

Special bond linking a poet with a ruler is another crucial element of the motif. Narratives of *Hallfreðar saga* or *Fóstbræðra saga* show how highly spiritual and exclusive this bond could have been. Skalds' sagas point at importance of this relation for both sides. Monarch not only needed poetry to channel their policy in the most appropriate manner. Service of talented skalds was creating opportunity for rulers to show their readiness to rule. Thus the key role of monarch in process of generating request for a poetry and provisioning skalds with proper content and conditions, necessary in process of composition. It explains ambitions of protagonists of skalds' sagas to play distinguished role at a court. Examples of 11th century poets like Sigvatr Þórðrson or Þjóðólfr Arnórsson suggest, that, again, in this very aspect the literary motif had been based on historical reality.

ABSTRACT

Studies on narratives of medieval sagas of Icelanders (*Íslendigasögur*) have their own long, almost two hundred year, history. It has featured, among others, a discussion on an motif of *útanferð*, a journey abroad undertaken by protagonist of given story, who after leaving Iceland was heading to various parts of the world, most notably either to Scandinavia or British Isles. The aim of this study is to analyse the *útanferð* motif not only as a literary construct but also as an reflex of real social and political developments in medieval North, marked also by ambitions of particular poets and exclusiveness of their art. The motif in question points at a sort of stereotype of success, a young Icclander could obtain only abroad. It meant a perspective of social advancement relief mainly on personal skills and charisma rather than family and social bonds. It also meant lack of such a perspective once an *útanferð* could not have taken place. It corresponds for example with difficulties protagonists were founding when confronting with social norms in their homelands. Apart from purely literary context, the *útanferð* motif seems to be relevant for discussion on real role of skalds and their art in medieval Scandinavia. It is connected with a crucial question of historical veracity of its basic components, namely character of relations between poet and the ruler and the former's poetry composed by at court of the latter and dedicated to him.

II. LITURGY

(CONTINUATION; THE SECTION EDITED BY ERIC PALAZZO)

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FROM A HIDING PLACE TO THE ETERNAL GLORY THOMAS AQUINAS'S SAINTLY PRESENCE IN DOMINICAN LITURGY



INTRODUCTION

The arrival of the relics of Saint Thomas Aquinas was welcomed with great celebration in Toulouse on 28th January 1369. The sumptuous festivities are reported by an eyewitness, Raymundus Hugonis, a Dominican friar and the secretary of Elias of Toulouse, Master of the Order of Preachers. The Master was the person who organized this *translatio*, i.e. transportation of the relics, and he had without doubt given the task of reporter to Raymundus.¹ Raymundus wrote the description of the event in his larger account on the history of Thomas' body after his death, the *Historia translationis corporis S. Thome de Aquino*.² This narration is by no means

1 On Elias, his career and his efforts at Thomas' translation, see: B. Montagnes OP, *Le rôle du Midi dominicain au temps du Grand Schisme*, in: *Le Midi et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux XXXIX, Toulouse 2004, pp. 305-330; G.G. Meersseman, *Études sur l'ordre des frères prêcheurs au début du Grande Schisme*, "Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum" XXV (1955), pp. 213-257; D.A. Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs*, III: 1324-1400, Paris 1907, passim.

2 Sources of this article, including the narrative of the *translatio*, are described in the next section. On the celebrations and the route to France, see E.J. Richards, *Ceremonies of Power: The Arrival of Thomas Aquinas's Relics in Toulouse and Paris in the Context of the Hundred Years War*, in: *Relics, Identity, and Memory in Medieval Europe*, eds. M. Räsänen, G. Hartmann, E.J. Richards, Europa Sacra XXI, Turnhout 2016, pp. 319-352.

a documentary text, but we believe that it vividly transmits emotions which profoundly affected the Dominican friars. They had eagerly been waiting to receive Thomas' body in their custody, away from his death place at the Cistercian monastery of Fossanova, in southern Lazio, Italy.³

The narrative was not the Master's only effort to praise Thomas' arrival in Toulouse. He also gave instructions to his fellow brothers to start preparing the Office of the *Translatio*. As the long narrative of the *Historia translationis* was aimed at Dominican friars, and remained in their use, a large part of its content was transmitted in the Office of *Translatio*, which was performed annually in Dominican churches open to the public. In Toulouse, the Office was aimed at introducing Saint Thomas to the citizens as a new saint who joined the choir of the patron saints of the town. Obviously, the Office was an important element in transforming the friars' identity in service of their new patron saint. Moreover, another central message of the liturgy was to emphasize such issues as affirming the Dominicans as the rightful possessors of the saintly relics and testifying that the remains were genuinely those of Thomas.

This paper focuses on one of the main features of the liturgy: making Thomas' presence real and vivid during the services of the Office. The presence of the saint was a notion that was central in elaborating the relationship between the saint, especially when he or she was a newcomer, and his or her folk. The presence should also be something that the saint him- or herself wanted. In Thomas' translation Office, his presence can be sensed by ears, eyes, nose, mouth and touch, and through such feelings as darkness and deepness, doubts, and joy.⁴ In this paper, we argue that the liturgical melodies and texts were in the core of experiencing the presence of a saint. The approach of cults of saints through analysis of modal and metrical structure of the Office as well as the overall composition of liturgical feast is still a novelty probably because this kind of multidisciplinary approach necessitates long-term collaboration of a group of scholars.⁵ The mode⁶ of a chant is the key

³ M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics as Focus for Conflict and Cult in the Late Middle Ages: The Restless Corpse*, Amsterdam 2017.

⁴ Numerous studies of Éric Palazzo have been an inspiration for our approach, among the most important the monograph *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2014.

⁵ We are thankful for the KONE Foundation for the support they have granted to us. The grants in 2015-2017 have enabled our collaboration and joint study on the liturgical feasts of Thomas Aquinas. On the whole project, see www.ossagloriosa.org.

⁶ A western music theorists, musician and philosopher Aristoxenus (4th century B.C.) reminds us that modes are not an invention of theorists but scales used in practice. According to him, the meaning of music is to evoke in us a certain kind of atmosphere which has a connection to the feeling we are sensing. These experiences arise from the relationships between musical notes and intervals, see *The Harmonics of Aristoxenus*, ed. H.S. Macran, Oxford 1990, pp. 3,

to interpreting the sensual or emotional meaning the melodies and the texts conveyed to the medieval audience in the Dominican church spaces. The metrical structure must be seen as a meaningful component of the poetry of the liturgy. In classical antiquity, it was commonly held that each poetic metre had its characteristic ethos. Although it can be disputed whether poetic metres in the Middle Ages became similarly "stereotyped", it is obvious that certain metres were regarded as particularly appropriate for some genres and contexts and less so for others.⁷ In a larger contemporary context of the translation, we will see the power of emotionally loaded liturgy in transmitting political as well as religious ideologies.⁸

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

The order to celebrate the Translation feast was first announced at the General Chapter of the Order held at Valencia in Aragon, at Pentecost 1370, but the Office proper was probably not yet completed, although the Acts do not make the case explicit.⁹ The idea of dating the Office *post* 1371 is supported by a sentence from lections for the Matin service: "Elias [...] came later to Rome, where Pope Urban V of saintly memory resided with his curia."¹⁰ The words "saintly memory", *sancte memorie*, indicate that the lections were not completed until the death of Urban V on 19 December 1370. Master Elias seems to have entrusted the task of writing the Office to Aldobrandinus of Ferrara, a Lombardian Dominican.¹¹ The first written evidence regarding

68. On Aristoxenus see also C.S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200*, Philadelphia 1994, p. 165. According to Timothy McGee, music theorists in medieval times used the term *mode* to describe a tonal structure of the melody. The singers were supposed to know exactly the modal rules of chanting, see T. McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style according to the Treaties*, Oxford 1998, p. 20. On the modes see also H.L. Vuori, *Neitsyt Marian yrttilarhassa, Birgittalaissarten matutiniumin suuret responsoriot*, *Studia Musica*, XLVII, Helsinki 2011, pp. 109-126.

⁷ For example, the Sapphic metre was deemed suitable for feminine and domestic subjects, the Alcaic metre for political themes and so forth; see e.g. L. Morgan, *Musa Pedestris: Metre and Meaning in Roman Verse*, Oxford 2011.

⁸ An excellent study close to our approach regarding relics, liturgy, and local politics is B. Brand, *Holy Treasure and Sacred Song. Relic Cults and Their Liturgies in Medieval Tuscany*, Oxford-New York 2014.

⁹ We are indebted to professor Constant Mews for many insights in regard to the history of the translation feast and its celebrations. Cf. *Acta capitulorum generalium* (henceforth: ACG) II, ed. B.M. Reichert, *Monumenta Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, IV, Romae-Stuttgart 1899, pp. 412, 414.

¹⁰ *Helia [...] Romam postea venit, ubi sancte memorie Urbanus papa quintus cum sua curia residebat* – Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. A, *Codice Cividale*, f. 110v.

¹¹ On Aldobrandinus' career, see: T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, I, Romae 1970, pp. 38-39; IV, Romae 1993, p. 17; ACG II, p. 455.

the author of the feast comes from the Acts of the General Chapter in 1401.¹² Some manuscripts also contain information about its author. One of these is conserved at the Municipal Library of Toulouse and it gives the following rubric for the Office without the notes: *In festo translationis doctoris eximii sancti Thome de Aquino quod compilavit frater Aldobrandinus de conventu Ferrariensi provincie Lombardie inferioris*.¹³ It appears probable that Aldobrandinus finished his texts for the Office around 1372, after the death of Urban V, and before he was appointed as inquisitor of Ferrara in 1373 because that title is not mentioned in the rubric. Although the poorly documented General Chapters from this period do not specify when the liturgy proper was taken to use, we can draw a conclusion from the order of the General Chapter of Bourges in 1376. The record of the Acts insists that the Office should be copied "within a year [...] without any excuse", doing so, it hints that the liturgy for Thomas' feast of *Translatio* was well completed and in use.¹⁴

During the research project, we have observed that for the music of the Office of *Translatio*, Aldobrandinus used already existing melodies, undoubtedly beloved by Dominican friars, of Saint Dominic's *Dies natalis*.¹⁵ It would be tempting to think that Pope Urban's decision to allow the transfer of the saint's relics to Toulouse took the Dominicans by surprise and

12 ACG III, ed. by B.M. Reichert, Monumenta Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, VIII, Romae-Stuttgartiae 1900, pp. 104-105.

13 Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 610, p. 66a. See the edited sources in the fn. 18.

14 ACG II, pp. 430-431. See also the Acts of Carcassone in 1378, ibidem, p. 446.

15 The melodies of Vespers, Matins and Lauds in the liturgy for Saint Thomas' translation are variations of those used in the feast for Saint Dominic's *Dies natalis*, except for the 3rd great responsory and the hymns. See: Rome, Casanatense Ms. 4507, ff. 1-16 for the office of Saint Dominic; Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 273-279v for the offices of Saint Thomas. Variations of some of the melodies in the office of both saints are also found in the office of Saint Eric of Sweden, see Helsinki, National Archives of Finland, Gu I:3, ff. 55v-58v. For example an antiphon *Corpus quod* is in Saint Eric's office the 2nd antiphon of Vespers *Correxit suecie leges seruire coegit Christo perfidie gentes quas ense subegit. Ps. Domine in virtute*, – Gu I:3, f. 56v. This antiphon is also as a text in *Breviarium Lincopence*, ed. K. Peters, Lund 1954, p. 652. According to Vincent Corrigan there is also an alternative Corpus Christi office in the manuscript Brussels Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 139, ff. 109-110, which contains the invitatory and nine great responsories to the service written with the melodies of the *Dies natalis* office for Saint Dominic. The alternative office is notated, but the Ms. includes melodies and texts only for the soloist verse-parts. For the response-parts there are the intonations of the chants. But even from the intonation can be detected the similarity to Saint Dominic's great responsories as well as the similarity to the great responsories in the Translation Office of Saint Thomas. The manuscript is dated to 1269, although the Corpus Christi Office was added subsequently. According to the manuscript, it was written for the use of the sisters in Marienthal, see *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, eds. B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, Pennsylvania 2006, pp. 88-89. On the same topic, see the article of C.J. Mews in this volume of "Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae" 22 (2017).

that there was simply no time to compose new music for the occasion. The meticulously crafted and well-thought-out texts with their sophisticated use of contemporary poetic technique obviously make this hypothesis invalid. At the same time, the polished metrical structure consolidates the dating of the liturgy around the year 1372. In melodies where the texts are different in content, the writer of the *Translatio* has taken great care to match his text to the affect of the melody. In the Middle Ages the habit of using the same melodies, or variations of them, for different texts of the chants was common. First of all, it was a sign of respect towards the saints and feasts to which the melodies refer.¹⁶ Moreover, as it will be suggested in this paper, the common melodies which already had their well-known meanings were effectively used to propagate new saints whose task was to respond to contemporary problems and political challenges.

As one of the central aims of the translation feast was to make Thomas a Toulousan saint, a role model for the townspeople and their protector by his own wish, it is quite obvious that the feast did not occur in other places than Toulouse and inside the Dominican Order – and even among the friars it came into use rather slowly.¹⁷ For several reasons Thomas Aquinas' older feast, his *Dies natalis* celebrated on the March 7th, seems to have gained a great popularity more or less at the same time as the Translation Office was made and should have been at the peak of its diffusion. As the aim of this paper is to study the emotional impact of the Office, celebrated on the day of Thomas' translation, it is necessary to compare it to two other Offices which both gave a certain model and idea for Thomas' Office of *Translatio*: these are the feasts of Saint Dominic's and Saint Thomas' own *Dies natalis*.

We use manuscript sources which derive from Western Europe from the very late fourteenth and fifteenth century. The *Historia translationis* has been edited several times, but we prefer to refer to the manuscript in Toulouse, which is, as far as we know, the only surviving example of the official legend.¹⁸

16 The composing could be described as arranging the music according to the modal formulas and for a certain liturgical use. See A.M. Nilsson, *On Liturgical Hymn Melodies in Sweden during the Middle Ages*, Göteborg 1991, p. 26, 132.

17 The Dominican Acts urged several times to promote and adopt the feast for Thomas' translation day. See for example ACG II, pp. 430-431 (Bourges in 1376), 446 (Carcassone in 1378).

18 Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 610. The editions: *Acta sanctorum Martii I*, Antwerpen 1668, cols. 725-732. Also in later editions: 2nd ed., I, cols. 725-732; 3rd ed., I, 723-730; J.J. Percin, *Monumenta conventus Tolosani ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, Tolosae 1693, pp. 211-218; C. Douais, *Les reliques de Saint Thomas d'Aquin. Textes originaux*, Paris 1903. There exists another manuscript, but it is significantly different, and on which the official text is based: Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. A. The earlier version is defined as "original" by C. Mews and M. Räsänen in their further coming article *The Translation of the Holy Body of Thomas Aquinas from Fossanova to Toulouse: The Original Narrative by Raimundus Hugonis*.

For the lections, which circulate more numerous in Europe, we have used two examples, both from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁹ The translation Office apart from the lections survives in the libraries of Europe and beyond. We have selected a representing sample, the focus of which is in the earlier period of the time span, but the sources cover the whole fifteenth century. The youngest example is the Office in the Manuscript of Orvieto (1499).

The Office for the feast day of Saint Thomas contains thirty-one chants, as does the Office for the feast celebrating the translation of his relics. The liturgical celebrations start with Vespers on the eve of the feast days. In the manuscripts, there are usually two antiphons²⁰ for Vespers, the second being a *Magnificat*-antiphon. The service of Matins includes nineteen chants: the invitatory-antiphon, nine antiphons with psalms and nine great responsories.²¹ Before every great responsory, a lection was recited. The service of Lauds includes five antiphons with psalms and a *Benedicamus*-antiphon. On the evening of the feast days, the second Vespers are sung, including a second *Magnificat*-antiphon. In addition to all these chants, there are three hymns, the first of which issuing within Vespers, the second within Matins and the

19 Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. A, ff. 109v-112; Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10153, ff. 34-36v. We use the first of these two as the principal Ms. in the article. The lections, i.e. liturgical readings are edited by the name *Alia historia translationis corporis S. Thomae*, in: *Acta sanctorum Martii*, I, pp. 737-738. The lections seem to be rather standardized in different manuscripts, and the edition gives the complete text.

20 Antiphons are the most common type of chants in the Western liturgical chant repertory. The most typical and simple in style are the antiphons sung in the office hours. In the office for Saint Thomas there are nine antiphons with psalms and two antiphons connected with the *cantica* of Vespers and Lauds, the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*. See more D. Hiley, *Western Plainchant. A Handbook*, Oxford 1993, p. 88.

21 Great responsories of Matins consist of two parts, the response (*responsum*) and the verse (*versus*). It is possible that in the Middle Ages everybody sung the response-part (R) and a soloist or a small group sung the verse (V). After the verse, everybody sung the latter part of the response called *corpus* (C). A lesser doxology (D), that is, *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto*, was sung after the third great responsory of Matins and after that the *corpus* once more. The structure of a great responsory is in this case R-V-C-D-C, see more: H.L. Vuori, *Neitsyt Marian...*, p. 24; D. Hiley, *Western...*, p. 70. The musical structure of the response-part is typically a free melody, which is still mainly composed with the musical formulas typical of a mode of the chant. The melody of the verse-part is often composed according to the melodic patterns of psalmodies or according to the typical melodic pattern of a certain mode. The structural difference of the response and the verse is reflected in the fact that the texts may have differing metres, see D. Hiley, *Western...*, pp. 66, 73. One of the great responsories of Matins was usually also sung in the first Vespers. In the manuscripts, there can be the initiation of the text of this particular great responsory. The MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 273 gives the information that the great responsory of Vespers was the 3rd great responsory *Corpus datur*. This is interesting, since it is the only chant in Matins of Translation that does not follow the modal order.

third within Lauds.²² This kind of structure is typical for the Office of a saint. There is an equal number of the chants in Saint Dominic's *Dies natalis*.

The chants in the Office follow the modal order starting in the hour of Matins with the first chant being in the first (I) mode and continuing in order from the first to eighth mode (I-VIII), and then starting again from the first (I) mode with the ninth chant.²³ This kind of modal order is typical for a rhymed office, which is often found in an office celebrated in the honour of a saint. Translation Office has an exception, as is the third great responsory of the Matins is not following the modal order.²⁴

As to the metrical structure, we can summarise that the number of metres used in the memorial liturgies of Saint Thomas is limited, but their use is remarkably studied and deliberate. Where the melodies are identical with, or similar to, those of the Office of Saint Dominic, the metres are understandably the same. The most easily recognisable metre is a rhythmic variant of the iambic dimeter (*o lux beata Trinitas*) which Saint Ambrose of Milan (c. 340-397) used in his hymns.²⁵ The other two of the most common metres, on the other hand, are not based on any classical model. Firstly, we have a verse type without any established name although it was very common throughout the Middle Ages. We may term it 10pp (*corpus sacrum/dum terrae tollitur*), as it is

22 Both feasts for Saint Thomas with notated chants are found in the MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 273-290v. The offices are at the end of the codex (the last folio is on the back cover, f. 291).

23 In medieval Latin liturgy, chants are usually written in eight modes. There are different verbal names for the modes, but the most common way in the chant books transcribed from the musical manuscripts is to number the modes with Roman numbers I-VIII. This practice is also used in this article.

24 A rhymed office is formed with metrical and usually also rhymed antiphons, great responsories and hymns, which many times share a common theme, a veneration for a certain saint. A rhymed office flourished in the 13th-14th centuries. The term rhymed office derives from the 19th century, see I. Taitto, *Documenta Gregoriana*, Porvoo 1992, p. 225.

25 *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne (henceforth: PL), XVI: *Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis episcopi opera omnia*, col. 1412. On medieval hymns, see *Analecta Hymnica* (on Saint Ambrose for example vol. XXVII, Leipzig 1897, pp. 48-52). If we use the shorthand of D. Norberg's *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification* (Washington DC 2004), it can be defined as 8pp: eight refers to the number of syllables, and pp means proparoxytone, or an antepenultimate accent. The evolution of rhythmic verse has been a matter of much debate, but the most generally established view is that the rhythmic forms of iambo-trochaic metres emerged when clerics without knowledge of classical syllable lengths read, e.g., iambic lines with their prose accents and emulated the result in their own hymns, see: D.S. Avalle, *Dalla metrica alla ritmica*, in: *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo, I: Il medioevo latino*, eds. G. Cavallo, C. Leonardi, E. Menestò, Roma 1992, p. 392; D. Norberg, op.cit., passim; idem, *Les vers latins iambiques et trochaïques au Moyen Age et leurs répliques rythmiques*, *Filologiskt arkiv*, XXXV, Uppsala 1988, p. 2; S. Heikkinen, *The Christianisation of Latin Metre: A Study of Bede's De arte metrica*, Helsinki 2012, pp. 192-194.

essentially a ten-syllable line with proparoxytone, or antepenultimate accent.²⁶ In Thomas' memorial liturgies, this metre is about as common as the iambic dimeter, but used quite differently: it occurs mainly in the responsories, but sometimes in the antiphons as well. It seems reserved for straight, prose-like narrative, although it, too, can be employed in a very florid fashion. And finally, we have the goliardic verse (*meum est propositum/in taberna mōri*), well-known to us from the *Carmina Burana*.²⁷ Although the origin of this verse form is probably ecclesiastical,²⁸ it was hugely popular in the secular verse, of the Late Middle Ages. In Thomas Aquinas' memorial liturgies, this verse form only occurs in antiphons (four instances in the *Dies natalis* and five in the *Translatio*), several of which are miracle stories of a fairly generic nature, which may reflect the fact that, despite its use in a religious context, it was perceived to be more "popular" than the other main verse types.

LIKE FATHER LIKE SON

Thomas Aquinas was the third officially canonized saint of the Order of Preachers. Before him, there were the canonizations of Saint Dominic, founding father of the Order, in 1234, and Saint Peter Martyr in 1253. The General Chapter of the Order of Preachers, which gathered a year after Thomas' canonization in 1324, ordered that the new saint should be called immediately after Saint Dominic in the saint's litanies in the Order's liturgy.²⁹

²⁶ As the first four syllables form a unit with a paroxytone, or penultimate accent, it could also be described as 4p+6pp. This verse form apparently evolved from a non-metrical refrain that appears in some Early Medieval hymns but eventually seems to have "run away" and become a verse form in its own right; see D. Norberg, *An Introduction...*, pp. 174-175. The form makes its first appearance as the refrain *In tremēdo/die iudicii in Apparebit repentina* (ed. K. Strecker, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, IV, 2, Berlin 1923, pp. 507-511), an Insular abecedary hymn cited for the first time in Bede's *De arte metrica* (ed. C.B. Kendall, in: *Beda Venerabilis: Opera Didascalica*, Turnhout 1975, p. 139). There are strong indications that the hymn may have been composed by Bede himself, see S. Heikkinen, *The Christianisation...*, p. 202; the poem's provenance is discussed more extensively in Michael Lapidge's forthcoming *Bede's Latin Poetry* (Oxford University Press).

²⁷ The verse is also describable as 7pp+6p.

²⁸ One possible model is the refrain *Miserere Dōmine/miserere Chrīste* in an otherwise prose-form hymn by the fourth-century Marius Victorinus (PL VIII, col. 1142). Similar refrains (*Supplicanti pōpulo/Chrīste miserere*, etc.), which may have had a shared melody appear in Mozarabic and Merovingian hymnody. However, in the twelfth century, it re-emerges as a secular verse form in a poem by Hugh of Orléans, see K. Strecker, *Die zweite Beichte des Erzpöeten. Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, in: *Mittelalterliche Handschriften: Paläographische, kunsthistorische, literarische und bibliotheksgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Degering*, Leipzig 1926, pp. 244-252; D. Norberg, *An Introduction...*, pp. 172-173.

²⁹ ACG II, p. 151.

While the translation of Thomas' body was under discussion, the saint's position in this holy trio became even more interesting. Both the *Historia translationis* and the translation Office seem to promote Thomas beside Father Dominic and sometimes Thomas even seems to replace him. The *Historia translationis* explains that Pope Urban V himself gave four reasons for transporting Thomas' body to Toulouse, the first of which was:

The first is based on fairness. It is, namely, certain that Dominic, who, being a Spaniard, was from beyond the Alps, founded the Order of Preachers in Toulouse. Therefore, his body should undoubtedly be in Toulouse. As it, however, in reality is in Bologna, which is a city of the church in Italy, I would not give it to you, even if you rightfully requested it, as I should not want to deprive a city of the church and Italy of such a great gift. However, in its place I give and grant to you the body of blessed Thomas for your sacred order's church in Toulouse.³⁰

One may ask whether moving Thomas' remains to Toulouse was a specific wish of Master Elias rather than the Pope. For Elias, to have a great Dominican saint in his own convent in Toulouse would probably have been very rewarding. Thomas' fame was comparable or corresponding to that of Father Dominic, and the citation given above practically declares that the house of Toulouse became the mother house of the whole Order with Thomas' remains. But some justifications sound more fitting to the Pope than to the Master. Among these there is a claim that Saint Dominic's body would have belonged to Toulouse, but it had remained in the papal town of Bologna instead. Giving Thomas' body to Toulouse would have been the most natural compensation if Saint Dominic could not have been removed from Italy. Pope Urban V, originally a Benedictine monk, was from southern France, where in Toulouse, he had founded a new faculty of theology.³¹ The regionalism the Pope felt may have been one reason why he was interested in the bones of the scholarly saint and their re-location.

The desire of the Dominican Order and especially Elias to posit Saint Thomas as equal to Saint Dominic comes strikingly to the fore in the Office of the translation feast: the most spectacular sign of this equality is in the melodies

³⁰ Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 610, p. 17: "Prima fundatur in iusticia. Certum est enim quod beatus Dominicus fundavit predicatorum ordinem in Tholosa, qui fuit ultramontanus quia yspanus. Quare corpus suum deberet esse sine dubio in Tholosa. Attamen quia de facto est in Bononia, que est civitas ecclesie in Ytalia, eciam si illud peteres de jure, ego ipsum non darem tibi pro eo quod nollem expoliare civitatem ecclesie et Ytaliā tanto dono; set tamen loco illius do et concedo tibi corpus beati Thome pro ecclesia Tholosana ordinis tui sancti".

³¹ E. Delaruelle, *La translation des reliques de saint Thomas d'Aquin à Toulouse (1369) et la politique universitaire d'Urban V*, "Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique" III (1955), pp. 129-146.

which are the same as in Saint Dominic's Office. Both the melodies and the textual content of the translation liturgy emphasizes the respect for, and connection between, the two saints. The hymn for Matins says for example:

Whence Father Dominic
Received the message of life
There the Italian teacher
Received his hospitality.³²

Here the focus of praise seems to be Toulouse, where Dominic of Guzman received the first papal privileges for his activity in 1216. The privileges marked the beginning, "the message of life" of the Order of Preachers. The verse transmits the idea of the town as the cradle of the Order, and as such it was respected and praised by the Order. The cradle emphasizes continuity: the Father building it for the son who would be welcomed thereafter some decades of exodus, that is, the period when Thomas' body rested at the Cistercian monastery in Italy. The same idea of Saint Dominic the father and Thomas his son and of the son's return finally home, is explicitly formulated in the invitatory of Matins:

Let the faithful celebrate,
Delighting in a new joy;
Thomas returns to his father's bosom
Leaving his tomb behind.³³

As the melodies are identical, so inevitably is the verse form: the continuity of tradition is underlined by the use of the Ambrosian iambic dimeter, or its rhythmic counterpart, in both hymns. The hymn in Thomas' Translation Office, however, also looks backward in other ways: its incipit *letetur plebs fidelium* contains the much-used phrase *plebs fidelium* which we also encounter, for example in the memorial hymns of Saint Victorinus of Assisi (*exsurgat plebs fidelium*) and Saint Clare of Assisi (*concinat plebs fidelium*).

To summarize, utilising the same melodies in two feasts emphasizes the respect for both saints and signals the wish to equalize Saint Thomas and Saint Dominic. If they are not exactly equal, the message is that they are the father and the son. Emphasizing the place, Toulouse, is also an interesting part of the liturgy. Toulouse had a special role in the history of the Dominican Order, but it did not yet have the primary position among the Dominican houses by its virtue as the place where Dominic received the first privileges.

32 "Unde pater dominicus sumpsit vite precomium illic doctor ytalicus suum legit hospicium" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 280-280v. Transliterations also in C. Douais, *Les reliques*...p.

33 "Letetur plebs fidelium/Exultans novo Jubilo;/Thomas ad patris gremium/Relicto redit tumulo" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 273v. Cf. C. Douais, *Les reliques*...

The Dominican convent of Bologna certainly enjoyed the role of being Saint Dominic's burial place and as such was the leading house among the friars. From this viewpoint, selecting the melodies from Saint Dominic's *Dies natalis* for Thomas' translation Office seems again to equalize not only the saints but also their burial places.

In the next sections we will focus on sensory experiences and emotions aroused by liturgical reading and chant. The power of the liturgy can be grasped through examples from the offices of Saint Thomas and Saint Dominic. The extracts from the sources are presented to facilitate the reader's understanding of how melodies can carry the meaning of the text.³⁴

SENSING THE HIDING PLACE AND GLORY

The idea of hiding is a constant and powerful theme in Thomas Aquinas' memory from its earliest days. As Thomas died at the Cistercian house, and the Order of Preachers became interested in obtaining the corpse for a Dominican house, it caused a conflict between Fossanova and the friars. It can be seen that the conflict erupted, and it possibly also mostly remained, on a literary and a musical level. The earliest written evidence that speaks about the strong tension between different parties who were interested in being guardians of Thomas' body and memory is from the pen of Ptolemy of Lucca, a Dominican friar and Thomas' former student. Ptolemy's first text *Annales*, from the date 1303-1305, describes how Thomas' niece Francesca, the countess de Ceccano, hosted Thomas at the Castle of Maenza. As Thomas was ill, she decided to send him to recover in the monastery nearby, Fossanova. Unfortunately, Thomas died at the monastery and Ptolemy suggests that the first competitors over Thomas' body were Francesca and the Dominican friars: "the [Dominican] brothers wanted to transfer the corpse, the lady did not permit this for love and devotion towards Thomas. With the help of the monks she hid the corpse because she could not have it at that time."³⁵

In later texts, the competition was depicted as between the Dominicans and the Cistercians of Fossanova. The most influential text for the later hagiographical production on Thomas is probably *Ystoria sancti Thome de Aquino*, written by William of Tocco, a Dominican friar who was also a procurator of the canonization process. He collected the text during the

34 "A song should be considered to express what the words express". The description of the modes is given by thirteenth-century Dominican music theorist Jerome of Moravia, and even by the theorists before him, see L. Weber, *Intellectual Currents in Thirteenth-Century Paris: A Translation and Commentary on Jerome of Moravia's "Tractatus de musica"*, Yale 2009, p. 167.

35 Ptolemy of Lucca, *Annales* (recensio A), in: S. Thomae Aquinatis vitae fontes praecipuae, ed. A. Ferrua, Alba 1968, pp. 371-373.

process and its draft was presented to the Pope when the petition for the canonization was given. William finished his fourth and last redaction right after the canonization in 1324.³⁶ Thus, William's *Ystoria* can be called the "official hagiography" because it went through the papal investigation among the other canonization documentary. Interestingly, despite its authoritative position among the texts written on Thomas, the *Ystoria* was not taken as the basis for the liturgy of Thomas' *Dies natalis*. This honour was given to another early text, Bernard of Gui's *Legenda sancti Thomae Aquinatis*, completed around 1326.³⁷ We can easily see the influence of William's *Ystoria* on Bernard's text: basically, Bernard follows the earlier model, but he has differences in details and uses simpler language. Both elements may have been the reason for selecting Bernard's text to guide the Office. If one compares the lections read in the Matins to Bernard's *Life*, it is easy to recognize that they derive directly from the longer legend, just in a shorter form.³⁸

A strong common point in both William's and Bernard's texts is an accusation against the monks of Fossanova for hiding Thomas' corpse in a secret place. According to both hagiographers the monks, hiding the body, tried to prevent the friars from coming to the monastery and from carrying the body away by papal permission. Thus, they emphasized the legal rights the Order had over the possession of the valuable corpse. Moreover, William and Bernard accused the monks of misleading the friars and other pilgrims: the monks showed Thomas' burial place to visitors of the monastery, although Thomas' body in reality did not rest there anymore but was hidden elsewhere. The writers appear to see this situation as an especially aggravating malpractice, as it was both against the saint and his devotees: the saint did not receive the veneration he would have deserved and the devotees remained without real contact to the saint and their prayers were vain.³⁹

The battle over the body appears to have caused a great trauma for the Dominican party. As Thomas' corpse had remained in the hands of the monks of Fossanova and the count of Fondi for almost a hundred years, the joy of the friars when they finally received the holy corpse was greater than

if things had gone more easily. The trauma and joy are both overwhelmingly present in the Office of Thomas Aquinas' translation. The beginning of the Matins, the first nocturn, gives us a powerful idea of the dual emotions of the friars when they received Thomas' relics in Toulouse. The first nocturn refers several times to Thomas' body which was hidden in Fossanova. The body is described metaphorically as a jewel buried in the ground, but also more directly as an entombed corpse. As a counterbalance to concealment and the dark sentiments it caused, the next verses immediately change the topic: they depict rays of light, great miracles and general happiness.⁴⁰ With the second antiphon of the first nocturn we can grasp vividly the tremendous alternation of emotions as it states:

2. *Antiphona modus II.*

Corpus quod. Ps. Quare fremuerunt⁴¹

The body once lay hidden
In its tomb in Terracina;
Later it appeared to all
In Toulouse with wondrous signs.

Corpus quod diu la-tu-it in Terra-ci-na lo-cu-lo; mi-randis
signis cla-ruit post in Tholose patulo. Ps. Quare E u o u a e.

Table 1: The 2nd antiphon of Matins, *translatio* of St Thomas Aquinas.

⁴⁰ "Jamdudum lux abscondita/Fulget expansis radiis./Et gemma terre condita/Effertur cum prodigiis" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 273v; Cf. also C. Douais, *Les reliques...*, p. 22.

⁴¹ Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, Mss. 134, ff. 226-226v; 137, f. 308; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, Poissy R66A 096.1, f. 426; Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 273v-274. In Vat. lat. 10771 there is a simpler melody in the word *loculo* and a different division of syllables in the words *post in Tholose patulo*. The transcriptions and translations of the text of the chants by S. Heikkinen. The transcriptions of the notated music by H.L. Vuori.



loculo *post in Tholose patulo* Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 273v-274r

³⁶ William of Tocco, *Ystoria sancti Thome de Aquino de Guillaume de Tocco*, ed. C. le Brun-Gouanvic, Toronto 1996. On the writing process of the *Ystoria*, see C. le Brun-Gouanvic's introduction to the edition.

³⁷ On dating see: the introduction of C. le Brun-Gouanvic in *Ystoria...*; E. Colledge, *The Legend of St. Thomas Aquinas*, in: *St. Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974. Commemorative Studies*, I, foreword by E. Gilson, Toronto 1974, pp. 13-28.

³⁸ Moreover, Bernard was an influential and famous figure not just inside the Dominican Order but in the whole western Church, and also this fact could have had some value when the Office was under the preparation. More on Thomas' hagiographies and liturgical readings for *Dies natalis*, see M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics...*, passim.

³⁹ William of Tocco, *Ystoria...*, cap. LXVI. See also M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics...*, pp. 79-80.

Here, the word *latuit*, or “lay hidden” is obviously a deliberate misnomer and utterly obscures the role of the local cult of Thomas’ relics and the community of Fossanova in the spiritual life of central Italy.⁴² The antiphon is in the second mode and its typical melodic formula appears in the words *mirandis signis claruit*. The formula is placed in the lower part of the *ambitus*, the range of a melody, thus bringing a character to the chant. It gives an idea how the melody functions in colouring the text and bringing forward the idea of depth: The grave is in the deepness of the ground, unfairly hidden, when the signs rise from the deepness strongly and with undoubtable clarity. The verse-form of the antiphon is the relatively prose-like 10pp, which underscores the text’s narrative nature.

If we compare the office for Thomas’ translation to the office for Dominic’s *Dies natalis*, the similarity between them is easily recognizable:

2. Antiphona modus II

Florem pudicitie. Ps. Quare fremuerunt.⁴³

Preserving the untainted flower of his chastity, he attained the wonderful celibacy.

Flo-rem pu-di-ci-tie ser-vans il-li-batum at-ti-git eximi-e vi-te

ce-libatum. Ps. Quare fre. Euouae.

Table 2: The 2nd antiphon of Matins for St Dominic’s *Dies Natalis*.

In the melody of the antiphon *Florem pudicitie* for Saint Dominic, there is only one minor difference in the word *illibatum* comparing to the melody from Saint Thomas’ office.⁴⁴ The typical formula of the second mode, which we observed above in the words *mirandis signis claruit* of the chant *Corpus quod* is arranged here with the words *attigit eximie*. Here one can also follow, even feel, how the music departs from the bottom, describing Dominic’s tormented mind. Despite the trial, he keeps his chastity and reaches the glory that is

⁴² M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas’s relics...*, passim.

⁴³ Rome, Casanatense Ms. 4507, f. 3.

⁴⁴ The chant *Corpus quod* has one extra note in the word *Terracina* when compared to the word *illibatum* in the chant *Florem Pudicitie*.

tangible and expressed by the music mounting sky-high.⁴⁵ In melodies that are connected with texts different in their content, the writer of the verses of *translatio* has taken great care to match his text to the affect of the melody. Curiously, the text has been composed in goliardic verse, arguably the most mundane of the verse types employed in the Office. This of course only shows that such distinctions were not set in stone; also, one must bear in mind the role of the goliardic verse as the default metre of the antiphons.⁴⁶

The second responsory of the translation Office gives a very good textual and musical summary of the Dominican sentiments in regard to the history of Thomas’ corpse in the custody of the Cistercian monks and its return to the hands of the friars:

Our sacred faith rejoices,
Long deprived
Of its dearest treasure,
Now, at last, it has regained
The bones of the teacher whom it nourished
And perfected in his learning.

The verse continues:

It has now regained his bones,
Restored from their first grave
And received with joyful hearts.⁴⁷

The responsory and verse together appear to express a strong sensation of bodily exhaustion and the fulfilment of the friars. These emotions became a part of the collective identity of the new liturgy created for the Dominicans. The same responsory appears to transmit the message that was perhaps more understandable for lay people and justified for them why the Dominicans and not the Cistercians were the rightful custodians of Thomas’ corpse: after all, it was the Order of Preachers who had nourished, nursed, dressed and instructed him in this world.

The other common way in the Middle Ages of making the justification more solid is to refer to the Bible. Aldobrandinus, the composer of the translation Office, uses biblical allegory in a rather pointed manner by drawing on the Old Testament. The ninth responsory of the third nocturn

⁴⁵ Cf. Jordan of Saxony, *Vita*, cap. 37, in: *Acta sanctorum Augusti*, I, Parisiis-Romae 1867, pp. 541-555, especially p. 546.

⁴⁶ Of the antiphons in the Office, nine, or nearly half, are in goliardic verse, and, as we remember, this verse type does not occur in the responsories at all.

⁴⁷ “R. Qaudet sacra religio/que spoliata caruit/prius thesauro proprio/dum doctoris quem aluit/et perfecit in studio/nuper ossa rehabuit. V. Restituta de primo tumulo/ac recepta cum cordis iubilo” – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 274v.

serves as a good example of how he expresses the Dominican's rightful claim to Thomas' remains:

Joseph's twofold glory
Presaged the Doctor with prophetic signs,
The victory over the woman,
The holy bones left to his brothers
and transferred to Toulouse.⁴⁸

The passage plays on two episodes of scriptural history and their counterparts in Thomas' life and the subsequent history of his relics. Joseph's rebuttal of the advances of Potifar's wife is seen to anticipate the episode in Thomas' youth when he chased a prostitute from his chamber with a whip, whereas the translation of Thomas' bones to Toulouse is equated with Joseph's bones, which Moses brought from Egypt to the Holy Land. Although this, on the surface, may seem merely fanciful to the modern reader, it has an even more pointed accusation against the Cistercians of Fossanova, as their possession of Thomas' relics is equated with a form of exile. The twofold glory emphasizes Thomas' holy status as a virgin and confessor.

SENSING THE DOUBT OF GENUINENESS AND DISGUST OF SIN

The Cistercian monks also told openly that they had once hidden Thomas' corpse as they were afraid that someone might steal it (thus, they did not accuse the Dominican friars directly). These testimonies were collected in a canonization enquiry processed in Naples in 1319. The same Cistercian witnesses described several openings of Thomas' grave, the relocation of the body to a more sumptuous tomb in Fossanova and its division in reliquaries.⁴⁹ Moreover, from the mid-fourteenth century to the moment when Master Elias received Thomas' corpse, it had been twice at the Fondi Castle (about 20 kilometres from Fossanova) and finally transported to the Dominican Church of Fondi in 1368.⁵⁰

When the Dominicans finally obtained Thomas' body, the *Historia translationis* does not report any particular interest in regard to the questions of the authenticity of the relics, although this must have been an urgent question

48 "R. Joseph duplex doctorem gloria/signis velut presignat vatibus/mulieris acta victoria/ossa sancta legata fratribus/Tholoseque delata partibus" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 278.

49 *Processus canonizationis S. Thomae Neapoli* (1319), in: *Fontes Vitae Sancti Thomae Aquinatis*, IV, ed. M.H. Laurent, "Revue Thomiste" XIX (1911), pp. 265-407. See also M. Räsänen, *op.cit.*, passim.

50 Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. A, ff. 113-118v; Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 610, pp. 1-23. See also M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics...*, pp. 185-202.

at least in some circles. After all, such Dominican writers as William of Tocco and Bernard Gui had done their best to show the Cistercian malpractices towards the corpse. They had lavishly described in their legends, popular among the Dominican friars, the concealment and transportation of Thomas' body as well as its fragmentation at the Cistercian house. In addition, these tales of malpractices were commonly known through the liturgical readings and chants, which were a part of services open to the public in Dominican churches.⁵¹ This means that also the laity might have had doubts on Thomas' relics; where were they really? Were they transported to Toulouse or did they still remain in some hiding place in Fossanova?

Considering the nature of those questions and the wide range of people who asked them, it is not a surprise to find a discussion on the authenticity of the relics in the new translation liturgy. As we have already seen, the beginning of the translation Office again reminded people of the malpractice of Thomas' body, its concealment by the monks of Fossanova. But then it also started to give testimonies on how the listeners can be sure that the Dominicans of Toulouse were looking after Thomas' corpse and not some random bones. First, the antiphons of the Matin service praise the miracles, one sign of the authenticity of the bones. Then the second lection spells the same out by telling how the count of Fondi took Thomas' corpse from Fossanova and brought it to his own castle. The count's mother, together with the mother of the local bishop, was praying at the relic casket and pondering whether the coffin really enclosed Saint Thomas' corpse. They received an answer to their doubts when they saw that "in a clear vision, the aforesaid doctor, as if coming out of the coffin, verified the relics plainly and soon withdrew to whence he had come."⁵²

Afterwards, the count had to return the corpse to Fossanova. However, he apparently couldn't leave Thomas' remains there, but took the bones from the monastery for the second time and brought them again to his castle. This time, after keeping them for a while, the count is said to have decided to give the relics to the Dominicans. The corpse was transported to the local Dominican house. There, according to the fifth lection from the second nocturn, brother Raymundus, the author of the *Historia translationis*, expresses the concern of many: was the corpse they received really the bones of their brother saint? He is said to have prayed in front of a crucifix in the church of the convent

51 M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics...*, passim.

52 "Prefatus doctor clara visione certificans easdem velud de ex theca progrediens ostensione monstravit. Moxque in locum unde exierat se recepit" – Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. A, f. 110. The edition as well as some manuscripts give this passage with more detail, but the Ms. A and Vat. lat. 10153 are similar. See *Alia historia...*, cap. 2.

when Thomas again appeared and verified the content of the relic box as Thomas' real corpse:

And then, a sudden joy overwhelming his mind, he raised his eyes to the image of the crucifix and saw between him and the crucifix the above mentioned [doctor] in the air, with a beautiful face and pleasing appearance, clothed in the Dominican habit [...].⁵³

According to the lection, Thomas himself as the highest possible witness authenticated the remains as his through the vision and the crucifix.

The structure of the liturgy seems to build up powerfully the importance of the fifth lection and its story of doubt and consolation as well as the authenticity. Usually, the great responsory reflects the preceding lection. In this case, already the fourth great responsory *Corpus sacrum* starts to draw the attention to the following as it gives the same content as the fifth lection. The metre is 10pp, the most prose-like of the metres in the Office, emphasizing, according to our analysis, the story-telling aspect of the responsory. The musical modality describes both doubt and consolation a way that resembles the content of the text. *Corpus sacrum* is in the fourth mode, the characteristic atmosphere of which is created especially in the interval between the basic tone and the second as well as in the movement of the melody around the fourth tone, the recitation height of the mode. One can verbalize the fourth mode as an expression of mystery and contemplation.⁵⁴

In the fourth great responsory, the central theme is the same as in the fifth lection, the doubt of the friar. The melody moves in small intervals around the basic tone and also around the fourth, the dominating interval. The atmosphere is restless. The first musical culmination falls upon the word *dubium*. After the long cadenza, the shifting melody changes to sureness with the words *Nam hoc corpus* which happens to mark in this chant also the *corpus* of the chant, that is, the body of the musical composition, which is the repeated latter part of the *responsum*-part. The musical highlight, and relief, comes with the word *redditur*, describing musically and textually how the brothers overcame their doubt. The change in the atmosphere of the melody expresses the feelings of the brothers: the relics of the respected brother were present, and they were real. Our interpretation stresses again the combined capacity of the music and the texts to express the authenticity of the presence of the saint during the liturgical service.

53 "Et ecce subito inopinata mentis insurgente letitia, elevans oculos ad ymaginem crucifixi uidit inter se et ymaginem prefatam pulcra facie vultuque decoro in predicatorum habitu elevatum in aere" – Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. A, f. 111. See also *Alia historia...*, cap. 4.

54 D. Saulnier, *The Gregorian Modes*, Solesmes 2002, p. 76.

4. *Responsorium prolixum IV*

R. *Corpus sacrum* V. *Doctor astans*.⁵⁵

R. When the sacred body is raised from the ground, doubt afflicts a brother's mind, but soon the truth is proclaimed to him through the doctor's clear words. For this body that is given back to us is truly that of our Thomas himself.

V. The doctor is present and speaks to his brother, and the certainty is revealed to him who prays.

R. Corpus sac- rum dum ter-re tollitur, fra- tris men-tem pro-pulsat dubium;

sed mox e-i ve-num as-seritur per docto-ris pa- tens al-loquium. Nam

hoc corpus quod no-bis red-ditur, nos-tri in-quid est Tho-me pro-pri-um.

V. Doctor astans fratrem al-loquitur et oran-ti res cer-ta pan-di-tur. Nam.

Table 3: The 4th great responsory of Matins *Translation of St Thomas Aquinas*.

55 Rome, Vatican City, Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 275v-276; Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, Mss. 134, ff. 227v-228; 137, f. 309v (no liquescent-neume in the word *certa*); 303, f. 180v (the *responsum*-part includes only *incipit*, the verse is all written out); Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, Poissy R66A 096: The chant (the folio) is missing. R. refers to *responsum*-part (response) and V. versus-part of the chant (verse).

4. *Responsorium prolixum IV***R. Paupertatis ascendens V. Nocte celi.**⁵⁶

R. Ascending to the pinnacle of poverty, he calls out, detesting the sins of the world. He breaks his foe and drives back his troops; the saint remains undefeated in every battle.

V. Illuminating the heavenly abodes at night, he gives the seeds of the Word to the lands by day.

R. Pauper- ta- tis ascen- dens cul- mina clamat mundi de- tes- tans
crimina fran- git ho- stes et fugat a- gmina nul- la
sanctum fran- gunt discri- mi-na. V. Noc- te celi perlus-
trans li- mina die terris dat ver- bi se- mina. Nulla.

Table 4: The 4th great responsory of Matins *Dies natalis* of St Dominic.⁵⁷

In order to emphasize the connectivity between Thomas the son, and Dominic the father, and also in order to make our argument valid, we analyse the parallel responsory from Saint Dominic's *Dies natalis* Office. The melody of the great responsory *Paupertatis* is similar with the fourth great responsory in the office of the translation. There are only minor differences. The words *ascendens* and *culmina* are lacking one decorative note in the chant for Saint Dominic when compared to the words *tollitur* and *mentem* in the chant for Saint Thomas. The differences are extremely small and only due to the length

⁵⁶ Rome, Casanatense Ms. 4507 ff. 7v-8. The key should be on the third line in the words *Nocte celi perlus[trans]*.

⁵⁷ The verse form of the text is 10pp.

of the syllables and the words. Small differences of this kind are also very common between the different versions of the same chant. It is matter of natural variation.

In the place where in *Corpus sacrum* we have *dubium*, in Saint Dominic's case we chant the word *detestans*. The modal atmosphere is strong, the negative feeling is experienced in both chants. In *Paupertatis* the melody reaches its climax on the word *sanctum*. At this point the atmosphere changes: the responsory expresses joy and respect. Now the feeling is positive and secure, and it can be compared to the chant for Saint Thomas Aquinas and to the point where we chant the word *redditur*. The consistency of the two responsories also relies on the metre, which is the same in both cases (10pp). Both responsories consist of several musical and textual elements, which offer meditative *loci* and make it possible to experience a wide range of emotions.

THE CONFIRMATION OF THE PRESENCE: THE SCENT AND LIGHT

Brother Raymundus prayed in the church where Thomas' relics were temporarily kept, and he received an impressive, almost tangible verification of the saint's presence in his bones and the place. When the corpse arrived Toulouse, Thomas' continuous presence was palpable at his monumental tomb, in a new reliquary and art works, such as panel and/or mural paintings, which were prepared to honour the saint.⁵⁸ This kind of palpability and materiality was important in keeping cults alive and making them successful in the Middle Ages. The reason for the conflict between the Cistercians and the Dominicans was the importance of saintly materiality. The tomb and the relics of a saint secured his or her active cult. The flourishing cult enabled devotional interests and economic prosperity of the community that guarded the precious body. Without the material testimonies sainthood, the welfare of the cult was less secure, or even unlikely.

The resolution of the Dominican Order regarding their lack of Thomas' relics was simple and obvious when taking into account the power of liturgy as a medium to convey emotions. After the canonization, the Dominicans composed the liturgy for Thomas' *Dies natalis*, full of lively description of Thomas' personality, normal for any medieval liturgy. In addition, Thomas' corpse, his relics and their activity are stressed in a way that is rather exceptional. For example, already the lections give a long account of the events after Thomas' death in Fossanova, and in these events the corpse has

⁵⁸ The Acts of General Chapters (1370) tell us how Master Elias demands money for Thomas' new tomb to be sent to Toulouse from all the convents of the Order, see ACG II, pp. 421-422. See also J.J. Percin, *Monumenta...*, pp. 225-226.

a main role.⁵⁹ Moreover, with the dead body, there is often present a good scent. The scent is a typical element of hagiographical narrations but it does not make it any less important to notice how efficiently it is used in the liturgy for Thomas' *Dies natalis*.

For example, lection eight emphasizes the sweet scent and uncorrupted condition of Thomas' corpse years after his burial. The responsory and verse continue the praise and give the following description:

the glory of the divine miracle shone for Blessed Thomas when the fragrant sweet odour flowed from the tomb. This happened because he lived the life of chastity and atonement.⁶⁰

In this case, the good perfume is underlined to have been an evidence of the non-contamination of the flesh. Thus, the perfume was the ultimate proof that Thomas had maintained his virginity until his death. In the church, the incenses, the words of the lection, the chants repeating the message of the lection and the candlelight most probably created a memorable experience of Thomas' *praesentia* for the audience.⁶¹

The eighth great responsory for Thomas' *Dies natalis*, which follows the previously described lection is musically highly interesting, as the melody seems to create a true effect of scent. The central words of the responsory are *odoris fragrantia*, "a sweet odour". Firstly, the words are given a musically describing melody: with the word *fragrantia*, the melody moves up as a fragrance in the air. Secondly, in the nine manuscripts used for this study, there are three different ways of phrasing these words. All the notes are the same in these versions except in the manuscript of Orvieto. This manuscript has one extra note in the word *fragrantia*, and it also has in the word *odóris* two porrectus-neumes, which makes a difference in phrasing the word. Even though these differences are small, they give an air of decoration to the chant. It could be argued that the version of Orvieto belongs to an older tradition, since more ornamented melodies are often considered to be earlier. But it can also simply indicate a preference for decoration, rather than the age of the

59 M. Heinonen, M. Räsänen, *Pyhän tuntu. Aine ja aistimellisuus myöhäiskeskiajan uskontokulttuurissa*, "Historiallinen Aikakauskirja" II (2016), pp. 125-136; M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics...*, pp. 217-233.

60 "Beate Thome gloria diuino fulsit miraculo dum odoris fragrantia mira fluxit extumulo. Quia uita pudicitia uixit absque piaculo" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 289.

61 On liturgy, senses and the saint's *praesentia*, see É. Palazzo, *Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages*, "Viator" XLI (2010) 1, pp. 25-56. The praise of the miraculous odour is a constant theme over the whole Office of Thomas' feast day, as for example during the Lauds sung by the choir: "Manens doctrine ueritas et funeris integritas mira fragrans suauitas egris collate sanitas" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 290v. On saintly odour and Thomas' presence, see more M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics...*, passim, especially pp. 11, 230.

chant or manuscript.⁶² Indeed, in the case of the manuscript from Orvieto we know that the Office was copied in 1499,⁶³ whereas all the other sources we have used are earlier. Clearly, the older copies do not necessarily represent an older tradition than that of Orvieto. But if we consider the exceptionality of Thomas' cult in Orvieto, the interpretation according to which the local community preferred a more decorative, and simply more emphasized version of Thomas' presence in fragrance, becomes very plausible.⁶⁴

Considering the whole material of Thomas Aquinas' two Offices, the differences between the manuscripts are generally very small. In the case of *odoris fragrantia*, the variation is particularly rich. The differences in presenting the word *fragrantia* in the manuscripts from the Dominican convent of Colmar are not musical but variations of phrasing. These are small but significant details, as they are applied to the most important words of the chant. On one hand, the variations tell about love for the chant, a feeling expressed in the central words. On the other hand, eight out of nine sources share a musically similar variation, which tells about the practice of liturgy.

It is very likely that the repeated descriptions of fragrant sweet odour which diffused all around received a special place in the devotional life of the friars. The memory of the suggestive moment during the morning service enabled the friars to recall the words, the music and the scents as a meditative focus around the year and not only on the feast day. The memory of the moment when the real scents and melodic *fragrantia* had started to hover in the air, above the altar (i.e. a saint's tomb), did not only lead to Thomas' veneration, but strengthened the friars' own commitment to chastity and purity from sin. A reminiscence of this kind is suggested in William of Tocco's *Ystoria*, which relates that a Dominican friar was able to avoid sin when he meditated on the scent he had once experienced when he venerated Thomas' hand-relic.⁶⁵ The memory of the material presence of Thomas' relic was powerful enough to recreate a similar "perfuming" effect to avoid sin. Possibly, also the liturgical chant functioned in a similar manner as the meditative *locus*: remembering the chanting (and perhaps ruminating on the

62 About the Dominican liturgical development see J. Stinson, *The Poissy Antiphonal: A Major Source of Late Medieval Chant*, "The La Trobe Journal" LII-LIII (1993), pp. 50-59.

63 "Iste liber illuminatus est per me fratrem Valentinum de Ungaria ordinis predicatorum 1499" – Orvieto, Archivio del Duomo, Ms. 190, f.120v. For a brief introduction to the illuminated manuscripts of the archives of the Cathedral, see L. Tammara Conti, *I codici corali dell'archivio dell'opera del Duomo di Orvieto*, "Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano" VIII (1952), pp. 18-19. This manuscript is number 4.

64 On Thomas' cult in Orvieto, see especially M. Räsänen, *The Memory of St. Thomas Aquinas in Orvieto in the Late Middle Ages*, in: *Relics, Identity and Memory...*, pp. 285-317.

65 William of Tocco, *Ystoria...*, cap. LXIX.

o-dó- ris fra- grántia
Col. 134 f. 224^R. Col. 309 f. 268^V. Col. 310 f. 231^R.

o-dó- ris fra- grántia
Ms. 190. Orvieto dia 0309.

o-dó- ris fra- grántia
Ms. *096.1 R66A f. 246^V. Vat. lat. 10771 f. 287^R. BL Add 23935 f. 6^V. Col. 137 f. 316^V. Ms. 2799 f. 58^V.

Table 5: The 8th great responsory of *Dies natalis* of St Thomas Aquinas.

chants again) as well as scents and other liturgical paraphernalia helped to achieve the sensory experience of Thomas' presence.

After the translation, Thomas' corpse rested in Toulouse. The basis of the translation liturgy was to honour Thomas' arrival and to rouse affection towards the saint both on a local level and within the Dominican Order. Thomas' presence is once again powerfully emphasized through his body and miracles, which were mediated by the relics. From a lay perspective, the function of the liturgy was to introduce the new saint to the Toulousan people, to stimulate people's veneration and to help them to adopt Thomas as one of their saintly patrons. Probably one element in which we can grasp rather concretely the important role of liturgy in lay devotion is the selection of the metres used in the chants. A good example is the use of the popular goliardic metre in the antiphons which tell us about Thomas' miracles in Toulouse. Here is one prime example:

He saves man and beast from assaults,
He frees the dying from fever.⁶⁶

The straightforward goliardic metre, on which a complex melody was superimposed, combined with the miracle story to produce a stimulating

⁶⁶ "Servat ab incursibus/virum cum jumentis/Liberat a febribus/vitam morientis" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 276v-277.

and probably impassioned message, and certainly caught the attention of lay people.

Overall, the highlighting of the body throughout the translation liturgy, as we saw for example in the antiphon *Corpus quod diu latuit*, is a very interesting notion. We think that, in the same way as in the liturgy for *Dies natalis*, the desire of the Dominicans for the precious relics caused the excessive praise of the body. It was this very excess that made the presence of the relics palpable during the liturgical services and possibly in other occasions. The capacity of the translation liturgy to transmit the saint's presence was almost as urgent as in the liturgy for the *Dies natalis* feast: the friars had the need to feel Thomas in every single Dominican convent, also in those houses that did not possess any relic (the relics were guarded almost uniquely in Toulouse). The hymn for the Lauds expresses the idea perfectly:

Hymnus

Aurora pulchra rutilans I⁶⁷

Hymnus
*Aurora pulchra rutilans I*⁶⁷

Auro-ra pul- chra rutilans Splendorem deffert ro-seum, Noster-que chorus

jubil-lans Doctorem ca- nit laureum.

Table 6: The hymn of Lauds, liturgy for *translatio* feast of St Thomas Aquinas.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 280v; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, Poissy R66A 096, f. 428; Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. 39, ff. 251v-252. 2015. There is only small difference between the sources. In Vat. lat. 10774, f. 155, there is one extra note in word *chorus*.

Usually only the first verse of a hymn is written out with the melody. The same melody is many times used with different texts. For example in the offices for the translation and *Dies nativitatis* of Saint Thomas there are six different hymn texts, but only one melody. Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 279v-280v, 289v-290v. *Aurora pulchra rutilans* is a variation of a known hymn *Aurora lucis rutilat*, see Rome, Santa Sabina, Ms. XIV L1 (Codex Humberticus), f. 319v.

⁶⁸ "1. Aurora pulchra rutilans/Splendorem deffert roseum/Nosterque chorus jubilans/Doctorem canit laureum. 2. Claram dum lucern aperit/celeste sidus oculis,/Thomae figuram

The first verse praises the reddening dawn which brings its rosy splendour, giving the idea of the beautiful morning when the Dominican community, the brothers and sisters alike, are chanting the honour of their beloved saint and teacher. The second verse interestingly describes Thomas as a heavenly image enlightening the world:

2. Thereupon the star of heavens
Opens its brilliant light to our eyes,
Bringing us Thomas' image,
Given as a light to the ages.

The second verse encourages the singers and listeners to look at the image of Thomas with their heart's eye. Thomas was tangibly present in the same space with his devotees, as he was brought there by the rays of the morning sun, chant and prayer. When this magnificently metaphorical hymn was sung, it was no longer necessary for the corpse or the relics to transmit Thomas' presence. He was present in roses, candles, images and rising sun. And his presence was important because he was the rays of light:

4. Mother Church sends all doubts
To be cleared by this ray of light,
Urging all
To venerate Saint Thomas.

5. Testifying his true, solid
Noble doctrine,
Secure, firm and lucid,
Sown by divine words.

The hymn is written in the rhythmic form of the iambic dimeter. It is an eight-syllable line where the antepenultimate, or third-last syllable is always accentuated. It is evident that this metre was regarded by the authors of the liturgies as the most lyrical, even sensual (while also being the most conservative): the hymns are invariably in the iambic dimeter, and it also predominates in the antiphons. The verse form is also the oldest, and, as it has been attested that the hymns of the liturgies largely circulate older and well-established melodies, it is only to be expected that this also applies to the texts, albeit with minor alteration.⁶⁹ The association of the metre with

ingerit/dati pro luce seculis. 3. Iam occidentem radiis/implere celum incipit,/dum multis vectum stadiis/Thomam Tholosa recipit. 4. Ad huius lucis radium/lustranda mittit dubia,/ad sancti Thome studium/hortans mater ecclesia. 5. Veram protestans solidam/doctrinam eius inclitam, securam, firmam, lucidam,/divinis verbis insitam. 6. Eterno regi gloriam /letis canamus vocibus,/qui nobis prestat veniam/beati Thome precibus. Amen".

⁶⁹ See above, the discussion on invintatory of Matins of Thomas' *Translatio*.

Ambrose's hymns was obviously well recognised in the Middle Ages,⁷⁰ and the outward lack of originality of the hymns is certainly a deliberate gesture, intended to invoke the historical continuity of the church. In Thomas' case, it emphasizes the continuation but also the renewal of the Dominican Order its long-desired saint was returned to his home. The translation liturgy was produced in connection with the early Dominican reform. With the hymn *Aurora pulchra rutilans*, the Order directed their gaze to a new dawn which had started to reshape the Dominican order and the whole western Christendom under the saintly guidance of Thomas Aquinas.

CONCLUSIONS

The study of modal and metric structure of saints' offices has revealed to us a variety of otherwise partly concealed emotions. The richness of their utility solely in Thomas Aquinas' liturgical Offices is impressive, but when the liturgies are compared, the medieval culture of transmitting emotions through modes and metres become palpable. We have seen, for example, how parallel melodies with different texts can have similar modal and emotional impacts: when in the second antiphon of the Matins service in Thomas' *Translatio*, the melody culminates on the word *claruit* ("appeared" or "became famous"), the corresponding text in Dominic's liturgy has the word *eximie* ("excellent"). Both words have a similar emotional impact through their metric and modal position as well as their meaning although the textual content is otherwise remarkably different.

We argue that the emotions that the liturgy contained and expressed were not only intended to be experienced, but they really were felt by the audience. The examples of this paper show the possibilities of experiencing deep emotions through music and text, the mode of the chant and its poetic form. As the strategies of using modes and metres were partly centuries old, their universality made them an open – or partly open – system for medieval people. Their structural familiarity and transparency made liturgy a particularly comprehensible medium. We propose that the liturgical sources and the methodology presented in this paper are an excellent tool for grasping also the emotions of laity, often out of reach for medievalists.

⁷⁰ The term *Ambrosianus* is used, e.g. in the Benedictine Rule simply in the sense of a (possibly antiphonal) hymn, probably in the iambic dimeter. The Venerable Bede, in his eighth-century *De arte metrica* also uses it to allude to its rhythmic variant; see CCSL 123A, p. 139; S. Heikkinen, *The Christianisation...*, p. 205. It is also plausible that the loose usage of the term led to the attribution of spurious hymns to Ambrose; see D. Norberg, *Au seuil du Moyen Age II: Études linguistiques, métriques et littéraires* 1975-95, Uppsala 1998, pp. 256-257.

From the viewpoint of hagiographical studies of Thomas Aquinas' cult, this multidisciplinary approach brings new elements to his image while strengthening older ones. On one hand, the musical enforcement of his resemblance with Saint Dominic is highly interesting. On the other hand, musical analysis sheds more light on our previous knowledge of Thomas' exceptional status in Orvieto. Altogether, the study demonstrates the necessity of analysing the cults of saints using also liturgical sources, and, in particular, the fruitfulness of multidisciplinary analyses of liturgy, especially when trying to recapture the emotions and experiences of medieval lay people.

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on one of the main features of the saint's liturgy: making his or her presence real and vivid during the services of the Office. The presence of the saint was a notion that was central in elaborating the relationship between the saint, especially when he or she was a newcomer, and his or her folk. The presence should also be something that the saint him- or herself wanted. In Thomas' translation Office, which is at the centre of our analyses, the presence of the saint can be sensed by ears, eyes, nose, mouth and touch, and through such feelings as darkness and deepness, doubts, and joy. In this paper, we argue that the liturgical melodies and texts were in the core of experiencing the presence of a saint. The approach of cults of saints through analysis of modal and metrical structure of the Office as well as the overall composition of liturgical feast is still a novelty. The mode of a chant is the key to interpreting the sensual or emotional meaning the melodies and the texts conveyed to the medieval audience in the Dominican church spaces. The metrical structure must be seen as a meaningful component of the poetry of the liturgy. In a larger contemporary context of Thomas' translation, we will see the power of emotionally loaded liturgy in transmitting political as well as religious ideologies. Altogether, the study demonstrates the necessity of analysing the cults of saints using liturgical sources, and the fruitfulness of multidisciplinary analyses of liturgy, especially when trying to recapture the emotions and experiences of medieval lay people.

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A MIRROR AND MEDIUM OF SANCTITY: IMITATION AND INTERNALISATION IN ANNA BRADE'S PRAYER BOOK



In the medieval all-encompassing pursuit of the holy, devotion to saints played the most central role. Through compassion and holiness conformed to the passion, Virgin Mary, the saints, and angels formed – in concert with Christ – the fundamental mediation of divine grace and protection.¹ Saints embodied and reflected the concept of sanctity and personified Christian moral and conduct of body and mind.² Saints epitomized the life of the true devoted Christian and were, thus, models for *imitatio pietatis*.³ Their holy *vitae* told us in the tales and images, and their sweet, sacred bodies contained and displayed in reliquaries and sacred shrines, inspired and affected the devotion of medieval men and women. Sanctity and divine protection was ultimately mediated through matter and accessible through devotional interaction with material stuff.⁴

The practice of prayer was one of several ways in which the grace and protection by Mary and the saints could potentially be mediated, and

1 B. Hamm, *Types of Grace Mediality in the Late Middle Ages*, in: *The Materiality of Devotion in Late Medieval Northern Europe*, eds. H. Laugerud, S. Ryan, L.K. Skinnbach, Dublin 2016, p. 20.

2 B.P. McGuire, *Sanctity. The Saint and the Senses: The Case of Bernard of Clairvaux*, in: *The Saturated Sensorium. Principles of Perception and Mediation in the Middle Ages*, eds. H.H. Lohfert Jørgensen, H. Laugerud, L.K. Skinnbach, Aarhus 2014, pp. 63-111, especially p. 93f.

3 F.O. Büttner, *Imitatio Pietatis. Motive der christlichen Ikonographie als Modelle zur Verähnlichung*, Berlin 1983, especially Teil IV: *Weitere Modelle der Pietas*, pp. 133-194; H. von Achen, *Helgenikonografi og moralteologi. Kirkekunstens teologiske funksjoner i senmiddelalderen – en ikonologisk skisse*, in: *Tro og bilde i Norden i Reformasjonens Århundre*, eds. M. Blindheim, E. Hohler, L. Lilli, Oslo 1991, pp. 9-27.

4 The material mediation of sanctity is investigated in *Saints and Sacred Matter. The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. C. Hahn, H.A. Klein, Washington 2015.