

# Theological construction in the offices in honour of St Knud Lavard

NILS HOLGER PETERSEN\*

**ABSTRACT.** *This article discusses the theology of the late twelfth-century offices in honour of the Danish patron saint Knud Lavard, asking to what extent this theology can be seen to have been underlined in musical representations. Altogether, there is surprisingly little war imagery in the offices. Although Knud Lavard was a military leader, a dux, and is presented in the offices as a miles Christi, and although some formulations in the office can be read to construct him as a crusader, his mildness and his passive suffering are much more emphasized. Indeed, the theological tenor is that of a Christ-like martyr being slaughtered without resistance. The emphasis is thus on suffering as a consequence of evil and unprovoked aggression, verbally as well as musically. This will be underscored by textual as well as musical analysis of central parts of the offices, focusing on the relationship between the responsories and the homiletic readings of the last Nocturns of Matins, which so far have not been much discussed in scholarship, taking also the sequence for the Translation Mass, Diem festum veneremur, into consideration.*

The background for the following discussion is John Bergsagel's recent edition (2010) of offices and masses for the feast days of St Knud Lavard, which includes a commentary and a facsimile reproduction of the unique thirteenth-century source: Kiel, Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, MS S.H.8 A.8<sup>o</sup>. This manuscript is probably a copy of what was composed for the Feast of the Translation of St Knud Lavard in Ringsted Church on 25 June 1170, including the materials for the translation feast as well as the feast of his martyrdom, 7 January.<sup>1</sup>

\*nhp@teol.ku.dk

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<sup>1</sup> John Bergsagel, ed., *The Offices and Masses of St. Knud Lavard*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen and Ottawa, 2010).

The only surviving source for the offices and masses for St Knud Lavard has traditionally been dated to the later thirteenth century, but Bergsagel argues that the manuscript may just as well be dated to the early thirteenth century thus bringing it fairly close to its assumed composition for the translation feast in 1170. See Bergsagel's discussion of the manuscript in his introduction to the edition, 2:xxxi–xlili, esp. xxxi–xxxii. See also Thomas Riis, 'The Historical Background of the Liturgy of St Knud Lavard', in Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*, 2:xiii–xxx, esp. xxix. The texts of the offices and masses were edited without the music in Michael Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy of St Knud Lavard* (Copenhagen, 2003), 87–133, with English translations of the lessons and responsories for Matins, 145–59. This publication also provides a historical introduction as well as discussions of later versions of the St Knud Lavard liturgy printed in early sixteenth-century Nordic liturgical books. Chesnutt also gives a brief reception history of the legend of Knud Lavard. The main medieval liturgical textual source materials, albeit detached from the liturgical context, were printed in Martin Clarentius Gertz, *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum* (Copenhagen, 1910), 2:189–247. These include the Matins lessons, some texts of liturgical songs as well as the few preserved fragments from the almost completely lost vita of St Knud by Robert of Ely, probably written in the 1130s, and also Pope Alexander III's bull (1169) ordering the canonisation of Knud Lavard.

In these offices one finds a very consistent theological construction of the figure of St Knud Lavard and his role as a new Danish royal saint. This comes to the fore primarily in the texts of the offices, both the readings and the chants; I shall focus on the readings and the responsories of the third Nocturns of both feasts. Here, by contrast to the first two Nocturns, the readings do not constitute a narrative account of Knud's martyrdom and canonisation, but are homilies showing more explicitly the underlying theology brought forward in the offices. Moreover, there seems to be a close correspondence between these homilies and the responsory texts that follow them. I shall argue that these responsories musically underline the main theological tenor of the texts. This requires some discussion of the musical means and their uses in this musico-liturgical context. This article focuses on the offices as a theological and political unity, something that makes sense given the politico-religious significance of the feast of the translation in 1170, a momentous celebration of a new, stable Danish monarchy within Latin Christendom after decades of violence and political turmoil. This was a moment to make manifest the Danish kingdom's re-establishment and consolidation as a Christian kingdom within the Roman Church. In order to appreciate all this, it is necessary first to give a brief account of Knud Lavard's martyrdom and canonisation.

Knud Lavard was murdered by his slightly younger cousin, Prince Magnus, son of the ruling King Niels, Knud Lavard's uncle, the day after Epiphany in January 1131. Knud's father, King Eric the Good of Denmark, had died in Cyprus during a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1103, after having secured the first Nordic archbishopric, which was established in Lund, thus freeing the Scandinavian countries from the ecclesiastic dominance of Hamburg-Bremen. In the decades after King Eric's death, his brothers consecutively took over the Danish throne. Meanwhile Knud Lavard grew up to become an important figure in Danish politics. Educated in Germany at the court of Duke Lothar of Saxony (later to become emperor), Knud became a successful *praefectus* of Schleswig in southern Denmark in 1115. He was later named *knese* (lord or duke) of the Slavonic Obotrites in Saxon Holstein south of the border in 1129. Prince Magnus could very well have feared that Knud was becoming too strong a pretender for the Danish throne. In any case, this is how the murder is generally understood in Danish historiography.<sup>2</sup>

According to the main historical sources to Knud's life and death, including the saints' legend preserved in the Matins readings for his offices, after the Royal Christmas celebrations 1130–31 in Roskilde, Magnus (as it seems secretly in collaboration with other conspirators) pretended to wish a private meeting with Knud in Haraldsted forest on Zealand. Here Knud was murdered. Knud seems soon to have been considered a saint by the monks in the nearby Benedictine monastery in Ringsted, where his body was later brought, and a *vita* was already written during

<sup>2</sup> In Danish historiography, the murder of Knud Lavard and the dramatic events through the civil war leading up to a new stability during the reign of Valdemar I and the canonisation of Knud Lavard have been much debated. See Riis, 'The Historical Background'; and *idem*, *Les institutions politiques centrales du Danemark 1100–1332* (Odense, 1977); and Carsten Breengaard, *Muren om Israels Hus: Regnum og Sacerdotium i Danmark 1050–1170* (Copenhagen, 1982), which includes an English summary.

the 1130s by Robert of Ely, probably an English monk visiting the Ringsted monastery at the time.<sup>3</sup> Knud was, however, officially canonised in 1170 through the campaigning of his son, King Valdemar I, who in 1157 had emerged victorious after years of civil war following his father's violent death and the changing reigns of his uncles. Valdemar obtained a papal bull in November 1169. This occasion also marked a reconciliation between King Valdemar and the Danish Archbishop Eskil, who seems – at least initially – to have opposed the canonisation. In any case, the archbishop presided over the translation solemnities in Ringsted on 25 June 1170. These celebrations marked the firm establishment of King Valdemar's dynasty in a double way: *his* son, another Knud, only seven years of age in 1170, was crowned king of Denmark during the solemnities.<sup>4</sup>

What probably is the office for the occasion, at least as it has been preserved in the Kiel manuscript, constructs St Knud as an ideal royal saint, an image corroborated by the other influential medieval historical narrative about Knud Lavard, that of Saxo Grammaticus in his *Gesta Danorum* (c.1200). Much debated in Danish historiography, the occasion of Knud's canonisation has generally been viewed as a main symbolic event in Danish medieval history. It provided King Valdemar's dynasty with a religiously based authority and also manifested how the Danish kingdom formed an integral part of Latin Christendom, comparable to England, France and the Roman-German Empire, where similar royal saints were promoted in the twelfth and later centuries.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps more importantly, as the Danish church historian Carsten Brengaard claimed, it

<sup>3</sup> Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 5–6 and 55–6.

<sup>4</sup> Eskil has been seen as being against the canonisation of Knud. The St Knud Lavard legend (lesson 6 of the Feast of the Translation) hints at this in relating an earlier otherwise unknown attempt by Valdemar to translate Knud Lavard: 'When word of this reached Archbishop Eskil, he tried to divert the young men's wish from their declared purpose, not because he opposed their motives but out of reverence for the Holy See; and he issued an Episcopal prohibition against it being done.' Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 118 (Latin), 157 (English). In any case, relations were not good between king and archbishop during Valdemar's early reign. Eskil supported Pope Alexander III during the papal schism of the early 1160s in contrast to Valdemar who was dependent on Emperor Frederic Barbarossa. Additionally, a conflict between Valdemar and Eskil forced Eskil into exile during the 1160s. As part of the reconciliation, in 1169, Valdemar gave his support to Alexander III whereas the pope seems to have issued guarantees for Eskil's loyalty to the king. The eighth lesson of the Feast for the Translation indicates that Valdemar 'prudently' consulted Eskil, and continues: 'Proceeding sensibly, Eskil fulfilled the wise king's wish', going on to tell about the delegation which Eskil sent to Rome, and how the request was accepted by the pope (see Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 157–8; Latin text, 118 and 121). Saxo, in Book 14 of his *Gesta Danorum* makes it clear that it was Eskil who presided over the solemnities in Ringsted on 25 June 1170. See the Internet edition of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* (14.40.12) maintained by The Royal Library, Copenhagen: [www2.kb.dk/elib/lit/dan/saxo/lat/or.dsr/14/40/index.htm](http://www2.kb.dk/elib/lit/dan/saxo/lat/or.dsr/14/40/index.htm) (accessed 26 January 2013). Historians have had widely differing opinions as to the causes of the conflict between Valdemar and Eskil. See the detailed discussion in Brengaard, *Muren om Israels Hus*, 263–319, which plays down the significance of the dynastic implications as secondary, arguing 'that the most important development in the relationship between the two [*regnum* and *sacerdotium*] in our period was the ever-increasing ecclesiastical demand for an extension of the king's authority due to the crucial function of the latter as a means of social protection for the Church.' See English summary, translated by Michael Chesnutt, 328–33, at 333.

<sup>5</sup> As, for instance, Edward the Confessor and Charlemagne, who was canonised by the schismatic Pope Victor IV at the instigation of Frederic Barbarossa. See Riis, *Les institutions politiques*. Concerning royal saints offices, see Roman Hankeln, ed., *Political Plainchant? Music, Text and Historical Context of Medieval Saints' Offices* (Ottawa, 2009).

was a hallowing of those social values which the clergy had long been preaching as the fundamentals of a Christian community. The principal objective was to criminalize insurrection and the involvement of the king in feuding, which had previously been legitimate forms of assault on the throne. These interests were secured by the anointing of the royal heir and by the canonization as an ecclesiastical martyr of Knud Lavard, the first victim of the feud.<sup>6</sup>

We shall now turn to the theological construction as it emerges from the texts of the offices and consider the extent to which musical representation underlined this theology. Although – unsurprisingly – some liturgical items were borrowed from other offices (Common of a Confessor, Common of One Martyr, and English saints' offices, as John Bergsagel outlined), large portions of the offices and the masses appear to be unique. Knud Lavard was a military leader, a *dux*, and is presented in the offices as a *miles Christi*, but his mildness and passive Christ-like suffering at the hands of his cousin, Prince Magnus, is emphasised. Although some formulations in the offices can be read to construct him as a crusader,<sup>7</sup> the theological tenor is one of a martyr being slaughtered without resistance. Knud's Christ-like suffering as a consequence of evil and unprovoked aggression is strongly emphasised.

Verbally but also musically, the office constitutes a very focused theological statement. This largely corroborates Carsten Breengaard's reading of the historical situation and may also express the intention to construct Denmark as a true Christian kingdom. Indeed, as Breengaard's interpretation makes clear, the emphasis on Christian social values should not be taken as a statement that St Knud Lavard's canonisation was not political. This is manifest in the office. To give an example of a direct statement concerning the political aspect of Knud Lavard's cult, the *prosa* belonging to the twelfth Matins responsory (the same responsory in both offices) states: [2a] 'As guardian of the law you dwell in the world, though lacking the world's vice' (*Custos legis mundo, mundi carens vicio*). This refers to the role Saint Knud played in reportedly restoring justice through law and order in his dukedom, also emphasised in earlier lessons for the office of the martyrdom.<sup>8</sup>

Accordingly, there is little war imagery to be found in the offices. This can be demonstrated textually for the complete cycles, and will here be underscored by textual as well as musical analysis of the responsories and the lessons for the two Matins offices, *in passione* and *in translacione*. The point of departure will be the last four homiletic readings from the third Nocturn in both offices, which have different readings but the same responsories. We shall also consider the sequence for the Translation Mass, *Diem festum veneremur*, since it is particularly revealing in its relationship between text and music.

<sup>6</sup> Breengaard, *Muren om Israels Hus*, English summary, 332; see also the detailed discussion, 263–319.

<sup>7</sup> Kurt Villads Jensen, *Korstog ved Verdens Yderste Rand, Danmark og Portugal ca. 1000 til ca. 1250* (Odense, 2011), 202.

<sup>8</sup> See Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*, 2:23, and music example 4b (English translation in Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 155). Knud Lavard's role in establishing justice and peace is especially emphasised in Lesson 3 of the Feast of the Martyrdom; see responsory 6 (Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*, 2:9 and 15).

The readings for the first and second Nocturns of both offices are historical centrepieces for the history of Knud Lavard together with other twelfth- to thirteenth-century chronicles, among them the twelfth-century Roskilde chronicle and, most famously and influentially, the *Gesta Danorum*. Although Knud's history has been discussed in modern scholarship, the sermons which constitute the lessons for the two third Nocturns have not received much attention, probably because they did not contribute to the historical narrative, as the early editor of Knud's legend based on the Matins readings, Martin Clarentius Gertz, stated.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Riis does not draw on the homiletic readings in his discussion of the ideology of the thirteenth-century offices in his excellent introduction to the historical background of the Knud Lavard Offices. He does, however, comment on the biblical passages at the base of the sermons and formulates a contemporary understanding of Knud in the light of these, as well as on the appropriation of the Common of Saints and the notion of Knud as shepherd and guide for the elect people. In particular, Riis points to a relief over the southern gate of the cathedral of Ribe in south-western Denmark which, depending on its dating, may depict King Valdemar I and his queen together with St Knud Lavard. In Riis's view, this iconography can be read to refer to Knud as an exponent for the 'expansionist Danish policy during the decades around 1200, a policy which was often made in the name of St Knud Lavard'.<sup>10</sup>

I do not disagree with this if it is to be understood as a statement about how the office and the cult of St Knud Lavard came to be appropriated politically in the following decades by the king and the Church. But it does not fully reflect the ideology or the theology as it comes to the fore in the offices themselves. Another side of the understanding of St Knud Lavard – which was political as well, but with very different political aims, that is, emphasising his role as shepherd and guide towards a society built on Christian social values – is much more directly expressed in the offices, as I shall demonstrate in the following.

The sermon texts mentioned above are, precisely, theological statements, not primarily political texts. They show how those who wrote or edited the office texts constructed the meaning of St Knud Lavard's martyrdom and his cult. They are interesting examples of what would seem to be monastic theology and biblical exegesis at the time. The musico-liturgical items to which they will be compared show how the musical settings underline or represent the meaning of the poetic texts, all in accordance with the basic understanding of the sermons.

Let us first consider lessons ix–xii for the Feast of the Passion (7 January), which take as their point of departure John 12:24 ('Jesus said to his disciples: "Truly, truly I say to you, unless a grain of wheat falling on the ground shall die, it shall remain

<sup>9</sup> Gertz, *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, 179.

<sup>10</sup> Riis, 'The Historical Background', xxvii–xxviii, at xxviii. Concerning the way Saxo presents Knud's canonisation, see Karsten Friis-Jensen, 'In the Presence of the Dead: Saint Canute the Duke in Saxo Grammaticus's *Gesta Danorum*', *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000–1300)* (Copenhagen, 2006), 195–216, which supports the view of Riis (and others) that St Knud Lavard was considered a patron of the Danish expansion in the Baltic. For Friis-Jensen, 'their theory is valid in the case of Saxo', see esp. 204–7, at 207.



alone”) and its continuation, along with similar parallel texts in the synoptic gospels. All were treated in accordance with the traditional manifold exegesis as carried out since the time of the early Church Fathers (not least Origenes of Alexandria and in the West especially Augustine) and operative through the Middle Ages.<sup>11</sup> They also employ language typical of monastic theology written by learned monks, who sang the office day and night and who, as part of monastic life, also ruminated over sacred texts in which biblical phrases are not only quoted but have also become integrated into the language in ways that sometimes make it difficult to distinguish a quotation or paraphrase from a biblical fragment or notion appropriated into the author’s discourse.

Lectio ix (de passione); (my emphases):<sup>12</sup>

Secundum Iohannem (XII, 24 sqq.). In illis [diebus]: Dixit Ihesus discipulis suis: ‘Amen, amen dico uobis, nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet’; et reliqua.

Omelia lectionis eiusdem. Ostendit nobis rerum uniuersarum nature cognitor, ex infirmitate substancie mortalis uirtutis gratiam procedere et exinanicionem seminis fructus facere fecunditatem. *Inquid: ‘Si granum mortuum fuerit, multum fructum affert’.* Facta mencione grani unius, grana tria inserenda sunt: primum materiale; secundum misteriale; tercium profecto ex merito procedit. Est, qui hec seminat et irrigit [corr: irrigat] et incrementum dat, deus, qui operatur omnia in omnibus. Ecce, in formam figuli transfuso cespite et uirtute uegetato uitali, *materiale*

A reading from the Holy Gospel according to John. In those days Jesus said to his disciples: ‘Truly, truly I say to you, unless a grain of wheat falling on the ground shall die, it shall remain alone.’ And so forth.

Homily on this reading: He who knows the nature of all things shows us here that from the weakness of mortal substance proceeds the grace of virtue, and that the death of the seed causes the fertility of its fruit. *The Gospel continues: ‘If the grain dies it brings forth much fruit.’* Mention is made here of a single grain, but three are to be understood. *The first is material, the second mystical, and the third assuredly proceeds from merit.* He who sows, waters, and gives increase to these is God, who works all things in men. Behold, when the sod is poured into the

<sup>11</sup> See Susan Boynton, ‘The Bible and the Liturgy’, in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York, 2011), 10–33. The great scholarly work on medieval exegesis is Henri Lubac, *Exegèse médiévale: Les Quatre Sens de l’Écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1959–65). Three volumes have (so far) been translated into English: Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, vols. 1–3 (Grand Rapids, MI, 1998–2009).

<sup>12</sup> The musical examples are transcribed from the facsimile in the first volume of Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*; the original spellings are retained. References to the transcriptions in Bergsagel’s second volume are given in order to facilitate comparisons. The texts from the homilies are given in Bergsagel’s form (vol. 2). English translations of the chant texts, and the homilies will be given with reference to Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*.

*granum primum auctori gratum apparuit. Hoc seminavit in terram bonam, in ortum (i.e. hortum) suum, in locum amenitatis et glorie, ut fructum faceret. Set venit inimicus homo (Matth. XIII, 25 sqq.), immo hostis generis humani, et superseminavit zizania inobediencie et discordie; et creuerunt in spinas peccati et ruine, et multiplicata sunt in tribulos tribulacionis et miserie. Primo suffocatur, secundo prosternitur, tercio granum in terra (conj: petra; Luc. VIII, 6) proicitur; et sic lege letali uite libertatem penitus amisit. Caute, fratres, canenda (conj: cauenda) est cauillacio impostoris, qui primos prostravit, posteros non cessat persequi. Cui resistite fortes in fide (1 Pet. V, 9). [Tu autem Domine, etc.].<sup>13</sup>*

potter's mould and invigorated by the power of life, the material grain at first seems pleasing to its Creator. He planted it in good ground, in His garden, in a place of pleasantness and renown, that it should bear fruit. But his enemy came, even the enemy of mankind, and sowed on top the tares of disobedience and discord, and they grew into thorns of sin and ruin, and were multiplied in the trials of tribulation and misery. The first grain is choked, the second destroyed, the third cast down to the ground; and thus, by a deadly law, it has inwardly lost the liberty of life. Beware, brethren! Be on your guard against the sophistry of the Impostor, who laid low our first parents and ceases not to pursue those that came after. Resist him, steadfast in the faith!

The basic message of this text is a very general one warning about the dangers of the 'enemy', the 'impostor' who may be understood as the Devil, but also as working through any person who commits evil deeds or fraud. In the context of the Office of Knud Lavard, the reference to Magnus is quite evident. Similarly, in the application of the continuation of the gospel text, there would seem to be an obvious reference to the death and the canonisation of Knud Lavard: the three grains discussed and their symbolical fates do not quite match what is initially formulated about the material grain, the mystical grain, and what, as a third grain, proceeds from merit. However, the threefold understanding of the metaphor 'grain' corresponds well to a celebration of a saint, considered as a martyr: Knud was materially killed, but in a mystical sense this was his victory as a martyr, and from his merit in accepting martyrdom (as the story of Knud is interpreted) now proceeds his sainthood as a help for the faithful participating in his cult. This thought is taken up in the responsory in Example 1.

The word emphasised above all other words in this responsory, through a long melisma, is '*mancipatur*' ('he is sold', phrase 6), and the highest point in the melody is reached during the short melisma on '*bonis*' (phrase 5). The question of whether the melismatic emphasis on '*mancipatur*', rather than expressing a relation between music and words, may be due to the stylistic convention of having long melismas in

<sup>13</sup> Latin text: Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*, 2:19; English translation: Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 152–3.

R. 1 In ui- is su- -is om- -ni-bus

2 ius- -tus pros- -pe- ra- -tur,

3 con- -tra quem do-me- sti-cus

ho- stis 4 in- -ci- -ta-tur;

5 \*Et pro bo- -nis ac- ti-bus

6 mor- -ti man- -ci- pa- -tur.

V. 1 De carnis ergastulo 2 fide-lis a- ni-ma

3 data de-i fi-li- o 4 fit Sy-on fi-li-a.

\*Et pro bonis.

Ex. 1 Matins responsory 9 *In viis suis* (Bergsagel 2010, vol. 1, f. 19v–20r; vol. 2, 19).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> [R.] The righteous one prospers in all his ways; but within his own land a foe is stirred up against him, \*and for his good deeds he is sold to death.

[V.] Freed from the enslavement of the flesh the faithful soul, offered to the Son of God, becomes a daughter of Zion; [R.] \*and for his good deeds, etc.

English translation: Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 153.



final phrases of responsories (as found from the eleventh century onwards)<sup>15</sup> can only be answered by pointing out that chants were generally composed as complete units of words and music. Hence it must be assumed that the wording of a responsory would be planned with an overall conception of the stylistic conventions, musically as well as verbally. Also in cases where new words are adapted to a pre-existing melody (something which is not always easy to ascertain), such a conception of the process of 'composition', taken in the literal meaning of the word, 'putting together' words and music would make sense.

If emphases of words by way of melismas and melodic high points are significant – and I shall return to this question later – then the responsory also musically underlines the thought of the saintly person, whose life is sacrificed by the foe, the evil enemy, because of the goodness of the saintly person; in other words, precisely the thought emphasised by the words. This is thoroughly in line with the way Knud Lavard is generally understood in the office, as it will become clearer still in the discussions of the following items.

Lesson x gives a brief summary of a Christian theology of redemption, how God sent his Son as a remedy against evil, and how the evil prince of the world tried to destroy him, materially succeeding, but not succeeding in the end since Christ is the Son of God. It turns into a statement recalling the prologue to the Gospel of John and also St Anselm's *Prayer to Christ* (c.1100) about the interchange between the divine and the human through Christ's sacrifice:<sup>16</sup> the incarnation of Christ, or Christ made man, led to men becoming sons of God; to those who received Christ he gave the power to be sons of God.

These thoughts, rephrasing the main message of the prologue to the Gospel of John, are taken up in the responsory in Example 2 where they are applied to saints who, as Christ, were killed physically but given victory by God to provide help to faithful mortals. For that reason the saints are remembered eternally.

Musically, the high point is on the help to the mortals, '*mortalibus*' which has the longest melisma in the first sentence (phrase 3); the melodic high point is also reached on this word. In the final phrase 6 we find, as was the case with *In viis suis*, by far the longest melisma on the first syllable of the last word of the sentence, '*memoria*'.

Altogether, *Succumbenti gladio* has been constructed so as to emphasise the memory of the saint and the help to the human faithful given in this way. In the context of the lesson it may seem a bit ambiguous whether *memoria* should be

<sup>15</sup> See David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993), 76, 200–1.

<sup>16</sup> Anselm's prayers were mainly written when he was abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Bec before he became archbishop of Canterbury (1093). In his '*Oratio ad Christum*' he writes: '*Heu mihi, qui videre non potui dominum angelorum humiliatum ad conversationem hominum, ut homines exaltaret ad conversationem angelorum!*' ('Alas for me, that I was not able to see the Lord of Angels humbled to converse with men, so that men could be elevated to converse with Angels!') See *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, vol. 2, ed. Franciscus Saesius Schmitt (Stuttgart, 1968), 6–9, at 7. The English translation here is corrected from *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm*, trans. and ed. Benedicta Ward (Harmondsworth, 1973), 93–9, in particular p. 95.

## Lectio x:

Attendens auctor plasma suum periculo subiacere miserie, eius misertus est. Sciuit enim, quia fictile erat, frangi potuit. Curauit igitur fraude cadenti feliciter conferre auxilium. Inde non de massa corruptibili, immo de modio misericordie, de fonte pietatis, de sinu proprio semen salutiferum, granum misteriale, ad fulciendum, quod suffossum fuerat, uase uirgineo diuinitus receptum, factum uisibile misit in mundum. Set mundus eum non cognouit. Vnde adest eius princeps (*Ioh. I, 10; XIV, 30*): qui granum materiale morti addixerat, et hoc conterere incassum curauit. Adhibuit semen suum, semen inuidie, blasphemie, temptacionis, persecucionis et passionis. His omnibus granum gracie grauari non potuit. At quid? Verbum ueritatis a statu proprio non habuit uariari. Non potuit non fieri, quod facturum (*conj: futurum*) predixit. Causa ergo duplici, scilicet ne solum maneret et ut fructum multum proferret, prout uolit, mortuum est. *Filius enim dei filius factus hominis multos filios hominum dei fecit filios. Quotquot enim receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri.* Sic granum misteriale fructum multum fecit in paciencia. Rectum, fratres, esse reor illum recipere, qui federe sibi confederatis patrimonij sui non parcat impertire porciorem (*conj: porcionem*). Quia (*corr. ex Qua*), si Filij, et heredes (*Rom. VIII, 17*). [Tu autem Domine, etc.]<sup>17</sup>

The Creator, expecting that His creation would be exposed to danger, took pity on its distress. For He knew that, being made of clay, it would be broken, and so happily He took care to grant it help when it was falling through deceit.

Therefore, not from corruptible matter but rather from the measure of His pity, from the wellspring of His piety, from His own bosom, and to shore up that which had been undermined by divinely receiving it in a virginal vessel, He sent His saving seed, a mystical grain made visible, into the world. But the world knew Him not. For that reason comes the prince of this same world, who had sentenced the material grain to death and tried in vain to destroy it. He introduced his seed, the seed of envy, blasphemy, temptation, persecution, and suffering. All these could not weigh down the grain of grace. But what of that? The word of truth could not be altered from its proper state. It could not but become that which it predicted would be made. So for two reasons, namely lest it should remain alone and that it might bring forth much fruit, it died just as it wished. *For the Son of God made Son of Man made many sons of men into sons of God. For as many as received Him, to them He gave power to become the sons of God.* Thus the mystical grain made much fruit through suffering. Brethren, I think it right to receive Him who does not refrain from sharing a portion of His patrimony with His allies in the covenant of faith. For if children, then heirs.

<sup>17</sup> Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*, 2:19–20; English translation: Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 153.

R. 1 Succumben- -ti gla-di-o 2 da- tur uic-to-ri- a,  
 3 sub-si-di-um mor- -ta-li-bus 4 et san-ctis glori- a.  
 5 \*In e-ternum per- ma- net  
 e-ius 6 me- -mo- -ri- a.  
 V. 1 Iam placet auc-to-ri, 2 mercedem fer- -re la- -bo-ri.

Ex. 2 Matins responsory 10 *Succumbenti gladio* (Bergsagel 2010, vol. 1, f. 20v–21r, vol. 2, 20).<sup>18</sup>

understood as the memory of Christ or St Knud Lavard. The responsory seems to turn attention to saints from its outset (*'sanctis gloria'*); in any case, in the verbal construction of the item, it is done by way of analogy with the basic Christian message concerning Christ emphasised in the lesson.

In the eleventh lesson, the sermon details who the grain is supposed to be and what kind of falling into the earth is intended. It refers to the parable of the sowing of the seed (Matt. 13:3–9), applying this in a traditional way (based on Matt. 13:20–3) to the different kinds of faiths of different people. The gist is that whereas the ungodly fall and nothing comes thereof, the just man prevails through his piety. This is expressed here by reference to the psalm verse (Ps. 118:164) which is a prime fundament referred to in chapter 16 of Benedict's Rule (and hence all monastic thought) concerning the Divine Office. When such pious men fall, it is as physical suffering, and only to be helped up again. The grain will, as in Jesus's parable, come up and bear fruit, even much fruit. And one fruit here is – again a typical monastic point – humility, expressed through biblical phrases.

The responsory takes up the theme, applying it directly to the notion of a martyr and pointing out how, through physical fall, suffering and death, he brings salvation and help to men, thus bringing fruit in humility (Ex. 3). Musically, the most emphasised word is *'egros'* ('the sick', in phrase 6) in the context of their being cured by the water, the spring coming from the martyr's blood. As reported by Saxo, a spring welled up at the place of Knud's martyrdom: 'His blood given back to the ground provided a

<sup>18</sup> [R.] Victory is granted to the victim of the sword, succour to mortals, and glory to the saints; \*his memory remains forever.

[V.] Now it pleases the Creator to pay the reward of his toil; [R.]\*his memory, etc.  
 English translation: Chesnut, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 153.

## Lectio xi:

Tactis ex parte duobus, ad granum tertium transire tenemur, cuius retraxacio (*i.e.* (re)tractatio) rei retrospecte retinet rationem. Inquid ueritas: 'Si cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, multum fructum affert'. Iam ostendere hortatur ordo rationis, quod granum, quis casus, que mors, quantus et qualis sit fructus. Cum tot sint granorum species, quot genera sunt seminum, singula discernere solius est seminantis. Istud quidem granum, quod in meritis constare memoria presumit, honestum est et utile. Hoc [est] genus electum in apostolis et martyribus, gens sancta in confessoribus et uirginibus, populus adquisicionis in electis omnibus (1 Pet. II, 9). Ecce granum, et hoc est semen, cui benedixit dominus. Quis casus? Casus multi mortalibus imminet, et secundum dissimilem qualitatem cadencium fertur differentia casibus inesse. Cadet semel impius de malo in peius, et cum in profundo uenerit, desperat (Prouerb. 18, 3); dicit enim in corde suo: 'non est deus' (Psalm. 13, 1). *Ibi ceciderunt omnes operantes iniquitatem; expulsi sunt nec potuerunt stare* (Psalm. 35, 13). *Sepcies in die cadit (conj: cadet) iustus, et resurget* (Prouerb. 24, 16), *quia equiperancia uirtutum uiciorum quantitatem excedit*. Dicit quidem: 'sepcies in die laudem dixi tibi' (Psalm. 118, 164). Hic, ubi habundauit peccatum, superhabundauit gracia (Rom. V, 20). Granum igitur in terra iustus in mundo uel anima in carne. Cadens, inquam, quia agendo et paciendo uite labentis fauet successibus. Agendo: nemo sine crimine uiuit. Paciendo: licet enim sancta, anima carni copulata copule sue molestijs expers ex toto esse non poterit. Adhuc dicit Augustinus: 'falsorum interpellatione sollicitatur'. *Est et alter grani huius casus felix, primus et principalis gradus ascendendi ad uisionem pacis* (Ezech. XIII, 16), *humilitas uidelicet, per quam discumbendi (conj: discumbenti) in loco nouissimo dicitur: 'ascende superius'* (Luc. XIV, 10). [Tu autem Domine, etc.]<sup>19</sup>

Two grains having been dealt with in part, we must pass on to the third, the treatment of which holds the meaning of the matter aforementioned. Truth says: 'If it falls to the earth and dies, it brings forth much fruit.' Now the rule of logic demands that we should expound what grain, what falling, what death, and how much and what kind of fruit is meant. There are as many species of grain as there are kinds of seed, and it is the one and only Sower who can tell them apart. Truly, the grain which according to tradition consists in merits is honest and useful: it is the chosen generation of the apostles and martyrs, the holy nation of confessors and virgins, the peculiar people of all God's elect. Behold the grain, and this is the seed that the Lord has blessed. What falling? Mortal men are exposed to many a fall, and a difference can be said to subsist in those falls according to the different kinds of fallers. The ungodly man falls once from bad to worse, and when he reaches the depths he despairs, for he says in his heart: 'There is no God.' *That is the place where all the workers of iniquity have fallen; they were cast out and were not able to stand. Seven times a day shall the just man fall and rise again, because the counterweight of his virtues exceeds the quantity of his vices*. Truly he says: 'Seven times a day have I praised you.' Where sin abounded, grace abounded even more. Thus the grain in the earth is the righteous man in the world, or the soul in the flesh. He falls, I tell you, only to be helped up again when sliding down in the acts and sufferings of life. As to the actions, no one lives without sinning. As to the suffering, inasmuch as a holy soul is joined to its flesh it cannot be wholly without share in the tribulations of its mate. On that subject Augustine says: 'He is disturbed by the heckling of the deceitful.' *There is yet another fortunate fall of this grain, the first and principal step upward to the vision of peace, namely humility, through which it will be said to him who sits in the lowest place: 'Go up higher!'*

<sup>19</sup> Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*, 2:21–2; English translation: Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 154.

R. 1 Mox uirtu- -tem marty- -ris

2 terra propa- -la- -uit,

3 que, dum auxit san- -gui-ne

4 a- -quam propi- na- -uit.

5 \*Hec et sa-nis pro- -fu- -it

6 et e- -gros

sa- -na- -uit.

V. 1 Ex qua lo- ti 2 uel pota- ti 3 sunt sa-na- -ti,

4 quo lan-guo- -re 5 sunt gra- ua- ti.

\*Hec et sa-nis.

Ex. 3 Matins responsory 11 *Mox virtutem* (Bergsagel 2010, vol. 1, f. 22r–v, vol. 2, 21).<sup>20</sup>

health-bringing fountain for mortal men's eternal use' (*Sanguis eius terrae redditus salutarem fontis scatebram perpetuis usibus mortalium talium administrat*).<sup>21</sup> Already in the letter of canonisation, Pope Alexander had referred to a spring near the grave among other miracles: 'and also how after his death a spring suddenly appeared

<sup>20</sup> [R.] Straightway the ground revealed the martyr's power: while it drained his blood it gave water to drink. \*Not only did this water refresh the healthy, it also cured the sick.

[V.] Those who wash themselves in this water or who drink of it are cured, whatever the affliction with which they may be burdened. [R. ] \*Not only did this water, etc.

English translation: Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 154.

<sup>21</sup> See Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, 13.6.9: [www2.kb.dk/elib/lit/dan/saxo/lat/or.dsr/13/6/index.htm](http://www2.kb.dk/elib/lit/dan/saxo/lat/or.dsr/13/6/index.htm) (The Royal Library, Copenhagen, accessed 28 January 2013).

next to his grave' (*'et quomodo etiam post mortem suam iuxta sepulchrum ipsius fons quidam emicuerit'*).<sup>22</sup> This incident is not referred to in the lessons, but the responsory would seem to make up for this, pointing to the by then well-known chapel built at the spring (in the twelfth century), a pilgrimage destination during the Middle Ages, but today a ruin.<sup>23</sup> The upper limit of the melody is reached twice: on the third syllable of *'propinavit'* ('gave to drink', phrase 4), which is also expanded in a long melisma, the longest in the first sentence; and in the long melisma on the first syllable of *'egros'* ('the sick', phrase 6). Two other words receive rather strong emphases: *'sanguine'* in the first sentence (phrase 3), placed so as to form a contrast to, as well as standing in an intimate connection with, the water given to the sick (*'aquam propinavit'*); and the final word of the last sentence, *'sanavit'* (phrase 6), supporting and directing the meaning of the word *'egros'*. As in the previous examples, it appears that the responsory has been shaped so that key words are musically underlined.

In the twelfth and final lesson, the sermon deals with the significance of death in different contexts, emphasising how the death of the martyr, in contrast to that of the sinner, is precious in the eyes of God. Here the theological statement is explicitly applied to St Knud. The lesson concludes, not with statements which could serve to justify Danish expansion through missionary battles, but rather internalising the understanding of the saint's pious martyrdom for the individual participants in the liturgy and cult, who sound more like monks than crusaders.

#### Lectio xii:

'Si granum mortuum fuerit, multum fructum affert'. Tria genera mortis nobis tradit auctoritas: unum prauarum (*conj: prauorum*), aliud piorum, tertium patet utrisque. De primo dominus (*Matth. VIII, 22*): 'dimitte mortuos [suos] sepelire'. De secundo Paulus (? *Gal. VI, 14*) 'qui mundo mortuus est, uiuit Christo'. De tercio lex uniuersalis est, que iubet mori. Set licet mortalibus uniuersus uite presentissima sit priuacio (ut est illud: 'unus est interitus hominum et iumentorum' (*Ecclesiastae III, 19*)), ualde tamen dissimilis. *Mors enim peccatorum pessima, et preciosa in conspectu domini mors sanctorum eius. De quantitate*

'If the grain dies it will bring forth much fruit.' Authority teaches us to distinguish three kinds of death: that of sinners, that of the righteous, and the third that applies to both. Of the first the Lord says, 'Let the dead bury their dead.' Of the second Paul says: 'He who is dead to the world lives in Christ.' As to the third, a universal law requires that we should die. But though for all things mortal there is one departure from this present life (as it is written: 'the destruction of men and beasts is one and the same'), yet it is very different. *For the death of sinners is most terrible, but precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His*

<sup>22</sup> *Epistola Alexandri papae III de canonizatione S. Kanuti Ducis* in Gertz, *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, II: 246–7, at 246. The letter is also printed in *Diplomatarium Danicum*, ed. Lauritz Weibull and Niels Skyum-Nielsen, I. række, (Copenhagen, 1963), 2:346–8, as no. 190. See also Friis-Jensen, 'In the Presence of the Dead', 203–4.

<sup>23</sup> Hans Olrik, *Danske Helgeners Levned*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1968), I:139, n. 2.



*quidem fructus metuendum non est; esse enim dicit 'multum', qui mentiri non potest. Merces uero sanctorum copiosa est in celis (Matth. V, 12). Huius igitur qualitas se humana capacitate non sinit comprehendere, quia nec in cor hominis ascendit, quod preparauit deus diligentibus se (1 Corinth. II, 9) Gratus deo inter grana electa gloriosus apparuit pater et patronus noster Canutus, qui morte temporali commune soluens debitum condicionis [humane] palma martyrij coronari promeruit. Sic martyr magnificus cadens in terram creuit in celum et fructus feliciter coram deo et hominibus multiplicauit. Fratres, non sit nobis fastidium tam preciosum martyrem precibus preuenire, ut in hac terra peregrinationis fraude hostili et fragilitate carnis, mundana quoque ambitione multociens labentes suffragijs eius fulciamur. Demus operam, dilectissimi, auribus percepta operibus adimplere. Mundo moriamur, cui ualediximus, membra nostra cordis compunctione et mundicia, carnis castigacione et continencia et sanctitatis obseruacione cum paciencia super terram mortificantem, ut in tritura tribulacionis nostre sequestrati a secularibus saluatorem sequentes a peccatorum paleis penitus purgemur. Sic, tempore messis ueniente patrefamilias, portantes manipulos iusticie inter grana pura gratiam optineamus, fructuque nostro multiplicato in centuplum uitam. eternam habeamus. Tu autem [Domine, etc.]<sup>24</sup>*

*saints. Nor need we fear for the amount of the fruit, for He who cannot lie declares that there is much of it. Great is the reward of the saints in heaven. The cause why its quality cannot be comprehended by human agency is that what God has prepared for those who love Him has not gone up into the heart of man. Our glorious father and patron Knud appeared pleasing to God among His chosen grains, he who paid the price of the human condition by his temporal death but was worthy to be crowned with the palm of martyrdom. Thus the mighty martyr, falling on the ground, grew to heaven and happily multiplied his fruits with God and men. Brethren, let us not hesitate to direct our prayers to such a glorious martyr, imploring that we, who so often backslide on our earthly pilgrimage because of hostile deceit, the weakness of the flesh, and worldly ambition, may be strengthened by his intercession. Dearly beloved, let us strive to fulfil in our works that which we have heard with our ears. Let us die to the world to which we have bidden farewell, mortifying on earth our bodies with compunction of the heart and cleanliness, with mortification of the flesh and continency, and with the keeping of holiness with patience, so that through the winnowing of our tribulation, shut off from the things of the world and following our Saviour, we may be inwardly purged of the chaff of our sins. Thus, when in due time the householder comes, we, carrying the bundles of justice, may obtain grace among the pure grains; and, our fruit being increased a hundredfold, we may have life eternal.*

<sup>24</sup> Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*, 2:21–2; English translation: Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 154–5.

R. 1 De-cus reg-ni et li- -bertas,  
 2 pax, flos, fruc- -tus et u- -bertas,  
 3 sur-dis au-res das a- -pertas,  
 4 linguas mutis das di- -sertas,  
 5 clau-dis gressus, ce- -cis ui- sus,  
 6 \*Quisquis e- -ger est, con- fi- -sus,  
 7 in te sa- -nus red-di- -tur.

V. 1 Ceti- bus ange- licis 2 iunctus su- per astra lo- ca- ris  
 3 atque tu- is fa- mu- lis 4 in ter- -ris au- xi- li- a- ris.

Follows: 'Gloria patri...' and 'R. Decus regni', both not transcribed here.

Ex. 4a Matins responsory 12 *Decus regni* (Bergsagel 2010, vol. 1, f. 23v–24r, vol. 2, 22).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> '[R.] Adornment and liberty of the kingdom, its peace, its flowering, its fruit and fullness! You open the ears of the deaf, give speaking tongues to the dumb, make the lame walk, and the blind see; \*each needy one that trusts in you is granted health.

[V.] Joined with the heavenly hosts you are set above the stars, and you help your servants here on earth below; [R.] \*each needy one, etc. – Glory be to the Father, etc.'

English translation: Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 155.

Accordingly, the responsory focuses on the help given to the needy: health for the sick, help to those in difficulties. Thereby the kingdom shall flourish and be free. It concerns, as it seems, the notion of freedom associated also with bringing help to the small ones in society, formulated with allusions to the gospels (Matt. 11:5 and Luke 4:18). In the responsory text, it is unclear whether the 'you', grammatically implied, should be understood to be Christ, God or Knud Lavard, though the explicit exhortation in the lesson is to pray to Knud.

This interpretation is corroborated by words in the following *prosa* (see Ex. 4b) combined with the responsory: *'prece ducis'*, 'through [your] ducal intercession' (1b), rendered by Michael Chesnutt as 'through your knightly intercession'. The glory spoken of here is clearly not one corresponding to a notion of grand expanding missions of the Danish kings but rather, as made particularly evident in the last sentence of the *prosa*, the freedom of the Danish people (*'gens tua'*) through the help provided for those needy of help, whether concerning sickness or need for justice, as well as through (spiritual) illumination, as this may now be provided through Knud Lavard's intercessions.

The construction of the verse, words and melody, places the first syllable of the words *'super astra'*, referring to Knud being above the stars, on the melodic high point of the first sentence (phrase 2). This peak is reached twice in the first sentence: on *'das'*, 'you give' openness to deaf ears (phrase 3), as well as on the first syllable of *'disertas'*, 'eloquence' to the dumb (phrase 4). It is also reached twice in the last sentence: on the first two syllables of *'confisus'*, those 'trusting' Knud (phrase 6), and then during the long melisma on the first syllable of *'sanus'*, health (phrase 7). In the following *prosa*, the words *'crucifixi'* ('of the crucified', (1a)), *'illustra'* ('illuminate', (1b)), and the first syllables of *'prave'*, *'gentis'*, and *'perimentis'* (3a) are sung on top-notes of the ambitus. The significance of this setting comes to the fore when translating literally *'prave gentis, perimentis populum et pecora'* in the prayer to the duke for pastoral care (*'pastoris officio'*) for 'a vicious race, destroying the people and the flock'.

The placement of the highest pitch on the three mentioned syllables is not particularly obvious, but may possibly emphasise how far Knud, following Christ's example, had gone to help his people. The same melody is repeated in the following line, *'vi potentis, a tormentis gens est tua libera'* (3b), which may be rendered 'through the strength of [your] power, your people [nation] is freed from torments'. Here the word *'vi'* ('through strength'), the second syllable of *'potentis'* ('of power'), and the preposition *'a'* ('from'), have been placed on the highest notes in the melody. A poetic text set syllabically (except for the melismas on final vowels) with a melodic sequence structure would be less flexible in terms of word and music relations, and the result is less convincing than for the prose texts of the responsories.

1a Qvi conducis seruos crucis cruci-fi-xi numi-ne, E.

1b Prece ducis uere lucis nos illustra lumine. E.

2a Custos legis mundo degis, mundi carens uici-o. O.

2b Proles regis, dux e-gregis, pastoris offi-ci-o. O.

3a Prae gentis perimentis populum et pecora. A.

3b Vi potentis a tormentis gens est tu-a libe-ra. A.

\*R. Sa-                   -nus reddi-   -tur.

Ex. 4b Prosa *Qui conducis* (Bergsagel 2010, vol. 1, f. 24v–25r, vol. 2, 23).<sup>26</sup>

For the Feast of the Translation, the gospel text from Matthew 10 is used to point out how the wicked nature of Knud Lavard's murderers was brought out into the open as they no longer hid their conspiracy, but acted out their crime. As mentioned above, the Matins responsories from the office '*de passione*' were reused for Matins in the office '*de translatione*' (or vice versa, since the office of the translation clearly was the first needed).

<sup>26</sup> [1a] You, who bring the servants of the Cross together at the Crucified's command,  
 [1b] illuminate us through your knightly intercession with the brightness of the true light!  
 [2a] As guardian of the law you dwell in the world, though lacking the world's vice.  
 [2b] O kingly son, O duke, unrivalled in your care  
 [3a] for a sinful race, the people and the flocks of Satan!  
 [3b] By the power of the Almighty your nation is freed from all torment;  
 [R.] \**[each needy one] is granted health.*

English translation: Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 155. For the repetition of the last words of the responsory, '*sanus redditur*', the melisma on the first syllable of '*sanus*' is abbreviated to its last segment. For the *repetenda* in this complex of a responsory and a *prosa*, see the suggestions in Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*, 2:63.

## Lectio ix (de translacione):

Secundum Mattheum (*X, 26 sqq.*). In illis [diebus]: Dixit dominus Ihesus discipulis suis: 'Nichil opertum, quod non reuelabitur, [et] occultum, [quod] non sciatur', et reliqua.

Omelia lectionis eiusdem. Multa sunt in ista uita operta, que cuncta erunt in die nouissimo aperta. Pleraque etenim nunc latrocinia, adulteria, furta latent, que tunc omnibus patent. Plurima eciam pecunia nunc in terra celatur, que tota antichristo reuelatur. Porro occulta consilia cogitacionem sepe patescunt per manifesta stadia actionum. *Nam praua consilia impiorum reuelata sunt in persecucione iustorum. Sic seui dum ducem Kanutum in dolo solutabant, odium simulata amicitia uelabant. Dum uero in eum armis crudeliter irruerunt, doli latentes in lucem proruperunt. Et quia peccatum suum sicut Sodoma predicauerunt nec absconderunt, cum requiret dominus sanguinem iustorum, fumus et stipula incendij erunt. [Tu autem Domine, etc.]*<sup>27</sup>

A reading from the Holy Gospel according to Matthew. In those days the Lord Jesus said to his disciples: 'Nothing is covered that shall not be revealed, and hidden that shall not be known.' And so forth.

Homily on this reading: Many things are covered in this life, all of which shall be revealed at the last day. For many villanies, adulteries, and thefts are now concealed that then shall be apparent to all. And much money is now buried in the ground that will be revealed in its entirety to Antichrist. Moreover, as to the secret counsel of men's thoughts, they are often visible through the manifest zeal of their actions. *For the evil counsels of the ungodly are revealed when they persecute the righteous. Thus, those cruel men craftily greeted Duke Knud, veiling their hatred with pretended friendship, but when they brutally fell upon him with weapons their secret deceits rushed forth into the light.* And because like Sodom they proclaimed their crime and did not conceal it, when the Lord makes inquisition for the blood of the righteous they shall be the smoke and stubble of the fire.

As noted in the discussion of responsory ix (Ex. 1), the words that seem to have been musically underlined are 'bonis' (phrase 5) and 'mancipatur' (phrase 6), in the sentence 'for his good deeds he is sold to death'. Such emphasis obviously stands in a meaningful relationship to the message of the lesson, which points out how the murderers, having betrayed the honest Knud through 'pretended friendship' ('*simulata amicitia*'), in a sense sold him to death.

In the following lesson, it is made clear how Knud was brought into heaven and is venerated all over the kingdom while the persecutors are being cursed everywhere.

<sup>27</sup> Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*, 2:36; English translation: Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 158.

## Lectio x:

‘Quod dico uobis in tenebris, dicite in lumine; et quod in aure auditis, predicate super tecta’. Quod dominus discipulos in secreto docuit, hoc illorum uox in puplico orbi terre insonuit. Quod eis in aurem susurrauit, hoc illorum collegium per omnes gentes diuulgauit. ‘Nolite timere eos, qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere’. *Persecutores, dum sanctos occiderunt, animas illorum per cruciatus pergatas celestibus intulerunt. Et quia deum non timebant, animam et corpus suum in gehennam mergebant. Corpus quippe Kanuti ab impijs per penas consummatur, set anima eius ab angelis in celesti gremio collocatur. Et ecce ducem pro iusticia occisum totum regnum ueneratur, occisores autem eius totus mundus execratur.* [Tu autem Domine, etc.]<sup>28</sup>

‘What I tell you in darkness, speak it in the light; and what you hear in your ear, preach it upon the house-tops.’ That which the Lord taught His disciples in secret their voice has sounded out openly to the ends of the earth. That which He whispered in their ear their company has spread abroad throughout all nations. ‘Fear not those who kill the body, for they cannot kill the soul.’ *The persecutors of the saints killed them, but in so doing they carried their souls, purged by those very torments, to heaven. And because they feared not God, they plunged their own souls and bodies into hell. Certainly the body of Knud has been consumed through punishments inflicted by the ungodly, but his soul is carried by angels to the celestial bosom. And behold, the whole kingdom venerates a duke slain for righteousness, but the whole world execrates his murderers.*

Responsory x, as pointed out for the office ‘*de passione*’ (Ex. 2), highlights the cult of saints and seems to emphasise the words ‘*mortalibus*’ and ‘*memoria*’ musically in the sentence characterising saints as giving ‘help to mortals’ (‘*subsidium mortalibus*’, phrase 3), the faithful as praising ‘his memory remains for ever’ (‘*in eternum permanent eius memoria*’, phrase 6), referring to the martyr as the ‘victim of the sword’ (phrase 1). This seems to be a very adequate response to the statement of how in the end the deed of the murderers, contrary to their intentions, supported the cause of the martyr and the memory of his saintliness.

In the eleventh lesson, the image of the sparrows from Matt. 10:29–30 (cf. Luke 12:6–7) is used as a basis for an exegesis leading the faithful to consider how Knud’s flesh paid a price similar to that of Christ.

<sup>28</sup> Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*, 2:36; English translation: Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 158.



Lectio xi:

‘Nonne duo passeress asse ueneunt? et unus ex illis non cadet super terram sine patre uestro’. Duo passeress duo populi, scilicet Iudei et gentiles, extiterunt; qui asse, uidelicet corpore Christi, empti sunt. Duo eciam passeress anima et corpus nostrum sunt, qui post resurrectionem alis gemine caritatis ad celestia conuolabunt. Hec pondere emuntur, dum carne Christi a morte redimuntur. As quippe est pondus dimidij denarij; Christus autem est denarius, qui in premio dabitur in uinea laborantibus (*Matth. XX, 1 sqq.*). As ergo pro duobus passeribus datur, dum humanitas Christi pro duobus populis immolatur, diuinitas uero ab angelis in celis adoratur. *Sic caro Kanuti uelud as in precio soluitur, et binus passer, scilicet anima et corpus, ab eterna morte tollitur.* [Tu autem Domine, etc.]<sup>29</sup>

‘Are two sparrows not sold for a halfpenny? Yet one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.’ The two sparrows represented the two peoples, namely the Jews and the Gentiles, who have been bought for a halfpenny, that is to say with the body of Christ. The two sparrows are also our soul and our body, which after the resurrection will fly to heaven on the wings of double charity. They are bought for a given value when redeemed from death by the flesh of Christ. Verily, a halfpenny is half the value of a penny, but Christ is the penny that shall be given in wages to the labourers in the vineyard. So a halfpenny is given for the two sparrows inasmuch as the humanity of Christ was sacrificed for the two peoples, while His divinity is adored by the angels in heaven. *Thus the flesh of Knud is paid as a price like a halfpenny, and the twin sparrow of our soul and body is saved from eternal death.*

Responsory xi (Ex. 3) emphasises how Knud’s death led to a cure for the sick and eternal salvation of mankind, pointing out how the saint’s blood gave rise to a holy spring curing the sick. Musically, words concerning the drinking of the water, health and sick people underline to what extent Knud was seen as emulating redemption through Christ. As in the office ‘*de passione*’, although the lessons do not discuss the miraculous spring, the responsory with its emphasis on how Knud cures the sick is an appropriate response to the lesson, also here in the ‘*de translatione*’.

Finally in lesson xii, Jesus’s statement ‘Whosoever shall confess me before men’ (Matt. 10:32; cf. Luke 12:8) leads to the conclusion that Knud Lavard is now confessed by Christ because of his truthful life as a faithful witness. Pope Alexander’s canonisation bull prescribed Knud Lavard to be celebrated on 25 June, determining this as his *dies natalis*. His martyrdom and its date (7 January) are not mentioned. In Danish historiography, this has raised the (purely speculative) question whether the

<sup>29</sup> Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*, 2:36; English translation: Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 159.

pope accepted Knud as a martyr since he may have worn weapons at his death, at least according to Saxo's narrative, although he did not according to the lessons of the office 'de passione'. In the surviving thirteenth-century offices, written for celebrations on both 7 January and 25 June, however, the introit shared by both masses ('de passione' and 'de translatione') makes clear that Knud Lavard was celebrated as a martyr: the text includes the phrase, 'diem festum celebrantes in honore Kanuti martiris' ('celebrating the feast day in honour of Knud martyr').<sup>30</sup> Knud Lavard as a 'faithful martyr' is precisely what is emphasised in the last lesson for Matins 'de translatione':

Lectio xii:

'Vestri autem et capilli capitis omnes numerati sunt. Nolite ergo timere: multis passeribus meliores estis uos'. Multos sanctorum persecutores diuersis supplicij[s] affecerunt: plurimos membratim discerperunt; quosdam igni iniectos flamme consumpserunt; alios bestie deuorauerunt. Qui tamen omnes in die nouissimo ita redintegrantur, ut nec cadentes capilli deesse uideantur. Traduntur eciam cicatrices uulnerum apparere tunc in corporibus martyrum ad testimonium paciencie ipsorum et seuicie tortorum. *'Omnis ergo, qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram patre meo, qui est in celis'*. Christus est ueritas et iusticia. Qui ueritatem coram hominibus locuntur et iusticiam facere nituntur, hos Christus coram patre suo confitebitur, dum eos in iudicio a dextris collocatos in regnum patris uocare non uerebitur. *Sanctum itaque Kanutum, qui ueritatem coram populo protulit, iusticiam in iudicio excoluit, Christus confitebitur in celis, dum ab eo martiribus associabitur in celo testis fidelis. Vbi est splendor et lux perpetua et sine fine leticia, quam oculus non uidit, nec auris*

'But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Therefore fear not; you are of more value than many sparrows.' On many of the saints their persecutors visited various forms of death. Very many they tore limb from limb; some were thrown into the fire and consumed by flames; others again wild beasts devoured. All of them, however, will be so restored at the last day that not even their falling hairs can be seen to be lacking. We are also taught that the scars of their wounds will then appear on the bodies of the martyrs, in witness of their suffering and the savagery of their tormentors. *'Whosoever shall confess me before men, I will also confess him before my Father who is in the heavens.'* Christ is truth and justice. Those who speak truth before men and strive to do justice will be confessed by Christ before His Father at the time when He shall not fear to call them into His Father's kingdom, setting them on His right hand at the day of judgment. *Thus St Knud, who made known the truth before his people and practiced justice as a judge, will be confessed by Christ in the heavens when he, as a faithful witness,*

<sup>30</sup> Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 40. For Pope Alexander's bull, see Gertz, *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, 2:246–7, esp. 247.

*audiuit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quam  
preparauit deus hijs, qui eum diligunt  
(1 Corinth. II, 9); ad quam nos perducere  
dignetur, qui uiuit et regnat deus  
per omnia secula seculorum, amen.  
[Tu autem Domine, etc.]*<sup>31</sup>

*is brought by Christ into the company of the  
martyrs in heaven, where there is splendor,  
and perpetual light, and endless joy which  
the eye has not seen, and the ear has not  
heard, nor has that gone up into the heart of  
man which God has prepared for those who  
love Him. To which may He vouchsafe to  
bring us, who lives and reigns, God  
throughout all ages! Amen.*

There can be no doubt that responsory xii (Ex. 4a) corresponds well with the praise contained in the lesson. In its text and music, the responsory *Decus regni*, already discussed, obviously stands as a fitting conclusion, emphasizing the help provided for sick and needy through St Knud's saintly care for his people.

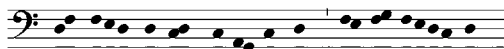
By way of conclusion, let us briefly consider one further poetic item from the mass '*de translatione*' to supplement the observations made so far, focusing on a chant which seems undoubtedly to be an original composition for Knud Lavard, namely the sequence ('*prosa de translacione*'), *Diem festum veneremur martyris* (Let us celebrate the Feast of the martyr) (Ex. 5). Angul Hammerich studied the sequence in 1912, pointing out that the melody was re-used at the cathedral of Lund with a different text in the sixteenth century as a Marian sequence. It is preserved in the so-called *Liber schole virginis*, a manuscript kept in the University Library in Lund, recently transcribed and published.<sup>32</sup>

As uniquely preserved in the thirteenth-century mass for the translation, the sequence emphasises an image of the theological ideology of these offices in accordance with what has been presented. Hammerich, in his discussion, pointed out that the melody, in stanza 5, moved from a deep plagal compass in the first stanzas (mode II) to authentic mode I.<sup>33</sup> This is preserved in the following stanzas although the range in stanzas 5a and 5b also extends downwards so as to encompass modes I and II. In stanzas 6a and 6b, the melody cadences on the tenor *a*; in stanzas 7a and 7b, as well as 8a and 8b, the high point of the melody is extended upwards to the *d* an octave above the final *D* (see Ex. 5). In stanzas 9a and 9b, the melody settles for a high point of *c*. Altogether this creates a melodic design which, in combination with the compass of each individual stanza, constitutes a strong upward movement from stanza 5. This continues further up to stanza 8, and then gradually and calmly

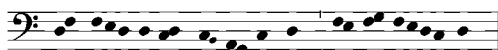
<sup>31</sup> Bergsagel, *The Offices and Masses*, 2:37; English translation: Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 159.

<sup>32</sup> See Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy*, 68; Angul Hammerich, *Musik-Mindesmærker fra Middelalderen i Danmark* (Copenhagen, 1912), 95–102; Hammerich's volume was also published in English translation by Margaret Williams Hamerik: *Mediæval Musical Relics of Denmark* (Leipzig, 1912). See also the sequence, *Ave plena singulari gracia*, trans. and ed. Jeremy Llewellyn and Eyolf Østrem, 'Transcriptions of the Manuscript, LUB MH 14 with a Preface and Comments', in *Liber Scholæ Virginis*, ed. Folke Bohlin et al. (Lund, 2003), 47–127, at 96–9. The *Diem festum ueneremur* is not mentioned in the translation office for St Knud Lavard in the printed *Missale Lundense* (Paris, 1514).

<sup>33</sup> Hammerich, *Musik-Mindesmærker*, 95. His transcription is given on pp. 101–2.



1a Di-em festum uene-remur mar-ty- -ris,



1b Ut nos e-ius ad-iu-uemur me- -ri- -tis.



2a Per prophetas in fi-gu-ra predi-ca-ta pari-tu-ra plures parit steri-lis.



2b Pa-rit parens in pres-su-ra dolor partus perdit iu-ra, dum applaudit fi-li-is.



3a Fi-li-i fide sunt re-na-ti, ad certamen prepara-ti fide-i constanci- -a



3b Supra petram so-li-dati, non sunt morte sepa-ra-ti a matre eccle-si-a.



4a In-ter istos consti-tu-tus Christi miles dux Ka-nu- -tus reci-pit stipen-di- -a.



4b Regem regum prose-cu-tus stola prima est in-du- -tus pro morta-li tu-ni-ca.



5a Adhuc uiuens peri-tu-ram parui-pendens permansu- -ram ui-tam que-rit o-pe-re.



5b Dat talentum ad u-su-ram et frumentum per mensu- -ram du-pli-cat in tem-po-re.



6a Tuta fides in talento designatur in frumen-to firma spes et kari-tas.



6b Quarum crescit incremento uino fouens et unguen-to proximi mise-ri- as.

Ex. 5 De translacione Prosa *Diem festum ueneremur* (Bergsagel 2010, vol. 1, f. 44v–47r, vol. 2, 46–49).

7a Iste de- i cultor ue- rus, cu- i fa- uet plebs et cle- rus, de quo gaudet Daci- a.

7b Non su- per- bus sed se- ue- rus, pi- us prudens et since- rus plenus de- i graci- a,

8a Fi- de fic- ta suffo- ca- -tus a cognatis morti datus, compleuit mar- -ty- ri- um.

8b Hac in di- e est transla- -tus, cuius prece exo- ra- tus de- us det au- xi- li- um.

9a Ductor nos- ter dux Kanu- te nos transi- re cum uirtu- te fac per tempora- li- a.

9b Te ducto- re cum te du- ce perfru- amur uera lu- ce et eter- na glori- a,

10 In le- ru- sa- lem su- -perna.

Ex. 5 *continued*

moves downward to end in the final stanza 10 with a melismatic and deep conclusion on the heavenly Jerusalem.

Textually, stanza 5 is the point at which the actual life of Knud is brought into full consideration: he is introduced as a saint and Christian soldier, '*miles Christi*' in stanza 4. This notion does not seem to be emphasised musically; only his name, *Kanutus*, is expanded in a short double-melisma. The melodic high point of stanza 5a is first reached on the third syllable of '*parvipendens*' ('not paying attention to' his being destroyed), and similarly in 5b on the second syllable of '*frumentum*' ('the crop' which he doubles). This is explained in stanza 6, which explicitly makes his deeds clear as pious ones; the words '*fides*', and '*designatur*' with melodic highpoints determine the crop, further emphasised by a melisma in stanza 6a; in 6b he grows ('*crescit*') and treats ('*fouens*') – both with melodic high points – his neighbour's wounds with ointment ('*unguento*'), expanded with a melisma on its second syllable.

Stanza 7 emphasises that the people and the clergy love him with a melodic high point on '*cui*' in 7a and, similarly in 7b, highlighting that he is pious ('*pius*'). Similarly, stanza 8a emphasises how he was made to die through falsity ('*ficta*') with short melismas on the third syllable of '*suffocatus*' and the first syllable of '*martyrium*'. In 8b the very day of the translation ('*die*') receives the melodic high

point, the second syllable of 'translatus' a short melisma, and the first syllable of 'auxilium' (God's 'help') gets the last melisma. With respect to tessitura, stanzas 7 and 8 are the brightest or the highest in the entire sequence.

Stanza 9 less strongly emphasises 'Kanute' ('Knud') and 'te duce' ('you, duke'), combining the melodic high point and melismas. The sequence ends calmly in a downward movement towards the final, emphasising as it seems the heavenly Jerusalem ('*Ierusalem superna*'), with the melodic high point of the stanza (c) and a melisma on the first syllable of '*superna*'.

Altogether, it is clearly not the crusader or knight that is highlighted in this sequence, but the Christ-like helper and pious guide of his people, verbally as well as musically. This can be claimed, however, only if the use of melodic high points and of melismas can reasonably be interpreted as I have done here. Even though these means seem to be the most obvious by which a melody can be made to point to something in a text, by prolonging it or making it stand out as the top of a melodic movement, it must be acknowledged that it is, indeed, impossible to know what associations such melodic movements and textual settings had for those who composed and listened to them. It must also be underlined that one cannot be certain that these means were used consistently; other factors may very likely have been in play and in many cases these interfered with a systematic use, whether or not this was applied consciously or in a more intuitive way. Still, it seems to me that these means, at least in some measure, can be interpreted as I have done here, if a case can be made through the text, that such emphases are not fortuitous, but make sense in relation to the text altogether and if it is also clear that – whether one may claim any degree of consistency or not – there are enough examples of this to establish a pattern of coincidences of important words underlining the main contents of sentences and melodic high points and melismas. As I have argued, this seems to be the case for the chants I have considered, not least supported by the relationship between the lessons and the responsories of the third Nocturns in the two offices.