



BIRGITTE CHANTSCAPES

Chant and Liturgy in the
Order of St Birgitta of Sweden
14th – 21st century

KARIN LAGERGREN

BIRGITTINE CHANTSCAPES

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS

Studia Musicologica

35

BIRGITTINE CHANTSCAPES

Chant and Liturgy in the
Order of St Birgitta of Sweden
14th – 21st century

KARIN LAGERGREN



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution
NonCommercial NoDerivatives 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC-ND)



ISSN 0081-6744 (print)

ISSN 3035-8337 (online)

ISBN: 978-91-513-2515-6 (print)

ISBN: 978-91-513-2516-3 (electronic)

© 2025 Karin Lagergren

Cover illustration: Birgitta at her desk receiving a revelation from Christ and the Virgin Mary, initial for Sunday invitational antiphon Trinum Deum et unum.
Source: D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 1, fol. 2 r, 1480.

Distribution:

Uppsala University Library,

Box 510, 751 20 Uppsala, Sweden, uup@uu.se

Acknowledgments

The work that has eventually led to this publication is an adventure that has been ongoing for more than 10 years, or possibly since I first visited Maria Refugie in 2003. I am indebted to many people who have helped me along the way, of whom here I mention a few. First of all, I would like to thank my colleagues who have undertaken the laborious task of reading the text and providing invaluable comments: Prof. Lena Liepe, Dr. Sara Ellis Nilsson, Prof. Stephan Borgehammar, Prof. Mattias Lundberg, Prof. Karin Hallgren, Prof. Karin Larsson Eriksson, and Dr. Marianne Gillion. I am deeply grateful for the energy and time you have invested in being my critical friends. I would especially like to thank Stephan Borgehammar and Marianne Gillion who have helped me with a countless number of questions during the process. I also wish to thank my colleagues at the higher seminar in music at Linnaeus University who scrutinised Birgittine topics, and I am grateful for all your useful questions from an outsider's viewpoint, which have helped me to clarify my text in several ways. Further, I wish to thank my colleagues in the research project *Multisensory Vadstena in the late Middle Ages* (supported by Vetenskapsrådet/The Swedish Research Council) and all the friends we made through this project. These relations deeply affected my understanding of the multimodality of medieval liturgy in general, and the Birgittine liturgy in particular. I am also indebted to the funds which have enabled me to spend almost six years in full-time research of the Birgittine chant and liturgy: Vetenskapsrådet/The Swedish Research Council for funding the international postdoc project *The Transmission of the Cantus sororum in the Low Countries* (2013–2015), and Riksbankens Jubileumsfond for supporting the project *The Musical World of the Birgittine Order - A comparative study of four Birgittine abbeys* (2017–2020). The postdoc project especially allowed me to work on collecting source material, a work that was mainly conducted at the Alamire Foundation and Leuven University, which had a profound impact on this study. A stay at Amherst College as STINT fellow facilitated the final steps in the completion of this book. I am also thankful for the many ways in which I was helped during the proofreading process and for the two anonymous reviewers whose valuable comments improved the text to a considerable degree. For translations into Latin my thanks go to Prof. Alexander André, Dr. Robert Andrews, and Dr. Grantley McDonald. Thank you to *Pro Fide et Christianismo*, Svenska Katolska Akademien, and Åke Bonnier for their generous support which made the recording of the music examples possible. My deep heartfelt thanks go to Maria Refugie and Pax Mariae and its sisters who have welcomed me on many visits, allowed me to discover and research their libraries, and taken time for ques-

tions, talks, and interviews – not to forget the countless cups of coffee. Thanks to my family for your constant support even though you do not always know what I am really doing, which is fully understandable. In the final stages, I had the opportunity to return to Alamire Foundation for a short but intense period when the last revisions were undertaken, for which I am very grateful. Last, but not least, I want to thank Johan for the kind reminders that there is much more to life than Birgittine chant, and simply for being you.

Karin Lagergren

Amherst, Massachusetts, August 2023

In memoriam Sr. M. Patricia O.Ss.S. 1927–2021

Content

Prologue	I
Chapter 1: Period 1340s-ca. 1420: The Birgittine proto-liturgy	23
Chapter 2: 1420s-ca. 1500: The Birgittine liturgy is codified in Vadstena, and transmission to foundations begins	49
Chapter 3: Late 15th century-mid-16th century: The Birgittine chantscape in Mariënwater, Marëntroon, and Altomünster.	91
Chapter 4: Late 16th century-1712: Chantscape preserved by reproduction	109
Chapter 5: 1713-1783: Relocation to Maria Refugie – chantscape preserved by transformation	153
Chapter 6: 1784-1883: New musical trends and extended modes	177
Chapter 7: 1883-1962: Restoration and revival in the Birgittine chantscape	221
Chapter 8: 1963 to the present: Reconfiguration of the chantscape – vernac- ular solutions and skeleton melodies	245
Epilogue: Preserving, transforming, and reconfiguring the Birgittine chantscape – concluding thoughts	265
Bibliography.	273
Appendix 1: Sunday sequence <i>Tota pulchra es</i>	289
Appendix 2: List of manuscripts from or used at Mariënwater and Maria Hart	297
Appendix 3: The weekly cycle <i>Cantus sororum</i> – an overview of its items	301
Appendix 4: Thursday great responsory <i>Sancta et immaculata</i> from six sources.	315
Music examples, images and tables	325
Index	331

Prologue



IN THE 1370S, a group of men and women gathered in the village of Vadstena, situated by Lake Vättern in southern Sweden. Their mission was to prepare for the establishment of an abbey for men and women as described in the revelations of Birgitta Birgersdotter, better known as St Birgitta of Sweden. Birgitta had passed away in 1373, leaving a heritage that lives to this day. Eleven years later, in 1384, the first sisters and brothers were professed into this innovative monastic institution, which was the beginning of a phenomenon that would have a profound impact on late medieval life in Sweden. Vadstena would become a powerful player in late medieval religious devotion and politics. During its most prosperous era in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Order spread its Marian-centred devotion across Europe. A monastic order with a very special hallmark had been introduced, and over it hovered the charismatic figure of St Birgitta and her revelations, providing spiritual unity and a firm foundation for the Birgittine identity. How could such a figure remain constantly present and relevant to the Order's existence and members? This is one of the questions I attempt to answer in this book.

The book seeks to address how the Birgittines used, expanded, altered, and lived with the Birgittine liturgy, through examining their liturgical books. More generally, interest lies in exploring how groups use chant and liturgy and adapt them to their particular needs; the Order of the Birgittines provides a specific case. Another issue concerns the intriguing question of the transmission of the Birgittine liturgy. In summary, the overall and guiding idea behind this book is to describe how liturgy expresses fundamental ideas about how a community chooses to define itself, in this case the Birgittines. Little is known of the establishment and transmission of the actual liturgical and musical content from the mother abbey in Vadstena and, on a higher level, the book seeks to address the importance of the authority it exercised. This is of crucial importance in understanding both the Birgittine liturgy and the Order's life in general. A theoretical basis for this understanding has been adopted from Max Weber's concept of charisma. Understanding arises through examination of the musical content of the liturgical books as well as the structure, layout and decoration of the books and how these can be linked to historical circumstances.

The Birgittine liturgical chant repertoire in this study is regarded as a 'chantscape', a term covering the entire Birgittine liturgy as experienced by the sisters and

brothers of the Order. This term, used here for the first time, is based on the more familiar concept of 'soundscape' and will be the guide for analysis of musical examples and then related to questions of Birgittine spirituality and Birgitta's charismatic authority. The terms 'charisma' and 'soundscape' will be discussed later in this introduction. Before turning to this theoretical framework, the Birgittine liturgy will be outlined briefly, highlighting some basic premises.

Divided but united – the Birgittine double liturgy

Though this book mainly is concerned with the Birgittine sisters' liturgy, and in particular their Office liturgy, the Cantus sororum, the Birgittine brothers' liturgy cannot be neglected. In its original form, the Birgittine Order consisted of double abbeys. This construction can also be described as one female and one male convent within the same cloistered area, though physically separated. Research has not concluded whether the Birgittine Order was to be considered as consisting of double monasteries, or of female abbeys with a male complement.¹ This is not the place to solve this intricate question. I shall use the term *double abbey* throughout this book, since this terminology correlates to the conditions under which the double liturgy functioned. The reason for *double* is that the two separate liturgies for the sisters and the brothers theologically formed one unit, and *abbey* is used since the abbess was head of each foundation. The female and male presence was, in other words, inscribed in the Order from the very beginning. The task of the brothers was primarily to serve the sisters as priests and confessors. Monasteries with both men and women were unusual but not unique in the Middle Ages and had in particular existed earlier in the Middle Ages up to around 1200.² In some of them, the abbess assumed leadership, for example in the double abbey in Fontevraud, just as in the Birgittine abbeys.

Two communities in the same abbey called for two liturgical cycles. The liturgies were observed separately by the sisters and brothers but together they formed one unity. The celebration was carried out in succession, which was not only motivated by spiritual considerations but also determined by Catholic practice. The possibility of performing one Office together for the sisters and brothers was no longer possible since the Second Lateran Council in 1139.³ Double liturgies were

¹ Nyberg discusses the role and function of the Birgittine brothers in depth: T. NYBERG: 'De birgittinska ordensmännens uppgift', in *Birgittinsk festgåva. Studier om den heliga Birgitta och Birgittinorden* (Uppsala 1991) 111–130.

² The matter is discussed in F. J. GRIFFITHS & J. HOTCHIN (eds.): *Partners in spirit: women, men, and religious life in Germany, 1100–1500* (Turnhout 2014).

³ The bull *Pernicosiam*, pars XVIII, question II, capitulum XXV. T. LUNDÉN: *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis: Vår Frus tidegård* [The lady-offices of Saint Bridget and venerable Peter of Skänninge] (Uppsala 1976) xxxv [35] and P.-M. GY: 'L'Office des brigittines dans le

hierarchically structured and when a liturgical practice included a Marian Office, this was traditionally considered the additional one to the main Office. Since the Birgittine sisters practiced a Marian Office in the form of the *Cantus sororum*, it would under normal circumstances be performed first as an added Office in addition to the brothers' main Office. But the Birgittines reversed the order, placing the *Cantus sororum* as the main Office while the brothers' liturgy became the additional Office. In this way, the Marian aspect, that was crucial for the Birgittines, was further emphasised, resulting in a novel ordering of Offices in late medieval liturgy.⁴

A quote from the Birgittine Rule – which was part of Birgitta's revelations – illustrates the relation between the sisters' and brothers' liturgies, and how crucial this idea was to Birgitta:

... I want the brothers to chant their hours first at the proper times. Then the sisters should recite their Office with somewhat greater pause.⁵

The interpretation of "with somewhat greater pause" in earlier scholarship has been interpreted as a slower performance than the brothers', since this implies a more solemn way of singing, which in liturgical contexts is interpreted as slower.⁶ I leave this discussion aside since the issue of the tempo of song in the Birgittine liturgy deserves greater attention than can be given here. Furthermore, questions on the acoustics and architecture of an ideal Birgittine church need to be considered to fully grasp this issue.⁷ I shall briefly return to the topic in chapter 2.

One peculiar feature regarding the Birgittines is that they observed a secular rather than monastic Office liturgy. The main difference between secular and monastic Offices lies in the number of great responsories and antiphons for Matins. The *Cantus sororum*, being a secular Office for the Virgin Mary, observed three antiphons and three great responsories for Matins, comprising one nocturne. *Cantus sororum* was never observed with more than one nocturne.⁸ In the brothers'

context general de la liturgie médiévale', in *Nordiskt kollokvium II i latinsk liturgiforskning*, 12–13 maj (Stockholm 1972) 17.

⁴ I. MILVEDEN: 'Per omnia humilis. Reflexioner kring en birgittinsk sångspegel', in *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* n. 47–48 (1972–1973) 46–47.

⁵ B. MORRIS & D. SEARBY (eds.): *The revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden* vol. 1–4 (Oxford/New York 2006–2015) 233, "nunc volo, vt primum fratres psallant horas suas temporibus debitis. Deinde sorores aliquantulum morosius officium suum compleant". L. HOLLMAN (ed.): *Den heliga Birgittas Revelaciones extravagantes* (Uppsala 1956) vol. 5, 117.

⁶ MILVEDEN: 'Per omnia humilis' 45–47.

⁷ The question is to some extent discussed in H. AUTIO, M. BARBAGALLO, C. ASK, D. BARD HAGBERG, E. LINDQVIST SANDGREN, K. LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: 'Historically Based Room Acoustic Analysis and Auralization of a Church in the 1470s' in *Applied Science* vol. 11 issue 4 (2021) 1586.

⁸ Secular and monastic liturgies are further outlined in D. HILEY: *Western Plainchant*. A

case, the reason was that they observed the diocesan liturgy, which is always secular since it is the cathedral rite. In the case of the sisters, the reason was that the *Cantus sororum* was based on the secular Marian Office *Horae de Beata Maria Virgine*, further outlined in the next section. Little attention, however, has been paid by earlier research to this double liturgical situation. At the time of the approbation of the Birgittine Order in 1370, the Birgittines had to compete with many other well-established orders on the monastic map. They had to offer something unique, and the construction of the Order as a double abbey with consequent use of a double liturgy was a way to achieve this. The sisters' Office presented in the *Cantus sororum* was an Office unused by any other monastic order. As such, it was a unique selling point and part of what I call the *Birgittine branding* (discussed below) that distinguished the Birgittines from more established orders. In the Birgittine double abbey construction, the *Cantus sororum* was but one part of a complicated liturgical web. The second liturgy was the sisters' Mass liturgy, which consisted of numerous Marian Masses, in particular, the *Salve sancta parens* Mass. These liturgies varied little during the liturgical year.

The two remaining liturgies were the Mass and Office for the brothers, borrowed from the cathedral liturgy in which the abbey was located.⁹ This liturgy followed the liturgical year to a much higher degree than that of the sisters, which was more static. In Vadstena, this meant that the brothers observed the Linköping secular cathedral liturgy practiced in Linköping Cathedral. As a result, the brothers' liturgy differed in every Birgittine abbey, unless two abbeys were located within the same diocese.¹⁰ Consequently, the brothers did not receive a unique Office like the sisters. The use of the cathedral liturgy is stated in the revelations, and while

handbook (Oxford 1993) 25–30 and A. HUGHES: *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office: a guide to their organization and terminology* (Toronto 1982) 53–55.

⁹ MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 241–242.

¹⁰ The use of cathedral liturgy instead of diocesan liturgy was chosen since diocesan liturgies were not fixed in medieval Sweden until the end of the 15th century. The idea of a consistent diocesan liturgy in Linköping before the *Breviarium Lincopense* was printed is an anachronism, and we furthermore have little indication of how thoroughly the printed diocesan service books – which were printed in most Swedish dioceses – were actually followed in the parishes. The distinction is perhaps less valid on the continent but is important to point out for Swedish conditions. Diocesan liturgies in medieval Sweden were not particularly uniform until the end of the 15th century when printed missals and breviaries established norms for the diocesan liturgy. Sven Helander has investigated the cathedral liturgies from a textual viewpoint, in particular for Uppsala and Linköping dioceses, although the musical tradition has not been studied. The question deserves further research. S. HELANDER: *Ordinarius Lincopensis c:a 1400 och dess liturgiska förebilder: Ordinarius Lincopensis und seine liturgischen Vorbilder, diss.* (Lund 1957), and S. HELANDER: *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin: studier i helgonlängd, tidegärd och mässa = Die mittelalterliche Liturgie von Uppsala: Studien zu Kalendarium, Stundengebet und Messe* (Lund 2001).

the sisters' Office liturgy is acknowledged as a liturgy that emerged from divine inspiration, the brothers' liturgy is seemingly prescribed out of necessity:

... since it is difficult for priests of advanced age to give up their customary practices and accustom themselves to new ones, it is permissible for them to chant the Office of the cathedral church in the diocese where the abbey is located. However the sisters shall not change the Office established for them in any way.¹¹

Together these four liturgies formed one unit called the Greater Birgittine Liturgy, a term coined by the musicologist Ingmar Milveden. The *Cantus sororum* can therefore never be regarded in isolation; analyses of text and chant need to consider all four aspects as far as possible.

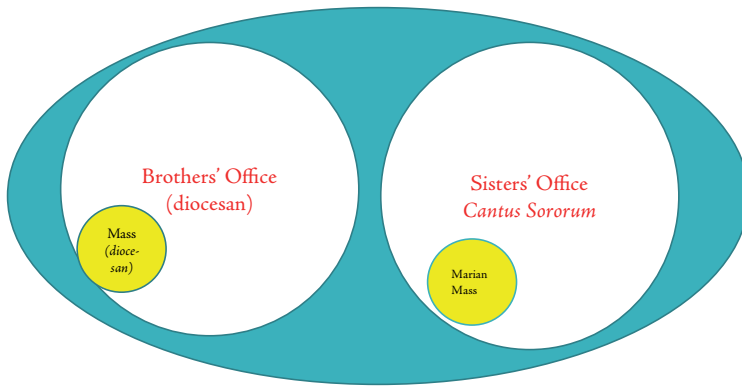


IMAGE 1: The Greater Birgittine Liturgy. The image is an illustration of how the liturgies of the sisters and brothers form parts of a greater whole. The Divine Office covered the entire day, while the Masses (indicated by yellow circles) took place in the morning. The sisters' Mass was, just as the Office, celebrated after the brothers' Mass.

A brief outline of the sisters' divine Office, the *Cantus sororum*

Central to the understanding of the liturgy examined in this book stands the *Cantus sororum* – the daily Office of the Birgittine sisters. This Office liturgy was arranged as a weekly cycle which the sisters, regardless of abbey, were required to observe. Much research has been devoted to this Office repertoire, but there remains more to explore. This book seeks to fill a few of the gaps, although a consistent picture is still challenging to achieve due to the abundance of sources that

¹¹ MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 242. *Ideo qui a sacerdotibus etate prouectis difficile est assueta relinquere et nouis assuesci, permittur eis cathedralis ecclesie, in cuius dyocesi situm est monasterium, cantare officium. Sorores vero officium eis institutum nullatenus immutabunt.* HOLLMAN: *Den heliga Birgittas Revelaciones extravagantes* vol. 5, 129.

remain to be studied. Without attempting an exhaustive overview of earlier research, I will, in the course of the book, discuss some earlier research in relation to my own findings.¹²

As mentioned above, the *Cantus sororum* was a secular Marian Office based on the secular Marian hours *Horae de Beata Maria Virgine* or *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis* (hereafter *Horae de B.M.V.*).¹³ It probably originated in the Carolingian period and was widely disseminated in the 10th century with local variations.¹⁴ This Office for the Virgin Mary is an important liturgy, both as a

¹² The most important works on Birgittine chant are G. BUCHT: *Vadstenanunnornas veckoritual*, diss. (Uppsala 1953), A.-M. NILSSON: 'En studie i Cantus Sororum: hymnerna och deras melodier', in *On liturgical hymn melodies in Sweden during the Middle Ages*, diss. (Göteborg 1991) 91–120, V. SERVATIUS: *Cantus sororum: musik- und liturgiegeschichtliche Studien zu den Antiphonen des birgittinischen Eigenrepertoires: nebst 91 Transkriptionen*, diss. (Uppsala 1990), and H. L. VUORI: *Neitsyt Marian yrttitarhassa - Birgittalaissisarten matutinumini suuret responsoriot* [In the Herb Gardens of Oure Ladye The Great Responsories of Matins in Bridgettine Sisters' Liturgy of Hours], diss. (Helsinki 2011). Publications where the author address the Birgittine chant and liturgy include:

K. LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: 'The Birgittine Abbey of Maria Refugie. Five hundred years of manuscript production', in J. BORDERS (ed.): *Papers read at the 17th meeting of the IMS Study Group. Cantus Planus Vienna 2014* (Venice 2021) 61–71, K. LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: 'The Invitatory antiphons in Cantus sororum – a unique repertoire in a world of standard chant', in *Plain song and Medieval Music*, 27, vol. 2 (2018) 121–142, K. LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: 'O Birgitta, du som talat med all vishet – Musikens makt i den heliga Birgittas klosterorden', in J. BJÖRKMAN & A. JARRICK (eds.): *Musikens makt. Rj:s årsbok* (Stockholm 2018) 145–160, K. LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: 'A reformed Cantus Sororum in Maria Refugie around 1800', in E. ANDERSSON & C. GEJROT (eds.): *Continuity and Change in the Birgittine Order. Papers from the conference at Dartington Hall 21–24 July 2015* (Stockholm 2017) 325–338, K. LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: 'The Birgittine Mass Liturgy through Five Centuries. A Case Study of the Uden Sources', in *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 57, (2015) 49–71, K. LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: '"Save us from plague, sudden death, and every tribulation." The Antiphon *Hec est preclarum vas* in the Birgittine Context', in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 7/15, vol. 2 (2015) 101–116, K. LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: *Ordet blev sång. Liturgisk musik i katolska kloster 2005–2007*, diss. (Skellefteå 2009), K. LAGERGREN: 'Benedicamus Domino Tropes in the Birgittine Order: Embellishing Everyday Liturgy', in C.A. BRADLEY (ed.): *Early Music Special Issue: Benedicamus domino as female devotion* (Oxford 2023), K. LAGERGREN: 'The Birgittine liturgical music – team work or the oeuvre of a genius mind? A new hypothesis for an old question', in E. ANDERSSON, I. HEDSTRÖM, and M. ÅKESTAM (eds.): *Birgittine circles* (Stockholm 2023), K. LAGERGREN: 'Sung Memories – Remembering St. Birgitta (and Katherina) with Music', in D. CARILLO-RANGEL & H. LESLIE JACOBSEN (eds.): *Birgittine Acts of Memory: Remembering St Birgitta of Sweden* (Routledge in print). In 2018 a CD with a selection of Birgittine chant from Mariënwater/Maria Refugie was released: ENSEMBLE GEMMA: *Maria! Maria! 400 Years of Birgittine chant*. Stockholm: Sterling Records CDA 1828–2, 2018. Dir. Karin Strinnholm Lagergren.

¹³ See GY: 'L'office des brigittines' 1972 and MILVEDEN: 'Per omnia humilis' 46.

¹⁴ R. A. BALTZER: 'The Little Office of the Virgin and Mary's Role at Paris', in MARGIT

basic premise for late medieval lay devotion and for the foundation of the Cantus sororum. The popularity of *Horae de B.M.V.* was a direct result of the increasing Marian devotion in the late Middle Ages. Birgitta was also familiar with this Office; it is documented that she performed *Horae de B.M.V.* together with her husband in Sweden.¹⁵ As theologians Pierre-Marie Gy and Alf Hårdelin and historian Birgit Klockars have pointed out, Cantus sororum was modelled on this more modest Marian Office. *Horae de B.M.V.* lacks a standard version but existed in many variants of different lengths.¹⁶ In the diocesan liturgy of Linköping, this Office is entirely different from the Cantus sororum.¹⁷ While *Horae de B.M.V.* was an Office for a single day, Cantus sororum would become an Office cycle for a whole week. Though unique in its character, with its spiritual emphasis on the Virgin Mary, the Cantus sororum was perhaps not found too odd in late medieval times, since it contained many well-known items from a liturgy familiar to most pious lay people. Another advantage in using this liturgy as a base for a new monastic creation is that papal approbation for a new liturgy did not have to be obtained, something which had become difficult at this time.¹⁸ In Birgittine hands it was elaborated from a one-day Office into an Office cycle of seven Offices to be performed over the course of one week. For each day of the week, the Cantus sororum highlights one particular aspect of the Virgin Mary and her role as the mother of the redeemer. The themes for each day can be summarised as follows:

SUNDAY: Creation, joy in the triune God. Mary as the ideal model for creation.

MONDAY: Beauty and fall of the angels. Mary venerated by the angels.

TUESDAY: Fall of Adam, the Patriarchs. Mary as premediated protector of the fallen.

WEDNESDAY: Birth of Mary and childhood. The Conception.

THURSDAY: Incarnation of the Word. The Annunciation.

FRIDAY: Suffering and death of Christ. Mary's suffering.

SATURDAY: Virgin's faith in Christ. Mary's death and Assumption.¹⁹

The Cantus sororum emphasises the role of the Virgin Mary in salvation history, linking her to both Old and New Testament; all the texts are entirely Marian fo-

E. FASSLER AND REBECCA A. BALTZER (ed.): *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages. Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography* (Oxford 2000) 463–484.

¹⁵ A good overview of the *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis* is given in GY: 'L'office des brigittines' 17.

¹⁶ A. HÄRDELIN: 'Birgittinsk lovsång. Den teologiska grundstrukturen i Cantus sororum – den birgittinska systratidegården', in *Kult, kultur och kontemplation: studier i medeltida svenskt kyrkoliv* (Skellefteå 1998)

251.

¹⁷ K. PETERS (ed.): *Breviarium Lincopense* (Lund 1950–1958) vol. III:2 901–911.

¹⁸ GY: 'L'office des brigittines' 18.

¹⁹ After M. URBERG: *Music in the devotional lives of the Birgittine brothers and sisters at Vadstena Abbey (c. 1373–1545)*, diss. (Chicago 2016) 28.

cused. Musically, the Marian aspect is strengthened in that several chants are Marian chants taken from the common stock of plainchant.²⁰ *Cantus sororum* alters little during the liturgical year, and the small variations consist of the exchange of hymn melodies for Advent and Lent, for example, and the addition of alleluia for feast days in the concluding *Benedicamus Domino* for Lauds and Vespers. The chants are generally longer than chants in other Office liturgies.

The daily Mass that the sisters were to observe was prescribed in the Birgittine Rule with the words: "The sisters shall sing the votive Mass of my Mother every day, both ordinary weekdays and feast days, and they shall sing the 'Hail Holy Queen' [*Salve Regina*] every Saturday after Mass."²¹ A votive Mass is to be understood as a Mass "offered for a *votum*", a special intention, and was therefore distinct from the Masses celebrated according to the annual liturgical cycle. Votive Masses were celebrated every day in cathedrals and monastic churches in the later Middle Ages, but the Mass in honour of the Virgin Mary was normally reserved for Saturdays.²² No Mass is explicitly mentioned in the Rule. Common Birgittine sources from the earliest times depict no other Mass than the widespread and popular *Salve sancta parens*, which is why it can be safely assumed that this was the Mass the sisters observed on a daily basis ever since their foundation.

Earlier scholarship on the *Cantus sororum* outnumbers the studies of other parts of the Birgittine liturgy, and while this book centres on the *Cantus sororum*, with an eye to the Birgittine Greater Liturgy, it references at times the entire world of Catholic chant and liturgy. There are predominantly two reasons for concentrating on the *Cantus sororum*. Firstly, there is much earlier scholarship to build upon concerning the period up to the 16th century and, secondly, there are many sources and chants to choose from. The uniqueness of the Birgittine liturgy lies not so much in the individual items but in how carefully they were put together. The Birgittines used several techniques, or several chantscapes, with one overarching purpose: to create a Birgittine liturgy and thereby an identity, not only in mere words but also in chant. The fact that the *Cantus sororum* is the only chant repertoire to be performed solely by women has spurred much earlier scholarship, but research has also tended to regard the *Cantus sororum* in isolation from other monastic liturgies by over-emphasising its unique features. Seen as a whole, the

²⁰ 'Common stock' refers to the widespread repertoire of plainchant that was found all over the Catholic world and sung in many liturgical milieus in the late Middle Ages. I choose to use the term 'plainchant' throughout this book instead of the narrower term 'Gregorian chant'.

²¹ *Capitulum V. Omnibus quoque diebus festis et priuatis missa de Matre mea per sorores cantatur et omni sabbato sorores post missam Matris mee cantabunt 'Salve Regina'*. S. EKLUND (ed.): *Sancta Birgitta: Opera minora 1. Regula Salvatoris* (Stockholm 1975) 108.

²² MORRIS & SEARBY: *The Revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 128, footnote 1.

Cantus sororum is a repertoire compiled of mixed standard chants widely disseminated in Catholic liturgy *and* contributions with no parallels outside Birgittine liturgy – what I shall call ‘unique chants.’ To give an idea of the number of chants in the Cantus sororum, in one week the sisters sang seven invitatory antiphons, 35 hymns, 21 great responsories, and 92 psalm antiphons. To these chants, a number of versicles, suffrages, seven ferial Benedicamus Domino tropes, short responsories, and of course the Psalms and Canticles were added. The total number of chants amounts to around 200. In particular, the great responsories and antiphons are over-represented in that category of chants without external parallels, but distinguishing unique pieces in a repertoire that is so dependent on intertextual relations is highly complex. Servatius points out that 55 of the 92 psalm antiphons are unique, and Vuori identifies seven of the great responsories as unique, though she acknowledges the difficulty with strict borders in that “... the division of chants into new compositions and variations is not simple or even necessary, since the variation can bring forward something new, while new compositions can be created with old formulas.”²³ What we do know is that all of the 35 hymn melodies (but not all texts) are well known in the chant repertoire and will be further discussed in chapter 1.²⁴ Concordances to the repertoire of short responsories are all found in abundance in the plainchant repertoire and all psalm tones are traditional. The seven Benedicamus Domino tropes for Lauds and Vespers are all troped on existing formulas but exhibit fascinating features building upon known Benedicamus Domino models outside the order and the Birgittines also made their own contributions.²⁵ In my own examination of the invitatory antiphons, I concluded that only one of the melodies can be said to be a true unique piece, and while the remaining six invitatory antiphons have no exact concordances they do, on the other hand, share features with other chants in the chant repertoire. Three of the texts in this repertoire have no known concordances, a further three texts show similarities with existing texts, and one text is one of the most widely known Marian texts: a setting of *Ave Maria gratia plena*. My method rather serves at pointing to how intertextual relations play a crucial role and how difficult – if not impossible – it is to discern unique pieces in a plainchant context. Nevertheless, I will discuss unique pieces and in each case problematise what is meant by this in accordance

²³ SERVATIUS: *Cantus sororum* 109–112, H.-L. VUORI: ‘The Great Matins Responsories in the Birgittine Sisters’ Liturgy of Hours. An ode to Petrus of Skänninge’, in E. ANDERSSON & C. GEJROT (eds.): *Continuity and Change in the Birgittine Order. Papers from the conference at Dartington Hall 21–24 July 2015* (Stockholm 2017) 65–66.

²⁴ NILSSON 1991.

²⁵ LAGERGREN: ‘Benedicamus Domino Tropes in the Birgittine Order: Embellishing Everyday Liturgy’, in *Early Music Special Issue: Benedicamus domino as female devotion*. Ed. Catherine A. Bradley (Oxford 2023).

with my intertextual stand. It speaks for itself that only a few of all the chants sung by the sisters can be subject to analysis in this book. By limiting the number of musical analyses of chants, the aim is to provide clues to the understanding of what it meant (and still means) to be a Birgittine. The performative actions which constitute liturgy embrace Birgittine spirituality, as well as the construction of Birgittine identity and chantscapes. In Appendix 2, an overview will be provided of Cantus sororum's principal liturgical items in the *core repertoire*. This repertoire is to be understood as invitational antiphons, psalm antiphons, great responsories, and hymns, i.e., the most important mandatory material for performing an Office, and it is that material which is accorded the most attention in this study. This overview may be used as a guide for the reader to navigate through this rich liturgy.

Moreover, it is important to separate the title of the corpus Cantus sororum from its content. As a name, Cantus sororum has been known since the late 14th century, but there are no sources for its exact content until the middle of the 15th century. This is a dilemma that earlier research has not fully addressed; however, it will be discussed in depth in this book.

Short overview of sources and abbeys

Unlike most of the previous research on the Birgittine Order, this book does not focus on the conditions in Vadstena Abbey. Nor is it primarily occupied with the Middle Ages. Instead, it focuses on chant and liturgy at the Birgittine abbey Mariënwater/Maria Refuge (one foundation under two names) in the Netherlands, founded ca. 1437 and still functioning. This abbey's outstanding library with liturgical books dating from the late 15th up to the 20th century has made this *longue durée* examination possible. As such, this is the first book to address the Birgittine Office and Mass liturgy in the Birgittine Order since the 16th century. The extraordinary sources at Mariënwater/Maria Refuge was the reason for choosing this abbey as the focus for this study. This particular abbey should not be seen in isolation but rather in relation to other Birgittine abbeys. Therefore, three more Birgittine abbeys have been used for comparison: Vadstena Abbey, Mariëntroon in Dendermonde (Belgium), and the abbey Altomünster (Germany). These abbeys will be considered in this study when sources and conditions need to be compared or highlighted to pinpoint interesting liturgical uses. The number of sources preserved from these abbeys vary and the sources used in this study are listed in the bibliography. Through this comparative approach, a broader picture can be gained of general features in the Birgittine chant and liturgy on the one hand, and features that were specific to Mariënwater/Maria Refuge on the other. This methodological approach should enable a discussion about how the Birgittines utilised a liturgy that was meant to be unifying, but where individual abbeys also actively interacted

with their liturgy. The result will be to show how Birgittine chantscales were created, maintained, and, when required, modified. The situation regarding sources will be outlined in more depth in subsequent chapters, but a few words here will serve as an introduction, along with a short overview of the abbeys included in this study.

The sources from Mariënwater/Maria Refugie have only been subjected to limited research, restricted to addressing its oldest material, which includes manuscripts up to ca. 1500.²⁶ Mariënwater/Maria Refugie was founded next to the small town of Rosmalen in the Netherlands, ca. 1437 under the name Mariënwater. In 1713, it relocated to nearby Uden, and changed its name to Maria Refugie. It is a single abbey that has operated under two different names at different times in two different places. This inconsistency has been resolved so that, concerning conditions and history up to 1713, the abbey is called Mariënwater, and for the period from 1713 onward, it is referred to as Maria Refugie. Regarding conditions from a longer perspective, both before and after 1713, I shall use the designation Mariënwater/Maria Refugie. The library in Maria Refugie has been exceptionally inventoried by librarian Ulla Sander Olsen.²⁷ It holds about 100 notated liturgical books of which around 50 have been used in this study. Most of its sources are presented here for the first time. Additionally, a number of books from Maria Refugie are currently held in other collections, libraries, or archives. Considering the sources in their entirety, they are the largest preserved corpus of *notated* chant manuscripts from any individual Birgittine abbey.

Vadstena Abbey was in the special position of providing the Birgittine liturgy with a spiritual and ideological foundation for all the other Birgittine abbeys. Consequently, Vadstena and its preserved sources provide the focus for the first two chapters. Vadstena has a good number of preserved liturgical sources, with and without notation, but only covering a shorter period, ca. 1450–1520s. Today, most are housed in Uppsala University Library's C-collection.²⁸ Vadstena Abbey is the

²⁶ Parts of the earliest sources from Mariënwater were used by SERVATIUS: *Cantus sororum*.

²⁷ U. SANDER OLSEN: *Biblioteca Birgittina. Birgittinessenabdij Mariënwater/Maria Refugie. Uden N.Br. Gesticht ca. 1437 – overgeplaatst naar Uden 1713* (Brussels 2002).

²⁸ The manuscripts are catalogued in M. ANDERSSON-SCHMITT & M. HEDLUND: *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C- Sammlung Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis*; 26, 1 (Stockholm/Uppsala 1988–1995).

These manuscripts are available online at: *Alvin. Platform for digital collections and digitized cultural heritage*. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/home.jsf?faces-redirect=true&-searchType=EXTENDED&dswid=-486>. Accessed 22 February 2022. In addition to these books, 20 fragments containing Mass and Office material for the Birgittine sisters are preserved in the National Archives in Stockholm, all from the 15th century. Their fragmentary state has excluded them from this study since I have chosen to work with complete sources

only monastic institution from medieval Sweden with a large selection of its book holdings preserved with a secure provenance. These books have mainly survived in complete form, although some have been preserved as fragments.²⁹ Several of these books contain notated liturgical material; however, there are many obstacles to studying the Vadstena sources with regards to content and dating, as will later become clear. The abbey closed in 1595 due to the Swedish Reformation, and no new monastic activities took place there until the 20th century. The sources from Vadstena and their authoritative status will be discussed in questioning some overlooked facts from earlier research, where I present a new reading of the earliest sources, emphasising the collaborative aspect in the creation of the Birgittine liturgy. In 1963, Birgittine monastic life resumed in Vadstena when Birgittine sisters arrived from Maria Refugie and founded Pax Mariae.

Mariëntroon was Mariënwater's sixth foundation and was established in 1466. It functioned until 1784; however, only four preserved books remain.³⁰ The abbey's close connection to Mariënwater/Maria Refugie makes an examination of these books interesting in order to investigate possible links in musical and liturgical transmission. Very little research has been conducted on this abbey.³¹ Today, Mariëntroon's preserved works are held in the Royal Library in Brussels and the Sint-Pieters-en-Paulus-Abdij in Affligem, Belgium.

Finally, sources from the Birgittine abbey Altomünster in Bavaria have been utilised. This abbey was originally a Benedictine community and converted into a Birgittine abbey in 1488.³² It functioned as a double abbey until 1803 and closed in 2017. Its library has been transferred to the München-Freising diocesan library in Munich.³³ Altomünster has about the same number of liturgical books preserved

and not fragments. A study of these fragments has not revealed any new information for the present study. The sources may be consulted via the website of the National Archives in the database of medieval book fragments MPO: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/mpo>. Additionally, Helsinki University library houses Birgittine fragments, catalogued in Fragmenta <http://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/>.

²⁹ The fragments are described in J. BRUNIUS: *From manuscripts to wrappers: medieval book fragments in the Swedish National Archives: archival guide* (Stockholm 2013) 120–122.

³⁰ This abbey is also called Maria Troon but will in this book be referred to as Mariëntroon.

³¹ Two titles on the topic are U. SANDER OLSEN: 'Handschriften en boeken uit het Birgittinessenklooster Maria Troon te Dendermonde', in *Spiritualia neerlandica* (1990) 215–227 and S. CARPELS: *Het klooster Mariëntroon in Dendermonde. Een studie naar de identiteit van de Birgittinessen in de laatmiddeleeuwse Nederlanden*. Masters thesis (Gent 2010).

³² T. NYBERG, U. SANDER OLSEN & P. SLOTH CARLSEN (eds.): *Birgitta atlas: Saint Birgitta's monasteries: a transeuropean project = die Klöster der Heiligen Birgitta : ein transeuropäisches projekt* (Uden 2013) 178–179.

³³ *Early Printed Books of the Altomünster Monastery published before 1803*. <https://www.digital-sammlungen.de/index.html?projekt=1504787190> Accessed 28 February 2022. The title is misleading since the index also includes handwritten books.

as in Maria Refugie (ca. 100), but fewer are notated, and they are more unevenly distributed over the centuries. Their liturgical sources remain largely uninvestigated.³⁴

Preserved books from the Birgittine brothers are scarce. They seem to have disappeared or been destroyed when the double abbeys were dissolved from the 17th century onwards. When the Birgittine brothers were forced to leave a double abbey they sometimes began serving as secular priests so it is possible that in such cases they took liturgical books with them, since these contained the diocesan liturgy and could be used outside a Birgittine context. Another possibility is that the brothers' books ended up in other collections, where their first provenance has not yet been discovered due to their more general diocesan appearance. These questions have not been addressed by scholarship.

A collection of letters from the 1940s are also a small but important source of information about the liturgical activities in Mariënwater in this decade, and will be examined in chapter 6.

I have limited the study primarily to antiphoners and graduals. I will briefly touch on processions since the processional repertoire and the Birgittine Office repertoire partly share the same great responsories. Processions in the Birgittine Order took place weekly on Fridays, and on feast days.³⁵

Music analysis, transcriptions, and editorial method

This book is a result of work spanning several years and including different methodological approaches at different points, beginning when I first visited Maria Refugie in 2003. A first step was a systematic investigation of the sources, which were eventually compiled in the database *birgittine.org*. This database includes 22 manuscripts relevant for the discussions in this book, a total of around 3,500 items. The database for musicologists has the crucial advantage that it contains searchable melodic incipits.

Musical analysis has been an important way of examining the Birgittine chantscape. Transcriptions of individual chants are a method used here to discuss variations, patterns of transmission, and changes over time in the Birgittine liturgy. The melodies have either been transcribed as individual pieces or as comparative

³⁴ Servatius used D-FS:Hss Alto MS P An 1, D-FS:Hss Alto MS P An 2, D-FS:Hss Alto MS P An 3, D-FS:Hss Alto MS P An 4, D-FS:Hss Alto MS P An 5, and D-FS:Hss Alto MS P An 6 in her dissertation on the psalm antiphons in the *Cantus sororum*; see SERVATIUS, *Cantus sororum*.

³⁵ Apart from Fridays, the Birgittines processed on many occasions and feasts: Marian feast days, Rogation days, feast days for Birgitta, Purification, and on the feast day of St Anne, to name the most significant. The processional repertoire in Vadstena is described in detail in URBERG: *Music in the devotional lives* 2016.

transcriptions using two or more sources, depending on the specific research question. Transcriptions have been produced in modern notation using the G clef on a five-staff system. The treble clef is used, since nearly all the chants in this book were intended to be performed by women. The use of modern notation has been motivated by the wish to make the chants accessible to non-readers of square notation. Special notes such as liquescent notes or quilismas do not occur in the Birgittine chant repertoire; thus the modern notation does not contain any of these signs. Ligatures of two or more notes are indicated with slurs.

Though it is my conviction that each alteration of a chant melody is valid for purposes of its own time, it is difficult to avoid a terminology that does not hint at a valuation. I have chosen to use the term *original* for the earliest layer of chants found in sources up to ca. 1500. This term has nothing to do with considering these versions as more authentic or authoritative in their ability to express the Birgittine liturgy or identity than later sources, but considers the fact that these melodies are the oldest known versions in the Birgittine sources. Likewise, it is not easy to assign an appropriate terminology to the changes the repertoire was subject to after the appearance of the first version. Here, I have chosen the term *revisions* in most cases, and for each case I state what the revision consists of. These revisions take place on a sliding scale from close approximations of the original to more independent revisions. I avoid speaking about *new* compositions, since composition is a complicated concept in chant research.

An important way of talking about and analysing the melodies is to place them in the eight-mode system, which had been used for hundreds of years before the Birgittine chant was codified. Speaking about Birgittine chants in modal terms has enabled discussions about how the Birgittines regarded melodies linked to modes. In particular, when analysing the heavily revised *Cantus sororum* repertoire from the 18th century, a modal viewpoint has had significant advantages. Modes have been distinguished through analysing the last note (the *finalis*) and the recitation note (the *tenor*, usually a fourth or a fifth above the *finalis*), which are the two points around which a chant melody centres. Also, the psalm-tone system, used together with the psalm antiphons, has provided an important analytical tool in the designation of modes. The Birgittines used the traditional psalm-tone system. This more systematic and analytical approach has been linked to a study of historical circumstances and normative and descriptive documents that can help shed light on what the Birgittines chose for different solutions in their liturgy at different times. Interviews have also been conducted with the sisters in Pax Mariae. Through this pluralistic methodological approach, this work is at the crossroads between systematic close readings of sources, ethnomusicological questions concerning music's function and its users, and music analysis. The chant manuscripts

have always been the focus to maintain sight of the previously mentioned guiding idea behind this book: liturgy expresses fundamental ideas about how a community chooses to define itself. Throughout the book, I have used the common terminology for the liturgical items, but the Matins responsory deserves a comment. In Birgittine scholarship they are often called great responsories in contrast to the short responsories, a terminology I have retained.

Theoretical framework

Intertextuality, chantscape, and the need for a Birgittine branding

Beyond examining notated manuscripts sources, this study seeks to highlight a topic which goes beyond the actual notated content. A few theoretical concepts are therefore employed.

One such topic concerns the need for a Birgittine “branding”. There were many orders to choose from in the 14th century monastic landscape if one wanted to become religious or a benefactor of a religious institution. Historian Hans Mol argues that in around 1500 there existed as many as 600 monasteries in the Low Countries, of which two-thirds were female foundations.³⁶ The idea of a strategy to attract members or secure economic support has been used as a model in earlier research for explaining the success of certain monastic orders in the Middle Ages. Here, I will build on the use of the concept resulting from Mol’s discussions of the establishment of the Croziers (Kruisheren) in Friesland in the 15th century.³⁷ Religious institutions were important in many ways in the Middle Ages, including their place on the salvation market (*zieleheilsmarkt*). Investing in pilgrimages, a monastery, a guest house, or a parish church was a way for lay people to secure insurance against the risks of the afterlife.³⁸ In other words, there were different kinds of religious institutions to choose to invest in, among them monasteries. Those chosen varied over time according to various factors. In late medieval Low Countries, monastic orders with a strict observance that presented a radical lifestyle were particularly attractive to pious lay people.³⁹ This especially concerned monastic institutions representing reform movements, such as the Windesheimer Congregation, which belonged to the spiritual movement *devotio moderna* (further outlined in chapter 3). The reform programme of the Windesheimers was twofold:

³⁶ Mol, J. A.: ‘Epiloog: de Moderne Devoten en de vernieuwing van het kloosterlandschap’, in H. van Engen en G. Verhoeven (ed.) *Monastiek observantisme en Mdoerne Devotie in Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Hilversum 2008) 213.

³⁷ J. A. MOL: ‘Kruisheren op de Friese zieleheilsmarkt in de vijftiende eeuw’, in *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, zestiende jaargang, nummer 4 (1990) 327–348.

³⁸ MOL: ‘Kruisheren’ 327–328.

³⁹ MOL: ‘Kruisheren’ 335, MOL: ‘Epiloog’ 221–??

to inspire lay people to lead a more pious life and to act as a model for existing monasteries for stricter observance.⁴⁰ The *devotio moderna* was a parallel to the Birgittine Order since they both count as reform movements calling for a renewed interest in pious practices. According to Mol, the success of such monastic foundations lay in the fact that it appeared as if prayers performed by these groups of strict observance provided an added value than if performed by traditional Orders at that time.⁴¹ While economic reasons contributed to the success of these orders, there were also expectations from lay people of an active liturgical life at these institutions, with observance of the Office hours and performance of votive and requiem Masses which benefactors ordered and paid for.⁴² The Birgittine Order fits well into this picture, regarding itself as a reform Order with a rich liturgical life. In fact, it could offer an active liturgical life with not only one but two liturgies, one of which was well known among locals; the diocesan liturgy observed by the Birgittine brothers. Along with this came the sisters' Marian-centred liturgy connecting popular Marian devotion among the lay people. All in all, the salvation market is a factor that helps explain the success of the Birgittines in the Low Countries and is something I call the *Birgittine branding*. It is against this background that I argue that the need for a Birgittine hallmark was of great importance in attracting new members. This was accomplished in several ways, and the *Cantus sororum* plays an important role. The quick canonisation of Birgitta in 1391, 18 years after her death, was another way of granting authority to this Order. The liturgical branding proved to be successful, and one major result of my research that may be unveiled already in this introduction, is how remarkably resistant the *Cantus sororum* was to time. The liturgy in its essential parts remained the same until the 1970s, when the remaining Birgittine abbeys, in the wake of the Second Vatican Council, adapted their Office into the vernacular from Latin.

Intertextual relations are also of great importance in discussing the meaning and role of the chant in the Birgittine Order. Musicologist Margot Fassler regards intertextuality as fundamental to the understanding of composition and performance of medieval music, describing it as follows:

In music, examples of intertextuality include phrases taken or adapted from other works, even the use of a particular mode or key that is closely associated with other works that may be familiar to the performer or listener. Within a composition, one section can reference another by repetition, variation, fragmentation. When we deal with the combination of music and text – especially when texts come from liturgy or Scripture – this web of interrelationships becomes much more complex.⁴³

⁴⁰ MOL: 'Kruisherer' 335.

⁴¹ MOL: 'Kruisherer' 335.

⁴² See examples of this in MOL: 'Kruisherer' 338 and 340.

⁴³ M. FASSLER: *Music in the medieval West. Western Music in Context: A Norton History*

Intertextuality in plainchant and liturgy is an excellent tool for creating meaning and a communality beyond the words actually sung. Furthermore, it allows for discussions not burdened with questions of authenticity, and points to why the concept of ‘composition’ is so complicated to use in a plainchant. I am less concerned with the uniqueness of the Birgittine liturgy and its chant, and more interested in the intertextual relationships existing between chants and texts within the Birgittine liturgy and the wider plainchant repertoire and liturgy. In that respect this book places the Birgittine liturgy in a greater context than merely Birgittine research. Much is unique about this Order – and some things are absolutely ordinary. The former has often been emphasised at the expense of the latter. This musical continuity that is a postulate for the kind of intertextuality described here can also be termed *impregnation*, a procedure that has been of great importance in past times, during the compilation of new chants, as well as in modern times both when new liturgical music is composed and when chant has been adapted into different vernacular guises. The lived liturgy integrates liturgical items into a person’s body and musical memory in both a physical and cognitive way.⁴⁴ As a result of impregnation, a person may use the repertoire as inspiration in an intertextual discourse that moves freely in a landscape of chants – a *chantscape*.

The Birgittine *chantscape* is constituted by a web of musical and textual interrelationships. The concept paraphrases the more familiar *soundscape*, coined in the 1960s by Canadian composer and writer Richard Murray Schafer.⁴⁵ Soundscape is an expansive concept, referring to sonic environments consisting of “events *heard* not objects *seen*”.⁴⁶ According to Schafer, it comprises any acoustic field of study and can consist, for example, of a musical composition, a radio programme, or an acoustic environment.⁴⁷ In short, it is a term that can be used to speak about any kind of sonic environment and as such is a useful tool when widening the scope of discussion from music alone. Since Schaefer introduced this concept, it has been widely used and interpreted in numerous ways. It is most often used as:

A term generally referring to the entire mosaic of sounds heard in a specific area [...] While the sounds of an environment give its inhabitants a socially defined, meaningful “sense of place”, the place’s audible features also promote certain

(New York/London 2014) 4.

⁴⁴ Rumination and impregnation as methodological tools in composing and adapting chant are discussed in LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: *Ordet blev sång*, for example 254–256. Anna Maria Busse Berger discusses the fundamental importance of memorization, rote learning, mnemonics, etc. in medieval music in A. N. BUSSE BERGER: *Medieval music and the art of memory* (Berkeley 2005).

⁴⁵ R. M. SCHAEFER: *The Soundscape. Our sonic environment and the tuning of the world* (Rochester 1977/1994).

⁴⁶ SCHAEFER: *The Soundscape* 8.

⁴⁷ SCHAEFER: *The Soundscape* 7.

kinds of behavior by the inhabitants, whose activities then help shape the place's sonic identity. For these reasons, a soundscape can be seen as both the acoustic manifestation of "place", and a medium through which a place's social meaning is reconfirmed.⁴⁸

This sense of place – also in a more metaphysical sense – is essentially what I attempt to describe in this book. Chantscape is used to discuss specific intertextual relations among chants with the goal of describing how the Birgittines created meaning and identity through performative actions expressed in their liturgical singing in the form it has reached us in notated books. The *chant* in the concept *chantscape* refers to the fact that the Birgittine liturgy was entirely vocal and monophonic, since polyphony and musical instruments were banned by the Birgittine Rule.⁴⁹ The Birgittine chantscape is not something monolithic but consists of smaller chantscapes existing within a greater whole. This narrowing of soundscape to a consideration of monophonic singing alone, as primarily manifested in liturgical books, keeps focus on the sung practice. Through this, the overall meaning of the concept of a soundscape is retained, pointing to a social meaning and how identity is manifested through 'sonic actions' that are linked to specific places in an aural landscape. Surprisingly, this more ethnomusicological means of constructing identity has seldom been considered in chant scholarship. One rare example is musicologist Susan Boynton's discussion of the construction of identity in the Benedictine Cistercian monastery in Italian Farfa, where she highlights that liturgy is often omitted when discussing the construction of ideologies in monasteries. In Boynton's survey of earlier research on the Farfa monastery, she comments: "Privileging property and politics, studies of the abbey's history often omit the liturgy altogether; yet inscribed in the daily performance of the liturgy lies a perspective on monastic identity that is inaccessible to purely historical, political, and archaeological narratives."⁵⁰ I can only agree with Boynton on this. For a thorough understanding of monasteries or monastic orders' lives, the matter of liturgy has to be taken into consideration in discussions of ideology and identity and the means

⁴⁸ M. E. HILL: *Soundscape* in Oxford Music Online/Grove Music Online 2014 <https://doi-org.proxy.lnu.se/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2258182> Accessed 26 February 2022.

⁴⁹ There are no traces of polyphony in the documents examined for this study. Additionally, the organ has had a very obscure place, although there are a few documents pointing to its use in Mass during the 19th and 20th centuries. The question of organ accompaniment will be omitted from book since it has not been proven to have any significant role in the Birgittine liturgy and, hence, chantscape. Some very limited use of polyphony in Dutch seems to have been exercised in Maria Refuge in the 1940s, but this music has not been found during my investigations and seems to concern Mass music without any connection to the Birgittine liturgy.

⁵⁰ S. BOYNTON: *Shaping a monastic identity: liturgy and history at the imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca/London 2006) 2–3.

in which these are expressed. In keeping with this view on monastic studies, I wish to show how liturgical chant has functioned as a vital factor in maintaining the Birgittine Order through the centuries.

St Birgitta's charisma and its routinisation

Despite each abbey's independence, the Order managed to maintain the same liturgy in all abbeys with little variation over many hundreds of years. This could only be accomplished because a strong authority was able to exert its ideological influence across great distances over many centuries. I understand this power as *charisma*, in the way that sociologist Max Weber has outlined the concept to explain legitimate authority. Weber distinguishes legitimate authority on three grounds: rational (resulting in legal authority), traditional, and charismatic. Typically, charismatic authority rests on "devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him".⁵¹ More specifically charismatic authority is:

...a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader. [...] What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority, by his "followers" or "disciples".⁵²

What is important to emphasise is that charisma is a double-faced process, relying on the authority that followers ascribe to a charismatic person, as pointed out by sociologist David Norman Smith. He concludes that Weber believed that charisma is not a mystic, wonder-working power in itself but a "mystic power *claimed* by aspiring rulers" and highly dependent upon social status.⁵³ Charisma can, in other words, only be exercised by a personality who has "followers who accept their charismatic claims".⁵⁴ But these claims do not take away the fact that people can be unusually gifted, and Weber does not reject that certain individuals do have extraordinary talents. It is rather that these qualities spur charismatic

⁵¹ M. WEBER: *On charisma and institution building: selected papers, edited and with an introduction by S. N. Eisenstadt* (Chicago 1968) 46.

⁵² M. WEBER: *The theory of social and economic organization* (New York 1947) 358–359.

⁵³ D. N. SMITH: 'Charisma disenchanting: Max Weber and his critics', in H. F. DAHMS: *Social Theories of History and Histories of Social Theory. Current Perspectives in Social Theory* 31 (Bingley 2013) 3–74; this passage 7–8.

⁵⁴ SMITH: 'Charisma disenchanting' 20.

faith, or in Smith's words: "It is often true that an individual's words, deeds, and qualities impel charismatic perception."⁵⁵

Turning to the Birgittine Order, Birgitta is the supreme and ever-present founder of the Order, to this very day, and an essential part of that Birgittine branding strategy. But how can charismatic claims be inscribed in an organisation that has functioned for centuries, and what happens when the charismatic authority disappears? According to Weber, charismatic authority can only be said "to exist in the process of originating". The disappearance – most often caused by death – leads to a need for transforming the relation to the followers so that the relationship can continue.⁵⁶ Charisma's character of being foreign to everyday routine must be transformed into an everyday authority that can function on a daily basis, for example in liturgy. Weber calls this process *routinisation*.⁵⁷ When Birgitta died her followers had to find a way to re-establish her authority. Weber discusses different types of this process. That which corresponds to Birgitta's charismatic claims is the process where revelations (e.g., oracles, lots, divine judgement) grant legitimacy to the charismatic personality.⁵⁸ Birgitta's rapid canonisation and her approximately 700 revelations are telling examples of how this routinisation was institutionalised. This helped in inspiring her cult and establishing her charismatic qualities. Perhaps the most revealing example of routinisation was the extraordinary measure to include parts of the revelations of the Order's founder into the *Cantus sororum*, with 21 revelations called *Sermo angelicus* to be read at Matins. In this way, Birgitta's charismatic authority was inscribed in the Order's life from the very beginning, most notably in the liturgy. Her charisma and subsequent routinisation is, in my view, the single most important factor in explaining the longevity of the Birgittine Order and its liturgy.

The medieval Birgittines – one of four branches

The Birgittines studied in this book belong to the Vadstena branch, also called the medieval branch. This contemplative branch of the Birgittine tree is the oldest, standing in a direct line with the first mother abbey in Vadstena, which opened in 1384. Other Birgittine branches do exist and should not be confused with the medieval Vadstena branch. The Hesselblad branch warrants a particular mention since it will appear a few times in the text. Founded by Elisabeth Hesselblad in 1911, the Hesselblad Birgittines are apostolic in character and liturgically different since they use the Roman liturgy and have never used the *Cantus sororum*.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ SMITH: 'Charisma disenchanting' 35.

⁵⁶ WEBER: *On Charisma* 54.

⁵⁷ WEBER: *On Charisma* 54 and 60.

⁵⁸ WEBER: *On Charisma* 55.

⁵⁹ The other branches are the Birgittine priestly houses in the 15th century, the New Bir-

Last but not least

An enormous amount of scholarly research on the Birgittines exists, produced over the course of more than a century. Seen from a wider perspective, only a small amount of this research relates to musicological studies, and none has analysed the content in post-medieval Birgittine liturgical sources. To some extent, I have undertaken the difficult task of introducing matters that have not been subject to earlier research, so I am also compelled to limit how much background information I can give. This is, therefore, not a book explaining, for example, Birgitta's revelations, Birgittine spirituality, or the organization of the Order; nor does it intend to address all previous Birgitta scholarship. There are many books for the reader who would like to delve into these subjects. The experienced Birgitta reader might therefore find a disturbing lack of references to previous Birgittine studies since I only provide those when appropriate. There is so much more that remains to be discussed and examined, including topics not only concerning the Birgittine Order and its liturgy, but also double liturgies, female monasticism, and monastic chant traditions after the Middle Ages, to name just a few areas where scholarly work is still needed. I trust that this volume can challenge how we look at the Birgittine sources, as well inspire new scholarly endeavours.

Rule or Regula, spelling, orthography, and translations

Since the material included here spans over an extended period, various spellings are used in the sources. For reasons of consistency, I have chosen the classical spelling of Latin when not referring to any specific source. When referring to specific sources, in particular chant transcriptions, the exact orthography is reproduced. I have favoured word-for-word translations rather than poetic translations. Translations of Birgitta's revelations into English have been taken from the work produced by Prof. Denis Searby.⁶⁰ Latin quotations of Birgitta's revelations are taken from the editions published by *Svenska Fornskriftssällskapet*.⁶¹

gittine Monks/*Novissimi Birgittani* active 1615–1796, Birgittines in Spain (founded in 1637) and Mexico (founded in 1743), Birgittine monks in Oregon founded in 1976, and missionary Birgittine sisters in Mexico and South America founded in 1982. Brief overviews of these branches are found in NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 289–335. The liturgies of these branches remain uninvestigated. The Hesselblad branch is treated in NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 319–326 and A. AF JOHNICK ÖSTBORN: "För Sverige har jag skänkt Gud mitt liv!": *Elisabeth Hesselblads kallelse och birgittinska mission i Sverige 1902–1935* (Skellefteå 1999) and A. AF JOHNICK ÖSTBORN: 'The Birgittine revival in Sweden' in Y. M. WERNER (ed.), *Nuns and sisters in the Nordic countries after the Reformation: a female counter-culture in modern society* (Uppsala 2004) 21–62.

⁶⁰ MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta*.

⁶¹ EKLUND (ed.): *Sancta Birgitta: Opera minora* 1. *Regula Salvatoris*, HOLLMAN (ed.): *Den heliga Birgittas Reuelaciones extrauagantes*.

I have chosen to use the term *Rule* when referring to the Birgittine Rule, rather than *Regula* which is sometimes used in Birgittine scholarship. What is important to point out is that the Birgittine monastic Rule is not an independent monastic rule but an addition to the Augustinian Rule. In Birgitta's time it was no longer possible to gain authorisation for new monastic rules. The Rule exists in several versions, of which scholarship distinguishes three main versions: the early version of the Rule completed before Birgitta left Sweden in 1349; the authorised version of the text included in the papal bull from 1378; and the adapted version which consists of a mixture of Birgitta's text and the 1378 papal bull.⁶²

⁶² See further MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 109 with references.

Period 1340s–ca. 1420: The Birgittine proto-liturgy



TO DISCUSS THE beginnings of the Birgittine Order we need to go back to the 1340s. Vadstena is only a small village on the shore of Lake Vättern, and Birgitta's charismatic authority and what would follow thereafter still lies in its cradle. Even if the 1340s are some 40 years before Vadstena Abbey opened in 1384, this is the decade when Birgitta began her plans for founding a new monastic order, before leaving Sweden for Rome in 1349. A first version of the Birgittine Rule was already completed before her move.⁶³ This chapter ends in the 1420s, and the time from the 1340s up to the 1420s is referred to in the following as the *proto-liturgical Birgittine period*. By this I mean a period marked by the testing of different liturgical solutions before the eventual arrival at a fixed liturgy in the form found today in preserved sources – a solution which I believe had already been reached in the 1420s, as will be outlined below. There are no liturgical sources with notation preserved from this proto-liturgical period, and it is striking that when notated liturgical sources finally appear from the mother abbey in Vadstena in the middle of the 15th century, we find identical chants in these sources. In other words, this repertoire had become an authoritative corpus ready to be transmitted from Vadstena to other foundations. But what preceded it? I seek to sketch a picture of the period up to the 1420s starting with the following questions: What can we possibly know about the Birgittine liturgy during the first ca. 70 years of the Order's existence? Which people were active in this process? What were the driving forces in establishing legitimacy for the Order? How could Birgittine branding be achieved and how was the routinisation of Birgitta's charisma expressed in the liturgy?

The basis for this chapter consists of different kinds of documents leading to conclusions about the first phase of the Birgittine liturgy. This period in earlier scholarship, despite its lack of notated sources, has been subject to far-reaching

⁶³ The probable creation process from the first version of the *Regula* in the 1340s up to the final approved version in 1378 is briefly discussed in MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 109–110. The complicated issue of how Birgitta acquired Vadstena from King Magnus Eriksson is discussed in B. FRITZ: 'Vadstena klosterkyrka och kung Magnus testamente 1346', in P. BESKOW & A. LANDEN (eds.): *Birgitta av Vadstena. Pilgrim och profet 1303–1373: en jubileumsbok* (Stockholm 2003).

conclusions about the musical content of the Birgittine liturgy. The problem with much of this research is that it is based on later sources or sources arriving from different Birgittine abbeys or periods, which are then discussed without consideration of transmission or transformation over time and space. In this chapter, I shall challenge the picture of how the Birgittine liturgy emerged by offering a new reading of the sources from a liturgical and musicological viewpoint. Moreover, this chapter will also question some often-repeated assumptions concerning the musical authorship of the *Cantus sororum* and the compositional activities of Birgitta's confessor and collaborator in Rome working out the liturgy and plans for Vadstena Abbey – Magister Petrus Olavi of Skänninge – here referred to as Magister Petrus. He succeeded Magister Mathias and was appointed Birgitta's new confessor shortly before leaving for Rome with her in 1349.⁶⁴ Magister Petrus plays an important role in the Birgittine narrative and has been recognised by scholars as the originator of the *Cantus sororum*, yet he is a man of whom not much is known. Historian Helge Nordahl argues that he was probably born in Skänninge, close to Vadstena, and later became a secular priest and head of the hospital there.⁶⁵ He returned to Sweden with Birgitta's relics in 1374 but was only granted four further years in Vadstena before he died in 1378, six years before Vadstena Abbey was opened.⁶⁶ In Vadstena, he took up important activities in the formation of the future abbey, including teaching singing, which will be related below. The place he is given in Birgitta's writings points to how highly she valued Magister Petrus.

Birgitta and Magister Petrus are the main characters who can initially help us to examine the Birgittine proto-liturgy. I will begin this chapter by examining three texts that shed light both on the claims of divine legitimacy for the Birgittine liturgy and on liturgical practices that can help in discussing the proto-liturgical phase and the role of Magister Petrus: the Birgittine Rule, Vadstena Abbey's diary *Diarium Vadstenense*, and the section of Birgitta's revelations called the *Revelationes Extravagantes*. Thereafter, I will discuss earlier scholarship on the Birgittine chant and liturgy, followed by a discussion of medieval composers of liturgical chant. What subsequently follows will be an examination of people and groups who we can assume to have been actively involved in the proto-liturgical phase. The chapter closes with a discussion of the relationship between the *Cantus sororum* and the Marian Office *Horae de Beata Maria Virgine*, as well as some remarks on the Birgittine brothers' liturgy.

⁶⁴ NORDAHL: *Magister Petrus Olavi* 12, KLOCKARS: *Birgitta och böckerna* 37, footnote 25.

⁶⁵ H. NORDAHL: *Magister Petrus Olavi av Skänninge: den heliga Birgittas andliga vägledare* (Skellefteå 2007) 17.

⁶⁶ H. AILI: *Petrus Olavi*, in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Pres-entation.aspx?id=7208> Accessed 26 February 2022.

The Birgittine Rule, *Diarium Vadstenense*, and the *Revelationes Extravagantes*

It is in Vadstena Abbey's diary *Diarium Vadstenense* that we find the earliest known reference to the Cantus sororum, in the entry on Magister Petrus' death in 1378, stating that *hic dictavit* Cantus sororum (he said/composed the Cantus sororum).⁶⁷ In the revelation where Christ praises the piety of Magister Petrus, the Virgin Mary asks Birgitta to tell Magister Petrus that "he [Magister Petrus] is one of the priests whom God loves most in the world. This is why he was given the gift of composing the chant that is the gold that will give comfort to many people".⁶⁸ Two things warrant being pointed out here. Firstly, since the Latin word *compositor* (composer) had different meanings in the Middle Ages, meaning both composer and writer in our modern understanding, and since the verb *componere* has several meanings such as to arrange, compose, put together, adjust, etc., we do not know what the act of composing meant in these passages. It might mean the activity of creating text and/or music, rearranging already existing music, or a mix of both. Secondly, we have no liturgical notated sources from Magister Petrus' and Birgitta's period against which we can test these statements.

The Birgittine Rule is not particularly detailed concerning the liturgy but contains some interesting passages. A text that more explicitly addresses the liturgy is the *Revelationes Extravagantes* (hereafter *Extravagantes*). The editors of Birgitta's revelations, Bridget Morris and Denis Searby, describe this corpus as an initially ill-defined collection of texts before the complete set of texts was printed by Bartholomaeus Ghotan in 1492. The *Extravagantes* consists of a collection of 116 revelations on the periphery of the main corpus, and was omitted from the canonisation edition. Its character indicates that it was based on customs that had grown during the proto-liturgical phase in Vadstena and Rome.⁶⁹ The *Extravagantes* is interesting since it describes practical matters and conditions, and as such can be helpful in trying to map the proto-liturgical phase of the Cantus sororum.

There are only four direct mentions of Office chants in the Rule and the *Extravagantes*: two hymns and two antiphons. In the *Extravagantes*, the Virgin Mary instructs Birgitta to sing the hymn *Ave maris stella* together with her household every evening, a tradition that was transmitted to the abbey customs and reflected in the antiphoners. The *Extravagantes* proceeds with a mention of both Magister

⁶⁷ C. GEJROT: *Diarium Vadstenense: the memorial book of Vadstena Abbey*, diss. (Stockholm 1988) item 35, p. 119.

⁶⁸ MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 234 "... quod ipse est vnus de illis sacerdotibus, quos Deus maxime diligit in mundo, propter quod dabatur ei illum cantum dictare, qui est aurum, quod erit multis in solacium". HOLLMAN *Den heliga Birgittas Revelaciones extravagantes* vol. 5, 119.

⁶⁹ MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 219–220.

Petrus as well as Birgitta's daughter, Katherina. In this text, the Virgin Mary instructs Birgitta and her household thus:

"I myself will be the shield to protect you and yours from every attack by spiritual or physical enemies. For that reason, I want you and your household to come together every evening to sing the hymn '*Ave maris stella*'. I will assist you in all your necessities." Accordingly, Lord Petrus Olavi [Magister Petrus], her confessor for twenty-nine years, and Lady Katherine [Birgitta's daughter Katherina] of blessed memory, her daughter, established the daily custom of singing this hymn [*Ave maris stella*] in the Order, claiming that Blessed Birgitta herself commanded this to be done on the instructions of the glorious Virgin.⁷⁰

The next hymn is *Sponse iungendo filio*, which is a *contrafact* (the use of new texts to known melodies) of *Veni creator spiritus*. The revelations inform us that:

One day when Lord Petrus of blessed memory, the confessor of St. Birgitta, celebrated Mass for her in the chapel, God the Father said to his Son's bride: "Although a few persons in the world physically attend the Mass, the whole heavenly host and all the souls in purgatory take delight in it. Tell the priest, my lover, that he can leave the hymn *Sponse iungendo filio* as he wrote it. If the Holy Church denotes all souls as the brides of my Son, then Mary's soul can be called his bride with all the more reason."⁷¹

Another well-known chant explicitly mentioned is the Marian antiphon *Ave Maria gratia plena* to be sung at the end of all Office Hours.⁷² Moreover, *Salve regina* is to be sung at the end of Mass on Saturdays.⁷³ Both chants and their liturgical place are a part of normal practice in the Roman rite and, therefore, not novel.

⁷⁰ *Extravagant* chapter 8, "...Et ego ero scutum proteccionis tue et tuorum contra omnes inimicorum spiritualium et corporalium incursiones. Propterea volo, quod tu et familia tua conueniatis simul quolibet vespere ad cantandum ympnum '*Aue maris stella*'. Et ego auxilium prebebo in omnibus necessitatibus vestris. Vnde dominus Petrus Olavi, confessor eius per XXIX annos, et filia eius, domina Katherina sancte memorie, instituerunt coitidie cantare in ordine hunc ympnum, asserentes, quod ipsa beata Birgitta hoc fieri mandauit ex precepto eiusdem virginis gloriose." HOLLMAN: *Den heliga Birgittas Revelaciones extravagantes* vol. 5, 121–122. English translation MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 236.

⁷¹ "Quodiam die, dum beate memorie dominus Petrus, confessor beate Birgitte, celebrauerat missam in capella coram illa, dixit Deus pater ad sponsam filii sui: Licet paucæ persone in mundo personaliter interfuerunt isti misse, tamen omnis celestis exercitus et omnes anime in purgatorio consolabantur ab illa. Item dice idem presbitero, amatori meo, quod faciat stare illum ympnum '*Sponse iungendo filio*' etc., sicut posuit illum, quia, cum sancta ecclesia vocat omnes animas sponsas filii mei, multo magis potest anima Marie vocari sponsa eius." HOLLMAN: *Den heliga Birgittas Revelaciones extravagantes* vol. 5, 118–119. English translation in MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 234.

⁷² For Vespers it is described in this way: "Omni eciam die signo facto ad vespervas sorores conueniant adinuicem et primo dexter chorus legat vnum '*Ave Maria*'..." EKLUND: *Sancta Birgitta: Opera minora* 1. *Regula Salvatoris* 107. MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 127–128.

⁷³ MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 127–128.

The Birgittine revelations furthermore instruct that nothing is to be added or replaced, although passages are allowed to be clarified. This instruction emphasises the characterisation of an untouchable, divinely inspired and legitimised liturgy originating from Magister Petrus. One such example may be found in the *Extravagantes* chapter 114 where the Virgin Mary speaks:

... it seemed to your master that his ears and mouth were filled with wind and his heart swelled like a bellows with ardent love for God. It was in this way that he [Magister Petrus] was able to write those words which he did not know before, and how to compose the responses, antiphons and hymns and arrange the chant. That is why none of them should be shortened or lengthened. However, if anything seems obscure, permission is given to clarify it.⁷⁴

What is interesting about the quotations above is that all three include specific indications of chants to be sung, all deriving from some of the most well-known standard Marian chants: *Salve regina*, *Ave Maria gratia plena*, and *Ave maris stella*. It could not have been unknown to the Birgittines that these chants were already in use with melodies that were certainly *not* composed by Magister Petrus. Of all the circa 200 chants in the *Cantus sororum* that might have been mentioned, three chants are presented that must have been known to everyone in Birgitta's and Magister Petrus' time. The only novelty is the text of the hymn *Sponse jungendo filio*, yet still with an extremely well-known melody. Secondly, it is worth noting that the impression is given that Magister Petrus' work is complete and cannot be subject to alteration but only clarification. We will see this untouchable aspect repeated in correspondence between the Birgittines in Syon Abbey (founded 1415) and Vadstena.

So why was nothing more original included in these influential, canonical texts attributed to Magister Petrus' pen and own creativity? Perhaps the demand was the other way around: it was more important to stress how common the Birgittine liturgy was instead of emphasising its originality. That would enable an easier incorporation of this new monastic order into the well-established monastic landscape, and provide the Birgittine Order with legitimation instead of pointing to its originality, saying: See, we do many things that other orders also do and therefore can be taken seriously; we are not an obscure branch on the monastic tree; our devotion is focused in particular on the Virgin Mary. There is no proof for this view,

⁷⁴ "... prout magistro tuo videbatur, quod aures sue et os aere replebantur et cor tamquam vesica ex ardenti ad Deum caritate extumescebat. Vnde optinuit ipse illa scire verba, que prius ignoravit, quomodo scilicet responsoria, antiphonas et ymnos componere et cantum debuit ordinare. Et ideo nullum eorum abbreviari debet aut adaugeri. Permittitur tamen, quod verbum aliquod elucidetur, si obscurum forsitan videatur." L. HOLLMAN (ed.): *Den heliga Birgittas Revelaciones extravagantes* vol. 5, 230–231. MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 317.

but it would explain the Birgittine Order's rapid expansion in the 15th century with its abundance of monastic orders to choose from.

The idea that the Birgittine liturgy is not so unique is not new. In 1972, musicologist Ingmar Milveden launched a similar view: *Cantus sororum* was never intended to be a unique and original creation, since this would go against the all-important Birgittine principle of humility. Milveden warns us against too easily declaring medieval liturgies as being independent creations – instead they are intertwined in a mystical unity.⁷⁵ Church historian and Birgittine scholar Tore Nyberg remarks that the Birgittines in international scholarship have been regarded as peculiar or odd (*egenartade*), which is why scholars have contributed to the picture of an entirely unique liturgy that cannot be compared to other orders.⁷⁶ Statistically, most of the Birgittine chant material was borrowed from the common stock of plainchant. This circumstance has been overshadowed by the discussion of the unique elements in the *Cantus sororum* repertoire.

Was there ever a Birgittine archetype? Views in earlier scholarship on the earliest sources

Earlier research on the Birgittine liturgy has been intensely occupied with dating the origin of the *Cantus sororum*. Above, I have shown how the *Cantus sororum* has been identified as an oeuvre by Magister Petrus. This is said to have taken place in Rome during the 1350s and 1360s. Birgitta's contribution, according to this narrative, consists primarily of the inclusion of her 21 revelations, called *Sermo angelicus*, to be read at Matins. However, there are no sources that confirm either musically or textually what this first *Cantus sororum* actually consisted of. I shall here address a few of the difficulties concerning dating and its arguments in earlier scholarship.

It is not unknown that sources are lacking from the proto-liturgical period. This absence has been remarked upon by several scholars, for example musicologist Viveca Servatius. The lack of sources, according to Servatius, makes it unrewarding to discuss the possible existence of a Birgittine *Urfassung* – a view with which I fully agree.⁷⁷ Nordahl notices that several problems about the emergence of the *Cantus sororum* had already arisen in the earliest scholarship, especially concerning questions about the creators of its various parts and concerning borrowed versus unique contributions, and everything in between.⁷⁸ The theologian Alf Hårdelin calls for caution before a thorough study of the entire text of the

⁷⁵ MILVEDEN: 'Per omnia humilis' 47–48.

⁷⁶ NYBERG: 'De birgittinska ordensmännens uppgift' 130.

⁷⁷ SERVATIUS: *Cantus sororum* 46–47.

⁷⁸ NORDAHL: *Magister Petrus Olavi av Skänninge* 99.

Cantus sororum has been made in order to establish what is traditional and what is novel, implying that the situation concerning authorship is much more complex than might first appear.⁷⁹ However valid and correct these statements are, no real connection has ever been made between the dating of preserved sources and the discussion about their relation to the earliest phase of the Birgittine liturgy.

Another question, also connected to dating, concerns the relation between the Matins readings *Sermo angelicus* and Cantus sororum, which are believed to have been written in conjunction – for reasons that seem to rely on the premise of the theological congruencies between the texts. The dating of the *Sermo angelicus* has been established between the years 1354 and 1366, thus during Birgitta's years in Rome.⁸⁰ The year 1366 as *terminus ante quem* for the completion of Cantus sororum is based on the revelation citing that Birgitta wanted her Hours (*horas meas*) to be shown to her good friend, the Bishop Hemming of Turku who died in 1366.⁸¹ But apart from the thematic similarities, there is no further evidence that speaks for the simultaneous composition of the Cantus sororum and the *Sermo angelicus*. Furthermore, we do not know whether Birgitta's Hours were ever shown to Bishop Hemming; if this indeed occurred, was this the same repertoire as what today is known as the Cantus sororum? In that case, was the *music* also presented to the bishop, or did he only see the text? Did he approve of it or change anything? We simply do not know.

In another attempt to establish more exact dates for its completion, musicologist Gunnar Bucht argues that the Cantus sororum must have been finished at the latest around 1400, and was probably compiled between the years 1351 and 1386 with its most productive years being up until 1365. The argument for a *terminus ante quem* around 1400, according to Bucht, is due to an item in the *Diarium Vadstenense* from May 1407,⁸² when two men arrived at Vadstena from Piiritaa in Estonia where a new Birgittine abbey was about to be established. These men asked for privileges, relics, and an exemplar of the sisters' song – a *cantus sororum*.⁸³ Again, the problem with such an assumption is that the analysis does not take into consideration the actual content. Was this a general description of the repertoire that the sisters were to sing, or was it a codified set of texts and melodies that assigned this name as a title? We can also ask what liturgy the two even earlier foundations

⁷⁹ HÄRDELIN: 'Birgittinsk lovsång' 251.

⁸⁰ See, for example, COLLINS: *The Bridgettine breviary of Syon Abbey* (Stanbrook 1963) xxvii–xxx, LUNDÉN: *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis* xxi–xxii.

⁸¹ See, for example, SERVATIUS: 'Magister Petrus som "diktare" och "tonsättare"' 217; MORRIS & SEARBY: *The revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 316.

⁸² BUCHT: *Vadstenanunnornas veckoritual* 8, 11, *Ideo pecierunt a fratribus aliqua privilegia et reliquias beate Birgittie cum cantu sororum*. GEJROT: *Diarium Vadstenense* 151.

⁸³ GEJROT: *Diarium Vadstenense* 151, item 140.

used at their start: Marienbrunn in Gdansk founded in 1396 (closed in 1835) and Maria Paradiso in Florence, opened in 1392 (closed in 1776). Let us not exclude the possibility that a completed *Cantus sororum* existed in the form that we already know before 1400. Still, there are circumstances pointing to a much longer process in the creation of *Cantus sororum* stretching beyond 1400, now to be examined.

Magister Petrus re-examined

Attempts to date the *Cantus sororum*, as shown, have been a crucial issue in earlier scholarship, and this question is closely linked to Magister Petrus. The overall question is whether he was the originator of *Cantus sororum*, and in that case what and how much he actually composed, and how many texts he wrote. The idea that all the chants without known concordances outside the *Cantus sororum* can be ascribed to Magister Petrus has been argued for to various degrees. The proposal that Magister Petrus had a hand in all the chants in the *Cantus sororum* was embraced by musicologist Carl-Allan Moberg (1896–1978). In his capacity as Professor of Musicology at Uppsala University he had a profound impact on Swedish musicology. He names Magister Petrus as the author (*författare*) of the *Cantus sororum*, including the texts of the hymns. Magister Petrus, following the normal medieval procedure, compiled (*sammanställde*) the music for the Office mainly from other plainchants, but Moberg emphasises that all hymns [melodies] are borrowed.⁸⁴ Though acknowledging compilation rather than newly composed chants as central to the *Cantus sororum*, he considers Magister Petrus as the mastermind behind the repertoire in every aspect.

Musicologist Hilkka-Liisa Vuori has taken this stance a step further in her studies of the great responsories. According to her research, all chants unknown outside the Birgittines (or obvious re-workings of previously known melodies) are to be considered the work of Magister Petrus. Vuori's research distinguishes three layers in the *Cantus sororum*: "old tradition, varied old tradition [re-workings of existing chants], and new compositions. However, the division of chants into new compositions and variations is not simple or even necessary, since the variation can bring forward something new, while new compositions can be created with old formulas."⁸⁵ Vuori here acknowledges that these borders are difficult to fully distinguish, but attributes all re-workings and new compositions to Magister Petrus, for example in this passage:

⁸⁴ "... Petrus Olavi, som också skrev texten till hymnerna (ej sekvenserna) och efter tidens sedvanliga kompilatoriska metod sammanställde musiken till officierna övervägande ur andra gregorianska sångstycken (alla hymnvisorna äro lånade)." C.-A. MOBERG: *Kyrkomusikens historia* (Stockholm 1932) 401.

⁸⁵ VUORI: 'The Great Matins Responsories' 65.

From the older tradition Petrus of Skänninge has chosen the chants to build up the body, the *corpus*, of the Cantus Sororum liturgy [...] He composed two chants for Sunday's theme: Mary in God's thoughts, one song for the theme of angels and one song for Saint Anna. He greatly renewed all Friday's great responsories with the theme of the passion of Christ and compassion of Mary.⁸⁶

Moreover, the subtitle of Vuori's article is telling, considering the focus on Magister Petrus: 'An Ode to Petrus of Skänninge'. Vuori's assumption is based on written testimonies and analysis of the actual melodies but her conclusions, like those of other musicological studies, are drawn from sources from the second half of the 15th century and not from material from Magister Petrus' lifetime, since this simply does not exist.⁸⁷

Musicologist Viveca Servatius shows a more cautious attitude towards Magister Petrus as composer, and is the scholar who has discussed this question most thoroughly from a musicological viewpoint. In her dissertation on the Psalm antiphons, Servatius divides the material into three analytical categories: antiphons from the standard repertoire (*Antiphonen aus dem Gemeingut*), adaptations (*Adaptationen*), and Birgittine antiphons, meaning Birgittine unica (*Die birgittinischen Antiphonen*), though her analysis also makes it clear that these boundaries are difficult to maintain.⁸⁸ She points to the fact that it is not easy to describe the Birgittine melodies since they are in many different styles (different length, from syllabic to highly melismatic, large/small range, etc.).⁸⁹ Also, the question of whether a certain musical style à la Magister Petrus is discernible is not tested. As in Vuori's case, the method used to discern unica of Magister Petrus is based on a comparison with non-Birgittine sources. Concerning medieval written testimonies about Magister Petrus as composer, Servatius concludes that these texts are not clear on the actual musical activities since the Latin word *componere*, as previously mentioned, is not as clearly defined as the modern concept of composing.⁹⁰ Furthermore, it is seldom obvious in discussions of a chant whether the text or melody or both are included in the definition, again due to the unclear sense of what is meant by a medieval composer. Though Servatius acknowledges the problems in attributing Cantus sororum to Magister Petrus, she has an ambivalent view about him as its originator. She considers him more as a compiler than composer, which may be explained by the music-historical circumstances during Magister Petrus' period. She states that by the 14th century, compositional activities were rather static repetitions of the past than independent artistic expressions, and that the plainchant from

⁸⁶ VUORI: 'The Great Matins Responsories' 66.

⁸⁷ VUORI: 'The Great Matins Responsories' 64–81.

⁸⁸ SERVATIUS: *Cantus sororum*. See for example the table of contents on page 6.

⁸⁹ SERVATIUS: *Cantus sororum* 127.

⁹⁰ SERVATIUS: 'Magister Petrus som "diktare" och "ton-sättare"' 226.

this century had entered a decadent state. Magister Petrus did not invent his own musical formulas, but only repeated and adapted already known melodic phrases and motifs and, according to Servatius, worked with *centonisation*, a technique he used with “great independency and sometimes even with originality”.⁹¹ Servatius remarks that a development in scholarship has taken place over time, moving from the idea that Magister Petrus himself composed the complete *Cantus sororum*, to a general view that the music for the *Cantus sororum* was partially compiled from other sources.⁹² But her own view may best be summarised as follows: No matter whether the chants are borrowings, adaptations, or new compositions, they all passed under the scrutiny of Magister Petrus, a man who passed away in 1378, six years before Vadstena Abbey opened.

The threefold model of the composition of the *Cantus sororum* considered above as borrowed, adapted, or unique was first laid out by theologian Tryggve Lundén in 1976, although in a slightly different way from Vuori or Servatius. He draws a distinction between material without doubt originating from Birgitta and Magister Petrus; material that they borrowed from elsewhere and incorporated into the Office; and finally material undoubtedly added by later generations or, one can suspect, more recently than Birgitta and Magister Petrus.⁹³ Unfortunately, Lundén does not give any further information about what he considers as undoubtedly of a more recent date. However, it is interesting to note that this idea has not really been adopted by other scholars, since Lundén definitely points to the possibility that not all the chants and texts were inserted into the *Cantus sororum* via Magister Petrus.

Musicologist Michelle Urberg is another scholar who, without hesitation, considers the chants to be the work of Magister Petrus, in her work on the Birgittine processional chants, a repertoire partly compiled from the great responsories in the *Cantus sororum*. One example is the claim that: “His compositional strategies consisted of borrowing pre-existing text and music from older sources or composing new material to expand on the particular textual themes in the *Sermo Angelicus*.”⁹⁴ No musical analysis accompanies Urberg’s assumptions. She acknowledges that establishing a divine authority for the Birgittine liturgy was of central impor-

⁹¹ ‘Centonisation’ means to put together from pre-existing segments. For a longer discussion of the phenomenon and use of the term see HILEY: *Western plainchant* 74–76. “Det finns exempel som visar att magister Petrus använt denna teknik [centonisation] med stor självständighet och någon gång t.o.m. originellt.” SERVATIUS: ‘Magister Petrus som “diktare” och “ton-sättare”’ 232.

⁹² SERVATIUS: ‘Magister Petrus som “diktare” och “ton-sättare”’ 218–219.

⁹³ “... sådant som otvivelaktigt är tillfogat av senare generationer eller sådant, om vilket man i varje fall kan misstänka att det är av nyare datum”, LUNDÉN: *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis XXXIX*.

⁹⁴ URBERG: *Music in the devotional lives* 29–30.

tance in the presentation of his work, and implicitly points to a Birgittine branding strategy.⁹⁵

What Vuori, Servatius, Moberg, and Urberg methodologically have in common is that none of them have looked at the musical material from a stylistic viewpoint. This means that no attempt has been made to discern any compositional style typical of Magister Petrus, or to map patterns in the borrowings and adaptations that might point to a specific person.

Musicologist Ann-Marie Nilsson takes a different position than the above-mentioned scholars in her dissertation on the 35 hymns in *Cantus sororum*, where she, to a slight extent, addresses the question of *unica* in the *Cantus sororum*.⁹⁶ The reason for this is that the hymn melodies all are taken from the standard plainchant repertoire and in most cases are provided with newly-written Birgittine texts. Only eight of the 35 hymn texts are known to have previously existed: *Ave maris stella*, *Fit porta Christi*, *Rex Christi clementissime*, *O gloriosa Domina*, *O quam glorifica*, *Gaude visceribus*, *Isaias que cecinit*, and *Quem terra pontus*.⁹⁷ Nilsson recognises and even embraces the existence of borrowed melodies, and provides them with a new designative meaning in discussing the conscious borrowings of the melodies for feasts and saints. She shows how the hymn melodies were borrowed from existing liturgical occasions to fit into the daily themes of the *Cantus sororum* where they helped to highlight crucial values for the Birgittines. Unsurprisingly, a number of Marian hymn melodies were chosen to address the Virgin Mary in particular, as well as other important Birgittine themes such as the birth and the passion of Christ.⁹⁸ Moreover, the *de tempore* principle was used in the *Cantus sororum*, a common practice in hymnals from the 13th century onwards. This means that the hymn melodies varied according to the liturgical year so that a separate set of melodies were assigned for Advent and Lent, respectively.⁹⁹ In other words, these hymn melodies formed an important part of the intertextual chantscape in the Birgittine liturgy in that they musically link to a pre-existing understanding of the liturgical and spiritual functions of these hymns. The *de tempore* practice is something I have chosen to leave out of this study.

Altogether, the scholarship addressed above operates in a universe where musical content is closely linked to Magister Petrus personally and to a partly evaluative view of the development of plainchant. This view is due to the devolutionary

⁹⁵ URBERG: *Music in the devotional lives* 30.

⁹⁶ NILSSON: 'En studie i *Cantus sororum*'.

⁹⁷ HÄRDELIN: 'Birgittinsk lovsång' 271.

⁹⁸ See, for example, A.-M. NILSSON: 'Adest dies leticie: studies on hymn melodies in medieval Sweden', in A. BUCKLEY (ed.): *Proceedings of the First British-Swedish Conference on Musicology* (Stockholm 1992) 67–85 and NILSSON: 'En studie i *Cantus Sororum*' 92–120.

⁹⁹ NILSSON: 'En studie i *Cantus Sororum*' 100–101 and 114–115.

premise: from an imagined *Urtext*, every step in the transmission process is a step in a direction leading further and further from an authentic and preferable origin.¹⁰⁰ This view holds that Magister Petrus was active at a time when plainchant had entered a decadent stage in its development, and after Magister Petrus the Birgittine chant was not blessed with any novelties worth mentioning. The examples of how previous research has dealt with the earliest sources show that some views of the Birgittine liturgical music, its origin, and its development, have not been fully considered. One of my principal arguments is that even if we have a liturgy called the *Cantus sororum* early in the Order's history, we must acknowledge that we do not know of what the individual parts consisted since a title is not a table of contents. It is possible that there was a repertoire whose exact content took decades to fix, a view I argue in favour of. Chants might not only have been added but also replaced by chants the Birgittines found "better", more modern, or easier to sing – strategies we shall see examples of in this book.

Magister Petrus' unfinished oeuvre?

Still, there exists one more interesting source that contrasts with the above-related scholarship. Further investigations into the authorship of Magister Petrus led to this source: an *ordo cantus* or *ordinarius* (instructions on the performance of chant and liturgy), informing us that Magister Petrus had *not* completed the *Cantus sororum* at the time of his death. The task, according to this source, was accomplished by one of the brothers who was among the oldest and who first entered the abbey.¹⁰¹ The *ordo cantus* is written in Latin in Vadstena, dated to 1481, and has a complicated transmission history. According to Latinist Monica Hedlund, the document is a copy of another written in Danish during the second half of the 15th century, not long after 1450, in either Vadstena or in a Danish Birgittine abbey. This document in turn was based on an older ordinal from 1450.¹⁰² Unfortunately, no more precise information is given about what constituted this work of continuing Magister Petrus' work, or who did it. What is interesting to note is that this

¹⁰⁰ This is a view that has a long tradition in chant scholarship where the adiastematic neumatic sources from ca. 900 are considered as the sources that transmit the Gregorian chant repertoire in the most authentic way. A good overview is given in K. BERGERON: *Decadent enchantments: the revival of Gregorian chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley 1998). Dundes gives a good overview of the devolutionary premise in folklore, which is also applicable to the history of chant studies; see A. DUNDES: 'The devolutionary premise in folklore theory', in *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, June 1969, vol. 6, no. 1 (1969), 5–19.

¹⁰¹ SERVATIUS: 'Magister Petrus som "diktare" och "ton-sättare"' 228–229. The text is partly edited and discussed in M. HEDLUND: 'The Ordinal of the Vadstena Nuns' in *Eranos* 79 (1981) 121–136. Unfortunately, the passage about Magister Petrus is not included in this edition.

¹⁰² HEDLUND: 'The Ordinal of the Vadstena Nuns' 122–123, 127.

information is not found in other documents and not treated by modern scholars, apart from Servatius. The copy of now-lost original documents of course opens the possibility that the scribe in ca. 1450 had misinterpreted the information. A more ideological objection is that a shared compositional activity as such does not fit into the Birgittine tradition of the picture of Magister Petrus transmitting his genius. The information that can be distilled from the canonisation process for Magister Petrus, initialised shortly after Birgitta's death but never completed, further complicates the picture. Two *vitae* were written, probably in 1426–1427 and 1486, but only one of them mentions that Magister Petrus was responsible for the *Cantus sororum*.¹⁰³

Who could this brother have been who completed the *Cantus sororum* after Petrus' death in 1378? In the *Diarium Vadstenense* we learn that Magister Petrus taught singing to the community in Vadstena after his return from Rome, meaning from 1374 over a maximum period of four years.¹⁰⁴ The mention of his pedagogical activities is not found in connection with his own death but in the entry of the death of a certain sister, Cristina Nichlassadottir, in September 1399. The *Diarium Vadstenense* mentions Sister Cristina Nichlassadottir as a disciple of Brother Ketilmund and Magister Petrus. She was, like Ketilmund, one of the first to enter Vadstena Abbey and taught the sisters to sing in the manner she had learned from Magister Petrus, "who wrote the *Cantus sororum*", and Ketilmund.¹⁰⁵ In October 1384, the same year that the abbey officially opened, Brother Ketilmund died. He is named as one of the first brothers in Vadstena and an excellent choir leader, having first taught the sisters to sing, according to the *Diarium Vadstenense*.¹⁰⁶ Ketilmund is mentioned as being a vicar before the relics arrived in Vadstena, thus before 1374, and in other words was one of the people who were active in Vadstena before the abbey opened.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, both Ketilmund and Cristina were in Vadstena before 1378, and also had a direct link to Magister Petrus. That is to say, they both possessed the capacity to transmit liturgy and chant as they had learned from Petrus, and by this embracing and conveying Birgitta's charisma.

The activities of Ketilmund and Cristina open a multitude of questions about the earliest transmission history of Birgittine chant and presumed liturgy from Vadstena. How was the teaching divided? What did Ketilmund and Cristina, respectively, teach? Were they assigned the teaching of different chant traditions? Was theirs an orally transmitted repertoire, was it taught from now-lost written

¹⁰³ AILI: Petrus Olavi. SERVATIUS: 'Magister Petrus som "diktare" och "ton-sättare" 216 and 223.

¹⁰⁴ GEJROT: *Diarium Vadstenense* 135, item 135.

¹⁰⁵ GEJROT: *Diarium Vadstenense* 135, item 104.

¹⁰⁶ GEJROT: *Diarium Vadstenense* 119, item 41.

¹⁰⁷ GEJROT: *Diarium Vadstenense* 119, item 41.

documents, or was it a mixture of oral skills and notated chants? Did Ketilmund and Cristina make their own contributions to the liturgy? And finally, was Ketilmund the brother who completed the *Cantus sororum* after Magister Petrus' death in 1378? If so, he would only have had six years at most, since he himself passed away in 1384. In that case, it would mean that *Cantus sororum* was completed before the opening of the abbey in 1384. Again, the questions are many and the possibility of answers based on written documents are so limited. It is nevertheless important to ask these questions since it complicates the picture of a straightforward process from Magister Petrus' creativity to the extant manuscripts. More people and processes were involved in the proto-liturgical stage and these people will be addressed later in this chapter. Prior to that, the very idea of denominating individuals as composers in the Middle Ages needs examination.

Why must Petrus Olavi from Skänninge be a composer? Or: "Famous pieces get attributed to famous people"

Why was it so important to stress the involvement of Magister Petrus and, in a larger perspective, why was it important in medieval times to attribute music to poets or people in high authority? Musicologist Thomas Forrest Kelly has discussed the (supposed) *raison d'être* for composing medieval ecclesiastical celebrities.¹⁰⁸ Kelly points out that poets are often regarded as composers even in cases where they, most likely or even certainly, did *not* compose the music, but probably only the text. He also addresses the implications of this observation: "Creating the text is the essential thing, and in a sense the text is in itself the liturgical item, however it is sung."¹⁰⁹ Music was inherent in the words; elements that could not be separated from the text were a means to pay homage to the tradition of the Catholic Church. In the case of Magister Petrus, he became the medium for transmitting Birgitta's authority and charisma to the community in Vadstena and this is of crucial importance to his posthumous reputation. By ascribing a chant repertoire that had originated because of a holy woman's monastic vision to someone who had worked closely with her for a long time, a symbolical and charismatic value could be created between Birgitta's person and the chant repertoire. It was assigned to one person's creativity rather than to a number of people. There are many medieval examples of work in pairs by holy women and men from the church, which is why such a collaboration does not stand out as anything unique; but what makes the narrative around Magister Petrus somewhat special is the important role he is

¹⁰⁸ T. F. KELLY: 'Medieval composers of liturgical chant', in *The Practice of Medieval Music. Studies in Chant and Performance* (Farnham/Burlington 2010).

¹⁰⁹ T. F. KELLY: 'Medieval composers of liturgical chant', in *The Practice of Medieval Music. Studies in Chant and Performance* (Farnham/Burlington 2010) 97.

given in the creation of the melodies and a complete liturgy.¹¹⁰ By being designated a composer, Magister Petrus is placed in a long line of composing celebrities, as may be summed up by Kelly's words: "A famous *auctor* provides *auctoritas* for the text, as with Gregorian or Ambrosian chant. [...] And so, famous pieces get attributed to famous people" and can provide legitimacy to a work.¹¹¹ Kelly points to the surprising fact that many people called composers in medieval sources are people who only in rare cases had the occupation or time to make (new) music.¹¹² According to Kelly, this is why so many bishops and abbots are named authors and composers when in reality they probably had little time to perform such activities.¹¹³ These people may well have been actively involved in the work, but may also have been the person who initiated the work through his/her office or other legitimising principles.¹¹⁴ The person named author or composer may have been the motivating force behind the composition rather than the person who created the piece and, in that specific sense, is the author.¹¹⁵ In this way, that person became ultimately responsible for the creation.¹¹⁶ But Magister Petrus was not a celebrity before he was appointed Birgitta's confessor – he needed to be made one. He was a learned man, but nowhere in the sources are other works, either text or music, ascribed to him. Designating him the originator instead of merely the driving force behind the *Cantus sororum* was one way of adding to his *auctoritas*, in addition to his close connection to Birgitta. This description, moreover, fits well into the modern concept of composers, established in the 19th century, as people creating works out of their own original creativity. This analysis can explain the persistence of the idea of composer Magister Petrus, as evidenced in the survey of earlier research.

Contrary to stressing Magister Petrus' presumed composing activities, I argue that a collective effort over a longer period, before eventually arriving at a fixed Birgittine liturgy, is something that might have been equally important or even *more*

¹¹⁰ See, for example, F. J. GRIFFITHS & J. HOTCHIN: 'Women and men in the medieval religious landscape' in F. J. GRIFFITHS & J. HOTCHIN (eds.): *Partners in spirit: women, men, and religious life in Germany, 1100–1500* (Turnhout 2014) 1–45.

¹¹¹ KELLY: 'Medieval composers' 107.

¹¹² KELLY: 'Medieval composers' 110.

¹¹³ KELLY: 'Medieval composers' 107.

¹¹⁴ KELLY: 'Medieval composers' 107.

¹¹⁵ KELLY: 'Medieval composers' 107.

¹¹⁶ Relative to the debate on the topic of composing bishops is the discussion of whether Bishop Brynolf Algotsson of Skara (c. 1248–1317) was or was not the composer of saints' Offices. See I. MILVEDEN: 'Neue Funde zur Brynolphus-Kritik', in *Svensk tidskrift för musikkforskning* (1972) 5–51, F. BOHLIN: 'Brynolf frågan. En granskning av Ingmar Milvedens *Neue Funde*' in *Uppgifter i den svenska vokalmusikens historia* (Göteborg 2014) 62–84, D. LAGERBERG: *Författartradition Brynolf: en granskning av diskussionen kring de liturgiska verk som tillskrivits biskop Brynolf av Skara jämte en transkription av de s.k. Notule Brynolphi och deras förlaga* (Stockholm 2016).

important. From the evidence presently available, we cannot say anything about Magister Petrus' exact contribution, and perhaps that is of less importance if we also consider the ideological grounds for such attributions, both in medieval and later writings. In the next section I shall therefore address a few other people and groups that might have been important in the creation of the Birgittine liturgy.

People and groups influencing the Birgittine proto-liturgy

During the proto-liturgical period, a number of people and groups actively took part in Birgitta's monastic enterprise, apart from Birgitta herself and Magister Petrus. Birgitta left Sweden for Rome in 1349, never to return, and thus would never see the building activities in Vadstena with her own eyes. Nor would she ever meet those who were active in Vadstena, those whom I call *forerunners*. In Rome, Birgitta was surrounded by men and women from Sweden from the clergy and nobility, as well as local servants who stayed with her for briefer or longer periods. Both the groups in Vadstena and Rome, in my opinion, are important but forgotten groups when considering the first steps in working out the Birgittine liturgy. Birgitta's household in Rome would have served as an ideal group for testing liturgical uses and chants. It consisted of well-educated and literate men and women. These people might in fact have been of crucial importance given their backgrounds and experience. Possibly, Birgitta's household was treated to liturgy as a preliminary version of what would become life in the future abbey in Vadstena, regarding liturgical solutions. We know through the Birgittine Rule that the group in Rome lived a life much resembling that in a monastery, including a daily liturgy. The revelation about how Birgitta's servants should arrange their daily life in Rome explicitly mentions Compline and Vespers, providing a detailed schedule of how to structure the day in a monastic way.¹¹⁷ The day was divided into eight hours of sleep, after which followed four hours of prayers or devotions and useful work. After a meal, which according to Birgitta's revelation should not take more than two hours, another six hours would be devoted to carrying out necessary tasks. Two hours should then be devoted to Vespers, Compline, and devotional prayers. After this, another two hours of mealtime and suitable recreation were allowed. The issue of silence is also addressed, referring to monastic practices. Chant is also included in this revelation, since the hymn *Ave maris stella* was to be sung daily.¹¹⁸ Even if Birgitta and Petrus were the legitimising authorities, it may be assumed that an interplay occurred between them and the household who actively engaged

¹¹⁷ MORRIS & SEARBY: *The Revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 283–284. Birgitta's relation to liturgy and the use of and references to it in her writings is discussed in KLOCKARS: *Birgitta och böckerna* 99–114.

¹¹⁸ 'How Birgitta's Servants Should Arrange Their Daily Life in Rome', MORRIS & SEARBY: *The Revelations of St. Birgitta* vol. 4, 283.

in the reception of the liturgy. This discussion is not new; Birgittine scholar Birgit Klockars already pointed to the possibility that Magister Petrus received assistance in the creation of *Cantus sororum*, stating that other people also probably contributed, but that their relations and links have not yet been sufficiently investigated, which is something that I have tried to do here.¹¹⁹ We know the names of a few people in Birgitta's household in Rome, and these names allow us to reflect on the possibility of liturgical contributions on their part:

- ♦ *Petrus Olavi*, prior in the Alvastra Cistercian abbey.
- ♦ *Gudmar Fredriksson*, priest. According to the *Diarium Vadstenense*, he was Birgitta's house chaplain and followed her to the Holy Land as well as being one of those who brought Birgitta's relics from Rome to Vadstena, where he resided until his death.¹²⁰
- ♦ *Magnus Petri* (*Tre liljor*) later became a Birgittine brother and eventually ended up in the Italian Birgittine abbey Paradiso.
- ♦ *Ingeborg Dannäs* (*Bielke*), noblewoman and good friend of Birgitta.¹²¹
- ♦ Also, Birgitta's daughter *Katherina* spent periods in Rome, and in some cases others in the household must have had servants whose names we do not know.

Of particular interest are two names from the clergy: Petrus Olavi from Alvastra and Gudmar Fredriksson. As priests they were educated in liturgy, including chant; active and probably also educated in Linköping diocese, the two might have been involved in discussions of the liturgy from the viewpoint of the Linköping Cathedral liturgy. Katherina and Ingeborg, coming from noble families, were undoubtedly literate and could have had access to pious literature for lay people, for example a *Book of Hours*. Historian Sven Stolpe assumes that the Swedes came with Birgitta in 1349, but it is likely that people travelled back and forth between Sweden and Rome during Birgitta's entire time there. An example is Prior Petrus of Alvastra, who could only spend shorter periods in Rome because of his duties as a prior.

Parallel to Birgitta's household in Rome, the forerunners in Vadstena likewise led semi-monastic lives. Their lives can be characterised as living in a semi-religious house without proper vows. We do not know when they started to live together but there existed some kind of community when Magister Petrus and Birgitta's daughter Katherina arrived in 1374 with Birgitta's relics.¹²² It is reasonable to

¹¹⁹ B. KLOCKARS: 'Örtagård, Jungfru Marie', in *Kulturbistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid* (KLNLM) vol. XXI (1977) 16.

¹²⁰ GEJROT: *Diarium Vadstenense* item 48, 122.

¹²¹ S. STOLPE: *Birgitta i Rom* (Stockholm 1974, second edition) 10–11.

¹²² C. GEJROT: 'Att sätta ljuset i ljusstaken. Birgittinsk lobbying vid mitten av 1370-talet', in G. DAHLBÄCK et al. (eds.): *Medeltidens mångfald. Studier i samhälle, kultur och kommunikation tillägnade Olle Ferm* (Stockholm 2007), 91–94. Different theories about the Swedish harbour to which the relics arrived are reported and examined in A. FRÖJMARK: 'Ad por-

assume that they had been there from 1370, when papal approbation for the Order was given, or perhaps even earlier since Birgitta's monastic visions were known well before this year, since plans for the future abbey were already initiated in the 1360s.¹²³ The intense work in the 1370s is recorded in two letters, the first from 1375 from Magister Petrus to Birgitta's daughter Katherina, and the other from 1376 from Bo Jonsson Grip, who was rich in landed property and the wealthiest man in late medieval Sweden.¹²⁴

The forerunners are an important group from the proto-liturgical period since they provided the foundation for the future abbey. Since Birgitta and Petrus were in Rome they must have been highly dependent on these people. In the above-mentioned letter from Magister Petrus to Katherina in 1375 (when she had returned to Rome to work for Birgitta's canonisation) it becomes clear that the work on the abbey buildings in Vadstena is well underway but consumes large amounts of money, indicating that work on a larger scale has been undertaken. The letter from Bo Jonsson Grip offers assistance by way of food for the community.¹²⁵ How large the group of forerunners was or who they were we know little about, except a few names of those who would later become sisters and brothers in the abbey, for example, the aforementioned Brother Ketilmund and Sister Cristina. One thing that would be interesting to know is whether they were an actively recruited group or a grassroots movement that gathered after being inspired by the visionary writings and charismatic personality of Birgitta. In one way or another, they obviously must have been in contact with and/or encouraged by Birgitta, Magister Petrus, et al. from Rome. We also do not know the extent to which their liturgical life was developed but we do know they conducted some sort of liturgical singing, mentioning *en passant* in the letter from Magister Petrus to Katherina in connection with financial difficulties. This could have resulted in the interruption of activities, including the liturgy of the future abbey, due to a financially insecure and unstable situation. He writes that if the financial situation is not resolved, it would be better to temporarily stop the building activities, and likewise the sisters' singing should cease for a while until the economic situation is secured.¹²⁶ This message informs us that there were women in Vadstena whom Magister Petrus calls sisters and that they practiced liturgical chant in some form.

tum non precogitatum. The homecoming of the Birgitta relics to Sweden (1374), in *Analecta Bollandiana* 129 (2011) 81–104.

¹²³ The process is described in B. KLOCKARS: *Birgittas svenska värld* (Stockholm 1976) 156–162.

¹²⁴ GEJROT: 'Att sätta ljuset i ljusstaken' 92–94.

¹²⁵ GEJROT: 'Att sätta ljuset i ljusstaken' 92–94.

¹²⁶ GEJROT: 'Att sätta ljuset i ljusstaken' 92–94.

The liturgy during the proto-liturgical stage and its development

There must have been some liturgy for the forerunners before the existence of a more developed liturgy for the purposes of Vadstena. Two likely alternatives are that they either observed the secular cathedral liturgy in Linköping or, among lay people, the popular hours for the Virgin Mary, commonly called *Horae de Beate Marie Virgine* or *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis*. A third alternative is a mix of both. In light of what we know about the sisters' and brothers' liturgies from preserved Vadstena sources, the most probable alternative is that the men observed the Linköping liturgy, since this is prescribed in later sources, and the women the *Horae de B.M.V.*, since it is the foundation of the *Cantus sororum*.

The manuscript S-Uu: C 23 in Uppsala University Library is a source that might support the theory of that the *Cantus sororum* was developed over a longer period. This book contains rhymed Offices, among them the Office *Stabat Virgo*.¹²⁷ This Office is supposed to have originated in Vadstena between 1374 and 1417, but the earliest notated manuscripts is S-Uu: C 23, dated at the beginning of the 15th century.¹²⁸ Thematically, *Stabat Virgo* and *Cantus sororum* are linked since *Stabat Virgo* shares the same spiritual content with the Friday Office in the *Cantus sororum* commemorating the crucifixion of Christ and Mary's compassion. Musically there are also resemblances and shared content, and this is where it becomes interesting. The hymn melody used in *Stabat Virgo* is *Vexilla regis* (but with different texts), which is the same melody used for the hymns in Lauds and the little hours on Friday in *Cantus sororum*. *Vexilla regis* is used at Vespers during the Passion period and on Good Friday when the sacrament is carried to the altar, something which emphasises the link between the two Offices and the liturgical year. Furthermore, the hymn *Rogatus deus rumpere* is found in both *Stabat Virgo* and *Cantus sororum*. In the latter case, it is sung at Friday Lauds. What is of particular interest for this discussion is the reworking in S-Uu: C 23 of the chant texts and melodies found in some instances, specifically a comparison with the great responsories in the *Cantus sororum*. The initial words of the *Cantus sororum* great responsories for Friday are *Sicut spinarum vicinitas*, *Perhenniter sit benedicta*, and *Palluerunt pie matris*, while the great responsories in *Stabat Virgo* begin with *Sicut spina rose*, *Perhennalis mater vite*, and *Palluerunt tue gene*. An example of similarities in the texts of *Sicut spinarum vicinitas* and *Sicut spina rose* is as follows:

¹²⁷ A close study with an edition of the melody of *Stabat Virgo* is found in K. HALLQVIST: *Stabat Virgo dolorosa. En textkritisk och musikvetenskaplig utgåva av ett svenskt rimofficium från ca 1400*. Master's thesis (Lund 2020).

¹²⁸ On the dating of the earliest version of the text for *Stabat Virgo*, see HALLQVIST: *Stabat Virgo dolorosa* iii and ix, and URBERG: *Music in the devotional lives* 215–237. This is not the place to examine the exact dating of this text, since only the earliest notated source is of primary interest to the present study.

S-Uu: C 23:

Sicut spina rose florem
non immutat uel odorem,
cum crescat vicinius,
ita, Virgo, tuam mentem
cunctis donis redolentem
furor fugit obuius.

Ymo videns flagellari
et in cruce conclauari
tuum Primogenitum,
pacienter sufferebas
et constanter requirebas
dextre Dei digitum.
Alleluya.

Versus:

Confer opem tua prece,
ne mundi prosperitas
nos excecet sua fece,
vel premat aduersitas.¹²⁹

As the thorn does not change
the bloom or the smell of the rose,
although it grows close by,
so, O Virgin, does open wrath
flee from your mind
fragrant with all gifts.

On the contrary, seeing your
first-begotten Son whipped
and nailed to the cross
you suffered patiently
and constantly asked for
the finger of the right hand of God.
Alleluia.

Versicle:

Grant help by your prayer,
lest the success of this world
blind us through its dregs,
or its misfortune weigh us down.

Cantus sororum:

Sicut spinarum vicinitas florentis rose odorem non minuit, ita tribulacionum immensitas
in te, Christi Mater, minorare non valuit virtutem constancie. Omnium enim virtutum

¹²⁹ Text after HALLQVIST: *Stabat Virgo dolorosa* 21.

fragrantia redolebas. Versus: Assiste, spes nostra, in auxilium parata nobis tuis supplicibus, ne nos extollat prosperitas, nec deprimat adversitas.¹³⁰

Cantus sororum:

Just as the proximity of spines to the blooming rose does not diminish its odour, thus the enormity of tribulations is not able to diminish the virtue of constancy in you, Mother of Christ. For you are fragrant with the odour of all virtues. Verse: Assist, our hope, ready to help us with your prayers, lest success extols us or misfortune weighs us down.

The first words already denote a clear resemblance. The immediate difference is of course that *Sicut spina rose* is rhymed while *Sicut spinarum* is in prose, but the texts share the same thematic content in all aspects. An examination of the text in the manuscript shows numerous erasures, deletions and exchanged words, as seen in image 2.

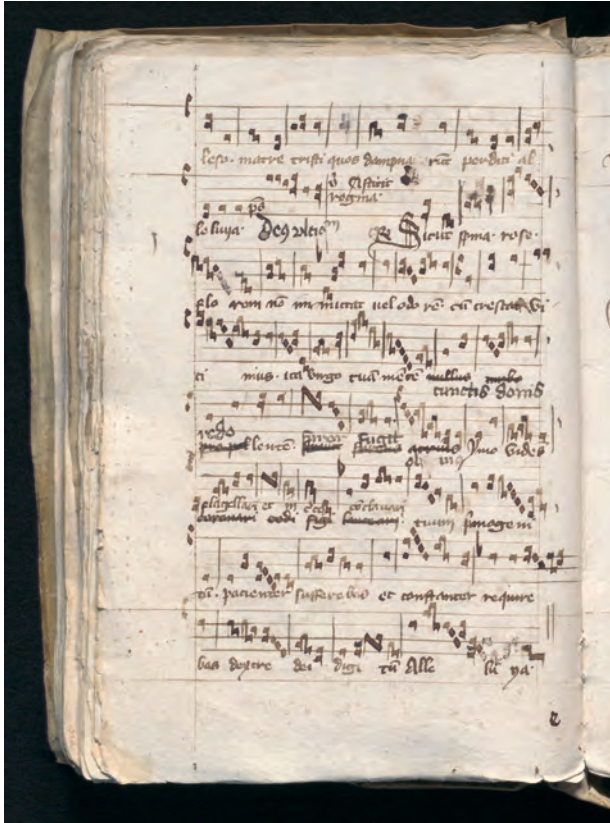


IMAGE 2: Great responsory *Sicut spina rose* from the rhymed Office *Stabat virgo*. Source S-Uu: C23 Rimofficier, 15th century, fol. 72v.

¹³⁰ Text after NL-DHk: 71 A 21 fol. 203r-203v.

This is not the place to go into a detailed analysis of the erasures, but what C23 offers is a glimpse of a work in progress in which an earlier version at some point was discarded and/or alternatives attempted before a standard version was reached. It is this standard version that is found in later sources of this Office.¹³¹ Perhaps *Stabat Virgo* and *Cantus sororum* were worked on simultaneously? In *Stabat Virgo* we find an example of how revisions of an Office might be worked out, thus providing a suggestion about the development of the *Cantus sororum*. If different text alternatives were thinkable for *Stabat Virgo*, why not for *Cantus sororum*? Perhaps the same procedure in *Stabat Virgo* in C23 took place in the now-lost *Cantus sororum* manuscripts: revisions and reworkings were inserted directly into manuscripts or on loose leaves, after which manuscripts of the authorised version were produced.¹³²

Vadstena's influence on the Linköping Cathedral liturgy

Few complete chants from Vadstena can be found in the brothers' books, since these mainly contain incipits. But a comparison with the Linköping diocesan liturgy is helpful. However, no notated sources to the Office with established provenance in Linköping Cathedral and/or diocese have been preserved or identified.¹³³ This situation makes conclusions difficult to draw concerning the brothers' liturgy, and no research about the relation between the Linköping rite and the brothers' liturgy in Vadstena has been attempted. However, a tentative result by the author comparing the *Breviarium Lincopense* printed in 1493 (without notation) and C 450 *Antiphonarium ad usum fratrum monasterii Vastenensis* (with notation, dated between 1486 and 1511) reveals great similarities in the use of antiphons.¹³⁴ The Linköping liturgy was perhaps not as uniform at the end of the 14th century as it was in 1493, since the very point of printed diocesan Office and Mass books was to standardise the liturgy in Swedish dioceses. Again, we do not know much about the brothers' liturgy during the early life of Vadstena Abbey, but it is reasonable to assume that it was not drastically different from what we later see in the *Breviarium Lincopense* and other late 15th century material. One intriguing question that

¹³¹ The only notated source apart from S-UU: C23 is S-UU: C 21. See ANDERSON-SCHMITT & HEDLUND: *Mittelalterliche Handschriften* 222.

¹³² My sincere thanks to Prof. Stephan Borgehammar for help in examining the relationship between *Stabat Virgo* and the *Cantus sororum*.

¹³³ Helander only addresses texts in his thorough study of the model for the Linköping liturgy and does not discuss the question of its relation to the liturgy in Vadstena. See HELANDER: *Ordinarius Lincopensis* and HELANDER: *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*.

¹³⁴ The examination only concerns the texts of the incipits in S-UU: C 450 since it does not contain complete antiphons. Thanks to Prof. Stephan Borgehammar for help in identifying the incipits. The text for the Linköping liturgy is edited in K. PETERS (ed.): *Breviarium Lincopense*.

has not been possible to answer within the present study pertains to the Birgittine influence on the cathedral liturgy in Linköping during the period when Vadstena Abbey's influence in medieval Sweden increased. If this diocese housed the relics and an abbey of such a charismatic personality as Saint Birgitta, it is reasonable to assume that they wished to incorporate elements into their diocesan liturgy to emphasise their importance relative to other Swedish dioceses. There is, however, one trace pointing in this direction; the addition of two Marian verses concluding almost every hymn (except for the few hymns in a different meter) in the *Cantus sororum*, which were adopted into the Linköping liturgy:

Maria Mater gratie,
Mater misericordie,
Tu nos ab hoste protege,
Et hora mortis suscipe.

Gloria tibi Domine,
Qui natus es de virgine
Cum Parte et Sancto Spiritu
In sempiterna secula.
Amen.¹³⁵

Mary mother of grace,
mother of mercy,
protect us from the enemy,
and receive us in the hour of death.

Glory to you, Lord,
who was born from the virgin,
together with the Father and the Holy Spirit,
world without end.
Amen.

It is not clear when this occurred, but the transmission is complete in the *Breviarium Lincopense*. This process shows that the transmission of liturgical material between Linköping and Vadstena was mutual, and does not only include the liturgical material that Vadstena borrowed from Linköping. The use of the strophes *Maria mater* and *Gloria tibi* in Linköping points to the willingness to incorporate elements of liturgy from the diocese's most prestigious institution (the Birgittines) and by this means incorporate some of Birgitta's charisma into their cathedral liturgy. The Birgittine influence on medieval Sweden's liturgical life also played a role beyond Linköping diocese. The work of historian Camille Bataille on the Birgittine Marian cult in medieval Sweden has shown the Birgittine Order's fundamental importance to Swedish spirituality in the 15th and 16th centuries with its focus on

¹³⁵ After LUNDÉN: *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis* vol. I, 4.

the Virgin Mary, equal to the already recognised textual Dominican influence.¹³⁶ Birgittine authority was further emphasised when bishops Birger Gregersson and Nils Hermansson composed one Birgitta Office each,¹³⁷ and also in that Västerås diocese had a number of Birgittine brothers as bishops. Through these means, Birgitta's charisma spread beyond Linköping diocese.

Looking at the brothers' liturgy from a Birgittine viewpoint, the addition of a cathedral liturgy was a clever way of providing both local flavour and more diversity to the liturgical year than the sisters' Mariocentric and static liturgy was able to do. The sisters' and brothers' liturgies became dependent upon each other for liturgical richness in the Birgittine greater liturgy.¹³⁸ Though the system with sisters and brothers in one abbey caused organisational problems for the Order, the greater liturgy solution was a successful way of maintaining a distinct Birgittine liturgy on the one hand, and on the other observing the liturgical year through the brothers' liturgy.¹³⁹ The double liturgy practice was a successful strategy when the Order spread to other countries and dioceses, and contributed to the rapid diffusion of the Order in the 15th and 16th centuries. By adopting local customs through the brothers' liturgy, the Order could more easily be accepted and incorporated into the local religious landscape. From the outside, the Birgittines appeared exclusive because of the sisters' liturgy, and at the same time inclusive because of the brothers' liturgy. So why was it appealing for men to become Birgittine brothers in an order that was primarily focused on women? One practical reason is the fact that a Birgittine brother in Vadstena became part of one of the wealthiest and most influential institutions in late medieval Sweden. Seen from another perspective, the brothers participated in a community that offered ideological and spiritual enhancement through Birgitta's charisma. There were more religious communities than the Birgittines with female dominance that attracted men, which is why this order cannot be said to be unique in this sense; instead, a more general tendency of men choosing to live close to holy women or in environments charged with these women's presence is indicated. This was not an unusual strategy in the Mid-

¹³⁶ C. BATAILLE: *Birgitta quasi beate Virginis sagitta. Le culte de la Vierge Marie en Suède de sainte Brigitte à la Réforme (1300–1530)*, diss. (Caen 2016) vol. 1, 152.

¹³⁷ Edited with brief historical account in A.-M. NILSSON (ed.): *Två hystorie för den heliga Birgitta = Two historie for St. Birgitta of Sweden* (Bromma 2003). Composition is here regarded as a term in the broadest sense, see KELLY: 'Medieval composers'.

¹³⁸ MILVEDEN: 'Per omnia humilis' 46.

¹³⁹ The single biggest problem was the wielding of power in a Birgittine double abbey, where the abbess held power over both the male and female sections of the abbey, something difficult for the brothers to accept. Bataille discusses the abbess' close relation to the Virgin Mary since the abbess was appointed as a representative for Mary: "...une certaine perméabilité entre la figure de la Vierge et celle de l'abbesse". BATAILLE: *Birgitta quasi beate Virginis sagitta* vol. 1, 172–173.

dle Ages, as pointed out by historians Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin: “many men chose willingly to serve women, perhaps seeing in them an alternate means of access to God or finding themselves drawn to what they assumed were women’s unique spiritual gifts.”¹⁴⁰ This is exactly what the Birgittines offered to men: the possibility to live close to the charisma of a woman who was a vessel of God.

Conclusion and summary

At the official opening of the abbey in 1384, liturgical singing had already been practiced for several years under the guidance of Magister Petrus, Brother Ketilmund, Sister Cristina, and other brothers and sisters. The community was developed by people I choose to call the forerunners, who began a (semi-) monastic life in Vadstena. Magister Petrus would have served as the driving force, with the capacity to legitimise Birgitta’s visions. The first decades of the abbey’s life demanded huge efforts, for example, involving Birgitta’s canonisation process, funding for the abbey, construction work on its buildings, and recruitment of members.¹⁴¹ A liturgy was also important, an issue that was both crucial to codify and to teach to its practitioners. In this chapter, despite the problematic source situation, I have discussed different descriptions of what the Birgittine liturgy might have looked like during this proto-liturgical stage. A repertoire obviously existed at this time, one that could be defined as a Birgittine liturgy, but how fixed or complete it was, we do not know. I argue that what we know as the Birgittine liturgy from later sources was not what the Birgittines had at hand in 1384. It was most likely a less elaborate formula than that which has come forth in later manuscripts. The erasures and additions in S-Uu C 23 are an indication of how the work might have been carried out and when the work was completed. Therefore the 1420s, the decade preceding the dedication of Vadstena Abbey Church in 1430, and the state of the sources during the 15th century are important to discuss in relation to each other. In the next chapter, I will argue that the year 1430 is highly interesting from a liturgical viewpoint for considering the completion of the Birgittine liturgy, and that there are reasons to believe that the fixing of the Birgittine liturgy has a close relation to this event.

¹⁴⁰ GRIFFITHS & HOTCHIN: *Partners in Spirit* 6.

¹⁴¹ See further GEJROT: ‘Att sätta ljuset i ljusstaken’ 91–108.

1420s-ca. 1500:

The codification of the Birgittine liturgy
in Vadstena, transmission to foundations
begins



THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER sketched a plausible picture of the origins of the Birgittine liturgy during the proto-liturgical period, stressing a collective effort. One aim was to show how little we can prove from documentary evidence about the first phase in the creation of a Birgittine liturgy and its music. Even if the *Cantus sororum* was established as a definite liturgy from the end of the 14th century, we cannot know what this corpus comprised of at that time. Talking and writing about the song of the sisters is not the same as talking and writing about a defined corpus – the *Cantus sororum*. In this chapter, I shall argue that the most likely reasoning for the lack of documents is that there was no codified liturgy before the 1420s. I will examine sources arriving at a proposed chronology for the process up to a codified Birgittine liturgy in 1430, in particular concerning the *Cantus sororum*. This argument will also help outline the probable reason why there are no books containing such a liturgy surviving from before the middle of the 15th century. Here, in particular, I discuss the melodies and to some extent the texts of suffrages for Birgitta and her daughter Katherina which were used at Lauds and Vespers, and discuss the place of these chants within the Birgittine chantscape.¹⁴² This leads to a discussion on a specific pitch group that I have discerned within the Birgittine chantscape, which I will demonstrate and contextualise. The manuscripts used for the discussions are the following:

- ♦ NL-DHk: KB 71 A 21, *Officiae de b.m.v.*, ca. 1500
- ♦ NL-UD: HS K:An 1 *Antiphonale Birgittanum*, ca. 1500
- ♦ NL-UD: HS K:An 3 *Antiphonale Birgittanum*, ca. 1500
- ♦ S-Sk: A 534 *Antiphonarium per hebdomadam ferialibus diebus secundum usum sacri ordinis S. Birgittae. Conscriptum Pro R. S. A. K. Anno: MDCCLX*, provenance Altomünster,

¹⁴² Suffrages were “a standard series of memorials (consisting of antiphon, versicle, and collect) used as an appendage to an Office (especially Lauds and Vespers) in honour of a regular group of saints or for peace; sometimes known as *memoria ferialis*”. J. HARPER: *The forms and orders of Western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century: a historical introduction and guide for students and musicians* (Oxford 1991) 316. Chants for commemorating Birgitta were also used in processions; see URBERG: *Music in the devotional lives* 335–358.

dated 1761

- ♦ S-Uu: C442 Directorium chori monasterii Vastenensis, 14th century
- ♦ S-Uu: C468 Directorium chori monasterii Vastenensis, end of the 15th century
- ♦ S-Uu: C501 Cantus sororum, 15th century
- ♦ D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 4 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1495
- ♦ D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 5 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1490

In the 15th century, the Birgittine Order would become one of the most powerful institutions in late medieval Sweden, from both secular and ecclesiastical viewpoints. The Order was supported by the highest levels of power in Sweden.¹⁴³ Intense Birgittine lobby work led to a spiritual influence in all dioceses. But why did such a prolific and intellectual institution in medieval Sweden not produce any notated liturgical books (that have survived) until several decades after its foundation?¹⁴⁴ The easiest answer is that they did exist but have disappeared. But there are other possible explanations. If the liturgy was not codified until the 1420s, borrowed or preliminary books might have been used before this time; books that were later discarded when a liturgical tradition developed that eventually was codified and written down. An example of how this process might have proceeded has been seen with the Office *Stabat Virgo* in the previous chapter. What has been preserved is surprisingly little for the purposes of reconstructing the liturgy in Vadstena before ca. 1450. This absence is not unique for new monastic institutions, which is why Vadstena is not an exception to the Rule in this sense. But given the authority and charismatic power that is ascribed to the liturgical work in the 14th century, this fact stands as remarkable.

As has been mentioned, there is reason to believe that the 1420s saw an important step in the liturgical life for the identity of the Birgittine Order. The Order's life had, for a long time, been marked by unstable conditions. The 1420s were a turbulent decade, troubled by conflicts within the Order and Rome threatening the Order's existence.¹⁴⁵ General chapters questioned the authority of the abbess, the highest Office of the abbey, who even executed power over the brothers. Among outside threats was the Pope, who questioned the existence of the Order as a double abbey constellation.¹⁴⁶ In 1422, Pope Martin V promulgated the bull of separation, forbidding double monasteries, i.e., communities of both men and women

¹⁴³ See for example GEJROT: 'Att sätta ljuset i ljusstaken' and BATAILLE: *Birgitta quasi beate Virginis sagitta* for further discussion.

¹⁴⁴ The possibility that destruction occurred in connection with the Reformation or that documents have been lost in later times can of course not be ruled out.

¹⁴⁵ Several texts in T. NYBERG: *Birgittinsk festgåva. Studier om Heliga Birgitta och Birgittinorden* relate to this question.

¹⁴⁶ T. HÖJER: *Studier i Vadstena klostrets och Birgittinordens historia intill midten af 1400-talet*, diss. (Uppsala 1905) 181–191.

within the same cloistered area, though in separate convents. The issue was raised again at the Council of Basel in 1431–1445 but the Birgittines managed to resist the bulls.¹⁴⁷ No Birgittine double abbeys would in fact be dissolved until the 17th century. The reason for the delay in the dissolution process is not clear, but a possible explanation is differences in interpretation of whether the Birgittines constituted a double abbey or a female abbey with male assistance. The Order's construction of double abbeys versus the idea of two convents, when contrasted with each other, could be interpreted in various ways.¹⁴⁸ All of this conflict caused difficulties for the Birgittines; however, it seems not to have diminished the activities in Vadstena nor the founding of new abbeys. The abbey Mariënwater was in fact founded during the time of the Council of Basel.

Customaries, normative texts, and questions from Syon Abbey

The Order's development of independent houses created the need to organise general chapters to discuss specific questions and attempts to achieve uniformity regarding several conditions, including the liturgy.¹⁴⁹ Very little is known about the first general chapter, which was held in Marienwold (Lübeck) in 1426. The next was held in Vadstena in 1427, about which more is known.¹⁵⁰ The summons to chapter were preceded by serious internal debates as the sisters were opposed to the idea of general chapters, since their strict seclusion did not allow them or even the abbess to participate.¹⁵¹ A leading problem for the Birgittines was that the Rule was unclear on a number of matters, which is why additional clarifications were needed. In order to solve this issue, customaries for both the sisters and brothers were developed during the 15th century. Customaries are nothing special to the Birgittine Order; normative texts of this kind exist in all monasteries to this day. For the Birgittines, there were two main purposes for creating customaries; in Latinist Sara Risberg's words: "firstly, to reach uniformity in ceremonies and the way of life in the monasteries of the Order; secondly, to make a compilation of the most important parts of previous regulations."¹⁵² The titles for these instructions in the Birgittine Order were *Liber usuum* for the brothers and *Lucidarium* for the

¹⁴⁷ S. RISBERG: *Liber usuum fratrum monasterii Vadstenensis* = *The customary of the Vadstena Brothers*, diss. (Stockholm 2003) 13.

¹⁴⁸ T. NYBERG: 'Den heliga Birgitta och klostertanken', in *Birgittinsk festgåva. Studier om Heliga Birgitta och Birgittinorden* (Uppsala 1991) 69–89.

¹⁴⁹ RISBERG: *Liber usuum fratrum monasterii Vadstenensis* 10; HÖJER: *Studier i Vadstena klosters och Birgittinordens historia* 182–183.

¹⁵⁰ RISBERG: *Liber usuum fratrum monasterii Vadstenensis* 11.

¹⁵¹ E. ANDERSSON: *Responsiones Vadstenenses: perspectives on the Birgittine rule in two texts from Vadstena and Syon Abbey: a critical edition with translation and Introduction*, diss. (Stockholm 2011).

¹⁵² RISBERG: *Liber usuum fratrum monasterii Vadstenensis* 12.

sisters. The customaries for the brothers and sisters are only briefly discussed here since they do not directly deal with the question of the chant and liturgy of the Birgittine Order. They are, however, important documents in understanding how long it actually took to work out normative documents. Considered in context, these customaries deepen our understanding of the Birgittine liturgy as a process formed over a longer period. Correspondence between Vadstena and its English daughter foundation, Syon Abbey, will also form an important part in this discussion. Central is to understand how the documents emphasised the supremacy of Vadstena and helped in standardising matters such as liturgy and its chant.

Liber usuum – the customary for the brothers

In the brothers' customary *Liber usuum*, liturgy only plays a small role due to their use of the cathedral liturgy. The brothers' liturgy thus differed in every Birgittine abbey; as such it was not possible to include a customary, and each was probably already well described in other documents available to the Birgittine brothers. As Latinist Risberg points out: "At Vadstena, the *Ordinarius Lincopensis* was used, and these rites could not be included in a text with the purpose of being valid for all monasteries within the Order, situated in different dioceses. The uniformity aimed at in the *Liber usuum* thus concerned issues other than the everyday liturgical ceremonies."¹⁵³ The purpose of the *Liber usuum* was rather to provide answers to a number of uncertainties that had been experienced in other Birgittine monasteries regarding customs outside the liturgy. For example, the *Liber usuum* describes the procedure for receiving brothers from other monasteries within the Order, or the brothers' duties as preachers and confessors. However, instructions concerning the liturgy in the *Liber usuum* are to be found. Risberg suggests that these instructions were added at a later stage since they are not found in all existing copies of the *Liber usuum*.¹⁵⁴ These texts are collected under the heading *Ordinacio officiorum chori* (Ordinance for the Offices of the Choir) and give instructions, for example, on how different tasks are to be divided in the liturgy, particularly for the liturgical Offices of hebdomadarian, cantor, and succentor.¹⁵⁵ The character of the text is of standard instruction, similar to liturgical instructions in other monastic milieu.

Dating the *Liber usuum* is a complicated matter. Risberg establishes the *terminus post quem* to 1448, when a reference is made to a statute approved by the diocesan bishop during a visitation in that year.¹⁵⁶ The first evidence of a completed *Liber usuum* is found in the acts from the general chapter in Gnadenberg in 1487,

¹⁵³ RISBERG: *Liber usuum fratrum monasterii Vadstenensis* 12.

¹⁵⁴ Discussed in RISBERG: *Liber usuum fratrum monasterii Vadstenensis* 48–49.

¹⁵⁵ Latin edition of the text in RISBERG: *Liber usuum fratrum monasterii Vadstenensis* 198–212; English summary on 44–47.

¹⁵⁶ RISBERG: *Liber usuum fratrum monasterii Vadstenensis* 15.

where the document was made the official customary for the whole Order.¹⁵⁷ By 1448, the customary had most likely been in progress for a longer time, since sources indicate that a decision to complete such a customary had already been taken at the general chapter in Vadstena in 1429. The acts stress that one of the intentions of a customary is to ensure that all members of the Order, men as well as women, follow the practice of Vadstena.¹⁵⁸ The year 1429 is the year before the dedication of the abbey church, strengthening the assumption of fixed liturgical documents in connection with the inauguration of a sacred room, in keeping with the argument of church historian Anna Minara Ciardi et al. about the symbolic meaning of a church dedication.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, one possibility is that the work on a uniform and codified liturgy was deliberately initiated before 1430 so that it could be completed before the dedication of the abbey church. It is a tempting thought that there is symbolic value for the Birgittines in a unique liturgy for a unique church room: a new location for a new monastic order could call for spiritual renewal that was also physically manifested in the production of new books of the Birgittine liturgy. The relationship between the dedication of churches and the establishment of new liturgical books has been suggested by other scholars, such as Ciardi. She argues that the dedication of a church and the completion of a liturgy are interpreted as ideological markers serving to strengthen an identity for its congregation and as a signal to the outside world that here was something worth valuing.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, the 1420s, the decade preceding the dedication of Vadstena Abbey Church, and the state of the sources during the 15th century are important to discuss in relation to each other. Though it cannot be proven, it would be a procedure that would fit the branding strategy perfectly.

Lucidarium – the customary for the sisters

The general acts from Gnadenberg in 1487 also declared a customary called *Lucidarium* to apply to all sisters within the Birgittine Order.¹⁶¹ Just like *Liber usuum*, *Lucidarium* informs us about many practical matters in Birgittine monastic life but is more detailed concerning the liturgy than the *Liber usuum*. The *Lucidarium* was originally written in Swedish before being translated into Latin and different vernacular languages. Despite its highly informative content addressing both

¹⁵⁷ RISBERG: *Liber usuum fratrum monasterii Vadstenensis* 14–15.

¹⁵⁸ RISBERG: *Liber usuum fratrum monasterii Vadstenensis* 15–16.

¹⁵⁹ CIARDI: 'När togs lundakanikernas *Consuetudines* egentligen i bruk?' 16–17.

¹⁶⁰ "Flera forskare har påpekat sambandet mellan ibruktagandet av nya liturgiska böcker och invigningen av ett nytt kyrkorum", A. M. CIARDI: 'När togs lundakanikernas *Consuetudines* egentligen i bruk? Reflektioner kring texttradering och traditionsförmedling i 1120-tallets Lund', in *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* (2004) 17.

¹⁶¹ RISBERG: *Liber usuum fratrum monasterii Vadstenensis* 50.

everyday life in a Birgittine abbey and how to behave during services, it has not been subject to any scholarly study in modern times, and the only edition is from 1883–1884.¹⁶² *Lucidarium* provides instructions on performance and behaviour for all services. This concerns, for example, the division of the liturgical Offices and division of singing tasks among the sisters, during which parts of certain chants the sisters are to kneel, and which chants are to be intoned by a single voice or two or three voices. Additionally, some liturgical items are specified though not notated, informing us of nothing more than might be expected: Magnificat for Vespers, Kyrie for the Mass, etc. The mention of chant genres (for example invitatory) is accompanied by instructions on who begins each chant by singing the intonation, sometimes whether kneeling is to be performed, or whether one should stand or sit during singing.¹⁶³ It provides a vivid picture of the sequence of the liturgy and its elements and who is responsible for the intonation. However, it must also be emphasised that, like the brothers' customary, it describes practices known from other liturgical milieus.

Responsiones Vadstenenses – answers from Vadstena to questions from Syon

The discussion of the normative customaries will now be complemented by looking at a text reporting the situation in Vadstena during the 1420s. This text is the so-called *Responsiones Vadstenenses*, letters exchanged between Vadstena and its English daughter foundation Syon Abbey, founded in 1415. These letters highlight some ideological matters concerning the content of the liturgy. As such they can help us further understand the legacy of Birgitta and how her charisma continued to be transmitted, as well as our understanding of the 1420s as a formative period in the Order's life.

The *Responsiones Vadstenenses* (henceforth *Responsiones*) is a document that differs greatly from the customaries. While the customaries have a normative character, the *Responsiones* is descriptive. It consists of answers to a number of questions that Syon Abbey sent to Vadstena, asking about many things of which they were unsure, including liturgical matters.¹⁶⁴ The *Responsiones* consists of two parts.

¹⁶² G. KLEMMING (ed.): *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser Bd 5: Bihang* (Stockholm 1883–1884), based on the source Ms. Germ fol. 726, Royal Library in Berlin, written by Christina Hansdotter Brask 1487–1496.

¹⁶³ The singing duties in choir are discussed in V. SERVATIUS: 'Sjungande systrar', in P. BESKOW & A. LANDEN (eds.): *Birgitta av Vadstena. Pilgrim och profet 1303–1373* (Stockholm 2003) 345–361 and URBERG: *Music in the devotional lives 184–186*. An English version of the *Lucidarium* for use in Syon Abbey is discussed in A. B. YARDLEY: 'The Bridgettine Nuns of Syon Abbey', in *Performing piety. Musical culture in medieval English nunneries* (New York 2006) 203–227. A thorough study of the *Lucidarium* has not yet been undertaken.

¹⁶⁴ Studied and edited by ANDERSSON: *Responsiones Vadstenenses*.

The second part, according to Latinist Elin Andersson, is dated to the summer of 1427 and the first part “may have been composed before that”, meaning sometime before 1427.¹⁶⁵ In 1427, two brothers from the then 12-year-old Syon Abbey visited Vadstena to discuss parts of the *Regula* which they found unclear. This is a direct indication that Birgittine foundations experienced problems with the interpretation of the Birgittine Rule.¹⁶⁶ Here, I am particularly concerned with the idea of the authenticity and attributed divine inspiration of the Birgittine liturgy as it was conducted in the 1420s. In the *Responsiones*, it becomes clear that the authenticity of the Birgittine origin is important to the Order’s identity, and that the Birgittines in Vadstena are fully aware that they have a special and unique liturgy named *Cantus sororum*. Two examples illustrate this awareness:

- ✦ Syon Abbey asks whether it is permitted for the sisters to add to or vary the *Cantus sororum* in any way. The answer is that this is not permitted, since it is believed that the *Cantus sororum* was created by the Holy Spirit.¹⁶⁷ Here, the liturgy is not mentioned in connection with either Birgitta’s or Magister Petrus’ names but is assigned an ever higher, divine origin. This does not necessarily mean that every word and tone was inspired by the Holy Spirit but addresses the way in which the *Cantus sororum* was considered a divinely inspired creation.
- ✦ Concerning uses during Lent, Syon Abbey asks if the sisters may sing Vespers after the midday meal during Lent, contrary to the custom of the Catholic Church. What is meant by this custom of the Catholic Church is unfortunately not further explained. Vadstena answers that since the *Cantus sororum* is extraordinary and different from the universal chant, they are not restricted by the observance of that particular custom. A difference in the character of the chant of the Birgittine sisters during Lent is also pointed out: the “ecclesiastical chant at Lent is mournful and penitent, and the chant of the sisters is solemn, according to the Rule”.¹⁶⁸

These two examples show that the idea of the *Cantus sororum* as divinely inspired and a different liturgy from that of the rest of the Catholic Church is fully embraced in the year 1427 by the Birgittines. The answers must also be seen in light of the troublesome conditions for the Order in the 1420s, where legitimacy, divine

¹⁶⁵ ANDERSSON: *Responsiones Vadstenenses* 24.

¹⁶⁶ ANDERSSON: *Responsiones Vadstenenses* 16.

¹⁶⁷ *Questio: An sorores possunt variare Cantum vel addere, etc. Responsio: Credimus, quod non licet, cum a Spiritu Sancto, ut creditur, sit editus, sed in officiis et missis, prout in ordinario earum traditur, per totum ordinem immutabiliter et inviolabiliter observatur.* ANDERSSON: *Responsiones Vadstenenses* 108–109.

¹⁶⁸ *Questio: Utrum liceat sororibus in quadragesima cantare vespers post prandium contra consuetudinem ecclesie. Responsio: Quia Cantus sororum est singularis et distinctus a cantu universalis, ideo ad illam observanciam consuetudinis, ut videtur, non artantur. Nam cantus ecclesiasticus tempore quadragesime est lugubris et penitentialis, sororum vero cantus solemnus secundum regulam.* ANDERSSON: *Responsiones Vadstenenses* 110–111.

origin, and originality were important to prove. Syon Abbey is primarily concerned with the issue of how authentic the Birgittine liturgy is. Vadstena uses the charismatic authority of Birgitta, her revelations, and the divine origin of the Order to claim legitimacy for their answers. When Syon Abbey asks “whether any proof could be obtained that our Rule is of a divine origin”, Vadstena responds that the answer is in the affirmative: “that is to say, according to divine and human evidence.”¹⁶⁹ Syon Abbey furthermore asks if there is any scripture to prove that the Rule was revealed to Birgitta by divine inspiration. The answer to that question is that there is no written version of the Rule in Birgitta’s hand since it was revealed at a time when she did not know how to write [Latin].¹⁷⁰ This probably refers to her stay in the Cistercian abbey in Alvastra in the 1340s, a time when the Birgittine Rule is assumed to have been written. This answer shows an awareness of the history of transmission within the Order, and that written testimony in Birgitta’s hand is lacking.

Looking at the customaries and *Responsiones* together, a pattern arises showing that in the 1420s several matters had been established that were not yet, but needed to be, codified, including the liturgy. Another circumstance in favour of this view is the fact that the constitutions for the Birgittine Order were established in 1420 by the bishop in Linköping, Knut Bosson.¹⁷¹ It is reasonable to assume that a liturgy defined as *Cantus sororum* can now be identified as a defined set of chants which its users are not allowed to change or vary in any way. The *Cantus sororum* that the Vadstena and Syon brothers discussed was most likely the same repertoire as recorded a little later in preserved sources and transmitted to other foundations as a completely consistent repertoire. Also, it is plausible to assume that the Mass repertoire was fixed in the 1420s in order to create unity within the greater liturgy.

A short note on the Birgittine singing ideal and its relation to architecture and acoustics

After having examined sources that were meant to have a normative function for the Order, there is reason to return to the Birgittine singing ideal, bearing this in mind. The meaning and place of the Birgittine sisters’ solemn singing addressed

¹⁶⁹ *Secundo queritur, si potest haberi aliqua probacio, quod regula sit ex revelacione divina. Responsio: Respondetur, quod sic, scilicet ex testimonio divino et humano.* ANDERSSON: *Responsiones Vadstenenses* 96–97.

¹⁷⁰ *Tercio petitur, si beata Birgitta dixerat vel scripserat illam sibi esse divinitus revelatam, si sic videatur scriptura aut sufficiens testimonium. Responsio: Respondetur, quod scriptura regule sue manus non habetur, nec, ut creditur, umquam habebatur, ratio, quia regula in monasterio Alwastro fuit sibi revelata et pro tempore illo artem seu periciam scribendi non habuit...* ANDERSSON: *Responsiones Vadstenenses* 100–101.

¹⁷¹ MILVEDEN: ‘Per omnia humilis’ 37.

above with regards to the *Extravagantes* have been discussed in earlier research; I briefly discussed the subject in the introduction. The discussion can now be expanded in the light of the customaries and *Responsiones*, as well as in relation to what we know about the acoustic space in a Birgittine church, especially in Vadsstena. Servatius and Milveden point out that solemn singing is reserved for feasts, and traditionally within medieval liturgy indicated a slower performance of the chant.¹⁷² Milveden has discussed the Birgittine singing ideal in depth, where he argues that the Latin word *sollemniter* is key to understanding the desired performance. This he defines as singing with full voice, all together in the choir (not in private), and slowly.¹⁷³ Since the Cantus sororum was the main Office, while the brothers' Office was an added Office, this arrangement called for two different attitudes towards singing. *Lucidarium* also points to this condition in its first chapter on how the sisters are to behave in Matins: the sisters' liturgy always observes feasts.¹⁷⁴ This should be interpreted as every day in the sisters' liturgy having the rank of feast day, and further explains why a sequence was sung on a daily basis in the sisters' Mass. The *Extravagantes* states the slower singing of the sisters relative to the brothers' as "... and the sisters themselves, watching the time, should regulate their song a little bit more slowly than the brothers".¹⁷⁵ But if performed slower, solemn singing may also be interpreted as providing pauses long enough to allow the sung phrases in a chant to be well separated from each other. In this way, the reverberation time does not obscure the meaning of the sung text, and it is the text that is emphasised. In this context it is worth considering the different acoustic conditions that marked the spaces in the Birgittine abbey church where both the sisters and the brothers performed their liturgies. The brothers' choir was placed behind the high altar and resembled a box, which created a separated acoustic space that encouraged a faster mode of singing. In the large Birgittine church rooms, on the other hand, the sisters' choir was placed on a large platform, placed three to six meters up in the nave of the church. This placement produced a longer reverberation time than would ordinarily be the case in a choir and thus benefitted a slower delivery of the liturgy. A visitor would experience this sound as present, round, and rich, especially if all 60 sisters were singing. On the other hand, when the sound from the brothers reached the nave, it sounded distant, as coming from a place far away.¹⁷⁶ The different acoustic conditions emphasise the different atti-

¹⁷² SERVATIUS: 'Sjungande systrar' 348. MILVEDEN: 'Per omnia humilis'.

¹⁷³ MILVEDEN: 'Per omnia humilis' 35–48, here in particular p. 46.

¹⁷⁴ KLEMMING: *Heliga Birgittas uppenbarelser* 60.

¹⁷⁵ ... et quod ipse sorores aliquantulum morosius quam fratres, seruatis temporibus, debent suum cantum moderare, HOLLMAN: *Den heliga Birgittas Reuelaciones extrauagantes* 116. Translation from YARDLEY: 'The Bridgettine Nuns of Syon Abbey' 213.

¹⁷⁶ AUTIO et al.: 'Historically Based Room Acoustic'. A model in virtual reality where

tudes in the sisters' singing relative to that of the brothers. In short, solemn singing forms an essential part of how to perform the Birgittine chant, which is further enhanced by its architecture of the abbey church.

Finally, we must also not forget the strong oral culture in the Middle Ages. The *Cantus sororum* was a quite monotone liturgy with little variation during the Church liturgical year, which provides a reason why it was probably internalised by its practitioners relatively quickly.¹⁷⁷ Perhaps oral traditions were particularly strong in Vadstena, as the founding abbey of the whole Order. Here, an oral practice could be transmitted more directly than in the daughter foundations, since Vadstena, as the original source for the liturgy, had no controlling authority against which they needed to compare their liturgy. The collective memory could secure a stock of memorised chants and texts, which were then transmitted both orally and in written form in a seamless interplay.¹⁷⁸ The period from the foundation up until the presumed codification is about 50 years, which is not an unusually long time seen from a liturgical perspective.

Presumptive chronology up to a codified Birgittine liturgy

After having examined earlier research and existing sources which can shed light on how the process to a codified Birgittine liturgy might have taken place, I would like to propose a chronology for this process, summarising the first two chapters, before turning to a discussion of a number of music examples:

- ♦ In Rome during the years 1349–1373, Magister Petrus, assisted by Birgitta and her household, created an outline of what has become known as the *Cantus sororum*. Different solutions were tried in Birgitta's semi-monastic household.
- ♦ From the 1370s, this liturgy was revised, expanded, reworked, exchanged etc. This work was initiated in Rome and continued in Vadstena where inspiration was drawn from the Linköping Cathedral liturgy and the *Horae de B.M.V.* Here, a question can be posed: did Brother Ketilmund continue Magister Petrus' work?
- ♦ Between 1373 and 1391, chants from the Offices *Birgitta matris inclite* and *Rora rorans bonitatem* were included in the *Cantus sororum*. I propose that this was made close to

this singing can be experienced is Multisensoriska Vadstena klosterkyrka. <https://sketchfab.com/multisensoriskavadstena/collections/vadstena-klosterkyrka-1470-effad40f930e4cd-48214254552e0cdf5>

¹⁷⁷ Literature on orality and memory in the Middle Ages is extensive. For a discussion of medieval music, see BUSSE BERGER: *Medieval music and the art of memory*. For a more general discussion on medieval memory culture, see M. J. CARRUTHERS: *The book of memory: a study of memory in medieval culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge 2008).

¹⁷⁸ Busse Berger has pointed out that the Middle Ages is to be seen as both an oral and literate period where there were no boundaries between these means of transmission; BUSSE BERGER: *Medieval music and the art of memory*, in particular pp. 253–254.

1391, the year Birgitta was canonised.

- ♦ The work continued and gradually became a corpus that included the Mass repertoire and the sisters' extensive sequence repertoire. The greater liturgy, comprising the Masses and Offices both for sisters and brothers, was created and formed one spiritual unity.
- ♦ In the 1420s, the Birgittine Order went through a major crisis, whereby it was questioned from both within the order and from Papal authorities. The double abbey solution was questioned by the papacy and there were conflicts within the order concerning the question of authority. This led to a need for the Birgittines to codify important documents to strengthen and achieve uniformity in their lives.
- ♦ In 1426 and 1427, letters were exchanged between Syon Abbey and Vadstena regarding the Birgittine liturgy, among other things. Given the normative character of the answers, a corpus likely existed at this time that can be defined as what we know today as the *Cantus sororum*. The divine status of this Office is emphasised.
- ♦ The year 1430 saw the dedication of the abbey church in Vadstena. The Birgittine liturgy for both sisters and brothers, including the *Cantus sororum*, is codified and perhaps this was a topic discussed at the general chapter in Vadstena in 1429.
- ♦ After 1430, the transmission of this *Cantus sororum* to other foundations begins. Earlier versions are withdrawn. The first notated liturgical sources of the *Cantus sororum* from other foundations are from the last quarter of the 15th century.¹⁷⁹

Chants commemorating Birgitta and Katherina

I will now turn to a discussion of some specific music examples. First, I will discuss chants for Birgitta and her daughter Katherina, and place them in the Birgittine chantscape. Both texts and their musical content will be considered. These chants are listed in Table 1. After that I will turn to a group of chants that have a specific place within the Birgittine chantscape through the use of a certain pitch group.

A strong cult flourished around Birgitta and also her daughter Katherina early in the Order's history. They were commemorated in chants and prayers. Katherina was not only the daughter of a saint but also crucial to the Order's existence. Before her death in 1381, she worked closely with her mother and continued work on the development of the abbey in Vadstena as well as promoting canonisation after Birgitta's death. A canonisation process for Katherina was also initiated that ended with beatification in 1482.¹⁸⁰ There is probably no other monastic order where the founder was present to such an extent in the Order's daily life as with the Birgittines. The Matin lessons *Sermo angelicus* from Birgitta's revelations is one example where Birgitta's authority was inscribed into the Order's liturgy. The commemora-

¹⁷⁹ The chronology is further outlined in LAGERGREN: 'The Birgittine liturgical music'.

¹⁸⁰ B. FRITZ & L. ELFVING (eds.): *Den stora kyrkofesten för Sankta Katarina i Vadstena år 1489: samtida texter med översättning och kommentar* (Stockholm 2004) 7. This publication relates the events around Katherina's beatification in 1489.

tion of Birgitta and Katherina was expressed through the singing of freestanding antiphons used in suffrages after Vespers and Lauds both for ferial use and for feasts. A number of these chants were also used in processions.¹⁸¹ Chants from the Birgittine Offices were also used in the procession liturgy.¹⁸² There is no indication that the suffrages for Birgitta were created before those including Katherina; I suggest that they were worked out simultaneously, given the strong position Katherina had in the Order.

The antiphons for Birgitta are of two kinds: chants taken from the two Offices *Rosa rorans bonitatem* and *Birgitte matris inclite* compiled for Birgitta, and chants worked out for direct use in the Cantus sororum. As suffrages they concluded with a versicle and a prayer. The most widely used is the following:

Ora pro nobis beata virgo Birgitta sponsa Christi predilecta
Ut ad celestem patriam sit ipse nobis via recta.¹⁸³

Pray for us, holy virgin Birgitta chosen bride of Christ
So that He Himself will be our right path to the heavenly fatherland.

For both Birgitta and Katherina, the following prayers were often used:

Orate pro nobis, mater et filia,
ut digne portemus puritatis lilia.¹⁸⁴
In dies tribulationis et angustie
Succurrite nobis pia mater [et] filia¹⁸⁵

Pray for us, mother and daughter,
that we may worthily bear the lilies of purity.
In the days of trouble and anguish
Help us, loving mother and daughter.

These antiphons alternated with more well-known Marian antiphons, such as *Alma redemptoris mater* and *Ave Maria gratia plena*. The suffrages varied according to feast or ferial day, and varied slightly among the abbeys included in this study. This variation shows that the Birgittines could rearrange these suffrages according to each abbey's own traditions.

¹⁸¹ Norlind has paid attention to these antiphons but has not discussed their melodies. T. NORLIND: 'Vadstena klosterns veckoritual', in *Samlaren* 28 (1907) 1–31.

¹⁸² See URBERG: *Music in the devotional lives*.

¹⁸³ LUNDÉN: *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis* vol. I, p. 22. An alternative, with *virgo* replaced by *mater*, is found in D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 4, *Antiphonarium Graduale* provenance Altomünster, fol. 79r, dated 1495.

¹⁸⁴ NL-DHk: 71 A 21, provenance Mariënwater fol. 278v.

¹⁸⁵ S-UU: C468, *Directorium chori*, fol. 69v, end of the 15th century.

Chants from two versified Offices for Birgitta

Birgitte matris inclite and *Rosa rorans bonitatem* were compiled shortly after Birgitta's death and formed an important part of promoting her cult and canonisation.¹⁸⁶ In contrast to the *Cantus sororum*, these are versified Offices not to be confused with the *Cantus sororum*. They function like any saint's Office, and in Birgitta's case were observed upon three occasions during the year: on Birgitta's translation day (May 28), on Birgitta's remembrance day (July 23), and on the day of her canonisation (October 7). These Offices were not intended for use in Vadstena Abbey but for secular use, particularly in cathedral rites.¹⁸⁷ Chants from these two Offices were soon adopted by the Birgittines. Just like the Marian hymn strophes that were incorporated into the Linköping liturgy as discussed in chapter 1, they are an example that liturgical influences were reciprocal. In other words, transmission not only went from secular use into Vadstena, but Vadstena also incorporated liturgical material that was not primarily intended for Birgittine use.

Three chants from the Office Birgitte matris inclite

The Office *Birgitte matris inclite* originated around 1376 and is attributed to Birger Gregersson (archbishop of Uppsala 1366–1383). It is evident from documents of his own time that Gregersson was personally involved in the process of compiling this cycle of chants and texts for Birgitta's feast days.¹⁸⁸ The melodies are mainly based on the Office for St Francis, *Fransiscus vir catholicus*, as shown by Ann-Marie Nilsson.¹⁸⁹ Exceptions are the melodies for the Magnificat antiphons for first and second Vespers and the Benedictus antiphon, neither of which have been found outside *Birgitte matris inclite*.

The first chant to be treated here is the Magnificat antiphon for first Vespers, *Birgitta Christi famula*. It is rarely found in Birgittine antiphoners, explained by the fact that it was introduced into the processional liturgy for the feast of Birgitta's canonisation and never used in the Office liturgy.¹⁹⁰ It employs the same melody

¹⁸⁶ An edition with modern transcriptions of the Offices for Birgitta are to be found in NILSSON (ed.), *Två hystorie för den heliga Birgitta*. Gejrot writes about the compilation of these two Offices, using documentary evidence that these two bishops were actively engaged in the process of compiling them; but nothing concerning the actual chant melodies is revealed in these documents. See GEJROT: 'Att sätta ljuset i ljusstaken' 94–100.

¹⁸⁷ For Katherina, the Office *Laetare Syon filia* was compiled, but relatively late and it never gained any wide transmission. Its music has not yet been investigated but the text (without music) has been published in G. KLEMMING (ed.): *Latinska sånger fordorm använda i svenska kyrkor, kloster och skolor: Sveriges helgon = Hymni, sequentiae et pia cantiones in regno Sueciae olim usitatae; Sancti Sueciae* (Stockholm 1885).

¹⁸⁸ GEJROT: 'Att sätta ljuset i ljusstaken' 95–96.

¹⁸⁹ NILSSON: *Två hystorie för den heliga Birgitta* 13–15.

¹⁹⁰ URBERG: *Music in the devotional lives* 341. Processional material is rarely found in an-

as Magnificat antiphons in other saints' Offices, for example, in the Office of St Augustine, *Adest dies celebris*, as well as *Adest dies letitie* for the Office of St Olav.¹⁹¹ The choice of melodies for *Birgitte matris inclite* is interesting in that it points to important figures for this Nordic order: St Olav as the most important saint in Scandinavia at this time (to be superseded by Birgitta herself), and St Augustine, the saint whose Rule forms the foundation for the Birgittine Rule.

The second chant from *Birgitte matris inclite* used in a suffragium is *Gaude Birgitta canticum*. This is the seventh antiphon for Matins in *Birgitta matris inclite*. The chant is a contrafact of *Cor verbis nove gracie* from the Office of St Francis, also in this Office the seventh antiphon for Matins.¹⁹² In contrast to *Birgitte matris inclite*, this chant was sung on two occasions every week: in Lauds on Sunday and Saturday, thus on the first and last day of the liturgical week and, in that respect, it framed the Cantus sororum.

The third and last borrowing from *Birgitte matris inclite* is the ninth great responsory, *O facies mosayca*. Like *Birgitta Christi famula*, it is rarely found in the Birgittine antiphoners since it was also used in the procession for the feast of Birgitta's canonisation.¹⁹³

Office and antiphon *Rosa rorans bonitatem*

The Office *Rosa rorans bonitatem* was compiled after Birgitta's death in 1373 but before 1391 when the Bishop of Linköping Nicolaus Hermann died, to whom it is attributed. His role in the compilation process, however, is not as well documented as that of Gregersson for *Birgitte matris inclite*.¹⁹⁴ All of its Offices melodies seem to be unique, with only a few exceptions.¹⁹⁵ The beginning antiphon for first Vespers *Rosa rorans bonitatem* was not only introduced into a Birgittine suffrage but has, in modern times, become widespread as a kind of "signature melody" for Birgitta and

tiphoners, but more frequently found in antiphoner-graduals, which aimed at covering the entire Birgittine liturgy. Birgittine antiphoners can sometimes contain a processional or parts of the processional repertoire. The relation between antiphoner and processionals and the eventual use of antiphoners in processions is not explored.

¹⁹¹ See discussion of these two antiphons in E. ØSTREM: *The office of Saint Olav: a study of chant transmission*, diss. (Uppsala 2001) and A.-M. NILSSON: 'Adest dies leticie: studies on hymn melodies in medieval Sweden' 67–85.

¹⁹² One source for comparison is the Antiphonarium Freiburg, Couvent des Cordeliers/Franziskanerkloster, Ms. 2 fol. 211r, ca. 1300 <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fc-c/0002/211v/o/Sequence-767> Accessed 23 February 2022.

¹⁹³ URBERG: *Music in the devotional lives* 341.

¹⁹⁴ The question about composing bishops vs. driving forces behind a more collaborative work in the cathedral was discussed in the previous chapter, with reference to KELLY: 'Medieval composers of liturgical chant'.

¹⁹⁵ Discussed in NILSSON: *Två hystorie för den heliga Birgitta* 29.

the Birgittine Order, and exists in choral settings with texts both in Swedish and Latin. Like *Gaude Birgitta canticum*, it was in ferial use but to an even greater extent sung at Vespers on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. The history of *Rosa rorans bonitatem* within the Birgittine Order is particularly interesting since it had already been subject to textual adaptation in the 15th century, when it was developed into a version that also included Katherina:

Original text from *Rosa rorans bonitatem*:

Rosa rorans bonitatem,
Stella stillans claritatem,
Byrgitta, vas gratie,
rora coeli pietatem,
stilla vite puritatem
in vallem miserie.¹⁹⁶

Rose distilling goodness,
Star radiating brightness,
Birgitta, vessel of grace
This dew of heaven created piety,
This drop of life created purity,
In the valley of misery.

The adapted text for suffrage for Birgitta and Katherina:

Rose rorantes bonitatem
stellae stillantes claritatem
Birgitta et Catharina

rorate coeli pietatem
stillatae vitae puritatem
in hac valle peregrina.¹⁹⁷

Roses dripping goodness
stars dropping clarity
Birgitta and Catharina

drop down godliness of heaven
the purity of life showered
in this foreign valley.

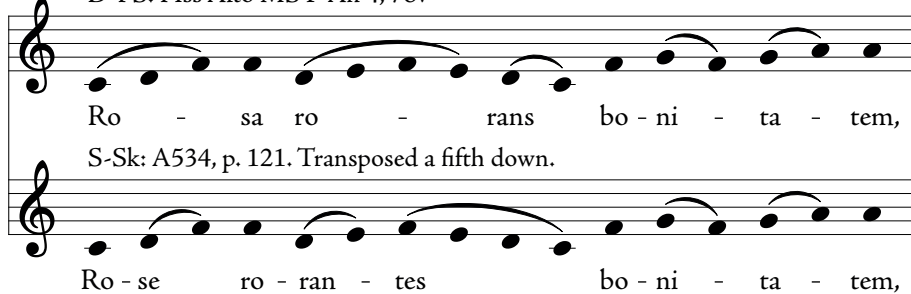
The adapted text closely follows the original text, mainly altering single nouns into plural with an alteration in the last line where the pilgrim theme is emphasised: *in hac valle peregrina*. In music example 1, we can see that a few ligatures have been split in order to adjust the *Rosae rorantes bonitatem* text, since it has more syllables in some places than *Rosa rorans bonitatem*. *Rosa rorans bonitatem* was not replaced

¹⁹⁶ D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 4 fol. 70r.

¹⁹⁷ S-Sk: A534, 121.

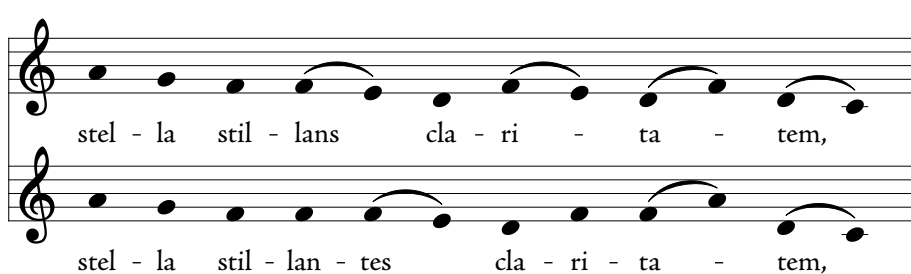
by *Rose rorantes bonitatem* but the two antiphons are found alongside each other in suffrages in the manuscripts. The transcription in music example 1 uses two sources that differ in time, but both come from Altomünster. The aim of this choice is to show the transmission of the Birgittine liturgy from Vadstena. For this purpose, a source from 1495 (D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 4) will be compared to a source from 1761 (S-Sk: A534) to show the stability and long use of these antiphons. This example demonstrates that textual differences have not affected the actual melody. The version for both Birgitta and Katherina does not seem to have gained wide popularity since it is not as common in the sources as *Rosa rorans bonitatem*. Furthermore, it has been difficult to establish at which liturgical occasion this chant was sung. In S-Sk: A534 the chant is found in a section separate from the ferial liturgy with chants for Birgitta and Katherina indicating use for feasts for either Birgitta alone or Birgitta and Katherina together.

D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 4, 78v



Ro - sa ro - rans bo - ni - ta - tem,
S-Sk: A534, p. 121. Transposed a fifth down.

Ro - se ro - ran - tes bo - ni - ta - tem,



stel - la stil - lans cla - ri - ta - tem,
stel - la stil - lan - tes cla - ri - ta - tem,

Byr - git - ta vas gra - ti - e,
 Bir - git - ta et Ca - tha - ri - na,
 ro - ra cae - li pi - e - ta - tem,
 ro - ra - te ce - li pi - e - ta - te,
 stil - la vi - te pu - ri - ta - tem
 stil - la - te vi - te pu - ri - ta - tem
 in val - lem mi - se - ri - e.
 in hac val - le pe - re - gri - na.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 1: *Rosa rorans* from D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 4, fol. 78v, 1495, compared to *Rose rorantes* in S-Sk: A534, p. 121, dated 1761.

Chants unknown outside the Birgittine liturgy

A further four chants for Birgitta not originating from the Offices for Birgitta were also used as suffrages, all lacking in parallels in other sources outside the Birgittine liturgy. Two of these chants address both Birgitta and Katherina. Despite their uniqueness they have been surprisingly little treated in earlier research.¹⁹⁸ Therefore, they will be discussed here in greater detail than the chants from the Offices for Birgitta.

Sponsa regis is a chant whose melody has no immediate resemblance to other chants, but when examined more closely the beginning is almost identical to the antiphon *Anna vita vitans* from the Office for St Anna *Gaudete Sion filiae laudantes*, shown in music example 2.¹⁹⁹

NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 14r

Spon-sa re - gis, doc-trix le - gis, ex-em-pla se-quens

DK-Kk: 3449, 80 X, 45v

ex-em - pla se-quens An - na vi - ta vi

MUSIC EXAMPLE 2: Comparison of *Sponsa regis* from NL-UD: HS K:Aa 1, fol. 14r, ca. 1500 with *Anna vita vitans*, København (Copenhagen), Det kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen, Gl. Kgl. S. 3449, 80 [10] X, fol. 45v, provenance Augsburg 1580.

Since the cult of St Anna was important to the Birgittines, a conscious melodic link between Birgitta and Anna through the *initium* is not a farfetched assumption and adds to the web of musical associations within which the Birgittines operated.²⁰⁰ Modally speaking, the chant is in F-mode, a mode also found in several well-known Marian antiphons, for example *Alma redemptoris mater*, *Ave regina celorum*, *Regina celi letare*, and *Salve regina*. *Sponsa regis* can therefore said to be linked to Birgitta, Anna, and the Virgin Mary through musical and modal gestures. A further parallel is found in the mother-daughter relationship: Anna is the mother of Mary and Birgitta is the mother of Katherina. This link legitimises the Or-

¹⁹⁸ Treated in LAGERGREN: 'Sung Memories'.

¹⁹⁹ This is a different Office for St Anna than the Office *Felix orbis felix ora* attributed to Nils Hermansson. *Gaudete Sion filiae laudantes* had a vast transmission on the Continent in the late Middle Ages. The question of the relation between the two Offices for St Anna remains uninvestigated.

²⁰⁰ See, for example, URBERG: *Music in the devotional lives* 288–289.

der, both in terms of chantscape and text where both Anna and the Virgin Mary are present musically, pointing to the female precursors who strengthen Birgitta's charismatic position. The text in *Sponsa regis* promotes Birgitta as an example to follow and emulate:

Sponsa regis, doctrix legis,
 exempla sequens forcium,
 o Birgitta, rubra vitta
 tuum ligasti labium,
 dum loquendo vel tacendo
 amasti Dei Filium.
 Ora Regem, ut nos gregem
 ducat ad celi gaudium.²⁰¹

Spouse of the king, teacher of law
 following examples of strength
 O Birgitta, with a red ribbon
 you have bound your lips
 whether speaking or being silent
 you loved the Son of God.
 Pray to the King for the flock
 that He may lead it to heaven.

Just like *Rosa rorans*, *Sponsa regis* was reused and adapted to fit the observance of both Birgitta and Katherina:

Sponse legis Christi regis
 Sequite mores forcium.
 O Birgitta, Katerina
 vestrum moderastis labium,
 dum loquendo vel tacendo
 amastis dei filium.
 Orate regem ut nos gregem
 ducat ad celi gaudium.²⁰²

Spouse of Christ the king of the law
 Follow the character of strength.
 O Birgitta, Katerina
 you control your lips
 whether speaking or being silent
 you loved the Son of God.
 Pray to the King for the flock
 that He may lead it to heaven.

²⁰¹ NORLIND: 'Vadstena klosterns veckoritual' 7.

²⁰² NORLIND: 'Vadstena klosterns veckoritual' 7.

How early this was done we do not know, but the chant (inly incipit, though) is found in the manuscript S-Uu C468 *Directorium chori monasterii Vastenensis* written at the end of the 15th century.²⁰³ Just like *Rose rorantes*, *Sponse legis* is more seldom found in sources and was apparently not as widely transmitted as *Sponsa regis*, and both are found in S-Sk: A 534 from Altomünster, dated 1761.²⁰⁴ Even if S-Uu: C 468 also has no rubrics it is, like in S-Sk: A 534, found in a section with chants for Birgitta and Katherina, and thus outside the ferial liturgy indicating a use for feasts. Music example 3 provides a comparison of both versions, where we can see how closely the two follow each other.

NL-UD: HS K:An 3, 27r

Spon - sa re - gis, doc - trix le - gis,

S-Uu: C468, 68v

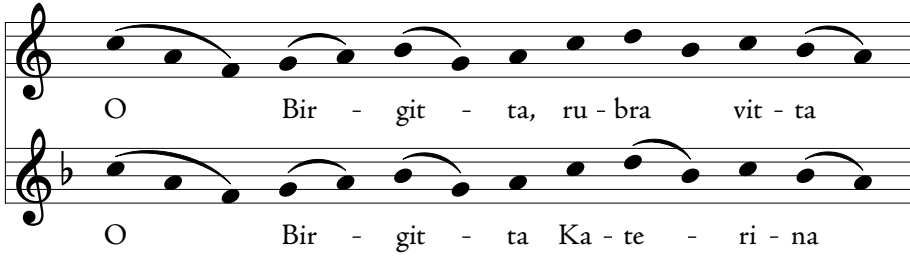
Spon - se le - gis Chris - ti re - gis

ex - emp - la se - quens for - ci - um,

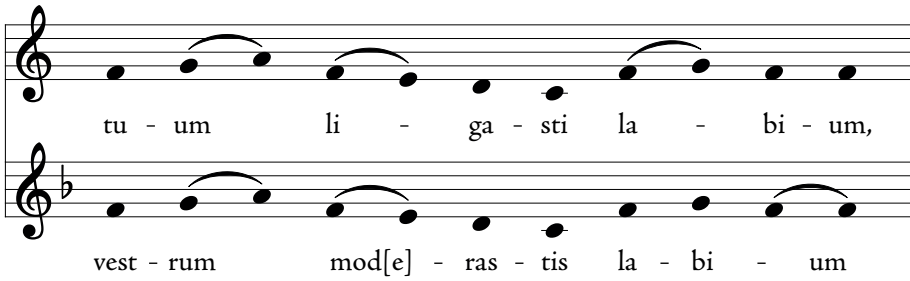
se - qu - te mo - res for - ci - um.

²⁰³ C468 fol. 24 r. Part of the book was probably written by Katarina Petersdotter Bagge, nun in Vadstena 1488–1539. See the catalogue description in ANDERSSON-SCHMITT & HEDLUND: *Mitterlalterlichen Handschriften* vol. 5 180.

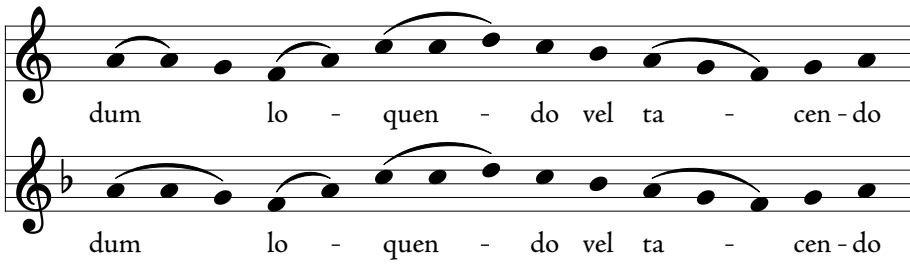
²⁰⁴ S-Sk: A534 p. 121.



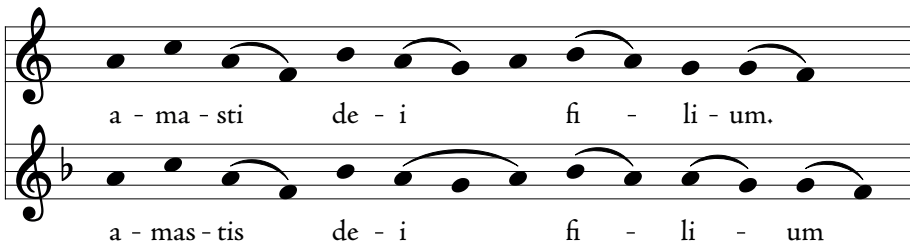
O Bir - git - ta, ru - bra vit - ta
O Bir - git - ta Ka - te - ri - na



tu - um li - ga - sti la - bi - um,
vest - rum mod[e] - ras - tis la - bi - um



dum lo - quen - do vel ta - cen - do
dum lo - quen - do vel ta - cen - do



a - ma - sti de - i fi - li - um.
a - mas - tis de - i fi - li - um

O - ra re - gem, ut nos gre - gem

da - te re - gem ut nos gre - gem

du-cat ad ce - li gau - di - um.

du-cat ad ce - li gau - di - um.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 3: *Sponsa regis* for Birgitta in NL-UD: HS K:An 3, fol. 27r, ca. 1500, and *Sponse legis*, for Katherina in S-Uu: C 468, fol. 68v, end of the 15th century.

Another two antiphons linking Birgitta and Katherina are *O Birgitta myrrhe gutta* and *O patrone ingenue*, where again two texts share a melody not found outside the Birgittine liturgy. *O Birgitta myrrhe gutta* is for Birgitta alone while *O patrone ingenue* is for both Birgitta and Katherina. Also, in this case both versions are found in sources from the late 15th century outside Vadstena, and again for feasts for these two figures. *O Birgitta myrrhe gutta* is primarily used for Vespers. The treatment of the melodic content in the two versions differs mainly in the melismas due to the difference in syllable length. The most interesting difference is found in the section *tu nova lux ecclesie esto nutrix esto tutrix* in the text for Birgitta, where the same section of music in the version in *O patrone ingenue* has a considerably shorter text with subsequently more melismas in *sic saluemur perspicue*, as evidenced in music example 4; see the red box.

O Birgitta, mirrhe gutta,
 exemplar continentie,
 confecisti plebi tristi,
 emplastrum penitentie,
 dum scripsisti verba Christi
 tu nova lux ecclesie,
 esto tutrix, esto nutrix,
 tibi prone familie.²⁰⁵

O Birgitta, drop of myrrh
 model of moderation
 you have given a sad people
 a remedy of penance
 when you wrote words from Christ.
 You are the new light of the Church:
 you are a guardian, you are a nurse
 a mother to your family.

O patrone ingenue,
 Birgitta, Katherina,
 docete nos continue
 quod docet lex divina
 sic salvemur perspicue
 a clade repentina.²⁰⁶

O generous benefactor,
 Birgitta, Katherina,
 teach us continually
 what the divine law teaches
 so that we may be saved clearly
 from sudden disaster.

O Birgitta myrrhe gutta and *O patrone ingenue* have no known models on which they might have been patterned but present an interesting choice of opening motif, which I shall discuss below.

²⁰⁵ NL-UD: HS K:An 1 fol. 22v.

²⁰⁶ NL-DHk: 71 A 21 fol. 278r-v.

NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 22v

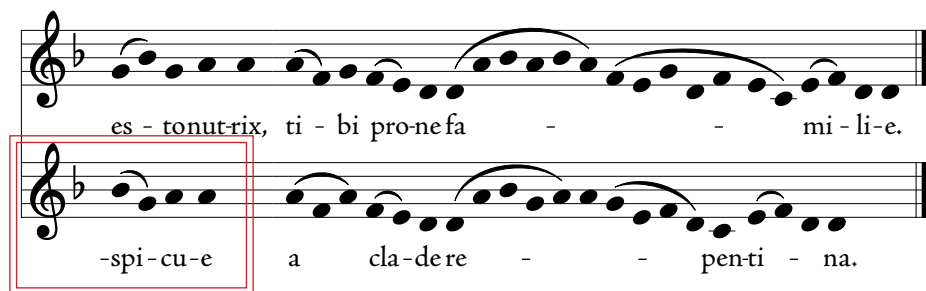
O Bir - git - ta, myrr-he gut - ta,
S-Uu: C 468, 69r

O pa - tro - ne in - ge - - nu-e,

ex-emplar con-ti - nen-ti - e, con-fe - cis - ti ple-bi tris - ti,
Bir-git-ta, Kat-e - ri - na, do-ce - te nos con-ti-nu - e

em-plast-rum pe - ni - ten - ti - e; dum scrip-sis-ti ver - ba Christi
quod do - cet lex di - vi - na.

tu no - va lux ec - cle - si - e; es - to tu - trix,
Sic sal - ve - mur per - -



MUSIC EXAMPLE 4: *O Birgitta myrrhe gutta* from NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 22v, ca. 1500, and *O patrone ingenue* from S-Uu: C 468, fol. 69r, end of the 15th century.

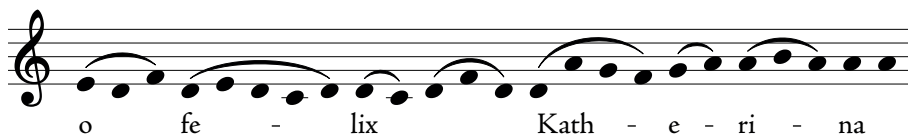
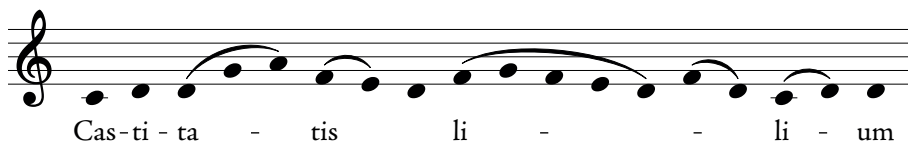
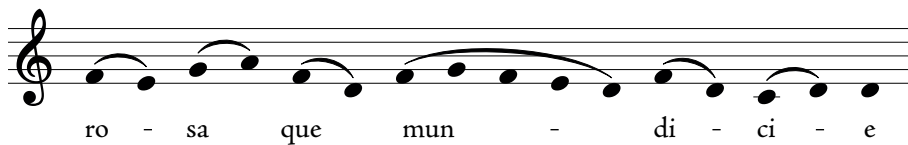
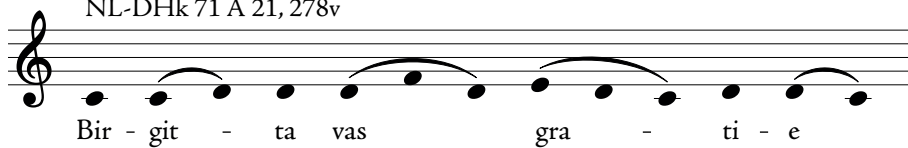
The last antiphon is *Birgitta vas gratie*, also for Birgitta and Katherina, and is only rarely found in antiphoners since it belongs to the processional repertoire, but could also be sung at Vespers for feasts. The beginning of the melody is similar to *O Birgitta/O patrone*, and will be discussed in the musical analysis in the next section.

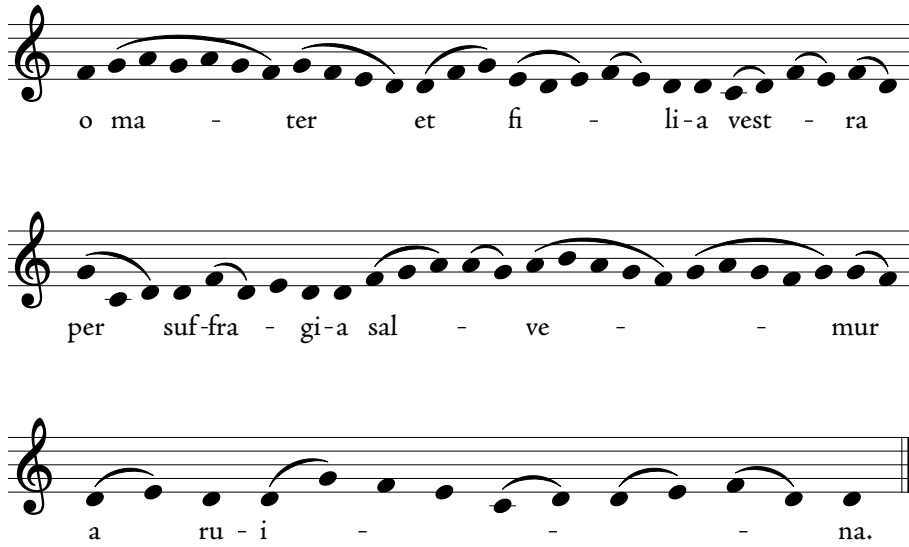
Birgitta vas gratie
 rosaque mundicie,
 virtutum officina.
 Castitatis lilium
 confragrans per seculum,
 o felix Katherina.
 O mater et filia vestra
 per suffragia salvemur a ruina.²⁰⁷

Birgitta, vase of grace
 and rose of purity
 creator of virtues.
 Lily of chastity
 fragrant throughout the world
 O fortunate Katherina!
 O mother and your daughter
 through your prayers
 save us from destruction.

²⁰⁷ NL-DHk: 71 A 21 fol. 278v.

NL-DHk 71 A 21, 278v





MUSIC EXAMPLE 5: *Birgitta vas gratie* from NL-DHk: 71 A 21, fol. 278v, ca. 1500.

Summary of chants for Birgitta and Katherina

Incipit	Borrowed from	Melody	Liturgical place in Birgittine liturgy	Attribution
<i>Gaude Birgitta canticum</i>	Office <i>Birgitte matris inclite</i> , seventh Matins antiphon	Same melody as <i>Cor verbis nove gracie</i> for St Francis	Suffrage for Birgitta, Lauds Sunday and Saturday	Attributed to Birger Gregersson (1327?-1383), Archbishop of Uppsala
<i>Birgitta Christi famula</i>	Office <i>Birgitte matris inclite</i> , Magnificat antiphon first Vespers	Same melody as Magnificat antiphons in Offices for St Olav (<i>Adest dies letitie</i>) and St Augustine (<i>Adest dies celebris</i>)	Processions	Attributed to Birger Gregersson (1327?-1383), Archbishop of Uppsala

<i>O facies mosayca</i>	Office Birgitte <i>matris inclite</i> , ninth Matins responsory		Processions	Attributed to Birger Gregersson (1327?-1383), Archbishop of Uppsala
<i>Rosa rorans bonitatem</i>	Office <i>Rosa rorans bonitatem</i> , first antiphon first Vespers	Unica	Suffrage for Birgitta, Vespers Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday	Attributed to Nils Hermansson (ca. 1325-1391), Bishop of Linköping
<i>Rosa rorantes</i>		Contrafact of <i>Rosa rorans bonitatem</i>	Suffrage for Birgitta and Katherina, feast	Birgittine
<i>O Birgitta myrrhe gutta</i>	Unicum	Similarities with other Birgittine chants	Suffrage for Birgitta, Vespers feast	Birgittine
<i>Sponsa regis</i>	Unicum possibly modelled on <i>Anna vita vitans</i>	Same beginning as <i>Anna vita vitans</i> . Mode 5 – Marian antiphons	Suffrage for Birgitta, feast	Birgittine
<i>Sponse legis</i>		Contrafact of <i>Sponsa regis</i>	Suffrage for Birgitta and Katherina, feast	Birgittine
<i>O patrone ingenue</i>	Unicum	Same melody as <i>O Birgitta myrrhe gutta</i>	Suffrage for Birgitta and Katherina, Vespers feast	Birgittine
<i>Birgitta vas gratie</i>	Unicum	Similar melody as <i>O Birgitta myrrhe gutta</i>	Suffrage for Birgitta and Katherina, Vespers feast and processions	Birgittine

TABLE I: Summary of chants for Birgitta and Katherina.

The chants for Birgitta and Katherina are examples of how the Birgittines carefully worked to promote those chants crucial to the Order and to make them audible in the sisters' Office and Mass liturgy. These texts are only found in Birgittine contexts, including the two versified Offices for Birgitta, but the melodies are a mix of borrowings and readings not attested elsewhere. Examinations of the sources show that the chants are found both in Vadstena and 15th-century sources from other foundations. This indicates that the transmission of the liturgy from Vadstena to other Birgittine foundations was completed by the end of the 15th century. The transmission of chants for Birgitta and Katherina was of particular importance since they can be regarded as a substantial addition to the Birgittine chantscape, being performed on a regular basis. The suffrages sounded both at Lauds and Vespers in the ferial liturgy but mainly at feasts for Birgitta and Katherina. The sources indicate that use could differ from one abbey to another, and table 1 is not to be seen as a mandate that was observed everywhere. Rather, this set of chants is to be seen as a repertoire that could be freely moved around on feast days, processions, and ferial use. The chants including Katherina are unclear since there was no official feast day for her until late in the Order's history. The borrowing of melodies and intertextual relations that I have been able to discern are, in my view, intentional, designed to point to important role models of the Birgittines.²⁰⁸ Male role models found in these chants include St Olav, St Augustine, and St Francis, and among the female role models we can note St Anna and the Virgin Mary. These exemplars strengthened Birgitta's authority. The use of the antiphons was not restricted to the first generations after the foundation of the Order but continued to be in use into at least the late 19th century, evidenced by books from Uden and Altomünster. Two examples are *O Birgitta myrrhe gutta*, which is found in a print of 1861 from Altomünster, and *Birgitta vas gratie* in a processional from 1856 in Maria Hart in Weert. These chants framed the sisters' liturgy in ferial use, but especially highlighted solemn occasions such as Birgittine feasts (and also perhaps for Katherina) and the processional liturgy. They signalled solemnity, but also served as a musical hallmark for Birgitta (and Katherina) in that the melodies in many cases had so many similarities, as shown in the analysis above. They consequently had a very special place in the Birgittine chantscape, especially the melody of *O Birgitta myrrhe gutta*, which has a wider meaning in the Birgittine chantscape in connection to the Birgittine pitch group, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter.

²⁰⁸ The concept *role models* in connection with Birgittine liturgy is used in URBERG: *Music in the devotional lives*.

The Birgittine sisters' Mass repertoire and its sequences

Both Office and Mass liturgies seem to have been fixed at the same time and are to be found in the earliest Vadstena manuscripts. Their transmission over time was stable, and the *Salve sancta parens* Mass is found in all examined Birgittine graduals regardless of dating. Early on, a number of other Marian Masses were added to *Salve sancta parens* for specific Marian feasts and seasons. Latinist Gunnilla Björkvall points in her work on sequences in medieval Sweden, in the fragment collection in the Swedish National Archives, to the stability of this repertoire in the Vadstena fragments.²⁰⁹ The Birgittine Mass formulas appear together with an extensive sequence repertoire, found in books from the late 15th century from Mariënwater and Mariëntroon, as well as Altomünster. A summary here lists Masses for the following seasons and feasts (introits in brackets):

- ♦ Daily Mass of Our Lady (*Salve sancta parens*)
- ♦ Advent season (*Rorate caeli*)
- ♦ Christmastide (*Lux fulgebit*)
- ♦ Christmas until Purificatio B.M.V. (*Vultum tuum*)

Marian feasts:

- ♦ Purificatio B.M.V. (*Suscepimus Deus*)
- ♦ Annuntiatio B.M.V. (*Gaudeamus*)
- ♦ Visitatio B.M.V. (*Gaudeamus*)
- ♦ Assumptio B.M.V. (*Gaudeamus*)
- ♦ Nativitas B.M.V. (*Gaudeamus*)
- ♦ Praesentatio B.M.V. (*Gaudeamus*)
- ♦ Conceptio B.M.V. (*Gaudeamus*)

From this list it may be concluded that the Birgittines observed Masses other than *Salve sancta parens* from Advent through to Christmas until Purification, and the all-important Marian feasts give a more varied picture than the normative texts. The *Gaudeamus* introit is a traditional introit for feasts, with appropriate adaptations, but the rest of the Mass formulas are different for all these feasts. No particular Birgittine chants are found in these Masses; rather they are all taken from standard Mass formulas. The near complete lack of unique Birgittine material is why so little research has been undertaken on the Birgittine Mass repertoire.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ The sequences in the Vadstena fragments are listed in G. BJÖRKVALL: *Liturgical sequences in medieval manuscript fragments in the Swedish National Archives: repertorial investigation, inventory, and reconstruction of sources* (Stockholm 2015) 58–60.

²¹⁰ See LUNDÉN: *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis*, and LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: 'The Birgittine Mass Liturgy'.

The Birgittine sequence repertoire

One unusual feature of the Birgittine sisters' Mass observance was the daily singing of a sequence, even for ferial days; normally it is sung for feasts. As earlier mentioned, the *Lucidarium* states that this practice is linked to the fact that the sisters always observe feast.²¹¹ In keeping with the Marian focus, each day of the week has a different sequence assigned to the *Salve sancta parens* Mass. The text of the sequence is loosely connected to the corresponding day in the *Cantus sororum*. With this procedure, the sequence repertoire forms a bridge between Office and Mass, and emphasises the idea of the greater liturgy as one liturgical unit. The sequences can be divided into two categories: sequences for the *Salve sancta parens* Mass and a smaller number of sequences to be used in the Marian Masses listed above. There is one sequence for each day except Thursdays, which has two sequences for alternation during Eastertide; and in Lent the sequence repertoire is replaced with two other sequences. Exactly how the alteration of the two sequences for Lent and Thursdays was carried out in practice is not clear from the sources. In total, the Birgittines maintained a 16-sequence repertoire. Table 2 lists the sequences to be used in the *Salve sancta parens* Mass, and table 3 lists the sequences to be used with Marian Masses.

Day	Sequence	Comment
Sunday	<i>Tota pulchra es</i>	The only unicum in the repertoire.
Monday	<i>Ave virgo gratiosa</i>	
Tuesday	<i>Ave virgo virginum</i>	
Wednesday	<i>Salvatoris mater pia</i>	
Thursday	<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i>	<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i> and <i>Gaude mater Jesu Christi</i> alternate during the year.
Thursday	<i>Gaude mater Ihesu Christi</i>	<i>Gaude mater Jesu Christi</i> and <i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i> alternate during the year.
Friday	<i>Stabat iuxta Christi crucem</i>	
Saturday	<i>Jubilemus in hac die</i>	

²¹¹ See, for example, the edition of *Lucidarium* in KLEMMING: *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbar-
elser* 68–69.

Easter	<i>Virgini Mariae laudes intonant christiani</i>	<i>Virgini Mariae laudes intonant christiani</i> and <i>Virgini Mariae laudes concinant christiani</i> replace the daily sequences during Eastertide. Contrafact of <i>Victimae paschali laudes</i> .
Easter	<i>Virgini Mariae laudes concinant christiani</i>	<i>Virgini Mariae laudes concinant christiani</i> and <i>Virgini Mariae laudes intonant christiani</i> replace the daily sequences during Eastertide. Contrafact of <i>Victimae paschali laudes</i> .

TABLE 2: The Birgittine sisters' sequence repertoire for the *Salve sancta parens* Mass.

Feast	Sequence
Advent, annuntiatio B.M.V.	<i>Missus Gabriel</i>
Conceptio B.M.V.	<i>Dies ista celebretur</i>
Nativitas Domini, Post nativitatem Domini, Purificatio B.M.V.	<i>Laetabundus exultet fidelis</i>
Visitatio B.M.V.	<i>Presens dies refulgent, In hijs solempnijs</i>
Assumptio B.M.V.	<i>Congaudent angelorum</i>
Nativitas B.M.V.	<i>Nativitas Marie virginis</i>

TABLE 3: The Birgittine sequence repertoire for Marian Masses.

As musicologists Carl-Allan Moberg and later Björkvall have shown, the sequences practised by the Birgittines were well known in medieval Sweden, which shows their general popularity and stability.²¹² An exception is the sequence *Tota pulchra* as discussed below. Furthermore, the Birgittine selection of sequences is typically Dominican, as noted by musicologist Margot Fassler.²¹³ Examination of the Altomünster and Uden sources shows an equally stable repertoire, although local variation did occur. In Mariënwater, *Altissima providente* was added to be used at

²¹² BJÖRKVALL: *Liturgical sequences* and C.-A. MOBERG: *Über die schwedischen Sequenzen: eine musikgeschichtliche Studie*, diss. (Uppsala 1927).

²¹³ I am grateful to Prof. Margot Fassler for this remark. Personal communication, Utrecht, 28 May 2018.

the Presentation of the B.M.V.²¹⁴ The use of the sequences was long lasting and consistent, and they were never subject to suppression. The Uden sources show that they were sung well into the 19th century and the repertoire expanded with a few more sequences in the 18th century, to be discussed in chapter 5.

The sequence *Tota pulchra es* and its place in the Birgittine chantscape

The sequence *Tota pulchra es* for use in the Sunday edition of the Mass *Salve sancta parens* is the only sequence not known outside the Birgittine Order. The sequence was first described by Moberg in 1927 and is assumed to have originated in Vadstena.²¹⁵ No evidence challenging this conclusion has been found. This sequence is an interesting musical parallel to some of the earlier discussed antiphons. These can be placed together with *Tota pulchra es* in the Birgittine chantscape, or more precisely in the Birgittine pitch group that is now to be addressed in depth. The text describes the beauty of the Virgin Mary, paraphrasing the *Song of Songs*, and as such perfectly matches the Birgittine Marian-centred devotion. The music is found in Appendix 1.

²¹⁴ One example is found in NL-DHk: 71 A 21 Royal Library fol. 329v.

²¹⁵ MOBERG: *Über die schwedischen Sequenzen* 14.

1a. Tota pulchra es, amica
regis angelorum,
virgo prudens et pudica
claritas polorum.

You are altogether beautiful, dearest
ruler of angels
wise and chaste virgin
clarity of the heavens

1b. Intus pulchra, pulchra foris
vere comprobarris,
veneranda cunctis horis,
mater expers maris.

Beautiful inside, beautiful outside
truly you are praised
adored at all hours
mother free from any man.

2a. Intus pulchrioribus,
ornaris virtutibus

Your interior is adorned with most
beautiful virtues

2b. Et decentioribus
foris polles moribus.

And you exhibit the most decent character

3a. A verticis cesarie
usque imum plante

From the crown of your head to the sole
of your foot

3b. Tu es sine carie
te Deo servante.

You are without corruption
from serving God

4a. Nulla virtus est, que posset
cor tuum transcendere,
immo cunctas tibi nosci
virtutes attrahere,
quibus Deo placuisti
et choris celestibus,

quibus mundo profuisti
perplexo meroribus.

There is no virtue that could
exceed your heart;
indeed every one of us
is attracted by your virtues
through which you please God
and the heavenly choirs
through which you have helped the
world
entangled in sorrows.

4b. Ergo cunctis es facturis
vere virtuosior, sic et cunctis creaturis
factura venustior;
Eve prolem denigratam
peccati fuligine
caeli regi reddis gratam
tua pulchritudine.

So your virtues are greater than those
of every other creature,
and you are more beautiful than them;
Eve's offspring sullied
by the soot of sin
you make welcome to the king of heaven
through your beauty.

5a. Summa virtus te virtutum
In terris constituit,
tibi iungi
et te fungi
cui summe placuit;

You are the greatest virtue of the virtues
made upon the earth,
let him unite with you
and serve you
whom you pleased greatly;

5b. Unde virtus de supernis
te virtutem adiit,
ut humanum
genus sanum
fieret, quod periit.

Thus the virtue from above
has given you strength
so that you might save

the human family
that has been lost.

6a. Iunctus factor est facture,
iunctus Deus homini,
venerandus omni iure
iunctus partus virgini.

The creator is united to the creation,
God united to man,
rightly one should honour
The Child, united to the Virgin.

6b. Iuncta virtus est virtuti,
decor pulchritudini
iuncta salus est saluti
et dulcor dulcedini.

Virtue is joined to virtue,
appearance to beauty
health is joined to health
and sweetness to sweetness

7a. Deus et hominem creavit
ad suam imaginem,

God also created man
in his image,

7b. Ad cuius in te formavit
se similitudinem.

In you he had formed someone
in his likeness.

8a. Tu es paradiso
tanto dignior,

You are more blessed
than paradise,

8b. Quanto tuus fructus
est utilior.

Since your fruit
is more worthy.

9a. O quam pulchra tu fuisti,
cum sit factus vultus Christi
tibi matri similis,

Oh how beautiful you were
when the face of Christ
was made to look like you,
Mother;

9b. Cui tu es voluntate,
Caritate, pietate.
Facta non dissimilis.

And you in will,
charity, and piety
were made like him.

10a. Si te Deus non vidisset
creaturam optimam,

If God had not considered you
his best creation,

10b. In matrem non elegisset
te, sibi carissimam.

He would not have chosen you
to be his most cherished mother.

11a. Ergo, virgo, pulchra tota,
nos viles non despice,
sed a quavis mende nota
nos mundari perface.

Thus, O Virgin, entirely beautiful,
don't reject us lowly,
but from all of our stains
make us clean.

11b. Fac, ut tuo placeamus
predilecto filio,
et felices transeamus
a mortis exilio.

Make us that we may please
the beloved son
and let us pass blissfully
from the exile of death.

12a. Solis, lune vel stellarum
splendor parum cernitur,
sive virtus planetarum,
plene dum attenditur,

The brightness of the sun, the moon, or
the stars
is little seen,
or the shine of the planets
when you clearly look at them,

12b. Quanta digne Christi matris
fulget virtuositas,
quam pre cunctis Dei Patris
illustravit claritas.

But how worthy does the virtue
of the mother of Christ shine,
upon which beyond all others
does the clarity of God the Father
illuminate.

13a. Cristallinum vel stellatum
celum vel empireum
non est Deo magis gratum,
quam illud hospicium
ventris casti, quo celasti
Iesum Dei filium;
hunc in morte virgo pia
nobis fac propitium.

The crystalline or starry
heavens or empyrean

it is not more pleasing to God
than that abode
the womb of the chaste, in which you
sheltered
Jesus, the son of God;
holy Virgin,
have mercy upon us in death.

13b. Laus eterno genitori,
laus eterno filio,
nostro pio redemptori
sit et veneratio,
charismatum infusori
Marie solatio,
matri Dei, nostre spei,
perpes iucundatio.

Praise be to the eternal Father,
Praise be to the eternal Son,
our merciful Savior,
so let there be reverence
for the infuser of gifts
the consolation of Mary,
Mother of God,
our hope,
our perpetual joy.

14. Amen.²¹⁶

Text and translation sequence *Tota pulchra es*, sung on Sundays in *Salve sancta parens* Mass. Numbering of strophes taken from *Analecta Hymnica*.

Apart from the text and source situation that links this sequence to the Birgittines and Vadstena, there are musical reasons for assuming a Birgittine origin. The musical analysis will be restricted to the beginning motif with the pitches D-F-G-A found at the beginning of strophes 1a and 1b, but also in the middle of these strophes. This motif forms part of the Birgittine pitch group. The pattern repeats itself in strophes 5a and 5b, which are more or less identical to 1a and 1b. Appendix 1 gives a full transcription of this sequence where the motif is indicated in red boxes. I fully agree with Moberg on its Vadstena origin, but by pushing this conclusion further, I claim a conscious use of a certain pitch group whose purpose was to create a specific room within the Birgittine chantscape for the Birgittines to bridge the Mass and Office repertoire.

²¹⁶ The Latin texts follows C. BLUME & G.A. DREVES (eds.): *Analecta hymnica medii aevi. 37, Sequentiae ineditae: liturgische Prosen des Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Frühdrucken. F. 5* (Leipzig 1901) 87–8. [this should be one column only, but I can't seem to correct it?]

This D-F-G-A motif may be linked to a wider context in the Birgittine chantscape; the Birgittine pitch group and found at the beginning of numerous chants. Pitch group is a concept based on a model by musicologist Leo Treitler in his work on the transmission of Aquitanian tropes. In that context, he searches for “concrete musical parameters in terms of which melodic units can be compared”. With such a model he wishes to discuss the lines between ‘versions,’ ‘different,’ ‘same,’ and ‘variant.’ Treitler singled out several note groups or modules, which was his preferred way of designating them since “there is no fixed way in which the melody [in the Aquitanian tropes] moves through their pitches”. These note groups or modules are not, as Treitler points out, to be regarded as musical motifs but rather as a *repository of pitches* that can be used in any order to create parts of melodies. A pitch group differs from a motif, since in the latter case the pitches have to occur in a fixed order.²¹⁷ Musicologist Peter Jeffery frames Treitler’s pitch groups as being superficially very different but they “nevertheless have the same underlying structure (such as an upward motion to a specific pitch followed by a descent to the final)”²¹⁸ Treitler’s idea of a repository of pitches rather than fixed rows is a model well suited to discussing a recurring phenomenon in the Birgittine material and, on a larger scale, the Birgittine identity formation through the use of chantscape. In my use of Treitler’s pitch groups, I not only employ the concept but have developed it further, introducing the concept of weak and strong positions. This means that some pitches are more likely to occur than other pitches. I extend the pitch group D-F-G-A to include the pitches C and E, and name these ‘weak pitches.’ They often occur, but not necessarily, and thus are not essential for identifying the Birgittine pitch group.



MUSIC EXAMPLE 6: The Birgittine pitch group with the weak pitches C and E in void noteheads.

A number of chants have this pitch group in the beginning. I argue that this use is a conscious way of creating a musical signal that can be experienced as Birgittine within the Birgittine chantscape. But where did this idea come from? It was most probably not a Birgittine invention but rather borrowed from the sisters’ emblematic Mass *Salve sancta parens*, where it is frequently found. In the Mass melodies, the pitch group is more precisely found at the beginnings of the introit *Salve sancta*

²¹⁷ L. TREITLER: ‘The Transmission of Some Aquitanian Tropes,’ in *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (Oxford 2003) 253, 268.

²¹⁸ P. JEFFERY: *Re-envisioning past musical cultures. Ethnomusicology in the study of Gregorian chant* (Chicago 1992) 92.

parens, the Gloria trope *Per precem piissimam*,²¹⁹ the offertory *Recordare*, Kyrie (*cum iubilo*), and *Ite missa est* (one of several *Ite missa est*, but this one is for ferial use). The pitch group is furthermore found at the beginning of the sequences *Virgini Mariae laudes intonant christiani* and *Virgini Mariae laudes concinant christiani*, both of which are contrafacts of *Victimae paschali laudes*. In the Cantus sororum this pitch group can be identified at the beginning of the Tuesday invitational antiphon *Filium Dei*. In the Birgitta and Katherina antiphons, we find it in *O Birgitta myrrh gutta/O patrone ingenue* and *Birgitta vas gratie*. The findings are demonstrated in music example 7. The occurrence in the liturgy shows that the chants within the pitch group were sung on various occasions in the sister's liturgy, with an emphasis on the Mass liturgy. We find it for ferial use in Mass in both the ordinary and the proper, including the ferial sequence repertoire. It is found in the ferial Office repertoire in an important place, such as an invitational antiphon. It occurs at feasts for Birgitta (and Katherina) where the texts add a layer of Birgittine identity. In short, it populated every corner of the Birgittine sisters' liturgy. As such it is an important part of the chantscapes that constitute the greater Birgittine chantscape.

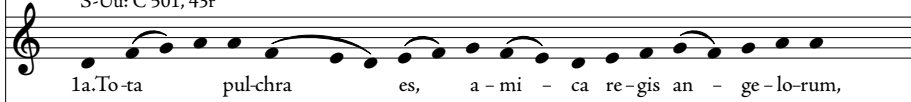
There is no documentation apart from the actual chants that can support whether these intertextual relations are intentional or not, but it seems unlikely that it is a coincidence, or that it would have passed unnoticed by the singers. It is as if the Birgittines actively sought this pitch group and created chants based on it in order to form a musical unity. These chants add to the Birgittine chantscape and change it into a tool for creating a sounding Birgittine identity. Mass and Office are not only theologically and spiritually linked to each other, but the link is also musically reinforced. It must, however, once more be emphasised that this pitch group is not unique, as such, as the presumed borrowing from *Salve sancta parens* already indicates. Kyrie *cum iubilo* is, for example, one of the most widely transmitted Kyrie melodies and found in all Nordic dioceses in the 15th century. My point is that the consistent Birgittine use of melodies with this pitch group is interesting from a chantscape perspective, and it was most likely chosen to signify Birgittine identity through chant.

²¹⁹ A troped Gloria not found outside the Birgittines, neither the troped text nor the Gloria melody.

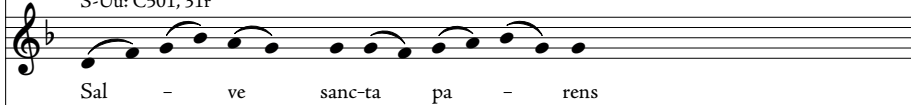
NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 22v



S-Uu: C 501, 43r



S-Uu: C501, 31r



D-Fs: Alto MS P An 5, 89r



NL-DHk: 71 A 21, 279r



S-Uu: C 501, 32v



S-Uu: C 501, 34v



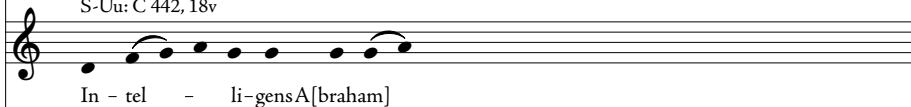
S-Uu: C 501, 36r



S-Uu: C 501, 39v



S-Uu: C 442, 18v



S-Uu: C 468, 5r

Re - gem an - ge - lo - rum

S-Uu: C 501, 62r

Vir - gi - ni Ma - ri - e lau - des

MUSIC EXAMPLE 7: Overview of occurrences in the Birgittine sisters' Mass and Office liturgy containing the Birgittine pitch group at the beginning.

Lastly, a problem concerning the presumed source of inspiration for the pitch group must be addressed: the introit *Salve sancta parens*. How are we to understand the note A that could be exchanged for B-flat as the fourth note in the introit *Salve sancta parens* in the Vadstena manuscript S-Uu: C 501? Unfortunately, we only have one Vadstena source with this introit, but the Altomünster manuscripts from the same period have the same incipit with B-flat (though transposed a fourth down, which is typical for the Altomünster versions of this introit). On the other hand, the Uden version is in accord with the Birgittine pitch group and consistent in all Uden sources. The reason for this perplexity could simply be that this introit was in use in local versions to such a degree that the versions resisted conformity and codification, and, because of this, it became difficult for an expected transmission of this chant to occur. The use or avoidance of B(-flats) is a characteristic that has been proved to be strongly regional. However, this does not explain why the Vadstena version is not consistent with the Birgittine pitch group. Only a larger study considering more Vadstena material – if this can ever be found – could answer this question.

Conclusion and summary

In this chapter I have argued that after a long period of collective efforts the Birgittine liturgy was fixed and codified in Vadstena in the 1420s as a corpus called the *Cantus sororum*, in the form we know it today. The situation described in the *Responsiones Vadstenenses* can be seen as evidence of circumstances in Vadstena in the mid-1420s leading to this formative stage. The year 1430, the year of the dedication of the abbey church, is the main candidate for a date of this work's completion. From around 1430, authoritative copies could be produced and transmitted to other Birgittine foundations. These copies contain a strikingly uniform repertoire and are the earliest notated liturgical manuscripts from the Birgittine Order surviving today. Birgittine foundations were required to use *Cantus sororum*, in whatever form it might have been, as shown in the example from Syon Abbey. Early foun-

dations outside Sweden may have received updated information until the time the liturgy was considered a fixed corpus. The liturgy was extended with a sequence repertoire for the sisters' Masses and suffrages for Birgitta and Katherina. The suffrages are direct examples of how the memories of Birgitta, and Katherina to some extent, were incorporated directly into liturgical use. Birgitta is described in terms of motherhood and teacher, and Katherina in terms of chastity and flowers, features also typical in describing the Virgin Mary. Together, they were incorporated into the liturgy alongside important figures such as the Virgin Mary, St Anna, St Olav, and St Francis, through intertextual connotations. In the Birgittine chantscape, a certain pitch group has been identified through which a Birgittine identity could be highlighted with the help of this certain musical signal used for the liturgy and spiritually crucial chants. Yet, material not originally intended for use by Birgittines was also used to enhance the Birgittine chantscape: the two Offices in honour of Birgitta. Another layer of intertextuality in the Birgittine chantscape is the use of F-mode in *Sponsa regis/Sponse legis*, which links Birgitta, St Anna, and the Virgin Mary in the theme of motherhood, as well as modal gestures frequently typical for F-mode chants.

Late 15th century-mid-16th century:
The Birgittine chantscape in Mariënwater,
Mariëntroon, and Altomünster



BY THE END of the 15th century, the Birgittine Order was flourishing in several European countries, especially in what is now Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The reasons for the Birgittine dominance in these areas have not been fully examined. From a political and economic viewpoint, the importance of the Hanseatic League trading routes transversing this area provides a possible reason. The Hanseatic League was crucial for international contacts in medieval Sweden. In addition, the spiritual life in these parts of Europe must be taken into consideration. Of interest are two spiritual movements emphasising female activity which could have provided a fertile ground for the Birgittines. The first is the *Devotio Moderna*, which emerged in the 14th century in today's Netherlands and Belgium and had its breakthrough around 1380–1410; the same period when the Birgittine Order began its activities as a monastic order. Both the *Devotio Moderna* and the Birgittine used the Augustinian Rule for the same reasons: it was short and flexible, allowing additional constitutions, and *Devotio Moderna* emphasised female spirituality, often including mystic experiences.²²⁰ Extensive research on the relation of this movement to the Birgittines is still lacking, but historian Simon Carpels notes that the *Devotio Moderna* had a profound impact on the late medieval monastic landscape in this region and paved the way for other spiritual reform movements in that time and area, including the Birgittines.²²¹ *Devotio Moderna* is sometimes called the *second religious female movement*, the first one occurring in the 12th and 13th centuries. Another spiritual force is the beguine movement, which also promoted female spirituality and included a monastic life of sorts, though in its own peculiar form. Historian Walter Simon frames the appeal for the beguine movement as “the dual nature of the beguine life and, more particularly, in their unique and flexible combination of an active life among urban citizens and a contemplative life within a secure setting”.²²² The emphasis on wom-

²²⁰ Mol, J. A.: ‘Epiloog’, 217. For *Devotio Moderna* see R. T. M. VAN DIJK O. CARM., *Salome Sticken* (1369–1449) *en de oorsprong van de Moderne Devotie* (Hilversum 2015).

²²¹ CARPELS, S.: *Het klooster Maria Troon in Dendermonde. Een studie naar de identiteit van de Birgittinessen in de laatmiddeleeuwse Nederlanden*. Master's thesis (Gent 2010).

²²² W. SIMONS: *Cities of ladies: Beguine communities in the medieval low countries, 1200–*

en as fundamental participants in the communities provides a striking connection to the Birgittines. The beguines lived according to an approved rule but did not have vows of obedience nor renounce private property.²²³ The connection with the beguines is more direct than the *Devotio Moderna*, since contact between them and the Birgittines is documented in Vadstena in 1412, where they resided until 1506 in their own house and not as part of the Birgittine community. It is known that the beguines arrived in Vadstena before 1412 because of the acts of the Council of Arboga in Sweden in 1412, where Vadstena Abbey is forbidden to give support to the beguines. The *Diarium Vadstenense* informs us that in 1506 the brothers expelled the beguines, which according to the *Diarium Vadstenense* was a sect that had been condemned by canonical law. The reason seems odd, but likely has to do with the fact that the beguines' quarters laid in the way for an extension of the brothers' garden.²²⁴ This item also informs us that the beguines received food daily from the abbey; in other words they were highly dependent on the Birgittines. There is reason to believe that the strong Birgittine presence in the Netherlands and Belgium is not a coincidence but a result of already existing conditions that had resulted in a strong tradition of female spirituality that could have worked in favour of the Birgittine Order. Though there were fundamental differences in life as a beguine and as a Birgittine nun, the emphasis on women as crucial to the communities' lives is standard for both. Musicologist Pieter Mannaerts has shown that the beguines' chant repertoire included many chants for the Virgin Mary, or contrafacts of Marian chants for beguine saints or saints associated with the beguines.²²⁵ A Marian musical focus is therefore another feature that beguines and Birgittines have in common.

In contrast to the development of the Order on the Continent, activities in Vadstena gradually died out during the 16th century due to the extended Swedish Lutheran reformation, which began in 1546 and only concluded in 1593 at the Uppsala synod when Sweden was declared Lutheran. Around 1550, the brothers' convent in Vadstena was no longer functioning. The sisters in Vadstena were allowed to stay and the last nuns did not leave until 1595, two years after the Uppsala synod.

1565 (Philadelphia 2003) 112.

²²³ SIMONS: *Cities of ladies* 112, 133, and 140.

²²⁴ GEJROT: *Diarium Vadstenense* item 978, 286–287; C. GEJROT: *Vadstenadiariet. Latinsk text med översättning och kommentar* (Stockholm 1996) 407, item 978 and note 6. The beguines in Vadstena are discussed in I. LINDARÄNG: *Beginerna: en medeltida och nutida kvinnorörelse* (Vadstena 2009).

²²⁵ P. MANNAERTS: 'Authenticity and invention: Composition, distribution and origin of the offices for St. Begga', in *Beghinae in cantu instructae. Musical Patrimony from Flemish Beguinages (Middle Ages-late 18th century)* (Turnhout 2009) 51–76 and P. MANNAERTS: 'Lifting the Veil: Musical Beguinage Sources in a European Context' in *Beghinae in cantu instructae. Musical patrimony from Flemish beguinages* (Turnhout 2009) 241–248.

This detail points to the strong position that Vadstena Abbey held throughout the Swedish reformation era. The last traces of liturgical book production, however, are no later than the 1520s.²²⁶

In this chapter, the focus shifts to Mariënwater and its earliest documented liturgical life, complemented by discussions of liturgical books from Mariëntroon and Altomünster. Two manuscripts of particular interest from Mariënwater will be discussed. These sources will be considered in relation to those of Vadstena, investigating questions of possible means for the transmission of the repertoire, and practical and ideological reasons as to why Vadstena's books are in many ways so different from those of its daughter foundations. Since this chapter will discuss a large number of sources, a clarification is given on which manuscripts that will be considered. These manuscripts are also listed in Appendix 2.

- ♦ NL-DHk: KB 71 A 21, Officiae de b.m.v., ca. 1500
- ♦ NL-UD: HS K:An 1, Antiphonale Birgittanum, ca. 1500
- ♦ D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 1, Antiphonarium Birgittinum, 1480
- ♦ D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 2 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1480
- ♦ D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 3 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1486
- ♦ D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 4 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1495
- ♦ D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 5 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1490
- ♦ D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 6 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1510
- ♦ S-Uu: C490 Cantus sororum, end of the 15th century
- ♦ S-Uu: C501 Cantus sororum, 15th century
- ♦ B-Br: II 3833 Cantus sororum, ca. 1500

The earliest liturgical life in Mariënwater

The exact foundation year of Mariënwater is difficult to establish since no documents are known containing the approbation from the Pope or the bishop in Liège, the diocese to which it belonged at the time. Different documents state different years for the foundation, from 1434 to 1437. The two oldest mentions known in documents from Rome regarding Mariënwater are from 1441 and 1447, and concern recent abbey buildings. Historian Lucas van Dijck suggests that the years 1434–1437 should be considered as foundation years with a slow process of building undertaken by an enthusiastic group rather than a formal foundation acknowledged by the Church.²²⁷ This situation is parallel to that in Vadstena, where

²²⁶ An exact year the brothers left is difficult to establish. See A. HÄRDELIN: 'Vadstena klostrets långa dödskamp', in *Kult, kultur och kontemplation* (Skellefteå 1998) 126–155.

²²⁷ L. G. C. M. VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater. De eerste twee eeuwen Mariënwater, het oudste nog bestaande Birgittaklooster ter wereld te Coudewater in Rosmalen (ca. 1437-ca. 1637)* (s-Hertogenbosch 2018) 14.

an informal group of forerunners without official vows preceded the opening of the abbey in 1384. The process in Mariënwater could be described as a grassroots movement that eventually gained approbation from the Church. The leading figure was a certain Milla van Kampen, who arrived in Mariënwater with three or four sisters from the Birgittine abbey Marienkron in Stralsund, an abbey founded in 1415 from Marienwohlde, 30 km south of Lübeck. The community in Mariënwater grew and by 1450 there were around 50 sisters and seven brothers.²²⁸ These early years of monastic life, however, have left no traces in the form of liturgical books.

Mariënwater became a prosperous abbey and fostered seven daughter abbeys between 1446 and 1477: Maria Ster (1446–1454), Mariënkamp (1457–1582), Marienforst (1450–1802), Arbor Mariae (1460–1802), Mariënburg (1460–ca. 1619), Maria Stern (1477–1551), and Mariëntroon (1466–1784). No other Birgittine abbey has more foundations than Mariënwater.²²⁹ The foundations were only made possible thanks to a steady growth of novices, allowing Mariënwater to send out sisters and brothers to the newly-founded abbeys. The normal procedure was to send out three to four sisters between the ages of 20 and 30 and one brother as leader and confessor who would remain at the new foundation.²³⁰ Van Dijck calls the 1480s a period of stabilisation lasting until 1516, when the abbey had about 100 members; but this year, according to Van Dijck, is also when the decline began. A lung disease epidemic reduced the community by around 10 members, and epidemics and the plague would return in 1517 and 1518, in total reducing the community about a third. Moreover, support from the aristocracy was no longer forthcoming; the Reformation was in its earliest phase and the number of those committing to vocations would quickly decrease.²³¹ Van Dijck sketches a picture of Mariënwater at the beginning of the 16th century as an isolated abbey, which in contrast to other Birgittine abbeys in the region had not succeeded in building a network, either with other abbeys or with lay people in the form of guilds. Consequently, Mariënwater could not be part of a culture where, for example, pilgrimage alms played an essential role.²³²

²²⁸ VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 25–26. Milla van Kampen was a prolific figure who had been captured by Birgittine spirituality. Van Dijck sketches a picture of her in VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 13–15.

²²⁹ A pedigree of the medieval group of the Birgittines is found in NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 8–9.

²³⁰ VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 38.

²³¹ VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 34.

²³² VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 38.

Mariënwater's preserved manuscripts from period I: ca. 1470-ca. 1510

The steady growth of novices and daughter foundations corresponds directly to the heyday of the scriptorium in Mariënwater. Its beginning had been established in around 1470 and it would be active until about 1530, but scholars have expressed different opinions about the most productive period of its activities.²³³ Sander Olsen writes that a semi-professional scriptorium reached its peak in the period 1480–1500 when both sisters and brothers copied books.²³⁴ Olsen points out that the rapid establishment of new foundations gave impetus for Mariënwater to produce books for their daughter abbeys and not only for their own needs.²³⁵ This is difficult to prove, but as will be discussed below, the survival of two antiphonals from ca. 1500 from Mariëntroon supports this assumption.²³⁶ A slightly different view is held by art historian Alie van Veenendaal, who dates the group of manuscripts between the 1460s and 1490s, based on the manuscripts' decorations, and argues for 1475 as the peak of book production in Mariënwater.²³⁷ This is the same year that the construction of an abbey church began. In line with my earlier argument about the relation between liturgical book production and dedicated church rooms, these two activities might be seen to go hand in hand. When the abbey church was completed and dedicated is unclear, but in 1487 work on its construction was still underway.²³⁸ In other words, the peak of the scriptorium coincided with the construction of the abbey church. This can be compared to the situation in Vadstena, where in earlier chapters I argued for a liturgy that was codified in conjunction with the dedication of the abbey church in 1430. Perhaps the Birgittines in Mariënwater aimed to produce books in the same way, ready to be used in their church at the dedication.

²³³ The earliest trace of book production in Mariënwater is from the 1450s when a copy of Birgitta's *Revelations* was copied by Johannes van Heyliczem, and a Dutch prayer book is written in 1457 by Brother Pieter Danielszoon. NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 215. Unnotated psalteries and breviaries have, however, been dated as early as 1468, A. VAN VEENENDAAL: 'Gedecoreerde handschriften uit Mariënwater', in A. M. KOLDEWEIJ (ed.): *In Buscoducis 1450–1629 kunst uit de Bourgondische tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch: de cultuur van late middeleeuwen en renaissance: tentoonstelling Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch* (Maarssen 1990) 150–152.

²³⁴ U. SANDER OLSEN: *Biblioteca Birgittina*. 12 and attachment 2.

²³⁵ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 215.

²³⁶ The contents of the abbey library are listed in SANDER OLSEN: *Biblioteca Birgittina*. Olsen lists a number of other Birgittine manuscripts – not only liturgical notated books – in other libraries and collections: SANDER OLSEN: *Biblioteca Birgittina* 253–254. To what extent these are notated has been difficult to establish and they are not considered in this study.

²³⁷ VAN VEENENDAAL: 'Gedecoreerde handschriften uit Mariënwater' 498.

²³⁸ L. VAN LIEBERGEN: *300 jaar Abdij Uden* (Uden 2013) 33–34.

The discussion above on dating the manuscripts from this period has convinced me of an approximate dating of the Mariënwater manuscripts to between 1470 and 1510. This is an estimate since none of the manuscripts are dated.

In addition to exact dating, the scribes of these early books are unknown. However, one person – Abbess Helwig Olijvers – stands out after having held this position for 43 years, between 1464 and 1507. She is believed to have played a major role in directing the scriptorium so that these elegant products were made by its workshop.²³⁹ A decline in the production of manuscripts after 1510 can be linked to the reduced community and lack of support from the aristocracy, as shown by Van Dijk. Manuscript production in Mariënwater would only be resumed around 100 years later. This first clearly defined period of liturgical manuscript production in Mariënwater will be referred to as period I, followed by three other periods. Seven manuscripts survive from this period:

- ♦ NL-UD: HS K:An 1 Antiphonale Birgittanum
- ♦ NL-UD:HS K:An 2 Antiphonale Birgittanum
- ♦ NL-UD:HS K:An 3 Antiphonale Birgittanum
- ♦ NL-UD:HS K:An 4 Antiphonale Birgittanum
- ♦ NL-UD: HS K:An 5 Antiphonale Birgittanum
- ♦ NL-UD: MRK 072 Antiphonale Birgittanum
- ♦ NL-DHk: 71 A 21 *Officia et Missae de B. Maria Virgine*, Royal Library The Hague

There are two further manuscripts that were possibly written at Mariënwater but ended up in Mariëntroon: B-Br: II 3833 and B-Br: II 3834.

No separate graduals have been preserved from Mariënwater's period I, but two manuscripts from that period have both an antiphonal and a gradual section. These are the antiphoner-gradual NL-DHk: 71 A 21 and NL-UD: HS K:An 1, which hereon will figure repeatedly in this book because of the completeness of their content and (as I claim) as representative of Birgittine liturgy.

The antiphoner-gradual *Officia et Missae de B. Maria Virgine* NL-DHk: 71 A 21 – a Birgittine *summa*

The manuscript NL-DHk: 71 A 21 is the only larger liturgical book that has been preserved from period I.²⁴⁰ It is larger in the sense that it is a book too big to be held by hand, but instead more appropriate to be read from a stand. It measures 396 x 282 mm and contains 335 folia. The size, script, and contents point to a use as an easily legible common exemplar to be placed on a stand in the choir: a choir book. In comparison to other preserved books from period I, its content is more

²³⁹ VAN LIEBERGEN: 300 jaar *Abdij Uden* 33–34.

²⁴⁰ This manuscript is inventorised and described in P. C. VAN BOEREN: *Catalogus van de liturgische handschriften van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (The Hague 1988) 41–43.

complete since it contains the complete psalms for the psalm antiphons and the complete 21 Matins readings from *Sermo Angelicus*. These are two very space-consuming items and are never found in the smaller Birgittine liturgical books for individual use, where the normal size is a quarto format (ca. 140 mm x 90 mm).²⁴¹ Furthermore, NL-DHk: 71 A 21 as an antiphoner-gradual contains Masses for the Birgittine sisters as mentioned earlier (*Salve sancta parens* and Marian Masses), as well as the Mass for the consecration of an abbess. It also includes a complete sequence section. NL-DHk: 71 A 21 can therefore be regarded as a *summa* of the Birgittine liturgy in the late 15th century; a manuscript that comprises the complete Birgittine liturgy for the sisters' Mass and Office. It continued to be in use into the late 17th century, as can be established from additions, revisions, and alterations to be addressed later.

Antiphonale Birgittanum NL-UD: HS K:An 1

NL-UD: HS K:An 1 in contrast to NL-DHk: 71 A 21 is a small book, in quarto format, also containing an antiphonal and a gradual section. It is catalogued as an antiphoner since the Office section opens the manuscript, but in the following will be referred to as an antiphoner-gradual.²⁴² It contains the complete invitatories, but has no *Sermo Angelicus* readings or psalm texts, and only *finalis* for the psalm tones. The gradual section contains the usual Birgittine Masses as in NL-DHk: 71 A 21, but no Mass for the consecration of an abbess. It is remarkable since it shows no signs of wear and has no alterations, in contrast to the other books from period 1. In fact, it looks as though it was never used. The only later additions are added names of the psalm tones (*primi* added above the psalm tone *finalis*, for example). A possible explanation for its appearance is that this book was intended as an exemplar to consult or copy from, not to sing from in choir. It is carefully written, easy to read, and the fact that it has no later additions in the notation makes it ideal for studying the first phase of the repertoire in Mariënwater.

A scriptorium in Mariëntroon?

In addition to the discussions of the scriptorium in Mariënwater, two surviving antiphoners from Mariëntroon (founded in 1466) in the Royal Library in Brussels are of interest: B-Br: II 3833 and B-Br: II 3833. Whether Mariëntroon had its own scriptorium around 1500 is not known. Historian Simon Carpels lists 29 preserved manuscripts up to around 1600 belonging to Mariëntroon; the types of books he

²⁴¹ That is, psalm antiphons, suffrage antiphons, great responsories, hymns and invitatory antiphons. Sander Olsen provides exact measurements of all Mariënwater manuscripts in SANDER OLSEN: *Biblioteca Birgittina*.

²⁴² SANDER OLSEN: *Biblioteca Birgittina* 121.

lists are the Birgittine Rule, prayerbooks, the chronicle by the abbess Marie van Oss, breviaries, and two graduals. An examination of the graduals reveals that they do not contain any Birgittine liturgy and possibly belonged to the brothers. The attribution of these graduals to Mariëntroon is uncertain and vague, and the books today are housed in the city archive in Dendermonde, transferred from the city's cathedral Onze-Lieve Vrouwcollegiale.²⁴³ Carpels seems to have missed the existence of the two above-mentioned antiphoners in the Royal Library in Brussels. In content, structure, and decoration they are so close to Mariënwater that they might have been produced in Mariëntroon's mother abbey. There is also the possibility that they were written in Mariëntroon by a scribe trained in Mariënwater, and that no scriptorium existed there, only some skilled individuals who occasionally produced liturgical books.

Altomünster: six books from ca. 1500

Altomünster has a similar situation as Mariënwater in the period, with six liturgical books preserved from around 1500. In contrast to Mariënwater, all but one are antiphoner-graduals, a situation reversed from Mariënwater. Altomünster was established from a Benedictine foundation in 1488 and not inhabited by Birgittines until 1497.²⁴⁴ Five of the six manuscripts are dated between 1480 and 1495, and the sixth to 1510.²⁴⁵ Thus, it is only possible for one of the books to have been written in Altomünster. It is most likely that at the time of the foundation the other five were brought from their mother abbey Maria Mai in Maihingen, Bavaria, founded in 1458 (closed ca. 1560) or some other German-speaking Birgittine abbey, since its rubrics and decoration point to this.²⁴⁶ In 1520, Altomünster was drawn into the turmoil of the Reformation. At the same time, manuscript production ceased in Altomünster only to be taken up later, a situation parallel to that of Mariënwater.²⁴⁷

Content and structure as a sign of authority and legitimation

The stable transmission of the liturgy from Vadstena to other abbeys can be briefly summarised as follows: once the fixed repertoire began to be transmitted from

²⁴³ S. CARPELS: *Het klooster Mariëntroon in Dendermonde. Een studie naar de identiteit van de Birgittinessen in de laatmiddeleeuwse Nederlanden*. Master's thesis (Gent 2010).

²⁴⁴ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 178.

²⁴⁵ D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 1 (1480); D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 2 (1480); D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 3 (1486); D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 4 (1495); D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 5 (1490); D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 6 (1510).

²⁴⁶ Art historian Dr. Eva Lindgren Sandqvist has remarked that the decorations look earlier than the foundation era of the abbey. Personal communication.

²⁴⁷ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 178–179.

Vadstena, probably in the 1420s, the repertoire had been accepted for liturgical use in Vadstena and codified in their books as shown earlier. This is the repertoire that is reflected in Appendix 3 and is also the repertoire we find in the books from the foundations. It is therefore time to discuss the structure and physical appearance of the Vadstena books and compare them to the books from Mariënwater, Mariëntroon, and Altomünster to achieve a broader picture.²⁴⁸ Though the liturgy and chants present a mostly stable transmission, the manuscripts from these other abbeys differ significantly from the Vadstena books. Since the liturgical books from Vadstena are less structured, they give the impression of being miscellanea intended for individual use rather than having been produced in a scriptorium according to a template. Other abbeys, on the other hand, transmit complete Office chants and liturgies in a liturgically consistent order. Surprisingly, little is preserved from Vadstena with regards to complete chants and liturgical formulas for the Office. In fact, there are only three preserved books for the Vadstena sisters that contain complete chants.²⁴⁹ This does not detract from the fact that it is possible to get an accurate picture of the liturgy in Vadstena in 1430, but achieving that picture is more complicated than consulting books from Mariënwater, Altomünster, or Mariëntroon. The preserved Vadstena manuscripts are a mix of different liturgies, and Office and Mass repertoires are often blended in the same book where the formulas are seldom complete and items lacking.²⁵⁰ Two books never follow the same structure. However, a small number of preserved fragments at the National Archives in Stockholm indicates that more formal choir books did exist, but their fragmentary state does not allow us to draw conclusions on how they were organised.²⁵¹ The preserved books are, in other words, not as neatly organised as the books from the foundations, where the content follows an order according to the liturgical week or the liturgical year, which I will outline below. Mass formulas are slightly more consistent, but even in this case there are gaps. A book genre that stands out as being unique to Vadstena is the *directoria chori*, which is not found in any other of the abbeys. These are incipit collections of Office chants only to remind the singer of the beginning, with the rest presumably to be sung by heart. The Benedicamus Domino tropes also deserve to be mentioned here. They only give the first part, omitting the *Deo dicamus gratia* part. This suggests that this tutti-response was modelled on the first part (sung by two sisters) and orally transmitted to the whole group.

²⁴⁸ The discussion is also based on examination of books from Syon Abbey.

²⁴⁹ Manuscripts S-Uu: C482, end of the 15th century, S-Uu: C490, end of the 15th century, and S-Uu: C501, 15th century.

²⁵⁰ This is especially true for the brothers' books, which I do not treat further in this study.

²⁵¹ National Archives, Stockholm fr. 1602, 4274, 4601, 7942, 8127, 8474, 25035, 25038, 25039.



IMAGE 3: A directorium chori from Vadstena Abbey containing incipits for chants in the Cantus sororum for Thursday. Among the incipits are *Ave maris stella* (end of second line) and *Sponse jungendo* (starting fifth line). Source: S-Uu: C442 Directorium chori monasterii Vadstenensis, 15th century, fol. 24r.

The differences in layout of the books from Vadstena and other Birgittine abbeys raise a number of questions. Why, in latter cases, are these neatly organised books in liturgical order according to day and hour, and thus different from Vadstena's more inconsistent books? In particular, complete great responsories are lacking in

the Vadstena books, which is surprising given the complexity and length of these chants. There are in fact no complete preserved great responsories from Vadstena, only incipits. These incipits are, however, consistent with the beginning of these chants found in other Birgittine abbey sources, which is why this serves as indirect evidence of the chant transmission from Vadstena to other foundations that took place. Is there a “missing link” between the sketchy, fragmentary source situation in Vadstena and the beautiful, well-written books from other abbeys? Why are the incipit collections *directoria chori* so dominant in the Vadstena material, yet unknown in other Birgittine abbeys?²⁵² I assume that the *directoria chori* may serve as a clue to understanding the incompleteness of the liturgical books from Vadstena, since it maintained a strong oral tradition. This tradition was able to be maintained particularly strongly here since it was where the Birgittine liturgy originated. An oral tradition could, therefore, have been preserved to a larger degree than at its foundations. The Vadstena Birgittines could rely on oral memory; they did not need to follow any other authority since Vadstena was the authority. This could not be assumed in the foundations, which is why they needed authoritative copies of liturgical books from their very beginning. These books needed a far greater element of complete chants and standardisation, since the practitioners could not rely on community members who could recall the chants correctly from memory. The use of decoration also deserves a comment since there are significant differences between Vadstena and other abbeys in this regard. The Vadstena books are sparsely decorated, and the writing space is well utilised (see images 3 and 4). In Altomünster, the books are decorated with illuminations in the initials of invitatory antiphons and the Mass introits; see one example in image 5, which interestingly depicts Birgitta receiving a revelation. The manuscript, in other words, strengthens Birgittine authority not only through music but also through images. Mariëntroon also offers skilfully decorated initials for each invitatory antiphon, as shown in image 6.

²⁵² *Directorium chori* are discussed in the introduction.



IMAGE 4: *Benedicamus virginis filio* (Benedicamus domino trope) and short responsory *In manus tuas*. Source: S-Uu: C 490 Cantus sororum, fol. 2v, late 15th century.

Am Sonntag das Inuitatoriū 2

Trinum deum et unū
propter meritis a to
remus Vir gi ni qz matri gra
tulantibus animis iugiter iubi lemus.
Dixite exultemus domino iubile
mus deo salutari nostro precorumpemus
faciem eius in confessione et in psalmis
iubillemus e i Trinu Quoniam

IMAGE 5: Sunday invitatory antiphon *Trinum Deum*. Note the depiction of Birgitta at her desk receiving a revelation from Christ and the Virgin Mary.

Source: D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 1, fol. 2 r, 1480.

The images from the two antiphoners from Altomünster and Mariëntroon are examples of how the books were composed in a consistent liturgical order following the liturgical week. Each new day in the *Cantus sororum* is marked with a decorated initial, often with decorations in the margin. Red rubrics often help to facilitate orientation. A typical *Cantus sororum* antiphoner from Mariënwater, Altomünster, or Mariëntroon has the following structure that would not change over time: *Invitatorium* for Sunday, followed by the *Cantus sororum* for each day of the week. Sunday Office also provides *Te Deum*, sung at the end of Matins every day except Friday.²⁵³ Versicles and short responsories can be omitted, but psalm antiphons, hymns, great responsories (including complete *versi*) and invitatory antiphons are given in their entirety. The complete *Venite*-section (Psalm 94) is not always given; in some manuscripts only the initium of Psalm 94 is indicated. The variation of the *Venite* psalms is probably the reason why books with the complete invitatories were used by the horista, whose duties required access to the complete item, while the rest of the community only sang the invitatory antiphon.²⁵⁴ Marian and Birgittine suffrages are found after their appropriate Office in Lauds and Vespers. There are no processions preserved from this period, but processional material is sometimes included in the antiphoners. This reminds us of the important procession tradition in the Birgittine Order and that these antiphoners could also serve for these purposes. The size of the volumes is usually quarto format. Square notation is often used, though an exception is found in NL-DHk: 71 A 21, where Gothic notation is occasionally used both in the Office and Mass sections. Note that the books from Altomünster are also consistent in their use of square notation, though Gothic notation was common in Germanic-speaking areas at this time.

The differences in structure and decoration among sources from different abbeys point to different causes and as a result the question of authority and legitimisation returns, where there is more to the question than oral liturgical tradition. Vadstena was the legitimised authority, while other foundations needed to embed themselves in the Birgittine identity by producing and using perfectly readable manuscripts which transmitted the Birgittine liturgy in a clear and transparent form. Instructions must have existed for copying liturgical books in the Vadstena miscellanies, or some foundation created a standard to follow. A likely platform for transmission of the early repertoire is the general chapters; occasions when liturgical books could be exchanged and copied and the only times when representatives for the whole Order met. The liturgical uniformity reflected in these manuscripts is not a unique Birgittine phenomenon; it was an important issue for medieval

²⁵³ *Te Deum* is also omitted in Advent and Lent except on feast days. LUNDÉN: *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis* vol. I, 15.

²⁵⁴ The invitatory antiphons in *Cantus sororum* are discussed in LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: 'The Invitatory antiphons in *Cantus sororum*' 121–142.

orders on a larger scale. Dominicans, Franciscans, Cistercians, and Premonstratensians are examples of orders with rules on how to copy liturgical books to achieve uniformity.²⁵⁵ Musicologist Manon Louvriot has remarked on the concept of uniformity, noting that it must not be confused with our modern concept of “two or more things being exactly the same – because they [medieval people] did not have the technology to achieve it”. She emphasises that uniformity was not opposed to local variation, where the items added did not affect the desired uniformity, and calls this phenomenon a “medieval uniformity”.²⁵⁶ It is in this context that we need to view the Birgittine liturgical books. Louvriot does not address the impact of orality, but there is reason to consider Vadstena Abbey as a place where oral tradition was strong and that traces of this orality are to be observed in the books.

Conclusion and summary

In this chapter, examination of manuscript material has been expanded to include material from Mariënwater, Mariëntroon, and Altomünster. Possible means of transmission from Vadstena to daughter foundations were considered. Having examined sources from other Birgittine abbeys, we return to a problem raised earlier in this book: most research on Vadstena chant has adjudged conditions in the 14th century based on 15th-century sources. What must be added to this evaluation is that some of these 15th-century sources come from other Birgittine abbeys and therefore do not reflect conditions in Vadstena. In earlier research, conclusions about the earliest liturgy in Vadstena have been drawn, not only from later sources, but also partly or wholly dependent upon sources from other locations. Here, I have tried to show how questionable such a method is. In particular, the antiphoner S-Sk: A84 *Antiphonarium et hymnarium Sancte Birgitte* (now in the Royal Library in Stockholm), dated to the second half of the 15th century, has been a rich source for scholarship in this matter, though very little is known about its provenance apart from its many Italian features. To address the problem directly: it is impossible to reconstruct Vadstena liturgy solely using Vadstena sources.

The popularity of the Birgittine Order in what is now Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium was also discussed. Here, the spiritual movement *Devotio Moderna*

²⁵⁵ Production and notation of Dominican manuscripts are discussed at length in E. J. GIRAUD: *The production and notation of Dominican manuscripts in thirteenth-century Paris*, diss. (Cambridge 2013). Statutes on the copying of Dominican and Franciscan books are discussed in M. HUGLO: ‘Dominican and Franciscan books: similarities and differences between their notations’, in J. HAINES (ed.): *The calligraphy of medieval music* (Turnhout 2011) 195–202.

²⁵⁶ M. LOUVRIOT: ‘Flexible uniformity or stability over the years? The liturgy of monastic houses affiliated with the Windesheim Congregation’, in K. KÜGLE (ed.): *Sounding the past. Music as history and memory* (Turnhout 2020) 215–216.

and the beguine movement were suggested as two major factors that worked in favour of Birgittine foundations in this area – two paths for research required to better understand how Birgittine spirituality relates to these issues.

The uniform appearance and completely structured liturgical content of Birgittine liturgical books outside Vadstena have been considered due to the successful transmission of a standardised repertoire.

Late 16th century-1712: Chantscape preserved by reproduction



THE SECOND HALF of the 16th century initiates a turbulent time for the Birgittine Order in what is today the Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany. Politically, the region was suffering from the consequences of the violent Calvinist and in part Lutheran Reformation, and the first half of the 17th century is marked by the 'Thirty Years' War. In 1629, the Protestants conquered 's-Hertogenbosch, which would profoundly change the situation for Mariënwater in the long run.²⁵⁷ Throughout the turmoil of the Reformation and armed conflicts, the community in Mariënwater was more or less caught between Protestants and Catholics. By the middle of the 16th century, a new religious and political landscape in the region was a fact. A relocation of Mariënwater to a safer territory became the solution, finally taking place in 1713.²⁵⁸ The relocation was preceded by the dissolution of the double abbey in Mariënwater, where the community was split into two separate convents. This chapter focuses on Mariënwater, where liturgical life and manuscript production is examined in light of the surrounding chaotic conditions. Through several music examples, the chapter seeks to discuss how the musical and liturgical changes expressed the community's self-definition. We see the beginning of a development in Mariënwater when greater liberty is taken with revising, reworking, and adapting the Birgittine chant repertoire. The chapter first discusses life conditions in M

Mariënwater in exile in 's-Hertogenbosch

In 1561, the ecclesiastical reorganisation of the region – initiated in 1559 – resulted in the nearby city of 's-Hertogenbosch being separated from the diocese of Liège to which it had belonged for centuries. It now came under the newly-formed Catholic archdiocese of Mechelen.²⁵⁹ Politically, 's-Hertogenbosch eventually became part of

²⁵⁷ This is also the reason why Van Dijk's study of Mariënwater ends in this year.

²⁵⁸ Syon Abbey also suffered from the English reformation but will be passed over in this book. An account of its fascinating history is given in E. JONES: *England's Last Medieval Monastery. Syon Abbey 1415–2015*. (Leominster 2015) 150–157.

²⁵⁹ G. MARNEF: 'Een nieuw bisdom in troebele tijden. Vanaf de oprichting tot het eposcopaat van Willem van Bergen', in M. GIELIS et al. (eds.): *In de stroom van de tijd. (4)50 jaar bisdom Antwerpen* (Leuven 2012) 39–65.

the Dutch Republic, which was essentially Calvinist. In other words, Mariënwater was part of a Catholic archdiocese in a politically non-Catholic region. In 1566, Calvinist iconoclasm reached the abbey, which intensified the unstable conditions caused by both the presence of Spanish troops and the States General of the Netherlands. This was the start of a difficult period that eventually forced the community to move from their abbey buildings. This move seems to have taken place in 1573, but documentation concerning this is vague.²⁶⁰ The community went into exile in 's-Hertogenbosch. Between ca. 1573 and 1608 the community alternated between 's-Hertogenbosch and their abbey in Mariënwater depending on the prevailing situation, since 's-Hertogenbosch alternated between Catholicism and Calvinism. By 1608 at the latest, the sisters were back in Mariënwater, deducible from the fact that in this year the bishop declared new guidelines for the sisters.²⁶¹ It is likely that the brothers or at least some of them had also returned the same year to assist the sisters in their liturgy. Several of Mariënwater's foundations would not survive the Reformation, and Van Dijck remarks that none of these daughter foundations, judging from the documents, returned to their mother abbey once problems multiplied.²⁶² This points to a feature that seems typical for the Birgittines, namely that relations between the abbeys relied more on personal links than on a formalised structure for maintaining contacts and exchange among independent houses. This isolation increased from the 17th century onwards, as abbeys gradually closed leaving the remaining abbeys increasingly distant from each other.

Once the community had returned to Mariënwater, the number of sisters and brothers increased, but their numbers varied greatly over the years. In all, during the period 1600–1629, 34 new sisters were professed and 27 died, thus a small growth. In the year 1629, the community housed as many as 92 members: 50 professed nuns, 17 lay sisters, 14 priest brothers, four lay brothers, and seven professed brothers (not ordained priests).²⁶³ It is worth noting that the community kept records even during the years they did not continually inhabit Mariënwater, yet managed to accept novices and profess sisters. Somehow the community continued to function, though little is known about how its liturgical life was sustained.

A problematic return and the end of double abbeys in the Low Countries

The situation following the return to Mariënwater after 1608 was marked by many obstacles. Conflicts between sisters and brothers occurred, and more seriously, between abbess and the confessor general. The whole community had problems

²⁶⁰ VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 53–54.

²⁶¹ VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 53–56.

²⁶² VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 48. An exception is Mariëntroon, where parts of the community would return to Mariënwater in the 1630s.

²⁶³ VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 56–57.

maintaining the Rule, which is hardly surprising after so many years partially in diaspora. Silence and discipline especially become recurring issues recorded in the visitation protocols from the bishop.²⁶⁴ The visitation in 1620 reports, among other things, that silence is not respected sufficiently, and that the liturgy does not conform to the customaries. Unfortunately, this is not further elaborated on but the protocol remarks that everyone should take the example of the liturgy in their daughter foundation, Mariënbloem in Kalkar. Whether this related to liturgical content, performance, or even something else is not known.²⁶⁵

A visitation in 1627 reports more clearly concerning liturgical matters. The atmosphere between the new abbess Helena van Wylick (originally from Mariënbäum) and confessor Aegidius Winckels was positive, and they seem to have both been good leaders.²⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the community had to struggle with many incongruities, not least liturgical matters. As for the liturgy, cantrix sister Anna van Heetvelde repeatedly complains that too few sisters are present during Vespers, a reason why the bishop grants 40 days of indulgence to those who attend this service.²⁶⁷ In the visitation the following year, in 1628, there are remarks that the liturgical situation has improved but the abbess has been informed that she must make sure the community sings "better and more often in the choir".²⁶⁸ Other remarks are aimed at the brothers: Matins must be sung slower and with more articulation and they should not pray too loudly in church. The brothers also have problems with attendance during Vespers. The bishop states that Vespers is mandatory and grants 40 days of indulgence for those who attend.²⁶⁹

All in all, discipline seems to have been a serious issue in this community that had led a life for several years under uncertain circumstances outside their abbey and probably with a limited possibility of maintaining their liturgy. It is hardly surprising that problems concerning discipline emerged when they returned to their abbey buildings and tried to restore their liturgical life.

As noted earlier, the practice of male and female residence in the Birgittine abbeys had been questioned by authorities in the Catholic Church since the very beginning of the Order's existence. When the Protestant conquest of 's-Hertogenbosch occurred in 1629, this situation would drastically change the conditions for Catholic Mariënwater in the long run. The community suffered a general decline,

²⁶⁴ Described in more detail in VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 57–63.

²⁶⁵ VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 60.

²⁶⁶ VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 61.

²⁶⁷ VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 61.

²⁶⁸ "de abdis moet er voor zorgen dat er beter en vaker gezongen wordt in het koor", VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 62.

²⁶⁹ "de metten moeten langzamer en duidelijker gearticuleerd gezongen worden ... in de kerk mag niet te luid gebeden worden ... de Vespers zijn verplicht en de bisschop verbindt er een afaat van 40 dagen aan met *toties quoties*", VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 65.

with fewer vocations, in part because the area for recruitment diminished due to an increased Protestant presence. The Birgittines, however, managed to survive as a double abbey until the Peace of Münster in 1648, which signalled the end of the 'Thirty Years' War. This peace treaty, regulating the borders between Catholic and Protestant territories in greater detail, had far-reaching consequences for Mariënwater. A prohibition against accepting novices was declared for sisters and the double abbey was dissolved. In 1652, the brothers transferred to Hoboken near Antwerp where conditions were more favourable.²⁷⁰ At this location they founded the male Birgittine community Maria Kruis, which would exist until 1784.²⁷¹ The dissolution of the double abbey meant that the sisters lost their in-house priests and confessors. The greater liturgy consequently collapsed and left the sisters with their limited Marian-centred liturgy. The problem of a lack of confessors was solved by a few brothers who remained in Mariënwater to assist the nuns, but the rich liturgy of a Birgittine double abbey no longer existed.²⁷²

Book production period 2 ca. 1639-ca. 1660: preserving by reproduction

After monastic life resumed in Mariënwater, a new period of manuscript production began in the 1630s and would last until ca. 1660 which I call period 2. In these books we find the same liturgy as in the period 1 books with a few alterations and additions. The Birgittines obviously did not have to adopt the Roman Rite promulgated in 1570 under Pope Pius V. The Roman Rite of 1570 was not a new liturgy "but a reliable text that conformed to the best and oldest manuscripts and printed editions" which did not need to be adopted by communities using rites older than 200 years. In other words, the Birgittines could ignore this publication since their Rule was approved in 1370, exactly 200 years earlier.²⁷³

The output of liturgical books in Mariënwater was considerable during period 2. The number of preserved books is much larger in comparison to period 1, and consists of 28 surviving books with notation (see Appendix 2). One differing feature from period 1 books is that all but one book produced during period 2 are dated, and several scribes are known. This makes a more exact production period easier to establish. One novelty is that the gradual has been separated from the antiphoner-gradual.²⁷⁴ No books in large format for use by the horista have been preserved from period 2 and did not need to be written, since NL-DHk: 71 A 21 remained in use, as can be established from its 17th-century additions. Perhaps

²⁷⁰ VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 63. NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 216–217, 261.

²⁷¹ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 261–265.

²⁷² NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 217.

²⁷³ J. W. O'MALLEY: *Trent: what happened at the council?* (Cambridge, Mass. 2013) 268–269.

²⁷⁴ In Altomünster, on the other hand, the antiphoner-gradual remained in one book.

there was no need to take on such an enormous enterprise, such as the production of a large format book with the complete liturgy, when an older one could still be used given appropriate additions and alterations.

Since the liturgy remained essentially the same, old books could be in continuous use alongside newly-produced ones. An examination of later additions in preserved period 1 books shows that about 20 books from both periods 1 and 2 might have been simultaneously in use in the 17th century. The most frequent form of addition is the numbering of psalm tones (for example the word *primi* added above the *finalis* of psalm tone 1), perhaps reflecting a diminished knowledge about their use. These books may be compared to the calculation of Van Dijck that Mariënwater in the year 1629 had 50 professed nuns.²⁷⁵ That would mean that almost one book per two sisters has been preserved, therefore about 50% of the books that were in use at this time if each sister had their own copy.

It is not only the content and structure of the liturgical items in the books that are comparable to the books of period 1 apart from the fact that the gradual had become a separate book, but also in a number of cases their actual physical appearance. A small number of preserved books from period 2 were modelled on late medieval books, where decorations and layout are direct imitations – a historicising, though less elegant and even a bit clumsy, style.²⁷⁶ The notation changes, however, match 17th century notation in other secular and religious sources with, for example, dissolved ligatures and *puncta inclinata*, rhomboid notes indicating unaccented syllables and consequently shorter note values. Nevertheless, the decorations and script show a desire to adhere not only to the Birgittine liturgy regarding content but also regarding visual representation in an act of what I call *preserving by reproduction*. Parts of this old liturgy as well as the appearance of books similar to those of previous generations of Birgittines links period 2 books to the authoritative forces that served to emphasise Birgitta's charisma. Singing from these books became an act of fusing tangible and intangible Birgittine heritage. Perhaps the preserving by reproduction strategy can also be seen in light of the return to Mariënwater after the 's-Hertogenbosch exile: nostalgia paired with a wish to mentally return to a more prosperous time in the abbey's history. The chantscape was incorporated into a visual representation that had been used in Mariënwater for almost 150 years. Images 7 to 12 below show six books, all representing the Sunday invitorium *Trinum Deum*, Mariënwater's period 1 and period 2, and illustrate how the initials in the 17th century were modelled on books from period 1, ca. 1500.

²⁷⁵ VAN DIJCK: *Bronnen van Coudewater* 443–445.

²⁷⁶ However, the rest of the preserved books from period 2 have decorations in a more contemporary, early Baroque style.



IMAGE 7: Sunday invitorium *Trinum deum et unum*. Source: NL-UD:HS
K:An 3, fol. 14r, ca. 1500.



IMAGE 8: Sunday invokatorium *Trinum deum et unum*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 1r, ca. 1500.



IMAGE 9: Sunday invitorium *Trinum deum et unum*. Source: NL-UD: HS
K:An 2, fol. 1r, ca. 1500.



IMAGE 10: Sunday invitorium *Trinum deum et unum*. Source: NL-UD: HS
K:An 7, fol. 1r, dated 1640.



IMAGE II: Sunday invitorium *Trinum deum et unum*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 8, no pagination, dated 1645.



IMAGE 12: Sunday invitorium *Trinum deum et unum*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 14, p. 1, dated ca. 1647.

In five of the books from period 2 we find the enigmatic inscription 'A sister who fled from Mariëntroon.'²⁷⁷ This inscription is a result of the special circumstances in 1639 when Mariënwater welcomed a number of sisters from its daughter foundation Mariëntroon. The cause was a conflict with the bishop over the interpre-

²⁷⁷ ... door ene van de gevluchte Susters van S. Marien Throon ...

tation of the Rule concerning the presence of a male community in the double abbey, in other words, a situation reflecting the problems Catholic authorities experienced with dual-sex communities. This conflict divided the community; the abbess Marie Spelders, in favour of male presence in the abbey, was dismissed and imprisoned together with the prioress and their sympathisers in 1639. Upon their release shortly thereafter, they took refuge in Mariënwater along with a dozen sisters. They remained there until 1650, when they returned to Mariëntroon, except for Marie Spelders and two other sisters who had died in Mariënwater.²⁷⁸ It is this incident that has left traces in the Uden sources where at least one sister (scribal features point to one person, but the scribe's name is lacking) spent her time in Mariënwater copying books for the liturgy bearing this inscription. The last book with such an inscription is dated 1648, two years before the sisters were called back to Mariëntroon.²⁷⁹

Sources from Mariëntroon and Altomünster

Before the question of revisions and additions in the 17th-century repertoire is addressed, the conditions at Mariëntroon and Altomünster and their preserved sources will be briefly discussed, since in the following they will be treated in connection with Mariënwater.

Mariëntroon

Mariëntroon, like Mariënwater, suffered from the consequences of unstable conditions in the area at this time.²⁸⁰ In contrast to Mariënwater, only two notated liturgical manuscripts have been preserved from the 17th century: one gradual and one antiphoner, now housed in the Benedictine abbey Sint-Pieter-en-Paulus-Abdij in Affligem, Belgium (B-AFosb: 1 HS 3–4). These books are the last traces of liturgical books from this abbey. An inscription shows that the main section of the antiphoner was written in 1623, and the book completed in 1637.²⁸¹ The book is well-used and has a significant number of additions, with new staves and revised melodies inserted on added paper strips. Musicologist Pieter Mannaert's study of the antiphoner shows that most changes have been made to the great responsories' melismas.²⁸² My own examination of the gradual section shows many alterations and shortenings of the melismas in the melismatic Mass chants as well, such as

²⁷⁸ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 215, 253–255.

²⁷⁹ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 261.

²⁸⁰ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 252–253.

²⁸¹ The scribe was Sister Anne Christoffels who wrote it for Sister Maria Verhasselt. B-AFosb: 1 HS 3–4 fol. 146r.

²⁸² P. MANNAERTS: 'Birgittinessen in de Lage Landen: een handschrift uit Mariëntroon (Dendermonde)', in *Tijdschrift for gregoriaans* 42, vol. 3 (2017) 77–86.

in the gradual responsories.²⁸³ In particular, melismas were subject to revisions (primarily shortenings), a typical feature for great responsories and gradual responsories. These reworkings are in line with how plainchant generally developed throughout the 17th century in chant manuscripts. Issues such as text underlay and inaccurate prosody (meaning lengthy melismas on unaccented syllables²⁸⁴) became increasingly important. Results included reworkings of chants, such as eliminating and shortening of melismas, repositioning of the text underlay, notating of accidentals, removing and adding notes etc.²⁸⁵ This is an interconfessional phenomenon also found in Protestant liturgies.²⁸⁶ In other words, the Birgittines responded to these general tendencies which, seen in a larger perspective, were due to the humanistic movement and its desire to return to classical Latin and provide a clearer text delivery in speech and song. Revisions were accomplished either by erasing notes and text, and inserting new notes and moving syllables to places better conforming to the new conception of chant, or by pasting new staves over the original melody. Many of these revisions involved only minor changes, such as shortening two or three-note ligatures into one note. The revisions were small but must have been experienced as meaningful to the Birgittines; otherwise it is difficult to understand why such small alterations were worth the effort. Such revisions are especially interesting since there can be no doubt that singing from memory was practised to a high degree in such a repetitive liturgy as *Cantus sororum*. Changing small details in a repertoire that was largely internalised and performed from memory by the sisters must have proven to be a serious challenge. It is hardly surprising that the Birgittine reworkings are primarily found in great responsories and gradual responsories, since these chants are the most melismatic in the Birgittine chant repertoire.

A more favourable position in Altomünster

Although Mariënwater and Mariëntroon experienced problems, the situation in Altomünster was more promising. The abbey prospered under Prior Simon Hörmann, who was also the prior general of the Birgittine Order at this time. Hörmann was an outgoing figure who published extensively, for example an edi-

²⁸³ Gradual responsories are the counterpart of the Mass for great responsories in the Office with an A-B form.

²⁸⁴ M. GILLION: 'Plantin's Antiphonarium Romanum (Antwerp, 1571–73): Creating a Chant Book during the Catholic Reformation', in *Acta Musicologica* vol. 93, no. 1 (2021) 9 with references.

²⁸⁵ See further in M. GILLION: "'Shall the dead arise and praise you?' – Revisions to the *Missa pro defunctis* in Italian printed graduals, 1591–1621', in *Troja. Jahrbuch für Renaissance-musik* (2014) 59–80.

²⁸⁶ M. GILLION: 'Interconfessional implications: printed plainchant in the wake of the Reformation', in *Music & Letters* (advanced access, 2021).

tion of Birgitta's *Revelations*, and he commissioned a dramatic Birgitta play which appeared in 1677. Once the Thirty Years' War was over, Bavaria's religious institutions, in addition to their religious mission, succeeded in playing an important role in the intellectual, cultural, and economic life of the region. The Birgittine success in Altomünster should be seen in the context of the general intellectual and cultural uplift in Bavaria.²⁸⁷ Liturgical books were produced on a regular basis in the abbey as a result of this more favourable situation. Five liturgical books have survived from the 17th century, more evenly spread across the century in comparison to Mariënwater's books. The books are dated to 1632, 1657, 1661, ca. 1661, and 1698, and all dates except that of 1661 have been inserted by the first scribe.²⁸⁸ As will be demonstrated, Altomünster maintained a more traditional view concerning musical heritage all the way until the 20th century, when they adapted the Roman Breviary for their Office (further described in chapter 7).

Additions to the repertoire: extra doxologies and a troped great responsory

Following this brief outline of conditions in Mariënwater, Mariëntroon, and Altomünster, we shall now return to the repertoire in Mariënwater. This section will first address alterations and changes to the original Birgittine liturgy, in particular a troped doxology, inserted by the first hand,²⁸⁹ and thereafter changes and additions in the same sources made later in the 17th century by second scribes. Thereafter the completion of the period 2 books after ca. 1660 is addressed. Finally, a new suffrage for the Mass including the antiphon *Hec est preclarum vas* will be discussed

In order to examine the alterations and changes to the original Birgittine repertoire, a comparative analysis will be conducted of Thursday's first great responsory *Sancta et immaculata* from six sources from Mariënwater, Mariëntroon, and Altomünster, found in Appendix 4.²⁹⁰ The choice of this particular responsory is motivated by how clearly the revisions of the melody can be observed by studying the longer melismas, typical for features representative of the revisions in general. The reference point for the comparison is taken from the version in the unaltered NL-UD:HS K:An 1 showing the repertoire in Mariënwater at the end of the 15th century. The versions from Mariëntroon B-Br: II 3834 and NL-DHk: 71 A 21 are from books from ca. 1500, both with 17th-century additions. There are subsequently two versions of this melody from sources written in the 17th century: the antiphoner

²⁸⁷ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 181.

²⁸⁸ These books are listed in Appendix 2.

²⁸⁹ What is meant by 'original liturgy' is the liturgy fixed in Vadstena in the 1420s.

²⁹⁰ Pieter Mannaerts gives a comparison of the great responsory *Stirps Jesse* and the antiphon *Maria, Maria* to S-Sk: A84, presumed to be an antiphoner from an unknown Italian Birgittine abbey from the late 15th century, MANNAERTS: 'Birgittinessen in de Lage Landen'.

from Mariëntroon and a book from Altomünster written in 1657 (D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 103). Finally, a book from Mariënwater written in 1648 will be included in the analysis (NL-UD: HS K:An 12).

NL-DHk: 71 A 21 shows altered text underlay and small revisions inserted by a 17th-century hand. In the words *virginitas* and *laudibus* (see the red box in image 13), syllables have been moved so the accent of the word falls on a melisma, providing the correct accentuation of the word. Unstressed syllables have been moved to a rhomboid note. A different procedure may be seen in the verse of *mulieribus*, where notes have been moved to create a melisma on the accented syllable. This rearrangement of syllables and notes typically demonstrates how older manuscripts were adapted to fit new 17th-century ideas of how text and melody should correspond. NL-UD: HS K:An 12, dated 1648, has the same text underlay but has been inserted by the first scribe. Although the book from Altomünster (D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 103, fol. 58v) was written in 1657, it has no altered text underlay compared to older sources and therefore did not undergo any adaptation like in Mariëntroon and Mariënwater. This constancy is in keeping with Altomünster's more traditional position.

eius corpus i oīdor
 ocul cam intuen cū
 fuit gūssimū. Et quē
 admodū dē i angelh.
 de eius anime uenul
 tate gūlabant i cel.
 ita etiā gūssima eius
 corporis pulchritudo
 omnib⁹ eam cernere
 cūpientib⁹. utilis fū
 it i consolatoria i tris.
 videntes enī deuoh.
 in q̄to seruire illa
 deo famulabat. ad di
 honore seruēiores
 efficiabant. In hys
 autē q̄ ad peccandū

prūssimi erant; et
 eius ubor i gestuū
 honestate. statim
 pām seruos exingue
 batur. quam diu ipām
 conspiciabant. Tu
 autē dñe: r̄. *xx.*

Sanda et in
 macula ta ur
 gi ni tas quib⁹ te
 lau di bus et fēcā

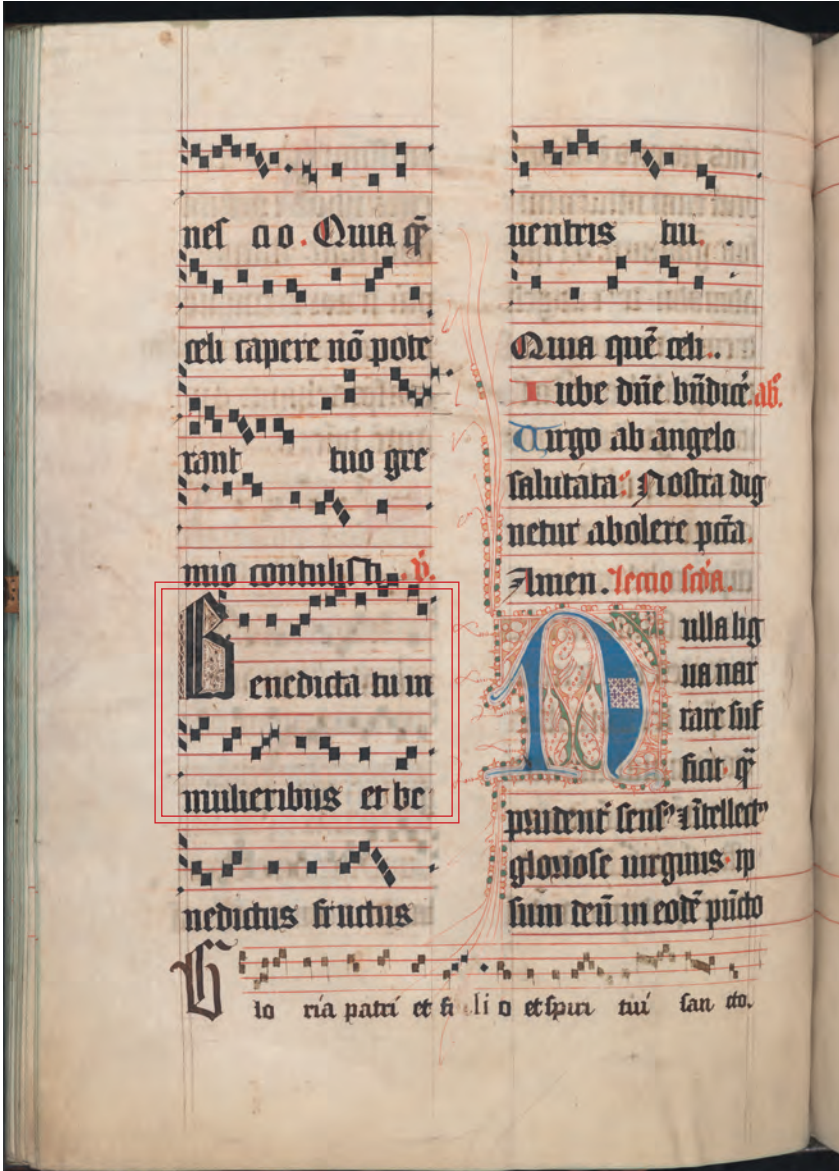


IMAGE 13: Thursday first great responsory *Sancta et immaculata* with added doxology in lower margin. Source: NL-DHk: 71 A 21, fol. 169r-169v, ca. 1500.

original text underlay

vir - gi-ni - tas qui-buste lau - di - bus

revised text underlay

vir - gi - nitas qui-buste lau - - di-bus

MUSIC EXAMPLE 8: Thursday first great responsory *Sancta et immaculata* with original and revised text underlay in NL-DHk: 71 A 21, fol. 169r-169v, ca. 1500. The revision concerns the penultimate syllables in *virginitas* and *laudibus*, which have been moved to added rhomboid notes. This revision is typical for many Birgittine manuscripts from this period.

NL-DhK: 71 A 21, 169v

Glo - ri - a pat - ri et fi - li - o et

spi-ri - - tu - i sanc - to.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 9: The added doxology in the Thursday first great responsory *Sancta et immaculata* in NL-DHk: 71 A 21, fol. 169v, ca. 1500. Though the doxology is clearly added by a second hand, probably in the 17th century, doxologies in great responsories other than the third are known from the earliest layer of Birgittine liturgical manuscripts.

On a general level, it must be noted that alterations such as these are not consistently inserted into the manuscripts. The reason is that scribes have solved the text underlay in different ways, and therefore each manuscript needs to be considered in its own right.

What is most interesting for our analysis is the added doxology at the end of the chant in four of the sources. Normally, doxologies occur in the third great responsory completing a nocturn, but the Birgittines extended this use to a number of the first and second responsories. Examining a larger corpus shows that these extra doxologies already existed in the 15th century, as can be observed in *Sancta*

et immaculata, but the use had become more streamlined in the 17th century. The following are the Birgittine great responsories that had doxologies in addition to the third by the 17th century:

- ✦ Sunday first Matins responsory *Summe trinitati*
- ✦ Monday first Matins responsory *Te sanctum Dominum*
- ✦ Wednesday first Matins responsory *Beata mater Anna*
- ✦ Wednesday second Matins responsory *Stirps Jesse virgam*
- ✦ Thursday first Matins responsory *Sancta et immaculata*
- ✦ Thursday second Matins responsory *Videte miraculum mater*

In short, Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday all have doxologies on more than the third responsory. Thursday and Wednesday have doxologies for all three great responsories. In *Sancta et immaculata*, the four cases with doxology in music example 10 have this item written in by the first scribe: in B-AFosb: IHS 3–4 and NL-UD: HS K:An 12. Additionally, B-Br: II 3834 and NL-DHk: 71 A 21 (both from ca. 1500) have the doxology added by a 17th-century hand. It is not possible to establish why these doxologies were added, but the use is probably linked to the Birgittine processional liturgy. In *Vadstena*, we know that *Summe trinitati*, *Te sanctum Dominum*, and *Beata mater Anna* were used at processions, but the other three were not used in *Vadstena*.²⁹¹ The addition of doxologies can reflect a local use in 17th-century Mariënwater of these six great responsories in processionals, but the question deserves further examination and comparison to existent processionals. Another reason for the addition of doxologies might be that this was yet another way of providing a more festive tone to their solemn *Cantus sororum*.²⁹²

Videte et miraculum – a troped doxology

There is more to discover about doxologies in 17th-century sources than the additions discussed above. This section now concerns the troped doxologies.²⁹³ Troping was a technique already used by the Birgittines in the original repertoire in the troped *Benedicamus Domino* tropes – tropes not always found outside the Birgittine repertoire.²⁹⁴ In the earliest *Vadstena* sources, the formulaic text *Bene-*

²⁹¹ The processional repertoire for the sisters in *Vadstena* is listed in URBERG *Music in the devotional lives* 528–544.

²⁹² Vuori does not address the question in her thesis on the great responsories; VUORI: *Neitsyt Marian yrttitarhassa*.

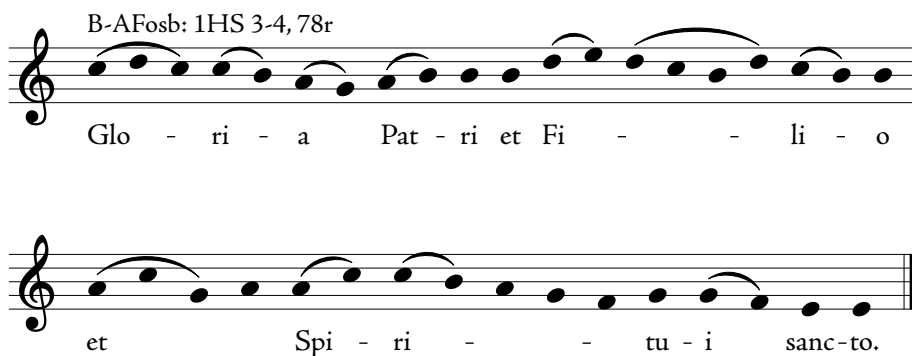
²⁹³ Tropes are texts and/or melodies added to pre-existing chants in order to enhance certain aspects of a chant's text.

²⁹⁴ *Benedicamus Domino* is a versicle that concludes the canonical hours; in the Birgittine sisters' liturgy only Lauds and Vespers. The Birgittine *Benedicamus Domino* tropes are treated in V. SERVATIUS: *Benedicamustroperna i Cantus sororum*. Unpublished Master's thesis (Stockholm 1977) and in LAGERGREN 'Benedicamus Domino Tropes in the Birgittine Or-

dicamus Domino-Deo gratias was already elaborated into longer chants with added tropes emphasising the Marian aspect of the liturgy. Troping in Birgittine Mass chants has also been seen but more rarely, and has not yet been the subject of any scholarly investigation.²⁹⁵

The doxology in the Thursday second great responsory *Videte et miraculum* is found in sources from both Mariënwater and Mariëntroon in the 17th century, but Altomünster does not seem to have adopted this practice. The Mariëntroon antiphoner unusually provides both an untroped and a troped version, of which a transcription is seen in music example 11.²⁹⁶ The troped text is as follows:

GLORIA ingenito et ante secula nato
qui regit omnia PATRI ET FILIO
ET SPIRITUI a Patre natoque procedente SANCTO.



der'.

²⁹⁵ Birgittine Mass tropes are discussed to some extent in LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: *The Birgittine Mass liturgy*.

²⁹⁶ The troped doxology is also found in NL-UD: HS K:An 12 fol. 72r, NL: UD: HS K:An 7, fol. 95v, and NL-UD: HS K:An 8. It is not found in the Altomünster sources.

B-AFosb: 1 HS 3-4, 78r

X-----X

GLO-RI - A in ge - ni - to et an - te se - cu - la na - to

X-----

qui re - git om - ni - a PAT - RI

X-----

ET FI - - LI - O ET SPI - RI - TU - I

a Pat - re na - to - que pro - ce - den - te SANC-TO.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 10: Doxology without and with trope in the Thursday second great responsory *Videte et miraculum* in B-AFosb: 1HS 3-4, fol. 78r, 1637. The insertion of X....X above the melody in the second example indicates parts of the original melody of the doxology.



IMAGE 14: Untroped and troped doxology in the great responsory *Videte miraculum*. The photograph illustrates how melismas have been shortened through pasting paper over the staves, also in the verse *Hec speciosum forma* on fol. 77v. Source: B-AFosb: 1 HS 3-4, fol. 77v-78r, 1637.

The troped version has more syllables since the melismas are split in order to fit the troped text. The exception is *Patri et filio et spiritui* where *filio* in particular has a long melisma.

Antiphon *Omnem potestatem* and the great responsory *Beata es virgo* – Examples of a 17th-century revision of the repertoire

After Mariënwater's completion of the period 2 books in ca. 1660, new revisions were undertaken once again, demonstrating the wish for a clearer delivery of the chant with texts less obscured by lengthy melismas and incorrect accentuation as described earlier. A good example for the study of the small revisions is the Tuesday Vespers antiphon *Omnem potestatem* in NL-DHk: 71 A 21. This large-format choir book from ca. 1500, previously pointed out as a Birgittine *summa*, was revised, and could therefore be used in the 17th century. In comparison to the other period 1 books with later additions, NL-DHk: 71 A 21 contains far more revisions. This is hardly surprising if this was a book to be used by the horista and cantrices; it needed to contain the *complete* revised corpus, not merely parts of it. In image 15 of the *Omnem potestatem*, revisions can be seen on the words *filio*, *humillima*, *constituit*, *destituit*, *voluit*, and *universis*. New notes have been inserted on erasures,

always resulting in a changed and corrected text accentuation. In *universis*, the text also had to be slightly altered to fit the new accentuation.

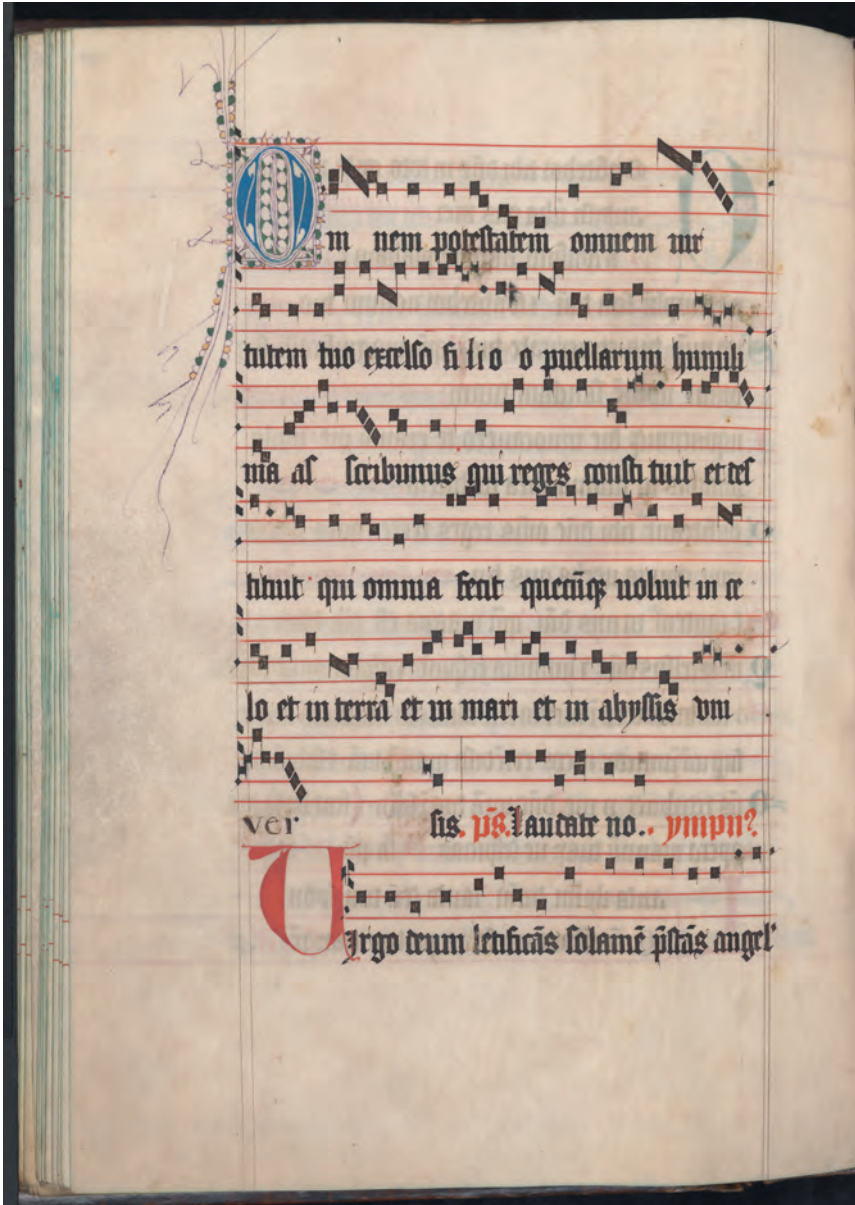


IMAGE 15: Tuesday Vespers antiphon *Omnem potestatem* with revisions of the distribution of notes above the text. Source: NL-DHk: 71 A 21, fol. 124v, ca. 1500.

Another example of this light revision may be found in the Tuesday first great responsory *Beata es virgo* concerning both an altered text underlay and altered melismas.

NL-DHk: 71 A 21, 242v

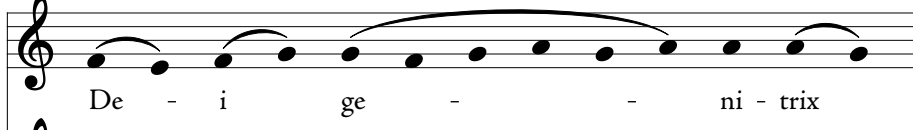


Be - a - ta es vir - go Ma - ri - - a

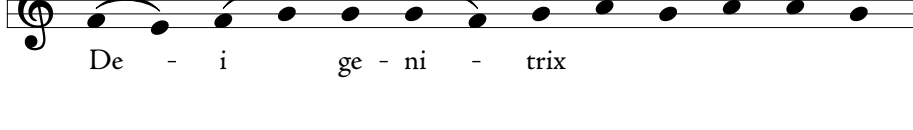
NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 111r



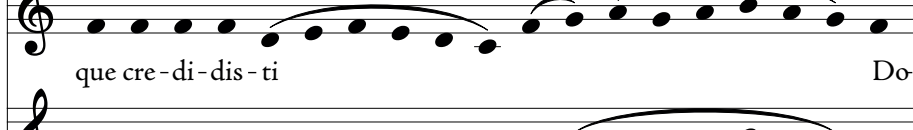
Be - a - ta es vir - go Ma - ri - - a



De - i ge - - ni - trix



De - i ge - ni - trix



que cre - di - dis - ti Do-



que cre - di - dis - ti Do-

- mi - no per - fec - ta sunt

- mi - no per - fec - ta sunt

in te quedi-ta sunt ti - bi

in te quedi-ta sunt ti - bi

ec-ce ex - al - ta - ta es

ec-ce ex - al - ta - ta es

su-per cho - ros an - ge - lo - rum.

su-per cho - ros an - ge - lo - rum.

In-ter-ce - de pro no - - bis

In-ter-ce - de pro no - - bis

ad do - mi-num Ihe-sum Chris - tum.

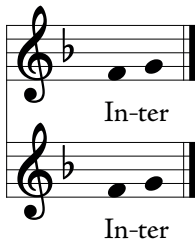
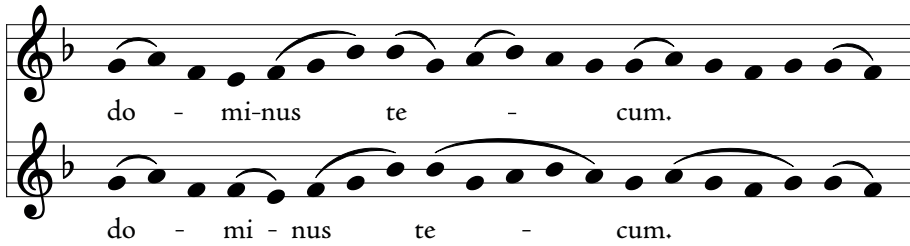
ad do - mi-num Ihe-sum Chris - tum.

A - ve Ma-ri - a

A - ve Ma-ri - a

gra - ci - a ple - na

gra - ci - a ple - na



MUSIC EXAMPLE II: Comparison of Saturday first great responsory *Beata es virgo* from NL-DHk: 71 A 21, fol. 242v, ca. 1500, and NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. IIIr, ca. 1500.

In *Beata es virgo*, the two versions from the revised NL-DHk: 71 A 21 and NL-UD:HS K:An 1 follow each other closely, but a few melismas have been altered to enhance the accentuation of the words. This procedure may be seen in the words *genitrix* and *Domino*. The reworking, however, is neither systematic nor consistent. An example is the original melismas retained on the words *credidisti* or *exaltata*, where the long melismas fall on the last unaccented syllable. This inconsistency is typical for the corpus.²⁹⁷

Thoroughly revised melodies exemplified by the antiphon *Jam letaris*

More far-reaching revisions of the repertoire in the late 17th century may be observed in the Saturday Vespers antiphon *Jam letaris*. This is one of the chants in the *Cantus sororum* not found outside the Order, and according to Servatius most likely (*mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit*) a unique Birgittine melody.²⁹⁸ The antiphon can be analysed with help of a comparative transcription, where the melody from NL-UD: HS K:An 7 (dated 1640) is compared to a book from period 1: NL-UD:

²⁹⁷ This is also typical for printed sources of the time; see GILLION: 'Plantin's *Antiphonarium Romanum*' 19–42.

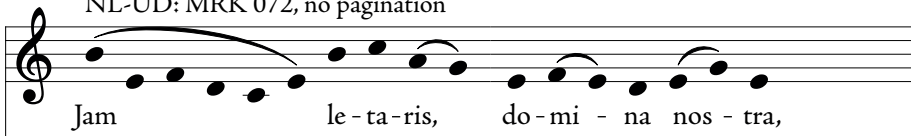
²⁹⁸ SERVATIUS: *Cantus sororum* 140–141.

MRK 072 from ca. 1500. The revision of the melody in NL-UD: HS K:An 7 has been carried out by adding staves pasted into the book – see image 16. This revision was made later than 1640 but no later than the 18th century, when a new scribal period begins with partly revised musical material. The text has been retained with small alterations except for line 1 with *Jam letaris*. *Letaris* appears twice; the second time on the second stave by the first scribe where it is struck over. On the first line, both new text and staves have been pasted onto the book page; the rest affects staves only.

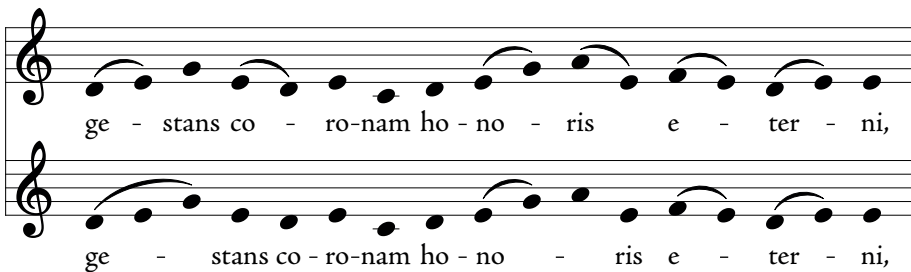
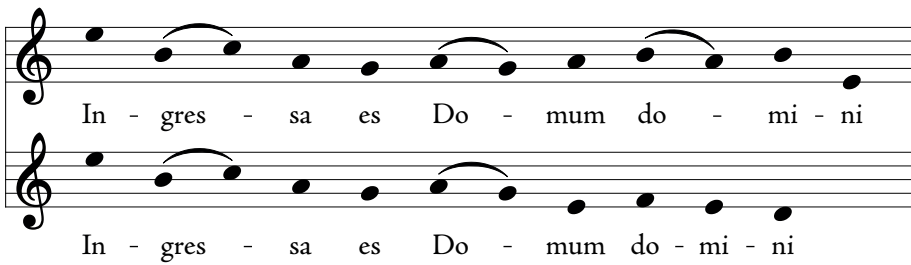
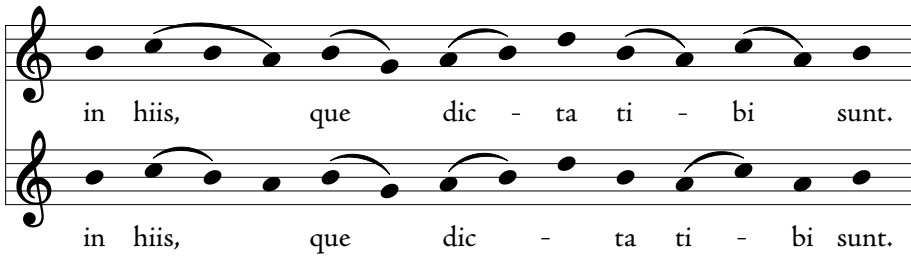
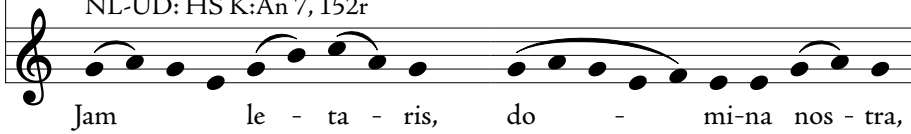


IMAGE 16: Saturday Vespers antiphon *Jam letaris* with new staves pasted in to replace original melody. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 7, 151v-152r, ca 1500.

NL-UD: MRK 072, no pagination



NL-UD: HS K:An 7, 152r



cum an-ge-lis i-gi-tur le-tan-ti-bus de
Igitur corrected to iugiter in ms.

cum an - ge-lis i - gi-tur le - tan - ti-bus de - o ju-bi-let

om - nis ter - ra. Euouae

om - nis ter - ra. Euouae

MUSIC EXAMPLE 12: Comparison of the Sunday Vespers antiphon *Jam letaris* in NL-UD: MRK 072, no pagination, ca. 1500, and NL-UD: HS K:An 7, fol.

152r, 1640.

Analysing the reworked version of *Jam letaris* in NL-UD: HS K:An 7 shows that it is modelled on the original melody in NL-UD: MRK 072, and in some cases follows it completely. The most striking difference occurs at the beginning. The grand opening with a falling fifth and a melisma for the opening word *Jam* spanning a seventh was simplified in the revision into a smaller movement only covering a small third. However, the passages in *hiis que dicta* and *Ingressa es Do[mum]* follow the original version. This falling fifth at the beginning of the original version is also found at its very end in *jubilet*, which has been omitted in the reworked version. The treatment of the melismas may vary, and not all of them have been shortened or removed, but this treatment may be observed on the words *domini*, *coronam*, *igitur*, and *omnis terra*. The procedure has not been conducted consistently.

The melismas in the revised version, furthermore, demonstrate the wish for correct accentuation of the Latin. One such example is on *domina* on the first line, correctly emphasising the first syllable. This motivation explains why only the first two-note melisma on the word *tibi* on line 2 has been kept intact, since the extended melismas on the words *gestans* and *honoris* accentuate the stressed syllables. Again, an added two-note melisma on the word *angelis* accentuates the first-stressed syllable. Even if the range is the same for both versions of the melody (a tenth: C to E), the melody in NL-UD: HS K:An 7 moves generally in a lower

register. Note, for example, how the words *cum angelis igitur* have been reworked in this lower register, although the peculiar leap of a fourth down on *Ingressa* has been kept intact. The psalm tone in mode 4 was not altered, which informs us that the revision was made within the mode, without the intention to change it.²⁹⁹

When it comes to the actual use of this revised melody, the situation becomes more problematic. It seems that this revision was not approved by the whole community, since it does not appear in all the Mariënwater manuscripts nor in NL-DHk: 71 A 21, which it should if it were used by all the sisters in choir. It is also possible that the revisions were made after NL-DHk: 71 A 21, and that other books without this version were no longer used. It is a highly interesting example of how the revisions were made, though the actual use of this melody in the liturgy must remain an open question. We shall return to this melody in another revised shape in chapter 5.

New melodies using old: the antiphon *Benedictus sis tu*

Revisions were also undertaken which went so far as to result in a melody that had moved further away from the original than in the previous examples. This occurs rarely, but one example is the Tuesday Benedictus antiphon *Benedictus sis tu*, also a Birgittine unicum.³⁰⁰

NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 49v

Be - ne - dic - tus sis tu, dig-nis-si-me

NL-UD: HS K:An 8, no pagination

Be - ne - dic - tus sis tu, dig - nis - si-me

sa - tor, qui op - ti - mi

sa - - - tor, qui op - ti - mi

²⁹⁹ The Birgittines always used the standard psalm tones.

³⁰⁰ SERVATIUS: *Cantus sororum* 110.

fru - men - ti

fru - men - ti

gra-num op-ti-me ter - re sanc-ti

gra - num op-ti-me ter - re sanc - ti

Spi - ri - tus ro - re ir - ri - gan - te

Spi - ri - tus ro - re ir - ri - gan - te

in - ser - u - is - ti,

in - ser - u - is - ti,

quod mi - ra - bi - li - ter

quod mi - ra - bi - li - ter

mul - ti - pli - ca - tum est mor - tu - um,

mul - ti - pli - ca - tum est mor - tu - um,

quo re - fi - ci - un - - - tur

quo re - fi - ci - un - tur

20

an - - - ge - li, quo re - vi - vi - scunt

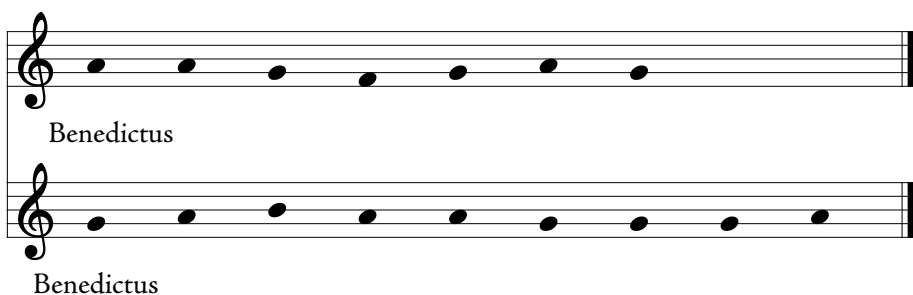
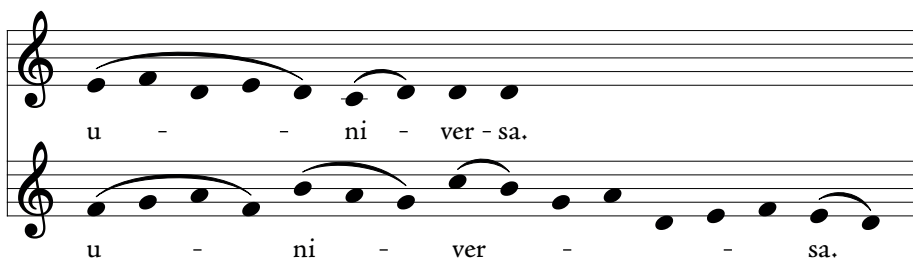
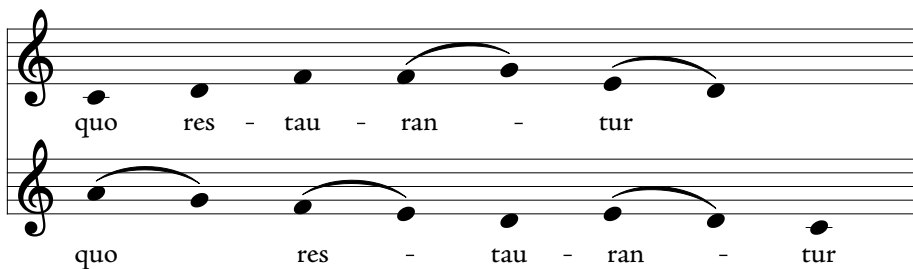
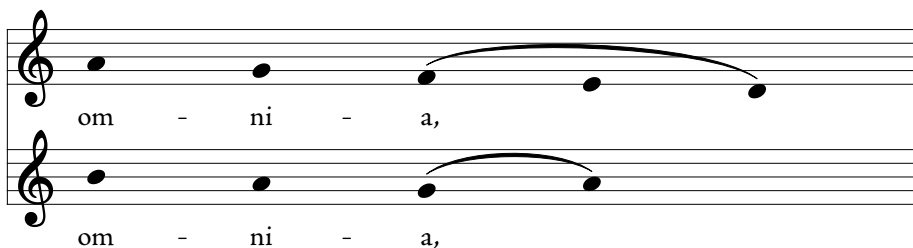
an - - - ge - li, quo re - vi - vi - scunt

mor - tu - i,

mor - - - tu - i,

quo sa - nan - tur eg - ro - ti, quo vi - vunt

quo sa - nan - tur eg - ro - ti, quo vi - vunt



MUSIC EXAMPLE 13: Lauds antiphon *Benedictus sis tu* with original melody from NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 49v, ca. 1500, and recomposed melody in NL-UD: HS K:An 8, no pagination, ca. 1645.

Benedictus sis tu, dignissime sator, qui optimi frumenti granum optime terre Sancti spiritus rore irrigante, inseruisti, quod mirabiliter multiplicatum est mortuum, quo reficiuntur angeli, quo reviviscunt mortui, quo sanantur egroti, quo vivunt omnia, quo restaurantur universa.

Blessed be you, most worthy Sower. In a land watered by the dew of the Holy Spirit, you sowed the best grain of corn. It died, but bore a wonderful and plentiful food, to refresh the angels, to bring the dead to life, to heal the sick, to bring all to life, to restore the world.

The insertion of the new version of *Benedictus sis tu* was accomplished in several different ways, typical for how revisions were conducted at this time (but also in the 18th century as we will see) in Mariënwater. A new version of a chant might be inserted on a new page, or new staves could be pasted above the original text or on erased notation, in books from both periods 1 and 2. In table 4, an overview is given of which books and in which version the two melodies are found. Melody 1 is the original and melody 2 is the revised version. Melody 2 was never written by the first scribe in any of these books, which is why it seems that the melody came into use after ca. 1650, if it was not subject to a loose-leaf system before being added to the manuscripts.

Siglum	Dating	Melody 1	Melody 2	Comment
Period 1				
NL-DHk: 71 A 21	ca. 1500		109r (written on erasure)	
NL-UD: K:An 1	ca. 1500	49r		
NL-UD: K:An 3	ca. 1500	63r	62r	Melody 2 in a later binding on added paper
NL-UD: K:An 4	ca. 1500		56r (written on erasure)	
NL-UD: K:An 5	16th cent.	The ms. has no pagination		
Period 2				
NL-UD: K:An 7	1640		59r	Added in later binding

NL-UD: K:An 8	Ca 1645	The ms has no pagination	The ms has no pagination	
NL-UD: K:An 10	1646		89r	The new melody pasted onto the old; text original
NL-UD: K:An 12	1648	34v	35r	Paper with melody 2 added in second binding
NL-UD: K:An 13	Ca 1648		106v (written on erasure)	
NL-UD: K:An 14	Ca 1647		p. 93 (written on erasure)	

TABLE 4: Occurrence of Tuesday Lauds Antiphon *Benedictus sis tu* in manuscripts from Mariënwater periods 1 and 2.

Both melodies and psalm tones are in mode 1. Analysed from a modal viewpoint, the melody in both versions moves between modes 1 and 2 with a preference for a low range. The first line in the melody in NL-UD: HS K:An 1 clearly indicates mode 2 through the recurrent use of the notes A-C-D. The melodies are related to each other but different in contour. Melismas are not shortened but placed elsewhere, completely in accordance with what we have seen in the revised melodies earlier in this chapter. Again, the correct accentuation of the words seems an important aspect. We may observe that in line 1 the words *dignissime sator*, and in the second line *granum*, have extended melismas, in contrast to *frumenti*, which has a shortened melisma in NL-UD: HS K:An 8, even though the melisma falls on an accented syllable. Again, this is an example of how inconsistent the reworkings were, but also indicates that they were not routinely made but guided by aesthetic principles now lost to us. In chapter 5, we shall meet a third version of this antiphon.

It has not been possible to discover why this antiphon was subject to such an extensive reworking or why in many cases the versions are found in the books alongside each other. One general assumption about reworkings of melodies in the 17th century is that they were adjusted to the increasing awareness of major/minor. But this reworking does not move this melody closer to either minor or major. The liturgical place of the chant (Tuesday Lauds) does not provide any clues as to why it needed this special treatment. But what *Benedictus sis tu* does provide

is invaluable confirmation that work on liturgy and its music was by no means a completed process in Mariënwater in the 17th century.

Hec est preclarum vas – an antiphon for troubled times³⁰¹

The Birgittine Mass liturgy in Mariënwater during the 17th century was also graced with a new antiphon: *Hec est preclarum vas*. This chant was added to the graduals produced during period 2 and is a Marian antiphon with the purpose of protecting from plague, sudden death, or tribulation, as explained in a rubric in one of the books: “The following antiphon is sung daily after Our Lady Mass except for Saturdays to avert the plague, sickness, and other accidents. According to custom.”³⁰²

It originated in the late Middle Ages in the Low Countries, where it gained popularity, but to some extent also spread to other countries.³⁰³ This antiphon is thus an example of how the Birgittines adopted liturgical practices outside their own Order and incorporated them into their liturgy. The singing of this antiphon among the Birgittines might well have been occasioned by the outbreaks of plague that struck both Mariënwater and the surrounding area on a regular basis during the 16th and 17th centuries. We know that the city of ‘s-Hertogenbosch suffered from plague during the years 1633–1638, 1655–1660, and 1664–1670.³⁰⁴ There is no sign that the Birgittine use of *Hec est preclarum vas* was motivated by benefactors or foundations in any of the instances where *Hec est preclarum vas* is found, or from within the Birgittines either. Rather, it may be regarded as a way to deal with actual needs urgent to its users. The close contact with local families in ‘s-Hertogenbosch may further have spurred the use of such a chant, and it is also possible that the Birgittines became acquainted with the chant solely thanks to these contacts in ‘s-Hertogenbosch.

The chant appears in nine graduals written between 1641 and ca. 1660 where, as the rubric quoted above indicates, it was to be sung every day after the *Salve sancta parens* Mass except for Saturdays when *Salve regina* was sung, as stated in the Birgittine Rule. It was added by a second scribe in all the graduals except NL-UD:

³⁰¹ This section is based on the article LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: ‘Save us from plague’ 101–116.

³⁰² *De volgende antiphona wort dagelyckx gesongen naer ons L. V. Misse wt genomen saterdaechs: om afkeeringe van peste, sickte en de ander ongeval. Ut goede gewoonte.* Rubric in NL-UD: HS K:Gr 10, p. 228.

³⁰³ I. DE LOOS: ‘De interactie tussen liturgische zang en niet-liturgische liederen’, in *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 76 (2002) 155–76. It was also subject to polyphonic settings from the 16th century in the German-speaking area, Scandinavia and England. Thanks to Prof. Mattias Lundberg for this comment.

³⁰⁴ LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: ‘Save us from plague’ 110.

KS K:Gr 14, to be discussed separately.³⁰⁵ The chant is only found in books from period 2, and consequently in neither of the two preserved antiphoner-graduals from period 1. After the 17th century, the antiphon disappeared from the liturgical books in Uden, but the text entered the Birgittines' private prayer books.

Hec est preclarum vas was performed in the form of a suffrage in the same way as the antiphons for Birgitta and Katherina discussed in chapter 2:

Antiphon:

Hec est preclarum vas
 paracliti Spiritus Sancti.
 Hec est gloriosa civitas Dei.
 Hec est mulier virtutis
 que contrivit caput serpentis.
 Hec est sole speciosior, luna pulchrior,
 aurora rutilancior, stellis preclarior.
 Hanc peccatores devote adeamus,
 rea pectora tundamus, dicentes:
 Sancta, sancta, sancta Maria
 clemens et pia, domina nostra,
 Nos a peste et subitanea morte
 et ab omni tribulacione
 sanctis tuis precibus liberatos
 fac consortes celestis glorie.

Versicle:

In omni tribulacione et angustia
 et in mortis hora, succurre nobis o piissima
 virgo Maria.

Prayer:

Concede, quaesumus, Deus omnipotens,
 ut qui protectionis tue gratiam querimus,
 intercedente gloriosa semper virgine Maria,
 a peste inquinaria et epidimie, a subitanea et
 improuisa morte et ab omnibus malis liberati
 secura tibi mente serviamus, per Jesum
 Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

This woman is the illustrious vessel
 of the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit.
 She is the glorious city of God.
 She is the woman of virtue
 who has bruised the serpent's head.
 She is brighter than the sun, fairer than the moon,

³⁰⁵ Its use can be traced into modern times since it is reported to have been sung as late as 1844 by Crosiers in Utrecht, and introduced in American monasteries of their order in the 20th century. L. P. M. J. HEERE: 'Een nederlandse antifoön', in *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 26 (1952) 109.

shining more than the dawn, clearer than the stars.

Let us sinners approach her with devotion,

let us beat our guilty breasts, saying:

Holy, Holy, Holy Mary

merciful and holy, our Lady,

Save us from plague, sudden death

and every tribulation,

free us through your holy prayers

and let us share in the glory of heaven.

In all tribulation and agony, and in the hour of

our death, help us, O most holy Virgin Mary.

Almighty God, we pray, allow us, who ask for

the protection of your grace, with the glorious

ever-virgin God's mother Mary interceding for

us, to serve you with confident minds, freed

from filthy plague and epidemic, from sudden,

unforeseen death and from all evil, through

Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

In the Low Countries, this antiphon could be sung to one of two melodies: one in mode 1 and one in mode 5. The Birgittines used the melody in mode 5, which was also the most widespread.³⁰⁶ The construction of the melody in F-mode connects to other freestanding Marian antiphons as argued in the discussion on *Sponsa regis* in chapter 2. Like *Ave regina celorum*, *Ave regina redemptoris*, and *Salve regina*, *Hec est preclarum vas* begins with a descending figure. The F-mode is emphasised by the use of the recurrent ascending triad of F-A-C, and the melody stresses the tenor pitch C. It is possible that the chant was modelled on these existing Marian antiphons, linking it to what might be called a chantscape of freestanding Marian antiphons.

NL-UD: HS K:Gr 7, 114r

Hec est pre-cla-rum vas pa-ra-cli-ti spi-ri-tus san - cti.

Hec est glo - ri - o - sa ci - vi - tas De - i.

³⁰⁶ The melody in mode 1 for this text is transcribed in DE LOOS: 'De interactie tussen liturgische zang'.



Nos a pes - - te et su - bi - ta - ne - a

mor - te et ab om - ni tri - bu - la - ci - o - ne

sanc - tis tu - is pre - ci - bus li - be - ra - tos

fac con - sor - tes ce - - les - tis

glo - - - ri - e.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 14: Transcription of *Hec est preclarum vas* from gradual NL-UD: HS K:Gr 7, fol. 114r, ca. 1650.

The gradual NL-UD: HS Gr:14 has the antiphon added by the first scribe and it is the latest of the period 2 graduals from Mariënwater, dated to ca. 1660. This book has an interesting and somewhat enigmatic musical addition to *Hec est preclarum vas* not found in other Mariënwater books. This is the short Marian antiphon *Ecce completa sunt*, added at the end, appearing as though it belongs to *Hec est preclarum vas*, after which follows the versicle. *Ecce completa sunt* is found in sources from all over Europe from the ninth century and has no special connection to the Low Countries or the Birgittines. It is most often associated with Christmas and Purification. The insertion of *Hec est preclarum vas* by the first scribe in NL-UD: HS

K:Gr:14 indicates that by this time this antiphon had been fully accepted into the Birgittine Mass liturgy. The addition of *Ecce completa sunt* on the other hand may point to an unsuccessful attempt to emphasise an even more Marian aspect, by introducing a new element into the antiphon *Hec est preclarum vas*.

Hec est preclarum vas is an interesting example of how the Birgittines expanded their liturgy with a new chant during the 17th century. It was most likely an expression of the need to address existing problems for which they asked protection and guidance from the Virgin Mary. With *Hec est preclarum vas* the Birgittine chantscape is given yet another chant that anchors the Mass liturgy solidly into Marian devotion with, at the same time, intertextual connotations of a wider Marian chantscape beyond the Birgittines.

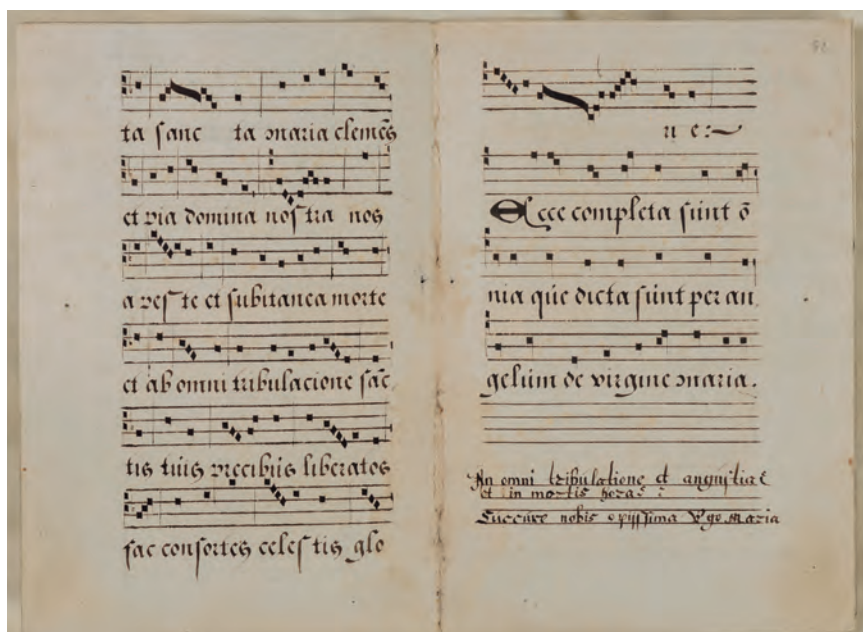
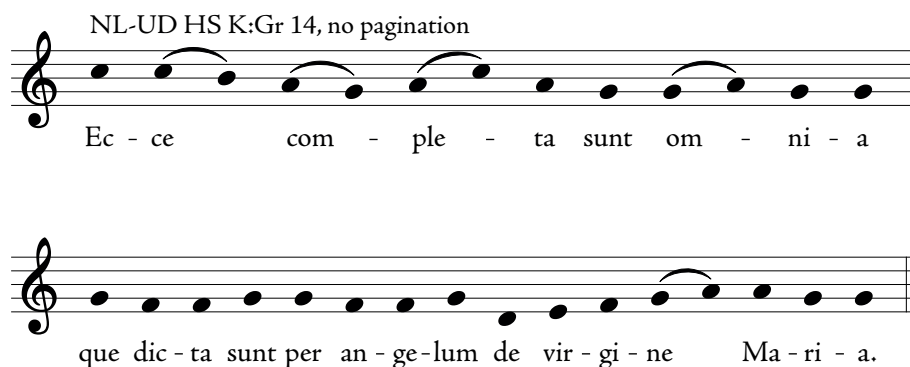


IMAGE 17: End of Marian suffrage antiphon *Hec est preclarum vas* with *Ecce completa sunt* addition. Source: NL-UD: HS:Gr 14, fol. 82r, ca. 1660.



MUSIC EXAMPLE 15: Transcription of antiphon *Ecce completa sunt* after *Hec est preclarum vas* in NL-UD: HS K:Gr 14, no pagination, ca. 1660.

Ecce completa sunt omnia que dicta sunt per angelum de virgine Maria.

Behold, all that was said by the angel concerning the Virgin Mary has come to pass.

The relocation in 1713 – Maria Refugie

The problematic situation in Mariënwater in the 17th century would eventually give rise to a relocation. In 1711, the sisters bought a small refuge in Uden, a small town situated around 20 km away from Mariënwater in the Catholic principedom of Ravensteen.³⁰⁷ On September 14, 1713, Prioress Theodora Alexia de Haen and another three sisters moved to Uden into abbey buildings formerly inhabited by the Crosiers. De Haen was a Birgittine sister who had come to Mariënwater together with sisters from Mariënwater's daughter foundation, Mariënbloem in Kalkar, in 1700.³⁰⁸ The new location was given the name Maria Refugie (Mary's refuge), implying that they perhaps planned to return to Mariënwater later. A few sisters stayed in Mariënwater until 1724, although they were not allowed to accept novices and they led a life in the shadow of Maria Refugie, which attracted many new members, despite economic difficulties.³⁰⁹

Conclusion and summary

In retrospect, life for the Birgittines in Mariënwater had changed profoundly over a period of 60 years. The community was split into two when the double abbey was dissolved. They relocated to new abbey buildings in a new place and changed

³⁰⁷ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 217.

³⁰⁸ VAN LIEBERGEN: *300 jaar Abdij Uden* 42–43.

³⁰⁹ VAN LIEBERGEN: *300 jaar Abdij Uden* 45.

their name. These altered circumstances after their return from the diaspora years were accompanied by continuous work with liturgy, demonstrating how important this aspect of their life was. Left with only half of the Birgittine double liturgy, the sisters continued their work in defining and expressing their Birgittine identity, despite hardships. In a selection of music examples, I have demonstrated how the sisters reworked their repertoire to the point where they virtually let every corner of the liturgy be subject to revisions of different kinds. To great responsories were added doxologies, probably for processional use. The Mass liturgy was, for a shorter period, adorned with a Marian suffrage for protection, *Hec est preclarum vas*, adding an extra layer to the Marian devotion though only for a limited time. Even chants in the Little Hours were subject to revisions, here exemplified by the most striking of these reworkings, the Lauds antiphon *Benedictus sis tu*. This antiphon is part of a substantial reworking of chant melodies, which for some reason were considered as problematic or out of date and signalled a new attitude towards the century-old melodies, where Saturday Vespers antiphon *Jam letaris* served as another example of this. It is possible that these two chants are proof of discussions in the community of what the Birgittine melodic repertoire was supposed to be at that time. The alternatives were either to update or to remain steadfast to the original repertoire, since several books have both versions. In this light, this period can be seen as one of transition in the community in Mariënwater from one way of shaping the texts into a revised Birgittine liturgy. They both strengthened their Marian devotion and its solemn character against a background of an awareness of general chant trends, as becomes evident in the reduction of long melismas and work on correct accentuation in the chants. This is paired with a conviction that their Birgittine roots should not be erased, as is evident in the copying of manuscripts using the strategy *preserving by reproduction*. Though the community suffered many setbacks, it is clear that liturgical life was not neglected and even advanced throughout the century, in particular perhaps after 1652 when the brothers had left. Liturgical life was maintained, but the Birgittine chantscape begins to change, the liturgical repertoire adjusted according to new views of chant at the time. This chapter testifies to a community that is intensely occupied with finding their place as Birgittines after having experienced many difficulties as a community. The sisters' self-definition of what it is to be a Birgittine in Mariënwater in the 17th century is expressed through this negotiation with the Birgittine chantscape. Altomünster apparently did not experience these same discussions, since no revision is found in these manuscripts, once again demonstrating that the Altomünster sisters were generally more conservative in their attitude to the Birgittine heritage. The situation in Mariëntroon is difficult to judge due to lack of sources, but since they were close to Mariënwater it is possible that they were also influenced by them in these matters.

CHAPTER 5

1713–1783:

Relocation to Maria Refugie – chantscape preserved by transformation



AS OUTLINED IN the previous chapter, four Birgittine sisters arrived in Uden in 1713 and founded Maria Refugie.³¹⁰ In their new life, the sisters supported themselves by teaching, an exception to the Rule, which did not allow such activities in this contemplative order. By 1714, the sisters were providing tuition in a separate schoolhouse.³¹¹ As the community grew, new monastic buildings were erected. In 1736, the sisters initiated work on a new chapel, paid for in a number of ways: begging, liturgical stipends, or donor payments *in natura* such as stained-glass windows with family arms or lamps for the chapel. A more unusual way of financing the chapel was with money from a lottery fund approved in 1729 by the Lord of Ravenstein. The initiative came from a certain Fransiscus van Willigen, who by means of the lottery wished to obtain funds to build a new church in Ravenstein. The lottery became such a success that it could also finance other projects, such as the chapel in Maria Refugie. In 1739, the sisters obtained a sum from the fund for their new chapel, which was officially inaugurated on 24 June 1749 by the Bishop of Liège.³¹²

Relocation to Maria Refugie was followed by a new wave of book production primarily during the first half of the 18th century, which I refer to as period 3. During this period, many new books were written, both antiphoners and graduals (see Appendix 2). The period 3 books are in one way similar to what we have seen earlier: the Office liturgy remains the same and is structured in the same order as before. However, in this period the physical appearance of the liturgical books would profoundly change into an updated contemporaneous rococo style with inbound printed images. These prints do not have any typical Birgittines motifs but are rather standard devotional depictions of, for example, the crucifixion, the coronation of the Virgin Mary, or the holy family. The method used here is *preserving by transformation*, a term I use as a contrast to the strategy *preserving by reproduction*, used in the previous chapter. In 1735, a new large liturgical antiphoner-gradual was

³¹⁰ L. VAN LIEBERGEN: 'De abdijen Mariënwater en Maria Refugie', in *Beelden in de abdij* (Uden 1999) 50.

³¹¹ VAN LIEBERGEN: 'De abdijen Mariënwater en Maria Refugie' 49.

³¹² VAN LIEBERGEN: 'De abdijen Mariënwater en Maria Refugie' 51.

ready to be used, which was a new Birgittine summa that replaced NL-DHk: 71 A 21. Though not all books from period 3 are dated, there is reason to believe that the great majority of the books was completed in 1749 at the latest, when a new chapel was dedicated.³¹³ This argument is based on the same reasoning in this book about the relation between dedications of church rooms and new books. The symbolic importance of the dedication of a new chapel, together with newly written books containing an updated style of decoration, cannot be underestimated.

In this chapter, I shall demonstrate the changed features of the liturgical period 3 books and discuss their contents. In particular, the Birgittine extended Mass repertoire will be considered in relation to the new reality of an exclusively female Birgittine abbey. This chapter will further discuss the production of a Birgittine summa. Further, the chapter will address the, until now in this book, non-visible Mass repertoire for Birgitta and her daughter Katherina, and finally the detailed work on the notation, which indicates a more nuanced use of square notation that had become the norm in Birgittine books. In all, the chapter continues to describe a chantscape that is negotiated both with its practitioners and current chant trends. This chapter has little secondary literature to refer to, reflecting the fact that very little research has been undertaken into either the Birgittines in general or their liturgy after the 16th century.³¹⁴

Book production period 3: preserving by transformation and a new summa

Scribal activity took place in Maria Refugie between approximately 1720 and 1760 with, I believe, its most intense period up to 1749. Many of the books are not dated, but since many of them share the same scribal features, it is plausible that they were produced at around the same time. The books are listed in Appendix 2, indicating three types of graduals that are of importance for this chapter. There are 22 preserved books in total, about equal to the number of preserved books from period 2. The period 3 corpus consists of one antiphoner-gradual, eight antiphoners, and 13 graduals. The antiphoner-gradual NL-UD: HS K:An 16 from 1735 is especially interesting since it seems to have been written to replace NL-DHk: 71 A 21 as a new Birgittine summa. As in the books from periods 1 and 2, the contents and structure in the antiphoners are consistent with the *Cantus sororum*, structured by day and Office hour starting on Sunday; however, there is a striking difference in the style of decoration in both antiphoners and graduals. The period 3 books have completely abandoned the imitated late medieval style and have been updated according to a more current rococo style. Most notable is the flamboyant frontispiece,

³¹³ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 220.

³¹⁴ See also NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 287–335 with references for information on the other Birgittine branches.

an example of which may be seen in image 19. Five books with this frontispiece in various nuances of pale green, yellow, and blue have been preserved.³¹⁵ Many books also have pasted-in printed devotional images. The notation often imitates printed books from this period in the prevailing square notation. I interpret the changed aesthetics in book decoration as a physical sign of the cognitive shift given rise by the relocation from Mariënwater to Maria Refugie; *preserving by transformation* in contrast to *preserving by reproduction*. If it was previously important to maintain appearance, content, and structure as the physical collective memory of an immaterial chantscape and liturgy, the appearance here serves to signal a new future in a new location where even a part of the liturgical repertoire was changed: the Mass.



IMAGE 18: Gradual from Maria Refugie. This is one of five preserved books with this rococo style frontispiece. All books have identical motifs, though the colours can vary. Source: NL-UD: HS K:Gr. 17, 1728.

In an earlier chapter, I concluded that during period 2, books from period 1 were used alongside the newly-written liturgical books. In the 18th century this situation changes, and judging from the lack of alterations and adjustment in the books used in this period, there is no sign that period 1 books were used at all. The reason for this change can only be speculated upon. One ideological interpretation is that the desire for a fresh start in Maria Refugie might have demanded the rejection of

³¹⁵ These books are NL-UD: HS K:An. 17, NL-UD: HS K:An. 18, NL-UD: HS K:Gr. 17, NL-UD: HS K:Gr. 18, NL-UD: HS K:Gr. 23, NL-W: HS 5, and NL-W: HS 7. They are all listed in Appendix 2.

old books bearing the memory of troubled times in Mariënwater. A few sisters and one priest resided in Mariënwater until 1724; perhaps they had continued using the older books while the sisters in Maria Refugie opted for a new beginning with newly-written books.³¹⁶

A new Birgittine summa for a new time: NL-UD: HS K:An 16

The production of a new, large format choir book after NL-DHk: 71 A 21 is also telling for how the Birgittine chantscape once more underwent changes. In this section, I shall discuss the new, large format antiphoner-gradual NL-UD: HS K:An 16. This book in quarto format was completed in 1735, replacing NL-DHk: 71 A 21 as the *summa* of the existing Birgittine liturgy. NL-DHk: 71 A 21 is a book that lacks all signs of having been in use after the 17th century with regards to additions or the absence of revisions of melodies typical of this century. However, the contents of NL-UD: K:An 16 are not identical to NL-DHk: 71 A 21 since NL-UD: HS K:An 16 contains fewer items in the Office section. The Office lacks the text of the Psalms, all prayers, and the Matins readings from *Sermo angelicus*, but the rest is consistent with earlier periods. It only contains notated melodies; other pieces must have been performed from other books. NL-UD: HS K:An 16 does not have the rococo frontispiece described above, but printed images are pasted in throughout the book. One such example may be seen in image 19.

³¹⁶ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 218.



Hæc Requies mea.

Joh. Chr. Hoffner excudit Aug. Vind.

Benedicti Sic & Sancta Trinitas

DOMINICA

Trinum Deum & unum pro-
 nis men tibus a do re mus **V**ir- gini que
 matri gratulan tibus a nimis jugiter ju bi
 le mus **V** Enite exultemus Domino jubile-
 mus Deo salutari nostro praecupem?
 faciem ejus in confessi one & in psalmis
 jubile mus e i **Q** uoniam Deus magnus
 Dominus & Rex magnus super omnes De-
 Ar.

IMAGE 19: This antiphoner-gradual shows the Sunday invitational antiphon *Trinum Deum et unum* and a print depicting Christ, bearing the rubric *Haec requies mea*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 16, 1735.

At the end of the manuscript, a short section is found with processional chants for the canonisation feast of Birgitta on 7 October. It is the gradual chants in NL-UD: HS K:An 16 that deserve a closer examination since they exhibit the extension of the Mass repertoire that appeared at Maria Refuge during the 18th century. First, liturgical occasions will be examined. The following list indicates the occasion with the introitus in brackets (the manuscript lacks foliation):

Marian Masses:

- ✦ Ferial Mass (Salve sancta parens) including Kyriale
- ✦ Advent and Annuntiatio (Rorate celi)
- ✦ Christmas “in aurora” (Lux fulgebit)
- ✦ Christmas until Purificatio B.M.V. (Vultum tuum)
- ✦ Purificatio B.M.V. and octave (Suscepimus Deus misericordiam)
- ✦ Assumptio B.M.V., Nativitas et conceptio B.M.V., Presentatio et visitatio B.M.V. (Gaudeamus)

Mass for a monastic profession:

- ✦ In [die] sanctissime trinitatis et professionibus (Benedicta sit sancta trinitas)³¹⁷

Masses throughout the year:

- ✦ Dominica quarta in quadragesima (Laetare Jerusalem)
- ✦ Feria quinta in cena Domini (Nos autem)
- ✦ Dominica resurrectionis Domini (Resurrexit)
- ✦ Ascensio Domini (Viri Galilei)
- ✦ Pentecoste (Spiritus Domini)
- ✦ Corpus Christi (Ciba vite)
- ✦ Sancta Birgitta (Gaudeamus)
- ✦ Sancta Katherina (Gaudeamus)³¹⁸
- ✦ Pro defunctis (Requiem eterna)³¹⁹

Of these Masses, we recognise the first six Marian Masses from the original Birgittine repertoire. The Mass for a monastic profession *In [die] sanctissime trinitatis*

³¹⁷ This feast probably refers to the monastic profession, as it is described in the Regula, see EKLUND: *Sancta Birgitta* cap. 11, 113, English translation in MORRIS & SEARBY: *The Revelations of St Birgitta* vol. 4, 131. The feast is also found in NL-DHk: 71 A 21, where it is placed as the last Mass formula in the manuscript. In other words, it does not have a fixed place in the Birgittine graduals.

³¹⁸ The feast for Katherina is followed by a Kyriale section.

³¹⁹ Thereafter follows a section with processional chants: *O facies mosayca; Birgitta Christi famula; Virtutes Dei; Qui maris fluctus; Herba surgit; regnum mundum; Ardenti de fiderio; Astans Dei.*

et professionibus is only known from NL-DHk: 71 A 21, pointing to this antiphoner-gradual as the successor of NL-DHk: 71 A 21. The remaining Masses are not found in any earlier Birgittine graduals from Vadstena, Mariëntroon, or Altomünster. How are we to understand this change? That is the question for the next section.

Visible, invisible, and hidden chantscapes

What the gradual section in NL-UD: HS K:An 16 signals is an enormous change in the Mass observance at Maria Refugie in the 18th century. A brief reminder of the nature of the Birgittine greater liturgy in a double abbey is therefore in place. A double abbey requires the performance of a double liturgy in which the two liturgies complement each other. The dissolution of the male convent in a double abbey not only has practical consequences; a mutilated liturgy results when parts of it no longer are observed. The connection to the liturgical year provided primarily via the brothers' liturgy has been lost. In Maria Refugie, this problem was solved by increasing the number of Masses with those (all or in part) originally observed by the brothers. A comparison with the surviving brothers' graduals from Altomünster from the 17th and 18th centuries (this double abbey functioned until 1803) shows a Mass repertoire similar to what was included in the period 3 graduals in Maria Refugie, strengthening my conclusion. The sisters did not incorporate regional diocesan features and specific feasts such as saints' days, which had also been observed by the brothers, but simply adopted standard feasts that were to be found throughout the Catholic Church. As a result, the expanded Mass repertoire resulted in the Birgittine sisters' earlier, homogenous graduals, with distinct Marian character in Mariënwater, now divided into three different types:

- ♦ **Gradual type 1:** Original Birgittine Mass liturgy for the sisters as described in chapter 2. Number of preserved books from period 3: five.
- ♦ **Gradual type 2:** A more general Mass liturgy reflecting the liturgical year. The Birgittine character is provided by the Masses for Birgitta and Katherina. Often the feast for St Katarina of Alexandria is also included, as well as the Mass for a monastic profession. Apart from these, no other saint's day, or other feature point towards a particular diocesan direction. Whether the type 2 graduals reflect the entire brothers' Mass repertoire or merely parts of it we do not know. Number of preserved books from period 3: two.
- ♦ **Gradual type 3:** This type is a combination of the Masses in type 1 and 2, for example in NL-UD: HS K:An 16 (although for some reason this book does not include the Mass for St Katarina of Alexandria). Number of preserved books from period 3: eight.

It is an open question as to why it took until the 18th century before the sisters produced new graduals with an extended Mass repertoire, given that the brothers had

already left in 1652. A few brothers, however, remained in Mariënwater to assist the sisters. It is possible that their presence sufficed to maintain a double liturgy, but this was no longer possible after the move to Maria Refugie.³²⁰ Still, a priest was needed in order to observe Mass, but the changes indicate that the priest's duty was made considerably easier when he did not have to perform the Mass chants. The extended Mass repertoire was a clever way of solving the problem of the loss of the greater liturgy after the dissolution of the double abbey; it allowed the Birgittine sisters to maintain their Marian-centred liturgy and at the same time to observe the liturgical year.

Above, I remarked that saints' feasts and other feast days are often lacking in the new extended Mass repertoire. This issue was solved by using so-called *bladwijzers*, through which the liturgy could be further elaborated. *Bladwijzers* are lists found at the beginning or end of the graduals, indicating how to adjust the Mass formulas to create feast days other than those in the Mass formulas. This adjustment was made by combining chants from different Mass formulas, thus expanding the options for a more elaborate Mass observance without having to add new items. One such example is the feast of St Michael on 29 September, where the *bladwijzer* informs us that the Mass *Salve sancta parens* is to be sung with the sequence *Ave virgo gratiosa*, the sequence prescribed for Saturdays in Birgittine use. What is then actually observed on St Michael's feast is the Saturday version of *Salve sancta parens*. This is one of many examples of how new combinations of existing items could create new Mass formulas.³²¹

These three types of graduals provide a comprehensive overview of the Mass liturgy and its chants for the sisters in Maria Refugie in the 18th century. But how were they observed in practice? Did the sisters keep to the original custom in the double liturgy with two Masses a day, now both only observed by the sisters with the help of the priest? Or was the observance divided, giving the brothers' liturgy some days and the sisters' other days? There are no helpful documents from the 18th century on this matter, but two Masses a day is not an unlikely alternative, as will become clear from documents from the 1940s discussed in chapter 6. This extension of the Mass observance does not change the chantscape at all, seen in the light of the greater Birgittine liturgy. What rather happens is that a part of it becomes visible in that the performance moves from the brothers to the sisters.

³²⁰ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 263.

³²¹ Further discussed in LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: 'The Birgittine Mass Liturgy' 68–69.

Masses for Birgitta and Katherina

The Mass for Birgitta

In an Order that was so centred around its founder Birgitta and to some extent her daughter, where suffrages to these persons were sung on a regular basis, how is it that such an important liturgy as Masses for their feast days are absent from the sisters' liturgical books until the 18th century? The most likely answer is that they were first observed by the brothers, and became part of the sisters' liturgy only in the 18th century at Maria Refugie. Birgitta could be celebrated on the day of her translation – 28 May, the day of her death – 23 July, and the day of her canonisation – 7 October. The chants for the Mass of Birgitta are summarised in table 5, based on the historian Jan Brunius' findings from medieval Swedish sources, with my own additions. The likenesses between the late medieval Swedish secular sources and the 18th-century manuscripts from period 3 are striking, but what is really interesting is the alleluia verse. Brunius' investigations show that in late medieval Sweden the Mass for Birgitta had a consistent formula except for a varying alleluia, shown in the *Swedish sources* column.³²² The alleluia verse that without exception is found in the Uden sources is *O sponsa Christi... errori nostro condolens*, which belongs to the Uppsala tradition, while *Ex sacris sponse* is the alleluia verse for the Linköping tradition. *Ordinarius Lincopense* 2 from ca. 1450 has both variants. Liturgist Gustaf Lindberg explains the inconsistencies with the fact that this *ordinarius* was subject to numerous changes, where one motivation was to become closer to that liturgy observed in the archdiocese.³²³ A third alleluia verse – *O sponsa Christi ... pro nobis preces offerens* – is unique to the Strängnäs tradition.³²⁴ The examination of the alleluia variants suggests two possibilities. Either the transmission took place from Sweden to the Low Countries via the Uppsala archdiocese and not directly from Linköping, or Linköping abandoned *Ex sacris sponse* before the end of the Middle Ages, with the result that the brothers in Vadstena informed the daughter abbeys that this alleluia was no longer in use. In favour of the first view, a transmission from the archdiocese in Uppsala is that this conforms to how the archbishops acted from the late 15th century until ca. 1530 as the importance of a more national unified liturgy increased, as shown by church historian Sven Helander. Royal authority had become a condition for the archdi-

³²² This is a survey of the tables for different dioceses and manuscripts as listed by Jan Brunius in J. BRUNIUS: *Atque Olavi: nordiska helgon i medeltida mässböcker* (Stockholm 2008) 151–156.

³²³ BRUNIUS: *Atque Olavi* 96 and 156. G. LINDBERG: *Die schwedischen Missalien des Mittelalters: ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Liturgik* (Uppsala 1923) 60–61, 269–297, 403–409.

³²⁴ BRUNIUS: *Atque Olavi* 74–76. To what extent these alleluias are unique, or adaptations of existing alleluias is an unexplored question that cannot be addressed in the present study.

ocesan exercise of power in the Swedish reformation era when a national, unifying liturgy was emphasised at the expense of local traditions.³²⁵ *Ex sacris sponse* was, in that case, rather suppressed from Uppsala than abandoned from Linköping. The other chants for the Masses on Birgitta's feast days invariably come from commune B.M.V. This examination of sources shows how stable the transmission of this Mass from late medieval Sweden was up until the 18th century in Maria Refugie, corresponding to the stable transmission of the *Cantus sororum*.

No sequence for Birgitta has been found in the sources from Maria Refugie, Mariëntroon, or Altomünster. The reason is not clear, since the Birgittines otherwise practiced their traditional, extensive sequence repertoire even after the reduction of sequences in 1570.³²⁶

	Swedish sources (after Brunius <i>Atque Olavi</i>)	Uden graduals period 3	Borrowed from
Introitus	Gaudeamus/Loquebar (<i>Privatis missis</i>)	Gaudeamus ... beate Birgitte	commune sanctorum
Psalmus	Eructavit cor meum/Beate immaculati	Eructavit cor meum	
Gradual	Propter veritatem	Propter veritatem	commune B.M.V.
Alleluia	O sponsa Christi ... errori/O sponsa Christi ... pro nobis preces/Ex sacris sponse	O sponsa Christi ... errori nostro condolens	Unica or adaptations.
Offertorium	Diffusa est gratia	Diffusa est gratia	commune B.M.V.
Communio	Diffusa est gratia	Dilexisti justitiam	commune B.M.V. resp. commune virginum
Sequence	Surgit mundi		

TABLE 5: The Mass for feasts for St Birgitta in sources from medieval Sweden and from Uden. The right column shows from where the chants are borrowed. *Offertorium* and *communio* are chants with two different melodies for the same text.

³²⁵ HELANDER: *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin* 205–208.

³²⁶ The medieval use of sequences for Birgitta differed. Björkvall mentions *Gaude virgo mater* to be used for Birgitta's three feast days, in BJÖRKVALL: *Liturgical sequences* 59.

The Birgitta Mass in Altomünster

The Birgitta Mass in Altomünster shows a more varied composition. Unlike Maria Refugie, brothers' graduals from Altomünster have survived, three of which originate from the middle of the 18th century.³²⁷ The sisters' books in Altomünster show no evidence of an expanded Mass liturgy, unnecessary since the double abbey functioned until 1803. The antiphoner-gradual D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 179, dated 1738, is the point of departure for an examination of the Mass for Birgitta as observed in Altomünster at this time.

	In festivitibus	In commemoratione
Introitus	Gaudeamus...sponse Christi Birgitte	Loquebar de testimonis
Graduale	Lacking	Lacking
Alleluia	O doctrix evangelica vita, Veni sponsa Christi Birgitta TP	Ex sacris sponsa labiis
Offertorium	Diffusa est gratia	Filie regum in honore
Communio	Simile est regnum	Simile est regnum

TABLE 6: Mass formulas for Birgitta in D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 179, dated 1738.

The formulas for Birgitta vary according to the rank of feast, in contrast to the brothers in Altomünster who made a greater distinction, compared to Marie Refugie, between a feast and a commemoration. In Altomünster, the introitus used for *in commemoratione* is the same that is used for private Masses in Swedish sources.³²⁸ No sequence is found in the material. The most interesting chant here is also the alleluia with three variants, none of which are known from Swedish sources. Its use is even more detailed, with an alleluia for Eastertide. In addition, the communion is not found in Swedish sources or those from Maria Refugie. Questions about variations in the Mass liturgy for Birgitta, pointing to different usages in different Birgittine abbeys, deserve a more thorough study than this brief examination has been able to offer.

³²⁷ D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 180 (antiphoner, 18th century), D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 178 (antiphoner, dated 1717), and D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 179 (antiphoner-gradual, dated 1738).

³²⁸ BRUNIUS: *Atque Olavi* 151–156.

670.

Tempore
De i. **Pasch.** Alleluia alle luia.

Psalm. Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum:
dico ego o pera mea regi. **Gloria.** i.

Alle luia.

Verf. O Doctrinæ Evangelicæ vita
fulgens Angelica Birgitta sponsa Christi
iam cum beatissimis rutilas & coram Agno in bi-
las age cum precum munere ut impleamus
o pere illa que con scripsisti.

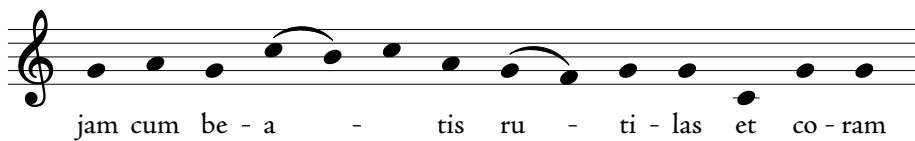
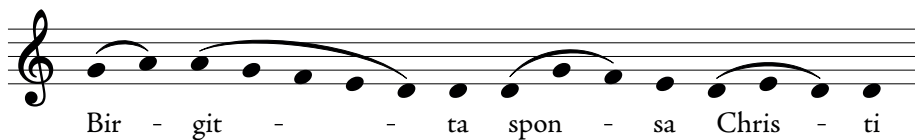
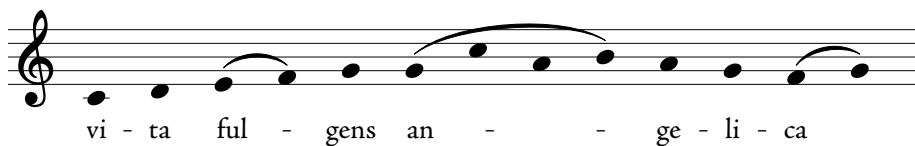
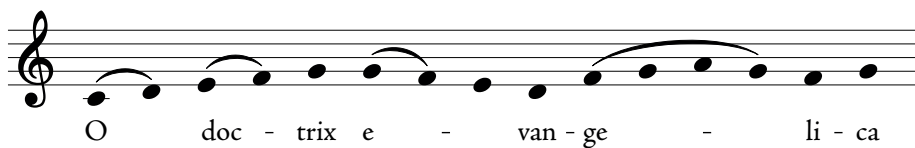
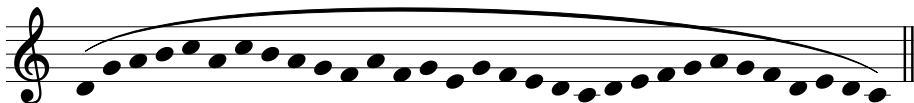
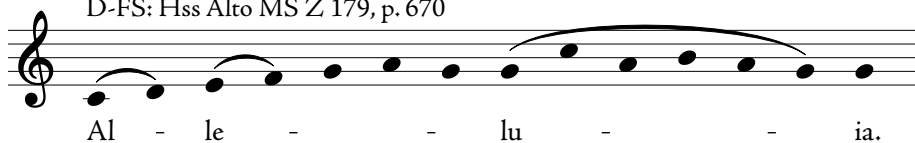
Tempore
Paschali. Alle luia.

Verf. Ve ni sponsa Chri-
sti Birgitta accipe coronam quam tibi do minus

Gradual

IMAGE 20: Alleluia O doctrix evangelica for Birgitta. Source: D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 179, p. 670, 1738.

D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 179, p. 670



ag - no ju - bi - las a - ge cum

pre - cum mu - ne - re ut im - ple - a - mus

o - pe - re il - la que

10 con - scrip - sis - ti.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 16: Transcription of *Alleluia O doctrix evangelica* for Birgitta, D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 179, p. 670, 1738.

The Mass for Katherina

The Mass chants for Katherina are, like the Mass for Birgitta, a mix of chants from *commune virginum* and *commune B.M.V.*, but the transmission from Sweden to 18th-century Maria Refugie is more stable since only the *communio* differs. Likewise, no sequence is found here in the Uden sources.

In table 7, the Mass in the graduals from Maria Refugie is compared to the *Missale Lincopense* from the 15th century.³²⁹

³²⁹ S-Uu: C 420 quoted and discussed in LINDBERG: *Die schwedischen Missalien* 325.

	Uden graduals	Missale Lincopense 15th century, 2r-2v	Borrowed from
Introitus	<i>Dilexisti justitiam/ Gaudeamus ... beate Katarine</i>	<i>Dilexisti justitiam</i>	commune virginum
Psalmus	<i>Eructavit cor meum</i>	lacking	
Graduale	<i>Specie tua</i>	<i>Specie tua</i>	commune B.M.V.
Alleluia	<i>Digne decet</i>	<i>Digne decet</i>	Adapted on alleluia for Elizabeth von Thüringen ³³⁰
Offertorium	<i>Filie regum</i>	<i>Filie regum</i>	commune virginum
Communio	<i>Quinque prudentes</i>	<i>Diffusa est gratia</i>	commune virginum
Sequence	lacking	<i>Recensemus in hac die</i>	unicum

TABLE 7: Mass chants for Katherina of Vadstena.

NL-UD: HS K:Gr 17, p. 249

The image displays three staves of musical notation in a medieval style. The first staff is for the Alleluia, featuring a treble clef and a single melodic line with a long horizontal line indicating a sustained note. The second staff is for the Digne decet, also in treble clef, showing a more complex melodic line with many eighth notes. The third staff is for the Digne decet, continuing the melodic line from the second staff. The lyrics 'Al - le - lu - ia.' and 'Dig - ne de - cet' are written below the staves.

Al - le - lu - ia.

Dig - ne de - cet

³³⁰ B. STÄBLEIN & K. SCHLAGER (eds.): *Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, vol. 8, *Alleluia-Melodien, II: ab 1100* (Kassel 1987) 143.

The musical score consists of five staves of Gregorian chant notation in a single melodic line. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating long notes. The text is: nos lau - da - re Cath-a-ri - nae mag - na - li - a et ad e - jus an-he-la - re sanc - ta pat - ro - ci - ni - a.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 17: *Alleluia Digne decet*, alleluia for Katherina of Vadstena in NL-UD: HS K:Gr 17, p. 249, 1728.

The alleluia verse *Alleluia Digne decet* for Katherina is, as shown by Lindberg, an adapted version of the alleluia verse used for St Elisabeth of Thüringen in Linköping diocese, where Elisabeth's name has been exchanged for Katherina's.³³¹

³³¹ *Digne decet nos laudare, Elizabeth magnalia, et ad eius anhelare, sancta patrocinia.* LINDBERG: *Die schwedischen Missalien* 325. An interesting observation is that none of these chants in the formula as found in the Uden sources are mentioned in Ragvaldsson's account of Katarina's translation in 1489, except for her sequence *Recensemus in hac die*, which may lie in the fact that this is a *unica* and as such needed to be emphasised. FRITZ & ELFVING: *Den stora kyrkofesten* 48–49.

Again, these Masses are not new to the Birgittine chantscape, just like the Mass formulas in the gradual type 3 have remained hidden and have now been made visible.

A new look at square notation and its performance

The books in period 3 introduced a more detailed method of square notation, in line with how chant books outside the Birgittine Order had also begun to be notated in the 17th century. Musicologist Theodore Karp remarks in his study on printed post-Tridentine Mass Propers that notation in general tended to be reduced to square and rhomboid notes representing breve and semibreve, respectively. Ligatures were often dissolved into individual notes. The musical phrasing, according to Karp, was further lost in the printing process. He concludes: "I cannot help but think that this lack of sensitivity to the nuances of phrasing was both a mirror of a less nuanced form of musical phrasing as well as an encouragement to more mechanical, less sensitive phrasing."³³² Musicologist Marianne Gillion has, on the contrary, shown the carefulness with which post-Tridentine chant books were created using a precise notation that points to a more nuanced performance regarding the relation between short and long syllables, long finals, and a system of lines for pauses of different lengths.³³³ I have earlier remarked that the handwritten notation in the Mariënwater and Maria Refugie books in periods 2 and 3 were inspired or even modelled on printed notation, which is why remarks based on printed sources are also applicable to Birgittine material. It is important to point out that this notation is not unique to the Birgittines but can also be found in other chant books from the 17th century onwards. Similarly, in this respect, the Birgittines conformed to general trends regarding notation. I would like to challenge Karp's view by offering an alternative look at the square notation and its performance at this time.

In chapter 3, I showed how melismas were moved from unaccented to accented syllables, and that lengthy melismas could be shortened. The scribes of period 3 books went further and dissolved the ligatures, just as Karp points out. Furthermore, the practice of using breve and semibreve was followed in Maria Refugie, but here the individual notes were separated, not into two but three different shapes. The square and rhomboid notes by the Birgittines were complemented by the longa. It is, however, important to point out that the use of these three-note values

³³² T. KARP: *An introduction to the post-Tridentine Mass proper. P. 1, Text* (Middleton 2005) 253–254.

³³³ GILLION: 'Plantin's Antiphonarium Romanum' esp. 28–29. This quasi-mensural notation and phrasing is discussed in M. GOZZI: 'Liturgical music and liturgical experience in early modern Italy', in D. V. FILIPPI & M. NOONE: *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism. Perspectives from Musicology* (Leiden/Boston 2017) 55–78.

does not in any way aim at rhythmising the melody according to meter; it aims at enforcing the correct accentuation. The use of semibreve, breve, and longa allowed a way of notating the chants that could adjust accentuation on three levels, a notation providing opportunity for a more precise accentuation than the notation during periods 1 and 2 could achieve. These three-note values were particularly used in the following pattern:

1. A two-note melisma with a stem on the second note, here interpreted as a *longa*;
2. followed by a smaller rhomboid note interpreted as a *semibrevis* on an unaccented syllable;
3. and finally a square note without stem interpreted as a *brevis*.

This procedure may be seen in image 21. We do not know if the intention was to indicate a measured rhythm or if this was a means of emphasising the correct accentuation of the words, in this case: longest – short – long. However, we must consider that these books were written in the 18th century where music outside the church was notated differently, by which I mean notation on five staves with a G-clef as we know it today. In this modern system, stems indicate *shortening* of the note values, which is why the pattern here could be interpreted the other way around: long – short – longest. However, the place of long or longest is of less significance. The important point is that the note values can be used to nuance the singing in accordance with Latin prosody, where the shortest note is often – though not consistently – placed on an unaccented syllable. The use of the pattern of longa – semibrevis – brevis will now be examined in a hymn.

Sunday hymn *O veneranda trinitas*

The hymn *O veneranda trinitas* for the little hours in Sunday's Cantus sororum is a chant where the manner of notation under consideration may be examined. This melody does not belong to the original hymn repertoire and has the new melody inserted by the first scribe in NL-UD: K:An 16. Here, I shall not provide an exhaustive analysis of this melody but focus merely on one particular feature; how melody and notation shape the phrase endings.

In comparison to the original hymn melody, exemplified by NL-UD: HS K:An 8 from period 2, dated 1645 (music example 19), this new hymn melody is like the original melody in D-mode but there is no further indication in the books of whether this melody should be read as mode 1 or 2. The beginning of the melody, with its ascending fifth from D to A is, however, a clear indication that at least the beginning can be interpreted as mode 1.

The text consists of four lines of eight syllables each. The last three syllables in each line have the accentuation on the first of these syllables. The transcribed text

below gives the hymn text with the three last syllables written in bold script, and the accentuated syllable marked:

O veneranda **trínitas**,
o trium una **déitas**,
lustra vero nos **lúmíne**,
pro virginis **precámíne**.

O Trinity revered,
O deity three from one,
enlighten us with the true light,
by the intercession of the Virgin.

In the original melody, this same pattern of accentuation does not occur. Here, a long melisma is placed on the last and unaccented syllable on the second phrase (*deitas*), and a two-note melisma on the last also unaccented syllable in line four (*precamine*). But in the new melody, the four two-note melismas all fall on accented syllables. Phrases 1 and 3 are entirely syllabic. How this pattern of longa – semibrevis – brevis was utilised in the manuscript is shown in image 21. It is as though the two versions were created from within two different aesthetic visions. The original version used melismas to emphasise important words, more as a meditational device, while the period 3 version accentuates the prosody through melismas, as though the text were to be read, in keeping with earlier arguments about how chant was generally treated from the late 16th century, emphasising clearer text delivery.

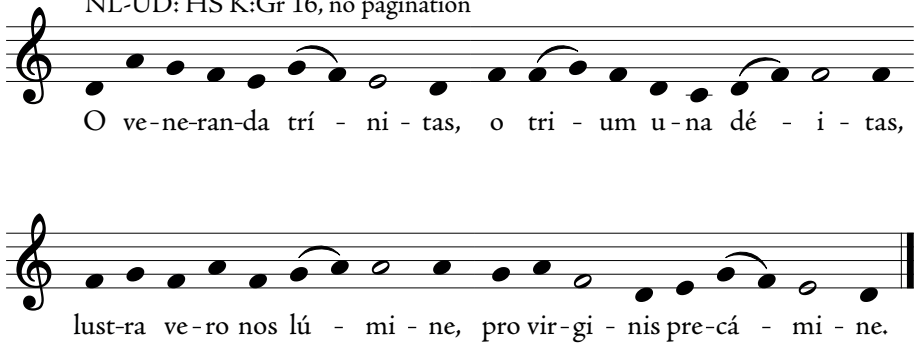
NL-UD: HS K:Gr 8, p. 20

O ve-ne-ran-da trí-ni-tas, o tri-um u-na dé-i-tas,

lust-ra ve-ro nos lú-mi-ne, pro vir-gi-nis pre-cá-mi-ne.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 18: *O veneranda trinitas*, hymn for the little hours on Sunday from *Cantus sororum* in the original melody from NL-UD: HS K:An 8, p. 20, ca. 1645.

NL-UD: HS K:Gr 16, no pagination



MUSIC EXAMPLE 19: *O veneranda trinitas*, hymn for the little hours on Sunday from *Cantus sororum* with a new melody in NL-UD: HS K:An 16, no pagination, 1735. The rhomboid notes are differentiated visually in the transcription by means of void noteheads.



IMAGE 21: *O veneranda trinitas*, hymn for the little hours on Sunday from *Cantus sororum* with a new melody in the original notation showing the differentiated square notation. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 16, no pagination, 1735.

The three last notes in NL-UD: HS K:Gr 16 are all examples of the *longa* – *semi-brevis* – *brevis* pattern described above. We shall never know how this quasi-mensural notation was performed, but what this notation does tell us is that this method of notation makes possible a nuanced performance of sequences of three syllables, with careful attention paid to the accentuation of the text.³³⁴ The notation occurs often, but not always, at the end of phrase lines, and this sequence is so consistent and commonly occurring in the material that it must have had some meaning for the performers. But what? It is hard to see any other reason than a desire to improve the Latin pronunciation, one so great that even the manuscripts needed to include this information.

With this discussion, I wish to contribute to a more nuanced way of looking at the chant notation after the Middle Ages. Instead of Karp's suggestion that the post-medieval notation reflected a more static way of singing, this way of notating the chants would rather allow a way of singing that constituted a nuanced play among longer, shorter, and lighter notes. This alternative view has also been embraced by Gillion.³³⁵ Its result might have been a flexible, text-based singing, flowing between accented and unaccented syllables, where the singer is made aware of the proper pronunciation of the Latin text.³³⁶ Square notation in chant scholarship is regarded as lacking in information on the rhythmic performance when compared to adiastematic neumes. Looking at this notation from the perspective suggested here could open another perspective, and calls into question Karp's disappointing conclusion that the changed habits of notation reflected an impoverished performance.

Conclusion and summary

In this chapter, I have addressed the changed physical appearance of the liturgical books in the new production phase, period 3. In contrast to the previous period, books in period 3 were produced using the strategy of preserving by transformation. The physical features changed but the content remained the same. Or at least almost. One of the big changes in this period concerns a part of the liturgy that has not been preserved from Mariënwater/Maria Refugie now, for the first time, becoming visible; the extended Mass repertoire. Here three types of graduals were distinguished. Furthermore, the Masses for Birgitta and Katherina were identified and their uses discussed. The extended Mass repertoire was a result of the dissolved double abbeys, where the sisters added formulas from the brothers' liturgy

³³⁴ Mensural practice in chant is discussed in M. GOZZI: 'Liturgical music and liturgical experience' 70–76.

³³⁵ GILLION: 'Plantin's Antiphonarium Romanum'.

³³⁶ In fact, this resembles much performance practice of today's chant, where a flexible text line moving between accented and unaccented syllables is often the ideal.

to make the liturgical year more varied. A new, large-format antiphoner-gradual was written at this time to replace NL-DHk: 71 A 21 as a representative *summa* of the Birgittine liturgy. Finally, square notation in the manuscripts has been discussed, where the use of longa, semibrevis, and brevis represent an awareness of the accentuation of the sung text. The Birgittine chantscape has once again been updated or transformed in line with general practices where the repertoire was not abandoned in any aspect. Rather, we once more see a community intensely occupied with its repertoire and how it relates to trends in notation, but this time an impression is given of a community that is moving into the future.

1784–1883

New musical trends and extended modes



DURING THE 19TH century, liturgical life in Maria Refuge would again undergo changes due to troublesome circumstances that in many respects were consequences of the political and religious events related in earlier chapters, in particular the Reformation. Nevertheless, new liturgical books were produced during the 19th century, and during the middle of this century we see a fourth phase of handwritten book production; period 4. At this time, a novelty was introduced into the Birgittine liturgy, when printed books for Offices and processions were produced for the first time in Birgittine history.³³⁷ Printed and handwritten volumes were now used side-by-side. Another interesting development was a large-scale revision of the Office repertoire. These endeavours, however, were not always paired with an equal liturgical enthusiasm. There are signs of a fading Mass observance partly reflected in their books. In this chapter, I shall first sketch the historical context for this period, after which book production and the sisters' limited Mass observance is discussed. I will thereafter address the printed liturgical books, the revision of the *Cantus sororum*, and discuss a few music examples from this revised repertoire in order to highlight some stylistic features. Special attention will be paid to the antiphons *Maria, Maria* and *Benedictus sis tu*, and the far-reaching transformations they were subject to. The possibilities related to when and by whom the revision was made are briefly addressed. An enigmatic extension of the modal system from eight to 14 modes will be examined, after which I will conclude the chapter by contrasting the liturgical activities in Maria Refuge and its daughter foundation Maria Hart, founded in 1843, to Altomünster by examining an antiphoner printed in 1860. An overall impression of the repertoire at this time is that the Birgittine chantscape continues to be negotiated by its practitioners within recognisable boundaries, and that preservation by transformation is a process that is by no means completed, concerning both physical features of the books and the repertoire. As in the previous chapter, these chant versions from the Birgittine repertoire have never been subject to analysis before, which is why I will devote a large section of the chapter to specific chants.

³³⁷ I have not discovered any earlier liturgical prints of the *Cantus sororum* from other Birgittine abbeys, but the possibility cannot be excluded. Printed liturgical books from other Birgittine abbeys remain an uninvestigated topic.

Historical context

By the end of the 18th century, many Birgittine abbeys had been closed due to political decisions, accompanied by the beginning of secularisation imposed by secular rulers. The remaining abbeys and monasteries were often forbidden to accept novices, resulting in a gradual dying out. This situation is hardly unique to the Birgittines but a fate affecting many monasteries in Europe at the time, in some places eradicating monastic life altogether. This chapter begins in the year 1784, since this the year secularisation was initiated by Emperor Joseph II, under whose rule the Low Countries fell at this time. Among other results, this process would lead to the suppression of Birgittine abbeys and, on a wider level, an attenuation of the monastic landscape throughout Joseph II's empire. Mariëntroon and the Birgittine brothers' convent Maria Kruis in Hoboken both closed in 1784, and all German Birgittine foundations except Altomünster that had not closed earlier did so in 1802.³³⁸ Altomünster was secularised the year after, in 1803, a consequence of which was that it was not allowed to accept novices and the double abbey was dissolved. Altomünster, like Maria Refugie, now only included sisters. The sisters' community in Altomünster diminished and in 1841 there were only a few sisters left. In that year, however, they were again allowed to accept novices and the community welcomed 10 new sisters. Thanks to a papal dispensation approved in 1844, Altomünster survived as a nunnery, leading to growth. In 1857, Altomünster had 27 sisters increasing to 37 by 1873.³³⁹

In the Low Countries, secularisation would directly affect Maria Refugie in 1794, when French troops invaded the county of Ravenstein where Maria Refugie was situated. The sisters remained immediately after the invasion, but the following year they fled to Leiden where the abbess had her family. The sisters resided there for two years and upon their return, found their abbey buildings in poor condition. Renovation work was undertaken but in 1812 Napoleon declared his Act of Suppression which presented new obstacles to the community. Once again, the sisters, now 24 in number, were forced to move. They did not move far, leaving their abbey for a nearby house in Uden: *De Rode Leeuw* (The Red Lion), where they resided for another two years before returning and re-assuming renovation of the abbey buildings. By then, Napoleon had fallen, but the Act of Suppression had not been rescinded. The sisters were allowed to remain but could not accept novices. They sought alternative solutions, one of which was starting a boarding house for ladies, where they (likely with approbation from Pope Gregory XVI) secretly allowed young women and widows to take simple vows. As a result, in 1839 the community had nine sisters, all over 50 years old, and 15 boarding guests. Due

³³⁸ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 220.

³³⁹ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 181–182.

to King Willem II's more tolerant attitude towards monastic activities, the Act of Suppression was repealed in 1840, and on 21 December the same year, 15 new sisters were professed in the abbey chapel. The boarding guests had in other words become nuns and the community in Uden increased its number of sisters within a fortnight.³⁴⁰ Marie Refugie was now the only Birgittine foundation in the Low Countries.

Around the middle of the 19th century, Maria Refugie was in need both of renovation and expansion of the monastic complex due to the growing number of sisters. But the sisters had no money, so various attempts were undertaken to improve their financial situation. Sometime before 1860, various items were sold to a certain priest, van Vorst in Amsterdam, including manuscripts from Mariënwater as well as its daughter foundations.³⁴¹ Another solution to secure funding was to sell objects to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.³⁴² In a letter sent from Rector J. Baaselmans to the bishop in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1875, approbation was sought to sell artefacts from the 15th and 16th centuries to this museum, in other words the oldest in the abbey collection.³⁴³ A list preserved in Maria Refugie that notes 48 artworks sold for a sum of 2,000 florins, is probably a trace of this affair, although the Rijksmuseum is not explicitly mentioned in this document. No manuscripts are included in this list. When the Museum voor Religieuze Kunst (Museum KRONA since 2019) opened in 1974 in part of the abbey buildings, some of these sold items returned to Uden as part of the museum collection.³⁴⁴ The situation outlined here is probably the reason a few manuscripts from Mariënwater are found today in other archives and libraries, for example NL-DHk: 71 A 21.

A limited Mass observance in Maria Refugie during the 19th century?

One reason for the rather limited book production might have been a decline in the liturgical observation of the Mass, in part due to the lack of priests for the community, a situation to be discussed in the next chapter. While the Office celebration of the Cantus sororum would continue as in earlier centuries (though with a partially revised repertoire), there are signs of a limited Mass observance, and it

³⁴⁰ VAN LIEBERGEN: 'De abdijen Mariënwater en Maria Refugie' 51–52.

³⁴¹ SANDER OLSEN: *Biblioteca Birgittina* 15.

³⁴² NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 221.

³⁴³ The purchase is reported in a letter of 1875 from Rector Baaselmans to the bishop in 's-Hertogenbosch. Bisschoppelijk Archief, 's-Hertogenbosch, Cor. 1875. An undated document written on a typewriter with handwritten annotations lists the items, but no manuscripts are mentioned in this list. CACHET: *Liturgie en eredienst* Maria Refugie, Uden with letters, lists and various other documents on the liturgy in Maria Refugie dating from ca. 1900 up to the middle of the 20th century. None of these are inventoried or numbered.

³⁴⁴ VAN LIEBERGEN: *300 jaar Abdij Uden* 55.

seems to have ceased completely by the middle of the century. The decline in liturgical observance is not known from contemporaneous sources but is indicated in correspondence from the 1940s to be related in the next chapter.³⁴⁵

The absence of newly-written graduals as well as the absence of any material added to earlier-produced graduals are indications that the Birgittines were not very interested in this aspect of the liturgy, and even shortened it. One example may be examined in the gradual NL-UD: HS K:Gr 26, written 1843–1844, which has a limited number of Masses. This gradual is an abbreviated version of the type 3 gradual described in the previous chapter – in other words, the type of gradual that combines Masses from both the brothers and the sisters: *Salve sancta parens*, Marian Masses, and Masses for Sundays and feasts throughout the year. Concerning the last category, the gradual has only three Masses for throughout the year: Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, and Maundy Thursday. On the other hand, the manuscript contains a section with the complete Birgittine sequence repertoire, evidence that this repertoire was in continuous use even during this century. A probable reason for this continued use is that these chants held an important place in the liturgy and served as a means to maintain the Birgittine identity. Such an extensive sequence repertoire would have been extremely rare in the 19th century.

The foundation of Maria Hart in Weert in 1843 and its books

The increasing number of sisters in Maria Refugie in 1840 allowed for a new foundation. In 1843, Maria Refugie's first daughter foundation since 1477 (Maria Stern in Gouda) was inaugurated when 10 sisters from Maria Refugie moved to Weert in Dutch Limburg and founded Maria Hart.³⁴⁶ The community took with them at least seven liturgical books produced in Mariënwater and Maria Refugie from periods 2 and 3.³⁴⁷ These books may be seen both as books for practical use as well as a means, through objects, to link the new abbey to Maria Refugie. We do not know whether these books were used in the liturgy or rather served as a physical memory from their mother abbey and exemplars from which to copy new books. Only two handwritten books remain: *Antiphonale Mariano Birgittanum Ordinis S. Salvatoris Sancti Monialum S. Mariae Cordis*, dated 1851, and *Antiphonale Mariano*

³⁴⁵ 19th-century life in Maria Refugie is little treated in earlier literature, but an important source of information is a book published in 1943 by the priest August Rottier, primarily about Maria Refugie's daughter foundation, Maria Hart. A. J. M. ROTTIER: *Maria-Hart te Weert. Het geschiedverhaal van een birgittijnse stichting* (Voorburg 1943).

³⁴⁶ VAN LIEBERGEN: 'De abdijen Mariënwater en Maria Refugie', 52. In 2005, Maria Hart transferred to the Birgittine Sisters of Mother Elisabeth Hesselblad. NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 250.

³⁴⁷ These books are still kept at Maria Hart and included in the listing in Appendix 2.

Birgittanum Ordinis, dated 1849. No handwritten graduals have been preserved.³⁴⁸ These antiphoners only contain Vespers and Compline, and show heavy signs of wear, with the addition of printed leaves from the printing workshop in Maria Hart, to be described later. It is difficult to establish if this is an indication that only these two Offices were observed. I presume this was not the case since Matins is found in the earlier books and in the print from 1881, which I will discuss below. It does not seem logical that all hours except Vespers and Compline were not observed during a short period and then reinstated with the print from 1881. Another reason to support this is that a book with chants for Lauds was printed in 1857. Practical reasons might lie behind this singling out of Vespers and Compline, such as a larger attendance than during the little hours, and that older books could be used. The printed leaves contain smaller liturgical items such as Magnificat psalm tones written out in their entirety, short responsories, and the antiphon for Richard Reynolds, beatified in 1886 (more on Richard Reynolds in the next chapter). One interesting issue involves the great responsories in the antiphoner from 1851, forming their own section after Vespers and Compline chants. This section contains a limited number of great responsories from the *Cantus sororum* to be sung, not at Matins, but at Vespers on particular feast days. These feast days included several saints' feasts, Marian days, and feasts during the year, such as the Christmas season, Pentecost, and Trinity Sunday. In other words, the extended use of these great responsories covers several aspects of the liturgical year, with an unsurprising emphasis on the Virgin Mary. Twelve out of the total 21 great responsories in the *Cantus sororum* were to be sung on the following occasions:

Feast	<i>Cantus sororum</i> great responsory (day)
Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi	<i>Summe trinitatis</i> (Sunday)
Pentecost	<i>Maria summe</i> (Sunday)
St Michael	<i>Te sanctum Dominum</i> (Monday)
St Peter in chains	<i>Christi virgo</i> (Monday)
Assumptio B.M.V., Annunciatio B.M.V., Visitatio B.M.V.	<i>O ineffabiliter</i> (Tuesday)

³⁴⁸ S-LI: Weert T272 *Antiphonale Mariano Birgittanum Ordinis* dated 1849, now in Linköping diocesan library and *Antiphonale Mariano Birgittanum Ordinis S. Salvatoris Sancti. Monialum S. Mariae Cordis*, dated 1851, in Marie Hart, Weert, no siglum, not catalogued anywhere but found by the author during a visit to Maria Hart in 2013.

St Anna	<i>Beata mater</i> (Wednesday)
Conceptio B.M.V., Nativitas B.M.V., Presentatio B.M.V.	<i>Solem justicie</i> (Wednesday)
Circumcisio Domini	<i>Sancta et immaculate</i> (Thursday)
Christmas	<i>Videte miraculum</i> (Thursday)
Epiphany, Purificatio B.M.V.	<i>Felix namque</i> (Thursday)
Septem dolores B.M.V.	<i>Palluerunt pie</i> (Friday)
Assumptio B.M.V., Immaculata conception B.M.V.	<i>Super salutem</i> (Saturday)

TABLE 8: Extended use of great responsories from the Cantus sororum in the 19th century.

They were probably used for processions, in light of what has been shown in a previous chapter on the use of great responsories. Their use in Vespers on feast days adds to the extended role that these chants were accorded outside the context of Matins.

Maria Hart enters the era of printed liturgical books

An important technical step occurred when the sisters in Maria Hart acquired two printing presses in 1853. Until the mid-19th century, the Birgittines had copied books by hand for hundreds of years, a production that would now continue in parallel with printed books. Writing by hand has several advantages. New usages can easily be inserted into books over erasures and handwritten new staves, or new leaves can be pasted in when the need arises. No complicated technique needs to be learned or purchased. Writing by hand is a simple technology for producing books for small communities such as the Birgittines and, in short, the simplest way to alter the liturgy without having to go through a laborious and expensive printing process. But now for reasons not fully known, printed books gradually came into use alongside those that were handwritten.

Along with printed material, the physical shape of the Birgittine books also changed once again. The vivid colours were replaced by pages printed entirely in black and white. The ornamented frontispieces known from period 3 books disappeared, along with the decorated initials. All space-consuming ornaments were removed, resulting in an efficient use of paper. What remained was printed black square notation and its text on white paper. In other words, a new era of preserving

by transformation took place, but this statement needs some modification since parts of this repertoire were subject to revisions, as will be shown below.

There is no documentation that can tell us why this shift from handwritten to printed books occurred at this time, or how the printing presses were purchased. What we know is that printing first arrived in 1855 with *Klein vesperboek* (Little Book of Vespers), which August Rottier mentions in his book on Maria Hart from 1943.³⁴⁹ The large printing press disappeared in 1910 but when Rottier wrote his book a small press was still in use. According to Rottier the following books were printed:

- ♦ 1855: *Klein vesperale* (Little Book of Vespers)
- ♦ 1856: *Processionale Birgittanum, seu Ordinis St. Salvatoris. Sanctimonialium S. Marie Refugii*, Udae
- ♦ 1857: *Mettenboek* (book with the Office of Lauds)
- ♦ 1881: *Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis. SS. Salvatoris vulgo S. Birgittae. Excudebant Sorores Birgittae*
- ♦ 1883: *Vesperale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis SS. Salvatoris vulgo S. Birgittae*
- ♦ 1888: *Regel van den Allerheiligsten Zaligmaker*³⁵⁰
(Rule of the Most Holy Saviour, i.e., the Birgittine Rule)

Two collections of hymns may be added to this list that Rottier for some reason did not include: *Hymnussen voor den Advent* (hymns for Advent) and *Hymnussen for den Vasten* (hymns for Lent), both without a date of printing (see image 22).³⁵¹ Advent and Lent were periods when the sisters sang their hymns to melodies other than *per annum*, a practice known from the earliest sources.³⁵² The hymn collections were not completed in the print versions since several hymns have empty staves, as may be seen on the left-hand page in image 23. The melodies might deliberately have not been inserted in these instances, since printing music was more time-consuming than printing text, and perhaps not even needed since only five melodies were sung in Advent and Lent, compared to 35 hymns in the *Cantus sororum*. The melody to be used in those hymns with empty staves is indicated with a reference to a page where the appropriate melody is to be found.

Different templates were used, which explains why there is no consistent design for the books. The earliest prints from 1855, 1856, and 1857 were printed on thicker paper of better quality than later prints, and in general were more pleasing

³⁴⁹ ROTTIER: *Maria-Hart te Weert*.

³⁵⁰ List based on ROTTIER: *Maria-Hart te Weert* 52.

³⁵¹ The copy I have examined is housed in Vadstena Abbey library, where the two collections are bound together in one volume

³⁵² I do not treat this usage further in this book, but the question concerning the use of hymn melodies in Vadstena throughout the year is treated by NILSSON: 'En studie i Cantus Sororum'.

to the eye (see an example in image 22). The prints from 1881 and 1883 were printed on thinner paper in a less professional style (see example below). These printed books follow larger trends for 19th century printed liturgical books and again show how the Birgittines adapted to contemporary trends, just as they did with updated notation in previous centuries. Image 22 shows the Lauds antiphon for Mondays *Angeli archangeli* in the processional, printed in 1856, here to be used for the feast of St Michael together with the great responsory *Te sanctum Dominum* – one example of the extended use of great responsories. For unknown reasons, this book has Uden on the title page (*Processionale Birgittanum seu Ordinis St. Salvatoris Sanctimonialium S. Marie Refugii Udae*), but the colophon in the table of contents clearly states that it was printed in Maria Hart (*Gedruckt bij de Eerw. Zusters Birgittinessen te Weert 1856*) with an imprimatur from the bishop in Roermond.³⁵³ It is reasonable to assume that the books printed in Maria Hart were to be used both in their own abbey as well as Maria Refugie.



IMAGE 22: Monday Lauds antiphon *Angeli archangeli* used for the feast of St Michael from *Processionale Birgittanum, seu Ordinis St. Salvatoris. Sanctimonialium S. Marie Refugii, Udae*, printed in Maria Hart in 1856, p. 73. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.

³⁵³ "Printed at the venerable Birgittine sisters in Weert 1856". *Processionale Birgittanum Weert 1856*, 121.



IMAGE 23: *Hymnussen voor den Advent*, printed in Maria Hart, undated. To the left the hymn for the little hours on Wednesdays *Ignis ardore* with empty staves, to the right the hymn for Compline on Wednesday *Fit porta Christi*, with its melody for Advent. The reference to page 4 on page 36 refers to the two Marian strophes that concluded most hymns in the *Cantus sororum* and to which melody it is to be sung. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.

No information is available concerning how many exemplars of each book Maria Hart printed. Prints and books from period 3 were used simultaneously, judging by additions and revisions. Perhaps books were not printed for the whole community. During my investigations, I have not found more than two of each. The printing press seems to have been used quite sporadically rather than maintaining stable production. Not only complete books were printed; the sisters also printed loose leaves that were inserted into handwritten books. Whether prints were ever commissioned by outside monasteries, convents, abbeys, or parishes is not known.

The great revision of the repertoire in Maria Refugie and Maria Hart

An examination of the melodies from the 19th century shows that a heavily-revised repertoire was transmitted into the printed versions that seem to have taken shape earlier in the first half of the 19th century. I will describe the revisions and analyse a number of these chants, and then turn to the question of when and by whom these revisions could have been made. The revision of the melodies was of different types, from smaller revisions rather like adjustments, as we have seen earlier, new melodies created based on the original melodies, and melodies with little resem-

blance to the originals. The alterations are more on a sliding scale than according to easily-defined types, which is why they are impossible to categorise. Several strategies and features, however, may be discerned. Though the Uden sources from their earliest documents show revisions and additions, the changes I shall now address constitute a large-scale revision, different and deeper than anything witnessed earlier in this abbey's history, and likely in the entire history of the Order.

Since revised melodies can already be observed from the earliest printings, it is reasonable to assume that the whole repertoire or parts of it was reformed by the 1850s. The books from period 3 have revised melodies inserted via erasures or on staves with the new melody pasted in. The great revision was thus undertaken at the earliest during the second half of the 18th century and at the latest during the first half of the 19th century. It had been completed by the time the vesperal was printed in 1883, since this printing and the antiphoner from 1881 transmit the revised corpus in its entirety.

The material to choose from is overwhelming since the revisions are found in all chant genres, but the choice of chants for analysis is motivated because they are relatively short but rich in information, opening for a discussion of more general features in the revised corpus. The revised chants will be compared with NL-UD: HS K:An 1 from ca. 1500, with its unrevised chant repertoire.

Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria*: intertextuality in the Birgittine chantscape

The first analysis is devoted to the Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria*, since the revision of this chant features so many characteristics typical of the revision in general. Earlier scholarship has assumed this piece a unique Birgittine chant; this assumption is in one respect true, since no exact concordance of this chant can be found outside the Birgittines.³⁵⁴ This chant provides an example of how difficult it is to distinguish unique melodies in the intertextual reality in which the Gregorian chant operated and which it valued so highly. My analysis highlights three aspects: dependence on pre-existing material; links between this Office chant and the combined Birgittine Mass and Office repertoire; and finally, how the revision in the 19th century served to create a melody that was less demanding to sing.

Music example 20 compares two versions of *Maria, Maria*: one from UD: HS K:An 1 and the revised version from the printed vesperal from 1883. In the 1883 version, the text underlay emphasises the correct accentuation of the Latin by concentrating melismas on accented syllables. At the beginning (red box num-

³⁵⁴ Argued by Servatius in her dissertation, where she has examined the earliest layer (c. 1450-1520) of the psalm antiphon repertoire in the *Cantus sororum*. SERVATIUS: *Cantus sororum* 141-143.

ber 1), the two versions have the same notes except for the pitch repetition at the beginning, omitted in the 1883 version. The notes in the 1883 version are arranged in such a way that the second syllable, which is also the accentuated syllable, is provided by a long melisma, in contrast to the original melody where the melisma emphasises the first, unaccented syllable of *Maria*. Thereafter, the 1883 version develops slightly differently but is still close to the original melody. The revised melody follows the original for a large section of the chant but is gradually lowered by first being transposed a *terce* (number 2) and then a *fifth* (number 3), gradually reaching a lower *finalis* in mode 1 on D, an octave below the original. This gives the chant a clearer mode 1 character in a bow-like structure. The revised melody has several instances (apart from the beginning instances on *Maria*) where accented syllables have been emphasised by moving melismas to these syllables; see, for example, *gemma* and *sanctitatis*.

I NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 118v
Vesperale juxta, p. 122

Ma - ri - a,
Ma - ri - a,

Ma - ri - a, to - ti - us
Ma - ri - a, to - ti - us

sanc - ti - ta - tis
sanc - ti - ta - tis

tu prin-ci - pa - lis

tu prin-ci - pa - lis

The first system consists of two staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written on a five-line staff with a series of eighth and quarter notes, some beamed together. The lyrics 'tu prin-ci - pa - lis' are written below the staff. The bottom staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is written on a five-line staff with a series of eighth and quarter notes, some beamed together. The lyrics 'tu prin-ci - pa - lis' are written below the staff.

gem - ma,

gem - - - - - ma,

The second system consists of two staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is written on a five-line staff with a series of eighth and quarter notes, some beamed together. The lyrics 'gem - ma,' are written below the staff. The bottom staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is written on a five-line staff with a series of eighth and quarter notes, some beamed together. The lyrics 'gem - - - - - ma,' are written below the staff.

nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter da ser - vi - re,

nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter da ser - vi - re,

The third system consists of two staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is written on a five-line staff with a series of eighth and quarter notes, some beamed together. The lyrics 'nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter da ser - vi - re,' are written below the staff. The bottom staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is written on a five-line staff with a series of eighth and quarter notes, some beamed together. The lyrics 'nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter da ser - vi - re,' are written below the staff.

et ab hos - tis

et ab hos - tis

The fourth system consists of two staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is written on a five-line staff with a series of eighth and quarter notes, some beamed together. The lyrics 'et ab hos - tis' are written below the staff. The bottom staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is written on a five-line staff with a series of eighth and quarter notes, some beamed together. The lyrics 'et ab hos - tis' are written below the staff.

an-ti-quimil-le mil-len - is frau-di-buscon-ser-va,

an-ti - quimil-le mil-len - is frau - di-buscon-ser - va,

Ma - ri - a.

Ma - ri - a.

Magnificat

Magnificat

MUSIC EXAMPLE 20: Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria* in a comparative transcription from NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 118v, ca. 1500, and *Vesperale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis SS. Salvatoris vulgo S. Birgittae*, p. 122, 1883.

Maria, Maria, totius sanctitatis tu principalis gemma, nos tibi humiliter da servire, et ab hostis antiqui mille millenis fraudibus conserva, Maria.

Mary, Mary, you the prize jewel of all holiness, allow us humbly to serve you, and preserve us, Mary, from the ancient enemy's thousand upon thousand betrayals.

Servatius remarks that the initium of the chant is not found elsewhere in the chant repertoire, but points to similarities with the first antiphon in the Marian hystoria

Stella maria, attributed to Bishop Brynolf of Skara (ca. 1248–1317).³⁵⁵ A similarity may be noticed between the first *Maria* in the Birgittine antiphon and the beginning of the hystoria's first Vespers antiphon *Stella maria*; see music example 21. But as I will show in the following, I do not agree with this view.

NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 118v

S-Uu: C23, fol. 94r

MUSIC EXAMPLE 21: Comparison of the beginning of *Maria, Maria* with that of the antiphon *Stella maria* from the hystoria *Stella maria* between NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 118v, ca. 1500, and S-Uu: C23, fol. 94r, 15th century, after Nilsson 2011.

Both phrases in these first mode antiphons move in a range of a sixth where the finalis D and the tenor A are important pitches, stressing the mode 1 character. *Stella maria* begins with a typical mode 1 gesture spanning a rising fifth from finalis to tenor, while *Maria, Maria* starts on the tenor/fifth in mode 1. Both phrases then work their way down to the finalis on D, though in different ways. The similarities in my opinion are not convincing and, in contrast to Servatius, I do not think that *Maria, Maria* was inspired by a chant the Birgittines did not sing, most likely never heard, and which furthermore has few similarities with *Maria, Maria* apart from general mode 1 characteristics. There is a much more direct link to a chant that probably served as inspiration, a chant from the sisters' own Mass repertoire: the offertory *Felix namque es*. This offertory replaced the Birgittines' daily offertory *Recordare virgo mater* in the *Salve sancta parens* Mass for the feast of Purification, documented in use from the earliest sources. The borrowing in *Maria, Maria*, however, is not taken from the beginning of *Felix namque es*, but rather the first *Maria* corresponds to a motif found in the middle of the offertory; see the red box in image 24.

³⁵⁵ Edited in A.-M. NILSSON (ed.): *Sånger till fyra kyrkofester i Skara stift* (Skara 2011). Transcription based on S-Uu: C 23 fol. 94r.

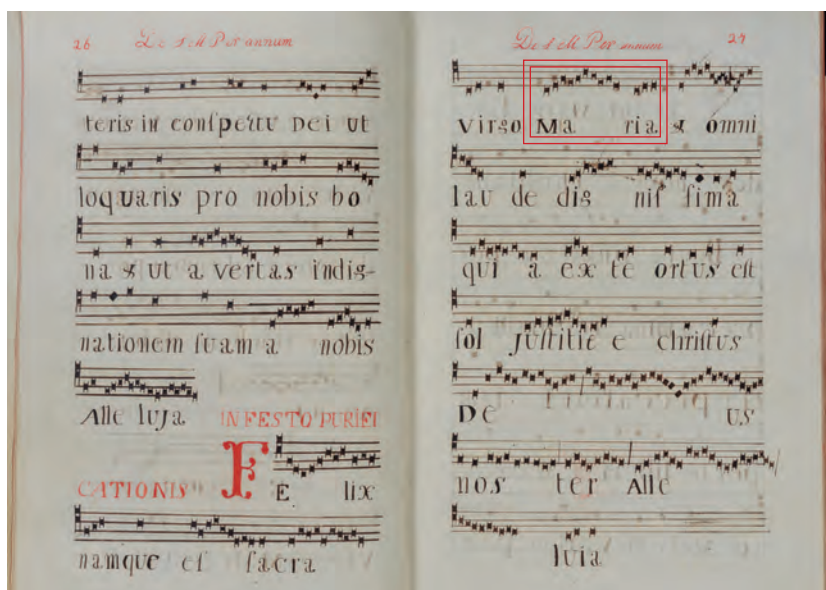


IMAGE 24: Offertory *Felix namque es* for the feast of the Purification with *Maria* from music example 20, marked with a red box, in a *Graduale Birgittinum* from Uden. Source: NL-UD: HS K:Gr 26, p. 27, 1843.

In comparing that phrase in *Felix namque es* to the beginning of *Maria, Maria*, the resemblance is far closer than with the antiphon *Stella maria*. The borrowing involves not only the melody but also the text *Maria*.

NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 118v

NL-UD: HS K:Gr 26, p. 27

MUSIC EXAMPLE 22: Comparison of the opening Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria* in NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 118v, ca. 1500, with the corresponding section in the offertory *Felix namque es* in NL-UD: HS K:Gr 26, p. 27, 1843, as seen in the red box in image 24.

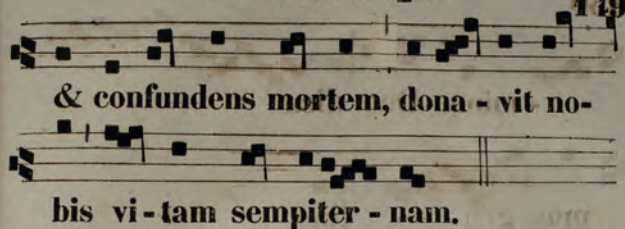
The use of the *Maria* motif provides another contribution to the discussion of intertextual relations in the Birgittine chantscape, where the use of recurrent motifs

can serve to identify and strengthen a Birgittine identity. The motif creates a link between Cantus sororum and the Birgittine Mass liturgy, indicating an important intertextual sphere in which the Birgittine liturgy operated. In my view, using this Marian motif in a Marian antiphon – if the link was made deliberately – demonstrates a close familiarity with the chant repertoire. If the borrowing from *Felix namque es* was instead unconscious, it still indicates that this repertoire was sung on a frequent basis to such an extent that musical motifs became part of the Birgittine identity through the process of tacit knowledge and absorption. In addition, the text of *Felix namque es* has a connection to the Cantus sororum since the text for the offertory is used in the third great responsory for Thursday *Felix namque es*, with a different melody, though also in mode 1. As such, the Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria* and the great responsory *Felix namque es* signal a connotation to the ever-present Virgin Mary in the Birgittine liturgy, providing yet another contribution to the Birgittine chantscape. As with the sequences mirroring the themes in the Cantus sororum, here Birgittine spirituality is also stressed through the bridging of the Mass and Office repertoire into one spiritual unit, not only through the use of textual associations but also of the Birgittine chantscape.

If a single borrowing might be a coincidence, two borrowings strengthen the confirmation of a more structured strategy. The *Maria* motif occurs once more in the Cantus sororum, namely in the Benedicamus Domino trope *pro nativitate* for Wednesday Lauds. The red box in the transcription of this chant in music example 23 demonstrates how these phrases correspond in both *Maria, Maria* and *Felix namque es*. This Benedicamus domino trope was never subject to a revision and thus retained its melody throughout the centuries. Furthermore, the Benedicamus Domino trope was used for the feasts of the Conception and the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, where *nativitate* was exchanged for *conceptione* and *presentatione*, as may be seen in image 25 of the chant, where alternatives for *nativitate* are provided in brackets. This exchange of crucial words in order to adapt certain chants in the Cantus sororum for Marian feasts can be traced back to at least the 17th century.

A D L A U D E S.

119



CANT. Benedictus, &c. pag. 77

SUFFRAG. S. BIRG. pag. 55





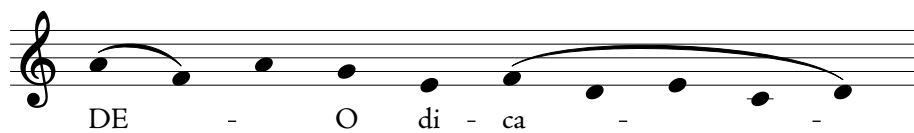
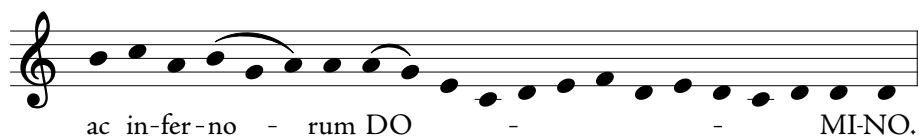
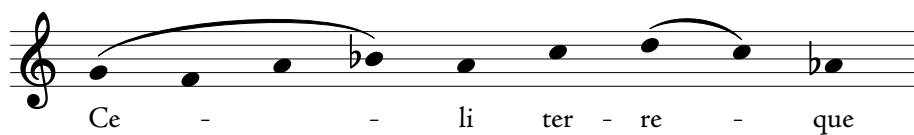
IMAGE 25: Wednesday Lauds *Benedicamus domino pro nativitate* in *Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis*, pp. 149–150, 1881. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.

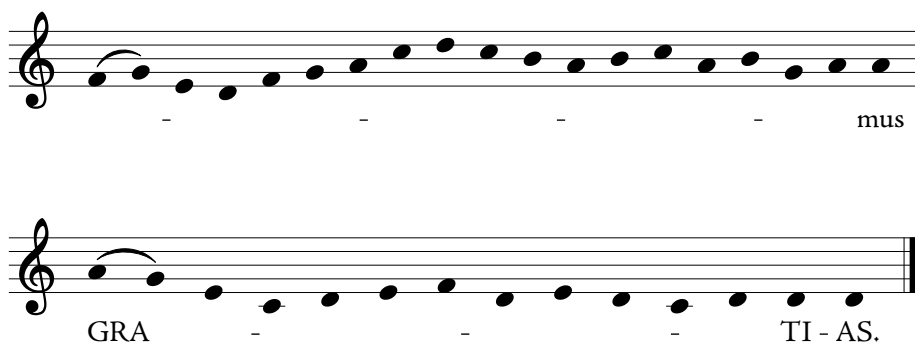
BENEDICAMUS pro nativitate sue matris eterni regis Filio, celi terreque ac infernorum DOMINO. DEO dicamus GRATIAS.

LET US PRAISE THE Son of the eternal King, LORD of heaven and earth, upon the birth of his Mother. We give praise to the Lord.

Text of *Benedicamus Domino* trope with untroped text in capital letters.

Antiphonale juxta, p.149





MUSIC EXAMPLE 23: Transcription of *Benedicamus Domino pro nativitate* from *Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis*, p. 149, 1881.

Not only musically but also thematically, *Maria, Maria* and *Benedicamus domino pro nativitate* are nicely linked to each other through a *Maria* motif: the Wednesday Office announces the birth of the Virgin Mary and Saturday's Office her death and assumption. The theme of these two days summarise Mary's life concisely. Again, Mass and Office liturgy are linked together, where one Marian feast connects to two days in the *Cantus sororum* with a particularly strong Marian focus: Wednesday and Saturday. Thursday may also be added, when the text *Felix namque* – for the feast of Purification – was used in a great responsory in the *Cantus sororum* Office celebrating both the birth of Christ and the motherhood of the Virgin Mary. The *Maria* motif links the birth of Christ, Purification, and the birth and assumption of the Virgin Mary combined in an intriguing way, pointing to previously unnoticed relationships in the Birgittine Office and Mass liturgy.

A problematic ending?

After having addressed the more intertextual aspects of *Maria, Maria* and the antiphon's place in the Birgittine chantscape, the remarkable reworking of its ending will now be addressed, which starts at number 2 in music example 21. One important reason for the revision of *Maria, Maria* seems to have been to avoid a problematic ending, one difficult to perform for technically less-skilled singers. In its original construction, the chant has an unusual melodic form in which it ascends from the word *antiqui*, centring much of the melody around F, which may be interpreted as mode 2 with its emphasis on the tenor pitch F. Instead of building the melody as a bow, a feature for most chants in the Gregorian tradition which allows the melody to end on the finalis or possibly the tenor, it ends on the finalis D an octave higher – making the melody quite demanding to perform when it

ends in this high register. Servatius even calls it hardly singable (*kaum singbar*) and therefore argues for the possibility that the chant in practice was subject to transposition a fifth down from *antiqui*. According to her, the transposition was introduced in order to avoid E flat (in the music example notated as B flat) on *conserva*, since this was a note difficult to treat within modal music theory. The psalm tone in the original melody is in the eighth mode, interesting since it indicates that the chant was perceived as an eighth mode melody but does not exclude other modal possibilities. Servatius remarks that modes 1 and 8 may resemble each other in how the melodies are constructed, offering Kyrie VII as an example.³⁵⁶ *Maria, Maria* in this respect may be considered as a mix of two modes. If the melody had been constructed in full agreement with the principle that a chant ends on its finalis, a mode 8 melody should have ended on the finalis G or possibly on the tenor pitch C (unusual but possible), but not on D, as is the case if the version is sung as notated. In the reworking, a modal order is achieved by ending the antiphon on D, an octave lower than in the original version (the finalis for mode 1), and the psalm tone for mode 1. The melody moves in a lower range and ends in a lower register, making the melody considerably easier to sing. To judge from the psalm tone, the mode changed in the reworking from mode 2 to mode 1.

If Servatius' suggestion is correct that the original melody in reality was performed a fifth lower than notated from the word *antiqui*, starting on D instead of A, the chant in that case would have been performed as in music example 24. The modulation to mode 8 is made complete by ending the piece on the finalis G.³⁵⁷ Seen together with the psalm tone for mode eight discussed above, this is evidence for the transposition theory and creates a more singable melody, too.

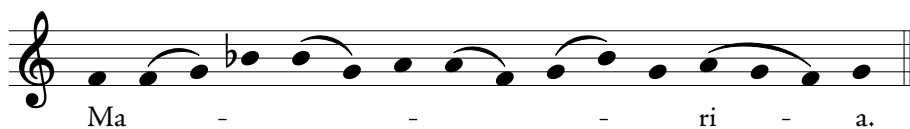
NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 118v

hos - tis an - ti - qui mil - le mil - len - is

frau - di - bus con - ser - va,

³⁵⁶ SERVATIUS: *Cantus sororum* 141–142.

³⁵⁷ This is a short summary of a longer discussion on this matter in SERVATIUS: *Cantus sororum* 141–143.



MUSIC EXAMPLE 24: End of antiphon *Maria, Maria* where the melody is transposed a fifth down from *antiqui*.

This solution, however, seems problematic after an examination of the sources over a longer period of time. A transposition in oral tradition seems an unlikely solution, given that the chant is transmitted consistently in chant books without any transposition from the earliest versions, extending all the way until the musical revision in the 19th century. There are no additions or any sign (for example, a vertical stroke or an asterisk) that the singers should notice that the chant from *antiqui* was to be performed at another pitch than notated. A transposition in my opinion should have been indicated somehow, somewhere, in any of the abbey's manuscripts – but there is no such sign in any books from Vadstena, Mariëntroon, Altomünster, or Mariënwater. And why was only one chant in all the Birgittine corpus subject to this procedure? Is it possible that a single chant in all the sources from at least four Birgittine abbey had been subject to an oral tradition of transposition over hundreds of years? In my opinion, this is a highly implausible scenario. Rather, the melody was performed just as in NL-UD: HS K:An 1, and the revision points to the fact that in the 19th century this melody was regarded so problematic as to require a thorough revision.

Though this analysis of *Maria, Maria* was intended to treat the revision in the 19th century, this chant is a sample of one of several features to be discussed in this book. *Maria, Maria* is a chant that can serve as a looking glass for the surrounding chantscape in which the Birgittine liturgy and its chants functioned; how Office and Mass repertoire within the Birgittines can be linked to each other musically; and how the Office repertoire created bridges within the Office – all of these with a point of departure in texts focusing on the Virgin Mary. Furthermore, this analysis is an example of how difficult it is to discuss the Cantus sororum chants with the categories *borrowed*, *adapted*, *unique*, and *new compositions*, since these characterisations ignore the fundamental ways in which plainchant lives. Thus, the intertextual viewpoint is important to consider so that we may, to a more sensitive extent, be aware of impulses from outside the Birgittine chant repertoire.

A third version of the Tuesday Lauds antiphon *Benedictus sis tu*

Earlier in this book, the Tuesday Lauds antiphon *Benedictus sis tu*, and its revision in the 17th century, has been discussed. This chant was also subject to revision. In

the 19th century, the melody was once more subject to revision, and this time the revised melody had less resemblance to the original than the previous revision. In music example 25, the three melodies, dating from sources ca. 1500 (melody A), ca. 1645 (melody B), and 1846 (melody C) are compared. Invariably, the psalm tone is mode 1 in all three versions but the melodies A and B move in a greater range that features characteristics of both modes 1 and 2. In particular, the recurring extension of the range down to a is a feature that adds a mode 2 character to melodies A and B, a feature we do not see in melody C. Melody C has the shortest range (a none ranging from C to D) of the three versions, the clearest conformity to mode 1, and clearly centred around tenor tone A. The shorter range, the many single step motions, and the clear conformity to mode 1 makes melody C the easiest to sing, particularly for a singer oriented towards modality and not tonality. It appears that one of the important reasons for the 19th-century revision was to restore modal clarity. The revision of this melody has resulted in a version that might be termed more than a version, and indeed can be called a new melody, which was incorporated into the Birgittine chantscape, as can be studied in music example 25.

Melody A: NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 49v

Be-ne - dic - tus sis tu, dig-nis-si-me

Melody B: NL-UD: HS K:An 8, no pagination

Be - ne - dic - tus sis tu, dig - nis - si-me

Melody C: NL-UD: HS K:An 24, p.

Be - ne - dic - tus sis tu, dig-nis - si-me

sa - - tor,

sa - - - - tor,

sa - - - - tor,

qui op - ti - mi fru - men - ti

qui op - ti - mi fru - men - ti

qui op - ti - mi fru - men - ti

gra-num op - ti - me ter - re

gra - num op - ti - me ter - re

gra-num op - ti - me ter - re

sanc-ti Spi - ri-tus ro - re ir - ri-gan-te

sanc - ti Spi - ri-tus ro - re ir - ri-gan-te

sanc-ti Spi - ri-tus ro - re ir - ri - gan - te

in - ser - u - is - ti,

in - ser - u - is - ti,

in - ser - u - is - ti,

quod mi - ra - bi - li - ter

quod mi - ra - bi - li - ter

quod mi - ra - bi - li - ter

mul - ti - pli - ca - tum est

mul - ti - pli - ca - tum est

mul - ti - pli - ca - tum est

This block contains three staves of musical notation for the phrase "mul - ti - pli - ca - tum est". Each staff features a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is composed of quarter and eighth notes, with various phrasing slurs. The lyrics are written below each staff, aligned with the notes.

mor - tu - um, quo re - fi - ci - un - tur

mor - tu - um, quo re - fi - ci - un - tur

mor - tu - um, quo re - fi - ci - un - tur

This block contains three staves of musical notation for the phrase "mor - tu - um, quo re - fi - ci - un - tur". Each staff features a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is composed of quarter and eighth notes, with various phrasing slurs. The lyrics are written below each staff, aligned with the notes.

an - ge - li,

an - ge - li,

an - ge - li,

This block contains three staves of musical notation for the phrase "an - ge - li,". Each staff features a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is composed of quarter and eighth notes, with various phrasing slurs. The lyrics are written below each staff, aligned with the notes.

quo re - vi-vi - scunt mor-tu - i, quo sa - nan - tur

quo re - vi-vi-scunt mor - tu - i, quo sa - nan-tur

quo re-vi-vi - scunt mor - tu - i, quo sa-nan-tur

eg - ro - ti, quo vi - vunt om - ni - a,

eg - ro - ti, quo vi - vunt om - ni - a,

eg - ro - ti, quo vi - vunt om - ni - a,

quo res - tau - ran - tur

quo res - tau - ran - tur

quo res - tau - ran - tur

u - - ni - ver - sa.

u - ni - ver - - sa.

u - ni - ver - - sa.

Benedictus

Benedictus

Benedictus

MUSIC EXAMPLE 25: Comparison of three versions of the Tuesday Benedictus antiphon *Benedictus sis tu* from NL-UD: HS K:An 8, no pagination, ca. 1645, in two versions, and NL-UD: HS K:An 24, p. 138, 1846. The antiphoner NL-UD: HS K:An 8 has both versions, melody 2 on a loose leaf pasted into the binding. * = only the first half of the psalm tone is indicated in this version; the finalis is taken from the original version in the same manuscript.

The revised antiphoner from 1881 and vespéral from 1883

Having examined the complete corpus of this extensive revision of the Cantus sororum, of which only a few examples could be discussed here, the question arises concerning who was responsible for this reform. Dating this revision precisely is an

even more complicated matter. A trace of both a person and a more precise dating might be found in an inscription in a processional dated 1651:

Dit boek is niet goed van nooten, daarom wordt het gebruikt van eene Zuster die den zang niet kent. De reden daarvan bestaat hierin, dat onze zang is gecorrigeerd en geregeld (door den EW Heer N.J. Janssen Priester) volgens den hechten ouden Gregoriaanschen zang in het jaar 1863 en dit boekje nog zoo sterk zijnde is het, in den geest van armoede nog bruikbaar voor zusters die den zang niet kennen.³⁵⁸

The notes in this book are not good, and so it is used by sisters who don't know the chant. The reason for this is that our chant has been corrected and ordered (by the honourable priest Mr. N. J. Janssen) following the genuine old Gregorian chant in the year 1863, and as this book is still so strong, in the spirit of poverty it is used by sisters who don't know the chant.



IMAGE 26: The inscription in the processional with the information that the priest Janssen was responsible for the corrections in the Birgittine sisters' chant. Source: NL-UD: HS K:Pr 10, no pagination, 1651.

This inscription tells us three things. Firstly, this book was in use for a very long time, from 1651 until after 1863, either in continuous use or with resumed use in

³⁵⁸ NL-UD: HS K:Pr 10 dated 1651.

the 19th century. Secondly, it points to the fact that unaltered books continued to be used alongside revised books, depending on how skilled the sisters were in reading music. Books with outdated melodies could be used by sisters who could not read music. But the really interesting information lies in the presentation of a name and a year; a certain “priester Janssen” and the year 1863. Ulla Sander Olsen already called attention to this inscription in 1977, but gave no further information about who priest Janssen was.³⁵⁹ My own attempts to trace Janssen in Marie Refuge documents have been fruitless, and the existence of priest Janssen has also been impossible to trace despite contact with the archive of diocese of s-Hertogenbosch, Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven, and the Katholiek Documentatie Centrum in the Netherlands. ‘Janssen’ is one of the most common family names in the Netherlands. We do not know who he was or how was he connected to the Birgittines in Uden, or even if he can be linked to the great revision of the chant in Maria Refuge and Maria Hart – and it is possible that the processional’s text refers to some other kind of revision. What the inscription tells us is that there was an awareness that revisions were undertaken and that this needed to be commented on, at least in this book. The processional contains the traditional processional repertoire discussed elsewhere in this study. Perhaps Janssen was in charge of a team working on the liturgy that eventually ended up in the prints from 1881 and 1883. I have earlier argued for the collaborative aspect of the Birgittine liturgy, especially in its fixation in the 1420s, which might also apply here. Another possibility is that melodies were reformed in various degrees by different individuals over a longer period, with end products in the printings of 1881 and 1883, and Janssen was responsible for compiling that material. Perhaps Janssen was not involved in the revision at all. We must not forget that the inscription is not found in an antiphoner but in a processional, which is a type of book that only figures to a very limited extent in this book. The remark might be intended merely for the processional repertoire, though this is in part the same as the Cantus sororum concerning the great responsories. The inscription further shows an awareness that Gregorian chant at this time was an ancient repertoire, that it could be subject to changes and that the idea of authenticity is embraced, much in line with the ideas of the restoration movement of Gregorian chant in this period. This shows an awareness of the Birgittine chantscape as a repertoire that moves in time and is thought of by the Birgittines in chronological terms.

A closer analysis of the revised chant melodies shows that a real strategy seems to be lacking. There is no consistency in which melodies were revised and to what degree the revision extended, with regard to factors such as modes, days of the week

³⁵⁹ U. SANDER OLSEN: *Et klosterbibliotek. Mariënwater. Ca. 1434 til 1713. Forsøg på en rekonstruktion*. Unpublished thesis. (Copenhagen 1977) 39.

in the *Cantus sororum*, length of chant, or genre. The revisions of melodies already found in the processional printed in 1856 indicate that the work was conducted over a longer period. The possibilities of how the revision was accomplished are numerous and the project was ambitious: over half of the corpus, about 100 melodies, was subject to some kind of reform. From what we know about how liturgies are altered and revised in other milieus, I suggest that it was work undertaken over a longer period, perhaps beginning in the 1840s when monastic life was fully restored in Maria Refugie. If so, it was a joint venture between community and an editor responsible for the revisions that were tested in choir before being codified in written notation. We have only one name here, the mysterious priest Janssen, but there is no reason to assume that the sisters were not involved in the project; perhaps both initiative and effort were due to the sisters. Until further documentation is found, the motivation and people behind the revised *Cantus sororum* in Maria Refugie and Maria Hart will remain unknown, though the result of the great revision is extremely interesting and revealing of the ideals and aesthetics of chant in the 19th century. The Birgittines were not alone in the enterprise of revising chant at that time; rather this was a trend in many milieus, most notably and significantly among the Benedictines in Solesmes but also, for example, among the Premonstratensians.³⁶⁰

Three examples of the revision

After having examined *Maria*, *Maria* and *Benedictus sis tu* in depth and looked at some possibilities for how and when the revision of the Birgittine chantscape was undertaken, another three chants will be briefly discussed to learn more about the revised repertoire. One hymn, one antiphon, and one responsorium breve have been selected to demonstrate different aspects of the revision.

Monday Lauds hymn *In throno deo* (music example 26) is a revision that is quite close to the revisions we have seen in the 17th and 18th centuries in that melismas are reduced, creating more syllabic melodic lines and respecting the accents of the text. The melismas are placed on accented syllables except for *super*, where the melisma is placed on the last and thus unstressed syllable. The second line of the revised melody begins with an upgoing movement, while the original melody moves in the opposite direction and continues in a lower range. The sudden leap upwards of a fourth on *re-* in *residiens* at the end of the first line followed by a descending third seems somewhat unexpected in the context of the revised melody, but the movement is deduced from the original melody where it is found

³⁶⁰ K. ELLIS: *The politics of plainchant in fin-de-siècle France* (Farnham 2013), BERGERON: *Decadent enchantments*, M.J.M. HOONDEERT: 'The "restoration" of plainchant in the Premonstratensian Order', in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 18:2 (2009) 141–161.

distributed on two syllables: *re-* and *si-* in the word *residens*. The revision of this hymn is a rather modest example, where the revised melody follows the contours of the original melody.

NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 33r
Antiphonale juxta, p. 74

In thro - no de - o prox - i - ma,
tu vir - go sac - ra re - si - dens,
sac - ra re - si - dens,
su - per cunc - ta pla - ca - bi - lem, te si - bi
su - per cunc - ta pla - ca - bi - lem, te si - bi thro -
num ex - hi - bens.
-num ex - hi - bens.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 26: Monday Lauds hymn *In throno Deo* in NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 33r, ca. 1500, and *Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis*, p. 74, 1881.

In throno Deo proximo tu, Virgo sacra, residens, super cuncta placabilem, te sibi thronum exhibens.

You in the throne next to God, Sacred Virgin, reside. It pleased Him to Grant you the throne there.

Saturday antiphon *Maria virgo assumpta* (music example 27) is another revised chant but here the strategy has instead been the opposite; to enrich the original melody with more melismas. In particular, its beginning on the first line has been subject to a colourful revision spanning a seventh, in contrary to the original melody's range of a fifth, ending this phrase on the tenor. The tenor is reached by an ascending fourth that gives a particular character to the melodic contour. This leap is again found on *thalamum* (chamber), which was adorned with a large melodic gesture emphasising this important word. The revised melody moves independently from the original version but still retains the modal features typical for mode 8, respecting the modal principles, particularly in how the melody moves between the finalis and tenor pitches G and C. This is further emphasised by the use of the traditional psalm tone for mode 8.

NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 115v

Ma - ri - a vir - go as - sump - ta est

Antiphonale juxta, p. 262

Ma - ri - a vir - go as - sump - ta est

ad e - the - re - um tha - la - mum,

ad e - the - re - um tha - la - mum,

in quo rex re - gum

in quo rex re - gum

stel-la - to se - det so - li - o. Addominum

stel-la - to se - det so - li - o. Addominum

MUSIC EXAMPLE 27: Saturday Prime antiphon *Maria virgo assumpta* in a comparative transcription from NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 115v, ca. 1500, and *Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis*, p. 262, 1881.

Maria Virgo assumpta est ad ethereum thalamum, in quo rex regum stellato sedet solio.

The Virgin Mary has arisen to the heavenly chamber where the King of Kings sits upon a starry throne.

The last example is the short responsory *Ad coronam letitie*, which is another mode 8 melody. Again, we can observe a melody that, in many respects, is independent from the original but follows the principles for mode 8. The biggest difference lies in the absence of doxology in NL-UD: HS K:An 1, not an unusual feature. Doxologies in short responsories are often lacking in the Uden sources in books from all periods, probably due more to eliminating space-consuming items that were easy to memorise rather than a shortening of the liturgy, just like the missing *Deo dicamus* in the *Benedicamus Domino* chants in Vadstena sources discussed earlier. But in the print from 1881 attention was paid to this item and thus it was included. Both versions are in mode 8, but the revised melody has an extended range including both pitches C and D making mode 8 conformity more evident. On the other hand, the original melody never moves above pitch H. Also in this revised version, the ascending fourth can be found with the words *letitie* and *Filio* (see red boxes). The comparison may best be summarised as versions that share the same mode but form it in different ways. The revised melody is a quite independent reworking of the original melody.

This ascending fourth deserves some further discussion since it has been mentioned several times. We have in fact already seen an example of this revising strategy in *Benedictus sis tu* on the words *quo vivunt* (see the red box in the music example 27) and another example can be seen in the next chapter in the antiphon *Lux perpetua* for Richard Reynolds. This is a non-mode specific motif that recurs in the revised repertoire of the 19th century, and might indicate a revision by an individual or group that embraced a musical style including a fondness for this gesture. However, this does not mean that the ascending fourth is totally absent from the original Cantus sororum repertoire. It may be found, for example, at the beginning of the hymn *Veni sancte spiritus* (in Cantus sororum sung with the text *Sponse jungendo*) and at the beginning of the short responsory *Ad coronam*, but cannot be said to be a distinct feature of the original Cantus sororum repertoire. What is typical in the revised repertoire is its sudden appearance within musical phrases. Another feature that becomes evident through these examples is that the revisions tend to respect the modal principles but move in lower ranges. Instead, revision strategies are again an example of how the chantscape undergoes thorough revisions concerning the melodic shape of the repertoire within a well-known frame, while remaining a recognisable part of the Birgittine chantscape.

NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 116v

Ad co - ro - nam le - ti - ci - e

NL-UD: HS K:An 28, p. 266

Ad co - ro - nam le - ti - ci - e

tri - um - pha - trix sub - le - va - tur.

tri - um - pha - trix sub - le - va - tur.

Le - vi - a - than - sup - plan - ta - tus

Le - vi - a - than sup - plan - ta - tus

tet - ro car - ce - ri man - ci - pa - tur.

tet - ro car - ce - ri man - ci - pa - tur.

Glo - ri - a Pat - ri et Fi - li - o

et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc - to.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 28: Saturday Sext responsorium breve *Ad coronam leticie* in a comparative transcription from NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 116v, ca. 1500, and *Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis*, p. 266, 1881. NL-UD: HS K:An 1 has no doxology.

Ad coronam leticie triumphatrix sublevatur. Leviathan supplantantus tetro carceri manipatur.

She who is victorious is raised to the crown of joy. Leviathan is left defeated in a foul prison.



IMAGE 27: Saturday Sext responsorium breve *Ad coronam leticie* in *Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis. SS. Salvatoris vulgo S. Birgittae*, pp. 266–267, 1881. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.

New modes for new needs?

It wasn't only chants that were revised. In the 19th century, a new way of thinking about modality was also introduced with an extended numbering of the eight-mode system. The eight modes were now expanded up to mode 14. My attempts to investigate the origin or ideas behind this system have been fruitless and the topic has not been observed by other scholars. The processional printed in 1856 is where we find the first dating of a new way of designating the modes.



IMAGE 28: Antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater* with mode 13 designation from *Processionale Birgittanum, seu Ordinis St. Salvatoris. Sanctimonialium S. Marie Refugii, Udæ*, printed in Maria Hart in 1856, pp. 64–65. The melody is the traditional one, more commonly designated mode 5. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.

What can safely be stated is that this system is a new way of naming modes in D and F. In some cases, the new modal designations may be used in transposed melodies but are not limited to this use. This reworking of the modal landscape does not mean that the traditional eight modes were not used, only that certain chants in these modes have new designations. A systematic investigation of the modes provides the following picture:

- ♦ Mode 9 can be used for designating mode 1.
- ♦ Mode 10 can be used for designating mode 2 (sometimes transposed to A).
- ♦ Modes 11 and 12 are never used.
- ♦ Mode 13 can be used for designating mode 5 (often transposed to C).
- ♦ Mode 14 can be used for designating mode 6.

This means that in reality there are four ways of designating chants in D and F-modes: modes 1, 2, 9, and 10 in D, modes 5, 6, 13, and 14 in F; while the traditional modes in E and G were retained. A total of 12 modes were now used, omitting modes 11 and 12. What is extremely interesting is that the new designations were primarily applied to original melodies that had lasted for centuries of Birgittine history in unaltered form with tradition modal designations. Yet, this use was not exclusive since melodies revised in the 19th century were also assigned these new

modes. Antiphons and *Benedicamus Domino* tropes are the predominant chant genres with new modal designations, but also short responsories, hymns (*Trina celi hierarchia* and *Celestis erat curia*), and one great responsory (*Palluerunt pie matris*) have new modal designations. Only Office chants, not Mass chants, were subject to this procedure. This new modal concept was apparently important to stress, since in many cases period 3 books with revised melodies, added by a second scribe and subsequently used in the 19th century, have these new modes assigned. In particular, NL-UD: HS K:An 18 from 1736 is an excellent source for examining the new modal strategy. Just like the revision of the Birgittine Office repertoire, it has not been possible to establish where this new modal system arose, whether it was an invention from within Maria Refugie and/or Maria Hart. To my knowledge no counterpart to this procedure has ever been found outside the Birgittine Order. What is notable is that it appears at the same time as the repertoire undergoes an enormous revision.

Pustet's print for Altomünster, 1860

Altomünster also acquired printed books for their liturgy at about the same time as Maria Refugie. This came about in a different way than for their Dutch sisters. Altomünster's *Cantus sororum* was printed with the help of the renowned printer Pustet in Regensburg, not far from Altomünster. At this time, Pustet was a very prestigious printer, holder of the Papal approbation for printing official books for the Roman Catholic Church, a monopoly they retained until 1901. In the late 19th century, they battled the Benedictine project of the Solesmes editions; one major disagreement concerned the rhythmic interpretations of the melodies.³⁶¹ Pustet published a processional for the sisters in 1860 and an antiphoner in 1861.³⁶² Who commissioned and paid for the Pustet printing is not known.³⁶³ An inscription on the inside of the front cover of the book shows that this print was based on the Altomünster manuscript D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 4, dated 1480, as well as a manuscript that, according to an older catalogue, is numbered 2, as stated on the inside of the front cover of the book: *Nach diesem Manuscripte u. Nr 2 wurde die Correctur des im Jahre bei F. Pustet in Regensburg gedruckten Antiphonariums vorgenommen*. Whether manuscript number 2 refers to what today is designated Altomünster manuscript D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 2, also dated 1480, is not clear.

³⁶¹ BERGERON: *Decadent enchantments* 130, ELLIS: *The politics of plainchant* especially pp. 69–85.

³⁶² *Processionale Ordinis SS.Salvatoris seu S. Birgittiae in Monasterio S. Altonis*. Ratisbonae/Regensburg. Pustet 1860; *Antiphonarium Ordinis SS.Salvatoris seu S. Birgittiae in Monasterio S. Altonis*. Regensburg. Pustet, 1861.

³⁶³ Attempts to contact the Pustet printing house with the question of whether there is an archive with information on this matter have remained unsuccessful.

If Maria Hart based the printings on a revised liturgy, Pustet chose a totally different solution. His edition was based on the earliest known documents from Altomünster, in keeping with how chant restoration was generally conducted during the 19th century, where the oldest documents were supposed to transmit the most authentic and thus true version.³⁶⁴ In this respect, the revision in Maria Hart and Maria Refugie was an exception. An examination of the repertoire in the Pustet edition shows that the melodies from the Altomünster antiphoner(s) from 1480 were faithfully reproduced without any revision, in line with how Altomünster earlier retained original melodies, and in contrast to the more creative activity in Maria Refugie and later Maria Hart.

Physically, the Pustet printing also differs in many aspects from the books printed at Maria Hart. Pustet achieved a more professional product with better typesetting. The editions use square notation with dissolved ligatures on five-staff systems using a G-clef. This is in contrast to the persistent use of C and F clefs on four-staff systems in Maria Refugie and Maria Hart.

Earlier in this chapter, the diminished observance of the Office and Mass liturgy in Maria Refugie and Maria Hart was documented. The same situation seems to have been true in Altomünster, where the most interesting aspect of printing from 1861 is the drastically revised Office liturgy, resulting in fewer liturgical items. Matins especially seems to have been considerably shortened through the omission of invitatories, antiphons, and great responsories. More specifically, a more limited use of great responsories in Matins can be observed. On the other hand, the remaining great responsories are often prescribed for specific Marian feasts, just as we have seen earlier in Maria Refugie and Maria Hart. Lauds are only found on Sunday. Thursday often seems to have been skipped but the question is whether such an important service as Lauds was not observed in practice. Unusually, the sisters' special introduction of their Offices *Dignare me laudare te* is included at the beginning of Sunday Matins and Compline. This responsorial moment performed together by the horista and the community is known from the earliest written sources but never with music. This source is the only notated evidence to this Birgittine use I have found; sources are not even found in books which I consider having a normative content, for example NL-DHk: 71 A 21. It is only known from sources with text; the question is from where Pustet acquired this responsory, since it is not included in the source(s) the sisters used.³⁶⁵ An overview of content in the Pustet printing is shown in table 9.

³⁶⁴ See BERGERON: *Decadent enchantments* for an extended discussion of this matter.

³⁶⁵ See, for example, LUNDÉN: *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis* 2 and R. GEETE (ed.): *Jungfru Marie örtagård. Vadstenanunnornas veckoritual i svensk översättning från år 1510* (Stockholm 1895–1897) 209.

SUNDAY

Complete Office liturgy. Hymns for all little hours.

MONDAY

Matins: Only first great responsory *Summe trinitati* (also used for St Michael) and third great responsory *Maria summe trinitatis*.

No Lauds.

TUESDAY

Matins: Only the third great responsory *Christi virgo dilectissima*. Also used for Annuntiatio B.M.V. and Visitatio B.M.V.

No Lauds.

WEDNESDAY

Matins: First great responsory *Beata mater Anna*, and third great responsory *Solem justitie regem*. *Beata mater Anna* is also used for St Anna and *Solem justitie* for Nativitas Marie and Presentatio B.M.V.

No Lauds.

THURSDAY

Matins: First great responsory *Sancta et immaculata*, second great responsory *Videte miraculum*, and third great responsory *Felix namque es*, also used for the eve before Epiphany. *Sancta et immaculata* also used for Circumcision. *Videte miraculum* also used for Christmas Eve. *Felix namque es* also used for the eve before Epiphany.

Lauds.

No hymn in Terce, Sext, and None.

FRIDAY

Matins: Third great responsory *Palluerunt pie matri* in Matins, also used for *Septem dolores*.

No Lauds.

SATURDAY

Matins: Third great responsory *Super salutem*, also used for Marie Assumptio.

No Lauds.

TABLE 9: Overview of the most important content in *Antiphonarium Ordinis SS. Salvatoris seu S. Birgittiae in Monasterio S. Altonis* Regensburg, Pustet 1861. This table can be compared to Appendix 3, listing the traditional Birgittine liturgy.

Table 9 describes what is found in Pustet's edition of 1861. If the book reflects the actual liturgical use of the Cantus sororum in Altomünster in the mid-19th century, the situation may be summarised as follows: Only Sunday and Thursday Offices are complete with all hours and chants. The invitatory is only sung on Sunday and Thursday, then complete with Psalm 94 *Venite*. Likewise, Lauds is only observed on Sunday and Thursday. The hymn for the little hours is only

sung at Prime, except for Sundays when all little hours include the hymn.³⁶⁶ Vespers and Compline are intact. Matins has been considerably shortened since only a few great responsories have been retained on five days: Monday has only the first and third; Tuesday only the third; Wednesday the first and third; Friday only the third; Saturday again only the third. The second great responsory is omitted on most days. If the Pustet edition does not reflect practice, another explanation is that chants were included from other days in order to make days other than Sunday and Thursday complete. But again, the theological and spiritual idea behind the *Cantus sororum* is lost when no unique items for the actual days are used, and it is not possible to say which option is most likely. Additionally, we also do not know if the reading of *Sermo angelicus* in Matins was suppressed, which would also diminish the spiritual content as well as the link to Birgitta's authority and her memory. Why Sunday and Thursday have complete liturgies is difficult to discern. Sunday is an important day in the liturgical calendar; Thursday is the day in the *Cantus sororum* when the Birgittines celebrate the birth of Christ – but actually all days in the *Cantus sororum* are important in that they constitute a greater unity whereby individual days give meaning in relation to each other. The liturgical use of the great responsories was more varied. The Pustet printing shows a resemblance to the antiphoner written by hand in Weert in 1851 in its use of great responsories for certain Marian feasts. The great responsories that were chosen for this purpose are most often the third, followed by the first. Since the double abbey in Altomünster was dissolved in 1803, there is reason to believe that such was the Altomünster Birgittines' way of varying their Office liturgy after the dissolution and departure of the brothers. The two Pustet printings examined for this study have corrections of pitches in many chants. One such example may be seen in image 29, where the Saturday Vespers antiphon *Jam letaris* has corrections due to mistakes in printing: the melody was printed a third too low in the *jubilet omnis*. Perhaps mistakes were made because this book was set by people outside the Order. We know nothing about the proofreading process, and the whole issue concerning printed books both in Maria Hart and by Pustet needs further investigation by book historians and authorities on print.

³⁶⁶ This use is problematic to establish from the Pustet print. Since the hymn for the little hours is the same in *Cantus sororum*, it is traditionally only stated in Prime.

99

Sabbato ad Vesperas.

Antiphona. (Seignell 57)

Jam lætāris Dómi-na no-stra in his,
 quæ di-cta ti-bi sunt: in grés sa es do-mum Dó mini ge stans
 co-ró nam ho nó ris æ-tér ni, cum An ge lis í gi-tur læ tán-
 ti - bus De o jú bi - let om nis ter ra. **Ps.** Be ne dí etus Dó-
 mi nus De us me us, qui do eet ma nus meas ad próe li um,
 et dí gi tos me os ad bel lum. **Hym-nus.** *f. final d.*
 O quam glo ri - fi - ca
 lu ce co-rú seas stir pis Da ví di cæ ré gi a pro les, sub lí mis
 ré si dens Vir go Ma ri - a su - pra cæ lí ge nas æ the ris om nes.
 13*

IMAGE 29: Saturday Vespers antiphon *Jam letaris* from *Antiphonarium ordinis SS. Salvatoris seu S. Birgittinae in monasterio S. Altonis* from 1860, p. 99. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.

Conclusion and summary

This chapter has treated the limited production of graduals during the 19th century at Maria Refugie as a possible sign of a more limited Mass observance. The

foundation of Maria Hart in 1843, the first foundation from Maria Refugie since the 15th century, was an important step not only for the life of the Birgittine Order but also because it established a workshop for printing books in the mid-19th century. The Altomünster liturgy was printed in the same century but by the professional printer Pustet in Regensburg. For the first time the Birgittines had taken a step into the era of printed liturgical books.

While Altomünster continued with an unrevised Office chant repertoire, Maria Refugie and Maria Hart carried out a thorough revision of the melodies. In that respect, Altomünster retained the original Birgittine chantscape while the Dutch sisters modified it. On the other hand, Altomünster seems to have abbreviated their Office liturgy to a considerable extent. How this carried over into practice is not known.

The thorough revision of the Birgittine chantscape reflected in the prints from 1881 and 1883 was subject to an analysis of five chants. It has not been possible to trace the individual or people responsible for this reworking, but a number of alternatives have been considered. The analysis is an attempt to examine stylistic features in the Birgittine repertoire, hence its particular chantscape without reference to a specific authority (like Magister Petrus or Birgitta), that has seldom been conducted in Birgittine scholarship. This discussion both harks back to strategies found in the earlier periods as well as entirely new creations. Furthermore, an enigmatic extension of the modal scheme (up to 14 modes) in the printings containing the revised melodies from Maria Hart was discussed. The question of its meaning remains unresolved. The transformative strategies both in book production and musical content continue in other words during period 4, now with far-reaching consequences for the Office repertoire.

CHAPTER 7

1883–1962:

Restoration and revival in the Birgittine chantscape



THE YEAR 1883, the starting point for this chapter, is the first year the Birgittines in Maria Refugie and Maria Hart were able to use printed material for their Office liturgy with the revised melodies, made possible through their antiphoner printed in 1881 and the vespéral printed in 1883. The chapter will end in 1962, just before the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) began. It covers a period a little less than 100 years that witness additions and reworkings of the liturgy of a kind different to those we have previously seen. The overall theme of this chapter is the reconfiguration of the Birgittine chantscape, including going back in time, and an updated liturgy in line with what would follow after the Second Vatican Council in general in the Catholic Church. The liturgy that is used at the start of this chapter is a heavily revised Office repertoire, transmitted in the Birgittine printed books and a suppressed Mass observance. The Mass would partly be restored back to the original form of Birgittine sisters' Mass observance in the 1940s, and the Office repertoire was restored in the 1950s. In the latter case, the restoration was made using the earliest, unaltered antiphoner from Uden: the now well-known antiphoner-gradual NL-UD: HS K:An 1 from ca. 1500 that has been used for many of the transcriptions in this book. The restoration of the Office repertoire was made in accordance with the many restoration movements that were in flux at this time. For the first time, the reconfiguration does not involve a move forward with newly-created revisions but rather revisions aiming to restore an earlier Birgittine chantscape to strengthen the Birgittine identity.

This chapter consists of three sections. The first concerns newly-created suffrages for three newly beatified Birgittines, in 1886 and 1920. The second section relates the development between 1943 and 1946 when Maria Refugie struggled to return their Mass liturgy to an older Birgittine use, as reflected in the period 2 books under the lead of priest and chant scholar Joesph Smits van Waesberghe. The third section discusses a restored *Cantus sororum*, based on material from period 1, published in 1957. This work was conducted by Nicolaas de Goede, likewise a priest and chant scholar. Similar to efforts with the Birgittine Mass liturgy in the 1940s, the aim of this restoration was to create a more authentic Birgittine liturgical life corresponding with the liturgy during period 1.

Along with their work on liturgy, the physical environment of the sisters is also to be considered. At the end of the 19th century, the sisters had to find a solution to the problem that their abbey buildings still were owned by the Dutch state, ever since the confiscation by Napoleon. In 1896, Maria Refugie bought the property from the Dutch state and restoration work began, lasting until 1907. Renovations were undertaken during the fashion for neo-gothic style, resulting in a building much the same as the visitor sees it today.³⁶⁷ The restoration of the Birgittine chantscape would thus take place in a partially physically different location than where they had been singing and praying since 1713.

New and reused antiphons for beatified Birgittines

After the revision described in the previous chapter, *Cantus sororum* again needed additions, since new saints were introduced into the Birgittine liturgy. For centuries, the Birgittine Order had only one canonised saint in Birgitta, and one beatified – Birgitta's daughter Katherina. But in 1886 and 1920 beatifications occurred for three Birgittines, which required the additions of antiphons and prayers in the form of suffrages in the Office liturgy for the beatified: Richard Reynolds in 1886, and Anne Marie Erraux and Marie Françoise Lacroix in 1920. I have not been able to trace the impetus for these beatifications.

Richard Reynolds's beatification in 1886

The Birgittine priest Richard Reynolds (ca. 1492–1535) fell victim to the English Reformation along with three Carthusians, who were executed on May 4, 1535, which also became their feast day.³⁶⁸ From the day of the beatification, the Dutch Birgittines venerated Reynolds with a suffrage, including the antiphon *Lux perpetua lucebit*, as can be established from loose leaves. There is no sign of veneration in Maria Refugie before 1886. The loose leaves were printed in the same manner as the printings from 1881 and 1883, and inserted into both printed and handwritten antiphoners. These insertions into older books are another sign of the long use of the liturgical books in Maria Refugie. Image 30 shows NL-UD: HS K:An 18 written in 1736, with an insertion of the suffrage for Reynolds. This book was thus used for at least 150 years.

³⁶⁷ VAN LIEBERGEN: 'De abdijen Mariënwater en Maria Refugie' 52–54.

³⁶⁸ In 1970, Reynolds was canonized as one of the 40 martyrs of England and Wales. Reynolds' activities are described in JONES: *England's Last Medieval Monastery* 44–47.



IMAGE 30: Antiphon *Lux perpetua lucebit* with suffrage for Richard Reynolds. The page has been inserted at the end of Matins but was used at Lauds. On the next page in the book the antiphon for Marie Françoise Lacroix and Anne Marie Erraux follows. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 18, no pagination, 1736.

The text of *Lux perpetua lucebit* is well-known since the Middle Ages, used both as antiphon and in responsories in the proper of saints, usually but not exclusively for martyrs. In medieval Sweden, for example, it was used in Linköping diocese where it is found in the *Breviarium Lincopense* printed in 1483 (without notation), used as a suffrage antiphon in the commune sanctorum in Vespers on the first Sunday after Easter.³⁶⁹ A more direct link to the Birgittines is S-Uu: C 450, a breviary for the Birgittine brothers in Vadstena, written between 1486 and 1511, where *Lux perpetua lucebit* is used as a suffrage but without rubric.³⁷⁰

The melody for Reynolds has not been traceable in the sources from Maria Refugie. It was not borrowed from any other previous melody in the Cantus sororum and might possibly have been composed especially for the occasion in Maria Refugie or Maria Hart.³⁷¹ A musical justification for this assumption is that it is stylistically similar to the revised chants discussed in the previous chapter. It moves

³⁶⁹ PETERS: *Breviarium Lincopense* II:2, 387.

³⁷⁰ PETERS: *Breviarium Lincopense* II:2, 387; S-Uu: C 450 *Antiphonarium ad usum fratrum monasterii Vastenensis*, fol. 30v, written 1484–1511. S-Uu: C 450 contains only the incipit of the melody and is very different from the beginning of the version in Maria Refugie.

³⁷¹ Cantus database <http://cantusindex.org/melody> Accessed 28 February 2022.

in a D-mode low range and contains an ascending fourth in the form of a two-note melisma on a single syllable on the word *lucebit*, see red box. These two features were highlighted as possible indicators of stylistic choices in the revised repertoire.

NL-Uden K:An 25, no pagination

Lux per - pe - tu - a lu - ce - bit San - ctis tu - is,

Do - mi - ne, et ae - ter - ni - tas tem - po - rum,

al - le - lu - ja.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 29: Transcription of the antiphon *Lux perpetua lucebit* for the Birgittine martyr Richard Reynolds from NL-UD: HS K:An 25, after 1881, no pagination.

Lux perpetua lucebit
sanctis tuis Domine, alleluia, et aeternitas temporum alleluia.

Eternal light will shine
over your saints O Lord, alleluia, and the eternity of times, alleluia.

The complete suffrage reads:

V. Sancti et iusti in Domino Gaudete, alleluia
R. Vos elegit Deus in hereditatem sibi, alleluia.

V. *Saints* and the just, rejoice in the Lord, alleluia
R. The Lord had chosen you for his inheritance, alleluia.

The mode is specified as mode 1 in the manuscripts but shares features of both modes 1 and 2. Evidence for this is that the melody moves in a short range from C to A with frequent use of the pitch F, which is the tenor for mode 2. On the other hand, the word *et* (see the red box no. 2 in music example 29) begins with an ascending fifth, the most typical feature of mode 1.

The absence of signs of veneration for Richard Reynolds before his beatification in 1886 is both interesting and slightly odd. Reynolds's memory must somehow have been maintained between the 16th and late 19th century. Or was it the

beatification itself that spurred his cult? Perhaps his memory was maintained before his beatification in 1886 in ways other than codified liturgy.³⁷² The English Birgittines performed a regular commemoration of Reynolds, since they remembered Reynolds in an antiphon, response, and prayer before the antiphon to the Virgin Mary and Birgitta at Lauds and Vespers. This used a different antiphon than in Maria Refugie and Maria Hart: *Hec vir de natura angelica*.³⁷³ This antiphon and its place in the Birgittine cult remains unexplored in Birgittine scholarship.

The beatification of Anne Marie Erraux and Marie Françoise Lacroix in 1920

In 1920, two French Birgittines were beatified: Sister Anne Marie Erraux and Sister Marie Françoise Lacroix. They both belonged to the Birgittine abbey Notre Dame de Charité/Maria Caritas in Valenciennes, founded in 1618 and dissolved in 1792. When this abbey was closed, they entered the Ursuline community but were arrested together with the Ursulines and guillotined as traitors on 23 October 1794. Just like Reynolds, they were martyred alongside religious people from another order.³⁷⁴

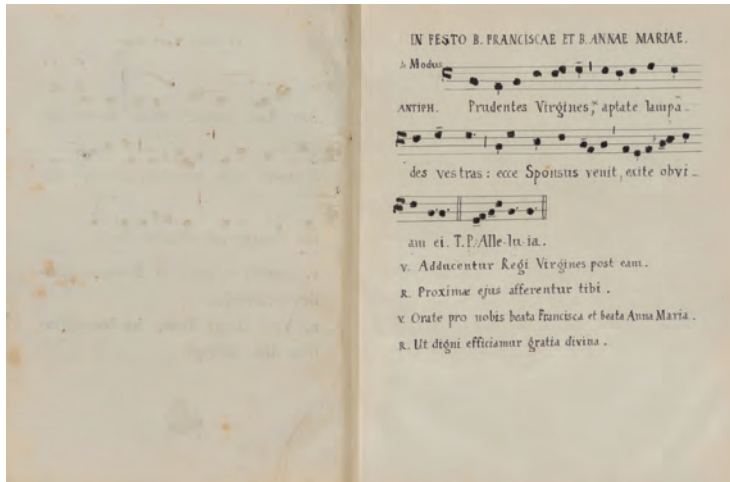


IMAGE 31: Antiphon *Prudentes virgines* for the Birgittine martyrs Anne Marie Erraux and Marie Françoise Lacroix. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 26, no pagination, late 19th century.

³⁷² Reynold's memory was maintained among the Syon Abbey Birgittines in a most concrete way. During their diaspora on the continent before returning to England in 1866, they carried with them "a piece of the stone column from the gatehouse of Syon Abbey on which parts of Reynolds' body was displayed" which was venerated as a relic. JONES: *England's Last Medieval Monastery* 46. This stone is displayed today at the Church of the Blessed Sacrament in Heavitree, Exeter, UK.

³⁷³ Email correspondence, Harry Schnitker 12–13 December 2019. I have not been able to examine any melody for this antiphon.

³⁷⁴ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 280.

NL-UD: HS K:An 26, no pagination

Pru-den-tes Vir-gi - nes, ap - ta - te lam - pa - des Ves-tras:

ec - ce Spon-sus ve - nit, ex - i - te ob - vi - am e - i.

T.P.Al - le - lu - ia.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 30: Transcription of the antiphon *Prudentes virgines* for the Birgittine martyrs Anne Marie Erraux and Marie Françoise Lacroix from NL-UD: HS K:An 26, no pagination, after 1881. The preceding page has the suffrage for Richard Reynolds.

Prudentes virgines, aptate lampades vestras, ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam ei.
Alleluja.

Prudent virgins carrying your lamps, behold the bridegroom arrives. Come out to meet him. Alleluia.

Resemblances to the antiphon for Erraux and Lacroix are easy to find in contrast to *Lux perpetua lucebit*; it is taken from the common of virgins, and both melody and text have widespread dissemination. The melody in mode 4 is transposed a fourth higher. As with the antiphon for Reynolds, the text could also be used for responsories. The complete suffrage reads:

- V. Adducentur regi virgines post eam.
- R. Proxime ejus afferentur tibi.
- V. Orate pro nobis beata Francisca et beata Anna Maria.
- R. Ut digni efficiamur gratia divina.
- V. After her virgins will be led to the king.
- V. Her neighbours will be brought to you.
- V. Pray for us Saint Francisca and Saint Anna Maria.
- V. So that we may be worthy of divine grace.

Prayer: Da nobis, quesumus, Domine Deus noster, beatorum virginum et martyrum Franciscae et Anne Marie palmas incessabili devotione venerari ut, quas digna mente non

possumus celebrare, humilibus saltem frequentemus obsequiis, per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, etc.³⁷⁵

Grant us, we beseech Thee, O Lord our God, to venerate the palms of the blessed virgins and martyrs Françoise and Anne Marie with incessant devotion, that we may attend at least the humble services which we cannot celebrate with worthy mind, through our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

This antiphon also may be used as evidence for the extended use of books in Maria Refugie. A handwritten addition to this suffrage is found inserted in NL-UD: HS K:An 20 from around 1740; see image 32. If we assume that *Prudentes virgines* was inserted in 1920 at the earliest, this book was in use for at least 180 years.

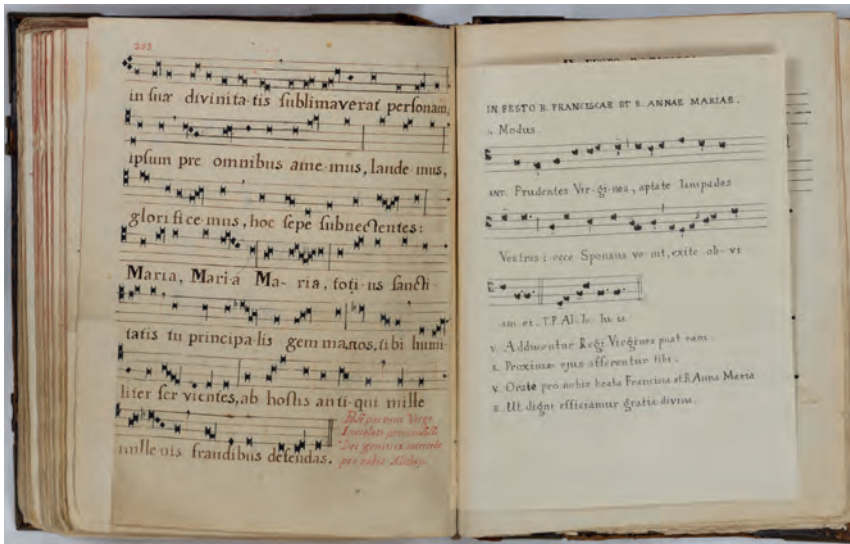


IMAGE 32: Antiphon *Prudentes virgins*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 20, no pagination, ca. 1740.

The suffrages resulting from the beatification of Reynolds, Erraux, and Lacroix are yet another demonstration of how the Birgittine liturgy continued to develop, even in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It once again shows how the Birgittines continued to work with and adapt to new liturgical circumstances, and demonstrates the energy invested in this endeavour. It may be noticed that the Birgittines did not choose to link these new beatifications to the existing chantscape, something which might have been done using some of the techniques demonstrated earlier: by use of the Birgittine pitch group, by association with the Maria-theme, by re-using an antiphon from the *Cantus sororum*, or by supplying some sort of bridge to the Mass chants. However, if *Lux perpetua lucebit* was an in-house prod-

³⁷⁵ Prayer taken from a loose-leaf print in the file *Kerk en erediens*, Maria Refugie, undated. The prayer was not inserted into the antiphoner but here supplemented from another source.

uct, it has a direct link to the new Birgittine chantscape with the emblematic rising fourth that was created in the reworkings of the 18th century.

The search for a lost Birgittine identity?

Until now we have discussed many novelties, such as printed books with revised melodies or newly-introduced antiphons for beatified Birgittines. But the beginning of the 20th century also saw a movement in the community to revert to older practices. In 1913, the title of Abbess was reintroduced on the occasion of the 200th centenary of Maria Refugie, and in 1927 a new edition of the Birgittine Rule and constitutions was printed. In the same year, the distinctive Birgittine habit was changed back to grey, and crown and veil were made to conform to the oldest prescriptions.³⁷⁶ These outer, physical attributes were preceded by an awareness that Mass observance was in decline, as reflected in a document from 1905 that is a rescript by a certain Benedictine abbot Bergh.³⁷⁷ The background is that the sisters' daily Mass, then referred to as the conventual Mass, seems to have suffered a limited observance during the 19th century, as mentioned earlier. This was reflected in the absence of newly-written graduals and a total lack of printed graduals for the Birgittines. At the beginning of the 20th century, the situation seems to have been experienced as unsatisfactory and in need of remediation by those who were occupied by the Birgittine liturgy. The rescript describes the result of an effort to restore the Birgittine liturgical life to some degree. Its title reads: *The rescript concerning the Bridgettine privilege of a daily votive Mass of Our Blessed Lady, confirmed 23 December 1905. Explanation by Abbot Bergh O.S.B.* The text is written in English, which is odd since all other documents are in Dutch, but it might have been intended especially for Syon Abbey. It could have been spurred by the Papal Motu proprio *Tra Le Sollecitudini* from 1903, which was an important impetus in the restoration movement of Gregorian chant.³⁷⁸ Nevertheless, this document offers the account of a privilege for observing Masses in the Birgittine Order according to different seasons, feasts, and days during the liturgical year. The privilege permits one daily Mass taken from the Roman Missal to be spoken or sung. Marian Masses may "only be celebrated when the Rubrics allow of them". The rescript concludes that:

The Mass of Our Blessed Lady [by which probably is meant *Salve sancta parens*] is not to be obligation [sic!], and may be omitted in favour of the Mass assigned to the Calendar, or (for sufficient reason) in favour of other Votive Masses on days on which

³⁷⁶ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 221–222.

³⁷⁷ Undated copy of the explanation of privileges written by Abbot Bergh O.S.B in the file *Kerk en eredienst*, Maria Refugie. Who Abbot Bergh was has not been possible to determine.

³⁷⁸ HOLY SEE, THE: *Motu proprio Tra le sollecitudini* Accessed 12 January 2023. However, this process had already been initiated in the middle of the 19th century by the Benedictines in Solesmes; see further BERGERON 1998.

such are permitted, or even in favour of a Mass for the Dead when such is allowable. Nevertheless, since the Office recited in the Bridgettine [sic!] Choir is at all times “De Beata Maria Virgine”, it is fitting that the Conventual Mass should, as far as possible, correspond with the same Office.³⁷⁹

The document, in other words, says that one Mass a day from the Roman Missal is to be observed but that the special Marian character in the Birgittine Office should be respected and also be reflected in the Mass observance. If the Mass celebration was in decline at this time, this step would have helped to restore a richer liturgical life with Birgittine features. The double Mass observance in keeping with the Birgittine greater liturgy is not mentioned and was probably not practised. It may be noted that the *Salve sancta parens* Mass is nowhere explicitly mentioned, which is why its place among other Marian Masses in the rescript is uncertain.

To what extent this rescript was followed we do not know, but in a few decades it will be followed by a wish to restore the liturgy. We shall now move to the 1940s and 1950s and examine documents reporting Birgittine efforts to transform their liturgy to a practice that was considered more authentic and truer to the Birgittine identity.

Liturgical restoration in the 1940s and 1950s: back to the sources!

Maria Refuge's abbey library houses an informative collection of letters dating to the years 1943–1946. These letters shed light on circumstances surrounding liturgical life in the abbey, traceable about a 100 years back in time. Their main concern is the struggle in the 1940s to obtain the bishop's approbation for a restoration of the Birgittine Mass liturgy.

The situation at the beginning of the 20th century reflected an increased Birgittine awareness of the importance of a regular Mass observation. The interest in restoring and enhancing liturgical observance is an important issue in many milieus in Western Christianity of this time. Solesmes' influential work in reconstructing a medieval chant repertoire for contemporary use in the Roman Catholic Church was in full swing.³⁸⁰ Again, we see how the Birgittines responded to more general liturgical trends. There is no documentation about what transpired after Bergh's rescript of 1905 up until the 1940s, but the situation would develop into serious discussions between the community in Maria Refuge and the bishop in 's-Hertogenbosch. An increased emphasis on the original Birgittine Mass observance using Birgittine sources became an important topic. The development of the arguments can be followed through partly preserved correspondence conducted

³⁷⁹ Undated copy of the explanation of privileges written by Abbot Bergh O.S.B in the file *Kerk en eredienst*, Maria Refuge.

³⁸⁰ Examples of studies on this are BERGERON: *Decadent enchantments*, and ELLIS: *The politics of plainchant*.

from September 1943 until December 1946, and most intense during the years 1943–44. No letters have been preserved from 1945.

The letters we shall now examine were exchanged among the following people:

- ♦ between the Jesuit chant scholar Joseph Smits van Waesberghe and the community (the rector Abbess Cecilia Gommans and Sister Margareta)
- ♦ between Smits van Waesberghe and the priest August Rottier
- ♦ between Smits van Waesberghe and Bishop Mutsaerts in 's-Hertogenbosch (partly through the bishop's secretary van Susante).

The correspondence survives both in original letters and copies of them, all preserved in Uden. The majority of letters were exchanged between van Waesberghe and Rottier. Not only is the correspondence incomplete, but neither do all letters provide a clear sender or recipient. Apart from issues concerning the liturgy, the ongoing World War II is occasionally mentioned in connection with problems related to travelling. Content has, in a few cases, been determinant in deciding to and from whom the letters were sent.

Joseph Smits van Waesberghe (1901–1986) was based in Amsterdam and worked closely with the community in Uden, serving as their singing teacher. Judging from the letters, he seems to have been the driving force behind the Birgittine efforts concerning the Mass liturgy. He published extensively on liturgy and chant throughout his life. August Rottier (1888–1953) was a priest, once a missionary in Norway from 1924 until 1937/38. Rottier lived in Voorburg, close to The Hague, and at the time of the correspondence was director of the St. Ans-gaarsgenootschap.³⁸¹ In 1943, he published a book on Maria Refugie's daughter foundation Maria Hart in Weert, referred to earlier in this book.³⁸² By the time of his death, Rottier had prepared an unpublished manuscript in which he described the history of the Birgittine Order. He also copied and extended a list of the manuscripts to be found in Uden, originally compiled by Pater H. Linnebank in 1918.³⁸³ Sister Margareta was a Birgittine sister, first in Maria Refugie and, from 1963, in Vadstena at the time when sisters from Maria Refugie arrived to take over the convent there, which had reopened in 1935 as part of the Hesselblad branch.³⁸⁴ She was one of the sisters in charge of singing in Maria Refugie where she "used to give

³⁸¹ *Den katolske kirke* <http://www.katolsk.no/biografier/innenriks/arottier> Accessed 18 May 2021.

³⁸² ROTTIER: *Maria-Hart te Weert*.

³⁸³ M.L. DE KREEK: 'De bibliotheek van "Mariënwater/Maria Refugie"' in *Birgitta van Zweden 1303–1373. 600 jaar kunst en cultuur*, Exhibition catalogue (Uden 1986) 42–56 at 44–45. SANDER OLSEN: *Biblioteca Birgittina* 16.

³⁸⁴ NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 222. The Hesselblad branch is a reformed Birgittine branch from 1911. They do not use the *Cantus sororum* but the Roman Breviary. See further AF JOHNICK ÖSTBORN: "För Sverige har jag skänkt Gud mitt liv!" 61–62.

the tone using some sort of wind instrument which proved to be a child's toy but it had a clear tone".³⁸⁵ In the more personal correspondence between Smits van Waesberghe and Rottier, and between Smits van Waesberghe and Sister Margareta, the problems due to the war involving travelling and acquiring books for the liturgy are addressed in very touching terms. Smits van Waesberghe and Rottier seem to have been close friends, and besides liturgical matters they also discussed the manuscripts in Marie Refugie, of great interest to them both. Smits van Waesberghe's activities and interest in Maria Refugie started sometime before 1943, when he began to provide singing lessons to the sisters.

Correspondence during the year 1943

For the year 1943, we can begin by closely following Smits van Waesberghe's activities in Maria Refugie. In a letter dated 9 November 1943, he writes to the community that he is sending a book with vocal exercises for learning how to sing plainchant.³⁸⁶ Unfortunately, he does not state the title of this book and during my investigations I have found no such book. Nor is it mentioned in Sander Olsen's abbey library catalogue, but it might have been Smits van Waesberghe's own book on the subject: *Gregoriaansche muziek en haar plaats in den katholieken eeredienst*.³⁸⁷ The singing lessons go well, according to Smits van Waesberghe's letter; the singers had in fact improved more than he had expected. He is so pleased with the sisters' improvement that he plans to bring his students at the Conservatory (either in Amsterdam or Rotterdam; he seems to have taught at both places) to Uden at the beginning of the summer the following year (1944) – should the war be over – so they can listen to the chant of the sisters as a good example. By then he expects the sisters to have practised the conventual Mass according to the Birgittine gradual so it can be performed in liturgy, "in which sequences and tropes may be found which appear nowhere else." In effect, Smits van Waesberghe specifically points out the Birgittine sequence and trope repertoire, which he recognises as unique.³⁸⁸ He even thinks that musicians will undertake a musical pilgrimage to Uden to listen to the sisters' chant. There might even come a time when a gramophone recording could be made of this rare chant, which would come in handy if Smits van Waesberghe

³⁸⁵ Email from Sr. Patricia O.Ss.S. 3 May 2018.

³⁸⁶ Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Sr. Margareta, 9 November 1943.

³⁸⁷ J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE: *Gregoriaansche muziek en haar plaats in den katholieken eeredienst* (Amsterdam [19?]). It has not been possible to find the year of publication, but an English translation was published in 1947: J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE: *Gregorian chant and its place in the Catholic liturgy* (Stockholm 1947), SANDER OLSEN: *Biblioteca Birgittina*.

³⁸⁸ "waarin sequensen en tropen voorkomen, die men nergens ter wereld hoort". Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Sister Margareta, 9 November 1943.

and Rottier travel to Sweden. "You see, I have the biggest plans, but all is a beautiful work in honour of God", writes Smits van Waesberghe in a letter to Sister Margareta in November 1943.³⁸⁹ Whether he ever visited with his students or if folk ever came to listen to the exemplary singing of the sisters is not known, but nevertheless he evinced his enthusiasm about the sisters' ability to sing and his great esteem for the Birgittine chant repertoire.

Correspondence during the year 1944

On the issue of Mass observance and the content of the Masses, it is clear from the correspondence that the question had occupied Smits van Waesberghe and Rottier since at least 1940.³⁹⁰ In a letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Bishop Mutsaerts in March 1944, more details are provided about the diminished Mass observance. The former explains that no conventual Mass has been observed since around the middle of the 19th century.³⁹¹ The reason why is not clear to Smits van Waesberghe, but the sparse information to which he had access indicates that a dispensation not to celebrate a daily Mass was given during the 19th century. He presumes that the dispensation could have to do with the practical fact that the community only had one priest who could celebrate Mass and did not have the time to sing a Mass on a daily basis. Bergh's rescript is not mentioned. I have found no documentation of this dispensation.

Going back two months in time we learn that although Smits van Waesberghe is enthusiastic about the development of singing in Maria Refugie, the bishop is not so impressed by their efforts to restore a Birgittine liturgical life. On 6 January 1944, Smits van Waesberghe writes to Rottier, to the rector van Heeswijk, and to the abbess in Uden, where he reports his audience the previous day with Bishop Mutsaerts. At this meeting they discussed how the Birgittines in Maria Refugie could incorporate more Birgittine elements into their Mass liturgy. Smits van Waesberghe, Rottier, and the abbess in Uden discussed the possibility of sending a petition for approbation from Maria Refugie to the bishop concerning the matter.³⁹² The bishop was distinctly against the daily singing of a Marian Mass. His reasons are several: the same Mass (probably meaning *Salve sancta parens*) would be repeated over again, which would result in an undesirable routine. The sisters furthermore would be deprived of the many wonderful liturgical thoughts and beauties (*prachtige gedachten en schoonheden*) which the Catholic Church, ac-

³⁸⁹ "U ziet, ik heb grootsche plannen, maar het is alles een mooi werk ter eere Gods". Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Sister Margareta, 9 November 1943.

³⁹⁰ Letter from Rottier to Smits van Waesberghe, 27 September 1943.

³⁹¹ Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Bishop Mutsaerts, 24 March 1944.

³⁹² The following details in this section are based on a letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Rottier, Heer van Heeswijk, and Moeder Abdis, 6 January 1944.

cording to the bishop, preserves in text and melody in a large number of Masses. The bishop has nothing against a daily conventual Mass as such but against a daily *Marian* Mass. Nor has he anything against the performance of the typical Birgittine sequences and tropes. The bishop gives approbation for a kind of mixed liturgy, combining the Birgittine and Roman missals. It would then be possible to sing the conventual Mass according to the Birgittine Missal, for example in the months of May and October and possibly also in Advent. During the other months – especially on Sundays – and for Masses in the Lenten season, the Roman use must be followed. The Masses for Birgitta and Katherina are allowed be sung on their respective feast days. In short, the principle of the bishop is: the Birgittine missal can be used but no suppression of the Roman missal can take place.

Smits van Waesberghe is not sure if the community is content with this solution, but he himself argues that he has won a lot; primarily that the Birgittine gradual can be used during certain months. The bishop asks if the community would like to send in a petition asking for an official approbation. The community considers this option.

Before I continue, one thing deserves to be repeated. The Birgittine missal and gradual, with the exception of the Masses for Birgitta and Katherina, are not unique to the Birgittines. It is the *compilation* of the Mass repertoire featuring Marian Masses that is Birgittine, not the actual content of the chants and texts. It is not clear if the bishop is aware of this, or if Smits van Waesberghe has succeeded in explaining the issue sufficiently. It seems that there remains an underlying misunderstanding complicating the discussions with the bishop. Moreover, the terms Birgittine *missal* and Birgittine *gradual* are often used as synonyms in the letters, indicating that it is the text and not the melodies that are considered.

On 6 February 1944, a new petition was sent from Maria Refuge to the bishop.³⁹³ First, the Birgittine Mass situation is explained. The Birgittine gradual prescribes the Mass from the Roman missal with a sequence for the following solemn feasts:

Christmas

.....

Easter

.....

Ascension Day

.....

Corpus Christi

.....

³⁹³ Copy of letter from Smits van Waesberghe to the bishop, 6 February 1944.

Trinity Sunday

All Souls

Marian feasts: Purificatio B.M.V., Annuntiatio
B.M.V., Conceptio B.M.V., Nativitas B.M.V.,
Visitatio B.M.V., and Presentatio B.M.V.

Laetare Sunday

Sacrum Triduum

TABLE 10: The Masses in the Birgittine gradual as explained by Smits van Waesberghe in 1944.

In Advent, the use is slightly more detailed: the Mass *Rorate celi* is sung, here specifically to be celebrated with the gradual *Tollite portas*. During the other days of the year, *Salve sancta parens* is sung except on the feast days of Birgitta and Katharina (these have their own Mass formulas).

Thereafter, Smits van Waesberghe admits that through the daily singing of *Salve sancta parens* the sisters indeed will be deprived of many of the beautiful elements in the Catholic liturgy on which the bishop remarked earlier. Smits van Waesberghe writes that the sisters completely share this sentiment. This comment, in my view, is intended as a way of softening the content of the petition and making the bishop well-disposed to their request. Furthermore, Smits van Waesberghe, the sisters, and the rector have now reformulated their demand in the official petition. The previous preliminary petition was, in Smits van Waesberghe's view, not correctly formulated. Referring to their older use, the sisters wish to receive the privilege to attend two Masses a day: one according to the Roman gradual and one according to the Birgittine. On Sundays and feast days they wish to *sing* both Masses. On weekdays one Mass according to the *Roman Missal* will be read and one Mass according to the Birgittine gradual sung, except for Holy Week. This means that on the feasts Letare and All Souls, the same Mass will be sung twice, since the Birgittine use in these cases does not deviate from the Roman. It is clear they wish to return to a use of two Masses a day where one is said and one is sung, even if the double abbey had not been functioning since the middle of the 17th century.

Smits van Waesberghe remarks that this use of two Masses had been given approbation by several Popes, and it was the normal practice from the foundation of Maria Refuge in 1711 until the middle of the 19th century.³⁹⁴ It is worth noting that

³⁹⁴ In some sources, the year of the foundation of Maria Refuge is dated 1711, since the

he does not go so far back in time in consulting older graduals, namely the graduals from periods 1 and 2 with a Mass liturgy limited only to Marian Masses. What he refers to is the 18th-century type 3 gradual with a mix of Masses for sisters and brothers. When Smits van Waesberghe refers to the foundation of Maria Refugie and does not mention Mariënwater, this is an indication that he likely regards the new beginning in Maria Refugie as a watershed in the abbey's life, a point in time from when things start anew. Smits van Waesberghe gives no sources for his arguments, but it is probable that he had access to now lost documents and also oral traditions among the sisters. He expresses that these claims are unusual, and ends with a humble question: he would like to know whether the petition would have any chance of approbation, since it would make little sense to work on a final petition that had a small likelihood of success.

The February petition was either regarded as a final petition or was followed by a now lost document. Regardless, this request was sent to the bishop, after which a period of impatient waiting began. On 8 March 1944, Smits van Waesberghe sent a reminder to the bishop's secretary van Susante to ask the bishop if the letter arrived.³⁹⁵ A reaction from the bishop finally came and is related in an answer to Susante in a letter from 24 March 1944.³⁹⁶ The letter from the bishop has unfortunately not survived, but he seems again to have little interest in approving two daily Masses, and refers to the dispensation given in the 19th century allowing only one Mass a day. Smits van Waesberghe, on the other hand, argues that this dispensation was an exception from the Birgittine Rule caused by a lack of priests. The official answer from the bishop came on 27 March 1944, when he had come to a final decision.³⁹⁷ In a letter to the abbess he informs her that one daily votive Mass in honour of the Virgin Mary can be sung or spoken according to the Birgittine missal with the observance of the rubrics in this missal, with the exception of all Sundays and feast days. (On those days, the Roman Missal was probably used.) The celebration of two Masses a day is not mentioned and probably was not approved, but we have now come a little closer to a solution.

All things considered, the situation had concluded, and the sisters could begin with the bishop's blessings to observe Birgittine Masses. But how was this approbation carried out in practice? Until now, only normative correspondence has been related, but in a letter dated 15 May 1944, something of the reality of this decision comes to life. In this letter, Smits van Waesberghe reminds Sister Margareta of the

buildings in Uden were purchased in that year.

³⁹⁵ Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Susante, 8 March 1944.

³⁹⁶ Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Susante, 24 March 1944.

³⁹⁷ Letter from Bishop Mutsaerts to the abbess in Maria Refugie, copy of letter issued in 's-Hertogenbosch, 17 March 1944.

contents of the conventual Mass for the period after Trinity Sunday. Among other things, the following chants were to be sung:

Offertorium: *Recordare*

Communio: *Beata viscera*

Gradual: *Benedicta et venerabilis, versus Virga Dei genitrix*

*Alleluia Virga Jesse*³⁹⁸

These chants are no different from the chants prescribed in the Birgittine *Salve sancta parens* Mass.

No sequence is included in these instructions, which does not indicate if they were allowed to sing them or not. Smits van Waesberghe writes that the sisters must wait before rehearsing the sequence repertoire since they have so many other Mass chants to work on, which indicates that they were to be incorporated in the Mass liturgy later on. In this letter we also find evidence that two Masses were indeed observed, at least on certain days. The rector is to follow the Marian votive Mass *Missa de S. Maria in Sabbato* no. V from Saturday after the octave of Corpus Christi with prayers and lessons from the Birgittine Missal.³⁹⁹ The exceptions are the *Alleluia Virga Jesse* and the offertory *Recordare*. The rector probably did not sing but spoke this Mass. Here we have direct evidence that two Masses could be observed, one by the sisters and one by the rector representing the brothers' liturgy. What we do not know is how the celebration was divided between the sisters and the rector. The issue discussed in the letter only concerns Marian Masses and does not mention the other Birgittine Masses nor the eventual observance of Masses. The rector representing the brothers was responsible for speaking a Mass from the Roman Missal and through this something of the greater liturgy was restored. What we also learn from the letter is that the sisters were fully preoccupied with learning Mass chants, to such an extent that the sequence repertoire had to wait. This reveals that they were unfamiliar with this repertoire at this time.

The year 1946: evaluation of the compromise

The results of the petition can be traced until 1946, as becomes clear from two letters from this year. The question of sung or spoken Masses was an important issue in the petition; the letters show that the regulations were not always observed. The letters specifically mention that the rector forgot to pray the Credo in the Sunday Mass on 7 December, since he seems to have become confused when the sisters *sang* the gradual responsory when according to the agreement they should have *spoken* it.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁸ Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Sr. Margareta, 15 May 1944

³⁹⁹ A sabbato post octavam SSmi Corp. Xi.

⁴⁰⁰ Letter from the rector to the community in Uden, 1946 (no day or month).

Smits van Waesberghe comments on this event in a letter dated 15 December 1946, and he was not satisfied with the sisters' behaviour regarding singing and reading: "We must keep the agreements we have made."⁴⁰¹ He furthermore concisely repeats the Mass observance for which the bishop gave approbation, and this gives us good insight into the liturgy during the liturgical year in Maria Refugie. The intention of the bishop is that as many Masses as possible from the proper feasts of the church, except for the saints, should be celebrated according to the Roman Missal: Sundays, feasts of first and second rank, feast days in Lent, Rogation days (*Quatertemperdagen*), and Monday in Holy Week (*maandag der kruisdagen*). On the other days, a Marian Mass is allowed, with the exception of Advent, when a Marian Mass is allowed on feast days. This description seems evidence of a single Mass a day, regardless of liturgical rank.

The incorrectly celebrated Sunday Mass in 1946 related above could be a sign that the petition created a web of Birgittine and Roman Masses that was complicated to follow. Smits van Waesberghe might have been aware of this problem and concludes his letter by stating that if the bishop's approbation does not make sense to the sisters, he himself offers to discuss this problem directly with the bishop. Since the privilege was issued by the secretary and not by the bishop himself, he admits the possibility that the secretary had misinterpreted something. There are no signs that any further discussions with the bishop were forthcoming, and the correspondence ends here. We shall return to the Birgittine Mass observance in the next chapter.

Smits van Waesberghe and the manuscripts in Maria Refugie

Now the liturgical situation had reached a resolution, Smits van Waesberghe's efforts turned towards the manuscripts in Maria Refugie, which he discussed with Rottier. It is obvious that they regarded the manuscripts as documents to be used in liturgy and not as objects of art or merely historical documents. In a letter dated 11 April 1944, he writes that he has lent the bishop a Birgittine gradual which he intends to collect the next day when travelling from Amsterdam to Uden via 's-Hertogenbosch.⁴⁰² Smits van Waesberghe also comments on a manuscript from Uden that Rottier has borrowed: a handwritten missal for Birgittine use from 1694.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ *Wij moeten ons houden aan gemaakte afspraken*. Letter from van Waesberghe to the rector and abess, 15 December 1946.

⁴⁰² Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Rottier, 17 April 1944.

⁴⁰³ The manuscript is numbered no. 17 according to an older catalogue, and is now renumbered as NL-UD: HS K:Mi 1.

20

Recordare. Secreta.
Subcipe mitissime Je-
 su hostias a nobis
 tue propitiationi oblatas
 ob memoriam eximie tu-
 bationis tue matris Ma-
 rie et concede ut per eius
 ineffabilem amore nostras
 tribulationes inspicias.
 aduersitates repellas.
 affectuque petitionis no-
 stre clementer exaudi-
 as. Qui uiuis. **Comunio.**
Beata viscera. Copleda
Proficent nos que-
 sumus. Dñe Sa-
 cramenta que sumpsi-
 mus. et intercedente pro
 nobis gloriosissima ma-
 tre tua virgine Maria
 cuius sacratissimam
 animam in hora passio-
 nis tue doloris gladius
 medullitus pertransiuit.
 et concede ut a tribula-
 tione presenti et mor-
 te anime liberemur.
 Qui uiuis. **A festo Scē**
Trinitatis usque ad
Aduentū ad missam.
Antroitus.
Salue sancta pa-
 rens. enixa puerpera
 regem qui celū terrā
 que regit in secula se-
 culorum. **psal.** Sentiant
 omnes tuū iuuamen.
 quicūque celebrāt tuā
 cōmemorationem.
Gloria patri et filio.
Gloria in excel-
 sis de o. **E**t in ter-
 ra pax hominibus bo-
 ne voluntatis. **L**auda-
 mus te. **B**enedicim⁹
 te. **A**doramus te. **G**-
 lorificamus te. **G**ra-
 tias agimus tibi prop-
 ter magnam gloriam
 tuā. **D**ñe Deus rex
 celestis. **D**eus pater
 omnipotens. **D**ñe fi-
 lii unigenite. **I**esu Chri-
 ste. **S**piritus et alme
 orphanorū paractite.
Dñe Deus agnus dei
 Filius patris. primo-
 genitus. **M**arie virgi-
 nis matris. **Q**ui tol-
 lis peccata mundi mi-
 serere

IMAGE 33: A Missale Birgittanum from Mariënwater showing the beginning of the Mass *Salve sancta parens* with notated incipit *Gloria*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:Mi 1, p. 20, 1694.

Smits van Waesberghe acknowledges the typical Birgittine content of this book and is afraid of one thing in particular: that if the bishop gets his hands on this book for too long, it would be taken to Rome, where a new branch (the Hesselblad branch) of the Birgittines had been founded “not long ago”.⁴⁰⁴ It is not clear what Smits van Waesberghe fears but it seems that the bishop might find the Hesselblad solution so good that the dispensation given to Maria Refugie would be annulled.⁴⁰⁵ It is possible that the bishop – who seems not too concerned about the Birgittine liturgy – was not aware of the differences between the two Birgittine branches.

Nicolaas de Goede continues Smits van Waesberghe’s reform

After Smits van Waesberghe’s work on the Birgittine Masses, he handed over to Nicolaas de Goede, brother of the French congregation *Societas Cordis Jesu* (S.C.J.). De Goede continued Smits van Waesberghe’s duties as singing teacher. Where Smits van Waesberghe had been concerned with the Mass, De Goede was specifically occupied with the Birgittine Office. His greatest achievement in this regard was a reform of the *Cantus sororum*, restoring it to its medieval, and in his view more authentic, shape. After the Second Vatican Council, his restored *Cantus sororum* would be translated into the vernacular; to be discussed in the next chapter. De Goede became involved with Maria Refugie at the latest in 1955 when he started working on an edition of the *Cantus sororum*, printed in 1957 by Annie Bank, who had a publishing firm in Amsterdam.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ Smits van Waesberghe means the Hesselblad branch founded in 1911. This reformed branch of the Birgittines uses the Roman Breviary and has never sung *Cantus sororum*. Not much has been written about the Hesselblad liturgy but a brief account is found in AF JOHNICK ÖSTBORN: ‘The Birgittine revival in Sweden’ 21-62 and LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: *Ordet blev sång*.

⁴⁰⁵ The organ in the sister’s chapel and playing it is another great concern for Smits van Waesberghe. The organ had been rebuilt and, in Smits van Waesberghe’s view, destroyed; now it had to be reconstructed back to its former state. Organ lessons for the sisters are also mentioned. Correspondence between the organist Brouwers and van Waesberghe is preserved in Uden but since there are no traces of accompaniment of either the Mass or the Office chants, this question will be left out of this book. Two letters from Smits van Waesberghe to Brouwers are dated 30 April 1944 and 27 June 1944. The organ lessons are also mentioned in various letters to the community and Rottier.

⁴⁰⁶ The printing does not give any year of publication and contact with the publisher (now taken over by the German Edition Ferrimontana) has revealed no new information. This information is based on interviews with and emails from Sr. Patricia. Annie Bank who continued to be active as publisher of liturgical books in the Netherlands; see L. VAN TONGEREN: ‘Op weg naar een Nederlandstalig koorgebed. Een historisch overzicht’, in L. VAN TONGEREN et al. (eds.): *Godlof! Kloosterliturgie in beweging. 40 jaar intermonasteriële werkgroep voor liturgie* (Kampen 2007) 140-141. The publication *Abdijboek* published in 1970 was also

This is the first time that liturgical books for Maria Refugie and Maria Hart were printed outside the abbeys or by a professional publisher. The print was not a printed book in the normal sense but a reproduction of a handwritten book, a facsimile; see image 34. The clefs C and F were used on a four-staff system with square notation.

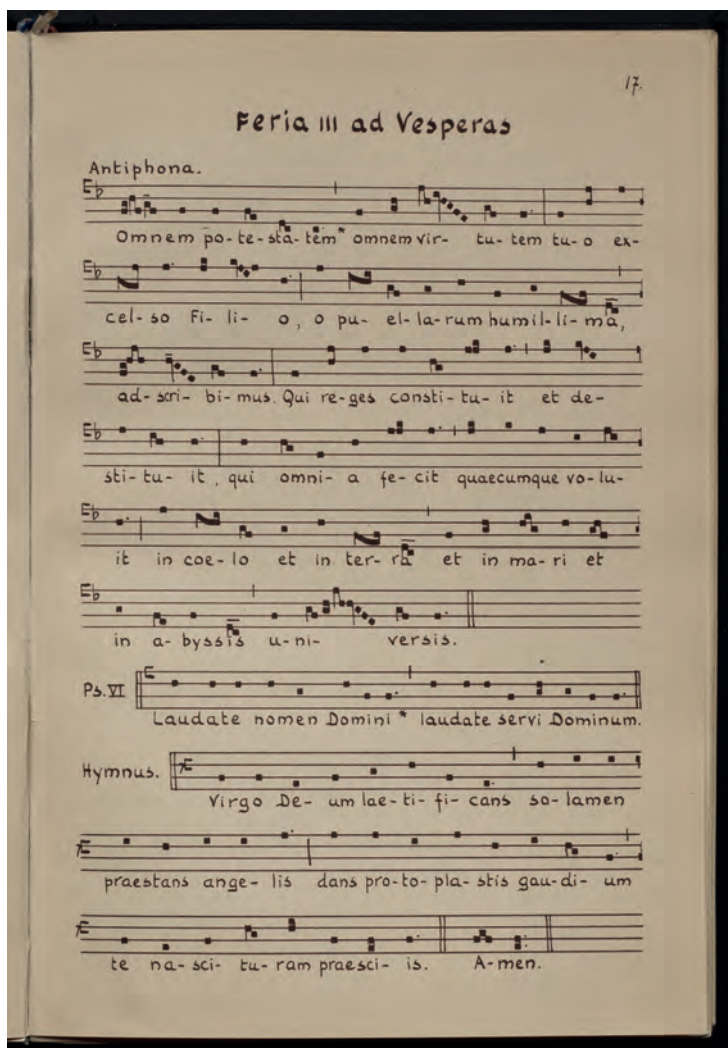


IMAGE 34: Tuesday Vespers antiphon *Omnem potestatem* from *Cantus sororum* published by Bank, Amsterdam, p.17, 1957. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.

written by hand, a work made by Bank herself. It is not known if *Cantus sororum* was also written in Bank's own script.

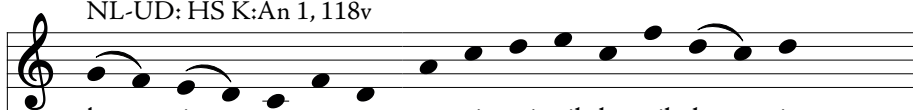
There is no documentation describing the preparation behind this edition, but we do know that De Goede chose to base his edition on the antiphoner-gradual NL-UD: HSK:An 1 from ca. 1500. This book was chosen since he recognised it to be one of the oldest preserved liturgical books in Uden and the oldest book without alterations.⁴⁰⁷ To what extent De Goede consulted other manuscripts from the same period in Maria Refugie is not known. By choosing NL-UD: HS K:An 1, De Goede turned to much older manuscripts than Smits van Waesberghe had used. Smits van Waesberghe seems to have based his work on a larger number of manuscripts from Maria Refugie, but De Goede chose one book as his archetype for the restoration, the same method used by Pustet for the Altomünster edition in 1860. Through this choice, De Goede rejected the revised Office chant in the 19th century books. An examination of this work reveals that he made his own alterations in his restoration of the late medieval Cantus sororum. He also updated the liturgy for contemporary use by including the antiphon for Richard Reynolds.

Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria* revisited

De Goede's own contributions to the repertoire were not stated in a critical apparatus but may be revealed by comparative analysis with other sources. For the Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria*, discussed in the previous chapter, he created another version in which he offered a new solution to the problem of the ending of the antiphon with the word *antiqui*. This constitutes a fourth solution to the last part of *Maria, Maria*; see music example 31.

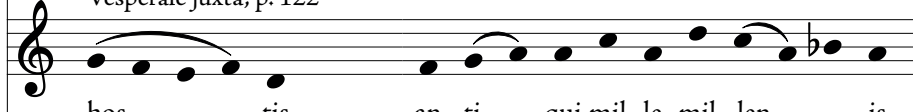
⁴⁰⁷ "De noten zijn niet gecorrigeerd. Dit hs werd in/vanaf 1955 als grondslag gebuikt voor de restauratie van het Ant. Birg. door Pater N. Goede, Nijmegen. Dit vernieuwde of beter herstellde Ant. Birg. was in gebruik tot 1973, toen men naar het Officie Birg. in de moedertaal overging, althans in M.R. Uden." (Katalogus handschriften II). File *Liturgie en eredienst, Maria Refugie*.

NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 118v



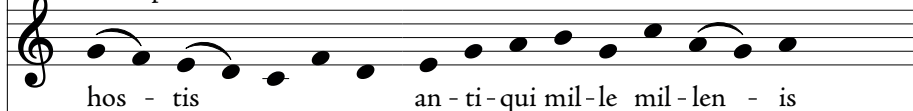
hos - tis an - ti - qui mil - le mil - len - is

Vesperale juxta, p. 122



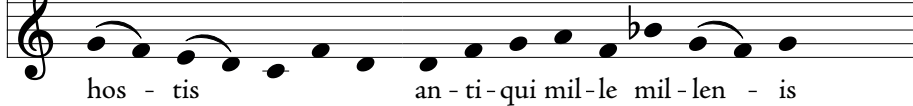
hos - tis an - ti - qui mil - le mil - len - is

Bank, p. 38

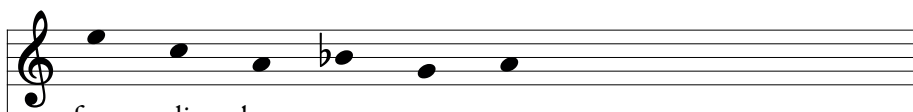


hos - tis an - ti - qui mil - le mil - len - is

Transposition a fifth down, Servatius 1990



hos - tis an - ti - qui mil - le mil - len - is



frau - di - bus con - ser - va,



frau - di - bus con - ser - va,



frau - di - bus con - ser - va,



frau - di - bus con - ser - va,

Ma - ri - a.

Ma - ri - a.

Ma - ri - a.

Ma - ri - a.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 31: Last part of the Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria*,
Maria in four versions; NL-U: HS K:An 1, 118v, ca. 1500; Bank, p. 38, 1957;
Vesperale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium, p. 122, 1883; Servatius 1990.

In the music example from Bank 1957, De Goede follows NL-UD: HS K:An 1 up until *antiqui*, where, just like his predecessors in the 19th century, he rejected the version in the original repertoire (which he claimed to follow), as well as the revised 19th century version. He does not use transposition a fifth down as an alternative, but instead transposes the last part of the chant a fourth down consistently throughout. The text underlay remains the same as in NL-UD: HS K:An 1 without adjustments. This transposition a fourth down results in the chant ending on pitch A. By doing this the tenor of mode 1, as well as the E-flat suggested by Servatius, is avoided.⁴⁰⁸ He thus achieved a melody that fitted nicely into the mode 1 ending on its tenor pitch, which also begins the psalm tone for the chant (De Goede's edition provides the psalm tones in a separate part of the book). In this example, it is clear that De Goede wanted to avoid the reworked 19th century versions. Instead, he found his way back to a chantscape from the heyday of the Birgittines and the scriptorium of Mariënwater. The edition from 1883 thus became a parenthesis in the chant transmission, and continuity with the Birgittines' oldest repertoire was restored.

From these four versions of *Maria*, *Maria* it may be concluded that this chant has caused Birgittines and scholars a considerable amount of trouble, and in the following chapter we shall see how this chant was adapted into the vernacular in the 1970s, resulting in even more versions of it. In the next chapter we shall also follow the Birgittines into the subsequent great watershed in Catholicism: the Sec-

⁴⁰⁸ SERVATIUS: *Cantus sororum* 141–143.

ond Vatican Council, and its consequences for a Birgittine liturgy in the vernacular.

Conclusion and summary

This chapter began with novelties in the Birgittine liturgy, i.e., suffrages for be-
atified Birgittines. But the use of liturgical books was tenacious and marked by
reuse. Handwritten books from the 18th century were used alongside printed
ones, something not unusual for the Birgittines. There are many examples of the
long-continuing use of liturgical books in the Catholic Church.

Mass observance in Maria Refuge was low or had even ceased in the 19th cen-
tury. This decline was followed by a liturgical renewal. At that time, both Smits van
Waesberghe's and De Goede's restoration work played a crucial role in bringing the
Birgittines closer to their origins and reinforcing their Birgittine identity. By using
older liturgical manuscripts for their liturgy, the community in Maria Refuge was
once again renewed with Birgitta's charisma. Their work is not unique but part of a
larger movement in the 20th century towards liturgical and chant restoration. The
leading principle was always to return to older or even the oldest sources. Typical
for this movement and thus also for Maria Refuge is that this work is often initiat-
ed and led by someone who is involved in the Catholic Church, often as priest, and
at the same time an active scholar and/or performer. These are features that are
all manifest in the figures of Smits van Waesberghe and De Goede. Many of van
Waesberghe's arguments rest on the conviction that the Order must be true to the
Rule and how it was earlier interpreted, and that the Birgittines are distinct from
the rest of the Catholic Church. De Goede chooses the oldest unaltered document
for his restoration, placing the revision from the 18th century aside as unusable.
His correspondence shows a period of life in Maria Refuge when crucial values
for the Birgittines and their identity are negotiated through liturgy, demonstrating
why the study of liturgy is such a rewarding area for examining the central values
of a monastic community.

1963 to the present:
Reconfiguration of the chantscape –
vernacular solutions and skeleton melodies



IF THE PREVIOUS chapter described a situation that aimed to go back in time and restore a lost Birgittine chantscape, the development in the 1960s would lead to significant changes in this chantscape. A big step forward is taken in the 1970s, when the Birgittine chantscape is transformed into the vernacular, which again would lead to a reconfiguration of the sung liturgy.

Before looking into liturgical and musical matters, the situation of the Birgittine Order will be sketched. In 1963, after an interruption of around 400 years, the branch of the Birgittine Order that originated in Vadstena in 1384 returned to the city and opened Pax Mariae.⁴⁰⁹ The foundation was made possible with the help of Maria Refugie, which then included 40 sisters. More precisely, the sisters from Maria Refugie took over a rest home opened by the Hesselblad Birgittines in 1935.⁴¹⁰ Contemplative monastic life returned to Vadstena. The opening of a proper monastery was made possible in Sweden through the law on freedom of religion, passed in 1951. For the first time since the Reformation this law allowed contemplative monastic life in Sweden. Approbation from the Swedish King, however, was still needed in every case, and only in 1976 did the establishment of monasteries in Sweden become entirely free.⁴¹¹ At the opening of Pax Mariae, four foundations of the old medieval branch existed: Maria Refugie (and its daughter foundation Maria Hart), Altomünster, Syon Abbey, and Pax Mariae.

Pax Mariae opened during the Second Vatican Council and the consequences of the Council would greatly affect the community in the 1970s when the liturgy was translated into vernacular Swedish. The transition from Latin into the Dutch vernacular took place in Maria Refugie around the same time, while the Altomünster

⁴⁰⁹ Pax Mariae was elevated to the dignity of an abbey in 1991. NYBERG et al.: *Birgitta Atlas* 222.

⁴¹⁰ This branch of the Birgittines originated in 1911 and does not use the *Cantus sororum*. The opening of the resthome in Vadstena is described in AF JOHNICK ÖSTBORN: "För Sverige har jag skänkt Gud mitt liv!" 61–63.

⁴¹¹ G. INGER: 'Klosterförbudet i Sverige och dess upphävande', in *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift* (1962) 133–173.

Birgittines continued celebrating the Mass and the Office in Latin.⁴¹² Despite the Council's declaration that Latin was to be regarded as the foremost language for both liturgy and chant, the opportunity given by the Council for singing in the vernacular would profoundly change the chantscape of liturgical chant in the Catholic world.⁴¹³ One obvious advantage with a vernacular presentation of the liturgy is that practitioners can immediately understand the text of the chants, in response to a situation where knowledge of Latin had diminished or even disappeared. As a consequence, Latin as liturgical language was almost erased from Catholic services and would only continue in conservative monastic houses and parishes.⁴¹⁴ The efforts in Maria Refugie in the 1940s and 1950s to restore Latin liturgical singing were not appealing enough to survive the winds from the Council. Concerning the Mass liturgy in Maria Refugie, the sisters seem to have experimented with Mass celebration both in Latin and Dutch during the 1960s, eventually ending up with a Mass liturgy in Dutch.⁴¹⁵ It is worth noting that only around 10 years earlier the sisters had restored their Latin Office to its medieval glory – a work they now chose to throw overboard. In this chapter, the adaptation of the *Cantus sororum* into Swedish and Dutch will be the focus.⁴¹⁶ This would lead to a profound negotiation of what it meant to pray and sing as a Birgittine sister, and adds a new layer to the concept of preserving by transformation.

⁴¹² Interview at Pax Mariae, 29 August 2019.

⁴¹³ "36. 1. Particular law remaining in force, the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rites. 2. But since the use of the mother tongue, whether in the Mass, the administration of the sacraments, or other parts of the liturgy, frequently may be of great advantage to the people, the limits of its employment may be extended. This will apply in the first place to the readings and directives, and to some of the prayers and chants..." "Chapter 1, article 36" *Constitution on the sacred liturgy Sacrosanctum concilium* https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html Accessed 23 February 2022.

⁴¹⁴ An examination of the situation concerning vernacular and Latin liturgy in 2007-2008 in 21 European monasteries is found in LAGERGREN: *Ordet blev sång*. A survey of the development of a Dutch monastic Office liturgy is found in L. VAN TONGEREN et al.: (eds.): *Godlof!*

⁴¹⁵ Interview with Birgittine sisters at Pax Mariae, 29 August 2019. The conditions during the 1960s are in general difficult to describe since little documentation exists and few of these sisters who were active in the 1960s are alive today.

⁴¹⁶ An overview of the adaptation from Latin into Dutch of the divine Office in the Netherlands with emphasis on Benedictines and Cistercians through the *Intermonastëriele werkgroep voor liturgie* is found in VAN TONGEREN et al.: *Godlof!*

Nicolaas de Goede and his adaptations of the *Cantus sororum* into Dutch and Swedish⁴¹⁷

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the priest and chant scholar Nicolaas de Goede took over Smits van Waesberghe's work in *Maria Refugie* and became a crucial figure in the adaptations of the *Cantus sororum* into the vernacular in both *Pax Mariae* (Swedish) and *Maria Refugie* (Dutch).⁴¹⁸ Work on the adaptation was undertaken soon after the closing of the Second Vatican Council and would result in the most profound revision of the *Cantus sororum* that had ever been conducted. In De Goede's new arrangements, the melodic content was revised along with the language in which the chants were sung: the vernacular. With this new composition he replaced his own publication from 1957. The work was not only accomplished at a distance from the community; he also occasionally functioned as organist on festive occasions at *Maria Refugie*.

De Goede began with the adaptation of the *Cantus sororum* from Latin into Dutch, then continued with the Swedish version. *Adaptation* in this sense means that the Latin text was translated into the vernacular and the melodies were adapted to the new vernacular text. As a native Dutch speaker, De Goede translated the Latin texts into Dutch himself.⁴¹⁹ Most translations from Latin into Swedish were made by Olof Åby, a Latin teacher in Nyköping, but De Goede also learned Swedish sufficiently to work with the Swedish translations on his own. He was assisted in his work by the Birgittine Sister Patricia, who had come to *Maria Refugie* from Sweden for her noviciate and returned as a professed nun to *Vadstena* in 1968. She and De Goede met when she helped him with the translation of his dissertation on the *Utrecht Prosarium*, since she was a native English speaker.⁴²⁰ Sister Patricia also had musical training, of great help in the adaptation work, and she continued to work on the chant and liturgy for many years in *Pax Mariae*, also in the capacity of organist for the community. In *Maria Refugie*, where she was responsible for the liturgy for many years, a certain Sister Petra assisted De Goede in his work.

The efforts with adapting the *Cantus sororum* into Swedish have been more researched than those in Dutch in *Maria Refugie* and can therefore be described in greater depth. In *Vadstena*, the work with the Swedish *Cantus sororum* was so or-

⁴¹⁷ If nothing else is stated, the information in this section is based on an interview with sisters in *Pax Mariae*, 29 August 2019.

⁴¹⁸ In *Syon Abbey* the adaptation into the vernacular was carried out by Father Brian Foley between 1966-1971 "using the original music as far as possible for the antiphons and responses". This is partly described in *Daily Office of Our Lady. The Syon Breviary*. The Bridgettine Sisters (Devon 2015) 552-553, but no scholarly study of the topic exists.

⁴¹⁹ Email Sister Bernadette, *Maria Refugie*, 16 January 2020.

⁴²⁰ N. DE GOEDE: *The Utrecht Prosarium* diss. (Utrecht 1965).

ganised that De Goede regularly could spend periods of three months in Vadstena (on a few occasions up to half a year), where he and Sister Patricia worked together. This work lasted until De Goede's death in 1982. During the periods when De Goede was not in Vadstena, Sister Patricia made preparations by writing out the texts to which De Goede would then add music.⁴²¹

The adapted Cantus sororum began to be used in Vadstena in 1973, and in 1979 the transition into Swedish was complete, except for Matins.⁴²² This particular service was never completed in Pax Mariae, since it was not required to be observed due to a dispensation which lasted until 2014. That year the sisters began to read (not sing) it together in choir. Until then, Matins had been observed to different extents since the 1970s, which also affected the readings of Sermo Angelicus. Today, the sisters in Pax Mariae read from Sermo Angelicus every second week, and in the alternate week the Matins readings are taken from the Roman Breviary except for Advent, Christmas, Lent, and Easter, when only the Roman Breviary is used for the Matins lessons. In 1992, Latin scholar and priest Anders Piltz translated the Sermo Angelicus into Swedish, but it would be several years before it was included in the Matins liturgy.⁴²³ The excluded readings from Birgitta's revelations in the form of Sermo Angelicus also meant that Birgitta's authority was omitted from the community, and it is clear that the sisters experienced this as a deficiency. The preparation work on the reinstatement of these lessons in Matins testifies to the view that the Birgittine identity needed this close relation to Birgitta's authoritative texts. Maria Refugie did gain a notated Dutch Matins, but it has probably never been sung.⁴²⁴

Decolourisation: a method for adapting Latin into the vernacular

The basic idea of the adaptation process was so-called *decolourisation*, a method where the chant melodies were stripped down until only a skeleton remained, representing the melodic contours. The term decolourisation is used by theologian and chant scholar Anders Ekenberg, among others. Through this method, unnecessary tones such as melismas are removed so that a skeleton mel-

⁴²¹ LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: *Ordet blev sång* 165.

⁴²² Interview at Pax Mariae, 29 August 2019.

⁴²³ Email Mother Karin, Pax Mariae, 18 November 2022.

⁴²⁴ This situation is a consequence of the Second Vatican Council's decision that Matins did not need to be observed in choir nor at any particular time of the day but may be said privately: "The hour known as Matins, although it should retain the character of nocturnal praise when celebrated in choir, shall be adapted so that it may be recited at any hour of the day; it shall be made up of fewer psalms and longer readings." *Chapter four, article 89c on the Divine Office. Constitution on the sacred liturgy Sacrosanctum concilium* https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html Accessed 23 February 2022.

ody is created, consisting of the most fundamental pitches of the melody.⁴²⁵ Decolourisation is not an automatic procedure and thus the result will vary from individual to individual. Ekenberg remarks that decolourisation in itself is an art, and the method is efficient if one wishes to understand the interplay between word and tone.⁴²⁶ In other words, the method is highly subjective. There is no evidence that decolourisation was ever used to create or elaborate chant melodies in the Middle Ages; melismas might well have been regarded as an integral and indispensable aspect of the melody. Despite the lack of medieval documentation, decolourisation has been widely used in modern scholarship and by practitioners, for example, to clearly outline the mode of a melody and to study patterns of variation.⁴²⁷

Before continuing it is worth considering De Goede's background. Since he was religious, the method he used was guided by many years of living with the Latin language and plainchant, with constant *ruminatio* (meaning to ruminate, in liturgical sense meditation or contemplation) on the material. As with all religious people practicing liturgy on a daily basis, De Goede has stored a large chant repertoire in his musical memory. This musical warehousing might also be termed *impregnation* (a term introduced in the Prologue), a condition of great importance both in historic times in the compilation of new chants, as well as in the modern-day composing of new liturgical music and adapting chant into different vernacular guises. A lived liturgy integrates liturgical elements into a person's awareness and musical memory in both a physical and cognitive way.⁴²⁸ As a result of impregnation, a person can use the repertoire as inspiration in an intertextual discourse which moves freely in a landscape of chants – a chantscape. De Goede's choice of decolourisation was one of several alternatives available. Another strategy widely used in other adaptations after the Second Vatican Council has been simply to retain the original chant, in other words contrafacts. A further option is to give the vernacular liturgical texts entirely new melodies.⁴²⁹ However, for reasons unknown, De Goede chose the decolourisation model in his

⁴²⁵ A. EKENBERG: *Den gregorianska sången: teori, historia, praxis* (Stockholm 1998) 108–III.

⁴²⁶ EKENBERG: *Den gregorianska sången* 109.

⁴²⁷ JEFFERY: *Re-envisioning past musical cultures* 99–102.

⁴²⁸ Rumination and impregnation as methodological tools in composing and adapting chant are discussed in LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: *Ordet blev sång*; see for example 254–256. Anna Maria Busse Berger discusses the fundamental importance of memorization, rote learning, mnemonics, etc. in medieval music in BUSSE BERGER: *Medieval music and the art of memory*.

⁴²⁹ An example of this is the Carmelite monasteries in Glumslöv and Norraby, Sweden. An example of entirely new melodies to vernacular texts is the repertoire in the French Benedictine abbey, Abbaye d'En Calcat. See LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: *Ordet blev sång* 145–157 and 201–217.

double capacity as chant scholar and devout person. By relying on one of the earliest preserved sources of the *Cantus sororum*, he was at the same time a child of his time. First, he had adapted his strategy to the current trend of revising according to the oldest known sources that medieval repertoires perceived as corrupt. This work resulted in his edition from 1957, with the *Cantus sororum* based on NL-UD: HS K:An 1. The next strategy was the result of new winds from the Second Vatican Council, where a new paradigm called for vernacular solutions. There is nothing in his work that points to disappointment with the shift he had to make to a vernacular solution. Instead, he invested an impressive amount of time and energy in producing not one but two vernacular *Cantus sororum* repertoires. These efforts place him in a long line of those who for centuries had negotiated liturgy and chant in order to fit current needs and trends. What he accomplished was something completely new and at the same time something completely in accordance with tradition.

The results of De Goede's work are structured almost syllabically and are often considerably shorter pieces than the Latin original. Concerning text underlay, we have seen in previous chapters how correct accentuation of the text was achieved by moving melismas to accented syllables. In the transfer to the vernacular, this procedure was not sufficient.⁴³⁰ Now the melodies needed more thorough revision since the Latin melismatic chant repertoire was regarded as ill-suited for the vernacular, generally a common view in works after the Second Vatican Council. The more difficult work on the text adaptations was caused by De Goede's view that Swedish, Dutch, and Latin have such different prosody that it is impossible to add a Swedish or Dutch text to the original chant melody designed to be sung to Latin text. Melismas were considered unsuitable for the Swedish and Dutch languages. Unfortunately, De Goede left very little written material describing his work, and he never formalised his thoughts in writing. The only written documentation is a short comment at the end of the book for *Compline* for the Birgittines in Vadstena, completed in 1974, in which De Goede states his position:

The original music, composed for the Latin text, has of necessity needed to be edited to fit the Swedish text.⁴³¹

The phrase of *necessity* is telling for the paradigm in which De Goede operated; he believed that there was no other alternative. His views of the Can-

⁴³⁰ Further outlined in V. SERVATIUS: 'Gregoriansk sång – på svenska. Ett testfall', in *Signum. Katolsk orientering om kyrka, kultur, samhälle* 7, issue 6 (1980) 218–221.

⁴³¹ "Originalmusiken, komponerad för den latinska texten, har nödvändigtvis måst redigeras så att den passar till den svenska texten." Birgittasystrarna i Vadstena: *Vadstenanunnor-nas veckoritual. Completorium* (Vadstena 1974) 64.

tus sororum were furthermore coloured by a basic premise underlying chant scholarship ever since its critical beginnings in the 19th century: the devolutionary premise. De Goede worked from the assumption that he was dealing with a repertoire that was not ideal, even in its original version, since it had emerged after the golden days of plainchant, meaning the period of neumatic notation which lasted until around the 11th century. In the chant restoration movement, the late Middle Ages was regarded an age when plainchant had evolved away from its true character. It had in other words become *decadent*.⁴³² According to this view, Magister Petrus had created the Cantus sororum during a decadent period in chant history when devolution had already begun. Thus, De Goede's adaptation would also be a restoration in which the Cantus sororum would gain an even truer plainchant character than Magister Petrus had been able to give it.⁴³³ Servatius goes as far as to call De Goede's method a *paraphrase* of the original melody: a reworking and simplification of the melody in order to make it correspond to the Swedish text, an *interpretation* of both text and melody in order to find the basis of a melody that could carry the text. Just as a text has to be altered in a translation, a melody also has to be altered in the process, Servatius claims.⁴³⁴ This points to an artistic process where the adaptor must be extremely aware of the structure of plainchant, for both the Latin and vernacular text, in order to create a result convincing in its combination of words and tones and at the same time be satisfying for the singer.

By analysing De Goede's work, it becomes clear that what he achieved was something far more than a decolourisation. He did much more than just remove or diminish melismas; he found his own solutions, as occurred in the Latin Cantus sororum, exemplified by the antiphon *Maria, Maria*. In fact, he worked with the melodies in three ways: he removed notes (decolourisation), he exchanged pitches, and he added notes (including revising phrases).⁴³⁵ Furthermore, he adapted the individual melodies in various ways and to varying degrees.

Leaving aside the question of how De Goede's work should be characterised in methodological terms, we are left with one unique fact in the history of the Cantus sororum: De Goede provides the only revision of the repertoire which safely can

⁴³² This theme is discussed throughout in BERGERON: *Decadent enchantments*.

⁴³³ LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: *Ordet blev sång* 166. See also SERVATIUS: 'Magister Petrus som "diktare" och "ton-sättare"' for a discussion of Magister Petrus and Gregorian chant in his time.

⁴³⁴ "Precis som man måste ändra texten vid översättningen måste man också ändra melodin, ett helt logiskt förfarande. För varför skulle melodin undandras denna procedur?" SERVATIUS: 'Gregoriansk sång – på svenska' 219–220.

⁴³⁵ A more thorough discussion of the adaptation, analysing four chants, can be found in LAGERGREN STRINNHOLM: *Ordet blev sång* 167–180.

be attributed to a single individual whose name, principles, and background are known to us. As such, it leaves us valuable clues as to how one person engaged with the repertoire, how his background formed the premises from which he was working, and eventually his results. At the same time, his is one of many examples of the efforts that were devoted to transferring Latin plainchant into the vernacular after the Second Vatican Council. We witness the biggest change in the history of the Birgittine chantscape in that the Latin language is abandoned for the first time in history. The principles for revision are here guided by new languages that, according to De Goede's view, called for other solutions than those which, up to now, have been described when considering strategies of reworking, such as shortening of melismas, adjusted syllables etc. In the following, the hymn *Sponse iungendo filio* and the Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria* will be examined. Both chants have been treated in earlier chapters and will now be examined from a viewpoint where the vernacular texts guide the reworkings.

Analysis of the hymn *Sponse iungendo filio* and the antiphon *Maria, Maria*

Two chants will serve as a demonstration of De Goede's two different approaches in his adaptation of the *Cantus sororum* into Dutch and Swedish. They may be said to display two sides of the spectrum within which he worked. The first music example is the Thursday Compline hymn *Sponse iungendo filio*, a case where the adaptation is close to the original, and the second is again the Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria*, where the adaptation was more profound.

The Thursday Compline hymn Sponse iungendo filio

The Birgittine Thursday Compline hymn *Sponse iungendo filio* is as mentioned earlier a contrafact of *Veni sancte Spiritus*, used for Pentecost. The Latin text is in an eight-syllabic iambic metre and there is next to no correspondence between accented syllables and melismas in the original chant version. The two-note melismas can occur on unaccented syllables (for example in the last syllable of *claritatis*) or even twice within the same word (for example on the first and last syllables in *iungendo*). Music example 32 compares the Latin original in NL-UD: HS K:An 1 to the two versions in the Dutch and the Swedish *Cantus sororum*. Both translations of the Latin hymn text retain the eight-syllable pattern but musically the adaptations have been made in different ways while still retaining a general feeling for the original melody. Both provide a mode 7 character with a melody mainly moving within the range of the finalis G and the tenor pitch D. In the following I shall point to a few characteristic features in the process of adaptation.

The Dutch adaptation makes use of the decolourisation principle and has not a single melisma. It closely follows the original Latin melody, but the melismas have

either been dissolved or distributed over more than one syllable (box number 1), or notes are omitted without using any melismas, so they disappear (except in the concluding *Amen*). Note the changed finalis of the third line where the C has been changed to D (box number 2). This was probably done to enhance the 7-mode character. The result of this decolourisation creates an entirely syllabic melody driven by its text rather than melodic turns. There are no melismas to either help or confuse the accentuation.

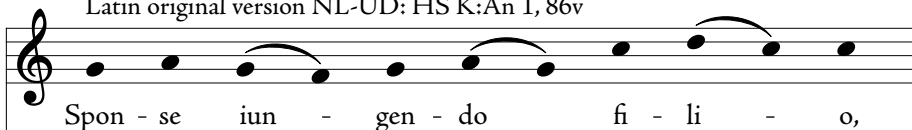
The Swedish version is more melismatic. Several two-note melismas in accordance with the Latin melody are found, which gives the melody a slightly softer character than the syllabic Dutch version. But the adaptation also deviates in several ways. For example, the first phrase (box number 1) has the pitches reordered so that the highest pitch D comes in the middle of the phrase instead of the end when compared to the Latin. In the third phrase *collateralis socius/invid hans sida troget stod* (box number 3), the Swedish adaptation follows the Latin at the beginning, where the adaptation omits the upward movement ending in *collateralis* and ascends from *sida* in a stepwise line up to C; the same finalis as in the Latin.

As stated above, we have no documentation explaining why the adaptations differ so much, but we know that the Dutch work on the *Cantus sororum* was completed before the Swedish. Perhaps De Goede was more rigid in using the principle of decolourisation in the work on the Dutch material. The syllabic Dutch version is well suited to the accentuation of the Dutch text. The Swedish adaptation emphasises the accents by two-note melismas with a more flowing melodic contour and with their help further stresses the accented syllables. The melody assists the delivery of the text through its carefully placed melismas on accented syllables. Apart from these two adaptations, there was no lack of adaptations into the vernacular of *Veni sancte spiritus* at the time of De Goede. Since the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century, the hymn had entered vernacular versions in Protestant hymnals with more or less adapted melodies for congregational singing. Whether De Goede used an already existing Dutch melody is not known, but if he had wanted to use an already existing melody for the Swedish adaptation, he might have made use of the Swedish version from the 1937 Swedish hymnal. For Vadstena, he chose a newly-created adaptation.

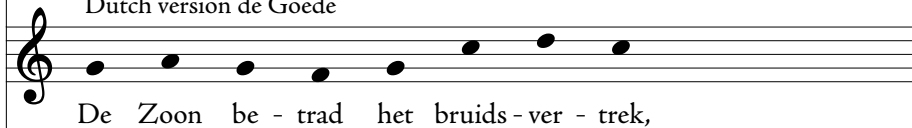
Hymns are by necessity a restricted form in that metre and number of syllables must be respected in each strophe, and the hymn is the only versified chant genre in the *Cantus sororum*. De Goede handled the adaptations of *Sponse iungendo* in two different ways, thereby showing that the adaptation process was not a mechanical procedure but that different solutions might be arrived at in different cases. By following the principle of word accentuation on accented syllables (accented syllables marked by ' in the hymn texts below) through the help of melismas in the Swedish adaptation, De Goede shaped a version according to principles which we also find in reworkings of the *Cantus sororum* from the 17th century.

1

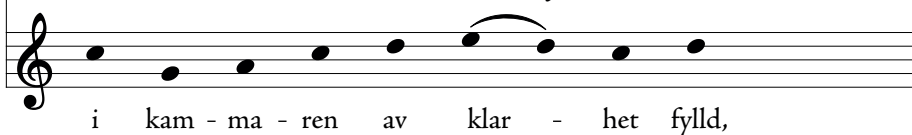
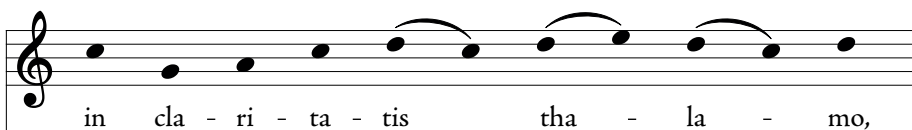
Latin original version NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 86v



Dutch version de Goede



Swedish version de Goede



3

col - la - te - ra - lis so - ci - us,

Maar Hij ver - liet de Va - der niet,

in - vid hans si - da tro - get stod,

2

pa - ter e - rat, et spi - ri - tus.

en bleef ver-bon-den met de Geest. A - men.

hans Fa - der och den hel - ge And. A - men.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 32: Thursday Compline hymn *Sponse iungendo/När Sönnen vigdes/De Zoon betrad* in the Latin original and the Dutch and Swedish adaptations. Latin original NL-UD: HS K:An 1 fol. 86v, ca. 1500; Dutch version unpublished material from Maria Refugie p. 132; Swedish version *Vadstenanunnornas veckoritual* p. 37, 1974.

Spönse iungéndo filio,
in claritátis thálamó,
collaterális sócius,
páter érat, et spíritus.

De Zoon betrád het bruidsvertrék,
om zich te bín den aan Zijn bruid.
Maar Hij verliét de Váder niet,
en bleef verbónden met de Geest.

När Sónen vígdes vid sin brud,
i kámmaren av klárhet fylld,

invíd hans síða tróget stod,
hans Fáder och den hélge And.

Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria* in vernacular clothing

After having examined a few characteristics of the adaptations of *Sponse iungendo filio*, we turn to a more complicated affair in the Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria*. Providing a comparable transcription of the chant and its adaptations into Dutch and Swedish is problematic since the reordering of the musical material makes a single comparative transcription difficult. Certain elements have been borrowed and introduced into the adaptations but reordered, while some passages are newly composed. I have therefore chosen to separate the versions into three different transcriptions and highlighted a number of interesting features in numbered boxes to discuss how the Latin original melody was utilised in the adaptations. Numbers refer to the numbered boxes in the transcriptions. In music examples 33, 34, and 35 we first see the original version from NL-UD: HS: K:An 1, then the Dutch version, and finally the Swedish version.

I NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 118v

Ma - ri - a, to - ti - us

sanc - ti - ta - tis

tu prin-ci - pa - lis

2

3

4

4

2

nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter da ser - vi - re,

et ab hos - tis

3

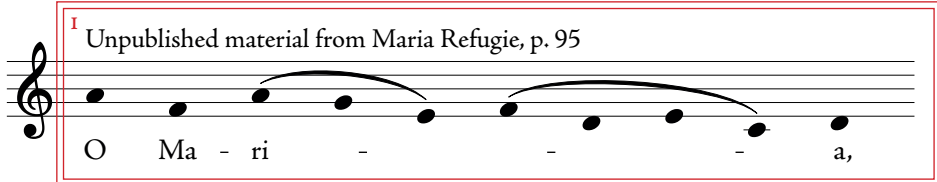
an - ti - qui mil - le mil - len - is frau - di - bus con - ser - va,

4

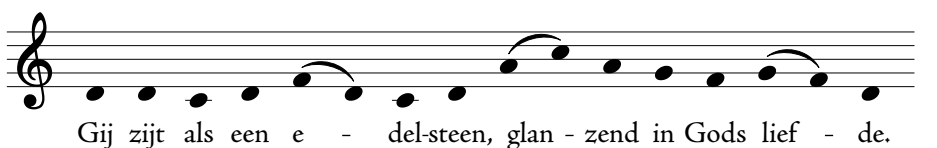
Ma - ri - a.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 33: Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria* in NL-UD:
 HS K:An 1, p. 118v, ca. 1500.

¹ Unpublished material from *Maria Refugie*, p. 95



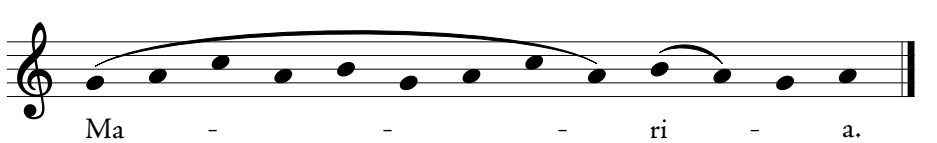
O Ma - ri - - - a,



Gij zijt als een e - del-steen, glan - zend in Gods lief - de.



Geef dat wij u e-ren en God die-nen, en be-waar onsvoor al-lekwaad,



Ma - - - - ri - a.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 34: Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria*. Dutch adaptation by Nicolaas de Goede. Unpublished material from *Marie Refugie*, no date, p. 95.

1 Vadstenanunnornas veckoritual, p. 37

Ma - ri - a, Ma - ri - a,

du all he - lig-hets yp - per - sta ä - del-sten,

för - lä - na oss gå - van att öd - mjukt tjä - na dig

2 och fräls oss **3** från den gam - le fi - en - dens

3 tu - sen sin - om tu - sen svek,

4 Ma - ri - a.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 35: Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria*. Swedish adaptation by Nicolaas de Goede. *Vadstenanunnornas veckoritual*, p. 37, 1974.

Analysing the two vernacular versions of *Maria, Maria* shows clearly that the two adaptations, just as in the case of *Sponse iungendo filio*, were accomplished in different ways. On a general level, both are considerably shorter than the Latin original.

NL-UD: HS K:An 1 uses 126 notes, the Dutch adaptation 59, and the Swedish adaptation 81. The adaptations move in a lower range than the Latin original; the Latin reaches an F, while the adaptations only have D as their highest pitch. The Swedish version has melismas partly in accordance with the Latin version. The most distinctive feature is that the Swedish version more freely uses the Latin material than the Dutch version. It furthermore reorders the material from the original Latin, and shapes phrases differing in contour, although the pitch content is much the same. As with *Sponse iungendo filio*, De Goede applied different solutions for different languages. An impression is that his method was less rigid in the Swedish adaptation, resulting in a melody both longer than the Dutch version and richer in melismas.

Both adaptations make use of the emblematic Maria-theme, discussed at length in chapter 7. This theme is here constituted by the pitches in the first word of the piece (*Maria*) in box number 1. The second *Maria* of the Latin is used only in the Swedish adaptation. The Dutch version on the other hand begins the chant with the exclamation “O” and only has one *Maria*.

The five pitches in box number 2 provide a short motif used in both vernacular versions. It forms the highpoint of the piece, being placed roughly in the middle and as such creating a bow-like structure in the melody. The upward movement from the ending of box 1 up to number 2 in both adaptations makes more free use of the melodic material of the Latin original, the Swedish version being both longer and moving higher for a wider range than the Dutch.

From box number 3, the melodies evolve to the concluding *Maria*, which in both cases are solved differently than in the Latin original. The “problematic” ending where the original melody ends in a high register has already been discussed at length in chapter 4. In the Dutch adaptation (box number 3), the melody begins on the same pitch as the Latin, but the phrase is both shorter and the range lower, so that it ends a fourth lower than the Latin. The Swedish adaptation begins (see box number 3) a fifth down and also ends a fourth lower than the Latin.

The concluding phrase in box 4 in both adaptations is almost identical to the Latin, although it omits the pitch repetitions. However, it is transposed down a fourth so that the piece ends on an A, and thus the tenor. It indicates that De Goede also worked with the procedure of transposition, and considered the ending of the original version problematic. He had already altered this in the 1957 edition of *Cantus sororum*, an edition the sisters had been accustomed to singing from for almost 20 years at the time the vernacular version was introduced, and with which they must have been very familiar. De Goede therefore offered a fourth way of ending this piece. Servatius suggested the possibility of transposition, ending the piece on G, which would mean that the piece began in mode 1 and ended in

mode 8. The printed vesperal from 1883 ended the piece on D, retaining the chant firmly in mode 1. De Goede's solution produces a chant in mode 1, where both the Dutch and Swedish versions begin and end on a tenor pitch of mode 1, which is A. Furthermore, it may be noted that the Swedish adaptation is closer to the Latin original with regard to melody. Different considerations were given in the adaptation process, resulting in different solutions, but where certain features were retained in both adaptations to retain certain characteristics: mainly the beginning, the ending, and the four-note motif in box 2.

The decolourisation process as described above is a simplistic way of looking at a strategy that in reality is far more intricate. De Goede did much more than just remove or reduce melismas. Working with the melodies in three ways in these two chants as examples, he furthermore adapted the melodies differently and to varying degrees. One feature consistent with all more melismatic melodies is that they are considerably shorter than the Latin versions. With this strategy, the Birgittine chantscape was once more preserved by transformation – a transformation that would take the *Cantus sororum* to languages it had not yet been challenged with, and challenge the principles in which the Birgittine chantscape had functioned.

The situation of the Birgittine liturgy in the early 20th century

The Birgittine abbeys that still existed after the Second Vatican Council faced a new liturgical landscape. These communities dealt differently with their liturgy with regard to the options given by the Council and not always with the vernacular as the common denominator.

Maria Hart also opted for a vernacular solution and used De Goede's adaptations for the Dutch. But when the community transformed from the medieval branch to the Hesselblad branch in 2005, they began to use the Roman Breviary. Altomünster (closed in 2017) chose a mix. They remained within the medieval branch, but chose the Roman Breviary and left the use of *Cantus sororum* sometime before 1976.⁴³⁶

Today Pax Mariae and Maria Refugie are the only functioning Birgittine abbeys of the medieval branch. The part of the liturgy that is sung has been reduced because communities have become older and smaller, where liturgical demands have to accord with the efforts that can be made. In 2022, the sisters in Uden read their Office entirely *recto tono* (reciting on one single pitch). In Pax Mariae, the sisters still use De Goede's adaptations but sometimes use Latin chant in the Mass.

⁴³⁶ Lundén reports in his edition and commentary on the texts of the *Cantus sororum* published in 1976 that Altomünster recently had chosen this liturgy. LUNDÉN: *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis* vol. 1, V. The liturgies in the other three Birgittine branches are as yet uninvestigated.

This process of bringing Latin elements back into liturgy is a part of the so-called re-Gregorianisation. This means that the sisters, to a limited degree, return to Latin chants.⁴³⁷ This strategy has been widespread in the Roman Catholic Church in monastic liturgies since the 1980s because often the vernacular repertoires have not proven to stand the test of time. Another important reason for bringing Latin chant back to the liturgy is an experienced rupture in tradition caused by the Second Vatican Council when Gregorian chant sung in Latin was, to a large extent, thrown overboard in the Catholic Church. In Pax Mariae, the re-Gregorianisation of the Mass liturgy is practiced during the summer when many visitors attend Masses. During this season, the Kyrie is sung in Latin following *Missa de angelis*.⁴³⁸ Here Latin is seen as the international language of the Catholic Church, but Latin is also an ideological marker in that it is the *official* liturgical language of the Catholic Church and thus regarded as a unifying factor. No Latin is used today in the Cantus sororum. Despite the move away from Latin, the interest in the medieval world of the Birgittines has not diminished during the 20th century. This has been especially true in Sweden. Medieval scholarship keeps highlighting Birgitta herself, her revelations, and the Order in numerous studies. Every year, new titles on Birgitta and the Birgittines are published. Birgittine chant can be heard on recordings and Birgitta's life and revelations attract significant attention from the general public. In Sweden today, Birgitta is the most well-known and well documented medieval Swedish person. This interest in her and the Birgittines are factors that need to be taken into account when considering how the Birgittine sisters deal with their founder's authority and the routinisation of Birgitta's charisma today. The outside world thus provides an external form of authority for the Birgittine Order.

Conclusion and summary

The Second Vatican Council led to an enormous shift in Catholic liturgy, which also impacted the Birgittines. This would change the entire chantscape for the Catholic Church, and not only for the Birgittines. Preserving Latin in the Birgittine liturgy never seemed to have been an option, despite the fact that the Council explicitly mentioned the use of Gregorian chant in Latin. At the same time, the Birgittines at no point threw the Cantus sororum overboard. They again negotiated their chantscape and once more adapted to contemporary conditions in an

⁴³⁷ The term re-Gregorianisation was coined during my work on my dissertation and discussed at length, where it forms a basic premise for the understanding of the process which has led many monasteries to reinstate parts of the Latin liturgy after the Second Vatican Council. The dissertation is an examination of the situation of the liturgy in 2007–2008 in 21 European monasteries. See LAGERGREN: *Ordet blev sång*.

⁴³⁸ Interview with sisters in Pax Mariae, 29 August 2019.

extreme act of preserving by transformation, now using the vernacular. What we see today in the Birgittine abbeys is a result of one important consequence of the Second Vatican Council: the unity that Latin constituted, and the chant tradition that was part of it, has been disrupted by vernacular solutions. With a vernacular *Cantus sororum* the Birgittine chantscape had been profoundly altered and has led to a fracturing of the sound of the chantscape. The sounds of both text and melodies have been reconfigured, but they are still called the *Cantus sororum* and are still a part of the Birgittine identity. De Goede's work on the one hand removed the *Cantus sororum* further away from its origin by adapting it to the vernacular; at the same time it was also work that returned the same repertoire closer to its origin by basing it on the oldest usable sources and crediting its authorship to Magister Petrus. As a consequence, the Birgittine identity and Birgitta's authority were inscribed in this new, and yet at the same time old, repertoire. This was a Birgittine chant for a new age, based on age-old sources!

EPILOGUE

Preserving, transforming, and reconfiguring the Birgittine chantscape



HAVING COME TO the end of this book, I would like to return to one of the initial thoughts of the introduction: liturgy is the centre of every monastic order and must therefore be the place where we can seek and find crucial values and concepts that define that specific way of monastic life. This book has sought to do so by exploring Birgittine chant and liturgy over many centuries in order to examine how liturgy can express fundamental ideas about self-definition in a monastic community. We have not only followed a specific monastic order and in particular the community in Mariënwater/Maria Refugie, but through this lens have followed more general trends in the Gregorian chantscape. One of my primary efforts has concerned tracing a possible Birgittine chantscape. I have discussed how it was formed and created, but specifically how it developed over the centuries. All in all, what a chantscape does is to construct and maintain an identity, all in keeping with music's extraordinary ability to enhance identity. The Birgittine chantscape did change over time, but it does not seem that this, at any point, changed the Birgittine idea of what it meant to be a Birgittine. Enough elements and links to the tradition were preserved to maintain an identity. It is here in this preservation that Birgitta's charisma and authority are maintained, in creating a unity in the Order that transcends time and abbey. In the books for the Birgittine liturgy we find clues as to how this community of singing and praying sisters (and partly the brothers) viewed their lives as Birgittines, and the monastic culture in which they were fostered. Their chantscape has been updated, reworked, revised, and negotiated, and continues to be so, but it has never been rejected. The Birgittine sisters have revealed a remarkable persistence in the use of their own Latin Office liturgy, *Cantus sororum*, demonstrating how crucial this liturgy has been for their self-identification as Birgittines.

One of my key points has been that the Birgittine liturgy as we know it from the earliest extant sources was a collective achievement in Vadstena, all through the formative decades of the Order's life. I argue that the early 15th century was an influential period, intensely occupied with the idea of what it was to be a Birgittine. Chant played an important part in this formation as a monastic person and was an important factor in constructing the Birgittine identity. The codification of these chants was completed in Vadstena in the 1420s, at the latest in 1430. Be-

ginning with its very consistent transmission to other Birgittine foundations, the liturgy continued to evolve. Different customs and traditions emerged in different abbeys. The Birgittine chantscape operated within a tradition of change, where its remarkable ability to relate to its times has become evident throughout this study. In that respect, the Birgittine chant and liturgy is not itself unique but reflects how Catholic liturgy has functioned for hundreds of years. Liturgy is a living practice and not a set of dead customs.

The Birgittine chantscape I have sought to map out is not a single technique but several, which together constitute a larger unity. In the first place, there are a number of Marian chants, borrowed from the common repertoire to emphasise the Marian aspect of the Order, and many are well-known to Catholic churchgoers. Some received a special Birgittine treatment with small alterations to the melody. The Order also produced several unique pieces, especially invitational antiphons, great responsories, and psalm antiphons. However, there is no sign that these pieces were accorded a more distinguished position in the Birgittine repertoire than those borrowed. Moreover, these Birgittine *unica* were neither subject or resistant to revision to a higher degree than borrowings or reworkings from the standard repertoire. Rather, some of the *unica* exhibit features that probably were considered outdated and thereby revised – not because they were Birgittine. There is no evidence that the Birgittines were aware of or considered which chants might have been composed by Magister Petrus and therefore thought of them as more authentic and preserved them from revision. Such a discussion of the authenticity of certain songs in the Birgittine chant is purely a scholarly 20th-century discussion. The Birgittines moved in a world marked by intertextuality, where choices could be made based on earlier experiences and repertoires; through the creation of a Birgittine chant repertoire upon an intertextual ground a musical identity could be created. In this book I have pointed to a number of previously unnoticed relationships between the sisters' Mass and Office and have shown how they mirror each other in text, melody, and spiritual unity.

In the following I will outline the most important strategies and chants in this landscape of Birgittine chants; concepts that have all served to emphasise the Birgittine branding.

1. Intertextual relations

Intertextuality in this context concerns how the Birgittines related their chant repertoire to the greater Birgittine liturgy and the Catholic liturgy in general. The term 'borrowing' is used in some places in this book. It is, however, a highly problematic concept since borrowings almost always result in some sort of alteration. I hope that this has become clear during the course of this book. I suggest that 'inter-

textual relations' is a term that perhaps better describes the procedure of intricate borrowings, and these relations are present in every corner of plainchant in all traditions. Chant is nurtured through intertextuality. In the Birgittine chantscape, intertextual relations may be summed up as follows:

- ♦ Complete melodies were borrowed from a context that the community in question admires or wants to relate to etc. One example is the repertoire of Marian chants, as in the many Marian sequences which were sung at each Mass, even on ferial days. Singing a sequence, normally reserved for feast days, served to give each Mass a festive Marian touch.
- ♦ Musical motifs borrowed from outside the Order and used as integral parts for the community's liturgy can create relations *within* the liturgy. An example of this is the *Gaudeamus* introit for Marian feasts that by tradition is used for Marian days. In the Birgittine liturgy this points even more directly to the Marian aspect crucial to the Office liturgy.
- ♦ Contrafact is another powerful tool. Melodies that carry an earlier familiarity are provided with new texts. This is particularly the case with the hymn repertoire where all the melodies are known from sources outside the Birgittines. One such example that has been discussed is *Sponse iungendo filio*, which is a contrafact of the Pentecost hymn *Veni creator spiritus*.

The above attempt to divide the Birgittine chantscape into three categories is perhaps more symptomatic of our modern systematising mind than it was for medieval people. Medieval liturgy and its chant lived in a continuum of more or less familiar items which might freely be adopted. Allusions to already existing practices and repertoires were a completely normal way of shaping liturgy in any liturgical context, but the listing above is one way of trying to look at the Birgittine chantscape from a more systematic angle.

2. Birgittine unica

The unique melodies and texts created within the Birgittine community to emphasise themes crucial to them is another part of the Birgittine chantscape. This is the point where the Birgittine chantscape becomes specifically Birgittine. There are two kinds. The first concerns the suffrage and processional antiphons for Birgitta and Katherina that inscribed them in the liturgy and therefore particularly strengthened Birgitta's authority and reinforced the Birgittine identity. The other kind of unique Birgittine chants are the *Benedicamus Domino* tropes with Marian themes for Lauds and Vespers. None of these chants were ever taken up by any other liturgical tradition. However, throughout the book I have tried to show how problematic the concept 'unique' is, just as problematic as 'borrowings' are, since even distinct melodies may employ motifs from already existing pieces, such as the

theme in the Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria*. The intertextual aspect is always present, even in the so-called unique chants.

3. Pitch group

One musical motive stands out and, I argue, was consistently constructed in that a certain formulaic gesture was used to signal the Birgittine chantscape. This concerns the Birgittine pitch group which is present in several pieces that are sung on a regular and often daily basis, both in Mass and Office. Through this, a single aspect of the Birgittine chantscape is presented at a more advanced level. The discussion of the pitch group is the most far-reaching theory in this treatment of the Birgittine musical identity, and is a novel contribution to Birgittine chant scholarship. There is no written evidence from the Birgittines themselves explicitly supporting this theory, other than an overwhelming amount of evidence from the music. Yet, the idea of *pitch groups* allows us to speak about musical relationships within a chantscape in more detail. I argue that the impetus came from the introit *Salve sancta parens*, whose initial pitches served as inspiration for a motivic use in a number of chants, either picked up from the common stock of chants or newly created for use in the Birgittine Order. With the use of this pitch group, the Birgittines were musically reminded of their identity on a more or less daily basis.

4. A tradition of change

Some chants seem to have been subject to constant revision. A few of the most extreme examples have been presented in this book and recurred in several chapters. This particularly concerns the Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria*, which holds a unique place in Birgittine chant history with its numerous reworkings. The chant offers a looking glass into procedures that are applicable to the Cantus sororum in general. Other chants that seem to have caused the Birgittines considerable musical problems and that were reworked several times are the Saturday Vespers antiphon *Jam letaris* and the Tuesday Benedictus antiphon *Benedictus sis tu*. Nothing is known about why these chants were subject to such ongoing reworkings. One possibility is that they express crucial values and therefore needed to be musically reframed at certain times in history. What these reworkings do tell us is that the Birgittine chantscape was under constant negotiation and at times needed to be adjusted.

Stylistic questions and features, and the development of chantscape over time

In its widest sense, the Birgittine liturgy includes all the chants for Mass and Office as well as processions. It is a collective resource for expressing the collective iden-

tity through liturgy of a monastic order that heavily relies on the routinisation of Birgitta's charisma. This identity is a reservoir of collective efforts, memories, history, and experiences that at times spurs creative output; so it has been throughout the Birgittines' entire history. This identity is closely related to the chant of the Order. If anything, the Birgittine tradition is one of change that does not lose sight of its liturgical foundations. Even if this book has, to some extent, been dedicated to tracing what is typically uniform in Birgittine chant, stylistic diversity is here, just as it is a typical feature in many other monastic contexts. It can even be said to be a characteristic that helps repertoires to survive over a long time; many different musical ways of praying through singing are used that helps the repertoire to survive during greater time spans. This more general aspect is in part explained because the Birgittine Mass and Office repertoire is, to such a large extent, constituted by borrowings and intertextual relations. The Birgittine chantscape therefore contains a variety of styles: from long melismatic pieces to short syllabic, from wide-ranging pieces to those with a limited ambitus, from highly original pieces to some of the most common in chant repertoires. Added to the variety of styles are the alterations of melodies (but never texts) that occurred over the centuries which were sometimes more ephemeral in nature. As the musical world around plainchant changed, the Birgittine chant adapted to a western music history that tended away first from modality into major/minor tonality, and in the 20th century to a world where Latin was no longer the prime language for Catholic worship. Of all changes in the Birgittine chantscape, the transition to the vernacular *Cantus sororum* in the 1970s had the most far-reaching consequences. The sound of the chant changed from Latin into the vernacular, which created a very different experience. The melodies, subject to revisions several times earlier, underwent new revisions that changed them considerably into a more syllabic character. But even this radical change did not threaten the Birgittines' idea of themselves; they stood firm in their Birgittine tradition, close to Birgitta and her charisma. Nicolaas de Goede's work was only another development of a tradition within a Birgittine frame.

The future for the Birgittine Order: possibilities and challenges

In 2013, Maria Refugie celebrated its 200 years in Uden, a jubilee also intended to let people know more about its life and the Birgittine Order. Thousands of people visited the abbey during an open-door day, and the often-cited book *Birgitta Atlas* was published in connection to that jubilee. A film presenting life in Maria Refugie was produced: *Een eiland in de tijd* (An Island in Time).⁴³⁹ In Vadstena, the guesthouse at Pax Marie remains popular for visitors and there is a system

⁴³⁹ *Een eiland in de tijd* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Mrllmgy-po> Accessed 28 February 2022.

for accepting volunteers.⁴⁴⁰ Every year new books on Birgitta, her time, and her Order are published, mainly in Swedish that remains the dominant language both for research publications and popular scholarship, testifying to the big interest in this Scandinavian saint and mystic. Nonetheless, in the third decade of the 21st century, the medieval branch of the Birgittine Order is, just like other monastic orders, struggling to survive. What the future will hold for the medieval branch of the Birgittines is difficult to say. New vocations are few and the communities grow older. While threats to the Order's existence earlier in history came from outside, for example political pressures, today they may be said to arise from within Christianity, particularly with the lack of new vocations. That the Birgittine chantscape primarily presented today by Cantus sororum in its vernacular form will be a dead tradition is a plausible alternative. Or will it once more be reconfigured? Perhaps there is an alternative: new paths have opened in order to bring Birgittine monastic life into the future, in part through collaboration among the branches. Whether these efforts will be enough to revive the medieval branch only time will tell. But in such a case, we might see an increased use of Latin in the Birgittine liturgy as part of an increased interest in returning to the Latin-texted chants.

Future research

Despite earlier scholarship (and now this book), there remains further research that needs to be done to fully grasp the complexity of the Birgittine Order and its liturgy. This book has continued to scratch the surface, building on earlier scholarship, but the vision of covering the entire Birgittine liturgy in all its aspects has been impossible to fulfil. The more I have written, the more I realised how much more there needs to be done on the topic. In many cases, the sources I have addressed deserve a more thorough investigation. Further books from Mariënwater that are housed in collections in other countries, such as the United States, can also shed more light on the liturgical and musical traditions.⁴⁴¹ Scattered books from German Birgittine abbeys may also increase our understanding of the German chant tradition outside Altomünster.⁴⁴² The brothers' chant repertoire is more

⁴⁴⁰ Birgittasystrarna <https://birgittaskloster.se/sv/volontar> Accessed 28 February 2022.

⁴⁴¹ A list of such manuscripts is found in SANDER OLSEN: *Catalogus* 253–254.

⁴⁴² Little research has been undertaken but Volker Schier has published on a processional from Maihingen, and a collection of letters from the Birgittine nun Katerina Lemmel has formed the basis for an account of life in Birgittine abbey Maria Mai in the 16th century. V. SCHIER: 'Writing and rewriting processions: The reworking of the procession liturgy by the Birgittine nuns of south Germany', in R. ANDERSSON, C. GEJROT, M. ÅKESTAM (eds.): *Birgitta Conference, The Birgittine experience: papers from the Birgitta Conference in Stockholm 2011* (Stockholm 2013) 256–287. C. SCHLEIF & V. SCHIER: *Katerina's windows: donation and devotion, art and music, as heard and seen through the writings of a Birgittine Nun* (University Park, Pennsylvania 2008).

difficult to investigate due to an even greater lack of sources and earlier research, but the possibility remains if the archives were searched carefully. Among known sources concerning the brothers we have books from Vadstena and Altomünster, considered only to a limited extent in this book. The entire situation after the 16th century is in general a neglected field in Birgittine studies.

Previous research has to a great extent been preoccupied with Vadstena and medieval sources. I have attempted to show that the post-medieval situation is just as interesting – or perhaps even more interesting – than that of the first centuries. I hope this study may inspire others to broaden the timeframe of Birgittine studies.

The relation between the Birgittines and other ecclesiastical institutions is also a topic that remains promising. One example is the exchange between Birgittine abbeys and the diocesan liturgy of chants and sung texts; along with other liturgical contexts it remains a scarcely researched topic. Such investigations may underscore the mutual exchange of liturgical material, but also illuminate power structures and networks within which the Birgittines operated. The relation between *devotio moderna*, the beguines, and the Birgittines is definitely a field that can be further explored and which I have only touched on very briefly as a way of explaining their success in the Low Countries.

On a more general level, this book has directed attention to many other fields where further research needs to be conducted, including the intricate question of double liturgies in general and the Birgittine liturgy's musical relations to other chant repertoires. Overall, there is no lack of sources, research fields, or questions that deserve more research. But a book must somewhere end and so this does here, in the hope that this study has shed some new and perhaps unexpected light on liturgy and chant in the Birgittine Order.

Bibliography

Sources used for transcriptions:

A complete listing of books from Mariënwater is found in Appendix 2. A selection of 22 manuscripts from Mariënwater, Mariëntroon, Vadstena, and Altomünster are inventoried at www.birgittine.org.

Stockholm, Royal Library:

S-Sk: A84 *Antiphonarium et hymnarium Sancte Birgitte*, second half of the 15th century

S-Sk: A534 *Antiphonarium per hebdomadam ferialibus diebus secundum usum sacri ordinis S. Birgittae. Conscriptum Pro R. S. A. K. Anno: MDCCLX*, provenance Altomünster, dated 1761

Maria Refugie, Uden

Period 1 ca. 1470–1510

NL-UD: HS K:An 1 *Antiphonale Birgittanum*, ca. 1500

NL-UD: HS K:An 2 *Antiphonale Birgittanum*, ca. 1500

NL-UD: HS K:An 3 *Antiphonale Birgittanum*, ca. 1500

NL-UD: HS K:An 4 *Antiphonale Birgittanum*, ca. 1500

NL-UD: HS K:An 5 *Antiphonale Birgittanum*, 16th century

NL-UD: MRK 072 *Antiphonale Birgittanum*, ca. 1500

Period 2 ca. 1639–ca. 1660

NL-UD: HS K:An 7 *Antiphonale Birgittanum*, 1640

NL-UD: HS K:An 8 *Antiphonale Birgittanum*, ca. 1645

NL-UD: HS K:An 12 *Antiphonale Birgittanum*, 1648

NL-UD: HS K:Gr7 *Graduale Birgittanum*, ca. 1650

NL-UD: HS K:Gr 14 *Graduale Birgittanum*, ca. 1660

NL-UD: HS K:Pr 10 *Processionale Birgittanum*, 1651

Period 3 ca. 1720–1760

NL-UD: HS K:Gr 17 *Graduale Mariano Birgittanum*, 1728

NL-UD: HS K:An 16 *Antiphonale and Graduale Birgittanum*, 1735

Period 4 ca. 1850–ca. 1900

NL-UD: HS K:An 24 *Antiphonale Mariano Birgittanum*, 1846

NL-UD: HS K:Gr 26 *Graduale Mariano Birgittanum*, 1843

NL-UD: HS K:An 25 Antiphonale Birgittanum, after 1881

NL-UD: HS K:Gr 26 Antiphonale Birgittanum, after 1881

Uppsala University Library

S-Uu: C442 Directorium chori monasterii Vastenensis, 14th century

S-Uu: C468 Directorium chori monasterii Vastenensis, end of the 15th century

S-Uu: C450 Antiphonarium ad usum fratrum monasterii Vastenensis, written
1484–1511

S-Uu: C482 Cantus sororum, end of the 15th century

S-Uu: C490 Cantus sororum, end of the 15th century

S-Uu: C501 Cantus sororum, 15th century

S-Uu: C23 Rimofficier, 15th century

Brussels, Royal Library

B-Br: II 3833 Cantus sororum, ca. 1500

B-Br: II 3834 Cantus sororum, ca. 1500

The Hague, Royal Library

NL-DHk: 71 A 21 *Officia et Missae de B. Maria Virgine*, Royal Library The Hague,
ca. 1500

Munich, München-Freising diocesan library

D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 1, Antiphonarium Birgittinum, 1480

D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 2 Antiphonarium und Graduale, 1480

D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 3 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1486

D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 4 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1495

D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 5 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1490

D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 6 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1510

D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 102 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1632

D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 103 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1657

D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 104 Antiphonarium Graduale, 1661

D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 105 Antiphonarium Graduale, ca. 1661

D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 108 Antiphonarium, 1698

D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 179 Antiphonarium, 1738

Linköping diocesan library

S-LI: Weert T272 Antiphonale Mariano Birgittanum Ordinis from Maria Hart,
dated 1849

Sint-Pieter-en-Paulus-Abdij Affligem, Belgium

B-Afosb: IHS 3–4 Antiphonale Graduale, 1637

Letters

Archive Bisdom van 's-Hertogenbosch

Letter from 1875 from Rector Baaselmans to the bishop in 's-Hertogenbosch.

Maria Refugie, Uden

Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Bishop Mutsaerts, 24 March 1944.

Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Sr. Margareta, 9 November 1943.

Letter from Rottier to Smits van Waesberghe, 27 September 1943.

Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Rottier, Heer van Heeswijk, and Moeder Abdis, 6 January 1944.

Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to secretary Susante, 8 March 1944.

Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to secretary Susante, 24 March 1944.

Letter from Bishop Mutsaerts to abbess in Maria Refugie, copy of letter issued in 's-Hertogenbosch, 27 March 1944.

Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Sr. Margareta, 15 May 1944.

Letter from rector to the community in Uden, 1946 (not dated).

Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to the Rector and Abbess, 15 December 1946.

Letter from Smits van Waesberghe to Rottier, 11 April 1944.

Two letters from Smits van Waesberghe to Brouwers are dated 30 April 1944, 27 June 1944.

File Liturgie en eredienst, Maria Refugie./[renamed to] File *Kerk en eredienst*.

Undated copy of explanation of privileges written by Abbot Bergh O.S.B.

Printed liturgical books

Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis. SS. Salvatoris vulgo S. Birgittae. Excudebant Sorores Birgittae. Weert 1881.

Antiphonarium Ordinis SS. Salvatoris seu S. Birgittae in Monasterio S. Altonis. Ratisbonae/Regensburg. Pustet 1861.

Cantus sororum. Annie Bank, Amsterdam 1957.

Daily Office of Our Lady. The Syon Breviary. The Bridgettine Sisters. Devon 2015.

Graduale triplex seu Graduale Romanum Pauli PP. VI cura recognitum & rhythmicis signis a Solesmensibus monachis ornatum neumis Laudunensibus (Cod. 239) et

Sangallensibus (Codicum San Gallensis 359 et Einsidlensis 121) nunc actum, Ab-baye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, Solesmes, 1979.

Hymnussen voor den Advent. Weert, no year.

Processionale Ordinis SS.Salvatoris seu S. Birgittae in Monasterio S. Altonis. Ratis-bonae/Regensburg, Pustet 1860.

Vadstenanunnornas veckoritual. Completorium. Birgittasystrarna i Vadstena 1974.

Vesperale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis SS. Salvatoris vulgo S. Birgittae. Weert 1883.

Letters/Correspondence/E-mail/Personal communication from/to the author

Email from Sr BERNADETTE O.Ss.S., Maria Refugie, 16 January 2020.

Interview with BIRGITTINE SISTERS at Pax Mariae, 29 August 2019.

Prof. Margot FASSLER personal communication Utrecht, 28 May 2018.

Email from Mother KARIN O.Ss.S., Pax Mariae, 18 November 2022.

Email from Sr. PATRICIA O.Ss.S., Pax Mariae, 3 May 2018.

Email from Harry SCHNITKER, 12–13 December 2019.

Online resources, electronic resources, websites, databases

AILI, H: Petrus Olavi, in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=7208> Accessed 26 February 2022.

Antiphonarium Freiburg, Couvent des Cordeliers/Franziskanerkloster, Ms. 2 fol. 211r, ca. 1300 <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fcc/0002/211v/o/Se-quence-767> Accessed 23 February 2022.

Alvin. Platform for digital collections and digitized cultural heritage. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/home.jsf?faces-redirect=true&searchType=EXTENDED&dswid=-486> Accessed 23 February 2022.

Birgittasystrarna <https://birgittaskloster.se/sv/volontar> Accessed 28 February 2022.

Corpus Reuelacionum Sancte Birgitte (CRB), National Archives in Stockholm: <http://riksarkivet.se/crb> Accessed 23 February 2022.

Der Buchhaltbestand des Klosters Altomünster vor dem Erscheinungsjahr 1803. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?projekt=1504787190> Accessed 23 February 2022.

Constitution on the sacred liturgy Sacrosanctum concilium https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html Accessed 23 February 2022.

Een eiland in de tijd <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Mrllmgy-po> Accessed 28 February 2022.

- Helsinki University, Fragmenta Membranea <http://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/> Accessed 23 February 2022.
- HILL, M.E.: *Soundscape* in Oxford Music Online/Grove Music Online 2014 <https://doi-org.proxy.lnu.se/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2258182> Accessed 26 February 2022.
- HOLY SEE, THE: *Motu proprio Tra le sollecitudini* https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-x/it/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-x_motu_proprio_19031122_sollecitudini.html Accessed 12 January 2023.
- Multisensoriska Vadstena klosterkyrka <https://sketchfab.com/multisensoriskavadstena/collections/vadstena-klosterkyrka-1470-effad40f-930e4cd48214254552eocdf5> Accessed 25 February 2025.
- National Archives, database of medieval book fragments MPO: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/mpo> Accessed 23 February 2022
- Rottier, August Jean-Marie *Den katolske kirke* <http://www.katolsk.no/biografier/innenriks/arottier> Accessed 23 February 2022.

Literature

A

- AF JOHNICK ÖSTBORN, A.: "För Sverige har jag skänkt Gud mitt liv!": Elisabeth Hesselblads kallelse och birgittinska mission i Sverige 1902–1935 (Skellefteå 1999).
- AF JOHNICK ÖSTBORN, A.: "The Birgittine revival in Sweden" in Y.M. WERNER (ed.): *Nuns and sisters in the Nordic countries after the reformation: a female counter-culture in modern society* (Uppsala 2004) 21–62.
- ANDERSSON-SCHMITT, M. & M. HEDLUND: *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis*; 26, 1 (Stockholm/Uppsala 1988–1995).
- ANDERSSON, E.: *Responsiones Vadstenenses: perspectives on the Birgittine rule in two texts from Vadstena and Syon Abbey: a critical edition with translation and Introduction*, diss. (Stockholm 2011).
- AUTIO, H., M. BARBAGALLO, C. ASK, D. BARD HAGBERG, E. LINDQVIST SANDGREN, K. STRINNHOLM LAGERGREN: 'Historically Based Room Acoustic Analysis and Auralization of a Church in the 1470s' in *Applied Science* Vol. 11 Issue 4. <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-3417/11/4/1586>

B

- BALTZER, Rebecca A.: "The Little Office of the Virgin and Mary's Role at Paris," in Margot E. FASSLER and Rebecca A. BALTZER (eds.): *The Divine Office in*

- the Latin Middle Ages. *Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography* (Oxford 2000), 463–484.
- BATAILLE, Camille: *Birgitta quasi beate Virginis sagitta. Le culte de la Vierge Marie en Suède de sainte Brigitte à la Réforme (1300–1530)*, diss. (Caen 2016).
- BERGERON, Katherine: *Decadent enchantments: the revival of Gregorian chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley 1998).
- BJÖRKVALL, Gunilla: *Liturgical sequences in medieval manuscript fragments in the Swedish National Archives: repertorial investigation, inventory, and reconstruction of sources* (Stockholm 2015).
- BLUME, Clemens & Guido Maria DREVES (eds.): *Analecta hymnica medii aevi. 37, Sequentiae ineditae: liturgische Prosen des Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Frühdrucken. F. 5* (Leipzig 1901).
- BOHLIN, Folke: 'Brynolffrågan. En granskning av Ingmar Milvedens *Neue Funde*' in *Upptakter i den svenska vokalmusikens historia* (Göteborg 2014) 62–84.
- BOEREN, VAN, P. C.: *Catalogus van de liturgische handschriften van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (The Hague 1988).
- BOYNTON, Susan: *Shaping a monastic identity: liturgy and history at the imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca/London 2006).
- THE BRIDGETTINE SISTERS: *Daily Office of Our Lady. The Syon Breviary* (Devon 2015).
- BRUNIUS, Jan: *Atque Olavi: nordiska helgon i medeltida mässböcker* (Stockholm 2008).
- BRUNIUS, Jan: *From manuscripts to wrappers: medieval book fragments in the Swedish National Archives: archival guide* (Stockholm 2013).
- BUCHT, Gunnar: *Vadstenanunnornas veckoritual*, diss. (Uppsala 1953).
- BUSSE BERGER, Anna Maria: *Medieval music and the art of memory* (Berkeley 2005).

C

- CARPELS, Simon: *Het klooster Maria Troon in Dendermonde. Een studie naar de identiteit van de Birgittinessen in de laatmiddeleeuwse Nederlanden*. Master's thesis (Gent 2010).
- CARRUTHERS, Mary J.: *The book of memory: a study of memory in medieval culture*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge 2008).
- CIARDI, Anna Minara: 'När togs lundakanikernas *Consuetudines* egentligen i bruk? Reflektioner kring texttradering och traditionsförmedling i 1120-talets Lund', in *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* (2004) 11–21.
- COLLINS, A. Jefferies: *The Bridgettine breviary of Syon Abbey* (Stanbrook 1963).

D

- DIJCK, VAN, Lucas G. C. M.: *Bronnen van Coudewater. De eerste twee eeuwen Mariënwater, het oudste nog bestaande Birgittaklooster ter wereld te Coudewater in Rosmalen (ca. 1437-ca. 1637)* ('s-Hertogenbosch 2018).
- DIJCK, VAN, Rudolf Th. M. O. Carm.: *Salome Sticken (1369–1449) en de oorsprong van de Moderne Devotie* (Hilversum 2015).
- DUNDES, Alan: 'The devolutionary premise in folklore theory', in *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, June 1969, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1969), 5–19.

E

- EKENBERG, Anders: *Den gregorianska sången: teori, historia, praxis* (Stockholm 1998).
- EKLUND, Sten (ed.): *Sancta Birgitta: Opera minora 1. Regula Salvatoris* (Stockholm 1975).
- ELLIS, Katharine: *The politics of plainchant in fin-de-siècle France* (Farnham 2013).

F

- FASSLER, Margot: *Music in the medieval West. Western Music in Context: A Norton History* (New York/London 2014).
- FRITZ, Birgitta: 'Vadstena klosterkyrka och kung Magnus' testamente 1346', in P. BESKOW & A. LANDEN (eds.): *Birgitta av Vadstena. Pilgrim och profet 1303–1373: en jubileumsbok* (Stockholm 2003).
- FRITZ, Birgitta & Lars ELFVING (eds.): *Den stora kyrkofesten för Sankta Katarina i Vadstena år 1489: samtida texter med översättning och kommentar* (Stockholm 2004).
- FRÖJMARK, Anders: 'Ad portum non precogitatum. The homecoming of the Birgitta relics to Sweden (1374)', in *Analecta Bollandiana* 129 (2011) 81–104.

G

- GEETE, Robert (ed.): *Jungfru Marie örtagård. Vadstenanunnornas veckoritual i svensk översättning från år 1510* (Stockholm 1895–1897).
- GEJROT, Claes: *Diarium Vadstenense: the memorial book of Vadstena Abbey*, diss. (Stockholm 1988).
- GEJROT, Claes: *Vadstenadiariet. Latinsk text med översättning och kommentar* (Stockholm 1996).
- GEJROT, Claes: 'Att sätta ljuset i ljusstaken. Birgittinsk lobbying vid mitten av 1370-talet', in G. DAHLBÄCK et al. (eds.): *Medeltidens mångfald. Studier i samhälle, kultur och kommunikation tillägnade Olle Ferm* (Stockholm 2007), 91–106.

- GILLION, Marianne: "Shall the dead arise and praise you?" – Revisions to the *Missa pro defunctis* in Italian printed graduals, 1591–1621, in *Troja. Jarhbuch für Renaissancemusik* (2014) 59–80.
- GILLION, Marianne: 'Interconfessional implications: printed plainchant in the wake of the Reformation', in *Music & Letters* 102.4 (2021) 657–686.
- GILLION, Marianne: 'Plantin's Antiphonarium Romanum (Antwerp, 1571–73): Creating a Chant Book during the Catholic Reformation', in *Acta Musicologica* vol. 93, no. 1 (2021) 19–42.
- GIRAUD, Eleanor J.: *The production and notation of Dominican manuscripts in thirteenth-century Paris*, diss. (Cambridge 2013).
- GOEDE, DE, Nicolaas: *The Utrecht Prosarium* diss. (Utrecht 1965).
- GOZZI, Marco: 'Liturgical music and liturgical experience in early modern Italy', in Daniele V. FILIPPI & Michael NOONE (eds.): *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism. Perspectives from Musicology* (Leiden/Boston 2017) 55–78.
- GRIFFITHS, Fiona J. & Julie HOTCHIN (eds.): *Partners in spirit: women, men, and religious life in Germany, 1100 – 1500* (Turnhout 2014).
- GRIFFITHS Fiona J. & Julie HOTCHIN: 'Women and men in the medieval religious landscape' in GRIFFITHS Fiona J. & Julie HOTCHIN (eds.): *Partners in spirit: women, men, and religious life in Germany, 1100 – 1500* (Turnhout 2014) 1–45.
- GY, Pierre-Marie: 'L'Office des brigittines dans le context general de la liturgie médiévale', in *Nordiskt kollokvium II i latinsk liturgiforskning, 12–13 maj* (Stockholm 1972) 13–27.

H

- HALLQVIST, Katarina: *Stabat Virgo dolorosa. En textkritisk och musikvetenskaplig utgåva av ett svenskt rimofficium från ca 1400*. Master's thesis (Lund 2020).
- HARPER, John: *The forms and orders of Western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century: a historical introduction and guide for students and musicians* (Oxford 1991).
- HEDLUND, Monica: 'The Ordinal of the Vadstena Nuns', in *Eranos* 79 (1981), 121–136.
- HEERE, L. P. M. J.: 'Een nederlandse antifoön', in *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 26 (1952) 105–12.
- HELANDER, Sven: *Ordinarius Lincopensis c:a 1400 och dess liturgiska förebilder: Ordinarius Lincopensis und seine liturgischen Vorbilder*, diss. (Lund 1957).
- HELANDER, Sven: *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin: studier i helgonlängd, tidegärd och mässa = Die mittelalterliche Liturgie von Uppsala: Studien zu Kalendarium, Stundengebet und Messe* (Lund 2001).

- HILEY, David: *Western Plainchant. A handbook* (Oxford 1993).
- HOLLMAN, Lennart (ed.): *Den heliga Birgittas Revelaciones extravagantes* (Uppsala 1956).
- HOONDERT, Martin J. M.: 'The 'restoration' of plainchant in the Premonstratensian Order', in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 18:2 (2009) 141–161.
- HUGHES, Andrew: *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office: a guide to their organization and terminology* (Toronto 1982).
- HUGLO, Michel: 'Dominican and Franciscan books: similarities and differences between their notations', in J. HAINES (ed.): *The calligraphy of medieval music* (Turnhout 2011) 195–202.
- HÄRDELIN, Alf: 'Birgittinsk lovsång. Den teologiska grundstrukturen i Cantus sororum – den birgittinska systratidegården', in *Kult, kultur och kontemplation: studier i medeltida svenskt kyrkoliv* (Skellefteå 1998) 249–273.
- HÄRDELIN, Alf: 'Vadstena klosters långa dödskamp', in *Kult, kultur och kontemplation: studier i medeltida svenskt kyrkoliv* (Skellefteå 1998) 126–155.
- HÖJER, Tore: *Studier i Vadstena klosters och Birgittinordens historia intill midten af 1400-talet*, diss. (Uppsala 1905).

I

- INGER, Göran: 'Klosterförbudet i Sverige och dess upphävande', in *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift* (1962) 133–173.

J

- JEFFERY, Peter: *Re-envisioning past musical cultures. Ethnomusicology in the study of Gregorian chant* (Chicago 1992).
- JONES, Eddie: *England's Last Medieval Monastery. Syon Abbey 1415–2015* (Leominster 2015).

K

- KARP, Theodore: *An introduction to the post-Tridentine Mass proper. P. 1, Text* (Middleton 2005).
- KELLY, Thomas Forrest: 'Medieval composers of liturgical chant', in *The Practice of Medieval Music. Studies in Chant and Performance* (Farnham/Burlington 2010) 95–125.
- KLEMMING, Gustaf (ed.): *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser Bd 5 Bihang* (Stockholm 1883–1884).
- KLEMMING, Gustaf (ed.): *Latinska sånger fordom använda i svenska kyrkor, kloster och skolor: Sveriges helgon = Hymni, sequentiae et pia cantiones in regno Sueciae olim usitatae; Sancti Sueciae* (Stockholm 1885).

- KLOCKARS, Birgit: *Birgitta och böckerna: en undersökning av den heliga Birgittas källor* (Stockholm 1966).
- KLOCKARS, Birgit: *Birgittas svenska värld* (Stockholm 1976).
- KLOCKARS, Birgit: 'Örtagård, Jungfru Marie', in *Kulturbistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid (KLNM)* vol. XXI (1977) columns 16–18.
- KREEK, DE, M. L.: 'De bibliotheek van "Mariënwater/Maria Refugie"' in *Birgitta van Zweden 1303–1373. 600 jaar kunst en cultuur* Exhibition catalogue (Uden 1986) 42–56.

L

- LAGERBERG, Dagmar: *Författartradition Brynolf: en granskning av diskussionen kring de liturgiska verk som tillskrivits biskop Brynolf av Skara jämte en transkription av de s.k. Notule Brynolphi och deras förlaga* (Stockholm 2016).
- LAGERGREN, STRINNHOLM Karin: *Ordet blev sång. Liturgisk musik i katolska kloster 2005–2007*, diss. (Skellefteå 2009).
- LAGERGREN, STRINNHOLM Karin: 'The Birgittine Mass Liturgy through Five Centuries. A Case Study of the Uden Sources', in *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 57, (2015) 49–71.
- LAGERGREN, STRINNHOLM Karin: "'Save us from plague, sudden death, and every tribulation.'" The Antiphon *Hec est preclarum vas* in the Birgittine Context', in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 7/15, vol. 2 (2015) 101–116.
- LAGERGREN, STRINNHOLM Karin: 'A reformed Cantus Sororum in Maria Refugie around 1800', in E. ANDERSSON & C. GEJROT (eds.): *Continuity and Change in the Birgittine Order. Papers from the conference at Dartington Hall 21–24 July 2015* (Stockholm 2017) 325–338.
- LAGERGREN, STRINNHOLM Karin: 'The Invitatory antiphons in Cantus sororum – a unique repertoire in a world of standard chant', in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 27, vol. 2 (2018) 121–142.
- LAGERGREN, STRINNHOLM Karin: 'O Birgitta, du som talat med all vishet – Musikens makt i den heliga Birgittas klosterorden', in J. BJÖRKMAN & A. JARRICK (eds.): *Musikens makt RJs årsbok* (Stockholm 2018) 145–160.
- LAGERGREN, STRINNHOLM Karin: 'The Birgittine Abbey of Maria Refugie. Five hundred years of manuscript production', in J. BORDERS (ed.): *Papers read at the 17th meeting of the IMS Study Group. Cantus Planus Vienna 2014* (Venice 2021) 61–71.
- LAGERGREN, Karin: 'Benedicamus Domino Tropes in the Birgittine Order: Embellishing Everyday Liturgy' in *Early Music Special Issue: Benedicamus domino as female devotion*. Ed. Catherine A. Bradley. (Oxford University 2023) 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1093/em/caaco51>

- LAGERGREN, Karin: 'The Birgittine liturgical music – team work or the oeuvre of a genius mind? A new hypothesis for an old question' in *Birgittine circles. People and saints in the medieval world*. E. ANDERSSON, I. HEDSTRÖM, and M. ÅKESTAM (eds), 159–175 (Stockholm 2023).
- LAGERGREN, Karin: 'Sung Memories – Remembering St. Birgitta (and Katharina) with Music', in D. CARILLO-RANGEL & H. LESLIE JACOBSEN (eds): *Birgittine Acts of Memory: Remembering St Birgitta of Sweden*. (Routledge in print).
- LIEBERGEN, VAN, Léon: 'De abdijen Mariënwater en Maria Refugie', in *Beelden in de abdij* (Uden 1999) 39–57.
- LIEBERGEN, VAN, Léon: *300 jaar Abdij Uden* (Uden 2013).
- LINDARÄNG, Ingemar: *Beginerna: en medeltida och nutida kvinnorörelse* (Vadstena 2009).
- LINDBERG, Gustaf: *Die schwedischen Missalien des Mittelalters: ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Liturgik* (Uppsala 1923).
- LOOS, DE, Ike: 'De interactie tussen liturgische zang en niet-liturgische liederen', in *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 76 (2002) 155–76.
- LOUVIOT, Manon: 'Flexible uniformity or stability over the years? The liturgy of monastic houses affiliated with the Windesheim Congregation', in K. KÜGLE (ed.): *Sounding the past. Music as history and memory* (Turnhout 2020) 215–232.
- LUNDÉN, Tryggve: *Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis: Vår Frus tidegård = [The lady-offices of Saint Bridget and venerable Peter of Skänninge]* (Uppsala 1976).
- LUNDÉN, Tryggve (ed.): *Vita Katherine: facsimile tryck av Bartholomeus Ghotans i Stockholm 1487 tryckta bok* (Uppsala 1981).

M

- MANNAERTS, Pieter: 'Authenticity and invention: Composition, distribution and origin of the offices for St. Begga', in MANNAERTS, P. (ed.): *Beghinae in cantu instructae. Musical Patrimony from Flemish Beguinages (Middle Ages-late 18th century)* (Turnhout 2009) 51–76.
- MANNAERTS, Pieter: 'Lifting the Veil: Musical Beguinage Sources in a European Context' in MANNAERTS, Pieter (ed.): *Beghinae in cantu instructae. Musical patrimony from Flemish beguinages (Middle Ages-late 18th century)* (Turnhout 2009) 241–248.
- MANNAERTS, Pieter: 'Birgittinessen in de Lage Landen: een handschrift uit Maria Troon (Dendermonde)', in *Tijdschrift for gregoriaans* 42, vol. 3 (2017) 77–86.

- MARNEF, Guido: 'Een nieuw bisdom in troebele tijden. Vanaf de oprichting tot het episcopaat van Willem van Bergen', in Marcel GIELIS et al. (eds.): *In de stroom van de tijd. (4)50 jaar bisdom Antwerpen* (Leuven 2012) 39–65.
- MILVEDEN, Ingmar: 'Neue Funde zur Brynolphus-Kritik', in *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* (1972) 5–51.
- MILVEDEN, Ingmar: 'Per omnia humilis. Reflexioner kring en birgittinsk sångspegel', in *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* nr 47–48 (1972–1973) 35–48.
- MOL, J. A.: 'Kruisheren op de Friese zieleheilsmarkt in de vijftiende eeuw', in *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis, zestiende jaargang, nummer 4* (1990) 327–348.
- MOL, J. A.: 'Epiloog: de Moderne Devoten en de vernieuwing van het kloosterlandschap', in H. van Engen en G. Verhoeven (ed.) *Monastiek observantisme en Moderne Devotie in Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Hilversum 2008) 213–231.
- MOBERG, Carl-Allan: *Über die schwedischen Sequenzen: eine musikgeschichtliche Studie*, diss. (Uppsala 1927).
- MOBERG, Carl-Allan: *Kyrkomusikens historia* (Stockholm 1932).
- MORRIS, Bridget & Denis SEARBY (eds.): *The revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden* Vol. 1–4 (Oxford/New York 2006–2015).

N

- NILSSON, Anne-Marie: 'En studie i Cantus Sororum: hymnerna och deras melodier', in *On liturgical hymn melodies in Sweden during the Middle Ages*, diss. (Gothenburg 1991) 91–120.
- NILSSON, Anne-Marie: 'Adest dies leticie: studies on hymn melodies in medieval Sweden', in A. BUCKLEY (ed.): *Proceedings of the First British-Swedish Conference on Musicology* (Stockholm 1992) 67–85.
- NILSSON, Anne-Marie (ed.): *Två hystorie för den heliga Birgitta = Two historie for St. Birgitta of Sweden* (Bromma 2003).
- NILSSON, Anne-Marie (ed.): *Sånger till fyra kyrkofester i Skara stift* (Skara 2011).
- NORDAHL, Helge: *Magister Petrus Olavi av Skänninge: den heliga Birgittas andliga vägledare* (Skellefteå 2007).
- NORLIND, Tobias: 'Vadstena klostrets veckoritual', in *Sammlaren* 28 (1907) 1–31.
- NYBERG, Tore: *Birgittinsk festgåva. Studier om Heliga Birgitta och Birgittinorden* (Uppsala 1991).
- NYBERG, Tore: 'De birgittinska ordensmännens uppgift', in *Birgittinsk festgåva. Studier om den heliga Birgitta och Birgittinorden* (Uppsala 1991) 111–130.
- NYBERG, Tore: 'Den heliga Birgitta och kloster tanken', in *Birgittinsk festgåva. Studier om Heliga Birgitta och Birgittinorden* (Uppsala 1991) 69–89.

NYBERG, Tore, Ulla SANDER OLSEN & Per SLOTH CARLSEN (eds.): *Birgitta atlas: Saint Birgitta's monasteries: a transeuropean project* = *die Klöster der Heiligen Birgitta: ein transeuropäisches Projekt* (Uden 2013).

O

O'MALLEY, John W.: *Trent: what happened at the council?* (Cambridge, Mass. 2013).

P

PETERS, Knut (ed.): *Breviarium Lincopense* (Lund 1950–1958).

R

RISBERG, Sara: *Liber usuum fratrum monasterii Vadstenensis* = *The customary of the Vadstena Brothers*, diss. (Stockholm 2003).

ROTTIER, August J. M.: *Maria-Hart te Weert. Het geschiedverhaal van een birgittijnse stichting* (Voorburg 1943).

S

SANDER OLSEN, Ulla: *Et klosterbibliotek. Mariënwater. Ca. 1434 til 1713. Forsøg på en rekonstruktion*. Unpublished thesis (Copenhagen 1977).

SANDER OLSEN, Ulla: 'Handschriften en boeken uit het Birgittinessenklooster Maria Troon te Dendermonde', in *Spiritualia neerlandica* (1990) 215–227.

SANDER OLSEN, Ulla: *Biblioteca Birgittina. Birgittinessenabdij Mariënwater/Maria Refugie. Uden N.Br. Gesticht ca. 1437 – overgeplaatst naar Uden 1713* (Brussels 2002).

SCHAFER, R. Murray: *The Soundscape. Our sonic environment and the tuning of the world* (Rochester 1977/1994).

SCHIER, Volker: 'Writing and rewriting processions: The reworking of the procession liturgy by the Birgittine nuns of south Germany', in R. ANDERSSON, C. GEJROT, M. ÅKESTAM (eds.): *Birgitta Conference, The Birgittine experience: papers from the Birgitta Conference in Stockholm 2011* (Stockholm 2013) 256–287.

SCHLEIF, Corine & Volker SCHIER: *Katerina's windows: donation and devotion, art and music, as heard and seen through the writings of a Birgittine Nun* (University Park, Pennsylvania 2008).

SERVATIUS, Viveca: *Benedicamustroperna i Cantus sororum*. Unpublished Master's thesis (Stockholm 1977).

SERVATIUS, Viveca: 'Gregoriansk sång – på svenska. Ett testfall', in *Signum. Katolsk orientering om kyrka, kultur, samhälle* 7, issue 6 (1980) 218–221.

- SERVATIUS, Viveca: *Cantus sororum: musik- und liturgiegeschichtliche Studien zu den Antiphonen des birgittinischen Eigenrepertoires: nebst 91 Transkriptionen*, diss. (Uppsala 1990).
- SERVATIUS, Viveca: 'Magister Petrus som "diktare" och "ton-sättare"', in G. DAHLBÄCK (ed.): *I Heliga Birgittas trakter* (Stockholm 1990) 215–234.
- SERVATIUS, Viveca: 'Sjungande systrar', in Per BESKOW & Annette LANDEN (eds.): *Birgitta av Vadstena. Pilgrim och profet 1303–1373* (Stockholm 2003) 345–361.
- SIMONS, Walter: *Cities of ladies: Beguine communities in the medieval low countries, 1200–1565* (Philadelphia 2003).
- SMITH, David Norman: 'Charisma disenchanting: Max Weber and his critics', in Harry F. DAHMS (ed.): *Social Theories of History and Histories of Social Theory. Current Perspectives in Social Theory* 31 (Bingley 2013) 3–74.
- SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, Joseph: *Gregoriaansche muziek en haar plaats in den katholieken eeredienst* (Amsterdam 1941).
- SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, Joseph: *Gregorian chant and its place in the Catholic liturgy* (Stockholm, 1947).
- STÄBLEIN, Bruno & Karlheinz SCHLAGER (eds.): *Monumenta monodica mediaevi*, vol. 8, *Alleluia-Melodien, II: ab 1100* (Kassel 1987).
- STOLPE, Sven: *Birgitta i Rom* (Stockholm 1974, second edition).

T

- TONGEREN, VAN, Louis, Margareth VAN GILS, Bruno WILDERBEEK, Hadewych ZOMERDIJK (eds.): *Godlof! Kloosterliturgie in beweging. 40 jaar intermonasteriële werkgroep voor liturgie* (Kampen 2007).
- TONGEREN, VAN, Louis: 'Op weg naar een Nederlandstalig koorbed. Een historisch overzicht', in Louis VAN TONGEREN et al. (eds.): *Godlof! Kloosterliturgie in beweging. 40 jaar intermonasteriële werkgroep voor liturgie* (Kampen 2007) 97–152.
- TREITLER, Leo: 'The Transmission of Some Aquitanian Tropes', in *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (Oxford 2003).

U

- URBERG, Michelle: *Music in the devotional lives of the Birgittine brothers and sisters at Vadstena Abbey (c. 1373–1545)*, diss. (Chicago 2016).

V

- VEENENDAAL, VAN, Alie: 'Gedecoreerde handschriften uit Mariënwater', in A.M. KOLDEWEIJ (ed.): *In Buscoducis 1450–1629 kunst uit de Bourgondische tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch: de cultuur van late middeleeuwen en renaissance: tentoon-*

steling Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch ('s-Hertogenbosch 1990) 497–500.

VUORI, Hilka-Liisa: *Neitsyt Marian yrttitarhassa - Birgittalaissarten matutinu-min suuret responsoriot* [In the Herb Gardens of Oure Ladye. The Great Responsories of Matins in Bridgettine Sisters' Liturgy of Hours], diss. (Helsinki 2011).

VUORI, Hilka-Liisa: 'The Great Matins Responsories in the Birgittine Sisters' Liturgy of Hours. An ode to Petrus of Skänninge', in E. ANDERSSON & C. GEJROT (eds.): *Continuity and Change in the Birgittine Order. Papers from the conference at Dartington Hall 21–24 July 2015* (Stockholm 2017) 64–81.

W

WEBER, Max: *The theory of social and economic organization* (New York 1947).

WEBER, Max: *On charisma and institution building: selected papers, edited and with an introduction by S.N. Eisenstadt* (Chicago 1968).

Y

YARDLEY, Anne Bagnall: 'The Bridgettine Nuns of Syon Abbey', in *Performing piety. Musical culture in medieval English nunneries* (New York 2006) 203–227.

Ö

ØSTREM, Eyolf: *The office of Saint Olav: a study of chant transmission*, diss. (Uppsala 2001).

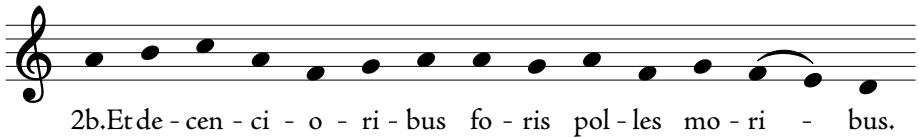
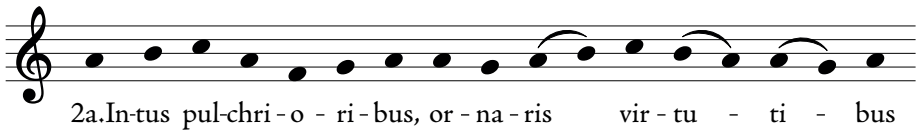
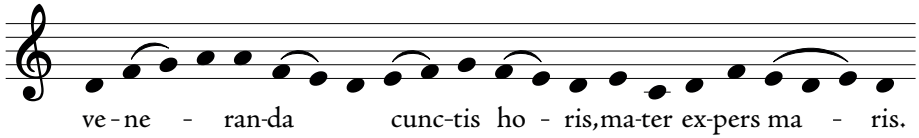
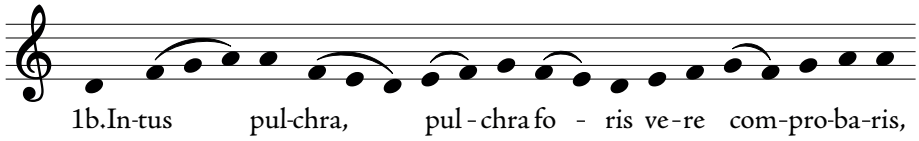
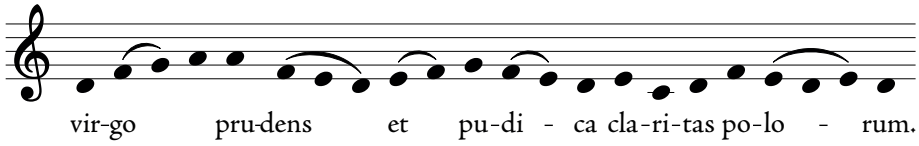
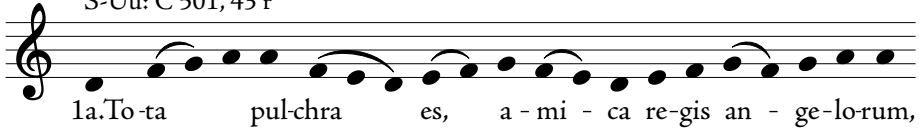
CD recording:

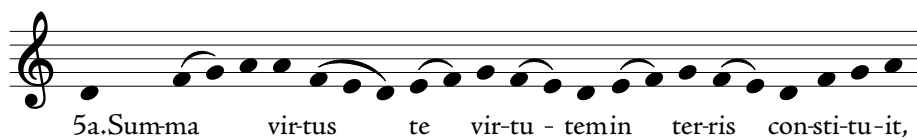
ENSEMBLE GEMMA: *Maria! Maria! 400 Years of Birgittine Chant*. Stockholm: Sterling Records CDA 1828–2, 2018. Dir. Karin Strinnholm Lagergren.

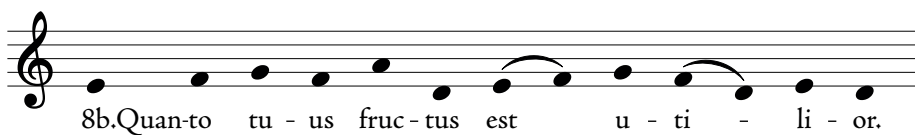
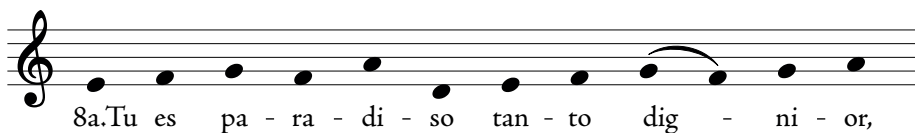
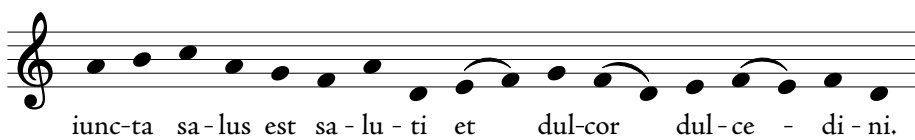
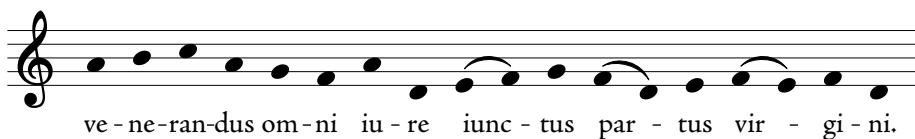
APPENDIX I

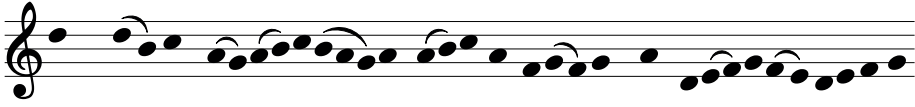
Sunday sequence *Tota pulchra es*

S-Uu: C 501, 43 r





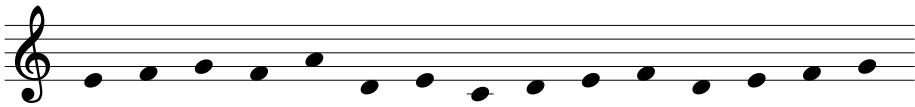




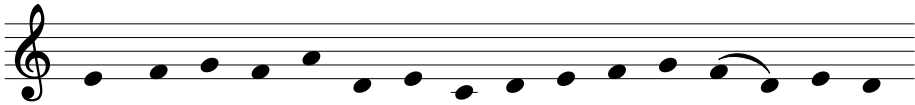
9a. O quam pulchra tu fu- is - ti, cum sit factus vultus Christi ti - bi ma- tri si- mi- lis,



9b. Cui tu es vo- lun- ta - te, ca - ri- ta- te, pi - e- ta- te. Fac- ta nom- di- si - mi- lis.



10a. Si te De - us non vi - dis - set cre - a - tu - ram op - ti - mam,



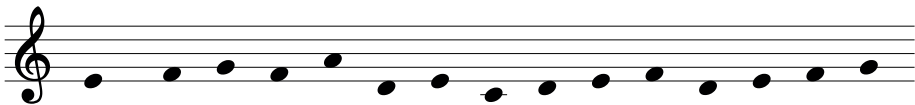
10b. In ma- tris non e - le - gis - set te si - bi ca - ris - si - mam.



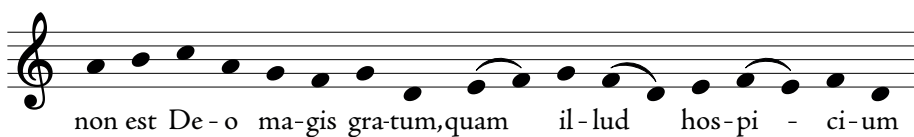
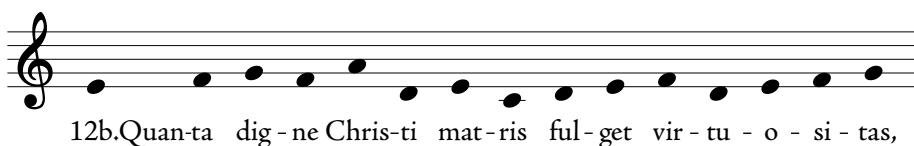
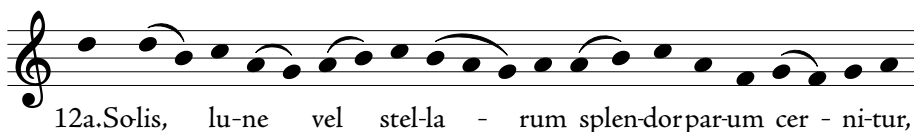
11a. Er- go, vir- go, pul- chra to - ta, nos vi - les non des - pi - ce,



sed a qua- vis men- te no- ta nos mun- da - ri per - fi - ce.



11b. Fac, ut tu - o pla - ce - a - mus pre - di - lec - to fi - li - o



ven - tris cas - ti, quo ce - las - ti Je - su De - i fi - li - um;

hunc in mor-te vir-go pi-a no-bis fac pro-pi-ci-um.



13b. Laus - ter-no ge - ni-to - ri, laus e-ter-no fi - li - o,

no-stro pi-o re - demp-to - ri sit et ve-ne-ra - ci-o,

cha - ris - ma - tum in - fu - so - ri Ma - ri - e so - la - ci - o,

mat - ri De - i, no - stre spe - i, per pes iu - cun - da - ci - o.

Amen not in all sources, here as
in NL-UD: HS K:An, 192v.

in NL-UD: HS K:An, 192v.



14.A - - - men.

APPENDIX 2

List of manuscripts from or used at Mariënwater and Maria Hart

Manuscript numbers and names of manuscripts as in catalogue SANDER OLS-EN, U: *Biblioteca Birgittina. Birgittinessenabdij Mariënwater/Maria Refugie. Uden N.Br. Gesticht ca. 1437 – overgeplaatst naar Uden 1713* (Brussels 2002).

The three different types of graduals in period 3 are discussed in chapter 5.

<u>Type</u>	<u>Title, Siglum, Dating</u>
Period 1 ca. 1480-ca. 1510	
Antiphoner-gradual	Officiae de BMV., NL-DHk: 71 A 21, ca. 1500
Antiphoner-gradual	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 1, ca. 1500
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 2, ca. 1500
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 3 ca. 1500
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 4 (ca. 1500
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: MRK 072, ca. 1500
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 5, 16th cent.
Period 2 ca. 1639-ca. 1660	
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 1, 1640
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 7, 1640
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 2, 1641
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 3, 1644
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 4, 1644
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 6, ca. 1645
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 8, ca. 1645

Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 9, 1646
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 10, 1646
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 14, ca. 1647
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 5, 1648
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 12, 1648
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 13, ca. 164
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 11, 1649
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 7, ca. 1650
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 6, ca. 1650
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 8, 1650
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 12, ca. 1650
Antiphoner	Antiphonarium Birgittanum Mariënwater, NL-W: HS 2, ca. 1650
Antiphoner	Antiphonarium Birgittanum, NL-W: HS 3 Mariënwater, ca. 1650
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 14, ca. 1660
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 10, 1651
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 11, 1655
Gradual	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 9, 17th cent.

Period 3 ca. 1720-ca. 1760

Gradual	<i>type 3</i>	Graduale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 16, 1728
Gradual	<i>type 3</i>	Graduale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 17, 1728
Gradual	<i>type 3</i>	[Graduale Mariano Birgittanum], NL-W: HS 7, 1729

Gradual <i>type 3</i>	[Graduale Mariano Birgittanum], NL-W: HS 8, ca. 1730
Antiphoner	Antiphonarium Birgittanum Mariënwater, NL-W: HS 6, 1732
Antiphoner-gradual <i>type 3</i>	Antiphonale & Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 16 , 1735
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 17 (1735)
Antiphone	Antiphonale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 18, 1736
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 19, ca. 1740
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 20, ca. 1740
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 21, 1743
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 22, ca. 1750
Graduale <i>type 1</i>	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 20, ca. 1760
Graduale <i>type 2</i>	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 18, 18th cent.
Graduale <i>type 2</i>	Graduale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 19, 18th cent.
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 23, 18th cent.
Graduale <i>type 1</i>	Graduale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 21, 18th cent.
Graduale <i>type 1</i>	Graduale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 22, 18th cent.
Graduale <i>type 1</i>	Graduale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 23, 18th cent.
Graduale <i>type 3</i>	Graduale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 24, 18th cent.
Graduale <i>type 3</i>	Graduale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 25, 18th cent.
Graduale <i>type 3</i>	[Graduale Mariano Birgittanum], NL-W: HS 5, 18th cent.

Period 4 ca. 1843-ca. 1900

Gradual	Graduale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:Gr 26, 1843
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Mariano Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 24, 1846
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 25, 19th cent.
Antiphoner	Antiphonale Birgittanum, NL-UD: HS K:An 26, 19th cent.

APPENDIX 3

The weekly cycle Cantus sororum – an overview of its items

This table gives an overview of the most important items in the Cantus sororum: invitatories, great responsories, antiphons, Benedicamus Domino tropes for Lauds and Vespers, and hymns. Omitted are short responsories, Benedicamus Domino for the little hours, and psalms. The intention is not to give an exhaustive overview of the content but to guide the reader through the most important aspects of the Birgittine sister's liturgy. Moreover, giving an exact picture covering all abbeys and centuries is impossible since the use sometimes differed. This overview is rather to be seen as a point of departure than as a template that is valid at all times.

Abbreviations:

I invitatory

MA	Matins, antiphon, number indicates order within the actual Office
MR	Matins great responsory, number indicates order within the actual Office
MH	Matins hymn
LA	Lauds antiphon, number indicates order within the actual Office
LH	Lauds hymn
BD	Benedicamus Domino trope
BA	Benedictus antiphon
PA	Prime antiphon
PH	Prime hymn
TA	Terce antiphon
TH	Terce hymn
SA	Sext antiphon
SH	Sext hymn
NA	None antiphon
NH	None hymn
VH	Vespers hymn, number indicates order within the actual Office
VA	Vespers antiphon
AM	Magnificat antiphon
CA	Compline antiphon
CH	Compline hymn
AND	Antiphon for Nunc dimittis
A	freestanding antiphon

SUNDAY – DOMINICA

	Invitatory	Great respon- sory	Antiphon	Hymn	Benedicamus Domino	Other litur- gical items
	I Trinum Matins Deum et unum pronis	MR1 Summe trinitati, / Prestet nobis gratiam Trinus	MA1 O amabilis virgo a Deo	MH O trinitatis gloria		Te Deum
		MR2 O Maria, dignissimum vehiculum/ Infer igitur cordibus nostris	MA2 O susceptor et gloria Marie			
		MR3 Maria summe trinitatis te/Respice propitia pericula	MA3 Interveniente te, o Dei			
Lauds			LA Domum tuam Domine Mariam	LH Alme pater, qui Filius		A Ave Maria gratia plena
			BA Benedictus Dominus Deus		BD virginis filio cum patre	
Prime			PA O speciose forma pre filiis	PH O veneranda trinitas		A Ave Maria gratia plena
Terce			TA Averte oculos nostros honestissima	TH O veneranda trinitas		A Ave Maria gratia plena
Sext			SA Omnia mandata tua veritas	SH O veneranda trinitas		A Ave Maria gratia plena

None	NA Reconcilia nos, Virgo Mater	NH O veneranda Trinitas	
Vespers	VA Beati metuentes Dominum	VH1 Ave maris stella	Feast A: O Birgitta myrrhe gutta
	AM Patrem cum filio, et Spiritum	VH2 Lux Deus indeficiens	BD virginis filio cum patre gratia plena A Ave Maria
Com- pline	CA Jucundum est eis in unum	CH In genitore genitus	A Ave Maria gratia plena
	AND O regis pacifici illibata		A Alma redemptoris mater

MONDAY – FERIA SECUNDA

	Invitatory	Great respon- sory	Antiphon	Hymn	Bene- dicamus Domino	Other liturgical items
Matins	Regem angelorum de ejus	MR1 Te sanctum dominum in excelsis/ Cherubim atque Seraphim	MA1 Benedictus dominus, quem pro sue	MH Per se lucens carbunculus		Te Deum
		MR2 Benedicta terra, cujus flores/Vere hec terra est virgo mater	MA2 Filij hominum, afferte			

	MR ₃ Christi virgo dilectissima/ Quoniam peccatorum	MA ₃ Converte domina, Mater gaudii		
Lauds		LA Angeli, archangeli, virtutes	LH In throno Deo proximo	A Ave Maria gratia plena
		BA Sis tu, eterne Deus, eternaliter		BD superni regis unigenito
Prime		PA Non obliviscatur nos tua	PH Virgo fulgens virtutibus	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Terce		TA O victrix robustissima in cujus	PH Virgo fulgens virtutibus	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Sext		SA Preveni nos domina in	PH Virgo fulgens virtutibus	A Ave Maria gratia plena
None		NA Adiuva nos sponsa regis altissimi	PH Virgo fulgens virtutibus	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Vespers		VA Deus noster es tu, bone Jesu	VH Deus plasmator hominis	Feast A: O Birgitta myrrhe gutta
		AM Magnificetur Rex celestis milite		BD superni regis unigenito
				Ferial A: A Rosa rorans
				A Ave Maria gratia plena

Com- pline	CA Exultant sancti de Maria	CH Celestis erat curia	A Ave Maria gratia plena
	AND Angelorum imperatrix nos		A Ave regina celorum

TUESDAY – FERIA TERTIA

	Invitatory	Great responsory	Antiphon	Hymn	Bene- dicamus Domino trope	Other liturgical items
Matins	Filium dei quem prophete	MR ₁ Eva mater hosti consentiens/Laude (laus) Deo sit et gloria qui	MA ₁ Ab omnibus iniquitatibus	MH Decepte verbo conjugis		Te Deum
		MR ₂ Intelligens Abraham successionem/Exultet igitur et sume	MA ₂ Emitte nobis filii dei			
		MR ₃ O ineffabiliter divitem /Hic ad patriam triumphator	MA ₃ Salva nos salutis et vite			
Lauds			LA Scitote populi quoniam	LH Dolens Adam ex famine		A Ave Maria gratia plena
			BA Benedictus sis tu dignissime sator		BD quem nobis ora prophetica	
Prime			PA Multe tribulationis justorum	PH Veni creator spiritus		A Ave Maria gratia plena

Terce	TA Pretende benigne deus tuam	TH Veni creator spiritus	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Sext	SA Benedicta sis tu Maria	SH Veni creator spiritus	A Ave Maria gratia plena
None	NA Noli domina nos relinquere	NH Veni creator spiritus	A Ave regina celorum
Vespers	VA Omnen potestatem omnem virtutem	VH ₁ Ave Maria, Ave maris etc.	Feast A: O Birgitta myrrhe gutta
	AM Sancta Maria succurre miseris	VH ₂ Virgo deum letificans	BD quem nobis ora prophetica
Com- pline	CA Memor dominus mansuetudinis	CH Victulum vitalem tribuit	Ferial A: Rosa rorans
	AND Lumen verum quod nobis protulisti		A Ave regina celorum/ Speciosa facta es

WEDNESDAY - FERIA QUARTA

Invitatory	Great respon- sory	Antiphon	Hymn	Benedicamus Domino trope	Other liturgical items
------------	-----------------------	----------	------	-----------------------------	------------------------------

Matins	Ortum virginis et matris Marie	MR1 Beata mater Anna arca regis/Exulta reverenda mater	MA1 Corrige virgo prudentissima	MH Errorum pleno tenebris	Te Deum
		MR2 Stirps Jesse virgam/ Virgo dei genitrix virga	MA2 Repelle a tabernaculis		
		MR3 Solem justitie regem /Cernere divinum lumen	MA3 Gloriose dei matris gratia		
					Ab initio ordinata
Lauds			LA Nativitas gloriose virginis	LH Tu miro micans lumine	A Ave Maria gratia plena
			BA Nativitas tua dei genitrix	BD pro nativitate sue matris	
Prime			PA Nativitatem recolamus beate	PH Ignis ardore triplicis	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Terce			TA Regali ex progenie Maria	TH Ignis ardore triplicis	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Sext			SA Corde et animo Christo canamus	SH Ignis ardore triplicis	A Ave Maria gratia plena
None			NA Deus et angeli de nativitate	NH Ignis ardore triplicis	A Ave Maria gratia plena

Vespers	VA Glorioso virginis Marie		VH ₁ Ave maris stella		Feast A: O Birgitta myrrhe gutta
	AM Quando nata es virgo sacratissima		VH ₂ Gaude visceribus mater in intimis	BD pro nativitate sue matris	Ferial A: A Rosa rorans
					A Ave Maria gratia plena
Compline	CA Castitatem porta vovit altissimo		CH Fit Christi pervia	A Ave Maria gratia plena	
	AND O mulierum felicissima				A O florens rosa

THURSDAY FERIA QUINTA

	Invitatory	Great responsory	Antiphon	Hymn	Benedicamus Domino trope	Other liturgical items
Matins	Ave Maria gratia plena	MR ₁ Sancta et immaculata / Benedicta tu in mulieribus	MA ₁ Clamavimus ad deum altissimum	MH Quem terra pontus ethera		Te Deum
		MR ₂ Videte et miraculum. Mater Domini/ Hec speciosum	MA ₂ Congratulamini filio Dei			

	MR3 Felix namque es sacra Virgo Maria/ Ora pro populo interveni	MA3 Flectatur tibi benedicte Jesu	
Lauds	LA O admirabile commercium	LH Isaias que cecinit	A Ave Maria gratia plena
	BA Latuit in blando serpentis		BD devotis mentibus sugenti
Prime	PA Quando natus es ineffabiliter	PH Rex Christe clementissime	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Terce	TA Rubum quem viderat Moyses incombustum	TH Rex Christe clementissime	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Sext	SA Germinavit radix Jesse orta est	SH Rex Christe clementissime	A Ave Maria gratia plena
None	NA Ecce Maria genuit nobis	NH Rex Christe clementissime	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Vespers	VA Beatus populus cuius est Jesus	VH1 Ave maris stella	Feast A: O Birgitta myrrhe gutta
	AM Gaude eternaliter intacta		Ferial A: Rosa rorans

			BD devotis mentibus sugenti	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Compline	CA Quoniam mandavit Dominus	CH Sponse jungendo filio		A Ave Maria gratia plena
	AND Glorificamus te Dei genitrix			A Ave stella matutina

FRIDAY FERIA SEXTA

	Invitatory	Great responsory	Antiphon	Hymn	Bene- dicamus Domino trope	Other liturgi- cal items
Matins	Regem virginis filium pro nobis	MR1 Sicut spinarum vicinitas/ Assiste spes nostra in auxilium	MA1 Propter preces tue sanctissime	MH Relictis mundi frivolis		Te Deum
		MR2 Perenniter sit benedicta tua/O vere dilectionis plenissima	MA2 Ne elongeris a nobis nostra			
		MR3 Palluerunt pie matris maxille/O immensam charitatem que	MA3 Benedictum sit nomen majestatis			
Lauds			LA Misereatur nostri Deus	LH Rogatus Deus rumpere		A Ave Maria gratia plena

	BA O virgo post Deum miserorum	BD innocenti virginis filio	
Prime	PA Christe patris excelsi et humillime	PH Summe mater letitie	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Terce	TA Jesu benigne redemptor sicut	TH Summe mater letitie	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Sext	SA Tremor terre petrarum scissure	SH Summe mater letitie	A Ave Maria gratia plena
None	NA Confiteantur regi celorum	NH Summe mater letitie	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Vespers	VA Annuntietur in universa	VH ₁ Ave maris stella	Feast A: O Birgitta myrrhe gutta
	MA Exulta feliciter	VH ₂ Sol occidit justitie	Ferial A: Rosa rorans
		BD innocenti virginis filio	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Compline	CA Sancte spei mater diffidentie	CH Rubens rosa tunc palluit	A Ave Maria gratia plena

AND O
mitissime
Salvator qui
pro

A Mundi
domina

SATURDAY - SABBATO

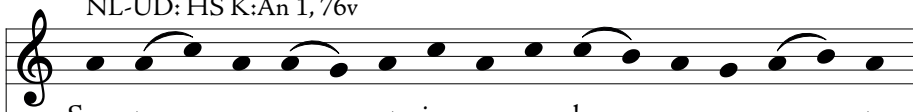
	Invitatory	Great respon- sory	Antiphon	Hymn	Bene- dicamus Other litur- Domino gical items tropes
Matins	In honorem virginis Marie	MR1 Beata es virgo Maria/ Ave Maria gratia plena	MA1 Exaltata es sancta Dei	MH O gloriosa domina	Te Deum
		MR2 Que est ista que processit sicut/Que est ista que ascendit per	MA2 Paradisi porte per te nobis		
		MR3 Super salutem et omnem pulchritudinem/ Valde eam nos oportet venerari	MA3 Speciosa facta es et suavis		
Lauds			LA Assumpta est Maria in celum	LH Non passus est rex glorie	Feast A: Sponsa regis
			BA Que est ista que ascendit sicut		Ferial A: Gaude Birgitta
					BD in A Ave laudem Maria gratia patris plena

Prime	PA Maria virgo assumpta est ad	PH Virgo pascentem angelos	A Salve regina
Terce	TA In odorem unguentorum tuorum	TH Virgo pascentem	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Sext	SA Benedicta filia tua Domino	SH Virgo pascentem	A Ave Maria gratia plena
None	NA Pulchra es et decora filia	NH Virgo pascentem	A Ave Maria gratia plena
Vespers	VA Jam letaris Domina nostra in his	VH ₁ Ave maris stella	Feast A: O Birgitta myrrhe gutta
	AM Maria Maria totius	VH ₂ O quam glorifica luce choruscas	BD in laudem patris Ferial A: Rosa rorans
			A Ave Maria gratia plena
Compline	CA Cum iocunditate assumptionem	CH Trina celi hierarchia	A Ave Maria gratia plena
	AND O jocundissimam iocunditatem		A Salve regina

APPENDIX 4

Thursday great responsory *Sancta et
immaculata* from six sources

NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 76v



Sanc-ta et im-ma-cu-la - - ta

NL-DHk: 71 A 21, 169r



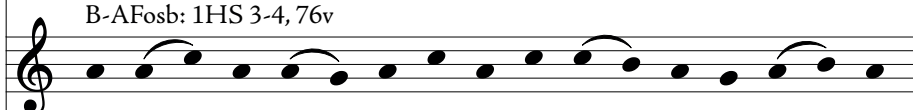
Sanc-ta et im-ma-cu-la - - ta

B-Br: II 3834, 117v



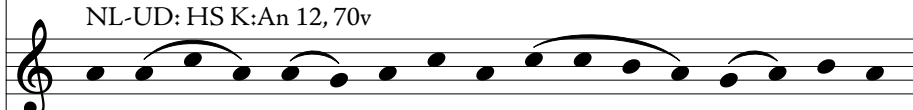
Sanc-ta et im-ma-cu-la - - ta

B-AFosb: 1HS 3-4, 76v



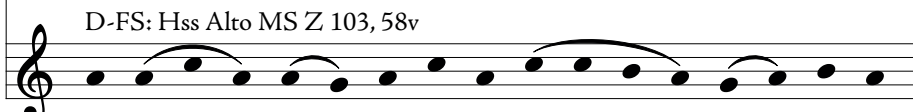
Sanc-ta et im-ma-cu-la - - ta

NL-UD: HS K:An 12, 70v



Sanc-ta et im-ma-cu-la - - ta

D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 103, 58v



Sanc-ta et im-ma-cu-la - - ta

vir - gi-ni - tas quibus te lau - di - bus

vir - gi - nitas quibuste lau - - dibus

vir - gi-ni - tas quibus te lau - di - bus

vir - gi-ni - tas quibus te lau - di - bus

vir - gi - nitas quibuste lau - - dibus

vir - gi-ni - tas quibus te lau - di - bus

re - fe - ram ne - sci - o.

re - fe-ram ne - sci-o.

re - fe - ram ne - sci - o.

re - fe - ram ne - sci - o.

re - fe-ram ne - sci-o.

re - fe - ram ne - sci - o.

[illegible]

The image displays six staves of musical notation, each featuring a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is composed of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together in groups. The lyrics are written below each staff, aligned with the notes. The lyrics are: nonpo - terant tu-o gre-mi - o con-tu-lis - ti. The first staff has a slur over the notes for 'gre-mi'. The second staff has a slur over the notes for 'gre - mi-o'. The third staff has a slur over the notes for 'gre-mi'. The fourth staff has a slur over the notes for 'gre-mi'. The fifth staff has a slur over the notes for 'gre - mi-o'. The sixth staff has a slur over the notes for 'gre-mi'.

nonpo - terant tu-o gre-mi - o con-tu-lis - ti.

nonpo - terant tu-o gre - mi-o con-tu-lis - ti.

nonpo - terant tu-o gre-mi - o con-tu-lis - ti.

nonpo - terant tu-o gre-mi - o con-tu-lis - ti.

nonpo - terant tu-o gre - mi-o con-tu-lis - ti.

nonpo - terant tu-o gre-mi - o con-tu-lis - ti.

[illegible]

tu - - i. Qui - a

tu - - i. Qui - a quem ce - li

tu - - i. Qui - a

tu - - i. Qui - - -

tu - - i. Qui - a

tu - - i. Qui - a

The image displays a musical score for four voices, arranged in four staves. Each staff begins with a treble clef. The melody is composed of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together in groups of four. The lyrics, written in Latin, are: "Glo - ri - a Pat - ri et Fi - li - o". The lyrics are placed below the notes on each staff. The first three staves have lyrics, while the fourth staff has a line of music without lyrics. The lyrics are: Glo - ri - a Pat - ri et Fi - li - o, Glo - ri - a Pat - ri et Fi - li - o, Glo - ri - a Pat - ri et Fi - li - o, and Glo - ri - a Pat - ri et Fi - li - o.

Glo - ri - a Pat - ri et Fi - li - o

Glo - ri - a Pat - ri et Fi - li - o

Glo - ri - a Pat - ri et Fi - li - o

Glo - ri - a Pat - ri et Fi - li - o

et Spi-ri - - tu - i sanc - to

et Spi-ri - - tu - i sanc - to

et Spi-ri - - tu - i sanc - to

et Spi-ri - - tu - i sanc - to

Music examples, images and tables

Music examples

* = Recorded music example. The recordings can be found at:

<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-558943>

They are made by ensemble Gemma consisting of Karin Lagergren (dir.), Ida Zackrisson, and Hanna Schröder. The recordings were made in Uppsala-Näs church 30 March - 1 April 2025.

Music example 1 *Rosa rorans* from D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 4, fol. 78v, 1495, compared to *Rose rorantes* in S-Sk: A534, p. 121, dated 1761.*

Music example 2 Comparison of *Sponsa regis* from NL-UD: HS K:Aa 1, fol. 14r, ca. 1500 with *Anna vita vitans*, København (Copenhagen), Det kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen, Gl. Kgl. S. 3449, 80 [10] X, fol. 45v, provenance Augsburg 1580.

Music example 3 *Sponsa regis* for Birgitta in NL-UD: HS K:An 3, fol. 27r, ca. 1500, and *Sponse legis*, for Katherina in S-Uu: C 468, fol. 68v, end of the 15th century.*

Music example 4 *O Birgitta myrrhe gutta* from NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 22v, ca. 1500, and *O patrone ingenue* from S-Uu: C 468, fol. 69r, end of the 15th century.*

Music example 5 *Birgitta vas gratie* from NL-DHk: 71 A 21, fol. 278v, ca. 1500.*

Music example 6 The Birgittine pitch group.

Music example 7 Overview of occurrences in the Birgittine sisters' Mass and Office liturgy containing the Birgittine pitch group at the beginning.

Music example 8 Thursday first great responsory *Sancta et immaculata* with original and revised text underlay in NL-DHk: 71 A 21, fol. 169r-169v, ca. 1500.

Music example 9 The added doxology in the Thursday first great responsory *Sancta et immaculata* in NL-DHk: 71 A 21, fol. 169v, ca. 1500.*

Music example 10 Doxology without and with trope in the Thursday second great responsory *Videte et miraculum* in B-AFosb: 1HS 3-4, fol. 78r, 1637.*

Music example 11 Comparison of Saturday first great responsory *Beata es virgo* from NL-DHk: 71 A 21, fol. 242v, ca. 1500, and NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 111r, ca. 1500.*

Music example 12 Comparison of the Sunday Vespers antiphon *Jam letaris* in NL-UD: MRK 072, no pagination, ca. 1500, and NL-UD: HS K:An 7, fol. 152r, 1640.*

Music example 13 Lauds antiphon *Benedictus sis tu* with original melody from NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 49v, ca. 1500, and recomposed melody in NL-UD: HS K:An 8, no pagination, ca. 1645.*

- Music example 14 Transcription of *Hec est preclarum vas* from gradual NL-UD: HS K:Gr 7, fol. 114r, ca. 1650.*
- Music example 15 Transcription of antiphon *Ecce completa sunt* after *Hec est preclarum vas* in NL-UD: HS K:Gr 14, no pagination, ca. 1660.*
- Music example 16 Transcription of *Alleluia O doctrix evangelica* for Birgitta, D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 179, p. 670, 1738.*
- Music example 17 *Alleluia Digne decet*, alleluia for Katherina of Vadstena in NL-UD: HS K:Gr 17, p. 249, 1728.*
- Music example 18 *O veneranda trinitas*, hymn for the little hours on Sunday from Cantus sororum in the original melody from NL-UD: HS K:An 8, p. 20, ca. 1645.*
- Music example 19 *O veneranda trinitas*, hymn for the little hours on Sunday from Cantus sororum with a new melody in NL-UD: HS K:An 16, no pagination, 1735.*
- Music example 20 Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria* in a comparative transcription from NL-UD: HS K:An 1, 118v, ca. 1500, and *Vesperale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis SS. Salvatoris vulgo S. Birgittae*, p. 122, 1883.*
- Music example 21 Comparison of the beginning of *Maria, Maria* with that of the antiphon *Stella maria* from the hystoria *Stella maria* between NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 118v, ca. 1500, and S-Uu: C23, fol. 94r, 15th century, after Nilsson 2011.
- Music example 22 Comparison of the opening Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria* in NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 118v, ca. 1500, with the corresponding section in the offertory *Felix namque es* in NL-UD: HS K:Gr 26, p. 27, 1843.
- Music example 23 Transcription of *Benedicamus Domino pro nativitate* from *Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis*, p. 149, 1881.*
- Music example 24 End of antiphon *Maria, Maria* transposed a fifth down from *antiqui*.*
- Music example 25 Comparison of three versions of the Tuesday Benedictus antiphon *Benedictus sis tu* from NL-UD: HS K:An 8, no pagination, ca. 1645, in two versions, and NL-UD: HS K:An 24, p. 138, 1846.*
- Music example 26 Monday Lauds hymn *In throno Deo* in NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 33r, ca. 1500, and *Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis*, p. 74, 1881.*
- Music example 27 Saturday Prime antiphon *Maria virgo assumpta* in a comparative transcription from NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 115v, ca. 1500, and *Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis*, p. 262, 1881.*
- Music example 28 Saturday Sext responsorium breve *Ad coronam leticie* in a comparative transcription from NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 116v, ca. 1500, and *Antiph-*

- onale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis*, p. 266, 1881. NL-UD: HS K:An 1 has no doxology.*
- Music example 29 Transcription of the antiphon *Lux perpetua lucebit* from NL-UD: HS K:An 25, after 1881, no pagination.*
- Music example 30 Transcription of the antiphon *Prudentes virgines* from NL-UD: HS K:An 26, no pagination, after 1881.*
- Music example 31 Last part of the Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria* in four versions; NL-U: HS K:An 1, 118v, ca. 1500; Bank, p. 38, 1957; *Vesperale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium*, p. 122, 1883; Servatius 1990.
- Music example 32 Thursday Compline hymn *Sponse iungendo/När Sonen vigdes/De Zoon betrad* in the Latin original and the Dutch and Swedish adaptations. Latin original NL-UD: HS K:An 1 fol. 86v, ca. 1500; Dutch version unpublished material from Maria Refugie p. 132; Swedish version *Vadstenasystrarnas veckoritual* p. 37, 1974.*
- Music example 33 Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria* in NL-UD: HS K:An 1, p. 118v, ca. 1500.
- Music example 34 Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria*. Dutch adaptation by Nicolaas de Goede. Unpublished material from Marie Refugie, no date, p. 95.*
- Music example 35 Saturday Magnificat antiphon *Maria, Maria*. Swedish adaptation by Nicolaas de Goede. *Vadstenanunnornas veckoritual*, p. 37, 1974.*

Images

- Image 1 The Greater Birgittine Liturgy.
- Image 2 Great responsory *Sicut spina rose* from the rhymed Office *Stabat virgo*. Source S-Uu: C23 Rimofficier, 15th century, fol. 72v.
- Image 3 Directorium chori from Vadstena Abbey containing incipits for chants in the Cantus sororum for Thursday. Source: S-Uu: C442 Directorium chori monasterii Vadstenensis, 15th century, fol. 24r.
- Image 4 *Benedicamus virginis filio* (*Benedicamus domino trope*) and short responsory *In manus tuas*. Source: S-Uu: C 490 Cantus sororum, fol. 2v, late 15th century.
- Image 5 Sunday invitatory antiphon *Trinum Deum* showing Birgitta at her desk receiving a revelation from Christ and the Virgin Mary. Source: D-FS: Hss Alto MS P An 1, fol. 2 r, 1480.
- Image 6 End of Wednesday Compline with Marian antiphon *O florens rosa* and Thursday invitatory antiphon *Ave Maria*. Source: B-Br: II 3833, fol. 93v-94r, ca. 1500.

- Image 7 Sunday invitorium *Trinum deum et unum*. Source: NL-UD:HS K:An 3, fol. 14r, ca. 1500.
- Image 8 Sunday invitorium *Trinum deum et unum*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 1, fol. 1r, ca. 1500.
- Image 9 Sunday invitorium *Trinum deum et unum*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 2, fol. 1r, ca. 1500.
- Image 10 Sunday invitorium *Trinum deum et unum*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 7, fol. 1r, dated 1640.
- Image 11 Sunday invitorium *Trinum deum et unum*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 8, no pagination, dated 1645.
- Image 12 Sunday invitorium *Trinum deum et unum*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 14, p. 1, dated ca. 1647.
- Image 13 Thursday first great responsory *Sancta et immaculata* with added doxology in lower margin. Source: NL-DHk: 71 A 21, fol. 169r-169v, ca. 1500.
- Image 14 Untroped and troped doxology in the great responsory *Videte miraculum*. Source: B-AFosb: 1 HS 3-4, fol. 77v-78r, 1637.
- Image 15 Tuesday Vespers antiphon *Omnem potestatem* with revisions of the distribution of notes above the text. Source: NL-DHk: 71 A 21, fol. 124v, ca. 1500.
- Image 16 Saturday Vespers antiphon *Jam letaris* with new staves pasted in to replace original melody. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 7, 151v-152r, ca. 1500.
- Image 17 End of Marian suffrage antiphon *Hec est preclarum vas* with *Ecce complete sunt* addition. Source: NL-UD: HS:Gr 14, fol. 82r, ca. 1660.
- Image 18 Gradual from Maria Refugie. Source: NL-UD: HS K:Gr. 17, 1728.
- Image 19 Antiphoner-gradual showing the Sunday invitatory antiphon *Trinum Deum et unum* and a print depicting Christ, bearing the rubric *Haec requies mea*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 16, 1735.
- Image 20 Alleluia *O doctrix evangelica* for Birgitta. Source: D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 179, p. 670, 1738.
- Image 21 *O veneranda trinitas*, hymn for the little hours on Sunday from Cantus sororum. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 16, no pagination, 1735.
- Image 22 Monday Lauds antiphon *Angeli archangeli* used for the feast of St Michael from *Processionale Birgittanum, seu Ordinis St. Salvatoris. Sanctimonialium S. Marie Refugii, Udaë*, printed in Maria Hart in 1856, p. 73. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.
- Image 23 *Hymnussen voor den Advent*, printed in Maria Hart, undated.
- Image 24 Offertory *Felix namque es* for the feast of the Purification with *Maria* from music example 20, marked with a red box, in a *Graduale Birgittanum* from Uden. Source: NL-UD: HS K:Gr 26, p. 27, 1843.

- Image 25 Wednesday Lauds *Benedicamus domino pro nativitate* in *Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis*, pp. 149–150, 1881. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.
- Image 26 The inscription in the processional with the information that the priest Janssen was responsible for the corrections in the Birgittine sisters' chant. Source: NL-UD: HS K:Pr 10, no pagination, 1651.
- Image 27 Saturday Sext responsorium breve *Ad coronam leticie* in *Antiphonale juxta breviarium sanctimonialium ordinis*. SS. *Salvatoris vulgo S. Birgittae*, pp. 266–267, 1881. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.
- Image 28 Antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater* with mode 13 designation from *Processionale Birgittanum, seu Ordinis St. Salvatoris. Sanctimonialium S. Marie Refugii, Uda*, printed in Maria Hart in 1856, pp. 64–65. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.
- Image 29 Saturday Vespers antiphon *Jam letaris* from *Antiphonarium ordinis SS. Salvatoris seu S. Birgittinae in monasterio S. Altonis* from 1860, p. 99. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.
- Image 30 Antiphon *Lux perpetua lucebit* with suffrage for Richard Reynolds. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 18, no pagination, 1736.
- Image 31 Antiphon *Prudentes virgines* for the Birgittine martyrs Anne Marie Erraux and Marie Francoise Lacroix. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 26, no pagination, late 19th century.
- Image 32 Antiphon *Prudentes virgins*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:An 20, no pagination, ca. 1740.
- Image 33 A Missale Birgittanum from Mariënwater showing the beginning of the Mass *Salve sancta parens* with notated incipit *Gloria*. Source: NL-UD: HS K:Mi 1, p. 20, 1694.
- Image 34 Tuesday Vespers antiphon *Omnem potestatem* from *Cantus sororum* published by Bank, Amsterdam, p.17, 1957. Copy in the abbey library Pax Mariae, Vadstena.

Tables

- Table 1 Summary of chants for Birgitta and Katherina.
- Table 2 The Birgittine sisters' sequence repertoire for the *Salve sancta parens* Mass.
- Table 3 The Birgittine sequence repertoire for Marian Masses.
- Table 4 Occurrence of Tuesday Lauds Antiphon *Benedictus sis tu* in manuscripts from Mariënwater periods 1 and 2.
- Table 5 The Mass for feasts for St Birgitta in sources from medieval Sweden and from Uden.
- Table 6 Mass formulas for Birgitta in D-FS: Hss Alto MS Z 179, dated 1738.

Table 7 Mass chants for Katherina of Vadstena.

Table 8 Extended use of great responsories from the Cantus sororum in the 19th century.

Table 9 Overview of the most important content in *Antiphonarium Ordinis SS. Salvatoris seu S. Birgittiae in Monasterio S. Altonis* Regensburg, Pustet 1861.

Table 10 The Masses in the Birgittine gradual as explained by Smits van Waesberghe in 1944.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Sunday sequence *Tota pulchra es* from S-Su: C 501, 43r (recorded by ensemble Gemma)

Appendix 2 List of manuscripts from or used at Mariënwater and Maria Hart

Appendix 3 The weekly cycle Cantus sororum – an overview of its items

Appendix 4 Thursday great responsory *Sancta et immaculata* from six sources

Index

- Ad coronam letitie, 210–212
Adest dies celebris, 62
Adest dies letitie, 62
Alleluia Digne decet, 169
Alleluia O doctrix evangelica, 165
Alma redemptoris mater, 60, 214
Altomünster, 10, 12, 49, 64, 77–78, 80, 88, 93, 98–99, 101, 105–106, 120–123, 128, 152, 160, 164, 177–178, 198, 215–218, 220, 245, 261
Alvastra Cistercian abbey, 39, 56
Andersson, Elin, 55
Angeli archangeli, 184
Anna vita vitans, 66
Arbor Mariae, 94
Ave Maria gratia plena, 26–27, 60
Ave Maria, 104, 134

Bank, Annie 239–240, 243
Beata es virgo, 130, 132, 135
Beguines, 91, 92, 107
Benedicamus Domino, 9, 94, 99, 102, 192, 194, 196, 215, 267
Benedictus sis tu, 139, 142–144, 152, 198, 211, 268
Birger Gregersson, bishop, 46, 61, 75–76
Birgitta Mass, 164
Birgitta matris inclite, 58, 61, 62
Birgittine greater liturgy, 46, 160
Birgittine Mass, 128, 145, 150, 192, 196, 237
Birgittine Rule, 3, 8, 18, 22–25, 38, 55–56, 62, 98, 145, 228, 235
Boynnton, Susan, 18
Brunius, Jan, 162
Brynolf Algotsson of Skara, bishop 37, 190
Björkvall, Gunilla, 78, 80
Bladwijzers, 161
Bo Jonsson Grip, 40
Borgehammar, Stephan, 44
Bucht, Gunnar, 29

Canonisation of Birgitta, 40, 59, 61
Carpels, Simon, 91, 97
Ciardi, Anna Minara 53
Cristina Nichlassadottir, 35
Crosiers, 15, 146, 151

de Goede, Nicolaas, 221, 239, 241, 243–244, 247, 258–259, 249–253, 260–261, 263, 269
de Haen, Thedora Alexia, 151
Dendermonde, 98
Devotio Moderna, 15–16, 91, 106
Dignare me laudare te, 216
van Dijck, Lucas, 93–94, 110, 113

Ecce completa sunt, 149–150
Ekenberg, Anders, 248–249
Elizabeth von Thüringen, 168–169
Erraux, Anne Marie, 222–223, 225–227
Eve, 82
Fassler, Margot, 16, 80
Felix namque es, 190–192
Filie regum, 168
Fit porta Christi, 185
Foley, Brian, 247

- Francis, saint, 61–62, 75, 77, 89
 Fransiscus vir catholicus, 61
 Gaude Birgitta canticum, 62–63
 Gaudete Sion filiae laudantes, 66
 Gdansk, 30
 Gillion, Marianne, 170, 174
 Gnadenberg, 52–53
 Gommans, Cecilia, abbess 230
 Griffiths, Fiona J., 47
 Gudmar Fredriksson, 39
 Gy, Pierre-Marie 7
- Hallqvist, Katarina 41
 Hec est preclarum vas, 145–147,
 149–150
 Hec vir de natura angelica, 225
 Hedlund, Monica, 34
 van Heetvelde, Anna, 111
 Helander, Sven, 4, 162
 's-Hertogenbosch, 109–110, 145, 229,
 237
 Hemming of Turku, bishop, 29
 Hesselblad Birgittines, 20, 230, 239,
 245, 261
 Hotchin, Julie, 47
 Härdelin, Alf, 7, 28
 Hörmann, Simon, 121
- Ignis ardore, 185
 In manus tuas, 102
 In throno Deo, 207–208
 Ingeborg Dannäs (Bielke), 39
- Jam letaris, 135–136, 138, 152, 268
 Janssen, priest, 205–207
 Jeffery, Peter 85
- Karp, Theodore, 170, 174
 Katarina of Alexandria, saint, 160
 Katarina Petersdotter Bagge, 68
 Katherina (Birgitta's daughter), 26,
 39–40, 49, 59–60, 63–64, 66–68,
 70–71, 73, 75–77, 86, 89, 154, 162,
 167–169, 174, 267
 Kelly, Thomas Forrest, 36–37
 Ketilmund, 35–36.58
 Klockars, Birgit, 7, 39
 Knut Bosson, 56
- Lacroix, Marie Françoise, 222–223,
 225–227
 Lindberg, Gustaf, 162–169
 Louviot, Manon, 106
 Lucidarium, 51, 53–54, 57, 79
 Lundén, Tryggve, 32
 Lux perpetua lucebit, 223–224, 227
- Maihingen, 98
 Magnus Petri (Tre liljor), 39
 Mannaerts, Pieter, 92, 120, 122
- Maria Hart, 77, 177, 180–185, 206–207,
 215–216, 218, 220–221, 230, 240, 245,
 261
 Maria Kruis, 112, 178
 Maria Mai, 98
 Maria Maria, 186, 192, 251–252, 256,
 269
 Maria Paradiso, 30, 39
 Maria Refugie, 12–13, 151, 153–156,
 159–164, 167, 170, 177–180, 185,
 206–207, 215–216, 219–223, 227–235,
 237, 240–241, 244–248, 255, 258, 269
 Maria Ster, 94
 Maria Virgo assumpta est, 209–210
 Mariënbloem, 111, 151
 Marienbrunn, 30
 Mariënburg, 94

- Mariënkamp, 94
 Marienkron, 94
 Mariëntroon, 10, 12, 78, 93–95, 97–99, 101, 105–106, 119–123, 128, 152, 198
 Mariënwater/Maria Refugie, 10–13, 51, 78, 80, 93–99, 105–106, 109–113, 119–123, 127–128, 130, 139, 143–145, 149, 151–152, 155–156, 160, 174, 179, 198, 235, 238, 243, 265
 Marienwold, 51, 94
 Mathias, Magister, 24
 Michael, saint, 161, 181, 184
 Milla van Kampen, 94
 Milveden, Ingmar 5, 28, 57
 Moberg, Carl-Allan, 30, 80–81, 84
 Mol, Hans, 15–16
 Mutsaerts of 's-Hertogenbosch, bishop, 179, 232, 235

 Nicolaus Hermanni/Nils Hermanson, 46, 62, 76
 Nilsson, Ann-Marie, 33, 61, 183
 Nordahl, Helge, 24, 28
 Notre Dame de Charité/Maria Caritas (Valenciennes), 225
 Nyberg, Tore, 28, 154

 O Birgitta myrrhe gutta, 70
 O facies mosayca, 62
 O florens rosa, 104
 Olav, saint, 62, 77, 89
 O patrone ingenue, 70
 O veneranda trinitas, 171, 173
 Olijvers, Helwig, abbess, 96
 Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis, 6–7, 41
 Omnem potestatem, 130–131
 van Oss, Marie, 98

 Pax Mariae (Vadstena), 12, 14, 184–185, 194, 213–214, 219, 240, 245, 247–248, 261–262
 Petrus Olavi, magister/Petrus of Skänninge, 24–28, 30–40, 47, 58, 251, 263, 266
 Piltz, Anders, 248
 Piiritaa, 29
 Prudentes virgines, 226–227
 Pustet (publisher), 215–218, 220, 241

 Ravensteen, 151, 153
 Recensemus in hac die, 169
 Regensburg, 215, 217, 220
 Responsiones Vadstenenses, 54, 56, 88
 Revelationes Extravagantes, 24–25, 27, 57, 114
 Reynolds, Richard, 181, 222–224, 226–227, 241
 Rijksmuseum, 179
 Risberg, Sara, 551–2
 Rogatus deus rumpere, 41
 Rome, 38
 Rosa rorans bonitatem, 58, 61–63, 65, 67
 Rose rorantes, 65
 Rosmalen, 11
 Rottier, August, 183, 230, 232, 237

 Salve regina, 8, 26–27, 145
 Salve sancta parens, 4, 8, 78–80, 84–86, 161, 190, 232, 238, 268
 Sancta et immaculata, 122, 125–127
 Sander Olsen, Ulla 11, 95, 206, 231
 Schafer, Richard Murray 17
 Searby, Denis 21
 Second Lateran Council, 2
 Second Vatican Council, 16, 221, 239, 244–245, 247–250, 252, 262–263

- Sermo angelicus*, 20, 28–29, 32, 59, 97, 156, 218, 248
Servatius, Viveca, 9, 28, 31, 57, 135, 186, 189, 197, 242–243, 251, 260
Sicut spina rose florem, 42–43
Sint-Pieter-en-Paulus-Abdij, 12, 120
Smits van Waesberghe, Joseph, 221, 230–237, 239, 241, 244
Specie tua, 168
Spelders, Marie, abbess, 120
Sponsa Christi, 166
Sponsa regis, 66–67, 89, 147
Sponse legis, 89
Sponse jungendo filio, 26–27, 100, 235, 252, 255, 259, 267
Stabat virgo, 41–44, 50
St Peter in chains, 181
Stella maria, 190
Stolpe, Sven, 39
Syon Abbey, 27, 51–52, 54–56, 59, 88, 99, 228, 245, 247

Tota pulchra es, 79, 81–82, 84
Treitler, Leo 85
Trinum deum et unum, 103, 114, 116–119, 158

Uden, 11, 77, 80, 146, 151, 153, 186, 191, 231–232, 235–237, 241
Urberg, Michelle, 32
Utrecht, 146

van Veenendaal, Alie, 95
Veni creator spiritus, 26, 267
Veni sancte spiritus, 211, 252–253
Venite exultemus, 104
Vexilla regis, 41
Victimae paschali laudes, 80, 86
Videte miraculum, 128–130

Vuori, Hilikka-Liisa, 9, 30

Weber, Max, 1, 19, 20
Weert, 180
Willem II, 179
Winckels, Aegidius, 111

Åby, Olof, 247