

Gionata Brusa

Liturgical Minitexts as Clues to the History of a Manuscript: The Case of Vercelli

Abstract

There are more than forty manuscripts in the Vercelli Chapter Library that can be dated before the tenth century. Some of them are of local origin, others were produced in North Italy, others are of either Frankish or German provenance. These differences in production offer evidence for relationships that linked the bishops of Vercelli, mainly during the tenth and early eleventh centuries, with high-ranking ecclesiastical figures from beyond the Alps. Over the centuries several of these manuscripts received either annotations, or pen trials, often linked to the liturgical sphere and provided with musical notation (e.g. verses from the Psalter or short chants sung during the Mass or the Office). These minitexts can reveal a great deal to us: through the analysis of their content, such as their handwriting, textual variants, and musical notations, it is possible to formulate new hypotheses about the provenance of selected manuscripts among the Vercelli group, their history, and the route that brought them to Vercelli.

Keywords

Vercelli; Medieval Liturgical Manuscripts; Neumatic Notations; Leo Bishop of Vercelli

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I would like to thank Silvia Faccin and Sara Minelli (Fondazione Museo del Tesoro del Duomo e Archivio Capitolare) for their availability to make the manuscripts accessible to me. Moreover, I am particularly indebted to Giacomo Baroffio, Thomas Forrest Kelly and Charles Atkinson for their many helpful comments and suggestions; they made this essay much better than it would have been otherwise.

Often when I speak about the analysis of a manuscript, I like to borrow a term and concept from a branch of geology: namely stratigraphy. Stratigraphy is the science concerned with the study of rock layers (strata) and layering (stratification). In the same way that the analysis of sediment deposits piled upon each other allows us to understand which geological phenomena affected a particular geographical area over time, the study of different layers of additions can shed new light on the history of a manuscript¹. Often the person who added new texts in the margins referred to short liturgical texts that he perpetually had in mind, the *ruminatio*, the continuous meditation on the words of the Psalter. At the same time, however, she/he conveyed information from the tradition and customs of the church in which she/he lived and was immersed. And by tradition I mean both the liturgical customs and the graphic practices of textual handwriting and musical notation. The identification of these two different types of additions and their dating may allow us to formulate some hypotheses about the history of a manuscript, hypotheses that must also be supported, as far as possible, by historical evidence. But theory must be followed by practice, and in this regard I would like to offer some tangible examples of the usefulness of this methodology when we approach a manuscript. These examples will be taken from Carolingian witnesses preserved in the capitular library of Vercelli. They will show how liturgical minitexts can provide us with clues about the history of a manuscript. A liturgical minitext may have several levels of interpretation: first, the presence of a particular chants or prayer may indicate to us when a manuscript entered the Vercelli orbit (for example the sequence for saint Eusebius in VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CXLIX); second, it is the precise analysis and identification of the musical notation, a more distinguishing element than the paleography of the text in the post-Carolingian era, that suggests to us through which routes a volume may have come to Vercelli.

Vercelli is a small city situated in Piedmont in northwestern Italy, halfway between Turin and Milan. Its Capitular Library holds one of the oldest

¹ This geological metaphor applied to the study of liturgical manuscripts was also used by BAROFFIO 2006.

and most important collections in northern Italy, with around 220 medieval manuscripts. The activity of its scriptorium can be traced back to its famous Codex A, the so-called *Codex Vercellensis Evangeliorum*². The history of the scriptorium is very long and can be followed up until the eighteenth century. Typically for a chapter library, most of its collection was copied on site. But not all the manuscripts are from Vercelli. Thanks to donations from bishops and canons over the centuries, or for other reasons that are not always easy to determine, manuscripts also arrived at the library from outside³.

The abundance of Carolingian manuscripts in relation to the total number of medieval manuscripts in the library at Vercelli is remarkable. Following Bischoff's publications⁴, especially his indications in the third volume of his *Katalog*⁵, and then further, more recent studies, especially by Simona Gavinelli⁶, and finally an on-site examination of the manuscripts, it is possible to estimate that 39 of its volumes were copied in the ninth century or shortly thereafter⁷.

Since it would exceed the scope of this article to make a complete survey of all the additions, I should like to focus here on just a few examples that I consider to be especially significant. I shall start with manuscripts with few problems, and then move on to more complex ones⁸.

VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CIX [Plate 1]

The first manuscript we shall consider is codex CIX, which contains Jerome's commentary on the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah⁹. The codex, dated by

2 VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare (hereafter as Bibl. Cap. abbreviated), Cod. A.

3 For a short introduction to the history of the Vercelli *scriptorium* and the increase of its funds over the centuries see: LEVINE 1955; FERRARIS 1995; CRIVELLO 2005; GAVINELLI 2005.

4 BISCHOFF 1966, pp. 124, 191-192; BISCHOFF 1967, pp. 294-297, 315, 320, 331; BISCHOFF 1981, pp. 30, 32, 33, 35, 213; BISCHOFF 1994, pp. 5, 10, 47, 49, 51, 54, 93.

5 *Katalog*, III, pp. 460-464 nr. 6978-7021.

6 LOWE 1947, nr. 467-471; GAVINELLI 2001; GAVINELLI 2007b; GAVINELLI 2009 and GAVINELLI 2020.

7 A provisional list of Carolingian manuscripts is offered in the Appendix.

8 For example, it has already been pointed out by Simona Gavinelli that the presence of the text of three antiphons in honour of saint Syrus, added by a first hand in the margin of f. 53v, could indicate Pavia as the place where VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CLXV was copied in the middle of the ninth century: cfr. GAVINELLI 2007a, pp. 66-67; GAVINELLI 2020, p. 266; see also *Katalog*, III, p. 463 nr. 710; LEONARDI 2017 and FACCIN 2020.

9 On this manuscript see: REIFFERSCHIED 1871, pp. 196-200; REITER 1960, p. 55; PASTÈ 1925, p. 104 nr. 109; *Katalog*, III, p. 462 nr. 6998.

Bischoff to the middle or third quarter of the ninth century, was written according to him in «northern Italy not far from Milan» (*Oberitalien, nicht fern von Mailand*). On f. 262r [Plate 2], a leaf that was originally blank, and the first of a new quire placed exactly at the junction between the two commentaries, an eleventh century hand has added a hymn in honour of Saint Eusebius, patron of Vercelli [Fig. 1].

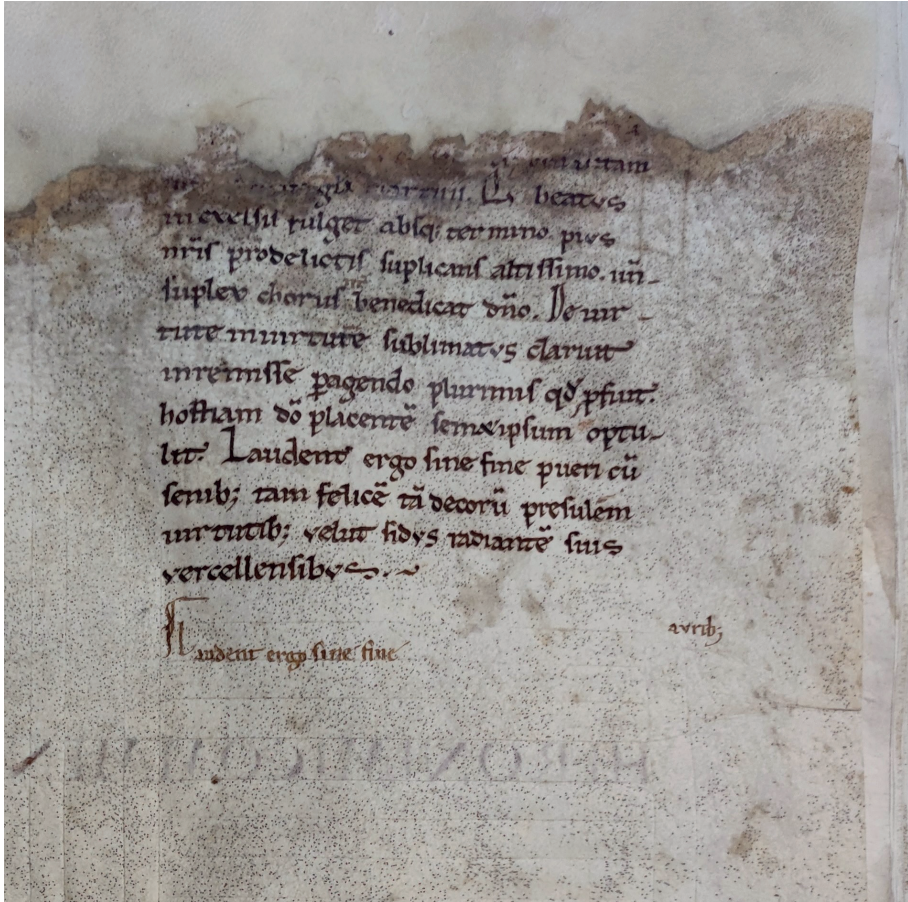


Fig. 1. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, CIX, f. 262r (part.). Hymn for St Eusebius of Vercelli.

The text is unfortunately not complete, since the manuscript – like many others in the Chapter Library – has suffered severe water damage along the upper margin. Although the name of Eusebius does not appear in the surviving text, a bishop and the city of Vercelli are explicitly mentioned in the last strophe:

[...] uitam [...] gloria martirii

Qui beatus in excelsis fulget absque termino
pius nostris pro delictis supplicans altissimo
unde suplex chorus noster (*add. interl.*) benedicat domino

De uirtute in uirtutem (*corr. ex uirtute*) sublimatus claruit
inremisse peragendo plurimis quod profuit
hostiam deo placentem semetipsum optulit

Laudent ergo sine fine pueri cum senibus
tam felicem tam decorum presulem uirtutibus
velud sidus radiantem suis Vercellensibus.

Here there is no doubt that the codex was in Vercelli at least as early as the eleventh century. More interesting would be to be able to understand the function of this hymn, which has never found a place in the liturgy of Vercelli Cathedral¹⁰. In any case, we are dealing with an example of how an added text can give us information on the presence of a manuscript in a specific area.

VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., XLVI [Plate 3]

The next manuscript we shall examine is the codex XLVI, a copy of the commentary on the Gospel of John attributed to Augustine¹¹. The writing of the manuscript is generally assigned to the third quarter of the ninth century. Again, Bischoff indicates that the codex was copied in an unidentified centre in northern Italy. He considers it at least possible, however, that the manuscript could have been present during the tenth and eleventh centuries in Novara, an episcopal see not far from Vercelli¹². How did Bischoff arrive at this hypothesis? Simply through the analysis of the manuscript's last entries. In fact, on f. 267v [Plate 4] appears a very interesting text provided with musical notation datable to the first half of the eleventh century: the hymn *Gentes gaudete* [Fig. 2]¹³.

¹⁰ This could be a perfect example of the process of liturgy in the making, but for reasons that currently remain unknown to me, this hymn has not assumed a place in the liturgical-musical tradition of Vercelli.

¹¹ REIFFERSCHIED 1871, p. 244-245 (erroneously listed among the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Novara); PASTÈ 1925, pp. 88-89 nr. 46.

¹² *Katalog*, III, p. 460 nr. 6984.

¹³ The text is discussed and edited by SCHWALM 1903, pp. 496-497, who does not exclude the possibility that the script of the text is an autograph of the bishop of Novara himself, and FERRARIS 1984, pp. 389-390 n. 157; see also SCHALLER - KÖNGSEN 1977, p. 253 nr. 5572.

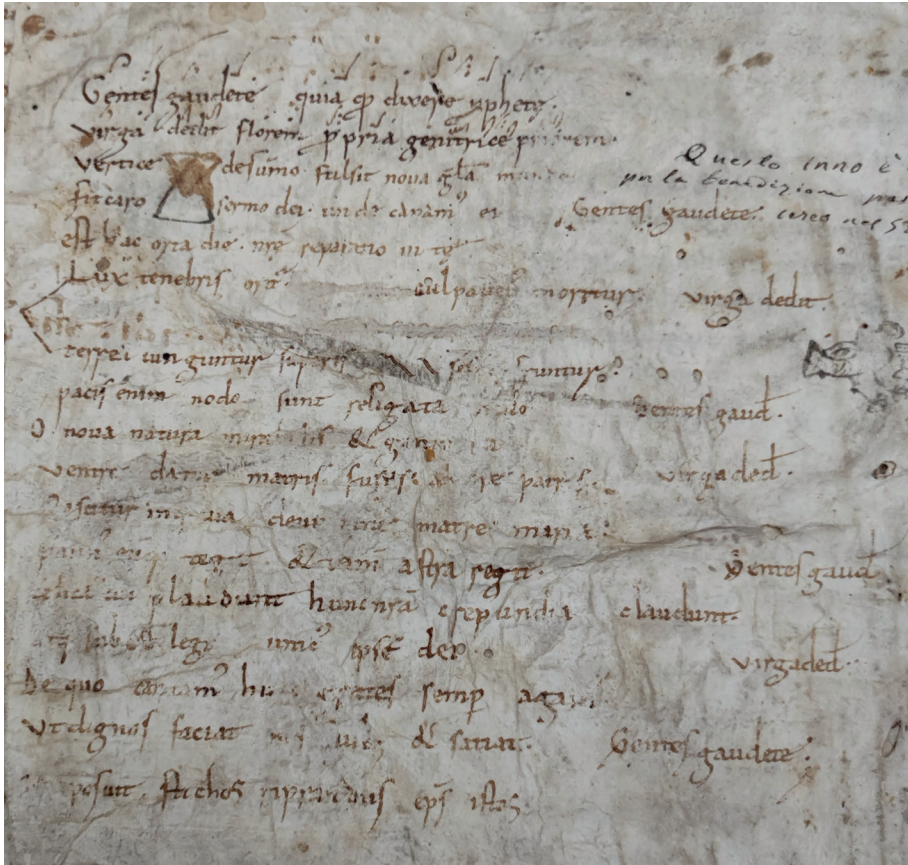


Fig. 2. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, XLVI, f. 267v (part.). Hymn with the refrain *Gentes gaudete*.

The text is in some places difficult to read, partly because of several erasures that no longer allow a clear reading of some words. Below I provide a new transcription of the chant, reporting in the critical apparatus where my reading diverges from Schwalm's or Ferraris's editions, or when I agree with the textual variant of one rather than the other:

[1.] Gentes gaudete quia quod dixere prophetę
Virga dedit florem propria genitrice priorem

[2.] Vertice de summo fulsit nova gloria mundo
Fit caro sermo dei unde canamus ei
Gentes gaudete

[3.] Est hac orta die nostrę reparatio uite
Lux tenebris oritur culpa uetus moritur
Virga dedit

[4.] Terrea iunguntur superis [...] [...]runtur
Pacis enim nodo sunt religata [mo]do
Gentes gaudete

[5.] O noua natura mirabilis et genit[ur]a
Ventre datur matris fusus ab [o]re patris
Virga dedit

[6.] Nascitur in[...]ia deus [...] matre Maria
Pannus eumque tegit et tamen astra regit
Gentes gaudete

[7.] Celica cui plaudunt hunc nostra crepundia claudunt
Atque subest legi unicus ipse dei
Virga dedit

[8.] De quo cantamus huic grates semper agam[us]
Vt dignos faciat n[o]s quibus et satiat
Gentes gaudete

[Com]posuit stichus Riprandus episcopus istos

1. dixere *Schwalm*] docere *Ferraris*: Ferraris' reading is undoubtedly incorrect.
4. terrea[a] *Schwalm*] terreni *Ferraris*: It is clearly *terrea* – s[ursumque] [fe]runtur *Schwalm*] solamine fruuntur *Ferraris*: An erasure makes the passage with deo *Schwalm*] modo *Ferraris* almost unintelligible. I prefer the reading offered by Ferraris, as it maintains the internal rhyme *nodo – modo*.
5. genitura *Schwalm*] generata *Ferraris*. Better is the reading of Schwalm, since it preserves the internal rhyme *natura – genitura*; fusus *corr. ex* fusis *Schwalm*] fuses *Ferraris*: I agree with Schwalm's version.
6. in[tacta] deus [...] *Schwalm*] in carnis (?) via deus *Ferraris*: The text in the manuscript is almost illegible, and neither version is completely convincing to me; eumque *Schwalm*] neque *Ferraris*: Ferraris' reading is undoubtedly incorrect.
8. cantamus *Schwalm*] canamus *Ferraris*: I agree with Schwalm's version; huic grates *Schwalm*] hi[mnum] gratiaS (?) *Ferraris*: The text is not easy to read, but Schwalm's version seems more convincing to me; Ut *Schwalm*] Uti *Ferraris*: Ferraris' reading is undoubtedly incorrect; [no]s quibus *Schwalm*] nos vitae *Ferraris*: I agree with Schwalm's version.

The chant's structure clearly recalls that of hymns which were sometimes used in processions, e.g. the famous *Salve festa dies* that accompanied the great Easter procession before the solemn feast, or the hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum* that was sung especially in the Germanic area, at least from the end of

the tenth century onwards, on Holy Saturday and/or on the eve of Pentecost during the procession to and around the baptismal font. The hymn has a cyclic structure, with the verses of the first strophe, *Gentes gaudete*, being repeated at the end of each subsequent strophe, alternating the first verse *Gentes gaudete* with the second *Virga dedit*. Thus strophe 2 ends with *Gentes gaudete*, strophe 3 with *Virga dedit*, strophe 4 again with *Gentes gaudete*, strophe 4 with *Virga dedit*, and so on. Moreover, only the first strophe was provided with music since, as is typical in hymns, the melody was repeated for each subsequent strophe.

Although on f. 267v a late eighteenth-century annotation wrongly attributes the writing of the hymn to Prudentius, «This hymn was written by Prudentius for the blessing of the Easter candle on Holy Saturday»¹⁴, there is a clear reference to the authorship of the work at its end: «Composuit stichos Riprandus episcopus istos». Bishop Riprandus assumed the episcopal seat of Novara in 1039, a role he held until his death in 1053¹⁵. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the information, yet we have no other clues about Riprando's activity as a composer of poetic texts. The notation does not help, although the morphology of the neumes would seem to differ from that peculiar to the notation of Novara, as for instance in the fragments of the Gradual-Tropar-Sequentiary NOVARA, Archivio Storico Diocesano, G 1a, dated to the second half of the eleventh century¹⁶.

On the next folio (f. 268r) of VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., XLVI [Fig. 3] we find another addition, one slightly later than the previous one. It is the antiphon *Regressus Lucianus presbiter* taken from the proper office of the *Inventio sancti Stephani*¹⁷. In this case, too, the neumatic script does not show any graphic characteristics for an attribution to one area rather than another in northern Italy¹⁸. In conclusion: the manuscript may have come from Novara, and indeed may have originated there, but at present there are no decisive elements to confirm this with certainty.

¹⁴ «Questo inno è di Prudenziò per la benedizione pasquale del cereo nel Sabbato Santo»; however, the hymn text seems to fit better with Christmas time.

¹⁵ For some information about the life and activities of the prelate of Novara see SAVIO 1898, pp. 263-264, and the bibliography listed in ANDENNA 1988, p. 221.

¹⁶ See BAROFFIO 2004, pp. 29-33.

¹⁷ CAO 4603 (The chant is universally used as the first antiphon of Lauds).

¹⁸ This *Historia* is not attested in the Vercelli sources.

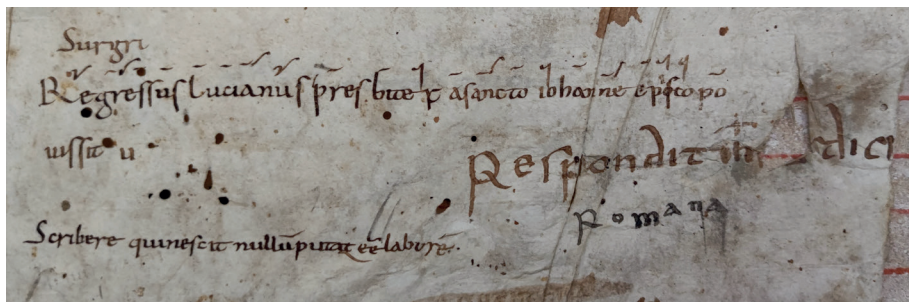


Fig. 3. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, XLVI, f. 268r (part.). Antiphon *Regressus Lucianus presbyter*.

VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CXLIX [Plate 5]

The manuscript Vercelli CXLIX is a perfect example of how marginal additions can reflect the complicated dynamics and relationships that connected even quite distant communities. The text transmitted, written by a single hand, is that of a Gallican Psalter copied in the middle or in the third quarter of the ninth century according to Bischoff¹⁹. It is provided with marginal glosses in the original hand, preceded by numerous prefaces, and closed by a *libellus de psalmis* attributed to Einardus, already published by Monsignor Vattasso in 1915²⁰.

The codex's arrival in Vercelli can be dated to the tenth century by means of a possession note on fol. 159r: «Liber iste est sancti Eusebii». This hypothesis, already formulated by Bischoff, is confirmed by a more recent layer of late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century additions of a liturgical character, in which a hand using a very dark and easily recognisable ink added some incipits of musical pieces²¹. An addition of great importance among these is the text added on f. 157v [Fig. 4], where we can recognise the first words of the proper sequence for Saint Eusebius, patron of Vercelli: *Omnis orbis Eusebii*²². This text is known through

19 BISCHOFF 1980, pp. 189-190; on the manuscript see also PASTÈ 1925, pp. 113-114 nr. 149; BROU 1949, p. 45; CLLA, p. 609 n. 1; SALMON 1977, pp. 33-39; COTTIER 2003, p. 220 n. 19 and 20, 221, 224, 225; KRÜGER 2007, pp. 198-199, 379-380, 705-718; GAVINELLI 2009, pp. 400-402, Fig. 4.

20 VATTASSO 1915; on this topic see also SALMON 1977, pp. 39-52; LICHT 2009 and LICHT 2012.

21 Among the various non-liturgical additions there is also a curious reference to the total solar eclipse of June 3, 1239: «Anno dominice incarnationis M° CC° tricesimo nono feria VI tercio die intrante junio sol passus fuit, eclipsim in hora nona». This astronomical event supports the hypothesis that the manuscript was already in northern Italy at the time of the solar eclipse, which is not recorded by any German chronicle or annal; see CELORIA 1875, pp. 3-10.

22 AH 40, 182 nr. 206; BRUNNER 1985, p. 250.

a Gradual-Troper-Sequentiary copied in Ivrea or Pavia at the beginning of the eleventh century²³, three local Gradual-Troper-Sequentiaries²⁴, and a later indirect mention in the *Liber Ordinarius* of the Cathedral copied in 1372²⁵. It would thus seem to have rarely traveled beyond the confines of the Cathedral.

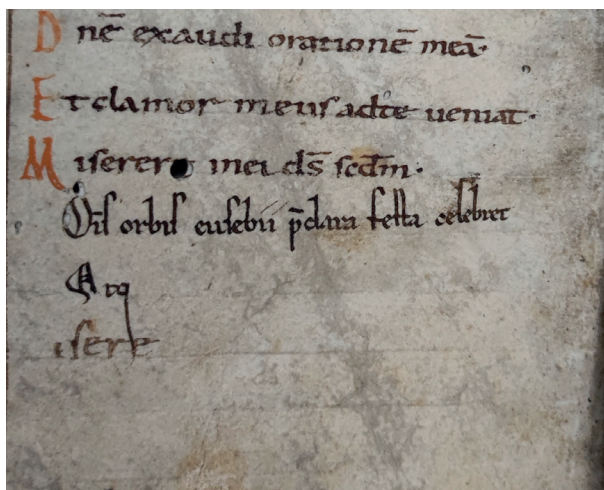


Fig. 4. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXLIX, f. 157v (part.). Incipit of the sequence *Omnis orbis Eusebii*.

The place of origin of the codex is more difficult to determine²⁶. Bischoff first indicates a broad region, described as «*oberösterreichisch-Salzburger Raum*»²⁷, using this generic term to refer to a territory now more or less congruent with Bavaria (the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg also included the dioceses of Freising and Regensburg at the time the codex was written). He then hypothesizes as a possible place of origin the diocese of Eichstätt²⁸, since, as we shall see, a later addition suggests a possible Eichstätt provenance. This new hypothesis is related

²³ IVREA, Biblioteca Capitolare, LX, f. 107r.

²⁴ Respectively VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CXLVI, f. 108r; VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CLXI, f. 128v and VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CLXII, f. 190r.

²⁵ VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., LIII, f. 59r: «*Officium: In virtute tua sicut est assignatum, et cantatur sequentia ab organis vel a duobus cantoribus*»; see *Usus psallendi*, p. 223 nr. 290g.

²⁶ Three Latin distichs appear on f. 10r, in which a priest named Engeboardolus is mentioned: «*Rex pivs et fortis bellator sive propheta / David Psalmorum inclitus auctor erat / hic petat auxilium fidei praestare tonantem / Engeboardvlo praesbytero / iugiter scribere Psalterium pulchre / qui fecerat istud / ad laudem Christi utilis ut maneat*».

²⁷ BISCHOFF 1980, p. 190.

²⁸ *Katalog*, III, 463 nr. 7007.

to one of the oldest added texts, namely the sequence for Saint Walpurga *Diem celebremus virginis die eia*, which can be read with some difficulty on f. 159v. Saint Walpurga, together with her brothers Willibald and Winnibald, is one of the patrons of the diocese of Eichstätt. According to *Analecta Hymnica* this sequence is attested only in the Gradual-Troper-Sequentiary OXFORD, Selden Supra 27, which has recently been attributed to the Benedictine monastery of St. Wunibald in Heidenheim, not far from the episcopal see of Eichstätt²⁹.

VERCELLI CXLIX, however, offers further points for reflection. From the point of view of the ornamentation, influences from the School of St. Gall have been observed. This can be explained by the fact that the codex is a typical glossed Psalter from the mid-ninth century. According to Margaret Gibson, during the second half of the ninth century, likely points of exchange for glossed Psalters, even in luxury versions, were the monasteries of Reichenau, St. Gall, and the court scriptorium of Louis the German in Regensburg, where Grimoald, Abbot of St. Gall (841-872), was intermittently his chancellor³⁰. This last observation helps to explain some peculiarities. For example, as Bischoff had already pointed out, on f. 157r Saints Peter, Benedict, and Emmeram are explicitly mentioned in a prayer added in the eleventh century³¹. All these saints are connected with Regensburg. Peter, although universal, is patron of Regensburg and titular of the cathedral, and Benedict and Emmeram are connected to the famous Benedictine abbey of St. Emmeram in Regensburg.

But there is a further important clue that seems to point to Regensburg, if not as the place of copying, then at least as a place of transit of the manuscript: namely, the addition between f. 102v and 103r of the antiphon *Simon dormis*, dat-

29 AH 40, 315 nr. 368; the manuscript is published in facsimile with a comprehensive introduction in SMOJE 2006. See also the more recent on-line catalogue entry at the following link: https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_8900.

30 GIBSON 1994, p. 80. See also GAVINELLI 2009, p. 401.

31 « Cotidiana oratio a fratribus canenda. Domine deus omnipotens qui elegisti locum istum ad seruiendum tibi, et ad tua sancta precepta custodienda, da nobis in loco isto pacem et sanitatem et tranquillitatem, et fac rectores nostros secundum voluntatem tuam et secundum necessitatem nostram, ut te timeant et tua precepta custodiant; custodi, domine, locum istum ab omni peccato et scandalo et ab omni perturbatione et ab omnibus insidiis et laqueis diaboli; tu, domine, qui hanc congregationem ad glorificandum nomen tuum sanctum in hoc loco adunare permisisti, da nobis famulis tuis adiutorium tuum sanctum de cælis, ne patiamur detrimentum animarum nostrarum, et ne des hanc congregationem in dispersionem propter nomen sanctum tuum; domine, ne respicias peccata nostra, sed respice ad deprecationem piissimę genitricis tuę et per intercessionem sancti Petri et sancti Emmerammi atque Benedicti abbatis [follows an erasure of about one line] atque omnium sanctorum tuorum [follows an erasure of about one line] adiua nos sicut tu sicut tu uides necessitatem nostram. Qui uiuis».

able to the first half of the twelfth century [Fig. 5a and Fig. 5b]. What makes this addition particularly interesting is that the neumes are unquestionably German, but the text and melody are proper to the Ambrosian tradition. A quick comparison with the versions transmitted in the manuscripts LONDON, British Library, Add. 34209 (Ambrosian tradition) [Fig. 6] and PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17296 (St Denis, Roman-Gregorian tradition) suffices [Fig. 7].

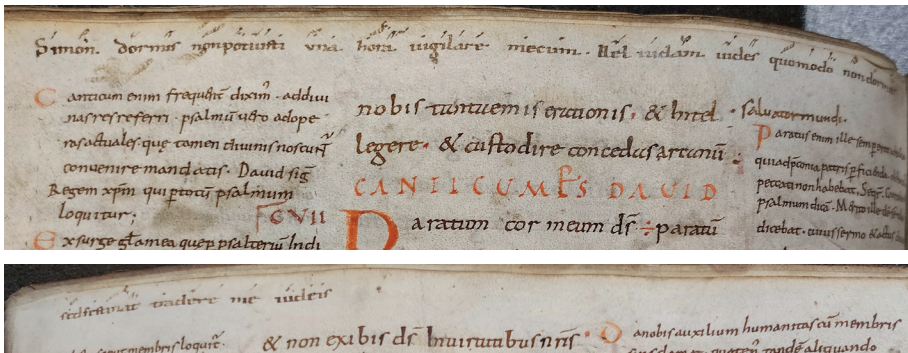


Fig. 5a and 5b. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXLIX, ff. 102v (part.) and 103r (part.). Antiphon *Simon dormis*.

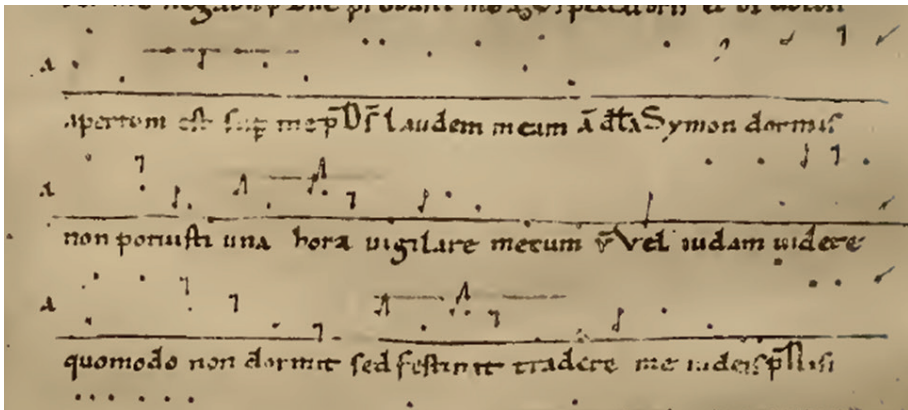


Fig. 6. LONDON, British Library, Add. 34209, p. 243 (part.). Antiphon dubla *Simon dormis* (Ambrosian tradition).

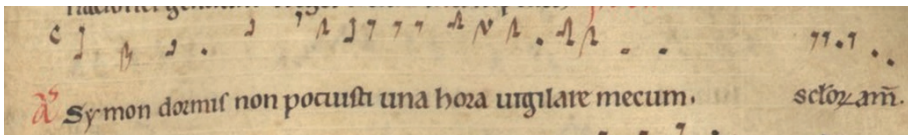


Fig. 7. PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17296, f. 127r (part.). Antiphon *Simon dormis* (Roman-Frankish).

Vercelli	London	Paris
<p>Symon dormis non potuisti vna hora uigilare mecum. Uel Iudam uides quomodo non dormit sed festinat me tradere Iudeis</p>	<p><i>Antiphona dubla</i> Symon dormis non potuisti una hora uigilare mecum. <i>V. Uel Iudam uidere</i> quomodo non dormit sed festinat me tradere Iudeis</p>	<p><i>Antiphona</i> Symon dormis non potuisti una hora uigilare mecum</p>

Apart from a few initial melodic variants, the text and melody coincide with the Ambrosian, and not the Franco-Gregorian version. Knowledge of Ambrosian texts in the Germanic area is not so unusual³². It is sufficient to think of the Salzburg *Liber Ordinarius*, which mentions the responsory *Vadis propitiator*, whose composition is explicitly attributed to Saint Ambrose: «Canunt etiam aliqui ad salutandam crucem hoc responsorium sancti Ambrosii ex persona sanctae Mariae»³³. However, the melody proposed for *Vadis propitiator* is the adapted Gregorian one and not the more unusual Ambrosian one. In the case of the addition of *Simon dormis* to the Vercelli codex we are in the presence of a true Ambrosian text, and the presence of Germanic neumes excludes the codex's passage or use in the Milan area.

How can this be explained? One possible explanation can be found in Regensburg's links with Milan. In an article published about 70 years ago Walter Dürig states that shortly before the year 1130, the canons Paul and Gebeard of Regensburg expressed in a letter to the Milanese archbishop Anselm their wish to have the Ambrosian ordo alongside the Roman one³⁴. The two canons had stayed in Milan on a return trip from Rome in the year 1122 and had taken part in the Pentecost celebrations there. Paul and Gebeard, both enthusiastic about the Ambrosian rite, made a request to the *custos thesaurorum* Martinus for a sacramentary and antiphonary written according to Ambrosian custom: «Rogamus ut transcribi nobis faciatis Sacramentarium eiusdem sancti Ambrosii cum antiphonario eius» and then again: «Mitte ergo nobis Antiphonarium cum notulis et Sacramentarium cum solis orationibus et prefationibus ambro-

³² The Milanese recension of the antiphon is attested not only in the German area, but also in several Central European sources (Prague, Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Kraków and Gniezno): see KUBIENIEC 2004.

³³ SALZBURG, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. M II 6, f. 63v. On this manuscript see: PRASSL 1998, PRASSL 2007 and PRASSL 2017. An online edition of the text is available at the following link: gams.uni-graz.at/o:cantus.salzburg.sal.

³⁴ DÜRIG 1955; see also CARMASSI 2001, pp. 19-21.

sianis». We do not know whether the request was successful, since in Regensburg, with the exception of a fragment of the fourteenth century Ambrosian Antiphonary preserved in the Staatliche Bibliothek³⁵, we have no further evidence³⁶. But the addition to the Vercelli codex may shed new light. The dating of the piece is consistent with the request of the two canons for Ambrosian manuscripts. It is therefore possible that indeed an Ambrosian antiphonary arrived in Regensburg and from there the antiphon *Simon dormis* was copied into the manuscript of Vercelli.

VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., LXXXII [Plate 6]

A final manuscript, which extends chronologically beyond the period here studied, but which well represents the importance of the analysis of added writings, is offered by the Codex LXXXII. The manuscript contains the *Commentarium ad Isaiam* attributed to Haymo of Auxerre. It is a modest, medium-sized exemplar copied in the second half of the tenth century by two North Italian copyists³⁷. The *Commentarium* belongs to that group of Vercelli codices that were read and annotated by Leo, bishop of Vercelli from 998 to 1026. In its margins the characteristic *Nota Leo* appears, with autograph comments on the text made by the powerful bishop³⁸. Leo, an avid bibliophile in contact with the Ottonian imperial court and with strong ties to German prelates, imported several manuscripts to Vercelli. For this group of codices, studied in detail by Simona Gavinelli, there are no palaeographic characteristics that could suggest a more certain location beyond a generic northern Italy³⁹.

This is also the case with Codex LXXXII, but a careful examination of the flyleaves provides us with some interesting indications [Plate 7]⁴⁰. In the upper portion of the opening flyleaf a hand of the late tenth or early eleventh

³⁵ REGENSBURG, Staatliche Bibliothek, 2Script.349. I thank David Hiley for this information.

³⁶ A remnant of the Ambrosian Missal sent from Milan to Regensburg may have been preserved as the starting flyleaf of the manuscript MÜNCHEN, Staatsbibliothek, clm 14809. The fragment is dated to the mid-ninth century, and, more correctly, is a Sacramentary-Lectionary for the Mass. The text is edited in GAMBER 1959; see also BISCHOFF 1960, p. 60 and CLLA, p. 62 nr. 506.

³⁷ About the manuscript see: PASTÈ 1925, pp. 97-98 nr. 82; STEGMÜLLER 1951, II nr. 3083; GAVINELLI 2001, pp. 242-243; GRYSON 2014, p. 48.

³⁸ Leo's additions to this codex are recorded and discussed in GAVINELLI 2001, pp. 242-243.

³⁹ On the figure of Bishop Leo of Vercelli see: BLOCH 1897, DORMEIER 1993, DORMEIER 1999, GAVINELLI 2001, pp. 234-238 and GAMBERINI 2004.

⁴⁰ The flyleaves, a bifolium, share almost the same ruling pattern (mm 275 × 205 instead of mm 275 × 220), but the identical layout with two columns of 32 lines of f. 2r.

century has added a series of neumes (probably a melisma) followed by three incipits of liturgical import: «Sacerdos et pontifex», «Qui non habet in consilio impiorum», «Iustus germinabit». If for the last line it is clear that whoever inserted the annotation most likely had in mind the widely used Alleluia-verse *Iustus germinabit*, the relationship between the music and the first two lines of text is less clear. The well-known antiphon *Sacerdos et pontifex et virtutum artifex*, usually used as an antiphon ad Magnificat for the Common of a confessor, begins with the words *Sacerdos et pontifex*⁴¹, while for the second line the reference is clearly to Psalm 1, *Beatus vir qui non abiit*, with which Matins for a martyr or confessor starts. More surprising is the textual error, with *habet* in place of the correct *abiit*. Certainly the addition is of a mnemonic nature, and although the text of Psalm 1 was undoubtedly among those most often recited by whoever inserted the addition, it is not uncommon to find evidence of such misspellings. This leads one to ask, however, why, a little below, the same hand copied the same incipit of Psalm 1 with the correct textual version.

An examination of the few neumes written before the text also raises some questions concerning the economy of the page, as we shall see. The notation is clearly North Italian. Above all, the first neume presents points of contact with the *torculus* in the form of the Greek letter theta [Fig. 8].

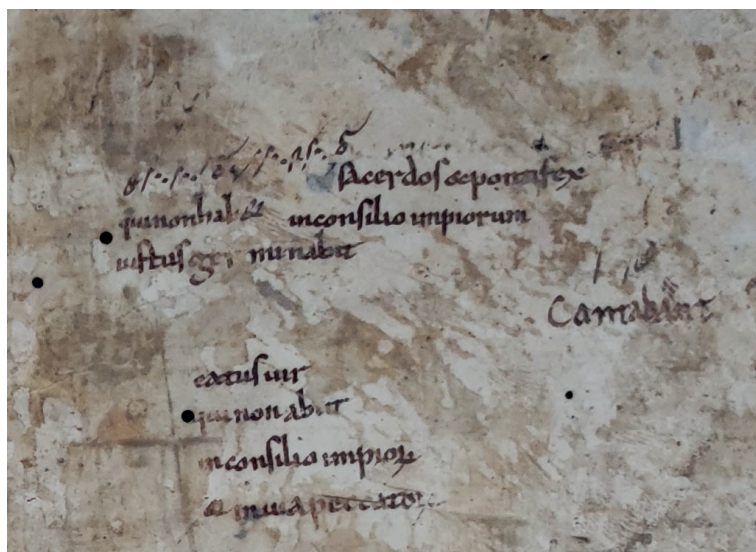


Fig. 8. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXII, front flyleaf, verso (part.).

⁴¹ CAO 4673.

This neume is generally considered characteristic of the notation known as Novalesan⁴². However, one should not be too precipitous in affirming the hypothesis of a possible provenance or passage of the codex from one of the centres in the Novalicense network (Novalesa, Breme or Sant'Andrea of Turin): first of all, the graphic script is not very clear, and secondly, recent studies have confirmed that the theta-shaped *torculus* also appears in other North Italian and South France notations, and is not strictly typical of the Novalesan notation⁴³.

The second addition, written a little further below by a hand of the early eleventh century, provides us with considerably more information. The chant in question is the *Alleluia Iustus germinabit* [Fig. 9], transcribed here in all its elements: *Alleluia*, *iubilus* (the melisma on the last vowel, *a*) and verse⁴⁴. The provenance of the textual script is difficult to determine. But the musical notation is localizing. It is the typical form of Lotharingian notation that developed in the diocese of Como⁴⁵. The first attestations of this kind of notation date back to the first half of the eleventh century in connection with the founding of the monastery of Sant'Abbondio in Como. As part of the broader programme of spiritual renewal desired by Bishop Alberic of Como, that monastery would have been settled by monks from northeastern France, possibly from Metz. What graphically distinguishes the Como notation from the Lotharingian notation is the use of the hooked *tractulus* [Fig. 10]⁴⁶. The presence of this particular monosonic one-note neume is clearly discernible in the passage added to the Vercelli codex, though here with a particular “Y” form that does not occur in the other Italian manuscripts of Como, nor in the original Lotharingian notation⁴⁷. This distinctive *tractulus* appears both in isolated form and in composition.

⁴² On the so-called Novalesan notation, see CAMMARATA 2021 and the bibliography listed therein.

⁴³ For example, it is attested in Lyon, but also in the Transalpine area (Gap), in Provence, and in Catalan and Visigothic notations: see CAZAUX-KOWALSKI 2012 and CAZAUX-KOWALSKI 2015.

⁴⁴ SCHLAGER 1965, p. 122 nr. 119; the melody is quite common; it is also present with the same versicle in VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CLXXXVI, f. 154v, a Gradual-Troper-Kyriale with tropes written for the parish church of San Vittore in Balerna, not far from Como [Fig. 10].

⁴⁵ On the manuscript sources, diffusion and characteristics of this type of notation see: SESINI 1932, HOURLIER 1951, BAROFFIO 2011, pp. 110-111, and ALBIERO 2016, where the Vercelli addition is listed on p. 27.

⁴⁶ See ALBIERO 2016, pp. 42-43.

⁴⁷ For the latter see PM 10.

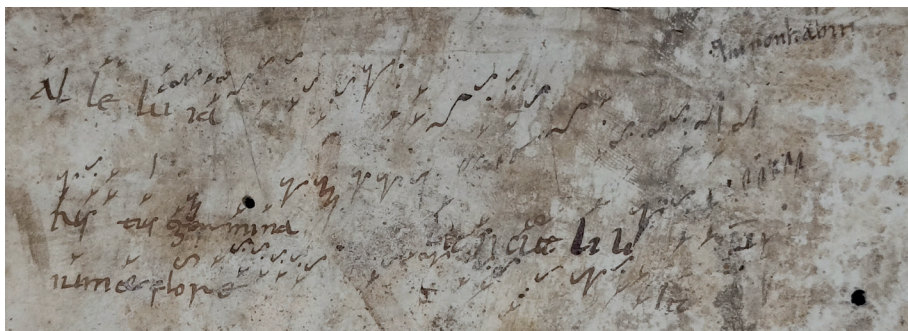


Fig. 9. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXII, front flyleaf, verso (part.). Alleluia *Iustus germinavit*.

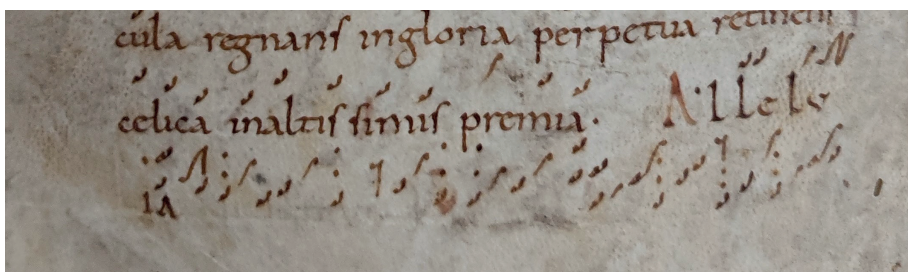


Fig. 10. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, CLXXXVI, f. 154v (part.). Alleluia *Iustus germinavit*.

In the case of such a peculiar and closely circumscribed notation, we can hypothesise that the manuscript at least passed through the diocese of Como before reaching Vercelli, where it was annotated by Bishop Leo. This leads to two further considerations: first, the codex must have reached Vercelli between 1010, the year of the foundation of the monastery of Sant'Abbondio, and 1026, the year of the death of Bishop Leo, who annotated it; second, we are in the presence of the first datable attestation of the Como notation, indeed perhaps the first attempt to encode Lotharingian neumes in their North Italian guise.

To conclude, the analysis of the minitexts carried out on some manuscripts of the Capitular Library of Vercelli has provided interesting results. First, through the identification of pieces particularly linked to the figure of Saint Eusebius, it makes it possible to establish or confirm a *terminus post quem* for the effective presence of a codex in the Vercelli area, as in the case of Mss CIX and CXLIX. Bischoff's hypothesis of the probable transit of Ms XLVI through the Novarese area has been confirmed, with the explicit attribution of the composition of the hymn *Gentes gaudete* to Riprando bishop of No-

vara being more than circumstantial evidence. In addition to the study of the texts, minitext analysis shows how the identification of musical notations can provide clues to the journeys a volume undertook in the course of its history. For example, the presence of Lotharingian notation with the typical characteristics it assumed in the area around Como leads one to think that the *Commentarium ad Isaiam*, today VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., LXXXII, spent time in the diocese of Como. The earliest date of the addition makes it, together with that present in the manuscript Reg. Lat. 195 of the Vatican Library⁴⁸, one of the earliest examples of the adaptation of Lotharingian neumes to the Como style.

I hope this article has shown that if coupled with solid paleographical analyses of both the text and the neumatic notation, and supported as far as possible by historical data that validate without prejudice what emerges in the margins, the study of the various layers of additions written in a manuscript can offer telling new research perspectives.

⁴⁸ This is a Kyrie with neumes, partially in Greek characters, added to f. 23r, datable to the early eleventh century: see BANNISTER 1908, pp. 100-101 nr. 276 and Plate 56a and ALBIERO 2016, pp. 23, 27 and 33.

Appendix. A provisional list of ninth-century manuscripts in the Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli

Shelfmark	Typology	Datation	Place	<i>Katalog</i> , III
I	Glossarium Ansileubi	IX ex.	North Italy (Milan?)	p. 460 nr. 6978
XI	Bible	IX/1 or 2/4	North Italy	p. 460 nr. 6979
XV	Collectio canonum Anselmo dedicata	IX ex or X in	North Italy (Milan)	p. 460 nr. 6980
XXXVIII	Cassiodorus, <i>Expositio Psalmorum</i>	IX/1	North Italy (Milan)	p. 460 nr. 6982
XLVI	Augustinus, <i>In Iohannis evangelium tractatus</i>	IX 3/4	North Italy (Novara?)	p. 460 nr. 6984
XLIII	Palimpsest Bible	IX/2	North Italy?	p. 460 nr. 6983
XLIX	Gregorius Magnus, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>	IX 3/4 or 4/4	North Italy	p. 460 nr. 6985
LXII	Glossed Psalter (ff. 20r-166r)	IX 4/4	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6986
LXII	Litanies, Libellus precum, Antiphonal-Lectionary (ff. 166v-180v)	IX 4/4	Vercelli	-
LXXI	Augustinus, <i>De civitate Dei</i>	IX 4/4	North Italy (Vercelli?)	-
LXXIV	Gregorius Magnus, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>	IX 2/4	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6987
LXXX	Pseudo-Isidore Decretals	IX ex	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6988
LXXXI	Evangelary	post 814	Central Italy	p. 461 nr. 6989
XCII	Cassiodorus, <i>Expositio Psalmorum</i>	IX/2	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6990
XCIII	Cassiodorus, <i>Expositio Psalmorum</i>	IX 2/4	North Italy (Milan)	p. 461 nr. 6991
XCV	Beda, <i>In Lucae evangelium expositio</i>	IX 3/4	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6992
CI	Cassiodorus, <i>Historia ecclesiastica tripartita</i>	IX 2/3	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6993

Shelfmark	Typology	Datation	Place	Katalog, III
CII	Isidorus Hispalensis, <i>Etymologia-rum libri XX</i>	IX/2	South France (Lyon?)	p. 461 nr. 6994
CIII	Patristic-Computistic Miscellany	IX 3/3	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6995
CIV	Augustinus, <i>De civitate Dei</i>	IX 1/4 or 2/4	Tours? and North Italy	p. 462 nr. 6996
CIX	Hieronymus, <i>Commentarii in Isaiam et in Hieremyam</i>	IX m or 3/4	North Italy	p. 462 nr. 6998
CXI	Collectio Dyonisiana-Bobiensis	IX 3/4 or 4/4	North Italy	p. 462 nr. 6999
CXXVIII	Isidorus Hispalensis, <i>Etymologia-rum libri XX</i>	IX-X	North Italy	p. 462 nr. 7001
CXXXIV	Evangelary	IX m.	(South) Germany	p. 462 nr. 7002
CXXXVIII	Scholastic Miscellany	IX-X	North Italy	p. 462 nr. 7004
CXXXIX	Amalarius Metensis, <i>De ecclesiasticis officiis</i>	IX 4/4	North Italy	-
CXLVII	Cassiodorus, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	IX/2	North Italy (Vercelli?)	p. 463 nr. 7005
CXLVIII	Gregorius Magnus, <i>Homeliae XL in evangelia</i>	IX in.	North Italy	p. 463 nr. 7006
CXLIX	Glossed Psalter	IX m. or 3/4	Eichstätt? Re-gensburg?	p. 463 nr. 7007
CLIII	Hrabanus Maurus, <i>Commentarium in Deuteronomium</i>	IX m.	Reims?	p. 463 nr. 7008
CLIV	Hieronymus, <i>In Hieremiam prophetam libri VI</i>	IX ex.	North Italy	-
CLIX	Orosius, <i>Historiae adversus paganos</i>	IX 4/4	North Italy	p. 463 nr. 7009
CLXV	Collectio canonum	IX ca. 840	North Italy (Pavia?)	p. 463 nr. 7010
CLXXIV	Angesius abbas, <i>Collectio capitularium</i>	IX/2 or 3/3	North Italy? St. Gall?	p. 461 nr. 7012

Shelfmark	Typology	Datation	Place	<i>Katalog, III</i>
CLXXV	Collectio Canonum Herovalliana	IX in.	France	p. 462 nr. 7013
CLXXVII	Iustinus, <i>Epitoma Pompei Trogi</i>	IX 3/4	North Italy	p. 462 nr. 7014
CLXXXVII	Cassianus, <i>Collationes</i>	IX 1/4 or 2/4	France or Italy	p. 462 nr. 7017
CCII	Isidorus Hispalensis, <i>Etymologiarum libri XX</i>	IX 3/4	North Italy	p. 462 nr. 7018
CCIII	Halitgarius, <i>Liber poenitentiale</i>	IX 4/4	North France	p. 462 nr. 7019

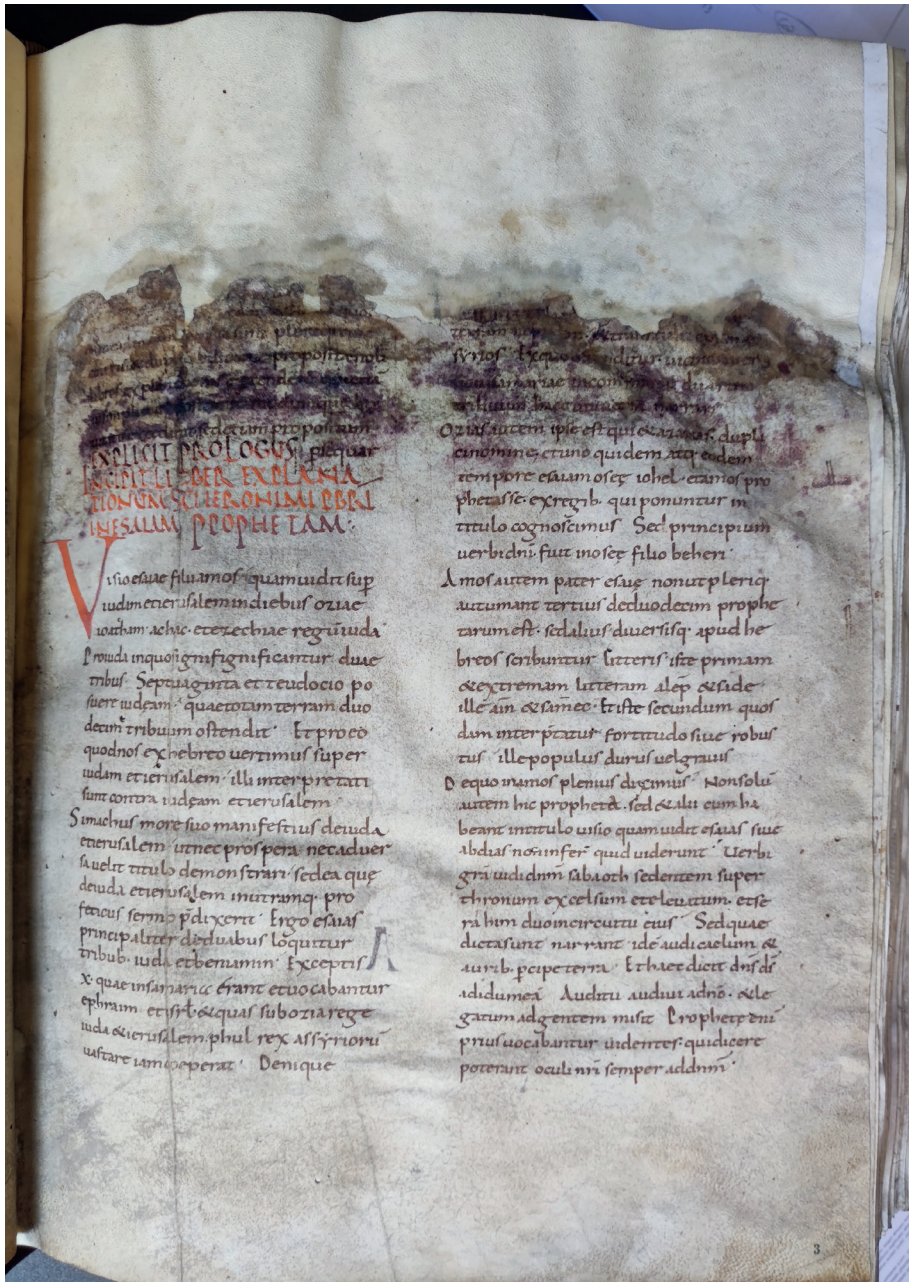


Plate 1. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, CIX, f. 3r.

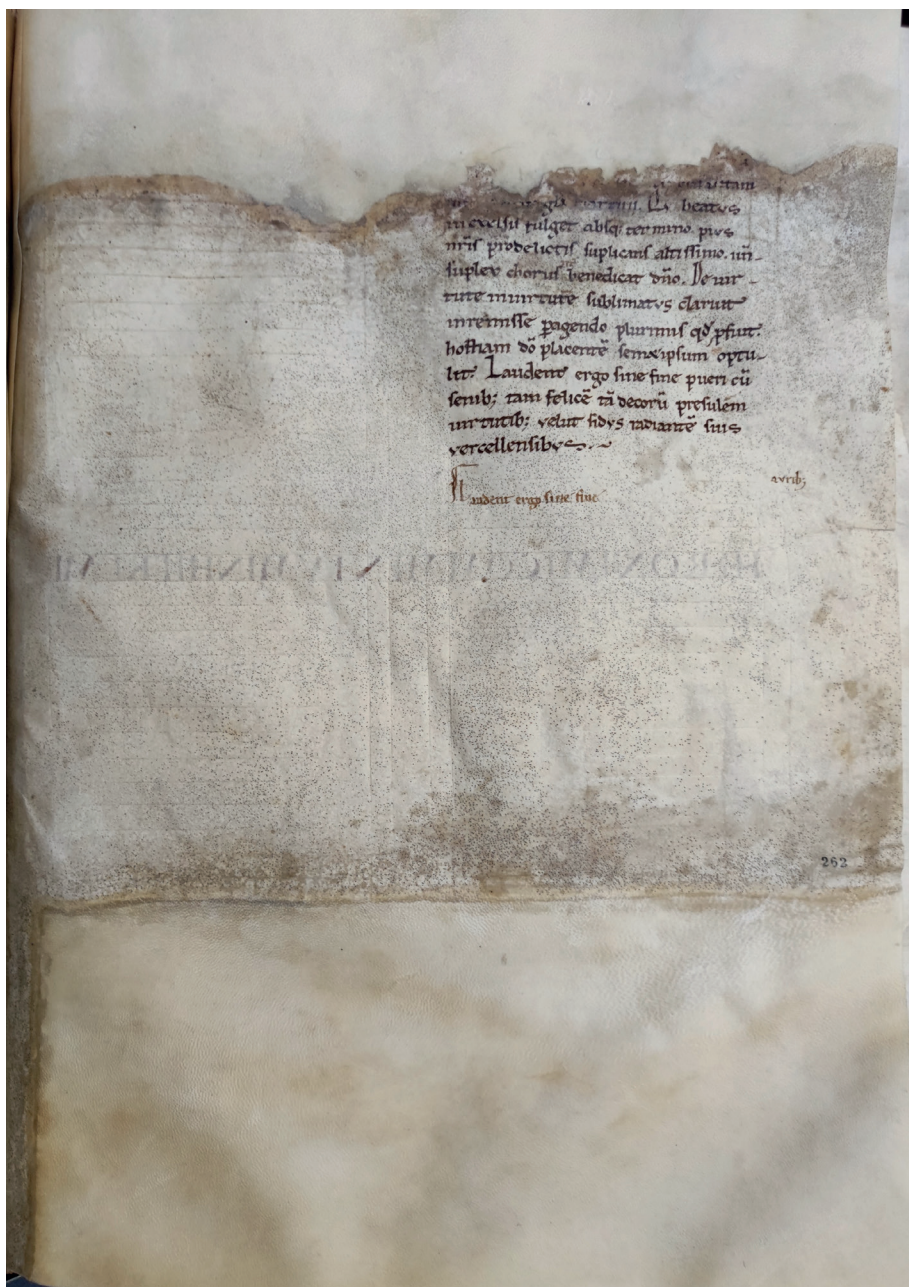


Plate 2. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, CIX, f. 262r.

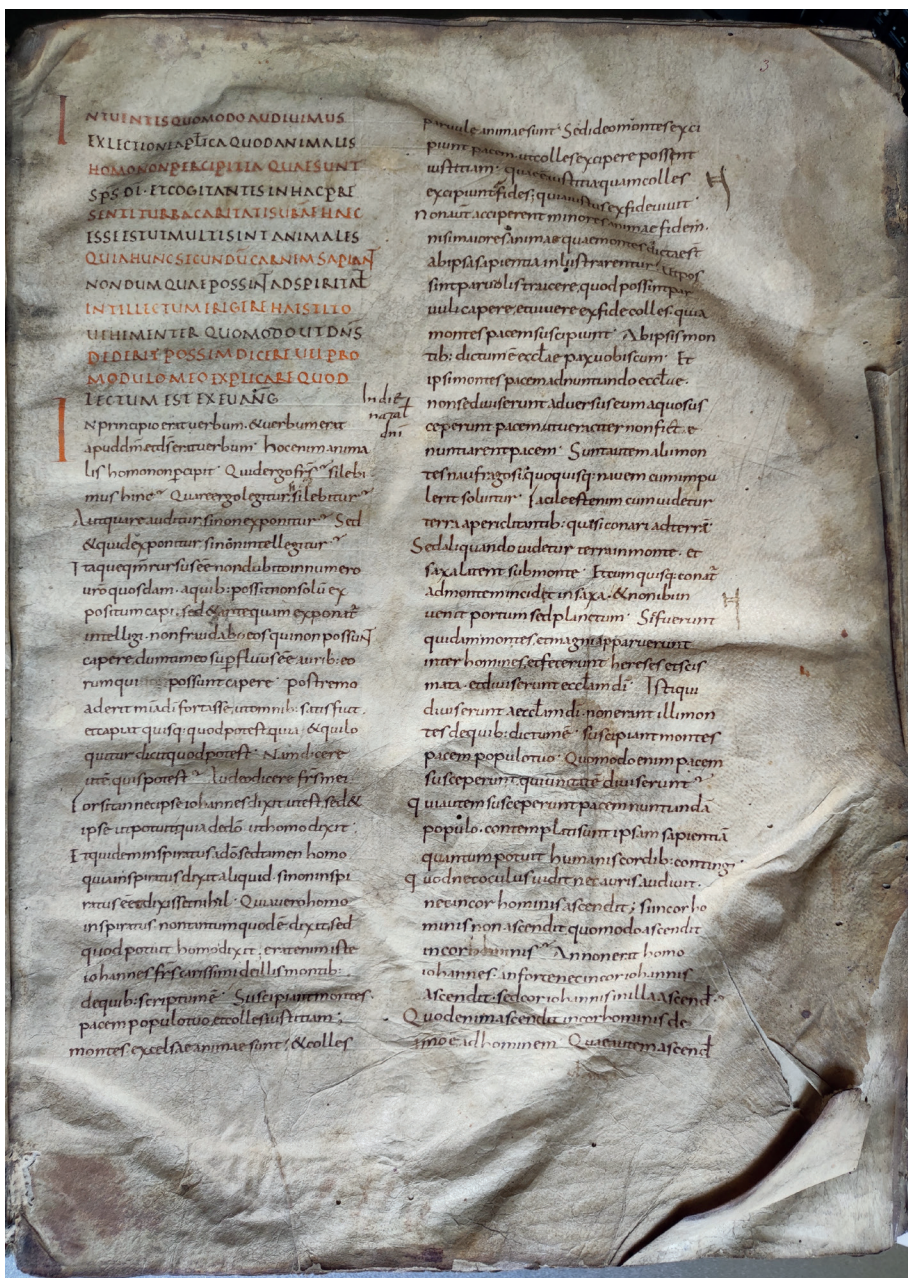


Plate 3. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, XLVI, f. 3r.

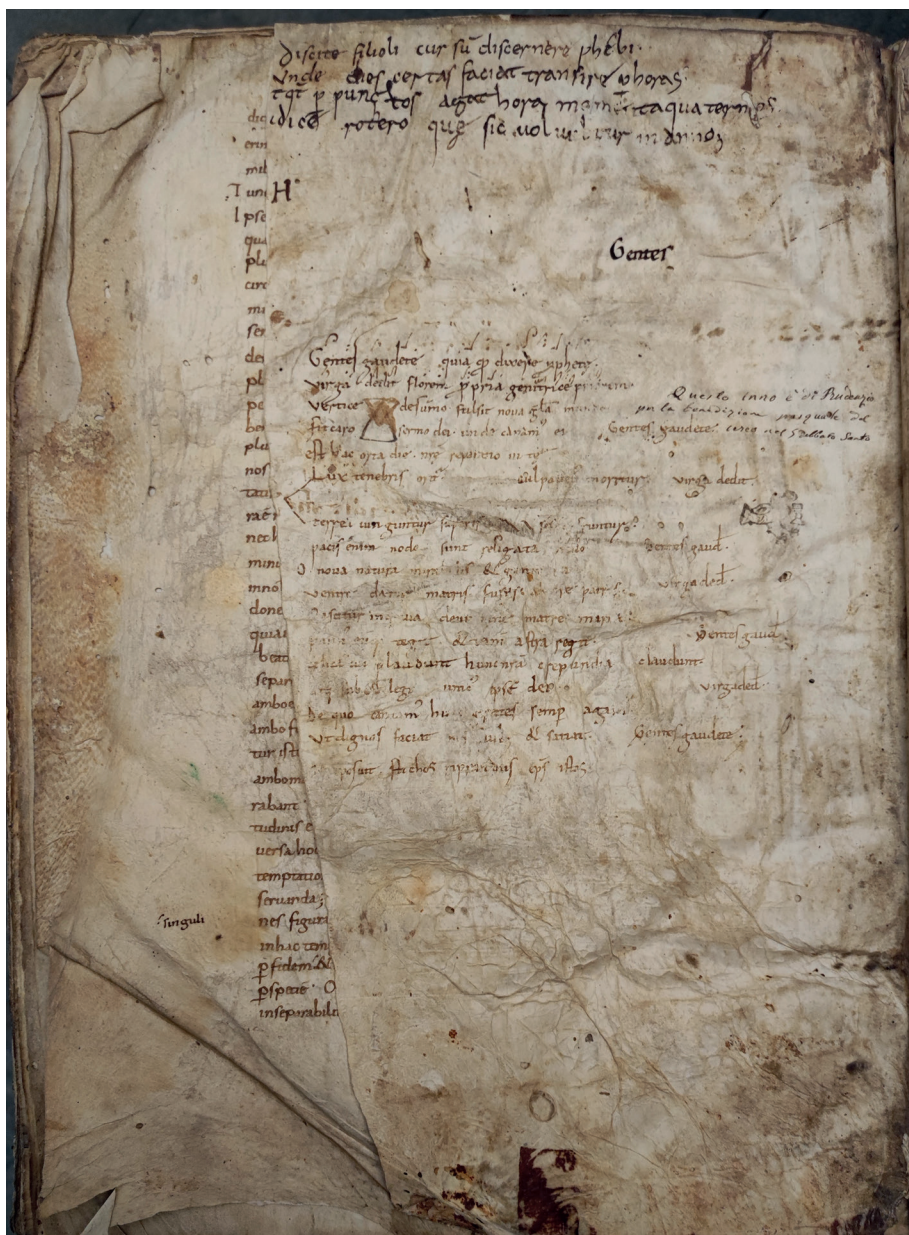


Plate 4. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, XLVI, f. 267v.



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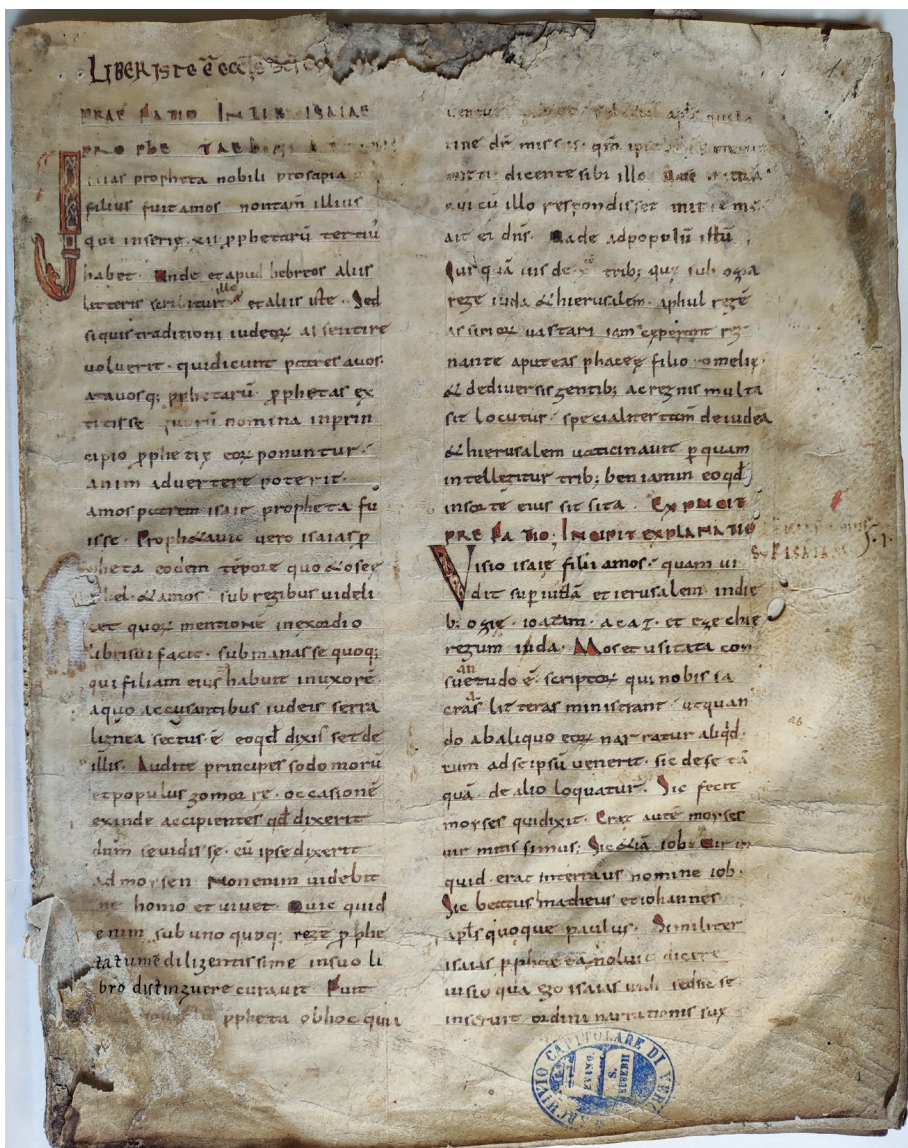


Plate 6. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXII, f. 1r.

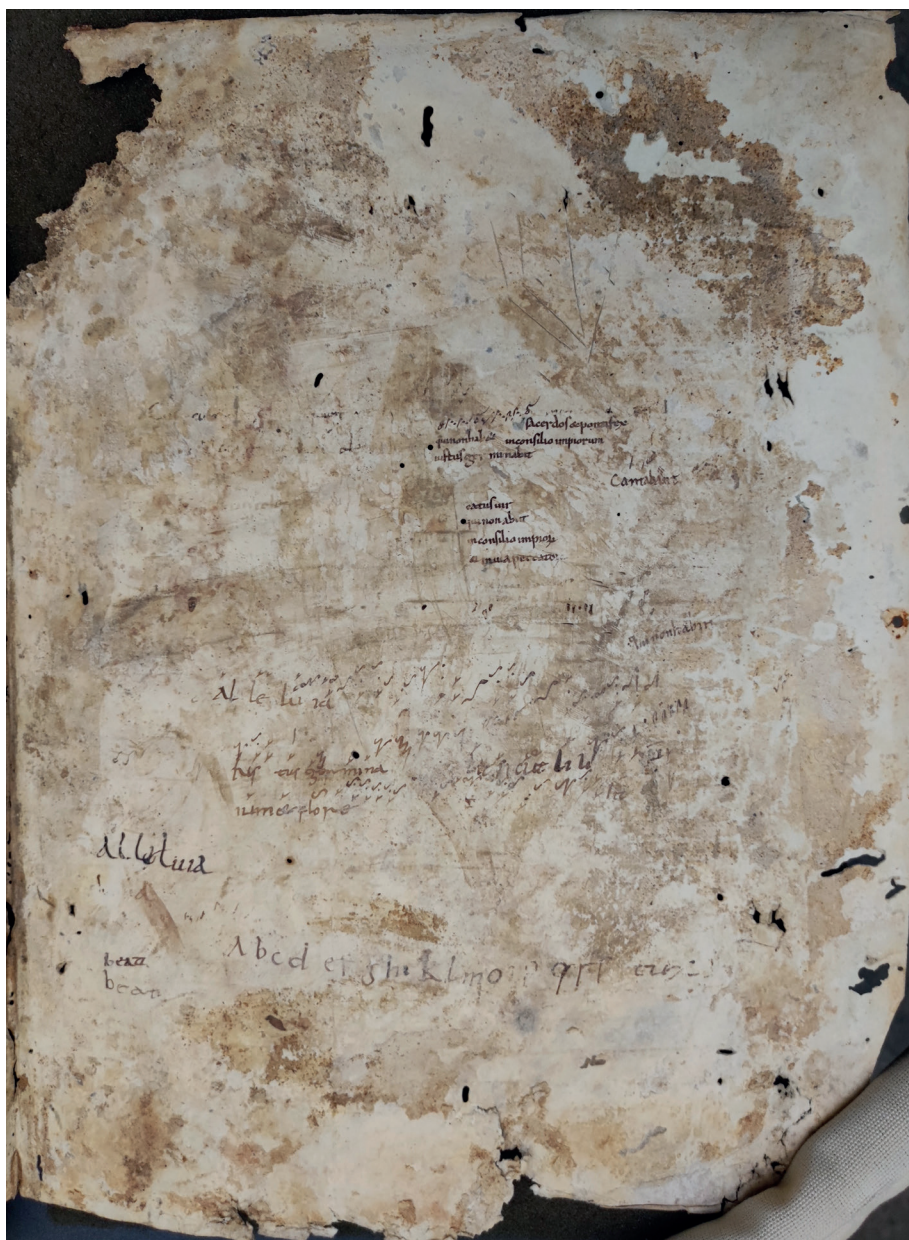


Plate 7. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXII, front flyleaf, verso.

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