

IV.

TWO SCOTTISH THIRTEENTH-CENTURY SONGS, WITH THE ORIGINAL MELODIES, RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN SWEDEN. BY THE REV. JOHN BEVERIDGE, M.B.E., F.S.A.SCOT., KNIGHT OF ST OLAF (NORWAY).

Early in 1938 the Curator of Historical Records in H.M. Register House in Edinburgh received from Norway an account of the discovery or recovery of two thirteenth-century songs with the original music. The text and melodies are quite free from error, a fact which indicates that here we have copies very near to the originals. The songs are, of course, in Latin, and the melodies are in the ancient notation.

The discoverer was Professor Sir Oluf Kolsrud, a Fellow of Oslo University and Hon. D.D. of Glasgow University. He is Conservator of the Norse Historiographical Archives and a distinguished writer on historical subjects. In the course of research in the Library of Upsala University he lighted upon and examined a parchment manuscript dating from the second half of the thirteenth century. Among the varied contents of this Codex Upsalensis C233 were two unrecorded Scottish songs. One was an epithalamium or hymn sung at the wedding of the Princess Margaret of Scotland to King Eric of Norway at Bergen in 1281. The other was a hymn in praise of St Magnus, Earl of Orkney, who died in 1115 and was enshrined in 1135. He was the patron saint of Orkney, and in his honour the Cathedral of Kirkwall was built and dedicated.

Dr Kolsrud has described the Codex with meticulous care in *Tvo Norröne Latinske Kvæde Med Melodiar*, with plates (Pls. LXXXIII and LXXXIV). For the music of the songs he invoked the expert assistance of Dr Georg Reiss, a pioneer in and authority on the Norse music of the Middle Ages. He made a careful study of the melodies and music, and has published the result of his researches, showing the remarkable value of these songs from a musical point of view. And in this paper we endeavour to give an accurate version of the conclusions of Sir Oluf Kolsrud and Dr Georg Reiss.

THE MARGARET-ERIC MARRIAGE CONTRACT.

The Norwegian King Magnus died in Bergen on the 9th of May 1280, and his son Eric immediately succeeded him. On the 17th of that month the new King sent a letter to Edward I. of England reporting the death of his royal father, and intimating that his coronation would take place in due time. To King Alexander III. of Scotland there was sent an embassy suggesting the desirability of a marriage between the young King Eric and

the Princess Margaret. Political considerations probably prompted the proposal, and the suggestion was welcomed. A Scottish embassy took back a favourable reply. Negotiations occupied about a year; but the marriage contract was at last drawn up and signed at Roxburgh Castle on 25th July 1281.

In August 1937 nine out of more than 170 historical documents that had been missing from Scotland for about 650 years were transferred from the Record Office in London to the Register House in Edinburgh. Of these sole surviving documents returned from exile the longest and best preserved is the marriage contract between the daughter of King Alexander III. of Scotland, Princess Margaret, and King Eric II. of Norway.

King Alexander had married the eldest daughter of the English King, Henry III. Their daughter was called Margaret after her mother, and she was famous for her beauty and her gentle character. Among the witnesses to the Margaret-Eric contract are found the names of barons of Norman stock, as well as representatives of the old Scottish nobility. The seals of the signatories are lacking, but tabs show where they were affixed. There are thirty-three sections in the contract, and here we only give their gist.

The Norse and Scots had for long been warring with one another, and this state of matters culminated at the battle of Largs in 1263, following which, by the Treaty of Perth, on the 2nd of July 1266, the Sudreys and Man were ceded to Scotland. Thereafter friendlier relations commenced, and the marriage of Eric and Margaret was intended to cement the bonds between the two countries.

King Alexander for himself and in name of "the noble damsel Margaret, his dearest daughter," with consent of his son, Alexander, and the whole of the King's Council on the one part, and Peter, Bishop of Orkney, Bjarne Erlingsson, Baron of Bjarkey, Bjarne Lodinsson, Chancellor of King Eric, and Friar Maurice of the Minorite Order, on the other part, agree to the marriage between King Eric and the Princess Margaret.

Alexander contracted to give with his daughter a dowry of 14,000 marks sterling, to be paid at Bergen in four instalments, the first to be taken with Margaret to Norway. The Norse representatives promised on behalf of King Eric that the Princess Margaret on her arrival in Norway should receive 1400 marks worth of land with a competent manor, and a castle or secure mansion where she with her servants should remain at the expense of King Eric until the nuptials were celebrated, and that on the wedding day, or, in the event of lawful impediment, as soon as possible thereafter, Margaret should be crowned as queen. And provision was made for the disposal of the land and money in the event of the death either of Eric or Margaret, and for provision for any issue of the marriage.

"XVI. If it shall happen that the King of Scotland decease without a

lawful son and that none of his sons leave lawful issue and that the said Margaret have children to the King of Norway, then she and her children shall succeed to the said King of Scotland and his children as well in his kingdom as in other goods; or she herself if she be without children according to the law and custom of Scotland. And generally the said King of Scotland consents that his said daughter and all descending from her shall be admitted freely to all successions and all other rights which can in any wise fall to them according to the law of Scotland or the custom of that kingdom."

The King of Norway is obliged to hold binding all the premises until he completes his fourteenth year and then fully to ratify the same; if, before or at that time, he contravene the terms of the treaty he shall pay to the King of Scotland, or his representatives, for damage interest and expenses, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and if, on completing his fourteenth year, he fail to ratify and consummate the marriage, or to refund expenses, interest and penalty, to the King of Scotland he shall forfeit the sum of one hundred marks which he receives yearly from that king, together with the whole land of Orkney. Likewise King Alexander obliges himself, should he or his daughter contravene the terms of the agreement before King Eric completes his fourteenth year, to pay a like sum of one hundred thousand pounds to the King of Norway, to whom they are obliged to fulfil their engagements under penalty of ceding the whole Isle of Man.

The Norwegian signatories promise that the Queen Mother of Norway and the magnates of the realm shall ratify this contract in presence of the Scottish envoys; and the King of Scotland and his daughter have ratified the same in the presence of the representatives of the King of Norway; and certain personages become hostages to remain with the King of Scotland until the marriage is completed, and if they are not then released the Isle of Man will be surrendered.

THE MARRIAGE AT BERGEN.

It was on the 11th August 1281 that the Princess Margaret embarked at Berwick for Norway. She was accompanied by the Earl and Countess of Menteith, Bernard of Montealto (Mowat), the Abbot of Balmerino, and others. Four days later the ship dropped anchor in the port of Bergen. Naturally King Eric received his bride with becoming honour, and the whole populace welcomed the Scottish Princess with demonstrations of great joy, whilst the clergy conducted a service of thanksgiving for the safe journey and arrival of the queen-to-be.

According to the Marriage Contract the wedding was to take place before the 8th of September, but by the 31st of August all the arrangements

for the nuptials had been made. Archbishop Jon and all the bishops, with most of the chiefs and magnates of the land, were gathered for the occasion. It had been agreed that Margaret should be crowned on the wedding day. For some reason the King's mother, Queen Ingebjorg, was opposed to this; but the coronation was duly proceeded with, the Archbishop himself discharging the duty with great ecclesiastical ceremonial, as had been customary in Norway. And at the wedding and coronation services the recently discovered epithalamium was rendered by a choir in unison, or as an alternating hymn by two choirs. The late Dr Georg Reiss of Oslo, to whose notes we have been so much indebted, translated the original music (Pl. LXXXIII) of the Epithalium into the modern notation (Pl. LXXXV). The Latin verses have been freely rendered thus:

THE MARRIAGE ODE.

From thee, O fairest Scotland, springs that light benign,
Which over Norway like a radiant dawn doth shine.
Breathe freely now once more, since God doth safely bring,
Across the perilous seas, the daughter of thy King.

And now the torch of peace is lit; his royal grace,
This day proclaimed and sealed, rejoiceth all our race.
The skies on every side with acclamations shake,
While England most of all doth in the joy partake.

Lo! to King Eric now is brought the royal maid
To whom with fitting pomp is highest honour paid.
With one accord the nation breaks into her praise
And songs of welcome loud a thousand voices raise.

A brilliant throng in haste assembles, dame and knight,
The flower of chivalry, to view the sacred rite:
Then high and low, together mingled in their glee,
Speed swift the jocund hours with feast and revelry.

In triumph now the king leads forth the lovely bride,
The regions of the world rejoice on every side.
The God of all this union bless with richest grace,
And from this royal pair upraise a worthy race.

She mounts the throne; the crown is set upon her brows.
To her, as to the King, Norwegia gladly bows;
To her is highest reverence paid by high and low;
All praise to God's good Son, who hath ordained it so!

Too weak are human words her virtues to express;
How rich in all discretion, truth, and gentleness!
Her modest eloquence, how full of power! how free
Her bounty, and how sweet her gracious dignity!

Like Rachel, may she ever keep her husband's love;
 Like Esther, with the King most high in favour prove;
 Like Leah, may she be with numerous offspring blest;
 And like Susanna, stedfast aye in virtue rest.

Long may they serve the Lord, united hand and heart,
 Alike in youth and age—nor even in death apart!
 And when the goal is reached of this their earthly race,
 May they receive at last the crown of heavenly grace!

From thee, O fairest Scotland, riseth evermore
 Subject for praise and glory to earth's furthest shore.

E. B.

Towards the end the epithalamium expresses the hope of a long and happy life for the King and Queen. But the young Queen Margaret did not live long. In 1282 she gave birth to a daughter, also called Margaret. On the 5th of February 1283/4 King Alexander III. assembled the Estates of Scotland and the infant Princess Margaret was acknowledged by the magnates as heiress of Scotland, the Hebrides, Tynedale, Penrith, and the Isle of Man. And when Alexander himself died in 1285/6, Margaret, then aged three years, became Queen of Scotland. Six guardians were meantime appointed, and a treaty of marriage between the child Queen of Scots and Edward, eldest son of Edward I. of England, was concluded in 1289. One may speculate on the destinies of Norway, Scotland, and England if that proposed marriage had been consummated! But alas! the young Queen of Scotland died in Orkney in 1290 on her way from Bergen to her Scottish kingdom. She was but eight years old at her death. The remains were taken back to Bergen to be buried in Christ Church, where her mother had been married and buried. For King Eric's queen had died in Tönsberg on the 9th of April 1283, and her body had been brought to Bergen for interment. After the death of the child Queen Margaret, King Eric made a claim to the Scottish crown as heir after his daughter. The claim was rejected, and in 1292 John Balliol became King in Scotland. King Eric, however, wanted to keep up connection with our country, and in 1293 he married Isabella, sister of Robert Bruce who became the next King of Scotland. Only one daughter was born to King Eric and Queen Isabella. She was called Ingebjorg and was in 1312 married to Duke Valdemar of Sweden. King Eric died in 1299 and was succeeded by his brother Haakon. Queen Isabella outlived her husband by nearly 60 years. She continued to live in Norway, chiefly in Bergen; but she kept in touch with her brother Robert Bruce; and the royal family in Norway always took her into their counsels. Most of her interests related to the Church on which she bestowed many rich gifts. She lived to be nearly 80 and died in 1358.

57. ant

te lux ornam o dulcis socia qua uere noscat fulgens
 que cu fusiue trahis suspiria tuu subspira qd re
 noy-aga. Cum pay accenditur que sui gracia regni
 gur filia. Applaudunt iudique terrax spacia reum
 indicat redit leticia. Ad regem mittitur Cyricum
 s; utiq; agaudet anglia. Gens tota soluitur implausus
 regia uirgo suscipitur summa cu gloria. Clara celebr
 eja cantus grollitur sunt cupudia. Prodit celeri
 ter occurat concio orat salubriter sacra religio. Reg
 ter omnis condicio 7 serus pariter resiltat gaudio. Sal
 duet uirginem dulce gungum p mundi caridnem
 uet spaginem deus hac omniu hoz propuginem
 pducit gaudium. Regina uelidet in regni solio
 ter 7 in medium. Inuentu presidet digna fastigio

muncta possidet coronam rego. in laudabilis
 sic qui sic puidet laus dei filio. Cunctis dat humil
 hec regis socia mitis affabilis plena prudentia. Inuo
 pollet facidia uentat nobilis qm qrmencia. Et hia
 sic ut fuit iachel amabilis ut regi placuit etter
 genuit. Sic piole fertis regat ut deguit susan
 placabilis. Mentes uigiter dei seruicio fenefecant eahz
 na stabilis. Et uire labilis de cursu studio semp durabilis
 felici seratio. Cy te pgreduer o dulcis socia qua
 sunt digni hio.
 late spargitur laudis matera.

Old Norse Latin Song: Margaret-Eric Epithalamium from *Codex Upsalensis C233*. Reproduced with the permission of the Secretary to Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, Norway.

(1.) Ex te lux o - ri - tur o dul - cis Sco - ci - a qua
 Que cum trans - ne - hi - tur tra - his su - pi - ri - a tu -

ne - re no - sci - tur ful - gena Nor - wa - gi - a. (2.) Cum pax se - cen - di -
 i sub - tra - hi - tur quod re - gis fi - li - a. Ap - plau - dunt un - di -

tur que su - i gra - ci - a re - quis in - di - ci - tur re - dit lo -
 que ter - ra - rum spa - ci - a te - cum sol u - ti - que con - gau - det

ti - ci - a. (3.) Ad re - gem mit - ti - tur Ey - ri - cum re - gi - a uir -
 Au - gli - a Gens to - ta sol - li - tur in plau - sus e - y - a can -

go sus - ci - pi - tur sum - ma cum glo - ri - a. (4.) Cle - ri - ce - le - bri -
 tus ex - tol - li - tur fi - unt tri - pu - di - a. Pro - dit ce - le - ri -

ter oc - cur - rat ron - ci - o o - rat sa - lu - bri - ter sa - cra re -
 ter o - mnis con - di - ci - o et so - xus pa - ci - ter re - sul - tans

li - gi - o. (5.) Rex du - cit uir - gi - nem dul - ce con - iu - gi - um per
 gau - di - o. Sal - uet com - pa - gi - nem de - us hanc o - mni - um ho -

mun - di car - di - nem pro - du - cit gau - di - um. (6.) Re - gi - na re - si -
 rum pro - pa - gi - nem det et in me - di - um. In cul - tu pre - si -

det in re - gni so - li - o in - jun - cta pos - si - det co - ro - nam
 det di - gna fa - sti - gi - o sit qui sic pro - ui - det laus de - i

re - gi - o (7.) O quam lan - da - bi - lis hec re - gis so - ci - a mi -
 fi - li - o. Cun - ctis dat hu - mi - lis pol - let fa - cun - di - a ue -

tis af - fa - bi - lis ple - na pro - den - ci - a (8.) Uir - ro sit ut fu -
 tu - stat no - bi - lis quam con - ti - nen - ci - a. Ut Ly - a ge - nu -

it Ra - chel a - ma - bi - lis ut re - gi - pla - cu - it E - ster pla -
 it sit pro - le fer - ti - lis de - gat ut de - gu - it Su - san - na

ca - bi - lis. (9.) Ma - nen - tes iu - gi - ter de - i ser - ui - ci - o se -
 sta - bi - lis. Ut ui - te la - bi - lis de - cur - so sta - di - o sem -

ne - scant ta - li - ter fe - li - ci - se - ni - o. (10.) Ex te pro - gre - di -
 per du - ra - bi - lis sint di - gni bra - ui - o.

tur o dul - cis Sco - ci - a qua la - te spar - gi - tur lau - dis ma - te - ri - a.

The Margaret-Eric Epithalamium.

(1.) No - bi - lis, hu - mi - lis, Ma - gne mar - tir sta - bi - lis,
 (2.) Pre - di - tus ce - li - tus do - no san - cti spi - ri - tus

(h) a - bi - lis, u - ti - lis, co - mes ue - ne - ra - bi - lis
 ui - ue - re te - me - re sum - mo ca - ues o - pe - re;

et tu - tor lau - da - bi - lis, tu - os sub - di - tos
 car - nis mo - tus pre - me - re stu - des pe - ni - tus,

ser - ua car - nis fra - gi - lis mo - le po - si - tos.
 ut car - nis in car - ce - re re - gnet spi - ri - tus.

(3.) So - ci - a re - gi - a ti - bi ui - ri ne - sci - a
 (4.) Tur - bi - dus, in - ui - dus ho - stis Ha - co cal - li - dus

tra - di - tur, sub - di - tur, ca - sta ca - sto iun - gi - tur;
 ster - ne - re, te - re - re, tu - a si - bi sub - de - re.

nam neu - ter il - lu - di - tur sic de - cen - ni - o,
 te cu - pit et per - de - re do - li spi - cu - lo,

ru - bus nop com - bu - ri - tur in in - cen - di - o.
 iun - cto frau - dis fe - de - re pa - cis o - scu - lo.

The St Magnus Hymn.

THE MUSIC FOR THE EPITHALAMIUM.

The music resembles the old French folk songs arranged in *sequentia*. Every strophe, with few exceptions, has its independent melody and two parallel melodic links. The tone is the first church mode transposed to G. The melody formation is quite regular, with smoothly progressing intervals, and a characteristic effect is produced by frequent triplets. Towards the end the melody culminates with such rare figures in those days as double triplets and groups of five short notes.

This melody does not appear in any folk tunes, or in any *sequentia* that followed the Gradual of the Roman Mass, that were known to the discoverer of the hymn and its music.

THE AUTHOR OF THE HYMN.

The name of the author is not recorded, but we can guess it. In the Norse embassy that went to Scotland in 1280 there was a Friar Maurice from the Minorite Convent in Bergen. He was certainly not a Norwegian by birth; indeed, very probably he was a Scot. As early as 1264 he and another Minorite were on a mission to Scotland from King Magnus. And from 1271 to 1273 he was one of a company of Norwegians on a crusade to Jerusalem. Some fragments, dating from about 1300, of an account which he wrote of the journey were found in the Norwegian archives in 1846. Maurice was thus an old servant of the Norwegian Court, a travelled man with literary gifts and interests; and he went to Scotland to bring the Princess Margaret to Norway for the marriage at which the song was sung.

It is well known that Eric's father, King Magnus, favoured the Minorites. When his queen had given birth to a son, the infant, according to legend, was more like a bear than a boy. When the royal father heard this he gave command that the baby should be wrapped in a fair cloth and laid during High Mass on the altar of the Minorite Convent at Bergen. At the end of the service they found a beautiful baby boy lying gurgling in the bundle. This legend at least shows how highly King Magnus had regarded the Franciscan Order. This story was told to the Scots by those who went as wooers on behalf of the young Norwegian king; and they added that Eric had grown up to be a gallant and goodly youth.

It was a Minorite monk who had been confessor to Margaret's own mother, and so the Minorites were highly esteemed at that time in Scotland as well as in Norway. It may therefore have been comparatively easy for Maurice, if himself Scottish, to succeed when he pled the cause of Eric at the Scottish Court. He was evidently proud of the honour the King had shown him in sending him on such an important errand; and, if he had the will, he also had the learning and the skill to write a

poem or song for the wedding. If the author of the poem was a Scot, as we can believe Friar Maurice to have been, then it is easy to understand how he refers to his own homeland in the song. Possibly Friar Maurice had first been a monk in a Minorite foundation in the Orkneys and had entered the service of the Norwegian King Haakon when he led the expedition which ended disastrously at Largs in 1263. All we can confidently say is that the author of the epithalamium was a man in Norway, a monk or priest, who could write Latin and was familiar with Church music.

HYMN IN HONOUR OF ST MAGNUS.

Magnus Erlendson was the grandson of the great Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, which in the eleventh century was a province of Norway. Thorfinn defeated King Duncan and the *Orkneyinga Saga* boasts that he won nine earldoms in Scotland and all the Hebrides. Having had enough of fighting, he made his peace with God and ruled wisely till his death. His two sons, Paul and Erlend, succeeded him and ruled the earldom together, and when they died their sons Haakon and Magnus succeeded them. Magnus was born in Orkney about 1075. According to the sagas he was a docile and obedient boy, pliant and attentive to his father, Erlend, and to his mother and masters, and he was kind and pleasant to all. That is the only reference to the youth of him who was to be a Norse and Scottish Earl and famous for his godly character and deeds. In 1098 we learn of him being in the train of Magnus Barelegs, the Norse King, on a viking excursion in Scotland. The lad was a favourite and persuaded the king to refrain from attacking Iona; but later on he fell into disfavour because when they came to Anglesey he refused to join in the attack on a peaceful island that had given no provocation. Rather than fight, he jumped overboard and swam ashore. He made his way to his kinsman, King Edgar, in Scotland, where he remained for five years in the congenial company of that pious and worthy ruler. There too he wooed Ingarth, a maiden of high birth, like-minded with himself. He married her and they lived together till his death; yet the marriage was never consummated. It seemed that both bride and bridegroom had made a vow that they would live together as brother and sister. The sagas say that it was often a hard struggle for Magnus to keep the vow to which they had bound themselves.

We next find Magnus in Orkney, this time joint Earl with his cousin Haakon. They eventually divided the earldom between them, but even so they did not get on well together; their characters and dispositions were so different. Magnus was peaceable and friendly and contented with his portion of the earldom, whilst Haakon was harsh, overbearing, ambitious, and anxious to be sole ruler in Orkney. And at last, in 1115,

their friends arranged that there should be a meeting at Egilsay to arrive at an amicable understanding. Magnus arrived with two ships as arranged, quite unsuspecting of evil, but Haakon came with eight ships fully manned and armed. The friends of Magnus besought him to seek a place of safety; but he was pursued, brought back and murdered, signing himself with the cross as he received the death-stroke from an axe wielded reluctantly by one of Haakon's officers. Even Christian burial was refused to the dead Earl. But Haakon's aunt Thora, the mother of Magnus, made such a touching appeal to her nephew that he gave way, and Magnus was buried in the church of Birsay. Haakon himself seems at last to have realised the enormity of his guilt, for he went on a pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem. And he came home again to rule well in Orkney until his death seven years after the murder.

It was on the 16th of April 1115 that Magnus fell. Twenty years later he was enshrined by Bishop Vilhjalm in Birsay, and thereby his cult was established. Shortly afterwards the shrine was removed to the Olaf Church at Kirkwall, and then to the new Cathedral there which bears his name.

The newly found Magnus hymn is akin in many respects to the other Latin Magnus hymns, in all of which emphasis is laid on Magnus's ascetically pure marital life.

The Magnus liturgical texts were included in the Aberdeen Breviary, probably after 1472, when the Orkneys came under the supervision of the Metropolitan of St Andrews; and of course the local patron saint of the newly added See was introduced into the Scots Church Calendar. Magnus was Earl of Caithness as well as of Orkney, and it is possible that he may have been worshipped in Caithness even before 1472; but his cult can scarcely have gone farther south at that period. In Norway no Latin Magnus hymns were in use, but the two Magnus Mass-days—the 16th of April, the day of his martyrdom, and the 13th of December, the day of his translation—were both observed.

This new Magnus hymn was not sung at the ordinary services in the See as were the four Magnus hymns in the Aberdeen Breviary. The last two verses of the hymn indicate that it was composed for singing by a monastic *familia* or community, *e.g.* at one of the canonical services, such as Lauds (Matins). The music was translated from the ancient notation (Pl. LXXXIV) into the modern (Pl. LXXXVI). The Latin verses have been freely rendered thus:

HYMN TO SAINT MAGNUS.

1. Most noble Earl Magnus, a martyr most meek,
Most constant and able, most ready to serve,
High honoured Protector, most worthy of praise,
We pray thee thy frail burdened servants to save.

2. Divinely endowed by the Spirit above,
And carefully shunning the sins of the flesh,
Subduing the passions of dissolute life,
The rule of the Spirit controlled thy desires.
3. Thy spouse a royal virgin was brought unto thee
And in holy nuptials was chaste joined with chaste,
And thus for the space of ten years they remained;
The bush, though on fire, was thus never consumed!
4. Thy crafty foe, Haakon, with envy aflame,
With fire thy domains for himself did lay waste,
And sought to destroy thee with sharp-edged guile,
And with kiss of peace a false treaty to seal.
5. Enduring dire woes for the cause of the right,
Betrayed, thou wert seized, and a blow laid thee low,
And death thee transported to heavenly heights,
And with martyred hosts thee united with Christ.
6. This glory we sing, and by miracles wrought,
The Lord Christ is blessed, and the Church doth rejoice,
And praise high ascendeth with thee as its theme;
How blessed Orcadia from henceforth appears!
7. Grace, pardon, and glory from heaven do we seek,
Who ask for the help of thy praises and prayers.
O Father, bestow us an answer, we pray,
And save this *familia* from judgment. Amen.

W. M. P.

THE ORIGIN OF THE HYMN.

From the wording of the hymn there is nothing directly to indicate that it was written in a monastery. We find reference to the saint's long years of virgin wedlock in the other Magnus hymns, but it is perhaps more strongly emphasised in the Upsala hymn than elsewhere (*vide* strophe two); and it is not only here that Magnus is praised as *humilis*, for in the ecclesiastical antiphone literature we find him spoken of as *justus, pius et modestus*.

The Magnus hymn appears in a codex that was written in a Minorite convent; and its author may well have been a Minorite. In any case it was probably written in a friary of that Order in the Orkney Isles, for nowhere outside the Orkneys would the Minorites have any interest in a local Orcadian saint. The Minorite Order came into being in the thirteenth century and, according to the Upsala Codex C233, such a foundation must have existed in Orkney in 1274.

The hymn cannot have been of Norse origin, for it had mainly a local interest, and there was no room for it in the Magnus cult in Norway.

But there is internal evidence, from the mode of writing, that it originated in a Norse-speaking land, such as Orkney was. We may therefore confidently conclude that Codex C233 and its contents were written in a Minorite convent in the Orkneys *circa* 1270-1280.

Codex C233 was in the library of the Bergen Bishop, Arne Sigurdson. As a Canon of Bergen he was a member of the embassy sent to Scotland in 1292 to negotiate with the Scots, on behalf of King Eric, regarding the dowry of the late Queen Margaret. The embassy sailed to Scotland via Orkney, and Arne probably got some books from the Minorite monks there. At his death the library was disposed of. From the Minorite convent of Bergen its wanderings can be traced to Greifswald, in Germany, where it was sold by Nicolaus Nettekén to Canutus Johannis, a Swedish Franciscan Friar, who had a long and brilliant career in many lands. Eventually he presented his fine collection of valuable books to the convent of the Friars Minor at Riddarholm, in Sweden. When that foundation was secularised in the sixteenth century its book collection remained as a Royal Library, and was augmented especially by King John III. In 1620 Gustavus Adolphus presented the library to the University of Upsala, and it became the nucleus of that University's present magnificent library. And among the twenty-one parchments from the Middle Ages Codex C233 holds a very honourable place.

THE MELODY OF THE MAGNUS HYMN.

This recently discovered MS. from the thirteenth century gives us a striking example of a two-voice setting of an ode or hymn on a Scottish subject. It is of special interest because parchments from that period with music for more voices than one are very rare indeed, and we know of none with any hint of harmony. One important feature of the melody is that it contains music in thirds when the third was still considered no true consonance. Thus the tune anticipates later methods of harmonising.

There is also another divergence from Middle Age theory. In the twelfth century the rule was that when the leading voice rose the accompanying voice must fall, and *vice versa*. There was thus a frequently occurring voice-crossing in the songs of that period. In the Magnus hymn, however, there is no such crossing. The upper voice provided the descant on the actual melody carried by the lower voice. The early Scottish practice always gave the tune to the tenor, the lower part with the other voices providing a sort of descant. The laws of strict theory for part-singing were thus, in some essential points, departed from. Consequently in this Magnus hymn we have a popular harmonising and not a setting made by a specially expert monk. We have really, as concerns two-voice compositions, just an early form of harmonising, with chords moving in sixths.

About the year 1200 Giraldus Cambrensis describes the characteristic method of singing in Wales, whereby part-songs were sung with as many parts as there were singers. He also reports that the Northumbrians made use of a similar harmonic singing, yet with only two voices, the lower humming, the upper singing the words. In these two regions no music was rendered alone, but either with several voices as in Wales or with at least two as in Northumbria. "Even the boys, which is more surprising, and, generally, children when they cry, do so in the same singing way." The Northumbrians had apparently adopted this manner of singing—as they did their similarity of speech—from the Norsemen, who made so many raids there and remained for long periods.

Giraldus does not tell us what was the nature of the North English music for two or more voices, nor is there any information on the subject to be got elsewhere, so far as we are aware. There is a possibility that that part-singing had some similarity to the two-part *organum purum* mentioned by Walter Odington, which, he says, was in use from very ancient times. According to him this consisted in a melismatic rich accompanying voice and a deeper *cantus firmus*. Most probably, however, the two-part singing in North England was not of the same kind as Odington's *organum purum*. We come to this conclusion especially because of the account Giraldus gives of the widespread and common use, even from childhood, of the two-part singing which seems to presuppose a very simple kind of harmony, particularly in parallel intervals, note for note; whilst *organum purum*, according to Odington's description and the example given by him, demands considerable harmonic insight and singing skill.

Our conclusion is that this St Magnus hymn is an example of the two-voice method of singing characteristic of Northern England and adopted by them from the Norwegians.

In the first place, it must be emphasised that the hymn in Codex Upsalensis C233 originally came from the Orkneys, which at the end of the thirteenth century belonged to Norway, and that it was in all probability composed there. If the two-part singing adopted from the Norse was so general in Northumberland and Yorkshire as Giraldus indicates, then it must be assumed with still greater probability that the Orcadians had inherited their skill in such singing and preserved it faithfully. It must be remembered that the Orcadians were mostly Norwegian immigrants, that the Islands from the ninth century onward belonged to Norway, and that the Bishopric of the Orkneys from the beginning of the twelfth century was under the supremacy of the Norse Archbishop of Nidaros (Trondheim).

In the next place, the method of singing referred to by Giraldus must have been of a very special type, a peculiar quality of singing. The

harmonic links evidently had not been of the type generally employed according to the Huchbaldian organum's primitive part-song theory, therefore not unisons, parallel fifths, fourths, or octaves. Otherwise there was nothing noteworthy in North England's two-part singing. Since doubtless—as previously indicated—they had to do with parallel intervals, they must specially have employed thirds as the easiest interval. Perhaps this is the explanation of the fact that it is in an English document that the third for the first time is treated as a consonant interval. Attention may here be called to *The Musical Notation of the Middle Ages* (London, 1890). There an example is given of a two-voice rendering from an English MS., dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century, which contains frequent thirds, through counter-movement.

Special emphasis must be laid on one point, which particularly argues for the Norse origin of the two-part Magnus hymn, viz. the unmistakable Lydian character of the melody. The tone is the sixth church mode, the Hypolydian (finalis F, dominant A). In this hymn we find repeatedly the tritone characteristic of the Lydian mode (the augmented fourth) arising both by direct movement and by two major thirds following each other. The composer of the melody seems to have had a conscious pleasure in applying the hard ringing tritone which Middle Age theorists avoided and which they even called "the devil in music."

In his treatise "Studies in Icelandic Music" (*Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1899, Copenhagen, pp. 273 ff.), Angul Hammerich emphasises the Lydian mode as specially Icelandic, but lets it stand if here we have to do with an original Icelandic (or Norse) scale. On the other hand, Catharinus Elling, in "Vore Folkemelodier" (*Christiania Videnskapselskaps Skrifter II, Hist.-Phil. Klasse*, 1909, No. 5), maintains that the Lydian scale is original to and characteristic of Norwegian folk music, and that the Icelanders have brought this Lydian stamp with them from Norway, their mother-land.

In England at that period the tritone seems to have been employed with much caution. In any case the samples contained in *The Musical Notation of the Middle Ages* are few, and only of an indirect tritone. And in Walter Odington's dissertation, *De speculatione musicae*, the few samples of music afford rare cases of indirect tritone and not a single direct tritone interval. Nor is there any such in the Irish, English, and Scottish folk melodies we are acquainted with.

Not least, then, on account of the frequent occurrence of the Lydian mode in Norse folk music and the fondness for the abrupt tritone melody, it may be accepted that the melody of the Magnus hymn is Orcadian and Norwegian. The two-voice setting of the melody, with its parallel thirds, was characteristic of the contemporary Norse two-part music. And so, because of its primitive features, the Magnus hymn and its harmonising

must be deemed to be considerably older than the end of the thirteenth century, a period when, in the leading European lands, the art of part-singing was well advanced.

Scotland should be grateful indeed to Professor Kolsrud for the recovery of these two long-lost hymns and for the very interesting account of his find.

ADDENDUM.

Copies of the original account¹ of the discovery of Codex Upsalensis C233, entitled *Tvo Norröne Latinske Kvæde Med Melodiar*, were presented by Professor Kolsrud to the National Library of Scotland and to the Library of H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.

A brief reference to the Margaret-Eric epithalamium appeared in an article on "Three Margarets" in the *Scots Magazine*, vol. i. p. 344; and in Mr John Mooney's *St Magnus, Earl of Orkney*, published in Kirkwall in 1935, mention is made of the recovered St Magnus hymn (pp. 290-2).

Thanks are due to Professor Kolsrud and Det Norske Videnskabs-Akademi, Oslo, for supplying us with the clichés for printing the plates of the ancient parchments; to Miss E. Beveridge, M.A., and to Mr W. M. Page, S.S.C., for rendering the Latin words of the songs into English verse; and to Mr Wm. Taylor and Lieutenant Knight, Royal Scots Fusiliers, for singing the songs in their original musical setting, rendered for the first time in public in Scotland for half a millennium.

Our personal thanks are due to Sir Walford Davies, Mus.Doc., Master of the King's Music, Windsor, and to Mr Harry M. Willsher, University College, Dundee, for helpful notes on the music of the songs.

¹ The Codex was discovered in Upsala in 1911 by Oluf Kolsrud, then an Oslo student with a travelling scholarship. He read an account of the songs to the Norwegian Academy of Science in the following year, and it was published by the Academy in 1913, in Norwegian, with a résumé in French. In German Guido Adler's *Handbuch der Musik-geschichte* in 1934 referred to the finding of the Codex and gave the first verse of the St Magnus Hymn, words and music, p.136.

MONDAY, 8th May 1939.

PROFESSOR THOMAS H. BRYCE, M.A., LL.D., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were elected Fellows: Alexander Robertson-Collie; Iain Malcolm MacCrimmon MacLean; Captain W. G. D. Cheyne-MacPherson, M.C.; Rev. W. Eason Robinson, B.A., L.Th.

Donations to the Museum and Library, as per lists at end of volume, were intimated and thanks voted to the Donors.

The following Communications were read:—