

ASPECTS OF ART LECTURE

THURSTAN OF CAEN AND PLAINCHANT  
AT GLASTONBURY: MUSICOLOGICAL  
REFLECTIONS ON THE NORMAN  
CONQUEST\*

By DAVID HILEY

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I HAD thought of giving this paper the title '1066 and Plainchant', which is what it is about. Professor Zarnecki forestalled me, however, with his 1966 Aspects of Art Lecture, entitled '1066 and Architectural Sculpture',<sup>1</sup> and I have no 900th anniversary to commemorate. I am a little too early for William the Conqueror's obit in 1087, and a little too late to celebrate the memory of those monks of Glastonbury who in 1081 or 1083 apparently died for their plainchant at the hands of Abbot Thurstan's retainers. Nevertheless, I shall begin at Glastonbury, and use that sad event as a peg on which to hang a brief demonstration of what we may learn about the Anglo-Saxons and Normans from the study of liturgical books and their music.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (E version, 1083) says merely that Thurstan tried to 'mislead' his monks. John of Worcester is more specific: 'Among other deeds resulting from his stupidity, he spurned the Gregorian chant, and began to force the monks to abandon it and then learn to sing the chant of a certain William of Fécamp. This they undertook reluctantly, especially since in regard to this, as to other ecclesiastical customs, they had grown up in the practice of the Roman church.' Orderic Vitalis makes it clear that by 'Gregorian chant' and 'Roman church' the Glastonbury monks meant 'the chant that the English had received from the disciples of St. Gregory the Great'. Orderic does not, however, mention the chant of William of Fécamp: instead 'the tyrannical abbot' tries to make the monks 'learn an alien and novel chant from Flemings and Normans'. Other records of the affair are to be

\* For Michel Huglo on his seventieth birthday.

<sup>1</sup> George Zarnecki, '1066 and Architectural Sculpture', *Proc. British Academy*, lii (1966), 87-104.

found in William of Malmesbury's *De gestis regum anglorum* and *De gestis pontificum anglorum*, in neither of which is plainchant mentioned, while the fuller account in his *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*, and dated 1081, is evidently interpolated from John of Worcester.<sup>1</sup>

The sequel, as found in William of Malmesbury, is notorious. Thurstan lost his temper in chapter one day, and called out his armed retainers, who pursued the monks into the abbey church, killed two and wounded fourteen others. The edifying conclusion to the drama (probably added to William's original at Glastonbury itself) came when 'one of the abbot's servants, who was more determined in his wickedness than the rest, noticed a certain monk clutching in his hands a silver cross, which he was using as a shield to defend himself, and contemptuously aimed an arrow at him. But thanks to God's providence the arrow wounded below the knees the image of our Lord affixed to the cross, producing from it a stream of blood which, flowing down from the altar to the steps and from the steps to the ground, struck those unhappy men with the terror of divine vengeance. At this sight the perpetrator of the crime became unbearably confused and at once became mad, so that when he got outside the church he fell to the ground, broke his neck and died.'<sup>2</sup>

It is not my intention to speculate about the reasons why different versions of the story should have come down to us, though later I shall have something to say about the 'William of Fécamp' mentioned by John of Worcester and the 'Flemings and Normans' of Orderic Vitalis. I propose quite simply to explore what follows if we accept that plainchant was indeed one of the causes of the affair. There appear to me to be three main possibilities (which could have been present in combination).

<sup>1</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a revised translation* (ed. D. Whitelock with D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker, London, 1961), p. 160; the relevant passages from John of Worcester, and William of Malmesbury's longer text are both given in John Scott, *The Early History of Glastonbury. An Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury's De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 156, 209. John of Worcester's complete text in B. Thorpe (ed.), *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis* (2 vols., London, 1848-9), see pp. 16-17. I have used Marjorie Chibnall's translation of Orderic Vitalis: *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ii (Oxford, 1969), 271. William of Malmesbury's other records are in N. E. S. A. Hamilton (ed.), *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis pontificum anglorum libri quinque* (Rolls Series lii, London, 1870), p. 197; and W. Stubbs (ed.), *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum anglorum libri quinque; historiae novellae libri tres* (Rolls Series xc, 2 vols., London, 1887-9), ii. 329-30.

<sup>2</sup> Scott, p. 159.

Thurstan might have wanted his monks to sing different chants from the ones they were used to; or he might have wanted them to sing different musical versions of chants; or he might have wanted them to alter the style of their singing in some way. On the last matter I can offer no information: there is very little evidence from anywhere in the Middle Ages about matters of voice production, dynamics, tempo—all things which make a lot of difference aurally but which were not usually specified in chant books. We have no hope of knowing if Thurstan initiated any new practice of this sort at Glastonbury. Much more promising is the investigation of the choice of chants sung and the musical variants within them.

What one would like to be able to do is to compare music books from Glastonbury with books from Caen, whence Thurstan came to Glastonbury and whose practice he might be presumed to have introduced. I have to make it clear at the outset, however, that as far as the Caen liturgy is concerned I know only one fifteenth-century breviary (Caen, Bibliothèque municipale, 20), which has no music; and for Glastonbury the only survival is the early tenth-century first layer ('A') of the 'Leofric Missal' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579), which although possibly used at Glastonbury may not have originated there.<sup>1</sup> Its kalendar is usually said to be a Glastonbury one, and Francis Wormald pointed out some of the obvious contrasts between this tenth-century kalendar and the fifteenth-century Glastonbury one in Up Holland 98.<sup>2</sup> A perusal of Wormald's collections of pre- and post-Conquest kalendars makes quite clear how often saints venerated by the Anglo-Saxons were suppressed by the Normans, and new feast-days instituted, and this may well have contributed to the trouble at

<sup>1</sup> A thorough study of the music in the manuscript is badly needed. Text edited in F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter during the Episcopate of its First Bishop, A.D. 1050-1072, together with some Account of the Red Book of Darley, the Missal of Jumièges, and a few other Early Manuscript Service Books of the English Church* (Oxford, 1883). The reasons for thinking it of English origin (albeit in a continentally trained hand and borrowing heavily from continental exemplars) are given by Christopher Hohler, 'Some Service-books of the Later Saxon Church' in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-century Studies* (Chichester, 1975), pp. 60-83, 217-27, esp. 69 ff., 78 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Wormald, 'The Liturgical Kalendar of Glastonbury Abbey' in J. Autenrieth and F. Brunhölzl (eds.), *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 325-45. The kalendar of the 'Leofric Missal' is given in Warren's edition, and in F. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 72, 1934), pp. 44-55; and is discussed in Abbot F. A. Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, *The Bosworth Psalter* (London, 1908), pp. 15-21.

Glastonbury.<sup>1</sup> Yet the insistence on 'chant' in the accounts of the affair, rather than the veneration of novel saints, has encouraged commentators to concentrate on musical matters. What, then, can be said of the chants in the 'Leofric Missal' and in other pre-Conquest sources? In what ways do they differ from Norman books, those written in Normandy itself and in England after 1066?

It is customary to apply various tests to liturgical books in order to elucidate their relationships with each other. Two types of test are mentioned in what follows, concerning (i) the selection of chants in various manuscripts, and (ii) details of the musical readings in the melodies they record. The choice of chants to be sung during some parts of mass and office often shows considerable variation from manuscript to manuscript, which enables one to trace related manuscripts according to the choices they make. Among the 'soft spots' in the liturgy which scholars have studied are the alleluias at mass on the summer Sundays of the year and the responsories at matins in Advent and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The business of checking melodic differences between manuscripts in chant melodies was first undertaken on a large scale by the monks of Solesmes, for proper chants of mass.<sup>3</sup>

The post-Pentecost alleluia series in the 'Leofric Missal' is almost identical to three books known to me: one is a missal of Amiens (Paris, Bibl. nationale, lat. 17306), and another is the

<sup>1</sup> *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, and F. Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, i (Henry Bradshaw Society 75, 1939), and ii (Henry Bradshaw Society 81, 1946). See especially those of different date from Crowland.

<sup>2</sup> Though long employed by many scholars, post-Pentecost alleluia series are nowhere conveniently available in comparative tables, a situation I propose to remedy, at least as far as England is concerned, in a forthcoming article, 'Some post-Pentecost Alleluia Series'. Meanwhile see David Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions—Normandy, Britain, Sicily', *Proc. Royal Musical Assoc.*, cvii (1980-1), 1-33. Advent responsories are studied in the colossal survey of Dom René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, v-vi (Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, series maior, fontes xi-xii, Rome, 1975-8), and discussed in a series of associated articles, including 'The Sarum Antiphoner—its Sources and Influence', *Journal of Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Soc.*, iii (1980), 49-55, and 'Les Antiphonaires monastiques insulaires', *Revue bénédictine*, cxii (1982), 358-75. Less well known are the articles by Dom Raymond le Roux, 'Les Répons de Psalmis pour les Matines, de l'Épiphanie à la Septuagésime', *Études grégoriennes*, vi (1963), 39-148; and 'Répons du Triduo Sacro et de Pacques', *Études grégoriennes*, xviii (1979), 157-76.

<sup>3</sup> The results of the Solesmes work were published in *Le Graduel romain: édition critique par les moines de Solesmes, tome iv: Le texte neumatique* (2 vols., Solesmes, 1960-2). Apart from the work published here for the first time, see my article 'The Norman Chant Traditions'.

Lessness missal of Arrouaise use (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, L.404). Only one of its series of twenty-three alleluia is not found in these manuscripts. Just as close is the St-Valery missal (London, British Library, Add. 34662), with which it also scores twenty-two out of twenty-three possible concordances. This does not tell us very much about its derivation, except that it points in the general direction of the north French coast. The series is quite different from all Norman ones, and in north France such centres as Corbie and St-Bertin are definitely excluded. Arras is much closer, the early eleventh-century St-Vaast gradual (Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 75) having twenty out of twenty-two concordances (one alleluia in Cambrai 75 appears twice), and the printed missal of 1508 twenty out of twenty-three (see Table 1).

Because the chants present in the 'A' section of the 'Leofric Missal' were entered as incipits in the margin, the Solesmes survey of musical variants cannot help us discover its closest musical relatives. Very few have musical notation, and I have not found indicated among them any unusual melodies which might suggest a connection with any other church.<sup>1</sup>

The 'Leofric Missal' may not have been more than a temporary visitor to Glastonbury; for this reason, and in order to gauge the wider effect of imported Norman customs, we need to know something about the other musical traditions present in pre-Conquest England. For most purposes, this means knowing only one main stream of musical practice, which appears to be that emanating from Winchester. But the codification of chant at Winchester seems to have followed very closely patterns established elsewhere, specifically, I believe, at Corbie. This should become clear from the manuscript comparisons which follow, as also close similarities between English books and those following the liturgical uses of St-Bénigne at Dijon and Bec, respectively. These similarities will cause no surprise, since (i) it was from Corbie, according to the Abingdon Chronicle, that Ethelwold summoned monks in the

<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, the musical notation of 'Leofric A' is not that found in books of the north French area as far north-east as Arras, and also used in most English sources, including Winchester ones. Nor is it the Laon notation (also known as 'Messine' and 'Lorraine' notation) found in more easterly sources within the archdiocese of Reims. Its slanting ascents and descents are more reminiscent of German practice: the closest similarities west of the Cologne archdiocese are with St-Omer 252, a tenth- to eleventh-century gradual plus sacramentary from St-Bertin; but Bodley 579's hand is much more steeply inclined. It also has a clivis shaped like an L swung through 180°, which is not German, but perhaps derived from notation of the Laon type.

TABLE I. *Post-Pentecost alleluia series*


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Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579 ('The Leofric Missal')
7 <sup>12</sup> 17 <sup>2</sup> 20 <sup>2</sup> 30 <sup>2</sup> 46 <sup>2</sup> 64 <sup>2</sup> 77 <sup>1</sup> 80 <sup>2</sup> 87 <sup>2</sup> 89 <sup>1</sup> 94 <sup>1</sup> 94 <sup>3</sup> 104 <sup>1</sup> 107 <sup>2</sup> 113 <sup>B11</sup> 116 <sup>1</sup> 117 <sup>16</sup> 124 <sup>1</sup> 129 <sup>1</sup> 145 <sup>2</sup> 146 <sup>3</sup> 147 <sup>12</sup> 147 <sup>14</sup>
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 17306
- 17 <sup>2</sup> 20 <sup>2</sup> 30 <sup>2</sup> 46 <sup>2</sup> 58 <sup>2</sup> 64 <sup>2</sup> 77 <sup>1</sup> 80 <sup>2</sup> 87 <sup>2</sup> 89 <sup>1</sup> 94 <sup>1</sup> 94 <sup>3</sup> 104 <sup>1</sup> 107 <sup>2</sup> 113 <sup>B11</sup> 116 <sup>1</sup> 124 <sup>1</sup> 129 <sup>1</sup> 145 <sup>2</sup> 146 <sup>3</sup> - -
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, L.404
7 <sup>12</sup> 17 <sup>2</sup> 20 <sup>2</sup> 30 <sup>2</sup> 46 <sup>2</sup> 58 <sup>2</sup> 64 <sup>2</sup> 77 <sup>1</sup> 80 <sup>2</sup> 87 <sup>2</sup> 89 <sup>1</sup> 94 <sup>1</sup> 94 <sup>3</sup> 104 <sup>1</sup> 107 <sup>2</sup> 113 <sup>B11</sup> 116 <sup>1</sup> 124 <sup>1</sup> 129 <sup>1</sup> 145 <sup>2</sup> 146 <sup>3</sup> 147 <sup>12</sup> 147 <sup>14</sup>
London, British Museum, Add. 34662
7 <sup>12</sup> 17 <sup>2</sup> 20 <sup>2</sup> 30 <sup>2</sup> 46 <sup>2</sup> 58 <sup>2</sup> 64 <sup>2</sup> 77 <sup>1</sup> 80 <sup>2</sup> 87 <sup>2</sup> 89 <sup>1</sup> 94 <sup>1</sup> 94 <sup>3</sup> 104 <sup>1</sup> 107 <sup>2</sup> 113 <sup>B11</sup> 116 <sup>1</sup> 117 <sup>16</sup> 124 <sup>1</sup> 129 <sup>1</sup> 145 <sup>2</sup> 146 <sup>3</sup> 147 <sup>14</sup>
Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 75
7 <sup>12</sup> 17 <sup>2</sup> 20 <sup>2</sup> 30 <sup>2</sup> 46 <sup>2</sup> 89 <sup>1</sup> 77 <sup>1</sup> 80 <sup>2</sup> 87 <sup>2</sup> 89 <sup>1</sup> 94 <sup>1</sup> 94 <sup>3</sup> 104 <sup>1</sup> 107 <sup>2</sup> 113 <sup>B11</sup> 116 <sup>1</sup> 116 <sup>2</sup> 121 <sup>1</sup> 129 <sup>1</sup> 145 <sup>2</sup> 146 <sup>3</sup> 147 <sup>12</sup> 147 <sup>14</sup>
Arras, printed missal of 1508
7 <sup>12</sup> 17 <sup>2</sup> 20 <sup>2</sup> 30 <sup>2</sup> 58 <sup>2</sup> 64 <sup>2</sup> 77 <sup>1</sup> 80 <sup>2</sup> 87 <sup>2</sup> 89 <sup>1</sup> 94 <sup>1</sup> 94 <sup>3</sup> 104 <sup>1</sup> 107 <sup>2</sup> 113 <sup>B11</sup> 116 <sup>1</sup> 116 <sup>2</sup> 121 <sup>1</sup> 129 <sup>1</sup> 145 <sup>2</sup> 146 <sup>3</sup> 147 <sup>12</sup> 147 <sup>14</sup>

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tenth century to help improve the performance of the liturgy in England; (ii) it was from St-Bénigne at Dijon that Duke Richard summoned Abbot William in 1001 to revive the church in his duchy; and (iii) it was ultimately from Bec that England acquired two archbishops of Canterbury, Lanfranc and Anselm, as well as many other important churchmen.

As has been shown previously, the post-Pentecost alleluia series found in Winchester books is that found also in books from Corbie, St-Denis, St-Corneille at Compiègne, Reims, and Tours.<sup>1</sup> It is one of several series, mostly of considerable antiquity, it seems, in which the alleluias do not follow a numerical order in their psalm verses. Another is the series found in books from St-Bénigne, Dijon, and from monasteries in Normandy reformed by William of Dijon or his followers: Fécamp, Jumièges, St-Taurin at Évreux, St-Évroult, and Mont-St-Michel.<sup>2</sup> Conversely the series used at Bec has alleluias in numerical order of their psalm verses.

No book with the Corbie-Winchester series is known from post-Conquest England. The Dijon-Fécamp series is found in missals

<sup>1</sup> D. H. Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester* (Henry Bradshaw Society 93, 1962).

<sup>2</sup> Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions', p. 19.

from Westminster Abbey and Abingdon.<sup>1</sup> The series in books from several churches—Salisbury, Hereford, Haughmond—resemble, though they are not identical with, that of Rouen cathedral.<sup>2</sup> But it is with Bec that the largest number of series ally themselves: Christchurch and St Augustine's at Canterbury, St Albans, Worcester and Durham.<sup>3</sup>

The responsories surveyed by Dom Hesbert and Dom Le Roux tell a similar story. Both these Benedictines made a distinction between selection of the responsory proper, and the selection of verse to go with it, the latter often being the result of a later phase of liturgical organization. In Dom Hesbert's survey of Advent responsories, first of all Ely, Winchester, and Worcester manuscripts had as their closest relatives (but not very close) books from Corbie and St-Denis. Winchcombe and Evesham went with the Dijon-Fécamp group. Breviaries from Battle abbey and Coldingham were almost identical with each other, and related somewhat distantly to the Corbie group. For the choice of verses, Battle, Coldingham, and Worcester exchanged a somewhat lukewarm relationship with Corbie for a close one with Bec. Ely and Winchester also disengaged themselves from Corbie, Winchester moving towards Dijon, and Ely towards Chartres and St-Catherine-du-Mont at Rouen, behind which monasteries, according to Dom Hesbert, stands the tradition of Fleury.<sup>4</sup>

Whereas the links with Dijon on the one hand and Bec on the other seemed clear, the Corbie-St-Denis tradition was not so strongly evident, but Dom Le Roux had already uncovered more persuasive similarities during the post-Epiphany season. For the Sunday selection of responsories, Winchester and Peterborough went with Corbie and St-Denis. For weekdays, Winchester and Worcester went into the Corbie group (as also did the York minster sources; Peterborough has lacunae). In its weekday selection (reckoned to be more archaic than the Sunday series)

<sup>1</sup> The use of this series at Westminster might well date from its revival during Edward the Confessor's reign, thought to have been influenced by the model of Jumièges. At Abingdon it presumably replaced whatever use was followed when Ethelwold revived the monastery in the tenth century.

<sup>2</sup> The Salisbury series has just one difference from Rouen and also only one difference from Évreux cathedral. Haughmond has one difference from Rouen; Hereford has two.

<sup>3</sup> Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions', p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Hesbert, *CAO*, v, 439, and 'Les Antiphonaires monastiques insulaires', pp. 369-70 (opp. citt., p. 60, n. 2). On p. 13 of 'The Norman Chant Traditions' I reported the Muchelney breviary as standing 10 per cent distant from the Dijon tradition: for Muchelney read Winchester (the Hyde breviary).

the Winchcombe breviary matched those of Jumièges and Mont-St-Michel.<sup>1</sup>

Having discussed other parts of the chant repertory in a previous paper<sup>2</sup>—ordinary of mass chants, sequences, and tropes of various kinds—I shall now move from consideration of the selection of chants to their musical readings.

In the survey published by the Solesmes monks, British sources were not particularly well served, for the only manuscripts covered were a set of Salisbury sources, the gradual from the Augustinian priory of Ranton, the Worcester compendium, and the Downpatrick gradual. Some years later, Drew Hartzell extended the survey to take in the Christchurch, Canterbury gradual, and more recently I added the York, Hereford, Haughmond, and Crowland graduals.<sup>3</sup> The groupings so far discovered are as follows.

TABLE 2. *Grouping of sources*  
*Musical variants in proper of mass chants*

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Group 1. Similar to Corbie, St-Denis

Christchurch, Canterbury  
Worcester  
Crowland  
Downpatrick  
York

Group 2. Similar to (a) Rouen Cathedral

(b) Dijon, Jumièges, and Mont-St-Michel

Salisbury  
Hereford, Haughmond, Ranton (identical)

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A name which we should expect to find here, but which is missing, is that of Bec, whose books have musical variants not at all like any of the above. It was Drew Hartzell who first pointed out the implications of this. Although Christchurch, Canterbury,

<sup>1</sup> See Tableau 1 of Dom Le Roux, 'Les Répons de psalmis' (op. cit., p. 60, n. 2); the comments on R5, 15, 33, 42, 50, 54, and 63; and pp. 105 ff., 109 ff. For Sunday responsories, York, Salisbury, and Hereford sources go with Rouen, Évreux, and Dominican books.

<sup>2</sup> Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions'.

<sup>3</sup> K. D. Hartzell, 'An Unknown English Benedictine Gradual of the Eleventh Century', *Anglo-Saxon England*, iv (1975), 131-44; Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions', pp. 6 and 30.

and Worcester have a Bec alleluia series, their musical readings point elsewhere, back to Corbie and St-Denis.

Now the way from, say, Corbie to Worcester most probably went through Winchester, musically speaking. But Winchester manuscripts were not, and could not, be included in the Solesmes survey. The work of the Benedictine monks consisted in selecting 100 'points of variance', that is, places in the chant where manuscripts tended to differ one from another. Their 100 points were taken from the whole range of proper chants for mass. The three Winchester manuscripts available simply do not have enough of the 100 Solesmes points of variance for a reliable result.<sup>1</sup> In order to confirm my expectation that Winchester would also belong to the Corbie musical family, I therefore had to look at some more chants. Bodley 775 contains the soloists' verses of the gradual responsory chant at mass, and I therefore used these, comparing Bodley 775 with members of the two groupings shown on Table 2, and a manuscript of Bec use. This showed clearly enough that Winchester practically always agreed with Corbie and Worcester against the others.

I had another question: was there really no surviving English book showing Bec musical influence?<sup>2</sup> St Albans books were also omitted from previous surveys, for reasons similar to the difficulty with Winchester books.<sup>3</sup> But Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 358, contains a full series of gradual verses, and in my new survey of musical readings I could see a clear correspondence between St Albans and the Bec tradition. Example 1<sup>4</sup> gives some instances of this.<sup>5</sup> The two-note neume for '-MI-' in sources other

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473, is a proper and sequentiary with a collection of organum parts. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, is a cantatorium with only soloists' portions of mass chants, together with tropes and sequences. Le Havre 330 is a missal with chants incompletely notated and much of the temporale missing.

<sup>2</sup> I put this question with regard to proper chants of mass. My earlier paper showed that for sequences it was the new Norman musical tradition which prevailed, a tradition encompassing both Bec and Jumièges, St-Évroult, more or less indistinguishably. I had earlier surmised that the St Albans mass books were likely to be in the Bec tradition ('The Norman Chant Traditions', p. 6): the present investigation confirmed that opinion.

<sup>3</sup> London, British Library, Royal 2.B.iv, has many lacunae; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 358, is a soloists' book of a type similar to Bodley 775.

<sup>4</sup> I shall be happy to make available to any interested party a tabulation I have made of sixty-one passages in graduals of the temporale where a clear division is discernible between the three traditions: (i) Corbie, Winchester, Worcester; (ii) Dijon, Haughmond; (iii) Bec, St Albans.

<sup>5</sup> Sources: Dijon—Montpellier, Fac. de Médecine, H.159, p. 181; Haughmond—Shrewsbury School, XXX, fo. 9<sup>v</sup>; Corbie—Mont-Renaud, manu-

Dijon

- mi - nus gen - ti - um

Haughmond

Corbie

Winchester

Worcester

Bec

St Albans

Ex. 1 from Gr. *Viderunt omnes* V. *Notum fecit*

than Dijon and Haughmond is not as significant (it matches the two-note neume at '-TI-') as the figure which follows, which bears six instead of four notes in Corbie, Winchester, and Worcester. The cadence at the end has a similar difference in configuration, a variant repeated many times for chants in this mode (as are many of those variants which form part of a progression conventional in the gradual repertory). Example 2<sup>1</sup> gives parts of the verse *Quoniam in finem* of the gradual *Adiutor in opportunitatibus*. The most significant variants between the sources are highlighted, which once again shows the typical grouping of Winchester and Worcester with Corbie, and St Albans with Bec.

For musical readings in office chants, no survey has been carried out which is comparable in scale to the Solesmes work on mass chants. But a few years ago a study by Peter Underwood was published which successfully divided eight English antiphoners into families according to the melodic readings in a selection of office antiphons.<sup>2</sup> According to Underwood, the so-called

script in private possession, fo. 5<sup>r</sup>; Winchester—Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, fo. 12<sup>r</sup>; Worcester—Worcester Cathedral Library, F.160, fo. 298<sup>r</sup>; Bec (priory of Bec at Meulan?)—Leningrad, Publichnaya Biblioteka imeni M. E. Saltikova—Shchedrina, O.v.I.6, fo. 14<sup>v</sup>; St Albans—Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 358, fo. 29<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Sources: Montpellier H.159, p. 163; Shrewsbury, XXX, fo. 16<sup>r</sup>; Mont-Renaud, fo. 12<sup>r</sup>; Bodley 775, fo. 15<sup>r</sup>; Worcester F.160, fo. 301<sup>v</sup>; Leningrad O.v.I.6, fo. 21<sup>v</sup>; Laud misc. 358, fo. 32<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Peter J. Underwood, 'Melodic Traditions in Medieval English Antiphoners', *Journal of Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Soc.*, v (1982), 1-12. Underwood's sources were: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391 (Worcester, 1065-6); Worcester Cathedral, Chapter Library, F.160 (Worcester, 13th c.); Cambridge, Magdalene College, F.4.10 (Peterborough, 14th c.); London, British Library, Add. 35285 (Guisborough, 13th c.); Cambridge, University

Dijon  
Quo - ni - am non fi - nem ob - li - vi -

Haughmond

Corbie

Winchester

Worcester

Bec

St Albans

Ex. 2, from *Gr. Adiator in opportunitatibus V. Quoniam in finem*

'Portiforium of St Wulstan', the Worcester compendium of the thirteenth century, the fourteenth-century Peterborough antiphoner and the thirteenth-century Guisborough compendium formed a close-knit group, standing well apart from Salisbury and Hereford sources (these two were closely related to each other), and from the antiphoners of York and Westacre.

What I can now do for the first time is establish a bridgehead between these English sources and the Continent, in fact, two bridgeheads, for not only can it be shown that the Worcester-Peterborough group corresponds in its melodic readings with Corbie and St-Denis sources,<sup>1</sup> but it has been possible to include

Library, Mm.2.9 (Salisbury use, 13th c.); Hereford Cathedral, Chapter Library, P.g.vi (Hereford, 13th c.); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Lit.1 (York, 14th c.); Cambridge, St John's College, D.21 (Westacre, 14th c.).

<sup>1</sup> I thus confirm the interim findings of the abbess of Stanbrook, who, in the introduction to the facsimile of part of Worcester F.160 in *Paléographie musicale*, xii (1922), announced that a 'partial collation' of the Worcester manuscript and a Corbie source (presumably Amiens 115) revealed 'remarkable conformity' (p. 110). The complete project was unfortunately never carried out.

My work also confirms that of Peter J. S. Wilton, whose M.Mus. thesis

Dijon  
in ae - ter - - num: ex-ur - ge do-mi - ne non pre-

Haughmond

Corbie

Winchester

Worcester

Bec

St Albans

Dijon  
-va-le - at ho - - mo.

Haughmond

Corbie

Winchester

Worcester

Bec

St Albans

Ex. 2 (cont.)

(King's College, London, 1983), 'The Leofric Collectar (London, British Library, Harley 2961) related to other British Liturgical and Musical Traditions', found substantial agreement between Exeter and Worcester as against Salisbury.

in the comparisons the diurnal from Gloucester, Oxford, Jesus College, 10, which turns out to reproduce the musical readings of Jumièges and Fécamp sources. This is presumably to be explained by the fact of Gloucester's renovation by Serlo of Mont-St-Michel, shortly after the Conquest. Although no antiphoner from Mont-St-Michel has survived, everything known about its liturgical repertory shows it to belong to the Dijon-Fécamp family. Examples 3-7<sup>1</sup> show a group of Advent antiphons from a number of English and north French sources. At the head of each page is copied the Gloucester version in full, while for the other sources only readings which differ from Gloucester are recorded. The second line down is for an eleventh-century Jumièges antiphoner, and the fact that rather little appears there indicates close affinity between the two top sources. Next come books which fall into the Corbie group, from Corbie itself, St-Denis, Exeter (the 'Leofric Collectar'), Worcester, and Peterborough. After an antiphoner of Salisbury use come a succession of continental books which are included in order to show that the correspondences evident between sources at the top of the page are not fortuitous. *O sapientia*, Example 3, has many clear instances of the correspondences mentioned. Although there are two differences near the start between Gloucester and Jumièges, there are important points of agreement at 'disponensque' and 'omnia'. Both sources have a clivis on 'nos', and end with single notes for 'prudentie'. Even more striking is the agreement between sources in the Corbie group. Near the start, at 'altissimi', these sources fall a step instead of rising; they share a clivis at 'finem'. They agree against Gloucester and Jumièges for 'disponensque omnia', 'nos', and 'prudentie'.

It might well be pointed out that, at any one of these points,

<sup>1</sup> *Exx. 3-7. Sources:* Gloucester—Oxford, Jesus College, 10; Jumièges—Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 209-210 (Y.175); Corbie—Mont-Renaud, manuscript in private hands (*Paléographie musicale*, xvi); St-Denis—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 17296; Exeter—London, British Library, Harley 2961; Worcester—Worcester Cathedral, Chapter Library, F.160; Peterborough—Cambridge, Magdalene College, F.4.10; Salisbury—Cambridge, University Library, Mm.ii.9; Bayeux—Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 279; Paris—Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale, 86; Cambrai—Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 38; Arras—Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 465; Marchiennes—Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 116; Laon—Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 223; St-Maur-les-Fossés—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 12584.

I am deeply grateful to Professor Ruth Steiner for allowing me access to microfilms of some of the above sources.

Gloucester

0 sa-pi-en-ti-a que ex o-re al-tis-si-mi pro-di-sti

Jumièges

Corbie

St-Denis

Exeter

Worcester

Peterborough

Salisbury

Bayeux

Paris

Cambrai

Arras

Marchiennes

Laon

Ex. 3, Antiphon *O sapientia*

18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37

at-tin-gens a fi-ne us-que ad fi-nem for-ti-ter su-a-ui-ter dis-po-

19  
J

19  
J

27  
f

31  
f

19 22 24 27

19  
J

27  
f

19 27

19 27

32

32

22 24 27 32

22 24 27

19 27

27  
[?]

22 24 27

38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55

-nens-que om-ni-a. Ue-ni ad do-cen-dum nos ui-am pru-den-ti-e.

45  
f

38 39 40 41 42 45 47 48 49 52 53 54  
 7 f l' j f 9 9 j l' f 9 j l'

38 39 41 42 43 45 47 49 52 54

38 39 40 41 42 45 47 49 52 53 54  
 f f l' j l' f f l' f 9 j

38 39 40 41 42 45 47 48 49 52 53 54

38 39 40 41 42 45 47 49 52 53 54

38 39 40 45 47 49 54

39 40 41 43 45 47 49 54

39 40 41 43 45 49 54

39 40 41 45 47 49 54

38 39 45 47 49

38 45 47 49 52 53 54

39 40 45 47 49 54

Gloucester

De ce-lo ue-ni-et do-mi-na-tor do-mi-nus et in ma-nu e-ius

Jumièges

Corbie

St-Denis

Exeter

Worcester

Salisbury

Bayeux

Paris

Cambrai

Arras

10

St-Maur-les-Fossés

Ex. 4, Antiphon *De celo veniet*

some other source may also agree with one of these groups. But the agreement of the other sources is intermittent, inconsistent, random. Gloucester and Jumièges on the one hand, Corbie, St-Denis, Exeter, Worcester, and Peterborough on the other, are much more consistently in agreement.

In *O sapientia* there is a general agreement between the sources as to the basic melody and tonality of the antiphon. In Example 4, *De celo veniet*, three sources have a different melody, in deuterus instead of tetrardus, the manuscripts from Bayeux, Paris, and the abbey of St-Vaast at Arras. The neumes of the Jumièges source

20 21 22 23 24 25 26

ho-nor et im-pe-ri-um.

21 22 23

∩ ∩ ∩

21 22 23

21 22 23

∩ ∩ ∩

21 22 23

21

20 21 22 23 24 25 26

20 21 22 23 24 25 26

21

20 21 22 23 24 25 26

21

∩

Ex. 4 (cont.)

match the Gloucester version exactly. The Corbie group differs from all other sources at the second syllable of the antiphon, 'celo', and later at 'HONOR ET IMPERIUM'.

In Example 5, *Ante me non est formatus*, the basic melodic shape is not in doubt, but the tonality is understood differently in different manuscripts. Regino of Prüm and, presumably following him, Berno of Reichenau both comment on this piece. Alone among the sources given here, Gloucester and Jumièges have a strong protus opening. All others have a gentler rise to the reciting note. Four manuscripts then cadence on E while the rest agree with Gloucester

Gloucester

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

An-te me non est for-ma-tus de-us et post me non e-rit

Jumièges

12 13

Corbie

1 2 3 4 8 10 12 13

St-Denis

1 2 3 4 10 13 16

Exeter

1 2 3 4 10 13 16

Worcester

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 13 16

Salisbury

1 2 3 9 10 13

Bayeux

1 2 3 12 13 15 16

Paris

1 2 3 10 12 13

Cambrail

1 2 3 10 12 13 15

Arras

1 2 3 4 12 13

Marchiennes

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 13 15 16

St-Maur-les-Fossés

1 2 3 10 13

Ex. 5, Antiphon *Ante me non est formatus*

in cadencing on D. It seems possible that the Gloucester-Jumièges opening was especially designed to strengthen the protus character of the melody in what was felt to be an equivocal tradition. Worcester (half-way down the page) and Marchiennes (next to the bottom) have the whole opening phrase one pitch lower, another indication of tonal instability. Now although Worcester appears to part company with St-Denis here, there is something to

qui-a mi-chi cur-ua-bi-tur om-ne ge-nu et con-fi-te-bi-tur om-nis lin-gua.

21 22  
? [illeg]

27 28

36 37 38

21 27

19 20 21 24 27

19 20 21 27 36 37 38

19 20 21 22 24 27

19 20 21 27 36 37 38

19 20 21 27 36 37 38

19 20 21 27 28

19 20 21 27

21 25 27 31

## Ex. 5 (cont.)

be said to the contrary. As far as the melodic shape indicated by the neumes of the Corbie manuscript go, Worcester is still in close agreement, especially for the opening, and for the melisma on 'deus', where only Corbie, St-Denis, and Worcester have two torculus neumes.

While melodic variants in the gradual verses seen earlier are both few in number and of minor effect, musically speaking,

Gloucester

Ec-ce ue-ni-et de-us et ho - mo de do-mo Da-uid se-de-re

Jumièges

Corbie

St-Denis

Exeter

Worcester

Salisbury

Bayeux

Paris

Cambrai

Arras

Marchiennes

St-Maur-les-Fossés

Ex. 6, Antiphon *Ecce veniet deus*

variants in antiphons are frequent and much more obvious. Although I have suggested that the Gloucester opening may have been the result of a conscious editing of a somewhat unstable melody, I do not believe that such editing occurred often. Working through large numbers of chant sources one is struck time and time again how faithfully manuscripts within the same

19 20 21 22 23 24 25

in thro-no al-le-lu-ia.

19

19 23

19 23

19 23

19 23

19

19 23

23  
↑

• Ex. 6 (cont.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Gloucester

Ex E-gi-pto uo-ca-ui

Jumièges

2 7

Corbie

St. Denis

2 7

Exeter

2 7

Worcester

2 6 7

Salisbury

Paris

2

Cambrai

2 3 6 7

Arras  
(4<sup>th</sup> lower)

1 2 7

Marchiennes  
(4<sup>th</sup> lower)

Ex. 7, Antiphon *Ex Egypto vocavi*

melodic tradition will agree on seemingly insignificant melodic details: the presence or absence of passing notes and neighbour notes. The scribes of the later sources do not, by and large, add or subtract such notes on their own initiative. The written exemplar is respected.

8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

A musical staff in treble clef with a common time signature. It contains a sequence of notes corresponding to measures 8 through 23. The notes are: 8 (quarter), 9 (quarter), 10 (quarter), 11 (quarter), 12 (quarter), 13 (quarter), 14 (quarter), 15 (quarter), 16 (quarter), 17 (quarter), 18 (quarter), 19 (quarter), 20 (quarter), 21 (quarter), 22 (quarter), 23 (quarter).

fi-li-um me-um ue-ni-et ut sal-uet po-pu-lum su-um.

9 12 16 21  
 ♯ ♯ ♯ [?]

12 17 21

A musical staff in treble clef showing notes for measures 12, 17, and 21. Measure 12 has a quarter note, measure 17 has a quarter note, and measure 21 has a quarter note.

9 12 16 17  
 ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯

9 10 12 16 17

A musical staff in treble clef showing notes for measures 9, 10, 12, 16, and 17. Measure 9 has a quarter note, measure 10 has a quarter note, measure 12 has a quarter note, measure 16 has a quarter note, and measure 17 has a quarter note.

8 13 15 16

A musical staff in treble clef showing notes for measures 8, 13, 15, and 16. Measure 8 has a quarter note, measure 13 has a quarter note, measure 15 has a quarter note, and measure 16 has a quarter note.

9 15 16 17 21

A musical staff in treble clef showing notes for measures 9, 15, 16, 17, and 21. Measure 9 has a quarter note, measure 15 has a quarter note, measure 16 has a quarter note, measure 17 has a quarter note, and measure 21 has a quarter note.

8 9 10 15 16 17 21

A musical staff in treble clef showing notes for measures 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, and 21. Measure 8 has a quarter note, measure 9 has a quarter note, measure 10 has a quarter note, measure 15 has a quarter note, measure 16 has a quarter note, measure 17 has a quarter note, and measure 21 has a quarter note.

21

A musical staff in treble clef showing a note for measure 21, which is a quarter note.

10 13 14 17

A musical staff in treble clef showing notes for measures 10, 13, 14, and 17. Measure 10 has a quarter note, measure 13 has a quarter note, measure 14 has a quarter note, and measure 17 has a quarter note.

Of quite a different order are the disagreements between the main melodic families. These differing versions—such as those of Corbie and Jumièges above—have much more the character of different rememberings of melodies passed on without the aid of writing. We need to know much more about such differences. Which chants were most uniformly transmitted? In very little time such questions bring us face to face with some of the most difficult problems facing chant scholarship. For example, it is commonly suggested that some of the differences between Old-Roman chant and Gregorian chant are attributable to the inherent difficulties for the Franks of learning an alien repertory: they made of Roman chant what we now call Gregorian. When, however, one sees the close agreement between manuscripts in their versions of chants such as graduals, one realizes that the Franks were indeed capable of learning certain chants, and transmitting them orally, with a high degree of note-for-note accuracy; and this must be taken into account when considering the much more substantial differences between Old-Roman and Gregorian versions of chants. To work with these English and north French sources is thus not a merely parochial occupation, for behind each and every neume looms the endlessly fascinating question of how the copyist of a particular manuscript should have come to record that particular version of a chant, at that point in a historical development stretching back centuries before music was written.

The position so far gained may be summarized in tabular form. Table 3 lists those institutions whose manuscripts have been used in the repertorial and musical comparisons above. Opposite each place-name I have given letters which indicate whether we have information about the chants or the melodic variants in a source, and if they agree with the use of Corbie, Dijon, etc. Sources following Cluny liturgical use are also included. I have done this in order to draw attention to the fact that, while the name of Cluny is often invoked in historical literature to describe the type of observance at this or that monastic house, it is rarely that matters of liturgical practice are inspected before such a designation is used. Because William of Dijon had been a monk at Cluny before going to St-Bénigne, and thence to Normandy, his achievement in Normandy is often said to have been generally Cluniac in character.<sup>1</sup> Yet in repertory and musical matters

<sup>1</sup> For example, David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 2nd edn., 1966), p. 87: 'The Norman monasticism, then, was of the same mould as Cluny, and ultimately derived the greater part of its customs and liturgical observance from Cluniac circles . . .' Knowles enters many qualifications, of course, but the tenor of the passage is typical.

TABLE 3. *Liturgical affiliations between English and Norman manuscripts and Corbie, Dijon, Bec, and Cluny*

A = Alleluias, post-Pentecost series  
 R = Responsories, Advent and/or Epiphany series  
 V = Responory verses  
 M = Proper of mass chants, melodic variants  
 O = Office antiphons, melodic variants

	Corbie	Dijon	Bec	Cluny
Caen			RV	
Conches		RV		
Coutances			A	
Fécamp		ARV O*		
Jumièges		ARVMO*		
Lyre			RV	
Mont-St-Michel		ARVM		
St-Évroult		A		
St-Ouen, Rouen			A	
St-Taurin, Évreux		A		
Troarn		RV		
Abingdon		A		
Battle	R			V
Christchurch, Canterbury		M	A	
Coldingham	R			V
Crowland		M		
Downpatrick		M		
Durham			A	
Ely	R			
Evesham		RV		
Exeter		M		
Gloucester			O*	
Guisborough		O		
Lewes				ARVM
Peterborough	R	O		
Pontefract				ARV
St Albans			A	M
St Augustine's, Canterbury			A	
Westminster		A		
Whitby			A	
Winchcombe		RV		
Winchester	AR	M	V	
Worcester	R	MO	A	V
York		VM		

\* No Dijon office book with notation is known to me (Paris, Bibl. de l' Arsenal, is as far as I know unnoted), so that the designation of the melodic variants in Rouen, Bibl. municipale 209-210 (Y.175) (Jumièges), 244 (A.261) (Fécamp), and Oxford, Jesus College, 10 (Gloucester) as 'Dijon' is hypothetical.

Cluny and Dijon practices are quite distinct from each other. The Cluniac books from Lewes and Pontefract consequently stand well apart from the Norman and other traditions in England.

Glastonbury is of course not represented in Table 3. Caen follows Bec use in its selection of Advent responsories. Furthermore, it seems likely that the Bec versions of chants sung at St Albans are a result of the arrival as abbot at St Albans of another Norman from Caen: Paul, nephew of Lanfranc; and this suggests that Thurstan is most likely to have introduced the musical tradition of Bec at Glastonbury.

This not unexpected conclusion is in conflict, however, with the statement in John of Worcester's chronicle that it was William of Fécamp's chant that Thurstan compelled the Glastonbury monks to learn. 'William of Fécamp' must surely be William of Dijon, credited with expertise in music by his biographer Rodulphus Glaber, and possibly personally responsible in some way for the famous Dijon tonary (Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, H. 159).<sup>1</sup> According to what I have just demonstrated, however, it was precisely not William's musical practice that we should expect to have been followed at Caen or brought to Glastonbury. I am therefore more inclined to trust Ordericus Vitalis, who does not refer to William. Ordericus, at St-Évroult, might be expected to have known what was and what was not William's chant, for his own monastery followed Dijon practice.<sup>2</sup> (On the other hand, he

Aspects of the Lewes compendium, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, 369, are discussed in a recent article by Stephen Holder in *Journal of Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Soc.*, viii (1985), 25-32.

While commenting on different customs in the monastic way of life and their relationship to liturgical practice, I cannot resist making the suggestion that, since so much of Winchester liturgical practice obviously derives from the Corbie model (St-Denis had an almost identical practice, but is now known to have had strong English links), the sources of the *Regularis Concordia* might well be re-examined with possible Corbie influence in mind.

<sup>1</sup> See the brief account and bibliography in Michel Huglo, 'Guillaume de Dijon' in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980). The Vita printed in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* 141, 851 ff., is silent about music. Glaber's Vita is in *PL* 142, 703 ff., see esp. 715. See also the discussion of his musical interests by David and Handschin, cited below (p. 83, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Ordericus mentions William's name in connection with the customs received by the first abbot of St-Évroult, Theodoricus of Jumièges. The post-Pentecost alleluias among the chant text incipits written into the margin of the sacramentary Rouen 273 form the Dijon series, and Rieti 19, dependent in some way on St-Évroult, has the Dijon Advent responsories. For other aspects of St-Évroult practice, for which the chief source is the troper Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 10508, see Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions'.

might have concealed William's name out of sensitivity, or he might simply have been writing at too late a time to have known exactly what was at issue. I have no convincing explanation as to why William of Fécamp should have been mentioned by John.)

More recent writers have not been backward in proposing fanciful hypotheses to explain the trouble at Glastonbury. Dom Lucien David and Jacques Handschin wondered if Thurstan might have tried to introduce tropes, yet it seems difficult to believe that these could have been regarded as an unacceptable novelty as late as the 1080s—although some particular items might have caused offence. Amedée Gastoué continued the debate, contributing the idea that Thurstan might have introduced organum, singing in polyphony. This too would not have been a novelty in England. The pre-Conquest Winchester books have a far more extensive and diverse repertory of tropes, and organum, than we know from any Norman manuscript. The suggestion of polyphony naturally elicited a reply from Handschin, who eventually rejected both the troping hypothesis and the organum theory, and suggested that the answer might be found after closer investigation of Fécamp and other chant books, which is what I have tried to do.<sup>1</sup>

Much more bizarre were the suggestions made more recently by Joseph Smits van Waesberghe.<sup>2</sup> Here I have to remind you once again of the complicated matter of the two branches of the Roman chant repertory which are usually called 'Old-Roman' and 'Gregorian' respectively. The only chant sources we have from Rome itself before the thirteenth century contain Old-Roman chant, strikingly different in many respects from the familiar Gregorian chant, and containing many archaic features which

<sup>1</sup> Lucien David and Jacques Handschin, 'Un point d'histoire grégorienne. Guillaume de Fécamp', *Revue du chant grégorien*, xxxix (1935-6), 180-3, and xl (1936-7), 11-17. Amedée Gastoué, 'Sur le chant de S. Guillaume et les jongleurs à l'abbaye de Fécamp', *ibid.*, pp. 103-7. Jacques Handschin, 'L'Organum à l'église et les exploits de l'abbé Turstin', *ibid.*, 179-82, and xli (1937-8), 14-19 and 41-8. Gastoué's idea was pure speculation, apparently stimulated by an equally unsupported suggestion by Dom Joseph Pothier (*Revue du chant grégorien*, v (1896-7), 51) that organ music was the trouble. Since Glaber appeared to emphasize an interest of William in office chants, and perhaps office psalmody, both David and Handschin, and the abbess of Stanbrook (*Paléographie musicale*, xii (1922), 106 ff.) thought that investigation of the selection of psalm tones might be fruitful. This I have not yet done.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, 'Die Geschichte von Glastonbury (1082) und ihre Folgen' in S. Kross and H. Schmidt (eds.), *Colloquium amicorum: Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 70. Geburtstag* (Bonn, 1967), pp. 372-8.

have led scholars to suppose that Gregorian chant developed from it, or more probably from Old-Roman chant in an earlier state than we know from the surviving sources. First of all Smits van Waesberghe accepted at face value the belief of the Glastonbury monks that what they were used to singing was the chant of St Gregory himself, brought to these isles by St Augustine four centuries earlier. That is perhaps a trifle optimistic, but in the absence of Glastonbury chant sources it cannot actually be disproved. This chant, Smits van Waesberghe thought, was what we call Gregorian. Smits van Waesberghe knew that William of Dijon had brought a version of Gregorian chant when he reformed the Norman monasteries in the early eleventh century, but he also knew that Caen was not of William's family. What, then, would have been sung at Caen?—Old-Roman chant!<sup>1</sup> This unfortunately stands what is historically possible on its head. If any chant survived at Glastonbury during the period of the Danish wars, it is more likely to have been some sort of Old-Roman chant than anything else; while at Caen, Lanfranc must have introduced a branch of Gregorian chant. Caen was a new foundation, and in the tenth to eleventh centuries liturgical practice in Normandy was almost certainly being revived more or less *ex nihilo*, after the devastations of the Northmen. Only local versions of Frankish Gregorian chant can have been known in Normandy.

It is perhaps not surprising that the Glastonbury episode has exerted such a fascination upon historians of ecclesiastical chant and prompted so much unsupported speculation. I hope that in twenty years time my own ideas will not also seem highly improbable. If asked to identify the liturgical use Thurstan might have been following, I should certainly choose Bec. As to the narrower question of what musical matters were at issue, I should point to that area where distinct Norman traditions are most clearly evident in post-Conquest England: in the selection of chants. There is no difficulty in imagining how a new order of chants could be imposed, as it clearly was at Christchurch, Canterbury, and Worcester, while the chants could continue to be

<sup>1</sup> This was suggested to Smits van Waesberghe partly by one of Michel Huglo's 'témoins indirects' of Old-Roman chant, the 'antiphonarium Romanae ecclesiae' mentioned in a Fontenelle catalogue of 787 (Michel Huglo, 'Le Chant "vieux-romain". Liste des manuscrits et témoins indirects', *Sacris erudiri*, vi (1954), 96-123, this citation pp. 111-12. It should be stressed that the identification of the Fontenelle (= St-Wandrille) antiphoner as Old-Roman is itself only hypothetical.

sung in a pre-Conquest musical version. Pl. III shows a page from the front of the twelfth-century St-Évroult troper: part of a list of chants (in this case, introits, offertories, and communions only) to be sung at masses throughout the year. Only the incipit of each chant is given. Working from such a list, and an older chant book, or even relying on memory, a Saxon cantor could easily produce a manuscript such as the Christchurch gradual for his new Norman abbot.

He would certainly have had to learn new chants. There were considerable changes in the sequence repertory, to judge by the differences between the Winchester books and post-Conquest ones, and in the tropes sung on high feasts. While I would be wary of designating Normandy as one of Père Gy's 'anti-trope zones',<sup>1</sup> it is striking that we have almost no Norman sources (from Normandy or England) for introit, offertory, and communion tropes, which are so important a feature of the Winchester manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Gloria tropes are almost the only type where interest was maintained at the same level. Conversely, after the Conquest there seems to have been a more lively cultivation of Kyrie tropes. The type of Kyrie trope favoured by the Normans was, however, a different one. The few tropes in the original layers of the Winchester troper are of a type where Kyrie invocation and trope verse have different music. We have no Norman sources of such tropes: they were sung, it seems, neither in Normandy nor in post-Conquest England. The quantities of Kyries copied by later hands into the Winchester troper are of the different type which the Normans used, where Kyrie invocations and trope verses have the same music. Two examples will make this clear. The first Kyrie, with trope verses *Miserere domine*, etc. (Ex. 8; Pl. IV),<sup>3</sup> is in

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Marie Gy, 'Les Tropes dans l'histoire de la liturgie et de la théologie' in G. Iversen (ed.), *Research on Tropes* (Stockholm, 1983), pp. 7-16, here with reference to p. 9. Père Gy was interested in a possible Cluniac anti-trope area: one might then suggest an extension through William of Dijon into Normandy. The number of surviving Cluny sources is, however, a little thin for firm judgements to be made.

<sup>2</sup> The introit introduction *Hodie cantandus* appears in the fourteenth-century Jumièges gradual, Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 250, fo. 17<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Transcription from Bodley 775, with pitches for the trope verses *Miserere domine* derived from Paris Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. lat. 1235. In the latter, the trope verses are combined with a different Kyrie melody (no. 55 in the catalogue of Margareta Landwehr-Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters*, Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1955), a G-mode melody, which has resulted, I believe, in a different tessitura for the verse *Iterum dicamus*, and the final phrase, 'deum eternum canentes illi'. Melnicki knew only a thirteenth-century French source for the

Miserere domine kyr-ri-e\_e-lei-son uoce corde postulate regem inuisibilem canentes illi

Kyrri-e - -ley-son. tribus uicibus

Iterum dicamus omnes Christe-ley-son et rogemus Christum dominum una uoce proclamantes

Chri - ste - - ley-son.

Et sum-missis uultibus deprecemur trinitatem deum e-ternum canentes il-li

Kyrri-e - - ley-son. BIS Kyrri-e - -ley-son.

Ex. 8, Kyrie 189, trope *Miserere domine*

the first hand of Bodley 775 and Corpus Christi College 473, both pre-Conquest Winchester manuscripts. The same Kyrie melody was then reworked in the usual Norman way to bear a new text, *Kyrie salve semperque* (Ex. 9; Pl. V).<sup>1</sup>

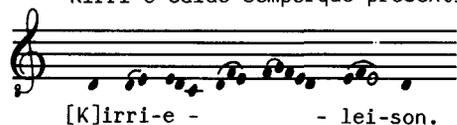
I put forward this Kyrie not as a proven example of what Thurstan was trying to do at Glastonbury, but in order to illustrate something from the middle range of changes the Norman Conquest might have brought to English liturgical music. At one end of the scale changes in the selection of pieces were made everywhere. At the other extreme are the changes in the detail of the melodies, which can be surmised for St Albans at least. The Anglo-Saxon version of the Kyrie is not completely replaced, but more than detail modifications are involved: it is transformed radically, in structure and compositional technique, new out of old.

In studying the plainchant sung in Norman lands, we are very Kyrie melody, no. 189 in her catalogue. In fact, it is found also at St-Vaast, Arras (Cambrai 75), Cambrai (Cambrai 60 and 78), St-Magloire (Paris 13252), Angers (Angers 97), and Bec (Leningrad O.v.I.6). None of these has the *Miserere* trope (on which see Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester* (Princeton, 1977), ii. 254 ff.). *Kyrie salve semperque* is known only from Bodley 775. Sources used for the transcription: Kyrie 189—Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, fols. 4<sup>v</sup>, 62<sup>v</sup>; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 358, fo. 14<sup>r</sup>; *Miserere domine*—Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, fo. 62<sup>v</sup>; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions latines 1235, fo. 191<sup>v</sup>; *Kyrie salve semperque*—Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, fo. 4<sup>v</sup>.

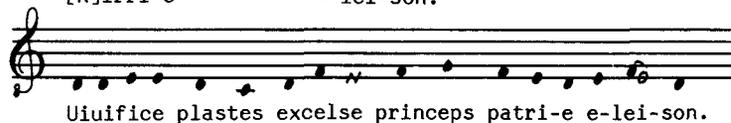
<sup>1</sup> See p. 85, n. 3.



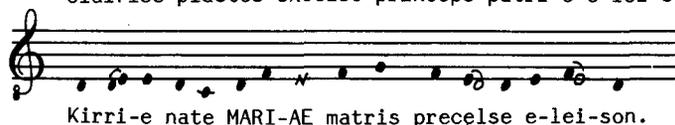
Kirri-e salve semperque presenti turme e-lei-son.



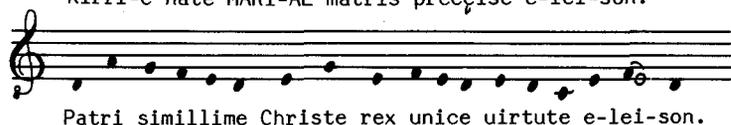
[K]irri-e - - lei-son.



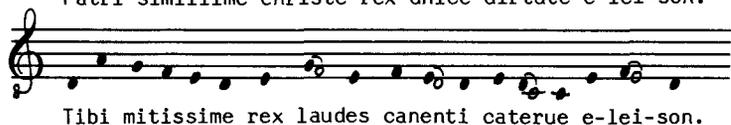
Uiuifice plastes excelse princeps patri-e e-lei-son.



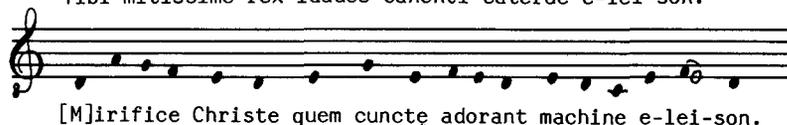
Kirri-e nate MARI-AE matris precēse e-lei-son.



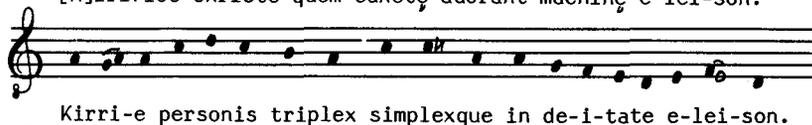
Patri simillime Christe rex unice uirtute e-lei-son.



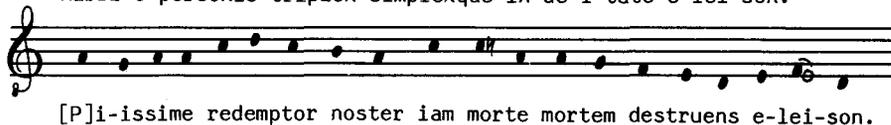
Tibi mitissime rex laudes canenti caterue e-lei-son.



[M]irifice Christe quem cunctę adorant machinę e-lei-son.



Kirri-e personis triplex simplexque in de-i-tate e-lei-son.



[P]i-issime redemptor noster iam morte mortem destruens e-lei-son.



Kirri-e nos polo omnes coniungens.



[R]ex inclite corde deuoto obnix [d]eprecamur te e-lei-son.

fortunate in that a relatively large number of sources from the eleventh and twelfth centuries have survived, supplemented by later medieval books which reproduce with little change the liturgies settled in Norman times. For example, to take only one category of music manuscript, books containing tropes and sequences: from Normandy itself we have the twelfth-century St-Évroult troper (Paris 10508) and the British Library manuscript, Royal 8.C.XIII; from Sicily the three tropers now in the Biblioteca nacional in Madrid; from England the Christchurch, Canterbury, gradual and the St Albans cantatorium.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, such was the nature of the Norman implantation that we are in an exceptionally good position to judge what the term 'Norman' means in those areas. In Sicily, of course, the Normans brought Christian worship to a Muslim land. In south Italy the liturgical uses of Benevento and Montecassino were so different from Norman practice, and so little interpenetration of material seems to have taken place, that it is as if two quite separate countries occupied the same territory.<sup>2</sup> In England a fair amount of Anglo-Saxon material was kept in use (the Kyrie melody is an example of this, though it is just possible that it was already sung at Bec before the Conquest), but such large parts of the repertory seem to have disappeared (tropes for the proper of mass, and many sequences), that the effect of the Conquest is almost as drastic as in the southern lands. And for Normandy itself, it is extremely fortunate, for the scholar contrasting repertories and musical variants, that it was from St-Bénigne at Dijon that Duke Richard brought William to revive ecclesiastical life in his territory. Areas which are adjacent, geographically, were often very similar in liturgical and musical practice: thus, in the Solesmes survey of melodic variants, Rheims is similar to Laon, Noyon is similar to Compiègne, and so on. The Norman monasteries might easily have borrowed from their immediate neighbours, in the

<sup>1</sup> See Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions', for a list of sources and survey. The provenance of Royal 8.C.xiii is not known, but in repertory and variant readings it seems closer to Norman sources than to any others.

<sup>2</sup> See my article, 'Quanto c'è di normanno nei troperi siculo-normanni?', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, xviii (1983), 3-28. The contrast between the two uses is epitomized in a source such as Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VI.G.34, from Troia, whose complete repertory of ordinary of mass chants is already contained in the Catania (Norman) troper Madrid 19421. Yet the Naples source is written in Beneventan script and musical notation. Another example is the fourteenth-century Rieti breviary, Biblioteca Capitolare 19, which appears to derive directly from St-Évroult use.

33

*Ex Abbatia S. Ebrulfi Congregat. S. Mauri*

IN GALLICANAM NATALIS DNI

**D**omi natus die xie adie. *Postula. ame. Gloria seculoru amen.*

*Leconar ce li. In splendorib. sanctoru. In die.*

**P**uer natus est. *Voluptatis. n. Gloria seculorum amen.*

*Tu sume ce li. Viderunt omi. Scti Stephani.*

**E**t cum sederunt. *Dea immaculata. Gloria seculoru amen.*

**E**loge *runt. Vidi celos apert. Scti Iohi.*

**I**n medio ecclesie. *louandate et exult. Gloria seculoru amen.*

**I**u *stus ut palma. Exi et sermo. Innocentii.*

**X**ore infamatum. *Domine dicitur. Gla seculoru amen.*

**A**nima no *stra. Vox inrama. Scti Corulii.*

**C**ustumeditis. *Nolite emulari. Gloria seculorum amen.*

**V**ertas me *a. Et dicit seruus. Epiphanius.*

**E**cce aduenit. *Deus iudicium. Gloria seculorum amen.*

**R**eges charis *Uidi mus. In mare secum dicitur.*

**R**esurrexi et ad huc *domine pbatime. Gla seculoru amen.*

**T**erra eremuse *Patet a nostrum. In die.*

**n**itro dixit uos. *Consecramini dno qm boni. Sclorum amen.*

**A**ngel *lus do mini. Surrexerit dominus. In die.*

**A**qua sapientie. *Consecramini dno qm. Deculorum amen.*

**l**ino nunc de ce *lo do minus et altis sim.*

**S**e con *resurrexistis cum xpsto. FERIA. LIII.*

Kyrrie clason. Kyrrie clason.  
 Kyrrie leyson. I TEA

**M**iserere domine kyrrie clason uoce corde  
 postulate regem inuisibilem canentes  
 illi kyrrie leyson trib: acibus.

I terum dicamus omnes xpe t. & rogemus  
 xpm dominum una uoce proclamantes.

Xpo clason. Et summissis uulibus depre  
 cemur trinitatem deum eternum canen  
 tes illi kyrrie leyson, kyrrie leyson.

PERSONAT HÆC LYRICIS UARIATA P̄CATIONE

**A**doncus kyrrius dominus kyrrius. xpe  
 leyson. kyrrie leyson. kyrrie leyson.

Hæc p̄cher saluator messias xps unicus  
 rucha pneuma. Xpe e leyson Xpe e  
 lason. Xpe e leyson. Sp̄s file aposto

**K**IRIE SALVE SEMPER: irrie leson.  
 presena curie elson. iustice plastes excolle prin  
 cept pacrie elson. **K**irrie nate marias matris pry  
 celle elson. Iacri simillime xpe rex unice curaco  
 elson. Tibi maxillime rex laudat canonici curaco  
 elson. iustice xpe que amcey adonate machine elson.

**R**irrie psoni creplex simplexq in deitate elson. idillime  
 redelpon in tam morte mortem destruent elson. **R**irrie  
 nos polo omnes conungent. ex in olat corde deuoto ob iure  
 eprecamur et elson. **K**irrie Le ison. ii.)  
 irrie leson. i. X po leson. ii.)  
 pe leson. **R**irrie leson. ii.)  
 irrie leson. irrie leson. irrie leson. pe  
 leson. pe leson. irrie leson. irrie  
 leson. irrie leson. i. a. ii.)  
 irrie leson. pe leson.

irrie leson. ii. irrie leson.

Loire valley (Fleury and Tours) or in the Vermandois (Corbie, Beauvais). In fact, to some extent they did (Bec is similar to Chartres!). But the implantation of Dijon use is immediately obvious; in relative terms it is radically different from north French or Loire valley uses.

We should not, however, be led thereby to believe that the Normans had a distinctive programme of musical reform. The differences between Norman practice and other uses are of a type encountered time and time again all over Europe. They are the natural result of the way plainchant developed, first learned by ear and sung from memory, then copied into books whose authority was respected through many subsequent generations of copying. When one tradition encountered another, the contrasts would inevitably have been noticed. They might even, as at Glastonbury, have contributed to a conflict between a Norman abbot and his Saxon monks. One does not, however, have the impression that the Normans saw plainchant as an instrument of ecclesiastical policy. In England, the musical versions of so many traditional chants were not affected by the arrival of Norman abbots. Provided the Saxon monks celebrated the liturgy on the days appointed, following an order of service with the proper formularies, the new masters must have been content. The cantors of English choirs must have continued in most cases to be Saxons.

At the conclusion of this paper it is gratifying to be able to echo some of Professor Zarnecki's closing remarks of twenty years ago. 'These reflections', he said, 'are an attempt to dispel the belief that Anglo-Saxon sculpture died a heroic death at Hastings, or that the unwanted and neglected Anglo-Saxon sculptors had to take refuge in remote regions, away from centres of Norman activity. On the contrary, these sculptors found employment and favour with the Normans.' It is possible that Anglo-Saxon chant died a heroic death at Glastonbury, but not, we may be certain, elsewhere. It was accepted by the Normans, found favour to the extent of being copied and sung in Normandy itself, if some of the correspondences between English and Bec sources are an indication.

In any case it is doubtful whether the musical technique of the cantor was thought of great political moment, any more than was the sculptor's craft. The liturgy as a whole is a different matter, something much more likely to find mention in a chronicle of the age. Thus when Ordericus Vitalis says that the 'chant of St-Évroult is sung' ('Uticensis cantus canitur') in south Italian

monasteries he would have had in mind the complete liturgical corpus, not some point of musical technique or detail.<sup>1</sup> The most we hear of disputes over purely musical matters in medieval writings are the disagreements between theorists about the assignment of chants to one mode or another.<sup>2</sup> Yet this discrepancy between one source and another, still less the minor details shown in my earlier musical examples, are not the stuff of which major controversies are made. No grand aesthetic issues are at stake. It is their very insignificance that makes them so useful to the scholar, for had they been the subject of constant argument and revision, they could not be used as a means of tracing relationships between sources. The tradition would have become 'contaminated' and confused. On the whole, it does not: cases like that of *Ante me non est formatus* (Ex. 5) are rare. We have at our disposal, therefore, a rich and ample resource for the identification of musical traditions, contacts between one church and another, the movement of repertoires, and the layering of material within manuscripts. To the pleasure of working with things of innate beauty is added the fascination of discovering how they were created and transmitted, and the satisfaction of being able to make them yield information about the history of ecclesiastical institutions and their liturgical arrangements. With capabilities such as these, musicology may deservedly occupy its place among the humanities, contributing to, as well as nourished by, other historical disciplines.

<sup>1</sup> Marjorie Chibnall is certainly justified in translating the phrase as 'the liturgy of St. Evroul is chanted': *The Ecclesiastical History of Ordericus Vitalis*, ii (Oxford, 1969), 103.

<sup>2</sup> Surveyed in Michel Huglo, *Les Tonaires. Inventaire, analyse, comparaison* (Paris, 1971). The small tonary in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473, follows Corbie practice: see Huglo, pp. 341 ff.