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MUSIC AND WRITING: ON THE  
COMPILATION OF PARIS  
BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE  
LAT. 1154<sup>1</sup>

*Iudicii signum, tellus sudore madescet  
E coelo Rex adveniet per secla futurus  
Scilicet in carne praesens ut iudicet orbem . . .*<sup>2</sup>

For a large part of Western music history we are forced to interpret in the absence of signs. The appearance in the ninth century of a system of signs to represent music thus not only comes as something of a relief but also raises certain questions. How would the signs have been understood? How would something with no immediate history have been comprehended? Recent answers to such questions have placed notational signs within the context of oral history, positing a degree of continuity and interaction across oral and literate domains.<sup>3</sup> Much insight has been gained through

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter Paris 1154. Manuscript sigla are given in full on their first appearance; subsequent citations give only the place of the library and the shelfmark.

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<sup>2</sup> 'Judgement's sign: the earth shall drip with sweat;/ Everlastingly the King shall come from heaven, who/ Shall be present to judge bodies and the world . . .' (Paris 1154, fol. 122<sup>r</sup>). Translation from P. Dronke, *Hermes and the Sibyls: Continuations and Creations*, Inaugural Lecture (Cambridge, 1990), p. 11. For the complete Latin text, see 'Sermo contra Iudaeos, Paganos et Arianos', ed. J.-P. Migne, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina* (hereafter *PL*), 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64), XLII, col. 1126.

<sup>3</sup> Issues of orality have engaged the attention of a whole generation of historians, anthropologists, philologists and musicologists. For an overview of the developments in musicology, with extensive bibliography, see K. Levy, 'On Gregorian Orality', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43 (1990), pp. 185–92. For a different perspective in recent literature, see L. Treitler, 'Oral, Written and Literate Process

this awareness of oral issues, and it is not intended to challenge claims made in this area. Attendant on such insights, however, is a sense of loss. In stressing an oral context for the understanding of the earliest music notation, its most revolutionary aspect has been largely ignored: that is, its status as a written entity, with all that that implies for an expansion of the realm of music and the appearance and reception of music within a literate sphere.

Despite this bias, certain attempts have been made to view notation within the Carolingian writing programme. Most recent is Treitler's suggestion of 'a plurality of loci, backgrounds, functions, forms, uses and users for the earliest notations'<sup>4</sup> within a script culture whose basic purpose was 'the transmission of texts in the most comprehensible form possible'.<sup>5</sup> As regards written appearance, it was suggested that punctuation did not provide a singular antecedent for notation, but only a repertory of available signs and a proximity in terms of function:

If we now add to the neumes that can be associated with punctuation signs the liquescent signs, that constitutes nearly the entire repertory of neumes in use during the ninth century. They are all in one way or another associated with the elocution and articulation of language. This can be read as a statement about the origin of neumes . . . But it will be more powerful as an indication of how those people conceived of the neumes as something useful for singing.<sup>6</sup>

In many respects this approach is convincing. Yet an appreciation of the written status of notational signs places both their creation and their apprehension in a different light. In assessing the written aspect of the earliest notations, what becomes of importance is not only the information that may be directly recovered from ninth-century texts with neumes but also the way in which manuscripts were put together and the thought structures which surrounded them. With this in mind, it is suggested here that the earliest notations should be understood not only in terms of their transmission of information, but also in terms of Carolingian

in the Transmission of Medieval Music', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), pp. 471–91, and 'Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Music-Writing', *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), pp. 135–208.

<sup>4</sup> Treitler, 'Reading and Singing', p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202. For the complete argument concerning the relation of punctuation signs to notation, see pp. 186–203.

aspirations for, technical procedure within, and response to the act of writing.

The starting point for this investigation is Paris 1154, an early *versus* collection with neumes. This manuscript, dating from the late ninth or early tenth century and of probable Aquitanian origin and provenance,<sup>7</sup> is multiform in structure and contains, besides the *versus* collection, a litany, a collection of prayers and an extract from Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma*. It is typical of many of the earliest sources that contain notation in so far as it was originally conceived not as a musical document but as a literary one, to which neumes were later added. In view of this, investigation into the place of notation in the writing of this manuscript is divided into three sections, examining in turn the *versus* collection, the remaining parts of the manuscript and, finally, the notation.

I

Previous studies of Paris 1154 have focused almost entirely on the *versus* collection, for it has been taken to represent 'le seul exemple connu d'un recueil systématique de pièces lyriques de l'époque carolingienne, copiées pour la plupart avec leur musique'.<sup>8</sup> Philological studies, with their roots in the nineteenth century, have concentrated on the individual *versus* found there, compiling inventories (in terms of author, content and form) and preparing editions.<sup>9</sup> More recent studies, for the most part

<sup>7</sup> The dating of this manuscript has divided scholarly opinion. The most significant ascriptions are those of B. Bischoff (late ninth century), 'Gottschalks Lied für den Reichenauer Freund', in *Medium Aevum Vivum – Festschrift für Walther Bulst*, ed. H. Jauss and D. Schaller (Heidelberg, 1960), p. 62, repr. in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, II (Stuttgart, 1966–7), p. 27, and J. Chailley (tenth century), *L'école musicale de Saint-Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1960), pp. 75–8. The question of origin and provenance is also not straightforward; the general consensus is that it originated from a monastery dedicated to St Martin within Aquitaine and was adapted to use at St Martial of Limoges in the eleventh century. For this see P. Lauer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, I (Paris, 1939), pp. 421–2, with refinements by Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 75–6.

<sup>8</sup> Chailley, *L'école*, p. 73.

<sup>9</sup> The main study is that of H. Spanke, 'Rhythmen und Sequenz-Studien', *Studi Medievali*, n.s. 4 (1931), pp. 286–320. The main editions are *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetae latini medii aevi* (hereafter *MGH Poetae*), IV.ii, ed. K. Strecker (Berlin, 1914), and *Analecta Hymnica medii aevi* (hereafter *AH*), I, ed. C. Blume and G. Drevés (Leipzig, 1907).

musicological, have stressed the extent to which contents of the collection are characteristic of a particular ‘school’ or region.<sup>10</sup>

These approaches have shared the view that the *versus* collection functioned as a ‘recueil de pièces d’origine très diverse’.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, philological interest has centred on the place of these pieces in a wider *versus* tradition. In editions such as that in the *Monumenta germaniae historica*, the *versus* of Paris 1154 are compared with versions found in other collections, rearranged into broadly chronological order and, where possible, presented as works characteristic of the output of individual authors. In later studies a similar approach has been pursued; both the neumatic writing and the musical content have been taken as (the earliest) exemplars of a wider Aquitanian ‘school’.

In stressing that individual *versus* be approached as works within a wider tradition, the motives for the compilation of this particular collection have been largely ignored. Despite this, certain groupings of material within the *versus* section have been noted. Traube and Chailley divided up the collection as shown in Table 1.<sup>12</sup> These two accounts posit a degree of conscious ordering in the arrangement of pieces based on associations of author, content and genre. If such associations are taken as implicit ordering principles, certain anomalies arise. First, the categories of author, content and genre are only loosely applied. In terms of author, although the Boethian *versus* are copied together, those of Gottschalk and Paulinus are dispersed. In terms of content, biblical paraphrases are scattered throughout. In terms of genre, the three *planctus* are also dispersed.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, the manuscript rubrics are inconsistent in their identification of all three categories: not only are some authors left unidentified (including Prudentius, Fortunatus, Flavius, Columbanus and Angilbert), but the identification of works by named authors, such as Gottschalk and

<sup>10</sup> Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 73–8 and 123–59. See also D. Gaborit-Chopin, *La décoration des manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris and Geneva, 1969), p. 45 and 188; R. Crocker, ‘The Repertory of Proses at Saint-Martial de Limoges in the 10th century’, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 11 (1958), pp. 161–2; and B. Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, III (Leipzig, 1975), pp. 146–8.

<sup>11</sup> Chailley, *L'école*, p. 158.

<sup>12</sup> L. Traube, *MGH Poetae*, III (Berlin, 1896), p. 721. Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 74–5.

<sup>13</sup> For details, see Table 2 below.

Table 1 *Groups within the versus collection of Paris 1154*

<i>Traube</i>		<i>Chailley</i>	
(1)	Confessions	(1)	Penitential pieces
(2)	Carmina of Paulinus of Aquileia	(2)	Moralistic pieces concerning the future life
(3)	Carmina of Boethius	(3)	Isolated <i>planctus</i>
(4)	Concerning Judgement Day	(4)	Boethian extracts
(5)	Carmina concerning feasts	(5)	Pieces concerning the Last Judgement
(6)	Carmina concerning saints	(6)	Verses on the Nativity, Resurrection, St Paul and St Maurice
(7)	<i>Planctus</i>	(7)	Laments
(8)	<i>Hymni</i>	(8)	Paraphrases of sacred stories
		(9)	Liturgical section

Paulinus of Aquileia, is erratic. As regards content, the same rubric is used in different sections.<sup>14</sup> Finally, in terms of genre, whilst two of the *planctus* are labelled as such, the third, highlighted by Chailley, is not.

Since associations of author, content and genre are not systematically applied, the motives behind the compilation of this collection are obscure. This leads to the suspicion that the collection was simply collated from available material and arranged with an eye to certain similarities: that is, the collection was indeed a 'recueil de pièces d'origine très diverse'. Against this understanding speaks the concentration on specific authors: Gottschalk of Orbais and Paulinus of Aquileia are each represented by four *versus*, whereas, apart from three Boethian extracts, all other poets are afforded only one *versus* each.<sup>15</sup> Also, the use of extracts from longer works (such as Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*) and an overall similarity in penitential theme point to a degree of selection that extends beyond notions of loose association. To

<sup>14</sup> The rubric *versus de nativitate domini* is found in Traube's groups 5 and 8 and in Chailley's 6 and 9. See the 'Exemplars' and 'Liturgical' groups in Table 2 below.

<sup>15</sup> Other poets whose *versus* are found in the collection are: Columbanus (*A solis ortu*), Angilbert (*Aurora cum primo*), Prudentius (*Germinis nobilis*), Fortunatus (*Pange lingua*) and Flavius (*Tellus ac aethra*). The poets Gottschalk and Paulinus are further highlighted by the placement of their *versus* (*O deus misere* and *Ad caeli clara* respectively) at the head of the collection.

investigate this possibility of a coherent design, the rubrics, which act as invaluable glosses, provide a point of departure.<sup>16</sup>

The clearest statement of intent is found at the opening: amongst the first five *versus*, three have the word *poenitentia* and one the word *oratio* in their rubric. A similar grouping of concerns is found in the last five *versus*, of which three contain the designation *hymnus*. The force of this term is here strengthened by the fact that it appears only in connection with this last grouping. This raises the possibility of parallelism, a possibility confirmed by arrangement according to content and number in the rest of the *versus* collection: inside the frame of the opening and closing groups stand two others delineated by content. The earlier group concentrates almost exclusively on Christ, his words, his activities and the praise due unto him. The later group sets in relief the liturgical character of the final group by its political focus, details of which are discussed below.

The remaining *versus* in the middle of the collection may also be divided into two groups. The earlier presents a Christianised pagan vision guided by Boethius' stoical philosophy and popular imagery surrounding judgement day. The later group, by way of contrast, is orthodox and presents four *versus* dealing with the birth and death of Christ and praise for two saints. Between these two groups is the sibylline *versus Iudicii signum*. This stands at the heart of the collection in terms of symbolic design, since it acts as a unifying force between pagan and Christian traditions through its content and its prophetic acrostic.<sup>17</sup> More substantively, it also stands at the heart of the collection in terms of the number of *versus* in the different groups (5, 6, 4, 1, 4, 6, 5):

<sup>16</sup> Beyond indicating the ordering of *versus*, the rubrics also establish their own patterns. Highlighted in the rubrics are two contemporary poets (Paulinus and Gottschalk) and two political figures (Eric, Duke of Friuli, and Hugh, Abbot of St Quentin). This selection betrays an interest in two distinct areas: Aquitaine and Lombardy. Two highlighted 'modern' figures – in the sense that they are neither biblical nor canonical – complete the pattern: Charlemagne (as a figure of political unity) and Boethius (as a figure of poetic and musical unity).

<sup>17</sup> For a brief summary of the history and importance of this text, see P. Dronke, *Hermes and the Sibyls*, pp. 10–11. For a musicological perspective, see S. Corbin, 'Le cantus sibyllae: origine et premiers textes', *Revue de Musicologie*, 31 (1982), pp. 1–10. H. Anglès provides musical incipits for twenty-three Latin versions dating from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries, including a transcription from Paris 1154, in *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII* (Barcelona, 1935), pp. 288–302.

see Table 2. *Concelebremus sacram*, a *prosa* for St Martial which is copied at the end of this *versus* collection, stands outside the design. The exclusion of this *prosa* from the groups noted above is not unduly surprising since other Carolingian *versus* collections, unlike later collections, contain *versus* only.<sup>18</sup> The content of this *prosa* also serves to distance it from the material in the rest of the collection; its celebratory quality stands at odds both with the penitential theme of the whole and with the concentration on martyrdom displayed in the *versus* on individual saints, *Sancte Paule* and *Dulce carmen*. This being said, the inclusion of a *prosa* to a saint specific to the Aquitanian region is in itself of significance, acting as a localisation of what is otherwise a general design.<sup>19</sup>

Besides the large-scale design revealed in rubric, theme and number, ordering on the small scale establishes close ties between individual *versus*. This process is at its clearest amongst the political *versus* of the fifth group. At the heart of this group lie the *planctus* for Abbot Hugh and the *ritmus de divite et paupere*. The *planctus* describes the death of Hugh, Abbot of St Quentin and St Bertin and natural son of Charlemagne, who, despite being forced into the Church by his half-brother Louis the Pious, embroiled himself in the politics of his time and was killed whilst seeking to lead reinforcements to Charles the Bald, who was besieging Toulouse.<sup>20</sup> The *ritmus*, on the other hand, was a widely disseminated *versus* which retold in verse form the parable about the poor man Lazarus and the rich man at whose door he used to beg.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> For inventories of two other Carolingian *versus* collections, see Tables 3 and 4.

<sup>19</sup> The placement of locally significant saints at the end of groups was a common practice in litanies also; for discussion of this see below. The straightforward association of this *prosa* for St Martial with a provenance of St Martial of Limoges for the manuscript was rejected by Chailley, since this *prosa* is found in many sources which did not originate there and often show stronger links to institutions connected with St Martin. See Chailley, *L'école*, p. 76. Other instances of highlighting specific Aquitanian personalities are found elsewhere in the manuscript: on the rubrics of the *versus* collection, see n. 16; on the litany (part I), see n. 63; and in the prayer section (part II) the only figure mentioned in the rubrics, and the person whose prayer is placed at the head of the section, is Gregory of Tours.

<sup>20</sup> The struggles in the mid ninth century between Charles the Bald and Pippin II were the direct result of Louis the Pious's supporting Charles for the kingship of Aquitaine. For full details, see R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 751–987* (London and New York, 1983), ch. 7.

<sup>21</sup> Luke 16: 19–31.

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Table 2 *The Versus collection of Paris 1154 (fols. 98<sup>r</sup>-142<sup>v</sup>)*

	<i>Rubric</i>	<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Group</i>
(5)	Versus Godiscalchi et oratio Versus confessionis de luctu poenitentiae Incipit ritmus Versus de poenitentia Versus de ploratu poenitentiae	O deus misere Ad caeli clara  Ad te deus gloriose Anima nimis misera Tocius mundi	Penitential
(6)	Versus cuiusdam Incipit carmen Versus de VIII vicia et octo beatitudines Versus Paulini de Lazaro Versus Versus Paulini de Herico duce	Christe rex regum Spes mea Christe Beatus homo  Fuit domini dilectus Christe rex vita Mecum Timavi	Moralistic
(4)	Versus Boecii Item alius versus Boecii Item versus Boecii Versus de die iudicii	O stelliferi Bella bis quinis Qui se volet Quique de morte	Judgement
(1)	Versus Sibille de die iudicii	Iudicii signum	
(4)	Incipit versus de nativitate domini Versus cuiusdam de resurrec- tione domini Versus de Sancto Paulo Versus de Sancto Mauricio	Gloriam deo  Tristis venit Sancte Paule Dulce carmen	Exemplars
(6)	Versus Godiscalchi Incipit Planctus Karoli Planctus Ugoni Abbatis. Incipit ritmus de divite et paupere Versus de Judit et Holofernem Versus de bella que fuit acta Fontaneto	Ut quid iubes. A solis ortu usque Hug dulce nomen Homo quidam  Anno tercio Aurora cum primo	Political
(5)	Hymnus in festivitate omnium sanctorum Versus de nativitate domini Versus de Sancta Eulalia virgine Hymnus in honore Sancte Crucis Hymnus in caena domini	Festiva seclis colitur  Nunc tibi Christe Germine nobilis  Pange lingua Tellus ac aethra	Liturgical

*Note:* The later additions on fol. 105<sup>v</sup> have been omitted owing to their different content and probable function. The first, *Deum time*, appears to have been added towards the end of the tenth century (see n. 69) and is a Response followed by a doxology. The second addition comprises only the opening three lines of *Si vis celsi* (Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, iv:6) and is accompanied by several pen-trials in untrained hands.



In the context, it is hard not to associate Lazarus with the disenfranchised Hugh (and perhaps Aquitaine) and the rich man with Louis the Pious (and the Carolingian empire). In the tenth strophe this reading takes on further depth:

Quinque fratres se fatetur in saeculo  
Illis curam providebat quod sibi non poterat  
Pro micis panis quas negavit in infernum torquitor.<sup>22</sup>

This recalls the six brothers of Louis the Pious, with Hugh standing as a disinherited sixth, one to whom crumbs from the table were refused.<sup>23</sup>

This contextual reading is strengthened by the following two *versus*: *Versus de Judit et Holofernem* and *Versus de bella que fuit acta Fontaneto*. The former describes Holofernes' attempts to subdue the Jews at Bethulia under the orders of Nebuchadnezzar; the latter describes the fratricidal feud fought at Fontenay between the sons of Louis the Pious in 841. The juxtaposition of these two *versus* again implies a political reading: in the first of these *versus*, a parallel between the West-Franks and God's chosen people is suggested.

Olofernum accersivit principem militiae;  
Exi, ait, contra gentes occidentis proelia  
...  
Hac in urbe Iudeorum erant multitudines,  
Deum caeli adorabant, salvatorem omnium,  
Respuebant Oloferni fortiter imperium<sup>24</sup>

In addition to this, other parallels with the contemporary political climate stand out. Holofernes calls together 'duces et satellites/'

<sup>22</sup> 'He acknowledged five brothers in his generation,/ Provided care for them but was not able to provide for himself;/ Because of the crumbs of bread he denied, he is tortured in hell.' The full Latin text can be found in *MGH Poetae*, iv.ii, pp. 537–9.

<sup>23</sup> In total, Louis the Pious had three natural brothers and three half-brothers. His natural brothers died too early to represent any threat to his position, but his treatment of his half-brothers on his accession to the imperial throne in 814 was as ruthless as the way in which he dealt with all possible opposition to his rule. Drogo, Hugh and Theodoric were all tonsured and confined to monasteries, and were not released until 822. For the full genealogy, see the insert 'Die Nachkommen Karls des Grossen 1.–8. Generation', in *Karl der Grosse*, iv: *Das Nachleben*, ed. W. Braunsfels (Düsseldorf, 1967).

<sup>24</sup> 'He summoned Olofernus the leader of the soldiery:/ Go out, he said, make war against the people of the West ... In this city was a multitude of the Jews;/ Worshipping the God of heaven, the Saviour of all,/ Bravely they repelled Olofernus's military'. Latin text reproduced from *MGH Poetae*, iv.ii, p. 459.

Magistratus et tribunus' in his attempt to subdue the Jews. This mirrors the heavy involvement of magnates, who were at this time growing in political strength and self-interest, in the power struggles of the Carolingian dynasty.<sup>25</sup> Further, a political reading is implied by the particular version of *Anno tercio* found here. In this manuscript only the first twelve verses are presented.<sup>26</sup> These take the story as far as Achior's explanation that the Jews' fortitude in battle results from their favoured status with God. What is omitted is the role of Judith, as heroine, in bringing down the Eastern forces. This is an understandable omission, since the most prominent contemporary 'Judith' was the second wife of Louis the Pious, the emperor and onetime king of Aquitaine vilified in the *ritmus de divite et paupere*. In other words, a portrayal of Judith as the sole hope and heroine of the Frankish people would be ill at ease with the strong Aquitanian consciousness displayed elsewhere in the manuscript.

Approached in this way, the particular circumstances surrounding the recording of any given *versus* provide an immediate context (in a very literal sense – *contextus*: connection, coherence or series) from which to approach issues surrounding particular versions. The written context may operate as strongly as the oral in defining the parameters of the contemporary text and the circumstances of its interpretation. This suggestion is not intended to exclude other factors, such as the transmission of oral texts, notions of scribal licence, and practical considerations surrounding presentation on the page. Indeed, any one of these may be ultimately responsible for the form of the final text, and it is often hard to identify precise causes and effects.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the written context does provide perhaps the most immediate standpoint from which to address such issues yet has received little attention in previous discussions.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, esp. ch. 7.

<sup>26</sup> In Brussels Bibliothèque Royale 8860–8867 only a fragment of the text appears (verses 44–50, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>). Verona Biblioteca Capitolare 90 contains fifty verses (fols. 14<sup>r</sup>–19<sup>r</sup>), whereas Verona Biblioteca Capitolare 85 presents verses 1–11 and 49 (fol. 63<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>27</sup> Witness to this are the current 'debates' surrounding the status of oral texts and the role of the scribes in the recording process. The most recent exchange has been between P. Jeffrey, *Re-envisioning Past Musical Cultures* (Chicago and London, 1992), *passim*, esp. ch. 2, and L. Treitler in his review of this book, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), pp. 137–71.

<sup>28</sup> Exceptional in this regard is McKitterick's suggestion that the linguistic 'vulgarisms' found in Hugh's lament and *Aurora cum primo* may be read as indications of the lay

Returning to the collection as a whole, even if not all the *versus* are as closely connected as those in the fifth group, in each group a process of selection, imbuing the material with a certain written programme, may be demonstrated: in the first, *versus* by Gottschalk and Paulinus head the collection; in the second, the placement of the *planctus* for Eric Duke of Friuli with *versus* dealing with the teachings of Christ assumes political significance;<sup>29</sup> in the third, the ordering within the Boethian *versus* assumes symbolic importance (see below); the fourth follows chronology; and the sixth, although it rejects the liturgical calendar, passes from rejoicing (*Festiva seclis/ Nunc tibi Christe*) to mourning (*Germine nobilis/ Pange lingua*). This sixth and last group ends with the Maundy Thursday *versus Tellus ac aethra*, and thus the collection closes, as it began, in penitence.

The identification of such ordering processes raises certain questions. How far would such designs have held significance? Was patterning a standard practice in *versus* collections? And, if so, were there immediate reasons for this? To answer these questions, it is necessary to establish whether the imposition of design was a common practice and whether all contemporary *versus* collections followed the same scheme.

Excluding compilations largely focused on a single author, there are five other substantial Carolingian *versus* collections: Leiden Vossius lat. 69, Brussels Bibliothèque Royale 8860–8867, Bern Burgerbibliothek 455, Verona Biblioteca Capitolare 90, and Verona Biblioteca Capitolare 88. For the purposes of comparison, only the two collections displaying the strongest concordances with Paris 1154 will be considered here: that is, Brussels 8860–8867 (eight concordances) and Bern 455 (six). In fact, Verona 90 also has six concordances, but they are of a different kind:<sup>30</sup> all but

orientation of the manuscript. See R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 230–1. For further evidence suggesting a lay orientation for this manuscript, see S. Barrett, 'The Writing of Paris 1154', unpublished M.Phil. diss. (Faculty of Music, Cambridge University, 1996), ch. 2.

<sup>29</sup> For a parallel situation in relation to Charlemagne's lament *A solis ortu usque*, see Table 3 below; this appears in the fourth group, which is otherwise wholly centred on Christ. A similar process occurs in Verona 90, where the same *versus* appears in a series focused on the events of Easter. For the inventory of this latter manuscript see G. Meersseman, 'Il codice XC della capitolare di Verona', *Archivio Veneto* (5th. ser.), 104 (1975), pp. 14–23.

<sup>30</sup> Of the other collections, the Leiden collection contains no concordances and Verona 88 contains only four.

one (*Beatus homo*) of the Verona concordances are *versus* of wide dissemination, with at least five other concordances outside this circle of collections. The Paris and Brussels collections, on the other hand, besides sharing *versus* which appear in only one or two other sources (*Anno tercio* and *Quique de morte*), contain the only surviving versions of *Tristis venit*. More substantially, seven *versus* which appear in sequence in Brussels 8860–8867 are copied in the same order, with only one *versus* intervening, in Bern 455. It is thus with an eye to external comparison and internal similarities of content that we turn to the Bern and Brussels collections.

The Brussels collection, unlike Paris 1154, contains only *versus*. It has been dated to the ninth century by Bischoff, who also suggested a provenance of northeast Francia.<sup>31</sup> At some stage in its history, this collection appears to have undergone structural alteration.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, this appears not to have affected the main body of the manuscript, and it is still possible to identify groups into which the material has been collected: alphabetical *versus*, moralistic *versus*, *versus* celebrating Christ, and *versus* on saints and other figures (see Table 3).

In this collection the groups are not as rigorously defined as in Paris 1154. The abecedary group contains one non-abecedary *versus*, *Apparebunt ante somnum*. Similarly, the fifth group contains a mixture of *versus* by and on venerated figures, as well as *versus* for specific days. Nevertheless, the lines along which the material has been drawn up are clear: a structural group, a thematic group, and two hierarchic groups (Christ, and others).

Lying across these groups is the outline of another ordering principle. Although of mixed content, the abecedary group displays a certain chronological progression in its rubrics. The rubrics relating to New Testament topics pass from the Annunciation, to the Nativity, to the Passion and Resurrection, to Judgement Day, to the heavenly Jerusalem. By way of contrast, the fourth group displays a reverse order: from the Resurrection, to the Passion, to the Nativity, to the Annunciation, to the day of conception.

This ordering – like the grouping according to content – is not

<sup>31</sup> Bischoff, 'Gottschalks Lied', *Mittelalterliche Studien*, II, p. 26.

<sup>32</sup> The collation is as follows: I<sup>5</sup> (1<sup>r</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>), lacks 1, 2 and 8; II<sup>2</sup> (6<sup>r</sup>–7<sup>v</sup>); III<sup>8</sup> (8<sup>r</sup>–15<sup>v</sup>); IV<sup>6</sup> (16<sup>r</sup>–21<sup>v</sup>); V–XI<sup>8</sup> (22<sup>r</sup>–76<sup>v</sup>). Signatures are found from 7<sup>v</sup>, beginning with III (not II); also 15<sup>v</sup>, III; 45<sup>v</sup>, VIII; 60<sup>v</sup>, IX (probably in error); and 76<sup>v</sup>, XII.

Table 3 *Ordering of versus within Brussels 8860–8867*

<i>Rubric</i>	<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Group</i>
[lacuna]	Anno tercio in regno Tertio in flore mundus Prima die dixit deus	(? Varied)
De diebus tredecim		
De annuntiatione Sancte Mariae	Angelus domini Maria nuntiat	Abecedary
De fecunditate Sanctae Mariae	A superna caeli parte	
De nativitate Christi	Alta prolis sanctissime	
De habitu et conversa- tione monachorum	Adeptus quisque munere	
De accusatione hominis erga deum	Audi me deus piissime	
Item unde supra	Audi me deus peccatorum	
De commendatione unius cuiusque animae	Age deus causam	
De nativitate domini	A solis ortu cardine	
De Enoch et Haeliae	Apparebunt ante somnum	
De castitate iuvenum	Audax est vir iuvenis	
De passione ac resurrec- tione domini	Audite omnes gentes	
De Christo domino	Agnus et leo mitis	
De die iudicii	Apparebit repentina	
Item de accusatione facinoris	Audi me deus	
De Sancta Hierusalem caelesti	Alme fulget in caelesti	
De caritate et avaritia	Alma vera ac praeclara	
De laude et preces Sanctae Mariae	Aurora dicta sermone	
De Sancto Iohanne	Amicus sponsi	
De adventu domini	Quicque de morte	Moralistic
De castitate corporis	Qui cupis esse bonus qui	
De aebrietate cavenda	Qui cupis esse bonus et vis	
Item contra crapulam	Propre stomachum qui farcit	
Precepta salutis	O mortalis homo	
Verba philosophie ad suos sectatores	Quisque alumne veris varias	
Magister adortans discipulis	Discite nunc pueri docilis	
[omitted]	Quemlibet hic segnem	
[omitted]	Haec roga parva domus	
Magister discipulis	Pisce libens iuvenis	
[omitted]	Rex deus immenso	Christ-centred
De resurrectione domini	Surrexit Christus ad soporem	

Table 3 (*cont.*)

De passione domini	Pange lingua	
De laude domini	Ante saecula et tempora	
De obitu Karoli	A solis ortu usque	
De caritate	Congregavit nos in unum	
Item de nativitate domini	Gratuletur omnis caro	
De novo ac veteri Testamento a sancto Sedulio dictatum	Cantemus socii domino	
De annuntiatione ruinae	Criminum mole gravatus	
De laude diei conceptionis Mariae	Canamus omnes laudes	
De resurrectione domini	Refulgit omnis luce mundus	
	Gloriam deo	
De nativitate domini nostri Iesu Christi		
De resurrectione Christi	Tristis venit ad Pilatum	
Hymnum Eulogii diaconi	O triplex honor	Saints and
Hymnum in honore sanctorum octo martyrum	Bis novem noster	Others
Caesar Augustorum		
Versus Bede presbiteri de die iudicii	Inter florigeras secundi	
Incipit versus Fortunati ad Hilpericum regem et Fredegundem reginam	Aspera conditio et sors	
Dysticon in Phylomelle	Sum noctis socia	
Metrum apocope evangeliarum cum clypsis a Iuenco presbitero dicatum	Inmortale nihil mundi	
De Sancto Quintino martyre	Militem Christi	
Ymnus de die palmarum	Magnum salutis gaudium	
De morte Lazari et eius resurrectione	Fuit domini dilectus	
De fide et caritate seu cavenda cupiditate	Christus rex via vita lux	
De Sancto Stephano martyre	Christus est vita veniens	
De Sancto Martine episcopo	Christus rex noster via	
Item de Sancto Martino episcopo	Venerabilem virum	
De gloria apostolorum	Apostolorum gloriam ymnis	
De Sancto Petro apostolo	Beatus Christi famulus	
De divite et Lazaro	Homo quidam erat dives	
De initium quadragesime	Insigne sanctum tempus	

*Note:* Later marginal additions of the late tenth or eleventh century are not included in this table. For details of these, see n. 70.

rigorous. On the one hand, there is a certain play around *annuntiatione* and *conceptionis* in the rubrics, the former because it is not the Annunciation but the announcing of the last things, the latter because the *versus Canamus omnes* does not celebrate the conception but is a general hymn of praise to Christ; the rubric refers only to a single line in the second verse – ‘Virgo Maria verum concepit hominum’. Also, after the rubric *conceptionis* the last three rubrics of the fourth group revert to resurrection, birth and resurrection. Of course, this later reversion may in itself be taken as a microcosm. Equally, the fact that the central *versus* in the chronological pattern is without a rubric, thereby placing its opening words *Rex deus immenso* at the centre of the collection, may be of symbolic significance. Such matters, however, remain in the realms of speculation; after a while the temptation to impose *a posteriori* patterns becomes as intoxicating as it seems to have been for the Carolingians.

Like Brussels 8860–8867, Bern 455 contains only *versus* and displays two principles of ordering them; that is, arrangement into thematic groups and linear processes of ordering within and across those groups. As a collection it was compiled towards the end of the ninth century and passed to Laon by the early tenth century.<sup>33</sup> At some stage the manuscript underwent structural alteration, although this does not seem to have affected the ordering of material within groups. The only effect on the existing material is in relation to the last group, which is cut short by the absence of two bifolia from the final gathering.<sup>34</sup> Most striking as regards relations between groups is the different status of the *versus* in the fourth group. Here a slightly different type of *versus* collection is represented, that of compilations drawn from larger works of individual authors. In this

<sup>33</sup> The evidence for a Laon provenance by the early tenth century is presented in J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 29 (Munich, 1978), pp. 160–1. In Wilmart’s opinion, which is recorded on the opening flyleaf, the manuscript originated from Tours. This ascription is doubtful since the script displays none of the characteristic features of Tours – for which see E. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), ch. 2. As regards date, the ninth-century dating of the manuscript by Contreni (p. 160, n. 15) remains the most recent and best-informed opinion.

<sup>34</sup> The full gathering structure is: I–V<sup>8</sup> (1<sup>r</sup>–40<sup>r</sup>); VI<sup>4</sup> (41<sup>r</sup>–44<sup>r</sup>), lacks 3–6. The signatures are: fol. 15<sup>v</sup>, IIII (not II); 24<sup>v</sup>, V; 32<sup>v</sup>, VI; 40<sup>v</sup>, VII; and 44<sup>v</sup>, VIII.

Table 4 *Ordering of versus within Bern 455*

<i>Rubric</i>	<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Group</i>
[lacuna]		
Versus de adventu domini	Conditor alme	'Liturgical (Life of Christ)
Versus de natale domini	Veni redemptor	
Item alium	A solis ortu cardine	
Versus in epiphania	Hostis Herodes	
Versus in purificatione Sanctae Mariae	Quod chorus	
Item alium	Fit porta	
Versus de Pascha	Ad cenam	
[lacuna]		
Versus de ascensione domini	Aeterne rex	
Versus de Sancto Iohanne Baptista	Ut queant laxis	
Versus de Sancto Petro et Paulo	Aurea luce	
Versus de Sancto Germano	Iste confessor domini	
Versus de Sancto Dionisio	Caeli cives	
Versus de virginibus	Virginis proles	
Versus in natale apostolorum	Apostolorum principem	
Item alium	Apostolorum passio diem	
Versus in natale Sancti Benedicti	Christe sanctorum dies	
Versus de martyribus	Aeterna Christi	
Item alium	Rex gloriose	
Versus de uno martyre	Martyr dei qui	
Item alium	Deus tuorum	
Versus de confessoribus	Ihesu redemptor omnium	
Versus in natale omnium sanctorum	Sanctorum meritis	
Versus de virginibus	Ihesu corona	
Versus in natale Sancti Michaelis	Christi sanctorum decus	
Versus in dedicatione ecclesiam	Christe cunctorum	
[omitted]	Nocte surgentes	
[omitted]	Ecce iam noctis	
Versus de accipitre et pavone	Avis haec magna	Varied
Versus Fortunati in honore Sancte Crucis	Pange lingua	
Item versus Fortunati ad Chilpericum Regem	Aspera conditio et sors	
Versus de Iacob et Ioseph	Tertio in flore	
Versus de Herico	Mecum Timavi	
Versus Zmaracdi	Sume plectrum	



Table 4 (cont.)

Item alium	Qui cupis esse bonus qui	
Versus Eugenii	O mortalis homo	
Versus Iuenci	Immortale nihil mundi	
Versus Sedulii	Cantemus socii domino	
Versus Virgili	Tityre tu putiole	
Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Exconsule Ordinari metrum dactilum tetra- metrum constat spondeo dactilo catalecto item dac- tilo spondeo incipit <sup>a</sup>	Heu quam precipiti	Didactic
	O stelliferi Nubibus atris Felix nimium Quantas rerum Quamvis se Tyrio Omne hominum Eheu quae Huc omnes Quas vides sedere Bella bis quinis Per quinquennia O crucifer bone Pastis visceribus Inventor rutili Ades pater O nazarene lux Christe sanctorum Da puer plectrum Deus ignee fons Bis novem noster	
Versus Prudentii Metrum dactilicum [etc.]		
Versus in honore decem et octo martyrum Caesar Augustanorum		
Versus Sancti Cypriani episcopi	Punica terra tulit	
Versus in honore Eulaliae viriginis	Germine nobilis	
Versus de natale domini	Quid est quod artum	
Versus Psychomachia	Senex fidelis	
Versus de penitentia	Ad caeli clara	(? Penitence/
Versus de die iudicii [lacuna]	Apparebit repentina dies	Abecedary)

<sup>a</sup> Other rubrics continue at this length and are not given here.

*Note:* Later tenth-century additions of liturgical material are not included in this table. For details of the more substantial later additions, see H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana)* (Bern, 1875), pp. 396–400.

case, the *versus* are from Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and Prudentius' *Liber Cathemerinon* (see Table 4).

In a manner similar to the Brussels collection, the first group reveals a concern for hierarchy. Again, the priority seems to have been a separation of Christ and Mary from other figures. In part this division follows the liturgical principle of separating out, and according distinct status to, feasts of the Temporal and Sanctoral. With this said, the label 'liturgical' stands only as a term of convenience since its application is far from clear. Perhaps more important than an insistence on the application of a single ordering principle is a recognition that a variety of different impulses are at work: litanic/hierarchic, in the specification of *versus* for general classes of saints (virgins, apostles, martyrs, confessors); liturgical, in the correct positioning of the *versus* for the dedication of a church and those for daily use (*Nocte surgentes* and *Ecce iam noctis*) at the end of the selection; and local, in the appearance side by side of *versus* to St Germanus and St Dionysius.<sup>35</sup>

From this brief comparison, it is clear that the Paris, Bern and Brussels collections all group together their *versus* and all follow ordering principles within these groups. The two Verona collections, on the other hand, display no such designs. This may be attributed to their differing construction. For whilst each of the *versus* collections so far examined has been compiled by one uniform hand, or perhaps two,<sup>36</sup> the Verona manuscripts are multiple compilations containing numerous different hands.<sup>37</sup> The question

<sup>35</sup> Of added importance in relation to these two *versus* is the dedication of a general *versus*, *Iste confessor*, to a specific saint, St Germanus. This could only be the result of the local significance of the saint. The implications of this for the provenance of the manuscript remain an open question.

<sup>36</sup> Although there is little immediate difference in appearance, certain features suggest a change of hand in Brussels 8860–8867: from I to III, only an uncial *a* is used, and there are few ligatures; from IV to XI, the *oc* form of *a* is also employed, the left-hand shaft of the *n* extends beneath the line, and there is an expanded range of ligatures (including *rr*, *ae* and *r-et*).

<sup>37</sup> Both Verona 88 and Verona 90 are composite manuscripts containing much material besides *versus*. Within the main *versus* collection of Verona 90, six different scribes were identified by G. Meersseman in 'Il codice', p. 24. For a more recent palaeographical account of the work done by different scribes in this manuscript, see J. Borders, 'The Cathedral of Verona as a Musical Center in the Middle Ages: Its History, Manuscripts, and Liturgical Practice', Ph.D. Diss. (University of Chicago, 1983), pp. 467–84. Verona 88 has received less palaeographic attention, but its *versus* collection also appears to have been compiled by several scribes. It has been described as showing evidence of a group of scribes 'd'un nombre incertain, qui doivent être

of intention thus becomes much more diffuse, and one is restricted to noting associations of author, content and genre.<sup>38</sup>

At this point it is tempting to differentiate generically between a *versus* collection (such as the Paris, Bern and Brussels manuscripts) and a *versus* anthology (such as the Verona manuscripts). A collection would be defined as showing evidence of design in its arrangement of individual *versus* into wider patterns. An anthology, by way of contrast, would display no overall scheme but would simply record a repertoire of diverse *versus*. The motivation for this difference might be ascribed to purely pragmatic factors. A single scribe, or two scribes working in close proximity, would quite naturally seek a way of organising the material before presentation. In the case of *versus*, since no models existed for such collections, a host of different organising techniques could be used: liturgical, litanic, structural and numerical designs, as well as routine associations of content, genre and author.

Such a pragmatic approach would certainly provide a means of accounting for the designs noted in *versus* collections. Yet it would not wholly explain them, for it neglects the importance of both the activity and the status of compilation. The act of collecting together and presenting material on the page embraces both categories of collections and has a rationale whose implications extend beyond the *versus* repertory to other aspects of the Carolingian writing project. Also, it is clear that the designs noted in the Paris, Brussels and Bern collections, are more than modes of organisation, but act as conscious programmes for the material, investing them with a contextual significance. To investigate further the status of *versus* collections as modes of writing and their programmes for material, it is time to turn our attention to the remaining parts of Paris 1154.

## II

The contents of Paris 1154 are as shown in Table 5. Chailley, although focusing on the fourth part, noted that a penitential

localisés vraisemblablement aussi à Saint-Denis'. See G. Meersseman, *Les capitules du diurnal de Saint-Denis (Cod. Verona. Cap. LXXXVIII, Saec. IX)*, Spicilegium Friburgense 30 (Fribourg, 1986), p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> In Verona 90, for example, *versus* 7–17 are all hymns to saints. Verona 88, with only seventeen *versus*, is too small for the identification of any coherent design.

Table 5 *Sectional construction of Paris 1154*

<i>Part</i>	<i>Fol. nos.</i>	<i>Content</i>
I	9 <sup>v</sup> –25 <sup>v</sup>	Litany, chapters, collects and prayers
II	26 <sup>r</sup> –65 <sup>v</sup>	Prayers, confessions, seven penitential psalms with frames ( <i>Kyrie</i> , <i>Pater</i> etc.) and collects, and litanies with diverse prayers
III	66 <sup>r</sup> –97 <sup>v</sup>	An extract from Isidore of Seville's <i>Synonyma</i> (book I, and book II to chapter 19)
IV	98 <sup>r</sup> –143 <sup>v</sup>	A <i>versus</i> collection with occasional musical settings

theme served to unify the entire manuscript, stating that 'à l'exception peut-être des toutes dernières pages, c'est un pénitentiel complété par un florilège de pénitence et de lamentations'.<sup>39</sup> As with the *versus* collection, this observation of an 'idée directrice' is not pursued further but is left as a matter of thematic association. However, systematic enquiry into the motives and methods of compilation reveals a careful approach to structure both within and between the various parts of the manuscript.

The most self-contained of the remaining parts of the manuscript is the third part, an extract from Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma*.<sup>40</sup> This is a work composed of two books, structurally analogous but distinct in character. The first deals with penitential man and is presented in the first person as an internal dialogue. The second takes the form of an admonition of reason in the second person, proposing a Christian rule of life that is precise and imperative. In this manuscript, the *Synonyma* is cut short in mid-sentence near the opening of the second book. Reasons for this, in relation to the methods and models for compilation used in the construction of the manuscript as a whole, have been discussed at length elsewhere.<sup>41</sup>

It is possible at an early stage to observe connections with the

<sup>39</sup> Chailley, *L'école*, p. 73.

<sup>40</sup> *PL* LXXXIII, cols. 827–49.

<sup>41</sup> The extract from the *Synonyma* closes with the words *in voluntate sunt* . . . This appears to be not a matter of loss or later removal, but the result of a deliberate editing technique on behalf of the compiler of the manuscript. The same technique is also used in the joining of parts I and II of this manuscript (see Table 7 and note). For a full discussion of this technique and its structural implications, see S. Barrett, 'The Writing', pp. 56–60.

rest of the manuscript which are noteworthy, if somewhat vague; Isidore's penitential theme, heightened use of rhythmic language and meditative tone all find resonance in the rest of the collection.<sup>42</sup> A more compelling parallel is that of design. Fontaine identified within the work a progression from repentance to new life.<sup>43</sup> According to this scheme, Isidore's first book portrays the penitent returning to God and the second outlines new ways of life.

Within this broad plan, further stages were identified by Fontaine. The first book of the *Synonyma* was seen to comprise four stages: the just man persecuted, the admonition of reason, a dialogue between man and reason, and repentant man. These stages correspond to the changes of dramatic voice: a monologue by man; a monologue by reason (after a brief opening exchange); a dialogue between man and reason; and a further monologue by man.<sup>44</sup> The second book was also divided into four stages: the conquest of virtues, speech and acts, affairs of state, and death to the world. In this case, the stages mark not clear-cut structural points but a gradual shift of concerns from the self to God.

From the point of view of structure, what is remarkable is that these individual stages, as well as the overall journey of the two books, correspond closely to the design previously noted in the *versus* collection (see Table 6).

Certain features of this comparison require further explanation. To begin with, an association of penitence with suffering is one often obscured in modern thinking. It is evident from the colourful pleas found in penitential *versus* that for the Carolingians a cry for remission was one made in a state of extreme torment:

Ad te Deus gloriose rerum factor omnium  
Lacrimosis clamo gemens et amaris vocibus  
Poenitenti Christe da veniam.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> For a full discussion of the *stilus Isidorianus* and all other stylistic and structural aspects of the *Synonyma*, see, principally, J. Fontaine, 'Isidor de Seville auteur "ascétique": les énigmes des *Synonyma*', in *Studi Medievali* (3rd ser.), 6.2 (1965), pp. 163–95.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171–3.

<sup>44</sup> These changes in voice are marked by the rubrics *RATIO* and *HOMO* in part III of Paris 1154.

<sup>45</sup> 'O Lord, the glorious creator of all things,/ I cry to you, sighing with tearful and bitter cries,/ Grant pardon to the penitent, O Christ.' Latin text reproduced from *AH XIX*, ed. G. Dreves (Leipzig, 1895), p. 42.

Table 6 *Design of Parts Three and Four of Paris 1154*

Synonyma ( <i>after Fontaine</i> )	Versus collection
<b>I Penitential man</b>	
The just persecuted	Penitential
The admonition of reason	Moralistic
Dialogue of man and reason	Judgement
The repentant man	
<b>II Christian way of life</b>	
The conquest of virtues	Exemplars
Speech and acts	
Affairs of State	Political
Death to the world	Liturgical

The third category, the dialogue between man and reason, finds its parallel in the *versus* collection in the use of extracts from Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. This work is an account of Boethius' struggle, through a dialogue with a personified Reason, to understand the providence which brought him to imprisonment and impending execution. In the *versus* collection the ordering of the extracts assumes a different programme, one closer to the overall design of the *Synonyma*: the *versus* are ordered not towards acceptance and understanding, but towards Christian conversion.<sup>46</sup> After a hymn to the deity concerning the harshness of fate (*O stelliferi* I.v) comes a Herculean lyric on the conquering of fate (*Bella bis quinis* IV.vii), followed by a lyric which places power in self-control (*Qui se volet* III.v). In this sequence, reason has led to the rejection of worldly ends in favour of transformation of the self:

Qui se volet esse potentem  
Animos domet ille feroces<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> For the most recent discussion of whether the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* is intrinsically Christian in outlook, see H. Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolation of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 248–53. Chadwick's conclusion is that the 'Consolation is a work by a Platonist who is also a Christian, but it is not a Christian work' (*ibid.*, p. 249).

<sup>47</sup> 'The man who wants to be powerful/ Must tame his high spirits'. Both the Latin text and its translation are found in E. Rand, H. Stewart and S. Tester (transl.), *Boethius: Tractates, The Consolation of Philosophy*, Loeb Classical Library 74 (Cambridge, Mass., new edn 1973), pp. 252–3.

Other parallels are more self-explanatory: the conquest of virtues and the category of exemplars, affairs of state and political *versus*, death to the world and the liturgical group. This overall pattern is strengthened by the positioning of *Iudicii signum* at the heart of the *versus* collection. The critical point, the moment of supreme judgement by the individual, is that of conversion. In Isidore's scheme this stands between books I and II. At the corresponding point in the *versus* collection stands *Iudicii signum*: this is not only the oldest and most famed *versus* in the collection, but also one in which classical and Christian traditions stand alongside each other. *Iudicii signum* thus stands at the intersection between the old life and the new.

Despite its remarkable character, the proximity of design is not absolute: the moralistic category in the *versus* collection stands out of place in relation to the *Synonyma*. No place for the due praise and teaching of Christ can be found in Isidore's scheme. This is not unduly surprising, for it is suggested not that the design of the *Synonyma* was taken as a model for the *versus* section, but that they are independent realisations of a more general structure. In fact, 'structure', with its connotations of background integrity and uniformity, becomes too strong a term to apply to the processes at work here. More appropriate is a consideration of this design in terms of pattern, significant in itself, applicable to various contents, but re-created anew on each occasion. To see how this operates with other material, we shall turn to the prayer section (fols. 26<sup>r</sup>–65<sup>v</sup>).

As with the rest of the manuscript, the overriding concern of the prayer section is with penitence. It is a theme which recurs in all the various forms of prayer: the opening section is characterised by its use of penitential *miserere* and *exaudi* formulas; the second consists of an established set of prayers, including calls for redemption to the Trinity; the third is made up of confessions, including lists of vices; the fourth comprises the penitential psalms, each with a Kyrie preceding and succeeding, and a collect; the fifth is a minor litany; the sixth prescribes psalms to be recited in times of praise or trial; and the seventh consists of prayers for the adoration of the cross.

The pattern is a familiar one. The two opening and two closing sections consist of prayers: the first two deal with penitence and praise for the divine, the last two contrast worldly life and liturgi-

cal praise. These groups frame confessions, penitential psalms and a short litany. In this case, the penitential psalms assume the central position, prepared for by confession and succeeded by a litany (see Table 7). With the identification of this pattern it becomes possible to compare directly the design of the *versus* collection, the *Synonyma* and the prayer section (see Table 8).

Again it is the pattern, rather than specific categories of reduction, that is significant. The correlations remain imprecise, but it is not precision which gives them their validity. In a manner similar to the kind of patterning found within individual *versus* and their collections, it is the fact of the pattern rather than its absolute consistency which is of paramount importance: Augustine's acrostic in *Iudicii signum* does not entirely work in translation,<sup>48</sup> in the Brussels collection a non-abecedary *versus* is included in the abecedary group, and in the Bern collection liturgical and hierarchic principles are conflated – yet in all cases the intention remains clear.

Even with this *apologia*, however, there must remain unease in identifying patterns, no matter how satisfying, without some degree of control. So far, only Isidore's scheme has been identified as a 'model', only to be subsequently claimed as a 'pattern'. Moreover, since Paris 1154 is composite in its structure, there seems little reason why various sections within the manuscript should show correlations of design with each other but not with other collections in their own genre.

The key to the question why the various sections of Paris 1154 might display similar structural patterns lies in the significance of this particular pattern for this particular manuscript. It has already been noted that what unites the sections in terms of theme is their penitential quality. This was a growing concern in the Carolingian era, an era which saw not only a change in the nature of penance but also a rapid expansion in the number of books for its prescription and accomplishment.<sup>49</sup> Alongside the

<sup>48</sup> Augustine's *Iudicii signum* as found in *De civitate dei* (xviii: 23) represents a translation from the Greek original. His attempt to render the Greek acrostic in Latin reads: IESUS CREISTOS TEVD NIOS SOTER.

<sup>49</sup> For a brief summary of the distinctive quality of Carolingian penance and the role of penitentials within it, see R. Pierce, 'The Frankish Penitentials', *Studies in Church*



older canonical form of penance, represented by anonymous collections drawn up from patristic penitentials and earlier conciliar decrees, arose more private forms of tariffed penance. This newer form was transmitted largely through *florilegia* (lit. 'collections'), handbooks whose content expounded moral issues, which rose to popularity in the ninth century.<sup>50</sup>

The various individual parts of Paris 1154 belong to this *florilegia* tradition. The *Synonyma* provides a link with older patristic collections but does not stand within the tradition of penitentials (or *libri paenitentiales*). It belongs to a tradition termed by Rochais 'ascetic' *florilegia*: that is, works made up from excerpts from Scripture and the Fathers of the Church, which are not prescriptions of penance but exhortations to virtue. The Carolingian equivalents to these works were manuals, almost exclusively for lay use, which provided definitions and expositions of Christian ethics and social behaviour.<sup>51</sup>

In its broadest sense – that of manuscript collections with a particular concern for moral issues<sup>52</sup> – two other aspects of this *florilegia* tradition are identifiable in Paris 1154: the *libelli precum* tradition and the tradition of *versus* collections (Rochais – 'recueils liturgiques ou hymnodiques'). *Libelli precum* were small booklets of prayer displaying a strong sense of penance.<sup>53</sup> Although their

*History*, 11 (1975), pp. 31–9. For a comprehensive study of this field and further bibliography, see R. Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars von Cambrai und des Hrabanus Maurus* (Berlin and New York, 1980).

<sup>50</sup> The foundations for research into *florilegia* were laid by H. Rochais in his account of the manuscript base of 'ascetic' *florilegia* from the *Sententia* of Isidore to the end of the eleventh century. See H. Rochais, 'Contribution à l'histoire des florilèges ascétiques du haut moyen-âge latin: le Liber Scintillarum', *Revue Bénédictine*, 63 (1953), pp. 246–91. On the distinctive quality and role of *florilegia* in Carolingian society, see R. McKitterick, *Frankish Church and Carolingian Reforms 789–895* (London, 1977), ch. 5.

<sup>51</sup> See McKitterick, *Frankish Church*, ch. 5. For a further consideration of the issue of lay use and the appearance of *florilegia* in manuscript compilations, see *idem*, *The Carolingians*, pp. 266–70.

<sup>52</sup> This broader definition of *florilegia*, defined from a Carolingian rather than a patristic perspective, is that emphasised by McKitterick in *Frankish Church*, pp. 155–83.

<sup>53</sup> For a brief account of the origins and contents of *libelli precum*, see M. Driscoll, 'Penance in Transition: Popular Piety and Practice', in *Essays in Medieval Liturgy*, ed. L. Larson-Miller (forthcoming). For the opportunity to read this essay prior to publication, grateful thanks are extended to Michael Driscoll, Gunilla Björkqvall and Ritva Jacobson.

Table 7 *Design of prayer collection of Paris 1154 (fols. 26<sup>r</sup>–65<sup>v</sup>)*

<i>Rubric</i>	<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Group</i>
Alia	Omnipotens sempiterne deus	
Alia	Ex auditor omnium deus	
Alia	O [illeg.] nobis sancti in caelis	
Item alia	Precamur te domine pro famulis	
Incipiunt orationes	Miserere domini miserere Christe	Penitential
Oratio Sancti Gregorii	Domine exaudi orationem meam	
Alia	Per horum omnium sanctorum	
Item alia oratio	Domine sancte pater	
Item alia	Domine Ihesu Christe qui me ad imaginem	
Oratio pura ad laudem dei	Ad esto lumen verum pater	Invocation
Oratio ad personam patris	Domine deus pater omni- potens qui consubstantialem	
Oratio ad personam filii	Domine Ihesu Christe qui es filius dei	
Oratio ad personam spir- itus sancti	Domine sancte spiritus deus omnipotens qui aequalis	
Oratio ad Sanctam Mariam	Domine Ihesu Christe rex virginum	
Incipiunt confesionem peccatorum	Deus inestimabile misericordiae	Confessions
Alia	Hae [illeg.] fides mea qua te credo	
Alia	Confiteor tibi omnipotens	
Alia	Confiteor tibi domine pater	
Psalmi poenitenciales VII ita canendi	Domine ne in furore	Penitential Psalms
Item psalmum	Beati quorum	
Item psalmum	Domine ne in ira tua	
Item psalmum	Miserere mei	
Item psalmum	Domine exaudi	
Item psalmum	De profundis	
Item psalmum	Domine exaudi	

Table 7 *cont.*

Hic agatur lactania postquam pater noster et preces. Capitula	Ego dixi domine miserere mei [etc.]	
Oratio	Domine deus omnes universorum	
[omitted]	[Si vis mentem tuam spiritali . . .] si vis orare deum promitte mentem	Christian life
Pro temptatione	Si diversis tribulationibus afflicti sis	
Pro tribulatione	Si te in tribulationibus a deo	
Pro laude pura De superiore appetitu	Si vis omnipotentem Si tibi presens vita fastidiosa	
Pro gratiarum accione De divinis laudibus	Post acceptum quietem Si te voveris exercere in divinis laudibus	
Oratio cuiusdam hominis dei Antiphona de omnibus sanctis	Primitus insinuat et docet eum Salvator mundi salva nos	
Incipiunt orationes ad crucem adorandam Alia	Domine Ihesu Christe filii dei vivi qui regnas Signum nos dominici defendat	'Liturgical'
Item alia Alia oratio	Adoro te domine Ihesu Domine sancte pater omnipotens	
Alia	Salve sanctam crux	

*Note:* The four prayers at the beginning of this part of the manuscript are not intrinsic to its design but result from the particular method of compilation used in the assembling of this manuscript. The implications of this for the particular version of the *Synonyma* found later in the manuscript, as well as the prayers which succeed the litany, are discussed in S. Barrett, 'The Writing of Paris 1154', unpublished M.Phil. diss. (Faculty of Music, University of Cambridge, 1996), ch. 2.

Table 8 *Comparison of Paris 1154, Parts II, III and IV*

<i>Part II</i>	<i>Part III</i>	<i>Part IV</i>
Prayers	<i>Synonyma</i>	Verse section
Penitential Invocation	I Penitential man The just persecuted The admonition of reason Dialogue: man and reason	Penitential Moralistic Judgement
Confession	Repentant man	
Penitential Psalms	(Conversion)	<i>Iudicii Signum</i>
Litany	II Christian way of life Conquest of virtues Speech and acts	Exemplars
Christian life 'Liturgical'	Affairs of state Death to the world	Political 'Liturgical'

tradition has yet to be studied in depth, from the four *libelli* edited by Wilmart<sup>54</sup> and the study of nine such *libelli* by Salmon<sup>55</sup> it is clear that this codicological tradition provided a model for bringing together prayers, collects, confessions, penitential psalms, hymns and minor litanies. As far as *versus* collections are concerned, that found in Paris 1154 is more substantial than, and different in orientation from, the hymnic tradition found in *libelli precum*. Nevertheless, it stands as independent witness to the *florilegia* tradition, both in its overall penitential theme and in specific reference to contemporary penitential issues.<sup>56</sup> The *versus Beatus homo*, for example, uses as a structural frame an alternation of verses about the eight principal virtues and their contrary vices. Not only did this formulation of virtues and vices act as a major

<sup>54</sup> A. Wilmart, *Precum libelli quattuor aevi karolini* (Rome, 1940).

<sup>55</sup> P. Salmon, *Analecta liturgica: extraits des manuscrits liturgiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, Studi e Testi 273* (Vatican, 1974), pp. 120–94.

<sup>56</sup> The place of *versus* within the *florilegia* tradition has not been previously noted. From the concordance patterns of the individual *versus* found in Paris 1154 it becomes clear that this context, rather than that of hymnic collections or unexamined notions of 'independent' *versus* collections, is the strongest in terms of manuscript evidence. For a partial account of the concordance patterns and the nature of the manuscripts in which they are contained, see S. Barrett, 'The Writing', pp. 104–8. Further to this, within the Bern collection the hymnic influence of the *libelli precum* is evident in the 'liturgical' group, whereas in the Brussels collection the ascetic element is strongly represented by the 'moralistic' group.

impulse for the Carolingian penitentials, but the device of alternating contrary virtues and vices was one used for the first time in Carolingian *florilegia*.<sup>57</sup>

This identification of a wider tradition provides a clue as to the motivations and models which provided the background to the writing of this manuscript; that is, material from diverse traditions was brought together in order to form a penitential compilation. In other words, the *florilegia* tradition provided an impulse not only for individual sections, but also for the bringing together of the various sections into a single entity.<sup>58</sup> This raises the possibility of an overlap in terms of conception (penitential design) and activity (the act of compilation) among the various contemporary traditions of collection: litanies, *libelli precum*, 'ascetic' *florilegia*, and *versus* collections.

Of the various parts of Paris 1154, the litany found at the opening (fols. '0<sup>v</sup>–25<sup>v</sup>) is the most difficult to associate with the idea of a penitential collection, as opposed to any other kind, since it follows a fixed structure. Nevertheless, penitential litanies did exist, and the use of litanies in broader collections (or *florilegia*) was a common practice.<sup>59</sup> Two elements of the litany in Paris 1154 suggest its location within these traditions. First, the rubric at the head of the litany reads *Incipiunt letanie de quacumque tribulatione*, an indication of penitential use found in both *florilegia* and liturgical collections.<sup>60</sup> Secondly, the extraordinary length of the litany (covering some 23 folios) places it more in the category of

<sup>57</sup> This occurs in the first two books of Alcuin's *De vitiis et virtutibus*, PL, CL, cols. 613–38. For a discussion of the history of the eight vices and the place of this work within it, see McKitterick, *Frankish Church*, ch. 5.

<sup>58</sup> One does not have to travel far to find precursors for this: Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1153, a ninth-century *florilegium* from St Denis, combines a *libellus precum*, a litany of saints and Isidore's *Synonyma*. For a description of this manuscript, see P. Lauer, *Catalogue général*, 1, pp. 420–1.

<sup>59</sup> For a broad discussion of the function of litanies, including penitential use, see M. Lapidge (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, Henry Bradshaw Society 106 (London, 1991), pp. 1–13. In relation to three Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh century, Lapidge notes that 'the litany of the saints was adapted for confessional purposes, in which the recitation of the litany formed a central feature of the act of contrition' (p. 46).

<sup>60</sup> For the use of this rubric in connection with litanies in the context of *florilegia*, see Alcuin's *Officia per ferias*, PL, CI, col. 546, and Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 134–5. For liturgical use, see, for example, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert (Rome, 1935), at no. 201.

devotional manuscript collections than the liturgy.<sup>61</sup> Some of this length is explained by the somewhat unusual inclusion of Old Testament prophets, a practice more common in *florilegia* than elsewhere.

Of equal importance here is the way in which litanies were compiled and read. Hierarchic principles of ordering have already been seen to play a role in *versus* collections. Other ordering principles were also employed in litanies: internal ranking according to importance, chronology, local popularity, and even associations of name in terms of sound.<sup>62</sup> In the case of the litany found in Paris 1154, a further internal ordering device was used: a sequential numbering of certain saints which appear spread out through the litany.<sup>63</sup>

The modes of compilation used in the *Synonyma* and the prayer section are similar, although of a different order. The *Synonyma* stands slightly apart in that it is a single work and one composed before the Carolingian era. Nevertheless, Isidore's process of selecting scriptural passages and reworking them into a new scheme is that used elsewhere. In the prayer section, the nature of the assembled material differs in status from that of the *versus* collection, since most of the groups exist as single entities rather than forming a composition of individual units. The prayers to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are drawn from a sequence of such *orationes*.<sup>64</sup> Likewise, the penitential psalms and the prescription of psalms as spiritual exercises (labelled 'Christian life' in Table

<sup>61</sup> Of the twenty-six litanies edited and discussed by M. Coens, the longest are those contained in *florilegia*: such as no. 1, Cologne Cathedral 106 (275 entries), no. 6, Bavarian State Library 27305 (c. 350 entries); and no. 8, the *libellus precum* of Fleury, Orléans 184 (250 entries). See M. Coens, 'Anciennes litanies des saints', *Recueil d'études Bollandiennes*, Subsidia Hagiographica 37 (Brussels, 1963), pp. 129–322.

<sup>62</sup> These principles are noted by Coens in relation to the first of the litanies he discusses, Cologne Cathedral 106. *Ibid.*, pp. 139–49.

<sup>63</sup> This sequence, unnoted by Chailley, is as follows: (fol. 2<sup>r</sup>) Cromaci I., (fol. 4<sup>r</sup>) Fotine II., (fol. 5<sup>r</sup>) [erased] .III., (fol. 7<sup>r</sup>) Aget .IV., (fol. 8<sup>r</sup>) Senoni .V., (fol. 10<sup>r</sup>) Claudiane .VI., (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>) Leobine .VII., (fol. 13<sup>r</sup>) Brigida .VIII., and (fol. 15<sup>r</sup>) Daria .VIII. Since the saints in this sequence do not commonly appear, the reasons for highlighting them appear to have been local. It has been tentatively suggested elsewhere that these saints display some connections with Tours, although this is far from proven. See S. Barrett, 'The Writing', pp. 18–19.

<sup>64</sup> The attachment of rubric *Oratio ad Sanctam Mariam to Domine Ihesu Christe rex virginum* is in fact an error. This rubric applies to the prayer *Sancta Maria misericordissima*, often found in this sequence. See, for example, the *Libellus Sacrarum Precum*, PL, CI, cols. 1399–1400.

7) are found as units in other collections. Similarly, although not reproduced in the same format in each collection, prayers for the adoration of the cross and confessions are usually found grouped together. Despite these differences, in the litany, the prayer section and the *Synonyma* the process of composition is that of compilation, gathering pre-existing material and arranging it with a view to a particular design.

This recognition of similarity in the mode of composition of the various parts of the manuscript goes hand in hand with the observation that the various traditions of collection assembled here are all characteristic of Carolingian writing activities.<sup>65</sup> This allows us to identify something fundamental to the process of writing in the Carolingian era, for the gathering together and ordering of pre-existent material can be seen to underpin much of the Carolingian preoccupation with liturgy, law and administration, and the formation and development of libraries. Viewed in this light, the originality of Carolingian writing lay not so much in the transmission of individual texts as in the schemes into which these texts were worked; that is, originality lay not *in* the texts but *between* them, in their juxtaposition and arrangement into significant order. Carolingian writing was, at least in part, a matter of compilation.

### III

It is against this background of writing and compilation that we turn to the musical notation found in Paris 1154. Although this has been claimed as the earliest example of Aquitanian music

<sup>65</sup> It has been argued that litanies, *libelli precum* and *versus* collections have their roots in Insular traditions. Lapidge explains that the form of the litany was first established in Anglo-Saxon England in the early part of the eighth century (*Litanies*, pp. 13–25). Driscoll proposes that *libelli precum* have their roots in Celtic and Anglo-Saxon booklets of confessional and penitential prayers ('Penance in Transition'). In addition, Bourgain has suggested that the earliest *versus* collection is a manuscript written at Lorsch at the end of the eighth century, whose contents are based on a lost exemplar made in seventh-century England: see P. Bourgain, 'Les recueils carolingiens de poésie rythmique', in *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes*, II, ed. L. Holtz and J.-C. Fredouille (Paris, 1992), pp. 117–18. In each case, however, surviving precursors are limited in number whereas Carolingian witnesses are numerous. As such, although Insular precursors may be assumed, it can be said that these traditions burgeoned in written form only in the Carolingian era.

script,<sup>66</sup> it has received scant attention. Until now, it has been assumed that the musical notation in the manuscript was by one hand. This may now be shown to be incorrect, for it was written not by one scribe, but by a host of early Aquitanian music scribes (see Table 9).

The musical notation indicated in Table 9 dates, for the most part, from the late tenth century.<sup>67</sup> It includes the work of a detailed and consistent main hand (A), naïve hands (C and E), a barely visible hand of a few forms only (G), hands with French axis and a few French forms (F and K), and a hand which has only gone over, in a darker ink, the musical notation of previous scribes (N). These are not the main interest here. What is most significant for the purposes of this study is the notation found over *Iudicii signum*, which consists of musical notation by not one scribe but two (see Figures 1–3).

Both musical notations extend beyond the first strophe of the *versus*, although the first three lines feature the work of only one scribe. The notational hand at the opening, one found elsewhere in the collection, is labelled scribe A in Table 9. The other hand, that of scribe B, is found only over this *versus*. Although these display certain palaeographical differences,<sup>68</sup> it is extremely difficult immediately to separate the two: not only do they both survive in faded brown ink, but the later scribe has chosen to weave his notation around, and often between, that of the earlier scribe.

<sup>66</sup> This opinion was first expressed by J. Handschin, 'Über Estampie und Sequenz II', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 13/1 (1930), p. 122 n. 1.

<sup>67</sup> The relative heighting of scribe A's notation implies a late-tenth-century dating. Against this stands Chailley's objection that a non-diastematic notation was employed for reasons of restricted space: see Chailley, *L'école*, p. 77. This can be rejected through an identification of scribes D and A as one and the same person. The notations of these scribes are exactly the same in formation and ink colour, the only difference being the compacted presentation of D. Further, the notation and the text of D are identical in ink colour, relative size and thickness of stroke. Since *Deum time* was the first textual addition made on fol. 105<sup>v</sup> and was not laid out with sufficient space for diastematic heighting, scribe A/D may be assumed to have been writing before the introduction of exact heighting. As for the other scribes, since their work was (with one exception) undertaken after that of scribe A, the difficulty of dating remains. Nevertheless, the fact that not one of the remaining nine scribes attempted even a careful partial diastemata suggests that much of it was added before the eleventh century.

<sup>68</sup> The hand of scribe A is neat and compact, with thin shafts and stable forms. Scribe B, on the other hand, displays thick strokes and forms which are slightly varied on each appearance.



Table 9 *Music notation in the versus collection of Paris 1154*

<i>Type</i>	<i>Versus</i>	<i>Fol. no.</i>
Main scribe		
(A)	Ad caeli clara	99 <sup>v</sup>
	Anima nimis	104 <sup>r</sup>
	Tocius mundi	106 <sup>r</sup>
	Fuit domini	110 <sup>v</sup>
	Christe rex vita	113 <sup>v</sup>
	Mecum Timavi	116 <sup>r</sup> i.vi–xv, ii.iii–iv, xii – 119 <sup>r</sup>
	O stelliferi	118 <sup>r</sup>
	Bella bis quinis	119 <sup>v</sup>
	Quique de morte	121 <sup>r</sup>
	Gloriam deo	123 <sup>r</sup>
	Aurora cum primo	136 <sup>v</sup>
	Concelebremus sacram	142 <sup>v</sup>
	Iudicii signum	122 <sup>r</sup> i.ix–xi
Other scribes (full notation)		
(B)	Iudicii signum	122 <sup>r</sup> i.xii – 123 <sup>r</sup> i.viii
(C)	Ad te deus	102 <sup>r</sup>
(D)	Deum time	105 <sup>v</sup>
(E)	Si vis celsi	105 <sup>v</sup>
(F)	Hug, dulce nomen	133 <sup>r</sup>
Other scribes (partial notation)		
(G)	Ad caeli clara	99 <sup>v</sup> i.vi, i.xiii
(H)	Tocius mundi	106 <sup>r</sup> i.ix–ix
(J)	Christe rex vita	114 <sup>r</sup> i.ii–i.vi
(K)	Mecum Timavi	116 <sup>r</sup> i.xvi, ii.i–ii, ii.v
(L)	Quique de morte	121 <sup>v</sup> i.xii, ii.i
(M)	A solis ortu	132 <sup>v</sup> i.iv–xii
		132 <sup>v</sup> ii.xiii, ii.xv
(N)	Quique de morte	121 <sup>r</sup> i.xii–ii.i
	Ut quid iubes	131 <sup>v</sup>
	A solis ortu	132 <sup>r</sup> –132 <sup>v</sup> i.iii

*Note:* In this table ‘full notation’ refers to complete settings, either through-notated (B, D), first stanza settings (C, F), or the whole of a text which is in itself incomplete (E). ‘Partial notation’ refers to settings of extracts within, rather than at the beginning of, *versus*.

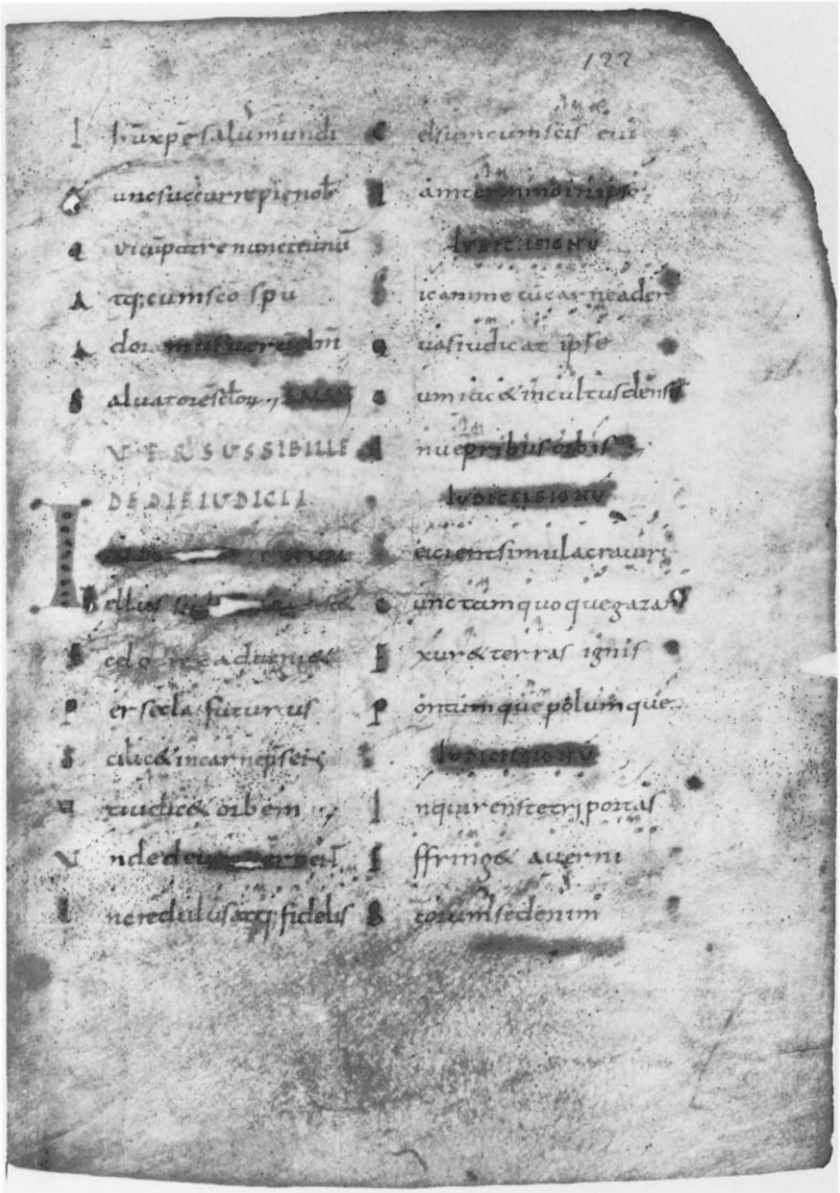


Figure 1 *Iudicii signum*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1154, fol. 122r



Figure 2 *Iudicii signum*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1154, fol. 122<sup>r</sup>

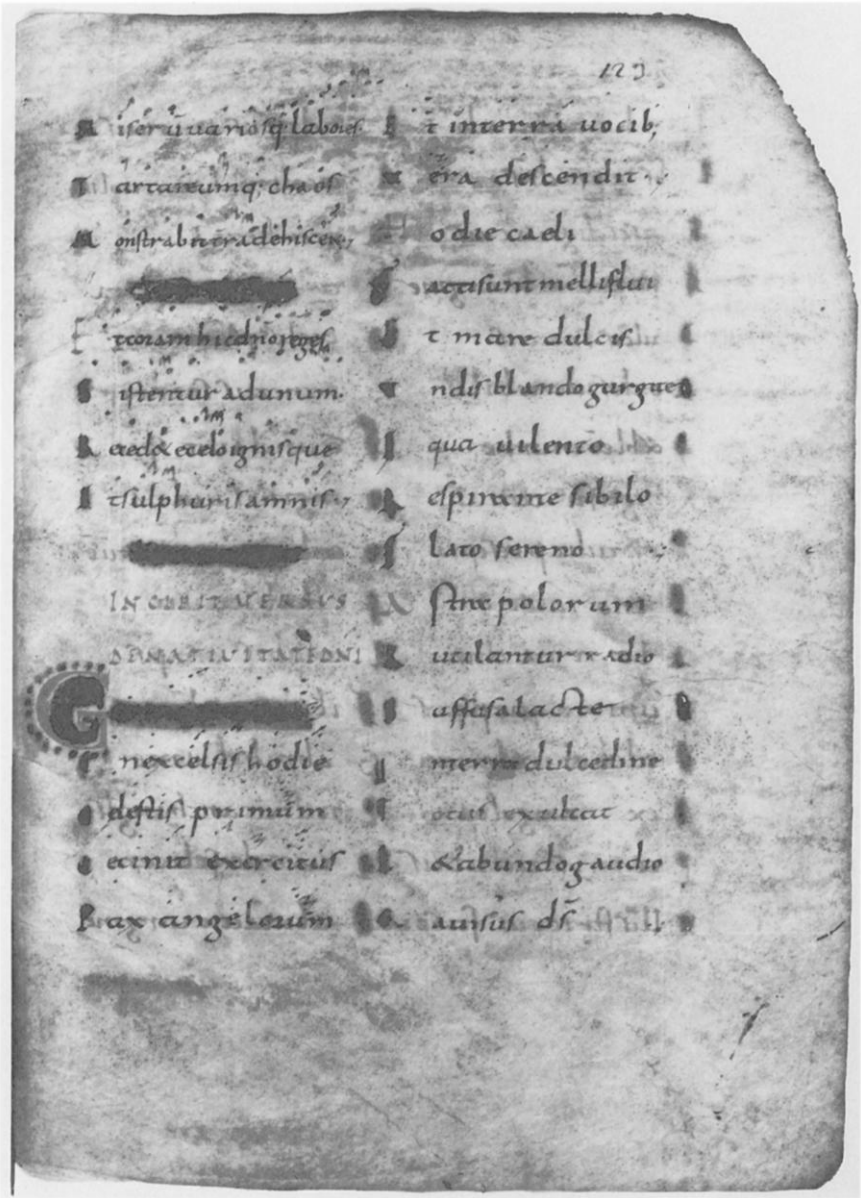


Figure 3 *Iudicii signum*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1154, fol. 123<sup>r</sup>

Despite the confusion this causes, it is possible to reconstruct both the order in which the scripts were added and broad features of their musical settings.

In the passages where the two notations appear together, that copied by scribe B occupies the central space. It is thus probable that scribe B added his notation first, since any later addition would have to be fitted around the pre-existent musical notation, which would naturally occupy the central notational space. Two other aspects of the surviving musical notation confirm this chronology. First, the opening lines feature only the work of scribe A's hand. It is inconceivable that the earlier scribe would have omitted to notate the opening lines, but entirely consistent with the practice of scribe A to record openings. Here, that must have involved erasing the opening of B's notation and there is some evidence of this (see fol. 122<sup>r</sup> l.ix). Secondly, after the opening lines only the notation of scribe B is continuous; the hand of scribe A appears on most lines, but often only copying two or three forms.

The unusual situation that results from the presence of two notations in the same notational space raises questions about the rationale for recording. From content alone, it appears that the musical notation of scribe A records a less elaborate version than that recorded by scribe B. In several places, however, the notations appear to convey exactly the same information (see fol. 122<sup>r</sup> ll.ii-iv). This may be taken as evidence that one version updates another, in terms of either musical content or notational principle. Its intended use, however, remains a problematic question. Conventionally, it would be argued that *Iudicii signum* was recorded for mnemonic reasons. But an argument from mnemonics cannot explain the existence of simultaneous notations, causing confusion as to detail and making it extremely difficult to separate out the two in transcription. As it stands, the notation on the page would be more of a hindrance than a help to anyone wishing to use the notation as an aide-mémoire.

Does this simply represent a clumsy updating by the later scribe? If so, it is one that shows an astonishing lack of foresight and, more significantly, one in which no effort has been made to avoid the developing chaos. A degree of spatial separation is a rare exception rather than the norm (see fol. 122<sup>v</sup> ll.iii); in many cases the newer notation has been quite deliberately woven

between the notes of the older one (see fol. 122<sup>r</sup> II.iii). This leads to the conclusion that clarity of recording was not a priority. Given this situation, more appropriate than a mnemonic explanation is a shifting of the axis of interpretation away from content and use. The notations highlighted here seem to be concerned not with the transmission of information in a narrow sense, but with the fact of recording; that is, the intention of the notation may be explained by its own activity and status as writing. Or, in other words, notation was a mode of writing and, as such, represented an act of compilation: a matter of bringing together and presenting on the page all the various aspects of *versus*.

The example of *Iudicii signum* is particularly striking, since not only the later double notation but also the single earlier notation would have made a specific impact as writing; in this case, one in accordance with the design of the collection. This derives from the historical status of script B as the first notation to have been added to the manuscript. The scripts of partial notation are found over *versus* which have the main hand A over their opening lines and thus may be assumed to have been added after A.<sup>69</sup> The resultant impact of script B as at one stage the sole notation in the manuscript forms a direct correlation with the written design noted above.

The collection itself establishes *Iudicii signum* as central through its numerical and symbolic design. In terms of content, its acrostic and its literal concern for signs also mark it as outstanding in rhetorical force. Further to this, the text itself is of a particular status in poetic and prophetic terms: the composition is not by a mortal but by a sibyl, and it contains the only classical prophecy

<sup>69</sup> Of the remaining scripts, E is a significantly later addition (probably of the eleventh century) and was added at the same time as the textual addition over which it appears: the ink colour and the thickness of stroke are exactly the same. This leaves scribes C and F. The latter displays features of French notation as mentioned above in relation to scribe K and is most likely by the same hand; the construction of its forms, the delicacy of stroke and the light brown quality of the ink are all identical. Even if the musical notation is not by the same hand, it remains most probable that it was added in the same layer as K and hence after the work of scribe A. The hand of scribe C is unsteady, with a limited range of forms and uneven construction. Although this makes it difficult to date, the evidence of the rest of the manuscript suggests that it was added much later, since the additions by less well formed hands in the prayer section and the *Synonyma* are all of the eleventh century.

approved by the Church fathers. Musical notation may be taken as another element in this scheme, marking out the written text of *Iudicii signum* as visually significant and adding weight to its symbolic status and rhetorical force. Viewed in this light, notation may take its place as one among several characteristic activities involved in the making of a book and the highlighting of certain sections of the text; that is, one of the characteristic processes involved in gathering together and presenting material on the page.

Attractive as such reasoning is, it cannot be sustained for later additions. Scribe A appears to be recording for pragmatic rather than symbolic reasons; no written design in his selection can be found. Yet, with one eye on his notational practice in *Iudicii signum*, an insistence on approaching notation within the sphere of writing remains legitimate: the act of writing music alongside *versus* is an issue of compilation in itself. In other words, the later musical notations overlap with Carolingian programmes on the general level of activities characteristic of written composition, rather than in any specifics of design.

How far this line of reasoning may be applied outside Paris 1154 is not immediately apparent. Issues of compilation are particularly suited to a manuscript whose generic tradition and written *contextus* are those of *florilegia*. Of the other *versus* collections discussed above, only Bern 455 provides an immediate comparison: the two Verona manuscripts contain no notation, and the notation in the Brussels collection is found only over *versus* added at a later stage.<sup>70</sup> It is thus to Bern 455 that we finally turn.

The musical notation found in Bern 455 suggests a written context of a different order, one of educational use. As noted above, the Boethian and Prudentian group of *versus* is characterised by its didactic element. Here, the rubrics describe in detail the metric structure of the *versus* to which they are appended, and this fully

<sup>70</sup> The later additions, all with musical notation of the St Gall type, are found on fols. 15<sup>v</sup>, 22<sup>r</sup>, 66<sup>r</sup> and 74<sup>v</sup>–76<sup>r</sup>. In addition to the *versus Fulgentibus palmis*, *Avarus maximam* and *Mendaces ostendit* noted by Van der Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, II (Brussels, 1902), pp. 289–92, also recorded are the *versus Hierez runeta/ Salve linguas* (fol. 15<sup>v</sup>), *Beati ergo corpus*, a text referring to St Otmar the first Abbot of St Gall (fol. 76<sup>r</sup>), and the *Agnus dei* and *Gloria in excelsis* (fol. 76<sup>v</sup>).

accords with the presumed function of Boethian *versus* in a monastic setting: that is, the teaching of metrics.<sup>71</sup>

Later additions reinforce this conception and extend its application to the whole manuscript. These additions fall into two types, text and music, of which the former may be further subdivided into substantial additions of texts into the main body of the manuscript and pen-trials. The substantial additions have been well documented and point to the appearance of this manuscript at Laon some time in the tenth century. The pen-trials suggest the use of the manuscript at that establishment, for they consist of practice alphabets, the copying of various words that appear on the same folio and, in one instance, a very unsteady name. These pen-trials are all written by poor hands.

The educational use for the manuscript that the pen-trials imply is supported by a consideration of the musical notation. In particular, some of it can be traced to a named person: Adelem of Laon. Contreni identified the hand of Adelem on fol. 22<sup>r</sup> in a correction to a rubric and the addition of two extra verses.<sup>72</sup> Further, he suggested that the presence of notation in this manuscript was consistent with Adelem's activities as a teacher of chant. This supposition is borne out by the manuscript evidence: the notation on fol. 22<sup>r</sup> appears in the same hand over both the *versus* and the addition. This notation is in the same ink and displays the same thickness of stroke and detail of formation as the added text. These two factors taken together suggest that the added text and its notation were both added by Adelem.

The educational role for the musical notation that this attribution suggests is not in itself surprising. What is striking is that it can be seen to function in a similar way to the textual additions. To return to fol. 22<sup>r</sup>, beneath the additions of Adelem of Laon is another addition in what is now a light, yellow-brown ink. Although the detail of this hand is not wholly clear, its purpose is. Here, an unsteady and immature hand copies the addition

<sup>71</sup> See 'A Canterbury Classbook of the Mid-Eleventh Century (the 'Cambridge Songs' Manuscript)', A. Riggs and G. Wieland, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), pp. 113–30. Also C. Page, 'The Boethian Metrum *Bella bis quinis*: A New Song from Saxon Canterbury', in *Boethius – His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. M. Gibson (Oxford, 1981), pp. 306–11.

<sup>72</sup> See Contreni, *The Cathedral School*, pp. 160–1.



above it – not only the text, *but the music also*. As well as practising the formation of letters, the scribe is learning how to write neumes; the younger hand is ‘learning to write correctly’.<sup>73</sup>

In this exploration of the role of notation in an early *versus* collection, two avenues have been explored: the *contextus* of the particular manuscript and the overall concerns of Carolingian text composition and compilation. Into the first category have fallen the particular designs found within *versus* collections: that is, the principles used for ordering on both a global and local level, be they liturgical, hierarchical, didactic, penitential, political or numerical. This has involved an attempt to see beyond the specific manuscript to the creative decisions of individuals involved in its compilation. Into the second category have come broad questions concerning cultural trends in writing and composition, especially the status of compilation and the rationale of ordering.

There remains a wide gap in the middle. With one exception, it has not been possible to associate any of the *versus* collections with particular dates, people or places. Equally, it has not been possible to discuss the content of the musical settings. The result of these two omissions is that the mechanics of the *versus* tradition, in terms of its transmission and stylistic mode, have been neglected. Part of the reason for this neglect is that the nature of the *versus* tradition is elusive. In terms of musical settings, with the exception of *Iudicii signum*, no similar musical concordances for any of the Paris or Bern settings have yet been found. Indeed, the frequency of any musical concordance is in itself extremely low: in the Paris collection, out of seventeen settings only five have musical concordances.

Similar problems arise in any attempt to identify a coherent textual tradition for the *versus*. The problems of using chronological and stylistic criteria to define Carolingian *versus* have already been touched upon in relation to editions such as *Monumenta Germanica Historiae*. Not only are *versus* by classical and early Christian writers transmitted alongside those by Carolingian authors, but

<sup>73</sup> For further examples of this, see S. Rankin, ‘Doodles in the Margins: Musical Notation at Fleury’, paper given at Symposium ‘Die Erschließung der Quellen des mittelalterlichen liturgischen Gesanges’ (1996), to be published in series *Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien*.

metric and rhythmic schemes are also found side by side. In terms of genre, so-called 'double-cursus' *versus* appear amidst regular strophic constructions, and distinctions between a *versus* and a hymn repertory, as implied by the selections in *Analecta Hymnica*, are difficult to draw in absolute terms.

At the root of such procedural problems lies a bigger conceptual one. It has been customary to view the Carolingian *versus* as a work akin to modern poetry: that is, an autonomous creation characteristic of an individual author. This has led to the presentation and discussion of *versus* as individual units, a practice which has served to sideline musical settings as secondary. The evidence assembled here speaks against this. It is characteristic of *versus* to appear within specific written contexts, whether this be ordering principles of a *versus* collection, or in alternation with *prosa* in large-scale structures such as Boethius' *De Consolatione*, or as smaller groups of material in thematic collections such as *libelli precum* or *florilegia*.

A recognition of this written context is crucial for the musicologist, since it places much of the importance of *versus*, as well as their definition as a repertory, in extrinsic rather than intrinsic categories: in the ordering, in the fact of compilation, in the modes of presentation on the page, in the material contained in other parts of the manuscript, and in the musical notation which lies (in a very literal sense) between the texts. With this in mind, we can return to the question 'How should we judge the signs?' It has been argued here that part of the answer lies in the written status and activity which support the signs that constitute the earliest music notations. By focusing on this written context a different mode of judging has been arrived at: that is, reading between texts, or reading texts in conjunction both with each other and with the musical notation. Put simply, it means reading the writing.

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