



**This electronic thesis or dissertation has been
downloaded from Explore Bristol Research,
<http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk>**

Author:

Fenton, Cassandra C

Title:

Text and Melody in the Blessing of a Bell

A Comparative Case Study of Five Canterbury Pontificals

General rights

Access to the thesis is subject to the Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial-No Derivatives 4.0 International Public License. A copy of this may be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode>. This license sets out your rights and the restrictions that apply to your access to the thesis so it is important you read this before proceeding.

Take down policy

Some pages of this thesis may have been removed for copyright restrictions prior to having it been deposited in Explore Bristol Research. However, if you have discovered material within the thesis that you consider to be unlawful e.g. breaches of copyright (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please contact collections-metadata@bristol.ac.uk and include the following information in your message:

- Your contact details
- Bibliographic details for the item, including a URL
- An outline nature of the complaint

Your claim will be investigated and, where appropriate, the item in question will be removed from public view as soon as possible.

Text and Melody in the Blessing of a Bell:
A Comparative Case Study of Five Canterbury Pontificals

Cassandra Fenton

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the
requirements for award of the degree of MPhil in the Faculty of Arts

School of Music, September 2022

Word Count:
25,243

Abstract

Broadly defined, pontificals are liturgical books containing rites to be performed by a bishop. These manuscripts include a wide variety of occasional rites including church dedications, ordinations, coronations, and blessings of sacred objects. Prior to the popularisation of more standardised pontifical formats in the late thirteenth century, early pontificals were diverse in content and often varied by diocese. However, these manuscripts were not always produced in the same location where they were intended for use. While pontifical provenance is commonly discussed in the context of localised content variations or a manuscript's place of use, the significance of the scriptorium has often been overlooked. In this dissertation, I examine the scriptorium's influence on liturgical content and transmission through a comparative case study of five Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman pontificals produced at Christ Church, Canterbury, a significant hub of pontifical production. In order to examine the relationships between these pontificals in detail, I focus on a single rite: the blessing of a bell. While the blessing of a bell was a common pontifical rite, these five manuscripts are unique when compared to other contemporary insular pontificals in that they also contain neumed chant notations for three antiphons occurring in the rite, thereby allowing for an assessment of developments in both melodic and textual content. Through a comparison of melodic and textual content in the blessing of a bell, I examine the potential relationships between these five manuscripts in order to not only provide a better understanding of textual and musical development and transmission in early insular pontificals produced at the same location, but also of how the blessing of a bell was developed and circulated in pre-and post-conquest England.

*To my friends and family back home,
For trusting me to go find my way, and knowing that I'll always come back*

Acknowledgements

My progress this year would not be possible without the support of my supervisors. Professor Emma Hornby has offered her unwavering support and enthusiasm for my research since I was a prospective student, and during this year she has helped completely transform my process and turn me into a more efficient and effective researcher. I'd also like to thank Professor Beth Williamson for her precision and keen attention to detail, which kept me on my toes for every supervision and kept me from neglecting the little things. After two years away from an academic environment, my supervisors have helped me find my footing in research again, and I am so proud of the skills and growth I have been able to achieve with their help.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Dr Giovanni Varelli for introducing me to my first pontifical manuscript during my time at Oxford. Dr Varelli has always supported and encouraged my curiosity for medieval notations. What started with one manuscript and one essay under his guidance in 2019 has grown into this project and hopefully many more to come.

To the Bibliothèque nationale de France, British Library, Durham University Library, Parker Digital Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Wren Digital Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin for providing open access to high quality manuscript images and detailed catalogue entries for many of the manuscripts mentioned in this dissertation. A special thanks as well to the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford for permitting me to use images of MS 226, as well librarians at the Old Library for their flexibility in accommodating my visits and providing me with excellent professional manuscript images when requested.

Finally, I would like to thank my dear friends in Virginia, my parents, Lee and Greg Fenton, and my sister, Madi Fenton, for ensuring their love and support was strong enough to be felt across an ocean. To my friends from Oxford for their willingness to read every proposal and abstract, as well as their willingness to offer me a place to sleep after impromptu research trips to the Bodleian. And of course, I'd like to thank my partner for supporting me, reassuring me when I doubted myself, and keeping me fed, watered, and full of coffee when I was too deep in my work to realise what time it was.

Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: DATE:

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Declaration	iv
List of Figures	vii
List of Tables	viii
Introduction	1
0.1 Aims and State of Current Scholarship	1
0.2 Contextualising the Case Study: The Scriptorium, Rite, and Conquest	3
0.3 The Blessing of a Bell: History and Liturgical Significance.....	5
0.4 The Historical Framework of the Norman Conquest	6
0.5 Focus of the Dissertation.....	7
1. Introducing the Pontificals	9
1.1 Origins, Development, and Liturgical Significance.....	9
1.2 Production and Practical Use	12
1.3 Pontifical Standardisation and the “Pre-Standard” Pontifical	14
2. Establishing Canterbury Provenance in the Case Study Pontificals	17
2.1 Introduction and Canterbury Scripts	17
2.2 Characteristics of the Five Case Study Pontificals.....	21
2.3 Identification of Scribes.....	24
2.4 Addressing Conflicting Attributions in the Three Anglo Saxon Pontificals	25
2.5 Reconstructing Ownership Timelines for the Five Case Study Pontificals.....	27
2.6 Sequence of Rites: The Blessing of A Bell in Context	31
2.7 Evidence of Originality and Modification in the Blessing of a Bell.....	34
2.8 Conclusions.....	36
3. Summary of the Rite and Textual Analysis	38
3.1 Introduction: Structure of the Rite and Methodology.....	38

3.2 Bell Terminology and Significance of Rite Texts	41
3.3 Textual Analysis: Methodology and Assessment of Overall Similarity	44
3.4 Specific Textual Variants and the Seven-Psalm Discrepancy	47
3.5 Textual Characteristics of the Rite in Contemporary Non-Canterbury Pontificals	49
4.6 Conclusions.....	51
4. Comparisons of Melody and Neumatic Scripts	54
4.1 Introduction and Methodology	54
4.2 Notational Scripts	56
4.3 Melodic Comparisons of Individual Antiphons and Overall Melodic Similarity	59
4.3.1 <i>In civitate domini</i>	59
4.3.2 <i>Vox domini super aquas</i>	61
4.1.3 <i>Deus in sancto</i>	64
4.2 Overall Musical Similarity and Unique Characteristics in Individual Manuscripts.....	65
4.3 Non-Canterbury Melodies and Other Contemporary Manuscripts.....	67
4.4 Originality of Musical Content	69
4.5 Conclusions.....	71
Conclusions	74
Bibliography and Primary Source List	77
Appendix A.....	83
Appendix B.....	95

List of Figures

1.1: Example of Anglo-Saxon Square script in BNF 943	18
1.2: Example of style II Anglo-Caroline script in CCC 146	18
1.3: Example of Christ Church script in CTC B.11.10	19
1.4: Example of Standard Late English Caroline script in OxMC 226	20
2: Image of the Crucifixion from BNF 943	23
3: Example of marginal neumes in CCC 146	67
B.1.1: <i>In civitate domini</i> , BNF 943	96
B.1.2: <i>In civitate domini</i> , BL 57337	96
B.1.3: <i>In civitate domini</i> , CCC 146	97
B.1.4: <i>In civitate domini</i> , OxMC 226	97
B.1.5: <i>In civitate domini</i> , CTC B.11.10	97
B.2.1: <i>Vox domini super aquas</i> , BNF 943	98
B.2.2: <i>Vox domini super aquas</i> , BL 57337	98
B.2.3: <i>Vox domini super aquas</i> , CCC 146	98
B.2.4: <i>Vox domini super aquas</i> , OxMC 226	98
B.2.5: <i>Vox domini super aquas</i> , CTC B.11.10	99
B.3.1: <i>Deus in sancto</i> , BNF 943	99
B.3.2: <i>Deus in sancto</i> , BL 57337	99
B.3.3: <i>Deus in sancto</i> , CCC 146	99
B.3.4: <i>Deus in sancto</i> , OxMC 226	100
B.3.5: <i>Deus in sancto</i> , CTC B.11.10	100

List of Tables

1: Physical Characteristics of the Five Case Study Pontificals	21
2: Structure of the Blessing of a Bell in Five Canterbury Pontificals	40
3: Frequency of Bell Term Occurrence in Blessing of a Bell	42
4.1 Length of Blessing of a Bell Text by Word Count	45
4.2 Similarity Ratios for Blessing of a Bell Text in Five Canterbury Pontificals	46
5 One and Two-Note Neumes in Three Insular Neumatic Systems	57
6.1a Melodic Similarity Ratios in <i>In civitate domini</i>	60
6.1b Melodic Direction by Syllable in <i>In civitate domini</i>	61
6.2a Melodic Similarity Ratios in <i>Vox domini super aquas</i>	62
6.2b Melodic Direction by Syllable in <i>Vox domini super aquas</i>	63
6.3a Melodic Similarity Ratios in <i>Deus in sancto</i>	64
6.3b Melodic Direction by Syllable in <i>Deus in sancto</i>	65
B.1: Common Neume Forms Grouped by Melodic Function	95

Introduction

0.1 Aims and State of Current Scholarship

In this dissertation, I examine the textual and musical content for the blessing of a bell as it appears in five pontifical manuscripts produced at Christ Church, Canterbury between the tenth and twelfth centuries. As more standardised pontifical formats did not gain more widespread popularity until arguably the thirteenth century, early pontificals produced before this point were extremely diverse in content and formatting, making them difficult to define and codify.¹ Considering the variety of content found in the early pontificals, one primary research dilemma emerges: how does one find the balance between understanding and analysing these manuscripts as a group, while still exploring and embracing the diversity of individual sources? With this balance in mind, I approach the pontificals in this case study by establishing commonality through shared place of production, and further assessing the manuscripts' relationships to one another within this broader framework. By placing the pontificals' shared Canterbury provenance at the heart of this comparative analysis, I hope to examine the role of the scriptorium in determining content in the insular pontificals, analysing content variations at the ritual level.

Perhaps due to the somewhat enigmatic understanding of what really constitutes a pontifical, which will be explored in Chapter 1, scholarship engaging with pontificals as a comprehensive genre is a fairly young field. Most relevant literature has been published in the last five or six decades. However, existing discussion of pontificals, their history, and their function is often as varied and inconsistent as the content of the books themselves. Formerly reliable handlists later become complicated by the question of what "really" constitutes a pontifical, and earlier, more straightforward definitions of the genre, such as those cited by Hiley in 1993, are later challenged.² Demand for basic resource guides such as updated handlists and compilations has slowly increased in recent decades, and the publication of more comprehensive resources such as Richard Kay's 2007 handlist has been

¹ Specific discussion of pontifical standardisation and pontifical formats can be found in Chapter 1, section 1.3.

² David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 324. Citing Vogel, Hiley places the pontifical's origin in the 950s with the compilation of the PRG in Mainz and discusses its tenth century adoption in Rome. While popular, the validity of this timeline is later challenged in Parkes, 'Nascent 'pontifical'' in 2015.

a great asset in developing comparative approaches to the genre.³ However, while there have been excellent case studies analysing and contextualising individual pontificals, there has been very little recent work engaging analytically with multiple pontifical sources as being representative of a wider manuscript genre, particularly regarding musical content. Sources analysing melodic content in pontificals are uncommon, though there does seem to be an increasing interest in pontifical chants over the last decade. Most scholarship that engages with musical content centres on English pontificals: Rosemary Buggins's 2014 doctoral thesis and Brayden Olson's 2020 master's dissertation both focus largely on melodic variation in insular pontificals: Buggins in the context of melodic and textual transmission patterns, and Olson in regard to scribal attributions and the overall palaeographical relationships between the Anglo-Saxon pontificals.⁴ Though slightly older, another strong example analysing music across the insular pontifical genre is Thomas Kozachek's evaluation of the use of unique subsemitonal neumes appearing in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman pontificals.⁵ Most recently, a 2022 Lyell lecture by Susan Rankin discusses chant notation in pontificals as evidence of melodic differentiation from continental sources, a theory I discuss further in chapters 3 and 4.⁶

There has been some successful scholarship in the last decade discussing transmission patterns for the insular pontificals. In creating a contextual framework for the Coventry pontifical, Buggins presents a compelling assessment of melodic and textual transmission patterns in contemporary English pontificals. Particularly noteworthy is her finding that these two elements appear to follow different transmission paths from one another.⁷ Although the pontificals in this case study were all produced in the same location, a consideration of transmission will still be significant in assessing their relationships to one another. Depending on how these manuscripts changed hands, and potential overlaps in

³ Richard Kay, *Pontificalia: A Repertory of Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2007).

⁴ Rosemary Buggins, 'The Coventry Pontifical and Liturgical Transmission Patterns in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 2014); Brayden Olson, 'Melodic Variance in Anglo-Saxon Pontificals' (unpublished master's thesis, Dalhousie University, 2020)

⁵ Kozachek, Thomas, 'Tonal neumes in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman pontificals' in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 6, no. 2 (1997), 119-141.

⁶ Susan Rankin, 'Sound and its Capture in Anglo-Saxon England' *The Lyell Lectures*. Weston Library (Bodleian Libraries). 3 May 2022. Online recording and PowerPoint Presentation. <<https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/sound-and-its-capture-anglo-saxon-england>>

⁷ Buggins, 'The Coventry Pontifical,' p. 280.

their ownership and location, the non-linear nature of pontifical transmission and development can also give an indication of how these manuscripts were produced. By extension, an analysis of transmission can also help to isolate variants in episcopal traditions and chants, and track how those variants were circulated.

0.2 Contextualising the Case Study: The Scriptorium, Rite, and Conquest

At this time, a comprehensive comparison of all pre-standard Canterbury manuscripts containing musical notation is unfortunately beyond the scope of this case study. Therefore, in order to more thoroughly assess textual and musical content in manuscripts within the same parameters, I chose to base this case study on the analysis of a single rite: the blessing of a bell. In approaching liturgical diversity at the ritual level, Helen Gittos proposes that the study of individual rites must be situated “within its widest possible context, especially: in relation to other versions of the same rite, in relation to other rituals to which it is related, within its manuscript context, [and] within the historical contexts of the place and time when it was written and read.”⁸ This case study primarily contextualises the blessing of a bell within Gittos’s last point: place and time when it was written and read. Time was addressed in the previous section with the discussion of the pre-standard era of pontifical manuscripts prior to the thirteenth century. Place is addressed here. While provenance is a common factor in past comparative analyses of pontificals, as the manuscripts themselves would have travelled with a bishop or archbishop and therefore would have carried a lot of local significance, the importance of the scriptorium in determining production circumstances and content has been somewhat overlooked as a means of codifying the pontificals. This is partially due to a struggle to reconcile place of pontifical production with place of use. Dumville proposes a fairly straightforward model of this relationship:

As might be expected, where evidence of the place of production is available that is also normally the location of first use. There are exceptions, where it seems to be necessary to suppose that the manuscript was commissioned from

⁸Helen Gittos, ‘Researching the History of Rites,’ in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 13-38 (p. 23).

the scriptorium of another house or was produced elsewhere to be presented as a gift (for example, to a new bishop).⁹

While simple, this fails to capture the complexity of establishing provenance in the early pontificals for the sake of comparative study. Variety in ritual content, changes in owners over time, and the question of where the manuscript was intended for use all complicate the question of provenance. When categorising manuscripts for comparison, should place of production or place of use take priority? In this case study, I prioritise the scriptorium. Thus, I have selected five pontificals produced at Christ Church, Canterbury between the tenth and twelfth centuries. I have listed these manuscripts below, along with abbreviated shelf marks that I will be using to refer to them throughout this dissertation:

Manuscripts in this Case Study (with Abbreviations)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 943	BNF 943
London, British Library, MS. lat. 57337	BL 57337
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146	CCC 146
Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 226	OxMC 226
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.11.10	CTC B.11.10

Canterbury is an excellent starting point for exploring more regionally based pontifical characteristics, for not only is there a generous amount of extant pre- and post-conquest pontificals surviving from Canterbury, but the location is a significant base of episcopal and archiepiscopal activity as well as continental exchange. Canterbury would have been a significant hub for the exchange of continental church ideals as it was the seat of the archbishop, and many surviving English pontificals were produced at the scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury, though other notable scriptoria included those at Winchester, Exeter, Sherborne, Wells, Ramsey, and Worcester.¹⁰ While many of the Canterbury pontificals were produced for home use, the manuscripts in this group also provide examples of Canterbury's relationship with other dioceses, as many pontificals were produced in Canterbury for export to other cathedrals within the greater province. For

⁹David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 88.

¹⁰Janet L. Nelson and Richard W. Pfaff, 'Pontificals and Benedictionals,' in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Richard W Pfaff, Old English Newsletter. Subsidia, 23 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, 1995), pp. 87-98 (p.88).

example, one of the manuscripts in this case study, CTC B.11.10, was produced in Canterbury but was produced for export to Ely and contained references to Ely saints.¹¹

The Canterbury scriptoria at Christ Church and St. Augustine's were some of the most active centres of the pre-conquest period, particularly in reference to pontifical production. Of the two Canterbury houses, it is Christ Church which is more firmly associated with pontifical production, a factor which "reflects the circumstances of a foundation associated with an (archie)episcopal see."¹² Particularly in the development of the Christ Church scriptorium, it "was of sufficient fame and expertise to be asked to produce magnificently illuminated gospel-books for a number of churches" by the early eleventh century.¹³ According to Dumville's survey of extant Anglo-Saxon pontificals and other relevant liturgical manuscripts, "over a third are associable in the first instance with Canterbury."¹⁴ Scribal practice and style at Christ Church, Canterbury underwent a great deal of transformation in the span of time that the five pontificals in this case study are produced, as the tenth through twelfth centuries were rife with changes in the Christ Church scriptorium. New archbishops, the relationship with the scriptorium at St. Augustine's, and the introduction of Norman-trained scribes all affected scribal activity and output during this period. Pontifical manuscripts provide a unique liturgical and scribal perspective of these developments.

0.3 The Blessing of a Bell: History and Liturgical Significance

Considering all rituals in the pontifical repertoire, the blessing of a bell is significant as its links to the physical church also directly link it to ecclesiastical activity in a particular diocese. In addition to its ties to the local community, it is also an excellent example of a truly "occasional" pontifical rite, in that it would not have been performed with any sort of predictable regularity. Rather, it was reserved for the specific occasion of a parish church or cathedral's acquisition of a new bell. Of extant insular pontificals prior to the thirteenth century, the blessing of a bell was likely a common component in the greater pontifical

¹¹Kay, *Pontificalia*, p. 30.

¹² Richard Gameson, 'Books, Culture, and the Church in Canterbury Around the Millennium,' in *Vikings, Monks and the Millennium: Canterbury in about 1000 A.D.*, ed. by Richard Gameson and Richard Eales (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Society, 2000), pp. 15–41 (p. 31).

¹³ Nicholas Brooks, *The early history of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*, Studies in the Early History of Britain (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), 273.

¹⁴ Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, p. 91.

repertoire. Of sixteen manuscripts in this group that I have managed to consult, at least thirteen contain some form of the rite.

The medieval blessing of a bell can be traced back to the eighth century in France though there is also a possibility of a seventh-century Mozarabic origin.¹⁵ Its common occurrence in pontifical manuscripts is understandable, as bells were a critical part of congregation and community life. Beyond merely serving as a call to prayer, they were an effective means of communicating information over a larger geographical area, and were also used “to mark funerals, weddings, festivals and commemorations, [ringing] for the hours, and they [could] be rung for assemblies and for warnings.”¹⁶ Additionally, possession of a bell-tower was a crucial component in Anglo-Saxon promotion law, allowing a layman to elevate his status to that of a thegn.¹⁷ Casting bells was expensive and often relied on external sponsorship, and these sponsors likely would have been present for the ceremony.¹⁸ In later bell dedications, there are even references to filling the bells themselves with ale or punch while a festival was held ahead of when the bell would be blessed and hung.¹⁹ While still connected to the liturgy, the performance of this rite and by extension the act of hanging a new bell in the church would have involved many members of the community. Therefore, the blessing of a bell is a significant episcopal rite in what it represented for the greater local congregation, further emphasising the importance of considering a pontifical’s place of use.

0.4 The Historical Framework of the Norman Conquest

The insular pontificals produced between the tenth and twelfth centuries are already significant in what they represent in the “pre-standard” timeline of the development of the pontifical genre throughout Europe. However, when examining pontificals produced during this era in England, it is also necessary to contextualise their development in relation to the Norman Conquest. The pontificals I discuss in this case study were produced during the

¹⁵ Andreas Heinz, “Die Bedeutung der Glock im Licht des mittelalterlichen Ritus der Glockenweihe,” in *Information, Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung in mittelalterlichen Gemeinden*, ed. by A. Haverkamp, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 40 (Munich 1998) 41-69, p. 44.

¹⁶ N. Christie, “On Bells and Bell-Towers: Origins and Evolutions in Italy and Britain, AD 700-1200,” *Church Archaeology* 5-6 (2004) 13-30 (p.24).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁸ H.B. Walters, *Church Bells of England*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), 257.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

turbulent era immediately pre- and post-conquest, in which the scope of episcopal power and relationships between bishops and clergy were constantly in flux. In the centuries leading up to the conquest when these earliest insular pontificals were being written and compiled, the Anglo-Saxon church was undergoing a reform period that greatly emphasised episcopal status, a movement in response to the aforementioned Frankish reforms of the ninth century.²⁰ The rank of bishop, while undeniably tied to the church and its proceedings, was also often a secular appointment. Kings had influence over the appointment of bishops, as well as the proceedings of ecclesiastical offices, and “above all, the bishops were in the king’s power.”²¹ Widespread economic and population growth, papal pressure to reform and increase “sophistication” of the western church, and the establishment of the new monarchy following the conquest were all elements that influenced the development of the Anglo-Norman church into the twelfth century.²² After 1066, the overall number of bishops appointed – both secular and otherwise – rose steadily under William II.²³ Additionally, English bishops were gradually pushed out as vacancies were filled with Norman, Italian, and Lotharingian bishops, and there were fewer bishops promoted from monastic orders.²⁴ Thus, the pontificals produced in England during this period indicate a great deal about not only shifts in musical and ritual activity in individual dioceses during this time, but also how those changes reflect greater implications of royal and episcopal power, as well as interactions between dioceses.

0.5 Focus of the Dissertation

The five manuscripts in this case study were selected according to the following criteria: all were “pre-standard” pontificals produced prior to the thirteenth century, can be reliably attributed to Canterbury, and contain the blessing of a bell with neumed musical notation. Through an analysis of text and melody in the blessing of a bell in these five manuscripts, as

²⁰Sarah Hamilton, ‘The Early Pontificals: The Anglo-Saxon Evidence Reconsidered from a Continental Perspective,’ in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)*, ed. by David W. Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williamson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 410-428 (p. 414).

²¹ Frank Barlow, *The English church, 1066-1154*, (London: Longman, 1979), p. 119.

²² Everett U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the 'Mensa Episcopalis'*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series, No. 23, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 30-31.

²³ Buggins, ‘The Coventry Pontifical,’ p. 27. See Fig. 1.1.

²⁴ Barlow, *The English church*, pp. 57-58.

well as a consideration of their shared provenance, I examine the potential relationships between these manuscripts in both content and production circumstances. This is achieved through the following: first, I confirm and establish a shared Canterbury provenance for these five manuscripts through a consideration of palaeographical elements such as script styles and scribes as well as a reconstruction of a potential ownership timeline in Chapter 2. Second, I conduct a quantitative analysis assessing overall degrees of similarity in textual and musical content, as well as an assessment of specific textual and melodic variants in Chapters 3 and 4. Specifically, I examine how the relationships established in this case study convey characteristics of production and content unique to the Canterbury pontificals, and how those characteristics are demonstrated at the ritual level in the blessing of a bell. Beyond the significance of these variations and developments in establishing relationships between the manuscripts themselves, I also consider how they reflect changes to the rite within the greater historical framework of the Norman conquest, as well as how those changes were transmitted throughout the insular pontifical repertoire.

Chapter 1: Introducing the Pontificals

1.1 Origins, Development, and Liturgical Significance

By the most basic definition, pontifical manuscripts are books containing rites that would have been performed by a bishop. These contained any of the occasional rites that the bishop would have performed outside of the regular mass and office. For example, this would have included services that were a part of the liturgical calendar, such as Candlemas, as well as other, less frequent services such as the dedication of a church, blessing of bells, and in some cases coronation rites. Apart from those few services occurring on set dates, pontificals mostly contained occasional rites that would not have been performed consistently within the liturgical calendar. Thus, the books themselves were organised thematically, rather than following a chronological cycle. For example, the Magdalen Pontifical (Oxford, Magdalen College MS 226) is comprised of the following sections: 1) the benedictional, 2) the order for a synod, 3) forms relating to people (i.e. ordinations, coronations), 4) forms relating to places and things (i.e. church dedications), 5) forms relating to particular days (i.e. Candlemas, Holy Week), 6) legal procedures such as Ordeals, and 7) orders for visitation of the sick, burial, and marriage.¹ It was the episcopal counterpart to the priests' manual that would have laid out rites such as marriages, births, or burials.² Ritual content in pontificals is thorough in regards to performance instruction, including the full text of prayers, descriptions of the ceremonies and actions to be carried out, and the text of any sung chants.³ Thus, the pontifical could be considered a fairly "catch-all" practical manuscript outlining the liturgical duties of the bishops. However, the common description of a pontifical as a bishop's book is deceptively simple when discussing those pontificals created prior to the end of the thirteenth century, as a deeper look into the origins, function, and construction of the pontificals unearths countless complexities and inconsistencies across the genre.

¹ Henry A. Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College: with an appendix of extracts from other English MSS of the twelfth century* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1910), xiii.

² Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 324.

³ Joseph Dyer, Kenneth Levy, and Dimitri Conomos, "Liturgy and liturgical books," *Grove Music Online* (2001) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40071>>

It is unclear when exactly the term “pontifical” was first used to describe these books, though Sarah Hamilton proposes that the term is early modern.⁴ Similarly, Palazzo suggests that specific terminology related to pontificals emerges in the second half of the middle ages, acknowledging that since compilers of early pontificals “did not give any title to their work, no designation became dominant.”⁵ The Anglo-Saxons had their own terminology, referring to the pontifical and benedictional using the old English terms *halgunboc* and *bletsungboc* (literally, “consecration book” and “blessing book”), though *halgunboc* was frequently used to describe combined pontifical/benedictional manuscripts as well.⁶ The compiled manuscript that would come to be known as the pontifical was a ninth-century Frankish invention, likely inspired by Carolingian church reforms focused on episcopal status and responsibility.⁷ However, there is still a great deal of debate as to the catalysts of pontifical’s inception and early development, largely falling into two camps: one exploring the pontifical’s significance as a symbol of church hierarchy, and the other concentrating on the pontifical’s practical use. Expanding on the practical side, two theories acknowledged by Arthur Westwell are (1) that the pontifical was a fusion of the sacramentary and the *ordo*, as suggested by Leroquis and Vogel, and (2) Rasmussen’s suggestion that pontificals were merely the result of combining existing *libelli*.⁸ However, some of these explanations present their own practical constraints and inconsistencies. In further examining the pontifical’s practical nature, one must also consider how the manuscript may have functioned beyond its regular ritual use. In addition to their regular ritual content, pontificals often would have included commentary and historical writings. Also, there is the pontifical’s potential as an educational or reference document, such as Rasmussen’s position, summarised here by Hamilton, that the manuscripts “may have been intended to serve as [...] authoritative records of liturgical rites which would then be copied

⁴ Hamilton, ‘Early Pontificals,’ p. 413n3.

⁵ Eric Palazzo and Madeleine Beaumont, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1998) 194.

⁶ Helmut Gneuss, ‘Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology,’ in *Learning and literature in Anglo-Saxon England: studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 91-142 (p. 131).

⁷ Nelson and Pfaff, ‘Pontificals and Benedictionals,’ p. 87.

⁸ Arthur Westwell, ‘The content and the ideological construction of the early pontifical manuscripts,’ *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome-Moyen Âge* 132-1 (2020), <<https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.7681>>

into now-lost *libelli* for actual use.”⁹ Concerning the pontifical’s role in liturgical education, it has also been suggested that rather than simply providing the steps for performing a rite that the bishop could follow in practice, the pontifical would have offered an “aspirational” version of the ritual. The rites included in pontificals were not performed with much regularity, and not all pontificals included the same ritual content, so having access to pontificals intended for use as reference documents would have been useful depending on what liturgical material a particular bishop had readily available.

Hamilton considers both symbolic and practical significance in her assessment of the early pontificals, discussing the development of pontificals in England and Francia in the context of episcopal authority, with pontificals being “indelibly linked with efforts at royally supported ecclesiastical reform movements which emphasised the role and duties of bishops.”¹⁰ Even depictions of the book itself in contemporary illuminations took on a symbolic significance as a representation of the bishop’s power. According to Henry Parkes, “illuminators across Europe seem to have developed a tendency to depict bishops performing with the aid of liturgical books” as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, a privilege once reserved for images of the bible or gospels.¹¹ While Parkes primarily discusses this in the context of continental bishops during the Ottonian era, this practice was also observed in Anglo-Saxon pontificals and benedictionals and solidified the book as “indispensable to the exercise of the bishop’s power” on a more widespread basis.¹² In England this iconography is seen more commonly in benedictionals or combined pontifical-benedictional codices than in pontificals, but still serves as evidence for the association of liturgical books with episcopal authority.¹³

⁹ Niels Krogh Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge: gènes du livre de l'évêque* (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1998); and ‘Unité et diversité des pontificaux latins aux VIIIe, IXe, et Xe siècles’, in *Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle* (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1976), pp. 393–410, cited in Sarah Hamilton, ‘Interpreting Diversity: Excommunication Rites in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,’ in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 125-158 (p.127).

¹⁰ Hamilton, ‘Early Pontificals,’ p. 415.

¹¹ Henry Parkes, “The nascent ‘pontifical,’” in *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music, and Ritual in Mainz, 950-1050*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 158-182 (p. 177-78).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Palazzo, E. *L'évêque et son image: l'illustration du pontifical au moyen âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), p. 129.

1.2 Production and Practical Use

While some combination of practical and symbolic factors may have led to the creation of the pontifical as a type of liturgical book, the manuscripts did ultimately fill a need for a standardised episcopal guidebook, regardless of any other symbolic implications of episcopal power. The content in a pontifical manuscript demonstrates the unique outputs of the relationship between scribe, cantor, bishop, and in some cases, archbishop. Although later pontificals would be crafted according to a more standardised liturgical format, the earlier pontificals were personal manuscripts for both individual bishops and their institutions, often produced or revised according to the needs of a specific bishop or diocese. Specific evidence of this includes rites for the consecration of a bishop that mention the bishop by name, or additions stating ownership.¹⁴ The manuscripts' content would have also varied in reflecting the ritual needs of a particular locality or providing references to a location. As best stated by Brückmann:

The see for which a full pontifical was intended can frequently be ascertained fairly easily. In the ordo for the consecration of an abbot there is usually a formula for an oath of obedience to the local ordinary; in most manuscripts this formula explicitly mentions the name of the see. If this ordo should prove to be fruitless, the ordo for the consecration of a bishop may at least indicate the ecclesiastical province. It usually contains a formula for an analogous oath of obedience to the metropolitan of the bishop-elect, which in most manuscripts explicitly states the name of his archdiocese. In the absence of either of these indicators, a search for unusual entries in the list of saints enumerated in a litany can frequently provide a clue to the provenance of the manuscript; the patron saints of the see (or of the cathedral church) are usually included.¹⁵

Additionally, there would have been variations in where and for whom the pontificals were produced, as well as who ultimately used them. In ritual practice, while the presiding bishop was the primary figure for any of the books' standard rites, pontificals contained information necessary for all participants in the ceremony. A key indicator of how the pontifical would have been handled by others is the presence of musical notation in

¹⁴ Hamilton, 'Early Pontificals,' pp. 422-23. In an 11th century pontifical from Verden, Bishop Bruno is mentioned directly in the rite for consecration of a bishop as well as the litany. Though less common in English sources, the Lanalet pontifical contains an addition in Old English that reads: 'Bishop Lyfinc owns this book.'

¹⁵ J. Brückmann, 'Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals in England and Wales,' in *Traditio*, 29 (1973), 391-458 (p. 397).

many of the pontificals. In addition to any musical role the bishop may have played, pontificals also included choir chants, therefore a cantor or choir likely would have also required access to the notated chants, though it is unclear in what capacity.¹⁶ Similar to Rasmussen's proposed theory mentioned in the previous section, that larger pontificals were library copies in which definitive versions of the text were copied out for use in individual services, perhaps the pontifical chants were merely included and compiled in the codices for reference. However, notational quirks, such as the inclusion of pitch letters alongside neumed notation in a few antiphons from Oxford, Magdalen College MS 226 perhaps suggests a more intimate use of the manuscript's musical content.¹⁷

Another challenge in establishing commonality between pre-standard pontificals is the question of whether a pontifical was a compilation of individually copied rites or a copy of a more complete pontifical exemplar. Regardless of whether a manuscript was copied from a single exemplar or a combination of other *libelli*, texts were selected and revised for new pontificals on a case-by-case basis.¹⁸ For example, Dumville proposes a trend in which it appears that Anglo-Saxon pontificals produced at Canterbury were produced at corresponding times with a new archbishop.¹⁹ As such, each pontifical would have been produced according to the liturgical needs for that specific archbishop, and therefore would have provided a timestamp of what the Canterbury liturgy looked like at that time.

While pontificals were very personal manuscripts, the fact that so many of these manuscripts are extant today, or even that they remained in active use for long enough to warrant the extensive addition of glosses and further gatherings suggests that the manuscripts had a very complex life cycle. But what happened to a pontifical when it was no longer in current use? Thinking of the high yield of pontificals produced specifically in Canterbury, especially if there were new manuscripts produced for each archbishop as Dumville suggests, where did they all go? Building on Rasmussen's theory of pontificals produced as reference copies, it is possible that they may have been retained by that purpose, or to serve as exemplars for new texts. In many cases, they simply went elsewhere, "continually and deliberately dissipated," perhaps passed on to another bishop, or in some

¹⁶ Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 287.

¹⁷ Oxford, Magdalen College (OxMC), MS 226, fols. 122r, 166v, 167v.

¹⁸ Gittos, Helen, 'Sources for the Liturgy of Canterbury Cathedral in the Central Middle Ages,' in *Medieval Art, Architecture & Archaeology at Canterbury*, ed. by Alixe Bovey (London: Routledge, 2013) pp. 41–58 (pp. 41–42).

¹⁹ Dumville. *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, p. 91

cases, “given to an abbot or treated as holy relics.”²⁰ In addition to sending “retired” pontificals elsewhere, newly produced pontificals were also circulated between dioceses. Although there were pontificals produced to remain “in-house,” it was also fairly common for pontificals, among other manuscripts, to be produced for export to a different diocese. Overall, the continued sharing and re-circulation of manuscripts could be another contributing factor to the widespread diversity of the early pontificals, as there would have been a constant simultaneous circulation of “new” and “old” liturgical material throughout England.

1.3 Pontifical Standardisation and the “Pre-Standard” Pontifical

Between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, a more formal version of the pontifical developed in continental Europe, eventually taking on four major formats: the Romano-Germanic Pontifical (often cited as a tenth-century development, although recent scholarship by Henry Parkes suggests an eleventh century origin is more likely), the twelfth-century Roman Pontifical, the thirteenth-century Roman Curia revisions, and the late thirteenth-century compilation by Guillaume Durand.²¹ Similar to the thematic organisation of the earlier pontificals, the Durand pontifical established a “definitive tripartite structure: 1) ordinations and blessings of people; 2) blessings of churches, altars, and other objects, sacred or secular; and 3) other *ordines* for ‘ecclesiastica officia.’”²² As Durand was a canonist, this structure was inspired by the Roman law traditions of Gaius and Justinian, in which the institutes were “divided according to persons, things, and actions.”²³ The Durand pontifical would become the model for the standardised *Pontificale Romanum* authorised and made obligatory by the Vatican toward the end of the sixteenth century.²⁴

In discussing pontifical standardisation, one must also address the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, also known as the PRG. Roughly three centuries prior to the Durand Pontifical, the PRG has generally been accepted as the first standard pontifical, often used

²⁰ Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 93-95.

²¹ Dyer, Levy, and Conomos, ‘Liturgy and liturgical books.’ See also, Henry Parkes, ‘Henry II, liturgical patronage and the birth of the ‘Romano-German Pontifical,’ *Early Medieval Europe*, 28.1 (2020), 104-141.

²² Ibid.

²³ Miklós István Földvály and Ágnes Kurczné Szaszovsky, ‘Pontificals, Rituals, and Navigating among their Contents,’ *Questions Liturgiques/Studies in Liturgy*, 100, no. 1-2 (2020), 3-83 (p.12) <<http://doi.org/10.2143/QL.100.1.3287690>>

²⁴ Dyer, Levy, and Conomos, ‘Liturgy and liturgical books.’

as the default format to which many other contemporary European pontificals are compared and allegedly derived from. However, the acceptance of the PRG as a continental pontifical archetype must be taken with a grain of salt: recent scholarship by Henry Parkes in 2016 has taken a controversial step towards deconstructing the myth of the PRG, with an excellent chapter challenging the authority of the Vogel and Elze edition of the PRG from 1963-1972. This edition is an entirely hypothetical “reconstruction” of the original PRG from eleven related sources, resulting in a bizarre amalgamation of 258 chapters in which “no one source contains all 258 chapters and only 16 chapters are common to all.”²⁵ Even though the edition was “designed quite specifically ‘to establish the content of the Mainz compilation between the years of 950 and 1000,’” none of the manuscripts used to construct this PRG edition are contemporary to that fifty-year period, all dating from the eleventh century.²⁶ With little definitive evidence that the Mainz compilation truly existed or that it was implemented as a more widespread ‘standard’ pontifical format, the PRG will not be considered a standardised version for the purposes of this case study. Rather, I will be referring to the pontifical manuscripts produced prior to the thirteenth-century Durand compilation as “pre-standard,” in order to promote an approach to the early pontificals that accommodates their diversity in content and production.

Until recently, the understanding of the pontifical genre has been largely based on an aspirational unity of the liturgy, treating the diversity of pontifical rites as “deviations” from a standardised central form rather than organic variations of the liturgy. In order to more accurately understand what makes a pontifical, it is first necessary to revisit the sources, reevaluate their contents, and reconsider how they relate to one another in terms of their concrete similarities and differences. The basic definition of a pontifical as containing rites to be performed by a bishop loses traction depending on how strictly that definition is enforced. For example, as the Durand was formatted in such a manner as to “deliberately [exclude] all the ceremonies that were within the reach of a simple parish priest, [...] it is the very first book that is exclusively for a bishop’s own use [and] can rightly be titled a Pontifical,” at least by the most rigid interpretation.²⁷ Centring the definition of pontifical

²⁵ Henry Parkes, ‘Questioning the Authority of Vogel and Elze’s *Pontifical romano-germanique*,’ in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016) pp. 75-101 (p. 86).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁷ Földvary and Szaszovsky, “Pontificals, Rituals,” p. 12.

exclusively on the bishop's involvement, and thereby projecting the later definition of the term onto earlier sources runs the risk of evaluating the pontificals according to their degree of adherence to this imagined standard.

Chapter 2: Establishing Canterbury Provenance in the Case Study Pontificals

2.1 Introduction and Canterbury Scripts

As discussed in the previous chapter, pontifical content varied according to a variety of factors, such as the liturgical needs of the individual bishop or the location for which the manuscript was intended. Consequently, the significance of the scriptorium in the discussion of pontifical content has been somewhat neglected. Determining provenance in pontifical manuscripts requires balancing the relationship between place of production and place of use. All five of the pontificals examined in this case study have some association with Canterbury, but how is this reflected in their content? While this case study primarily concerns the specific ritual content in the blessing of a bell, in this chapter I examine these five pontificals a bit more broadly through an examination of their palaeographical and codicological characteristics, and how these characteristics align with features of contemporary Christ Church manuscripts. More narrowly, I discuss elements of the five manuscripts in this case study such as the sequence of pontifical rites in each, any evidence of individual scribes, and how these palaeographical characteristics align with contemporary insular pontificals, as well as other manuscripts produced at Canterbury. Through the discussion of these elements, I will also address conflicting attributions in these manuscripts and review evidence for their production at Christ Church. Determining shared Christ Church characteristics and additions in these pontificals will help establish the basis of the relationship between these manuscripts. Additionally, this will aid in establishing what elements of the blessing of a bell, and developments to it, were possibly unique to Canterbury rather than common to the wider insular liturgy.

So, what elements make a Canterbury manuscript? First, I consider the progression of script styles common to Christ Church in the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods, and where these occur in the case study pontificals. Stylistically, the period during which these five manuscripts are produced sees the development of a variety of identifiable Canterbury “house” styles. Traditional appraisals of the Canterbury house style are characteristically concerned with the relationship between Canterbury and the continent. Of these five pontificals, the only one exhibiting a purely insular script style is BNF 943, which employed an Anglo-Saxon script known as square minuscule. While the earlier script styles are

somewhat difficult to define, as they were not standardised on any widespread basis, this script was often characterised by its slightly square letter forms and a minuscule letter *a* “topped by a separate and straight stroke.”¹ It was a very simple script that dismissed many of the ligature letter forms seen in earlier insular scripts, opting to only retain tall-*e* and *t+i* ligatures in limited capacity.² An example of this script can be seen below in Fig.1.1:

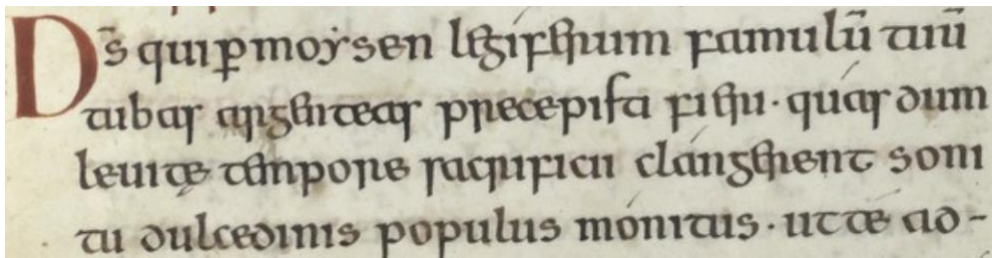


Fig. 1.1: Example of Anglo-Saxon Square script in BNF 943³

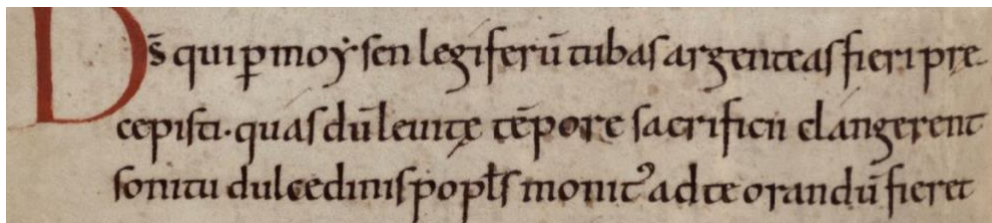


Fig. 1.2: Example of Style II Anglo-Caroline script in CCC 146⁴

While square minuscule remained the primary insular script of the tenth century, an increase in continental exchange under King Athelstan, and subsequent English Benedictine revival, opened the door for further continental influences on scripts used in the production of liturgical materials.⁵ Caroline minuscule, the predominant continental script, had developed in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, though it did not reach England until the mid-tenth century.⁶ The introduction of Caroline stylistic elements in England, however, diverged into two different Anglo-Caroline styles: “the longer lasting Style II is associated

¹ David N. Dumville, ‘English Square Minuscule Script: the Background and Earliest Phases,’ *Anglo-Saxon England*, 16 (1987), 147-79 (p. 153).

² *Ibid.*, p. 153-154.

³ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF), MS Latin 943, fol. 78r.

<<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001165p>>

⁴ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (CCC), Parker Library on the Web, MS 146, p.88.

<<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/wy783rb3141>>

⁵ David Ganz, Rebecca Rushforth, and Teresa Webber, ‘Latin Script in England c. 900–1100,’ in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 1, c.400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 187–224 (pp. 197-198).

⁶ *Ibid.*

with Glastonbury and Canterbury, where Dunstan played a major part in bringing about reform,” whereas “Style I, [is] connected rather with the influence of Aethelwold, [based in] Abingdon and Winchester.”⁷ The primary stylistic differences between the two is that while Style I was more emulative of a “pure” Caroline script, Style II was more of a hybrid of insular and Caroline characteristics, such as a maintained use of insular letter forms, particularly in the case of *f*, *r*, and *s*.⁸ An example of the Style II Anglo-Caroline script can be seen above in Fig. 1.2.

While the Style II Anglo-Caroline script was certainly considered a pre-conquest Canterbury script, when one discusses the Christ Church “house” style, typically the first thought is of the style seen in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. In this house style, the English Caroline script of the pre-conquest period takes on continental influence of Norman scribes, resulting in a “distinctive, angular script.”⁹ Three of the pontificals were produced prior to when this style would have been implemented. Only one of the manuscripts in this case study, CTC B.11.10, exhibits this style, as seen below in Fig. 1.3.

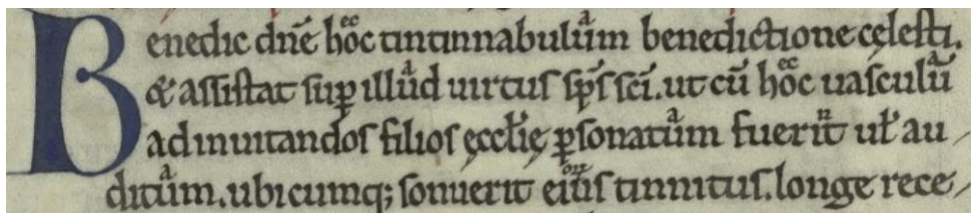


Fig. 1.3: Example of Christ Church script in CTC B.11.10¹⁰

The remaining case study pontifical, OxMC 226, was also produced at a time that may have coincided with the use of the Christ Church script. However, its use was gradual and far from universal. During the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, which were best known for their demonstration of this style, “approximately half the manuscripts are written either wholly or partly in other styles of handwriting.”¹¹ Thus, OxMC 226 instead appears to demonstrate a more generic contemporary script, standard late Anglo Caroline

⁷ Jane Roberts, *Guide to scripts used in English writings up to 1500* (London: British Library, 2005), p. 85.

⁸ Dumville, David N., *English Caroline script and monastic history: studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950-103* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), p. 148 n.41.

⁹ Teresa Webber, ‘Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the Norman Conquest,’ in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints, and Scholars, 1066-1109*, ed. by Richard Sharpe Richard Eales (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), pp. 145–58 (p. 145).

¹⁰ Cambridge, Trinity College (CTC), Wren Digital Library, James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts, MS B.11.10, fol. 78r. <<https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/B.11.10>>

¹¹ Webber, ‘Script and Manuscript Production,’ p. 153.

minuscule (Fig. 1.4).¹² While employed more widely throughout England due to its synthesis of elements from the earlier Style I and Style II, this script does bear some association to Canterbury due to its association with the work of Eadwig Basan, a Christ Church scribe active in the early to mid-eleventh century whose script style gained popularity leading up to the Norman conquest.¹³

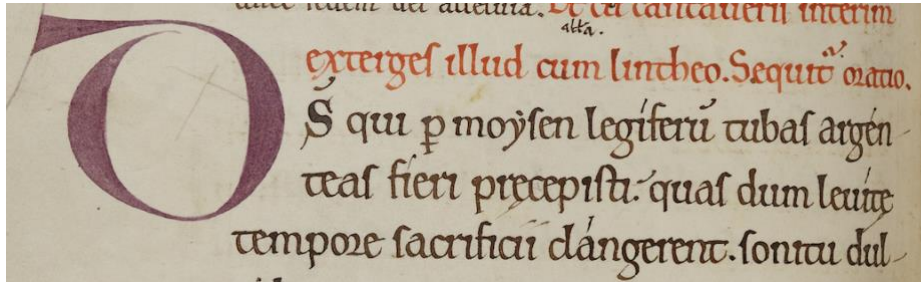


Fig. 1.4: Example of Standard Late English Caroline script in OxMC 226¹⁴

In addition to variations in script, manuscripts produced during this era also demonstrate variations in ruling patterns, punctuation, and display scripts.¹⁵ As such, while certain scripts can be reliably traced to Christ Church for the purposes of determining a manuscripts' place of production, it is not necessarily representative of more widespread scribal practice.

The concept of a "house style" in the Canterbury manuscripts is arguably an oversimplification, as it implies standardisation in scribal practice across the scriptorium's outputs. In reality, the development and implementation of these styles were gradual, often coexisting with other stylistic elements. The introduction of Caroline minuscule was an example of this as the insular square minuscule was still in active use at both St Augustine's and Christ Church in the tenth century. Additionally, while the post-conquest Christ Church script is the most commonly discussed, there are also Anglo-Saxon elements to consider when determining what makes a "house style" in both script and, more generally, book production. For example, although script itself varied, a Canterbury style was also achieved through consistency in decoration, namely the "visual articulation of the volumes with Type II initials and monumental coloured capitals" as well as outlined drawings.¹⁶ This stands in

¹² Ganz, Rushforth, and Webber, 'Latin Script in England,' pp. 205-206.

¹³ Ibid., p. 206.

¹⁴ Oxford, Magdalen College (OxMC), MS 226, fol. 166v. This image reproduced with permission from The President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford.

¹⁵ Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production,' p. 153.

¹⁶ Gameson, "Books, Culture, and the Church," p. 33.

contrast to contemporary Winchester manuscripts, which were often decorated more ornately with gold and elaborately painted artwork.¹⁷ Therefore, while script can be a useful tool in identifying place of production, it is just one of many factors to consider when establishing provenance.

2.2 Characteristics of the Five Case Study Pontificals

The five manuscripts in this case study were selected due to their adherence to the following criteria: all contained the blessing of a bell, had some association to Christ Church, Canterbury, contained musical notation for the rite, and were produced prior to the thirteenth century. In assessing attribution, similarity, and potential relationships between the manuscripts in this case study, it is first necessary to examine how their physical characteristics align with those of the Christ Church scriptorium over time. Generally, there are not many aspects of the formatting and page preparation in these five pontificals that stand out as being drastically different from one another. All are written on vellum, most pages are written in single columns of text apart from instances such as long lists of saints in litanies, and the pages for each are consistently ruled in hard point, with horizontal lines throughout the text block and double vertical lines delineating the margins, common for layouts such as these in which majuscule initials are written in the margins rather than aligned with the rest of the text.¹⁸ The consistency of these features across the body of the case study manuscripts is not especially remarkable, as all of these were physical attributes that would have been common to other contemporary manuscripts regardless of the scriptorium where they were produced.

Pontifical	Date	Dimensions	Folios	Lines of text per page
BNF 943	Mid 10 th c.	313 x 205 mm	170	25
BL 57337	Early 11 th c.	300 x 230 mm	144	22
CCC 146	Early 11 th c.	310 x 190 mm	167	27
CTC B.11.10	Early 12 th c.	250 x 180 mm	127	32-38
OxMC 226	Early 12 th c.	250 x 170 mm	250	19-20

Table 1: Physical Characteristics of Five Canterbury Pontificals

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁸ Richard Gameson, 'The Material Fabric of Early British Books,' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume 1, c.400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 13–94 (p. 67).

As indicated by the technical specifications in Table 1 above, the pontificals are generally consistent in size: all are generally between 250-313mm long and 170-230mm wide. While the manuscripts vary in number of pages, this makes sense due to differences in liturgical content, as well as changes to the manuscripts over time such as the addition or removal of folios and gatherings. The primary manner in which they differ appears to be the number of lines per page, as CTC B.11.10 demonstrates a much denser text block with at least five more lines of text per page than the next closest manuscript. As its high density can be directly contrasted with another post-conquest pontifical from roughly the same time, OxMC 226, the increase in lines of text per page does not appear to have been a more widespread change in pontifical production. Ultimately, these five manuscripts do not seem to indicate any specific characteristics unique to the layout of Canterbury pontificals. As mentioned above, most of their common properties were fairly standard for manuscripts produced at this time, and there do not appear to be any identifiable trends in formatting.

Another way these manuscripts differ is in style of script, discussed more generally in the previous section. The scripts seen in each of these pontificals lend an excellent perspective on the development and diversity of scripts employed by the Christ Church scriptorium between the tenth and twelfth centuries. The earliest pontifical, BNF 943, is primarily written in a square Anglo-Saxon minuscule, BL 57337 and CCC 146 are written in two slightly different variations of Style II Anglo-Caroline minuscule, CTC B.11.10 demonstrates the Norman-influenced Christ Church script mentioned previously, and OxMC 226 maintains a later form of Anglo-Caroline. All the pontificals are modestly decorated, mostly in plain black script with rubrication in red ink and large coloured majuscules. All five of the manuscripts incorporate black, red, and green ink, though BL 57337, CCC 146, OxMC 226, and CTC B.11.10 also use blue. OxMC 226 is the only manuscript in this group to use purple ink for any of the coloured majuscules.



Fig. 2: Image of the Crucifixion from BNF 943¹⁹

While most of the already sparse decoration in the pontificals is limited to the use of coloured ink or embellished initials, both BNF 943 and CTC B.11.10 also contain outlined drawings. In CTC B.11.10, drawings in the early flyleaves of a stag and a shield decorated with a lion are believed to be heraldic images related to Augustine Styward, a “kinsman of Robert Styward, the last Prior [and first Dean] of Ely”²⁰ and were added to the manuscript much later. Alternatively, there are two images that appear as a part of the coronation rites, in which the crown and sceptre are blessed. Both of these rites begin with majuscules

¹⁹ BNF, MS Lat. 943, fol. 4v.

²⁰ Wilson, *Pontifical of Magdalen College*, p. xiv n.3.

decorated with a small drawing corresponding to the rite itself: one of a man's head with a crown on it, and another of a crowned figure holding a sceptre.²¹ In BNF 943, there are four drawings towards the beginning of the manuscript, each taking up a full page. The first is an image of the crucifixion seen in Fig. 2, followed by three drawings representative of the holy Trinity: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. These drawings were emblematic of the line drawings associated with the Canterbury houses, as mentioned in the previous section, and were therefore likely added at Canterbury.

Musically, three different notational systems appear across these manuscripts. BNF 943 is primarily notated using Breton neumes, BL 57337 and CCC 146 are notated using Anglo-Saxon or "insular," neumes, though BL 57337 also exhibits limited use of Breton notation. While OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10 are both notated in Norman neumes, CTC B.11.10 is the only manuscript in this collection laid out with four-line staves written in red ink, an early example of staff notation in England. While this chapter addresses musical notation in terms of whether it was original to each manuscript, further information regarding these notational systems themselves, their history, their links to Canterbury, and their melodic function will be discussed in Chapter 4.

2.3 Identification of Scribes

The identification of scribal hands is another helpful tool in determining provenance. Existing identification of individual scribes in these pontificals is limited, though in all five manuscripts, the main body of text in the original pontifical sections appears to have been written by a single hand in each, not including later additions, or separate music scribes and rubricators. While the Anglo-Saxon pontificals tend to have more substantial additions, and therefore multiple scribal hands appearing throughout the whole manuscript, it does not appear to be the case in any of them that multiple text scribes were working simultaneously on the original body of text. BNF 943 was notated by a single tenth-century hand, and while multiple scribal hands appear in the additions, these were not written until the eleventh century.²² Scribal identification has been a key element in determining provenance and

²¹ CTC, MS B.11.10, fols. 107r, 107v. As the coronation rite appears in a slightly later at the end of the manuscript (fols. 104-124), it is unlikely that these drawings would have been done at Canterbury, and that the decoration can potentially be attributed to Ely. See Wilson, p. xiv.

²² Marie A. Conn, 'The Dunstan and Brodie (Anderson) pontificals: An edition and study' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Notre Dame, 1993), p. 5.

dating for BL 57337, as there is very little specific textual or liturgical evidence to suggest where it was initially produced or intended for use. The text was written by a single scribe, identified as the same hand that appears in the Arenberg Gospels and considered to be representative of Canterbury style at the turn of the eleventh century.²³ Any later additions have been added in the margins, rather than in additional gatherings, so structurally the manuscript remained relatively unchanged from its original format. Of these five manuscripts, CCC 146 has the most additional material with two substantial additions from Worcester bookending the original pontifical section.²⁴ Otherwise, this original appears to have been written by a single scribe who wrote sections in Old English as well as Latin.²⁵

For the two post-conquest sources, H.A. Wilson's edition of OxMC 226 addresses scribal hands in that manuscript as well as in CTC B.11.10. Both seem to be consistently notated throughout by single scribes. While OxMC mostly exhibits later additions and marginal notes from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, CTC B.11.10 contains a gathering of additional material that is nearly contemporary to the rest of the manuscript, although it is likely that the addition was not added until after the manuscript had been exported to Ely.²⁶

2.4 Addressing Conflicting Attributions in the Three Anglo Saxon Pontificals

In previous scholarship, inconsistent comparative methodologies have led to an inconsistent assessment of provenance, depending on whether a manuscript's textual, scribal, or ritual character was prioritised in the analysis. This reflects the struggle to understand the relationship between place of production and use, thereby resulting in conflicting attributions over time. As mentioned in the introduction, it is necessary in analysis of pontifical manuscripts to reconcile the relationship between the place of production and place of use, particularly regarding the question of manuscript provenance. Understanding the relationships between these five pontificals is dependent on their shared scriptorium of origin. Therefore, before diving into the particulars of their textual and musical content, it is first necessary to lay out the evidence for reliable Canterbury attributions to solidify these

²³ T. A. Heslop, 'The Production of 'de Luxe' Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma,' *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 151–95 (p. 169).

²⁴ Brückmann, 'Latin Manuscript Pontificals,' pp. 405–406.

²⁵ Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, p. 72.

²⁶ Wilson, *Pontifical of Magdalen College*, p. xiv.

relationships. Upon what basis can one reliably refer to these as being Canterbury pontificals in the sense of a shared place of production? While these five pontificals are believed to have some sort of Canterbury association, there is still some debate regarding the origin of the three earliest pontificals, BNF 943, BL 57337, and CCC 146.

The oldest pontifical in this group, BNF 943, cannot be attributed to Christ Church on script alone, as the insular square minuscule script it exhibits is would have been more widely used in England prior to the development of Anglo-Caroline minuscule. It can, however, be attributed to Christ Church based on content. It is most frequently and reliably associated with Dunstan's archiepiscopacy, due to the fact that the manuscript contains his pallium privilege on fols. 7-8.²⁷ A case has been made previously for an Exeter association, due to similarities in script with manuscripts found in the Exeter Cathedral Library.²⁸ However, while there is evidence for affinity between these manuscripts, the Exeter manuscripts bear evidence of being acquired as gifts from other scriptoria, thereby weakening the case for an Exeter attribution.²⁹ Rather, the Dunstan association seems sufficient for placing the manuscript at Christ Church.

While establishing provenance for BNF 943 was relatively straightforward, the conflicting attributions for BL 57337 and CCC 146 are slightly more complex. BL 57337 is the least well-known of this group. Rediscovered in 1970, this pontifical has only recently been integrated into modern discourse on insular pontificals. Although the manuscript itself bears no evidence of specific ownership prior to 1700, a few elements have helped to place it at Christ Church, Canterbury towards the beginning of the eleventh century. The characteristic Style II Anglo-Caroline script, potential identification of the Arenberg Gospels scribe, and an ordo for the consecration of an archbishop seem to place it firmly at Christ Church in terms of both production and use. However, despite palaeographical evidence pointing to Canterbury, BL 57337 also includes content that would suggest a Winchester association mostly due to the textual similarity between its benedictional section and the Benedictional of St Aethelwold.³⁰ According to Kozachek, there is also evidence of Winchester influence

²⁷ Conn, 'Dunstan and Brodie,' p. 4.

²⁸ Patrick Conner, *Anglo Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), p. 39.

²⁹ Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical history*, pp. 82-83

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

musically, with the occurrence of a Winchester variant occurring in the mass introit *Terribilis est*.³¹

Like BL 57337, CCC 146 also bears a conflicting Winchester attribution. Even in recent debate, there seems to be a firm division of camps supporting either a Christ Church or a Winchester attribution for the primary body of text, although it is generally agreed that the later additions were added in Worcester under Bishop Samson.³² The basis for a Winchester attribution is typically rooted in liturgical evidence, as it “contains blessings for Winchester saints and a reference to the saints of Winchester.”³³ On palaeographical and codicological grounds, the orientation of the quires in a hair-flesh-hair-flesh pattern as well as the text being written in a Style II Anglo-Caroline script, seems evidence enough for a Christ Church association, as these were stylistic practices not commonly associated with Winchester.³⁴ However, for both CCC 146 and BL 57337, the combination of Christ Church palaeographical elements with Winchester liturgical elements may suggest personalisation for a bishop or archbishop with Winchester ties, which I explore in the next section.

2.5 Reconstructing Ownership Timelines for the Five Case Study Pontificals

By design, pontificals are portable manuscripts, many of which travelled to various locations and had multiple owners throughout their period of active use. In determining possible copy relationships between the five pontificals in this case study, one element to consider is the geographic location of the manuscripts, and whether there was any overlap to substantiate one being copied from another. If these pontificals demonstrate any form of direct copy relationship with one another, it does beg the question of how and where the act of copying could have occurred: were all copied exclusively at Christ Church? Did scribes at one house ‘borrow’ older pontificals from another location as exemplars for new manuscripts? Were there shared *libelli* circulated between locations? Multiple factors can help to determine a manuscript’s location, such as dates for a particular owner or the identification of a shared scribe in another contemporary manuscript. Though the previous section has already established these five manuscripts’ individual connections to Canterbury, this section looks

³¹ Kozachek, Thomas Davies, ‘The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music, Liturgy, & Ritual’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1995) p.323 n.54

³² Olson, ‘Melodic Variance,’ p. 8.

³³ Gittos, ‘Sources for the Liturgy,’ p. 53.

³⁴ Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, p. 72.

more specifically at the chronology of when these pontificals may have been produced and how long they remained at Christ Church.

Of the three Anglo-Saxon sources, BNF 943 is perhaps the easiest to date. Mostly discussed in reference to Dunstan, BNF 943 is also occasionally referred to as the Sherborne Pontifical. While not originally produced there, it is associated with Bishop Wulfsig, a follower of Dunstan who brought the pontifical to Sherborne Cathedral in roughly 993.³⁵ It is unclear exactly how long BNF 943 remained at Sherborne, though according to additions in the manuscript it would have at least encompassed the episcopacy of both Wulfsig and his successor, Aethelric, before eventually moving to the continent at some point during the eleventh century.³⁶ Therefore, between Dunstan's archiepiscopacy and the beginning of Wulfsig's tenure at Sherborne, the pontifical can somewhat reliably be placed at Christ Church from 959 at the earliest to 993.

The chronology of when CCC 146 was produced is more ambiguous due to the conflicting attributions mentioned previously, though it is likely that it was moved to Worcester by the start of Bishop Samson's episcopacy in 1096, placing it at Canterbury before then.³⁷ Pfaff has proposed that it was produced at Canterbury in the first decade of the eleventh century.³⁸ In pursuit of a more precise date of production, the strong Winchester influences mentioned previously may also provide further context for when the pontifical may have been produced. As Christ Church is the seat of the archbishopric, it was common for new archbishops to bring in liturgical influences from the diocese in which they held their previous office. Following Dumville's proposed correlation between the appointment of new archbishops and the production of new pontificals, the production of CCC 146 could in that case be associated with archbishop Aelfheah, who served as bishop of Winchester prior to his archiepiscopacy in 1006-1012, corresponding with Pfaff's estimate.³⁹ Assuming that the pontifical remained in Canterbury until it was ultimately relocated to Worcester, it would have been at Christ Church for the better part of the eleventh century, between 1006 and 1096.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 84.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 72.

³⁸ Richard Pfaff, 'The Anglo-Saxon Bishop and His Book,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 81.1 (1999) 3-24 (p. 16).

³⁹ Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, p. 92.

In the case of BL 57337, there is no specific evidence of ownership to suggest if the manuscript had travelled anywhere else in the time between when it would have been produced at Canterbury, and when it eventually ends up in Drainie parish, Scotland in around 1700.⁴⁰ The possible identification of its primary scribe may be key to determining more specific production dates. As mentioned previously, the primary scribe for BL 57337 is allegedly the same hand that appears in the Arenberg Gospels, a manuscript typically dated to approximately 990-1000.⁴¹ On liturgical grounds, however, there are other theories that feasibly fit with this timeline depending on how long this scribe would have been active and whether this pontifical would have been produced before or after the Arenberg Gospels. Kozachek suggests the pontifical may have belonged to Archbishop AElfheah, the same Archbishop connected with CCC 146 in the previous paragraph.⁴² However, AElfheah was not the only Archbishop within this span of time connected with Winchester: there was also the brief archiepiscopacy of AEthelgar, Dunstan's successor, who served as archbishop from 988-990.⁴³ Considering an even later production date, it has also been suggested that the pontifical's production coincided with Christ Church's acquisition of St Bartholomew's relics in roughly 1023, as the manuscript mentions Bartholomew in a litany. However, this seems unlikely to correspond with the active dates of the Arenberg Gospels scribe. Considering the scribal identification and the Winchester elements, I believe it would be most likely that BL 57337 could have been produced for AEthelgar's archiepiscopacy. This would also account for its similarity to BNF 943 and support the assertion that BL 57337 may have been copied from it prior to its departure to Sherborne in 993.

Situating the two post-conquest pontificals in this timeline requires further consideration of another contemporary Canterbury pontifical. In his edition of OxMC 226, H.A. Wilson lists seven potentially related pontificals, discussing similarity in content and sequence.⁴⁴ Perhaps the most significant is TCD 98, a pontifical produced at Christ Church, Canterbury around the turn of the twelfth century.⁴⁵ While Wilson suggests an unknown fourth pontifical that would have served as shared exemplar for TCD 98, CTC B.11.10, and

⁴⁰ Brückmann, 'Latin Manuscript Pontificals,' p. 432.

⁴¹ Heslop, 'De luxe manuscripts,' p. 169.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical history*, p. 93.

⁴⁴ Wilson, *Pontifical of Magdalen College*, p. xiii.

⁴⁵ Dublin, Trinity College (TCD), MS 98. <<https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/d504rq89v>>

OxMC 226, I believe that the production circumstances surrounding TCD 98 indicate that it could have possibly served as the exemplar for the other two.⁴⁶ In an appraisal of the scribal character of TCD 98 by Michael Gullick and Richard Pfaff, it is argued that the multiple scribal hands that appeared in this pontifical were all working simultaneously, and that the final manuscript was a compilation of these individual products.⁴⁷ Looking at the production timeline in the post conquest sources, including their potential exemplar TCD 98, it seems likely they could have been in the same place at the same time. The latest of the identified scribes in TCD 98, 'Scribe C' was active from 1115 to 1123.⁴⁸ As Wilson dates CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226 to the second half of the twelfth century, from roughly 1150 onwards, it is plausible that TCD 98 could have remained in Christ Church in the period prior to their production and that it could have served as an exemplar for both. It is unclear how long CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226 would have remained at Canterbury, for while they do both end up in Ely and Hereford, respectively, it is unclear exactly when that transition would have occurred.

Although the three Anglo-Saxon pontificals and two Anglo-Norman pontificals can both be feasibly grouped, bridging the gap between these two eras is slightly more difficult. There are other pontificals produced in Canterbury at this time that are textually similar to the five manuscripts in this case study, such as TCD 98. As discussed, the identified Scribe C in TCD 98 was active during the first quarter of the twelfth century. However, as this manuscript was a compilation, the section containing the blessing of a bell was copied towards the end of the eleventh century, specifically by the end of 1093.⁴⁹ Assuming this manuscript would later be used as an exemplar for OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10, it could hold a significant place in the potential copy lineage of these manuscripts. Additionally, the persistence of a copy discrepancy in the blessing of a bell, in which a rubric indicates that seven psalms are to be sung instead of six, appears in TCD 98, OxMC 226, and CTC B.11.10. In addition to linking those three manuscripts, it also suggests a connection with BL 57337, which also contains this discrepancy.⁵⁰ Therefore, it is a possibility that one of the pre-

⁴⁶ Wilson, *Pontifical of Magdalen College*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

⁴⁷ Gullick and Pfaff, 'Dublin Pontifical,' p. 293.

⁴⁸ Michael Gullick and Richard Pfaff, 'The Dublin Pontifical (TCD 98 [B. 3. 6]): Saint Anselms?', *Scriptorium*, 55 (2001), 284-294 (p. 292).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁵⁰ Further discussion of this textual discrepancy is found in Chapter 3, section 3.4.

conquest pontificals, BL 57337, could have still been at Canterbury while TCD 98 was being compiled. Of course, lack of an explicit geographical connection does not entirely rule out a potential copy relationship between two pontificals due to the manuscripts' portability. Additionally, one cannot eliminate the possibility of other contemporary manuscripts used as exemplars that may have since been lost or destroyed. For these five pontificals, however, I believe a case can be made for the feasibility of direct copy relationships between manuscripts, as there are multiple cases in which two or more pontificals demonstrate overlapping dates for when they may have been at Canterbury.

2.6 Sequence of Rites: The Blessing of A Bell in Context

Another element of pontifical production to consider is the sequence in which the pontifical rites are organised. As discussed previously, a major challenge in determining relationships between pre-standard pontificals is their inconsistency in content. The content in early pontificals and the order in which it was presented could vary widely, even between two manuscripts produced in the same place or allegedly copied from the same exemplar. Assessing the order in which pontifical rites are written can help further identify potential relationships between the pontificals. For example, multiple production circumstances can affect the sequence of rites, such as later additions or whether the pontifical is combined with a benedictional. In a scenario in which two contemporary manuscripts of a similar provenance have similar content presented in the same sequence, but one of the manuscripts is original whereas the other contains multiple gatherings of additional material, this may suggest that the manuscript with additions was completed first, and that the other was copied from this compilation.

In all five of the manuscripts, the blessing for a bell often occurs in sequence with other rites concerning either sacred objects such as crosses, or parts of the physical church or adjacent structures such as the baptistry and cemetery. Generally, formatting in the Anglo-Saxon pontificals is slightly more erratic than that of their post-conquest counterparts. However, that's not to say that there was no semblance of structure. Of extant contemporary sources, it has been observed that the order of pontifical rites usually begins in one of two ways: either with the church dedication and associated rites, or with

the ordinations.⁵¹ All three of the Anglo-Saxon pontificals in this case study, BNF 943, BL 57337, and CCC 146, occur as a part of the first group. It is unclear as to whether these two groups demonstrate any sort of trend as far as geographical indication. In all five pontificals examined in this case study, there are a few other consistencies that crop up in their overall structure: the church dedication and cemetery dedication are normally grouped together, as are the reconciliation services. Except for CCC 146, in which the blessing of a bell appears to be a part of the church dedication rite, the blessing of a bell typically occurs with blessings of other church objects, i.e., crosses, sacred vessels, candles, etc. In BNF 943, BL 57337, and CTC B.11.10, the blessing of a bell occurs following the blessing of the cross, while in OxMC 226 it occurs following the blessing of images of Mary.

Although often extended through later additions to the text, the “original” pontifical sections of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts examined in this case study were much more modest than their Anglo-Norman counterparts, which were much more comprehensive. In terms of arrangement, BNF 943 and BL 57337 do seem to be well related, as “the contents of the first half of the two pontificals are fairly consistent with one another.”⁵² The two post-conquest pontificals, OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10, contain pontifical rites that mostly appear in the same order. However, they occur at different points in the overall manuscript due to their benedictional sections being in different places: OxMC 226 begins with the benedictional and has the pontifical at the end, whereas CTC B.11.10 is the opposite. There are a few rites occurring in OxMC 226 that are omitted in CTC B.11.10, such as the blessing of images of Mary, which occurs between the consecration of a cross and blessing of a bell. Some of these appear in B.11.10 in the slightly later additional section added shortly after the main body of the manuscript was produced. As the additional gatherings contain elements such as references to Ely saints, one possible explanation for them being presented out of order that the addition of these rites was left to the discretion of the intended diocese and that a more local variation of those rites was added.

Overall, similarities in sequence can also indicate whether pontificals were being produced as compiled copies of *libelli* or as copies of existing pontifical exemplars. Instances where multiple rites are presented in the same order seem to indicate a more direct copy

⁵¹ Pfaff, ‘Bishop and His Book,’ p.11.

⁵² Conn, ‘Dunstan and Brodie,’ p. 460. A further table on p. 355 outlines the exact sequence in which the rites occur in these two manuscripts.

relationship. Based on their inconsistent structure, it does not appear that there was a discernible “Canterbury style” for pontifical content ordering in the Anglo-Saxon sources. However, in the post conquest pontificals, their high similarity in overall sequence does seem to offer more compelling evidence for an observable relationship between Canterbury-affiliated sources, especially when you consider other contemporary pontificals and which of them may have served as exemplars. TCD 98 was produced by four primary scribes, with material from three additional supplementary scribes and one rubricator also appearing in the manuscript. As discussed previously, the identification of the primary scribes, along with Gullick and Pfaff’s proposal that the pontifical was produced for Anselm, place original date of this pontifical in roughly the 1090s, although some of the supplementary material was written even later, as the identified Scribe ‘C’ corresponds to an active hand from between 1115 and 1123. Given this range of dates, as well as the fact that the sequence of this manuscript in its current form mostly corresponds to both CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226, I believe it is highly probable that they were copied from TCD 98. As TCD 98 was compiled over time, it does not appear that its later function as a pontifical exemplar for other manuscripts was necessarily due to any sort of deliberate shift in pontifical formatting. In other words, TCD 98 was not designed as a pontifical exemplar. However, its compilation marked a turning point for pontifical production at Canterbury specifically, the effects of which could be measurably traced elsewhere in Britain due to the export of its copies.⁵³

Differences in sequence do not totally eliminate the possibility of copying relationships, as textual similarities between individual rites could also indicate connections between manuscripts such as copying shared *libelli*. However, the increased consistency in copying demonstrated by later, post-conquest sources, does suggest a transition to a more widespread practice of copying from more complete exemplars.

⁵³ Brückmann, ‘Latin Manuscript Pontificals,’ p. 414.; John Harper, ‘Contexts for the Late Medieval Pontifical of Anian, Bishop of Bangor: Issues of the ‘Local’ and the ‘More-Than-Local,’” in *Music and Liturgy in Medieval Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Ann Buckley and Lisa Colton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 17–49 (p. 37). CTC B.11.10 is believed to be the exemplar for another pontifical copied at Ely, Cambridge, University Library LI.2.10 (see Brückmann) and OxMC 226 bears some musical similarities to the later Bangor pontifical (see Harper).

2.7 Evidence of Originality and Modification in the Blessing of a Bell

Having considered the evidence supporting a shared Canterbury attribution in these pontificals, I return once more to the rite at the basis of this case study: the blessing of a bell. For all five of these pontificals, the blessing of a bell occurs in the original sections of the manuscripts, rather than in later additions. Apart from merely being a testament to the significance of the rite across the broader pontifical repertoire, the fact that it is originally included in all of these manuscripts also means the rite would have been copied at the original centre of production, rather than added later after the manuscript had been exported. However, despite the rite's original inclusion in these manuscripts, all demonstrate varying levels of modification to the blessing of a bell.

Of the manuscripts examined in this case study, BNF 943 exhibits the most obvious modifications to the blessing of a bell, with most changes related to the musical aspect of the rite. As the text was originally formatted, the original version of the service in BNF 943 did not include the antiphon *In civitate domini*, nor is there any mention of the antiphon *Asperges me*, though only the former is later added in the margins of this manuscript.⁵⁴ The other two antiphons, *Vox domini super aquas* and *Deus in sancto*, are both included in the original text, although the text of *Deus in sancto* was extended in the margins in order to accommodate the addition of neumes.⁵⁵ For the other two Anglo-Saxon sources, BL 57337 and CCC 146, the rite mostly remains unchanged apart from some marginal additions, although these do not ultimately change the rite's structure. Both include similar marginal additions right at the beginning of the rite that appear to function as a signposting towards the rite, giving the name of the rite, a brief rubric direction for washing of the bell, and referencing the *Asperges me* antiphon.⁵⁶ While in BL 57337 this is written in the margin completely separate from the text block, it appears that the bottom two lines in CCC 146 were not written to fill the full length of the text block, leaving a small bit of extra space in which this addition was written, perhaps suggesting that this marginal rubric was original. There are no further marginal additions to the rite in CCC 146 beyond this point, but BL 57337 provides further marginal signposting delineating each section of the rite's

⁵⁴ BNF, MS Lat. 943, fol. 78r.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 79r.

⁵⁶ London, British Library (BL), Add. MS 57337, fol. 67r.

<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_57337>, CCC, MS 146, p. 87.

performance: when the bell is to be wiped with a cloth, anointed with oil, and perfumed with incense.⁵⁷ The final addition also includes a notated incipit for *Domine ad te dirigatur*, a psalm that does not appear in any of the other four manuscripts.⁵⁸

While all of the pre-conquest manuscripts exhibit some slight corrections and modifications, neither of the post conquest sources demonstrate any substantial additions or modifications to the rite, apart from perhaps a few small spelling corrections and a slight change in OxMC 226 in which *In civitate domini* has been extended through the addition of another *alleluia*. The only manuscript with substantial additions altering the rite's performance is BNF 943. The additional texts are in another hand, in a script more aligned with the English Caroline minuscule, so likely would not have been added much later than the rest of the manuscript's original text. It has been suggested that perhaps the additions were made after the manuscript left Canterbury, while it was at Sherborne.⁵⁹ However, as there are no grounds for either a Sherborne or Canterbury link for these additions on script alone, identifying their origins requires consideration of their musical components.

One element to consider is how and if the text in each of these manuscripts was formatted to include musical notation. The only one of these manuscripts for which it can be said for certain that the pontifical was planned with musical notation in mind is CTC B.11.10. The inclusion of staves throughout the entirety of the manuscript suggests a unique level of emphasis on pitch-specific musical notation for a pontifical of this time. The primary manner in which sung texts were indicated was by the size of the text, in which any matter to be sung was written in a slightly smaller text than the rest of the manuscript.⁶⁰ While these texts may not have been originally neumed, the smaller chant size did facilitate the addition of musical notation, as there was adequate space for neumes to be inserted.

The earliest manuscript, BNF 943, while it exhibits the earliest notational style of the five pontificals, does not appear to have been planned out with the music for the blessing of a bell in mind. Most of the modifications to the rite mentioned previously are specifically musical additions: the first antiphon, *In civitate domini*, is written and neumed fully in the

⁵⁷ BL, MS 57337, fols. 67v-68v.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 68v.

⁵⁹ Susan Rankin, 'Music Books,' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume 1, c.400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 482-506 (p. 490).

⁶⁰ Susan Rankin, 'Neumatic Notations in Anglo-Saxon England,' in *Musicologie médiévale: notations et séquences : actes de la Table ronde du C.N.R.S à l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, 6-7 septembre 1982*, ed. by Michel Huglo (Paris: H. Champion, 1987) pp. 129-144 (pp. 131).

margins, and the text for *Deus in sancto* has been extended in the margins for musical purposes as well. Though neumes have been written in above the text, they do not appear spaced to accommodate notation, and is the same size as the rest of the text in the pontifical. Whether these neumes were added at Canterbury is another question entirely, and although it has been suggested that these modifications were made after the pontifical had gone to Sherborne, “the evidence from other sources in which Breton notation is used is strongly indicative not only of a link between this notation and Canterbury, but of Canterbury as its principal place of use in England.”⁶¹ While the use of Breton notation has been observed in some Sherborne manuscripts, I believe the strong link between Breton neumes and Canterbury makes it slightly more likely that the melodies in BNF 943 were a Canterbury addition.

Determining specifically when and where these manuscripts were neumed may be futile, as all of them exhibit notational scripts that would have been in active practice at the time the manuscript was being written, so the assessment cannot be determined on the neumatic system alone. Even for manuscripts such as CTC B.11.10, in which the staves indicate the deliberate inclusion of music, many of these staves are left empty, suggesting the possibility that the neumes were added later, and perhaps even in a different location. As CTC B.11.10 was notated in Canterbury for export to Ely diocese, it is possible that this was a deliberate decision allowing the melodies to be left to the discretion of the diocese where the manuscript was intended for use. However, CTC B.11.10 also demonstrates the most widespread use of the subsemitonal neume, which bears a strong Canterbury association.⁶² However, if the manuscript was neumed at an alternate location, what does the persistence of melodies notated at different locations indicate? Where could these melodies have been copied from? The originality of notation will be explored further in Chapter 3, as it requires a more complex discussion of neumatic systems.

2.8 Conclusions

At this time, without a more comprehensive study of the rites and their sequences in the broader collection of insular pontificals it is difficult to say whether there was a unique

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Kozacheck, ‘Tonal neumes,’ p. 140.

“Canterbury-style” pontifical in terms of content alone. While there may not be enough evidence to establish the existence of a unique Canterbury style of pontifical, that is not to say that there were not any Canterbury forms for individual rites. For example, a Canterbury style of the chrisom mass has been identified, which appears in CCC 146 in both revised and earlier forms, as well as in CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226.⁶³ Determining copy relationships and, by extension, copy lineages requires consideration of multiple factors, many of which have to do with the specific people involved in the manuscript’s production and use, such as the identification of individual scribes or potential owners. Through the palaeographical evidence presented in this chapter, I determined that these five pontificals can be reliably attributed to Christ Church and proposed the basis for a series of hypothetical copy relationships between them on the basis of their potential ownership. As these manuscripts have been firmly placed in Canterbury, further examination of the textual and musical contents in the coming chapters will help to provide evidence in determining if there is a Canterbury version of the blessing of a bell, as well as how it may have circulated through the production of these five manuscripts.

⁶³ Christopher A. Jones, ‘The Chrism Mass in Later Anglo-Saxon England,’ in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by M. Bradford Bedingfield Helen Gittos (London: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 105–42 (p. 121 n.58).

Chapter 3: Summary of the Rite and Textual Analysis

3.1 Introduction: Structure of the Rite and Methodology

Turning now to the rite's content, this chapter examines specific textual variations occurring in the blessing of a bell across the five case study manuscripts. As discussed in the previous chapter on provenance, the text of the rite is an original part of these five pontificals, and therefore would have been written at Christ Church. As such, changes in the format and content of the text are direct reflections of how the blessing of a bell in the Canterbury repertoire was developing over time. In this chapter, I discuss the structure of the rite in these manuscripts as it compares to the broader pontifical repertoire, such as its differences to the continental rite. More specifically, I compare the texts of the rite in these five pontificals directly to assess their level of similarity to one another. Through a quantitative assessment of similarity ratios between manuscript pairs, as well as a consideration of specific discrepancies and structural changes, I examine the context for developments to the rite, as well as attempt to identify textual evidence of specific copy relationships between these pontificals.

As mentioned in the introduction, the earliest records of the blessing of a bell indicate two continental versions of the rite: the Mozarabic and the Franco-Roman, which emerge in the seventh and eighth centuries, respectively.¹ The primary difference between the Mozarabic and Franco-Roman versions of the rite is the structure, as the Mozarabic is organised in a bipartite structure of an exorcism followed by a blessing. The Franco-Roman rite instead follows a more complex and formulaic structure: "a) the preparation of holy water; b) the washing of the bell with holy water during the singing of psalms; c) consecration prayer and anointing with chrism; d) cleansing the bell with incense under the singing of psalm 76:17-21; e) closing oration"² This structure remains relatively unchanged in later versions of the rite, as indicated by H.B. Walters's summary of the ceremony as it is described in the eighteenth-century *Recueil Curieux et Edifiant sur les Cloches de l'Eglise*.³

¹ Heinz, 'Die Bedeutung der Glock,' p. 44. While Heinz does mention the Franco-Roman rite in the context of the Carolingian period, neither Heinz nor Walters discuss if there is a Carolingian version of the rite. As the Anglo-Saxon rite is satisfactorily similar to the Franco-Roman, further investigation into a uniquely Carolingian rite in the discussion of continental forms seems beyond the current scope of this dissertation.

² *Ibid.* p. 52.

³ Walters, *Church Bells of England*, pp. 257-260.

While Heinz does not discuss the Anglo-Saxon rite, likely because it is functionally similar to the Franco-Roman rite, Walters's description of the rite in an unspecified British museum pontifical demonstrates a few elements that diverge from the Franco-Roman, such as the inclusion of the antiphons *Asperges me* and *In civitate domini*.⁴

The versions of the ceremony as described by Walters and Heinz also contain many elements of the rite consistent with the five pontificals examined in this study. The general structure includes four main sections of prayers, each punctuated by an antiphon and/or psalms accompanying a different act of cleansing the bells: first bathing the bell with salt and water, then anointing it with oil, and lastly cleansing it with incense. At the start of the ceremony, the bell is sprinkled with water while the antiphon *Asperges me* is performed. Of the four antiphons performed throughout the ceremony, it is the only one that is not notated in the case study pontificals, nor is the full chant text included, although the full text does usually appear elsewhere in the pontificals, such as in the church dedication rite. The other three antiphons, *In civitate domini*, *Vox Domini super aquas*, and *Deus in sancto*, are all written with the full text and are fully notated in these five pontificals. In the two post-conquest sources, OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10, a litany is performed and additional remarks are made prior to the bell being washed, suggesting this was possibly a Norman addition to the rite. Later versions of the rite, such as the eighteenth-century description of the rite in Walters, begin with "seven appropriate Psalms (50, 53, 56, 66, 69, 85, and 129 Vulg.) chanted or recited" prior to blessing of the water and salt used to wash the bells.⁵

The structure of the rite as it appears in the five pontificals in this case study can be seen below in Table 2, with transcriptions containing the full texts for the rite found in Appendix A. These have been laid out from left to right as to best reflect structural consistencies and parallels between manuscripts. As demonstrated by this table, the blessing of a bell in the Canterbury pontificals follows the general structure of the Franco-Roman rite, with a few additions. After *Asperges me* is sung, the initial text of the blessing is read, then *In civitate domini* is sung as the bell is wiped with a towel, followed by several psalms beginning with *Lauda anima mea dominum* (psalm 145) and continuing *usque in finem psalterii*, to the end of the psalter. Following the next prayer, the bell is anointed with

⁴ Ibid. p. 257.

⁵ Walters, *Church Bells of England*, p. 258.

oil at seven points on the outside (*septies deforis*) and four points on the inside (*deintus quaternis vicibus*), at which point the antiphon *Vox domini super aquas* and psalm *Vox domini in virtute* are sung. After the third section of prayers, incense made with myrrh and thyme is lit and placed underneath the bell so that smoke fills the interior to cleanse the bell, and the next antiphon *Deus in sancto* is sung, followed by the psalm *Viderunt te aque*. Here, the term *clocca* is also used, this time simply referring to the space underneath and inside the bell where the smoke will gather. In earlier sources, the rite simply concludes after the final prayer, beginning *Omnipotens sempiterne deus dominator*, is read. Alternatively, the two post-conquest pontificals, OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10, include a concluding section in which the bishop raises his hands to bless this *signum ecclesie*, or sign of the church.

	OxMC 226	CTC B.11.10	CCC 146	BL 57337	BNF 943
Introduction	Ad signum ecclesie benedicendum...	Ad signum ecclesie benedicendum...	Ad signum benedicendum ecclesie...	Ad signum aecclesie benedicendum...	Ad signum ecclesie benedicendum...
	Quatinus consecrata sis aqua sancta	Quatinus consecrata aqua sancta	Quatinus consecratio huius sancte aque		
	...cum antiphona Asperges me...	...cum hec antiphona. Asperges me...	... cum antiphona Asperges me...	...cum antiphona asperges me ysopo...	
Section I	Benedic domine hoc tintinnabulum...	Benedic domine hoc tintinnabulum...	Benedic domine hoc signum...	Benedic domine hoc signum...	Benedic domine hoc signum...
	Post hec cantabis vii. psalmos...	Post hec cantabis septem psalmos...	Post hec laves ea de aqua benedicta cantando...	Postea cantes antiphonam...	Postea cantes psalmos vi...
	<i>In ciuitate domini...</i>	<i>In ciuitate domini...</i>	<i>In ciuitate domini...</i>	<i>In ciuitate domini...</i>	<i>In ciuitate domini...</i>
	Et cum cantaueris interim exterges...	Et cum cantaueris interim exterges...	Deinde dicis hanc collectam...	Deinde vii. psalmi [...] dicasque collectam...	
Section II.	Deus qui per moysen...	Deus qui per moysen...	Deus qui per moysen...	Deus qui per moysen...	Deus qui per moysen...
	Deinde linies illud crismate...	Deinde linies illud crismate...	Tunc exterges ea linthea...	Tunc extergas cloccam lintheo...	Tunc extergas cloccam lintheo...
	<i>Ant. Vox domini super aquas...</i>	<i>Vox domine super aquas...</i>	<i>Vox domini super aquas...</i>	<i>Antiphona. Vox domini super aquas...</i>	<i>Vox domini super aquas...</i>
	Et cetera usque in finem psalmi....	Et cetera usque in finem psalmi...	Et tanges ea decrismate...	Sequitur oratio	Sequitur oratio.
Section III.	Omnipotens sempiterne deus...	Omnipotens sempiterne deus...	Omnipotens sempiterne deus...	Omnipotens sempiterne deus...	Omnipotens sempiterne deus...
	Tunc impones in acerna ignem...	Tunc impones in acerna ignem...	Tunc eriges cloccam...	Tunc imponas in acerram ignem...	Tunc imponas in acerram ignem...
	<i>Deus in sancto...</i>	<i>Deus in sancto...</i>	<i>Deus in sancto...</i>	<i>Deus in sancto...</i>	<i>Deus in sancto...</i>
	Et cetera usque in finem psalmi....	Et cetera usque in finem psalmi...	Sequatur oratio	Sequatur oratio	Sequatur oratio
Final Section	Omnipotens sempiterne deus. dominator...	Omnipotens sempiterne deus dominator...	Omnipotens sempiterne deus dominator...	Omnipotens sempiterne deus. dominator...	Omnipotens sempiterne deus dominator...
	Tunc eleuata manu benedicat...	Tunc elevate manu benedicat...			

Table 2: Structure of Blessing of a Bell in Five Canterbury Pontificals*

* Texts in bold indicate rubrics, texts in italics indicate notated chants

3.2 Bell Terminology and Significance of Rite Texts

Across the various versions of the rite, and even between individual manuscripts, there is also variation in the terminology used to refer to the bells themselves. The five pontificals in this study use four different terms to refer to bells being blessed: *tintinnabulum*, *campana*, *signum*, and *vasculum*. *Campana* is the most straightforward terminology referring to a bell and is primarily used to represent church bells such as the tower bell.⁶ Though *campana* bells could vary in size, with smaller bells sometimes referred to as *campanella*, the term is usually only used in association with those bells that were a part of the physical structure of the church. The use of *tintinnabula*, on the other hand, is slightly more ambiguous. Used generally to denote smaller bells, it could indicate dormitory or refectory bells, but was also used in reference to hand bells.⁷ The use of both terms in these pontificals could suggest that the content for the bell blessing rite is generally consistent regardless of the bell's function. However, there is also evidence to suggest that the use of *tintinnabula* could have functioned as similarly to *campana* in monastic contexts, in which *tintinnabula* were used in smaller quarters either to reiterate larger bell ringings, or for less formal summonings such as meal times.⁸ The term *signum* also appears in these pontificals, suggesting the bell's more specific purpose as a sign or signal from the church to the community, often as a means of summoning to the church.⁹ *Signum* was one of the more widely used and longstanding terms for a bell, and even appears in the earliest Mozarabic versions of the rite.¹⁰ Lastly, though more literally translated as 'vessel,' the use of *vasculum*, like *signum*, places a greater weight on the symbolic significance of the bell in the liturgy, rather than the physical bell as an object.

Considering the variety of terms for bell used in these pontificals, occurring within a generally consistent structure to the rite, suggests that the variations in terminology were unrelated to the type of bell being blessed. However, examining patterns of occurrence for these terms in the five case study pontificals, however, does suggest some development to

⁶ Herbert Thurston, 'Bells,' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume 2*, ed. by Charles G. Herbermann (New York: R. Appleton Co., 1907) pp. 418-424 (p. 419).

⁷ Walters, *Church Bells of England*, p. 3.; Thurston, "Bells," pp. 418-419.

⁸ Percival Price, *Bells and Man*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 89.

⁹ John H. Arnold and Caroline Goodson, 'Resounding Community: The History and Meaning of Medieval Church Bells,' *Viator*, 43:1 (2012), 99-130 (p. 107).

¹⁰ Heinz, 'Die Bedeutung der Glock,' p. 47.

how this terminology was used over time. For example, in Section I of the rite, the prayer text beginning *Benedic domine hoc...* is included in all five manuscripts. In this section, the three pre-conquest pontificals, BNF 943, BL 57337, and CCC 146, all use the term *signum* for bell, whereas the two later manuscripts, CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226, use *tintinnabulum*, suggesting that the change in terminology could have some correlation with post-conquest developments to the rite. However, the development of language seems much more gradual when looking at the frequency with which these terms were used, as seen in Table 3 below: *campana* does not occur at all in the two earliest sources, BNF 943 and BL 57337, and whereas BNF 943 favours *signum*, using it five times throughout the rite with *tintinnabulum* only appearing four times, BL 57337 uses *tintinnabulum* more frequently. *Vasculum* is used in all five manuscripts but appears with increasing frequency in later sources from CCC 146 onward. The incremental nature of these changes suggests that the interchangeability with which the various terms for bells were used is more indicative of gradual developments to language and preference, rather than different physical varieties of bells.

Pontifical	<i>Tintinnabulum</i>	<i>Signum</i>	<i>Campana</i>	<i>Vasculum</i>
BNF 943	4	5	0	3
BL 57337	6	5	0	2
CCC 146	7	2	3	5
CTC B.11.10	9	2	3	5
OxMC 226	8	2	3	5

Table 3: Frequency of Bell Term Occurrence in Blessing of a Bell

While all five manuscripts each containing slight variations in spelling or word endings throughout, such as the variations in bell terminology, the four main prayer texts comprising the body of the rite remain fairly consistent across all five pontificals, as seen in Table 2. These passages include a great deal of sound-based imagery: The first and second prayer texts incorporate references to trumpets and loud storms with crashes of thunder and stormy winds, calling the bell a vessel to be prepared for the church (*vasculum tue ecclesie preparatum*), further emphasising the bell's symbolic role in calling the congregation and community together. References to loud instruments such as drums, cymbals, and the organ keep the focus on sound and music, and the text largely focuses on

the role of sound in communication as well as a call to action for the congregation. The consistent discussion of storms, clouds, and thunder connect sound as a means of travel between the earth and the sky, between the earthly congregation and the heavens, and therefore these bells were seen as representative of that sonic relationship. As demonstrated by the translations below, this emphasis on sound is particularly sustained in two of the antiphons sung in the rite: *In civitate domini* and *vox domini super aquas*.

Translations of antiphons:

<i>In civitate domini clare sonant iugiter organa sanctorum ibi cinnamomum et balsamum odor suavissimus qui ad deum pertinet. ibi angeli et archangeli ymnum nouum* decantant ante sedem dei alleluia.</i>	In the city of the Lord the instruments of the saints always sound loud and there is a very pleasant smell of cinnamon and balm which is befitting to God. There the angels and the archangels sing a new hymn* before the throne of God, alleluia.
<i>Vox domini super aquas deus maiestatis intonuit dominus super aquas multas</i>	The voice of the Lord above the waters, the God of majesty, the Lord thundered over many waters.
<i>Deus in sancto uia tua quis deus magnus sicut deus noster tu es deus qui facis mirabilia solus.</i>	God, your way is in the holy place, who is a great god as our God, You alone are the God who does wonders

While the third antiphon, *Deus in sancto*, appears to be the exception with a more generic text focusing on wonders of God, the following psalm text indicated in three of the pontificals, *Viderunt te aque*, as well as the remaining verses in psalm 76, from which the text for *Deus in sancto* is also taken, invoke this same imagery with references to the sound of water and the voice of thunder.

A recent Lyell lecture by Susan Rankin examines modifications to early versions of the continental rite in England.¹¹ While the continental and insular versions of the blessing of a bell are structurally and textually similar, their primary difference lies in musical content and the elaboration of the chants used in the rite. Rankin argues that while continental sources would have performed *Vox domini super aquas* and *Deus in sancto* on a psalm tone,

¹¹ Rankin, 'Sound and its Capture.'

the Anglo-Saxon sources are the first to introduce more elaborate antiphon melodies to these texts, as well as introduce the *In civitate* antiphon in this liturgical context. Musical elaboration would also reiterate the symbolic significance of bells, as the increased focus on musical content in the rite also further emphasises the overall significance of sound in the blessing, referenced throughout the text. Rankin's conclusions are especially helpful to this case study as they provide unique characteristics in pontifical rites that may suggest the development of a uniquely English pontifical tradition.

3.3 Textual Analysis: Methodology and Assessment of Overall Similarity

Depending on the size of the data set, a challenge to thorough textual analysis is the ability to process large quantities of text without sacrificing the depth of a manual review. As I only focus on one rite in this case study, it was possible to conduct a manual analysis of the textual differences and quantify the level of similarity between these five manuscripts. To achieve this, I established a word count for each of the rites to compare their overall lengths (Table 4.1), then with the help of an online text comparison programme to highlight specific spelling and phrase differences manually assessed specific textual differences between any two manuscripts. I used CountWordsFree, a free online platform offering a digital text comparison tool in which the similarity between two bodies of text is assessed according to Levenshtein distance.¹² Levenshtein is a metric determining an edited "distance" between two texts, which measures "minimum number of operations [...] needed to transform one [text] into the other, where an operation is an insertion, deletion, or substitution of a single character."¹³ After calculating this distance, the programme provides a detailed side-by-side comparison of texts down to the character, in which substitutions, deletions, and additions are highlighted for both bodies of text. By assessing the differences identified by the programme manually, I was able to account for differences in content by assessing if the highlighted word was presented in either a different declension or case, such as singular against plural. For the purposes of this comparison, differences such as spelling and synonyms were not counted as significant differences/alterations to the rite, nor were

¹² CountWordsFree Text Processing Tools, *Compare Text Online* (2015-2021)
<<https://countwordsfree.com/comparetexts>>

¹³ Z. Su and others, 'Plagiarism Detection Using the Levenshtein Distance and Smith-Waterman Algorithm,' in *3rd International Conference on Innovative Computing Information and Control*, (2008) p. 569.
<<http://doi.org/10.1109/ICICIC.2008.422>>

alternative superscripts with alternative endings and plural forms accounted for in the primary body of text. In order to determine the similarity ratio, I added the word counts in both manuscripts being compared to achieve an overall number of items, then subtracted any word differences, such as word substitutions or words included in one manuscript but not the other. The number of word differences was subtracted from the total and then divided by the overall word count to determine a ratio (see below.) The closer the two manuscripts are to 1.0, the higher their degree of similarity.

$$\frac{(\text{Sum of Words in A + B}) - \text{number of differences}}{(\text{Word Count Source A} + \text{Word Count Source B})}$$

I modified this method slightly for any comparisons with BL 57337, as the text for this rite is technically incomplete. In the final prayer text, the content is fairly consistent across all five manuscripts apart from BL 57337. Unfortunately, a folio has been removed following fol. 69v, therefore the final lines of the text for this rite are no longer available. To accommodate for the missing part of the rite in the removed folio, the existing text for the blessing of a bell will only be compared with its equivalent in the other manuscripts, that is, up until *imperio fragor* in the final prayer text section, which begins with *Omnipotens sempiternus deus dominator christe*. All five manuscripts contain the same phrase in this section of text, so for the purposes of comparison with BL 57337, they were compared according to modified word counts only accounting for text up until the same phrase. While there are other contemporary, non-notated Canterbury pontificals containing the rite, such as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 44 and Dublin, Trinity College MS 98, they have not been transcribed and included in the quantitative textual comparison at this time. I do, however, refer to some discrepancies in the rite text appearing in other pontificals later in this chapter.

Manuscript	Word Count
OxMC 226	834
CTC B.11.10	847
CCC 146	777
BL 57337*	616
BNF 943	617

Table 4.1: Length of Blessing of a Bell Text by Word Count

* Word count affected by missing folio at the end of rite in BL 57337.

Manuscript	Similarity OxMC 226	Similarity CTC B.11.10	Similarity CCC 146	Similarity BL 57337*	Similarity BNF 943
OxMC 226		0.985	0.800	0.812	0.782
CTC B.11.10	0.985		0.795	0.790	0.774
CCC 146	0.800	0.795		0.810	0.797
BL 57337*	0.812	0.790	0.810		0.960
BNF 943	0.782	0.774	0.797	0.960	

Table 4.2: Similarity Ratios for Blessing of a Bell Text in Five Canterbury Pontificals

As indicated in Table 4.2, the two rite texts that are most similar occur in OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10, with a similarity ratio of 0.985. Any specific textual differences between the two manuscripts are very slight and usually indicate extensions of the text. Such instances include the addition of *Evovae* at the end of the chant texts in CTC B.11.10 and a few instances in which phrases are written out rather than abbreviated *i.e.*, writing out *per omnia secula seculorum* or *per dominum* in full at the end of prayer texts versus simply *per*. As these are the only two post-conquest sources included in this case study, their high degree of similarity does potentially suggest an increased emphasis on uniformity in the post-conquest pontificals. This level of similarity is also supported by the similarity ratios in Rosemary Buggins’ textual comparisons of other rites shared by the two manuscripts, in which OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10 shared nearly identical content in the dedication of a cemetery and Candlemas rites.¹⁴ Additionally, the two earliest sources, BL 57337 and BNF 943 also demonstrate a relatively high level of similarity—assuming that the remaining portion of the rite in BL 57337 would have maintained this same adherence to the texts in BNF 943.

While the earliest and latest manuscript pairs demonstrate the highest ratio of similarity, the manuscript demonstrating the most consistent level of similarity across all five pontificals is CCC 146, with similarity ratios that range from 0.795 when compared to CTC B.11.10, to 0.810 when compared to BL 57337. Due to its more consistent level of similarity with both the pre- and post-conquest sources, it is possible that CCC 146 demonstrates an interesting “transitional” stage in the development of the rite, bridging the gap between the earliest and latest sources. It is the earliest source in this group in which

¹⁴ Buggins, ‘The Coventry Pontifical,’ pp. 131, 133.

the section of text beginning *Quatinus consecratio huius sancte aque* is included in the introductory section, serving as a transitional text between the preparation of holy water and the beginning of the blessing of a bell. As this pontifical itself is a part of the “pre-conquest” group, its variations from the two earliest sources also suggests that there were developments to the Anglo-Saxon version of the rite implemented prior to any explicitly Anglo-Norman modifications.

3.4 Specific Textual Variants and the Seven-Psalm Discrepancy

In both text and formatting, CCC 146 seems to be the bridge between the pre- and post-conquest sources. Though it does not begin with the litany, as CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226 do, it does still contain an additional section of text prior to the washing of the bell, beginning with *Quatinus consecrata aqua sancta et proficias ad dedicationem huius tintinnabula uel huius campane*, transitioning the text from the exorcism of water and into the blessing of a bell. The occurrence of the exorcism of water before the blessing of a bell in CCC 146 deviates slightly from the reference to it in OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10 in that it includes the full text for the exorcism. Alternatively, the blessing of a bell in the two post-conquest pontificals begin with rubrics that both instruct that the rite shall be performed after the litany is recited, and then the exorcism of water is to be performed *ut supra usque*, or “as mentioned above,” simply referencing the exorcism text rather than writing it out fully. The fully written exorcism in CCC 146 is peculiar, as it is not the only time this occurs in the manuscript: in the rite immediately following the blessing of a bell, the consecration of a cemetery, the full text of the exorcism of water is also written out in full, just as it had been previously. As such, it appears that the later sources adapt this inclusion for efficiency, merely alluding to the complete blessing.

The other two Anglo-Saxon pontificals, BL 57337 and BNF 943, begin with a simple rubric instruction to wash the bell before beginning with the main body of the blessing text, and BNF 943, the earliest of these manuscripts, does not include any instruction to perform the *Asperges me* antiphon. Of the three antiphons in the rite, the text is consistent in all five manuscripts apart from CTC B.11.10, in which there is a slight textual change in *In civitate domini*. Whereas the other four manuscripts contain the line *ibi angeli et archangeli [h]ymnum nouum decantant ante sedem dei alleluia*, translated as “there the angels and archangels sing a new hymn before the throne of God, alleluia,” CTC B.11.10 instead has the

line *ibi angeli et archangeli hymnum deo decantant ante sedem dei alleluia*. Rather than “a new hymn,” the slight change in text simply reads as “a hymn to God.” As will be explored further in Chapter 4, the two post-conquest sources, CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226, both employ different melodies for *In civitate domini*. While the melody in CTC B.11.10 is consistent with that of the older sources, OxMC 226 demonstrates an alternative melody. It is possible that this text change could be in reference to this; as the melody in CTC B.11.10 is consistent with older sources, the change from “a new hymn” to “a hymn to God” could simply be in reference to the fact that this melody may no longer be considered “new” by post-conquest standards.

Another key textual change in the sources after BNF 943 further reiterates Rankin’s conclusions regarding the musical elaboration of the rite. While it occurs at multiple points where musical notation has been added in later, the most prominent example is before the final antiphon *Deus in sancto* is performed. In the preceding rubric, the final instruction before the chant text reads *et dicat versus*, or “and speak the verse,” whereas in all four of the later manuscripts, while all differ slightly in verbiage, the verb has changed from *dicat*, or “speak,” to *canens*, or “sing.” This is especially prominent in BL 57337, as the entire rubric preceding *Deus in sancto* matches that of BNF 943 exactly, apart from the final instruction that now reads *et canens antiphonam*, or, “and singing an antiphon.”

While largely insignificant in terms of the core liturgy of the rite, there is one small but significant discrepancy – referred to from this point forward as the seven psalm discrepancy – appearing in multiple manuscripts that could carry greater implications for both the functional practice of the rite as well as scribal practice and copy relationships between manuscripts. As mentioned previously in the description of the rite’s content and structure, it is consistently indicated that just before *In civitate domini* is sung, there are six psalms to be performed. This begins with *Lauda anima mea*, as is consistent with the text in all five of the manuscripts, and continues to the end of the psalter, thereby encompassing psalms 145-150. Considering the consistent references to *Lauda anima mea*, as well as the overall number of psalms included in the total psalter, it is therefore curious that of these five manuscripts, three of them explicitly state that the number of psalms to be sung is seven, rather than six: BL 57337, OxMC 226, and CTC B.11.10. BNF 943, the oldest of the five, is the last to explicitly reference six, and CCC 146 does not refer to a specific number at all. In determining whether this discrepancy was a mistake or something more intentional,

this section of the rite must be considered across the wider body of insular texts for the blessing of a bell.

3.5 Textual Characteristics of the Rite in Contemporary Non-Canterbury Pontificals

As mentioned in the introduction, at least thirteen out of sixteen extant insular pontificals I have consulted contain the blessing of a bell. Of these thirteen, nine have some form of Canterbury association. Although another post-conquest Canterbury pontifical, TCD 98, does not include musical notation and is therefore not discussed more precisely in this case study, it contains characteristics consistent with the other post-conquest sources, such as the recitation of the litany at the beginning of the rite. It does not contain the text change in *In civitate domini* demonstrated in CTC B.11.10. It does, however, include the seven-psalm discrepancy, maintaining the consistency of this textual quirk across the body of Canterbury sources—although the sources demonstrating the discrepancy appear to be in the minority when considering the broader insular repertoire. Of other sources with a Canterbury association that I have managed to consult, only one other Canterbury pontifical, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 44, written at St Augustine’s rather than Christ Church, references six psalms.¹⁵

Upon further exploration of the blessing of a bell across the broader collection of insular pontifical sources, a few further discrepancies appear. While there are other pontificals produced outside of Canterbury that generally follow the same structure for the rite as the manuscripts in this case study, some demonstrate major structural differences. These inconsistencies suggest that developments and changes to this rite in England were far from unilateral. For example, in the thirteenth-century Coventry pontifical, produced later than the manuscripts in this case study, the blessing of the bell is very brief and does not include the text for *in civitate domini*, nor does it mention the six corresponding psalms to be performed.¹⁶ Another manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 163, is an

¹⁵ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library on the Web, MS 044, p. 159.
<<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/sx200wv7668>>

¹⁶ Buggins, ‘The Coventry Pontifical,’ Appendix A, p. 57. See also, University Library, Cambridge, MS Ff. VI.9, fol. 31r.

eleventh-century pontifical produced in either Winchester or Worcester.¹⁷ While the beginning rubric instructs that the rite is to begin with the litany, as seen OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10. From this point the remainder of the rite's first section is extremely different. Following the litany, the rite begins with six psalms that do not appear in the case study pontificals: psalms 50, 53, 56, 66, 69, and 85. However, the inclusion of these psalms seems consistent with later versions of the rite, as described earlier in this chapter. After the recitation of these psalms, the rite text gives way to the full texts for the exorcism and blessing of salt, followed by water. However, while *In civitate domini* is not included, it does list the incipits to psalms 145-150, therefore maintaining the consistency of only six psalms to be performed as a part of this rite. It is only from this point onwards that the structure of the rite in CCC 163 is congruent to the Canterbury manuscripts, generally matching from Section II (Table 2) to the end.

While these other versions of the rite were clearly circulated throughout England, the text and structure of the rite as it appears in the five case study manuscripts does not appear to have been limited to pontificals with a Canterbury provenance. For example, an eleventh-century pontifical from Exeter follows a similar structure to the rite, with rubrics supporting only six psalms to be sung ahead of *In civitate domini*, rather than the seven psalm discrepancy in the Canterbury sources.¹⁸ In another pontifical, Cotton Tiberius C.1, the rite is included in a section of the pontifical written in the second quarter of the eleventh century.¹⁹ What makes this manuscript stand out in the context of this comparison is its continental links. Much of the text is a continental pontifical copied in Germany or at least in a German hand, though extensive additions were made while the pontifical was at Sherborne in the last quarter of the eleventh century before it eventually moved to Salisbury.²⁰ There are some slight differences in its blessing of a bell compared to the case study sources, namely the number of psalms to be sung before *In civitate domini*. While it still begins with Psalm 145, *Lauda anima mea*, it only explicitly references incipits to four

¹⁷ Brückmann, 'Latin Manuscript Pontificals,' p. 406.; Michael Gullick, 'The Origin and Date of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 163,' *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11, no. 1 (1996), 89-91 (p.89). Brückmann lists the pontifical as being from Winchester, while Gullick argues for a Worcester origin on the basis of parchment and scribal attribution.

¹⁸ London, British Library (BL), Add. MS. 28188, fols. 51r-54r.
(https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_28188)

¹⁹ London, British Library (BL), Cotton Tiberius C.1, fols. 180r-183v.
(https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Tiberius_C_1)

²⁰ Nelson and Pfaff, 'Pontificals and Benedictionals,' pp. 96-97.

psalms (145-148) rather than the standard six. Like BNF 943, the text and neumes for *In civitate domini* were not a part of the original text block, instead appearing as a marginal addition on f. 182r. Considering Cotton Tiberius C.I's strong continental roots, this addition further supports Rankin's conclusion that the embellishment of the continental rite through the addition of more chants was a uniquely English contribution.²¹ Though beyond the current scope of this dissertation, I hope that a comprehensive examination of the occurrence of this rite in the insular pontificals, as well as any discrepancies that occur, can be conducted in the future once more manuscript sources can be consulted.

3.6 Conclusions

In summary, a comparison of the text in these five manuscripts reveals a great deal about the development of the rite in England – or at least one version of it. There are distinct additions to the Franco-Roman version of the rite that occurred over time, altering how the rite was to be performed. Changes to the musical performance of the rite are demonstrated textually through elements such as the introduction of the *In civitate domini* antiphon in BNF 943 as a marginal addition, the later inclusion of *Asperges me*, the addition of psalm incipits following the antiphons, and changes in verbiage suggesting that texts are to be sung rather than spoken. Other changes included the more explicit mention of the exorcism of water, first seen in CCC 146, and the introduction of further additions to the performance after the Norman conquest, such as the performance of the litany at the beginning of the rite, and the bishop's concluding prayer at the very end. While the content of the rite may have been augmented, however, the overall structure remained the same, with most significant non-musical textual additions occurring at the beginning and end of the rite.

One indication of potential copy relationships could be the mystery surrounding the number of psalms performed ahead of the *In civitate domini* antiphon. Whether the manuscript calls for six or seven psalms varies greatly across the larger collection of insular pontificals, but as the psalter only goes up to one hundred-fifty psalms and the rubrics clearly and consistently indicate that the reader is supposed to begin from psalm 145, it seems unlikely that a mystery seventh psalm would be included at this point in the ceremony, at least not without an incipit or any other specification of the psalm to be read.

²¹ Rankin, 'Sound and its Capture.'

This simple scribal mistake, perhaps caused by a scribe writing one too many “I’s” written in a roman numeral six, could be the key to solidifying some the relationships between a few of the case study pontificals. Additionally, the consistency of the seven-psalm discrepancy across Canterbury sources not only suggests the local isolation of the quirk, but also suggests the possibility of a more direct copy lineage between the manuscripts containing it.

In the previous chapter on provenance, the five pontificals’ relationships to one another were discussed according to a general timeline of ownership, and if any of them overlapped in their time at Christ Church. From this timeline of ownership alone, the precise link between TCD 98, the potential exemplar for CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226, and either BL 57337 or CCC 146, is still somewhat up in the air. Upon further assessment of the textual evidence, the relationship appears more complex: textual evidence in favour of BL 57337 as an exemplar is demonstrated by the seven-psalm discrepancy, which appears in both TCD 98 and BL 57337. However, in assessing CCC 146 as a transitional text between the pre- and post-conquest sources, its influence is seen more clearly through the introduction of new structural material. Considering the structure of the rite, additions such as the introductory section beginning *Quatinus consecratio...* are first seen in CCC 146 and consistently appear in the post-conquest sources. The examination of textual and structural elements from these two Anglo-Saxon pontificals in TCD 98, cross-referenced with the proposed timelines discussed in Chapter 2, suggests the intriguing possibility of a hybrid exemplar. If CCC 146 and BL 57337 were both available at Christ Church while TCD 98 was being copied and compiled, it could be possible that an amalgamation of textual and structural elements from both manuscripts was copied into the new manuscript. Alternatively, a third, unknown pontifical containing this similar structural and textural combination could have been a now lost exemplar, but with BL 57337, CCC 146, and TCD 98 all possibly being in the same place at the same time, a lack of additional evidence pointing towards a fourth related manuscript makes this seem unlikely.

Overall, the developments seen in the blessing of a bell in the case study manuscripts, contextualised within the wider body of insular sources, suggests the following: multiple versions of the rite were circulating simultaneously, including a continental version. For the version seen in the case study pontificals, developments to it occur over time, and only ever include extensions of the rite, rather than altering or removing text. Additionally, the identification of different versions of the rite is usually

indicated by textual changes specifically relating to the rite's musical performance, such as the inclusion of antiphons or the specification of which psalms are to be sung.

Chapter 4: Comparisons of Melody and Neumatic Scripts

4.1 Introduction and Methodology

Music is a key component in performing the blessing of a bell, perhaps due to the strong emphasis placed on music and sound throughout the text of the rite discussed previously. The service includes four antiphons, three of which are followed by psalms. The reason these five manuscripts were selected for this case study is that they are the only five pontificals with a Canterbury association containing neumatic notation for this rite. They each contain notation for three antiphons: *In civitate domini*, *Vox domini super aquas*, and *Deus in sancto*, as well as a few notated incipits for psalms. While they share a scriptorium, this small collection of manuscripts demonstrates a diverse set of notational examples, including Breton, Anglo-Saxon, and Anglo-Norman neumatic notations. These notational scripts demonstrate a wide variety of pitch specificity, with both diastematic and adiastrumatic neumes, as well as early staff notations and examples of alphabetical notations. In this chapter, I will be examining the different neumatic notational systems used, comparing the melodic contour of the three antiphons, and assessing differences in neumatic content. By identifying any trends in melodic similarity, I consider any observable musical copy relationships between the manuscripts, and whether these correspond to the textual relationships proposed in the previous chapter.

What previous comparisons of melodic content in the insular pontificals have in common is that a thorough assessment of chant melodies in both pre- and post-conquest materials has rarely been attempted, usually examining melodic content in these two groups separately or approaching them with mixed methodologies. In order to consider the melodies of these antiphons in a manner that accommodates the three different notation systems in these manuscripts, my melodic analysis primarily incorporates the NHLS (“Neutral/High/Low/Same”) methodology developed by Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy in their analysis of Old Hispanic chant¹ This approach is ideal for examining melodic patterns in the melodic contour for pitched and non-pitched notations, as it focuses on relationships between each neume and the one before it, in which a note is labelled as N

¹ Emma Hornby, and Rebecca Maloy, ‘Introduction,’ in *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants: Psalmi, Threni and the Easter Vigil Canticles* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), pp. 1–27 (pp. 19–20).

when starting from an indeterminable pitch level, H if it is higher than the previous note, L if it is lower, and S if it is the same. For neumes indicative of multiple pitches, as well as compound neumes and more complex note groupings over a single syllable, multiple NHLS signifiers are assigned, such as in the case of a *pes* (Neutral-High), *clivis* (Neutral-Low), or *torculus* (Neutral-High-Low). A benefit of the NHLS method is that it places an emphasis on establishing neume patterns and examining the overall “shape” of a melody, rather than relying on specific pitches and intervals to assess melodic similarity. A recent master’s dissertation by Brayden Olsen applies this methodology to melodies in Anglo-Saxon pontificals.² However, he only employs NHLS in a limited capacity, for although he also incorporates a few Anglo-Norman sources in his analysis that demonstrate diastematic notation, such as OxMC 226, the examination of these Anglo-Norman sources in his analysis uses modern transcriptions of the melodies rather than NHLS. For the purposes of this analysis, I apply NHLS to pitched notations as well, as it can be applied to a variety of notation systems and still provide an accurate indication of melodic contour regardless of pitch specification. For these three antiphons, I have generated tables 6.1b, 6.2b. and 6.3b that show NHLS melodic contour information grouped by individual syllable, with asterisks indicating where liquescent neumes were used to give a further impression of performance practise.

In addition to analysing the overall pitch contours of these melodies according to NHLS, I also quantified the similarity of each melody between manuscript pairs on a note-by-note basis. Using a similar methodology to the assessment of textual similarity in the previous chapter, I counted the number of total notes in each antiphon according to the NHLS assessments and manually determined how many different notes occurred per each syllable of text. While determining melodic difference is mostly straightforward in cases where the same syllable in two manuscripts demonstrates two different neumes with different melodic functions, other, more complex differences included instances such as the addition, deletion, or substitution of notes in syllables where more than one neume is used. Using the formula below, I generated a ratio of similarity depending on whether two

² Olson, “Melodic Variance,” p. 25.

manuscripts demonstrated the same melodic direction for a particular syllable, in which the closer the ratio is to 1.00, the more similar the two melodies are overall.

$$\frac{(\text{Sum of Notes in A + B}) - \text{number of differences}}{(\text{Number of Notes in Source A} + \text{Number of Notes in Source B})}$$

Of course, these ratios cannot be treated as an exact assessment of true melodic similarity without further pitch information. Instead, these comparisons are representative of an overall congruence in melodic contour. As these comparisons involve notational systems without specified pitch information, as seen in BNF 943, BL 57337, and CCC 146, the use of the signifier “N” for neutral tones without a specific relationship to the preceding note makes the note a universal “match” for the same note in a melody with specified pitch information, such as those in CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226. If an “N” in one manuscript corresponds with “H”, “L”, or “S” in another, this would not count as a difference, even in cases of multiple notes in one syllable such as NHL and HHL. Therefore, while the ratios provide an estimate of similarity upon which more general conclusions can be based, they are best utilised in conjunction with the NHLS assessments, as these demonstrate more precise characteristics such as shared neume patterns and overall melodic structure.

4.2 Notational Scripts

The five pontificals in this study exhibit three different neumatic notational systems: Breton, Anglo-Saxon, and Anglo-Norman. Altogether, these manuscripts give a unique impression of notational development in England as it appears in pontifical sources, as well as the fluctuation of continental influences that appear in insular music notations. The stylistic differences between these three systems can be seen more clearly in Table 4 below, which provides examples of single note (*punctum*, *virga*) and two-note (*podatus*, *clivis*) neumes as they appear in the three notational systems. A more comprehensive table can be found in Appendix B, Table B.1, in which various examples of common neume shapes are arranged according to melodic function.













Notation System	Breton (BNF 943)	Anglo-Saxon (BL 57337)	Anglo-Norman (OxMC 226)
<i>punctum</i>			
<i>virga</i>			
<i>podatus</i>			
<i>clivis</i>			

Table 5: One and Two-Note Neumes in Three Insular Neumatic Systems

The oldest of the manuscripts, BNF 943, uses Breton neumes, a continental style derived from Paleofrankish notation, emerging in the ninth century and persisting into the twelfth.³ The direction of the script is similar to Laon and Aquitanian notations in that “all rise diagonally and fall vertically.”⁴ As seen in Table 5, the *podatus* also occurs in a disjunct form, in which it is made up of a compound punctum and virga, rather than a separate neume shape written with a singular pen-stroke.⁵ Additionally, Breton neumes were arguably slightly more precise in pitch than the later Anglo-Saxon style. In a few of the antiphon melodies from BNF 943, we see evidence of these early attempts at pitch specificity. For example, alongside the neumes added to *In civitate domini* in Fig. B.1.1 in Appendix B, there are a few instances in which the music scribe has also placed the elongated letters *h* and *q* in the last lines of the antiphon over *decantant* and *ante*, representing the directions “humiliter” and “equaliter,” respectively.⁶ The use of Breton notation in England has been associated with the south-west due to the concentration of displaced Breton monks in the region during the early tenth century.⁷ However, the script was also popular at Christ Church. According to a survey of pre-conquest manuscripts containing musical notation, five out of eight manuscripts produced at Christ Church in the tenth century contained either exclusively Breton notation or a mixture of Breton and

³ Michel Huglo, ‘Le Domaine de la Notation Bretonne,’ *Acta Musicologica*, 35, fasc. 2/3 (1963), 54-84 (p. 55)

⁴ Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 351.

⁵ Huglo, ‘Le Domaine,’ p. 55.

⁶ Kozachek, ‘Tonal neumes,’ p. 121.

⁷ Emma Hornby, ‘Interactions between Brittany and Christ Church, Canterbury in the Tenth Century: The Linenthal leaf,’ in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, ed. by Emma Hornby and David Maw (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), pp. 47-65 (pp. 51-52).

Anglo-Saxon.⁸ Breton neumes also appear in BL 57337, but these are seen elsewhere in the manuscript in the dedication ordo.⁹ Instead, the primary notation system used in this manuscript, as well as the other pre-conquest pontifical CCC 146, is Anglo-Saxon. This style is largely characterised by thin lines, the vertical shape of the neumes in which ascending and descending strokes are presented as being nearly parallel, and a *clivis* that is rounded at the top rather than hooked.¹⁰

The two post-conquest sources, OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10, use diastematic Norman neumes. This notation style is characterised by a square note-head and demonstrates more specific intervallic relationships between neumes through the use of vertical space unlike in the Anglo-Saxon notation, in which neumes are presented at the same vertical level. The introduction of Norman neumes begins to gain popularity towards the end of the eleventh century, although Norman neumes were “certainly not in universal use in post-Conquest England,” as the use of earlier insular styles continued as late as the early twelfth century.¹¹ While these heightened neumes already provide a more specific pitch contour compared to earlier notations, each of these manuscripts also employs a unique means of indicating further pitch specificity: only occurring in three antiphons throughout the manuscript, OxMC 226 uses digraphic notation in which pitch letters are included alongside the heightened neumes to indicate precise intervals and individual notes, occurring in two antiphons for the blessing of a bell. Alternatively, CTC B.11.10 demonstrates the highest degree of pitch specificity across the five pontificals, through the inclusion of staves.

As a further indicator of pitch specificity, a few of these melodies also employ a specialised neume form discussed in Thomas Kozachek’s article, in which a tonal *bipunctum*, also referred to as a *mi* neume (usually represented by a ~ shape in later manuscripts) is used to represent a subsemitonal relationship to the previous note.¹² There does seem to be a Canterbury association with this particular tonal neume shape, and Kozachek argues that it originated there, citing BNF 943 as the earliest English manuscript demonstrating its

⁸ Ibid. p. 48.

⁹ Kozachek, ‘Tonal neumes,’ pp. 132-133.

¹⁰ Rankin, ‘Neumatic Notations,’ (pp. 130, 132).

¹¹ Ibid, p. 134.

¹² Kozachek, ‘Tonal neumes,’ p. 119.

use.¹³ Of the five manuscripts in this case study, four of them (BNF 943, BL 57337, OxMC 226, and CTC B.11.10) exhibit the use of this neume form at some point in the manuscript.

4.3 Melodic Comparisons of Individual Antiphons and Overall Melodic Similarity

4.3.1 *In civitate domini*

There are four antiphons that are performed throughout the blessing of a bell, but only three are notated in the five case study pontificals. Technically, *Asperges me* is the first antiphon sung during this rite. It is not notated, nor would a notated melody be particularly necessary in the context of this rite, as the *Asperges me* antiphon is an Ordinary chant that would have been performed prior to the Mass.¹⁴ As such, it is not included in the melodic comparisons in this case study. The first fully notated melody appearing during the rite in these manuscripts is *In civitate domini*, which was performed during the act of wiping the bell with a towel. According to the melodic similarity ratios demonstrated in Fig. N.1, OxMC 226 contains the most obvious melodic differences to all four other manuscripts in the case study for this antiphon. Even before assessing more specific aspects of the melodic contour according to the NHLS assessment, a glance at the first few neumes of the antiphon in these manuscripts (Figs. B.1.1-1.5 in Appendix B) shows the clear visual difference between *In civitate* as it appears in OxMC 226 compared to the other melodies. Rather than beginning the melody with three single-note *puncti* followed by a *torculus*, as seen the other four sources, this manuscript begins the melody with a liquescent *pes*, and the pitch letters indicates a large jump from *g* up to *d*.

Generally, the three Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, BNF 943, BL 57337, and CCC 146, demonstrate a relatively high level of similarity, with ratios ranging between 0.946 and 0.969. The two most similar melodies appear in BL 57337 and CCC 146, with a ratio of 0.969, which could simply be due to their shared notational system, as well as shared melodic deviations from BNF 943, as seen on the first syllable of *sanctorum*, first syllable of *odor*, and first syllable of *sedem* in 6.1*b*. While CTC B.11.10 demonstrates a slightly lower similarity ratio to the Anglo-Saxon sources, between 0.841 and 0.877, this ratio does not seem low enough to suggest a significant deviation from the overall melody.

¹³ Ibid. p. 121.

¹⁴ Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), p. 25.

Manuscript	Number of Notes	Similarity OxMC 226	Similarity CTC B.11.10	Similarity CCC 146	Similarity BL 57337	Similarity BNF 943
OxMC 226	158		0.583	0.694	0.686	0.696
CTC B.11.10	132	0.583		0.847	0.841	0.877
CCC 146	130	0.694	0.847		0.969	0.946
BL 57337	132	0.686	0.841	0.969		0.954
BNF 943	128	0.696	0.877	0.946	0.954	

Table 6.1a: Melodic Similarity Ratios in *In civitate domini*

Upon a more thorough examination of the melodic contour across all five manuscripts, demonstrated by the NHLS assessments of each syllable in Fig. M.1, patterns begin to emerge which suggest similarities in the overall melodic structure. In four of the manuscripts, CTC B.11.10, CCC 146, BL 57337, and BNF 943, the structure of the melody seems to be punctuated by cadential neume clusters, which are demonstrated by the bolded text in Table 6.1b. These consistently occur on the final syllables of *iugiter*, *suauiissimus*, and *decantant* in all four sources. In the three Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, CCC 146, BL 57337, and BNF 943, these clusters are much simpler, merely comprised of a *clivis* and a *pressus* for an overall melodic contour of neutral-low-neutral-same-low (NLNSL). Alternatively, in CTC B.11.10, we see a more elaborate melisma, comprised of a *clivis*, *pes*, a sub-semitonal *punctum* indicated by a ~ shape, regular *punctum*, and a *pressus* (NLNHLLSL). As all these cadential clusters begin with a *clivis* and end with a *pressus*, it appears that the neume groupings in CTC B.11.10 are an expanded and more elaborate version of their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, rather than a change to the overall melodic structure.

1. BNF 943	N	N	N	NHL	NH	NL	NH	NSL	N	NH	NL	NL*	N	N	NLNSL	N	NH	N	NHL	N	N							
2. BL 57337	N	N	N	NHL	N	NL	NH	N	N	NH	NSL	NL*	N	N	NLNSL	N	NH	N	NL*	NHLL	N							
3. CCC 146	N	N	N	NHL	N	NL	NH	NL	NL	NH	NL	NL*	N	N	NLNSL	N	NH	N	NL*	NHLL	N							
4. OxMC 226	NH	N	NL	LL	L	HL	HH	NSL	N	HHSL	NSL	NHL*	N	NH	N	HL*	NH	S	NLHL	LH	S							
5. CTC B.11.10	N	S	S	SHL	L	HL	HH	S	H	HHSL	L	LL	H	L	NLNHLLSL	N	HH	S	LHL	L	S							
	<i>in ci- vi- ta- te do- mi- ni cla- re so- nant iu- qi- ter or- qa- na sanc- to- rum</i>																											
1.	N	N	N	NH	N	N	NH*	NL*	NH	NSL?	N	NH	NL	LL	N	N	NLNSL	N	NNH*	NSL	NL*	NH	NL	N				
2.	N	N	NL*	NH	N	N	NH*	NSL	NH	NSL	NL	NH	NL	NL	N	N	NLNSL	N	NNH*	NSL	NL*	NH	NL	N				
3.	N	N	NL*	NH	N	N	NH*	N	NH	NL	NL	NH	NL	NL	N	N	NLNSL	N	NNH*	NSL	NL*	NH	NL	N				
4.	HHSL	L	S	NL	NH	SSL	NL*	N	LH	S	SLLHLSL	L	H	LHLHHL	HLSL	LH	S	N	NH	NLSL	N	HHSL	LLSL	LH	S			
5.	S	H	H	HH	S	S	SH	HL	LH	SL	H	HHSL	L	LL	H	L	NLNHLLSL	HH	HH	HLL	LH	LL	S	S				
	<i>i- bi cy- na- mo- mum et bal- sa- mum o- dor su- a- uis- si- mus qui ad e- um per- ti- net</i>																											
1.	N	N	NL	NH	N	N	NH	NL*	NH	NSL	N	NH	NL	NL*	N	N	NLNSL	N	S	N	NH	NSL	LL	NH	N	N	N	
2.	N	N	NL*	NH	N	N	NH*	NL*	NH	NSL	N	NH	NL	NL*	N	N	NLNSL	N	N	NL	NH*	NSL	NL	NH	N	N	N	
3.	N	N	NL*	NH	N	N	NH*	NSL*	NH	NL	N	NH	NL	NL*	N	N	NLNSL	N	N	NL	NH*	NSL	NL	NH	N	N	N	
4.	L	HL	NH*	NHL	S	S	HHH	SLLLHLSL	LH	S	S	HL	NL	L	H	S	LLLSL	NH*	NL	HH	LH	LHL	S	NL	L	HH*	S	
5.	S	H	HL	HH	S	S	SH	SLSL	SH	SL	H	SH	L	LL	H	L	NLNHLLSL	S	H	H	H	HLL	L	HL	S	L	S	
	<i>i- bi an- ge- li et arch- an- ge- li hym- num nou- um de- can- tant an- te se- dem de- i al- le- lu- ia de- o*</i>																											

**Table 6.1b: Melodic Direction by Syllable in *In civitate domini*
deo* included as text variant in CTC B.11.10

The *In civitate* melody in OxMC 226, on the other hand, does not seem to have the same consistent structure shared by the other four manuscripts. The melody itself is very different from that seen in the other sources, with a melodic contour exhibiting contrary motion in many places. It also does not appear to delineate clear phrases or indicate phrase endings in the same way as the other sources. There are a few somewhat melismatic passages in which the melody places emphasis on the first syllable of *odor*, first syllable of *pertinent* and second syllable of *archangeli*, but overall, the melody exhibits a much more arbitrary and free-flowing structure. The potential origins of this alternative melody in OxMC 226, including other sources in which it appears, are addressed later in this chapter.

4.3.2 *Vox domini super aquas*

The next antiphon, *Vox domini super aquas*, demonstrates the widest range of similarity, from 0.462 to 1.000. While not all of the manuscripts employ the same melody for this antiphon, it is the only antiphon of the three in which any of the manuscript pairs demonstrate a perfect 1.000 similarity ratio (Table 6.2a) The three Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are the most similar across the board, with all six pairings demonstrating a ratio of 0.990 –

1.000: the melodies in BNF 943 and BL 57337 are exactly the same, and when compared to CCC 146, the only difference is a slight extension of the first syllable of the second *super*, in which BNF 943 and BL 57337 both employ an *oriscus*, thereby re-articulating the first note (NSL), while CCC 146 just has a *clivis* (NL).

Manuscript	Number of Notes	Similarity OxMC 226	Similarity CTC B.11.10	Similarity CCC 146	Similarity BL 57337	Similarity BNF 943
OxMC 226	52		0.462	0.961	0.971	0.971
CTC B.11.10	52	0.462		0.654	0.648	0.648
CCC 146	52	0.961	0.654		0.990	0.990
BL 57337	53	0.971	0.648	0.990		1.000
BNF 943	53	0.971	0.648	0.990	1.000	

Table 6.2a: Melodic Similarity Ratios in *Vox domini super aquas*

From a first look at the manuscript images (Figs B.2.1-2.5 in Appendix B), there are definite neumatic patterns present in the manuscripts that suggest structural similarities in the melody, such as the repetition of single-note pairs occurring on *aquas*, the last two syllables of *maiestatis*, and on *multas*. One slight deviation from this occurs in CTC B.11.10, in which the second pair occurs on the last two syllables of *intonuit*, rather than *maiestatis*. There is some inconsistency as to whether the pairs are denoted as two puncti, two virgae, or, as is seen in the last two syllables of *maiestatis* in BNF 943, one of each. For the three pre-conquest pontificals that do not specify pitch, it is unclear if these two notes are intended to be the same pitch. In the two pitch-specific examples, however, OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10, these note pairs are revealed to be two “same” notes, with all pairs occurring at the same pitch. Based on the neumatic consistency between the pitched and non-pitched examples, it seems likely that these would also be same note pairs in the Anglo-Saxon examples.

1. BNF 943	NH	NL	NH	N	NL	NH	N	N	NSL	N	NHL	NHL	N	N
2. BL 57337	NH	NL	NH	N	NL	NH	N	N	NSL	N	NHL	NHL	N	N
3. CCC 146	NH	NL	NH	N	NL	NH	N	N	NSL	N	NHL	NHL	N	N
4. OxMC 226	NH	HL	HH	S	HL	LH	N	S	NSL	L	NHL	HH	S	S
5. CTC B.11.10	NHLSL	H	HH	SL	H	NHL	L	S	NHHSL	S	H	L	LHH	LSL
	<i>Vox</i>	<i>do-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>su-</i>	<i>per</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>quas</i>	<i>de-</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>mai-</i>	<i>es-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>tis</i>
1.	NH*	N	NL	NHLNSLL	N	NL	N	NSL	N	NHL	NHL	N	N	
2.	NH*	N	NL	NHLNSLL	N	NL	N	NSL	N	NHL	NHL	N	N	
3.	NH*	N	NL	NHLNSLL	N	NL	N	NL	N	NHL	NHL	N	N	
4.	NH*	S	NL	NHLNSLL	N	HL	SH	SSL	L	NHL	HH	S	S	
5.	S	HH	L	S		SSL	LH	LSL	H	SL	H	NHL	S	S
	<i>in-</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>nu-</i>	<i>it</i>		<i>do-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>nus</i>	<i>su-</i>	<i>per</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>quas</i>	<i>mul-</i>	<i>tas</i>

Table 6.2b: Melodic Direction by Syllable in *Vox domini super aquas*

Whereas OxMC 226 was the manuscript that demonstrated an alternative melody for *In civitate domini*, for this antiphon it is CTC B.11.10 that demonstrates the most melodic differences. The first clear variation occurs at the beginning, for while all three of the Anglo-Saxon examples and OxMC 226 begin with a *pes*, CTC B.11.10 begins with a much more elaborate neume that appears to be a compound *torculus* and *pressus*. However, while differences in the neumes initially give the impression of a very different melody, the NHL assessment in Table 6.2b reveals that the melodic contour is much more similar. Rather than the differences demonstrated in *In civitate domini*, in which the melody for OxMC 226 exhibits a different melodic structure and a lot of contrary motion, the differences in the *Vox domini* melody in CTC B.11.10 seem much more like an elaboration and redistribution of the existing melody within a very similar structure. As previously established with the use of same note neume pairings on *aquas*, the last two syllables of *intonuit*, and *multas* to punctuate the ends of phrases corresponds with the structure seen in the other melodies. The most obvious melodic variations appear to be the use of more elaborate neumes on *Vox* and the last two syllables of *maiestatis*, as well as more motion in *dominus*. Otherwise, the melody seems to demonstrate a contour that follows similar melodic motion to the other four manuscripts.

While they appear less consistently across the whole of this manuscript collection, another element to consider in the comparisons of these melodies is the psalm tones. The inclusion of additional psalm texts is fairly consistent across all five manuscripts, usually at least indicated by a rubric instructing that the singing should continue *usque in finem*

psalmi, (i.e.: to the end of the psalm text). For *Vox domini super aquas* and *Deus in sancto*, the recitation tones of the psalms to be performed following the antiphons are notated in CCC 146, OxMC 226, and CTC B.11.10. Although *In civitate domini* is to be performed in sequence with six psalms, there does not appear to be any notated recitation tone in any of these five manuscripts. Following *Vox domini super aquas*, CCC 146, OxMC 226, CTC B.11.10 all include a notated incipit to the psalm *Vox domini in virtute*. None of these incipits indicate the same recitation tone to be sung. CCC 146 only includes a simple mixture of *puncti* and *virga*, OxMC 226 includes a *clivis*, though the neumes do not appear to be lined up with the corresponding syllables of text as *virtute* does not have any neumes above it, and CTC B.11.10 demonstrates a more complex melody with a mixture of *virga*, *pes*, and a *clivis*

4.3.3 Deus in sancto

Of the antiphons that are performed during the blessing of a bell, two also occur in other pontifical rites. The first, *Asperges me* also occurs in the church and cemetery dedications, as well as other pontifical rites, occasionally with neumatic notation as well. The last antiphon in the blessing of a bell, *Deus in sancto*, also occurs in the cemetery dedication. In the blessing of a bell, *Deus in sancto* is performed as the bell is filled with smoke from incense. Due to the versatility of this antiphon in that it occurs in multiple pontifical rites, it is no surprise that of the three notated antiphons occurring across all five manuscripts, it is the most melodically consistent. According to the melodic similarity ratios in Table 6.3a, the manuscripts range in similarity from 0.908 and 0.977.

Manuscript	Number of Notes	Similarity OxMC 226	Similarity CTC B.11.10	Similarity CCC 146	Similarity BL 57337	Similarity BNF 943
OxMC 226	62		0.953	0.946	0.945	0.930
CTC B.11.10	65	0.953		0.939	0.938	0.908
CCC 146	67	0.946	0.939		0.970	0.954
BL 57337	65	0.945	0.938	0.970		0.977
BNF 943	66	0.930	0.908	0.954	0.977	

Table 6.3a: Melodic Similarity Ratios in *Deus in sancto*

Manuscript images of this chant can be seen in Appendix B, Figs. B.3.1-3.5. While the general contour of the melody for *Deus in sancto* appears to be the same across the five

manuscripts, seen in Table 6.3b, there is some variation in what neume forms were employed, especially in instances where liquescent neumes or rhythmic articulations such as the *pressus* are used. For example, one unifying feature of the later three manuscripts, CCC 145, OxMC 226, and CTC B.11.10 is the inclusion of a liquescent at the end of the descending line on *quis*. The result of this is a distinct melodic variant that differs from the other two manuscripts in that it ends on a slightly higher pitch. This is the only melodic variant occurring in more than one manuscript. Otherwise, the melodic contour for all five manuscripts is generally consistent in both melodic direction as well as the number of pitches per syllable.

1. BNF 943	NH	NL	NH	NH	L	NL	NH	N	N	NHLLLL	N	NH	NLSL	N	SH	NHH*	NHSL	NL
2. BL 57337	NH	NL	NH*	NH	N	NL	NH	N	N	NHLLLL	N	NH*	NLS	N	NH	NHH*	NHSL	NL
3. CCC 146	NH	NL	NH*	NH	N	NL	NH	N	N	NHSLLLNH*	N	NH	NLSL	N	NH	NH	NHSL	NL
4. OxMC 226	NH	HL	HH	S	S	HL	LH	S	S	SHLLLLLH*	H	LH	NLSL	L	SH	SHH	HL	LL
5. CTC B.11.10	NH	HL	HH	SHL	S	HL	LH	S	S	SHLLLLLH*	S	LH	SLSL	L	SH	SHH	SHL	LL
	<i>De- us in sanc- to ui- a tu- a quis de- us mag- nus si- cut de- us</i>																	
1.	N	S	HHH	NL*	NH	N	N	NSL	N	N	H	NL	NH	NHL	N	N		
2.	NH	N	NHH	N	NH	N	N	NSL	N	N	N	NL	NH	NHL	N	N		
3.	NH	N	NHH	N*	NH	N	N	NSL	N	N	N	NL	NH	NHL	N	N		
4.	LH	S	LHH	L	LH	L	S	SL	S	H	S	SL	H	SHL	L	S		
5.	LH	S	LHH	L	LH	L	S	S	SL	H	S	HL	H	SHL	L	S		
	<i>no- ster tu- es de- us qui fa- cis mi- ra- bi- li- a so- lus</i>																	

Table 5.3b: Melodic Direction by Syllable in *Deus in sancto*

However, while the antiphon itself is consistent, there is variation in the notated psalm tones that occur on the three later manuscripts, CCC 146, OxMC 226, and CTC B.11.10. Unlike *Vox domini in virtute*, in which none of the three manuscripts had the same notated incipit and CTC B.11.10 had the most complex intonation, CCC 146 and CTC B.11.10 share a very basic intonation for this psalm, beginning with *Viderunt te aque*, which is performed mostly on a single pitch with one lower note on the second syllable of *viderunt*. Alternatively, OxMC 226 provides a more complex string of neumes, with multiple notes per syllable, although as in *Vox domini in virtute*, the neumes do not appear to be properly aligned with the text, as there only appears to be a single neume over *aque*.

4.4 Overall Musical Similarity and Unique Characteristics in Individual Manuscripts

While no two manuscripts or melodies are exact copies of one another, the two most similar are BNF 943 and BL 57337 with a mean similarity of 0.977, with the next closest

pairing, BL 57337 and CCC 146, only marginally different at 0.976 mean similarity. Unsurprisingly, due to their high level of pitch specificity and the fact that they exhibit different melodies from one another in two out of three antiphons, CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226 are the least similar, with a mean similarity of 0.666. Unlike in the textual sources, in which CCC 146 appeared to be a “transitional” text between the two earliest and two latest sources based on the consistency of its similarity ratio, it seems most closely aligned melodically with the two other Anglo-Saxon pontificals, demonstrating a mean similarity ratio of 0.970 with the two earlier sources, and only 0.583 for the two post-conquest sources. However, there are still some transitional elements seen in CCC 146, such as the addition of the ascending liquescent at the end of the descending line on *quis in Deus in sancto*.

Even for two syllables where neumes are conveying the same melodic information, the manuscripts do also demonstrate neumatic variations that are perhaps representative of functional differences in how the antiphons are to be read or performed. For example, the Anglo-Saxon sources appear to demonstrate a more liberal use of the virga for single notes in places where the Breton notation would employ a punctum. Additionally, a lack of similarity with Breton-notated melodies could also be related to the variability of Breton neume forms, such as inconsistency with which the *pes*, *clivis*, and *torculus* are notated as attached or detached. Despite instances in which the overall melodic contour remains unchanged, generally there is a decrease in similarity from the earliest manuscript, BNF 943, to the later, post-conquest sources. Rather than demonstrating inherent changes to the melody, if anything the gradual changes in notation system and pitch specificity over time represent an increase in both melodic complexity and performance specification. Whether or not a liquescent form is used, for example, or instances such as the elaboration of the cadential neume clusters in *In civitate domini* seen in CTC B.11.10.

Apart from the main antiphon melodies, a few of the pontificals also contain their own unique musical characteristics and additions that do not quite align with the other manuscripts in the collection. Each of the antiphon melodies for CTC B.11.10 contain a notated *evovae*, a “pseudo-word formed from the vowels of the last six syllables of the doxology – ‘*seculorum. Amen,*’” and used to indicate the close of the antiphon as well as

provide the *differentia*.¹⁵ Similarly, for CCC 146, a string of neumes appears in the margins of each antiphon that are not paired with any text, as seen in Fig.3.

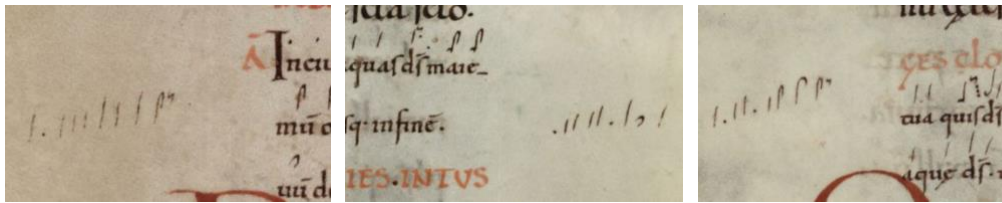


Fig.3: Examples of marginal neumes in CCC 146¹⁶

It is unclear what these neumes are specifically linked to, but as this manuscript also gives notated incipits for the psalms following the antiphons, it is possible that these neumes could be representative of *differentiae*, though they do not correspond with those appearing in CTC B.11.10. In BL 57337, the incipit to another melody is notated next to *Deus in sancto*. This antiphon, *Domine ad te dirigatur*, does not occur anywhere in the blessing of a bell in the other four manuscripts, but it does occur elsewhere the other pontificals such as CCC 146 and OxMC 226. Like *Deus in sancto* or *Asperges me*, it is an antiphon with fairly flexible application, appearing in multiple pontifical rites under a variety of liturgical contexts.¹⁷ However, its appearance in the blessing of a bell seems unique to BL 57337. The performance context of this additional antiphon is unclear, as it is not indicated in the manuscript whether it is intended to be performed in addition to *Deus in sancto* or simply as an alternative antiphon.

4.5 Non-Canterbury Melodies and Other Contemporary Manuscripts

In order to further contextualise these melodic variants, one must also consider these antiphon melodies in other manuscripts, as well as the musical content for the rite in other insular pontificals outside of the Canterbury repertoire. While the blessing of a bell itself is a common component in the insular pontificals, the inclusion of musical notation for the rite is not. Of the insular sources I have consulted containing the blessing of a bell, there is only one other manuscript beyond the five in this case study that includes notation for the

¹⁵ Mary Berry, 'Evovae [Euouae],' *Grove Music Online* (2001) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09115>>

¹⁶ CCC, MS 146, pp. 88, 89 90.

¹⁷ In OxMC 226, *Domine ad te dirigatur* occurs throughout the manuscript six times, including in the church and cemetery dedications. See Wilson, *Pontifical of Magdalen College*, pp. 115, 126, 129, 134, 142, and 149.

antiphons in this rite: Cotton Tiberius C.I. In terms of provenance, this pontifical is an outlier in the group of MSS demonstrating notation for the blessing of a bell in that it has no Canterbury association. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this pontifical bears a strong continental influence, with extensive additions made at Sherborne. One of the updates made to the manuscript after its arrival in England was the addition of music to the rite. Melodically, this manuscript aligns with the Canterbury pontificals, suggesting some sort of potential musical relationship. The pontifical's association with Sherborne, however, does indicate a possible relationship with BNF 943, which resided at Sherborne for the better part of the eleventh century, as discussed in Chapter 1. It is unlikely that both pontificals were notated at Sherborne, as use of different neumatic scripts indicates different musical points of production: the Breton notation in BNF 943 can be more reliably associated with Canterbury, whereas the notation throughout Tiberius C.I is a mixture of continental notational scripts consistent with the international nature of the Sherborne Abbey community, "where Germans, Lotharingians, English, and Normans worked together."¹⁸ However, due to their geographic overlap at Sherborne, there is still the possibility that BNF 943 may have been used as an exemplar for Tiberius C.I, at least for the musical content in the blessing of a bell, thereby extending the legacy of a Canterbury-based music tradition.

For the post-conquest pontificals, OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10, one potential missing link in examining their melodic differences can be found in a manuscript that isn't a pontifical at all. The *Cosin Gradual*, originally written at Christ Church, Canterbury in the late eleventh century, contains melodies for pontifical rites such as the dedication, cemetery consecration, and of course, the blessing of a bell.¹⁹ Melodies for all three of the antiphons discussed here, as well as recitation tones for the psalms, appear in this gradual. Most intriguingly, it contains multiple versions of some melodies, which is of particular significance when considering the two post-conquest pontificals in this case study, OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10. As discussed previously, these two manuscripts demonstrate the lowest similarity ratio of all five pontificals, with an overall similarity of just 0.666. This low level of similarity is not surprising considering they both demonstrate the most obvious melodic differences from the remaining four manuscripts. With a completely different

¹⁸ K.D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006) p. 256.

¹⁹ Durham, University Library, MS V.V.6. <<https://iif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=t1mp2676v52p>>

melody for *In civitate domini* in OxMC 226 and an alternate *Vox domini* melody in CTC B.11.10, the only melodic content they reliably have in common for this rite is *Deus in sancto*. However, the disparity in their melodic content can potentially be explained by the melodies in the Cosin Gradual. Two versions of the *In civitate* melody appear in the Cosin Gradual, both corresponding with the melodies as they appear in this collection of pontificals.²⁰ Alternatively, the version of *Vox domini super aquas* in the Cosin Gradual only corresponds with the melody as it appears in both OxMC 226 and the other three Anglo-Saxon sources. The modified *Vox domini* melody for CTC B.11.10 does not appear in this manuscript. While the recitation tone for *Vox domini in virtute* is included following *Vox domini super aquas*, it does not match those seen in the three pontificals with notated incipits mentioned previously. *Deus in sancto* is also consistent with how it appears in these five pontificals, and following the notation for this antiphon, the manuscript also includes psalm tones for *Viderunt te aque* that match those seen in CCC 146 and CTC B.11.10.

Although the Cosin Gradual is later given to Durham priory in the early part of the twelfth century, its production and short time at Christ Church could lend some explanation as to why the only two post-conquest pontificals containing notation for this rite, CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226, are intended export, rather than for home use at Canterbury. The only other contemporary post-conquest pontifical produced for home use, TCD 98, contains very limited notation for the church dedication rite, but otherwise does not contain musical notation. This pontifical was produced at the end of the eleventh century, likely for the Archbishop Anselm.²¹ It is possible that this pontifical would have been produced around the same time as the Cosin Gradual, therefore the musical content for the pontifical rites could have been supplemented by the gradual, rather than necessarily needing to notate it in the pontifical itself.

4.6 Originality of Musical Content

In examining the role of the scriptorium and its potential implications regarding copy relationships, comparing the notational and melodic variations in these manuscripts is much less straightforward than a comparison of text. The primary difference in assessing text and

²⁰ Harper, 'Contexts for the Late Medieval Pontifical of Anian, p. 37.

²¹ Gullick and Pfaff, 'Dublin Pontifical,' p. 292.

music boils down to originality: while text in a manuscript is almost guaranteed to be a part of its initial production, musical content is often a later addition. For example, the inclusion of *In civitate domini* in BNF 943 is certainly not original, as the entire text for the antiphon has been inserted later in the margins. As it is still notated using the Breton notation, the neumes were likely not added much later than when the rest of the manuscript text was written, but it was certainly not a consideration of the manuscript's original formatting. Additions to BNF 943 were certainly intended for musical purposes, as is seen in *Deus in sancto*. Read according to the original text and rubrics, the text for *Deus in sancto* reads as merely an abbreviated form of the psalm text, with the instruction to continue singing *usque in finem psalmi*, or to the end of the psalm. When sung on a recitation tone this would have been adequate text and instruction, but with the introduction of an antiphon melody, it is therefore necessary for the full text to be written out, and the remainder of the text is included in the margins.

Additionally, discussing the musical content's originality also requires consideration of geography. If musical notation was added to a manuscript after it was originally written, was it neumed in the same location? I explored this question briefly in Chapter 1 when discussing provenance and considered factors such as a potential scribal identification. Of the five case study manuscripts, the only one with notation reliably attributed to another location is CCC 146, which was likely notated at Worcester when the later additions were added.²² However, this does not appear to have had a strong effect on melodic content. While neumed at Worcester, there does not seem to be an indication of a deviation from the melodies seen in the Canterbury sources. As such, a manuscript that was neumed in an alternative location is indicative of two possible scenarios: first, that the transmission of the melodies was occurring on an oral basis, or second, that the portability of pontifical manuscripts meant that notated melodies would only be necessary under specific circumstances

The use of Breton notation in BNF 943 does suggest a Canterbury association, as mentioned previously, and while BL 57337 is mostly neumed using Anglo-Saxon notation,

²² Susan Rankin, 'Some Reflections on Liturgical Music at Late Anglo-Saxon Worcester,' in *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 325-348 (pp. 338-339). Rankin asserts this attribution on the basis of neume characteristics unique to Worcester music scribes.

both in the blessing of a bell and elsewhere in the manuscript, a few instances of Breton notation also make a strong case for a link to Christ Church, at least for the early part of the manuscript's existence.²³ However, the question of whether a manuscript was written and neumed in the same location cannot always be answered solely based on its notational script. For example, in CTC B.11.10, the manuscript was laid out and clearly formatted to accommodate staves, the fact that many of these staves are left empty suggests there is a possibility that the neumes were notated later on, and perhaps even in a different location. As CTC B.11.10 was notated in Canterbury for export to Ely diocese, it is possible that this was a deliberate decision allowing the melodies to be left to the discretion of the diocese where the manuscript was intended for use. However, CTC B.11.10 also demonstrates the most widespread use of the subsemitonal neume, which bears a strong Canterbury association.

While the addition of pitch letters in the antiphons from OxMC 226 implies a need for increased pitch specificity, it is unclear in what practical context this would have been necessary. Only three antiphons in the entire manuscript exhibit this notational quirk, two of which occur in this rite: *In civitate domini* and *Vox domini super aquas*. It seems unlikely that the inclusion of pitch letters would be used as a performance aide; from a practical and aesthetic standpoint, the pitch letters make the melody appear quite cluttered, there are points in which neumes or pitch letters intersect with the text, and there is not a particularly clear delineation of which syllable of text the neumes are meant to correspond with. Additionally, some of the pitch indicators are hardly distinguishable from the neumes themselves, such as the miniscule *d*, which looks very similar to liquescent neumes of a similar size.

4.7 Conclusions

Although there are some slight melodic differences, the overall similarity demonstrated by the melodies in BNF 943, BL 57337, CCC 146, and CTC B.11.10 indicates that there was a melodic tradition featured in the blessing of a bell that does not appear to have changed much following the Norman conquest. Although the melody is updated over time, such as through the elaboration of the cadential neume clusters in CTC B.11.10, there does not

²³ Kozachek, 'Tonal neumes,' pp. 132-133.

appear to have been a distinctively “Norman” version of the rite musically. Even in cases where new antiphon melodies are introduced, such as the *In civitate* melody seen in OxMC 226, these are introduced alongside the existing tradition as an alternative, rather than a replacement.

While the neumes in these manuscripts may not have all been notated at Canterbury, the melodies themselves do seem to be strongly linked to a Canterbury-based tradition, beginning with the earliest pontifical, BNF 943. Of the thirteen insular pre-standard pontificals I have managed to consult that contain some form for the blessing of a bell, only six contain notation for the rite. Five of those are the manuscripts included in this case study, and the sixth is Cotton Tiberius C.I. While this manuscript may seem like an outlier compared with the case study group as it was not produced at Canterbury, its association with Sherborne undeniably links it to the complex copy lineage of the case study manuscripts, as it is feasible that the melodies could have been copied at BNF 943 while both manuscripts were at Sherborne. As such, the Canterbury musical tradition for the blessing of a bell appears fairly self-contained. However, unlike in the case of textual transmission, which can be somewhat easily traced according to ownership information, the extent to which these melodies may have spread through preservation of an oral tradition is nearly impossible to ascertain. At this time, I have yet to come across alternative melodies for these antiphon texts within the ritual context for the blessing of a bell.

The significance of BNF 943 being the earliest example of this musically embellished rite should not be overlooked. As discussed in the chapter on provenance, BNF 943 is widely accepted to have belonged to Dunstan. Bells played a unique part in Dunstan’s archiepiscopacy, as he was known to be an accomplished metalworker who cast several of his own bells and even implemented new rules for appropriate bellringing.²⁴ It is even said that a bell made by Dunstan was hung in the new cathedral at Christ Church in the late eleventh century.²⁵ In this context, it is not entirely surprising that under Dunstan, the rite for blessing bells would be updated, with a new antiphon added and the introduction of more elaborate neumed melodies. What is perhaps more striking in that case is the longevity of

²⁴ Thomas North, *The Church Bells of Northamptonshire* (Leicester: Samuel Clarke, 1878), p. 7.

²⁵ *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. by Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge (Oxford: Oxford University Press) p. cli. There are also references to bells Dunstan commissioned while at Glastonbury, see p. 164.

the musical tradition, in which the same melodies implemented under Dunstan are still notated in insular pontificals centuries later.

Conclusions

Initially, the purpose of this dissertation was to examine the role of the scriptorium in determining characteristics of production and ritual content in pre-standard insular pontificals. As this project progressed, the results of this comparative study have yielded conclusions concerning not only the relationships between pre-standard pontificals produced at Christ Church, but also the role Canterbury played in the development and circulation of the blessing of a bell rite in England. To review, five pontificals produced at Christ Church, Canterbury were at the heart of this case study: BNF 943, BL 57337, CCC 146, OxMC 226 and CTC B.11.10. All five of these manuscripts were produced prior to the thirteenth century and contain text and neumed musical notation for the blessing of a bell. In considering the various circumstances of pontifical production, such as sources produced for a particular bishop or for export to another diocese, discussion of provenance in this case study prioritised place of production over intended place of use. As such, the Canterbury attribution for these five pontificals was determined on a palaeographical basis, examining characteristics of the manuscripts such as script and scribes to establish a shared origin at Christ Church.

A key component in assessing their potential relationships to one another lay in the reconstruction of a potential ownership timeline. Based on this speculative timeline, it is therefore plausible that between the tenth and early twelfth centuries, there are multiple occasions in which it is plausible that two or more of these pontificals would have been located at Christ Church within the same period. Between a combination of palaeographical, historical, and textual information, a few conclusions for constructing a hypothetical pontifical lineage emerge: BNF 943 was produced for the Archbishop Dunstan, and would have been at Canterbury throughout his archiepiscopacy, from approximately 959 to 988. With a new archiepiscopal pontifical in place and BNF 943 no longer needed at Christ Church, it is passed on to Wulfsgar and travels to Sherborne in roughly 993, where it is possibly used later as a musical exemplar for Cotton Tiberius C.I. This date range also corresponds with a theory that BL 57337 may have been produced for Aethelgar's archiepiscopacy in 988. While CCC 146 is brought to Worcester for Bishop Samson in approximately 1096, its earliest production date could be as early as 1006. This assumes

that the Winchester influence on the manuscript was an intentional nod to the earlier Winchester episcopacy of AElfheah, who became archbishop in 1006.

As discussed previously, it appears that CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226 were copied from a shared Canterbury exemplar, TCD 98. While CCC 146 would have been closer in age to TCD 98, it is actually more likely that the manuscript used as a textual exemplar for the blessing of a bell was BL 57337. TCD 98 contains the same seven-psalm discrepancy ahead of *In civitate domini* that appears in BL 57337, a textual anomaly which is then passed on to CTC B.11.10 and OxMC 226. Additionally, the perpetuation of the seven-psalm discrepancy in TCD 98 helps to fill in another missing piece in the history of BL 57337, suggesting that it remained at Canterbury for the better part of the eleventh century, rather than being exported elsewhere. As other archiepiscopal pontificals were produced during this time, the functional purpose of the manuscript may have been as a reference copy for textual and or musical material after it was retired from active use.

Textually, it is much easier to propose direct relationships between these manuscripts. Considering the shared scriptorium and the ownership timeline examined in Chapter 2, as well as textual anomalies such as the seven-psalm discrepancy in Chapter 3, a case can be made much more clearly for the direct transmission of text from one manuscript to the next. Conversely, while these manuscripts are alike in that they are the only pre-standard pontificals containing musical notation for the blessing of a bell, the same case cannot be made for their musical transmission, due to the possibility for the preservation of chant through oral transmission. Looking at the qualitative data, the similarity ratios between manuscript pairings suggests a divergence between their textual and musical content, aligning with Buggins's conclusions regarding the separate nature of textual and musical transmission in insular pontificals.¹⁵⁰ However, that is not to say that they are entirely separate from one another. In the discussion of copy relationships between manuscripts, the overlap of copied elements, both textually and musically, results in a network of connections between manuscripts that is almost familial, rather than strictly linear.

Simply establishing Canterbury as the geographical point of origin does not inherently make this a "Canterbury version" of the blessing of a bell, as it was not common

¹⁵⁰ Buggins, 'Coventry Pontifical,' p. 280.

to all Canterbury manuscripts. However, in isolating this version of the rite and comparing its textual and musical content to other contemporary insular sources, it becomes clear that multiple versions of the blessing of a bell were circulating in England simultaneously. This implies a flexibility to the insular episcopal liturgy and suggests that individual bishops and dioceses may have had some agency in the selection of content. Situating these manuscripts within the greater context of the Norman conquest, we see this flexibility maintained. While text is occasionally updated or formalised, such as adding the final bishop's blessing to the end of the blessing of a bell in the post conquest sources, the overall text and structure of the rite remained largely unchanged. Musically, despite the change in notational scripts over time, there seems to be little change in melodic content apart from the introduction of new melodies alongside existing ones. This suggests that the Anglo-Saxon version of the insular Canterbury rite was retained and only slightly adapted even following the Norman Conquest.

In future scholarship, there are two ways in which I believe the methods employed in this case study could best be applied to the wider body of pre-standard insular pontificals, each involving one change to the manuscript selection criteria. The first would be at the rite-based level, with the application of the methodology more broadly to pre-standard insular pontificals, rather than just those produced at Canterbury. Although I address a few specific variants and characteristics of non-Canterbury manuscripts in this case study, applying the qualitative methodology for textual and melodic similarity ratios more broadly could potentially aid in isolating whether the rite as it appears in the Canterbury manuscripts is a unique regional version, or if it is more broadly representative of the insular development of the rite. The second potential application for this approach would be to the collection of pre-standard Canterbury pontificals as a whole. While perhaps more ambitious due to the variety of ritual content, a more comprehensive approach to pontificals produced at the same location may yield further conclusions that may help to further understand and codify the early pontificals. Additionally, the continued examination of discrepancies and content diversity in these pre-standard Canterbury pontificals could provide a basis for isolating characteristics of pontifical production specific to Canterbury.

Bibliography

- Apel, Willi, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958)
- Arnold, John H., and Caroline Goodson, 'Resounding Community: The History and Meaning of Medieval Church Bells,' *Viator*, 43:1 (2012), 99-130
- Frank Barlow, *The English church, 1066-1154*, (London: Longman, 1979)
- Berry, Mary, 'Evovae [Euouae],' *Grove Music Online* (2001)
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09115>>
- Brooks, Nicholas, *The early history of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*, Studies in the Early History of Britain (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984)
- Brückmann, J. 'Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals in England and Wales,' in *Traditio*, 29 (1973), 391-458
- Buggins, Rosemary, 'The Coventry Pontifical and Liturgical Transmission Patterns in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 2014)
- Christie, N., 'On Bells and Bell-Towers: Origins and Evolutions in Italy and Britain, AD 700-1200,' *Church Archaeology*, 5-6 (2004,) 13-30
- Conn, Marie A., 'The Dunstan and Brodie (Anderson) pontificals: An edition and study' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Notre Dame, 1993)
- Conner, Patrick, *Anglo Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993)
- CountWordsFree Text Processing Tools, *Compare Text Online* (2015-2021)
<<https://countwordsfree.com/comparetexts>>
- Crosby, Everett U., *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the 'Mensa Episcopalis'*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series, no. 23, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Donelson, Jennifer, "The Sacramentality of Sound: The Blessing of Bells and Olivier Messiaen's Conception of *Musica sacra*." *Antiphon: A Journal for Liturgical Renewal*, 15, no. 1 (2011), 61-77
- Dumville, David N., *English Caroline script and monastic history: studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950-103* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993)

- ‘English Square Minuscule Script: the Background and Earliest Phases,’ *Anglo-Saxon England*, 16 (1987), 147-79
- *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992)
- Dyer, Joseph, Kenneth Levy, and Dimitri Conomos, "Liturgy and liturgical books," *Grove Music Online* (2001) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40071>>
- Földvály, Miklós István and Ágnes Kurczné Szaszovsky, ‘Pontificals, Rituals, and Navigating among their Contents,’ *Questions Liturgiques/Studies in Liturgy*, 100, no. 1-2 (2020), 3-83, <<http://doi.org/10.2143/QL.100.1.3287690>>
- Gameson, Richard, ‘Books, Culture, and the Church in Canterbury Around the Millennium,’ in *Vikings, Monks and the Millennium: Canterbury in about 1000 A.D.*, ed. by Richard Gameson and Richard Eales (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Society, 2000), pp. 15–41
- ‘The Material Fabric of Early British Books,’ in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume 1, c.400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 13–94
- Ganz, David, Rebecca Rushforth, and Teresa Webber, ‘Latin Script in England c. 900–1100,’ in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 1, c.400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 187–224
- Gittos, Helen, ‘Researching the History of Rites,’ in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 13-38
- ‘Sources for the Liturgy of Canterbury Cathedral in the Central Middle Ages,’ in *Medieval Art, Architecture & Archaeology at Canterbury*, ed. by Alixe Bovey (London: Routledge, 2013) pp. 41–58
- Gneuss, Helmut, ‘Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology,’ in *Learning and literature in Anglo-Saxon England: studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, eds. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 91-142
- Gullick, Michael and Richard Pfaff, ‘The Dublin Pontifical (TCD 98 [B. 3. 6]): Saint Anselms?’, *Scriptorium*, 55 (2001), 284-294

- Gullick, Michael 'The Origin and Date of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 163,' *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11, no. 1 (1996), 89-91
- Hartzell, K.D., *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006)
- Heinz, Andreas, 'Die Bedeutung der Glock im Licht des mittelalterlichen Ritus der Glockenweihe,' in *Information, Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung in mittelalterlichen Gemeinden*, ed. by A. Haverkamp, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien, 40 (Munich 1998) 41-69
- Hamilton, Sarah, 'The Early Pontificals: The Anglo-Saxon Evidence Reconsidered from a Continental Perspective,' in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)*, ed. by David W. Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williamson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 410-428
- 'Interpreting Diversity: Excommunication Rites in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,' in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 125-158
- Harper, John, 'Contexts for the Late Medieval Pontifical of Anian, Bishop of Bangor: Issues of the 'Local' and the 'More-Than-Local,'" in *Music and Liturgy in Medieval Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Ann Buckley and Lisa Colton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 17-49.
- Heslop, T. A., 'The Production of 'de Luxe' Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma,' *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 151-95
- Hiley, David, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)
- Hornby, Emma and Rebecca Maloy, 'Introduction,' in *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants: Psalmi, Threni and the Easter Vigil Canticles* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), pp. 1-27
- Hornby, Emma, 'Interactions between Brittany and Christ Church, Canterbury in the Tenth Century: The Linenthal leaf,' in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, ed. by Emma Hornby and David Maw (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), pp. 47-65
- Huglo, Michel, 'Le Domaine de la Notation Bretonne,' *Acta Musicologica*, 35, fasc. 2/3 (1963), 54-84

- Jones, Christopher A., 'The Chrism Mass in Later Anglo-Saxon England,' in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by M. Bradford Bedingfield Helen Gittos (London: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 105–42
- Kay, Richard, *Pontificalia: A Repertory of Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2007)
- Kozachek, Thomas, 'Tonal neumes in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman pontificals' in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 6, no. 2 (1997), 119-141
- 'The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music, Liturgy, & Ritual' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1995)
- Nelson, Janet L. and Richard W. Pfaff, 'Pontificals and Benedictionals,' in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Richard W Pfaff, Old English Newsletter. Subsidia, 23 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, 1995), pp. 87-98
- North, Thomas, *The Church Bells of Northamptonshire* (Leicester: Samuel Clarke, 1878)
- Olson, Brayden, 'Melodic Variance in Anglo-Saxon Pontificals' (unpublished master's thesis, Dalhousie University, 2020)
- Palazzo, Eric and Madeleine Beaumont, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1998)
- Palazzo, E., *L'évêque et son image: l'illustration du pontifical au moyen âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999)
- Parkes, Henry, 'Henry II, liturgical patronage and the birth of the 'Romano-German Pontifical,' *Early Medieval Europe*, 28.1 (2020), 104-141
- 'The nascent 'pontifical,'" in *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music, and Ritual in Mainz, 950-1050*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) pp. 158-182
- 'Questioning the Authority of Vogel and Elze's *Pontifical romano-germanique*,' in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016) pp. 75-101
- Pfaff, Richard, 'The Anglo-Saxon Bishop and His Book,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 81.1 (1999) 3–24
- Price, Percival, *Bells and Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983)
- Rankin, Susan, 'Neumatic Notations in Anglo-Saxon England,' in *Musicologie médiévale: notations et séquences : actes de la Table ronde du C.N.R.S à l'Institut de recherche et*

- d'histoire des textes, 6-7 septembre 1982*, ed. by Michel Huglo (Paris: H. Champion, 1987) pp. 129-144
- 'Music Books,' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume 1, c.400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) pp. 482-506
- 'Some Reflections on Liturgical Music at Late Anglo-Saxon Worcester,' in *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 325-348
- 'Sound and its Capture in Anglo-Saxon England' *The Lyell Lectures*. Weston Library (Bodleian Libraries). 3 May 2022. Online recording and PowerPoint Presentation. <<https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/sound-and-its-capture-anglo-saxon-england>>
- Roberts, Jane, *Guide to scripts used in English writings up to 1500* (London: British Library, 2005)
- Su, Z. and others, 'Plagiarism Detection Using the Levenshtein Distance and Smith-Waterman Algorithm,' in *3rd International Conference on Innovative Computing Information and Control*, (2008) p. 569, <<http://doi.org/10.1109/ICICIC.2008.422>>
- Thurston, Herbert 'Bells,' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume 2*, ed. by Charles G. Herbermann (New York: R. Appleton Co., 1907) pp. 418-424
- Walters, H.B., *Church Bells of England*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1912)
- Webber, Teresa, 'Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the Norman Conquest,' in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints, and Scholars, 1066-1109*, ed. by Richard Sharpe Richard Eales (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), pp. 145–58
- Westwell, Arthur 'The content and the ideological construction of the early pontifical manuscripts,' *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome-Moyen Âge* 132-1 (2020), <<https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.7681>>
- Wilson, Henry A., *The Pontifical of Magdalen College: with an appendix of extracts from other English MSS of the twelfth century* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1910)
- Winterbottom, Michael and Michael Lapidge, eds, *The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Primary Sources

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Latin 943

<<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001165p>>

British Library, London, Add. MS. 28188

<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_28188>

British Library, London, Add. MS 57337

<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_57337>

British Library, London, Cotton Tiberius C.1

<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Tiberius_C_I>

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker Library on the Web, MS 044

<<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/sx200wv7668>>

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker Library on the Web, MS 146

<<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/wy783rb3141>>

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker Library on the Web, MS 163

<<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dw493fs0065>>

Magdalen College, Oxford, MS 226

Trinity College, Dublin, MS 98 <<https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/d504rq89v>>

Trinity College, Cambridge, Wren Digital Library, James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts,

MS B.11.10. <<https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/B.11.10>>

University Library, Cambridge, MS Ff. VI.9

University Library, Cambridge, MS Ll.2.10

University Library, Durham, MS V.V.6

<<https://iiif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=t1mp2676v52p>>

APPENDIX A: Transcription of text for blessing of a bell in five notated Canterbury Pontificals ¹

Full text of appendix commences on next page

¹ Bolded texts indicate rubrication, italicised texts indicate notated chant texts

OxMC 226	CTC B.11.10	CCC 146	BL 57337	BNF 943
<p>Ad signum ecclesie benedicendum. Primum letanie agantur. Deinde dicat episcopus ter Deus in auditorium meum. Postea faciat episcopus exorcismum aque ut supra usque</p>	<p>Ad signum ecclesie benedicendum. Primum letanie agantur. Deinde dicat episcopus ter. Deus in auditorium meum intende. Postea faciat episcopus exorsismum aque ut supra. usque.</p>	<p>Ad signum benedicendum ecclesie. Incipit exorcismus aque.</p> <p>Exorcito te creatura aque in nomine dei patris omnipotentis. Et in nomine ihesu Christi filii eius et spiritus sancti. Ut omnis uirtus aduersarii. omnis incursio diaboli. omne fantasma. omneseque. inimici potestates eradicentur et effugentur ab hac creatura aque; unde exorcizo te creatura aque per deum uiuum. per deum uerum. per deum sanctum. et per dominum nostrum ihesum christum. ut efficiaris aqua santa. aqua benedicta. ut ubicumque. effusa fueris uel aspersa. siue in domo. siue in agro. effuges omnem fantasiam et omnem potestatem inimici.</p>	<p>Ad signum aecclesie benedicendum primitus lauetur signum de aqua benedicta. Sequitur oratio</p>	<p>Ad signum ecclesie benedicendum primatur lauetur signum de aqua benedicta. Sequitur oratio</p>

<p>Quatinus consecrata sis aqua sancta et proficias ad dedicationem huius tintinnabuli uel huius campane . ut per te et per benedictionem diuinam auxiliante domino siue per os et per manus atque officium nostrum hoc tintinnabulum uel hec campana diuinitus per gratiam spiritus sancti consecretur. et perpetualiter ad incitanda ad laudem dei fidelium corda consecratum permaneat. et spiritus sanctus [fol. 166] habitet in hoc tintinnabulo uel in hac campana. Per dominum</p>	<p>Quatinus consecrata aqua sancta. et proficias ad dedicationem huius tintinnabuli uel huius campane. ut per te et per benedictionem diuinam auxiliante domino siue per os siue per manus atque officium nostrum hoc tintinnabulum ut hec campana diuinitus per gratiam [fol. 78r] spiritus sancti consecretur et perpetualiter ad incitanda ad laudem dei fidelium corda consecratum permaneat. et spiritus sanctus habitet in hoc tintinnabulo. uel in hac campana. per.</p>	<p>Quatinus consecratio huius sancte aque proficiat ad dedicationem horum tintinnabulorum uel campanarum. ut per ea et benedictionem diuinam auxiliante domino siue per os et per manus atque . officium nostrum hec tintinnabula uel hec campane diuinitus per gratiam spiritus sancti consecrentur. et perpetualiter ad incitanda ad laudem dei fidelium corda consecrata permaneant. et spiritus sanctus habitet in hic campanis uel in hic tintinnabuli per eum qui uiuit.</p>		
<p>Postea aspergat aquam benedictam super tintinnabulum cum antiphona Asperges me. Sequitur oratio</p>	<p>Postea aspergat aquam benedictam super tintinnabulum. cum hec antiphona. Asperges me domine. Sequitur oratio</p>	<p>Benedictam tintinnabuli primitus lauetur aqua Benedicta vii. (incomprehensible) cum antiphona Asperges me (incomprehensible) Sequitur oratio.</p>	<p>(in margin) Benedictam tintinnabuli primitus lauetur aqua benedict vii. cum antiphona asperges me. ysopo</p>	

<p>Benedic domine hoc [tin]tinnabulum benedictione celesti . et assistat super illud uirtus spiritus sancti. ut cum hoc uasculum ad inuitandos filios ecclesie personatum fuerit uel auditum ubicumque sonuerit eius tinnitus. longe recedat uirtus inimicorum. umbra phantasmatum. incursio turbinum. percussio fulminum. lesio tonitruorum. calamitas tempestatum. omnisque spiritus procellarum. Et cum clangorem illius audierint filii christianorum. crescat in eis deuotionis augmentum. ut festinantes ad pie matris gremium. cantent ibi canticum nouum in ecclesia sanctorum. deferentes in sono tube preconium. modulationem per psalterium.</p>	<p>Benedic domine hoc tintinnabulum benedictione celesti et assistat super illud uirtus spiritus sancti. ut cum hoc uasculum ad inuitandos filios ecclesie personatum fuerit uel auditum. ubicumque sonuerit eius tinnitus. longe recedat uirtus inimicorum. umbra phantasmatum. incursio turbinum. percussio fulminum. lesio tonitruorum. calamitas tempestatum. omnisque spiritus procellarum. Et cum clangorem illius audierint filii christianorum. crescat in eis deuotionis augmentum. ut festinantes ad pie matris gremium. cantent ibi canticum nouum in ecclesia sanctorum . deferentes in sono tube preconium. modulationem per psalterium. exultatione per organum. suauitatem</p>	<p>Benedic domine hoc signum benedictione celesti [p.88] et adsistat super ea uirtus spiritus sancti ut cum hec uascula ad inuitandos filios ecclesie preparata mea fuerint tincta . ubi cumque. sonuerint eorum tinnitus. longe recedat uirtus inimicorum. umbra fantasmatum. incursio turbinum. percussio fulminum. lesio tonitruorum . calamitas tempestatum. omnis spiritus procellarum. et cum clangorem illorum audierint. filii christianorm crescat in eis deuotionis augmentis . ut festinantes ad pie matris gremium cantent tibi canticum nouum in ecclesia sanctorum. deferentes in sono tube preconium. modulationem per psalterium. exultationem per organum. suauitatem per tympanum iocundittem per cimbalum. quatinus inuitare ualeant in templo sancto tuo in hic obsequiis et precibus exercitum angelorum .</p>	<p>Benedic domine hoc signum benedictione celesti. et assistat super illud uirtus spiritus sancti. ut cum hoc signum ad inuitandos filios aecclesie preperatum atque benedictum fuerit. ubicumque sonuerit eius tinnibulum longe recedat uirtus inimicorum. umbra phantasmatum. incursio turbinum . percussio fulminum. lesio tonitruorum. calamitas tempestatum. omnis spiritus procellarum. Et cum clangorem illius audierint filii christianorum. crescat in eis deuotionis augmentum. ut festinantes ad pie matris gremium cantent tibi in aecclesia canticum nouum cum chorum sanctorum. deferentes in sono tube preconium modulationis. per psalterium exultationis. per organum suauitatis per tympanum iocunditatis . per cimbalum [fol. 67v]</p>	<p>Benedic domine hoc signum benedictione caelesti. et assistat super illud uirtus spiritus sancti . ut cum hoc signum ad inuitandos filios aecclesiae preperatum atque benedictum fuerit. ubicumque conuerit eius tinnibulum longe recedat uirtus inimicorum. umbra phantasmatum. incursio turbinum. percussio fulminum. lesio tonitruorum. calamitas tempestatum . omnis spiritus procellarum. et cum clangorem illius audierunt filii christianorum. [fol. 78r] crescat in eis deuotionis augmentum . ut festinantes ad piae matris gremium cantent tibi in aecclesia canticum nouum cum choro sanctorum. deferentes in sono tubae preconium modulationis. per psalterium exultationis. per organum suauitatis. per tympanum iocundatis. per</p>
---	---	---	---	---

<p>exultationem per [fol. 166v] organum. suauitatem per tympanum. iocunditatem per cymbalum. quatinus inuitare valeant in templo sancto tuo in his obsequiis et precibus exercitum angelorum. Saluator mundi qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuis et regnas deus. Per.</p>	<p>per tympanum. iocunditatem per cymbalum. quatinus inuitare ualeant in templo sancto tuo in hic obsequiis et precibus exercitum angelorum. saluator mundi qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuis et regnas deus. per omnia secula seculorum.</p>	<p>saluator mundi qui cum patre et spiritu sancto.</p>	<p>letificationis. quatinus valeant in templo sancto tuo suis obsequiis et precibus exercitum angelorum sibi in adiutorium prouocare. per.</p>	<p>cimbalum laetificationis. quatinus ualeant in templo sancto tuo suis obsequiis et precibus exercitum angelorum sibi in auditorium prouocare. per.</p>
<p>Post hec cantabis vii. psalmos. id est Lauda anima mea dominum usque in finem psalterii. cum hac antiphona.</p>	<p>Post hec cantabis septem psalmos. id est lauda anima mea dominum. usque in finem psalterii. cum hac antiphona.</p>	<p>Post hec laves ea de aqua benedicta cantando. Lauda anima mea dominum usque in finem psalterii cum antiphona.</p>	<p>Postea cantes antiphonam</p>	<p>Postea cantes psalmos vi. Id. est. Lauda anima mea dominum. usque omnis spiritus laudet dominum. et cum cantaueris. laues signum aqua exorcizata. dicasque collectam hanc finitis psalmis.</p>
<p><i>In ciuitate domini clare sonant iugiter organa sanctorum ibi cinnamomum et balsamum odor suauissimus qui ad deum pertinet. ibi angeli et archangeli ymnum nouum decantant ante sedem dei alleluia.</i></p>	<p><i>In ciuitate domini clare sonant iugiter organa sanctorum ibi cynamomum et balsamum odor suauissimus qui ad eum pertinet. ibi angeli et archangeli hymnum deo decantant ante sedem dei alleluia. Evovae.</i></p>	<p><i>In ciuitate domini clare sonant iugiter organa sanctorum ibi cinnamomum et balsamum odor suauissimus quod ad deum pertinet. ibi angeli et archangeli ymnum nouum decantant ante sedem dei alleluia</i></p>	<p><i>In ciuitate domini clare sonant iugiter organa sanctorum ibi cinamomum et balsamum odor suassimum qui ad deum pertinet ibi angeli et archangeli ymnum nouum decantant ante sedem dei alleluia</i></p>	<p><i>In ciuitate domini clare sonant iugiter organa sanctorum ibi cynnamomum et balsamum odor suauissimus qui ad deum pertinet ubi angeli et archangeli hymnum nouum decantant ante sedem dei alleluia</i></p>

Et cum cantaueris interim exterges illud cum lintheo	Et cum cantaueris interim exterges illud cum lintheo	Deinde dicis hanc collectam	Deinde vii. psalmi. id est Lauda anima mea dominum. usque omnis spiritus laudet dominum. Et cum cantaueris. laues signum aqua exorcizata. dicasque collectam hanc finitis psalmis.	
Sequitur oratio.	Sequitur oratio.		(margin) hic lintheo extergas cloccam	
Deus qui per moysen legisterum tubas argenteas fieri precepisti quas dum leuite tempore sacrificii clangerent. sonitu dulcedinis populus monitus ad te orandum fieret preparatus. quarum clangore hortatus ad bellum magnalia prosterneret aduersantium. presta ut hoc uasculum tue ecclesie preparatum [fol. 167]. sanctificetur gratia spiritus sancti . ut interueniente sancto N. per illius sonitum fideles inuidentur ad premium .	[fol. 78v] Deus qui per moysen legisterum tubas argenteas fieri precepisti. quas dum leuite tempore sacrificii clangerent. sonitu dulcedimus populus monitus ad te orandum fieret preparatus. quarum clangore horatus ad bellum magnalia prosterneret aduer santium. presta ut hoc uasculum tue ecclesie preparatum sanctificetur. gratia spirtus sancti. ut interueniente sancto. N. per illius sonitum fideles inuidentur ad premium. et cum melodia illus auribus	Deus qui per moysen legisterum tubas argenteas fieri precepisti. quas dum leuite tempore sacrificii clangerent. sonitu dulcedinis populus monitus ad te orandum fieret preperatus. quarum clangore hortatus ad bellum. magnalia prosterneret aduersantium . presta ut hec uasa tue ecclesie preparata sanctificentur ab spiritu sancto. ut per illorum tactum fideles inuidentur ad premium. et cum melodia illorum auribus insonuerit populorum. crescat in [p. 89] eis deuotio fidei. procul pellantur omnes in fidie	Deus qui per moysen legisterum famulum tuum tubas argenteas precepisti fieri. quas dum leuite tempore sacrificii clangerent sonitu dulcedinis populus monitus. ut te adorandum fieret preparatus. quarum clangore hortatus ad bellum magnalia tela prosterneret aduer santium. presta ut hoc tintinnabulum tue aecclesie preparatum sanctificetur ab spiritu sancto. ut per illius tactum uel sonitum fideles inuidentur ad premium. et cum melodia eius auribus insonuerit populorum.	Deus qui per moysen legisterum famulum tuum tubas argenteas precepista fieri. quas dum leuite tempore sacrificii clangerent sonitu dulcedinis populus monitus. ut te adorandum fieret preperatus. quarum clangore hortatus ad bellum magnalia tela prosterneret aduersantium. presta ut hoc tintinnabulum tue aecclesiae preparatum santificetur ab spiritu sancto . ut per illius tactum uel sonitum fideles inuidentur ad premium. et cum melodia eius auribus

<p>et cum melodia illius auribus insonuerit populorum. crescat in eis deuotio fidei. procul pellantur omnes insidie inimici. fragor grandinum. procella turbinum. impetus tempestatum. temperentur infesta tonitrua. uentorum flabra fiant salubriter ac moderate suspensa. prosternantur aerie potestates dextera tue uirtutis. et omnes inmundi spiritus hoc audientes tintinnabulum tremiscant et fugiant. quasi ante sancte crucis uexillum. Presta quesumus nobis hanc gratiam domine deus cui flectitur omne genu. celestium. terrestrium . et infernorum. et omnis lingua confitetur. quia tu dominus noster ihesus christus absorpta morte per patibulum crucis</p>	<p>insonuerit populorum. crescat in eis deuotio fidei. procul pellantur omnes insidie inimici . fragor grandinum procella turbinum. impetus tempestatum. temperentur infesta tonitura. uentorum flabra fiant salubriter ac moderate suspensa. prosternatur aeree potestates dextera tue uirtutis. et omnes in mundi spiritus hoc audientes tintinnabulum tremiscant et fugiant quasi ante crucis uexillum. Presta quesumus nobis hanc gratiam domine deus cui flectitur omne genu. celestium terrestrium et infernorum. et omnis lingua confitetur. quia tu dominus noster ihesus christus absorpta morte per patibulum crucis regnas in gloria dei patris cum spiritu sancto. per omnia secula seculorum amen.</p>	<p>inimici. fragor grandinum procella turbinum. impetus tempestatum. temperentur infesta tonitrua . uentorum flabra fiant salubriter ac moderate suspensa. prosternantur aerae potestates dextera tue uirtutis. ut hec audientes tintinnabula tremiscant et fugiant ante sancte crucis uexillum. Presta saluator cui flectitur omnes genu celestium. terrestrium . et infernorum. et omnis lingua confitetur. quia tu dominus noster ihesus christus absorpta morte per patibulum crucis regnas in gloria dei patris cum sancto spiritu. per omnia secula seculo.</p>	<p>crescat in eis deuotio fidei. Procul pellantur omnis insidie inimici. fragor grandinum. procella turbinum. impetus tempestatum. Temperentur infesta tonitrua. uentorum [fol. 68r] flabra fiant salubriter ac moderate suspensa. Prosternant se aerie potestates dextere tue uirtuti. ut hoc audientes tintinnabulum tremescant et effugiant ante sancte crucis uexillum Presta saluator cui flectitur omne regnum celestium terrestrium et infernorum. et omnis lingua confitetur. quia dominus noster ihesus christus absorpta morte per patibulum crucis regnat in gloria dei patris. cum spiritu sancto. per omnia.</p>	<p>in sonuerit populorum . [fol. 78v] crescat in eis deuotio fidei. procul pellantur omnes insidie inimici. fragor grandinum. procella turbinum. impetus tempestatum. Temperentur infesta tonitrua. uentorum flabra fiant salubriter ac moderate suspensa. Prosternant sederie potestates dextere tuae uirtuti. ut hoc audientes tintinnabulum tremescant et effugiant ante sancte crucis uexillum. Presta saluator cui flectitur omne regnum caelestium terrestrium et infernorum. et omnis lingua confitetur. quia dominis noster ihesus christus absorpta morte per patibulum crucis regnat in gloria domini patris. cum spiritu sancto per omnia secula seculorum amen.</p>
---	---	---	---	---

regnas in gloria dei patris cum sancto spiritu. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.				
Deinde linies illud crismate septies deforis. et deintus quaternis uicibus subsequente antiphona [fol. 167v]	Deinde linies illud crismate septies deforis. et deintur quaternis uicibus subsequente antiphona.	Tunc exterges ea linthea	Tunc extergas cloccam lintheo et tangas eam de crismate deforis septies ac deintus quater. et dicas	Tunc extergas cloccam lintheo et tangas eam de crismate deforis septies ac deintus quater et dicas.
<i>Ant. Vox domini super aquas deus maiestatis intonuit dominus super aquas multas. Ps. Vox domini in virtute</i>	<i>Vox domine super aquas deus maiestatis intonuit dominus super aquas multas. evovae. Ps. Vox domini in virtute</i>	<i>Vox domini super aquas deus maiestatis intonuit dominus super aquas multas. Vox domini in virtute usque infine</i>	<i>Antiophona. Vox domini super aquas deus maiestatis intonuit dominus super aquas multas Ps. Afferte domini</i>	<i>Vox domini super aquas deus maiestatis intonuit dominus super aquas multas. Usque in finem psalmi.</i>
Et cetera usque in finem psalmi. sequente hac oratione.	Et cetera usque in finem psalmi sequente hac oratione	Et tanges ea decrismate deforis septies intus quarter. Oratio.	Sequitur oratio (in margin) hic crismate ungutur tintinnabulum	Sequitur oratio.
Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui ante archam federis. per clangorem tubarum muros lapideos quibus aduersantium cingebatur exercitus cadere fecisti. tu hoc tintinnabulum celesti benedictione perfunde. ut ante sonitum eius longius effugentur ignita	Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui ante archam federis per clangorem tubarum muros lapideos quibus aduersantium cingebatur exercitus cadere fecisti . tu hoc tintinnabulum celesti benedictione perfunde. ut ante [fol. 79r] sonitum eius longius effugentur	Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui ante arcam federis per clangorem tubarum muros lapideos quibus aduersantium cingebatur exercitus cadere fecisti. tu hec tintinnabula celesti benedictione perfunde. ut ante sonitum eorum longius effugentur ignita iacula inimici. percussio fulminum.	Omnipotens sempiterne deus. qui ante arcam foederis per clangorem tubarum muros lapideos quibus aduersantium cingebatur exercitus cadere fecisti. tu hoc tintinnabulum celesti benedictione perfunde. ut ante sonitum eius longius effugentur ignita iacula	Omnipotens sempiterne deus. qui ante arcam foederis per clangorem tubarum muros lapideos quibus aduersantium cingebatur exercitus cadere fecisti. tu hoc tintinnabulum celesta benedictione perfunde. ut anti sonitum eius longius effugentur ignita iacula [fol.

<p>iacula inimici. percussiones fulminum . impetus lapidum. lesiones tempestatum. ut ad interrogationem propheticam. quid est tibi mare quod fugisti. suis motibus cum iordane retro acta fluenta respondeant. A facie domini commota est terra. a facie dei iacob qui conuertit solidam petram in stagnum aque . et rupem in fontes aquarum. Non nobis ergo domine non nobis . sed nomini tuo da gloriam super misericordia [fol. 168] tua. Ut cum presens uasculum sicut reliqua altaris uasa sacro chrismate tangitur uel oleo sancto unguitur . quicumque ad sonitum eius conuenerint. intercessionibus sancti N. ab omnibus inimici temptationibus liberi.</p>	<p>ignita iacula inimici. percussiones fulminum. impetus lapidum. lesiones tempestatum. ut ad interrogationem propheticam quid est tibi mare quod fugisti. suis motibus cum iordane retro acta fluenta respondeant. A facie domini commota est terra. a facie dei iacob. qui conuertit solidam petram instagna aquarum. et rupem in fontes aquarum. Non nobis ergo domine non nobis. sed nomini tuo da gloriam super misericordia tua. ut cum presens uasculum sicut reliqua altaris uasa sacro crismate tangitur uel oleo sancto unguitur. quicumque ad sonitum eius conuenerint. intercessionibus sancti. N. ab omnibus inimici temptationibus liberi. semper fidei catholice documenta sectentur. saluator mundi cuius</p>	<p>impetus lapidum. lesio tempestatum. ut ad interrogationem propheticam quid est mare quod figisti. suis motibus cum iordane retroacta fluenta respondeant. a facie domini mota est terra. a facie di iacob. qui conuertit solidam petram in stagnum aque. et rupem infontes aquarum. non nobis domine non nobis. sed nomini tuo da gloriam super misericordia tua. ut cum presentia uascula sicut reliqua altaris uasa sacro crismate tanguntur. oleo sancto unguitur. quicumque. ad sonitum eorum conuenerint. ab omni[p.90]bus, inimici temptationibus liberi. semper fidei catholice documenta secentur. saluator mundi cui flectitur omne genu celestium et terrarium. qui cum patre episcopum.</p>	<p>inimici. percussio fulminum. impetus lapidum. lesio tempestatum. ut ad interrogationem propheticam. quid est mare quod fugisti. suis motibus cum iordane retracta fluenta respondeant. a facie domini commota est terra. a facie dei iacob . Qui conuertit solidam petram in stagnum aque. et rupem [fol. 68v] in fontes aquarum. Non nobis domine non nobis. sed nomini tuo da gloriam. super misericordia tua. ut cum presens uasculum sicut reliqua altaris uasa sacro crismate tangitur. oleo sancto unguitur. quicumque ad sonitum eis conuenerint. Ab omnibus inimici temptationibus liberi semper fidei documenta catholice secentur. per.</p>	<p>79r] inimici. percussio fulminum . impetus lapidum. lesio tempestatum. ut ad interrogationem propheticam. quid est mare quod fugisti . suis motibus cum iordane retracta fluenta respondeant. a facie domini commota est terra a facie domini dei iacob. qui conuertit solidam petram in stagnum aque. et rupem infontes aquarum. Non nobis domine non nobis. sed nomini tuo da gloriam super misericordia tua. ut cum presens uasculum sicut reliqua altaris uasa sacro crismate tangitur. oleo sancto unguitur. quicumque ad sonitum eius conuenerunt. ab omnibus inimici temptationibus liberi semper fidei documenta catholice sectentur. per dominum.</p>
---	---	---	--	---











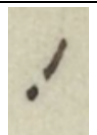



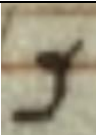
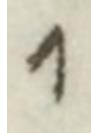

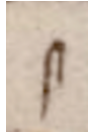
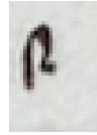
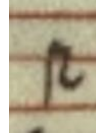
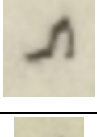
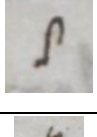

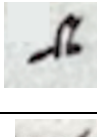
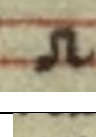
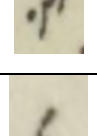




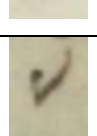
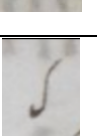


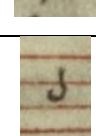





semper fidei catholice documenta sectentur . saluator mundi. cuius generalis nutu maiestatis disponuntur omnia que celi ambitu continentur . qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuis et regnas deus. Per.	generalis nutu maiestatis disponuntur omnia que celi ambitu continentur. qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuis et regnas deus. per omnia secula seculorum.			
Tunc inpones in acerna ignem et superiacies thimiama et myrram. et eriges cloccam super incensum ut totum illum fumum colligat. canendo antiphonam.	Tunc inpones in acerna ignem et superiacies thymiama et myrram et eriges cloccam super incensum. ut totum illum fumum coligat. canendo antiphonam.	Tunc eriges cloccam super fumum incensi canens.	Tunc inponas in acerram ignem et superiacies thimiamam et mirram et erigas cloccam super incensum ut totum fumum colligat. et canens antiphonam. (in margin) hic thure odoretur. <i>Domine ad te dirigatur.</i>	Tunc inponas in acerram ignem et super iacias thimiama et myrram et erigas cloccam super incensum ut totum fumus colligate. et dicat uersus.
<i>Deus in sancto uia tua quis deus magnus sicut deus noster tu es deus qui facis mirabilia solus. Ps. Viderunt te aque.</i>	<i>Deus in sancto uia tua quis deus magnus sicut deus noster teus deus qui facis mirabilia solus evovae. Ps. Viderunt te aque</i>	<i>Deus in sancto uia tua quis deus magnus sicut deus noster tu es deus qui facis mirabilia solus. Viderunt te aque deus. usque infine psalmi</i>	<i>Deus in sancto uia tua quis deus magnus sicut deus noster tu es deus qui facis mirabilia solus</i>	<i>Deus in sancto uia tua quis deus magnus sicut deus noster tu es deus qui facis mirabilia solus. usque infinem psalmi</i>
Et cetera usque in finem psalmi. Oratio.	Et cetera usque in finem psalmi sequente hac oratione	Sequatur oratio	Sequatur oratio	Sequatur oratio
Omnipotens sempiterne deus. dominator christe .	Omnipotens sempiterne deus dominator christe.	Omnipotens sempiterne deus dominator christe. cui	Omnipotens sempiterne deus. dominator christe. cui	Omnipotens sempiterne deus dominator christe. cui

<p>cui secundum assumptionem carnis dormienti in nau. dum [fol. 168v] oborta tempestas mare conturbasset. te protinus excitato et imperante sedatur. tu quesumus sanctificando hoc thuris incensum necessitatibus populi tui benignus succurre. tu hoc tintinnabulum sancti spiritus rore perfunde. ut intercedente beato N. ante sonitum illius semper fugiat inimicus. inuitetur ad fidem populus christianus. hostilis terreatur exercitus. Confortetur in domino per illud populus euocatus. sicque ut per dauiticam cytharam delectatus. et super eum descendat spiritus sanctus. atque ut samuele lanigerum agnum mactante in holocaustum. tuo rex eterne imperio fragor</p>	<p>cui secundum assumptionem carnis domienti in nau. dum oborta tempestas mare conturbasset. te protinus excitato et imperante sedatur. tu quesumus sanctificando hoc thuris incensum. necessitatibus popli tui benignus succurre. tu hoc tintinnabulum sancti spiritus rore perfunde. ut intercedente beato. N. [fol. 79v] ante sonnitum illus semper fugiat inimicus. inuitetur ad finem popullus christianus. hostilis terreatur exercitus. Confortetur in domino per illud populus euocatus. sicque ut per dauiticam citharam delectatus . et super eum descendat spiritus sanctus. atque ut samuele lanigerum agnum mactante in holocaustum. tuo rex eterne imperio fragor aurarum turbam reppulit aduersantem. ita</p>	<p>secundum assumptionem carnis dormienti in nau. dum oborta tempestas mare conturbasset te protinus excitato imperante dissoluitur . tu necessitabus populi tui benignus succurre. tu hec tintinnabula sancti spiritus rore perfunde ut ante sonitu illorum semper fugiat inimicus. inuitetur ad fidem populus christianus. hostilis terreatur exercitus conforteur in domino per ea populus euocatus . sicque. per dauiticam cytharam delectatus . desuper descendat spiritus sanctus . atque ut samuel crinegerum agnum mactante in holocaustum. tuo rex eterne imperio fragor aurarum turbam reppulit aduersantem ita dum horum uasculorum sonitus transit per nubila. ecclesie conuentum manus seruet angelica . crendentium mentes et corpora saluet protectio sempiterna. per te</p>	<p>secundum assumptionem carnis dormienti in mari dum obsorpta tempestas mare conturbasset. te protinus excitato imperante dissoluit . tu necessitatibus populi tui benignus succurre . tu hoc tintinnabulum sancti spiritus rore perfunde . ut ante sonitum illius semper fugiat inimicus. inuitetur ad fidem populus christianus. hostilis terreatur exercitus. confiteatur in domino per hoc populus euocatus. atque sic per dauiticam citharem delectatus. descendat spiritus sanctus. atque ut samuel cringerum agnum mactans in holcausto to rex aeterne. imperio fragorau*</p>	<p>secundum assumptionem carnis dormienti in mari dum obsorpta tempestas mare conturbasset te protinus excitato imperante dissoluit tu necessitabus populi tui benign[fol79v.]nus succurre. tu hoc tintinnabulum sancti spiritus rore perfunde. ut ante sonitum illius semper fugiat inimicus. inuitetur ad fidem populus christianus. hostilis terreatur exercitus. confiteatur in domino per hoc populus euocatus. atque sic per dauiticam cytharam delectatus . descendat spiritus sanctus. atque ut samuel crinigerum agnum mactans in holocausto tuo rex aeterne. imperio fragor aurarum turbam reppulit aduersantem ita dum huius uasculi sonitus seruet angelica. credentium mentes et corpora saluet protectio sempiternal. per dominum.</p>
--	--	---	---	--

<p>aurarum turbam reppulit aduersantem. ita dum huius uasculi sonitus transit per nubila. ecclesie conuentum manus seruet angelica. credentium mentes et corpora saluet protectio sempiterna . per te ihesu christe saluator mundi . qui cum patre et spiritu sancto [fol. 169] uiuis et regnas deus. Per.</p>	<p>dum huius uasculi sonitus transit per nubila. ecclesie conuentum manus seruet angelica. credentium mentes et corpora saluet protectio sempiterna per te christe saluator mundi. qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuis et regnas deus per omnia secula seculorum.</p>	<p>saluator mundi qui cum patre et.</p>		
<p>Tunc eleuata manu benedicat episcopus signum ecclesie. ita humiliter dicendo. Benedicto dei patris ingeniti. atque filii unigeniti necnon sancti spiritus ab utroque procedentis semper super hoc tintinnabulum maneat ad euocandos fideles ad diuinum cultum. per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.</p>	<p>Tunc elevate manu benedicat episcopus signum ecclesie. ite humiliter dicendo. Benedicto dei patris ingeniti. atque filii unigeniti necnon sancti spiritus ab utroque procedentis. semper super hoc tintinnabulum maneat ad euocandos fideles ad diuinum cultum. per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.</p>			

Appendix B: Neume forms and manuscript images of notated chants

Table B.1: Common Neume Forms Grouped by Melodic Function

Pontifical	BNF 943	BL 57337	CCC 146	OxMC 226	CTC B.11.10	NHLS signifier
<i>punctum</i>						N/H/L/S
<i>virga</i>						N/H/L/S
<i>podatus</i>						(N)H
<i>clivis</i>						(N)L
<i>torculus</i>						(N)HL
<i>oriscus</i>						(N)SL
Liquescent (descending)						(N)L
Liquescent (ascending)						(N)H

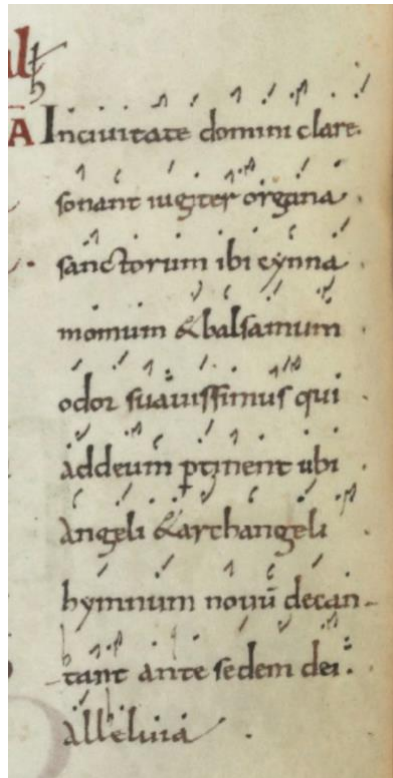


Fig. B.1.1: *In ciuitate domini*, BNF 943¹

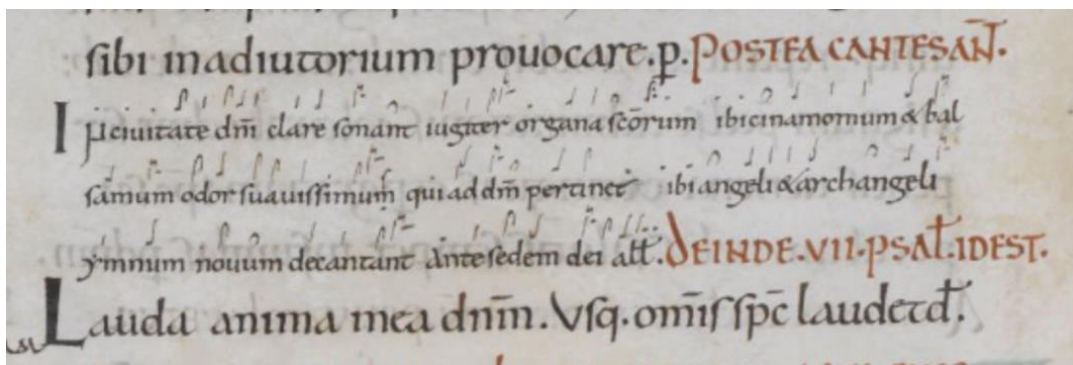


Fig. B.1.2: *In ciuitate domini*, BL 57337²

¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF), MS Latin 943, fol. 78r.

<<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001165p>>

² London, British Library (BL), Add. MS 57337, fol. 67v.

<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_57337>.

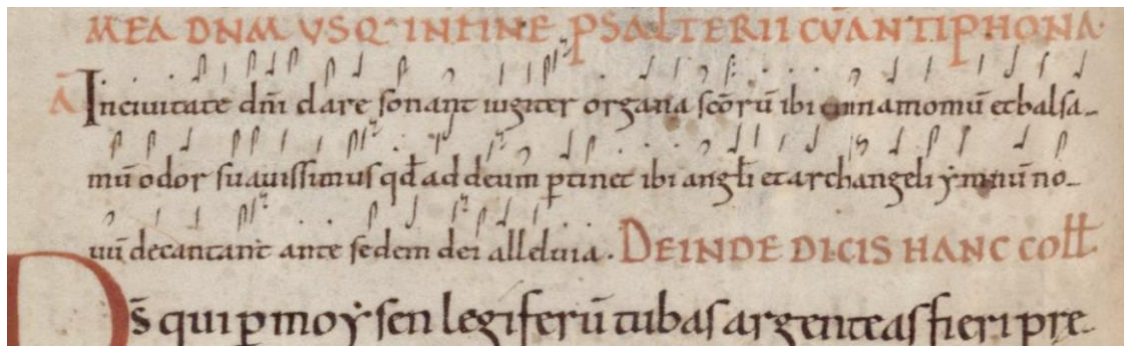


Fig. B.1.3: *In ciuitate domini*, CCC 146³

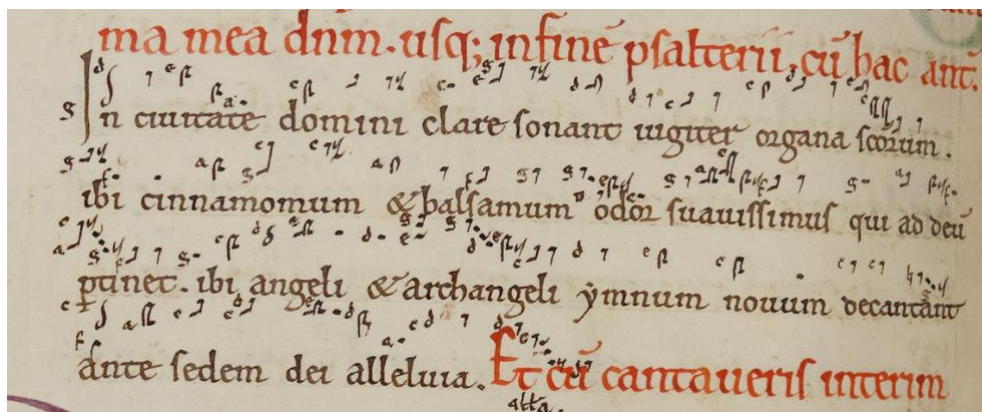


Fig. B.1.4: *In ciuitate domini*, OxMC 226⁴

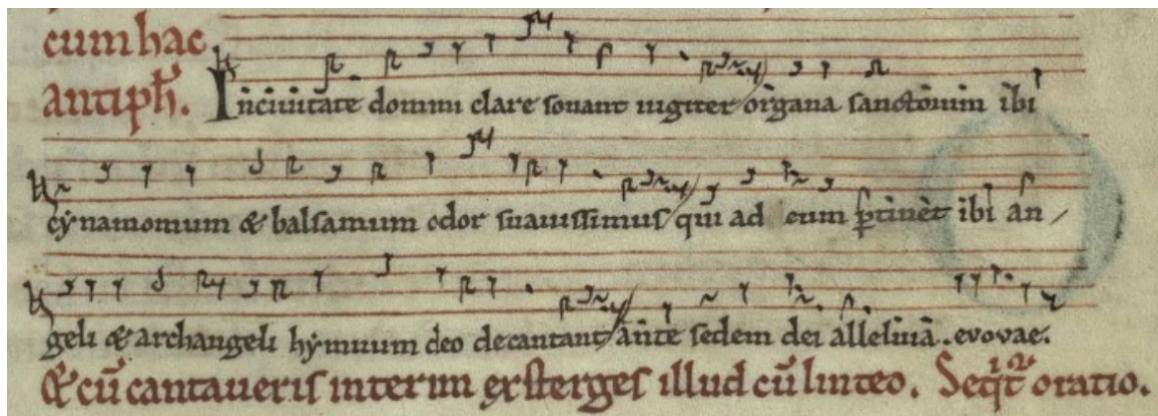


Fig. B.1.5: *In ciuitate domini*, CTC B.11.10⁵

³ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (CCC), Parker Library on the Web, MS 146, p.88. <<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/wy783rb3141>>

⁴ Oxford, Magdalen College (OxMC), MS 226, fol. 166v. This image and those for Figs. B.2.4 and B.3.4 reproduced with permission from The President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford.

⁵ Cambridge, Trinity College (CTC), Wren Digital Library, James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts, MS B.11.10, fol. 78r. <<https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/B.11.10>>

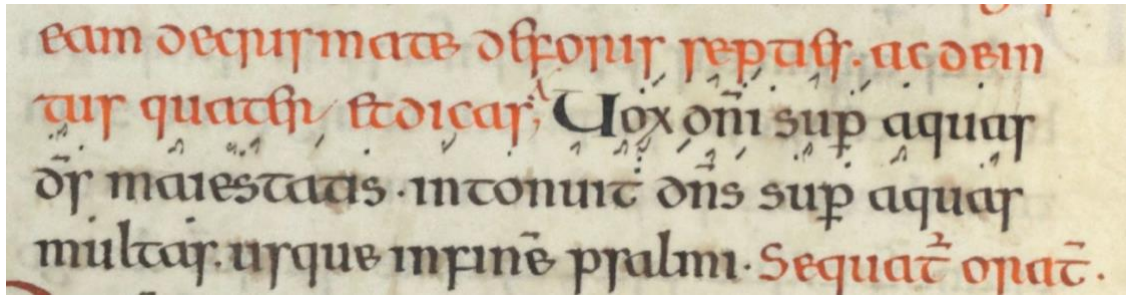


Fig. B.2.1: *Vox domini super aquas*, BNF 943⁶

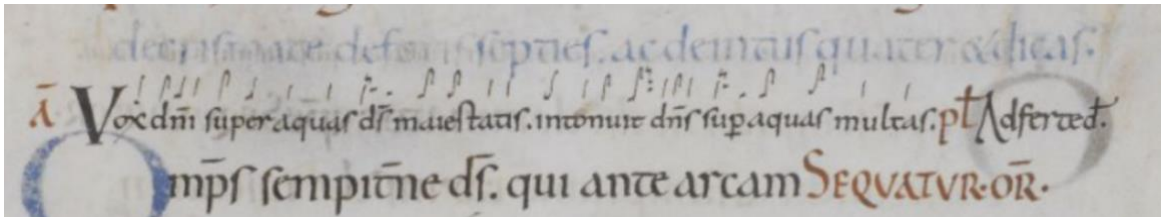


Fig. B.2.2: *Vox domini super aquas*, BL 57337⁷

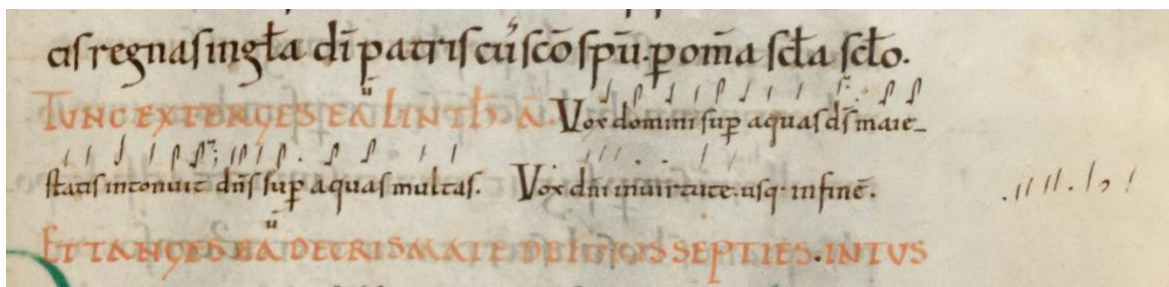


Fig. B.2.3: *Vox domini super aquas*, CCC 146⁸

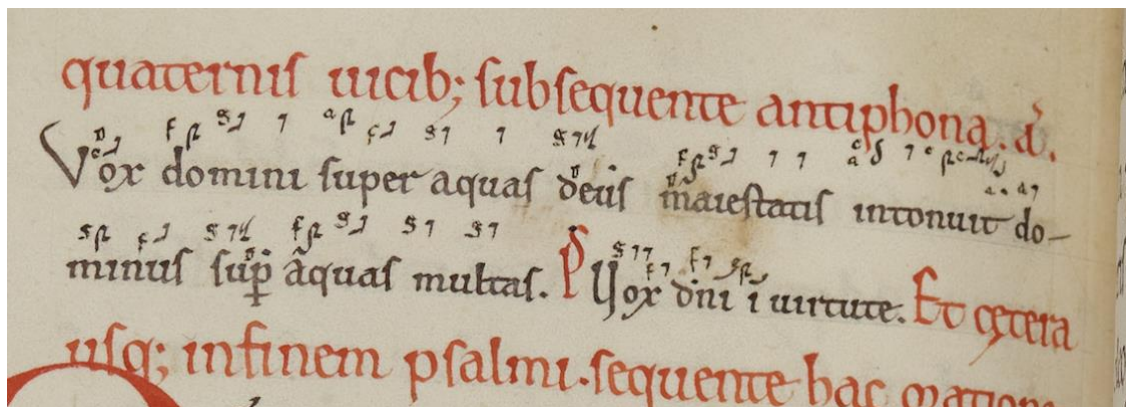


Fig. B.2.4: *Vox domini super aquas*, OxMC 226⁹

⁶ BNF, MS Lat. 943, fol. 78v.

⁷ BL, MS 57337, fol. 68r.

⁸ CCC, MS 146, p. 89.

⁹ OxMC, MS 226, fol. 167v.

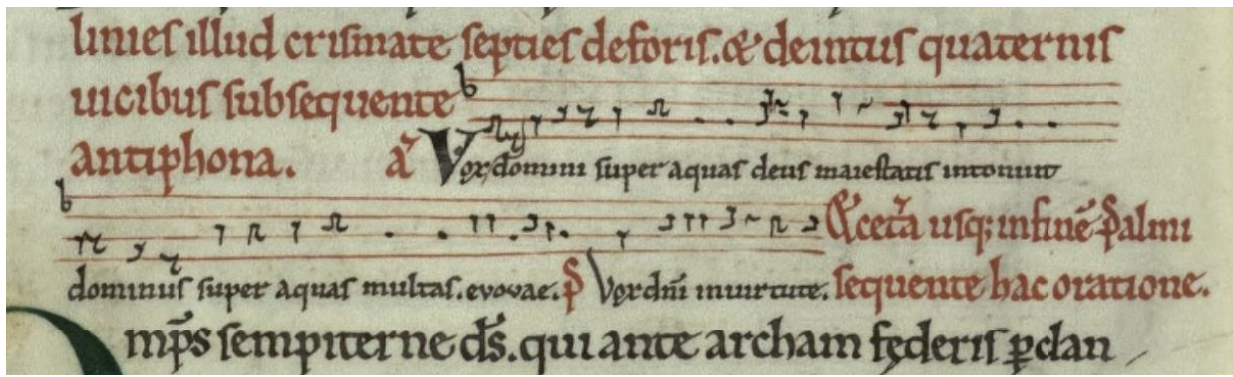


Fig. B.2.5: *Vox domini super aquas*, CTC B.11.10¹⁰

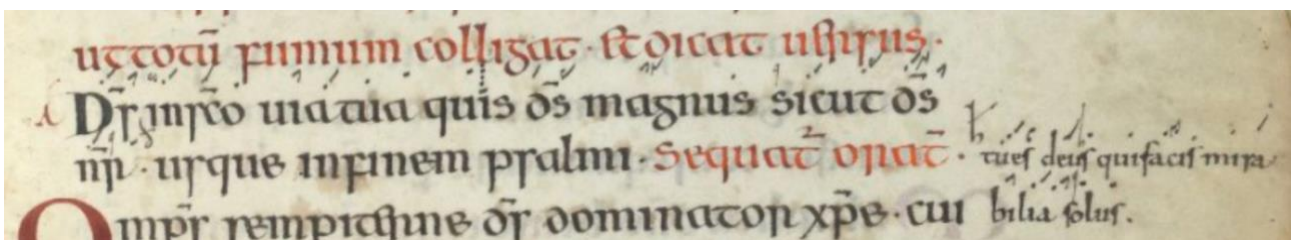


Fig. B.3.1: *Deus in sancto*, BNF 943¹¹

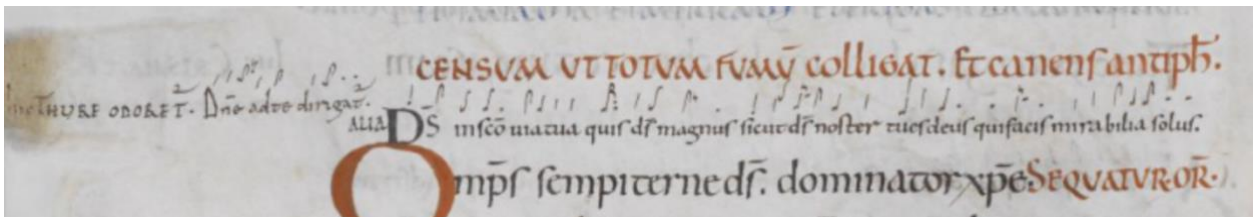


Fig. B.3.2: *Deus in sancto*, BL 57337¹²

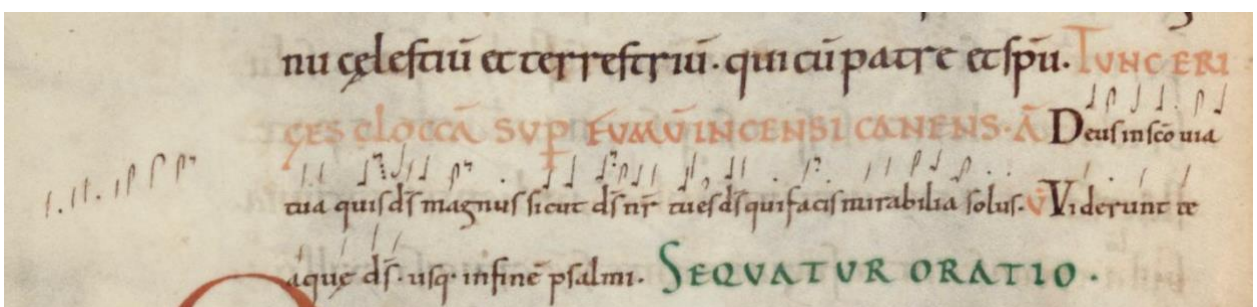


Fig. B.3.3: *Deus in sancto*, CCC 146¹³

¹⁰ CTC, MS B.11.10, fol. 78v.

¹¹ BNF, MS Lat. 943, fol. 79r.

¹² BL, MS 57337, fol. 68v.

¹³ CCC, MS 146, p. 90.

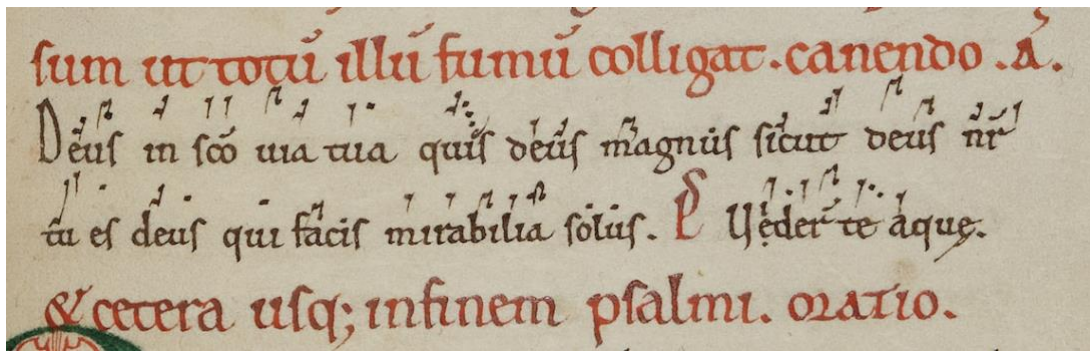


Fig. B.3.4: *Deus in sancto*, OxMC 226¹⁴

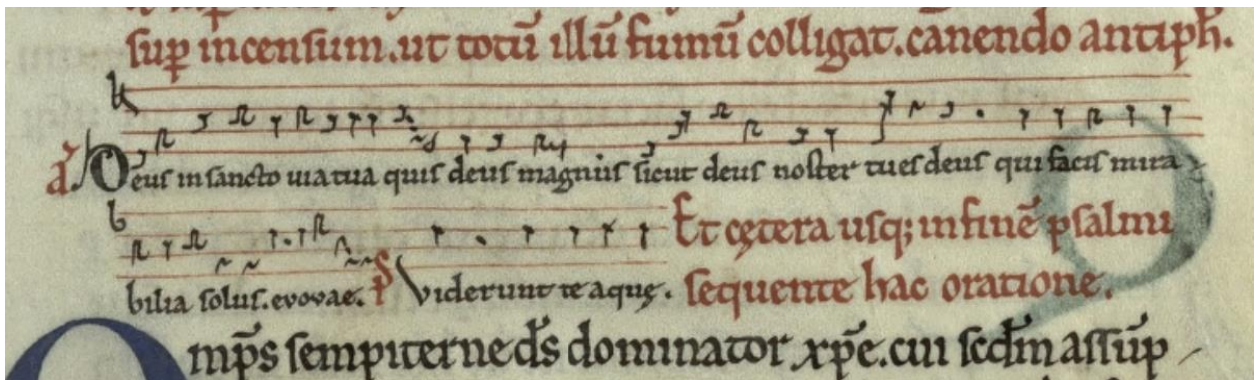


Fig. B.3.5: *Deus in sancto*, CTC B.11.10¹⁵

¹⁴ OxMC, MS 226, fol. 168r.

¹⁵ CTC, MS B.11.10, fol. 79r.