

1 | Music and Liturgy in Medieval Capua

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It is to the great credit of Craig Wright to have shown us that the study of music and liturgy can contribute substantially to our understanding of historical place and time. His studies of Notre-Dame de Paris, of Cambrai, of the court of the Dukes of Burgundy, make it clear that music and liturgy have an important role in defining cultural moments and historical continuities. The individuality that is expressed by liturgical and musical communities helps us to identify them, to understand their priorities, and to observe the continuity of their traditions.¹

In the chapter that follows, I seek to identify the individuality of a place that played an important historical and cultural role in the earlier Middle Ages; it has been little studied, because the surviving literary and musical source are few, even though they must once have been abundant. This chapter, then, is not focused on a well-documented place, but instead on a place whose historical importance requires that we try to situate its context, despite the paucity of surviving material.

Latin southern Italy played an important role in the Middle Ages. Ruled from the seventh century by various Lombard dukes and princes, conquered and influenced successively by Charlemagne, by the Byzantine empire, and by the Normans, the south developed a characteristic regional script called Beneventan, named for the capital city of the southern Lombards; the script defines a broad cultural and political area, and preserves a wealth of medieval documents, not least of which are those that transmit the unique regional variety of liturgical chant along with precious musical evidence of the early transmission of the Frankish-Roman chant to the south.

From Benevento and Montecassino, major political and ecclesiastical centers, we have important collections of manuscripts; but there are other centers in southern Italy which we know to have been of great importance politically and culturally, like Naples, Salerno, and San Vincenzo al Volturno, about which we know much less. Another is the city of Capua, which is the subject of this chapter. Although Capua was the seat of an important Lombard

¹ See the studies by Craig Wright cited in the Introduction to the present volume.

principality and of the first archbishopric in the south, it has been studied relatively little, mostly because its sources are few.²

But the city of Capua played an important role in the political and religious life of medieval southern Italy. Already an important ancient city, the capital of *Campania felix*, it was linked to Rome by the fourth-century Via Appia. The medieval city endured a variety of devastations during the Gothic wars and by the Lombard invasion of the sixth century. The city was included in the Lombard duchy of Benevento, but in 839, after a ten-year civil war, and with the intervention of Louis II (son of the emperor Lothar), the duchy was divided and Capua gained its independence. Indeed, it was later to rule over Benevento.

In 841 ancient Capua was destroyed by the Arabs; a new city was built in 856, and this is the site we know today as Capua (the site of ancient Capua nearby is now called Santa Maria Capua Vetere). The new city arose in a bend in the river Volturno, not far from Old Capua; the Renaissance bastions are still in place. Until 1943 a Roman bridge carried the Via Appia across the river, where it was, and is, the main street of the town. The Cathedral of St. Stephen and St. Agatha, with its characteristic open courtyard preceding the entrance, was rebuilt after the bombardment of 1943, but its antique columns are still in place, as is the enormously precious paschal candelabrum. The cathedral is joined in the city by many other churches and monasteries. Francesco Granata's 1753 map shows a great many churches and other institutions, and it corresponds in many ways to the older Lombard settlement, with its princely palace, court chapel, and monastic institutions.³

² The history of Capua has been studied in the past by local historians: in the seventeenth century by M. Monaco, *Recognitio Sanctuarii Capuani* (Naples: Ex typographia R. Molli, 1637) and M. Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum, opus in quo sacrae res Capuae, & per occasionem plura, tam ad diversas civitates regni pertinentia, quam per se curiosa continentur* (Naples: Apud O. Beltranum, 1630); in the eighteenth century by O. Rinaldo, *Memorie istoriche della fedelissima città di Capua*, 2 vols. (Naples: G. di Simone, 1753–55), F. Granata, *Storia sacra della chiesa metropolitana di Capua* (Naples: nella stamperia Muziana, 1752–56), and F. M. Pratilli, *Della origine della metropoli ecclesiastica della chiesa di Capua, dissertazione* (Naples: Stamperia simoniana, 1758). Most of these studies are concerned with ecclesiastical history. Of later works, J. Gay's *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands* (867–1071) (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1904) is still useful; more recent work includes the congress report *Il contributo dell'archidiocesi di Capua alla vita religiosa e culturale del Meridione. Atti del Convegno nazionale di studi storici promosso dalla Società di storia patria di Terra di Lavoro*. 26–31 ottobre 1966, Capua, Caserta, S. Maria C.V., Sessa Aurunca, Marcanise, Caiazzo, S. Agata dei Goti (Rome: De Luca, 1967), N. Cilento, *La Metropoli di Capua: CMLX–MCMLXVI* (Naples: D'Agostoni, 1966), and the treatments of Capua in V. von Falkenhausen, "I longobardi meridionali," in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 3, *Il mezzogiorno dai Bizantini a Federico II*, ed. G. Galasso (Turin: UTET, 1983), 249–364 and in C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy. Central Power and Local Society 400–1000* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble, 1981).

³ Granata, *Storia sacra*, foldout map without page number.

The monks of Montecassino, fleeing the destruction of their monastery by the Arabs, resided in Capua from 896–969, and their influence was never absent thereafter. Montecassino, founded by St. Benedict, the mother house of Benedictine monasticism and a beacon of piety and learning (not to mention temporal power), would be rebuilt and reoccupied in the tenth century. The presence of the monks of Montecassino has left its influence in some of Capua's earliest surviving books, which were written by Cassinese monks in exile. They include the book that contains the earliest datable musical notation in southern Italy: the colophon, written by the monk Iaquintus, in the volume now Montecassino 269.⁴ Even after the rebuilding of Montecassino there was always a Cassinese daughter house at Capua, and the beautiful church of Sant'Angelo in Formis, just outside Capua, built by Montecassino's powerful Abbot Desiderius (later Pope Victor III), ranks among the artistic treasures of the South.⁵

The tenth century, so harmful to Montecassino, was a period of Capua's greatest significance. For most of the tenth century the united duchies of Benevento and Capua were ruled from Capua; thereafter, divided between the children of Pandolf Capodiferro, Capua rivaled Salerno for power in the South. In 1058 the city came under the control of the Normans, who ruled it with greater or lesser success until it was definitively united to the Kingdom of Sicily in 1156. Owing in part to its political supremacy, Capua (and not Benevento) was the first archbishopric in the south (created 966 or 967); and the first archbishop was the brother of Prince Pandolf Capodiferro.

Given the importance of Capua as a cultural and ecclesiastical center, it is perhaps surprising that it has been little studied. We seem to have very few manuscripts from the city, and we know not much about its cultural and religious life. This chapter is a preliminary attempt to assess what we do know about Capua, and to explore a little of its liturgical and musical life. A few important fragments of early musical sources, and a pair of important manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, bracket our period and contribute substantially to our understanding of local tradition and continuity.

Appendix 1 lists manuscripts of Capua, extant and lost. It is clear that not much remains in the city, but there is plenty of evidence for the production

⁴ On this colophon see T. F. Kelly, "The Oldest Musical Notation of Montecassino," in *Et facciam dolci canti: Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleanno*, 2 vols., ed. B. M. Antolini, T. M. Gialdroni, A. Pugliese (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2003), vol. 1, 37–46.

⁵ The bibliography on Sant'Angelo in Formis is vast, owing to the high artistic merit of its significant program of frescoes.



Figure 1.1. Fragment 1 from a twelfth-century antiphoner in the Biblioteca Arcivescovile of Capua.

of books, and for a fully developed liturgical-musical practice, from the High Middle Ages onward.

Regrettably, there is not a group of early medieval musical manuscripts like the ones preserved for us from Montecassino and Benevento; we feel the same regret about other centers in the south for which adequate documentation is lacking, like Naples and Salerno. To the limited number of sources we can now add two fragments of a handsome twelfth-century antiphoner in the Biblioteca Arcivescovile, including music for St. Stephen, one of the cathedral’s patrons (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2). This antiphoner, which contained music for the daily office hours, is as early as any surviving antiphoner from southern Italy, and if complete would undoubtedly tell us an enormous amount about its parent church.⁶ The text and notation are in

⁶ Antiphoners in southern Italy are essentially limited to the incomplete Montecassino, Archivio della Badia MS 542 (twelfth century; facsimile in *Montecassino, Archivio dell’Abbazia, ms. 542. Antiphonaire du 12ème siècle*, ed. K. Livljanic, Paléographie musicale, vol. 23 (Solesmes: La Froidfontaine, Éditions de Solesmes, 2014), and the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare MS 21 (facsimile in *Antiphonaire Monastique, Benevento, Bibl. Cap. 21 (XII–XIIIe Siècle)*, ed. J. Mallet and A. Thibaut, Paléographie musicale, vol. 22 (Solesmes: La Froidfontaine, Éditions de Solesmes, 2001).

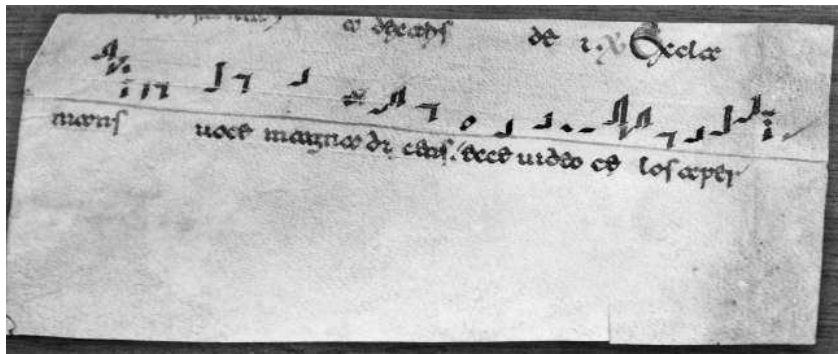


Figure 1.2. Fragment 2 from a twelfth-century antiphoner in the Biblioteca Arcivescovile of Capua.

handsome Beneventan writing, and the contents that survive, though fragmentary, impart important information.

The two small strips, probably from successive folios in the manuscript, show parts of the Office of St. Stephen. The visible music is from the series of great responsories sung at the office of matins, and it is music found widely across Europe, so it does not in itself indicate that the antiphoner originates in Capua, even though Stephen is a patron of the cathedral. However, the ordering of the responsories is demonstrably not that of Montecassino, but could correspond to the order found in the antiphoner of Benevento. Such a finding might suggest that political region, rather than monastic kinship, dictate the source of the liturgical ordering here.⁷ Musical variants are significant enough, even in these fragmentary survivals, to show that this antiphoner does not depend directly on any known source.

Owing to the fact that southern Italian antiphoners, including this one, group all the responsories for a feast together in a single series (rather than dividing them up into the three nocturns of matins), we cannot tell whether this antiphoner was originally monastic or not. Judging from the placement of words and music, the book was only slightly smaller than the 289 x 170 mm of the roughly contemporaneous antiphoner Montecassino, Archivio della Badia MS 542.

We can seek to fill other gaps in our sources by several means, mostly indirect. First, we have evidence in testimony and citations of earlier

⁷ One fragment contains bits of the Responsories *Stephanus autem* and *Cum autem*, which are the first two Responsories in the series of Montecassino and Benevento. The other fragment contains parts of the Responsories *Video celos* and *Impetum* on one side and *Stephanus servus* and *Impii* on the other. These are Responsories 6, 7, 9, and 10 in the series of Benevento, but in the antiphoner of Montecassino the Responsory *Video* does not appear at all.

manuscripts, that there were other books that have been lost (and which – who knows? – may one day be recovered). Second, we have some later manuscripts which give evidence of liturgical and musical continuity at Capua.

In this latter group are a fourteenth-century missal now in Paris; this has no music, but it gives enough information to identify its Capuan origin, and to make clear some aspects of the continuity of the Capuan tradition. We will return to it in a moment.

Other later manuscripts include two very interesting ones now in Milan, which were likely brought there by that staunch and sainted leader of the Catholic counter-reformation, Carlo Borromeo;⁸ the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan was seeking to understand the connection between the Ambrosian liturgy of Milan and the early medieval liturgy of southern Italy, called by its users “Ambrosian.”⁹ These two books, one a book of short readings for the office hours of the fourteenth century (Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare MS E. II. 14), the other a processional of the fifteenth (Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare MS E. II. 13), help to enlarging the picture of Capuan liturgical practice.

Here I should like to focus on just two details, each of which can demonstrate some aspects of continuity in Capuan liturgy and music. The first of these is the processions of Capua; and the second is the survival in the city of elements of the old indigenous Lombard liturgy.

The fifteenth-century processional of Capua, now Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare MS E. II. 13, provides a wealth of information on the cathedral and its chapter. The mass of the holy oils for Maundy Thursday describes the processional order, including two primicerii, five canons, and five chaplains of the cardinal churches of San Marcello Maggiore, Sant’Angelo Audoaldis, San Nazzaro, San Leucio, and San Pietro a ponte; along with seven deacons, seven subdeacons, and a host of acolytes.

⁸ Each of the two books bears inside its cover a typed notice that reads “Forse è questo uno dei codici della Chiesa di Capua fatto richiedere di San Carlo Borromeo credendo che il rito di quella chiesa fosse Ambrosiano (vedi: Sala, Aristide. Documenti circa la vita e le gesta di San Carlo Borromeo. Milan, 1857. Parte II, Documenti: pag. 191, n. 26 e pag. 531, n. 3).” A. Sala (ed.), *Documenti circa la vita e le gesta di San Carlo Borromeo*, 3 vols. (Milan: Zaccaria Brasca, 1857–61), vol. 2, 191, records correspondence between Borromeo and Cardinal Sermoneta, Bishop of Capua, who sent him two books and promised more. Further search and inquiry in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Milan has so far uncovered no more Capuan books than these two.

⁹ On the use of the term “Ambrosian” to refer to the South-Italian musical dialect now generally called Beneventan, see T. F. Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 181–182.

The processions take us through the late-medieval city of Capua, and beyond.¹⁰ (Appendix 2 summarizes the processions that go outside the cathedral). The processions witness a series of liturgical additions, from the ancient processions of Palm Sunday through the procession witnessing the fifteenth-century Turkish occupation of Otranto.

The procession of Saint Mark's day (no. 6), which involved the carrying of the relic of the arm of St. Stephen, leads around the city walls, where crosses made of wax from the previous year's paschal candle are affixed to the gates.¹¹

On three Saturdays in Lent there is a procession (no. 14) to Santa Maria Maggiore, that is, to the ancient cathedral of Santa Maria Capua Vetere, the original site of Capua. This route has stations at several churches in the city, including Sant'Eligio and Santissima Annuziata, before passing outside the walls and following the Via Appia past a number of churches, including Sant'Agostino, passing through a Roman arch and past the Roman amphitheater to reach the old city, the church of San Pietro ad corpus, and, finally, the old cathedral, Baroque in aspect, but with its forest of ancient columns inside.

As an alternative, a procession within the city is possible, to one or another of several churches dedicated to Our Lady; the church of Annunciate, Santa Maria de Porta, or Santa Maria delle monache; in each procession, a number of stations at churches along the way describe various itineraries through the city.

There is a special procession (no. 18) to Santa Maria de Platea (a chapel within the cathedral), or outside the cathedral to some church of Our Lady; this procession was established at the time the Turks invaded the city of Otranto (this notice allows us to date the manuscript after 1480).

A very long procession (no. 21), *pro quacumque tribulatione*, leads again through the whole city. The manuscript includes also orders of service for the reception of emperors, kings, queens, archbishops, legates. I have not yet identified all the churches, and all the paths, of the medieval processions; but with the assistance of Granata's 1753 map, and the descriptions of the historian Michele Monaco, and the impressive series of archival documents

¹⁰ The literature on processions is extensive. Particularly useful with respect to Palm Sunday is C. Wright, "The Palm Sunday Procession in Medieval Chartres," in *The Divine Office in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. M. E. Fassler and R. A. Baltzer (Oxford University Press, 2000), 344–371. See also T. Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971); M. Huglo, *Les manuscrits du processional, International inventory of musical sources, B XIV*; 2 vols. (Munich: Henle, 1999, 2004).

¹¹ On the crosses of wax, see Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum*, 486.

published by Giancarlo Bova,¹² the picture gradually is improving, and the precious witness of the Milan processional gives its wonderful insights into the ecclesiastical urban fabric of the city.

In some cases almost nothing survives of a medieval church; there is in one procession a station at Sancta Maria de arcu Francorum; no such church survives, but local inhabitants could point me to an arch that leads to the little alley of the Via Santa Maria dei Franchi.

It is a pity that we have no complete musical documents from Capua: no gradual, no antiphoner, that might give us a complete picture of the musical practices of the city. We can look indirectly, however, while we await further discoveries. The fourteenth-century missal now in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS lat. 829), although it contains no notations, gives a clear view of a practice almost completely assimilated to that of the universal Roman church. The processional now in Milan provides a substantial number of musical pieces with their notation, and these are almost all universally known.

It should probably come as no surprise, however, to learn that we can find hints, here and there in the overwhelmingly Roman liturgical evidence, that Capua, like other places in the south, once practiced the indigenous liturgy and music that we now call Beneventan. This liturgy, suppressed in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, survives only in fragments, and its fragmentary survival is confirmed at Capua.

Two manuscripts contain musical texts or pieces, both known elsewhere, that have the musical characteristics of the Beneventan chant. They are listed in Appendix 3. One of them, from the Milan processional, is the antiphon *Beatus Germanus quasi sydus* in honor of St. Germanus, second bishop of Capua, that is also found in Benevento 21 and named in the ordinals of Montecassino.¹³

¹² G. Bova, *La vita quotidiana a Capua al tempo delle crociate* (Rome: Edizioni scientifiche Italiane, 2001); G. Bova, *Le pergamene angioine della Mater Ecclesia Capuana*, 3 vols. (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2008), vol. 1; G. Bova, *Le pergamene longobarde della Mater Ecclesia Capuana (787–1055)* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2008); G. Bova, *Le pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia Capuana (1091–1197)* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1996); G. Bova, *Le pergamene sveve della Mater Ecclesia Capuana*, 5 vols. (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1998–2005).

¹³ Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare MS 21, fol. 251, published in facsimile in *Antiphonaire Monastique, Benevento, Bibl. Cap. 21 (XII–XIIIe Siècle)*. The relevant folio of Benevento 21 is reproduced also in *Les témoins manuscrits du chant bénéventain*, ed. T. F. Kelly, Paléographie musicale, vol. 21 (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1992), pl. 58. For the ordinals, see T. F. Kelly, *The Ordinal of Montecassino and Benevento: Breviarium sive ordo officiorum, 11th century* (Freiburg, Switzerland: Presses Universitaires, 2008), 406.

Five other Capuan sources are connected with the Exultet. As a bit of background, let me note three characteristics of the Exultet that are unique to the Beneventan region that includes Capua.¹⁴ Firstly, it has a unique text in the south, replaced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the widespread Franco-Roman text. Secondly, it has a unique melody. This melody operates to some extent independent of the Beneventan text, since it appears in some sources from southern Italy, clearly from within the Beneventan zone, that have adopted the Franco-Roman text of the Exultet, but retained the Beneventan melody. And thirdly, in the Beneventan rite, the singing of the Exultet to bless the candle takes place not at the beginning of the rites of Holy Saturday, as at Rome and Milan, but between the last two lections.

The Exultet roll now at Capua and certainly used there (Appendix 1, no. 3), is a precious illustrated document that, unlike most such rolls, turns only some of its illustrations upside-down with respect to the script, reflecting a nonstandard or transitional practice; its textual tradition sets it apart from the Exultets of Montecassino and of Benevento.¹⁵ A further Capuan roll, examined by Francescantonio Natale in 1776, had the Franco-Roman text; we cannot be sure, but it seems probable that it continued the Capuan tradition of retaining the Beneventan melody.¹⁶

The placement of the Exultet before the last lection of Holy Saturday seems to have been the practice at Capua for a long time, to judge from three Capuan manuscripts, one of which we know only from Natale's description (Appendix 3, nos 5, 6, 7). In each case the Exultet is placed before the last lection, that is, in the Beneventan position (although the tradition of the cathedral is not everywhere observed, according to the Paris missal).

Generally we presume that such sources come from churches where the Beneventan liturgy was once practiced, where the Franco-Roman liturgy has since been adopted, and where occasional elements of the vanished liturgy give a hint of its extent before its suppression in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

¹⁴ The information in the following paragraph is summarized from T. F. Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (Oxford University Press, 1996).

¹⁵ Complete facsimile with commentary by G. Orofino in G. Cavallo with G. Orofino and O. Pecere (eds.), *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1994), 291–302; see also Kelly, *The Exultet*, 218–220, with further bibliography.

¹⁶ F. Natale, *Lettera dell' ab. Francescantonio Natale intorno ad una sacra colonna de' bassi tempi eretta al presente dinanzi all'atrio del Duomo di Capua* (Naples: Presso Vincenzo Mazzola-Vocola, 1776).

Much more remains to be said about Capua. There may be manuscripts not yet identified as being Capuan; examples might include the list of mass-chants found at the beginning of the missal Benevento 29, which does not correspond exactly either with Montecassino or Benevento;¹⁷ or perhaps the enormously important Montecassino, Archivio della Badia MS 318, so full of musical theory, might be a Capuan product.¹⁸ As we continue to put the pieces together we may achieve a clear enough picture of Capuan practice to recognize further sources.

Such further study will surely draw to a more nuanced picture of the religious and political traditions practiced in Capua. There, as elsewhere, topography is a part of religious and musical practice, and the liturgy expresses itself in its place and time. The careful interdisciplinary scrutiny practiced so admirably by Craig Wright has shown that each place and time has much to teach us, even when relatively few sources survive.

Appendix 1a Manuscripts in and/or from Capua, mostly liturgical, and in rough chronological order

Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Codex Bonifatianus 1 (541–545), uncial, composed by Victor of Capua.

Montecassino, Archivio della Badia MS 175 (915–934), in Beneventan, pseudo-Paul Commentary on Rule.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 5845 (915–934), in Beneventan, *collectio canonum*.

Montecassino, Archivio della Badia MS 269 (before 969), in Beneventan, Gregory, *Moralia in Job*.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 4585 + Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. Gr. 250 (tenth century), in Greek, opera S. Nili.¹⁹

¹⁷ The suggestion was made to me by Professor Luisa Nardini. On the bifolium containing mass-incipits inserted into the manuscript, see J. Mallet and A. Thibaut, *Les manuscrits en écriture bénéventaine de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent*, 3 vols. (vol. 1 Paris: CNRS, 1984; vols. 2–3 Paris: CNRS and Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), vol. 2, 137–145 and 339, n. 1.

¹⁸ On Montecassino 318, see M. Huglo, *Les tonaires: inventaire, analyse, comparaison* (Paris, Société française de musicologie, 1971), 193–195; P. Merkley, *Italian Tonaries* (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1988), 120–128; P. Fischer (ed.), *The Theory of Music. From the Carolingian Era up to 1400. Volume II. Italy*. RISM B III 2 (Munich: Henle, 1968), 64–69.

¹⁹ G. Savio, *Monumenta onomastica Romana medii aevi (X–XII sec.)* (Rome: Il cigno Galileo Galilei, 1999) proposes Capua.