

Singing for a Patron Saint: Musical Strategies and Political Subtexts in Sequences
from the Abbey of Saint-Denis

by

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Abstract

MATTHEW MARTIN FRANKE: Singing for a Patron Saint: Musical Strategies
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(Under the direction of Hana Vlhová-Wörner)

This thesis analyzes three sequences from the Abbey of Saint-Denis for the feast of St. Denis, as preserved in the 13th-century notated missal F:Pn, lat. 1107. Each of these three sequences – *Gaude turma triumphalis*, *Alludat vox ecclesiae*, and *Gaude prole, Graecia* – either exists in a version unique to the abbey or survives in no other source, although two are contrafacts of earlier sequences. All are noteworthy for their political subtexts, alluding to the French monarchy and its place in society, or to the age and prestige of the Abbey of Saint-Denis. These political references are reinforced by musical devices, such as melismas, modal structure, and melodic repetition. Thus, these three sequences are relics of one medieval abbey's construction of its image and social role through the music of the liturgy.

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Notes on Usage

In the following text, *Saint-Denis* refers to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, and *St. Denis* refers to the saint himself.

Within this text, c^1 is used as middle c; note that the transcriptions are to sound an octave below normal treble clef.

Introduction:

Contexts, Meanings

The abbey of Saint-Denis was one of the most influential religious houses in medieval Paris. Much of the abbey's power and influence resulted from its symbiotic relationship with the monarchy: St. Denis was the patron saint of France, and the abbey grew rich through royal grants of land and trade rights. French kings had patronized the abbey at least since the time of King Clovis II (c. 650 AD). The abbey later became famous as a burial ground for royalty; after the rise of the Capetian dynasty (the late 10th century), only three French kings were not buried at the abbey.¹

The abbey, in its turn, preserved and maintained royal traditions. The sacred *oriflamme* banner which the king carried to war, for example, was kept at Saint-Denis; French soldiers invoked Denis in battle.² Further, monks from Saint-Denis chronicled the deeds of French kings, even in short histories seemingly designed "for the abbey's tourists."³ The abbey also served at times to educate members of the royal family, and

¹ A religious community existed at Saint-Denis from the late 5th century, and was notably patronized by King Dagobert (d. 639), but the abbey itself appears to have been founded by his son Clovis II. The three kings not buried at Saint-Denis were Philip I, Louis VII, and Louis XI. Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 13; Sumner McKnight Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from its Beginnings* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 9; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline, Mass: Classical Folia Editions, 1978), 18-20, 26.

² Spiegel, *Chronicle*, 31.

³ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Burying and Unburying the Kings of France," in Richard C. Trexler (ed.), *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1985), 246; Jim Bradbury, *The Capetians* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 130; Josiah C. Russell, *Twelfth Century Studies* (New York: AMS Press, 1978), 4; Spiegel, *Chronicle*, 11.

at least one king (Charles the Bald) served as abbot.⁴ Finally, the monks could act as advisors, diplomats, and administrators for the kings they served; the most notable example is probably Abbot Suger's term as regent of France while King Louis VII was on crusade.⁵

Aspects of the relationship between the monarchy and the abbey emerge in the abbey's liturgy, particularly in sequences for the Feast of Saint-Denis. The existence of political subtexts within liturgical music should hardly be a surprise, although chant scholars are sometimes reluctant to examine religious music in the context of the society that generated it.

Analyses of the political implications of chant seem to have emerged only recently: Roman Hankeln's introduction to the essay collection he recently edited treats the politics of plainchant as "an almost unexplored topic." Even though Kantorowicz and Bukofzer's study of the *Laudes Regiae* long predates modern interest in the intersection of liturgical music and politics, the field is still barely touched.⁶ More recent works have begun to show that liturgical music could bear complex theological meanings: Margot Fassler, for example, has shown that exegetical sequences could serve as arguments for clerical reform. Political analysis of chant is also implicit in Peter Jeffrey's call to incorporate ethnomusicological questions about music's social use into chant scholarship, while Flanagan, Ashley, and Sheingorn have argued for

⁴ Spiegel, *Chronicle*, 25.

⁵ Bradbury, *Capetians*, 147, 152, 156; Spiegel, *Chronicle*, 40-54, Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 108-141, 156-179.

⁶ Roman Hankeln, "Prolegomenon," in *Political Plainchant? Music, Text and Historical Context of Medieval Saints' Offices* (Ottawa, Canada: The Institute of Medieval Music, 2009), v; Ernest H. Kantorowicz and Manfred F. Bukofzer. *Laudes Regiae* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1946).

interpreting the liturgy as a source for the study of “ideology and the uses of power” in the Middle Ages.⁷ In this vein, Susan Boynton has analyzed the uses of liturgy in creating a political identity at the monastery of Farfa.⁸

When sequences from Saint-Denis are examined in their historical contexts, it becomes apparent that sequences’ texts could be political as well as theological – political, that is, in the sense that church and state existed symbiotically. Hankeln’s warning against analyzing liturgy as “political” in the modern, secular, sense of the term is well taken here.⁹ Both church and state needed each other to survive. The church’s approval could legitimize a dynasty, just as a king’s approval could provide an abbey (such as Saint-Denis) with extensive land grants and economic privileges. Clerical and earthly power was also divided between church and state: the king had to approve the appointments of abbots of Saint-Denis; the abbot of Saint-Denis helped crown the king and could even act as the king’s regent on occasion.¹⁰ There were thus elements of practical politics in religion and elements of religion in practical politics. Liturgical music comes into play here as a part of the public ceremonies in which king and monk negotiated and confirmed their relationship: there is hardly a better word for

⁷ Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 342-43; C. Clifford Flanagan, Kathleen Ashley, and Pamela Sheingorn, “Liturgy as Social Performance: Expanding the Definitions,” in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Western Michigan University, 2001), 697; Peter Jeffrey, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 2.

⁸ Roman Hankeln, “A Blasphemous Paradox?” in *Political Plainchant*, 2-4, 9; Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 3-15.

⁹ Hankeln, “A Blasphemous Paradox?” 2.

¹⁰ Abbot Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1992), 122-24.

these clerical and worldly interactions than “political,” in the symbiotic sense outlined above.

In the following analysis, I will discuss three original sequences from the Abbey of Saint-Denis for the Feast of St. Denis, and the ways that their music and text combine to create political messages. Because this music was performed at a public occasion, it seems safe to assume that this music was heard by both clerics and laymen, and that any political implications in the music or text would not be lost on either performers or auditors. Most likely, the abbey, as a site of pilgrimage, would be filled on the Feast of St. Denis with nobles, pilgrims, and royalty. It is in this context and for these audiences, then, that these sequences may have been performed.

Having clarified the working assumptions of the thesis, I also wish to admit its limitations. It is hardly possible, in a work of this length, to interrogate text and music equally; consequently, most of the discussion will focus on music. The meanings of the texts will be summarized briefly, although undoubtedly much more can be said about these texts as poems in their own right: that I leave to others more skilled in untangling the dense poetic web of medieval Latin. This study is also hampered by a lack of sources for sequences from Saint-Denis with musical notation. This thesis largely works with music from one source, and therefore runs the risk of deducing too much from too little. Thus it is not possible to form sweeping hypotheses about the use of sequences at Saint-Denis from the present analysis, and all conclusions are to be understood as tentative.

These reservations aside, these three unique sequences from the Abbey of Saint-Denis reward analysis in many ways. Through their texts and music, it is possible to

understand these sequences from the Abbey of Saint-Denis as simultaneously serving theological and political purposes, addressing a royal as well as a divine audience, and modeling different ideals of how music and text ought to work together within the liturgy. In one of our case studies (*Gaude turma triumphalis*), music and text seem divorced from each other, with music “carrying” a text which might have been specially composed for the occasion; in the other two sequences, music alternatively overshadows the text or emphasizes parts of the text listeners are supposed to focus on. In their celebration of the monarchy’s patron saint, these sequences can be read as an argument for the importance of the church to any successful monarchy.

Genres, Sources, Repertoires

Sequences were most often sung as part of the Mass Proper, after the Alleluia and before the reading of the Gospel. (Whether or not the sequence was derived from Alleluia tropes is still a matter of debate).¹¹ Sequences were usually cast in the form *aabbccddeeff...x*, with each section of music repeated once with a new text before the next melody was sung. Thus two sections of text were associated with each melody.¹² To avoid confusion, the term *strophe* will here be used to refer to a unit composed of music and text, containing the melody, its repetition, and the two associated sections of text. Each individual section of text, on the other hand, will be called a *versicle*. Thus a

¹¹ Calvin M. Bower, “From Alleluia to Sequence: Some Definitions of Relations,” in *Western Plainchant in the First Millenium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music*, ed. Gallagher et al (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003) 351-98; Richard Crocker et al, “Sequence” in *Grove Online*; Richard Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 392-409.

¹² Dag Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 158-62; Crocker, “Sequence.”

strophe almost always contains two *versicles*. Further, in all transcriptions, charts and tables, strophes will be indicated with Roman numerals, while versicles will be indicated with lowercase letters. Thus the second versicle of the second strophe of a sequence will be indicated as Strophe II b.

Most of the sequences discussed in this thesis are late sequences, i.e., in the regularized style which had become widespread by the 12th century. Commonly associated with Adam of St. Victor, this style features texts tend to be organized by set patterns of rhyme and meter.¹³ Melodies are generally uniform in length and tend to begin and close on the final or reciting tone of a mode. These features contrast with the early style, which usually sets a prose text. Musically, early sequences tend to be modally ambiguous, and to have melodies of varying length. These two styles of sequence, early and late, are hardly cast-iron; scholars also acknowledge the existence of transitional sequences, which have traits of both early and late sequence styles.¹⁴

Few notated sources from Saint-Denis contain sequences, and most of these sources date from the 13th century or later. The abbey's first surviving ordinaries date from the first half of the century; F:Pm 526 dates from 1234-36, and F:Pn, lat. 976 dates from between 1241 and 1259. As ordinaries, of course, these manuscripts do not contain notated music, though they give evidence of what sequence repertoire might have been performed. The chief notated source for sequences from the Abbey of Saint-Denis is F: Pn, lat. 1107, a notated missal dating from between 1259 and 1275. The other chief source for sequences from the Abbey of Saint-Denis, GB:Lva 1346-1891, is

¹³ Norberg, *Introduction*, 169.

¹⁴ Crocker, "Sequence"; Lori Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, "The Sequence from 1050-1150: A Study of a Genre in Change" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1997), 7-41, 334-36.

a notated missal from about 1350.¹⁵ Between F:Pn, lat. 1107 and GB:Lva 1346-1891, then, we have two notated sources for sequences at Saint-Denis in the 13th and 14th centuries. Naturally, these two sources embody differing instantiations of the abbey's sequence repertoire.

The saint celebrated in these sequences was one of the most popular in France, whose life has been described as “one of the most colorful and complex creations in medieval sacred literature.” Briefly summarized, St. Denis was believed to have brought Christianity to Gaul, in Roman times, together with his companions, Rusticus and Eleutherius, and to have been beheaded by agents of the Roman emperor Domitian after he had preached Christianity in Paris. Having been beheaded, he is said to have carried his own (singing) head several miles. The legend had numerous accretions, but the most significant was the confusion of Denis with other figures of the same name: a follower of St. Paul, Dionysius the Areopagite, and a 5th-century mystic also called Dionysius the Areopagite, or the Pseudo-Areopagite, who wrote mystical treatises that were highly respected in the Middle Ages.¹⁶ All these saintly figures were conflated together, so that the monks, the king, and (presumably) the common people believed that St. Denis, a Greek associate of Paul, had come proselytizing to ancient Paris, and had written important theological texts before being martyred. Consequently, the monks of Saint-Denis promoted the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, as we will see in some of our sequence texts.

¹⁵ F:Pn, lat 10505 is another notated missal believed to be from the abbey, though it is incomplete and contains no music for the feast of St. Denis, and is thus irrelevant to our study. Robertson, *Service-Books*, 373-75, 379-83, 391.

¹⁶ Crosby, *Royal Abbey*, 3-4.

The rite of Denis/Dionysius and his companions was celebrated at Saint-Denis through five feasts, all of which had been in existence since at least the eleventh century (see Table 1). The oldest feast was undoubtedly the weeklong feast of Denis beginning on 9 October, the only feast about the martyr himself. Both the Dedication and Consecration of the church received their own feasts. Two more feasts celebrated Denis in death: the feast of the Invention commemorated the discovery of the bodies of the martyr and his companions. The feast of the Detection celebrated the opening of the saint's reliquary in 1053 to resolve a controversy with the monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, which had claimed to possess relics of Dionysius the Areopagite.¹⁷

Table 1: Feasts for St. Denis and His Companions

23-24 February	Dedication of the Church
22 April	Invention of Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius
28 July	Consecration of the Altar
9 June	Detection of Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius
9-16 October	Feast of Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius

As one might expect, the feast of Saint Denis was celebrated with many sequences. A study of the sequentiary of F:Pn, lat 1107 reveals that the Feast of Denis received as many sequences as Advent and Easter, and had more sequences than Christmas (see Table 2). The sequences listed in F:Pn, lat 1107, however, are only one set of the possible sequence repertoire at Saint-Denis; other sources from Saint-Denis proscribe alternate sequences for most of the feasts of St. Denis. Taking all sequences proscribed for the feasts of St. Denis by the sources results in a list of thirteen

¹⁷ Robertson, *Service-Books*, 5-9, 235; Roman Hankeln, *Historiae Sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: St. Emmeram, Regensburg, ca. 1050/16 Jh.* (Ottawa, Canada: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1998), ix. Note that the conflation of Denis and Dionysius was not disputed, only the possession of the relics: the monks of St. Emmeram claimed to have acquired the relics from the Abbey of Saint-Denis.

sequences that may have been performed in the liturgy of St. Denis (see Table 3). No single source, however, mentions all these sequences. F:Pm 526 (source 1 in Table 3), the earliest source, refers to the most, with nine, while the later sources all have between five and six sequences for the feasts of St. Denis. Robertson has already noted, in her survey of sequences at the abbey, that the surviving ordinaries and missals from the 13th century tend to list a variety of sequences for the same feasts, while 14th-century sources present a more uniform, standardized repertoire.¹⁸ The sequence repertoire at Saint-Denis was clearly not static: while some sequences are common to all four sources, much of the repertoire seems to have been replaced with time.

Table 2: Number of Sequences for Feasts at the Abbey of Saint-Denis (F:Pn, lat 1107)

Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary	6
Pentecost	5
Advent, Easter, Denis	4
Christmas	3

The sequences performed at the Abbey of Saint-Denis for feasts of St. Denis can be divided into two categories: those created for the worship of St. Denis, and those for the worship of other saints and adapted for use for feasts of St. Denis. Of the thirteen sequences known to have been sung in honor of St. Denis at the abbey, six are generic songs of praise whose texts address other feasts and saints than Denis (see Table 4). The other seven, however, which were created for the worship of St. Denis and refer to his passion at some level of detail.

¹⁸ Robertson, *Service-Books*, 175.

Table 3: Sequences performed at the Abbey of Saint-Denis for feasts of St. Denis¹⁹

<u>Sequences reference</u>	<u>Feasts</u>	<u>Sources*</u>	<u>AH</u>
1. <i>Christo inclita</i>	Dedication	1-4	7:132; 53:201
	Consecration	1, 2, 4	
2. <i>Superae harmoniae</i>	Invention	1	9:141
	Feast	1	
3. <i>Victime paschale laudes</i>	Invention	1	54:12
4. <i>Gaude prole Graecia</i>	Invention	1, 2	55:130
	Feast	1-4	
5. <i>Superne matris</i>	Invention	3	55:45
	Detection	1, 2	
6. <i>Gaude turma</i>	Invention	2	9:140
	Feast	2, 3	
7. <i>Salve pater dionysi</i>	Invention	4	44:104
	Detection	4	
	Feast	1-4	
8. <i>Mirabilis deus</i>	Feast	1, 4	7:231; 53:372
9. <i>Ecce pulcra</i>	Feast	1	7:130; 53:200
10. <i>O alma trinitatis</i>	Feast	1	7:110
11. <i>Alludat vox ecclesiae</i>	Feast	2, 3	8:118
12. <i>Ave pater gallie</i>	Feast	4	42:193
13. <i>Doctorem egregium</i>	Feast	4	42:193
<u>*Source key:</u>			
1) F:Pm 526.....		9 sequences	
2) F:Pn, lat. 976.....		6 sequences	
3) F:Pn, lat 1107.....		5 sequences	
4) GB:Lva 1346-1891.....		6 sequences	

¹⁹ This chart is distilled from Robertson's summary of the sequence repertoire at Saint-Denis. Robertson, *Service-Books*, 176-184.

Table 4: Ascriptions of Sequences performed in honor of St. Denis²⁰

<u>for Denis</u>	<u>Other</u>
<i>Gaude turma</i>	<i>O alma trinitatis</i> (Trinity)
<i>Alludat vox ecclesiae</i>	<i>Ecce pulchra</i> (All Saints)
<i>Superae harmoniae</i>	<i>Christo inclita</i> (All Saints)
<i>Salve pater Dionysi</i>	<i>Mirabilis deus</i> (Martyrs)
<i>Gaude prole</i>	<i>Supernae matris</i> (All Saints)
<i>Ave pater gallie</i>	<i>Victimae paschali laudes</i> (Easter)
<i>Doctorem egregium</i>	

Of the seven sequences which specifically discuss St. Denis, Robertson has demonstrated that three—*Salve pater*, *Ave pater gallie*, and *Doctorem egregium*—were written by the monks of Saint-Denis, presumably between the 13th and 14th centuries.²¹ Three of the other four sequences which refer to Denis, however, also appear to be original to the abbey. One, *Gaude prole Graecia*, survives in a unique version at the Abbey of Saint-Denis, as Fassler has acknowledged.²² Two other sequences, *Alludat vox* and *Gaude turma*, only survive in a Denisian source (F:Pn, lat 1107). None of these sequences has received much scholarly attention; they certainly have not been considered as music original to St. Denis.

These sequences are more remarkable when one notes that medieval Saint-Denis does not seem to have produced much new music (or if it did, little of that music has survived). The abbey had been in existence since the 7th century or earlier, and some of its traditional repertoire was distinctly old-fashioned by the 12th century.²³ It

²⁰ Blume and Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*, all volumes.

²¹ Robertson, *Service-Books*, 186.

²² Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 174.

²³ Edward B. Foley, *The First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of St.-Denis in France: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 526* (Fribourg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1990), 31.

is probably no accident that one of the most musically innovative religious institutions of the time, the Abbey of St. Victor (also in Paris), had only recently been founded in 1108, and in its effort to create music that suited its musical and theological ends pioneered the late sequence style.²⁴

²⁴ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 9, 200-201.

I. A Strict Contrafact and an Army: *Gaude turma triumphalis*

Gaude turma triumphalis is perhaps the most “typical” late sequence to be discussed here, with tightly controlled musical and textual structures. Musically, it is remarkable for the motivic unity of its melodies, deriving one three strophes from one melody; this level of musical sophistication, though, is counterbalanced by its use of music to “carry” the text rather than interpret it.

A contrafact of the sequence *Hodierne lux diei*, *Gaude turma* derives most of its regularity from its source. For both sequences, all versicles are in the same 887 syllable pattern (three lines, with eight syllables in the first two lines and seven syllables in the third line). Most of its melodies begin on the finalis or the reciting tone of the mode. Further, each melody ends with the same cadential pattern (though Strophe VI of *Gaude turma* adds an extra e^1). *Gaude turma*’s melodies are basically conjunct, although each strophe contains five or more melismas, most of which fill in melodic leaps, smoothing out the disjunct possibilities in the melodies (see Table 5).

Table 5: Melisma counts in *Gaude turma triumphalis*

<u>Strophe</u>	<u>Syllables</u>	<u>Notes</u>	<u>Melismas</u>
I	23	31	8
II	23	28	5
III	23	30/32	7/9
IV	23	30/29	7/6
V	23	32	9
VI	23	32	8
VII	23	32	9
VIII	23	33	10

Most of the music in *Gaude turma* is taken directly from *Hodierne lux* (see Table 6). *Gaude turma*, however, does have three more strophes of text than *Hodierne lux*; consequently, three inner strophes (V-VII) have melodies which do not appear in *Hodierne lux*. Each melody in *Gaude turma* is divided into three phrases to correspond with the three lines of text in each versicle. Since each strophe ends with the same cadential pattern for the melody's third phrase, only the first and second phrases of each melody in the three added strophes can be "new."

Table 6: Relationships between melodies in *Hodierne lux* and *Gaude turma*

<i>Hodierne lux</i>	<i>Gaude turma</i>	Derivation
I	I	
II	II	
III	III	
IV	IV	
--	V	a = III b
--	VI	b = III a
--	VII	a = III a
V (III b)	VIII	a = III b

Yet all the "new" melodies are ornamented paraphrases of Strophe III. Strophe V takes the second phrase of Strophe III (*bases, pelles rubricate*) as its subject, adding several new notes at the beginning of the line before quoting the melody of Strophe III. Strophe VI has a new first phrase, but its second phrase (*missus areopagita*) is a quotation of the first phrase of Strophe III (*Vos columnae deaurante*). Like Strophe V, Strophe VII adds several notes to the beginning of its first phrase before launching into a quote, this time of the first phrase of Strophe III. This process of deriving new melodies from previous strophes is in keeping with musical procedures in *Hodierne*

lux; the melody of *Hodierne lux*'s Strophe V (*Gaude turma*'s Strophe VIII) is an ornamented variation on the second phrase of Strophe III, which is then repeated.

The way the melodies of Strophes V-VII are derived from Strophe III reveals a high level of sophistication; the alterations to the melodies make it hard to hear these melodies as exact repetition. One could certainly admire the melodic construction of Strophes V-VII as a clever spinning of new material out of old. But this sequence is also technically remarkable for its thematic integration; sequences, after all, customarily consisted of a chain of melodies connected chiefly by mode. This sense of melodic integration seems to be inspired by *Hodierne lux* itself, with its constantly returning cadential pattern and melodic relationship between Strophes III and V, as noted above. *Gaude turma* expands this sense of melodic integration exponentially; in effect, most melodic material in Strophes III, V, VI, VII, and VIII is related. Since *Gaude turma* only survives in Denisian sources, it seems fair to attribute this high level of musical construction to the monks of Saint-Denis themselves. Thus, while they may not have created many sequences, the ones they did create could be as complex as anything coming from the abbey's scholars customarily associate with late sequence style.

In comparison to its melodic relationships, *Gaude turma*'s modal structure is straightforward. Strophes I and II are in the second mode (plagal Dorian), and Strophe III and all succeeding strophes are in the first mode (authentic Dorian). The ambitus changes along with the mode; the Strophes I and II set their lowest note at A. From Strophe III on, the lowest note is c (see Table 7).

Table 7: Modal Structure in *Gaude turma*

<u>Strophe</u>	<u>Ambitus</u>	<u>Mode</u>
I	A-g	Plagal Dorian (mode 2)
II	A-a	Plagal Dorian (mode 2)
III	c-d ¹	Authentic Dorian (mode 1)
IV	c-c ¹	Authentic Dorian (mode 1)
V	c-d ¹	Authentic Dorian (mode 1)
VI	c-c ¹	Authentic Dorian (mode 1)
VII	c-d ¹	Authentic Dorian (mode 1)
VIII	c-d ¹	Authentic Dorian (mode 1)

Gaude turma is thus a sequence with a clear sense of mode, a number of melismas, a fairly stable ambitus, and a perpetually returning cadential pattern. The invariability of these elements limits interpretative analyses of the sequence. It is hard to propose that a musical feature (like ambitus) carries a specific meaning when 1) that feature occurs in more or less the same way in most other strophes, regardless of subject; 2) that feature is lifted more or less directly from the source of the contrafact, *Hodierne lux*. Unlike the other sequences we will discuss, *Gaude turma* appears to have few distinguishing characteristics, to be unique only for its rigidity. Rather than *illustrating* the text, its music seems to be merely a *vehicle* that carries the text. Even melismas, which we will see being eloquently used in *Alludat vox* to emphasize concepts, carry little observable meaning here (most are transplanted from *Hodierne lux* anyhow): *Dionysi* receives a melisma (Strophe V), but so do *bitumen* (Strophe IV) and *medullam* (Strophe VIII).

The sequence thus shows little effort to customize the music to fit the text. While the music of Strophes V-VII is cleverly derived from pre-existing material, it does not seem to emphasize any particular idea in the text, as we will see below. Nor does there seem to be much significance in the derivation of these strophes from

Strophe III—Strophe III may have been used simply because it is the first strophe in the first mode.

The text, divorced from the music, has a number of interesting features, despite its adherence to a constant 887 syllable count. Unlike the other two sequences discussed in this thesis, the text of *Gaude turma* is not a recounting of Denis' passion; rather, it is exhortation to an unspecified audience on the significance of Denis' legacy. Formally, the text divides into three sections: the first (Strophes I-IV) section addresses a plural audience; the second section (Strophes V-VI) addresses Denis himself; the third section (Strophes VII-VIII) addresses the plural audience, and then shifts to first person plural: *we* should be eager to follow Denis' example. Speakers and audience become one in their quest to emulate Denis' deeds.

In the same way that the music repeats ideas and formulas, the text dwells on flower imagery (although musical repetitions and textual repetitions do not occur simultaneously). Denis' evangelical work, for example, is seen as the planting of a flower garden (Strophes I and VI); even his tortures are apostrophized as “a rosy passion” (*de rosea passione*) (Strophe VI). Denis' eloquence is likened to a flower as well, and he, the text assures us, is one of many such flowers in paradise (Strophe V). Finally, the unspecified audience is compared to roses (Strophe VII).

Any structure implied by the repetition of flower metaphors is not reinforced by the music; the use of melodies from the first section within the second and third sections (see above) weakens possible contrasts between each. Fragments of Strophe III reappear, for example, in Strophe VIII (as they had done in *Hodierne lux*), but not in Strophe VII, which begins the third section. The last two sections have more melismas

than the first section, but are not distinguished from each other through melisma count, ambitus, or mode. Throughout, text and music do not seem to be tailored to each other in this sequence. If anything, the musical economy seen in the careful derivation of new melodies from *Hodierne lux* suggests that creator(s) of the sequence might have seen the text as more important than the music.

The text, on its own, can be read as a direct address to the monarchy. While the martyrs are clearly the “gilded columns” (Strophe III) whose blood is “a support...for all the church” (Strophe IV), the sequence text also incorporates militaristic metaphors which would hardly have been lost on the royalty and nobles who would have been present during the feast of Denis. Thus the martyrs are a military unit – a “squadron of the spiritual battle” (*Turma pugnae spiritalis* – Strophe I) – and Strophe II refers to the audience as being “of the throne of Solomon and the battle of Gideon” (*Vos de throno Salomonis/ Vos de bello Gedeonis*). It is hardly a coincidence that the sequence closes with another military reference, this one referring to the “passion of the present army” (*Passionem/ Praesentis militiae*). These military metaphors combine with the flower imagery mentioned above to suggest a broader meaning: the king’s support makes possible the work of the monks who tend the garden of Denis, and his eager devotion to the cult of Denis strengthens the cause of the martyrs.

II. An Archaic Passion? *Alludat vox ecclesiae*

Alludat vox, another sequence from F:Pn, lat. 1107, is a comparatively straightforward recounting of the passion of Denis, without an overtly political text. *Alludat vox*, instead, celebrates Denis's passion; the sequence ends at an emotional highpoint, with the decapitation of Denis (there is no concluding, moralizing tag, no course of action that the audience is supposed to follow). Stylistically, however, the sequence is hard to place: the text may seem characteristic of a later sequence, but the music is like that of an earlier sequence. Ultimately, *Alludat vox* makes its argument through music rather than through text: its invocation of the "early" sequence style may well have been politically charged.

The text of *Alludat vox*, however, also deals with music. Its opening lines engage with the sound of singing in the church: "Let the voice of the church play" (*Alludat vox ecclesiae*). Unlike the melismatic Alleluia that sometimes began early Frankish sequences, calling out to God, the opening lines of this sequence engage reflexively with the sound of music resounding in the church. After this thoughtful opening, the text reflects on light - this is the second versicle, sung to the same music as the opening reflection on the voice - suggesting that the voices in their resounding have something of the ineffable quality of light. "This light is the light of grace" (*Lux, ista lux est gratiae*). The light which has been lit by singing fills the church, and the metaphor of light informs all knowledge: St. Denis himself is a light (*primum lumen Graeciae*), glittering in the church (*refulsit in ecclesia*), forever shining.

The similarity of ideas is reinforced through musical repetition: to the same music that had apostrophized St. Denis as a “beloved light,” the next versicle proudly declares “This one is the Areopagite.” Through singing, the monks shine light on Denis, the light of the church. And Denis’s missionary work is portrayed, naturally, as a work of *enlightenment*: he and his followers are punished by the Roman authorities because he did not conceal “the brightness of his lamp” (Strophe V – *Nec lucernae claritas/ Cum non sit abscondita*). There is no reference to light in the last versicles of the sequence, but there is little need to mention light: Christ himself, the greatest light of all, appears to Denis in prison, offering him communion (Strophe VIII).

So much light recalls the philosophy of the Pseudo-Dionysius, who used light as a central metaphor. As Robertson has noted, melismatic, monophonic music appears to have had special significance for the monks of Saint-Denis, symbolizing the unity of effort among the singers and thus hinting at the unity of the divine. The comparison of the voice with light would thus have carried mystical significance for the monks. Robertson has proposed that melismatic singing held significance for the monks of Saint-Denis, since melismas were a trademark of monophony. As we shall see below, *Alludat vox* also uses melismas prominently.²⁵

The text of *Alludat vox* uses a variety of syllable counts and rhyme schemes to reinforce its narrative. Like all late sequences, each strophe consists of two versicles with identical rhyme schemes—thus, the first strophe has two versicles in *aab* rhyme. As the sequence progresses, *Alludat vox* moves from shorter to longer versicles, ending in versicles in 8887 pattern. The poetic structures thus separate Denis’s story into distinct units (see Table 8). The opening, which recounts Denis’ arrival in Paris and his

²⁵ Robertson, *Service-Books*, 246-48.

good works there, is largely in 887/aab. The syllabic count changes at the midpoint (strophe V), which is in 77/ab. Strophe V describes the conversion of the people of Paris, as had Strophe IV—here, at least, the narrative and poetic structure have do not have a causal relationship. The second half of the text, on the other hand, draws attention to Denis’ torture by shifting meters. Strophes VI, VIII, and IX which discuss his arrest, finale celebration of Mass, and his martyrdom, are in 8887/aaab, while Strophe VII (his torture) is in 887/aab.

Table 8: Poetic and narrative structure in *Alludat vox*

<i>Subject matter</i>	<i>Strophe</i>	<i>Syllables/line</i>	<i>Rhyme scheme</i>
Acclamation of Denis	I	888	aab
“ “	II	887	aab
Arrival in Gaul	III	887	aab
Church	IV	887	aab
Conversions	V	77	ab
Arrest	VI	8887	aaab
Torture	VII	887	aaab
Mass	VIII	8887	aaab
Communion, martyrdom	IX	8887	aaab

While the rhymed metrical verse of *Alludat vox* might seem characteristic of a later sequence, the music resembles that of an older sequence. Like many earlier sequences, it is modally irregular: though its ultimate final is clearly G, it changes mode several times. The first two strophes are clearly in the eighth mode (plagal Mixolydian); by the end of the sequence, the music is clearly in the seventh mode (authentic Mixolydian). In between, strophes V and VII flirt with the second mode (plagal Dorian), cadencing on d^1 and strongly emphasizing f^1 (the reciting tone of mode 2). Even within the strophes in the seventh mode, however, there are still strong elements

of plagal modality: melodies frequently begin on the pitch c^1 (the reciting tone of plagal Mixolydian), as well as on e^1 and f^1 , suggesting plagal modality even as the ambitus broadens to authentic ranges. The use of the ambitus is also similar to that of an older sequence: it expands and rises throughout the sequence, growing from a simple $d-d^1$ octave to an $f-g^1$ ninth. The melodies themselves are also old-fashioned; unlike the simpler, stepwise melodies of late sequences, these leap freely by fourths and fifths. As a final detail, all but one strophe (Strophe III) ends on an “a” vowel, another common trait of older sequence texts.

All these features of *Alludat vox* suggest that it might be a contrafact of an older sequence—a contrafact new to Saint-Denis, perhaps, but most likely a contrafact. The problem is that its melody does not match that of any other sequence. But if *Alludat vox*, which seems to have been first mentioned in a 13th-century source, is not a contrafact, and not a survival of an older sequence, then it would have to be a deliberately archaic sequence. If this seemingly “old” sequence were composed in the 13th century, then it would indicate a clear awareness of the markers of early sequence style, and a clear sense of what was “not modern.” But why would such a sequence be composed?

Saint-Denis, as one of the older abbeys around Paris, had many archaic sequences in its repertoire. Only in the 13th century did the monks of Saint-Denis create original sequences in the late style, most of them contrafacts. In a way, this musical conservatism was probably tied to the abbey’s age: Saint-Victor had only been founded in 1108, and it was natural that a fairly young abbey would embrace new musical

forms.²⁶ Saint-Denis, on the other hand, had traditions extending back many centuries; its liturgical music was thus somewhat more old-fashioned than that of a younger establishment.

Consequently, a new sequence at Saint-Denis might have been made in a consciously archaic style, in order to fit with the abbey's existing repertoire. As I have implied above, archaic sequence styles may have been signifiers of the abbey's age and status; writing a new "old" sequence would reinforce the Abbey's age (and thus authority) for its royal patrons and for the flood of pilgrims that visited the abbey. It is especially fitting that a new sequence for the feast of St. Denis be made consciously archaic: *Alludat vox* proudly implies that the relics of Denis are present (*Hic est Areopagita*), a claim the Abbey had made since its founding. Perhaps a *terminus ante quem* can be suggested here, since the first major controversy over whether the Abbey did possess the relics was in the 11th century; before then, there might have been less compulsion to assert the presence of the saint's relics.²⁷ Thus, *Alludat vox*, as a new sequence in an older style, might have reminded listeners of the Abbey's age, while reinforcing the abbey's claim to authority as the site of the relics of the patron saint of France.

Whatever the age of *Alludat vox*, its musical structures add new layers of meaning to the text. The steadily rising ambitus of each strophe corresponds to the progress of Denis' passion. The opening two strophes reach their highest note at d^1 ; the ambitus rises progressively higher, reaching e^1 in Strophe III, f^1 in Strophe IV, and g^1 in

²⁶ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 201.

²⁷ See note 17.

Strophe V as Denis arrives in Paris, builds a church, and begins to convert the people to Christianity. The highest pitch drops back to f^1 as Denis is put to the torture in Strophe VII, but regains g^1 in the last two strophes as Denis takes the sacrament from Christ and is martyred. The ambitus thus reinforces Denis's story. There is even a correlate to the sequence's abrupt ending - there is no moralizing postscript to end the sequence, just the image of the saint holding his head in his hand - in the achievement of the high g^1 at the end of the sequence. The musical goal has been reached, as Denis achieved his glorious end; there is no need to glorify him further.

This procedure with the ambitus has implications for the mode of the sequence as well (see Table 9). The opening two strophes are clearly in the eighth mode (plagal Mixolydian); c , the reciting tone of the eighth mode, continues to be prominent throughout Strophes III and IV – meanwhile, the rising ambitus of these strophes “travels” toward a new mode, just as Denis travels to Gaul in Strophe III. Strophe V begins and ends on d^1 , and is either a transposed G-mode or a modulation to d , and discusses Denis' first conversions. In Strophe VI, the seventh mode (authentic Mixolydian) is reached, with a wider ambitus, a clear cadence on g , and a greater emphasis on the reciting tone d – as the narrative arrives at Denis' passion. C , the plagal reciting tone, remains prominent throughout Strophe VII, another strophe which could be heard as functioning in plagal d (the emphasis on f , the reciting tone of plagal Dorian, is particularly striking), since it ends with a clear cadence on d . Strophes VIII and IX return to authentic Mixolydian; the ambitus reaches back up to g^1 and the final cadences are emphatic as Denis receives communion and is martyred. Thus the

wandering tonal structure of the sequence mirrors Denis' journey to Gaul and his path toward martyrdom.

Table 9: Ambitus and mode in *Alludat vox*

<i>Subject matter</i>	<i>Strophe</i>	<i>Ambitus</i>	<i>Mode (number)</i>
Acclamation of Denis	I	d-d ¹	plagal G (8)
“ “	II	f-d ¹	
Arrival in Gaul	III	f-e ¹	(plagal?) D (2)
Church	IV	f-f ¹	
Conversions	V	c-g ¹	authentic G (7)
Arrest	VI	g-g ¹	plagal D (2)
Torture	VII	f-f ¹	authentic G (7)
Mass	VIII	f-g ¹	
Communion, Martyrdom	IX	f-g ¹	

A final musical feature worth noting is the use of melismas within each strophe, and the ways the melismas relate to the modal structure of the sequence. The first four strophes, in the eighth mode, never have more than three melismas per melody. Strophe VI, the arrival at the seventh mode, describes Denis's arrest, and has the most melismas, with five in the first versicle and seven in the second versicle. This emphasis through melismas is further highlighted by the lack of melismas in neighboring strophes, each of which flirts with plagal D (second mode): Strophes V and VII contain no melismas at all. Strophes VIII and IX, which reaffirm seventh mode, have an average of three melismas apiece.

Thus, in this sequence, melismas are used to emphasis concepts. Text-setting in *Alludat vox* is primarily syllabic, but most strophes have several melismas on key words. As discussed above, the opening of the sequence text meditates on the voice and light; it is hardly surprising, then, that words decorated with melismas include *voci* in

the first strophe, *lumen* and *luminaria* in the second strophe. Similarly, Strophe III establishes that Denis was sent to Paris from Rome, and the words *romam* and *lutetiam* (the Roman name for Paris) receive melismas. Perhaps the most telling example is Strophe VIII, which recounts the story of Christ administering the sacrament to Denis in the prison; the two emphasized words are *Christi* and *praesentia*. These words would have had special resonance for the monks of Saint-Denis and their audience, since Christ, after all, was said to have helped build the original abbey—for the monks (and their royal audience) Christ *had* been present at Saint-Denis.²⁸

Thus *Alludat vox* makes its broader political point—that the Abbey of Saint-Denis's age entitled it to respect and patronage—chiefly through its music. Its use of melismas and ambitus to underscore particular details and the broader structure of its narrative are especially noteworthy, as is its use of differing modal areas to tell its story. Most importantly, however, this sequence's conscious use of archaic style suggests that composers of sequences were aware of differences between sequence styles, and made conscious decisions to work within these styles.

²⁸ Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis in the Time of Abbot Suger (1122-1151): March 31-May 31, 1981* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981), 17.

III. Addressing the Monarch: *Gaude prole, Graecia*.

Gaude prole, Graecia is commonly attributed to Adam of St. Victor (d. 1146).²⁹ But *Gaude prole, Graecia* survives at Saint-Denis in a unique form whose melody and text are quite different from the Victorine version.³⁰ The Denisian *Gaude prole, Graecia*, however, uses its music and text to highlight the symbiotic relationship between the abbey and the monarchy.

Gaude prole, Graecia is not an originally composed sequence, being instead a contrafact of the earlier sequence *Mane prima sabbati*, which dates to the 11th century. As Fassler has noted, *Mane prima sabbati* was a common model for contrafacts in the 12th century.³¹ Both *Gaude prole, Graecia* and *Mane prima sabbati* are found in the first source of notated sequences from Saint-Denis, F: Pn, lat. 1107. The music of the Denisian *Gaude prole, Graecia* is a fairly straightforward adaptation of *Mane prima sabbati*; the same order of melodies is used, with several variants to accommodate the longer text of *Gaude prole, Graecia*. The key differences in musical structure (see Table 10) between the two sequences is the repetition of t. 183 a-c in Strophe I of *Gaude prole, Graecia*, and the reiteration of t. 120 to form Strophe IX of *Gaude prole, Graecia*. Through these repetitions, three more versicles of text are added; *Mane prima sabbati*'s sixteen versicles are expanded to the nineteen versicles of *Gaude prole, Graecia*. In the tables below, I use the melody numbers from Aubrey and Misset's

²⁹ See note 23.

³⁰ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 173-74.

³¹ *Ibid*, 171.

catalogue of sequences attributed to Adam of St. Victor, with the further division of the melodies into phrases. Thus “t. 120 d” refers to melody 120, phrase 4, in Aubrey and Misset’s collection.

Table 10: Melody order in *Gaude prole, Graecia* and *Mane prima sabbati* (F:Pn, lat. 1107).

<i>Gaude prole, Graecia</i>			<i>Mane prima sabbati</i>		
<u>Strophe (versicles)</u>		<u>Melody no.</u>	<u>Strophe(versicles)</u>		<u>Melody no.</u>
I	(2)	t. 183 a-c	I	(1)	t. 183 a-c
II	(2)	t. 183 d-f	II	(2)	t. 183 d-f
III	(2)	t. 114 a, 120 d	III	(2)	t. 114 a, 120 d
IV	(2)	t. 114 var.	IV	(2)	t. 114 var.
V	(2)	t. 34	V	(2)	t. 34
VI	(2)	t. 118 var.	VI	(2)	t. 118 var.
VII	(2)	t. 119	VII	(2)	t. 119
VIII	(2)	t. 120	VIII	(2)	t. 120
IX	(2)	t. 120	----		-----
X	(1)	t. 120, amen formula	IX	(1)	amen formula

While the Denisian versions of *Gaude prole, Graecia* and *Mane prima sabbati* thus have much in common with each other, the Denisian versions of these two sequences have major differences from other Parisian sources from around the same time. Versions of *Gaude prole, Graecia* from the Abbey of St. Victor, for example, have a different order of melodies, largely derived from the Victorine version of *Mane prima sabbati* (see Table 11). Versions of both *Gaude prole, Graecia* and *Mane prima sabbati* from the cathedral of Notre Dame are also close to those from St. Victor. Thus the differences between the Denisian and other versions of *Gaude prole, Graecia* derive, to some extent, from the Denisian version of *Gaude prole, Graecia* being based on a different version of *Mane prima sabbati*.

Table 11: Melody order in Victorine *Gaude prole, Graecia* and *Mane prima sabbati* (F:Pn, lat. 14819).

<i>Gaude prole, Graecia</i>			<i>Mane prima sabbati</i>		
Strophe (versicles)		Melody no.	Strophe(versicles)		Melody no.
I	(2)	t. 183 a-c	I	(1)	t. 183 a-c
II	(2)	t. 183 d-f	II	(2)	t. 183 d-f
III	(2)	t. 33	III	(2)	t. 33
IV	(2)	t. 114	IV	(2)	t. 114
V	(2)	t. 114	-----		-----
VI	(2)	t. 34 var.	V	(2)	t. 34 var.
VII	(2)	t. 47 var., 120 a	VI	(2)	t. 47 var., 120 a
VIII	(2)	t. 119	VII	(2)	t. 119
IX	(2)	t. 120	----		----
X	(2)	t. 118	VIII	(2)	t. 118
XI	(1)	t. 120 var.	IX	(1)	tag

Table 12: Order of Melodies in Victorine (F:Pn lat. 14819, F:Pa 110) and Denisian (F:Pn lat. 1107) versions of *Gaude prole, Graecia*.

<u>Text</u>	<u>Strophe/Melody (Saint-Denis)</u>		<u>Strophe/Melody (St. Victor)</u>	
<i>Gaude prole...</i>	I	t. 183 a-c	I	t. 183 a-c
<i>Speciali gaudio...</i>	II	t. 183 d-f	II	t. 183 d-f
<i>luxta patrem...</i>	III	t. 114a, free, 120d	III	t. 33
<i>Hic a summo...</i>	IV	t. 114 var.	IV	t. 114
<i>Hic errorum...</i>	-----		V	t. 114
<i>Hic constructo...</i>	V	t. 34	VI	t. 34 var.
<i>His auditus...</i>	VI	t. 118 var.	VII	t. 47 var.
<i>Infliguntur...</i>	VII	t. 119	VIII	t. 119
<i>Seniore celebrante...</i>	VIII	t. 120	IX	t. 120
<i>Prodit martyr...</i>	IX	t. 120	X	t. 118
<i>Tam preclara...</i>	X	t. 120 var.	XI	t. 120 var.

A comparison of the versions of *Gaude prole, Graecia* preserved at Saint-Denis and St. Victor thus reveals a different arrangement of melodies (see Table 12). Both the Victorine and Denisian versions of *Gaude prole, Graecia* are unusual among the sequence repertory for employing quadruple melodic repetition—the Denisian version uses melody t. 120 in two strophes, each with two versicles, while the Victorine version

does the same with melody t. 114. Such melodic repetition is rare in sequences; as we shall see below, the placement of these melodic repetitions suggests very different meanings for the sequence.

Another key difference between the Denisian and Victorine versions is the presence of an additional strophe in the Victorine version. *Gaude prole, Graecia* is commonly attributed to Adam of St. Victor; if this attribution is correct, then this strophe of text was either omitted from the Denisian version, or added to the Victorine version after the sequence spread to other religious institutions. The former possibility seems more likely if one assumes Victorine origin, since this strophe also occurs in a version of this sequence preserved at Notre Dame (in F: Pn, lat. 1112).

Another reading of the situation might suggest that *Gaude prole, Graecia* was originally written at Saint-Denis, then altered as it passed to St. Victor. Two pieces of evidence suggest Denisian influence on the Victorine version. 1) Victorine Strophe V, the strophe which does not occur in the Denisian version, is the only strophe in either version of the sequence which does not have a rhyme between the final lines of its versicles. This metrical irregularity suggests that Victorine Strophe V might well be an addition to the text (see Table 13). 2) Melody t. 120, the most repeated melody in the Denisian versions of *Gaude prole, Graecia* and *Mane prima sabbati* (see Tables 12 and 14), only occurs in its entirety in the Victorine *Gaude prole Graecia*, not in the Victorine *Mane prima sabbati*, where only the first phrase is used (see Table 13). Further, the use of melody t. 120 in *Gaude prole, Graecia* is that melody's only use in the Victorine sequence repertoire associated with Adam of St. Victor.³² Thus the

³² E. Misset and Pierre Aubry (eds). *Les proses d'Adam de Saint Victor: Texte et musique précédées d'une étude critique par E. Misset et Pierre Aubry*. (Paris: H. Welter, 1900).

Victorine version uses a melody that might have originated at Saint-Denis. Further, every melody that occurs in the Denisian version is used in the Victorine (but not vice versa). Thus, even if *Gaude prole Graecia* was written by the monks of St. Victor, the influence of Saint-Denis seems clear. These findings support Margot Fassler's suggestion that *Gaude prole Graecia* may have been the result of collaboration between the Abbeys of St. Victor and Denis.³³

Table 13a: Typical rhyme scheme in *Gaude prole, Graecia*

Ia.	<i>Gaude prole, Graecia</i>	a
	<i>Glorietur Gallia</i>	a
	<i>Patre Dionysio;</i>	b
Ib.	<i>Exsultet uberius</i>	c
	<i>Felici Parisius</i>	c
	<i>Illustris martyrio.</i>	b

Table 13b: Rhyme schemes in Victorine Strophe V, *Gaude prole, Graecia*.

Va.	<i>Hic errorum cumulus,</i>	a
	<i>Hic omnis spurcitia,</i>	b
	<i>Hic infelix populus,</i>	a
	<i>Gaudens idolatria;</i>	b
Vb.	<i>Adorabunt idolum</i>	c
	<i>Fallacis Mercurii,</i>	d
	<i>Sed vicit diabolum</i>	c
	<i>Fides Dionysii.</i>	d

The text of *Gaude prole, Graecia* falls into three sections. (For ease of reference, the following discussion will use Victorine strophe numbers). First comes an

³³ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 177.

introduction outlining the importance of St. Denis (Strophes I-III), then a narrative of his saintly deeds and martyrdom (Strophes IV-VIII), and finally a conclusion (Strophes IX-XI) which follows the saint to heaven as he is rewarded for his deeds on earth. The eleventh strophe functions as a concluding admonition to celebrate the passion of Denis.

The first section emphasizes ideas that would have resonated strongly at the Abbey of Saint-Denis. The introduction (three strophes) makes it clear that St. Denis' importance rests on his being the same as Dyonisius the Areopagite, and his relationship with the monarchy.³⁴ The very first strophe (*Gaude prole*) underlines the supposed Greek origins of the saint, furthering the conflation of Denis of Paris with Dyonisius the Areopagite. The abbey deliberately had supported this saintly confusion since the eighth century, and was perfectly aware of the claim's political implications. To diminish the glory of the king's patron saint was to threaten the standing not only of the saint but of the monarchy itself. Thus the famous scholar Peter Abelard seems to have been made to retract his suspicion that St. Denis of Paris was the same person as Dyonisius the Areopagite.³⁵

The second strophe makes a veiled reference to relics of Denis and his companions in martyrdom, exhorting the worshipers to "rejoice...in the presence of the martyrs" (*Gaude felix contio/ Martyrum praesentia*). While *Gaude prole* was sung in churches which did not necessarily possess relics of the nation's patron saint, these

³⁴ It is no coincidence that the Denisian version of *Gaude prole*, *Francia*, a sequence in honor of the sainted King Louis IX of France, was a contrafact of *Gaude prole*, *Graecia*. For more on *Gaude prole*, *Francia*, see M. Cecilia Gaposhkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008), 141, 146.

³⁵ Spiegel, "The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship," *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975), 51.

lines are particularly applicable to the congregation at Saint-Denis, especially as Abbot Suger had in times of national emergency removed the relics from the crypt to place the reliquaries in plain view.³⁶ The text also stresses St. Denis's role in the maintenance of the realm, which is even greater than the contributions of legendary warriors (Strophe III), as the happiness and security of France is secured by the patronage of St. Denis. The implication is that competent kings will cultivate the worship of St. Denis to ensure the worldly and spiritual benefit of their realm.

Textually, *Gaude prole, Graecia* shares a common narrative with *Alludat vox ecclesiae*. After an introduction which introduces the topic of Denis' passion, both sequences move into a nearly identical account of Denis' martyrdom (see Table 14). The introduction to *Gaude prole*, however, takes seven versicles, many of them full of pointed messages to the monarch, while the less political *Alludat vox* concludes its introduction in four versicles. Both texts also share a number of expressions and concepts in common; both sequence texts were composed with the same stock of phrases in mind (see Table 15).

Given the textual similarities between *Gaude prole* and *Alludat vox*, it might be tempting to argue that one is a model for the other. But both first survive at Saint-Denis in the same source, F:Pn, lat 1107. Versions of *Gaude prole* are fairly common in other French sources from this period; no other copies of *Alludat vox* survive. *Gaude prole* is mentioned in the earliest of our sources from Saint-Denis, F:Pm 526 (see Table 3, above), while the first mention of *Alludat vox* at Saint-Denis comes from F:Pn, lat 976, a slightly later source. However, this hardly implies that *Gaude prole* is older than

³⁶ Suger, *Deeds*, 131.

Alludat vox. *Gaude prole*, after all, is commonly attributed to Adam of St. Victor, who died almost 100 years before our earliest source, F:Pm 526, was created.³⁷ *Gaude prole* must have been performed at Saint-Denis for some time before it was recorded in F:Pn, lat 1107; the same is true of *Alludat vox*. And while *Gaude prole* is mentioned in a slightly older source, there are so few manuscripts from Saint-Denis that it is difficult to argue convincingly for one sequence being older than the other.

Table 14: Narrative structure in *Gaude prole* and *Alludat vox*

	<u><i>Gaude prole</i>, versicle</u>	<u><i>Alludat vox</i>, versicle</u>
Arrival in Gaul	IV b	III b
Construction of church	V a	IV a
Conversions	V b	IV b-V b
Domitian's anger	VI a	VI a
Arrest	VI b	VI b
Torture	VII a, b	VII a, b
Mass	VIII a	VIII a, b
Communion	VIII b	IX a
Martyrdom	IX a	IX b
The corpse arises	IX b	IX b

Table 15: Expressions/concepts in common between the texts of *Gaude prole* and *Alludat vox*.

<u><i>Gaude prole</i></u>	<u><i>Alludat vox</i></u>
<i>Gaude.../Martyrum praesentia</i> (III a)	<i>Hic est Areopagita</i> (II b)
<i>Hic constructo Christi templo</i> (IV b)	<i>Hic fundata domo Dei</i> (III a)
<i>Infliguntur seni pene</i> (VII a)	<i>Nihil obsunt seni pene</i> (VII a)
<i>Prece domat feras truces</i> (VII b)	<i>Mitiguntur truces ferae</i> (VII b)
<i>Consummatur gladio</i> (IX a)	<i>Gladioque consummator</i> (IX a)

³⁷ Clemens Blume, *Analecta Hymnica* (Leipzig: Reisland, 1922), vol. 55:130; Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris: 500-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 276-77.

The combinations of music and text in the Victorine and Denisian versions tell slightly different stories. Possible tensions between St. Victor and Saint-Denis emerge in Victorine Strophe V, which does not exist in the Denisian version. This strophe discusses the sinfulness and deceit of Paris before Denis arrived on his proselytizing mission. Three lines in the strophe begin with the word *hic* (here), emphasizing sin's presence, *here*, in Paris. The abbey of St. Victor, as Fassler has shown, was founded in a spirit of clerical reform.³⁸ This verse, emphasizing the need to combat sin, seems a particularly Victorine expression: St. Denis is a reformer above all. The musical placement of this strophe in the Victorine version underlines this point. Victorine Strophe V contains the third and fourth repetitions of melody t. 114; the musical repetition allows the text's message to be more clearly heard.

The Denisian version of *Gaude prole, Graecia* also has quadruple melodic repetition, but it is used to emphasize an entirely different part of the text. The final section of the sequence (beginning in Strophe IX) cuts from a scene of Denis at the torture to the Denis' final mass in prison before his martyrdom (*Seniore celebrante/missam*). As in *Alludat vox*, which engaged reflexively with the act of singing, this line invokes the saint's celebration of mass during a mass. So here, the end of the sequence centers on melody t. 120, beginning with the image of the saint celebrating mass, and employing this melody through the next strophe, as Denis is martyred. The sequence's focus thus shifts, through melodic repetition, in the Denisian version, from the sinfulness of Paris to the sanctity of Denis.

³⁸ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 197-206.

Conclusions

Of the sequences discussed here, *Gaude prole* is the most obviously political, with its barely veiled explanation of the why St. Denis's favor is important to the kingdom's well-being. The others, however, also make statements that are open to political interpretation: *Alludat vox* invoked archaic sequence style, presumably to emphasize the abbey's age; *Gaude turma* employs militaristic metaphors. These, of course, are only three of the sequences preserved at Saint-Denis, and it is important to remember that the political readings I have proposed here only apply to these particular sequences, not to all sequences from Saint-Denis.

These sequences, however, offer a unique insight into musical creativity at the Abbey of Saint-Denis. As far as can be told, none of these sequences are preserved in these forms at any other institution; one may reasonably propose that the three sequences discussed here were created in these forms by the monks of Saint-Denis. If so, they deserve to be added to Robertson's list of sequences composed at the Abbey of Saint-Denis.³⁹

Even with these three sequences added, however, only fourteen unique sequences survive from Saint-Denis—hardly a large number. Yet in some sense, the size of the new repertoire from Saint-Denis is beside the point. These three sequences for the Feast of St. Denis are notable for the messages they send; messages that address the monarchy through music and text, while combining politics and theology.

³⁹ Robertson, 186, 278 lists eleven sequences original to Saint-Denis.

Appendix I: Sequence texts (from Blume and Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*)

Appendix Ia: *Gaude, turma triumphalis* (*Analecta Hymnica*, 9.140)

- Ia. Gaude, turma triumphalis,
Turma pugnae spiritalis
Pollens privilegio,
Ib. Turma laeta morte spreta
Rosas plantas et roseta
De crucis martyrio.
- IIa. Vos de valle visionis,
Vos consortes passionis
Et Christi victoriae,
IIb. Vos de throno Salomonis,
Vos de bello Gedeonis
Serta fertis gloriae.
- IIIa. Vos columnae deauratae,
Bases, pelles rubricatae
Galaad martyrii;
IIIb. Per vos fractum alabastrum,
Per vos cursum tenet plastrum
Sanctum evangelii.
- IVa. Vester sanguis verum lumen,
Fulcimentum et bitumen
Totius ecclesiae,
IVb. Sion fundat et figurat,
Ornat, polit et picturat
Forma novae gratiae.
- Va. Ore florens, Dionysi,
Inter flores paradysi
Speciali gloria,
Vb. Te collaudat et honorat,
Suum colit et adorat
Apostolum Gallia.
- VIa. In qua sancta fulgens vita
Missus, Areopagita,
Fidei lux praevia,
VIb. Primo sudans in agone
De rosea passione
Plantasti rosa.

- VIIa. Vos huic rosae complantati,
Vos cum eo purpurati
Rubicunda laurea,
VIIb. Fructum fertis et honorem,
Acquisitum per cruorem
Cum stola purpurea.
- VIIIa. Cum vos reformatis bullam
Passionis et medullam
Invictae constantiae,
VIIIb. Nos formetis ad agonem
Et intentam passionem
Praesentis militiae.

Appendix Ib: Alludat vox ecclesiae (*Analecta Hymnica*, 8:118)

- Ia. Alludat vox ecclesiae
Voci coelestis curiae
Hujus diei gratia,
Ib. Lux ista lux est gratiae.
Qua primum lumen Graeciae
Refulsit in ecclesia.
- IIa. Gratum lumen, lux ignita,
Qua resplendent infinita
Coelo luminaria,
IIb. Hic est Areopagita,
Cui pro pago urbs est sita
In coelesti patria.
- IIIa. Ad hanc urbem sic devenit,
Nam de pago Romam venit,
Pervenit Lutetiam.
IIIb. Huc directus hic advenit,
Hic destruxit, quam invenit,
Idolorum copiam.
- IVa. Hic fundata domo Dei
Deum colit, offert ei
Idolorum spolia:
IVb. Credunt gentes et in rei
Novitate fervent rei,
Cadit idolatria.
- Va. Sed non latet civitas
Supra montem posita
Vb. Nec lucernae claritas,
Cum non sit abscondita.
- VIa. Furit ergo vir profanus,
Quem misit Domitianus,
Ut sanctorum cesset manus,
Cessent et prodigia.
VIb. Prodit miles veteranus,
Et cum co sacra manus,
Vincta pedes, juncta manus,
Omnes ad supplicia.

- VIIa. Nihil obsunt seni poenae,
Nil catasta, nil catenae,
Nihil crates ferrea;
- VIIb. Mitigantur truces ferae
Et, dum cogitur ardere,
Friget virtus ignea.
- VIIIa. Missa Christi celebratur
Et a sene dum cantatur
Angelorum plebs laetatur
Et Christi praesentia.
- VIIIb. Carcere debilitatur,
Sed a Christo confortatur,
Dum ab eo sibi datur
Salutaris hostia.
- IXa. Pane vitae vegetatur
Et lictori praesentatur
Gladioque consummatur
Laetus de victoria.
- IXb. Martyr caput amputatum
Manu portat, ne truncatum
Sit a trunco separatum
Sed sint plena gaudia.

Appendix Ic: Gaude prole, Graecia (*Analecta Hymnica*, 55:130)

- Ia. Gaude prole, Graecia,
Glorietur Gallia
Patre Dionysio;
Ib. Exsultet uberius
Felici Parisius
Illustris martyrio.
- IIa. Speciali gaudio
Gaude, felix contio,
Martyrum praesentia,
IIb. Quorum patrocínio
Tota gaudet regio
Regni stat potentia.
- IIIa. Iuxta patrem positi
Bellatores incliti
Digni sunt memoria;
IIIb. Sed illum praecipue
Recolit assidue
Regalis ecclesia.
- IVa. Hic a summo praesule
Directus ad Galliam
Non gentis incredulae
Veretur insaniam.
IVb. Gallorum apostolus
Venerat Lutetiam,
Quam tenebat subdolus
Hostis velut propriam:

(The following strophe is omitted in St. Denis, F Pn lat., 1107)

- Va. Hic errorum cumulus,
Hic omnis spurcitia,
Hic infelix populus,
Gaudens idolatria;
Vb. Adorabant idolum
Fallacis Mercurii,
Sed vicit diabolum
Fides Dionysii.
- V/VIa. Hic constructo
Christi templo
Verbo docet
et exemplo,

- Coruscat miraculis.
V/VIb. Turba credit,
Error cedit,
Fides crescit
Et clarescit
Nomen tanti praesulis.
- VI/VIIa. His auditis fit insanus
Immitis Domitianus
Mittitque Sisinnium,
VI/VIIb. Qui pastorem animarum
Fide, vita, signis clarum
Trahat ad supplicium.
- VII/VIIIa. Infiguntur seni poenae,
Flagra, carcer et catenae;
Castatam, lectum ferreum
Et aestum vincit igneum;
VII/VIIIb. Prece domat feras truces,
Sedat rogum, perfert cruces,
Post clavos et patibulum
Translatus ad ergastulum.
- VIII/IXa. Seniore celebrante
Missam, turba circumstante,
Christus adest comitante
Caelesti frequentia;
VIII/IXb. Specu clausum carcerali
Consolatur et vitali
Pane cibatur immortalis
Coronandum gloria.
- IX/Xa. Prodit martyr conflicturus,
Sub securi stat securus;
Ferit lictor
Sicque victor
Consummatur gladio.
IX/Xb. Se cadaver mox erexit,
Truncus truncum caput vexit,
Quo ferentem
Hoc direxit
Angelorum legio.
- X/XI Tam praeclara passio
Repleat nos gaudio!

Appendix II: Musical examples

Appendix IIa. *Gaude turma triumphalis* (F: Pn, lat. 1107)

I
a. Gaude turma triumphalis Turmā pugnae spiritualis Pollens privilegio.
b. Turma be-ta morta spreta Rosas plante et rose-ta de cru-cis martyrio.

II
a. Vos de valle visionis Vos consortes passionis Et Christi victoriae.
b. Vos de throno salomonis Vos de bello ge-deonis Serta fertis gloriae.

III
a. Vos columbae de auratis Bases pelles rubricatae Galaad martyrii.
b. Per vos fractum ala-bastrum Per vos cursum tenet plaustrum Sanctum van-gelii.

IV
a. Vester sanguis verum lumen Fulcimentum et bitumen Totius ecclesiae.
b. Syon fundat et fi-gurat Ornat polit et picturat Formosae gratiae.

V
a. Ore florens Dionysi Inter flores paradysi Speciali gloria.
b. Te collaudet et honorat Suum co-lit et a-dorat A-postolum gallia.

VI
a. In qua sancta fulgens vita Missus areopagita Fidei lux p̄via.
b. Primo sudans in agone De rosea passione Plantasti rosaria.

VII
a. Vos huic rosae complementati Vos cum eo purperati Rubicunda laurēa.
b. Fructum fertis et hono-rem Ac-qui situm per cruorem Cum stola purpurea.

VIII
a. Cum vos reformatis bullam Passionis et medullam In-victae constantiae.
b. Nos formetis ad a-gonem Et intentam passio-nem Pre-sentis-mil-i-tiae.

A — — — — — men.

Appendix IIb. *Hodierne lux diei* (F:Pn, lat. 1107)

I a. Hodierne lux diei Celebris in matris diei Agitur memoria.
b. Decentemus in hac die Semper virgi-nis ma-ri-e Laudes et pre-co-nia.

II a. Omnis homo omni hora Ipsam ora et implora Eius patrocinia.
b. Psalle psalle nisu tota Cordis oris voce vota A-ve ple-na gaudia.

III a. Ave domina celorum In experta viri-torum Parens paris nescia.
b. Fecundata sine viro Ge-nu-is-ti more mi-ro ben-i-to-rem filia.

IV a. Florens orthus austro flante Porta clausa post et ante Via virus invi-a.
b. Fu-sa ce-li ro-re tellus Fusum se-de-o-nis vellus Dei tatis plui-a.

V a. salve splendor firmamenti Tu caliginose menti De super ira dia.
b. Placa mare maris stella Ne involvat nos procella Et tempestas obvia.

A. — — — — — men.

Appendix IIc. *Alludat vox ecclesiae* (F:Pn, lat. 1107)

I a. Alludat vox ecclesiae Voci celestes curiae Huius diei gratia.
b. Lux ista lux est gratiae Quaprimo lumen gratiae Reful-sit in ec-clesia.

II a. Gratum lumen lux ignita Qua resplendent infinita Caelo luminaria.
b. Hic est A-ri-o-pa-gi-ta Cui pro pe-go urbs est sita In cae-les-ti pa-tria.

III a. Ad hanc urbem sic devenit Nam de pago romam venit Pervenit Lutetiam.
b. Hic di-rectus hic advenit Hic de struit quem in-venit I-do-lo-rum copia.

IV a. Hic fundata domo dei Deum colit offert ei Idolorum spolia.
b. Credunt gentes et in rei No-vi-tate fervent rei Cadit ido-la-tria.

V a. Sed non latet civitas Supra montem posita.
b. Nec lu-cer-nae clari-tas Lumina sit ab-con-dita.

VI a. Fuit ergo vir profanus Quem misit domitianus ut sanctorem cesset manus cessent et prodigio.
b. Prodit miles veteranus Et cum eo sacra manus Vincit pedes junctam manus Omnes ad supplicia.

VII a. Nihil obsunt seni poenae Nil castata nil cate-nae Nihil crates ferrea.
b. Mit-ti-gum-tur truces ferreae Et dum cogitur ardere Friget virtus ignea.

VIII a. Missa Christi celebratur Et a sane dum cantatur Angelorum plebs laetatur Et Christi praesentia.
b. Cerce-re de-bi-la-tatur Seda Christo con-fortatur Dum ab eo si-bi datur sa-lu-ta-ris hos-tia.

IX a. Pane vitae vegetatur Et licitori presentatur Gladioque consummator Lectus de victoria.
b. Martys caput amputatum Mam-portat ne truncatum Sit a trunco se-pa-ra-tum Sed sint plena gaudia.

X A ————— men.

Appendix IId. *Gaude prole, Graecia* – Denisian version (F:Pn, lat. 1107)

I
a. *Grande prole graecia glorietur gallia Patre dyonisio.*
b. *Exultat u-berius Felici pa-ri-sius Illus-trit martyrio.* t. 183 a-c

II
a. *Speciali gaudio grande felix confio Martyrium presentia.*
b. *Quorum patro-ri-nio Tota gaudet regio Regni stat potentia.* t. 183 d-f

III
a. *Iuxta patrem positi Bellatores incliti Digni sunt membra.*
b. *Sed illum praecipue Recollitas-si-due- Regalis eccle-sia.* t. 184a 120d

IV
a. *Hic a summo praesule Directus ad galliam Non ventis incredulae Veretur insaniam.*
b. *Gal-lorum a-postolus Venerat lu-fetiam Quem tenebat subdolos Hostis velut propriam.* t. 184 var.

V
a. *Hic constructo Christi templo Verbo docet et exemplo Choruscat miraculis.*
b. *Turba credit error cedit Fides crevit et clarescit No-men tam-ti praesen-tis.* t. 34 var.

VI
a. *Hys auditus fit inse-nus Limmitas domitiamus Mittique sisinium.*
b. *Qui pastorem au-i-ma-rum Fide vita signis clarum Trahit ad supplicium.* t. 118 var.

VII
a. *Infliguntur seni poenae Flaga carcer et catenae Castatum lectum parum – Et aestum vincit ignem.*
b. *Preceduntat feras truces Sedat ro-gum perferit cruce Post clavos et pa-ti-bulum – Translatus ad ergastulum.* t. 119

VIII
a. *Seniore celebrante Missa turba circumstante Christus adest comitante Celesta frequentia.*
b. *Spectaculum carcerali Conso-la-tur et vi-tali Pa-ne elbat immor-tali Coro-randum glo-ria.* t. 120

IX
a. *Prodit martyr conflicturus Sub securi stat securus Perit victor sique victor Consummator gladio.*
b. *Se ca-da-vet mox e-erexit Truncastum caput-venit Quod ferentem hodi-re-nit Ange-lorum legio.* t. 120

X
a. *Tam proclara passio Repleat nos gaudio. A - - - - - ren.* t. 120a amen

Appendix IIe. *Gaude prole, Graecia* – Victorine version (F:Pn, lat. 14819)

I a. Gaude prole graecia Glorietur gallia Patre dionisio.
b. Exsul-tet a-berius Fe-li-ci pa-tri sius Il-lus-tris mar-ti-rio. t.113 a-c

II a. Speciali gaudio Gaude felix cantio Martyram presentio.
b. Ex-or-im-pu-les ci-vi-tes To-ta-jaudet regio Regi-stat pa-tientia. t.113 d-f

III a. Iuxta patrem positi Bellatores incliti Digni sunt memoria.
b. Sed il-lum praeci-pue Re-co-li-tas-si-de- Rega-lis ec-cle-si-a. t.133

IV a. Hic a summo praesule Directus ad galliam Non sentis incredulae Veretur insaniam.
b. Gallorum a-posto-lus Vene-rat lu-te-tiam Quam te-ne-bat sub-do-lus Hostis velut pro-giam. t.117

V a. Hic errorum cumulus Hic omnis spurcilla Hic infelix pagulus Gaudens idola trahit.
b. A-do-ra-bunt i-do-lum Fa-l-laci-mercurii Sed ve-ci-ta-ta ho-lum Fi-des de-o-ni-si. t.117

VI a. Hic constructo Christi templo Verbo docet et exemplo Coruscat miraculis.
b. Turba credit error cedit Fides crevit et cla-res-cit No-men tan-ti pre-su-lis. t.134 var.

VII a. His auditus fit insanus Immitas domitiani Mithi que sy-si-ni-um.
b. Qui pastorem ani-marum Fi-de vi-ta signis clarum Tra-hat ad sup-plici-um. t.147 var.

VIII a. Infligantur seni poenae Flagra carceris catenae Castatum lectum ferreum Etasium vincit ignem.
b. Proce domat feres facies Se-dat regum perfert creces Post clavos et pe-ti-bu-lum-Trans-latus ad ergas-tu-lum. t.119

IX a. Seniore celebrante Missam turba circumstante Christus adest comitante Coelesti frequentia.
b. Senex classicus carcer ad i Con-so-la-tur et vi-ta-li Pane eibat immorta-li Coro-nan-dum glo-ria. t.120

X a. Prodit martyr conflicturus Sub securi stat securus Ferit lictor sique victor-Consummator gladio.
b. Se-ca-da-ver mox erexit Tran-ca-strum caput vexit Quid fe-re-ntem hoc di-rax-it An-gelo-rum re-gio. t.118

XI a. Tam praeclara passi-o Re-plent nos gaudio. t.120 var.

Appendix IIf. *Mane prima sabbati* – Victorine version (F:Pn, lat. 14819)

I *Mane prima sabbati* Surgens dei filius Nostra spes et gloria. t. 183 a-c

II a. Victo reges sceletis Rediit ab inferis Cum summa victoria.
b. Caius resurrexit Omni plena gaudia Le-ti-fi-cat omnia. t. 183 d-f

III a. Resurgentis itaque Maria magdalenae Facta est prenuntia.
b. Perans Christi fratribus Eius morte tristibus Expec-ta-ta gaudia. t. 33

IV a. O beati oculi Quibus regem seculi Morte iam deposita Prima est intuita.
b. Hic est illa femina Cuius cuncta crimina Ad Christi vestigia Eius lauit gratia. t. 114

V a. Que dum plorat et mens orat Facto clamat quod cor amat Iesum super omnia.
b. Non ig. horat quem a-dorat Quid prece-tur Sed de-le-tur Quod mens se-met con-sci-a. t. 34

VI a. O Maria mater pia Stella maris appellaris Operum per meritum.
b. Mater Christo-e-gesta Dum fu-i-sti sic ro-cata sed honore subdi-tu. t. 47 var 120a..

VII a. Illa cum fuit porta Per quam fuit lux exorta Hec resurgentis nuntia Mundum replet letitia.
b. Illa mundi impetratrix Is illa bea-ta peccatrix Le-ti-tu-primordi-a Fu-derunt in ec-cle-sia. t. 119

VIII a. O Maria magdalena Audi vota laude plena Apud Christi chorum is-tum-clementur con-silia.
b. Ut fors inuagie-ratis Quite levit a peccatis Seruos suos at-que tu-os Mundet da-ta venia. t. 118

IX Hec dei eius gratia Qui regnat per omnia. (Amen) t. 188

Appendix IIg. *Mane prima sabbati* – Denisian version (F:Pn, lat. 1107)

I *Mane prima sabbati Surgens dei filius Nostra spes et gloria.* t.183 a-c

II a. Victo reges sceleris Redit ab inferis Cum summa victoria.
b. Cuius resurrexio Omnis plena gaudio Con-so-la-tur omnia. t.183 d-f

III a. Resurgentis itaque Maria magdalene Facta est prenuntia
b. Ferens Christi fratribus Eius morte tristibus Expec-ta-ta gaudia. t.114a, 120d.

IV a. O beati oculi Qui bus regem seculi Morte iam deposita Prima est intuita.
b. Hic est illa fe-mina Cuius cuncta crimina Ad Christi vestigia Eius la-vit gratia. t.114 var.

V a. Que dum plorat et mens erat Factus clamat quod cor amat Iesum super omnia.
b. Non ig-norat quem adoravit Quid pre-ce-tur nam de-letur Quid mens ti-met conscia. t.34

VI a. O maria mater pia Stella maris appellaris- Operum per merita.
b. Mater Christi co-e-pxate Dum fu-i-sti sic vocata- Sed hono-re subdita. t.118 var

VII a. Illa enim fuit porta Per quam salus est exorta Nec resurgens nuntia Mundi replet letitia.
b. Illa mundi imper-a-trix Is-ta beati per sa-trex Le-ti-ti-e primordia- Fuderunt in ecclesia. t.119

VIII a. O Maria magdalena Audi nota laude plena Apud Christum chorum istum Clementer concilia.
b. Ut fors summe pie tatis Qui te lauit a pe-ccatis Servos su-os et-que tu-os Munde et date vocia. t.120

IX *A-men di-cant om-ni-a.* (amen)

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