

# THE MEDIEVAL OFFICES OF SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS



*Hilkka-Liisa Vuori, Marika Räsänen and Seppo Heikkinen*





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Cover illustration: The beginning of St Thomas's *Translatio*. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale  
Augusta, ms. 2799, f. 157<sup>R</sup>. Photo by courtesy of the library.

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# Contents

7	List of images
9	Acknowledgements
11	Key to abbreviations
13	Introduction
24	Manuscript sources
Part I	Thomas and his rhymed offices
45	A short history of liturgical festivities
57	A structure of rhymed offices
63	Playing with language
Part II	Analyses of the chants and liturgy
69	Musical and notational differences in the sources
79	Melismacy
83	Modality in music and text
104	Obedience through modes
107	Verse form and expressivity
Part III	Chants of the offices
117	Chants of <i>Dies natalis</i>
159	Chants of <i>Translatio</i>
Part IV	Sensory experience in the liturgies
195	<i>Dies natalis</i> : From celebrated doctor to perfumed body
215	A landscape view of the office of the <i>Translatio</i>
226	Two bodies presented together in Thomas's feasts
237	Conclusions
243	Bibliography
243	Manuscripts
244	Edited sources
245	Research literature

## 255 Appendices

255 Appendix 1. List of incipits

258 Appendix 2. Table of chants and their modes

260 Appendix 3. Table of melismacy in the great responsories

261 Appendix 4. List of verse form by chant

268 Appendix 5. The chants of Nocturns in Dominic's *Dies natalis*

283 Appendix 6. Translations of the chants: English, French, Finnish

## 309 Abstract



## List of images

1. The beginning of St Thomas's *Dies natalis*. Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe (Cuttings collection), inv. 22032 Venezia, © Fondazione Giorgio Cini.

2. The beginning of the great responsory *Sancti viri*. Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale (Les Dominicains de Colmar), ms. 309 f. 265<sup>v</sup>. (Photo by courtesy of the library, taken by the IRHT.)

3. The beginning of St Thomas's *Translatio*. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, ms. 2799, f. 157<sup>r</sup>. (Photo by courtesy of the library.)

4. The beginning of St Thomas's *Dies natalis*. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta ms. 2799, f. 45<sup>r</sup>. (Photo by courtesy of the library.)

5. The end of St Thomas's *Dies natalis* and the beginning of his *Translatio*. Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale (Les Dominicains de Colmar), ms. 309, f. 270<sup>v</sup>. (Photo by courtesy of the library, taken by the IRHT.)

6. The beginning of the great responsory *Sancti viri*. Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale (Les Dominicains de Colmar), ms. 310, f. 227<sup>v</sup>. (Photo by courtesy of the library, taken by the IRHT.)

7. The beginning of the great responsory *Sancti viri*. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, ms. 2791, f. 89<sup>v</sup>. (Photo by courtesy of the library.)

8. The beginning of the great responsory *Sancti viri*. The preaching of St Thomas. Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe (Cuttings collection), inv. 22033 Venezia, © Fondazione Giorgio Cini.

9. The beginning of St Thomas's *Translatio*. St Thomas in the cathedra in the initial O; Frater Aldobrandinus da Ferrara OP genuflecting; St Thomas praying. Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe (Cuttings collection), inv. 22049 Venezia, © Fondazione Giorgio Cini.



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## Key to abbreviations

### Key to abbreviations for manuscripts

A	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France – Bibliothèque l'Arsenal
B	Bologna, Biblioteca dei domenicani
C	Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale
Ca	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense
Ch	Chantilly, Musée Condé
<i>Codex Humberticus</i>	Rome, Santa Sabina ms. XIV L1
D	Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
L	London, British Library
Ma	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine
Me	Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, 'The Poissy antiphonary'
O	Orvieto, Archivio del Duomo
P	Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta
Ross	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossiani
T	Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale
V	Venice, Fondazione Cini
Vat. lat.	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus latinus

### Key to abbreviations for edited sources

<i>Alia historia</i>	<i>Alia historia transationis corporis S. Thomae</i>
<i>Annales</i>	Ptolemy of Lucca, <i>Annales</i>
ASOP	<i>Antiphonarium Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum</i>
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
<i>Fossanova</i>	<i>Processus canonizationis S. Thomae, Fossanova</i>

<i>Historia</i>	Raymundus Hugonis, <i>Historia translationis corporis S. Thomae translationis</i>
<i>Legenda</i>	Bernard Gui, <i>Legenda sancti Thomae</i>
MOPH	<i>Acta capitulorum generalium</i>
<i>Neapoli</i>	<i>Processus canonizationis S. Thomae, Neapoli</i>
<i>Rationale</i>	William Durand, <i>Rationale</i>
<i>Ystoria</i>	William of Tocco, <i>Ystoria sancti Thome de Aquino de Guillaume de Tocco</i>

# Introduction

Singing and listening are central to sensory experience. Singing can be a powerful experience for both the listener and the singers themselves. Singing is about hearing and feeling the resonance of the sound in the body, and it stimulates the imagination through melodies and words. Medieval Dominican singers used their choir books, antiphonaries and graduals when they participated in the daily office and the mass. The notation of the books and their pictorial decoration enabled chanting and perceiving the presence of the saint in question.<sup>1</sup> The combination of the melodies, words and images is strongly emotional, having the capacity to transform the mood of a person and the environment of the church, metaphorically transporting singers and listeners to the spiritual realm of the saint, as we hope to demonstrate through Thomas's liturgies.<sup>2</sup> Liturgical chants had a great potential to convey devotional and even political messages: the different sensorial stimuli of the liturgy made them attainable and understandable to everyone

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1 Our studies have been inspired by Jeffrey Hamburger and his colleagues' skilful research, among other things, on the Dominican nuns of Paradise of Soest. They have demonstrated how liturgical books and magnificently illuminated graduals, in particular, powerfully illustrate the sisters' identity. See Hamburger 2008; Hamburger and Schlotheuber 2014; Hamburger *et al.* 2016. On liturgical books and their stimuli in general, see Palazzo 2010 and 2016. There is a vast literature on medieval images and objects and the ways in which they offered a point of departure for meditation. Methodologically, our thinking regarding the medieval understanding and uses of images is based on such classics as Carruthers 2000 and Baschet 2008. On the image as a devotional aid for making contact with the invisible reality they represented, see the most recent and relevant collections of papers from our approach: Jurkowlaniec, Matyjaszkiewicz and Sarnecka 2018; Laugerud, Ryan and Skinnebach 2016.

2 Thomas Aquinas himself addressed the power of liturgy in several writings and emphasized, for example, the ways in which the sacrifice in the mass was a true partaking in the sacrifice on the cross. For a brief exposition of Thomas's "theology of liturgy", see Berger 2005. In many ways, a starting point for our study is Éric Palazzo's book, published in 2014, in the introduction of which he states that, in the Middle Ages, performing the liturgical rite reified the history it represented. In our words, in the liturgy a holy and invisible reality was perceived through the senses, that is, in the sensorial processes of the liturgy in which we are interested.

in medieval communities, without making a sharp distinction between religious and secular audiences. The political nature of the message of the liturgy and the extent of its diffusion are not fully recognized outside the field of liturgical studies.<sup>3</sup> Our argument is that both the devotional and political aspects were deliberately taken into consideration when Thomas's *Dies natalis* and *Translatio* offices were prepared even when changes in notation were carried out.

The veneration of saints is expressed in liturgy, its rituals and chants. Written music provides some of the best surviving evidence of this veneration. It was sung and heard in medieval churches so that it echoed around the interior of the structure, the atmosphere increased using gestures, scents, images and relics. In this study, we focus on the relationship between the music and the text in St Thomas Aquinas's medieval offices, but we also make some remarks on graduals used in the mass.<sup>4</sup> To answer our main question, we ask, for example, the following sub-questions: What kind of melodies and texts were sung in the offices of Thomas Aquinas? How did the melody express the meaning of the text? The musicological interest lies in the details: what can be said about the variation in the melodies and notations of the different sources? Not only the music but also the words, their meanings and expressiveness as well as verse technique, are closely considered in this study. The significance of melismacy is examined from both a textual and a melodic point of view. Melismacy is the number of notes divided by the number of syllables. The notation and words are connected to the larger background of Thomas Aquinas's life, his *post mortem* veneration and the cults of Dominican saints. First and foremost, however, the present book is a critical edition of musical manuscripts. The book is

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3 For an interesting overview of liturgy and music, with some considerations regarding its political uses, see Boynton 2009, and for the political uses of liturgy in medieval Tuscany in particular, see Brand 2014. The political functions of relics and of feasts organized for them are often explicit in medieval sources, so the political aspects of the offices composed to remember these events are better recognized in scholarship. A good study on the politics of relics, if not exactly on the liturgy, is Bozòky 2006.

4 A liturgy of a saint's feast consists of two elements: an office and a mass.



also “chantable”: variant readings of the chants are supplied in the footnotes for the use of scholars and performers alike.

Our study is a combination of musicological, philological and historical approaches, the aim of which is to grasp the sensory experiences that enveloped the participant in a medieval liturgy. After an overview of Thomas’s rhymed offices in Part One, we proceed to their musical and textual analyses with a particular emphasis on melismacy and modality in Part Two. All the chants of both offices are presented in Part Three in a critical edition. In the last chapter, we explore more broadly the creation of sensory experience, drawing on our previous analyses, with an additional observation of visual, spatial and tactile elements. When analysing the offices, we have used traditional methods of musical and textual paleography as well as codicology and philology, comparing both external and internal aspects of our sources. We have examined the notational differences between our sources, reflecting on their textual content and modal continuity. Our observations on such ostensibly formal features as orthography and verse technique have also provided us with valuable data on the meaning of the texts as well as their historical context. The examination of the poetry of the offices has special value, as this is an innovative approach in liturgical studies.<sup>5</sup>

Thomas’s medieval offices, one for his feast day of *Dies natalis* on 7 March (the day when the saint died and was believed to have been born into the celestial life), the other celebrating the *Translatio* of his remains to Toulouse on 28 January, have received little recent attention from scholars.<sup>6</sup> The *Dies natalis* is the more studied of the

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5 Our most meaningful source in understanding the modality of saints’ offices has been Dom Daniel Saulnier’s book on the modes (2002). His characterizations of chants are based on the work of medieval music theorists and practical knowledge of the modality of chants. Our most important source for the understanding of notation has been Dom Eugéné Cardine’s handbook on Gregorian Semiology. In this study, as well as these two handbooks on musical terminology, the following classics on Gregorian chant have also been useful on the structure of the liturgy and chants: Apel 1958; Hughes 2004a; Hughes 2004b; Hiley 1993.

6 In the process of the research and understanding of Dominican liturgy, important works and a framework for this study have been Hughes 2004a and Smith 2014. In general, on the Divine Office and its history, and especially on the lessons for the Office, see

two as a part of the *sanctorale* of the liturgy of the Order of Preachers (also called the Dominican Order) or it has been included in the case studies of the liturgy of specific convents.<sup>7</sup> In both cases, the analysis of the office has remained narrow. Often scholars bring up a sentence of the General Chapter of the Order in 1334 that refers to the musical and textual failure of the office, unfortunately without any deeper analysis of its meaning or intention. How might the office have failed and what improvements were needed? The office of the *Translatio* has been studied even less. Studies commonly repeat the remarks made by William Bonniwell, who considers it “a very mediocre one”, referring to the repeated instructions to copy the new feast into the liturgical books of the Order.<sup>8</sup> The research situation concerning the prose texts, the lessons of Matins of both feasts, is considerably better than that for the other parts of the offices, as there have been recent studies on the subject. Historians over the decades have examined the various hagiographical narratives of Thomas’s *post mortem* life, but not yet extensively in detail.<sup>9</sup>

The primary comparative material of our research is the office for St Dominic’s *Dies natalis*. Dominic (died in 1221; canonized in 1234) was the founding father of the Order of Preachers and so became the most important model for its successive saints. The secondary comparative material consists of the general context of the Dominican liturgy, to which both Thomas’s feasts and Dominic’s *Dies natalis* belonged. We have not found noteworthy common features between Dominican Offices other than those shared by Thomas’s *Translatio* and Dominic’s

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the classic study of Salmon 1959, 135–191. The saints’ offices have not been extensively studied, although some very enlightening research has been done on them: see especially Heffernan 2005; Reames 2005, and most recently Brand 2014. On Dominican liturgy on a general level, see Bonniwell 1945. So far, his book is the most complete presentation of the topic, although no longer satisfactory. On the history of the Dominican Order, see Hinnebusch 1965–1973.

7 On the studies of the liturgy of the specific convents, see, for example, Giraud 2015; Stinson 1993, and as a part of the Dominican *sanctorale*, see Räsänen 2012.

8 Bonniwell 1945, 236.

9 The most authoritative study of Thomas’s *Life* today is Torrell 1993. Weisheipl 1983 is also important. On recent studies, see especially Mews 2009a, 2009b and 2016; Richards 2016; Räsänen 2016 and 2017.

*Dies natalis*.<sup>10</sup> The close connection of Thomas and the Corpus Christi feast becomes clear in several aspects of the liturgies. St Dominic's *Dies natalis* is the oldest Office for a Dominican saint. A version of the Office is included in the ms. XIV L1 (known also as *Codex Humberticus*), today lodged in the Dominican general archives in Rome. A microfilm copy has been placed at our disposal. In this codex, Dominic's *Dies natalis* is reformed according to the wishes of Humbert of Romans, the Master of the Order in 1254–1263.<sup>11</sup> Humbert possibly intended Dominic's *Dies natalis* as a model for the rhymed offices in the Dominican liturgy. The codex contains the Dominican liturgy as it existed in about 1254.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to the medieval music and manuscript sources, we have studied a printed Dominican antiphonary, *Antiphonarium Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum pro diurnis horis* (hereafter ASOP), to obtain an idea of modern Dominican preference regarding the chant melodies.<sup>13</sup> ASOP includes 12 chants, which all originate from Thomas's medieval *Dies natalis*. Of the 12 chants, six are similar to the manuscript of Orvieto, which is used in this study. The other six chants are similar to chants in five different manuscripts: the resemblances between them to be

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10 Other feasts for the Dominican saints approved by the end of the fourteenth century are Dominic's *Translatio* and Peter Martyr's *Dies natalis* and *Translatio*. But, as already stated, there are no musical connections between these feasts and Thomas's two offices. St Dominic's *Dies natalis*, however, has links of a different type to several medieval offices of saints, such as those of Thomas of Canterbury and Francis, discovered by Hughes - see his article 2004a, 291 - and even with a Scandinavian King Erik, see *Antifonarium Liber Cappelle Charis Loyo*, Gu I:3 ff. 55<sup>v</sup>–58<sup>v</sup> and Räsänen, Heikkinen and Vuori 2017. Bonniwell has also claimed that the music of the office of *Visitatio* is borrowed from Dominic's *Dies natalis*, but our sources do not confirm this argument. See Bonniwell 1945, 232.

11 Humbert's greatest task as Master was to reorganize and unify the liturgy of the Order. He got down to business vigorously and it seems that the revisions were finished by 1256. On the Dominican liturgy on a general level, see Bonniwell 1945, and esp. 85–86. On the Dominican Masters and their tasks, Hinnebusch 1965.

12 For more about the intended original, see Hughes 1983, 31.

13 In the Dominican breviaries included among the first printed books, for example in Venice (without musical notes), the texts of Thomas's feasts remained basically the same as in the earlier manuscripts. In some cases the *Dies natalis* is presented in a shorter form, given only the beginnings of different elements of the daily service. The *Translatio* is normally fully given. The Council of Trent brought more changes to Thomas's cult; the topic is not explored further here as it deserves its own study.

indicated at the appropriate place in the volume.<sup>14</sup> ASOP does not include the office for the *Translatio*, as it is no longer celebrated in all the communities of the Order.

The manuscript sources used here are a representative sample, dated mainly to the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. Both Thomas's medieval offices are studied: the *Dies natalis*, celebrated annually on 7 March, and the *Translatio* on 28 January. The feasts were confirmed in the liturgy of the Order of Preachers by the General Chapters; the first in 1326 and the second at the beginning of the 1370s. In both cases, the confirmation probably proceeded according to the Dominican regulation: the process for the *Dies natalis* can be reconstructed from the surviving documents. Unfortunately, the *Acts* of the General Chapters from the end of the fourteenth century are incomplete, making it difficult to date the approval of the office of *Translatio* exactly.

The manuscripts derive from Dominican convents, both male and female. Their original proveniences are from present day Italy, France and Germany.<sup>15</sup> These areas were the heartland of the Dominican Order in the Middle Ages. As Thomas's body was divided between Italy and France, in the period of our study it seemed appropriate to concentrate on the material deriving from these regions. Old catalogues and, in some cases, the lack of any printed catalogue accessible outside the library or archive in question may have led to some unfortunate omissions from the corpus of material we have examined. However, we have tried to select convents from which more than one manuscript sample originates to enable contextualization or comparison of some kind. In some cases, the history of the manuscript or the convent is so interesting from the viewpoint of Thomas's cult

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14 The antiphons *Felix Thomas*, *Scandit doctor*, *Aurum sub terra*, *Lauda mater* and *Viror carnis* and hymn *Exsultet mentis* are similar to Orvieto; *Alma mater* is similar to C mss and Vat. lat. 10771; *Pressus* is similar to Me and L; *Tumor gulae* is similar to P mss; *Adest Dies* is similar with L; *Militantis doctor* is close to O and P mss, but has also its own features. The great responsory *Sertum gestans* differs from all the sources, having a greater number of musical decorations. ASOP 1933, 721–728.

15 An interesting list of the Dominican liturgical manuscripts originating from Italy has been prepared by Baroffio 2006, 54–68.

that we have found it necessary to include the source in our source corpus. The antiphonaries form the largest group of sources, since our focus is on the music of the office hours. In addition to antiphonaries, we have also used hymnals, graduals, breviaries, lectionaries and one pulpitary.<sup>16</sup>

As Dominican regulations demanded that every new feast be discussed and approved in three consecutive General Chapters to be accepted as part of the annual liturgy of the Order, we have fairly extensive and trustworthy meta-data in regard to the dating of single feasts of saints in the Dominican liturgy, although, naturally, the process of adopting a new feast in the liturgy of a single house was not a straightforward one.<sup>17</sup> From the viewpoint of our study, interesting new feasts that can help us in problems of dating codices are the following (in chronological order): St Alexius (17 July; three lessons) introduced in 1307, Corpus Christi (Thursday after the Octave of Trinity Sunday) in 1323, Thomas Aquinas in 1326 (7 March, *totum duplex*). When analysing the office of *Translatio*, we encounter several difficulties from the perspective of the comparative method of this study. The first is the aforementioned fragmented state of the surviving *Acts* from the end of the fourteenth century, and the second is a consequence of the beginning of the Great Western Schism in 1378. The Schism divided the Order; two general Chapters and two obediences, Roman and Avignon, were organized and two different cycles of new feasts were launched. In the Avignon obedience, two feasts were introduced in 1388: St Anthony the hermit (17 January;

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16 The antiphonary and the hymnal are books containing chants of the office hours. The hymnal is more often copied separately from the antiphonary but is sometimes included in it. Hiley 1993, 304–308. For more information about the books for office hours, see Hiley 1993, 303–310. A pulpitary is a book for friars and sisters in the pulpit in mid-choir. It contains invitatories, responsory verses, gradual verses, tracts, and the litany of the saints. Hiley 1993, 323. For more on the general outlines of Dominican liturgical manuscripts and their uses, see Baroffio 2004; Giraud 2015.

17 The *Acta* of the General Chapters were edited by Benedictus Maria Reichert in *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* (hereafter MOPH) at the turn of the twentieth century. In this study we have used a digital version of this *Acta* from the Digitale Bibliothek Spezial. On the system of approbation, see Boyle 1958, and on an example of a relatively slow adoption of Thomas's *Dies natalis*, Mews 2009b.

*simplex*) and St Blasius (3 February; *simplex*). The most remarkable feasts of the Roman obedience, because of their frequency, are the feasts of the *Immaculate Conception* (8 December) approved in 1394, the *Visitation* (2 July) approved in 1401, and the *Apparition of St Michael* (29 September) approved in 1423.<sup>18</sup>

Raymond of Capua, whose refusal to accept Elias Raymundus as Master of the Order in 1380 precipitated the Schism, did not enforce implementation of the feast of Thomas's *Translatio*, first announced ten years earlier. Although the Schism continued in the Order, Thomas of Firmo, General Master of the Roman obedience, did promote Thomas's *Translatio* in 1401, an act which may have had some positive effect on the activity of copying the office.<sup>19</sup> The Order was officially unified by Leonardo Dati, the Master General appointed in 1414 at the time of the Council of Constance (1414–1418).<sup>20</sup>

We apply the methods of art history to the study of the decoration and dating of the sources. We have come across a few historiated initials used in the offices. When the copy of the office contains decoration that is in some way peculiar to that source, it is mentioned in the list below. The common theme of the decoration in all the copies is the initial, decorated with red and blue filigree. Some of these initials are quite large and imposing, but they are not listed as such. In several cases, our samples of the offices are later additions to the older manuscripts, in which cases the original part is often much more sumptuous; there is an illustrative example in Vat. lat. 10771.

In our edition, the spelling of Latin words has been chosen on both historical and pragmatic grounds. We have not attempted to classicize or modernize the spellings consistently. Thus, *ae* and *oe* are both rendered as *e*, which is the practice most of the manuscripts follow. However, in such cases as the interchangeable *ti* and *ci* (as in *nuntius* / *nuncius* / *numpcius* etc.), we have chosen the classical spelling. We

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18 The approval dates of the feasts are based on the study of Leroquais: see Leroquais 1934, CI. See also Bonniwell 1945, 252–258. As Leroquais is not always very exact, we have checked the accuracy of the dates from MOPH.

19 MOPH VIII, 104.

20 Montagnes 2004.

have used the letter *i* both for the vowel and the consonant, but, for the benefit of singers, differentiate between *v* (the consonant) and *u* (the consonant). To facilitate performance, we have also marked word accents in words of three or more syllables (in words of two syllables, the accent is on the first syllable by default).

Fortunately, textual variation between the manuscripts is minimal to the point of being virtually non-existent, apart from such usual orthographic variants as *natio* / *nacio*, *nuntius* / *nuncius* etc. This is largely a result of to the Dominicans' high level of scholarship and their painstaking work methods: the Order had a practice of double-checking every copy of a text against its original. Poetic form has also served to protect the texts from corruption, at least where it would have resulted in an altered number of syllables. The sole exception is P2799, where the word *gemma*, "jewel", has been substituted with the prosodically incorrect *gemine*, "twofold", also necessitating the addition of an extra note (which can still be seen in the later versions where the correct *gemma* has been restored). As a curiosity, we may also note the spelling of *viror*, "greenness", with an *f* in mss C309 f. 270<sup>R</sup> and C310 f. 232<sup>V</sup> (*firor*), which may betray the Germanophone background of the copyist.<sup>21</sup> Arguably, the only instance of textual variation with relevance to the content is that between *O quam felix* chant[s] with alternate wordings: *eque felix effecta* or *o quam dives* in the *Translatio*, discussed at greater length in Part IV (A landscape view of the office of the *Translatio*).

In the following transcriptions we have followed the notation of the manuscripts examined in this research and used square notation.<sup>22</sup> Square notation evolved from neumatic notation – the first notation for Gregorian chant melodies.<sup>23</sup> We need to take a look at the neumes

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21 See Part III, Chants of *Dies natalis*, LA6: *Viror carnis*.

22 Square notation as used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is the typical notation of the Latin Church in France, England, Italy and Spain. Hourlier 1996, 47.

23 The oldest manuscripts with neumes were written in the tenth century. Cardine 1982, 10. In neume notation, there are also more complicated combinations – singing instructions written with small letters among the neumes as well as other additional signs, which show some length for the neumes. As these additions do not occur in square notation, we do not discuss them here.

to understand the square notation.<sup>24</sup> The notes are presented here in their simplest form with the practical idea of helping the reader sing them (Table 1).<sup>25</sup>


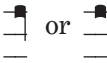














Name	Neume	Note
Virga indicates a higher note.		
Tractulus indicates a lower note.		
Pes is a combination of a lower and a higher note.		
Clivis is a combination of a higher and a lower note.		
Porrectus is a combination of three notes: higher-lower-higher.		
Torculus is a combination of three notes: lower-higher-lower.		
Climacus (Virga + Currentes)		
Liquescence is a phonetic sign, which can be added, for example, to virga, pes or clivis. <sup>26</sup>		

Table 1. The neumes

24 For more specific maps for the neumes, see Cardine 1982, 12–15. For the neumes in Table 1, see Cardine 1982, 18, 32, 34, 47, 215. For the wider perspective his book *Gregorian Semiology* (1982) is recommended.

25 All these signs are discussed with examples in Cardine 1982. The simplest way to describe the roots of the neumes is by calling them acute and grave. These terms indicate grammatical accents. In neumes they refer to the higher and lower: the virga and the tractulus. The neumes of the table are from the pages <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Neumes>

26 The interval very close to the written note is sung with a glide, which can be called a “liquid note.” The sound of this note can be l, m, n, r, d, t, s, ng or j (i). See Cardine 1982, 215–216.



In addition to these names of notation, the terms *scandicus* and *climacus* are used. *Scandicus* is a combination of two to three neumes: *tractus-pes*, *pes-virga* or three *virgas*. *Climacus* is a combination of three or more descending notes with an accent on the first one (*virga*).<sup>27</sup> In square notation, the notes following *virga* are called *currentes* (sing. *currens*). The *currentes* never appear alone. There are two clefs used in the manuscripts: The C-clef and the f-clef show the place of c and f on the staff.<sup>28</sup>

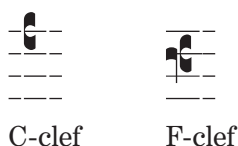


Image 1. The beginning of St Thomas's *Dies natalis*. Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe (Cuttings collection), inv. 22032 Venezia, © Fondazione Giorgio Cini.

<sup>27</sup> See Cardine 1982, 59–62.

<sup>28</sup> In the examples in the footnotes, the clefs are marked as they are in the manuscripts, but in the transcription of the chants, the clef has been chosen according to the manuscripts of Colmar. In our research, the differences between the uses of clefs have not always been reported. The staves also include lines between the notes called *lineas*. A *linea* is a line that can be found all along the staff. They are considered to have been guides for a singer, showing which words are connected with the notes in question, so they are not marks for phrasing. However, many times the *linea* is marked at the end of the phrase.

### Manuscript sources

With the exception of those manuscripts that only contain the texts of the offices, the sources used in the present edition use square notation. In keeping with standard practice, the graduals and antiphonaries include both the temporal and the sanctoral cycles of the church year. The cycle of the *Temporale* consists of liturgical feasts celebrated according to the church year and the *Sanctorale* of liturgical feasts celebrated for saints or groups of saints.<sup>29</sup>

The Dominican antiphonaries are normally divided into two volumes: one for the winter and the other for the summer period. Both feasts of St Thomas fall within the scope of the winter volume. As no other important new feasts had been added to the winter period after Thomas's *Dies natalis* and *Translatio*, the winter volumes are difficult to date precisely, as opposed to the summer ones which may contain Corpus Christi and new Marian feasts.

To make the extensive footnote apparatus of the musical edition (Part III) as short and simple as possible, we have introduced abbreviations for our manuscript sources (list above, and repeated also below in parenthesis in every source description).

Bologna, Biblioteca dei Domenicani

Ms. 39 (=B), Dominican psalter and hymnal, from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The codex contains 256 folios without numbers, size of 480x330 mm. According to Alce and d'Amato, the manuscript's origin can be dated to soon after the year 1461, the year of the canonization of Catherine of Siena. Stylistically it appears to belong to the Lombardian school and was probably made for a female Dominican house in Lombardy. Texts as well as the historiated initials, totalling 14, are carefully elaborated.<sup>30</sup> The hymns for the Dominican saints Dominic,

29 On the medieval division of the liturgical year and literal sources of different traditions, see Vogel 1975. On the liturgical year in a monastic context, see Borgehammar 2005. Especially on the Dominican *Sanctorale* after the Humbertian reform, see Urfels-Capot 2004, 319–353.

30 The most profound study of the medieval manuscripts of the library is Alce & Amato 1961: on the present manuscript, see esp. 151. For the medieval book culture of the Bolognese Dominican convent, see Murano 2009.

Peter Martyr, Thomas Aquinas, Vincent Ferrer and Catherine of Siena are included in the end of the codex; all the feasts dedicated to them before the end of the fifteenth century are present. Among the feasts, the *Dies natalis* festivities are hierarchically in an elevated position as they all start with a beautiful, initial letter with a portrait of the saint in question. Both of Thomas's offices are present: *Dies natalis* (ff. 213<sup>R</sup>–217<sup>R</sup>), with the historiated initial *E*, f. 213<sup>R</sup>, and *Translatio* (ff. 250<sup>V</sup>–252<sup>R</sup>). The manuscript includes all six hymns with notations for Thomas's offices.

Chantilly, Musée Condé

Ms. 54 (=Ch), (olim 804), Dominican breviary without the musical notation from the second half of the fourteenth century with later additions. The parchment codex contains in total 567 folios, with a size of 250x172 mm.<sup>31</sup> Leroquais has diligently catalogized the manuscript and, relying on several details such as its high quality and beauty as well as numerous references to the royal feasts, he concludes that the manuscript has been made for an illustrious person, perhaps for someone from the royal family. He, however, disputes the argument of Delisle (*Notice de douze livres royaux*, pp. 117–118) that the codex was written by Marie of France, the daughter of King Charles VI, who joined the Dominican house of Poissy in 1408 (the date is too late).<sup>32</sup> Later Naughton suggested that the manuscript might have been commissioned by the Valois family for their own use. It seems to come from the same workshop as many other books commissioned by the house of Valois. The manuscript has many features that suggest lay ownership, including the calendar and rubrics in French. Naughton dated the manuscript to the years shortly after 1336, and in the following century it was the property of the nuns of the Dominican convent of Poissy.<sup>33</sup> Thomas's *Dies natalis* is a part of the original

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31 For a short description of the ms., see an address to Internet entry in the Bibliography (Chantilly).

32 Leroquais 1932, 262.

33 Naughton 1995, 98. Leroquais was similarly certain that the ms. belonged to the Dominican house of Poissy in the fifteenth century, Leroquais 1932, 263.

codex (ff. 378<sup>Rb</sup>–383<sup>Va</sup>) and the *Translatio* is in the additional gathering (ff. 568<sup>Vb</sup>–572<sup>Va</sup>). Other additions are IX (sic) thousand virgins, St Adalbert and St Procopius. Leroquias remarks that the difference between the original and additional parts of the manuscript is hardly recognizable and proposes that the addition should be dated to a time near introduction of Thomas's *Translatio* to the Dominican liturgical cycle, i.e. ca. 1370.<sup>34</sup>

Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale

Ms. 131 (= C131), Dominican antiphonary for the winter period: parchment, size of 480x345 mm, 234 folios (the last folio is smaller, 450x310 mm, and it contains a fragmentary from another manuscript, a Cistercian hymn-book). Thomas's offices are fragmentary in this manuscript: the chants for *Dies natalis* contain folios 229<sup>V</sup>–233<sup>R</sup>.<sup>35</sup> The chants of Thomas's *Dies natalis* being VA1, VA2 (partially), MR4 (partially), MR5–MR9; LA1–LA6, OLA1 and OVA1 (ff. 229<sup>V</sup>–233<sup>R</sup>). The Magnificat antiphon of the second Vespers, *O splendor*, is the only chant for the *Translatio* (f. 233<sup>V</sup>).<sup>36</sup> The manuscript probably originates from the local Dominican friary and it is dated around 1326–1370 by Christian Meyer. The dating is based on the chants for *Dies natalis*, being an addition to the end of the manuscript, probably by the same copyist who wrote the main corpus of the texts.<sup>37</sup> No other new feasts are added in the codex. It seems reasonable to suggest that the manuscript was more or less completed in 1326, as Thomas's *Dies natalis* is not in its regular place in the sanctoral following the liturgical year but comes immediately at the end of this part. The same copyist who did the codex may have added the *Dies natalis* relatively soon afterwards, most probably in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The office of the *Dies natalis* seems to be one of the oldest of the manuscripts of Colmar.

<sup>34</sup> Leroquais 1932, 262–263.

<sup>35</sup> The manuscript is catalogued by Meyer 2006, 7.

<sup>36</sup> The addition *O splendor* is later than the rest of the codex. It is also worth noting that the letter *s*, when it is the last character of the word, always has a rupture in one curve. This letter dates a group of the copies of the *Translatio* in Colmar; see the following examples.

<sup>37</sup> Meyer 2006, 7.

Ms. 134 (=C134), Dominican antiphonary is dated to the fourteenth century (before 1326) by Christian Meyer. It contains 230 parchment folios (224a and 224b), size of 465x320 mm. The provenance of the antiphony is identified as the male convent of Colmar. Both offices of Thomas, the *Dies natalis* (ff. 220<sup>v</sup>–225<sup>v</sup>) and *Translatio* (ff. 225<sup>v</sup>–230<sup>v</sup>), are at the end of the manuscript next to one another as later additions.<sup>38</sup> The hands that wrote them differ from those that wrote the bulk of the manuscript and from each other. The difference between the hands of the offices is identifiable in the letter *s* when it ends a word. In the *Translatio*, the line of the letter always has a rupture in one curve, whereas in the *Dies natalis* the continuing line draws the whole letter. The office of the *Dies natalis* is datable to the first half of the fourteenth century and the *Translatio* to the turn of the fifteenth century.

Ms. 136 (=C136), Dominican gradual, is dated to the fourteenth century (after 1326 but before c. 1348). It has 281 parchment folios, size 480x335 mm. The gradual's place of origin was the convent of Unterlinden, which is the Dominican female house in Colmar.<sup>39</sup> The source includes two chants for Thomas's mass, a tract, *Quasi stella matutina*, and an alleluia-song *Sancte Thoma* (f. 273<sup>r-v</sup>), written in different hands.<sup>40</sup> Before Thomas's *Dies natalis*, there is a Corpus Christi history in the manuscript, which, together with the paleographical evidence, suggests that both feasts were copied at the same time quite soon after Thomas's canonization.

Ms. 137 (=C137), Dominican antiphonary for the winter period is dated to the fourteenth century (before 1326) and its place of origin was the convent of Colmar. It consists of 318 parchment folios, size 485x340 mm.<sup>41</sup> Thomas's offices *Translatio* (ff. 307<sup>v</sup>–312<sup>r</sup>) and *Dies*

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38 Meyer 2006, 10. We have noticed an interesting characteristic, an abundant use of liquescents, that is not in any of the other manuscripts, in the MR 8 of the *Translatio*, see Part II.

39 Meyer 2006, 11. This manuscript is also mentioned by Hamburger *et al.* 2016, 286, as an exemplar of one of the rare existing graduals which is testimony to a nun as a scribe.

40 The melody of *Quasi stella matutina* is similar to the Magnificat antiphon *Scandit doctor*, which is in the first Vespers in Thomas's *Dies natalis*.

41 Meyer 2006, 12. This ms. also belongs to the group that has letter *s* with a rupture in one curve.

*natalis* (ff. 313<sup>R</sup>–318<sup>R</sup>) are again at the end of the manuscript, as in source 134. They are written in different hands, neither of which is found in the rest of the manuscript. Interestingly, the feasts are copied in their own gatherings, which explains their presence in the liturgical, but not in chronological order. According to his established principles, Meyer proposes that the feasts date to the years immediately after their establishment in the Order.

Ms. 301 (=C301), Dominican hymnal probably originates from the Dominican male convent of Colmar. It is dated to 1262–1270, with additions from the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The manuscript consists of 146 parchment folios, size 308x205 mm.<sup>42</sup> The additions are (ff. 1<sup>R-V</sup> and 138<sup>V</sup>–146<sup>R</sup>): the first folio presents the hymns of Thomas's *Translatio* (f. 1<sup>R</sup>), probably indicating the importance of the saint to the community and the topicality of the launch of the new feast day. The other additions include Corpus Christi and Thomas's *Dies natalis* (f. 140<sup>R-V</sup>), written in the same hand. These two are older than the rest of the additions, which are relatively new feasts in the Dominican liturgy from the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>43</sup>

Ms. 303 (=C303), Dominican pulpitary probably originates from the Dominican female house of Unterlinden, Colmar. The manuscript is dated to the third quarter of the fourteenth century, with additions from the fifteenth century. It has 185 parchment folios, size 345x240 mm.<sup>44</sup> The majority of the manuscript comprises intonations (incipits) of the chants. A closer look at the codex reveals that it seems to be gathered from two parts copied at more or less the same time (the hand seems to be the same). The third part is much later than the other parts of the manuscript; the latest masses and offices are from the end of the fifteenth century (when, for example, the mass and office of St Dionysius was ranked as *Totum duplex* in the Dominican

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42 Meyer 2006, 21–23.

43 Thomas's *Translatio* belongs to the group with the letter *s* with a rupture in one curve. No other feast is copied by this hand in this manuscript. The *Dies natalis* is an older copy together with Corpus Christi.

44 Meyer 2006, 23.

liturgy).<sup>45</sup> The mass (f. 166<sup>R-V</sup>)<sup>46</sup> and office for Thomas's *Dies natalis* (ff. 166<sup>R</sup>–169<sup>V</sup>) are included in the older part.<sup>47</sup> The additions include the great responsories of Thomas's *Translatio* (ff. 180<sup>R</sup>–181<sup>V</sup>).<sup>48</sup>

Ms. 309 (=C309), Dominican winter antiphonary, probably originates from the Dominican male house of Colmar and it is dated to the fourteenth century (before 1326). It has 272 parchment folios, size 505x350 mm. Both Thomas's offices, *Dies natalis* (ff. 265<sup>R</sup>–270<sup>V</sup>) and *Translatio* (270<sup>V</sup>–276<sup>R</sup>), are additions by different hands at the end of the manuscript. *Dies natalis* contains a beautiful initial of *Sancti viri* in f. 265<sup>V</sup>. Besides Thomas's feasts, there is only one other addition, f. 262<sup>R</sup> of paper, which presents a fragmentary from the feast of the Sacred Rosary.<sup>49</sup>

Ms. 310 (=C310), Dominican winter antiphonary is dated to the fourteenth century (after 1370). It is sized 455x320 mm with 328 parchment folios. The context of the original use of the manuscript is identified as the convent of Colmar. Both Thomas's offices, *Dies natalis* (ff. 227<sup>R</sup>–233<sup>R</sup>), and *Translatio* (ff. 233<sup>R</sup>–238<sup>V</sup>), are at the end of the codex as an addition. The manuscript is not highly decorated (filigree initials are in ff. 1r, 143v and 194v), the decoration of folios containing Thomas's feasts being similar to others in the other manuscripts from Colmar (basically containing red and blue initials with moderate filigree décor). There is, however, one exception: folio 227<sup>V</sup> contains a rather raffinate initial for the responsory *Sancti viri*; this will be

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45 Meyer gives folio numbers for sections that are younger than the original codex, see Meyer 2006, 23–24.

46 The manuscript contains an intonation for the mass graduale *In medio V. Iocunditate* (f. 166<sup>R</sup>), as well as for the offertory *Veritas* and communion-chants *Domine* and *Fidelis* (f. 166<sup>V</sup>). The tract *Quasi stella matutina* is written out (f. 166<sup>R-V</sup>). See also C136.

47 The manuscript contains intonations for the chants of *Dies natalis*. It only lacks the Benedictus antiphon *O Thoma* of the second Vespers and the Magnificat antiphon *Collaudetur* of the Octave. All the verses for the great responsories are written out.

48 Meyer 2006, 24. Thomas's *Translatio* belongs to the group with the letter *s* that has a rupture in one curve. No other feast is copied by this hand in this manuscript. The manuscript contains the intonations only for the responses of great responsories of the *Translatio*. The verses are written out.

49 Meyer 2006, 26. Thomas's *Translatio* belongs to the group that has the letter *s* with a rupture in one curve. No other feast is copied by this hand in this manuscript.



examined in greater depth in Part IV.<sup>50</sup> Two feasts seem to have been completed by different hands, which we can determine on the basis of the “cut” letter *s*.

Ms. 313 (=C313), Dominican winter antiphonary is dated to the fourteenth century (after 1326) and located to the male Dominican convent of Colmar. It contains 249 parchment folios sized 590x335 mm. The manuscript includes only Thomas’s *Dies natalis* (ff. 242<sup>R</sup>–249<sup>V</sup>); this seems to be written in the same hand as the original codex but it is not its correct place in the circle of the liturgical year (ff. 145<sup>R</sup>–242<sup>R</sup>). This evidence would indicate that the manuscript was completed before the year 1326 and that Thomas’s office was added soon after to the still empty folios. One smaller (half) gathering (ff. 245–249) was added to fit the Office properly to the manuscript.<sup>51</sup> The *Translatio* is not present as its own office in the codex, but the margin of folio 248<sup>R</sup> has an early modern addition in mixed German-Latin: “nur dass festo translacione nimbt [=nimmt] man collaudetur fir adest” (except that on the feast of the *Translatio*, *collaudetur* is sung instead of *adest*); this indicates a continuing use of manuscripts and offices as well as their interesting adaptation to suit changes in taste.<sup>52</sup>

Ms. 404 (=C404), hymnal is from the female Dominican convent of Unterlinden. The manuscript originates from the first half of the thirteenth century but has additions from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. It has 193 parchment folios, size 295x220 mm. In the additional gathering, one can find the hymns for Corpus Christi (ff. 186<sup>V</sup>–189<sup>R</sup>), Thomas’s *Dies natalis* (f. 190<sup>R-V</sup>), *Translatio* (f. 191<sup>R-V</sup>), and the Virgin Mary (ff. 192<sup>R</sup>–193<sup>R</sup>). These hymns are written by different hands.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Meyer 2006, 26–27.

<sup>51</sup> Meyer 2006, 29–30.

<sup>52</sup> The addition in the margin gives the impression that the Early Modern users, probably the friars of the convent of Colmar, were not completely happy with the office of *Translatio* and decided to chant *Collaudetur Christi* from the *Dies natalis* (OV1) instead of the antiphon *Adest*. If that is correct, we may suppose that the friars had earlier changed the chants of the *Translatio* in some way, as *Adest dies letitie* is not originally from that office either, but from the *Dies natalis* (LA1).

<sup>53</sup> *Translatio* belongs to the group with the “cut” *s*.



Ms. 405 (=C405), hymnal written in two columns from the female Dominican convent, Unterlinden and from the beginning of the fourteenth century. It contains 304 parchment folios, sized 375x265 mm. The manuscript includes the calendar but it does not mention Thomas's feasts. The additional part, dated to the turn of the fifteenth century, presents them among a few other feasts: Thomas's *Dies natalis* (ff. 298<sup>Ra</sup>–299<sup>Ra</sup>), *Translatio* (ff. 299<sup>Va</sup>–300<sup>Vb</sup>), Corpus Christi (f. 300<sup>R-V</sup>), Virgin Mary (ff. 302<sup>R</sup>–303<sup>R</sup>), and one hymn more from Thomas's *Translatio*, *Aurora pulcra rutilans* (f. 304<sup>Rb</sup>, verso is empty).<sup>54</sup> The additional gathering seems to have been collected sometime at the beginning of the fifteenth century and probably for some specific reason: Thomas's two offices are together, written by different hands. A bifolio of Corpus Christi, which may have been done at the same time as Thomas's *Dies natalis*, interrupts the *Translatio*, and the hymns for the *Visitatio*, again in one bifolio, were added before the last hymn of the *Translatio*.<sup>55</sup>

Ms. 407 (=C407), hymnal is possibly from the Dominican male convent of Colmar. The manuscript is a collection of hymns from different centuries, mixed parchment and paper folios. The size of paper folios varies but the parchment folios are ca. 360x260 mm. Among the oldest ones is Thomas's *Translatio* (ff. 30<sup>V</sup>–31<sup>V</sup>), in the same bifolio with the Visitation of Virgin Mary (f. 30<sup>R-V</sup>).<sup>56</sup> These two feasts seem to have been copied at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In this manuscript, the *Translatio* is among the latest copies in Colmar, judging by the handwriting and the lack of part of the notation in the hymn *Superna mater inclita*: the phrase *gaudiis, que tibi plebs hec subdita letis* appears only as a text under the first phrase.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Meyer 2006, 59–60.

<sup>55</sup> *Translatio* belongs to the group with the “cut” s.

<sup>56</sup> Meyer 2006, 62–63. Meyer dates the part with the *Translatio* and Mary's hymns to the end of the fourteenth century.

<sup>57</sup> One reason for the dating of the codex is that it does not contain the same letter s as the preceding codices.

Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek

Ms. D11 (=D), gradual is from the Dominican female house in Soest from the end of the fourteenth century. According to the bibliographic metadata of the Digital library, the manuscript is from the very end of the century or even from the early 1400s. The size of parchment is 440x305 mm and the total number of folios 346.<sup>58</sup> Based on the studies of Thomas Aquinas's mass, Jeffrey Hamburger and his team have recently dated the manuscript to around the year 1380.<sup>59</sup> The manuscript contains the tract *Quasi stella matutina*, seemingly intended to be sung in both of Thomas's feasts (pages 514–516). Hamburger *et al.* regard this a very exceptional gradual because of the huge number of figures which decorate virtually every feast of the manuscript (more often only main feasts have such figurative images).<sup>60</sup> For Soest, the style of decoration is, however, typical of its liturgical books. In this study we are particularly interested in the historiated initial in Thomas's mass (page 515).<sup>61</sup>

London, British Library

Ms. Add 23935 (=L). This manuscript, sized 264x178 mm and of parchment, includes 579 folios. It consists of three parts; there is an addition at the beginning and at the end of the original manuscript. The oldest part is dated as having been executed in Paris in the 1260s and recent studies suggest that it was prepared for the use of the master of the Order. Both later additions are dated between 1358 and 1363.<sup>62</sup> The appearance of the different parts is strikingly similar and both are finely decorated.<sup>63</sup> Folios 5<sup>Rb</sup>–7<sup>Rb</sup> include the words for the

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58 The whole manuscript is also available in digital format on the Internet.

59 Hamburger and Schlottheuber 2014, 152.

60 Hamburger *et al.* 2016, 287.

61 For more on the style of Paradises at Soest, see the studies of Hamburger, especially Hamburger 2008. On this particular manuscript, see Hamburger and Schlottheuber 2014 and Hamburger *et al.* 2016.

62 Galbraith 1925, 193–202; Giraud 2015. For a short description of the manuscript, see an address to the Internet entry in the Bibliography (London). We are indebted to Eleanor Giraud, who has kindly introduced us to the source of the British Library.

63 The manuscript is a relative to *Codex Humberticus*. On both codices, see Giraud 2015 and the collection of articles *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine: le manuscrit Santa Sabina XLIV L* ed. by Boyle and Gy.

chants of Thomas's *Dies natalis* and folios 12<sup>Vb</sup>–13<sup>Rb</sup> the words for the chants of the mass of Thomas's *Dies natalis*.<sup>64</sup> The only notated mass chant is the tract *Quasi stella matutina* f. 13<sup>Ra</sup>. With the *Dies natalis* of Thomas Aquinas the additional beginning of the codex includes other important feasts, in particular the Corpus Christi adopted into the Dominican liturgy in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Curiously, the palaeography of the text completed ca. 1360 greatly resembles the older style and might easily be dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century, as Galbraith noted: that is, to the same time when all the feasts it presents were approved. For this reason, we suggest that the additional folios 1–22 are copied from an older example.

Melbourne, State Library of Victoria

Ms. \*096.1R66A (=Me), Antiphonal-Hymnal, with excerpt of *De musica* by Jerome Moravia (fl. 1272–1304). The manuscript, often called the Poissy antiphonary, was made in Paris ca. 1335–1345. It contains 428 parchment folios, sized 285x200 mm. Beautifully illuminated initials represent the Parisian artistic style with late-Pucellian influence.<sup>65</sup> The antiphonary seems to have been written for the use of the Dominican nuns at Poissy-St Louis.<sup>66</sup> The office of the *Dies natalis* (ff. 243<sup>V</sup>–248<sup>R</sup>) belongs to an original part of the manuscript, and it is in the correct place in the liturgical order, which is a good reason to give the manuscript a *terminus post quem* of 1326.<sup>67</sup> According to Stinson, the Poissy antiphonary represents a second version of the office of Thomas's *Dies natalis*, instituted in 1334, as the previous one was

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64 For example, Hamburger *et al.* 2016 has briefly expounded the part of the ms. which includes Thomas's feast.

65 For the catalogue information, see the footnote below. The manuscript is studied especially by Naughton (its cultural history) and Stinson (music). On Pucellian style, see especially Naughton 1995, 76–77.

66 Naughton 1993 and 1995; Stinson 1993, 52.

67 Interestingly, the manuscript does not give the *octava* of the feast. The *octava* was instituted in 1328 but neither this nor the absence of the *octava* from the manuscript implies an earlier dating of the manuscript, as it seems that the *octava* was not regarded as necessary for the content of the book – the office for Peter Martyr's *Dies natalis* does not contain the *octava* either (f. 259<sup>R</sup>).

considered unsatisfactory by to the General Chapter of the Order.<sup>68</sup> Thomas's feast contains blue, red and golden filigree initials but not historiated ones like the feasts of his fellow brothers (St Dominic, f. 294<sup>v</sup>; St Peter Martyr, f. 257<sup>v</sup>; St Dominic's *Translatio*, f. 266<sup>v</sup>). The problem of the possible renewal of the office will be discussed in detail at various points in the present volume. The office of the *Translatio* is dated later as it is at the end of the manuscript (ff. 425<sup>r</sup>–428<sup>v</sup>), together with the antiphons for saints Sebastian and Ivo (f. 424<sup>r</sup>).<sup>69</sup> The *Translatio* is not notably different stylistically from Thomas's *Dies natalis*, but it has a somewhat more modest appearance.<sup>70</sup>

#### Orvieto, Archivio del Duomo

Ms. 190 (=O), Codex of Office chants is dated to the fifteenth century. It contains offices for saints, in total 147 folios. The size of the main body of the folios is 558x380 mm, but the last gathering is of a smaller size. In folio 133<sup>v</sup>, the last of the first part, there is an addition "This book has been illustrated for me by Father Valentinus of Ungria from the Order of Preachers 1499", which gives us a date for the work of the illuminator.<sup>71</sup> The codex is, therefore, one of the latest sources used by us. Currently, the manuscript is lodged at the Archives of the Duomo of Orvieto, but its original provenience is probably the local Dominican convent.<sup>72</sup> The manuscript comprises the chants for Thomas's *Dies*

68 Stinson 1993, 58–59.

69 The feast of *Translatio* and this particular manuscript have been studied by Constant Mews, see Mews 2009a.

70 For the catalogue information of the ms., see an address to the Internet entry in the Bibliography (Melbourne). The whole antiphonary is also available in digital format on the Internet. The manuscript does not include all the chants of the *Translatio*. The third great responsory, *Corpus datur*, has only the intonation for the response, whereas the verse is written out (f. 426<sup>v</sup>). From the fourth antiphon *Celum hunc* onwards, the chants are not in the manuscript (the fourth, fifth and sixth antiphon, the fourth, the fifth and the sixth great responsory, the seventh, the eighth and the ninth antiphon). Presumably some folios are missing. From the seventh great responsory onwards all the chants are written in the manuscript.

71 After the last hymn, *Lauda mater*, there is a text of the *Dies natalis* in folio 133<sup>v</sup>: "Iste liber illuminatus est per me fratrem Valentinum de Ungaria ordinis predicatorum 1499".

72 For a brief introduction to the illuminated manuscripts of the archives of the Cathedral, see Conti 1952, 18–19 (The manuscript is number 4 in the article). The Dominican feasts are prominent in the manuscript.

*natalis* (ff. 120<sup>R</sup>–133<sup>V</sup>). The office starts with a remarkable and imposing illumination, the historiated initial F and margin decorations in folio 120<sup>R</sup>. Among our sources, only the fragments in the collection of the Cini foundation have a comparably lavish decoration (see below). The *Dies natalis* in this version also has a special character, its melodies being the most decorated of all the sources in this study (comparison with the sources from the Cini Foundation cannot be done because of the latter's fragmentary state).

Paris, Bibliothèque l'Arsenal

Ms. 193 (=A), Dominican breviary of the winter period with musical notes. The parchment manuscript, 169 folios, is sized 279×183 mm.<sup>73</sup> The codex is dated to the second half of the thirteenth century by Leroquais.<sup>74</sup> It is in Parisian style, written in two columns. It includes the calendar, but Thomas's feast is not mentioned there. The *Dies natalis*, however, is added to the additional gathering, which was produced by different hands. The addition starts with St Ignatius, f. 158<sup>R</sup>, next comes Thomas Aquinas, ff. 158<sup>Va</sup>–164<sup>Va</sup>, written in slightly different handwriting than the original part of the codex. The remarkable younger office is for Vincent of Ferrer, ff. 165<sup>V</sup>–168<sup>V</sup>.<sup>75</sup> Because of this we propose a dating of Thomas's office to the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine

Ms. 356 (=Ma), Dominican Breviary (without musical notes) for the winter period. It consists of 439 folios, size 200×142 mm, written in two columns and decorated with red, blue and gold letters. The decoration is raffinate, in the Parisian style. The original part of the codex is dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century and the additions mostly to

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<sup>73</sup> The manuscript is catalogued on the Internet, see an address to the entry in the Bibliography (Paris, Arsenal).

<sup>74</sup> He remarks that the most recent feast in the original part of the Sanctoral cycle is St Anthony of Padua, adopted into the Dominican liturgy in 1262. Leroquais 1934, 323.

<sup>75</sup> For more on the manuscript, see Bernard 1974, 51; Leroquais 1934, 322–323.

the fifteenth century.<sup>76</sup> The texts for Thomas's *Dies natalis* (ff. 418<sup>Ra</sup>–422<sup>Rb</sup>) and *Translatio* (ff. 428<sup>Vb</sup>–432<sup>Rb</sup>) are later additions from different periods, presumably made soon after their official confirmation as a part of the liturgy of the Order of Preachers. Other additions are for Blessed *Marie de Pietate* (ff. 424<sup>R</sup>–428<sup>V</sup>), probably made by the same hand as Thomas's *Translatio*. The hand that has added St Vincent Ferrer (ff. 433<sup>R</sup>–437<sup>V</sup>) is similar to the previous hands. The codex ends with St Iulianus, 438<sup>R</sup>–439<sup>V</sup>.

Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta

Ms. 2791 (=P2791), Antiphonary and hymnal, contains 138 parchment folios sized 545x377 mm. It has been argued that this codex originated from Spoleto, but doubt has been cast on this in recent studies.<sup>77</sup> It is from the end of the thirteenth century with some later additions, namely Thomas's *Translatio* (ff. 68<sup>R</sup>–86<sup>V</sup>) and *Dies natalis* (ff. 87<sup>R</sup>–99<sup>R</sup>).<sup>78</sup> The differences in handwriting between the feasts, as well as their order, especially those of the *Translatio* and the *Dies natalis*, indicates that the codex was bound together after the additions were made. The *Translatio* includes several sumptuous initials, in f. 68<sup>R</sup>, f. 70<sup>V</sup>, and the f. 80<sup>V</sup> *Sacrum corpus* antiphony, which has a large and decorative S-initial (red-blue).<sup>79</sup> The feast is datable to the turn of the fifteenth century. The *Dies natalis* has one historiated initial in f. 89<sup>V</sup>, the image of which will be examined in Part IV.

Ms. 2799 (=P2799), Antiphonary and sequentary, originating from the Dominican convent of Perugia and dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century. It comprises 177 parchment folios, size 593x405 mm.<sup>80</sup> The beginning of the antiphonary includes the feast for

76 For the Internet catalogue of the library, see the Bibliography (Paris, Mazarine). The manuscript is catalogued by Leroquais 1934, 388–389, n° 431.

77 In a catalogue of the Dominican liturgical manuscripts in Perugia, see Parmeggiani 2006, 160–161.

78 For access to the Internet catalogue, see the Bibliography (Perugia).

79 The catalogue of Parmeggiani mentions eight historiated initials altogether; the identification of the people in the miniature for Thomas's feast is erroneous, see Part IV of the present volume.

80 See the catalogue of Parmeggiani 2006, 162–163.

Corpus Christi (ff. 2<sup>R</sup>–44<sup>V</sup>), Thomas's *Dies natalis* (ff. 45<sup>R</sup>–67<sup>V</sup>) and his *Translatio* (ff. 157<sup>R</sup>–179<sup>R</sup>). The *Dies natalis* is older than the *Translatio*, being datable to mid-fourteenth century. Both feasts are in their own gatherings. The office for the *Translatio* closes the manuscript. The beginning of the office for the *Translatio* is remarkable as in some ways it imitates those titles of the Carolingian manuscripts that are in the Renaissance style, a feature not represented in other feasts included in the codex. The decorative style dates the copy of the office to the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>81</sup> Two other remarkable decorative elements are the initials in f. 161<sup>R</sup> and f. 173<sup>V</sup> – the similarity in notation with ms. 2791 is eye-catching, P 2799 having probably been copied from P 2791.<sup>82</sup>

Rome, Archivio generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori (AGOP)

Ms. XIV L 1 (= *Codex Humberticus*), widely referred to as Humbert's Codex and *codex prototypus*. It contains 502 parchment folios sized 480x320 mm. Copied in Paris in the mid-thirteenth century and lodged for centuries at the convent of Saint-Jacques in the same city, it is one of the surviving manuscripts that give testimony to Humbert of Romans's liturgical reform.<sup>83</sup> The antiphonary part includes St Dominic's *Dies natalis* (ff. 296<sup>Rb</sup>–297<sup>Va</sup>).

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense

Ms. 4507 (=Ca), Dominican antiphonary is dated to around 1450–1475 and its provenience is Siena.<sup>84</sup> The manuscript consists of 225 parchment folios. The antiphonary contains St Dominic's *Dies natalis* (ff. 1<sup>R</sup>–17<sup>R</sup>), the office of which is used as comparative material to *Codex*

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81 According to Galliano Ciliberti, the manuscript was already mentioned in the inventory of the liturgical books of the Perugian convent in 1430: see Ciliberti 2006, 86–87.

82 For information available on the Internet, see the Bibliography (Perugia).

83 See the general description of the source in Bonniwell 1945, 85–94. There is a vast amount of literature on this manuscript. Here we would like to mention a collection of articles edited by Leonard Boyle and Pierre-Marie Gy, *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine: le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1* (2004): see especially those of Boyle and Hughes.

84 On the history of the library and its collection, as well as on the bibliography, see Ceccopieri 1988, 22–42, esp. on our manuscript p. 26.



*Humberticus*. The manuscript is beautifully decorated with floral motives in Renaissance style. The first initial of the office, G for *Gaude felix* in the first antiphon, is historiated with the image of St Dominic himself.<sup>85</sup>

Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale

Ms. 610 (=T), A lectionary of a specific type, i.e. the collection of all texts concerning Thomas's *Translatio* (hagiographical, liturgical as well as documentary sources). The manuscript contains 116 parchment folios with a height of 303 mm. We have used the following texts: the long narrative text *Historia translationis* by Raymundus Hugonis (pages 1–25), *Miracula* (pages 25–43), texts of the chants (without notes) and lessons for Thomas's *Translatio* (pages 66<sup>a</sup>–75<sup>b</sup>), and words of the chants (without notes) for *Dies natalis extravagans* (pages 83<sup>a</sup>–86<sup>b</sup>), which closes the material concerning the saint.<sup>86</sup> The codex is dated to the beginning of the fifteenth century and proposed to be of Spanish provenience.<sup>87</sup>

Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana

Ross. 280 (=Ross), (olim XIII, 217b), a Dominican hymnal for feasts of saints is dated to the middle or the latter half of the fourteenth century. The codex, of parchment has a size of 350x246 mm and contains 117 folios. The manuscript is best known for its illustrations, especially for its sumptuous historiated initials, such as the historiated initial A for St Agnese in the first folio, 1<sup>R</sup>. There are 13 historiated initials altogether, sized 85x55 mm, and numerous red and blue filigree initials. A Bolognese artist, Nicolò di Giacomo di Nascimbene, who was active

85 For information available on the Internet, see the Bibliography for Biblioteca Casanatense and Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT-CNRS).

86 The manuscript is paginated, not foliated. Most of these texts are edited in *Acta Sanctorum* or Douais. More detailed information of the editions is given where they are referred to in this study. The office *extravagans* is the only one among our sources: see Part I for more on this.

87 The last item of the ms. is not connectable to Thomas's hagiographical corpus, but it is a text of Alphonsus Bonihominis Hispanus: the origin of this author as well as the office *extravagans* give reason to locate the ms. in Spain, see *Catalogue général* 1885, 358–361. For access to study the ms., see the Bibliography.



ca. 1349–1403, is probably the skilful illuminator of the manuscript. It comprises the hymns for Thomas's *Dies natalis* (ff. 16<sup>v</sup>–22<sup>v</sup>), which start with a historiated initial presenting Thomas preaching / teaching in f. 16<sup>v</sup>. This manuscript is probably from the earlier period of Nicolò's career and he may have made it for the Dominican sisters of the convent of Sant'Agnese: a remarkably decorative feast for St Agnes may indicate the origin of the manuscript as well as the names of the sisters and their images in the margins of the codex. The manuscript was updated to respond to the needs of the community, the hymns of ff. 113r–116v being later additions. The hymnal is one of a pair, Barb.lat. 279, which contains the hymns for *de tempore*, being the other.<sup>88</sup>

Vat. lat. 10153 (=Vat. lat. 10153), a Lectionary and breviary (without musical notes); an old self mark is also given in the catalogues; 10169. The manuscript originates from Orvieto. It is of parchment, measuring 291x208mm, and has 78 folios. Vattasso and Carusi date it to the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>89</sup> The codex seems to have been produced in two parts, the older possibly at the end of the fourteenth and the younger at the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>90</sup> The older part includes different hagiographical texts concerning Thomas and the Corpus Christi feast. For our study, particularly important are the lessons for Thomas's *Dies natalis* (ff. 33<sup>Ra</sup>–34<sup>Rb</sup>) and *Translatio* (ff. 34<sup>Rb</sup>–36<sup>Va</sup>).<sup>91</sup>

Vat. lat. 10769 (=Vat. lat. 10769), Gradual, probably produced for the use of the Dominican sisters in the convent of St Verena, Zürich. The catalogues inform us that it dates to the fourteenth century. Its parchment folio measures 460x337 mm, and it comprises 273 folios.<sup>92</sup> The manuscript is luxuriously decorated in the fourteenth-century style, including the temporal cycle (ff. 4<sup>v</sup>–142) and sanctoral proper (ff.

88 See the catalogues: Salmon 1968; for the miniatures, see Pasut 2004, 827–832 and Pasut 2009; Corso 2014, 520–523; Miglio and Palma 2006.

89 Vattasso and Carusi 1914, 510–511.

90 See Räsänen 2016.

91 The lessons for the *Translatio* feast are edited and named as *Alia historia Translationis in Acta Sanctorum*. This edition, however, does not follow the original division of the lessons. When we quote them, we use the division presented in the manuscripts. A particular point of reference is ms. Vat. lat. 10153.

92 Borino 1947, 220–223; Salmon 1969, 90.

144<sup>V</sup>–179). From f. 225 there are added sequences by different hands of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This part includes the chants of the extra mass for St Thomas (ff. 265<sup>R</sup>–266<sup>R</sup>).<sup>93</sup> The Office of Corpus Christi was not included in the original part of the manuscript either, but the existence of the feast is mentioned in the margin of f. 121<sup>V</sup>,<sup>94</sup> so we may conclude that the gradual was finished before the Corpus Christi liturgy secured a place in the Dominican liturgy in 1323.

Vat. lat. 10771 (=Vat. lat. 10771), Antiphonary from the female Dominican convent of St Catherine in Diessenhofen, today in Switzerland. In the catalogues, the manuscript is dated to the fourteenth century, the total of folios in the codex is 290, and size of parchment 480x350 mm.<sup>95</sup> This rather luxurious antiphonary was made for the winter period, including both feasts of the temporal (ff. 6–165) and sanctoral cycle (ff. 166–271), but only for the winter months. The codex is decorated in a sumptuous manner with red-blue ornaments, initials and historiated initial letters. The manuscript was finished at the beginning of the fourteenth century, most likely at the time when Thomas was canonized, as the liturgies for both feast days are later and were additions to the codex. These additions have an interesting characteristic: they were included in the liturgical order in the manuscript: thus first comes the feast for *Translatio* (ff. 273<sup>R</sup>–281<sup>R</sup>) and then the feast for *Dies natalis* (ff. 283<sup>R</sup>–290<sup>V</sup>), so they do not appear in the order of their approval. Both liturgies are copied in their own gatherings, and the parchment of the *Translatio* is slightly smaller in size than that of the *Dies natalis*. It seems that the gathering for the *Translatio* feast was sewed between the original codex and the gathering containing the *Dies natalis*. The script of the notation and the letters of the *Dies natalis* are very close to the original part of the manuscript, so it is reasonable to suggest that this version of the feast was copied into

93 This extra office contains an alleluia song, *Thoma, flos innocentie* (Thomas, flower of innocence), a notated prosa *Immolata jubilans* (Sacrificed with jubilation) and a sequence, *O quam de claro genere* (O from how noble a stock) for Thomas Aquinas (ff. 265<sup>R</sup>–266<sup>V</sup>). There is also another alleluia for Thomas after the Marian alleluia song.

94 Borino 1947, 220.

95 Borino 1947, 224–226; Salmon 1968, 67. On the manuscripts originating from Katharinenthal, see the study of Kessler 2010.

the codex before the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>96</sup> The liturgy of the feast contains the same elements as the Poissy antiphonary and as such is slightly different from the example of Perugia.

Vat. lat. 10774 (=Vat. lat 10774), Psalterium-hymnal originates from St Catherine of Diessenhofen, the house of the Dominican sisters. In the catalogues, the codex is erroneously dated to the second half of the fourteenth century: the correct dating is the second half of the fifteenth century, except for some younger folios of paper (ff. 8–11), which are from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The manuscript contains 190 folios of 380x280 mm, mainly parchment.<sup>97</sup> The dating becomes clear when studying the hymns proper for the Dominican saints, as St Dominic, St Peter Martyr, St Thomas Aquinas, St Vincent Ferrer and St Catherine of Siena are all included in the codex. St Catherine's feast is not yet marked in the calendar (ff. 1–7), which may indicate that the calendar and the hymnal originate from two different codices. All the feasts for the Dominican saints are presented in the order of the liturgical year. Together with these saints only a few other, mainly biblical figures, are presented in the part of the saints' proper (ff. 152–167). Regarding the selection of the hymns for the Dominican saints, we propose that part of the hymnal dates to the years after the canonization of both, St Vincent (1455) and St Catherine (1461). The hymns for Thomas's *Translatio* are present in ff. 154<sup>R</sup>–155<sup>R</sup> and *Dies natalis* in ff. 155<sup>R</sup>–155<sup>V</sup>. It is worth noting that the Lauds hymn of *Dies natalis* is not *Lauda mater* but *Ortum vitam et exitum Sancti Thome*, a hymn that we have not encountered in any other source at our disposal.<sup>98</sup>

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96 Also Borino remarks that the additions have been done by “a different hand from the thirteenth century”, he does not, however, remark that these two feasts of Thomas are also in different hands, or that the *Translatio* is possibly from the fifteenth century. See Borino 1947, 225–226.

97 The manuscript is catalogued by Borino 1947, 232–236, and Salmon 1968, 42–43. For the research on the manuscripts originating from Katherinenthal (St Catherine), see Kessler 2010.

98 In this manuscript, there are additional notes and the division of syllables is different from any of Thomas's other offices in our sources. See Part III, footnotes.

Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe (Cuttings collection)

Inv. 22032 (=V32), a fragment from a Dominican Choral Book, dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The parchment folio measures 604x419 mm. Scholars of art history concur in attributing this folio and two others in the cuttings collection to the so-called Second Master of St Dominic (or Maestro del B 18), active from the 1330s to the 1350s. Originally these folios were probably a part of antiphonary 8 in the collection of the liturgical manuscripts of San Domenico of Bologna. The existing folios are stylistically dated to the period immediately after the formalization of the *Dies natalis*, that is 1326–1330.<sup>99</sup> This fragment presents a beautiful historiated initial F, which depicts Thomas Aquinas sitting in the cathedra. In the roundels below are students and other people of intellect, apparently studying texts written by Thomas. The fragment includes the first half of the first antiphon, *Felix Thomas*, from the first Vespers of Thomas's *Dies natalis*.

Inv. 22033 (=V33), a fragment from a Dominican antiphonary, dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The parchment folio measures 600x419 mm. It is very likely from the same manuscript as the previous one, and a part of antiphonary 8 in the collection of the liturgical manuscripts of San Domenico of Bologna.<sup>100</sup> In this study our interest in the fragment focuses on the decoration *St Thomas Aquinas in preaching* and other themes presented in the miniature of the folio. The fragment includes the latter half of the third antiphon, *Ope doctóris* (ending in the word *Ytalie*) and the intonation of the first great responsory, *Sancti viri* (including only these words), from the Matins of Thomas's *Dies natalis*.

Inv. 22049) (=V49), is a fragment from a Dominican antiphonary from the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Cuttings collection of the Cini Foundation contains only this one parchment folio from a

99 Other fragments are: inv. 22161 and 22033, the latter also in Thomas's *Dies natalis*. See the catalogue, Medica and Toniolo 2016, 279–282. See also Alce 1961; Toesca 1968, 17.

100 See the catalogue, Medica and Toniolo 2016, 279–282. See also Alce 1961; Toesca 1968, 17.

reputed antiphonary, sized 660x430 mm. According to the catalogue of the collection, the folio, with precious vegetal theme decoration and images of people and some animals, is produced by a Florentine miniature illustrator and can be dated to ca. 1400–1410. The illustrated themes are remarkable, including *St Thomas in the cathedra* in the initial O, *Friar Aldobrandino da Ferrara genuflecting*, and *St Thomas in prayer*. Especially the image of Aldobrandino da Ferrara is without comparison. The manuscript was brought to Venice by Vittorio Cini in 1939.<sup>101</sup> The fragment includes the best part of the first antiphon, *O quam Felix* (ending in the word *dives*), from the first Vespers of Thomas's *Translatio*.

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<sup>101</sup> Medica and Toniolo 2016, 179–181. Regarding the research tradition of the manuscript, see also Toesca 1968, 40.

carnis hostis q'... inica fugat exemplar datus se  
 chilis. **B**eat' vir. evovae. **A**. Mentis' inno  
 cenna flos q' puritatis extiterunt premia luci ve  
 ritatis. **Q**uare fit. evovae. **am**. **I**pe doctores  
 celici tota gaudet ecclesia fulget cetero continui pe  
 culam... gloria. **Q**ue quid. evovae.  
**D**anc... in... uerbu' prophe  
 tiam premonstravit mundo in  
 ris... sanctu' tho... nam docto rem ce li am.  
 S<sup>e</sup>ctatu... rum pa... trem domi... in am.

Image 2. The beginning of the great responsory *Sancti viri*. Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale (Les Dominicains de Colmar), ms. 309 f. 265<sup>v</sup>. (Photo by courtesy of the library, taken by the IRHT.)

# Part I

## Thomas and his rhymed offices

### A short history of liturgical festivities

Thomas Aquinas was born in 1224 or 1225 in the family castle of Roccasecca, today in South Lazio, Italy. His father represented one of the branches of the Aquino family and its counts. Thomas received his first-stage schooling in the Benedictine monastery of Montecassino and was later sent to Naples for more in-depth education. There he joined the Dominican Order, probably in 1244.<sup>103</sup> Within the ranks of the Dominican friars he studied and made his academic career in esteemed universities such as Cologne, Paris and Naples. While travelling from Naples to Lyons, where he was invited as a specialist to the Church Councils, he became ill and died on 7 March 1274.<sup>104</sup>

The sudden death occurred at the Cistercian monastery of Fossanova (present-day South-Lazio) under the care of the monks, and not amongst the brothers of his own Order, the friars Preachers. The death sparked a competition for possession of the corpse between the Cistercian and Dominican Orders. Both tried to justify their rights to it, as it was not simply perceived as the physical remains of a philosopher, but as holy relics. In the Middle Ages, relics were valuable for many reasons, not least because they were material representations of the saint's presence and they were believed to contain divine power that enabled, among other things, their use for protection and cure of sicknesses.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Mandonnet 1923–1924; Walz 1961, 21–28.

<sup>104</sup> For more on Thomas's biography, see Torrell 1993 and Weisheipl 1983.

<sup>105</sup> This description of the background of the history of Thomas's bones is based on the previous research of Räsänen: see especially her monograph of 2017.



As Thomas died in the Cistercian abbey of Fossanova, its monks considered him as one of their own. According to them, Thomas himself had chosen the place where he wanted to die and rest for ever. However, according to the Dominicans it would have been justified and natural to place the Dominican friar, their spiritual brother, in one of their own churches. Precisely when this discussion, perhaps better termed a dispute, between the two orders began is difficult to know because of the nature of the surviving source material. It is clear, however, that strong tensions were in the air from the first years of the fourteenth century, if not before. At this time Thomas's family was also actively promoting its ownership of the body and the memory of their famous relative.<sup>106</sup> The beginning of the canonisation process in the 1310s intensified the articulation of the relationship of the different parties to Thomas's body, which can be read in the testimonies of the canonisation hearings and newly introduced liturgy as well as the *Lives* of Thomas, all written to praise and commemorate the new saint.<sup>107</sup>

The liturgy, composed for Thomas's *Dies natalis* after the canonization in 1323, reflects strongly the debate and the desire to obtain Thomas's precious body within the Dominican Order. The repressed feelings of the friars come out most strongly at the end of the Matins, in the penultimate lesson. The lesson refers to the hiding of Thomas's body at the monastery of Fossanova, an act which is admitted by several Cistercian witnesses in the hearings of the canonization process.<sup>108</sup> The Dominicans presented the concealment in a much more dubious light than the monks and even started to accuse the Cistercians of abuse of Thomas's saintly body. In the second half of the fourteenth century, at the height of the dispute, Raymundus Hugonis, a Dominican friar, went so far as to claim that the Cistercians had boiled Thomas corpse and separated the bones for easier hiding. At the time of the claimed event, the pope was Benedict XI (reigned 1303–1304), himself a Dominican and according to Raymundus the

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106 *Annales* (recensio A and B), Anno Domini MCCLXXIII. See also Räsänen 2017, esp. 68.

107 *Fossanova* and *Neapoli*; *Ystoria*; *Legenda*.

108 See, for example *Neapoli*, cap. 8.



greatest threat to the Cistercians of Fossanova, as the pope had the authority to order the transfer of Thomas's corpse into the keeping of the Dominicans.<sup>109</sup>

The *Dies natalis* liturgy did not repeat any claim that the Cistercians had boiled the dead body, a custom that had been relatively common in certain cultural areas but which was condemned as a heinous practice by Pope Boniface VIII at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>110</sup> It is probable that the tale of the boiling had not yet spread when the *Dies natalis* liturgy was created, or it may even have been of much later origin. It is likely that the tale became an important justification for the Dominican claim that Thomas's corpse belonged to them when they needed to have the permission of the Pope to transfer the body from Cistercian to Dominican ownership. This happened in 1368, when Pope Urban V ordered that the body and the head be transported from the Cistercian house and Italian soil to the Dominicans in Toulouse.<sup>111</sup>

Although the body was finally laid to rest at the Dominican church in Toulouse January 1369, the new liturgy composed to celebrate the feast of the *Translatio* did not abandon the rhetoric of accusations against the Cistercians. If we look at the *lectiones*, i.e. readings that provide the historical narrative that contextualises the liturgies, the *lectiones* of the *Translatio* read very much like a sequel to those of the *Dies natalis*. Whereas the texts of the *Dies natalis* generally relate Thomas's life – with a rather predictable emphasis on the various miracles associated with him – and the lavishly described circumstances of his death, the *Translatio* constitutes a follow-up, narrating the history of Thomas's remains between the time of his death and their final translation to Toulouse.<sup>112</sup>

The bitter conflict over the possession of Thomas's relics is reflected not only in the lessons but also in a more veiled manner in the chants

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109 *Historia translationis*, 84.

110 On disapproval of the boiling practice, see Brown, 1981, 234.

111 On the history of Thomas's remains from his death to the transportation to Toulouse, see Räsänen 2017.

112 The follow-up nature of the narrative of *Translatio* is particularly clear in Vat. lat. 10153, which presents two sets of lessons one after the other, like a continuous narrative.

of the *Translatio*. The accusations of hiding of the body are abundant, especially in the service of the Matins. For example, the first antiphon describes Thomas's body as "a light, which was long hidden [...] and the jewel, concealed in the ground [...]" and after the set of three first antiphons with psalms the first lesson declares:

Since the 1274th year of the Incarnation of our Lord, when the aforesaid Doctor had departed from this life, his venerable body had lain in the Cistercian monastery of Fossanova in Terracina, Campania, where it had been deposited; under the gaze of divine justice, it was restored to the Order of Preachers.<sup>113</sup>

The feelings engendered by Thomas's earthly remains did not end with the translation to Toulouse but resurfaced repeatedly for centuries. The Great Western Schism, the French Wars of Religion and the French Revolution, to mention only the most epoch-making events, all had their effects on the veneration of Thomas's relics and liturgy.

After the short overview of Thomas Aquinas's cult, and especially in those forms of the cult presented in the liturgy, we will take a close look at the guidance of the General Chapters, the highest organ of the Order of Preachers, dedicated to Thomas's veneration. The official annual celebrations of Thomas's *Dies natalis* started with the canonization, declared by Pope John XXII in Avignon on 18 July 1323.<sup>114</sup> The General Chapter of the Order of Preachers gathered for the first time after the canonization in 1324 and did not hide its joy at the achievement of acquiring a new saint. It stated that:

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113 "Ab anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MCCLXXIII, quo dictus Doctor ex hac luce migrauerat, eius venerabile corpus in Terracinæ Campaniæ monasterio Fossae-nouae Cisteriensis Ordinis sub deposito iacuisset, diuina desuper inspectante iustitia, ad ipsum Prædicatorum Ordinem est reductum." *Alia historia*, 738.

114 On Thomas's canonization, among the most central references are Mandonnet 1923; Torrell 1993; Walz 1925. Some marks on annual cultic celebrations before the canonization can be grasped from the canonization process, see for example *Fossanova*, cap. IX.

throughout our order, a *totum duplex* and a litany is to be given to St Thomas Aquinas, the venerable doctor, immediately after the blessed Dominic, and this office is to be held uniformly throughout our whole Order and is to be provided by the master of the Order, to whom we henceforth entrust the provision of the aforesaid office. The feast and the office alike are to be marked in their respective places in the calendar and the ordinary. We wish and decree that, in the meantime, his office is to be celebrated throughout our whole order as that of a confessor.<sup>115</sup>

In other words, the Chapter ordered that Thomas should be venerated in the highest rank of saints (*totum duplex*) and called him immediately after St Dominic, the founder of the Order, in the saints' litanies. As the Office proper did not yet exist, the General Chapter ordered that the *Dies natalis* on 7 March had to be celebrated according to the Office of the Common of a Confessor. The rubrics also indicate that the Chapter left the matter of the proper liturgy of Thomas to the Master – no other declaration on its acceptance can be found in the *Acts* of the General Chapters.<sup>116</sup>

The order of 1324 was confirmed in the next General Chapter, held in Venice in 1325, as was customary in the Dominican Order. Following the Order's regulation, any new feast needed the confirmation of three consecutive General Chapters to be fully accepted for the liturgical calendar. In Thomas's case the feast of *Dies natalis* was officially introduced in the third Chapter of Paris in 1326. The *Acts* of Paris emphasize this fact, declaring that the rubrics of the feast "have three Chapters" (*Et hec habet tria capitula*). Otherwise the Chapter basically

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115 "Inchoamus, quod de sancto Thoma de Aquino, venerabili doctore, fiat per totum ordinem septima die marcii totum duplex et in letania immediate post beatum Dominicum nominetur; et illud officium per totum ordinem uniformiter habeatur, de quo magister ordinis providebit, cui ex nunc committimus de predicto officio providendum; et hoc tam de festo quam de officio suis locis in kalendario et ordinario annotetur. Volumus autem et ordinamus, quod interim de eo sicut de uno confessore officium per totum ordinem celebretur." MOPH IV, 151.

116 On the Dominican liturgy, see Bonniwell 1945, 235. On medieval liturgy, see the informative basic study of Harper 1991. Sometimes the lessons for the feast were presented in the confirmatory chapter, but this did not happen in Thomas's case.

repeated the same content which was introduced in 1324 in regard to the position of Thomas's feast in the Order's liturgy.<sup>117</sup>

We do not know whether Thomas's proper liturgy was ready to be introduced to the head of the Order in the General Chapter of Paris on 1326. The office is generally considered to have been composed by William Adam, a Dominican who was Archbishop of *Antibarensis* (nowadays Bar in Montenegro) at the time when it was presumably completed. However, this identification is based on an early modern source and is suspect.<sup>118</sup>

Whether the writer was William or someone else, we can be sure that the liturgy was ready and confirmed for the use of the friars before 1328, when the *Acts* give instructions for the festivities of Thomas's Octave:

Likewise, to celebrate the memory of blessed Thomas Aquinas on the Octave, in the Lauds with the antiphon: *O Thoma, laus et gloria*; in the Vespers with the antiphon, *Collaudetur Christus* with verses from the Common. And these are to be annotated in their places in the Ordinary.<sup>119</sup>

The *Octava* was a memorial, celebrated a week after the saint's proper feast. In Thomas's case the Octave was on 14 March. If we consider the orders of the General Chapters in relation to the surviving medieval material, we notice that the Dominicans respected rather

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117 "Confirmamus hanc, quod de sancto Thoma de Aquino, venerabili doctore, fiat per totum ordinem septima die marcii totum duplex, et in letania immediate post beatum Dominicum nominetur; et illud officium uniformiter per totum ordinem habeatur, de quo magister ordinis providebit, cui committimus de predicto officio providendum. Et hoc tam de festo quam de officio suis locis in ordinario et calendario annotetur. Et hec habet tria capitula." MOPH IV, 164.

118 The identification is based on the Chronicle of Albertus Castellanus Venetus, from the beginning of the 16th century: "Dominus fr. G. Ade, archiepiscopus Antibarensis, composuit officium SS. Ioachim et Anne. Item officium sanctificationis beate Marie virginis. Item officium XI millium virginum. Item officium S. Thome de Aquino et officium sancti Georgii militis et martyris." See Creytens 1960, 267; Kaeppli 1975, 81–82.

119 "Item hanc, quod fiat memoria de beato Thoma de Aquino per Octaves in laudibus per antiphonam: O Thoma laus et gloria; in vesperis per antiphonam: Collaudetur Christus rex glorie, cum versiculis de communi. Et hec in locis suis in ordinario annotentur." MOPH IV, 177.

well the demands to add Thomas's *Dies natalis* to the calendars on 7 March, when the Octave is often missing. Even though the calendar does not give the Octave, the chants necessary for the memorial feast can be found in the manuscripts immediately after the last part of the *Dies natalis* office. This fact gives us good grounds to presume that Thomas's Octave was respected and celebrated in the Dominican Order.

Several Dominican liturgists and historians have argued that when Thomas's office was launched, it appeared unsatisfactory from both a literary and a musical standpoint.<sup>120</sup> For this reason the General Chapters ordered modifications. The demand to update the liturgy was given in Limoges in 1334:

As many provinces that hold the office of the sainted doctor Thomas, which is common to the Order, to be musically heavy and ill-constructed in its text, we wish and order that the Provincials impose upon those brothers of their provinces who are able to do so that they should make the office textually pleasing and musically fitting in the manner of our Order. They are furthermore to compose it and send it through their Provincials or their associates to the next General Chapter so that, from them, the Order may be provided with an office that is more pleasing.<sup>121</sup>

After 1334 the General Chapter does not return to the issue. When one remembers the strict observance of the system by which new feasts were introduced to the Dominican liturgy, the subsequent silence is surprising. Did different provinces send improved versions for the liturgy of Thomas's *Dies natalis*? If they did, the General Chapter did not give any declaration of the approved, updated office. The texts of

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<sup>120</sup> Bonniwell 1945, 235.

<sup>121</sup> "Item. Cum multe provincie officium sancti Thome doctoris, quod habetur in ordine communiter, in cantu grave reputent et in dictamine incompactum, volumus et ordinamus, quod provinciales in suis provinciis fratribus ad hoc aptis imponant, quod officium suum in cantu et dictamine de beato Thoma in predicto dictamine gratum et in cantu iuxta morem nostri ordinis ydoneum faciant et conscribant ac mittant per provinciales suos vel eorum socios ad sequens capitulum generale, ut ex illis possit provideri ordini de officio magis grato." MOPH IV, 224.

the surviving manuscripts of the *Dies natalis* show only a few variations, most being errors of copyists or other corruption. The situation is different with the music: several differences are recognizable, especially in the notation and melody, but no major changes have been made. Neither text nor music gives a clear indication of whether the 1334 instruction was implemented or not. The chants are addressed through examples in Part II, and their complete transcriptions are presented in Part III.

The unique office of the *Dies natalis*, whose wording differs substantially from that of the others, derives from the manuscript 610 in Toulouse (T).<sup>122</sup> It is an important textual source but without notation. T contains the rubric of the office of the *Dies natalis* defining it as supplementary (*extravagans*).<sup>123</sup> Henceforth, when we compare the office in T to the other versions of the *Dies natalis*, we define the others as “normal”. Otherwise the definition “normal” is not used.

The difference in wording between the *Dies natalis* of T, *extravagans*, and the normal office is so great that it is easier to make a list of similarities. First of all, the general message is the same in both: to praise Thomas’s exceptionality, as *fons sapientie* and *lux mundi*, but beyond the general image, the detail, that is the language used in the chants which describe Thomas, is different. A close look at the texts for the Matins reveals a remarkable similarity between the stories in the two offices, although not one corresponding line is identical. The Lauds contains the same two antiphons in both offices, *Tumor gule* and *Viror carnis*, and the antiphons for the Octave also match, *O Thoma* and *Collaudetur Christi*.

The office of the *Dies natalis* in T ends in a red rubric which claims that the text was ordered by Berengarius de Saltellis, Prior of the Province of Aragon of the Order of Preachers.<sup>124</sup> Berengarius was the prior mentioned in 1333–1342. This dating gives us reason to propose that the so-called office *extravagans* was probably one

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<sup>122</sup> Douais has edited the texts of the chants from the manuscript T, see Douais 1903, 228–238.

<sup>123</sup> T p. 83<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>124</sup> T p. 86<sup>b</sup>.

response to the order of the General Chapter to improve the textual and musical content of Thomas's office in 1334.<sup>125</sup> If this office gained some popularity, it probably did so only at the local level. We have not seen any other similar office, but this does not mean that there are no more surviving examples.<sup>126</sup>

It took almost twenty years before Thomas's office received the attention of the General Chapter again. The *Acts* of Castres declares in 1352:

Furthermore, we commence: that on the individual days on which the memory of blessed Dominic and Peter Martyr is celebrated at the end of Matins and Vespers, the memory of the blessed, sainted and glorious doctor Thomas Aquinas is also to be celebrated after the aforesaid, namely at Matins with the antiphon *Collaudetur Christus* and with the verse *Rigans montes*; at Vespers, on the other hand, with the antiphon *O Thoma* and with the verse *Declaracio sermonum*. And, in the meantime, we wish the aforesaid to be observed in its entirety.<sup>127</sup>

The order is very important from the viewpoint of Thomas's cult. The saint is explicitly elevated to the same level of veneration in the daily office as the older Dominican saints Dominic and Peter. Moreover, the same order issued in Castres was repeated in Besançon in 1353 and Narbonne in 1354, suggesting strongly that the declaration was fully accepted in the Dominican liturgy after these three consecutive General Chapters.<sup>128</sup> If the liturgical rite had previously been performed only

125 Kaeppli gives a short biography of Berengarius: he seems to have been known only for his activity in Catalonia and writing the office *extravagans* for Thomas. Kaeppli 1970, 198.

126 Through a catalogue, we are aware of a breviary called as *Extravagantes (Diurnale)* which could contain Thomas's *Dies natalis extravagans* as well, see Butzmann 1972, 142–146.

127 “Item. Inchoamus hanc: quod singulis diebus, in quibus de beatis Dominico et Petro martyre fit memoria in fine matutinarum et vesperarum, fiat eciam memoria de beato et sancto doctore glorioso Thoma de Aquino post predictas, videlicet pro matutinis per antiphonam: Collaudetur Christus, cum versu: Rigans montes; in vesperis vero per antiphonam: O Thoma, cum versu: Declaracio sermonum. Et hec omnia superius inchoata medio tempore volumus integraliter observari.” MOPH IV, 340.

128 MOPH IV, 347, 357–358.

once a year, as the *Acts* indicate (at any rate, no recommendation or order to follow other rhythms survives), after the year 1352 Thomas's liturgical remembrance became daily. With the establishment of this regime we can presume that Thomas's veneration had reached a new level—the memory of the saint remained fresh and grew in importance all the time.

Given the issue of the order of Castres in 1352 and the orders in the consecutive Chapters of 1353 and 1354, the order of 1334 in Limoges appears to have been an anomaly; there was no further comment on it in the *Acts* that followed, which suggests that Berengarius de Saltellis was one of the few provincials who responded to the call and proposed a new version of the liturgy. Based on the information surviving in the *Acts* and the manuscripts we examined during our research for this and previous studies, we suggest that the order to update the office turned out to be a failure and was not followed by the majority of friars.

The next important stage in the history of Thomas's liturgy begins with the transportation of his relics from their first resting place, Fossanova in Italy. The corpse was moved with the permission of Pope Urban V and arrived in Toulouse on 28 January 1369. In the next General Chapter, held in Valencia in 1370, it was confirmed that the office of the *Translatio* should be celebrated in *totum duplex* on the day of the arrival of the relics in the city, that is, on 28 January every year.<sup>129</sup> By this time the General Chapters were no longer organized annually but every second year. After Valencia, the next General Chapters were in Toulouse in 1372 and Florence in 1374, but the *Acts* of both these two Chapters are unfortunately almost completely lost. Because of this loss, we have no knowledge of the process of the approval of the *Translatio* but we can presume that it was fully accepted in Florence, if not before.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, we know nothing of the process of producing

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129 "Approbamus hanc, quod de translacione beati Thome de Aquino nostri ordinis fiat festum totum duplex xxviii die mensis ianuarii, et quod in crastinum fiat festum de beata Agnete secundo." MOPH IV, 412.

130 It is not clear whether the friars still respected the rule of the three consecutive chapters before new feasts were officially introduced into the liturgical cycles.



the office, while its composer, Aldobrandinus of Ferrara, is first named in the *Acts* of the General Chapter of Udine in 1401.<sup>131</sup>

In Valencia, the General Chapter again gave its attention to Thomas's saintly memory on a more general level. The rubrics raise Peter Martyr and Thomas Aquinas to the same level and place them in close liturgical and memorial proximity to St Dominic:

We confirm this: in the ordinary, where it is said: that every Tuesday there should be added, from *Deus omnium* to the first Sunday of the Advent, on Tuesday, if it is a mass of St Dominic, the second prayer is to be that of St Peter Martyr or St Thomas, unless on the same day is a feast of three lessons or the memorial feast of some saint. This is to be alternated so that, when the weekly service is performed by the choir on the right, a prayer of St Peter Martyr is to be said, and when it is performed by the choir on the left, a prayer of St Thomas, our excellent Doctor from Aquino.<sup>132</sup>

The rubric again strengthens Thomas's cult, representing him as one of the most important saints in the Dominican Order and keeping his memory alive in the Dominican communities as well as among those lay people who followed the liturgy performed in the churches of friars and sisters.

131 "Insuper volumus et mandamus, quod officium translacionis sancti Thome editum per quendam fratrem Al[do]brandinum de Ferraria in prefato festo per totum ordinem nostrum cantetur." MOPH VIII, 104. We discuss on Aldobrandinus's authorship more in detail in the article Räsänen, Heikkinen and Vuori 2017.

132 "Confirmamus hanc: In ordinario, ubi dicitur: quod omni tertia feria, addatur sic: quod a deus omnium usque ad primam dominicam adventus in tertia feria, si sit missa de beato Dominico, secunda oracio sit de beato Petro martyre vel de beato Thoma, nisi eadem die fuerit festum trium lectionum, aut alicuius sancti memoriam habentis, et quod istud alternetur, sicut quando ebdomada erit de choro dextro, dicatur oracio de beato Petro martyre, et quando erit de choro sinistro, dicatur oracio de beato Thoma, doctore nostro eximio de Aquino." MOPH IV, 412–413. Interestingly, at the end of Thomas's *Dies natalis extravagans* a rubric *Ad faciendam memoriam simul de beato Petro martire et de beato Thoma* is given. It consists of an antiphon for Lauds *Eminens martirium*, a short versicle and response (V. *Hii sunt* R. *Virgines enim*) and a prayer dedicated to both of them. They are followed by the antiphon for the vespers, *Martir Christi, Petre mirifice / Doctor orbis Thomas veridice*, and a short versicle and response (V. *Iste sunt*, R. *Lucentia*), and again the prayer. This part was also composed by Berangarius, according the inscription at the end of the text. See T, p. 86<sup>b</sup>.

The new feast and the lessons did not diffuse as rapidly and widely as one might expect. The General Chapter tried to improve the situation by giving new orders, first in Bourges in 1376:

Furthermore, we decree by virtue of holy obedience to the individual Provincials, that as far as the new office for the Translation of the sacred body of blessed Thomas has been passed and sent to the aforesaid Provincials, they are to make certain that it is annotated for later use within one year in their individual convents.<sup>133</sup>

The order was repeated in Carcassonne in 1378.<sup>134</sup> Bonniwell claims that the reason for the friars' lack of interest in the office of the *Translatio* was the mediocre form of the liturgy. Here we suggest a different reason: the office of the *Translatio* is rich in its connection between text and melody, but it is also argumentative and without the theological substance or meditative melismas of Thomas's or St Dominic's *Dies natalis*. "Mediocrity" is not, however, a suitable word to describe the office of the *Translatio*.

Another possible reason for the relatively low interest in the feast may be the general situation of the whole of Christendom at the end of the fourteenth century. The Western Schism divided both the Church as whole and the Dominican Order into two camps, which complicated the promotion of the *Translatio* feast in different parts of Europe. The newly elected Master General of the Roman Obedience, Thomas of Firmo, tried again to promote the office of Thomas's *Translatio* in 1401.<sup>135</sup> The feast seems to have diffused slowly; its problem was

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133 "Item. Precipimus in virtute sancte obediencie singulis provincialibus, quatenus novum officium de translacione sacrosancti corporis beati Thome ipsis provincialibus per reverendum magistrum ordinis traditum seu missum faciant in singulis conventibus suarum provinciarum infra annum ad tardius adnotari." MOPH IV, 430–431.

134 "Item. Precipit reverendus pater magister ordinis prioribus provincialibus et eorum loca tenentibus universis in virtute sancte obediencie, quatenus infra annum a data presencium, sequenciam sancti Thome doctoris nostri, et novem lectiones de translacione eiusdem in singulis conventibus suarum provinciarum scribi faciant, remota excusacione quacumque." MOPH IV, 446.

135 MOPH VIII, 104.

probably still that Thomas's new cult was too closely attached to the figures who supported the Avignon papacy.<sup>136</sup>

The office of the *Translatio* also had necessarily a local character. One of its main purposes was to introduce a new saint to its new community, the people of Toulouse, to raise their interest, respect, trust and devotion to him. Although the liturgy does not include an excessive local emphasis, it purposefully represents Thomas as a saint supported by the French people, which perhaps affected the success of the office.

The history of Thomas's liturgical offices continues beyond the Middle Ages. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Pope Pius X reformed the Catholic breviary, omitting Thomas's *Translatio*, among other items.<sup>137</sup> Nowadays Thomas's *Dies natalis* is celebrated on 28 January, that is, on the original day of the *Translatio*. After the removal of the *Translatio* from the liturgical calendar, this date was seen as more convenient, as 7 March often coincided with Lent, which may have restricted the celebrations. Today some parishes have special permission to continue to celebrate Thomas's *Dies natalis* on its original day of 7 March (Roccasecca and Aquino). The solemn celebrations of the *Translatio* are acted out every year on 28 January, for example in Toulouse.

### A structure of rhymed offices

Rhymed offices are poetic proper offices for feast-days and saints' days of the later Middle Ages.<sup>138</sup> A rhymed office is formed with metrical and usually also rhymed antiphons, great responsories and hymns. It is also typical for the rhymed office that it tends to employ the eight modes sequentially.<sup>139</sup> This kind of office flourished in the

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136 See also Introduction for the acceptance of the feasts at the time of the Schism and Part IV for a more in-depth discussion of Thomas represented as the saint supported by Avignon or Rome.

137 Bonniwell 1945, 369.

138 Hughes 1983, 29. The term rhymed is quite recent, deriving from the nineteenth century. Taitto 1992, 225.

139 On the discussion of the sequence of modes around the turn of the fourteenth century in Paris, see Mews, Crossley and Williams 2014.

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Rhymed offices are often used in the veneration of saints.

Thomas Aquinas's offices of the *Dies natalis* and *Translatio* are both rhymed offices. The first was confirmed in 1326 and the second ca. 1370 (according to the traditional system, most probably in 1372) for Europe-wide use by the Dominican Order. Both feasts received the highest status, *totum duplex*, among the feasts of the medieval Dominican liturgy. The *totum duplex* was the grade normally awarded for biblical and other High-ranking traditional saints as well as all Dominican saints in the Order's liturgy.

The services of saints' feasts, when they were celebrated in higher categories, were started in the Vespers of the eve of the proper feast. The first Vespers included the antiphon with a psalm and a short lesson (*lectio*) or a chapter (*capitulum*) with a short responsory from the Scriptures, a hymn, a versicle and a Magnificat-antiphon.<sup>140</sup> Then the prayer of the liturgy of the *Dies natalis* was presented to honour the saint.<sup>141</sup> Although great responsories are the chants of Matins, one great responsory, from the liturgy proper of the saint, was commonly also sung in the first Vespers. According to the manuscripts used in this study, this was also the case with Thomas's feasts. In the first Vespers of the *Dies natalis*, the additional great responsory was the ninth great responsory of Matins, *Sertum gestans*. In the first Vespers of the *Translatio*, the additional great responsory was the third great responsory of Matins, *Corpus datur*.<sup>142</sup>

The Matins office (the early morning office) was the longest and the most important part of the daily service because this was when

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140 The texts can be found in the breviaries. For the formula of the office, see Appendix 1.

141 The prayers for Thomas can be found, for example, in the breviaries: For the *Dies natalis*, *Deus qui ecclesiam* (The God, who) and for the *Translatio*, *Glorie deus* (Glory of the God). The same prayers were apparently used in the Mass of the saint's feast. For a description of the normal Vesper rite in the Dominican context, see Bonniwell 1945, 132–134.

142 That is, with the exception of one source in our research, P2791, which introduces the ninth great responsory, Joseph sung in the Vespers. The responsory of the first Vesper of the *Translatio* will be examined in more detail in Part III.

the nine readings about the life of a saint were presented.<sup>143</sup> The service was divided into the invitatory and the first, second and third nocturns. Every nocturn began with antiphons that referred to the message of the following psalms and lections. Every lection ended in a great responsory and a verse.

The present study focuses on the combination of the notes and words of chants, but here it is necessary to give some attention to the messages of the psalms and lessons dedicated to Thomas Aquinas. The lessons were an extensive part of the service of Matins and their importance was that they transmitted information about the saint or history of the event that was celebrated on the feast day. As mentioned above, the antiphons first introduced the message of the following psalms and the lessons and the recitation (or singing) of every lesson ended with the great responsory. All these pieces complemented each other. Here is an illuminating example from the first nocturn of Thomas's *Dies natalis*, in which the first three antiphons give a brief account of Thomas's birth, his innocence and his belonging to the Dominican order:

Antiphona 1

Doctor Thomas, replete with grace, predicted by sacred oracles, flees the faults of flesh, the world and the enemy as an example to all the ages.

Ps. 1 *Beatus vir* (Blessed is the man)

Antiphona 2

The innocence of his mind and the flower of his purity became our guide to the light of the truth.

Ps. 2 *Quare fremuerunt* (Why have have gentiles raged)

Antiphona 3

The whole church rejoices in the help of the divine doctor, and the order of Dominic shines in exceptional glory.<sup>144</sup>

Ps. 3 *Domine, quod* (Why, o Lord)

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143 The importance of Matins was a medieval norm, see Reames 2005, 220; Heffernan 2005, 79–80. For the musical perspective on the great responsories of the night office, see Hiley 1993, 69–76.

144 For the Latin text with music, see Part III.

The psalms provide the traditional core, the foundation of the divine office. The function of an antiphon is to form a specific framework for the psalm. The responsories, which follow the readings for that feast, are in turn in dialogue with the antiphons.

The role of the psalms in connection to the antiphons and responsories is crucial, as they serve to place the antiphons and the whole saint's liturgy in the centuries-long tradition.<sup>145</sup> After the set of three antiphon-psalm-antiphons comes the first lesson, which is abbreviated from the *Vita* proper, that is the saint's life.<sup>146</sup>

Blessed Thomas Aquinas, excellent doctor of the Order of Preachers, was born a scion of the noble house of the Counts of Aquinum in the territory of Campania and the Kingdom of Sicily. The birth and progress of the life of this saint was divinely prophesied even before he emerged from his mother's womb. There was, namely, a certain good and respected man in the region of Campania, who led an eremitic life with several others and was generally highly respected. Filled by the spirit of God, he announced to Thomas's mother that she would give birth to a son. When she denied any knowledge of pregnancy, he said: "Rejoice, lady, for you will give birth to a son, and he will be called by the name of Thomas. He will be great in the entire world, both in his knowledge and his life, and he will be a brother of the order of preachers." And all this happened as it was predicted.<sup>147</sup>

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145 William Durand describes extensively the role of psalms in connection with antiphons in his *Rationale*, IV, 26–29. See also Dyer 1989 for a comprehensive study of psalms in the early medieval Church, and Boynton 2007. An exhaustive analysis of the psalms lies outside the scope of the present study.

146 William Durand also specifies the function of the lessons. Here is a quotation which fits particularly well to the context of the saint's *Dies natalis*: "The lessons of Matins are our instruction because through them, we are taught to turn our works to God. [...] through [them] we imitate the works of the Saints, and whose commemoration goads us into the praise of God." See *Rationale* VIII, 43.

147 For the lesson in Latin, see Räsänen 2017, 269. The lessons of the *Dies natalis* are abbreviated from Bernard Gui's legend of Thomas, and not from that of William of Tocco, an "official" hagiographer, which is somewhat surprising. For more on this, see Räsänen 2017. On Bernard Gui as a hagiographer, see Dubreil-Arcin 2002 and 2011.

The lesson and the great responsory *Sancti viri* (Holy Man) are closely linked by their shared message, a common feature of saints' offices:

*Responsorium prolixum 1*

R. The prophetic word of a holy man presaged to the world St Thomas, the divine doctor, follower of Father Dominic. V. For a holy man declared to his pregnant mother that he would be our guide to clear doctrine.<sup>148</sup>

Thus, the first lesson and its responsory explain Thomas's origin and the prophecy of his forthcoming birth to his mother. As medieval liturgist William Durand (c. 1230–1296), explained, the responsories necessarily followed the teaching given by the lessons "because we must respond to teaching with good works". According to him the responsories represented these good works.<sup>149</sup> In Thomas's case, we can sum this up by saying that the lessons gave a wider view of the life of the saint and the great responsory and verse repeated the essential content of the reading.

The responsory *Sancti viri* echoes the preceding first antiphon and psalm in several ways: they are all chanted in the first mode and the psalm and the responsory share practically the same beginning (Blessed Man and Holy Man). The melody of the responsory is peaceful with a typical leap for the mode from the basic note d to the fifth note above it, a recitation note a. It is characteristic of this response that it remains in the higher part of its ambitus almost throughout. Apart from the beginning and the end, the melody descends to the basic note only in *mirificum*. Reaching up to the seventh interval and octave and then moving around fifth, it gives the response an intense feeling of being elated all the time. In this way the melody reinforces the text: the prophecy announcing the coming glory, Thomas's birth.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> See the Latin version with music in Part III.

<sup>149</sup> *Rationale* VIII, 43.

<sup>150</sup> Ambitus is the musical distance from the lowest to the highest note in the chant. See Hughes 1982, 111.

As both of Thomas's feasts were celebrated in *totum duplex*, they contained nine lessons each. The lessons for Thomas's *Dies natalis* briefly describe the saint's birth and the basic outline of his life. A distinctive feature in Thomas's *Dies natalis* is the heavy emphasis that the lessons give to Thomas's *post mortem* history.<sup>151</sup> The lessons of the *Translatio* depict the eventful history of Thomas's saintly body and its handling and transportation to different places in Italy and finally to the Dominican church in Toulouse in 1369.<sup>152</sup>

The hour of Lauds started immediately after Matins according to the Dominican rule. The psalms are an important part of the hour.<sup>153</sup> The six antiphons of Lauds in both of Thomas' offices are propers and they are in a modal order from I to VI. The sixth antiphon is the *Benedicamus* antiphon. The hymns in both offices for Thomas are in mode I and all are written with one melody. These melodies appear to be original, as they are not traceable to earlier sources.

The folios of the antiphonaries which present Thomas's feasts do not include lesser hours, that is Prime, Terce, Sext and None, as those services do not present elements proper for Thomas but derive from common liturgies. The references to the common texts, however, can be found in Dominican breviaries.<sup>154</sup>

Thomas's feasts include the second Vesper, that is, the Vesper of the proper feast day (the first vesper was sung on the eve), as was customary for the feasts in *totum duplex*. A week after Thomas's *Dies natalis*, the Dominicans celebrated Octave in honour of the saint.<sup>155</sup> Thomas's *Translatio* did not receive Octave.

The mass forms its own service outside the rhymed office, as it was distinguished from the office by the Eucharist, the consecration

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<sup>151</sup> Räsänen 2017.

<sup>152</sup> *Alia historia*.

<sup>153</sup> Bonniwell 1945, 140. On Lauds at a more general level, see Harper 1991, 97–98.

<sup>154</sup> There are numerous breviaries surviving from the period of this study: see Thomas's feast from Ch ff. 378<sup>Ra</sup>–383<sup>Va</sup> (*Dies natalis*) and ff. 568<sup>Va</sup>–572<sup>Va</sup> (*Translatio* – it does not include None). For some general outlines of the lesser hours, see Harper 1991, 98–100.

<sup>155</sup> According to William Bonniwell, Humbert of Romans tried to diminish the number of Octaves to simplify the liturgy of the Order, but Humbert's reform does not seem to have been very long-lasting in this respect. See Bonniwell 1945, 116–117.



of bread and wine. The purpose of the office may have been the veneration of a saint, but the mass brought to mind Christ's sacrifice for the benefit of all humankind, made available to all through Holy Communion.<sup>156</sup> On Sundays and feasts the main Mass was celebrated after Terce, on ferial days after Sext.<sup>157</sup> Although the Mass is not the subject of this study, it should be noted that on those days when the Dominicans celebrated a saint's proper, the Mass also included some prayers and chants in honour of the saint of the day (the proper of the mass), such as the sequence, alleluia or tractus.

### Playing with language

Although the two offices of Thomas Aquinas are superficially very similar in their use of metaphor, allegory and biblical imagery, their respective historical contexts are inevitably reflected in the ways in which these devices are employed: while the *Dies natalis* is conventionally hagiographical, Thomas's personality recedes into the background in the *Translatio*, which focuses on the historical and social circumstances of his post-mortem history.

Both liturgies are conspicuously silent about the substance of Thomas's philosophy, although in this respect they conform with the spirit of the earliest biographies of Thomas like that of William of Tocco. Although his wisdom and truthfulness are praised, we observe only a handful of oblique references to the content of his teaching. In the hymn for the *Dies natalis* we find the following phrase:

Plus quam doctores ceteri  
 Purgans docta gentilium.<sup>158</sup>  
 [Purging/cleansing the teachings of the heathen  
 more assiduously than any other doctor.]

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<sup>156</sup> On the mass in general, see Harper 1991, 109–126.

<sup>157</sup> In monasteries there might also be a morning mass before the daily meeting in the chapter. On the celebration of mass, see Hughes 1982, 16–19.

<sup>158</sup> *Dies natalis*, MH.

This is a reference to Thomas's work in creating a Christianized version of Aristotelian philosophy that ultimately found papal acceptance. References to "rejecting the falsehoods of the infidels" are a Christian commonplace, but here this would not do, as Thomas built on the work of pre-Christian, Jewish and Islamic philosophers rather than rejecting it. By using the expression *purgans*, the liturgist has given an old expression new life, adopting it to the late medieval cultural context.

While the *Dies natalis* is more straightforwardly hagiographical, in places the *Translatio* is openly polemical, refuting, in a poetic way, the Cisterians' claims to Thomas's body. A case in point is the choice of words in the second antiphon of the Matins:

Corpus quod diu latuit  
In Terracine loculo;  
Mirandis signis claruit  
Post in Tholose patulo.<sup>159</sup>

[The body once lay hidden  
In its tomb in Terracina;  
Later it appeared to all  
In Toulouse with wondrous signs.]

*Latuit*, or "lay hidden" seems a deliberate misnomer that obscures the role of the local cult of Thomas's relics and the community of Fossanova in the spiritual life of central Italy, and it reflects the Dominicans' accusations that the Cistercians concealed Thomas's body.

The composer of the *Translatio* uses biblical allegory, not only in presenting the parallels between Thomas's body and the Body of Christ, but also by drawing on the Old Testament in a rather pointed manner to emphasize the Dominicans' rightful claim to Thomas's remains. Here is one example from Matins:

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<sup>159</sup> *Translatio*, MA2.

Joseph duplex doctore gloria,  
 Signis velut presignat vatibus,  
 Mulieris acta victoria,  
 Ossa sancta legata fratribus,  
 Tholoseque delata partibus.<sup>160</sup>

[Joseph's twofold glory  
 Presaged the Doctor with prophetic signs,  
 The victory over the woman,  
 The holy bones left to his brothers  
 and transferred to Toulouse.]

The passage plays on two episodes of scriptural history and their counterparts in the life of Thomas and the subsequent history of his relics. Joseph's rebuttal of the advances of Potifar's wife is seen as anticipating the episode in Thomas's youth when he chased a prostitute from his chamber with a whip, while the translation of Thomas's bones to Toulouse is equated with Moses' transport of Joseph's bones from Egypt to the Holy Land. Although the latter comparison may seem tenuous to the modern reader, it has the implication that Thomas's relics were in an enforced exile while the Cistercians of Fossanova possessed them.

In places, the liturgy has a here-and-now quality that asserts the actuality of Thomas's translation and the presence of his body. One of the minor miracles recounted in the text is the description of a cleric who, when carrying the saint's relics, slips and falls in the mud but miraculously remains clean. Thomas's translation took place in January, and the challenges the season presented were obvious:

R. Puritatis vas decorum  
 Nichil sordis patitur.  
 Presul clarus fama morum  
 Sanctum ferens labitur

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<sup>160</sup> *Translatio*, MR9.

- mersus luto indecorum  
Nil inde relinquitur.
- V. Sacris tamen vestibus  
Manibus ac pedibus  
Totus ceno figitur,  
Indecorum [...] <sup>161</sup>
- R. [The fine vessel of purity  
Tolerates no baseness;  
A bishop, famous for his virtue  
Slips carrying the saint,  
But sinking into the filthy mud  
Is untainted by it.
- V. Although his sacred clothes,  
Hands and feet,  
Are entirely stuck in the filth,  
He is untainted by it.]

This minor miracle also demonstrates the fundamental difference between the two liturgies: while several of the miracle stories in the *Dies natalis* have Thomas as their protagonist, in the *Translatio* the saint (or his relics) merely forms a backdrop for the miracles that happened to his followers. In other words, the earlier liturgy tells us about the saint, whereas the *Translatio* is all about the institution he had become.

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<sup>161</sup> *Translatio*, MR6.



Image 3. The beginning of St Thomas's *Translatio*. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, ms. 2799, f. 157<sup>r</sup>. (Photo by courtesy of the library.)



## Part II

# Analyses of the chants and liturgy

### Musical and notational differences in the sources

In this research we have used twenty-two manuscripts with notations for Thomas's *Dies natalis*. Seventeen include the chants for his *Translatio*. Twelve are from Colmar, which is the largest body of material in the study.<sup>162</sup> The chants for Dominic's *Dies natalis* are taken from the authoritative *Codex Humberticus* and a manuscript from Casanatense, ms. 4507 (Ca).<sup>163</sup>

In Thomas's *Dies natalis*, all the sources share the same melodies. Even in those that vary most the musical variation involves small differences in melody, for instance, additional notes in the form of melismatic decorations of words, repetition notes, currentes, scandici, liquescents and prolonged notes. The notational differences are also musically significant, as they affect the phrasing of the chant. The chants of Thomas's *Translatio* share the same melodies in the manuscripts, except for the third great responsory in manuscripts from Perugia. In all the other sources the third great responsory is written with a sixth-mode melody, which is unusual in a rhymed office. In the P mss, it has a third-mode melody, as it is supposed to be in a rhymed office. The melody from Dominic's *Dies natalis* in the third mode provides the model, as do all the chants in Dominic's *Dies*

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<sup>162</sup> Most of the sources contain the whole office in question, but, for example, hymnaries include only hymns. The smallest sources, V32, V33 and V49, are only fragments. For the descriptions of the sources, see Introduction. The analyses of the sources are written in detail in the footnotes of Part III.

<sup>163</sup> Dominic's chants for the Matins are in Appendix 5. *Codex Humberticus* is our principal source. Ca is used only selectively.

*natalis* for the the chants in Thomas's *Translatio*. The fact that out of all the comparative material, the manuscripts from Perugia (P) are the only ones with the third great responsory in the third mode suggests that the P mss are the oldest extant sources for Thomas's *Translatio*. The other interesting thing to note is in the notation of the first antiphon, *Jam dudum* (A light, which was long hidden) of Matins. In this chant, in P2791, there is the word *gemine* (twofold) when in all the other sources the word is *gemma* (jewel). A three-syllable word has music written for three syllables. In other sources the two-syllable word is written with music arranged for two syllables, but in P2799 there is still music written for a three-syllable word, although the text has two syllables. This mistake indicates that P2799 was copied from P2791. Our research indicates that P2791 is the earliest extant version of Thomas's *Translatio*. Moreover, one interesting exception is a fragment, folio V49, from the Cini Foundation in Venice. It includes the half of the first antiphon of the first Vespers in *Translatio*, *O quam Felix*, and has an alteration to the wording which will be further explored in Part IV. The manuscript from which V49 originates would have been an interesting source to study notationally, since even on this one existing folio there is not only a textual difference but also an excessive use of liquescents compared to other manuscripts.<sup>164</sup> The other chants in the *Translatio* are quite similar, although from different sources, the differences being mainly notational.

The manuscripts of both the offices of Thomas Aquinas can be divided into three groups on the basis of notation, phrasing and melodies. Those in each group can be called relatives rather than families as they are similar but exhibit some differences. Vat. lat. 10771 is very close to the antphonaries of Colmar (C). They form the first comparison group. Add 23935 (L) of the British Library is identical apart from minor differences to the Melbourne (Me) source and the two manuscripts can be described as close relatives. In most of the chants, Ms. 193 at the Arsenal Library in Paris (A) follows

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<sup>164</sup> See the notational differences in the footnotes of Part III and the description of the V-fragments in Introduction as well as in Medica and Toniolo 2016.



the example of L and Me. Together they form a group two of related manuscripts. Group three is formed by manuscripts from Orvieto (O) and Perugia (P), P2791 being different from the others in some places. We can place the origins of the first group in the Dominican province of Teutonia, the second group originates in Paris and the third is of Italian origin.<sup>165</sup>

Taking a wider perspective, the simplest notation is used in group one of the manuscripts. The chants are mainly written with the basic quadrat notes with some porrecti. The pes-virga combination is typical for these sources. The first group consists of C mss, which are very close to each other. Vat. lat. 10771 is more distinctive, since it partly resembles the C mss, but in some chants also other manuscripts. The second group consists of more diverse notation with porrecti and added notes. The tractulus-pes combination is more common. The second group is generally very homogeneous – L and Me are very similar in most respects. The third group is the “wildest” one with greatest variation in musical formulas when compared to other groups. The third group of manuscripts also have the most differences from each other.

The division into three groups is made on the basis of common similarities. Deeper analyses of the differences are made in the following comparisons of chants as well as in the footnotes on the musical notes.

The fourth antiphon, *O munus* (O gift) and the seventh antiphon, *Instante vite termino* (As his life neared its end), are good examples of a difference in decoration. In the seventh antiphon, the simplest version of the chant is in the first manuscript group.<sup>166</sup> The second manuscript group has some more musical decoration, but the third group has the most. In this chant, of all the sources O is the most decorated.<sup>167</sup> Even though the first manuscript group is in many ways the simplest, in

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165 See Introduction for the descriptions of the sources.

166 The most decorated O has 56 notes (the melismacy being  $56/32=1.75$ ), whereas the simplest sources, C mss and Vat. lat. 10771, have 48 notes ( $48/32=1.5$ ). See more about the melismacy in chants in Part II.

167 See the analyses of the chant in the footnotes of Part III.

the fourth antiphon it is the most decorative.<sup>168</sup> The least decorative is group two, which seems to be a combination of the versions in groups one and three. In these two antiphons, the fourth and seventh, the variety in decoration reflects preferences in singing the chants rather than the age of a manuscript. The greatest variation in the melody of the *Dies natalis* antiphons is in the *Benedicamus* antiphon, *Viror carnis*, of the second Vespers. The two versions of this chant resemble a word puzzle: they are composed with similar pieces – musical formulas – but the formulas are used in different places of the chant. The overall picture of the chant is similar in the different versions, since the melody is quite similar except that the musical formulas are put together in a different order.<sup>169</sup> The great variation might derive from the use of the chant in different Dominican traditions of Thomas's *Dies natalis*: in the so-called normal office and the extravagans.<sup>170</sup>

Comparison of sources that are close to each other musically enables us to learn about preferences in notation and musical choices. Attention has been given especially to three types of notation: the use of liquescents, the choice of neumatic breaks, and the use of porrecti.

A liquescent in square notation is a reminiscence of a phonetic neume. It indicates a sung consonant or vowel on a microinterval. The medieval musical theorist Guido of Arezzo describes the singing of liquescent notes as a “smooth glide from one note to another”.<sup>171</sup> According to the Benedictine Dom Eugène Cardine, Guido's modern counterpart, “Liquescence is a vocal phenomenon caused by the articulation of a complex combination of syllables”.<sup>172</sup> The use of liquescents can tell us about the culture of singing. It is an intonation

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168 In manuscript group one, the fourth antiphon has 64 notes (melismacy  $64/32=2$ ), in group two 58 notes ( $58/32=1.81$ ) and in group three 53 notes ( $53/32=1.66$ ). See the musical notes in Part III.

169 See Part III.

170 This chant is as a text in the T manuscript of our study. The so called “normal” and the extravagans are discussed in Part I.

171 Hucbald, Guido and John. 72–3. “Liquescunt vero in multis more litterarum, ita ut inceptus modus unius ad alteram limpide transiens nec finiri videatur.” Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus*, ed. Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, Rome 1955, 175–176. Cited by Treitler 2003, 392.

172 Cardine 1982, 215.

considered to be technically different from the basic neumes. Cardine writes: “This (liquescence) requires the vocal organs to momentarily assume a position which diminishes or impedes the sound.”<sup>173</sup> The singing instructions are written within the notation.

The use of liquescents in our sources for Thomas’s *Dies natalis* is very modest. There are only one to three liquescents per chant, and none in some chants. The greatest number is in Vat. lat. 10771. There are some liquescents in P2791, L, Me and A. The C mss have a liquescent in only two chants and O has a liquescent in one chant.<sup>174</sup> There are no liquescents in either of Thomas’s offices in P2799. The only sources that have liquescents in hymns are Vat. lat. 10771, Me and P2791.<sup>175</sup>

If we disregard the number of liquescents and consider only their presence or absence, it is possible that manuscripts with liquescent notes are older with more varying notation and singing styles, but it is also possible that a copyist has preferred liquescents, or that liquescents were sung even though they were not written in the manuscript. Even a single liquescent is always a part of the whole planned composition. It seems that within a chant there is usually a balance between special signs like liquescents and complex notes like porrecti and melismata. There may have been rules for the number of special signs in a chant. For example, according to Cardine: “liquescents are used in melismatic chants but not in melismata”.<sup>176</sup> We suggest that when the notational and musical expression is more variable, the number of liquescents is lower and more similar in the different chants. St Dominic’s *Dies natalis*, the oldest and the most melismatic source, *Codex Humberticus*, contains 25 liquescents in eighteen Matins chants with a mean of 1.38

173 Cardine 1982, 215. See Cardine for further classification of liquescents. His research is based on Dom Mocquereau’s editing of research in Gajard’s extensive *Paléographie Musicale* series.

174 The C mss (although not all of them) have a liquescent in the second and the third great responsory. O has a liquescent in the fifth great responsory.

175 Vat. lat. 10771, P2791 and Me have a liquescent in the hymns *Exultet mentis* and *Lauda mater* in Thomas’s *Dies natalis*. Me has liquescent also in Thomas’s *Translatio* in *Jubar celorum*.

176 Cardine 1982, 215.

per chant.<sup>177</sup> The number peaks in the seventh great responsory with four liquescents, there being only two chants with no liquescents. In comparison, in Thomas's *Translatio* the eighteen Matins chants in C134 have 36 liquescents with a mean of 2 per chant.<sup>178</sup> However, liquescents are not as evenly distributed as in Dominic's office. There are seven chants with no liquescents, two with five, and one chant with 10. P2791 and Vat. lat. 10771 have no liquescents in Thomas's *Translatio*.

The musical expression in *Codex Humberticus* in Dominic's *Dies natalis* is very variable and melismatic. There is no need or even place for many liquescents. The C mss, including Thomas's *Translatio*, are younger copies with a younger feast. The notation is not so variable and the use of liquescents is excessive in some chants. It is, however, intriguing that in Vat. lat. 10771 and P2791, which include both of Thomas's offices, Thomas's *Translatio* has no liquescents. This can be seen as evidence of simplified notation within a single manuscript, but it does not explain why the number of liquescents is so small in the C mss when considering Thomas's *Dies natalis*.

An example of the use of liquescents from Thomas's *Dies natalis* is from the second great responsory *Christi Virgo*. Vat. lat. 10771 and the C mss (except C134) have two liquescents, in *linquens* and *fortis*. P2791 has one in *libidine*. L, A, Me and O have no liquescents in this chant. By comparison, the greatest number of liquescents in all the research sources are in the eighth great responsory of Thomas's *Translatio*, *O Doctoris*. C134 includes ten liquescent notes (five in the response and five in the verse), while C137 and C309 include nine and C310 four liquescents. In this chant, M, the P mss and Vat. lat. 10771 have no

177 In Dominic's Matins in *Codex Humberticus*, the number of liquescents is 25. The median being 1 and a mean  $(1+1+1+0+1+2+2+1+2+2+1+1+2+1+4+2+0)/18 = 1,38$ .

178 In the Matins of Thomas's *Translatio* in C134, the number of liquescents is 36, the median being 1 and with a mean of  $36 (1+0+1+0+0+0+0+1+0+3+3+5+3+2+0+2+10+5)/18 = 2$ .

#### Scandicus



tractulus-pes    pes-virga    virga-virga-virga

liquescents. The comparative source, *Codex Humberticus*, includes two liquescents in the verse. It seems that sometimes the C mss have liquescents even where it is not necessary, as in the third antiphon of Lauds in the word *luce*, or in the fourth antiphon of Lauds in the word *qui*. It is also possible that in these words there is a scribal error, as the liquescent is written only in some C mss.

The neumatic break studied in this research is a scandicus combined of two or three neumes: a tractulus-pes, a pes-virga and three virgas.<sup>179</sup> Although the break is clearly defined to three notes, it needs to be valued according to the whole musical phrase. According to Cardine, the break is a conductor's hand movement as well as a hand of a copyist. A hand stops on a note to show its importance, the important note being the one before the break.<sup>180</sup>

In Dominic's *Dies natalis* and Thomas's *Translatio*, notations are especially interesting to compare, since the melodies are the same. The eighth great responsory *Ascendénti* (Dominic) in *Codex Humberticus*, includes an ascending break in a tractulus-pes in *ascendénti*, *chori*, *angélici* and [*Jesu*] *bone*. In *O doctoris* (Thomas) in the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771, the words *doctóris*, *que*, *intéritum* and *córpōris* include an ascending break that is written with a pes-virga.<sup>181</sup> There is also a repetition of two notes in *bone* (*Codex Humberticus*) and a liquescent in *intéritum* (the C mss), which affect the melody. This habit of using either a tractulus-pes or a pes-virga is a typical difference between *Codex Humberticus* (a tractulus-pes), the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 (a pes-virga). However, it is a choice of musical expression. Both *Codex Humberticus* and the P mss of this chant have an ascending break in a tractulus-pes in *doctoris*, *que*, *intéritum* and *córpōris*. In Me, these words are written even more simply, with a melodic scandicus of three virgas, except for *intéritum* with a tractulus-pes.

We want to emphasize that notational differences are always melodic choices. As a tractulus-pes expression is more common in the

179 The Table of neumatic sings of St Gall. Cardine 1982, 12. On neumatic break, see Cardine 1982, 79–91.

180 Cardine 1982, 79–80.

181 *O doctóris* page, see Part III the Chants of *Translatio*; For *Ascendénti*, see Appedix 5.

older manuscripts, we propose that the P mss and Me, which include more similar expressions, are older than the Vat. lat. 10771 and the C mss. In many chants of the *Translatio*, the notation of the Me and the P mss differ from the other sources in a similar way: that is, in the fifth antiphon *Fulget celéstibus* (He sparkles in the heavens) of Lauds in *celéstibus*, *hic virtútibus* (in his virtues) and *Dóminum* (Lord), and in the sixth antiphon *De iacénte* (From the deceased) of Lauds in *sepúlto* (tomb), *diéscit* (dawns) and *mira* (wonderful). They share the same musical and notational differences.<sup>182</sup> However, even though the Vat. lat. 10771 in the example from Thomas's *Translatio* seems to be younger with a choice of the pes-virga, in many chants of Thomas's *Dies natalis* Vat. lat. 10771 is similar to the sources of group two and even the P mss. For example, in the *Magnificat*-antiphon *Scandit doctor*, Vat. lat. 10771 has similarities with Me, O, L and A (in *orbis*). In the first great responsory *Sancti viri* (of a holy man), Vat. lat. 10771 has a similarity with the P mss (in *verbum*).

If we compare the manuscripts, we can observe that the use of a porrectus is one feature that differs from source to source. The porrectus consists of three notes: higher, lower and higher.<sup>183</sup> Usually there is one porrectus in a phrase and approximately three of them in the whole chant. In an important word or a melismatic word, there might be more of them. In a given chant, the porrecti are not necessarily in similar places. For example, in the sixth great responsory of Thomas's *Dies natalis*, the first word *sydus* (a star) in the C mss is without porrecti, but the third word *Thomae* is written with one. Vat. lat. 10771 is written in the opposite way (*sydus* with porrectus and *Thomae* without). M, P2799 and A have porrecti in the response only in *múneris* (grace) and *céteris* (others), while P2791 has a porrectus in *céteris* and *litteris* (letters). This tells us about diversity in notation. It is a question of balance: the writer or a composer has chosen which words he wants to emphasize with a porrectus. This process can be compared to

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<sup>182</sup> See Part III.

<sup>183</sup> The neume is formed by the union of three accents, acute, grave and acute. Cardine 1982, 42. On the porrectus, see Cardine 1982, 42–46.

the action of a singer who in some ways has to follow the dramatic movement of notated chant, but with breathing and phrasing she or he can choose which words are important to sing with the greater emphasis. In chants decisions of this kind are made during notation: the places of porrecti, melismata and other notations determine the expression of seemingly plain music. In the *Translatio*'s chants, the porrectus is the most common in Vat. lat. 10771. Me, and P2791 use some porrecti, and the C mss the fewest. It seems that in the C mss, especially in the great responsories, simple notation without porrecti is preferred in the *Translatio*. When comparing the number of porrecti between the C mss and *Codex Humberticus* (St Dominic's *Dies natalis*), nine out of eighteen chants have a similar number of porrecti in both sources, seven chants have one porrectus more in *Codex Humberticus*, one chant has two more porrecti in the C sources, and one chant has two more porrecti in *Codex Humberticus*.<sup>184</sup> The one chant that has more porrecti in the C sources is the sixth great responsory with a joyous theme: *Puritátis vas decórum*. By comparison, Vat. lat. 10771 has more porrecti than *Codex Humberticus* or C134 in eight chants, up to 10 per chant.<sup>185</sup> It seems that the lack of liquescents in Vat. lat. 10771 has resulted in a greater number of porrecti. On the other hand, the C mss in their simple way resemble *Codex Humberticus* more closely in this aspect.

Melodically the most decorative source is the most recent one, the manuscript from Orvieto. For example, in the *Dies natalis Magnificat*-antiphon *Scandit doctor* (The doctor ascends), O has an extra repetition note in *scandit*. There are extra notes in *omnium* (similar to Me, P2799, A), but O and A also have a porrectus in *omnium*, and in addition O has more notes than the other sources in *fidelium* (of the faithful) and *bravium* (reward). In the great responsories O is also by far the most decorative: in the fourth great responsory the melismatic word

184 The number of porrecti in the C mss (The main source C134) and *Codex Humberticus* in the Matins's eighteen chants in Thomas's *Translatio*. TT/D: 0/0, 0/1, 0/0, 1/2, 2/2, 2/2, 1/1, 1/1, 1/1, 2/2, 5/6, 7/8, 6/4, 0/1, 0/0.3/4, 0/2, 5/6.

185 The number of porrecti in the Matins's eighteen chants in Thomas's *Translatio*. Vat. lat. 10771: 0, 0, 0, 2, 3, 8, 1, 1, 2, 4, 10, 9, 1, 0, 0, 6, 1, 10.



*ecclésiā* (the church) is melismatic in all the sources, but O has the greatest number of notes (22). However, O has only one liquescent, and in some chants single words are slightly simpler than in other sources (for example the last word of the antiphons of Matins: in *seculis* (ages) in the first antiphon *Doctor Thomas* and in *Gloria* in the third antiphon *Ope doctoris* (through the help of the doctor)).

The differences in O compared to the other manuscripts are probably a product of the Orvietan local tradition of Thomas Aquinas's cult. Today scholars commonly accept that Thomas re-composed the Corpus Christi liturgy in Orvieto in 1263–64, when he was appointed as the lector of the local Dominican convent.<sup>186</sup> This episode in Thomas's life functioned as the catalyst for special forms of veneration of him, the forms in which the connection between him and Corpus Christi are emphasized.<sup>187</sup> This emphasis may be behind the notational decoration of particular words. *Scandit* and *brāvium* seem to refer to the most popular episode in Thomas's life, when the Crucifix spoke to him, accepted his writings and asked whether he would like a reward.<sup>188</sup> The oldest sources locate the episode to Naples, but according to the Orvietan tradition the same happened in Orvieto when Thomas completed his Corpus Christi office.<sup>189</sup> The antiphon *Scandit doctor* refers to the most celebrated features of Thomas as the saint and describes him as a citizen of the heavens, having ascended "to the rewards of his life".<sup>190</sup> The link between the words of the crucifix and the antiphon was deliberate, and in our opinion this link would most likely be emphasized in the Orvietan Dominican tradition.

Variation, as in Thomas's chants of the *Dies natalis*, can express a tradition of local improvisation: the addition of known structured

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186 There is a vast literature on the topic, as the authorship of the Corpus Christi has been discussed for decades. See Räsänen 2016, footnote 8, for some most recent studies on the argument.

187 Räsänen 2016.

188 See *Ystoria*, cap. 34. The episode is discussed more profoundly in Part IV.

189 Räsänen 2016, 296–298.

190 The antiphon *Scandit doctor*: "The doctor, a citizen of the heavens, adornment of the World, leader and light of the faithful, the norm, limit and law of all manners, a vessel of virtue, ascends to the reward of his life." For the whole antiphon in Latin and with the notation, see Part III.



musical particles of a local liturgical community to the known melodies. Treitler's comment about the improvisation of offertory chants of the year 1071 is equally applicable to this younger chant material: "These variants are not random corruptions of an original; they show each of the local ecclesiastic-musical communities using the generative system of this idiom as they know it with consistency and deliberateness, and thereby they show us the boundaries of the systems as such."<sup>191</sup> Small variations in the melody and notation can also be seen as preforms of improvisation, even if the differences are minor, and especially when they are more decorated variations. They have been created from the need to elaborate on a precious subject, a saint, with a chant melody.

### Melismacy

In this research into the comparative study of melodies, the focus is on the melismacy of chants.<sup>192</sup> Melismacy is the number of notes divided by the number of syllables. There are two lines of inquiry: the melismata in chants compared between offices and the melismata in individual words in the great responsories.

The Office of Thomas's *Translatio* is a contrafact of Dominic's office.<sup>193</sup> This means that the same melodies have been used for new texts. The use of the same melodies tells us that respect for St Dominic forms the substance and character of the office of Thomas's *Translatio* and is the underlying current of its chants. Although the melodies are similar, a closer look reveals a difference in melismacy.<sup>194</sup> In eight of the nine great responsories, Dominic's *Dies natalis* is more melismatic than Thomas's *Translatio*.<sup>195</sup> As the number of notes is approximately the same, this means in practice that Dominic's chants

<sup>191</sup> Treitler 2003, 21.

<sup>192</sup> For the practical methods in overall comparison of chants, see Hughes 2004a, 291.

<sup>193</sup> In addition to Dominic's office, the offices for St Thomas of Canterbury and St Francis were copied in this way. Hiley 1993, 274.

<sup>194</sup> See Appendix 3 about melismacy in the great responsories. On melismacy in regard to verse formula, see Part II.

<sup>195</sup> In our discussion of melismacy in great responsories, we refer to the responses if not noted otherwise. This is a common practice, as the verses are mostly written with known patterns.

have fewer syllables and consequently fewer words. A lower degree of melismacy in a chant means that its melody is less decorated and therefore less festive. For a listener, the *Translatio*'s chant texts are easier to comprehend, because a syllabic text is easier to follow than a melismatic one. On the other hand, the effect of melismatic chant is more meditative: the melismata transcend the literal meaning of the text while emphasizing or highlighting individual phrases, making them suited to the veneration that is at the heart of Dominic's *Dies natalis*. The responsories of Thomas's *Translatio* are, for obvious historical reasons, more narrational and even argumentative, and this may explain their greater syllabicity: the Dominicans did not want anything to obscure their content.

In the musical comparison we focus on the responses of the great responsories, since by their nature they are musically among the most complicated and decorated chant genres.<sup>196</sup> The most melismatic response in all three offices is in Dominic's fifth great responsory *Panis oblātus* (Bread, offered). It is composed with a high degree of melismacy on several words throughout the response,<sup>197</sup> celebrating its theme of heavenly bread and its reference to Corpus Christi. The melismacy of the response is 4.19 (134/32), while in the corresponding response in Thomas's *Translatio* it is 2.74 (137/50).<sup>198</sup> Thomas's text portrays, in a very down-to-earth manner, a bishop who carries the saint's relics. The melodies are very similar, except that there are three more notes in Dominic's response, but the atmosphere in the chants is different because of the differing degrees of melismacy. The melismata give the chant in Dominic's liturgy an air of celebration and praise.<sup>199</sup> These

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196 Graduals and tracts are considered to be more melismatic than great responsories. Also, the number of melismata varies in different great responsories at different times, with new melismata added to responsories in the early Middle Ages. See Hiley 1993, 76, 200.

197 The melismacy: *Panis* 8 notes/2 syllables=4; *oblātus* 10/3=3,33; *cēlitus* 10/3=3,33; *inōpiam* 19/4=4,75; *Vitéque* 15/3=5; *matris* 13/7=6,5; *tristitiam* 22/4=5,5. See the chant in Appendix 5.

198 See Appendix 3 about melismacy in the great responsories.

199 The connection of melismacy and praise is particularly obvious in alleluias. A long melisma sung with the vowel is called a jubilus. See Hiley 1993, 130–136. Jubilation and improvisation in singing the psalms is also a subject in Augustine's writings. See the

chants demonstrate how different stories, emotions and values can be expressed with a similar melody but a different number of words.

Another type of variation is seen in the seventh great responsory. Thomas's *Translatio* response *Laboránti* (the one who suffers) includes 102 notes with a melismacy of 2.04, while the same melody in Dominic's response *Felix vitis* (blessed vine) consists of 89 notes with a melismacy of 2.47.<sup>200</sup> Despite the different lengths of the chants, they give an impression of being similar. In Thomas's response, musical formulas and slightly varied phrases are repeated, as they have to fit a longer text. The melody *in adest sponsor divíni múnérís* is a variation of the previous phrase *ac peténti Thome presídía*. In a similar way, *miserátus* is a variation of the melody of the following phrase *in horréndi scélerís*. These additional phrases have been written with professional composing skills and demonstrate one technique of arranging the music.

The second great responsory is a good example of a very subtle way of adjusting a new text to an older melody. There are only six notes more in Thomas's response *Gaudet sacra* (Our sacred faith rejoices), with a melismacy of  $142/48=2.96$ , than in Dominic's *Ortum mundo* (Born to the World), which has a melismacy of  $136/36=3.78$ . The additional notes are in the words *dum*, *in* and *rehábuit*. The composer has added a musical particle of two notes, a pes, which has already been used several times in the chant in a similar way. It does not bring anything new to the chant or change its melody. The only difference is in the number of syllables and in the division of phrases. These two responsories are exceptional in that they seem to share the same story, which is rare in parallel chants between two offices. *Gaudet sacra* relates Thomas's rebirth in the Dominican Order after the years in exile, whereas *Ortum mundo* narrates Dominic's birth. Again, the composing of a new text to a known melody has been executed with good taste and skill, but using a different method than in the seventh response.

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analyses of his texts in Stapert 2007, 89–91. For an interesting study of melismata, see Kruckenberg 2008 on the especially melismatic chant tradition at the feast of John the Evangelist in the Dominican Convent of Paradies bei Soest in the fourteenth century.  
200 Appendix 3.

A characteristic place for a single melismatic word is at the end of a response so as to emphasize the end of the chant. The melisma is also a typical way of giving more space to a word considered important, which is frequently the last word of a response. In all Dominic's great responsories but the first, the most melismatic word is either the final or penultimate word of the response.<sup>201</sup> In the sixth response, with a melismacy of 11.5, the most melismatic single word, *fulgens* (shining) refers to Dominic's radiance.

Six of the ten<sup>202</sup> responses in Thomas's *Translatio* also have the most melismatic word at the end of the response.<sup>203</sup> The exceptions are the first response, the second response, and the second version of the third response. The first response has its most melismatic word, *novus*, at the beginning, referring to Thomas as a new spring, long hidden in the ground. This same feature was in Dominic's first response: the melismata at the beginning of the first response. The second response is an example of giving a melisma to a small, rather insignificant word to strengthen the whole sentence, which is also a typical way of using melismata.<sup>204</sup> The word *et* (and) has a melismacy of 13. In itself the word *et* is not important, but its melismata give added importance to the words before and after. The meaning of the sentence is *nourished and perfected in his learning* (áluit et perfécit in stúdio). In the chant, brothers rejoice over the bones of their long-lost teacher. The first version of the third great responsory in the third mode is very syllabic when compared to version two, which is in the sixth mode. The most melismatic word, *datur*, at the beginning, refers to *the body given to the brothers*. The meditative

201 Dominic's *Dies natalis* MR2: *preságia*: 24/4=6; MR3: *extóllitur* 32/4=8; MR4: *discrímina* 19/4=4,75; MR5: *matris* 13/2=6,5; MR6: *fulgens* 23/2=11,5; MR7: *vitáli* 21/3=7; MR8: *éffici* 31/3=10,33; MR9: *précibus* 18/3=6. In the first responsory, *Mundum vocans*, the most melismatic words are at the beginning of the response, *vocans* 11/2=5.5 and *agni* 8/2=4.

202 Ten, since there are two versions of melodies in the third mode.

203 Thomas's *Translatio*. MR3 version 1: *múneris* 24/3=8; MR4: *Thome* 12/6=4; MR6: *relinquitur* 34/4=8,5; MR7 *horréndi* 11/3=3,70; MR8: *decéntia* 20/4=5; MR9 *deláta* 12/3=4.

204 This method of melisma use appears, for example, in a very well-known great responsory *Vidéte miraculum*. In the verse of the chant it is sung: *Deum nobis proutulit, et hóminem* (she bore unto us God and Man), with melismata on the word *et*. See Vuori 2011, 295 for the music of the chant in Birgittine liturgy. For the great responsories in Birgittine liturgy, see also Vuori 2015, 166–168.

and humble third-mode response is written with fewer melismata than the joyous and praising sixth-mode response. This chant is an excellent example of the same text paired with a different melody, and it also shows how the mode affects the melismacy.

In the syllabic style, important words have to be coloured with melodic movement within the sentences and through the whole chant, as there are no melismata on the individual words. The absence of melismata gives more diversity to the connection between words and melody. Melismacy, on the other hand, makes the chant more meditative, since the words can be lost in the movement of melody.

Although Dominic's great responsories are more melismatic, Thomas's *Translatio* is a subtle and thoughtful arrangement of Dominic's melodies: the office does not come across as mediocre, as Bonniwell claimed.<sup>205</sup> Although earlier research has largely accepted Jerome of Moravia's views on the greater simplicity of syllabic style, they have ignored the problems it causes in the use of contrafacta.<sup>206</sup> If a pre-existing melody is cast in a more syllabic form, a greater number of syllables and a larger amount of text are inevitably required. The resulting contrafact may be musically simple, at least when it comes to use of melismata, but textually it is actually more complex.

The composer of the office has used different methods of arranging previously-known melodies to the new texts in rich and versatile ways, displaying a high degree of professionalism, which also becomes apparent in the discussion below on the modes of Thomas's *Translatio*'s chants.

### Modality in music and text

The description of a mode as translated from the Latin *modus* means *measure, a way of doing, a tune, and an instruction* (*The Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "modus"). In discussion of chant, mode refers to the

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<sup>205</sup> See Part I.

<sup>206</sup> Jerome of Moravia suggested various ways of simplifying liturgical music. These included the narrowing down of a vocal range, but above all, increasing syllabic style of singing. See Jerome's *Treaties of Musica*. Weber 2009, 380–387.

tonal structure of a melody.<sup>207</sup> Boethius (480–524/525) describes a mode as a disposition of notes in all their orders, differentiated by high and low range.<sup>208</sup> The Greek philosopher Aristoxenus (c. 300 BCE) emphasized that modes are not an invention of theorists, but scales in practical use.<sup>209</sup> Furthermore, he asserts that the function of music is to evoke certain moods in us by the association of feelings with sensations. The material of these sensations is created out of a world of sound-relations.<sup>210</sup> According to Plato (427–347 BCE), different melodies were assumed to have different effects on soul and body according to the nature of their melodies.<sup>211</sup> A mode as a state of one's soul is an idea coming from Antiquity, but also a familiar feature in the church fathers' thought. One of them, Augustine (354–430), also expressed the concept of sound's connection with a human soul with a quite humble attitude. "All affects of our spirit have their own peculiar modes both in in voice and song, and they are stimulated through some kind of hidden relationship between them."<sup>212</sup>

All the views of modality stated above represent possible approaches to the modes of Gregorian chant. Mode as a practical scale, mode as a connection between words and melody, and mode as a sensation evoked by melody are all considered in this study. We are interested in a mode as an expression of feeling through the sound-relations and the movements of melody with a relation to the text.<sup>213</sup> We are looking for the possible connections between text and melody in small particles, as well as the idea of continuity in the modal atmosphere from chant to chant. Modality is studied also from the standpoint of the sensual

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207 McGee 1998, 20.

208 "Tonus, tropus, sive modus, secundum dicta Boetii, est constitutio vocum in totis vocum ordinibus, differens acumine ac etiam gravitate." Boethius, *De musica* 4.15. See Herlinger 1985, 371.

209 Macran 1990, 68.

210 Macran 1990, 3.

211 Sorabji 2004, 183, 185. English transl. Raphael Wolf.

212 "Omnes affectus spiritus nostri pro sui diversitate habere proprios modos in voce atque cantu, quorum nescio qua occulta familiaritate excitentur." Augustine, *Confessiones* 10.33; English transl. Seppo Heikkinen.

213 The elaborate musical style of Gregorian chant reflects the syntactic structure of the text in a great variety of ways, giving it musical shape at the levels of the sentence and the clause and down to individual words. Hiley 2009, 3.

feeling of the essence of the feast: how do the text and melody express the presence of the saint to the listeners and the singers?

The eight modes used in liturgical chants are called by different names.<sup>214</sup> They can be designated by the numbers 1–8 or by terms of Greek origin: authentic protus, plagal protus, authentic deuterus, plagal deuterus, authentic tritus, plagal tritus, authentic tetrardus and plagal tetrardus.<sup>215</sup> The modal classification is based on two criteria, the Final and the Tenor of a melody. In naming the modes, the simple letters d, e, f and g are also commonly used according to the Final of a mode. Every lettered mode is divided into an authentic and a plagal mode, making eight different modes overall.<sup>216</sup>

No.	Name	Final	Tenor	Ambitus
I	Authentic protus	D	A	C–d
II	Plagal protus	D	F	A (or G) –Bb
III	Authentic deuterus	E	B/C	D (or C) –E
IV	Plagal deuterus	E	A	C (or B or A) –C
V	Authentic tritus	F	C	F (or E) –F
VI	Plagal tritus	F	A	C–F
VII	Authentic tetrardus	G	D	F (or E) –G (or A)
VIII	Plagal tetrardus	G	C	C–E

Table 2. The modes

Over the centuries, there have been verbal descriptions of modes. They are not consistent but differ somewhat depending on the time when they were made. In this study we have taken into consideration especially the modal descriptions written by Dom Daniel Saulnier, an esteemed scholar and a Benedictine from the monastery of Solesmes, France. Saulnier's analyses of the modal natures of chants are heavily based on examples of chants and a deep practical knowledge of the

<sup>214</sup> Herlinger 2001, 257, 261; Powers 2001, 784. See also Vuori 2011, 119.

<sup>215</sup> Saulnier 2002, 45. There are different verbal names used for the modes, but the most common way that the chant books transcribed from the musical manuscripts was to number the modes with Roman numbers from I–VIII, a custom we follow in this book. For more on the names of modes, see Hiley 1993, 459–462.

<sup>216</sup> Powers 2001, 784. In the analyses of the chants, by the word “Final” we refer to the final of the mode.

Gregorian repertory, as well as the views of historical music theorists.<sup>217</sup> Our hypothesis is that the categories he introduces for eight Western liturgical modes are well formulated for the modal cycle and comprise one possible scheme that can be used when describing the medieval modes.

Saulnier describes the eight modes as follows:

I mode, d: *primus gravis*, serious, acquired maturity, air of dignity, piety without sentimentality, reflective, vision of the essential.

II mode, d: *secundus tristis*, contentment, security, peaceful, the attitude is at the same time very human and very spiritual.

III mode, e: *tertius mysticus*, mysterious, religious, divine, vehement and passionate.

IV mode, e: *quartus harmonicus*, contemplative, a mode that does not finish.

V mode, f: *quintus laetus*, joyous, triumphant, springs from the start and maintains its vigor and its breath.

VI mode, f: *sextus devotus*, a profound mode, the mode of simplicity, of infancy, of smooth devotion.

VII mode, g: *septimus angelicus*, transparent, solid and full of life, youthful, the highest mode, angelic.

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217 Saulnier especially refers to the eighteenth-century renovator of Gregorian chant, Abbot Poisson. Saulnier 2002, 20–21. Poisson has this list of modes and their descriptions, which he refers to as a preference of modernists. He himself considers the second and the fifth character well formulated. Poisson 1750, 86–87. In the eleventh century, music theorists associated the term *modernus* particularly with innovations of notations, the most important being Guido of Arezzo. Mews & Williams 2017, 301. In his instructions concerning composition, the contemporary of Thomas Aquinas, Jerome de Moravia, a thirteenth-century Dominican music theorist and philosopher, refers to the authentic modes as “lascivious and happy”, whereas the plagal modes are “proper and sad”. The translations of the *Treatise* are by Laura Weber, see Weber 2009, 167, 231–232. Weber has studied Jerome’s *Tractatus de musica*. Jerome does not give precise definitions to different modes, although he admits that music has the power to both soothe and corrupt depending on the mode. His own study concerns especially Boethius’ *De institutione musica* and John Cotton’s *De musica*. Jerome’s interest is above all mathematical and rhetorical. Weber 2009, 84. See also Mews & Williams 2017. For the different interpretations of verbal descriptions of modes, see Meyer 2013.



VIII mode, g: *octavus perfectus*, sumptuous, solemn, sonorous, perfect, almost universal, profound prayer but without having an air of meditation.<sup>218</sup>

When considering the thematic development of a rhymed office for a saint, the characters of modes seem naturally to enhance the story of all saints: the tenderness of the first two modes to introduce the saint (*vita*), the mystery of the third and fourth modes to strengthen the mystery (*miracles*), the joy of the fifth and sixth modes to celebrate the miracles, and the heavenly nature of the seventh and eighth modes to underline the transmission to heavenly life. Even when not totally agreeing with the verbal descriptions, one must admire the musical intervals, which give support to suggested definitions, especially in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth mode. The order of modes, from first to eighth, is perfect for the construction of a saint's persona, life and acts within a liturgy, for sensing a saint, or, one might even say, building a saint with a liturgy. The sole exception in the modal order, the two different modes in the third great responsory of Thomas's *Translatio*, would seem to corroborate this hypothesis. Musically the modal development is in one way very simple: the plagal mode that is the second, the fourth, the sixth and the eighth mode, always deepen the feeling and the expression, since the melody reaches deeper, and, in some cases, higher.

When comparing the nine Matins antiphons and nine great responsories of Thomas's *Dies natalis* and *Translatio* and Dominic's *Dies natalis*, we argue that most of the chant melodies carry the texts according to their respective modal nature. But we also acknowledge the variation in bonding: not all the chants have equally strong connections between text and melody.<sup>219</sup> The variation in the strength of the connection is typical of the Gregorian repertoire.<sup>220</sup> Our modal analysis is based on a study of small details: how the musical particles and formulas express certain words, or how the melody is built up to

<sup>218</sup> Saulnier 2002, 51–102.

<sup>219</sup> For example, in hymns one and the same melody serves very different kinds of texts.

<sup>220</sup> See Ekenberg 1998, 84; Vuori 2011, 157–158.

a musical climax to underline certain words and feelings in the text. The combination of musical details and melodic movement in relation to text gives a chant a recognizable mode. We argue that in the saintly chants the concept of mode not only reflects the meaning of the melody and the text, but that the chant influences the singer and the listener through their senses to help them feel the presence of Thomas. In a wider sense, the chants bring a sense of God and the whole spiritual order to the receptive listener or singer.

In religious devotion the devotee surrenders her or his heart in an act of worship. Conversely, in the chants of a saint's office, the saint as a gift is described with allegories. Thomas is a healer, a light, a jewel, wisdom, a teacher and apostle, to mention just a few of his attributes. As our emotions surge our senses get sharper, and with the modal, liturgical chants we move from one mode and emotion to another.

We also want to point out that the modal development is more than the usually observed development of chants moving from the first mode to the eighth, or, to be precise, from the first mode through all eight modes, and starting again from the first mode. In practice, there is a repetition: the modes are sung in the Matins in cycles of three. First, there are three antiphons in the modes I-III, followed by three great responsories in the modes I-III. There follow antiphons and great responsories in the modes IV-VI, and finally three antiphons and three great responsories in the modes VII, VIII and I. This repetition is significant for the experience of the modal characters of the chants. Furthermore, the lessons recited before every great responsory emphasize the mode of the following great responsory in solemn, simple melodies.

The modal change between the chants is an important factor in building the sensual atmosphere. An especially strong change in the modal scenery happens when the chants move from the fourth mode to the fifth, as a deep meditation, or contemplation, changes to straightforward joy. An interesting transformation could be the change from the sixth mode to the fourth as the sixth antiphon gives way to the fourth great responsory, from joyous devotion to contemplation, but there is a lesson in between, which mellows the affect. Due to

the repetitive structure of the modal cycle and the constant change of modes, the emotion of a singer and a listener changes from chant to chant, from mode to mode, as if to underline the importance of not becoming too attached to one modal experience, one emotion. It can be seen as a matter of obedience – letting go of one emotion. The beauty of a rhymed office becomes an auditory reality, when a singer and a listener can experience the texts and melodies in a well-known and designed pattern of changing modes.

As examples of the development of modal structure we present here the comparison of nine antiphons from the feasts of Thomas as well as nine antiphons from the feast of Dominic. The comparison of great responsories is made in groups of three with one of the three presented in greater detail.

#### The antiphons of Matins in Thomas's *Dies natalis*

When we take a look at the nine antiphons of Matins in Thomas's *Dies natalis* we give attention to the modal atmosphere through the connection of melody and text. The first antiphon, *Doctor Thomas*, praises Thomas's celibacy. The second antiphon, *Mentis innocentia* (The innocence of his mind), continues this path of respect, concentrating on his innocence and even deeper purity. The first antiphon circulates around the fifth interval, giving the chant an elevated feeling. Especially noteworthy is the rise in the melody with the words *premonstrátus sacris oráculis* (predicted by sacred oracles). In the second antiphon, the heightened melody of the first mode changes to the typical formulas of the second mode.<sup>221</sup> The deep, tender atmosphere subtly expresses the meaning of the text.

Musically, the third antiphon *Ope doctóris* (The help of the doctor) in the third mode is quite simple in its meditation. The melody rises

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<sup>221</sup> The downward movement in the intonation of the chant *mentis* (mind) and as a variation in the word *extitérunt* (became) is a typical formula in the second mode. See Holman 1961, 431; Vuori 2011, 108–109. Holman's dissertation about the great responsories in Codex Worcester has excellent descriptions of the modal formulas, written under the supervision of Willy Apel.

with small intervals, reaching its musical climax with the words *Tota gáudet ecclesia* (the whole church rejoices). The joyful text, combined with the mysterious third mode, defines joy as a mystical emotion. In the fourth antiphon *O munus Dei grátie* (O gift of God's grace), the melody is very meditative, also moving in small intervals. In the third antiphon, Thomas is described as a teacher and in the fourth he is a gift of grace. These most respectful words are sung with a humble and meditative melody. The climax comes with the words *vincens quodvis miráculum* (surpassing all miracles).

The fifth antiphon *Prece cura* (Healing with a prayer) has a rising melody typical of the fifth mode. It is full of joy expressed with intervals rising in thirds.<sup>222</sup> The text of this antiphon is the first in the office that describes a miracle performed by Thomas, the healing of a person with a fever. The sixth antiphon *Stella candens* (A bright star) is built up with sixth mode formulas.<sup>223</sup> A deep, serene joy is present in the melody right from the beginning, as the intervals reach the fourth below the Final, and through the Final rise to the fifth interval above the Final, still keeping the Tenor (a-tone) as its centre and the strongest point in the melody. The text is also in the centre of the office: the ascent of Thomas to heaven coincides with the appearance of a star.

In the seventh antiphon *Instánte vite término* (As his life neared its end) the story of Thomas continues with his heavenly visions, his life to be. The melody of this antiphon is extremely simple: it moves as in scale from the Final all the way up to octave and back in seconds and some thirds, almost as if climbing a ladder from earth to heaven step by step, with the resting place at the Tenor.<sup>224</sup> The eighth antiphon, *Seminávit* (sowed), praises Thomas as a sower of seeds whose victory is glorious. The melody is typical of the eighth mode: there is something very archaic in the way it moves below the Final and then ascends with

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222 The rising thirds is a typical formula for the fifth mode. See Holman 1961, 429.

223 *Dans insólitum* (indicating) is a variation of a formula ending in c. See Holman 1961, 430. Formulas ending in f, see Holman 1961, 442.

224 The movements are typical for the seventh mode. See formulas for the seventh mode ending in d. Holman 1961, 435.

leaps of thirds.<sup>225</sup> The eighth antiphon matches Saulnier's description perfectly, to the letter.<sup>226</sup>

The ninth antiphon, *Sidus nube* (The star emerges), starts the cycle of modes from the first mode again. In the antiphon, Thomas returns to the heavens. He is compared to such marvellous things as a star emerging from the clouds, a flower plucked from among the hay and fat separated from flesh. Its melody, in the first mode, is consoling, with its typical formulas around the Final and a leap from the Final up to the fifth interval, the Tenor, and all the way to the octave, which gives the melody a strong emotional surge.<sup>227</sup>

### The antiphons of Matins in Thomas's *Translatio*

In the Matins of Thomas's *Translatio*, the first antiphon, *Iam dudum* (Long hidden), tells of a long-hidden light that now begins to shine. The chant is a statement about Thomas's saintly nature. In the musical details, the word *expánsis [rádiis]* (outspread rays) is written in the most expansive way with a leap from the fifth to the seventh and even to the octave. The second antiphon *Corpus quod* (The body that) explores the body in the ground further. A typical formula of this mode can be seen in the words *mírandis signis cláruit* (appeared with wondrous signs).<sup>228</sup> The melody moves to the fourth interval below Final, taking the singer and the listener to the grave, rising up again to the third interval from Final to express the revelation of the body with wondrous signs. The music follows the meaning of the words.

The third antiphon *Occúrrunt sacro córpori* portrays people hastening to the sacred body with great joy. The movement of the music is simple and the texts are narrative, the melody moving in small intervals, which is a typical musical feature of the third mode.<sup>229</sup>

225 Formulas ending in g. See Holman 1961, 447.

226 Saulnier 2002, 101–102.

227 See formulas ending in d in Holman 1961, 432–433.

228 Holman 1961, 431; Vuori 2011, 108–109.

229 The formulas of this chant are not exactly the same as the standard phrases analysed in Holman's work, but the movement in small intervals is very characteristic. See Holman 1961, 437.

There is an interesting thematic relation with the text of the third antiphon of Thomas's *Dies natalis*. On the day of the *Translatio*, clergy and commoners gather joyfully around Thomas's corpse in Toulouse. On the *Dies natalis*, the joy about Thomas, the holy teacher, is spread to an even larger audience: the whole church and the whole Dominican Order. We will discuss the geography and the audience more deeply in Part IV.

In the fourth antiphon, *Celum hunc* (The heavens celebrate), joy deepens to awe experienced by all on earth, while joy is also felt in heaven. The melody reaches its highest point with the words *Christo iam fovéntem* (whom Christ has favoured). The mystery in the mode deepens with the sudden use of bb in the word *terra* (earth) immediately before the words *mirificat signis* (wonders with signs), as if underlining them with anticipation. A similar deepening meditation can be seen in the fourth antiphon of Thomas's *Translatio*.

The fifth antiphon, *Matri vite*, is full of joy at life restored to a dead son. Especially in the first words *matri* (mother) and *vite* (life), the melody rises like a fanfare in thirds giving the whole chant an uplifting mode. The fifth antiphon, just as in the *Dies natalis*, is the first one to describe a healing miracle performed by Thomas. The sixth antiphon, *De vite dispéndio*, describes miracles that *save lives*. The melody moves in the characteristic forms of the sixth mode: lightly around the third interval above Final, the recitation tone, but also equally below the Final, bringing deeper colours to a joyful melody.<sup>230</sup>

The seventh antiphon, *Servat ab* (He saves man), is all about the miracles performed by the saint. The melody has no great expression. It is narrative in a straightforward way, possibly reflecting the rather generic nature of the miracles related by the text. The content of the eighth antiphon, *Morbum, famem* (The soldier overcomes sickness), relates a story about a soldier who receives help from Thomas through prayers. The chant can be described with Dom Saulnier's words:

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230 A similar melodic movement can be seen, e.g. in the great responsory for St Nicholas. The melody is circulating up to the fourth interval from final and then moving around the third and fourth interval below final. See Holman 1961, 250.

“The mode affirms its profound prayer, but without having an air of meditation, as the 4<sup>th</sup> of 1<sup>st</sup> mode.”<sup>231</sup>

The ninth antiphon, *Redivivum reddit equum* (He restores the horse to life), starts the modal cycle again from the mode one. The text continues the stories of miracles, the source of which is Thomas’s *Miracula* collected at his tomb in Toulouse.<sup>232</sup> The melody is without the first mode’s typical leaps from the Final to the Tenor. Instead, it moves in small intervals, corresponding to the general atmosphere of storytelling.

### The antiphons of Matins in Dominic’s *Dies natalis*

The melodies of Dominic’s *Dies natalis* are the same melodies as those used in Thomas’s *Translatio*.<sup>233</sup> We are interested in how the same melodies serve the texts of two offices.

The first antiphon *Preconovus* (A new messenger) welcomes Dominic as a new messenger from the heavens. He shines in the form of a puppy, as predicted. The musical highlight of the melody accompanies the words *in fine sæculi* (at the end of the century). The whole antiphon is uplifting, with the melody moving around the Tenor. The concept of light is not emphasized by the musical expression as in the first antiphon of Thomas’s *Translatio*, but it nevertheless constitutes the main theme of the chant. The second antiphon, *Florem pudicitie* (An untainted flower), praises Dominic’s chastity. The melody descends with the word *attigit* (attained) and then rises to the third interval above the Final as if reaching up expectantly with the word *eximie* (glory). The same movement of melody is used in Thomas’s *Translatio* for the appearance of the wondrous signs. In both cases, the melody enhances the importance of the text.

The third antiphon, *Documētis artium* (The mastery of documents), and the fourth antiphon, *Sub Augustini régula* (Following Augustine’s

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<sup>231</sup> Saulnier 2002, 102.

<sup>232</sup> Ms. T.

<sup>233</sup> The melodies of nine antiphons in the Matins of Dominic’s *Dies natalis* are in the Appendix 3.

rule), both praise Dominic as a learned scholar. The third antiphon acclaims his wisdom in studying, while the fourth antiphon deepens this theme: he advances and ultimately rises to the level of the apostles. In the third antiphon of Dominic's liturgy, the connection between text and melody is satisfying in a simple way. The highest part of the melody coincides with the words *erúditus satis* (sufficiently trained), after which the text continues with the word *tránsiit* (passed on) as the melody makes a transition from the sixth interval to the third above the Final. This movement gives a very peaceful air to the chant. The fourth antiphon of Dominic has its highest point in the words *mente profécit* (he advanced through his diligent mind). The sudden use of *bb* appears in the word *virum* (him), which points to Dominic, the focus of veneration. According to the Gregorian scholar Andrew Hughes, the veneration in this chant is also for Augustine: the first antiphon of Matins in the office for St Augustine has a similar melody.<sup>234</sup> The offices do not share the textual connection with each other as they do in the similar melody of Thomas's *Translatio*.

The fifth antiphon, *Agonízans pro Xristi* (Struggling in the name of Christ), begins with triumphant leaps of third intervals. The chant has its musical high point in the words *mundum replet [divíno sémine]* (he fills the world [with the divine seed]), which praises Dominic as a disseminator of the word of God. The atmosphere of the whole chant is extremely happy. The fifth antiphon of Thomas's *Translatio* relates a miracle that is thematically different from this, but both chants are joyful. The sixth antiphon, *Per nox* (Through night), can be regarded as one of deepening joy. Dominic experiences a miracle: a river of tears does not moisten him. This is told in a musically flowing way with the word *lacrimárum* (tears) rising up and with the word *flúminis* (a river) descending. In both offices, the sixth antiphon brings joy from the depths.

*Sitiébat servus* (The servant thirsted), the seventh antiphon of Dominic's *Dies natalis*, is about the thirst for martyrdom. The eighth

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234 Hughes 2004a, 294. Hughes's study sheds light on the sources of the office of Dominic and early Dominican chant. See also Stinson 1993 and Giraud 2015.



antiphon, *Migrans pater* (As he left the world, the father bequeathed), focuses on heavenly life. With their theme of martyrdom, these antiphons are textually more closely connected to the seventh and eighth antiphons of Thomas's *Dies natalis* than the *Translatio*, which has the theme of miracles in corresponding antiphons. Musically, however, they are all interconnected: the modes are typically serene and archaic, and in their textual impact they can be viewed as angelic.

The ninth antiphon, *Liber carnis*, forms the thematic centre of the office. Dominic enters heaven. The antiphon is in the first mode, and its melody is simple and narrational. It seems very suitable for the text of *freed from flesh*. The melody ascends to its highest point as Dominic enters heaven *celum introívit*, with the melody possibly carrying the listener and the singer to heavenly spheres.

#### The great responsories in Thomas's *Dies natalis*

The great responsories are introduced in groups of three, with a deeper insight into one great responsory of each group. In the first great responsory, *Sancti Viri* (The holy man), the holiness of Thomas is introduced by the holy man. In the second great responsory, *Christi Pia* (Sweet Christ), his chastity is protected by angels. Finally, as the praise for Thomas increases, in the third great responsory, *O ánima sanctíssima* (O most holy of souls), Thomas is in prayer, levitating above the ground as a miracle himself. The sweet meditation and prayer are fitted to the third mode, the mode of mystery. The melody supports the meaning of the text, which is also apparent in the small details. The melody rises to its highest peak in the words *contemplánte* (contemplation) and *corpus linquébat* (body left the ground). This is a musical description of the act of levitation. All three words are also decorated with melismata, as is the word *mirabíliter* (miraculously). The movement of the melody is very carefully constructed: after *contemplánte* comes the word *dúlciter* (sweetly), which is written as the notes spiral upwards almost like smoke around the second and third intervals from the Final.

The fourth great responsory *De excelsis fons sapiëntie* strengthens the picture of Thomas. A fountain is described showering him with wisdom – a deepening theme in the deepening mode of fourth. The movement from the fourth to the fifth mode in a rhymed office is a strong modal change; simple, straightforward joy replaces mystery. In the fourth mode, the melody moves mainly in small intervals. The fifth great responsory, *Felix doctor* (Blessed doctor), shoots up into the air with major-like thirds. Peter and Paul testify to Thomas's holiness. Angels and the mother of God give him solace and comfort. The climax comes with a sequence-like movement of melody in a very melismatic way with the words *mater Dei* (mother of God). The narration in the verse is exceptionally important in this great responsory. It tells us about the levitation of Thomas and the miracle of the crucifix talking to him. The testimony for the truth of his doctrine could not be stronger. The great responsory with its preceding lesson forms the climax of the whole office.<sup>235</sup> In the sixth great responsory, *Sidus missum Thome* (A star sent to Thomas), his grace is celebrated in the sixth mode by giving the sign of a star – a solid symbol in a mode that has the description *profound*.<sup>236</sup>

The seventh great responsory, *Scholas Thome Paulus*, is about a vision in which Thomas is visited by Paul in his school and taken up to heaven with the cry of the brothers escorting him. In the eighth great responsory, *Beati Thome* (Blessed Thomas), consolation comes to the attenders of the office: a sweet scent remains with them. This is the point in the office where the earthly meets the heavenly through the medium of the scent. The presence of Thomas can be experienced sensually. The modal definitions of seventh and eighth modes, *heavenly*, *angelic* and *perfect*,<sup>237</sup> are ideal for the heavenly end of Thomas and the mirror of his holiness in the form of the scent. The melody of the seventh great responsory moves mostly above the Tenor in an atmosphere that is typical for the seventh mode. The melody of the

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<sup>235</sup> For the lesson, see Räsänen 2017, 270–271.

<sup>236</sup> On the hagiographical tradition of Thomas's prayer and levitation, see Part IV.

<sup>237</sup> Saulnier 2002, 95–96, 101–102.

eighth great responsory has a peculiar formula: the melody descends from the Tenor to the Final five times in second intervals, continuing then below the final and rising up again in a wavelike movement throughout the whole response-part. Finally, with the words *qui nitens pudicitia* (Shining in his purity), the melody leaps from the Tenor to the Final in a dense way. The movement of melody expresses the movement of scent: *a fragrant odour emanated from his tomb*. In modern musical words, the texts and melody accelerate finely through repetition. The responsory possibly also reflects the repetition of the word *Corpus* in the previous lesson.<sup>238</sup>

After the passionate and strong movements of *Beati Thome*, the ninth great responsory, *Sertum gestans* (Wearing a wreath), is a very welcome soothing chant with its tender first mode praising the chastity of Thomas and Augustine and describing their relation as that of father and son. It could almost be said to strengthen the image of Thomas and Augustine in the minds of those left behind. This is the great responsory chosen for the first Vespers after the first antiphon. Together with the preceding lesson, the chant forms an image that resembles a picture in its abundantly described details. It is surprising that this lesson-responsory combination has not received a significant number of testimonies in altar panels or other similar artworks.<sup>239</sup>

The great responsories of Thomas's *Dies natalis* follow a textual pattern that is typical for the office of a saint. There is an introduction to his life and qualities, praise and testimonies for his holiness, the beginning of his miracles, heavenly and colloquial approval, and, finally, his entrance into heavenly life. The modality of texts and melodies fits extremely well with the descriptions of modes made and gathered by Dom Saulnier.

238 In the relatively short lesson the word *corpus* is repeated seven times. Räsänen 2017, 272.

239 One exception is a predella in which Thomas and Augustine are depicted side by side in an altar panel of Simone Martini in the museum of San Matteo in Pisa.

### The great responsories in Thomas's *Translatio*

The modal story of the nine great responsories of Thomas's *Translatio* can be described briefly from first to ninth great responsory in a similar way to the nine great responsories of *Dies natalis*. The melodies of the two offices differ from each other, but there is also similar development in them.

The first great responsory, *Ecce novus* (Behold, the new spring), deepens the theme of appearance after concealment. Thomas is no longer hidden and he now nourishes and waters the world. He is the light of the learned, the one who is inspired by God and restored under Elias. The tenderness of the first mode is in the chant, with the melody rising and slowly descending like rain to the Final. The cadenzas, the ends of phrases, are built with typical formulas of the first mode, as in the words *cónditus*, *célitus* and *divínitus* (founded, heavenly, divine).<sup>240</sup>

The second great responsory, *Gaudet sacra religio* (Our sacred faith rejoices), relates the victory of receiving Thomas's bones. The melody is very traditional. It is also very similar to the response-part of the second great responsory of Thomas's *Dies natalis*: both are composed with typical second-mode formulas, moving down to the fourth interval of the Final and back.<sup>241</sup> The verses of great responsories are usually commonly known melody formats that are used over and over again.<sup>242</sup> In this case, the same verse-melody is used both in the second great responsory of the *Dies natalis* and in the *Translatio*. The

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<sup>240</sup> Formula D<sub>12</sub>, see Holman 1961, 431.

<sup>241</sup> Right at the beginning of the word *Gaudet* there is a formula that appears many times in the great responsories built on the standard formulas. See Holman 1961, 106; Vuori 2011, 108. This same formula also appears in the second antiphon. It is also in the antiphon *Angelórum esca* in the Corpus Christi office and in the second great responsory, *María summe Trinitáti*, in *Cantus sororum*, the Bridgettine sisters' liturgy of hours. See Vuori 2011 and 2017. Hughes has studied this same great responsory in Dominic's office and compared it to the seventh great responsory of *Visitatio Mariae*. According to Hughes, in 319 chants this intonation appears only once in Temporale and six times in the responsories of Sanctorale, including chants modelled on Dominic. Hughes 2004a, 292.

<sup>242</sup> This same melody for the verse can be found, for example, in the offices of Brigid of Ireland, Henry of Finland and the *Cantus sororum* of the Bridgettine sisters. The melody of the verse is a classic. See Holman 1961, 106; Vuori 2011, 108.

chant in the *Dies natalis* praises Thomas's celibacy, while the chant in the *Translatio* focuses on his wisdom. At first sight the theme of the texts appears different, but this is not the case: celibacy was the way to approach eternal wisdom.

When looking at the progress of a whole *Translatio* office, we can observe a modal development from chant to chant with the exception of the third great responsory, *Corpus datur* (This body is given). The sources of this research include two different melodies in two different modes for this great responsory.<sup>243</sup> The responsory describes how the (hidden) body of Thomas was requested by the brothers on the day of Corpus Christi, promoted by Thomas Aquinas, who dictated the office of Corpus Christi at Pope Urban IV's request.

For some reason, the brothers thought it more appropriate to sing this chant in the VI mode. It is more joyous and celebratory than the melody of the third mode. The melody is typical for the sixth mode – light, gentle and serene. In the words of Saulnier, a mode of smooth devotion.<sup>244</sup> It would be interesting if this melody in VI mode was from the Corpus Christi office, but it is not. According to the study of Vincent Corrigan, there is also a version of the Corpus Christi office written with the melodies from the *Translatio* office of Thomas Aquinas.<sup>245</sup> This emphasizes both the role of Thomas as the renovator of the Corpus Christi liturgy and the parallel between the bodies of Christ and Thomas.<sup>246</sup>

Analysis of the P manuscripts indicates that originally the third great responsory was in the third mode: accordingly, all the chants were in the modal order. We suggest that there were three reasons for the change of the great responsory from the third mode to the sixth. First, the content of the text demanded it. The original third mode was possibly considered too modest for the occasion, which had to be

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243 See both versions in Part III, Chants of *Translatio*.

244 Saulnier 2002, 90.

245 See Corrigan's chapter in Walters *et al* 2006, 386. The melody of the third great responsory in this version of Corpus Christi is in III mode.

246 Also see Part II on verse form and the theme of Corpus Christi. Thomas's work for the Corpus Christi liturgy and the connection between the two bodies is discussed more in Part IV.

celebratory and joyous as the friars finally received the body. Second, *Corpus datur* was also the great responsory sung in Vespers and thus the brothers wanted a more celebrative melody.<sup>247</sup> Third, even though in a different mode, the melody was too similar to the melody of the first great responsory.

In the fourth great responsory, *Corpus sacrum* (The holy body), the musical modality describes both doubt and consolation in a way that reflects the content of the text. The characteristic atmosphere of the fourth mode is created especially in the interval between the Final and the second as well as in the movement of the melody around the fourth tone, the recitation height of the mode. One can verbalize the fourth mode as an expression of mystery and contemplation.<sup>248</sup> In the fourth great responsory, the central theme is the same as in the fifth lection, the doubt of the friar. The melody moves in small intervals around the basic tone and also around the fourth, the dominating interval. The atmosphere is restless. The music culminates first with the word *dubium*. After a long cadenza, the shifting melody changes to reflect increasing confidence with the words *Nam hoc corpus* which also happens to mark in this chant the *corpus* of the chant, that is, the body of the musical composition, which is the repeated last part of the response. The musical highlight, and relief, comes with the word *redditur*, describing musically and textually how the brothers overcame their doubt. The change in the atmosphere of the melody expresses their feelings: the relics of the respected brother were present and they were real. Once again, we emphasize the combined capacity of the music and the texts to express the authenticity of the presence of the saint during the liturgical service.<sup>249</sup>

The fifth great responsory, *Languens presul* (A bishop who languishes), and the sixth great responsory, *Puritatis vas* (The fine vessel of purity) both express joy. The melodies act according to their modal natures: the fifth with joyous rises and the sixth lingering

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247 Except that in one source, P2791, the ninth great responsory, *Joseph*, was sung in the Vespers.

248 Saulnier 2002, 76. See also Räsänen, Heikkinen and Vuori 2017.

249 See also Räsänen, Heikkinen and Vuori 2017.

above the Tenor as well as reaching for the depths.<sup>250</sup> The fifth great responsory related the healing of a bishop and his joy at his recovered health, whereupon he makes a promise to attend the festivities organized for Thomas's *Translatio* and the re-entombment of his body. The sixth great responsory further underlines the elation. Musically, both these chants form a peaceful and happy highlight of the office.

The contents of the seventh great responsory, *Laboránti* (To him who suffers in prison), and the eighth great responsory, *O doctóris mira* (O wondrous might of the teacher), are about miracles. *Laboránti* has melodic movements that are typical for the seventh mode: the rise to the fifth at the beginning and the folding around the Tenor.<sup>251</sup> The climax of the melody is in the words *doctor ferens grata subsidia* (A teacher who brings welcome support) ending the phrase in Tenor. The rise in melody praises Thomas, who saves the prisoner. The eighth great responsory begins with the words *mira poténtia* (O wondrous might), a variation of a typical formula of the eighth mode.<sup>252</sup> The formula is repeated with variations in the words *sancta preséntia* (holy presence) and *forme decéntia* ([restoring their] decency), giving the chant character and underlining the healing powers of Thomas. The melody also descends six times to the fourth below Final.<sup>253</sup> This is characteristic for the eighth mode, creating a serious and profound atmosphere, in Saulnier's words – perfect.

The ninth great responsory, *Joseph duplex doctórem* (Joseph's twofold glory), returns to the first mode in the modal cycle. The intonation of this great responsory is very consoling and beautiful, as the name Joseph is composed almost in a caressing way. The next words *duplex doctórem* are also given strong emphasis: like the word Joseph, they are composed with melismas (many notes with one syllable), thus giving them extra value. The chant continues with

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250 According to Holman, the fifth and sixth modes do not have melody types. They have standard formulas, but a characteristic of both modes is the use of free formulas. Holman 1961, 215, 229.

251 The formulas in this great responsory are variations of standard formulas. For seventh mode formulas, see Holman 1961, 261–296.

252 On formula G<sub>38</sub>, see Holman 1961, 289.

253 On formulas descending to fourth below Final, see Holman 1961, 321–322.



strong emotion. The melody continuously rises to the octave above the Final. The climax comes with the words *Ossa sancta* (The holy bones), which is then repeated after the verse and before the doxology (*Gloria Patri et Filio*). The Final musical touch comes with the word *deláta* (transferred), which is composed in a melismatic way, an aural depiction of the movement and transportation of the holy bones.

The last two responsories share the brothers' happiness at the presence of their beloved teacher's body. Thomas in all his corporeal existence was both present in the chants and in the Jacobin church of Toulouse.

### The Great responsories in Dominic's *Dies natalis*

The liturgical and hagiographical material composed to venerate the founder of the Order, St Dominic, functioned as a model for later offices and texts in the Dominican tradition.<sup>254</sup> In this section, Dominic's great responsories are studied from the perspective of Thomas's *Translatio*, since they share the same melodies.

There are similarities in the themes of the first three great responsories in these two offices. In the first great responsory, *Mundum vocans* (Inviting the world), Dominic is chosen to be God's messenger, who approaches the world. Thomas, in the parallel responsory from *Translatio*, is the light of the world. The second great responsory, *Ortum mundo* (Born to the world), introduces the child Dominic with a star forecasting that he will be a light to the world, whereas in *Translatio*, the brothers rejoice over Thomas's bones and praise his wisdom.<sup>255</sup> The third great responsory, *Verbum vite* (The Word of life), is about the miracle of the word from various aspects, whereas Thomas's chant's theme is Corpus Christi.

The first great responsory, *Mundum vocans*, is in mode one, and the third great responsory, *Verbum vite*, is in mode three, both as they

254 On St Dominic's hagiography, see Dubreil-Arcin 2011; Canetti 1996; Tugwell 1998; Vicaire 1964.

255 The birth of a saint is always given great attention. In the tradition of Thomas's *Dies natalis*, his birth has attained an exceptional emphasis. See Part IV.



should be. However, a closer look reveals that they are variations of each other. The musical phrases in the first words, *mundum* and *verbum*, are almost identical in the two sources – the only difference being the height (the d-mode chant starts from d and the e-mode chant from e). In the first two verses in the chants, the melodies move in similar ways, lingering in the same range while varying the phrases and musical formulas. The last parts of the chants are more independent according to their modal characters. This connection between the first and the third great responsories is extremely interesting, since in Thomas's *Translatio* the third great responsory has two melodies, depending on the source as we have described. It is plausible that the similarity between the first and third great responsories is the third reason for the change of the responsory.

The fourth great responsory *Paupertátis ascéndens* (Rising to the pinnacle of poverty) is a modally challenging chant. It has a clear dramatic change in the atmosphere in the middle of the chant. The feeling of insecurity comes from the melody moving upward, but never really getting past the third interval from the Final (e). This happens with the words *mundi* (the world), *detéstans* (condemns), and *crímina* (sins). Here it is easy to recognize that the textual narrative of earthly profanity is enforced by the melody. In the word *ágmina* (the troops) lightness comes to the melody when it moves pass the Final and builds a new scale from c to c. The modal feeling is liberating with the words *Nulla sanctum frangunt discrímína* (No battle can break the saint). In the last three notes the mode returns to e-mode, the fourth mode. However, it is curious that the modal change happens in the middle of the phrase (already in *ágmina*). In Thomas's *Translatio*, the change of modal atmosphere in the chant begins a new phrase. It almost seems that the composer of *Translatio* has not quite been satisfied with the way the change has been made in Dominic's chant, so he has improved it in Thomas's variation.<sup>256</sup>

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256 See the whole chant of *Translatio* in Part III, and the chant of St Dominic's *Dies natalis* in Appendix 5. See also Räsänen, Heikkinen and Vuori 2017.

The most joyous melody is in the fifth great responsory, *Panis oblātus* (Bread offered). In the text, the son restored to life drives the sorrows of the mother away as the brothers are given the bread, which satisfies them completely. Every word of the response is decorated with melismata. When the melody reaches its high point in *matris pellis*, the word *matris* is also the most melismatic word of the chant (13/2=6.5). The joy subsides to seasoned mellowness in the sixth great responsory *Granum excússum* (Grain, separated from chaff) with the deep colours of tessitura of the sixth mode.<sup>257</sup>

The seventh great responsory, *Felix vitis* (Blessed vine), and the eighth great responsory, *Ascendēti de valle lúbrici* (As he arises from the deceitful valley), suit Saulnier's definitions of angelic and perfect very well. The heavenly vine overflows and the heavenly choirs applaud. The ninth great responsory, *O spem miram* (O wonderful hope), returns to mode one. It is the last great responsory in Matins, but the atmosphere of the chant is almost that of the last chant of the week, a classic Gregorian antiphon and tropes, *Salve Regina*.<sup>258</sup> Accompanying the words *mortis hora te fléntibus, dum post mortem promísisti te profutúrum frátribus* (to those who cry for you in the hour of death, as you promised to aid the brothers after death), the melody has a great resemblance to the phrases of *Salve Regina*. The prayer is deep, reminding the brothers of the hour of death.

### Obedience through modes

When we look at the Matins chants of the *Dies natalis* of Thomas and Dominic and the chants of *Translatio* and compare them with the modal criteria of Dom Saulnier, they are astonishingly similar. The chants in the offices can be said to move from serenity to humanity,

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<sup>257</sup> Tessitura is a range of the notes, where the melody most easily moves ignoring the highest and the lowest notes. According to Apel, in the authentic modes the tessitura comprises most of the ambitus, while in the plagal modes it takes up only its upper fifth. Apel 1958, 142.

<sup>258</sup> The antiphon *Salve regina* has a special meaning for Dominicans in their liturgical life. It is an important part of Marian devotion. For a study of Marian sequences and the *Salve regina* antiphon, see Fassler 2004.

from mystery to contemplation, from joy to sweet devotion and finally from angelic themes to harmonious profundity. The composers of these chants intentionally sought the modal development from chant to chant. The practice of arranging the modes sequentially ensured the full range of modes. The change from one mode to another made it possible for the associated emotions to be covered. The verbal descriptions for the natures of the modes can change from time to time, but the change from one mode to another in a rhymed office is a constant factor. We suggest that the modal structure can be seen as a way of obedience: obedience in letting go of one modal emotion and moving to the next one with the next chant. Experienced in that way, the importance lies not in an emotion felt with each mode but in their changing sequence. Thus a desire for order in a rhymed office is more a question of obedience than order.<sup>259</sup>

The composers have regarded the texts and melodies in the offices as a continuous story with changing modes. This is even confirmed with the two different melodies of the third great responsory of the *Translatio*: the original third mode has been replaced with the serene joy of the sixth mode to emphasize the celebration of giving Thomas's corpse to the Dominicans. It is also possible that the brothers wanted a more elaborate melody for the great responsory, which was sung in Vespers as well. One more reason for the change of the chant might be that the original third-mode melody was too similar to that of the first great responsory.

There are different kinds of modality depending on the melismacy of a chant. The chants of the *Translatio* are built with a strong connection between text and melody. The textual story is easy to follow as the music proceeds, mostly in a syllabic way. In the melismatic chants, like Dominic's *Dies natalis* and Thomas's *Dies natalis*, the connection between text and melody is harder to perceive because of the melismacy. The melismata make a difference when singing chants, but also when listening to them. The text is not so easy to follow when the words

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259 On the rhymed offices from the additional perspective of numbered order, see Hughes 1983, 47 and Haggh-Huglo 2017, 295.

are painted with melismata. In other words, Dominic's chants reveal their story more slowly than Thomas's in the *Translatio*.<sup>260</sup> A syllabic composition is at the same time inventive and traditional. The drama and the musical arc are developed from the beginning to the end of the chant. With melismatic composing single words gain in emphasis. But in both ways of composing, the modality is in a single word or words as well as in the whole chant.

Liturgical heritage passes from generation to generation in the chants. The Dominican father Innocent Smith writes about the liturgy: "Thus, the liturgy helps to form a Dominican saint, and the liturgy composed in honour of that saint helps to form other Dominicans."<sup>261</sup> Smith refers to Thomas Aquinas as he suggests that a devotional worshipper uses the body, mind and voice to arouse devotion in the heart.<sup>262</sup> After the chant texts have become known, the melody in itself can awaken the mode of a text in a listener and a singer. The church father Augustine expressed this clearly:

The word pertains to the heart and the voice to the ear: when the voice strikes our ear but the word does not reach our mind, it has an inane sound, without a useful fruit. But if the word is born in my heart, it is not without voice [...]! The voice is created for this: not to bring forth a word that did not exist but to make apparent what was hidden.<sup>263</sup>

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260 See also Part II for analyses of the melismacy in some of Dominic's great responsories.

261 Smith 2014, 968.

262 See Smith for references to Thomas Aquinas, ST II-II, q. 81, a 7. Smith 2014, 963 and Smith 2017. The worship in prayer is also in the gestures of body. The modes of prayer gestures in Dominican tradition are studied in an article by Jean-Claude Schmitt 1984. They are not directly comparable to the modes in the chants, but the question of obedience could be seen as a common factor in both approaches to the modality. On Dominic's prayer, see also the recent study of Palazzo 2016.

263 "Verbum ad cor pertinet, vox ad aurem: quando vox ferit aurem, et verbum non perducit ad mentem, habet inanem sonum, sed non habet utilem fructum. Ut autem nascatur in meo corde verbum, voce non indigent. [...] Ad hoc vox creatur, non ut verbum quod non erat gignat, sed ut quod erat et latebat appareat." – Augustine, Sermon 293B. English transl. Seppo Heikkinen. See Annala 2009, 75 and Vuori 2011, 160. The word as latent in a singer's mind, body and soul has been studied by Panti 2007; Annala 2009; Vuori 2011. See also Stapert 2007, 91.

As the chants of the offices were repeated from time to time, the singers and listeners learned them by heart. The process of learning creates a place in the memory where the text is evoked by hearing even an echo of the melody. This gives a deep perspective to the offices that use the same melodies: in the heart, the mind and the body of a person who knows the liturgy, even a whole chain of liturgies may be recalled when that person hears one melody.

### Verse form and expressivity

The texts of medieval liturgy, including rhymed offices, can assume many forms: from Late Antiquity onward, we encounter both prose and verse with very varied use of such stylistic features as alliteration, assonance and rhyme. During the latter part of the Middle Ages, the use of accentual (or rhythmic) verse with regular two-syllable end rhyme became the prevailing practice. This is also the main reason for our current usage of the term “rhymed office”. Although the term is not entirely adequate for the whole field of saints’ offices,<sup>264</sup> it fits such late medieval memorial offices as the *Dies natalis* of St Dominic and the two memorial liturgies of St Thomas Aquinas to the letter: they are composed in painstakingly regular rhythmic verse with faultless two-syllable rhyme. In their use of this quintessentially high medieval (or late medieval) verse form, the offices exhibit subtle structural differences that reflect their historical context.

The use of rhyme in the liturgies is the two-syllable type that is prevalent in most high medieval Latin verse.<sup>265</sup> In most of the chants, it is used in an interlaced ABAB pattern:

*Corpus quod diu latuit*  
*In Terracine loculo;*  
*Mirandis signis claruit*  
*Post in Tholose patulo.*

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<sup>264</sup> Hiley 1993, 167.

<sup>265</sup> Norberg 2004, 36–38.

Only occasionally do we find patterns of greater complexity, as in the sixth responsory of the *Translatio*, where the rhyme structure is ABABABCCB; the final line of the verse rhymes with the response.

- R.    *Puritatis vas decorum*  
       *Nichil sordis patitur.*  
       *Presul clarus fama morum*  
       *Sanctum ferens labitur*  
       *mersus luto indecorum*  
       *Nil inde relinquitur.*
- V.    *Sacris tamen vestibus*  
       *Manibus ac pedibus*  
       *Totus ceno figitur.*<sup>266</sup>

When discussing medieval verse, it is necessary to understand the difference between metric (or quantitative) and rhythmic (or accentual; alternately non-quantitative) verse.<sup>267</sup> The former was the prevalent – and almost exclusive – form of versification in Graeco-Latin antiquity. Metrical verse is based on combinations of short and long syllables, and, especially in Greek verse, word accent plays no role. In several classical metres, it is also possible to substitute two short syllables for a long one (resolution) or vice versa (fusion), making their syllable count highly variable. Rhythmic verse emerged in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages and reflects the disappearance of syllable quantity from spoken Latin: rhythmic verse is based on a fixed number of syllables and regular accentuation, especially towards the end of the line. Although the earliest rhythmic Christian hymns probably arose as semi-literate imitations of earlier hymns such as those by St Ambrose of Milan,<sup>268</sup> by the eighth century, rhythmic verse

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266 *Translatio*, MR6.

267 The term *rhythmus* seems to have undergone a change of meaning in the grammatical literature of Late Antiquity. Although, initially, as denoting musical rhythm, it could also be applied to quantitative verse, it developed a secondary meaning and came to be understood as a term for verse that does not observe syllable quantity. It is explicitly used for the first time in this sense by Julian of Toledo and the Venerable Bede. See Meyer 1905, 140; Avallé 1992, 396; Heikkinen 2012, 189–192.

268 Norberg 1988, 13–16.

was firmly established as a legitimate literary form. It is telling that metric and rhythmic verse coexisted throughout the Middle Ages and numerous medieval poets were equally proficient in both.

Of the verse forms examined here, two are firmly rooted in the classical poetic tradition and are direct derivatives of Graeco-Roman iambo-trochaic metres. Classical iambo-trochaic metres are characterised by a regular alternation of long and short syllables, an iamb being a short-long (u -) and a trochee a long-short (- u). Greek iambo-trochaic metres were not, however, based on individual iambic or trochaic feet: instead, their basic building block was a two-foot metron. The iambic metron can be presented as x - u - and the trochaic metron as its opposite, - u - x. The element marked with an x is a *syllaba anceps*, or a syllable that may be either short or long. Syllable resolution is possible on the long elements and the *syllabae ancipites*, making the number of syllables variable, although it became increasingly unusual in Late Antiquity and is almost non-existent in early Christian hymns.<sup>269</sup>

Arguably the most prominent early Christian hymnodist is St Ambrose of Milan, who used a metre known as the iambic dimeter, which can be presented thus: x - u - / x - u -. The name of the metre, like those of other iambo-trochaic metres, is based on the number of four-element metra in the line.

*Venī, redemptor gentium*

u - u - / - - u -

As we can see, here Ambrose has used the option of beginning the latter metron with a long syllable. He still occasionally uses the option of syllable resolution, as in the first element of the following line:

*Geminae gigas substantiae*

uu - u - / - - u -

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<sup>269</sup> Norberg 1988, 17–18.

Ambrose's iambic hymns normally end with a trisyllabic or longer word, thereby accentuating the antepenultimate syllable (*géntium, substántiae*). There are still occasional cases of disyllabic line endings with a penultimate accent:

*Sī respicis, lāpsūs cādunt.*

As this verse type, together with syllable resolution, gradually disappears, we end up with an eight-syllable line with a regular antepenultimate accent, and because syllable quantity was no longer observed in later hymnody, these characteristics became the defining features of the verse form. If we use the nomenclature of Dag Norberg's Introduction to *Medieval Latin Versification*, the rhythmic variant of the iambic dimeter can be described as 8pp; that is, an eight-syllable line with a proparoxytone (=antepenultimate) accent.<sup>270</sup>

Although prosodically different from the strictly metrical iambic dimeters of Ambrosius, this verse form was nevertheless strongly associated with early hymnody, most strongly that of Ambrose.<sup>271</sup> Of all the verse forms used in Thomas's offices, it is at the same time the most conservative and the most lyrical, even sensual. It is telling that it is the exclusive verse form of all the hymns in the offices, while it also predominates in the antiphons:

*Aurora pulchra rútilans*  
*Splendorem deffert róseum,*  
*Nosterque chorus júbilans*  
*Doctorem canit laúreum.*<sup>272</sup>

As the hymns are the most conservative portion of the offices, this verse type is particularly suited to them. Musically and textually,

<sup>270</sup> Norberg 2004, *passim*.

<sup>271</sup> The term *Ambrosianus* is used, e.g., in the Benedictine Rule simply in the sense of a (possibly antiphonal) hymn, probably in the iambic dimeter. The Venerable Bede, in his eighth-century *De arte metrica* also uses it to allude to its rhythmic variant; see CCSL 123A, 139; Heikkinen 2012, 205. It is also plausible that the loose usage of the term led to the attribution of spurious hymns to Ambrose, see Norberg 1998, 256–257.

<sup>272</sup> *Translatio*, LH1. ll. 1–4.



the hymns are firmly rooted in tradition, frequently recycling earlier phraseology.<sup>273</sup>

The other verse type with its origins in classical antiquity is a metric variant of the trochaic tetrameter catalectic (– u – x / – u – x // – u – x / – u –). In other words, it consists of four trochaic metra, the last of which is catalectic (docked of its last syllable). Normally, it has a strong break in the middle of the line. It was a common metre in the dialogue of early Greek drama before being largely supplanted by the iambic trimeter.<sup>274</sup> Its archaic Roman equivalent, known as the trochaic septenarius, was used in early Roman drama but remained common in popular chants until Late Antiquity.<sup>275</sup> It differs from its classical counterpart in allowing long syllables in all positions except the penultimate syllable:

*Urbānī, servāt(e) uxōrēs, moechum calv(um) addūcimus*

---- / ---- //---- / – u –

Although the resolution of long syllables was extremely common in the trochaic septenarius, in time this metre too became increasingly regularised. Ultimately, the word-break in the middle of the line came to be conceived as a line break and the metre assumed the form of a two-line couplet. Both the classical trochaic tetrameter and the Roman septenarius were employed by early Christian hymnodists,<sup>276</sup> but by the Early Middle Ages a rhythmic form had emerged as well, describable as 8p+7pp (an eight-syllable line with a paroxytone ending, followed by a seven-syllable line with a proparoxytone ending).

This verse form is curiously absent from Thomas's *Dies natalis* but appears four times in his *Translatio*. The reason for its re-emergence may be its association with the feast of Corpus Christi, particularly

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273 E.g. the opening line, which is a deliberate allusion to *Aurora lucis rutilat*, a hymn that was (falsely) attributed to Ambrose himself in the Middle Ages and frequently quoted in medieval hymnody. See Otten 1913.

274 Raven 1965, 74; Sicking 1993, 106.

275 Sedgwick 1932, 99.

276 Heikkinen 2014, 247–249.

Thomas's hymn *Pange lingua, gloriósi / corporis mystérium*, which has also been composed in the rhythmic variant of the trochaic tetrameter.<sup>277</sup> The *Translatio* revolves around the subject of Thomas's body, emphasizing its connection to the body of Christ while honouring Thomas as the promulgator of Corpus Christi. This connection is given further emphasis by the choice of verse form. This comes to the fore especially in the first antiphon of the second vespers, *De iacente virtus crescit*, where the connection between Thomas's body and the body of Christ is most palpable, further underlined by its structure. The concept of the Eucharist, on the other hand, is echoed in the first antiphon, *Ecce novus fons ortonum*, where Thomas, or his body, is portrayed as a source of nourishment. The intertwining elements between two bodies are studied further in Part IV.

Some other rhythmic verse forms employed in Thomas's offices, although not based on classical metres, nonetheless have their origins in Late Antiquity, having originally been employed as refrains in hymns with varying prosodic structures. A particularly prominent verse form is a ten-syllable line that consists of a four-syllable unit with a paroxytone ending (4p) and a six-syllable unit with a proparoxytone ending (6pp); the line may be presented as either 10pp or 4p+6pp:

*Felix Thómas, / doctor ecclésié*

This verse type first appears in two seventh-century hymns, which have been plausibly attributed to the Venerable Bede.<sup>278</sup> The hymns have been composed in metrical and rhythmical forms of the trochaic septenarius, and the 10pp line appears only as a refrain. Later, however, it seems to have become increasingly popular as a verse form of its own. In Thomas's offices, it is most prominent in the great responsories: as

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<sup>277</sup> The hymn's opening alludes to the sixth-century Venantius Fortunatus's passiontide hymn *Pange lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis*, also known as *In honorem sanctae crucis*. Venantius's hymn is strictly metrical.

<sup>278</sup> Heikkinen 2014; Lapidge (forthcoming).

it is by nature the most prosaic of the verse forms employed in the offices, it is particularly suited to sustained narrative.

Lastly, Thomas's offices make extensive use of the so-called goliardic verse (7pp+6p), which is perhaps best known to us from several songs of the *Carmina Burana* (e.g. *Meum est propósitum / in taberna móri*), as well as such mock-medieval songs as "Good King Wenceslas looked out / on the feast of Stephen." Although often associated with drunken revelry, the verse form has its origins in the refrain of the fourth-century Marius Victorinus's (otherwise prose-form) first hymn: *Miserere Domine / Christe, miserere*, obviously a Latin paraphrase of *Kyrie eleison*. After being similarly used in, e.g., Visigothic and Mozarabic hymnody, the verse type re-emerged in the twelfth century as a secular verse form.<sup>279</sup> Nevertheless, it soon became reappropriated to ecclesiastical verse and constitutes one of the three most prominent verse types employed in Thomas's offices. Its humble pedigree is betrayed by the fact that it is exclusively confined to the antiphons, and, even then, it is generally used in "popular" descriptions of generic miracles:

*Servat ab incúrsibus / virum cum juméntis,  
Liberat a fébribus / vitam moriéntis.*<sup>280</sup>

Although the four previously described verse forms are the most prominent of those employed in the Thomas offices, their respective composers have occasionally used other lengths. These, however, can ultimately be derived from the more established forms. Interestingly, there are instances where the response and verse of the great responsory make use of different verse types, as in the first great responsory of the *Translatio*, where the response has been cast in the earlier rhythmic variant of the trochaic tetrameter (8p+7pp), whereas the verse has the so-called *stabat* verse (after the hugely popular *Stabat mater* sequence), where the 8p line is reiterated (8p+8p+7pp):

<sup>279</sup> Strecker 1926, 244–252; Norberg 2004, 172–173.

<sup>280</sup> *Translatio*, MA7.

- R. *Ecce, novus fons hortorum*  
*diu terre cōditus,*  
*fit augmentum fluviorum*  
*rigans terram cēlitus,*  
*hic est Thomas, lux doctorum,*  
*instructus divinitus*
- V. *Hic est potus Hebreorum*  
*imber clausus hic celorum,*  
*sub Helya rédditus.*<sup>281</sup>

Although the *Translatio* of Thomas Aquinas used the melodies of Dominic's *Dies natalis*, the texts are strikingly different. Especially the responses of the great responsories show far lower rates of melismacy than those in Dominic's office, so it is obvious that a greater amount of text had to be accommodated to the melody. It probably comes as no surprise that the texts have almost invariably been cast in a verse form that is different from the original. The verse technique of Dominic's office exhibits some features that are entirely absent from Thomas's. Thus, in four of the nine responsories of the Matins, the response makes use of a strophic form of the 10pp line: three longer lines with the 10pp structure are followed by a six-syllable coda (6pp), as in the seventh responsory:

*Felix vītis, / de cuius fūrculo*  
*tantum gērmē / redundant sēculo*  
*celi vīnum / propinans pópulo*  
*vitali póculo.*<sup>282</sup>

It is conceivable that this structure has been inspired by the Sapphic stanza or some other similar strophic form. Dominic's responses show particularly high rates of melismacy at the beginning and the end, and the verse structure is often highlighted by the music, as the six-syllable coda is frequently the most melismatic portion of the response: in the

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281 *Translatio*, MR1.

282 Dominic's *Dies natalis*, MR7.

previous example, *vitali* has a melismacy of 7.00 (21/7) and *poculo* 2.66 (8/3), with a rate of 4.83 (29/6) for the entire coda. The absence of this strophic form in Thomas's *Translatio* surely correlates with its more straightforward narrative nature and general avoidance of what its composer probably saw as gratuitous use of melismata. The use of verse technique throughout Thomas's *Translatio* exhibits the trend of greater unity of form and an increased emphasis on the content of the text rather than its formal aspects.



Image 4. The beginning of St Thomas's *Dies natalis*. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta ms. 2799, f. 45<sup>r</sup>. Photo by courtesy of the library.

# **Part III**

## **Chants of the offices**

Chants of *Dies natalis*

# IN FESTO S. THOME DE AQUINO OFFICIUM AD VESPERAS

## 1. Antiphona I modus

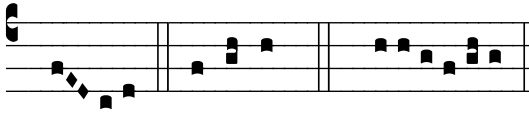
**Felix Thomas, doctor ecclési. Ps. Laudáte púeri.**



Fe- lix Tho- mas, doc- tor ec- clési- e, lumen mun-di, splendor I-



-táli- e, candens virgo flore mun-dí- tie bina gáu- det co-róna



gló- ri-e. Laudáte pu. e u o u a e.<sup>283</sup> [Ps. 112]<sup>284</sup>

283 C134 f. 220<sup>v</sup>; C137 f. 313<sup>r</sup>; C309 f. 265<sup>r</sup>; C310 f. 227<sup>r</sup>; C131 f. 229<sup>v</sup>; C303 f. 167<sup>r</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 283<sup>r</sup>; Me f. 243<sup>v</sup>; L f. 5<sup>rb</sup>; O f. 120<sup>r</sup>; P2791 f. 87<sup>r</sup>; P2799 f. 45<sup>r-v</sup>; A f. 158<sup>v</sup>; V32 fragment; ASOP, 722. The C mss are identical to each other. All the other sources are very much alike, but there are some small differences. In Vat. lat. 10771, the syllable *Thomas* on the first line is prolonged as if emphasizing the beginning of the office. In P2791 the first word *Felix* is written with a porrectus. In P2799 and O there is a difference in the last word. The last word is also slightly different in Me and L when compared to the rest of the sources. O differs from all the others as it has a different division of syllables in *munditie*. It can also be noticed that when compared to others, Me and L have a slightly different melody in *bina gaudet* – the highest note of that phrase is missing. A is similar to Me and L in *gaudet*, but differs from all the others in *bina*. V32 has, exceptionally, a liquescent in *lumen*. In ASOP the chant is identical to the O version. O is the only manuscript without the bb. In C405, L and A the chants of *Dies natalis* are written in two paragraphs.



Tho- mas  
Vat. lat.10771



mun- di-tie  
O



glo-rie  
P2799, O



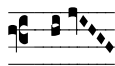
glo-rie  
Me, L



bina gaudet  
Me, L



bina gau- det  
A



lumen.  
V32

284 The psalms are added here as they are marked in the manuscripts. See also Douais 1903.



*Hymnus I modus***Exultet mentis iubilo**<sup>285</sup>

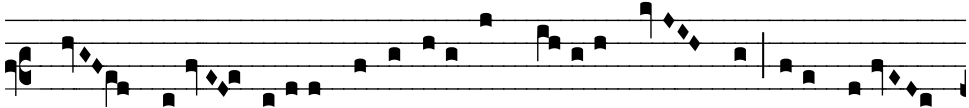
1. Exúl- tet mentis íubi- lo laudans turba fidé- lium erró- rum pulso



núbi-lo per no-vi so- lis rádi- um. 2. Thomas in mundi vésper- e fundit



thesáuros grá-tie, donis plenus ex éthere morum, et sa-pi- éntie. 3. De



cui-us fonte lúminis verbi corúscant fá-cule, Scriptú-re sacre Núminis



et ve-ritá- tis régule. 4. Fulgens doc-tríne rádiis, clarus vite mundí-ti-

285 B ff. 213<sup>R</sup>–214<sup>R</sup>. The use of a clef is interesting in this source. The raising of the clef in the last part of the last verse could be due to the use of space: it gives a little extra space to place the notes one line higher. Ross ff. 16<sup>V</sup>–18<sup>V</sup>. In Ross all the verses are written out. Ross differs from B in the division of the last word of the third sentence. In the last verse the order of the words differs: *Laus Pátri sit*. ASOP, 722–723 is musically the same as B, but written in C-clef. The last verse begins *Laus Pátri sit*.





-a, splendens miris prodígiis dat to-ti mun-do gáudia. 5. Sit Pát-ri

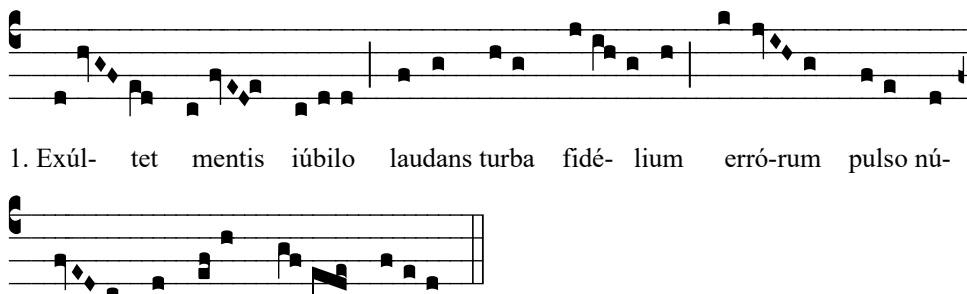
laus ac Génito, Simúlque Sancto Flá-mini, qui sanc-ti Thomae méri- to

ce- li iun-gat ágmini. A-men.

*Hymnus I modus*

**Exultet mentis júbilo**

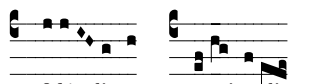
**Version 2.**



1. Exúl- tet mentis iúbilo laudans turba fidé- lium erró-rum pulso nú-

-bi- lo per no-vi so-lis rádium.<sup>286</sup>

286 C404 f. 190<sup>R</sup>; C405 f. 298<sup>Ra</sup>; C303 f. 167<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit); Vat. lat. 10771 ff. 289<sup>V</sup>–290<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10774 f. 155<sup>R-V</sup>; L f. 5<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 409<sup>V</sup>; P2791 f. 87<sup>R-V</sup>; O f. 132<sup>R-V</sup>; P2791 f. 87<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 ff. 65<sup>V</sup>–66<sup>R</sup>. A f. 158<sup>V</sup>. Most of the sources are like B, but written with only C-clef. In P2791 both clefs are used and in P2799 f-clef. In Vat. lat. 10771 the part of the second verse is also noted, until *ple[nus]*. In Me, L and A there is a difference in *fidélium* compared to the other sources. In P2791, L and A the hymn is written in the antiphoner immediately after the first antiphon. In A the order of the words differs from other sources, being *solis novi*. In Me the last note is written as a triple note and in P2791 as a double note. P2791 has a liquescent in *laudans*. In C405 both keys are marked at the beginning of each clef. In Vat. lat. 10774 there is a different division of syllables in *novi solis*.



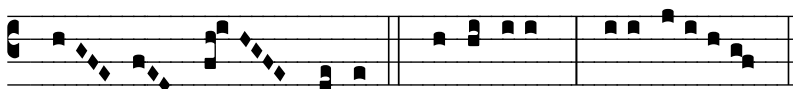
fidé- lium      novi solis  
Me, L, A      Vat. lat. 10774

2. *Antiphona VII modus***Scandit doctor. Ps. Magnificat.**

Scan-dit doc- tor, civis ce-lés- ti- um, or- bis decor, dux, lux fi-

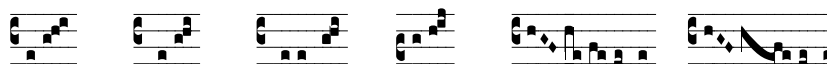


dé-li-um, norma, limes, lex morum óm- ni-um, vas vir-tú-tum, ad vi- te

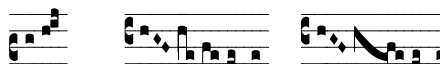


brá - vi-um. *Ps. Magnificat.* e u o u a e.<sup>287</sup> [Lk 1:46,50]

287 C134 f. 220<sup>v</sup>; C137 f. 313<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 265<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 227<sup>R</sup>; C131 f. 229<sup>v</sup> (the folio and the chant breaks off with the words *norma limes*, the end of the chant is missing); C303 f. 167<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 283<sup>R</sup>; Me ff. 243<sup>v</sup>–244<sup>R</sup>; P2791 ff. 87<sup>v</sup>–88<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 45<sup>v</sup>–46<sup>R</sup>; O f. 120<sup>R-v</sup>; L f. 5<sup>Rb-Va</sup>; A f. 158<sup>v</sup>; ASOP, 724. All the C mss are identical to each other (except in C134 one custos in written in the wrong line). Vat. lat. 10771 is the same as the C mss, except for the use of a *virga-pes* and a *scandicus* in *scandit* and *orbis*. The *virga-pes* seems to be typical also for Me, O, L, A and the P mss. The P mss differ from each other in *omnium*, *fidelium* and *morum*. O has an extra repetition note in *scandit*. O is a little more decorated than the others. There are extra notes in *omnium* in Me, P2799, A and O, but in addition O and A also have in *omnium* a porrectus, and furthermore, O has more notes than the other sources in *fidelium* and *bravium*. Vat. lat and L are identical. They have also one exception when compared to other sources except A and P2791: in *morum* there is an extra note. In ASOP, the chant is simpler than in any of the manuscript-versions.



Scandit Scandit Scandit  
Vat. lat. 10771 Me, P mss, L, A O



orbis omnium omnium  
Vat. lat. 10771 Me, P2799, L O, A  
Me, O, L, A




fidelium [bra]- vium  
O, P2791 O




mo-rum  
Vat. lat. 10771, L, A, P2791

AD MATUTINUM

*Invitatorium antiphona 1 modus*  
**Adsunt doctóris celici. Ps. Vénite.**




Ad- sunt      doc-tóris cé-lici      Thome fes- ta so- lémnia : devotió- ne súp-




-plici láudes promat ec- clési- a.    *Ps. Vénite.*<sup>288</sup>    [Ps. 95]


288 C134 f. 220<sup>v</sup>; C137 f. 313<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 265<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 227<sup>R-v</sup>; C303 f. 167<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 283<sup>R-v</sup>; Me f. 244<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 88<sup>R-v</sup>; P2799 f. 46<sup>R-v</sup>; O ff. 120<sup>v</sup>–121<sup>R</sup>; L f. 5<sup>Va</sup>; A f. 158<sup>v</sup>. The sources are musically the same, except in O, which has a difference in the division of syllables per notes in *doctoris celici*. In P2791, there is a liquescent in *laudes* and in the last word *ecclésia* the melody is one note simpler. In P2799 there is a prolonged last note.



doctó- ris ce-lici  
O

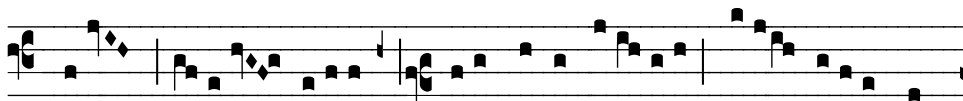


ecclésia  
P2791

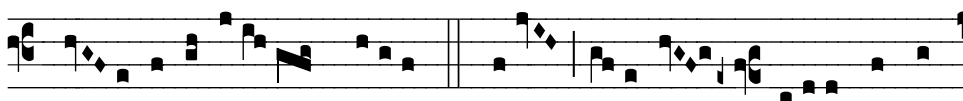


ecclésia  
P2799

*Hymnus modus I*  
**Thomas insignis**<sup>289</sup>



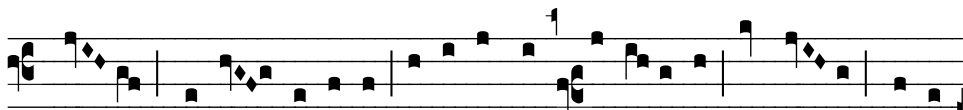
1. Thomas, in-sígnis gènere claram ducens oríginem, subit etátis té-



ne re predi-ca-tó-rum ór-dinem. 2. Typum gessit lu- cíferi splendens



in cetu núbium plus quam doctóres céte- ri purgans dogma gen -tílium. 3. Pro



-fún-da scrutans flúminum in lucem pan- dit áb-dita, dum sup-ra sensus



hómi-num obscú-ra fa-cit cógnita. 4. Fit pa-ra-dí-si flúvius, quadri-

289 B ff. 214<sup>R</sup>-215<sup>V</sup>; P2791 ff. 88<sup>V</sup>-89<sup>R</sup>; Ross ff. 18<sup>V</sup>-20<sup>R</sup>. In Ross the verses are written out, except part of the last verse. The clef is misplaced in some words. Ross differs from B in the division of the last word of the third sentence. There is also a small melody difference in *lucíféri*.



ténere  
Ross



céteri  
Ross



homínium  
Ross



gladius  
Ross



lu- ci -fe- ri  
Ross



partíte pér-vius : fit Ge-deónis glá- dius, tuba, lagé-ne, rádius. 5. Sit



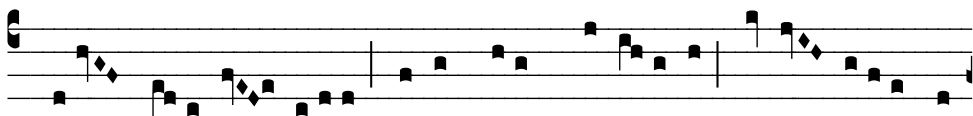
Pat-ri laus ac Génito, simúlque Sancto Flámini, qui sanc-ti Thome



méri- to nos ce-li iun-gat ágmini. A- men.

### *Hymnus modus I*

#### **Thomas insignis Version 2**



1. Thomas, in-síg- nis génere claram ducens orí- ginem, subit etátis té-



-ne-re predi- cató-rum órđinem.<sup>290</sup>

<sup>290</sup> Vat. lat. 10771 f. 290<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10774 f. 155<sup>V</sup>; C404 f. 190<sup>V</sup>; C405 f. 298<sup>Rb-Vb</sup>; C303 f. 167<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit); P2791 f. 88<sup>V</sup>; P2799 ff. 66<sup>V</sup>–67<sup>R</sup>; O ff. 132<sup>V</sup>–133<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 410<sup>R</sup>; L f. 5<sup>Va</sup>; A ff. 158<sup>V</sup>–159<sup>R</sup>. These sources are identical to B, except for the use of C-clef. Although P2799 uses f-clef. They all differ from Ross in the division of syllables in the last word of the third sentence. There is an interesting detail in the source Vat. lat. 10771: a liquescent in *insígnis*. There is also a similar note in the intonation of the second verse, which is, exceptionally, written out. Me, L and A differ from all the others in having an extra note in *originem*. Me also has a prolonged last note in the last word *ordinem*. Vat. lat. 10774 differs from all the others in the division of syllables in *subit*, *ténere* and *predicatórum*. In the last verse there are three types of word order in the hymns. In B and in the Vat. lat. 10771 and 10774 there is *Sit Patri laus*. In O, the hymn verses begin *Sit laus Patri*. In Ross, C, A, L (in P mss this is marked only in the hymn *Exultet*) the verse begins *Laus Patri sit*. Vat. lat. 10771 has *Laus Patri sit* in the hymn *Exultet*, but *Sit laus Patri* in the hymn *Thomas insignis*, and *Laus Patri ac génito* in the hymn *Lauda mater*. Vat. lat. mss have the word order *Sit Patri* in the hymns. In C405 both keys are marked at the beginning of each clef.

## IN PRIMO NOCTURNO

*Antiphona I I modus***Doctor Thomas. Ps. Beátus vir.**

Doctor Thomas replé-tus gráti- a, premonstrátus sacris o-ráculis, mundi,



carnis, hostis- que vítia fugat, exém-plar datus sé- cu-lis. *Ps. Beatus.*



e u o u a e.<sup>291</sup> [Ps. 1]



in-sig- nis  
Vat. lat. 10771



Tympanum gellie lu-ci-feri  
Vat. lat. 10771



ori- ginem  
Me, A, L



ordinem.  
Me



subit  
Vat. lat. 10774



ténere predi- cató-rum  
Vat. lat. 10774

- 291 C134 ff. 220<sup>v</sup>-221<sup>r</sup>; C137 f. 313<sup>r-v</sup>; C309 f. 265<sup>r-v</sup>; C310 f. 227<sup>v</sup>; C303 f. 167<sup>r</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 283<sup>v</sup>; Me f. 244<sup>r</sup>; P2791 f. 89<sup>r</sup>; P2799 ff. 46<sup>v</sup>-47<sup>r</sup>; O f. 121<sup>r-v</sup>; L f. 5<sup>va</sup>. A f. 159<sup>r</sup>. The C mss are all identical, with the bb ins *repletus* and *premonstratus* as well as Me. Vat. lat. 10771 is also the same except in that it has no bb in *repletus*. P2799 has a doubled first note. The P mss, Me, L, A and O have a slightly different melody in the last word *séculis*. The P mss and O have bb only in *repletus*. Me and L share a slightly different variation of the melody in the last word *séculis* but are similar to each other. Both have one bb, but it could indicate either the word *repletus* or *premonstratus*. A is the same as the C mss, except for a variation in the last word *séculis*. A does not have any marked bbs. P2791 has a liquescent-note in *mundi*.



Doctor  
P2799



sé- cu- lis.  
P2799, O



sé- cu- lis.  
Me, L



sé- culis.  
P2791, A

*Antiphona 2 II modus*  
**Mentis innocéntia. Ps. Quare.**



Mentis innocén- ti-a, flosque pu- ri- tátis extité-runt prévi-a luci veri-



tátis. *Ps. Quare* fre. e uo u a e.<sup>292</sup> [Ps. 2]

292 C134 f. 221<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 313<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 265<sup>V</sup>; C310 f. 227<sup>V</sup>; C303 f. 167<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 283<sup>V</sup>; Me f. 244<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 89<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 f. 47<sup>V</sup>; O f. 121<sup>V</sup>; L f. 5<sup>Va-b</sup>; A f. 159<sup>R</sup>. The C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 are identical. In *innocéntia* and *puritatis* there are variations in the melody in different sources. Interestingly, in these two words P2791 is the same as the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771. The word *luci* has a different melody in Me, L, the P mss, O and A than in the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771.



innocéntia  
L

innocéntia  
P2799

innocéntia  
O



pu-ri- tátis  
Me, L

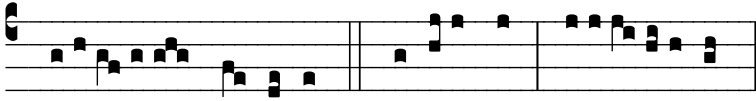
pu-ri- tátis  
P2799, O

luci  
Me, L, P mss, O, A



*Antiphona 3 III modus***Ope doctóris celici. Ps. Dómine, quid.**

O- pe doctóris cé- lici, tota gáudet ec-clésia : ful-get ordo Domínici

peculi- ári gló-ri- a. Ps Domine quid. e u o u a e.<sup>293</sup> [Ps.3]

293 C134 f. 221<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 313<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 265<sup>V</sup>; C310 f. 227<sup>V</sup>; C303 f. 167<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 ff. 283<sup>V</sup>–284<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 244<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 89<sup>V</sup>; P2799 ff. 47<sup>V</sup>–48<sup>R</sup>; O ff. 121<sup>V</sup>–122<sup>R</sup>; L f. 5<sup>Vb</sup>; A f. 159<sup>R</sup>; V33 a frgment. There are no differences in the C mss. Other sources have small variations, mostly notational. Vat. lat. 10771 includes a liquescent in *gáudet* and a prolonged last note in *gloria*. Me, L, P2799, O and A have in the first word *Ope* a virga-pes, whereas the C mss, P2791 and Vat. lat. 10771 have a pes-virga. In L, from the word *ecclésia* to the end of the chant it seems that the notes have been written one line too high. L and A also include a liquescent-note in *ecclesia*. The fragment V33 has one liquescent in [ec]clésia (the fragment begins in the middle of this word) and one in the word *Domínici*. In O the chant has a simpler ending.



gáudet

O-pe

ec-clésia

[ec]-clé-si-a

Domíni-ci

glo-ria

Vat. lat. 10771 Me, L,

L, A

V33

V33

O

P2799, O, A

*Responsorium prolixum 1 I modus***R. Sancti viri. V. Nam vir sanctus. R. Sectatúrum.**

R. Sanc- ti vi- ri ver- bum pro- phé- ti-cum prae-mon-strá- vit mun-



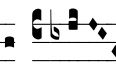
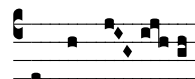
do mi- rífi- cum sanctum Tho- mam, doctó- rem cé- li- cum, Sectatú-



- rum pa- trem Do-mí ni- cum.V. Nam vir san-ctus hunc

matri grá- vide ducem promp- sit doc- trí- ne lú- cide. Sec.<sup>294</sup>

294 C134 ff. 221<sup>R</sup>–221<sup>V</sup>; C137 ff. 313<sup>V</sup>–314<sup>R</sup>; C309 ff. 265<sup>V</sup>–266<sup>R</sup>; C310 ff. 227<sup>V</sup>–228<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 167<sup>R</sup> (an incipit for the response, verse is written out); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 248<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 244<sup>R-V</sup>; P2791 ff. 89<sup>V</sup>–90<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 48<sup>V</sup>–49<sup>R</sup>; O f. 122<sup>R-V</sup>; L f. 5<sup>Vb</sup>; A f. 159<sup>V</sup>; V33 is a fragment with only an intonation (*Sancti viri*). All the C mss are similar, except for one extra porrectus in C310 in *Dominicum* (porrectus also in Vat. lat. 10771, Me, the P mss and A). Vat. lat. 10771 is like the C mss except for several extra porrecti. There are small variations in melody between the manuscripts in *verbum*, *patrem* and *Dominicum*. P2799 and O are more decorated in *premonstravit*, *Sanctum* and *Thomam* than others, P2799 even more. The P mss and O have one note more than other sources in the last word *lúcide*. In *mundo* we can see that in Me and P2799 there is a virga-pes, while in other sources there is a pes-virga. In Me, L and A in *gravidade* a g-note is doubled in the same expressive way as in *Sanctus* just before. In A there is a repetition in the last word *lúcide*. In A there is a difference in lyrics at the end of the response: *sanctum Dominicum*. A has also a different note from all the others in *celicum*.

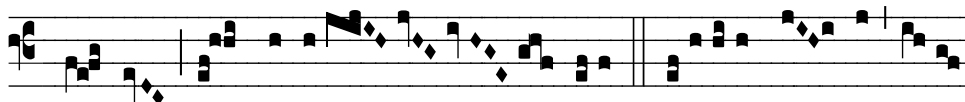
ver- bum  
Vat. lat. 10771, P mssverbum  
Me, Lverbum  
Apatrem  
Vat. lat. 10771patrem  
Me, L, P mss, Acelicum  
Aprae-mon-strá- vit  
P2799, OSanctum Tho- mam  
P2799Sanctum Tho- mam  
Olúcide  
P mss, O

*Responsorium prolixum 2 II modus***R. Christi pia V. Orat. Pugil.**

R. Chri- sti pi- a trac- tus dulcé- di-ne mun-dum lin- quens



probá- tur túr- bine, pugil for- tis, rap- tus de ór- dine, vi-cit



pror- sus, pul- sa libí- di-ne. V. O- rat pres- sa cru-ce



mirí- fí-ca, re- nes cin-git ma-nus an-gé- li-ca. Pugil.<sup>295</sup>

295 C134 f. 221<sup>v</sup>; C137 f. 314<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 266<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 228<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 167<sup>R-v</sup> (an incipit for the response, verse is written out); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 284<sup>R-v</sup>; Me f. 244<sup>v</sup>; P2791 f. 90<sup>R-v</sup>; P2799 ff. 498<sup>R</sup>–500<sup>R</sup>. O ff. 122<sup>v</sup>–123<sup>R</sup>; L f. 5<sup>vb</sup>; A f. 159<sup>v</sup>. The C mss are identical except that C134 does not include liquescent notes, whereas the other C mss do. Vat. lat. 10771 is very similar to the C137, 309 and 310, the difference being an additional repetition note in *turbine* and a porrectus in *prorsus*. Vat. lat. 10771 is also different from all the other sources in the melody of the first word, *Christi* and in the last word of the response, *libidine*. Me and L are identical to each other in their melodies and phrasing. Me, L, the P mss, O and A have more decorated endings of musical phrases in *turbine*, *ordine* and *libidine*. Me and L include fewer porrecti and liquescents than the others. Especially O includes many *porrectus* notes. P2799 is somewhat simpler in some parts of the melody than the others: not only does it lack the liquescent notation in *linquens* and *fortis*, but the note is totally absent. P2791 has in *linquens* a d-note (not c) in the last syllable. Me, L, P mss, O and A differ from the C mss and Vat. lat. in the notation of *raptus*. Me, P2799 and L have a virga-pes in *Chris-ti* and *pia*. O and A share a virga-pes in *pia* but not in *Christi*. In all the sources the verses are similar, and it is notable that in the verse a more decorative ending has been chosen in the rhyming words *mirífica* and *angelica* in every source. The two C mss share a virga-pes in *pulsa*.



Chri- sti  
Vat. lat. 10771



pul- sa libí-  
C134, C137



dine rap-tus  
Me, L, P mss, O, A

*Responsorium prolixum 3 III moodi***R. O ánima sanctíssima. V. Nullo prorsus. V. Glória**

O á- nima sanc- tís- si- ma, qua con- tem- plán- te



dúl- citer cor- pus lin-qué- bat ín- fima Sta- ns sur-



sum mi- ra- bí- li- ter. V. Nul- lo pror-sus fultus subsí-



di- o, le- va- bá- tur in rap-tus gáu-di- o. Stans. Glóri- a

Pát-ri, et Fí-li- o, e- t Spirí- tu- i Sán- cto. Stans.<sup>296</sup>pul- sa libí- dine  
Me, L, Apul- sa libí- dine  
Vat. lat. 10771pul- sa libí- dine  
Opul- sa libí- dine  
P mss

## IN SECUNDO NOCTURNO

*Antiphona 4 IV modus***O munus. Ps. Cum invocárem.****Version 1**

O mu- nus De- i grá-ti- e vin- cens quodvis mi- ráculum pes-tífe-re



su-pér- bie num-quam per-sénsit stí-mu-lum. *Ps. Cum invocárem e u o u a e.*<sup>297</sup>

296 C134 f. 222<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 314<sup>R-V</sup>; C309 f. 266<sup>R-V</sup>; C310 f. 228<sup>V</sup>; C303 f. 167<sup>V</sup> (an incipit for the response, verse is written out); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 284<sup>V</sup>; Me ff. 244<sup>V</sup>-245<sup>R</sup>; P2791 ff. 90<sup>V</sup>-91<sup>V</sup>; P2799 ff. 50<sup>R</sup>-51<sup>R</sup>; O f. 123<sup>R-V</sup>; L ff. 5<sup>Vb</sup>-6<sup>Ra</sup>; A f. 160<sup>R</sup>. Differences in the melodies between the sources are small, except for P2791. Me and L are identical to each other, but they differ from all the others in having a slightly simpler melody in *mirabiliter*. The liquescent notes are found in two words of the response: *contemplante* (Vat. lat. 10771, L, Me, A, C309, C310) and *linquebat* (Vat. lat. 10771, L, Me) and in two words in the verse: *nullo* (Vat. lat. 10771) and *fultus* (C134, C137, Vat. lat. 10771). There are no liquescent notes in the P mss and O. O has more *porrectus* notation than the other sources. Usually verses are identical, but not here. The first word of the verse, *nullo*, has an extra note at the beginning, and there is also a minor difference in *fultus* in O, the P mss, Me, L and A. There are also some individual differences: Vat. lat. 10771 is missing a repetition note in *gaudia* and in C309 there is a prolonged note in *sursum*. P2791 has a slight difference in the melody when compared to all the other sources in *stans*, *mirabiliter* and *Spirítui Sancto*. In *stans* the melody is longer and in *Spirítui Sancto* simpler than in others. However, the melody of *mirabiliter* is probably a mistake. The use of the virga-pes is seen in O in *sanctíssima*, in the P mss in *sanctíssima* and *linquēbat* (in P2791 also in *contemplante*), in A, Me and L in *sanctíssima*, *qua*, *linquēbat* and *stans*.



Nul- lo  
O, P mss, Me, L, A



mi- ra- bí- li- ter  
Me, L.



mi- ra- bí- li- ter  
P2791



fultus  
O, P mss, Me, L, A



Stans  
P2791



Spirítui Sancto  
P2791

297 C134 f. 222<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 314<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 266<sup>V</sup>; C310 f. 228<sup>V</sup>; C303 f. 167<sup>V</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 ff. 284<sup>V</sup>-285<sup>R</sup>. All the C mss have a later added bb in *pestifere*. They are identical to one another, except for C137, which has a notational difference in *vincens* with no *porrectus* there. Vat. lat. 10771 is identical to the C mss except for the liquescent in *quodvis* and one missing repetition note in the last syllable of *superbie*.

**O munus. Ps. Cum invocárem.**  
Version 2



O mu-nus Dei gráti-e vin- cens quodvis mi- ráculum pes-tife-re



supér-bi-e num-quam per-sénsit stí-mu-lum. *Ps. Cum invocárem.* e u o u a e.<sup>298</sup>

**O munus. Ps. Cum invocárem.**  
Version 3

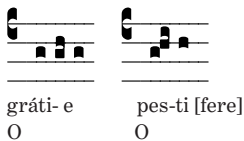


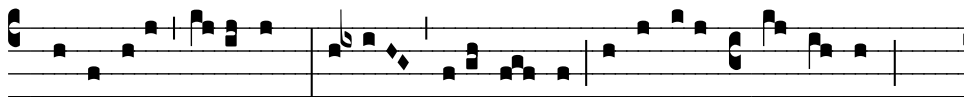
O mu- nus Dei grá-tie vincens quod-vis mirá-cu-lum pes-tí- fe-re súper-



-bi-e numquam per-sénsit stí-mu-lum. *Ps. Cum invocárem* e u o u a e.<sup>299</sup>

298 P2799 f. 51<sup>R-V</sup>; O ff.123<sup>V</sup>-124<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 91<sup>V</sup>; P2799 and O are similar but there are notational differences leading to nuances of phrasing in *gratie* and *pestifere*. Versions one and two are the same except that the words *vincens*, *quodvis* and *pestifere* differ with one note. *Miraculum* and the end of the antiphon *numquam persensit stimulum* are identical in the two versions. But the beginning of the antiphon *O munus Dei gratie* and the word *superbie* are clearly variants (one of the other) with a greater difference. P2791 is the same as P2799 except for the words *vincens quodvis*, where it conforms to version three.

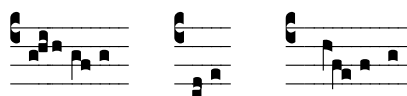


*Antiphona 5 V modus***Prece curat sócium. Ps. Vërba mea.**

Prece curat só-ci-um febrem pati-én- tem : et in ora vës-ti- um

sán- gui- ne fluéntem. Ps. Vërba mea. e u o u a e.<sup>300</sup> [Ps.5]

299 Me f. 245<sup>R</sup>; L f. 6<sup>Ra</sup>; A f. 160<sup>R</sup>. Me, L and A are identical, except that in *miráculum* A is simpler. In *pestifere* L and A are the same as the C mss and Vat. lat. In *numquam* Me differs from the other two in its notation. When compared to the other two versions, we can see that version three is a variation of both. The beginning of the antiphon *O munus Dei gratie* is like that in version two. In *vincens quodvis*, there seems to be a very interesting solution: the note that differs in versions one and two is left out. The word *miraculum* differs from both other versions. In L and A, *pestifere* is as in version two. In Me, *pestifere* seems to be a more decorated version of that in either one or two. *Numquam* has a slightly simpler variation than the other two. The last word *stimulum* is alike in all three versions.



pes-tí-fe-re      numquam      miráculum  
L, A              L, A              A

300 C134 f. 222<sup>V</sup>; C137 f. 314<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 266<sup>V</sup>; C310 ff. 228<sup>V</sup>-229<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 167<sup>V</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 285<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 245<sup>R</sup>; P2791 ff. 91<sup>V</sup>-92<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 51<sup>V</sup>-52<sup>R</sup>; O f. 124<sup>R</sup>; L f. 6<sup>Ra</sup>; A f. 160<sup>R</sup>. The C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 are the same. The bb has been added to the words *febrem* and *sanguine* later. Me is identical to the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771, including bb. A minor difference in Me is that the word *socium* is lacking the repetition note. L is identical to Me, except for bbs; a mark in *febrem* can be interpreted as bb, but there is no bb in *sanguine*. P2799 differs from the other sources in the melody of the first word *prece*. P2791 is simpler in *socium*. O varies the most in the word *prece*, but has a simpler version in the second word *socium*. Both P2799 and O include bb-marks. A is the same as the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771. Interestingly, A has a bb only at the beginning of the chant, immediately after the clef.



Prece curat      Pre-ce curat      socium  
P2799              O                      P2791

*Antiphona 6 VI modus*

**Stella candens émicat. Ps. Dómine.**

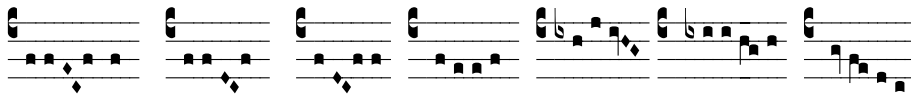


Stel- la candens émi-cat stupó-rem dans insó-litum: quae instántem



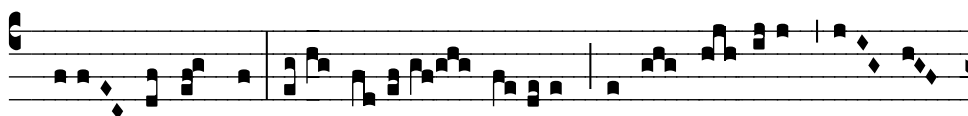
índi-cat beá- ti Tho-me trán-situm. Ps. Dómine. e u o u a e.<sup>301</sup> [Ps.7]

301 C134 f. 222<sup>V</sup>; C137 f. 314<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 266<sup>V</sup>; C310 f. 229<sup>R</sup>; C303 ff. 167<sup>V</sup>–168<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 285<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 245<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 92<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 52<sup>R</sup>–52<sup>V</sup>; O f. 124<sup>R</sup>; L f. 6<sup>Ra</sup>; A f. 160<sup>R-V</sup>. All the C mss are the same. Vat. lat. 10771 has a different intonation and a liquescent in *instantem*. Me, L and A are identical. As compared to other sources, they lack the first repetition note in the first word. They also have a slightly different melody in *emicat* and *indicat* because of a repetition note, and a somewhat different notation in *stúporem*. P2799 and O are almost the same as the C mss, but O is missing the last repetition note in the first word *stella*. P2791 is simpler in *emicat* and differs by one note in *insólitum*. All the sources have at least one bb – the C mss has a bb even in the psalm formula.



Stel- -la	Stel- la	Stel- la	emicat	stúporem	indicat	insólitum
Vat. lat. 10771	O	Me, L, A	Me, L, A	Me, L, A	Me, L, A	P2791
			P2791			



*Responsorium prolixum 4 IV modus***R. De excelsis fons sapientie V. Stylus brevis. R. Rigat.**

R. De ex-cél-sis fons sa-pi-én-tie sancto Tho-me in- fû-



dit có-piam, tamquam flu-men cla-re sci-én-tie: qui



sus-cép-tam re- fû-dit grá-ti-am; dum flu-én-tis sum-me pe-rí-ti-e



ri-gat to-tam sanc-tam ec-clé-si-am. V. Sty-



lus bre-vis, gra-ta fa-cún-di-a: cel-sa, cla-ra, fir-ma sen-tén-ti-a.

R. Rig.<sup>302</sup>

302 C134 ff. 222<sup>V</sup>-223<sup>R</sup>; C137 ff. 314<sup>V</sup>-315<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 267<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 229<sup>R-V</sup>; C131 230<sup>R</sup> (a fragment begins with the words of the fourth response [*sanc*]tam *ecclesiám*); C303 f. 168<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the response, verse is written out); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 285<sup>R-V</sup>; Me f. 245<sup>R-V</sup>; P2791 f. 92<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 ff. 52<sup>V</sup>-53<sup>V</sup>; O ff. 124<sup>V</sup>-125<sup>R</sup>. L f. 6<sup>Ra</sup>; A f. 160<sup>V</sup>. The melodies are almost identical in all the sources. In C131 there is no *correctus* in *senténtia*. In C309 there is a prolonged note in *sanctam* (see also MR3). C309 and 310 have slightly different phrasing in *rigat* and a different melody in *clare* when compared to the other C mss. There are differences in the *virga-pes* combinations. In *excelsis* (*pes-virga-pes* in Me, L, P

*Responsorium prolixum 4 IV modus*  
**The verse version 2.**



V. Sty- lus bre-vis, gra-ta fa-cún-di-a : cel- sa, cla-ra, fir-ma sen-tén- ti-a.



R. Rig.<sup>303</sup>

and A), *copiam* (virga-pes in Me, L, P, A), *flumen* (pes-pes-virga in Vat. lat. 10771 and virga-pes-pes in P2799), *clarae* (virga-pes in P2791), *frumentia* (pes-pes-virga in Vat. lat. 10771), *rigat* (pes-virga, Vat. lat. 10771, O, C309, C310) and *stylus* (virga-pes in 2791). The melodies differ in their number of currentes: in *sapientiae* (Me, L, the P mss, O and A), *influidit* (Me, L, A), *qui* (Me, L, A, P2791), *summe* (P2791) and *facundia* (Vat. lat. 10771). In Me, L and A the word *ecclesiae* differs from that in the other sources, and both of the P mss have slightly different variations of the word. The word *stylus* has an extra note in Me and a slight difference in 2799 and O. In P2799 and O, the first word of the response *de* does not include a repetition note. The word *clarae* is an example of musical variation through all the sources. The use of a liquescent is rare: it occurs in *excelsis* (P2791) *sancta* (Vat. lat. 10771) and *fluentis* (Me). The verses in O and P2799 differ from others in notation and also in some aspects of the melody. In P2791 there are melodic differences in *suscéptam* and *ecclésiám*.

cla- rae	cla- rae	clarae	cla- rae	cla- rae	suscéptam
C309, C310	Vat. lat. 10771	Me, L, A	P2799	O	P2791

ec- clesiam.	ec- clesiam.	ec- clesiam.
Me, L, A	P2799, O (O with a porrectus)	P2791

303 O ff. 124<sup>v</sup>–125<sup>r</sup>. O differs from the other sources in the melody of the first word *stylus*, in *centa* with a repetition note, and in *firma* with one melody difference, and furthermore, with notational differences in *sententia*. P2799 ff. 52<sup>v</sup>–53<sup>v</sup>. P2799 is like O in the first half of the verse, but the latter part is like the other sources except in *firma* P2799, which has its own melodic variation.

fir-ma	Sty- lus	Sty- lus
P2799	Me	P2799, O

*Responsorium prolixum 5 V modus***R. Felix doctor. V. Elevátus a terra. R. Dei mater.**

R. Felix doc- tor, cuius so- lá- tio ange-ló rum ser- vit at- ténti-o: Pet-



rus, Páu- lus fa- vent ob- sé- quio: De- i



ma- ter mul- cet al- ló- quio. V. Elevá-

tus a ter-ra céрни- tur, cruci- fi-xus ei col-ló- qui-tur. R. Dei.<sup>304</sup>

304 C134 f. 223<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 315<sup>R-V</sup>; C309 f. 267<sup>R-V</sup>; C310 f. 229<sup>V</sup>; C131 f. 230<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 168<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the response, the verse is written out); Vat. lat. 10771 ff. 285<sup>V</sup>-286<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 245<sup>V</sup>; P2791 f. 93<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 f. 54<sup>R-V</sup>; O f. 125<sup>R-V</sup>; L f. 6<sup>Rb</sup>; A f. 161<sup>R</sup>. The melodies are similar in all sources, with only minor differences: there is one missing note in *solatio* (Me, L, A) as well as in *mulcet* (Me and L). Other differences are: P2799 has an extra repetition note in the last words of *versus ei colloquitur* and O has two extra repetition-notes in *alloquio*. P2791 has an extra note in *cuius* and *favent*, and two extra notes in *colloquitur*. In C131 the beginning of *alloquio* is notated pes-virga-virga. The greatest notational differences occur in the use of the virga-pes. While the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 have more use of the pes-virga, Me, L and A have a virga-pes in *angelorum*, *servit*, *Petrus*, *obsequio*, *alloquio*, *elevatus* and *crucifixus*. In *angelorum* the melody is also slightly simpler in Me, L and A. The word *alloquio* is a good example of how the notation influences the phrasing of melody. The P mss and O are very similar to Me and L. In all five sources the use of the virga-pes is consistent (except there is no virga-pes in P2791 in *alloquio*). The use of porrecti is also minimal. There are bbs in all the manuscripts except L. The number of bbs differs. In P2791 there are bbs at the beginning of two staves. O and P2799 have only a few local bbs, while the C mss has quite a lot. Interestingly, there are no bbs in *attentio*, *Dei* and *alloquio* in the C mss (except what seems later added in C131). Of these three words, Vat. lat. 10771 has bb at the beginning of the word *Dei*. The use of liquescents is very sparing. There are liquescents in *cuius* (Vat. lat. 10771, Me, L, O), *favent* (Vat. lat. 10771) and *alloquio* (Vat. lat. 10771).

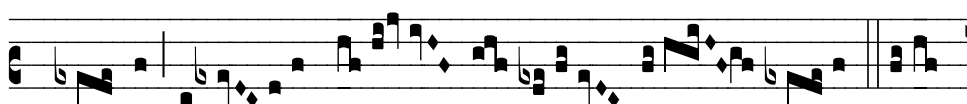
angelorum  
Me, L, Afa- vent  
Me, O, A, L P2791fa- vent  
Vat. lat. 10771fa- vent  
Palló [quio]  
Me, L, A

*Responsorium prolixum 6 VI modus***R. Sidus missum Thomae. V. Quam excelsus. R. Hunc. V. Glória. R. Verbo.**

R. Si- dus mis-sum Tho- me de súperis no- vo si-



gno diví- ni mú- ne-ris, hunc ce-lés- tem démonstrat cé-



te- ris verbo, víta, doc- trí- na, lít- teris. V. Qu-



am excél- sus, quem ce-li pré- di-cant, quam pre-clá-rus, quem stel- le

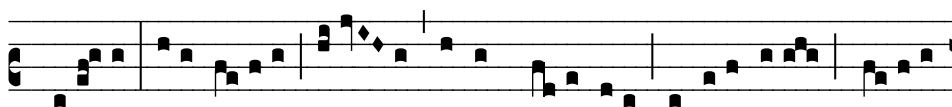


ín- di-cant. Hunc. V. Gló- ri- a Pát- ri, et Fí- li- o, et Spi-rí-

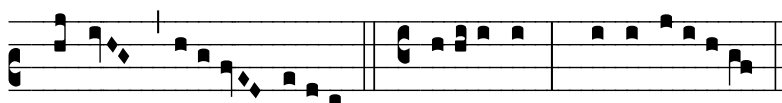
tu- i Sánc- to. R. Verbo.<sup>305</sup>

305 C134 f. 223<sup>R-V</sup>; C137 f. 315<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 267<sup>V</sup>; C310 ff. 229<sup>V</sup>-230<sup>R</sup>; C131 f. <sup>R-V</sup>; C303 f. 168<sup>R-V</sup> (only an incipit for the response, the verse is written out); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 286<sup>R</sup>; Me ff. 245<sup>V</sup>-246<sup>R</sup>; P2791 ff. 93<sup>V</sup>-94<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 55<sup>R</sup>-56<sup>R</sup>; O f. 125<sup>R-V</sup>; L f. 6<sup>Rb</sup>; A f. 161<sup>R-V</sup>. There are some differences in notation between the C mss. C137 has fewer porrecti than other C mss and a one note difference in *Sancto* (the middle note of a porrectus is missing, presumably a mistake). The response is a good example of a varying use of the porrectus. In the C mss the first word *sydus* is without porrectus, but the third word *Thomae* is written with a porrectus. Vat. lat. 10771 is written in the opposite way (*sydus* with a porrectus and *Thomae* without). Me, P2799 and A have porrecti in the response only in *muneris* and *ceteris*, while in P2791 there is a porrectus in *céteris* and *litteris*. There are liquescent notes in *sydus* (C137, Vat. lat. 10771, Me, L), *signo* (Vat. lat. 10771) and *sanctum* (Vat. lat. 10771). The greatest melodic differences

## IN TERTIO NOCTURNO

7. *Antiphona VII modus***Instánte vite término. Ps. Dómine quis.**

Instán-te vite tér-mi-no vi- dit reg-na ce-lés-ti-a: et revelánte Dó-mino

no- vit pa-rá-ta prémia. Domine quis. Euouae.<sup>306</sup> [Ps.14]

between the sources are in *muneris*, *ceteris* and *litteris*, which are all variations of the same melodic formula. Small details: in Vat. lat. 10771, the last note of the verse is prolonged; in O, there is an extra note (repetition of *g*) in *missum*. The very first repetition note of the chant is found only in the C mss and P mss. There is an extra note in *demonstrat* just as in *celéstem* in A. The bbs are marked in the other sources but not in P2799. In the verse, there are minor differences between the sources in *indicant*. P2799 is the same as the C mss.

mú-neris Me, P2799, L, O, A	mú-neris P2791	mú-neris Vat. lat. 10771	cé-teris A
cé-Me	cé-P2799	cé-O (as in P)	cé-Vat. lat. 10771, C mss, P2791
lí-teris. Me, L, P2791	lí-teris. Vat. lat. 10771, C mss	lí-teris. P, O (notation virga-pes in the beginning of the word.)	
lí-A	Ín-Me, L., A, Vat. lat. 10771	Ín-O	demonstrat-A

(In Vat. lat. prolonged last note)

306 C134 f. 223<sup>v</sup>; C137 f. 315<sup>v</sup>; C309 ff. 267<sup>v</sup>–268<sup>r</sup>; C310 f. 230<sup>r</sup>; C131 f. 230<sup>v</sup>; C303 f. 168<sup>v</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and the psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 286<sup>v</sup>; Me ff. 245<sup>v</sup>–246<sup>r</sup>; L f. 6<sup>rb</sup>; P2791 f. 94<sup>r</sup>; P2799 f. 56<sup>r-v</sup>; A f. 161<sup>v</sup>. In C310 there is one note missing in *premia* (probably a mistake). The C mss and Vat.

**Instánte vite término. Ps. Dómine quis.**  
**Version 2**



Instán-te vite tér-mi-no, vi-dit reg-na ce-lés-ti-a: et revelánte Dó-



mino, no- vit pa-rá-ta prémia. Domine quis. e u o u a e.<sup>307</sup>

lat. 10771 are the same. Me, L and A are the same. They differ musically from the C mss and Vat. lat., being more decorative in the last two words *parata premia*. The notation in the first word *instante* is also a virga-pes. In these two respects Me, L and A are like P2799, which is also more decorative and resembles the second version in *vidit regna celestia*. P2791 f. 93<sup>v</sup> is the same as version 1 at the beginning (*Instante vite termino*). In *vidit regna celestia* it is like version 2. In *et revelánte* it is different from all the others. In *Domino novit* all the sources agree, and finally in *paráta premia* P2791 conforms to Me, L and A (which is a variant of version 2).



pa-rá-ta premia  
 Me, L, A, P2791

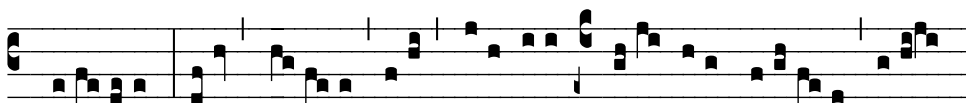


et revelánte  
 P2791



reg-na ce-lés-ti-a  
 P2791, P2799

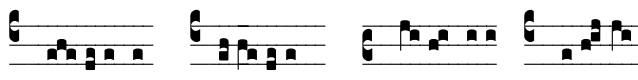
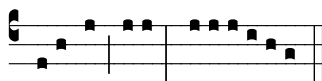
307 O ff. 126<sup>v</sup>–127<sup>r</sup>. O conforms to P2799 in *regna celestia* and *parata*. O has a decoration also in *termino*.

8. *Antiphona, VII modus***Seminávit hic lár-giter. Ps. Dómine in virtúte.**

Semi-ná-vit hic lár-gi-ter doctor virtuósus; me-tit illic felí-ci-ter victor

glo-ri-ósus. Ps. Dómine in virtúte. e u o u a e.<sup>308</sup> [Ps.20]

308 C134 f. 223<sup>V</sup>; C137 ff. 315<sup>V</sup>–316<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 268<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 230<sup>R</sup>; C131 f. 230<sup>V</sup>; C303 f. 168<sup>V</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 286<sup>V</sup>; Me f. 246<sup>R-V</sup>; L f. 6<sup>Rb-Va</sup>; P2791 f. 94<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 ff. 56<sup>V</sup>–57<sup>R</sup>; O f. 127<sup>R</sup>; A f. 161<sup>V</sup>. The C mss are alike. P2791 is the same as the C mss. Vat. lat. 10771 and A have slightly different intonation in the first word *seminavit*, and a liquescent in *virtuosus*. Vat. lat. 10771 has a different psalm tone than all the other sources. Me differs in *virtuosus*. L is an exception in that it is not identical to Me, but to the C mss and to Vat. lat. in also having a liquescent in *virtuosus*. L, P2799 and A have a virga-pes in *hic*. P2799 is otherwise the same as the C mss. O is almost the same as the C mss, a small melodic difference in *victor* being the only divergence.

Semi-ná-vit  
Vat. lat.10771Se-mi-ná-vit  
Avirtuosus  
Mevictor  
OPs. Dómine in virtúte. euouae  
Vat. lat. 10771

9. *Antiphona, I modus***Sidus de nube tráhitur. Ps. Dómini est**

Si- dus de nu-be tráhi-tur, de feno flos e- lí- gi- tur : adeps de car-ne



tól-li- tur, dum Tho- mas ce- lo réddi-tur. *Ps. Dómini est e u o u a e.*<sup>309</sup>

[Ps.23]

309 C134 f. 224<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 316<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 268<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 230<sup>V</sup>; C131 f. 230<sup>V</sup>-231<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 168<sup>V</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 286<sup>V</sup>; Me f. 246<sup>V</sup>; L f. 6<sup>Va</sup>; P2791 f. 94<sup>V</sup>; P2799 f. 57<sup>R-V</sup>; O f. 127<sup>R</sup>; A f. 161<sup>V</sup>. The C mss are identical. Vat. lat. 10771 and A appear to lack one clef-change before the word *adepts*: if this is added, they become identical to the C mss. P2791. Me, L and A are simpler in *tollitur*. Me has an extra note in *redditur*. L is the same as Me, except in the last word *redditur*, where it does not have a repetition note. O is the same as the C mss, except for the notation *virga-pes* in *de*, which is found also in Me, L and A. P2791 is similar to the C mss, the only differences being in *tollitur* and a *virga-pes* in *de*. P2799 is the same as the C mss, except for one extra note in *feno* and a *virga-pes* in *de* and *celo*. A also has a *virga-pes* in *celo* and *redditur*. Also, instead of the word *eligitur* A has the word *egreditur*.





*Responsorium prolixum 7 modus VII***R. Scholas Thomae. V. Clamor fratris. R. Vir celéstis.**

R. Scho- las Tho- me Páu- lus in-gré - ditur : sa-



-cra si- mul fan- tur mys- té- ri- a, dí- gne tan-



-dem per rap- tum trá- hi-tur vir ce- lé-



- stis ad ce- li pre- mi- a. V. Clamor fra- tris



tri- nus e-mítti- tur : doctor no- ster a no- bis tólli-tur.

R. Vir celéstis.<sup>310</sup>

310 C134 f. 224<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 316<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 268<sup>R-V</sup>; C310 f. 230<sup>V</sup>; C131 f. 231<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 168<sup>V</sup> (only an incipit for the response, verse is written out); Vat. lat. 10771 ff. 286<sup>V</sup>-287<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 246<sup>Vb</sup>; L f. 6<sup>Va</sup>; P2791 ff. 94<sup>V</sup>-95<sup>V</sup>; P2799 ff. 57<sup>V</sup>-58<sup>V</sup>; O ff. 127<sup>V</sup>-128<sup>R</sup>; A f. 162<sup>R</sup>. The C mss are identical except for a notational difference in C309 with a prolonged note in the last syllables of the words *simul* and *raptum*, and an extra repetition note in C134 in *digne*. L and are A are melodically the same as Me, except for a small difference in *digne* (L, A), *ingreditur* (L) and *a* (A). O and P2799 are alike, except for one missing note in P2799 in *celéstis* and *fratris*. This is presumably a scribal error. The note is missing in the similar musical formula in the porrectus. Me, L, O, P2799 and A all use more virga-pes combinations (*sacra*, *per*, *celéstis*, *fratris*, *nobis*) than pes-virga, and more porrecti in *scholas* (Me, P2799, O, L, A), *fantur*

*Responsorium prolixum 8 VIII modus.***R. Beáti Thomae. V. Hic speciáli. R. Qui nitens.**

R. Be- á- ti Tho- me gló- ri- a di-vo ful- sit mi- rá-

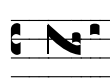


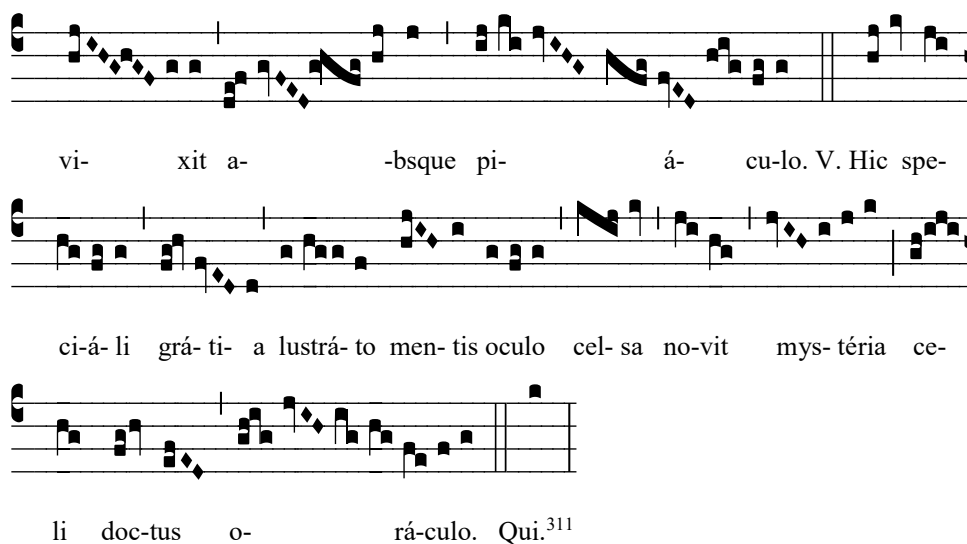
culo, dum o-dó- ris fra- grántia mi- ra flu-



xit e- x tú- mu-lo. Q- ui ni- tens pu di cí- ti- a

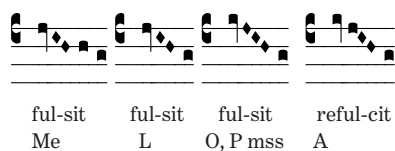
(P2799, O, A.) *mysteria* (Me, A) and *noster* (L, O, A). In *fantur* and *trahitur* O, Me, P2799, L and A all have an extra *currens* (the fourth, which is the lowest one, is an addition. P2791 has this only in *fantur*. In Me there is what could be interpreted as a liquescent in *emittitur*. The first word *scholas* is a good example of a different notation and melody changes. The word *ingreditur* is an example of a simpler melody in Me, L and A. The word *fantur* expresses the variation of the melody in all the sources, O being the most complicated one in this word. P2791 has many small melody differences compared to others in *Paulus*, *simul*, *digne* and *nobis*.

R. Scho- las  
Vat. lat. 10771, P2791scho- las  
Me, L, Ascho- las  
Oscho- las  
P2799dig-ne  
C134dig-ne  
L, Ain-gré-di-tur  
Me,in-gré-ditur  
Lin-gré-ditur  
P2791in-gré-ditur  
A (like Me, but different notation)fan- tur  
Vat. lat. 10771fan- tur  
Me, L, Afan- tur  
P2799fan- tur  
Ofan- tur  
APau-lus  
P2791si-mul  
P2791digne  
P2791nobis  
P2791



vi- xit a- -bsque pi- á- cu-lo. V. Hic spe-  
ci-á-li grá-ti- a lustrá-to men-tis oculo cel-sa no-vit mys-téria ce-  
li doc-tus o- rá-culo. Qui.<sup>311</sup>

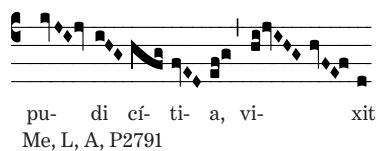
311 C134 f. 224<sup>R-V</sup>; C137 f. 316<sup>V</sup>; C309 ff. 268<sup>V</sup>-269<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 231<sup>R</sup>; C131 f. 231<sup>R-V</sup>; C303 ff. 168<sup>V</sup>-169<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the response, verse is written out); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 287<sup>R-V</sup>; Me ff. 246<sup>V</sup>-247<sup>R</sup>; L f. 6<sup>Va-b</sup>; P2791 ff. 95<sup>V</sup>-96<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 58<sup>V</sup>-59<sup>V</sup>; O f. 128<sup>R-V</sup>; A f. 162<sup>V</sup>. The C mss are very similar, having only minor notational differences: C134, C131 and C310 do not have a porrectus in the first word *beata*; C309 has a prolonged note in the last syllable of the word *mira*; C310 lacks the repetition note in *qui*. In this chant Vat. lat. has some differences of its own: an extra note in *divo*, as well as in *ex tumulo*, and one missing note in *miraculo* and *mira*. Otherwise it is close to the C mss. Me and L are identical, except for a small melody difference in *fulsit*. The word *fulsit* has variants in all the sources. A has a word-variation in *fulsit*, and in P2791 the word is written *fulxit*. Me, L and A have a virga-pes in *Thomae* and *qui* (on the other hand, the C mss have a virga-pes in *fragrantia*, when Me, L and A do not). In some words O is more decorated than in others (*fragrantia*, *fluxit*), but in *qui nitens* O does not have a repeated note (nor do C310, P2791 or A). The last part of the response *Nitens pudicitia vixit* and *piaculo* have a slightly different melody in L, Me, O, the P mss and A, and thus a different division of words to the music. They lack the dramatic effect of the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771, not having the leap of the fifth in *nitens*. A differs from other sources in the melody of the word *odóris*. When compared to the C mss, the verse in P mss and O has a simpler melody in *gratia lustrato*. P mss, O, Me, L have a virga-pes in *gratia* and *doctus* (L also in *celi*). O has a more decorated melody in *doctus* than all the others. Me, L and A have a simpler melody in *gratia*, but *lustrato* is like that in the C mss. M has one added repetition note in the highest note of *mysteria*. A differs from the others in *mentis* and *celsa*.



ful-sit ful-sit ful-sit reful-cit  
Me L O, P mss A



o- dó- ris  
A



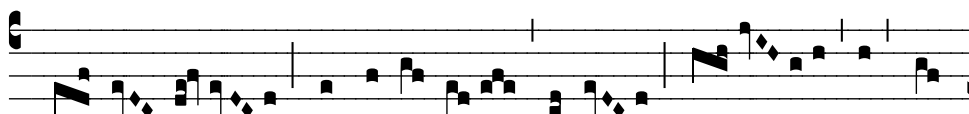
pu- di cí- ti- a, vi- xit  
Me, L, A, P2791



pu- di cí- ti- a, vi- xit  
O, P2799 (*vixit* virga-pes)

*Responsorium prolixum 9 I modus***R. Sertum gestans. V. Thomas mihi. R. Augustínus. V. Glória. R. Augustínus.**

R. Ser- tum ge- stans cum tor- que dúp- lici, cap- pa gem-mis or-



-ná- ta cér-ni- tur, ex moní- li ful-gó- ris cé- lici lux e-



mís- sa mun- do dif- fún- di- tur, Augus-tí- nus fra- tri sic



ló- qui-tur. V. Tho- mas mi- hi par est in gló-



ria, virgi-ná- li pre- stans mun-dí- ti-a. Aug. V. Gló- ri- a

Pá- tri, et Fíli- o, et Spi- rí- tu- i Sán- to. R. Aug.<sup>312</sup>

doc-tus      men- tis      cel-sa  
O              A              A

312 C134 ff. 224<sup>V</sup>-224<sup>Rbis</sup>; C137 ff. 316<sup>V</sup>-317<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 269<sup>R-V</sup>; C310 f. 231<sup>R-V</sup>; C131 ff. 231<sup>V</sup>-232<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 169<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the response, verse is written out); Vat. lat. 10771 ff. 287<sup>V</sup>-288<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 247<sup>R-V</sup>; L f. 6<sup>Vb</sup>; P2791 ff. 96<sup>R</sup>-97<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 60<sup>R</sup>-61<sup>R</sup>; O ff. 128<sup>V</sup>-129<sup>R</sup>; A ff. 162<sup>V</sup>-163<sup>R</sup>; ASOP, 721-722. The C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 are the same except for a one note difference in *sic* and small differences in notation.

## AD LAUDES

*Antiphona 1 I modus***Adest dies letitiae. Ps. Dóminus regnávít.**

Ad- est di- es le- títi- e, quo Tho-mas, doc-tor ín-clitus, fit civis celi

cúri- e, bi- na coró-na pré- di-tus. *P* Dóminus re. e u o u a e.<sup>313</sup> [Ps.92]

Vat. lat. 10771 lacks one repetition note in *mundo*. C309 has a prolonged note in the last syllable of the word *emissa* and Vat. lat. 10771 in the last syllable of the last word of the response, *loquitur*. The use of porrecti is similar, but Vat. lat. 10771 lacks one in *ornate* and C131 in *Filio*. C131 also has a torculus in place of a currenti in *Sancto*, and a porrectus in *Gloria*. Vat. lat. 10771 has two notes that can be interpreted as liquescents, in *munditia* and *sancto*. Me differs from the C mss and Vat. lat. It has more ornamentation and fewer porrecti. L and A are musically similar to Me but differ somewhat in notation. Virga-pes combinations are found in Me, O, P2799, L and A (L not in): *cappa*, *cernitur*, *fratri*, in [*Gloria*]; A and P2799 also in *cum*. P2791 in *cum*, *fratri*, in and *virgináli*. There are small additions of melody in Me, L, A, P2799 and O: *duplici*, *Gloria* [*virginali*], *munditia*, (O and P2799 also: *celici*). O uses the most porrecti and has differences in melody. The word *ornata* exhibits a small difference between the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 and all the other sources: Vat. lat. 10771 is similar to the C mss but without a porrectus. P, Me and L are the same as O, but without a porrectus. Me, L and A have one added note in the word *par*. P2799 has three liquescents: in *cernitur*, *fulgórís* and *virginalis*. in doxology the sources differ in *et Filio*. Vat. lat. 10771 and O (without a porrectus) are identical to the C mss. Me, L and P are the same as one another. A has a variation on its own. ASOP differs from all the sources in having a greater number of decorations. In all the manuscripts except the P mss, as well as in the printed book, MR9 is marked to be sung also in the first Vespers.

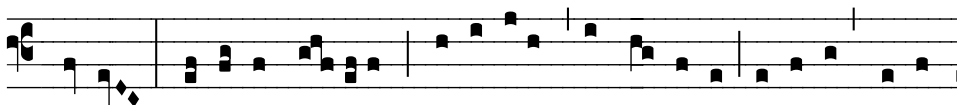
dúp- li-ci  
Me, L, A,dúp- li-ci  
O, P2799,  
ASOP

mun- do

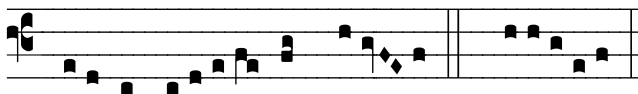
or-ná- ta  
O, P mss, Me,  
A, ASOPet Fili- o  
Me, L, Pet Fi-li- o  
Aet Fi-li- o  
P2791, C131

313 C134 f. 224<sup>Rbis</sup>; C137 f. 317<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 269<sup>V</sup>; C310 ff. 231<sup>V</sup>–232<sup>R</sup>; C131 f. 232<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 169<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 288<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 247<sup>V</sup>; L f. 6<sup>Vb</sup>; P2791 f. 97<sup>R</sup>; P2799 f. 61<sup>R-V</sup>; O f. 129<sup>V</sup>; A f. 163<sup>R</sup>; ASOP, 727. The C mss are almost identical, but in C137 bbs have been added in *Thomas* and *bina*. Vat. lat. 10771 is the same as the C mss except for the melody of the first word *adest*. Me is the same as the C mss except for a small difference in phrasing in *doctor*. L is almost identical to Me,

*Antiphona 2 Laudes II modus*  
**Aurum sub terra. Ps. Iubiláte.**

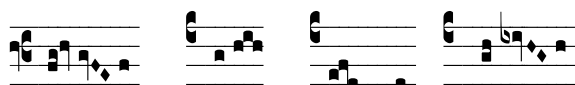


Au-rum sub ter-ra té- gi-tur, et lucérna sub mó-di-o, sed virtus Dei



cérniture miraculó-rum rádi- o. *Ps. e u o u a e.*<sup>314</sup> [Ps.99]

except that it has a *virga-pes* in *bina*. P2791 is the same as the C mss, except that *b* is marked only in *curie*. P2799 is the same as the C mss, except for a simpler ending in the last word *preditus*. O and the C mss are the same. A, like Me and L, has a different notation compared to other sources in *doctor*. A and P2799 are identical with each other in *preditus*. A has an added note in the word *cúrie*. ASOP is the same as L except for some notational differences.



Ad- est	doc- tor	pre- ditus	cú- ri- e
Vat. lat. 10771	Me, L, A	P2799, A	A

- 314 C134 f. 224<sup>Rbis-Vbis</sup>; C137 f. 317<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 269<sup>V</sup>; C310 f. 232<sup>R</sup>; C131 f. 232<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 169<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 288<sup>R-V</sup>; Me f. 247<sup>V</sup>; L f. 6<sup>Vb</sup>; P2791 f. 97<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 ff. 61<sup>V</sup>–62<sup>R</sup>; O f. 130<sup>R</sup>; A f. 163<sup>R</sup>; ASOP, 724–725. The C mss conform to one another and to Vat. lat. 10771, assuming that Vat. lat. 10771 has a scribal error with lines in the last word *radio*. Vat. lat. 10771 also has a prolonged last syllable in the last word. Me, L and A are the same as the C mss (Me may lack one, faintly seen note in *miraculorum*). P2791 differs from all the other sources in having liquescent notes in *aurum* and *cérniture*. P2791 also has a different melody in *tégitur*. P2799 has a variant melody in the first word *aurum*, as does O, which also has a small variation in *tégitur*. Otherwise, they and the C mss are the same. ASOP is identical to O.



Au-rum	té- gi-tur	té- gi-tur
P2799, O	O	P2791

*Antiphona 3 modus III***Alma mater ecclésia. Ps. Déus, Déus.**

Alma mater ecclé- si- a, Christi fundá- ta sán-gui- ne, scep-tra con-

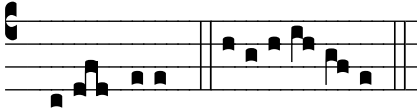
scéndit grán-di-a no-vi doc- tó- ris lú-m-ine. *Ps* e u o u a e.<sup>315</sup> [Ps.61]

315 C134 f. 224<sup>Vbis</sup>; C137 f. 317<sup>R-V</sup>; C309 f. 269<sup>V</sup>; C310 f. 232<sup>R</sup>; C131 f. 232<sup>R-V</sup>; C303 f. 169<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 288<sup>R-V</sup>; Me f. 247<sup>V</sup>; L ff. 6<sup>Vb</sup>-7<sup>Ra</sup>; P2791 f. 97<sup>V</sup>; P2799 f. 62<sup>R-V</sup>; O f.130<sup>R-V</sup>; A f. 163<sup>R</sup>; ASOP, 725. The C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 are identical. Me, L, A, O and P2799 have an extra note in *grandia* and a virga-pes in *novi*. P2799 also has one extra note in *doctoris*, whereas Me, L and A have one note less than the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 in the same word. P2791 is otherwise the same as the C mss, but it is simpler in *ecclésia* and has a virga-pes in *novi*. ASOP is almost identical to the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771, but *grándia* is the same as in the other sources.

grán-di-a  
Me, L, A, O, P2799doc- tó- ris  
P2799doc-tó-ris  
Me, L, Aecclé- si- a  
P2791

*Antiphona 4 modus IV***Pressus. Dan. Benedicite.**

Pres-sus vi demó- nii cito li-be-rá-tur, raptu mer-sus flú-vi- i vi- te



restau- rátur. *Dan.* e u o u a e.<sup>316</sup> [Dan. 3:57, 88]

316 C134 f. 224<sup>Vbis</sup>; C137 f. 317<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 269<sup>V</sup>; C310 f. 232<sup>R</sup>; C131 f. 232<sup>V</sup>; C303 ff. 168<sup>V</sup>–169<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 288<sup>V</sup>; Me ff. 247<sup>V</sup>–248<sup>R</sup>; L f. 7<sup>Ra</sup>; P2791 ff. 97<sup>V</sup>–98<sup>R</sup>. P2799 ff. 62<sup>V</sup>–63<sup>R</sup>; O f. 130<sup>V</sup>; A f. 163<sup>R</sup>; ASOP, 725. The C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 are the same. Me, L and A are also the same, but differ from the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 in *demoni* and *cito*. P2799 and O are identical, but differ from all the others in *vi demonii* (*cito* is as in the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771). P2791 has a liquescent in *mersus* and it conforms to Me and L in *cito*. Otherwise it is like the C mss. Me, L, A, O, P mss and ASOP have a virga-pes in *vite*. ASOP agrees with Me and L in *demónii*.



demó- nii  
Me, L, ASOP



cito  
Me, L, P2791



vi de- mó- nii  
O, P2799

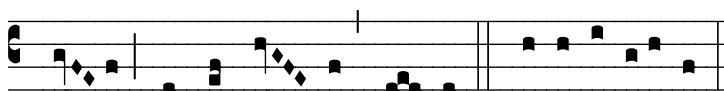


mersus  
P2791



*Antiphona 5 V***Tumor gule péllitur. Ps. Laudáte Dóminum.**

Tu- mor gule pél- li- tur, lep- rósus sa- ná-tur, ceco lumen réd-



di- tur, cláudo gres- sus da- tur. e u o u a e.<sup>317</sup> [Ps.148]

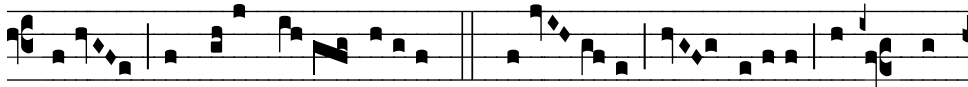
317 C134 f. 224<sup>Vbis</sup>; C137 f. 317<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 270<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 232<sup>R-V</sup>; C131 f. 232<sup>V</sup>; C303 f. 169<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 288<sup>V</sup>; Me f. 248<sup>R</sup>; L f. 7<sup>Ra</sup>; P2791 f. 98<sup>R</sup>; P2799 f. 63<sup>R</sup>; O f. 130<sup>V</sup>; A f. 163<sup>V</sup>; ASOP, 726. The C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 are the same. Me, L and A are the same. They differ from the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 in the melody of the words *leprosus sanatur*. O is more decorated in *tumor* and *leprosus*. In *leprórus sanatur*, the P mss and ASOP are almost like O, but one note simpler. The melody of the last word, *datur*, is simpler by one note in P2799. P2791 seems to have a liquescent in *claudio* and also in the first note of the psalm. ASOP has a natural mark in *péllitur*.

lep- rósus sa- ná- tur Me, L, A	Tu-mor O	lep-rósus sa-ná-tur O	lep-rósus sa-ná-tur P mss, ASOP	da-tur. P2799

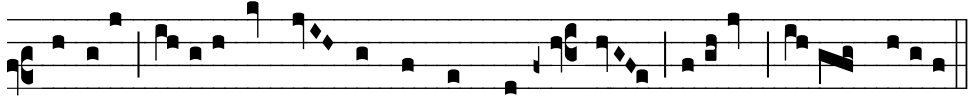
*Hymnus modus I*  
**Lauda mater**<sup>318</sup>



1. Lauda ma-ter ec- clésia Thome felicem éx- itum, qui pér- venit ad



gáudi- a per ver-bi vi- te méritum. 2. Fossá- no-va tunc súscipit the- cam



thesáuri grá-tie, cum Chris-tus Thomam éf- fí-cit, herédem reg-ni glorie.



3. Mánens doc-trí-ne véritas et fúne- ris intég-ritas, mi-ra fragrans suávi- tas,



egris collá-ta sánitas. 4. Monstrat hunc dignum láudibus, terrae, pon- to



et sú-peris, nos iu- vet vis préci- bus, Deo commén-det méritis. 5. Sit Pát-ri

318 B ff. 215<sup>V</sup>–217<sup>R</sup>; Ross ff. 20<sup>V</sup>–22<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 98<sup>R-V</sup>; ASOP, 726. In B and Ross all the verses are written out except for part of the last verse. Ross differs from B in the division of the last word of the third sentence. In B and P2791 the last verse begins *Sit Pátri laus*, in Ross and ASOP *Laus Pátri sit*. P2791 is the same as B. The first note could be interpreted as a liquescent. ASOP is similar in its melody and notation to B, the only difference being the use of a C-clef.



gáudia  
Ross

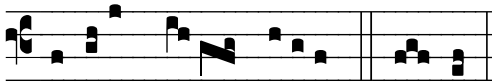
éfficit  
Ross

sua-vítas  
Ross

précibus  
Ross



laus ac génito simulque sanc- to flá-mini, qui Sanc-ti Thome méri- to



nos ce-li iungat agmini. A-men.

*Hymnus modus I*

**Lauda mater**

**Version 2**



1. Lauda ma-ter ec- clésia Thome felicem éx- itum, qui per- vénit ad gáu-



di- a per ver-bi vi- te méritum.<sup>319</sup>

319 Vat. lat. 10771 f. 290<sup>v</sup> (the very last page of the whole manuscript); C404 f. 190<sup>v</sup>; C405 ff. 298<sup>vb</sup>–299<sup>Ra</sup>; P2799 f. 67<sup>R-v</sup>; O f. 133<sup>R-v</sup>; C303 f. 169<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit); L f. 7<sup>Ra</sup>; A f. 163<sup>v</sup>. The sources are largely the same as one another and B. More practically than B and Ross, they are written with a C-clef (although the L is written with both clefs). Me, L and A differ from all the others in having an added note in *éxitum*. Me also has a prolonged last note in the last word *meritum*. Vat. lat. 10771 has a liquescent in the first verse and in the intonation of the second verse. In C405 both keys are marked at the beginning of each clef. Vat. lat. 10774 ff. 155<sup>v</sup>–156<sup>R</sup> does not include this chant but has a different one in its place: *Ortum vitam et exitum Sancti Thome* (The birth, life and death of St Thomas); however, it has the same melody.



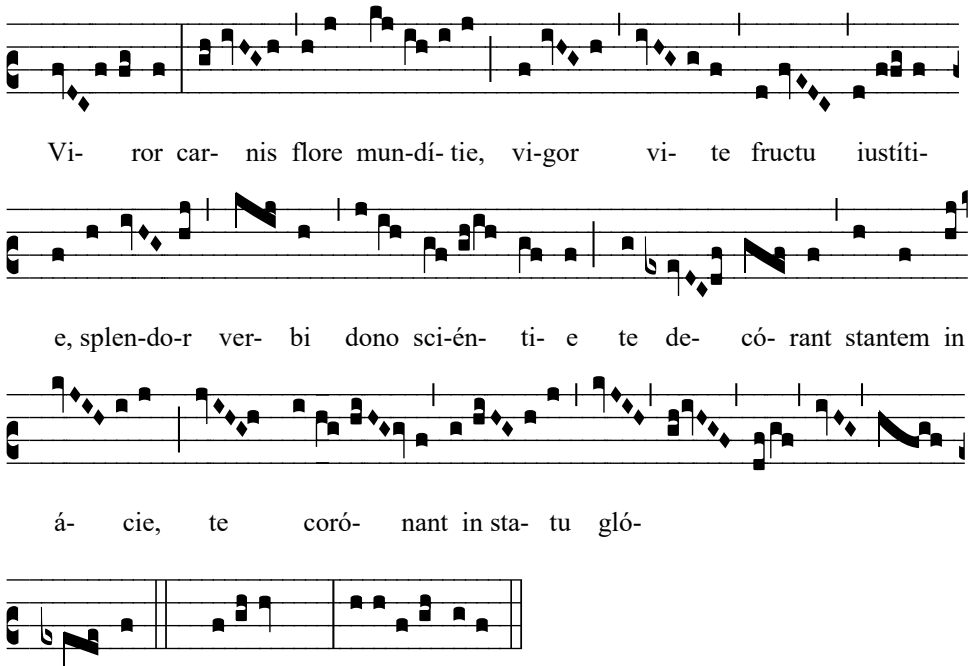
éx- itum  
Me, A, L



meritum.  
Me



Fossa nova tunc suscipit  
Vat. lat. 10771

*Antiphona 6 VI modus***Viror carnis. Ps. Benedictus.****Version 1.**



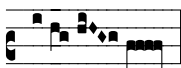

Vi-   ror car-   nis flore mun-dí-tie, vi-gor   vi- te fructu iustíti-

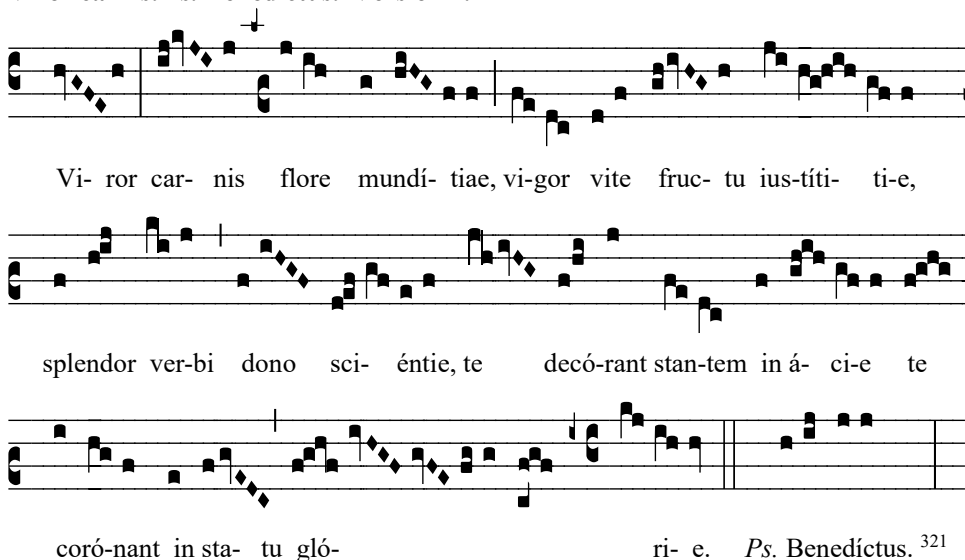
e, splen-do-r ver- bi dono sci-én- ti- e te de- có- rant stantem in

á- cie,   te   coró-   nant in sta- tu gló-

ri- e. *Ps. Benedictus.* e u o u a e.<sup>320</sup> [Lk 1:68,79.]

320 C134 f. 224<sup>Vbis</sup>; C137 f. 317<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 270<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 232<sup>V</sup>; C131 f. 232<sup>V</sup>; C303 f. 169<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm). Vat. lat. 10771 f. 288<sup>V</sup>. The C mss are almost identical, differing only in some variation in *corónant*. Vat. lat. is almost the same as the C mss, with a little notational variation in *corónant*. In C309 and C310 there is a difference in the initial: V is replaced with F (*Firor*).

		
coró-   nant	coró-   nant	coró-   nant
C137	C309	Vat. lat. 10771

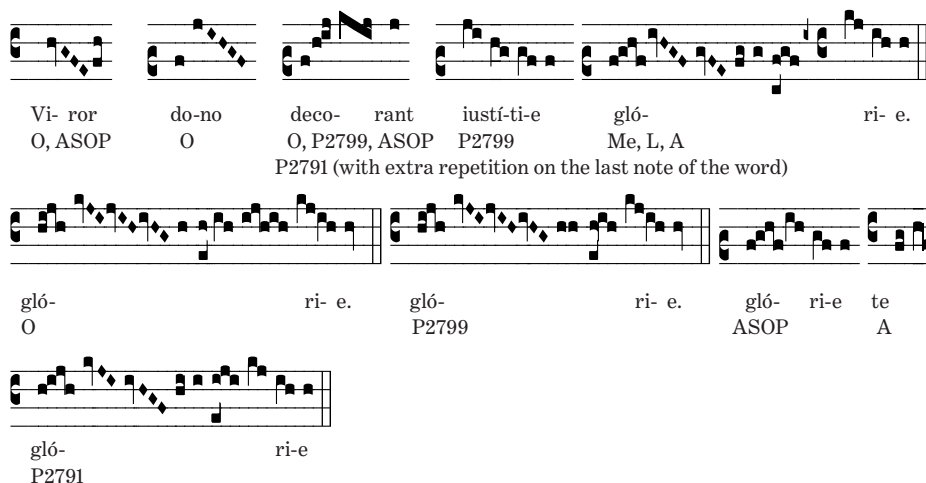
*Antiphona 6 VI modus***Viror carnis. Ps. Benedíctus. Version 2.**


Vi-ror car-nis flore mundi-tiae, vi-gor vite fruc-tu ius-tí-ti-e,

splendor ver-bi dono sci-éntie, te decó-rant stan-tem in á-ci-e te

coró-nant in sta-tu gló-ri-e. *Ps. Benedíctus.* <sup>321</sup>

321 Me f. 248<sup>R</sup>; L f. 7<sup>Ra</sup>; O ff. 130<sup>V</sup>–131<sup>R</sup>; P2791 ff. 98<sup>V</sup>–99<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 63<sup>V</sup>–64<sup>V</sup>; A f. 163<sup>V</sup>; ASOP, 727. The sources are different from the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771. L is identical to Me. A is identical to Me and L, except for one different note in *te* (*corónant*) and a liquescent in *mundítiae*. In P2791 the melody is the same as Me except for the words *decórant* and *glórie*. P2799 is the same as Me, except in *iustitie* and *scientie*, where the melody is simpler (possibly only lacking a liquescent). On the other hand, in *decorant* the melody is more decorative in P2799. In *glorie*, P2799 is simpler, and there could even be a notational error. In O there are additional currentes in *viror* and *dono*, and the word *glorie* is more decorative. In *scientie* there seems to be a liquescent in O. Me, L and P2799 have no porrectus notes. O has a porrectus in *iustitie*, *te* and *decorant*. The word *glorie* is a good example of variation between all the sources (see also version 1). ASOP is similar to O, but ASOP has notational differences and some simpler movements of melody, as in *scientie* and *glórie*.



Vi-ror do-no deco-rant iustí-ti-e gló-ri-e.

O, ASOP O, P2799, ASOP P2799 Me, L, A

P2791 (with extra repetition on the last note of the word)

gló-ri-e. gló-ri-e. gló-ri-e te

O P2799 ASOP A

gló-ri-e

P2791

## AD 2 VESPERAS

*Antiphona d I modus***Militántis doctor ecclésie. Ps. Magnificat.**

Mili-tán-tis doctor ecclé- sie, virgi-náli florens mun- dítia, triumphán-tis

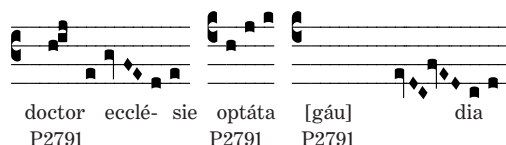
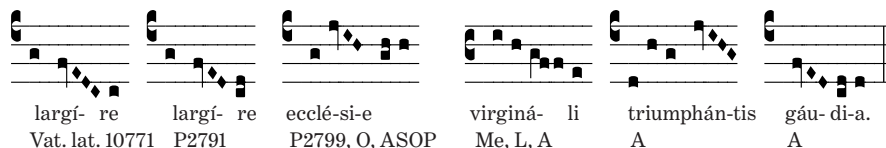


optáta cúri- e sanc- te Tho-ma, largí- re gáu-

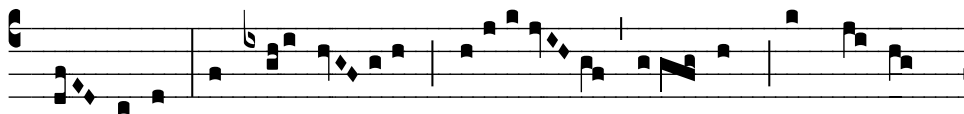


di- a. Ps. Magnificat. e u o u a e.<sup>322</sup> [Lk 1:68,79.]

322 C134 f. 225<sup>R</sup>; C137 ff. 317<sup>V</sup>–318<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 270<sup>R-V</sup>; C310 f. 232<sup>V</sup>; C131 ff. 232<sup>V</sup>–233<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 169<sup>R</sup> (only an incipit for the antiphon and psalm); Vat. lat. 10771 f. 289<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 248<sup>R</sup>; L f. 7<sup>Ra-b</sup>; O f. 131<sup>Ra-V</sup>; P2791 f. 99<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 f. 64<sup>R-V</sup>; A f. 163<sup>V</sup>; ASOP, 728. The C mss are very similar, there being only a small notational difference in C137 with no liquescent in *mundítia* as in C134, 131, 309, 310 and Vat. lat. 10771. Vat. lat. 10771 is almost the same as the C mss, the difference being one repetition note in *largíre*. Me, L and A share a melodic difference in *virgináli*. Me also has three differences in the last word *gaudia*: *virga-torculus* in the first syllable, a missing repetition note in the middle and a simpler melody in the last syllable. L has a notational difference, a *virga-pes* in *sancte*. *Gaudia* is similar in the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771. A is identical to the C mss, except for one missing note in *triumphantis*. P2799 and O are the same as each other, as well as to the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771, the difference in the last two being a small decoration note in *ecclésie* and a *virga-pes* in *sancte*. P2799 also has a prolonged note in the last syllable of the last word *gaudia*. P2791 is interesting in *ecclésie*: the melody is like that in other sources but written lower. In P2791 there is a liquescent in *mundítia* and *sancta*, *optáta* has a simpler melody, and in *largíre* there is an extra note. The word *gaudia* has a different phrasing in P2791, but otherwise it is the same as that in the C mss. ASOP is almost identical to P2799 and O but it also has a *virga-pes* in *sancta* and a long melisma in *largíre*. In ASOP, the word division is different from that in any other sources: *Largíre* is a long melismatic word and *gaudia* shorter.



## IN LAUDES AD OCTAVAM

*Antiphona d I modus***O Thoma. Ps. Benedictus.**

O Thoma, laus et glo- ria predicató- rum órdi- nis, nos trans-fer

ad ce-lés- tia, proféssor sac-ri númi- nis. *Ps. Benedictus.* e u o u a e.<sup>323</sup>

[Lk 1:68,79.]

323 C134 f. 225<sup>R-V</sup>; C137 f. 318<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 270<sup>V</sup>; C310 f. 233<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 289<sup>V</sup>; Me, the folio 248 is missing; L f. 7<sup>Rb</sup>; O ff. 131<sup>V</sup>-132<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 99<sup>V</sup>; P2799 ff. 64<sup>V</sup>-65<sup>R</sup>; A ff. 163<sup>V</sup>-164<sup>R</sup>. The C mss are all identical to one another and the Vat. lat. 10771. L, O, P2799 and A differ in two words, *transfer* and *sacri*. P2791 has a melody similar to that of the C mss, but a different division of syllables and therefore a different phrasing in *predicatorum ordinis* and *professor sacri núninis*. P2791 also has liquescent notes in *laus*. In P2791 the last words are written in a different hand, as an addition at the bottom of the folio.



nos trans-fer  
L, O, P2799, A



sac-ri  
L, O, P2799, A

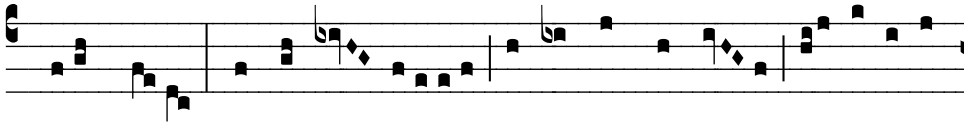


predicató- rum órdi- nis  
P2791



proféssor sac-ri númi- nis  
P2791

## IN VESPERAS AD OCTAVAM

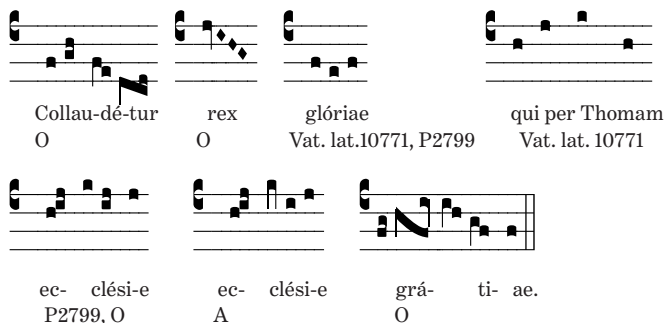
*Antiphona modus VI***Collaudétur Christus. Ps. Magnificat.**

Collau-dé- tur Christus rex glóri- ae, qui per Thomam lu- men ec- clésie

mundum rep- let doc-trína grá- ti- e. *Ps. Magnificat.* e u o u a e.<sup>324</sup>

[Lk 1:46,50]

324 C134 f. 225<sup>V</sup>; C137 f. 318<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 270<sup>V</sup>; C310 f. 233<sup>R</sup>; C131 f. 233<sup>V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 289<sup>V</sup>; Me, the folio is missing; L f. 7<sup>Rb</sup>; O f. 132<sup>R</sup>; P2799 f. 65<sup>R-V</sup>; A f. 164<sup>R</sup>. In Vat. lat. 10771 *glorie* is simpler and there is a difference in *per Thomam*. In L *ecclesiae* has a virga-pes, otherwise L is the same as the C mss. P2799 is partly the same as Vat. lat. 10771 (*gloriae*) but has an additional decoration in the melody of the word *ecclesiae*, as well as a *virga-pes*. O differs from all the others in the melody of the first word, *collaudétur*, the word *rex* and the last word *gratie*. In O the word *glorie* is like that in Vat. lat. 10771 and P2799. The word *ecclesie* is the same in O and P2799. In *gratie* O is the most decorated. A is the same as the C mss, except for a liquescent and a virga-pes in *ecclesie*. P2791 does not include this chant. In C131 there is a prolonged syllable in *replet*.





## Part III

# Chants of the offices

Chants of *Translatio*

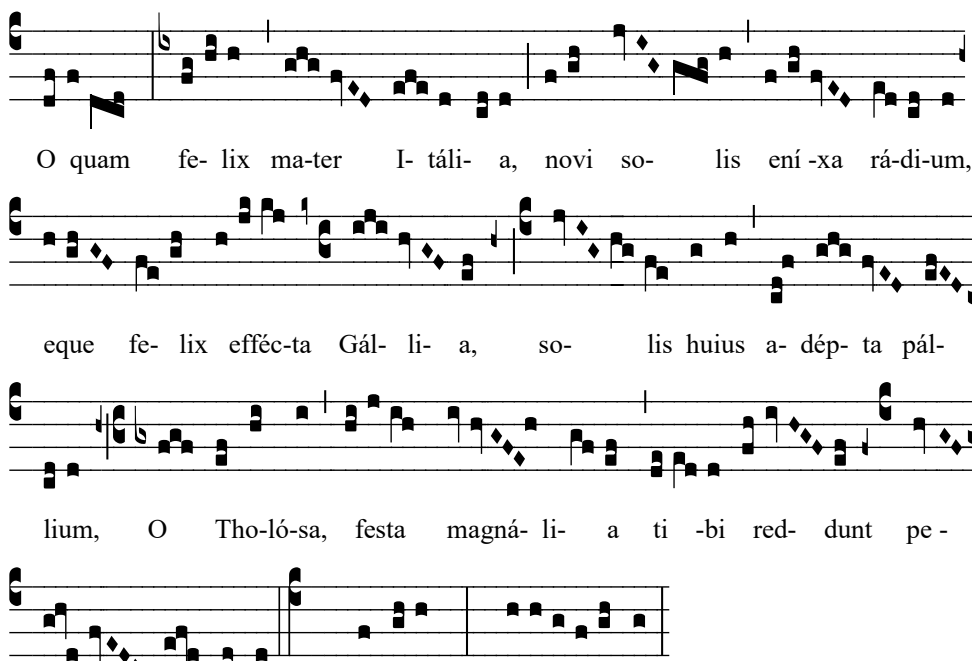


Image 5. The end of St Thomas's *Dies natalis* and the beginning of his *Translatio*. Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale (Les Dominicains de Colmar), ms. 309, f. 270<sup>v</sup>. Photo by the courtesy of the library, taken by the IRHT.

# IN TRANSLATIONE BEATI THOME DE AQUINO AD VESPERAS

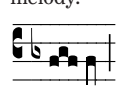




## 1. Antiphona 1 modus

O quam felix mater Italia.<sup>325</sup> Ps. Laudate cum ceteris.



O quam fe-lix ma-ter I- táli- a, novi so- lis ení-xa rá-di-um,  
eque fe-lix efféc-ta Gál- li- a, so- lis huius a- dép- ta pál-  
lium, O Tho-ló-sa, festa magná- li- a ti -bi red- dunt pe -  
rén- ne gáu- di-um. Laudate e u o u a e. [Ps.112]<sup>326</sup>

325 C134 f. 225<sup>v</sup>; C137 f. 307<sup>v</sup>; C309 ff. 270<sup>v</sup>–271<sup>r</sup>; C310 f. 233<sup>r-v</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 273<sup>r</sup>; P2791 f. 68<sup>r-v</sup>; P2799 ff. 157<sup>r</sup>–158<sup>r</sup>; Me f. 425<sup>r</sup>; V49, a fragment. All the C mss are identical and the rest of the sources differ only slightly from them. Below is an example of difference in phrasing in *magnalia* in Vat. lat. 10771. When compared to the other sources, the P mss and Me have one additional note in *O*, which in Me could be interpreted as a liquescent. In the P mss, there is also a difference in the notation of the word *festa*: it is written with a tractulus-pes. In P2791, *tibi*, lacks one note. In V49, the chant has a liquescent in the first word *O*. The greatest difference when compared to all the other sources is in the words: instead of *eque felix* the words in V49 are *o quam dives*. The difference does not affect the melody.

				
O Me, P mss	O V49	magna- li- a Vat. lat. 10771	ti-bi P2791	o quam dives V49

(P mss do not include bb)

326 The psalms are added here as they are marked in the manuscripts. See also Douais 1903.

*Hymnus I modus*  
**Supérna mater.** <sup>327</sup>



1. Su- pér-na ma-ter ínclita, novis exúlta gáu-diis, que ti- bi plebs



hec súb- di- ta letis of-fert pre- córdibus.

2. Clausum thesáurum grátie Urbánus presul réperit, quem iam in orbis fácie cunctis paténtem aperit.

3. Thesáurum hunc, quem édedit ordo clarus Dominici, idem Urbánus reddidit Hélye voto súpplíci.

4. Coléndum in occídus transmíttens mundi pártibus, ubi signis assídus succúrrit invocántibus.

5. Sol solem celi séquitur, dum Thomas ab Itália tibi, Tolósa, véhitur, quo decorátur Gállia.

6. Eténo regi glóriam letis canámus vóci- bus, qui nobis prestet véniam beáti Thome préci- bus Amen.

327 C404 f. 191<sup>R</sup>; C405 ff. 299<sup>Va-b</sup>–300<sup>Ra</sup>; C407 ff. 30<sup>V</sup>–31<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 425<sup>R</sup>; B ff. 250<sup>V</sup>–251<sup>R</sup>; C301 f. 138<sup>V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 ff. 279<sup>V</sup>–280<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10774 f. 154<sup>R</sup>; P2791 ff. 83<sup>V</sup>–84<sup>R</sup>. In all the sources only the first verse is notated. In Me and P2791, the hymn is situated inside an antiphony, not in a separate hymnal or at the end of the manuscript as in the other sources. In Vat. lat. 10774, there is a different division of syllables in the first word of the verse. Below is an example from the first verse. In Vat. lat. 10774, there is presumably a mistake in writing the notation: it is written one step lower in *novis exúlta*. In B the hymn is written in the f-key. In C404, the two last notes are missing. In C405 the first word, *clausum*, of the second verse is notated. In all these manuscripts there are only small differences in the way they are written. Musically, the chant is coherent in all the sources. C407 lacks part of notation: the words *gáudiis, que tibi plebs hec súbdita letis* are only as a text. They are written under the first phrase, which seems quite modern. This is the latest hymnarium source in our study. See the Introduction.



Supérna  
 Vat. lat. 10774

2. *Antiphona VII modus*Nova tibi, mater ecclésia. Lk. Magnificat.<sup>328</sup>

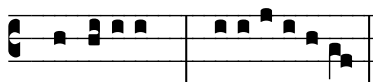
No- va tibi, ma-ter ecc-lésia, gemi-nátur causa letí-tie; cui- us o-



lim le- ta prelú-di-a, de- stinata su-pér-ne cu-ri-e, nunc per orbem clara

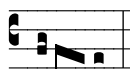


pro-digia dig- num pro- munt ce-lés- tis gló-ri-e.



Lk. Magnificat. e u o u a e. [Lk 1:46,50]

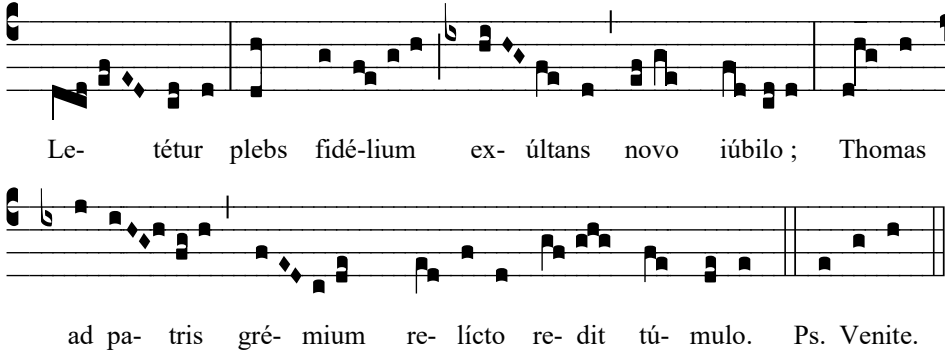
328 C134 ff. 225<sup>V</sup>–226<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 307<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 271<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 233<sup>V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 273<sup>R-V</sup>; P2791 ff. 68<sup>V</sup>–69<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 158<sup>R</sup>–159<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 425<sup>V</sup>. All the C mss have a liquescent in *dignum*. C137, C309, C310 and Vat. lat. 10771 include one porrectus in *destinata*. In Vat. lat. 10771, the P mss and in Me there is no liquescent in *dignum*, but Me has a liquescent in the first syllable of the word *promunt*. The P mss have a small notational difference in *prodigia*. P2799 also has a different word and notation, *curie*, as the last word of the chant. Altogether, the sources are very similar.

pro- munt  
Meprodigia  
P msscurie.  
P2799

# AD MATUTINUM

*Invitatorium I modus*

**Letétur plebs. Ps. Venite.**<sup>329</sup>

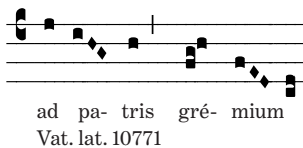


Le- tétur plebs fidé-lium ex- últans novo iúbilo ; Thomas

ad pa- tris gré- mium re- lícto re- dit tú- mulo. Ps. Venite.

[Ps. 95]

329 C134 f. 226<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 308<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 271<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 233<sup>V</sup>; Me f. 425<sup>V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 273<sup>V</sup>; P2791 f. 69<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 f. 159<sup>R-V</sup>. In Me there are more porrecti than in the other sources and one additional liquescent at the end of *patris*. In Vat. lat. 10771, in *ad patris grémium*, there is a different division between notes and syllables than in all the other sources. The P mss are the same as the C mss.



ad pa- tris gré- mium

Vat. lat. 10771

*Hymnus I modus*  
**Jubar célorum.**<sup>330</sup>



1. Ju-bar ce-lo-rum pródiens perlústrat emi-spé-rium, per solis iter grá-



di- ens sidus petit es- périum.

2. Cum oriénte óritur Deus et lux Cámpanie et in Tholósa cónditur, lustrans oram Hispánie.

3. Unde pater Domínicus sumpsit vite precónium, illic doctor Itálicus suum legit hospítium.

4. Altam profúndens gratiam, divína virtus córpori salútis effícáciam dat omni morbi géneri.

5. Nam claudos reddit gréssui leprosósque mundítie; vite reddúntur mórtui, mesti quoque letitie.

6. Eténo regi glóriam letis nobis prestet véniam beáti Thome précibus. Amen.

<sup>330</sup> C404 f. 191<sup>R</sup>; C405 f. 300<sup>Va-b</sup>; C407, f. 31<sup>R</sup>; C301 f. 138<sup>V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 280<sup>R-V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10774 f. 154<sup>V</sup>; Me f. 425<sup>V</sup>; B f. 251<sup>R-V</sup>; P2791 ff. 84<sup>R</sup>–85<sup>R</sup>. In C405, the end of the notation is missing, the last notated word being *solis*, but the text continues, even though the whole of the first verse is not notated. In Me and P2791, again, the hymn is written in the middle of the antiphony, not in the separate hymnal. Me also includes a liquescent in *emispérium* and the last note of the verse is extended. In C301, the end of the notated verse is missing, the last notated word being *grádiens*. The melody is identical in all the sources. Vat. lat. 10774 has one additional note in *solis*.



emi-spé-rium  
Me



es- périum  
Me



per solis iter  
Vat. lat. 10774.


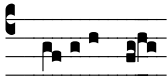
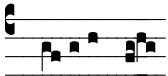

IN PRIMO NOCTURNO

1. Antiphona I modus  
Jam dudum lux abscóndita. Ps. Beátus vir.<sup>331</sup>

Jam dudum lux abscóndita ful- get expánsis rá- diis, et gemma ter-re

cóndita effér-tur cum pro-dí- giis. Ps. Beátus vir. e u o u a e. [Ps. 1]

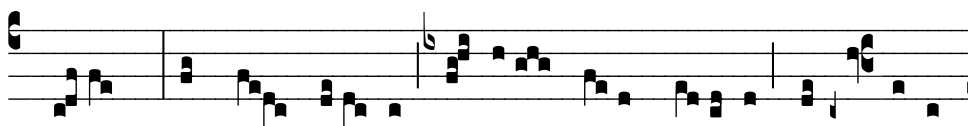
331 C134 f. 226<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 308<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 271<sup>R</sup> (the first two notes of the word *gemma* are missing); C310 ff. 233<sup>V</sup>–234<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 426<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 69<sup>V</sup>; P2799 ff. 159<sup>V</sup>–160<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 273<sup>V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 and the P mss do not include a liquescent in *fulget*. The P mss have a tractulus-pes in *lux*, a different division of syllables than the other sources in *gemma terra*, and a slightly different melody in the last word, *offertur*, which is also a different word than in other sources. In P2791 the word *gemma* is written *gemine*, which is probably the cause of the syllable division that differs from other sources (three syllables in *gemine*). In P2799 the mistake in the text has been corrected to *gemma*, but not the music, which is arranged for a three-syllable word. Therefore, it seems that P2799 was copied from P2791.

			
lux	gemine terra	gemma terra	offértur
P mss	P2791	P2799	P mss



2. *Antiphona II modus*

## Version 1.

Corpus, quod. Ps. Quare fremuerunt.<sup>332</sup>

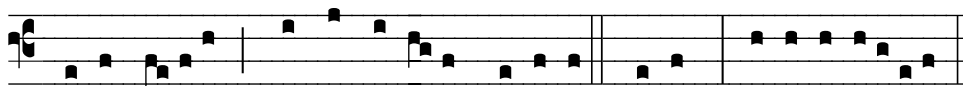
Cor-pus, quod diu lá-tu-it in Terra- cí-ne ló-cu-lo; mi- rándis

signis clá-ruit post in Tholóse pátulo. *Ps.* Quare e u o u a e. [Ps. 2]

## Version 2.

Corpus quod. Ps. Quare fremuérunt.<sup>333</sup>

Cor-pus, quod diu lá-tu-it in Terra- cí-ne ló-cu-lo; mi- rándis

signis clá-ruit post in Tholóse patulo. *Ps.* Quare e u o u a e.

332 C134 f. 226<sup>R-V</sup>; C137 f. 308<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 271<sup>V</sup>; C310 f. 234<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 426<sup>R</sup>; Vat.lat 10771 ff. 273<sup>V</sup>-274<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 70<sup>R</sup>; P2799 f. 160<sup>R-V</sup>. In addition to the greater differences, there is a notational difference in *corpus*, which is written in the form tractulus-pes in Me and C137 and the P mss, whereas in Vat. lat. 10771 and C mss other than C137 it is written pes-virga. The division of syllables is noted with special care in *Terracine* in P2799. In P2791, the division of syllables is not so clear, although there is a small *linea* indicating it.



in Terracine  
P2799



in Terracine  
P2791

333 In Vat. lat. 10771 the notation is simpler throughout the whole chant.

3. *Antiphona III modus***Occurrunt sacro. Ps. Domine quid.**<sup>334</sup>

Oc-cúrrunt sac-ro cór-pori clerus et turbe pópuli congáudent tanto

mú-ne-ri cunc-ti, grandes et párvu-li. *Ps. Domine quid* e u o u a e. [Ps. 3]

334 C134 f. 226<sup>v</sup>; C137 f. 308<sup>r</sup>; C309 f. 271<sup>v</sup>; C310 f. 234<sup>r</sup>; Me f. 426<sup>r</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 274<sup>r</sup>; P2791 f. 70<sup>r-v</sup>; P2799 ff. 160<sup>v</sup>–161<sup>r</sup>. In Me, Vat. lat. 10771 and the P mss, there are no liquescent notes. In Vat. lat. 10771 and the P mss there is also an additional note in *párvuli*. The sources are very similar.



párvu-li

Vat. lat. 10771, P mss.

1. *Responsorium prolixum I modus***R. Ecce novus. V. Hic est potus.**<sup>335</sup>

R. Ec- ce, no- vus fons or- tó- rum di- u ter-re cónditus



fit aug-mén-tum flu-vió- rum, ri- gans orbem cé- litus. Hic est



Tho-mas, lux doc-tó- rum in- strúctus di-víni- tus. V. Hic e- st



po-tus Hebre-órum, Imber clausus hic ce- ló-rum, sub Hé-ly- a réd-di-tus.



Hic est Thomas.

<sup>335</sup> C134 f. 226<sup>v</sup>; C137 f. 308<sup>v</sup>; C309 ff. 271<sup>v</sup>–272<sup>r</sup>; C310 f. 234<sup>r-v</sup>; C303 f. 180<sup>r</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 274<sup>r-v</sup>; Me f. 426<sup>r</sup>; P2791 ff. 70<sup>v</sup>–71<sup>v</sup>; P2799 ff. 161<sup>r</sup>–162<sup>r</sup>. In C303, the response includes only the intonation (*incipit*), whereas the verse is written out. The melody in *diu terre* represents an excellent example of variation. The C mss are all similar. In these words, Me and Vat. lat. 10771 differ from the C mss, but also from each other. The P mss are virtually the same as Me: only the use of keys is different. Vat. lat. 10771 has a porrectus in *novus*, while all the other sources have been written with the basic square notes.

di- u ter-re  
Vat. lat. 10771di- u ter-re  
Medi- u ter-re  
P mss (similar to Me)

2. *Responsorium prolixum II modus***R. Gaudet sacra religio. V. Restituta.**<sup>336</sup>

R. Gau-det sacra reli-gi-o, que spo-liá- ta cá-ru-it prius thesáu-ro pró-



pri-o, dum doc- tó- ris, quem á- luit e- t per-fé- cit



in stú- dio nu- per os-sa re- hábu- it. V. Res- ti-túta



de prímo túmu-lo, ac- cé- pta cum cor- dis jú- bilo. Nu-



per.

336 C134 ff. 226<sup>v</sup>–227<sup>r</sup>; C137 ff. 308<sup>v</sup>–309<sup>r</sup>; C303 f. 180<sup>r</sup>; C309 f. 272<sup>r</sup>; C310 f. 234<sup>v</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 274<sup>v</sup>; Me f. 426<sup>v</sup>; P2791 ff. 71<sup>v</sup>–72<sup>r</sup>; P2799 ff. 162<sup>r</sup>–163<sup>r</sup>. C137 and C309 differ from the other C mss in the notation of one word: there is a porrectus in *júbilo*. In C137, there is a different melody in *nuper*. It is a mistake, since the same melody is written correctly at the end of the source. In C303, the response has only the intonation (incipit); the verse is written out. Me is the same as the C mss. Vat. lat. 10771 has a porrectus in *nuper*, whereas all the others are written with basic square notes. Also, there is a small difference in the melody in *cordis* in Vat. lat. 10771 as compared to all the others. It might be a mistake. In the P mss, there is one note fewer in the last word of the response, *hábuít*. The verse is a well-known melody. The P mss use a tractulus-pes in *restitúta* and *cordis*. P2799 also has a tractulus-pes in *spoliáta*.

cor- [dis] spoliáta  
Vat. lat. 10771 P2799habu- it  
P mssres- titúta  
P msscor- dis  
P mss

3. *Responsorium prolixum III modus***R. Corpus datur. V. Nam per Urbanum.**<sup>337</sup>

## Version 1



R. Cor- pus da- tur in festo cór-pori Chrís-ti, cuius gran- de mis-



stéri- um rese- rá-vit oc- cúltum cé-te-ris et dictá- vit scri- bens of-



fí- cium. Do- no doc- tor di- ví- ni mú- ne- ris. V. Nam per



Urbá-num o- pus indí- ci- tur, et per Urbánum or-dini réd-di- tur.



Glo- ria Pat-ri et Fili- o et Spi- ri- tui Sancto. Dono.

<sup>337</sup> P2791 ff. 72<sup>R</sup>–73<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 163<sup>R</sup>–164<sup>R</sup>. Musically the P mss are identical, except for an additional repetition note in *Gloria* in P2799. In its notation, P2791 has a scandicus with three virgas in *mystérium* and *et céteris*, while P2799 has a tractulus-pes. The P mss have a different melody from any other sources in this study. However, this melody is the melody of the third great responsory of Dominic's *Dies natalis*, the source being *Codex Humberticus* f. 296<sup>V</sup>. The melodies are virtually the same in the P mss and *Codex Humberticus*, the only differences being two liquescent notes in *Codex Humberticus* in *conscríbitur* and *illesus* (in Thomas's chant the words are *reserávit* and *ordini*). Also, the notation of the P mss and *Codex Humberticus* is very similar. In *mystérium* and *et céteris*, *Codex Humberticus* uses a tractulus-pes, while the P mss use a scandicus with three virgas.

3. *Responsorium prolixum VI modus, transpositio*

**R. Corpus datur. V. Nam per Urbanum.**<sup>338</sup>

**Version 2**

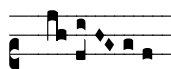
R. Cor- pus da- tur in fes- to cór- poris Christi,

cuius gran- de mi- stérium rese- rá-vit oc-cúltum cé- te-ris et

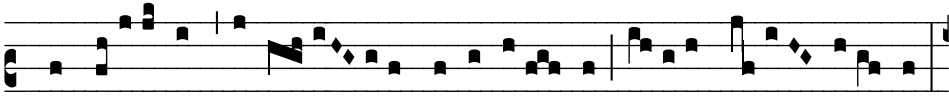
dictá- vit scri- bens of- fí- cium do- no doc- tor

di- ví- ni mú- neris. V. Nam per Urbá-

338 C134 f. 227<sup>R-V</sup>; C137 f. 309<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 272<sup>R-V</sup>; C310 ff. 234<sup>V</sup>-235<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 180<sup>R-V</sup>; Me f. 426<sup>V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 ff. 274<sup>V</sup>-275<sup>R</sup>. In Me the response has only the intonation (incipit), the verse is written out almost completely and the doxology is written out. The C mss are identical. Vat. lat. 10771 differs from them in its notation, since it contains porrecti in *corpus*, *córporeis*, *officium* and *divíni*. In *doctor* there is also a notational difference between the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771, which results in a different phrasing. The version in the C mss is more practical. All the C mss have a liquescent in *occúltum*. C134 has a misplaced bb two steps too high before the word *divíni*. The verse is the same in all the sources. In most of the sources, the text incipit of this chant is written after the first antiphon of the first Vespers. See the footnotes for the ninth great responsory.



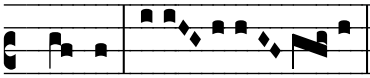
doc- tor  
Vat. lat. 10771



num o- pus indí- ci- tur, et per Urbánum or-dini réd- ditur.



Do- no. Glo-ri- a Pa- tri et Fí- li- o et Spirítui



Sancto. Do- no.

IN SECUNDO NOCTURNO

4. Antiphona IV *modus*  
Celum hunc. Ps. Cum invocārem.<sup>339</sup>



Ce- lum hunc glori-fi-cat Chris-to ia- m fo-vén-tem, quem ter-



ra mirí- fi-cat sig- nis af- flu-én- tem. Ps. Cum invocārem e u o u a e.

[Ps. 4]

339 C134 f. 227<sup>v</sup>; C137 f. 309<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 272<sup>v</sup>; C310 f. 235<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 275<sup>R-v</sup>; P2791 f. 73<sup>v</sup>; P2799 f. 164<sup>v</sup>.  
In Me, the folio is missing. All the sources are identical, except that the P mss use a tractulus-pes in *quem* and *affluéntem*.

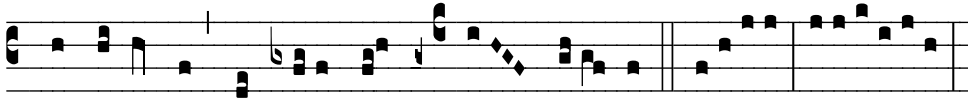


quem            af- flu- én-    tem  
P mss            P mss



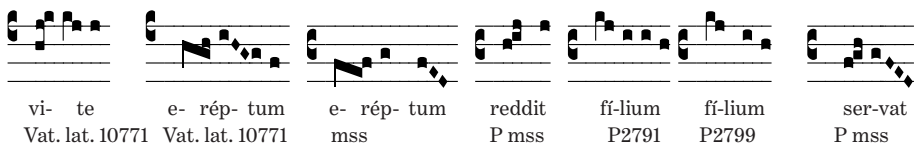
5. *Antiphona V modus***Matri vite. Ps. Verba mea.**<sup>340</sup>

Matri vi- te iam e- rép-tum vivum red- dit filium et inter hos-

-tes pro-téc-tum tu- tum ser- vat dévium. *Ps. Verba mea. e u o u a e.*

[Ps. 5]

340 C134 f. 227<sup>V</sup>; C137 f. 309; C310 f. 235<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 272<sup>V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 275<sup>V</sup>; P2791 ff. 73<sup>V</sup>-74<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 164<sup>V</sup>-165<sup>R</sup>. Vat. lat. 10771 has a repetition of notes in *vite* and *eréptum*. In C137 there is presumably a mistake in the notation in *Matri*. Vat. lat. 10771 and the P mss do not include the liquescent. The P mss have slightly a different notation in *eréptum* and a tractulus-pes in *reddit* and *servat*. In the P mss, the word *filium* differs, and in both it differs from the other sources, P2791 having one different note and P2799 being simpler. Me: the folio is missing



6. *Antiphona VI modus***De vite dispéndio. Ps. Domine Deus.**<sup>341</sup>

De vi- te dispéndio iu- vat innocéntem, damnátum sus-pénde- o sal-

-vat implo- rántem. *Ps. Domine Deus.* e u o u a e. [Ps. 7]

341 C134 f. 227<sup>v</sup>; C137 f. 309<sup>v</sup>; C309 f. 272<sup>v</sup>; C310 f. 235<sup>v</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 275<sup>v</sup>; P2791 f. 74<sup>R-v</sup>; P2799 ff. 165<sup>R-v</sup>. There are only small notational differences between the manuscripts in *salvat*. The word is difficult to phrase, as it has a large number of notes of two syllables. In C309 there is what appears to be an error: [*sal*]*vat* is written two steps too low. The P mss are the same as the rest, except for the use of a tractulus-pes in *vite* and *damnátum* and for the use of a *porrectus* in *iuvat*. Me: the folio is missing.



sal-vat  
C137, C309.  
P mss



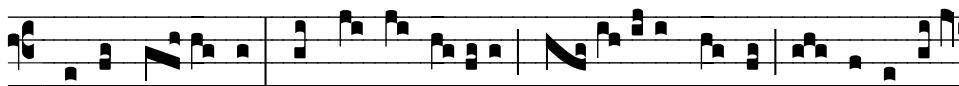
sal-vat  
C134, C310.



sal-vat  
Vat. lat.10771



ju- vat  
P mss.

4. *Responsorium prolixum IV modus***R. Corpus sacrum. V. Doctor astans.**<sup>342</sup>

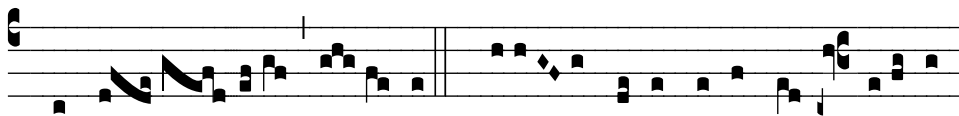
R. Corpus sác- rum dum ter-re tóllitur, fra- tris mén-tem pro-púlsat dú-



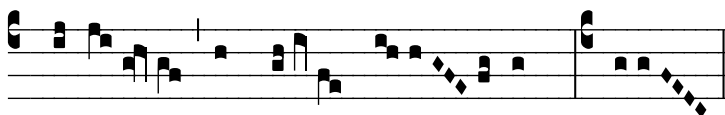
bium; sed mox e-i ve-rum as- séritur per doctó-ris pa- tens al-



lóquium. Nam hoc corpus, quod no- bis réd-ditur, nos-tri, inquit



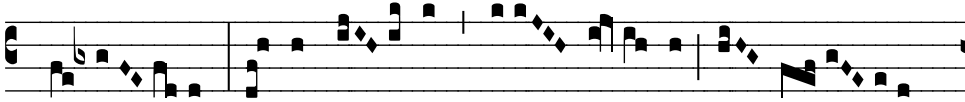
est Tho- me pró-pri-um. V. Doctor astans fratrem al- lóquitur,



et orán- ti res cer- ta pán- di-tur. Nam.

342 C134 ff. 227<sup>v</sup>–228<sup>r</sup>; C137 f. 309<sup>v</sup>; C303. f. 180<sup>v</sup>; C309 ff. 272<sup>v</sup>–273<sup>r</sup>; C310 ff. 235<sup>v</sup>–236<sup>r</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 ff. 275<sup>v</sup>–276<sup>r</sup>; P2791 ff. 74<sup>v</sup>–75<sup>r</sup>; P2799 ff. 165<sup>v</sup>–166<sup>v</sup>. The melodies of the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 are similar. The differences are notational and also affect the phrasing. In C137 there is no liquescent in *certa*. C310 has fewer porrecti than the other C mss: in *Thomas*, there is only one. Vat. lat. has an additional porrectus in *fratris*, and, through the use of porrecti, different phrasing, as well as one additional note in *Thome próprium*. Vat. lat. 10771 and the P mss do not have liquescent notes. C303 has only the intonation of the response, but the verse is completely written out. The P mss have a small difference in the melody in *dúbium* and a tractulus-pes in *inquit*. There is also a different division of syllables in *set mox ei verum*, with an additional repetition note. There is an additional repetition note in *propulsat* as well. Me: the folio is missing.

Tho- me próprium.  
Vat. lat. 10771Tho- me próprium  
P mssdú- bium  
P msssed mox e-i verum  
P mss

5. *Responsorium prolixum V modus***R. Languens presul. V. Hic salútis.**<sup>343</sup>

R. Lan- guens pre-sul in eg-ro cór -pore mox au- dí- tis



letis exé- qu- iis no- tum pró- mit ex i-mo péc-



to- re af- fu- tú- rum sac- ris sol- lémni- is Spe con- stán- ti

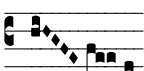
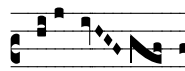


de Sanc- ti múnere. V. Hic salú- tis po- tí- tus gáu- diis Se com-



mén- dat e- ius pre- sí- diis. Spe.

343 C134 f. 228<sup>R-V</sup>; C137 ff. 309<sup>V</sup>–310<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 180<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 273<sup>R-V</sup>; C310 f. 236<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 276<sup>R-V</sup>; P2791 ff. 75<sup>R</sup>–76<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 166<sup>V</sup>–168<sup>R</sup>. C303 only has the intonation of the response, but the verse is written out. Vat. lat. differs from the C mss and the P mss with the porrectus in *languens*, *exequiis* and *sacris*. In Vat. lat. 10771, there are three words, *péctore*, *sollémniis*, *constánti*, where the melody is written in descending currentes in a slightly different way than in the other sources. In Vat. lat. 10771, the phrasing of the verse is more adapted to the similar expression than in other sources with no additional porrecti. The P mss has a tractulus-pes at the beginning of *affutúrum* and *constánti*. In *presul*, *notum* and *de Sancti* there is a scandicus with three virgas in P2791 (P2799 has a tractulus-pes in *notum* and *de Sancti*.) In *audítis* in P2791 there is an extra repetition note, and in *sollemnis* a different division of notes per syllable. In the melody of *constánti* there seems to be a scribal error in the notation (P2791), as in the repetition of *corpus* the melody is written as in the other sources. In *eius*, both P mss have a small variation in melody. Me: the folio is missing.

péc- tore  
Vat. lat. 10771sollémniis  
Vat. lat. 10771constán- ti  
Vat. lat. 10771sollémniis  
P mss

6. *Responsorium prolixum VI modus, transpositio***R. Puritátis vas. V. Sacris tamen.**<sup>344</sup>

R. Pu-ri-tá- tis va- s de- córum, ni- hil sor- dis pá-ti-tur, presul clarus



fama mo- rum sanc- tum fe- rens lá- bitur mersus lu- to In-



de- có- rum ni- l in- de re- lín- quitur.



V. Sac- ris ta- men vés- tibus má- nibus ac pé- dibus to- tus ce- no



fí- gitur. Glo- ri- a Pa- tri et Fí- li- o et Spirí- tu- i Sanc- to. Inde.

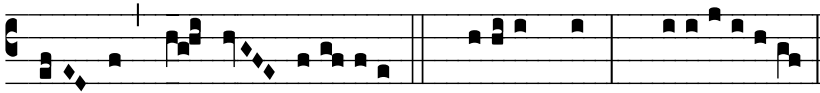
344 C137 f. 310<sup>R</sup>; C134 ff. 228<sup>V</sup>-229<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 180<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 273<sup>R-V</sup>; C310 f. 236<sup>R-V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 276<sup>V</sup>; P2791 ff. 76<sup>R</sup>-77<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 168<sup>R</sup>-169<sup>R</sup>. C303 only has the intonation of response, but the verse and the doxology are written out. The melodies are alike in Vat. lat. 10771 and the C mss, except for one additional current in Vat. lat. 10771 in *lábatur*, and presumably a mistake in C137 in the same word (written one line too low). C137 and Vat. lat. 10771 have more *porrecti* than the other sources. The C mss have liquescent notes, but not all of them have the same number. C309 has four in *puritátis*, *pátitur indecórum* and *decórum*, while the others do not have a liquescent in *decórum*. The P mss are similar to each other. In the words *fama morum* the melody differs from the other sources. In *relínquitur* the melody in the P mss is like that in Vat. lat. 10771 but the notation is different.

## IN TERTIO NOCTURNO

## 7. Antiphona VII modus

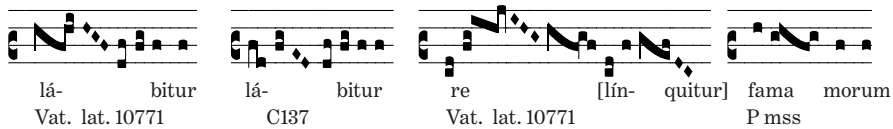
Servat ab. Ps. Domine, quis.<sup>345</sup>

Ser- vat ab incúr-si- bus vi- rum cum iumén-tis, li- be- rat a fê-bri-bus

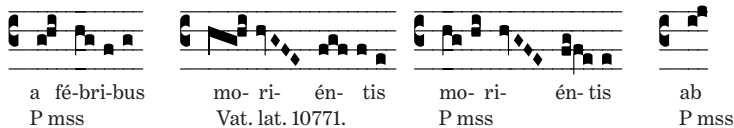


vi- tam mo- ri- én- tis. Ps. Domine, quis. e u o u a e. [Ps.14]

Notational differences also appear in *decorum*, *ferens* and *inde*, as well as a virga pes in *sacris tamen* and *Gloria*. There are no liquescents in Vat. lat.10771. Me: the folio is missing.



345 C134 f. 228<sup>v</sup>; C137 f. 310<sup>R-v</sup>; C309 f. 273<sup>v</sup>; C310 f. 236<sup>v</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 ff. 276<sup>v</sup>-277<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 77<sup>R-v</sup>; P2799 f. 169<sup>R-v</sup>. The C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 are musically the same, except that Vat. lat. 10771 and P mss lack the liquescent notes. The C mss have a liquescent in *servat*, *incúrsibus* and *cum*. C309 has a liquescent in *liberat*. Vat. lat. 10771 has a notational difference in *moriéntis*: a porrectus. The P mss have one additional note and a difference in division of syllables in *a fêbribus*. The P mss also have a tractulus-pes in *liberat* and an additional note in *moriéntis*. In the P mss pes is written in the form of a virga-virga at the beginning of the word *ab*. Me: the folio is missing.

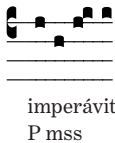


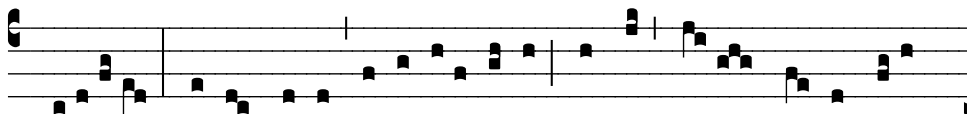
8. *Antiphona VIII modus***Morbum, famem. Ps. Domine, in virtute.**<sup>346</sup>

Morbum, fa-mem, pré-lium miles im-pe- trávit Thome per auxí-li-um vovens,

ut op- távit. *Ps. Domine* e u o u a e. [Ps. 20]

346 C134 ff. 228<sup>V</sup>–229<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 310; C309 f. 274<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 236<sup>V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 277<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 77<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 ff. 169<sup>V</sup>–170<sup>R</sup>. C134 has a liquescent in *impetrávit* and *Thome*, while the other C mss have a liquescent only in *Thome* Vat. lat. 10771 and the P mss have no liquescent notes. Excluding the notation, Vat. lat. 10771 and the C mss are the same. The P mss have two musical differences: there is one note fewer than in the other sources in *impetrávit*, and in *vovet* the melody moves one line lower than in the other sources. As for small notational differences, in *morbum* and *impetrávit*, the P mss use a virga-virga in the place of a pes. In P2791 there is *custos* in the middle of the staff between the words *impetrávit* and *Thome*, indicating the change of clef, which is an exceptional notation. Usually a *custos* appears in early manuscripts only at the end of the staff. This *custos* may be a later addition. In P2799, the same place has both a clef and *custos*. Me: the folio is missing.



9. *Antiphona I modus***Redivívum reddit equum. Ps. Domini est**<sup>347</sup>

Rediví-vum reddit équum hero supplicánti, quemque surdum, matum, cecum,

curat vir-tus sancti. *Ps.* Domini est e u o u a e. [Ps. 23]

347 C134 f. 229<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 310<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 274<sup>R</sup>; C310 ff. 236<sup>V</sup>–237<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 277<sup>R</sup>; P2791 ff. 77<sup>V</sup>–78<sup>R</sup>; P2799 f. 170<sup>R-V</sup>. In C134 the last currens (d) indicating the psalm tone is missing and C310, by contrast, has one currens too many (c). The P mss have small notational differences when compared to others: there is a clavis-virga in *reddit* and in *redivívum* (only P2799) and *cecum* in pes is written in the form of a virga-virga. If we were to ignore these small notational differences, the sources would be identical. Me: the folio is missing.

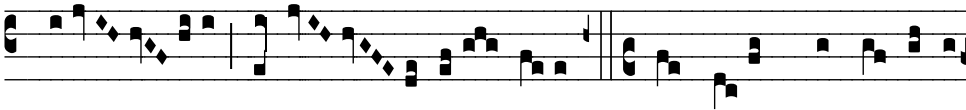


7. *Responsorium prolixum VII modus***R. Laboránti. V Hunc subvéctum.**

R. Labo- rán- ti sub mo- le cár-ce-ris ac pe- ténti Thome pre-sí- di- a ad-



est spón-sor diví- ni mú-ne- ris, doc-tor fe- rens grata subsí- di- a.



Mi-se- rá-tus hor-rén- di scé- leris. V. Hunc sub-véc-tum in ves-tis



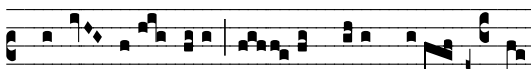
fím-bri-a lon- gin- trác-tu por- tans i- tí- ne-ris coram domo de-pónit pró



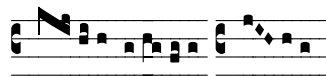
pri-a.<sup>348</sup>

Mise

348 C134 f. 229<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 310<sup>V</sup>; C303 f. 181<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 274<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 237<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 427<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 277<sup>R-V</sup>; P2791 f. 78<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 ff. 170<sup>V</sup>-171<sup>V</sup>. In C303, the response has only the incipit, the verse is written out. The C mss are identical. In Me, the beginning of the chant is missing; the manuscript page begins with the word *grata*. The melody is the same as that in the C mss, apart from two small differences: the word *subsídía* lacks a repetition of a d, and there is an additional note in *domo*. This note is also in the P mss. Vat. lat. 10771 differs in the melody of the verse, which is an uncommon feature. It is a variation of the melody of the other sources. Also Vat. lat. 10771, like the P mss, has a repetition note in *longintractu* on the note e, as if to emphasize the letter *n* on the highest note. The P mss have a melodic difference in *divini muneris* and *ferens*. The melody in *divini muneris* could be a mistake. Small notational differences are due to the use of a tractulus-pes (*Thome, presidia, longintractu*). All in all, the sources are similar. In P2799, *presidia* has a note difference (g-a-b instead of g-a-c).



por- tans ití- ne-ris co- ram do-mo de-pó- nit  
Vat. lat. 10771



di- vini muneris ferens  
P mss

8. *Responsorium prolixum VIII modus*

R. O doctóris. V. Vite.



R. O doc-      tó- ris mi- ra po-      tén- ti- a, que in vi- tam mutat inté- ri- tum,



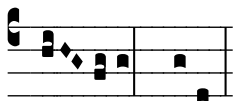
corpo-      rií- que sancta presén- ti- a ab ob-      sés- sa depél- lit spí- ritum.



Re- stitú- ta for- me de-                      cén- ti- a. V. Vite spec- tans utérque



éx- i- tum im- plo- rá- ta sanc- ta clemén- ti- a sta- tim sen- sit salú- tis

réditum.<sup>349</sup> Resti.

349 C134 f. 229<sup>R-V</sup>; C137 ff. 310<sup>V</sup>–311<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 181<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 274<sup>V</sup>; C310 f. 237<sup>R-V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 277<sup>V</sup>; Me f. 427<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 79<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 ff. 171<sup>V</sup>–172<sup>V</sup>. All the sources have identical melodies, except for two small differences in the P mss: there is an additional note in *poténtia* and one lacking in *statim*. All the P mss are identical. C134 includes ten liquescent notes, while C137 and C309 include nine, and C310 only four. C303 has only the intonation of the response, but the verse is written out. Vat. lat. 10771, Me and the P mss have no liquescent notes, and they are also very conservative in their use of porrecti. There is only one porrectus in the first word *doctoris*. In addition to these features, they have other small notational differences from the other mss. Me, the P mss and Vat. lat. 10771 use more pes-notes, where the C mss use liquescent notes. Notational differences of this kind appear in *mutat*, *depéllit*, *spectans* and *cleméntia*. Me also has such a difference in *sensit*. On the other hand, the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 have a pes in *itum* and *sancta*, while Me and the P mss do not. A typical feature of the P mss, a tractulus-pes, appears in *doctoris*, *que*, *intéritum*, *corpóris*, *restitúta*, *forme* and *itum*. In Me, these words are written in an even simpler way, with a melodic scandicus, which consists of three virgas (except for *intéritum* with a tractulus-pes). These are small notational differences, but they tell us something about the style of writing the notes. Below we have three

9. *Responsorium prolixum I modus*

R Joseph. V. Sume felix.



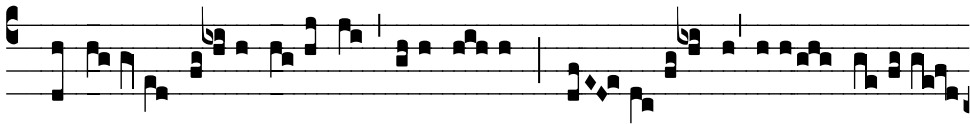
R. Io- seph du- plex doc- tórem gló-ri- a sig- nis ve-



-lut pre- síg- nat vá- ti-bus : muli- é- ris ac- ta vic- tó- ri-a.



Ossa sanc-ta le- gaá frá-tri- bus Tholo- séque de- lá- ta pár- ti-bus.



V. Su- me gra-ta, fe- lix Octáni- a, des- ti-na- ta ti- bi en-cé-ni-



a. R. Ossa Sancta. Gló-ri-a Pá- tri, et Fí- li- o, et Spirí- tu- i

Sánc-to.<sup>350</sup> Ossa.

different ways of expressing the phrasing of music and text. In C134, there is a difference in the melody in *mira*, which is probably a mistake.

mi- ra  
C134mutat intéritum  
Me, P mssmutat intéritum  
Vat. lat. 10771mutat intéritum  
C mss

## AD LAUDES

## 1. Antiphona I modus

Sacrum corpus. Ps. Dominus regnavit.<sup>351</sup>

Sa- crum cor- pus nó- vi-ter Chri- stus de- corá- vit, cuius men- te



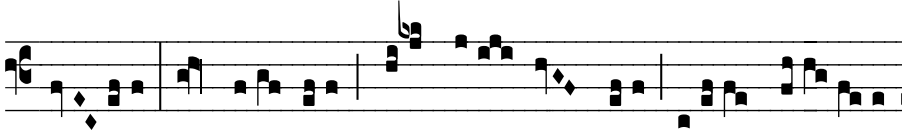
iú- gi- ter Dó-mi-nus reg- návit. Ps. Dóminus regnávit. e u o u a e. [Ps.92]

350 C134 ff. 229<sup>V</sup>–230<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 311<sup>R</sup>; C303 f. 181<sup>V</sup>; C309 ff. 274<sup>V</sup>–275<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 237<sup>V</sup>–238<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 278<sup>R-V</sup>; Me f. 427<sup>R-V</sup>; P2791 ff. 79<sup>V</sup>–80<sup>V</sup>; P2799 f. 173<sup>R-V</sup>. In C303 there is only an intonation of response, but the verse and doxology are written out. The C mss are the same except for some small differences: C137 does not have liquescent notes in *presignat* and *mulieris*. C310 does not have a liquescent in *sancta*. Vat. lat. 10771 and Me and the P mss do not have any liquescent notes. The use of porrecti varies between all the sources. Vat. lat. 10771 and Me and the P mss have a variation in the division of syllables and notes in *et [filio]*. The melodies are very similar in different sources. The P mss, have an additional currens and no repetition note in *vatibus*. Me also lacks the repetition note but does not include the additional currens. Me and the P mss lack one note in *sume*. These are minor melodic differences. In the P mss, we can once again see the use of the tractulus-pes (*Joseph, presignat*) and in a simpler form in Me, the scandicus with three virgas. In P2791 the incipit of this chant is written after the first antiphon of the first Vespers. See P2791 f. 68<sup>V</sup>. However, in P2791 the earlier text of the third great responsory *Corpus sacrum* is just visible. See also Part IV.



vátibus	vátibus	Sume	et	Fí- li-o	et	Fí- li-o
P mss	Me	Me, P mss	Me		Vat. lat. 10771,	P mss

351 C134 f. 230<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 311<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 275<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 238<sup>R</sup>; Me ff. 427<sup>V</sup>–428<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 278<sup>V</sup>; P2791 ff. 80<sup>V</sup>–81<sup>R</sup>; P2799 ff. 173<sup>V</sup>–174<sup>R</sup>. Other C mss have a b at the beginning of the stave, except C134. Me and the P mss do not mark bb in the stave. C310, Vat. lat. 10771 and the P mss do not have liquescent notes. The P mss have a virga pes in *Christus*. Apart from these small notational differences, the melodies are the same in all the sources.

2. *Antiphona II modus***Dies est letítie. Ps. Jubilate.**<sup>352</sup>

Di- es est letí- ti- e de Thome tro- phéo ; celés-tes mi-lí-ti-e

iu-bi- lâte Déo. *Ps. Jubilate.* e u o u a e. [Ps.99]

352 C134 f. 230<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 311<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 275<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 238<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 427<sup>V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 278<sup>V</sup>; P2791 f. 81<sup>R</sup>; P2799 f. 174<sup>R-V</sup>. Me, the P mss and Vat. lat. 10771 do not include any liquescent or bb. In C310, the highest note of the melody is missing, which may be a mistake. The sources are very similar.

3. *Antiphona III modus***Ad te de luce vígilat. Ps. Deus, Deus, meus.**<sup>353</sup>

A- d te de lu- ce ví-gi- lat doctor Na-zaré- us, qui nunc in ce-lis



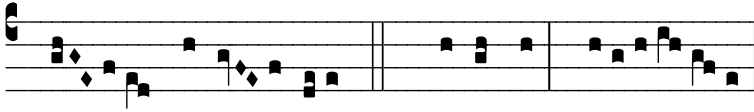
íu-bi- lat : De- us, Deus meus. Ps. Deus, Deus. e u o u a e. [Ps.61]

353 C134 f. 230<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 311<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 275<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 238<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 428<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 278<sup>V</sup>; P2791 f. 81<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 ff. 174<sup>V</sup>–175<sup>R</sup>. Vat. lat. 10771 is the same as the C mss, but without the liquescent notes. The Me and the P mss have a different division of syllables in *qui nunc*, and they also lack two notes when compared to all the others in *luce*. The C mss are consistent with one another except that in C137, C309 and C310, there is no liquescent in *luce*. In Vat. lat. 10771, *qui nunc* could be interpreted as a melody similar that in Me, but this is uncertain.

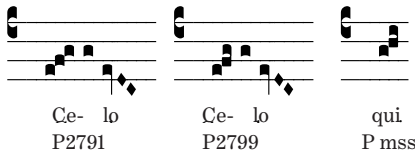
A-d te de lu-ce vi-gi- lat  
Me, P mssqui nunc  
Me, P mss

4. *Antiphona IV modus***Celo doctor fruitur. Dan. Benedicite.**<sup>354</sup>

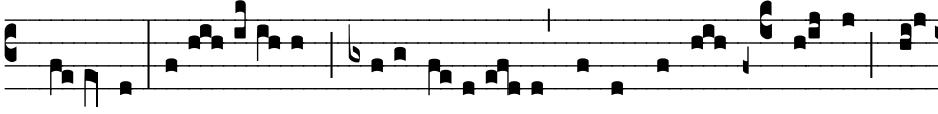
Ce- lo doc-tor frú- i- tur, ac-to vi- te trámi-te, qu-i tam digne colitur,

De- o bene- díci- te. *Dan.* Benedicite. e u o u a e. [Dan. 3:57, 88]

<sup>354</sup> C134 f. 230<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 311<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 275<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 238<sup>R</sup>; Me f. 428<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 ff. 278<sup>V</sup>–279<sup>R</sup>; P2791 ff. 81<sup>V</sup>–82<sup>R</sup>; P2799 f. 175<sup>R</sup>. In C137, C309 and C310 the only liquescent is in *colitur*. Otherwise, the C sources are identical. Me and Vat. lat. 10771 are the same as the C mss, except that they lack the liquescent notes. Me has simpler notation, a scandicus with three virgas, in *celo* and *qui*. The P mss have a simpler notation in *celo*: a scandicus with three virgas in P2791 and a tractulus-pes in P2799. Both P mss have a tractulus-pes in *qui* and an added repetition note in *celo*.



## 5. Antiphona V modus

**Fulget in celéstibus. Ps. Laudáte Dominum.**<sup>355</sup>

Ful- get in ce-lés-ti-bus Dei cla-ritá- te, fragrat hic vir- túti-bus, Dó-



mi- num lau-dá- te. Ps. Laudáte. e u o u a e. [Ps.148]

355 C134 f. 230<sup>R</sup>; C137 f. 311<sup>V</sup>; C309 f. 275<sup>R</sup>; C310 f. 238<sup>V</sup>; Me f. 428<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 279<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 82<sup>R</sup>; P2799 f. 175<sup>R</sup>. The C mss are identical to one another, and also to Vat. lat. 10771, except for an additional note in Vat. lat. 10771 in *celéstibus*; the same is found in Me. This chant is an interesting example of different ways of phrasing. The Me and the P mss use a pes-clivis in *in celéstibus* and *hic virtútibus*, while the other sources have a virga-torculus. On the other hand, the C mss and Vat. lat. 10771 use a tractulus-pes in *Dóminum*, whereas Me has a scandicus with three virgas, and, the P mss a tractulus-pes. The Me and P mss and Vat. lat. 10771 do not have liquescents. In P2799, this chant is written on the smaller extra stave below the normal stave.



in ce-lés-ti- bus  
Me, P mss

in ce-lés-ti- bus  
Vat. lat. 10771

hic vir- túti-bus  
Me, P mss

Dó-mi-num  
Me

Dóminum  
P mss



*Hymnus I modus***Auróra pulcra rútilans.**<sup>356</sup>

Auró-ra pul-cra rútilans splendórem déffert ró-seum, nostér-que chorus



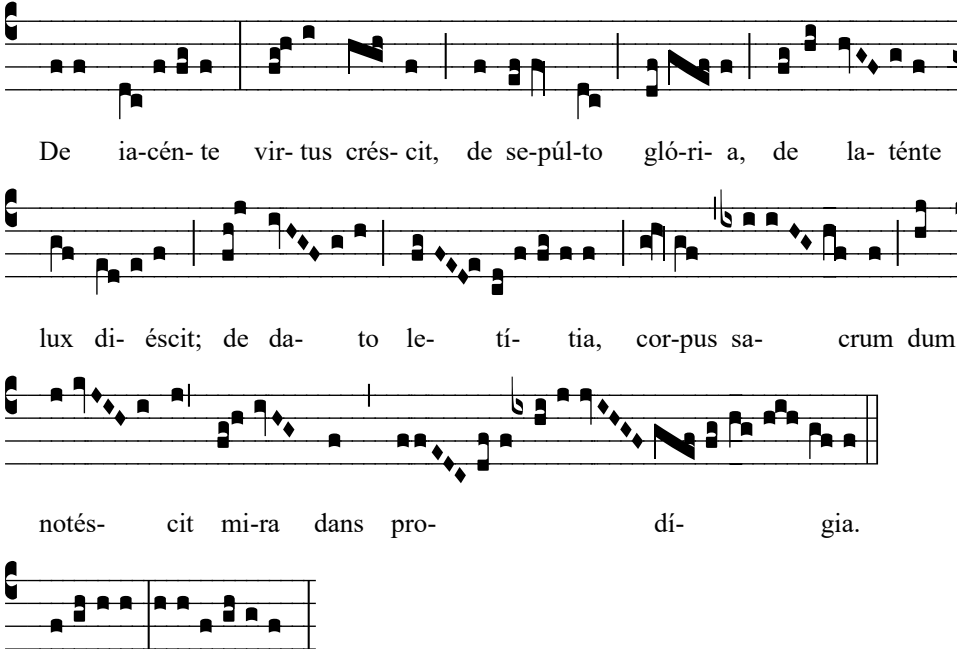
iúbi-lans doctórem ca- nit láureum.

2. Claram dum lucem áperit celéste sydus ócculis, Thomae figuram íngerit dati pro luce séculis.
3. Iam occidéntem rádiis implére celum íncipit, dum multis vectum stádiis Thomam Tholósa récipit.
4. Ad huius lucis rádium lustránda mittit dúbia, ad sáncti Thome stúdium hortans mater ecclésia.
5. Veram protéstans sólídám doctrínam eius ínclitám, secúram, firmám, lúcidám, divínis verbis ínsitam.
6. Etérno regi glóriám letis canámus vóci-bus, qui nobis prestet véniam beáti Thome précibus Amen.

<sup>356</sup> Me f. 428<sup>R</sup>; C301 f. 138<sup>V</sup>; C404 f. 191<sup>V</sup>; C405 f. 304<sup>Ra-b</sup>; C407 f. 31<sup>V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 ff. 280<sup>V</sup>-281<sup>R</sup>; Vat. lat. 10774 ff. 154<sup>V</sup>-155<sup>R</sup>; B ff. 251<sup>V</sup>-252<sup>R</sup>; P2791 f. 85<sup>R-V</sup>. In B, the intonation for the second verse is also notated. The chant is on the last two pages of an entire manuscript. In C404, the two notes before the last one are missing. In C407 the notes of the two last words *cánit laureum* are missing. The text is complete. In Vat. lat. 10774, there is a difference in the phrasing of the first word and notational differences, as well as an additional note in *nostérque chorus*.



Nos-tér-que chorus  
Vat. lat. 10774.

6. *Antiphona VI modus***De iacénte virtus créscit. Lk. Benedictus.**<sup>357</sup>


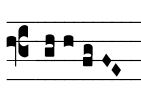


De ia-cén-te vir-tus crés-cit, de se-púl-to gló-ri-a, de la-tén-te

lux di-éscit; de da-to le-tí-tia, cor-pus sa-crum dum

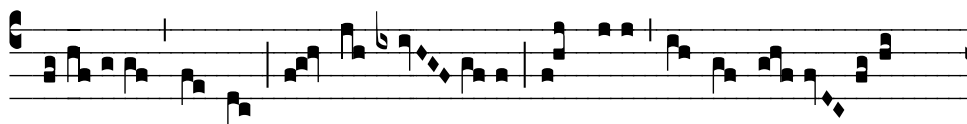
notés-cit mi-ra dans pro-dí-gia.

Benedictus. e u o u a e. [Lk 1:68,79.]

357 C134 f. 230<sup>V</sup>; C137 ff. 311<sup>V</sup>–312<sup>R</sup>; C309 f. 275<sup>V</sup>; C310 f. 238<sup>V</sup>; Me f. 428<sup>V</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 279<sup>R</sup>. P2791 f. 82<sup>R-V</sup>; P2799 ff. 175<sup>V</sup>–176<sup>R</sup>. The C mss are identical except for the lack of a repetition note in C134 in *prodigia*. Vat. lat. 10771 is virtually the same as the C mss, but it does not include liquescent notes, it has an additional repetition note in *mira* and, as a notational difference, one porrectus in the last word *prodigia*. Vat. lat. 10771 is written in transposition position. It has an e-flat in *diéscit* and *letítia*, but not in other words. The Me and P mss have three small differences in the melody: in *sepúlto* there are two additional notes, in *diéscit* there is one additional note and in *mira* one additional note. Notational differences in the P mss include a tractulus-pes in *virtus*, *de [dato]*, *mira* and *prodigia*. Me has a scandicus with three virgas in *virtus*, *mira* and *prodigia*, and a virga-pes in *de [dato]*.

		
se-púl-to	diéscit	mira
Me, P mss	Me, P mss	P mss, Me
		(three virgas in Me)

## AD SECUNDUS VESPERIS

*Antiphona VI modus***O splendor. Lk. Magnificat.**<sup>358</sup>

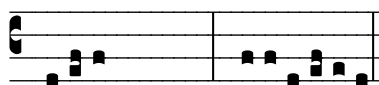
O splén-dor I- tá- li-e, nó- bilis pro-pá- go,



de- itá-tis regi- e i- nstar et i- mágo, vir- tútis e-xí-



mi-e culmen et indá- go, nobis spem fer vé- ni- e, tu mo-rum con-pá- go.



Magnificat. e u o u a e. [Lk 1:46,50]

358 C134 f. 230<sup>v</sup>; C137 ff. 311<sup>v</sup>–312<sup>r</sup>; C131 f. 233<sup>v</sup>; C309 ff. 275<sup>v</sup>–276<sup>r</sup>; C310 f. 238<sup>v</sup>; Me f. 428<sup>v</sup>; Vat. lat. 10771 f. 279<sup>v</sup>; P2791 ff. 82<sup>v</sup>–83<sup>r</sup>; P2799 ff. 175<sup>v</sup>–176<sup>r</sup>. All the C mss are the same. Me lacks the liquescent, otherwise it is the same as the C mss. In Vat. lat. 10771, there are many notational differences: a porrectus in *O, Itálie* and *indágo*, a pes-virga in the place of a three virgas at the beginning of the word *Itálie* and in *tu*. In Vat. lat. 10771 there are also small additions to the melody in *Itálie* and *eximie*. The P mss are very similar to the C mss, the only notational difference being a virga-pes in *Itálie*.

I- tá- li-e  
Vat. lat. 10771exí-mi-e  
Vat. lat. 10771



## Part IV

# Sensory experience in the liturgies

### *Dies natalis:*

From celebrated doctor to perfumed body

In this part we explore the creation of sensory experience through our source material, that is, the medieval manuscripts containing the liturgies for Thomas's feasts. The Dominicans who created Thomas's offices emphasized his body with an intensity rarely found in the liturgy of other saints. The intensity presumably affected the audience – friars, Dominican nuns and laity alike – and made Thomas's intangible presence real. His presence was enacted through the liturgical performance, which is considered here mostly from the viewpoint of singing, reading and seeing the liturgical books, but hearing, smelling, touching and tasting are also integral to our analysis. The approach in this part is largely cultural and art historical, but we do take musicological and philological viewpoints into account as well.

When Thomas's *Dies natalis* office was composed, the Dominican Order, whose members prepared the liturgy, had just succeeded in having a third friar from their ranks canonized. Thomas's canonization was not necessarily energetically supported by the whole Order. Thomas probably enjoyed the veneration of most of the Dominican friars in southern Italy, where he was born and where he had joined the Order of Preachers in Naples. When the canonization process came to a successful conclusion in 1323, regardless of whether Thomas was perceived as a saint throughout the Order in Europe and by lay people or not, it became important to present him as such in his liturgy. At the time of the canonization Thomas's corpse was in Cistercian hands, with the exception of a few pieces of bone in Dominican possession,

and this created an extra intensity in the Dominican celebration of him. The friars believed that Thomas's corpse rightfully belonged to their (his) Order, and they, wanted to persuade others to side with them, to make the world believe that an injustice had been done to them.<sup>359</sup> The liturgy was without doubt the most effective way for the Dominicans to transmit their message widely, both inside and outside the Order. The office of the *Dies natalis* carries a dual message: on the one hand it presents Thomas's saintly deeds in a traditional manner, connecting him to St Dominic and St Augustine as well as the whole biblical tradition, and on the other hand it emphasizes Thomas's (Dominican) corporality both in earthly and eternal life. In the following pages, we examine how these two sides of Thomas were propagated throughout the office of the *Dies natalis*, selecting musically and contextually representative examples, whether they are details in single manuscripts or common features of the sources.

The antiphon *Felix Thomas* (Blessed Thomas) opens the office of the *Dies natalis*. The atmosphere of the chant is celebrative and emotional at the same time. The air is full of tenderness as the mode of the antiphon is at first a mellow one. The atmosphere created by the music seems to reflect the joy of the Order at having Thomas officially canonized.<sup>360</sup> The words are in perfect concordance with the message of the tone: "Blessed Thomas, doctor of the church, light of the World, splendour of Italy, a virgin shining in the flower of his purity, rejoices in his twofold crown of glory."<sup>361</sup> The chant presents Thomas officially as blessed. He has two crowns, signs of sainthood, for being a confessor and virgin of Christ.

A closer look at the combination of music and words reveals the way in which Thomas's saintly character is condensed in his

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<sup>359</sup> Räsänen 2017.

<sup>360</sup> For example, for a comparison of a later, similar type of melody in the Finnish St Henrik's office, see the first chant *Gaude cetus fidélium* (Rejoice, flock of the faithful). Turku, Provincial Archives of Turku, Archdiocese Cathedral Chapter, Antifonarium Liber Cappelle Charis Loyo, Gu I:3; Turku, Åbo Academy's Library, Antiphonarium Tammelense Gu I:3. f. 27<sup>v</sup>. TA 155<sup>v</sup>. See also Taitto 1998.

<sup>361</sup> For all the notations and Latin texts of Thomas's two offices discussed in this chapter, see Part III.

representations, musical, literal and pictorial, already from the opening of the office: the first phrase and its melody introduce Thomas as the music rises up to the fifth interval from the Final. The second phrase begins immediately after the fifth interval, which is an important recitation tone of the chant. The music continues to soar even higher until it reaches the highest point, its dynamic existence, with the words *lumen mundi*, *splendor*. The overall balance between the music and poetry emphasize the core message of the antiphon: Thomas is the light of the world.

The following piece of the office, the psalm *Laudate pueri* (Ps. 112), calls on the audience to praise the Lord, who is presented as the rising sun that is high above all the nations. The antiphon and the psalm share practically the same metaphor/topos. Every antiphon is followed by a psalm – for example at the beginning of the Matins there is a series of three psalms – and it becomes evident that antiphon-psalm-antiphon alternation functions like a conversation between the new saint, presented in the antiphons, and the old tradition which is anchored in psalms.<sup>362</sup> This important aspect of the antiphons and psalms in saints' offices is often forgotten. However, the psalms are the cornerstone of the liturgy of hours, and further, of the office dedicated to a saint. Our suggestion is that this antiphon-psalm-antiphon alternation referred to the authority and security of the tradition. Using the bond between the antiphons and psalms, the office of the *Dies natalis* masterfully introduces the new saint, Thomas, to the faithful, bringing the same enlightenment and hope of salvation as God himself.<sup>363</sup> Thomas is like a new guest who has been invited to enter the familiar old surroundings, the biblical world of the psalms.

Not surprisingly the next chant, the great responsory *Sertum gestans*, highlights again Thomas's ability to bring enlightenment to the world, the same theme that echoes from the previous chant. Now the words carry a more material imagery: "From his necklace of heavenly

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<sup>362</sup> Dyer 1989; Boynton 2007.

<sup>363</sup> On medieval way to read the Psalms allegorically referring directly to Christ, see Thibodeau 2015, 14–17.

fire, a light spreads across the World.” We must remember that by its place in the Matins, the responsory in question formed a great final to the series of the responsories and to the shortened *Vita* of Thomas presented piece by piece in the first, second and third nocturn. As the last responsory, it elevated St Thomas to an equal level with St Augustine, and even higher: “[...] Augustine speaks to a brother: Thomas is my equal in glory, my superior in his virginal purity”.<sup>364</sup> In other words, Thomas is compared here to St Augustine, one of the most authoritative medieval philosophers and a Church father, not to mention the person whose rule the Order of Preachers followed, and he is found to be his equal.<sup>365</sup> Since according to the hagiographical narratives the comparison was made by St Augustine himself, the story had to have a huge importance for Thomas’s memory. In the liturgy, and when *Sertum gestans* was also performed in the Vespers, it was a grandiose introduction to Thomas, who was elevated to an exalted place in the history of the Church.

At the beginning of Thomas’s *Dies natalis*, the dialogue between the music and the words proceeds smoothly and in some cases the dialogue even reaches a pictorial level, i.e. the liturgical manuscripts have decoration which reinforces the content of the office.<sup>366</sup> The most sumptuous example is in the manuscript of Orvieto (O), which we have already seen as differing from the other manuscripts in regard to the notation of several chants. Folio 134<sup>R</sup> with the beginning of Thomas’s *Dies natalis* is pictorially decorated around all its edges in a vegetal style resembling that of central Italy. Moreover, it has several medallions that have different people depicted inside, including two Dominicans. The folio also has two fairly large historiated images. The image in the lower margins catches our attention: it represents Thomas sitting in front of a church building, presenting his writings – he has one book in

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364 The whole text of MR9 in Latin with the notation, see Part III and Appendix 6 in English.

365 The episode appeared in written form for the first time in the canonization hearing records in Naples in 1319. After the canonization it was commonly adopted into Thomas’s *Legendae*, see, for example, *Ystoria*, cap. XXIII.

366 On mental techniques to “to step” through the pictorial reality to the spiritual realm, see an illustrative example in Baert, Ierbeke and Watteuw 2018.



his lap and another in his hands. The image is partly damaged, but one can see signs of lines, rays which were probably once golden, coming from Thomas or his books and entering the nave of the church through the open narthex and the main door. The image is interestingly framed by a kind of star shape, similar to that used for framing images, often portraits, on the walls of late medieval Italian churches.

When we combine the words, notation and pictorial decoration, and especially the image of Thomas in front of the church in ms. O, we can see that they match perfectly: the folio containing the words of the chant *Felix Thomas*, which represents Thomas sitting in the lower margin when the music rises to its climax with the words *lumen mundi*, *splendour*. A singer can see the way in which Thomas is illuminating the church in the miniature, the church which, according to the chant, intersects with the world. Thomas is sitting and shining in his purity, a purity which is also emphasized in the ninth great responsory and which was certainly regarded as an important virtue in Dominican communities.<sup>367</sup> Thomas's image inside the architectural element perhaps functioned as a model and a "place" through which his presence became more real to the people who used the book.<sup>368</sup>

Thomas depicted holding the books emitting golden rays is a common iconographical narrative, especially in the early Dominican altar panels. There are examples of this type of image from Tuscany dating even before Thomas's canonization.<sup>369</sup> In addition, from early in the tradition Thomas, *lumen mundi*, often had a shining yellow gem or sun on his chest.<sup>370</sup> Later this golden gem seems to have changed

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367 According to Thomas's *Lives*, his dedication to God and virginity were tested when a girl tried to seduce him at the order of his family, see *Ystoria*, XI; see also Karras 2008, 62–63; Räsänen 2010.

368 For comparison, see Baert, Iterbeke and Watteeuw 2018.

369 Altar panels are well-known examples in Thomas's iconography in art history. See Cannon for some of the most recent research, and especially her suggestions about a lost altar panel in Orvieto: Cannon 2013, 147–152. See also Räsänen (forthcoming 2019) for an expansion of the discussion on the books they represent.

370 This kind of iconographical representation of Thomas seems to emerge especially from a vision described in the canonization testimonies, but described most effectively in liturgical lessons, more specifically in lesson nine "On his chest he bore a great stone, which illuminated the whole church, sending out many wondrously resplendent rays." (*In pectore vero gestabat magnum lapidem qui splendore mirabili plures ex se emittens radios*

slightly in form as the light element came to resemble the sun or heart in Thomas's hand, and it often illuminated the church that was depicted in the other hand.<sup>371</sup> A miniature model of the church becomes more frequent in Thomas's iconographical representations in the fifteenth century, an item that would have suited the image offered by the office of the *Dies natalis* perfectly.

These common pictorial elements are combined in a historiated initial of the hymnal preserved in Bologna (B). The hymns for Thomas's *Dies natalis* start with a beautifully decorated *E* (*Exultet mentis júbilo*), f. 213<sup>R</sup>. Around the letter *E* are thick golden outer frames, and the letter itself forms purple inner frames with green vegetal elements for Thomas's half portrait. He has typical Dominican black and white vestments, a splendid gem on his chest, a miniature church on one hand and a lily in the other. He has a thick golden halo and golden rays emanate from every part of his body. The rays of the gem are short and decorative, except for one which reaches the entrance of the church. The image is a perfect start for the hymn, which describes the evening of the World to which Thomas brings his light:

1. Let the crowd of the faithful rejoice in the ray of the new Sun, which scatters the clouds of error. 2. In the evening of the World, Thomas pours out the treasures of grace, full of the heavenly gifts of virtue and wisdom. 3. The torches of the Word shine from the fountain of his light, as do the scriptures of holy Divinity and the rules of truth. 4. Shining from the rays of doctrine, radiant in the purity of his life, brilliant in his wondrous signs, he gives joy to all the World. 5. Glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; may they join us to the heavenly host on Thomas's merits.<sup>372</sup>

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*totam ecclesiam illustrabat*) See also Räsänen 2017, 231–232, and briefly on Thomas's iconography pp. 94–96. On Thomas's iconography in the Early Modern period, see Cambournac 2009.

371 A good example of this kind of representation is a stained glass window pane in the principal chapel of Santa Maria Novella Church in Florence, executed by Alessandro Agolanti in 1491.

372 VH, the notation with the Latin text in Part III.

The hymn is the final part of the Vespers and as such it recalls the previous elements and metaphors of the office that name Thomas explicitly as the new Sun whose ray scatters clouds of errors, as it does also in the miniature of *E* letter. The *Exultet mentis* hymn, like all the other Thomas's hymns, is written in the Ambrosian hexameter, as demonstrated in Part II. The style, familiar to all, may have been understood as representing the purity of the early church, something recognized by all Christians, and such a connotation may have reinforced Thomas's doctrine. The melody and metre together with the content of the chant make a brilliantly harmonious conclusion for the first glimpse of Thomas's sanctity made real by the service of the Vespers.

For medieval singers, the pictorial decoration was an aid to perception of the saint and expression. The aid was not necessarily a portrayal of a historical scene and may have been a more abstract depiction. Especially refined examples that have an abstract quality are vegetal and imaginative subjects in Thomas's offices in Vat. lat. 10771, which contains both offices as later additions. In this manuscript, as in O, the office of the *Dies natalis* begins with the decoration of the whole first folio 283<sup>R</sup>. The lines with the notation and texts are framed on every side by red and blue floral decoration with six rounded medallions of different colours, each having fanciful animals inside. The initial letter *F* is partly attached to the frame and it shares the same decorative elements. After the initial and the word *Felix*, the next word too is emphasized: Thomas. It is written in bold black letters and every letter is ornamented with fine ink frills. In this manuscript all the important feasts for the community are framed using the same decorative principles, and some of them have also one or two historiated initials lavishly decorated with gold and colours.<sup>373</sup>

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<sup>373</sup> The decoration of the *Translatio* is very similar, although it is much younger. This tells us about the importance of the pictorial tradition as a part of the liturgy of the monastery, as well as about the importance of the office which was prepared diligently according to the tradition. The decorative style seems to be typical for the family of Dominican manuscripts whose provenience is the province of Teutonia and it is used in books intended for both male and female communities. See Kessler 2010; Hamburger 2008; Hamburger and Schlotheuber 2014.

The sumptuous manuscript Vat. lat. 10771 originates from the important Dominican female convent of Katharinenthal.<sup>374</sup> Although neither of Thomas's offices are as luxurious as some feasts of biblical saints and the offices of St Dominic and Peter Martyr, the pictorial style of Thomas's offices is still remarkable. The decoration and their presence among the rare later additions in the representative books of the convent tell us of Thomas's importance in the liturgical life of the nuns. The vegetal and imaginative decoration in the starting folios encourages the singers to perceive the saint's omnipresence in their mind's eye.<sup>375</sup> The fine decorative frames create a window to Thomas, whose picture may have been drawn imaginatively on the parchment folio to accompany his image in sound as created by the singers performing the highly narrative melodies and words presented above.

The liturgical manuscripts of Katharinenthal are unusual, in that they present numerous minuscule sisters drawn accompanying the initial letters, frames and notes, in such a way that they can be interpreted as participating in the liturgical rite. The nuns seem to be "living" the liturgy in the parchment in the same way, with concentration and dedication, as the actual nuns "lived" the real liturgy, the most central activity of their lives in the convent. In Katharinenthal, and for example in Soest, the function of the manuscript as the vehicle that brought living people and saints together in the same living reality during the liturgical performance is realized by illustration.<sup>376</sup> We can presume that the liturgical moment was always "liminal", the rite enabled an encounter between the sacred and the profane. Every object present, like books, statues or relics, was a part of this encounter.

The Matins service of Thomas's *Dies natalis* reinforced the theme of light at Vespers further through the reciting of nine readings about the *Life* of the saint. In practice, the lesson by the reader was recited

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374 Kessler 2010.

375 For a comparison, see Baert, Iterbeke and Watteeuw 2018.

376 On functions of Dominican sisters in the decoration of the manuscripts, see Hamburger and Schlottheuber 2014 and Hamburger *et al.* 2016. On the devotional life of Katharinenthal, see also Heinonen and Räsänen 2016.

first, then came the responsory. The choir united in singing the chant, and presumably became mentally absorbed in the most important features of the saint presented in the lesson.<sup>377</sup> Thus, the responsory can be understood as an identity maker, something which united the friars and sisters in the same liturgical moment and “reality”. Given its significance, it is not surprising that in several manuscripts the initial letter of the first great responsory of the *Dies natalis*, *Sancti viri*, is emphasized, in many cases more than any other initial, including that of the whole office.<sup>378</sup>

In Thomas’s *Dies natalis*, we argue, it was just not the general significance of the responsories that gave reason to underline the beginning of *Sancti viri* but a very particular, historical reason. The story repeated in the responsory is rooted in the Dominican tradition and was re-utilized in a masterly way in different political situations when it was necessary to emphasize Thomas’s Dominican identity. The first lesson of the *Dies natalis* before the great responsory of *Sancti viri* (both are presented in their entirety in Part I) explains how a hermit visited Thomas’s mother. The hermit prophesied the baby’s future saying: “Rejoice, lady, for you will give birth to a son, and he will be called by the name of Thomas. He will be great in the entire world, both in his knowledge and his life, and he will be a brother of the order of preachers. And all this happened as it was predicted.”<sup>379</sup> Then it is the turn of the responsory:

R. The prophetic word of a holy man presaged to the world saint Thomas, the divine doctor, follower of Father Dominic. V. For a holy

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377 Heffernan, 2005, 82. See Thomas’s lections in Räsänen 2017, 269–272.

378 The *Dies natalis* in Me is an interesting exception among our sources: it is very modest in all possible ways. It starts with *Felix Thomas*, the letter *F* done simply in black ink like the other letters that start a new chant. Two golden initials have been provided to start the hours, the Matins and Lauds. The responsory *Sancti viri* begins with a coloured initial, the height of the staff.

379 For the lesson in Latin, see Räsänen 2017, 269. The same episode is repeated in Thomas’s *Lives*, play scripts etc. See, for example, *Ystoria*, XCVII. The prophetic announcement is a common element in medieval hagiography, see on Penco 1988, 81–97.



Image 6. The beginning of the great responsory *Sancti viri*. Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale (Les Dominicains de Colmar), ms. 310, f. 227v. Photo by courtesy of the library, taken by the IRHT.



man declared to his pregnant mother that he would be our guide to clear doctrine.<sup>380</sup>

It is unlikely that the episode is just an innocent prophecy based on the biblical Marian model: it seems to have been prepared as an implicit justification of the Order's right to possess Thomas's saintly corpse in the post-canonization era. In liturgical and public use, it was possible to change the implicit justification to a claim that served the Dominican Order's ends. In the Middle Ages there were several customary methods of judging who should own a saint's relics and in Thomas's case the Cistercians and the Dominicans turned to the different traditions. According to the Cistercians, Thomas himself had chosen Fossanova as his dwelling place, indicating that he wished to stay there, whereas the Dominicans presented the prophecy as proof that the fate of Thomas's body was sealed before his birth.<sup>381</sup>

Although Pope Urban V decided in favour of the Dominicans, it appears that in the office of the *Translatio* it was still necessary to recall Thomas's birth and life as a Dominican friar. In the *Translatio*, the transportation of the relics was presented strongly as a long-anticipated return to the Order.<sup>382</sup> The emphasis must have been important to the friars, to secure their devotion and link their identity to Thomas, which is how, for example, "Thomas returns to his father's bosom", can be understood.<sup>383</sup> These chants may also have been

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<sup>380</sup> For a transcription of the chant with the Latin text, see Part III.

<sup>381</sup> According to Dominican literary tradition, Thomas's belonging to the Order was challenged when he was a young man and wanted to join it. The family tried to resist Thomas's vocation until they understood its inevitability. The rite of transition from the noble son of the Counts of Aquino to the Dominican friar is studied in depth in Räsänen 2010. On the conflict between the Cistercians and Dominicans over his body, see Räsänen 2017.

<sup>382</sup> *Translatio*, MR2 is a good example: "Our sacred faith rejoices, long deprived, of its dearest treasure now, at last, it has regained the bones of the teacher whom it nourished and perfected in his learning". The whole responsory in Latin is in Part III, in English in the Appendix 6. This is a good example of the way in which the *Translatio* gives an impression that it is a serial from the *Dies natalis*.

<sup>383</sup> *Translatio*, MI. In addition to the invitatory, a lesson that followed soon after appears to have described the arrival of Thomas's corpse in Toulouse as his rebirth into the Dominican Order. The allegory is studied in connection with the music in Part II.

directed against the critics of the transportation, and so represent an example of the use of liturgy as a medium for a political message.

The importance given to the first lesson and *Sancti viri* in the office of the *Dies natalis* is clear from the initials of the responsory mentioned above. An interesting example comes from Colmar, the ms. C310, f. 227<sup>v</sup>, which presents Christ inside the upper curve of the letter *S* and another man inside the lower curve. Christ is easily recognizable from his three-part halo. He has an empty scroll in his hand, a typical indication of speech, and is announcing something to the man below. The man has a black cloak, his hands are clasped in prayer, and he is looking at Christ and receiving the prophecy. In the context of *Sancti viri*, it is natural to suggest that the miniature represents Christ and the hermit who will bring the prophecy of Thomas's forthcoming birth to his mother.<sup>384</sup>

If we take a closer look at the music and wording of the chant it is clear that it corresponds perfectly to the initial of C310. Characteristic of the melody of *Sancti viri* is a repeating movement from the Final to the Tenor. The first movement starts right at the beginning of the chant with the presentation of the holy man. The melody climbs slowly, reaching the Tenor with *virī*, and moves around it in *verbum propheticum* (prophetic word), like the scroll of the prophecy. The following movements to Tenor, the recitation level, occur with a leap in *sanctum Thomam* (saint Thomas), *sectatūrum* (follower) and *Domīnicum* (Dominic). The highest points of the melody are in *premonstrāvit* (presaged), *doctōre* (doctor) and *patrem* (father). Abundant melismacy at the beginning of the chant and a special emphasis given to the holy man, together with the pictorial image, will have resonated in the memories of the singers, directing them deep into the biblical

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384 A natural thought could be to identify the man as Thomas Aquinas but he has none of Thomas's attributes: no radiating gem on the chest, no book in his hand, and he is not even bearing a halo. However, there are different ways to illustrate the prophesy: A play for Thomas's feast day which was performed by the Compagnia de'Disciplinanti di San Tommaso d'Aquino of Aquila starts with an episode in which St Dominic, Virgin Mary, Christ, and an angel are in discussion. In this interpretation it is the Angel's task to go to the hermit and tell him how he should announce Thomas's future birth to his mother. De Bartholomaeis 1924, 77–113.





Image 7. The beginning of the great responsory *Sancti viri*. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, ms. 2791, f. 89<sup>v</sup>. Photo by courtesy of the library.

world and then forward to the praise of Thomas as the follower of St Dominic.<sup>385</sup>

Another interesting example of the *S*-initial appears in the Perugian manuscript 2791, f. 89<sup>v</sup>. In this miniature, the upper part of the *S*-letter represents Thomas with halo and an easily recognisable attribute: the open and radiating book in his hand. God's light is also emerging from somewhere above, as so often in depictions that were designed to emphasize the divine source of Thomas's wisdom and/or writings.<sup>386</sup> In the lower part of the initial two figures are represented. According to the catalogues of the library, they are St Anthony the Abbot and a virgin saint.<sup>387</sup> Although St Anthony was a famous hermit saint, in the context of Thomas's *Dies natalis* and with the lady lacking a halo, it is clear that this identification of the characters in the lower register is erroneous. The man is undoubtedly the hermit Bonus, who is prophesizing Thomas's future birth to his mother Theodora. The initial of P2791 demonstrates the multiple layers of every literary, musical and pictorial image with a holy man, mother, father and similar, and the kind of stimuli that they could offer to the medieval people who were brought up within this culture.

It seems that the iconographical model for the initial letter *S* was not firmly established together with the music in the first half of the fourteenth century. We are aware, for example, of a folio of a manuscript fragment in the library of the Fondazione Cini in Venice, which includes the beginning of the chant *Sancti viri*.<sup>388</sup> The historiated initial letter *S* is large and sumptuous in gold and other colours. The vegetal form of the letter itself continues in the decoration of the upper and left hand margin. It is also a connective element between

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385 The feature that catches the eye is the exceptional melismacy in the first three words, *Sancti* (7/2=3.5), *virī* (6/2=3) and *verbum* 5/2=2.5). This is a way to present Thomas, saint to be born. The most melismatic word is the last word *Dominicum* (16/4=4), addressed father (patrem 7/2=3.5) to be followed.

386 A good example of the presence of divine light is the fresco depiction on Thomas in front of the Crucifix painted by Filippino Lippi in the Caraffa Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome.

387 See Internet Library catalogue as well as Parmeggiani 2006, 160–161.

388 V33. See the catalogue, Medica and Toniolo 2016, 279–282; Toesca 1968, 17.



Image 8. The beginning of the great responsory *Sancti viri*. The preaching of St Thomas. Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe (Cuttings collection), inv. 22033 Venezia, © Fondazione Giorgio Cini.

the initial and the episodes presented in the medallions in the lower margin of the folio. All the miniatures seem to represent St Dominic, grey haired and bearded, clearly a “father figure”, clothed in the black and white Dominican habit, in different situations from his *Lives*.<sup>389</sup> In the *S* initial Thomas is preaching from a high preaching chair. A mass of listeners is depicted in two levels of the letter. Although the illustration on the folio does not present the hermit or the prophecy in any explicit way, the images can be interpreted as in concordance with the message of the responsory, presenting Thomas’s future as a great Dominican friar, a follower of Father Dominic. The illustration echoes the music of *Sancti viri*, laying the main stress on Thomas’s character as an illustrious son of his Order. In this fragment the connection between Thomas and Dominic is special: presumably the emphasis arises from the fact that originally the fragment was a part of a manuscript belonging to a Dominican community of Bologna and Bologna was also the place where Dominic’s grave was guarded.

One more interesting example of the representation of the holy man in the iconographical tradition of the office of *Dies natalis* has to be examined. We have to return to ms. O and the antiphon *Felix Thomas*. In O, the initial letter *F* presents the prophecy as a narrative scene in which the hermit approaches Thomas’s mother in a hilly landscape. Thomas’s mother is waiting for him with some other women at a gate, probably of the Castle of Roccasecca, Thomas’s birthplace. On the top of the hill in the background a church building is depicted, which may be either the hermit’s home or a representation of a Dominican friary. In this manuscript, the initial letter of *Sancti viri* does not have a historiated theme – probably because the normal theme has been depicted already at the beginning of the *Dies natalis*.<sup>390</sup> The message of the episode with the hermit and prophecy is well suited as an opening to Thomas’s feast: it emphasizes Thomas’s forthcoming glorious life

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389 In the medallions he casts a devil away, and receives help from an angel, the apostles Peter and Paul and the Virgin Mary when he is struggling with his intellectual work. The last medallion depicts Dominic’s tomb, where a sick man is cured through his intervention. See Medica and Toniolo 2016, 279–282 and also Toesca 1968, 17.

390 The chant starts, however, with a sophisticated golden initial, and a similar letter starts the hour of Lauds.



as a man of Christ, which is one of the main themes of the whole *Dies natalis* office. In addition, the prophecy was understood and used to anchor Thomas tightly to the Order. Predestined eternal history reveals that Thomas's memory, his intellectual heritage and his corpse are all the property of the Dominicans.

Besides presenting Thomas's saintly life and deeds, the *Dies natalis* lays a great emphasis on the description of Thomas's saintly dead body. The corpse comes to light impressively in the final part of the Matins, the third nocturne. The depictions of Thomas's holy body reach the level of baroque abundance; the antiphons, psalms, lessons and great responsories combine to glorify it.

The opening antiphon of the hour predicts the saint's death: "As his life neared its end, he saw the heavenly realms, and through God's revelation knew the reward that was prepared for him".<sup>391</sup> The corresponding Psalm 14 discusses those who will be saved and dwell on the holy hill – Thomas clearly being among them according to the antiphon. The preceding antiphon of the lesson is down to earth: "The star emerges from the clouds, the flower is plucked from the hay, fat is separated from flesh, as Thomas returns to the heavens." Its equivalent, Psalm (23), is searching for the souls who will be saved. The lesson describes the moment of Thomas's death, the decay which was anticipated by the antiphon and repeated again by the responsory. Thus, the death of the saint is not passed over with few words. The way in which the antiphon combines metaphors of beauty and horror is revealing of the medieval experience and mind: In our opinion, this combination demonstrates the capacity of medieval people to perceive the reality of Thomas's physical remains, however abstract or physical the depiction of it in the liturgical services.

Lesson eight continues to relate the tale of the textually materialized corpse with the choir's response:

After the burial of St Thomas, the monks feared that the saint's body would be taken away from them against their will by the Dominicans,

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<sup>391</sup> MA7.

particularly as the saintly doctor had directed his body to be taken to the brothers of his order in Naples at a suitable time, and because a public document decreed that it should be deposited there. Therefore, after the lapse of some time, they transferred the body to another location. After this, the prior of the aforementioned monastery was severely reprimanded by Thomas and, fearing the retribution of divine justice, ordered that the body should be placed in its original location. Upon the opening of the tomb, such a profusion of sweet fragrance emanated from it that it filled the entire cloister with a miraculous sweetness; indeed, it was as if it were not the tomb of a dead body but a warehouse of scents. When the doctor's body was examined, they found all of its members to be intact and the habit of his order – cloak, scapular and tunic alike – entirely uncorrupted and redolent of the scent of the fragrant body. Similarly, it is verified by clear testimonies that the miraculous sign of the integrity of his body and habit and their sweet fragrance took place seven years after his death.<sup>392</sup>

The lesson describes how the Cistercian monks of Fossanova feared to lose Thomas's body and how they carried out a secret transportation to hide the corpse. The idea of the concealment was to keep the corpse at Fossanova.<sup>393</sup> Already it is noticeable how accentuated the concept of the body is in this lesson: even this rather short text repeats the word *corpus* (body) and the pronouns referring to the body many times.<sup>394</sup> Such a description of the corpse of a man or woman who was reputedly a saint is far from common in liturgical readings.<sup>395</sup> Usually such texts included just a short mention of the moment of death and perhaps examples of *post mortem* miracles, but the fate of the actual corpse seems to have been of little interest.

Thomas's case is different. In the following responsory, the body is still the protagonist of the chant even if it receives a different emphasis than it did in the lesson. The responsory, however, repeats the main

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392 For the VIII lesson from Thomas's *Dies natalis* in Latin, see Räsänen 2017, 272.

393 See more in Räsänen 2017.

394 On the reflection of the lesson in the following responsory, see Part II.

395 Heffernan 2005, 87.

message of the lesson – Thomas’s miraculous physical appearance. The rhythm of the chant is noticeably repetitive, so that in our opinion the music heightens the atmosphere of the lesson (see the discussion in Part II):

R. The glory of blessed Thomas shone with divine wonder as a fragrant odour emanated from his tomb. Shining in his purity, he lived without sin. V. Exceptional grace shone on the eye of his mind as he learned divine mysteries, instructed by heavenly oracles.

The responsory says that the body shone and gave off a sweet odour because his flesh was pure, untouched, virginal.<sup>396</sup> Interacting with the words, the melody seems to recreate the effect of this miraculous scent: with the word *fragrantia* the melody rises up as a fragrance would into the air. The impression of rising, curling smoke is more palpable in ms. O than in any other source. The effect is created by adding one extra note more than usual to accompany the word *fragrantia* and two porrectus-neumes with the word *odóris*, which adjusts the phrasing of the word. These differences are small, yet sufficient for the singing voices to create an exceptional impression of a pleasant odour curling upwards and diffusing outwards.<sup>397</sup> Orvieto had historical roots that encouraged its community to give a special emphasis to Thomas’s cult, as we have discussed in Part II and to which we will return in the end of the present chapter.

In the hour of Lauds, Thomas’s body was sometimes allegorically represented, as in the antiphon in which it becomes gold and light: “Gold is hidden in the ground and the light under a bushel, but the virtue of God is seen in the rays of its miracles” or in the hymn of Lauds in which it is “the treasure chest of grace”.<sup>398</sup> Sometimes the body was described by its physical appearance, by the beauty of the face or the incorruptible flesh: “Your flesh, incorrupt in the flower of its

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<sup>396</sup> On odour of sanctity, see Roch 2010; Cohn 2000; Baert, Isterbeke and Watteuw 2018, 39.

<sup>397</sup> See also Part II on the analysis of this great responsory, and Räsänen, Heikkinen and Vuori 2017.

<sup>398</sup> LA2 and LH.

purity”.<sup>399</sup> The service of the Lauds skilfully blends the two elements of the historical saint and the importance of his body, already presented in the preceding hour, the Matins.

Making Thomas present through liturgy (or through reading and illustrations on some other occasions) had a growing importance in the years when the Dominican Order realized how difficult it would be to convince the Cistercians or the popes to transfer Thomas’s sacred relics from Fossanova to their custody. Nonetheless, the overwhelming emphasis on the body in the Dominican liturgy appears out of proportion if we compare the Dominican material to the liturgical sources from other congregations – the Benedictines, Cistercians, Franciscans and canons, who borrowed Thomas’s *Dies natalis* to venerate him. In the liturgy of these congregations, the role of the body is normally reduced by omitting the parts of the original most powerfully highlighting the body’s presence, often by leaving out the whole of lesson eight.<sup>400</sup>

Thomas’s corpse was made perceptible by giving it a physical ambience comparable to the churches where Dominican choirs sang. The constant repetition of the word *corpus* in the lesson and the potent conception of its perfume created in the responsory are likely to have enabled the Dominican community to grasp Thomas’s presence both visually and spiritually, almost tangibly, during the sacred rite. Thomas was perceivable in the flame and the flickering light and perfume of the candles, the wisps of smoke and the scent from the censers and the rays of sunlight from the windows, as well as in the books and pictures used in the liturgy.

In sum, we suggest that the *Dies natalis* gave Thomas a reality and a bodily presence through the melodies and words praising him as the new light that illuminated the Church and the world of the faithful. Light is a common theme in descriptions of saints in medieval narratives. Different light metaphors present both male and female saints as followers of Christ, made resplendent by God’s

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399 LA6. The definitions such as “agreeable face” and “blissful face” can be found from the other sources, see *Fossanova* LVIII; *Alia historia*.

400 See more on this topic, Räsänen 2017, 240.



eternal presence. However, the light and illumination theme is particularly strong in Thomas's case, as he received a radiating gem or the sun and a resplendent body as his most important attributes in the iconographical representations. To make Thomas perceptible and present, the liturgy also borrowed from the ancient liturgical tradition, from biblical times, as Thomas's chants were composed to alternate with the Psalms. The borrowed elements from early Christian composers, such as the metrical model of St Ambrose or the exemplary model of St Augustine are not haphazard, as they formed the image which made Thomas familiar and present by association with them.

#### A landscape view of the office of the *Translatio*

The office of the *Translatio* begins with the antiphon *O quam felix* (O how blessed). It shares the theme of light with the first antiphon of the *Dies natalis*, *Felix Thomas*. Both antiphons also locate the subject of the celebrations, St Thomas Aquinas, geographically. Whereas in *Felix Thomas* the ultimate glory was given to Italy, "Blessed Thomas, doctor of the church, light of the World, splendour of Italy", in *O quam felix* it was divided between Italy and France:<sup>401</sup>

O how blessed art thou, mother Italy  
 Who hast given birth to the ray of a new sun,  
 Equally blessed art thou, o Gaul,  
 Who hast received this Sun's cloak,  
 O Toulouse, the magnificent feast  
 Will bring thee perpetual delight.

The first antiphon of St Dominic's *Dies natalis*, *Gaude felix parens Hyspania* also gives the saint a geographical context, Spain. The

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401 We use the modern terms Italy and France deliberately, making the complicated story easier to follow. France was a single state by Thomas's time, but Italy remained divided into many states well into the modern period and Spain became one only at the end of the Middle Ages. Corresponding medieval terms were used earlier for the geographical regions, however.

emphasis on place is interesting and it clearly had a special importance in connection with a saint's memory and power in the Middle Ages. In the office of the *Translatio*, we suggest that the music and wording together created experiences of places and a powerful allegory of a landscape under Thomas's surveillance and protection. This landscape appears to have had a political aspect.

Musically *O quam felix*, like many of the chants in Thomas's offices, can be defined as a sea. The melody is developed in ascending waves. With the third word of the chant, *felix* (blessed), the first wave reaches the sixth interval from Final. The second wave moves all the way up to the seventh interval (c) with the words *novi solis*, and even higher to the e with the words *effécta Gallia*. Just when the chant seems to be starting to mellow down, it takes another flight with the words *O Tholosa, festa*. After two melodically soothing waves there is a leap downwards from the recitation tone to the Final, thus making a dramatic beginning for a cadenza. The melismacy is notable, the most melismatic word being *solis*, which is sung in almost the same way twice during the chant.<sup>402</sup>

The melody and melismacy of the chant *O quam* emphasize Thomas's character, which is by now very familiar to us: we experience the light, *novi soli*, on the one hand, and on the other something that was not as prominently presented in the *Dies natalis*, the place, *Gallia* and *Tholosa*. The musical waves appear to carry the sun over the Mediterranean from Italy to France, and do the same by the melody, just as later the hymn of the Matins does by words:

The light of the heavens comes forward  
Traversing the hemisphere,  
Following the Sun's path,  
The star heads for the West<sup>403</sup>

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402 The melismacy in *Dies natalis* chant is  $74/41=1.8$  and in *Translatio* chant  $144/60=2.4$ . The melismacy in the word *solis* is  $7/2=3.5$ . For more on the melismacy of the chants, see Part II.

403 MH.

The next phrase of the same hymn adds yet another place to the geographical map of Thomas's travels: "illuminating the coast of Spain". Again, a few moments later when the hymns end, the music of the next antiphons *Jam dudum lux abscondita* (A light long hidden) and *Corpus quod* (The body once laid hidden) move strongly up and down as the wording describes heavenly miracles and a hidden place underground in the same rhythm. It is as if the melodies painted a hilly landscape around Toulouse.

In the narratives of translation, it was necessary to emphasize the place to which a new saint was moved. The saint became a co-dweller with the community who inhabited the place and for a successful integration it was extremely important to create a narrative in which both the saint and the populace acted together for the good of one another.<sup>404</sup> Thomas's office of the *Translatio* is no exception. The first introductions between the saint and his flock were made in the welcoming party. These celebrations were described and the relationship refreshed annually by the liturgy in the local Jacobin (Dominican) church. The office painted the story in black and white; the saint's time in Italy was a state of deprivation for the body – it was badly treated, hidden and almost forgotten deep under the ground. According to the liturgy, hagiographically toned, the miraculous body shone mildly from underground and became fully resplendent when the Dominicans rightly received the body.

These kinds of *Translatio* offices and *translatio* feasts were often too tailored to the monastery or the town where a relic of the body of a saint was kept to achieve success elsewhere.<sup>405</sup> The number of extant examples indicates that the transmission of Thomas's *Translatio* office was probably less successful than the transmission of *Dies natalis*, and the reason for its limited dissemination may have been the local character of the office. The office appears to have taken a vigorous stand on contemporary politics, as the following example shows us,

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404 A classic on *translatio* narratives is Geary 1990. See also Heinzelmann 1979.

405 For an interesting example of the success and failure of local cults and rediscoveries of relics, see Marinković 2016.

and its local features, in our opinion, do not fully explain the weaker presence of the feast in manuscripts than the *Dies natalis*.

As we have seen, the copies of both of Thomas's offices are highly consistent; they rarely display differences in wording – although some mistakes by copyists are possible – and the variations in the music are subtle.<sup>406</sup> One remarkable exception to this rule is in the wording of *O quam felix*: in a few exemplars the word *eque* (equally) on the third line (see above; in Latin: *Eque felix effecta Gallia*) is replaced with the words *O quam dives* (O how rich).<sup>407</sup> In the latter case, the idea of the chant goes more or less like this: "O how blessed are you, mother Italy [...] O how rich has become Gallia." Constant Mews was the first to remark on the alteration and convincingly explained its significance: in the first case the beginning of the antiphon emphasizes that Italy and France have played an equal role in creating and preserving Thomas's precious body, whereas the second version gives France a more prominent role than Italy.<sup>408</sup> The question of which version was the original is interesting. The greater number of surviving examples with *eque* probably gives us the correct answer. However, we propose another reason for the precedence of *eque* based on the historical context: the office of the *Translatio* was composed by an Italian, Aldobrandinus of Ferrara, who also made his career in Italy.<sup>409</sup> To him sharing Thomas's memory between France and Italy would have been an obvious thing to emphasize. To us it seems likely that Aldobrandinus produced the office emphasizing Thomas's connection to St Dominic (the same music, for example) and Italy (praising Thomas's origins at several points and omitting the role of the French royal family from the chants, when they are, however, present in the readings of the Matins). The French friars would then have introduced the variation *O quam dives* by themselves to stress their status as the heirs to Thomas's sainthood.

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406 See Part II and III for the musical differences.

407 Among our manuscripts and fragments, these exemplars are a breviary from Mazarine library (Ma) and a fragment from the collection of the Cini Foundation (V49). Both exemplars will be studied more in more depth in the following pages.

408 Mews 2016, 260. See also Richards 2016 and Mews 2009a, 241–245.

409 See Part I, and also Kaeppli 1970.



Image 9. The beginning of St Thomas's *Translatio*. St Thomas in the cathedra in the initial O; Frater Aldobrandinus da Ferrara OP genuflecting; St Thomas praying. Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe (Cuttings collection), inv. 22049 Venezia, © Fondazione Giorgio Cini.

The first of two manuscript examples with the *O quam dives* versions that we have come across is a single fragment, folio V49, nowadays in the collection of the Cini Foundation in Venice.<sup>410</sup> The folio opens the feast of the *Translatio* and is decorated sumptuously with a coloured and golden detailed vegetal theme and some miniature human characters and animals in the margins. In the lower margin is a round medallion representing a Dominican friar, most probably St Thomas. There is a historiated initial *O* in the left upper corner at the beginning of *O quam felix*. Inside the letter Thomas is represented in the position of the teacher seated in the cathedra and six of his students are gathered around him. The round *O* letter is positioned inside a golden rectangle, in the lower part of which is written the name of the author, Frater Aldobrandinus de Ferrarensis. Beside the inscription, partly outside the rectangle, is depicted a praying Dominican friar, probably Aldobrandinus himself, who is looking at Thomas.

The fragment is identified as having been realized in Florence around 1400–1410.<sup>411</sup> According to this dating, the office would have been copied to the manuscript for a practical reason – to celebrate the new instructions of Thomas of Firmo, newly elected Master of the Roman obedience. He encouraged the friars to adopt Thomas's *Translatio* office as a vivid part of the friars' liturgy in every single Dominican house in 1401. The acts of the General Chapter of 1401, in fact, gives the earliest reference to the name of the composer of the feast as Aldobrandinus of Ferrara.<sup>412</sup> This fragment may appear to prove that Aldobrandinus's original version was *o quam dives*, as the author is clearly indicated in the same copy with the selected wording. However, we have another manuscript from Toulouse (T is without notes), and it has a rubric which also gives the name of the author, Aldobrandinus, and the alternate wording is *eque felix effecta*.<sup>413</sup> These examples make it clear that Aldobrandinus was understood as the

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410 Medica and Toniolo 2016, 179–181.

411 Medica and Toniolo 2016, 179–181.

412 MOPH VIII, 104.

413 T, p. 66<sup>a</sup>: “In festo translationis doctoris eximii sancti Thome de Aquino quod compilavit frater Aldobrandinus de conventu Ferrariensis provincie Lombardie inferioris.”



composer of the office but that his name was not deliberately linked with the details of the wording.

Another manuscript with the *O quam dives* version is in an additional gathering of a breviary that most probably originates from the Dominican convent of Paris, Saint-Jacques.<sup>414</sup> Saint-Jacques was also where the French king Charles V deposited Thomas's arm-relic when he received it in summer 1369.<sup>415</sup> Instead of using this version, which we would define as the original, it seems that the local friars adopted a new formulation (perhaps devised by them), and by doing so they would have participated in the political discussions of the time.<sup>416</sup> The *O quam dives* version claims French supremacy over the Italians at a time when Charles supported the Avignon (French) papacy as opposed to the Rome papacy. We cannot be sure exactly when the important alteration to the text was made: had the Great Western Schism already begun (1378) or not? Probably it had, and the Parisian friars appear to have taken the king's side. Relics became important tools of propaganda at the time of the Schism, as Jeffrey Richards has meticulously demonstrated. He remarks on the similarity of the uses of the office of Thomas's *Translatio* and Évrard de Trémaugon's *Somnium viridarii* and argues that both were used to support the French kingdom.<sup>417</sup> The breviary from Saint-Jacques would fit perfectly in this context.

The *Eque-o quam dives* alteration is the most obvious expression of the pro France, pro-French king slant in the *Translatio*. A careful look at the office reveals an inner inconsistency with regard to the imaginative landscape depicted in the chanting and reading parts of the liturgy. This inner inconsistency was noted when we compared the service of the Matins of the *Translatio* to the very regular and

414 Ma f. 428<sup>vb</sup>: *O quam dives effecta gallia*. Interestingly, the manuscript nowadays in Melbourne (Me) which seems to originate from a similar cultural context, from Paris or its environs and more or less from the same period, emphasises the equality, that is it contains the words *eque felix effecta*.

415 Lesson nine, for the content, see *Alia historia*. The representative sources Vat. lat. 10153; T pp. 23–25. Cf. Mews 2016, 277–278; Richards 2016, 338–348.

416 On the date of composing the liturgy of the *Translatio*, Räsänen, Heikkinen and Vuori 2017.

417 Richards 2016, esp. 321.

systematic office of the *Dies natalis*. The *Dies natalis* transports us from nocturn to nocturn, from the antiphons to the lessons and responsories on a journey through Thomas's life on earth and after death, and gives everything a solid biblical and monastic foundation with the psalms. The performance of the Matins created an unbroken, tense performance with a logical progression from every particle to the next. The Matins of the *Translatio* does not proceed so smoothly: the ruptures between the particles were probably caused either by the parts for the chant and reading having different composers or divergent rules for the selection of the material for chanting and reading.

The reading parts, the lessons, of the office of the *Translatio* are shorter but they have small additions concerning the events in Italy compared to the longer *Historia translationis* of Raymundus Hugonis. If the lessons were not abbreviated by Raymondus himself, they were certainly composed by someone who knew his *Historia translationis* well and who very probably looked favourably on the French claims to Thomas's relics. Lesson nine is a sumptuous celebration of the French triumph over Thomas's remains. First it briefly describes how Thomas's remains were moved from Fossanova and Fondi to the pope's residence in Montefiascone, then moves to the reception of the treasure in Toulouse, assisted by Prince Louis d'Anjou, many archbishops and bishops of southern France, priests and a multitude of local people. Finally, the lesson narrates Pope Urban V's donation of Thomas's right arm bone to King Charles of France.

But how his most sacred arm was translated to Paris by the mandate of the self-same Pontiff, and with what a great devotion it was received; what writing, what tongue could describe this sufficiently? Namely, Charles, the illustrious king of the French, received it reverently, in a kneeling position, from the Master of the Order and had it transferred by Belluacensis, a cardinal of the Roman church. So, accompanied by two archbishops, numerous bishops, all the clergy and three of the queens, royal dukes and several counts and all the people of the city, hurrying from the aforementioned court, all of them, exulting greatly



in their praise of God, arrived at the church of the Dominicans. There, offering great gifts of gold and silver and other royal adornments of diverse kinds, the king collocated the arm of the most precious doctor himself; for all this, may God be eternally praised.<sup>418</sup>

The narration follows the traditional path of relic feasts organized by the French kings.<sup>419</sup> Although there are certainly conventional descriptive elements in the lesson when it describes all the dignitaries of France in the estrade, there is no reason to doubt the basic veracity of the account; the lesson gives us an idea of the royal politics behind the office and we should remember that such ritualized events followed a conventional pattern in any case.<sup>420</sup>

It is interesting to note that when the acts of the lay dignitaries involved in the story of Thomas's relics are emphasized in the lessons, the chants of the Matins omit their presence completely. The chants include some descriptions of the relic procession, for example one sympathetic miracle when a bishop slipped in the mud when he was carrying the relic casket but got up with his garments unsullied due to Thomas's intervention. Similarly, some of the chants are dedicated to the welcome Toulouse gave to Thomas.<sup>421</sup> One of these is the third antiphon of the Matins, which describes the welcoming "committee" like this:

The clergy and the common people  
Hasten to the sacred body;  
All rejoice at such a gift,  
Great and small alike.

There can only be political or personal reasons for omitting the role of Prince Louis from this antiphon and the king from other chants. We suggest that the lessons were given to Aldobrandinus, whose task was to combine them with the chants he had composed. The antiphons

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418 Vat. lat. 10153 f. 36<sup>Ra-Rb</sup>; *Alia historia*.

419 See on similar narrations in Bozóky 2006.

420 See also Richards 2016.

421 For the miracle of the bishop, see MR6.

and responsories share a small amount of the content of the lessons, probably a consequence of his Italian standpoint on the history of Thomas's relics.<sup>422</sup>

Aldobrandinus was probably not allowed to change the basic narrative of the lessons much, but he nevertheless incorporated his Italian emphasis at the expense of France into the chants in a way that can hardly be described as subtle. At the very ending of the day of the *translatio* festivities, the Dominicans sang of the glory of the saint from the Italian standpoint:

O splendour of Italy,  
O noble offspring,  
Reflection and image  
Of the divine court.  
The pinnacle and sum  
Of outstanding piety,  
Give us hope of clemency,  
Thou, bond of virtues.<sup>423</sup>

To continue with the chanting and reading of the office of the *Translatio*, we can return once again to the question of the original wording of the antiphon *O quam felix*: here it seems that Aldobrandinus could not avoid an emphasis on equality between the two areas.

We are convinced that Aldobrandinus, the Italian composer, was not keen to put any more emphasis on the role of the French crown than was necessary to glorify the saint and to boost his veneration among the people of Toulouse and the Dominicans. He has not left out even the most modest beneficiaries of Thomas's miracles: he composed an antiphon for a horse that was awakened from death, yet there was no place for King Charles in the chants of Thomas's *Translatio*.<sup>424</sup>

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422 According to *Historia translationis*, Pope Urban V was so scared about hatred of Italians who did not want to lose Thomas's body that he ordered the Dominicans to carry the bones in secret until they were sure they were safely in France. Especially on precautions in Florence, see *Historia translationis*, 113.

423 2VA1.

424 On the horse, see MA9. The story comes from the *Miracula* collected at Thomas's new tomb in Toulouse, see the ms. T. In addition, the *Miracula* is surviving from two other

The French Dominicans probably found it politic to maintain good relations with the king, who may have had a role in convincing the pope to transfer Thomas's remains not just to the Dominican Order but to the friars of Toulouse.<sup>425</sup> The friars may have shown their gratitude and respect to the king by describing his participation in the festivities in Paris. We must keep in mind that it was the pope who donated the arm relic to the king. According to the sources, the placement of the relic in Paris was entirely the business of two superpowers, but we do not know what was happening behind the scenes in the two courts and the Dominican Order. It does not surprise us, however, that possibly the oldest extant copy of the *Translatio* (Me) derives from the royal Dominican female house of Poissy. The political message of the office fitted the agenda of the convent well, as it was one of the houses with close links to the royal family and which gave its spiritual support to the French kings.<sup>426</sup>

In sum, Thomas's office for the *Translatio* was more than a local liturgical composition composed to show respect to the new protector of the city. The geographical references of the chants of the office were wide: they included the land of Thomas's birth, the land of his religious father, Spain, and his new home, France. The lessons, however, were perhaps too chronicle-like for devotional purposes, and they may have been perceived as too representative of the political supremacy of France to please the whole international Dominican Order. Reading the lessons and the long *Historia translationis*, the impression is that the intention of the Master of the Order, Elias Raymundus, perhaps in collaboration with King Charles, was to elevate Thomas to the role of one of the special protectors of the Crown. This position was not anticipated to be an obstacle for the diffusion of the feast of the *Translatio*, but it probably became so when the Schism began. It is

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manuscripts (from Bologna and Venice) and has also been edited in *Acta Sanctorum* but it is not complete. For this reason, Heikkinen and Räsänen are preparing a more accurate edition.

425 Ms. T contains documents on the donation. The *Historia translationis*, also in T, narrates in a very detailed manner the Pope's reasoning behind the donation of the body to Toulouse. For a deep analysis of the discussions, see Mews 2016.

426 Stinson 1993; Naughton 1995.

certain, however, that in those places where the office was welcomed before, during or immediately after the Schism, it was not perceived as too uninteresting to perform or too mediocre to conserve, as we stated at the beginning of this book. The surviving manuscript examples of the office of the *Translatio* may be less numerous than the *Dies natalis*, but some of them are extremely delicate and expensive copies. These copies tell us about the enthusiasm and energy with which the office of the *Translatio* was integrated into the liturgical year of different Dominican communities. We are convinced that the diligently constructed melodrama between the music and words did not leave anybody cold, and evidence for this is the copying and adapting of the office to the existent manuscripts of the convents.

#### Two bodies presented together in Thomas's feasts

Thomas Aquinas's two offices, the *Dies natalis* and then the *Translatio*, have carried us through three main themes of Thomas's cult, from the signs of his sainthood and belonging to the Dominican Order to the fate of his holy bones in Italy and France. But one central theme which we have mentioned from time to time is yet to be fully discussed. This is the connection between two bodies, Thomas's and Christ's, which is made in both offices. A throughout analysis of the details of the liturgy reveals the capacity of the offices to elevate the experience of participants from mundane to sacred and from temporal to eternal, to the realities beyond the human sphere.

Comparisons between Thomas and Christ in Thomas's two offices are constant. Similar topics proceed hand in hand in them. What this means is that the themes of the parables are more or less the same in every parallel moment of the offices. For example, in both offices, in lesson number one, the parable was the prophecy of Thomas's "arrival": in the lesson of the *Dies natalis*, the prophecy addressed Thomas's forthcoming birth, and in the lesson of the *Translatio* it addressed his return to the care of the Dominican Order.

A more significant and more clearly expressed parallel between the two bodies occurred in the middle of the second nocturn in Thomas's

feasts. Lesson five of the office of the *Dies natalis* describes a well-known event from Thomas's hagiographical literature. According to this story, Thomas was doubting his own writings and praying to God in the Dominican church of Naples. While praying, he was raised two cubits (c. 0.8 m) above ground level and, suddenly, a crucifix spoke to him. It praised his interpretations of the Sacred Scripture saying: "Thomas, you have written well of me, what would you have from me for your reward? Thomas answered: Lord, nothing else but you."<sup>427</sup> The verse of the great responsory repeated: "He is seen to rise from the earth, and the crucifix converses with him."<sup>428</sup> This is how Thomas himself was described to have reached the peak of mysticism and contemplation. For the brethren, the image of Thomas's body, raised and hovering above the ground, was impressive evidence of his connection with the sacred. The image was ideal for prayer and contemplation in the Dominican devotional life. The episode was often referred to in Dominican literature and art dealing with St Thomas (we will come back to one pictorial example of the episode later).<sup>429</sup>

Interestingly, very much the same situation is repeated in lesson five of the office of the *Translatio*. According to the lesson, a Dominican friar called Raymundus (most probably the Raymundus Hugonis who wrote the longer *Historia translationis*) was sceptical about the bones, said to be Thomas's, that the friars had received from the Count of Fondi. The count assured him that they were Thomas's precious relics but Raymundus was still suspicious. He went to the Dominican church of Fondi, where the bones were, and prayed for confirmation of their authenticity. The lesson describes how Raymundus received a vision in front of the Crucifix: "And then, as a sudden joy was overwhelming his mind, he raised his eyes to the image of the Crucifix and saw in

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427 "[...] Super quo frater hoc videns diu admirans, subito audivit ab ymagine crucifixi, ad quam conversus doctor orabat, prolatam clarius istam vocem: 'Bene scripsisti de me Thoma. Quam ergo recipies pro tuo labore mercedem.' Et respondit Thomas: 'Domine non aliam mercedem recipiam nisi te ipsum'." See the whole lesson, Räsänen 2017, 270–271. The same episode can be found, for example, in *Ystoria*, XXXIV.

428 *Dies natalis*, MR5, see also Parts II and III. Räsänen, Heikkinen and Vuori 2017.

429 On prayer as a sacramental act, and as a model for the Dominican devotional life, see Palazzo 2016.

the air, between him and the above-mentioned Crucifix, a beautiful apparition clothed in the Dominican habit”.<sup>430</sup> The apparition was obviously Thomas Aquinas, present in his bones and ready to act when someone prayed to him. The presence through the vision testified to the genuineness of the bones.

The great responsory, which normally repeated the message of the preceding lesson, is in this case presented before lesson five. This fourth great responsory, *Corpus sacrum*, is longer than the other responsories in both of Thomas’s offices. The length could be a result of a multi-layered liturgical tradition. It contains elements from Thomas’s *Dies natalis* as well as from biblical narration through different allegories, among them references to the levitation and teaching of the disciples:

When the sacred body is raised from the ground,  
Doubt afflicts the brother’s mind,  
But soon the truth is planted in him  
Through the teacher’s patient words,  
For this body that is given back to us  
Is truly that of our Thomas himself.  
The teacher is present and speaks to his brother  
And the certainty is revealed to him who prays.  
For this body...<sup>431</sup>

The allegories of the responsory *Corpus sacrum* and the narrations of both lessons five on the doubting Thomas Aquinas and Raymundus are all linked to the most well-known doubting person in history, the Apostle Thomas. Especially the lines “When the sacred body is raised from the ground, doubt afflicts the brother’s mind”, guides the

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430 In *Alia historia*, this lesson is given as the fourth, although in the manuscripts it is the fifth: Vat. lat. 10153 f. 35<sup>Rb-Va</sup>. The text for the translations is from *Alia historia*: “Et ecce subito inopinato mentis insurgente letitia, elevans oculos ad ymaginem crucifixi uidit inter se et ymaginem prefatam pulcra faciem vultuque decoro in predicatorum habitu elevatum in aere.” In the background of every single Dominican image of a praying friar and the crucifix is the model provided by St Dominic’s nine ways of prayer; for the most recent work on this topic, see Palazzo 2016.

431 *Translatio*, MR4.

audience to the biblical story in which the Apostle Thomas is one of the witnesses of Christ's resurrection.

These links are not accidental: but they formed for the Dominicans a meditative image in which St Thomas Aquinas, the Apostles and Christ acted in the same reality. The liturgy was where this reality and the friars and sisters could meet. Through participation in the liturgical rite and contemplation of the memory places of the liturgy, the participants could momentarily enter the sacred reality, sense the presence of the sacred characters and live with them. Thomas and Raymundus were their models and encouraged them to seek the sensorial connection with the sacred, as the senses enabled them to prove the existence of the Holy by accessing it.

As the fourth great responsory from the *Translatio* and the previous examples suggest, Thomas and Christ were very much linked in the Dominican sacral reality. A good iconographical example of the intense connection between them is a historiated miniature presented in ms. D, page 515, in the left upper corner. The red and blue ink miniature is depicted to the initial *Q* for *Quasi stella matutina* (As a morning star) which is a tract for the mass of both of Thomas's feasts deriving from Ecclesiasticus (50,6–10). The miniature represents a familiar image, Thomas praying inside the round form of the letter. In front of him, outside the circle of the letter *Q*, is a crucifix. In the scrolls departing from the Crucifix are written almost the same words that the hagiographical narratives have: *Bene scripsisti de me Thoma* (Thomas, you have written well of me) and *Quam ergo mercedem do laborare terra* (Which reward do I therefore give for your earthly work?).<sup>432</sup> Below Thomas's image is a scroll with the text: *Non alia nisi te ipsum* (Nothing else but you).<sup>433</sup> In addition to these, a scroll apparently held by a small figure of an angel in the margin says: *Qui vicerit vestietur vestibus albis* (Apocalypse 3,5). A small torso of a king holds one more scroll: *Misericordia tua ante oculos meos est* (Ps. 25,3).

432 It is good to notice that this formulation differs slightly from the conventual one which is *Quam ergo recipies pro tuo labore mercedem*.

433 On the hagiographical tradition and the words, see the beginning of this section.

The image is very interesting in the context of the mass book, as the episode depicted in the miniature is that when, according to the *Legends*, Thomas received the confirmation of some of his writings on the Eucharist. The melody of *Quasi stella matutina* has a strong resemblance to *Scandit doctor*, the *Magnificat*-antiphon from Thomas's *Dies natalis*. We have already learnt how the melody of *Scandit doctor* especially emphasizes two words of the chant, "ascend" and "reward", both present also in the miniature: as we remember, at the instant of the dialogue of the crucifix and Thomas, he levitated, "ascended". In the miniature, Thomas is depicted in genuflexion, but not in a real place such as on the floor. He is in the round space with the red filigree in the background, and it seems as though he is hovering. The word "reward" (*merces*) is written in one of the scrolls. Thus, Thomas was depicted as ascending to receive his reward while he was discussing with Christ.<sup>434</sup>

In the *Dies natalis* celebrations Thomas was already a citizen of the heavens, as the glorifying words of *Scandit doctor* tell us. But the moment of the dialogue is historical – the hagiographies describe how it occurred in the last year of Thomas's life. Similarly, the image of ms. D describes the story when Thomas was not yet corporally a citizen of the heavens but still living on earth. The way in which the miniature depicted Thomas inside the letter Q, that is in the world, with the Crucifix outside, in the heavenly realm, was a symbolical way to represent Thomas's belonging to historical reality. But as he discussed with the crucifix outside his own circular space, the testimony of the conversation being the scrolls, in that very instant Thomas had managed to penetrate beyond the earthly sphere. This kind of "spatial symbolism" was commonly utilized to describe similar situations in the Middle Ages. Thus, our proposition is that Thomas's

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<sup>434</sup> The theme *The Vision of Saint Thomas Aquinas* is common in the Saint's iconography.

Some well-known examples are from the predella of *Arte della lana* altarpiece (originally in Siena, later separated in pieces and the pieces are nowadays in different museums around the world), executed by Sassetta, c. 1430 and a detail of the fresco-cycle in *Santa Maria sopra Minerva* (Rome), which Filippino Lippi produced in 1488–1493. The levitation receives a more tangible and emotional representation in the panel of *Santi di Tito* in 1573, in San Salvi, Florence.



image in the ms. D, as in other similar images, communicated by the same Eucharistic act performed in the same space and situation in which singers were chanting the tract and other chants. Thomas was perceivable not only through the melodies and words of the chants but also through the tangible presence of Christ in such objects as Eucharistic vessels and crucifixes. Thomas's and Christ's presence became one presence in the liturgical act.<sup>435</sup>

In the office of the *Translatio*, the fusion of Thomas's and Christ's bodies grows at almost every turn. The material, tangible connections were easier to create by the language as the *Translatio* was focused on the praise of Thomas's body, which, theologically, received its miraculous and glorious state only in unison with God. In the *Translatio* office the first great responsory, *Ecce novus*, represents the fusion, although in more abstract terms than elsewhere in the office. In *Ecce novus* Thomas is a new spring, which "nourishes the rivers, watering the world from the Heavens". Here we immediately feel a strong connection to the Eucharist and Christ at the allegorical level formed by words and their meaning, but the composer carried the idea further, to the level of the order of words and their structure, that is, to the metre. *Ecce novus* is one of the four chants in *Translatio* written in trochaic tetrameter. The selection of the metre was probably deliberate as it rooted Thomas's body in the centuries old tradition: as noted in Part II on the analysis of the poetry, this metre was used in the Eucharistic chants.

Interestingly, the first great responsory *Ecce novus* is the only one that really matches with its preceding lesson. The first lesson of the office of the *Translatio* introduces Thomas to the readers, singers, and the audience with a prophecy of how Thomas, after a predestined period, returned to the custody of the Dominican Order and the city of Toulouse.<sup>436</sup> The chant, *Ecce novus*, translatable as "Here the

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435 See, on similar interpretations of Dominican liturgy in female communities, Hamburger *et al.* 2016, 285–295.

436 You can find a quotation from the lesson, translated into English in Part I. The whole lesson in Latin is in *Alia historia*, as well as in the manuscript sources, see the Introduction.

new” continues the introduction: “This is Thomas, the light of the learned, inspired by God”. Probably because *Ecce novus* is the first great responsory of the office of the *Translatio*, it has larger and more decorative initials than the other chants in several of the manuscripts we examined. P2799 is an exception in this category in presenting an initial letter *E*, sumptuous and large and coloured in different tones of red, blue and grey (f. 161<sup>R</sup>). The letter stands inside a rectangle, all decorated with a vegetal theme and fine filigree drawings. The extensive letter (it takes up approximately one sixth of the space of the folio), intense in its skilful and delicate lines, may well have added to the sensorial stimuli already provided by the music and text to enter the mysterious sacred world. The allegory of the responsory is remarkably strong, as we have remarked several times, and the letter *E* in P2799 seems to fit particularly well into this long and multi-layered history.<sup>437</sup>

Historically and chronologically, Thomas and the body presented in the Corpus Christi liturgy seem to have been linked for the first time in 1263 or 1264. That year, Pope Urban IV asked Thomas to recompose the office of the Corpus Christi, presumably in Orvieto where both resided. Paradoxically, however, there was initially only limited adoption of the new feast Thomas’s efforts for the new feast were not remembered for decades, and they returned to the limelight only in connection with his canonization process in the early 1320s. Surprisingly, even after the canonization Thomas was rarely mentioned together with the Corpus Christi. One place was an exception: the city of Orvieto, where the Corpus Christi feast was celebrated in the thirteenth century and Thomas’s part in it by the fourteenth century.<sup>438</sup> The memory of Thomas’s authorship was resurrected during the negotiations between Master Elias and Pope

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437 The theme of *Ecce novus* grows from the psalm *Rigans montes* i.e. *Watering the hills* (103,13). On William Durand’s Christological interpretation of the psalms, see Thibodeau 2015, 17. The psalm *Rigans montes* presumably gave the inspiration to Thomas for his disputation in Paris in 1256, see Torrell 1993, 75–76. *Rigans montes* was also the Psalm to Thomas’s daily devotion in the Dominican Order according the decision of the General Chapters of 1352, see Part I.

438 Räsänen 2016. See this article for further reading as well.

Urban V in 1368. According to the *Historia translationis*, Master Elias appealed to the pope to give Thomas's corpse as a return present. The return present would have been compensation for the Corpus Christi liturgy which Thomas had composed for Pope Urban IV.<sup>439</sup>

The story in which Master Elias used two bodies almost as his merchandise in the negotiation with the Pope is abbreviated in lesson eight of the office of *Translatio*. The negotiations form an exciting turn of events in the penultimate part of the lessons. As the content of the lesson justified the transaction between the pope and the Dominicans, it was probably regarded as particularly important. The same theme is repeated in the third great responsory in the following way:

This body is given on the feast of Corpus Christi,  
Whose great mystery, hidden to others,  
This teacher revealed,  
Dictating its offices  
As a token of divine grace.  
V. Urban appointed him to his task,  
Urban restores him to his order,  
As a gift.

This third responsory was also selected to represent the set of the responsories in the first part of the office, the Vespers. This is rather surprising if we compare it to the *Dies natalis*, which has the ninth in the same place. Our suggestion is that the almost legal reciprocal character which gift-giving culture had in the Middle Ages was the reason for selecting *Corpus datur* for the beginning of the office of the *Translatio* and for giving it a more pompous melody than the modal order would have normally permitted, as we saw in Part II.<sup>440</sup>

One place where the connection of Thomas's and Christ's body was presented in the most explicit way was Orvieto. It was the community of the city-dwellers, not the Dominicans alone, who showed a special

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<sup>439</sup> *Historia translationis*, 104. See also Mews 2016, 273.

<sup>440</sup> On the legal aspects of relics and gift-giving culture, see Herrmann-Mascard 1975; Geary 1994, 77–92.

reverence to Thomas there. The reason for this special veneration was Thomas's task as the composer of the Corpus Christi. Thomas's cult seems to have been growing hand in hand with the cult of Corpus Christi, which became hugely successful and which is still one of the most important annual feasts in Orvieto. In the fourteenth century, a play-script was written and performed annually in the city for the honour of the Corpus Christi. The play presents Thomas first in front of the pope, receiving the task of composing the new Corpus Christi office. Then he prays to Christ for confirmation of the office he had written, receiving it in slightly different words than in the Dominican tradition: "Thomas, you have done well, do not add or leave out anything from your work".<sup>441</sup> In the 1350s and 1360s the same episodes were also depicted in the mural paintings of the Chapel dedicated to the Corpus Christi at the Cathedral of Orvieto, and there are several other devotional products that tell us about Thomas's memory in the city.<sup>442</sup>

Unfortunately, a high proportion of the manuscripts and medieval documents deriving from the Dominican convent of the city have disappeared. We can presume, however, that the local friars participated vigorously in maintaining the cults of Thomas Aquinas and Corpus Christi. Some traces of their efforts survive. The most impressive of them is ms. Vat. lat. 10153, nowadays in the custody of the Vatican Library. The manuscript prepared for the use of the friars of the convent of Orvieto united two subjects, Thomas Aquinas and the Corpus Christi, in a unique way. One part of the manuscript forms a lectionary containing the texts of William of Tocco on Thomas's life and the lessons for the *Dies natalis* and *Translatio* in sequence. Then begin the texts for the lessons, sermons and the office of the Corpus Christi feast.<sup>443</sup>

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441 The play is in Italian: "Tomasso, ben hai fatto / non crescer né levar tal mestiero", edited by de Bartholomeis 1943, 368–381. See also Räsänen 2016, 296.

442 Räsänen 2016, 296–298.

443 The office of Corpus Christi is not complete, see Räsänen 2016, 299–300 on the content of the manuscript.

The book is a mark of Thomas's and Corpus Christi's intense cult in medieval Orvieto. The impetus for collecting the texts may have come in 1368 when Thomas's relics were transferred from Italy to France. The escort halted to rest at the convent of Orvieto. The codex may also be seen as a mark of yearning for Thomas's relics, which had been in the hands of the local friars but then continued on their way to France. To compensate for their loss, and perhaps also to provide a manuscript that would form a kind of relic, the friars could have made the codex. In Orvieto, the relationship to Thomas's memory appears to have been discernible, more material than in other places. The surviving office of the *Dies natalis* tells the same story, in our opinion. The abundance of musical characters in O may similarly be a sign of the friars' wish to make Thomas's presence musically more tangible, more "flesh-like" than the notations of the offices in general. To make Thomas's abstract presence tangible, the *Dies natalis*, and even more so the legendary that fused the two bodies together, must have been very effective. Vat. lat. 10153 epitomized a desire for the unification of Thomas's and Christ's bodies, whose presence was activated during the liturgical rite. The book made their bodies accessible repeatedly, and using it enabled an effective concentration on the glorification of Thomas's body and the body of Christ.<sup>444</sup>

In Orvieto, as elsewhere, at least from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, the Dominican community chanted for Thomas's memory weekly. The General Chapter of 1352 gave rubrics on the celebrations and the extra verse *Rigans montes* seems to have entered Thomas's liturgical repertory then. Thomas had become one of the foremost people to whom the Dominicans referred when trying to explain the mysteries of transubstantiation and sacramentals, a matter not unconnected with his cult. With *Rigans montes* the connection was emphasized far more than previously in the liturgy of the *Dies natalis*. The same idea of the unification continued abundantly in the liturgy of the *Translatio*. Thomas's presence may have been perceivable

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444 On liturgical books as a corpse ("livre-corps") in general in the medieval context, see Palazzo 2010.

in connection with the daily mass and Corpus Christi celebrations through his own texts. The memory of Christ's body was fused with Thomas's in the wordings of the biblical allegories and traditional ways of using certain metres, as well as in the melodies of Thomas's liturgies, which referred to Thomas in a very sensorial and tangible way as Christ's special friend, a kind of second Christ, *Ecce novus*. The body of Thomas Aquinas appeared to have become combined, even fused with that of Christ as an indivisible entity in the sensorial experience in the Dominican liturgy. Liturgical commemoration of Thomas Aquinas, whether on his feast day, or on the celebration of the *Translatio* of his relic into the bosom of the Order of Preachers in Toulouse, provided a powerful way for this fusion to take place.

## Conclusions

The liturgical manuscripts for St Thomas Aquinas's offices contain beautifully arranged sets of musical notes, words and images, creating a distinctive experience of Thomas's presence in the singers' imagination when they performed the liturgy. Every one of the books they employed had their own, distinct character. Such bodily actions as voice production, singing, and gestures of prayer or praise made the same saint tangible and emotionally real for the devotees.

In this book, we have travelled from one emotional motif to another, analyzing the musical structure of Thomas Aquinas's two offices, one for his feast held on 7 March, the *Dies natalis*, and the other for the feast of 28 January, the *Translatio*. Regarding the chants of the older office, the *Dies natalis*, we can observe that, with a few minor exceptions, they are quite coherent regardless of the location of their employment. When they do differ, it is mainly in their minor melodic movements, and in some cases notation. Although such variation is minor, it tells us about diversity in musical phrasing and provides us with valuable information about the practical nature of the chants.

The sources of the *Dies natalis* used in our research can be divided into three groups based on their respective notation and phrasing of melodies. The chants in each group could best be characterized as relatives: despite their overall similarity, they nevertheless exhibit some differences. Vat. lat. 10771, originating from Katharinenthal, is very close to the offices in the manuscripts used in the Dominican convents of Colmar. They form the first comparison group. Our source L has only minor differences from ms. Me, both having originated in Paris. These two manuscripts can also be described as close relatives. In most of the chants, ms. A, also of Parisian origin, follows the example of L and Me. Together, they constitute the second group of related manuscripts. Group three is formed by the mss O and P, that is, the offices from Orvieto and Perugia. Thus, we can place the origins of the

first group of our sources in the Dominican province of Teutonia, the second in Paris and the third in central Italy.

There are fewer manuscripts containing the office of *Translatio*. Our sources derive from the same manuscripts as the chants for *Dies natalis* but we do not have a second group of Parisian origin among them (with musical notes), nor does the Orvietan manuscript include the office of *Translatio*.

The chants of *Translatio* share similar melodies apart from the third great responsory in the manuscripts from Perugia. Thus, in the major part of the sources, the melody of the third great responsory is in the sixth mode. Our analysis of the offices in the manuscripts of Perugia indicates that originally the third great responsory, *Corpus datur*, was in the third mode: accordingly, all the chants were in the modal order. We suggest three reasons for the change in the great responsory from the third mode to the sixth. Firstly, the content of the text demanded it. The original third mode was possibly considered too modest for the occasion, which had to be joyous, celebrating the occasion when the friars finally received the body of Thomas from the Cistercians of Fossanova and the Count of Fondi, enabling them to move it to Toulouse. Secondly, the chant was also the great responsory sung in Vespers, so the brothers wanted the melody to be more festive. Thirdly, the original melody in the third mode bore too great a resemblance to that of the first great responsory.

Thomas's *Translatio* is a contrafact of Dominic's *Dies natalis*, which means that in the younger office the same melodies have been used for a new text. Its use of the earlier melodies tells us that the substance and character of Thomas's *Translatio* are defined by respect for St Dominic. The reverence for the founding father of the Order can be grasped from the wordings as well: Thomas is presented as Dominic's follower, even, as one of the friars, a son. This theme, Thomas as one of the members of the Order of Preachers and a younger image of the father Dominic, was already present in the office of *Dies natalis*, and with more open and broader metaphors in the *Translatio*.

In the *Dies natalis* Thomas's Dominican nature is an important theme in the first responsory *Sancti viri*, describing the prophecy



for the as yet unborn baby. The responsory as well as the message about Thomas's future as a respected Dominican friar and master was important to the Order, and this importance was highlighted in the decoration of the manuscripts: many of them have eye-catching initials, sometimes even sumptuous, historiated ones at the beginning of *Sancti viri*. The chant *Sancti viri*, accentuated with the historiated initial, was intended to express deep layers of sacred history and the Dominican identity as one part of it.

Despite the similarity of the melodies of Dominic's *Dies natalis* and Thomas's *Translatio*, a closer study reveals a striking difference in their degree of melismacy. In eight of the nine great responsories, Dominic's *Dies natalis* is more melismatic than Thomas's *Translatio*. As the number of notes is approximately the same, this means that, in practice, Dominic's chants have fewer syllables and consequently fewer words. A lower degree of melismacy in a chant means that its melody is less ornate and therefore less festive. For a listener, the syllabic diction of the *Translatio*'s texts is easier to comprehend than that of Dominic's highly melismatic office. On the other hand, a melismatic chant is, by its nature, more meditative: while the melismata can be used to highlight individual words and phrases, they can transcend the literal meaning of the text. The responsories of Thomas's *Translatio* are, for understandable reasons, more descriptive and even confrontational, the probable explanation for their greater syllabicity: the Dominicans did not want anything to obscure the message that they had, after a long wait, deservedly received what had always rightly belonged to them, Thomas's body.

In a syllabic style, important words have to be coloured with melodic movement within the sentences and throughout the whole chant, as individual words have no melismata. The absence of melismata gives more diversity to the connection between words and melody. Melismacy, on the other hand, makes the chant more contemplative, as melodic movement is prone to conceal the narrative form.

Despite the higher degree of melismacy in Dominic's great responsories, Thomas's *Translatio* is a subtle and thoughtful rearrangement: *pace* Bonniwell, the office does not come across as

mediocre. Although earlier research has largely accepted Jerome of Moravia's views on the greater simplicity of syllabic style, it has ignored the problems it can present in contrafacts. If a pre-existing melody is used in a more syllabic form, a greater number of syllables and a larger amount of text are inevitably required. The resulting contrafact may arguably be musically simpler than the model, at least when it comes to use of melismata, but textually it is more complex.

Regarding the eight Western liturgical modes, we sustain the categories Dom Saulnier has introduced: they are well formulated for the modal cycle and constitute one possible scheme for the description of medieval modes. Most of the chant melodies carry the texts according to their respective modal nature. But we also acknowledge the variation in bonding: not all the chants have equally strong connections between text and melody. Due to the repetitive structure of the modal cycle and the constant change of modes, the emotion of a singer and a listener changes from chant to chant, from mode to mode, as if to underline the importance of not becoming too attached to one modal experience, one emotion. The singing of a rhymed office with a modal order is a form of obedience: the modal character of a single chant is less relevant than the singer's willingness to give up one mode and to move on to the next one.

The composers have regarded the texts and melodies in the offices as a continuous narrative with changing modes, which is corroborated by the two different melodies of the third great responsory of the *Translatio*: the original third mode has been replaced with the serenely joyful sixth mode so as to accentuate the celebration of giving Thomas's corpse to the Dominicans.

There are different kinds of perceiving modality defined by the melismacy of a chant. In the chants of the *Translatio*, text and melody are strongly connected: owing to their mostly syllabic style, the narrative is easy to follow. In melismatic chants, such as those of the *Dies natales* of Dominic and Thomas, the connection between text and melody is partly obscured by the melismata, something that can be experienced by singer and listener alike. Consequently, the story of Dominic's office unfolds more slowly than that of Thomas's *Translatio*.

A syllabic composition can be simultaneously inventive and traditional: the drama and the musical arc develop from the beginning to the end of the chant, while a melismatic composition lends greater emphasis to individual words. In both styles, however, modality is relevant at the level of both single words and the entire chant.

Obviously, the restructuring that Dominic's office underwent when it was recast in Thomas's *Translatio* is reflected in the latter's strikingly different use of verse form: as the responsories in particular had to incorporate an increased amount of text and a more syllabic style of musical expression, the verse types employed have been changed completely. Overall, the verse types themselves are largely similar: both liturgies mainly use a handful of well-established rhythmic verse types popular in the High Middle Ages. Minor differences include a more regularized poetic diction in Thomas's *Translatio*: strophic verse forms employed in Dominic's office have been substituted with straightforwardly stichic ones. Understandably, this too reflects a transition from lyrical expression to an enhanced focus on narrative and even polemic.

The chants demonstrate the passing of a liturgical heritage from generation to generation. As the chants of the offices were repeated from time to time, the singers and listeners became thoroughly acquainted with them. This process created a place in the memory where the text could be evoked by simply hearing an echo of the melody. This lends a deeper perspective to offices with shared melodies: in the heart, the mind and the body of a person who knows the liturgy, even a whole chain of liturgies may be recalled through a single melody. The singers and other attendants perceived the existence of the community of saints around them through sensory stimuli, for instance, by hearing melodies and words, by seeing statues, painted images, shrines and relics and by perceiving the scents of incense or candles. Thomas's liturgies not only created the presence of the saint himself, but also that of his mentors on Earth and heavenly associates St Dominic and Christ. In the familiar chants, a Dominican friar and sister may have felt the presence of the whole Dominican community who had sung the same chants before them and perhaps a sense that

others would follow them in doing so in the centuries ahead. For the Dominicans, the liturgy formed an important part of their identity and existence in temporal as well as sacral history.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1. List of incipits

### Antiphona

- 1 Adest dies létitie. Ps. Vénite
- 3 Ad te luce vígilat. Ps. Deus, Deus
- 5 Agonízans pro Christi. Verba mea
- 3 Alma mater ecclésia. Ps. Déus
- 2 Aurum sub terra. Ps. Jubiláte
- 4 Celum hunc. Ps. Cum invocárem
- 4 Celo doctor. Benedicite
- 6 Collaudétur. Magnificat
- 2 Corpus, quod. Ps. Quare
- 6 De jacénte. Benedictus
- 6 De vite. Ps. Domine Deus
- 2 Dies est letítie. Ps. Jubiláte
- 1 Doctor Thómas. Ps. Beátus vir
- 3 Documéntis ártium. Ps. Domine quid
- 1 Felix, Thómas. Ps. Laudáte
- 2 Florem pudicítie. Ps. Quare fremuérunt
- 5 Fulget in celéstibus. Ps. Laudáte
- 1 Jam dudum. Ps. Beátus vir
- 7 Instante vitae término. Ps. Domine quis
- 2 Letétur plebs fidélium. Ps. Venite
- 1 Liber carnis. Ps. Domini est
- 5 Matri vite. Ps. Verba mea
- 2 Mentis innocéntia. Ps. Quare
- 8 Migrans pater. Ps. Domine, in virtute

- 1 Militántis. Magnificat  
8 Morbum, famem. Ps. Domine, in virtúte  
7 Nova tibi. Magnificat  
3 Occurrunt sacro córpori. Ps. Domine, quid  
4 O munus dei grátie. Ps. Cum invocárem  
3 Ope doctoris célici. Ps. Domine, quod  
1 O, quam félix. Ps. Laudate  
6 O splendor Itálie. Magnificat  
1 O Thoma laus et glória. Benedictus  
6 Per nox cum Christo. Ps. Domine Deus  
5 Prece curat sócium. Ps. Vérba mea  
1 Preco novus. Ps. Beátus vir  
4 Pressus vi daemónii. Ps. Benedicite  
1 Redivium. Ps. Domini est  
1 Sacrum corpus. Ps. Dóminus regnavit  
7 Scandit dóctor. Magnificat  
8 Seminavit. Ps. Dómine in virtúte  
7 Servat ab. Ps. Domine, quis  
1 Sidus de nube trahitur. Ps. Dómini est  
7 Sitiébat servus. Ps. Domine, quis  
6 Stella candens. Ps. Dómine  
5 Tumor gulae. Ps. Laudáte Dóminum  
6 Viror carnís. Beneditus

### Hymni

- 1 Aurora pulchra rútilans  
1 Exúltet mentis iúbilo  
1 Jubar celorum pródiens  
1 Lauda mater ecclésia  
1 Supérna mater ínclita  
1 Thomas, insignis génere

## Responsoria prolixa

- 8 Ascendénti de välle lubrici V. Per quem multos
- 8 Beati Thome glòri. V. Hic speciáli
- 2 Christi pía. V. Orat pressa
- 3 Corpus dátur. V. Nam per
- 6\* Corpus dátur. V. Nam per
- 4 Corpus sacrum. V. Doctor astans
- 4 De excélsis. V. Stylus brevis
- 1 Ecce, novus fons ortórum. V. Hic est
- 5 Felix dóctor. V. Elevátus a terra
- 7 Felix vitis V Ex ubertate palmitum
- 2 Gaudet sacra relígio V. Restitúta
- 6 Granum V. Flos in
- 1 Joseph dúplex. V. Sume grata
- 7 Laboránti. V. Hunc subvéctum
- 5 Languens. V. Hic salútis.
- 1 Mundum vocans V. Ad hoc convinium
- 3 O anima sanctíssima. V. Nullo prórsus
- 8 O doctóris. V. Vite spectans
- 2 Ortum mundo pro mundi V. Stella
- 1 O spem miram V. Qui tot signis
- 5 Panis oblátus V. Signo crucis
- 4 Paupertátis ascéndens V. Nocte celi
- 6\* Puritatis vas decórum V. Sacris tamen véstibus
- 1 Sancti víri. V. Nam vir
- 7 Scholas Thómae. V. Clamor fratris
- 1 Sertum géstans. V. Thomas mihi
- 6 Sidus míssum. V. Quam excélsus
- 4 Sub Augustíni régula. Ps. Cum invocárem
- 3 Verbum vite. V. Ter in flamas

Appendix 2. Table of chants and their modes

Thomas Aquinas’s *Translatio*

Hr	No	CG	Modus
1.V		IA	I <sup>445</sup>
1.V	3./9. <sup>446</sup>	R	VI/I
1.V	1.	H	I
1.V	2.	MA	VII
M		IA	I
M	2.	H	I
M	1.–3.	A	I–III
M	1.	R	I
M	2.	R	II
M	3.	R	VI/III
M	4.–6.	A	IV–VI
M	4.–6.	R	IV–VI
M	7.–9.	A	VII–I
M	7.–9.	R	VII–I
L	1.–5.	A	I–V
L	3.	H	I
L	6.	BA	VI
2.V	1.	MaA	VI

1.V The first Vespers

445 The invitatory-antiphon in mode I is not common. See Apel 1958; Hiley 1993, 99.  
446 The great responsory of the first Vespers is MR9 in P2791. See Modality in music and text in Part II.

2.V The second Vespers

M Matins

L Lauds

A Antiphon

BA Benedictus antiphon

CG Chant genre

R Great responsory

H Hymn

Hr Hour

### **Thomas Aquinas's *Dies natalis***

Hr	No	CG	Modus
1.V		IA	I
1.V	9.	R	I
1.V	1.	H	I
1.V	2.	MA	VII
M		IA	I
M	2.	H	I
M	1.-3.	A	I-III
M	1.	R	I
M	2.	R	II
M	3.	R	III
M	4.-6.	A	IV-VI
M	4.-6.	R	IV-VI
M	7.-9.	A	VII-I
M	7.-9.	R	VII-I
L	1.-5	A	I-V
L	3.	H	I
L	6.	BA	VI
2. V	1.	MaA	I
L O	1.	BA	I
V O	1.	MaA	VI

IA Invitatory antiphon

L Lauds

M Matins

MaA Magnificat antiphon

O Octave

## Appendix 3. Table of melismacy in the great responsories

Mode	GR	Number of notes			Syllables			Melismacy		
		R.	V.	Doks.	R.	V.	Doks.	R.	V.	Doks.
d I	TTr 1.	110	52		45	23		2.44	2.26	
	Dom1.	109	63		36	24		3.03	2.63	
	Tho 1.	108	41		40	20		2.70	2.05	
d II	TTr 2.	142	50		48	20		2.96	2.50	
	Dom 2.	136	52		36	24		3.78	2.17	
	Tho 2.	112	47		40	20		2.80	2.35	
e III	TTr 3.	135	44	35	50	20	16	2.70	2.20	2.19
F VI	TTr 3.	164	43	36	50	20	16	3.28	2.15	2.25
e III	Dom 3.	117	45	35	36	20	16	3.25	2.25	2.19
e III	Tho 3.	126	39	39	32	20	16	3.94	1.95	2.44
e IV	TTr 4.	132	39		60	20		2.20	1.95	
	Dom 4.	132	40		40	20		3.30	2.00	
	Tho 4.	178	49		60	20		2.97	2.45	
F V	TT 5.	137	50		50	20		2.74	2.50	
	Dom 5.	134	50		32	20		4.19	2.50	
	Tho 5.	141	41		40	20		3.53	2.05	
F VI	TTr 6.	135	41	36	45	21	16	3.00	1.95	2.25
	Dom 6.	134	39	37	48	20	16	2.80	1.95	2.31
	Tho 6.	123	47	48	40	20	16	3.08	2.35	3.00
G VII	TTr 7.	102	52		50	30		2.04	1.73	
	Dom 7.	89	31		36	16		2.47	1.94	
	Tho 7.	160	54		40	20		4.00	2.70	
G VIII	TTr 8.	117	59		50	30		2.34	1.97	
	Dom 8.	120	40		40	20		3.00	2.00	
	Tho 8.	184	74		48	32		3.83	2.31	
dI	TTr 9.	142	51	43	50	20	16	2.84	2.55	2.69
	Dom 9.	138	56	37	47	32	16	2.94	1.75	2.31
	Tho 9.	162	57	45	50	20	16	3.24	2.85	2.81

TTr = Thomas's *Translatio*. Dom= Dominic's *Dies natalis*. Tho = Thomas's *Dies natalis*.

GR great responsory; R response; V verse.

## Appendix 4. List of verse forms by chant

**DIES NATALIS****AD VESPERAS***Antiphona*

Felix Thómas / doctor ecclésie	4p+6pp
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*Antiphona*

Scandit dóctor / civis celéstium	4p+6pp
----------------------------------	--------

**AD MATUTINUM***Antiphona*

Adsunt doctoris célici	8pp (iambic dimeter)
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**IN PRIMO NOCTURNO***Antiphona 1*

Doctor Thómas / repletus grátia	4p+6pp
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*Antiphona 2*

Mentis innocéntia / flosque puritátis	7pp+6p (goliardic verse)
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*Antiphona 3*

Ope doctoris célici	8pp (iambic dimeter)
---------------------	----------------------

*Responsorium prolixum 1*

Sancti víri / verbum prophéticum	4p+6pp
----------------------------------	--------

*Responsorium prolixum 2*

Christi pía / tractus dulcédine	4p+6pp
---------------------------------	--------

*Responsorium prolixum 3*

R. O anima sanctíssima	8pp (iambic dimeter)
------------------------	----------------------

V. Nullo prórsus / fultus subsidió	4p+6pp
------------------------------------	--------

**IN SECUNDO NOCTURNO***Antiphona 4*

O munus dei grátie	8pp (iambic dimeter)
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*Antiphona 5*

Prece curat sócium / febre patiéntem	7pp+6p (goliardic verse)
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*Antiphona 6*

Stella candens émicat /stuporem dans insólitum 7p+8pp

*Responsorium prolixum 4*

De excélsis / fons sapiéntie 4p+6pp

*Responsorium prolixum 5*

Felix dóctor, cuius solácio 4p+6pp

*Responsorium prolixum 6*

Sidus míssum / Thome de súperis 4p+6pp

### IN TERTIO NOCTURNO

*Antiphona 7*

Instante vite término 8pp (iambic dimeter)

*Antiphona 8*

Seminavit hic lárgiter /doctor virtúósus 8pp+6p

*Antiphona 9*

Sidus de nube trahitur 8pp (iambic dimeter)

*Responsorium prolixum 7*

Scholas Thóme / Paulus ingréditur 4p+6pp

*Responsorium prolixum 8*

Beati Thome glòria 8pp (iambic dimeter)

*Responsorium prolixum 9*

Sertum géstans / cum torque dúplici 4p+6pp

### AD LAUDES

*Antiphona 1*

Adest dies létitie 8pp (iambic dimeter)

*Antiphona 2*

Aurum sub terra tégitur 8pp (iambic dimeter)

*Antiphona 3*

Alma mater ecclésia 8pp (iambic dimeter)

*Antiphona 4*

Pressus vi demónii / cito liberátur 7pp+6p (goliardic verse)

*Antiphona 5*

Tumor gule péllitur / leprosus sanàtur 7pp+6p (goliardic verse)

*Antiphona 6*

Viror carnís / flore munditie 4p+6pp



*Antiphona 7*

Militántis / doctor ecclesie 4p+6pp

*Antiphona 8*

O Thoma laus et glória 8pp (iambic dimeter)

*Antiphona 9*

Collaudétur / Christus rex glórie 4p+6pp

**AD VESPERAS**

*Hymnus*

Exultet mentis iúbilo 8pp (iambic dimeter)

**AD MATUTINUM**

*Hymnus*

Thomas insignis genere 8pp (iambic dimeter)

**AD LAUDES**

*Hymnus*

Lauda mater ecclésia 8pp (iambic dimeter)

**Verse types by frequency and context:**

**4p+6pp**

Antiphons	6
Responsories	7
Responsories, verse only	1

**8pp (iambic dimeter)**

Antiphons	9
Responsories	1
Responsories, response only	1
Hymns	3

**6p+7pp (goliardic verse)**

Antiphons	4
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**7p+8pp**

Antiphons 1

**8pp+6p**

Antiphons 1

**TRANSLATIO****AD VESPERAS***Antiphona 1*

O quam fēlix / mater Itālia 4p+6pp

*Hymnus*

Superna mater inclita 8pp (iambic dimeter)

*Antiphona 2*

Nova tibi / mater ecclēsia 4p+6pp

**AD MATUTINUM***Antiphona*

Letetur plebs fidēlium 8pp (iambic dimeter)

*Hymnus*

Jubar celorum prōdiens 8pp (iambic dimeter)

**IN PRIMO NOCTURNO***Antiphona 1*

Jamdudum lux abscōndita 8pp (iambic dimeter)

*Antiphona 2*

Corpus, quod iam diu látuit 8pp (iambic dimeter)

*Antiphona 3*

Occurrunt sacro cōrpori 8pp (iambic dimeter)

Responsorium proluxum 1

R: Ecce novus fons ortórum 8p+7pp (trochaic tetrameter)

V: Hic est potus Hebreórum 8p+8p+7pp ("Stabat mater" verse)

*Responsorium proluxum 2*

R: Gaudet sacra relígio 8pp (iambic dimeter)

V: Restitúta / de primo túmulo 4p+6pp

*Responsorium prolixum 3*

Corpus dátur / in festo córporis 4p+6pp

## IN SECUNDO NOCTURNO

*Antiphona 4*

Celum hunc glorificat / Christo iam fovéntem

7pp+6p (goliardic verse)

*Antiphona 5*

Matri vite jam eréptum

8p+7pp (trochaic tetrameter)

*Antiphona 6*

De vite dispéndio / juvat innocéntem 7pp+6p (goliardic verse)

*Responsorium prolixum 4*

Corpus sácrum / dum terre tóllitur 4p+6pp

*Responsorium prolixum 5*

Languens présul / in egro córpore 4pp+6pp

*Responsorium prolixum 6*

R: Puritatis vas decórum 8p+7pp

V: Sacris tamen véstibus 3x7pp

## IN TERTIO NOCTURNO

*Antiphona 7*

Servat ab incúrsibus / virum cum juméntis

7pp+6p (goliardic verse)

*Antiphona 8*

Morbum, famem, proélium / miles impetrávit

7pp+6p (goliardic verse)

*Antiphona 9*

Redivium reddit equum / hero supplicánti

8p+6p

*Responsorium prolixum 7*

Laboránti / sub mole cárceris 4p+6pp

*Responsorium prolixum 8*

O doctóris / mira poténtia 4p+6pp

*Responsorium prolixum 9*

Ioseph dúplex / doctorem glória 4p+6pp

**AD LAUDES***Antiphona 10*

Sacrum corpus nóviter / Christus decorávit

7pp+6p (goliardic verse)

*Antiphona 11*

Dies est letítie / de Thome trophéo 7pp+6p (goliardic verse)

*Antiphona 12*

Ad te luce vígilat / doctor Nazaréo 7pp+6p (goliardic verse)

*Antiphona 13*

Celo doctor frúitur 7pp

*Antiphona 14*

Fulget in celéstibus / Dei claritáte 7pp+6p (goliardic verse)

*Hymnus*

Aurora pulchra rútilans 8pp (iambic dimeter)

*Antiphona 15*

De jacénte virtus crescit 8p +7pp (trochaic tetrameter)

*Antiphona 16*

O splendor Itálie / nobilis propágo 7pp+6p (goliardic verse)

**Verse types by frequency and context****4p+6pp**

Antiphons 2

Responsories 6

Responsories, *versus* only 1**8pp (iambic dimeter)**

Antiphons 4

Responsories, response only 1

Hymns 3

**6p+7pp (goliardic verse)**

Antiphons 9

**8p+7pp (trochaic tetrameter)**

Antiphons	2
Responsories, response only	2

**7pp**

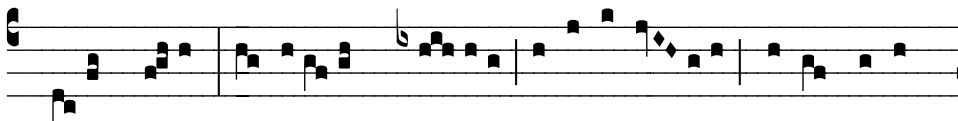
Antiphons	1
Responsories, <i>versus</i> only	1

**8p+8p+7pp (*Stabat mater* verse)**

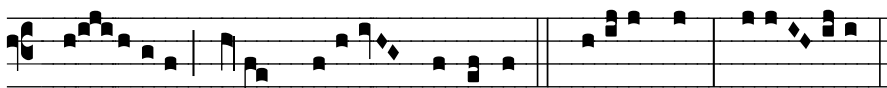
Responsories, verse only	1
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**8p+6p**

Antiphons	1
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Appendix 5. The chants of Nocturns in Dominic's *Dies natalis***IN FESTO BEATI DOMINICI  
IN PRIMO NOCTURNO***1. Antiphona I***Preco novus. Ps. Beátus vir.<sup>447</sup>**

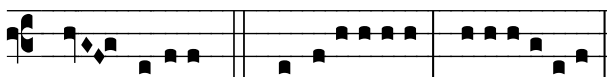
Pre-co no-vus et cé-li-tus mis- sus in fīne sé- culi pau-per fulsit



Do-mínicus forma prévisus cátu- li. Ps. Beátus vir. E u o u a e.

*2. Antiphona II***Florem pudicitie. Ps. Quare fremuérunt.<sup>448</sup>**

Flo-rem pu-di-cí- tie ser-vans il- li- bátum at-ti-git exími- e vi-te



ce- líbatum. Ps. Quare fre. e u o u a e.

447 *Codex Humberticus* f. 296<sup>Rb-Va</sup>. MA1: A new messenger, sent from the heavens at the end of the century, Dominic shone in the form of a puppy, as was predicted. Transl. of chants Seppo Heikkinen.

448 *Codex Humberticus* f. 296<sup>Va</sup>. MA2: Preserving the untainted flower of his chastity, he attained the glory of a life of celibacy.

3. *Antiphona III*

**Documéntis ártium. Ps. Domine quid.**<sup>449</sup>

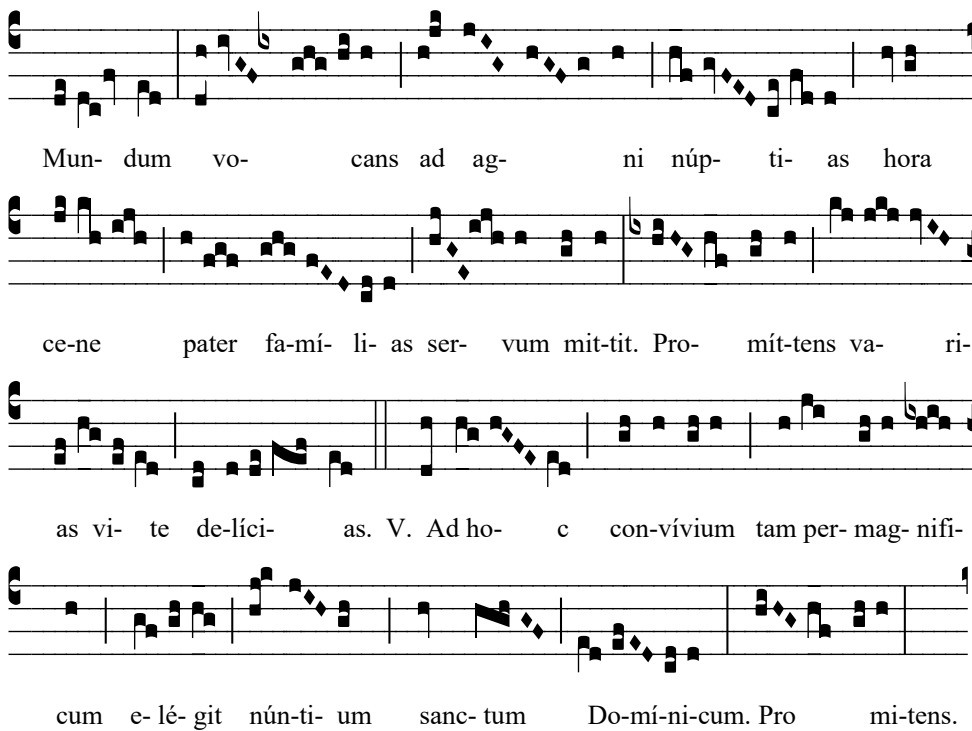


Do-cu-mén-tis    ár-tium    erudítus   sa-tis   tránsiit   ad stú-di-um   summe



veri-tátis. Ps. Domine quid    e u o u a e.

<sup>449</sup> *Codex Humberticus* f. 296<sup>va</sup>. MA3: Having been sufficiently trained in the mastery of documents, he passed on to the study of the highest truth.

*1. Responsorium prolixum I***R. Mundum vocans V. Ad hoc convivium<sup>450</sup>**


Mun- dum vo- cans ad ag- ni núp- ti- as hora

ce-ne pater fá-mí- li- as ser- vum mit-tit. Pro- mít-tens va- ri-

as vi- te de-líci- as. V. Ad ho- c con-vívium tam per- mag- nifi-

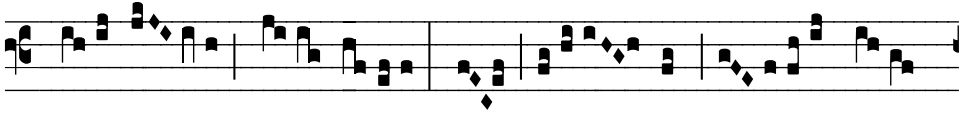
cum e- lé- git nún-ti- um sanc- tum Do-mí-ni-cum. Pro mi-tens.

450 *Codex Humberticus* f. 296<sup>va</sup>. There is a natural in the words *agni* and *nuptium*. MRI: Inviting the World to the Lamb's wedding, the Father of the family sends his servant on the hour of the feast, promising various delicacies of life. V. At this magnificent feast, he chooses St Dominic as his messenger. R. Promising.



2. *Responsorium prolixum II***R. Ortum mundo pro mundi V. Stella**<sup>451</sup>

R. Or- tum mun-do pro mun- di gló- ria mi- ra Chris- tus



pre- sig- nat grá- ti- a. Cuius or- tum pre- cú- runt



nún- tia ve- ni pre- sági- a. Stel- la



mi-cans in fron-te pár-vu- li no- vum iubar pre-món- strat se- culi.



Cuius.

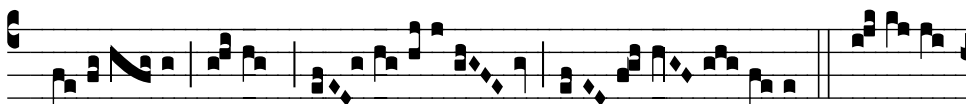
<sup>451</sup> *Codex Humberticus* f. 296<sup>Va</sup>. MR2: Born to the World for its glory, he presages Christ's miraculous grace. His birth is preceded by prophetic messages. V. A star, shining on the child's forehead, forecasts a new light to the World. R. His birth.

*Responsorium prolixum 3 III moodi***R. Verbum vite. V. Ter in flamas**<sup>452</sup>

R. Ver- bum vi- te dum pa- lam pró- mi-tur sur- gunt hos- tes



li- ber conscri -bi- tur fá- vent om- nes. Sic er-ror



vín- ci- tur. Fides ex- tól- li-tur. V. Ter



in fla-mas li- béllus trádi- tus ter exí- vit illé-sus pé-ni- tus.



Sic. Glo- ria Patri et Fili- o et Spi-ri-tui Sanc-to.



Fi-des.

<sup>452</sup> *Codex Humberticus* f. 296<sup>Va-b</sup>. MR3: As the word of life is offered to the public, enemies rise. A book is written, supported by all. Thus, lies are vanquished and faith prevails. V. Consigned to the flames three times, the booklet survives three times entirely unharmed. R. Thus lies. Glory. R. Faith.

**IN SECUNDO NOCTURNO***4. antiphona IV mode***Sub Augustíni régula. Ps. Cum invocárem.**<sup>453</sup>

Sub Augustí- ni ré-gu-la men-te profé- cit sé-du-la tandem vi-rum



ca-nó- ni-cum au- get in a- pos -tólicum. Ps. Cum invocárem. e u o u a e.

*5. antiphona V mode.***Agonízans pro Christi. Verba mea.**<sup>454</sup>

Agonízans pro Chris-ti nómi-ne mun-dum rep- let divíno sé-mine



pau-per-tátis de-gens sub tég- mi-ne. Ps. Verba mea. e u o u a e.

453 *Codex Humberticus* f. 296<sup>vb</sup>. MA4: Following Augustine's rule, he advanced through his diligent mind; finally, this raised the canon to the ranks of the apostles.

454 *Codex Humberticus* f. 296<sup>vb</sup>. MA5: Struggling in the name of Christ, he fills the world with the divine seed, living under the cloak of poverty.

*6. antiphona VI mode***Per nox cum Christo. Ps. Domine Deus.<sup>455</sup>**

Per nox cum Chris-to pr óprium non possi-débat léctulum post lacrimárum



flúvi- um vix hú- mi- dans cor-púscu- lum. Ps. Domine Deus.



e u o u a e.

<sup>455</sup> *Codex Humberticus* f. 296<sup>vb</sup>. MA6: Through night, when Christ's own did not have a bed, a river of tears hardly moistened his body.

4. *Responsorium prolixum IV*

**R. Paupertátis ascéndens V. Nocte celi.**<sup>456</sup>



R. Pauper- tá- tis ascén- dens cúl- mina cla- mat mun- di de-



tés- tans crími- na fran- git ho- stes et fugat ág- mi- na



Nul- la sanctum fran- gunt disrí- mina. V. Noc-



te ce- li perlústrans lí- mi- na die ter- ris dat ver- bi sé- mina.



Nul- la.

<sup>456</sup> *Codex Humberticus* f. 296<sup>vb</sup>. MR4: Rising to the pinnacle of poverty, he cries out, condemning the sins of the World. He breaks the enemy and expels their troops. No battle can break the saint. V. Illuminating the reaches of the heavens at night, he gives the seeds of the word to all lands. R. No battle.

5. *Responsorium prolixum V***R. Panis oblátus V. Signo crucis.**<sup>457</sup>

R. Pa- nis ob-lá- tus cé- li-tus frat-rum supplet in-



ó- piam. Vi- té- que na- tus réd- di-



ditus mat- ris pel- lit tristí-



tiam. V. Signo cru- cis obe- dit plú- via lin- gua ver- ba



trans-fór- mat va- ria. Vite.

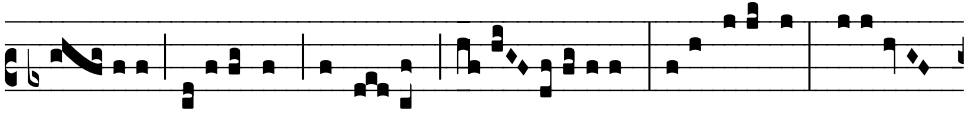
<sup>457</sup> *Codex Humberticus* f. 296<sup>vb</sup>. MR5: Bread, offered to the brothers, satisfies their hunger completely, and a son, restored to life, drives away the mother's sorrow. V. Rains obey the sign of the cross, and the tongue transforms various words. R. Restored.

6. *Responsorium prolixum VI, transpositio*

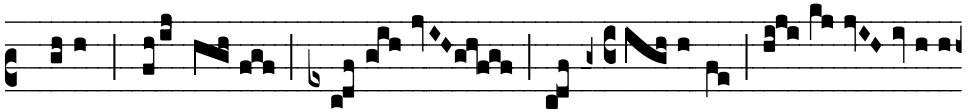
**R. Granum V. Flos in.**<sup>458</sup>



R. Gra- num excús- sum pále-a nexu solú- to lúteo de paupertá-tis



a- rea ce- li locá- tur hór- reo. Cum mercé-de virgíne-



a. Doc- tó- rum. ful- gens cu- neo.



V. Flos in florum vi- rens a -ré- ola bina gau-det for- tis au- ré-ola.



Cum mer. Glo- ri- a Pa- tri et Fi- li- o et Spiri- tu-i Sancto.



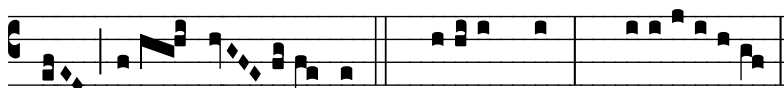
Doctorum

458 *Codex Humberticus* ff. 296<sup>Vb</sup>–297<sup>Ra</sup>. MR6: Grain, separated from chaff and its yellow husks, is taken from the threshing ground of poverty to the granary of heaven. V. A flower, flourishing in a courtyard of flowers, rejoices in the twofold halo of fortune. R. From. Glory. R. To the.

## IN TERTIA NOCTURNO

7. *Antiphona VII***Sitiébat servus. Ps. Domine, quis.**<sup>459</sup>

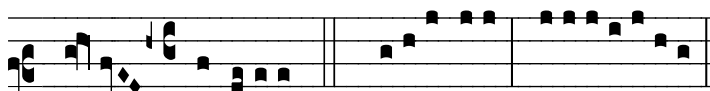
Si-ti-é-bat ser- vus Chris- ti mar-ty-ri-um, sicut si- tit cervus



ad aque flú- vium. Ps. Domine, quis. e u o u a e.

8. *Antiphona VIII***Migrans pater. Ps. Domine, in virtute.**<sup>460</sup>

Mig-rans Pa- ter fi-liis, vite fir-ma-mén-tum pau-pertá-tis hú-mi-lis

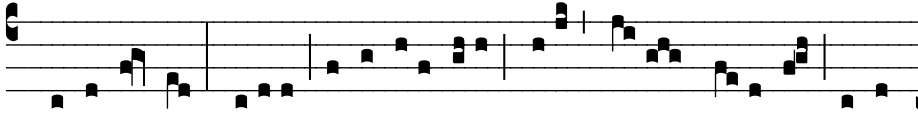


con-dit testa-méntum. Ps. Domine e u o u a e.

459 *Codex Humberticus* f. 297<sup>Ra</sup>. MA7: The servant of Christ thirsted for martyrdom as a hart thirsts for a water stream.

460 *Codex Humberticus* f. 297<sup>Ra</sup>. MA8: As he left the world, the father bequeathed to his sons the firmament of life, a testament of humble poverty.



9. *Antiphona I***Liber carnis. Ps. Domini est**<sup>461</sup>

Liber car-nis vinculo celum introí-vit, ubi ple-no pó-culo gustat

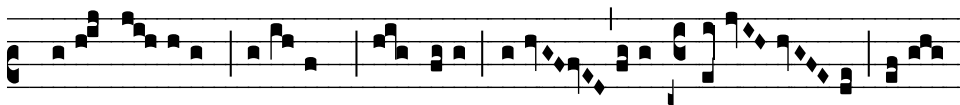


quo sí-tivit. Ps. Domini est e u o u a e.

<sup>461</sup> *Codex Humberticus* f. 297<sup>Ra</sup>. MA9: Freed from the shackles of flesh, he entered heaven; there he drinks from the full goblet for which he thirsted.

7. *Responsorium prolixum VII***R. Felix vitis V Ex ubertate palmitum.**<sup>462</sup>

R. Felix vitis, de cui-us fūrculo tan- tum germen re-dún- dat sé-cu-lo.



Celi vi- num propí-nans po-pu-lo vitá- li pó-



cu-lo. V. Ex u-ber-tá-te pál-mi-tum mun- di iam cín- xit ám-bitum.



Celi

462 *Codex Humberticus* f. 297<sup>Ra</sup>. MR7: Blessed vine, from whose branch such a great sprout overflows to the World, serving heavenly wine to the people from the chalice of life. V. From the fruitfulness of its branches it now encompasses the circumference of the World. R. Serving.

8. *Responsorium prolixum VIII*

**R. Ascendénti de válle lubrici V. Per quem multos.**<sup>463</sup>



R. Ascendén- ti de vál- le lú- bri- ci mundi cho-ri pláudunt an-



gé- li- ci. Iesu bo- ne, pre-ce Domí-ni-ci ti- bi pres- ta no-



s gra- tos éf- fici. V. Per quem



mul-tos a morte súsci- tas, penas no-bis re- lá-xa dé- bi-



tas. Jesu.

<sup>463</sup> *Codex Humberticus* f. 297<sup>Ra</sup>. MR8: As he arises from the deceitful valley, the angelic choirs of heaven applaud him. Dear Jesus, make us favourable to you through Dominic's prayers. V. As you save many from death through him, alleviate the punishments that we have deserved. R. Dear Jesus.

9. *Responsorium prolixum I***R. O spem miram V. Qui tot signis**<sup>464</sup>

O spem mi-ram, quam de-disti mortis ho-ra

te flén-ti-bus, dum post mortem promís-si ti te pro-fu-

tú-rum frát-ribus, imple, pa-ter, quod di-xísti nos-tri-

-s iu-vans pré-ci-bus. V. Qui tot sig-nis claru-ís-ti

in eg-ró-rum cor-póri-bus, nobis o-pem ferens Chris-ti egris medé-re mó-

ri-bus. Imple. Glo-ri-a Pa-tri et Fi-li-o et Spi-ri-tu-i Sancto.

Imple.

464 *Codex Humberticus* f. 297<sup>Ra-b</sup>. MR9: O wonderful hope, which you have given to those who cry for you in the hour of death, as you promised to aid the brothers after death, fulfil, father, what you said, aiding us through our prayers. V. You who shone in so many signs in the bodies of the ill, give us Christ's help and cure us of our wrongful ways. R. Fulfil, father. Glory. R. Fulfil.

Appendix 6. Translations of the chants:  
English, French and Finnish

**IN FESTO S. THOMAE DE AQUINO OFFICIUM**

**AD VESPERAS**

*1. Antiphona I modus*

Blessed Thomas, doctor of the church, light of the World, splendour of Italy, a virgin shining in the flower of his purity, rejoices in his twofold crown of glory.<sup>465</sup>

Heureux Thomas, docteur de l'Église, lumière du monde, splendeur de l'Italie, vierge et fleur resplendissante de pureté, la double couronne de gloire fait ta joie.

Siunattu Tuomas, kirkon opettaja, maailman valo, Italian loisto, puhtauden kukassaan tahraton neitsyt, iloitsee kunnian kaksoiskruunusta.

*Hymnus I modus*

1. Let the crowd of the faithful rejoice in the ray of the new Sun, which scatters the clouds of error. 2. In the evening of the World, Thomas pours out the treasures of grace, full of the heavenly gifts of virtue and wisdom. 3. The torches of the Word shine from the fountain of his light, as do the scriptures of holy Divinity and the rules of truth. 4. Shining from the rays of doctrine, radiant in the purity of his life, brilliant in his wondrous signs, he gives joy to all the World. 5. Glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; may they join us to the heavenly host on Thomas's merits.

1. Que se réjouisse la foule des fidèles sous le soleil du jour nouveau qui chasse les ténèbres de l'erreur. 2. Au soir du monde, Thomas, comblé des dons célestes de vertu et de sagesse, fit jaillir des trésors

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<sup>465</sup> The psalms connected to the antiphons are marked in Latin and English in Part III. Translations of the Latin chants into English and Finnish by Seppo Heikkinen, and into French by the Dominican brother Marie-Augustin Laurent-Huyghues-Beaufond.

de grâce. 3. Le flambeau du Verbe, les Écritures du Dieu très saint, les lois de la Vérité : tout resplendit dans la source de lumière qu'il est. 4. Resplendissant par sa doctrine, lumineux par sa pureté de vie, brillant par ses prodiges, il donne joie au monde entier. 5. Louange au Père, à son Fils, à l'Esprit de feu : que Dieu par les mérites de saint Thomas nous unisse à la cour céleste.

1. Iloitkoon uskovien joukko riemumielin ylistäen, kun uuden auringon säde on karkottanut erheiden pilven. 2. Maailman ehtoossa Tuomas vuodattaa armon aarteita täynnä taivaallisen hyveen ja viisauden lahjoja. 3. Hänen valonsa lähteestä loistavat sanan soihdut, pyhän jumaluuden kirjoitukset ja totuuden säännöt. 4. Loistaen oppineisuuden säteistä, kirkkaana elämänsä puhtaudesta ja säkenöiden ihmeellisistä ennusmerkeistä hän ilahduttaa koko maailmaa. 5. Olkoon ylistys Isälle ja Pojalle, sekä Pyhälle Hengelle, joka liittäköön meidät Pyhän Tuomaan ansioista taivaan asukkaiden joukkoon.

## *2. Antiphona VII modus*

The doctor, a citizen of the heavens, adornment of the World, leader and light of the faithful, the standard, limit and law of all manners, a vessel of virtue, ascends to the reward of his life.

Il s'élève le docteur, le citoyen des cieux, le joyau de l'univers, guide et lumière des fidèles; la norme, la borne et la loi de toute conduite, le vase de vertu, il accède à la récompense de sa vie.

Opettaja, taivaiden asukas, maanpiirin koristus, uskovien johtaja ja valo, kaikkien tapojen mitta, raja ja laki, hyveiden astia, nousee elämänsä palkkioon.

## AD MATUTINUM

### *Invitatorium antiphona I modus*

The solemn feast of Thomas, the heavenly doctor, is at hand; let the church offer its praise in humble devotion.

Voici le jour de la fête solennelle de Thomas, le céleste docteur : que l'Église chante sa louange avec dévotion.

Nyt vietetään taivaallisen opettajamme Tuomaan harrasta muistojuhlaa; nöyränä ja hartaana kiittäköön seurakunta häntä.

### *Hymnus I modus*

1. Thomas, born to an illustrious and noble family, entered the Order of Preachers early in his youth. 2. He carried the image of the morning star, shining amongst the clouds; he purged the teaching of the heathens more than any other doctor. 3. Searching the depths of rivers, he brought to light what was hidden; he made understood that which surpassed the minds of men. 4. He becomes the river of Paradise, approachable on four sides; he becomes the sword, trumpet, flagon and staff of Gideon. 5. Glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; may they join us to the heavenly host on Thomas's merits.

1. Thomas, de noble famille et de haute lignée, rejoignit l'Ordre des Prêcheurs dans son jeune âge. 2. Il portait en lui l'image de l'astre du matin ; resplendissant au milieu des nuages, il purifia les dogmes des païens mieux que tous les autres docteurs. 3. Sondant la profondeur des fleuves, il mit au jour ce qui était caché, tandis qu'il faisait connaître ce qui demeurerait inaccessible à l'esprit des hommes. 4. Il devient fleuve du Paradis, qui coule en quatre bras, il devient glaive, trompe, vase et bâton de Gédéon. 5. Louange au Père, à son Fils, à l'Esprit de feu : que Dieu par les mérites de saint Thomas nous unisse à la cour céleste.

1. Tuomas, joka polveutui kuuluisasta ja ylhäisestä suvusta, liittyi nuorella iällä saarnaajaveljien sääntökuntaan. 2. Hän kantoi aamutähden kuvajaista loistaen pilvien joukossa; hän puhdisti pakanoiden oppia enemmän kuin kukaan muu opettaja. 3. Hän tutki virtojen syöverit ja toi valoon kätketyn tehdessään ymmärrettäväksi sen, mikä ylitti ihmisten tajun. 4. Hänestä tuli paratiisin virta, neljältä suunnalta avoin; hänestä tuli Gideonin miekka, sotatorvi, juomaleili ja sauva. 5. Olkoon ylistys Isälle ja Pojalle, sekä Pyhälle Hengelle, joka liittäköön meidät Pyhän Tuomaan ansioista taivaan asukkaiden joukkoon.

## IN PRIMO NOCTURNO

*Antiphona I modus*

Doctor Thomas, replete with grace, predicted by sacred oracles, flees the faults of flesh, the world and the enemy as an example to all the ages.

Thomas, le docteur plein de grâce, annoncé par les oracles sacrés, fuit les vices de la chair, du monde et de l'ennemi, en exemple pour tous les siècles.

Armoitettu opettajamme Tuomas, josta pyhät ennusmerkit olivat kertoneet, välttää maailman, lihan ja vihollisen ansat ikuisena esimerkkinä koko maailmalle.

*Antiphona 2 II modus*

The innocence of his mind and the flower of his purity became our guide to the light of the truth.

La candeur de son âme et la fleur de sa pureté nous conduisent dans la lumière de la vérité.

Mielen viattomuus, puhtauden kukka on ollut johdattamassa totuuden valoon.

*Antiphona 3 III modus*

The whole church rejoices in the help of the divine doctor, and the order of Dominic shines in exceptional glory.

L'Église tout entière se réjouit des secours du divin docteur, et l'Ordre de Dominique brille d'une gloire spéciale.

Taivaallisen opettajamme avusta iloitsee koko seurakunta; Dominikuksen sääntökunta loistaa erityisestä kunniasta.

*Responsorium prolixum 1 I modus*

R. The prophetic word of a holy man predicted to the world the wondrous coming of Saint Thomas, the divine doctor, follower of Father Dominic. V. For a holy man declared to his pregnant mother that he would be our guide to clear doctrine. R. Follower.



R. Les paroles prophétiques d'un saint homme avaient annoncé la venue admirable de saint Thomas, le divin docteur, disciple de notre père Dominique. V. Car un saint homme déclara à sa mère enceinte qu'il serait pour nous le guide d'une doctrine lumineuse. R. Disciple.

R. Pyhän miehen profeetalliset sanat ennustivat maailmalle ihmeitä tekevän Pyhän Tuomaan, taivaallisen opettajan, joka seuraisi isä Dominicusta. V. Sillä pyhä mies lupasi raskaalle äidille hänestä tulevan kirkkaan opin johtaja. R. Joka seuraisi.

*Responsorium prolixum 2 II modus*

R. Drawn by Christ's holy sweetness, he is tested by a whirlwind as he leaves the World. A courageous fighter, drawn from the first rank, he prevailed completely, rejecting all temptations. V. He prays, embracing the miraculous cross, and his loins are girt by angelic hands. R. Courageous

R. Attiré par la sainte douceur du Christ, il est pris dans un tourbillon alors qu'il quitte le monde, lui le courageux combattant, de premier ordre, vainqueur en tout, repoussant toute convoitise. V. Il prie, en tenant la croix miraculeuse, et des anges ceignent ses reins. R. Courageux.

R. Kristuksen hurskaan autuuden kiskomaa koettelee pyörretuuli, kun hän jättää maailman. Rivistöstä valittu ankara taistelija voitti tyystin, kiusaukset torjuen. V. Hän rukoilee syleillen ihmeitätekevää ristiä ja hänen kupeitaan vyöttävät enkelten kädet. R. Rivistöstä.

*Reponsorium prolixum 3 III modus*

R. O most holy of souls, whose sweet meditation allowed his body to leave the ground, rising upwards miraculously. V. Entirely unsupported, he levitated in a rapture of joy. R. Rising. V. Glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. R. Rising.

R. Ô âme très sainte, dont la douce méditation permit au corps de quitter la terre en s'élevant admirablement. V. Sans aucun appui, il s'élevait ravi en extase. R. En s'élevant. V. Gloire au Père, et au Fils, et au Saint Esprit. R. En s'élevant.

R. Oi pyhä sielu, jonka suloisesti miettiessä ruumis jätti kamaran nousten ihmeellisesti ylös. V. Ilman mitään tukea hän leijui riemun vallassa. R. Nousten. V. Kunnia Isälle ja Pojalle ja Pyhälle Hengelle. R. Nousten.

## IN SECUNDO NOCTURNO

### *Antiphona 4 IV modus*

O gift of God's grace, surpassing all miracles, never feeling the sting of pestilential pride.

Ô don de la grâce de Dieu qui surpassasse tous les miracles, il n'a jamais senti l'aiguillon du mortel orgueil.

Oi jumalan armon lahja, joka ohittaa kaikki ihmeet; se ei koskaan tuntenut myrkyllisen ylpeyden okaa.

### *Antiphona 5 V modus*

He cures a comrade who suffers from fever with his prayer and heals the bleeding one with the hem of his garment.

D'un confrère il soigne la fièvre par sa prière, et d'un autre le saignement par le bord de son vêtement.

Hän parantaa rukouksellaan kuumesairaan ja viittansa liepeellä verta vuotavan.

### *Antiphona 6 VI modus*

A bright star appears suddenly to great amazement, indicating the transit of blessed Thomas.

Une étoile brillante apparut, causant une grande stupeur : elle indiquait l'instant du départ du bienheureux Thomas.

Hohtava tähti ilmestyy äkisti ihmetyttäen: se osoittaa autuaan Tuomaan poismenon hetkeä.

### *Responsorium prolixum 4 IV modus*

R. A heavenly fount of wisdom showered Saint Thomas with its abundance like a river of lucid knowledge; he passed on the grace bestowed on him, as he watered all the church with the streams of

highest understanding. V. His style is brief, his eloquence, agreeable, his thoughts are noble, clear and firm. R. As he watered.

R. Une source céleste de sagesse bénit saint Thomas d'abondance, comme un fleuve de savoir très pur ; il transmet la grâce qu'il avait reçue en répandant sur toute l'Église les flots jaillissant de son haut intellect. V. Son style est concis, son éloquence agréable et ses pensées nobles, claires et sûres. R. En répandant.

R. Viisauden lähde ammensi korkeuksista runsauttaan Pyhään Tuomaaseen kuin kirkkaan tiedon vuo; sen vastaanotettuaan hän jakoi armoaan eteenpäin kastellen korkeimman oppineisuuden virroilla koko pyhän seurakunnan. V. Hänen ilmaisunsa oli tiivistä, kaunopuheisuutensa armoitettua, hänen ajatuksensa yleviä, kirkkaita ja vakaita. R. Kastellen.

#### *Responsorium prolixum 5 V modus*

R. Blessed doctor, to whom the angels brought solace, whom Peter and Paul graced with their presence and whom the mother of God soothed with her speech. V. He is seen to rise from the earth, and the crucifix converses with him. R. The mother.

R. Bienheureux docteur, à qui les anges apportaient réconfort et que Pierre et Paul honoraient de leur présence : la mère de Dieu le consolait de ses paroles. V. On le vit s'élever de terre, et un crucifix lui parler. R. La mère.

R. Siunattu opettaja, jonka lepoa enkelit valppaasti palvelevat ja Pietari ja Paavali suopeina kannustavat, Jumalanäidin puhuessa hänelle lempeästi. V. Hänen nähdään nousevan maasta, ja ristiinnaulittu puhuttelee häntä. R. Jumalanäidin.

#### *Responsorium prolixum 6 VI modus*

R. A star sent to Thomas from the heavens as a new sign of divine grace demonstrates to others that he is heavenly in his words, his life, his learning and letters. V. How lofty is he whom the heavens predict, how noble he whom the stars point out! R. That he is. V. Glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. R. In his words.

R. L'astre d'en-haut envoyé à Thomas comme un signe supplémentaire des grâces divines montre à tous qu'il est divin en toute chose : paroles, vie, enseignement et écrits. V. Combien il est exalté, celui que les cieux ont annoncé, quelle noblesse en celui que l'astre a désigné ! R. Il est divin. V. Gloire au Père, et au Fils, et au Saint Esprit. R. Il est divin.

R. Taivaasta Tuomaalle lähetetään tähti jumalallisen armon uudeksi merkiksi; se osoittaa hänet taivaalliseksi sanoiltaan, elämältään, oppineisuudeltaan ja kirjoituksiltaan. V. Kuinka ylhäinen on hän, jota taivaat ennustavat, kuinka loistava hän, jota tähdet osoittavat. R. Hänet. V. Kunnia Isälle, Pojalle ja Pyhälle Hengelle. R. Sanoiltaan.

## IN TERTIO NOCTURNO

### *7. Antiphona VII modus*

As his life neared its end, he saw the heavenly realms, and through God's revelation knew the reward that was prepared for him.

Alors que la fin de sa vie approchait, il vit le Royaume des Cieux : par cette révélation Dieu lui disait quelle récompense l'attendait.

Elämänsä lopun lähestyessä hän näki taivasten valtakunnan, ja Herra paljasti hänelle valmistetun palkkion.

### *8. Antiphona VIII modus*

The virtuous doctor sowed here generously and reaps joyously over there, glorious in his victory.

Le vertueux docteur a semé ici abondamment, et glorieux en sa victoire, moissonne là-haut dans la joie.

Hyveellinen opettaja kylväi täällä anteliaasti; siellä niittää runsasta satoa loisteliaana voittajana.

### *9. Antiphona I modus*

The star emerges from the clouds, the flower is plucked from the hay, fat is separated from flesh, as Thomas returns to the heavens.

L'étoile apparaît derrière les nuages, la fleur est cueillie parmi le foin : les graisses sont séparées de la chair alors que Thomas retourne aux cieux.

Tähti ilmestyy pilvestä, kukka poimitaan heinien joukosta ja rasva erotetaan lihasta, kun Tuomas palaa taivaaseen.

*Responsorium prolixum 7 VII modus*

R. Paul enters Thomas's school, and the sacred mysteries speak immediately. Fittingly, the heavenly man is taken to his heavenly reward. V. The brother's cry is heard three times: our doctor is taken away from us. R. The heavenly man.

R. Paul entre à l'école de Thomas, et les mystères sacrés se mettent tout de suite à parler. Opportunément l'homme céleste est enlevé vers sa récompense divine. V. Le cri du frère retentit par trois fois : notre docteur nous est enlevé. R. L'homme.

R. Paavali astuu Tuomaan luokkaan, ja samassa pyhät mysteerit puhuvat; viimein taivaallinen mies temmataa ansiosta taivaalliseen palkintoonsa. V. Kolmesti kuullaan veljen huuto: meidän opettajamme otetaan meiltä pois. R. Taivaallinen mies.

*Responsorium prolixum 8 VIII modus*

R. The glory of blessed Thomas shone with divine wonder as a fragrant odour emanated from his tomb. Shining in his purity, he lived without sin. V. Exceptional grace shone on the eye of his mind as he learned divine mysteries, instructed by divine utterances. R. Shining.

R. Un miracle divin rehaussa la gloire du bienheureux Thomas, lorsqu'une bonne odeur s'échappa de son tombeau. Resplendissant de pureté, il vécut sans péché. V. L'œil de son esprit fut objet d'une grâce exceptionnelle : des oracles célestes l'enseignaient alors qu'il se penchait sur les divins mystères. R. Resplendissant.

R. Autuaan Tuomaan kunnia loisti Jumalan ihmeestä, kun ihmeellisen suloinen tuoksu kumpusi haudastansa. Siveydessään hohtaen hän eli synneistä puhtaana. V. Erityinen armo valaisi hänen

sielunsa silmän ja hän oppi korkeat salaisuudet taivaan viisauden opettamana. R. Siveydessään.

*Responsorium prolixum 9 I modus*

R. Wearing a wreath and a double torque, he appears in a cloak adorned with jewels. From his necklace of heavenly fire, a light spreads across the World. Augustine speaks to his brother: V. Thomas is my equal in glory, my superior in his virginal purity. R. Augustine. V. Glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. R. Augustine.

R. Portant une couronne et un double torque, il se présente revêtu d'un habit orné de bijoux. De son collier de feu céleste une lumière se répand dans le monde, et Augustin dit à son frère : V. Thomas est mon égal en gloire, mon supérieur par sa pureté virginale. R. Augustin. V. Gloire au Père, et au Fils, et au Saint Esprit. R. Augustin.

R. Näemme hänet kaksikierteistä seppelettä kantavana jalokiviviitassaan; hänen taivaantulisesta kaulakäädystään heijastuu maailmaan säteilevä valo. Augustinus lausuu näin veljelle: V. Tuomas on veroiseni kunniassa, mutta neitseellisyydessään minua parempi. R. Augustinus. V. Kunnia Isälle ja Pojalle ja Pyhälle Hengelle. R. Augustinus.

AD LAUDES

*Antiphona 1 I modus*

A day of joy is at hand, as Thomas, the noble doctor, becomes a citizen of the heavenly court, endowed with a double crown.

Voici que vient un jour de joie, alors que le noble docteur Thomas devient citoyen de l'assemblée céleste, revêtu d'une double couronne.

On käsillä ilon päivä, kun Tuomas, ylhäinen opettajamme, tulee taivaan kansalaiseksi kaksinkertaisella seppeleellä kruunattuna.

*Antiphona 2 II modus*

Gold is hidden in the ground and the light under a bushel, but the virtue of God is seen in the rays of its miracles.

L'or gît en terre et la lumière est cachée sous le boisseau, mais la puissance de Dieu se laisse voir par les rayons de ses miracles.

Kulta on maan kätöksessä ja lamppu vakan peittämä, mutta Jumalan pyhyys havaitaan ihmeiden säteen avulla.

### *Antiphona 3 III modus*

Propitious mother church, founded on the blood of Christ, rises to great dominion, illuminated by its new doctor.

Notre sainte mère l'Église, fondée par le sang du Christ, reçoit un regain de puissance par la lumière de son nouveau docteur.

Laupias äiti kirkko, joka on perustettu Kristuksen verellä, nousee ylhäiseen uuden opettajansa valossa.

### *Antiphona 4 IV modus*

A man oppressed by demonic power is released, and a man snatched and drowned by a stream is restored to life.

Un homme tenu captif par une puissance démoniaque est libéré, et un autre emporté et noyé par les flots est rendu à la vie.

Demonin voiman ahdistama pelastuu nopeasti, ja virran tempaama ja hukuttama palaa eloon.

### *Antiphona 5 V modus*

A tumour of the throat is cured, the leprous are healed, light is given to the blind and the lame are restored to motion.

Une tumeur de la gorge est vaincue, le lépreux est guéri, la lumière est rendue à l'aveugle, et le boiteux remarche.

Kurkkupaise torjutaan, leprasairas paranee, sokea saa jälleen valon ja rampa kävelykyvyn.

### *Hymnus I modus*

1. Praise, o mother Church, Thomas's happy departure; he arrives at the joys he has earned through the word of life. 2. Fossanova took on itself the treasure chest of grace when Christ made Thomas an heir to the glory of his kingdom. 3. The truth of his teaching remains, as do his untouched tomb, wondrously sweet scent and the health bestowed

on the sick. 4. They show him worthy of praise on land, at sea and in the heavens; may he aid us with his prayers and commend us to God with his merits. 5. Glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; may they join us to the heavenly host on Thomas's merits.

1. Chante, ô Église notre mère, l'heureux départ de Thomas, qui parvient aux joies que lui a mérité sa parole de vie. 2. Fossanova le reçut comme coffre gros d'un trésor de grâce, lorsque le Christ fit de Thomas l'héritier de son règne de gloire. 3. La vérité de son enseignement demeure, tout comme sa tombe intacte, à la suave et merveilleuse odeur, santé rendue aux malades. 4. Cela le rend digne de louanges sur terre, en mer et aux cieux ; qu'il nous aide par ses prières et qu'il nous recommande à Dieu par ses mérites. 5. Louange au Père, à son Fils, à l'Esprit de feu: que Dieu par les mérites de saint Thomas nous unisse à la cour céleste.

1. Ylistä, äiti kirkko, Tuomaan autuasta poismenoa; hän saapuu elämän sanan ansaitsemaan iloon. 2. Silloin Fossanova otti haltuunsa armon lahjan arkun, kun Kristus teki Tuomaasta valtakuntansa kunnian perillisen. 3. Hänen oppinsa totuus säilyy, samoin hänen hautansa koskemattomuus, hänen tuoksunsa ihanuus ja sairaille antamansa terveys. 4. Tämä osoittaa hänet ylistyksen arvoiseksi maalla, merellä ja taivaassa; hän auttakoon meitä rukouksin ja puolustakoon meitä Jumalalle ansioillaan. 5. Olkoon ylistys Isälle ja Pojalle sekä Pyhälle Hengelle, joka liittäköön meidät Pyhän Tuomaan ansioista taivaan asukkaiden joukkoon.

### *Antiphona 6 VI modus*

Your flesh, incorrupt in the flower of its purity, your life, powerful in the fruit of its righteousness, your words, resplendent in the gift of their knowledge, adorn you as you stand in the battle line, they crown you in your state of glory.

Ta chair pure qui ne connut pas la corruption, ta vie puissante par ses fruits de justice, et tes paroles resplendissantes par le don de science sont ton parement alors que tu te tiens en première ligne, elles te sont une couronne de gloire.



Sinun puhtauden kukassa tahraton lihasi, oikeamielisyyden hedelmässä väkevä elämäsi, tiedon lahjasta loistava sanasi koristavat sinua seistessäsi rintamassa, kruunaavat sinut kunniasi täyteydessä.

## AD 2 VESPERAS

### *Antiphona 1 I modus*

Doctor of the Church Militant, flowering in your virgin purity, chosen by the triumphant court, blessed Thomas, give us joy.

De l'Église militante tu es le docteur à la pureté virginale, choisi par la cour triomphante : saint Thomas, donne-nous la joie.

Taistelevan kirkon opettaja, neitseellisessä puhtaudessaan kukoistava, voitokkaan hovin valittu Pyhä Tuomas, suo meille iloa.

### *Antiphona 2 I modus*

O Thomas, praise and glory of the Order of Preachers, take us to the heavens, o professor of sacred divinity.

Ô Thomas, gloire et louange de l'Ordre des Prêcheurs, prends-nous avec toi aux cieux, ô professeur de la science sacrée.

Oi Tuomas, saarnaajien sääntökunnan ylistys ja kunnia, saata meidät taivaaseen pyhän jumaluuden opettajana.

## IN VESPERAS AD OCTAVAM

### *Antiphona 1 VI modus*

Let Christ the king of glory be praised; through Thomas, the light of the Church, he fills the world with the doctrine of grace.

Que le Christ, le roi de gloire, se réjouisse avec nous, lui qui en Thomas, docteur de l'Église, a donné au monde une doctrine de grâce.

Ylistys olkoon Kristukselle, kunnian kuninkaalle, joka täyttää maailman armon opilla Tuomaan, seurakunnan valon kautta.

## IN TRANSLATIONE S. THOME DE AQUINO OFFICIUM

### AD VESPERAS

#### *1. Antiphona I modus*

O how blessed art thou, mother Italy, who hast given birth to the ray of a new Sun. Equally blessed art thou, o Gaul, who hast received this Sun's cloak, O Toulouse, this magnificent feast will bring thee perpetual delight.

Tu es bénie, Italie notre mère, toi qui as donné naissance à un rayon du jour nouveau. Tu es bénie également, ô Gaule, qui reçus le manteau de ce soleil. Ô Toulouse, ces fêtes splendides pour toujours te réjouiront.

Oi, miten siunattu olet äiti Italia, joka olet synnyttänyt uuden auringon säteen; yhtä siunatuksi tullut on Gallia, joka on ottanut vastaan tämän loiston manttelin. Oi Toulouse, juhliivat muistomenot tuovat sinulle ainaista iloa.

#### *Reponsorium prolixum 3 III modus/ 9 IX modus*

#### *Hymnus I modus*

1. O noble heavenly mother, rejoice in the new delights, which this crowd of thy subjects offers to thee with joyful hearts. 2. Pope Urban discovered this hidden treasure of grace and opened it to everyone here on the face of the earth. 3. This treasure, which was brought forth by the noble Order of Dominic, was dedicated by Urban to Elijah with humble prayers. 4. Transmitting it to be revered in the western parts of the World, where, with endless miracles, it comes to the aid of supplicants. 5. This Sun follows the Sun of the sky, as Thomas is brought from Italy to thee, o Toulouse, to be an adornment to Gaul. 6. Let us sing our praises to the eternal king, who offers us his grace through the prayers of blessed Thomas. Amen.

1. Ô noble et céleste mère, exulte de cette joie nouvelle que la foule de tes sujets t'offre d'un cœur joyeux. 2. Le pape Urbain découvrit ce trésor de grâce caché, et l'ouvrit à tous ceux qui sont sur la face de la terre. 3. Ce trésor, produit par l'Ordre illustre de Dominique, Urbain le

dédia à Élie avec d'humbles prières. 4. Le transmettant à la vénération des parties occidentales du monde, où il vient en aide aux suppliants par d'incessants miracles. 5. Ce soleil suit la course du soleil dans ciel, alors que Thomas t'est amené ô Toulouse, depuis l'Italie, pour orner la Gaule. 6. Au roi éternel, chantons gloire d'une voix joyeuse, Il nous offre ses grâces à la prière de saint Thomas. Amen.

1. Oi ylhäinen taivaallinen äitimme, riemuitse uusista iloista, jotka tämä sinun alamaistesesi joukko lahjoittaa sinulle riemuisin sydämin. 2. Paavi Urbanus löysi tämän kätketyn armon aarteen ja avasi sen kaikille täällä maan päällä. 3. Tämän aarteen, jonka oli tuonut Dominicuksen ylhäinen sääntökunta, lahjoitti Urbanus Eliaalle nöyrästi rukoillen. 4. Siirtäen sen kunnioitettavaksi maailman läntisissä osissa, missä se tulee avunpyyntäjien tueksi loputtomin ihmein. 5. Tämä aurinko seuraa taivaan aurinkoa, kun Tuomas tuodaan Italiasta sinun helmaasi, oi Toulouse, koko Gallian koristukseksi. 6. Laulakaamme ylistyksiämme iankaikkiselle kuninkaalle, joka suo meille armonsa siunatun Tuomaan rukousten kautta. Amen.

## *2. Antiphona VII modus*

O mother Church, A new cause of joy is given unto thee, Thou hast sung of his joyful arrival at the heavenly court; Now, throughout the world, wondrous signs Prove him worthy of heavenly glory.

Ô Église notre mère, une nouvelle raison de te réjouir t'est donnée : celui dont tu avais chanté les louanges à la cour céleste dans une joyeuse anticipation, désormais, des signes merveilleux par le monde entier le désignent comme digne de la gloire des cieux.

Oi äitimme seurakunta, sinulle on annettu uusi ilon aihe. Sinä olet laulanut hänen riemullisesta saapumisesta taivaan hoviin. Nyt kautta maailman ihmeelliset merkit osoittavat hänet taivaallisen kunnian arvoiseksi.

## AD MATUTINUM

*Invitatorium antiphona I modus*

Let the faithful celebrate, delighting in a new joy; Thomas returns to his father's bosom, leaving his tomb behind.

Que la foule des fidèles se réjouisse d'une joie nouvelle : Thomas retourne dans le sein du Père, abandonnant derrière lui son tombeau.

Juhlikoot uskovat riemuiten uudesta ilostaan. Tuomas palaa isänsä poveen jättäen hautansa taakseen.

*Hymnus I modus*

1. The light of the heavens advances, traversing the hemisphere, following the Sun's path. The star heads for the West. 2. When the god, born in the East, the Light of Campania, is received by Toulouse, illuminating the coast of Spain. 3. Whence Father Dominic received the message of life, there the Italian teacher received his hospitality. 4. Pouring forth heavenly grace, the divine virtue of his body provides a remedy to every kind of disease. 5. For he makes the lame walk, purges the leprous, restores life to the dead and brings joy to the dejected. 6. Let us sing with joyful voice the glory of the eternal King, as he offers us his grace through the prayers of Saint Thomas. Amen.

1. La clarté de l'astre s'avance et traverse la voûte céleste, en suivant la course du soleil l'étoile progresse vers l'ouest 2. Alors que comme le dieu né à l'orient, la lumière de la Campanie est accueillie à Toulouse, illuminant la côte de l'Espagne. 3. Là où notre père Dominique reçut la parole de vie, là le professeur d'Italie reçut son hospitalité. 4. Faisant jaillir la grâce céleste, la vertu divine de son corps est un remède à toute sorte de mal. 5. Car il fait marcher le boiteux, guérit le lépreux, rend la vie aux morts et la joie aux abattus. 6. Au roi éternel, chantons gloire d'une voix joyeuse, Il nous offre ses grâces à la prière de saint Thomas. Amen.

1. Taivaan valo etenee kulkien pallonpuoliskon halki seuraten auringon rataa, tähti suuntaa kohti länttä. 2. Kun jumala, idässä syntynyt Campanian valo, saapuu Toulouseen valaisten Hispanian rannikon. 3. Mistä isä Dominicus sai elämän sanoman, siellä italialainen opet-

taja sai vieraanvaraisuutensa. 4. Vuodattaen taivaallista armoa hänen ruumiinsa jumalallinen voima tarjoaa lääkkeen kaikkiin vaivoihin. 5. Sillä hän saa rammat kävelemään, puhdistaa spitaaliset, palauttaa kuolleet eläviksi ja antaa ilon lohduttomille. 6. Laulakaamme iloisin äänin ikuisen kuninkaan kunniaa, kun hän antaa meille armonsa pyhän Tuomaan rukousten ansiosta. Amen.

## IN PRIMO NOCTURNO

### *Antiphona I modus*

A light that was long hidden, shines with its outspread rays, and the jewel, concealed in the ground, is brought forth with its miracles.

La lumière cachée depuis longtemps brille tous feux dehors, et le joyau que recelait la terre en sort accompagné de prodiges.

Kauan kätketty valo loistaa nyt valtavin sätein ja maahan haudattu jalokivi paljastuu ihmeiden saattelmana.

### *Antiphona 2 II modus*

The body once lay hidden in its tomb in Terracina; later it appeared to all in Toulouse with wondrous signs.

Ce corps gisait auparavant dans la tombe à Terracina ; mais alors il se manifesta à tous à Toulouse, avec de grands signes.

Ruumis, joka oli kauan kätkettynä Terracinan haudassaan, on nyt esillä Toulousessa suurten ihmeiden merkitsemänä.

### *Antiphona 3 III modus*

The clergy and the common people hasten to the sacred body; all rejoice in such a gift, great and small alike.

Le clergé et le peuple se pressent autour du corps sacré ; tous se réjouissent d'un tel don, les petits comme les grands.

Pyhän ruumiin luokse rientävät niin papisto kuin kirkkokansakin; niin suuret kuin pienetkin riemuitsevat tästä suuresta lahjasta.

*Responsorium prolixum 1 I modus*

R. Behold, the new spring of the gardens, long hidden in the earth; it nourishes the rivers, watering the world from the heavens. This is Thomas, the light of the learned, Inspired by God. V. This is the drink of the Hebrews, the hidden rain of the heavens, restored under Elijah. R. This is Thomas.

R. Voici la nouvelle source des jardins, longtemps cachée en terre ; elle alimente les rivières, arrosant la terre depuis les cieux. C'est Thomas, la lumière des savants, divinement instruit. V. Il est la source des Hébreux au désert, la pluie que retenaient les cieux et que fit tomber Élie. R. C'est Thomas.

R. Katso, uusi puutarhojen lähde, joka oli kauan maan kätköissä, ravitsee joet kostuttaen maata taivaista. Tämä on Tuomas, oppineiden valo, Jumalan innoittama. V. Tämä on heprealaisten juoma, taivaiden kätketty sade, Eliaan palauttama. R. Tämä on Tuomas.

*Responsorium prolixum 2 II modus*

R. Our sacred faith rejoices, long deprived of its dearest treasure. Now, at last, it has regained the bones of the teacher whom it nourished and perfected in his learning. V. It has now regained his bones, restored from their first grave and received with joyful hearts. R. The bones.

R. Notre saint Ordre, longtemps privé de son plus cher trésor, se réjouit : du docteur qu'il a nourri et mené au sommet de l'étude, il recouvre enfin les os. V. Tirés de leur première tombe, ils sont reçus avec une joie sincère. R. Il recouvre.

R. Nyt iloitsee pyhä sääntökuntamme, joka oli kauan vailla siltä riistettyä omaa aarrettaan, kunnes nyt sai takaisin sen opettajan luut, jonka oli kasvattanut ja kouluttanut. V. Nyt se on ottanut huomaansa riemuisin sydämin ensimmäisestä haudastaan palautetut luut. R. Nyt.

*Reponsorium prolixum 3 III modus*

R. This body is presented on the feast of Corpus Christi, whose great mystery, hidden to others, this teacher revealed, dictating its offices as a token of divine grace. V. Urban appointed him to his task,

Urban restores him to his order. R. As a token. V. Glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. R. As a token.

R. Ce corps est donné en la fête de Corpus Christi, dont le saint mystère caché aux autres fut révélé par ce professeur, qui en dicta les offices comme témoignage de la grâce de Dieu. V. Urbain, qui le nomma à ce travail, le rend à son Ordre. R. Comme témoignage. Gloire au Père, et au Fils, et au Saint Esprit. R. Comme témoignage.

R. Tämä ruumis luovutetaan Pyhän Ruumiin muistopäivänä Sen suuren mysteerin, joka oli muilta salattu, opettaja paljasti, sanellen sen liturgian jumalaisen armon merkinä. V. Urbanus nimitti hänet tehtäväänsä, Urbanus palauttaa hänet sääntökunnalleen R. Merkinä. V. Kunnia Isälle, Pojalle ja Pyhälle Hengelle. R. Merkinä.

## IN SECUNDO NOCTURNO

### *Antiphona 4 IV modus*

Heaven celebrates this man, whom Christ has favoured; the earth wonders at him with his plentiful signs.

Le ciel célèbre cet homme que le Christ a déjà comblé, et la terre s'émerveille devant la quantité de ses prodiges.

Taivas ylistää häntä, jota Kristus on suosinut, ja maanpiiri ihmettelee hänen runsaita ihmetekojaan.

### *Antiphona 5 V modus*

To a mother he restored, alive, her son who was already deceased, and gave a refuge to one surrounded by the enemy.

À la mère il rend vivant le fils déjà mort, et procure un refuge sûr à un autre encerclé par l'ennemi.

Äidille hän palautti elävänä jo elämästä temmatun pojan, ja vihollisten keskelle harhautuneen hän pitää turvassa.

### *Antiphona 6 VI modus*

He saves an innocent man from losing his life, he saves his supplicant from the gallows.

Il empêche l'innocent de perdre la vie, il sauve le suppliant de la potence.

Hän pelastaa viattoman kuolemalta, hän vapauttaa armonanojan hirsipuusta.

*Responsorium prolixum 4 IV modus*

R. When the sacred body is raised from the ground, doubt afflicts a brother's mind, but soon the truth is planted in him through the teacher's patient words, for this body that is given back to us. V. Is truly that of our Thomas himself. The teacher is present and speaks to his brother, and the certainty is revealed to him who prays. V. For this body.

R. Alors que le corps sacré est tiré de terre, l'esprit d'un frère est pris de doute. Mais bientôt la vérité est établie en lui par la conversation patiente du docteur. Car ce corps qui nous est rendu est assurément celui de notre cher Thomas. V. Le docteur est présent et parle à son frère, et la vérité est révélée à celui qui prie. R. Car ce corps.

R. Kun pyhä ruumis nostetaan maasta veljen mieltä horjuttaa epäily, mutta pian opettajan selkeä todistus vakuuttaa hänet totuudesta. Sillä tämä ruumis, joka palautetaan meille on aidosti Tuomaamme itsensä. V. Opettaja on läsnä ja puhuttelee veljeään, ja asian varmuus valkenee rukoilevalle. R. Sillä tämä.

*Responsorium prolixum 5 V modus*

R. A bishop who languishes in his ailing body, hearing of the joyful funeral, makes a promise, deep from his heart, V. That he will participate in the sacred feast in constant hope of the saint's help. V. Having joyfully recovered his health, he entrusts himself to his protection. R. In constant hope.

R. Un prélat souffrant en son corps la maladie, en entendant les joyeuses obsèques forme au plus profond de son cœur le vœu de participer à cette sainte fête, espérant fermement les secours du saint. V. Ayant recouvré avec joie sa santé, il se confie à sa protection. R. Espérant.



R. Piispa, joka kärsii ruumiinvaivoista, kuulee iloisista hautajaismenoista ja lupaa sydämensä pohjasta osallistua pyhään juhlaan ainaisessa toivossa pyhimyksen avusta. V. Saatuaan terveytensä takaisin hän uskoutuu Tuomaan suojelukseseen. R. Ainaisessa toivossa

*Responsorium prolixum 6 VI modus*

R. The fine vessel of purity tolerates no baseness; a bishop, famous for his virtue, slips when he carries the saint, but, sinking into the filthy mud, he is untainted by it. V. Although his sacred clothes, hands and feet, are entirely stuck in the filth, he is untainted by it. R. But sinking. V. Glory to Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. R. But sinking.

R. Ce vase précieux de pureté ne souffre aucune souillure; un évêque célèbre pour sa vertu tombe dans la boue alors qu'il porte le saint, mais il en sort intact. V. Bien que ses saints vêtements, ses mains et ses pieds soient plongés dans la saleté, il en sort sans tache. R. Mais il. Gloire au Père, et au Fils, et au Saint Esprit. R. Mais il.

R. Puhtauden arvokas astia ei siedä mitään alhaista. Hyveellisyydestään tunnettu piispa lipeää pyhimystä kantaessaan, mutta vaikka hän vajoaa saastaiseen mutaan, hän ei tahraudu siitä. V. Vaikka hänen pyhät vaatteensa, kätensä ja jalkansa uppoavat täysin likaan, hän ei tahraudu siitä. R. Mutta vaikka. V. Kunnia Isälle, Pojalle ja Pyhälle Hengelle. R. Mutta vaikka.

IN TERTIO NOCTURNO

*7. Antiphona VII modus*

He saves man and beast from attack, he frees the dying from fever.

Il délivre l'homme et sa monture des attaques, il délivre le mourant de sa fièvre.

Hän pelastaa vaaroilta ihmiset ja juhdat, ja vapauttaa kuolevan kuumetaudista.

### 8. *Antiphona VIII modus*

The soldier overcomes sickness, hunger and battle through Thomas's aid, as he has wished in his prayer.

Le soldat sort vainqueur de la maladie, de la faim et du combat, par l'aide de Thomas, comme il l'en avait prié.

Sotilas voittaa sairauden, nälän ja taistelun Tuomaan avulla aivan kuin hän rukouksessaan toivoi.

### 9. *Antiphona I modus*

He restores a horse to life for its master who prays to him; the Saint's virtue cures; all who are deaf, mad or blind.

À la prière du cavalier, il ramène sa monture à la vie ; la vertu du saint guérit les sourds, les déments, et les aveugles.

Hän herättää hevosen henkiin sen isännän rukouksesta; pyhimyksen voima parantaa jokaisen kuuron, hullun ja sokean.

### *Responsorium prolixum 7 VII modus*

R. To him who suffers in prison and prays for Thomas's aid, he is a bestower of divine grace, a teacher who brings welcome support, having mercy on his horrible crime. V. Raising him in the fringes of his garment, he carries him afar and delivers him to his own home. R. Having mercy.

R. À celui qui souffre en prison et demande à Thomas son aide, il se révèle prodigue en grâce divine, un docteur qui apporte un soutien bienvenu, emplî de pitié pour ses crimes. V. Le prenant dans le pli de son vêtement, il l'emmène pour un long voyage, et le dépose devant son propre domicile. R. Empli.

R. Vankeudessa kärsivälle, joka anoo Tuomaan suosiota, opettaja on läsnä Jumalan armon takaaajana. Hän tuo toivotun avun säälien hänen hirveää rikostaan. V. Hän nostaa hänet vaatteensa helmassa ja kuljettaa hänet kauas saattaen hänet omaan kotiinsa. Säälien. R. Hän tuo.

*Responsorium prolixum 8 VIII modus*

R. O wondrous might of the teacher that changes destruction to life and whose body's holy presence drives spirits from the possessed, restoring their propriety. V. Each one who anticipates his death but implores the Saint's mercy immediately feels his salvation. R. Restoring.

R. Ô quelle puissance que celle du docteur qui change en vie la désolation, dont le corps par sa sainte présence chasse les esprits des possédés, les ramenant dans leur bon sens. V. Celui qui craignait doublement une mort prochaine, implorant la clémence du saint, ressent immédiatement qu'il est sauvé. R. Les ramenant.

R. Oi opettajan ihmeellinen voima, joka muuttaa tuhon elämäksi ja jonka ruumiin pyhä läsnäolo ajaa henget riivatuista palauttaen heidän terveytensä. V. Se, joka odottaa kuolemaa, anoo pyhimyksen armoa ja tuntee oitis pelastuksensa. R. Palauttaen.

*Responsorium prolixum 9 I modus*

R. Joseph's twofold glory presaged the teacher with prophetic signs, his victory over a woman, the holy bones left to the brothers, and the members transferred to Toulouse. V. Receive, o blessed Occitania the gift that is rightly thine. R. The holy bones V. Glory to the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit. R. The holy bones.

R. La double gloire de Joseph annonçait déjà le docteur par des signes prophétiques : la victoire de la femme, les saints ossements laissés aux frères, et les membres transférés à Toulouse. V. Reçois, Occitanie bénie, ce cadeau qui te revient de plein droit. R. Les saints ossements. Gloire au Père, et au Fils, et au Saint Esprit. R. Les saints ossements.

R. Joosefin kaksinkertainen kunnia ennusti merkeillään opettajan; hän saavutti voiton naisesta, ja hänen luunsa lähetettiin hänen veljilleen, Toulousen seudulle. V. Ota kiitollisena vastaan, siunattu Occitania, sinulle osoitettu kunnialahja. R. Ja hänen luunsa. V. Kunnia Isälle, Pojalle ja Pyhälle Hengelle. R. Ja hänen luunsa.

## AD LAUDES

*Antiphona 1 I modus*

The sacred body was recently adorned by Christ; his mind was likewise ruled by the Lord.

Ce corps sacré à récemment reçu les honneurs du Christ, et sur son esprit régnait également le Seigneur.

Kristus koristi hiljattain pyhän ruumiin; samaten hänen mielensä oli Herran hallitsema.

*Antiphona 2 II modus*

This is a day of joy; praise the Lord for Thomas's trophy, ye heavenly soldiers.

C'est un jour de joie, que celui du triomphe de Thomas : exultez armées célestes!

Tämä on ilon päivä. Ylistäkää Herraa Tuomaan palkinnosta, te taivaan soturit!

*Antiphona 3 III modus*

The Nazarene teacher watches over thee from the light; he celebrates now in the heavens, my God, my God!

Dans la lumière, le docteur de Nazareth veille sur toi; il exulte maintenant dans les cieux : mon Dieu, mon Dieu !

Nasaretin opettaja katsoo sinua valkeudesta. Nyt hän riemuitsee taivaissa. Oi Jumalani!

*Antiphona 4 IV modus*

The teacher rejoices in heaven, having completed the course of his life; he is rightly venerated: Praise the Lord!

Le professeur jouit du repos des cieux, ayant achevé le cours de sa vie. Il est digne de le louer: bénissez Dieu !

Opettaja riemuitsee taivaissa riennettyään elämänsä radan. Häntä ylistetään ansiosta. Kiittäkää Herraa!

*Antiphona 5 V modus*

He sparkles in the heavens in the Lord's brightness; he shines here in his virtues: Praise the Lord!

Dans les cieux il brille de la clarté du Seigneur et répand le parfum de ses vertus : louez le Seigneur !

Hän kimmeltää taivaissa Herran kirkkaudessa. Täällä hän loistaa hyveissään. Kiittäkää Herraa!

*Hymnus I modus*

1. The beautiful, reddening dawn brings its rosy splendor. Our rejoicing chorus praises the laureled teacher. 2. As the heavenly star opens its brilliant light to our eyes, it brings us Thomas's image, given as a light to the ages. 2. Already, it begins to fill the western sky with its rays, and after his journey of many miles, Thomas is received by Toulouse. 3. The rays of this light clear all doubts. Mother Church urges all to venerate Saint Thomas. 4. Testifying his true and noble doctrine, which is secure, firm and lucid, sown by divine words. 5. Let us sing with joyful voices the glory of the eternal king, who gives us his grace through the prayers of blessed Thomas.

1. L'aurore à la beauté rutilante nous offre sa splendeur teintée de rose, et nous chantons en chœur dans la joie au docteur couronné de lauriers. 2. Lorsque l'étoile céleste donne à nos yeux sa brillante lumière, elle nous offre l'image de Thomas, donné comme lumière pour les siècles. 3. Déjà le ciel à l'occident se remplit de ses rayons, et après sa longue course Thomas est accueilli à Toulouse. 3. Les rayons de sa lumière chassent toute sorte de doute, notre mère l'Église nous presse de vénérer saint Thomas. 4. En attestent sa véridique et noble doctrine, sûre, ferme et lucide, semée de paroles divines. 5. Au roi éternel, chantons gloire d'une voix joyeuse, Il nous offre ses grâces à la prière de saint Thomas. Amen.

1. Kauniina punertava aamurusko kantaa ruusuista loistoa, ja meidän juhlallinen kuoromme ylistää kunnioitettua opettajaa. 2. Kun taivaan tähti luo kirkkaan valonsa silmiimme, se heijastaa Tuomaan kuvan, joka on annettu meille iäksi. 3. Taivas alkaa jo täyttää länttä säteillään, kun Toulouse ottaa vastaan Tuomaan pitkältä matkaltaan.

4. Tämä valonsäde valaisee kaikki epäilykset, ja äitikirkkomme kehottaa meitä kunnioittamaan Pyhää Tuomasta. 5. Se todistaa hänen maineikkaan oppinsa todeksi, lujaksi, kirkkaaksi, Jumalan sanan kylvämäksi. 6. Laulakaamme riemullisin äänin ikuisen kuninkaan kunniaa, koska hän tarjoaa meille armonsa autuaan Tuomaan pyynnöstä. Amen.

*Antiphona 6 Modus VI*

From the deceased grows virtue, from the tomb springs glory, from the hidden dawns the light, from that which was given comes joy, as the sacred body achieves fame, offering its wonderful signs.

Du défunt croît la vertu, de la tombe jaillit la gloire, de l'obscurité la lumière, du don la joie, alors que grandit la renommée du corps sacré qui offre de merveilleux prodiges.

Vainajasta versoo hyve ja haudatusta kunnia. Kätketystä valkenee päivä ja annetusta ilo, kun pyhän ruumiin maine kasvaa ja tekee ihmeellisiä tekojaan.

AD 2 VESPERAS

*Antiphon 1 Modus VI*

O splendour of Italy, o noble offspring, reflection and image of the divine court, the pinnacle and sum of outstanding piety, give us hope of clemency, thou, bond of virtues.

Ô splendeur de l'Italie, ô noble rejeton, membre et image de la cour divine, faite et quête de haute vertu, donne-nous l'espoir de la bienveillance, toi qui as acquis le lien des vertus.

Oi Italian kunnia, ylväs jälkeläinen, taivaan hovin heijastus ja kuva, poikkeuksellisen hyveen huippu; anna meille toivo armosta, sinä hyveiden summa.

### Abstract

Hilkka-Liisa Vuori, Marika Räsänen and Seppo Heikkinen:  
*The Medieval Offices of Saint Thomas Aquinas*

The book focuses on the relationship between the music and the text in Saint Thomas Aquinas's medieval offices: the *Dies natalis* and the *Translatio*. Our study is a combination of musicological, philological and historical approaches, the aim of which is to grasp the sensory experiences that enveloped the participant in a medieval liturgy. When analysing the offices, we have used traditional methods of musical and textual paleography as well as codicology and philology, comparing both external and internal aspects of our sources.

The manuscript sources used in the research are dated mainly to the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. Regarding the chants of the older office, the *Dies natalis*, we can observe that, with a few minor exceptions, they are quite coherent regardless of the location of their employment. The chants of *Translatio* share similar melodies apart from the third great responsory in the manuscripts from Perugia. Thomas's *Translatio* is a contrafact of Dominic's *Dies natalis*.

Most of the chant melodies carry the texts according to their respective modal nature. Due to the repetitive structure of the modal cycle and the constant change of modes, the emotion of a singer and a listener changes from chant to chant, from mode to mode, as if to underline the importance of not becoming too attached to one modal experience, one emotion. The singing of a rhymed office with a modal order is a form of obedience: the modal character of a single chant is less relevant than the singer's willingness to give up one mode and to move on to the next one.

The restructuring that Dominic's office underwent when it was recast in Thomas's *Translatio* is reflected in the latter's strikingly different use of verse form: as the responsories in particular had to incorporate an increased amount of text and a more syllabic style

of musical expression, the verse types employed have been changed completely.

As the chants of the offices were repeated from time to time, the singers and listeners became thoroughly acquainted with them. This process created a place in the memory where the text could be evoked by simply hearing an echo of the melody. This lends a deeper perspective to offices with shared melodies: in the heart, the mind and the body of a person who knows the liturgy, even a whole chain of liturgies may be recalled through a single melody. For the Dominicans, the liturgy formed an important part of their identity and existence in temporal as well as sacral history.

Key words: liturgy, Thomas Aquinas, relics, cults of saints, sensory experience, square notation, melismacy, Gregorian chants, modes, liturgical manuscripts, Dominicans, Late Middle Ages, culture history, musicology, Latin philology.





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This study focuses on the relationship between the music and the text in Saint Thomas Aquinas's medieval offices. Singing and listening are central to sensory experience in medieval liturgy. The combination of the melodies and words is strongly emotional, having the capacity to transform the mood of a person and the environment of the church, metaphorically transporting singers and listeners to the spiritual realm of the saint. Liturgical chants had a great potential to convey devotional and even political messages: the different sensorial stimuli of the liturgy made them attainable and understandable to everyone in medieval communities, without making a sharp distinction between religious and secular audiences. In Thomas's *Dies natalis* and *Translatio* offices, the devotional and political aspects were deliberately taken into consideration by the friars of the Order of Preachers who prepared the offices. In addition to the obvious benefit that it has preserved something of aesthetic value, such written music provides some of the best surviving evidence of the veneration of the saint. The book includes the musical notations of the chants.

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