



Michael Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy of St Knud Lavard* (repr. from *Opuscula*, xi, ed. Britta Olrik Frederiksen, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana, 42, Copenhagen 2003); Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel, 2003
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There are many Knuds (= Knut, Canute, Cnut) in Danish history; a few were kings and two were saints. Denmark's first official saint was both: Knud II, sometimes called IV and perhaps therefore usually referred to as King Knud the Saint (St. Knud *rex*), was murdered in the church dedicated to St. Alban, *protomartyr anglorum*, in Odense on 10 July 1086. After canonization by Pope Pascal II at the end of 1099, he himself became *protomartyr danorum* (Translation 19 April 1100 or 1101). A generation later, on 7 January 1131, his nephew, also named Knud, was treacherously murdered in Haraldsted Woods near Ringsted (Zealand). He was subsequently canonized by Pope Alexander III (bull of 8 November 1169) and translated at a great ceremony in the church of the Benedictine monastery at Ringsted on 25 June 1170. This Knud was not a king, but he was the son of a king and he was murdered because he seemed likely to become one, contrary to the ambitions of his cousin Magnus. He bore the title of Duke of Slesvig and is therefore known as St. Knud *dux*, to distinguish him from his uncle, or more commonly St. Knud Lavard (= Lord).

As *protomartyr danorum* St. Knud *rex* became the national saint of Denmark; a chapel is dedicated to him in a church, S. Maria in Traspontina, near St. Peter's in Rome and he figures still in the calendar of the Roman Church – though on a date, 19 January, that would seem to suggest some confusion regarding the two saints Knud, being a conflation of the day of the Translation of the one and the month of the martyrdom of the other. St. Knud Lavard, on the other hand, is regarded as the patron saint of Zealand, though in the Middle Ages his cult was more widespread throughout Denmark, Skåne (the formerly Danish part of Sweden) and into north Germany. It is a tragedy comparable to the loss of the music of the Office of St. Alban (*protomartyr anglorum*) that the music of St. Knud *rex* (*protomartyr danorum*) is now unknown. However the case of the Danish saint is particularly unfortunate, since even the original form of the text of his Office, which was monastic, no longer exists; the Office of St. Knud *rex* is known today only in the revised form of the *Breviarium Ottoniense* that was printed in 1482-3 (and again in 1497), during the period in which the monastic (Benedictine) chapter of the cathedral of Odense was secularized. The situation with regard to St. Knud Lavard is fortunately quite different: by an extraordinary stroke of luck, a book bought by a German nobleman at auction in Leipzig in the 1820s turned out to contain the liturgical material, complete with music, of the monastic celebration of the Offices, with their respective Proper Masses, of both the Feast of the Passion (7 January) and the Feast of the Translation (25 June) of St. Knud Lavard. It is this document (Kiel, Univ. Bibl. MS S.H. 8 A. 8^o) – and anything remotely related to it – that is the subject of Michael Chesnutt's very interesting book.

It is, of course, not the first time it has been studied; as Chesnutt relates (pp. 6-7), the text was printed in three editions in Germany in the nineteenth century (twice by G. Waitz, 1858 and 1892, and once by R. Usinger, 1875) and once again ('most recently') at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Danish philologist M.Cl. Gertz in part II of his *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, i-iii (Copenhagen 1908-12). According to the present author, 'None of these previous editions ... is satisfactory or even complete' (p. 7) and the time must therefore be considered ripe for a new edition for the new century. Usinger made a valuable, if not entirely successful, effort to establish the liturgical structure of the material, while Gertz deliberately concentrated

on presenting excellent readings of the literary/historical texts of the manuscript and of the sources related to it – an unsurpassed wealth of material – but had little regard for the liturgical context. By providing a philological edition of the texts of the Offices and Masses of St. Knud Lavard in the Kiel MS within the framework of the liturgy, Michael Chesnutt has produced the edition that he and I and presumably most of the readers of this journal have long wanted.¹

The edition of the text is preceded by an Introduction of equal length, which divides the book into almost exactly two halves of *c.* 80 pages each. In this first half the author describes the manuscript, which also includes two other texts: a version of the Roskilde Chronicle (of which the last folio is missing) and a well known medieval fable of a monk who, enchanted by the lovely song of a bird, leaves his monastery only to discover, when he returns, that 200 years have passed.² The Kiel MS, therefore, is clearly not itself a liturgical MS and Michael Chesnutt tries to envisage how and when this copy of the liturgy came into existence. He goes on to describe the other manuscripts and printed books that contain material derived from or related to the texts contained in the Kiel MS and attempts to account for and to establish a series of stemmata that will illustrate these relationships. These arguments lead to an important – and in my view controversial – chapter on the ‘Provenance and historical development of the liturgy’, followed by an account of the later history of the legend of Knud Lavard.

The second part contains the actual edition of the text, which is thoughtfully provided (in Appendix II) with an English translation of the eight lessons read at Nocturnes I and II of Matins *In passione* (7 January) and the further eight lessons read at Nocturnes I and II *In translatione* (25 June), together with the texts of the *Responsoria*, which were sung after the eight lessons *In passione* and used again after the lessons *In translatione*. These constitute a separate, very concise, historical account of the life of the saint that culminates in a brief mention of his miracles and are apparently what is referred to internally as an *Hystoria* (p. 116 §10, l. 694). The editing of the text seems to me meticulous; it will undoubtedly be reviewed elsewhere by a proper philologist, so I propose to use the few lines at my disposal here to discuss one or two of the issues raised in the Introduction. Before leaving the edition, however, I would just mention that the only major disagreement I have with the editor with regard to his liturgical dispositions occurs at the end of Vespers II *In passione* (p. 114). Three antiphons are entered here, which the editor supplies with the rubric *ad canticum triumphaliter cantandum* in the belief that they are alternative antiphons to the Magnificat canticle (footnote to lines 654–56). In my opinion these are Suffrages, the last two Memorials, to judge from their texts.

The celebration of the Translation of the newly-canonized Knud Lavard took place on 25 June 1170 in the presence of the king, Valdemar the Great, who was the saint’s son, and an illustrious company of clergy and nobility. For this occasion a Proper Office must certainly have been ‘composed’ (however this process is to be understood) and it is most logical to assume that this was done at Ringsted, where it was going to be needed. The Kiel MS is generally considered to be from the thirteenth century and usually assumed to be from its

¹ Only the music remains unpublished: a complete edition, including the music, of the Offices and Masses of St. Knud Lavard edited by the present reviewer from the Kiel MS is in course of publication by the Royal Library in Copenhagen in collaboration with the Institute of Medieval Music in Ottawa. The edition will be published in two volumes, comprising a colour facsimile of the manuscript together with an edition of the text and the music in modern notation, and will include a historical essay by Professor Thomas Riis of Kiel University.

² It is told, for example, of a monk of Afflighem during the abbacy of Fulgentius (names that will have rich associations for medieval musicologists) at the end of the 11th century in *Niederländische Sagen*, ed. J.W. Wolf (Leipzig, 1843), 230, and retold by Carl Engel, one-time Librarian of Congress, in *Musical Myths and Facts* II (London, 1876), 141–42.

latter half, though there is really no firm evidence to determine its date, and the obvious question is: what relation does the Kiel copy have to the original prepared for the festive occasion? In the section ‘Working method of the scribe’ (pp. 13-19) the author imagines the scribe compiling this complete chronological sequence of the items required for the various services in honour of St. Knud Lavard by searching through the books containing the various categories of liturgical material in a library and extracting from them the relevant material, which he has then copied out. We might do it in this way today if we wanted to reconstruct the Office and/or Mass of a medieval saint, but is it unrealistic to suppose that at least for a period of years after 1170 some kind of ‘master score’ was still in existence? One must suppose that the monk or monks entrusted with the assignment of preparing the liturgical celebration of the saint produced a ‘score’ of all that was needed and that from it copies of certain parts were made as required for the use of the various participants in the ritual. These would not have been immediately copied into the monastery’s liturgical books, however; such books were not recopied every time some new material came along and until such time as the abbot decided to commission a new Antiphonal or Gradual the ‘master copy’ would have stayed in the library. Copies of the whole celebration could have been ordered by other monastic communities, such as the related community in Odense (which constituted the cathedral chapter) or by the episcopal library at nearby Roskilde, or for that matter by any other interested library or scholar. No monastic copy other than the Kiel MS exists, however, and it is not known for whom it was prepared.

The author does not favour such a simple and uncomplicated transmission – indeed two of the three fine facsimile pages printed in the edition are included in order to provide ‘visible evidence that the scribe of K [the Kiel MS] compiled *art. 1* [the Knud Lavard liturgy] from a set of such functionally limited books’ (p. 14) as are postulated in his multiple-source theory. I fail to follow him in this: what bothers him is that (as shown in Plate 1 of the edition) in the sequence of Offices at the Feast of Translation, Matins proceeds to Prime without mention of Lauds. This he assumes to be due to a fault in a supposed ‘ordinal’ on which the scribe was relying to direct him from one source to another. He might then complain that the ordinal was also defective with regard to Compline at both the Passion and the Translation feasts, as these are similarly passed over without mention. However Michael Chesnutt is not concerned about these latter omissions, presumably because he supposes they were tacitly intended to be supplied from the Commons. The same might be argued for the missing Lauds – but the question is, are Lauds in fact missing, or are they included in the general rubric (to which he refers on p. 15) that occurs at the beginning of Matins: *Ymnus, Antifone, et V[ersiculi] de passione. Hystoria per totum de passione*, which directs that the hymns, antiphons, versicles and responsories of the Passion are to be used also for the Translation? Against this Chesnutt raises the shrewd objection that the antiphon *Benedictus Dominus* for the canticle of Zacharie *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* at Lauds makes a reference to the Gospel of the day of the Passion service, which does not apply to that of the Translation service. However, it might be argued that it is the textual relationship between the antiphon and the canticle, which is characteristic of the antiphons and their psalms or canticles throughout the Knud Lavard liturgy, that is important here. In any case, one notices that the much later transmissions of the Office at both Odense and Roskilde do not hesitate to use the antiphon *Benedictus Dominus* from the Passion also at Lauds of the Translation (pp. 41, 45).

Neither can I follow Michael Chesnutt in what he calls ‘a puzzle at the very beginning of the codex’ (p. 16). The puzzle is the appearance of the *incipit* of the antiphon *Tecum principium* in the upper left-hand corner of the first page, to which his solution is quite correct: it indicates that the Passion service of Knud Lavard on 7 January, which begins with First Vespers on the

evening of 6 January, gives precedence to the concurrent Second Vespers of the more important Feast of the Epiphany, at which *Tecum principium* is the first of the psalm antiphons. When the four psalms of Epiphany's Second Vespers have been sung, First Vespers of Knud Lavard's service continues with the chapter reading beginning *Beatus vir*, distinguished by a large initial in the manuscript. Chesnutt goes to some lengths to explain the perplexing situation in which he imagines the scribe of the Kiel MS to have found himself, but it is in fact quite normal – if, that is, the liturgical practice (the Use) that is being followed is English rather than Continental. In Roman practice the antiphon *Tecum principium* occurs at Christmas, whereas in English practice it is also used in connection with Epiphany and the Octave following. The situation of St. Knud on 7 January is thus not unique; the same thing happens at the celebration of the Translation of St. Judoc on 9 January in the Hyde Abbey Breviary.³ In the edition (p. 87), the editor refers to the insertion of the *incipit* of *Tecum principium* as 'evidently a scribal afterthought'; I consider it rather as a key, a flag signalling the origin of the literary and musical celebration of this Danish saint in an environment of English liturgical practice – a view which I am pleased to note Michael Chesnutt is prepared to accept for other reasons (pp. 62-63). He observes (p. 17) that First Vespers at the Translation feast on 25 June does not make a similar concession to Second Vespers of the Feast of St. John Baptist (24 June) but asserts itself with a proper psalm antiphon *Ave martyr gloriose*. This may perhaps be taken as a reflection of the actual historical situation that obtained in Ringsted on 25 June 1170, when the king and all the other dignitaries were assembled for the purpose of invoking the 'glorious martyr' (I don't think that there can be any doubt that his status as a martyr was emphasized from the very start, regardless of possible reservations in some quarters). If the Passion feast came subsequently to be treated as the saint's primary feast, on this first occasion (and in accordance with Pope Alexander's apparent intentions) the Translation was the great festal occasion and must necessarily declare itself from the outset (cf. p. 55).

There follows (pp. 19-54) a consideration of later occurrences, both manuscript and printed, of liturgical or historical material having relation to the contents of the Kiel MS. All date from the end of the fifteenth century or later and of these the most substantial are the liturgical books printed for the various Danish cathedrals between 1483 and 1519. To understand the author's learned arguments, which are based on a plethora of quotations and cross-references, it is recommended that one install oneself in the Royal Library or the Arnamagnæan Collection, surrounded by their richness of sources, or at least have Gertz's edition, in which many of the texts are edited, at hand. Chesnutt's codicological analyses and collations are astute and complicated, but ultimately inconclusive. There are many interesting and instructive observations, but the hope of establishing the line of descent between the Kiel MS and the printed Breviaries and Missals seems to me futile; the one is monastic and from the thirteenth century, whereas the others are all secular and at least two centuries younger. To bridge the gap between them in time and purpose the author is obliged to introduce a number of hypothetical intermediate stages showing various desired characteristics; this is fair enough, but not, in the long run, very helpful.

The section treating of the 'Provenance and historical development of the liturgy' (pp. 54-67) I have already referred to above as 'controversial'. Passing over a number of issues which cannot be taken up in this brief review, my reference is primarily to the surprising invention of a secular original of the Offices and Masses of St. Knud Lavard, perhaps a product of the 'campaign for liturgical uniformity launched by Bishop Absalon in 1187'. This, it is supposed,

³ J.B.L. Tolhurst (ed.), *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, iii (Henry Bradshaw Society, 76; London, 1938), f. 189.

was subsequently expanded by the Benedictines at Ringsted for monastic use and it is this that has been transmitted in the Kiel MS (p. 58). With this drastic suggestion Michael Chesnutt turns the traditional – and I must say seemingly logical – assumption as to the order of events on its head. Whereas it has heretofore been thought reasonable to regard the Kiel MS as a thirteenth-century copy of the liturgical services that were prepared at Ringsted in honour of the new saint, of which the Translation service at least was ready for use on 25 June 1170, the new theory would remove it even further from the colourful scene of medieval pomp and piety which it has always seemed to conjure up. The author of this theory makes no suggestion as to what then was sung in Ringsted monastery church when King Valdemar came to witness, as the culmination of a long campaign, the Translation of his father. He rather diffidently suggests, with reference to the cases of St. Olaf in Norway and St. Thorlak in Iceland, that the liturgical observance of St. Knud Lavard was ‘based in the first instance on the Common of Saints and only later adorned with proper texts’ (p. 54). The Common may well have provided the framework ‘in the first instance’ (which may have been for unauthorized services as early as the middle of the twelfth century), but there is a notable difference between the cases of St. Olaf and St. Thorlak, on the one hand, and St. Knud Lavard, on the other: the first two were never canonized by papal edict, whereas Knud Lavard’s canonization was announced in a papal bull in which the date on which he was to be so celebrated was specified. It is unthinkable that under these circumstances the occasion would not have been celebrated with all the richness of ceremony that the monks of Ringsted could muster. I am therefore not convinced by this radical conjecture; I find here no certain evidence to justify the rewriting of history.

The book is difficult reading, even if one is reasonably familiar with the subject, but it is rewarding – albeit, in my opinion, mistaken in some important respects. It leads one about in a world of medieval Danish literature and introduces one to a rich bibliography. Above all, it provides us with a new edition of the texts of the Offices and Masses of St. Knud Lavard that is, I believe, for the most part philologically and liturgically reliable. As a publication of the Arnamagnæan Institute of the University of Copenhagen it is scarcely necessary to say that it is admirably edited and virtually free of typographical errors – though surely a collection of sequences is a *Sequentiary*, not a *Sequentiary* (pp. 35, 37)?

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Jens Hesselager, *Making Sense of Sounds. Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Ideas of Instrumentation*

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Mit der revidierten Fassung seiner an der Universität von Kopenhagen entstandenen Dissertation (2001) widmet sich Hesselager dem komplexen Verhältnis von Instrumentation und Interpretation. Instrumentationstechniken und Klangfarben werden mit dem Verstehen und Erleben von Musik in Beziehung gesetzt. Zugleich hat sich diese englischsprachige Monographie zum Ziel gesetzt, die bislang überwiegend in deutscher Sprache geführte Diskussion auf eine internationale Ebene zu heben. In einem ersten Kapitel stellt der Verfasser verschiedene Konzepte und Problemfelder in der Art eines Ideenkatalogs zum Themenkomplex ‘Instrumentation’ vor. Dabei verzichtet er bewusst auf Vollständigkeit und Chronologie, er intendiert vielmehr eine vergleichende Präsentation der Positionen Hugo Riemanns (1882), Ferdinand Simon