AN AGNUS DEI TROPE IN THE CONTEXT OF EUCHARISTIC
DEVOTION IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY COLOGNE

A Thesis in
Musicology

by

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ABSTRACT

In the later Middle Ages, many new practices and traditions began as a result of the increasing reverence for the Eucharist, which was declared by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 to be the true presence of Christ’s Body under the substance of the bread, or Host. The feast of Corpus Christi was probably the most significant tradition to come from medieval Eucharistic devotion. By the middle of the fourteenth century, it was celebrated as a major feast throughout the western Christian world, and it was especially popular in Cologne.

The prevalence of Eucharistic devotion in Cologne undoubtedly had an impact on the city’s liturgical music, particularly on the music for Eucharistic rituals. Among a body of service books from the church of Saint Kunibert that has received little scholarly attention, there is a cantatorium that contains an Agnus Dei trope. Initial research of the trope indicated that the text is unusual, despite the melody being a variant of a common Agnus Dei melody. Although the cantatorium dates from around 1250, the trope was added later by an additional scribe. By studying the trope’s notation, the other chants that were added to the cantatorium, and a notated missal from Saint Kunibert from ca. 1330, the approximate date of the trope’s addition and its connection to the Eucharistic devotion in Cologne can be ascertained.
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INTRODUCTION

Corpus Christi became a major feast of the western Church in the Middle Ages. In addition to being celebrated during an octave of Masses and Divine Office services, it inspired elaborate processions, the formation of fraternities, and various dramatic productions. The feast most likely had an impact on Cologne’s liturgical practices, particularly on rituals pertaining to the Eucharist. This thesis focuses on an Agnus Dei trope found in a cantatorium from the church of Saint Kunibert in Cologne. It argues that the chant is likely an example of Corpus Christi’s influence on Cologne’s Eucharistic liturgy. The cantatorium (Darmstadt, Hessische Landes Bibliothek, Hs 871) was compiled around 1250, but the trope is part of a series of later additions to the book. These additions coincide with the development of Corpus Christi in Cologne, which occurred in the first part of the fourteenth century. After an overview of medieval Eucharistic devotion and the origin of Corpus Christi and its growth in Cologne, the Agnus Dei trope and the cantatorium in which it is found will be studied in detail. The final chapter of the thesis offers a discussion of the connection between the trope and the feast of Corpus Christi. Although the Agnus Dei trope is a single chant from one of Cologne’s many churches, it is still a reflection of the passion the people of Cologne felt toward the Eucharist during the Middle Ages.
Chapter 1: Medieval Eucharistic Devotion

During the first millennium of Christianity, the Eucharist was at the foundation of Christian beliefs and practices as Christ’s followers fulfilled his wishes at the Last Supper when he broke the bread and offered it to his disciples saying, “This is my body, which will be given for you; do this in memory of me.”¹ These words are not merely a quote from the Gospel; they go back to pre-biblical tradition, which means the liturgy of the Eucharist can be traced back to the first generation of Christians.² The Eucharist was accepted as being the body of Christ and was treated as such, but there was no deeper explanation of what the “presence” of Christ meant. Early Christian writers like Justin Martyr (ca. 165) and Hyppolytus (ca. 236) affirm the presence of Christ in the Eucharist without further elaboration.³ Debates over Jesus’ historical body, and whether he was present in a spiritual or physical sense, were unheard of until the ninth century.

In 831, a monk at the Benedictine monastery of Corbie (near Amiens, in Picardy) named Paschasius Radbertus published a treatise entitled De Corpore et Sanguine Domini. The treatise was intended for members of the monastic community and was the first attempt to explain the Eucharist in a systematically doctrinal way. His concept of Christ’s presence was one of extreme realism; he believed that Christ is physically present in the Eucharist, and there is no difference between Christ’s “Eucharistic” body and his historical body that was born of the Virgin Mary and crucified.⁴ After the consecration, the elements of bread and wine become “masks” that hide what is literally

⁴ Ibid., 74-75.
and physically present on the altar. He cited ancient Eucharistic miracles such as bleeding Hosts to defend his views. Emperor Charles the Bald found Paschasius’s views too realistic, and encouraged another monk from Corbie named Ratramnus to compose a treatise on the same subject. Ratramnus and Paschasius agreed that Christ is truly present in the sacrament, but disagreed over how his presence should be understood by the Church. Paschasius contended that Christ’s historical body is physically present in the Eucharist, but Ratramnus’ view of the Eucharist was more symbolic. Paschasius believed that the humanity of Christ itself is a sacrament, and that sacred humanity is present in the Eucharist and not merely a symbol.\(^5\) Ratramnus did not believe that Christ’s Eucharistic body and his historical body were the same, but that the body of Christ is present in sacrament (figuratively) rather than truth.\(^6\) This debate became an important foundation for future theologians working with the Eucharist, but at the time it was rather insignificant; it was over the heads of parish priests, and was ignored in the ninth century catechism, the *Disputatio Puerorum*.\(^7\)

The next major Eucharistic controversy occurred around 1088 between the archdeacon Berengarius of Tours and Lanfranc, who became the archbishop of Canterbury in 1070. Berengarius expanded upon the teachings of Ratramnus and contended that bread remained bread, and wine remained wine after the consecration, precisely to be a sign of the invisible spiritual body of Christ.\(^8\) He believed that the consecration has no effect on the nature of the bread and wine, but adds an element of

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6 Mitchell, 81.
8 Ibid., 47.
power that makes them signs of Christ’s body and blood. Consecration made the bread and wine truly the body and blood of Christ in a spiritual sense, through the faith of the believer.\(^9\) Lanfranc made a distinction between the appearance of the bread and wine after the consecration and the essence that it concealed; the visible reality (bread and wine) that remained after the consecration was different from the invisible (the body and blood of Christ).\(^{10}\) Lanfranc’s student, Guitmund, had a similar philosophy and was one of the first to use the term “substance” in Eucharistic debates.\(^{11}\) He wrote about a substantial Presence of Christ’s body and blood that explains how the appearance of the bread and wine remains the same despite the occurrence of a real change.\(^{12}\) Berengarius eventually lost the argument; in 1059 the synod of Rome forced him to take an oath saying that, after consecration, the body and blood of Christ were physically rather than sacramentally present.\(^{13}\)

Unlike the ninth-century debate at Corbie, the argument of Berengarius and Lanfranc caught the interest of clergy, scholars, and nobility alike. Theologians were challenged to refute the opposing views of Berengarius, and Guitmund’s idea of a change in substance after consecration laid the groundwork for future teachings on transubstantiation by individuals and councils such as the Fourth Lateran Council that met in November of 1215. This ecumenical council was called by Innocent III. Innocent III presented seventy pre-formulated canons to the council for review and approval; among the more important canons was the dogma of transubstantiation concerning the Eucharist. Transubstantiation involves a change from one substance to another. The

\(^9\) O’Connor, 100  
\(^{10}\) Snoek, 47.  
\(^{11}\) O’Connor, 109.  
\(^\text{i}^{12}\) Ibid., 110.  
\(^{13}\) Snoek, 47.
substance of the bread becomes the substance of the Body of Christ, leaving behind only
the appearance of what was previously bread. The term was first used in 1140 by Pope
Alexander III in his theological treatise, *De Sententiis Rolandi*.\(^{14}\) Subsequently, Thomas
Aquinas (1225-1274) applied Aristotelian terminology to transubstantiation by saying
that the “matter and form” of the bread and wine are changed into the “matter and form”
of the Body and Blood of Christ, with matter being the transformable aspect of material
reality and form being the aspect that affects any concrete realization of a
transformation.\(^{15}\) The doctrine of transubstantiation is found in the text of the *Pange
Lingua* hymn, written by Thomas Aquinas for the feast of Corpus Christi. He also taught
that the Mass was a representative symbol of Christ’s Passion, with the Real Presence
being a key element.

A widespread increase in devotion to the Eucharist developed concurrently with
the Church doctrine on transubstantiation and the Real Presence. Over centuries of
Christian worship, the attention shifted from the activities surrounding the bread and
wine to reverence for the bread and wine themselves.\(^{16}\) Reverence that was previously
reserved for relics of saints was directed to the Eucharist, although the relics were still an
important part of church tradition. This is not to say that the earlier Christians were
apathetic to the Eucharist during the liturgy; the use of incense and the gesture of bowing
before receiving Communion were introduced in the seventh century.\(^{17}\) Simple gestures
and traditions displaying reverence evolved and reflected a greater degree of veneration
and honor in the context of the Mass and also with the Host when it is reserved, or stored.

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\(^{14}\) O’Connor, 183.
\(^{15}\) Ibid., 279.
\(^{16}\) Snoek, 31.
\(^{17}\) Ibid., 239.
Consecrated Hosts were reserved after Mass so they could be available for the sick and dying at any time. Early Christians were permitted to keep the Eucharist in their homes as late as the seventh century, but by the thirteenth century ecclesiastical authorities required that the Eucharist be kept in a locked cupboard or tabernacle on or near the altar. The reservation of the Host influenced other Eucharistic trends. Visits to the tabernacles for private prayer and adoration became popular among the clergy and religious and later among the laity. The carrying of the Host to the tabernacle after the Holy Thursday liturgy for the Mass of the Presanctified on Good Friday (a solemn liturgy in which there is no consecration) became one of the earliest Eucharistic processions. Processions with the Eucharist would later develop into elaborate community-wide parades in the fourteenth century as a result of the feast of Corpus Christi. Liturgical practices will be discussed in greater detail in the next section, but one of the most important additions to the Mass was the Elevation of the Host, which was introduced in the twelfth century. After saying the words of consecration, the priest would hold the Host high for the congregation to see. The elevation became the climax of the Mass and the foundation for Eucharistic devotions outside of the Mass.

The newfound zeal for the Eucharist in the Middle Ages had a couple of negative consequences. Certain practices degraded the Eucharist to the level of magic and superstition. It was recorded by Peter Damian (ca. 1071) and later by Caesarius of Heisterbach (ca. 1240) that women would keep the Host in their mouths until the end of Mass in hopes of receiving a kiss from a potential partner. A Host was used in various ways to fight fire; the Sign of the Cross could be made against a wall of fire, or the Host

\[18\] Ibid., 49.
could just be thrown into the fire.\textsuperscript{19} The communion of the laity also declined during this time. A number of factors probably contributed to this, including purity restrictions such as abstaining from sex for three days before receiving communion and the emphasis on the significance and power of merely looking at the Host. Clergy would preach in their sermons about how seeing a consecrated Host could prevent blindness and a sudden death, and the faithful could also obtain a “spiritual” communion by seeing the Host during the elevation. Often, the celebrant would be the only person to receive communion during Mass. As a result of this trend, the celebration of the Eucharist evolved even further from the community meal of Christian antiquity.

The feast of Corpus Christi was probably the most significant development in medieval Eucharistic devotion. The feast itself was extremely popular, and many separate Eucharistic practices developed from the Corpus Christi celebrations. Although the increasing Eucharistic devotion was widespread, the idea of a feast in honor of the body and blood of Christ can be attributed to Juliana of Cornillon (1193-1258), an Augustinian nun from Liège. At the turn of the thirteenth century, Liège was a respectable trading town attempting to transition from an agrarian culture to an urban community. Liège was not a major intellectual or trading center, but it still had a cathedral, seven collegiate churches, twenty-six parish churches, two Benedictine monasteries, a Cistercian house, and the Praemonstratensian community at Mont-Cornillon, where Juliana worked.\textsuperscript{20} Liège was also home to a group of Beguines, a religious community for women who were not bound by vows of celibacy. Beginning in the year 1208, Juliana had recurring

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 337.
\textsuperscript{20} Miri Rubin, \textit{Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 164.
dreams of a full moon with a portion of it darkened by a blemish. Twenty years later, Christ revealed to her that the moon symbolized the Church, and the missing part of the moon was the absence of a feast that he wanted his faithful to celebrate. Juliana kept her secret for years before telling her confessor, John of Lausanne, who spread the word to their local bishop, Robert of Turotte. When he was met with no objection from the local Dominican scholars or the chancellor at the University of Paris, Bishop Robert established the feast of Corpus Christi in his diocese in 1246.²¹ He died in October of that year; his successor, Henry of Guelder, reversed many of Robert’s Episcopal acts and had Juliana removed from her position as prioress of Mont Cornillon. She lived as a recluse the rest of her life and died on April 3, 1258.

Two of the feast’s strongest advocates were dead twelve years after its establishment, but the feast of Corpus Christi was not completely forgotten. A French Dominican scholar and ecclesiastical diplomat named Hugh of St. Cher was Cardinal-Legate to Germany in the middle of the thirteenth century and fell ill while working in Liège in 1251. During his stay in Liège, he promoted Corpus Christi and had the feast celebrated at Saint Martin’s, the church of John of Lausanne. Hugh continued to promote the feast in Germania during his travels as Cardinal-Legate.²² Another key figure was Jacques Pantaleon, who was archdeacon of Campines in the Liège diocese and was in Liège when the feast was established there in 1246. He was elected Pope and took the name Urban IV in 1261. On August 11, 1264, he issued the bull Transiturus, making Corpus Christi a feast of the Universal Church. When Urban IV died two months later, the copies of the bull were never circulated and the document was forgotten for fifty years.

²¹ Ibid., 173.
²² Ibid., 175.
years. Nevertheless, individual bishops still celebrated and promoted Corpus Christi without the help of Rome, and the feast was especially popular in the area of its origin.\(^{23}\)

In 1312 at the Council of Vienne, Pope Clement V included the feast in a body of laws that were enacted but not codified. After Clement V’s premature death in 1314, Pope John XXII formally instituted the feast in 1317.\(^{24}\) By the early fourteenth century, Corpus Christi became a universal feast, and the Eucharistic piety that had been increasing since the turn of the millennium blossomed.

A new feast required a new liturgy with prayers, chants, and scripture readings intended specifically for the Mass and office of Corpus Christi. The “official” Corpus Christi liturgy, the one that remains in modern liturgical books, is attributed to Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225-1274). However, scholars have identified three early versions of the Corpus Christi liturgy. Named for the incipit of the first antiphon of the office, they are Animarum cibis, Sapiencia \(\text{[a]edificavit sibi,}\) and Sacerdos \([a]\)eternum.\(^{25}\) Animarum cibis is the original office attributed to Juliana and her friend John of Lausanne. It is a secular office intended for celebration in a church, and although Juliana’s texts are doctrinal, this office has nearly no texts in common with the other two.\(^{26}\) The second office was intended for monastic use and the texts are strictly biblical. The third office is the official Roman office and is traditionally attributed to Saint Thomas Aquinas. Although it is a secular office, it shares many texts with the second office. It has been suggested by scholars that the second and third offices were written by the same person, namely Aquinas. There is also evidence to suggest that the liturgy was written by

\(^{23}\) Ibid., 179.


\(^{25}\) Walters’ book contains critical editions of these three offices.

\(^{26}\) Walters, 61.
someone other than Aquinas. The oldest biography of St. Thomas Aquinas, written between 1318 and 1323 by Peter Calo, makes no mention of a Corpus Christi liturgy. The liturgy is also excluded from the official catalogue of his works that was compiled for his canonization inquiry.²⁷

Despite the case made against Aquinas’s authorship of any Corpus Christi liturgy, Barbara Walters believes that the third and “official” version of the liturgy, which will be discussed later in the context of Corpus Christi music and liturgy from Cologne, was indeed written by Thomas Aquinas. She believes the theme of eternal priesthood found in this version, in addition to it being contained in a lectionary (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 1143) along with Aquinas’s famous homily on transubstantiation, is enough evidence to conclude that Thomas Aquinas wrote the final version of the liturgy.²⁸

Cologne played a significant role in the development of Eucharistic devotion in the western Church. Customs such as ringing bells at the elevation began there, but the most important contribution made by Cologne was spreading the feast of Corpus Christi to other parts of Europe. The idea for Corpus Christi began in Juliana’s hometown of Liège. Liège had cultural and economic connections to Cologne, and ecclesiastical authorities from Liège often traveled there. The feast reached other parts of Europe through Cologne’s trade contacts and pilgrims visiting the city, and also through the Cistercian order, which was prevalent throughout Germany at the time.²⁹

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²⁷ Ibid., 34.
²⁸ Ibid., 53.
²⁹ Rubin, 181-182.
Interest in the Eucharist increased and evolved rapidly across Europe in the Middle Ages, but its development in Cologne is especially interesting. Eucharistic practices and traditions could be cultivated by the numerous parishes and religious communities there before they were spread to the rest of Europe through trading contacts and visiting pilgrims. Cologne was also one of the first cities to celebrate Corpus Christi (at Saint Gereon, before 1277), and the feast had a major impact on both the secular and sacred activities in the city. When monstrances came into use at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a significant number of them were made by the goldsmiths of Cologne. The goldsmiths there developed a particular style of monstrances that was adopted by goldsmiths of other cities.\(^{30}\) The monstrance not only enhanced religious services, but was an asset to the goldsmith trade in Cologne.

The Corpus Christi procession was perhaps the most celebrated event to derive from the feast and the Eucharistic movement itself. The earliest documented Corpus Christi procession took place at Saint Gereon’s around the year 1277. By 1326, all churches in Cologne had their own Corpus Christi procession, and there was a citywide procession organized by 1375.\(^{31}\) The procession was extensive and elaborate. In addition to the Host, a typical Corpus Christi procession included reliquaries from local churches, expensive candles, flowers, incense, bells, and processional crosses. However, none of these extra items overshadowed the Host, which was carried under a canopy by the highest ranking clergyman at the center of the procession. The center was the most ornate part of the procession, and the holiest, most important lay folk carried the canopy and


\(^{31}\) Ibid., 148.
surrounding flags.\textsuperscript{32} Particularly in Germany, the procession would stop at various places of importance, such as bridges and mills, so they could be blessed by the Host.\textsuperscript{33} Music for the procession was not included in the Corpus Christi liturgy, but chants from the office were often sung, particularly the \textit{Pange Lingua}. In addition to Eucharistic hymns, the processional hymn \textit{Salve festa dies. Gloria, laus, et honor or Rex venit}, both from the Palm Sunday liturgy, were less frequently used.\textsuperscript{34} Politics also played a part in the Corpus Christi processions. In the second half of the fourteenth century, corporations, town councils, and guilds became involved in processions throughout continental Europe and the British Isles. Often, the processions were organized by leading citizens or town councils. The feast was seen in a positive light as an opportunity for unity and compromise between the secular organizations; order was reinforced and hierarchy was re-established.\textsuperscript{35} However, as the procession became secularized, it changed. The liturgical aspect remained, but was surrounded by various political arrangements that ordered groups by power.

\begin{small}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Rubin, 255.
\item Ibid., 247.
\item Ibid., 246.
\item Ibid., 260.
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Chapter 2: Heilige Köln and Corpus Christi

In the early Middle Ages, Germany was not a unified nation. As late as the fourteenth century, the plural deutsche Lande (German lands) was used rather than the singular Deutschland that is used today. The political system in Germany was decentralized, and so there was no single town that emerged as a capital city for royalty, like London or Paris. Nevertheless, several German communities developed into influential cities with the Catholic Church being politically, economically, intellectually, and culturally prominent. One of the best examples of a growing German town greatly influenced by the Church was Cologne. It became one of the largest medieval German cities, with a population of 40,000 at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was a commercial and administrative center that exported wine, metals, armor and weapons, furs, leather goods, glass ceramics, gold work, books (mainly theological), and textiles.

Cologne is located on the Rhine River, one of the major European waterways. It was a northern outpost of the Roman Empire, and in the first century it was reestablished as Colonia Agrippinensis and became one of the empire’s provincial capitals. After the fall of the empire, Cologne became a meeting place for the Romans and the Germanic peoples. The city was part of the Holy Roman Empire; it was a free imperial city that was under the jurisdiction of the emperor and governed by a city council elected by a group of leading citizens. It recovered from significant destruction by the Vikings in 881-882, and developed into a medieval city that eventually became a cultural and economic

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38 Named after the Roman empress Agrippina who was born there.
crossroads between Germany, France, and the Low Countries. Cologne had a particularly close commercial relationship with England from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, and maintained their relationship in later years. Cologne’s economy depended on trade with countries such as England, and the city experienced a steady decline from the last decade of the fourteenth century until it stabilized and became stagnant in the middle of the fifteenth century.  

Bishop Irenaeus of Lyons (2nd century AD–ca. 202) recorded that there was evidence of a Christian community in Cologne as early as the second century. Charlemagne elevated Cologne to an archbishopric at the end of the eighth century, an action that probably stemmed from his desire to evangelize Eastern Europe. The archbishops of Cologne enjoyed a considerable amount of power during the Middle Ages, and were among the most prominent figures in the Germanic episcopate. The archbishop was Cologne’s nominal territorial lord, although the city was largely independent of him. Cologne was ruled by archbishops until the thirteenth century, when control passed from the archbishop to fifteen aristocratic families who administered local government through twelve districts based roughly on parish boundaries.

The bishops of Cologne and the German monarchy maintained a close relationship from the end of the sixth century until the thirteenth. The bishops acted as royal councilors and ambassadors to the Merovingian kings, and established a special

41 Ibid., 134.
42 Nancy Netzer and Virginia Reinburg, *Fragmented Devotion: Medieval Objects from the Schnuten Museum, Cologne* (Chesnut Hill, Mass: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2000), 44. The archbishop of Cologne was one of seven powerful lords who elected the emperor.
43 Jeep,138.
friendship with the Carolingian kings, which resulted in the promotion of Bishop Hildebald to metropolitan status over a province in 794/795, and the archbishopric of Cologne extending to most of northwest Germany, and the bishoprics of Utrecht, Osnabrück, Minden, Münster, and Liège. Beginning with the pontificate of Heribert (999-1021), the archbishops of Cologne had the right to crown and anoint the king-elect at Aachen. As a result of their close relationship with political figures, Cologne’s archbishops found themselves in the middle of the Investiture Controversy.

Religious life in Cologne was cultivated by the abundance of sacred institutions. Several churches were built and remodeled during the twelfth century, and many others were built throughout the course of the Middle Ages. By the sixteenth century, Cologne was home to a cathedral, seven collegiate churches, nineteen parishes, fifteen religious communities for men, two dozen religious communities for women, thirty chapels, and four hospitals. Every major religious order was represented. The cathedral was dedicated to St. Peter and the Virgin Mary in 870, and was rebuilt in 1248 after a fire.

Nearly every community in Christian Europe had local patron saints, but the people of Cologne were exceptionally devoted to the city’s large number of saints. Some of the city’s patron saints, such as Peter, Gereon, and Pantaleon, were martyred in Rome and their relics were brought to Cologne and enshrined in churches there. Cologne’s early Roman heritage is manifested in the veneration of these martyrs. Maternus, Severinus, Kunibert, Heribert, and Anno were all early bishops of Cologne who were later canonized. Saint Ursula was martyred in Cologne, along with 11,000 other virgins in

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44 Ibid., 132.
45 Reinburg, 45.
46 Jeep, 139.
47 Reinburg, 41.
the fourth century. The cathedral housed the relics of the Three Kings after they were translated there in 1164 by Frederick Barbarossa’s chancellor Rainald of Dassel.⁴⁸ These relics made Cologne a popular pilgrimage site, which consequently helped the city’s economy. Nicholas of Verdun designed a golden shrine for the relics around the turn of the thirteenth century. The Three Kings shrine was the most elaborate of several golden shrines and reliquaries in Cologne’s churches.

The people of Cologne were a reflection of the city’s cultural and religious wealth. Christian intellectuals such as Albertus Magnus (1206-1280) and Meister Eckhart lived in Cologne, and a university was founded there in 1388 with the help of the Dominican order. Cologne was the only imperial city with a university, and was the oldest of the three civic universities (along with Basel and Erfurt) in the Holy Roman Empire.⁴⁹ The literacy rate among the laity was higher than that of other German cities due to the many schools and printers there.⁵⁰ Various artists worked out of Cologne; it was a center for sculpture, painting, manuscript illumination, and metalworking. An Italian church official named Antonio de Beatis visited Cologne in 1517 and provided a description of the people there: “Both women and men go to church frequently. They do not talk business or make merry in church as in Italy; they simply pay attention and follow the mass and the other divine services and say their prayers all kneeling.”⁵¹ While some Catholics went to church to be seen or for some other personal gain, the people of Cologne were sincere in their piety and attended church services for the right reasons.

⁴⁸ Snoek, 25.
⁴⁹ Hillerbrand, 383.
⁵⁰ Reinburg, 44.
⁵¹ Quoted in Reinburg, 42.
Despite the strong Catholic presence in Cologne, the city was not entirely Catholic. As early as the tenth century, Cologne had a Jewish quarter. The population, comprised primarily of moneylenders, traders and their families, maintained a coexistence with its Christian neighbors that alternated between peaceful and violent. After several riots that left nearly all of Cologne’s Jews murdered, the city council expelled the Jews from Cologne in 1424 and they were not allowed to return legally until 1794 with the Napoleonic conquering of the Rhineland.\textsuperscript{52}

Not surprisingly, Cologne was a Catholic stronghold in Germany during the Reformation. In fact, it was the only large free imperial city to remain Catholic, while other German cities chose a Protestant denomination as their state religion.\textsuperscript{53} Cologne was also the only German city to formally publish the papal bull that labeled Luther as a heretic, and the university openly condemned him as well.\textsuperscript{54} As a result, Cologne banned not only Lutherans but Calvinists and Anabaptists.\textsuperscript{55} Theologians, clergy, and the city council opposed all informed discussion of Protestantism and publication of Luther’s and Calvin’s writings, and several Protestants were executed for heresy in Cologne. There was even a burning of Luther’s books in Cologne in November of 1520.\textsuperscript{56} The first legally approved Protestant church did not open until 1802.\textsuperscript{57}

One would suppose that the strong presence of Catholicism warded off the Reformation in Cologne: the Eucharistic piety, the relics, the local martyrs and the churches. However, Robert W. Scribner suggested that there were alternative reasons,

\textsuperscript{52} Reinburg, 46.  
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 48.  
\textsuperscript{54} Hillerbrand, 384.  
\textsuperscript{55} Reinburg, 48.  
\textsuperscript{56} Scribner, 217.  
\textsuperscript{57} Reinburg, 48.
more political and secular in nature, why Cologne remained Catholic. He pointed out that when the Cologne government rejected Luther, it could not possibly have had any precise knowledge of his teachings. Nevertheless, the majority of Cologne’s population maintained its loyalty to the Catholic Church and made significant contributions to the Counter-Reformation. Unlike so many other cities in Germany and across Europe, Cologne entered the modern era as an adamantly Catholic city untouched by the Reformation.
Chapter 3: A Cantatorium from Saint Kunibert

Quite a few medieval service books survive from Saint Kunibert. Sources preserving the liturgy for the Divine Office include a breviary from ca. 1409, antiphonaries from ca. 1340, and ca. 1460, and a gradual antiphonary from ca. 1480. There is also a psalter/breviary/book of hours from ca. 1480. One of the earlier sources from Saint Kunibert is a psalter/breviary from ca. 1175. Several processions survive; the Darmstadt Hessische-Landes Bibliothek has processional from ca. 1160, ca. 1450, ca. 1458, ca. 1500, and ca. 1520. Three Missals survive from the fourteenth century, along with a notated Missal from ca. 1525. However, two of the Missals, HS 843 (ca. 1525) and HS 874 (ca. 1330) were not originally from Saint Kunibert. HS 874 came from Saint Severin’s church and HS 843 came from a religious community of brothers in Cologne. Saint Kunibert manuscripts from other libraries include a fourteenth-century benedictional in Cologne’s municipal archives and a fifteenth century ordo from Saint Kunibert’s parish archives.

There is also a single cantatorium (ca. 1250) that will be the focal point of this thesis. This cantatorium, HS 871, is made of parchment and has 105 folia. Its origins are verified by an inscription from ca. 1500 found on the final page of the manuscript that also contains an Alleluia verse for Corpus Christi. The inscription reads: “This book belongs to the church of Saint Kunibert.” There is also a list at the beginning of the manuscript of St. Kunibert’s choirmasters from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The cantatorium begins with the Proper of Time, followed by the Proper of the Saints, which includes the Masses from St. Lucy (December 13) to St. Andrew (November 30). The Common of Saints follows, with only Alleluias with their verses, and concludes with the liturgy for the Dedication of a Church.

58 Darmstadt, Hessische Landes Bibliothek, Hs. 871.
59 Iste liber pertinent ecclesie sancti Cuniberti, f.105v
The chants in the remainder of the cantatorium, beginning with f. 63v are more varied. Also, the first hand that wrote in the book stopped at f. 82r, and the remaining material was completed by other scribes. Additions include epistles and gospels for Christmas, St. Stephen, and St. John, an Easter play, antiphons, responsories for Sunday processions from the Sunday after Epiphany to Palm Sunday, Sanctus and Agnus Dei tropes. The manuscript concludes with the Corpus Christi Alleluia.

The cantatorium was a book for the soloist who sang the gradual and alleluia at the ambo. Amalarius explained in his De ordine antiphonarii that the cantatorium was the Roman term for the liturgical book that was known to the people of Gaul as the Gradual. It is explicitly mentioned in the Ordo romanus I, the oldest Ordo, and also in Ordines IV, V, and VI. The Ordo directs the cantor to ascend to the ambo with his Cantatorium and perform the responsory after the subdeacon has read the Epistle. The liturgical rubric of a cantor holding a book in his hands while performing at the ambo has its origins in Christian antiquity. There is written evidence from 487 of a cantor holding a cantatorium as part of the African liturgy. The function of the cantatorium was often more symbolic than practical. The cantors would usually memorize the chants, and the book would serve more as a symbol of the cantor’s role in the liturgy than as a memory aid.

The contents of a cantatorium evolved during the Middle Ages. Only a dozen cantatoria from before the twelfth century survive today. The two oldest are from northern France and Korvey, in Saxony. They are not notated, but the next two cantoria from Laon and Saint Gall

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61 Ibid., 96. The African liturgy was an offshoot of the Roman liturgy. In Victor of Vite’s narrative, “Of the persecution of the Vandals’ in Africa,” written in 487, there is a report that a cantor was struck in the throat by an arrow while performing the alleluia, and that ‘the book’ fell from his hands. No further information on this book is given.
62 Ibid., 95.
(ca. 9th century) have refined neumatic notation. 63 These books contain the graduals, tracts, and alleluias-- the chants performed by the cantor rather than the choir. After the eleventh century, other chants were added to cantatoria, such as offertory verses, sequences, and especially tropes. Some of the later cantatoria still contained the original tracts, alleluias, and graduals, while others did not. This change indicates either a change in the role of the cantor or a change in the use of the cantatorium; Stäblein supported the latter hypothesis. 64 The cantatorium from Saint Kunibert is a good example of a late medieval cantatorium that contains chants such as the Sanctus and Agnus Dei tropes, in addition to the standard graduals and alleluias.

Another service book that will be referred to in later chapters is one of the fourteenth-century missals, Hs. 876. 65 Hs. 876 consists of 430 folios and was produced around 1330, with later additions. It is one of the more popular manuscripts among scholars, perhaps due to several illuminations found throughout the book. The missal includes a Kalenda, a Kyriale, Mass Propers for the liturgical year, and sequences. 66 The missal includes rubrics for the feast days of Cologne’s beloved saints: Panthaleon, Gereon, the 11,000 virgins, Severin, and Kunibert.

63 Ibid., 97.
65 Darmstadt, Hessische Landes Bibliothek, Hs. 876.
Chapter 4: The Agnus Dei Trope and *Rex aeternae gloriae*

The Agnus Dei was probably added to the Roman Mass by Pope Sergius (687-701). It could have been an act of defiance against Byzantium, where the depiction of Christ in animal form was banned.\(^67\) In its earliest form, the chant was sung by the priest and the congregation during the Fraction, and there is also evidence from the Ordo Romanus I from the early eighth century that the Agnus Dei could be sung by the schola.\(^68\) It was originally repeated as often as necessary, perhaps as a litany, until the actions of the Fraction were completed. By the eleventh century, the repetitions of the Agnus Dei were limited to three.\(^69\) The Fraction became much shorter when small pieces of unleavened bread replaced the leavened loaves of bread for Communion, and numerous repetitions of the Agnus Dei were no longer necessary. The final response was also changed from the usual *Miserere nobis* to *Dona nobis pacem*, in reference to the Pax, which occurs right before the Fraction. Once the Agnus Dei was limited to three repetitions and the Fraction was shortened to a matter of seconds, the chant could be sung at any point in the liturgy from the Pax until the reception of Communion.

After the Agnus Dei became part of the Roman Mass in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, it was brought to the Frankish Kingdom in the ninth century. The original Agnus Dei melodies were relatively simple, as evidenced by one of the earliest Agnus Dei melodies, Melody 226 in Martin Schildbach’s catalogue.\(^70\) The Franks began composing new elaborate melodies for the chants, and it is believed that this development is closely connected to the creation of tropes.\(^71\)

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\(^69\) The earliest three-fold Agnus Dei chants are found in ninth-century sacramentaries, and were commonplace by the eleventh century.


\(^71\) James W. McKinnon, et. al.
The creation of tropes and the solidification of the Ordinary of the Mass occurred at around the same time between the ninth and eleventh centuries, and it is often hard to differentiate between what we define as a trope (new music and/or text added to an existing chant) and what was part of the original chant. Richard Crocker has questioned if there was an original, fixed Agnus Dei chant, and proposed the idea that the official Agnus Dei text was a common culmination of the various texts from different regions and liturgies.72

There are three invocations in the Agnus Dei at the end of Hs. 871, and the trope lines are carefully interpolated between the standardized Agnus Dei text. The three-fold Agnus Dei began to appear as early as the ninth and tenth centuries and became standard practice by the eleventh century.73 Also, the earliest Agnus Dei texts did not always repeat “Agnus Dei” at the beginning of each invocation; “miserere nobis” followed the trope-like line of text and that served as the unifying element of the chant. The Agnus Dei, as well as its tropes, would have been relatively developed during the thirteenth century, which is the approximate date of Hs. 871. The three-fold invocation and addition of “dona nobis pacem” became standard practice two centuries earlier. Although the Agnus Dei trope was added to the cantatorium sometime after 1250, the trope itself could be dated as early as the tenth century or even the ninth century.

The trope’s text is unusual in that it is not listed in the Corpus Troporum volume of Agnus Dei tropes.74 However, the trope appears in hymn catalogues from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Mone includes the trope in his 1853 catalogue, Hymni latini medi{medii aevi}.75 In this book, the trope appears to be part of a longer text that is associated with the Agnus Dei, since it is given the title, “Super Agnus dei.” The column on the left is the complete hymn

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from *Hymni latini mediæ aevi*, listed as No. 243. The column on the right is the exact text of the trope from Hs. 871.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Hymni latini mediæ aevi</em></th>
<th><em>Hs. 871</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agnus dei,</td>
<td>Agnus dei, qui tollis peccata mundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rex aeterne gloriae,</td>
<td>Rex aeterne gloriae,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qui das locum veniae</td>
<td>qui das locum veniae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miserere, miserere</td>
<td>miserere, miserere, miserere nobis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agnus dei, qui tollis peccata mundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui natus es de virgine</td>
<td>Qui natus es de virgine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub humana specie</td>
<td>sub humana specie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miserere, miserere</td>
<td>miserere, miserere, miserere nobis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agnus dei, qui tollis peccata mundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pater potentissime,</td>
<td>Pater potentissime,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacem nobis tribue</td>
<td>pacem tribue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dona nobis, dona nobis</td>
<td>dona, dona, dona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dona nobis pacem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other hymns in Mone’s book have various pieces of information about the text, translation, sources, and in some cases even the author, but the Agnus Dei no. 243 has very little extra information. The text is listed as being in a fourteenth-century manuscript from Saint Peter in Karlsruhe, and that is the only information given.
The incipit of the St. Kunibert Agnus Dei trope, *Rex aeternae gloriae*, is also listed in a trope index in Martin Schildbach’s catalogue. The index lists the areas of circulation for each trope, and *Rex aeternae gloriae* is rather prevalent throughout Europe.

*Rex aeternae gloriae* is listed in another catalogue of hymns, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*. This collection of hymn incipits classifies the text as an antiphon from the third nocturne from the Office of St. Achatius. Little factual information survives about this saint; he frequented the Christian groups in Antioch, and possibly could have been the bishop of Antioch or Militene in the second century. There are conflicting reports on his death: some sources say that he was martyred by the Romans, and others maintain that he was pardoned by a Roman official. Nevertheless, the Church venerates him as a martyr.

Returning to the context of the trope in Hs. 871 and its use at Saint Kunibert, at this point there is no evidence to suggest that the text was chosen as a trope for the Agnus Dei to honor St. Achatius. The trope is not unique to Saint Kunibert; it exists in a couple other manuscripts that will be discussed more specifically in another section. The text, which is translated below, does not mention St. Achatius at all. The theme of the text is actually quite generalized, which would make the trope more versatile in the liturgy.

Agnus Dei…

*Rex aeternae gloriae,*

*qui das locum veniae*  
*you who give a place for forgiveness*

*miserere, miserere…*

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77 The trope is listed as being found in German, English, French, Italian, Bohemian, Moravian, and Spanish sources.
Agnus Dei…

Qui natus es de virgine, You who were born of the virgin,
sub humana specie under human form
miserere, miserere

Agnus Dei…

Pater potentissime, Father most powerful,
pacem nobis tribue give to us peace
donabibis, donabibis…

The invocations of this text address Christ as God rather than as a man. The trope in the first Agnus Dei section invokes Christ as an eternal king who forgives sins. The middle section makes reference to the fact that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary in the form of a human, and the final section addresses Christ as a powerful father. In a way, Rex aeternae glorae goes against the contemporary devotional trend of meditating on Christ’s humanity, namely the suffering he experienced leading up to his crucifixion. He is often portrayed in medieval art as suffering and in pain, especially on crucifixes and through the Man of Sorrows icon. Medieval Christians were also becoming increasingly more devoted to the Eucharist, while at the same time trying to grasp the teachings of Thomas Aquinas and the new doctrine of Transubstantiation. Since the Agnus Dei was sung after the Host was consecrated and just prior to the faithful receiving Communion, it makes sense that the extra text of the trope should be something appropriate for the faithful to contemplate while gazing at the Host or possibly consuming it.

80 The incarnation is the Catholic dogma of Christ being of both human and divine nature. This dogma has been in existence since Christian antiquity; the earliest creeds profess a belief in one Jesus Christ, “the only-begotten Son of God, who became Man for us and was crucified…” Catholic Encyclopedia, “The Incarnation,” Catholic Encyclopedia, http://www.newadvent.org (accessed March 28, 2009).
St. Achatius is not listed in the Kalendar at the beginning of Hs. 876, and his feast could have been celebrated on several different days: January 16, March 31, or May 8.\textsuperscript{81} It is possible that the text for the trope was not selected from its context in the Divine Office. The text could have existed as an individual hymn, or the Agnus Dei trope as a whole could have been borrowed from the liturgy of another church, since it is found in contemporary German manuscripts.

More clues to the origin and purpose of this Agnus Dei trope can possibly be found in the troped Sanctus, \textit{Genitor summi fili}, that comes directly before the Agnus Dei in Hs. 871. The Sanctus and Agnus Dei appear to be separate from the preceding material in the cantatorium, which includes the readings from the feast of St. John. There may be a possible connection to the Alleluia verse for Corpus Christi that is on the next and final page of the manuscript, but that will be discussed in the final chapter.

Surprisingly, the text of the Sanctus trope is not found in \textit{Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi}, but it is included in Mone’s \textit{Hymni Latini Medii Aevi}. In Mone’s collection, the Sanctus is No. 241 and the Agnus Dei is No. 243. There is slightly more information written about the Sanctus than the Agnus Dei, but what is there is valuable when considering the Agnus Dei. This Sanctus trope can be found in the same manuscript from Saint Peter in Karlsruhe, on the page right before the Agnus Dei trope. There is also an additional note that points out the association of the Trinity with the Virgin Mary in the text, and that it is a reminder that the same Jesus who is being sacrificed at Mass was also a human born of the Virgin Mary. This theme is also present in the Agnus Dei trope, with the mention of Mary in the middle section and the reference to Jesus as the Father, another person in the Trinity. The fact that the pairing of these particular Sanctus and Agnus Dei tropes occurs in two manuscripts (St. Kunibert and St. Peter in Karlsruhe) reinforces

the connection between these two tropes. The theological themes in this trope’s text seem to outweigh the fact that it was for the Office of a particular saint. Although St. Achatius could be considered a Roman martyr and Cologne had a devotion to the Roman martyrs, his feast is not found in contemporary liturgical calendars. With devotion to the Eucharist increasing and new teachings on the topic being circulated, the theological illustrations of Christ being both human and part of the Trinity seem to be more of a reason for this trope text to be selected instead of its association with St. Achatius.

The melody of the Agnus Dei trope is a variant of an Agnus Dei melody that is quite common. It is listed in Schildbach’s catalogue as Melody 136, and has an ABA form. It is found in manuscripts throughout Europe, but it most frequently occurs in German sources. The first section of the melody is characterized by a lightly melismatic line that gradually ascends and descends. One of the distinguishing features of this melody is the descending melisma on the first part of the word “Dei.”\footnote{Schildbach, 117.} A transcription of this melody can be found in the Appendix.

The Agnus Dei melody from Hs. 871 is actually a slight variant of Melody 136. While the descending melisma on “Dei” in Melody 136 consists of four notes, the melisma in Hs. 871 consists of five. Also, the final two notes of the word “mundi” are the same in Melody 136, and in Hs. 871 the final note of “mundi” is a step higher than the previous note. The earliest Agnus Dei melodies were fairly simple and syllabic and became more elaborate, as with many other chants. Along with Melodies 34 and 114, Melody 136 is considered to be a relatively late melody in F mode, which makes sense given the subtle, conjunct melismas in the melody.\footnote{Hiley, 167.} In terms of ornate melismatic melodies, Melody 136 is in the middle of the spectrum. Melody 136 is paired with the Rex aeternae gloriae trope in three other manuscripts in Schildbach’s catalogue.\footnote{Schildbach, 117-118.} One of them is the previously mentioned manuscript from Saint Peter in Karlsruhe, which is a fourteenth-century
gradual, possibly from Erfurt. The trope and melody are also in a Moosburg gradual from c.a 1360. The third manuscript is a Bohemian *Mefkanzionale* from the sixteenth century.

Hs. 871

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\text{Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi}
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Melody 136

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\text{Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi.}
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Chapter 5: The Purpose and Significance of *Rex aeternae gloriae*

Tropes were often written for major celebrations of the Church, and sometimes the text of the trope reflected the particular feast day for which it was written. The text of *Rex aeternae gloriae*, discussed more in depth in the previous chapter, is very general in nature. Both the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei tropes have texts that are liturgically non-specific; they do not mention a person, event, or idea that would associate the tropes with a particular feast day. They could have been intended to be performed at several, if not all, of the major feast days of the liturgical year. They even could have been heard at ordinary Sunday Masses. Despite this ambiguity, speculations can be made regarding the trope’s purpose in the liturgy of St. Kunibert’s.

Hs. 871 dates from around 1250, but the Agnus Dei trope is found in the middle of a section that was written by additional scribes, which means the trope could have been added anytime after 1250. The final folia of Hs. 871 contain the Lesson and Gospel from the feast of St. John the Evangelist (101v-103r), the Sanctus and Agnus Dei tropes (103v-104v), various responses and antiphons from the Holy Saturday Office (105r), and the Alleluia from the Corpus Christi Mass (105v). The material surrounding the tropes in the cantatorium is rather random with no apparent liturgical connection. The additions are described in Staub and Sänger’s catalogue as “various chants from various hands.”

Along with being liturgically haphazard, the chants from the final folia of Hs. 871 (101v-105v) appear to be written by at least two different scribes. Although the readings from the feast of St. John and the tropes appear to have been written by the same scribe,

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85 ab verschiedene Gesänge von verschiedenen Händen; Staub, 61.
there is a clear difference in notation and script between the readings and the tropes, and
the Holy Saturday Office and Alleluia. The Office chants and Corpus Christi Alleluia
have neumes that are longer and more vertical than the neumes from the preceding
material. The lettering also appears to be more vertical, and clearly written by another
hand. The Holy Saturday Office and Alleluia were both written in the same vertical style
with longer note stems, but there is one interesting difference. Some of the virgae have
stems on the right side of the note, unlike the virgae in the rest of the book. This is a
possible indication that the scribe was left-handed, and perhaps in a hurry when copying
the Alleluia.

The other additions to the cantatorium offer little immediate context clues as to
the liturgical purpose of the tropes, but there is an important connection between these
tropes and another service book from St. Kunibert’s. As stated in Chapter 4, the Agnus
Dei trope’s original melody is actually a slight variant of a somewhat common Agnus Dei
melody. These variants apparently are not mistakes; Hs. 876, the missal from ca. 1330,
contains the same Agnus Dei melody with the same variants in the Kyriale on Folio 10v.
Like the other parts of the Ordinary found in this Kyriale, the Agnus Dei does not contain
any tropes. The Agnus Dei from Hs. 876 is found near the beginning of the manuscript in
the Kyriale, which was in an original section of the manuscript.

The tropes were written by a different hand than the chants immediately following
them in Hs. 871, the script of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei tropes bears a strong
resemblance to the chants in the original folios of Hs. 876. When comparing the tropes to
a folio in the missal, it appears that they may have been copied by the same scribe. Hs.
876 was made around 1330, which means that the tropes in Hs. 871 would also date from
around that time. Even if the tropes and the missal were copied by two completely
different scribes, the tropes could still be dated from around the same time period given
the notation style. It would also make sense that Agnus Dei trope would have been
entered into the cantatorium’s pages at least at the same time as the untroped Agnus Dei
in the missal, if not later.

Hs 871
Based on the trope’s approximate addition date of 1330, another connection can be made to determine the purpose of the trope. Hs. 876 was made nearly a century after Juliana’s vision to celebrate Corpus Christi, but the missal was still contemporary with developments related to the feast. Urban IV’s *Transiturus* bull from 1264 was forgotten for nearly fifty years, and it still took time for the feast to gain popularity once it was revived. Even in Cologne, a city that had ties to Liége, the feast was not completely established by the end of the thirteenth century into the fourteenth.\(^{86}\) Pope John XXII’s formal institution of the feast in 1317 must have been effective in Cologne, because every

church in the city had a Corpus Christi procession either on the feast or during its octave by 1326.  

Because Corpus Christi was established later than other major Christian feasts, its liturgy was often added to existing liturgical books. The Corpus Christi liturgy was usually written on empty folios at the end or throughout the books. The service books from St. Kunibert are an example of this practice. The Alleluia for the Corpus Christi Mass is found at the very end of Hs. 871, and the Mass for Corpus Christi (along with the Mass for the Conception of the Virgin Mary) was part of an addition to Hs. 876. The Corpus Christi Mass was placed after a continuation of the Proper that contains the liturgies for Sundays following Pentecost. Although Corpus Christi falls after Pentecost, it was added at the end of the cycle and is out of order.

In their catalogue, Staub and Sänger identify several additions of folio gatherings placed in throughout the missal: folios 204-222, 224-230, and 421-430 were added around the end of the fifteenth century. The folios containing the Corpus Christi liturgy, folios 287 and 288, are not included in this list; however, they are labeled in the catalogue as Nachträge, or additions. It is difficult (if not impossible) to differentiate between the original content and the added Corpus Christi liturgy without reading the text of the prayers and chants. The same scribe who worked on the original manuscript must have also added the Corpus Christi and Conception of the Virgin liturgy, which begins right after the final Corpus Christi prayer. Since the Corpus Christi liturgy is not included in the list of folia added at the end of the fifteenth century and its notation and lettering are

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87 Bruhn, 126.
88 Staub, 128, 130.
similar to what can be found on the previous folio (which is part of the original manuscript), it can be presumed that the Corpus Christi liturgy was added to the missal shortly after it was finished, if not while it was still being made. Even if the liturgy was added shortly after the book’s completion, it was still during a time when the popularity of Corpus Christi was increasing and Eucharistic devotional traditions were developing.

The Corpus Christi Mass found in Hs. 876 is the feast’s “official” liturgy, the one corresponding to the third form of the office beginning with the antiphon *Sacerdos in a]eternum*, which is traditionally attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas. It is believed by several scholars that this third version, possibly written by Aquinas himself, was finalized shortly after his death around 1300.\(^89\) It is possible that the two earlier versions of the liturgy could have been used in Cologne, given the city’s ties to Liége and the Corpus Christi procession held at St. Gereon sometime before 1277. However, it was the third and final version of the liturgy that was preserved in the service books of St. Kunibert.

Although the Sanctus and Agnus Dei tropes from Hs. 871 are not part of any Corpus Christi liturgy, it is possible that they were added as a result of the feast. According to Miri Rubin, the creation of Corpus Christi tropes for the Ordinary was not unusual. Local variations on nearly every aspect of the liturgy were common; Ordinary tropes and verses, along with special hymns and sequences, made Corpus Christi services at different churches unique.\(^90\)

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\(^89\) Walters, 63.
\(^90\) Rubin, 195.
The tropes could have been intended for use only on Corpus Christi or during its octave, or for feast days throughout the year. It also could be that the addition of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei tropes at the same as the Corpus Christi liturgy was a complete coincidence, and one had nothing to do with the other. Nevertheless, there would still be a connection between the feast and the tropes. Tropes of any sort were composed to enhance a liturgy and to make a worship service more special. Even though the tropes may not have been written for the Corpus Christi Mass or as a result of the feast’s popularity at the time, they were still intended to enhance the Eucharistic liturgy.

Tropes exist for chants of both the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass, but in the Hs. 871 addition only the parts of the Mass pertaining directly to the Eucharist were troped; the Kyrie and Gloria were not. Marginal notes in the Kyriale of Hs 876 indicate that the original Sanctus and Agnus Dei chants were from the Mass of the Apostles, which presumably had the settings of the other Ordinary texts. This cantatorium appears to have a very practical function and was not intended to be a comprehensive collection of liturgical music, so it is possible that other tropes to this particular Mass existed, but were copied in another collection of music.

Very little concrete evidence exists to place the tropes within a particular liturgy, but their mere existence in Hs. 871 is enough to make significant claims about the nature of Christian worship in medieval Cologne. The presence of a Sanctus and an Agnus Dei

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91 In Hs. 871, the tropes are immediately after the readings for the feast of St. John the Evangelist; however, that is the only link between the marginal note and the tropes, and it is very possible that the marginal note was added centuries later.

92 Although the Credo is considered to be part of the Mass Ordinary, it was not conventional practice to add additional text or melodies to this chant, which was already lengthy.

93 There is a marginal note in Hs. 876 next to the untrophed Sanctus and Agnus Dei melodies indicating that they were intended for the Mass of the Apostles. The tropes are immediately after the readings for the feast of St. John the Evangelist; however, that is the only link between the marginal note and the tropes, and it is very possible that the marginal note was added centuries later.
trope in the cantatorium indicates a special importance placed on the Eucharistic ritual during the Mass, and is a reflection of the strong devotion to the Eucharist that swept through Cologne and the rest of Germany in the Middle Ages.

The study of German chant and liturgy from the later Middle Ages is often overlooked, as indicated by how little the manuscripts from Saint Kunibert have been studied. The Reformation overshadows Germany’s rich Catholic heritage which dates back to the Carolingian Empire, and the music and composers most frequently associated with Germany are from eras after the Reformation. Although devotion to the Eucharist spread throughout Europe, it was especially prevalent in Germany; many Eucharistic cults and pilgrim sites formed there, and Corpus Christi celebrations were very popular. Eucharistic processions through town became so common in Germany that in the fourteenth century there was a government legislation to keep the Eucharist within the church. Studying pre-Reformation liturgy and music in Germany may foster a greater understanding of how and why the Reformation took place, and how the Corpus Christi practices and increased devotion to the Eucharist affected the Reformation.
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Sanctus. Benus: summi fili
que conceptus sancta virgo
sanctus. Sumi
partus natus qui prout
ut mun do virgo mar
Sanctus. Spiritus sanctus
sub umbra domini ge
munifi excellenti nata virgo
mar
Dominus Deus la
luoch-pleni se cel in et terr
gloria tu "oanna. Qua
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi. Re e ter ne glori e qui das locum ventem se ree misere re misere re no vis. Agnus de qui tollis peccata mundi. Qui natus es de uryn ne sub humana sse a e me ree misere misere nobis. Agnus de qui tollis peccata mundi. La terre potens mi paaet tribue do na do do do doa nobis pacem.
Transcription of the Agnus Dei trope from Hs 871