

The insular daily Lady Mass of the thirteenth century: sources, repertory and transmission

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ABSTRACT. *A new daily ritual, commonly called the Salve Mass or Lady Mass, rapidly grew throughout the British Isles in the High Middle Ages inspiring new festive chants. John Harper's introduction to Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary establishes the sources of the Lady Mass in its fully developed form in the late Use of Salisbury and earlier related sources. Yet the Marian Mass collections in insular graduals, missals and non-liturgical sources identified in this article exhibit significant local adaptations not assigned in Salisbury Ordinals. I argue that extant Marian Kyries, alleluias and offertories contained in thirteenth-century insular liturgical sources of the Mass of the Virgin Mary are evidence of the daily Lady Mass. A study of chant variants and sources demonstrates the insular circulation of some of these chants outside of sources replicating the Lady Mass at Salisbury. The insular repertory of Marian Mass music, examined here for the first time with concordances in fragmentary and non-liturgical collections, reveals a lively exchange of repertory and compositional techniques between insular monastic and secular churches. This regionally developed, decentralised ritual had an important impact on music composition and transmission in the British Isles in the thirteenth century.*

Hic etiam felicis memoriae Abbas Willelmus, videns quod in omnibus nobilibus ecclesiis Angliae Missa de Beata Virgine ad notam solemniter cotidiana decantatur ... constituit etiam ex consensus, et, beneplacito totius conventus, in perpetuis temporibus sancivit perduraturum, ut cotidie Missa de Beata Virgine solemniter ad notam celebretur.¹

According to historian Matthew Paris (who died c.1259), by the early thirteenth century all noble English churches practised a new form of Marian devotion: a solemn Mass for the Virgin Mary sung daily in a chapel dedicated to her. Matthew may have had in mind the practice at the new Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey,

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¹ 'This Abbot William of happy memory, seeing that the Mass of the Blessed Virgin was solemnly sung daily in all the noble [chief] churches of England, constituted a Mass of the Blessed Virgin solemnly celebrated with music daily, with the consent and blessing of the whole community.' Henry T. Riley, ed., *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani*, 3 vols. (London, 1965), 1:284–5. For the translation of 'nobilibus' as 'chief', see James G. Clark, ed., *The Deeds of the Abbots of St Albans*, trans. David Preest (Woodbridge, 2019), 407.

which he credited to Henry III.² St Albans, already rich in its commemoration of the Virgin Mary, followed the other churches, instituting a solemn daily Mass for the Virgin Mary under Abbot William (1214–35).³ Daily solemn Lady Masses were instituted at several monastic and secular churches beginning in the late twelfth century, and they inspired English abbots, bishops and noble patrons to build large new Lady Chapels throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁴ Yet even by the middle of the thirteenth century, Matthew Paris insisted, repeating ‘ad notam’, that the music of the daily Lady Mass was essential to Marian devotion at prominent English churches.

Though music was vital to the daily Lady Mass, liturgical books before the late 1300s seldom designate specific chants for the daily or Saturday Marian Mass; by then the daily Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Salisbury was codified and widely adopted across the British Isles.⁵ The Salisbury Lady Mass does not, however, account for an insular repertory of Marian Mass music that blossomed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While some institutions in France, most importantly the Cathedral of Reims, instituted their own daily solemn Marian Masses in the thirteenth century, the repertory for these Masses, where it can be uncovered, is distinct from that in insular sources.⁶ Thus, I argue, an insular thirteenth-century repertory of Marian Mass music – including alleluia verses, offertories and Mass Ordinary chants and tropes – developed for the daily Lady Mass and spread independently of the Use of

² On Henry’s support for this project, promoted by Matthew Paris, see Suzanne Lewis, ‘Henry III and the Gothic Rebuilding of Westminster Abbey: The Problematics of Context’, *Traditio*, 50 (1995), 129–72.

³ On the Marian Office at Winchcombe and St Albans, see Sally Elizabeth Roper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure, and Content of the Monastic Votive Office, c.950–1540* (New York, 1993), 96–103. The Lady Mass was related to but distinct from the Saturday Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary sung at the high altar across the medieval West. See John Harper, ‘Introduction’, in *Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary: As Observed Daily in the Lady Chapel and Weekly in the Choir According to the Use in Salisbury*, ed. Sally Harper, Matthew Cheung Salisbury and John Harper, Early English Church Music 59 (London, 2019), xiii–lxxxv, at xiii.

⁴ Throughout this article I employ ‘Lady Mass’ to refer to a Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary sung daily after Prime at an altar dedicated to Mary, although the terms ‘Lady Mass’ and ‘Salve Mass’ were not commonly employed until the sixteenth century. See early evidence of insular Lady Chapels in Peter Draper, ‘Seeing That It Was Done in All the Noble Churches in England’, in *Medieval Architecture and Its Intellectual Context. Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson*, ed. Eric Fernie and Paul Crossley (London, 1990), 137–42. Roger Bowers’s important scholarship on choral institutions in England demonstrates the role these daily Lady Mass musicians played in larger institutions after 1300. Roger Bowers, ‘The Musicians of the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral Priory, 1402–1539’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), 210–37; Roger Bowers, ‘The Musicians and Liturgy of the Lady Chapels of the Monastery Church, c.1235–1540’, in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, ed. Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2003), 33–57.

⁵ On the development of the Salisbury Ordinals, see Richard William Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), 412ff. Several institutions adopted the Use of Salisbury before the late 1300s, but the sources exhibit more local adaptation, especially in the Sanctore and, as I argue here, the Commemorative Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Nigel Morgan, ‘The Sanctore of Early Sarum Missals and Breviaries, c. 1250–1350’, in *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff*, ed. George Hardin Brown and Linda E Voigts (Tempe, Arizona, 2010), 143–62; Sherry L. Reames, ‘Unexpected Texts for Saints in Some Sarum Breviary Manuscripts’, in *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England*, ed. Brown and Voigts, 163–84.

⁶ Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works* (Cambridge, 2002), 24 and 38.

Salisbury.⁷ In this article, I reconstruct this significant repertory of Marian Kyries, alleluias and offertories in the inchoate stage of the daily Lady Mass in the British Isles. Identifying this repertory locates insular monophony and polyphony within its performance context, revealing local liturgical changes.⁸ A complete list of the sources discussed is provided as an appendix.

The repertory of Marian Mass chants in missals, examined here for the first time alongside fragmentary and other monophonic and polyphonic collections, reveals a lively exchange of repertory and compositional techniques in insular monastic and secular churches. The English prosulated alleluia recently studied by Karen Desmond, in which long melismas were overlaid with texts in both monophony and polyphony, contributed to the Marian alleluia repertory, as did its most important composer, W. de Wicumbe.⁹ The techniques used to embellish the daily Lady Mass extended beyond prosulated alleluias to include new sequences and other double-verse compositions, tropes and contrafacta (in which new texts were created for pre-existing chants).¹⁰ Marian contrafacta on chants from feasts throughout the liturgical year provided a Marian interpretation of the full liturgical cycle while importing the solemnity and symbolism of these major liturgical feasts into the daily Lady Mass of the thirteenth century.

This article examines a complex late thirteenth-century missal that, I argue, supplemented chants from the Salisbury Commemorative Mass of Mary with alleluias, offertories and Mass Ordinary tropes to provide a weekly rotation for the daily Lady Mass. These adapted contents are evidence of an insular repertory for the daily Lady Mass that spread outside of Salisbury. Several fragments and other sources of Marian music well known to scholars of English polyphony present further evidence of the daily Lady Mass in a different archival form. I show that textual and contextual clues indicate performance of this rich repertory in the daily Lady Mass. Finally, I briefly examine contrafaction as a primary compositional technique by which the daily Lady Mass was elevated to a solemn celebration and Mary was glorified. The

⁷ John Harper's recent introduction examines the insular sources before 1200, then the Salisbury sources after the institution of the daily Lady Mass in 1225, ending with the printed Sarum missals of the early sixteenth century. Harper, 'Introduction', xiii–lxxxv.

⁸ Peter Lefferts observed a similar repertory of cantilena and sequence-form polyphony for the daily Lady Mass in Peter M. Lefferts, 'Cantilena and Antiphon: Music for Marian Services in Late Medieval England', *Current Musicology*, 45–7 (1989), 247–82.

⁹ Karen Desmond, 'W. de Wicumbe's Rolls and Singing the Alleluia ca. 1250', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 73 (2020), 639–709. Desmond's argument that 'W. de Wic.' is W. de Wicumbe is convincing, but see Christopher Hohler, 'Reflections on Some Manuscripts Containing 13th-Century Polyphony', *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society*, 1 (1978), 2–38.

¹⁰ The term 'tropes' includes Latin-texted Kyries, also known as Kyrie verses, because they were held in the same collections as Sanctus and Agnus Dei tropes, although early Kyrie melodies were composed with their verses. Jack Stebbing examines two Marian contrafacta discussed here, concluding that they demonstrate a creative network across England and northern France. I argue here that this network was primarily insular and closely tied to the Lady Mass. Jack Stebbing, 'New Evidence from Shrewsbury on the Creation and Circulation of Music in High-Medieval England', *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 33/1 (2024), 21–61. Since the Marian sequence repertory is vast and leaves few rubrical or codicological clues to their assignment to daily Lady Masses, it is not part of this study, but see Leffert's argument that the new Marian repertory emerged for the daily Lady Mass in Lefferts, 'Cantilena and Antiphon'.

festive, yet still quotidian, ritual of the daily Lady Mass apparently inspired a creative fervour among otherwise unknown insular composers.

Plainchant repertory for the daily Lady Mass in the London Missal

One mid-thirteenth-century missal consulted for J. Wickham Legg's *The Sarum Missal* presents the important distinctions between the Commemorative Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Salisbury and the insular Marian repertory that circulated outside of Salisbury.¹¹ The notated London Missal (F-Pa 135) is closely related to other missals in the Salisbury family in its Temporale, Sanctorale and Common. The calendar, Sequentiary and Kyriale are not from a Salisbury source, but suggest the diocese of London.¹² Importantly, the Kyriale and Sequentiary both contain a significant amount of music for the Virgin Mary. Moreover, the Commemorative Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary contains a large repertory of alleluias and offertories. All these collections in the London Missal together constitute the closest concordance to the only extant complete thirteenth-century polyphonic Marian Mass collection, in the last three gatherings of W₁ (D-W Guelf. 628 Helmst, fols. 176r–197v).¹³ Thus the close examination of the Commemorative Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the London Missal provides the basis for a larger exploration of the insular repertory for the daily Lady Mass.

In the London Missal, the Commemorative Mass for Mary during the long season between the feast of the Purification and Advent includes an unusually large collection of sequences and offertories reflecting a daily Lady Mass repertory. Like most missals with votive Masses, the London Missal contains three seasonal Commemorative Masses for Mary: Advent, Christmas until the Purification, and *Per annum* at all other times of the year (Table 1).¹⁴ The first two seasonal Masses agree precisely with those in three Salisbury sources: the early fourteenth-century Ordinal GB-Lbl Harley 1001 and the early thirteenth-century gradual GB-Cu add. 8333, as well as the Cicestre Missal (GB-Mr 24) copied in Salisbury c.1250.¹⁵ The *Per annum* Mass in the London Missal also closely aligns with the same Salisbury

¹¹ J. Wickham Legg, ed., *The Sarum Missal: Edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1916).

¹² Morgan, 'The Sanctorals', 150; David Hiley, 'The Ordinary of Mass Chants and the Sequences', *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society*, 4 (1981), 67–80. Hiley writes, 'Although following on from, and copied in the same hand as, a Sarum noted missal, [the Kyriale and Sequentiary] is in no sense a Sarum collection' (p. 68).

¹³ Hiley observed the close concordances between the Kyriale and Sequentiary of London Missal and the Marian Mass collection in W₁ in Hiley, 'The Ordinary of Mass Chants', 69.

¹⁴ Dates in Table 1 are those given in Morgan, 'The Sanctorals' and K.D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY, 2006). The sources in the list are those identified as insular in origin, copied before 1400 and including additional alleluias beyond *Alleluia. Post partum* and *Alleluia. Per te dei*.

¹⁵ The 'Old' Salisbury Ordinal was certainly made in Salisbury in the early fourteenth century, but likely reflects an exemplar made in the early thirteenth century, with some revisions. The Bedwyn Gradual (GB-Cu add. 8333) was owned by the church of Bedwyn in the diocese of Salisbury. Harper, 'Introduction', xlvi–xlvii. Morgan accepts the Salisbury origin of the Cicestre Missal in 'The Sanctorals', 148. For a comparison of the Commemorative Masses in these sources see Harper, 'Introduction', l–li.

sources except for the provision of additional alleluias, offertories and Communion chants.¹⁶ Some of the alleluias agree with a selection of alleluias in the Cicestre Missal: these five alleluias formed the core of a weekly rotation in the later Salisbury Ordinals, GB-SB 175 and GB-Occc 44 (Table 2).¹⁷ But the *Per annum* Mass of the London Missal includes a further eight alleluias, totalling thirteen and providing a substantial collection. Some of these alleluias are found only in insular sources, such as *Alleluia. Ave paradysi*, in the Durham Gradual GB-Du Cosin V.v.6 (fol. 99v) and the Canterbury collection GB-Lbl Cotton Vespasian D.VI (fol. 76v). One contrafactum, *Alleluia. Angelus domini nunciavit*, is only otherwise found in the W₁ collection of Marian Mass polyphony. The provision of alleluias that formed the core of the later Salisbury weekly rotation for the daily Lady Mass *Per annum* of the Cicester Missal, and the provision of more than seven alleluias in *Per annum* Mass of the London Missal attest to the development of Lady Mass repertory in the 1250s, preserved in *Per annum* Masses in insular liturgical books.

The Kyriale and Sequentiary of the London Missal further reflect insular repertory for the daily Lady Mass. Thirty-three Marian sequences, few of which are actually assigned to a Marian feast copiously expand on the repertory of festal sequences. This is a sign, as Peter Lefferts first argued, of the influence of the daily Lady Mass.¹⁸ Most significantly, each section of Latin-texted Kyries, Sanctus and Agnus Dei tropes concludes with seven Marian texts. Books in the Salisbury family often contain at least one Latin-texted Marian Kyrie, in spite of the general avoidance of tropes in Salisbury sources, but these collections of dedicated Marian tropes for Mass Ordinary items are unusually large and include several unique texts. Other of the Marian tropes reflect the distinct insular repertory: the Agnus Dei trope text *Flos de flora* (fol. 288v) a contrafactum of the more common *Mortis dira* set in the Marian collection of W₁ is also in the Winchcombe Cartulary.¹⁹ *Voci vita* (fol. 284v), a Sanctus trope also in the W₁ Marian collection, received a new Marian text and two-part setting in a thirteenth-century Worcester fragment (GB-WO add. 68, frag. XXIX).²⁰ In the London Missal, the provision of seven Marian texts for Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei chants likely reflects the earliest rotation for the daily Lady Mass, as Lefferts observed.²¹ Examined in light of these observations, then, the Marian provisions scattered throughout the book indicate that the London Missal drew from, and possibly

¹⁶ Harper notes that Salisbury *Per annum* Mass drew Propers principally from the vigil, feast and Octave of the Assumption, with the exception of the alleluia rotation for the daily Lady Mass. Harper, 'Introduction', lvi.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, liv.

¹⁸ Lefferts, 'Cantilena and Antiphon'.

¹⁹ Hiley's assessment of the trope concordances with W₁ only considered textual concordances of tropes, and thus omitted several shared melodies between their collections. Hiley, 'The Ordinary of Mass Chants', 71–2.

²⁰ Hiley missed the trope concordance in the London Missal because it was with a different Sanctus melody, but found concordances in a York Gradual and I-Ass 695, discussed further later. Hiley, 'The Ordinary of Mass Chants', 72.

²¹ Lefferts, 'Cantilena and Antiphon', 254, n. 24.

Table 1. Liturgical books with additional alleluias and offertories in the Mass for the Blessed Virgin Mary *Per annum*

MS Siglum	Date	Provenance	Manuscript type	Collection type	Marian alleluias	Marian Sequences	Marian Offertories	Marian Kyrie tropes	Marian Sanctus Tropes	Marian Agnus Dei tropes
GB-EXc 3515	1100s	Diocese of Exeter	Secular missal	Commemorative Mass	161r		161v			
Cicester Missal (GB-Mr 24)	1250–1205	Salisbury / Exeter?	Secular missal (Sarum)	Commemorative Mass, Kyriale, Sequentiary	213r–215r	251r–255r	213r–215r	10v		
F-Pa 135	1260–1275	London?	Secular missal (Sarum)	Commemorative Mass, Kyriale, Sequentiary	208r–209r	241r–241v, 255r–257r, 264r–283r, 289r	208r–209v	230r–232r	284v–286r	288r–288v
GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d.3	End of 1300s	Unknown	Secular gradual (Sarum)	Commemorative Mass, Kyriale, Sequentiary	42v–44v	68r–72v	42v–45r			
GB-Cul 710	c.1300	Dublin	Sarum customary, Sequentiary, troper	Kyriale, Sequentiary		105v–125r		37r, 129v		
GB-AB: Ms 15536E	1310–1325 (model c.1275)	Unknown	Secular missal (Sarum)	Commemorative Mass	324v–325v		326r			
D-Mbs Clm 705	c.1380	Unknown	Secular missal (Sarum)	Commemorative Mass	245r					
GB-LVhu 29	1350 (model c.1250)	Shepton Beauchamp	Secular missal (Sarum)	Commemorative Mass	222v–223r					
GB-Cjc 102	c.1398	St Mary's Abbey, York	Benedictine ordinal	Daily <i>Missa familiaris</i>	50v–51v	50v–51v	50v–51v	50v–51v		
GB-EXc 3502	1400s (model c.1337)	Exeter Cathedral	Secular ordinal		175r			97v		

expanded through *contrafacta*, an insular repertory that provided weekly rotations of alleluias, Latin-texted Kyries, Sanctus and Agnus Dei tropes for a daily Lady Mass.

Other missals assigned to the Salisbury family include both alleluias in the Salisbury Lady Mass weekly rotation and new Marian Mass repertory, expanding the evidence of the insular Lady Mass repertory.²² In the late thirteenth-century Radeford Gradual, GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d.3, the set of seven sequences that formed the weekly rotation in the Salisbury Ordinals was copied in the *Per annum* Mass in order from Sunday to Saturday, with rubrics assigning weekdays before the second to sixth alleluia verses (*feria ii–feria vi*).²³ On Saturday, the alleluia sung in the Salisbury Lady Mass is followed by three further alleluias sung at the cantor's discretion (see 8–10 under GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d.3 in Table 2).²⁴ The last of these alleluias is a *contrafactum* shared with a few insular and French sources, discussed further later. The other two are *unica*. The Aberystwyth Missal (GB-AB 15536E) and the Cicestre Missal (GB-Mr 24) share the same order of six alleluias in the Salisbury weekly rotation.²⁵ Yet like the Radeford Gradual, the Aberystwyth Missal includes three more alleluias, for which the singular concordances are in the *Per annum* Mass in F-Pa 135 and the Marian collection in W₁ (see 9t and 7t under GB-AB 15536E in Table 2).²⁶ One unique text, 'Per te nobis mater pia', is a re-texting of an important alleluia in the insular Marian repertory, discussed further later. Thus, by the late thirteenth century the weekly rotation of alleluias was established at Salisbury, the core of which already circulated in the middle of the thirteenth century, witnessed in the Cicestre Missal, London Missal and W₁. Nonetheless additional alleluias reflect repertory that circulated independent of the Use of Salisbury and amended the contents of books in the Salisbury family for locally adapted Lady Masses.

The offertories included in the London Missal, Aberystwyth Missal and Radeford Gradual also provided further local adaptations of the Lady Mass from insular repertory from both secular and monastic institutions. After a textual incipit for *Felix namque*, following the Salisbury sources, the London Missal includes two further offertories. *Mater patris et filia* (fol. 209v), unknown in any plainchant books, has concordances with an addition to a cartulary from Winchcombe Abbey (GB-GLr D678/1/M4/1, pp. 255–6), and a plainchant tenor in the Worcester fragments (GB-Worc add. 68, frag. XXX, br). The prosulated alleluia terminus that follows in the London Missal is found in the tenor of an offertory in W₁, further evidence of the uniquely insular repertory.²⁷ Similarly, the Radeford Gradual follows two offertories in the Salisbury sources with *Recordare virgo mater* and *O vere beata*, found in the Marian collection of W₁, the Worcester Gradual and Antiphoner (GB-WO F 160) and the addition to the Winchcombe Abbey Cartulary (GB-GLr D678/1/M4/1).

²² Throughout this article I distinguish between 'Salisbury sources', which originated in Salisbury, and sources in the 'Salisbury family', which reflect the core of the Use of Salisbury but were locally adapted.

²³ Harper uses this book as evidence of the Salisbury Kyrie assignments. Harper, 'Introduction', lv.

²⁴ 'quando placuerit'. GB-Ob Rawl. Lit. d.3, fols. 43v–44r.

²⁵ Although the alleluias were not copied in the order of the Salisbury weekly rotation, a later rubricator added 'feria vi et in commem'. GB-AB 15536E, fol. 325r.

²⁶ Though *Alleluia. Virga florem* shared an incipit with an Alleluia in W₁, the text is not the same.

²⁷ For a discussion of the insular prosulated alleluia, including this setting in W₁, see Desmond, 'W. de Wicumbe's Rolls', 691 n. 81.

Table 2. Alleluias in the Mass *Per annum* of insular missals from Table 1

Verse incipit	Schlager no.	GB-Mr 24 (Cicestre)	F-Pa 135	GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d.3	GB-AB 15536E	GB-Lvhu 29	D-Mbs Clm 705	GB-Cjc 102	GB-EXc 3515	GB-EXc 3502
Post partum	164	1	1		1t	1	1	1	1	3t-i
Per te dei	93	2	2	2	2t	2	2			
Salve virgo	242*	3	4	6	3t	3	3			
Virga jesse floruit	259	4	6	7	4t			2	2	1t
Virtutes celi	322*	5		4	5t					
Optine sacris		6		1	6t					
Ora pro nobis	46		12	3					3	
Veni electa	75			5						
Virga jesse floruit vellus				8						
Flos regalis				9						
Gaude virgo gaude	119*			10		4				
Angelus domini nunciavit	292a*		3							
Ave paradysi	259		5							
Ora pro populo	119*		7							
Generosa virgo virginum	274*		8		9t					
Lumine solari nescit			9							
Virga ferax aaron			10							
Sicut stella radium			11							
Dulcis virgo	242*		13							6t-i
Ave maria gratia	26	A	A			A				2t-i
Intrantes domum										4t-i
Offer o virgo										5t-i
Assumpta est	209									7t-i
Virga germinavit	119*				7t					
Per te nobis mater pia	242*				8t					

Note. Here, and in the Tables that follow, numbered chants indicate their order in the manuscript. 'A' indicates that the chant is assigned to the Advent seasonal commemoration rather than *Per annum* – *Alleluja*. *Post partum* was also assigned to the Christmas season; asterisks indicate contrafacta; 't' indicates text only; and 'i' incipit only.

Whereas Salisbury sources are relatively restrained – not allowing for tropes and only providing two offertories and at most seven alleluias in a weekly rotation – local adaptations included Latin-texted Kyries, sequences, alleluias, offertories, Sanctus and Agnus Dei tropes. These, as far as they can be identified through their inclusion in the *Per annum* Mass or Kyriale, have concordances primarily if not exclusively in insular sources. Such insular liturgical sources emerge in the 1250s, and weekly rotations for alleluias, and possible Mass Ordinary tropes, developed by the late thirteenth century. While there is some overlap with the chant repertory for the Lady Mass at Salisbury Cathedral in the thirteenth century as far as can be found in the minimal extant sources, a significant number of chants in the repertory circulated in insular sources independent of the Commemorative Mass of Salisbury.

Marian alleluias and contrafacta of chants for the Holy Cross

Alleluia. Salve virgo, a Marian contrafactum of the Holy Cross chant *Alleluia. Dulce lignum* (Schlager no. 242), exemplifies the role of the technique of contrafaction in shaping insular repertory of the daily Lady Mass, particularly the development of weekly rotations. Continental sources for *Alleluia. Salve virgo* before 1400 are scarce and point to Norman origins. The earliest sources of the chant, the Évreux and Noyon Missals (BnF NAL 1773, fol. 272v and F-AB 7, fol. 201v) both include *Alleluia. Salve virgo* and one other contrafactum of *Alleluia. Dulce lignum* in collections of seven alleluias in the Commemorative Mass of Mary.²⁸ Other commemorative Masses of Mary *Per annum* in sources held in French public libraries less frequently include more than three alleluias, and rarely include *Alleluia. Salve virgo*.²⁹ In contrast, all the *Per annum* Masses in Table 2 include *Alleluia. Salve virgo*, *Alleluia. Dulcis virgo* or – in the case of the St Mary's Ordinal – assigned the sequence *Stabat juxta* related to the Holy Cross, to Friday.³⁰ The only exception is the earliest source, perhaps copied before *Alleluia. Salve virgo* was created, the late twelfth-century Exeter Gradual (GB-EXC

²⁸ On the connection between chant variants in Évreux, Rouen and Sarum sources on the one hand, and Noyon, Compiègne, Corbie, Saint-Denis and Winchester on the other, see David Hiley, 'Thurstan of Caen and Plainchant at Glastonbury: Musicological Reflections on the Norman Conquest', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 72 (1986), 57–90, at 62–3 and 88. Both *Alleluia. Salve virgo* and *Alleluia. Dulcis virgo* were also copied in a set of seven alleluias 'De Sancta Maria' without music in the Fontevraud Gradual (F-LG 2, fols. 284v–285v).

²⁹ Of the forty-one other missals and graduals in French libraries with Commemorative Masses surveyed for this study, *Alleluia. Salve virgo* only appears in large alleluia collections in the addition at the front of BnF NAL 1235, fols. 2r–8v (Nevers), and the fourteenth-century sources F-Lm 26, fols. 160v–171r (Lille), F-AN 1901 no. 6, fols. 1r–12v (of unknown provenance). *Alleluia. Dulcis virgo* appears in large alleluia collections in the addition to BnF NAL 1235 fol. 2r (Nevers) and the fourteenth-century sources in F-T 155 fol. 147r (of unknown provenance), F-AM 159 fol. 315v (Ameins), and F-R 289 fol. 8v (Rouen). The thirteenth-century Jumièges Gradual F-R 250 does not have a Commemorative Mass but includes both contrafacta on the Vigil of the Assumption (fol. 200r). The thirteenth-century Rouen Missal (BnF Lat. 904) similarly lacks a Commemorative Mass but includes *Alleluia. Dulcis virgo* in the octave of the Assumption (fol. 219v).

³⁰ As Harper demonstrated, the late fourteenth-century 'New' Salisbury Ordinals (GB-SB 175 and GB-Occc 44) assign *Alleluia. Salve virgo* to Friday in the weekly rotation of Lady Masses and for all Saturday Commemorative Masses at the high altar *Per annum*. Harper, 'Introduction', liv.

3515).³¹ Thus Marian contrafacta on chants for the Holy Cross, particularly *Alleluya. Salve virgo*, emerged in the context of the Commemorative Mass of Mary (Table 2).³²

The late thirteenth-century Radeford Gradual (GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d.3) provides the earliest evidence of the assignment of *Alleluya. Salve virgo* for Friday in a weekly rotation of alleluias, an earlier date for the establishment of a weekly rotation of alleluias than the late fourteenth-century Salisbury Ordinals.³³ In the Radeford Gradual, *Alleluya. Salve virgo* is the sixth of the Salisbury weekly rotation of alleluias in the *Per annum* Mass, indicated with the rubric *feria vi*.³⁴ The Aberystwyth Missal (GB-AB 15536E) and the Cicestre Missal (GB-Mr 24) agree in both contents and order of six alleluias in the Salisbury weekly rotation, strengthening the association of *Alleluya. Salve virgo* with a fixed rotation in which it was sung on Fridays.³⁵ Thus, by the late thirteenth century, *Salve virgo* was integral to insular Marian alleluia collections both in and beyond Salisbury and was associated with Fridays in the daily Lady Mass.³⁶ As the day of Commemoration for the Holy Cross, Masses on Fridays inspired this musical connection between the Crucifixion and Mary's virginal birth.

Other Marian contrafacta confirm the role of the Friday Commemoration of the Holy Cross in shaping weekly rotations of chants in the Lady Mass.³⁷ At St Mary's Abbey in York (GB-Cjc 102), which did not have a weekly rotation of alleluias, the sequence *Stabat juxta Christi crucem* narrated Mary's presence at the Crucifixion in Friday Masses *Per annum*.³⁸ According to the Exeter Ordinal (GB-Exc 3502), Bishop John Grandisson (1327–69) created a weekly rotation of alleluias for the daily Lady Mass at Exeter that was altogether different from that at Salisbury, assigning to Friday the less common *Alleluya. Dulcis virgo*.³⁹ Furthermore, the Exeter Ordinal

³¹ On the dating of this gradual, see Anne Mannion, 'Liturgy and Chant in a Twelfth-Century Exeter Missal', *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 28 (2019), 115–32.

³² Schlager numbers refer to the catalogue by Karlheinz Schlager: *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluja-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts: ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire*, Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Munich, 1965). See <http://cantusindex.org/melodies-schlager>.

³³ Harper gives the weekly rotation from the Ordinals in Harper, 'Introduction', liv.

³⁴ GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d.3, fol. 44r.

³⁵ Although the alleluias were not copied in the order of the Salisbury weekly rotation, a later rubricator added 'feria vi et in commem' (GB-AB 15536E, fol. 325r).

³⁶ The Salisbury Ordinals of the fourteenth century also designated *Salve virgo* for the Saturday Commemorative Mass *Per annum* outside Eastertide. This might imply, Harper suggests, that the Saturday Commemoration was influenced by the daily Lady Mass. Harper, 'Introduction', liv.

³⁷ The Commemorative Mass of the Holy Cross was assigned to Friday by Alcuin (d. 804). On Alcuin's cycle of Masses see Jean Deshusses, 'Les Messes d'Alcuin', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 14 (1972), 7–41. For examples of Alcuin's weekly cycles as reflected in pre-Conquest sources, see Roper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy*, 41–2, 208.

³⁸ Laurentia McLachlan, ed., *The Ordinal and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary, York (St. John's College, Cambridge, Ms. D. 27)*, Henry Bradshaw Society 75 (London, 1936) 2:57.

³⁹ Bishop Brewer (1224–44) established the daily Lady Mass. See George Oliver, ed., *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis: Being a Collection of Records and Instruments Illustrating the Ancient Conventual, Collegiate and Eleemosynary Foundations in the Counties of Cornwall and Devon: With Historical Notices and a Supplement* (Exeter, 1846), 55–6. Although the edition of the Exeter Ordinal was copied in the fifteenth century, the rubrics for the section on the Lady Mass claim that they were drawn up in the ordinal by Bishop Grandisson in 1337. John Neale Dalton, ed., *Ordinale Exon. (Exeter Chapter ms. 3502 collated with Parker ms. 93): with two appendices from Trinity College, Cambridge ms. B.XI.16 and Exeter Chapter ms. 3625*,

specifies that *Alleluya. Dulcis virgo* contemplated the *Compassio*, though the text of this Marian alleluia, discussed further later, does not itself refer to the Crucifixion.⁴⁰ Only the parent chant *Alleluya. Dulce lignum* brings any idea of the Crucifixion to bear on *Dulcis virgo*. Bishop Grandisson made explicit what was implied by the performance of contrafacta of *Alleluya. Dulce lignum* in the Friday Lady Mass in the earlier insular liturgies: singing a Marian text with the melody for the Holy Cross allowed for the Commemoration of the Holy Cross in the daily Lady Mass on Fridays. The rubrical evidence in the Radeford Gradual, Bishop Grandisson's interpretation of the Friday alleluia in his weekly rotation and the presence of *Alleluya. Salve virgo* in the large alleluia collections included in Commemorative Masses indicate that *Alleluya. Salve virgo*, and the collections of alleluias with which it circulated, were sung, sometimes in weekly rotation, in a daily Lady Mass.

Latin-texted Kyries

The repertory of Latin-texted Kyries outside of Salisbury sources shows the importance of contrafacta and the circulation of non-Salisbury repertory. Five melodies provided the foundation for many new Marian Kyrie texts (Table 3).⁴¹ The late Salisbury Ordinals established a weekly rotation of festal Kyrie melodies for the daily Lady Mass, but no Salisbury Ordinal allowed for singing Latin-texted Kyries.⁴² However, several chant books – including some in the Salisbury family, polyphonic collections and other fragmentary collections – include Marian Latin-texted Kyries. These

Henry Bradshaw Society 38 (London, 1909), 2:474. See also Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 399–400.

⁴⁰ The 'communem cursum' including the Compassion on Friday should be followed weekly from the period after the octave of the Purification up to the feast of the Nativity, with exceptions for Eastertide and the octave of the Assumption. Dalton, *Ordinale Exon. (Exeter Chapter ms. 3502 collated with Parker ms. 93.)*, 2:472–3. The assignments of alleluias to days of the week appear after Grandisson's rationale (at 474). Though the later redactor may have assigned the title 'Compassion' to Friday, no known sources of the *Compassio* of the Blessed Virgin Mary include these contrafacta of *Dulce lignum*. See Emily S. Thelen, 'The Feast of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Piety, Politics and Plainchant at the Burgundian-Habsburg Court', *Early Music History*, 35 (2016): 261–307, at 273–82; Carol M. Schuler, 'The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Popular Culture and Cultic Imagery in Pre-Reformation Europe', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 21 (1992): 5–28, at 7.

⁴¹ The numbering system used to describe melodies for the Mass chants in this article follows the same system as the Cantus Index: Melnicki number refers to the catalogue of Kyrie melodies in Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki, *Das Einstimmige Kyrie Des Lateinischen Mittelalters* (Munich, 1954). Thannabaur number refers to the catalogue of Sanctus melodies in Peter Josef Thannabaur, *Das Einstimmige Sanctus Der Römischen Messe in Der Handschriftlichen Überlieferung Des 11. Bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft (Munich, 1962). Schildbach number refers to the catalogue of Sanctus melodies in Martin Schildbach, *Das Einstimmige Agnus Dei und Seine Handschriftliche Überlieferung Vom 10. Bis Zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Erlangen, 1967). These catalogues were expanded significantly in David Hiley, 'Ordinary of Mass Chants in English, North French and Sicilian Manuscripts', *Journal of the Plainsong & Medieval Music Society*, 9 (1986), 1–128. See <http://cantusindex.org>.

⁴² A late fourteenth-century hand added directions in GB-Lbl 1001 for Kyries with verses for reference, including *Rex Virginum*. By the late fifteenth century, some Sarum sources included a full weekly rotation of Kyrie melodies. See Harper, 'Introduction', lix. Harrison noted the dedicated festal troped Kyries for the Lady Mass sung without the verses in Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, Studies in the History of Music (London, 1958), 79.

Table 3. Marian Kyries in the liturgical books

Marian text	Melinicki no.	GB-Mr 24	F-Pa 135	GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d.3	D-Mbs CIm 705	GB-Cjc 102	GB-EXc 3502	GB-Cul 710
Rex virginum	18*	1	1		116v-t	1	1	37r
Virginei lux	47*		3			A		
Virginitatis amator	48*		2			2		129v
Lux et gloria	39*		4			4		
Conditor Marie	70*					3		
Machine conditor	70*		5					
Maria et laus	171*		6					
Pater pie factor	61*		7					
Regina virginum	?					5		
Pater alme	?					6		
	174						2	
	61			1				
	67			2				
	102a			172v				

Latin-texted Kyries shared texts or, more commonly, melodies, using contrafacta of Trinitarian Latin-texted Kyries to solemnise the daily Lady Mass and apply a Marian hermeneutic to the Kyrie.⁴³

A survey of Kyrie melodies with Marian texts in liturgical books shows that a common core of melodies frequently received new texts. Hiley's repertorial study of Latin-texted Kyries in the mid-thirteenth century polyphony for Marian Masses copied in W_1 provides a foundation for this survey.⁴⁴ Most common among those Marian Kyries was *Rex virginum*, a contrafactum of the well-known *Cunctipotens genitor*, the melody of which was assigned to Wednesday Lady Masses in late Salisbury sources (Melnicki no. 18).⁴⁵ Each of the Lady Mass sources in Table 1 includes the Marian text *Rex virginum* except for the Radeford Gradual (GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d.3) which, as we saw in the alleluia collection, followed the Salisbury practice, though expanded on it.⁴⁶ The London Missal (F-Pa 135) and St Mary's York Ordinal (GB-Cjc 102) share five melodies in total and four Marian texts all assigned to the daily Lady Mass in the St Mary's Ordinal. Hiley noted the close association between these two insular sources and W_1 , concluding that the repertory of Latin-texted Kyries in the St Mary's Ordinal was closer to W_1 because it had more shared texts.⁴⁷

⁴³ For an overview of the hermeneutical function of tropes, see Andreas Haug, 'Tropes', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 2018), 1:263–99. On Latin-texted Kyries, see Gunilla Iversen, *Chanter Avec Les Anges: Poésie Dans La Messe Médiévale, Interprétations et Commentaires* (Paris, 2001), 97–103, and in English translation in as *Laus Angelica: Poetry in the Medieval Mass*, ed. Jane Flynn, trans. William T. Flynn (Turnhout, 2010), 83–90.

⁴⁴ Hiley, 'The Ordinary of Mass Chants'.

⁴⁵ For the Sarum rotation, see John Harper, Sally Harper and Matthew Cheung Salisbury, eds., *Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary: As Observed Daily in the Lady Chapel and Weekly in the Choir According to the Use in Salisbury*, Early English Church Music 59 (London, 2019), 118.

⁴⁶ The only continental liturgical sources to include *Rex virginum* before the 1400s are the Fontevraud Gradual, F-LG 2 and the troper I-Ass 695, which also seem to have received insular Marian alleluias.

⁴⁷ Hiley, 'The Ordinary of Mass Chants', 69.

However, his study did not consider the codicological evidence of the London Missal; here, all seven melodies shared with W_1 were copied together and received a Marian text. Thus the London Missal and W_1 are more closely related than would appear from Hiley's study, and their collection of seven Marian Kyries is heightened further through the assignment of these Kyries in the St Mary's Ordinal to repertory for the daily Lady Mass.

Lady Mass repertory: liturgical fragments, non-liturgical books and polyphonic settings

The liturgical sources discussed previously include the repertory of music for the daily Lady Mass in the standardised institutional repertories presented in missals, ordinals and other books designed to provide comprehensive texts and chants for the liturgical year. These establish a basis for comparison with sources of Marian alleluias, offertories and Latin-texted Kyries among thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century non-liturgical books and fragments of insular polyphony. Most of these sources are well known to scholars of polyphony but their liturgical function has yet to be identified.⁴⁸ The examination of the daily Lady Mass repertory in fragmentary, non-liturgical and polyphonic sources showcases the dynamic nature of the repertory captured in less stable and institutionally oriented books, and indicates possible methods of transmission (Table 4). These non-liturgical sources of chant and chant-based polyphony expand our understanding of the repertory and offer insights into liturgical performance of the Lady Mass at some poorly documented churches.

The final three gatherings of W_1 (D-W Guelf. 628 Helmst, fols. 176r–197v), the only extant complete thirteenth-century polyphonic collection devoted solely to Marian Mass music, provide key codicological evidence of the chant-based polyphonic repertory for the daily Lady Mass. Most of the music copied in W_1 reproduces the Notre Dame organum and conductus found in the other copies of the *Magnus liber organi*. Between 1240 and 1250, the scribe of W_1 copied three gatherings of two-part settings of Marian Mass music added to the end of the Notre Dame corpus.⁴⁹ This Marian collection includes *Alleluia. Salve virgo* among nine alleluias, and a collection of seven Latin-texted Kyries, signs both of provision for a daily Lady Mass, and of a possible weekly rotation. The scribe's collection is arranged in liturgical order, unlike the tropes and some of the Notre Dame polyphony earlier in the manuscript: seven Latin-texted

⁴⁸ This study omits numerous polyphonic settings of Marian motets and cantilenas in insular sources because they are not clearly fixed to the Mass and omits a few polyphonic Kyries and alleluia settings because their chant tenors have not been identified.

⁴⁹ On the dating of this section of W_1 , see Katherine Kennedy Steiner, 'The Scribe of W_1 and His Scottish Context', *Journal of Musicology*, 38 (2021), 364–99, at 387. Roesner's dissertation remains the only critical edition of this collection. Edward H. Roesner, 'The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle', Ph.D. diss., New York University (1974). On the relationship between copies of the *magnus liber organi*, see Craig M. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge, 1989), 247–8 and the critical editions by Edward H. Roesner, gen. ed., *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, Musica Gallica (Monaco, 1993).

Table 4. Chants and polyphonic settings for the daily Lady Mass in fragments and non-liturgical books

MS Siglum	Date	Provenance	Manuscript type	Collection type	Marian alleluias	Marian sequences	Marian offertories	Marian Kyrie tropes	Marian Sanctus tropes	Marian Agnus Dei tropes
GB-Lbl Harley 978	1240s	Reading Abbey	Music miscellany	Alleluya incipits	160v–161r	12r–13r				
W ₁	1240s	St Andrews	Polyphony	Duplum settings of Marian Mass Music	179r–183r	183v–191v	192r–194v	176r–177v	195r–196v	197r–197v
GB-WO add. 68 xxix	1250–1300	Worcester Cathedral	Polyphonic fragments	Sequences/offertories, Sanctus tropes, Kyrie		a1r–a1v, b2r		b1r	a1v, a2r–a2v	
GB-CA add. 128/8	1250–1300	Canterbury?	Polyphonic fragments	Polyphonic alleluias	r–v					
GB-Ob Rawl. D.1225	1200s	St Chad's, Shrewsbury	Martyrology	Alleluias, sequence	130r, 131v–132r	128r–129r, 130v, 131r				
GB-GLr d.678/1/M4/1	c.1300	Winchcombe Abbey	Cartulary addition	Agnus Dei trope, Latin-texted Kyrie, offertories			276	276		275t

Kyries, a troped Gloria, nine alleluias, a tract, fourteen sequences, eight offertories, four Sanctus tropes and three Agnus Dei tropes. This extensive collection of Marian Mass music covered multiple seasons of Marian Masses rather than an octave of a feast, as Edward H. Roesner observed.⁵⁰ From the intersection of the Mass Ordinary and sequence repertory with insular and a few exceptional continental sources, Hiley inferred that the collections were designed for a Saturday Commemorative Mass.⁵¹ The alleluias and offertories of the Marian collection in W₁, however, have not received the same detailed repertorial study (Table 5).⁵²

The codicological context of the chants set to polyphony in the Marian collection of W₁ ties together a repertory that is scattered and fragmented in other collections for one liturgical function. Given the presence of the alleluia for Fridays, more than enough Marian alleluias and sequences for a weekly rotation and the group of seven Latin-texted Kyries altogether strongly indicate that this collection provided for a daily Lady Mass. Though the collection in W₁ is uniquely intact, it seems to be representative of a likely wider circulation of the insular repertory for the daily Lady Mass.

W₁ is not the only source to preserve what appears to be polyphonic contributions to the Mass of the Virgin Mary in the 1240s. On a blank opening in a Reading manuscript (GB-Ob Bodley 125, fols. 98v–99r), a list of works copied by ‘W. of Wicb.’ includes a troper, processional and *eciam librum ad missam de sancta Maria super proprium pergamenum suum* (and also a book for the Mass of Holy Mary written on its own parchment).⁵³ ‘Book’ (*librum*) indicates a more substantial collection than simply a copy of the votive Mass, possibly a plainchant collection like that in the London Missal that included several alleluias and offertories, or a polyphonic setting of several chant genres similar to those in W₁. Karen Desmond has recently argued that the copyist ‘W. of Wicb.’ should be identified with W. of Wicumbe, who in the 1240s copied, and likely composed, alleluia settings listed in GB-Lbl Harley 978 (Table 5).⁵⁴ The list of alleluias in GB-Lbl Harley 978 ends with eight Marian textual incipits that Peter Lefferts suggested were, like the W₁ collection, evidence of a weekly rotation of alleluias for the daily Lady Mass.⁵⁵ The overlap of these eight alleluia texts with Lady Mass plainchant sources and W₁ provides evidence of the liturgical use of Wicumbe’s *Missa de Sancta Maria* at a morning Mass celebrated daily at Reading Abbey or Leominster Priory.

⁵⁰ Roesner, ‘The Manuscript’, i, 348.

⁵¹ Julian Brown, Sonia Patterson and David Hiley, ‘Further Observations on W1’, *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society*, 4 (1981), 67–80.

⁵² Roesner’s critical edition and dissertation remain the only repertorial study of these genres. Roesner, ‘The Manuscript’, i, 347–60 and ii.

⁵³ Transcribed in Alan Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford, 1999), 81–2.

⁵⁴ Desmond, ‘W. de Wicumbe’s Rolls’, 640. A set of musical fragments in Ob Rawl. C. 400* (fols. 1–10) and Ob lat. liturg. b.19 (fol. 4) represents his scribal work at Leominster between 1245 and 1249. The list in GB-Lbl Harley 978, Desmond notes, was copied in the 1280s. Desmond, ‘W. de Wicumbe’s Rolls’, 645 n. 17. The link between ‘W. de Wic’ credited in the Reading Abbey manuscript GB-Ob Bodley 125 and the ‘W. de Wicumbe’ written with the list of alleluias in GB-Lbl Harley 978 was initially proposed in Bertram Schofield, ‘The Provenance and Date of “Sumer Is Icumen In”’, *Music Review*, 9 (1948), 81–6.

⁵⁵ Lefferts, ‘Cantilena and Antiphon’, 254 n. 48.

Table 5. Alleluias in sources listed in Table 1 and Table 4 (numbered according to the sequence in which they appear in these sources)

Verse incipit	Schlager no.	W ₁	GB-Ob Rawl. d.1225	GB-Lbl Harley 978	GB-CA add. 128/8	GB-Mr 24	GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d.3	GB-Lvhu 29	F-Pa 135	GB-EXc 3502	GB-Cjc 102
Ave maria gratia	559	7		1i		A		A	A	2	
Post partum	164	5				1		1	1	3	1
Per te dei	93	6				2	2	2	2		
Salve virgo	242*	3		2i	2	3	6	3	4		
Virga jesse floruit	259	2		6i		4	7		6	1	2
Virtutes celi	322					5	4				
Optine sacris						6	1				
Ora pro nobis	46			5i			3		12		
Veni electa	75						5				
Virga jesse floruit vellus							8				
Flos regalis							9				
Gaude virgo	119*			3i			10	4			
Angelus domini nunciavit	292a*	9							3		
Ave paradysi									5		
Ora pro populo	119*								7		
Virga dei mater	259*	1									
Virga florem	119*	4									
Virgo intemerata	27*	8									
Matris Christi			1								
Ave dei genitrix	27*		2								
Spes Maria			3								
Porta Syon				4i							
Dilexit Mariam dominus				7i							
Salve decus				8i							
Ave rosa generosa					1						

Note: Asterisks indicate borrowing from another chant text.

Contrafacta of *Alleluia. Salve virgo* and other Holy Cross chants indicate the performance of items preserved in other fragmentary and ad hoc collections in the daily Lady Mass. A polyphonic *Alleluia. Salve virgo* dated to the second half of the thirteenth century appears with a unique Marian alleluia on a leaf used as a pastedown in a Christ Church Canterbury book (GB-CA add. 128/8). In the calendar section of the St Chad's Martyrology, a scribe added a Marian contrafactum for a sequence for the Holy Cross, *Salve signum sancta crucis*, among several Marian alleluias and Marian songs.⁵⁶

Fragmentary and ad hoc collections of Marian Mass Ordinary tropes together with Marian Mass alleluias and offertories also strongly suggest dedicated repertory for the daily Lady Mass. At the end of the Winchcombe Abbey Cartulary (GB-GLr D678/1/M4/1, pp. 255–6) a scribe copied a new Marian text for one of the seven Kyrie melodies with Marian texts in the London Missal and W₁ (Melnicki no. 171), along with four Marian offertories also with concordances with the London Missal and W₁ (Table 6).⁵⁷ The presence of these chants in the Winchcombe Cartulary ties them to Winchcombe Abbey, where a solemn daily Lady Mass had long been established.⁵⁸ However, the close relationship of this collection with the daily Lady Mass collections of W₁ and the London Missal, and its presence in the charters, suggest that the repertory circulating in the mid-thirteenth century and reflected in W₁ and F-Pa 135 came to Winchcombe well after the daily Lady Mass was established.

Additionally, the polyphony and monophony on a bifolio among the fragments recovered from bindings at Worcester Cathedral (GB-WO add. 68 xxix) show the development of a daily Lady Mass repertory at Worcester Cathedral in a collection of Marian Mass Ordinaries and sequences. These two bifolia include a Sanctus melody and trope from the Lady Mass repertory, a three-voice Latin-texted Kyrie setting and Marian cantilenas, all copied sometime from the mid-thirteenth century to the late thirteenth century, when some of the music was updated (Table 7).⁵⁹ Two monophonic Sanctus melodies copied over erasures replicate a Sanctus melody found only in the Worcester Gradual (GB-WO 160, fol. 348v) with the rubric 'de Domina', designating the melody for Marian Masses. The fragmentary text of *Virga florem germinavit* agrees with the prosulated alleluia setting in W₁, while *O maria virgo pia* provides a more Marian-focused text than *Voci vita*, a Sanctus trope in the Marian collection of W₁ (fol. 196v) with the same melody. This now fragmentary collection of Marian Mass

⁵⁶ Helen Deeming and Jeremy Aknai, eds., *Songs in British Sources, c.1150–1300*, Musica Britannica, XCV (London, 2013), no. 104a & b. Stebbing suggests ('New Evidence from Shrewsbury', 51) that the Marian text is the parent chant, though it was added later in the copy from St Chads.

⁵⁷ The additions in this section include charters dated up to 1332, and the music also likely copied in the early fourteenth century. See G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. and rev. David M. Smith, Julian Harrison and Claire Breay (London, 2010), 210.

⁵⁸ David Royce, ed., *Landboc. Sive Registrum monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Cénhelmi de Winchelcumba, in comitatu gloucestrensi, Ordinis sancti Benedicti. E codicibus mss. penes praenobilem dominum de Sherborne*, 2 vols. (Exeter, 1892), 1:93.

⁵⁹ William John Summers and Peter Lefferts, eds., *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: A Facsimile Edition*, Early English Church Music, 57 (London, 2016), 33.

Table 6. Contents of Winchcombe Cartulary, GB-GLr D678/1/M4/1

Incipit	Content	Chant genre	Page	Concordances with F-Pa 135 and W ₁
Flos de flore	Text only	Agnus Dei trope Schildbach no. 114	275	F-Pa 135, fol. 288v
Summe decus marie matris	Text and music	Latin-texted Kyrie Melnicki no. 171	276	
Felix namque es	Incipit only	Offertory antiphon	276	<i>Per annum</i> assignment
Mater patris et filia	Text and music	Rhymed antiphon	276	F-Pa 135, fol. 209v
O vere beata sublimis	Text and music	Offertory prosula	276	W ₁ , fol. 193r
Praeter rerum	Text and music	Sequence-style	276	W ₁ , fol. 194v

Table 7. GB-WO add. 68, xxix, rearranged in hypothetical original order

Incipit	No. of voices	Chant genre	Form	Folio
Singularis et insignis mundi domina	3	Sequence/offertory	Double versicle	a1r–v
Sanctus	1	Sanctus	Thannabaur no. 40a	a1v
Ave maria gracia plena virgo amantissima tu	1	Sanctus trope	Prosula	a1v
Ave virgo concipiens angelo salutatis <i>illegible</i>	1	Sanctus trope	Rhymed antiphon	a1v b1r
Virginis marie matris	3	Kyrie		b1r
Ave maria gracia plena	1		Antiphon	b1v
Sanctus	1	Sanctus		b1v
Benedicta es celorum regina	1	Sequence		b2r
Sponsa rectoris omnium	3		Double versicle	b2r–v
O sponsa dei electa	3	Conductus contrafactum of <i>Veni creator spiritus</i>		b2v
Virga florem germinavit	2	Unclear	Prosula	a2r
Sanctus	1	Sanctus	Thannabaur no. 116	a2r
O maria virgo pia	2	Sanctus trope	Double versicle	a2r–v

music thus included Mass Ordinary chants particular to Worcester Cathedral to augment the repertory circulating in liturgical sources.

The codicological clues in these fragmentary sources – that is, that the Marian Mass chants were copied together in charters and other church documents – indicate that such Mass chants were, like the collection in W₁, intended for the same use. The Marian monophony copied on the final folio of the Winchcombe Cartulary (GB-GLr D678/1/M4/1) (as in W₁) groups together Mass chants typically found in different sections of liturgical books: Latin-texted Kyries and offertories. The Marian music scattered throughout the calendar of the St Chad's Martyrology (GB-Ob Rawl. d.1225) similarly includes the chant genres of alleluia, sequence and offertory, with a Marian contrafactum on the Holy Cross. The concluding list of Marian alleluias set by W. of Wicumbe (GB-Lbl Harley 978) indicates their distinctive liturgical function. Each of these sources is clearly tied to a particular monastic or secular community for which very little information specifically about liturgical rites exists in the thirteenth

century. Together these sources reveal that insular monastic and secular churches shared a distinctive repertory, emerging as early as the 1240s, to embellish the daily Lady Mass with new alleluia contrafacta, Marian Latin-texted Kyries and Marian offertories.

Insular contrafacta and Marian hermeneutics: case studies

Contrafaction was not simply a convenient method of creating new Marian chants, rather contrafacta were central to the Marian hermeneutics that established the solemnity of the Mass performed daily.⁶⁰ Two case studies of alleluia texts and Marian Kyrie texts demonstrate the use of intertextual references to apply a Marian hermeneutic to other liturgical commemorations, seasons and tropes. Some melodic variants circulating between these diverse sources show the insular transmission of Lady Mass music, further demonstrating the distinctive aspects of this repertory.

Close textual relationships between *Alleluya. Dulce lignum* (Schlager no. 242) and the Marian contrafacta *Alleluya. Salve virgo* and *Alleluya. Dulcis virgo* point to the intertextuality of the Marian hermeneutic. As [Example 1](#) demonstrates, the Marian contrafacta both repeat the same syllable structure of the original (*meruisti* for *sustinerere*) and copy many of the words or syllables from the original. The very close notational relationship between the two versions further demonstrates the intertextuality of the contrafactum. In the Cicestre Missal, the two copies of the melody are graphically the same, except for the sections marked in grey in [Example 1](#). The Marian texts *Salve virgo* and *Dulcis virgo* both compare Mary's womb to the wood of the cross praised in *Dulce lignum* through their actions: Mary's womb carried the saviour's body as did the cross.⁶¹ However, whereas the *Dulcis virgo* text maintains the grammar of the parent chant, *Salve virgo*, the text more widely circulated in insular sources turns to Mary's merits, replacing the masculine words for God (*regem* and *dominum*) with the feminine equivalent for Mary, a common approach in other contrafacta in the daily Lady Mass repertory.

Some sources in the Salisbury family share melodic variants related to but distinct from the Rouen-Jumiéges group.⁶² The melodies for *Alleluya. Salve virgo* in the Radeford Gradual (GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d.3) and Shepton Beachamp Missal (GB-LVhu 29) follow that in the Cicestre Missal for same chant and its parent chant *Alleluya. Dulce lignum*. The Salisbury variants replicate those in the parent chant in the


⁶⁰ Here 'Marian hermeneutics' are the interpretation of a biblical or liturgical text through a typology or theology of Mary.

⁶¹ Dolores Pesce compared this intertextual relationship between *Alleluya. Dulce lignum* and the Marian contrafactum, *Alleluya. Dulcis virgo* as it appears in a motet tenor, arguing that the Mary and cross relationship was known in northern France in the late thirteenth century. Dolores Pesce, 'Beyond Glossing: The Old Make New in Mout Me Fu Grief/Robin m'aime/Portare', in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford, 1998), 28–51, at 38–42.

⁶² Hiley, 'Thurstan of Caen', 64. Hiley includes Evreux in the Rouen-Salisbury group. Hiley, 'Thurstan of Caen', 63.



a. Al-le - lu - - ia v. Dulce lig - num
 b. v. Salve vir - go
 c. v. Dulcis vir - go



a. dulces cla-vos dulci - a fe - - rens pon - - - de - ra
 b. mater de-i templum sanc - - ti spi - - - ri - tus
 c. dulcis ma-ter dulci - a fe - - - rens pon - - - de - ra



a. que so - la fu-i - sti di - gna susti - ne - - - - - re
 b. que so - la vo-ca-ri di - gne meru - i - - - - - sti
 c. que so - la fu-i - sti di - gna porta - - - - - re



a. re - gem ce-lo - - rum et do-mi - - num
 b. re-gi - na ce-lo - - rum et do-mi - - na
 c. re - gem ce-lo - - rum et do-mi - - num

Example 1. *Alleluia. Dulce lignum* (Schlager no. 242) and *Alleluia. Salve virgo* in the Cicestre Missal, fols. 212v (a) and 214v (b). *Alleluia. Dulcis virgo* in I-Ass 695, fol. 54v (c).

Rouen Missal copied between 1231 and 1245 (F-R 277, fol. 267), the Reims Gradual (F-RS 264 fol. 147v) and the Saint-Denis Gradual (BnF Lat. 1107, fol. 237r).⁶³ However, the earliest continental source of *Alleluia. Salve virgo* and its parent chant in the missal of St-Taurin at Évreux (BnF NAL 1773, fols. 272v and 204r–v)

⁶³ For the dating of the Rouen Missal, see Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Ouest de la France et pays de Loire*, Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste (Paris, 1984), 7:281.

The image displays two sets of musical notation, each with three variants (d, e, f) on a single staff. The first set is for the phrase 'que sola' and the second for 'regina celorum'. Each variant shows a different melodic contour for the same text.

Variant d: que so - la vo-ca-ri

Variant e: que so - la vo-ca-ri

Variant f: que so - la vo-ca-ri

Variant d: re-gi - na ce-lo - - rum

Variant e: re-gi - na ce-lo - - rum

Variant f: re-gi - na ce - lo - - rum

Example 2. Variants on 'que sola' and 'regina celorum' in Evreux (BnF n.a.l. 1773 fol. 272v, line d), W_1 , F-Pa 135, the Worcester Gradual (GB-WO F. 160, line e) and Noyon (F-Ab 7, fol. 201v, line f).

have different variants on 'que sola' and consistently use *e-g* rather than *d-g* (Example 2, line d).⁶⁴ At both points of variance, *Alleluia. Salve virgo* in I-Ass 695 (supposedly made for Reims) is closer to the Salisbury version than the Évreux version or other continental sources of the contrafactum such as the Nevers Gradual (BnF NAL 1235, fol. 2v).⁶⁵ These variants reveal the close relationship between the earliest sources in the Salisbury family and this version of the melody, which likely came to the collection in I-Ass 695 through a Salisbury-related source rather than through a continental one.⁶⁶ More importantly, they point to the consistency between the parent chant with Salisbury variants and the contrafactum within these sources.

Versions of *Alleluia. Salve virgo* in W_1 and the London Missal (F-Pa 135) show that the melody was transmitted in insular sources outside Salisbury with different

⁶⁴ Hiley situates BnF NAL 1773 in the Rouen-Jumièges grouping of alleluia variants following the Dijon reform. David Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions: Normandy, Britain, Sicily', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 107 (1980), 7.

⁶⁵ F-Ab 7, fol. 201v and F-R 289, fol. 8v, and F-Lm 26, fol. 163v each present different variants on 'pondera' and 'portare'.

⁶⁶ On the English influence on I-Ass 695, see Emilie Julia Wingo Shinnick, 'The Manuscript Assisi, Biblioteca Del Sacro Convento, Ms. 695: A Codicological and Repertorial Study', unpublished Ph.D., University of Texas at Austin (1977), 145–72. On the grouping of Reims sources with the Corbie and Saint-Denis group, see Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions', 2.

variants. These variants are more closely related to versions of the parent chant found at Worcester (GB-WO 160, fol. 138r) and Winchester (GB-Ob Bodl 775, fol. 42v) than to the versions of the parent chant in the main corpus of the same manuscripts.⁶⁷ The variants on 'que sola', and 'regem/regina celorum' match almost exactly, missing only the last *a* in F-Pa 135 (Example 2, line e).⁶⁸ These would seem to suggest a relationship with Hiley's Corbie and Saint-Denis group in the transmission of these versions of *Alleluya. Salve virgo*, but the two extant versions of the chant from continental sources in this group: Noyon (Example 2, line f) and Saint-Denis give different variants.⁶⁹ Moreover, another insular polyphonic source, the Canterbury fragment (though damaged at 'celorum'), follows the variants on 'que sola' and 'regina' in the Worcester Gradual, F-Pa 135 and W₁. The circulation of these variants between the Benedictine churches of Worcester, Winchester and Canterbury points to a distinctly insular tradition circulating outside the Salisbury sources that would be incorporated into important secular churches represented by F-Pa 135 and W₁.

Contrafacta such as *Alleluya. Salve virgo* exemplify the Marian hermeneutic that shaped the insular Lady Mass repertory. The close relationship between the contrafactum and parent chant texts connects the shared soteriological role of the cross and Mary's womb, but also emphasises Mary's queenship by supplanting 'regem' with 'regina', an exchange that *Alleluya. Dulcis virgo* avoids. Other alleluia contrafacta follow typical techniques, such as reusing words in the parent chant to emphasise the new Marian interpretation: *Alleluya. Virtutes celi venetantur* replaces the powers of heaven with Mary, while *Alleluya. Angelus domini nunciavit* replaces the angelic herald at the tomb with the Annunciation. Some alleluias such as *Justus germinavit* (Schlager no. 119) for a Confessor and *Dies sanctificatus* (Schlager no. 27) for Christmas proved especially fruitful for Marian interpretation through both contrafacta and prosulated alleluias (Table 2).⁷⁰ These contrafacta and prosulated alleluias provided a Marian interpretation of festal chants throughout the liturgical year.

Similarly, clerics employed the technique of contraction with Marian texts for the Kyrie. As already demonstrated, the Marian text *Rex virginum* (for Melnicki no. 18, commonly sung with the text *Cunctipotens genitor*) circulated widely in insular sources of the Lady Mass. The Marian text focuses on Mary's role in the salvific action of the three persons of the Trinity celebrated in the tripartite form of *Cunctipotens* (Table 8).⁷¹ Contrafacta closely based on *Lux et Gloria* and other common

⁶⁷ In GB-WO F 160, which has no Commemorative Masses, the Octave of the Assumption lists nine alleluias including v. *Salve virgo*, fol. 342v. In W₁ the Notre Dame organum on v. *Dulce lignum* (fol. 29v) follows the Parisian chant version. In F-Pa 135 (fols. 161v–162r), 'que sola' and 'regem' follow the variants in GB-Mr 24, while 'celorum' follows GB-WO F 160.

⁶⁸ The *a* is included in *Alleluya. Dulcis virgo* in the same manuscript.

⁶⁹ BnF Lat. 1107 (Saint-Denis), fol. 237r. The Bec Gradual (BnF Lat. 1105) fol. 152r has still yet different variants at these key points. On these traditions and their influence in insular manuscripts, see Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions', 1–33; Hiley, 'Thurstan of Caen', 57–90.

⁷⁰ For an explanation of these prosulated alleluias in W₁ and GB-Ob Rawl. d.1225, see Desmond, 'W. de Wicambe's Rolls', 684–87 and 691.

⁷¹ Gunilla Iversen refers to examples from F-Pa 135 in her explanation the Trinitarian interpretation in Kyrie texts, and the Marian hermeneutic of the Trinity in another of the contrafacta in Lady Mass sources, *Virginitatis amator* (Melnicki no. 48). See Iversen, *Chanter Avec Les Anges*. Iversen, *Laus*

Table 8. Text and translation of the first three verses of *Rex virginum*

1a	Rex virginum amator Deus Marie decus eleyson	King, lover of virgins, God, the glory of Mary, have mercy
1b	Qui de stirpe regia clara producis Mariam eleyson	Who from an illustrious royal race brings forth Mary, have mercy
1c	Preces eius suscipe dignas pro mundo fusas eleyson	Receive her worthy prayers, poured out for the world have mercy

Latin-texted Kyries replace words from the parent chant to direct the prayer to Mary (Table 9). Placing her name before each iteration of 'eleison' directs the chant to Mary and the replication of many of the words from the parent chant draws attention to the Marian hermeneutic replacing the liturgical interpretation of the Kyrie in the parent trope. Similarly, the Marian text for Melnicki no. 171 in the London Missal places Mary's name in a prominent position, mimicking the opening 'kyrie' and final '-e' of 'christe' in five out of nine of the phrases (Table 10). This Kyrie melody, Melnicki no. 171, never became part of the rotation of Kyries for the daily Lady Mass in Salisbury sources and was rarely copied with Latin texts in insular or continental manuscripts. However, it was a celebrated melody in the insular Lady Mass repertory. In addition to being one of the seven Marian Kyries in the London Missal, the melody also received a different Marian text in the seven Kyries in *W*₁

Table 9. Verses 2a–2c of *Lux et Origo* (Melnicki no. 39) compared with the contrafactum *Lux et Gloria* in *W*₁, fol. 176v

	<i>Lux et origo</i>	<i>Lux et origo</i> Translation	<i>Lux et gloria</i>	<i>Lux et gloria</i> Translation
2a	O mundi redemptor salus et humana rex pie Christe eleison.	O redeemer of the world and salvation of humankind holy king, Christ, have mercy	O mundi regina celorum domina nostr maria eleison.	O Lady of our world, queen of the heavens, our Mary, have mercy
2b	Per crucem redemptis a morte perenni spes nostra christe eleison.	Redeemed by the cross from eternal death, our hope Christ, have mercy	Per mortem filii a pena perhenni pia Maria eleison.	By the death of your son from eternal punishment, holy Mary, have mercy
2c	Qui es verbum patris verbum caro factum lux vera christe eleison.	You are the Word of the Father Word made flesh, true light Christ, have mercy	Ave es mater patris, decus castitatis virgo Maria eleison.	Hail, you are mother of the father, beauty of chastity, Virgin Mary, have mercy

Note. Bold text indicates replicated words in the contrafactum.

Angelica. The translation in Table 8 is adapted from Mark Everist, Liner notes for 'A Scottish Lady Mass: Sacred Music from Medieval St Andrews', Red Byrd, John Potter, Richard Wistreich, Yorvox. Hyperion Records Limited CDA67299, 2005, compact disc.

Table 10. *Marie et laus*, F-Pa 135, fol. 231v

1a	Marie laus et amor pater pie eleyson	Father, praise and love of holy Mary, have mercy
1b	Virginis o fili marie eleyson	O son of Mary, the virgin, have mercy
1c	Marie fecundator sanctum flamen eleyson	Holy wind making Mary fruitful, have mercy
2a	Christe marie risus felix eleyson	Christ, happy laughter of Mary, have mercy
2b	Mater prolis marie salus vera eleyson	Mother, true salvation of Mary's offspring, have mercy
2c	Marie matris fructus et flos eleyson	Fruit and Flower of mother Mary, have mercy
3a	Marie spiritus alme eleyson	Spirit nourishing Mary, have mercy
3b	Distributor graciaram paraclite eleyson	Paraclete, distributor of grace, have mercy
3c	Marie inhabitatrix trinitas	Trinity, dweller in Mary,
	Nos eius ministros clemens inhabita	mercifully dwell in us servants of Mary
	Ob amorem tante matris nostri semper eleyson	for the sake of the great love of our mother, always have mercy

and a third Marian text in the Winchcombe Cartulary. Each of these texts uses techniques such as those in *Rex virginum* to redirect the Trinitarian formula of existing Kyrie tropes towards Mary.

Symmetries between parent and contrafactum texts thus amplified Mary's ritual role in the daily Lady Mass. In each of these contrafacta and other Marian Latin-texted Kyries, texts describing the divine actions of the Trinity in the parent chants transform into Mary's action in the Kyrie for the daily Lady Mass. Because Latin-texted Kyries were sung only on major feasts, singing the Marian Latin-texted Kyries reinforced the Marian interpretations of the Trinity and elevated the daily Lady Mass to a status equal to the central feasts of the liturgical year. Though the Salisbury Ordinals would not permit the use of Latin verses in the daily Lady Mass, these new texts on a few festal melodies were foundational to the thirteenth-century daily Lady Mass in many insular churches. As these Marian texts and their references to parent texts show, a core repertory of Marian texts and Kyrie melodies circulating in Lady Mass sources played a significant role in establishing a solemn daily Lady Mass in many insular institutions outside of Salisbury.

Conclusion

A handful of insular liturgical books offer a glimpse into notable local adaptations and creations for daily Lady Masses in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century churches. These liturgical collections and contextual clues from non-liturgical collections – Mass music and contrafacta on Holy Cross chants especially – present a large and dynamic repertory of monophony and polyphony for Kyries, alleluias and offertories that supplied daily Lady Masses with music. The musical and poetic repertory exhibited in these genres is particular to the British Isles, just like the popularity of the daily Lady mass itself. Melodic variants in one of the central chants in these collections further confirm the insular transmission of the repertory. Finally, both the sizeable liturgical collections and the common association of a few Marian contrafacta with Friday Lady Masses reveal the early development of weekly rotations of chants at some churches.

The musical and poetic creativity exhibited in the Lady Mass repertory focused especially on applying a Marian hermeneutic to the Mass liturgy through new Marian tropes and contrafacta of festal chants. The new Marian texts for the Kyrie provided a Marian interpretation of the Trinity, in which each person of the Godhead was understood and approached through Mary. Tropes for the Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei were less common, but through their Marian interpretations they too changed the ritual role of Mary in the Mass (a subject for further investigation). Festive alleluias inspired a number of new Marian interpretations. Yet many of the new texts are *unica*, implying that they were locally composed. As such, the Lady Mass functioned as a laboratory for compositional approaches to Latin song and Marian theology that could be performed and modified regularly.

The influence of the Ordinal of Salisbury Cathedral on insular practice by the late fourteenth century is well documented. Nevertheless, the reserved chant repertory of the Salisbury Lady Mass did not inhibit the early development of the repertory in the middle of the thirteenth century, even at some of the churches that sought the Salisbury Use (as evidenced in books such as the London Missal, and to a lesser extent the Radeford Gradual). Moreover, as the non-liturgical sources demonstrate, the repertory connected secular and Benedictine institutions that otherwise maintained distinctive repertories, and engaged some of the most important insular composers, such as W. of Wicumbe. The daily Lady Mass, thus, played an important role in providing a 'soft' ritual occasion encouraging the creation and sharing of new music and texts in a time when the ritual and music of the high altar was becoming more uniform in many insular secular cathedrals. New music for Mary blossomed through the re-texting and re-shaping of festal chants for daily performance, emphasising her divine participation in this ritual. Connecting this Marian monophony and polyphony to the daily liturgical performance in Lady chapels across the British Isles encourages a better understanding local liturgical practices, churches and the people who attended them.

Appendix of Manuscript Sources

Name/Description	Siglum	Full shelfmark
Evreux Missal	BnF NAL 1773	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 1773
Saint-Denis Gradual	BnF Lat. 1107	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1107
Secular Missal	D-Mbs Clm 705	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 705
W ₁	D-W 628	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. 628 Helmst.
Noyon Missal	F-Ab 7	Abbeville, Bibliothèque municipale, 7
Fontevraud Gradual	F-LG 2	Limoges, Bibliothèque municipale, 2 (17)
London Missal	F-Pa 135	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 135
Rouen Missal	F-R 277	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 277
Reims Gradual	F-RS 264	Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 264
Christ Church Fragment	GB-CA add. 128/8	Canterbury, Cathedral Archives, add. 128/8
St Mary's York Ordinal	GB-Cjc 102	Cambridge St John's College, 102 (D.27)
Dublin Troper	GB-Cul 710	Cambridge University Library, 710
Exeter Ordinal	GB-EXc 3502	Exeter Cathedral Library, 3502
Exeter Missal	GB-EXc 3515	Exeter Cathedral Library, 3515
Winchcombe Cartulary	GB-GLr D678/1/M4/1	Gloucester County Record Office, D678/1/M4/1
Reading Miscellany	GB-Lbl Harley 978	London, British Library, Harley 978
Shepton Beauchamp Missal	GB-LVhu 29	Liverpool Hope University, 29
Cicestre Missal	GB-Mr 24	Manchester, John Rylands Library, 24
Reading Abbey manuscript	GB-Ob Bodley 125	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 125
St Alban's Gradual	GB-Ob Laud Misc. 358	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 358
Radeford Gradual	GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d.3	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson lit. d.3
St Chad's Martyrology	GB-Ob Rawl. d.1225	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson lit. d.1225
'New' Salisbury Ordinal	GB-Occc 44	Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 44
'New' Salisbury Ordinal	GB-SB 175	Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 175
Worcester Gradual	GB-WO F 160	Worcester Dean and Chapter Library, F 160
Worcester Fragment	GB-WO add. 68 xxix	Worcester Dean and Chapter Library, add. 68
Reims Troper	I-Ass 695	Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 695