

The Poetic Offices in the Eastern Part of the Patriarchate of Aquileia

Jurij SNOJ

Institute of Musicology, Ljubljana

Abstract: Since the territories of the ancient patriarchate of Aquileia did not share the same historical development, the eastern, Austrian part of the patriarchate, comprising the land of Carniola, but also the southern parts of Styria and Carinthia, must be regarded as a special area within the Aquileian ecclesiastical province. There is a repertoire of 23 poetic (or to some extent poetic) offices preserved in the manuscripts from this region. Its main characteristic appears to be the mixture of south German and Aquileian creations, the latter layer consisting of four offices for four groups of local Aquileian saints. Judging by the sources, these offices circulated only within the patriarchate; however, one of them (the poetic office of the Cancius' family) seems to be unique to the antiphonary from Kranj/Krainburg. The Aquileian offices appear to have come into being in different periods from the late 13th to the late 15th centuries; they therefore disclose different musical characteristics that do not allow us to conceive of them as representing a distinct and stylistically unified group of musical creations. The study has three objectives: present the repertoire of the poetic offices; analyses the repertoire according to the origin of its items; compares some basic traits of those offices.

Keywords: Aquileia, offices, Middle Ages

In the Middle Ages there were three different yet related historical formations designated by the term "Aquileian": the metropolitan ecclesiastical province with the patriarch as its head; the diocese of Aquileia, whose bishop was the patriarch himself, and the patriarchal state with the patriarch as its temporal lord. As an ecclesiastical province with its origins in early Christian times, the patriarchate occupied vast territories. Its northern and eastern borders were defined by Charlemagne, who in 811 established the River Drava as the frontier between the patriarchate and the archdiocese of Salzburg. This border remained unchanged for nearly a millennium, until the patriarchate was abolished in the middle of the 18th century. During the later Middle Ages the patriarchate incorporated many dioceses, from Como in the west to Verona and

Pola / Pula (in Istria) in the south,¹ thus being one of the largest ecclesiastical provinces in medieval times.²

After the division of the Frankish state, the territories of the patriarchate as an ecclesiastical province did not share the same historical destiny. In 1077 the patriarchate became a vassal state which was formally subject to the Holy Roman Empire yet ruled almost independently by the patriarch. The borders of the state did not, however, coincide with the borders of the ecclesiastical province, the latter still occupying much larger domains. The central part of the state being confined to Friuli, its territories were enlarged and truncated several times during the three and a half centuries of its existence. On the eastern territories of the metropolis the historical inner-Austrian lands gradually came into being in the high and later Middle Ages. Apart from a brief period in the 13th century, the land of Carniola/Krain, the southern part of Styria/Steiermark and the southern part of Carinthia/Kärnten, lying south of the river Drava/Drau and inhabited for the most part by Slovenians, politically did not belong to the patriarchal state. They were subject to various German dynasties and by the end of the Middle Ages, after the extinction of the house of Cilli/Celje, went into the hereditary possession of the house of Habsburg. However, after the final collapse of the patriarchal state in 1420 they remained a stronghold of the imperial policy against Venice, its main successor. In historical terms the eastern part of the patriarchate could therefore be defined as the Austrian – or the future Austrian, as opposed to the patriarchate's Venetian part.³

Due to the fact that the borders of the patriarchate as an ecclesiastical province did not coincide with the borders of the patriarchate as a vassal state, the vast territories of the patriarchate as a metropolis cannot be conceived of as a uniform area. After the extinction of the patriarchal state, the patriarchate still represented an ecclesiastical province, yet the fact that it did not adhere to the same temporal authority exerted a strong influence on religious life and the liturgy. One would expect that it was the rite of Aquileia that had to be observed and practised within the borders of the patriarchate. The books compiled for

¹ G. C. Menis, "La Chiesa patriarcale d'Aquileia (dal VI al XVIII sec.)", *Enciclopedia monografica del Friuli Venezia Giulia*, 3, La storia e la cultura, Parte seconda, Udine, 1979, 907–914. "Aquileia", *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*, III, Milano, 1929, 805–808. – When in 1180 centuries-long conflicts between the patriarchate of Aquileia and the patriarchate of nearby Grado were finally solved, the suffragan dioceses subject to the patriarch of Aquileia were also clearly specified. See "Aquileia", op. cit., 807.

² See the map of the ecclesiastical provinces in the Middle Ages in David Hiley, "Plainchant Transfigured: Innovation and Reformation through the Ages", *Man and Music. Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. J. McKinnon, Granada Group, The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1990, 134.

³ There is a vast literature on the political development of the territories in question in the high and late Middle Ages. A general survey may be read in A. Cremonesi, "L'epoca patriarcale (1077–1420)", *Enciclopedia monografica del Friuli Venezia Giulia*, 3, La storia e la cultura, Parte prima, Udine, 1978, 137–178 and in G. C. Menis, op. cit.

the Chapter of Aquileia itself are expressly defined as representing the rite of Aquileia⁴ and the same is true of the earliest, 15th century Aquileian prints.⁵ Nevertheless it is highly questionable that the rite of Aquileia – as e.g. represented in the early prints – actually existed in all areas of the patriarchate and in all of its numerous suffragan dioceses. The liturgical manuscripts and their remnants from the eastern part of the patriarchate certainly do not represent the rite of Aquileia in the strict sense of the word. The actual disposition of the chants to be found in these sources is often different from that in Aquileian liturgical books and what they share with the manuscripts from Aquileia sometimes turns out to be a common trait of many pre-Tridentine liturgical practices.⁶ However, the domain where in the sources from the eastern part the characteristics and peculiarities of the rite of Aquileia could be seen most palpably and convincingly, is their sanctorale. It seems as if the fact that the region belonged to the patriarchate found its most clear and visible expression in the veneration of the Aquileian saints. This observation can be demonstrated by the inspection of the poetic offices to be found in the sources from the region.

The following study has three objectives: (i) to present the repertoire of the poetic offices to be found in the extant and known manuscripts from the eastern part of the patriarchate, be it complete or fragmentary; (ii) to analyse the repertoire according to the origin of its items, which means to establish the influences that contributed to its formation and to disclose what seem to be its peculiar traits; (iii) to compare some basic traits of those offices that seem to have come into being in Aquileia itself or within the metropolis. The assumption that they originated in the same area leads to the question whether they share similar poetic and musical features or should be regarded as more or less independent creations.

As can be seen from *Table 1*,⁷ there are 23 high and late medieval poetic offices in the sources preserved from the eastern part of the patriarchate; some

⁴ Raffaella Camilot-Oswald, "Die liturgischen Musikhandschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Patriarchat Aquilei", Teilband 1, *Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, Subsidia, II, Kassel–Basel [etc.], 1997, 68, 76.

⁵ *Breviarium Aquileiense*, Venice 1496; *Missale Aquileiense*, Augsburg 1494.

⁶ The results of comparisons are described in J. Snoj, *Fragmenti srednjeveških koralnih rokopisov s poznogotsko notacijo v Ljubljani* [Fragments of plainchant manuscripts in Gothic notation from Ljubljana], University of Ljubljana, 1988 (PhD dissertation).

⁷ "LMLO" stands for A. Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, Subsidia Mediaevalia, 23 (Texts), 24 (Sources and Chants), Toronto, 1994, 1996 (asterisks designate substantial deviations from the version in LMLO); "CAO" stands for R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, III, IV, Rome, 1968, 1970; "Ljubljana 17, 18" refers to the antiphonary from Kranj/Krainburg, Nadškofijski arhiv Ljubljana [Archiepiscopal Archives Ljubljana], Rkp [Ms] 17, 18; "Ljubljana 77" stands for Nadškofijski arhiv Ljubljana [Archiepiscopal Archives Ljubljana], Rkp [Ms] 77; "Nk" stands for Novo mesto, Kolegiatni kapitelj, Knjižnica [Novo mesto (Slovenia), Chapter Library]. – The numbering of the fragments follows the reconstruction in the dissertation quoted in footnote 6.

Table 1

| Feast | Incipit | Ljubljana 17, 18 | Other sources | LMLO | CAO |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|-----|
| Thomae | Pastor caesus in gregis medio | I 38v–42v | | TH21 | |
| Barbarae | Gratulemur regi digna | | Fragm. 30 | BA40 | |
| In Conceptione | Gaude mater ecclesia | I 154r–158r | Fragm. 30 | YC51 | |
| Dorotheae | Ave gemma virtuosa | | Fragm. 12 | DO81 | |
| Gregorii | Gloriosa sanctissimi | I 180v–184r | Fragm. 22, 65; Nk | GR31 | + |
| Hellari et Taciani | Haec est vera fraternitas | I 184r–188r | Fragm. 65 | HI31 | |
| Benedicti | Praeclarum late tibi vir | I 188r–191v | | BE01 | |
| Cancii, Canciani ... | Cum ecclesiam turbaret | I 205v–210v | | — | |
| Erasmi | Laudibus magnificis celebret | | Fragm. 30 | ER11 | |
| In Visitatione | Accedunt laudes virginis | II 66v–71v | | YV42 | |
| Udalrici | Sancte Udalrice confessor | II 71v–76r | | UD25* | |
| Hermachorae et Fortunati | Beatus Hermachoras velamen | II 76v–81r | | — | |
| Margarethae | O Margaretha caelorum | II 89r–92v | | MD33 (MD40) | |
| Iacobi | Gloriosa splendet orbi | II 97r–100v | | IA12* | |
| Annae | Anna sancta de qua nata | II 105r–108v | | AN28 | |
| Afrae | Gratias tibi domine Iesu | | Fragm. 44 | — | + |
| Dominici | Transit pauper ad regni | II 123v–127r | | DO21 | |
| Bartholomaei | Audi servorum clemens pia | II 139r–142r | | BA84* | |
| Aegidii | O quam miranda est | II 151r–156r | Ljubljana 77 | EG51 | |
| Quattuor Virginum | Orante sancta Euphemia | II 162v–167r | Ljubljana 77 | — | |
| Galli | Venerabilis Gallus diaconum | II 171v–175v | Ljubljana 77 | — | + |
| Elisabeth | Laetare Germania | II 185r–189r | Fragm. 11, 16 | EL61 | |
| Catharinae | Surge virgo et nostras | II 193r–197v | Fragm. 11, 16, 30 | CB24* (CB21, 23, 26) | |

creations are also included that are only partly or even to a lesser extent conceived in poetic form. The majority of the items are to be found in a large two-volume antiphony from Kranj/Krainburg, compiled in 1491. Other sources to include the poetic offices are fragmentary remnants of destroyed manuscripts from the 14th and 15th centuries. However, in several cases their provenance cannot be ascertained; it is possible that some of them found their

way into the region only casually, thus belonging to other liturgical traditions. The list of the offices presented here is not quite complete: manuscripts without music have been ignored, although their inclusion may have increased the number of the identified items. The monastic material, too, has been disregarded, since monasteries would have followed liturgical uses of their own. Yet the inclusion of monastic manuscripts would probably not enlarge the list by more than a couple of items.⁸ It is noticeable that all the manuscripts quoted disclose the same type of Gothic notation. It is in the notation of the German north, not in that of the Italian west that the manuscripts from the eastern part of the patriarchate with poetic offices were compiled. This fact must be taken into account in considering the directions of influences that contributed to the formation of the repertoire.

The poetic offices represent a vast, divergent and to a certain extent still unexplored area of medieval plainchant. Studying the repertoires and transmission history of poetic offices thus involves specific problems. The same offices do not always appear in the same form: the order of the chants may change and in addition in some copies there may be insertions from other offices dedicated to the same saint. Such an office is that of Catherine in the antiphonary Ljubljana 17: the majority of its chants correspond to the most disseminated office of the saint, but some of them come from no less than three other offices. An overview of a given repertoire, such as is offered here, cannot consider all the possible variants of each particular office and thus sometimes runs the risk of not completely accurate identification. Another problem concerns questions of the offices' transmission history, which in many cases seem to be unexplored, given the large number of medieval antiphonaries. The *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* and A. Hughes' *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices* present a huge amount of relevant information for the dissemination of particular offices in medieval liturgical books. Nevertheless, it is sometimes still difficult to get more than a general impression concerning areas in which particular offices were disseminated, which means that the consequent conclusions may not always be reliable.

The whole repertoire of 23 offices may be divided into four distinct though to some extent overlapping groups. Firstly, there are poetic offices that must be considered as having been widely known by the end of the Middle Ages. These include the office of Thomas Becket, that of Gregory, to be found already in the antiphonaries of the *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, and the offices of Elisabeth and of Catherine. The fact that Catherine and Gregory

⁸ Moreover, among the fragmentary sources there are still portions of unrecognized poetic offices whose identification would add to the final figure of the preserved items.

appear in four sources, Elisabeth in three attests to their wide acceptance. Among the well-known offices there is also that of Dominic, a fact which most probably must be ascribed to the growth of the Dominican order. Intensive expansion may have characterized the office of the feast of Visitatio, composed only in the second half of the 14th century, but known already from many manuscripts of the 15th century. The second group comprises offices that appear to have been spread primarily in the Central European regions. These include Dorothea, known from sources from Austria and Bohemia, the office for the feast of Conceptio, which also seems to have been widely known in the same area after the 12th century, and perhaps the office of Erasmus.⁹ The third group consists of four distinct south German offices for the feasts of Gallus, Udalricus, Afra and Aegidius. The oldest of the group, that of Gallus, has not been included in *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*; it originated as early as c. 900 and besides was not conceived in verse form. Udalricus and Afra come from the Augsburg area.¹⁰ It may be mentioned in this connection that the compiler of the antiphonary Ljubljana 17, 18, a certain Ioannes, also came from that region.¹¹ He must have known the liturgical repertoire of his environment very well, though this fact cannot be considered as decisive for the inclusion of the offices in question in the new antiphonary. As for Aegidius, who as a matter of fact was not a German saint, there is the impression that his office circulated primarily in south German, Austrian regions.¹²

The last and the most distinct layer of the whole repertoire comprises offices of four specific Aquileian groups of saints: Hellarus and Tacianus, the Cancius' family consisting of Cancius, Cancianus, Cancianilla and Prothus, the group of Hermachoras and Fortunatus, and the group of the Four Virgins, Euphemia, Dorothea, Thecla and Erasma. Of these four offices only that of Hellarus and Tacianus has been included in the *Analecta hymnica*¹³ and consequently is to be found also in *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*. The last two mentioned offices, that of Hermachoras and Fortunatus and that of the Four Virgins, have been omitted by the compilers of the *Analecta hymnica* because they can hardly be considered as conceived in verse form, but the office for the feast of the Cancius' family may have remained unknown because it seems to

⁹ A. Hughes, "Late Medieval Liturgical Offices", *Subsidia Mediaevalia*, 23 (Texts), *Catalogue of Offices* (the information under the quoted symbols).

¹⁰ R. Hankeln, "Antiphonen süddeutscher Heiligenoffizien des Hochmittelalters", *Cantus Planus*, Papers Read at the 9th Meeting, Esztergom and Visegrád, 1998, ed. by László Doboszay, Budapest, 2001, 64–165 (Table 1).

¹¹ In the explicit of Ljubljana 17 he identified himself as "Ioannes von Werd de Augusta".

¹² A. Hughes, "Late Medieval Liturgical Offices", *Subsidia Mediaevalia*, 23 (Texts), *Catalogue of Offices* (the information under the symbol Eg51).

¹³ *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, 45a, Leipzig, 1904, 109–112.

be unique to the antiphony Ljubljana 17. In any case, the survey of the manuscripts known to include the four offices in question – which is shown in Table 2¹⁴ – makes the impression that their circulation remained limited to the patriarchal domains, which may be ascribed to the predominantly local importance of their cults. None of the antiphonaries indexed in the Cantus database¹⁵ so far contains any of them, except for the antiphony Ljubljana 17, 18. The office of Hermachoras and Fortunatus and that of the Four Virgins is also known from a Venetian source, yet with mostly quite different melodies.¹⁶

Table 2

| Feast | GA | GB | GC | GL | Civ 44 | Civ 48 | Civ 49 | Civ 34 | Civ 57 | Lj. 17, 18 | Lj., fragm. | Edition |
|--------------------------|----|----|----|----|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| Hellari et Taciani | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | Baroffio–Kim |
| Cancii, Canciani ... | | | | | | | | | | + | | |
| Hermachorae et Fortunati | | + | | | + | + | | | + | + | | |
| Quattuor Virginum | + | + | + | | + | | | | | + | | Baroffio–Kim |

In general it may be concluded that what seems characteristic of the repertoire of the poetic offices from the eastern part of the patriarchate is the mixture of south German and Aquileian creations. This may be compared to, and explained by the general historical situation outlined above, according to which the territory politically belonged to the imperial south. However, the differences between the repertoire in the Austrian part of the patriarchate on the one hand and the Venetian – or Venetian to-be – on the other may not be very great, since at least some of the south German poetic offices also found their way into the antiphonaries from Aquileia and Cividale.¹⁷

The four offices of the Aquileian saints appear, as far as can be ascertained, only in the sources from within the patriarchate as an ecclesiastical province. This strongly suggests that they were created by local poets and musicians. As stated above, two of them, that of Hermachoras and Fortunatus and that of the

¹⁴ For the presence of the offices in question in the manuscripts from Aquileia (now in Gorizia) and Cividale see R. Camilot-Oswald, *Die liturgischen Musikhandschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Patriarchat Aquileia*, CXV, CXVI, CXVIII, CXX. – GA, GB, GC, GL stand for Gorizia, Biblioteca del Seminario Teologico Centrale, A, B, C and L respectively; Civ44 etc. stand for Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 44, 48, 49, 34, 57; Lj. 17, 18 and Lj., fragm. refer to the sources quoted above. The full title of Baroffio–Kim's edition is: G. Baroffio, Eun Ju Kim, *Historiae sanctorum*, Lamezia Terme, 1999.

¹⁵ "Cantus" indices (<http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/>).

¹⁶ R. Camilot-Oswald, op. cit., p. LI; eadem, "L'ufficio di S. Ermagora nella tradizione manoscritta di Aquileia / Cividale e a San Marco", *Da Bisanzo a San marco. Musica e liturgia*, ed. by G. Cattin, Venice, Bologna, 1997 (Quaderni di *Musica e Storia*, 2), 211, 215–216, 221–222.

¹⁷ E.g. Aegidius; R. Camilot-Oswald, *Die liturgischen Musikhandschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Patriarchat Aquileia*, 66, 71, 74 (Analecta hymnica 25, 5 corresponds to EG51 of LMLO).

Four Virgins, also appear in an antiphonary from San Marco, Venice, yet with mostly different melodies. Given the fact that the Venetian antiphonary comes from the second quarter of the 13th century,¹⁸ it may well represent the oldest source known for the texts of both offices. Yet the assumption that the text of the office of Hermachoras and Fortunatus originated in Venice, to be only later transferred to Aquileia, does not seem convincing.¹⁹ Being the first bishop of Aquileia, Hermachoras enjoyed a special veneration in the centre of the patriarchate.²⁰ Moreover, among the texts of his office there are also some portions taken over from two older Aquileian breviaries;²¹ these texts must certainly be regarded as Aquileian, not Venetian creations. It is therefore more plausible to assume that the text of the office of Hermachoras and Fortunatus originated in Aquileia, from where it was transferred to Venice, possibly via Grado, to receive there for the most part a new musical elaboration.²² The assumption that the Venetian antiphonary comes from the first half of the 13th century, which means that it predates the Aquileian sources, would therefore lead to the conclusion that there must have existed earlier Aquileian copies of the texts of both offices in question – and possibly also of their music, on the basis of which the extant Aquileian copies as well as the Venetian versions of the offices came into being. As for the music, however, there can hardly be any doubt that the Venetian versions of the two offices, apart from a couple of melodies, originated in Venice, whereas the Aquileian versions must be regarded as Aquileian creations.²³

Judging from the sources, the four offices come from different periods. The oldest known copy of the office of the Four Virgins appears in the antiphonary Gorizia A from the 13th century, whereas the oldest known copy of the office of Hermachoras and Fortunatus is to be found in the slightly later antiphonary Gorizia B; according to this it cannot have been later than the second half of the 13th century and the first decades of the 14th century respectively that the offices in question came into being. The antiphonaries Gorizia A and B represent the rite of Aquileia, expressly mentioned in both manuscripts,²⁴ which corroborates the assumption concerning the Aquileian origin of the two offices. On the other hand, the office of Hellarus and Tacianus and that of

¹⁸ R. Camilot-Oswald, "L'ufficio di S. Ermagora nella tradizione manoscritta di Aquileia / Cividale e a San Marco", 211; the manuscript in question is privately owned.

¹⁹ Ibid., 215, 225–226.

²⁰ Ibid., 209–211.

²¹ Ibid., 212.

²² The melodies shared by both versions, the Aquileian and the Venetian, are listed *ibid.*, 215f.

²³ For the comparison of the two musical versions of the office of Hermachoras and Fortunatus see *ibid.*, 216–221.

²⁴ R. Camilot-Oswald, *Die liturgischen Musikhandschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Patriarchat Aquileia*, 65, 68.

Cancius' family appear to be later; this can be seen from the fact that the earliest copies of the first mentioned, that of Hellarus and Tacianus, survived in the fascicles that had been attached to the antiphonaries Gorizia A and B after their completion, some time in the 14th century. The oldest manuscript to include the office in its body seems to be the 14th century monastic antiphonary Gorizia L, in which the office had been adapted to monastic use. Still later is the only known copy of the office of the Cancius' group, to be found only in the antiphonary from the end of the 15th century, which suggests a late date for its creation.

Since they belong to different periods, the four offices stand apart in other respects, too.²⁵ The older two offices, that of the Four Virgins and that of Hermachoras and Fortunatus, had been conceived chiefly in prose; in the later²⁶ the great majority of the texts do not show any attempt to make them appear as poetry. Yet there are some instances of a clear – though perhaps not always successful – versification, as e. g. in the responsory *O testis verbi* with the repetenda *Gaudia caelorum meruisti civis eorum*. The tendency to make the texts poetry is slightly more pronounced in the office of the Four Virgins; some of its chants are in pure prose, but in several of them a slight rhythmization or a vague sound correspondence between certain words can be felt, as e.g. in the responsory *Euphemia dixit Sevasto praesidi* which continues: *deos tuos contemnimus in Iesum Christum credimus, quem Marci successor inclitus Hermachoras praedicat episcopus*. Here and in some other texts like this, the versification devices appear to have been applied quite freely. Yet the office under consideration also shows instances of unmistakable versification, as are some antiphons of the Lauds, conceived in iambic dimeter.²⁷ Quite differently, the two later offices, that of Hellarus and Tacianus, and that of the Cancius' family,²⁸ were composed in verse form throughout, although the versification does not always meet what seems to have been the ideal of the poets. The comparison of the music of the four offices may start with some formal observations given in Table 3.²⁹ The progressive modal order in the sequence of chants was respected only within the Nocturns in the older two offices. The

²⁵ The subsequent comparison is based on the copies in Ljubljana 17, 18.

²⁶ Its text has been edited by R. Camilot-Oswald, "L'ufficio di S. Ermagora nella tradizione manoscritta di Aquileia / Cividale e a San Marco", 230–237.

²⁷ The fifth antiphon has e.g. this text: *Centuplicato fenore, / gemino dyademate / pudoris et martirii / sancte letantur virgines*.

²⁸ The text of the office is available so far only in an older transcription: F. Stele, "Slike gotskega krilnega oltarja iz Kranja" [Paintings of the Gothic altarpiece from Kranj], *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, 6, Ljubljana, 1926, 199–202.

²⁹ Methodologically the subsequent comparison follows Hiley's discussion of the characteristics of the new office music; see D. Hiley, "Historia Sancti Emmerammi, Historiae", ed. by László Dobszay, Barbara Haggh, Ruth Steiner, *Musicological Studies*, LXV/2, Ottawa, 1996, p. xxv.

Table 3

| | Quattuor Virg. | Hermachorae | Hellari et Tacianus | Cancii, Canciani... |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Text | prose / verse | prose | verse | verse |
| Modal order | nocturns | nocturns | no | yes |
| Resp. verses | formulas (except one) | free (except one) | free | free |
| Last note of free verses | finalis | finalis (except two) | finalis | finalis (except one) |

antiphons of each Nocturn thus belong to the same modes as the corresponding responsories, the ninth antiphon and responsory standing outside the series.³⁰ The only exception is that in the responsory series of the office of the Four Virgins the third mode appears twice, but the fourth is omitted.³¹ This is to say that the offices in question came into being as consciously planned new compositions and certainly not as occasional compilations. In the office of the Cancius' group the modal order is extended to encompass all the chants – with the exception of two due to their possible later insertion.³² But in the office of Hellarus and Tacianus there are no traces of any modal order at all. About one half of the chants of this office belong to the tritus modality, which gives the music a distinct character.

The second point to be observed is the presence of the Gregorian formulas in the verses of the responsories. In the two later offices the melodies of the verses do not show any resemblance to the responsory tones. But in the office of the Four Virgins all the verses except one³³ follow the traditional Gregorian formulas. The reverse is true of the office of Hermachoras and Fortunatus, where there is only one responsory, that in the sixth mode,³⁴ to include the melody of the appropriate Gregorian tone. However, in this office some verses begin with the respective Gregorian tone intonation in order to mark the beginning of the verse, or to make the expected impression, but after that proceed quite freely. Respecting Gregorian tones or ignoring them in the composition of the responsories may reflect the chronology of the offices' production. As is

³⁰ There is a confusion of clefs in some chants (e.g. in the responsories *Pontianus carcerarius* and *Sevastus praeses timens* from the office of Hermachoras and Fortunatus, and in the responsory *Versis suspensae pedibus* from the office of the Four Virgins) because of which they erroneously end up in notes other than the appropriate finales.

³¹ The tabulation of the chants' modes of both offices, based on the copies in Gorizia B and compared to the modes of the Venetian versions of the offices may be seen in R. Camilot-Oswald, "L'ufficio di S. Ermagora nella tradizione manoscritta di Aquileia / Cividale e a San Marco", 220, 223.

³² J. Snoj, "Historia Cantiorum in the Antiphonary from Kranj", *Cantus Planus*, Papers Read at the 9th Meeting, op. cit., 266–269.

³³ This is the first responsory of the first Nocturn; as standing at the beginning, it is in the first mode.

³⁴ The responsory in question is the last of the second Nocturn; that of the first Vespers, which is also in the sixth mode, has a free verse.

very well known, the Gregorian responsory tones do not end on the finales, with the exception of two, those in the sixth and eighth modes. Inspecting the melodies of the free verses, it is interesting to notice that in contrast to the traditional formulas, nearly all of them cadence on the finalis of the respective mode. There are only three exceptions to this principle.³⁵ This characteristic feature of the responsories of the music discussed certainly has to be related to the changing conception of tonality in the later Middle Ages.

The fact that the earlier two offices were conceived in prose, but the later two in verse is not just a matter of the texts; it is reflected in the music and in the compositional procedures as well. The regular rhythm of the verses, their regular length, the rhyme, all this is mirrored in the melodies of the chants, especially in the shorter and more syllabic antiphons. Sometimes there is the impression that the poetic structure helped the composer in conceiving the formal plan of the piece. Thus, in many chants the verses are set to music by way of more or less clearly delineated phrases with cadences on the pivotal notes of the mode.³⁶ With the musical phrases matching the verses, many chants of both later offices disclose a typical song-like and even non-Gregorian quality. These characteristics, although less recognizable in the melismatic responsories of the two later offices, are almost absent in the chants of the earlier two.

There are several other aspects of the music discussed that may be given special attention. The four offices could be further analysed by other methods that have been developed and applied to the new plainchant composition of the high and late Middle Ages.³⁷ Thus, it would be possible to investigate the internal cadences and to draw conclusions concerning music's tonality, to check the presence or absence of the Gallican cadence, to measure the frequency of scale runs or leaps larger than the fourth, etc. Very likely, the application of these methods would show that the music of the four Aquileian offices agrees with the general picture of plainchant music of the time or even that the differences between the four offices correspond to its development in the later Middle Ages.

The comparison of the four Aquileian offices that came into being within the patriarchate, especially the comparison of basic features of their music, shows that they differ to the extent that it would be questionable to speak of a clearly recognizable and distinct musical tradition of the Aquileian offices. Of course, there can be no doubt that in the diocese of Aquileia as well as in some

³⁵ These are: both deuterus verses in the office of Hermachoras and Fortunatus, and the verse of the second Nocturn's second responsory in the office of Cancius and his group; this responsory is in the fifth mode but its verse ends on a.

³⁶ For the discussion of this aspect of the office of the Cancius' group see J. Snoj, *op. cit.*, xxx.

³⁷ R. Hankeln, *op. cit.*, 152–160.

other places within the patriarchate as an ecclesiastical province there was a centuries-old and remarkable musical tradition. Yet this tradition must be regarded and understood against a broader background. Thus the exploration of the Aquileian offices cannot be reduced to looking for idiosyncratic peculiarities; rather it must concentrate on observing and disclosing those ties by way of which the Aquileian creations form an integral part of the huge area of late medieval plainchant.