

Danske reformationssalmer i kontekst

*Redigeret af Marita Akhøj Nielsen,
Simon Skovgaard Boeck og Bjarke Moe*

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The Reception of Hans Thomissøn's *Psalmebog* and Niels Jespersen's *Graduale* in Iceland¹

By Árni Heimir Ingólfsson

Abstract

The form and contents of the Icelandic Protestant liturgy remained in a state of flux for decades after the Reformation was completed. Comprehensive liturgical music books finally appeared with Guðbrandur Þorláksson's hymnal of 1589 and *Graduale* of 1594, and these set the framework for the local liturgy for the next two centuries. This essay discusses the extent to which Þorláksson both drew upon and departed from the models provided by two primary Danish sources, Hans Thomissøn's *Den danske Psalmebog* (1569) and Niels Jespersen's *Graduale* (1573). While not all items from the Danish publications were incorporated into the Icelandic volumes, some of the Danish songs had a remarkably long life in manuscript transmission in Iceland. The article traces several examples of songs that were copied in manuscripts as late as the eighteenth century. Their existence suggests a context of domestic worship for at least some of the items originally intended for liturgical singing in the Danish realm.

The Lutheran Reformation in Iceland was a contested and turbulent affair. From the twelfth century onwards, the country was divided into two bishoprics, governed from Skálholt in the south (for the southern/western/eastern parts of the island) and Hólar in the north. Both belonged to the archdiocese of Nidaros from 1153 until this was abolished in the wake of the Lutheran Reformation in 1537. Each of the Icelandic bishoprics wielded considerable

1 The research for this chapter was supported by the Icelandic Research Fund as part of the project "Liturgy in Flux: The Traditions and Context of Plainchant in Iceland, 1500-1700" (grant number 173666).

autonomy, as became especially apparent in the unsettled 1540s. Although the Danish King Christian III's Reformed Church Ordinance was ratified in the bishopric of Skálholt in 1541, the Hólar bishop Jón Arason (1484-1550) was a devout Roman Catholic and strongly opposed the Reformation. It was only with his beheading in 1550 that the entire country was united in the Lutheran faith.

Yet the form and contents of the liturgy remained in a state of flux for decades. In 1585, when a printed music book had still not been issued in the country, the Danish King Frederick II wrote to the Icelandic bishops demanding swift action, noting that the delay in distributing the new liturgy had adversely affected religious practice. In the letter, which was eventually printed among the front matter of the Icelandic *Graduale*, the King complained of “unseemliness” (*Vschickeleghed*) in the churches, since hymns were being sung “in various manners and translations into Icelandic, so that when someone attends another church [than he is used to], he is unable to sing along with the others.”² The first local hymnal (*Sálmabók*, with the title *Ein Ny Psalma Book*) was printed only in 1589, followed by a *Graduale* in 1594, a volume that contains mensural hymns as well as Latin and vernacular chant, intended both for the priest and the congregation. The *Sálmabók* and *Graduale*, both of which were published at Hólar under the supervision of Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson (ca. 1541-1627), appear to have been successful in achieving overall uniformity in liturgical practice, and they set the tone for music and liturgy in Iceland for centuries.

These long-awaited publications were to some extent based on two primary Danish models, each of which had appeared roughly 20 years earlier: Hans Thomisson's *Den danske Psalmebog* (1569) and Niels Jespersen's *Graduale* (1573). Yet the Icelandic church leaders went their own way to a surprising degree. Their publications are not mere translations but rather thorough reworkings of the material, with substantial omissions as well as new material taken from other sources. This approach may have been motivated in part by the Icelandic bishops' wish to assert their indepen-

2 *Graduale* (Hólar 1594), also printed in Jónsson 1772-1778: III, 26: “... att sig mögen Vschickeleghed thil drage vdi Kirkerne/ ther paa vort Landt Island/ med Psalmer som siungis/ huilke ehre paa atskillige Maader vdsett och Verteret paa Islandtz maall/ Saa att naar Nogen kommer j en Anden Kircke/ kand hand inted siunge med thennem.”

dence from Danish church authorities. It may also have been spurred by an urge to maintain continuity by including items – certain plainchants, for example – that had a strong local tradition and had perhaps already in the intervening years been locally adapted to the provisional Lutheran liturgy (Ingólfsson 2019a). While the main route of reception for Thomissøn’s and Jespersen’s material was through the Icelandic printed books, items from the Danish volumes that were never printed in Iceland appear in several local manuscripts, including surprisingly late sources (ca. 1700-1750). This suggests that the reception of the *Psalmebog* and *Graduale* in Iceland had two different routes, the public/official and the private/domestic. In this article, I will trace the influence of Thomissøn’s *Psalmebog* and Jespersen’s *Graduale* in Iceland in both printed books and manuscripts, demonstrating the varied context in which the material appears.

1. Danish Influence in Printed Icelandic Liturgical Books

Although they have many items in common, the Icelandic *Sálmabók* of 1589 differs substantially from its Danish model (Ólason 1926: 426; Þórarinnsson 2012: 216). Certain hymns are omitted while others are added, and the internal order of the hymns is often quite different from Thomissøn.³ For example, the Advent/Christmas section of the Icelandic *Sálmabók* (corresponding to “Om Christi tilkommelse / Om Christi fødsel” in Thomissøn) omits six hymns from the Danish print (including *Priss oc ære oc dyd* which nevertheless appears in a later manuscript; see below). Two further hymns that are printed with music in Thomissøn, *Dies est leticie* and *Grates nunc omnes*, appear without notation in the Icelandic book.

On the other hand, the 1589 *Sálmabók* adds substantial new material (i.e. not in Thomissøn), such as the sequence *Celeste organum* in Icelandic translation (*Hátíð þessa heimsins þjóð*, 19v-20r), with the heading “An old sequence that was sung in the Christian church, of the birth of the Lord

3 For example, in the *Sálmabók* the *Nunc dimittis* hymn *Ó herra Guð í þínum frið* is given at Purification, towards the beginning of the Icelandic book (D ii), whereas the corresponding hymn, *Met glæde oc fred far ieg nu hen*, appears towards the end of Thomissøn’s book, in the section headed “Death and Burial” (333v).

Christ.” While the other sequences found in both Thomissøn and the Icelandic *Sálmabók* are in accord with the Danish/Icelandic Church ordinance, *Celeste organum* was not part of the officially sanctioned liturgy (Jónsson 1992: 136). Also surprising in the context of added plainchant is the absence of *Salve Jesu Christe vor Frelsermand* (i.e. the Lutheran *Salve Regina*), found in the Danish volume but not printed in Iceland until the 1594 *Graduale*, suggesting that the separate functions of the two Icelandic books were not as clear-cut as those of their Danish counterparts.⁴

The Icelandic bishops and priests had their own connections to Germany and were able to obtain melodies and texts through sources other than the Danish volumes. For example, *Heyrið þau tíu heilögu boð* (*Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot*) and Erasmus Alberus’s hymn *Guð þann engil sinn Gabríel* (*Ein Engel schön aus Gottes Thron*) appear in the Icelandic volume but not the Danish. In at least two cases, the Icelandic *Sálmabók* has translations of texts from the Danish *Psalmebog* but provides its own melodies, of unknown origin. This is true of *Einn herra ég best ætti* (*Jeg vil mig Herren loffue*), which has a different melody in the Icelandic print (R ii), and also *Ó mildi Jesú sem manndóm tókst* (the first mensural hymn in the *Sálmabók*, A viii), where the melody is not the same as *O Jesu Christ som mandom tog* (25r). Overall, the Icelandic *Sálmabók* can be viewed as an independent publication that is only partly influenced by Thomissøn’s *Psalmebog*. The discrepancies likely reveal how the Icelandic liturgy had evolved independently from the Danish in the early years of the Reformation, but they may also, at least in part, demonstrate a conscious effort to create an autonomous liturgy for the Icelandic churches.

The *Sálmabók* appears to have been intended as a thorough liturgical reworking, but this was to some extent undermined by the woefully poor standard of the music print itself. The woodcut method used in the Icelandic book is far less elegant than the Danish print’s music typeface, but a more serious flaw is that many of the songs are missing the final notes, since often only a single staff was used for each hymn, and whatever notes could not be fitted in were simply left out.

This blunder was rectified in the *Sálmabók*’s second edition, issued in 1619. Again, this volume contains material that, while derived from the

4 On the Lutheran use of the *Salve Regina*, see Frandsen 2010.

Danish *Psalmebog*, is creatively adapted to a surprising degree. An example is the reworking of a hymn tune from Thomissøn's 1569 volume, *Nu lader oss tacke oc loffue* (134 r-v), which appears in 1619 in a modified version as *Jesú mín morgunstjarna* (261). In the Icelandic version, two phrases of the original tune are fully omitted (phrases 7 and 8 in the Danish version), while the hymn's first half is given without repeat (Ólason 2002). The text does not rely on the Danish at all; it is a translation of the German *O Christe Morgensterne*, first printed in Leipzig in 1579 (Wackernagel 1864-1872: V, 11-12).

While the 1589 *Sálmabók* was not a fully successful publication, the 1594 *Graduale* was a major achievement. This book would eventually be reprinted 18 times, the last edition appearing in 1779 and in use until the first decades of the nineteenth century. The format of the Icelandic *Graduale* is considerably smaller than its Danish counterpart; whereas Jespersen's volume was a lavish folio, the Icelandic book was a smaller, thinner quarto (editions 1-5), replaced by an oblong octavo format in 1691 and all later editions.

Two copies of Niels Jespersen's *Graduale* could be found at each of the Icelandic cathedrals, at Skálholt and Hólar. A Skálholt library inventory from 1657 lists "two Gradualia latinodanica, one in the priest's care, the other in the care of the school." In 1698, a new inventory mentions two "Danish song-graduals, printed in folio"; these books are listed for the last time in 1764 (AM 271 fol.: 137; Ágústsson 1992: 298, 304-306). A 1685 inventory of Hólar cathedral lists a "Danish Graduale in small folio," and another copy of the "Graduale Danicum" was in the school library.⁵ It should be noted that these inventories do not mention any books that can be identified as the Danish *Psalmebog*; although such lists are not always fully reliable and may vary in detail, this suggests that the *Graduale* was at least more prominently noted at the cathedrals than the *Psalmebog*.

Overall, the Icelandic *Graduale* of 1594 resembles its Danish source more

5 The letters of Bishop Þórður Þorláksson, vol. 4, 1684-1689, ÞÍ Bps A IV, 3, 158. One of the Hólar exemplars may have been the one sent by Bishop Paul Madsen to Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson, who replied with thanks in a 1574 letter ("Graduale cum papyro," see Jónsson 1772-1778: 3, 389). A single original copy of the Danish *Graduale* is in the collection of the National and University Library in Reykjavík, but its provenance is unknown; see Sigurðsson 1965: 137.

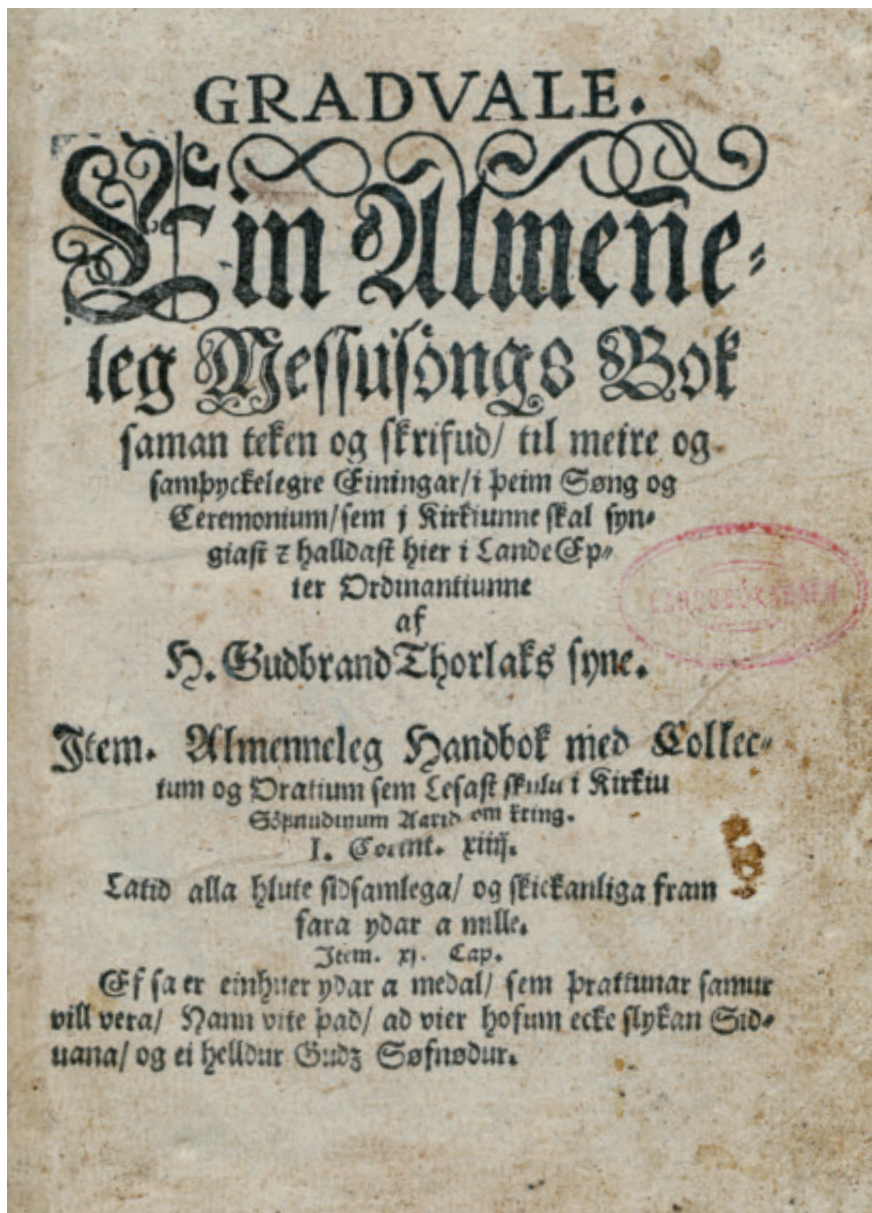


Figure 1. *Graduale*. Hólar 1594, title page.

closely than can be said of the *Sálmabók* (Ólason 1998: 226f).⁶ Yet the Icelandic book is far from a direct translation. Certain hymns are omitted, others added, including hymns from Thomissøn's *Psalmebog*. Latin Introits and Alleluias are given in full only on major feasts; otherwise a textual incipit is given. This suggests that Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson did not expect the full plainchant mass to be sung at other churches than Skálholt and Hólar, where the Danish print was available and could be consulted as needed.

A comparison of the mass for First Sunday of Advent in the 1573 and 1594 *Graduales* demonstrates the changes typically found in the Icelandic book (see Table 1). The 1594 volume adds an Alleluia in Icelandic, which is a translation of *Glæder eder i Herren uden men* from Thomissøn's *Psalmebog* (fol. 289), yet the second and third phrases of the opening »Haleluia« (i.e. »Loffuer Herren. Haleluia«) are omitted, suggesting that the material was edited for local use. *Heiðrum Guð föður himnum á* is given with music whereas Jespersen has only the text; *Guds Søn er kommen aff Himmelen* is omitted altogether, and the order towards the end of the mass has been changed, so that the Icelandic mass concludes with the *Da pacem* hymn.

Table 1. Sung items in the mass for First Sunday of Advent in Jespersen's *Graduale* (1573) and the Icelandic *Graduale* (1594).

Danish <i>Graduale</i> 1573	Icelandic <i>Graduale</i> 1594	genre
Herr Christ Gud Faders enborne Søn	Jesús Guðs son eingetinn	Introit hymn
Ad te levavi	[Ad te levavi, text incipit only]	Introit
Kyrie Gud Fader allsom høyeste trøst	Kyrie Guð faðir hæsta traust	Kyrie
Alleniste Gud i Himmerig	Alleinasta Guði í himnaríki	Gloria
Haleluia. Ostende nobis	[Ostende nobis, text incipit only]	Alleluia

6 When the Danish *Graduale* gives two options, one for towns and another for village churches, the Icelandic *Graduale* only gives the latter option.

[Haleluia. Loffuer Herren ... Glæder eder, from Thomissøn 1569]	Haleluia. Gleðjist í Drottni	Alleluia in Icelandic
Nu bede vi den hellig Aand	Nú biðjum vér heilagan anda	Sequence
Vi tro allesammen paa en Gud	Vér trúum allir á einn Guð	Credo
[Ære være Gud, text only]	Heiðrum Guð föður himnum á	After the sermon
Guds Søn er kommen aff Himmelen	[omitted]	optional
O Guds lam uskyldig	Ó Guðs lamb saklausa	Agnus Dei
Jesus Christus er vor salighed	Jesús Kristus er vor frelsari	Communion
Gud være loffuit altid og benedidet	Guð veri lofaður og svo blessaður	Post-Communion
Forlæ oss med Fred naadelig	[moved to Post-Benediction]	Da pacem
Beholt oss Herre ved dit Ord	Halt oss Guð við þitt hreina orð	Benediction
	Gef þinni kristni góðan frið	Post-Benediction

A substantial number of changes in the Icelandic *Graduale* vis-à-vis the Danish volume involve plainchant. It seems that the Icelandic bishops were willing to claim even greater autonomy when it came to plainchant than was the case with Lutheran hymns. Below is a list of the major changes in the 1594 *Graduale*:

- Sanctus for Christmas with Icelandic text (*Heilagur, heilagur*) does not have the same music as the Latin-texted chant a few pages earlier in the volume; the Danish *Graduale* does not contain a vernacular translation of the Sanctus at all. An Icelandic Kyrie for Christmas (*Kyrie Guð faðir himna ríkja*) is taken from Thomissøn's *Psalmebog*.
- Alleluia for First Sunday of Lent is in Icelandic (*Drottinn Guð gjör ei við oss*) whereas Jespersen gives the Latin text (*Domine non secundum*), with the option of a Lutheran hymn in the vernacular instead. The music differs in many details, including the melisma on "Haleluia". The second

edition of the Icelandic *Graduale* (1607) gives this chant in both Icelandic and Danish.

- Kyrie for Easter differs substantially in musical details.
- Gloria for Easter differs substantially in musical details and is transposed down a tone from the Danish edition.
- Introit for Pentecost has an Icelandic text (*Kom þú góði heilagi andi*) whereas the Danish volume gives the Latin text on Pentecost (the vernacular translation appears on Pentecost Monday).
- The sequence for Pentecost Monday is in Icelandic (*Kom Guð helgi andi hér*); as are the Introit and Halleluia for Trinity Sunday (*Blessuð sért þú heilaga þrenning / Heyr þú hin sæla blessaða*). No comparable translations are found in the Danish *Graduale*.
- The conclusion of the sequence for Trinity Sunday, *Benedicta semper sancta sit trinitas*, is made into a self-standing sequence with Icelandic text, *Ó þú göfuglega þrenning*; nothing comparable is found in the Danish *Graduale*.
- Three Alleluia chants that do not appear in Jespersen's volume (*O beata benedicta gloriosa; Confitemini Domino; In conspectu angelorum*) are mentioned by incipit in the 1594 *Graduale* and printed with music in editions 2-5 (1607-1679). These chants seem to be relics from the Nidaros liturgy (see Table 2, below).
- A few substantial chants are not taken up into the Icelandic *Graduale*, for example *Discubuit Jesus*, although this is copied into a later Icelandic manuscript (see below). Also omitted are two sequences that Jespersen suggests can be sung in towns as offertories on Christmas and Easter (*Eia recolamus* and *Mane prima sabbati*), as well as three Responsories that conclude the Danish publication.

As the above list demonstrates, the 1594 *Graduale* contains several Icelandic translations of plainchant where the Danish *Graduale* had Latin. It seems that a tradition of performing chant in translation had already become established in Iceland by this time. Two manuscript fragments from ca. 1550-1560, among the earliest Icelandic material that can in some sense be called "Lutheran", are copies of plainchant in local translations, although none of the items they contain were included in the 1594 *Graduale* (Ingólfsson 2019a: 56-65). It seems likely that the translations in the *Graduale* were

made or commissioned by Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson. When these are viewed as part of an overall liturgical scheme, a pattern emerges. Bishop Þorláksson, in his edition, made certain that some plainchant would be sung in Icelandic on the major feasts of the church year: Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and Trinity, also in the simpler vernacular version of the Mass that on most other days consisted entirely of mensural hymns. It seems that he was not completely at ease with the option given in the Danish volume, of full services of Latin plainchant on the one hand, and of simpler vernacular hymn translations on the other hand. Instead, he devised a version where plainchant was part of the liturgy on major feasts, regardless of whether the mass was celebrated in the vernacular or in Latin.

As noted above, the first edition of the Icelandic *Graduale* (1594) indicated Latin plainchant at appropriate places, but the full music and texts were given only on major feasts. The second edition (1607) gave more prominence to the plainchant form of the mass, since all Introits and Halleluia chants were now written out in full (nearly all of them taken from Jespersen's volume).⁷ Thus, with the *Graduale's* second edition, the Icelandic church authorities came closer to the Danish model than before, and this remained so until these chants were again removed from the *Graduale's* sixth edition (1691), after which the book took on a unique, more independent form (see below).

There are several discrepancies between Introit and Halleluia chants in the Danish volume and the Icelandic *Graduale* as printed between 1607 and 1679. In six cases, the Icelandic book gives other chants than the Danish:

Table 2. Discrepancies in Latin plainchants between Niels Jespersen's *Graduale* (1573) and the Icelandic *Graduale*, eds. 2-5 (1607-1679).

<i>feast day</i>	<i>genre</i>	<i>chant in NJ 1573</i>	<i>chant in GP 1607</i>
Christmas 2	Introit	Et enim sederunt principes	Puer natus est nobis
Christmas 3	Introit	In medio ecclesie	Puer natus est nobis

7 Further study remains to be done on substantial musical differences between plainchants in the Danish *Graduale* and the items incorporated into the 1607 Icelandic edition. Frequently, opening phrases have considerable melodic variants. Some chants are even in a different mode altogether, for example *Memento nostri Domine* (on Advent 4).

Transfiguration Sunday	Alleluia	De profundis	Domine non secundum
Trinity Sunday	Alleluia	Benedictus es Domine Deus	O beata benedicta gloriosa
15 Sunday after Trinity	Alleluia	Paratum cor meum Deus	Confitemini Domino
Michaelmas	Alleluia	Concussum est mare	In conspectu angelorum

Two of these chants appear in the 1573 *Graduale* but not on the same feast; the Danish volume gives *Puer natus est nobis* for Christmas Day but other chants on the Second and Third Days of Christmas. Here, the Icelandic arrangement is only a simplification. Jespersen gives *Domine non secundum* for First Sunday of Lent, whereas the Icelandic liturgy introduces it a week earlier. In all these cases, the 1594 edition of the *Graduale* used chants already found in the Danish liturgy, although their placement differed. Three Alleluia chants, however, are not found in the Danish printed books at all, nor in widely distributed German printed books such as Lucas Lossius's *Psalmodia* (first edition 1552). It seems as though these chants were taken from the old Nidaros tradition; it is difficult to ascertain whether this may still have been living memory for the Icelandic Bishop and his associates, or if this was a deliberate attempt at archaizing the contents of the 1607 *Graduale* with older material that was revived for the occasion.⁸

The strong interest in plainchant in the Icelandic sources, both Latin-texted and in vernacular translation, goes beyond the Danish models. Martin Luther had wished the traditional chant of the church to be sung in the reformed liturgies, as is exemplified by publications such as Lossius's *Psalmodia* and Johann Spangenberg's *Cantiones ecclesiasticae/Kirchengesenge deudtsch* (1545). Reformers on the continent valued plainchant for its ties with the past, and for its pedagogical usefulness in schools (Gillion 2021: 658, Petersen 2019: 411). This was surely also the case in Iceland, but it is unclear what prompted the local bishops to go further than the Danish books that ostensibly prescribed the liturgy throughout the realm. The Nidaros tradi-

⁸ The Alleluia *O beata benedicta* survives in at least one Icelandic Roman-Catholic fragment from the fourteenth century (Bjms 833, 2v); see also *Missale pro usu totius regni Norvegie* (Copenhagen 1519), 264.

tion may have been stronger in Iceland, or it may have had more powerful advocates. An added incentive may have been the substantial literary activity of Icelandic poet-priests in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Icelandic translations of plainchant were substantial literary undertakings, particularly since the vernacular texts often contain end rhyme and alliteration, so that it is possible to speak of a significant project of chant translations that goes well beyond the norm.⁹

Later editions of the Icelandic *Graduale* further strengthened the autonomy of the Icelandic liturgy. The fourth edition of the Icelandic *Graduale* (1649) contains a new Icelandic translation of a sequence not found in the Danish liturgy: *In sapientia disponens omnia* (*Guðdómsins hæsta náð*), translated by Ólafur Guðmundsson (ca. 1537-1609). Since he died 40 years before its publication, this version must have been transmitted via manuscript before reaching print. While this sequence is generally reserved for the Sunday after Epiphany, in the Icelandic print it is suitable for singing on “all the year’s major feasts, and others.” The fifth edition (1679) contains as its concluding items a plainchant Gloria and Credo in Icelandic translations “for feast days”; this does not correspond to the Danish *Graduale*, which only has one version of a plainchant Credo (in Latin), and no Gloria at all, since this was replaced with vernacular hymns.

While the first five editions of the Icelandic *Graduale* were in many ways strongly influenced by Jespersen’s publication, the sixth edition, published in 1691, struck a decisively new tone. This was the first time this book was issued in the southern diocese of Skálholt, to which the only printing press in the country had been moved at the initiative of Bishop Þórður Þorláksson (1637-1697). The book’s format was changed from quarto to oblong octavo; a music theory appendix was added, authored by the Bishop himself; and Latin plainchant was eliminated except on the major feasts of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and Trinity (Latin chant for these feasts was eliminated in the ninth edition, 1721). Also, several new Lutheran hymns were introduced for the first time in print in Icelandic translations, including two from Thomissøn’s *Psalmebog: Min Siel nu loffue Herren* (p. 293) became *Frið veittu*

9 This is particularly true of vernacular sequence translations, of which several exist in print and manuscripts, such as *Celeste organum* (mentioned above), *Inviolata*, and *Stans a longe*; see Ingólfsson 2020: 314-318.

voru landi (p. 189), while *Mit hierte hui gremmer du dig* (p. 235), became *Mitt hjarta hvar til hryggist þú* (p. 157, with the heading “from the Danish Hymn Book, this good hymn”). Once again, one is struck by the autonomy of the Icelandic liturgy. The Icelandic *Graduale* assigns *Mitt hjarta hvar til hryggist þú* as the Introit for Sundays 7-9 after Trinity, whereas the Danish *Psalmebog* did not assign it to a specific Sunday, and Jespersen’s *Graduale* gives a different vernacular Introit for these Sundays. *Frið veittu voru landi* is given as an optional hymn “after the Exitum, as is common in many places in the Skálholt diocese,” although again Thomissøn did not indicate a specific liturgical placement. By 1691 the Icelandic *Graduale* had become a fully autonomous book, incorporating elements from both the Danish *Psalmebog* and *Graduale* in its own independent liturgical structure.

2. Songs from Danish Books in Icelandic Manuscripts, ca. 1660-1780

The Icelandic reception history of Thomissøn’s *Psalmebog* and Jespersen’s *Graduale* goes well beyond the official printed books mentioned above. As already noted, not all of the contents of the Danish books were taken up in their Icelandic counterparts. Yet some of the omitted songs and texts circulated in manuscripts for a remarkably long time, mostly in local translations. By the late eighteenth century, these songs seem to have been cultivated not in a liturgical setting but rather in the context of domestic sacred singing. 20 songs from Thomissøn’s *Psalmebog* are transmitted in two Icelandic manuscripts (Rask 98 and Lbs 1239 8vo), and two plainchants from Jespersen’s *Graduale* are also found in two manuscripts (ÍB 171 8vo and, again, Rask 98).

The most remarkable Icelandic music manuscript from the seventeenth century is Rask 98, also known as *Melodia*, the title given by its scribe on fol. 1r. It was written ca. 1660-1670, most likely at the diocesan center of Skálholt, and contains 223 songs of remarkably varied origins, many of them unique to this source: hymns in the vernacular and Latin, secular songs in Icelandic, and single parts from continental chansons and other works by Francesco Corteccia, Didier Lupi, Clemens non Papa, Paul Hofhaimer, Ludwig Senfl, and others. The manuscript was acquired by the Danish linguist Rasmus Christian Rask (1787-1832) in the early nineteenth century, and it

is still part of his collection at the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen (Ingólfsson 2019b: 99-113).

All but the last two items in this manuscript are numbered; it is possible that the scribe added the final numbers later, as an afterthought. The penultimate number is the well-known Responsory *Discubuit Jesus*, and this is the only Icelandic source for this item (see Figure 2).¹⁰ Its origins lie in Roman-Catholic practice, but it was also printed in Lossius's *Psalmodia* and the Danish *Graduale*, which was most likely the Icelandic scribe's source. Rask 98 contains no indication of liturgical use (in Jespersen it is given as an Alleluia replacement on Maundy Thursday), and also does not copy Jespersen's division of the performing forces into choir and two treble soloists, 'Chorus' and 'Duo Pueri'. The inclusion of *Discubuit Jesus* in this manuscript seems to fit well with the scribe's overall archaic taste. The source contains more than a dozen plainchant and Latin songs; some of these items are also found in Icelandic Lutheran sources, while others are unique as far as Icelandic transmission is concerned, e.g. *Discubuit Jesus* and *Fulgens praeclara*, a well-known Sequence for Easter Sunday that is copied in Rask 98 but survives in no other Icelandic source.

As well as copying a plainchant from the Danish *Graduale*, the scribe of Rask 98 also copied two items from Thomissøn's *Psalmebog* that were never part of the Icelandic *Sálmabók*. In both cases, the Danish text is replaced by an Icelandic one, in one case a newly written text, in the other, a translation.

Önd mín og sála upp sem fyrst (45v) has the melody of *O Herre frelss mig oc døm min sag* (216v-217r), but the text bears no relation to the Danish original.¹¹ The Icelandic text is a paraphrase of Psalm 146, part of a complete metrical Psalter by the Rev. Jón Þorsteinsson (ca. 1570-1627), known as Jón 'the martyr' (*píslarvottur*) since he was among the ca. 34 people killed during an Algerian pirate raid of the Westman Islands. His wife and two children were taken hostage along with more than 200 others and never returned to Iceland.¹²

10 On the background of *Discubuit Jesus*, see Nilsson 1995; Schulz 1981.

11 The text and melody are also copied in a younger Icelandic manuscript, Lbs 1536 8vo, from ca. 1760 (113v-114r).

12 Egilsson ca. 1627: 295. The psalter was printed after Þorsteinsson's death: *Psaltari þess konunglega spámanns Davíðs* (Hólar, 1662).

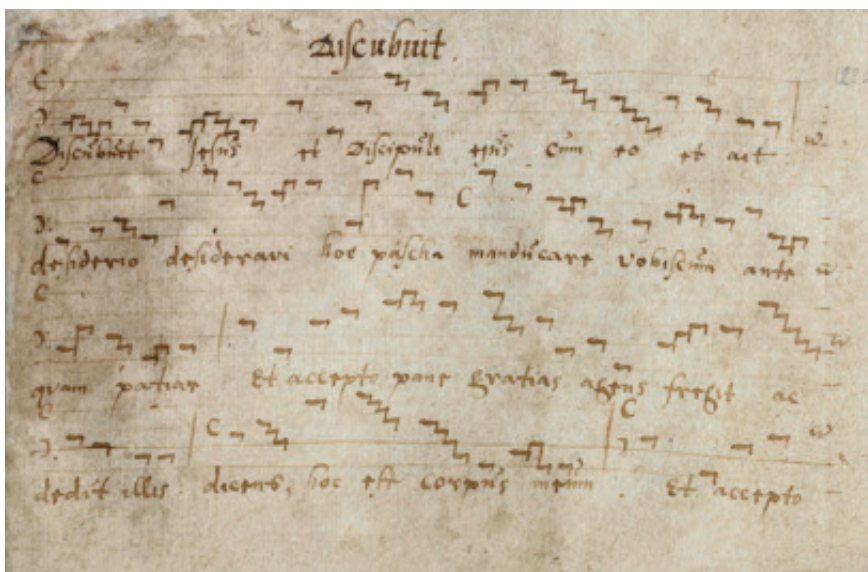


Figure 2. Discubuit Jesus (Rask 98: 89r).

Another example in Rask 98 of the domestic circulation of songs from the Danish 1569 *Psalmebog* is the macaronic Christmas song *Priss oc ære oc dyd* (Thomissøn, 17v-19v). This item was not included in the printed Icelandic *Sálmabók*, but in Rask 98 the music is copied to an anonymous translation of the opening verse (*Heiður, lof og dýrð*, 52r-52v). A translation of the subsequent verses of this same text appears in a much younger Icelandic manuscript, Lbs 508 8vo, believed to be copied ca. 1780: “Ave suave / Heil María hreina.”¹³ The Icelandic transmission of music and text in manuscripts, copied roughly a century apart (ca. 1670 and ca. 1780), suggest that some contents of Thomissøn’s *Psalmebog* were sung in Iceland outside of the official liturgy, and that this informal reception history spanned as much as two centuries.

This is also true of items from Jespersen’s *Graduale*. The manuscript ÍB 171 8vo, at the National and University Library in Reykjavík, was probably cop-

13 Bjarnason 1997: 140-142. Thomissøn is the oldest known source for this tune, see Glahn 2000: 89.

ied around 1720. Its 247 leaves contain various material, both original Icelandic texts, such as *Soteria Animæ*, prayers for each day of the week by the Icelandic priest Árni Halldórsson (d. ca. 1689), and translations into Icelandic from Danish, such as Hans Jacobsen Hvalsøe's *De Bedendes aandelige Kiæde* (printed in Copenhagen in 1700), and Erik Pontoppidan senior's *Vor Frelseres Jesu Christi hellige oc højværdige Bloed-Daab* (1653), which was translated into Icelandic in 1714 and provides a *terminus post quem* for the manuscript. These contents have a strongly Lutheran flavor and the book seems to be intended for domestic use by a religious, educated person. The only music contained in this source is *Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariae*, the Alleluia for the Feast of the Annunciation from Jespersen's *Graduale*, translated into Icelandic (*Engill Guðs á jörð*). The translation is unique to this source; the music was printed to the Latin text only in the second to fifth editions of the Icelandic *Graduale*. The translation is quite free, with breaking up of melismas in order to make room for more syllables. It is also, like many Icelandic plainchant translations, more ambitious than the original regarding end rhyme and alliteration. Even with the refashioned word-music relationship, the translator has been mindful that the name "Maria" occurs in the same place in the Icelandic version as in the Latin one (see Figure 3).

Haleluia. Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariæ,
et concepit de Sancto Spiritu,
et peperit salvatorem. Haleluia.

Halelúja. Engill Guðs á jörð boðskap bar,	God's angel brought the message to earth,
blessaðri mey sú er nefnd var	to the blessed virgin whose name was
María.	Maria.
Af heilögum anda hún ól son,	Of the holy spirit she bore a son,
hvörn sinn rétt kallar mannlegt kyn	whom humankind rightly calls
frelsarann <...>	its savior.

The final phrase of the chant as printed in the Danish *Graduale* is missing in the Icelandic manuscript, but it is not clear if this was intentional, as the verse seems not to be incomplete. A new section of the manuscript begins on the following page, in the same hand.

Like the other contents of ÍB 171 8vo, *Haleluja Engill Guðs á jörð* seems to have been intended for domestic use. This item was never part of the of-

HALELUJA
 A Marnimeſu a Sangaþeſtu

Da. I. s. luja. Engill guðs a

Jord. þoðſkap þaz, þleſaðe moy þu oz

þeþnd þaz. maria Af þerlogum Andæ

þun ol. þon!, þuozn þin zielt

þallar manlegt þin þreſaz an,

230

Figure 3. Haleluja. Engill Guðs á jörð / Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariæ (ÍB 171 8vo: 230r).

ficial Icelandic liturgy in the vernacular form found here, and had already been eliminated in its Latin-texted version by the time this manuscript was copied. Yet masses were held for the Feast of the Annunciation until 1770, and private devotions were common on this day even after the official feast had been revoked (Björnsson 1993: 606).

A substantial compilation of songs from Thomissøn's *Psalmebog* was copied in Iceland almost 200 years after the Danish book saw the light of day. The heading of Lbs 1239 8vo, a 204-page oblong octavo manuscript, reads: "A few hymns and songs. Collected from what has been available from various books and written into one, ANNO 1764." The first section of this book contains, according to its scribe, "A few hymns and songs from the Danish hymnal that was printed in Copenhagen Anno 1569, but have not previously been translated." A total of 18 songs are given here with music (see Table 3); the scribe and the manuscript's provenance are unknown. The remainder of the book contains four cycles of morning and evening hymns for each day of the week (pp. 35-190, without music), followed by seven hymns of various provenance (two of them with music), on pp. 191-204. Morning and evening hymns were a staple of domestic devotions in Iceland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the domestic function of this manuscript appears to also extend to the items from Thomissøn's *Psalmebog*.

Table 3. Hymns in the Icelandic manuscript Lbs 1239 8vo (1764) and corresponding hymns in Thomissøn's *Psalmebog* (1569)

page	title in the manuscript Lbs 1239 8vo	title in Thomissøn 1569
5-6	Fagna þú Christi heilög hjörð	Ver glad du hellige Christenhed
7-8	Gleðjist og fagnið öll rétt trúuð	Nu glæder eder Adams børn
9-10	Heimsins blóma, hefð og sóma	Regnum mundi (Verdens velde met sit belde)
11-12	Ó dýrðar kóngur Christe kær	Gloria laus et honor (O Christe Konning met Guddoms krafft)
13-16	Guðs engill kom í dýrð	Guds Engel klar oc huid
17-19	Engill Guðs situr hjá gröfinni	Sedit angelus (Guds Engel sidder hoss graffuen)

20-22	Herrann Christur af himnum kom	Cum Rex gloriae (Christus som for oss hid til Jorderig kom)
23-25	Adams afkvæmi allir hér	Wi arme Adams börn
25-26	Kom helgi andi herra Guð	Kom hellig Aand o Herre Gud
27-30	Ó herra Guð fyrir þinn hæstan kraft	O Herre Gud Fader met din krafft
32-33	Miskunna oss eilífi Guð	Ave praeclara maris stella (Benaad oss euig Gud)
34-35	Lofið Drottin þér heiðnar heimsins	Loffuer Herren Hedninger alle
35-36	Heiðrið þér Drottin heiðnar þjóðir	Haleluia. Loffuer Gud i Hedninger alle
37-38	Haleluia. Guði sé lof og æra	Haleluia. Angelus domini descendit
38-39	Haleluia. Allt hvað lifir á jörðu	Haleluia. Alleting som leffue paa Jorden
39(i)-39 (ii)	Christum vorn sáluhjálpara	Christum vor salighed
39(ii)-40	Drottinn lát nú þinn þénara	Herre lad nu din Tienere
41-42	Blessaður veri Guð alltið	Benedid være Gud altid

This surprisingly late manuscript shows that alongside official, printed books, many items from Thomissøn's *Psalmebog* circulated for a remarkably long time in Iceland, in locally made translations for domestic use. It seems that whoever copied and used this manuscript was well educated, had access to a variety of sources and was also interested in two-part singing, since one of the songs that conclude the volume is a *tvísöngur*: *Rís upp, Drottni dýrð* (Rise, Lord's Glory). Even allowing for substantial loss of manuscripts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is notable that most of the items mentioned above – from Rask 98, ÍB 171 8vo, and Lbs 1239 8vo – only survive as *unica* in the Icelandic sources. This suggests that they never circulated widely, and may in some cases have been valued as special and unique.

3. Conclusion

As shown above, some material from the main Danish publications of *Psalmebog* and *Graduale* circulated in Icelandic printed books that were the mainstay of liturgical song for centuries. Alongside this, the local clergy and educated laypeople seem to have appreciated a larger repertoire of songs from the Danish volumes, in vernacular translations that circulated in manuscript form, whose primary function seems to have been to enrich domestic devotions. Despite local church leaders' wish for liturgical autonomy vis-à-vis the Danish church authorities, the Danish *Psalmebog* and *Graduale* were a crucial influence on sacred singing in Iceland, in both its official and private forms, from ca. 1550-1800.

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