

## SONGS FOR ST. KNUD THE KING

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In the character of Hamlet Denmark bequeathed England one of her most famous literary figures. But the story of Hamlet is just one of a number of stories from Denmark which were circulating in England in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, another of which even won a modest place in musical literature. In John Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* we can read

»the story of *Ericus* the Musician ... who had given forth, that by his Musick he could drive men into what Affections he listed; and being required by *Bonus* King of *Denmark* to put his Skill in practice, he with his Harp, or *Polycord Lyra*, expressed such effectual melody and harmony, in the variety of changes in several *Keyes*, and in such excellent *Fug's* and spritely *Ayres*, that his Auditors began first to be moved with some strange passions, but ending his excellent Voluntary with some choice Fancy upon this *Phrygian Mood*, the Kings passions were altered, and excited to that height, that he fell upon his most trusty friends which were near him, and slew some of them with his fist for lack of another weapon; which the Musician perceiving, ended with the sober and solemn *Dorick*, which brought the King to himself, who much lamented what he had done.«<sup>1</sup>

The story derives, of course, from Saxo, as Playford knows, though it is not from the original source that he has taken – and embellished – it here.<sup>2</sup> Whereas Saxo's story is told to illustrate the powerful effect of the tones of the harp (by which we are perhaps to understand the effect of certain melodies, such as those referred to by name in *Bosi's Saga*<sup>3</sup>), Playford uses it to illustrate the ancient Greek »doctrine of ethos«, the ethical effect of the melodic modes. He treats the subject rather reluctantly, for he admits that »these Moods [are] of little use among us«, yet he feels obliged to do so anyway and reveals himself as a hopelessly anachronistic historian. While on the one hand bringing Saxo's story up-to-date with such modern terminology as »Fug's and spritely Ayres«, »Voluntary« and »Fancy«, he introduces »Ericus« and King Bonus without discrimination alongside such authoritative examples from antiquity as David and Saul and Timotheus and Alexander the Great on the other.

Had Playford been a literary genius like Shakespeare he might neverthe-

less, despite historical inaccuracies, have made Ericus into Denmark's most famous musician, as Hamlet is Denmark's most famous prince. Had he been a better historian he might have concentrated on the figure of King Bonus and written an interesting chapter of Danish musical history. However, in view of his anachronisms Playford was obviously totally unaware that King Bonus was neither a figure from Nordic mythology nor of an antiquity equivalent to Saul and Alexander but actually the historically real and relatively modern Erik Ejegod, King of Denmark 1095-1103 and thus the contemporary of William II Rufus, son of William the Conqueror. He would then not know that, together with Charles Butler's earlier reference, he had given a place in musical literature to one who really does deserve a place in Danish musical history – not for having over-reacted to the sound of music and killed four men, but for having initiated (if we may assume that the art of the minstrel was improvisatory) the tradition of written-down musical composition in this country. This is not to suggest that the king was himself a composer, but by achieving the canonization of his brother King Knud, who had been martyred before the high altar in the Church of St. Alban in Odense in 1086, which was celebrated by the solemn translation of his bones on 19 April, 1100 or 1101, King Erik Ejegod created the conditions requiring for the first time the composition of a new addition to the liturgical music of the church in Denmark. And just as M. Cl. Gertz began his study *Knud den Helliges Martyrhistorie* (The Account of the Martyrdom of Knud the Holy)<sup>4</sup> by emphasizing the fact that »The murder of King Knud in Odense on 10 July 1086, the strangest event in the history of the Danish church since the introduction of Christianity, provided the occasion also for the first attempts at the writing of Danish history«, it can be said that the occasion of his canonization and translation is the first that we can be sure must have prompted the creation and writing down of a musical composition in Denmark.

The process was repeated in 1170 when St. Knud's nephew, Erik Ejegod's son Knud Lavard (St. Knud *dux*), who had been foully murdered 7 January 1131, was translated in Ringsted Church on 25 June. But though the precious manuscript now in the library of Kiel University (S.H. 8 A, 8°) probably records the music prepared for that occasion, no manuscript with music for St. Knud *rex* appears to have survived. Thus it is that the earliest notated music to which Nils Schjørring can refer in his recent extremely valuable three volume *History of Music in Denmark*<sup>5</sup> is that for the liturgical celebration of the Feasts of St. Knud Lavard. However, it is as difficult to accept passively the loss of the music for St. Knud *rex*, *protomartyr danorum*, as it is that for St. Alban, *protomartyr anglorum* – nor indeed are the two things unrelated. Though it is not possible yet to report the discovery of any music

for St. Knud *rex*, as was the case some years ago for St. Alban<sup>6</sup>, it can nevertheless be an instructive exercise to try to reconstruct some at least of the music which for over 500 years was sung to his honour in Danish churches.

The term »composition« which has been used for the additional liturgical material required for the appropriate celebration of the new saint must be understood in its medieval sense of something which was »put together«, both text and music, with a variable degree of original creative initiative. Like the first historical writing which Gertz discusses, this first musical project was certainly carried out by the group of English Benedictine monks which Erik Ejegod imported from Evesham Abbey in Worcestershire in 1095-96 with the approval of King William II Rufus. There were a number of good reasons, historical and religious as well as political, for turning to England at this decisive moment. For one thing, the church in Odense was already strongly English-oriented: according to the English monk Ælnoth's account of King Knud's martyrdom, he was killed before the high altar on which rested relics of the English Saints Alban and Oswald. The latter was presumably the 7th-century King of Northumbria, but another St. Oswald perhaps also played a part in the establishment of an Anglo-Danish connection for this 10th-century Bishop of Worcester and York, who refounded Evesham Abbey, was of Danish parentage. The Danish bias at Evesham continued in the 11th century when the Abbot was Ælfwærd or Ailward, a relative of King Knud the Great, whose patronage the Abbey enjoyed. For these and other reasons it probably seemed to King Erik Ejegod that his appeal would meet with sympathy at Evesham.

The liturgical services which the monks composed to the honour of King Knud in Odense were naturally designed to serve monastic purposes but in their original form they have all disappeared together with the music to which they were sung. The earliest sources remaining to us of the Offices of St. Knud *rex* are the non-monastic revisions which were printed in the *Breviarium Othiniense* in 1482-3 and again in 1497. Versions also occur in the printed breviaries for Aarhus (1519), Lund (1517) and Roskilde (1517), and Masses are found in the missals printed for Slesvig (1486), Lund (1514) and Copenhagen (Roskilde) (1510).

We shall perhaps never know the original form of the Offices of St. Knud *rex*, but the versions surviving, amongst which the Odense versions are entitled to a certain authority, still seem to me to witness in a vital way to the work of the monks from Evesham. For example, the Antiphon at the Magnificat at Second Vespers which begins *Ossibus egregiis duplex superadditus ignis mox est extinctus, ut sacros attigit artus...* refers to the test by fire which was applied to the bones of King Knud to prove their sanctity when they

were first taken up from the grave in 1095.<sup>7</sup> The test by fire is not unknown elsewhere, of course, but its use here may well have been inspired by a similar test which had been undertaken at Evesham not many years before. There the first Norman Abbot, Walter, having had doubts about the sanctity of the relics of Saxon saints, had tested with fire the bones of St. Wistan which had been given to Evesham by King Knud the Great, they remaining unhurt.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, in the Office for the Feast of the Translation of St. Knud the 2nd Antiphon at First Vespers is *Sol oriens nec deficiens*, which, with a substitution of names, is otherwise only known in connection with the Anglo-Saxon royal martyrs Oswald and Edward. In the Aarhus Breviary it occurs as the 3rd Antiphon and is followed by *O bone rex regum* which, with the substitution of *Kanuti* for *Albani*, is taken from the 11th-century Office of St. Alban. The juxtaposition here of borrowings for St. Knud from both St. Oswald and St. Alban seems balanced and logical and suggests that the antiphon *O bone rex regum* was very likely also a part of the original Office at Odense which was sacrificed when the monastic version had to be shortened before publication in 1482.

The problems posed by the liturgy are too complicated to be treated here, however, and will have to wait for another study.<sup>9</sup> For present purposes we will limit ourselves to a consideration of the hymns and sequences which the several liturgical books contain. If there were creative talents among the monks in Odense it is in these by the 12th century more or less independent forms that one would expect them to find outlet. This has, of course, the great disadvantage that the more freely created a piece is, the more difficult it is to reconstruct, especially when, as in the case of St. Knud *rex*, the music is entirely lacking. To this it may be said that creative musicians seem to have been in shorter supply in 12th-century Denmark than poets. In the Office of St. Knud Lavard, for instance, for which we have both words and music, the poems of the two hymns *Gaudet mater ecclesia* and *Primo proscriptos patria* appear to be new poems, more or less freely composed. As for the music, however, the previous existence of the two melodies associated with *Gaudet mater ecclesia* has been discussed more than once<sup>10</sup>, and since I made my contribution to that subject I have discovered that also the melody of *Primo proscriptos patria* was shared with another hymn. Just as Handschin found the melody of *Gaudet mater ecclesia* used (in a two-part rondellus version) for the hymn *Nunc sanctis nobis* in a York manuscript, so too the melody of *Primo proscriptos patria* occurs in a York manuscript (Sion College, Arc. L 40.2.L.1) with the familiar text *Jam lucis orto sidere* (see Ex.1). The connection of the early Danish church with the northern English dioceses as well as with the West Country is significant but not surprising, for though Butler's *Principles of Musick* may contain the first

mention of King Erik Ejegod in English *musical* literature, it is certainly not the earliest appearance of his name in an English book. At Durham »there did lie on the High Altar an excellent fine book, very richly covered with gold and silver, containing the names of all the benefactors towards St. Cuthbert's Church from the very foundation thereof, the very letters of the book being, for the most part, all gilt, as is apparent in the said book till this day«<sup>11</sup> and in this *Liber Vitae* are written the names »Eiric rex Danorum, Botild regina«.

If we may suppose then that the melodies are not likely to be new creations there is the chance that the method of composition, referred to earlier, of patterning a new work on a pre-existing one may leave embodied in the new poem enough clues to lead us to an identification of the original and its accompanying melody. It is by this approach that I have tried to recover the hymns and sequences of St. Knud *rex*, and though in practice it is not always quite as straightforward as it might seem, it has had a measure of success.

Apparently four proper<sup>12</sup> hymns and three sequences for St. Knud *rex* were in circulation in Danish churches. The main hymn was

**1. *Caterva nostra laudibus***

from the Odense Office, which occurs in all the breviaries. In addition the Aarhus Breviary has

**2. *Martyr egregie Deo dilecte***

at Mattins, and the Roskilde Breviary has

**3. *Magnae dies laetitiae***

at Mattins and

**4. *Accelerant, ut rapiant***

at Lauds.

Of sequences, the Slesvig Missal has

**1. *Verbum bonum personemus.***

The Lund and Copenhagen Missals both have

**2. *Salve martyr alme! Salve iam celigena!***

as part of the Mass for the Translation of St. Knud *dux*, but Gertz has convincingly demonstrated<sup>13</sup> on the basis of its internal references that it properly belongs to St. Knud *rex*. The Copenhagen Missal alone has

**3. *Pangat gaudens et concrepet ecclesia.***

Of these, I have not yet found convincing prototypes for no. 4 of the hymns

nor for nos. 2 and 3 of the sequences so there is nothing more to be said about them, for the time being at least. Neither is there much to be said about Hymn no. 2, but for quite the opposite reason: *Martyr egregie Deo* is so well known and has been so widely used that it has little special interest in connection with St. Knud. Though used for many saints it is especially associated with St. George with exactly the same text as here except that the name of St. Knud has been substituted for that of St. George. But though St. George is England's patron saint this hymn is not likely to have come to Denmark from England since it does not occur in the early English Benedictine manuscripts, nor is it found in the later Sarum or York hymnars. Nevertheless, though it is therefore almost certainly not part of the original Office of St. Knud, it was undoubtedly sung to St. Knud's honour in this country, at least at Aarhus, in the Middle Ages so I include its melody from an 11th-century Italian Benedictine manuscript<sup>14</sup> as Ex.2.

Hymn no. 3, *Magnae dies laetitiae*, poses no problem either as to the identification of its model, though its text has been subjected to a somewhat bolder modification than was the case with the foregoing. This hymn too has been used for a number of saints but it was written originally for St. Peter Martyr and it was perhaps the difficulty of substituting the three-syllable name »Kanutus« for the two-syllable »Petrus« in line 3 which forced the unknown »Danish« poet to begin to rewrite the poem:

Magnae dies laetitiae	Magnae dies laetitiae
Nobis illuxit caelitus	Nobis illuxit hodie
Petrus ad thronum gloriae	Quo rex Kanutus Daciae
Martyr pervenit inclitus.	Thronum conscendit gloriae.

It is instructive as to the process of adaptation to observe that when the words »thronum gloriae« of the original cannot be accommodated in line 3 of the adaptation a way is found to work them into line 4 instead. This way of remaining within reach of the model, which may be interpreted either as an indication of a lack of self-confidence on the part of the poet or of a respect for the pre-existent material characteristic of medieval craftsmen, is typical of a process of recreation which makes the tracing of relationships more reliable than mere guess-work.

Peter of Verona was murdered in 1252, canonized as the first Dominican martyred saint in 1253, and this hymn was already included in the official Dominican liturgical revision, the *Correctorium*, prepared at Paris under the supervision of Humbertus de Romanis 1254-59. It cannot, therefore, have been part of the original Odense Office, nor will it have been brought to Denmark from England since, like *Martyr egregie*, it does not belong to the

English Benedictine repertoire of hymns. It is one of the central core of Dominican hymns, however, and surely came to Denmark from the Dominican centres in northern France, perhaps already in the latter part of the 13th century. I have therefore taken the melody of Ex. 3 from the original 13th-century Dominican manuscript.<sup>15</sup>

Hymn no. 1, *Caterva nostra laudibus*, presents a much more difficult case. Assuming that, like the others, it is patterned after an existing model, and that this model is most likely to be hinted at in the opening line, we are directed to a hymn with a rather complicated pedigree. Of the many hundreds of hymns the texts of which have been edited and catalogued, only one other, as far as I know, begins with the word »Caterva«. This is the hymn *Caterva matrum personat*, and though »Caterva« turns out to be the only principal word which the two poems have in common, it must be admitted that it conveys a by no means neutral image (troop, crowd) and may well, therefore, be significant of a relationship between the two since they are otherwise in metre and structure identical.

In the absence of a stronger clue we will follow the lead offered by *Caterva matrum personat*, which is an interesting study in itself. Using the initial letter K instead of C for »Katerva« it is verse 10 of the *Paeon Alphabeticus de Christo* by Caelius Sedulius (d. c. 450). This famous poem, in which each verse begins with a successive letter of the alphabet starting with *A solis ortus cardine*, is usually divided into two, the first seven verses, including letters A to G, in one, the second beginning *Hostis Herodes impie, Christum venire*. Both were widely used, the first especially for Christmas and Epiphany (at Worcester and Evesham also for the Purification), the second for the important Feast of the Epiphany (6 January), and as such they occur in a large number of sources, which might be expected to make the search for a model for the hymn of St. Knud an easy one. However verse 10, with which we are concerned, is so specifically appropriate to the Feast of the Holy Innocents (28 December) that it is almost without exception omitted from the hymn for Epiphany.<sup>16</sup> One of the places it does occur, as it happens, is in the same Dominican manuscript as Hymn no. 3, but that (French) source from c. 1255 is too late to have provided the model for *Caterva nostra laudibus* if the latter was part of the original Odense Office from c. 1100. More to the point, therefore, is that the verse *Caterva matrum personat* occurs as a hymn for the Feast of the Holy Innocents in an early 11th-century English manuscript (London, Br. Lib., Harleian MS 2961) from Exeter. From this we know at least that it was in use in the West Country at the right time to have been familiar to the monks from Evesham when they were called upon to write a hymn for the new Office of St. Knud, but the question still remains, to what tune was it – were they – sung?

According to Moberg<sup>17</sup> *Caterva matrum personat* was sung to two different tunes, both of which it shared with a large number of other hymns. It is a minor musicological mystery how Moberg knew this, since though his study is otherwise richly documented, he has unfortunately listed no source for either the text or the melody of this particular hymn. We are further handicapped by the fact that, though he lists *Caterva matrum personat* as belonging to the groups of hymns which use what he designates as melodies 1 and 208, volume II of his study, which was to include all the hymn melodies, was never published, so we do not know what melodies were represented by these numbers.<sup>18</sup> Since most of the hymns with which *Caterva matrum personat* is grouped were also sung to more than one melody it is not easy to isolate a single melody common to each group. Nevertheless, I venture to suggest that the melody represented by Moberg's no. 208 is probably Ståblein's no. 53. It is, in any case, the tune associated with the hymn *A solis ortus cardine* (and *Hostis Herodes*) in England since Anglo-Saxon times, so it would be natural to use it for the verse *Katerva matrum personat* as well, and indeed, it appears to be the tune represented by the eight neumes which accompany the incipit of this hymn in the Anglo-Saxon manuscript, Harl. 2961, mentioned above. The version included here as Ex. 4a, therefore, is taken from an English West Country monastic Antiphonal of the 13th century<sup>19</sup> where it accompanies both *A solis ortus cardine* and *Hostis Herodes*. It is also this melody which is used for *Caterva matrum personat* in the Dominican tradition.

Moberg's no. 1 is probably Ståblein's no. 4. As mentioned above, we do not know Moberg's authority for attributing this melody to *Caterva matrum personat*, but there is no reason for doubting the attribution since the melody is found in connection with a variety of hymn texts in English manuscripts from 11th-century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and on. In the earliest sources it was apparently the proper melody for *Jam Christus astra ascenderit*, but it was used also for *Hymnus canamus gloriae* and in a 13th-century manuscript from Ely<sup>20</sup> it has the words *Impleta gaudent viscera*. In the monastic Antiphonal from Worcester it provides the melody for the hymn *Deus tuorum militum*,<sup>21</sup> and it is again from this source that the version of Ex. 4b is taken.

To recover a melody for *Caterva nostra laudibus* it has been necessary to make a number of assumptions, of which it can only be said that they are none of them improbable. The case for the last of our songs for St. Knud rex, the sequence *Verbum bonum personemus*, can be stated much more positively: there can be no doubt that it had as its model the well-known 11th-century sequence for the Blessed Virgin Mary *Verbum bonum et suave* and was sung to its famous melody, of which there also exist a number of early polyphonic settings. The opening words of the Danish sequence are in

themselves, of course, a clear acknowledgement of the later poet's source of inspiration but his dependence on, or respect for, the original does not end there. As will be seen, the beginning of the second half of verse 1, *Ave martyr flos Danorum*, was just as obviously prompted by the repeated acclamations in verses 2 and 3 of the prototype. Finally, in the last half-verse, as he rounds off his poem, the »Danish« poet reveals once again his awareness of the mould into which he has poured new content. He begins his final versicle with an obvious evocation of his model and ends, as he began, using the same word as the original poem:

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|---|--|
| 1a. Verbum bonum et suave<br>personemus illud Ave,<br>per quod Christi fit conclave<br>virgo, mater, filia. | 1a. Verbum bonum personemus,<br>dulcem melum jubilemus,<br>voto voce nos aptemus<br>ad promenda carmina.       |
| 1b. Per quod Ave salutata<br>mox concepit fecundata<br>virgo, David stirpe nata,<br>inter spinas lilia.     | 1b. Ave martyr, flos Danorum,<br>gemma coeli, via morum,<br>sidus lucens, spes reorum,<br>aegris dans solatia. |
| 2a. Ave, veri Salomonis<br>mater, vellus Gedeonis,<br>cuius magi tribus donis<br>laudant puerperium.        | 2a. Te de mundo sequestratum<br>et cruore purpuratum<br>angelorum adunatum<br>credimus collegio.               |
| 2b. Ave, solem genuisti,<br>Ave, prolem protulisti,<br>mundo lapso contulisti<br>vitam et imperium.         | 2b. Haec res mira protestatur,<br>caecus visu decoratur,<br>et infectus solidatur,<br>leprae carens vitio.     |
| 3a. Ave, sponsa verbi summi,<br>maris portus signum dumi,<br>aromatatum virga fumi,<br>angelorum domina:    | 3a. In hac valle peregrina<br>bella movent intestina<br>mens et caro his propina<br>salutis remedia.           |
| 3b. Supplicamus, nos emenda,<br>emendatos nos commenda<br>tuo nato, ad habenda<br>sempiterna gaudia.        | 3b. Supplicantes servos vide<br>malignorum vim allide<br>roboratos nos in fide<br>duc ad vera gaudia.          |

*Verbum bonum et suave* enjoyed great popularity in Germany and England in the 13th century but the earliest sources of the sequence are 11th-century French manuscripts. We have no way of knowing when, or through what agency, it was brought to this country (at least as far as Slesvig), nor, of course, where or by whom it was adapted to St. Knud *rex*, so it is given here, as Ex. 5, from a source contemporary with the Slesvig Missal, the *Graduale Arosiense Impressum* (c.1493).<sup>22</sup>

This repertory of four songs in honour of St. Knud *rex*, though small in size, is not insignificant; they are good tunes and the songs are worth singing. If our reasoning has been correct and our assumptions well made, they were certainly sung in Denmark in the Middle Ages, at least on 10 July, the principal Feast of Denmark's protomartyr. Not all go back to the beginning of the cult of St. Knud, perhaps none of them does, though it is not improbable that *Caterva nostra laudibus* was part of the original response to the commission for an Office which must ultimately be attributed to King Erik Ejegod and all can thus in a sense be said to be part of his legacy. He stands at the very beginning of the written tradition of music in Denmark and for this he deserves a better place in the history of music than he has been accorded by the two 17-century English writers. I offer these songs, therefore, with all due reservations, as a modest footnote to Nils Schiørring's splendid *Musikkens Historie i Danmark*, and, without any reservations whatsoever, as an expression of friendship on his 70th birthday.

## Notes

1. This excellent handbook was very popular, achieving 19 editions between 1654 and 1730. The passage is quoted here from the 7th edition (London 1674), pp. 60-61.
2. The story was told in a sermon by John White in 1616 (*Two Sermons*, London 1616, No. 2, p. 27), but Playford's source was obviously Charles Butler's *The Principles of Musick* (London 1636), pp. 6-7, where it occurs among the annotations to his presentation of the Phrygian Mode in Chapter I. Butler, who may thus have been the first to give the Danish king a place in musical literature, was a very learned man who may well have read both Albert Krantz's *Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarium, Daniae, Sueciae et Norwegiae* and Saxo Grammaticus' *Danorum Historiae*, both of which he cites. His *Principles of Musick*, though it is perhaps the best English treatise on music after Morley's *Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* (1597), suffered the handicap of a peculiar and ingenious orthography of Butler's own invention which rather limited its circulation. Playford's book, on the other hand, though not nearly so erudite, was eminently practical and widely used, keeping the story of the King of Denmark current until well into the 18th century. Towards the end of the century, in the so-called Period of Enlightenment, it even found a place in the first full-scale history of music, Charles Burney's *A General History of Music* (1776-89) (ed. F. Mercer, London 1935, Vol. I, p. 155). Playford's dependence on Butler is evident in a number of passages and phrases which he reproduces word for word, but he also adds some details of his own invention. Butler tells the story as a further illustration of the warlike character of the Phrygian Mode which had already aroused the aggressions of Alexander the Great. Playford introduces thereafter a return to the Dorian in order to bring King

Bonus under control again. This was probably a conscious elaboration of the original, but another more confusing departure was no doubt simply the result of a misunderstanding on Playford's part. Butler writes »the story of *Ericus* musician«, and in a marginal note identifies *Ericus* as »King of Denmark surnamed *Bonus*«. Playford, apparently unaware that Butler has dispensed with the genitive apostrophe in his new orthography, has understood this to mean »*Ericus* [the] musician [of] *Bonus*, King of Denmark«, thereby adding a named minstrel to the history of Danish music while making more obscure the identity of the king in question.

3. See Finnur Jónsson, »Das Harfenspiel des Nordens in der alten Zeit« in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft IX* (1907-08), p. 536. The relevant passages from Saxo and *Bosi's Saga* are given in Danish translation in Angul Hammerich's *Dansk Musikhistorie indtil ca. 1700* (Copenhagen 1921), pp. 21-33, and Morten Levy's *Den stærke slåt* (Højbjerg 1974), pp. 11-12, 24.
4. *Festskrift udgivet af Københavns Universitet*, 1907, p. 1.
5. *Musikkens Historie i Danmark I-III* (Copenhagen 1977-79).
6. J. Bergsagel, »Anglo-Scandinavian Musical Relations before 1700«, in *Report of the 11th Congress of the I.M.S. Copenhagen 1972* (Copenhagen 1974), pp. 263-272.
7. An eye-witness account, which tells that blazing fire was applied to the bones four times (not merely the two times stated in the antiphon) and was immediately extinguished each time, leaving them unharmed, is given in the anonymous *Passio Sancti Kanuti Regis et Martiris* edited by M. Cl. Gertz in *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum I* (Copenhagen 1908), p. 71. The miracle is reported also by Ælnoth, *ibid.*, p. 129.
8. See *Officium Ecclesiasticum Abbatum secundum usum Eveshamensis monasterii*, ed. H. A. Wilson (Henry Bradshaw Society Vol. VI) (London 1893), p. 173.
9. The present writer is preparing a study of the liturgical services of St. Knud *rex* and St. Knud *dux*, together with a complete edition of the Offices and Masses of St. Knud *dux* in Kiel, U. B. MS S. H. 8 A, 8°.
10. J. Handschin, »Das älteste Dokument für die Pflege der Mehrstimmigkeit in Dänemark«, *Acta Musicologica VII* (1935), pp. 67-71, and J. Bergsagel, »Liturgical Relations between England and Scandinavia: as seen in selected musical fragments from the 12th and 13th centuries«, in *Föredrag och Diskussionsinlägg från Nordiskt Kollokvium III i Latinsk Liturgiforskning* (Helsingfors 1975), pp. 11-26. The hymns of St. Knud Lavard were published in facsimile and transcribed by Angul Hammerich in *Medieval Musical Relics of Denmark* (Leipzig 1912), pp. 81-88.
11. *Ancient Rites and Monuments of Durham* (c. 1595). The book is now in the British Library in London, Cotton MS Domitian, A. vii; it was edited by J. Stevenson as Vol. 13 of the Publications of the Surtees Society (Durham 1841).
12. So-called at least in the edition by P. D. Steidl, *Officium et Missa in honorem Sancti Kanuti regis et martyris secundum Breviaria et Missalia Danica medii aevi* (Ratisbon 1908).
13. M. Cl. Gertz, *Knud den Helliges Martyrhistorie* (Copenhagen 1907), pp. 100-104 and *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum I* (Copenhagen 1908), p. 160.
14. Verona, Bibl. Cap. CIX (102); melody no. 521<sub>2</sub> in *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi I: Hymnen*, ed. B. Stäblein (Kassel 1956), p. 388.
15. Rome, Santa Sabina, MS XIV. L. 1; melody no. 188 in Stäblein, *op. cit.*, p. 122. The cases of hymns 2 and 3 give us some insight into the kind of factors which were operative in the selection of materials for adaptation. Here it would seem to be what might be described as »proximity of liturgical chronology«, by which is meant simply the very natural tendency to make use, consciously or unconsciously, of what is nearest to hand or uppermost in mind, since it can hardly be just a coincidence that hymns from Feasts on 23 April (St. George) and 29 April (St. Peter Martyr) were chosen as models for hymns for St. Knud *rex* whose Translation Feast is 19 April, celebrated at Odense on the second Sunday after Easter.

16. This is no doubt why another version of *Hostis Herodes* was written for use on the Feast of the Holy Innocents. Though perhaps not related in direct line to our hymn of St. Knud, this version is nevertheless of interest to the study of Danish hymnology since it is included in *Analecta Hymnica* Vol. XXIII, p. 199 from a single source, that one being the *Breviarium Roschildensis* (1517). H.M. Bannister discovered the first verse of a hymn which, despite some variant readings, he associated with the Roskilde hymn in a manuscript in the Vatican Library, Reg. lat. 633 (see H.M. Bannister, *Monumenti Vaticani di paleografia musicale latine*, Leipzig 1913, Vol. I, pl. 30a and Vol. II, p. 59 note 178), and C.-A. Moberg was later able to print a text from Swedish sources in his *Die liturgischen Hymnen in Schweden I* (Copenhagen 1947), p. 248. In this hymn verse 10 of Sedulius' poem occurs as verse 2, rewritten to begin *Matrum caterva personat*. The first verse, with the melody in staff notation, was found by Dom Hesbert in a manuscript in Rouen, U. 109, f. 199v (see *Monumenta Musicae Sacrae* Vol. II, *Les Manuscrits musicaux de Jumièges*, Macon 1954, pl. LXXXV and p. 45). To this may be added that the entire hymn occurs, but with a different melody, in the hymnal section of Cambridge, Trinity College MS O. 3. 54, f.13v.
17. *Op. cit.*, pp. 353, 361.
18. Even if it was never finally made ready for publication Moberg must have prepared a numbered collection of hymn tunes and it would greatly facilitate the use of the published Vol. I if someone who had access to Moberg's papers would publish an index to Moberg's repertoire of hymn melodies having reference, for example, to Stäblein's anthology of hymns in *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi* (*op. cit.*).
19. Worcester Cathedral MS F. 160, facs.ed. *Paléographie musicale* Vol. XII (Tournai 1922), pl. 4<sup>+</sup>.
20. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud lat. 95, see *Early Bodleian Music* III (London 1913), pl. LXXI.
21. *Paléographie musicale* XII, pl.10<sup>+</sup>.
22. Facsimile edition, ed. Toni Schmid, published by the Laurentius Petri Society (Malmö/-Lund 1959-65), p. 405.

## Ex. 1

Jam lu-cis or-to si - de-re, De- um pre-ce - mur sup - pli - ces  
 Ut in di- ur-nis ac - ti - bus Nos ser - vet a no - cen-ti-bus.,

## Ex. 2

Mar-tyr e - gre - gi - e De - o di - lec-te,  
 Ad te cla-man-ti-um vo - - ces tu - o - rum  
 Pro-pi - ti - us au - di Sa - - ncte Ka - nu - te.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 2. Tu per innumera mortis tormenta<br>Triumpho nobili permeruisti<br>Martyr militiae signifer esse. | 4. Unde per meritis fulges in coelis<br>Ut inter sidera sol atque luna<br>Certus jam praemii pro qua certasti. |
| 3. Vana judicasti gaudia mundi<br>Et transitoria dulcis vitae<br>Memor Christi tui mente liquisti.  | 5. Ora pro famulis tibi devotis<br>Ac coram iudice veniam posce,<br>Ne nos iudicio damnet extremo.             |
6. Trinitati sit decus, honor et virtus,  
 Inseparabili laus unitati,  
 Consors imperium omne per aevum.

## Ex. 3

Mag-nae di - es lae-ti-ti-ae No-bis il-lu - - xit ho-di - - e,  
 Quorex Ka-nu - - tus Da-ci - - ae Thro-num con-scen - dit glo-ri - - ae.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 2. Qui stirpe natus regia<br>Regalique prosapia<br>In tota luxit Dacia<br>Virtutum per vestigia. | 3. Sub juventutis tempore<br>Vitam refrenans lubricum<br>In delicato corpore<br>Conservat innocentiam. |
|--|--|

4. Ad recreandum pauperes  
Manus ejus largissima,  
Ad protegendum debiles  
Et flebiles promptissima.

5. Per hujus Sancti merita  
Jesu, Redemptor omnium,  
Dimitte nobis debita  
Et da perenne gaudium.

Ex. 4a

Ca-ter-va no - stra lau - di - bus Jam con - cre - pet so - lem - ni - bus  
Re - gis Ka - nu - ti glo - ri - ae Sol - vens melos lae - ti - ti - ae

Ex. 4b

Ca-ter-va no-stra lau-di-bus Jam con-cre - pet so - lem-ni - bus  
Re-gis Ka - - nu - ti glo-ri - ae . Sol-vens me-los lae - ti-ti - ae.

2. Quem perfidorum cuneus  
Seclo sequestrans fraudibus  
Transmisit ad perennia  
Comptum cruore gaudia.

4. Horrescit ignis atriis  
Haeret sacratissimis,  
Quo rex pius mysteriis  
Communicatur vividis.

3. Circumdatus periculis  
Haeret Dei peribulis  
Et mente perfert fervida  
Plebis furentis spicula.

5. Saxis sagittae vulnera  
Addunt cruentae rosea  
Rege confosso lancea  
It spiritus ad sidera.

6. Hinc debitas nos cernui  
Laudes canamus servuli  
Patri piaequae soboli  
Et utriusque flamini.

## Ex. 5

1 a Verbum bo-num persone-mus, Dulcem me-lum ju-bi-le-mus, Vo-to vo-ce nos ap-te-mus  
 b A-ve mar-tyr, flos Danorum, Gemma coe-li, vi-a mo-rum, Si-dus lu-cens, spes reo-rum,

2 a Ad pro-menda car-mi-na! 2. a Te de mun-do se-que-stratum Et cru-o-re pur-pu-  
 Ae-gris dans solati-a. b Haec res mi-ra pro-te-sta-tur, Cae-cus vi-su de-co-  
 -ra-tum An-ge-lo-rum a-du-na-tum Cre-di-mus col-le-gi-o.  
 -ra-tur, Et in-fec-tus so-li-da-tur, Le-prae-ca-rens vi-ti-o.

3 a In hac val-le pe-re-gri-na Bel-la mo-vent in-te-sti-na Mens et ca-ro  
 b Suppli-can-tes ser-vos vi-de Ma-li-gno-rum vim al-li-de Ro-bo-ra-tos  
 his pro-pi-na Sa-lu-tis re-me-di-a.  
 nos in fi-de Duc ad ve-ra gau-di-a. A - - - men.

*Resumé*

Saxos historie om »Bonus, Kongen af Danmark«, som blev bragt i sindsoprør ved musikkens magt, findes gengivet i nogle engelske musik-traktater i det 17. årh. (Butler, Playford), dog uden at forfatterne ser ud til at have været klare over at de her havde at gøre med en forholdsvis »moderne« historisk personlighed, Erik Ejegod, hvis regerings periode var 1095-1103. Artiklen fremfører andre grunde til at give Kong Erik en ærefuld plads i dansk musikhistorie, nemlig den at ved at gennemføre helgenkåringen af sin bror, Kong Knud († 1086), i året 1100 eller 1101, skabte han de vilkår som er de første vi kan være sikker på nødvendiggjorde fremstillingen af ny liturgisk musik for den unge kristne kirke i Danmark. Han står således som ophavsmand til begyndelsen af hele den nedskrevne danske musikhistorie. Fremstillingen af Skt. Knuds helgen-officium blev sandsynligvis udført af engelske Benediktinermunke, hentet til Odense af Kong Erik fra Evesham kloster i Worcestershire i England, og selv om den oprindelige monastiske version er forsvundet, kan vi formode, på basis af de bevarede reviderede versioner, at den bar tydelig præg af engelske forbilleder. Ingen af de overlevede versioner er imidlertid forsynet med musik, men at dømme efter det næste danske helgen-officium, det for Skt. Knud Lavard († 1131), er der god grund til at tro at også musikken trak stærkt på den engelske tradition. Et nyt eksempel til bekræftelse af denne påstand, i form af endnu et engelsk sidestykke til en hymne i Skt. Knud Lavard officiet, er fremført som eks. 1. Opmuntret af denne erfaring har forfatteren forsøgt at genfinde de melodier som blev brugt når de fire hymner og tre sekvenser der henviser til Hellig Skt. Knud blev sunget i danske kirker i middelalderen. Melodierne til tre hymner og en sekvens, som er fremført som eks. 2-5, er det foreløbig første resultat af et forsøg på at rekonstruere i hvert fald en del af den tabte liturgiske musik for Hellig Skt. Knud.