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A NEW LOOK AT OLD ROMAN CHANT

Historians of plainchant continue to puzzle over the existence of two monophonic repertoires, each with claims to Roman origin. The 'Gregorian' chant (GREG)¹ is spread throughout Europe: there are thousands of manuscripts and printed editions; the earliest, lacking neumatic notation, reach back to the late eighth century; with notation they date from the late ninth century; the repertory has remained in continuous use. The 'Old Roman' chant (ROM) is found in fewer than half a dozen complete manuscripts and a handful of fragments; they date between the eleventh and early thirteenth centuries, and nearly all are from the region of Rome.² GREG and ROM are very similar in their verbal texts and liturgical provisions. But ROM has the more archaic Roman traits and clearly represents the city's usage, while there is little trace of GREG's use at Rome before the thirteenth century. As for the music, where there are corresponding liturgical texts, they tend to share some underlying musical substance. But the nature and

¹ Before all else, I owe profound thanks to Susan Rankin for many improvements, great and small. The following abbreviations are used for recensions, dates and certain related bibliography: ROM = Old Roman; GREG = Gregorian; GALL = Gallican; OLD HISP = Old Hispanic; MOZ = Mozarabic; MED = Milanese or 'Ambrosian'; BEN = Old Beneventan. Numerals refer to a particular century or range of centuries: GREG-8/10 = 'Gregorian recension, text-witnesses of the late eighth century (as documented by R.-J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935), [hereafter *AMS*]), and first musical witnesses of the tenth century (as in *Graduale triplex*, ed. M.-C. Billecocq and R. Fischer (Solesmes, 1979) [hereafter *GT*]); or ROM-8 = 'Old Roman states of the eighth century'; ROM-9/11 = 'Old Roman states of the ninth through eleventh centuries', that of the eleventh century as in *Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, ii (Kassel, 1970): *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. lat. 5319*, ed. B. Stäblein and M. Landwehr-Melnicki [hereafter *MM-2*].

² M. Huglo, 'Le Chant "vieux-romain": liste des manuscrits et témoins indirects', *Sacris erudiri*, 6 (1954), pp. 96–124; J. Boe, 'Music Notation in Archivio San Pietro C 105 and in the Farfa Breviary, Chigi C. VI.177', *Early Music History*, 18 (1999), pp. 1–45.

patterns of the musical sharings are not clear, and how the relationships came about has not been satisfactorily explained.

Example 1³ shows a case of musical relationship. The ROM and GREG versions of the Offertory *Vir erat in terra* have some modal–melodic matter in common, but there are surface differences in style and substance. Did both develop from a common source, or was one a remodelling of the other; and if so, which was the model? The issues were broached by Dom André Mocquereau in 1891, but at the time the priority and authority of GREG could scarcely be questioned, and ROM’s possibilities were consigned to a footnote.⁴ Two decades later Dom Raphael Andoyer advanced arguments for the priority of ROM.⁵ But there was no substantial discussion until the 1950s, when a run of speculation began that continues today. Bruno Stäblein (1950) saw both musical repertoires as originating at Rome, with ROM refashioned into GREG during the later seventh century.⁶ Perspectives were broadened with the description of the Trastevere Gradual of 1071 by Jacques Hourlier and Michel Huglo (1952), and the comprehensive inventory of ROM sources by Huglo (1954).⁷ The basis for a more durable theory was actually laid in a paper of 1933 by Theodor Klauser dealing with the liturgical consequences of Pope Stephen II’s journey to the Frankish kingdom in 754;⁸ this distinguished

³ GREG: C. Ott, *Offertoriale sive versus offertorium* (Tournai, 1935 [hereafter *Ott*]), p. 122; ROM: *MM-2*, p. 255; transposed by a fourth.

⁴ *Paléographie musicale: les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican*, 1st ser. [hereafter *PalMus*], ii (1891), pp. 6–9: ‘. . . attendant qu’on soit à même de rechercher avec plus de maturité les origines de cette dernière version et d’analyser la nature des singularités qu’elle présente’ (p. 6, note).

⁵ ‘Le Chant romain antégrégorien’, *Revue du chant grégorien*, 20 (1911–12), pp. 69–75, 107–14.

⁶ B. Stäblein, ‘Zur Frühgeschichte des römischen Choral’, in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di musica sacra*, ed. H. Anglès (Rome, 1950; repr. Tournai, 1952), pp. 271–5. There were variants of this ‘two Roman chants’ theory from J. Smits van Waesberghe, ‘L’État actuel des recherches scientifiques dans la domaine du chant grégorien’, *3e Congrès international de musique sacrée* (Paris 1957), pp. 206–17; and from S. J. P. van Dijk, ‘The Urban and Papal Rites in Seventh- and Eighth-Century Rome’, *Sacris erudiri*, 12 (1961), pp. 411–87; *idem*, ‘Papal Schola versus Charlemagne’, in *Organicae voces: Festschrift Joseph Smits van Waesberghe* (Amsterdam, 1963), p. 23–30.

⁷ J. Hourlier and M. Huglo, ‘Un important témoin du chant “vieux-romain”: le graduel de Ste. Cécile du Transtévère’, *Revue grégorienne*, 31 (1952), pp. 26–37; Huglo, ‘Le Chant “vieux-romain”’.

⁸ T. Klauser, ‘Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen zwischen der römischen und der fränkisch-deutschen Kirche vom achten bis zum elften Jahrhundert’, *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 53 (1933), pp. 169–89.

A New Look at Old Roman Chant

The image displays a musical score for the Offertory 'Vir erat in terra'. It features two staves: the top staff is labeled 'GREG' (Gregorian) and the bottom staff is labeled 'ROM' (Roman). The lyrics are written below the notes. The music is written in a single system with two staves per line. The lyrics are: 'Vir e - rat in ter - ra (Us) no - mi - ne Job sim - plex et re - ctus ac ti - mens De - um quem Sa - tan pe - ti - it ut temp - ta - ret et da - ta est e - i po - te - stas a Do - mi - no in fa - cul - ta - te et in car - ne e - ius; per - di - dit - que om - nem sub - stan - ti - am ip - si - us'. The notation includes various note values, rests, and slurs, with the Roman staff often showing more complex rhythmic patterns than the Gregorian staff.

GREG
Vir e - rat in ter - ra (Us) no - mi - ne Job

ROM

sim - plex et re - ctus

ac ti - mens De - um

quem Sa - tan pe - ti - it ut temp - ta - ret

et da - ta est e - i po - te - stas a Do - mi - no

in fa - cul - ta - te et in car - ne e - ius; per - di - dit - que

om - nem sub - stan - ti - am ip - si - us

Example 1 Offertory, *Vir erat in terra*

between Roman and Frankish elements in the Sacramentary and Lectionary, and that distinction was extended to the music by Walter Lipphardt in 1950,⁹ and more systematically by Helmut Hucke in 1954–5.¹⁰ ROM music was seen as having Roman origin, while GREG music was a late eighth-century version, shaped in the Frankish north in response to Pippin's and Charlemagne's call for liturgical–musical unity. Today, that formulation still seems sound, and it provides a working basis for what follows.

The theories about the ROM–GREG musical relationship are diverse, yet there is one notion that runs through practically all of them: it is the ROM-to-GREG flow. Where modal–melodic substance is shared (as in Example 1), the source music was that of ROM-8, which was then elaborated by GREG-8/10. This fits with Rome's stature; John the Deacon and the monk of St Gall even say it was so.¹¹ It is so well lodged in the universal mindset that it often can go without saying, though it is generally made explicit.¹² The difficulty is that it leaves much about the actual music unexplained.

In this essay, I will suggest a different picture. Based primarily on a comparative examination of musical behaviour among the ROM and GREG offertories, it questions the ROM-8 to

⁹ 'Gregor der Grosse und sein Anteil am römischen Antiphonar', *Atti del Congresso internazionale di musica sacra, Roma, 1950*, pp. 248–54: GREG is the 'fränkische Einheitsfassung' (p. 248; 'Frankish centralised version'); the 'fränkische Tradition' (p. 249).

¹⁰ 'Die Einführung des Gregorianischen Gesangs im Frankenreich', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 49 (1954), pp. 172–87; 'Gregorianischer Gesang in altrömischer und fränkischer Überlieferung', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 12 (1955), pp. 74–87, translated and with extensive commentary by E. Nowacki, 'Chant Research at the Turn of the Century and the Analytical Programme of Helmut Hucke', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 7 (1998), pp. 47–71.

¹¹ John Hymmonides (John the Deacon), ninth-century biography of Gregory the Great: 'again and again the Germans and Gauls were given the opportunity to learn [Roman] chant . . .'; the St Gall anonymous: 'Charlemagne, deploring the widespread variety of the chanted liturgy, got some experienced singers from Pope Stephen . . .'; the statements are reviewed by T. Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant* (Evanston, Ill., 1998), p. 32; extensive citations in *MM-2*, pp. 142* ff.

¹² D. Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993); cf. pp. 561–2. P. Bernard, *Du chant romain au chant grégorien (IV^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1996); reviewed by Dom D. Saulnier, *Études grégoriennes*, 25 (1997), pp. 169–74, and P. Jeffery, *Speculum*, 74 (1999), pp. 122–4. M. Haas, *Mündliche Überlieferung und altrömische Choral: Historische und analytische computergestützte Untersuchungen* (Bern, 1997); pp. 117 ff., 169 ff. T. Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity*, pp. 31 ff., 365 ff. J. Dyer, 'Tropis semper variantibus: Compositional Strategies in the Offertories of Old Roman Chant', *Early Music History*, 17 (1998), p. 8 on the Roman offertories' two standard formulae, 'all evidence of which has been eradicated in the "Frankish" revision of the music'.

GREG-8/10 flow, at least for the offertories. Instead, it sees GREG-8 as a major contributor of musical substance to ROM-11. This may seem surprising, but it fits the meagre array of facts, and supplies plausible answers to some of the thornier outstanding questions.

The main players are ROM and GREG, but some other musical liturgies also have significant roles, and my point of departure is a line of argument that I first developed in 1984, involving the offertories of the Hispanic-‘Mozarabic’ rite.¹³ These are called *Sacrificia* in MOZ-10,¹⁴ and they are preserved only in staffless neumes, so that full melodic versions are not possible. In 1967, however, Giacomo Baroffio pointed to some striking correspondences between MOZ-10 *sacrificia* and identically texted offertories of GREG-8/10. There was *Oravi Deum*, whose ‘versions correspond in an astonishing way’ (‘Fassungen in erstaunliche Weise entsprechen’); also the *sacrificium*–offertory *Sanctificavit*; and another, *Stetit angelus*, which connected Spain with Milan (MED); Baroffio saw this as ‘repeatedly suggesting a very close melodic relationship’ (‘mehrfach eine sehr enge melodische Verwandtschaft . . . spürbar’).¹⁵ In 1984 I addressed these correspondences, adding a further MOZ–GREG item to the list, *Erit (hic) vobis*, and attempting to develop a larger historical framework.¹⁶ To begin, it seemed striking that all the texts were ‘non-psalmic’ – based on other sources than the Psalter. Psalmic texts tend to be devotional, but these had more of a story to tell. Among the MOZ offertories, non-psalmic texts were a great majority, assigned to nearly all important feasts, while the psalmic ones were a small minority. However, in GREG and ROM (the two rites are largely identical in their texts and calendar assignments) that situation is reversed: psalmic offertories are a majority (roughly four out of every five pieces) and they have most of the major liturgi-

¹³ K. Levy, ‘Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul’, *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), pp. 49–99; reprinted in Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton, 1998), pp. 31–81.

¹⁴ D. M. Randel, *An Index to the Chants of the Mozarabic Rite* (Princeton, 1973), pp. 457–71, provides the inventory.

¹⁵ G. B. Baroffio, ‘Die Offertorien der ambrosianischen Kirche’ (diss. Köln, 1964), pp. 29, 64; *idem*, ‘Die mailändische Überlieferung des Offertoriums Sanctificavit’, in M. Ruhnke (ed.), *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein* (Kassel, 1967), pp. 1–8, at p. 1.

¹⁶ The parallel neumations are seen in ‘Toledo, Rome’, pp. 59–64. The relationships would be of the kind I have called ‘close multiples’; ‘On Gregorian Orality’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42 (1990), pp. 185–227.

cal assignments, while the non-psalmic minority are at feasts of lesser importance (Sunday cycles, etc.) and of apparent later entry to the calendar. The non-psalmic texts can therefore be seen in some sense as ‘at home’ in MOZ and peripheral in GREG–ROM; and it is the other way around for the psalmic texts.

One noteworthy aspect of the non-psalmic texts is the relation to their literary source – generally some other biblical book than the Psalter. Often, the chant texts are radically altered and compressed, something evidently done to make ‘librettos’ suitable for musical setting; the verbal economies suggest the texts were shaped with melismatic music in mind. And melismatic music is what they have in both the MOZ *sacrificia* and their GREG–ROM offertory counterparts.

The distinctive literary formulations of the non-psalmic offertories make something else clear: the textual correspondences between MOZ and GREG and/or MED were not the result of different places accidentally hitting on the same formulation. The librettos were distinctive literary entities that must have travelled from one usage to another. And since textual–liturgical considerations show the non-psalmic offertories to be at home in MOZ, the likely direction of transfer was from MOZ (or better, its ancestor, OLD HISP) to GREG–ROM. That would also apply to the music. The close correspondences between MOZ neumed versions and GREG and MED pitched versions involve largely fixed, memorised melodies that were wedded to particular non-psalmic texts and taken from MOZ into GREG (and/or MED).

The three offertories common to MOZ and GREG (*Oravi Deum*, *Erit hic vobis*, and *Sanctificavit*) doubtless were attached to GREG-8 by the middle to late eighth century, when that repertory was definitively formulated; they are documented by the end of that century in the Blandiniensis.¹⁷ With regard to MOZ there is a classic argument by Dom Louis Brou, based on the *Orationale* of Verona: that many of the MOZ chanted texts were established in the OLD HISP liturgy before *c.* 700.¹⁸ This is likely to apply as well

¹⁷ AMS 189b, 85, 193.

¹⁸ ‘L’Antiphonaire wisigothique et l’Antiphonaire grégorien au début du VIII^e siècle’, *Anuario musical*, 5 (1950), pp. 3–10; the Verona *Orationale* is a MOZ prayer book where many of the standard pieces of the eventual MOZ repertory are cued; before *c.* 730 it was taken from its Tarragonese home to a refuge in northern Italy, escaping the Muslim invasions that began in 711.

to the MOZ melodies which surface in GREG just a half century later.

So far this has been about three pieces in GREG with textual–musical counterparts in MOZ. For most of the twenty or so non-psalms in GREG-8, however, MOZ has no counterparts, and that suggests the GREG editors were working from some other source. There were liturgical overlappings between seventh- and eighth-century OLD HISP and GALL rites, and a likelier direct source for the GREG-8 pieces would be a GALL liturgical–musical usage that flourished precisely in the Frankish heartland where GREG-8 was formulated. Almost all the chants of GALL-7/8 are supposed to have disappeared. Yet now it looks as if one might reckon with a carryover from GALL to GREG-8 of some or even most of the twenty offertories with non-psalms ‘libretto’ texts in GREG-8/10 – and as the MOZ–GREG links show, not just their texts, but also their music.

There was an even farther-reaching conjecture in my paper of 1984, but my proposals at the time were already so likely to prove controversial that it seemed better not to emphasise it. Linked with the theory of GALL origin for the GREG non-psalms offertories was an obvious corollary concerning the GREG pieces with psalms texts. The GREG offertories have often been singled out for their distinctive stylistic traits: prominent skips, extensive melismas, modal ambiguities, etc.¹⁹ The point is that there are no major differences in musical style between the one-fifth minority of GREG offertories with non-psalms texts and the four-fifths majority with psalms texts.²⁰ This can be established by extensive

¹⁹ H. Sidler described them as ‘Eigengewächs’: *Studien zu den alten Offertorien mit ihren Versen* (Veröffentlichungen der Gregorianischen Akademie zu Freiburg, Schweiz, 1939), p. 7; W. Apel wrote of ‘a veritable mine of bold formations not encountered anywhere else in the repertory’; *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, Ind., 1958), p. 512; R. Steiner and G. B. Baroffio in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [hereafter *NGD*], ed. S. Sadie (London, 1980), xiii, p. 516a, s.v. ‘Offertory’: ‘Many of the offertory melodies have a wide range, sometimes involving a daring use of modulation. The chants are difficult to perform; the musical style is distinctive and virtuosic. Unusual intervals such as octaves and sevenths covered in two leaps are found . . . , and a melodic tritone occurs . . .’.

²⁰ I ventured this in passing in ‘Toledo, Rome’, pp. 95–6; Hiley has picked it up: ‘Levy’s hypothesis is that these [non-psalms offertories] are the descendants of the Gallican chant repertory. It is . . . difficult to see much musical difference between them and other [psalms] offertories’ (*Western Plainchant*, p. 122); as has R. Steiner, ‘Holocausta medullata: An Offertory for St. Saturninus’, in P. Cahn and A.-K. Heimer (eds), *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim, 1993) [hereafter *Hucke Festschrift*], pp. 263–74; cf. p. 268.

comparisons. It is also apparent from the occasional assignment of the same music to both text-types, as happens with the non-psalmsic *Angelus Domini* and the psalmsic *Posuisti*.²¹ Now that stylistic identity would have a major consequence. If the music of the GREG non-psalmsic offertories had (MOZ)–GALL antecedents, then so as well must the music of the psalmsic offertories. This would mean that a very considerable amount of GREG music – nearly all the offertories – was carried over from GALL: with their florid verses these represent more than a third of all the music for the GREG mass propers. All this might be seen as having come, with relatively little change, from GALL music.

The argument to this point has focused on aspects of GREG, MOZ and GALL. Yet Rome is also fundamentally involved. Example 1 showed a case of a ROM-11 offertory (*Vir erat*) that shared considerable modal–melodic substance with a GREG-8/10 analogue. In the vast majority of offertories, however, little or no music is shared. ROM and GREG even seem to have different approaches that rule out substantial sharing. The GREG offertories have fixed melodies; they are remembered entities, with distinctive, memorable contours, capable of being transported from one liturgical environment to another and of being applied to different texts (*Angelus Domini* and *Posuisti*). In Byzantine use, such melodies are called *idiomela* (‘with their own melody’), and the musical stance of the MOZ–(GALL) and GREG offertories might be described as ‘idiomelic’. With ROM, it is different. ROM-11 offertory style has been charted by Joseph Dyer in his dissertation of 1971, and again in a recent article.²² Dyer’s in-depth analysis of ROM needs to be dealt with in a manner appropriate to its wealth of musical detail. Yet for present purposes that might be reduced to just three factors: a general process or style, and two collections of formulaic bits.

²¹ The original may be the non-psalmsic *Angelus*, with paschal assignments; the psalmsic *Posuisti*’s most notable assignment is the ‘gallican’ St Gorgonius of Metz. Other offertories with text–music accommodations include the group *Viri Galilei*, *Stetit angelus* and *Iustorum animae* (NGD, xiii, p. 516b, art. ‘Offertory’; R. Steiner, ‘Holocausta medullata’, pp. 270–1).

²² J. H. Dyer, Jr, ‘The Offertories of Old-Roman Chant: A Musico-Liturgical Investigation’ (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1971), table I, pp. 138–41; *idem*, ‘Tropis semper variantibus’.

The process/style is apparent from even a casual reading of the ROM-11 repertory in *MM-2*: melodic twists and turns; explorations of narrow ranges with stepwise motion; elegant variations; there is little longer-term directionality, little form-building repetition.

Dyer's first collection of formulaic bits, FormA, is shown in Example 2a.²³ Example 2b shows the verse *Misericordias tuas, Domine* of the offertory *Confitebuntur caeli* in ROM. FormA accounts for nearly all the music. In contrast, Example 2c shows the music of GREG, a distinctive melody which lacks any elements of the repetitions that are so prominent in the way ROM is made.

Dyer's other formulaic collection is shown in Example 3a.²⁴ Examples 3b and 3c contrast the ROM and GREG versions of the Dedication offertory *Domine Deus in simplicitate*. ROM draws almost exclusively on FormB (with supplemental *alpha, m* and *n*); the GREG melody has a distinctive, idiomatic profile. The approaches are different; except perhaps at the beginning of Verse 1, there is at most between them a modal connection.

Specialists in ROM-11 have often pointed to the presence of improvisational symptoms in the noted versions; these are features that might reach well back in time. Lipphardt in 1950 spoke of 'the South's lively improvisatory art' ('die lebendige Improvisationskunst des Südens').²⁵ Thomas Connolly devoted a serious discussion to this with the introits; Dyer remarked recently about the offertories: 'the notated versions . . . particularly in their use of the resources mentioned above [i.e. the twists and formula-sets A and B] hint strongly at their oral, improvisational antecedents . . .'.²⁶

²³ Example 2a after Dyer, 'Tropis semper variantibus', p. 9; FormA also operates in a transposition from a modal centre on C to one on F. Example 2b is from R. Snow, 'The Old-Roman Chant', in Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, p. 491. Example 2c is from *Ott*, p. 139.

²⁴ Example 3a, after Dyer, 'Tropis semper variantibus', p. 21; with the same alternative transposition as FormA; Example 3b, GREG: *Ott*, p. 159, transposed by a fourth; Example 3c, ROM: *MM-2*, p. 341.

²⁵ Also of melodies that show 'in ihrer formlosigkeit typische Auflösungstendenzen, gegenüber der sicher geformten plastischen Weisen der gregorianisch-fränkischen Einheitsfassung'; 'Gregor der Grosse und sein Anteil am römischen Antiphonar', p. 249. Hiley remarks about the offertory *Benedic anima mea*: 'The Gregorian version is set out with the same line divisions as the Old Roman, but . . . the vocabulary as well as the form is different'; *Western Plainchant*, p. 536.

²⁶ T. H. Connolly, 'Introits and Archetypes: Some Archaisms of the Old Roman Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25 (1972), pp. 157-74; Dyer, 'Tropis semper variantibus', p. 7.

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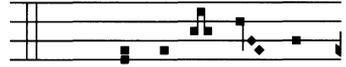


Example 2a ROM FormA (Dyer)



1. Mi - se - ri - cor - di - as tu - as, Do - mi - ne,
2. in ae - ter - num can - ta - bo:
3. in ge - ne - ra - ti - o - ne et pro - ge - ni - te in o - re me - o.
4. pro - nun - ti - a - bo ve - ri - ta - tem

Example 2b ROM Verse, *Misericordias tuas* (Snow)



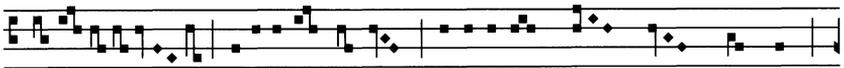
V. 2. Mi - se - ri -



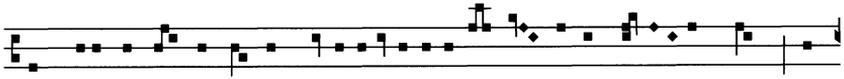
cór - di - as tu - as, Dó - mi - ne,



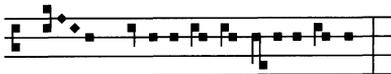
in ae - tér - num can - tá - bo: in ge - ne - ra - ti - ó -



ne et pro - gé - ni - e



ad - nun - ti - á - bo ve - ri - tá - tem tu - am in



o - re me - o, *

Example 2c GREG Verse, *Misericordias tuas* (Ott)

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Example 3a ROM Form B (Dyer)

b. GREG
c. Form B: ROM

Do-mi-ne De - us in sim- pli - ci - ta - te cor - dis me - i
le - tus ob - tu - li u - ni - ver - sa
et po - pu - lum tu - um qui re - per - tus est
vi - di cum in - gen - ti gau - di - o

Example 3b and c Offertory, *Domine Deus in simplicitate*

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De - us Is - ra - el cu - sto - di - at vo - lun -
 (d) (m) (n) (d)

Verse 1
 ta - tem Fe - cit Sa - lo - mon
 (f) (α) (n)

sol - lem - ni - ta - tem in tem - po - re
 (d) (e) (g) (d)

il - lo Et pro - spe - ra - tus est etc.
 (f) (e) (d) (e) (g)

Example 3b and c *continued*

Thus in ROM-11 and GREG-8/10 there seem to be two different principles at work: ROM music, improvisational–formulaic; GREG music, more distinctive–idiomelic. In most cases that rules out melodic relationships between the corresponding offertories. Yet there are cases, like that of *Vir erat* in Example 1, where musical relationships are substantial. How have these two principles come to coexist? Where there is a substantial musical relationship (as in Example 1), various explanations seem possible. One would suppose a proto-Roman state (ROM-6/7) from which GREG-8/10 and ROM-11 music independently derive; an original ROM melos that would erode considerably on the way before reaching ROM-11. The trouble with that is it places the non-psalmic idiomelic offertories at Rome at a very early stage; not only is there is no evidence for doing so, but there are reasons for just the contrary

– connecting such pieces to ultimate Hispanic/Gallican origins. Another explanation would be the common one: a musical infusion from ROM-8 to GREG-8/10 – the GREG stylisation drawing on a Roman melodic basis. That remains plausible enough wherever the musical relationship is close; but it will not do where the corresponding chants are musically diverse.

Now there would also be my third explanation, which reverses the flow and sees GREG-8 music as exercising a decisive influence on ROM-9/10. Already in its favour there are the circumstances of the MOZ–GALL–GREG relationships: the offertories with non-psalmonic librettos, native to MOZ–GALL, filling secondary liturgical assignments in ROM. There are also certain details of the verbal texts. The psalmonic offertory texts that are shared by GREG-8/10 and ROM-11 are often faithfully excerpted from the Psalter; as a result they may be traceable to a particular translation – Old Roman, Old Latin, Gallican, etc.²⁷ Where a source can be identified, a Roman psalter reading should generally point to a chant text's Roman origin, and a Gallican psalter reading to Gallican origin.²⁸ What is striking about the ROM-11 psalmonic offertories is that many of them have what are apparently Gallican psalter readings. Dyer has listed variants among psalmonic offertory texts, where there are dozens of cases of ROM and GREG agreeing with one another but disagreeing with the Roman Psalter.²⁹ Roughly four times out of five, the ROM–GREG text agrees with a Gallican or Mozarabic psalter reading.

In the offertory *Constitues*, where the Roman psalter reads *omni generatione et progenie* (Ps. 44:18; *Weber*, p. 101), the ROM-11 offertory (*MM-2*, p. 366) agrees with GREG-8 (*AMS* 122b; *GT*, p. 434) as well as Gallican and Mozarabic psalters in the variant *omni progenie et generatione*. In the offertory *Eripe me . . . Domine*, the Roman psalter has *tu es Deus meus* (Ps. 142:10; *Weber*, p. 344), while ROM-11 (*MM-2*, p. 308) and GREG (*AMS* 74; *GT* p. 152) both

²⁷ The psalmonic texts are not always continuous; like the non-psalmonic offertories, they are often assembled from scattered verses, with rearrangements, tailorings, and minor compressions. They too can be seen as 'librettos', and with the same implications for ROM offertory style as the non-psalmonic librettos have for the early style of GALL–GREG; such texts were compiled with melismatic music in mind.

²⁸ R. Weber, *Le Psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins* (Collectanea Biblica Latina, 10; Rome: Abbaye Saint-Jérôme, 1953) [hereafter *Weber*].

²⁹ Dyer, 'The Offertories of Old-Roman Chant', table I, pp. 138–41.

read *Deus meus tu es* (or *es tu*), in agreement with the Gallican psalter. And in the offertory *Filiae regum*, the Roman Psalter has *circumamicta* (Ps. 44:10; *Weber*, p. 100) while ROM-11 (*MM-2*, p. 281) and GREG (*AMS 23b*; *GT*, p. 506) both have *circumdata*, which is in line with old Gallican psalters.

Having proposed this theory about text-variants, I must also say that they are not reliable witnesses. Chance played a large role in what sixth- through eighth-century psalters have survived, possibly distorting our view. And at any point in a transmission, it was the work of just a moment to replace a received reading with one that suited local practice.³⁰ Nevertheless, there is little reason for the ROM-11 offertory texts to transmit so many apparently GALL readings other than a considerable Gallo-Frankish exposure along the way.

The most persuasive indications that GREG-8 offertory music left a considerable imprint on ROM-8/11 music come from the music itself. The standard notion that ROM-8 was a melodic source for GREG-8 is based largely on such classes as the graduals, where the relationships are often close.³¹ Yet even in those situations, as I have remarked about the offertory *Vir erat* (Example 1), the flow might have gone the other way. Among the offertories, furthermore, close relationships are rare. There is often little if any musical relationship, and that in turn may throw some welcome light on the historical development. Examples 2 and 3 have shown instances where there is no GREG-ROM musical relationship. No less common, and historically more suggestive, are the many cases where there is a musical relationship at the start which soon erodes so that ROM-11 and GREG-8/10 finish on independent musical tracks. Example 4³² shows this in the psalmic offertory *Eripe me*. Some similarity may be claimed in Example 4a; but in the verse *Exaudi* (Example 4b) the ROM material is standard FormA with even some of FormB thrown in; the changes in level of musical correspondence often coincide with the division

³⁰ P. Bernard, 'Les Chants du propre de la messe dans les répertoires Grégorien et Romain Ancien: essai d'édition pratique des variantes textuelles', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 110 (1996), pp. 210–51, with a useful list that may be appraised in this light.

³¹ N. Van Deusen, 'An Historical and Stylistic Comparison of the Graduals of Gregorian and Old Roman Chant' (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1972).

³² GREG: *Ott*, p. 51; ROM: *MM-2*, p. 308.

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GREG
E - ri - pe me de in - i - mi - cis

ROM

me - is Do - mi - ne etc.

Example 4a Offertory, *Eripe me . . . Domine*

GREG
Ex-au - di me

Form B: (f) (e) (e) Form A: (c)

ROM

in tu - a iu - sti - ti - a

(b) (d) (c)

et ne in - tres in iu - di - ci - o

(a) (b) (b) (b) (c)

cum ser - vo tu - o Do - mi - ne

(a) (b) (b) (d)

Example 4b Verse, *Exaudi me*

between verses. Through it all, GREG maintains its customary independence of melodic profile.

A similar case is Example 5.³³ This is one of the MOZ-linked offertories of non-psalms text-type with which this essay began. All the major musical families are here: the neumatic MOZ-10(-GALL) and its melodic analogue in GREG; MED-12, which, as often happens, appears to restylise music that came from GREG;³⁴ and ROM. The text suggests an important liturgical occasion. MOZ, GREG and ROM all assign the piece to Friday in Easter Week; but MED has it for Pentecost, and there was probably a similar use in early MED and/or GALL. As for its music, MOZ, GREG and MED appear to share common material, but ROM-11 has little if anything to do with that: perhaps some melodic relationship at the start, and at *progenies vestras*; but for the rest, ROM relies on FormB and has no connection with GREG or its analogues. Again, a formulaic, 'improvisational' ROM, and an idiomatic, memorable GREG-(MED-MOZ-[GALL]).

Situations where the musical relationship is irregular or declines offer a fresh key to the riddle of the ROM-GREG relationship. At least for the offertories, they make it hard to suppose that the ROM melos generated the distinctive idiomatic profiles of GREG. ROM-11's still simple, improvisational-formulaic stance suggests that between it and its ROM-8 forerunner there was little in the way of change; and if the ROM-8 offertories were close to the ROM-11 we know, they can scarcely have been the source for the GREG-8/10 music we know. Where underlying musical substance is shared, ROM represents it only in part, and often ignores it, offering instead its own formulaic twists and turns. If one influenced the other, it must be GREG, which throughout maintains a distinctive melodic profile, that was the source. That direction of flow fits with what is already suggested by the MOZ-GALL and GREG offertory links and the Gallican psalter readings among the ROM-11 offertory texts. The partial accommodations say that ROM was working with, reacting to, GREG melos.

³³ GREG: *Ott*, p. 63; MED: *AMM*, p. 256; ROM: *MM-2*, p. 415.

³⁴ The situation of MED, sampled in Example 5, calls for a full-dress study. MED and GREG sometimes relate in the way proposed here for ROM and GREG.

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E - rit vo - bis hic di - es

E - rit hic vo - bis di - es

E - rit no - bis hic di - es

me-mo-ri - a - lis Al - le - lu - ia *etc.*

me-mo-ri - a - lis Al - le - lu - ia

Form B: (f) (g)

me-mo-ri - a - lis Al - le - lu - ia

GREG et di-em fe - stum ce - le - bra - bi - tis

ROM et di-em fe - stum ce - le - bra - bi - tis

so - lem - nem Do - mi - no in pro - ge - ni-es

ve - stras le - gi - ti - mum *etc.*

Example 5 Offertory, *Erit vobis*

One question remains. Why the pattern of partial accommodations? There are answers that may fit comfortably within the general framework of eighth- through twelfth-century musical developments set forth by Dom Cardine.³⁵ The GREG-8/10 music was given a definitive formulation between *c.* 755 and *c.* 785; this happened in the Frankish heartland, not unlikely at Metz.³⁶ GREG's liturgical and textual provisions came chiefly from Rome. But for its offertories (this is the first of my proposals), if any ROM-8 music accompanied the Roman verbal texts, the GREG-8 editors made no use of it. Perhaps this was because the GREG-8 repertory would need promptly to be memorised by all the realm's choirmasters, and the homogenous, curvaceous, improvisational Roman melodic style offered too little that was distinctive for memories readily to grasp. Furthermore, the Frankish choirmasters were already in control of distinctive, idiomatic offertory melodies (the likes of *Oravi*, *Erit*, and *Sanctificavit*), which could be transferred whole from MOZ-GALL into GREG. There remained the Roman psalmsic offertory texts, needing memory-friendly music. My thought is, this came from applying the music of existing GALL offertories (non-psalmsic or psalmsic) to the Roman texts: the sort of contrafacting that may be seen in GREG's pairing of the non-psalmsic *Angelus Domini* and the psalmsic *Posuisti*: in all, a practical as well as congenial way of complying with the Carolingian mandate to Romanise.

Once GREG-8 was compiled, it was sent out to replace the local plainchants in Carolingian-controlled regions. Rome's prestige made it a prime target for installing GREG, which is unlikely to have arrived there much later than in the Beneventan zone to the south, where it apparently supplanted most of the local repertory before *c.* 838.³⁷ But at Rome (this is my next proposal) the musical establishment refused to let go of its music. Instead it accommodated GREG-8 music to traditional Roman style. We may get

³⁵ E. Cardine, 'Vue d'ensemble sur le chant grégorien', *Études grégoriennes*, 16 (1977), pp. 173–92, at pp. 173–4.

³⁶ On the role of Metz, C. Maître, *La Réforme cistercienne du plain-chant* (Brecht, 1995), pp. 42–5.

³⁷ *PM*, 14, pp. 450–1 (R.-J. Hesbert); K. Levy, 'The Italian Neophytes' Chants', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1970), pp. 181–227, at p. 221; T. F. Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 12–23; *Beneventanum troporum corpus*, ed. A. E. Planchart and J. Boe, i, ed. Planchart (Madison, Wis., 1994), pp. xii–xiv.

some notion of the process from the *Veterem hominem* antiphons for the octave of the Epiphany. These began as Byzantine hymns; at Charlemagne's request, they were translated from Greek into Latin during the early ninth century, and their music was turned into GREG style.³⁸ The pieces then made their way to Rome (and Charlemagne's role as prime mover suggests this was not delayed),³⁹ where a further musical transformation took place as the GREG versions were turned into a more rounded Roman style.

Something similar can be imagined for the offertories. The Carolingian-sanctioned GREG-8 appeared at Rome with its claim to primacy; the Romans reacted by naturalising the GREG-8 music, rounding off its craggier profiles, adapting it to their own traditional style. What sets the offertories apart from some other musical classes is that so little accommodation was done. *Vir erat* is almost alone as an offertory whose full music was turned to ROM style. Much commoner, as in Examples 2b and 3c, was for ROM to ignore the GALL–GREG melos and use just the archaic local style. And also common, as in Examples 4 and 5, was for the Romans to make initial gestures of accommodation but then fall back on that archaic style.

Why would the Romans do it that way? Perhaps it was a matter of local pride. Perhaps there was some animus: the Roman music was ignored by GREG-8's formulators, and here was a gesture of payback. Perhaps it was the great amount of labour: the offertories were a full third of the GREG music; to convert and then memorise all of them was a major undertaking. Whatever the reasons (and any or all of these might apply), the significance of the Romans' spotty accommodations lies in what they suggest about the history. In ways that only the music can, they say that the GREG music was not built with ROM musical input; rather, it was the other way around: the Romans accommodated GREG music to their own Roman style.

³⁸ O. Strunk, 'The Latin Antiphons for the Octave of the Epiphany', in *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York, 1977), pp. 208–19; Levy, 'Toledo, Rome', 93; an ample discussion, with musical illustrations, in E. Nowacki, 'Constantinople–Aachen–Rome: The Transmission of *Veterem hominem*', in *De musica et cantu* (Hucke Festschrift) (1993), pp. 95–115.

³⁹ P. Bernard remarks on Charlemagne's general interest in the region: '[il] a proposé son aide pour réformer certains des plus grands monastères de Rome et certains des monastères proches de l'Urbs, comme celui de Farfa . . .'; *Du chant romain au chant grégorien*, p. 483.

While this much has been about the GREG–ROM offertories, inevitably questions are raised about other classes. Comprehensive answers must wait until many or even all GREG–ROM parallels are examined in detail, class by class, piece by piece, in the light of these perspectives. Random samplings already yield some noteworthy results. Traces of the ROM offertories' improvisational–formulaic materials in some other classes indicate a broader application of the developments described here. Dom Mocquereau's comparison of the Easter introit *Resurrexi et adhuc* in ROM and GREG showed a close musical relationship,⁴⁰ where the musical flow might have gone either way. With the introit *Justus ut palma* in Example 6,⁴¹ there is little if any musical relationship. As with many offertories, the GREG music is idiomatic while ROM is made up of FormB elements and podatus declamation. Once again, the GREG-8 music seems likely to have journeyed to Rome, which ignored it while continuing with its own Roman style.

There also are traces of FormB in the ROM introit *Justi epulentur*, in the processional antiphon *Custodit Dominus animas sanctorum*, and some others.⁴² Example 7⁴³ shows the GREG and ROM versions of the communion *Gustate et videte*. Ps. 33:9 is a fundamental communion text, which enjoys musical prominence in Byzantine and related rites as the ordinary communion for the Lenten Liturgy of the Presanctified.⁴⁴ In GREG, there is a recognisable modal–melodic type. In Rome, more than half the music is standard FormB, another mark of that material's authority.

There is something similar with the Requiem communion, *Lux eterna*. Requiem chants were not included in early states of the ROM–GREG mass antiphoner (the *Sextuplex* has none), and there tend to be oddities when they appear. The scribe of Vatican lat. 5319 entered two musical versions of *Lux eterna* in succession; each

⁴⁰ *PM*, 2 (1899), pp. 8 f.

⁴¹ *GT*, p. 508; *MM-2*, pp. 64–5.

⁴² *Custodit Dominus*: ROM: *MM-2*, p. 583; GREG: *AMS*, p. 210; Paris, lat. 903, fol. 138^v; *PM*, 18 (Rome, Angelica 123), fol. 177^v. Among the anomalous relationships involving introits, singled out by Connolly, 'Introits and Archetypes', p. 171, the ROM Introit *Confessio* has traces of FormA while *In virtute tua* and *Esto mihi* have traces of FormB.

⁴³ GREG: *GT*, p. 303; ROM: *MM-2*, p. 470.

⁴⁴ D. E. Conomos, *The Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle* (Washington, 1985), pp. 50, 54–64; S. J. M. Harris, *The Communion Chants of the Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Asmatikon* (Amsterdam, 1999).

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Form B: (d')

(e) (g)

(d) (e) (g)

(d) (f)

Example 6 Introit, *Justus ut palma*

has a claim to being ‘Old Roman’ (see Example 8).⁴⁵ ROM-I (Example 8a) would be the more recent. Musically, it is close to the universal GREG melody whose Beneventan and Sarum readings are also shown.⁴⁶ But ROM’s flourish on [eter]-na and its roundings-off on [luce]-at eis do-[mine] and *eternum* set it apart, suggesting a purposeful Roman retouching of GREG. ROM-II

⁴⁵ Example 8a: ROM-I: *MM-2*, p. 499; GREG-BEN: *PM*, 15 (Benevento VI.34), fol. 266^v; GREG-SARUM: *Graduale Sarisburiense*, ed. W. H. Frere (London, 1895), p. 233. Example 8b: ROM-II: *MM-2*, p. 474.

⁴⁶ ROM-I also appears twice in Vatican, Arch. S. Pietro, F. 11, fols. 56^v and 68^v, with minor variants.

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GREG
Gu - sta - te et vi - de - te

ROM
Form B: (d) (e) (g)

quo - ni - am su - a - vis est Do - mi - nus

(d) (e)

be - a - tus vir

qui spe - rat in e - o

(d) (f)

Example 7 Communion, *Gustate et videte*

(Example 8b; Vat. 5319 is its sole witness) would be the earlier one, and its music is purely Roman, deriving from FormB.

This essay has proposed a fresh perspective on the ROM-11 and GREG-10 offertories. The entrenched belief has been that ROM-8 modal-melodic substances were reworked in forming GREG-8. But that has not explained the actual musical relationships. My alternative is to see the GREG-8 offertories as drawing much of their musical substance from GALL, then making their way to Rome, which turned that GREG-8 music into ROM style. Not everything was converted. Perhaps because the job was so large, the Romans settled for doing less than all of it. They processed token amounts

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of GREG, while for most of the music perpetuating their own traditional style. That may open an extraordinary window on proto-Roman musical style. If one skims away from ROM-11 the melos attributable to GREG-8, what remains bids to be a more archaic state of ROM music than has ever been confidently accessed: a closeup view of eighth-century schola cantorum practice. The traces of the offertories' improvisational–formulaic materials among ROM introits, communions, etc., also suggest that those materials and practices once had even broader applications. How far it went can only be gauged when all the ROM–GREG parallels have been evaluated. That will take major efforts, which may now seem worthwhile.⁴⁷

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⁴⁷ For the introits, comparisons are readily made, thanks to A. Turco, *Les Antiennes d'introît du chant romain comparées a celles du grégorien et de l'ambrosien* (Subsidia Gregoriana, 3; Solesmes, 1993); the MED readings, included by Turco, are essential to a comprehensive picture. For the graduals, the ROM–GREG comparisons are easily made with the tabulations in van Deusen, 'An Historical and Stylistic Comparison'.

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A NEW LOOK AT OLD ROMAN CHANT – II

I. THE MUSIC: GALL-TO-GREG-TO-ROM

For archaeologists of plainchant – those who deal with the music before there are notational records – the focus has been on the repertoires ROM-11 and GREG-8/10.¹ Each represents a ‘Roman’ practice. ROM-11 appears in a handful of manuscripts from the region of Rome, dating from the eleventh through thirteenth centuries; the liturgical usage is Urban. GREG-8/10 appears in hundreds of manuscripts from all over Europe, with verbal texts reaching back to the late eighth century, and with neumatic notations to the late ninth. In liturgical and textual respects GREG is a near twin of ROM, yet it has clear marks of formulation in the Frankish north. In musical respects, what is most significant about the repertoires is that they share certain amounts of modal-melodic substance, yet they differ markedly as to process, style and detail. It has been a major challenge to define those relationships and determine what they mean about earlier musical developments.²

¹ Thanks to Susan Rankin and David Ganz for many improvements. Abbreviations for repertoires: ROM = Old Roman; GREG = Gregorian; GALL = Gallican; MOZ = Old Hispanic or Mozarabic. Numerals indicate a century or range of centuries: GREG-8/10 = Gregorian recension, text witnesses of the late eighth century, as represented in R.-J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* [hereafter *AMS*] (Brussels, 1935), with first musical witnesses of the tenth century, as in *Graduale triplex*, ed. M.-C. Billecocq and R. Fischer (Solesmes, 1979); ROM-8 = Old Roman states of the eighth century; ROM-9/11 = Old Roman states of the ninth through eleventh centuries, that of the eleventh century in *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. Lat. 5319*, ed. B. Stäblein and M. Landwehr-Melnicki (*Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, 2; Kassel, 1970).

² D. Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993) summarises earlier positions (pp. 561–2); recent book-length contributions include P. Bernard, *Du chant romain au chant grégorien* (Paris, 1996); M. Haas, *Mündliche Überlieferung und altrömische Choral* (Bern, 1997); T. Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant* (Evanston, 1998); J. W. McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley, 2000).

There are deep disagreements on many points, but on one fundamental point agreement has been universal. It is that ROM-8 was the supplier of musical substance to GREG-8/10. The Frankish editors of GREG, carrying out the Carolingian initiatives for liturgical-musical reform, beginning in the 750s, used ROM music as a basis for their authoritative musical formulations. That notion of a flow from ROM to GREG is deep-seated, and with good reason. It accords with the ecclesiastical primacy of Rome. And it is repeatedly affirmed in an impressive series of documents, beginning with Pope Paul I in the later eighth century, and running through the ninth-century writings of John the Deacon and Notker of St Gall, and beyond.³ A vast amount of speculative capital has been invested in the ROM-to-GREG notion.

In a recent article, I raised a different possibility for the musical relationship.⁴ With the offertories, and perhaps some other chants, I suggested a flow in the other direction, from GREG to ROM. The compilers/editors of the decisive GREG-8 edition – one supposes mainly Frankish musicians, probably working at Metz – would ignore ROM-8 and draw their music instead from the GALL offertories that were sung in the northern region where GREG-8/10 was being shaped. ROM would leave little if any musical imprint on GREG. And there would be this major consequence: GREG would presently leave a considerable musical imprint on ROM. In support, I offered three arguments drawn from the musical and textual behaviour of the offertories and their verses.

The first argument was one I developed originally in 1984.⁵ Expanding on observations made during the 1960s by Giacomo Baroffio,⁶ I considered the offertories *Sanctificavit Moyses*, *Oravi Deum* and *Erit vobis*, for each of which there are versions in both the MOZ-10 and GREG-8/10 repertoires. MOZ-10 can be read only by way of staffless neumes, but the paired settings appear to be closely related in their music. All three have texts of a ‘non-psalms libretto’ type that is common in MOZ, rather than the

³ Stäblein, *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, pp. 140* ff. excerpts many of them.

⁴ ‘A New Look at Old Roman Chant’, *Early Music History*, 19 (2000), pp. 81–104.

⁵ ‘Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul’, *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), pp. 49–99; repr. in K. Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton, 1998), pp. 32–81.

⁶ G. B. Baroffio, *Die Offertorien der ambrosianischen Kirche* (diss. Köln, 1964), pp. 29, 64; id., ‘Die mailändische Überlieferung des Offertoriums Sanctificavit’, in M. Ruhnke (ed.), *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein* (Kassel, 1967), pp. 1–8.

‘psalmic’ type that is common in GREG and ROM. This suggests that they entered the Frankish GREG-8/10 as musical carry-overs from MOZ, or, perhaps better, from a MOZ-related GALL usage whose traces are otherwise lost. The theory might be extended to many of the other GREG offertories that have non-psalmic texts; they make up about a fifth of the collection. And that leads to some farther-reaching speculations. The remaining four-fifths of the GREG offertories are built with Psalter-based texts which almost surely originated at Rome. Despite that difference, the psalmic offertories display the same distinctive musical style as the non-psalmic ones. So it may be that practically all the GREG offertories had Gallican musical antecedents. And that would have an important consequence: since the GREG and ROM offertories share some amounts of musical substance, the prehistory of the ROM music must also be involved.

In 1984, there were only the relationships between the handful of MOZ and GREG offertories as a basis for such speculations. It was not enough to support even the less ambitious ones, and hardly enough for the broader implications of the musical connections between GREG and ROM. In the following years, however, my formulations were considered by David Hiley,⁷ Ruth Steiner,⁸ and Richard Crocker.⁹ And a further case of GALL-to-GREG flow was mounted by Philippe Bernard, involving the Canticle of the Three Children.¹⁰ In spite of the GALL-to-GREG implications, however, the received belief has held firm. There have been no serious attempts to deny that ROM was the ultimate musical supplier of GREG.¹¹

In the recent ‘A New Look at Old Roman Chant’, I added two further arguments for a GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM flow. With these,

⁷ *Western Plainchant*, pp. 122, 554.

⁸ ‘*Holocausta medullata: An Offertory for St. Saturninus*’, in Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (eds), *De Musica et Cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim, 1993), pp. 263–74, at p. 268.

⁹ ‘Gregorian Studies in the Twenty-First Century’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 4 (1995), pp. 33–86; the GALL-to-GREG(-to-ROM) flow is described as a ‘fantastic proposal’ (pp. 42–3).

¹⁰ ‘Le cantique des trois enfants (Dan. III, 52–90)’, *Musica e Storia*, 1 (1993), pp. 231–72.

¹¹ Thus Bernard, *Du chant romain au chant grégorien*, p. 758: ‘avant d’arriver en Gaule franque, le chant liturgique de Rome est né et s’est développé dans l’Urbs; méconnaître cette vérité d’évidence serait se condamner à ignorer les racines du chant de l’Église de Rome’; p. 10: ‘ce chant [GREG] est un moyen d’expression moderne qui surclassait largement le chant romain ancien, tout en tirant directement sa source de lui’.

the notion that ROM music nourished GREG may be in serious jeopardy. One argument was textual, drawn from Joseph Dyer's collation of the ROM-11 offertory texts. Where there are variants, the ROM readings tend to agree, not with the Roman psalter text, but with the text shared by the GREG-8/10 offertories and the Gallican psalter.¹² The other argument, a musical one, depended on procedural and stylistic differences between cognate GREG and ROM settings. Dyer's analyses of the ROM-11 offertories show the music to be rooted in a pervasive, scrolling style that features two optional sets of formulae, 'FormA' and 'FormB', and much narrow-range wandering. He has characterised the ROM practices and style as 'improvisational'.¹³ The centonate-formulaic densities are what might be expected where improvisational deliveries were generated without notational support: less diversity of formulae, and less sophisticated interrelationships than among the centonate graduals and tracts of GREG-8, where the likelihood is greater that significant amounts of notation-based editing lay behind the written states we have.

One result of the ROM-11 offertories' idiomatic scrollings and narrow selection of stock formulae is that the pieces tend to be very much alike. In musical respects, they differ sharply from the GREG-10 offertories, where nearly every piece has an individual, recognisable melody of its own. The memorable profiles and wide-ranging thrusts of the GREG-8 offertories have long drawn comment.¹⁴ Such music would readily be carried from one region to another, as seems to happen with the MOZ-GREG *Sanctificavit, Oravi Deum* and *Erit vobis*. Yet despite the differences in musical approach and style, where an offertory has the same text and liturgical assignment in ROM and GREG, some underlying musical substance may also be shared. And the pattern of those musical sharings may throw a significant light on the historical background.

In a small handful of pieces, ROM and GREG appear to have the same underlying music throughout. There the historical flow

¹² Dyer, 'The Offertories of Old-Roman Chant: A Musico-Liturgical Investigation' (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1971), Table I, pp. 138–41; Levy, 'A New Look', pp. 93–4.

¹³ Dyer, *Tropis semper variantibus: Compositional Strategies in the Offertories of Old Roman Chant*, *Early Music History*, 17 (1998), pp. 1–53, at pp. 6–11.

¹⁴ H. Sidler, *Studien zu den alten Offertorien mit ihren Versen* (Freiburg, Schweiz, 1939), p. 7; W. Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, Ind., 1958), p. 512.

might have gone in either direction; or an archaic common state might underlie them both. In a much larger number of pieces there is no common melodic substance, not even a modal relationship. The GREG melody will have some distinctive, memorable profile while ROM has its typical narrow-range twists, often intermixed with elements of FormA or FormB. To the extent that ROM-8 substance can be discerned from the improvisational, scrolling, formulaic ROM-11, it would appear that ROM made no musical contribution to GREG-8. Even more interesting are the large number of remaining pieces where there are ROM–GREG musical relationships that are irregular or intermittent: generally closer at the start, then tending to fall off in the verses. Here GREG can again be seen as maintaining its melodic individuality while ROM abandons the musical sharing and relies on its characteristic twists and formulae. In these circumstances, it is hard to see ROM, which represents the shared music only in part, as the source for GREG, which maintains it with stylistic consistency throughout. It is easier to see GREG submitting its stylistically integral melodies to ROM, which then picks and chooses. ROM subjects only some of GREG to idiomatic remodelling; it rounds down the high-relief GREG melodic contours to its own low-relief improvisational scrollings. Most of the time, ROM goes its own way, spinning out its typical fabric, oblivious of GREG.

That seems to speak for a GREG-to-ROM flow. When it is combined with the other two arguments, which in different musical and textual ways make a similar point, the received notion of a ROM-to-GREG flow would seem to be open to serious question. Still favouring ROM-to-GREG, to be sure, is the testimony of many eighth- and ninth-century documents with outright statements to that effect. Those will be reviewed now, with an eye to whether what they say might not be reconcilable with the notion of GREG-to-ROM.

II. THE EIGHTH-CENTURY DOCUMENTS: ROM-TO-GREG

The earliest documents are from the latter half of the eighth century. They are firm and believable on two essential points. Just as the established belief would have it, they confirm an early musical flow from ROM to GREG. And they have strong indications

that an initial circulation of the newly authorised GREG-8 was accomplished under Pippin. In particular, three documents issued in Charlemagne's name speak of Roman chant replacing Gallican. And they assign the formulation and circulation of GREG-8 to his father's reign (751–68). The *Admonitio generalis* of 789, the *Epistola generalis* of 786–800 and the *Libri Carolini* of c.790–92 all indicate that Charlemagne's role in the liturgical reform (he governed from 768 to 814) was mainly to expand and consolidate the movement previously begun.¹⁵

Charlemagne-1 (Admonitio generalis, 789). To all clergy. That they fully learn Roman chant and correctly celebrate the night and day offices, as our father of blessed memory, King Pippin, decreed when he abandoned the Gallican [chant] for the sake of unity with the Apostolic chair and pacific concord within the holy church of God.¹⁶

Charlemagne-2 (Epistola generalis, 786–800). Furthermore, roused by the example of our father Pippin, who saw to it that all the Gallican churches were decorated with chants of the Roman tradition . . .¹⁷

Charlemagne-3 (Libri Carolini, c.790–92). Which [Frankish Church], though it from the beginning stood in the union of holy religion [with the Roman Church], and differed from it only a bit in the celebration of the office (though not contrary to the faith), by the care and industry of Pippin or the arrival in Gaul of the most reverend and holy Stephen, bishop of Rome, was joined to the Roman church even in the order of singing. So that for those whose faith was of the same intensity, there would not be a different order of singing; and those things which the pious devotion to a single faith had united would also be united in the venerable tradition of a single chant; nor would a different celebration of the offices separate those things which the pious devotion to a single faith united. Which we have done, God having given us the kingdom of Italy, wishing to exalt the summit of the Holy Roman Church, and endeavouring to conform to the salutary wishes of the most reverend Pope Adrian, so that many churches of that region, which formerly declined to receive the tradition of the Apostolic See in their singing, now may embrace it with all diligence, and so that those who had

¹⁵ C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. W. G. Storey and N. K. Rasmussen (Washington, DC, 1986), p. 148.

¹⁶ 'Omni clero. Ut cantum Romanum pleniter discant, et ordinabiliter per nocturnale vel gradale officium pergatur, secundum quod beatae memoriae genitor noster Pippinus rex decertavit ut fieret, quando Gallicanum tulit ob unanimitatem apostolicae sedis et sanctae Dei aecclesiae pacificam concordiam'; from the *Admonitio generalis* of 23 March 789, par. 80, in *Legum sectio II, Capitularia regum francorum*, 1, ed. A. Boretius (Monumenta Germaniae Historica [hereafter MGH]; Hanover, 1883), p. 61.

¹⁷ 'Accensi praeterea . . . Pippini genitoris nostri exemplis, qui totas Galliarum ecclesias Romanae traditionis suo studio cantibus decoravit, nos etc. '; from the *Epistola generalis* (786–800): MGH, Capit. 1, p. 80.

adhered to her in disposition of faith may also adhere to her in the manner of singing.¹⁸

An early document supplies corroborative detail. The history of Metz bishops by the Lombard chronicler Paul the Deacon (c.730–99?), compiled not long after the events, describes the major role of Chrodegang, Pippin’s uncle and bishop of Metz from 742 to 766, in bringing Pope Stephen II to Francia in 753–4, and turning the Metz clergy to the Roman chant:

Paul the Deacon. And as [Chrodegang] was so reliable in all things, he was singled out by Pippin and an assemblage of all the Franks and sent to Rome; and, as was everyone’s fervent wish, he brought the venerable Pope Stephen to Gaul. Chrodegang assembled the [Metz] clergy and had them live within an enclosure, in the fashion of a monastery . . . When the clergy was abundantly steeped in the divinely authorised Roman chant, he directed them to preserve the custom and rite of the Roman church, which before then was scarcely done in the church of Metz.¹⁹

Just two documents are actually contemporary with the beginnings of the Roman–Frankish musical exchanges that produced GREG-8. These are letters addressed to Pippin by Pope Paul I (757–67), which make clear the extent to which plainchant was an early priority of the liturgical reform. They leave no doubt that there was a musical flow from ROM to GREG. The earlier letter, datable between 758 and 763, provides details of a musical commerce

¹⁸ ‘Quae dum a primis fidei temporibus cum ea [per]staret in sacrae religionis unione et ab ea paulo distaret – quod tamen contra fidem non est – in officiorum celebratione, venerandae memoriae genitoris nostri . . . Pippini regis cura et industria sive adventu in Gallias reverentissimi et sanctissimi viri Stephani romanae urbis antestitis est ei etiam in psallendi ordine copulata, ut non esset dispar ordo psallendi, quibus erat compar ardor credendi, et quae unitae erant unius sanctae legis sacra lectione, essent etiam unitae unius modulaminis veneranda traditione nec seiungeret officiorum varia celebratio, quas coniunxerat unice fidei pia devotio.

Quod quidem et nos conlato nobis a Deo Italiae regno fecimus sanctae Romanae ecclesiae fastigium sublimare cupientes et (reverentissimi) papae Adriani salutaribus exhortationibus parere nitentes, scilicet ut plures illius partis ecclesiae, que quondam apostolicae sedis traditionem in psallendo suscipere recusabant, nunc eam cum omni diligentia amplectantur, et cui adhaeserant fidei munere, adhaerant quoque psallendi ordine’; in *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)*, ed. A. Freeman, with P. Meyvaert; MGH, Concilia; tom. 2, suppl. 1 (Hanover, 1998), pp. 135–6.

¹⁹ ‘Cumque (Chrodegang) esset in omnibus locuples, a Pippino rege omnique Francorum caetu singulariter electus, Romam directus est, Stephanumque venerabilem papam, ut cunctorum vota anhelabant, ad Gallias evocavit. Hic clerum adunavit, et ad instar coenobii intra claustrorum septa conversari fecit . . . Ipsumque clerum abundanter lege divina Romana imbutum cantilena, morem atque ordinem Romanae ecclesiae servare praecipit, quod usque ad id tempus in Metensi Ecclesia factum minime fuit’; Paul Warnefrid, *Libellus de ordine episcoporum* (MGH, Scriptores (in folio) 2, ed. G. H. Pertz; Hanover, 1829), p. 268.

between Rome and Rouen, where Frankish officialdom was represented by Pippin's brother Remedius, who was bishop from 755 to 772. Paul excuses himself for having recalled the *primicerius* Symeon to Rome. He had been sent to Rouen at Pippin's request but then was needed to replace George, the deceased head of the Roman music establishment. Paul assures Pippin that some Rouen monks who were in Rome for instruction in plainchant would be overseen by that same Symeon:

Pope Paul I-1 (758–63). In your [letters] we find requested that certain monks of your brother Remedius, beloved of God, should be directed to Symeon, prior of the schola cantorum, for instruction in psalmic music; which they were unable to receive from him during his stay in your kingdom. You say your brother was saddened that his monks could not be perfectly instructed. And yet, gracious king, let us assure your Christian majesty that if George, who headed the schola [cantorum], had not died, we would not have withdrawn Symeon from your brother's service. But with George deceased and Symeon needed to take his place, as his natural successor, we recalled him to Rome for the instruction of the schola. Far be it from us to act in any way that would distress you and your followers. Rather, as we have said, remaining firm in our love for you, we most willingly strive, as we are able, to accommodate your wishes. Therefore we have assigned your brother's aforesaid monks to Symeon [at Rome] and installed them properly, and ordered that they be taught the music of psalmody, with frequent exercise, until they are perfectly instructed. For the ample delectation of Your Excellency and the noble enjoyment of your brother, we will have the ecclesiastical chants maintained with rigorous care.²⁰

The other papal letter, datable between 757 and 767, lists books sent to the Frankish king: an antiphonale and 'responsale' (doubt-

²⁰ 'In eis [litteris vestris] siquidem conperimus exaratum, quod presentes Deo amabilis Remedii germani vestri monachos Symeoni scole cantorum priori contradere deberemus ad instruendum eos psalmodii modulationem, quam ab eo adprehendere tempore, quo illic in vestris regiminibus extitit, nequiverunt; pro quo valde ipsum vestrum asseritis germanum tristem effectum, in eo quod non eius perfecte instruisset monachos. Et quidem, benignissime rex, satisfacimus christianitatem tuam, quod, nisi Georgius, qui eidem scholae praeiuit, de hac migrasset luce, nequaquam eundem Simeonem a vestri germani servitio abstolere niteremur . . . Sed defuncto praelato Georgio et in eius isdem Symeon, utpote sequens illius, accedens locum, ideo pro doctrina scholae eum ad nos accersivimus. Nam absit a nobis, ut quippiam, quod vobis vestrisque fidelibus onerosum existit, pergamus quoquomodo; potius autem, ut praelatum est, in vestrae caritatis dilectione firmi permanentes, libentissimae, in quantum virtus subpetit, voluntati vestrae obtemperandum decertamus. Propter quod et praefatos vestri germani monachos saepe dicto contradimus Simeoni eosque obtine collocantes sollerti industria eandem psalmodii modulationem instrui praecepimus et crebro in eadem, donec perfectae eruditi efficiantur, pro amplissima vestrae excellentiae atque nobilissima germani vestri delectatione, ecclesiasticae doctrinae cantilena disposuimus efficaci cura permanendum'; *Epistolae merovingici et karolini aevi*, ed. W. Gundlach (MGH, *Epistolae* (in quarto), 3; Berlin, 1892), Letter 41, pp. 553–4.

less texts without notation); and a book of night hours (*horologium nocturnum*). There are also Aristotle and Denis Areopagite in Greek.

Pope Paul I-2. For we have sent to Your Excellency such books as we have been able to assemble: that is, an Antiphonale and Responsale; also Aristotle on grammar, and Dionysius Areopagite on geometry, orthography and grammar, all written with Greek eloquence; then as well, a book of the Night Hours.²¹

No mention is made of sacramentaries or lectionaries, which had to be supplied on other occasions. The Abbé Netzer remarked long ago that plainchant was in the forefront of the Pippin reform. The music would be most noticed by the congregation, and changes in it would have greater effect than those in prayers or readings.²²

There is one other document that looks back at GREG-8's formative decades with something of a contemporary eye. This is a letter addressed to Charlemagne in 813/814 by Leidrad, who was archbishop of Lyon from 799 to 814. Half a century after the reform began, plainchant still gets major attention and Metz claims importance. It is worth noting that Leidrad looks for his musical models to the palace chapel at Aachen and to Metz, while there is no mention of Rome. Perhaps it was that the ROM-to-GREG musical flow went without saying; or perhaps Leidrad saw Rome's musical contribution as not very great.

Leidrad of Lyon. My most glorious lord, constant and holy commander . . . In a past time you deigned to select me, most unworthy of your servitors, to rule the church at Lyon . . . That church was destitute in many ways, inner and outer: in its services and buildings, and other ecclesiastical ministries . . . It pleased your piety to grant my petition by providing a cleric from the church at Metz, through whom, with God's help and your own support, the order of chanting has been so restored that whatever is required to perform the divine office can now be done with our own forces, in accord with the rite of the holy palace (at Aachen). I now have schools of singers, most of whose members are so instructed that they can also teach others. I also have a corps of lectors who not only can read the liturgical

²¹ 'Direximus itaque excellentissime praecellentiae vestrae et libros, quantos reperire potuimus: id est antiphonale et responsale, insimul artem grammaticum Aristo(te)lis, Dionisii Ariopagitis geometriam, orthografiam, grammaticam, omnes Greco eloquio scriptas, nec non et horologium nocturnum'; *ibid.*, Letter 24, p. 529.

²² 'La grande majorité des documents mentionnent plutôt l'introduction du chant romain que celui de la liturgie proprement dite. Mais ce relief donné au chant n'a rien de surprenant. En effet, cet élément des offices est le plus apparent et sa transformation devait plus frapper les fidèles que l'interversion de certaines cérémonies qui se passaient à l'autel'; H. Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine en France sous les Carolingiens* (Paris, 1910), p. 36.

lessons, but also can attain the fruits of spiritual wisdom, meditating on the divine books.²³

III. RECONCILING MUSIC AND DOCUMENTS

Apart from Leidrad, the eighth-century documents – papal letters, declarations of Charlemagne and remarks of Paul the Deacon – are firm about a musical flow from ROM to GREG. At the same time, the music and texts of the GREG-10 and ROM-11 offertories may be seen as no less firm about a musical flow from MOZ(-GALL) to GREG, followed by one from GREG to ROM. There is a conflict that asks to be resolved. My proposed resolution would be this. It supposes that the key musical developments began in the Frankish north during the 750s–760s, with a panel of musician-editors committed to using ROM-8 music in formulating GREG-8. Some way into the task, however, they discarded ROM and turned to supplying what would be the definitive GREG-8 from GALL-8 music. To be sure, the documents make no mention of any such change. Yet it might be said that they are unlikely to do so, because it ran counter to regal and papal mandates that the Carolingian rites be Romanised. Furthermore, there are some plausible reasons for supposing that was how it happened. One is sentimental: the GALL melodies were familiar to the Frankish editors. Another is practical: choirmasters everywhere would have to memorise the new GREG-8, and for the editors that was already done. There may also be a deeper reason in the nature of ROM melodic style. This relies a great deal on narrow-range, stepwise scrolling, and many of the pieces have little melodic individuality; they tend to be so much alike that memorising would be

²³ ‘Domine mi gloriosissime, constans et sacer imperator . . . Olim me, exiguissimum famulorum vestrorum, ad regimen ecclesiae Lugdunensis destinare voluistis . . . Erat enim tunc supradicta ecclesia in multis rebus destituta interius exteriusque, tam in officiis quam in aedificiis vel in caeteris ecclesiasticis ministeriis . . . Et ideo officio quidem vestrae pietatis placuit, ut ad petitionem meam mihi concederetur unum de Metensi ecclesia clericum, per quem Deo iuvante et mercede vestra annuente ita in Lugdunensi ecclesia restauratus est ordo psallendi, ut iuxta vires nostras secundum ritum sacri palatii nunc ex parte agi videatur quicquid ad divinum persolvendum officium ordo deposcit. Nam habeo scholas cantorum, ex quibus plerique ita sunt eruditi, ut etiam alios erudire possint. Praeter haec vero habeo scholas lectorum, non solum qui officiorum lectionibus exercentur, sed etiam qui in divinorum librorum meditatione spiritalis intelligentiae fructus consequantur’; *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, 2, ed. E. Dümmler (MGH, *Epistolae*, in quarto, 4; Berlin, 1895), pp. 542–3.

a problem: less so if ROM-8 went as a set of improvisatory routines; but surely more so if ROM were already crystallised as fixed melodies. With the Frankish offertories (of the MOZ–GREG, *Sanctificavit*, etc. type), on the other hand, there was less of a problem. Their distinctive melodic contours made them quite memorable. In connection with such pieces there is also the classic argument by Dom Louis Brou about the Old Hispanic versions, which makes it likely that the GREG-8/10 offertories with MOZ antecedents were already used before the Muslim invasion of the Iberian peninsula in the early eighth century.²⁴

The Franks might therefore be seen as first embracing ROM music, but then turning to their GALL patrimony, and without acknowledgement of the change. In that case, the GREG-8/10 offertories with non-psalms texts would be taken over whole, both text and music, from MOZ–GALL. Those with Roman-style psalmic texts would come from stripping the Roman texts of their ROM-8 music and fitting existing GALL music to them – music that in many cases was set to GALL non-psalmic texts that have been lost. Operations of this sort can be seen in the sharing of music between the GREG offertories *Posuisti* (with psalmic text) and *Angelus Domini* (non-psalmic).

The turn from a Roman to a Gallican musical source needs to be dated, but that cannot be securely done. Paul I's earlier letter to Pippin has the Rouen musicians between 758 and 763 still engaged with ROM music. Charlemagne's statements of the 780s and 790s would have some state of Pippin's Frankish-reform GREG music (naturally he calls it 'Roman') circulating during Pippin's reign. Perhaps that puts the Frankish editors' turn from ROM to GALL in the middle 760s.

Another stage would follow, with the arrival of GREG music at Rome. The eighth-century documents say that GREG-8 was meant for general distribution, and Charlemagne's statements indicate that much of this was accomplished before his time. By the early ninth century, GREG-8 was at Benevento, Rome's neighbour to the south.²⁵ Rome's prestige (Charlemagne became emperor there

²⁴ 'L'Antiphonaire wisigothique et l'Antiphonaire grégorien au début du VIII^e siècle', *Anuario Musical*, 5 (1950), pp. 3–10.

²⁵ On particulars of dating: Hesbert in *Le codex 10673 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane fonds latin (XI^e siècle)* (Paléographie musicale, 14; Solesmes, 1931), pp. 450–1; Levy, 'The Italian

in 800), may have drawn the new musical repertory in no less timely fashion. As elsewhere, there would be pressure for its outright adoption, but the schola cantorum traditions were not easily dismissed. The musical states suggest a compromise. The Romans took some of the GREG-8 idiomatic offertory music, but instead of maintaining it in the GALL-derived GREG style, they converted it into their own scrolling style.

Thus two conjectures: the GREG-8 editors during the 760s(?) turned away from the ROM-8 offertories and without overt acknowledgement embraced GALL-8 as their musical source; and ROM-8/11, perhaps by c.800, under pressure to accept GREG-8, mounted a resistance that recast GREG melody in ROM style. With those, the documents' attestations of a ROM-to-GREG flow might plausibly be reconciled with the music-based testimony of a GREG-to-ROM flow.

IV. THE NINTH-CENTURY DOCUMENTS

The documents so far have been those of politicians and high churchmen, where details of musical practice were not likely to enter. With the ninth-century documents that follow there are academic and literary environments: the scholarly Walahfrid Strabo at mid-century, and the biographers John the Deacon and Notker Balbulus at its end. They are more informative about music. And that is particularly so because of one further factor. In the regional exchanges that I project – ROM-to-GREG, later GREG-to-ROM – it would not be surprising to find national pride and even resentments playing a role. There are traces of that in the documents. Analysing them in these fresh perspectives, some matters that previously seemed puzzling may make better historical sense.

Walahfrid, John and Notker all make declarations of a ROM-to-GREG flow, which can perhaps be taken as more politically correct than historically accurate. They all remark on musical differences between ROM and GREG, antecedents of the musical differences between GREG-10 and ROM-11. Walahfrid and John

Neophytes' Chants', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1970), pp. 181–227, at p. 221; T. F. Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 12–23; *Beneventanum troporum corpus*, i: *Prefatory Essays and Commentary*, ed. A. E. Planchart (*Beneventanum troporum corpus*, ed. A. E. Planchart and J. Boë; Madison, Wis., 1994), pp. xii–xiv.

speak of GALL elements mixed with GREG, supporting a GALL-to-GREG flow. And John and Notker may reflect some dissatisfactions that went with GREG's rejection of ROM, and ROM's partial rejection and remodelling of the GALL-nourished GREG.

Walahfrid Strabo (c.808–49) was educated at Reichenau and spent years in the court circle at Aachen, where he was familiar with the chapel worship; he served as the Reichenau abbot from 838. *De exordiis* is a work of liturgical history, composed with a keen intelligence and respect for facts.²⁶ In one passage he has echoes of Paul I's letter to Pippin describing an early state of the reform. With that goes a standard affirmation that ROM music was a supplier of GREG.

Walahfrid Strabo-1. When Pope Stephen came into Francia to Pippin, Emperor Charles the Great's father, to seek justice for St. Peter against the Lombards, his clergy brought the more perfect knowledge of plain-chant, which almost all Francia now loves, to Pippin at his request. From that time onward its use was validated far and wide.²⁷

Elsewhere, Walahfrid touches on the musical differences between 'GALL' and ROM, and on the mixture of GALL with GREG-8. He does not expand, and Rome is again claimed as the musical source.

Walahfrid Strabo-2. The Gallican church was also provided with men who were no less skilled, and had a great deal of material for the offices. Some of the Roman offices are said to have been mixed with theirs; many people claim that they can distinguish between Roman and other chants by both words and melody. But the prerogative of the Roman see was observed; and the reasoned consistency of its arrangements persuaded almost all the churches of the Latin-speaking world to follow its custom and authority because there was no other tradition like it, either for following the rules of the Faith or in the instruction of obligations.²⁸

Our most abundant documents are the two anecdotal biographies of the late ninth century. John the Deacon's life of Gregory

²⁶ A. L. Harting-Correa, *Walahfrid Strabo's Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum. A Translation and Liturgical Commentary* (Leiden, 1996).

²⁷ 'Cantilenae vero perfectiorem scientiam, quam iam pene tota Francia diligit, Stephanus papa, cum ad Pippinum patrem Karoli Magni imperatoris in Frantiam pro iustitia sancti Petri a Langobardi expetenda venisset, per suos clericos petente eodem Pippino inexit, indeque usus eius longe lateque convaluit'; text and translation, *ibid.*, pp. 168–9.

²⁸ 'Et quia Gallicana ecclesia viris non minus peritissimis instructa sacrorum officiorum instrumenta habebat non minima, ex eis aliqua Romanorum officii inmixta dicuntur, quae plerique et verbis et sono se a ceteris cantibus discernere posse fatentur. Sed privilegio Romanae sedis observato et congruentia rationabili dispositionum apud eam factarum persuadente factus est, ut in omnibus paene Latinorum ecclesiis consuetudo et magisterium eiusdem sedis praevaleret, quia non est alia traditio aequae sequenda vel in fidei regula vel in observationum doctrina'; text and translation, *ibid.*, pp. 166–7.

the Great and Notker's life of Charlemagne share some of the same narrative. With Walahfrid, they are struck by the differences between contemporary ROM and GREG musical styles. John, as an Italian, explains these differently than does Notker. Each wants his own national version recognised as authoritatively Roman. That involves each in casting blame for the musical differences on the other's nation. In the end, each says that ROM music supplanted GREG, but for John the validation of Metz music that this entails fits poorly with the rest of his position.

John's *Vita* of Gregory was commissioned by Pope John VIII (872–82). He has been condemned for its fabrications,²⁹ but he may deserve more credit than he gets. His explanation of the musical differences between ROM and GREG heaps abuse on the eighth-century Frankish musicians. He may have in mind the Frankish singers' difficulties with the Roman *schola cantorum* style – a potential reason for their abandonment of ROM. Something else John says may fit the Romans' pick-and-choose treatment of the GREG offertory music with which they were eventually confronted. One reason for that treatment might be the Romans' pride in their own tradition. Another, to limit the amounts of music that would be remodelled; the offertories and their verses amount to about a third of the GREG mass music. Another reason might be Roman rancour at having seen their music rejected by the brutish-voiced Franks, and then being obliged to absorb the Frankish music. John's ridicule may reflect a lingering Roman resentment.

John the Deacon-1. The sweetness of this [Roman] chant, which the Germans, Gauls and other European peoples might creditably [*insigniter*] have learnt and accurately transmitted, they were unable to conserve intact. This was due both to frivolity of spirit, for they mixed in music of their own with the Gregorian [Roman] chants; and also to a natural barbarousness of their Alpine constitutions. Their brilliant, thunderous voices would not correctly render the [Roman] musical sweetness. The unrefined roughness of those bibulous [northerners'] throats, when dealing with the nuanced and reiterated pitches of a mellow [Roman] chant, would give the sounds a certain vocal harshness, like the noisy, confusing racket of a cart upon steps. Thus the music that was supposed to caress the hearers' spirits instead irritates and considerably distresses.³⁰

²⁹ Thus Stäblein, '[Iohannes] . . . dem es nicht auf historische Treue in unserem Sinn ankam . . .'; *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, p. 72*.

³⁰ 'Hujus modulationis dulcedinem inter alias Europae gentes Germani seu Galli discere crebroque rediscere insigniter potuerunt, incorruptam vero tam levitate animi, quia nonnulla de proprio Gregorianis cantibus miscuerunt, quam feritate quoque naturali, servare minime potuerunt. Alpina siquidem corpora, vocum suarum tonitruis altisone

In another passage, John takes further note of the differences between the Frankish musicians and the Roman schola. What he wants is to validate the musical primacy of ROM-9, but that puts him in a shaky position, and he is obliged to settle for endorsing the GREG-8/9 of Metz as an authoritative Roman representative:

John the Deacon-2. Our patrician Charles, king of the Franks, when at Rome was distressed at the difference between Roman and Gallic chanting. The Gauls impudently claimed that our [Roman] musicians corrupted the chant with popular songs; our musicians countered by exhibiting what was obviously an authentic antiphoner. Charlemagne is said to have asked them: between a stream and its source, which has the purer water? He prudently answered them when they said, the source: we who until now have drunk impure water from the stream must henceforth return to the original flow of the perpetual font. Soon he left two of his industrious clerics with the then Bishop Hadrian, under whom they were suitably instructed. They then redirected the city of Metz to the suavity of the pristine melodies . . . And to the present, just as Metz deferred to Roman chant, so the churches of Gaul and Germany have deferred to the Metz chants, which is attested by those who love pure truth.³¹

The last ninth-century statements about ROM-GREG relationships are in the *Gesta Karoli Magni* of Notker Balbulus, written c.884. Again, the musical differences between northern (GREG-9) and Roman chants (ROM-9) are emphasised: ‘nimiam dissimilitudinem nostrae ac romanorum cantilenae’. But here the explanation has a Frankish slant, and some further fantastic touches. There is a story Notker wants to tell; he acknowledges that it is not believable, but he tells it anyway because it serves to counter Roman pretensions to the musical-stylistic authority of ROM-9.

perstreptentia, susceptae modulationis dulcedinem proprie non resultant, quia bibuli gutturis barbara feritas, dum inflexionibus et repercussionibus mitem ninitur edere cantilenam, naturali quodam fragore, quasi plaustra per gradus confuse sonantia rigidas voces jactat, sicque audientium animos, quos mulcere debuerat, exasperando magis ac obstrependo conturbat; John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii*, in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus* . . . *Series Latina*, 75 (Paris, 1892), cols. 90–1.

³¹ ‘Sed et Carolus noster patricius, rex autem Francorum, dissonantia Romani et Gallicani cantus Romae offensus, cum Gallorum procacitas cantum a nostratibus quibusdam naeniis argumentaretur esse corruptum, nostrique e diverso authenticum Antiphonarium probabiliter ostentarent, interrogasse fertur quis inter rivum et fontem limpidiorem aquam conservare soleret? Respondentibus fontem prudenter adiecit: Ergo et nos qui de rivo corruptam lympham usque hactenus bibimus, ad perennis fontis necesse est fluentia principalia recurramus. Mox itaque duos suorum industrios clericos Adriano tunc episcopo dereliquit, quibus tandem satis eleganter instructis, Metensem metropolim ad suavitatem modulationis pristinae revocavit, et per illam, totam Galliam suam correxit . . . Denique usque hodie quantum Romano cantui Metensis cedit, tantum Metensi Ecclesiae cedere gallicanarum Ecclesiarum Germaniarumque cantus, ab his qui meram veritatem diligunt comprobatur’ (*ibid.*, col. 91).

He endorses the GREG-9 of Metz as a representative of the authorised Carolingian tradition, which is easier for him than for John the Deacon. Where John attributes the differences between ROM and GREG music to the crudity and incapacity of the Franks, Notker puts them down to a characteristically Mediterranean deceit and treachery. Some unlikely machinations are ascribed to the Roman musicians of Pippin's and Charlemagne's times. The apparent intention is to discredit the ROM-9 musical style. From there he moves to an affirmation of Metz as the bearer of authentic Roman musical tradition. He adds, credibly enough, that other Frankish centres received their versions from Metz. But in a further contrivance, he would raise the musical authority of his own abbey of St Gall to the level of Metz. A strenuous performance, though from his point of view worthwhile.

Monk of St Gall. At this point I must tell a story. It is one which, due to the great dissimilarity between our chants and the Romans' chants, people nowadays may find hard to believe . . . but I choose to rely on the chance that our forebears were truthful . . . Charlemagne . . . was troubled by the fact that all his provinces, cities and even smaller places continued to differ in their manner of divine worship, and particularly in their plainchant melodies. He therefore asked Pope Stephen of blessed memory . . . to send him some monks who were highly skilled in divine song. The Pope, who was greatly pleased . . . dispatched to him in Francia . . . from his own apostolic see, a dozen monks well trained in chanting – the same number as there were apostles . . .

When the time came for these monks to set out from Rome, being, like all Greeks and Romans, greatly envious of the glory of the Franks, they plotted among themselves to see how they could vary the ways of singing and so prevent the Franks in the kingdom and territory of Charlemagne from ever achieving uniformity. When they reported to Charlemagne they were received with honour, and they were apportioned out to a number of very famous places. Each in his own appointed locality began to chant with as much variation and as incorrectly as he knew how, and did all he could to teach others to do the same.

Charlemagne . . . discovered in time that the monks he had sent to the other cities were all singing differently. He reported this to Pope Leo of holy memory, who had succeeded Stephen. And Leo recalled the monks to Rome and punished them with exile or life imprisonment. 'If I send you more', he said to the illustrious Charlemagne, 'they will be just as blindly envious as the first ones, and they will cheat you again. This is how I will satisfy your wish. Let me have two of the smartest monks in your own entourage, doing it in a way that will not let my people notice they are yours. With God's help they will acquire the proficiency in this art which you are looking for.' Charlemagne did as he was told. In a short time the two were perfectly trained and Leo sent them back. One of them Charlemagne kept with him. At the request of his son, Drogo, bishop of Metz, he sent the other one to the church there. That monk became most influential in Metz, and the effect of his teaching soon spread throughout all the land of the Franks, so that in our time church singing is called Metz chant . . . The holy

emperor also ordered the second cantor, Peter by name, to spend some short time at the monastery of St Gall. There he took care that church singing was taught and learnt according to the Roman manner.³²

That completes the ninth-century documents. Walahfrid, John and Notker all say there was a musical flow from ROM to GREG; perhaps that can be seen as lip-service. They make statements, apparently reliable, about GALL being mixed with GREG, and ROM differing from GREG. John's account of the differences may be coloured by lingering Roman resentments at the Frankish rejection of ROM-8, followed by the pressure to accept GREG-8.³³

³² Referendum hoc in loco videtur, quod tamen a nostri temporis hominibus difficile credatur, cum et ego ipse qui scribo propter nimiam dissimilitudinem nostrae et Romanorum cantilenae non satis adhuc credam . . . nisi quia patrum veritati plus credendum est . . .

Karolus . . . adhuc omnes provincias immo regiones vel civitates in laudibus divinis, hoc est in cantilenae modulationibus, ab invicem dissonare perdolens, a beate memorie Stephano papa . . . aliquos carminum divinatorum peritissimos clericos impetrare curavit. Qui bonae illius voluntati et studii divinitus inspiratis assensum praebens, secundum numerum XII apostolorum de sede apostolica XII clericos doctissimos cantilenae ad eum direxit in Franciam . . .

Cum ergo supradicti clerici Roma digrederentur, ut semper omnes Greci et Romani invidia Francorum gloriae carpebantur, consiliati sunt inter se, quomodo ita cantum variare potuissent, ut numquam unitas et consonantia eius in regno et provincia non sua laetaretur. Venientes autem ad Karolum, honorifice suscepti et ad praeminentissima loca dispersi, et singuli in locis singulis diversissime, et quam corruptissime poterant excogitare, et ipsi canere et sic alios docere laborabant. Cum vero ingeniosissimus Karolus . . . cum tempore procedente ab invicem discordare comperisset, sanctae recordationis Leoni papae, successori Stephani, rem detulit. Qui vocatos Romam vel exilio vel perpetuis dampnavit ergastulis et dixit illustri Karolo: "Si alios tibi praestitero, simil ut anteriores invidentia caecati non praetermittent illudere tibi. Sed hoc modo studiis tuis satisfacere curabo: da mihi de latere tuo duos ingeniosissimos clericos, ut non advertant qui mecum sunt, quod ad te pertineant, et perfectam scientiam Deo volente in hac re, quam postulas, assequentur." Factumque est ita. Et ecce post modicum tempus optime instructos remisit ad Karolum. Qui unum secum retinuit, alterum vero petente filio suo Trougone, Mettensi episcopo, ad ipsam direxit aecclesiam. Cuius industria non solum in eodem loco pollere, set et per totam Franciam in tantum caepit propagari, ut nunc usque ad eos, qui in his regionibus Latino sermone utuntur, aecclesiastica cantilena dicatur Mettensis . . .

Set et piissimus imperator cantorem illum, Petrum quidem nomine, sancti Galli cenobio immorari aliquantisper iusserat. Illic enim et cantarium sicut hodie est, cum fautor validissimus fuit, sollicito monuit; *Notkeri Balbuli Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatoris*, ed. H. F. Haefele (MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series, 12; Berlin, 1959), pp. 12–15; translation based on that of Lewis Thorpe, *Two Lives of Charlemagne: Einhard and Notker the Stammerer* (London, 1969), pp. 102–4.

³³ There are later witnesses whose value tends to diminish with time; some are excerpted in Stäblein, *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, pp. 140*–159*. Remarks by Adhémar de Chabannes (d. 1034), drawing on John the Deacon and others, will be dealt with in an essay by James Grier; on Adhémar, see Haas, *Mündliche Überlieferung*, p. 145, n. 207; edition: *Chronicon*, ed. P. Bourgain, R. Landes and G. Pon, in *Ademari Cabannensis Opera omnia pars I* (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 129; Turnhout, 1999).

Notker's account would reflect the opposite: a Frankish distaste (going back to the 760s?) for the ROM style.

V. COLLEGERUNT

There is one final exhibit, unique in kind. Perhaps the most revealing, it may take us right into an eighth-century Frankish musical workshop where some GREG-8 music is being shaped. We owe it to the discerning eye of Dom Jean Claire of Solesmes, who authorised publication in an essay by Philippe Bernard.³⁴ The Palm Sunday chant *Collegerunt principes* has long been identified as a Gallican musical relic. With a 'libretto' text excerpted from John 11: 47–53, it serves in GREG-8/10 as a responsory, or processional antiphon, or offertory, with a florid melodic setting that has no counterpart in ROM.³⁵ What interested Dom Claire was the music at the end of the opening section, at the words *ne forte veniant Romani et tollant nostrum locum . . .* (lest perchance the Romans come and take away our place) (Example 1).³⁶ The situation is summed up by Bernard: 'While the beginning of this antiphon is melodious, with elegantly shaped melismas, as soon as the Romans come into play (*Ne forte veniant Romani . . .*), a malicious Frankish singer has amused himself by pastiching one of the most caricatural aspects of ROM style, the long strings of repetitive torculi – a vivid image of Frankish displeasure.'³⁷ This may be a snapshot of the GREG-8 melos in the process of being 'composed'. The Gospel text gave the eighth-century Frankish musicians a chance to comment on the politics of musical style in their time. The differences between the *Romani* passage and the rest are the same as those between the ROM and GREG offertories. The Frankish composer-editors ridicule the scrolling style that the Roman musicians meant

³⁴ Bernard, 'Le cantique des trois enfants'.

³⁵ A troped version of the GREG *Collegerunt* appears in the ROM Gradual of 1071, borrowed from a Beneventan source; M. Lütolf, *Das Graduale von Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (Cod. Bodmer 74)* (Cologne-Genève, 1987), fol. 69; *Le codex VI. 34 de la Bibliothèque Capitulair de Bénévent* (Paléographie musicale, 15; Solesmes, 1937), fol. 106.

³⁶ *Graduale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae* (Paris, 1952), pp. 166–7.

³⁷ 'Alors que le début de cette antienne est mélodieux, avec des méliques d'une élégance raffinée, au moment où il est question des Romains (*Ne forte veniant Romani...*), un malicieux chanteur franc s'est amusé à pasticher l'un des aspects les plus caricaturaux du style ROM, les longues récitaions formées de torculus répétitifs, qui constitue une image comme prise sur le vif du mécontentement franc.' Bernard, 'Le Cantique', p. 263.

A New Look at Old Roman Chant – II

Resp.
2.
C

Ol - le - gé - runt * pontí - fi -
ces et pha - risaé - i con - cí - li - um, et di -
cé - bant : Quid fá - ci - mus, qui - a hic ho - mo mul -
ta signa fá - cit? Si dimít - ti - mus e - um, sic,
o - mnes cre - dent in e - um : * Ne forte vé -
ni - ant Romá - ni, et tol - lant nostrum
lo - cum, et gen - tem. V. Unus

Example 1 *Collegerunt*

to impose. The Frankish-style melisma on the *ve-* of *veniant* (sweeping through a full octave) contrasts with the narrow-range repeated twists in Roman style on *Romani, et tollant nostrum locum*. Those conspicuous marks of ROM-11 style were there in ROM-8/9, as was the negative attitude of the Franks towards ROM music that with Notker lingers throughout the ninth century. *Collegerunt* shows this at its source, in a Frankish studio of the 760s.

VI. OPEN QUESTIONS

Some questions remain open. The date of GREG-8's arrival at Rome has already been raised. One view of this would be that the Frankish rulers saw the widespread acceptance of GREG as an urgent matter, and its Roman appearance was not delayed. Thus GREG might be there no later than at neighbouring Benevento, where it was by the early ninth century. There may be a parallel with the *Veterem hominem* antiphons for the Epiphany Octave, which find the Romans again tailoring Frankish music to ROM-8/9 style.³⁸ An early ninth-century date is attached by Notker, who tells of hymns for the Epiphany Octave sung at Aachen in Charlemagne's presence by visiting Byzantine singers, probably in 802. The emperor called for an accurate translation of words and music. The results appear in Frankish antiphoners, with the Greek texts turned into Latin and the Byzantine music converted to GREG style. The pieces are also in the Roman antiphoner, but – much as I am proposing for the offertories – the GREG music has been rounded down to ROM style.

There are other hints that a musical forerunner of ROM-11 was at an 'early' time exposed to a GALL-influenced GREG.

The Sundays after Pentecost have been exhaustively studied,³⁹

³⁸ O. Strunk, 'The Latin Antiphons for the Octave of the Epiphany', in *Recueil de travaux de l'Institut d'Études byzantines, No. VIII: Mélanges Georges Ostrogorsky*, ii (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 417–26; repr. in Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York, 1977), pp. 208–19; K. Levy, 'Toledo, Rome', pp. 93–4 (pp. 75–6 in Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians*); E. Nowacki, 'Constantinople–Aachen–Rome: The Transmission of *Veterem hominem*', in *De musica et cantu (Hucke Festschrift, 1993)*, pp. 95–115.

³⁹ R.-J. Hesbert, 'La messe "Omnes gentes" du VII^e dimanche après la pentecôte et l'Antiphonale Missarum romain', *Revue Grégorienne*, 17 (1932), pp. 81–9, 170–9; 18 (1933), pp. 1–14; id., 'La tradition bénéventaine: les Évangiles des dimanches après la Pentecôte', in *Le Codex 10673* (Paléographie musicale, 14), pp. 129–44; id., 'Les séries d'évangiles des dimanches après la pentecôte', *La Maison-Dieu*, 46 (1956), pp. 35–59; R. Le Roux, 'Les graduels des dimanches après la Pentecôte', *Études Grégoriennes*, 5 (1962),

yet if GREG absorbed GALL music during the later eighth century and then left a musical mark on ROM, something more may be ventured. Thus the gradual for the last Sunday of the Pentecost series suggests an early Roman reception of GREG. In the text antiphoners Rheinau and Bland, around 800, the gradual is *Timebunt*; in Corbie and Senlis, around 900, it is *Liberasti*, which then is standard.⁴⁰ ROM-11's use of *Timebunt* would point to an early date.

Something similar may be drawn from Table 1, where the offertories and their text sources are listed for the twenty-three Sundays of the standard GREG series. An established, numbered series of psalmic texts has apparently been interpolated

Table 1 *Offertories and their text sources for Sundays after Pentecost*

<i>Sunday</i>	<i>Offertory</i>	<i>Text source (Psalm or other)</i>
1	Intende voci	5
2	Domine convertere	6
3	Sperent in te	9
4	Illumina oculos	12
5	Benedicam Dominum	15
6	Perfice gressus	16
7	Sicut in holocausto	Dan. 3
8	Populum humilem	17
9	Justitiae Domini	18
10	Ad te Domine	24
11	Exaltabo te	29
12	Precatus est	Exod. 32
13	In te speravi	30
14	Inmittet angelus	33
15	Expectans expectavi	39
16	Domine in auxilium	39
17	Oravi Deum	Dan. 9
18	Sanctificavit	Exod. 24
19	Si ambulavero	137
20	Super flumina	136
21	Vir erat	Job 1
22	Recordare me	Esther 14?
23	De profundis	129

pp. 119–30; A. Chavasse, 'Les plus anciens types du lectionnaire et de l'antiphonaire romain de la messe', *Revue bénédictine*, 62 (1952), pp. 3–94; id., 'Cantatorium et Antiphonale missarum', *Ecclesia Orans*, 1 (1984), pp. 15–55. On the fragility of arguments based on the Sunday series see J. W. McKinnon, 'Antoine Chavasse and the Dating of Early Chant', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 1 (1992), pp. 123–47.

⁴⁰ Hesbert, *AMS*, no. 198; *Graduale triplex*, p. 366.

and supplemented with a miscellany of non-psalmonic and out-of-order psalmonic texts at Sundays 7, 12 and 17–23. The situations are similar with the introits and communions. These ‘extra’ offertories have always been understood as late additions to the series, originating at Rome. In my alternative proposal, they would enter GREG by the mid-eighth century as textual and musical borrowings from GALL. That seems particularly likely for *Oravi Deum* and *Sanctificavit* (Sundays 17 and 18), which have apparent close multiples in MOZ.⁴¹ Now the possibility of dating the ROM exposure to GREG turns on the well-known comment in the Blandiniensis at the seventh Sunday of the series: ‘Ista ebdomata non est in antefonarios romanos.’⁴²

Dom Hesbert pointed out that ROM-11 and GREG agree in just about every provision for the summer Sundays, except that ROM lacks the seventh Sunday, and with it the non-psalmonic offertory *Sicut in holocausto*.⁴³ In this situation, the scribe of Bland can be seen as comparing a Roman source in which the ‘extra’ offertories, apart from Sunday 7, were already present. That is, a GALL-supplemented GREG-8 would previously have taken the additions/interpolations to Rome, where they were incorporated in the mass antiphoner, and a copy of that supplemented ROM antiphoner was what the scribe of Bland, writing at the end of the eighth century, had before him. The GALL–GREG seventh Sunday would have been added in the north, too late to have made that earlier journey to Rome, but obviously still before the time of Bland.

Another open question, no less significant than the timing of GREG’s arrival at Rome, is the means by which the musical exchanges among GALL, GREG and ROM were effected. Were these done by memory: was unsupported memory a sufficient vehicle for such exchanges; or was musical notation of some sort a necessity? Claire Maître has spoken of the systematic replacement of a musical liturgy as ‘un phénomène si grave qu’il a probablement provoqué l’apparition d’une notation musicale dans l’occident médiévale’.⁴⁴ In my projection there are three large-scale

⁴¹ Levy, ‘Toledo, Rome’, pp. 55–66 (pp. 37–48 in *Gregorian Chant*).

⁴² Hesbert, *AMS*, no. 179.

⁴³ Hesbert, ‘La messe “Omnes gentes”’.

⁴⁴ C. Maître, *La réforme cistercienne du plain-chant* (Brecht, 1995), p. 43.

repertorial exchanges: during the 750s–760s, the efforts by Romans and Franks to have ROM-8 music as the basis for GREG-8; still during the 760s(?), the Franks' turn to GALL as the major musical supplier of GREG; then later at Rome (still under Charlemagne?), the selective remodelling of GREG-8 music into ROM-8/9 style. As for the ROM-to-GREG phase, it may well be that ROM-8 circulated as a set of improvisatory factors, so that custom and memory without notation sufficed. That might still be so if the ROM offertories were cast as crystallised melodies, although there the monotonies of the ROM-8 musical style, as we may conceive it, would not favour memorising. As for a GALL-to-GREG phase, there would be distinctively contoured GALL melodies flowing into GREG-8, and that might again be accomplished by memory alone. But the scope of the operation was much larger here, as hundreds of choirmasters throughout the realm were obliged to master many hours' worth of previously unfamiliar music. Whether this could be done without notational support seems questionable.⁴⁵

It is with the third phase of these repertorial exchanges that a dependence on written memory aids seems almost impossible to avoid. My proposed absorption of GREG-8 music by ROM-8/9 involves more than the substitution of one set of fixed melodies, or improvisational protocols, for another. Here are melodic accommodations and idiomatic remodellings, where two established substances (GREG-8/9 and ROM-8/9) are measured against one another, and a third melodic substance (ROM-9/11) is the compromise outcome. It is hard to imagine that the comparisons, and particularly the resultant crystallisation, were managed with two or three versions projected more or less simultaneously in a mnemonic thin air. That the Romans cared enough to trouble with the accommodation process is an indication that they wanted a musical result with some permanency. That would seem to be something that only a written record would ensure.

The last of my open questions may have the broadest reach. The focus has been on the offertories, which are a very large component of both GREG and ROM. However, in the final pages of

⁴⁵ Issues of transmission, memory and the emergence of neumatic notations are dealt with in K. Levy, 'From Aural to Notational: The Gregorian *Antiphonale Missarum*', in *Études Grégoriennes*, 28 (2000), pp. 5–19.

'A New Look' I pointed to some other ROM-11 chants – introits, communions, processional antiphons – where the same improvisational tactics and even the same musical formulae are found that play such a prominent role in the offertories.⁴⁶ So it may be that even more substantial amounts of ROM-8 music were the result of 'improvisational' manoeuvres by the schola cantorum, like the ones that apparently produced the offertories. That opens potentially a very large window on proto-Roman musical practice.

VII. SUMMARY

The musical relationships between ROM and GREG have loomed large. It has always seemed that the modal-melodic substances of GREG-8/10 must be based on archaic layers of Roman musical practice: a ROM-to-GREG flow. But that was inadequate when it came to explaining the musical relationships. In my proposal, there are fresh arguments drawn from the texts and music of the offertories, and fresh perspectives on the eighth- and ninth-century documents. A ROM-to-GREG flow is seen as perhaps no more than a short-lived first stage on the way to the GREG-8/10 and ROM-11 music that we know. For a while during the 750s–760s, the editor-compilers of GREG-8 would comply with Frankish directives and use the ROM music that came with the newly authorised Roman liturgical texts. But there were practical difficulties and even national resentments. ROM's improvisatory techniques may not have been congenial to the Franks, who were used to fully formed melodic entities of the MOZ–GALL offertory type. Roman melodic nuances may not have sat comfortably for the Frankish singers. Then too, the Roman melodies, with their constant twists, may not have been individual enough to be readily memorised. During the later 760s or 770s, the GREG-8 editors would turn away from ROM and accommodate their own GALL music to the Roman offertory texts. There were no declarations. The official aim was for GREG music to be 'Roman', and that would be maintained even if true only of the verbal texts. Once the GREG-8 edition was formulated, it was sent through regions under Carolingian influence. The zeal for its universal adop-

⁴⁶ Their presence in the papal Paschal Vespers is discussed by Dyer, '*Tropis semper variantibus*', pp. 12 ff.

tion would take it to Rome, where its reception was not the usual one. Rather than abandon their own practice and adopt GREG outright (as was done elsewhere), the Roman schola, perhaps offended because their music was slighted in the compilation of GREG-8, accepted just token amounts of the GREG offertory music. And what they took they remodelled into their own scrolling style. The musical substances that are shared between ROM-11 and GREG-10 would therefore be the end result of an incorporation of GALL music by GREG-8, and a partial absorption of that GREG music into the still-improvisational style of eighth–ninth-century ROM. For the offertories, and even some other segments of the repertory, the notion that Rome was a major supplier of GREG-8 can perhaps be seen as an expedient myth. If so, the substances and techniques of GREG-8 and ROM-8 music, and the nature of their relationships, may emerge with new clarity.

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