

MUSICLESS CONTRAFAC T TRANSMISSION IN TWO MORAVIAN MANUSCRIPTS

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines musicless contrafact transmission in two late medieval Moravian manuscripts,¹ CZ-Bsa R 626 and CZ-Olu M IV 6, which preserve a variant of the late fourteenth-century Visitation office *Accedunt laudes virginis* by Adam Easton. Composed as a contrafact of Julian of Speyer's *Franciscus vir catholicus* for St. Francis of Assisi, Easton's office features extensive melodic modifications to accommodate differences in chant structure and text length. The version presented in the two Moravian manuscripts does not preserve any of Easton's adaptations, instead reverting to Speyer's original melodies with unique modifications made where necessary. Analysis of the Moravian Visitation suggests that the office was transmitted to Moravia as a text-only source with an indication of the intended melodies, rather than as a fully-notated source. Consequently, the scribe – likely unfamiliar with Easton's musical revisions – independently constructed the melodies, resulting in a distinct contrafact office based on *Franciscus vir catholicus*.

Keywords: Contrafact, Office, Adam Easton, Moravia, Visitation, St. Francis of Assisi

The transmission of liturgical chants into a new geographical, cultural, or musical context often results in alterations, whether due to scribal error, deliberate choice, or natural variations that arise through oral transmission. Such variations are especially informative in contrafacta, where both the adapted melody and its original source provide points of comparison. This paper examines a variant of the contrafact office *Accedunt laudes virginis*, composed for the Visitation of the Virgin Mary (2 July), preserved in

¹ Issued with the support of the Czech Science Foundation as part of the project 'The Use and Reception of Contrafact in Late Medieval Liturgical Chant' (GN22-36033O) at the Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

two late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts from Olomouc: CZ-Bsa R 626 and CZ-OLu M IV 6. The *Accedunt laudes virginis* office² was written by the English cardinal Adam Easton [c. 1330–1397] between 1386 and 1390.³ The office is almost entirely formed of contrafact chants, with melodies taken from the office for St. Francis of Assisi, *Franciscus vir catholicus*,⁴ written by Julian of Speyer [d. c. 1250] between 1229 and 1235.⁵ The version of the Visitation found in CZ-Bsa R 626 and CZ-OLu M IV 6 deviates significantly from Easton's highly modified contrafact melodies, frequently reverting to the original tunes of Speyer's *Franciscus vir catholicus*. These manuscripts thus appear to evince a transmission process in which only the text, along with an indication of the contrafacted melodies, was conveyed. The scribe of the Moravian version then used this information in the creation of a second contrafact office using the same text and drawing upon the same melodic source material resulting in a markedly different office.⁶ Consequently, the absence of direct musical transmission resulted in the emergence of a distinct Moravian version of the *Accedunt laudes virginis* office.

The transmission of offices without music is not an unknown phenomenon; another Visitation office, *Exsurgens autem Maria*, composed in the late 1300s by the Czech archbishop Jan of Jenštejn appears to have spread in some areas without music. Three Cambrai manuscripts (F-CA Ms. 71, F-CA Ms. 73, and F-CA Impr XVI C4) present Jenštejn's text with new melodies, evidencing the creation of a *contrapositum* office.⁷ A scribe presented with a text-only version of a newly-composed office would have no option but to add new music – either reusing music from other, likely well-known, chants or creating their own to fit the new text. In contrast, in a contrafact office, if an indication of the original musical source is given, a scribe presented with a text-only

² The fifteenth-century Visitation office in Antiphoner NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) is used as the comparison exemplar throughout this article.

³ For details of the dates and the circumstances surrounding the Visitation's introduction into the Roman Calendar, see HALLAS, Rhianydd: *Two Rhymed Offices Composed for the Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary: Comparative Study and Critical Edition*. [Unpublished PhD thesis.] Bangor : Bangor University; Prague : Charles University, 2021.

⁴ The thirteenth-century Franciscan Antiphoner CH-Fco 2 is used as the comparison exemplar throughout this article.

⁵ The text of Speyer's office is Thomas of Celano's *Vita Beati Francisci* which was approved by Pope Gregory IX on 25 February 1229, and part of Speyer's office is recorded as being performed on 4 October 1235. For information on Celano's *Vita Beati Francisci*, see WDZIECZNY, Gilbert: The Life and Works of Thomas of Celano. In: *Franciscan Studies, New Series*, Vol. 5, March 1945, No. 1, pp. 55–68, at p. 58. For information on the performance of Speyer's office, see WEIS, J. E.: *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier: zu den Reimoffizien des Franziscus- und Antoniusfestes*. München : J. J. Lentner'schen Buchhandlung, 1901, p. 24.

⁶ For brevity, the original *Accedunt laudes virginis* office may be referred to as the 'Easton's Visitation office', the version found in these manuscripts as the 'Moravian variant/version', and the melodic source office *Franciscus vir catholicus* as the 'Speyer office' or the 'office of St. Francis'. A singular scribe/author of the Moravian version will also be referred to, although it cannot be currently determined whether it was the work of an individual.

⁷ *Contrapositum* – when a new melody is added to a pre-existing text; the opposite of *contrafactum*. Friedrich Gennrich notes that the added melody does not have to be newly-composed for this definition. See GENNRICH, Friedrich: *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*. Frankfurt : Langen bei Frankfurt, 1965, pp. 177–183.

version may have had the option to set the new text to the original contrafacted melodies as they saw fit.

Text-only transmission of Easton's chants has been suggested by Miriam Wendling based on the treatment of additional lines and syllables in a few Visitation texts.⁸ She notes, however, that her examples do not 'deal with divergences in text length in a radically different manner than the others'.⁹ The two Moravian manuscripts examined in this article present a far greater deviation from Easton's melodies, allowing for a much clearer picture of text-only transmission into the region.

Contrafacture is not a standard and uniform procedure applied to every piece.¹⁰ Friedrich Gennrich, in his book *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*, identifies four forms of contrafacta.¹¹ The first is 'regular contrafacta', where the contrafact uses the melody, metre, and rhyme scheme of the source piece.¹² Gennrich notes that this form is the most common: it was likely the easiest to use, as the new text could underlay the old melody with very little modification. The second form is 'irregular contrafacta', where the melody of the original piece is used, with changes made to account for a longer or shorter text.¹³ The third form is 'initial contrafacta', where only the opening elements of a melody are used before it diverges.¹⁴ The final form is 'basic contrafacta', where some elements of the original material are used, but with a high degree of modification. For example, the material could be used in a new structure, with some of the melodic line modified, the transitions reworked, or with the removal of phrases and/or the addition of new lines.¹⁵ Gennrich states that basic contrafacta are used extensively in liturgical music, where new melodies are often created based on common material.¹⁶

The chants in *Accedunt laudes virginis* are a combination of regular and irregular contrafact.¹⁷ Most of the modifications were made to accommodate a different chant length or text structure, although some apparently aesthetic alterations were also

⁸ WENDLING, Miriam: Adam Easton's Office for the Feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary. In: *Cardinal Adam Easton (c. 1330–1397): Monk, Scholar, Theologian, Diplomat*. Amsterdam : Amsterdam University Press B.V., 2020, pp. 155–174.

⁹ WENDLING, Ref. 8, p. 174.

¹⁰ For an overview of contrafact, see FALCK, Robert and PICKER, Martin: Contrafactum. In: *Grove Music Online*, 2001. Available online: <<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000006361>>, last accessed 11 February 2025. See also GENNRICH, Ref. 7. For a discussion of parody and contrafacture, see FALCK, Robert: Parody and Contrafactum: A Terminological Clarification. In: *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 65, January 1979, No. 1, pp. 1–21. For other discussions of individual contrafacta, see PAVANELLO, Agnese (Ed.): *Kontrafakturen im Kontext*. Basel : Schwabe Verlag, 2020; QUINLAN, Meghan: *Contextualising the Contrafacta of Trouvère Song*. [Unpublished PhD Thesis.] Oxford : University of Oxford, 2017; BULL, Andrew: *Analysis of contrafacta variation found in the Inchcolm fragments' Office for St. Columba*. [Unpublished PhD Thesis.] Glasgow : University of Glasgow, 2022.

¹¹ GENNRICH, Ref. 7.

¹² GENNRICH, Ref. 7, pp. 48–67.

¹³ GENNRICH, Ref. 7, pp. 68–109.

¹⁴ GENNRICH, Ref. 7, pp. 110–136.

¹⁵ GENNRICH, Ref. 7, pp. 137–156.

¹⁶ Gennrich notes that, while in contrafacta a new song is closely linked to the pre-existing melody, if only part of the melody is used then this should be considered 'borrowing'. He also refers to the use of common melodic motifs as 'wandering melodies'.

¹⁷ For a more detailed analysis, see HALLAS, *Two Rhymed Offices*, Ref. 3, pp. 175–223.

made. The versification of the *Franciscus vir catholicus* office texts is not consistent: the antiphons in First Vespers and Lauds are written in an 887 887 structure; the Matins antiphons all have four lines in an 87 87 structure; the Matins responsories are written in 87 87 87 with an 887 verse in the first nocturn, in 887 887 with an 887 verse in the second nocturn, and in irregular structures in the third nocturn; and the antiphons for the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* are irregular. In contrast, Easton’s texts are composed in a far more uniform structure,¹⁸ with almost all chants formed of repeated 887 phrases.¹⁹ The antiphons of First Vespers and Lauds are constructed in the same format in both offices, allowing for the creation of regular contrafacta where the Speyer melodies are overlaid onto the new Visitation text with little to no modification. This is not the case for most of the Matins chants, where the difference in text structure required some level of melodic change to fit the new, often longer text, thus forming irregular contrafacta.

The Manuscripts

Table 1: Manuscript details

Siglum	CZ-Bsa R 626	CZ-OLu M IV 6
Date	1397	fifteenth-century
Provenance	Olomouc	Olomouc; likely the Convent of the Poor Clares, Olomouc
Repository	Moravian State Archives, Brno	Scientific Library, Olomouc
Book Genre	Breviary (summer part)	Antiphoner
Folios	325ff	291ff
Dimensions	600 mm x 410 mm	650 mm x 430 mm
Material	Parchment	Parchment
<i>Accedunt laudes virginis</i>	ff. 318v-325v	ff. 189v-196v

CZ-Bsa R 626²⁰ (referred to in this article as R 626) is a 1397 breviary containing the summer repertory from Moravia, likely Olomouc. Most of the manuscript is formatted with two columns of up to 40 lines of text, or 13 four-line red staves. Faint single black framing lines are present, on or outside of which are drawn clefs and custodes. A variety

¹⁸ Easton’s rigid adherence to this structure may well have been a response to the criticism of the irregular text of Jan of Jenštejn’s earlier Visitation office by canonists and theologians commissioned by the papal curia. For more information on the curia’s judgement of the feast and Jenštejn’s office, see HALLAS, *Two Rhymed Offices*, Ref. 3, pp. 59-68 and pp. 163-167.

¹⁹ The exceptions are *In Mariam vite viam* (First Vespers, hymn, 448 448), *Acceleratur ratio in puero* (First Vespers, antiphon for the *Magnificat*, 8888 8888), *O Christi mater celica* (Compline, hymn, 8888), *Reginam celi Mariam* (Matins, invitatory antiphon, 8888), and *Elyzabeth congratulans profunde* (Matins, first nocturn, second responsory, 887 888 v.8887). In two chants an extra syllable is added to the 7-syllable line: *Vocat hanc matrem* (Matins, first nocturn, second antiphon, 888 888) and *Transivit in itinere* (Matins, second nocturn, second antiphon, 888 887).

²⁰ Manuscript CZ-Bsa R 626 is digitised and available online at manuscriptorium.com: <https://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-BOPPRBR_626_2D0JG33-xx#search> (February 1, 2025).

of custodes are employed in the main body of the manuscript, and are omitted entirely in some chants, suggesting that they were added later by individual singers.²¹ Initials are given in red and blue ink or in black with simple red line decorations. Another Visitation office, *Exsurgens autem Maria*, written by Jan of Jenštejn between 1386 and 1390 is present in the main body of the manuscript on ff. 101r-114v between the offices of St. Paul (30 June) and St. Margaret (20 July).

While Jenštejn's office was included in the manuscript when it was created, Easton's office was added later at the very end of the manuscript, on ff. 318v-325v. In contrast to the rest of the manuscript, these folios are written with one column of 10 four-line red staves. Black double frame lines are used, with clefs placed between them, slightly to the outer left line. Square custodes are placed at the end of lines with their right edge aligned with the outermost frame line. Although written in the same notation, this office appears to be in a different hand to the main corpus of the manuscript. The most obvious difference is the inclusion in almost all lines of a contemporary square custos. The C-clef is also different. In the main body of the manuscript the C-clef is written with a slightly elongated upper horizontal mark with the downward movement flowing smoothly and creating a rounded bottom half of the clef. In contrast, the C-clefs in Easton's office appear to have been formed in three movements: a slightly elongated upper horizontal mark, a lower punctum-like shape, and a straight descending line joining the two.

The Visitation office in R 626 appears to have contained all of Easton's texts, although some are now missing due to manuscript damage. Page 323 has been removed from the manuscript – leaving only a narrow part of the margin – which would have contained the chants in the third nocturn of Matins. The verse of *Stella sub nube*, the third responsory in the second nocturn, is written in full on f. 322v, including the indication to return to 'Ely' (*Elyzabeth*) within the respond. The gloria, however, is not included on this folio and, as it is given after the third responsory in the other two nocturns, it would likely have been present on the following missing folio. The leftmost part of three initial letters can be seen on the upper half of the f. 323r stub: the first in black inside a faint frame line, the second only visible as an ascending hairline in blue ink, and the third now only a descending hairline in black ink. Due to the consistent pattern of coloured initials throughout the rest of the office,²² it is likely that the partial black letter is the G for *Gloria*, the blue ink is the leftmost stroke of the T for *Tunc ad sermonem*, and the black descending stroke is a hairline from the top of an A for *Adest mira credulitas* (see Table 2 for a full list of the office chants). The only writing remaining on the stub of f. 323v is a single custos inside a faint frame line in the top line and the ends of some

²¹ Folio 260r, for example, contains a 'double tick' shape for *Martinus episcopus migravit*, formed of a tick with its tail to the right, with a second roughly parallel line from the top of the tick base out to the right. A second custos shape is used for *Dixerunt discipuli ad beatum, Domine si adhuc populo*, two lines of *O virum ineffabilem*, one line of *Oculis ac manibus*, and two lines of *Martinus Abrahe synu*, formed of a small, repeated wave shape followed by an upward movement that occasionally plateaus before rising again. Other lines on the folio have no custos.

²² In the two fully extant nocturns, the initial of the first antiphon is in blue ink followed by the second and third in black, and the responsories alternate red-blue-red initials with the verse and gloria initials in black.

staves that reached into the margins. The extant chants restart on f. 324r with ‘*lysabeth dicente*’, the final words of the verse *In Marie presentia* for the second responsory in the nocturn, *Thronum lucis prospexerat*. The final responsory, *Elyzabeth ex opere*, is only given here as an incipit, as it is written in full in First Vespers. It is not clear why page 323 was removed. There are a number of folios from which marginal and decorated initials were excised. However, these are often cut out carefully to remove only the relevant image, which does not seem to have been the case here.²³

The addition of Easton’s later Visitation office after the main body of the manuscript is explained by a rubric on f. 325v, which reads ‘*Explicit hystoria de visitacione sancte Marie, quam composuit dominus Adam Cardinalis et doctor sacre theologie, confirmata per Dominum Bonifacium papam nonum, que singulis annis in ipso festo occurrente debet cantari sub anathemate. Solummodo cantus alia autem per totum de precedenti historia*’. (Here ends the historia of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, which the lord Adam, cardinal and doctor of holy theology, has composed, having been confirmed by Pope Boniface IX, [and] which must be sung on that feast when it occurs every year under pain of anathema. But he only composed the chant [text], with another office [used] as a [musical] model throughout).²⁴ The rubric indicates that the scribe was aware of both the author of the office and its contrafact nature and suggests that this second Visitation office was added to their corpus later due to its official promulgation by the pope. This acknowledgement is not uncommon in sources containing this office: for example, the unnotated Vat.Ott.lat. 676 includes an opening rubric which states that the office is sung according to the melodies for St. Francis: ‘*...et cantabitur iuxta cantum beati Francisci*’.²⁵

One final unusual element in this office is the antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis* in Compline, a chant not consistent within instances of Easton’s office. For this chant, the antiphon *Gaude Maria mater* from Jenštejn’s Visitation office has been used, found earlier in the manuscript on f. 102r. The reiteration of the chant in Easton’s office, however, is not identical, and must therefore have been copied from a different source manuscript or from scribal memory. In addition to small melodic differences, *Christum* and *Christi* are spelt with a lower case *cr* rather than the traditional Greek *xp*, a spelling not seen elsewhere in the manuscript.²⁶

²³ Excision of images can be seen on ff. 1r (initial of *Gloria tibi trinitas equalis* for Trinity Sunday), 6r (initial of *Sacerdos in eternum Christus* for Corpus Christi), 70v (initial of *Sanctificavit Dominus tabernaculum* for the Dedication of a Church), 101r (inner marginalia and initial of *Exsurgens autem Maria* for the Visitation), 140r/v (lower margin removed), 150v (initial leading into upper margin of *Ecce tu pulchra es* for the Assumption of Mary), 159r/v (lower margin removed), 175r/v (lower margin removed), 181v (initial of *Adest namque nativitas* for the Nativity of Mary), 202r/v (outer lower margin removed), 231r/v (lower margin removed), and 233r/v (lower margin removed).

²⁴ Translation until last sentence taken from HALLAS, *Two Rhymed Offices*, Ref. 3, p. 181. My thanks to Henry Howard for his suggestion as to the last line.

²⁵ The rubric is on f. 355r.

²⁶ The hymn *O mater Christi* given just above *Gaude Maria mater* on f. 320r uses the *xp* spelling ‘*O mater xpī*’ in the notated first verse and within the unnotated fourth (*xpo* – *Christo*) and sixth (*xpi* – *Christi*) verses.

CZ-OLu M IV 6²⁷ (referred to in this article as M IV 6) is an antiphoner likely owned by the Convent of the Poor Clares in Olomouc. There are ten four-line red staves in one column on each page with double frame lines featuring clefs and custodes. Red ink is used for rubrics and initials are written in either black ink with black fine line decorations or alternating red and blue ink.

Easton's office is found on ff. 190r-196v, although it is unfortunately not complete. There is a substantial lacuna in the manuscript, in which fall all of the First Vespers chants. F. 189v ends on the antepenultimate word of the antiphon for the *Magnificat* at Second Vespers, *Vos qui secuti estis*, for the feast of St. Paul (30 June) and f. 190r starts on the second syllable of the penultimate line of the first Matins antiphon, *De celo velut radius*, for the Visitation (2 July). It is likely that the manuscript originally contained a full complement of Visitation chants.

The two Moravian manuscripts are certainly related in some way – possibly copied from the same (as yet unidentified) source manuscript – as evidenced by the high degree of similarity in both the text and the melodies of the Visitation chants. The chant texts in both sources closely follow Easton's original Visitation text, but there are a few variations: in the responsory *Rosa de spinis*, for example, the original fifth line reads '*tota domus perficitur*', which is changed in both manuscripts to '*tota domus reficitur*'. This change appears to be unique to this regional version.²⁸ The melodies given in the two manuscripts are also very similar, as demonstrated by the fifth line of the responsory *Maria parens filios* (Figure 1). The EF ligature on *ma-* of *manus* is not found in either Easton's or Speyer's melodies and is not a relic from the previous line. From *-nus* the melody follows the DG ac rise one syllable late, omitting the repeated c and realigning on *-nit* of *ponit*. At the end of the line, the regular ab ligature is expanded to a four note abcb elaboration before dropping to an a rather than the b used by Speyer and Easton. This level of similarity is fairly consistent throughout the office, and it is therefore likely that the missing chants from each manuscript would be analogous.

²⁷ Manuscript CZ-OLu M IV 6 is digitised and available online at manuscriptorium.com: <https://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-VKO___M_IV_6_____33RWT49-cs#search> (February 1, 2025).

²⁸ Similar unique variants are found in three other chants present in both manuscripts: the second line of the verse of the responsory *Surgens Maria gravida* is extended from '*salutes mox de Nazareth*' to '*salutes Marie surgens mox de Nazareth*', the final word '*premitur*' of the second line of the responsory *Stella sub nube* is replaced with '*panditur*', and the word order of the fourth line of the antiphon to the *Magnificat* at Second Vespers *Ihesu redemptor optime* is changed from '*pan forma nos visitet*' to '*pan nos forma visitet*'.

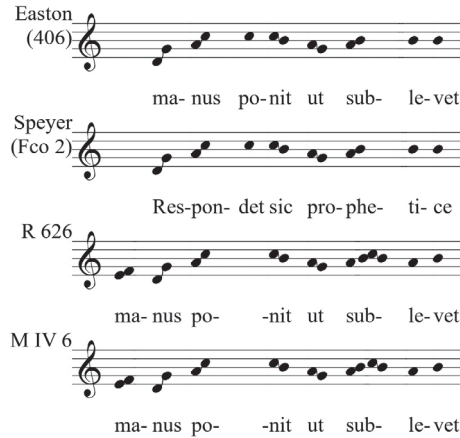


Figure 1: Comparison of *Maria parens filios* and *Dum seminudo corpore* (line five) in NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) (Easton), CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6.

Speyer's office for St. Francis (4 October) was certainly known to the users of manuscript M IV 6. The full office is found on ff. 227v-235r in the antiphoner, unsurprising for a manuscript used at a Convent of the Poor Clares. The office is not found within manuscript R 626, although a prayer for St. Francis is included in the texts for the octave of St. Wenceslas (5 October) on f. 227r. Could the Visitation melodies have been copied internally by the scribe of M IV 6 from the office for St. Francis in the manuscript?

Analysis of the *Franciscus vir catholicus* office in M IV 6 reveals only a few differences to other instances of the office of St. Francis, few of which are found in the two Moravian Visitation offices. One instance where the Moravian Visitation melody does include a peculiarity from the M IV 6 St. Francis office is found in lines four and six of the Lauds antiphon *Vera humiliatio fuit* (Figure 2). The melody of line four in the Visitation chant, *ex hoc laudabunt singuli*, follows the M IV 6 variation, with an *ef* ligature on *da* followed by a single *g* on *bunt* of *laudabunt*, rather than Speyer's singular *e* followed by an *fg* podatus. Similarly, the *di* of the following *medius* is given a rising *de* instead of a singular *d*. In the final line, the traditional Speyer *d-de-e* melody is replaced in both offices in the Moravian sources by the syllabic *d-e-e* for *dicente/utrumque*. These similarities are, however, few and far between and are only found in passages of one or two syllables. In most cases, these similarities are found in close proximity to divergences from the M IV 6 Speyer melody, such as in the preceding Lauds antiphon *Tunc exultavit animus* (Figure 3). At the end of line two, on the words *filius/docuit*, the two instances of the St. Francis melody agree with the Visitation chant in manuscript R 626. The Visitation melody in M IV 6, however, does not have the same note alignment. The neumes were written in a clear spacing and grouping by the scribes of both the Visitation and St. Francis offices within M IV 6. In the St. Francis *Hic predicando circuit* on f. 233r, the phrase is written with a punctum on *do-*, a second punctum on *-cu-*, and a grouping of a punctum followed by a clivis placed over the *t* of *-it*, well-spaced from the previous

notes. In the Visitation *Tunc exultavit animus* on f. 194v, in contrast, the scribe wrote a punctum on *fi-*, a clearly joined climacus on *-li-*, followed by a set apart punctum on *-us*. These and similar differences throughout the offices lead to the conclusion that the Moravian Visitation version was definitely not copied from the office for St. Francis in manuscript M IV 6.

However, the Visitation offices in the two Moravian manuscripts are so similar, both in terms of small textual changes and in the melodic variations both large and small, that they were probably copied from the same source. In the source manuscript of the Moravian version, Easton's text was set to the St. Francis melodies available to them, with the scribe making any necessary changes as he saw fit.

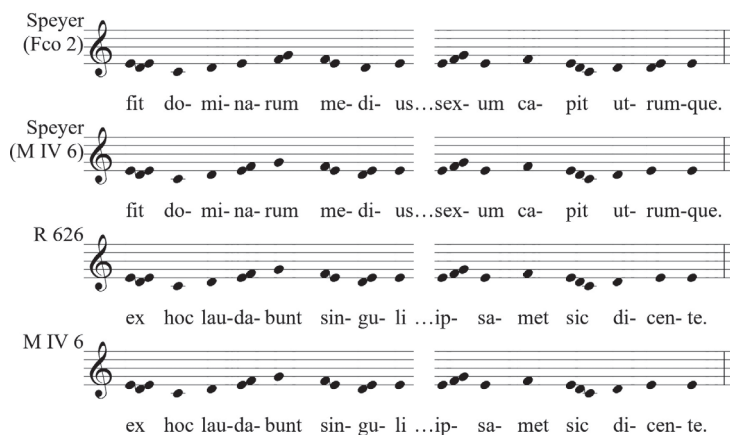


Figure 2: Comparison between *Vera humilatio fuit* and *Tres ordines hic ordinat* (lines four and six) in CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6 (Visitation and St. Francis).

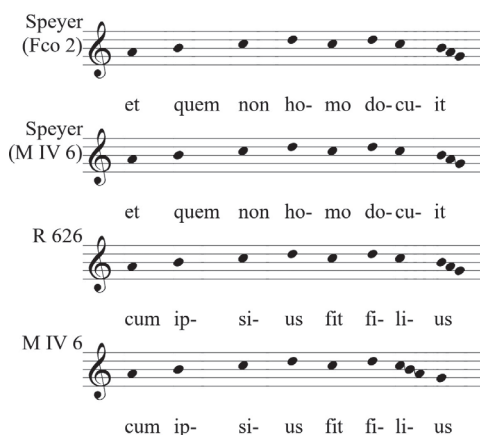


Figure 3: Comparison between *Tunc exultavit animus* and *Hic predicando circuit* (line two) in H-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6 (Visitation and St. Francis).

Table 2: Chants in *Accedunt laudes virginis* (NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)) and *Franciscus vir catholicus* (CH-Fco 2).

	<i>Accedunt laudes virginis</i>	<i>Franciscus vir catholicus</i>
First Vespers	A1 <i>Accedunt laudes virginis</i> A2 <i>Divo repletur munere</i> A3 <i>Accendit ardor spiritus</i> A4 <i>Monstrans culmen</i> A5 <i>Carismi sancti spiritus</i> H <i>In Mariam vite viam</i> Am <i>Acceleratur ratio in puero</i>	A1 <i>Franciscus vir catholicus</i> A2 <i>Cepit sub Innocentio</i> A3 <i>Hunc sanctus prelegerat</i> A4 <i>Franciscus evangelium nec</i> A5 <i>Hic creaturis imperat</i> H <i>Proles de celo</i> Am <i>O stupor et gaudium</i>
Compline	H <i>O Christi mater celica</i>	H <i>In celesti collegio</i>
Matins	I <i>Reginam celi Mariam</i>	I <i>Regi que fecit</i>
First Nocturn	A1 <i>De celo velut radius</i> A2 <i>Inter turmas femineas</i> A3 <i>Vocat hanc matrem</i> R1 <i>Surgens Maria gravida</i> R2 <i>Dixit verba prophetica</i> R3 <i>Elisabeth contragulans</i>	A1 <i>Hic vir in vanitatibus</i> A2 <i>Excelsi dextere gratia</i> A3 <i>Mansuescit sed non penitus</i> R1 <i>Franciscus ut in publicum</i> R2 <i>In Dei fervens</i> R3 <i>Dum pater hunc</i>
Second Nocturn	A1 <i>Non fuit Christus</i> A2 <i>Transivit in itinere</i> A3 <i>Longam viam pertransitur</i> R1 <i>Maria parens filios</i> R2 <i>Rosa de spinis</i> R3 <i>Stella sub nube</i>	A1 <i>Pertractum domi verberat</i> A2 <i>Iam liber patris</i> A3 <i>Ductus ad loci presulem</i> R1 <i>Dum suminudo corpore</i> R2 <i>Amicum querit pristinum</i> R3 <i>Audit in evangelio</i>
Third Nocturn ²⁹	A1 <i>Tunc ad sermonem</i> A2 <i>Adest mira credulitas</i> A3 <i>Fit nature propinquius</i> R1 <i>Occasum virgo nesciit</i> R2 <i>Thronum lucis prospexerat</i> R3 <i>Elyzabeth ex opere</i>	A1 <i>Cor verbis nove gratie</i> A2 <i>Pacem salutem nuntiat</i> A3 <i>Ut novis sanctis merita</i> R1 <i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i> R2 <i>De paupertatis horreo</i> R3 <i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i> R4 <i>Arcana suis reserans</i> R5 <i>Euntes inquis in eum</i> R6 <i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
Lauds	A1 <i>Sacra dedit eloquia</i> A2 <i>Tunc exultavit animus</i> A3 <i>Vera humilatio fuit</i> A4 <i>Magna perfecit Dominus</i> A5 <i>Maria tribus mensibus</i> Ab <i>Adiutrix visitatio</i>	A1 <i>Sanctus Franciscus previis</i> A2 <i>Hic predicando circuit</i> A3 <i>Tres ordines hic ordinat</i> A4 <i>Doctus doctrine gratia</i> A5 <i>Laudans laudare monuit</i> Ab <i>O martyr desiderio</i>
Second Vespers	Am <i>Ihesu redemptor optime</i>	Am <i>O virum mirabilem</i>

The Moravian melodies

A comparison of the Speyer, Easton, and Moravian Visitation melodies reveals that where Easton's contrafact chant strictly follows the original Speyer tune, all four melo-

²⁹ The number and order of responsories within the third nocturn of the office for St Francis varies between manuscripts and is discussed below (see Table 3).

dies correspond closely. This is particularly evident in the First Vespers antiphon *Divo repletur munere*, a contrafact of the St. Francis chant *Cepit sub Innocentio* (Figure 4). The three manuscripts differ in only two passages: the phrase *-pletur mu-/Innocen-* in the first line and *-iit et perfe-/raculis famo-* in the last line. These variations are minimal and can mostly be attributed to scribal errors and slight shifts in text-note alignment. Such subtle differences make it challenging to determine whether the Moravian manuscripts in these instances adhere to Easton's contrafact melody, or revert to the original Speyer tune, as minor variations of this nature are common in sources from this period.

Easton (406)
Di-vo re-ple-tur mu-ne-re Ma-ri-a si-ne mu-mu-re cum fi-li-um con-ce-pit

Speyer (Fco 2)
Ce-pit sub In-no-cen-ci-o cur-sum-que sub Ho-no-ri-o per-fe-cit glo-ri-o-sum

R 626
Di-vo re-ple-tur mu-ne-re Ma-ri-a si-ne mu-mu-re cum fi-li-um con-ce-pit

Easton (406)
sur-re-xit ab o-ra-cu-lo sta-tim in mon-tis cal-cu-lo ab-i-it et per-fe-cit.

Speyer (Fco 2)
suc-ce-dens hiis Gre-go-ri-us mag-ni-fi-ca-vit am-pli-us mi-ra-cu-lis fa-mo-sum.

R 626
sur-re-xit ab o-ra-cu-lo sta-tim in mon-tis cal-cu-lo ab-i-it et per-fe-cit.

Figure 4: Comparison between *Divo repletur munere* and *Cepit sub Innocentio* in NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) (Easton), CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), and CZ-Bsa R 626.³⁰

A clear example of a return to the St. Francis source melodies in the Moravian manuscripts can be seen in the responsories in Matins where, despite his chants having the same number of lines as Speyer's text, Easton frequently altered the original melody to accommodate differences in the chant structure. In the office for St. Francis, the responsories exhibit an unequal division between the two parts of the respond, with four lines in the first part and two in the second part.³¹ In contrast, Easton generally constructed his responsories with two equal halves of three lines each. Despite this structural difference, Easton intentionally preserved

³⁰ This chant is missing from M IV 6 due to manuscript damage.

³¹ For information on responsory structure, see HILEY, David: *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, pp. 69-76.

the original melodic division between the two halves in most responsories. This decision necessitated extensive melodic changes, none of which are seen in the Moravian manuscripts.

Dixit verba prophetica is the only Visitation responsory in which Easton's and Speyer's texts are divided in the same way, with four lines in the first half and two in the second. In the first two lines of the chant (see Figure 5), Easton's melody closely resembles that of the St. Francis *In Dei fervens*, although with a different alignment of notes to syllables and a small simple D elongation on *Elyzabeth*. The Moravian version, in contrast, is almost identical to Speyer's tune, mostly preserving the ligature-syllable alignment. The rigid adherence of this version to the original St. Francis melody is continued throughout the respond, aside from a few small passages. The extra line in the Visitation verse necessitated the addition of simple musical material. In the Moravian manuscripts, the Speyer melody is used for the first two lines and then the final line of the verse, with an abrupt insertion of the new material for the third line of text. In Easton's verse the delineation between the original melody and the new is not so clearly defined: the first two lines are set to Speyer's tune, after which the melody for the first two syllables of Speyer's last line are used for the opening text of Easton's third line, which then deviates until the final word *via* where it returns to Speyer's repeated D. It is thus clear that even in areas where Easton's chant adheres closely to the original source material, albeit with a different note to text alignment, the Moravian version is far closer to Speyer's original melody.

The figure displays three pairs of musical staves, each comparing two different versions of a chant. Each pair consists of a top staff and a bottom staff, both in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes.

- Top Pair:**
 - Top Staff:** Labeled 'Speyer (Fco 2)'. The lyrics are 'R. In De-i fer vens o- pe-re sta-tim ut su- a ven- dit'.
 - Bottom Staff:** Labeled 'Easton (406)'. The lyrics are 'R. Di- xit ver-ba pro-phe- ti-ca E- ly- za- beth ce- li- co- la'.
- Middle Pair:**
 - Top Staff:** Labeled 'Speyer (Fco 2)'. The lyrics are 'R. In De-i fer vens o- pe-re sta-tim ut su- a ven- dit'.
 - Bottom Staff:** Labeled 'R 626'. The lyrics are 'R. Di- xit ver-ba pro- phe- ti- ca E- li- za-beth ce-li-co- la'.
- Bottom Pair:**
 - Top Staff:** Labeled 'R 626'. The lyrics are 'R. Di- xit ver-ba pro- phe- ti- ca E- li- za-beth ce-li-co- la'.
 - Bottom Staff:** Labeled 'M IV 6'. The lyrics are 'R. Di- xit ver-ba pro- phe- ti- ca E- li- za-beth ce-li-co- la'.

The notation shows various melodic patterns, including long notes, slurs, and different alignments of notes to syllables between the versions.

Figure 5: Comparison between *Dixit verba prophetica* and *In Dei fervens* (lines one and two) in NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) (Easton) and CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), and in CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6.

Dixit verba prophetica is unusual within Easton's responsories in its similarity to the St. Francis source chant. Due to the structural differences within their responds, more extensive melodic changes were required within the other responsories, as demonstrated by *Surgens Maria gravida* (Figure 6). In this responsory, the first half of Speyer's original text concludes in line four (*secedit meditari*), with a descent of more than an octave from **d** at the beginning of *secedit* to **C** on *me-*, followed by a melisma centred around **D/f** on *-ta-* before resolving on *-ri* on the finale **D**. The second half of the respond begins on line five with *Inventum*, rising from **a** to **d** in the first word. In Easton's Visitation chant, Speyer's melody is largely preserved in the first three lines, although with some small changes, particularly in the assignment of notes to syllables. However, Easton shifts the division between the two halves of the respond, beginning the second half on line four, a line earlier than Speyer. To retain the same melody for the opening of this half, Speyer's original melody of the fourth line is bypassed, with *Intra-* taking the melodic opening of

Easton (406)

in ci-vi-ta-tem Iu-de-e. In-tra-vit do-mum pro-pe-re

Speyer (Fco 2)

in ag-rum mox do-mi-ni-cum se-ce-dit me-di-ta-ri.

R 626

in ci-vi-ta-tem Iu-de. In-tra-vit do-mum pro-pe-re

M IV 6

in ci-vi-ta-tem Iu-de. In-tra-vit do-mum pro-pe-re

Easton (406)

Za-cha-ri-e cum o-pe-re

Speyer (Fco 2)

In-ven-tum e-van-ge-li-cum

R 626

Za-cha-ri-e cum o-pe-re

M IV 6

Za-cha-ri-e cum o-pe-re

Figure 6: Comparison between *Surgens Maria gravida* and *Franciscus ut in publicum* (lines three to five) in NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) (Easton), CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6.

Inventum. Thus, Easton retained the original melodic link between the end of the verse (or *gloria*) and the beginning of the repeated part of the respond: the final D in the verse (-*tive*) is followed by the rising notes ac at the beginning of *Intravit*, a familiar mode 1 ascent (Figure 7). The version transmitted in the Moravian manuscripts, however, does not follow Easton's structural modification. Instead, Speyer's melody is preserved with only minor changes, with *Intravit* starting high with the d and descending over an octave to *domum*. The rising opening a cd melody from *Inventum* highlights the mid-phrase *Zacharie*. In the version transmitted in these manuscripts, this melodic variation thus transfers the musical emphasis away from Mary's entrance into the house to greet Elizabeth and onto the owner (Zachariah) of the house itself.

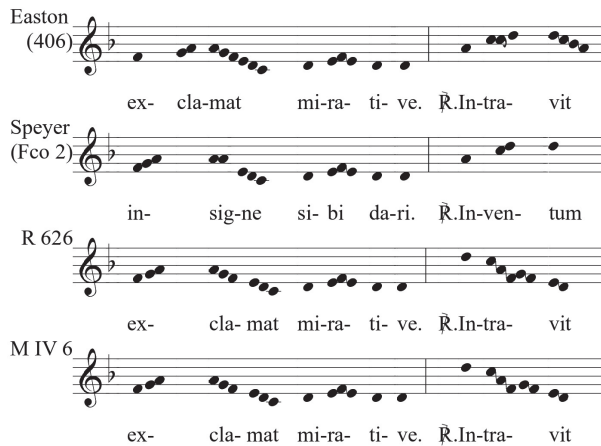


Figure 7: Comparison of *Surgens Maria gravida* and *Franciscus ut in publicum* (verse end into respond) in NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) (Easton), CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6.

It is clear that Easton sought to preserve the overarching musical framework of Speyer's office, despite the textual differences. The responsories maintain a clear connection to the original through structural markers: their responds begin with the familiar Speyer opening phrase, the second part of the respond retains the original St. Francis opening and concluding melodies, the verse is set as far as possible to the original tune, after which the familiar respond second half repeats. Although Easton introduced significant melodic additions and modifications to the internal sections of the chants, his retention of the original melodic structure provided a recognisable framework that would facilitate the singers' navigation of the new texts, ensuring an immediate sense of familiarity. The Moravian version adhered to Speyer's original melody irrespective of the structural divisions introduced by Easton. This approach would have made the chants more immediately accessible for those familiar with the *Franciscus vir catholicus* office, but in exchange loses the clear delineation between sections of the chants. As a result, the transition from the verse back into the respond becomes more abrupt: rather than progressing smoothly from the conclusion of one melodic phrase into the beginning

of another distinct phrase, the singers move from an ending cadence straight into the middle of an originally ongoing musical line. This disruption would likely have been noticeable to singers accustomed to the original Speyer melodies. These differences in responsory construction demonstrate that the scribe of the Moravian version did not preserve the original melodic framework, i.e. the musical story of the St. Francis office. This suggests that the scribe prioritised accurately reproducing the original Speyer melody, and likely did not have access to Easton's changes.

The responsories in both Speyer's and Easton's offices generally contain the same number of textual lines, so the Moravian version was able to revert to Speyer's melody without requiring substantial modifications or additional material. However, many of Easton's other chants are longer than their counterpart in Speyer's office and thus needed more extensive changes. In these chants, the scribe of the Moravian version generally utilised the entirety of the source melody and added new material as necessary. In the most common lengthening, from four lines to six, this process predominantly involved maintaining the original melody for the first three lines, introducing a newly composed or Speyer-based passage for the next two, and returning to the original melody for the final line.

This technique is evident in the six-line Matins antiphon, *De celo velut radius*, which is set to the melody of Speyer's four-line *Hic vir in vanitatibus* (Figure 8). To address this discrepancy, Easton retained the original melody for the first three lines, added newly composed material for the following two lines, and then returned to the original tune for the final line. The Moravian version mirrors this structure, setting lines one, two, three, and six to Speyer's melody, but introduces an entirely different melody for the intermediate lines four and five. In this chant, the new phrase appears to be based on the first two lines of Speyer's tune, although this is not the case for all newly composed phrases in the Moravian version. Both the Easton and Visitation versions thus preserve the original melodic story by maintaining the opening and concluding of the overarching melodic phrases. In most chants where additional material was required, both the Easton and Moravian versions diverge from the Speyer melody at the same point, suggesting a systematic approach to integrating new melodic material into a contrafact chant with an expanded text. In the Matins antiphon *Non fuit Christus*, however, the Moravian version aligns with Easton and Speyer for only the first two lines and the second half of the last line. Rather than employing the St. Francis melody for the third line of the Visitation text, Speyer's phrase associated with *-gans vincit carcerat* in the third line appears to have been used in a more syllabic manner for *-dere cum corporali robore trans-* in the second half of the Moravian chant. Although this is an atypical formulation in the Moravian version, it still reflects a predilection for returning to the original St. Francis melody where possible. None of Easton's additions are found within the Moravian sources, which appears to confirm that the scribe of the Moravian version did not have access to the original melodies for the Visitation office.

Easton
(406)

De ce- lo ve- lut ra-di-us des-cen-dens sa- cer spi- ri- tus E- ly-za- beth in- tra- vit

Speyer
(Fco 2)

Hic vir in va-ni- ta-ti- bus nu- tri- tus in- de- cen- ter di- vi- nis ka- ris- ma-ti- bus

R 626

De ce- lo ve- lut ra-di-us des-cen-dens sa- cer spi- ri- tus E- ly-za- beth in- tra- vit

Easton
(406)

mox be-ne-dic- tam vir-gi- nem sanc- ti- ta- tis pro- pa- gi- nem pro- phe- ti- ce cla- ma- vit.

Speyer
(Fco 2)

pre-ven-tus est cle-men-ter.

R 626

mox be-ne-dic- tam vir-gi- nem sanc- ti- ta- tis pro- pa- gi- nem pro- phe- ti- ce cla- ma- vit.

M IV 6

...cti- ta- tis pro- pa- gi- nem pro- phe- ti- ce cla- ma- vit.

Figure 8: Comparison between *De celo velut radius* and *Hic vir in vanitatibus* in NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) (Easton), CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6.³²

Only three chants within Easton's office are not set to a melody from the office for St. Francis: the verse of the Matins responsory *Thronum lucis prospexerat*, the First Vespers hymn *In Mariam vite viam*, and the antiphon to the *Magnificat* within Second Vespers *Ihesu redemptor optime*. In the first two cases, the Moravian version adheres to the expected St. Francis chant as its source material. In Easton's office, the respond *Thronum lucis prospexerat* is an irregular contrafact of its counterpart St. Francis chant, *De paupertatis horreo*, while its verse, *In Marie presentia*, is set to a new melody. In contrast, the Moravian version assigns the melody of the corresponding verse, *Pro paupertatis copia*, adapted to fit a three-line text rather than the original four-line structure. Here, the approach to shortening the melody follows a similar pattern to the expansions observed elsewhere in the office: the first two lines of the original melody are retained, followed immediately by the last line, omitting the highest part of the original chant.

Easton's melody for the hymn *In Mariam vite viam* appears to have been newly composed, with a musical emphasis placed on the names of both Mary and Elizabeth.³³ Due to manuscript damage, the hymn is missing from M IV 6, but in R 626 it is set to the

³² Due to manuscript damage, this chant is only extant from *-ctitatis* in the penultimate line.

³³ HALLAS, Rhianydd: Male perspectives of Female-Coded Piety in Offices for the Visitation. In: LOVERIDGE, Kathryn – MCAVOY, Liz Herbert – NIEBRZYDOWSKI, Sue – PRICE, Vicki Kay (Eds.): *Women's Literary Cultures in the Global Middle Ages: Speaking Internationally*. Gender in the Middle Ages. Cambridge : D.S. Brewer, 2023, pp. 175-192.

well-known melody of *Proles de celo prodiit* (Figure 9).³⁴ This melody was used for hymns in various offices, and Veronika Mráčková has identified three distinct groups, or ‘tune families’, within its transmission: (1) those found predominantly in Franciscan sources, (2) those formed of paraphrases, and (3) those which exhibit local characteristics.³⁵ The version of the melody used within the Moravian sources for *In Mariam vite viam* most closely aligns with the Franciscan tune family, which includes *Proles de celo prodiit* for St. Francis, *Anne sacre solempnia* for St. Anne, and *Ad cenam agni provide* for Easter.³⁶ As shown in Figure 9, minor variations are present, often found in instances of short ligatures in the *Proles de celo prodiit* melody, such as the addition of a **d** in *-am/-it* at the end of the first line, transforming an *ec clivis* into an *edc climacus*. The hymn *Proles de celo prodiit* is predominantly found in First Vespers in the St. Francis office, so it is likely that the source manuscript for the Moravian version included it as the hymn in this position.

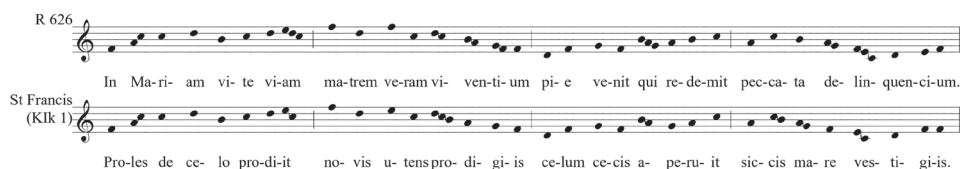


Figure 9: Comparison between *In Mariam vite viam* and *Proles de celo prodiit* in CZ-Bsa R 626 and PL-KIk Ms. 1.³⁷

The responsory *Elyzabeth ex opere* is particularly significant, as it may offer an insight into the specific version of the office for St. Francis that served as a source for the scribe of the Moravian version. In this chant, Easton adhered to his characteristic approach to contrafact responsories, omitting the melody of the fourth line of the respond so that the second half begins with the opening Speyer phrase – in this case a high *f* on *Quam* and *Precludit* in the fifth line – followed by an additional musical phrase to compensate for the missing melodic material in the second half. The Moravian version of *Elyzabeth ex opere* also follows the standard responsory construction for these manuscripts, disregarding the uneven division between the two halves of the respond. As a result, the opening of the second half, *Quam gracia*, is set to the relatively unremarkable phrase **a a-G-baGF**, while Speyer’s higher and more elaborate **a cd-dc-baG** opening loses its original prominence in the middle of a textual phrase. The adaptation of both Easton’s and the Moravian versions is thus consistent with the other responsories in their respective offices. However, the melodies of the two *Elyzabeth ex opere* chants are in no way alike, as each version drew its source material from a different responsory in the *Franciscus vir catholicus* office.

³⁴ For details on the authorship of the tune of *Proles de celo prodiit*, see SZOLIVA, Gábríel, OFM: *Proles de Cælo Prodiit: the First Vespers Hymn of the Office of Saint Francis of Assisi and its Subsequent History in Hungary*. In: *Extractum ex Periodico Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, Vol. 109, 2016, pp. 597–611.

³⁵ MRÁČKOVÁ, Veronika: The Transmission of Hymn Tune Stäblein 752 in Europe during the Late Middle Ages. In: *Hudební věda*, Vol. 49, 2012, No. 1–2, pp. 19–32.

³⁶ Transcriptions of the melodies are given on pp. 20–21 of MRÁČKOVÁ, Ref. 34, pp. 19–32.

³⁷ A 1372 Antiphoner from Kielce. *Proles de celo prodiit* is the First Vespers hymn on f. 235v.

Table 3: Responsories within the third nocturn of Matins in the *Franciscus vir catholicus* office for St Francis, and the source melodies for both Easton's and the Moravian Visitation office.

Manuscript	Provenance						
CH-Fco 2	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
CH-SGs 388	St Gall Abbey Cathedral (Benedictine)		<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>		
Dk-Kk 3449 8o XII	Augsberg Cathedral			<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	
D-Ma 12o Cmm 1	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
H-Bu lat. 121	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
I-Nn vi.E.20	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
I-Rvat lat. 8737	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
NL-Zu 6	Zutphen Chapter	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>			
PL-Klk 1	Kielce	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>			<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	
US-CHNbcl 097	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
US-Cn 24	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
US-Nycub Barnard 1	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
CZ-OLu M IV 6 St Francis		<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>			<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	
Easton melodic source		<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>			<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	
Moravian melodic source		<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>			

Julian of Speyer's office for St. Francis is found in manuscripts with either three or six responsories in the third nocturn of Matins (Table 3). In the monastic six-responsory version, the selection and order of the chants are fixed: *Carnis spicam contemptus*, *De paupertatis horreo*, *Sex fratrum pater septimus*, *Arcana suis reserans*, *Euntes inquit in eum*, and *Regressis quos emisera*t. The secular three-responsory version, however, exhibits greater variability in both the selection and order of the responsories. Easton's office adopts the melodies from *Carnis spicam contemptus*, *De paupertatis horreo*, and *Euntes inquit in eum* for the responsories in the third nocturn. Given his otherwise strict adherence to the original chant order, it seems likely that Easton's source manuscript only contained these three responsories, which he then used sequentially as models for his corresponding chants. The Moravian manuscripts, however, follow the first three responsories in the monastic cursus, employing the melodies of *Carnis spicam contemptus*, *De paupertatis horreo*, and *Sex fratrum pater septimus*, which occurs only once in the three-responsory versions examined – in the fifteenth-century Zutphen Chapter manuscript NL-Zu 6. The office for St. Francis in M IV 6 mirrors Easton's three-responsory arrangement, with *Carnis spicam contemptus*, *De paupertatis horreo*, and *Euntes inquit in eum* given in full, and does not include *Sex fratrum pater septimus*. This confirms that the melodies of the Moravian version could not have been copied from the office for St. Francis in this manuscript. The scribe almost certainly copied the melodies from a fully notated source of Speyer's office and used the melodies available to them. While it is possible that the scribe of the Moravian version worked from a secular three-responsory office that only contained these three responsories (as in NL-Zu 6), it is equally plausible that they had access to the monastic six-responsory office and used the melodies of the first three responsories.

In a few chants, the Moravian Visitation office makes no use of the melodies from the office of St. Francis at all, instead creating new melodies for the texts. For the Lauds antiphon *Maria tribus mensibus*, this is likely due to the extreme length of Easton's text: fifteen lines as opposed to Speyer's six. Where Easton tried to lengthen the Speyer melody as much as possible by splitting ligatures between syllables and incorporating extensive additional passages, the Moravian version of the antiphon is instead set to a new melody. The opposite is the case for the antiphon for the *Magnificat* in First Vespers, *Acceleratur ratio in puero*, where Easton's eight-line text is half the length of Speyer's sixteen-line chant. Easton's text mirrors the Speyer melody for the first few lines, ignoring the original ligature-syllable alignment, with a number of Speyer's excess musical lines omitted. The Moravian version, however, bears little to no resemblance to the original melody, beyond the use of traditional modal formulae, placing a long melisma on the first syllable of the final word, *venientem*, so as to evoke the expectation of the coming Jesus described in the text.

As described earlier, Easton's Visitation office largely mirrors the chant progression of the office for St. Francis, with each text set to the melody of its corresponding chant from the earlier office. However, for some reason – possibly due to an omission or damage to his source manuscript – Easton's antiphon for the *Benedictus* at Lauds, *Adiutrix visitatio*, was set to the melody of Speyer's antiphon for the *Magnificat* at Second Vespers, *O virum mirabilem*. As a result, the melody of Easton's own antiphon for the *Magnificat* at Second Vespers, *Ihesu redemptor optime*, is not derived from the office for

St. Francis, and instead appears to be newly composed. The Moravian version does not follow Easton's melodic change, but also does not revert to the original Speyer melody for either chant. The inclusion of new melodies for these chants may indicate that the Moravian author was aware that these texts were not set to their corresponding Speyer melody (or, as regards *Ihesu redemptor optime*, to any Speyer melody at all), but lacked access to the specific tunes used.

Conclusion

An analysis of the Visitation chants in the Moravian manuscripts CZ-Bsa R 626 and CZ-OLu M IV 6 makes it evident that the version preserved in these sources was not derived directly from Easton's *Accedunt laudes virginis* melodies. The manuscripts transmit the Visitation text with minimal variations, which are often shared by both manuscripts, while being set to the original melodies of the office of St. Francis written by Julian of Speyer. Could the consistent departure from Easton's alterations signify a rejection of his revisions, almost a form of rebellion? This does not appear to be the case, as even minor melodic adjustments or note-text alignment differences in Easton's chants are not reflected in the Moravian version. Given the substantial synchronised divergence from Easton's melodies observed in these manuscripts, it seems more plausible that the scribe of the Moravian version was provided with Easton's complete text along with instructions that it should be set to the melodies of *Franciscus vir catholicus*. While it is possible that the instructions specified the precise melodic assignments for each chant (i.e. the text *Monstrans culmen dulcedinis* to the melody of *Franciscus evangelium nec*), the use of the *Sex fratrum pater septimus* melody rather than Easton's chosen *Euntes inquit in eum* as the source for the final Matins responsory instead suggests that they were provided an overarching directive that the office as a whole should follow the office for St. Francis. The setting of *Adiutrix visitatio* and *Ihesu redemptor optime* to new melodies remains a question; perhaps the scribe's source manuscript was missing these chants. Had Easton's exact melodic prescription for each chant been known to the scribe of the Moravian version, surely the Visitation antiphon for the *Benedictus* in Lauds, *Adiutrix visitatio*, would have been set to Speyer's corresponding chant *O virum mirabilem*. It is also likely that the scribe of the Moravian version had not heard Easton's office. At present, no additional examples of the Moravian *Accedunt laudes virginis* have been identified, but additional research into manuscripts in this area may reveal more about this variant office and its composition.

The way in which Easton adapted Speyer's melodies suggests a deliberate effort to preserve the melodic story of the original office while accommodating the new Visitation texts. The familiar opening and closing phrases of each chant (or sub-section) from *Franciscus vir catholicus* remain intact, with modifications mostly limited to the internal sections of chants or sub-sections. This approach would likely have created a sense of familiarity for both singers and listeners, especially those from a Franciscan environment. In contrast, the version of the office preserved in the Moravian manuscripts retains far more of the original melody and adheres more strictly to the original assignment of notes to syllables. Where textual expansion necessitated additional melodic material, it

was predominantly added to the inner lines of chants. The result of this is an office that would have been melodically recognisable to users and more 'faithful' to the original, but with more jarring transitions within some chants. Ultimately, the version of *Accedunt laudes virginis* transmitted in these two Moravian manuscripts almost certainly evidences a musicless contrafact transmission, and reveals the scribe's individual approach to adapting new texts to an existing melodic framework.

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Summary

MUSICLESS CONTRAFAC T TRANSMISSION IN TWO MORAVIAN MANUSCRIPTS

This paper examines a variant of *Accedunt laudes virginis*, an office for the Visitation composed by Adam Easton, as preserved in manuscripts from Olomouc: CZ-Bsa R 626 (1397) and CZ-OLu M IV 6 (fifteenth-century). Easton's late fourteenth-century office is almost entirely formed of contrafact chants, adapting melodies from Julian of Speyer's office for St. Francis of Assisi, *Franciscus vir catholicus*. However, the version found in the two Moravian manuscripts deviates significantly from Easton's highly modified contrafact melodies, frequently reverting to Speyer's original tunes. This suggests a transmission process in which only the text, along with an indication of the contrafact melodies, was conveyed. Easton extensively modified Speyer's melodies to accommodate differences in chant length and text structure, while maintaining a recognisable melodic framework for singers and listeners. In contrast, the Moravian version remains largely faithful to Speyer's original melodies, only introducing unique melodic phrases where necessary. Notably, the choice of source melody for the final Matins responsory differs between Easton's and the Moravian office, providing an insight into the source offices for both versions. In the rare instances where Easton's chants are not set to the melody of the corresponding St. Francis chant, the Moravian version either returns to Speyer's tune or introduces a new melody. This analysis demonstrates that the Moravian *Accedunt laudes virginis* was not derived directly from Easton's melodies, but rather from a text-only source accompanied by instructions that they should be set to the melodies of *Franciscus vir catholicus*.

Resumé

PRENOS NENOTOVANÝCH KONTRAFAKTOV V DVOCH MORAVSKÝCH RUKOPISOCH

Predmetom skúmania tejto štúdie je variant oficia Navštívenia Panny Márie *Accedunt laudes virginis*, ktorého autorom je Adam Easton, v podobe, v akej sa zachoval v rukopisoch z Olomouca: CZ-Bsa R 626 (1397) a CZ-OLu M IV 6 (15. storočie). Eastonovo officium z konca štrnásteho storočia takmer celé pozostáva z kontrafaktových spevov, pričom využil a upravil melódie z oficia Juliána Speyera *Franciscus vir catholicus* na sviatok sv. Františka z Assisi. Verzia, ktorú nachádzame v dvoch moravských rukopisoch, sa výrazne odchyľuje od Eastonových značne pozmenených kontrafaktových melódií a často sa vracia k pôvodným Speyerovým melódiám. Takto je doložený proces, v ktorom sa prenášal výlučne text, pričom kontrafaktové melódie boli iba naznačené. Easton rozsiahlo upravil Speyerove melódie, aby sa prispôbil odlišnostiam v dĺžke spevov a štruktúre textu a zároveň zachoval pre spevákov a poslucháčov rozpoznateľný melodický rámec. Naproti tomu moravská verzia je do značnej miery verná pôvodným Speyerovým melódiám a len tam, kde je to potrebné, zavádza jedinečné melodické frázy. Je pozoruhodné, že výber východiskovej melódie pre záverečné matutinové responzórium sa v Eastonovom officiu líši od moravského. V zriedkavých prípadoch, keď Eastonove spevy nie sú skomponované na melódiu príslušného spevu sv. Františka, moravská verzia sa buď obracia k Speyerovej melódii, alebo zavádza novú melódiu. Táto analýza dokazuje, že moravský spev *Accedunt laudes virginis* nebol odvodený priamo z Eastonových melódií, ale skôr z výlučne textového zdroja, ku ktorému boli pripojené inštrukcie, že sa má spievať na melódie oficia *Franciscus vir catholicus*.