

1) Introduction

Let's go on a short journey through time, right back to the 9th c. 1100 years – admittedly that is a very long time ago. Being scientists and researchers today, we would have belonged to the learned circles back then too, having been either a monk or a nun and probably even belonged to the higher clergy. We were not only privileged enough to know how to read and write but also had access to the library at an abbey and the learned books therein, perhaps working away busily in a scriptorium copying unknown treasures. Beside our mother tongue we were as fluent in Latin as we are in English today. And still that would not have been enough – we are curious: We had the chance to listen to colleagues from the East speaking Greek, even chanting in Greek perhaps. It is the most exotic language we have heard so far – and one of the languages of the Bible. Suddenly everything Greek and Byzantine has become the height of fashion in the learned circles. Why not try it out too? There are some rare manuscripts in the abbey's library containing Latin-Greek glossaries and even alphabets showing how to read and write Greek letters. It would be so fascinating to read the Bible in one of the holy languages! And to be quite honest – chanting the whole day in Latin we have known all our lives. Would not chants in Greek be just that bit more exciting?

Unfortunately, there does not exist a real account as to why ordinary chants with Greek text (Gloria/Doxa/Δόξα, Credo/Pisteuo/Πιστεύω, Sanctus/Hagios/Ἅγιος and Agnus Dei/Amnos tu theu/Ἄμνός τοῦ θεοῦ) suddenly start to appear in Western manuscripts during the second half of the 9th c. Neither is it known if they were assembled in one and the same scriptorium. Later scientists will give this phenomenon the unfortunate title *Missa graeca* as if it were a real “mass”, created on purpose for a special feast by certain persons – much like a later-day officium. In fact manuscript tradition rather points to a random inclusion of one or more of the ordinary chants and not to a “composition” of the whole set of all four chants (as has been shown by Charles Atkinson already).¹

Various theories, hypotheses and time frames regarding the emergence of Greek-texted chants in the West have been raised during the last 150 years:² Some scholars believe that they existed already under Charlemagne (747–814), others think that they came into existence under Louis the Pious (778–840) or under his son Charles the Bald (840–877). So far the possibility that they were created under Charlemagne as propagated by Levy seems the most unlikely, because there is no proof at all for

¹ KACZYNSKI, Bernice M.: *Greek in the Carolingian Age: The St. Gall Manuscripts*, Cambridge/Mass. 1988, p. 102: “The manuscript tradition of the Greek chants therefore offers little support for the notion of a codified *Missa graeca* in the ninth century. Instead, it more closely resembles the apparently capricious transmission of the corresponding Ordinary chants in Latin.”

² An exhaustive bibliography on the *Missa graeca* can be found in ATKINSON, Charles M.: “*Missa graeca*. Messe”, in: *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil 6 (1997), col. 221.

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The phenomenon of the so-called *Missa graeca* chants: Assessing new hypotheses regarding their emergence and dating*

Abstract

The chants of the *Missa graeca*, i.e. Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei with Greek text in Western musical manuscripts between the 9th and 12th century, are one of the last great unresolved topics in European music history. Are they textual and even melodic imports from Byzantium or rather Western creations cleverly designed by grecophile monks? Many theories and hypotheses have been raised by musicologists and historians during the past 150 years. But as yet we do not even know when, where and why these chants suddenly emerged.

The article will discuss the newest developments of the author's current research project “Cultural transfer of music between Byzantium and the West” (funded by the Austrian Science Fund): The main focus will lie on the various theories regarding the origins and the dating of the *Missa graeca*. New approaches and perspectives will be discussed which might narrow the time frame when these chants could have been created. With the help of this historical background insights will be offered into the ongoing discussion as to possible Byzantine origins versus possible Western creators of the chants.

Key words: *Missa graeca*; liturgy; Byzantine chant; mediaeval music; Saint-Amand; sacramentaries

Number of characters / words: 32 997 / 5 068

Number of tables: 5

Number of images: 3

Secondary language(s): Greek, Latin

* The paper is part of the research project P 27115 “Cultural Transfer of Music between Byzantium and the West” funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF).

Levy's assumption of a hypothetical archetype of the *Missa graeca* reaching Benevent around the year 800. There does not even exist a Beneventan manuscript with parts of the *Missa graeca*.³ An emergence under Louis the Pious or Charles the Bald is more plausible because the first preserved manuscripts point to the 9th c. and – as will be seen according to the hypotheses presented in this article – a later date under Charles the Bald is favoured here.

Therefore this article will present new approaches to problems regarding the time-frame and the environment of the *Missa graeca* resulting from the past two years of the author's current research project:

2) 9th c. sacramentaries with Greek ordinary chants

During the second half of the 9th c. Greek-texted ordinary chants suddenly appear in four out of altogether seven West-Frankish sacramentaries. They contain the Greek chant-texts without neumes, only one – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cod. lat. 2291 – includes a Doxa, whose beginning shows palaeo-Frankish neumes.⁴ We can therefore assume that the chants were actually meant to be sung and that they were on the verge of getting neumated. The only sacramentary containing all four ordinary chants is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cod. lat. 2290, the others only include the Doxa and the Pisteuo, resp. the Doxa and the Hagios.⁵ Since André Boutemy's study on the so-called "Franco-Saxon Style", these sacramentaries have been regarded as being connected with the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Amand for palaeographic as well as art historical reasons:⁶

TABLE 1: Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand

Leningrad (today St Petersburg), National Library	Q.v.I 41	fol. 10 ^v	Doxa, Hagios
Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket	A 136	fol. 15 ^v -16 ^v	Doxa, Pisteuo
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Cod. lat. 2290	fol. 7 ^v -8 ^v	Doxa, Pisteuo, Hagios, O amnos ⁷
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Cod. lat. 2291	fol. 16 ^r -16 ^v	Doxa, Pisteuo ⁸

In 1977 the Benedictine scholar and monk Jean Deshusses published an article⁹ on the 9th c. sacramentaries which was to become the most cited one on these manuscripts. There is no doubt that – as Deshusses states¹⁰ – the scriptorium of Saint-Amand was very prolific during

³ LEVY, Kenneth: "The Byzantine Sanctus and its Modal Tradition in East and West", *Annales Musicologiques* 6 (1958-1963), pp. 7-67, here p. 36; IDEM: *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians*, Princeton 1998, p. 90; IDEM: "Charlemagne's Archetype of Gregorian Chant", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), pp. 1-30, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/831580>, here pp. 8, 15. See the comment in ATKINSON, Charles M.: "Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung der 'Missa graeca'", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 39/2 (1982), pp. 113-145, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/930635>, here p. 140 and footnote 55; IDEM: "Further Thoughts on the Origin of the Missa graeca", in: CAHN, Peter – HEIMER, Ann-Katrin: *De musica et cantu. Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Huckle zum 60. Geburtstag*, Hildesheim 1993, pp. 75-93, here p. 77f. and footnote 12, as well as my article "Missa graeca: Mythen und Fakten um griechische Gesänge in westlichen Handschriften", in: *Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident. Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz* (forthcoming).

⁴ See also HANDSCHIN, Jacques: "Eine alte Neumenschrift", *Acta musicologica* 22 (1950), pp. 69-97, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/931794>, and IDEM: "Notitiae zu 'Eine alte Neumenschrift'", *Acta musicologica* 25 (1953), pp. 78-88, here p. 87f., <http://www.jstor.org/stable/931678>; ATKINSON, Ch. M.: "Further Thoughts" (↵ note 3), p. 85.

⁵ ATKINSON, Ch. M.: "Zur Entstehung" (↵ note 3), p. 141 and ATKINSON, Ch. M.: "Further Thoughts" (↵ note 3), p. 85.

⁶ BOUTEMY, André: "Le style franco-saxon, style de Saint-Amand", *Scriptorium* 3 (1949), pp. 260-264, https://www.persee.fr/doc/scrip_0036-9772_1949_num_3_2_2238.

⁷ Online scans: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8423836x/f20.image.r=2290.langDE>.

⁸ Online scans: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84274502/f37.image.r=2291.langDE>.

⁹ DESHUSSES, Jean: "Chronologie des grands sacramentaires de Saint-Amand", *Revue Bénédictine* 87 (1977), pp. 230-237, <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.4.00888>.

¹⁰ DESHUSSES, J.: "Chronologie" (↵ note 9), p. 234, describes the scriptorium of Saint-Amand as a kind of publishing house to which various clients would have entrusted the task of executing a rich work for them. Thus the manuscripts are supposed to have been furnished for each client with the same calligraphy and decoration but with texts according to the requirements of the receiving abbey.

the second half of the 9th c. and might have produced manuscripts on demand.¹¹ But Deshusses also claims that the sacramentaries had been commissioned by the West Frankish king Charles the Bald (823–877) at the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Amand, in order to donate them to various monasteries and churches in his realm to commemorate important events.¹² – Indeed a “seductive” theory as McKitterick admits,¹³ but the problem remains that Deshusses’s claim rests solely on the observation that the sacramentaries resemble in some ways the decoration of Charles the Bald’s Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cod. lat. 2). Although Saint-Amand enjoyed a great deal of royal patronage and was closely connected to Charles the Bald,¹⁴ whose own son Lothar (?–865) was abbot of the monastery between 861 and 865, there is unfortunately no proof that Charles ever commissioned these manuscripts in order to donate them to various abbeys.¹⁵ The only fact we have got is that the sacramentaries distinguish St Amandus but also various other saints, giving credence to the assumption that they might indeed have been copied not for Saint-Amand itself but for other connected abbeys.

Deshusses also tried to date and arrange the sacramentaries at intervals of four years. In order to determine which of them was older than the other he did not take into account any palaeographic characteristics but sorted them according to their additions to the Hadrianum.¹⁶ As for Charles the Bald’s alleged commission of the manuscripts, Deshusses tried to find a historical event which would concur with the date he had given each manuscript, e.g. Leningrad Q.v.I 41 would thus have been ordered by Charles in 862 or 863 for Bishop Reginelme/Rainelme of Tournai-Noyon, who married Charles’s daughter Judith to Count Baldwin of Flanders.¹⁷

TABLE 2: Deshusses’s hypothesis

Leningrad Q.v.I 41	ca. 863 for Tournai for Bishop Reginelme of Tournai-Noyon, who married Charles’s daughter Judith to Count Baldwin of Flanders
Paris BN lat. 2290	ca. 867 for St Denis, when Charles assumed the title of abbot of St Denis
Paris BN lat. 2291	ca. 871 for St Germain-des-Prés, when its abbot Gozlin also became abbot of St Amand
Stockholm A 136	ca. 871 for Sens when Hincmar of Rheims was replaced in the royal favour by archbishop Anségise of Sens

The problem regarding Deshusses’s assertions is that since 1977 they have mostly been accepted as facts and repeated in the secondary literature again and again without questioning his lack of sources (although he himself made some revisions in another article two years later and in his book *Sacramentaire Gregorien* he did not mention his hypothesis any more). Since these sacramentaries are essential for dating and placing the emergence of the *Missa graeca*-chants, we are forced to re-evaluate the situation.

¹¹ PAXTON, Frederick S.: *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca 1990, p. 169: “Loyal to the West Frankish king, Charles the Bald, the abbots of St-Amand placed the considerable resources of the monastery’s library and scriptorium at his disposal.” See also MCKITTERICK, Rosamond: “Charles the Bald (823–877) and his Library: The Patronage of Learning”, *English Historical Review* 95 (1980), pp. 28–47, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/569081>, here p. 43: “In the second half of the ninth century in particular, the scriptorium appears to have been at the height of its powers, producing a number of books on request for various monasteries and cathedral churches.” Cf. also her case study of the scriptorium in her article “Carolingian Book Production: Some Problems”, *The Library* 6–12 (1990), pp. 1–33, <https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s6-12.1.1>, here pp. 14–29.

¹² See also the revision of this article DESHUSSES, Jean: “Encore les sacramentaires de Saint-Amand”, *Revue Bénédictine* 89 (1979), pp. 310–312, <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.4.00954>. For details about these sacramentaries see also ATKINSON, Ch. M.: “Zur Entstehung” (↵ note 3), p. 141, footnote 62; MCKITTERICK, R.: “Charles the Bald” (↵ note 11), p. 43, counts the fragment Wien 958 also among the sacramentaries and therefore speaks of eight codices.

¹³ MCKITTERICK, R.: “Carolingian Book Production” (↵ note 11), p. 32.

¹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁵ DESHUSSES, J.: “Chronologie” (↵ note 9), p. 233f.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234f.

¹⁷ DÉLISLE, Léopold: *Mémoire sur d’anciens sacramentaires*, Paris 1886, p. 398, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb303182237>. Hincmar of Reims, *Annales Bertiniani*, cited after *Die Annalen von St. Bertin und St. Vaast* (ed. Julius von JASMUND). Berlin 1857, p. 92.

I have therefore tried to get as much new literature on the sacramentaries as possible in order to determine more accurately their date and origin and it becomes clear that they have been dated too early:

TABLE 3: New dating

Leningrad Q.v.I 41	ca. 870	Saint-Amand	Bischoff's ¹⁹ later dating of Leningrad to at least 870 seems more realistic than Deshusses's in 863 only because Charles the Bald's daughter was married in this year by the Bishop of Tournai-Noyon. It is also still unclear if the manuscript was produced in Saint-Amand for Tournai: St Amandus is mentioned very often, but also St Piatius, who is the principal saint for Tournai. Nevertheless it seems reasonable that Saint-Amand being a famous scriptorium to have copied this manuscript which could then have gone to Tournai which is only 20 km away.
Stockholm A 136	ca. 870/75–880	Saint-Amand	It is clear from the additions to the codex that it came to Sens only later on.
Paris BN lat. 2290	ca. 875–883	Saint-Amand or (for) Saint-Denis	This manuscript is especially hard to place as both saints – Amandus and Dionysius – are distinguished here. Due to the mentioning of abbot Gozlin (like in PA 2291), either a date around 875 seems plausible, when he was Charles's chancellor or later when Gozlin was already abbot of St Denis which he became in 878. Perhaps an even later date may apply, because there is the remark "et regibus nostris" at the end of the "Te igitur" on fol. 20 ^v , which might refer to the situation after the division of the Frankish realm in 880. It is also known that in 883 abbot Gozlin granted sanctuary to monks from Saint-Amand fleeing the Northmen. ²⁰
Paris BN lat. 2291	ca. 875–877 or 881–883	Saint-Amand	In both PA 2291 and Stockholm A 136 the word rex is replaced by imperator, thus probably indicating the time when Charles the Bald was already emperor (875–877). ²¹ Sometimes an even later date around 881–883 is given. ²² Furthermore it has been shown by recent research that the codex was produced in Saint-Amand and not Saint-Germain. ²³

Taking a look at the approximative dates of the four sacramentaries in table 3 one can see that they are much closer together than previously assumed by Deshusses. They all seem to have been copied in the 870s or early 880s. This is also backed up by a recent art historical assessment of the sacramentaries.²³

3) Nonmusical manuscripts

Another approach is to look at manuscripts which have hitherto not been considered in regard to the *Missa graeca*. It is known though that Greek-texted ordinary chants cannot only be found in musical manuscripts but also in several glossaries, psalters or grammars:²⁴

¹⁸ BISCHOFF, Bernhard: *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, 2: Laon – Paderborn, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 85.

¹⁹ DECKER-HEUER, Andrea: *Studien zur Memorialüberlieferung im frühmittelalterlichen Paris*, Sigmaringen 1998, p. 199, footnote 152.

²⁰ KÖHLER, Wilhelm – MÜTHERICH, Florentine (eds.): *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, 7: *Die frankosächsische Schule*, Wiesbaden 2009, p. 246.

²¹ HAGGH, Barbara: "B. Ferretti, Una notazione neumatica della Francia del Nord (Novalesa, 2003)" [review], *Bulletin Codicologique* 58/2 (2004), p. 160.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ See KÖHLER, W. – MÜTHERICH, F. (eds.): *Frankosächsische Schule* (↪ note 21), p. 37ff., which shows a similar dating, with Leningrad older than the near contemporary Stockholm A 136 and PA 2290. PA 2291 is not counted among the Saint-Amand sacramentaries in this study.

²⁴ Cf. ATKINSON, Ch. M.: "Zur Entstehung" (↪ note 3), p. 118, footnote 26: "Wichtig ist der Hinweis, daß sich die Texte, gelegentlich auch die Melodien dieser Gesänge zuweilen in nicht-liturgischen Mss. wie Grammatiken, Alphabettreihen und Miszellensammlungen aufgezeichnet finden."

TABLE 4: Nonmusical manuscripts

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana	Reg. lat. 215 ²⁶	fol. 130 ^v –131 ^v	876/77 ²⁷	A Latin Glossary from either the Benedictine abbey of Fleury or the canonry Saint-Martin in Tours containing a Doxa and a Pisteuo beside glosses by Haimo of Auxerre and John Sottus Eriugena (fol. 88 ^r –106 ^r) as well as Gottschalk of Orbais's grammatical anthology. Closely connected to Reg. lat. 215 is: ²⁸
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Cod. lat. 4883A	fol. 32 ^v	1 st quarter 11 th c.	A manuscript from Saint-Martial of Limoges, containing the Biblical glosses (fol. 7 ^{ra} –19 ^{rb}) and also the <i>Scholica graecarum glossarum</i> (fol. 22 ^r –27 ^r) ²⁹ as well as a Doxa and a Pisteuo.
Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal	Cod. 8407, the autograph psalter of Sedulius Scotus ³⁰	fol. 64 ^r	9 th c.	This psalter from Nicolas-des-Prés de Verdun contains a Pisteuo, O Amnos and Hagios o theos as well as a Nyn apolieis and a Pater imon. ³¹
London, British Library	Cotton MS Galba A XVIII, psalter of King Æthelstan ³²	fol. 200 ^r –200 ^v	9 th c., Greek parts 1 st half 10 th c.	Greek litany, O Amnos, Pater imon, Pisteuo and beginning of Hagios. ³³
Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel	Weißenburg 86 ³⁴	fol. 216 ^r –217 ^r	mid 8 th c.	A manuscript from Tours with grammatical texts containing a Doxa, Magnificat (Megalynei i psychi mou) and Benedictus (Eulogitos Kyrios o theos).
London, British Library	Harley 5642 ³⁵	fol. 47 ^v	9 th /10 th c.	The Saint-Gall provenance is not secure; it contains grammatical texts, a glossary as well as a Doxa and a Hagios after the <i>Hermeneumata Pseudo-Dositheana</i> . ³⁶
London, British Library	Royal 2. A. xx ³⁷	fol. 28r	8 th –10 th c.	A decorated prayerbook from England with extracts from the gospels, liturgy, apocrypha and glosses. Due to its text and decoration it is linked to a group of Southumbrian prayerbooks known as the "Tiberius Group". ³⁸

²⁵ Online scans: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.215.

²⁶ CONTRENI, John J. – Ó NÉILL, Pádraig P.: *Glossae divinae historiae: The Biblical Glosses of John Scottus Eriugena*, Florence 1997, p. 7, think 876 more probable than 877.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁸ DÉLISLE, Léopold: *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, vol. 1, Paris 1868, p. 389, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb36636608q>, states that a scribe called "Aimericus" seems to have written several parts of the manuscripts because on fol. 32^r it says "Aymericus scripsit monachus". See also CONTRENI, J. J. – Ó NÉILL, P. P.: *Glossae divinae historiae* (↪ note 27), p. 9, footnote 28.

²⁹ Online scans: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b550008210/f133.image>.

³⁰ BERSCHIN, Walter: *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter. Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues*, Bern 1980, p. 172f.: "Der griechische 'Sedulius-Psalter' ist mit seinen griechisch-lateinischen Beigaben ein so hervorragendes Zeugnis von Griechischstudien im IX. Jahrhundert, daß man ihn ungern als einen versprengten Findling in der Geistesgeschichte stehen läßt." See also HERREN, Michael W.: "Sedulius Scottus and the Knowledge of Greek", in: MORAN, Pádraic – WARNTJES, Immo (eds.): *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship. A Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín*, Turnhout 2015, pp. 515–536, <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.STT-EB.5.103134>, here p. 524.

³¹ Online scans: www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_galba_a_xviii_f002v.

³² CHAPPELL, William: "On the Use of the Greek Language, written phonetically, in the Early Service Books of the Church of England; and on the Earliest System of Musical Notation upon Lines and Spaces, one hitherto unnoticed, and seemingly peculiar to English Use", *Archaeologia* 46/2 (1881), pp. 389–402, here p. 394f., <http://hdl.handle.net/1802/15310>.

³³ Online scans: <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/86-weiss/start.htm?image=00443>.

³⁴ Online scans: www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_5642_f047v.

³⁵ See KRUMBACHER, Karl: "Eine neue Handschrift des Dositheus und der Interpretamenta Leidensia (Codex Harleianus 5642)", *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* 3 (1883), pp. 193–203, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:824-dtl-0000062887>; KACZYNSKI, B. M.: *Greek in the Carolingian Age* (↪ note 1), p. 50ff.

³⁶ Online scans: www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_2_a_xx_fs001r.

³⁷ See the description at www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_2_A_XX.

Of the above named manuscripts the article will focus on Reg. lat. 215 and its close younger relative PA 4883A which was probably copied directly from it. They both contain the *Glossae divinae historiae*, which Contreni and Lendinara have attributed to John Scottus³⁸ and another series of glosses which are those of Haimo of Auxerre.³⁹ Furthermore they also include the *Scholica graecarum glossarum* and a *Doxa* and a *Pisteuo*. It is not known of course if there existed a tradition of including Greek-texted ordinary chants in manuscripts containing the Biblical glosses and the *Scholica*⁴⁰, but the scribe of PA 4883A must have regarded the *Doxa* and *Pisteuo* important enough in order to include them both.

Reg. lat. 215 is the earliest preserved manuscript with this content, but it might have been copied from an earlier exemplar from the time between 862 and 876.⁴¹ Also the fact that the Biblical glosses date from between 830 and 850⁴² and the *Scholica* from the 850s or early 860s⁴³ point to an earlier tradition. Of course, no one knows if such an earlier manuscript might have also had Greek-texted ordinary chants.

The interesting fact about the *Glossae* and the *Scholica* regarding the *Missa graeca* is that the words are transliterated into Latin characters⁴⁴ and not written with Greek letters as might be assumed. Also Laistner's comment on the *Scholica* is revealing and calls to mind the *Missa graeca*-texts: "[...] the spelling of some of the Greek words in Latin characters, and occasional wrong interpretations of a Greek word point the way to two interesting generalisations. In the first place the pronunciation of Greek at this time – the evidence is chiefly for the vowel sounds – was clearly similar to that still in use in Modern Greek; secondly the tuition given by Greek teachers seems to have been mainly oral, so that the pupil with but slight knowledge wrote down the word as well as he could phonetically [...]."⁴⁵

Comparing the spelling in the *Scholica* with that of the *Missa graeca*-texts in the 9th c. sacramentaries there are the following common characteristics⁴⁶:

TABLE 5: Common spelling mistakes in the *Scholica* and the *Missa graeca*-texts

- krasis, i.e. word contraction
- itacism⁴⁷
- monophthongization of diphthongs
- γ (v) becomes i (l) or vice versa
- χ (ch) is rendered as c or k

³⁸ CONTRENI, John J.: "The Biblical Glosses of Haimo of Auxerre and John Scottus Eriugena", *Speculum* 51/3 (1976), pp. 411-434, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2851705>, here p. 434: "Paris, B.N. lat. 3088, which consists of miscellaneous fragments from fourteen manuscripts, contains at fols. 110v-115v anonymous glosses entitled *Glossae divinae historiae*. These glosses, copied probably at Reims during the third quarter of the ninth century, are those of John Scottus." See also the evidence presented by LENDINARA, Patrizia: "On John Scottus's Authorship of the Biblical Glosses", *Studi medievali* 3/33 (1992), pp. 571-579.

³⁹ CONTRENI, J. J.: "The Biblical Glosses" (↪ note 39).

⁴⁰ E.g. the manuscript Bern: Bürgerbibliothek 258 from the second half of the 9th c. from Fleury contains the *Glossae Divinae* but not the other items preserved in Reg. lat. 215.

⁴¹ CONTRENI, J. J. – Ó NÉILL, P. P.: *Glossae divinae historiae* (↪ note 27), p. 8.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 80f.

⁴³ CONTRENI, J. J.: "The Biblical Glosses" (↪ note 39), p. 426. See also LENDINARA, Patrizia: "The *Scholica Graecarum glossarum* and *Martianus Capella*", in: TEEUWEN, Mariken – O'SULLIVAN, Sinéad (eds.): *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella: Ninth-Century Commentary Traditions on 'De nuptiis' in Context*, Brepols 2011, pp. 301-361, <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.CELAMA-EB.4.3014>.

⁴⁴ CONTRENI, J. J. – Ó NÉILL, P. P.: *Glossae divinae historiae* (↪ note 27), p. 56f., explains: "Although the use of Greek in the *Glossae* may seem exotic, the glossator treated this language no differently than he did the Latin and Old Irish, transliterating most of the Greek words into Latin characters."

⁴⁵ LAISTNER, Max L. W.: "Notes on Greek from the Lectures of a Ninth Century Monastery Teacher", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 7/3 (1923), pp. 421-456, <https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/api/datastream?publicationPid=uk-ac-man-scw:1m1132&datastreamId=POST-PEER-REVIEW-PUBLISHERS-DOCUMENT.PDF>, here p. 425f.

⁴⁶ Cf. OPELT, Ilona: "Die Essener 'Missa Graeca' der liturgischen Handschrift Düsseldorf D2", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 23 (1974), pp. 77-88, here pp. 84 and 86.

⁴⁷ BISCHOFF, Bernhard: "Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 55 (1951), pp. 27-55, <https://doi.org/10.1515/bz-1951-1213>, draws the same conclusion when he writes (p. 44): "Das sprachliche Material, über das man im Abendland verfügte, bot in der Regel das Formenbild der Literatur oder der Hochsprache, auch wenn seine Aufzeichnung itazistisch gefärbt war."

- θ becomes τ or vice versa
- omission of letters, e.g. *aios* instead of *agios*
- great variety of grammatical errors and wrong endings
- confusion of vowels
- wrong double consonants, e.g. *nn* instead of *mn*.

<i>Scholica</i>	<i>Missa graeca</i> -texts
apotistesei < ἀπό τῆς θέσεως	symonos kyrrios < σὺ εἶ μόνος Κύριος
apotuidis < ἀπό τοῦ εἶδους?	keaiōn pneuma < καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα
cymiterium < κοιμητήριον	prosdeke tyndeysin < πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν
kere < χαῖρε	eukaristumensy < Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι
metrifrasin < μετάφρασις	enonamati kyriu < ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου
simnistes < συμμύστης	gennitenta < γεννηθέντα
senoca < συνέχθεια?	e anatheltonta istus uranus < καὶ ἀνεληθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς

Looking at the Greek alphabet in another 9th c. manuscript – Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, Cod. 444, fol. 4^v (ca. 850–875)⁴⁸ – written by the Irish scholar Martin Scottus of Laon (815–875), one can find an exact rendering of how to transliterate Greek letters according to the modern Greek pronunciation and very similar to the *Missa graeca*-texts.

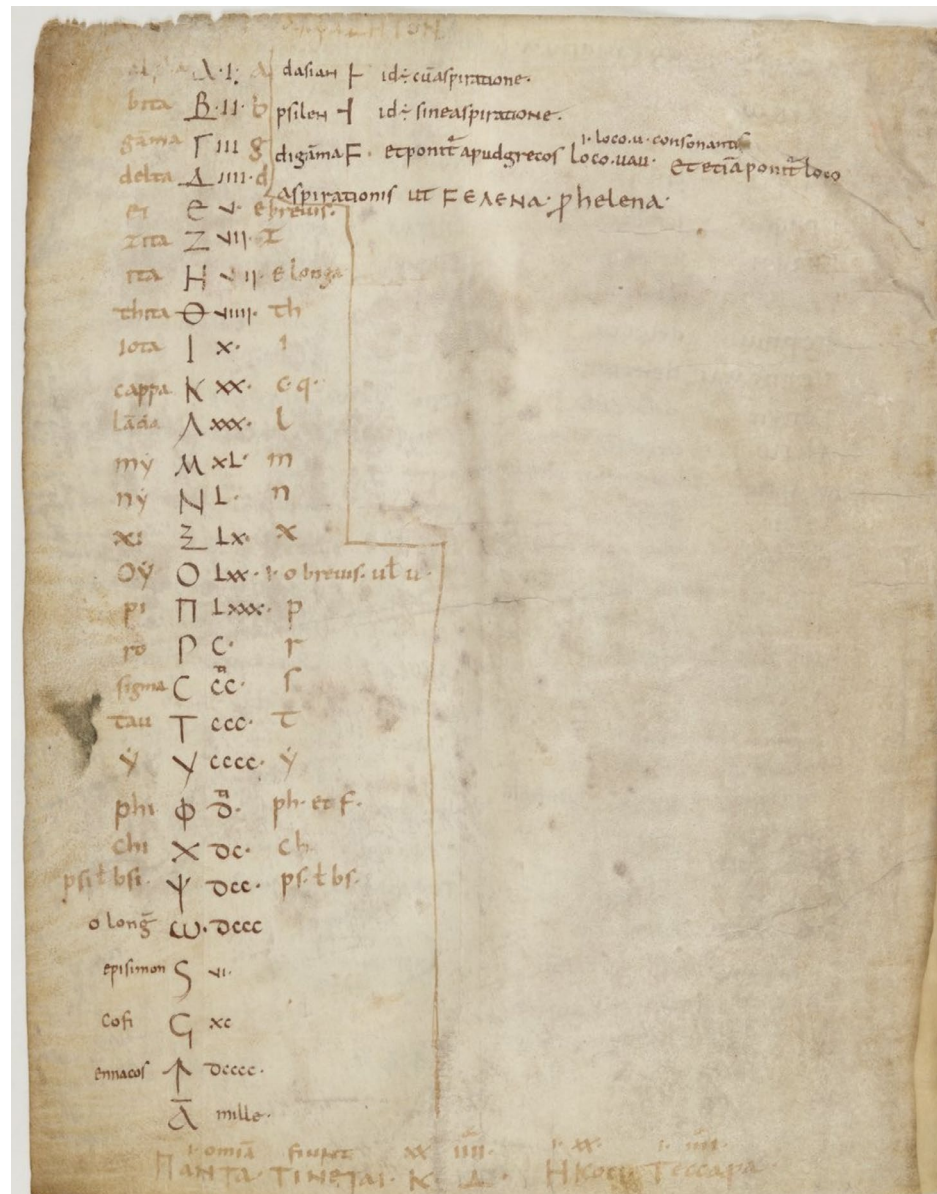


Fig. 1:
Laon, Bibliothèque
municipale,
Cod. 444, fol. 4^v:
Greek alphabet
(© Bibliothèque
municipale, Laon)

⁴⁸ Online scans: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84921401/f13.image>.

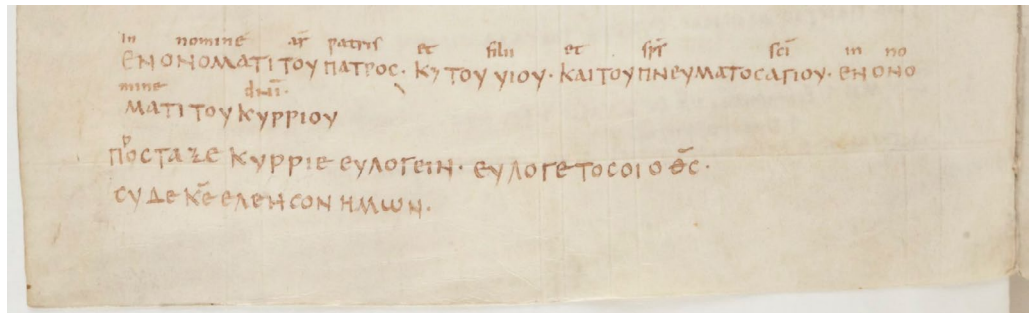
Also in Laon 444 on fol. 295^r there is a list with Greek words taken from verses by John Scottus: a.o. ΚΙΡΡΙΟC – the same spelling as in the Doxa in the sacramentaries as well as similar mistakes like e.g. ΕΥCΙΒΗC (εὐσεβής), ΔΙΝΑΤΟC (δυνατός), ΦΙCΕΟC (φύσεωc).

ΤΗΝΥΞ	i. pcta	ΙCΙΔΑΜ	aeqirtai
ΕΡΥΤΡΕΑC	rubeas	ΑΜΜΟΝΙΑ	arenosa
CΙΜΒΟΛΙΚΑC	significatiua	ΔΑΛΜΑΤΑ	Imagines
ΑΛΑΛΑΓΜΑ	hymn ^u uictoriae	ΙΝΔΥCΙΑC	Indumenta
ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΑ	miracula	ΠΡΟCΕΥΧΗC	
ΧΑΛΚΕΥC	aeneus	ΒΟΕΘΕΙ	faue
ΚΑΙΠΑΡΙΟΥC	ortulan ⁱ	ΚΛΕΙΡΕΙCΘΕ	possidere
ΑΜΛΞ	rex	ΔΙΝΑΤΟC	posse
ΟΡΘΩ	recte	ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑC	celestes.
ΔΟΞΟC	credens	ΕΜΠΗΡΙΟC	igneos
ΕΥCΙΒΗC	pius	ΟΜΜΑΤΕ	oculo
ΕΝΚΛΙΤΟC	glorios	ΓΛΑΥΚΙΜΙΔΟ	i. nocti uido
CΟΒΡΟΝ	tēperans	ΝΟΘΡΟC	Intellectus
ΧΡΙCΤΟΦΟΡΟC	xpm ferens	ΛΟΓΟC	rationes
ΚΙΡΡΙΟC	dnr	ΓΝΟΦΟC	caligo
Ω	ipse	ΚΟΡΥΦΗ	uertice
ΚΑΡΟΛΟC	karolus	ΘΕCΜΟΝ	legē. ΜΟΥCΕΑ. i. moſaic
ΜΕΛΠΟ	canto	ΘΑΡCΟΝ	pedu. ΘΑΡCΟC # planta pedu
ΛΑΧΑΝΙΕ	herbis	ΠΤΕΡΥΓΑC	alas
ΝΕΡΕΑ	beluas	ΠΟΛΙΜΟΡΦΟΤΑ	multiformia
ΔΙΜΒΟΥC	orbis	ΖΩΑ	animalia
ΚΕΡΥΔΑ	unda	ΚΡΟΝΟC	tēpora
ΟCΑΝΑ	auis	ΤΟΠΟC	locus
ΟΦΙC	serpens	ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ	spiritus
		ΑΙΓΛΕ	claritas

Fig. 2:
Laon, Bibliothèque municipale,
Cod. 444, fol. 295^r
(© Bibliothèque municipale, Laon)

Furthermore Laon 444 (fol. 291^r and 298^v) contains various Latin benedictions and a blessing, which are all clearly translated from Latin into Greek due to the text structure and due to the fact that they are not used in the Byzantine liturgy. Although these examples are written with Greek letters, they still remind us of the *Missa graeca*-texts – e.g. fol. 298^v: ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟC ΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟC ΑΓΙΟΥ [...]: The words ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟC ΑΓΙΟΥ are a direct translation from the Latin phrase because in Greek the adjective would precede the noun, i.e. ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟC. Furthermore a blessing in Greek starts with ειc τὸ ὄνομα and not with ἐν ὀνόματι (see Fig. 3).

Fig. 3:
Laon, Bibliothèque municipale,
Cod. 444, fol. 298^v
(© Bibliothèque municipale, Laon)



3) Conclusions

Which conclusions can be drawn from these examples? First of all the dating of the sacramentaries and thus the first records of the *Missa graeca*-chants should be revised to the 870s or even the early 880s. The sacramentaries were most likely written in Saint-Amand whereas Reg. lat. 215 probably came from Fleury – meaning Benedictine abbeys are at the top of the list: They were the learned centres of their times and had access to manuscripts containing glossaries, grammars and the like.⁴⁹

But who belonged to the learned circles there during the second half of the 9th c.? According to Laistner Reg. lat. 215 was “written by the same hand throughout”,⁵⁰ so whoever wrote the glosses will in all probability also have inserted the *Doxa* and the *Pisteuo*. Therefore the *Glossae Divinae* and the *Scholica* might give us a hint as to the key figures who knew Greek to a larger extent than their contemporaries and to their environment: John Scottus Eriugena, Haimo of Auxerre, Heiric of Auxerre, Remigius of Auxerre⁵¹ and Hucbald of Saint-Amand. Except for John Scottus all the others were Benedictine monks. John Scottus and Haimo were the oldest of the five, having been born probably at the beginning of the 9th c., whereas the others were born around 840, thus being in their prime during the late 870s and early 880s when the *Missa graeca*-chants start making their appearance in the sacramentaries.

Can therefore be assumed that the idea of using Greek instead of Latin for ordinary chants arose in this environment? Contreni offers a suggestion as to who might be responsible for compiling the contents found in Reg. lat. 215: “Whoever compiled the *Scholica* and the other glosses [...] most likely was connected with the masters whose works are included in the manuscript. Remigius of Auxerre was familiar with the *Scholica*, the biblical glosses, and glosses on the prologues of Jerome which the manuscript also contains. The obvious intermediary between Remigius and John Scottus and Haimo of Auxerre is Remigius’s own master, Heiric of Auxerre. One of Heiric’s talents was the compilation of pedagogical texts reminiscent of the *Scholica Graecarum glossarum*.”⁵²

As can be seen in Table 5 the spelling of the *Missa graeca*-texts is clearly resembled in glossaries, alphabets, various word-lists, exegetical and liturgical texts. The translations of prayers, ordinary chants etc. in nonmusical manuscripts have been undertaken since at least the 8th c., looking for instance at the *Doxa* in the mid-8th c. codex Wolfenbüttel 86 from Tours. Probably

⁴⁹ MCKINNON, James W.: “Benedictine Monks”, in: *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.02659>. CLARK, James G.: *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge 2011, p. 103f.: “By Carolingian times Benedictine monasticism had abandoned manual labour, had accepted that monks were normally priests, and had come to regard the singing of the liturgy as its central task.”

⁵⁰ LAISTNER, M. L. W.: “Notes on Greek” (↪ note 46), p. 425.

⁵¹ MCKITTERICK, R.: “Carolingian Book Production” (↪ note 11), p. 9: “So close were the intellectual and religious links between these centres, especially between Fleury and St Germain d’Auxerre, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish with any certainty between the scripts of each.”

⁵² CONTRENI, John J.: “Three Carolingian Texts attributed to Laon: Reconsiderations”, *Studi Medievali* 17 (1976), pp. 797-813, here p. 806f. See furthermore CONTRENI, J. J.: “The Biblical Glosses” (↪ note 39), p. 425ff., and similarly CONTRENI, J. J. – Ô NÉILL, P. P.: *Glossae divinae historiae* (↪ note 27), p. 14: “[...] the glosses were thought sufficiently useful to be joined to the glosses of Haimo of Auxerre [...]. The compiler responsible for this format must have been at work before 876, the date of V [i.e. Reg. lat 215]. The period, the interest in compiling pedagogical materials, as well as the evidence of access to the *rarissime* commentary of Haimo of Auxerre on Ezechiel [...], put one in mind of Heiric of Auxerre (841-after 876/77), the important master who had intellectual attachments to John Scottus and who compiled some of what he learned from Lupus of Ferrières and Haimo of Auxerre in his *Collectanea*.”

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this had to do with the fascination of Greek as one of the holy languages itself. Apparently during the second part of the 9th c. learned circles and their environment started to make more use of these liturgical texts, including them in the sacramentaries and – with the emergence of neumes – starting to set them to music.

Strangely enough if one might think that from now on *Missa graeca*-chants will appear in manuscripts continually until their decline during the 12th c., one is mistaken. After the 870s/880s there is a “time-gap” of almost 50–60 years where no manuscripts are recorded with these chants. During the 930s they appear again in tropers – not in France though this time but in St Gall (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. 484 and Cod. 381).⁵³ However, this will be another story...

⁵³ Online scans of both manuscripts: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0484/202/0/Sequence-567> and <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0381/13/0/Sequence-513>.