I

Introduction

In the late twelfth century, a monk at the Austrian Benedictine abbey of Lambach created an antiphonary that was a musical masterpiece, combining beautifully historiated penwork initials with the newest developments in music theory and local styles of notation. Gottschalk of Lambach wrote, illustrated and notated this beautiful manuscript, and it was used and prized by the monks until the liturgy became outdated in the fifteenth century. At that time, the Gottschalk Antiphonary was dismantled for use as binding scrap, and its pages are currently scattered in collections around the world. This volume presents a reconstruction of the extant portion of the manuscript, an examination of the liturgy therein, and a detailed study of the context within which the codex was created.

The physical reconstruction of the extant portion of the manuscript functions not merely as a codicological exercise, but as a model of how the study of codicology and provenance can reflect on 'The History of the Book' in general. As a result of its long and complex journey, the manuscript has become much more than text, neumes and historiated initials. During its first three centuries of use, pertinent marginal annotations were added. In the late fifteenth century, the manuscript was dismantled and used for binding scrap. At this stage, the leaves were trimmed, the original binding holes became visible, and annotations were added pertaining to the books in which the fragments were bound. Four hundred and fifty years later, many of the fragments were pulled out of the bindings and sold. The bindings left scars on the leaves; additional binding holes, worm tracks and rodent holes, creases and glue stains became part of the fragments' topography. Some of the fragments then made the journey from Lambach to Switzerland to New York to New Haven. Others travelled from Lambach to Germany to Berkeley, California, from there to a private collector, and finally to Cambridge, Massachusetts. Two wandered from Lambach to St-Paul-im-Lavanttal, and one from the abbey to a Lambach book dealer to a private collector at an exclusive Alpine resort. One leaf made the strangest journey of all – from Lambach through an intermediary to a private collector in Cleveland to a travelling exhibit housed in an aluminium trailer (the leaf visited

several dozen midwestern US cities and small towns, and was viewed by hundreds of schoolchildren and adults) to settle finally at the St Louis Public Library. During this phase, the fragments became prized as treasures in their own right, were given shelf numbers and were catalogued as individual items. It is only after painstaking research and study that they can be reunited, in facsimile if not in fact, with their cohorts, and something of their long and fascinating journey reconstructed.

The reconstructed, albeit incomplete, Gottschalk Antiphonary is worthy of study for many reasons, not the least of which is the mere fact of its existence. The importance of the study of liturgy in understanding monastic life cannot be overestimated. Every aspect of medieval monastic life was profoundly influenced by the liturgical cycle, especially the daily schedule, weekly and annual cycles, the choice of saints to commemorate, and the study and development of music and poetry. The Gottschalk Antiphonary represents the largest known body of Office liturgy from the medieval abbey at Lambach, which is located on the northern bank of the Traun river, ten miles south-west of Wels, in the Passau diocese. In addition, the manuscript was written, notated and illustrated by Gottschalk of Lambach, a monk whose artistic products have been studied and analysed for many years. The codex thus also sheds light on the art historical development of the abbey. The Antiphonary preserves an apparently unique method of musical classification wherein the tonary-letter system of antiphonal modal identification is adapted for use with responsories and invitatories, a fascinating footnote to the musical history of the monastery and of the region. The liturgy in the manuscript shows the clear influence of the twelfth-century monastic reform movements with which Lambach was associated. Finally, the discovery, reconstruction and study of the Gottschalk Antiphonary provide the first clear liturgical context for the performance of the eleventh-century Lambach Magi play in the context of the Romanesque frescoes in the Lambach abbey church, and allow for a more complete reconstruction of the celebration of Epiphany there. The antiphonary provides unequivocal evidence of the palpable impact of the historical and political context within which it was created.

The Gottschalk Antiphonary is particularly extraordinary for its clear use of multiple sources. Gottschalk drew not only upon earlier local sources, but on sources from the mother abbey, from the source of the reform movement with which Lambach was associated in the twelfth century, and from a distant, and as yet unexplained, French influence. The manuscript reflects these sources in its use of particular chants, the assignment of tonary-letters to antiphons, and in Gottschalk's inclusion of liturgical alternatives, some of which are from one tradition and some from another.

The manuscript is a product of the historical context within which Gottschalk lived and worked. In particular, the use of the chant 'Quem non praevalent' as a responsory trope at Epiphany Matins falls neatly into a political context, corre-

sponding as it does with the political themes of the frescoes in the Lambach abbey church as well as with the Lambach Magi play. The abbey was founded in 1056 by Adalbero, Bishop of Würzburg, who was a key player in the power struggle between the papacy and the Holy Roman Emperor. We shall see how Gottschalk used the Antiphonary to promulgate the political propaganda planted by Adalbero and handed down by successive generations of monks.

After an introduction to the history of Lambach and its library (Chapters 1 and 2), Chapter 3 will examine the physical structure of the manuscript, culminating in a facsimile reconstruction of its various parts. Chapter 4 will examine the contents of the manuscript. Chapter 5 will present the political and historical context within which the Gottschalk Antiphonary was created, and will explore the implications of particular choices made by Gottschalk in the creation of the manuscript.

The Gottschalk Antiphonary is described in detail in Chapter 3 – the physical object as well as its provenance, script, music and decoration – in order to place the manuscript in an appropriate context within the history of book production in both the abbey and the region. Its fragments are reunited in facsimile, the reconstruction proceeding according to traditional rules of codicology. The leaves are organized in codicological groups, presented not only in manuscript order but according to their original quires. In many cases, it has been possible to reunite pairs of conjugate leaves and to reconstruct entire signatures. The contents of the manuscript are here presented in summary form, and in more detail when such data have implications for the relation of one leaf to another.

The core methodology of Chapter 4 is the comparison of the liturgical contents of the Gottschalk Antiphonary with other coeval manuscripts. These comparisons have resulted in various tables and charts, designed to summarize and aid in the interpretation of the vast amounts of data so accumulated. Such comparisons allow for an understanding of the sources of and influences on the manuscript, and lead to a clearer sense of Gottschalk's own contributions to the liturgical design.

In medieval Lambach, the celebration of Epiphany attained an uncommon resonance, for reasons which have never before been carefully explored. In the fifth and final chapter of this work, the liturgy for the celebration of Epiphany will be examined within the historical, political and art historical contexts presented in previous chapters in order to demonstrate how Gottschalk used and elaborated inherited traditions of monastic and institutional memory. This final chapter will demonstrate the importance of this manuscript as a historical document by demonstrating how, in combination with other elements, the Gottschalk Antiphonary helps to illuminate the celebration, and the layers of meaning behind the celebration, of Epiphany at Lambach.

Throughout this study, spelling of medieval Latin has been normalized according to the standards used by the CANTUS project (which are themselves based on Hesbert's practices in *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*), except where Gottschalk's

orthography is relevant to the specific argument. Translations of Latin are provided when the content is relevant.

This examination of the Gottschalk Antiphonary will touch upon many areas of study: art history and imperial politics, musicology and liturgy, palaeography and codicology, medieval drama, monastic book production, and the vagaries of early twentieth-century bibliophiles and book merchants. The Gottschalk Antiphonary is not alone among medieval manuscripts in its relation to these various subjects, although it illuminates them more clearly than some. Liturgical manuscripts in particular can be best understood by examining them within the different contexts in which they were produced. This may seem self-evident, but it bears repeating – every decision which went into the production of this manuscript was made for a reason, and these reasons merit examination. What were Gottschalk's liturgical sources? Why did he assign tonary-letters to responsories and invitatories instead of just antiphons? Why choose 'Quem non praevalent' as the Epiphany responsory trope? Why include a trope during Epiphany at all? These are some of the questions the Gottschalk Antiphonary poses, and which this study will attempt to answer.

1. THE POPE AND THE EMPEROR

The eleventh century was a time of great political strife and religious change for the papacy and for the Holy Roman Empire. One of the many issues dividing the secular and ecclesiastical authorities during this period was the ability to invest bishops. Emperor Henry IV declared this to be his right, hence giving himself the immense tactical advantage of selecting the bishops to his own liking, men of royal blood and courtly connections whose loyalty to the emperor was assured, bishops who during this period were endowed not only with ecclesiastical authority but also with tremendous power over local economic and legal affairs. Pope Gregory VII declared bishops vested by Henry to be falsely enthroned. During the 1070s and 1080s, the German bishops, whose episcopal authority and very lives were at stake, were forced to take sides. In general, the bishops of the southern dioceses were not men with royal connections. Mostly, they were former monks and abbots. Along with the majority of his fellows, Adalbero, the Bishop of Würzburg (1045–90), was an avid supporter of the pope.

It is important to understand the political and ecclesiastical climate of the latter half of the eleventh century in order to grasp something of the traditions Gottschalk was working with. The life of Bishop Adalbero, the founder of the Lambach abbey, is woven throughout these events, which have been studied by others in great detail – it is certainly not necessary to review the so-called 'Investiture Controversy' in depth here. A brief summary of the basic issues and events will suffice.

Pope Leo IX set the reform of the church in motion in the 1050s with his crusades against simony (the purchase of ecclesiastical office or benefices) and clerical marriage (commonplace during this period), and his support for a return to the acceptance of canon law as the ultimate rule and the necessity of the canonical election of bishops. The latter was not yet a strike against the powers of the emperor, rather a plea for the papacy and the royal court to work together for the purification and unity of the church. These programmes set in motion a series of events that would later lead to a full-scale crisis of church and state between Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV.

The next pope, Victor II, was also a relative and supporter of Henry III, and when he died in 1057 he brought an end a long line of German popes. His death, coming as it did on top of Henry's death in 1056, also brought to an end to the co-operation between papal reformers and the imperial court. Empress Agnes, assisted by Bishop Henry of Augsburg, was left as a feeble regent for her young son, Henry IV. Henry's lengthy minority left the door wide open for Italian and other noble families to regain control of the papacy. When the next pope was elected (Frederick of Lorraine, also known as Stephen X), the German court was not consulted, in opposition to the accepted custom. This was the first of a series of perceived insults to the Empire that would escalate the conflict over the next several decades.

Stephen was the first pope in many years to have come to the papacy from a monk's cell instead of a bishop's throne, and he immediately proceeded to strengthen the monastic position at the Lateran palace by surrounding himself with scholar-monks, appointing Peter Damian, respected monk, scholar and advisor, to the senior Cardinal-bishopric of Ostia, and Humbert of Moyenmoutier to the position of papal chancellor. When Stephen died, a schism ensued. John of Velletri was installed as Benedict X by the clergy and the laity, with the support of the emperor, but his election was challenged. The triumphal entry into Rome of the opposition, the Tuscan bishop Gerard of Florence (later Nicholas II), escorted by the military forces of Duke Godfrey of Tuscany, signalled the emperor's complete loss of control over the papacy.

The emperor's loss of control was made complete by the Papal Election Decree of 1059, which excluded the Holy Roman Empire entirely from the process of selecting the new pope. At this point, the German bishops, many of whom were imperial appointments, began to be divided in their support for the two centres of power as the conflict became increasingly divisive. The three men behind the papal throne were Peter Damian, Humbert and a respected monk named Hildebrand, who had been a clerk to Pope Gregory VI and lived with him in German exile after his deposition under charges of simony. Hildebrand was brought back to Rome by Nicholas, where he wielded great influence over the pope. In 1061, when Nicholas died and Alexander II was elected, not only was Henry IV (still in his minority) not consulted regarding the selection of the new pope, he was not even informed. In

response, he nominated his own candidate, Bishop Cadalus of Parma, who would have been Honorius II had the emperor not retracted this nomination under pressure from Archbishop Anno of Cologne, who supported Alexander.

Hildebrand became the sole power behind the pope, with Humbert having died in 1061 and Peter Damian considering a return to his hermitage. Of Hildebrand's influence, Damian once wrote, 'If you want to live at Rome, obey the pope's lord rather than the lord pope'.[1] Though no great friend of Hildebrand (he once nicknamed him 'Holy Satan'),[2] Peter Damian would be united with the future Pope Gregory VII in their campaigns for church reform. As for the pope, Alexander was particularly worried about any charges of bribery or violence that might taint episcopal selections in Germany, and began to examine such cases carefully. By the time Henry IV assumed power in 1066, the pope had begun to actively interfere in the selection of bishops, and by 1073 the papacy was on the verge of a major confrontation with the authority of the emperor.

Hildebrand ascended to the papacy as Gregory VII in 1073. His papacy was clouded by controversy before it had even really begun – in his election, the cardinals had completely ignored the old tradition of at least consulting the emperor. Some considered this papacy tainted from the very beginning, and Hildebrand to be a false Christian and anti-pope. Others thought of him as a great reformer and defender of the faith, a defender not just in the figurative sense, but one willing to take up arms to defend his cause. From the start, the pope and the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV were at odds, locked in a desperate power struggle. When Henry declared Gregory to be 'no longer pope, but a false monk', two of the German bishops opposed the proclamation: Hermann of Metz and Adalbero of Würzburg.[3] Adalbero, who was the emperor's godfather, had been a staunch supporter of Henry but now was forced to make the first of a number of choices between ecclesiastical and secular authority.

Gregory declared Henry excommunicate at the Synod of Worms in January 1076, whereupon several of the German bishops who had supported Henry against Gregory returned their support to the pope. Adalbero met the next month with Hermann and his friends Archbishop Gebhard of Salzburg and Bishop Altmann of Passau to discuss the situation. Adalbero was still not committed to either side – when the bishops met with the German princes in Mainz in June to publicly

[1] 'Vivere vis Romae, clara depromito voce: Plus Domino papae quam domno pareo papae.' *Carmen* CXLIX (*PL* 145:961D).

[2] *Opuscula* 20, 1 (*PL* 145:444AB). As Collin Morris cautions, however, this reference probably should not be taken out of context, and may in fact be Peter 'complaining about the pressure put on him by Hildebrand to involve himself in the affairs of the world rather than withdraw to his hermitage' (C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford, 1989), p. 91 and n. 12).

[3] P. Scheele, *Die Herrlichkeit des Herrn: Die Lambacher Fresken aus der Zeit des heiligen Adalbero* (Würzburg, 1990), p. 16.

discuss their opposition to Henry, Adalbero was not among them.[4] But, according to Meyer von Knonau, when the bishops and nobles met in Tribur in October to throw their weight behind the pope's declaration, Adalbero had fully committed to the pope; one result of the assembly at Tribur was 'the anti-imperialist Adalbero turning his back to the king'.[5]

The relationship between church and state seemed to improve somewhat after Henry's penance and absolution at Canossa in January of 1077, although things became more complicated when the southern German princes threatened rebellion against Henry. When Gregory was unable to reach Augsburg to mediate a planned meeting with the German princes that same month, the princes elected their own king, Rudolf of Swabia. By this time, Adalbero had decided where his loyalties lay; shortly before Rudolf's coronation in Mainz on 26 March, he was Adalbero's guest in Würzburg. The coronation of Rudolf led to a bitter and brutal civil war. Würzburg was besieged in August, and Adalbero was forced to flee to his hometown of Lambach.

Support for the pope began to erode in 1080, after Gregory deposed and excommunicated Henry again. The Lombard bishops, sensing an opening, elected their own imperialist pope at the Synod of Mainz: Archbishop Wibert of Ravenna as Clement III. The civil war came to an end soon after Rudolf's death in 1080, because his successor was no match for Henry's forces. In 1081, because Adalbero had refused Henry's call to attend the Mainz synod, he was unseated, excommunicated and banished, along with fourteen other bishops who had opposed the emperor.[6] By 1084, Clement had garnered increasing support, even taking the step of crowning Henry and Empress Bertha himself. Gregory was forced to withdraw, and he died in exile in 1085. Henry had finally managed to return an imperialist pope to the throne. The schism continued, however, with the Gregorian faction electing Odo of Ostia as Urban II. Urban's support extended to such influential reformers as William of Hirsau, and with him Gebhard of Salzburg, Altmann of Passau and Adalbero of Würzburg. Adalbero was able to return to Würzburg briefly in 1086, but returned soon thereafter to Lambach, where he died in 1090. It is in the light of Adalbero's support of the pope and the shadow of his banishment that the early years of Lambach must be viewed.

2. THE FOUNDATION OF THE LAMBACH ABBEY

Previous to his dethronement, Bishop Adalbero was an active supporter of Gregorian reform and of the monastic reform movements, inheritors of the Cluniac tradition, that were sweeping across Germanic lands. To encourage the Gorze–Cluny reform

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 17. [5] E. Wies, *Kaiser Heinrich IV* (Munich, 1996), p. 159.
[6] Scheele, *Die Herrlichkeit des Herrn*, p. 18.

movement in his bishopric, Adalbero brought a reform-minded monk named Ekkebert from Gorze to serve as abbot at Münsterschwarzach. In 1056, Adalbero founded a Benedictine monastery in his hometown and hereditary lordship of Lambach, on the northern bank of the Traun river in Upper Austria. In keeping with the trend towards what has been called the '"restitution" of local churches from lay to monastic control',[7] Adalbero's monastery took the place of the community of secular clerics founded by his father, Prince Arnold II, in the 1040s. The first monks came from Münsterschwarzach, and it was their Gorze abbot, Ekkebert, who served as Lambach's first abbot.

Other important monasteries were founded in the Passau diocese during this period, among them the abbeys in Göttweig and Admont. These two abbeys were established by Adalbero's close friends Altmann and Gebhard respectively. The relationship between the founders of these abbeys was to have profound implications in the region. It is no exaggeration to claim that Adalbero, Altmann and Gebhard forged bonds among their three 'lieblings' that had an impact on every aspect of monastic life in the region for centuries. The three men studied together in their youth in Paris before becoming a trio of the region's most powerful ecclesiastical authorities. A local legend is illustrated in Baroque murals on the walls of all three abbeys and is also recorded in a few early manuscripts of the founders' *vitae*. It is said that as young men the three once ate together on a riverbank. Some bread dropped into the river, and instead of sinking under the weight of the absorbed water, the bread floated. This miracle brought on a prophetic vision for each man of his future role as bishop and founder of an abbey.[8]

Cum adhuc scolares essent, et quadam die ad cuiusdam fontis fluenta forte panem comessuri, sed non saturandi, resedissent; ad invicem concludebant, et se episcopos futuros pronuntiabant. Gebehardus dixit, se in Salzburgensi ecclesia episcopum futurum; Adalbero Wirzeburgensis ecclesiae sedem se adepturum; Altmannus vero, Pataviense cathedram se possessurum; quod totum ita probavit eventus. Nam et Gebehardus in Salzburgensi ecclesia est pontifex infulatus, et Adalbero in Wirzeburgensi sede antistes sublimatus; Altmannus vero in Pataviensi cathedra praesul ordinatus. Sed et hoc notandum, quod quisque eorum in loco, quem ipse construxit, requiescit. Gebehardus namque coenobium quod Admunt dicitur construxit, in hoc ipse sepultus requiescit; monasterium Lambach ab Adalberone aedificatur in hoc et ipse nunc tumulatur; coenobialis vero ecclesia in monte gotewich ab altmanno construitur; in hac et ipse sepelitur.[9]

[At the time they were students, they sat one day at a river whose powerful stream was about to consume the bread, but it was not saturated; and so one after the other they con-

[7] Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 79.
[8] A. Krause, 'Das Dreigestirn', in S. K. Landersdorfer (ed.), *Der heilige Altmann Bischof von Passau: sein Leben und sein Werk* (Göttweig, 1965), pp. 39–47, at p. 39.
[9] W. Wattenbach, 'Vita Altmani Episcopi Pataviensis', in G. Pertz (ed.), *MGH SS* XII (Hanover, 1856), pp. 226–43, at p. 231.

cluded, and predicted that they would themselves be bishops. Gebhard said, he would be future bishop in the church of Salzburg; Adalbero said that he would attain the seat of the church of Würzburg; Altmann in truth said that he would possess the Passau cathedral: in this way the whole thing proved to be so. For Gebhard was vested bishop in the Salzburg church, and Adalbero was elevated bishop of the seat of Würzburg; truly, Altmann was installed bishop in the Passau cathedral. But this ought to be noted, that each of them rested in the very place he had built; for Gebhard built the monastery that is called Admont, [and] in that very place he lies buried; the Lambach monastery was built by Adalbero and in that very place he is now entombed; indeed the church of the abbey on the mountain of Göttweig was constructed by Altmann; in that very place he is buried.][10]

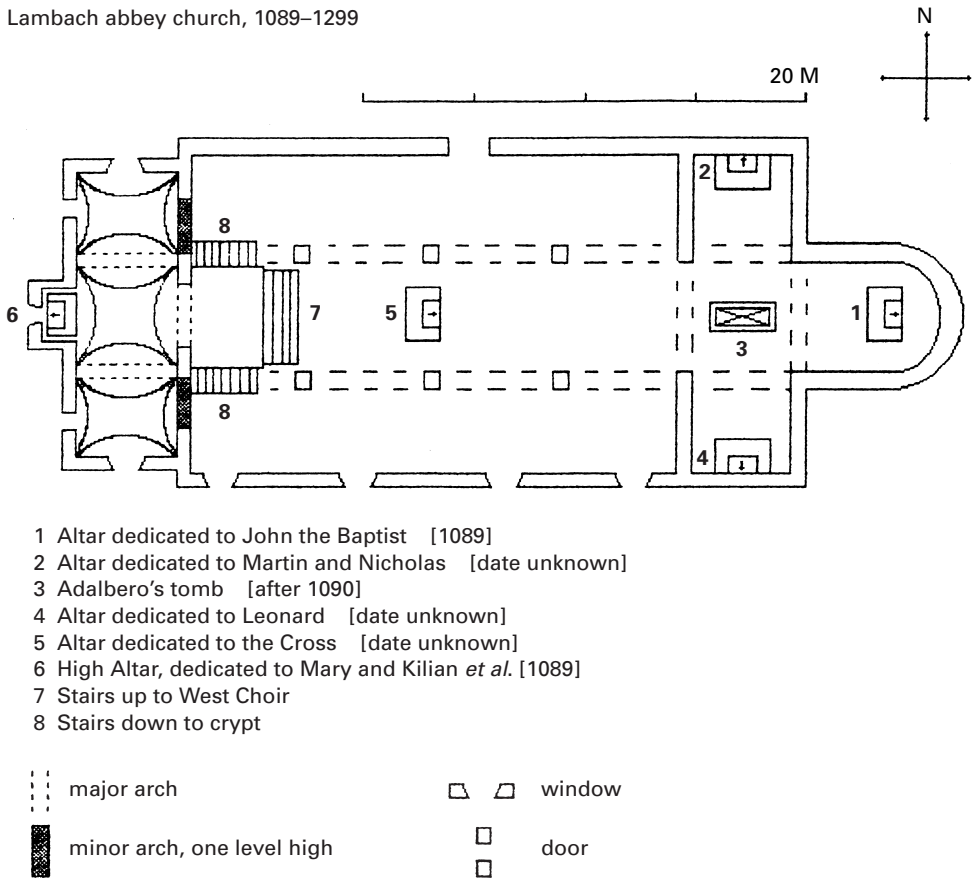
Their support of the pope bonded these and other local monasteries together, and their relationships were in other respects very close. Berthold, one of the first monks at Göttweig, went on to become Abbot of Garsten. One of the monks who was a novice during his abbotcy, Alram, later became Abbot of Kremsmünster.[11] Another monk, Sigibold, was simultaneously Abbot of Lambach and Melk in 1116 – hard to imagine, but apparently true, as recorded in the twelfth-century Lambach chronicle.[12] A monk trained at Lambach went on to become Abbot of Göttweig, the abbey that trained St Lambrecht's first abbot. These are just a few examples of the connections forged by the bonds between the abbeys of the Passau diocese, originally based on the friendship of the Austrian 'Dreigestirn' (trio of stars).

The three founders remained closely associated even after their prophetic visions were realized. It was Altmann who dedicated the Lambach abbey church and its altars to the Assumption of Mary and to St Kilian, the patron of Würzburg, in 1089. The original Romanesque abbey church was replaced in the fourteenth century by a Gothic church, which was itself replaced by the extant Baroque structure. The Romanesque building was double-choired, with altars at both the east and west ends (see Fig. 1). The high altar was located in the west end of the church. Of the original Romanesque church, only this western choir remains intact, forming the foundation of the modern belltower. In the 1080s, frescoes were painted in the western choir depicting scenes from the life of Christ on the walls and the Epiphany story on the ceiling cupolas.

Adalbero died on 6 October, 1090 and was entombed beneath the nave of the Lambach abbey church. His life and posthumous miracles are recorded in a

[10] It should be noted that the Latin here appears to be somewhat corrupt, and some liberties have had to be taken in the translation.
[11] W. Neumüller, 'Zur Benediktinerreform des heiligen Altman', in Landersdorfer (ed.), *Der heilige Altmann Bischof von Passau*, p. 20.
[12] 'Sigiboldus abbas . . . qui plures rexisse abbatias fertur, inter quas et Medeliccam tenuit.' W. Wattenbach, 'Vita Adalberonis Episcopi Wirziburgensis', in G. Pertz (ed.), *MGH SS* XII (Hanover, 1856), pp. 127–38, at p. 136.

Lambach abbey church, 1089–1299



1 Altar dedicated to John the Baptist [1089]
2 Altar dedicated to Martin and Nicholas [date unknown]
3 Adalbero's tomb [after 1090]
4 Altar dedicated to Leonard [date unknown]
5 Altar dedicated to the Cross [date unknown]
6 High Altar, dedicated to Mary and Kilian *et al.* [1089]
7 Stairs up to West Choir
8 Stairs down to crypt

major arch
minor arch, one level high
window
door

[see ÖKT, fig. 56 and Nachtrag, p. 502]

1. The Lambach Abbey Church (1089–1299)

Lambach manuscript of the twelfth century, Codex membranaceus lambacensis (Cml) LIV. Although he has been venerated locally as a saint since his death, Adalbero was not officially canonized until 1883.[13]

3. MONASTIC REFORM AT LAMBACH

In twelfth-century Lambach, as elsewhere, all aspects of monastic life – from the liturgy the monks recited to the books they produced – were heavily influenced by eleventh- and twelfth-century monastic reform movements. Along with the papacy's

[13] A. Wendehorst, 'Adalbero, Bischof von Würzburg und Gründer Lambachs', in *900 Jahre Klosterkirche Lambach: Oberösterreichische Landesausstellung 1989* (Linz, 1989), pp. 17–24, at p. 24.