-D D-FD DC-D-EFE-D/(misaligned)CD-D FD-DC D-EFE-D-D; **2** res<u>pon</u>so<u>ria</u> – FE-D/F-E; **4-6** – below.

4-6

Mode 3 – E authentic   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: D-d   8ve

Tunc   ex   –   ul   –   ta   –   vit   a   –   ni   –   mus

cum   ip   –   si   –   us   fit   fi   –   li   –   us

an   –   ge   –   lo   nun   –   ti   –   an   –   te

an   –   cil   –   la   De   –   i   cre   –   de   –   dit

con   –   fe   –   stim   ver   –   bum   ge   –   nu   –   it

Ma   –   ri   –   a   supp   –   li   –   can   –   te.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** <u>ex</u>ulta<u>vit</u> – Gc/ac; **1** <u>ani</u>mus – c-c-b/G-a-c; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – cb-a/c-baG; **3** <u>nunti</u>ante – cb-Ga/c-ab; **4** <u>an</u>cilla – aca-G/abcb-aG; **4** <u>credi</u>dit – F-E/a-FE; **5** <u>verbum</u> <u>genu</u>it – G-F Ga-GF-FG/a-G FGa-GF-G; **6** <u>Mari</u>a – G-abc/Ga-cb; **6** sup<u>pli</u>cante – GF/GaG.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **1** <u>ex</u>ultavit – Gc/ac; **1** <u>ani</u>mus – c-c-b/G-a-c; **2** <u>cum</u> <u>ipsius</u> – a b-c-d/b c-d-c; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – cb-a/cba-G; **3** <u>nunti</u>ante – cb-Ga/c-ab; **4** <u>an</u>cilla – aca/a; **4** <u>crede</u>dit – F-E/G-FE; **5** <u>genu</u>it – FG/F.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** exulta<u>vit</u> – aca/acba; **1** <u>ani</u>mus – c-c/b-b; **3** <u>nunti</u>ante – cb-Ga/c-ab; **4** <u>an</u>cilla – aca-G/ab-a; **4** <u>crede</u>dit – F-E/G-FE; **6** <u>genu</u>it – FG/F; **6** <u>Mari</u>a – G/F.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** <u>ani</u>mus – c-c/G-a; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – a/aG; **4** <u>an</u>cilla – aca-G/a-a; **4** <u>crede</u>dit – F-E-D/G-FE-E; **5** ge<u>niu</u>t – GF-FG/a-G; **6** <u>Mari</u>a – G/F.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** ani<u>mus</u> – b/c; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – a/aG; **4** <u>credi</u>dit – F-E/G-FE; **5** <u>genu</u>it – FG/G.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** <u>ex</u>ultavit – Gc-a-G-aca/G-aG-aG-acb; **1** ani<u>mus</u> – b/c; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – d-cb-a/dc-cb-aG; **4** – cb-aca-G F-Ga F-E-D/cb-ab-b Ga-a G-F-ED; **5** <u>genu</u>it – FG/F.

SK-Sk 2: **1** <u>ex</u>ultavit – Gc/ac; **1** ani<u>mus</u> – b/c; **2** <u>cum</u> – a/c; **2** fi<u>lius</u> – cba/cba-G; **3** <u>nunti</u>ante – cb-Ga/c-ac; **4** <u>an</u>cilla – aca-G/ac-aG; **4** <u>crede</u>dit – F-E/G-FE; **5** con<u>fe</u>stim – G/EF; **5** ver<u>bum</u> – F/G; **5** <u>genu</u>it – FG/Ga; **6** <u>Mari</u>a – G-abc-aGF/abc-aG-F.

Mode 4 – E plagal   *Finalis*: E   Ambitus: C-c   8ve

Ve – ra   hu – mi – li – a – ti – o

fu – it   Chri – sti   con – cep – ti – o

De – o   res – pi – ci – en – te

ex   hoc   lau – da – bunt   sin – gu – li

Ma – ri – am   ma – trem   se – cu – li

ip – sa – met   sic   di – cen – te.

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** <u>Ve</u>ra – F/E; **1** humilia<u>ti</u>o – D/DE; **3** – ac-G G-F-E-FG-F/F-Ga GF-G-GF-E-E; **4** lau<u>d</u>abunt – E-FG/EF-G; **5** Ma<u>ri</u>am – G-Ga/Ga-a; **5** <u>se</u>culi – ac-aG-G/aG-FE-E; **6** ipsa<u>met</u> <u>sic</u> – FE DC/F EDC; **6** <u>di</u>cente – DE/D.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **1** humi<u>li</u>atio – E/F; **3** – ac-G G-F-E-FG-F/F-Ga GF-G-GF-E-E; **4** lau<u>d</u>abunt – E-FG/EF-G; **5** Ma<u>ri</u>am – G-Ga/Ga-a; **5** <u>se</u>culi – ac-aG-G/aG-FE-E; **6** ipsa<u>met</u> <u>sic</u> – FE DC/F EDC; **6** <u>di</u>cente – DE/D.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** humi<u>li</u>atio – EFG-FE-D/EF-GFE-DE; **3** <u>De</u>o – ac/a; **3** <u>re</u>spiciente – G-F-E-FG-F/F-G-GF-E-E; **4** lau<u>d</u>abunt – E-FG/F-G.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** hu<u>mi</u>liatio – E-D-EFG-FE-D-E/E-FG-EFG-FE-DE-E; **3** <u>De</u>o – ac/ab; **3** re<u>spi</u>ciente – F-E-FG-F/G-F-Ga-G; **4** <u>ex</u> – EDE/F; **4** lau<u>d</u>abunt – E-FG/EF-G; **5** Ma<u>ri</u>am – G-Ga/Ga-a.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** humila<u>ti</u>o – D/DE; **3** <u>De</u>o – ac/ah; **5** Ma<u>ri</u>am – G-Ga/Ga-a; **5** <u>se</u>culi – ac/ah.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** humi<u>li</u>atio – EFG-FE-D/EFGF-F-DE; **2** <u>Chri</u>sti – C-D/FG-F; **3** <u>De</u>o – ac/abG; **5** <u>se</u>culi – ac/ab; **6** ipsa<u>met</u> <u>sic</u> – E-FE DC/EFE-D D.

SK-Sk 2: **1** humili<u>ati</u>o – FE-D/F-ED; **4** <u>ex</u> – EDE/?(D)E.

Mode 5 – F authentic   *Finalis*: F   Ambitus: F-g   9th

Mag - na   per - fe - cit   Do - mi - nus

in   Ma - ri - e   vir - tu - ti - bus

De - um   con - ci - pi - en - do

fit   ma - ter   ple - na   gra - ti - e

et   im - pe - tra - trix   ve - ni - e

om - ni - bus   mi - se - ran - do.

Notes:

CZ-Bsa R 626: **1** Do<u>mi</u>nus – d/dc; **3** concipi<u>en</u>do – c/h; **4** <u>ple</u>na – fed-c/fe-dc; **5** <u>ve</u>nie – ac-cha/FGah-a; **6** <u>omni</u>bus <u>mi</u>serando – hc-cha-G F-GaG/ah-c-haG a-G.

CZ-OLu M IV 6: **1** Do<u>mi</u>nus – d/dc; **2** virtu<u>ti</u>bus – haG/ha; **3** con<u>ci</u>piendo – h-aGF-a-c-c/h-aG-a-h-c; **4** <u>ple</u>na – fed-c/f-edc; **5** <u>ve</u>nie – ac-cha/a-a; **6** – hc-cha-G F-GaG-F-F/ah-c-haG a-G-F-F.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** Do<u>mi</u>nus – d/dc; **3** <u>De</u>um – c/h; **3** <u>con</u>cipiendo – h-aGF/a-F; **4** <u>fit</u> <u>ma</u>ter – f e-fg/d c-df; **5** <u>ve</u>nie – ac-cha/a-G; **6** <u>omni</u>bus <u>mi</u>serando – hc-cha-G F-GaG/a-ch-aG a-aG.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** Do<u>mi</u>nus – d/dc; **2-3** – h c-d-c h-c-haG-a c-a h-aGF-a-c-c/(mostly transposed 3rd higher)c d-e-f d-e-dch-c e-c d-cha-h-c-c; **5** ve<u>ni</u>e – cha/ha; **6** mi<u>se</u>rando – GaG-F/Ga-FGF.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** Do<u>mi</u>nus – d/dc; **2** in <u>Ma</u>rie – h c-d-c/a h-c-d; **6** mi<u>se</u>rando – GaG-F/Ga-FGF.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** <u>Ma</u>gna – F-ac/Fac-c; **1** perfe<u>cit</u> – e/d; **1** <u>Do</u>minus – fe-d/d-c; **2** – h c-d-c h-c-haG-a/a-h-c-d h-c-h-a; **3** <u>con</u>cipiendo – h-aGF/ha-GF; **4** <u>fit</u> <u>ma</u>ter <u>ple</u>na – f e-fg fed/(d)c-h-c dc; **6** mi<u>se</u>rando – GaG-F/Ga-FGF.

SK-Sk 2: **5** – c d-h-c-haG/d h-c-ha-F; **5** ve<u>ni</u>e – cha/hcha; **6** <u>omni</u>bus – hc-cha/ahc-hchaG.

Maria tribus mensibus

Mode 1 – D authentic   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-d   9th

Ma - ri - a tri - bus men - si - bus

qua - si ste - tit la - bo - ri - bus

E - ly - za - beth sub - den - do

con - fe - re - bat de an - ge - lo

et ver - bo - rum mys - te - ri - o

que pro - tu - lit sa - lu - tan - do

mu - tum au - di - vit e - lo - qui

pro - phe - ti - as Do - mi - ni - i

de Chri - sto de - cla - ran - do

plu - ra vi - dit de pu - e - ro

mi - ra - bi - li ab u - te - ro

pre - cur - so - rem vo - can - do

fac - ta post re - ve - ren - ti - a

re - ver - sa est ad pro - pri - a

Ma - ri - a con - tem - plan - do.

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **3** E<u>ly</u>zabeth <u>subdendo</u> – c-a-G F-a-G/E-F-G FE-D-D; **4** confe<u>re</u>bat – G-a-c-a/F-Ga-a-G; **4** an<u>gelo</u> – G-a/FE-D; **5** <u>ver</u>borum – G/Ga; **5** myste<u>rio</u> – G-G/Ga-G; **6** – a ac-a-G F-a-G-aG/acaaG a-G-EF G-FE-D-D; **8** Domi<u>nii</u>/Domi<u>ni</u> – G-a/a; **9** <u>de Christo</u> declarando – F E-F G/E F-G a; **10** <u>plu</u>ra – C/D; **10** pu<u>ero</u> – h/ha; **12** <u>vo</u>cando/<u>no</u>tando – aF-GFG-a/a-aFGFE-F; **13** <u>fac</u>ta <u>post</u> – a-acaG aGF/c-dc cbaGF; **14** <u>re</u>versa <u>est</u> <u>ad</u> – EFE-D-C E GF/DEFD-D-CD F F; **14** pro<u>pria</u> – G/Ga; **15** con<u>templan</u>do – FGFED-CD/FGFFE-D.

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** Ma<u>ria</u> – G/Ga; **3** E<u>ly</u>zabeth – c/b; **4** confe<u>re</u>bat – G-a-c-a/F-g-b-aG; **4** an<u>gelo</u> – G/a; **6** sa<u>lu</u>tando – F-a-G-aG/F-aG-a-F; **8** Domi<u>nii</u>/Domi<u>ni</u> – G-a/a; **11** ute<u>ro</u> – bG/cG; **14** <u>re</u>versa <u>est</u> <u>ad</u> – EFE-D-C E GF/C-D-F G F; **14** pro<u>pria</u> – G/Ga; **15** con<u>templan</u>do – FGFED-CD/FGFEF-D.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **3** E<u>ly</u>zabeth – c/h; **4** confe<u>re</u>bat – c-a/h-aG; **6** sa<u>lu</u>tando – a-G-aG/aG-a-G; **8** Domi<u>nii</u>/Domi<u>ni</u> – G-a/Ga-a; **13** fac<u>ta</u> – acaG/abaG; **14** pro<u>pria</u> – G/Ga.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **2** stetit/vi<u>sti</u>tit – F/F-F; **3** E<u>ly</u>zabeth – c/b; **4** confe<u>re</u>bat – c-a/b-aG; **5** <u>my</u>sterio – F/FE; **6** <u>que</u> <u>pro</u>tulit – a ac/aGF a; **6** sa<u>lu</u>tando – a-G-aG/aG-a-G; **8** prophe<u>tias</u> – ac/ab; **8** Domi<u>nii</u>/Domi<u>ni</u> – G-a/Ga; **9** declaran<u>do</u> – D/DC; **10** <u>plu</u>ra – C/DC; **10** <u>de</u> <u>puero</u> – h c-h-a/a b-a-G; **11** mi<u>ra</u>bili – ac/ab; **11**(<u>ab</u>...)**-13** transposed – below; **14** <u>re</u>versa <u>est</u> – EFE-D-C E/CD-E-D CD; **14** pro<u>pria</u> – G-G-a/F-FG-G; **15** con<u>templan</u>do – FGFED-CD-D/GaG-F-F.


11-13

SK-Sk 2: **2** la<u>bo</u>ribus – GF-G/G-FG; **3** E<u>ly</u>zabeth – c/ac; **4** confe<u>re</u>bat – G-a-c/F-Ga-ac; **4** an<u>gelo</u> – a/Ga; **6** sa<u>lu</u>tando – a-G-aG/aG-a-G; **7** <u>mu</u>tum – F/G; **7** e<u>lo</u>qui – F/FE; **8** Domi<u>nii</u>/Domi<u>ni</u> – G-a/Ga; **9** <u>de</u> – F/G; **10** <u>de</u> <u>puero</u> – h c-h-a/a ahc-a-G; **11** mi<u>ra</u>bili – a-G/aG-a; **11** u<u>te</u>ro – c-hG/ch-a; **14** pro<u>pria</u> – G-a/Ga-aG; **15** con<u>templan</u>do – FGFED-CD/FGFE-D.

Adjutrix visitatio

Mode 8 – G plagal   *Finalis*: G   Ambitus: D-f   10th

Ad – ju – trix vi – si – ta – ti – o

et fre – quens mi – ni – stra – ti – o

E – ly – za – beth ob – la – ta

Ma – ri – am dat pro – pi – ti – am

ad im – pe – tran – dam gra – ti – am

cum fu – er – it vo – ca – ta

nam ma – ter est ecc – le – si – e

fluc – tu – an – tis na – vi – cu – le

sub – di – tos gu – ber – nan – do

promp – tos su – o re – gi – mi – ni

di – ri – gen – ti – que fla – mi – ni

de – vi – os vi – si – tan – do.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Pn XIII A 7: **1** Adiutrix – G-GFDFG/C-EFG; **2** ministratio – ccd/cd; **3** Elyzabeth – dedc/deddc; **4** dat – EFG/D; **4** propitiam – GaGFG-GF/GF-F; **5** ad – ac/a; **5** impetrandam gratiam – cd-dcbG a-G/c-d cb-aG; **6** fuerit – G/F; **6** vocata – df-dfdcd-dc/ded-c-c; **7-9** – below; **11** dirigentique/dirigentes que – DG-G-aca-G-ac/F-G-acG-a ac; **11** flamini – b-cd-dcba/bcdd,-cba-a; **12** visitando – achG-aF/ac-ha.

nam ma – ter est ecc – le – si – e

fluc – tu – an – tis na – vi – cu – le

7-9

sub – di – tos gu – ber – nan – do

CZ-Pu III D 10: **2** ministratio – ccd-cb-Ga-aG-F/cd-cb-Ga-G-F; **3** oblata/oblatam – cb-a-cb/c-a-cb; **4** dat – EFG/DFa; **6** vocata – df-dfdcd/de-dedcd; **7** ecclesie – aca-G-G/acG-aG-FG; **8** navicule – de/e; **10** regimini – ab/ac; **11** flamini – b-cd-dcba/c-cd-dcbaG; **12** devios/devotos – G-a-haG/F-a-cba; **12** visitando – cahG-aF-G/bcdcbc-aG-FG.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **2** frequens – Gc/ac; **2** ministratio – ccd/cd; **4** dat – EFG/DFG; **5** impetrandam – dcbG/dcbaG; **6** vocata – dfdcd/dedcd; **7** ecclesia – aca-G-G-G/aba-G-FG-G; **10** promptos – aG/aGG; **11** dirigentique – aca/aba; **11** flamini – dcba/dcbaG.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** Adiutrix – GFDFG-G/GF-FG; **1** visitatio – FG/F; **2** frequens – Gc/ac; **2** ministratio – ccd-cb-Ga-aG-F/c-cd-cb-Ga-aGF; **3** Elyzabeth – dedc/cd; **3** oblata – a/G; **4** dat – EFG/EF; **5** impetrandam – b-cd-dcbG/c-bdcbG-aG; **5** vocata – df-dfdcd-dc/d-e-d; **7** mater est ecclesie – GaG F aca-G-G/G-EGaG G-F-FG; **8** fluctuantis – cd-ed-cd/c-d-e; **8** navicule – de-d/cd-c; **9** – d-e-fed ca-ced-cd-dG/cd-e-d c-b-a-G; **10** promptos – F/Fa; **11** – dirigentique – DG-G-aca/DF-G-aba; **11** flamini – cd-dcba/c-dcbaG; **12** visitando – cahG-aF/ca-ha.

SK-Sk 2: **2** frequens – Gc/ac; **2** ministratio – ccd-cb-Ga-aG-F/cd-cb-Ga-a-aGF; **4** dat – EFG/DFG; **5** impetrandam – cd-dcbG/cdcdcbaG-a; **6** vocata – df-dfdcd-dc/bcb-cbaGa-aG; **7** – bc a-GaG F aca-G-G-G/Ga FEF-D D GaG-F-G-G; **8** navicule – d/dc; **9** subditos – fed/efed; **10** regimini – ab/ac; **11** flamini – b-cd-dcba/bcd-cdcba-G; **12** devios – haG/accaG; **12** visitando – achG-aF-G-G/ac-ha-aFG-G.

Mode 2 – D plagal   *Finalis*: D   Ambitus: C-c   8ve

Ihe – su   re – demp – tor   op – ti – me

ad   Ma – ri – am   nos   im – pri – me

ut   mun – di   ad – vo – ca – ta

pa – ri   for – ma   nos   vi – si – tet

si – cut   fe – cit   E – ly – za – beth

per   sum – mam   pi – e – ta – tem

mo – res   et   ac – tus   di – ri – gat

et   ad   ce – los   al – li – ci – at

per   gra – ti – am   col – la – tam.

Notes:

Alternative melody given: **1** – CZ-Bsa R 626, CZ-OLu M IV 6

CZ-Pu III D 10: **1** I<u>he</u>su – Dac/Dab; **3** mu<u>n</u>di – a/G; **3** ad<u>vo</u>cata/<u>ad</u>vo<u>catam</u> – ac-cb-ac-aG/a-cb-a-G; **4** <u>pa</u>ri – FE/GF; **6** <u>sum</u>mam – cb/c; **6** pie<u>ta</u>tem – F-Ga-aah-a/G-Ga-aba-a; **7** mo<u>res et ac</u>tus – E F G/F G a; **7** di<u>ri</u>gat – C/CD; **8** <u>ce</u>los – FFG/FG; **8** al<u>li</u>ciat – G/Ga; **9** <u>col</u>latam – FGFFE/FGFEF.

CZ-Pn XIII A 7 (later hand): melody not given.

DK-Kk 4339 8o IX: **1** I<u>he</u>su – Dac/ah; **1** re<u>demptor</u> – G-FE/aa-GFE; **3** ad<u>vo</u>cata – ac/ab; **6** pie<u>ta</u>tem – aah/ah; **7** di<u>ri</u>gat – C/CD; **9** <u>col</u>latam – FGFFE/FGFE.

P-BRs Ms. 028: **1** I<u>he</u>su – Dac/Dab; **3** <u>mun</u>di – Ga/G; **3** ad<u>vo</u>cata/ad<u>vo</u>catam – ac-aG/ab-aG; **5** fe<u>cit</u> – G/GFE; **6** pie<u>ta</u>tem – Ga-aah/G-ac; **7** <u>mo</u>res – a-E/aEF-ED; **7** di<u>ri</u>gat – C/CD; **8** <u>ce</u>los – FFG-F/F-G; **8** al<u>li</u>ciat – G/GF; **9** <u>col</u>latam – FGFFE/FGFE.

SK-Sk 2: **1** re<u>demptor</u> optime – a-G-FE FGFED/G-FE-FGFE D; **2** Ma<u>ri</u>am – E/F; **2** im<u>prime</u> – a-G-F/F-E-D; **3** <u>ut</u> – E/C; **3** mu<u>n</u>di – a/G; **6** pie<u>ta</u>tem – aah/ac; **7** di<u>ri</u>gat – C/CD; **8** <u>ad ce</u>los – D FFG/DF FG; **8** al<u>li</u>ciat – aGF-G/GaGF-GF; **9** <u>col</u>latam – FGFFE/FGFE.

Appendices

Appendix One: Timeline

Date	Jenštejn	Easton
c.1330		Born
1347-1348	Born	
1348		Entered the Benedictine Cathedral priory in Norwich
c.1350-1351		Sent to the Benedictine Gloucester College, Oxford, to read theology
1355-1356		Recalled to Norwich to celebrate and preach at the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary on 14 August
1357-1363		Remained in Norwich
1363		Returned to Oxford
1365-1366		Incepted as a Master of Divinity
May 1368		Sent by Pope Urban V as an envoy to King Edward III
Summer 1369		Joined the Benedictine cardinal Simon Langham in Avignon, and remained his companion until Langham's death in 1376
Before 1370	Studied in Prague at the University – start date unknown	
1370-1376	Studied abroad in Padua, Bologna, Montpellier, Paris	
1375	Became a subdeacon and the Provost of Wetzlar	
4 July 1375	Appointed Bishop of Meissen	

Date	Jenštejn	Easton
1376-1377		Moved to Rome after Langham's death
27 March 1378	Death of Pope Gregory XI	
1378	Consecrated as Archbishop of Prague	Present in Rome for the election of Pope Urban VI
9 August 1378	Declaration by some cardinals that the election of Pope Urban VI was void	
20 September 1378	Election of Pope Clement VII	
15 October 1378	Vision concerning the Schism	
1378-1381		Wrote the *Defensorium Ecclesiasticae Potestatis*, a study of the history of dominium presented as a dialogue between Episcopus and Rex
21 December 1381		Made cardinal
1378-1400	Vat.lat.1122 was written	
1380	Contracted 'pestis generalis'	
March 1382		Given the benefice of York, followed by other English benefices
1382-1383		Commissioned by Urban VI (along with Lucas Radulfulco de Gentilis and John Corfiensus) to review the findings of the committee tasked with examining Bridget of Sweden's canonization petition
May 1383	His work in political circles had ceased	
June 1384	Urban VI moved curia from Rome to Naples	
January 1385		Pope Urban VI became aware of the 'papal plot' in which Easton was named as a conspirator

Date	Jenštejn	Easton
11 January 1385		Arrested with five other cardinals, stripped of his benefices, and tortured
July 1385		The pope, his prisoners, and his remaining entourage escaped Nocera
23 September 1385		Arrived in Genoa
End of 1385		Five of the six cardinals arrested had been executed
16 June 1386	Provincial synod in which he announced the feast of the Visitation within his archdiocese Established feast date as 28 April	
1386	Three-lesson version of *Exurgens autem Maria* written	
July-August 1386	Letter to the pope asking for a general introduction of the Visitation	
1386-1388	Letter to the pope giving information on Jenštejn's vision	
3 December 1387		Three letters to the pope from England petitioning for Easton's release
Between 1385 and 1389		Wrote the *Defensorium Sanctae Birgitte*
1386-1388	First investigation into the proposed Visitation feast carried out by thirty-seven canonists and theologians, including Easton	
1386-1390		*Accedunt laudes virginis* office written
1387-1389		Released but kept as a simple monk in the custody of the French camera

Date	Jenštejn	Easton
		clerk until the death of Urban VI in 1389
8 April 1389	Consistory where Pope Urban VI announced his intention to institute the feast Pope established official feast date as 2 July	
15 October 1389	Death of Pope Urban VI	
2 November 1389	Election of Pope Boniface IX	
		Reinstated to cardinal
1389-1390	*Exurgens autem Maria* expanded to nine lessons	
1390	Visited Rome to negotiate the completion of the process	
	A second panel of theologians commissioned to examine *Exurgens autem Maria* alongside 7 newly submitted offices	
9 November 1390	Feast officially added to the Roman Calendar by Pope Boniface IX on 2 July *Accedunt laudes virginis* chosen for promulgation throughout the Church	
1395	Agreed to resign as Archbishop of Prague, nominating his nephew, Olbram III of Škvorce, as successor	
31 January 1396	Pope Boniface IX issued a bull regarding Jenštejn's resignation	
2 April 1396	Formally resigned	
2 July 1396	Consecrated his nephew Olbram III of Škvorce as Archbishop of Prague	
September 1397		Died in Rome, buried in the Church of St Cecilia
17 June 1400	Died in Rome	

Appendix Two: Text of the *Meditationes Vitae Christ*

The Visitation extract from the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, a thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century text now attributed to Pseudo-Bonaventure.

Chapter IV. Our Blessed Lady visits her cousin St. Elizabeth, in whose house the Magnificat and Benedictus are composed.

Our Blessed Lady, having conceived by the Holy Ghost, and the incarnation of the Son of God being fully accomplished in her sacred womb, recalling to mind what the angel had told her, concerning her cousin Elizabeth, she resolved to visit her; and this, not merely to congratulate her on her happy pregnancy, but rather to assist her at her approaching delivery. Wherefore, in company with her beloved spouse St. Joseph, she immediately set out on her journey, from the little city of Nazareth, towards the house of St. Elizabeth, which was near Jerusalem, and about seventy miles distant from Nazareth. Neither the length of the journey, nor the labors of the way, could deter her from her pious resolution; but without delay she went on with all speed, that she might not appear long abroad. Nor was she like other women in her condition, in the least burdened by the divine infant she bore in her womb. And now by the way accompany in mind this blessed couple. The ever-glorious Virgin, queen of heaven and earth, with her beloved spouse, proceeds on her journey; not on a pampered horse, or gilded car, not escorted by a military band of armed soldiers, not triumphant amidst a pompous crowd of nobles, not surrounded with a glittering tribe of courtly damsels. Poverty, humility, modesty, with every graceful virtue, were all their train. The Lord of Hosts, indeed, was her inseparable companion, attended by his glorious court, far outshining all the splendor of the vain and pompous sons of earth.

Come at length to her journey's end, she entered the house of Zachary, and finding there her cousin Elizabeth, saluted her, saying: Hail, my dear cousin Elizabeth. Elizabeth vehemently animated by the Holy Ghost, with transports of joy, immediately arose, and tenderly embracing her, cried aloud: *Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to visit me? – Luke i.* The words of the salutation were no sooner graciously uttered by our blessed Lady, than they pierced even to the bowels of St. Elizabeth, inflaming both mother and son with the divine Spirit.

Nor was the mother inflamed before her son, but he being first replenished himself, replenished also his parent; not operating anything new within her, but rather meriting that something divine should be wrought within her soul, but the operation of the Holy Ghost: Insomuch, that the grace of the Holy Paraclete was more abundantly diffused in him, and he first was sensible of its blessed effects. Thus as she outwardly perceived the presence of the holy Virgin, he inwardly was affected by the approach of his Lord. Wherefore, he exulted for joy, and she prophesied. Consider hence of how great force and efficacy must the words of the Blessed Virgin be, that the Holy Ghost should deign to communicate himself at the bare utterance of them. For herself was so copiously filled with him, that the same divine spirit in and through her replenished others. The Virgin Mary, after hearing the salutation of Elizabeth, replied thus to her: "My soul doth magnify our Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour," with the rest of that divine canticle. Having ended, they both sat down; when a holy contention arose between them, not occasioned by ceremonious insincerity, but from an inborn humility. The sacred Virgin, greatest in that virtue, as well as in dignity, would have seated herself

below Elizabeth, at her feet; and Elizabeth, conscious of the majesty of the majesty of her guest, would have placed herself beneath hers. But at length both modestly yielding to each other, they seated themselves together, side by side. The pious debate was succeeded by equally pious greetings, and mutual interrogations concerning the mystery of each other's conceptions, which they mutually revealed, giving the glory of it to God, and crowning the day with divine praises and thanksgiving for the sovereign and ineffable blessings received. Our Blessed Lady continued with Elizabeth the space of three months, helping and assisting her as far as she was able, with all devotion, humility, and veneration, seeming to forget the greatness of her own dignity, and that she was the chosen mother of God, and the sovereign queen of the world. Oh, what a heavenly house; what blessed chambers! What an immaculate bed was that, which contained such sacred parents, pregnant with such celestial infants; Mary and Elizabeth, Jesus and John, guarded and attended by those truly great and venerable men, Joseph and Zachary.

When Elizabeth's time was expired, she happily delivered of a son, whom our Blessed Lady received in her arms, and carefully swathed; performing with virginal tenderness, the necessary little offices suitable to the occasion. The infant, as if acquaintd [sic] with the majesty of his sacred nurse, fixed his eyes steadfastly on her, so taken with her beauty, that when she delivered him again to his mother, he still looked towards her as if he could take delight in her alone; while she, on the other side, continued graciously playing with him, embracing him, and cherishing him with her heavenly lips. What excess of honor was this for St. John! What pure mortal, besides himself, was ever blessed with such a nurse! Yet this is not the only great privilege he enjoyed. Many others might be named, were they not foreign to our present purpose.

On the eighth day the child was circumcised and called John. Then was the mouth of Zachary opened, and he prophecied [sic], saying, "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel, etc." Thus were the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, those two sublimely beautiful canticles, composed in this house. In the mean time, while the latter was singing, our blessed Lady, virgin-like, to avoid being gazed on by the men who were present, on account of the ceremony, kept retired in a secret part of the chamber, where unseen she could hear what passed, and there devoutly listened to the prophesies uttered concerning her divine son: carefully and wisely depositing the whole in her heart. At length, taking leave of Elizabeth and Zachary, and giving her blessing to John, she returns to her humble habitation at Nazareth. Here again, devout reader, contemplate her poverty in another shape. She returns home; But to what a home! To a home unprovided with meat or drink: to a home destitute of every necessary of life. But this would be a trifling circumstance, had she either estate or money, or other means to procure her a cheerful residence there. But, alas! that she is a stranger to. She has remained now three months with her relations, probably in no mean circumstances: and yet now, not with regret, but cheerfully of her own accord, she descends to her former state of poverty, and to gain a narrow subsistence with her own hands. Oh! Christian Soul, compassionate the Blessed Virgin in such great distress; and learn from so great an example, the poverty of spirit you ought to have.[452]

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[452] Pseudo-Bonaventure, English translation in Pseudo-Bonaventure, 'Chapter IV. Our Blessed Lady Visits Her Cousin St. Elizabeth, in Whose House the Magnificat and Benedictus Are Composed.', in *St. Bonaventure's Life of our Lord*, pp. 30-35.

Appendix Three: Facsimile of CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16 ff. 1v-18r

Facsimile of Visitation chants in manuscript CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16, ff. 1v-18r. I have given all folios with Visitation chants; some folios display Mass chants which are not examined in this thesis. My thanks to Mr Lobkowicz for his permission to view the manuscript and for allowing the inclusion of the images in this thesis, and to the library and archives curators at the Lobkowicz Collections (Nelahozeves Castle) who made both my visit and the photographs possible.

ff. 1v-2r

ff. 2v-3r

ff. 3v-4r

ff. 4v-5r

ff. 5v-6r

ff. 6v-7r

ff. 7v-8r

ff. 8v-9r

ff. 9v-10r

ff. 10v-11r

ff. 11v-12r

ff. 12v-13r

ff. 13v-14r

ff. 14v-15r

ff. 15v-16r

ff. 16v-17r

ff. 17v-18r

ff. 18v-19r

Appendix Four: Source concordances for *Exurgens autem Maria*

Table showing Jan of Jenštejn's office *Exurgens autem Maria* for the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary in sources across Europe. For an examination of each manuscript, see Chapter Four. The incipits for each chant are given in full for the primary manuscript of the edition and the following entries show concordances, giving the full incipit only when they do not concur with the primary manuscript. Incipits given for the Little Hours and Second Vespers are not given. An asterisk (*) is given to indicate that a chant is given as an incipit. A question mark (?) is used to indicate where it is unknown whether the chant is included in the source.

Siglum	1. CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16	2. CZ-Bsa R 626	3. CZ-Pak Cim 7	4. CZ-Pn XIII A 7
JVA1	*Exurgens autem Maria*	Y	-	Y (partial)
JVA2	*Et factum est*	Y	-	-
JVA3	*Exclamavit Elyzabeth*	Y	-	-
JVA4	*Et unde michi hoc*	Y	-	-
JVA5	*Et beata que credidisti*	Y	-	-
JVR	*Magnificat**	*Magnificat anima mea*	-	*O preclara stella*
JVRv	-	*Ecce enim exhoc*	-	*Ad te clamant*
JVH	*Assunt festa iubilea*	Y	Y	-
JVAM	*O quanta vis amoris*	Y	-	-
JCH	*O Christi mater fulgida*	Y	Y	-
JCAN	*Gaude Maria mater*	Y	-	-
JMI1	*In honore Marie*	Y	-	-
JMI2	*Quem virginalis*	-	-	-

Siglum	1. CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16	2. CZ-Bsa R 626	3. CZ-Pak Cim 7	4. CZ-Pn XIII A 7
JMH	*O Christi mater fulgida**	-	-	-
JMA1.1	*Quam gloriosam*	Y	-	-
JMA1.2	*Celi stupent*	Y	-	-
JMA1.3	*Ferax est terra*	Y	-	-
JMR1.1	*Surge propera amica*	-	-	-
JMR1.1v	*Audi filia*	-	-	-
JMR1.2	*En dilectus meus*	-	-	-
JMR1.2v	*Quam dulcia faucibus*	-	-	-
JMR1.3	*Ibo ad montem*	-	-	-
JMR1.3v	*Viam mandatorum*	-	-	-
JMA2.1	*Verbum bonum*	-	-	-
JMA2.2	*Torrens sacrati*	-	-	-
JMA2.3	*O dilecta civitas*	-	-	-
JMR2.1	*Ecce iste venit*	Y	-	-
JMR2.1v	*Exultavit ut gygas*	Y	-	-
JMR2.2	*Felices matres*	Y	-	-
JMR2.2v	*Felix domus*	Y	-	-
JMR2.3	*O preclara stella*	Y	-	-
JMR2.3v	*Ad te clamant*	Y	-	-
JMR2.4	*O dies omni*	-	-	-
JMR2.4v	*Hec dies quam*	-	-	-
JMA3.1	*Magna mirabilia*	Y	-	-
JMA3.2	*Exultet terra propere*	Y	-	-
JMA3.3	*Novum tibi virgo*	Y	-	-
JMR3.1	*Speciosas filias*	Y	-	-
JMR3.1v	*Exulta et lauda*	Y	-	-
JMR3.2	*Ait autem Maria*	Y	-	-

Siglum		1. CZ-Nlobkowicz R VI Fb 16	2. CZ-Bsa R 626	3. CZ-Pak Cim 7	4. CZ-Pn XIII A 7
JMR3.2v	*Et misericordia*	Y	-	-	
JMR3.3	*Magnificat anima mea*	-	-	-	
JMR3.3v	*Ecce enim exhoc*	-	-	-	
JMT	*Mater Christi veneranda*	-	-	-	
JMR3.4	*Suscepit Israel*	Y	-	-	
JMR3.4v	*Iuravit Dominus*	Y	-	-	
JLA1	*In Marie virginis*	Y	-	-	
JLA2	*Iubilet Deo*	Y	-	-	
JLA3	*Fecit Dominus*	Y	-	-	
JLA4	*Deposuit potentes*	Y	-	-	
JLA5	*Esurientes implevit*	Y	-	-	
JLH	*En miranda prodigia*	Y	Y	-	
JLAB	*Benedictus Dominus*	Y	-	-	
JV2AM	*Magnificet Dominum*	Y	-	-	

Siglum	5. CZ-Pu XII A 9	6. MA Impr. 1537	7. PL-PlS 36	8. SK-Bra BAI EC Lad.3	9. Vat.lat.1122
JVA1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JVA2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JVA3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JVA4	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JVA5	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JVR	Y*	*Magnificat anima mea*	*Magnificat anima mea*	*Ibo ad montem*	Y*
JVRv	-	*Ecce enim exhoc*	*Ecce enim exhoc*	*Viam mandatorum*	-
JVH	Y	-	Y*	Y	Y* (given in full on f. 153r)
JVAM	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JCH	Y	--	Y*	Y	Y* (given in full on f. 153r)
JCAN	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMI1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMI2	Y	-	-	-	Y
JMH	Y	-	-	-	Y*
JMA1.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMA1.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMA1.3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR1.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR1.1v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR1.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR1.2v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR1.3	Y	Y	Y	*Magnificat anima mea*	Y

Siglum	5. CZ-Pu XII A 9	6. MA Impr. 1537	7. PL-PlS 36	8. SK-Bra BAI EC Lad.3	9. Vat.lat.1122
JMR1.3v	Y	Y	Y	*Ecce enim exhoc*	Y
JMA2.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMA2.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMA2.3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR2.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR2.1v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR2.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR2.2v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR2.3	Y	Y	Y	-	Y
JMR2.3v	Y	Y	Y	-	Y
JMR2.4	Y	Y	-	Y	Y
JMR2.4v	Y	Y	-	Y	Y
JMA3.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMA3.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMA3.3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR3.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR3.1v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR3.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR3.2v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR3.3	Y	Y*	*O dies omni*	*O preclara stella*	Y
JMR3.3v	Y	-	*Hec dies quam*	*Ad te clamant*	Y
JMT	Y	-	-	-	Y
JMR3.4	Y	Y	-	-	Y
JMR3.4v	Y	Y	-	-	Y
JLA1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JLA2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JLA3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	5. CZ-Pu XII A 9	6. MA Impr. 1537	7. PL-PlS 36	8. SK-Bra BAI EC Lad.3	9. Vat.lat.1122
JLA4	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JLA5	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JLH	Y	-	*De sacro tabernaculo*	Y	Y* (given in full on f. 153r)
JLAB	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JV2AM	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	10. SK-Sk 2	17. CZ-LIBsm ST 1779	18. CZ-Pmn XII A 21	19. CZ-PRm L 262	20. CZ-Pu XIV B 6
JVA1	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JVA2	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JVA3	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JVA4	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JVA5	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JVR		*Magnificat anima mea*	*Magnificat anima mea*	-	-
JVRv		*Ecce enim exhoc*	*Ecce enim exhoc*	-	-
JVH	-	Y*	Y*	Y	-
JVAM	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JCH	-	-	-	-	-
JCAN	-	Y	-	-	-
JMI1	Y	*In Mariam plenam*	Y	Y	-
JMI2	-	*In honore Marie*	-	-	-
JMI3	-	-	-	-	-
JMH	-	Y	-	Y	-
JMA1.1	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JMA1.2	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JMA1.3	-	Y	Y	-	-
JMA1.4	-	Y	-	-	-
JMA1.5	-	Y	-	-	-
JMA1.6	-	Y	-	-	-
JMR1.1	-	Y	Y	-	-
JMR1.1v	-	Y	Y	-	-
JMR1.2	-	Y	Y	-	-
JMR1.2v	-	Y	Y	-	-
JMR1.3	-	Y	Y	-	-

Siglum	10. SK-Sk 2	17. CZ-LIBsm ST 1779	18. CZ-Pmn XII A 21	19. CZ-PRm L 262	20. CZ-Pu XIV B 6
JMR1.3v	-	Y	Y	-	-
JMR1.4	-	Y	-	-	-
JMR1.4v	-	Y	-	-	-
JMA2.1	-	Y	Y	-	-
JMA2.2	-	-	Y	Y	-
JMA2.3	-	-	Y	Y	-
JMA2.4	-	Y	-	-	-
JMA2.5	-	Y	-	-	-
JMA2.6	-	*Novum tibi virgo*	-	-	-
JMR2.1	-	Y	Y	-	-
JMR2.1v	-	*Magna mirabilia*	Y	-	-
JMR2.2	-	Y	Y	-	-
JMR2.2v	-	Y	Y	-	-
JMR2.3	-	Y	*Suscepit Israel*	-	-
JMR2.3v	-	Y	*Iuravit Dominus*	-	-
JMR2.4	-	-	-	Y	-
JMR2.4v	-	-	-	Y	-
JMA3.1	-	-	Y	-	-
JMA3.2	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JMA3.3	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JMR3.1	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JMR3.1v	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JMR3.2	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JMR3.2v	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JMR3.3	-	Y	*O preclara stella*	Y	-
JMR3.3v	-	-	*Ad te clamant*	-	-

Siglum	10. SK-Sk 2	17. CZ-LIBsm ST 1779	18. CZ-Pmn XII A 21	19. CZ-PRm L 262	20. CZ-Pu XIV B 6
JMT	-	Y	-	-	-
JMR3.4	-	Y	-	Y	-
JMR3.4v	-		-		-
JLA1	-		Y		Y
JLA2	-		Y		-
JLA3	-		Y		-
JLA4	-		Y		-
JLA5	-		Y		-
JLH	-		-		-
JLAB	-		Y		-
JV2AM	-		Y		-

Siglum	21. CZ-S M-7	22. CZ-UL ST 1491	23. D-AAm G20	24. D-Bsb Theol. Lat. Qu. 149
JVA1	Y	Y	Y	-
JVA2	?	?	Y	-
JVA3	?	?	Y	-
JVA4	?	?	Y	-
JVA5	?	?	Y	-
JVR	?	?	*O preclara stella*	-
JVRv	?	?	*Ad te clamant*	-
JVH	?	?	Y	Y
JVAM	?	?	Y	-
JCH	?	?	Y	Y
JCAN	?	?	Y	-
JMI1	?	?	Y	-
JMI2	?	?	Y	-
JMI3	?	?	*Mariam plenam*	-
JMH	?	?	-	-
JMA1.1	?	?	Y	-
JMA1.2	?	?	Y	-
JMA1.3	?	?	Y	-
JMA1.4	-	?	-	-
JMA1.5	-	?	-	-
JMA1.6	-	?	-	-
JMR1.1	?	?	Y	-
JMR1.1v	?	?	Y	-
JMR1.2	?	?	Y	-
JMR1.2v	?	?	Y	-
JMR1.3	?	?	Y	-
JMR1.3v	?	?	Y	-
JMR1.4	-	?	-	-

Siglum	21. CZ-S M-7	22. CZ-UL ST 1491	23. D-AAm G20	24. D-Bsb Theol. Lat. Qu. 149
JMR1.4v	-	?	-	-
JMA2.1	?	?	Y	-
JMA2.2	?	?	Y	-
JMA2.3	?	?	Y	-
JMA2.4	-	?	-	-
JMA2.5	-	?	-	-
JMA2.6	-	?	-	-
JMR2.1	?	?	Y	-
JMR2.1v	?	?	Y	-
JMR2.2	?	?	Y	-
JMR2.2v	?	?	Y	-
JMR2.3	?	?	Y	-
JMR2.3v	?	?	-	-
JMR2.4	?	?	-	-
JMR2.4v	?	?	Y	-
JMA3.1	?	?	Y	-
JMA3.2	?	?	Y	-
JMA3.3	?	?	Y	-
JMR3.1	?	?	Y	-
JMR3.1v	?	?	Y	-
JMR3.2	?	?	Y	-
JMR3.2v	?	?	Y	-
JMR3.3	?	?	Y	-
JMR3.3v	?	?	Y	-
JMT	?	?	-	-
JMR3.4	?	Y	Y	-
JMR3.4v	?		Y	-
JLA1	?		Y	-
JLA2	?		Y	-
JLA3	?		Y	-

Siglum	21. **CZ-S M-7**	22. **CZ-UL ST 1491**	23. **D-AAm G20**	24. **D-Bsb Theol. Lat. Qu. 149**
JLA4	?		Y	-
JLA5	?		Y	-
JLH	?		-	Y
JLAB	?		Y	-
JV2AM	Y		Y	-

Siglum	25. D-KA Aug. LX	26. D-MZb C	27. F-AS 893	28. F-CA Impr XVI C4	29. F-CA Ms. 71
JVA1	-	Y	Beatam me dicent omnes	Y	-
JVA2	-	Y	-	Y	-
JVA3	-	Y	-	Y	-
JVA4	-	Y	-	Y	-
JVA5	-	Y	-	Y	-
JVR	-	Vox turturis audita	O preclara stella	O preclara stella	-
JVRv	-	Vox enim tua	Ad te clamant	Ad te clamant	-
JVH	-	O Christi mater fulgida*	Pange lingua	Y	-
JVAM	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JCH	-	Salvator*	-	-	-
JCAN	-	Y	-	-	-
JMI1	-	Y	Y	Y	-
JMI2	Y	-	-	-	-
JMH	-	-	-	-	-
JMA1.1	-	-	-	Y	-
JMA1.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
JMA1.3	Y	-	Y	Y	-
JMR1.1	Y	-	Y	Y	Y
JMR1.1v	Verbum bonum	-	Verbum bonum	Y	Y
JMR1.2	Torrens sacrati	-	Torrens sacrati	Y	Y
JMR1.2v	O dilecta civitas	-	Hec est que	Y	Y
JMR1.3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR1.3v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMA2.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	-

Siglum	25. D-KA Aug. LX	26. D-MZb C	27. F-AS 893	28. F-CA Impr XVI C4	29. F-CA Ms. 71
JMA2.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
JMA2.3	*Ecce iste venit*	Y	Y	Y	-
JMR2.1	*Exsultavit ut gygas*	Y	Y	Y	-
JMR2.1v	*Ibo ad montem*	-	*Ecce iste venit*	Y	-
JMR2.2	*Viam mandatorum*	-	*Exsultavit ut gygas*	Y	-
JMR2.2v	*Et beata que credidisti*	Y	*Misericordia et veritas*	Y	-
JMR2.3	*Vox turturis audita*	Y	*O dilecta civitas*	-	-
JMR2.3v	*Magna mirabilia*	Y	*Magna mirabilia*	-	-
JMR2.4	*Exultet terra propere*	-	*Exultet terra propere*	Y	-
JMR2.4v	*Novum tibi virgo*	-	*Novum tibi virgo*	Y	-
JMA3.1	*Redemptoris mater*	-	*Gaude Maria virgo*	Y	-
JMA3.2	*Felices matres*	Y	*Felices matres*	Y	-
JMA3.3	*Felix domus*	Y	*Felix domus*	Y	-
JMR3.1	*Speciosas filias*	Y	*Beatam**	Y	-
JMR3.1v	*Exulta et lauda*	Y	*Magnificat anima mea**	Y	-
JMR3.2	*Vox turturis audita*	Y	*Speciosas filias*	Y	-

Siglum	25. D-KA Aug. LX	26. D-MZb C	27. F-AS 893	28. F-CA Impr XVI C4	29. F-CA Ms. 71
JMR3.2v	Vox enim tua	Y	Exulta et lauda	Y	-
JMR3.3	Y	-	Y	Y	Y
JMR3.3v	Y	-	Y	Y	Y
JMT	Gaude Maria mater	Y	Beatam*	-	-
JMR3.4	-	Y	-	-	-
JMR3.4v	-	Y	-	-	-
JLA1	Ait autem Maria	Y	Ait autem Maria	Y	-
JLA2	Et misericordia	Y	Et misericordia	Y	-
JLA3	Magnificat anima mea	Y	Magnificat anima mea	Y	-
JLA4	Ecce enim exhoc	Y	Ecce enim exhoc	Y	-
JLA5	Suscepit Israel	Y	Suscepit Israel	Y	-
JLH	Iuravit Dominus	Y	Iuravit Dominus	Y	-
JLAB	-	-	-	Y	Y
JV2AM	O preclara stella	-	O preclara stella*	Y	-
	Ad te clamant	-	-		
	Y	Y	Y		
	Y	Y	Y		
	Y	Y	Y		
	Y	Y	Y		
	Y	Y	Y		

Siglum	25. D-KA Aug. LX	26. D-MZb C	27. F-AS 893	28. F-CA Impr XVI C4	29. F-CA Ms. 71
	-	Y	*Verbum supernum*		
	Y	Y	*Ex quo facta est vox**		
	-	Y	*Beata es Maria**		

Siglum	30. F-CA Ms. 73	31. H-BA Rath F 1042	32. I-CFm XLIV	33. I-CFm LVII
JVA1	-	Y	-	-
JVA2	-	Y	-	-
JVA3	-	Y	-	-
JVA4	-	Y	-	-
JVA5	-	Y	-	-
JVR	-	Y*	-	-
JVRv	-	-	-	-
JVH	-	Y	-	-
JVAM	-	Y	-	-
JCH	-	Y	-	-
JCAN	-	Y	Y	Y
JMI1	-	Y	-	-
JMI2	-	Y	-	-
JMH	-	-	-	-
JMA1.1	-	Y	-	-
JMA1.2	-	Y	-	-
JMA1.3	-	Y	-	-
JMR1.1	Y	Y	-	-
JMR1.1v	Y	Y	-	-
JMR1.2	Y	Y	-	-
JMR1.2v	Y	Y	-	-
JMR1.3	Y	Y	-	-
JMR1.3v	Y	Y	-	-
JMA2.1	-	Y	-	-
JMA2.2	-	Y	-	-
JMA2.3	-	Y	-	-
JMR2.1	-	Y	-	-
JMR2.1v	-	Y	-	-
JMR2.2	-	Y	-	-
JMR2.2v	-	Y	-	-
JMR2.3	-	Y	-	-

Siglum	30. F-CA Ms. 73	31. H-BA Rath F 1042	32. I-CFm XLIV	33. I-CFm LVII
JMR2.3v	-	Y	-	-
JMR2.4	-	-	-	-
JMR2.4v	-	-	-	-
JMA3.1	-	Y	-	-
JMA3.2	-	Y	-	-
JMA3.3	-	Y	-	-
JMR3.1	-	Y	-	-
JMR3.1v	-	Y	-	-
JMR3.2	-	Y	-	-
JMR3.2v	-	Y	-	-
JMR3.3	Y	-	-	-
JMR3.3v	Y	-	-	-
JMT	-	-	Y	Y
JMR3.4	-	Y	-	-
JMR3.4v	-	Y	-	-
JLA1	-	Y	-	-
JLA2	-	Y	-	-
JLA3	-	Y	-	-
JLA4	-	Y	-	-
JLA5	-	Y	-	-
JLH	-	Y	-	-
JLAB	Y	Y	-	-
JV2AM	-	Y	-	-

Siglum	34. I-CFm XLVIII	35. PL KIk 1	36. PL-Kkar 1 (Rkp 12)	37. PL-Kkar 3 (Rkp 15)
JVA1	-	Y	Y	-
JVA2	-	Y	Y	-
JVA3	-	Y	*Sollemnitatem Magdalenae*	-
JVA4	-	Y	-	-
JVA5	-	Y	-	-
JVR	-	*O preclara stella*	*Christi virgo dilectissima*	-
JVRv	-	*Ad te clamant*	*Quoniam peccatorum*	-
JVH	-	Y	-	-
JVAM	-	Y	Y*	-
JCH	-	Y	-	-
JCAN	Y	Y	-	-
JMI1	-	*Mariam plenam gratia*	*Visitationem virginis Marie*	-
JMI2	-	-	-	-
JMH	-	*De sacro tabernaculo*	-	-
JMA1.1	-	Y	-	-
JMA1.2	-	Y	-	-
JMA1.3	-	Y	-	-
JMR1.1	-	Y	-	-
JMR1.1v	-	Y	-	-
JMR1.2	-	Y	-	Y
JMR1.2v	-	Y	-	Y
JMR1.3	-	Y	-	Y
JMR1.3v	-	Y	-	Y
JMA2.1	-	Y	-	Y
JMA2.2	-	Y	-	Y
JMA2.3	-	Y	-	Y
JMR2.1	-	Y	-	Y

Siglum	34. I-CFm XLVIII	35. PL KIk 1	36. PL-Kkar 1 (Rkp 12)	37. PL-Kkar 3 (Rkp 15)
JMR2.1v	-	Y	-	Y
JMR2.2	-	Y	-	Y
JMR2.2v	-	Y	-	-
JMR2.3	-	-	-	-
JMR2.3v	-	-	-	-
JMR2.4	-	Y	-	-
JMR2.4v	-	Y	-	-
JMA3.1	-	Y	-	-
JMA3.2	-	Y	-	-
JMA3.3	-	Y	-	-
JMR3.1	-	*Benedicamus matrem*	-	-
JMR3.1v	-	*In domum suam*	-	-
JMR3.2	-	*Regni sponsum*	-	Y (partial)
JMR3.2v	-	*Eructavit salutando*	-	Y
JMR3.3	-	*Felix nata es*	-	-
JMR3.3v	-	*Ora pro seculo*	-	-
JMT	Y	-	-	-
JMR3.4	-	-	-	Y
JMR3.4v	-	-	-	Y
JLA1	-	Y	-	Y
JLA2	-	Y	-	Y
JLA3	-	Y	-	Y
JLA4	-	*Esurientes implevit*	-	Y
JLA5	-	*Deposuit potentes*	-	Y
JLH	-	Y	-	*O gloriosa**
JLAB	-	Y	-	Y

Siglum	34. **I-CFm XLVIII**	35. **PL KIk 1**	36. **PL-Kkar 1 (Rkp 12)**	37. **PL-Kkar 3 (Rkp 15)**
JV2AM	-	*Jesu redemptor optime*	-	Y

Siglum	38. PL-WRu R 503	39. SK-BRm EC Lad.4	40. TR-Itks 42	41. US-NYpm M.A.G.7
JVA1	Y	Y	Y	Y
JVA2	Y	Y	Y	Y
JVA3	Y	Y	Y	Y
JVA4	Y	Y	Y	Y
JVA5	Y	Y	Y	Y
JVR	*Magnificat anima mea*	*Ibo ad montem*	*Magnificat anima mea*	*Suscepit Israel*
JVRv	*Ecce enim exhoc*	*Viam mandatorum*	*Ecce enim exhoc*	*Iuravit Dominus*
JVH	Y*	Y	Y	Y
JVAM	Y	Y	Y	Y
JCH	Y*	Y	-	Y
JCAN	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMI1	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMI2	-	-	-	-
JMH	-	-	-	-
JMA1.1	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMA1.2	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMA1.3	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR1.1	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR1.1v	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR1.2	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR1.2v	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR1.3	Y	*Magnificat anima mea*	Y	Y
JMR1.3v	Y	*Ecce enim exhoc*	Y	Y
JMA2.1	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMA2.2	Y	Y	?	Y
JMA2.3	Y	Y	?	Y
JMR2.1	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	38. PL-WRu R 503	39. SK-BRm EC Lad.4	40. TR-Itks 42	41. US-NYpm M.A.G.7
JMR2.1v	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR2.2	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR2.2v	Y	Y	Y	Y
JMR2.3	Y	-	Y	Y
JMR2.3v	-	-	Y	Y
JMR2.4	-	Y	-	-
JMR2.4v	-	Y	-	-
JMA3.1	-	Y	Y	Y
JMA3.2	-	Y	Y	Y
JMA3.3	-	Y	Y	Y
JMR3.1	-	Y	Y	Y
JMR3.1v	-	Y	Y	Y
JMR3.2	-	Y	Y	Y
JMR3.2v	-	Y	Y	Y
JMR3.3	-	*O preclara stella*	-	-
JMR3.3v	-	*Ad te clamant*	-	-
JMT	-	-	-	-
JMR3.4	-	-	Y	Y
JMR3.4v	-	-	Y	Y
JLA1	-	Y	Y	Y
JLA2	-	Y	Y	Y
JLA3	-	Y	Y	Y
JLA4	-	Y	Y	Y
JLA5	-	Y	Y	Y
JLH	-	-	Y	Y
JLAB	-	Y	Y	Y
JV2AM	-	Y	Y	Y

Appendix Five: Source concordances for *Accedunt laudes virginis*

Table showing Adam Easton's office *Accedunt laudes virginis* for the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary in sources across Europe. For an examination of each manuscript, see Chapter Four. The incipits for each chant are given in full for the primary manuscript of the edition and the following entries show concordances, giving the full incipit only when they do not concur with the primary manuscript. An asterisk (*) is given to indicate that a chant is given as an incipit. Incipits given for the Little Hours and Second Vespers are not given.

Siglum	11. **NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)**	2. **CZ-Bsa R 626**	12. **CZ-OLu M IV 6**	4. **CZ-Pn XIII A 7**	13. **CZ-Pu III D 10**
EVA1	*Accedunt laudes virginis*	Y	-	Y	Y
EVA2	*Divo repletur munere*	Y	-	Y	Y
EVA3	*Accendit ardor spiritus*	Y	-	Y	Y
EVA4	*Monstrans culmen*	Y	-	Y	Y
EVA5	*Carisma sancti spiritus*	Y	-	Y	Y
EVR	*Rex inspirator*	*Elizabeth ex opere*	-	*O preclara stella* (JMR2.3)	-
EVRv	*Surge ferventer*	*Nullus diffidat hodie*	-	*Ad te clamant* (JMR2.3v)	-
EVH	*In Mariam vite viam*	Y	-	-	Y
EVAM	*Acceleratur ratio*	Y	-	Y	Y
ECH	*O Christi mater celica*	*O mater Christi celica*	-	-	-

Siglum	11. NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)	2. CZ-Bsa R 626	12. CZ-OLu M IV 6	4. CZ-Pn XIII A 7	13. CZ-Pu III D 10
ECAN	*Maria tribus mensibus*	*Gaude Maria mater* (JCAN)	-	-	-
EMI	*Reginam celi Mariam*	Y	-	Y	Y
EMH	-	-	-	-	-
EMA1.1	*De celo velut*	Y	Y (partial)	Y	Y
EMA1.2	*Inter turmas femineas*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMA1.3	*Vocat hanc matrem*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR1.1	*Surgens Maria gravida*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR1.1v	*Ut audivit Elyzabeth*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR1.2	*Dixit verba prophetica*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR1.2v	*Venit ex te sanctissimus*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR1.3	*Elyzabeth congratulans*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR1.3v	*En felix salutatio*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMA2.1	*Non fuit Christus*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMA2.2	*Transivit in itinere*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMA2.3	*Longam viam*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR2.1	*Maria parens filios*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR2.1v	*Elyzabeth quesierat*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR2.2	*Rosa de spinis*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR2.2v	*Miranda salutatio*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR2.3	*Stella sub nube*	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	11. NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)	2. CZ-Bsa R 626	12. CZ-OLu M IV 6	4. CZ-Pn XIII A 7	13. CZ-Pu III D 10
EMR2.3v	*Luna soli coniungitur*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMA3.1	*Tunc ad sermonem*	-	Y	Y	Y
EMA3.2	*Adest mira credulitas*	-	Y	Y	Y
EMA3.3	*Fit nature propinquius*	-	Y	Y	Y
EMR3.1	*Occasum virgo*	-	Y	Y	Y
EMR3.1v	*Spiritus rapit*	-	Y	Y	Y
EMR3.2	*Thronum lucis prospexerat*	-	Y	Y	Y
EMR3.2v	*In Marie presentia*	Y*	Y	Y	Y
EMR3.3	*Elyzabeth ex opere*	Y*	Y	Y	Y
EMR3.3v	*Nullus diffidat hodie*	Y*	Y	Y	Y
ELA1	*Sacra dedit eloquia*	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELA2	*Tunc exultavit*	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELA3	*Vera humilatio*	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELA4	*Magna perfecit Dominus*	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELA5	*Maria tribus mensibus*	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELH	-	-	-	-	-
ELAB	*Adjutrix visitatio*	Y	Y	Y	Y
EV2AM	*Iesu redemptor optime*	Y	Y	Y (later hand, no notation)	Y

Siglum	14. DK-Kk 4339 8o IX	15. P-BRs Ms. 028	16. P-BRs Ms. 034	10. SK-Sk 2
EVA1	Y	Y	Y	-
EVA2	Y	Y	Y	Y
EVA3	Y	Y	Y	Y
EVA4	Y	Y	Y	Y
EVA5	Y	Y	Y	*Elizabeth congratulans**
EVR	-	*Dixit verba prophetica*	*Dixit verba prophetica*	-
EVRv	-	*Venit**	*Venit ex te*	-
EVH	*De sacro tabernaculo*	-	Y	Y*
EVAM	Y	Y	Y	Y
ECH	*In Mariam vite viam*	-	-	-
ECAN	*Gaude Maria mater* (JCAN)	-	-	*Transivit in itinere*
EMI	Y	Y	-	Y
EMH	-	*O Christ mater celica*	-	Y
EMA1.1	Y	Y	-	Y
EMA1.2	Y	Y	-	Y
EMA1.3	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR1.1	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR1.1v	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR1.2	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR1.2v	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR1.3	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR1.3v	Y	Y	-	Y
EMA2.1	Y	Y	-	Y
EMA2.2	Y	Y	-	Y*
EMA2.3	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR2.1	Y	Y	-	Y

Siglum	14. DK-Kk 4339 8o IX	15. P-BRs Ms. 028	16. P-BRs Ms. 034	10. SK-Sk 2
EMR2.1v	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR2.2	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR2.2v	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR2.3	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR2.3v	Y	Y	-	Y
EMA3.1	Y	Y	-	Y
EMA3.2	Y	Y	-	Y
EMA3.3	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR3.1	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR3.1v	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR3.2	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR3.2v	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR3.3	Y	Y	-	Y
EMR3.3v	Y	Y	-	Y
ELA1	Y	Y	-	Y
ELA2	Y	Y	-	Y
ELA3	Y	Y	-	Y
ELA4	Y	Y	-	Y
ELA5	Y	Y	-	Y
ELH	-	-	-	*De sacro tabernaculo*
ELAB	Y	Y	-	Y
EV2AM	Y	Y	-	Y

Siglum	42. AA Impr. 1495	43. A-Wda C-10	44. A-Wda D-4	45. D-FUI Aa 55	32. I-CFm XLIV
EVA1	Y	-	Y	Y	Y
EVA2	-	-	Y	Y	Y
EVA3	-	-	Y	Y	Y
EVA4	-	-	Y	Y	Y
EVA5	-	-	Y	Y	Y
EVR	*Elizabeth congratulans*	-	*Elizabeth congratulans*	*O mater montem**	-
EVRv	*En felix salutatio*	-	*En felix salutatio*	-	-
EVH	-	-	Y	Y	Y
EVAM	Y	-	Y	Y	Y
ECA				*Inter turmas virgineas**	-
ECH	-	-	-	*Servit major**	Y
ECAN	-	-	-	*Vocat hanc matrem**	*Gaude Maria mater* (JCAN)
EMI	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMH	-	-	-	-	-
EMA1.1	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMA1.2	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMA1.3	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMR1.1	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMR1.1v	-	Y	-	Y	-
EMR1.2	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMR1.2v	-	Y	-	Y	-
EMR1.3	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMR1.3v	-	Y	-	Y	-
EMA2.1	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMA2.2	-	Y	-	Y	Y

Siglum	42. AA Impr. 1495	43. A-Wda C-10	44. A-Wda D-4	45. D-FUI Aa 55	32. I-CFm XLIV
EMA2.3	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMR2.1	-	Y	-	*Adduxit in cellaria*	Y
EMR2.1v	-	Y	-	*Divinorum colloquia*	-
EMR2.2	-	Y	-	*Egressa est*	Y
EMR2.2v	-	Y	-	*Cum esset in*	-
EMR2.3	-	Y	-	*O mater montem*	Y
EMR2.3v	-	Y	-	*Ibi flos campi*	-
EMA3.1	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMA3.2	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMA3.3	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMR3.1	-	Y	-	*Cultus magnae*	Y
EMR3.1v	-	Y	-	*En amores*	-
EMR3.2	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMR3.2v	-	Y	-	Y	-
EMR3.3	-	Y	-	Y	Y
EMR3.3v	-	Y	-	Y	-
EMT	-	-	-	-	*O mater Christi veneranda* (JMT)
ELA1	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELA2	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELA3	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELA4	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELA5	-	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	42. AA Impr. 1495	43. A-Wda C-10	44. A-Wda D-4	45. D-FUI Aa 55	32. I-CFm XLIV
ELH	-	-	-	*Servit major**	-
ELAB	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
EV2AM	Y	-	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	33. I-CFm LVII	34. I-CFm XLVIII	46. NL-ZUa 6	47. SI-Lna 19 (olim 18)
EVA1	Y	Y	Y	Y
EVA2	Y	Y	Y	Y
EVA3	Y	Y	Y	Y
EVA4	Y	Y	Y	Y
EVA5	Y	Y	Y	Y
EVR	-	-	*Felix namque**	*Elizabeth ex opere**
EVRv	-	-	-	-
EVH	Y	Y	Y	Y
EVAM	Y	Y	Y	Y
ECA	-	-	-	-
ECH	Y	Y	-	-
ECAN	*Gaude Maria mater* (JCAN)	*Gaude Maria mater* (JCAN)	-	-
EMI	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMH	-	-	-	Y
EMA1.1	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMA1.2	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMA1.3	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR1.1	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR1.1v	-	-	Y	Y
EMR1.2	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR1.2v	-	-	Y	Y
EMR1.3	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR1.3v	-	-	Y	Y
EMA2.1	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMA2.2	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMA2.3	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR2.1	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR2.1v	-	-	Y	Y
EMR2.2	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	33. I-CFm LVII	34. I-CFm XLVIII	46. NL-ZUa 6	47. SI-Lna 19 (olim 18)
EMR2.2v	-	-	Y	Y
EMR2.3	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR2.3v	-	-	Y	Y
EMA3.1	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMA3.2	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMA3.3	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR3.1	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR3.1v	-	-	Y	Y
EMR3.2	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR3.2v	-	-	Y	Y
EMR3.3	Y	Y	Y	Y
EMR3.3v	-	-	Y	Y
EMT	*O mater Christi veneranda* (JMT)	*O mater Christi veneranda* (JMT)	-	-
ELA1	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELA2	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELA3	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELA4	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELA5	Y	Y	Y	Y
ELH	-	-	-	-
ELAB	Y	Y	Y	Y
EV2AM	Y	Y	Y	Y

Appendix Six: Versification and rhyme schemes for *Exurgens autem Maria*

Table showing versification and rhyme schemes for original texted chants within Jenštejn's office. As the biblical quotations have neither versification nor rhyme scheme, they are not included within this Appendix. Chants which include both biblical quotations and original text are given.

The concluding alleluia in each antiphon or responsory is treated in two different ways within Jenštejn's office, as discussed in Chapter Six. In some chants, the alleluia is integral to both the rhyme scheme and versification; in others, it appears to be entirely separate from the rest of the text. The fourth column in the table indicates whether the alleluia is included within the rhyme and metric schemes.

Chant ID	Rhyme scheme	Versification	Alleluia included?
VH	various: abab/aabb/aaaa	8 8 8 8	-
VAM	None	7 11 16 9 11	included
CH	various: aabb/aaaa	8 8 8 8	-
CAN	aabb	9 14 8 12	not included
MI[1]	None	7 7 8 7	included
MI[2]	abab	8 7 8 7	not included
MA1.1	None	5 6 7 7 7	included
MA1.2	aaaa	8 8 7 4	included
MA1.3	abbb	8 8 8 8	not included
MR1.2	None	6 5 6 7	not included
MR1.3	None	5 6 7 10 8	not included
MR1.3v	aa	9 9	-
MA2.1	aab	8 8 7	not included
MA2.2	abab	8 8 8 8	not included
MA2.3	abbc	7 7 5 7	not included
MR2.2	aabb	5 5 9 9	included

MR2.2v	aa	10 9	-
MR2.3	aabbc'ddeecc	8 8 8 8 7 8 8 4 4 8 4	included
MR2.3v	aab	9 8 7	-
MR2.4	aabb	11 12 6 8	not included
MA3.1	aabccba	7 4 6 8 7 6 4	included
MA3.2	aabc	8 8 8 8	not included
MA3.3	abcb	6 7 5 8	not included
MR3.1	aabb	7 8 8 8	not included
JMT	abab cdcd efef ghgh	8 7 8 7 8 7 8 7 8 7 8 7 8 7 8 7	not included
LA1	None	10 9 8	included
LA2	aaa	9 8 9	included
LH	various: aaaa/aabb	8 8 8 8	-
V2AM	aabbcc	7 8 7 8 7 4	included

Appendix Seven: Source concordances for *Franciscus vir catholicus*

Table showing Julian of Speyer's office *Franciscus vir catholicus* for St Francis of Assisi in sources across Europe.[453] I have also included the editions by Dreves and Weis.[454] Incipits for each chant are given in full for the first manuscript only. For following manuscripts, Y indicates that the source gives the same chant as the primary manuscript (Ms CH-Fco2) in that position and a dash (-) indicates that the source does not give a chant in that position. Where there is a different chant in that position, the full incipit is given.

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[453] Ms CH-Fco 2: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123672>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms Dk-Kk 3449 8o XII: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123700>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms CH-SGs 388: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123750>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms US-Cn 24: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123671>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms D-Ma 12o Cmm 1: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123673>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms US-CHNbcbl 097: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/656252>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms I-Rvat lat. 8737: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123676>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms H-Bu lat. 121: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123599>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms NL-Zua 6: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123648>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms I-Nn vi.E.20: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123674>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms PL-KIk 1: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123736>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms I-Ad 5: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123675>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms CDN-Mlr 111: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/676545>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms US-Nycub Barnard 1: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/683940>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms A-Wda C-10: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123644>, last accessed 17 January 2021.
Ms US-Nycub Plimpton 34: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/604043>, last accessed 17 January 2021.

[454] Guido Maria Dreves, 'De sancto Francisco', *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 5 (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1886), pp. 175-179.
J. E. Weis, 'In festo S. Francisci confessoris', *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier*, pp.i-xxi.

Siglum	CH-Fco2	DK-Kk 3449 8o XII	CH-SGs 388	US-Cn 24	D-Ma 12o Cmm 1
Date	13th-14th C	1575-1600	12th C, 14th C additions	13th C	13th C (after 1235)
Provenance	Unknown	Augsberg Cathedral	St Gall	Central Italy	Central Italy
Folios	211v-217r	36v-75r	439-448	212r-216r	281-285
Notes	Franciscan antiphonal			Franciscan antiphonal	Franciscan antiphonal
SVA1	*Franciscus vir catholicus*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SVA2	*Cepit sub Innocentio*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SVA3	*Hunc sanctus*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SVA4	*Franciscus evangelium*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SVA5	*Hic creaturis*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SVR	-	*De paupertatis*	*Euntes inquit*	-	-
SVRv	-	*Pro paupertatis*	*Sic curis*	-	-
SVH	-	*Decus morum*	*Proles de celo*	*Proles de celo*	*Proles de celo*
SVAM	*O stupor et gaudium*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMI	*Regi qui fecit*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMH	-	-	*In celesti collegio*	*In celesti collegio*	*In celesti collegio*
SMA1.1	*Hic vir in*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMA1.2	*Excelsi dextere*	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	CH-Fco2	DK-Kk 3449 8o XII	CH-SGs 388	US-Cn 24	D-Ma 12o Cmm 1
SMA1.3	*Mansuescit sed*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR1.1	*Franciscus ut in*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR1.1v	*Deum quid agat*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR1.2	*In Dei fervens*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR1.2v	*Quam formidante*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR1.3	*Dum pater*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR1.3v	*Luto saxis*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMA2.1	*Pertractum domi*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMA2.2	*Iam liber patris*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMA2.3	*Ductus ad loci*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.1	*Dum seminudo*	*Amicum querit*	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.1v	*Audit in nivis*	*Sub typo*	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.2	*Amicum querit*	*Audit in evangelio*	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.2v	*Sub typo trium*	*Non utens*	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.3	*Audit in evangelio*	*Carnis spicam*	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.3v	*Non utens virga*	*Vivo pani morte*	Y	Y	Y
SMA3.1	*Cor verbis nove*	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	CH-Fco2	DK-Kk 3449 8o XII	CH-SGs 388	US-Cn 24	D-Ma 12o Cmm 1
SMA3.2	Pacem salutem	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMA3.3	Ut novis sanctis	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR3.1	Carnis spicam	Sex fratrum	De paupertatis	Y	Y
SMR3.1v	Vivo pani morte	Quadrans quoque	Pro paupertatis	Y	Y
SMR3.2	De paupertatis	Arcana suis	Sex fratrum	Y	Y
SMR3.2v	Pro paupertatis	Grex procidit	Quadrans quoque	Y	Y
SMR3.3	Sex fratrum	Euntes inquit	Arcana suis	Y	Y
SMR3.3v	Quadrans quoque	Sic curis	Grex procidit	Y	Y
SMR3.4	Arcana suis	-	-	Y	Y
SMR3.4v	Grex procidit	-	-	Y	Y
SMR3.5	Euntes inquit	-	-	Y	Y
SMR3.5v	Sic curis	-	-	Y	Y
SMR3.6	Regressis quos	-	-	Y	Y
SMR3.6v	In vina Franciscus	-	-	Y	Y
SLA1	Sanctus Franciscus	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLA2	Hinc predicando	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLA3	Tres ordines	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLA4	Doctus doctrine	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	CH-Fco2	DK-Kk 3449 8o XII	CH-SGs 388	US-Cn 24	D-Ma 12o Cmm 1
SLA5	*Laudans laudare*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLH	-	-	*Plande turba*	*Plande turba*	*Plande turba*
SLAB	*O martyr desiderio*	Y	Y	Y	Y
SV2A	-	-	-	*Sanctus Franciscus*	-
SV2H	-	-	*Decus morum*	-	*Decus morum*
SV2R	-	*Regressis quos*	*Carnis spicam*	-	-
SV2Rv	-	*In vina Franciscus*	*Vino pani morte*	-	-
SV2AM	*O virum mirabilem*	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	US-CHNbcbl 097	I-Rvat lat. 8737	H-Bu lat. 121	NL-Zua 6	I-Nn vi.E.20
Date	14th C	13th C (after 1232)	14th C	1st half of 15th C	2nd half of 13th C
Provenance	Unknown (South Germany?)	Central Italy	Unknown	Zutphen	Central Italy
Folios	59r-67r	250r-258r	26v-41r	230r-247r	398v-408r
Notes	Franciscan antiphonal	Franciscan antiphonal	Franciscan antiphonal		Franciscan antiphonal
SVA1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SVA2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SVA3	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SVA4	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SVA5	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SVR	-	-	-	-	-
SVRv	-	-	-	-	-
SVH	*Proles de celo*	*Proles de celo*	-	*Decus morum*	-
SVAM	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SMI	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SMH	*In celesti collegio*	*In celesti collegio*	-	-	-
SMA1.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SMA1.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SMA1.3	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SMR1.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SMR1.1v	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SMR1.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SMR1.2v	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SMR1.3	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
SMR1.3v	Y	Y	Y	Y	-

Siglum	US-CHNbcbl 097	I-Rvat lat. 8737	H-Bu lat. 121	NL-Zua 6	I-Nn vi.E.20
SMA2.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMA2.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMA2.3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.1v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.2v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.3v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMA3.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMA3.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMA3.3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR3.1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR3.1v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR3.2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR3.2v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR3.3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR3.3v	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMR3.4	Y	Y	Y	-	Y
SMR3.4v	Y	Y	Y	-	Y
SMR3.5	Y	Y	Y	-	Y
SMR3.5v	Y	Y	Y	-	Y
SMR3.6	Y	Y	Y	-	Y
SMR3.6v	Y	Y	Y	-	Y
SLA1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLA2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLA3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLA4	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLA5	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLH	*Plande turba*	*Plande turba*	-	*Decus morum*	*Plaude turba*

Siglum	US-CHNbcbl 097	I-Rvat lat. 8737	H-Bu lat. 121	NL-Zua 6	I-Nn vi.E.20
SLAB	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SV2A	-	*Sanctus Franciscus*	*Sanctus Franciscus*	-	-
SV2H	-	*Decus morum*	*Decus morum*	-	-
SV2R	-	-	-	-	-
SV2Rv	-	-	-	-	-
SV2AM	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	PL-KIk 1	I-Ad 5	CDN-Mlr 111	US-Nycub Barnard 1	A-Wda C-10
Date	1372	13th C (after 1235)	1st half of 16th C	Unknown	15th C
Provenance	Kielce	Central Italy	Unknown	Unknown	Kirnberg
Folios	235v-238v	433-441	30-31 and 183-184	108r-125v	232v-235r
Notes		Franciscan antiphonal	Franciscan Antiphonal		Only Vespers and Lauds
SVA1	Salve sancte	Y	Y	Y	Y
SVA2	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
SVA3	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
SVA4	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
SVA5	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
SVR	*De paupertatis*	-	-	-	*De paupertatis*
SVRv	*Pro paupertatis*	-	-	-	*De paupertatis*
SVH	*Proles de celo*	-	-	*Proles de celo*	*Decus morum*
SVAM	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SMI	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMH	*In celesti collegio*	-	-	-	-
SMA1.1	Y	-	Y	Y	-
SMA1.2	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMA1.3	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMR1.1	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMR1.1v	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMR1.2	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMR1.2v	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMR1.3	Y	-	-	Y	-

Siglum	PL-KIk 1	I-Ad 5	CDN-Mlr 111	US-Nycub Barnard 1	A-Wda C-10
SMR1.3v	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMA2.1	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMA2.2	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMA2.3	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMR2.1	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMR2.1v	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMR2.2	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMR2.2v	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMR2.3	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMR2.3v	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMA3.1	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMA3.2	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMA3.3	Y	-	-	Y	-
SMR3.1	Y	*De paupertatis*	-	Y	-
SMR3.1v	Y	*Pro paupertatis*	-	Y	-
SMR3.2	*Arcana suis*	-	-	Y	-
SMR3.2v	*Grex procidit*	-	-	Y	-
SMR3.3	*Euntes inquit*	-	-	Y	-
SMR3.3v	*Sic curis*	-	-	Y	-
SMR3.4	-	-	-	Y	-
SMR3.4v	-	-	-	Y	-
SMR3.5	-	-	-	Y	-
SMR3.5v	-	-	-	Y	-
SMR3.6	-	-	-	Y	-
SMR3.6v	-	-	-	Y	-
SLA1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLA2	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLA3	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLA4	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	PL-KIk 1	I-Ad 5	CDN-Mlr 111	US-Nycub Barnard 1	A-Wda C-10
SLA5	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SLH	*Plaude turba*	-	-	*Plaude turba*	-
SLAB	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SV2A	-	-	-	-	-
SV2H	-	-	-	*Decus morum*	-
SV2R	-	-	-	-	-
SV2Rv	-	-	-	-	-
SV2AM	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Siglum	US-Nycub Plimpton 34	Dreves' *Analecta Hymnica 5*	Weis' *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier*
Date	14th C	-	-
Provenance	Unknown	-	-
Folios	18r-20r	175-179	i-xxi
Notes	Franciscan antiphonal	Compilation	Compilation
SVA1	-	Y	Y
SVA2	-	Y	Y
SVA3	-	Y	Y
SVA4	-	Y	Y
SVA5	-	Y	Y
SVR	-	-	-
SVRv	-	-	-
SVH	-	-	*Proles de celo*
SVAM	Y	Y	Y
SMI	-	Y	Y
SMH	-	-	*In celesti collegio*
SMA1.1	-	Y	Y
SMA1.2	-	Y	Y
SMA1.3	-	Y	Y
SMR1.1	-	Y	Y
SMR1.1v	-	Y	Y
SMR1.2	-	Y	Y
SMR1.2v	-	Y	Y
SMR1.3	-	Y	Y
SMR1.3v	-	Y	Y
SMA2.1	-	Y	Y
SMA2.2	-	Y	Y
SMA2.3	-	Y	Y
SMR2.1	-	Y	Y
SMR2.1v	-	Y	Y

Siglum	US-Nycub Plimpton 34	Dreves' *Analecta Hymnica 5*	Weis' *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier*
SMR2.2	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.2v	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.3	Y	Y	Y
SMR2.3v	Y	Y	Y
SMA3.1	-	Y	Y
SMA3.2	-	Y	Y
SMA3.3	-	Y	Y
SMR3.1	-	Y	Y
SMR3.1v	-	Y	Y
SMR3.2	-	Y	Y
SMR3.2v	-	Y	Y
SMR3.3	-	-	Y
SMR3.3v	-	-	Y
SMR3.4	-	-	Y
SMR3.4v	-	-	Y
SMR3.5	-	-	Y
SMR3.5v	-	-	Y
SMR3.6	-	-	Y
SMR3.6v	-	-	Y
SLA1	-	Y	Y
SLA2	-	Y	Y
SLA3	-	Y	Y
SLA4	-	Y	Y
SLA5	Y	Y	Y
SLH	-	-	-
SLAB	-	Y	Y
SV2A	-	-	-
SV2H	-	-	*Decus morum*
SV2R	-	-	-
SV2Rv	-	-	-
SV2AM	-	Y	Y

Appendix Eight: Versification comparison between *Accedunt laudes virginis* and *Franciscus vir catholicus*

Table showing a comparison between the versification and rhyme schemes of Julian of Speyer's office for St Francis of Assisi (*Franciscus vir catholicus*) and Easton's office for the Visitation of the Virgin Mary (*Accedunt laudes virginis*).

Chants where the music was not based on the office of St Francis of Assisi are greyed in the table but the versification and rhyme schemes of both offices are still noted. One exception is Easton's antiphon for the *Benedictus* at Lauds (LAB – *Adjutrix visitatio*) which was based on Speyer's antiphon for the *Magnificat* at second Vespers (V2AM – *O virum mirabilem*). In this case the comparison is shown between *Adjutrix visitatio* and *O virum mirabilem* rather than the corresponding chant in Speyer's *Franciscus vir catholicus*. The corresponding chants are then given below separately.

Assonances are indicated by an apostrophe places after the rhyme indicator: for example, a'.

Chant	St Francis of Assisi	Visitation
VA1	887 887 aab ccb	887 887 aab ccb
VA2	887 887 aab ccb	887 887 aab ccb
VA3	887 887 aab ccb	887 887 aab ccb
VA4	887 [8/9]97 [455] aab ccb	887 887 aab ccb
VA5	887 887 aab ccb	887 887 aab ccb
VH	448 448 aab ccb	448 448 aab ccb

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[455] Manuscript variation in fourth line: *nil iugo Christi suavius*. MS CH-Fco 2, for example, gives four notes to *su-a-vi-us*, breaking it up into four syllables, whereas MS Dk-Kk 4339 8o XII gives only three: *sua-vi-us* and therefore only three syllables.

VAM	7876 7876 7876 7876	8888 8888
	aabc ddbc eefg hhfg	a'aba c'cac [456]
CH	8888	8888
	abab	aabb
MI	87 87	8888
	ab ab	abcb
MA1.1	87 87	887 887
	ab ab	aab ccb
MA1.2	87 87	887 887
	ab ab	aab ccb
MA1.3	87 87	888 888
	ab ab	aab ccb
MR1.1	87 87 87	888 887
	ab ab ab	aa'b ccb
V	887	887
	aab	dde
MR1.2	87 87 87	887 888
	ab ab ab	aab ccb
V	887	8887
	aab	dddb
MR1.3	87 87 87	887 887
	ab ab ab	aab ccb
V	887	887
	aab	ddb
MA2.1	87 87	888 887
	ab ab	aab ccb
MA2.2	87 87	887 887
	ab ab	aab ccb
MA2.3	87 87	887 887
	ab ab	a'ab aab

---

[456] *ratio*, *nato*, *penumatis*, *dato*, *Dominum*, *latentem*, *jubilo*, *venientem*. In each four-line section, the second and fourth rhyme (*ato* and *entem*) while the first is only assonant with these rhymes, giving a similar vowel sound in the last syllable.

MR2.1	887 887	887 887
	abc abc	aab ccb
V	887	887
	abc	ddb
MR2.2	887 887	887 887
	abc abc	aab ccb
V	887	887
	abc	ddb
MR2.3	887 887	887 887
	abc abc	aab aab
V	887	887
	abc	aab
MA3.1	87 87	887 887
	ab ab	aab ccb
MA3.2	87 87	887 887
	ab ab	aab ccb
MA3.3	87 87	887 887
	ab ab	aab ccb
MR3.1	10 10 10 10	887 887
	aaa'a	aab aab
V	88	887
	bb	ccb
MR3.2	88 88 88	887 887
	ab cb cb	aab ccb
V	88 88	887
	dd ed	ddb
MR3.3 [457]	787 887	887 887
	aaa aaa	aab ccb
V	787	887
	aaa	aab

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[457] This chant is not always found in this position in the office of St Francis of Assisi. See Table 24 in Chapter Seven for more detail.

LA1	887 887 aab ccb	887 887 aab ccb
LA2	887 887 aab ccb	887 887 aab ccb
LA3	887 887 aab ccb	887 887 aab ccb
LA4	887 887 aab ccb	887 887 aab ccb
LA5	887 887 aab ccb	887 887 887 887 887 aab' ccb ddb eeb ffb
Easton LAB St Francis V2AM	7786 876 7886 776 abbc ddc aeef ggf	887 887 887 887 aab ccb dde ffe
St Francis LAB	88886 88886 88886 aabbc dedfc gegfc	
Easton V2AM		887 887 887 aab ccd eed'
Libera me domine	7765 a'aba	

Appendix Nine: Source chants for *Accedunt laudes virginis*

Table showing the source chant for the melody of Easton's Visitation chants. Chants where the melody is not based on the corresponding chant in Speyer's office for St Francis of Assisi are greyed out. If a chant is a contrafact of a non-corresponding Speyer chant, the position of the source melody in Speyer's office is noted.

Chant	Easton chant incipit	Speyer chant incipit	Other office chant incipit and origin
VA1	*Accedunt laudes virginis*	*Franciscus vir catholicus*	-
VA2	*Divo repletur munere*	*Cepit sub Innocentio*	-
VA3	*Accendit ardor spiritus*	*Hunc sanctus*	-
VA4	*Monstrans culmen*	*Franciscus evangelium*	-
VA5	*Carisma sancti spiritus*	*Hic creaturis*	-
VH	*In Mariam vite viam*	-	-
VAM	*Acceleratur ratio*	*O stupor et gaudium*	-
CH	*O Christi mater celica*	*In celesti colegio*	-
MI	*Reginam celi Mariam*	*Regi qui fecit*	-
MA1.1	*De celo velut*	*Hic vir in vanitatibus*	-
MA1.2	*Inter turmas femineas*	*Excelsi dextere*	-
MA1.3	*Vocat hanc matrem*	*Mansuescit sed*	-
MR1.1 V	*Surgens Maria gravida* *Ut audivit Elyzabeth*	*Franciscus ut in* *Deum quid agat*	- -
MR1.2 V	*Dixit verba prophetica* *Venit ex te sanctissimus*	*In Dei fervens* *Quam formidante*	- -
MR1.3 V	*Elyzabeth congratulans* *En felix salutatio*	*Dum pater hunc* *Luto saxis*	- -
MA2.1	*Non fuit Christus*	*Pertractum domi*	-
MA2.2	*Transivit in itinere*	*Iam liber patris*	-
MA2.3	*Longam viam*	*Ductus ad loci*	-
MR2.1	*Maria parens filios*	*Dum seminudo*	-

V	*Elyzabeth quesierat*	*Audit in nivis*	-
MR2.2	*Rosa de spinis*	*Amicum querit*	-
V	*Miranda salutatio*	*Sub typo trium*	-
MR2.3	*Stella sub nube*	*Audit in evangelio*	-
V	*Luna soli coniungitur*	*Non utems virga*	-
MA3.1	*Tunc ad sermonem*	*Cor verbis nove*	-
MA3.2	*Adest mira credulitas*	*Pacem salutem*	-
MA3.3	*Fit nature propinquius*	*Ut novis sanctis*	-
MR3.1	*Occasum virgo*	*Carnis spicam*	-
V	*Spiritus rapit*	*Vivo pani morte*	-
MR3.2	*Thronum lucis prospexerat*	*De paupertatis*	-
V	*In Marie presentia*	-	-
MR3.3	*Elyzabeth ex opere*	*Euntes inquit*	-
V	*Nullus diffidat hodie*	*Sic curris cor*	-
LA1	*Sacra dedit eloquia*	*Sancte Franciscus*	-
LA2	*Tunc exultavit*	*Hic predicando*	-
LA3	*Vera humilatio*	*Tres ordines*	-
LA4	*Magna perfecit Dominus*	*Doctus doctrine*	-
LA5	*Maria tribus mensibus*	*Laudus laudare*	-
LAB	Adjutrix visitatio	O virum mirabilem (SV2AM)	-
V2AM	*Iesu redemptor optime*	-	*Libera me domine* (various offices)

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