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THE REGENSBURG OFFICES FOR ST EMMERAM, ST WOLFGANG AND ST DENIS

Preliminary

A manuscript of the 15th century in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, clm [= codex latinus monacensis] 14872, from St. Emmeram's, Regensburg, contains Vitae and liturgical offices of three saints specially venerated in Regensburg: Emmeram, Wolfgang and Denis. Fortunately, the chants are provided in clm 14872 with staff notation. There are also 11th-century sources with neume notation for the Emmeram and Denis offices, but not for the Wolfgang office. The music of the Wolfgang office has been published in transcription by Franz Stein, while the others remain unedited, although the text of the Emmeram office was published in *Acta Sanctorum*.¹ I would like first of all to sketch in the historical background to these offices – when and why they were composed – and then I shall venture a few brief remarks about their compositional technique. The authors of the Emmeram and Denis offices have been known for some time, and there are strong indications, both documentary and stylistic, as to the authorship of the Wolfgang office. They are obvious subjects for more detailed study and analysis in an area of musicology where a great deal of groundwork still has to be done.

The offices and their historical background

In 1994 the city of Regensburg celebrates the 1000th anniversary of the death of one its most outstanding churchmen, St Wolfgang, a great reforming bishop, whose activities are not without interest even for musicologists, since he presided over the church in Regensburg at the time the famous gradual Bamberg Staatsbibliothek Msc. [= Manuscriptum] Lit. [= Liturgicum] 6 (olim Ed. III. 7) was copied. There are sources with neumatic notation from Regensburg going back to the 9th century, but it seems likely that during Wolfgang's time there was a real renaissance in the production of liturgical manuscripts, including music books, in Regensburg.

Wolfgang was appointed Bishop of Regensburg in 972. At that time it was the custom for the bishop to be abbot of Regensburg's most important Benedictine monastery, St. Emmeram's, as well. Wolfgang broke with this tradition and in 975 brought his friend Ramwold, monk of St. Maximin in Trier, to become abbot of St. Emmeram's. Ramwold undertook an extensive rebuilding of the monastery church. The relics of the patron saint of the church, St Emmeram, had long been preserved at east end of the church, in the so-called 'Ring-crypt'. Ramwold added a large new chapel beyond the ring-crypt; it was dedicated by Bishop Wolfgang in 980. And Ramwold rebuilt the main church on a massive new scale with a broad nave and two side aisles, to create what must have been a show-piece of romanesque architecture in the period of monastic reform.

An early 9th century manuscript containing the Vita of St Emmeram by Arbeo of Freising, probably from St. Amand at the time Archbishop Arno of Salzburg was its abbot, has the texts of antiphons and responsories of the Night Office for St Emmeram following the secular or Roman cursus (Paris 2990A).² But we do not have sources from St. Emmeram's itself to tell us how the office was celebrated in the monastery up to the end of the 10th century. The main part of the gradual Bamberg 6 has no mass chants for StEmmeram at all, not even incipits for chants of the Commune Sanctorum. But near the end of the sequentiary there is a proper sequence, *Gaudens ecclesia*, to the melody 'Symphonia'. It is obviously an addition to the main series of sequences, but it is copied in the main hand.

As the 11th century advanced, St. Emmeram's was unfortunately subjected to financial exploitation, especially by Bishop Gebhard III of Regensburg (1036–1060). A struggle for independence ensued which provides the context and perhaps the direct incentive for important liturgical initiatives. It was at any rate during these years that Arnold of Vohburg, monk of St. Emmeram's, composed a new Vita of the saint, taking Arbeo's account as his starting point. Arnold had announced his intention to do this in the 1020s, but his fellow monks were much opposed to any tampering with an old and revered text, and Arnold was banished by his abbot to Saxony. He persuaded Meginhard of Magdeburg to undertake the composition of a new Vita, which was, however, not completed until 1030. In the meantime Arnold came back to Regensburg, but was then sent to Hungary, for reasons which are not entirely clear. While in Esztergom as a guest of Archbishop Anastasius he composed a liturgical office of St Emmeram and sought the approval of the Esztergom chapter for his work. The office was subsequently sung at St. Emmeram's as well, replacing what Arnold calls „the old chant which our brethren sang more out of ancient habit than any presumption of authority” („*potius ... ex antiquitatis usu quam ullo auctoritatis ausu*”). On his return from Hungary Arnold was made prior of the monastery. His first „*Liber I. de miraculis b. Emmerami*” was completed in 1036. He went on to compile more hagiographical material, the „*liber II. de memoria b. Emmerami et eius amatorum*” in 1037. Arnold's liturgical office of St Emmeram survives in a source with neumatic notation from Arnold's own time, clm 14870.³

After Wolfgang's death in 994 he was buried in St. Emmeram's, the monastery of which he had for a time been abbot, and he was soon revered as a saint in Regensburg. In 1052 he was canonized by the German pope Leo IX (Bruno of Toul). (This is, incidentally, the pope who is supposed to have composed the office of St Gregory Gloriosa sanctissimi). St Wolfgang's remains were translated from the south aisle of St. Emmeram's to a new crypt at the west end. It was very probably for this occasion that another monk of St. Emmeram's, Otloh, wrote a new Vita of St Wolfgang. It would also have been entirely natural for Otloh to have composed a liturgical office for the saint. We do indeed have a proper office of St Wolfgang in the later source from St. Emmeram's, clm 14872, but no 11th-century manuscript. There can be no doubt that Otloh would have been able to provide music for such an office. We have notated sources in his hand, other compositions by him, and he appears as partner in dialogue with William of Hirsau in the music theory treatise by William, who was also a monk of St. Emmeram's.

The Translation of St Wolfgang took place during the abbacy of Reginward (1049–c.1060), but it was only a part of a dramatic effort to raise the prestige and improve the fortunes of St. Emmeram's. In 1049 the abbey delivered itself of an astonishing declaration that the body of St Denis had been discovered in St. Emmeram's. It was alleged to have been abducted from the famous French monastery of Saint-Denis near Paris by Arnulf of Carinthia (Emperor 896–899) and given to St. Emmeram's. The anonymous account of these events, known as the *Translatio I*, is by Otloh.

In preparation for the Translation of St Wolfgang and the solemn reinterment of St Denis Abbot Reginward initiated a mighty rebuilding of Ramwold's abbey church, which was only 60 years old at the time. The main body of the church was reconceived with greater dimensions and a vast new west end was constructed. This consisted of a large square chapel with crypt. On the east side of the chapel was the altar of St Wolfgang, with his body in the crypt beneath. Opposite him, at the westernmost end of the church, were the altar and body of St Denis.⁴

While Otloh's authorship of the music for the liturgical office of St Wolfgang remains unproven – and you will soon see that it is unlikely on stylistic grounds – there can be little doubt that Otloh had a hand in the office for St Denis sung at St. Emmeram's. As I have just said, he could certainly notate and compose music. In one of the St. Emmeram tropers, clm 14083, a proper sequence for St Denis was entered partly by Otloh himself (his hand was recognized by Bernhard Bischoff); and we have one, possibly two, Kyrie tropes composed by him. There are two 11th-century sources of the office of St Denis from St. Emmeram's. Clm 14069 is in various hands, clm 14871 in Otloh's. There are differences between the two offices, which I shall mention in a moment.⁵

We therefore have proper offices for three saints which may well have been composed at St. Emmeram's within a few decades of each other in the first half of the 11th century. Surprisingly, however, they are by no means uniform in style.

I am now going to pick out some characteristic musical features of the offices (working from the later source with staff notation, clm 14872), and try to explain why they differ from one another.

One's first impression is that the office for St Denis is the most traditional of the three, the St Wolfgang office is the least conventional, while the St Emmeram office is clearly a work of the new century without being as unorthodox as the Wolfgang office.

The offices for St Denis

There is a obvious reason why the Denis office sounds traditional. Its compiler simply took over older chants for St Denis from the international tradition. The transmission of the various versions of the Denis office, including the recension made by Abbot Hilduin at St. Denis itself, is complicated, and I am by no means familiar with all its ramifications. Nor is the situation at St. Emmeram's in Regensburg absolutely clear. The explanation I shall now offer seems to me to be plausible, but I readily admit that the discovery of further sources might alter the picture. To help clarify matters I have compiled a table which shows how chants were transferred or replaced during the various revisions of the office (see Table 1).

In the manuscript clm 14069 we find what I believe to be a first version of the office, made for the use of St.Emmeram's perhaps even before the Translation of 1052. All thirteen of the antiphons of the Night Office were taken from what I may refer to as the international tradition. That is, although Hilduin of St. Denis may have composed them, there is no reason to suppose they came directly to Regensburg from St. Denis. We can see them, for example, in the Hartker antiphoner at St. Gallen. Any chants taken from the international tradition are given in normal print, anything newly composed at St. Emmeram's is given in italic (cursive). A few of the responsories are traditional, some had their melodies rewritten (= *new mel.*). The antiphons at Lauds were all taken from the tradition. The new pieces are the Magnificat antiphon at Vespers and the Invitatory of Matins (both these are written in over erasures), some responsories, the Magnificat antiphon at Second Vespers, and an antiphon for Magnificat and Benedictus for the Octave.

A second hand wrote two (possibly three) hymns after this first office. A third hand wrote another antiphon.

More important is the work of a fourth hand, who set out a new Magnificat antiphon and responsory for First Vespers, then the incipits of six responsories, already previously present in the source, all provided with an incipit for *Gloria patri*. This ispresumably intended to specify a new order for the main feast or another occasion when the saint was honoured. Then comes a new set of Lauds antiphons, and for Second Vespers one antiphon super psalmos and a Magnificat antiphon.

TABLE 1 - OFFICES OF ST DENIS

clm 14069 HAND A	clm 14871 OTLOH	clm 14872 (15th-c.)
<u>1st Vespers</u>		
Ant. 1-4	-	1 trad.
Resp.	-	= Otloh
Hymn	-	= 14069/B H2
Mag. ant.	new	= Otloh
<u>Night Office</u>		
Inv.	new	= Otloh
	= 14069	
	+ alia Inv.	
Hymn	-	= 14069/B H1 new mel.
Ant. 1-6	trad.	= Otloh
Resp. 1-4	R1 trad.	R1 new
	R2 new	R2 = Otloh R4
	R3 new	R3 = Otloh R8
	R4 trad.	R4 trad.
	R4a new	
Ant. 7-12	trad.	= Otloh
Resp. 5-8	R5 new mel.	R5 = Otloh
	R6 new mel.	R6 = Otloh trad. mel.
	R7 new	R7 = Otloh trad. mel.
	R8 new	R8 trad.
	R8a new	
Ant. ad Cant.	trad.	= Otloh
Resp. 9-12	R9 new mel.	R9 = Otloh R1
	R10 new mel.	R10 trad.
	R11 trad.	R11 = 1st Vesp., Otloh R10
	R12 new	R12 = Otloh
<u>Lauds</u>		
Ant. 1-5	trad.	= Otloh
Resp.	-	= Otloh R2
Hymn	-	new
Bened. ant.	trad.	= Otloh
<u>2nd Vespers</u>		
Mag. ant.	new	= Otloh
<u>Octave</u>		
Mag./Ben. ant.	new	
	HAND B	
	2 hymns	
	<u>1 sequence?</u>	
	HAND C	
	<u>1 Mag. ant.</u>	
	HAND D	
<u>1st Vespers</u>	Mag. ant.	
	Resp. B	
<u>Night Office</u>	incipits for Resp.	
	7, 8, 5, B, 10, 8a	
	above	
<u>Lauds</u>	Ant. 1-5 new	
	Bened. ant. new	
<u>2nd Vespers</u>	1 ant. new	
	<u>Mag. ant. new</u>	
<u>Infra Oct.</u>		
<u>Night Office</u>		
	Inv. trad.	
	Hymn as Night Off. above	
<u>Vesp./Lauds</u>	Ant. 1-6 = 14069	
	Bened./Mag. ant.:	
	5 trad., 1 new	
<u>Vespers</u>	Ant. 1-4	
	= 14069 Night Office	
	Ant. 7-9 and Ant. 11	
	Ant. 1-4 as Otloh 1st Vesp.	
	but new melodies	
	Mag. ant. trad.	

Shortly after this, by my reckoning, Otloh will have set to work. His office is in manuscript clm 14871. He retained some of the previous material, but not a lot. He composed antiphons for First Vespers, displacing the new Magnificat antiphon in clm 14069 to the Third Nocturn of the Night Office. He replaced the antiphons of the Night Office which the previous compiler had taken over from the international tradition, replaced nearly all traditional responsories previously retained but kept the new ones. He did not provide anything new, however, to replace the traditional Lauds antiphons. After taking over the Magnificat antiphon of clm 14069 for Second Vespers, Otloh's office stops. There was no evidence of modal arrangement in the old office, but Otloh sets out the first six antiphons of the Night Office in modal order.

We do not know how soon a settled arrangement was found in the next decades and centuries. The 15th-century manuscript clm 14872 shows a further evolution in the sense that almost nothing which Otloh had replaced is brought back, and more new material is provided. Only in two instances is there a return to older practice: the traditional melodies are restored for two responsories which in clm 14069 and Otloh's manuscript had new melodies, and instead of Otloh's new set of Vespers antiphons, clm 14872 goes back to the international tradition for a single antiphon *super psalmos*, *Insignes preconiiis*. There are new melodies for the invitatory and for some responsories, and some of the responsories which were new in 14069 and retained by Otloh are now replaced. Yet again the Lauds antiphons remain traditional. But a new Lauds responsory is provided. The hymns in clm 14069 Hand B are now put into place, one at First Vespers and one at Matins, but with a new melody.

Otloh's new antiphons for First Vespers are not totally rejected, however. They go to Second Vespers, but with new melodies. The traditional antiphons for the Night Office which had been retained in clm 14069 and replaced by Otloh now find a place during the Octave. And to make up a fuller cycle of services more pieces out of the international tradition are included.

A modest number of pieces composed by Otloh or his predecessors and contemporaries can thus be transcribed from the 15th-century manuscript and can give us an idea of 11th-century compositional practice at St. Emmeram's. We can put them side by side with Arnold's compositions in honour of the abbey's ancient patron St Emmeram, and the Wolfgang office which, it will be recalled, is only in the 15th-century manuscript.

Musical features of the three offices

Despite the manifold revisions of the Denis office, only one set of pieces is put in modal order: the first six antiphons in the office by Otloh. Why these six alone were so designed is unclear. Otherwise, Otloh's work is very typical of new 11th-century composition. His fine Magnificat antiphon *Exultemus fratres* will illustrate some of the most important features; they can be found in all his other

compositions for this office as well (see Ex. 1). The text is in rhyming prose. The melody abandons the old tetrachordal structures of classical 'Gregorian' chant, and concentrates instead on the 5th and 8ve as alternative melodic goals to the finalis, usually achieving them by means of the so-called 'Gallican' cadence, or subtonal cadence.

Ex. 1. Magnificat antiphon *Exultemus fratres* from Office of St Denis by Otloh
(clm 14872 fol. 87r)

clm 14872 fol. 87r

DENIS - Magnificat antiphon (Otloh)

1

Exul-te-mus fratres spiri-ta-li gaudi-o in hoc na-ta-ti-ci-o

exul-tent si-mul pauper & di-ues pe-re-gri-ni at-que ci-ues

in tanta festi-ui-ta-te sanctis-si-morum marti-rum

Di-o-nisi-i Rusti-ci & E-leu-the-ri-i

ex qui-bus ve-neramur maxi-mo stu-di-o Di-o-nisi-um

pa-tri-e huius pa-tro-num hunc totis vi-ri-bus inuocantes peti-mus

ve nos nostrumque locum su-is semper mu-ni-at preci-bus.

We can unfortunately see very little of the work of the composers of the chants in clm 14069, only three responsories in fact. These show some textual rhyme, and have the same tonal features as Otloh's pieces, although the final cadences of respond and verse are traditional. The traditional tones for the responsory verses are abandoned.

Arnold's office for St Emmeram has most of its antiphons in modal order, but not the responsories. Antiphons 1–6 of the Night Office are in modes 1–6, Antiphons 7–12 are in modes 1–6 again, while the antiphons of Lauds are in modes 1–5. The traditional tones for responsory verses are hardly ever used. Otherwise, this office is not as 'modern'–sounding as Otloh's. There is not much text rhyme, and although there are plenty of sub-tonal cadences Arnold is clearly not as concerned as Otloh to establish finalis, upper 5th and 8ve as pillars of the tonal structure (see Exx. 2 and 3).

Ex. 2. Responsory 6 *Baioariam veniens* from Office of St Emmeram by Arnold
(clm 14872 fol. 38v)

clm 14872 fol. 38v EMMERAM - Responsory 6 (Arnold) 2

Ba-io-a - ri-am ve-ni-ens be-a-tus Emme - ram-mus

The-o-do-ne du-ce Panno-ni-am peten-di ti-cen-ci-am pe - -ci-it.

Sed princeps sue magis pre-ni-dens pro-uinci-e ne tanto ca-re-ret docto-re

e-um il-lo i-re mi-ne-me permi-sit.

¶. Di-xit enim se a Gallorum regno ob hoc ex-is-se ut Panno-ni-e incolam

Hu-norum gen-tem incredulam ad Christum con-ver-te-ret.

The Wolfgang office is more advanced still. All the sets of antiphons and responsories are arranged in modal order (see Table 2).

The 'Gallican' cadences underline a very clear tonal structure based on the finalis, the 5th and their octaves. But there is extraordinary freedom of movement between these poles, with rapid leaps from one scale segment to another, scale passages through them, and even oscillation between finalis and 5th. I give two examples, the Vesper responsory in mode 7 and the Magnificat antiphon in mode 1 (see Exx. 4 and 5).

TABLE 2 – WOLFGANG OFFICE: MODAL ORDER

AD MATUTINAS

Antiphon	1–6	Modes 1–6
Responsory	1–4	Modes 1–4
Antiphon	7–12	Modes 7–8, 1–4
Responsory	5–8	Modes 5–8
Responsory	9–12	Modes 1, 3, 5, 7

IN LAUDIBUS

Antiphon	1–5	Modes 5–8, 1
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Ex. 3. Responsory 7 *Sacer die famulus* from Office of St Emmeram by Arnold
(clm 14872 fol. 39r)

clm 14872 fol. 39r

EMMERAM – Responsory 7 (Arnold)

3

Sa-cer de-i fa-mulus dum ceptum i-ter per-a-ge-re
se non posse con-spi-ce-ret du-ci popu-loque ut a-pud se mane-ret
rogan-tibus consensit. E-o quod & in Nori-co nuper Christi-a-nitas
in-cepta o-pus haberet sa-ne soli-da-mento doctrine.
Quamvis quo primum a-nimo de-li-be-rauit per-ge-re ne-quiret tamen volun-ta-te su-a
non est frau-datus a-gri-cul-tor do-mi-ni-ci.

I know of only one other office in a comparable style, and my last musical example gives the responsory in mode 7 from it (see Ex. 6).

Ex. 4. Vesper responsory *Eximie presul* from Office of St Wolfgang (clm 14872 fol. 132r)

clm 14872 fol. 132^r

WOLFGANG - Vesper responsory

4

Ex - i-mie presul & pi-e pastor noster sancte & be-a - te

Wolf - gange o-uilis o-lim ti-bi commissi o-ui-umque tu-arum

curam & custo-diam ne de-se-re se& & spi-ri-ta-li-um

in-si-di-is lu-po-rum & quarumcumque incursi-o-nibus tri-bu-ta - ci-onum

ad te suf-fu-gi-um que - ri-tan - tes. (Consu-e - ta nos

pi-e - ta - te mi-se - ra - tus sus-ci-pe.

Ut qui te pa-tro-no gau - demus tu-a in-gi-ter patrocini-a

sen - ci - a - mus.

Ex. 5. Magnificat antiphon *Gaudeat tota virgo mater ecclesia* from Office of St Wolfgang
(clm 14872 fol. 133r)

clm 14872 fol. 133r

WOLFGANG - Magnificat antiphon

5

Gaudeat tota virgo mater ecclesia egredi presulis Wolfgangi
meritis insignibus in cuncta letetur felix. Tunc
tam suavi prole fecunda exultat precipue civitas Ratispona
tanti pontificis tui doctrina patrociniis & corpore sacro gloriosa
cuius sacratissimum votis omnibus recolentes situm eius pius
apud dominum deum nostrum iungitur sentire mereamur.
suffragium.

This is the office for St Afra of Augsburg by Hermannus Contractus, the well-known monk and music theorist of the Reichenau, who died 940 years ago, on 24 September 1054. A facsimile of the Afra office has been published by Brambach from an early manuscript source (Karlsruhe LX), and its transmission has also been studied by Schlager. Hermannus is known to have written other offices, for his pupil Berthold says he composed offices for the saints George, Gordianus and Epimachus, Afra, Magnus the Confessor, Bishop Wolfgang, and many others. But, apart from the Afra office, these were thought to have been lost. Commentators on Hermannus' work have not known the Wolfgang office in clm 14872. In an essay for the Wolfgang anniversary in 1884, Utto Kornmüller said he thought that either William of Hirsau or Hermannus Contractus could have composed the music, and cited the monk Bernhold's statement. When Franz Stein published his edition of the Wolfgang office, he passed Hermannus

clm 23037 fol. 240v

AFRA - Responsory 10 (Hermannus)

6

Postquam no - vel - lam conuer - sam Afra be - a - tus Nar - cis - sus

Au - guste fun - da - vit ec - cle - si - am no - uam do - mi - no

lu - cra - turus fa - mi - li - am Hy - spani - a - rum ur - bem ad - i - it

ge - run - sam. V - bi cum fe - li - ce si - a - co - no suo

fe - li - ci - ter marty - ri - um con - summa - vit.

MS: DE E

MS: 3rd lower

by rather lightly. He cited Kornmüller's opinion, but himself favoured Hermannus and added that a glance at the Magnificat antiphon of Hermannus' Afra office, available in Wagner's *Einführung*, strengthened the hypothesis.⁶ (I must mention here that I have been encouraged to take the hypothesis seriously by Dr. Keith Falconer, currently working in Regensburg, who has also looked at the music of both offices, and is engaged in a search for Hermannus' office of St George.)

Hermannus died in 1054, so it is just possible that his office was performed at the time of Wolfgang's canonization in 1052. (Otloh could have sent him the texts to be set, while being too busy to compose the music himself.) There were strong connections between St. Emmeram's and the Reichenau. Wolfgang himself had studied at the monastery school on the Reichenau between 934 and about 944, that is when he was 10 to 20 years old. It may be pure chance that we have no early source for the office. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that for the monks of St. Emmeram's, Wolfgang became a symbol of the bishop's authority which they were anxious to keep at arm's length. On the double portal entrance to Reginward's abbey church there are three stone relief figures, masterpieces of the sculpture of the time. On the left is St Emmeram, on the right St Denis, and in the centre Christus Salvator with Reginward himself in a small roundel at Christ's feet. Of Wolfgang there is no sign.⁷

Closing observations

I have spoken here, admittedly in a rather superficial way, of a more modern type of chant which behaves tonally in a new way. It seems to me that there is an analogy, perhaps even a definite connection, between this change in the tonal behaviour of chants and the new type of polyphony which arose in the 11th century. In chant we can see a move away from tetrachordal segments to 'polarized' phrases with the 5th and 8ve as points of attraction. In polyphony there is a move away from the 4th-based organum, where the 4th is a largest interval, a limit which the voices do not transgress, to discant with the 5th and 8ve as prime consonances and contrary motion between the voices as they expand and contract from unison, to 5th to 8ve and back again.

In making a claim like that I am very much aware how rudimentary are our techniques for the musical analysis of chant still are. I have the same feeling when I try to assess how individual is the music we have been looking at. In fact I cannot imagine that the compositions of Arnold and Otloh are very individual in style. They appear to me definitely 'non—Gregorian', but not greatly different from other offices composed in the 11th and 12th centuries. But before much more can be said on the matter we need far more modern editions of offices such as these for study and analysis. This is why the project „Historiae" has been launched by the Study Group 'Cantus Planus' of the I.M.S., to make available editions of liturgical offices.

Finally, let me quote a remark of Walter Berschin, from his article 'Sanktgallische Offiziendichtung aus ottonischer Zeit' in the Festschrift for Walter Bulst (1981): „Das Offizium ist die liturgische Form, in der das X. Jahrhundert sein Eigenstes und Bestes geleistet hat." Berschin set the beginning of the period when office composition flourished at St. Gallen around 960. At St. Emmeram's we should date the start a few decades later. Now that so much work has been done on 'post—Gregorian' genres such as sequences and tropes, I am sure it is time to devote more attention to the office. Berschin was, of course, speaking as a philologist, but I feel convinced that we musicologists shall find, as he did, something of the very best of the age in the music of offices such as those for Emmeram, Denis and Wolfgang at Regensburg.

¹ Franz A. Stein: 'Das ältere Offizium des hl. Wolfgang in der Handschrift Clm 14872 aus St. Emmeram zu Regensburg in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München', *Sacerdos et Cantus Gregoriani Magister. Festschrift Ferdinand Haberl zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Franz A. Stein (Regensburg 1977), 279—302. The text of the Emmeram office appears in *Acta sanctorum*, September vol. VI (September 22), 512—515.

² *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Scriptores). Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum. 4. Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici* (II), ed. Bruno Krusch (1902), 524—526.

- ³ On Arnold see the information in the following: Bernhard Bischoff: 'Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram (Regensburg) während des frühen und hohen Mittelalters', [Diss. Munich 1933] *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens* 51 (1933), 102–142, repr. in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 2 (Stuttgart 1967), 77–115; Karl Babl: *Emmeram von Regensburg. Legende und Kull*, Thurn und Taxis-Studien 8 (Kallmünz 1973); Karl Langosch: 'Arnold von St. Emmeram', *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd edn., 1 (1978), 464–470.
- ⁴ Max Piendl: 'St. Emmeram in Regensburg. Die Baugeschichte seiner Klostergebäude', *Beiträge zur Baugeschichte des Reichsstiftes St. Emmeram und des fürstlichen Hauses in Regensburg*, ed. Max Piendl, Thurn und Taxis-Schriften 15 (Kallmünz 1986), 133–364; Christine Rädlinger-Prömper: 'St. Emmeram in Regensburg. Struktur und Funktionswandel eines bayerischen Klosters im frühen Mittelalter', *Thurn und Taxis-Studien* 16 (Kallmünz 1987); Jochen Zink: 'Zur frühen Baugeschichte der ehem. Benediktinerklosterkirche St. Emmeram in Regensburg', *1250 Jahre Kunst und Kultur im Bistum Regensburg: Berichte und Forschungen, Kunstsammlungen des Bistums Regensburg, Diözesanmuseum Regensburg, Kataloge und Schriften* 7 (Zürich 1989), 79–176.
- ⁵ On Otloh see Bischoff: 'Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben'; Helga Schauwecker: *Otloh von St. Emmeram. Ein Beitrag zur Bildungs- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts* (München 1965); Helga Philipp-Schauwecker: 'Otloh und die St. Emmeramer Fälschungen des 11. Jahrhunderts', *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Regensburg und Oberpfalz* 106 (1966), 103–120; Andreas Kraus: *Die Translatio S. Dionysii Areopagitae von St. Emmeram in Regensburg*, Bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Sitzungsber. 1972/4 (Munich 1972). The Kyrie tropes are discussed in David Hiley: 'Some observations on the repertory of tropes at St Emmeram, Regensburg', *Cantus Planus* [International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus]. *Papers read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, ed. László Dobszay, Ágnes Papp and Ferenc Sebő (Budapest 1992), 337–357.
- ⁶ Utto Kornmüller: 'Der heilige Wolfgang als Beförderer des Kirchengesanges', *Der heilige Wolfgang – Bischof von Regensburg – Jubiläumsschrift 994–1894* (Regensburg 1894), 140–162; Franz A. Stein: 'Das ältere Offizium des hl. Wolfgang'.
- ⁷ Günter Lorenz: 'Das Doppelnischenportal von St. Emmeram in Regensburg. Studien zu den Anfängen des Kirchenportals im 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert', *Europäische Hochschulschriften* XXVIII/39 (Frankfurt 1984).