

Chant and its Origins

Edited by
Thomas Forrest Kelly



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Chant and its Origins

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Chant and its Origins

Edited by

Thomas Forrest Kelly

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Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<i>Series Preface</i>	ix
<i>Introduction</i>	xi

PART I GENERAL OVERVIEWS OF SCHOLARSHIP

1 Richard Crocker (1995), 'Gregorian Studies in the Twenty-first Century', <i>Plainsong and Medieval Music</i> , 4 , pp. 33–86.	3
2 David Hiley (1997), 'Writings on Western Plainchant in the 1980s and 1990s', <i>Acta Musicologica</i> , 69 , pp. 53–93.	57

PART II EARLY HISTORY

3 Peter Jeffery (1992), 'Jerusalem and Rome (and Constantinople): The Musical Heritage of Two Great Cities in the Formation of the Medieval Chant Traditions', <i>Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990</i> , Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, pp. 163–74.	101
4 Joseph Dyer (1989), 'The Singing of Psalms in the Early-Medieval Office', <i>Speculum</i> , 64 , pp. 535–78.	113
5 James McKinnon (1992), 'The Eighth-Century Frankish-Roman Communion Cycle', <i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i> , 45 , pp. 179–227.	157

PART III EDITIONS AND REPERTORIES

6 Jacques Froger (1978), 'The Critical Edition of the Roman Gradual by the Monks of Solesmes', <i>Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society</i> , 1 , pp. 81–97.	209
7 Hartmut Möller (1987), 'Research on the Antiphoner – Problems and Perspectives', <i>Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society</i> , 10 , pp. 1–14.	227

PART IV ANALYTICAL STUDIES

8 László Dobszay (1998), 'Some Remarks on Jean Claire's Octoechos', in László Dobszay (ed.), <i>Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Seventh Meeting Sopron, Hungary, 1995</i> , Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, pp. 179–94.	243
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- 9 Joseph Dyer (1982), 'The Offertory Chant of the Roman Liturgy and its Musical Form', *Studi Musicali*, **11**, pp. 3–30. 259
- 10 Edward Nowacki (1985), 'The Gregorian Office Antiphons and the Comparative Method', *Journal of Musicology*, **4**, pp. 243–75. 287

PART V ROMAN AND FRANKISH CHANT

- 11 Willi Apel (1956), 'The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **9**, pp. 118–27. 323
- 12 Bruno Stäblein (1974), 'Die Entstehung des gregorianischen Chorals', *Die Musikforschung*, **27**, pp. 5–13. 333
- 13 Paul F. Cutter (1967), 'The Question of the "Old-Roman" Chant: A Reappraisal', *Acta Musicologica*, **39**, pp. 2–20. 347
- 14 S.J.P. van Dijk (1963), 'Papal Schola versus Charlemagne', in Pieter Fischer (ed.), *Organicae Voces: Festschrift Joseph. Smits van Waesberghe*, Amsterdam: I.M.M. Instituut voor Middeleeuwse Muziekwetenschap, pp. 21–30. 367
- 15 Thomas H. Connolly (1972), 'Intros and Archetypes: Some Archaisms of the Old Roman Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **25**, pp. 157–74. 377
- 16 Helmut Huckle (1980), 'Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **33**, pp. 437–67. 395
- 17 Kenneth Levy (2003), 'Gregorian Chant and the Romans', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **56**, pp. 5–41. 427
- 18 Andreas Pfisterer (2005), 'Remarks on Roman and non-Roman Offertories', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, **14**, pp. 169–81. 465

PART VI OTHER CHANT TRADITIONS

- 19 Terence Bailey (2000), 'The Development and Chronology of the Ambrosian Sanctorale: The Evidence of the Antiphon Texts', in Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (eds), *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 257–77. 481
- 20 Thomas Forrest Kelly (1988), 'The Beneventan Chant', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, **30**, pp. 393–97. 503
- 21 Don M. Randel (1992), 'The Old Hispanic Rite as Evidence for the Earliest Forms of the Western Christian Liturgies', *International Musicological Society Congress Report XV: Madrid 1992*, pp. 491–6. 509

Index 515

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Series Preface

This series of volumes provides an overview of the best current scholarship in the study of medieval music. Each volume is edited by a ranking expert, and each presents a selection of writings, mostly in English which, taken together, sketch a picture of the shape of the field and of the nature of current inquiry. The volumes are organized in such a way that readers may go directly to an area that interests them, or they may provide themselves a substantial introduction to the wider field by reading through the entire volume.

There is of course no such thing as the Middle Ages, at least with respect to the history of music. The Middle Ages – if they are plural at all – get their name as the temporal space between the decline of classical antiquity and its rediscovery in the Renaissance. Such a definition might once have been useful in literature and the fine arts, but it makes little sense in music. The history of Western music begins, not with the music of Greece and Rome (about which we know far too little) but with the music of the Latin Christian church. The body of music known as Gregorian chant, and other similar repertoires, are the first music that survives to us in Western culture, and is the foundation on which much later music is built, and the basis for describing music in its time and forever after.

We continue to use the term ‘medieval’ for this music, even though it is the beginning of it all; there is some convenience in this, because historians in other fields continue to find the term useful; what musicians are doing in the twelfth century, however non-medieval it appears to us, is likely to be considered medieval by colleagues in other fields.

The chronological period in question is far from being a single thing. If we consider the Middle Ages as extending from the fall of the Roman Empire, perhaps in 476 when Odoacer deposed Romulus Augustus, into the fifteenth century, we have defined a period of about a millennium, far longer than all subsequent style-periods (‘Renaissance’, ‘Baroque’, ‘Classical’, ‘Romantic’ etc.) put together; and yet we tend to think of it as one thing.

This is the fallacy of historical parallax, and it owes its existence to two facts; first that things that are nearer to us appear to be larger, so that the history of the twentieth century looms enormous while the distant Middle Ages appear comparatively insignificant. Second, the progressive loss of historical materials over time means that more information survives from recent periods than from more distant ones, leading to the temptation to gauge importance by sheer volume.

There may be those who would have organized these volumes in other ways. One could have presented geographical volumes, for example: Medieval Music in the British Isles, in France, and so on. Or there might have been volumes focused on particular source materials, or individuals. Such materials can be found within some of these volumes, but our organization here is based on the way in which scholars seem in the main to organize and conceptualize the surviving materials. The approach here is largely chronological, with an admixture of stylistic considerations. The result is that changing styles of composition result in volumes focused on different genres – tropes, polyphony, lyric – that are not of course entirely separate in time, or discontinuous in style and usage. There are also volumes –

notably those on chant and on instrumental music – that focus on certain aspects of music through the whole period. Instrumental music, of which very little survives from the Middle Ages, is often neglected in favour of music that does survive – for very good reason; but we do wish to consider what we can know about instruments and their music. And liturgical chant, especially the repertory known as Gregorian chant, is present throughout our period, and indeed is the only music in Western culture to have been in continuous use from the beginnings of Western music (indeed it could be said to define its beginnings) right through until the present.

The seven volumes collected here, then, have the challenge of introducing readers to an enormous swathe of musical history and style, and of presenting the best of recent musical scholarship. We trust that, taken together, they will increase access to this rich body of music, and provide scholars and students with an authoritative guide to the best of current thinking about the music of the Middle Ages.

THOMAS FORREST KELLY

Series Editor

Introduction

Readers might wonder why a series of volumes gathering together a selection of the most important and influential scholarship on medieval music should devote two of its seven volumes to research on liturgical chant. The reasons are primarily twofold: first, that chant is the music that underpins essentially all other music of the Middle Ages (and far beyond), and is the music that is most abundantly preserved. Second, it is a subject that has engaged a great deal of research and debate in the last fifty years, and the nature of the complex issues that have recently arisen in research on chant deserve adequate representation in a series designed to provide readers with an overview of current issues and problems.

This volume and its companion volume, *Oral and Written Transmission in Chant*, are complementary, and are not entirely divisible, but in a general sense they begin with a consideration of chant as such: this volume is concerned with what chant is, how it works, what the shape of the repertory is and what the sources are like. It considers not only the chant known most often as Gregorian, but also the other varieties of Christian liturgical chant, especially the surviving repertories of non-Gregorian Latin chant. Chief among these is the chant known as ‘Old-Roman’, arguably a misnomer since it survives only in relatively late manuscripts, from the city of Rome. The relationship between Gregorian and Old-Roman chant, and the questions that the relationship raises about the origins of each of those repertories, have engaged leading scholars since about 1950, and continues to be an issue of central importance in chant studies.

The companion volume deals in some ways with the same materials, but from a different point of view, namely that of transmission. How does it happen that, when Gregorian chant is first written down, in the ninth and tenth centuries, it comes to us as a fully formed repertory, with very few variants from manuscript to manuscript? We have every reason to believe that the music was sung, very likely as it appears in the earliest manuscripts, for a long time before those early writings. How was that managed? Did singers actually memorize the whole repertory? Or did they perhaps recompose music as they performed it, with the result that our written sources are one version of many possible performances? And what is the reason for the turn to writing? How did music-writing begin, and why? What can we learn about how chant was performed from how it was written? And what can we learn about transmission, origins, relationships and musical change over time, from a careful study of the surviving sources? These are issues not unconnected of course with those in this volume.

* * *

Let us return to the two points made earlier in justification of these two volumes on chant, in order to amplify them both. First, the central importance of chant to the study of medieval music.

The Latin liturgical music of the medieval church is the earliest body of Western music to survive to us in a more or less complete form. It is a very large body of thousands of individual pieces, of striking beauty and aesthetic appeal, which has the special quality of embodying, of giving voice to, the words of the liturgy itself. It is thus music, but more than music, and less than music. More than music, in that it clothes the word of God, and the words that man uses in addressing God, and thus has a role, and an importance, far beyond what we normally consider to be the function and purpose of music. Less than music, in that its purpose is not purely one of giving pleasure through aural means; it has other purposes, perhaps equally important: making the words audible; helping a community keep together; providing a functional way to perform the regular round of worship.

It is worth noting that essentially everything audible in the medieval liturgy was performed in a way that we would call singing. Whereas medieval writers on the liturgy seem to use the verbs ‘canere’ and ‘dicere’ interchangeably, we tend to use a range of words that suggest that some aspects of the performance of medieval liturgy are more musical than others: ‘cantillation’, ‘psalm-tone’, ‘prayer-tone’, indeed the very word ‘chant’, have implications that the sound involved has many aspects of music, but can perhaps be distinguished from pure music.

The fact that there are so many manuscripts of liturgical chant (compared, that is, to manuscripts of any other kind of medieval music) is due to the importance of the chant in the liturgy; it is in fact the *words* that are the essential – this is how it happens that the earliest surviving chant-books are books of texts only, and how it happens that the same words may occasionally have different melodies in different places.

It is also due to the fact that clerics – clerks – were the persons who wrote the books. They were essentially the only literate people, at least in the earlier Middle Ages, and the books they wrote were largely for their own use – Bibles, patristics, hagiographic literature, but above all liturgical books, and the books of chant were an essential possession of any well-furnished monastery or collegiate church.

Second, the chant is the basis for much of the rest of medieval music, and indeed for much music of our own time. It is the only body of music that has been continuously practised, from the time of its origin (a matter that is up for discussion, as the reader will know or will soon find out) until the present – as a conservative estimate, for more than a thousand years. Until the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) it was the unique music of the Roman Catholic liturgy, and even that Council, which effected many changes in the liturgy, declared, ‘The Church recognizes Gregorian chant as being specially suited to the Roman liturgy. Therefore, other things being equal, it should be given pride of place in liturgical services’.

Gregorian chant has been at the centre of sacred music since our earliest records. The way we think about music and describe it, from the ‘Do Re Mi’ syllables we use, to the development of the musical staff, the shapes of individual notes, the scale used to place notes on lines and spaces – all derive from the gradual notational development of chant. Further developments in music, whether they be the growth of polyphony, or the cultivation of paraliturgical or non-liturgical kinds of music, owe their development, and often much of their style, to the chant.

Polyphonic music arises, so far as we can tell from written documents, as a way of embellishing the performance of chant. A second singer might sing the same song at a different pitch, or might simultaneously sing a different melody, to embellish the chant. Our earliest great repertoires of polyphonic music, from the cathedrals of Winchester in the eleventh

century and Paris in the twelfth, are essentially bodies of chant with polyphonic elaboration. If the chant gradually takes on a secondary or foundational role, in later music, where added voices assume major musical interest, the chant nevertheless retains its importance, symbolic as well as practical, as the basis upon which other music is made.

Religious poetry, vernacular lyric and other sorts of non-liturgical music (including rare instances of instrumental music) begin to appear in the centuries following the creation of our earliest manuscripts of chant. It seems unlikely that there was no lyric poetry, no vernacular music, no instrumental music, until the eleventh or twelfth century. The reality is surely that the technology of writing, developed to support the chant, was eventually used for other purposes also, and it thus became possible for the first time to record other musics as well. Even in secular lyric and in instrumental music we can detect the influence of chant in turns of phrase, in modal structures of melodies, in formal patterns such as that of the liturgical sequence used also for *lais* and *estampies*.

An understanding of the chant is fundamental to the life of any medieval musician; any instruction in music would have been based on the explication of chant that is at the core of all medieval musical theory, and the singing of chant is the one thing that could certainly be heard in every place from one end of Europe to the other.

This is not to say that chant does not change, or that an understanding of chant would have been the same at different places and at different times, or indeed between one person and another. This is one of the things that make the study of chant fascinating, if difficult. But it is a music of supreme importance and supreme beauty, and it deserves our close attention. Fortunately it has received that attention, and from some of the wisest scholars of our age. It is our good fortune to be able to present here some of the results of their thinking.

General Overview of Scholarship

The chant itself, how it works, the nature of its repertoires and genres, and the means by which it clothes the very complex medieval liturgy in music is not the subject of this volume or its companion volume. Students wishing to introduce themselves to the chant and the liturgy will turn to such indispensable manuals as David Hiley's *Western Plainchant* (1993) and John Harper's *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* (1991), along with the practical publications of Gregorian chant by the monks of Solesmes. The purpose of this volume, as of the others in this series, is to review scholarship and current issues in research on medieval music.

With this purpose in mind, the volume begins with two surveys of recent scholarship on chant, by two of its leading scholars. Chapter 1, Richard Crocker's 'Gregorian Studies in the Twenty-First Century', is in part a reaction to Hiley's handbook mentioned above, and partially a call to reconsider how we think about chant and how we should address the future. Crocker puts his scholarly finger on the chief issues confronting chant research – issues addressed in this volume and in its companion volume. They consist of issues of transmission: how could such a body of chant come fully formed into written existence when it did? How can we know anything about the history of music and liturgy before the time of the earliest written music? It serves as a wise and thoughtful beginning for anyone wishing to see how one formulates questions for research, why research in medieval chant matters, and how much more there is to do.

David Hiley, who wrote the (hand)book, provides an ideal introduction to the current state of research towards the end of the 1990s in his ‘Writings on Western Plainchant in the 1980s and 1990s’ (Chapter 2). Hiley’s commentary precedes a substantial bibliography, and it is a good introduction to scholarship, and a good complement to Crocker’s. Hiley’s commentary concentrates on music in the West, and deals with matters of repertory and style. He provides an overview of recent scholarship from the point of view of music, functions and historical context.

Early History

The central issue addressed by most of the scholars in this volume is that of origins: how did chant come to be what it is? What can we know about its formation? The information we actually have comes in layers: we know that, for the music of the mass, the liturgical genres we call the proper were sung in the Roman liturgy at least by about 700 (we know this from the so-called *Ordines Romani*); and we know, from about 800, the texts of the central repertory of chants from Frankish books providing the texts of the chants of the Roman liturgy; from about 900 we have musical notation for those chants, and from about a century later we have musical notation whose pitches we can read, and which corresponds closely with the earlier notations. There seems to be a certain stability and permanence, and we are tempted to believe that what we can read of each layer is true for the previous layer where we cannot, and to project the same stability backwards in time before our written documents.

The earliest history of music in the West must be inferred from the slight information we have from written references and descriptions, in such places as the writings of the church fathers. The earliest landscape we can discern is made up of a variety of musical practices, East and West, including the chant of the Greek Orthodox Church (along with evidence of other Eastern churches) and the chant of the Roman Church, which consists of several liturgies and musics: Old Spanish, Ambrosian, Beneventan, Gallican, Old-Roman and Gregorian, to name those that have left at least a trace behind. The evidence of the variety of uses is in some cases scant, in others abundant. What is clear, however, is that Gregorian chant is not the only, nor perhaps the oldest, of the liturgical chants of the church.

A brief look at the larger landscape is made available to us in this volume. Peter Jeffery, in Chapter 3, ‘Jerusalem and Rome (and Constantinople): The Musical Heritage of Two Great Cities in the Formation of Medieval Chant Traditions’, suggests the connections that can be made, tenuous as they are, among the very early practices of Christianity, and points the way towards uncovering and understanding what may be the deep connections among the Eastern and Western liturgies. More importantly, he traces the development of the liturgies from a responsorial psalm and an annual cycle of readings, through a complete annual repertory of chants, and a fully developed lectionary, followed by further embellishment by creative musicians – a parallel process that can be followed in both great cities.

Ways of looking at earlier versions of the liturgy are examined by Joseph Dyer and James McKinnon in Chapters 4 and 5. The book of psalms stands at the centre of the liturgy and of the chant, and it is the subject of Dyer’s study here. From earliest times the Hebrew psalms have been part of Christian worship, and their use as the basis of the majority of the texts of plainsong melodies underscores their centrality. As part of worship, the psalms are sung in regular rotation in monasteries and cathedrals, and every monk was expected to memorize all

150 psalms (a matter that might have taken care of itself over the course of years of repetition). Commentaries on the psalms were known to every literate cleric in the Middle Ages.

The performance of psalms by monastic groups is the source of some discussion. Dyer makes plain that solo performance of psalms was the norm in early Western liturgy, and that by the ninth century choral psalmody seems to have become more common. The question of performance – by soloists, with or without refrains or antiphons, and alternating between two choirs – continues to engage scholarly attention.¹ Dyer introduces much of this history, and considers the later medieval phenomenon of varieties of psalm-tone, wondering whether their great number might reflect a persistent practice of solo psalmody.

James McKinnon, in Chapter 5, ‘The Eighth-Century Frankish-Roman Communion Cycle’, one of several studies that led up to the publication of his magisterial *The Advent Project* (2000), shows how liturgical evidence may be marshalled to make historical arguments. His study of the Roman cycle of communion chants uses internal evidence to suggest that the cycle was created, perhaps composed, over a relatively short space of time, in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, most likely by the expert members of the Roman *schola cantorum*. This date is late compared to many other scenarios for the creation of the chant, but it is part of McKinnon’s larger argument laid out in his posthumous book, which extends the argument to the whole of the chant-texts of the Roman liturgy. The question of origins will recur – indeed it is one of the most substantial problems facing modern scholarship – when we come to consider Old-Roman chant.

Editions and Repertories

The study of Gregorian chant has been much facilitated by a return to the manuscript sources of the music, which in turn have made possible musical editions and analytical studies. Beginning in 1889 the monks of the abbey of Solesmes published the series *Paléographie musicale*, volumes of photographic facsimiles of the most important sources of chant, along with substantial analytical studies. That series has been the backbone of chant studies ever since, and because of the importance of the manuscripts, and their ready accessibility, much important research has been centred on those sources. Other series of facsimiles have also appeared, and the newer technologies of microfilm and digital imaging have made source-studies progressively more possible and more comprehensive.

Analytical and editorial work, too, have facilitated the study of the earliest manuscripts. Chief among the research tools used by all scholars of the chant are the two milestone publications of René-Jean Hesbert, one for the mass and one for the office. *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (1935) is a parallel transcription of the texts of the six oldest surviving sources of the chants of the Roman mass, accompanied by an important introduction. The monks of Solesmes have worked for more than a century, not only on the practical chant-books of the Roman Catholic Church, but also on a critical edition of the music of the mass; their *Le graduel romain: Edition critique* (1957–) represents a monumental effort to understand the nature and relationships among the surviving manuscripts. Hesbert’s *Corpus antiphonalium officii* (1963–79) gives tabular views of twelve important sources of music for the office, edits their texts and in a final two volumes seeks to organize the relationships among hundreds

1 Most recently, see Huglo (2006), commenting on previous work by Philippe Bernard.

of manuscripts of music for the office. These are indispensable works of reference for all scholars of the chant. An introduction to the chief work on editorial matters for the mass and office are presented here in the survey-articles that appeared in the *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, on the gradual by Jacques Froger of Solesmes (Chapter 6) and on the music of the office by Hartmut Möller (Chapter 7).

Analytical Studies

The study of chant from an aesthetic and analytical point of view is not easily divorced from the study of the history of music and liturgy, for the close observation of chant reveals that as it comes to us it is organized as to its style by musical mode and by liturgical category. The chant as we have it is organized in a system of eight modes, called the *octoechos*, whose terms are borrowed from Greek music. The organizing idea seems to have come to the chant from outside, a principle that made it possible to retain in memory a great body of music, but which also required certain adjustments of a pre-modal repertory in order to get everything to fit somewhere. The system of eight modes, arranged on the basis of four final notes (D, E, F, G) with two categories for each final (authentic and plagal), is used for the classification of pieces of chant that are accompanied by psalmodic formulas (such as antiphons, introits, communions and responsories) and eventually for other pieces as well. The psalmodic tones themselves, based on reciting pitches and on beginning, medial and terminal formulas, are a central part of Gregorian modality, especially since their reciting pitches came to be interpreted as significant aspects of their modes.

Much study of Gregorian modality has been undertaken over the years, but nothing has provoked so much discussion as the theories of the late Dom Jean Claire of Solesmes. Invoking the untranslatable term ‘corde-mère’, Claire proposes the notion that three notes can account for the sound of much of medieval music, the notes serving as central reciting pitches, as final pitches or as both. The notes are the three varieties of diatonic note: the note with a semitone above it, the note with a semitone below it and the note with no adjacent semitone. There are no other kinds of note. They might be called C, D and E, but that presumes a written, rather than a heard, system. Claire’s theories, developed over a lifetime of singing the chant, involve the ideas of ‘archaic’ and ‘developed’ modes, those where reciting pitch and final are the same, and those where they have diverged. Such a conceptual framework goes a long way towards assimilating certain similarities, and certain differences, among like pieces in chant that cannot otherwise be explained. The presumption of a historical development in this modality raises doubts in the minds of many scholars, and it is the difficulty of reconciling Claire’s conceptual framework with the body of existing evidence that attracts László Dobszay’s attention. In Chapter 8, ‘Some Remarks on Jean Claire’s Octoechos’, Dobszay’s critique of Claire’s ideas is severe, even fierce, but it has at least the advantage of presenting and critiquing in English some of the ideas that Dom Claire expounded in a variety of places over a lifetime of thought.

As can already be gathered from McKinnon’s study of communions in Chapter 5, much is gained from a genre-based study of chant. It seems clear that the liturgical function of a chant has much to do with its history and its musical form. Many genres of chant have been the subject of study, as will be clear in many ways in this volume and in its companion volume. Here we present two such studies, so as to give the reader a taste of the methods and the

rewards of such study. Chapter 9, Joseph Dyer's study of the offertory, one of the most curious and apparently unpredictable of genres, results in an understanding of underlying musical strategies and formulas. This essay deals with the early history of a complex genre, and is one of several studies by Dyer on the offertory (see especially also Dyer, 1998). Edward Nowacki's study of antiphons (Chapter 10) gives an overview of historical layers in the development of office antiphons, and discusses parallels between Old-Roman and Gregorian melodies. He argues that the Roman books give examples, not texts, and suggest ways of singing.

Roman and Frankish Chant

Dyer and Nowacki deal with music from the repertory known as Old-Roman, and it raises an important issue in chant research. The question of origins has been crystallized by the study of that small number of manuscripts from the city of Rome that since about 1950 have been called 'Old-Roman'. The name is a misnomer since the manuscripts in question are younger by at least a century than the sources of Gregorian (better, 'Frankish') chant. But they are Roman, and the liturgy they represent has features that in many cases suggest an earlier state of the liturgy than that represented by the Gregorian manuscripts.

The evidence that Pipin, Charlemagne and others were at pains to import the Roman liturgy into the realm of the Franks, and that books and cantors were imported from Rome in order to accomplish this, makes it problematic that the only music we have from Rome itself is not the same music as we find in the Frankish books. The melodies in many cases are similar (the word 'similar' of course can mean many things), but the Roman music is consistent within its repertory, and it is not the Frankish version.

How can this be? A variety of explanations has been undertaken over the years. The Roman manuscripts were recognized as early as the second volume (1891) of the *Paléographie musicale*, when Dom Mocquereau printed a facsimile of an Old-Roman gradual (Vat. lat. 5319), but considered the Old-Roman music a decorated subsequent development of the pure Gregorian music. That is one possibility: the Old-Roman chant is derivative, after centuries of oral transmission, of a purer chant best represented by the Frankish manuscripts. Other possibilities exist, including the idea that both chants, Frankish and Roman, descend from a common ancestor now lost to us; and the idea that Frankish chant is a revision, according to Frankish tastes, of the music received from Rome (the Old-Roman chant) by the Carolingians.

This substantial oversimplification at least gives an idea of the scope and importance of the problem. Without the Roman manuscripts we would simply seek the musical origin of the 'Gregorian' chant using the methods developed by Classical philology, and we might well imagine that there was an unbroken tradition, written down textually in the eighth and ninth centuries, musically in the tenth, whose earlier traditions we might reconstruct by extrapolation. But the Old-Roman chant makes the question far more complicated; for this chant does, after all, come from the city of Gregory the Great, the centre of Latin Christendom and the acknowledged source of the liturgy and its music. Its liturgy is early, but its manuscripts are late.

Several of the essays in this volume address aspects of this issue, which has concerned scholars since the revival of interest in Old-Roman chant by Bruno Stäblein. Stäblein, in a paper presented at the Liturgical conference of 1950 (Stäblein, 1952) reminded scholars of the

repertory, and suggested that the Old-Roman chant was the prototype from which Gregorian chant developed.

Not every scholar agreed with Stäblein, and indeed he later revised his own views (Chapter 12). The issue was debated in print by a number of scholars, notably Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, Helmut Hucke and Stephen J. P. van Dijk; much of the changing view of Old-Roman chant in its relation to Gregorian is summarized in Hughes (1974, pp. 89–93, 276–77). Paul Cutter's 1967 summary presented here as Chapter 13 gives the *status quaestionis* in 1967, and van Dijk's 'Papal Schola *versus* Charlemagne' (Chapter 14) gives a version of his view of the matter, essentially that the Old-Roman music is the rite practised in the local churches of Rome, while the rite of the Papal schola is the music now called Gregorian, exported to the Franks in the eighth century.

Thomas Connolly's 'Introits and Archetypes: Some Archaisms of the Old Roman Chant' (Chapter 15), in some ways like Dyer's and Nowacki's essays on offertories and antiphons, gives serious analytical attention to a single genre of Old-Roman chant, in this case the introits. He finds a formulaic style that suggests an archaic quality to the chant.

Helmut Hucke is one of those who sought to accommodate the Old-Roman chant in a broad and unified conception of the origins of Gregorian chant. His explanation, with a good deal of background, is found here in his 'Towards a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant' (Chapter 16). Gregorian chant is a redaction of the musical repertory (now called Old-Roman) sent north and arranged by the Franks for use in Charlemagne's realm, and disseminated from there as the authoritative chant of St. Gregory.

In recent years Kenneth Levy (who features prominently also in the companion volume to this one with respect to the origins of musical notation) has proposed a theory that reverses the one more or less tacitly accepted for the last twenty years or so. In Chapter 17, 'Gregorian Chant and the Romans', he suggests that rather than accepting the Roman chant as it was transmitted to them (in an improvisational form, transmitted orally – see the companion volume), the Franks essentially rejected the Roman music and adapted their own Gallican melodies to the received Roman texts. The similarity of melodic contour between the two repertories is explained, according to Levy, as the adaptation to Roman style of the Frankish chant when it was later transmitted to Rome.

This essentially reverses the generally understood direction of transmission and influence, and Levy's several essays on this subject (mentioned in his bibliography) have understandably caused something of a stir. One reaction to his ideas (by Emma Hornby) is to be found in the companion volume to this one, in connection with another striking idea of Levy's about oral and written transmission, which is of course not unconnected to the Roman-Frankish questions. Another reaction is that of Andreas Pfisterer in 'Remarks on Roman and non-Roman Offertories' (Chapter 18).

Pfisterer, whose *Cantilena Romana: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des gregorianischen Chorals* (2002) is the most important book on chant published in recent years, reacts here to a small part of Levy's argument, namely that there are non-psalms offertories in the Gregorian liturgy that Levy argues are of Gallican origin; these in turn serve as an example of what Levy posits as a larger trend, namely that these and other pieces find their place in the Roman liturgy through Frankish intervention (this view is clearest in Levy (1984)). In Chapter 18 Pfisterer demonstrates, in an ingenious piece of liturgical detection, that these non-psalms

offertories were included in the Roman liturgy well before Carolingian times, and thus cannot be Carolingian additions.

Other Chant Traditions

The discussions are far from finished, and what becomes clearer is that there was a multiplicity of musics in the earlier Middle Ages, much of which we will never recover. Some music has fallen silent without being written down, other repertoires have died out or been suppressed, and there was once a wider variety of liturgical repertoires than is suggested by the later uniformity of Gregorian chant. This volume concludes with three brief studies of aspects of some of those repertoires: in Chapter 19 Terence Bailey examines the Ambrosian chant of the region of Milan; Thomas Forrest Kelly studies the chant now called Beneventan, from Latin southern Italy, in Chapter 20; while the Old Spanish chant of Iberia before the Arab conquest is the subject of Don Randel's Chapter 21. These are repertoires each of which has been studied in detail, and each of which would repay even more study: they are chants of profound musicality and historical interest in themselves, and they have much to teach us about the larger landscape and relationships among the liturgical chants of medieval Europe.

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Gregorian studies in the twenty-first century

RICHARD CROCKER

'Been there, done that, . . .'

This discussion is 'after Hiley': it consists of my reflections, after reading his splendid book, *Western Plainchant*,¹ concerning what I need and do not need to do, what I want and do not want to do, in pursuing studies in Gregorian chant. Even though my discussion is of some very general issues, it does not offer a programme; on the contrary, it can be taken as a critique of most programmes and systems. None the less, I hope it may suggest to others some positive and fruitful ways of proceeding.

I had the opportunity of reviewing *Western Plainchant*,² and expressed there my admiration for many things. For present purposes I take the book as read, and will refer to it both for general and for specific points; but I am not reviewing it again here. My feeling is that it epitomizes what has been done in Gregorian research for the last century, and shows as well as any book (and with more elegance than most) what can be accomplished with the tools and materials at hand. My critical questions do not concern what Hiley said, but rather the nature of the tools and materials, and the use to which they have been put. Some have been extremely useful, and having used them I do not need any more of them; of others I need much more; some may be useful to my colleagues, and those I leave to them; some I feel have been misused, and some should never have been used in the first place. More important, reading Hiley left me with a contradiction between admiring all that had been accomplished, and a feeling that Gregorian chant was still remote, mysterious, unattainable; this is often expressed by Hiley when he emphasizes how much has yet to be done on specific topics. Even though it is just chant – monophonic, diatonic, vocal – the sense of mystery resists our musical understanding, the sense of remoteness our historical understanding. Here I am concerned why that should be, and what I can do about it.

As a result of hard thinking on the topic I have come to some conclusions

¹ David Hiley, *Western Plainchant. A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993).

² For *Speculum* (1995).

that seem different from what I have believed for forty years, and certainly different from what I was taught. Still, the end result is not startlingly different. I will have much to say about history, and about criticism; you can call the result 'historical criticism' or 'critical history', as you wish. Joseph Kerman, who knows not much about chant beyond what I taught him, has taught me, by his gentle insistence over the years on criticism, what might be done in chant scholarship.

Hiley's title, *Western Plainchant*, includes all medieval sacred Latin monophony for Roman liturgy; I, however, have in mind only 'Gregorian chant' in the strictest sense – chant for the Roman Mass Propers from the Carolingian sources that have been taken to represent the 'archetype of diffusion'; more simply (but not absolutely) defined as the contents of Dom Hesbert's *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*.³ I make the restriction because Gregorian is what I want to study. I do reassure you that I have some knowledge and appreciation of other kinds of chant and liturgy; but while knowledge of other kinds of chant, as of other kinds of music, may always be helpful, it is as a supplement rather than a necessary pre-condition for the kind of knowledge that I seek here, as I will try to show.

Pre-history and history of Gregorian

The study of Gregorian chant takes place in two distinct phases according to the historical nature of the sources; this distinction has not been satisfactorily maintained in much of the research. Before the ninth century we have, for Gregorian, no document with enough musical notation to tell us about the repertory; after 900 we do have such documents. Before the ninth century, therefore, we cannot confidently make statements about how the music went; I will conclude that if we feel we need to make statements (and I do), it must be not with confidence but with imagination and a sense of adventure, and with full awareness that we may be making statements for some ulterior purpose.

After the ninth century our situation is radically different. With more musical documents than we know what to do with, the problem is to know what kinds of statements are best to make. I believe it to be unrealistic as well as unfruitful to try to make empirical generalizations 'on the basis of the complete sources' concerning the whole repertory, or a category, or even a single chant. On the other hand (and in apparent contradiction), it is good if whatever we do is informed by as wide an acquaintance with the repertory and its sources as possible. It seems to me that there is an essential distinction to be made between trying to make 'scientific' (that is, empirical) statements about a body of data, and trying to make 'critical' (that is, judgemental) responses to single items while keeping in mind the whole body of data. There is another essential distinction between a critical response so informed and one that is *not* informed –

³ René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935).

one that is instead deliberately focused on what can be known solely from the item in question. These distinctions may appear to be argumentative; they surely are, and I will argue them as closely as I can.

The reason for maintaining the two phases (before and after the ninth century) as distinct is that we have always assumed – as historians we could not do otherwise – that the repertory recorded after the ninth century was formed by its past. While this assumption works well for subsequent European repertories (where the relevant past is known to us in musical documents), it presents problems when there seems to be no such relevant past. Here I want only to point to the problem: specifically, in order to study how Gregorian chant was informed by its musical past, that past must be manufactured. I will argue that it has not been well made – perhaps wilfully, possibly disingenuously, and in any case with some unjustified impact upon our understanding of Gregorian chant as we have it in the documents. And I will offer some reflections on what, to me, is a bewildering paradox: Gregorian chant comes to us as the first of a subsequently unbroken succession of European styles, but is itself without a documented past.

The problem of the past is intimately tied to that of context, and here I want only to make a fussy insistence on the precise meaning of the term ‘context’. The word means ‘the text that goes with’, as when we quote a word ‘out of context’ by omitting the rest of the sentence or line of verse in which it occurs. Context is what dictionaries are all about. The content of a context, in this strict sense, is nothing but more text; when we have quoted a text complete, there is no context. When, on the other hand, we appeal to repertorial, or biographical, or social, or political ‘context’ we are using the word in a metaphorical sense, and I believe it is important not to confuse the two senses.

The use of the word ‘text’ requires a different but equally fussy distinction. I will be using it in what I take to be its strictest philological sense – and will go on at some length concerning what that sense involves. In musical scholarship, for no good reason that I can see, we habitually speak of the words that are sung as ‘the text’, when what we should say is ‘the words’. So when we refer to ‘the text’ in the strict sense, we may have to distinguish ‘verbal text’ from ‘musical text’.

Liturgy

It was given that the proper study of Gregorian was based upon a knowledge of ‘the liturgy’. So we studied our liturgy – sang it, even. We studied our Jungmann,⁴ we wore out one *Liber usualis*⁵ after another, then turned to the other chant books as they were needed. We did this for two principal reasons. First, and foremost, we sought context for the performance of the chant we

⁴ Joseph Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 5th edn 1962); trans. Francis Brunner, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2 vols. (New York, 1955).

⁵ *Liber usualis*, ed. The Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, various editions 1934–63).

found in our musical sources, the medieval chant books: we needed to know the circumstances in which it was performed, and we needed to know this in order to reconstruct the original meaning of the chant we had before us. The second reason is an extension of the first: we felt that by means of liturgy we could reconstruct the meaning the chant had in those centuries before 900 for which we had no documentation. If the meaning came from the liturgy, we reasoned, then we can recover it from the history of liturgy even if we do not have the chant itself.

The study of liturgy was an extremely fruitful exercise for medieval musical scholarship; we did it well, and learned a lot, as Hiley's work shows. We will continue to use this knowledge, will learn more, and may even ourselves contribute to liturgical studies. While Anne Robertson's study of liturgical books at St Denis⁶ may receive minor correction from Edward Foley's massive work on the same materials⁷ (Foley is a professional historian of liturgy), her study can stand beside his as a major contribution. The questions I am asking here are: How much more do we need to know? and What do we need it for? No one is more susceptible than me to the attractiveness of liturgy as a subject of historical study, and I share with my colleagues a temptation to put aside musical matters and simply explore the endless intricacies of medieval liturgical practice. I would have made a very poor monk, after all, so fascinating do I find the perennial reconfiguring of the several superimposed cycles of psalms, lessons, antiphons, responsories, weeks, feasts, seasons . . .

My questions imply restrictions and qualification of the original injunction, and these derive from several things that have become clear during the intensive cultivation of liturgical studies over the past decades, especially since the 1960s, the decade of 'Vatican II', the council at which Roman Catholic liturgy was reformed to an extent greater than any since Carolingian times. Events of such magnitude can be read in many different ways, and I record here only my personal conclusions as they apply to musical studies.

From the beginning, and now more than ever, liturgists may mean something quite different by 'liturgy' from what music historians have come to study. 'Participation of the faithful in the Sacrifice of Christ' is the true name of the Christian concern, especially for the Greeks, for whom 'the liturgy' is the Eucharist. The word in pagan Greek cult meant 'assigned duty contributed by participants in a specific cult', as when a citizen volunteered for, and was assigned, janitorial duties in the temple, or contributed money or goods towards maintenance of the cult. 'Liturgy' in Christian history is the sum of a number of such assignments. The bishop has his liturgy, the deacons and other ministers theirs, the people their own specific liturgy – the mode in which they participate in the cult. Christian cult being remarkably bookish, the various assignments

⁶ Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1991).

⁷ Edward Foley, *The First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis in France* (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 526). Spicilegium Friburgense (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1990).

often take the form of references to books for texts to be said; and because of a persistent pressure from some quarters for Christian cult to be sung, or to involve singing, there are liturgies for singers. But as anyone involved in the practice of singing for Christian worship knows, these liturgies, these assignments, can be extremely unstable, and there is clear evidence that this has always been the case. This is because the singers' liturgy may represent, for the liturgist, at best an ornament of questionable value, at worst a distraction of unquestionable detriment to the true business at hand. It depends, of course, on which liturgist is consulted (and that in itself is a basic fact we need to acknowledge); but some liturgists are perfectly capable of responding thus: 'What has the recitation by a small number of singers of snippets of Scripture, arbitrarily excerpted and inexplicably assigned to an elaborate annual cycle commemorating the experience of the Church in the terrestrial world, have to do with the participation of God's faithful people in the sacrifice offered forever by Jesus the Christ as eternal High Priest in the celestial presence of God Himself?' (To avoid any doubt, that liturgist's answer to his own question would be: 'None whatsoever'.) More briefly, the relevance of the Roman Mass Propers to the Gospel and the anaphora is arguable.

And speaking only of the Mass, what we as music historians usually study are the Mass Propers. Even in our very sophisticated technical discussions – or especially there – the only 'liturgical' substance may be calendric assignment. Now it is true that our preoccupation may be an appropriate response to the medieval chant books that we study, for they, too, are concerned deeply with calendric assignment. And it may even be characteristic of Western Latin Christian cult from 700 to the Reformation. At the beginning, however, in *Ordo romanus I*, there is a striking discrepancy between the emphasis on detailed description of the movements of the sacred ministers during Mass (a purist might object that these movements, too, are irrelevant), and the very off-hand references to the singing of what we would call items of Proper and Ordinary. And at the end, one of the reasons given in Reformation England for the need of reforms was that 'there was more time spent in looking in the book to see what was to be read than there was in the reading of it'. More striking, however, is the discrepancy between our concentration on Roman Mass Propers and calendar, and the concentration in liturgical studies on anaphora and sacramental theology, extended into a number of subdisciplines including Christology, eucharology, even angelology.

In dealing with the Gregorian chant repertory strictly defined (introit, gradual, tract, alleluia, offertory, communion, the sung Propers of the Roman Mass), we need to know the liturgical *function* (for introit it is entrance song) and we need to know the liturgical *occasion*, which means the Mass formulary of which a given introit is a part – its *context*, in a strict use of that term; we need to know the other texts it is sung with. It was for this that we learned to read liturgical books and to find in them the specific item we wanted to study. Where did it get us? If we identify a given item as an introit, then we can analyse and

perform it according to its known plan (antiphon, psalm-verse, *Gloria patri*, antiphon), something not apparent from the routine manner of entry in manuscripts. Of course, we long ago learned that the universal, objective information from the *Liber usualis* holds only for that book, since from a documentary point of view it is just another chant book with specific date and provenance, reflecting another local practice. And we are learning that the plan of the introit, as of the other Mass Propers, can vary from one time and place to another. This particular instance is a simple one, although some analysts and all performers might find it important to know just how many times the antiphon is going to be sung; but perhaps, as with exposition repeats, we can live with indeterminacy. Such problems are persistent for all the Propers: as far as plan goes, recourse to liturgy leaves us with local variation (which may eventually be determinate), or with local option, or with simple ignorance. Do we yet know at what point in time the repeat of the gradual respond after the verse was replaced by choral entry in the last phrase? Or was it always an option? Or was the repeat not even there in the 'beginning'? Can it be that the first evidence for the choral entry is the practice implied in the *Magnus liber organi*? Admittedly the variation affects only certain aspects of the cult; but they happen to be some of the aspects with which we as music historians are concerned. One of the lessons we are learning – alongside the liturgists, who are also coming to grips with it – is that 'liturgy' is 'the way they do it there and then'; and the books show as much variation as universality.

For the sake of performance (not to speak of our appreciation) of a given item, we hoped to get from liturgy a sense of the effect the item would have when performed in a manner appropriate to its liturgical occasion. Perhaps its nature (antiphonal, or responsorial), along with its function, would give us a clue. The liturgists, when asked, either quote us the same pathetically fragmentary, inconclusive texts that have been used by music historians since Peter Wagner – or else they quote Wagner himself, a basic reference even for Jungmann. More may be learned, perhaps, from the second piece of information we seek in liturgy, the context of a given item, in the form of the calendar occasion and the other texts to be sung – the Mass formulary. Disregarding for the moment the slight slippage in assignments producing variation over the centuries (this affects primarily the investigation into the formation of the formularies as we have them from the time of the 'archetype'), we can say that the *Temporale*, at least, gives us good context; but the exact nature of this context will repay close attention. If we would determine the character of a given introit from the feast to which it is assigned, then all we need to know is the character of that feast. But the character is determined by the other elements in the formulary, so that we tell the character of the introit from that of the gradual, and the character of the gradual from that of the introit. . . . Perhaps we break out of the circle by appealing to the Gospel; but the relationship of the Proper chants to the Gospel (as to the Epistle) turns out to be problematic, and while fascinating research is yet to be done, it is not clear whether it will ever show us how the

formularies came to be the way they are, or if so, how that tells us its character. That concerns the pre-history of the repertory as we have it. As for character, the best that Hiley can glean from common understanding is a prevailing character of 'solemnity' for liturgical chant. For musical purposes we might have liked more. It is a familiar problem that the tract for Quinquagesima in 'pre-Lent', a penitential season, is *Iubilate Deo*. How should we sing it? With what tempo in mind should we analyse it? What is the relation of word and tone?

Those questions bring us to the interesting possibility that we might have to determine the appropriate liturgical character from inspection of the item itself. Are we willing to say that *Iubilate Deo* is a joyful item, and that that takes precedence over the liturgical season? Or that since the liturgy is just the sum of its parts, the liturgical character can be modified by the character of a part? (Such questions would take us back to what liturgy is, or what it was at the time that concerns us.) Or – most interesting of all – perhaps we can determine liturgical character from individual character instead of determining the individual from liturgy, as we started out to do. Here, it seems to me, is one specific application of a work plan set out very convincingly by Leon Botstein,⁸ a plan very congenial to me because I have been trying to implement it for years without ever formulating it in general. Botstein says, in effect, that as music historians we can and should try to describe musical materials and processes in such a way as to suggest how they might be the source for ideas and styles in other aspects of culture. In the present instance we would do it by reading the words of the item, getting thence to the music, and thence to the liturgy. On other occasions we might even start by inspecting the music, to see what its character was. And that opens another Pandora's box, to which I will return after a brief mention of the pre-history.

The 'pre-history' of Gregorian consists of the centuries before 900, the date of the earliest comprehensive extant chant books with musical notation – the first time when we know for sure what the repertory was like. Before that time we only guess at the music, and that truth needs repeating at every opportunity. The reason we have placed the liturgy at the basis of the chant is because before 900 we can talk about the chant only by talking about the liturgy. We seem to have no alternative; but, in order to make a believable method out of this necessity, music historians over the last century have developed and maintained an elaborate set of assumptions, or rather, they have borrowed the set intact from historians of Roman liturgy. The liturgy of the Mass (the story went) was developed early on by the Romans, and maintained intact throughout the centuries as the purest form of Christian rite, while being discreetly amplified in minor respects, and extended through the 'circle of the year' by the process of Roman 'properization'. This liturgy (the story concluded) was stable; to the degree and in the manner that it involved singing, the singing was also stable.

⁸ Leon Botstein, 'Cinderella; or Music and the Human Sciences: Unfootnoted Musings from the Margins', *Current Musicology*, 53 (1993), 124–34.

This singing, which was the perfect complement of the liturgy because generated from it, is known to us primarily in the repertory preserved for us by the Franks under the title 'Gregorian'.

During the last three decades liturgical studies have burgeoned, and in so far as this has involved a wider circle of scholars wielding far-reaching ideas as well as a more pragmatic historical sophistication, the results seem to me to bring us to the threshold of radical revision of the traditional story. Part of this is due to the vastly increased willingness and ability on the part of liturgists to deal with all the early Christian experience, not just the Roman part. We now make the acquaintance of the Divine Office through Robert Taft's *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*;⁹ to study the anaphora we turn not to the Roman Missal (or the *Liber usualis*) but to Hanngi and Pahl's edition of a hundred or more anaphoras,¹⁰ of which the presumed invariant Roman 'canon' is but one. These works, cited here merely as tokens of materials now available, have many counterparts, and are surrounded by numerous exploratory or arguable studies that suggest provocative rethinking. Well-informed but relatively conservative accounts of early Christian music, such as those of Bruno Ståblein in MGG¹¹ or Christian Hannick in *The New Grove*,¹² need to be drastically revised. In constructing the framework of the account in NOHM,¹³ I curtailed treatment of the early history, largely because I saw no way to absorb the new implications in what was to be a sober, objective presentation. Hiley's account reflects a current lack of awareness among music historians as to what is going on. The impact of new ideas in liturgical history is still not apparent even in McKinnon's masterly account of 1990;¹⁴ McKinnon's work presents a mixture of cautious moderation with radical proposals whose implications he himself seems not to suspect. Peter Jeffery, with an enviable control of liturgical bibliography unique in our field¹⁵ (from which I derive great benefit), seems unresponsive to certain aspects of the potential for change.

In 1986 the highly respected work of Cyrille Vogel (*Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge*, first published 1966) was translated and revised (with Vogel's approval) by William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (as *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*).¹⁶ It would be a nice text-critical

⁹ Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, Minn., 1985).

¹⁰ Anton Hanngi and Irmgard Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica* (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1968).

¹¹ Bruno Ståblein, 'Frühchristliche Musik', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, IV, cols. 1036–64.

¹² Christian Hannick, 'Christian Church, music of the early', *The New Grove* (1980), IV, 363–71.

¹³ *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley, *New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 2 (new edition) (Oxford, 1991).

¹⁴ James McKinnon, *Antiquity and the Middle Ages, from Ancient Greece to the 15th Century* (London, 1990).

¹⁵ Among several articles, see his 'The Earliest Christian Chant Repertory Recovered: The Georgian Witnesses to Jerusalem Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), 1–38.

¹⁶ Cyrille Vogel, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge* (first published 1966) was translated and revised (with Vogel's approval) by William Storey and Niels Rasmussen as *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* (Washington D.C., 1986).

problem to determine who is speaking in the new edition; but it does not matter, for the new edition enjoys the same authority as the first one, and we can attribute the extremely useful and occasionally fascinating statements in it simply to 'Vogel'. Vogel, then, summarizes thus: '. . . nothing survives of the Roman liturgy of the first five centuries'. We can combine this with the scarcity of documents from Rome itself during the next three centuries to realize how hypothetical the history of Roman liturgy has to be. Vogel says that we should stop referring to the presumed archetypal state of the various sacramentaries (as 'Leonine', 'Gregorian', etc.) and refer instead to the shelf number of the manuscript in question (p. 111); thus the traditional theory of Roman sacramentary development totters on its presumed foundations. And Vogel makes what seems to me to be a quizzical remark concerning work that was done (by no less an authority than Klauser!) on the possible influence of Ambrose on the development of sacramentaries; Vogel writes (p. 296), 'unless we want to admit the Milanese origin of the Roman canon'. And supposing one wanted to do that? Jeffrey apparently does not; I have the impression that his reconstruction of the musical history – in spite of some spectacular novelties – may have the ulterior function of supporting the Roman story of liturgy. But it is all going to come out differently, and I hope in another place to show some of the differences. In a radical mode, I here venture the suggestion that the early history of liturgy has little demonstrable relationship with the Gregorian repertory as we know it (Hucke said the same thing in 1980).¹⁷ In a more restrained mode, I can caution that any ideas we derive from the Gregorian itself about how Western Latin chant might have been before c. 650 are fantasy.

We know only what the Franks themselves said, and what John the Deacon said; but he was a biased observer, late (ninth century) and not much regarded by Vogel. We can ponder, with Hucke,¹⁸ the implications of the exact meaning of the term *cantus romanus*. Then, too, there is Iberia, with an impressive repertory contemporaneous with the Franks (tenth century), and documentation going back to before 700, in the Verona Orationale; it may be only marginal annotations of item incipits, but that is much more than anything we get from the city of Rome until centuries later. And for Iberia, too, there is documentation concerning bishops reforming their liturgy in the seventh century – *reforming*, that means it was already there, before Gregory I (died 604). Kenneth Levy suggested Iberia as the source of one or more Gregorian offertories; Hiley observes (p. 122) that the items for which such origin was suggested show not much musical difference from the others. That could be the point!

Consider this scenario. Charlemagne, pursuing *Kunstpolitik*, asks his advisers which rite the new empire should adopt. They say, 'Roman', popular with pilgrims because of the cult of Peter, and also Paul. 'Let it be Rome!' the directive goes out. And what would you do, as a Frankish cantor, to comply

¹⁷ Helmut Hucke, 'Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 33 (1980), 437–67; see pp. 439, 465.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

with a directive about a liturgy few knew how to do, and chant which few had heard; the directive is to install both, virtually overnight. A glimpse of what they might have done is provided by Notker's story of the *Veterem hominem* antiphons: contrafacta were made, on Charlemagne's order, of Byzantine troparia; or at any rate the words seem to have been parodied in Latin, but the melodies were done by formula on Latin idioms (Hiley p. 530). In any case, what I would do to comply with the imperial directive would be to take the new words they gave me and sing them to melodies already in the repertory. The Gregorian repertory as we have it in 'Frankish-Roman' state is characterized extensively by such adaptation. But adaptation of *what* to *what*? This scenario suggests that melodies current in the north have been adapted to Roman words. And then I would report to the imperial inspector (who knew little about music and may never have heard any Roman chant) 'As directed, we sing Roman'. Who was to know? Who *is* to know? The Franks said it was Roman. The Romans, if asked, would certainly say it was Roman. They still do.

'Current' here could mean collected from the thriving traditions of Iberia and England. Never mind 'Gallican' survivals; this scenario suggests that the whole Gregorian repertory, adapted, edited, revised and updated, was passed off as 'Roman' – as Roman as the sacramentary. With such a fantastic proposal we have an easier time explaining the apparent 'diffusion' of the Gregorian in the north, but have more difficulty with its uniformity. The net result, in terms of the present discussion, is that we cannot say why the chant is the way it is on the basis of how it got that way, simply because we do not know; so the early history of liturgy is not much use to us. We have to take the Gregorian repertory the way we find it in the sources. And to the degree that these sources – from the earliest ones on through the Middle Ages – show us the repertory in varying use at various times and places, they too are not much use in saying how the chant came to be.

One of the few conclusions we can derive with confidence from the pre-history is negative. As is well known, individual melodies, as well as families of idioms, were applied to several or even many occasions other than the occasion on which they were first used. We may never know which occasion was first, and how the melody was first developed for that occasion, where it came from or how it was put together; but we do know that none of those questions is necessarily relevant to the use of the same material on subsequent occasions, on which a singer sang or arranged for singing melodic material already in the repertory for new words provided by the liturgist for these occasions not already provided for, or perhaps to replace current items with new ones. In the case of close parody (approximating the syllable count of an existing chant with new words, and using the chant almost exactly), the new chant could even be prepared by a liturgist who was not necessarily a singer; similarly, a liturgist could direct a singer in the preparation of new formularies by providing words and suggesting melodies or idioms ('modes') to be drawn from repertory. This process tells us how those who were developing the liturgy used the musical

practice they found in operation; it is, in effect, reception history. It is apparent on a massive scale in the Frankish edition of the chant they allegedly got from Rome, and we are beginning to understand in patches how that reception worked, what the Franks heard and how they responded to whatever it was, and from wherever they were receiving it. But reception history tells us as much about the receivers as about the music received: the reception of music into the liturgy (especially under circumstances in which the liturgy is changing) opens up the possibility that the music as applied to the liturgy is as much a function of its new application as of its prior state, and we should beware of concluding that it was the nature of the liturgy (assuming that we could determine that nature) that generated the music and gave it its original character. Furthermore, we could adopt, for a working hypothesis, the idea that medieval liturgy (Frankish-Roman, tenth to fourteenth centuries) appears the way it does largely because of the nature of the singing that went on from one end of the liturgy to the other. And we may be in a position to determine – better than the liturgist and independently of the mere words and ritual action – how the music sounded.

Words and music

Das Verhältnis vom Wort und Ton – it seems as if every German dissertation dealing with vocal music had to have such a chapter. As students we were regularly sent into the forest to gather data on the relationship of ‘word and tone’; and since we dare not come back empty-handed, we concocted answers if none was at hand. The implicit reasoning seemed to be that since music would naturally do something to express the words, if we could determine in a given piece what that something was, we would have an answer as to why the music was the way it was. The possibility that the music (at least, vocal music) might do nothing to express the words was not entertained. Nor the possibility that the words might be expressing the music.

In the case of Gregorian, however, there are other powerful forces that produce strong convictions about the relationship. ‘In the beginning was the Word’ [John 1.1] – as late as 1987 this verse was quoted (in German of course, but as malaprop as ever) to nail down a philosophy of Gregorian word–tone relationship passionately set forth by Agustoni and Göschl.¹⁹ That they felt a need to argue the case, which for their part they felt was as obvious as it was certain, is an indication of how little agreement there is concerning the relationship in Gregorian chant. I think it is helpful to distinguish between arguments on this point addressed by scholars to each other, and those addressed to the wider world, in particular arguments addressed by those advocating the use of Gregorian chant to those who might use or decide to use it in liturgy – that is, to

¹⁹ Luigi Agustoni and Johannes Göschl, *Einführung in die Interpretation des gregorianischen Choralis*, I: *Grundlagen* (Regensburg, 1987).

congregations or the clerical hierarchy. As scholars we need to be aware of a certain resistance, nay, massive lack of enthusiasm, on the part of the hierarchy for the Gregorian, and must read some of the advocative arguments of our scholarly colleagues accordingly. This caution pertains especially to the argument that Gregorian is a perfect expression of the words, and that is its main reason for being. That argument is one of the strongest, perhaps the only, one that might convince a liturgist who does not respond to musical values of the chant.

Such apologists have a hard job, because the fact is that the chant fails to communicate its words to the world, even to the faithful. The chant really does not project the words in a way that is immediately perceptible to most listeners. I do not believe this to be peculiar to Gregorian chant, among repertoires of European vocal music; none the less, the chant cannot be said to communicate either the sound or the sense of the words with anything like the effectiveness claimed or to be expected for a style allegedly derived from the words. In 'group-style chant' (with three to six or more pitches for many of the syllables), the plurality of pitches by itself hinders the pronunciation as well as the recognition of syllable integrity, and the melodic contours break up the phonetic flow of the words with beautiful but irrelevant distractions. And of course the melismata simply force a suspension of attempts to perceive verbal syntax. Dom Mocquereau expended a maximum of ingenuity in attempting to show how the melody was an ideal expression of the words. Paying attention to the kinds of factors he pointed out but coming to different conclusions, I along with many others can persuade myself that words and music are indeed miraculously coordinated; but that is not to be explained by asserting in principle that the melody expresses the words. Willi Apel²⁰ showed that the coordination of melismata with accented syllables in graduals is about 50 per cent, which is as elegant an expression as one could want of the indifference to accent on the part of whoever placed the melismata where they are. (Apel's function in Gregorian research seems to have been to come to positivistic conclusions that were true, without himself giving indication that he could or would pursue their implications.) Even in that portion of the Office antiphon repertory that uses no more than four pitches per syllable, and that infrequently, the conduct of the melody, while persuasively coordinated with the words, seems to me to have its autonomous logic – one that I do not understand yet but cannot ascribe to the words and their logic, even their phonetic. John Stevens (in *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*)²¹ concluded in general that the relationship of word and tone was limited to phonetic considerations.

Treitler showed how melodic cadence formulae could be read as musical punctuation functioning analogous to, and expressing, verbal punctuation. His suggestion, however, was intended for another context, to which I will return; and furthermore, his demonstration, along with similar ones by Hucke, has as

²⁰ Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, 1958), 285; the demonstration is flawed but the result is usable.

²¹ John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1986).

its basis the marking of phrases with melodic cadences, which tells us the same thing about a musical phrase as a graphic period tells us about a verbal period – namely, that it ended. As Huckle used the construction, it was more a peg for the singer to hang his phrasing on than a confirmation to the listener of the verbal syntax. While the musical sign, the cadence formula, is clear enough, it is not clear just what *verbal* sign marks the end of the period in a manner analogous to the musical sign. Is the melody doing something in a purely musical way that the words do not do?

Scholars addressing each other come up with a wide variety of arguments for a wide variety of alleged relationships of words and chant. In general I observe that some scholars have been profoundly convinced of their own rectitude, but have been unable to articulate it in such a way as to convince others. Some of the reasons for this are inherent in the material. As we become increasingly aware of the real and important differences between various genres of Gregorian (beginning with antiphonal and responsorial), we can see that relationship of words and chant will vary accordingly. Other differences emerge from growing sophistication in musical studies in general among various modes the relationship can take, depending upon whether the composer is paying attention to meaning or to form, to image, diction or rhythm. And there is a growing historical sophistication also: even though almost no one seems willing to say that the words are *not* expressed by Gregorian chant, everyone acknowledges that the relationship of the chant to the overall meaning of the words is not the same as in 'our own music' (but what is that, exactly?).

I detect two main lines of argument in current research. One is the line represented by Agustoni and Göschl that I just cited, and more generally by Benedictine scholarship of the first half of our century, that is to say, a monastic point of view. Reading that argument in terms of its social context, I would say that monastics, if committed to the use of chant in the Office, are committed to the idea of a close relationship of words and chant: *of course* the music expresses the words. To notice is that the *cursus* of psalmody involves the user as participant, not as audience. This seems to me strangely similar to the case of a dedicated Wagnerian who, familiar with and following closely every word, is ready to hear the meaning – any kind of meaning – expressed in any nuance of the music.

The second line of argument, represented by non-monastic scholars, seems ambivalent in its basic convictions. Some scholars (dealing primarily with Proper chants for Mass rather than the Office) acknowledge that the words do not seem to be assigned very consistently on the basis of their meaning, and that, as corollary, the music does not express the (meaning of the) words. This may be confusing, and needs an example. In a forthcoming article of seminal importance, McKinnon observes – as if in surprise – that the words of items in the 'Advent Project' (the programme of Proper items that begins in Advent) seem indeed to be selected so as to express the general and specific ideas of the seasonal programme. He contrasts this with our expectation that this would not normally

happen in chant, expressing this expectation so casually as to give a clear sense that it was to be taken for granted that the relationship of Proper items to liturgy was arbitrary as far as direct referential meaning was concerned. (I do not believe this to be the case; but the point here is that he apparently does, and his informed opinion can be taken as representative.) Another instance can be observed in an excellent article by Huckle on the words of offertories.²² His work is excellent because it lays out so expertly the scriptural sources of the words selected for all the offertories (with their verses), according to categories observed in other genres whose nature (antiphonal or responsorial) is clear, thus giving a positive basis for addressing other questions about offertories. The procedure does not, however, address the *meaning* of the words of the offertories, words which show a wide variety of passionate expression that calls for systematic commentary. Instead, the procedure explains the *use* of words by liturgy, and in terms which suggest that the use is arbitrary. A wise liturgist used to tell his students that 'Liturgy is people doing things for which they have forgotten the reasons', and that seems to apply to this treatment of offertories. It is similar to our preoccupation with *cursus* in the Mass Propers, as in the ascending numerical sequence for Lenten communions. And as for us, if we try to understand the words of Propers in their liturgical context, if we can have the whole spectrum of calendric assignment in mind, then we seem to have enough to think about to make the chant interesting, and furthermore we think we can understand why it was composed as it was. That, at least, is the thrust of the procedure.

The idea of *cursus*, that is, the singing of psalms not because of their meaning but because the up-coming occasion calls for them according to some pre-arranged coordination of calendar with the Psalter – that idea leads to another that I have to call (reluctantly and with apology) the 'psalmic hypothesis'. This hypothesis posits that the psalms (of David) are the font and origin of Christian singing, and that they have remained the model for Christian singing throughout its history. I believe this hypothesis does not work very well, and it certainly is not to be taken as the sole account of what actually happened; but I must defer a full discussion to another time, and I refer to it here only to suggest ways of thinking about the confusing discrepancies in our discussions of words and chant. Briefly, what I think happened is that Christian leaders of the fourth century, acknowledging the power of melody to insinuate the sense of the words into the minds of the listeners,²³ struggled against the danger of singing the wrong words, a danger that apparently seemed even greater to them than that of using the rhythm of verse, or of using musical instruments. Having excluded metre, rhythm, instruments (and, I have argued, 'pagan polyphony'), fourth-century liturgists were left with only the musical resource of intonation, the power of tone, of resonance, and this could be used *una voce*. Still, there

²² Helmut Huckle, 'Die Texte der Offertorien', *Speculum Musicae Artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann*, ed. Heinz Becker and Reinhard Gerlach (Munich, 1970), 193–203.

²³ James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge, 1987), no. 130.

was need of some kind of words to sing. The fourth-century answer, especially in Latin rites, was clearly 'Psalms of David'. The manner of singing most approved by the leaders seems to have been the one that Augustine attributes to Athanasius,²⁴ as close to the inflections of speaking as possible. Whatever it was, the main function was to avoid the other effects of music, effects all too plainly audible and visible outside the church and described by the Fathers in sometimes lurid detail.²⁵

None of that sounds as if it applied to Gregorian; and I believe that it does not apply, except for the continued emphasis on words excerpted from the Psalter for use as Mass Propers, and also the obligation to avoid any of the other effects of music. But in the mean time the Gregorian singer discovered the melisma, and the voice of the singer is heard constantly in between the syllables of Scripture. Sometimes this voice tells me of ways to sing a set of words that I never would have suspected from the words alone. Other times it tells me of ways to sing that have nothing to do with the words. I need to listen to this voice in order to discover the musical meaning of the chant.

This is not such a radical idea. In actual practice of analysis, the musical qualities of the chant are often taken into account. Hiley's analyses show this, and in this respect he fairly represents how many others do it – *everyone*, in fact, if we look at the very specific things they find to say. The musical reality is tacitly acknowledged in the concrete; only in the systems, the programmes, the dogmas of interpretation do scholars continue to dispute and obfuscate in the abstract. In the beginning (well, not quite) may have been the words. But in the end it came out differently: it came out as music.

The most fruitful part of Hiley's book is indeed the extensive discussion and analyses of specific examples of all kinds. And, as I said, this kind of sensitive response to individual chants can also be found in many other scholars, musicians and listeners alike. It seems to me that we have direct access to the musical values of Gregorian chant, and that our principal task 'after Hiley' is to use that access to know as much of the repertory as we can. That has emphatically not been our scholarly interpretation of its historical status. We have instead relied on various aspects of the history of society or of ideas to make up for what we seem to regard as a systemic inability to respond to the music in an historically appropriate way. As scholars we have emphasized its differentness to the point where we do not seem to trust our responses to it. I will pursue this by a roundabout path through philology.

The real problems of Gregorian study continue after Hiley as before: they are, first, to know what to study (establishment of text), and, second, to know how to respond to it. (Neither of these is 'the central problem' as identified by Apel; I will try to restate that problem later.) To solve the problem of establishment of text we have always looked to classical text criticism as a model and a

²⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 352.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 143.

method. Hiley's discussion sometimes suggests profound shifts in the use and understanding of text criticism as applied to Gregorian, and these require our closest attention. As for the second problem mentioned, to solve the problem of our response and our interpretation of Gregorian, we look to a variety of models and methods, and there seems to be no agreement about what to do. That may not be a bad thing; in any case what is called for is not our attention to any one of these methods, but rather an imaginative scrutiny of what we want and why.

I will address the first problem, establishment of text, under the following three headings involving 'Text'. During the past century we have been making daily use of editions of Gregorian which were never intended to be either 'critical' or 'comprehensive' scholarly editions. These editions, made for modern Roman Catholic parish use, obviously do not fill the requirements of classical scholarship. It is repeatedly pointed out that we should not treat them as classical texts. For the first half of our century it seemed that an attempt to make a scholarly edition was about to be made; for the second half century it has gradually become apparent that the attempt probably cannot and will not be made. We can note that much good work has been done in other important – indeed, central – repertoires of European music while using problematic editions or no scholarly edition at all. The question at this point is: Do we need an edition of Gregorian? And if so, What kind? and How to make it?

Text, tradition and text tradition

Philologists have taught us to respect the *text* in the sense of the written record of the 'web of words' as inscribed in graphemes on a page. That is one source of our knowledge; it brings knowledge of the individual. The configuration of graphemes on the page is durable relative to the understanding, the 'reading' of generations of readers. These change, but the text persists, and is therefore to be deferred to by anyone seeking to find out how things were in a remote time and place.

What does the text record? There are different answers, in part because there are different types of records. But to read a record at all we need to be in possession of a *tradition* that tells us how to read. Such a tradition tells us, for instance, that the graphemes we call alphabetical are directions to perform certain sounds. This tradition, unbroken since *c.* 1200 (or possibly only 900) BC, is our primary access to texts in languages that use the alphabet. In the complete absence of that tradition, we would not read these texts. Then we need, and have, further traditions to tell us what words the various configurations of letters tell us to pronounce, and what the words mean in the various languages – traditions of speaking with the tongue. Single words, sometimes whole languages, disappear out of the traditions; if they survive in changed form, their earlier forms can be reconstituted, perhaps by artificial traditions such as lexicons, or by context, that is, the rest of the words that appear in the document along

with the word whose significance has been lost. Here we are guessing, on the basis of an extremely complex and delicate combination of factors, and our guess cannot be as reliable as would a knowledge of the tradition.

Tradition, then, is the second source of knowledge of these matters, the equal complement of the text. Unlike text, tradition is in principle alterable, always in process, always becoming. It is not a statement of what is out there, fixed in the document, but rather of something that is in here, already absorbed in us, and therefore matchable with a text that is to be absorbed; it is meaningful to us because it has been meaningful to a long procession of those who came before. Tradition is something handed on from one hand to another; not, however, by one hand touching a pen to a page.

Respect for the text in the Greek tradition began, apparently, in the sixth century BC, when a combination of the technical development of Greek writing and fears of deterioration of the epic tradition (perhaps associated with a diffusion from the Ionian point of origin across the Aegean to Athens) may have initiated the fixation of the texts of Homer. This vexed question will concern us again under the heading 'Homer and Gregory'. From about the fifth century BC to the nineteenth century AD it was a matter of judging whether a given text matched the tradition, that is, the common or expert opinion of how Homer went. After the seventeenth century, scholars, wanting to rely on text because of its durability, but acknowledging that tradition was the source of knowledge, developed the concept of *text tradition*. This term is one of the numerous asyntactic terms (noun modifying noun) that are wreaking havoc on our language; it also seems anomalous, since text and tradition are in some of their senses mutually exclusive. In any case, the meaning of 'text tradition' is not self-evident. As used, it refers to a tradition specifically of the texts themselves, a handing down not of the content, meaning or reading, but rather of the physical form of the text in all its durability. But not so durable, after all; and very few *autographs*, in which the author's hand touched the paper, survive. What survives is a graphic configuration handed down *through* a succession of scribal hands touching pens to a succession of writing materials. The only assurance that the configuration has survived with anything like the durability of a single extant document is the presumption that the scribal hands are all guided by a coordination that heeds only what the eye sees in the exemplar, with no interference from the agency that is reading the content of the text by means of the tradition. Who, what scribe, would want to do a thing like that – to transcribe without the experience of meaning? In modern oral tradition we look on such transcription with sardonic disdain, as when we define 'lectures' as 'knowledge transmitted from the notebook of the professor to the notebook of the student without going through the mind of either'. The answer is, only the ideal scribe required by the model constructed by modern text criticism, a model scholars devoutly wanted and needed to have been in operation in order to make recovery of ancient texts possible.

We are talking here about the 'classical tradition', never more alive and

controversial than in discussions of literary criticism during recent decades, never more relevant to music than in the Gregorian; we need to keep our understanding as precise as possible. During the last four centuries European scholars (Dutch, French, German) have attempted to transform the basis of text criticism from personal judgement ('criticism') of texts to something more objective, rational, 'scientific'. They wanted to replace the personal judgement of a trained humanist scholar, who *knew* how the text went, with the results of a trained scientific observer, who could *demonstrate* how the text went, on the basis of objective evidence and rational criteria. The result has been the specific form of text criticism we have learned to use, and have come to wonder about.

Instead of selecting variants from the manuscript sources according to judgement (as to which were the best readings), an attempt was made by certain philologists to determine objectively, from the nature of the sources themselves, which of them were best; those sources would then provide the best readings. 'Best' in this situation means closest to the author's text, that is, the author's 'final' text. That this same text is then treated as the 'original' text, the source of all subsequent texts, is a paradox that will concern us further.

One method was to arrange the manuscripts in chronological order, on the assumption that the oldest manuscript contained the text closest to the author. Chronology was determined by extrinsic data, including style of scribal hand (for this, the sub-discipline of palaeography was born at this time). Partially successful, this method could be greatly enhanced by determining the *filiation* of the manuscripts – which one was copied from which – and arranging them in a *stemma* or tree of descent. This was a logical order, not a chronological one, but could be coordinated with the order based on date and provenance; indeed, it had to be, to avoid anomalies.

In order to determine the filiation, two specific mechanisms were invoked; in effect, a model was constructed. First, the behaviour of the model scribe was specified: the scribe copied mechanically, the hand writing what the eye saw, with no interference from the mind. Second, while most of the exemplar would thereby be reproduced exactly in the copy, there would be discrepancies due to unconscious inexactitudes of perception or execution by the scribe, 'who was only human, after all!' (Comparison of human copying with optical computer-assisted scanning and reproduction techniques proves to be very interesting.) These discrepancies were closely studied and carefully classified (omission, duplication, transposition, substitution . . .). Rules of a rational nature were developed to show conclusions of the type, 'If two manuscripts A and B show a certain disposition of discrepancies, then B was copied from A'. Applied to all available sources of a given work, this method could produce a very convincing stemma, and the manuscript (extant or assumed) appearing at the top of the tree could be taken as closest to the author; all the others, being further away in various degrees, would involve increasing number of discrepancies.

Two things need to be noted at once, and were noted in due course as the method was used. (1) The model scribe is rarely encountered. (2) Only certain

types of discrepancy lend themselves to the demonstration of a stemma, and only these types (and usually only a sample of instances) are selected for demonstration. To the dismay of the scholar using this method, scribes habitually *contaminate*, *conflate* and *emend*, that is, they try to improve their copy by importing readings from other copies, which cuts across the stemma, sometimes (with medieval music manuscripts, often) making its construction unfeasible. And, failing a better reading in another copy, or for other indeterminate reasons, scribes often simply improve on their own recognizance. If this involves correcting a mistake in the exemplar (as in the case of a reading that is right in A, wrong in B, corrected in C), this produces an uncertainty in the stemma, since there may be no way of telling whether the scribe of C detected and corrected the mistake in B by looking at A, or simply by his own knowledge.

How did the scholar, in selecting discrepancies for the demonstration of a stemma, know which were unconscious mistakes? He knew because it was his business to know, as an admirer of the classic text that he was studying, and as an expert in the usage of its language. He assumed the *author's* text was correct (although really confident scholars could take it upon themselves to correct even Homer – 'Homer nods' – and we should note that in their confidence in the method editors proceed to do all the things they find despicable in the scribe, that is, they contaminate, conflate and emend). The scholar did have the good grace to assume the scribe's good intent, hence could conclude that the scribe deviated only through ignorance, stupidity or distraction. The scholar could easily detect such deviations from the correct text. These deviations were studied *not in order to correct them*, for that would happen as a matter of course; rather, to demonstrate the conformity of this set of manuscripts with the assumed model. The model had to be assumed *in order to detect which manuscript came closest to the author's text*. The method aspired to a kind of rationality whereby its conclusions could be seen as deductions, indisputable because logical. This can, in fact, be achieved, but only if the assumptions of the model are strictly adhered to; but then the application of the model becomes tautologous, true by definition. 'Readings produced by the assumed conditions conform to the predicted results.'

What about the other readings, those produced by the deviant scribal activity that did not conform to the model? James Grier has shown,²⁶ by careful analysis of the method, supported by expert experience in the materials, that when the rules of the model are modified to provide better conformity with real scribal activity, then the model no longer permits unambiguous deductions of the type desired; and the application of the model is no longer tautologous. Grier concludes that the readings must ultimately be selected by the scholar's individual judgement, so that text criticism reverts to being critical, that is, judgemental. For the point of the stemmatic method was to place a manuscript in such a

²⁶ James Grier, 'Lachmann, Bédier and the Bipartite Stemma: Towards a Responsible Application of the Common-Error Method', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 18 (1988), 263–78.

position that its readings could be taken as correct not just for the selected mistakes already identified as such, but for all the other variants as well, variants which might be due to contamination or emendation. The method assumed that the scribe who was correct in the determinable mistakes was correct also in the indeterminable ones – and this, not because he had conflated or emended, but because he had reproduced the author's text, which was correct. While the method as a whole gave the impression of analysing variants as differences between manuscripts, it could do so only by beginning with manuscripts in which most of the words were the same; these manuscripts had been selected for study because they recorded the same text, for instance the *Iliad*.

Assumptions, obviously, are necessary; but it is important to know what they are. The most basic ones surface only slowly; a method, as it is properly worked out, displays the meaning implicit in its assumptions. In text criticism two basic assumptions of philology have become clear. First, it is assumed that *there was a single original text*. Second, it is assumed that *the primary existence of the text is in graphic form*. This second assumption involves, and conceals, an underlying ambivalence.

The first of these assumptions is in the nature of a statement of interest. The philologist, as classicist, is interested only in known works of known authors. Dubious, spurious and anonymous works are relegated to the end of the volume. Fragments of works receive special treatment. Sets of words that do not qualify as works are set aside. The philological method ends up displaying complete, unified, authorial works because that is what it set out to do. The method has a problem with sets of words that do not meet these criteria.

The second assumption is in the nature of an acknowledged limitation. To say that the text exists only in graphic form is to make a complex, and in some ways cynical, statement. If what was meant was simply that literature is made of letters, then the statement would be not only simple but true by definition. But if what is meant by 'text' is 'web of words', then the web of words could have modes of existence other than in graphemes on a page. (This has been more apparent to musical than to literary scholars.) By saying that text exists *primarily* in graphic form, the literary scholar may be acknowledging that such other forms exist, especially inside the author, but that the only form reliably available for responsible study is the graphic one. This is the underlying ambivalence, still unresolved.

There is an opinion, expressed from time to time over three millennia, that once an author has committed thought and feeling to words on a page, they assume a life of their own: they are no longer subject to author's control, they mean what they mean, we read them accordingly. 'What is an author?' Whether that is true or no, the literary scholar recognizes that what is written is written, but what scholars (or anyone else) reads into them and ascribes to the author is a guess, and may change drastically. To join this second assumption back to the first, classicists trust the literary form of a single original authorial text because that is the only thing in which they are interested.

Expressed this way, these two assumptions together reveal what I call the philo-

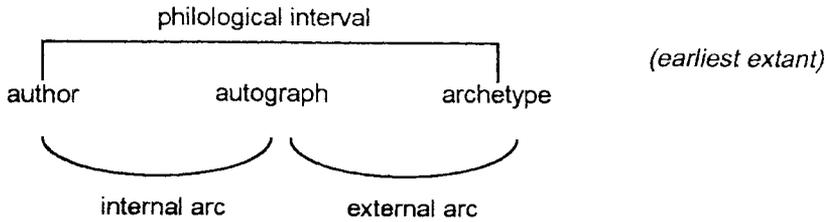


Fig. 1

logical interval, a stretch of indeterminacy in the chain of events that is presumed to lead to and end in the archetype (see Fig. 1). Its full name would be 'interval of philological ambivalence'. That it involves ambivalence is observable; I am arguing that it involves indeterminacy. The beginning of the chain is indeterminate, for at what point does a poem (or a piece of music) come into existence? But my concern here is with the rest of the interval, especially with the 'internal arc'.

The author may acknowledge that at some point in the process the work has distanced itself. The philologist assumes that this point is marked by the autograph, which for text-critical purposes may be accepted as final. The publisher, however, knows better, and requires one or two sets of corrected proofs (note the term) to insure that author meant what autograph showed; still, the publisher charges extra for 'authorial revision'. (The impact of the institution of publishing on writing music and on scholarship needs to be carefully reviewed.) And as for a later revision or a new edition. . . . So the idea of a 'final' form is an illusion, one to match the idea of a beginning, a creation out of nothing. Close study of the philological interval reveals complexities and ambiguities that can call the idea of a single original text into question. The internal arc itself is simply inaccessible, probably to the author (composer), certainly to empirical observation by anyone else.

What does all this have to do with music, with Gregorian? Speaking tangentially, it had to do with music prior to literature in the first place, since Homer is described as a singer, and the hexameter is a rhythm. This entitles music historians to discuss epic poetry, and I hope to do so elsewhere. Here we need to remember that throughout Gregorian scholarship of the past century, the applicability of the text-critical method was a continuing concern, partly because not all philologists were convinced that it worked, partly because the application to material other than classical texts brought severe if not insuperable problems, apparent to everyone. There has been no lack of discussion, and I merely continue it.

Alongside the Gregorian, medieval researchers working with the other repertoires of medieval chant had daily in their hands the *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*;²⁷ Clemens Blume's volumes on tropes (vols. 47, 49) show the assumptions working

²⁷ *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 47 (1905): *Tropi graduales: Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter. I. Tropen zum Ordinarium Missae. Aus handschriftlichen Quellen*, ed. Clemens Blume and Henry Marriott Bannister. Vol. 49 (1906): *Tropi graduales: Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter. II. Tropen zum Proprium Missae. Aus handschriftlichen Quellen*, ed. Clemens Blume.

themselves out with terrifying concentration. A comprehensive aggregate of 'all available sources', mercifully listed in subsections for sources from Germany, France, Italy etc., provided a data base for the selection of those variants deemed to represent the single original text, all other variants (and there were many) being relegated to a block of almost impenetrably fine print. To reconstruct any one manuscript version from this 'critical edition' . . . ? And the problems increased exponentially when we contemplated coordinating musical variants. The depth of Blume's own conviction can be read in his tendency to say, in effect, 'The extensive corruptions in this version show how ancient the single original text must have been', since the manuscript discrepancies were presumed to trace a long decline from pristine original to decadence in these latter days. These problems and their solutions were prime concerns in the new, now standard edition in *Corpus troporum*.

In Gregorian studies, the original attribution of a single original text to Gregory increasingly discredited (Hiley p. 513), seems only a moment in the broader push towards questioning the idea of any single original text for Gregorian. The critical edition of the Vatican Gradual began as a text-critical project of classic structure but epic proportions; 'all available sources' proved to be unmanageable, and recourse to text-families as a concept was a half-way measure not much more useful here than in New Testament studies. Meanwhile other scholars, for reasons either of principle or practicality, based discussion on individual manuscripts. A moderate principle was to select a manuscript as a sample, presuming it to represent a broader if still limited tradition. A more radical principle was to select a manuscript as representing only itself: it was in itself a single original text (this was the same principle appealed to by Vogel). Hiley fairly represents both principles in basing all his musical examples each on one or a few manuscripts.

It should be said that the practice is radical only with respect to classical text criticism in its nineteenth-century form; elsewhere, appeal to single sources for their own sake is hardly a new idea. What precipitated the crisis since 1950 was the results of massive collation, principally by the Benedictines in the Solesmes workshop; the collation brought to light the nature of the Gregorian variant. While variants were as numerous as pebbles on the beach, it turned out to be difficult to find enough scribal mistakes of the specific type required by stemmatics. Most variants were not mistakes – let alone mistakes of copy – but rather they represented acceptable alternatives. It was precisely this kind of variant that could not be dealt with objectively. To enable the editor to choose among equally acceptable readings was the primary purpose of constructing the stemmatic method – to settle the matter objectively by designating one source (at the head of the tree) as closest to the author.

Another parameter was extended alongside the usual ones of Gregorian philology by Eugene Cardine and the Cardinists, Göschl at the head.²⁸ Dom Cardine

²⁸ Eugene Cardine, 'Sémiologie grégorienne', *Études grégoriennes*, 11 (1970), 1–158; trans. Robert Fowells, *Gregorian Semiology* (Solesmes, 1982). Studies pursuing his approach have appeared in the *Beiträge zur Gregorianik*.

took more seriously than Dom Mocquereau the signs of nuance in certain early sources; that is, Dom Mocquereau knew they were there, but allowed his system of musical reading to override them. Dom Cardine seemed to do without a musical system. What becomes clear in Cardine's 'semiology' (who knows what 'semiology' is?) is that factors far more subtle than gross pitch or duration gain an increased if not a decisive importance in our reading of the manuscripts, and were demonstrably important to some early users. And they raise the questions of what musical notation was for and of what it does.

It was always apparent that early Gregorian singers did not use musical notation, and while our estimates of 'early' may vary, as well as our estimates of how they did it, still the acknowledgement that they did it coexisted with the belief that the music was fixed. Those who believed most firmly in the fixity said it was because the music was memorized, and did not seem to worry further about feasibility. That view, the common one, seems to have become seriously questioned only in the measure that alternate ways of thinking became available. What was being questioned was the fixity. What did it mean, in the absence of written records, to believe that a chant was the same in successive performances? Was the sameness or difference perceptible to the singer or listener? If perceptible, was it significant, and if so, in what mode of meaning? And what is the meaning of asking such questions in the absence of any documents on which to base an answer? Or the meaning of not being able to answer them?

Oral tradition, oral transmission, oral composition

If the questions just posed were addressed at all, it was under the rubric 'oral tradition'. At first, this term by itself was for some people an answer. 'Before the use of notation, Gregorian chant was composed, sung and handed down by oral tradition', which is a statement of the same type as 'We go on living by maintaining our vital processes of respiration, metabolism, etc'. Assuming we were to agree about the date musical notation was introduced, to say that Gregorian chant before that date used oral tradition is only to say that the singers did not use written musical records, which is tautologous: if they did not have them, they could not use them; no argument there.

The term 'oral tradition', however, has a much more specific technical meaning, one which is completely a function of text criticism. The philologist speaks of 'text tradition' as the unbroken chain of copies that brought the original configuration on to a piece of paper before his eyes. Then he speaks of *oral* tradition as opposed to *text* tradition and distinguishes one from the other: in *oral* tradition there is no *text* in the philologist's sense of a written record. It should be clear from this way of speaking that in both cases there is *tradition*, even if the matter is confused by the inconsistent, metaphorical use of the word 'tradition' in the construction 'text tradition'; for that use may not apply to 'oral tradition'.

Certain refinements could be introduced into the discussion, such as that written records were used extensively for words, and so this situation in

(presumably) seventh-century Rome could not be described as a pre-literate state but rather a mix; also, notations for pitch and rhythm existed at that time, and if they were not used, that was by choice not lack. But the real argument (if there is one) started only with heightened concerns about the feasibility of memorizing the repertory, and increased doubts about the applicability of text criticism, specifically about the assumption of a single original text.

There was a solution at hand, again of a tautologous type: if successive performances were not the same, there was no need to explain a sameness, or to believe in one. Such simplistic solutions would not satisfy, because of either stubborn realities or stubborn beliefs. Avoiding tautology, we could say, for instance, that for an unspecified time Christian singers had been singing what they wanted to sing, in ways that we have no means of discovering. Then, in the ninth century, they put together yet another repertory, and this one they wrote down, systematically editing it. This edited repertory became adopted, and was disseminated in cathedrals and monasteries. I imagine that there would be near-universal objection to that scenario, and I believe the grounds would be that it fails to explain the *originality*, *excellence* and *fixity* of the Gregorian repertory that we find recorded c. 900. (Those are key qualities in classical literary criticism, and I will return to them.) Depending on how fixed the repertory is believed to be, we would have more or less difficulty in believing (1) that the Franks fixed it, (2) that the Franks did *not* fix it – since even if it had been fixed earlier, how did it stay fixed?

If there is a contradiction present, each of us must say individually what we think it is. If we want to, however, we can say: it is fixed (to whatever degree) and that is that. Then, at least, it is clear that the problem is one that concerns the philological interval, and that in this case the interval coincides with a phase that did not use written musical records. In other words, it looks different from the usual philological interval, which, even though very long (as for ancient texts), does not, except for Homer, involve the problem of absence of written records. The case of Gregorian seems unique in European music.

That is the nature of the problem. But I refuse to call it 'central'. It is 'preliminary'. Not only unanswerable, it *need* not be answered. Hence if answers are provided, we can legitimately ask, Why? and I will.

In 1974 Leo Treitler suggested a specific way of thinking about the philological interval in Gregorian, that is, in the phase in which Gregorian did not, apparently, use musical notation for written records.²⁹ Treitler suggested a mechanism in effect, which he called 'oral composition'. Together with 'oral transmission', it was a description of how oral tradition might work for Gregorian. There was a lively response to this suggested mechanism; some were for it, some against. Discussion ensued for almost two decades. For my discussion here of general issues, what people *thought* Treitler said, and why they responded as they did,

²⁹ Leo Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant', *Musical Quarterly*, 60 (1974), 333–74. "'Centonate" Chant: Ubles Flickwerk or *E pluribus unus?*' *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975), 1–23.

seems more interesting than what he himself thought he said. He was at pains as he went along to remind us of what he had said; eventually³⁰ he took back some of the earlier suggestions about the proposed mechanism, and claimed he never said some of the rest, leaving essentially what he called 'interpretative explanation', a concept I will explore later.

In terms of my discussion of philological assumptions, the thrust of Treitler's suggestions was to eliminate the idea of single original text altogether, thus solving all the problems associated with it. This looked at first like a radical rejection of classical text criticism. But it involved primarily a selection of material rather than a rejection of method: if there was to be no consideration (with reference to the mechanism) of a written record, there could *ipso facto* be no consideration of classical text criticism. Furthermore, the mechanism rejected only one of the two philological assumptions, the one that expressed exclusive interest in the single original text. It did not reject the other assumption, which posited the written record as the only access, therefore the only real state of the single original text. Treitler implicitly maintained that second assumption by arguing, in effect,

a single original text implies the use of a written record;
and, written records were not used for seventh-century Gregorian singing;
therefore there was no single original text in seventh-century Gregorian.

The logic of this argument is plainly fallacious; none the less it introduces a complex and very important factor into the general argument, as I will try to show.

Parry's problem

Treitler found in the work of Milman Parry the description of a mechanism that might help explain the Gregorian problem. Parry, an eminent classicist and student of Homer, was of course expert in all the philological matters I have reviewed here. A sketch of his work on Homer is the best way to understand how classical philology impinges on Gregorian studies, and how we can deal with the issues raised by Treitler's adaptation of Parry's suggestions.

Parry's formulation, regarded as brilliant, is complex. As I read the argument,³¹ it begins with a double bind, consisting of two very old questions, both deeply concerned with the qualities of excellence, genius and originality that are considered basic to the classics: (1) how could such extensive use of formulae of words (from one or two up to a whole verse of hexameter, or even more) result in a work of such originality; (2) how could such a work have been created with such excellence of unity in the absence of writing? (The absence of writing

³⁰ In a review of Peter Jeffery, *Re-envisioning Past Musical Cultures* (Chicago, 1992) in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), 137–71.

³¹ Milman Parry, 'Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 41 (1930), 73–147; 43 (1932), 1–50.

involves an uncertainty whether alphabetic notation was yet in use by the Greeks at the time the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were created; the problem of dating the notation is regarded as severe precisely because of the difficulty scholars have had in understanding how these particular poems could have been created *without* writing.)

Parry's distinctive solution to these ancient problems consisted of using one to solve the other. Such solutions probably come about in a flash of global insight; the steps of reasoning I give here are my own reconstruction of his argument. The use of formulae in Homer is a problem for an admirer of the classics: any hack poet can use formulae, and many of them do so extensively. Homer, too, uses them, and he was not a hack. Instead of apologizing for the formulae considered in themselves, Parry found he could admire the way they facilitated the *performance* of the poem, in particular the maintenance of style and diction throughout the thousands of verses. In this consistency could be perceived the excellence, the originality, the uniqueness of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The use of formulae and their configuration could be studied in relationship to the basic verse of the epic, dactylic hexameter; or in relation to larger units, the odes; or to the poem as a whole.

Therein lay the second problem, the presumed absence of writing. Simple use of formulae is not a problem in that regard: any scholar could see, and many had, that formulae would naturally be used in the absence of writing. But the *control* of formulae, the artistic management over long stretches of the poem to produce excellence of unity – that was something else, the real sticking point. If writing was available, then such control could be exercised by the poet scanning optically the long stretches to judge the effect and to make any necessary adjustments. It is the opportunity to scan that seems denied by the absence of the written record. Parry, as well as many others, seems to have had difficulty in imagining how a poet (or a composer) could have reflected critically and in detail on an extended composition as a whole without having it spread out before his eyes in written form. Such difficulty may be based upon a conviction that excellence depends upon the integration of detail in the whole work, a conviction sometimes expressed in the 'organic' theory of form.

So for Parry's theory, apparently, excellence requires control available only through scanning. I will suggest later that the control can be exercised in other ways that do not require a written record. And such control is needed only to produce the kind of excellence that Parry desired: long poems can be sung without much integration; whether they are excellent is the critical problem which lies at the root of this whole discussion.

The problem of excellence, then, can be solved by imagining the composition as Parry imagined it. If Homer was as good as the tradition (note!) said he was, then he could have done it all without scanning. The tradition also said Homer was blind, which, if true, would have meant that he could not scan a written record anyway; the legend is to be pondered. (And while we ponder, we need to keep in mind the fact – neglected by most of the older classicists – that behind Homer lay traditions of

Sumerian, Akkadian, Babylonian and Egyptian literature, complete with writing, that were more than a thousand years old when Homer first tuned his phorminx.) But the problem of memorization remained for Parry. Could the necessary control be exercised sufficiently on the poem in a memorized state? Parry apparently did not accept this traditional solution, and the one he provides instead is the most interesting and important aspect of his work, but one whose inner logic I have to reconstruct by my own imagination.

If we were to take seriously the topos of invoking the Muses, we could imagine that with their help (as requested) the poet could be inspired to produce *in performance* a work of excellent unity. By whatever train of thought, Parry came to locate in Homer's performance the unity, the excellence of the poem; more specifically, in the performance he located the text, the *original* text. It was not, obviously, in graphic form, *quod erat demonstrandum*. But it was also not *single*; for in the first place it was inspired, and who knows if it would be reproduced? And in the second place, How was anyone to tell if it *was* reproduced, that is, whether successive performances were the same?

So Parry could imagine how the excellence got into the poem as performed, and it could be as much excellence and originality as he judged was there. He needed, however, to be more specific about the mechanism whereby it got there, and the mechanism he suggested was that of 'oral composition'. That is, while we could simply say that Homer was inspired, we might prefer to imagine his process of composition, saying that he drew freely upon the accumulated repertory of formulae, fitting them together in the hexameter and in the story line to make a unique and excellent poem; and then we can see, because Parry showed us, how nicely the shorter formulae fulfil their metrical functions, and how the configuration of formulae shapes the telling of the story. In doing this Parry was filling the philological interval, specifically the internal arc (from conception to his equivalent of an autograph) in a way that was more specific and – for Homer – perhaps more persuasive than had been done before.

Then an entirely different phase of the problem confronted Parry (and us). For Parry was not simply an historian of culture, concerned with reconstructing how things might have happened; he was a student and lover of literature, of specific works. His explanation had to include an account of how Homer's performance got into a written record, or else there would be nothing for Parry to read and admire. The philologist has always been concerned primarily with transmission by writing: literature is in letters, and letters have to get from the poet to the reader. If the poem is assumed to traverse a stretch without being written, then its transmission will be said by definition to be *oral* in the sense of not being written; so *oral* transmission stands to *written* transmission in the same relationship as *oral* tradition stands to *text* tradition. For the philologist, oral transmission is by default of the usual written transmission.

Parry placed the singer's – Homer's – performance as a terminus to the internal arc: the 'oral' in oral tradition is for Parry the proposition that what

the singer delivers with his mouth in public is the first, and definitive, manifestation of the poem (in default of the author's hand delivering the poem to a document). One result of the performance is an 'aural' phase in which a second singer hears the performance and strives to emulate it. If there is a third singer, or more, the process is repeated – 'oral' performance, 'aural' audition. (If we were dealing with instrumental music, would it be a 'digital' performance? And I believe observers have not distinguished clearly enough between the listening done by a successor-bard, a singer who is going to emulate, and a listener who is only going to appreciate.) The problem is whether a performance can be reproduced, so that after one or more successor-bards the end result as eventually written down matches Homer's performance. Parry seems not to have resolved this problem, apparently content to leave open the possibility that it might match; or, to accept the danger that it might not. In that case he would be left with only the quality, not the specific configuration, as what was preserved from Homer's performance.

As a literary critic Parry was profoundly impressed by the Homeric text, by the sustained excellence of its diction (which is what Aristotle singled out, too).³² He responded to all of it deeply, and in this case, for once, a philologist was intent on the text as it sounded in recital. But Parry attempted to justify his judgement by appealing to what he believed was the process of composition; and he could only show what that was by hypothesis, and the hypothesis necessarily turned out to be *ad hoc* – Parry explained everything that needed explanation by expanding the hypothesis. And at the end, having done everything he could to affirm the excellence by explaining the process of composition, and feeling that he had covered only part of the problem, Parry said that it was not to be solved through the text, from which he could only get to the tradition, not to Homer; Parry said again that the solution could only be found 'by understanding how the oral poet works'. This was to be sought in observing oral poets at work, which means, in effect, accepting their own reports on introspection. This is an oblique form of reception history.

Homeric text was anomalous in being very formulaic and at the same time judged excellent by the oldest tradition. Parry's brilliance was to affirm that it was excellent precisely because it was formulaic. In other words, what he had to justify was not, Is Homer excellent? (everyone agreed that he was), but rather, Is use of formulae excellent? (which classical literary criticism rejected in principle). Parry's way of going at it was curious, and depended upon nineteenth-century assumptions characteristic of the 'organic' theory of artistic forms and of Wagner's emphasis on *Not*, 'need'. He tried to show that the text had to be the way it was because of the way it was produced, that what he described as 'oral poetry' necessarily produced the Homeric epic, and that was good. In form, even if not in tone, the argument resembles the classic *ad hoc*

³² As reported by John Edwin Sandys in his standard but still fascinating accounting in his *The History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 3rd edn 1921).

answer of Figaro (explaining how the person seen jumping from the window did not look small, like Cherubino, but rather larger, like himself), 'That's how people look when they jump'.

We are left with a hypothesis about composition that is in itself not verifiable, and does not demonstrably produce the texts attributed to it. No wonder that confirmation was sought by Parry's student Albert Lord in Yugoslav folk epic, observable in its oral state. But I do not find the argument for comparison convincing; and while the Yugoslav epic may seem to some Homeric students close enough to be illuminating, it does not seem close enough to Gregorian to be helpful to us.

The similarity of the process, however, was close enough so that Parry's discussion could be applied directly to Gregorian. On the basis of 'no written record', Treitler could stipulate 'no single original text', and could imagine oral composition that configured formulae in performance, finding originality and excellence in the unique solutions of the performances. Treitler at first identified the musical configurations as, for instance, the outline of a psalm tone; later he put more confidence in musical phrasing that used cadence formulae in a way analogous and parallel to punctuation in the syntax of the words being sung. Treitler faced the same problem of finding in Frankish written record of *c.* 900 something that could be presumed similar to what was sung in Rome *c.* 700. Both Treitler and Hucke (who followed him in this approach) seem to have been willing to accept the possibility of distance between performance and eventual document – more willing than Parry had been. Hucke at one point described the written records as containing examples of how the formulaic system *might* be implemented. Treitler seemed ambivalent on this point; at any rate, his discussion seemed ambiguous, which is a possible reason for the mixed reaction.

For Treitler's description, being as unverifiable as Parry's, could only be judged in terms of how well it suited our responses. Treitler had said at the outset that we could not decide between 'oral composition' and the usual idea of 'composition with the aid of writing' on the basis of how the eventual written records read, since either explanation explains the text as we have it.³³ In Treitler's words, 'It comes down, rather, to differences in objectives and outlooks' – in other words, to differences of what you want.

Naturally, I cannot say what anyone else wants; but I myself had several differing reactions, and perhaps they are shared. We might say that Treitler's description of oral composition was to help us read the written record in a certain way; but I think it more accurate to say, his description *is* a reading of the record, and we are to see if it agrees with our own reading. On one hand I found that I did not want to read the earliest chant books as if they represented only ranges of options, in configurations that might never have been repeated – possibly not used even once. I much preferred to read the record as one of at

³³ 'Homer and Gregory', 371.

least one actual performance, considered by the performer to be the best possible way, or the only way. Otherwise my reading would seem to be so much a function of itself – of myself – as to be uninformative: I would lose the value of the document as presenting a stubborn, durable text, a new and possibly very valuable piece of information. That is closer to a philological reading than Treitler, I think, cared to come.

On the other hand I was eager to read the record as one of oral composition, of free choices made in and with the excitement of performance. This seemed to be the most attractive feature of Parry's theory, and while not made very explicit in Treitler's, it is certainly implicit. And I believe many of us value the feeling of a free flow of music – perhaps as listener, perhaps as performer or even as composer, where we identify this feeling as, for instance, 'the music pours out all by itself'. An important point lies within this idea, and I want to pursue it briefly, since it directly concerns the issues surrounding 'text.'

As I sing chant, I can contemplate making decisions *while I sing*, but that seems no better than making decisions *before I sing*, then using them *while I sing*; or using decisions made previously by someone else. In either case, what I do is watch (*while I sing!*) the chosen formulae go by. Perhaps I can remember the reason it was chosen, perhaps not; perhaps I knew it from the composer. If I am choosing it myself in performance, then Parry would say that the choices were intuitive rather than reflective; for that is the point of his construction concerning performance. Such an experience of performance may feel exciting when it happens ('it just pours out'), but the musical result may or may not sound good. And the excitement may not even be perceptible to a listener. Do we read the written record differently for assuming that the performance was exciting for them? And anyway, the version in which it happened for them may not be the one in the written record (by hypothesis).

'It is not the least charm of a theory that it is refutable', said Nietzsche. We like to think of spontaneous creation and we like to think we are listening to it. I hear the same thing sometimes in Beethoven or Brahms – development sections, say, or codas. Here, however, I can check with reception history (at least one critic thought Beethoven sonatas were more like fantasias), as well as a tradition of *fantasia*. Against that I have a tradition of exact reproduction, or better, a tradition of exactly following directions. Note that even in Artur Schnabel's edition, this strictest apostle of Beethoven's text reveals a wealth of options in between Beethoven's markings; the exercise of these options is based upon Schnabel's reading of and experience with Beethoven's text, and with tradition. But hearing a performance of a Beethoven sonata, I can know, as well as I know anything in music, that the performer is following directions exactly – and still I respond to it *as if* it were being made up as we went along. So my historiographical perception of the method of composition is irrelevant, both to my response, and to the known context.

If Treitler were saying that oral composition encourages us to read the record differently, we should distinguish between reading differently in order to prove

a theory, and reading differently by assuming a theory. I believe that people thought Treitler was doing the first of these things, but that he thought he was doing the second. One reason they might have thought so was that, like Parry, Treitler chose to illustrate oral composition in a context marked by the absence of written musical record (he could have picked another context). This had the effect of suggesting that there was 'no other possible explanation' than the one he was proposing. That difficulty in the argument was anticipated by Parry, who tried to avoid it by allowing the possibility that writing might have been involved somewhere, somehow. Richard Lattimore, in his illuminating introduction to his famous translation of the *Iliad*, while taking a different view, also left open the question of whether writing was coming into use in time to be used for Homeric poetry. Treitler perhaps followed the same path of ambivalence; if he did not, he should have done so, for arguments are now being advanced by Peter James³⁴ that the illiterate Greek 'Dark Ages' (1200–900 BC) are an illusion created by bad dates (the argument is complex; Colin Renfrew, himself ready to question received opinion, feels that the conclusions of James are wrong, but for all the right reasons).³⁵ In other words, the documented adoption by the Greeks of the Proto-Canaanite alphabet may have taken place not in the eleventh century BC, to be forgotten until revived in the eighth century, but rather in the ninth century, serving as the point of a systematic development of Greek writing. In short, it is imprudent to explain Homeric poetry as a response to the unavailability of writing, and that is what Parry as well as Lattimore were trying to avoid; if Homer is 'oral poetry', that is better understood as a technique chosen because it seemed most appropriate for the performance of epic; and it can be assumed to apply to the epic genre, but not necessarily to others. When we apply this to Gregorian, it is easy to see that there, too, methods of musical notation were available (and had been used for Greek music); if we need to imagine a process of composition for Gregorian, it should not be driven by a need to explain composition without the aid of writing.

If we do need to explain the process of composition without writing, there is (as always) another explanation, one which circumvents most of Parry's problem; I call it 'inner text'. Pursuing the other side of the philological ambivalence, it imagines a text-state that is words before it is letters, phonemes before graphemes; and it works especially well for music.

Inner text

Almost everyone agrees that Gregorian chant was performed without written record – certainly during the seventh and eighth centuries, and by many singers for a long time afterwards. Theories of oral composition address (among other things) the problem of 'How did they do it?' It is an observable fact of modern

³⁴ Peter James *et al.*, *Centuries of Darkness* (New Brunswick, 1993).

³⁵ In his preface to James's book.

concert life that solo performers (either in solo recital or playing with an orchestra) regularly perform without written record; and, of course, it is a fact of operatic performance. Some conductors, and occasionally ensembles, also perform without written record in front of them. We can either accept this fact without trying to explain it or we can explain it with a hypothesis, for since the process that produced the performance belongs to the internal arc, it is not subject to empirical observation, only introspection. Some performers, said to have 'eidetic imagery', report that they can read the score as if on an internal screen; others report that they do not see anything inside, simply that their body knows how the piece goes.

I find it helpful in this connection to distinguish between memorization and knowing how the piece goes. It seems to me that in order to learn a new piece I have to 'memorize' it, and it takes an effort; I may use one of the many techniques of memorization that have been described over the centuries. But once I know a piece, I am not conscious of a process of recalling it during performance (unless the process fails me). So the process of reproducing a piece in performance is not observable even by my introspection.

I need to add the obvious fact that we can, and do, verify such performances by following them with the written record in hand; and what we find is that opera singers and concerto soloists reproduce very extended, complex compositions exactly – not only according to the written record, but according to the most minute details of inflection and nuance as we can remember them from previous performances.

If we want to make an explanation, it necessarily takes the form of one of these *ad hoc* unverifiable hypotheses whose value is only in their ability to facilitate our understanding. I find it helpful to imagine an 'inner text' that accomplishes the same thing that is accomplished by the philologist's text that is located in the written record. His text is clearly not to be identified with the written record, since the same text can appear in more than one written record. If pressed, a philologist might admit that he hypothesizes a text-state in the mind of the poet immediately before or during the notation of the autograph. I hypothesize such a text state for music, and I imagine that it can exist and function for any musician at any time. For any given performer and performance I would have to try to determine how it came to be. In a case where I had reason to believe the performer was performing an item that had been pre-arranged by someone else, then that of course could be verified if there was a written record already in existence of that pre-arrangement, such as an edition of Beethoven's sonatas. But I can make a similar hypothesis in the case of Gregorian chant, even if I cannot verify it by finding a pre-existing written record. I know that the result, the reproduction of a performance, is possible, and I can explain it by appeal to an hypothetical inner text, even if I cannot extend the hypothesis to include a more specific description of the mechanism. The hypothesis of inner text enables me to treat the performances of Gregorian during the unwritten

phase as if they were faithfully reproducing the text; consequently, I can treat the written record, when in due course it appears, as recording the text.

The hypothesis of inner text suggests nothing about when such a text came into existence or how long it had been in use; it also suggests nothing about how much it might be changed over the years, or what the mechanism of change might be. The important thing about such a hypothesis is that it permits me to imagine as little or as much change as the singers might have wanted; and the amount and kind of change could vary from one item to the next. What this hypothesis avoids is the suggestion that the ability to fix the repertory is limited by the conditions – by the doubt that the repertory could have been fixed without written records. Such limitation has been the principal point of contention.

The hypothesis of inner text also suggests nothing about how chants were composed; it only makes it possible to imagine that there was a text that a singer could scan and edit in preparation for a performance. These are the same conditions under which composers work in modern repertories, and we need make no distinction between composing without written records and composing with them. If we believe there are, in fact, differences, we can look for more productive explanations than simply saying that the lack of written records made certain things impossible.

Text is performance

'Brethren, I show you a still better way.' All the explanations reviewed up to this point attempt to explain what is awkwardly called the 'compositional process', for which I have preferred the less ambiguous 'process of composition'. In order to be clear about the words we use, I find it helpful to refer again to the diagram used for text criticism, and to present it in several expanded forms. Figure 1, for the philologist, showed the philological interval between author and archetype; the interval was divided into an internal arc from author to autograph, and an external arc from autograph to archetype. Anything that might happen in the internal arc has to be imagined rather than observed; and since in ancient poetry and medieval music there are virtually no autographs, everything in the external arc, hence the whole philological interval, has to be imagined as well. For classical literature, the philologist fills the whole interval with the assumption – the firm conviction – of the single original text. The text tradition, and with it the text transmission, begins with the autograph, if there is one, or with the archetype, the first written record (and continues to the right of the diagram). We should note, however, that the philologist approaches the text from the right, moving along the text tradition towards the left (that would be up the stemma); the terminus of text criticism is the archetype, and in a situation in which the text tradition clearly preserved a better text than an autograph, the philologist might well prefer the results of the text criticism to

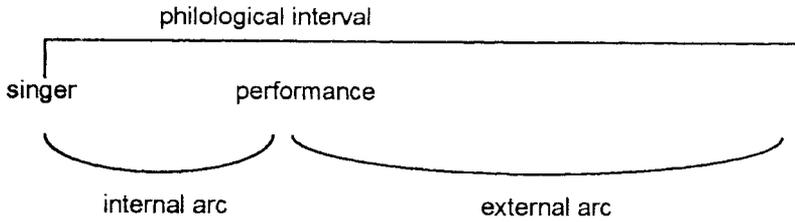


Fig. 2

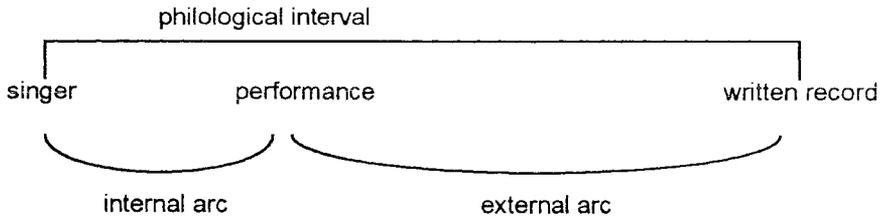


Fig. 3

the autograph, and assume an authorial or editorial improvement between autograph and archetype.

Classical text criticism, then, can be described as empirical and rational to the right of the archetype, single-mindedly assumptive to the left of the archetype in the philological interval. In studies of medieval music during the second half of our century we have paid less attention to the author (= composer), and focused instead on the archetype, with increasing interest in only an extant archetype, and on the scribe, to the extent that for Gregorian we sometimes seem preoccupied with the question: Why did the scribe write it this way? to the exclusion of: Why is the music the way it is? This has amounted to accepting a temporary limitation on method and goal: we are to understand everything we can about the production of each single manuscript before we can proceed to reconstruction and interpretation.

The discussions of oral tradition might seem to require a different diagram, such as shown in Figure 2. Here the internal arc terminates in a performance; there is, by hypothesis, no autograph or archetype, and the external arc and with it the whole philological interval extends indefinitely to the right in oral tradition and oral transmission. But for medieval music (and, indeed, for all except our most recent experience), oral tradition and oral transmission have to produce a written record if we are to study it. So the diagram should show as in Figure 3 the external arc terminating in a written record.

The written record might be an autograph; or, if the written record generated a text tradition, it might be considered an archetype. Neither of those things has to happen, however, and it is primarily just a written record. (Another

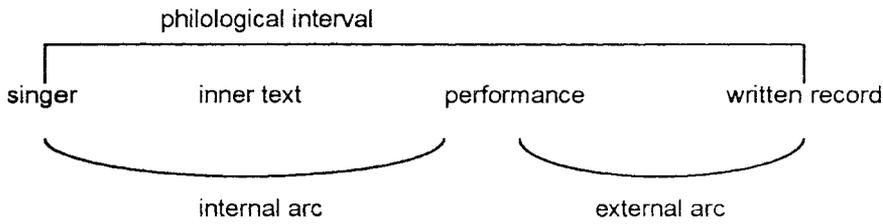


Fig. 4

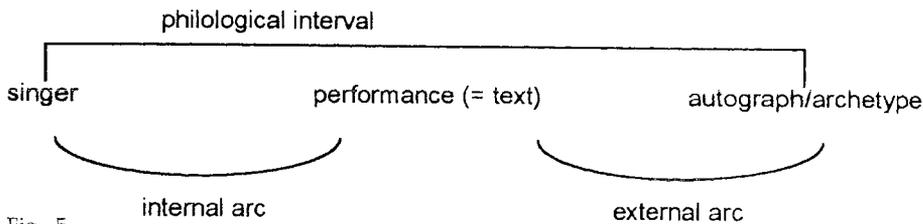


Fig. 5

analysis would be required if, in some other circumstances, it were a sound recording.)

Into Figure 3 I want to place an 'inner text' before the performance to produce Figure 4. That is, as I described under 'inner text', I find it possible for the singer to have arranged, scanned and edited what is to be sung in public performance; this may well have been done by a private performance, for or by the composer alone. I see nothing to prevent imagining some such process of composition in the absence of written records.

Just as Figure 4 explicates the diagram for oral tradition shown in Figure 3, so I can explicate the philologist's diagram (Figure 1) by placing a performance before the autograph, if there is one, or simply before the archetype, as in Figure 5.

This might be a private performance, or a public one, as in the case of Homer.

The interface of internal and external arcs is the moment of externalization, in which whatever was inside the composer (or poet) takes a form outside that can be perceived by others. The moment may be short or long; the result may be subsequently revised, even drastically, either before it reaches the archetype or before it is performed publicly or marked by publication of some kind. I am not interested at the moment in specifying anything about the externalization; I only want to be able to proceed *without* specifying anything about the process of composition that led up to it. The mechanisms of composition that I reviewed and also the one I suggested, along (I believe) with any other, share the moment of externalization; but since they all occupy the internal arc, they are purely hypothetical, without possibility of confirmation by observation. For some purposes, then, they can be ignored, and I can work with the externalized result,

which occupies a central position analogous to performance in Parry's construction, and analogous to text in text criticism. To state it abstractly, the (single original) text is the performance.

This is not a new statement. Many, if not most, people who listen seriously to music proceed this way. It is mostly historians of one kind or another, along with some analysts, who try to explain how the text as performed got that way. I am making the statement not by way of rejecting historicism, but rather to find out how historicism can best function, especially in the case of Gregorian, where the data that would otherwise be available and useful is simply lacking.

Of the many questions that immediately arise, the first is a very serious obstacle, while others are less serious. The serious obstacle is, of course, the fact that once a performance is past, it is past. It is past after the last sound is no longer audible, so this problem affects our study of and reflection on all music. Performance is in the present; performance *is* the present form of the music. Performance is one of the modes of being present; and *we* are present at a performance. If we want to listen to music, then what is accessible is the performance. The philologist can be in the presence of a written record, can experience it directly; but if he argues that the written record *is* the poem (or the music), he is only acknowledging that he is accepting the written record as accessible in lieu of a performance. And the passionate belief in the single original text acknowledges the inaccessible past performance. The enduring value of classical philology is to make this acknowledgement and to try to deal with it; in music we know things that can help.

An easier and more immediate question has already been asked, and answered: 'How can I understand the music unless I know how it was made?' Descriptions of the process of composition are answers to this question. As I have suggested, these descriptions really address the part that says 'How can I understand?' and cannot claim to offer a scientific answer in the form of a confirmed hypothesis about how it was made. Such descriptions are 'as-if' answers, and do in fact help people understand. But using the same words of the question as given, I can ask the question slightly differently: 'How can I understand how the music was made unless I know how it goes?' This question focuses attention on the fact that the performed text is more knowable than the process of its composition. To put it another way, descriptions of the process of composition tend to lead to an understanding in general rather than in the specific way a given piece is. This tendency is more easily seen in the wider contexts often supplied: 'If I were in Beethoven's circumstances, had his experiences, I would know how he felt, and would understand how and why he composed as he did'. That leads to biographical and social process; another approach attempts to supply the stylistic process, the 'stylistic envelope', within which individual compositions are composed. I have done this as much as anyone, and more than most; but I need now to address the uniqueness of the composition. How the composer made it is the composer's business, not mine; in revenge, how I respond to it is my business, not the composer's. And if I were to ask a composer about the

process of composition of a piece, I imagine that the most direct answers (leaving aside the rhetoric that some composers have found appropriate to such questions) would be these: 'How did I compose it? I composed it the way it is. Why? because that is the way I wanted to compose it. And it means what it says.' The problem is not exactly one of verbal as opposed to musical meaning, although that is part of it. It is one of acknowledging something out there in the text for which I cannot find a ready-made match within. To use a metaphor, I ask my in-board computer, in attempting to find an internal match for the perceived experience, to keep searching for a more precise one – if necessary, to construct a new one.

In the mean time, I rail at the caution on my electronic equipment – 'No user-serviceable elements inside' – and I try to open it anyway, just to see how it works. The caution I now offer, 'no listener-appreciable elements inside', while just as ungrammatical, is probably just as accurate; and still, we will all continue to look. I think the danger arises in those cases in which the reason we ask about the process of composition, about how the composer made it, is because we did not understand the piece in the first place, and we need some clue from outside the piece. Such a clue may lead us into the loop of reading the piece to match an assumed process of composition, and thus into the intentional fallacy (the effect of pointing out the intentional fallacy was to caution that intentions other than those realized in the piece are indeterminate).³⁶

We may not know what it is, but we have to take it into account

The advantage of taking the performance as text can be most easily observed by watching the literary critic taking the written record as text, having taken from the philologist the strategy of being interested only in what can be reliably studied by optically scanning the written record. What is not explicitly visible therein is rhythm, pace, accent, character, tone, inflection, sonority – a whole spectrum of qualities we can without hesitation identify as musical. These qualities, and some others, are also missing from our musical written records, and we have always been keenly aware of the lack. Students of literature acknowledge the lack, first by calling their subject 'literature', consisting of letters, that is, graphemes; and they often deal with, say, 'tone' metaphorically, inferring it from the 'meaning' of the poem. The referential meaning is what is most reliably encoded in the graphemes, and that is what is principally studied. The student of literature speaks of 'reading' and means thereby interpretation, with the curious inversion that the reading derives from the interpretation instead of the interpretation deriving from the reading in the sense of an optical scanning. We make the same use of the term when we speak of a conductor's reading of a score. What was the problem – did the conductor not know how

³⁶ W. K. Wimsatt and Monroe C. Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', *Sewanee Review*, 564 (1946), 468–88; repr. W. K. Wimsatt, *The Verbal Icon* (New York, 1954).

the piece went, that he had to read it? We mean, of course, something much more subtle: on one hand the conductor is bringing to bear on the text his whole experience and that of the culture, in other words, the tradition; and simultaneously on the other hand he hopes to find, by confronting his knowledge of the tradition afresh with the obstinate, durable text, something original, in the sense of unique to him but also appropriate to the composer.

So much to supply that is not there in the written record! Many philologists have been passionately concerned with all aspects of sonority in performance of ancient poetry, and have agonized over the problems of pronunciation, accent and rhythm, to our great benefit. But the problems do not yield easily, agreement is not widespread, and, more important, the results do not figure so prominently in literary criticism. The idea of the classical poet performing poetry in public seems only recently to have attracted sustained scholarly attention.

We, too, have endless problems in reconstructing what performances sounded like (in that common expression 'sounded like' lies the key, as I will try to show: we can only know that a past performance was *like* something we know in the present, as part of the tradition; we have to find a match). But for most of the European tradition we seem convinced at least that music *sounded*, was performed, and that we must assume that performed state as the most real state, the state from which we infer everything else. Only in our understanding of medieval music does there linger an idea that music did not need to be performed, does not need to be considered in a performed state. Just because the written record lacks many of the directions we need, we cannot for that reason assume that we should add them on to the text simply as 'performance practice', and that therefore something happened to the original conception as an afterthought when it was eventually performed. The way the piece sounded is what makes it music; the way may be even more important than the recorded pitches and durations in making it musical. Insuperable obstacles may stand in the way of finding out what that was, but in the beginning has to be the performance. This is the same kind of existential answer I offered to the question, How did it get that way? We cannot tell, but it did.

Where to look and listen

A man, walking down the street at night, saw a second man searching the pavement under a street light; he stopped to help, determined that the second man had lost his keys, and asked 'Where did you lose them?' 'Across the street, by my car.' 'Why are you looking over here, then?' 'Because I can see better under the light.' A silly story, and it may seem to have only a silly application to Gregorian studies. But are we not in a silly situation, trying to study music a thousand years old, music that was not written down in the first place, and when it was, without indication of pitch? At least in the light we may find *something*. But the other, and more important, point is that we must not confuse

absence of light with lack of event: the fact that we cannot see it does not mean that it never happened.

Several responses can be made to the problem of how to proceed. The first is frustratingly simple, and seemingly in contradiction to what I have just written. The most reliable information is in the written records of the music, just as the philologist said. Trust him; trust them. And while recent thinking has parted company with modern text criticism on the assumptions of single original text before the archetype, and does not assume the scribal model required for stemmatics, still we have learned from classical philology and from text criticism in particular a refined and flexible technique – a whole repertory of techniques – for dealing with manuscripts and finding out whatever is written in them, and also a commitment to taking what we find seriously. These techniques, including the much maligned palaeography and musical notation, provide us access to the text, and safeguard against retreat into fantasy. The most immediate instance in Gregorian studies is provided by the signs of nuance (readily accessible in the *Graduale triplex*),³⁷ which are part of the text of the manuscripts concerned; we need to acknowledge the signs, even while we mistrust the reading of them by, say, Dom Mocquereau or Dom Cardine.

As I ask myself how to get to this text (that I have identified as performance), I find that alongside the written record the most important way is through tradition, and I need now to say more exactly what I think tradition is. I believe that I have in mind for tradition a commonly accepted meaning, and do not intend to use the term in an arbitrary or idiosyncratic way. The difficulty is that by its nature, tradition is what everyone knows it to be – and more precise definition seems not possible. I can point to broad traditions such as European music, or to narrower ones such as European church music, or European concert music; or I can point to very narrow traditions such as the tradition of performing *Tosca*, or the Fifth Symphony. I can try an abstract generalization: a tradition is a diachronic repertory of performances, but I would have to add the essential ingredient that the repertory was *internalized* in people who were involved with it; to be involved with a tradition is to have internalized it, to know what it is.

So a tradition is not just a collection of texts, but a collective reading of them. When Clara Schumann referred to 'our kind of music', the people who knew what she meant knew what she meant, and even people who emphatically did not feel that music should be restricted to that kind knew, none the less, what she meant. We could make an inventory of the pieces that were included, and of those excluded; but more precisely the tradition would be how she and her co-traditionists read these pieces, how they thought – nay, *knew* – the pieces went, how music went. The tradition she was referring to is a relatively narrow

³⁷ *Graduale triplex seu Graduale romanum Pauli PP.VI cura recognitum & rhythmicis signis a Solesmensibus monachis ornatum, neumis Laudunensibus (Cod.239) et Sangallensibus (Codicum San Gallensis 359 et Einsidlensis 121) nunc auctum* (Solesmes, 1979).

one, but it serves to illustrate what I think is true (by definition) of traditions in general. How about 'shared readings of specified repertory'?

Traditions can be very sloppy, very resistant to clean specification; but they also can be very specific, and very durable. Since traditions seem necessarily selective and differentiated, people will not ordinarily know traditions other than their own. For my purpose here what is important is that while a tradition may give only one reading of a text, it does give that reading, and the reading can be more durable than a fragile piece of paper. As I said at the beginning, we cannot read any ancient written record unless we participate in some tradition that includes it; now I say that tradition, properly used, is a most valuable access to music when we have no written record, or when we are interested in performance as text.

'Is not the Gregorian tradition so different, and from such a different culture, that we cannot read it reliably? Will not our instinctive responses will be inappropriate? Is it not a tradition lost to us?'

This turned out to be a complicated question. It presupposes various kinds and degrees of linkage between music and our responses to it on the one hand, and on the other between our responses and the responses of others, in our own time and in other times. Everyone will understand the question differently, and answer it differently, depending on individual estimates of these linkages.

As a preliminary, the question has a strong component of ethical injunction: we ought not to respond thoughtlessly to music that seems different, for that is not responsible, it is doing bad things to ourselves and to the music. This injunction comes to me from somewhere, and I believe it to be widespread in the profession. We must accept the responsibility of acknowledging that others intend and do different things in music; the more different they are than we, the more different will be their music; we must not indulge ourselves by assuming it is merely the same as ours. We might miss the opportunity of discovering something we did not know, of extending our knowledge, of improving ourselves. I accept that responsibility.

I suspect, however, that we have invoked the idea that medieval music is different on occasions when we did not respond at all to the music, hence looked for an explanation of it in another, non-musical realm. At any rate, when I do respond, the problem does not come up automatically. To note is that the problem of a different culture does not seem to interfere – or even be referred to – in connection with understanding Homer. So to assert the difference of medieval music from our own may be largely a functional assertion. In any case, it is not part of a consistent approach to historical change over long periods. To help support some positions we say, 'that process must have taken a very long time' (Parry assumes this for the development of a repertory of formulae). To support some other position we may say, 'That feature (or those features) must have changed very little over a long period'. (Jeffery implies this in identifying melodies in the fourth or fifth centuries.) It is one thing to make such statements on the basis of specific observations, quite another to make

them as assumptions. Neither of the two statements quoted harmonize very well with the belief implied in the question under discussion, that medieval music is basically different from our own. All such assertions seem to be made axiomatically, and for good cause: we have little opportunity to verify them. We make them confidently, categorically, on the basis of need not knowledge.

If we say a culture is different, it may be because it is in a faraway place. It seems to me that cross-cultural comparisons will be useful only when we know how the music is working in each of the two cultures to be compared; I see many problems to be solved before such comparison is appropriate. Gregorian, however, is not from a faraway place, and in this case we say its culture is different because it was so long ago. Then, we consider Gregorian as part of a culture, as a stick in a bundle; comparing to our own bundle, we are finding differences in many of the other sticks, and arguing that the Gregorian, too, must be different. That argument is presumptive on two counts: (1) it presumes linkage between elements of culture, and archaeologists, at least, are increasingly reluctant to presume such linkage. They often have to presume it, simply because they may only have broken pots in hand. We, too, have to presume linkage, in order to imagine what the chant was like before 900; but I believe we presume far too much. (2) The argument presumes that there is enough in common among the other sticks to speak of the culture as a whole, and this seems simplistic. On one hand it is true that people north of the Alps may have sung the same chant in the same surroundings (the same buildings!) as we do, may have sung the same Creed inside the church but done some of the same things outside, and spoke French and German. On the other hand, the language might sound unfamiliar to us, and their churches were new not old. The mix of same and different becomes extremely complex, and I do not see how we can say anything decisive enough about whether Gregorian culture was the same or different from our own (what is that, exactly?) to conclude anything about the sameness or difference of the music itself.

So for the time being we have to deal with the music by itself. Here we have to worry about various kinds and degrees of linkage between our responses to music and whatever it is in the music that we respond to. The possible positions (and there are many) range along a continuum that extends from presuming a one-to-one relationship between kinds of response and musical elements, all the way to presuming no such relationship of any kind. An example of a one-to-one relationship would be to assume that a major third is the consonance to which we are most ready to respond, not only as a source of pleasure but also as the necessary centre of a tonal system. An example of presuming no relationship would be to say that tunings or scales as used are completely arbitrary in construction, with no necessary reference to consonance. In order to think about these positions it helps to have a conception of music itself as phenomenological as possible (short of solipsism).

The basic 'objective' observation to be made about music is that it consists of a series of sonic blips; that is what is out there, that is *all* that is out there;

that is what electro-mechanical acoustic sensors detect and record – that or a series of flashes on a screen. Everything else in music is in here; our responses are configurations, some of incredible complexity, that we lay on the blips. Some of the configurations are simple, and while we need to acknowledge the continuum between simple and complex configurations, we need also to avoid assuming any direct correlation with simple or complex blips. Also, even the simplest perceived blip may be resolvable into many acoustic events measurable only in micro seconds, and much of our response may be below the threshold of awareness (most obviously in the case of vibrations).

If we refuse any permanent, one-to-one relationship of our configuration and blips, then of course we feel that it is not possible to respond appropriately to Gregorian, since the blips themselves seem undeniably different from our own music. This view finds the only access to Gregorian in social context, and in complex associations (of concept, image, feeling) determined through historical reconstruction, usually of the liturgy.

If we presume one-to-one relationships between responses and blips (that is, sets of blips) then we could imagine appropriate responses to Gregorian, but only to the extent of the repertory of responses that we were willing to include as musical. That is, in order to respond to Gregorian, we would have to find a set of blips for which we already had a response.

I find that these extreme positions are unfruitful, if not very problematic, and for that reason they are not often used. Most observers take some kind of intermediate or mixed position. One such position that has been prominently represented asserts that our responses to our own music are based on configurations occurring naturally; the most familiar instance is the harmonic triad, based on the overtone series. But (this view continues) we cannot respond to ancient music because the responses are not linked to any such natural configurations. Besseler, for example, distinguished between the music of Dufay and that of the fourteenth century on the grounds that under the influence of humanism (as opposed to a theological orientation in the Middle Ages) Dufay acknowledged the natural basis of harmony (hence Besseler analysed Dufay's harmony with Riemann functions). The effect of this position was to say that our responses to Dufay could be appropriate, but that appropriate responses to music a century earlier were available to us only through reconstruction of musically arbitrary association and social context.

I do not see how we are going to solve the problem of systematically matching response and blips, of giving an account that is generally applicable, or of showing a mechanism that is demonstrable; ignoring any other criterion, I do not see how we could find a solution that would be agreeable to all. And I do not think this is because the solution requires more time or data, but rather because of an element of indeterminacy that seems unavoidable. Twentieth-century nuclear physics has had to work around the Heisenberg principle of indeterminacy; I can understand this principle only in very simple terms, and so report it here. An electron is seen, its speed and position observed, only by

shooting another electron at it; but when it hits, of course, the first electron is no longer where it was. In music things are slightly different. I can observe, empirically, old music as an archaeologist observes artefacts; and unlike an archaeologist, I do not destroy the location in the site by observing it. But can I both respond to an item and observe it empirically? For my response takes the form of putting a configuration on top of the blips; so I am responding to the configuration, and perhaps not to the blips.

I believe, none the less, that we can deal with our responses, and with what ever evoked them, without abandoning some kind of systematic connection between them, but also without arguing for an *a priori* position (or retreating to theories of pure projection, or of chaos). I must appeal again to analogies, the first involving tactile perception. To our touch, stone feels cold, and wood warm, and this may be the case even if thermometers show no measurable difference between the two materials or the ambient temperature. The reason usually given (and it seems good to me) is that the stone is readily absorbing our body heat, but the wood, not absorbing it, reflects it back to our sensors. So the heat we perceive is our own, and while the difference between touching wood and stone is obvious, we have had no tactile perception of anything in the wood or stone that would account for the difference. In musical terms, I would say that what we perceive is our response to musical sounds, and without knowing anything about how or why or which sounds evoke which responses, we can readily differentiate responses and work with them, as long as we acknowledge that they were evoked by something out there.

How to work with them? My other analogy is that of a scientific procedure that is purely empirical, logical and pragmatic, but works by juggling assumptions and uncertainties; it offers a useful model. Working from his point of departure, and using observed data of speed and time, as well as estimates of wind and current, a navigator calculates where his ship ought to be; this is the 'assumed position' (the process is called 'deduced reckoning', or 'dead reckoning'). He confirms this position, tentatively, by observing the sun and comparing its observed angle with tables that give him the angle calculated from the assumed position; there is always a slight difference, which he uses to correct the assumed position. All very hypothetical, and the result may or may not be correct; the navigator will not know until landfall. But the method is traditional and standard, and can work very, very well.

An application to chant that is easily understandable, and perhaps believable, occurs in the study of chant notation. We read staffless notation by working back from staffed sources. With the square notation, say of the *Graduale triplex*, in mind (or with a melody that we know by heart) we can read the adiaematic notation recorded in the *Triplex* above and below the staff, observing when it is the same *and when different!* For although the staffless notation does not show much pitch, its configuration occasionally fails to match that assumed from the staff notation. Then we can do either of two things, and each is valuable: we can guess what the earlier pitch was (say, *b* instead of *c*, a frequent case), and

from that argue to the principle of a pitch-shift of *b* up to *c* over the centuries intervening between the two sources (that is, tenth and eleventh centuries); or we can first assume the shift as a general principle (perhaps we are encouraged by other information) and then use it to read a sign in a way not usual (say, a trigon as *b-c-a*). We cannot, however, say that one of these ways 'proves' the other; and we cannot do both. Either gives us a suggestion for which we can find interesting uses; but as for knowing, we will have to wait for landfall. (The conclusion I draw from this particular case, incidentally, is that the *b-c* shift is diachronic not synchronic, in other words that it has little to do with 'dialects' of Gregorian linked to places.)

How such an application can be made to the more basic problem of linkage of response and blips I am not yet clear, but I feel it goes something like this. I can assume that Hucbald, say, had a response to a certain set of blips in chant; the set involved tones in diatonic steps and leaps; these same steps and leaps continue to be used in our music, that is, we read modern texts by using the same diatonic system (the chant text itself may also survive, but I am not referring to it here). The response Hucbald made to specific intervals could have entered the tradition and become a constitutive part of it; it could have continued down to the present, and I could have the same response. So I can hear what Hucbald heard. As for knowing, again, I will have to wait for landfall, and who knows when that will be.

The important qualification is that other responses will have entered the tradition since 900. One such response, or system of responses, has developed to configurations identified as triadic. Do these obliterate the intervals, thus preventing me from responding with Hucbald's response? In some contexts obviously not; but in other contexts they might. To put it another way, in those other contexts, can I choose not to respond in terms of triads (which is the response provided me by the near tradition) in order to respond only to the intervals? It is my experience that I can, and I believe many others feel similarly. One more, most important step: the response is to the interval, the interval is there in the modern text, the option to respond that way is just as much a part of our music as it was of Hucbald's. This can show me that the response to triads itself is an option, selected and confirmed by European systematic thought since Zarlino. There are other options in the present state of the tradition; triadic thinking is a configuration that I lay on nineteenth-century music; it corresponds to something that is there in the blips; it is not only a configuration from the tradition, it is a conceptual system that I use to explain my responses. Who knows whether it does explain the very clear, very specific responses I have to the blips? My responses to nineteenth-century music (or to any other segment of the European tradition) might be in certain respects the same as Hucbald's to chant, and so my responses to chant might be just as appropriate as his.

The original question (Is not the Gregorian culture so different . . .?) presumed that the tradition changed drastically over the thousand years intervening. I am presuming, on the other hand, that some things changed more, some less; that

the diatonic system hardly changed at all, and that responses somehow linked to it could persist in the tradition. I say that I can proceed as if they persisted; or if I presume they did not persist, then I cannot study Gregorian as music, only as documents. In other words, while I will never have scientific knowledge of Hucbald's music, I have always had musical knowledge of it.

An example may help; I cast it in the form of an imaginary discussion between two listeners comparing responses. Suppose we can agree that two tones (not one) are sounding. We can agree that they are relatively blending (consonant not dissonant), although already the agreement may be tenuous; and our reports of more subtle responses may agree less and less – and not necessarily because our responses are any less clear or strong. We may agree that there are seven distinct pitches sounding, and that they are the seven of the diatonic system, without the octave. We may agree, in another case, that there are eight, one of them sounding in octave duplication; or one of us may hear eight separate pitches, denying that in this case the eighth sounds like the duplicate of the first. We may agree that there are eight and call them *C, D, E, F, G, a, b, c*, and also that the piece ends on *E*; but we may not agree that this sounds like a firm or expected conclusion – which may lead to complex differences of interpretation. In the case of a similar piece ending on *G*, we may agree that shortly before the end there is a configuration *F-a-c*; but one of us may hear those three pitches as a unit (triad), another as a smooth succession (of two thirds); that is a clear difference of configurations, but one that does not seem to make much difference unless larger configurations are invoked. The one who hears it as a unit may well superimpose a larger configuration of triads in a key, and conclude either that this piece (about to end on *G*) made an ill-advised move to the subdominant, and then failed to reach the tonic; or else that the *F-a-c* represents a fall into a deep subdominant in penultimate position – unusual in nineteenth-century style but frequent in twentieth-century. That is the kind of interpretation that we easily identify as inappropriate. The other observer, who heard *F-a-c* as a smooth succession, could report hearing that these pitches bracketed the two associated with the final, *G-b*, and using up all the immediately available alternate pitches in the scale had the effect of an obvious 'other' sound useful for the penultimate. Together we could remind ourselves of how much we agreed upon to start, and might go on to reflect that what the second observer heard as a clear penultimate was similar in function to what the first would elsewhere identify as 'dominant' (rather than as 'subdominant'), and we might agree speculatively that in the triadic system both dominant and subdominant triads represent 'other' triads (other than tonic triad) and can be used on occasion in comparable penultimate position for cadential function.

But suppose the first listener, who tried to hear triads, concluded the match was not successful, hence that it was not possible to respond to that music; that this was a case of insuperable difference. Disregarding simplistic explanations once given ('people did not actually hear the sounds', 'the Church did not allow it', 'the triad *F-a-c* will not be heard as a simultaneity in monophony')

(but it will in a resonant space)), we should consider at least one sophisticated one, which is that the system of triadic configurations of the eighteenth century was not yet in the *tradition*, not yet a shared response, in the ninth century (and this would apply just as well to triads actually sounding in thirteenth-century polyphony). It is at that point that I would invoke alternative options of listening as described earlier.

Tradition, then, is the name by which I call the very large, complex store of musical responses that has come down to me through European society in history. How to use tradition, this store of responses, to gain access to Gregorian, or any other old music? Study of it by scientific method is not useful for my purposes for reasons already given: first, historical materials do not permit adequate testing of hypothesis; and second, musical materials *qua* musical (that is, involving my responses) are observable only by me, hence do not permit the kind of agreement among several observers that would make them 'objective data'. Inductive empiricism provides useful models, as long as I acknowledge that their applicability can never be confirmed.

Cognizant of this, many historical scholars now evaluate the applicability of specific models in terms of the quality of the 'fit', that is, the degree to which the consequences of the model fit the available data. It is certainly important to evaluate the degree of fit; but a high degree does not confirm the hypothesis in the same way as confirmation by experiment, for the simple but crucial reason that an experiment tests consequences that involve new data from outside the set of original data, and under controlled conditions; this is not available to historians. All that the quality of fit confirms is that the hypothesis does indeed explain the problematic situation – or seems to explain it to the researcher – better than other available models, and on the basis of the data available to that researcher. A good fit does not assure that things out there are the way they are in the model.

Something similar can be said of scientific method itself: even with testing by experiment, the confirmation of a hypothesis does not constitute a guarantee of what is out there. Hence a purely pragmatic analysis of scientific method identifies the criterion of scientific knowledge only as the ability to predict and control. In response to the question 'does a verified hypothesis give knowledge of how things really are?' the pragmatic analysis responds 'What do you mean by 'knowing'?' And to justify the criterion of predict-and-control, the pragmatic analysis asks 'What other kind of test is there?'

Does not what I have written constitute a denial of scholarly method, with which we have worked so hard for a century to overcome the dilettantism and arbitrariness characteristic of previous commentary on music? I certainly need to respond to that, and I do so by laying a countercharge of dilettantism against the kind of historical scholarly method that has sought to duplicate the results of the physical sciences by aping 'scientific method'. Such scholarship has been uninformed and unsophisticated. It has ignored on one hand the nature of the materials, both as history and as music; on the other hand it has tried to apply

a method that it did not fully understand. If my reading of recent history is correct, I take these failings to be a function of scholarship in its nineteenth-century university environment, where scholars in the humanities amassed tremendous amounts of data by Positivism (which was good and from which we still benefit), but then tried to use Reason, as disciplined by Kant's *Critique*, to manipulate the data into conclusions whose persuasive force would be irresistible. Somewhere in the process the sense of humanistic judgement, basic to the Classical Tradition as late as the sixteenth century, was lost for a time.³⁸

Given the impossibility of confirming explanations in history, and the difficult status of data that is relevant to music, I believe the use of scientific method to be inappropriate. In its stead, I prefer to trust the operations, largely unconscious, of the mind for scanning and storing data, noting similarities and differences; I believe the mind does these things with more regard for context than a typically scientific process of abstracting one feature common to a set of data and generalizing about it. Without saying that the mind is a computer, or even like a computer, still we can say that among the mind's admirable qualities is the ability to scan and process data for some purposes better and faster than any computer most of us can afford. It is true that the mind tends to present for conscious attention data already processed – generalizations are made, approximate matches are suggested, connections and alternative explanations already formed; as a concomitant, the complete scope of data in my mind may not be displayed to my conscious attention; it is not accessible, yet it is available for use. To put it another way, I cannot think pitches or durations as fast as I can sing or play them, just as I cannot think words and sentences as fast as I can deliver them. So I cannot display for others' scrutiny the processes that led to my conclusions; I cannot convince by rigour of method, but must rely instead on another, more pragmatic – and scientific! – criterion, the ability of others to reproduce the same result. 'Do you hear what I hear?' And my judgements cannot be proven, only judged.

Like a computer, musical judgement works better the more data it has; of course, the data has to be good (garbage in, garbage out). I find this to be the value of Positivism – as a method it provides much good data. If I could make only one point, it would be this: the trouble with musical criticism as it has been practised as a scholarly programme is that it has not been based upon enough data, specifically it has not taken into account the whole duration of the European tradition, beginning some time before Gregorian, and including Gregorian in the long approach to nineteenth-century music. (The tradition needs to be long, but not necessarily broad.) And I believe this is the *only*

³⁸ In many respects I am continuing a critical discussion of historiographical method undertaken by Arthur Mendel in 'Evidence and Explanation', *International Musicological Society, Report of the Eighth Congress* (New York, 1961): vol. II, Reports (1962), pp. 3–18, which I recommend with enthusiasm and respect but not necessarily agreement.

trouble with criticism, not some presumed failing in the use of 'scientific' historiography.

The concept of formula as a tool of Gregorian study

Formulae have come to occupy a central position in our thinking and research on Gregorian, as illustrated by Hiley's remark that the offertory chant was poorly understood because 'it does not rely on easily understood formulas' (Hiley p. 121; I would rather refer to most of the configurations involved as 'idioms', since 'formula' in a standard medieval use refers to something different, the 'tones' used for Office psalmody, Canticles, verses for Matins responsories, and such; but 'formula' is commonly used for what we have to discuss, and the confusion with 'tones' is part of the problem at hand).

Philological method fastens quickly on to formulae: in the text-critical phase it scans extant versions for similarities and differences, and the similarities (which may include formulae) can be taken as belonging to the single original text. In the literary phase, attention shifts to what is original about the text, but this is identified by separating it out from the formulae, which are assigned to the tradition; Parry showed what interesting things could be done with them there. Whatever we do with them in Gregorian, we have to acknowledge their presence; but I think we have generalized far too much about them in classification (my distinction of idiom from tone is only the first of many distinctions I find necessary); and I believe that we have been extremely presumptive as to how they were used in Gregorian, and how they can be used by us.

The study of formula and melody-type has been undertaken by observing similarities among the objects, assembling and sorting into categories, finding the laws that would govern their behaviour. Any scholar, when pressed, would of course admit that formulae do not behave at all; people, behaving musically, use formulae in certain ways. But we attribute agency (in the case of *Wandervers*, agency is attributed by its name) as part of a conviction that we are studying objective things that are controlled by objective forces; otherwise, how would we study them scientifically? My point is that they are not so controlled, and that is why we cannot study them that way.

But what did it mean, 'poorly understood because it did not use formulae?' People in our century do not respond any less warmly to offertories than to other genres that do use formulae. 'Understood' must mean something different. I think its operational meaning in this case is that we cannot so easily find things to say about offertories, whereas with graduals and tracts we can talk about (argue with our colleagues about, teach our students about) formula and melody-type; we see formulae as objective facts about which we believe we can have knowledge, hence understanding. I believe this involves a misplaced reliance on objective fact as well as a misunderstanding of what it is and how we might use it in music; and, on the other hand, a neglect of the way musical understanding depends on response.

Formulae are not actually there in the blips; rather, they are one kind of configuration that we put down on top of blips by way of responding to them. As we become aware of formulae as used by the singer, we hear them everywhere in the repertory; only subsequently does it become clear that they appear differently, and to very different degrees, in different genres. With surprise – and perhaps a sense of betrayal, of inconsistency on the part of the Gregorian style – we discover that some genres do not seem to use formulae, as Hiley observed of offertories; and furthermore in this respect he grouped offertories together with introits and communions. That left graduals, tracts, and (presumably only the earlier) alleluias as genres that do use easily identified formulae – about half the repertory. Do we attribute greater age, developmental priority, archaism, to genres more formulaic? That would be hypothesizing about the process of composition, and while we might use that to explain observed antiquity, we could not ‘deduce’ antiquity from it. And on the other hand we can observe intensive use of formulae in genres demonstrably much younger, such as the Victorine sequence – a case that invalidates a generalized explanation with a specific observation.

There are difficulties in perceiving formulae. Offertories certainly sound stylistically continuous with graduals; that is, we can hear a similarity of style, even if there are but few shared formulae. But Hiley specified ‘easily identified formulas’, and if we looked for formulae only two or three pitches long, we could identify many; Ah, but do we hear a configuration that short as a formula, and can we know that it occurred as a formula rather than as the result of random movement, mostly stepwise, in a diatonic system (as Nowacki agonized,³⁹ with considerable sophistication, in the case of Office antiphons)?

We try now to distinguish between a melody-type and a series of formulae, but there is an interesting problem. In one way of looking at it, we can see all the responsories of a set, say, mode 5, spread out on a field, spaced so as to show sharing of formula by the proximity of one item to another. Where the sharing between several graduals was extensive, they would appear as a cluster; other items would be more spaced out. The clusters would be the melody-types (in mode 5 graduals there is only one such, as Apel showed, while in mode 8 responsories Holman showed several). But this is only a statistical statement, not a difference of genre, type or structure: the melody-type is nothing but a high concentration of shared formulae. In another way of looking at it, however, we can understand a melody-type (say, of graduals mode 2) as a whole, rather than as a collection of formulae, and we can understand its various versions as *contrafacta*, each preserving the whole more faithfully or less. In that mode of perception, it is not so appropriate to resolve the melody into constituent formulae – and, indeed, mode 2 graduals seem less formulaic than those in mode 5.

³⁹ Edward Nowacki, ‘Studies on the Office Antiphons of the Old Roman Manuscripts’, Ph.D. Dissertation, Brandeis University (1980); UMI 80-24546.

Apel gave code strings (a₁, D₃, etc.) to the series of formulae he perceived in graduals, similar to those used by Frere⁴⁰ (and with much more sophistication by Holman)⁴¹ for Matins responsories. I am not sure what to do with these coded summaries, except as a preliminary aid in scanning the whole set. We cannot conclude from the codes alone that two items are the same or sound the same; for that we have to listen to them; hence even a simple taxonomy requires inspection of the items each as a whole. The assignment of codes over-generalizes the formula, and is largely a function of how the researcher perceived the formula. Even where I agree with the determination of the code, still I get nothing out of the code string except a vague sense of the layout of the whole melody. Meanwhile, I find that my responses are increasingly to the small differences among melodies rather than to their large similarities.

Sometimes the study of formulae seems to involve a misuse of text-critical procedure. Some scholars, observing the same melisma in different chants, treat it as a parallel passage showing several versions of the same text, and they treat the slight differences as variants; then they treat the variants according to what ever hypothetical system they subscribe to. The Cardinists, as part of their programme, are apt to select one of these 'variants' as correct, as part of the single original text. Other scholars sometimes allow each variant its autonomy, but take them as functional equivalents, mutually replaceable, which is essentially asserting a single original *inner* text. I prefer to treat each instance of a 'parallel passage' as autonomous and as specific to its context, unique. The difference in procedure begins with a difference in perception of what is a 'same piece'; I am saying, in effect, that neither the melisma nor the two graduals in which it occurs are 'the same piece'. I find it more useful to take as the basic event the occurrence of a specific set of words to be sung at a specific liturgical (hourly, daily, weekly, seasonal, yearly) occasion; hence the same set of words, along with its melody, sung on some other occasion is a different piece; and the same melisma, or melody-type, sung to a different set of words is a different piece. Therefore (I say) differences among parallel passages are not variants, and not to be dealt with as such under any programme. The problem is made difficult because philology tries to be consistent, and the data is recalcitrant; but we do not automatically require parallel passages in sonata forms, say, to be identical.

If we need to know formulae, it is comparable to our need to know vocabulary in language, in order to recognize what is being said. We do not necessarily need to know generalized verbal statements about the occurrence of formulae – their frequency, location, configuration; and statistics on these factors are a pretentious use of scientific method. What we need is to know the formulae

⁴⁰ Walter Howard Frere, Introduction to *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. Walter Howard Frere (London, 1901–24).

⁴¹ Hans-Jorgen Holman, 'The Responsoria Prolixa of the Codex Worcester F 160', Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University (1961); UMI 61-04447.

when we hear a piece that uses them; that knowledge is part of knowing the piece. Observing invariance, or reference to sameness, by empirical method may be valid, but it does not concern artistry: empirical generality does not give the rule to art.

Text criticism appropriated the term 'archetype' to designate the text-state (extant or hypothetical) from which all other text-states were derived. Jung used it to designate generalized images carried throughout a culture by what I have called tradition. The term is often used in Gregorian studies somewhere between those two meanings. Typically we try to identify the archetype of a group of melodies related in some way that can be understood as a melody-type or a use of formulae. This can be a good and useful exercise, but it is important to be clear about what we are doing. The archetype melody (which seems never to be documented as such) is produced by inner processing as a possible match for the melodic texts before us. That is, we are summoning it up out of our inner knowledge of the tradition; when it is up, we can judge whether it matches the melodies before us. If it does, the inner processor has succeeded in bringing our knowledge of the tradition to a sharp focus. The archetype is a document of our response; but it is not a text.

The identification of formulae is closely associated with the problem of originality. The philologist has a hard time with 'original', and we have shared in it. For the literary critic, however, the term is a perfectly good expression for the thought, 'my response to this poem is as if it were all new'. But, as part of the attempt to place judgement on an objective basis, the philologist reasons 'if original, then not found elsewhere; if found elsewhere, then not original'. The philologist then explores the continuum that leads from plagiarism, through 'influence', to idiom and formula; all similarities of these kinds to the works of others can be discounted from the originality of the work in question. In the course of this the question has changed from 'What did the author say', to 'Where did he get it from?' The philologist has to stop discounting similarities somewhere before getting to language, simply because the poet got *all* the words from language (or else was accused of neologism, a grievous fault).

It may be a good and useful thing to say of the several instances of a melody-type, 'there was no single original'. But only a traditional philologist would conclude from that idea that the several documented versions were to be considered variant corruptions of a non-existent original, hence had no status as texts. A more appropriate conclusion is that they are multiple texts, and that since no poem or song is original in an absolute sense, we can only enquire into the similarities and differences among these texts, to see if, indeed, there are grounds for identifying them as 'multiple'.

Finally, ignoring all the problems attendant upon using formulae to explain the process of composition, we can judge which of several documented versions of a melody-type, or a selection of formulae, is best. The point I want to make is that we cannot get to *that* judgement, or to *any* judgement, logically from

data, any data, and especially not from our imaginary accounts of the process of composition. Yet we can make such judgements, and the more we know about the tradition the better will be our judgements.

Homer and Gregory

I began by reminding you of the two phases of Gregorian studies – one before musical documentation (c. 900), the other afterwards. The second phase of Gregorian studies, dealing with a combination of musical and non-musical but related documents, can and does pursue the fruitful course of observing the chant in performance and responding to it, checking both text and tradition against the minutiae of documentation continuously available all the way down to the present. In this phase we find ourselves really in the Gregorian tradition; and we can wonder about the position of that tradition within the longer tradition of European music. The results of research in this phase have been good (as reported, for instance, in Hiley's part IX, 'Persons and Places'), and I look for them to get better.

For the last hundred years, however, Gregorian studies have been preoccupied with the *prehistory* of the repertory – prehistory in the technical (but in this case not precise) sense of the time before the written records. Gregorian before 900 had to be treated on the model of the 'philological interval', and that involved various kinds of hypotheses, including those about the process of composition; none of these were very testable, and all involved the problems of method discussed. I find the results of this phase of Gregorian studies to be poor, and I identify the reason as an unfathomable combination of uncertainties: we tried to imagine the process of composition by an ill-advised use of text-critical methods. Specifically, we treated the Gregorian repertory (of Roman Mass Propers) as if it – the repertory itself – were a single original text, whose text-states in the various manuscripts could be arranged in a stemma so as to produce an archetype that could be attributed to the author, the Church in Rome, fl. c. 600. Dom Hesbert, for example, treated the *repertorial differences* of Advent responsories in the sources as if these differences constituted variants in a single original text.⁴² Behind such convictions (which not every scholar shares, of course) seems to lie a broader conviction that the prehistory, however we read it, impinged directly and extensively on the chant as we have it (Hucke, again, disagreed), so that we are supposed to have to understand that prehistory in order to read the chant correctly, just as we are supposed to have to understand the process of composition in order to read a single composition correctly. And we accepted the Roman story to the extent of believing that the chant came from Rome, and was to be understood exclusively in terms of Roman liturgical practice. If I were to read our own tradition of

⁴² In volumes V and VI of *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. René-Jean Hesbert, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes*, 7–12 (Rome, 1963–79).

historical chant scholarship in purely secular terms, I would read it as a Romantic fantasy, a fascination with remote origins.

In his provocative confrontation of Homer and Gregory, Treitler seems not to have addressed what to me is the most striking and interesting coincidence. And with good reason: there seems to be no clear explanation for it. Is it not remarkable that for the origin of Greek classical literature, as for the origin of European music, there is no document, nor any reliable tradition, as to where, when or how it started, who did it, and how they did it, or even exactly what they did? The existence of a text (in anyone's sense) is so doubtful that, as we have seen, the possibility that there was no text at all has been seriously entertained. As for the traditions, they are legendary and are now being identified as such. That this should happen once would be an accident of preserved sources; twice, and in such prominent circumstances, suggests other possibilities. Are we perhaps reading the wrong documents? If we took into account other documents, could we perhaps find different contexts? Or perhaps the events in question never actually took place. That explanation all by itself would certainly explain the lack of documents, elegantly. We do, of course, have supporting documents and written records from soon after the events, and they record *something*; the question is: What? Perhaps the traditions, the legends, encourage us to misread the records; perhaps these traditions are constructions whose purpose was to create a past, an origin. The constructions have obviously been very successful, convincing down to our own time. To be successful, of course, such constructions must leave no documentary trace of themselves, just as a forger is successful only if he remains unidentified. This interpretation finds resonance in the current interest in pseudepigraphy, writings misattributed by their authors to other authors older and more prestigious, apparently in order to increase credibility. In a more general sense it resembles what is happening to ancient historiography: history, by traditional definition, is of written records; but with increasing frequency, ancient histories, purporting to be chronicles of one kind or another, are being understood as arguments supporting various belief systems. The oldest histories, the King Lists, are now described as having the purpose of magnifying present prestige by increasing the antiquity and purity of the genealogy. The *Liber pontificalis* leaps to mind. And Hiley's own conclusion (p. 513) is

[Gregory's] name retains its usefulness, in the sense that 'Gregorian' chant is neither of one specific time, nor wholly Roman, nor wholly anything else. A legendary name is as good as any.

So perhaps all this does not apply to Homer or to Gregory. Perhaps each name represents a creativity so competent, so confident that it felt no need for documentation or tradition. While such confidence is attributable to a single performer, it could also be true of poets or singers in an intense succession of two or three generations, working in close proximity, intent only on immediate results, not on transmission or posterity.

There is a paradox attached to the beginning of a tradition (as to all

beginnings). How can we get knowledge of the beginning of a tradition from the tradition itself? As an historian, I am sure that an absolute beginning is an illusion created by the lack of documents; that is, if I could have observed it directly, I would have observed the kind of historical continuity observable elsewhere. *Quest'e la mia fe*. A long time ago I called Gregorian 'Before the beginning', in order to avoid this problem; now I propose to imagine Gregorian in the context of traditions not usually invoked – traditions outside the Church in Rome. But that is all historian's work; tradition's work is to give the artistic creation 'roots', claiming for it an identity that supports subsequent contexts.

For I hear other voices out of the Gregorian past. One, presumably the voice of a singer, asks, 'If you think it sounds good, what do you care who sang it?' Another, surely a scholar, reminds me, 'If you are willing to use criticism for music of your own time, why not for Gregorian? It is part of your tradition, after all.'

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Writings on Western Plainchant in the 1980s and 1990s

DAVID HILEY (REGENSBURG)

Full bibliographical citations are given in the second part of the article.

General

The following brief survey does not cover all aspects of chant. In two recent articles in *Acta musicologica* MICHEL HUGLO surveyed recent publications on chant notation and early musical theory (HUGLO 1988, 1990), so these areas are excluded here. (In the area of notation, the continuing series of 'semiological' studies in *Beiträge zur Gregorianik* and *Studi gregoriani* should be noted.) This author's competence does not extend outside the chant of the Latin church, although the shared roots of Latin chant and of the Byzantine and other Eastern rites, as well as later points of contact, can sometimes be discerned. For the latter the reader is referred to the survey by HANNICK (1990) and the fine bibliographical coverage by PETER JEFFERY in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*. The present article concentrates on matters of repertory and style: the music composed, its function and historical context, and its musical character.

Most of the publications mentioned here appeared in the last decade and a half. The appearance in 1975 of BRUNO STÄBLEIN's magisterial survey *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, and, above all, the numerous authoritative articles in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* of 1980, especially the article 'Plainchant' by KENNETH LEVY and JOHN EMERSON, provided not only a vast store of up-to-date information (often reflecting new research by the authors involved) but also essential references to the relevant scholarly literature. Since then a number of surveys and bibliographical tools have appeared, which provide orientation and aids to research in the post-*Grove* period. Despite the relatively restricted space available, the relevant chapters (by RUTH STEINER, ANDREAS HAUG and HARTMUT MÖLLER) in the *Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, edited by HARTMUT MÖLLER and RUDOLF STEPHAN, are packed with interesting ideas, information and examples. The coverage is naturally more extensive in the new Vol. II of the *New Oxford History of Music*, entitled *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, edited by RICHARD CROCKER and DAVID HILEY (see the chapters by KENNETH LEVY, RICHARD CROCKER and SUSAN RANKIN). The most comprehensive recent attempt to survey the subject as a whole is the present author's *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* of 1993. Just as important from the bibliographical point of view are two volumes of the periodical *Beiträge zur Gregorianik* which are devoted solely to bibliographies by THOMAS KOHLHASE and GÜNTHER MICHAEL PAUCKER, and the periodic bibliographies supplied by PETER JEFFERY in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*.

Eventually we should expect the new edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* to provide fresh syntheses of such topics as chant genres. Articles published so far in the volumes of the *Sachteil* are listed in the Bibliography at the end of this article.

The literature briefly surveyed here is scattered across numerous publications. Concentrations are to be found in a few periodicals. *Études grégoriennes* has appeared infrequently of late. *Beiträge zur Gregorianik* and *Studi Gregoriani* concentrate strongly on the so-called 'semiological' interpretation of neumatic notations. The *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society* (to 1990) became devoted almost exclusively to plainchant before it regained its broader coverage as *Plainsong and Medieval Music*. Some recent Festschrift volumes have honoured chant scholars: those for CARDINE, CLAIRE, DOBSZAY, HUCKE, DAVID HUGHES, HUGLO, JOPPICH and LÜTOLF. Another such volume (see RANKIN and HILEY 1993) celebrated the centennial of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society. Proceedings have been published of several meetings of the research group 'Cantus Planus' of the International Musicological Society (see CANTUS PLANUS).

In one of the latter volumes, BENJAMIN RAJECKY pinpointed some of the trends of present-day chant research (RAJECKY 1988). Others have also articulated views on the subject, at greater or lesser length (HUCKE 1988 Choralforschung, STEINER 1992, CROCKER 1995). The present article, while making no pretence to be entirely objective (since selection is itself subjective), confines itself largely to bibliographical information.

Before music was written down

Discussion of the music sung before melodies were written down is obviously difficult. While others are more sceptical, I take a generally optimistic view that oral transmission was capable of preserving the essential characteristics of liturgical melodies (tonality including structurally important notes, formal plan) and most of their surface detail over many centuries, if the institutional framework were present to ensure effective teaching and self-regulation by a group of trained singers. MCKINNON (1995) has recently argued that this framework was first present after the organization of the Roman schola cantorum in the late 7th-early 8th century. (On the Roman schola cantorum see also DYER 1993 *Schola Cantorum*, 1993 *Roman Singers*, 1995). A performance tradition depending on solo singers will be less stable. The effectiveness of oral tradition can be tested when the first books with pitch notation (such as Montpellier H 159 with letter notation, and sources using Guidonian staff notation) appeared in the 11th and 12th centuries. It is inconceivable that these all derive from a single master exemplar, yet they display great consistency in their melodic readings. (I am of course aware of the disagreements as well, whose significance has been discussed among others by DAVID HUGHES (1982, 1993) and VAN DER WERF (1983).) This suggests that the earliest manuscripts with neume notation, of the 9th and 10th centuries, might also have been made independently of each other, each one fresh from the memory, as it were, of the cantor responsible for regu-

lating the practice of a particular church. The astonishing degree of agreement between them would then be, almost paradoxically, a further demonstration of the strength of oral transmission. And if this stability of transmission were present in the 8th-9th centuries, why not in the 4th-5th centuries? (Cf. DOBSZAY 1992, 715-716.) In these circumstances we should take seriously the possibility that melodies recorded in the 9th century were sung in a similar way for many centuries, if there were no change of liturgical function, if the performers (soloist, schola, secular or monastic congregation) remained the same, and if there were no deliberate reform of musical practice. (As explained above, I must forego further discussion of the lively controversy between TREITLER, LEVY and others about the beginnings of music writing, although this is in the last resort inseparable from questions about the nature of the melodies in their recorded form: see articles by TREITLER, LEVY and DAVID HUGHES.)

„... sung in a similar way ...“ Much obviously hangs on the question: How similar? Are the similarities between an Old Roman and a Gregorian melody, for example, so strong that we can say the one is derived directly from the other? What historical processes are responsible for this or that similarity (or difference)? Can we perhaps discern, beneath layers of accretion, an essential ‘something’ in a liturgical melody which, when it turns up in different liturgical traditions, enables us to posit a common origin? or, conversely, serves to distinguish one tradition from another? This is where the musicologist, making sensitive use of musical analysis, can illuminate the history of liturgical practice in a special way. Some of the most exciting discoveries in chant research are those where a musical phenomenon can be shown to reflect a historical event on another level. Given the paramount liturgical function of chant, it may be said that historical ‘events’ on the musical level *always* reflect liturgical conditions; they provide additional, perhaps even decisive evidence concerning those conditions.

The establishment of liturgical chant genres

In that early period when the liturgical forms of the various rites of Christendom became established, it was not customary to commit liturgical chant texts to writing. Important articles have recently been devoted to the early history of particular categories, or genres of chant, before we have a record of the precise pieces sung. A difficulty often arises when the term used to denote a liturgical genre, such as ‘antiphon’, is ambiguous. In such cases a careful sifting of the evidence throughout the period between (roughly) the 4th and the 9th centuries not only for the Roman rite but also the other Latin rites and even the non-Latin ones, and also the numerous monastic rules, has often proved illuminating. SMITH (several essays) and MCKINNON (1986) have argued convincingly that singing in early Christian worship does not reflect directly the practice of the Jewish synagogue. It has also become clear that the widespread singing of psalms, in part or complete, with antiphons or with responses, is a development of the later 4th century and subsequent times. Many of the basic texts were

gathered in translation by MCKINNON (1987). JEFFERY (1984) on the introit, MCKINNON (1987) on the gradual, BAILEY (1987) on the tract, BAILEY (1983) and MCKINNON (1988 and especially 1996) on the alleluia, DYER (1981, 1982) on the offertory, and BAILEY (1994) and NOWACKI (1995, 'Antiphon' in: MGG new ed.) on aspects of the antiphon, have all precipitated radical reassessments of their subjects. (The contributions by MCKINNON on the gradual and BAILEY on the tract, which concern many of the same problems, appeared simultaneously.)

Of fundamental importance in the performance of the office is the practice of singing sets and cycles of psalms, discussed in two articles by DYER (1989).

Cycles of liturgical chant texts

Eventually chant texts were organized into cycles, to be repeated each year (most of the temporale, for example), or into groups from which pieces could be selected as appropriate (many chants of the sanctorale). Concentrating our attention on the Roman rite, it may be said that the written evidence for these processes is much more plentiful for the scriptural readings of mass (collected in various types of lectionary) and the proper prayers (collected in sacramentaries) than it is for chant texts. For the chants of the office it is scarce indeed. By careful scrutiny it has nevertheless been possible to discern some of the different layers of material all gathered together in the complete collections of the late 8th century onward (the texts edited by RENÉ-JEAN HESBERT in *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, 1935). The general principles operating here have been reviewed by MCKINNON (1993 *Properization*), and MCKINNON has also provided striking examples of the process in action, with respect to communion texts (MCKINNON 1990, 1992). Not the least important is his demonstration that many are no older than the 8th century. It is true that the communions are on the whole more heterogenous than other mass proper chants, but one inevitably hopes that similar progress may be possible in unravelling the development of the repertory for other chant genres. (On the dating of such repertories see MCKINNON 1992 *Chavasse*.)

Even when the existence of a chant genre is established, the origins of particular cycles of texts may remain opaque (see HUGLO 1982). The way in which repertories of office chants continued to develop well into the 9th century is illustrated in a discussion by HUGLO (1979).

Melodies – per speculum in aenigmate

There is general agreement about the way in which a very large number (potentially, an infinite number) of liturgical texts (above all psalm verses) were sung according to principles of musical delivery learned and passed on from generation to generation. Sometimes simple melodies were involved which could be stretched or contracted to accommodate texts of different lengths, as for example in many antiphons. Sometimes more complex melodic structures were involved, as in the great responsories of the office and the gradual and tract of

mass. Here there was greater room for shaping the melody according to individual texts. At the same time, a technique of marking crucial syntactic points (start, phrase end, etc.) was practised, using melodic gestures recognized as being appropriate for the point in question. It is not easy to know how much performance would have varied from one rendition to the next. In the context of the solo cantor entrusted with much of the musical performance, the question is to some extent irrelevant. But it acquires special significance in two particular circumstances: (i) when performance by a choir, rather than a soloist, was required, and (ii) when in the second half of the 8th century the Franks apparently made efforts to learn Roman chant with greater exactness than before. Matters concerning solo/choir performance of psalms and their concomitant antiphons in the office have been discussed among others by DYER (1989) and NOWACKI (1988, 1995, 'Antiphon' in: *MGG* new ed.). The general tenor of their arguments suggests that solo singing remained the rule much longer than previously assumed. More research is needed about performance practices in the more complicated responsorial genres.

JEFFERY (1992 *Re-Envisioning*) has pleaded for more intensive studies of the music of the non-Latin rites to help us to understand better the mechanisms of the oral transmission of extensive chant repertoires. Discussion of such matters often encompasses the hope (explicit or otherwise) that a grasp of the principles will lead to the uncovering of the melodic roots of a tradition. Conversely, resemblances between melodies (say Old Roman and Gregorian), which might be indications of common roots, have to be tested by the usual methods of control: Is the hypothesis of a common root ($A \rightarrow B$ and $A \rightarrow C$) the only explanation for the resemblance or is it possible that one derives from the other ($A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C$ or $A \rightarrow C \rightarrow B$)? Are the points of resemblance sufficiently prominent and individual (found only in the pieces under discussion and not belonging to the 'common coin') to rule out chance? The most convincing attempts to date particular chants (or at least some features of them) to a point in time before musical notation was used are those where multiple coordinates can be adduced: datable developments in liturgical history, individual features in both text and musical style. Thus a group of highly individual communions discussed by MCKINNON (1992) share (i) a relationship to a type of Roman evangeliary dated after 750, (ii) non-psalmodic, 'story-telling' texts, and (iii) musical 'eccentricities' (there is no need to go into detail here). JEFFERY (several articles) has proposed that a common musical tradition emanating from Jerusalem (extinguished in Jerusalem itself before musical notation was used) is visible in melodies preserved in Georgian, Byzantine, Syriac, Roman, Gregorian and Ambrosian sources. Attractive though this thesis is, it will probably take a much weightier body of comparisons to dispel the inevitable scepticism. The examples in JEFFERY 1994 (*Earliest*) are of pieces in rather simple style, and one might ask whether, in the circumstances, the resemblances are close enough to be compelling. The examples in JEFFERY 1992 (*Lost Chant*) are more extensive and much richer in melodic detail; here one needs to know whether the points of resemblance concern features peculiar to this precise group of chants, and only attributable to shared

roots in Jerusalem chant, or whether they turn up elsewhere, being so commonplace as to rule out their use as signposts back into the past.

A number of recent writings sees certain tonal (or, if preferred, modal) characteristics as typical of one chant repertory or another. The prime mover here has been DOM JEAN CLAIRE of Solesmes. In a series of articles of the 1960s and 1970s, focussing primarily on short responsories and ferial antiphons, CLAIRE proposed a new classification based on the tonal relationship of a chant to the segment DO-RE-MI in a predominantly pentatonic environment. (The avoidance of modern terminology for pitch-classes is a useful strategem, also employed by CROCKER in *The New Oxford History of Music*. One is reminded of the segments used by medieval theorists, tetrachords and hexachords, to provide orientation in the difficult task of relating orally transmitted melodies to the scale patterns of Greek music theory and its medieval derivatives.) A melody can be assigned to the DO, RE or MI category according to its principle reciting tone. In melodies believed by CLAIRE to be particularly old, the final will be the same as the reciting note. CLAIRE provides a morphology of the melodies according to the degree of their deviation from this model. The simple types illustrated by short responsories and antiphons can be taken as the starting point for analysis of more elaborate melodies.

These and a number of subsequent studies along similar lines by CLAIRE himself, TURCO, JEANNETEAU, PHILIPPE BERNARD, CULLIN and COLETTE form by now an extensive branch of the literature. What makes them particularly interesting (and potentially controversial) is the use of tonal types not simply as theoretical constructions but as evidence in explaining the historical development of chant repertories, particularly the relationship between Old Roman, Gregorian and Gallican chant. The Old Roman manuscripts of the 11th century onward contain melodies which, as is well known, are already present in Frankish sources from the 9th century onward but in a significantly different melodic dialect, which is usually called Gregorian. (Another way of putting it, among many, would be to call it the Frankish version of Roman chant, as opposed to the Roman version. The idea of STÄBLEIN and some other scholars, that both versions were composed in Rome, one earlier, one later, has enjoyed little support in recent years.) What, then, of the melodies which have no Old Roman equivalent, and therefore cannot be proved to be Roman in origin? To what extent might they be survivals of Gallican chant, the repertory supposed to have been largely displaced during the drive to align Frankish liturgical practice more closely with Roman in the second half of the 8th century under Pippin and Charlemagne? Given the number of Roman sacramentaries circulating in Gaul before the main romanizing campaign we should by no means assume total ignorance of Roman chant on the part of the Franks. The few surviving pieces generally accepted as Gallican (for example, those cited by STÄBLEIN in *MGG*) do not, at first hearing, sound very different from Gregorian chant - more subtle melodic analysis is clearly required in this area - whereas Old Roman is immediately recognizable as something else. This suggests that in the time of Pippin and Charlemagne the Frankish cantors, starting from a liturgical and

musical basis already partly Roman, attempted to match Roman ways much more comprehensively. The 'Gregorian' repertory which results has a great number of Roman pieces reproduced with a Frankish dialect, and many more in the same style but without a Roman model. It is obviously impossible to date many of the latter. To use the term 'Gallican' for them (like CLAIRE and the other writers mentioned above) is no doubt appropriate for items from the old Gallican rite but foreign to the Roman. What of those pieces newly composed during the Carolingian settlement or subsequently? Are, say, alleluias composed in the 9th and 10th centuries Gallican because they are not Roman? The term Frankish does not help much, since the Franks were masters of most of Gallia from the 6th century onward. It would seem reasonable at least to qualify the highly resonant adjective 'Gallican' with some indication of date. (That CLAIRE is thinking of very deep layers of liturgical materials indeed seems to be indicated by his remark (1979-80, p.5 n8) on the tone for the office versicle reproduced in the *Antiphonale monasticum* 392: „This tone appears frequently in the Beneventan MSS which received it from Aquitaine, homeland of the Gallican Liturgy, imported from Syria.“)

To give one example of the historical uses of tonal analysis, we may pick out CLAIRE'S recognition that the responsorial psalmody of Old Roman chant does not include pieces in the RE-mode. (CLAIRE believes that short responses are among the oldest of surviving chants and that many ferial antiphon melodies are derived from them.) This stamps the RE-mode as 'Gallican', and leads to the possibility that RE-mode melodies in Old Roman chant are not of Roman origin but imports from the Gallican repertory. Now while nobody would argue that from the time when the German emperors exerted a controlling influence on the papacy in the 10th and 11th centuries, 'Gregorian' chant would have made inroads into the local Roman practice, caution would seem to be necessary when contemplating Frankish influence at an earlier time. What historical factors, if any, could have prompted Roman cantors to adopt anything Frankish (or 'Gallican' if preferred) before this time? (Cf. MCKINNON 1995).

Since the musical sources utilized by CLAIRE are necessarily so late, support from other types of evidence is welcome. Thus in his article on the office chants of Advent (1986), CLAIRE points to the fact that Advent entered the Roman liturgical cycle later than the Gallican rite. He then identifies an unusually high proportion of RE-mode pieces in the Roman Advent chant cycle, and concludes that these must have been taken over by Rome from the longer established Gallican Advent usage. Similar musical tendencies being detectable at other times in the church year, these chants too become suspects for Gallican influence on the Roman liturgy, which CLAIRE dates to the 6th and 7th centuries. There is no space here to enumerate all of CLAIRE'S examples. One of the more striking is the melody for Gregorian graduals of what is often called the '*Iustus ut palma* group', which also includes the *Haec dies* graduals of Easter week. This melody belongs in CLAIRE'S RE-mode and displays other features which CLAIRE believes to be of old Gallican origin. Picking up an observation of VAN DEUSEN (1972), CLAIRE points to the close similarity of Old Roman and Gregorian versions of the

melody, closer than is usual in graduals. This, he explains, must be due to the adoption by Roman cantors of the Gallican melody in the 6th century. And yet: as long ago as 1956 HUCKE argued that the *Iustus ut palma* melody was one of the latest in the repertory, datable to the mid-7th century at the earliest. And what does a supporter of the 'Gallican theory' make of HUCKE'S observation (in his *Grove* article 'Gradual (i)') that three Old Roman graduals „subsequently adopted“ the melody, whereas in the Gregorian repertory they are in the 5th or 7th mode (and therefore have more in common, paradoxically, with Roman preferences)? This is not the place to decide in favour of one or the other point of view. It should rather be stressed that a scholarly dialogue conducted according to the traditional conventions has hardly begun. There is clearly some way to go before the full implications of CLAIRE'S theories can be assessed.

Old Italian traditions (Roman, Beneventan, Milanese, etc.), Old Spanish chant

Before we return to the chant we know (for better or worse) as Gregorian, achievements in the investigation of other Latin chant repertories may be mentioned.

The facsimile of the Old Roman gradual in private possession, edited with comprehensive cross-indices by LÜTOLF (1987), and the facsimile of the Old Roman antiphoner San Pietro B 79 edited by BAROFFIO and KIM (1995) are of great importance. NOWACKI'S thesis (1980) includes a transcription and analysis of the Old Roman antiphon repertory. He has also written on Old Roman tracts (1986). PHILIPPE BERNARD (1991) has analyzed Old Roman alleluia melodies.

KELLY (1989 and many articles) has provided a comprehensive discussion of the whole surviving Beneventan chant repertory (see also HUGLO 1985), and edited a volume containing facsimiles of the chants from all known sources (*Paléographie Musicale* 21). These are practically always Gregorian sources where the older Beneventan chant appears alongside the newly imported repertory. One such source, BENEVENTO 40, has also recently been published complete in facsimile.

Studies of Roman and South Italian chant by BOE (apart from the editions mentioned below) include one on the archaic and imposing 'Gloria A' (not in the Solesmes/Vatican edition) and another on an important group of archaic versus, for which it was decided to find a place in the imported liturgical use (BOE 1982, 1987; see the echoes in BRUNNER 1992). Another survival of a non- or pre-Roman liturgical type is constituted by the *antiphonae ante evangelium* now comprehensively discussed, for the first time, by BORDERS (1988).

The possible relationship between Milanese and Beneventan chant (the northern and southern branches, as it might be, of Lombardic chant) is discussed by BAILEY (1983) and KELLY (1987).

Not the least value of research into a non-Gregorian repertory is that it may suggest, by analogy, better ways of understanding both the Gregorian and the other non-Gregorian bodies of chant. Much in BAILEY'S comprehensive studies of Milanese genres — alleluia, cantus (the Ambrosian tract) and antiphon — is

David Hiley: Writings on Western Plainchant

61

illuminating in this way. Each of these studies includes an edition of all the pieces in the respective genre. For the antiphons (edited jointly with MERKLEY) this is supplemented by synoptic tables where the melodies are reproduced in letter notation and so aligned as to highlight melodic relationships.

Although Old Spanish chant did not survive long enough to be notated in diastematic notation (with a few exceptions), the comprehensive record in adiastrumatic signs can yield much information, as BROU and especially RANDEL have shown. BAROFFIO and particularly LEVY (1984) have drawn Old Spanish offertories into the debate about 'Gallican' survivals in 'Gregorian' chant. A facsimile of an Old Spanish antiphoner from San Juan de la Peña has been published under the title *Antiphonale Hispaniae Vetus*. Old Spanish chant and its relation to Gregorian was the subject of papers at conferences in Salamanca 1985 (see LEVY) and Madrid 1992 (see FERNÁNDEZ DE LA CUESTA, HUGLO and RANDEL); see also HUGLO 1985.

Chant in Francia in the 8th and 9th centuries; Gregorian and Old Roman

Further studies which concern the establishment of 'Gregorian' chant in Francia have been published by HUGLO (1979), HUCKE (1980 – the phrase 'a new historical view' in HUCKE's title has become something of a catchword in recent studies – 1988 *Fragen* and 1990), EKENBERG (1987), BAROFFIO (1989), NOWACKI (1993) and RANKIN (1993 *Carolingian*). Aspects of its relationship with Old Roman chant are discussed by VAN DER WERF (1983), NOWACKI (1985), KARP (1990) and COLETTE (1995 *Grégorien*), while PHILIPPE BERNARD (1996) has recently published a new large-scale contribution to the problem.

Manuscript sources of Gregorian chant; catalogues and inventories

The cataloguing of sources proceeds generally library by library. More broadly based surveys appear infrequently. BAROFFIO (1987, 1992) has reported on Italian sources, FERNÁNDEZ DE LA CUESTA (1980) on Spanish. Nothing yet matches for completeness SZENDREI's coverage of Hungarian sources (1981). TAITTO (1992) has catalogued fragmentary Finnish sources. GONCHAROVA (1993) surveyed sources preserved in Baltic countries and the Ukraine.

Two projects which build on HESBERT's text editions of office chants in *Corpus Antiphonale Officii* (6 vols. Rome 1963-1979) are of great value. CAO-ECE (*Corpus Antiphonale Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*), pioneered at the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest under the direction of LÁSZLÓ DOBSZAY and JANKA SZENDREI, aims to list the contents of important groups of Central European office sources. While no complete source has yet appeared, the Advent part in a large number of traditions was presented in an introductory volume, and the Temporale has been published for the Salzburg and Bamberg uses (compiled by DOBSZAY and CZAGÁNY respectively). The project works with a database programme which

facilitates comparisons between liturgical uses. It is freely available to those who wish to compile records on further traditions.

The project CANTUS, directed by RUTH STEINER at The Catholic University of America, Washington, also compiles databases of the contents of office sources. Unlike the Hungarian project it works with single sources, and includes musical information (modal assignment, differentia) and cross-references to HESBERT'S edition. The data on most of the numerous sources is accessible in computerized form, but some has also been published in the traditional way (see CANTUS, also COLLAMORE and METZINGER 1990). Files are accessible on the Internet at <http://www.cua.edu/www/musu/cantus>.

Facsimiles

A number of facsimiles of chant sources have recently been published which contain more or less extensive introductions, setting the respective source in its historical context. They are thus of importance to the study of regional and local traditions mentioned below.

The most recent volumes in the celebrated series *Paléographie Musicale* both concern chant in Benevento: volume 20 reproduces manuscript 33 of the Archivio Arcivescovile Benevento, while in volume 21 sources of old Beneventan chant are presented by KELLY. The other recent facsimile of BENEVENTO 40 has already been mentioned. Other Italian sources published in facsimile include the Benedictine processional GENOA 81.

A full-colour facsimile of the two early St Gall tropers 484 and 381 has appeared with extensive commentary by ARLT and RANKIN (see ST. GALLEN 484 and 381). A new colour facsimile of EINSIEDELN 121 has been published, with extensive essays in a supplementary volume. A text edition with photographic reproduction of all notation has been made of an early Swiss noted missal (see *Missale Basileense*). A facsimile has been published of an antiphoner from Echternach (see *Echternacher Sakramentar und Antiphonar*). BERLIN 11, a troper from Minden closely related to those of St. Gallen, was lost to scholarship for many years but has turned up in Cracow, and is now accessible in a microfiche edition. The study of the Quedlinburg antiphoner (early 11th century) by MÖLLER (1990) includes a complete text edition and a facsimile. Of particular importance is the microfiche reproduction of the 12th-century antiphoner KARLSRUHE LX, from Zwiefalten (earlier assignments to Petershausen near Konstanz, and Reichenau, are thus superseded) with staff notation. Its editors show it represents the chant usage of Hirsau, and it thus occupies a key position in future research into South German and Austrian monasteries reformed from Hirsau. A combined gradual and antiphoner of the mid 12th century from St. Peter's, Salzburg, has appeared in lavish colour facsimile (see *Antiphonar von St. Peter*). A South German noted missal now in Poland has been published in facsimile (*Missale plenarium Bib. Capit. Gnesnensis Ms. 149*). The Moosburg gradual of the 14th century, containing sequences and cantiones, has recently appeared in facsimile (*Moosburger Graduale*). The lavishly decorated Dominican gradual of

David Hiley: *Writings on Western Plainchant*

63

St. Katharinenthal has been published in an equally lavish facsimile (*Graduale von St. Katharinenthal*).

The printed gradual and antiphoner of the diocese of Passau (which extended as far as Vienna) are both available in facsimile (*Antiphonale Pataviense, Graduale Pataviense*).

The Dendermonde manuscript containing Hildegard of Bingen's *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum* has been published in facsimile (see *Hildegard*).

The manuscript Prague, National Library, XIII A 6 has been published on CD-ROM (*Antiphonarium Sedlecense*).

A 14th-century noted missal of Esztergom, the Hungarian metropolitan cathedral, has appeared in facsimile (*Missale notatum Strigoniense*).

French books published in facsimile include Paris Bibl. Mazarine 384 from Saint-Denis (see PARIS 384), CHARTRES 520, destroyed in 1944 but reproduced from microfilm; PARIS 1139, a prime source of Latin liturgical song of the 12th century (GILLINGHAM 1987); the gradual VERDUN 759; and materials for the veneration of St. Foy (Fides) in Conques, including office chants (see *Liber miraculorum*).

Facsimiles of English sources: the sole surviving gradual of York use has been reproduced in facsimile from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. lit. 5 (see *Oxford*), so too the printed Sarum processional of 1502 (*Processionale*).

An edition of a special kind is GJERLØW's publication on the Nidaros antiphoner (1979), where a historical introduction to the office of Nidaros is followed by photographs of a very large number of fragmentary sources. GJERLØW 1980 constitutes a comparable accomplishment for Icelandic liturgical sources. A facsimile of a Finnish hymnary has been published with commentary by TAITTO (1992).

Spanish sources in recent facsimiles are an 11th-century antiphoner from San Domingo de Silos (London 30850, text already edited by HESBERT in CAO II, see *Antiphonale Silense*), the 11th-century Huesca hymnary (*Hymnarium Oscense*) and the two-volume antiphoner printed in 1596-98 in Saragossa (*Antiphonarium de Tempore...*).

Such editions provide excellent opportunities for understanding the make-up of medieval chant sources. Detailed explanations of how many later medieval books 'work' are provided by HUGHES (1982). A typological survey is offered by HUGLO (1988).

Music editions

Critical editions of plainchant pose special problems because of the very high number of potential sources and the fact that, in the context of predominantly oral transmission, the text-critical methods established for, say, the texts of classical antiquity or the Bible are of limited use. Thus SCHLAGER's edition of alleluia melodies, of which the second volume was published in 1987, includes a brief account of principal variant readings. In accordance with the philosophy established by the founder of the series, BRUNO STÄBLEIN, this gives a general

picture of how the melody behaves, as it were, in the manuscript tradition, without pinpointing every variant in every available source (which is clearly impracticable).

Other editors have favoured the edition based on a small number of selected sources. This recognizes the fact that sources from the same institution, or from one related by historical circumstance (such as a monastic reform movement), will transmit chants with considerable consistency. Thus the editions of ordinary of mass chants and tropes from South Italian manuscripts (sequences will follow) by BOE and PLANCHART in the series *Beneventanum Troporum Corpus* present all sources (usually up to six) on parallel staves, with a reproduction of the original notation as well (a useful way of coping with special signs such as liquescences). These editions are accompanied by magnificent essays on the formation and development of the repertory.

A similar set of volumes for chants from Nonantola has been initiated by BORDERS (1996).

Editions which transcribe complete one of the older liturgical books such as a gradual or antiphoner are understandably rare. SZENDREI has nevertheless done this for the late medieval gradual of Esztergom, Hungary, in *Graduale Strigoniense*, with an extensive volume of commentary. SANDON has published four volumes so far of an edition of the music for mass according to Salisbury use.

WADDELL (1984) has edited the Cistercian hymnary; MELE (1994) a hymnary from Sardinia; NILSSON has completed MOBERG's edition of hymns from Swedish sources (MOBERG/NILSSON 1991).

The edition of hymns and sequences in Hungarian sources by RAJECKY and RADÓ (1956) has been reissued with a new supplementary volume (1982).

HAUG (1995) has edited the tropes for proper of mass chants transmitted in a number of late sources from the German-speaking area and Central Europe, together with facsimiles and a critical study.

Offices written for local saints and in other special circumstances constitute a particularly large area of little-known chant. Apart from several articles on rhymed offices, ANDREW HUGHES has published two volumes of an unusual nature, in that they are accompanied by computer diskettes enabling users to access and process extensive data on sources, texts and music. Recent studies of individual offices which include an edition are those by BOYCE (1988, 1989), DELÉGLISE (1983), EDWARDS (1990), LAMOTHE and CONSTANTINE (1986), and PATIER (1986). The first volumes in a new series of editions of *historiae* (proper offices for saints and other special feasts) have appeared, edited by HAGGH (St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia) and HILEY (St. Emmeram of Regensburg), respectively.

SORBAN (1986) has edited a *Vigiliale* (*officium defunctorum*) compiled in 1507 in Hermannstadt/Sibiu, Romania. FERENCZI has edited the Eperjes Gradual of 1635 (in the Hungarian language for Lutheran use).

An edition of a special kind is GUILMARD's publication on large-sized papers of the chants in the *Graduale Triplex* and *Offertoriale Triplex* in tonal order.

Text editions

Chant studies have often benefitted greatly from philological studies of chant texts. The volumes in the series *CORPUS TROPORUM* are outstanding examples. The latest are IVERSEN's studies and editions of Sanctus and Agnus tropes, BJÖRKVALL's study of the Apt troopers, and ODELMAN's study and edition of the Alleluia prosulas in Wolfenbüttel 79.

How the notes are put together

The studies by CLAIRE mentioned above, whatever doubt may exist about the historical theories attached to them, provide an analytical framework adopted also by the other writers mentioned. AVENARY (1977) has drawn attention to some basic aspects of musical idiom in different parts of Europe. At a much more detailed level, HANSEN (1979) has analyzed all the proper of mass melodies in Montpellier H 159 from the point of view of preferences in the notes constituting each melody and their function in the melody. It is fair to say that the historical implications of the layering of the repertory which thus becomes visible have not yet been fully digested.

Another aspect of these matters has been reflected in observations about the choice between E and F and between b and c as a reciting tone or in other contexts. In the so-called 'germanischer Choraldialekt' – or perhaps better, Gregorian chant sung with a German accent – F and C are preferred (see HEISLER 1985, 1987), South French and Italian sources preferring E and b (see COLETTE 1992).

While the use of standard melodic formulas is well-known from the older literature, ways of describing later chants, which do not rely on traditional turns of phrase or typical melodies, have hardly yet been developed. Analytical methods have been described by NOWACKI (1977). Part of the results of a new edition of antiphons ordered according to melodic criteria are reported in DOBSZAY (1988). BINFORD-WALSH (1988) shows how the individual steps in Aquitanian trope melodies are so stylistically consistent as to be predictable according to precisely formulated criteria. Like HANSEN's analyses, those of BINFORD-WALSH make use of the resources of the computer. Further computerized analytical procedures are employed by ANDREW HUGHES (1994, 1996), HALPERIN (1985) and HAAS (1994).

Words and music

The relationship between words and music in plainchant has frequently been the subject of discussion. Particularly revealing are synoptic displays which demonstrate how a typical melody may be adapted to suit different texts: there will, for example, be agreement between the chants as to which notes should be assigned to accented syllables or other important features of the text. The versi-

fied texts of tropes, liturgical songs, and new offices of the 9th century onward provide vivid evidence of the interplay between literary and musical structures. Several publications, including joint articles where a philologist and a musicologist have collaborated, treat of these matters: JONSSON and TREITLER 1983, TREITLER 1982 and 1995, STEVENS 1986, ARLT 1986, BJÖRKVALL and HAUG 1992 *Primus* and 1995. The particular problems of texting pre-existing melismas are discussed by BJÖRKVALL and HAUG 1993 *Texting*.

Studies of chant genres

Research into individual chant genres has inevitably shown a preference for those not part of the canon perpetuated in the modern liturgy (represented in the *Graduale* and *Antiphonale Romanum*, the *Liber Usualis*, etc.). Sequences, tropes, Latin songs (*versus*, *conductus*), offices for local saints (*historiae*), so-called liturgical dramas: all these reflect the liveliest efforts of medieval composers and have attracted some of the liveliest contemporary commentary.

Studies which nevertheless concern the older genres include the following: HERMES (1995) on psalm verses for the introit, etc.; RIBAY (1988) and WASSON (1987) on graduals; JUSTMANN (1988) on offertories; MADRIGNAC (1981, 1986) on alleluias. Two articles by POUDEROIJEN (1992, 1994) consider individual Gregorian mass proper chants in great detail.

Essays devoted to the sequences were published in HUGLO (1987) and ZIINO (1992). There are surveys of Italian sources by BRUNNER (1985; see also 1992) and of Austrian sources by PRASSL (1987). Other studies include those by HILEY (1992, 1993) and WADDELL (1986). FASSLER has written extensively about the later rhymed sequence (1984, 1990 and 1993).

Supplementing the work of MELNICKI, BOSSE, THANNABAUR and SCHILDBACH, ordinary of mass chants in particular groups of manuscripts have been catalogued by HILEY (1986) and CZAGÁNY, KISS and PAPP (1993; see also KISS 1995). Most recent work on these genres has concentrated on their troped form. For Kyries see BJORK (various articles); for troped Glorias FALCONER (1984 and 1989), KELLY (1984), LEACH (1986), IVERSEN and COLETTE (1993), IVERSEN (1994); for troped Sanctus and Agnus several articles by IVERSEN and ATKINSON.

Stimulated not least by the philological studies of the *Corpus Troporum* project in Stockholm, work on tropes has been particularly energetic. Proceedings of conferences on tropes were published in IVERSEN (1983), SILAGI (1985), and LEONARDO and MENESTÓ (1990). Further essays appeared in the HUGLO Festschrift (1993). Other contributions are by ARLT (1982), BORDERS (1987), DIAMOND (1991), HAUG (1991), HOSPENTHAL (1988, 1990), PLANCHART (several essays), SCHLAGER (several essays), SEVESTRE (1980) and TREITLER (1982). More are mentioned below in connection with regional studies.

The peculiar repertory of 'meloform' tropes (additional melismas) for the introit has been surveyed by HAUG (1990). JOHNSTONE (1983, 1984) has written on offertory tropes, while studies of offertory prosulas have been published by BJÖRKVALL and STEINER (1982), and BJÖRKVALL (1988, 1990).

David Hiley: *Writings on Western Plainchant*

67

The new Latin liturgical songs of the 11th century onward (Benedicamus songs, versus, conductus) have been discussed by ARLT (1978, 1990) and GRIER (1994).

Chants for the ceremony of the Dedication of a Church have been surveyed by KOZACHEK (1995).

The office hours, especially the Night Office (Vigils, Matins), are particularly remote from modern experience. The quantity of music involved, the fact that the earliest notated sources are no older than the late 10th century, and the unceasing composition of new offices for locally venerated saints, all pose special problems. Many important issues are discussed in writings by CROCKER (1986 on antiphons, 1995 on responsories) and by STEINER (many articles). On particular groups of antiphons see also UDOVICH (1980), EBEN (1993) and HALMO (1995). Offices for individual saints or other veneration are discussed in numerous articles by HUGHES and by SCHLAGER; also by MADELEINE BERNARD (1980: offices attributed to Leo IX), FICKETT (1983 *Martin*); HECKENBACH (1988 *Benedict*), KARTSOVNIK (1993 *Gregory*), and WADDELL (1989 *Mary Magdalene*).

For the liturgical drama, LIPPHARDT's catalogue and text edition of Easter ceremonies has been extended posthumously to 9 volumes. On the musical side the most striking advances are represented in the dissertations and essays by RANKIN and NORTON. (See also BJORK 1980.) Other contributions, in the form of either surveys or studies of individual items, include those by EGAN-BUFFET and FLETCHER (1990), and FLANIGAN (1991)

Studies of places, persons

The study of the myriad branches of the great tree which constitutes the Latin chant of the Roman rite will not claim the resources of scholarship for many years to come. It depends both on close attention to individual peculiarities of practice and also on the development of tools for setting these peculiarities in context, assessing their significance in relation to other uses, if possible on a supra-regional basis. Such tools concern things like the selection of chants and the melodic variants between sources which constantly crop up. The two best-known tools for supra-regional comparisons are (i) the lists of Advent responsories and verses published and analyzed by HESBERT in vols. 5-6 of *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (HESBERT also published a series of supplementary studies; OTTOSEN subsequently compiled a supplementary index), and (ii) the 'lieux variants' analyzed in *Le Graduel Romain IV*. Nothing comparably comprehensive has yet been published for alleluia series of the post-Pentecost period, which is another useful 'litmus test' of interrelationships (see HILEY 1993).

Several instances have been documented where the adoption of a new order of service (= selection of chants) has not affected the musical version of the pieces to be sung (= melodic variants). It may yet be shown that this was the case as far back as the romanization of the liturgy in Francia in the 8th-9th century. This shows that such tools are best used in conjunction with one other, when possible. That they have obvious limitations, and have to be interpreted sensibly,

does not detract from their intrinsic value. They help us to establish grades of differentiation between sources, from the level at which all chant books are alike, in that they are different from, say, bibles, to the level at which they are all different from one another (before the invention of printing). Moreover, they present data which has to be taken into consideration in the broader discussion about the formation of liturgical traditions and the nature of their transmission and interaction. (On the wider significance of variant musical readings see DAVID HUGHES, 1982 and 1993. Studies using variant musical readings include SAIK 1989.)

Meanwhile, numerous studies of individual traditions, often of individual sources, form an important component of recent writing. Apart from those which form the introductions to facsimiles and editions mentioned above, the following may be cited.

Important chapters in the history of chant at that most important of centres, St. Gallen, have been written by BJÖRKVALL and HAUG (1992, 1993), and especially by RANKIN (several articles). Other sources from the East Frankish area are discussed in PAUCKER (1986: on Bamberg lit.6), HILEY (1992: Regensburg), HANGARTNER (1995: Einsiedeln). Austrian sources have been studied by ENGELS (several essays), FLOTZINGER (1989, 1991), NIYAMA (1994) and PRASSL (1990). The eccentric liturgical chants of Hildegard of Bingen have been discussed by PFAU (1990) and SCHLAGER (1993).

Several articles on chant in Hungary have been published by DOBSZAY (1985, 1990) and SZENDREI (1988: on tropes). On the later Protestant vernacular tradition see FERENCZI (1988, 1990).

On chant in Bohemia see EBEN (1990), NOVOTNÁ (1990), ROTHE (1988) and VLHOVÁ (1988, 1993).

Numerous contributions to the study of chant in Poland have been made by MIAZGA, MORAWSKI and PIKULIK.

Italian sources and their contents have been the subject of a number of symposia: on the manuscript Angelica 123 (see *Codex Angelicus*), on San Marco in Venice (see CATTIN) and on Padua (see CATTIN and LOVATO). See also BAROFFIO and KIM (1994), BEZUIDENHOUT (1987, 1990) and LEDWON (1986: on the Norcia antiphoners).

Sources of Sardinia have been studied by MELE (1987), those of the Dalmatian coast by GYUG (1990).

Studies devoted to Spanish sources include those by GROS (1983: on the Vic processional, and 1993: on tropes in Gerona 4), CASTRO (1990), GUTIÉRREZ (1989: on the Huesca hymnary), PINELL (1990: on mass proper chants), ZAPKE (1993) and BERNADÓ (1993: on the hymns in Cardinal Cisneros' *Intonarium Toletanum*, with remarks on other Cisneros books).

French centres to have attracted interest include Saint-Denis: ATKINSON has written on the Saint-Denis *Missa graeca* (1981, 1982, 1989), UDOVICH (1985) on the antiphoner Paris 17296; ROBERTSON has contributed several studies of liturgy and chant at Saint-Denis. Studies of Aquitanian sources include those by EMERSON (1993: on Paris 1240) and GRIER (1990: on chants for St. Martial, 1995:

David Hiley: Writings on Western Plainchant

69

on the cantor Rotgerius). FASSLER (1990) has written about Chartres. There are several studies by HILEY about chant in Normandy and Norman-Sicily. HAGGH has written about Guillaume Dufay's office for the Cambrai office of the *Recollectio BMV*.

Chant in England has been the subject of numerous recent studies: by CHADD (1993), FLOYD (1990), HARTZELL (1989), HESBERT (1982), HILEY (various), LEFFERTS (1990), RANKIN (several), ROPER (1988), TEVIOTDALE (1992), UNDERWOOD (1982) and WOODS (1987: on chant in Scotland).

Sources of the later Middle Ages from the Low Countries are studied by BLOXAM (1987).

Although Benedictine monasteries were not usually linked by a uniform chant repertory, the liturgical usage of a particularly influential Benedictine monastery might be perpetuated in daughter houses or in those reformed from it. Cluniac sources and aspects of the use of Cluny are discussed in HILEY (1990), HOLDER (1985) and STEINER (1984, 1987, 1993). The identification of sources reflecting the usage of Hirsau constitutes a significant breakthrough: see HEINZER (1992) and HAUG (1994). (The Rheinau antiphoner studied by PUSKÁS 1984 follows Hirsau use.)

Unlike the Benedictines, other religious orders imposed a more or less invariable standard liturgical use. This was, for example, the practice of the Cistercians: see MAÎTRE (several studies) and VEROLI (1991-93).

Carthusian chant sources have been studied by BECKER (1975, 1990); also STEYN (1993), DEVAUX (1993; see further two anonymous studies in the same volume).

The interdependence of the Franciscan liturgy and that of the Roman curia in the 13th century is well understood, but Roman and Franciscan chant books from this time on have not yet been studied much: see D'ANGERS (1975) and BEZUIDENHOUT (several).

Dominican chant and sources are studied by HALLER (1986) and JESSBERGER (1986).

BOYCE has published extensively on chant in the Carmelite order.

On the Brigittines see SERVATIUS (1990).

Aspects of the institutional framework within which the liturgy and its chant were performed are discussed by ANGERER (1977), FOLEY (1982), FASSLER (1985) and PRASSL (1993).

Beyond the Middle Ages

The reforms attempted after the Council of Trent, and other episodes in the later history of plainchant, have been the subject of a small number of studies. BESUTTI (1987) and FENLON (1992) look at the chant in the ducal chapel of Mantua in the later 16th century. FELLERER (1985) surveyed sources for chant in the 19th century. There is clearly scope for more systematic investigation of the chant sources and the many instruction manuals published in the 17th to 19th centuries. This will in turn enable us to understand better the context in which

the 'Gothic revival' of chant in the 19th century took place, a revival whose consequences are still a factor affecting modern chant scholarship.

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David Hiley: *Writings on Western Plainchant*

71

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David Hiley: *Writings on Western Plainchant*

75

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David Hiley: Writings on Western Plainchant

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81

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David Hiley: *Writings on Western Plainchant*

83

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87

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89

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David Hiley: Writings on Western Plainchant

93

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JERUSALEM AND ROME (AND CONSTANTINOPLE): THE MUSICAL HERITAGE OF TWO GREAT CITIES IN THE FORMATION OF THE MEDIEVAL CHANT TRADITIONS*

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For early medieval Christians, Jerusalem and Rome had much in common: Both were important administrative and pilgrimage centers in the early church. Both had impressive liturgical traditions that were witnessed by pilgrims from all over the Christian world, and thus exerted great influence on local liturgies throughout East and West.¹ Yet when it comes to the history of their chant traditions, the two cities are quite different. The kinds of evidence that are preserved for one city are virtually the opposite of what survives from the other. From the city of Rome we have two fully-preserved liturgical chant traditions, the "Gregorian" and the "Old Roman", textually very similar but melodically related more distantly. Yet we know scarcely anything about the processes by which these two traditions were formed, and thus we cannot say how they are related or why they are not identical. From Jerusalem, on the other hand, we have no notated sources at all for most of the chant repertory.² Yet we have many textual sources dating from the early fifth century to the late tenth, amply documenting the historical processes by which this repertory was formed. We can thus say a great deal about how and when the texts of the Jerusalem chant repertory were created, and came to be assigned to specific services and feasts, as the liturgy developed over the course of six centuries from the late patristic period to the turn of the millenium -- the very period from which we have so little information about the development of chant in Rome.

The purpose of the present paper, then, is to see what could perhaps be learned from a hypothetical comparison of the two cities. Could we somehow put them together

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¹ See John F. Baldwin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228 (Rome, 1987).

² A partial exception is the Georgian heirmologion, preserved in tenth-century MSS. See my forthcoming article: "The Earliest Christian Chant Repertory Recovered: The Georgian Sources of Jerusalem Chant", in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*.

-- the city with much recorded history but little surviving music, and the city with much extant music but little recorded history -- to form a more nearly complete, though hypothetical, picture of the emergence of medieval chant? Could the known history of the formation of the Jerusalem chant tradition help us reconstruct the unknown history of the formation of the Roman chant traditions? The answer is a qualified "yes". The early history of Jerusalem chant provides us with a unique model of the processes by which early Christian chant repertoires developed, and the chronological stages through which this development unfolded. If we cautiously attempt to use the Jerusalem chronology as a kind of framework, and line up the very meager Roman evidence parallel with it, we will find that much of it falls into place quite naturally and meaningfully, although the fit is by no means perfect. To put it another way, what we know about the genesis of the Jerusalem chant tradition can help us determine where to look for comparable Roman evidence, and how to evaluate more objectively the rare bits of Roman evidence that we find. The result is a more firmly grounded and defensible picture of the genesis of Roman chant than has ever been possible before, leading to a clearer recognition of where the remaining gaps are and what will be needed to fill them.

The history of the Jerusalem chant tradition can be divided into at least four developmental stages. To compare Jerusalem with Rome, we will proceed by looking for a Roman counterpart to each stage.

1. The Annual Cycle of Graduals and Alleluias (Fifth Century)

Sermons and pilgrim accounts from late fourth-century Jerusalem already attest to the practice of singing responsorial psalms before or between readings from the Bible.³ At some time between 417 and 439 A.D., a complete cycle of readings, responsorial psalms or graduals, and alleluias for all the feasts of the Jerusalem liturgical year was written down in a type of liturgical book known as a lectionary. The original Greek text no longer survives; its contents are preserved in Armenian translation, in the oldest manuscript lectionaries of the Armenian Orthodox Church, which adopted the rite of Jerusalem as the basis of its own.⁴

³ The most important such pilgrim account is the one by Egeria; see Pierre Maraval, ed., *Égérie: Journal de Voyage (Itinéraire)*, Sources Chrétiennes 296 (Paris, 1982). The best English translation with commentary is John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, rev. ed. (Jerusalem, 1981). The other fourth-century sources will be discussed in my forthcoming book *Liturgy and Chant in Early Christian Jerusalem*.

⁴ The Armenian Lectionary is edited in Athanasie Renoux, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, 2 vols., *Patrologia Orientalis* 35/1 and 36/2 (Turnhout, Belgium, 1969, 1971). On the date and the manuscripts see especially vol. 35/1 pp. 169-181 and vol. 36/2 pp. 170-172. Many of the sources of the Jerusalem rite are listed and described in: Charles Renoux, "Hierosolymitana: Aperçu bibliographique des publications depuis 1960", *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 23 (1981), pp. 1-29, 149-175.

Can we find evidence of a comparable development in Rome? Partially. The Eastern practice of singing responsorial psalmody seems to have been introduced at Milan about the year 386, and to have spread through much of the West within a generation. It seems to have been introduced into the Roman mass by Pope Celestine I (422-432), who had been at Milan as younger man.⁵ It certainly was at Rome by the mid-fifth century, for it is clearly described in sermons of Pope Leo the Great (reigned 440-461).⁶

Even if the Roman Mass had responsorial psalms in the early fifth century, however, it may still have lagged behind Jerusalem in some important respects. We cannot establish that by this date Rome already had a fixed annual cycle of graduals, so that the same text was sung on the same feast every year as it was at Jerusalem. Neither do we know when the graduals, fixed or not, began to be written down in liturgical chant books, even though both these developments had taken place in Jerusalem by at least the year 439. Rome seems never to have had a full annual cycle of alleluias before the seventh century; like the other Western rites we know of, it seems originally to have made use of a very limited alleluia repertory, largely restricted to the Easter season. The expansion of the Roman alleluia repertory to the rest of the year may not have taken place until the seventh and eighth centuries.⁷

2. The Completion of the Written Chant Book (Seventh Century)

Over time the Jerusalem lectionary began to incorporate the texts, or at least the incipits, of other genres of chant, in addition to the graduals and alleluias that had always been part of it. These other genres included the introits of the Mass and of Vespers, and the handwashing chants, offertories, and communions of the Proper of the Mass. This stage of development is preserved in the earliest lectionary manuscripts of

⁵ Peter Jeffery, "The Introduction of Psalmody into the Roman Mass by Pope Celestine I (422-432): Reinterpreting a Passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*", *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 26 (1984), 147-165.

⁶ Leo clearly describes the singing of Ps 109:4 in his *Sermo III* commemorating his appointment to the papacy, delivered 29 September 443: "Vnde et dauiticum psalmum, dilectissimi, non ad nostram elationem sed ad Christi Domini gloriam consona uoce cantauimus." See *Sancti Leonis Magni Romani Pontificis Tractatus septem et nonaginta*, ed. Anton Chavasse, Corpus Christianorum, series latina 138 (Turnhout, 1973), p. 10. Less clear is his reference to Ps 21 on Passion Sunday in the year 454; though this psalm is the source of the tract *Deus Deus meus* assigned to this day in the Gregorian and Old Roman repertories. See *ibid.*, vol. 138A, p. 408. This and much other sermon evidence will be fully explored in my forthcoming book, *Prophecy Mixed with Melody: From Early Christian Psalmody to Gregorian Chant*.

⁷ See Terence Bailey, *The Ambrosian Alleluias* (Egham, Surrey, 1983), pp. 46-52, 88-91. Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 76-77, 119-124. Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien, III: Gregorianische Formellehre. Eine choralische Stilkunde* (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 397-417. Karl-Heinz Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alspanische Repertoire*, Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Munich, 1965), pp. 1-9. Jean Claire and André Madrignac, "Les formules centons des *Alleluia* anciens", *Études grégoriennes* 20 (1981), pp. 3-4 plus twelve unnumbered pages of charts; 21 (1986), pp. 27-[45].

the Georgian Orthodox church, which were translated from lost Greek texts representing the Jerusalem liturgy of the eighth century.⁸ Already in the seventh century, however, perhaps even the sixth, someone had collected all these chant texts from the lectionary, supplemented them with the texts of the Office chants that had not been recorded in the lectionary, and produced a true chantbook, perhaps the first one ever created in any branch of Christendom. The original Greek of this book, too, is lost to us, for we have only the Georgian translation; thus we cannot even be sure of the book's original title (in Georgian it is called *Iadgari*, a term of uncertain meaning). It contains not only the proper Mass and Office texts arranged in liturgical order, but identifies the modes to which many of their lost melodies belonged, the first substantial witness to the existence of the Oktoechos.⁹

The Western adoption of the eight-mode system is the most significant example of Jerusalem influence on Western chant, even if (which we do not yet know) the oktoechos came to the West indirectly (for instance, by way of Constantinople).¹⁰ The fact that the eight modes are already pervasive even in our earliest Gregorian sources, but were never adopted at all in the Old Roman chant tradition, shows how dramatic the Frankish reformulation of the pre-Gregorian tradition received from Rome (whatever that was) may have been. But it also shows how foreign the modal system was to the city of Rome itself. In a direct comparison between the two cities, it figures only on the Jerusalem side.

At Rome, there are indications that at least a core repertory of proper Mass chants already existed in the seventh century, and may thus be roughly contemporary with the *Iadgari* of Jerusalem. In the oldest MSS of the *graduale*,¹¹ the repertory of Mass chants is structured around the calendar of Roman station churches, which had achieved its classic form by the early seventh century.¹² More recent feasts, introduced

⁸ Edited in Michel Tarchnischvili, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem (V^e-VIII^e siècles)*, 2 vols. in 4, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 188-189, 204-205 (Louvain, 1959-60).

⁹ See Peter Jeffery, "The Earliest Evidence of the Eight Modes: The Rediscovered Georgian Oktoechos", forthcoming in the *Festschrift* for Kenneth Levy.

¹⁰ The complicated question of Jerusalem's direct and influence on Rome and other Western centers is not the subject of this paper, and will have to be taken up in future studies.

¹¹ The texts of selected early Gregorian manuscripts are edited in parallel columns in René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935; repr. Rome, 1968). For the main Old Roman manuscripts see Paul F. Cutter, *Musical Sources of the Old Roman Mass*, *Musicological Studies and Documents* 36 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1979). An attempt at a more complete list of the early sources is Peter Jeffery, "The Oldest Sources of the *Graduale*: A Checklist of MSS Copied Before About 900 AD", *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983), pp. 316-321. The still primitive state of research into this subject is evident from the fact that, already, this list is in need of considerable revision, expansion, and improvement. See Michel Huglo's remarks in "Bulletin Codicologique", *Scriptorium* 39 (1985), p. 52*.

¹² Theodor Klauser, "Ein vollständiges Evangelienverzeichnis der römischen Kirche aus dem 7. Jahrhundert, erhalten im Cod. Vat. Pal. Lat. 46", *Römische Quartalschrift* 35 (1927), pp. 113-134, reprinted with further comments in Klauser, *Gesammelte Arbeiten zur Liturgiegeschichte, Kirchengeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, ed. Ernst Dassman, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband* 3 (Münster, 1974), pp. 5-21. Winfried Böhne, "Eine neuer Zeuge

during the later seventh and early eighth century, are only inconsistently represented in these early graduale sources.¹³ Those feasts that do occur -- the feasts of St. Apollinaris, St. George, St. Gregory the Great, the Exaltation of the Cross, Annunciation, Assumption, Nativity, and the Thursdays in Lent -- have few or no proper chants that are unique to them, but rather tend simply to re-use texts and melodies that were already in the repertory assigned to older feasts.¹⁴ This suggests that, at the time their chants were assigned, there was already a core repertory that to some degree was regarded as "closed". As new feasts of non-Roman origin were introduced it was becoming easier simply to "recycle" established chant texts than to create new ones. The last feast to be supplied with a completely new set of chants was the feast of the rededication of the Roman Pantheon as the church of Sancta Maria ad Martyres about the year 609¹⁵ -- and even some of these chants show signs of dependence on earlier ones.¹⁶ None of this, however, proves beyond doubt that the

stadtrömischer Liturgie aus der Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts: Das Evangeliar Malibu, CA, Paul-Getty-Museum, vormals Sammlung Ludwig, Katalog Nr. IV 1", *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 27 (1985), pp. 35-69. See also Antoine Chavasse, "L'Organisation stationnale du Carême romain avant le VIII^e siècle: une organisation 'pastorale'", *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 56 (1982), pp. 17-32.

¹³ Theodor Klauser, in a review of Hesbert's *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 15 (1935), pp. 467-469, observed that the feasts in Hesbert's manuscripts seemed to represent the state of the calendar as it was in the time of Pope Honorius I (625-638), with the addition of some (but not all) of the feasts introduced later, down to the reign of Gregory III (731-741). See also his "Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen zwischen der römischen und der fränkisch-deutschen Kirche vom achten bis zum elften Jahrhundert", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 53 (1933), pp. 169-189, esp. p. 175; reprinted in *Gesammelte Arbeiten*, pp. 139-154, especially pp. 143-144. Unfortunately he never pursued this subject in the same rigorous way he did for the Roman evangeliary, in his book *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum: Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte*, 1: Typen, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 28 (Münster, 2/1972), see especially pp. 184-185. For the most up-to-date account of Klauser's subject see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, transl. and rev. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 342-354; also Antoine Chavasse, "L'epistolier romain du codex du Wurzburg: Son organisation", *Revue Bénédictine* 91 (1981), pp. 280-331. "L'évangélaire roman de 645: Un recueil, sa composition (façons et matériaux)", *Revue Bénédictine* 92 (1982), pp. 33-75. Such a study of the graduale calendar is badly needed, and should be undertaken once the complete publication of all the early MSS has been completed.

¹⁴ One attempt to deal with this problem is Antoine Chavasse, "Évangélaire, épistolier, antiphonaire et sacramentaire: les livres romains de la messe au VII^e et au VIII^e siècle", *Ecclesia Orans* 6 (1989), pp. 177-255.

¹⁵ Louis Duchesne, ed. *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, Introduction et Commentaire*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises à Athènes et Rome, ed. Cyrille Vogel, 3 vols. (Paris, 1981), 1:317. See Pierre Journel, "Le culte collectif des saints à Rome du VII^e au IX^e siècle", *Ecclesia Orans* 6 (1989), 285-300. Translation by Raymond Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to A.D. 715*, Translated Texts for Historians, Latin Series 5 (Liverpool, 1989), p. 62.

¹⁶ In particular, the gradual *Locus iste* borrows the second half of its verse, i.e. the words "exaudi preces servorum tuorum" and their music, from the gradual *Protector noster* of Monday in the first week of Lent. We know that *Protector* is the original because its text is adapted from Ps 83:10, 9 (Latin numbering). It is interesting that the Alleluia *¶ Adorabo* for this occasion seems to represent a transitional stage between the earliest type of Alleluia (where the verse ends with the same music as the Alleluia refrain) and the later, freer type. See Karlheinz Schlager, *Alleluia-Melodien, 1: bis 1100*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 7 (Kassel, 1968), p. 672.

seventh-century core repertory had been put down in writing; the earliest surviving manuscripts of Gregorian and Old Roman chant date from the eighth century.

3. Cantors and Hymnodists (7th-8th Centuries)

After its early strata were formed in the seventh century, the Jerusalem chant repertory was greatly expanded by new hymns, composed in Greek by monastic authors. The most famous of these hymnographers were John of Damascus (John Damascene, died ca. 749), Cosmas Melodos (Cosmas of Maiuma) and Andrew of Crete (ca. 660-740), all monks of the great monastery of Mar Saba near Jerusalem, men who wrote in Greek although they were of Semitic origin, born in Damascus.¹⁷ The rediscovery of the Georgian Iadgari, however, gives us access to a vast amount of hymnody composed before they were active. Very few of their poetic and musical compositions ever reached the West,¹⁸ and indeed their works are easier to compare with Western office hymns and sequences than with the chant repertory proper. Nor could Rome boast a comparable school of hymnographers, during the same period or indeed at any other time. What hymnographic activity there was in the West during the seventh and eighth centuries was going on far from Rome, and in any case few of the hymns created during this period found a place in the liturgy.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the very absence of a close parallel between Rome and Jerusalem forces us to ask the reason, and to examine carefully the different situations in the two cities.

Seventh-century Rome certainly had expert singers, trained from boyhood. As many as four popes of the seventh century may have experienced this training.²⁰ Of Pope Sergius I (687-701), a Syrian born in Palermo who came to Rome as a boy, we are told that "because he was studious and capable in the office of cantilena, he was given to the prior of the cantors for training."²¹ During the same century this kind of training was also made available in England, as we can read in certain well-known passages of the Venerable Bede, who completed his *Historia Gentis Anglorum*

¹⁷ On the Sabaitic school, see Jean-Baptiste Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata* 1 (Paris, 1876; repr. Farnborough, 1966), pp. XXXVII-XL.

¹⁸ For a few that did, see Strunk, "The Latin Antiphons for the Octave of the Epiphany" (1964), reprinted in *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York, 1977), 208-219.

¹⁹ See Josef Szövérfy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung: Ein Handbuch 1: Die lateinischen Hymnen bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 110-261.

²⁰ The evidence is least explicit for the first three. The epitaph of Honorius I (625-638) describes him as "divino in carmine pollens." See Amédée Gastoué, *Les Origines de chant romain: L'Antiphonaire grégorien*, Bibliothèque Musicologique 1 (Paris, 1907), pp. 93-94. The *Liber Pontificalis* describes Leo II (682-683) as "Vir eloquentissimus, ... cantelena ac psalmodia praecipuus," and says that Benedict II (684-685) "se ... in divinis scripturis et cantilena a puerili etate ... exhibuit." Duchesne *Le Liber* 1:326-7, 359, 363. Davis, *The Book*, pp. 77-78, 79.

²¹ "... quia studiosus erat et capax in officio cantelenae, priori cantorum pro doctrina est traditus." Duchesne, *Le Liber* 1:371. Davis, *The Book*, p. 82.

Ecclesiastica in the year 731.²² Anglo-Saxon England boasted a number of singers who learned and taught the chant "in the manner of the Romans or Kentish people."²³ At least one of them seems actually to have studied at Rome.²⁴ During the reign of Pope Agatho (678-681), a certain John, Archcantor of St. Peter's and abbot of St. Martin's, was brought to England by Benedict Biscop, founding abbot of Wearmouth, to teach the monks "the yearly course of singing as it was done in St. Peter's in Rome."²⁵ But others were said to have learned "Roman" chant in England from fellow Anglo-Saxons, who were known as "the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory in Kent."²⁶ Kent, of course, was the location of Canterbury, where Augustine and the other missionaries sent by Pope Gregory had set up their headquarters. It was from there that the Roman form of Christianity, including the chant, spread to other parts of England,²⁷ at the expense of the older Celtic ecclesiastical culture. The tendency to see Canterbury as a kind of outpost of Rome, linked to Gregory, seemed quite natural in England, which regarded Gregory as its national apostle; this may be behind the tendency to see the Canterbury chant teachers as "disciples" of Gregory. It was in England that Gregory's cult first flourished,²⁸ for he "was unpopular in Rome at the time of his death."²⁹ Since

²² Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, eds., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969).

²³ For example a certain Jacobus Diaconus, who was at York in the second half of the seventh century, was a "magister ecclesiasticae cantionis iuxta morem Romanorum sive Cantuariorum" who instructed many. Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede*, pp. 206-207, cf. 192-193.

²⁴ "Nam et ipse episcopus Acca cantator erat peritissimus, quomodo etiam in litteris sanctis doctissimus ... cum quo etiam Romam ueniens multa illic, quae in patria nequiebat, ecclesiae sanctae institutis utilia didicit." Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede* 530-3. Acca, a contemporary of Bede, eventually became bishop of Hexham, where he brought in Maban, trained at Canterbury, to teach chant and reform the local practice. See the next note.

²⁵ Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede*, pp. 388-389.

²⁶ Putta, who was bishop of Rochester until its destruction by Aethelred in 676, was "maxime autem modulandi in ecclesia more Romanorum, quem a discipulis beati papae Gregorii didicerat, peritum." After the destruction he "went round wherever he was invited, teaching church music," "ubicumque rogabatur, ad docenda ecclesiae carmina diuertens." Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede*, pp. 336-337, 368-369. Bishop Acca of Hexham is said to have brought in a certain Maban, who had studied with "Gregory's disciples" at Canterbury, and who restored the deteriorating local chant tradition to its "pristine state": "Cantatorem quoque egregium, uocabulo Maban, qui a successoribus discipulorum beati papae Gregorii in Cantia fuerat cantandi sonos edoctus, ad se suosque instituendos accersit, ac per annos XII tenuit, quatinus et quae illi non nouerant carmina ecclesiastica doceret, et ea quae quondam cognita longo usu uel negligentia inueterare coeperant, huius doctrina priscum renouarentur in statum." Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede*, pp. 530-531.

²⁷ One person involved in this spread was a certain Aeddi or Eddius Stephanus, the first *cantandi magister* in Northumbria, who taught a kind of singing that up to then had been known only in the Canterbury area. "Sed et sonos cantandi in ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum nouerant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere coeperunt ..." Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede*, pp. 334-335.

²⁸ The most recent history of Gregory's cult is: Pierre Jounel, "Le culte de saint Grégoire le Grand", *Grégoire le Grand: Chantilly, Centre Culturel Les Fontaines, 15-19 septembre 1982*, ed. Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet, Stan Pellistrandi (Paris, 1986), pp. 671-680; an expanded version with the same title in *Ecclesia Orans 2* (1985), pp. 195-209. However this article is weak on the Anglo-Saxon sources and does not recognize that Gregory's cult first grew in England and was only later brought back to Rome; see Jeffrey Richards, *Consul of God: The Life and Times of Gregory the Great* (London, 1980),

"the growth of his continental reputation was [one] of the Anglo-Saxon contributions to European thought . . . during the late seventh and eighth centuries,"³⁰ it may well be that the legend of Gregory's role in the origin of Gregorian chant was first "born in English ecclesiastical circles."³¹

Only in the early eighth century do we begin to encounter the term "schola cantorum",³² which may be a sign that the Roman way of training singers had now become more formalized, perhaps along the lines of the schola defensorum, which Gregory the Great had set up in imitation of the even older schola notariorum.³³ Thus the official who had been called the "prior of the cantors" in the seventh century was being called "the prior of the school of the cantors" in the eighth.³⁴ Whereas the future Pope Sergius I had been "given to the prior of the cantors" in the seventh century, the twelve-year-old orphan who would become Pope Sergius II (844-847) was given by Pope Leo III (795-816) "to the school of the cantors, for the learning of common letters and that he might be instructed in the mellifluous melodies of cantilena."³⁵ By the late ninth century it was apparently standard procedure that poor boys who could sing well be transferred from other schools into the schola cantorum; after being educated there they moved on to become papal *cubicularii* or chamberlains, joining the noble boys who could achieve this position without such training.³⁶ The earliest legal document that

259-266. Among the Anglo-Saxon sources Jounel did not mention is *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby*, ed. Bertram Colgrave (Lawrence, Kansas, 1968; repr. Cambridge, 1985), which does not yet attribute to Gregory a role in the history of the chant repertory.

²⁹ J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986), p. 68.

³⁰ Owen Chadwick, "Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great", *Journal of Theological Studies* 50 (1949), pp. 38-49, quotation from p. 38.

³¹ Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries*, trans. John J. Contreni (Columbia, South Carolina, 1976), p. 315. See also my forthcoming article, "The Gregory Legend is From England."

³² The term occurs in *Ordo Romanus 1*, see Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge 2*, *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* 23 (Louvain, 1948), pp. 80, 81, 83, 84.

³³ The document by which Gregory did this is published in *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistularum, 2: Libri VIII-XIV, Appendix*, ed. Dag Norberg, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 140A (Turnhout, 1982), pp. 534-535.

³⁴ In a letter to Pippin written between 761-7, Pope Paul I apologized for recalling Symeon, *scholae cantorum prior*, back to Rome from Rouen, where he had been teaching certain monks of Bishop Remedius, Pippin's brother. He said he would not have done this had not Symeon's predecessor, Georgius, died, for which reason Symeon was needed to take his place. Meanwhile the Rouen monks had followed Symeon back to Rome because they had not had enough time to learn the *psalmodii modulatio* perfectly. Paul assured Pippin that the Rouen monks would remain with Symeon until they learned *ecclesiasticae doctrinae cantilena*. This well-known letter is published in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica [MGH], Epistolarum Tomus 3: Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi 1*, ed. Ernst Dümmler (Berlin, 1892), pp. 553-554.

³⁵ "Tunc praesul eum scholae cantorum ad erudiendum communes tradidit litteras et ut mellifluis instructur cantilena melodiis." Duchesne, *Le Liber*, 2:86.

³⁶ "Primum in qualicumque scola reperti fuerint pueri bene psallentes, tolluntur unde et nutriuntur in scola cantorum et postea fiunt cubicularii." *Ordo Romanus* 36, in Michel Andrieu, *Ordines Romani 4*, *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* 28 (Louvain, 1956), p. 195, see also comments on pp. 123-126. See also Andrieu, "Les ordres mineurs dans l'ancien rit romain", *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 5 (1925), pp.

mentions the schola cantorum by name dates from about 919.³⁷ Thus the most conservative reading of the evidence leads us to see a gradual development. In seventh-century Rome there was some kind of program for training singers, and by the eighth century it had been fully organized and was being called the schola cantorum. Under that name it was still functioning in the ninth and tenth centuries, by which time Pope Gregory was being identified as its founder. A thorough and unbiased history of this shadowy organization and its northern European offshoots remains to be written, however.³⁸

What and how were the boys in the schola actually taught? That the schola cantorum taught a largely or completely oral art is suggested by one alumnus of the Canterbury school, who wrote that he had learned "the right way to fit syllables to the musical modulations of cantilena."³⁹ Though we must not read too much into such a brief remark, it is nonetheless interesting that the writer chose to summarize his musical studies this way, instead of saying that he had read Boethius or learned to understand neumes.

Clearly the Roman schola did not produce hymnographers of the sort that flourished at Mar Saba near Jerusalem. In this respect Jerusalem and Rome were very different. Yet whatever Roman chant was like during the seventh and eighth centuries, it was undoubtedly made that way by the graduates of the schola cantorum, just as the Jerusalem chant of the same period was largely the product of the hymnographers of Mar Saba.

4. The Export Process

Even while it was still developing, the Jerusalem liturgy was being exported, in whole and in part, to other churches throughout Christendom. Already in the early fifth century the Greek lectionary of Jerusalem was adopted by the Armenian church and translated into Armenian. However the three extant MSS differ from each other in some

232-274.

³⁷ See Paul Fridolin Kehr, ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, Italia Pontificia 1: Roma (Berlin, 1906; repr. 1961), pp. 17-18.

³⁸ For older literature see Enrico Josi, "Lectores -- schola cantorum -- clerici", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 44 (1930), 282-290. Guilherme Schubert, "Scholae puerorum: sua história e organização", *Revista eclesiástica brasileira* 9 (1949), pp. 893-912.

³⁹ "... et ad musica cantilenae modulamina recto sillabarum tramite lustrare, cuius rei studiosis lectoribus tanto inextricabilior obscuritas praetenditur, quanto rarior doctorum numerositas reperitur." R. Ehwald, ed., *Aldhemi Opera*, MGH, Auctorum Antiquissimorum Tomus 15 (Berlin, 1919), p. 477. For a translation and commentary of the complete letter see Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren, eds., *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge and Totowa, New Jersey, 1979), pp. 152-153, 199. Aldhelm's letter describes his studies of meter in a way that suggests he was reading the Servius, a commentator on Vergil of the fourth century A.D.; had his study of music included the reading Boethius or other writers, he might have described it in language echoing one of them, rather than as a practical matter of fitting syllables to melodies, a subject that received little attention in the music treatises available at the time.

important respects, reflecting differences in their Greek originals due to changes made at Jerusalem itself.⁴⁰ Thus it is not that one manuscript was imported into Armenia and there became the archetype of the new Armenian rite. The process of translation and importation into Armenia happened more than once. Even after the Armenian liturgy began to develop independently, with the fifth-century Jerusalem lectionary as its basis, for centuries it continued to be influenced by new developments in Jerusalem.⁴¹

What is true of the Armenian rite is even more evident in the Georgian lectionary and *Iadgari*, and of the relationship of Jerusalem to the Byzantine rite. By the beginning of the ninth century, the monastic typikon of St. Saba near Jerusalem was adapted and expanded at the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. Studios, producing the Studite typikon which spread everywhere the Byzantine liturgy was then in use, from Russia to southern Italy. The Studite typikon was itself further synthesized at St. Saba, and the book that resulted, still known as the Typikon of Jerusalem, is the basis of the Byzantine Rite in use today. Yet neither the Studite typikon nor the earlier or later typika of St. Sabas are extant in pure, early copies, originating at the monasteries themselves. They are known to us only from the countless adaptations made at other monasteries all over the Byzantine world, incorporating both local peculiarities and later developments.⁴² Here again, then, the spread of the Jerusalem rite was not something that happened once and for all, but something that happened over and over, leaving behind a bewildering variety of manuscripts for us to sort out.

All this sounds complicated and confusing, but it resembles nothing so much as the current state of knowledge about Western chant, where even the very earliest manuscripts exhibit a great variety of textual recensions and notational types, and where no extant manuscript can be linked especially closely to a key historical milieu, such as the court of Charlemagne, the Cathedrals of Metz or Rouen with their Roman-trained singers, a particular Roman church or the reign of a particular pope. Though loss of sources no doubt accounts for much of this, it is time to recognize that we are not

⁴⁰ Renoux, *Le codex* 35/1, pp. 30-32, 186-188, and 36/2, pp. 152-154, 160-161.

⁴¹ See the following articles by Charles Renoux: "Liturgie arménienne et liturgie hiérosolymitaine", *Liturgie de l'Église particulière et liturgie de l'Église universelle: Conférences Saint-Serge, XXII^e semaine d'études liturgiques*, Bibliotheca 'Ephemerides Liturgicae', Subsidia 7 (Rome, 1976), pp. 275-288. "La fête de la Transfiguration et le rite arménien", *Mens concordet voci: pour Mgr A.G. Martimort* (Paris, 1983), 652-662. "Čašoc' et tonakan arméniens: Dépendance et complémentarité", *Ecclesia Orans* 4 (1987), pp. 169-201.

⁴² Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1986), p. 276. Alexander Schemann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology*, trans. Asheleigh E. Moorhouse (Crestwood, NY, 1986), pp. 205-212. For the extant manuscripts of the various recensions of the St. Saba typikon, see А. Дмитриевский, Описание Литургических Рукописей 3: Типика II (Petrograd, 1917; repr. Hildesheim, 1965). Many other Studite and Sabaite sources are described in Gabriel Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 193 (Rome, 1972).

dealing with a single historical event, but with a long historical period, during which repeated waves of Roman influence washed over parts of the West at different times, with varying strengths, and with varying effects. This is in fact what the literary sources actually tell us: "The Germans and the Gauls, among the other peoples of Europe, were given a remarkable number of opportunities to learn and repeatedly relearn the sweetness of this modulation," complained John the Deacon, "yet because of their fickle souls, as well as their natural savagery, they were utterly unable to preserve it incorrupt, because they mingled things of their own into the Gregorian chants."⁴³ Indeed, attempts to export Roman liturgical practices are documented continually from the beginning of the fifth century.⁴⁴ Even the two most concerted efforts to spread the Roman liturgy, the Anglo-Saxon mission and the Carolingian reform, involved numerous trips back and forth in search of Roman books and Roman singers.⁴⁵ To put it another way, the process of exporting the Roman chant repertory was much like the better-documented processes involved in exporting the Roman sacramentaries, lectionaries, and other liturgical books.

5. Summary

The origins and early history of Gregorian and Old Roman chant have been so heavily worked over, so clouded and confused by controversy, that it is helpful to look away for a moment at another center like Jerusalem -- a center where many of the same processes took place, but where they are much better documented and hence more easily traced. Once we have seen clearly how the Jerusalem chant repertory began in the fifth century with the responsorial psalms accompanying the annual cycle of readings, how this cycle attracted other chant genres until it had grown into the complete written repertory of the seventh century and the fully developed lectionary of the eighth, how it was expanded further through the creativity of the eighth-century

⁴³ "Huius modulationis dulcedinem inter alias Europae gentes Germani seu Galli discere crebroque rediscere insigniter potuerunt, incorruptam vero tam levitate animi, quia nonnulla de proprio Gregorianis cantibus miscuerunt, quam feritate quoque naturali servare minime potuerunt." *Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita*, in *Patrologia Latina* 75 (Paris, 1862), pp. 90-91.

⁴⁴ See the material summarized in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 147-150, 61-105, 110-133, esp. footnotes 131, 194. The earliest document advocating the adoption of Roman customs elsewhere is a letter of Pope Innocent I written in the year 416. Robert Cabié, *La lettre du pape Innocent I^{er} à Décentius de Gubbio (19 mars 416): Texte critique, traduction et commentaire*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique 58 (Louvain, 1973).

⁴⁵ On the manuscript traffic between Rome and the north see: Armando Petrucci, "L'Onciale Romana: Origini, sviluppo e diffusione di una stilizzazione grafica altomedievale (sec. VI-IX)", *Studi Medievali* ser. III, 12 (1971), pp. 75-134 with 20 plates. Paola Supino Martini, "Carolina romana e minuscola romanese: Appunti per una storia della scrittura latina in Roma tra IX e XII secolo", *Studi Medievali* ser. III, 15 (1974), pp. 769-793 with twelve plates. Supino Martini and Petrucci, "Materiali ed ipotesi per una storia della cultura scritta nella Roma del IX secolo", *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978), pp. 45-101. D.A. Bullough, "Roman Books and Carolingian *Renovatio*", *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History*, *Studies in Church History* 14 (Oxford, 1977), pp. 23-50.

hymnodists, and how, after exerting strong influence on neighboring churches throughout its history, it finally overwhelmed and partly merged with the rite of Constantinople in the ninth century and later -- then we can look again at the Roman tradition and see it from a new perspective. Allowing for the many differences between the two cities, an understanding of what happened in the East can help us imagine more realistically what might have happened in the West, by showing us how to sift through the much more meager Western evidence, what to look for as we do it, and how to interpret what we find. This in turn will help us feel more confident about where to look, and about what to make of what we see. In short, it will lay the beginning of a framework that will help organize and orient further explorations into the formation of the two Roman chant repertoires.⁴⁶ Thus, to quote from famous medieval hymns, the chant tradition of "urbs beata Ierusalem", is rightly "dicta pacis visio", for its early development is so fully documented that we can truly say "hic promereantur omnes petita acquirere". After studying the Jerusalem sources thoroughly, we can turn to "Roma nobilis" and ask with a new confidence "ut quae repleverit te sapientia, ipsa nos repleat."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ See my article "Rome and Jerusalem: From Oral Tradition to Written Repertory in Two Ancient Liturgical Centers", *From Rome to the Passing of the Gothic: Western Chant Repertoires and Their Influence on Early Polyphony: Studies in Honor of David G. Hughes* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Music Department, forthcoming).

⁴⁷ From the hymns "Urbs beata Jerusalem" and "O Roma nobilis." A convenient edition is F.J.E. Raby, ed., *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 83-84, 140, 462, 472-473. For "Urbs beata" see also Anselmo Lentini, ed., *Te Decet Hymnus: L'Innario della "Liturgia Horarum"* (Vatican City, 1984), p. 251. *Liber Hymnarius*, Antiphonale Romanum Tomus Alter (Solesmes, 1983), pp. 247-248.

[4]

The Singing of Psalms in the Early-Medieval Office

By Joseph Dyer

The anonymous fourth-century tract *De poenitentia* depicts with a grand oratorical flourish the universality of the psalms in the Christian world. Its author proclaims that the psalms are heard at vigils, at morning prayer, and at funerals in the city churches, but the power of “David” extends beyond their walls.

Even in the fields and deserts and stretching into uninhabited wasteland, he rouses sacred choirs to God. . . . In the monasteries there is a holy chorus of angelic hosts, and David is first and middle and last. In the convents . . . David is first and middle and last. In the deserts . . . David is first and middle and last. And at night all men are dominated by physical sleep and drawn into the depths, and David alone stands by, arousing all the servants of God to angelic vigils, turning earth into heaven and making angels of men.¹

Though the author may have exaggerated the centrality of the psalms in the lives of all Christians, he aptly characterized the role of the psalms in monastic life: there David was indeed “first and middle and last.” Every monk was expected to memorize all 150 psalms. They were his daily bread, words always on his lips, the foundation of his life of prayer. St. Benedict, taking as his model the monasteries attached to the Roman basilicas, recommended the weekly recitation of the psalter, and some monastic regimens were even more demanding. The psalms also held a place of fundamental importance in education. If a candidate for the monastic or clerical state could not read, the psalter served as his primer of Latin grammar, and facility in memorizing the psalms provided the clearest early indication of exceptional intellectual ability.

In the medieval Office the singing of psalms was far more than a musical exercise. It was ampler in its connotations than the mere adaptation of words to stereotypical melodic formulae. Years of daily encounters with the prayers of the psalmist fostered a rich contextuality of associations, a private and

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¹ *De poenitentia*, PG 64:12–13. The translation is by James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music (Cambridge, Eng., 1987), p. 90. The number of patristic references to the psalms in this volume is itself revealing.

interior exegesis of the scriptural text in an ever-widening field of significance. The fruits of this meditation on the psalms rarely appeared in written form, but it resonated with the method of exegesis in the writings of the Fathers. The Fathers regarded the psalter as a book of prophecy, “an assortment of oracles whose meaning is revealed to those who have the insight to discern it and apply it to the contemporary scene.”² This prophetic and spiritual mode of interpretation received its sanction directly from the New Testament. Jesus applied the words of the psalmist to himself, and the early church saw the entire Old Testament as a repository of types which came to fulfillment with the mission of the Savior.

Of the four forms of scriptural exegesis cultivated in the patristic age (historical, allegorical, moral, and anagogical), the allegorical and moral appealed most strongly to the monastic imagination.³ They encouraged richly allusive interpretations which led far from the historical meaning of the text. The psalms lent themselves especially well to this approach, and those who sang the psalter weekly in the Divine Office could refer to written models as they strove to apply the psalm text to the understanding of doctrine, the practice of virtue, or the life of the church.

A range of patristic commentaries on the psalms was available in Latin to western monks of the Middle Ages. Origen was the first to comment on the entire psalter, and his method of drawing out the hidden significance of the text became the paradigm for all later commentators. Though he wrote in Greek, the essentials of his method were available in the West through Jerome’s *Tractatus in psalmos*, an adaptation of Origen’s homilies on the psalms, and in the Latin translation of the homilies on Psalms 36, 37, and 38 by Rufinus.⁴ Origen deeply influenced some of the most widely read of early-medieval authors: Gregory the Great, Isidore, and Hrabanus Maurus. As Jean Leclercq observed, “what was sought in him was not so much a doctrine as a mentality, and, most of all, a way of interpreting Holy Scripture.”⁵ This can be illustrated by examining briefly the beginning of Origen’s homily on Psalm 36.

After describing the three types of interpretation he recognized — pro-

² G. W. H. Lampe, “The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture to Gregory the Great,” *Cambridge History of the Bible*, 2 (Cambridge, Eng., 1969), p. 159. See also Joseph Gelineau, “Les psaumes à l’époque patristique,” *La Maison-Dieu* 135 (1978), 99–116; Balthasar Fischer, “Le Christ dans les psaumes: La dévotion aux psaumes dans l’église des martyrs,” *La Maison-Dieu* 28 (1951), 86–109; and Pierre Salmon, *L’Office divin au moyen âge*, Lex orandi 27 (Paris, 1959), pp. 99–134.

³ Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l’Ecriture*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959); Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, 3 vols. (1950; repr. Utrecht, 1964), 2:92–93.

⁴ Jerome, *Tractatus in psalmos*, CCSL 78 (Turnhout, 1958); Rufinus, *Origenis explanatio* (PG 12:1319–1410). Rufinus’s *Prologus* is printed separately in CCSL 20 (Turnhout, 1961). See Vittorio Peri, *Omelie origeniane sui salmi: Contributo all’identificazione del testo latino*, Studi e Testi 289 (Vatican City, 1980), pp. 7–40. The basic study of the patristic commentaries is Marie-Joseph Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (3e–5e siècles)*, Orientalia Christiana analecta 219–20 (Rome, 1982–85); a briefer overview may be found in Aimé Solignac, “Psaumes, commentaires,” *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 12/2:2562–68.

⁵ Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catherine Misrahi (New York, 1961), p. 96; de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, 1:221–38.

The Singing of Psalms

537

phetic, mystic, and moral — Origen said of Psalm 36: “this entire psalm is moral, and given to the human soul as a cleansing and a remedy, since it makes manifest our sins and teaches us to live in accordance with the law.”⁶ The opening verses of this psalm are: “Do not strive to outdo the evildoers or emulate those who do wrong. For like grass they soon wither, and fade like the green of spring.” The psalmist’s comparison suggested to Origen a passage from Isaiah 40.6–8 (“All mankind is grass. . . . The grass withers, the flowers fade, but the word of our God endures for evermore”). The flower’s bloom represents the “glory of the flesh” exemplified in the arrogance of princes. One reigns after another, but their “bloom” soon shrivels, turns to dust, and is scattered by the wind (“verum etiam tanquam pulvis aridus et a vento dispersus”). The rich and the vain enjoy themselves in this life, though soon enough even the location of their tombs is forgotten. Origen contrasted this evanescence with the stability of the word of God. Dumb animals feed on the grass but the wise man feeds on the divine word, which is eternal, and on Jesus, the bread which came down from heaven. Origen’s exposition of this psalm illustrates a kind of exegesis which was widely admired and emulated. As Dom Leclercq explains, “if he [Origen] was the favorite model of monastic commentators, this was because of his mastery of allegory, and consequently of the whole theory of the spiritual life.”⁷

Among the Fathers the psalter was the book most often commented upon, and the wealth of patristic reflection was transmitted to the Middle Ages both directly and through excerpts in later authors. Hilary of Poitiers probably treated the entire psalter, and considerable portions of his *Tractatus* are preserved. Ambrose commented on several psalms, and Jerome was known to medieval readers both for his *Commentarioli* and for the *Breviarium in psalmos* once attributed to him. Augustine’s prestige ensured the dissemination of his *Enarrationes*, the first completely preserved Latin commentary on the entire psalter. His writings gained even wider currency when Cassiodorus borrowed from them for his own influential exegesis of the psalms. Augustine, Jerome, and Cassiodorus became the source books for Carolingian commentators on the psalms.⁸ All monks would have had access to at least some of these commentaries or their literary descendants. Anyone who learned his psalms from a glossed psalter would have imbibed a commentary along with the text. Benedict recommended the Scriptures as “rectissima norma vitae humanae,” and that recommendation was bracketed with references to the “holy Fathers.”⁹

⁶ “Totus psalmus iste moralis est, et velut cura quaedam et medicina humanae animae datus, cum peccata nostra arguit, et edocet nos secundum legem vivere”: *Homilia prima*, PG 12:1319–21. The Greek text has been lost; only the Latin version of Rufinus survives.

⁷ “The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture from Gregory the Great to St. Bernard,” *Cambridge History of the Bible*, 2:196.

⁸ Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, 1964), pp. 37–82. References to the patristic sources can be found in the works of Rondeau and Solignac mentioned in n. 4 above.

⁹ *Regula Benedicti* 73; *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. Timothy Fry et al. (Collegeville, 1981), pp. 294–96. In this chapter Benedict appears to quote from Ambrose’s *Expositio de psalmis*.

It would be difficult to overestimate the power of the psalms in the lives of those who prayed and sang the Office. As the words of the psalms were sung to the prescribed tones, each monk supplied them with his own “*jeu spontané des associations, des rapprochements et des comparaisons,*” a private exegesis of the sacred text.¹⁰ The psalms were given a specifically Christian application by the *tituli psalmodum* and psalm collects. These titles were not those of the Hebrew psalter, but suggestions as to how each psalm should be interpreted in a doctrinal, prophetic, or moral way. Six principal series of such titles exist, and in many of them the interpretation of the psalmist’s words as the “*vox Christi*” is emphasized.¹¹ The psalm collects were actually used in the Office, though perhaps not widely, until the eighth century. The passage from Cassian’s *Institutes* quoted below is an example of how they were joined to the singing of the psalm.¹²

The preceding considerations only begin to suggest the centrality of the psalter in the monastic world. In cenobitic communities the recitation of the psalms in common was regulated either by written rule or by the directives of the local abbot.¹³ Most of the early monastic rules present rather loose guidelines about the number of psalms required and their distribution through the day or week. St. Benedict was the first to prescribe an ordering in specific detail. When his rule superseded older monastic traditions in the ninth century, its plan for the weekly recitation of the psalter became the norm of the monastic Office.

The psalms, in contrast to the prayers and readings of the Office, were performed nearly always in a manner resembling singing rather than non-musical recitation. Though one can imagine a continuum stretching from stylized public reading to genuine melody, the patristic and medieval texts which mention psalms and readings in succession make a clear distinction between the two. Isidore of Seville says that “*a lectio is so called because it is not sung like a psalm or hymn but merely read.*”¹⁴ The Rule of Sts. Paul and

¹⁰ Jacques Dubois, “Comment les moines du moyen âge chantaient et goutaient les Saintes Ecritures,” *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris, 1984), p. 262.

¹¹ Pierre Salmon, *Les “Tituli Psalmodum” des manuscrits latins*, *Etudes liturgiques* 4 (Paris, 1959); Salmon discusses each series and gives representative examples in *L’Office divin*, pp. 115–23. On the interpretation of the psalms as “*vox Christi*” see Rondeau, *Les commentaires*, vol. 2 *passim*.

¹² André Wilmart and Louis Brou, *The Psalter Collects from V–VIth Century Sources*, Henry Bradshaw Society 83 (London, 1949); an improved text has been published by Patrick Verbraken, *Oraisons sur les cent cinquante psaumes: Texte latin et traduction française de trois séries de collectes psalmiques*, *Lex orandi* 42 (Paris, 1967). For an interpretation see F. Vandembroucke, “Sur la lecture chrétienne du psautier au Ve siècle,” *Sacris erudiri* 5 (1953), 5–26.

¹³ For a historical overview of the monastic Office in the West see Paul Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church*, Alcuin Club Collections 63 (London, 1981), pp. 124–29; and Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, 1986), pp. 93–140. Structural questions are paramount in the classic study of Odilo Heiming, “Zum monastischen Offizium von Kassianus bis Kolombanus,” *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 7 (1961), 89–156; and in Corbinian Gindele, “Die Struktur der Nokturnen in den lateinischen Mönchsregeln vor und um St. Benedikt,” *Revue bénédictine* 64 (1954), 9–27.

¹⁴ “*Lectio dicitur quia non cantatur, ut psalmus et hymnus, sed legitur tantum*”: *Liber etymologiarum* 6.19.9, ed. W. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, 2

The Singing of Psalms

539

Stephen, probably from the sixth century, quotes a famous injunction from the Rule (*Praeceptum*) of Augustine that texts intended to be spoken should not be embellished “with musical figures and the art of melody.”

The common forms of psalmody, responsorial and antiphonal, consisted of two components: the text of the psalm itself and the refrain inserted between verses. Since there can be no doubt that this refrain was sung, it is only reasonable to suppose that the psalm was presented in a style consistent with the melody of the refrain. The term “recitative,” though anachronistic, suggests the manner of performance. Parallels between the formulae used to recite the psalms and epic poetry, folksong, and the more elaborate pieces in the chant repertoire have been proposed by several scholars.¹⁵

The first substantial evidence of a theory designed to organize the singing of psalms appears in the *Musica disciplina* of Aurelian of Réôme, a treatise thought to have been written about the middle of the ninth century.¹⁶ Of somewhat earlier date (ca. 835) is the hypothetical archetype of a comprehensive tonary from Metz, which lists the antiphons of the Office and prescribes specific psalm-tone formulae appropriate to each of them.¹⁷ Both of these documents concern a body of music which came to be known as “Gregorian” chant. The structural similarities between the psalm-tone formulae of Gregorian chant and those of the local Roman repertoire known as “Old Roman” allow us to trace the history of these formulae back to the eighth century, and thus to a period before the two chant traditions separated.

Both Gregorian and Old Roman manuscript sources indicate the psalm tone to be used with a particular antiphon in the same way: the last six notes of the formula used to recite the psalm verses are set above the letters *euouae* (*saeculorum amen*).¹⁸ While the earliest treatises employ several terms (*varietas*, *divisio*, *diffinitio*, and *differentia*) to describe these cadences, eventually the term *differentia* became the accepted designation for the cadential gesture which linked the psalm verses with a recurrent antiphon. Ambrosian chant employs a similar system. There is a large corpus of such “differences.” The need for so many of them has never been satisfactorily explained, nor is it

vols. (Oxford, 1911); Pl. 82:252. Cf. Tertullian: “the Scriptures are read [and] the psalms are sung”: *De anima* 9, ed. A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa, CSEL 20 (Vienna, 1890), p. 310.

¹⁵ See Ewald Jammers, “Der Choral als Rezitativ,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 22 (1965), 143–68; Janka Sendrei, “Beiträge zu den musikgeschichtlichen Beziehungen des volksmusikalischen Rezitativs,” *Studia musicologica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* 13 (1971), 275–88. An illuminating study of the liturgical *lectio* is Gino Stefani, “La recitazione delle letture nella liturgia romana antica,” *Ephemerides liturgicae* 81 (1967), 113–30.

¹⁶ *Musica disciplina*, ed. Laurence Gushee, Corpus scriptorum de musica 21 (Rome, 1975).

¹⁷ Walter Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar von Metz*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 43 (Münster, 1965).

¹⁸ Aurelian, *Musica disciplina*, passim. Regino of Prüm, in his description of the method he followed in preparing a tonary based on the antiphoner of Trier, equated the *differentiae* with the “divisiones tonorum” under which he grouped the antiphons (see n. 47 below). To date the only extensive discussion of the *differentia* phenomenon is Clyde Brockett, “*Saeculorum Amen* and *Differentiae*: Practical versus Theoretical Tradition,” *Musica disciplina* 30 (1976), 13–36. On some philosophical implications of the term see Eleonore Stump, *Boethius’s De topicis differentiis* (Ithaca, 1978), pp. 248–61.

always clear why one pattern makes a more appropriate link with the antiphon than another. The middle of the psalm verse is marked by a mediant cadence (not in Ambrosian chant, however), and the end of the antiphon is linked to the reciting pitch of the psalm tone by a short *initium*. The typical structure of a psalm tone may be examined in Examples 8–13 below.

The number of times the antiphon was intercalated into the body of the psalm text varied according to circumstances which may never be fully understood.¹⁹ There can be little doubt that the antiphon was sometimes repeated by the choir after every psalm verse, a practice which prolonged the Office considerably. This custom is perhaps implied by John Cassian's remark (ca. 415) about "these same [psalms] prolonged by the melodies of antiphons" ("hos ipsos antiphonarum protelatos melodii").²⁰ A similar inference may be drawn from statements in two important monastic rules of the early sixth century, the rules of the anonymous Master and of St. Benedict. Both permit the omission of antiphons in order to alleviate the burden of the Office on very small monastic communities.²¹ This dispensation would have been meaningless were not frequent repetition of the antiphon regarded as the norm.

According to a tenth-century *vita* of St. Odo (880–942), second abbot of Cluny, the insertion of antiphons after every psalm verse helped to fill up the long vigils observed by Gallic monks during the long nights of winter.²² The same frequency of repetition is implied by Amalarius of Metz in his

¹⁹ The principal treatments of antiphonal psalmody from a historical perspective are Henri Leclercq, "Antiphone (liturgie)," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 1/2:2282–2319; Louis Petit, "Antiphone dans la liturgie grecque," *ibid.*, cols. 2461–88; Jacques Hourlier, "Notes sur l'antiphonie," in Wulf Arlt et al., eds., *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade* (Bern, 1963), pp. 144–91; Bruno Stäblein, "Antiphon," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1:523–45; Michel Huglo, "Antiphon," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols. (London, 1980), 1:471–81. For a general background see Thomas Connolly, "Psalm: Latin Monophonic Psalmody," *ibid.*, 15:322–32. Hereafter *The New Grove* will be cited as *TNG*.

²⁰ *Institutes* 2.2, ed. Michael Petschenig, *Johannis Cassiani De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium vitiorum remediis*, CSEL 17 (Vienna, 1886), p. 18; English translation by Edgar C. S. Gibson, *The Institutes of John Cassian*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ser. 2, vol. 11 (New York, 1894), p. 205.

²¹ See the *Regula Magistri* 55.7: "psalmos vero directaneos dicens, ut supra diximus, urgentem laboris operam" ("moreover, he may say the psalms straight through because of urgent work, as we have said above"). *La règle du Maître*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, Sources chrétiennes 106 (Paris, 1964), p. 260; the English translation is by Luke Eberle, *The Rule of the Master*, Cistercian Publications 6 (Kalamazoo, 1977), p. 220. Hereafter Sources chrétiennes will be cited as SC. The *Regula Benedicti* (17.6) also allows an exception at terce, sext, and none: "Si maior congregatio fuerit, cum antiphonas, si vero minor, in directum psallantur" ("If the community is rather large, refrains are used with the psalms; if it is smaller, the psalms are said without refrain"): *RB 1980*, pp. 212–13.

²² "Verum quia eiusdem officii antiphonae, uti omnibus patet, breves sunt, et eius temporis longiores noctes; volentes officium ad lucem usque protendere, unamquamque antiphonam per singulos psalmorum versus repetendo canebant": *Vita S. Odonis* 10, PL 133:48. See the discussion of monastic vigils in Adalbert de Vogüé, *La règle de saint Benoît*, 6 vols., SC 181–86 (Paris, 1971–72), 5:452–63; on time in the monastic world see J. Biarne, "Le temps du moine d'après les premières règles monastiques d'Occident (IV–VI siècles)," in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'antiquité au moyen âge (III–XIIIe siècle)*, Colloque international du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, 9–12 mars 1981 (Paris, 1984), pp. 99–128.

The Singing of Psalms

541

description of nocturns, part of which consisted of “six antiphons which the choirs repeat alternately through [i.e., between] each verse.”²³ The last remnants of this older custom did not disappear until the later Middle Ages. “Triumphing” the antiphon for the *Benedictus* and the *Magnificat* was one of the last reminders of this solemn psalmody of an earlier time. The etymology of the term (*tres/trium-fari*, to say three times) describes the practice well. The antiphon was sung thrice: (1) before the *Gloria patri*, (2) before the *Sicut erat*, and (3) after the *Sicut erat*. Rubrics (“hodie antiphonamus”) in the Old Roman Antiphoner of St. Peter’s may point to a similar usage in singing the ordinary psalms of the Office.²⁴ In Gregorian chant the singing of the antiphon was later restricted to the beginning of the psalm and to the end of the doxology which closed each psalm. Even this was eventually curtailed, however, when the initial statement became reduced to a single phrase of the antiphon.²⁵

Our present knowledge of Gregorian psalmody derives almost exclusively from theoretical sources: medieval writers on music, the (often anonymous) tonaries, and modern chant books like the *Liber usualis*. While many of the treatises and a few of the tonaries have been edited and studied by musicologists, the practical tradition preserved in the manuscript antiphoners used in the singing of the Office has received almost no attention.²⁶ Music theorists, whether modern or medieval, seek to discover in a given repertoire a regularity susceptible to description in the form of universals. They not infrequently create and eventually succeed in imposing a uniformity which may

²³ “. . . ex senis antiphonis quas vicissim chori per singulos versus repetunt”: *Liber de Ordine Antiphonarii* 3.4, ed. Jean Michel Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, 3, Studi e Testi 140 (Vatican City, 1950), p. 24. That the antiphon could be repeated within the psalm seems to be understood by the tenth-century *Commemoratio brevis de tonis et psalmis modulandis* when it recommends that the “repetitio antiphonarum quae in fine versuum inter captandum fit eadem qua psalmus celeritate percurrat” (“the repetition of the antiphons which occur between the verses should be at the same speed as the psalm”): ed. and trans. Terence Bailey, *Ottawa Mediaeval Texts and Studies* 4 (Ottawa, 1979), pp. 106–7. Aurelian of Réôme memorializes a custom of singing the “alleluia” refrain of the *laudes* (Psalms 148–50) of the Sunday morning Office between each psalm verse: *Musica disciplina* 20.39–40, ed. Gushee, p. 133.

²⁴ See Charles Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, ed. Léopold Favre, 10 vols. (Niort, 1883–87), s.v. “triumphare,” 8:190. A long rubric for the Old Roman psalmody, found on fol. 25 of the St. Peter’s antiphoner, will be analyzed by Edward Nowacki, “The Performance of Office Antiphons in Twelfth-Century Rome,” *Studia musicologica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae*, forthcoming. Clyde Brockett reports on an example from Mozarabic chant of an antiphon repeated within the psalm: *Antiphons, Responsories and Other Chants of the Mozarabic Rite*, *Musicological Studies* 15 (New York, 1968), p. 133, ex. 11.

²⁵ Two noted psalters included in the present study (Bibl. Vat., Chigi C.VI.163, and Bibl. Vat., Archivio di San Pietro E 14) prescribe a truncated first statement of the antiphon.

²⁶ Hugo Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Psalmdifferenzen*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 37 (Regensburg, 1966), collates the psalm tones from selected antiphoners representative of regional German practices. Tables of *differentiae* have been extracted from individual antiphoners by modern authors: Willibrord Alfons Heckenbach, *Das Antiphonar von Ahrweiler*, Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte 94 (Cologne, 1971); *Paléographie musicale* 9 (Solesmes, 1905–9), p. 2 (= Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare 601), and 12 (Solesmes, 1922–24), pp. 126–54 (= Worcester, Cathedral Library, F.160). The *Antiphonale monasticum* (Tournai, 1934), pp. 1210–19, and the *Liber usualis* (many editions) reproduce the (30) most common *differentiae*. Hereafter *Paléographie musicale* will be cited as PM.

not have existed in practice. The medieval theorists who grappled with the challenge of defining how antiphons should be connected to psalm tones encountered difficulties in establishing universal principles. Their work went on for many centuries before standardization was achieved.

One of the products of this theoretical activity was a species of handbook known as a tonary.²⁷ The large tonaries divide up the entire corpus of antiphons according to the psalm-tone formulae suitable to each. One of the goals of the classification is to create a smooth musical transition between the psalm tone and its antiphon-refrain. Tonaries summarize in practical form decisions made on the basis of theory. Though some of them include or are attached to brief commentaries, they are usually silent or imprecise about the principles applied to the generation of the catalogue. The compilers of tonaries intended to exercise an influence on practice, as indeed they did if one can judge from the antiphoners, noted breviaries, and noted psalters included in the present study. Though these practical manuscripts postdate by many years the intervention of a normative music theory, they preserve important information about the singing of psalms in the medieval Office. They also permit certain inferences to be drawn about psalmodic customs antecedent to the ones they record.

Before discussing the manuscript transmission of *differentiae* and other matters related to medieval psalmody, however, I would like to review the ways in which the psalms were rendered in the early monastic Office. Since the codification of the monastic Office began centuries before the appearance of the first antiphoners, literary evidence must be the primary source of information.²⁸ The earliest statements about the singing of psalms in the western monastic Office are found in the *Institutes* of John Cassian (ca. 360–ca. 435), an eastern monk who had passed his youth and maturity in the monastic settlements of Egypt and the Near East. When he came to Gaul about 415, he found already established there a monastic Office of psalms familiar to him from the East. In the *Institutes* Cassian does not point to any significant difference between the style of psalm singing practiced in fifth-century Gaul and the customs he had witnessed in Egypt, Palestine, or Mesopotamia.²⁹ This is clear even in an observation which notes a slight variation in the use of the doxology.

That practice which we have observed in this province [Gaul] — that one sings the psalm, at the conclusion of which all rise and sing with a loud voice: Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto — we have never heard anywhere throughout the East, but there, while all keep silence when the psalm is finished, the prayer that follows

²⁷ The classic study is Michel Huglo, *Les tonaires* (Paris, 1971).

²⁸ English translations of many representative texts (with the exception of monastic regulations) may be found in McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*. Psalmody in the monastic rules and the transition from solo to choral singing of the psalms are discussed in my “Monastic Psalmody of the Middle Ages,” *Revue bénédictine* 99 (1989), 41–74. Some of the essential points are summarized in the current discussion.

²⁹ *Institutes*, especially books 2 and 3, CSEL 17:16–45.

The Singing of Psalms

543

is offered up by the singer. They add this hymn in honor of the Trinity only to the end of antiphons.³⁰

In Gaul the doxology was sung by all the monks at the conclusion of every psalm, while the eastern monks restricted its singing to the end of antiphons. The rendition of the psalm itself does not differ: one monk sang the psalm and added the psalm prayer while all listened in silence. Apparently it was not customary in Gaul to attach this psalter collect to the psalm.

The monk Rufinus, a contemporary of Cassian, confirms that this custom of solo chanting of the psalm was practiced among the semianchoritic monks of Lower Egypt. In a passage he added to his translation of the Greek *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* he claimed that "it is the custom there for all to sit while the psalm is recited by one; the others either listen or respond."³¹ About a hundred years later, the monk and bishop Aurelian of Arles (d. 551) prescribed that the psalms at nocturns were to be divided up among four to six "soloists," each of whom was charged with the singing of two ordinary psalms followed by one with an alleluia refrain.³² In central Italy the Rule of the Master mandated that "a brother who was rebuked [for tardiness] in the oratory . . . may on no account sing a psalm or a responsory or a lesson until he has made satisfaction."³³ The logical assumption in all of these cases (and elsewhere in the Rule of the Master) is that the singing of a lesson, an ordinary psalm, or a responsory was an individual activity, and that a delinquent monk had to forgo his privilege of standing before the community to sing the psalm alone.

Many other monastic rules from the fifth and sixth centuries attest to the persistence of solo psalmody in the monastic Office.³⁴ Nothing in the widely observed Rule of St. Benedict (ca. 530) specifically contradicts this traditional monastic practice. Even the plural form found in a famous phrase from the rule, "let us stand to sing the psalms in such a way that our minds are in

³⁰ "Illud etiam quod in hac provincia vidimus, ut uno cantante in clausula psalmi omnes adstantes concinant cum clamore, gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto, nusquam per omnem Orientem audivimus, sed cum omnium silentio ab eo, qui cantat, finito psalmo orationem succedere, hac vero glorificatione trinitatis tantummodo solere antiphona terminari": *Institutes* 2.8, CSEL 17:24, translation by Gibson, *The Institutes*, p. 208. Cassian's use of *antiphona* as a neuter plural is exceptional; see Bernard Botte, "Antiphona," *Sacris erudiri* 4 (1952), 239–44.

³¹ "Moris est autem inibi sedentibus cunctis ab uno dici psalmum ceteris vel audientibus vel respondentibus": *Historia monachorum* 29, PL 21:454. The seated posture of the monks may imply responsorial psalmody in this instance.

³² "Quatuor fratres binos psalmos et alleluaticum tertium dicant": "Regula S. Aureliani Arelat.," ed. I. Lukas Holste and M. Brockie, *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum* (Augsburg, 1759), 1:152. There is a similar instruction for the office of *duodecima* on Easter evening (*Codex regularum*, loc. cit.).

³³ "Nam frater qui correptus in oratorio fuerit, . . . tamen psalmum et responsorium vel versum non imponat": *Regula Magistri* 73.17, SC 106:310, trans. Eberle, p. 238.

³⁴ Some of the evidence for solo psalm singing is less direct and makes sense only in the context defined above. Caesarius of Arles (470–542), Aurelian's predecessor as bishop, instructed women religious that they should not engage in any work or speak during the psalmody ("dum psallitur, fabulari omnino vel operari non liceat"): *Regula virginum* 10, ed. Germain Morin, *S. Caesarii Arelatensis opera varia*, 2 vols. (Maredsous, 1942), 2:104. This injunction could be interpreted to mean that their lips were not otherwise occupied.

harmony with our voices" ("sic stemus ad psallendum ut mens nostra concordet voci nostrae"), agrees with comparable expressions of a general exhortatory nature in other rules. In fact, it is a paraphrase of an injunction from the Rule of the Master: "we must cry out to God not only with our voices, but with our heart as well" ("non solum vocibus, sed et corde ad Deum clamare").³⁵ This solo psalmody, common to such widely separated areas, was normative in early-medieval monasticism in the West, just as it was in the East.

The order in which each monk sang "his" psalm was governed, not by talent or special office, but by seniority within the community. Thus, the solo psalmody of the ancient monastic Office did not require a specially trained cadre of cantors. Every monk knew all the psalms by heart and, unless mitigating circumstances dictated otherwise, every monk was expected to take his turn as soloist. Respect for seniority in the singing of the psalms, as in all aspects of monastic life, can be traced back uninterruptedly to early monasticism. It was emphasized in the material which reflects the customs of the first true cenobitic communities, those founded by Pachomius in the early fourth century. A typical formulation of this rule of seniority may be found in the fifth-century Rule of the Four Fathers: "Let no one among those assisting at prayer presume to utter the praise of a psalm without the command of him who presides. That ordering is to be maintained, so that no one may presume to precede another of higher rank in the monastery for standing or for the order of the singing of the psalms."³⁶

Seniority is likewise honored in the Rule of St. Benedict, which reads: "Therefore, when the monks come for the kiss of peace or for Communion, or when they sing the psalmody or take their place in choir, they do so in the order decided by the abbot or already existing among them."³⁷ It might be objected that since Benedict does not distinguish here between responsorial and antiphonal psalmody, he could be referring to the verses of responsories, which were always rendered by a soloist. I believe that this quotation must be taken in the context of monastic traditions established by the abbots who wrote before Benedict. They supposed that a single monk would sing the text of the main corpus of antiphonal psalmody as his brethren listened in silence or interrupted him occasionally with a refrain. A further

³⁵ *Regula Benedicti* 19.7, *RB 1980*, pp. 216–17. Cf. the *Regula Magistri* 47: "Non solum vocibus, sed et corde ad Deum clamare": SC 106:216, trans. Eberle, p. 207.

³⁶ "Astantibus ergo ad orationem, nullus praesumat sine praecepto eius qui praeest psalmi laudem emittere. Ordo iste teneatur ut nullus priorem in monasterio ad standam vel psallendi ordinem praesumat praecedere" (cap. 6). Edition and commentary in Jean Neufville, "Règle des IV pères et seconde règle des pères," *Revue bénédictine* 77 (1967), p. 77; Neufville's text is reproduced with an English translation in Carmela Viricillio Franklin, et al., *Early Monastic Rules: The Rules of the Fathers in the Regula Orientalis* (Collegeville, 1982), pp. 20–21. Both the vicinity of Rome and the orbit of the monastery of Lérins in southern Gaul have been proposed as points of origin.

³⁷ "Ergo secundum ordines quos constituerit [abbas] vel quos habuerint ipsi fratres sic accedant ad pacem, ad communionem, ad psalmum imponendum, in choro standum" (63.4): *RB 1980*, pp. 278–79.

The Singing of Psalms

545

argument can be adduced to support this assertion. Unlike the Master, who counted the responsorial psalms as part of the daily psalmody, Benedict subordinated the *responsorium* to the reading which preceded it. He did not reckon the responsories following the readings as part of the weekly obligation to recite all 150 psalms. The oldest psalm responsories, sung during the period between Epiphany and Septuagesima, are not independent, for they rely on the antiphonal psalmody of the preceding nocturn for their texts.³⁸ Thus it is unlikely that Benedict would have spoken of “singing the psalmody” in reference to the solo verses of the psalm responsories rather than to the (solo) antiphonal psalmody.

Choral psalmody was not unknown in early monasticism outside the context of the Office, but it was restricted to a few well-defined circumstances. As the monks moved about as a group, from the refectory to the church, for example, they chanted Psalm 50.³⁹ Choral psalmody was customary at the death and burial of a member of the monastic community, but this practice was also observed by devout Christians in secular society. The singing of psalms — obviously no more than a selected few — by large congregations of lay men and women is frequently mentioned with approval by the Fathers.⁴⁰ Before the last half of the eighth century the monastic literature records a single exception to the practice of solo psalmody *in choro* (i.e., in the Office). It is found in the Rule of Sts. Paul and Stephen, a central Italian rule which has been dated in the mid-sixth century.

Let the senior members of each choir of singers begin the psalm verses; . . . after this beginning let all presently join in together — if this is possible — on the first or second syllable and as if from a single mouth, that there may be no disorder among the singers, something which often happens, particularly as the result of a confused beginning and a certain self-willed dissension.⁴¹

This isolated evidence, if indeed it does refer to choral rendition of psalm verses in the Office, would be the only monastic document before the late

³⁸ See Heiming, “Zum monastischen Offizium,” pp. 134–35; Petrus Nowak, “Die Strukturelemente des Stundengebetes der Regula Benedicti,” *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 26 (1984), 274–86; Raymond I.e Roux, “Les répons ‘de psalmis’ pour les matines de l’Épiphanie à Septuagésime selon le cursus romain et monastique,” *Études grégoriennes* 6 (1963), 39–148.

³⁹ According to decrees prepared in 816 for a council on monastic life held at Aachen, this psalm was to be sung “choris alternantibus”: “Actuum praeliminarium Synodi I. Aquisgranensis commentationes sive Statuta Murbacensia” 3, ed. Kassius Hallinger, *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, 1 (Siegburg, 1963), p. 443.

⁴⁰ McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, passim.

⁴¹ “Initium versuum psallentium in choro priores qui in eis stant incipient; . . . quibus incipientibus mox omnes, si potest fieri, in prima aut secunda syllaba pariter unanimiter et uno ore subjungant: ut non sit dissonantia cantantium, quae maxime ab inordinato initio, et quodammodo contentiosa varietate solet accidere” (cap. 5), in J. Evangelista Vilanova, *Regula Pauli et Stephani: Editio critica i comentari*, Scripta et Documenta 11 (Montserrat, 1959), p. 110. Adalbert de Vogüé dates this rule in the second half of the sixth century: *Les règles monastiques anciennes (400–700)*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 46 (Turnhout, 1985), pp. 13 and 58.

eighth century which points to choral psalmody in that context.⁴² The manuscript tradition of the Rule of Sts. Paul and Stephen does not begin until the ninth century, however, and one is justified in wondering whether the guidelines for choral singing of the psalm verses were part of this rule three centuries before.

By the ninth century choral psalmody seems to have become more common, and instructions similar to those found in the Rule of Sts. Paul and Stephen occur in various pieces of Carolingian monastic legislation. The document known as *Memoriale qualiter* (II) directs that “when you are singing psalms in choir, do so with a harmonious and concordant voice [consona et concordi voce]; let those who are best able to do so begin the verse, so that the rest can join in on the first or second syllable.”⁴³ From this relatively late date on, the evidence for choral psalmody as the norm for the celebration of the Office becomes stronger, though deeply entrenched local custom — in this as in other matters — would not have been readily surrendered.

The causes which in the last half of the eighth century stimulated the transition from solo to choral psalmody in the monastic Office cannot be accurately determined. Since memorization of the psalter had always been a monastic obligation, the conditions for choral psalmody had been present for centuries. Its actual introduction, however, represented a fundamental change in monastic spirituality: the monk no longer meditated on the sacred text, but prayed it himself. He exchanged quiet “rumination” on the text for a more active involvement in the *opus Dei*. This development had musical implications which could not be ignored. Before the advent of choral psalmody considerable latitude could be allowed to the individual monk in the singing of his psalm. As long as he presented the other members of the community with a clear musical signal when the antiphon was to be sung, he could have freely varied the melodic formula to which the psalm was set.⁴⁴ There must have been agreed boundaries, but one suspects that in practice highly diversified formulae were found from one monastery or diocese to another.

The simultaneous singing of the psalm verses by a large group of untrained singers demanded the development of some general principles that could be followed by the entire choir. Instead of the liberty allowed a solo psalmist in the choice of formula and text adaptation, there was now urgent need for general agreement on the ways all 150 psalms could be sung chorally and linked with a changing repertoire of antiphons. The entire choir would have

⁴² Corbinian Gindele interprets “versus,” somewhat implausibly, as a refrain: “Doppelchor und Psalmvortrag im Frühmittelalter,” *Die Musikforschung* 6 (1953), 298.

⁴³ “Quando in choro ad psallendum statis, consona et concordi voce psallite, et illi incipiant versus qui prae ceteris utilius possunt, ut ad primam syllabam vel secundam ceteri convenire possint”: *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, 1:253.

⁴⁴ The *Commemoratio brevis* presumes that when the antiphon is inserted, it will be sung at the same tempo as the psalm itself; ed. Bailey, p. 106. The *Commemoratio* does not imply that the antiphon was repeated after every verse, however.

The Singing of Psalms

547

to select the same cadence formulae from the many possibilities available. Standardization and discipline became high priorities.

Since the choice of *differentia* rested on musical considerations, it did not take into account the variable accent patterns of the end of each verse and half-verse of the psalm. The solution found in the antiphonal psalmody of the Office places the accents of the text invariably on the same pitches of the *differentia*. This "accental" method requires the repetition of certain pitches, an adjustment more difficult for a choir than the alternative method, simple assignment of the last six syllables of the verse to the six pitches of the *differentia*. Many scholars believe that originally there was no such adjustment and that the fixed (or cursive) cadence prevailed.⁴⁵ It is impossible to establish the order of priority from the manuscripts under discussion here. The small number of comparisons they permit indicates that the *differentiae* were adapted to the accent patterns of the text. Though the few written-out examples I have discovered (Exx. 11–13 below) are set to nonpsalmic texts, there is no reason to believe that psalm texts were treated differently.

The change from solo to choral recitation of the psalms did not take place quickly or without incident. Even a century after the transition began, it proved to be (at least in part) the source of problems at Trier. In a letter (ca. 900) to Bishop Rathbod of that city, Regino of Prüm observed that in certain churches of the diocese of Trier the "chorus of psalm singers resounds with discordant voices" ("chorus psallentium psalmodum confusis resonaret vocibus"). Regino attributed the difficulty to a lack of agreement on the tones to be used in singing the antiphonal psalmody. On the basis of the Trier antiphoner he drew up a tonary which grouped the antiphons according to the "divisions of the tones, that is, the *differentiae*" ("divisiones etiam tonorum, id est differentias") proper to each. In a letter prefaced to the tonary he summarized his editorial principles: respect for tradition, organization of the psalm formulae according to *harmonica disciplina*, and a reduction in the number of *differentiae* by the omission of those he deemed "superfluous." Lest he be reproached by less experienced musicians ("superstitiosus musicis"), he placed the superfluous *differentiae* in the margins of the pages.⁴⁶ This must

⁴⁵ See Terence Bailey, "Accental and Cursive Cadences in Gregorian Psalmody," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976), 464–71; on the basis of the *Commemoratio brevis* Bailey points to a mixed practice for the mediant cadences (p. 469). See also Don Randel, "Antiphonal Psalmody in the Mozarabic Rite," *International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley, 1977*, ed. Daniel Hertz and Bonnie Wade (Kassel, 1981), pp. 414–22. Byzantine psalm formulae did not adapt to changing accent patterns according to Oliver Strunk, "The Antiphons of the Octoechos," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13 (1960), 50–67, reprinted in Strunk's *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York, 1977), pp. 165–90, especially p. 174.

⁴⁶ "Cum frequenter in ecclesiae vestrae dioecesis chorus psallentium psalmodum melodiis confusis resonare vocibus, propter dissonantiam toni, et pro huiusmodi re vestram venerationem saepe commotam vidissem; arripui antiphonarium, et eum a principio usque in finem per ordinem diligenter revolvens, antiphonas, quas in illo adnotatas reperi, propriis, ut reor, distribui tonis; divisiones etiam tonorum, id est differentias, quae in extrema syllaba in versu solent fieri, ut decens et conveniens fiat concinentia, sicut a maioribus nostris traditae sunt, et sicut ipsa harmonicae disciplinae experientia monstravit, distinctis ordinibus inserere curavi. Adiciunt autem quidam et alias divisiones, quas superfluas arbitramur. Sed ne a superstitiosis musicis

have led to their demise, for the extant sources of his tonary do not record these extra *differentiae*. Based on the evidence of the admittedly defective edition of Regino's tonary published by Coussemaker, it appears that Regino was extremely selective in choosing *differentiae* for inclusion. He fits all the antiphons of the repertoire to about half the *differentiae* (twenty-eight vs. fifty-five) found in the slightly earlier Carolingian tonary of Metz.⁴⁷

Regino's methodology offers a valuable insight into the principles that other, anonymous compilers of tonaries may have followed. Especially interesting is his critical stance toward the tradition and his readiness to discard certain formulae. A century later, the author of the *Commemoratio brevis* was less inclined to reductionism: he tried to include many traditional nuances, but he was not able to construct an entirely coherent synthesis of material "de diversis collecta." Indeed, the diversity of practice — though in this case not necessarily of *differentiae* — presented challenges which seem to have overwhelmed the author, for his manual is both incomplete and repetitive. I believe that many of his problems can be traced back to the difficulties he encountered in trying to adapt idiosyncratic solo psalmodic formulae for choral participation.⁴⁸

Although the eleventh-century tonaries are still comparatively rich in *differentiae* (see Appendix B), later medieval theorists took a position which emphasized the need for reduction and revisions which (they thought) would impose better order on the system. In the early twelfth century the tonary in Florence, Bibl. Nazionale, Conv. sopp. F.III.565, justified reductions in the number of *differentiae* on the basis of "musicae artis." Written comments in the tonary acknowledge that tone IV has nine *differentiae*, but maintain that "regulariter et naturaliter" it ought to have only four.⁴⁹ Similar reductions are prescribed for other tones. John of Afflighem classified all *differentiae* into three categories: (1) those that were fitting and necessary, (2) those that were fitting but unnecessary, added simply for decoration, and (3) those neither fitting nor necessary. He had little patience with the second category and also implied that the proliferation of *differentiae* was undesirable because it had been engendered by "corrupt" antiphons.⁵⁰ Similar editorial interven-

reprehendatur, eas subtus aut supra in margine adnotare studuimus, periti cantoris iudicio relinquentes, utrum eas necessarias, an supervacuas opinari velit." *Epistola de harmonica institutione*, ed. Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 3 vols. (St. Blaise, 1784; repr. Hildesheim, 1963), 1:230–31.

⁴⁷ Huglo, *Les tonaires*, pp. 71–89. Regino's tonary is reproduced in Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica mediæ aevi nova series*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1864–76; repr. Hildesheim, 1963), 2:3–73. The Carolingian tonary has been edited by Walter Lipphardt (see n. 17 above).

⁴⁸ Bruno Stäblein maintains that it would have been impossible for a choir — as opposed to a soloist — to negotiate the setting of verses from Psalm 71 illustrated in the *Commemoratio brevis*: "Gallikanische Liturgie," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4:1321 and ex. 20. This example corresponds to exx. 53–55 in the Bailey edition of the treatise.

⁴⁹ Huglo, *Les tonaires*, p. 189.

⁵⁰ *De musica cum tonario* 22, cd. Joseph Smits van Waebergh, *Corpus scriptorum de musica* 1 (Rome, 1950), pp. 153–56; the treatise has been translated by Warren Babb, *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, Music Theory Translation Series 3 (New Haven, 1978), pp. 159–61. In this

The Singing of Psalms

549

tion caused Cistercian and Dominican liturgical books to deviate from traditional practices. The *Tonale S. Bernardi* proposed that only three *differentiae* were required to link the reciting tone to antiphons with either a low, mid-range, or high initial pitch.⁵¹

A few theorists of the later Middle Ages approached the *differentia* system with radical proposals that would have virtually eradicated it. The twelfth-century Cistercian monk Guy d'Eu thought that a single *differentia* would suffice for each mode.⁵² Elias Salomon (fl. 1274), a secular priest, also shared the view that one *saeculorum amen* per mode was quite sufficient “de artis natura.”⁵³ In the fourteenth century Heinrich Eger von Kalkar (1328–1408) wanted to jettison all of the troublesome “caudas diversas” as modern superfluities.⁵⁴ Comparable expressions can be found in other theorists. This process of radical reduction of *differentiae* can be observed strikingly in the psalmody of St. Peter's basilica between the twelfth and the fourteenth century. The Old Roman antiphoner of the basilica (Arch. di S. Pietro B 79) contains a very large number of *differentiae* (fifty-eight), while the fourteenth-century Gregorian antiphoner (Arch. di S. Pietro B 87) contains an unusually small repertoire of them (twenty-three and the *tonus peregrinus*). This cannot be explained entirely by the change in chant repertoire which took place at the basilica in the intervening years.⁵⁵ The reduction in the number of *differentiae* in the manuscript tradition was promoted by theorists and by the compilers of tonaries. The theorists never suggested expanding the corpus, just contracting it. This program — perhaps along with the need to simplify the musical tasks of the monastic or collegiate choir — inevitably influenced the contents of the antiphoners.

While the old soloistic tradition, exclusively oral, would have fostered maximum diversity, some of this diversity must be attributed to regional variation. In the thirteenth century Petrus de Cruce mentioned that various cities still clung to local customs of psalm singing.⁵⁶ This observation seems to be

passage John also expresses his preference for *differentiae* which end with a single note rather than with a neume.

⁵¹ In Gerbert, *Scriptores*, 2:269. Cf. the *Regulae de arte musica* of Guy d'Eu (Coussemaker, *Scriptorium*, 1:181), on which the *Tonale* is based. One of the manuscripts which contain the *Regulae* (Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève 2284; 13 c.) claims that many of the *differentiae* were created “inconveniently” and work just as well in one mode as in another; Claire Maître, “Recherches sur les Regule de Arte Musica de Gui d'Eu,” *Les sources en musicologie*, Actes des journées d'études de la Société française de musicologie à l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes d'Orléans, 9–11 septembre 1979 (Paris, 1981), pp. 79–86.

⁵² “Arbitror autem, immo plane affirmito unicuique modo tantum, sed propriam differentiam posse sufficere”: *Regulae*, Coussemaker, *Scriptorium*, 2:182. He nevertheless transmits the traditional teaching. See Norman Smith, “Guy de Cherlieu,” *TNG*, 7:858–59.

⁵³ *Scientia artis musicae* 11, in Gerbert, *Scriptores*, 3:30.

⁵⁴ *Cantuagium*, ed. Heinrich Hüschen (Cologne, 1962), p. 61, as quoted by Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Psalmdifferenzen*, p. 151.

⁵⁵ The fact that B 87 begins as a noted psalter may have some relevance: invariably this category of manuscript has fewer *differentiae*. See the list of psalters in Appendix A.

⁵⁶ “De differentiis seu principiis eorum, quot differentias seu principia unusquisque eorum habeat, nulla musicae regula numerum certum declaravit. Usus enim civitatum, qui diversi sunt,

confirmed by the information provided by the Italian antiphoners covered in the present study.

In order to test the hypothesis that large numbers of *differentiae* represent the survival of a tradition of solo psalmody, I undertook an investigation of both the quantity and the diversity of *differentiae* present in a representative sampling of medieval Italian antiphoners, both Old Roman and Gregorian.⁵⁷ Recourse to the Gregorian practical sources was necessary to permit a genuine comparison between Gregorian and Old Roman systems of antiphonal psalmody. Gregorian theoretical constructs — tonaries and treatises — have no Old Roman parallels. Only after the psalm tones had been extracted directly from the Gregorian antiphoners would it be possible to draw reliable conclusions about the relationship between the two traditions with respect to the antiphonal psalmody of the Office. Furthermore, the direct examination of the Gregorian practical tradition promised new insights about the Gregorian system itself. A preliminary survey of antiphoners from various parts of Europe led me to restrict the Gregorian field to Italian antiphoners whose pitches could be accurately transcribed. This offered both a manageable corpus of material and an indigenous repertoire which could be compared with the contents of the Old Roman antiphoners.⁵⁸ The examination of these manuscripts also provided an opportunity for collecting the rare cases of psalm tones set to a complete text, the better to understand how psalm texts and those of other provenance were fitted to the *differentiae*.

Though complete antiphoners were the most desirable sources, it was sometimes necessary to have recourse to incomplete ones or to a single surviving volume of an original winter-summer pair. This was not always an obstacle, however, since the entire repertory of *differentiae* could conceivably be preserved even under these circumstances. Since not all *differentiae* were sung throughout the liturgical year, however, those would be lost which were concentrated around a particular feast or season contained in the missing section(s).⁵⁹ In addition to the antiphoners I examined several noted psalters and noted breviaries. Many of these sources have only sporadic notation of *differentiae*: the staves drawn to receive them remain empty. This is true of

dant eis differentias diversimodo, tum quia unus plus, alter vero minus": *Tractatus de tonis*, ed. Denis Harbinson, *Corpus scriptorum de musica* 29 (Rome, 1976), p. vii.

⁵⁷ The only surviving Old Roman antiphoners are Bibl. Vat., Arch. di San Pietro B 79 (St. Peter's, 12 c.), and London, Brit. Lib., Add. 29988 (possibly from the Lateran, 12 c.). The first of these is scheduled for publication in *Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, edited by Eugene Leahy.

⁵⁸ Helmut Hucke presented the psalm tones of the Old Roman antiphoners in "Karolingische Renaissance und gregorianischer Gesang," *Die Musikforschung* 28 (1975), 4–18. There are also observations on Old Roman psalmody (not always easy to follow, as Hucke points out) in Ewald Jammers, *Musik in Byzanz, im päpstlichen Rom und im Frankenreich* (Heidelberg, 1962), pp. 126–31.

⁵⁹ For example, in the antiphoner Benevento, Bibl. cap. V.22, the equivalent of Gregorian tone I.G does not occur early in the manuscript, but it is used later to the exclusion of all other mode I *differentiae*. If the later portion of that manuscript had failed to survive, this *differentia* would have seemed to be absent.

The Singing of Psalms

551

even large breviaries like Monte Cassino 420 and Rome, Bibl. Casanatense 1574.⁶⁰ Since my principal interest was in quantity, I did not attempt to draw up separate tonaries for the manuscripts in this survey.⁶¹ Nor did I compare the modal assignment of antiphons in the antiphoners with the same antiphons in the tonaries.

Because of the sometimes subtle distinction between one *differentia* and another, I decided to rely on manuscripts whose pitches could be read. This meant that manuscripts earlier than the twelfth century could not be included.⁶² Neumed manuscripts could not provide much control when several *differentiae* in a single mode might be written in virtually the same way. Even with staff notation the pitches are not always obvious, for the familiar *differentiae* are on occasion entered so cursorily that the exact pitches intended can be difficult to divine. (Chigi C.V.137, a breviary from Farfa, and Vat. lat. 14446, a breviary from Caiazzo near Naples, are two examples.) Because of this problem *differentiae* which appear to be anomalous are difficult to judge: do they represent archaic tradition or a slip of the pen? I have invariably considered such dubious entries as representing *differentiae* only if clearly attested elsewhere in the manuscript. This conservative approach avoided the creation of a *differentia* when no difference was intended. Because of these problems I cannot claim that the statistics presented here on the number of *differentiae* in a given manuscript are absolutely definitive. Considering the large amount of documentation examined in the course of this project, sheer inadvertence could have easily allowed some formulae to slip by unobserved.

The antiphoners, noted breviaries, and noted psalters chosen for this study (about 50; listed in Appendix A) range in date from the twelfth to the fourteenth century and cover most of the Italian peninsula, from Naples and the Beneventan region in the south to Lombardy, Piedmont, and Friuli in the north. The three-hundred-year time frame assured that a sufficiently large number of complete antiphoners would be included; it also allowed for the possibility that older practices might be conserved in relatively late manuscripts.⁶³ Both secular and monastic manuscripts are represented; there seems to be no distinction between them with respect to the psalm tones. The Beneventan tradition of psalmody appears to be in some respects a special enclave. Old Roman psalmody most definitely is, while antiphoners from the central and northern areas tend to present the usual Gregorian psalm tones. One regional variant of Gregorian chant exhibits certain features which have

⁶⁰ Even breviaries without music could have been employed in the sung Office. A rubric in Rome, Bibl. Naz. Centr., Farfa 22, directs the cantor not to begin the psalm with its first words, since these had already been sung as the antiphon (fol. 53v).

⁶¹ The lists of *differentiae* accompanying the published facsimiles of Lucca, Bibl. cap. 601 (PM 9), and Worcester, Cathedral Library F.160 (PM 12), were compiled by the editors of these volumes.

⁶² Only one earlier manuscript, an antiphoner in the Biblioteca comunale at Todi (MS 170, possibly from the end of the eleventh century), was complete enough to be included.

⁶³ Jean Claire has discovered such archaic practices in late manuscripts from Aachen (Bibl. cap. 35) and Metz (MS 461): "Les répertoires liturgiques latins avant l'octoéchos I: L'office férial romano-franc," *Études grégoriennes* 15 (1975), 15–16 and passim.

ramifications for the *differentiae*. In this so-called “Germanic dialect” a pitch with a minor second above it will slide up to the higher tone. For example, the major second *a-b* becomes *a-c*, and *d-e* becomes *d-f*. This shift occurs in manuscripts from German-speaking lands, from eastern Europe, and in manuscripts from Friuli and the Veneto.

It could be asserted — against the view that I am proposing — that a large repertoire of *differentiae* represents merely scribal sloppiness or later diffuseness rather than the heritage of antiquity.⁶⁴ I cannot offer any definitive proofs because of the relatively late date of the sources, but I can point to an apparent trend toward reduction in the number of psalm-tone formulae. The large number of *differentiae* represented, albeit sporadically, in twelfth-century antiphoners is no longer found in antiphoners of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As the *differentiae* become fewer, they tend to be confined to those which make up the core of the common tradition, and local variants tend to disappear. This development is consistent with the information culled from medieval theorists and tonaries. My experience with the manuscripts, moreover, leads me to conclude that it is usually possible to separate intent from carelessness.

Some of the manuscripts listed in Appendix A contain liturgical items of varying types: for example, the noted psalter in Archivio di S. Pietro E 14 also contains canticles, hymns, the Office of the Virgin, and the Office of the Dead.⁶⁵ Several of the antiphoners listed are well known for the tonaries associated with them: Piacenza 65, Vercelli 70, Monza 16/82, and Lucca 603. The antiphoners naturally represent the largest group of sources consulted for the present study, and they yielded the most information on the practice of psalmody. A few of the noted breviaries (Todi 170, Vallicelliana C.13, Benevento V.22) had the psalmody notated consistently, but most of the others contain only sporadic entries of *differentiae*, even when the staves had been drawn to receive them. Such lack of thoroughness also reduced the value of the noted psalters considerably.

The oldest complete Italian source in staff notation for the antiphonal psalmody of the Office seems to be Todi 170, an eleventh-century noted breviary with 40 *differentiae* — a moderately high figure which corresponds to that found in the antiphoners of this period. A manuscript in the chapter library at Ivrea (62, olim 64) has 45. Two twelfth-century antiphoners from Lucca (Bibl. cap. 601 and the incomplete 603) have approximately the same number (ca. 40). The largest Gregorian source I have been able to discover

⁶⁴ See Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar*, pp. 222–45; and *Graduel romain: Edition critique 4/1* (Solesmes, 1960), p. 291 (“c’est la partie la plus ancienne de la tradition qui est la plus différenciée, tandis que la partie la plus récente tend vers l’unification”). One can agree with Paul Cutter’s observation that “it was just those melodies that were sung almost every day with which the greatest liberties were taken”: “The Old Roman Chant Tradition: Oral or Written?” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967), 173.

⁶⁵ For a list of the contents of this and other Vatican manuscripts see Pierre Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, 1 (Vatican City, 1968); another similarly mixed source is Vat., Chigi C.VI.177 (Salmon no. 149).

The Singing of Psalms

553

comes from the twelfth century: an antiphoner (MS 84) preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Udine in Friuli. This manuscript, from the diocese of Treviso near Venice, contains about 67 *differentiae*. Unfortunately, almost all the medieval manuscripts which remained at Treviso were destroyed during the Second World War. Not even a catalogue of prewar holdings exists, so it is impossible to determine whether or not the Udine manuscript represents an important local tradition.

The Romano-Beneventan tradition, as it existed in the twelfth century, is preserved in four manuscripts from Benevento, three incomplete ones at Monte Cassino, and another incomplete manuscript now at Naples. This tradition seems to have been richly supplied with *differentiae* (45–55), some of which are not found outside this enclave. This proliferation of *differentiae* could be related to the absence of a music theory which directly addressed the Beneventan repertoire as well as to the oft-demonstrated inclination of Beneventan manuscripts to retain special practices against the pressure of Gregorian conformity.⁶⁶ There are, to be sure, smaller collections from the twelfth century: Vallicelliana C.5 and C.13 (31 *differentiae*)⁶⁷ and a group of three related manuscripts from Klosterneuburg, witnesses of the “Germanic” chant dialect. Several of the other manuscripts consulted from this period were incomplete and hence difficult to evaluate.

Evidence from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is mixed. The only manuscript supplied with an unusual number of *differentiae* (Vat. lat. 14676) comes from Pavia; it has 50 formulae. The other contemporary antiphoners are unexceptional or are too fragmentary to provide reliable data. All but two (Vat. lat. 14446 from Caiazzo near Naples and Vat., Borg. lat. 405, from central Italy) come from Tuscany (Lucca, Florence) and further north. A fragmentary source from Udine (Bibl. arch. 72) contains a very small repertoire of *differentiae*. No fourteenth-century manuscript among those collated has an unusual number of them. Two antiphoners which represent the tradition of Aquileia at that late date (Gorizia A and B) include a small repertoire which is in agreement with the common Gregorian tradition.

The presence of large numbers of *differentiae* in certain manuscripts (and in a few tonaries) has not received a satisfactory explanation. In a given mode the *differentiae* usually share six basic structural tones, corresponding to the six syllables of the closing words of the doxology, “saeculorum amen.” Two pairs of tones share the same reciting pitch: *a* in modes I and IV, *c* in modes III and VIII. There is never any confusion among them, and I have discovered no instances of a crossover from one mode to the other within these

⁶⁶ For an excellent overview see Thomas Kelly, “Montecassino and the Old Beneventan Chant,” *Studies in Early Music History* 5 (1986), 53–83. Beneventan psalmody will be discussed in Kelly’s forthcoming book, *The Beneventan Chant*. Most earlier scholarly attention, like Dom Hesbert’s treatment in PM 14, has been devoted to the chants of the Mass.

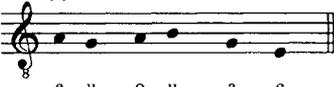
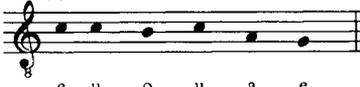
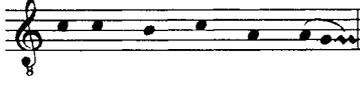
⁶⁷ The winter Office only of both manuscripts is catalogued in Jacob Ledwon, “The Winter Office of Sant’Eutezio di Norcia,” Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1986.

pairs. There is still another uniform characteristic: with the exception of tones V and VII, all the tones remain level or descend at the cadence.⁶⁸

The variety of *differentiae* arises not only because of their different final pitches, but also because of the embellishment — at least from the standpoint of the modern analyst — of the basic six-note structure. The purpose served by this embellishment is not immediately clear. Although all the tones with more than a single *differentia* or two exhibit this characteristic, those belonging to modes IV and VIII illustrate it particularly well (Ex. 1).

EXAMPLE I

Specimens of typical *differentiae*

(a) Mode IV	(b) Mode VIII
 <p style="text-align: center;">e u o u a c</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">c u o u a e</p>
	
	
	
	
	

There is a modern inclination to perceive similar *differentiae* as variants of a prototypical *Urform*. Such an analysis may seem inviting to twentieth-century ears, because the parameters of variation found among the *differentiae* within a mode or even across modes can be so narrow. While I cannot claim that they should *not* be reduced to a small number of *Urformen* (it would be a simple exercise), I can only point out that this kind of reductionism does not represent the perspective of most medieval theorists. They set up separate categories for these *differentiae* for use with specific antiphons. Furthermore,

⁶⁸ Exceptions are tone I.a in Chigi C.VI.177 and Monte Cassino 420, fol. 66.

The Singing of Psalms

555

some of these “variants” turn up consistently all over Italy and elsewhere in Europe.

In most cases the *differentia* performs its function of linking psalm and antiphon well. This is particularly true when the *differentia* makes a felicitous approach to the reinception of the antiphon by foreshadowing or providing a mirror image of its initial notes (Ex. 2).

EXAMPLE 2

Link between *differentia* and antiphonTodi 170,
fol. 19rTodi 170,
fol. 156rMonte Cassino
420, fol. 94rNaples XVI.A.7,
fol. 23rMonte Cassino
420, fol. 111r

Ivrea 62, fol. 113v



Many additional examples could be cited. The need to connect the psalm with its following antiphon cannot account for all the variants in Ex. 1, particularly with respect to the first two pitches of the *differentia*, rather far removed from the beginning of the antiphon as they are. One can even find in every antiphoner cases in which the connection between *differentia* and antiphon must be judged somewhat clumsy (Ex. 3). There are many situations, of course, which display a more neutral character and elicit subjective impressions of suitability based on tessitura and intervallic relationships.⁶⁹ A

⁶⁹ After a thorough investigation of antiphon assignments in Italian tonaries, Paul Merkley concluded that in the sources he examined “there appears to be no consistent relationship between the saeculorum amen formulas and the incipits of the antiphons assigned to them”: “Conflicting Assignments of Antiphons in Italian Tonaries,” Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985, p. 250.

556

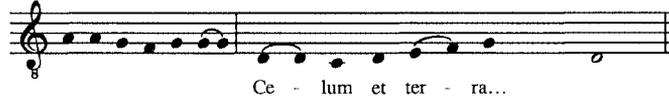
The Singing of Psalms

few formulae have only a minimal cadential inflection from the reciting pitch (Ex. 4; see also Ex. 6). Though this might be determined entirely by musical reasons, one can advance the hypothesis that this stark simplicity might represent an archaic stage of development. The effect resembles that of the tones used for lessons and collects.

EXAMPLE 3

Link between *differentia* and antiphon

Ivrea 62, fol. 4r

Brit. Lib.,
add. 17302, fol. 9rBrit. Lib.,
add. 17302, fol. 10v

EXAMPLE 4

Differentiae with minimal cadential inflection

(a) Ivrea 62



(b) Monza 15/79



(c) Vat. lat. 14676



Over the centuries the proportion of *differentiae* remained remarkably constant across the modes. The psalm tones for modes II, V, and VI have typically only one or two cadential patterns, which are found quite consistently in all regions (Ex. 5). Many manuscripts have but a single *differentia* for each of these tones. The antiphoner from Treviso (Udine 84) is unusual in having a variety of terminations for the psalm tone of mode II.

The lack of variety present in the psalm tones for modes II, V, and VI is as striking as the diversity found among the tones for modes I, IV, and VII, a diversity attested both in the manuscript tradition and in the theoretical

The Singing of Psalms

557

EXAMPLE 5
Differentiae of modes II, V and VI

(a) Beneventan mss. (II)

(b) Casanatense 1574 (V)

(c) Ivrea 62 (VI)

sources. (This is true even apart from the *differentiae* assigned to the *altera positio* of tone IV with its final on *a*.) Could it be possible that a small number of *differentiae* points to a mode which was established as an independent entity later than those modes which have more *differentiae*?

Comparisons between Italian antiphoners and manuscripts from north of the Alps prove that a core repertoire of *differentiae* was practically universal in all modes. Certain of them are to be found with remarkable consistency in virtually every manuscript consulted: the tone classified VIII.G in the modern chant books (see Ex. 9: “Ut confirmet”) is the best example — only the Beneventan tradition remains aloof (Benevento, V.19–20, 21, 22; Monte Cassino 542; Naples XVI.A.7). There are various regional preferences or adaptations as well, but it is difficult to be dogmatic about the exact content of these regional traditions.⁷⁰

The total number of *differentiae* used in the Old Roman tradition (more than 102) far exceeds what can be encountered in the Gregorian tradition. Of all the medieval antiphoners and tonaries consulted, none has a larger number of *differentiae* than the Old Roman antiphoner now in the British Library. While the exact provenance of this manuscript is somewhat uncertain, it is almost certainly from Rome or its environs, perhaps from the Lateran, as Bruno Stäblein believed. It cannot under any circumstances be from St. Peter’s, for the contemporary Old Roman antiphoner of the basilica (Arch. di S. Pietro B 79) had a very different custom of psalmody. These two antiphoners disagree thoroughly on the basic repertoire of psalm tones. In other words, the two Old Roman antiphoners differ far more widely in their psalmody than do any two Italian manuscripts selected at random or, one suspects, than do any pair of Gregorian manuscripts regardless of their

⁷⁰ Zoltán Falvy, “Zur Frage von Differenzen der Psalmodie,” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 25 (1962), 160–73. Several of the *differentiae* Falvy associates with specific northern traditions turn up in Italy as well.

geographical origin.⁷¹ Thirty-nine *differentiae* are found in one or the other manuscript, but not in both. For example, in the equivalent of Gregorian mode VI there are 7 formulae in B 79 (the St. Peter manuscript) and 12 in the British Library antiphoner, yet only 3 of these formulae are common to both manuscripts. This is an amazing discrepancy, unlike any encountered in the Gregorian tradition — a “regional” practice carried to ultimate lengths by churches on opposite sides of the Tiber.

Helmut Hucke has suggested that Old Roman chant borrowed from Gregorian-Frankish chant the system of (eight) church modes and that the corresponding psalm tones were taken over in Rome “spät, unsystematisch, in verschiedenen Redaktionsschüben und unvollständig, ohne das System theoretisch zu bewältigen.” The system was imposed in its complete form on the Mass psalmody, while in the Office it was incorporated only fragmentarily (“stückweise”).⁷² Hucke points to F-mode antiphons with a psalm tone reciting on the final and to the absence of the equivalent of Gregorian mode V (F final with *c* recitation) from the Old Roman antiphoners.⁷³ There is no reason to believe, however, that specific Gregorian psalm-tone formulae were imported to Rome along with the octoechos. The more likely explanation is that the Old Roman tradition preserves an original layer of luxuriant psalmodic variety which was subsequently lost to the Gregorian tradition as a result of the activity of theorists and the influence of tonaries.⁷⁴

This original layer of formulae seems to be common to both traditions, a unique feature which has never been adequately emphasized. The psalm tones are, in fact, the only area in which the two traditions consistently share identical melodies. It does not seem likely that Old Roman chant singers would have felt a need to supplement their already rich repertoire with additional Gregorian formulae.⁷⁵ The absence of a controlling theory specific to Old Roman chant allowed *differentiae* to proliferate: a situation most likely

⁷¹ They could never have been used in the same church without creating enormous confusion. This discordance between psalmodic practices strengthens Stäblein’s hypothesis that the British Library antiphoner could have come from the Lateran (*Monumenta monodica mediæ aevi*, 2:30*). The diversity of the two practices could have been one of the reasons why “strenui cantores” were needed at the Lateran in the time of Prior Bernhard (1145) to respond to a city choir at vigils and matins on the feast of John the Baptist. At this period the Lateran canons came, as Bernhard informs us, “ex diversis terrarum partibus.” They might have encountered difficulty in adapting the psalms to the rich variety of psalm tones in use at the Lateran. St. Peter’s would not have been the best place to recruit these cantors; they must have come from city churches which shared the custom of the Lateran. *Bernhardi Cardinalis . . . Ordo officiorum ecclesiae Lateranensis*, ed. Ludwig Fischer, *Historische Forschungen und Quellen* 2–3 (Munich, 1916), p. 140.

⁷² “Karolingische Renaissance,” p. 11.

⁷³ The two F-mode antiphons cited by Hucke from the Old Roman antiphoner in the British Library, *Ecce iam venit* and *Haurietis aquas*, are associated with a G-mode psalmody, and both antiphons have a G final in the St. Peter’s antiphoner (fol. 21): “Karolingische Renaissance,” p. 7.

⁷⁴ With respect to Italy see Paul Merkley, “The Transmission of Tonaries in Italy,” *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 10 (1985), 166–224.

⁷⁵ When the Old Roman repertoire was supplemented with Gregorian responsories for the feast of the *Apparitio* of St. Michael, the Gregorian responsory tones were used instead of the special Old Roman ones.

The Singing of Psalms

559

parallel to that which existed in the Gregorian tradition during its pretheoretical stage.

An alternative hypothesis could be suggested. Did the choral singing of psalms implant itself in Rome, at least where Old Roman chant was sung, at a much later date than it did elsewhere in Italy and northern Europe? Such a late transformation, allied to the lack of a theoretical tradition in Old Roman chant, would have fostered the soloistic diversity I have postulated. Although Old Roman psalmody before the twelfth century cannot be recovered, its configuration at that point fits well with the hypothesis of a derivation from a highly varied solo psalmody not fully controlled by the pressures toward conformity exercised by the tonaries and their theorist-compilers. Perhaps also connected with the introduction of choral psalmody, if only peripherally, was the introduction to Rome of monumental choir enclosures for the chanting of the Divine Office.⁷⁶ These are first documented at Rome during the pontificate of Paschal II (1099–1118), a former Cluniac monk. Their erection symbolized a higher degree of solemnization of the canonical Office and may have also signified a new and more important role for the “chorus psallentium.”

In my compilation of Old Roman *differentiae* for the antiphonal psalmody of the Office (Appendix C) I have chosen a “modal” arrangement of the formulae. This allows comparison with other published compilations and demonstrates that in Old Roman psalmody there are elements which offered a foundation for the Gregorian system of finals and related reciting tones elaborated by Frankish theorists. Most obvious of these elements is the absolutely consistent choice of reciting tone(s) with a given final. There are but two striking features which set Old Roman psalmody apart: the absence of a *c* reciting tone with an *F* final and the very frequent appearance of an *E* final followed by a psalm formula which recites on the final itself.⁷⁷

This latter procedure, usual with Old Roman antiphons of the Office, is comparatively rare in the Gregorian tradition. Its appearance is restricted to a very few manuscripts. I have found it in only two Gregorian antiphoners from Italy (Ivrea 62 and Cividale 57; see Ex. 6b). Dom Claire has pointed out its presence with an antiphon model he calls “*timbre K*” (*Lauda Jerusalem* represents this type) in manuscripts thought to preserve archaic psalmodic practices, among them Metz 461 and Aachen, Cap. 35.⁷⁸ It occurs also in antiphoners from Cambrai and Ivrea (Exx. 6a and b) as well as in the Old Roman antiphoner of St. Peter’s (Ex. 6c). Antiphons with an *a* final and a reciting tone on the final have a similar intervallic context, though the flat is

⁷⁶ All of the available information on these enclosures is assembled and interpreted by Elaine DeBenedictis, “The ‘Schola Cantorum’ in Rome during the High Middle Ages,” Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1983.

⁷⁷ Another anomaly is of more restricted significance: the “O” antiphons of Advent, all with *D* final, are associated with a psalmody reciting on *E*, but with a *differentia* not encountered elsewhere in conjunction with E-mode antiphons: Vat., Arch. di S. Pietro B 79, fols. 14v–15r; London, Brit. Lib., Add. 29988, fol. 14r–v. For a different arrangement of the Old Roman psalm tones see Huccke, “Karolingische Renaissance,” pp. 15–17.

⁷⁸ “L’office férial,” pp. 99–105.

560

The Singing of Psalms

not always expressed (Ex. 6d).⁷⁹ The Beneventan tradition preserves a number of these cases attached to the antiphons *Speret Israel*, *In matutinis*, *Quia mirabilia*, *Iubilare Deo*.⁸⁰

EXAMPLE 6

Psalm tones with reciting note on final of antiphon

(a)
Cambrai C.38,
fol. 52v

Lau - da ihe - ru - sa - lem do - mi num. e u o u a e

(b)
Ivrea 62, fol. 55v

Lau - da ie - sum chris - tum do - mi num.

(c)
Arch. di San Pietro,
B79, fol. 55r

Lau - da ihe - ru - sa - lem do - mi num. (third higher in MS)

(d)
Turin, F.I.4, fol. 120r

Lau - da ie - ru - sa - lem do - mi num.

(e)
*Antiphonale
Monasticum*, p. 162r

Lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem do - mi num.

The Old Roman chant antiphoners give exclusive preference to this *E*-

⁷⁹ Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 57, fol. 60v.

⁸⁰ Benevento, Bibl. cap. V.19, fols. 180v, 183r, and 187v. Thomas Kelly has informed me that he has discovered on flyleaves in a private collection (photographs at Solesmes) certain Beneventan antiphons with a *D* final associated with a reciting tone on *E*. Aurelian of Réôme recognized a psalmody on the final (*D*, in this case) for the antiphons *Nos qui vivimus*, *Martyres Domini*, and *Angeli Domini* (*Musica disciplina* 16.29, ed. Gushee, pp. 110–11). Michel Huglo has noted a similar practice maintained in some French churches “for many centuries” with these antiphons, familiar because of their usual association with the *tonus peregrinus*; see “The Tonus Peregrinus — A Question Well Put?” *Orbis Musicae: Studies in Musicology* (Tel Aviv, 1980), pp. 5–6. In the eighteenth century the Abbé Lebeuf observed in contemporary French antiphoners many similar cases of a reciting tone on the final of the antiphon or on the tone above the final. He considered these anomalies survivors of Gallican chant: *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1714), pp. 32–36. The *Commemoratio brevis*, an acknowledged repository of archaic psalmodic customs, treats such *D* psalmody as a special, but by no means exceptional, category (ex. 27, pp. 54–55, in the Bailey edition). Charles Atkinson surmises that the *parapter* tones associated in theoretical sources with the three troublesome antiphons mentioned above might be “a remnant of an earlier, more flexible, and perhaps even non-Roman, practice”: “The *Parapteres*: *Nothi* or *Not?*” *The Musical Quarterly* 68 (1982), 51.

The Singing of Psalms

psalmody and have no trace of the typical Gregorian mode-III psalmody reciting on *c*, which is, however, the norm in the Old Roman psalmody of the Mass. Dom Claire has postulated a theory of evolution from a “modalité archaïque” (psalm recitation on the final), which would require in this case that the *E* “*corde-mère*” remain the reciting tone while the final descended to *A* (with obligatory *B*-flat). Transposed up a fifth, this would result in a reciting note on *b*. A hypothetical subsequent development caused the supposedly “unstable” *b*-natural to drift towards *c*, the customary reciting note in Gregorian mode-III psalmody.⁸¹ This line of reasoning regards preference for the *b* reciting tone as evidence of an earlier stage of development. A corollary of the same hypothesis presumes to explain why the reciting tone in Gregorian tone VIII is *c* and not *b*, as analogies with modes II and VI might suggest.

One finds a mixture of *b* and *c* reciting tones in Beneventan chant (Ex. 7).

EXAMPLE 7

Beneventan psalm tones with reciting note on *b* or *c*

The musical notation is organized into three groups, each with a label on the left:

- G:** Two staves. The first staff contains two phrases labeled 'ABCDEFGHI' and 'BC'. The second staff contains two phrases labeled 'BCD' and 'C'.
- a:** Two staves. The first staff contains two phrases labeled 'BCG' and 'BC'. The second staff contains two phrases labeled 'A' and 'ABCD'. A note above the first staff in this group says "(tone lower in MS)".
- b:** Two staves. The first staff contains one phrase labeled 'BG'. The second staff contains one phrase labeled 'AC'.

Legend:

- A = Benevento V.19-20
- B = Benevento V.21
- C = Benevento V.22
- D = Monte Cassino 420
- E = Monte Cassino 542
- F = Monte Cassino, Compactio V
- G = Monte Cassino 318
- H = Naples, Bibl. Nat. Cent., XVI.A.7
- I = Vat. lat. 14446

⁸¹ Jean Claire, “L’évolution modale dans les répertoires liturgiques occidentales,” *Revue grégorienne* 40 (1962), 196–211, 229–45.

Benevento V.21 (siglum B in Ex. 7) has the strongest tradition, with a variety of formulae reciting on *b* and ending on the three possible cadential tones (*G, a, b* — indicated in the left margin of Ex. 7). Four Beneventan manuscripts (E, F, H, I) have only a single tone reciting on *b*, and it is the one most widely found, as can be seen in Ex. 7. None of these manuscripts is complete, however, so generalizations about their contents may be dangerous. Comparison of the contours of these psalm tones in the Beneventan manuscripts which have both *b* and *c* as reciting tones lends some support to the hypothesis of a semitone displacement of the hypothetical original *b* reciting tone.⁸² Although exact pitches can be difficult to interpret in some Beneventan manuscripts because of the frequent absence of clefs, both Benevento V.21 and 22 are quite clear in their notation and serve as a control for the other Beneventan-Cassinese sources. They both notate unambiguously the same *differentia* ending on *G* in two different versions, one reciting on *b* and the other on *c*. Such a doublet for the parallel *differentia* ending on *a* does not exist, probably because the shift up to *c* would make the melodic contour of the resulting *differentia* too static. Two of the Beneventan sources, as well as the second tonary in Monte Cassino 318, have a psalm tone reciting on *b* which resembles the *tonus irregularis* of the modern *Antiphonale monasticum* (see Ex. 6e above).⁸³

A psalm-tone recitation on *E* may be preserved in one of the most celebrated of medieval treatises: the *Musica enchiriadis*. It is the musical example which illustrates composite organum at the fifth (“Sit gloria Domini”).⁸⁴ Some of the *Enchiriadis* manuscripts notate this piece incompletely or omit it altogether. Nancy Phillips has demonstrated convincingly that it is not an antiphon, but a complete psalm tone, and she assumes for it a pitch level which produces a *differentia* similar to the ones under discussion.⁸⁵ The tone is transcribed without a clef in Ex. 8, but the starting pitch can be taken as *E, b*, or (with *b*-flat) *a* with the same results from the standpoint of psalmody.

⁸² The matter has been discussed by Eugène Cardine, “La corde récitative du 3e ton psalmodique dans l’antique tradition sangallienne,” *Etudes grégoriennes* 1 (1954), 47–52; the case for *b* as a primitive reciting tone is made by Joseph Gajard, “Les ré citations modales des 3e et 4e modes et les manuscrits bénéventains et aquitains,” *ibid.*, 9–45. The *b* reciting tone is the norm in the *Commemoratio brevis* (Bailey ed., exx. 6, 19, 52, 53, 54). Although unrelated to the Beneventan tradition, the Antiphoner of Ahrweiler preserves doublets of psalm tones in both the normal and the “Germanic” versions (see n. 26 above).

⁸³ Monte Cassino 318, p. 259 and Ex. 6c of the present article.

⁸⁴ Hans Schmid, ed., *Musica et Scolica enchiriadis una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der musikhistorischen Kommission 3 (Munich, 1981), p. 42; Gerbert, *Scriptores*, 1:167.

⁸⁵ “Musica’ et ‘Scolica Enchiriadis’: The Literary, Theoretical, and Musical Sources,” Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1984, pp. 451–63. It resembles the “tonus irregularis” assigned to certain antiphons in the modern *Antiphonale monasticum* and an Ambrosian psalm formula reciting on *E*; see Terence Bailey, “Ambrosian Choral Psalmody: The Formulae,” *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra* 1 (1980), 316.

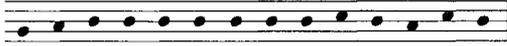
The Singing of Psalms

563

EXAMPLE 8

Psalm tone reciting on E/b from the *Musica Enchiriadis*

Sit glo - ri - a do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la,



lae - ta - bi - tur do - mi - nus in op - e - ri - bus su - is.

Since psalm tones are music at the service of words, one of the chief concerns of the singer (whether solo or choral) is the manner in which the psalm text is set to the cadences of the psalm tones. Though strong arguments have been made that the cursive method (i.e., no accommodation of textual accents to the melodic formula) is much older, all the evidence I have been able to uncover leaves no doubt that the adaptation of changing accent patterns is the norm from at least the tenth century. One of the chief concerns of the *Commemoratio brevis* is the adaptation of these textual patterns (“pro diversa positione verborum”) to the cadential formulae of the psalm tones.⁸⁶ The author seems more concerned about the mediant than about the final, however. Many combinations (“modi” in his terminology) are illustrated with practical examples — “propter tardiores fratres,” as he explains! The profusion of often redundant examples illustrating various patterns of textual accents would not have been needed under the older, flexible solo practice, but the exigencies of choral performance demanded clarification and simplification. In providing this assistance the author of the *Commemoratio* preserved many fascinating features of archaic psalmody, only some of which survive in the extant practical sources.

The Italian antiphoners contain virtually no psalm tones underlaid with a complete psalm verse, which would illustrate both mediant and final cadences. Ex. 9 includes the only two specimens I have encountered; one of them is from the Old Roman antiphoner of St. Peter’s. Aside from the rather elaborate mediant cadence in the example from Lucca, neither of these specimens is unusual in any respect.

Most of the texts completely notated to a psalm tone are exceptional in that they are *not* taken from the psalter. One can easily understand why: years of daily familiarity gave the singers an intuitive mastery of the variables inherent in the 150 psalms. They did not need specific illustrations for any of the psalms, whereas texts not taken from the psalms would not be so familiar and readily adaptable. The largest category of fully notated texts is

⁸⁶ For a treatment of the possibilities see Ruth Steiner, “Cursus,” *TNG*, 5:99–101, and the extended essay in *PM* 4, pp. 27–204. A valuable critical examination of medieval and modern (Solesmes) practices is Terence Bailey, “Accentual and Cursive Cadences in Gregorian Psalmody” (n. 15 above).

564

The Singing of Psalms

EXAMPLE 9
Completely texted psalm tonesLucca, Bibl.
cap. 602, fol. 58r

Mi - se - re - re me - i de - us

se - cun - dum mag - nam mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

Arch. di S. Pietro
B 79, fol. 11r

Ut confirmet il-lud et cor-ro-bo-ret in iu-di-ci-o et iu-sti-ti-a

a - mo - do et us - que in sem - pi - ter - num.

the series of *versus ad repetendum* for nocturns and lauds on the feasts of the Conversion of St. Paul (January 25) and St. Laurence (August 10).⁸⁷ The following manuscripts examined in this study have either full (nocturns and lauds) or partial sets of the *versus*. (For complete documentation on the manuscripts see Appendix A.)

St. Paul

Vercelli 37, fol. 56v
 Vercelli 70, fol. 116r
 Vallicelliana C.5, fol. 223v (*natale*)
 Vallicelliana C.5, fol. 79r (*conversio*)
 Vallicelliana C.13, fol. 219v
 Vat. lat. 14676, fol. 162v

St. Laurence

Vercelli 37, fol. 135r
 Vallicelliana C.5, fol. 226v
 Vat. lat. 14676, fol. 169v

⁸⁷ The short texts are drawn from autobiographical writings of St. Paul and from the *passio* of St. Laurence. They are intended to be sung after the "Gloria patri—Sicut erat" at the end of the psalm and are followed by a final repetition of the antiphon. See Honorius of Autun, *Gemma animae* 4.115: "Nocturnale officium de sancto Paulo ideo versus antiphonarum insignitur, quia ipse plus omnibus laborasse apostolis legitur. Similiter versus ad antiphonas de sancto Laurentio cantatur, quia eius passio omnibus martyribus praefertur, sic de ceteris notandum est" (PL 172:732). Amalarius of Metz does not mention them in connection with the feasts of St. Paul or St. Laurence in his *Liber de ordine antiphonarii* 60–61, ed. Jean Michel Hanssens, *Studi e Testi* 140 (Vatican City, 1950), p. 97. As far as I am aware, the tradition of these verses and the order in which the customary texts appear have not been studied. They were observed in French manuscripts by Amédée Gastoué, "La psalmodie ancienne des huit tons," *La tribune de Saint-Gervais* 14 (1908), 196.

566

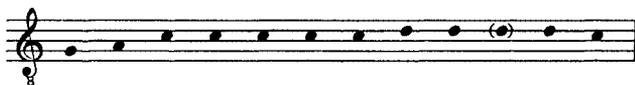
The Singing of Psalms

Sometimes the texts are so brief that no mediant cadence occurs.

All of the written-out tones that I have seen in the antiphoners must be interpreted as accentual cadences.⁸⁸ None of them are treated cursorily. This is true of both the mediant and the final cadences, just as it is in the *Commemoratio brevis*. Only three modes (I, VII, and VIII) offer sufficient written-out examples in the Italian antiphoners to establish treatment of accent at the final cadence, but all of them are accentual. Modes I (Ivrea) and VIII (Vercelli) adjust to the final accent only, but mode VII (Vercelli) adjusts to the last two accents of the line. Ex. 11 demonstrates accentual mediant cadences and reflects a general characteristic of mode-II mediants found also in the *Commemoratio*: the elevation of the reciting pitch a few syllables before the final accent.

EXAMPLE 11

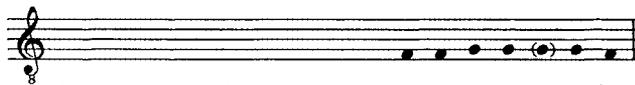
Elevation of reciting tone before mediant cadence



Cum in - tras - set ihe - sus in tem - plum de - i... Benevento, V.21, fol. 99r
 De - us qui ha - bi - ta - re fa - cis... Benevento, V.21, fol. 129v
 Qui - a ip - se do - mi - nus no - vit... Benevento, V.20, fol. 251r



In re - ge - ne - ra - ti - o - ne cum se - de - ret fi - li - us ho - mi - nis... Benevento, V.20, fol. 214v



Et erunt ut complacent e - lo - qui - a o - ris me - i... *Comm. Brevis*, Bailey ed., ex. 40
 Caeli enarrant glo - ri - am de - i... *Comm. Brevis*, Bailey ed., ex. 41

Final cadences are treated similarly. Ex. 12a illustrates this with passages from the *versus* for St. Paul and St. Laurence which show adaptation of the formula for a line of text which ends with a proparoxytone. Ex. 12b shows a *differentia* adapted to accommodate a proparoxytone; by chance the same *differentia* appears in its "normal" state elsewhere in the Bobbio antiphoner (Turin, F.III.8). The *initia* of the psalm tones, which connect the final note of the antiphon with the reciting pitch, are generally those found in the modern chant books. The written-out medieval examples show widespread preference

⁸⁸ Given this unanimity, it is extraordinary that the *Instituta patrum* (early 13th c.) gives special emphasis to the cursive cadence. S. J. P. van Dijk, "Saint Bernard and the *Instituta Patrum* of Saint Gall," *Musica disciplina* 4 (1950), 99–109.

The Singing of Psalms

EXAMPLE 12

Adaptation of final cadence to differing accent patterns

(a)

Ivrea 62,
fol. 156v ...et e - go mun - do. /./.
fol. 157v ...gra - ti - am su - am. /./.
fol. 156v ...co - ro - na iu - sti - ti - e. /./.

Vercelli 37
fol. 135r pa - ter - ni - ta - ti tu - a. /./.
fol. 135v ...gra - ti - am de - i. /./.
fol. 57v ...chri - stum con - fess - us sum. /./.

(b)

Turin, F.III.8,
fol. 131v e u o u a e Ex hoc nunc et us-que in se-cu-lum. (D?)

Ivrea 62,
fol. 140v e u o u a e [in-ter-ces-] si - o - ne cor-ro-bo - ra.

for a “second intonation” to introduce the last half of the psalm verse (Ex. 13).

EXAMPLE 13

Psalm tones with second intonation

Vallie. C.5, fol. 255v

Et e - ter - ni - ta - tis sub - stan - ti - a un - um

et per - so - nis tri - num de - um con - fi - ten - tes.

Monza 15/79,
fol. 127v

Be - ne - dic a - ni - ma me - a do - mi - no, et om - ni - a...

The *Commemoratio* tacitly assumes that this second intonation is a normal feature of psalm tones, a view which finds confirmation in the Italian antiphoners. The modern chant books do not reflect this medieval tradition.

I would now like to review some of the insights gained from this study of psalm singing in manuscripts of the medieval Office. Textual documentary

evidence previous to the eighth century points to solo rendition of the psalms in the monastic Office. At that period the responsibility of singing the psalms was shared by the entire community in succession, and hence required no unusual musical ability. This practice presumably led to a considerable diversity in the formulae used to chant the psalms, particularly since there existed no theoretical restrictions to the introduction of variant formulae. The advent of choral psalmody stimulated theorists to standardize the melodies to which the psalms were sung and to prescribe the class of antiphons with which each formula should properly be used.

Choral psalmody also entailed a progressive campaign to reduce the diversity inherited from an earlier age, a process which naturally found an echo in the practical sources. Though the extant sources do not present a compelling pattern of inexorable reduction, the large repertoire found occasionally in the twelfth century disappears completely by the fourteenth. The sole eleventh-century source, the noted breviary Todi 170, still maintains a fairly large repertoire of *differentiae* (40). The aim of the *differentia* system was to permit all the monks to participate simultaneously in the sung psalter. At the time this system originated, the antiphon must still have been intercalated with some frequency; otherwise the *differentiae* would have been superfluous. Centuries later, after the antiphon had been reduced to a simple frame for the singing of the psalm, the entire *differentia* apparatus seemed, and indeed was, both cumbersome and obsolete.

A few aspects of an earlier age are also recoverable in Italian and northern antiphoners from the twelfth century: a generally more varied *differentia* system, psalm tones reciting on the final (*E* or *a*; most prevalent in Old Roman chant), and absence of the equivalent of Gregorian mode V in the chants of the Old Roman Office. The reduction in psalm tones left a core of common *differentiae* found nearly everywhere, but there persisted a few regionally preferred formulae. The *b* reciting tone, found in Beneventan manuscripts, is probably just such a regional and perhaps archaic feature. All the evidence in the practical sources points to adaptation of the psalm tone to the changing accent patterns of the text.⁸⁹

The system of psalmody revealed by the practical sources does not differ essentially from that recorded in the theoretical tradition, except for evidence of a diversity of formulae prevalent before the earliest antiphoners with notation that can be accurately transcribed. This diversity might have lasted even longer, were it not for the replacement of solo chanting of the psalm verses by choral psalmody in the late eighth century. This latter development, as much a part of the history of spirituality as of the history of music, occasioned a breach in the musical traditions of western monastic psalmody.⁹⁰ The force of tradition was powerful enough, however, to preserve a few elements which link the medieval Office with its roots in the most ancient psalmodic traditions of cenobitic monasticism.

⁸⁹ As we have seen, this procedure is assumed to be the prevailing one by the *Commemoratio brevis*.

⁹⁰ For a brief discussion see Dyer, "Monastic Psalmody of the Middle Ages."

The Singing of Psalms

569

APPENDIX A
LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

Noted Psalters

Manuscript	Date	<i>Differentiae</i>	Comments
Bibl. Vat., Chigi C.VI.177	11/12 c.	(few)	MLBV no. 149; fragmentary; gaps in notation
Bib. Vat., Chigi A.VI.163	12 c.	(few)	MLBV no. 13; some notation added in 13–14 c.
Udine, Bibl. arch. 72	13 c.	(few)	fragment; notation not always entered
Bibl. Vat., Arch. di S. Pietro E 14	13 c.	(few)	music on fols. 31r–150r; pitches not always clear
Vercelli, Bibl. cap. 66	14 c.	(few)	incomplete

Antiphoners

Manuscript	Date	<i>Differentiae</i>	Comments
Benevento, Bibl. cap. V.21	12 c.	45	304 fols.; from S. Iupo (?); CAO 5, no. 615
Florence, Arch. del Duomo	12 c.	33	from cathedral; CAO 5, no. 240; incomplete
Florence, Bibl. Laur., Conv. sopp. 560	12 c.	24	228 fols.; lacunae
Ivrea, Bibl. cap. 62 (olim 64)	12 c.	45	260 fols.
Klosterneuburg, 1010, 1012, 1013	12 c.	30	Germanic dialect; CAO 5, no. 267
London, Brit. Lib., Add. 17302	12 c.	26	123 fols.
London, Brit. Lib., Add. 29988	12 c.	83	Old Roman antiphoner from the Lateran (?)
Lucca, Bibl. cap. 599	12 c.	33	360 fols.
Lucca, Bibl. cap. 601	12 c.	39	PM 9; CAO 5, no. 709
Lucca, Bibl. cap. 603	12 c.	40	257 fols.; many gaps in nota- tion; from S. Maria of Ponte- tetto
Monte Cassino, Compact. V	12 c.	25	113 fragments; pitches not eas- ily determined
Monte Cassino, 542	12 c.	32	incomplete (194 pp.); psalmody related to above
Monza, Bibl. cap. 15/ 79	12 c.	32	275 fols.
Piacenza, Bibl. cap. 65	12 c.	31	antiphoner: fols. 274r–450r
Rome, Bibl. Vallic. C.5	12 c.	31	from S. Eutizio; partial inven- tory: Ledwon

<i>The Singing of Psalms</i>			
570			
Udine, Bibl. arch. 84	12 c.	67	204 fols.; from Treviso
Bibl. Vat., Arch. di S. Pietro B 79	12 c.	58	MLBV 118; Old Roman antiphoner
Cambrai, Bibl. munic. C.38	13 c.	35	
Lucca, Bibl. archiv. 5	12/13 c.	32	pp. 1–394
Lucca, Bibl. cap. 602	12/13 c.	42	225 fols.
Monza, Bibl. cap. 16/ 82	12/13 c.	34	CAO 5, no. 329; 236 fols.
Turin, Bibl. Naz. Univ. F.III.8	13 c.	24	from Bobbio; 233 fols.
Turin, Bibl. Naz. Univ. F.IV.4	12/13 c.	30	from Bobbio; 287 fols.; faded, damaged at top of pages
Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 14676	12/13 c.	50	MLBV 140; from Pavia; 244 fols.
Bibl. Vat., Borg. lat. 405	13 c.	32	MLBV 456; 226 fols.
Vercelli, Bibl. cap. 70	13 c.	31	288 fols.
Cividale, Mus. Ar- cheol. Naz. 57	14 c.	24	Germanic dialect; CAO 5, no. 194
Gorizia, Bibl. del Semin. Teologico A	13/14 c.	28	Germanic dialect; from Aquileia (?)
Gorizia, Bibl. del Semin. Teologico B	13/14 c.	24	344 fols.; calendar of Aquileia; Germanic chant dialect
Turin, Bibl. Naz. Univ. F.I.4	14 c.	36	335 fols; from Bobbio
Udine, Arch. cap. 30 and 26	14 c.	30 (ca.)	189 fols. and 94 fols.; with Arch. cap. 24 and 20 part of a 4-vol. antiphoner
Bibl. Vat., Arch. di S. Pietro B 87	14 c.	23	329 fols.
Vercelli, Bibl. cap. 37	14 c.	28	182 fols.

Noted Breviaries

Manuscript	Date	<i>Differentiae</i>	Comments
Monte Cassino 420	11 c.	23	422 pp.; few <i>diff.</i> ; heightened neumes; ODMA 53–54
Todi, Bibl. com. 170	11 c.	40	544 pp.; ODMA 70–71
Rome, Bibl. Vallic. C.13	12 c.	31	403 fols.; (Adv.–Easter); from S. Eutizio; inventory: Led- won
Benevento, Bibl. cap. V.19–20	12 c.	50 (ca.)	CAO 5, no. 137
Benevento, Bibl. cap. V.22	12 c.	54	216 fols.; from Benevento

The Singing of Psalms

571

Naples, Bibl. Naz. Centr. XVI.A.7	12 c.	26	from S. Deodato (?); many lacunae
Rome, Bibl. Casanat. 1574	12 c.	25	375 fols.; from Gaeta; partially noted; ODMA 65–66
Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 14446	12/13 c.		a fragment (63 fols.); MLBV 487; from Caiazzo
Bibl. Vat., Chigi C.V.137	13 c.	19	MLBV 242; 147 fols. (summer only)
Vercelli, Bibl. cap. 170	13 c.	24	from S. Pietro de Castro (?)

REFERENCES:

- CAO René-Jean Hesbert, ed. *Corpus antiphonarium Officii*. 6 vols. Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta: Series Maior, Fontes 7–12. Rome, 1963–79.
- Ledwon Jacob Ledwon, "The Winter Office of Sant'Eutezio di Norcia," Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1986.
- MLBV Pierre Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, 1 (Vatican City, 1968).
- ODMA Pierre Salmon, *L'Office divin au moyen âge*. Lex orandi 43. Paris, 1967.
- PM *Paléographie musicale*.

APPENDIX B
NUMBER OF *DIFFERENTIAE* IN SELECTED TONARIES

	Metz	Aur	Reg	MC-1	MC-2	Cas	Har	Clm	Pia	Flo	Ver	Mon	LU
I	11	5	5	13	10	9	9	9	8	9	9	12	10
II	2	1	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	3	1
III	7	4	5	3	5	4	6	6	4	6	4	4	5
IV	10	5	5	11	9	7	8	9	6	8	6	6	3
V	3	1	2	4	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	1
VI	2	1	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1
VII	13	10	6	9	7	6	6	6	8	7	5	8	5
VIII	7	5	3	8	6	4	6	5	5	5	2	5	3
TPer		x									x		x
TOTAL	55	33	28	54	41	33	41	41	34	39	30	42	30

ABBREVIATIONS:

- Metz Walter Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar von Metz*. Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 43. Münster, 1965.
- Aur *Musica disciplina*, ed. Laurence Gushee. Corpus scriptorum de musica 21. Rome, 1975.
- Reg Tonary of Regino, ed. Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medi aevi nova series*. Paris, 1867 (reprint 1963), 2:3–73.
- MC-1 Monte Cassino, Abbazia, Q 318 (11 c.), pp. 128–56.
- MC-2 Monte Cassino, Abbazia, Q 318 (11 c.), pp. 245–85.
- Cas Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 54 (11 c.), fols. 102v–103r.
- Har Marginal letters added to the Antiphoner of Hartker (12 c.), St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 390–391, based on information in *Paléographie musicale*, ser. 2, vol. 1, p. 50*.
- Clm Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14523 (12 c.), from information in Michel Huglo, *Les tonaires*, pp. 202–3.
- Pia Piacenza, Archivio capitolare 54 (12 c.), fols. 1r–7r.
- Flo Florence, Archivio del Duomo (12 c.), fols. 277r–283r.
- Ver Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare 70 (13 c.), fols. 213v–222r.
- Mon Monza, Biblioteca capitolare 16/82 (13 c.), fols. 218v–224v.
- LU *Liber Usualis* (Tournai, 1956), pp. 112–17.
Antiphonale monasticum (Tournai, 1934), pp. 4*–30*.

The Singing of Psalms

APPENDIX C

D-Mode: Reciting tone on *a*

e u o u a e
 B 79 only
 BL only
 BL only
 BL only
 B79: aGFE
 BL: aG
 BL only
 BL only
 BL only
 BL only

D-Mode: Reciting tone on *F*

B 79 only e u o u a e
 BL: E
 BL only
 Used with "O" antiphons only

574

The Singing of Psalms

E-Mode: Reciting tone on *F*

B 79 only e u o u a e

BL only

B 79 only

B 79 only BL: \widehat{eF}

BL only e u o u a e

BL only

BL only

E-Mode: Reciting tone on *a*

BL only e u o u a e

BL only

BL only

B 79: $\widehat{G\hat{F}}$

BL: $\widehat{G\hat{F}}$

BL only

BL only

BL only

BL only

BL only

BL only

BL only e u o u a e

B 79 only

BL only

B 79 only

The Singing of Psalms

575

F-Mode: Reciting tone on *a*

The image displays a musical score for the reciting tone on 'a' in F-Mode, presented in two columns of staves. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (F major/D minor). The lyrics 'e u o u a e' are written below the notes. The score includes various performance instructions: 'B 79: GF' (Basso Continuo/Guitar/Fiddle) for the first staff, 'B 79 only' for the second and third staves, and 'BL only' (Basso Continuo/Lute) for the remaining staves. The melody consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some staves showing a more rhythmic, dotted pattern.

576

The Singing of Psalms

G-Mode: Reciting tone on *c*

The musical score is presented in two columns of staves. The left column contains ten staves, and the right column contains five staves. Each staff is a single melodic line in G-mode, starting on the reciting tone 'c'. The notation includes various rhythmic values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes) and rests. Above the notes, there are labels for the mode and specific syllables or intervals, such as 'BL: ba', 'BL/B79: aG', 'BL: aG', 'BL: cdecbaG', 'BL: Ga', and 'BL: a'. Below the notes, there are lyrics: 'e u o u a e' in the first staff of the left column, and 'e u o u a e' in the first staff of the right column. The label 'BL only' is placed below several staves in both columns, indicating that these parts are for a single voice part. The overall structure is a reciting tone with various melodic variations and rhythmic patterns.

The Singing of Psalms

577

G-Mode: Reciting tone on *d*

e u o u a e
 BL only
 B 79 only
 BL only
 B 79 only
 BL only

e u o u a e
 B 79 only
 B 79 only
 BL: ċb
 BL only
 BL: e
 BL: ḋc
 B 79: d
 B 79 only

a-Mode

e u o u a e
 B 79 only
 BL only

e u o u a e
 BL only

578

The Singing of Psalms

COMMENTARY

The Old Roman antiphoners exhibit a remarkable degree of diversity as well as disagreement in their repertoire of psalm tones. Although the total number of *differentiae* surpasses 100, many of them are confined to only one of the antiphoners. That has been indicated in Appendix C. In the absence of an indication that a particular formula is found only in the St. Peter's manuscript (B 79) or the antiphoner in the British Library (BL), it may be assumed that it is common to both. About one-third of the repertoire falls into this category. The greatest agreement occurs in D-mode psalmody with an *a* reciting tone; the greatest disagreement occurs in F-mode psalmody with an *a* reciting tone. Curiously, the Gregorian equivalent of the latter (mode VI) shows the greatest agreement. The E-mode psalmody with an *a* reciting mode is in one respect another nexus of disagreement between the Old Roman antiphoners. In a few cases I have indicated variant readings above the staves. Further consideration of the material could result in their classification as independent *differentiae*. I have tried to be conservative in my estimates, and I have not included in Appendix C the psalmody of the Paschal Vespers found in the Old Roman *graduale*, Vat. lat. 5319.

[5]

The Eighth-Century Frankish-Roman Communion Cycle*

BY JAMES MCKINNON

IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT THE WEEKDAY COMMUNIONS OF LENT derive their texts from the Psalter in strict numerical sequence. This is looked upon in both the musicological and liturgical literature as something exceptional,¹ but the fact of the matter is that the communion texts of the entire early medieval temporale, from Advent to the Sundays after Pentecost,² manifest the same tendency toward compositional planning. The present study opens with a description of this remarkable phenomenon, and continues with an attempt to probe it for indications of chronology.

The ten communions of Advent and Christmas day (see Table 1a) form a coherent group: all their texts derive from the Prophets or the Psalter (one recalls that in the medieval way of thinking the Psalter was a prophetic book and its purported author David a Prophet). They have a carefully worked out thematic relationship to the season: "All flesh shall see the salvation of the Lord," predicts Isaiah on the

*This study was presented first as a paper in the Princeton University Musicological Colloquium series, April 1990, and subsequently at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Oakland, California, November 1990. It has its more remote origins in a seminar at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, in the fall of 1989; I remain grateful for the enthusiasm and perspicacity of the students who transcribed the bulk of the early communion repertory. I am grateful also to Brad Maiani, who helped to prepare the musical examples of the present version.

¹ Willi Apel, for example, refers to it as "the most striking example of unified organization in the entire Mass repertory"; *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), 64.

² The overview of communion texts that constitutes the first portion of this study is based on Dom René-Jean Hesbert's *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels: Vromant, 1935); hereafter referred to as *Sextuplex*. To merit consideration a communion must have established a stable position in the gradual of ca. 800; thus the communions of later dates are omitted, for example, those of Trinity Sunday, the Vigil of Ascension, Pentecost Thursday and the Sundays after Ember Days. The six manuscripts of the *Sextuplex* will be designated in the text by the names of the locations with which they are associated: Monza, Rheinau, Blandin, Compiègne, Corbie, and Senlis.

Table 1a
Christmastide A

Advent I	Dominus dabit	(Ps 84.13)	} prophetic communions	
Advent II	Jerusalem surge	(Bar 5.5, 4.36)		
Advent III	Dicite pusillanimes	(Is 35.4)		
Ember Wed	Ecce virgo concipiet	(Is 7.14)		
Ember Fri	Ecce dominus veniet	(Zec 14.5-7)		
Ember Sat	Exultavit ut gigas	(Ps 18.6-7)		
Christ- mas	Vig	Revelabitur gloria		(Is 40.5)
	I	In splendoribus		(Ps 109.3)
	II	Exulta filia Sion		(Zec 9.9)
	III	Viderunt omnes		(Ps 97.3)

eve of Christmas, while on Christmas day itself David announces that, "All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God." This sort of programmatic relevance should not be taken for granted; it is frequently lacking, as will be seen below, in other items of the Mass Proper.

The impression that the Advent-Christmas day group forms a compositional unit is enhanced by the music. Seven of the ten communions, illustrated here by the familiar *In splendoribus* of the Christmas night mass (see Example 1), are remarkably similar. These

Example 1

In splendoribus

Mont. 159, 70

The image shows a single line of musical notation on a four-line staff. The notation consists of square neumes with stems, some with flags, and some with diamond-shaped accents. The notes are arranged in a series of small groups, corresponding to the syllables of the Latin text below. The text is: "In splendo-ri-bus sancto-rum ex-ul-te-ro an-te lu-ci-fer-um ge-nu-i-te." The first note is a G-clef, and the final note is a double bar line.

are short and lovely chants of great tonal coherence that center about the interval D-F and that make, at some point in their brief existence, an intensifying gesture toward upper C. They will come to be separated in the Carolingian modal system, where four of them will be classified in mode one and three in mode six, but to anyone singing them it seems of only minor consequence whether they end on D or F. By contrast the mode-two chant, *Jerusalem surge*, which gives considerable play to the pitches E and G, feels tonally remote from the mode-one communions of the group, even though it shares their D final. What makes the prevalence of these seven in this context all the more significant is that there are only a handful of similar chants in the entire remainder of the early communion repertory, sanctorale as well

as *temporale*.³ One is tempted to refer to their composer as “The Master of the Re-Fa Advent Lyrics,” even if there might exist a number of hypotheses to account for their creation other than that of composition by a single member of the Roman *schola cantorum*.

The communions after Christmas (see Table 1b) constitute an-

Table 1b
Christmastide B

	Gospels:	Communions:	
Stephen	(Mt 23.34-39)	Video celos apertos	(Acts 7.56-60)
John	(Jn 21.19-24)	Exiit sermo	(Jn 21.23)
Innocents	(Mt 2.13-23)	Vox in Rama	(Mt 2.18)
Silvester	(Mt 24.42-47)	Beatus servus	(Mt 24.46-47)
Sunday	(Mt 2.19-23)	Tolle puerum	(Mt 2.20)
Epiphany	(Mt 2.1-12)	Vidimus stellam	(Mt 2.2)
Post Eph I	(Lk 2.42-52)	Fili quid fecisti	(Lk 2.48-49)
Post Eph II	(Jn 2.1-11)	Dicit dominus implete	(Jn 2.7-11)
Post Eph III	(Lk 4.14-22)	Mirabantur omnes	(Lk 4.22)

} gospel
} communions

other coherent group, at least so far as their texts are concerned; and here we meet with the single most striking feature of the communion cycle, the gospel communion, that is, a communion that derives its text from the gospels, but more than that, from the gospel of the day. The post-Christmas group employs this device to remarkable advantage, creating no less than a narrative sequence of the early life of Jesus. It might remind some of the *vita Christi* series so common in medieval iconography, since each communion provides a miniature of some colorful event from the gospels, beginning with the infancy of Jesus on the feast of the Holy Innocents and closing with his first sermon on the third Sunday after the Epiphany. Six of the nine communions participate in this program; the three that do not are excepted for the obvious reason that they are devoted to individual saints: Stephen, John, and Sylvester. Still, while not sharing in the narrative, they do partake of the plan. Those of John and Sylvester are gospel communions, while that of Stephen, *Video celos*, is a gospel communion in all but name. The story of Stephen's martyrdom by stoning is not in the gospels, but in the Acts of the Apostles, the fifth book of the New Testament, which continues the story of the gospels. Therefore the narrative impulse that appears to play a key role in the gospel communions can be satisfied only by turning to the Acts. This communion does, moreover, have a tangible link with the gospel of

³ *Diffusa est*, *Posuisti*, *Qui manducat*, and *Qui me dignatus est* are, perhaps, the only communions that are undeniably of the same type.

the day, where Jesus utters the prophetic words: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stones those who are sent to you."⁴

Musically the post-Christmas communions are not nearly so homogeneous as the Advent-Christmas day group. There are short lyric pieces like the Epiphany's *Vidimus stellam*, but not one is in the re-fa tonality of the hypothetical Advent master. There are several long pieces of a rather extravagant style, most notably the four that have instances of dialogue in their texts: *Video celos*, *Exiit sermo*, *Fili quid fecisti*, and *Dicit dominus* (see Example 2). The last two of these,

Example 2

Dicit dominus

Mus. 159, 61
(narrator) (the Lord) (narrator)

Di-cit do-mi-nus implete hy-dri-as a-qua et ferte archi-tri-cli-no cum gu-stas-set

(architriclinus)

archi-tri-cli-nus aquam vinum factam di-cit sponso servasti vi-num bo-num us-que

(narrator)

adhuc hac signum fecit Jesus primum coram dis-ci-pu-lis suis.

the communions for the first and second Sundays after the Epiphany respectively, are particularly noteworthy. Resembling miniature dramatic scenes with their extended dialogues and sharing the same tonality and a tendency toward internal musical rhyme, they give every impression of having been composed as a pair. The third

⁴ One communion is omitted from our discussion of the post-Christmas series, *Magna est gloria* (Ps 20.6), for the Vigil of St. John. The mass for the Vigil of St. John is a liturgical curiosity, wedged as it is between the feast of St. Stephen on 26 December and that of St. John on the following day. It does not appear, in any case, in the evangelaries, so that absent a gospel, it cannot possibly have had a gospel communion. That much rules out its relevance to the present study, but it remains a fascinating subject. The mass is totally absent from all sacramentaries and lectionaries, yet appears in the overwhelming majority of graduals well into the twelfth century, and even has at least one introit trope composed for it; see Alejandro E. Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), vol. 2, 22. (I am indebted to Elizabeth Teviotedale for this reference.) The lack of prayers and readings is baffling; one might suspect that the chants continued to be copied long after the mass had become obsolete, but why would a trope be composed for it?

member of the post-Epiphany trio, *Mirabantur omnes*, a short chant completely lacking in any of these traits, comes as something of a surprise, but it will be seen in a subsequent stage of this study to be a late addition to the post-Christmas series. The musical evidence, then, quite possibly points to chronological layering in this group of chants, but the carefully contrived sequence of texts suggests that they were brought together at some point as a compositional unit. Perhaps it was a matter of integrating older material like the Epiphany's *Vidimus stellam* with newly composed pieces like the gospel dialogues. In any case the overall impression created by the entire Christmas series is one of striking coherence and unity: the ten prophetic lyrics of the Advent-Christmas set, followed by the heterogeneity and extravagances of the nine communion post-Christmas group with its colorful *vita Christi* sequence.

The Lenten situation exceeds this simple duality in its complexity; there is, for example, a clear separation in the composition of the weekdays (see Table 2a) from the Sundays and Holy Week. As mentioned earlier, the plan of the weekday communions is well known: texts were derived in sequence from Psalms 1 through 26, starting with Ash Wednesday and concluding on the Friday before Palm Sunday. There are two major disruptions to the series. One is the omission of Thursdays, demonstrating that the series came into existence sometime before Gregory II (715–31) established the Lenten Thursdays as liturgical.⁵ The second is the replacement of five psalmic communions, those derived from Psalms 12, 16, 17, 20, and 21, by gospel communions, a much-discussed group of chants that will be given due attention here subsequently. For now it is enough to recall the two traits that have attracted so much attention to them: the plain syllabic style of their original melodies, and the variety of melodies that represent them in the later sources. *Oportet te*, for Saturday in the second week of Lent, can serve as an example (see Example 3). Aside from this singular group of five, there are no easy generalizations to be made about the musical style of the Lenten weekday communions. They appear, at least to the superficial ob-

⁵ When Gregory did this the Thursday communions were borrowed from the Sundays after Pentecost, so that that series also must have been substantially complete before this event. The most telling argument that the borrowing was by Lenten Thursdays from the Sundays after Pentecost remains the sheer implausibility of any scenario attempting to describe the reverse. It would necessarily entail the simultaneous composition of six communions with no apparent unifying theme or device, and the subsequent singling out of these six, while ignoring their many neighbors, for inclusion in the post-Pentecostal series.

Table 2a
Lenten Weekdays

	Numerical series		Thursdays	Gospel communions
Wed Thur	Qui meditabitur	(Ps 1)	Acceptabis (Ps 50.21)	
Fri	Servite	(Ps 2)		
Mon	Voce mea	(Ps 3)		
Tu	Cum invocarem	(Ps 4)		
Wed Thur	Intellege	(Ps 5)	Panis quem (Jn 6.52)	
Fri	Erubescant	(Ps 6)		
Sat	Domine deus	(Ps 7)		
Mon	Domine dominus	(Ps 8)		
Tu	Narrabo	(Ps 9)		
Wed Thur	Justus dominus	(Ps 10)	Qui manducat (Jn 6.57)	
Fri	Tu domine	(Ps 11)		
Sat		[12]		Oportet te (Lk 15.32)
Mon	Quis dabit	(Ps 13)		
Tu	Dominus quis	(Ps 14)		
Wed Thur	Notas mihi	(Ps 15)	Tu mandasti (Ps 118.4-5)	
Fri		[16]		Qui biberit (Jn 4.13-14)
Sat		[17]		Nemo te (Jn 8.10-11)
Mon	Ab occultis	(Ps 18)		
Tu	Laetabimus	(Ps 19)		
Wed		[20]		Lutum fecit (Jn 9.6-38)
Thur			Domine memorabor (Ps 70.16)	
Fri		[21]		Videns dominus (Jn 11.33-44)
Sat	Dominus regit	(Ps 22)		
Mon	Dominus virtutum	(Ps 23)		
Tu	Redime me	(Ps 24)		
Wed Thur	Lavabo	(Ps 25)	Memento (Ps 118.49-50)	
Fri	Ne tradideris	(Ps 26)		

server, to be unremarkable in character, the sort of neumatic chants of moderate length that one might expect from their psalmic texts.

Example 3

Oportet te

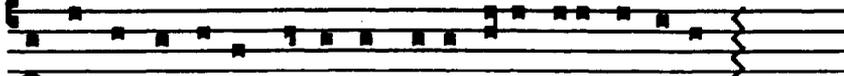
Eina. 121, 131



Chartres 47, 37

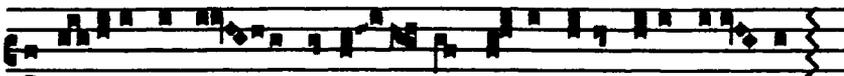


Berlin 40078, fol. 68v



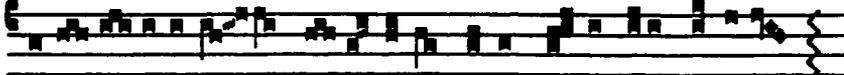
O por-tet te fi-li gau-de-re qui-a fra-ter tu-us mor-tu-us

Mont. 159, 72



O por-tet te fi-li gau-de-re qui-a fra-ter tu-us mor-tu-us

Paris 776, fol. 43v



O por-tet te fi-li gau-de-re qui-a fra-ter tu-us mor-tu-us

The texts of the Lenten Sundays and Holy Week (see Table 2b) betray no pattern in their derivation, representing, perhaps, an earlier layer of communions than observed up to this point. Three of them, however, are gospel communions: *Pater si potest* of Palm Sunday, *Dominus Jesus* of Holy Thursday, and *Cito euntes* of Holy Saturday. Perhaps these days of very special importance were given new communions at some late stage in the revision of the annual cycle. If this is the case one can similarly imagine that *Ecce lignum*, the non-biblical communion for Good Friday, and *Hoc corpus*, the communion for the fifth Sunday of Lent, with a text from the epistles, are also late additions. The communions of the Lenten Sundays and Holy Week, then, present the impression of an earlier stratum of the cycle with the later addition of five non-psalmonic texts.

Four of the five are of special musical interest. Two of them, the flamboyant *Hoc corpus* of the fifth Sunday and the deeply moving *Dominus Jesus* of Holy Thursday, are lengthy dialogues very much in the manner of their post-Christmas counterparts; while another two, *Ecce lignum* of Good Friday and *Cito euntes* of Holy Saturday, are genuine anomalies

Table 2b
Lenten Sundays and Holy Week

	Gospel	Communion	
Septuagesima	(Mt 20.1-16)	Illumina	(Ps 30.17-18)
Sexagesima	(Lk 8.4-15)	Introibo	(Ps 42.4)
Quinquagesima	(Lk 18.31-43)	Manducaverunt	(Ps 77.29-30)
Quadragesima	(Mt 4.1-11)	Scapulis suis	(Ps 90.4-5)
[Sunday II vacat]			
Sunday III	(Lk 11.14-38)	Passer invenit	(Ps 83.4-5)
Sunday IV	(Jn 6.1-14)	Jerusalem, quae	(Ps. 121.3-4)
Sunday V	(Jn 8.46-59)	<u>Hoc Corpus</u>	(1 Cor 11.24-25)
Palm Sunday	(Mt 26;27)	Pater si non	(Mt 26.42)
Mon	(Jn 12.1-36)	<u>Erubescant et rev</u>	(Ps 34.26)
Tu	(Jn 13.1-32)	Adversum me	(Ps 68.13-14)
Wed	(Lk 22.1-23, 53)	Potum meum	(Ps. 101.10-14)
Holy Thur	(Jn 13.1-22)	Dominus Jesus	(Jn 13.12-15)
Good Fri	(Jn 18;19)	<u>Ecce Lignum*</u>	(non-biblical)
Holy Sat	(Mt 28.1-7)	<u>Cito euntes*</u>	(Mt 28.7)

*Rheinau only

that one might argue should be excluded from an overview of the original communion cycle. Several *Ordines romani* rule that no communion is to be sung on Good Friday and Holy Saturday,⁶ and in fact *Ecce lignum* and *Cito euntes* do not appear in the Old Roman sources, and of the unnotated Gregorian graduals of the Sextuplex they are found only in the eccentric Rheinau manuscript.⁷ Needless to say, then, they would also be missing from the notated Gregorian sources so that their melodies would seem to be lost to us. I dwell on this curious pair here, if only briefly, because they will reappear in the second portion of this study, reunited, I hope to show, with their missing melodies.

The communions of Paschaltide (see Table 3) display the same sort of patterning that characterized the Christmas season. Every com-

⁶ In point of fact, Holy Thursday also, and perhaps even Wednesday in Holy Week, were subject to a similar exclusion. For a listing of the pertinent references, see Joseph M. Murphy, "The Communions of the Old Roman Chant" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977), 94-95.

⁷ The Rheinau manuscript has long since attracted attention by its many anomalies; see, for example, Apel, *Gregorian Chant*: "It appears that here (as well as in many other cases) the Codex Rheinau represents an exceptional usage." Why this is has never been satisfactorily explained; to do so represents both a challenge and an opportunity that might lead toward a better understanding of early Carolingian liturgical chant. The manuscript, in any case, appears to have been copied, along with a sacramentary, at Nivelles between 795 and 805; see Anton Hänggi and Alfons Schönherr, *Sacramentarium Rhenaugiense* (Fribourg: University Press, 1970), 48-68.

THE EIGHTH-CENTURY FRANKISH-ROMAN COMMUNION

TABLE 3

Paschaltide

	Gospels	Epistles*				
Easter	(Mk 16.1-7)	(1 Cor 5.7-8)	Pascha nostrum	(1 Cor 5.7-8)	} gospels match	
Mon	(Lk 24.13-35)		Surrexit Dominus	(Lk 24.34)		
Tu	(Lk 24.36-47)	(Acts 13.26-33)	Si consurrexistis	(Col 3.1-2)		
Wed	(Jn 21.1-14)	(Acts 3.13-19)	Christus resurgens	(Rom 6.9)		
Thur	(Jn 20.11-18)	(Acts 8.26-40)	Populus acquisitionis	(1 Pt 2.9)		
Fri	(Mt 28.16-20)		Data mihi	(Mt 28.18-19)		
Sat	(Jn 20.19-31)	(1 Pt 2.1-10)	Omnes qui in Christo	(Gal 3.27)		
Post Estr I	(Jn 20.24-31)		Mitte manum tuam	(Jn 20.27)		} epistles do not
Post Estr II	(Jn 10.11-16)		Ego sum pastor	(Jn 10.14)		
Post Estr III	(Jn 16.16-22)		Modicum	(Jn 16.16)		
Post Estr IV	(Jn 16.5-14)		Dum venerit paraclytus	(Jn 16.8)		
Post Estr V	(Jn 16.23-30)		Cantate domino	(Ps 95.2)		
Greater Litany	(Lk 11.5-11)		Petite et accipietis	(Lk 11.9-10)		
Ascension	(Mk 16.14-20)		Psallite domino	(Ps 67.33-34)	} gospels do not match	
Sun	(Jn 15.26-16.4)		Pater cum essem	(Jn 17.12-15)		
Vigil of Pent	(Jn 14.15-21)		Ultimo festivitatis	(Jn 7.37-39)		
Pentecost	(Jn 14.23-31)	(Acts 2.1-12)	Factus est repente	(Acts 2.2-4)		
Mon	(Jn 3.15-21)		Spiritus sanctus docebit	(Jn 14.26)		
Tu	(Jn 10.1-10)		Spiritus qui a patre	(Jn 15,16,17)		
Wed [Thur vacat]	(Jn 6.44-51)		Pacem meam	(Jn 14.27)		
Fri	(Lk 5.17-26)		Spiritus ubi vult	(Jn 3.8)		
Sat	(Mt 20.29-34)		Non vos relinquam	(Jn 14.18)		

*Included only with epistle communions.

munion from Easter to the Greater Litany, with only one exception, is derived from the New Testament, but here in addition to gospel communions there are several communions from the epistles. It is noteworthy that these communions, with the exception of Easter's *Pascha nostrum*, do not match the epistle of the day, although every gospel communion without exception does match the gospel of the

day. The lone psalmic communion, *Cantate domino*, that for the fifth Sunday after Easter, may seem to mar the symmetry of the set, but in fact it contributes to a larger symmetry. For one thing, *Cantate domino canticum novum* is a text of special significance to the medieval ecclesiastical singer, not one lightly omitted in a well-conceived cycle of chants.⁸ But more to the point there are two *Cantate domino*'s, Psalms 95 and 97, that were looked upon as a pair in the Middle Ages; they were regularly referred to in the early sources as *Cantate I* and *Cantate II* (to the exclusion, incidentally, of a third *Cantate domino*, Psalm 149). Psalm 97 had been used already in the communion for the third mass of Christmas, so that it seems only fitting to place the other *Cantate* at a similar point in the Easter sequence.

The communions of Ascension day to Pentecost Sunday appear at first glance to retain the compositional principles of the post-Christmas sequence and the earlier phase of Paschaltide. The texts of all but two derive from the gospels, indeed, exclusively from the gospel of John. The two exceptions are readily understood. *Factus est* is taken from the Acts of the Apostles, where the events of Pentecost day are narrated, a case precisely parallel to that of St. Stephen; while the psalmic communion for the Ascension, *Psallite domino qui ascendit super celos*, employs a text that seems simply too appropriate to be sacrificed to any compositional plan.

The seven communions from the gospel of John offer a surprise in what appears to be an abrupt change of policy: not a single one of them is derived from the gospel of the day. Could it be that the compilers of the communion cycle wearied of their task as they approached its conclusion? Perhaps, but they were faced with the special difficulty that the gospels simply do not provide the same abundance of narrative material for the events of the Ascension and Pentecost that they do for the early life of Jesus. In fact, it can be said that the gospels narrating the Easter story had been only partially helpful in this respect, thus creating the need for epistle communions.

But how were these seven communions from the gospel of John chosen? To answer this one must reconsider the group of nine as a whole, including the Ascension's psalmic *Psallite* and Pentecost's *Factus* from the Acts. It happens that six of the nine are responsories, those underlined in Table 3, taken from the night offices of Ascension and Pentecost. A number of scholars have observed concordances between communions and responsories before, and have provided

⁸ See James W. McKinnon, "Canticum Novum in the Isabella Book," *Medievalia* 4 (1976): 207-22.

valuable insights into the phenomenon.⁹ But what is significant in the present context is that these six communions are virtually the only ones from the entire *temporale* using responsories that appear regularly in the antiphoners with identical text and music.¹⁰ I can find but three exceptions. *Dum venerit paraclytus* of the fourth Sunday after Easter appears with about the same frequency as the six,¹¹ while Easter's *Pascha nostrum* appears rarely;¹² their calendric proximity to the six, particularly that of *Dum venerit paraclytus*, is of obvious significance. The third exception, however, is from the opposite pole of the liturgical year, *Video celos*, the communion for the feast of St. Stephen, the day after Christmas.¹³

Such exceptions should not be allowed to obscure the significance of the group of six borrowed responsories, nor should the discovery of one or the other additional exception in the future. The fact remains that concentrated borrowing from the office responsories takes place only at this particular spot in the church year, when, apparently, the well of gospel communion opportunities had run dry. This suggests two broad conclusions, even if not definitively demonstrating them. One is that the communion cycle was revised in liturgical sequence, that is, from Advent-Christmas to Paschaltide, with Lent, perhaps, experiencing only a measure of touching up in the process. There will be occasion to return to this first point below, but the second will be allowed to stand now for what it is worth. It is that office responsories may play a larger role in the revision of the communion cycle than is immediately apparent. It could be that the responsory's dual traits of employing narrative material from non-psalmic texts and providing

⁹ See especially Willibrod Heckenbach, "Responsoriale Communio-Antiphonen," *Ars Musica Scientia. Festschrift Heinrich Hüsch*, ed. Detlef Altenburg, Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte 126 (1980): 224–32; and Ruth Steiner, "The Parable of the Talents in Liturgy and Chant," *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Edward Roesner (Philadelphia: American Musicological Society, 1990), 1–15. (I am indebted to Peter Jeffery for reminding me of the shared responsories and communions.)

¹⁰ The selection of antiphoners used here consists in those edited in René-Jean Hesbert's *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta*, Series Maior, fontes 7–12 (Rome: Herder, 1963–79), and two early published manuscripts: *Le manuscrit de Mont-Renaud (Xe siècle): graduel et antiphonaire de Noyon*, Paléographie musicale, Series 1, vol. 16 (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1955); and Hartmut Möller, ed., *Das Quedlinburger Antiphonar (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Mus. ms. 40047)*, 3 vols. (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1990).

¹¹ Monza 12.75, fol. 175v; Ben. 21, fols. 167v and 172v; Berlin 40047, fol. 85 (possibly).

¹² Only Ben. 21, fol. 138v.

¹³ Only Ben. 21, fol. 26v.

Example 4b

Spiritus qui a patre

Hartker 271
 - J | / / / - / / / / / / / P / / - J / / -

Eins. 121, 258
 - J | / / / - / J / / / P - P / / - J / / /

Mont. 159, 92

S pi - ri - tus qui a pa - tre pro - ce - dit al - le - lu - ia il - le me cla - ri - fi - ca - bit

Example 4c

Spiritus ubi vult

Hartker, 272
 J - - / J P / - - / / P - J / P - J / - / - P / / -

Eins. 121, 260
 J / J - - / J / - P P J / P - P / P - J - / / / P J / -

Mont. 159, 92

S pi - ri - tus u - bi vult spi - rat et vo - cem e - jus audis al - le - lu - ia et nescis undi veniat

Hartker, 272 cont.
 - n / - w / - P - / / P n . w / J -

Eins. 121, 260 cont.
 / n . w / . J . / n J / P / / . P - / n . w / . J . / n

Mont. 159 cont.

aut quo va - dat al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia

antiphons are given as they appear in Hartker, along with the respective communions from the Einsiedeln 121 gradual and their transcription from Montpellier H. 159.¹⁴ *Spiritus sanctus docebit* and *Spiritus qui a patre* are clearly the same chants, and *Spiritus ubi vult*, in spite of substantial

¹⁴ The non-diastematic neumes appearing in this and subsequent music examples are copied by hand; they omit significant letters.

variation in its first phrase and concluding alleluias may be sufficiently similar throughout to suggest a relationship. For the purposes of the present study, however, it would seem best to exercise caution and to omit *Spiritus ubi vult* from further consideration. Its existence as an antiphon would not, in any case, substantially alter any conclusions that might eventually be arrived at here. To return, then, to the task of surveying the earliest antiphoners, Hartmut Möller identifies three others as roughly contemporary to Hartker, two of which, like Hartker, exist in published facsimile's with full indices: the Mont-Renaud gradual-antiphoner, vol. 16 of *Paléographie musicale*, and the newly edited Quedlinburg antiphoner.¹⁵ *Spiritus qui a patre* appears in both, and *Spiritus sanctus docebit* appears in the Quedlinburg manuscript.¹⁶ And again, remarkably, though there are numerous textual concordances between antiphons and communions—some fifty including both temporale and sanctorale—there are only these three musical concordances from the entire temporale.

The situation is precisely parallel to that of the responsory-communions: even if further searching throughout the sources uncovers other antiphon-communions—and it will—what the earliest antiphoners reveal is nonetheless striking. At least eight of the nine communions from the Ascension-Pentecost phase of the church year, although ostensibly gospel communions, are actually borrowed responsories and antiphons. There could hardly be stronger evidence of a compositional plan at work. And it should be emphasized, finally, that such a seemingly artificial gesture does not preclude selecting texts for programmatic relevance. Indeed one could hardly imagine a more fitting conclusion to the entire sequence than the communion of Saturday in Pentecost week, *Non vos relinquam*, "I will not leave you orphans, I will come to you again."¹⁷

With this deft touch the work of those who revised the communion cycle might be thought to have come to an end, but what of the

¹⁵ See Möller, *Das Quedlinburger Antiphonar*, vol. 1, 4. The unpublished manuscript is Toledo, Archivo Capitulare MS 44. 1; it is the subject of a more focused search below.

¹⁶ The references for the Quedlinburg Antiphoner (Berlin 40047) are *Spiritus sanctus docebit*, fol. 85v; and *Spiritus qui a patre*, fol. 85v. For the Mont-Renaud Antiphoner: *Spiritus qui a patre*, fol. 96v.

¹⁷ The careful reader will note that there are two possible matches between communions and gospels in this last sequence; both, however, were not exploited for good reason. One is the Pentecost gospel and the communion of Pentecost Wednesday, *Pacem meam*; the communion *Factus est* clearly takes precedence. The other is the gospel of the Vigil of Pentecost and the communion *Non vos relinquam*, which, again, creates an ideal conclusion to the series.

Table 4
Sundays After Pentecost

Narrabo	(Ps 9.2-3)	} } from Lent
Cantabo	(Ps 12.6)	
Ego clamavi	(Ps 16.6)	
Dominus firmamentum	(Ps 17.3)	
Unam petii	(Ps 26.4)	} sacrifice- harvest series
Circuibo	(Ps 26.6)	
[Inclina aurem	(Ps 30.3)]	
Gustate	(Ps 33.9)	
Primum	(Mt 6.33)	
Acceptabis	(Ps 50.21)	
Honora dominum	(Prv 3.9-10)	
De fructu	(Ps 103.13-15)	
Panem de celo	(Wis 16.20)	
Panis quem ego	(Jn 6.52)	
Qui manducat	(Jn 6.57)	
[Domine memorabor	(Ps 70.16-18)]	
Vovete et redite	(Ps 75.12-13)	
Tollite et hostias	(Ps 95.8-9)	
Tu mandasti	(Ps 118.4-5)	} justice group
Memento verbi tuo	(Ps 118.49-50)	
In salutare tuo	(Ps 118.81-86)	
Dico vobis	(Lk 15.10)	} gospel additon
Amen dico vobis	(Mk 11.24)	

post-Pentecostal series? (See Table 4.) As is well known, the Sundays after Pentecost stand somewhat in isolation from the rest of the church year. I have attempted to deal with their sequence of twenty-three communions in a separate study,¹⁸ but these communions cannot be entirely ignored here because of borrowing between them and the communions of Lent.

To summarize the findings of the other study, the post-Pentecostal communions are generally more similar to the Lenten communions than to those of the Christmas and Easter seasons. They are primarily psalmic and do not provide a single example of the dramatic dialogue type. They also share with Lent the circumstance that the psalmic communions are numerically ordered, but here there is a fundamental distinction to be made between two superficially similar arrangements. The Lenten sequence, an unbroken series beginning at Psalm 1 and extending to Psalm 26, is clearly the result of an *a priori* conception, something that is

¹⁸ "The Roman Post-Pentecostal Communion Series," *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3-8 September 1990* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1992), 175-86.

set up in advance of the communions' composition; while the ordering of the randomly numbered post-Pentecostal group appears to be an act of revision taken at some later stage in the history of the chants. Indeed I attempted to show, by the thematic grouping of the texts and the pattern of shared chants with Lent, that this numerical ordering was a step in the final revision of the post-Pentecostal series, accomplished sometime after the Lenten Thursdays borrowed six of these communions in the time of Gregory II (715–31).

More relevant to present purposes is that at this same late date the post-Pentecostal series was completed by the addition at its head of four communions borrowed from Lent. The first of these, *Narrabo* (Ps 9.23), from Tuesday in the second week of Lent, seems to have been chosen because its text provides so apt an introduction to a series of chants: "I will tell of all your marvelous deeds . . . I will sing a psalm to you, the most high." The three that follow do not, as a group, have the same thematic relevance, even though the first one of them, *Cantabo* (Ps 12.6), does: "I will sing to the Lord who has done good things to me, and I will sing a psalm to the name of the most high Lord." Perhaps it served to remind those putting the sequence together of the availability of the five Lenten psalmic communions that had been replaced by gospel communions. The five, it will be recalled, had texts derived from Psalms 12, 16, 17, 20, and 21, while the set of post-Pentecostal communions in question, *Cantabo*, *Ego clamavi*, and *Dominus firmamentum*, take theirs from the first three psalms of the sequence, Psalms 12, 16, and 17. It has been said that the substitution of the five Lenten gospel communions for their psalmic predecessors "occurred before the original Gregorian gradual was drawn up, for the communions based on those psalms are no longer to be found anywhere in the manuscript tradition,"¹⁹ but surely the first three of them appear here after *Narrabo* at the beginning of the newly completed post-Pentecostal series; the workings of mathematical probability alone would rule out a coincidence of such magnitude. That the three were transferred to the post-Pentecostal season at so late a date creates at least the possibility that their replacement by the gospel communions may itself have been relatively late, a circumstance to be recalled later in this study when chronology becomes the central concern.

To reflect briefly now on the communion *temporale* as a whole, surely the most appropriate reaction to it is that of surprise and admiration. The cycle demonstrates to a degree well beyond what we

¹⁹ Helmut Hucke and Michel Huglo, "Communion," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 4, 592.

might have expected two characteristics: a tendency for individual chants to be maximally appropriate to the liturgical occasion, something greatly facilitated by the use of gospel texts; and the existence of unified sequences of chants, each extending over a substantial segment of the church year. The facet of this second trait that has been made the most of in the literature, the numerical sequence of Lenten psalmic communions, is probably the least remarkable. Even the post-Pentecostal series is of greater interest: if at first glance it seems to be a heterogeneous collection of texts, a closer examination reveals an early sequence of twelve chants united by a rich theme of harvest, sacrifice, and eucharistic motifs.²⁰ But it is the Christmas and Easter sets that are the most striking, particularly the former, with its opening group of evocative prophetic lyrics, followed by the colorful narrative sequence of the post-Christmas gospel communions.

There is nothing nearly comparable to this within any other item of the Mass Proper. The introits of the *temporale* are a distant second. They are, like communions, mostly unique to their liturgical occasion, that is to say, there is little sharing of chants except for the borrowing by the Lenten Thursdays from the Sundays after Pentecost. There is also considerable evidence of an attempt to achieve liturgical appropriateness by the selection of non-psalmic texts, some thirty from a total of approximately one hundred (compared to fifty-five non-psalmic communions from a similar total). But the non-psalmic introits do not achieve anything like the same degree of liturgical appropriateness as do the communions because they are seldom drawn from the gospels, and the introit *temporale* is by and large lacking in the programmatic sequences of texts that are the pride of the communion cycle.

Graduals and offertories show considerably less careful attention to their liturgical placement. There are only five non-psalmic graduals in the *temporale*,²¹ and while there are more non-psalmic offertories, at least eleven,²² several of these are Old Testament texts without explicit reference to the occasion of their liturgical assignment.

²⁰ See McKinnon, "The Roman Post-Pentecostal Communion Series."

²¹ *Hodie scietis* (Ex 16.6–7 and Is 35.4) for the Vigil of Christmas; *Exiit sermo* (Jn 21.23) for St. John the Evangelist; *Ecce sacerdos magnus* (Sir 44.16) for St. Silvester; *Ommes de Saba* (Is 60.6) for the Epiphany; and *Christus factus est* (Phlm 2.8) for Holy Thursday; note that most of these occur during the Christmas season.

²² There are a few others such as the Ascension's *Viri Galilei* (Acts 1.11) and Pentecost's *Factus est repente* (Acts 2.2–4), but these can claim only a very tenuous placement in the *circulum anni* with appearances only as alternate chants in the Rheinau and Blandin manuscripts. On the subject of non-psalmic offertories see Kenneth Levy, "Toledo, Rome and the Legacy of Gaul," *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 49–99.

Interestingly enough graduals and offertories (and even alleluias)²³ appear, like introits and communions, to have been carefully selected for the opening segment of the year, that is, from Advent to the Epiphany,²⁴ but after that serious planning seems to have been abandoned. There is wholesale borrowing from one season to the next, leaving the impression that it mattered little which chant was assigned to a particular date. One can well imagine that those responsible for producing the temporale of the Mass Proper did a reasonably thorough job on the introits, but found the longer and more unwieldy graduals and offertories unmanageable, and failed to complete their task of revision and organization beyond the Epiphany, except for the occasional provision of well-selected chants for major festivals like Easter and Pentecost.

But the task was completed for communions in truly remarkable fashion, and the evident compositional planning involved resulted in a structure replete with internal evidence. This internal evidence must surely be rich in suggestions of chronological determination, and the closing portion of this study will follow through on just one such lead, centering on *Mirabantur omnes*, a chant cited above as something of an anomaly in the post-Epiphany set. First, however, a broader and more speculative chronological consideration must be introduced, one that attempts to identify those responsible for the composition of the communion temporale. It should serve to place in proper perspective the more focused argument that follows.

* * *

Surely the most likely group to have performed the bulk of the work is the Roman *schola cantorum*. Theirs was an enormous task, even if one considers only the Mass Proper and excludes, for the sake of argument, any participation in the development of the Office. Its aim was to bring to fulfillment the uniquely Roman concept of the *circulum anni*, that is, to move away from the earlier practice of selecting psalms, responses and antiphons on an *ad hoc* basis at each service, and to provide a proper set of chants for each day of the rapidly expanding church year. We have seen above that this aim was realized with

²³ Alleluias are not amenable to the same sort of comparisons as are other items of the Mass Proper because of their limited distribution throughout the church year and because of the lack of stability in their assignment.

²⁴ I have had the opportunity to discuss this phenomenon with Richard Crocker, who has observed it himself and coined for it the felicitous phrase "the Advent project"; he sees it extending to and including the feast of the Epiphany.

uneven results for the different items of the Mass Proper, but the accomplishment remains nonetheless one of extraordinary proportions. It involved some 150 communions (including both *temporale* and *sanctorale*), a similar number of introits, about 110 graduals, 100 offertories, and a lesser number of alleluias and tracts—all told about 600 items. Earlier material was no doubt preserved, but much of it would have required reworking to match the style of the newer compositions within the various genres. All, in any case, had in the end to be mastered, with several hundred melodies retained simultaneously in memory. It is difficult to imagine this monumental task being carried out except within an organization, a very special organization, one made up of a number of talented clerical musicians, who lived together, enjoyed generous patronage, and devoted themselves exclusively to their work. (One might be reminded of the court chapels of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.) While an extended period of time would have been necessary to carry out so ambitious a program, it might more likely have been a matter of decades or generations, not centuries, because the activity involved has all the hallmarks of a concentrated burst of creative energy, one that can seriously be compared to, say, the creation of classical Greek drama or the birth of gothic architecture.

If this assumption of group activity and the identification of the Roman *schola cantorum* as the group involved can be granted, there remains only the question of dating it. At one time it was thought that Gregory I (590–604) was the founder of the *schola*, but the work of Helmut Hucke, Smits van Waesberghe, and more recently Joseph Dyer and Peter Jeffrey has shown that the organization probably did not exist in the time of Gregory, but originated rather some time in the second half of the seventh century.²⁵ Thus the earlier stages of the activity just described might fall in the second half of the seventh century and the later stages in the first half of the eighth; our one firm date, then, Gregory II's establishment of the Lenten Thursdays

²⁵ Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "Neues über die Schola Cantorum zu Rom," *Zweiter Internationaler Kongress für katholische Kirchenmusik* (Vienna: Herold, 1955), 111–19; Helmut Hucke, "Zu einigen Problemen der Choralforschung," *Die Musikforschung* 11 (1958): 399–402; Joseph Dyer, "The Schola Cantorum and its Roman Milieu in the Early Middle Ages," to appear in the Festschrift for Helmut Hucke; and Peter Jeffrey, "Rome and Jerusalem: From Oral Tradition to Written Repertory in Two Ancient Liturgical Centers," to appear in the festschrift for David Hughes. See also Andrew Tomasello, "Ritual, Tradition, and Polyphony at the Court of Rome," *The Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985–86): 447–71.

sometime between 715 and 731, would come relatively late in the process, but, as will be seen below, by no means at its end.

Such a chronology corresponds well with the historical circumstances of the period, particularly if we accept the proposition that great creative enterprises generally take place during times of national prosperity and self-confidence, be it in Periclean Athens, Elizabethan England, or the heyday of the Renaissance city states. The Rome of Gregory I was not such a place; it had barely begun to recover from what were certainly the worse years of its long history, more than a half-century of war, siege, flood, famine, and plague. Gregory had little time for liturgy and chant; he was engaged in a desperate effort to bring food and medical attention to the refugee-ridden population, to restore a semblance of civil procedures, to salvage a portion of the ruined aqueduct system, and to organize a defense against the Lombards. He was clearly successful, and herein lies much of his undeniable greatness: he might be said to claim indirect credit for liturgical reform by establishing the conditions that would eventually make it possible. In any case by later in the century Rome was in a greatly improved state, its treasury enriched by a flood of pilgrims, its infrastructure enhanced by newly-built and restored churches, and its morale at a high pitch as it asserted itself against Byzantium and gained recognition throughout the peninsula as the leader in a movement toward Italian independence; a movement that would have a dramatic climax under Gregory II, when in 719 he refused to pay taxes to Byzantium on the Sicilian papal estates and when two years later he vigorously condemned the emperor's policy of iconoclasm. This is the sort of Rome in which the papal *schola cantorum* could be expected to have created the celebrated *cantus romanus*.²⁶

These reflections on the *schola* suggest a later-seventh-century to earlier-eighth-century period for the composition of the communion temporale. The activity is most plausibly viewed as having taken place in layers over one, two, or three generations, with the psalmic segments of the cycle preceding the various sets of gospel communions. At some point in the earlier to mid-eighth-century, however, it must have been given a final revision, beginning with the season of Advent, and have been looked upon ultimately by its creators as a

²⁶ On the general condition of Rome in Gregory I's time and the two succeeding centuries, see Peter Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971); and Richard Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980). On Rome's renewed self-assertion, see Thomas Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).

unified work. Some might view this as an excessively late chronology. The case for it has been based on speculation up to this point, but it should be bolstered considerably by the more technical argument that follows.

* * *

The argument has its starting point in *Mirabantur omnes*, a gospel communion that closes out the post-Christmas narrative sequence. It begins with this chant, and indeed ends with it, but will move necessarily through a quasi labyrinth of evidence involving some fourteen communions. To remain, however, with *Mirabantur omnes* for the moment, it can be shown that this chant was not added to the communion cycle until a remarkably late date, the mid-eighth century, or more precisely, sometime after 750.

The evidence for this conclusion is provided by the contemporary evangelary. The evangelary, of course, gives us the gospels from which the gospel communions derive their texts, so that if it were possible to date the gospel that inspired a particular communion, there would exist at least a *terminus a quo* for the date of the communion: the communion could hardly have been composed before the selection of the gospel which inspired it. What makes the thought promising is that there exist the sources to construct a fairly complete chronology of the seventh- and eighth-century Roman evangelary, a project that has in fact been realized by the liturgical scholar Theodor Klauser.²⁷ He analysed the existing manuscripts to create his classic schema, which ranges from the mid-seventh-century PI-type (after 645) to the mid-eighth-century DELTA (after 750). It happens, however, that there is very little change in gospel assignments throughout this period; most of the standard medieval gospels are in place already with the early PI-type, and could be considerably older for all we know. Thus the hope of dating gospel communions, that seemed so promising in the abstract, appears to be unfulfilled in practice.

But *Mirabantur* offers a happy exception. Table 5 displays a small segment of the church year, the Epiphany and the three Sundays after the Epiphany. The first three dates illustrate the typical situation: all four of Klauser's types, PI, LAMBDA, ZETA, and DELTA, have the same gospel so that they offer no help in dating the derivative gospel communion. For the third Sunday after the Epiphany, how-

²⁷ *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 28 (Münster in Westphalia: Aschendorf, 1935).

ever, there is a change of gospels in the DELTA-type. Luke 4.14-22 replaces the older gospel from Matthew, and it happens that the communion *Mirabantur* is derived from this gospel, not the earlier one. The change in gospels dates to after 750, leading to the conclusion that *Mirabantur* could not have been added to the communion cycle until that remarkably late time.

Table 5
Epiphany Gospels and Communions

	Gospels		Communions
Epiphany:	PI LAMBDA ZETA DELTA	Cum natus esset Jesus . . . regionem suam. (Mt 2.1-12)	<i>Vidimus stellam</i> (Mt 2.2)
Sunday I:	PI LAMBDA ZETA DELTA	Cum factus esset Jesus homines. (Lk 2.42-52)	<i>Fili quid fecisti</i> (Lk 2.48-49)
Sunday II:	PI LAMBDA ZETA DELTA	Nuptias factae sunt in Cana ejus. (Jn 2.7-11)	<i>Dicit dominus</i> (Jn 2.7-11)
Sunday III:	PI LAMBDA ZETA	Cum descendisset Jesus ex illa hora. (Mt 8.1-13)	
	DELTA	Regressus est Jesus de ore Dei. (Lk 4.14-22)	<i>Mirabantur omnes</i> (Lk 4.22)

And if this is true of *Mirabantur*, it might be true of all gospel communions, or at least those of the post-Christmas narrative group. The speculation gains credence upon examining the reason for changing the gospel that inspired *Mirabantur*; it appears to have been done in order to perfect the post-Christmas narrative, which, as observed above, begins with scenes from the infancy of Jesus and closes with events from the beginning of his public life. To take just the three Sundays after the Epiphany, the gospel (and communion) for the first tells of Jesus being lost in the Temple at the age of twelve; that for the second Sunday is about his first miracle at the marriage feast of Cana; and the original gospel for the third Sunday, Matthew 8.1-13, narrates an event well into his public life, the healing of the centurion's servant. Luke 4.14-22 is an ideal replacement for this; it tells of Jesus' first sermon, that delivered in his hometown synagogue

at Nazareth, when he read the Messianic prophecy of Isaiah and applied it to himself. The communion *Mirabantur* is from the last verse of the gospel, telling how “all wondered at those things which proceeded from the mouth of God.” So one might well suppose that the inspiration to compose the entire post-Christmas gospel communion sequence came with the proper completion of the gospel series.

There is, however, strong musical evidence separating *Mirabantur* from the other communions in the series. It was noted above already that the communions for the first and second Sundays after the Epiphany are long dialogue chants of striking tonal and aesthetic affinity, while *Mirabantur* is a brief chant of sharply different aspect. It has an even stronger musical differentiation in that it is one of that puzzling minority of communions (encountered above in the five Lenten gospel communions) that have an original syllabic melody and a variety of melodies in the later sources (see Example 5).²⁸ The musical contrast suggests a chronological separation: if the three post-Epiphany communions had been composed at the same time, it is likely that all three would have been composed in the same general style. There is, then, no evidence to move the other gospel communions of the post-Christmas sequence up to the extremely late date established for *Mirabantur*; it must remain in isolation for the moment as the solitary example of a mid-eighth-century communion.

But what of the five Lenten gospel communions that share the musical eccentricities of *Mirabantur*? Perhaps, as was the case with *Mirabantur*, there is some aspect of liturgical history that would help us to date this group also. There is, in point of fact, an extensive literature that deals at least in passing with the subject, but it all proposes an earlier rather than a later date.²⁹ Liturgical historians tell us—and they are followed in this by music historians—that the five communions were composed when the pre-baptismal scrutinies were moved from Sundays in Lent to weekdays. When this took place, the argument goes, the gospels for these Sundays were also moved to the weekdays in question. These new gospels then inspired the compo-

²⁸ These chants, with their radical melodic instability, may constitute the only significant exception within the Mass Proper to the phenomenon described by David G. Hughes, “Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant,” this JOURNAL 40 (1987): 377–404.

²⁹ See especially: Camille Callewaert, “S. Grégoire, les scrutins et quelques messes quadragesimales,” *Ephemerides liturgicae* 53 (1938): 191–203; René-Jean Hesbert, “Les Dimanches de carême dans les manuscrits Romano-Beneventains,” *Ephemerides liturgicae* 48 (1934): 198–222; and Antoine Chavasse, “Le Carême romain et les scrutins prébaptismaux avant le IX^e siècle,” *Recherches de science religieuse* 35 (1948): 325–81. See also Hucke and Huglo, “Communion,” 592.

Example 5

Mirabantur omnes

Eins. 121, 69

Chartres 47, 17

Graz 807, fol. 33v

Chartres 47, 17

Mont. 159, 79

Ben. 34, fol. 40

Mi-ra-ban-tur om-nes de his quae pro-ce-de-bant de

Mi-ra-ban-tur om-nes de his quae pro-ce-de-bant de

Mi-ra-ban-tur om-nes de his quae pro-ce-de-bant de

sition of the five Lenten gospel communions and their substitution for the five psalmic communions. This is said to have happened toward the end of the sixth century, and Gregory I himself is thought to have fashioned the communion texts from the gospel material.³⁰

What is good history in all this is that most probably three of the five gospels in question did at one time occupy positions on Lenten Sundays; we conclude this because Mozarabic, Beneventan, and Ambrosian sources all name three of the Sundays of Lent after these gospels.³¹ One Sunday is called *De Samaritana*, after its gospel, John 4.6-42, that narrates the conversation of Jesus with the Samaritan

³⁰ See Callewaert, "S. Grégoire," 198-202, who claims Gregory's authorship on the grounds of literary style. I find but one point in his argument convincing, where he compares the peculiar wording of the communion *Videns dominus* with a passage from Gregory's Homily on Ezekial. There is, however, nothing to prevent Gregory's homily from influencing the composer of the communion's text long after Gregory's death.

³¹ For a summary of relevant sources see Hesbert, "Les Dimanches de carême," 219, n. 1.

woman at the well; another is *De caeco*, after John 9.1–38, that tells of the man blind from birth; and a third *De Lazaro*, after John 11.1–45, that tells of the raising of Lazarus from the dead. If these gospels were read on Sundays in Lent in all the other Latin liturgies, it seems reasonable to assume that the same was the case at one time in Rome. Moreover, we know that the pre-baptismal scrutinies were originally observed on three Lenten Sundays—the older sacramentaries are explicit on this point—so it is all the more likely that these gospels, at least two of which have baptismal connotation, *De Samaritana* and *De caeco*, had been read at Rome on Lenten Sundays. The date of the transfer, finally, would have to have been sometime before the mid-seventh century because the gospels were already fixed in their weekday positions in the P1-type evangelary.

But it does not follow that the composition of the gospel communions had to take place on the occasion of the gospels' transfer; this could have been done at any time subsequently. And more than that, there are five gospel communions, not just three, an obvious enough point, but one consistently ignored in the literature on the subject. Two of the communions, *Oportet te* and *Nemo te condemnavit*, are derived from gospels that no one claims to have ever been transferred from Lenten Sundays or to have had anything to do with the scrutinies. The gospels are Luke 15.11–32, which narrates the parable of the Prodigal Son, and John 8.1–11, which tells the story of the woman taken in adultery. These are two of the most colorful events in the entire gospel literature, and herein, I believe, lies the explanation of the Lenten gospel communions' creation. What unites these two gospels with the other three in question is this special characteristic of telling a favorite story; the two tell of the Prodigal Son and the woman taken in adultery, while the three tell of the Samaritan woman, the man born blind from birth, and the raising of Lazarus. One can read through all the gospels of the Lenten weekdays and not find another of quite the same quality. The post-Vatican II Church apparently shares this view since it has had the five moved to Lenten Sundays within the three new annual cycles. Certainly, then, the most plausible explanation for the five Lenten gospel communions is to see at work the same narrative impulse that motivated the gospel communions of the post-Christmas and Easter sequences. It is likely that this was done towards the end of the enterprise; with all the obvious temporale dates already provided for, the *tabula rasa* of the weekday psalmic sequence must have provided a tempting location for new subjects.

The view that these five communions share with *Mirabantur* a place in the very latest stage of communion composition is further advanced by the point made above in connection with the post-Pentecostal commun-

ions. The five Lenten gospel communions, it will be recalled, replaced the psalmic communions that had texts derived from Psalms 12, 16, 17, 20, and 21; and the first three of these supposedly lost psalmic communions were found at the beginning of the post-Pentecostal sequence. They were not placed there until the final revision of the post-Pentecostal sequence, suggesting that the composition of their five gospel substitutes was not much earlier. There is, then, considerable circumstantial evidence, both liturgical and musical, that the five Lenten gospel communions were contemporary with *Mirabantur*.

There is more evidence, this perhaps the most telling. Two communions from the sanctorale, *Vos qui secuti* (see Example 6a) and

Example 6a

Vos qui secuti

Eins. 121, 305



Graz 807, fol. 146v

Vos qui se-cu-ti es-tis me se-de-bi-tis super sedes ju-di-can-tes

Mont. 159, 21

Vos qui se-cu-ti es-tis me in re-ge-ne-ra-ti-o - ne cum sederit

Ben. 34, fol. 236v

Vos qui se-cu-ti es-tis me di-cit domi-nus se-de-bi-tis

Nos autem (see Example 6b), share both of the musical traits in question, an original syllabic melody and subsequent melodic variety. And both are, like *Mirabantur*, demonstrably late additions to the repertory. *Vos qui secuti*, a gospel communion, is the communion for the feast of Saints Simon and Jude, a date which does not make its appearance in the evangelaries until the same mid-eighth-century DELTA-type that first provided the gospel from which *Mirabantur* is derived.³² The non-biblical *Nos autem*, communion for the two feasts

³² See Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliarum*, 166. Its history is similar in the other liturgical books, that is, the epistolaries and sacramentaries. As for epistolaries, it fails to appear in the earlier-seventh-century Würzburg Epistolary, and

gelaries, but always as alternate formularies that share the same date with more venerable festivals. Perhaps they were simply commemorated on these dates and thus lacked their own chants.³³ Something of the sort is suggested by the musical sources. Of the six manuscripts edited in the *Sextuplex*, the feast of the Invention appears only in the later ninth century Compiègne, while the feast of the exaltation appears only in the equally late Corbie and Senlis. *Nos autem* is the given communion in all three instances, but there is further evidence of its late addition to the repertory in the circumstance that it is frequently replaced by another chant in the notated sources.³⁴

Thus, while the liturgical history of *Mirabantur* and *Vos qui secuti* is virtually identical (both are based on mid-eighth-century gospels), that of *Nos autem* suggests, if anything, an even later addition to the repertory. Joined to this group of three by the circumstantial evidence of similar musical traits and speculative arguments from liturgical history are the five Lenten gospel communions, so that there would appear to be certainly three and probably five more communions composed in the mid-eighth-century. The significance of this is obvious in view of recent developments in chant scholarship. If either Kenneth Levy or David Hughes is correct in assigning the core Gregorian repertory to the reign of Charlemagne (768–814), we have here items from that repertory that originated no more than a generation or so earlier.³⁵ Suddenly we are granted a glimpse into Gregorian origins, long thought to be shrouded in centuries of

³³ The Invention of the Cross fails to appear altogether in the four evangelary types of Klauser; it does not appear in the Würzburg and Alcuin epistolaries, but does so finally in Murbach (#83). As for sacramentaries, it can be found in the Old Gelasian (Book II, 18), surely a later addition; it is in the Paduensis (#93), as an alternate (“*eodem die*”) to the feast of Saints Alexander, Eventus, and Theodolus; it is not in the Hadrianum, but is in the *Hucusque* supplement and the Eighth-Century Gelasian (Gellone #142), again on the same day as Alexander, Eventus, and Theodolus.

The Exaltation of the Cross appears in the LAMBDA- and ZETA-type evangelaries as an alternate to the feast of Saints Cyprian and Cornelius, but disappears from the DELTA-type; like the Invention, it is absent from the Würzburg and Alcuin epistolaries and present in Murbach, but with no original number of its own, indicating its late addition. As for sacramentaries, it is, like the Invention, in the Old Gelasian (Book II, 56); in the Paduensis it has no number, indicating its late addition, while it is in the Hadrianum (#159) as an alternate to Cyprian and Cornelius, and in the *Hucusque* supplement; it appears finally in the Eight-Century Gelasian (Gellone #237) as the principal item, its position reversed with that of Cyprian and Cornelius.

³⁴ See, for example, Durham 6, fol. 25, *Crux Jesu Christi* (Invention); Paris 1087, fol. 68, *Redemptor mundi* (Invention); Cambrai 61, fol. 97, *Per lignum servi* (Invention); and Monza 14.77, fol. 93, *Inventor mundi* (Invention).

³⁵ See Hughes, “Evidence for the Traditional View”; and Kenneth Levy, “Charlemagne’s Archetype of Gregorian Chant,” this *JOURNAL* 40 (1987): 1–30.

obscurity. It would be comforting to bring this enquiry to a close now and to savor this simple conclusion, but there is further evidence, indeed further layers of evidence. None of it works entirely against the chronology just suggested, but it does create serious complications, chiefly two.

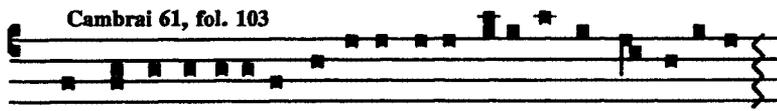
* * *

The first complication involves office antiphons. It is brought to our attention by the identification of still two more communions that possess the special characteristics of an original syllabic melody and subsequent melodic instability, bringing the total of these to ten. The two are *Spiritus sanctus docebit* and *Spiritus qui a patre*, the second of which can be seen in Example 7.

Example 7

Spiritus qui a patre

Cambrai 61, fol. 103



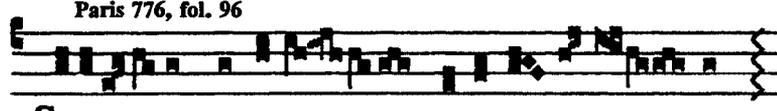
Spi - ri - tus qui a pa - tre pro - ce - dit al - le - lu - ia il - le me cla - ri - fi -

Harley 4951, fol. 247v



Spi - ri - tus qui a pa - tre pro - ce - dit al - le - lu - ia il - le me

Paris 776, fol. 96



Spi - ri - tus qui a pa - tre pro - ce - dit al - le - lu - ia

They are, course, the two chants from Pentecost week that were identified earlier as office antiphons. That these two are office antiphons raises the question of whether all ten of the chants might not be antiphons; their original syllabic style, after all, is characteristic of literally hundreds of office antiphons. The only way to find out, of course, is to extend the survey of antiphoners that was reported on above. There the three earliest published antiphoners were searched for melodic concordances between communions of the temporale and office antiphons, finding only *Spiritus sanctus* and *Spiritus qui*. Clearly

the next step would be to stay for the moment within the confines of these three antiphoners, but to include the communions of the sanctorale, with special interest attached to *Vos qui secuti* and *Nos autem*, the two sanctoral communions that belong to the suspect group of ten. It happens that one's suspicions are strikingly confirmed: *Vos qui secuti* appears as an antiphon in the Hartker and Quedlinburg manuscripts, and *Nos autem* appears in all three.³⁶ And more than that they are the only communions from the entire sanctorale to make such an appearance.

Four of the ten communions in question, then, are office antiphons, and one is encouraged to undertake the daunting task of surveying a considerably wider selection of antiphoners in the hope of finding melodic concordances for the remaining six, *Mirabantur* and the five Lenten gospel communions. Such a survey must involve not just these ten chants, but all communions for which textual concordances between communions and antiphons exist, a total of some fifty for both temporale and sanctorale. A tool with which to begin the survey exists in the *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, which edits the texts, not the music, of twelve antiphoners (one of the twelve is the Hartker codex, already examined, and another the unnotated Compiègne manuscript, so that it is a matter of ten additional manuscripts, rather than twelve).³⁷ It is necessary first to work through each edited manuscript text to establish the location of the textual concordances, and then to turn to the manuscripts themselves to see if the textual concordances are matched by musical concordances. Three aims are to be kept in mind during the search: (1) the positive one of confirming the status of the four already identified syllabic communion-antiphons, *Spiritus sanctus*, *Spiritus qui*, *Vos qui secuti*, and *Nos autem*; (2) a second positive one of finding melodic concordances among the six other syllabic communions, *Mirabantur* and the five Lenten gospel communions; and (3) the negative one of demonstrating that there are no melodic concordances among the approximately forty textual concordances that failed to reveal any in the previously examined three manuscripts. This last aim is fully as significant as the others, and it happens that not a single such concordance is to be found among the ten manuscripts. This is a remarkable enough finding in itself, and more than that it can be argued that it relieves one of the

³⁶ *Vos qui secuti*: Hartker, 289; Berlin 40047 (Quedlinburg), fol. 92v. *Nos autem*: Hartker, 258; Berlin 40047, fol. 104; Mt-Renaud, fol. 102v.

³⁷ Greatly slowing down the process is the circumstance that the *Corpus Antiphonarium* does not provide folio numbers.

Table 6
Communion and Antiphon Melodic Concordances

	Hartker	Berlin 40047	Mt- Renaud	Durham C.2	Bamberg 23	Ivrea 106	Monza 12.75	Verona 98	Rheinau 28	Paris 17296	Paris 12584	Add. 30850	Ben. 21
Mirabantur													55
Oportet te							145v						
Qui biberit													
Nemo te					65								110v
Letum fecit													
Videns dominus													
Spiritus sanctus	271	85v					176		549			135	
Spiritus qui	271	85v	96v				176			164		136	170
Vos qui secuti	289	92v				52	185v		561	193v		154	279v
Nos autem	258	104	102v		120v		196v		575	213v	324	127	246

responsibility of further concern about these forty texts when one moves into the still more difficult arena of antiphoners that are totally lacking in editing and indexing. It would seem that the thirteen antiphoners already surveyed are a wide enough sample to establish that these forty textual concordances do not in all probability represent melodic concordances, so that it should be permissible in subsequent searches to concentrate only on the ten more likely possibilities, a privilege that will be called upon here shortly.

The positive results of the enquiry (summarized in Table 6, where a folio number stands for a melodic concordance) are equally striking.³⁸ The overall impression created above in the preliminary survey of three early antiphoners (given as the first three manuscripts of the table) is maintained throughout. The four communions already identified as antiphons, the two syllabic *Spiritus* chants and the sanctorale pair, *Vos qui secuti* and *Nos autem*, are well represented, while there are only widely scattered appearances by any of the other six. These isolated appearances are, nevertheless, of the greatest significance. *Mirabantur* appears in only one antiphoner, but one is enough to establish its identity as an antiphon (the melody found there, appropriately enough, is the syllabic D-mode one, not the familiar neumatic G-mode melody of the *Graduale romanum*). The manuscript itself, the only extant Gregorian antiphoner from the Beneventan area, is of some significance. We know from Thomas Kelly's recent study that Beneventan sources of Gregorian chant reflect a very early usage, later-eighth-century probably, so that *Mirabantur*'s appearance here and its absence in the northern sources suggests that it was dropped from the Carolingian repertory of office antiphons at an early date.³⁹

Of the five gospel communions, the melodies of only two appear, *Oportet te* once and *Nemo te* twice. One tends, however, to think of the five as a group that share a common history; they were inserted into the weekday Lenten liturgy as a discrete set, and they share, of course, an original musical style and a similar melodic variety in the later graduals. If it can be shown that two of them were borrowed

³⁸ Incipits are not included. A number of melodic incipits indicating melodic concordances do occur, but always in manuscripts where the full melody appears in another place.

³⁹ See Thomas Forest Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 19–22. *Mirabantur* also fails to appear in the ninth-century tonary edited by Walther Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar von Metz*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 43 (Münster in Westphalia: Aschendorf, 1965).

from the repertory of antiphons, it seems likely that all five were. In any case a further search of the antiphoners is clearly in order, one that can concentrate simply on these five chants, and indeed a survey of only the next two most likely sources yields positive results. The twelfth-century Aquitanian manuscript, Toledo, Archivo Capitular, MS 44.2, despite an unfortunate gap in its Lenten pages, has two more of the five, *Lutum fecit* and *Videns dominus*, bringing the total of those discovered to four.⁴⁰ The earlier and apparently related Toledo 44.1 comes close to producing all five: in addition to *Lutum fecit* and *Videns dominus* it has *Oportet te*, although its *Nemo te* has a different syllabic melody, and *Qui biberit*, the only chant not yet located, appears without notation.⁴¹ It is hard to imagine that the melody of *Qui biberit* will not be found eventually in some other antiphoner; but even if it is not, it seems safe to assert, in view of the otherwise common history of its four companions, that it too was originally an antiphon. All ten communions in question, then, were borrowed from the antiphon repertory, a circumstance that raises any number of questions; but before discussing them, the second of the two complications referred to above must be introduced.

* * *

This involves Frankish participation in the composition of the communion cycle. Up to this point chronology alone has been the consideration in dealing with liturgical sources, not their provenance, but it happens that certain of the later-eighth-century sources in the Roman tradition were compiled under Carolingian auspices and contain Frankish additions to the Roman liturgy. This is true, for example, of the so-called Eighth-Century Gelasian sacramentary type,⁴² and, even more revelantly to present purposes, of the DELTA-type evangelary.⁴³ *Mirabantur*, then, is not just a mid-eighth-century addition to the communion cycle; it is a Frankish addition, and one that we can hardly imagine to have become part of the Mass

⁴⁰ *Lutum fecit*: Toledo 44.2, fol. 75v; *Videns dominus*: Toledo 44.2, fol. 76v. Facilitating inspection of this manuscript is the index prepared under the supervision of Ruth Steiner in the *Cantus* series (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, n.d.).

⁴¹ *Oportet te*: Toledo 44.1, fols. 59–59v; *Qui Biberit*, 62; *Nemo te*, fol. 62v; *Lutum fecit*, fol. 64v; and *Videns dominus*, fol. 65.

⁴² Eighth-Century Gelasians are as a matter of fact just as often referred to as Frankish-Gelasians, and less often the Sacramentary of Pepin the Short; see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 70–71.

⁴³ Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare*, 131.

Proper until after Pope Stephen II's momentous visit with Peppin at Saint-Denis in 754.⁴⁴ The case for Frankish involvement becomes all the stronger when we consider that the ZETA-evangelary-type, the one that precedes the DELTA-type in Klauser's categorization, is itself a mid-eighth-century evangelary, but a purely Roman, not a Frankish one.⁴⁵ Clearly if the gospel from which *Mirabantur* is derived fails to appear in mid-eighth century Roman books, but does so in those of contemporary Francia, *Mirabantur* must be a Frankish addition. The conclusion is confirmed, moreover, by the witness of the Old Roman graduals, where *Mirabantur* does not appear as the communion for the third Sunday after the Epiphany in either the Bodmer 74 or Vatican latin 5319 manuscripts, but only as an alternate in the later San Pietro B 22.⁴⁶

Vos qui secuti and *Nos autem* have similar histories. *Vos qui secuti* is the communion for the feast of Sts. Simon and Jude, a feast that is absent from the Roman evangeliaries, and puts in its first appearance in the Frankish DELTA-type evangeliaries, so that the very festival appears to be of Frankish origin.⁴⁷ The situation with *Nos autem* is, as was seen above, somewhat more complex. Still, all the later sources, where the feast of the *Inventio* and the *Exaltatio* enjoy the unambiguous existence of being either the sole feast celebrated on a particular date or the first given, are Frankish.⁴⁸ And while *Mirabantur* failed to appear in the expected place in the Old Roman graduals, *Vos qui secuti* and *Nos autem* are absent altogether. Clearly the three are Frankish additions to the communion cycle.

At this point one is reminded of the two communions from Holy Week that were singled out earlier for their curious status: Good

⁴⁴ There is no evidence of wholesale adoption of the Roman liturgy by the Franks before this time; see Cyrille Vogel, "La Romanisation du culte sous Pépin et Charlemagne," in *Culto cristiano politica imperiale carolingia* (Todi: L'Accademia Tudertina, 1979), 15-41.

⁴⁵ Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare*, 93.

⁴⁶ See Max Lütolf, ed., *Das Graduale von Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (Cod. Bodmer 74)* (Geneva: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1987), vol. 1, 71-72; *Mirabantur* appears in Vat lat 5319 and Bodmer 74 as an alternate communion for the second Sunday after the Epiphany. I can offer no likely explanation for its presence here. The standard Old Roman communion for the third Sunday after the Epiphany is *Puer Jesus proficiebat* (Lk 2.52), an appropriate enough chant for the season, but one that does not match the Roman gospel of the day.

⁴⁷ See n. 32 above. All the sources in which the date appears are Frankish: in addition to the DELTA-type evangeliaries, there are the Murbach Epistolary, the Eighth-Century Gelasians and the *Hucusque* supplement to the Hadrianum.

⁴⁸ See n. 33 above. Both dates make their first appearance in the Eighth-Century or Frankish Gelasians.

Friday's *Ecce lignum*, a non-biblical communion, and Holy Saturday's *Cito euntes*, a gospel communion. Their curiosity consisted chiefly in that they appeared on dates when we do not expect communions, and that this appearance was confined to the Rheinau manuscript, a gradual well known for its many anomalies.⁴⁹ In the present context, in any case, what is significant is that this is a Frankish source, so that the communions are two more Frankish additions to the repertory. They do not, however, enjoy the same status as the other additions because of the ephemeral nature of their appearance. It was, in point of fact, their short-lived history that made them a minor mystery: because of their absence from the notated graduals their melodies appear to have been lost. But from what we know now of Frankish additions to the communion cycle we might suspect that, if they still exist, it would be as syllabic office antiphons. It happens, in fact, that an appropriately syllabic melody for *Cito euntes* is very common in the antiphoners (see Example 8);⁵⁰ while the less frequently encountered

Example 8

Cito euntes

Paris 17296, fol. 143

Ci-to e-un-tes di-ci-te di-ci-pu-lis qui-a sur-rex-it do-mi-nus al-le-lu-ia

Ecce lignum appears, not surprisingly, with the familiar neumatic melody sung at the unveiling of the cross on Good Friday.⁵¹ In my earlier reference to the two communions I promised that they would appear later reunited with their lost melodies; the melodies cited here are, in all probability, those to which the Franks of a limited time and place sang the two communions.

And what of the seven remaining communions from the communion-antiphon group of ten, the two *Spiritus* chants and the five Lenten gospel communions? It would be altogether tidier and easier to explain if they also were of Frankish origin, but the liturgical evidence speaks strongly

⁴⁹ See n. 7 above.

⁵⁰ See also Hartker, 226; Berlin 40078, fol. 68v; Mt-Renaud, fol. 88; Durham C.2, fol. 152v; Bamberg 23, fol. 84v; Rheinau 28, fols. 528 and 530; and Ben. 21, fol. 136.

⁵¹ Its only appearance with notation (Paris 12584, fol. 377) is for the ceremony of the unveiling of the cross. It appears only once in a notated manuscript as an office antiphon (Exaltation of the Cross, Monza 12.75, fol. 196v), but without notation, leaving one to assume that the familiar melody is intended.

against the possibility. The five gospel communions are not only present in the Old Roman graduals, but the gospels from which they are derived are present in the Roman evangelaries. The two *Spiritus* communions, it will be recalled, were not derived from the gospels of the day, and, therefore, the evangelary evidence is irrelevant; but they do appear in the Old Roman graduals so that they too must have been in place before the Roman gradual was sent north to the Franks.

This last use of the Old Roman evidence has occurred several times in these pages. It involves an assumption that enjoys widespread currency in chant studies, and it is one with which I, for one, find nothing to question. Perhaps, however, it should at least be made explicit here if only to create awareness of its status as an assumption. To state it as briefly as possible, Mass Proper chants appearing regularly in both the Old Roman and Gregorian graduals existed in the Roman liturgy before it was sent north to the Franks after 754; exceptions may exist, but they are rare and make themselves immediately apparent, for example, the Easter vigil canticles with their Gregorian melodies.

Stating the assumption in this manner serves a second purpose: it raises the possibility that there may be other Frankish additions to the early communion temporale beyond those considered already. There is, of course, the *Omnes gentes* mass formulary, with its communion *Inclina aurem tuam*; Dom Hesbert demonstrated many years ago that it is a late-eighth-century Frankish addition to the Roman gradual, inserted at the place of the seventh Sunday after Pentecost.⁵² The rubric, incidentally, that introduces the formulary in the early-ninth-century Blandin manuscript gives us a precious insight into the whole question of the early Frankish and Roman musical relationship. It reads: *Ista ebdomata non est in antiphonarios romanos* ("this week is not in the Roman antiphoners"),⁵³ so that we have an actual contemporary of Charlemagne speaking of Frankish additions to the Roman gradual. *Inclina aurem tuam*, then, antiphon or not, is such an addition, and if one compares the entire communion temporale of the Old Roman gradual with that of the Gregorian, there are only two discrepancies to be found beyond those already cited here, one an omission and the other an addition. The omission is *Tristitia vestra*, the Roman communion for the Sunday after the Ascension, for which the Franks substituted *Pater cum essem*, a responsory-communion. I can offer no

⁵² See René-Jean Hesbert, "La Messe *Omnes gentes* du VII^e dimanche après la Pentecôte et l'*Antiphonale Missarum* romain," *Revue Grégorienne* 17 (1932): 81-89, 170-79; 18 (1933): 1-14.

⁵³ *Sextuplex*, 180.

explanation for the dropping of *Tristitia vestra* from the Frankish gradual unless it be that it also was a responsory and as such dispensable.⁵⁴

It is additions in any case that are of greater relevance here, and the addition in question is one of special interest. It is the fifth Sunday after Easter's *Cantate domino*, which was singled out above for the way in which it achieved symmetry between the Christmas and Paschaltide communion sequences. Apparently this represents a Frankish change to the Roman scheme. This is interesting enough in itself, a Frankish adjustment to the Roman communion cycle that represents an improvement from an aesthetic point of view. More to the point, however, we have in *Cantate domino* a second Frankish addition to the communion cycle, along with the previously cited *Inclina aurem tuam*, whose origin requires explanation. We know that neither are Gregorian office antiphons from the previous surveys of the antiphoners. *Cantate domino*, in fact, does not at all resemble an antiphon; it is a moderately long and elaborate chant, that has about it the look of a responsory-communion, but it failed also to appear as a responsory in those same surveys. It can be found, however, in the Old Roman antiphoners as a responsory for the fifth Sunday after Easter; Example 9, which compares the chants in the Gregorian gradual of Montpellier 159 and the Old Roman antiphoner of S. Pietro B 79, shows enough of the melodies to establish the relationship.⁵⁵ We have, then, a satisfactory explanation of its history; it is still another example of a communion from the latter stages of Paschaltide that was borrowed from the responsory repertory. It differs, however, from its six companion pieces (underlined above in Table 3) in two respects: it was added to the cycle not by the Romans, but by the Franks, and the Franks, for reasons unknown to us, omitted it from the Gregorian antiphoners.

Inclina is a different matter (see Example 10). It is a short, antiphon-like chant, but it was not located in our search of the Gregorian antiphoners, and neither does it appear in the Old Roman

⁵⁴ It is at least a possibility. *Tristitia vestra* does not appear as a responsory in either of the extant Old Roman antiphoners, but there is a *Tristitia vestra* responsory in the larger Gregorian repertory, even if its melody does not resemble the Old Roman communion sufficiently to make a strong claim for an original identity. For an example of the Gregorian responsory see Paris 17296, fol. 151.

⁵⁵ It is found in the other Old Roman antiphoner, Add. 29988, fol. 85v.

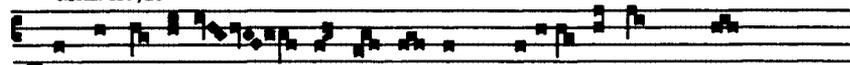
216

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Example 9

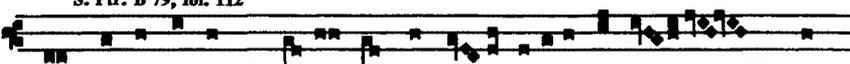
Cantate domino

Mont. 159, 26



C an - ta - te do - mi - no al - le - lu - ia can - ta - te do - mi - no

S. Ptr. B 79, fol. 112



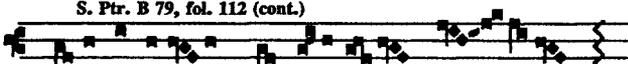
C an - ta - te do - mi - no al - le - lu - ia can - ta - te do - mi - (et)

Mont. 159, 26 (cont.)



be - ne - di - ci - te no - men e - jus be - ne

S. Ptr. B 79, fol. 112 (cont.)



be - ne - di - ci - te no - men e - jus be - ne

Example 10

Inclina aurem tuam

Mont. 159, 54



I n - cli - na aurem tu - am ac - ce - le - ra ut e - ru - as nos

antiphoners.⁵⁶ Some might argue that it is a lost antiphon, pointing to *Mirabantur*, which failed to appear until the last antiphoner of those examined here. Others might say that this unimpressive creation could very well have been an early attempt at Gregorian composition by Frankish cantors: it is quite lacking in the exquisite melodic shape and tonal coherence of other short communions like *Nos autem*, *Spiritus qui*, or *In splendoribus*. But these are only guesses, and the piece will have to remain in existence here as a puzzling anomaly. In any case it seems an insignificant enough object—the shortest item in the entire

⁵⁶ See the index of Old Roman antiphons in Edward C. Nowacki, "Studies in the Office Antiphons of the Old Roman Manuscripts" (Ph. D. diss., Brandeis University, 1980), 605–51.

Mass Proper—one that should not be allowed to prevent an effort to explain the meaning of the evidence so far presented.

To summarize that evidence, before attempting an explanation, the first of the two so-called complications, that dealing with antiphon-communions, produced a simple enough conclusion: the ten syllabic communions that had occupied our attention for much of this study were all found to be office antiphons. Our consideration of Frankish involvement, on the other hand, produced somewhat more complicated results. Three of the ten antiphon-communions, *Mirabantur*, and the pair from the sanctorale, *Vos qui secuti* and *Nos autem*, were seen to be Frankish additions, while the other seven, the two *Spiritus* chants and the five Lenten gospel communions, appear to have been part of the Roman cycle. Four more Frankish additions were revealed. An eleventh antiphon-communion, *Cito euntes*, had a short-lived and regionally limited existence, as did its companion piece, *Ecce lignum*, which was borrowed from the Good Friday adoration of the cross. Their history is not particularly problematic in itself, nor is that of *Cantate domino*, which is easily understood as another example of a Paschaltide responsory-communion, one, however, contributed by the Franks rather than the Romans. The short and awkward *Inclina aurem tuam* is a truly puzzling piece, perhaps a Frankish compositional effort, but in any case a Frankish addition to the communion cycle. These additional four, then, along with the three antiphon-communions, amount to a modest, but not entirely inconsequential, Frankish adjustment to the Roman communion cycle.

Thus a number of elements go together to make up a complex equation: there are the ten antiphon-communions (eleven if one includes *Cito euntes*) and the seven partially overlapping Frankish additions that must be factored into the compositional scheme of the overall cycle. The cycle is complex in itself, with its various strata of psalmic and gospel communions, its apparent beginnings in Advent, its seeming completion with the responsory- and antiphon-communions of Paschaltide, its late adjustments to the Lenten and post-Pentecostal sequences, and, of course, its inclusion of the Lenten Thursdays under Gregory II. An attempt in this study to fashion a detailed and coherent chronological scenario that embraces all the evidence would be premature; there is too much that is new here and too great a possibility that additional findings will come to light. Rather a series of miscellaneous reflections seems more appropriate.

* * *

To begin with, the naive expectation that the actual composition of *Mirabantur* and a number of related chants could be dated to a time after 750 must be dismissed. At one point in this study it appeared that they could be, but this tentative conclusion was contradicted by the discovery that *Mirabantur* and its companions were originally office antiphons. In point of fact a reversal of chronological determination results: rather than a demonstration that certain communions were composed after 750, there is a demonstration that certain antiphons were composed before that date. This has nothing to do with the aims of the present study, but it is not without significance of its own. The earliest notated antiphoners date from after 1000, and one might well wonder when the central repertory of antiphons came into existence: the eleven involved here strongly suggest that it was prior to the mid-eighth century for at least a substantial portion of that repertory.⁵⁷

There is a similar conclusion to be drawn in the area of Magnificat antiphons, again stemming from the history of *Mirabantur*. *Mirabantur*, as we know now, owes its place at the third Sunday after the Epiphany to the Luke 4.14–22 gospel that the Franks substituted for the Roman choice of Matthew 8.1–13. It so happens that many Gregorian Magnificat antiphons, like communions, are based on the gospel of the day, and the antiphon for the third Sunday after the Epiphany, *Domine si tu vis*, is derived from the earlier Matthew 8.1–13 gospel. It too, then, must be pre-Frankish in origin, and more than that, so must many other of the Gregorian Magnificat antiphons. A hasty survey of their texts shows them to display compositional planning similar to that of communions; their melodies, moreover, with their series of mode-one and mode-eight melodies show at least as much musical patterning as communions. It appears, then, that

⁵⁷ Richard Crocker, for one, manifests concern over the question: "At present it is not possible to say to what degree these processes were carried on in Rome or in Frankishland, by Roman cantors or by Frankish." See Richard Crocker and David Hiley, eds., *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, *The New Oxford History of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 158. Crocker, it is true, is referring more to the process of repertory expansion, by both the reuse of model melodies and the development of new ones, but the results of the present study demonstrate at the very least a representative sample of the repertory in existence at Rome by the mid-eighth century. *Nos autem*, it should be noted, employs the extremely common *thème 23* of François Gevaert's *La Mélodie antique dans le chant de l'église latine* (Ghent: Hoste, 1895). We must conclude from this either that *Nos autem* was the original example of *thème 23* or, more likely, that the process of replication was already underway in Rome at the time in question.

they were composed in organized groups rather than one at a time, so that *Domine si tu vis* must be only one of many composed before 750. An entirely new field of enquiry, by the way, is opened up here: we are invited to examine the annual cycle of Magnificat antiphons in the same manner as the communion cycle, and with the same hope of discovering internal evidence suggesting chronological layering.⁵⁸

It seems possible now to explain the curious phenomenon of the syllabic communions with differing melodies in the later sources. Helmut Hucke and Michel Huglo were certainly on the right track when they wrote of the five gospel communions which “resemble simple Office antiphons,” that “the editors of the Gregorian gradual were concerned to make clear distinctions between liturgical genres, and they therefore replaced some of the original melodies by others, more elaborate in style, and closer to the other communions of the repertory.”⁵⁹ We know now that that there was an even stronger motivation to compose new communion melodies: it was to differentiate the communion sung at Mass from an office antiphon that had been sung earlier that very day at matins. That there exist, moreover, several different melodies rather than just a single new one, is what we should expect since these melodies are found in sources far removed in time and place from the period of Carolingian uniformity.

This entire matter of the provenance of musical manuscripts has been studiously avoided throughout this study. To pursue it adequately would be a vast undertaking and one not certain to yield substantial results; at this point no more than a few fleeting impressions are in order. It was mentioned above that the sole appearance of *Mirabantur* as an office antiphon was in an antiphoner from Benvenuto, reminding us that Gregorian manuscripts from that center manifest particularly early traits, suggestive of later-eighth-century Frankish-Roman usage. A broader observation is that later German graduals tend to retain the original syllabic melodies of the antiphon-communions, while the greatest variety of more elaborate melodies appear in Aquitanian sources. For a more specific point, one that is particularly puzzling, the earliest German non-diatematic graduals have only the syllabic D-mode melody of *Mirabantur*, while the Chartres 47 gradual has both the D-mode and the neumatic G-mode

⁵⁸ The same may be true of Benedictus antiphons. It is Crocker again who shows considerable awareness of the unique aspects of Magnificat and Benedictus antiphons: *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, 161–62.

⁵⁹ “Communion,” 592. They were referring also in this passage to three others of the group treated in the present study: *Mirabantur*, *Spiritus qui a patre*, and *Vos qui secuti*.

melodies in non-diastematic neumations (see Example 5 above).⁶⁰ Moreover the Old Roman graduals have a melody related to the latter, not to the supposedly original D-mode one.⁶¹ I am at a loss to explain this confusing set of circumstances that might seem to suggest, among other possibilities, a greater antiquity for the neumatic melody than the syllabic one.

But these are side issues, the central concern here is with the chronology of the communion temporale. I have already indicated my reluctance to attempt a reconstruction of the entire cycle, but it might be possible to speculate with profit on at least one obviously late portion of it, Paschaltide, with its generous borrowing of office chants, an activity shared by Roman and Frankish cantors. Perhaps the first thought to come to mind is that this borrowing signals an end to the creative phase of communion composition, and indeed of Mass Proper composition in general. We might visualize the Roman *schola cantorum*, no longer fired with the enthusiasm of creation, although still responsible for the regular performance of the Stational liturgy. One recalls Bach's abandonment of regular cantata composition at Leipzig after 1729, while remaining in charge of Sunday services at the principal churches of the city. Bach reused his earlier cantatas, just as the *schola* turned to the repertory of office chants to complete the Paschaltide sequence. But we ought not to push the analogy too far. Bach's case represents distinctly different stages in his biography, while, as we have seen above, the *schola*'s completion of the Paschal season's communion cycle with borrowed responsories and antiphons was a perfectly natural conclusion to the first half of the sequence. The gospels of the period from the Ascension to Pentecost Saturday did not provide particularly appropriate communion texts, so that the recourse to office chants might be better interpreted as an act of resourcefulness rather than creative exhaustion. Certainly the Paschaltide communions as a whole give the impression of a nicely coherent sequence, and, more than that, it is hard to imagine that the Easter-Ascension portion of it would have been completed at an earlier time, while the Ascension-Pentecost portion would have been allowed to remain as a gaping hole in the cycle for a period of many years.

If the Paschaltide communion sequence appears to have been fashioned at more or less the same time, then, how late might this have been? The Franks, like the Romans before them, added office chants to the communion cycle, doing so sometime after 754. Was their activity in direct continuity with that of the Romans, or was it

⁶⁰ As does Laon 239, 25.

⁶¹ See Stäblein, 488; and Lütolf, vol. 2, 22v.

separated by many years? Either alternative is possible, but certainly that of continuity is more plausible in view of the strikingly homogeneous character of the Frankish and Roman efforts. The Roman borrowing of office chants for use in the Mass Proper was not a widely applied practice of long standing, the sort of thing that one might expect to be a matter of general knowledge; rather it was a device used within very narrow limits, something that one might well imagine Frankish cantors to have learned from direct contact with their Roman contemporaries.

Acceptance of this idea would move the composition of the entire Paschaltide sequence of communions, or at least its final revision, to the mid-eighth century. There is, however, an argument to be made against it from the borrowing of chants that took place when the Thursdays in Lent were established as liturgical in the time of Gregory II (715–31). Original communions (and other items of the Mass Proper) were not composed for the six Thursdays involved, but rather borrowed from the post-Pentecostal series. Some might conclude from this that the creative period of the Roman *schola cantorum* was at an end at least two decades before mid-century, thus precluding the sort of original composition that characterizes the first half of the Paschaltide sequence. But it can be said in reply that the Thursdays of Lent presented neither the same compositional opportunity nor imperative as did Paschaltide. One can well imagine the pragmatic step of borrowing chant formularies for these Lenten dates at any time, before, during, or after, the more creative activity of providing Paschaltide with a complete set of thematically appropriate communions. There is, therefore, a likely three-link chain of activity—the Roman communion composition of the first portion of Paschaltide, the Roman borrowing of antiphons and responsories to complete the season, and the similar borrowing of the Franks to put the finishing touches on the entire cycle—that remains a reasonably strong argument for a late completion of at least one major segment of the communion *temporale*.

Perhaps the aspect of all this that is the most difficult to grasp is the precise nature of the Frankish involvement. In what cathedral, court, or monastery did it take place, and which bishop, court official, or abbot was responsible for it? Are we to think that Frankish cantors at Saint-Denis were already busy adding antiphon-communions to the annual cycle that very year, 754, when Pope Stephen and his retinue

were there in residence?⁶² It does not seem particularly plausible, but I, for one, am not ready to undertake the task of suggesting more likely alternatives, even if there does exist a fair measure of liturgical and general historical evidence from the period and region that might permit profitable speculation on the matter. Such speculation would, in any case, center about a time and place far removed from the Rome of Gregory I, and this is conclusion enough with which to close the present study: *Mirabantur* was not composed after 750, but it is clear that the so-called Gregorian antiphoner of the Mass was still in the process of completion at that late date.

* * *

What is not a matter of speculation is the splendor of the communion temporale. It is a remarkable creation of epic proportions, like some great symphony, characterized on the one hand by the most patent symmetry and organization, and on the other by a consistent programmatic tendency that would have each episode within the whole thematically appropriate to the liturgical occasion. And it is at the same time a repository of internal evidence, an invitation to develop a new methodology, which, extended to other chant genres of the Mass and Office, promises at the very least to offer glimpses into the hitherto hidden development of seventh- and eighth-century Roman chant.

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LIST OF WORKS CITED

Manuscript Abbreviations (Facsimilies and Editions)

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| Bamberg 23 | Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MS lit. 23. [<i>Corpus Antiphonale</i> B] |
| Ben. 21 | Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 21. [<i>Corpus Antiphonale</i> L] |
| Ben. 34 | Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 34. [<i>Paléographie musicale</i> 15] |
| Berlin 40047 | Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus MS 40047. [Möller, <i>Das Quedlinburger Antiphonar</i>] |

⁶² For more detail on this event, see Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 25–29.

- Berlin 40078 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus MS 40078.
- Blandin Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MSS 10127-44. [Sextuplex B]
- Cambrai 61 Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS B 61(62).
- Chartres 47 Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 47. [*Paléographie musicale* 11]
- Durham C. 2 Durham, Chapter Library, MS B. iii. 11. [*Corpus Antiphonale* G]
- Durham U.6 Durham, University Library, MS Cosin V. V. 6.
Eins. 121 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 121. [*Paléographie musicale* 4]
- Bodmer 74 Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, MS 74. [Lütolf, *Das Graduale von Santa Cecilia*]
- Graz 807 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 807. [*Paléographie musicale* 19]
- Ivrea 106 Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 106. [*Corpus Antiphonale* E]
- Laon 239 Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 239. [*Paléographie musicale* 10]
- Add. 29988 London, British Library, MS Additional 29988.
Add. 30850 London, British Library, MS Additional 30850. [*Corpus Antiphonale* S]
- Harley 4951 London, British Library, MS Harley 4951.
Mont. 159 Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS H. 159. [*Paléographie musicale* 8]
- Monza 12.75 Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS c. 12.75. [*Corpus Antiphonale* M]
- Monza 14.77 Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS c. 14.77.
Monza Monza, Tesoro della Basilica S. Giovanni, "Codex Pupureo." [Sextuplex M].
- Paris 776 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, MS 776.
- Paris 903 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, MS 903. [*Paléographie Musicale* 13]
- Paris 1087 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, MS 1087.
- Corbie Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, MS 12050. [Sextuplex K]
- Paris 12584 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, MS 12584. [*Corpus Antiphonale* F]
- Paris 17296 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, MS 17296. [*Corpus Antiphonale* D]
- Compiègne Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, MS 17436. [Sextuplex C; *Corpus Antiphonale* C]
- Senlis Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 111. [Sextuplex S]

224	JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY
Mt-Renaud	Private Collection, "MS du Mont-Renaud". [<i>Paléographie musicale</i> 16]
Hartker	Saint-Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MSS 390–91. [<i>Paléographie musicale</i> , 2nd series, 1]
S. Ptr. B22	Rome, Archivio S. Pietro, MS B 22.
S. Ptr. B79	Rome, Archivio S. Pietro, MS B 79.
Vat lat 5319	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS latin 5319. [Stäblein, <i>Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale</i>]
Toledo 44.1	Toledo, Archivo Capitular, MS 44.1.
Toledo 44.2	Toledo, Archivo Capitular, MS 44.2.
Verona 98	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 98. [<i>Corpus Antiphonale</i> V]
Rheinau 28	Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 28. [<i>Corpus Antiphonale</i> R]
Rheinau	Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 30. [Sextuplex R]

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ABSTRACT

Musical and liturgical historians alike are familiar with the numerical series of weekday communions derived from Psalms 1-26. What is less well known is that the communion texts for the entire temporale reveal similar compositional patterns. The cycle begins with a richly evocative group for Advent and the day of Christmas derived from the Prophets, and continues after Christmas with a series of vignettes drawn from the gospels, providing a history in miniature of Jesus' childhood and early public life. The potential for narrative is not so great for Paschaltide, but there is no less symmetry in the disposition of its communions, virtually all of which are taken from either the gospels or—another innovation—the epistles. Finally the post-Pentecostal season, despite its more irregular history, boasts a concentration of twelve communions unified by the related themes of harvest, sacrifice and eucharist, a poetic gesture recalling the Advent and Christmas day group.

The cycle as a whole is replete with internal evidence, suggesting a project of wholesale revision and composition that took place over a period of two or three generations at most. There are broad circumstances, involving liturgy, music and the historical background, that locate the bulk of this activity in the Roman *schola cantorum* of the later-seventh and earlier-eighth

centuries. More precise chronological indications, in turn, place the last stages of the effort, involving the borrowing of responsories and antiphons from the Office, as late as the mid-eighth century. It is clear, in fact, that this was accomplished with the participation of the Franks.



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The critical edition of the Roman Gradual by the monks of Solesmes

Dom Jacques Froger OSB

Generally speaking, a critical edition aims to re-constitute a text in the state in which its author left it, or at least something as close as possible to that 'authentic' state. In the case of a book like the Roman Gradual, the collection of pieces of chant for Mass, rather special circumstances obtain. We have to restore not the single text usual for critical editions, but a double text, one literary, the other musical. One cannot restore the music alone, for the melody is bound intimately to the words. One must restore words and music together.

We do not know who was the author: in any case, there were undoubtedly many, at least for the literary text, for the Gradual was constituted by the successive addition of different ceremonies and pieces which came together over a period of time. Our goal may be stated in more modest terms: the author remaining abstract,

Froger: Gradual

so to speak, we aim to restore the Gradual to the state in which it was diffused in the Carolingian Empire from the last quarter of the 8th century. The archetype transmitted then, the origin of all surviving manuscripts, is the most ancient state to which we can attain: for us, this is the 'authentic' Gradual.

Work on the critical edition of the Roman Gradual began at Solesmes in May 1948. There was a long preparatory phase. It was necessary to draw up a list of manuscripts, with particular regard for the most ancient ones; to seek to discover their provenance; to prepare a short notice and summary bibliography for each one; and to provide sigla for those we proposed to study. The results of this preparatory work were published in 1957 in tome II: *Les Sources*, which is simply a catalogue.

Tome IV: *Le Texte neumatique* was published next. Its first part *Le Groupement des manuscrits* appeared in 1960, and the second *Les Relations généalogiques des manuscrits* in 1962. Tome III: *Le Texte littéraire* is in preparation; before it is consigned to the printer it only remains to put it into its definitive form and layout, not an easy matter. Tome V, which will follow, will resume the literary text established in tome III and will join it to the restored music. Tome I will appear last, and will be a sort of general preface to the whole work. The work, done at Solesmes, was at first published by the Abbaye Saint-Pierre; this is now done by the Libreria Vaticane, Città del Vaticano, Rome.

Froger: Gradual

After this survey of the publication as a whole, there now follow some more detailed remarks about tome IV and particularly about the volume still in preparation, tome III.

Tome IV contains a preliminary study of the relations between the manuscripts as a whole. For this we worked from neumatic variants: it was the only way to compare all the sources with each other, whether noted purely in neumes or on the staff. This work of unravelling a very large number of sources was done by means of a probe, on a sample which included only a part of the repertory. The minute comparison of some 400 manuscripts revealed a vast number of variants. We eliminated the least considerable ones, and, among those which could not be ignored, we retained only those which were to be found in not too small a number of manuscripts. These 'variants with multiple witness' made it possible to distinguish the main outlines of the tradition without too much fragmentation. The sample offered 150 points of variance, that is to say places where there were a number of variants, from two or three to seven or eight different readings.

At each of these points of variance we compared each manuscript with all the others, counting not the number of agreements (as Dom Quentin had done) but the disagreements or differences; their number gave the 'distance' between each manuscript and all the others, which enabled us to see how the sources assembled themselves into pseudo-groups according to their affinity with each other. The diagram which represents their grouping consists of circles around the manuscript sigla, which either encircle

Froger: Gradual

each other or are set out side by side. Transposing this diagram onto the map of Western Europe it transpires that the manuscripts are grouped or dispersed in conformity with cultural regions: nations, provinces or districts, towns, religious orders, etc. This tends to confirm that the method of distances does indeed give results which properly express the true state of affairs, even though the points of variance of the sample are few in number, given the number of manuscripts studied. The methods and results of all this work are expounded in detail in the first part of tome IV.

Meanwhile, I had perfected a grouping technique, explained in *La critique des textes et son automatisation* (Dunod, Paris, 1968, vol.7 in the series *Initiation aux nouveautés de la science*). The method rested upon the principles of set theory. I applied it as a test case to 33 manuscripts, choosing the most important. This revealed that the transmission of the neumatic text had undergone considerable disturbance, the manuscripts having 'contaminated' each other to a large degree. This result confirmed that we had been correct in employing the method of distances in the first part of tome IV: true, it gives only approximate results, but in a project like this it is the only method possible. We have to abandon the exact definition of genealogy and the construction of a stemma.

The probe at least permitted the extrication of nine 'unities', which are not, properly speaking, families, but versions of the neumatic text which may provisionally be considered as more or less independent.

Each of the nine unities is represented by a manuscript notated in staffless neumes and by one with staff-notation; lacunae in any of the principal sources are filled with the aid of its nearest relative.

Froger: Gradual

The nine 'unities':

(i) S.Gall:

neumatic:

S.Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 359 (Cantatorium, from S.Gall, end of 9th cent.)

Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 121 (from S.Gall or Einsiedeln, beginning of 11th century, for pieces which the Cantatorium lacks)

on staff:

Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 807 (from Klosterneuburg, 12th cent.)

(ii) Laon:

neumatic:

Laon, Bibl.Municipale, 239 (from the region of Laon, c.930)

on staff:

Verdun, Bibl.Municipale, 759 (from S.-Vanne, Verdun, first half of 13th cent.)

(iii) Brittany:

neumatic:

Chartres, Bibl.Municipale, 47 (from Brittany, 10th cent.)

on staff:

Leningrad, Public State Lib., O.v.I.6 (from ?Rouen, 12th cent.)

(iv) Aquitaine:

[no manuscripts with purely neumatic notation]

on staff:

Paris, Bibl.Nat., lat.776 (from S.Michel de Gaillac, nr. Albi, second third of 11th cent.)

(v) Benevento:

neumatic:

Benevento, Archivio arcivescovile, VI.33 (from Benevento, 10th-11th cent.)

on staff:

Benevento, Archivio arcivescovile, VI.38 (from Benevento, 11th cent.)

(vi) Dijon:

neumes and letters:

Montpellier, Bibl.Universitaire, H.159 (from S.-Bénigne, Dijon, 11th cent.)

(vii) Cluny:

neumatic:

Paris, Bibl.Nat., lat.1087 (from Cluny, first half of 11th cent.)

on staff:

Brussels, Bibl.Royale, II.3823 (Cluniac, Clermont diocese, beginning of 12th cent.)

Froger: Gradual

(viii) Echternach:

neumatic:

Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, 1946 (from Echter-nach, c.1000)

on staff:

London, British Lib., Add.18031-2 (from Stavelot, beginning of 13th cent.)

(ix) S.Denis:

neumatic:

Paris, Bibl.Mazarine, 384 (from S.Denis, 11th cent.)

on staff:

Paris, Bibl.Nat., lat.1107 (from S.Denis, second half of 13th cent.)

We then copied the representatives of these nine unities, not now as for a probe, but complete, through the whole repertory of the Gradual: this copy was done onto large tables where the manuscript readings were set out one below another, aligned vertically neume by neume and note by note, so that it might easily be seen where the manuscripts were in agreement and where there were variants. The tables, numbering at present more than 1900, are virtually completed. It only remains to restore the music with the aid of this gigantic critical apparatus.

For establishing the musical text by choosing the authentic reading from among the variants, the primary criterion is the age of the manuscripts, the reading of the oldest sources being preferred to that of the most recent. The second criterion is: the majority - this criterion is actually suspect; but it is reasonable to discard a reading found in only one manuscript or in only one of the nine unities. Finally, various considerations of a paleographical or musical nature may be allowed to influence the two former criteria. In any

Froger: Gradual

critical edition and above all in one like the present it is very dangerous to choose readings according to a brutally applied rule-of-thumb.

Paradoxically, the issue which occasions most hesitation and on which the results are least certain is the choice between b flat and b natural, for until a relatively recent period staff notation did not specify exactly which should apply: either the scribe would omit the flat sign completely; or he would use it irregularly, and when it is encountered nothing indicates for how long its effect is prolonged. If notators neglected to differentiate explicitly between b flat and b natural, this was probably because singers knew the melodies by heart and had no need of such precision. Perhaps it was also because among the letters used to designate notes, there was no sign for B flat in the lower octave, but only in the higher and highest octaves. It was a survival of the ancient Greek system transmitted to the Middle Ages by Boethius: in the diatonic scale the low B was always natural, and it was only in the higher part of the scale that a tetrachord was disjunct with b natural or conjunct with b flat. Whatever the reason, the problem of the b flat will certainly cause us to consult less ancient manuscripts on this issue.

The edition of the restored musical text will be published in tome V; it will be accompanied by the principal variants, those which show where the solution adopted is not absolutely sure. And the large tables containing the complete apparatus will be accessible to researchers, either by direct consultation at Solesmes, or on microfilm or microfiche.

Froger: Gradual

The restoration of the musical text presupposes that of the literary text, which should precede it, since it establishes its programme, that is, the repertory of pieces whose melody is to be restored. Here again, the circumstances are peculiar to this case.

We are dealing not with a text which is all of a piece, as for instance the *Aeneid*, but with a 'corpus' or collection of pieces. The critical work thus consists in determining which elements are an authentic part of the corpus and what is their authentic order. There are three stages to this: first it is determined which masses and other ceremonies the Gradual contains, then which pieces make up each mass, finally the actual reading of the text of each piece is decided upon.

On the level of the masses, we need to know what masses or ceremonies are an authentic part of the corpus, in the *temporale* and *sanctorale*, and what is their authentic order.

The order of the masses in the *temporale* is decided by the structure of the liturgical year, and in the *sanctorale* by the dates in the year of the feasts of saints. Consequently, the question of the order of the masses amounts in practice to a question of the place of the saints' feasts among the ceremonies of the *temporale*.

On the level of individual pieces, it is a matter of knowing which introit, gradual-responsory, alleluia, etc., belongs authentically to each mass. It is also necessary to determine what should be the 'parts of pieces', so to speak: that is, for the introits and communions the psalm and also the *versus ad repetendum* which should be used with the psalmody; for the gradual-responsories and the offertories what is or are the

Froger: Gradual

verse or verses attached to the main part of the piece; regarding the offertory verses there arise the question of their authentic order, for it happens that not all manuscripts give them in the same order.

The question of the order of pieces in a mass only arises with certain special ceremonies, for instance on Holy Saturday, where the order of the canticles is not constant for all manuscripts. But in a mass of the common type the pieces succeed each other in a fixed order, determined by the structure of the Roman Mass.

At the level of the actual reading of the text of each piece, it is a matter of knowing which is the authentic reading where there are variants. As far as orthography goes, the authentic reading must be adopted even if it is not classical: for instance, *Ebdomada* rather than *Hebdomada*.

What method should be employed to reconstitute the authentic form of the Gradual, looked at from the various aspects enumerated above?

We cannot hope to establish the manuscripts' genealogy and draw up a stemma, for the literary text even less than for the music.

The actual readings of the literary text show practically no variants. There are some, admittedly, in manuscripts lacking notation; but in general these are obvious mistakes, or else quite simply peculiar orthographic forms, which retain the phonetic orthography which scribes affected before Alcuin's reforms had had full effect. But from the moment when manuscripts were given notation, whether in the pure neumes of the 10th century or in letters or on the staff from the 11th

Froger: Gradual

century, to write musical notation above a text was equivalent to making a minute collation. The connection between words and music was so close that the notator would at once correct a mistake that the scribe of the literary text might have made. Thus mistakes were not perpetuated regularly from ancestor to descendant, and consequently it is impossible to use them in order to establish manuscript genealogy.

As to the liturgical structure, its elements remained so stable through the centuries, above all in the earliest period, that one cannot find among them sufficient variants to establish the relationships between the manuscripts as a whole. It is true, we are dealing with a 'living' book, which received additions as time went on; in particular, pieces originally left *quale volueris*, that is to say, left to the choice of the cantor or choirmaster, were later specified exactly, after the adoption of one particular piece. This is the case with many alleluias, particularly with those for the Sundays after Whitsuntide; if one were to use them to classify manuscripts, one could only deal with those manuscripts where the pieces *quale volueris* had reached the stage of being specified exactly, which would exclude a large number of sources and particularly the oldest ones. And furthermore, while such a classification would result in groups representing local uses or centralized religious orders, it would not be useful for highlighting genealogical relationships; these diverse uses are largely arbitrary creations, particularly those of the earlier period, and it is not possible to discern among them lines of descent from ancestor to offspring. At least, this is so in the present state of our studies of this matter.

Froger: Gradual

The only method we can use is to take the age of the manuscripts as our criterion; to adopt as authentic what is attested by the unanimous or near-unanimous agreement of the oldest, and reject as unauthentic peculiarities found only in the least ancient. It remains now to discuss which manuscripts are to be used, which are the oldest.

The most important sources are the six manuscripts lacking musical notation published by Dom Hesbert in his *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935).

Of these, M = Monza (Tesoro della Basilica S.Giovanni, CIX) is not the oldest; it dates not from the middle of the 8th century, as Dom Hesbert thought, but from the middle of the 9th; this date accords best with the place it occupies in an evolution traceable through certain stages of development from around 800 to the last quarter of the 9th century. Professor Bernhard Bischoff places it in the second half of the 9th century, from North-East France (cf. Klaus Gamber: *Codices Latini Liturgici Antiquiores*, 2nd edn., 1968, no.1310, who refers to Bischoff; Bischoff's dating is also published in Annalisa Belloni and Nivella Ferrari: *La Biblioteca Capitolare di Monza*, Paderborn, 1974). The manuscript does not contain the complete repertory; it is a cantatorium, or soloist's book, and it indicates, most often by incipit, only the gradual-responsories, alleluias and tracts, also the canticles for Holy Saturday. It has a 'sister', published by Siffrin ('Eine Schwesterhandschrift des Graduale vom Monza', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 64 (1950), pp.53-81, with facs.), probably also from Monza; it too also lacks musical notation; it has the texts in full, but unfortunately it is only a fragment, of four leaves; it is also

Froger: Gradual

from the second half of the 9th century and from N.E. France (cf. Gamber: *CLLA*, no.1311, with ref. to Bischoff).

The two oldest manuscripts are R = Rhenaugiensis (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rheinau 30, from Nivelles) and B = Blandiniensis (Brussels, Bibl.Royale, lat.10127-10144, from Mont-Blandin).

According to recent editors of the sacramentary which accompanies the gradual of R (Anton Hänggi and Alfons Schönherr: *Sacramentarium Rhenaugiense*, Spicilegium Friburgense, xv, 1970), R dates from the year 800, to within one or two years. This book, too, lacks a part of the repertory, containing only the dominical masses with a very small number of ferial masses. It has undergone some arbitrary modifications, which make its utilisation a matter of some delicacy.

B is contemporary with it, perhaps even a little older; it dates from the 8th-9th century, and most probably, it would appear, from the end of the 8th century. Quite complete, without lacunae, it is by far the most important of all the examples which have come down to us.

C = Compendiensis (Paris, Bibl.Nat., lat.17436, from Compiègne), K = Corbiensis (Paris, Bibl.Nat., lat.12050, from Corbie) and S = Silvanectensis (Paris, Bibl. Ste.-Geneviève, 111, from Senlis) all date from the third or last quarter of the 9th century. They come from the region stretching from Paris northwards, from S.Denis to Corbie: there were exchanges between the churches of this area, and these three graduals are not entirely independent of each other.

Some fragments are also available, of which two are particularly remarkable. One is the Lucca fragment, published by Dom Hesbert in *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*;

Froger: Gradual

it dates from the end of the 8th century, 787 or 796. The other, recently discovered and published by Prof. Dr. Nagy László of Budapest ('Századi antiphonarium-töredék Sárospatakon', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 92, 1976, pp. 256-62), is the Sárospatak fragment: it is a single leaf which had been glued to the inside of a binding. Prof. Bernhard Bischoff dates it from the end of the 8th century, and designates it as of Italian provenance, probably from North Italy. Very valuable because of their date, these two small fragments should be taken into consideration, but are not of great help in restoring the Gradual as a whole.

The six manuscripts of *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* are not a wide enough base for the critical edition of the literary text. It is prudent to add other exemplars — they date from the 10th century and are consequently a little later than C, K and S. After much hesitation and vacillation, I chose four, which have neumatic notation:

— S.Gallen, Stiftsbibl., 359, published in facsimile in *Paléographie Musicale*, 2^e série, vol.2. It dates from the end of the 9th century. It too is a cantatorium, giving *in extenso* only the gradual-responsories, alleluias, tracts, hymns and canticles; but it has incipits without notation for all other pieces, so that it provides information about the liturgical structure of the whole Gradual.

— Bamberg, Staatsbibl., lit.6, from S.Emmeram, Regensburg. After the above cantatorium, this is the oldest representative of the S.Gall school. It has no lacunae at all.

Froger: Gradual

— Laon, Bibl.Mun., 239, published in facsimile in *Paléographie Musicale*, 1^e série, vol.10. It originated at Laon, which with S.Gall was the most important musical and paleographical centre.

— Chartres, Bibl.Mun., 47, published in facsimile in *Paléographie Musicale*, 1^e série, vol.11.

It is better to forbear from using exemplars with large lacunae, for example the Mont-Renaud Gradual; in any case, the latter dates only from the end of the 10th century (the neumes were added by a later hand); besides, it too belongs to the S.Denis/Corbie circle, like C, K and S, whose representatives it is pointless to multiply.

I drew the line there for two reasons.

Firstly, surveying the contents of a dozen supplementary manuscripts ascertained that they could serve no purpose. Either they accorded with the oldest exemplars, and thus added nothing to what was already known; or they contradicted them, and one would be obliged to reject their peculiarities as unauthentic. As in theology, in liturgy the 11th century was a period of 'renaissance' and innovation. For music, 11th- and 12th-century manuscripts have to be taken into account because they may be the first to notate on the staff or in letters a melody used from much earlier. For the literary text, by contrast, the 11th-century manuscripts (and even more emphatically those of the following centuries) help not at all, and their frequently over-abundant repertoires encumber profitlessly the data upon which the project rests.

Another, more general reason encouraged restriction of the sources to the few oldest manuscripts.

Froger: Gradual

We have to distinguish carefully between two aims to which we might aspire in making an edition of the text, which are frequently confused by authors of critical editions: we may set out to make either a critical restoration of the original, or a history of the text. The most logical procedure is to work in two stages:

– firstly, to restore the original by means of the few manuscripts which reflect it most faithfully, that is, those whose text has not evolved too far. The original is the point of departure for the later evolution of the text.

– secondly, to retrace the history of the text, with reference to the original. Here the publication (it should not properly be called a critical edition) should take into consideration all extant manuscripts, or at least all those that represent the principal phases of the text's evolution, including the most recent exemplars. The history of the text would be the more thorough and more precise the more manuscripts it comprehended, to reconstitute it down to the smallest detail.

Our aim as far as the Gradual is concerned is to make a critical edition in the proper sense, which aims to reconstitute the original, or rather the archetype at the base of the diffusion. We need not, therefore, take account of relatively late exemplars, where the image of the archetype is blurred or deformed. Indeed, it was precisely the aim of the neumatic probe expounded in tome IV, which operated upon a host of manuscripts including representatives of the later period, to disentangle this problem, by sifting the manuscripts to be retained as useful out of those which might be put aside.

Froger: Gradual

Finally, it remains to consider the old-Roman or local-Roman Gradual. It is from this that the Gradual we call 'Roman' (it should rather be called 'Romano-Frankish') is derived. The melodies called 'Gregorian' are the result of a 'creative' recasting of the old-Roman melodies; this transformation took place, as far as one can see, in Gaul in the second half of the 8th century, or near the beginning of the last quarter, probably at Metz or in the Messine region. In its liturgical structure and in the actual readings of its literary text, the 'Romano-Frankish' Gradual substantially reproduces the old-Roman, with modifications, some of which are due to the influence of the sacramentary called 'Gelasian-Frankish' or '8th-century Gelasian', put together in Gaul at a date difficult to pinpoint but probably c.770, used in Frankish lands even after the introduction of the Hadrian Sacramentary.

Admittedly, the manuscripts of the old-Roman Gradual which survive are distinctly later than those of the Romano-Frankish Gradual. There are only three of them. That of St. Peter's (Rome, Archivio San Pietro, B.79) is of the 13th century, too late. That of Santa Cecilia (in the private collection of Dr. Martin Bodmer, *olim* Phillipps 16069) dates from 1071, but is largely Gregorianized. Most interesting is V = Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5319, of the 11th-12th century; Gregorian pieces were added at the end in a sort of supplement that is easy to separate off, and the Gradual itself remains purely Roman. It has been published by Prof. Stäblein in a very clear transcription (*Monumenta Monastica Medii Aevi*, ii).

Froger: Gradual

The manuscript V does not represent the old-Roman Gradual exactly as it was in the 8th century, but, as far as one can judge, differs from it only by additions which consist in repeating pieces in order to specify items previously *quale volueris*.

By comparing critically the gradual V and the Blandin-iensis, a double result emerges: on the one hand, one has a clearer idea of what the old-Roman Gradual was in the 8th century, the era when it penetrated Gaul; on the other hand, certain peculiarities apparently alien in the Romano-Frankish Gradual are explained. To be honest, when one compares the local-Roman Gradual with its Frankish derivative, one frequently encounters differences whose *raison d'être* is not immediately apparent, and for which no explanation is forthcoming. Generally, however, even in these puzzling cases, one may observe with interest the nature of the Frankish liturgist's work of recasting. Let it be remembered that the old-Roman Gradual is not a criterion in the establishment of the literary text of the Romano-Frankish Gradual. It is simply comparative data which promotes an understanding of how the Romano-Frankish book was constituted.

With the aid of the methods described above, and because for its foundation it has recourse to the oldest manuscripts, the restoration of the literary text of the Gradual should result, generally, we hope, in a reliable edition; any uncertainties which persist will concern points of little importance.



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Research on the antiphoner — problems and perspectives

Hartmut Möller

As recently as 1975, Cyrille Vogel, in his *Introduction aux sources du Moyen Age*, was obliged to forego a demonstration of the transmission of the antiphoner, "given the complexity of research still in progress".[1] Since then, with the completion in 1979 of the six-volume *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii* (= CAO) of René-Jean Hesbert, the foundations have been laid for all future historical research on the origins of the Roman office hours. Twelve selected sources are edited, first text-incipits of the sources in their original form, and then each complete text separately; more than this, in the two concluding volumes Hesbert undertook the task of classifying 800 sources of the office by means of statistical methods, in order thereby to facilitate the reconstruction of an archetype.[2]

In the following pages, after a short exposition of CAO and the scholarly discussion surrounding it to date, I propose to tackle three matters in particular, which touch on currently outstanding tasks in research on the antiphoner:

- (i) It may be shown, as I see it, even without recourse to extensive use of the computer, that the obvious problems of Hesbert's archetype calculations lay in the approach he adopted; that is to say, office configurations simply cannot be statistically compared, either by Hesbert's 'distance-formula' or by any other differentiating procedure.

- (ii) An area for future work is the deployment of the gigantic mass of data contained in CAO for the identifying of local traditions and the matching up of manuscripts of unknown provenance.

- (iii) Finally, with recent experience of editing pontificals and sacramentaries in mind, some of the basic premises of CAO are subjected to critical examination. Key concepts in this discussion are quantifying and objectivity, archetype and transmission, 'Ur-exemplar' and 'comparative edition'.

*

In 1979 the eighty-year-old Hesbert completed the sixth volume of CAO. Together with the fifth volume, the sixth formed the mighty final phase in a research project on the textual tradition of the office lasting more than forty years.

As early as 1954 Hesbert gave to understand that he had been working "nearly twenty years", that is, since the publication of *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* in 1935, on a "Corpus of office antiphoners".[3] "The whole work was immediately directed towards the genealogical

reconstitution of the archetype ..."[4] This was to be effected by means of six text-critical classifications, "three for the text and three for the melody",[5] in an estimated twelve volumes.

In 1958 Hesbert then first put forward his method of manuscript classification according to order of contents: the series of responsories for the four Sundays of Advent were compared across 25 selected manuscripts, and the manuscripts grouped accordingly. A high degree of unanimity between almost all the sources was revealed by this trial probe - the only exception was the breviary of the Roman Curia. Hesbert was able to explain this unanimity only as being due to the existence of an 'archetype' which must stand at the beginning of the whole tradition. And Hesbert understood this archetype to be "the most ancient, most authentic and also the purest stage in the Roman tradition ..."[6] Even when, as Hesbert admitted, the results of this analysis of 25 sources were only those of a trial probe, this did not deprive them of their validity and transferability: "it will not be imprudent to extrapolate from them for the rest of the liturgical year."[7]

The stage reached by CAO in the second half of the 1960's is reflected in the collection of handwritten extracts made by Hansjakob Becker at St. Wandrille during a study visit. It appears that at this time Hesbert was comparing 190 manuscripts, again according to their Advent responsory material, this time with two criteria: (1) the order of the responsories in series ("ordre des repons"), (2) choice of responsory verses ("versets").[8]

In Volumes I-IV of CAO, in the course of preparation for the Second Vatican Council, Hesbert had edited twelve chosen sources: (I) six antiphoners of the *Cursus Romanus*; (II) six antiphoners of the *Cursus Monasticus* (in each of the two volumes an edition of the text incipits in six parallel columns); (III and IV) an edition of the complete texts in these twelve sources. ("Editio critica" ran the subtitle of both volumes. But Hesbert entered a caveat: "There can be no question here of anything beyond the critical presentation of the pieces contained in twelve manuscripts."[9])

With Volumes V and VI an 'objective' basis was to be created for the reconstruction of text and configuration of the *Antiphonale Officii*.

Three stages were planned: "The presentation of the sources, ... their classification", and "finally - to crown the whole ... - the critical restoration of the archetype thus objectively reconstituted".[10]

How then does the final result of CAO shape up? Hesbert waived the reconstruction of the

2 Möller: Antiphoner

archetype he had aimed for, and contented himself with providing a list of 17 manuscripts which, on the basis of three text-critical classifications, were qualified for the future reconstruction of the 'archetype': (1) at the level of the selection of responsories; (2) according to their choice of responsory verses; and finally, on the basis of their agreement in the transmission of the text.[11] These 17 manuscripts are listed in Table 1 (see next page).

This group of 17 manuscripts, according to Hesbert, should be an "objective and solid platform",[12] an "excellent basis for undertaking the work of restoration".[13]

Among the various views, reviews and analyses of CAO so far,[14] unanimity has prevailed as to the significance of the volumes as an indispensable tool and collection of data. Even if the selection of sources and their summary presentation, not to mention the ignoring of some important sources from before the end of the millennium, have been criticized, there is no question as to the high value of the information in the two concluding volumes of CAO.

Judgement has varied, on the other hand, on the aims and methods of the reconstruction of an 'archetype' and the results given in CAO. As early as 1959 Bernard Botte directed some basic criticism at a preliminary study by Hesbert because of his 'majority system'; for in this study Hesbert's approach and method had led to a situation where the antiphoners of the German-speaking area of Europe had stepped one-sidedly into the foreground. Botte declined to accept "a form of the antiphoner which enjoyed wide diffusion above all in Gaul and Germany" as an archetype. Hesbert's point of view seemed to Botte to embody a shaky simplification of the historical tradition: "to believe that the majority method will lead us to the primitive form of the antiphoner, or, at least, to the sole authentically Roman form, seems to me to be an illusion".[15] The procedures and results of CAO show that Hesbert did not in fact counter this criticism effectively.

Then in 1979 Pierre-Marie Gy, summing up at the end of a review of CAO VI, and referring expressly to Botte's remarks, also asseverated: "what an admirable work-tool is constituted by this volume, yet how fragile is the inquiry after an archetype".[16] In contrast to this, the author of a short review in *Revue Bénédictine* for 1980 displayed sympathy for Hesbert's goal: here was "... a method allowing one to reach back from the mass of witnesses as far as their common ancestor. Now the materials are assembled for establishing the critical edition of the antiphoner".[17] In 1977 François Huot stressed the difference between basic constituents and archetype: "The merit of this work is its pertinent demonstration that a basic list can set in relief the principal types, and that one may legitimately adduce therefrom - we would hardly dare call it an exact reconstitution of the primitive archetype - at least a basis for reference which is sufficiently secure as a starting point for the publication of a critical edition of the

antiphoner ..."[18] So far only Jacques Froger has engaged in a discussion of Hesbert's statistical methods and their premises; it is to him that I owe the decisive impulse towards my own observations. As a result of his own analyses Froger had to reject as unconvincing Hesbert's attempt to construct a stemma for the tradition of the antiphoner: "... the critical restoration of the antiphoner is not compatible with the genealogical method."[19] Michel Huglo was surely right in expressing the thought recently that in the transmission of the antiphoner one is dealing with a living tradition, in which the liturgical texts and their melodies are repeated every year; yet Hesbert had treated the antiphoner in CAO like a mechanically "dead text". And with reference to the archetype problem Huglo urged that instead of that tiresome concept one should use the phrase 'original repertory': "An original repertory which in the course of two or three decades of diffusion did not remain static ..."[20]

One of the most important questions posed by the final results of CAO is: how far is it possible for the 17 manuscripts (see Table 1) isolated by Hesbert to represent the oldest recoverable antiphoner-type? If we were to order the manuscripts according to their date of origin, a one-sided concentration on late-medieval manuscripts from the German language area would be revealed (see Table 2).

With only one exception these are manuscripts of the 12th century and later; of the 22 sources of the 8th to 11th centuries which were covered in CAO, only Hartker (no. 500) appears.[21] The oldest complete surviving antiphoner, the Compiègne book (no. 435),[22] is eliminated at the third stage of classification (text variants) because of lack of fidelity in its text! Above all, at the point of completion of CAO only three of the twelve manuscripts singled out for restoration of the text are deemed suitable, namely Bamberg, Rheinau and Hartker.[23] (Which points up the provisional nature of the source editions in CAO I-IV.)

Two contrasting inferences may be drawn from the end results of CAO: viewed historically, Hesbert's archetype, whose character is that of lowest common denominator of the tradition as a whole, bypasses the witness of the oldest sources. If all the early sources are so far removed from Hesbert's 'archetype', then the latter can hardly be said to help much in the inquiry into the oldest redaction of the Roman antiphonale officii in the Frankish kingdom. On the contrary, it may be ascertained quite positively that Hesbert's 'archetype' is indeed a particular redaction, which appeared in the Germanic area at a relatively late date. It is, so to speak, one basic type among others in a non-genealogical sense.

Hesbert himself, moreover, upon the completion of CAO, did not hold firm to the goal of a critical edition of the 'archetype': "Now that this programme has been realised, this base established, all the rest remains to be done, and first of all the critical edition, which henceforth we know how to undertake." But

TABLE 1

"SYNTHESIS OF THE THREE CLASSIFICATIONS", CAO VI, p.384

1st	2nd	3rd	Total	Coeff.	Sigla	Manuscripts	Origin
0/36	3/45	4/77	7/158	4	123	Bamberg, Staatsbibl., lit.22	Bamberg
1/36	3/46	6/78	10/160	6	124	Bamberg, Staatsbibl., lit.23	Bamberg
1/36	3/39	2/40	6/115	5	126	Bamberg, Staatsbibl., lit.25	Bamberg
0/36	3/45	3/77	6/158	4	127	Bamberg, Staatsbibl., lit.26	Bamberg
3/36	1/46	5/78	9/160	6	181	Kassel, Landesbibl., theol.fol.124	Fritzlar
3/36	1/46	5/78	9/160	6	182	Kassel, Landesbibl., theol.fol.129	Fritzlar
2/36	1/46	12/78	15/160	9	200	Cologne, Dombibl., 215	Franconia
1/35	4/45	5/54	10/134	8	206	Copenhagen, Ny kgl S. 137 4°	German
1/36	0/46	10/77	11/159	7	247	Gorizia, Bibl. Semin., A	Aquileia
1/36	0/46	9/78	10/160	6	248	Gorizia, Bibl. Semin., B	Aquileia
1/35	4/46	3/77	8/158	5	339	Munich, Bay. Staatsbibl., Cim 16141	Passau (St. Nicholas)
3/34	1/45	8/76	12/155	8	356	Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Laud misc.284	Würzburg
1/35	1/45	6/48	8/128	6	407	Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat.1062	Mainz
0/36	3/46	4/75	7/157	4	419	Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat.1310	Worms
3/36	4/46	5/76	12/158	8	442	Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv.acq.lat.404	Passau
3/36	3/46	10/80	16/162	10	500	St. Gall, 390-391	St.Gall (Hartker)
2/35	0/45	14/73	16/153	10	552	Trier, Stadtbibl., 387	Trier

'1st classification': varied successions (taken in pairs) for the four Sundays of Advent, with reference to the 'archetypal series of nine'.

'2nd classification': choice of responsory verses, with reference to the 'archetypal' German group of manuscripts.

'3rd classification': 100 text variants in selected antiphons of the church year.

TABLE 2

HESBERT'S 17 SOURCES IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Age (century)	Siglum (CAO no.)	Provenance
X-XI	500	St. Gall (Hartker)
XII	124, 126	Bamberg
	200	Franconia
XII-XIII	123	Bamberg
	356	Würzburg
XIII	127	Bamberg
XIII-XIV	181	Fritzlar
	247, 248	Aquileia
	339	Passau
XIV	182	Fritzlar
	206	German
XV	407	Mainz
	419	Worms
	442	Passau
	552	Trier

4 Möller: Antiphoner

he does not actually tell us how; instead he finally asserts: "The present Corpus is that which it is: an objective and solid platform; even the discovery of new documents will leave it intact. If so be that some researcher feels himself from this point on impelled towards prehistory, he will have every justification for doing so, perhaps a duty. We cannot but encourage him most heartily and wish him good luck. 'De la besogne pour les jeunes ...' ['Something to keep young people out of mischief ...']"[24]

I

Such liturgical books as the gradual and antiphoner are composed of diverse elements, elements which are different in the source and form of their texts, in their time of origin, function and musical manifestation. The problems which the editor of a critical text has to face are correspondingly multi-layered. To recall for a moment the mode of thinking behind the Solesmes 'Graduel critique' as well as CAO, the edition has to make clear which elements are authentic and how they are disposed. Four levels are to be distinguished: (1) the layout of the book, (2) the selection and order of chants within individual formularies, (3) the version of the text of individual items, and (4) the version of the melody.

As far as the office chants are concerned it is the second area of text criticism which occasions the greatest difficulty, relative to the other three. For the comparison of antiphoners and breviaries shows up great variety between one source and another. The range extends from widespread uniformity (for example in numerous Lauds formularies) to differences of several sorts in the selection and ordering of chants, and not only on the more recent saints' days. Thus for example in the psalmody and Matins antiphons of Christmas Day in about 150 sources 72 different series (configurational types) may be ascertained; in the responsories for the days in Holy Week between 53 and 128, in the responsories of each Sunday in Advent about 200 different series each.[25]

In comparison with the uniformity in chants for mass, the office is thus distinguished by a greater variability, both in its repertory of pieces and in their deployment. (Smits van Waesberghe, in another context, adduced the 'sanctification principle' to explain this difference between mass and office.[26]) With regard to the question of the 'archetype' of the antiphoner tradition, this means, as Michel Huglo sceptically put it in 1983 at the Strasbourg congress of the International Musicological Society: "While for the gradual we may eventually be able to reconstitute the ordering and the text of 'masses' and most of the melodies of the Carolingian epoch, the situation is by no means the same for the antiphoner."[27]

In order to help pinpoint the problem, Table 3 sets out synoptically the responsory series of

the twelve sources in CAO I and II for the 2nd Sunday in Advent. This example is fully typical of the transmission situation.[28]

Hesbert shows that in responsory series stable elements are connected to exceptional ones, something we can observe in all twelve sources in Table 3; or, as Hesbert puts it: "side by side with stable elements similarly deployed there appear tangible differences, either in the choice of certain more rare pieces or in the ordering of the whole. Excellent terrain for undertaking a probe!"[29]

Thus in the given example, the 12 sources chosen as representative appear to have in common a widely known, basic constituent of 9 or 8 responsories (23 *Jerusalem surge* is lacking in M, V, D, F, S); moreover, this basic constituent appears in all twelve sources (with one exception [30]) in the same relative succession.[31] On the other hand, in these few sources alone as many as 22 rare responsories may be seen; some are to be found in several manuscripts (nos. 70, 92 and 60 in three, nos. 61, 63 and 73 in two antiphoners), others appear here once only.[32]

The first step Hesbert took towards the classification of his sources was the grouping of mutually corresponding responsory series into 'types'. In the example just given (Table 3) only sources B and H have identical responsory series (Nos. 21-29), all the other ten differ from one another to a greater or lesser extent. (On the enlarged base of sources used in CAO V Hesbert isolated 105 secular/Roman and 77 monastic, that is altogether 182 different responsory series, with varying numbers of witnesses.[33])

Hesbert's next step was decisive. Since he was convinced that the whole tradition of the antiphoner stemmed from a single archetype,[34] he attempted to integrate all the different responsory series of each Sunday of Advent into a single, grand transmission pattern, and in this way to pinpoint the 'archetypal' manuscripts. To this end he employed statistical methods, in two ways. First he computed in two runs series with more than one witness, 'majority-series' one might call them ('Listes-types'); and then in a second step he ascertained the relationships between the series with one witness and those with more than one. Hesbert arrived at his majority-series by isolating the commonest responsory-pairs of the various lists for each Sunday of Advent.[35] Reckoning up these pairs gave information about both the frequency and the order of the responsories simultaneously.

In the case of the 2nd Sunday Hesbert arrived at the following result.[36] The ten most frequently attested responsory-pairs are those set out synoptically in Table 4.

If one were to set these pairs out in a continuous chain (Hesbert's "enchaînement"), the following 'majority-series' ("liste majoritaire") would obviously appear:

21-22-24-25-26-27-28-29-End.[37]

This discomfits Hesbert somewhat, however, and he tries to find some way to correct it - right along the lines of 'what may not be, cannot be'.[38] He discovers the 'solution' in the ninth and tenth responsory-pairs, 22-23 and

TABLE 3

MATINS RESPONSORIES, SECOND SUNDAY OF ADVENT
12 MANUSCRIPTS OF CAO I-II(see CAO I, 8-9; CAO II, 14-17; CAO V, 62, 68;
id. 32-33 for explanation of numbering system)

= : same as responsory in first source C

Sources	Responsory no. :	1st Nocturn	2nd Nocturn	3rd Nocturn
C	435	: 21 22 70 23	: 24 25 26	: 27 28 29
G	229	: = = =	: = = =	: = = = 70
B	124	: = = =	: = = =	: = = =
E	264	: = = =	: = = =	: = = = 92 64 60 75 97
M	328	: = = 60	: = = =	: = = = 62
V	581	: = = 76	: = = 77 =	: = 82 28 86 81 96 94 92
H	500	: = = =	: = = =	: = = =
R	896	: = = = 71	: = = = 73	: 61 27 28 29
D	796	: = 62 22	: = = = 63	: 61 27 28 29
F	792	: = = 24	: 25 : 26 72 28 27	: 73 92 29 63
S	703	: 21 22 24	: 60 : 25 26 27 28	: 62 54 57 29
L	615	: (Lacuna)	:	:
'Liste type'		: 21 22 23	: 24 25 26	: 27 28 29
(CAO V, 182)		:	:	:

Sigla for manuscripts in CAO I and II:

Cursus romanus		Cursus monasticus
C Soissons, St. Médard - Compiègne	860/880	H St. Gall (Hartker) c. 1100
G North France	XI	R Rheinau XIII (XII?)
B Bamberg	XII ex.	D St. Denis XII
E Ivrea	XI	F St-Maur-les-Fossés XII
M Monza (?)	XI in.	S Silos XI
V North Italy (Verona, Nonantola)	XI	L S. Lupo, Benevento XII ex.

Responsory code

21 Jerusalem cito	63 Ecce dies veniunt
22 Ecce Dominus veniet et ... et erit	64 Leva Jerusalem
23 Jerusalem surge	70 Docebit nos
24 Civitas Jerusalem	71 Ecce veniet Dominus princeps
25 Ecce veniet Dominus protector	72 Ecce Dominus veniet cum splendore
26 Sicut mater	73 Ecce ab austro
27 Jerusalem plantabis	75 Montes Sion
28 Egredietur Dominus de Samaria	76 Canite tuba in Sion et
29 Rex noster	77 Ecce Dominus cum splendore
	81 Egredietur virga
44 Me oportet	82 Ecce Dominus veniet et ... tunc
54 Egredietur Dominus et praeliabitur	86 Ecce venio cito
57 Emitte Agnum	92 Festina ne tardaveris
60 Montes Israel	94 Paratus esto
61 Confortate (-mini) manus	96 Confortamini et jam
62 Alieni non transibunt	97 Salus nostra (Salutis nostrae)

TABLE 4
10 COMMONEST RESPONSORY-PAIRS

	Responsory-pairs	attested in
1.	21-22	175 manuscripts
2.	25-26	159 "
3.	24-25	158 "
4.	27-28	130 "
5.	26-27	127 "
6.	22----24	90 "
7.	29-End	76 "
8.	28-29	66 "
9.	22-23	62 "
10.	23-24	56 "

23-24 - a solution which is "perfectly satisfactory" because it results in a 'normal' series (Hesbert: "a normal cursus romanus series of nine responsories"). And he turns the tables completely when he justifies this correction with the concluding judgement: "in actual fact, the preceding series arose from the suppression of responsory 23." [39]

And yet any number of protestations to the contrary will not conceal the fact that Hesbert has suppressed the pair 22-24 by his manipulative 'correction'. The logic of his 'majority method' requires, however, that in this case a 'liste-type' with only eight responsories be allowed. Jacques Froger, drawing attention to this fact, was obliged to point out similar illogicalities on the other three Sundays of Advent. His conclusion was that the "impeccable regularity" [40] which Hesbert swore by - four series with invariably nine responsories - is untenable. Disregarding Hesbert's hypothesis about an archetypal ninefold configuration he reckoned the 'listes-types' anew. And this time only the 1st Sunday had nine responsories, the 2nd eight as demonstrated, and the 3rd and 4th Sundays ten apiece: [41]

1st Sunday:	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
2nd Sunday:	21	22		24	25	26	27	28	29
3rd Sunday:	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39 70
4th Sunday:	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49 91

In what relationship to the type-series, however, do the numerous unique series in our example stand? - and likewise those of the other Advent Sundays? For Hesbert the type-series had the legitimation of being archetypal, it "lay beneath all the others". [42] So his next concern in CAO was to assess the relationships between the unique series and type-series. This calculation - like the one before it for the majority-series - proceeded by means of responsory-pairs; the number of 'different couples' was counted, on which basis a coefficient of dissimilarity was calculated. [43]

In illustration of his calculation of the "coefficient d'écart" Hesbert at one point juxtaposes the following series (here arranged synoptically):

ms. 423	11	12	66	13	14	68	15	62	63
type-series	11	12		13	14		15		16 17 18 19

The synoptic arrangement facilitates the recognition that here we have two 'concordant pairs' ("couples en accord") - that is, both series juxtapose 11-12 and 13-14 - but three 'discordant pairs' - 12-66 as opposed to 12-13, 14-68 against 14-15, 15-62 against 15-16. The degree of relatedness of the two series was calculated by Hesbert by means of a distance-formula: [44]

$$\frac{\text{désaccords}}{\text{termes de comparaison}} = \frac{d}{a+d} \%$$

This formula corresponds to the quotient

$$\frac{\text{R with dissimilar (succeeding) couplings}}{\text{number of R common to both series}} \%$$

Hesbert introduces his method of computing the "coefficient d'écart" ["coefficient of distance, or dissimilarity"] without reflection or discussion about the method, and without regard for the crucial significance of the procedure for the inquiry into 'archetypal' office configurations.[45] Yet the chosen formula is problematical from many points of view. A few examples may make this clear (with reference once again to Table 3).

(a) C differs from H solely in having one more responsory, no.70, in the 1st Nocturn. The two series have 9 responsories in common. According to Hesbert's method of calculation, there is one dissimilarity (22-70 against 22-23), the coefficient thus being $1/9 = 11\%$. Like C, G also has responsory no.70, but in the 3rd, not the 1st Nocturn. With 10 responsories in common altogether, there are dissimilar 'couplings' in three cases (22, 70, 29), which gives a coefficient of dissimilarity of 30%. Comparing the two coefficients, 11% and 30%, one might easily assume that C and H were much more closely related than C and G. Yet it could with as much justification be argued that the latter were actually *l i n k e d* by responsory no.70. Furthermore, the value '11% dissimilarity' tells nothing about how the relationship came about. In the case of the 2nd Sunday the responsory series of the oldest source, C, might actually have been the starting point for both G (with no.70 displaced to the end) and H (without 70).

(b) R differs from H in increasing the responsories to the monastic total of twelve, by adding one responsory to each nocturn. With two discordant 'couplings' (23, 26) the dissimilarity is $2/9 = 22\%$. In E and G the series of H is extended, in G with no.70, in E with five additional responsories, nos.92, 64, 60, 75, 97 (for use *quale volueris* or on weekdays). The coefficient of dissimilarity ignores both the nature and number of the extra responsories, and gives for both E and G a relatedness to H of $1/9 = 11\%$.

(c) Another case may finally be mentioned, which does not concern Table 3, but which experience shows often crops up: the changing round of single responsories. As an example one may cite the type 'r' series for the 2nd Sunday in Advent (CAO V, 83):

21-22-23-24-26-25-27-28-29

In comparison with the series in H, nos. 25 and 26 have been changed around. (The three manuscripts which give the series in this form stand in no recognizable relationship to one another: 207 is a 15th-century breviary from Constance, 296 is a 13th-century antiphoner from St. Peter's in Rome, and 417 is a 14th-century antiphoner from St. Florian.) Hesbert's distance-formula accords an inappropriately large weight to the change round: whereas an insertion (of whatever length) or supernumerary responsories (however many) will always produce an 11% coefficient, in this case discordant 'couplings' for three responsories (24, 26, 25) gives a 33% dissimilarity.

The basic problem with the calculation of 'archetypal' office configurations lies, as these examples have shown, in the actual approach adopted. In 1980-81, during a first phase of involvement with CAO, I thought it would be useful to subject Hesbert's quantifying procedures to constructive criticism and try to develop them further, with the questions in mind: 'What alternative methods of calculation may there be? How nearly can any method at all - or several in combination - come near to expressing the real degree of relatedness between any two responsory series?'[46] At that time I was still led by an optimistic faith in the susceptibility of the archetype problem to mathematical solution, for on the one hand I was still to some extent under the spell cast by the grand Hesbert design, and on the other hand I was encouraged by the example of numerous other applications of quantitative methods to historical research.[47]

The aim of my work at that time was to develop and test complementary and, if possible, more adequate methods of computation; through work with the Mainz mathematician Peter Stoll, with advice from Gerd Hofmeister, a computer programme for the calculation of dissimilarities was worked out.[48] The distance formula used therein allows one to assess the relationships between responsory series more adequately in many respects than the "coefficient d'écart" of CAO.

A formula constructed on the basis of the responsories common to two series gives at least a quantitative expression to the identity and number of the supernumerary responsories.

(For example: G and E between them attest 15 responsories altogether, of which 9 are common to both sources. The 'distance' between the series is $15 - 9 = 6$; 6 is 26% of 15. For the relationship between G and H, the calculation would be as follows:

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{total} - \text{common} : \text{total} \\ 10 - 9 \quad : 10 = \end{array}$$

In CAO the coefficient irons out the dissimilarity to 11% both times.)

An alternative to the counting of 'discordant couples' is the comparison of what may be called 'relative succession': where does the sequence of responsories which two series hold in common deviate? This formula makes possible the direct comparison of both secular and enlarged monastic configurations. (For example: as far as the relative succession of the responsories nos. 21-29 which they hold in common, H and R are identical. A change round - as in (b) on p.7 above - is appropriately registered as only 1 deviation.

What these attempts at a discriminating method of calculating dissimilarities cannot solve, however, are the fundamental problems concealed in the application of statistical procedures and distance-formulas to responsory series. Only in the course of work with various formulas did it become apparent that a quantifying approach could not comprehend important aspects of office configurations. However discriminating a formula may be, it accounts only for a part of the matter, for it

relies always on what the series have in common (common pairs, total held in common, single common items). Questions about frequency can be answered exactly: what are the most frequently (or most rarely) attested responsory-pairs? Which manuscripts have least (or most) responsories in common? Which manuscripts have the succession a-b-c? Which configuration is attested most often? And so on. But these are not, taken as a whole, questions which touch upon the actual qualitative relationships between responsory series.

It is in fact characteristic of a responsory series that it is not a conglomeration of unrelated individual units but a 'multitude' with a proper internal structure. This quality of possessing structure, a structure in which the general and the individual are bound together in a unity of a particular character, simply eludes the grasp of a quantitative method. Thus the need is always for comparison of sources on a broad basis without being entrapped in methodology. My search for alternative methods of calculation was still entrapped in the premises on which Hesbert's procedures were based: that it was 'normal' for office texts and configurations to be transmitted faithfully from scribe to scribe; that differences in selection and ordering of the chants are inadvertent variants; and finally, that by the analysis of these 'variants' the configuration of an 'archetype' may be reconstructed.[49]

II

Quite a different impression emerges when CAO is used to match up manuscripts of unknown with those of known provenance, and to identify local traditions. As is well known, Victor Leroquais had already used an analysis of Advent and Holy Week responsories in his descriptive inventory of breviaries in French libraries: the books of each diocese, each monastery, each religious order are recognizable through these chants, by their selection and order, partly through very obvious peculiarities, partly through less noticeable ones. These can serve as reference points for the designation of provenance.[50]

Yet already in the early '20s the Solesmes monk Gabriel Beyssac claimed to have found the "Columbus' Egg of [research on] the liturgy": by his method of comparing manuscripts it was supposed to be possible to obtain quick and sure results in localizing sources with the minimum of effort.[51] The "Moyen Court", as Beyssac called his system of comparing sources, picked out of an office book the text incipits of the following six offices: Annuntiatio Mariae (complete office), Assumptio Mariae (invitatory and responsories), Triduum Sacrum (responsories), Omnium Sanctorum (invitatory and responsories), Dedicatio Ecclesiae (invitatory and responsories) and the Office of the Dead (complete).

Beyssac's method thus tests significant variants. Working along the same lines, Knud Ottosen reprocessed the material in CAO V (each

Sunday separately); by utilizing the strict numerical ordering of the responsory series it was possible "to situate a given manuscript in the medieval tradition as a whole".[52]

The way in which the data in CAO can be utilized for the analysis of regional traditions has been demonstrated by Francois Huot for Swiss office manuscripts. And for the identification of fragments the isolation of variants "characterizing different uses" is of decisive significance.[53]

Turning to another area of Europe for a moment, what might be done to analyse the corpus of German sources which still await investigation? Will one find only conformity, and therefore a lack of variants? For Hesbert's results suggested that manuscripts of the "zone germanique" are as a whole "very close to the archetype" (see the map in CAO VI, 115).

For German diocesan liturgies before the Tridentine reform Franz Kohlschein (with reference to the antiphonal psalmody of the Christmas cycle) pinpointed a surprisingly large number of diocesan variants, a situation which he characterized with the formula: "Unity in relative diversity".[54]

To complement these findings, I inspected the diocesan variants among the Advent responsories tabled in CAO. The result corresponded to Kohlschein's: the 110 German manuscripts with 'Roman' cursus (from 43 places) can be grouped, according to the responsory series of all four Sundays in Advent, into 50 different types. Of these, 28 (56% !) are represented by single manuscripts, 10 types (20%) are represented by two to three manuscripts, and only about a quarter (12 types = 24%) are represented by four or more manuscripts. Hesbert's 'archetype' is to be found - right across all four Advent Sundays - in only 9 out of 110 manuscripts.

This variety of office configurations in the manuscripts of the Central European area appears even more multifarious if individual 'local traditions' are brought under the microscope. Thus Pierre-Marie Gy was unable to identify any completely uniform local tradition in the oldest antiphoners and breviaries of St. Gall. There was, to be sure, a basic component of common chants in codices 390/91, 413, 414 and 387, as he showed in selected offices. But in individual antiphoners and breviaries these were selected and arranged "with a certain freedom". Gy therefore concluded that for St. Gall at any rate the restoration of an original antiphoner was impossible.[55] Walter Lipphardt likewise showed that numerous differences existed in the Metz ordering of the office, between the witness of Amalar, the Metz tonary of the 9th century and a Metz antiphoner of the 13th century.[56]

In view of this mass of diocesan variants, rather than a bloodless, abstract, statistical inquiry after an archetype, an investigation of the tangible liturgical and historical connections between the office traditions of Central Europe is needed. To this task the planned project CAO-ECE ('Corpus Antiphonalium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae') is devoted. The plan for this project arose from an initiative of the 'Arbeitsgruppe für

Mittelalter' of the International Musicological Society (chairman Helmut Hucke). It is to be worked out by an international team of scholars under the leadership of László Dobszay, Budapest.[57]

The aims of the project are:

- (a) on the basis of the most important sources, to document the various office traditions of the Central European bishoprics and archbishoprics ('unity in diversity');
- (b) to analyse the relationships of the sources to one another, as a contribution to the investigation of liturgical ('Gregorian') chant in different regions;
- (c) an edition by text incipit of the most important witnesses of diocesan traditions, as a complement to *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*.

The expression 'tradition' is understood in this context as 'consuetudine loci', that is, as the stable order of the office at the cathedral (and correspondingly at collegiate and parish churches) in a bishopric, as documented over a long period by an succession of sources and confirmed additionally by official documents (for example, in a *Liber Ordinarius*, *Consuetudinarium*, in prefaces to liturgical books, and so on). Each 'tradition' should be represented in the planned CAO-ECE by a group of four sources. Two late medieval sources serve as a basic starting point for the documentation:

- (i) if available, a printed breviary or antiphoner of the diocese in question; as is known, the early prints reproduce the 'official' liturgy of a bishopric;
- (ii) a chant manuscript which agrees with the printed sources;
- (iii) the earliest witness to the office tradition identified in the two late-medieval sources;
- (iv) the oldest office source of the diocese, if it deviates to any extent from the tradition. The relationship between (iii) and (iv) yields information about the origins and formation of the tradition in question.

III

While observations of this sort certainly suggest that CAO may best be utilized as a comprehensive guide to local traditions, they also lead back to the question of an archetype (not least because of the infrequent occurrence of the 'archetypal' responsory series in Hesbert's "zone de l'archétype" itself). The problems are not only those of method which were alluded to earlier. Questions are also raised about the whole context of quantitative historical research, and the adoption of the idea of an archetype by the Solesmes restoration movement. To these matters a few provisional concluding remarks may be addressed.

There is now a widespread understanding that the application of statistical methods in no way in itself guarantees the 'objectivity' of the results of an investigation. On the contrary, statistics is heavily dependent on premises and hypotheses about the result, and in this sense

is highly subjective.[58] There are, moreover, specific problems of quantification in the historical sciences, which, in contrast to research in the social sciences, cannot be supported by experimental testing.[59] And yet in this very subjectivity there may be hope for the future; for thereby, as François Furet put it, "the mask of historical objectivity falls away once and for all, this objectivity which purports to reside in the facts and to be acquired at the same moment as they are." [60]

It was in exactly this revealing sense that Jacques Froger made an observation about Hesbert's reputedly "true critical method", that is, the application of the majority principle to groups of manuscripts.[61] Froger pointed out that, despite all the statistics and employment of the computer, Hesbert's method was in the last analysis a qualitative one: "It is a method which Dom Hesbert denied using: that of the 'good' manuscript." [62] For the prerequisite for application of the majority principle is that there be independent groups of manuscripts; yet they are only independent, according to Hesbert, if they derive independently and directly from the archetype.[63] So the majority principle may be seen to "lack the very condition which is essential to its validity". [64]

The concept of an archetype which Hesbert so often employed and asserted is borrowed from philological text criticism, which has developed since the beginning of the 19th century along with other historical disciplines and the production of monumental editions. In chant scholarship André Mocquereau, in the now legendary preface to the second volume of *Paléographie musicale* (1891), laid claim to the basic notions of literary text criticism as if it were the most natural thing in the world, concluding with the assertion: "... the method is very simple and very certain: it is none other than that which directs the preliminary work by which the texts of the authors of antiquity are established before an edition is published. ... All this is possible just as much for the musical creations of Saint Gregory as for his literary works." [65]

Mocquereau's manifesto-like pronouncements reflect the confidence that was then felt in being able to restore the authentic chant, on the basis of the 'musical text' certified in the facsimile. And this confidence was based on the conviction that the St. Gall codex 339 might just represent, with "perfect fidelity", that antiphoner of Gregory the Great which Romanus had brought to St. Gall. By appealing to the authorship of Gregory the Great the Solesmes chant restoration took up again a notion formulated in the Carolingian period; but now the received idea of the chant as Gregory's work [66] was fused with the aims and concepts of literary text criticism into an attitude of mind which has held sway in chant research right down to the recent work of some of the semiologists.[67] According to the notion formulated by Mocquereau, the same constraints of transmission underpin 'Gregorian' chant as for a literary work such as the sermons of Pope Gregory.

Treating the transmission of literary and liturgical musical texts as parallel is problematic. On the one hand the literary work

10 Möller: Antiphoner

goes back to a particular author and its original version may be determined. On the other hand stands a corpus of liturgical texts which has grown up over centuries as a 'cumulative work'. Each text genre, each feast has its own history. For the literary work each copy has to be understood and assessed in terms of the single original. For the liturgical text each specific version - all modifications and enlargements included - is to be regarded as authentic.[68]

"Among the different versions of a given passage by a classical author which the manuscripts offer us, only one can be right: that which issued from the pen of the author. ... The case is quite other with liturgical texts, which for a long period were living texts, being modified unceasingly in the context of the development, variation and increasing complexity of the ceremonies themselves. ... For the same passage, the same word, different manuscripts may present equally right, equally authentic variants."[69]

The remarks just quoted affecting the transmission of liturgical texts were those of Michel Andrieu. Due account of them has long been taken, outside the area of chant research, in the preparation of editions of pontificals and sacramentaries.

Thus Andrieu, in his edition (just quoted) of the Roman pontifical of the 12th century, published in 1938, renounced the aim of reconstituting a "common prototype": "this common prototype, of which all our manuscripts would simply be replicas of varying fidelity, never existed."[70] Cyrille Vogel based his edition of 1962-63 of the Roman-German pontifical on a similar premise. He would reconstruct neither an 'original' nor an 'archetype': "Rather than give ourselves over to hazardous - and useless - reconstructions, we have preferred to keep to the manuscript tradition as it has actually been preserved. In cult material, the search for the 'original' is in any case of very little interest."[71] The refusal to contemplate a critical text edition in the traditional sense shows up perhaps more sharply than anywhere else in Jean Deshusses' new edition of the Gregorian sacramentary. "A properly critical edition," says Deshusses, "is one where the editor proposes and justifies his deductions with regard to the original text ..." Instead of wishing to reconstitute an 'Aachener Urexemplar' as Lietzmann did in 1921, Deshusses restricts himself to making available 36 manuscripts and fragments of the 9th century in a 'comparative edition'.[72] Outside the area of chant scholarship, therefore, perceptions have been gained while dealing with liturgical texts that may fruitfully be brought into play during the investigation of notated books.

As is well known, Amalar, the Carolingian scholar of liturgy, failed even at the start of the 9th century in his search for the lost office archetype. As he reports in his *Liber de ordine antiphonarum*, the three older antiphoners available to him (two Roman, of differing antiquity, one Frankish-Gallican office book) displayed considerable discrepancies: "When I compared these celebrated tomes with our

antiphoners, I discovered that they differed from ours not only in the order but also in the wording [of the chants] and in [containing] a multitude of responsories and antiphons which we do not sing."[73]

Amalar's efforts, and the suggestions for correction made by Helisachar and Agobard, are eloquent witness to widespread editorial activity after the introduction of the Roman Antiphonale Officii in the Frankish kingdom in the 9th century.[74]

As an alternative to the inquiry after an archetype, one may propose the following area of investigation: the emergence of the office antiphoner in its various versions through the merging of different libelli.[75] For this, special interest will attach to those older sources that Hesbert in CAO did not take into account.

Notes

[1] Cyrille Vogel: *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge* (Spoleto 1975), p.242; English version as *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, revised and translated by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen, O.P. (Washington D.C. 1986), p.363: "At present, given the complexity of the situation, it would be impossible to provide a description of the status quaestionis on the history of the Liturgy of the Hours and its various components in the Middle Ages."

[2] René-Jean Hesbert: *Corpus Antiphonale Officii, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, VII-XII* (Rome 1963-79):
Vol. I: Manuscripti Cursus romanus
Vol. II: Manuscripti Cursus monasticus
Vol. III: Invitatoria et Antiphonae, Editio critica
Vol. IV: Responsoria, Versus, Hymni et Varia, Editio critica
Vol. V: Fontes earumque prima ordinatio
Vol. VI: Secunda et tertia ordinationes

[3] René-Jean Hesbert: 'Un curieux antiphonaire palimpseste de l'office. Rouen, A.292 (IXe s.)', *Revue Bénédictine* 64 (1954), pp.28-45 (see p.39).

[4] *Ibid.*, p.41.

[5] *Ibid.*, p.41, note 1.

[6] René-Jean Hesbert: 'Les séries de répons des dimanches de l'avent', *Questions liturgiques et paroissiales* 39 (1958), pp.299-326 (see p.318). On the classification of the curial breviary in CAO see Hesbert's study 'L'Antiphonaire de la Curie', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 34 (1980), pp.431-459.

[7] *Ibid.* p.300.

[8] Excerpts belonging to Prof. Hansjakob

Becker, University of Mainz, in A5 size sectional notebook (Karoheft DIN A5) with black-white cover, pp.101-112.

[9] CAO IV, p.XII.

[10] CAO V, p.V.

[11] CAO VI, p.383b: "... the manuscripts best qualified to restore the archetype."

[12] CAO VI, p.387b.

[13] CAO V, p.384b.

[14] The following reviews of volumes I-VI of CAO are known to me (in alphabetical order): Pierre-Marie Gy in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 63 (1979), pp.296-9, 601-2; François Huot: 'À la recherche de l'archétype de l'antiphonaire', *Revue Bénédictine* 87 (1977), pp.371-6; Michel Huglo in *Revue de Musicologie* 63 (1977), pp.164-8; Em. Pouille in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 136 (1978), pp.95-8; D.M. in *Revue Bénédictine* 90 (1980), p.159; P. Rocha: 'Pour l'histoire de l'office divin. Le CAO', *Gregorianum* 60 (1979), pp.147-153; Jacques Froger: 'La méthode de Dom Hesbert dans le Volume V du CAO', *Études grégoriennes* 18 (1979), pp.97-143; id.: 'La méthode de Dom Hesbert dans le Volume VI du CAO', *Études grégoriennes* 19 (1980), pp.185-196; Michel Huglo: 'L'Édition critique de l'antiphonaire grégorien', *Scriptorium* 39 (1985), pp.130-8.

[15] Bernard Botte: 'A propos des repons de l'office', *Questions liturgiques et paroissiales* 40 (1959), pp.139-142 (see p.142). Botte takes issue with a preliminary study for CAO which Hesbert published in 1958 on the basis of 25 manuscripts (article cited in note 6 'Les séries de répons ...').

[16] Ibid. p.142.

[17] D.M. (1980 - see note 14), p.159.

[18] F. Huot (1977), p.374.

[19] J. Froger (1979), p.131.

[20] M. Huglo (1985), pp.5 and 17.

[21] In the first classification the oldest 'archetypal' manuscript actually came from the 12th-13th century: no.123 (Bamberg). Cf. Froger (1979), pp.118-120.

[22] On antiphoner C[ompiegne] see J. Froger: 'Le lieu de destination et de provenance du Compendiensis', *Ut mens concordet voci, Festschrift E. Cardine zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. J.B. Göschl (St.Ottilien 1980), pp.338-353, summarized p.353. C was probably written in Soissons for Saint-Médard de Soissons and came later to Saint-Corneille de Compiègne, some 15 miles away. The exclusion of C from the second classification in CAO prompted Froger's fundamental question (1980,p.192) as to how sensible it was to add together the separate results of the three classifications, in that

way producing a smoothed-out, 'average' fidelity to the text.

[23] CAO VI, p.386b.

[24] CAO VI, p.387. On the ultimate goal of the restoration Hesbert expressed himself elsewhere in the following revealing terms: "To restore a text which deviates as little as possible from the original: that is the goal we have set ourselves." (CAO V, p.22)

[25] Raymond le Roux: 'Aux origines de l'office festif: les antiennes de Matines et de Laudes pour Noël et le 1er Janvier', *Études grégoriennes* 4 (1961), pp.65-171; id.: 'Répons du Triduo Sacro et de Pâques', *Études grégoriennes* 18 (1979), pp.157-176.

[26] J. Smits van Waesberghe: 'Einleitung zu einer Kausalitätserklärung der Evolution der Kirchenmusik im Mittelalter', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 26 (1969), pp.249-273; id.: 'Gedanken über den inneren Traditionsprozess in der Geschichte der Musik des Mittelalters', *Studien zur Tradition in der Musik: Kurt von Fischer zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Max Lütolf (Munich 1973), pp.7-30. "In the 'Auctoritas-mentality' of the Middle Ages, the Proper of Mass was regarded as a rounded, complete whole. ... With the office the case was different, however." (Einleitung, p.261f.) "The Office - because of its evolution - was thought of as absolute, sacrosanct, to a lesser degree than the Proper of Mass; new offices might in consequence be composed." (Gedanken, p.19)

[27] Michel Huglo: 'Archétype ou répertoire original?', paper delivered 30.8.1982 to the study-group 'Ausgaben des gregorianischen Gesangs'; Adalbert Kurzeja expressed himself in similar terms in his review of CAO I in *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* (1966), pp.450-5, in particular p.451: "The possibilities of differentiation in the office ... are more numerous than in the mass ... Firstly because in the office there are at the outset two basic schemata, the *cursus romanus* and the *cursus monasticus*, neither one of which can be derived from the other, and which must therefore be treated separately. Besides this, the mass has usually only five chants, which have a closely prescribed function and are not interchangeable. By contrast the office has 15 pieces (26 in the *cursus monasticus*) for Vigils alone, whose antiphons and responsories can, within each genre, be put in all sorts of different orders. Now the older manuscripts often contain a series of supernumerary pieces. As a consequence, in contrast to the mass-antiphoner, a multitude of different text combinations were possible, which resulted in a multitude of different traditions, quite apart from text variants."

[28] The 2nd Sunday of Advent was chosen because in the oldest antiphoner, C, the 1st Sunday is missing because of a missing leaf. For greater clarity the responsory numbers (21, 22, etc.) have been synoptically arranged. Insertions (for Hesbert these are all the ones deviating from the 'liste-type') and

12 Möller: Antiphoner

supernumerary responsories (those exceeding the total of nine in the secular office) are highlighted by bold type.

[29] CAO V, p.25.

[30] The only exception is the switching of responsories 28-27 in antiphoner F.

[31] By 'same relative succession' I mean that two responsories which stand one after the other in a source are also to be found in another source, irrespective of insertions between them, in the same order. So, although the succession of responsories 21-23 in antiphoners C and G is not identical, for C has responsory 70 inserted between 22 and 23, the relative order of 21, 22 and 23 themselves nevertheless remains the same. In analogous fashion Hansjakob Becker distinguishes between the 'Stelle' ['place'] and 'Stellung' ['placement'] of a responsory in its respective series (*Die Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers*, Münchner Theologische Studien 39, Munich 1971, pp.142-5).

[32] The rarely attested responsories sometimes indicate connections between sources. Thus R 70 is found only in C, G and D, that is, in West Frankish antiphoners. R 61 hints at contacts between R and D, RR 60 and 62 at something between M and S. Yet, plausible though an interpretation from an evolutionary point of view may be at first sight, it is nevertheless improbable in the two last cases: should M[onza] have taken the over the two RR 60 and 62 from S[ilos] or the other way round? could they both derive from a common ancestor, or have come independently to the same conclusions? - these remain speculations.

[33] In addition to these 182 different types there remain the manuscripts with complete or partial lacunae. See CAO V, pp.83-4.

[34] Thus, for example, in CAO V, p.351, we read: "... the entire tradition of the antiphoner depends on a unique archetype."

[35] Responsory pairs, called "couples" by Hesbert, are such as RR 21-22, 22-70, 70-23, that is, any two successive responsories.

[36] CAO V, p.157.

[37] "29-End" means that R 29 is the final responsory at the conclusion of this series.

[38] For, according to Hesbert, "this solution presents a grave inconvenience: the list thus brought to light has only 8 responsories..." But he does not allow himself "to be distracted by a passing difficulty." (CAO V, p.159)

[39] Ibid.

[40] CAO V, p.184.

[41] Jacques Froger, 'La méthode' (cited note 14), pp.106-111; summarized p.110.

[42] CAO V, pp.259 and 186.

[43] CAO V, p.186f. On the methodological details see my contribution 'Quantifizierende Verfahren in der Antiphonarforschung. Methodische Überlegungen zum CAO 5 and 6' in the *Nordisk Kollokvium V i Latinsk Liturgiforskning*, ed. Knud Ottosen (Aarhus 1982), pp.243-4 and 251-2.

[44] "The distance coefficient of the two lists - a quotient of the number of disagreements upon the number of terms of comparison - is therefore [for the given example] 3 over 5, that is 60 out of 100." (CAO V, p.187A; compare p.287)

[45] See on the other hand the numerous studies of methodological problems in the text criticism of liturgical manuscripts which Jacques Froger carried out in parallel with his work on the 'Graduel critique': 'L'emploi de la machine électronique dans les études médiévales', *Bulletin de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale* 3 (1961), pp.177-188; 'La collation des manuscrits à la machine électronique', *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Bulletin* 13 (1964-5), pp.135-171; 'La critique de texte: Une variante de la méthode de Dom Quentin', *Revue des Études Latines* (1965), pp.187-192; 'La machine électronique au service des sciences humaines', *Diogenes* 52 (1965), pp.109-144; *La critique des textes et son automatisation, Initiation aux nouveautés de la science* 7 (Paris 1968); 'La critique des textes et l'ordinateur', *Vigiliae Christianae* 24 (1970), pp.210-217; 'La lecture automatique et l'analyse statistique des textes', *Organisation internationale pour l'étude des langues anciennes par ordinateur. Revue* 1 (1970), pp.37-44. 'La critique textuelle et la méthode des groupes fautifs', *Cahiers de lexicologie* (Paris, n.d.), pp.207-244; 'La méthode de Dom Quentin, la méthode des distances et le problème de contamination', *Colloques Internationaux du CNRS*, No.579 (Paris 1979), pp.13-22. (I am heartily grateful to the monks of Solesmes, in particular to P. Gerard de Martel, for enabling me to read this somewhat inaccessible literature.) Besides this, see the studies of methodology by Gian Piro Zarrì: 'Algorithms, stemmata codicum and the theories of Dom H. Quentin', *The Computer and Literary Studies*, ed. A.J. Aitken (Edinburgh 1973), pp.225-237; id.: 'A computer model for textual criticism?', *The Computer in Literary and Linguistic Studies*, ed. Alan Jones and R.R. Churchhouse (Cardiff 1976), pp.133-155.

[46] See my 'Quantifizierende Verfahren' (cited in n.43), pp.248-50.

[47] On computer applications in research on the Middle Ages in general historical studies, cf. D. Herlihy: 'Quantification in the Middle Ages', *The Dimensions of the Past*, ed. V.R. Lorwin and J.M. Price (New Haven 1972), pp.13-51, with impressive area bibliographies; Penny Gilbert: 'Automatic collation: a technique for medieval texts', *Computers and the Humanities* 7 (1973), pp.139-147; id.: 'Using the computer to collate medieval Latin manuscripts', *The Computer in Literary and Linguistic Studies* (Cardiff 1976); L. Bullough, Serge Lusignan and Thomas H. Ohlgren: 'Computers and the

Medievalist', *Speculum* 49 (1974), pp.392-402. The bibliography by Wilhelm Ott: 'EDV im Editions-wesen', *Sprache und Datenverarbeitung* 2 (1980), pp.179-184 gives interdisciplinary coverage of the impact of data-processing on the preparation of critical text editions.

[48] See my 'Quantifizierende Verfahren' (cited n.43), pp.248-251.

[49] Hesbert set out his position on this question in the introductory section 'La critique des traditions à témoins multiples' (CAO V, pp.19-26): "The notion one sets out with is that of a normal transmission of the tradition: one which supposes an habitual care for fidelity on the part of copyists." Such "systematic corrections" as, for example, those of the Metz liturgist Amalar will be "eccentric [extra-vagants]: in an operation of critical restoration they should be put resolutely on one side, without any scruple whatsoever. ... the normal mode of transmission of a text is a mechanical one" (21a). "... variants are infinitely precious indices which permit elucidation of the affinities between manuscripts ..." (24a). Against this see the reflexions of Knud Ottosen: 'La problématique de l'édition des textes liturgiques latin', *Classica et mediaevalia* 34 (1973), pp.541-556; and Leo Treitler: 'Transmission and the study of music history', *International Musicological Society, Report of the Twelfth Congress Berkeley 1977*, ed. D. Heartz and B. Wade (Kassel 1981), pp.202-211, on the historical viewpoint he calls the 'medieval paradigm'.

[50] V. Leroquais: *Les bréviaires des bibliothèques publiques de France*, I (Paris 1934), pp.LXXVIII-LXXXII.

[51] G.M. Beyssac, in the prefatory remarks to his 'Note sur le Graduel-Sacramentaire de St.Pierre-St.Denis de Bantz, du XIIe siècle', *Revue Bénédictine* 31 (1921), pp.190-200. On p.190 he comments on the method adopted: "If I were not reluctant to recall tragic and notorious, if now distant, quarrels [with Leroquais], I would say that I have employed a 'Moyen Court' ['short way'], and an easy one, ... provided one has the elements at one's disposal. These elements I hope before long - when an edition becomes more feasible - to set out for the benefit of the learned public. The method has allowed me to reach conclusions rapidly with the minimum of labour and cerebral effort! It was not difficult to devise: it is, so to speak, the Columbus' Egg of the Liturgy."

[52] His reprocessing of CAO V is published in *L'Antiphonaire latin au Moyen-Âge. Réorganisation des séries de répons de l'Avent classées par R.-J. Hesbert* (Rome 1986).

[53] F. Huot: 'Le CAO de Dom Hesbert et les recherches liturgiques en Suisse', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique Suisse* 71 (1977), pp.418-423 (see p.421).

[54] F. Kohlschein: *Der Paderborner Liber Ordinaris von 1324*, Studien und Quellen zur Westfälischen Geschichte 2 (Paderborn 1972),

pp.154 and 152.

[55] P.M. Gy: 'Les premiers bréviaires de Saint-Gall (deuxième quart du XIIe s.)', *Liturgie, Gestalt und Vollzug*, ed. W. Düring (Munich 1963), pp.104-113.

[56] W. Lipphardt: *Der Karolingische Tonar von Metz*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 43 (Münster 1965).

[57] Plans of the project are available in English (by L. Dobszay) and German (H. Möller). It was presented by L. Dobszay in a study session at the Bologna 1987 congress of the International Musicological Society chaired by H. Hucke: 'Problems and Projects of Studying Regional Variants in Chant'. The papers given at this study session will be published in *Studia Musicologica* (Budapest).

[58] R.M. Zemsky: 'Numbers and history: the dilemma of measurement', *Computers and the Humanities* 3 (1969), pp.31-40.

[59] Cf. K.H. Jarasch, G. Arminger and M. Thaller: *Quantitative Methoden in der Geschichtswissenschaft. Eine Einführung in die Forschung, Datenverarbeitung und Statistik* (Darmstadt 1985).

[60] F. Furet: 'Die quantitative Geschichte und die Konstruktion der historischen Tatsache', *Schrift und Materie der Geschichte*, ed. C. Honegger (Frankfurt 1977), pp.86-107 (see p.98).

[61] CAO V, p.22.

[62] J. Froger (1980 - cited n.14), p.193.

[63] See R.J. Hesbert in vol.XIV of *Paléographie Musicale* (Solesmes 1936), p.72: "The only independence which counts is that which consists, for two manuscripts or groups of manuscripts, in having no common ancestor closer than the archetype itself."

[64] J. Froger (1980 - cited n.14), p.195.

[65] A. Mocquereau in *Paléographie Musicale*, ser. I, vol.2, p.13. Cf. R.J. Hesbert in *Paléographie Musicale* XIV, p.78, on "musical [text] criticism": "... at root it has many aspects in common with ... literary text criticism ..." On the origins of the 'Graduel critique' little information is to be gleaned beyond that work began in 1948; see J. Froger: 'The critical edition of the Roman Gradual by the monks of Solesmes', *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society* 1 (1978), pp.81-97 (see p.82). Pierre Combe devotes only a couple of sides of a general nature to this editorial undertaking in the 'Conclusion' of his *Histoire de la Restauration du Chant Grégorien d'après des Documents Inédits* (Solesmes 1969), p.246.

[66] At first, during the 8th-9th centuries, only liturgical editorial activity was ascribed to Gregory (thus in the Graduale Biandiniensis: "antefonarius ordinatus a sancto Gregorio"). The change of emphasis to musical activity was celebrated shortly afterward in the prologue

14 Möller: Antiphoner

'Gregorius praesul' of the Monza cantatorium: "Composuit hunc libellum musicae artis". This change in the image of Gregory at the time of the Carolingian renaissance was consummated at the same time in both legend and iconography; cf. Leo Treitler: 'Homer and Gregory: the transmission of epic poetry and plainchant', *Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974), pp.333-372 (see pp.334-344), with illustrations; see also from another point of view H. Schmidt: 'Gregorianik - Legende oder Wahrheit?', *Ars musica, musica scientia. Festschrift Heinrich Hüsch zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. D. Altenburg, Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte 126 (Kassel 1980), pp.400-411.

[67] Numerous passages in Johannes B. Göschl's investigation of the Epiphonus praepunctis may be taken as symptomatic. In the author's opinion, his research strengthens the assumption "that the whole manuscript tradition goes back in the last resort to a single original source, and that this was perpetuated by copying." In his selection of sources Göschl also relies on the argument that certain "more valuable manuscripts ... primary sources ... appear to stand nearest the original rhythmic and melodic tradition" (J.B. Göschl: *Semiologische Untersuchungen zum Phänomen der Gregorianischen Liqueszenz*, Forschungen zur älteren Musikgeschichte 3, 2 vols., Vienna 1980, pp.387 and 95).

[68] Cf. K. Ottosen: 'La problématique de l'édition des textes liturgiques latins', *Classica et mediaevalia* 34 (1973), pp.541-556.

[69] M. Andrieu: *Le pontifical romain I*, Studi e testi 86 (Rome 1938), p.115.

[70] Ibid.

[71] C. Vogel and R. Elze: *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du Xe siècle*, Studi e Testi 226, 227, 269 (Rome 1963, 1972) (see vol.1, p.XI).

[72] J. Deshusses: *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, Spicilegium friburgense 16, 24 (3 vols., Fribourg, 1971-9) (see vol.1, p.75).

[73] J.M. Hanssens, ed.: *Amalari episcopi opera liturgica omnia* (Rome 1948), vol.1, p.361.

[74] These editors have in common, as M. Huglo puts it, the desire "to justify publicly important modifications visited upon the official text". See M. Huglo: 'Les remaniments de l'antiphonaire grégorien au IXe siècle', *Culto cristiano, politica imperiale carolingia. 9-12 ott. 1977*, Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, Univ. degli studi di Perugia, 18 (Todi 1979), pp.89-120 (see p.92).

[75] It seems likely that the antiphoner grew out of the bringing together of several different precursors. These had probably existed previously as separate libelli: repertories of antiphons for ferial services, Nocturns, Lauds and Vespers; a relatively unstructured

responsoriale, an invitatoriale and a libellus for the short responsories. See R. Stephan: *Antiphonarstudien I. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Gesanges im Stundengebet vor der Jahrtausendwende. 1. Teil: Die Gesänge des Sanctorale*, Habilitationsschrift (typescript) Göttingen 1962 (see pp.107-115).

Part IV
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SOME REMARKS ON JEAN CLAIRE'S OCTOECHOS

LÁSZLÓ DOBSZAY

Dom Jean Claire's Octoechos theory¹ has frequently been mentioned but, in fact, hardly integrated into chant scholarship. After a fruitful new theory appears research usually compares its conclusions with present knowledge, weighs the pros and cons of its argumentation, and then either modifies the existing view or rejecting the new (or, at least, some parts of it) as incompatible with a previous well-based system of learning. That means, science tries to incorporate new theories into the wholeness of our knowledge, but at the same time subjects it to criticism. As I see it, we often mention, cite, adapt, and popularize the work of Dom Claire; but all this does *not* replace a real *reading* (*perusal*), and serious scientific discussion of it. The limited space of this paper does not permit more than a look on the contact points of this theory with other fields of chant scholarship, and to point briefly both to the positive and the problematic features of the work. Finally we will examine of its practical adaptation.

I.

1. In my opinion the greatest merit of Claire's theory is the introduction of a new and flexible approach which reflects in a more appropriate way the stylistic peculiarities of the chant and the consequences of its genuine *oral* way of life. In respect to music analysis, and especially to modal analysis, Claire abandons the undisguised or hidden *grapholatry* of the former research. He declares that the process described by him precedes the period of notation.² The tunes, in his view, live as entities existing purely in the ears. The theory of modality must be built on the tunes themselves instead of Greek or other theories.³ He finds the origin of historical changes not in theoretical or notational considerations, but in the musical activity of the singers.

¹ Jean Claire, "Les Répertoires liturgiques latins avant l'octoéchos. I. L'office férial romano-franc", *Études grégoriennes* 15 (1975), pp. 5-192.

² Page 53, footnote.

³ Citation from Descroquettes, p. 79.

The antiphon modes were originally melodic ideas, motives ("timbres") defined theoretically only afterwards. Therefore, the tonal assignment is not a stable, unalterable quality of the tunes; on the contrary, the modes can fade into one another. A given mode can be reached from various directions, through different courses of development.⁴ The two main methods of tonal *metamorphosis* are: that of addition (e.g. an eighth-mode melody may fade in third mode completed with two more notes) and that of reorganization of the interval structure (see e.g. the third-mode variants of first-mode melodies upon the same *tonus finalis*). This kind of transformation did not change the essence of the tune for the one-time singer, and the categories became segregated only during the theoretical classification of the melodies. More than a half-century ago Bence Szabolcsi explained – concerning to the music of late Antiquity in general – that the tonality was determined by the basic idea of the tunes (he called this: *maquam*) – as we may see it still in contemporary practice of the Eastern Churches – and the principle "*cantus a fine dijudicatur*" is definitely younger than the melodies themselves.⁵

The flexibility of tonal analysis is ready to forget all of the associations of the script, the visual elements of notation, or the system of absolute pitches.⁶ To be able, e.g. to compare two forms of a melody, one in the sixth mode and the other in the eighth mode, we must bear in mind that the one-time singer heard these melodies, as it were, transposed onto the same tonic. All this brought Claire nearer to the methodology and attitude of the ethnomusicology, which, similarly, can build only on the relationships perceived in living and sounding *melos*, without the associations of written music.

2. By using 12th- to 15th-century sources for reconstructing historical processes, Claire implicitly takes a stand in one of the hottest questions of the chant research today: i.e. can the relatively late sources be utilized for argumentation concerning the history of a period before the notation of chant? can we learn something from the *late* sources for the *early* centuries of chant? or otherwise formulated: could the melodies of the early period survive – in altered or unaltered form – until the age of notation?

⁴ P. 80, footnote.

⁵ Szabolcsi, Bence, "A régi nagy kultúrák dallamossága [Melody in the grand cultures of the Antiquity]", *Ethnographia* LVII (1946), pp. 1-13; *idem*, "Makám-elv a népi és művészi zenében [The 'maquam' principle in folk music and art music]", *Ethnographia* LX (1949), pp. 81-87.

⁶ P. 81, footnote.

3. As I see it, Claire finds himself in opposition to the basic principles of the semiological school, in spite of their tactical league. Semiology treats chant melodies as entities composed and fixed to the smallest detail for making a perfect rendering of the text. This being so, our task is to find out the only *one* authentic melodical and rhythmical form of a given composition by means of earliest written sources. On the contrary, for Dom Claire, the whole material is in a continuous motion: variants come into world and take new shapes, the essential components of the melody appear in variants before our sight. Though we can detect old Roman prototypes – existing long time before the use of notation – they can be seen only as having broken into the wide spectrum of the Gregorian recordings. The frequently alluded "archetype" is not an auctorial manuscript for Claire, but rather constitutes forms fixed again and again as sources for further transmission.

4. Analysis widely utilizes the synoptical comparison of Old Roman, Gregorian and Ambrosian sources. Claire works to differentiate the Roman repertory from another one (called Gallican); his explanation, however, eventuates in a stylistic unity of those. The relationship between responsorial psalmody and antiphony, the meaning of the liturgical-musical genres, the technics in coordinating music with text, the treatment of tonality are described as parallel phenomena in the Roman and other repertories. The differences between the chant families are manifested rather in tonal preferences, and not in the essence of the styles. Consequently, if Claire is speaking of a "fusion number one of Roman and Gallican chant in the eighth century, we must answer to the question what might be the cause of the similarities of these repertories born much earlier – or we are obliged to suppose, as it were, a fusion number zero, too. I think, the prehistory of the Gregorian chant cannot be written in the future without giving an explanation for the stylistic unity of the Latin liturgies, a unity compatible with the variance in repertories. If we accept the outlook of Dom Claire, the conclusions must drawn in music analyses, in essential parts of our view of history.

II.

The importance of Claire's work is also taken seriously as we discuss problematic points, or, at least, features incompatible with our present knowledge.

1. Claire's theory is based on the concept of evolution. He traces the ancient set of antiphons to two Roman and one Gallican core melodies (DO

and MI, respectively RE tunes) and regards all the other tunes as belonging to a secondary form developed from these, or simply as late additions.

1.1. The fifties and sixties of our century were greatly influenced by evolutionary theories which concluded to historical processes from morphological observations. Characteristically, the title of Walter Wiora's famous article presenting biton, triton, tetraton melodies contains: "Älter als die Pentatonik" – i.e., not *simpler*, but *older* than Pentatony. In the seventies a hot anti-evolutionary criticism ensued. Critics refused the supposition that the path of history leads necessarily from melodies with small range or limited set of tones toward those with extended range; from simple rhythmic and mensural patterns toward composite ones; from primary shapes toward the augmented forms; from syllabic tunes to melismatic singing, etc. An evolution of this kind cannot be, of course, excluded; but only comparative examination of a wide range of material can justify the procedure of going over from *morphological* facts to *chronological* conclusions. Though Claire himself declares too that the levels of a music (or with a somewhat idiosyncratic terminology: an aesthetic) development does not mean necessarily a historical succession, but the work itself contradicts this declaration.

1.2. The principle of evolution is problematic especially in the case of small range melodies. The tonal instability, the inclination to both kinds of tonal change is characteristic to the behavior of small range melodies. The simple and augmented forms, the contracted and elaborated shapes are available for the singer or the collective group of singers at the same moment. The intervallic structure of a group of few notes can be easily rearranged without a change in the essence of the melody, let's say, in an abrupt manner. The singer moves in a much wider field of "ad libitum" than in the case of large range melodies.⁷ The narrow-range musical material of Antiquity (i.e. tunes within an octave) has tonal variety in its nature, and, according, it is just as dangerous here to adapt evolutionary clichès as theoretical ones (just what Dom Descroquettes and Claire have warned against).

1.3. To quote some music examples: in Hungarian laments the same melody appears in a contracted form in one singer's performance and with augmented range in the case of other's. The tonal variants of the same musical idea (or "timbre", as Claire calls it) vary often according to geographical dia-

⁷ The fixation of the melody in the case of wide-range and more complex tunes is greatly helped by the fact that the parameters of the music reinforced each other. It is not one single interval but two or more interrelated intervals that get fixed and the tonal stability is supported by the inner rhymes of melodic course.

lects; that means, they are functions of differences in space rather than in age. Also the final-note variants may vary from singer to singer. The lament which is built on the notes G-A-B in one village is built on G-A-C in the other (which coincides with the interrelationship of sixth and eighth mode, i.e. the first step of evolution in Claire's melodic type "A-C"). A collector could notice that a singer concluded a lament, but when the tape recorder started up again she extended the range upwards or downwards, with additional notes absent in the section recorded earlier. The passionate increase of emotions may push the border of range upwards, fatigue pushes the range downwards. "Ad libitum" devices of this kind figure in Claire's presentation as stages of evolution, separated from each other even by centuries.

1.4. I take a similar case from the field of Gregorian chant: in the tract, this ancient type of psalmody the changes of the tenor depends on the artistic will of the singer and the length of the psalm section. In the Palm Sunday tract e.g. the extension of the range, the raise and relaxation of the tenor note is used as means of expression and variability.⁸

1.5. The tract is a fine sample of the *mobile* recitation. Claire says that in the pure form of ancient psalmody the psalmverses and the refrain should sound on the same melody – a melody stretched on one single axis with indistinguishable final and dominant notes. This form should be the parent of a new one, when the dominant is pressed upwards and formula is divided into the duality of psalm and antiphon. In this approach the so-called "straight" tuba should be the original, primary device. On the contrary, however, scholars of ancient monophony such as Edith Gerson-Kiwi reminded us decades ago of the fact that the mobile recitation is, if not earlier, at least contemporary phenomenon with the straight (rigid) form of it. The table of Invitatories in Claire's book is an excellent collection of standardized versions of a one-time free and mobile recitation, rather than a representation of the evolutionary process. Nevertheless, the mobile recitation can be hardly combined with a theory of one-axis melodic structure.

1.6. Investigations in the sphere of archaic recitations, looking farther and including old folkmusic, does not favour a theory which restricts recita-

⁸ The Old Roman, Gregorian and Ambrosian tract cannot be grouped with Claire's ancient tones. We may account for this saying that the genre is quite another. Nevertheless, when we wish to interpret the historical process by facts belonging to the deep layers of music perception and hearing the collation of the genres cannot be eluded. Both genres are used by the singer on the same degree of development as to aural experiences.

tion to one single axis. Claire's 'prototypes' are melodic arches on a melodic axis, or undulation around it, while ancient recitations are very frequently hanging on a high axis and descending from it to a lower one. The depth of this descension might be very different and this fact causes essential difference in tonality, at least so regarded with modern eyes. In my opinion, all that we know about the culture of recitation in Antiquity is hardly compatible with a theory which takes the recitation on one axis as the only possible way and regards the rich material with recitation on double axis as derivative.⁹

1.7. In order to put tunes in different modes into an evolutionary progression, Claire had to connect them by melodic identity, i.e. "timbre". It is, however, sometimes doubtful, whether we can rightly speak of melodic identity (e.g. in the case of types A and C). When we are working with a more rudimentary musical material it is difficult to distinguish gestures characteristic for a style or repertory, formulas, melodic contours similar in their visual shape from identical tunes.

1.8. Minutiae of variants can not support serious historical conclusions. It is difficult to grasp historical process in the terms of "aesthetic differences", and we become uneasy when an author declares one or another such element as a sign of "originality" or "posteriority". I think we can speak here only of the natural behavior of an old, unwritten, narrow-range melodic material which always opens the way both to the richness of "ad libitum" varieties and of regional standardizations.

2. The theory of evolution is supported by arguments taken from the history of liturgy and the comparison of codices. Claire's concept is that the genuine state of the Roman antiphonary is accessible in the ferial office. The majority of the scholars agree, in fact, that the ferial office belongs to the deepest layer of the liturgy; we can doubt, however, that the ferial office covers the whole sphere of this layer. Nevertheless, Claire reduces even the ferial office, sorting out a great part of it as "late additions".

2.1. He excludes, e.g. the Sunday office in full, saying that all the psalms were sung in the earliest period with Alleluias. Should this statement be true, we would have to know how people sang the office in Lenten period, when the Alleluia was forbidden. He excludes all the Smaller Hours and takes e.g.

⁹ The F-G-A melodies correspondent to the 6th-mode of chant (F finalis, A dominant) belongs to the deepest layer of archaic folkmusic culture (and yet with cadence on F or – by addition of completing notes – D or even on C).

the second and eighth mode type of 'Aspice' for a late addition to the repertory.

2.2. He refuses on principle the so-called 'series', i.e. the cases where psalms were repeated during the week, receiving more than one antiphon.¹⁰ In his opinion, one single antiphon attached primarily to each psalm (in most cases taking the text from the beginning of the psalm) and the antiphons changing on each day, are all late compositions. This declaration is made, however, without evidence. Recent research points to the fact that the oldest liturgy used some sets of items which have been ordered into a fixed framework only later. There were often day or season antiphons or responsories more than necessary, first sung according to choice, then assigned to exact liturgical position. This phenomenon is akin with the one called "properization" by James McKinnon.¹¹

2.3. Claire argues for the exclusion of the series stating that their transmission in the Gregorian sources is not uniform. In this context he declares that "the criterion of belonging to the »archetype« is the wide distribution of the piece in the majority of sources."¹² This statement, however lacks again evidence, and it contradicts not only the numerous documents which have survived as isolated manifestations ("Rückzugsgebiete") but, similarly, to Claire's own procedure when he regards many times the exceptional instance as a trace of pre-octoechos period.¹³ In fact, the diversity in transmission is not larger in the case of the "series" than in that of other psalms. This diversity may have very different causes, and just the multiple antiphons could have been utilized differently by different communities.

2.4. Claire excludes from analysis as well the proper antiphons of the monastic office. The additions required in the monastic office and the so-

¹⁰ Cf. pp. 12, 128.

¹¹ See e.g. James McKinnon, "Properization: The Roman Mass", *Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the 6th Meeting, Eger, Hungary 1993* (Budapest, 1995), vol. 1, pp. 15-22. The list quoted by Claire containing the psalmic refrains in Augustine's *Enarrationes* takes the refrain frequently from inner verses of the psalm just as the *Psalterium St. Germain* does, which gives in 11 cases more than one refrain to the same psalm.

¹² P. 137.

¹³ He holds e.g. the 8th-mode variant of a type as original against the 3rd mode form occurring in the majority of Gregorian sources, probably because this representation fits better to the scheme of evolution. In spite of their great dissemination, he does not accept as part of the *vieux fond* the pieces which contradict of to the principle of evolution (e.g. *Hymnum cantate*, see p. 141.).

called monastic contribution in the secular office are automatically classified into the Gallican-Gregorian repertory and are attributed to the influence of the Provence on the early Benedictines.¹⁴ The formation of the monastic office, however, precedes the Roman-Gregorian fusion by some centuries. *Dato non concessio* that special antiphons to the psalms Nr. 1 to 20 were not sung in Rome, the 6th-century Roman monks nevertheless could not have accomplished their liturgy without these antiphons.¹⁵ I think (and I am supported by the testimony of the psalm *Enarrationes* of Augustine) that a refrain could be taken for any psalm as casual adaptation of music formulas to selected sections. So, in principle, an infinite repertory of refrains might exist and some "accepted", frequently repeated items could be and were fixed as individual antiphons. Both for the secular and the monastic offices, appropriate pieces could be selected, according to the proper requirements.

2.5. But a great part of the repertory accepted in the first selection has been sorted out from the "original set" during further analysis. Here it is hard to avoid the impression that an antiphon is marked as "pristine" if it fits an evolutionary progression or was eliminated if it represents a further stage of evolution, according to Claire's judgement. The secondary position of such pieces were confirmed with liturgical arguments afterwards. The history of the ferial antiphonary became then the isolated history of individual antiphons.¹⁶ To give an example: only half of the 30 antiphons remaining after the first selection are accepted later as part of the Roman "vieux fond". The question remains, how the Roman office could be accomplished, at all, with remaining antiphons. If a great number of antiphons are removed as monastic additions, how could those people have sung the psalms given? Or: how could we prove that the Minor Hours were celebrated without singing an antiphon?

2.6. As a principle, all the antiphons sharing the melodies of the Temporale (and Sanctorale) are eliminated from the vieux fond, even if most of them cannot be separated in respect to formal stage or liturgical position.¹⁷ Claire justifies this procedure saying that at the oldest stage only the ferial

¹⁴ P. 128.

¹⁵ The antiphons for psalms 119 to 127 are eliminated saying that here we meet an addition of monastic origin "for the sake of variety" (namely, because these psalms are daily repeated in the monastic office). Such multiple antiphons can be, however found in the Vespers, too, where the same explanation cannot be inferred.

¹⁶ See e.g. the antiphon *Eruclavit*, p. 148.

¹⁷ E.g. the short form of the type "Lumen", the type "Liberasti-Diviserunt", etc.

office was sung and the formation of the *temporale* belongs to the next phase. In his opinion the "double office" had to be introduced just to avoid the omission of either the older *ferial* or the newer *festal* office.¹⁸ I, however, have never seen a case of such duplication and the cases I do know of (e.g. the Christmas Vigils) are explained by the duplication of *stational* churches.

Here we encounter, however, the most difficult problem of the work, caused by the obscurity of terms "old, ancient, late, posterior". Which date is the borderline between the early and new? Or, in connection with the question of the *temporale*, just when was that period when the *ferial* office was still in use, but the formation of the *temporale* and the *sanctorale* had not begun? Claire seems to regard the borderline between "old" and "new" some time in the 8th century, i.e. the spread of the Roman rite among the Franks, the *naissance* of the Gregorian chant (the so-called "first fusion") and the invention of the *Octoechos*.¹⁹ On the other hand, his liturgical arguments are dissonant with musical periodization. Essential parts of the *temporale* and the *commune sanctorum* (and yet an important quota of the *sanctorale*) were used already in the 8th century when the theory of the *octoechos* was invented. The origins of the *temporale* can be dated, at least, to the 4th century, a date confirmed musically by the *psalmic antiphons* of Christmas, Epiphany, the *Triduum Sacrum*, Ascension, elaborated not more than those of the *ferial* office. A great part of the *temporale* and *sanctorale* coexisted with the *ferial* office long before the 8th century, including, of course, some more developed items, as well. (It could be the case in some instance that stylistic differences are expression of difference in liturgical rank rather than results of chronological qualities.) At any rate, the borderline between old and new in liturgy does not coincide with this delineation musically and has nothing with the introduction of the system of *octoechos*. If we would like to link the evolutionary process with liturgical development, we must go back at least to the 4th century.

The pieces which were ousted from the old Roman *ferial* office are automatically written within an account of the Gallican tradition. We can be sure that the "old" and "new" pieces of the *ferial* office, moreover the *ferial* office and a great part of the *temporale-sanctorale*, the cathedral and monastic office of Rome coexisted in the 6th century. They are, accordingly, not suited to support a theory about 8th-century musical process.

¹⁸ P. 12.

¹⁹ Cf. p. 75.

2.7. There are some other problems in connecting the borderline to the introduction of the octoechos. We have often read that the octoechos is a system born together with the Gregorian chant, a system unknown for the Old Roman and Ambrosian repertory. This is true, however, if we mean by the term "octoechos" the theoretical system, not the musical reality. The system of the eight modes could function as well as it did during many centuries just because it was basically a true reflection of the nature of the music material, and, during adaptation it was relatively rare that either the system or the melodies had to be forced. We must differentiate the "echoi" as the typical music phenomenon of Antiquity from the "octo echos" (that is the total of the eight Gregorian modes) and the "octoechos" as a theory and compositional norm. In the musical sense the modes had already been in use for a long time when the system was developed to be a pedagogical means and when the musical material itself was corrected for that purpose here and there. Important in the life story of musicology and music composition as the naissance of this theory was, we should not overestimate its importance in the history of chant itself.

3. Claire's analyses refer to the microstructure of the melodies. The tunes notated between the 12th and 15th centuries are examined with respect to individual notes and intervals and conclusions relating to the long past are drawn from these minute observations.

3.1. Although I myself have always been adverse to an agnosticism which denies the historical continuity of the chant, therefore the possibility of tracing events back in history, yet I do not believe that this continuity can be valid down to the level of individual notes, intervals, motives.²⁰ The mystification of individual notes is nothing else than slipping back in the grapholatria. The late liturgical repertories permit us to say something about the past of types, stylistic features, technics, genre qualities, repertories, perhaps approximate sounds of individual items – after due circumspection. At any rate, chant scholarship has to revise profoundly its standpoint against historicity if it accepts whole sale Claire's hypothesis.

3.2. The material selected as mentioned above is presented by Claire from 15 sources in 80 tables. The introduction explains that the sources are chosen according to their capacity to better reflect the pre-octoechos state. That means, that Claire examined sources which provide evidence for his

²⁰ E.g. p. 64.

theses.²¹ We miss, however, the treatment of source data according to philological criteria and place in local tradition. Since the data are not compared to their natural environment, we often suspect that scribal errors, haphazard, doubtful interpretations may be regarded as survivals of a "pristine condition".²² The selection of source and the identification of their provenance would be readily accepted if the position of the sources in their own sphere of tradition was previously carefully cleared up. To quote one example among many: Bamberg is represented by one source with sometimes indecipherable or erroneous notation without comparison with the fortunately rich source material accessible in Bamberg and without possible corrections being made.

3.3. The main problem is, however, that the data of the selected sources do not prove Claire's theses. There is no question, that in many cases the same antiphon is presented in different modes in different manuscripts, but we cannot read more out of the source than just this fact. Nevertheless, neither of the so-called "archaic sources" are uniform concerning the tonal assignment. The great majority of these sources give the same psalm differentia as the typical Gregorian manuscripts and the divergences are either erroneous or resist interpretation.

3.4. At the same time, the most obvious use of these tables was not exploited, since the true objectives were hidden by the evolutionary analysis; namely, after the ferial antiphons with their modal variants were collected from many hundreds of the European manuscripts, and classified according traditions they can depict music historical processes and paths of transmission that determined the chant map between the eighth and twelfth centuries. Moreover, this collection of antiphons with their tonal indeterminacy may testify to the early emergence of the ferial repertory as a whole. On the

²¹ In fact, a more abundant selection is given in the appendix, but only for presenting the place of individual items in the row of evolution.

²² To quote same examples: in Ex. 1CAT (as the unique date for 4th mode, but with a 1st-mode differentia) seems to be scribal mistake; in Ex. 34. ROM1 is regarded as replacing the 2nd-mode melody with a 5th-mode "centonate" tune; it is in my opinion a recording slipped with a third; in Ex. 77 the psalm tones of AQU, MET, LIN are interpreted as a recitation on one tuba note, the fifth is, in reality only the incipit of the differentia; the ending on F in Ex. 64, BAM seems to be an error, cf. Nrs. 60, 61, here the psalm of ROM1 must be probably emendated; the extravagancies of LUG (which is treated as archaisms) need a careful control by the use of other sources; the psalm tone in Ex 55. is probably scribal error, etc.

other hand, the tables do not justify, in my opinion, the construction of an evolutionary sequences or events (except in the case of obviously derivative forms).

4. Now we come to the method and presentation of Claire's work.

4.1. Since morphology taken in itself is not enough to support historical conclusions, it has been combined with liturgical arguments and deviations from expected regularities are individually excused. Sometimes this is plausible, other times it forced. It is very instructive, for example, to see a process of selection in the sphere of Lauds antiphons. The psalms standing at the first, third and fifth place of this Hour are put aside since they have more than one possible antiphon, although only one antiphon should be given to one psalm and so only one of the set can be "original". This one is chosen according the evolutionary development of the pieces, i.e. the factor in search. (Parenthetically one such antiphon is assigned to the 66th psalm too, which is never sung with an antiphon either in secular or in monastic rite.) – The canticles become left because their transmission is not uniform. Claire thinks that these canticles were recited *in directaneum* (without an antiphon) with reference to the Easter Vigil when three canticles are sung without antiphons, i.e. in tract tones. Nevertheless, nothing can be interpreted concerning the performance of the canticles at Lauds from the fact that three of its seven canticles are performed following the rules of another genre during another celebration. If only one possible performance style of the canticles existed, the tract should have belonged to the original form of the office. This is, however, not so. It is not necessary that one text must be combined with one melody, and that the same text could be dressed in different musical vestments according to the liturgical context. – The antiphons of the psalm which changes day by day at Lauds are included first in the examination; later they are removed from the "vieux fond", since they do not fit into the musical hypothesis. The anomaly arising from this in the liturgical order is explained so that the first, third and fifth psalms of the Lauds were sung with antiphon (the same for each day) while the second and fourth psalms were recited *in directaneum* (what has happened to the tract?). The same argumentation gives a reason why for two psalms being recited sub unica antiphona in the ferial Vigils: Claire thinks that the first psalm was sung regularly with an antiphon, and the second recited *in directaneum*. (Cases in which the antiphon is taken from the words of the second psalm are explained one by one.) All these goes back to the presumption that during some "old" period it was unusual to sing several psalms under one antiphon. At the same time, we

have many samples of the *sub unica antiphona* practice, not only from the field of Gregorian chant (which could be considered a younger use) but of other ancient rites, too, e.g. from the *kathizma* singing of the Eastern Church or the practice of Milan. On the contrary, there are no indications for a rhythmic alternation of antiphonal and in directaneum singing. The most detailed description of office rites, i.e. in the Rule of St. Benedict contains no word or expression that could be interpreted in this way.²³

4.2. We are often confronted with unexplained labels: this or that element as a sign of antiquity or posteriority.²⁴ The hypotheses leaning against each other are rounded off to complete stories. Sometimes we have the feeling that we are reading excellent science fiction. This is because the presentation is kept in a rhetorically persuasive style and statements repeated often enough are changed to fact and next arguments in the next round of reasoning. Sometimes we feel that the whole edifice consists of repetition of unproved theses and the adaptation of these theses to details. Further, these theses are not compared with the scholarly literature to full extent; the bibliography seems to be narrow, utilizing only works written in French.

But in spite of all this, Claire's book is a huge intellectual achievement and a vision that was inspired and is inspiring. The above objections do not indicate that his basic statements cannot be at all true. We have only shown that they call for further discussion and that there are some points which cannot be fit in the present-day view of chant history. It is true, of course, that also this present-day view must be modified in some respects.

III.

What is, at the same time, more disturbing is how this theory has been adapted to practice. Six years after the publication of Dom Claire's Octoechos the *Psalterium Monasticum* appeared, based on these hypotheses. This publication has changed the everyday singing at Solesmes and, no doubt, other monasteries. Of course, every good theory can influence the practice. And yet: though theory must be a good description of life, it is dangerous when it will to react too directly upon life.

²³ Cap XII-XIII. The recitation *in directaneum* belongs according the Rule to the introductory psalms, or it is a simplification with practical aims: "si maior congregatio fuerit, cum antiphonis, si vero minor, in directum psallantur" (Cap XVII).

²⁴ Pp. 63, 64, 131, 142.

1. A relatively simple case is that in which the Psalterium replaces some items of the Antiphonale Monasticum with new variants, or variants in another mode.²⁵ No matter if, in doing this inconsistencies are generated, e.g. one antiphon of the same type remains in first mode (the "developed" form according to Claire) while another piece is restored into the "original" tonus irregularis.²⁶ The 49th psalm received a new antiphon what is a responsory from the "Gallican psalmody".²⁷

2. It gives more food for thought when an exceptional variant of one codex takes the place of a typical form in the AM just because it seems to fit better into the evolutionary construct. Sometimes one becomes suspicious (not easy to check) that a melodic form undocumented in sources entered the new edition just because of theoretical consideration.²⁸ Since the Solesmes editions regularly have no critical apparatus the user cannot judge cases of this kind.

3. More disturbing is when the classification and psalm-difference of whole melodic groups are radically altered. The 2nd-mode antiphons with G as highest tone receive a psalm tone which is nothing else than 4th-mode psalmody transposed a second lower, a combination not backed by source testimony.²⁹ The 4th-mode antiphons with G as structural tone are combined with the 5th mode psalm tone in a variant *more Germanico* for the sake of emphasizing the minor third as well.³⁰ In the PM Claire's three Ur-melodien (the Roman C and E, the so-called Gallican D-melody) play an eminent role. Since Claire presents these melodies as "archaic seeds", the PM interprets some pieces of the existing Gregorian repertory in this way and furnishes them with psalm tones accordingly. The MI melodies with their tonus irregularis cause no problem, since a respectable number of the historical sources use the same. For the C and D melodies, on the other hand,

²⁵ The antiphons for psalms 26, 27, 28, 30 etc.

²⁶ We don't enumerate now the cases when the psalm tone given in PM figures not at all in Claire's tables or it follows a peripheral tradition.

²⁷ Cf. Claire pp. 180 and 186. The item is not registered by CAO.

²⁸ Antiphons for psalms 32, 34, 48; cf. TRE where it is in 4th mode, but not the psalm!; see the alleluia-refrain of the psalm 38 and the same tune on p. 114 with cadence on D.

²⁹ Antiphons for psalms 25, 67, 79, 103, 113.

³⁰ Antiphons for psalms 14, 17, 23, 97, 99, 128, 107, 118/IV, 118/XX, 145; pp. 85, 254, 282: Alleluia; p. 116: Benedictus; pp. 135 and 254: ps. 50; antiphons for the Canticle in feria 4 (unknown for CAO!) and in feria 6.

proper psalm tones had to be created.³¹ The "crux" of the one-time theoreticians, the melodic type classified earlier as 4th-mode tune (A-melody in Nowacki's typology) is counted here with the 2nd mode, and combined with a very strange psalm difference.³² The type in *tonus peregrinus* which appears several times with recently-created adaptations in the PM³³ is followed with different psalm tones each time.³⁴ The 3rd-mode antiphons receive an "archaic" psalm tone reciting on B, while the antiphons themselves are built on G-A-C.³⁵

4. The problem in these cases is not that merely of an historical nature. It is the musical dissonance which is barely tolerable for a healthy ear. Why is this? Can we exclude that the special group of 2nd- or 4th-mode antiphons once had special psalm tones, built on the interval of fourth (respectively minor third)? Is it impossible, that the system of psalm tones was then richer than within the world of eight Gregorian modes?

We have, in fact, such examples, e.g. in the psalmody of Milan. Between the two traditions, however, there are great differences. In the Ambrosian psalmody the *mediatio* is missing; the *terminatio* is simply a cadential fall in most cases; the essence of the psalm tone is one tonally almost undefined interval which can be placed on different steps of the scales; the antiphons themselves are standardized.

The psalm tones of Gregorian chant, on the contrary, are built upon a balance of *mediatio* and *terminatio*; using more notes, and in a more organic way within the set of the mode; the antiphon melodies are adjusted to the eight-mode system. The mode in Gregorian chant is more than a mere theoretical category; it signifies a concrete coherence of notes, intervals and typical formulas. It is in vain, if one proves that the differentia of the fifth tone if taken according to the German dialect and then transposes it a fourth downwards results in the same set of notes as a 4th-mode antiphon with the

³¹ P. 67: Alleluia, antiphon for psalm 76 (with a psalm tone in 6th and 5th mode in Claire's table); the melody of the antiphon for psalm 37 gives the psalm tone for itself (this type is given in Claire's table with a regular 6th-mode psalmody, cf. Nr. 26bis).

³² E.g. p. 169: canticum.

³³ These are all missing – one excepted – in the traditional chant and are probably new inventions (cf. CAO).

³⁴ E.g. p. 76: Alleluia, antiphon for the psalm 133 (unknown in the tradition).

³⁵ Antiphons for psalms 61, 77, 96, 134, 138. This difference never occurs in the sources quoted by Claire.

skeleton of a E-G third. The two examples belong to different music contexts: The 5th-one differentia (more Germanico) is organized by the sequence of two thirds, the third A-F has its own life within the context and we cannot disregard that the subsequent antiphon leads down to the fifth below the tuba note. On the contrary, this sub-group of the 4th-mode antiphons are linked to the melodies in *tonus irregularis*, their further extension leads to the fourth-range tunes; the F is a passing note in these melodies, or it is coupled with the low D. The combination of these melodies with a regular 4th-mode psalmody is not disturbing because this formula has the G as a turning point and the function of F (if occurs, at all) is the same as in the antiphons. The other cases can be interpreted in a similar way.

These combinations of antiphons and psalms are criticized here not only because of historical authenticity, but because they also result in a musical tension between two components, and thus are aesthetically imperfect. As reverberations of scientific abstractions, they appeared to be composed with closed ears. It is the third time that a too-direct connection between science and practice results in trouble in both science and practice. Furthermore, practical adaptation was made too early, as theory was too hypothetical and in a manner that was too arbitrary.

I think, the most important work of Claire – which has had far-reaching influence on chant scholarship – will be honored if the book is truly read, thought over in many ways, and then considered apart from the prestige of this great scholar as well as the influential monastery. We must take the thesis as objectively as possible try to assimilate it “*lege artis*” into our knowledge.

THE OFFERTORY CHANT OF THE ROMAN LITURGY
AND ITS MUSICAL FORM

JOSEPH DYER

Two assumptions about the Roman offertory rite and its music have shown themselves to be particularly persistent in liturgical and musical scholarship. The first of these holds that the laity processed up to the altar during the liturgy, there to present their offering of bread and wine (or offerings in kind) to the celebrant.¹ Some scholars have modified this view, however, or even rejected it outright.² The second belief, that the offertory chant was originally antiphonal, but with the passage of time became responsorial, goes virtually unquestioned despite the lack of any factual foundation.³ Argumentation offered to support the supposed antiphonal origin is usually based on an analogy between the offertory and the other 'processional' chants of the Mass, or on the observation that in the *Ordines Romani* the offertory is assigned to the papal *schola*, which sang the genuine antiphonal chants of the Mass (introit and communion). In a little noticed encyclopedia article Michel Huglo maintained a responsorial origin for the offertory chant.⁴ I believe that this concept, not pursued by Huglo in detail because of the format in which it was introduced, is the only explanation which accords with the evidence, though a different idea of antiphony, one derived from Eastern models, could possibly account

¹ For a representative view see TH. KLAUSER, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy*, trans. John Halliburton, 2nd ed., London 1979, p. 109; M. RIGHETTI, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, III, Milan 1949, p. 250 (« una intera moltitudine si reca ordinatamente all'altare »); K. PURSCH, *Die Probleme des Offertoriums und Versuche ihrer Lösung*, « Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift », XLVI, 1956, p. 107 (« In der Eucharistiefeyer der alten Kirche brachten die Gläubigen [nachgewiesen seit dem 3. Jh.] ihre Opfergaben in feierlicher Prozession an den Opfertisch [Prothesis], der vor dem Altare stand, später an die Kanzellen »); and, in a context rich in insights, G. DIX, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2nd ed., London 1945, pp. 110-123.

² E. J. YARNOLD, *The Liturgy of the Faithful in the Fourth and Early Fifth Centuries*, in *The Study of the Liturgy*, ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold, London 1978, p. 189; J. H. MILLER, *Fundamentals of the Liturgy*, Notre Dame, Ind. 1959, p. 269.

³ H. SIDLER, *Studien zu den alten Offertorien mit ihren Versen*, Freiburg 1939 (« Veröffentlichungen der Greg. Akad. zu Freiburg », 20), p. 1; D. JOHNER, *Wort und Ton im Choral*, Leipzig 1940, p. 362; P. WAGNER, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, I, Leipzig 1911, p. 108; P. FERRETTI, *Esthétique grégorienne*, trans. A. Agaësse, Solesmes 1938, p. 192; W. APEL, *Gregorian Chant*, Bloomington, Ind. 1958, p. 363; J. JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Solemnia: eine genetische Erklärung der Römischen Messe*, 5th ed., II, Vienna 1962, p. 36, though Jungsmann seems uncomfortable with the idea.

⁴ *Offertory Chant*, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, p. 651.

for the known data. I propose to review the liturgical and musical documentation and to draw insights from Christian archeology and art history in order to illuminate the history of both the offertory rite and its music.

The early papal liturgy, expressed in its purest form in *Ordo Romanus I*, prescribes a rigorously detailed mode of receiving lay offerings. This *Ordo* takes as its model the Easter Mass at the stational basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. The pope's entry into the basilica and the progress of the liturgy are regulated in precise, but not exhaustive, detail. Following the Gospels

Pontifex autem, postquam dicit *Oremus*, statim descendit ad senatorium, tenente manum eius dexteram primicerio notariorum et primicerio defensorum sinistram, et suscipit oblationes principum per ordinem archium. [...] Pontifex vero, antequam transeat in partem mulierum, descendit ante confessionem et suscipit oblatas primicerii et secundicerii et primicerii defensorum; nam in diebus festis post diacones ad altare offerunt. Similiter ascendens pontifex in parte feminarum et complet superscriptum ordinem.⁵

The reception of offerings thus comes to a close after the pope has descended to the *senatorium* and passed over to the *pars mulierum*, and has also received the offerings of clerics and officials. A general offering by the entire congregation is not implied, and it is noteworthy that the celebrant himself together with his ministers passes among the offerers, who presumably stand in place.⁶

The author of *Ordo I* would have witnessed these ceremonies within the Roman basilicas of the late seventh century.⁷ The internal arrangements of the churches of Rome, insofar as these arrangements can be recovered, have yet to receive a special study. The offertory ceremony of *Ordo I* is rich in detail. It invites an attempt at reconstruction, but since the stational Mass was celebrated in various churches

⁵ M. ANDRIEU, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen age*, II, Louvain 1948, pp. 91-92; *Ordo I*, 69, 74-75.

⁶ The only Northern reference known to me requiring the offerers to remain in place is found in the *Capitula* of Theodulph: «Feminae missam, sacerdote celebrante nequaquam ad altare accedant, sed locis suis stent, et ibi sacerdos earum oblationes Deo oblaturus accipiat» (*Patrologia latina* 105, col. 194). On the social and political role of the *defensores* see B. FISCHER, *Die Entwicklung des Instituts der Defensores in der römischen Kirche*, «Ephemerides Liturgicae», XLVIII, 1934, pp. 443-454.

⁷ On the dating of the *Ordines* in «Collection A» see ANDRIEU, II, 38-51 and C. VOGEL, *Les échanges liturgiques entre Rome et les pays francs jusqu'à l'époque de Charlemagne*, in *Le chiese nei regni dell'Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Roma sino all'800*, Spoleto 1960 («Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo», 7), pp. 217-223.

throughout the city it cannot be assumed that the rubrics are tailored to the physical requirements of a particular site.

Three specific areas are mentioned here: *confessio*, *senatorium* and *pars mulierum* (or its equivalent, *pars feminarum*). The *confessio* is the name given to the repository under the altar constructed to hold the relics of a martyr. In many Roman churches the presbyterium over the confession was at a level significantly higher than that of the nave, following the model of St. Peter's basilica after the alterations carried out by Gregory I (590-604) to permit Mass to be celebrated over the tomb of the apostle.⁸ In consequence of this rearrangement at St. Peter's, to celebrate Mass over the mortal remains of a saint became the goal of virtually all churches in the West. Most had to be satisfied with relics enclosed in a small altar stone.

Santa Maria Maggiore was not dedicated to the memory of a martyr. Its chief relic, a piece of the crib of the infant Jesus, probably occupied a place in a side oratory at the time *Ordo I* was compiled. Nevertheless, the biography of Pope Paschal I (816-824) in the *Liber pontificalis* records the erection at Santa Maria Maggiore of six porphyry columns surmounted by an architrave *ante confessionem sacri altaris*.⁹ It was here that the offerings of the primicerii and the secundicerius were received by the pope.

The original disposition of the apse and presbyterium at S. Maria Maggiore is unknown. Even the details of the reconstruction sponsored by Paschal I have been obscured by later interventions. It would appear that before and during his reign the apse floor was not appreciably higher than the pavement of the nave, for he arranged to have his throne elevated and preceded by a flight of steps.¹⁰ If the apse podium

⁸ J. TOYNBEE and J. W. PERKINS, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations*, London 1965, pp. 215-220; for an alternate version of Gregory's reconstruction see A. MARCOS PONS, *Consideraciones en torno al aspecto del presbiterio realizado de la Basilica de San Pedro in Vaticano*, « Cuadernos de Trabajos de la Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma », IX, 1957, pp. 145-165. This arrangement with an annular crypt may be seen at S. Prassede, built under Paschal I (817-24), at S. Pancrazio, built under Honorius I (625-38) and in the excavations beneath S. Crisogono (8th c.). For a reconstruction of the memoria at St. Peter's before the time of Gregory I, see T. C. BANNISTER, *The Constantinian Basilica of St. Peter's at Rome*, « Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians », XXVII, 1968, fig. 29.

⁹ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. DUCHESNE, Paris 1886-92 (« Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome », 2ème série, III), II, 60. For a hypothetical reconstruction see R. KRAUTHEIMER et AL., *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, III, Rome 1967, fig. 54. The « fenced precinct » is perhaps the most debatable aspect of this sketch.

¹⁰ For an analysis see C. J. A. C. PEETERS, *De liturgische dispositie van het vroegchristelijk kerkgebouw*, Assen 1969, pp. 167-170, and in the context of the entire building, A. SCHUCHERT, *Santa Maria Maggiore zu Rom I. Die Gründungsgeschichte der Basilika und ihre ursprüngliche Apsisanlage*, Vatican City 1939 (« Studi di antichità cristiana », 15), especially pp. 123 ff.

at S. Maria Maggiore were only a few steps higher than the nave, then the « descendit » rubrics of *Ordo I* signify a conscious desire to remove the lay offering from the vicinity of the altar. At St. Peter's of course the raised confession surrounded by parapet walls would have made the pope's descent to the floor of the basilica a physical necessity. If one chooses not to interpret the rubrics so literally, it could be asserted that the rubricist of *Ordo I* merely regarded the apse as « higher up » along the axis of the church in comparison to the nave.¹¹

The *senatorium* and the *pars mulierum* lead a much more shadowy existence than the confession. During the liturgy the laity were not restricted to the side aisles: they occupied the nave as well. Men and women were not permitted to mingle, however. Men always stood to the right (south) and women to the left (north) facing the altar.¹² Amalar alludes to the custom, and it has been observed that the procession of martyrs and virgins on the nave walls of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna likewise reflects this discipline.¹³ The *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* defines the *senatorium* as a « place near the choir for important persons », a definition which might help if early Christian basilicas actually had a « choir ». The word does not occur outside *Ordo I*, but there it obviously designates an area reserved for the patricians, possibly one fenced off by barriers of temporary or permanent construction. Since it was intended for men, it would be to the right of the altar, perhaps at the end of the south aisle.

Thomas F. Mathews, in correlating the data of *Ordo I* with the internal arrangements of certain Roman churches, places the *senatorium*

¹¹ Canon Benedict described (ca. 1145) a ceremony at St. Peter's in which the pope, crossing the nave from the altar of S. Maria to that of S. Pastor (probably Peter in his role as shepherd), is spoken of as « going up »; *Liber politicus*, ed. F. FABRE and L. DUCHESNE in CENSIVUS SAVELLI, *Le Liber censuum de l'Église romaine*, Paris 1910 (« Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome », 2ème série, VI), p. 143B 17-18. These two altars are numbers 38 and 40 on the plan of TIBERIAS ALPHARANUS, *De basilicæ Vaticanæ antiquissima et nova structura* (1590), Vatican City 1946 (« Studi e testi », 26).

¹² H. SELHORST, *Die Platzordnung in Gläubigenraum der altchristlichen Kirche*, Münster in Westf. 1931. Selhorst is not correct in assuming (p. 35) that this arrangement was reversed if the church was not oriented. Pope Hadrian (772-795) installed silver gates « a parte virorum et mulierum » on either side of the presbyterium of St. Peter's (*Lib. pont.*, I, 511). As pointed out by DU CANGE (*Glossarium*, V, 106), the inscription found at St. Peter's containing the words « sinistra parte virorum » refers to a location within the *pars virorum*. G. B. DE ROSSI and A. SILVAGNI, eds., *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, n. s. 2, 4213. One might also consult O. NUSSBAUM, *Bewertung von rechts und links in der römischen Liturgie*, « Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum », V, 1962, pp. 158-171.

¹³ AMALAR, *Liber officialis*, III, 2, 10, ed. J. M. HANSSSENS, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, II, Vatican City 1950 (« Studi e testi », 139), p. 264; *Codex expositionis missae*, II, 2, ed. HANSSSENS, *Amalarii episcopi ...*, I, p. 265.

and the *matroneum* at the ends of the south and north aisles, respectively.¹⁴ His reconstruction rests on the analysis of the remains of wing walls (of rather substantial construction) at S. Marco, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Maria Antiqua, S. Stefano in Via Latina and S. Clemente, to which one might add S. Valentino. In the latter two churches wing walls were discovered only in the south aisle. Mathews does not believe that these walls marked off congregational areas, but merely « areas adjacent to the sanctuary wherein clergy and lay met for the ceremonies of offertory and communion ».¹⁵ On the contrary, *Ordo I* implies that at least some members of the congregation remained in the senatorium: at communion, the pope administers the consecrated bread to « qui sunt in senatorio ». His assistant bishops minister to the rest of the congregation elsewhere in the church. The term itself embraces distinctly elitist overtones, and we can understand why every church would not need a senatorium (or *pars mulierum*, if the latter reflects a comparable social standing).

The term *matroneum* does not occur in the *Ordines Romani*, though it seems logical to construe the *pars mulierum/pars feminarum* of *Ordo I* as the equivalent of this feature. The word occurs twice in the *Liber pontificalis*, where it is used in such a way as to indicate a permanent structural element. At S. Paolo fuori le mura Pope Symmachus (498-514) undertook a restoration: « [...] et post confessionem picturam ornavit et cameram fecit et matroneum ».¹⁶ In this instance no exact location is specified, unless we assume that all three features, not just the *pictura*, stood behind the confession. The *Liber pontificalis* next mentions a *matroneum* at S. Maria in Trastevere, where Gregory IV (827-844) reconstructed the presbyterium, « cui ex septentrionali plaga lapidibus circa septem matroneum adposuit ».¹⁷ The *matroneum* in this church was located on the north side of the presbyterium, just as we would expect a special area for women to be. A drawing made during

¹⁴ *An Early Roman Chancel Arrangement and its Liturgical Functions*, « Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana », XXXVIII, 1962, pp. 73-95. The *solea-schola* enclosure shown in his diagram on p. 94 cannot be documented incontestably from the *Ordines*: the *schola* through which the pope passes during the introit (*Ordines*, I, 49; IV, 14) is the pontifical choir, lined up as a guard of honor before the entrance to the presbyterium.

¹⁵ *Early Roman Chancel Arrangements in the Churches of Rome*, unpublished Master's thesis, New York University Institute of Fine Arts 1962, p. 61.

¹⁶ *Lib. pont.*, I, 26.

¹⁷ « On its north side he placed a *matroneum* enclosed with stones [marble slabs?], *Lib. pont.*, II, 80. Walled up in the porch of this church is a large number of slabs whose sculptural motifs permit a dating in the ninth century, and hence could have been part of the renovation.

the excavation of the church in 1865-1869 fails to show where the matroneum might have been situated.¹⁸

The difficulty in establishing the seventh-century layout of the apse and related areas at S. Maria Maggiore was mentioned above. A noted nineteenth-century archeologist, G. B. de Rossi, suggested that the church had a matroneum within an arcaded space at the rear of the apse, and not at the side of the presbyterium.¹⁹ He pointed to comparable structures at SS. Cosma e Damiano in Rome and at the Basilica Severiana in Naples. In the former case, Felix IV (526-530) adapted two structures from the imperial period, hence the arcaded apse there was dictated by an already existing plan.²⁰ Whether it served as a matroneum is open to doubt. The adaptation of existing construction also explains the passage behind the apse at S. Pudenziana, a former thermal building converted to a church in the fourth century.²¹ Excavations at S. Maria Maggiore have not borne out de Rossi's hypothesis.

The search for a matroneum at S. Maria Maggiore was set off by a report in the *Liber pontificalis* that Pope Paschal I (817-824), annoyed that women were able to eavesdrop around the papal throne, removed the throne to the rear of the apse and placed it at the top of a flight of steps.²² It has been suggested that, prior to Paschal's reign, the throne had been removed from its traditional location to the side of the altar and hence on the chord of the apse and much closer to the congregation. Paschal's work was one of restoration and of symbolic

¹⁸ D. KINNEY, *Excavations in S. Maria in Trastevere, 1865-1869: A Drawing by Vespignani*, «Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte», LXX, 1975, p. 51 and fig. 6; G. BERTELLI, *Una pianta inedita della chiesa altomedioevale di S. Maria in Trastevere*, «Bolletino d'Arte», Ser. 5, anno LIX, 1974, pp. 157-160.

¹⁹ G. B. DE ROSSI, *L'abside della basilica severiana di Napoli*, «Bolletino d'Arte Cristiana», Ser. 3, V, 1880, especially pp. 149-150.

²⁰ PEETERS, *De liturgische dispositie*, p. 169; *Corpus Basilicarum*, I, fig. 86; DE ROSSI, *Appendice sul matroneo della chiesa Ss. Cosma e Damiano e sull'appellazione di essa in Tribus Fatis*, «Bolletino d'Archeol. Cristiana», V, 1867, pp. 72 ff.

²¹ *Corpus Basilicarum*, III, p. 277 ff. Cemetery basilicas with an ambulatory following the curve of the apse (S. Sebastiano, SS. Marcellino e Pietro, Verano Basilica, S. Agnese sulla Via Nomentana) were not erected primarily as cult edifices.

²² «Et largum ibidem locum inesse qualiter inde sedem mutari valeret cerneret, dato operis studio, coepit indesinenter agere sedem inferius positam sursum ponere [...] et undique ascensus quibus ad eam gradiatur construxit»; *Lib. pont.*, II, 60. In 1169 the throne was seen «in medio sub vitrea, quae quinque sunt in absida» by JOHANNES DIACONUS, *Descriptio lateranensis ecclesiae*, 15, ed. R. VALENTINI and G. ZUCCHETTI, *Codice topographico della città di Roma: III. Fonti per la storia d'Italia: Scrittori secoli XII-XIV*, Rome 1946; also available in *Patrologia latina*, CXCIV, col. 1553. The most recent study of the subject is F. GANDOLFO, *La cattedra di Pasquale I in S. Maria Maggiore*, in *Roma e l'età Carolingia*, Rome 1976, pp. 55-67. It is interesting to note that congregational problems led to the decorative campaign undertaken at S. Maria in Trastevere by Gregory IV; *Lib. pont.*, II, 80 and 84, n. 11.

enhancement. During his time the apse at S. Maria Maggiore embraced a smaller area than it does today, following the alterations carried out by Nicholas IV (1288-1292), who enlarged the apse and had it crowned with the mosaic of Jacopo Torriti.

The early Christian presbyterium at S. Maria Maggiore, elevated only slightly above the floor of the nave, could have created the inconvenience corrected by Paschal. Whether the women whose behavior so offended the pope belonged to the social class for whom a matroneum was intended we do not know. They may have been ordinary members of the congregation. In any case, there is no mention of a matroneum at S. Maria Maggiore. Given the rank of the church among the basilicas of Rome, however, the presence of a matroneum would not be surprising. Its traditional place suggests a location on the left side of the nave (looking toward the apse).

The offertory rubrics of *Ordo I* fit the normal internal arrangements of contemporary Roman basilicas. They must be adaptable to changing sites within the city, so that their provisions can be carried out wherever the pope celebrates the stationary liturgy. Given the slimness of the documentary and archeological evidence, the exact function and location of the senatorium and matroneum may never be known. Though every church would have separated men and women, not every church would have needed a special senatorium or matroneum.²³

For several years the origin of the transept was a topic of debate among architectural historians. Theodor Klauser claimed that it developed to facilitate the reception of offerings within the liturgy and cited the donation of *septem altaria* of silver to the Lateran basilica by Constantine.²⁴ J. P. Kirsch argued that there was no single explanation for the creation of the transept, and certainly the liturgy alone could not explain it.²⁵ It was also pointed out that Klauser's interpretation of the plural « altaria », which occurs in many of the *super oblata* prayers (and communion prayers) was incorrect. The plural is merely

²³ One might possibly associate the matroneum with the pious virgins and widows who devoted themselves to the cultivation of the spiritual life. On the origin of such congregations consult G. D. GORDINI, *Origine e sviluppo del monachesimo a Roma*, « Gregorianum », XXXVII, 1956, pp. 220-260.

²⁴ *Die konstantinischen Altäre der Lateranbasilika*, « Römische Quartalschrift für Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte », XLIII, 1935, pp. 179-186; *Das Querschiff der römischen Prachtbasiliken des vierten Jahrhunderts* and a postscript to this article reedited in KLAUSER'S, *Gesammelte Arbeiten zur Liturgiegeschichte, Kirchengeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, Münster in Westf. 1974 (« Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum », Ergänzungsband 3), pp. 264-267.

²⁵ *Das Querschiff in den stadtrömischen christlichen Basiliken des Altertums*, in *Pisciculi [...] Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertum F. J. Dölger [...] dargeboten*, Münster in Westf. 1939, pp. 148-156.

an archaic literary figure and does not imply a number of special offering tables. Excavations carried out at the Lateran in the 1950s showed that the transept there did not form part of the Constantinian foundation, but was a medieval addition. Originally the outer aisles ended before low, projecting chambers which, it is now hypothesized, may have been for the reception of offerings.²⁶ There is no liturgical evidence that they served this purpose, however, and certainly Constantine's *altaria*, whatever their purpose and given their early date in the history of the liturgy, were meant for ostentation, not for service in a sacristy. Even in those churches which had a transept, this feature cannot be brought into relationship with the ritual presentation of offerings within the liturgy.

Ordo Romanus I describes the most solemn festival liturgy. A few of its prescriptions may have been extraordinary, and we find the ceremonies reduced in other *Ordines* which borrow from *Ordo I*. The exclusiveness of the group from whom offerings were received is not stressed in the other *Ordines* which have been adapted for use in the Frankish kingdom.²⁷ In Rome, however, ordinary laity did not participate in the liturgical offering. They are specifically mentioned in the communion rubrics of *Ordo I*, rubrics which show certain parallels to the offertory prescriptions. Hence the absence of any explicit mention of the larger congregation in the offertory is significant.

The members of the schola offered water to be mixed with the wine in the chalice, a custom cited also by Amalar.²⁸ Even at the great commemorations of the martyrs in the cemeteries outside Rome, there is no strong link between the Eucharist and individual offering. A note in the *Liber pontificalis* referring to the time of Gregory III directs that lamps for the Vigil and oblations for the Mass are to be furnished by the patriarchium.²⁹ *Ordo Romanus I* is thus the earliest Roman evidence of lay involvement in the offertory: a curtailment of an originally more extensive participation cannot be automatically assumed. Since the offerers may have been relatively few, an extensive musical

²⁶ R. KRAUTHEIMER, *The Transept in the Early Christian Basilica*, in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, New York 1969, pp. 59-68.

²⁷ *Ordo IV*, 38-51 (ANDRIEU, II, 161-164); *Ordo XV*, 28-34 and 145 (ANDRIEU, III, 101-102 and 123).

²⁸ *Ordo I*, 80 (ANDRIEU, II, 93); AMALAR, *Lib. off.*, III, 19, 30 (HANSSENS, II, 320).

²⁹ « Ut in cimiteriis circumquaque positis Romae in die natalicio eorum luminaria ad vigiliis faciendum et oblationes de patriarchio per oblationarium deportentur ad celebrandas missas per quem praevident pontifex, qui pro tempore fuerit, sacerdotem »; *Lib. pont.*, I, 421. See also A. A. HÄUSSLING, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier*, Münster in Westf. 1973 (« Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen », 58), pp. 175-195.

piece, for example an entire psalm, would not have been required to « cover » the action of offering. Aside from this observation, however, one cannot deduce anything about the form of the offertory chant solely on the basis of the offertory rubrics in *Ordo I*. At least we know that the music did not need to be continued while each of the thousands of worshippers contributed a small quantity of bread and wine.

The offertory procession enjoyed a certain popularity in France and Germany during the Middle Ages, but even in these regions the practice was not uniform.³⁰ In many cases the decrees and exhortations directed at the laity to 'offer' something to the service of the church do not prescribe precisely when this offering was to be made.³¹ Reception of offerings before the Mass began must have been customary in the Gallican rites, if the impressive diaconal entrance with the *turres* was typical.³² An offertory procession of the laity was not imported with the papal rite imposed in the North by Charlemagne. Nevertheless, a 'popular' offertory – unlike that of the Roman stational practice to be described below – became prevalent there. Amalarius gives evidence of the practice in a (for him) rather straightforward fashion:

Quod primum masculi offerunt, significat primitivam ecclesiam sub imperatoribus nondum christianis multas iniurias passam. Exhinc enim offerunt mulieres, ecclesiam designantes nunc tranquilliozem vitam ducentem. Novissime vero sacerdotes et diaconi offerunt [...] Ad ultimum vero archidiaconus [...].³³

Even more explicit is the description in *Ordo V* of the Roman liturgy adapted for Frankish use. It mentions the simultaneity of chant and

³⁰ H. NETZER, *L'Introduction de la messe romaine en France sous les carolingiens*, Paris 1910, pp. 225-228; G. NICKL, *Der Anteil des Volkes an der Messliturgie im Frankenreich*, Innsbruck 1930 (« Forschungen zur Geschichte des innerkirchlichen Lebens », 2), pp. 41-47; JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Solemnia*, II, pp. 15-34.

³¹ Canon 4 of the Council of Mâcon (585): « Propterea decernimus ut omnibus Dominicis diebus aris oblatio ab omnibus viris vel mulieribus offeratur tam panis quam vini »; *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 148A, pp. 240-241. Caesarius of Arles (ca. 470-543): « Oblationes quae in altario consecrentur offerte; erubescere debet homo idoneus, si de aliena oblatione communicaverit. Qui possunt, cereolus aut oleum, quod in cicindilibus mittatur, exhibeant »; *Sermo in parochiis necessarius* 13, 2 (CCSL 103, 65); cf. *Sermones* 16, 2 and 19, 4 (CCSL 103, 77 and 89).

³² GREGORY OF TOURS, *De gloria martyrum* 1, *Patrologia latina* 72, col. 781) and *De gloria confessorum* 65 (*Patr. lat.* 71, cols. 875-876). The fundamental text is the disputed *Expositio brevis* attributed to GERMANUS OF PARIS (d. 576). The latest edition is E. C. RATCLIFF, *Expositio antiquae liturgiae gallicanae*, London 1971 (« Henry Bradshaw Society », 98). For a discussion of this (probably eighth-century) text see A. A. KING, *Liturgies of the Past*, London 1959 and C. VOGEL, *Les échanges liturgiques*, pp. 198-204.

³³ *Ordinis missae expositio*, I, 10 (HANSSENS, III, 306); cf. *Lib. off.*, III, 14 and 19 (HANSSENS, III, 315 and 317). For various later practices see JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Solemnia*, II, pp. 13 ff.

offering (bread and wine), male precedence and the separate clerical offering.³⁴ The offering of the laity continued to be mandated by ecclesiastical councils, now making explicit the traditional prohibition against entering the sacred precincts of the presbyterium during the rite of offering.³⁵ The rite of popular offering North of the Alps continued through the Middle Ages; many medieval commentaries on the Mass testify to its vitality.³⁶ Its demise was chronicled by Guillaume Durand in the thirteenth century.³⁷

Pictorial representations of the offertory ritual in the Middle Ages are rare. Only one is more or less relevant to the Roman situation: a fresco in the nave of the lower church of S. Clemente depicting St. Clement celebrating Mass. It dates from the second half of the eleventh century.³⁸ Clement was pope toward the close of the first century. The frescoes in the church portray events in his life and the translation of his body in 868. An eleventh-century fresco cannot of course possess historical value in reconstructing the appearance of events which took place many centuries before. The artist did introduce, however, authentic details from the stationary liturgy as he observed it in the eleventh century. In the translation scene three of the seven stationary crosses are shown with pendants along with the larger papal cross. Two croziers are seen in the background.³⁹

³⁴ *Ordo V*, 44 (ANDRIEU, II, 218-219); cf. *Ordo XXXB* (ANDRIEU, III, 468): «offe-
rente populo, dicit schola offertorium *Dextera Domini*»; likewise *Ordo XV*, 28-34 and
139-145 (ANDRIEU, III, 101-102 and 123) and *Ordo XVII*, 38-41 (ANDRIEU, III, 180).

³⁵ «Et hoc populo nuntietur, quod per omnes dies dominicos oblationes Deo offerant,
et ut ipsa oblatio foris septa altaris recipiatur»; *Capitularium collectio* 1, 317 (*Patr. lat.*
97, col. 750); see also NICKL, *Der Anteil*, pp. 46-47.

³⁶ RHABANUS MAURUS, *Liber de sacris ordinibus* 19 (*Patr. lat.* 112, col. 1178) and
De cleric. instit. 33 (*Patr. lat.* 107, col. 322); REMI OF AUXERRE, *Liber de div. off.* 40
(*Patr. lat.* 101, col. 1251); ROBERTUS PAULULUS, *De off. eccl.* 22 (*Patr. lat.* 177, cols.
424-425).

³⁷ «Et attende quod offertorii versus cum multa diligentia ab antiquis patribus inventi,
hodie plerisque locis omittuntur, tum brevitatis causa, ut tam ministri quam populus
oblationibus, orationi et sacramento altaris liberius vacent»; *Rationale Divinorum Offi-
ciorum*, IV, 27, 4 (I quote from the Venetian edition of 1568). Note that Durand attrib-
utes the abandonment of the florid offertory verses to this diminished sense of piety.

³⁸ Reproduced in O. DEMUS, *Romanesque Mural Painting*, London 1970, pl. 48,
where the painting is dated ca. 1100. A recent contribution to the ongoing debate about
the frescoes is H. TOURBET, *Rome et le Mont-Cassin: Nouvelles remarques sur les fresques
de l'église inférieure de Saint-Clément de Rome* «*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*», XXX, 1976,
pp. 3-33. The liturgical moment in the fresco is not exactly as she describes it, however.
A Carolingian portrayal is found on the lower left panel of the ivory *tabula* con-
verging the Sacramentary of Drogo of Metz (823-855): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 9248,
reproduced in A. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen
und Sächsischen Kaiser*, I, Berlin 1914, Taf. 30 and HUBERT-PORCHER-VOLBACH, *The
Carolingian Renaissance*, New York 1970, fig. 215.

³⁹ This is itself an unusual feature of the fresco: «Romanus autem pontifex pastorali
virga non utitur», as we are reminded by Innocent III (d. 1216), *De sacro altaris my-*

In the fresco showing St. Clement at Mass he is standing with arms outstretched in the attitude of an « orant », holding a maniple in his left hand. The book next to the chalice and paten on the altar is open to the phrases « Dominus vobiscum / Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum », the first of which would be said before the offertory began (or just before preface). The two benefactors of the church, Beno de Rapiza and his wife Maria Macellaria, are standing behind their children Clement and Altilia, each of whom presents to the pope two grayish circlets which rest on a cloth in their hands. It is significant that only personages of some social standing are depicted. This conforms to what we have deduced of the offertory rite in *Ordo I* as a prerogative of the nobility. Naturally the commemorative function of the fresco would itself require the presence of the donors.

Theodor Klauser has argued that these and comparable objects in an Exultet roll from Gaeta represent an offering of wax.⁴⁰ He refers to the « grauweisse Farbe » of the circlets in the Gaeta illustration and the S. Clemente fresco. Considering that the latter was buried in the earth for nearly eight centuries and that the colors in the frescoes have changed since being uncovered during the course of excavations which began in 1857, color might not be an entirely trustworthy criterion. Klauser cannot demonstrate that it was customary in eleventh-century Italy to produce wax in the shape of a circle.

For some reason, Klauser did not cite references (with which he was certainly familiar) to bread for the Eucharist in the form of a *corona*. Gregory the Great recounted the legend of a priest who tried to give a poor man « duas [...] oblationum coronas », bread offered at the Eucharist but not consecrated. The man refused them and asked the priest to offer the bread on his behalf at Mass.⁴¹ The *Liber pontificalis* notice on Pope Zephyrinus (199-217) mentions a « corona consecrata », and a *corona* is mentioned in the rite of fraction as described in *Ordo Romanus IV*.⁴² There is an additional feature in the Exultet

sterio, I, 62 (*Patr. lat.* 217, col. 796). The *Ordo* of Cardinal Stefaneschi proscribes its use to the cardinal bishops of the Curia (*Patr. lat.* 78, col. 1153).

⁴⁰ M. AVERY, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, Princeton 1936, p. 41, 9. The same illustration is reproduced with commentary in TH. KLAUSER, *Ein rätselhafte Exulteiillustration aus Gaeta*, in *Corolla Ludwig Curtius dargebracht*, Stuttgart 1937, pp. 168-176. This study is more readily accessible in KLAUSER'S *Gesammelte Arbeiten*, pp. 255-263 and pl. 61, 1.

⁴¹ *Dialogues* 4, 55 (*Patr. lat.* 77, col. 417). Such coronae seem to be depicted on the paten in an ivory diptych from Metz (ca. 850), now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge; it is reproduced in A.-G. MARTIMORT, *L'Église en prière*, 3rd ed., Paris 1965, opposite p. 320.

⁴² *Lib. pont.*, I, 139; *Ordo IV*, 57 (ANDRIEU, II, 164). See also L. DUCHESNE,

roll which is not found in the S. Clemente depiction of the offertory: one of the offerers presents to the deacon a small vessel (*amula* or *ampulla*) of wine, which the deacon pours into the chalice he holds. This is exactly the gesture we find described in *Ordo I* (no. 70). The rank of the offerer is not evident, but the artist wishes to convey the impression of a large procession of laity. With this illustration from Gaeta, however, we are far removed in time and place from the papal liturgy of *Ordo I*.

The remainder of the offertory ceremonial in *Ordo I* covers the actions of the ministers after the offerings from the nobility and important papal officials have been received. The offerings of bread and wine actually to be used in the Mass are presented to the pope by the hebdomadary priest and the deacons; his own offering is placed beside them on the altar:

Quas dum posuerit pontifex in altare, levat archidiaconus calicem de manu subdiaconi regionarii, et ponit eum super altare iuxta oblatam pontificis ad dextris, involutis ansis cum offerturio quem ponit in cornu altaris, et stat post pontificem. Et pontifex, inclinans se paululum ad altare, respicit scolam et annuit ut sileant. Tunc, finito offertorio [...].⁴³

The offertory chant is mentioned only at its conclusion, without any information as to method of performance other than the fact that it involved the schola.

The analogy made by modern scholars between the offertory chant and the other 'processional' chants of the Mass (introit and communion) assumed that the offertory ceremonial included a general procession of the laity, an assumption not borne out by a close examination of *Ordo I*. The appearance of the term *antiphona ad offertorium* in medieval and Renaissance *gradualia* dates from a time when the offertory verses had been abandoned, and the resultant chant might have appeared to be an elaborate *antiphona* without psalm, like the popular Marian and processional antiphons.⁴⁴ The offertory is not called an « antiphona » in *Ordines I, IV, V or XV*, the ones most relevant

Leçons sur la messe, Paris 1920, pp. 147-148 and Cardinal BONA, *Rerum liturgicarum libri duo*, Rome 1671/Paris 1672, I, 23, 10.

⁴³ *Ordo I*, 84-86 (ANDRIEU, II, 94-95); St. Gall 614 has « ut sileat ». The *offertorium* mentioned first in this quotation refers to the large cloth used to cover the handles of the chalice. See J. B. MOLIN, *Depuis quand le mot offertoire sert-il à designer une partie de la messe*, « Ephemerides Liturgicae », LXXVII, 1963, p. 364, n. 25.

⁴⁴ BONA, *Rerum lit.*, II, 8, 3, 178: « Chorus canit antiphonam quae offertorium nuncupatur ». H. HUCKE, *Antiphon*, in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, I, 658.

to the Roman and/or Romano-Frankish liturgy. The monk who brought together the materials for *Ordo XV* in the third quarter of the eighth century was quite particular about the correct performance of the antiphonal psalmody of the introit as a sign of orthodoxy. He provides the fullest explanation of the antiphonal method of performance found in the *Ordines Romani*. Reduced to a schema, the introit of *Ordo XV*, 122 would seem to be:

A V₁ A [V₂ A V₃ ... D₁ A] D₂ A VadR A

(A = antiphon; V_{1,2} = first psalm verse, etc.; D_{1,2} = two parts of doxology; VadR = versus ad repetendum)

This pattern resembles that given by Apel (*Gregorian Chant*, p. 190), but it cannot be found in this detail in *Ordo I* as he seems to infer.

The compiler of *Ordo XV* relates the communion (no. 155), but not the offertory, to this format. He merely mentions the *offerenda*, « quod Franci dicit sonum » (no. 144).⁴⁵ If the offertory were patterned after such a scheme, it is virtually certain that the compiler of *Ordo XV* would have noted the fact and would have required strict adherence in it to what he considered the true Roman principles of antiphonal singing. The absence of any such discussion of the offertory is an important proof, albeit a negative one, that its form did not consist of a number of psalm verses with an antiphonal refrain. In all likelihood the author of *Ordo I* did not consider the offertory chant as demanding an antiphonal mode of performance either. He did recognize both the introit and the communion as antiphonal, calling them *antiphona ad introitum* and *antiphona ad communionem*. Each concluded with the *Gloria Patri*, *Sicut erat*, a *versus ad repetendum* and antiphon.⁴⁶

Closely related to *Ordo I* are *Ordines IV* and *V*, both containing Roman materials adapted for Frankish use. In both of these the ordinary laity make an offering of bread and wine. *Ordo IV* mentions the beginning of the offertory chant just as the celebrant descends to receive

⁴⁵ In fact, the *offerenda* is not the equivalent of the Gallican *sonus*. *Ordo XV*, 135-137 describes the singing of a sonus, *Laudate dominum de celis*, which is there called an « antephona ». It is sung three times while oblations are brought in procession from the sacristy. Only after the oblations have been placed on the altar does *Ordo XV* allude to the *offerenda*, but without any hint as to its function. On the Roman identity of this *Ordo* see K. HALLINGER, *Die römischen Ordines von Lorsch, Murbach und St. Gallen*, in *Universitas: Dienst an Wahrheit und Leben (Festschrift Bischof Dr. Albert Stobr)*, Mainz 1960, I, 466-477.

⁴⁶ *Ordo I*, 44, 50-52 (introit), 117, 122-123 (communion); ANDRIEU, II, 81 and 83, 105 and 107.

the offerings of the people.⁴⁷ The compiler of *Ordo V* considered the verses of the offertory, such marvelous examples of melodic creativity in the earliest sources with neumes, worthy of special attention: « cantores cantant offertorium cum versibus ».⁴⁸ He was acquainted with works of Amalarius who (ca. 823) also must have known of these verses; Amalarius certainly knew of the unusual text repetitions in them, a phenomenon which he tried to explain.

A special remark about the verses occurs in *Ordo XXII*, which Andrieu dates between 795 and 800. The author of this *ordo* was probably a Frankish cleric or monk who had access to authentic Roman material. Andrieu doubts that he was an eye witness to the events he describes. About half of the *ordo* consists of random observations, the last of which is: « De offertorio seu et versus ipsius duobus vicibus ad unam missam domni pape cantatur ».⁴⁹ The exact meaning of the observation is difficult to determine, and variant readings do not help to clarify it. The allusion to the pope is the clearest proof that this observation is based on a document emanating from Rome, perhaps one which cited a special treatment of the offertory verse(s) in the presence of the pope. It is evident that the verses were important enough and unusual enough to be singled out in this brief *Ordo XXII*. Were they sung merely to standard reciting tones, which Apel and others believe to have been in use at the time,⁵⁰ it is difficult to understand why they would be especially noteworthy.

The elaborate verses of the offertories found in many medieval *gradualia* and *versicularia* display an evident affinity with soloistic chants: graduals, alleluias and tracts. These verses are hardly compatible with what we know of the musical character of psalm verses in antiphonal psalmody – a style closer to recitative, generally, than to free melody.

⁴⁷ « Deinde descendit pontifex ad suscipiendas oblationes a populo, et annuit archidiaconus scholae ut dicatur offertorium » (no. 38; ANDRIEU, II, 161). « Then the pontiff goes down to receive the offerings from the people, and the archdeacon signals the *schola* to begin the offertory ».

⁴⁸ No. 44 (ANDRIEU, II, 218); on the question of dependency see ANDRIEU, II, 182-189.

⁴⁹ *Ordo XXII*, 21 (ANDRIEU, III, 262). Gerbert quotes the *Chr. Hisp.* of 717 concerning the Mozarabic *sacrificium*: « Deinde cantatur sacrificium, nempe antiphona cum duobus vel tribus versibus »; *De cantu et musica sacra a prima aetate usque ad praesens tempus*, I, St. Blaise 1774 (reprint 1962), p. 431.

⁵⁰ *Gregorian Chant*, p. 512. Compare the similar views of J. PONTE, *Aureliani Reomensis Musica Disciplina: A Revised Text, Translation and Commentary*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Brandeis University 1961, I, 4, and R. STEINER, *Some Questions about the Gregorian Offertories and Their Verses*, « Journal of the American Musicological Society », XIX, 1966, pp. 177-181.

The Antiphoners of Mt. Blandin (8th-9th c.), Compiègne (9th c.) and Senlis (between 877 and 882) establish definitely the existence of two or three offertory verses in the ninth century. Compiègne transmits the entire text of the verses. Mt. Blandin has occasionally the complete text of a verse with a cue leading back to the *responsio a latere*. This manuscript customarily gives only the incipits of verses and does not always include the entire refrain. Senlis transmits only incipits of refrain and verses.⁵¹ Neither the Rheinau *graduale*, contemporary with Mt. Blandin, nor the later Corbie *graduale* (9th-10th c.) contain verses. They are likewise absent from the mid-8th century Lucca fragments, which do indicate the psalm verse of the introit and the verse of the gradual. The Lucca fragments show only the incipit of the offertory. It is not legitimate to conclude that, if the offertory verses are missing from a certain ninth- or tenth-century manuscript, they must have dropped out of use in that locale by the time the manuscript was copied. The existence of separate *versicularia*, commonly associated with a troper or sequentiary (and not a *cantatorium*) in Aquitanian and St. Gall sources, demonstrates the contrary.⁵² These books which contain the elaborate offertory verses were for the use of the soloist, while the *graduale* furnished the choral refrain.⁵³ Alternatively, the tradition represented by a certain *graduale* may simply not have included these verses.

It might be objected that the offertories in the *gradualia* edited in the *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, none of which has musical no-

⁵¹ All of these *gradualia* and the Lucca fragments, none of which contains completely notated chants, have been edited by R.-J. HESBERT, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, Brussels 1935.

⁵² M. HUGLO, *Les Tonaires*, Paris 1971, p. 249, n. 1. Helmut Hucke has observed that the exclusion of the verses from the *cantatorium* merely means that the verses were not sung from the ambo; *Die Texte der Offertorien*, in *Speculum Musicae Artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann zum 60. Geburtstag*, Munich 1970, p. 194. No special place seems to have been reserved in the Roman basilicas for the *schola*, which sings the offertory. The *schola* remained on the floor of the nave, possibly near the ambo, if there was one. *Ordo I* has the assistant subdeacon « going down » to the *schola* to receive the water which they customarily offered (*Ordo I*, 80; cf. *Ordo IV*, 48). *Ordo IV* locates the *schola* « subtus tabula » (no. 25), and twice requires the singers to move to the left side of the presbyterium (nn. 37 and 62). The enclosed areas extending into the nave of certain Roman churches (S. Clemente, S. Sabina, S. Maria in Cosmedin and the unauthentic modern construction in S. Balbina), called a « *schola cantorum* » by most art historians, has no connection with the papal stational choir.

⁵³ A partial list of *versicularia* with offertory verses: 11TH CENTURY-Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 5 (Ed. V. 9) (ff. 163-186'); Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., clm 14083 (ff. 111-127), clm 14322 (ff. 121-146'); Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 1120 (ff. 184-213'), lat. 1137 (ff. 118-164); Rome, Bibl. casanatense, 3830 (ff. 1-32'); St. Gall, Stiftsbibl. 378 (ff. 297-343) 380 (ff. 273-367) 382 (ff. 219-270); Zurich, Zentralbibl., Rheinau 132 (ff. 1-21'). 11TH-12TH CENTURY-Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 1134 (ff. 14' ff.). 12TH CENTURY-Bamberg, Staatsbibl., lit. 9 (Ed. V. 3) (ff. 2-32'), lit. 10 (Ed. V. 10) (ff. 1-68'); Madrid, Bibl. Nacional 288 (ff. 120-151').

tation, do not disprove the existence of offertory verse 'tones'. One textual characteristic of these verses seems to speak against their existence, however. Words or phrases of text are repeated usually, but not always, with the same music.⁵⁴ Similar repetitions are encountered in the refrains as well, and there has never been any suggestion that the refrains were sung to 'tones'.

These text repetitions and, we may presume, the elaborate free verse melodies were known to Amalarius of Metz (ca. 775-850), because he discusses the extravagant treatment of text in the verses of the offertory *Vir erat*. Words and phrases are repeated several times: the final phrase, « ut videat bona », is sung seven times. Amalarius explains all of this as an attempt to portray the incoherent speech of the sick and suffering Job.⁵⁵ It is questionable if this singular text treatment would have been sung to a standard 'offertory tone'. Rather, the conclusion is inescapable that Amalarius was familiar with offertories with few, relatively florid verses with the flexibility to handle a subjective treatment of the text. The texts of the verses appear for the first time in the Compiègne *graduale* mentioned earlier, and for the first time with music in St. Gall 339 (though not in the *cantatorium*, St. Gall 359). The introduction of the text repetitions, and hence of the florid verses, must have occurred before the memory of any source Amalarius consulted. He does not signal them as an innovation as, for example, he did the introduction of the *neuma triplex* into the responsory *Descendit de caelis*.⁵⁶ The chronicle of Sigebert credits Pope Hadrian (772-795) with the introduction (or at least the regulation) of text repetitions in the offertories.⁵⁷

Another key document used to support the argument that the

⁵⁴ To the list provided by APEL, *Gregorian Chant*, pp. 364-365, should be added in his group A the following offertories: *In virtute* (Vs. 2), *Gloriabuntur* (Vs. 2), and *Domine Deus in simplicitate* (Vs. 2); see also WAGNER, *Einführung*, III, 428-433. The same phenomenon appears in the Old Roman offertories; for a complete analysis see J. DYER, *The Offertories of Old Roman Chant: A Musico-Liturgical Investigation*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Boston University 1971, pp. 278-291.

⁵⁵ « Officii auctor, ut effectanter nobis ad memoriam reduceret aegrotantem Job, repetivit saepius verba more aegrotantium. In offertorio ut dixi, non sunt verba repetita quia historicus scribens historiam non aegrotabat »; *Lib. off.* III, 39 (HANSSENS, II, 373). This offertory with its verses is most conveniently available in C. OTT, *Offertoriale*, Paris-Tournai-Rome 1935, pp. 122-125. On the caution needed in using this edition see R. STEINER, *Some Questions*, especially pp. 162-181.

⁵⁶ *Lib. de ord. ant.*, XVIII, 6-9 (HANSSENS, III, 55-56).

⁵⁷ « His in offertoriis et offertorium versibus, quod geminatum est, geminavit »; *Sigeberti Chronica* (*Patr. lat.* 160, col. 147; WAGNER, *Einführung*, I, 110). For Ambrosian parallels see *Paléographie musicale*, VI, 161 and 197.

verses of the offertories were once sung to a set of offertory tones is an extremely problematic sentence in the *Musica Disciplina* (ca. 840-849) of Aurelian of Réôme.⁵⁸ Aurelian takes great pains to convince his readers that the verses are to be sung « per tonos » – presumably to a system of psalm tones:

Quod versus offertoriarum per tonos in ipsis intromittantur, cantor nemo qui dubitet.⁵⁹

Although denying the title of *cantor* to anyone not conversant with these tones, Aurelian does not press the point with detailed observations about the practice he supposedly wishes to preserve.⁶⁰ The copyists of some manuscripts of Aurelian were apparently not persuaded, since references to the offertory tones are sometimes omitted. A long passage (X, 5-15), which includes the sentence above, is lacking in both Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. 1346 and British Library, Arundel 77. The Vatican manuscript retains mention of the offertories in the *Deuterologium tonorum* (ch. XVIII); part way through ch. XI the British Library manuscript breaks off.⁶¹ Just because of the fact that reciting tones were not to be found associated with them, Aurelian omitted from consideration the « responsoria autem gradalis officii et tractus, nec ne alleluia sed et prolixas antiphonas letaniarum atque rogationum caeterasque huiusmodi » (XVIII; CSM 21, 117). On the other hand, he makes a point of including « sub brevitate [...] offertoria, communiones, responsoriaque nocturni temporis et antiphonas iusdem » (X; CSM 21, 86-87). He immediately goes on to defend his inclusion of the offertories in this group with an *ad hominem* argument (« cantor nemo qui dubitet »).

In the dissertation on which his edition of the *Musica Disciplina* is based, Lawrence Gushee suggested that the offertories were included

⁵⁸ Edited by L. GUSHEE, Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1975 (« Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, XXI »), hereinafter CSM.

⁵⁹ *Musica disciplina* 10, 11 (CSM XXI, 87).

⁶⁰ Joseph Ponte's theory that the offertory verses were sung to the same tones as the responsories is ingenious, but not entirely convincing. Just because some singers confused the responsory *Recordare* with the offertory *Recordare* does not mean that the similarity of verse tones led to this confusion; J. PONTE, *Aureliani Reomensis Musica Disciplina*, I, 5-6. Furthermore, in Old Roman chant some communions do double duty as responsories, yet each category maintains its own tones for the verses. The few Gregorian responsories transferred to the Old Roman Office lose their Gregorian responsory tones and take on the Old Roman ones. Henri POTIRON rejected the idea that the offertories were accompanied by a psalm tone: *Les modes grégoriens selon les premiers théoriciens du moyen âge*, « Études Grégoriennes », V, 1962, p. 112.

⁶¹ Gushee's sigla for these two manuscripts are RP and L, respectively.

« principally from a desire for comprehensiveness ».⁶² This motive certainly prompted the inclusion of the offertory and all other non-psalmodic chants in the treatises and large tonaries which classify all chants according to mode – « pro conservando cantandi ordinem », in the words of Berno.⁶³ This motive appears not to have impelled Aurelian to include the other chants with which psalmody is not associated, and which he mentions.

In the *Deuterologium tonorum* Aurelian again subjects the offertories to modal classification. In summarizing the number of *differentiae* (in Aurelian's terminology: *varietates*, *diffinitiones*, *divisiones*) in each type of chant for which such a system exists. For example, in the *autentus protus* he lists altogether seventeen *varietates*: three for the introit, one for the offertories, two for the communion, six for the responsories and five for the antiphonal psalmody of the Office. According to Aurelian, the offertory has no more than one *varietas* in any of the eight modes. The introit has on occasion two or even three *varietates*. The communion has only one in each mode except in the *autentus protus* where it has two.⁶⁴

With the exception of the *differentiae* found in the very large tonary Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 909 for modes I and IV (ff. 255 and 256), no system of *differentiae* for the offertory is known to have existed. Interestingly enough, an earlier portion of this same manuscript (ff. 206 ff.) contains a large selection of melismatic offertory verses. One manuscript of the *Musica disciplina* (Paris, Bibl. nat. 7211) cites two *differentiae* for mode I offertories.

Added to the lack of corroborative contemporary evidence of the tones there is uncertainty as to what Aurelian has in mind when he speaks of a 'tone'. The narrow meaning, 'psalmodic formula', need not apply in all cases, and in the case of the offertories the more likely frame of reference is the *finalis*, as it apparently is in the nearly con-

⁶² *The Musica Disciplina of Aurelianus Reomensis: A Critical Edition and Commentary*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Yale University 1962, I, 206.

⁶³ *Tonarius*, in M. GERBERT, ed., *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, II, St. Blaise 1784 (reprint 1962), p. 84. Hereinafter, GS.

⁶⁴ An intriguing problem is the large number of *varietates* attributed by Aurelian to the nocturnal responsories. In the order of the eight modal divisions they are: 6, 2, 2, 5, 2, 4, 3, 4. Other sections of the *Musica disciplina* do not always agree with these figures from the *Deuterologium tonorum* section of the treatise. The tonary in BN, lat. 1121 has six responsory *differentiae* in mode I (f. 202) which seem to be treated in parallel with the six *differentiae* of the antiphonal psalmody of the Office. In all other modes in this tonary, a single responsorial *differentia* comes at the end of the series for that mode.

temporay tonary of St. Riquier, the oldest tonary known to exist.⁶⁵ It seems that Aurelian's concept of a *varietas* goes beyond the commonly accepted meaning of *differentia*. Two responsory verses could have the same cadential formula, yet be assigned to different *varietates* because of internal differences. Possibly the term could cover entirely different melodies as, for instance, in the fourth-mode invitatory psalmody, which has not only different finals but different formulae altogether.⁶⁶

Aurelian's rule for finding the 'tone' in different categories of chants does not really clarify the problem:

Notandum sane, quia in offertoriis et responsoriis atque invitatoriis non aliubi requirendi sunt toni, nisi ubi fines versuum intromittuntur, maximeque servandus est sensus litterature quam modulationis. In introitibus vero, antiphonis necne communionibus semper in capite requirantur.⁶⁷

He establishes two categories: 1) offertories, responsories, invitatories and 2) introits, antiphons, communions. The mode is to be determined differently in each of these categories. The second group is easier to understand, since Aurelian's recommendation agrees with the prescription of Regino (*GS* I, 231) that the beginning of the latter three chants establishes the mode and dictates the psalm tone to be used. It would seem that, if the mode is not determined by the beginning, it would of necessity be determined by the end, as was customary for all chants from the tenth century on.⁶⁸

Interpretations of Aurelian have generally entailed more or less drastic emendations of this passage, even to the point of altering « ends

⁶⁵ M. HUGLO, *Un tonaire du Graduel de la fin du VIII^e siècle (BN lat. 13159)*, « Revue Grégorienne », XXXI, 1952, pp. 176-186; 224-233. *Les Tonaires*, pp. 25-29. GUSHEE, *The Musica Disciplina* (diss.), p. 207. Following Regino's tonary in Leipzig, Musikbibl., Rep. I. 93 there is an interpolation which adds to the usual eight modes four additional ones: *medii* or *paracteres*. It begins: « Volunt autem quidam, ut supra meminimus, tonos tantummodo sive differentias esse duodecim [...] ». In this context *differentia* seems to be the equivalent of 'tone' or 'mode'; P. WAGNER, *Zur mittelalterlichen Tonartenlehre*, in *Festschrift Guido Adler*, Vienna-Leipzig 1930, pp. 29-30. *Les Tonaires*, pp. 80-81.

⁶⁶ GUSHEE, *The Musica Disciplina* (diss.), p. 211, n. 1.

⁶⁷ *Musica Disciplina* 10, 30 (CSM XXI, 89).

⁶⁸ The use of « per tonos » in the sense of 'mode' (see n. 59 above) can be found as late as the *Scientia artis musicae* (1274) of Elias Salomon: « ita in presenti scientia totus cantus per tonos et per species quae sub ipso continentur regitur; specialiter per seculorum cuiuslibet toni omnia, quae sub illo tono cui serviunt cantari possunt, reguntur » (*GS*, III, 35). Salomon then goes on to list the chants ruled by tones: antiphons, responsories, introits, alleluias, offertories, communions, « et totus cantus qui concorditer cantatur ». Concerning other aspects of this treatise see J. DYER, *A Thirteenth-Century Chormaster: The Scientia Artis Musicae of Elias Salomon*, « The Musical Quarterly », LXVI, 1980, pp. 83-111.

of the verses » to « ends of the refrains ». ⁶⁹ Apel seems to interpret the passage this way: « fines versuum » becomes '« where the verses are inserted ». Ponte's suggestion that « fines versuum » refers to the *front* end of the verses seems a bit strained. ⁷⁰ Planer's explanation that « fines versuum » refers to the *differentiae*, as indicated by « saeculorum amen » or its abbreviation *euouae*, ignores the fact that the offertories, responsories and invitatories do not indicate psalm tones in this way. Planer is aware that this is the case, but assumes that « no *gradualia* indicating the *differentiae* of the offertory are extant ». ⁷¹ While this is true, it does not strike me as a compelling proof. Michel Huglo has discovered an Aquitanian missal from San Millan (Madrid, Bibl. Acad. Hist. 18) which contains offertory *differentiae* (*Les Tonaires*, p. 398, n. 1), but these are corroborated in no other medieval chant books or treatises, save the BN lat. 909 tonary.

However Aurelian expressed himself, he can only have intended to require that the chants in his first category have their modality established by the last note actually heard in performance: the end of the (partial) refrain. In light of the refrain, the cantor may make changes in the verbal text of the verse, if necessary, in order to assure an intelligible verbal continuity. ⁷²

The *Musica disciplina* is a document of central significance for the performance history of the offertories because it is the unique witness of supposed offertory tones – or so it has been construed. As we have seen, the treatise scarcely takes an unequivocal position that the offertory verses were sung to psalmodic recitation formulae before the melismatic verses gained currency. No convincing reasons can be adduced to prove that the verses had any shape other than the melismatic one known from the earliest notated sources. Aurelian's statements about the offertories were the keystone in Willi Apel's claim of a tenth-

⁶⁹ « [...] wir nehmen also an, dass mit 'versus' hier auch das R selbst, also das Hauptstück, gemeint sein könne, und mit 'fines versuum' der Hauptschluss. Diese würde einen guten Sinn ergeben und auch mit Reginos Angabe übereinstimmen, der die Tonart bei 'Responsorien' im Gegensatz zu Antiphonen, Introitus und Communio beim 'fines et exitus' der Melodien sucht (GS, I, 321) ». U. BOMM, *Die Wechsel der Modalitätsbestimmung in der Tradition der Messgesänge im IX. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Einsiedeln 1929 (reprint 1973), p. 177.

⁷⁰ APEL, *Gregorian Chant*, p. 174, n. 40. PONTE, *Aureliani Reomensis*, III, pp. 66 and 55.

⁷¹ *The Ecclesiastical Modes in the Late Eighth Century*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan 1970, p. 310.

⁷² See the example of *Sanctificavit Moyses* in ch. XI (CSM XXI, 141-142); cf. also the *Tonale S. Bernardi*: « repetitio responsorii debet concordare versiculo et secundum litteraturam et secundum modulationem », GS, II, 276.

century date for the introduction of the elaborate, freely composed verses:

[...] at the time of the *Musica disciplina*, that is about 850, the verses of the offertory were still sung to a set of eight standard offertory tones similar in character to those for the introits and responsories. If, on the other hand, we turn to Regino's tonary written about fifty years later, we find that the offertories are completely absent, as they are also in the later tonaries (all of which, it will be remembered, are catalogues of chants whose verses are sung to a standard melody).⁷³

Apel's closing remark is needlessly narrow: the 'theoretical' tonaries classify all manner of chants which were never associated with a reciting tone. Naturally all of these tonaries postdate both Aurelian and Regino. About three dozen tonaries containing the antiphonal chants of the Mass were analyzed for the present study. Of this number approximately half classify some offertories modally.⁷⁴ The presence or absence of the offertories in the tonaries does nothing to resolve the antiphonal/responsorial question, since virtually every tonary which classifies the offertory modally classifies the gradual and the alleluia also. The same can be said for the theorists who undertake the same type of classification of the antiphonal chants of the Mass.⁷⁵ No one would claim that the graduals and alleluias were ever sung to standard formulae.

There are a few *gradualia* into which numbers or letters have been inserted in the margins to indicate the mode of chants. Although not a *graduale*, the tonary of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon is the most famous

⁷³ *Gregorian Chant*, p. 512. It has frequently been noted that practically all the items in the Mass formularies for the Thursdays in Lent, introduced by Gregory II (715-731), are borrowed from older feasts. A. CHAVASSE, *Le sacramentaire gélasien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VIII^e siècle*, Tournai 1958, pp. 569-580. Ruth Steiner believes that this fact suggests the cessation of new offertory composition even before the pontificate of Gregory: *Some Questions*, p. 180.

⁷⁴ These include: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 31359 (ca. 800); BN, lat. 909 (11th c.); BN, lat. 776 (11th c.); BN, lat. 780 (11th c.); BN, lat. 7185 (11th c.); REGINO: *Tonarius* (ca. 900); Rome, Vat., Regin. lat. 1638 (end of 10th c.); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl., 4641 (11-12th c.); British Library, Harleian 4951 (11th c.); Barcelona, Arch. de la Coron d'Aragon, Ripoll 74 (11th c.); Madrid, Bibl. Nac., 288 (12th c.); Piacenza, Bibl. Cap., 65 (after 1142); Florence, Bibl. Naz., Conv. Sopr. F. III 565 (12th c.); Cambridge, Trinity Coll., 939 (II) (10-11th c.); Utrecht, Universiteitsbibl., 406 (3 J 17) (12th c.).

⁷⁵ AURELIAN: *Musica disciplina* (ca. 840; CSM XXI); *Alia musica* («Nova expositio») (11th c.; ed. J. CHAILLEY, Paris 1965); BERNO: *Tonarius* (1023; GS, II, 79-91); JOH. AFFLIGEMENSIS: *De musica* (ca. 1080; CSM I); SIGEBERT DE GEMBOUX (?) in Brussels, Bibl. roy., 10078-95 (11-12th c.); FRUTOLF: *Breviarium de musica* (late 12th c.; ed. C. VIVELL, Vienna 1919); ODORANNUS OF SENS: (12th c.; ed. M. HUGLO in «Sources d'Histoire Médiévale», IV, Paris 1972, pp. 156-197).

example of this method of classification. All of the chants were written out in full with neumes and alphabetic notation; they are grouped according to the four *maneriae* and classified authentic or plagal by marginal letters. The Corbie *graduale* (9-10th c.) has introits and communions with similar modal classification.⁷⁶

Such classifications were not carried out with the intention of indicating psalmodic recitation formulae for verses.⁷⁷ They represent various stages along a route which finally led to a modal assignation for every chant, regardless of practical necessity. This system can be observed in all the modern chant books. The florid offertory verses were probably known to the authors of all the tonaries and theoretical treatises, even the earliest ones. If they were excluded, it was because their verses were not sung to a psalmodic recitation formula. If they were included, it was due to a desire to give examples of various chants in all modes. The selection of tonaries, treatises and *gradualia* listed above proves as much.

Having reviewed the evidence of the eighth-century *Ordines Romani* that the offertory is not antiphonal in performance (*Ordo XV*) and that the verses are objects of special comment (*Ordines V* and *XXII*), and noting that Amalar cites the most extravagant of the text repetitions in the verses, I find it impossible to accept Apel's dating of the elaborate verses between 850 and 900. These verses, and not the hypothetical 'offertory tones', existed long before the end of the ninth century. Obviously we cannot claim that the form in which they come down to us represents a specific antiquity beyond the date of the oldest manuscripts in which they are preserved.

Helmut Hucke has approached the problem of the original form of

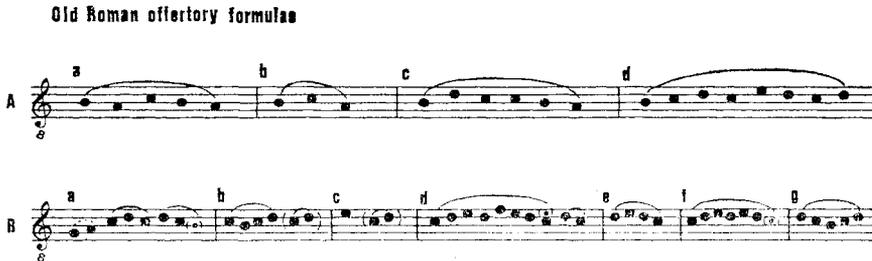
⁷⁶ For a description of the manuscript see M. HUGLO, *Le tonaire de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, « Annales musicologiques », IV, 1956, pp. 7-18. A complete transcription is available with annotation by Finn Egeland Hansen (Copenhagen 1974). Other *gradualia* with modal classification are: Chartres, Bibl. munic., ms. 47 (2nd half of 9th c.; *Paléographie musicale*, XI); Zürich, Zentralbibl., Rh. 97 (11th c.; modal indications added in 12th c.); Leipzig, Universitätsbibl., S. Thomas 391 (13th c.; *Publikationen älterer Musik*, V and VII). One might cite in this context the missal Madrid, Bibl. Acad. Hist. 18 (12th c.?) and the ordinal Zürich, Zentralbibl., Rh. 80 (beginning of 12th c.).

⁷⁷ The *Quaestiones in musica*, attributed to both Franco of Liège (1047-83) or Rudolph of St. Trond (1071-1132), specifically excludes the offertories (and responsories) from the system of psalmodic differentiae: « responsoria et offertoria et cantiones huiusmodi cantiones, quae carent psalmodum et differentiarum appositionibus » (ed. R. STEGLICH, Leipzig 1911, p. 43). The same words were repeated about 1330 by JACQUES OF LIÈGE in the *Speculum musicae* (CSM III/6, p. 236). In another passage, however, the *Quaestiones* link the offertory with responsories and antiphons, presumably because of the presence of verses: « Sunt quaedam melodiae ut Kyrieleyson et sequentiae, quae cum illis legibus artis sint liberae, quibus constringuntur offertoria, responsoria et antiphonae, ut nec versus nec psalmi nec seculorum amen solea[n]t illis sicut istis apponi » (STEGELICH, ed. pp. 21-22).

the offertory chant through an investigation of its texts. He finds that the majority of the offertory texts have verses chosen according to what he calls the « responsorial text-type », a free selection of psalm verses not following the order of verses in the psalm.⁷⁸ The antiphonal text-type, on the other hand, respects this order. Although Hucke is cautious in his conclusions, they concord with what is being maintained here: « Die Texte vieler Offertorien mit ihren zugehörigen Versen sind in einer Weise ausgewählt, die für die Responsorien typisch ist. Aber nicht nur die Offertorien des responsorialen Texttypus, sondern alle Offertorientexte mit Ausnahme derer des antiphonalen Texttypus setzen die responsorische Vortragsweise voraus ».⁷⁹ He concludes that, even though an antiphonal performance of offertories with antiphonal text-type is conceivable, it can by no means be taken for granted.

All of the material with which we have been dealing derives from the chant tradition known as 'Gregorian'. The data of theorists, ceremonial books and liturgical commentators cannot be applied to the body of music known as Old Roman chant. It is relevant to note, however, the presence in Old Roman offertory refrains and verses of two formulae which have certain characteristics of psalm tones (Ex. 1):

Ex. 1



Most of the separate elements in each formula can be used independently or even deleted altogether. In Formula A, element *b* plays the role of an embellished reciting tone. In formula B it is the *podatus* (c'd') in element *b* which, when it occurs, serves this function.⁸⁰ These

⁷⁸ *Die Texte der Offertorien*, pp. 193-203.

⁷⁹ *Die Texte*, p. 202.

⁸⁰ B. STÄBLEIN has twice cited what I have called « formula A »; *Zur Frühgeschichte des römischen Chorals*, in *Actes du congrès internationale de musique sacrée*, Rome 1950, p. 273, and the article *Psalm*, in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, X, 1689. For an

formulae are repeated and combined with free melodic material in elaborate ways, an investigation of which would go beyond the scope of the present observations. Example 2 is a specimen of a fairly typical treatment of formula B (though without free material): the first verse of the Old Roman offertory *Benedic anima mea* (Vat. lat. 5319, f. 47'; *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi* II, 271 ff.).

Ex. 2

Old Roman offertory verse using formula B

[Vs. 1] Qui pro-pi-ti-a-tur om-ni-bus in-qui-ta-ti-bus tu-is
 et re-di-met te-ri-tu-vi-ta tu-a
 qui co-ro-na-t te in mi-se-ra-ti-o-ne et mi-se-ri-cor-di-a.

[Each syllable receives only the neume under which it is placed.]

As can be observed, the formula does not join with the text in the way psalm tones do. The caesura in the middle of the textual line (there are three hemistichs in this example) is respected, but not distinguished from the final cadence. The intonational part of the formula, element *a*, appears in various forms four times. Neither of the formulae has a capability for distinguishing the two halves of psalm verses. With the frequent introduction of free material, especially in formula A, any vestige of the hemistich division is lost. Formula A does not even have a cadential member. A formula can occur several times within the course of a line of text, but fragments of it can also be used separately. The example above has none of the intercalated material which interrupts statements of the formulae, and in that way it is not entirely representative of the Old Roman offertories which contain them. Both formulae occur in refrain and verses, which situation would not be typical of an antiphon + psalm-tone combination.⁸¹

analysis of the use to which these two formulae are put, see DYER, *The Offertories of Old Roman Chant*, pp. 148-181 and the complete transcriptions on pp. 309-324.

⁸¹ *Domine Deus in simplicitate* (Vat. lat. 5319, f. 136'; transcribed in *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*, II, 341 ff.) is a rather mechanical adaptation of formula B to an entire offertory with two verses.

Perhaps our difficulty in establishing the original sequence of refrain and psalm verses in the primitive offertory chant stems from an inaccurate understanding of the principle of antiphony itself. A complete examination of the question cannot be attempted here, yet it must be observed that the two-choir performance of psalm verses and doxology, the whole framed by an antiphon, is not normative for the early Middle Ages.⁸² Fifth- and sixth-century writers use the word *antiphona* quite glibly, but they offer tantalizingly few clues as to what they mean. Most of them mention it in conjunction with the Divine Office and presume that their readers are familiar with the concept.⁸³ Antiphonal singing was introduced into the West before the offertory chant was created. It now appears that the traditional role attributed to St. Ambrose (ca. 339-397), that of encouraging antiphonal singing, cannot be verified. If Ambrose knew of the practice, he never alluded to it in his voluminous writings which do, however, make clear references to responsorial psalmody.⁸⁴

There is general agreement that antiphonal singing requires that *something* be alternated, whether it be the entire antiphon, part of the antiphon or the psalm verses themselves. The relationship between cantor and choir(s) must be considered as well.⁸⁵ Even as late as Amalarius it is the antiphon which is alternated between the two choirs during the course of the psalm – at least for Matins and Vespers. That

⁸² A succinct presentation of the evidence is C. GINDELE, *Doppelchor und Psalmvortrag im Frühmittelalter*, « Die Musikforschung », VI, 1953, pp. 296-300.

⁸³ The indispensable study is O. HEIMING, *Zum monastischen Officium von Kassianus bis Kolombanus*, « Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft », VII/1, 1966, pp. 89-156. There is a convenient list of pertinent monastic rules in GINDELE, *Zum Ordo Officii der Regel St. Benedicts*, in *Commentationes in Regula Sancti Benedicti*, ed. B. STEIDLE, Rome 1957 (« Studia Anselmiana », 42), pp. 172-174. Other relevant references may be sought in M. J. CAPPUYNS, *Lexique de la Regula Magistri*, Steenbrugge 1964 (« Instruments Patristica », 6); E. KASCH, *Das liturgische Vokabular der frühen lateinischen Mönchsregeln*, Hildesheim 1974 (« Regulae Benedicti Studia: Supplementa », 1); J. M. CLÉMENT, *Lexique des anciennes règles monastiques occidentales*, Steenbrugge 1978 (« Instrumenta Patristica », 7A/B). Also important is the *Peregrinatio Etheriae*, ed. and trans. by H. PÉTRÉ, Paris 1948 (« Sources chrétiennes », 21).

⁸⁴ H. LEEB, *Die Psalmodie bei Ambrosius*, Vienna 1967 (« Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie », 18).

⁸⁵ L. PETIT, *Antiphone dans la liturgie grecque*, in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, I, 2461-88; H. HUCKE, *Zu einigen Problemen der Choralforschung*, « Die Musikforschung », XI, 1958, especially pp. 385-392; J. GELINEAU, *Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship*, trans. by C. HOWELL, Collegeville 1964, pp. 90-110 supplemented by the same author's *Les chants processionaux: Recherches sur leur structure liturgique*, in *Musique sacrée et langues modernes*, Paris 1964 (« Kinnor », 4), pp. 105-117. Many of the conclusions of Gindele about the meaning of « antiphona » must be used with extreme caution. The study of J. HOURLIER, *Notes sur l'antiphonie*, in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, Bern 1973, pp. 116-143 adds nothing new to our knowledge of antiphonal singing.

the psalm was sung by a soloist is conceivable, but due to the difficulty in separating factual description from allegory in Amalarius, this can only be inferred. Amalarius says that the virtue of love unites the 'works' of two brethren. The psalms relate to 'works' and the antiphon relates « to that love with which each individual presents his work to his brother ».⁸⁶ One can do little more than suggest the possibility that the psalm verses are the 'work' of one singer, but that charity is exemplified by the singing of many in the antiphon, « because there cannot be charity between fewer than two ». Against this interpretation of Amalarius, however, it must be pointed out that his contemporary Rhabanus Maurus (? 776-856) claimed that the alternation of psalm *verses* by the choirs is what distinguishes antiphonal from responsorial chant.⁸⁷

One of the more valuable insights into the evolution of the offertory (and possibly the introit and communion) comes from the « three antiphons » of the Byzantine liturgy. In the tenth-century rite of Hagia Sophia each was associated with a complete psalm.⁸⁸ At a later stage of their development the psalmody was reduced to the troparion and three or four psalm verses with the doxology. Two choirs alternated in singing the troparion between the psalm verses which were sung, also in alternation, by the cantors of the two choirs.⁸⁹ These « little antiphons » as they are called, are mentioned in the *typicon* of the Great Church edited by Mateos, but only at Vespers. They represent a reduction of the psalmody, though they still retain the distinguishing features of true antiphonal psalmody.

There are at least terminological parallels in the West to the Greek little antiphons, and the underlying reality may very well be the same. In the Rule prepared for his monks, Aurelian of Arles (d. 551) mentions three « antiphona parvula » at Nocturns (Matins); for the same Office in a Rule for nuns Caesarius of Arles (d. 542) calls them « anti-

⁸⁶ *Liber officialis* 4, 7, 9-11 (HANSSENS, II, 433) and the *Liber de ord. ant.* 3, 4 (HANSSENS, III, 24). This performance practice problem is not taken up in V. RAFFA, *L'ufficio divino del tempo dei carolingi*, « Ephemerides Liturgicae », LXXXV, 1971, pp. 206-259.

⁸⁷ « Inter responsoria et antiphonas hoc differt, quod in responsoriis unus dicat versum, in antiphonis autem alternent versibus chori »; *De instit. cleric.* 1, 33 (*Patr. lat.* 107, col. 323). Rhabanus is here echoing the words of Isidore, *Lib. etymol.*-6, 19, 8 (*Patr. lat.* 82, col. 252).

⁸⁸ *Typicon de la Grande Église*, ed. J. MATEOS, Rome 1962-63 (« Orientalia Christiana Analecta », 165-166), II, 283-284.

⁸⁹ The scheme may be seen in PETIT, *Antiphone dans la liturgie grecque*, cols. 2476-2477 and, with additional commentary, in J. MATEOS, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine*, Rome 1971 (« Orientalia Christiana Analecta », 191), pp. 34-68.

phonaes minores (cum alleluaticis suis) ».⁹⁰ It is impossible to say how many psalm verses were involved, though the terms certainly imply a truncation of the only extensive element: the psalm itself. This process is carried further in the *antiphona* of the Mozarabic liturgy which has only a single verse, or sometimes two, of which only the incipit is given in the manuscripts.⁹¹ Although the notation cannot be read exactly, the degree of musical elaboration parallels that of the Gregorian Office antiphons.

Depending by necessity on fleeting literary references and deprived of performance rubrics, we have difficulty in evaluating the formal principles on which highly evolved chants like the offertory are based. Under these conditions, a responsorial chant or an antiphon with a few verses can conceivably be distinguished only in performance.⁹² The offertory, if one insists on regarding it as an antiphonal chant in the face of the contrary indications brought forward in the present study, might be one of these « little antiphons ». This conclusion could be drawn solely by inference, since the history of such antiphons in the West is still an unexplored subject. In all of this speculation we must bear in mind that all of the notated witnesses to the offertory chant presuppose a responsorial tradition of performance.

* * *

In the foregoing pages I have tried to show that some persistent notions about the offertory ritual and chant can no longer be accepted uncritically. The history of the offertory chant from the time of the earliest *gradualia* is a fairly straightforward one. Those regions which knew the elaborate verses lost them by the thirteenth century at the latest. This seems to have been the only notable development in the entire history of the offertory chant. The line of development before the earliest notated witnesses is far from obvious, as we have seen. By

⁹⁰ *Regula S. Aureliani Arelatensis*, ed. HOLSTENIUS, in *Codex Regularum*, Augsburg 1759 (reprint 1957), I, 153; *Regula virginum* 66, ed. G. MORIN, *S. Caesarii Arelatensis Opera Varia*, Maredsous 1942, II, 120. See also HEIMING, *Zum monastischen Officium*, pp. 117-118.

⁹¹ A complete listing in DON RANDEL, *An Index to the Chant of the Mozarabic Rite*, Princeton 1973, pp. 1-181.

⁹² This point derives from a discussion *de antiphonis* by the seventeenth-century liturgist GIUSEPPE TOMMASI in his *Opera Omnia*, ed. ANTONIO VEZZOSI, Rome 1749 (reprint 1969), IV, xxviii. Cardinal Tommasi quotes a rubric from what is now recognized as an Old Roman Antiphoner (Rome, Vat. lat., Archivio di S. Pietro, B 79, f. 27^v) which documents the division of an antiphon between two choirs. There are several other rubrics in this manuscript important for the understanding of antiphonal psalmody.

the time the offertory is first encountered at Rome, it has already assumed imposing ritual proportions, although a general procession of the laity does not seem to be one of its characteristics. Such a procession was neither a primitive one, nor one which exercised an influence on the development of the offertory chant.

In connection with the early history of the offertory at Rome I have attempted to demonstrate some of the insights which archeological and architectural research can contribute to the history of ritual and liturgical music. These interrelationships have yet to receive from liturgists and art historians the kind of consideration they require.⁹³ Such studies would vitalize our perceptions of liturgical music and its physical milieu.

With regard to the musical form of the offertory chant, not a shred of evidence can be found to support to commonly held view that its mode of performance changed from responsorial to antiphonal. Neither the *Ordines Romani*, nor the medieval liturgists and music theorists (with the possible exception of Aurelian) nor the Gregorian tonaries imply anything other than a responsorial refrain with a few verses. None of them regard the offertory the way they do the antiphonal chants of the Mass, introit and communion. Analogies between the offertory chant and the other 'processional' chants of the Mass are very weak, since a proper procession of the laity is not an essential part of the ceremony.

Likewise, the hypothetical offertory 'tones' are devoid of any contemporary corroboration. Certain remarks of Aurelian which have been construed as referring to them have never been satisfactorily or convincingly explained. Aurelian's obscurity – at least to his present-day readers – adds little weight to an otherwise unattested practice. Even the formulas found in certain Old Roman offertories do not treat the psalm text the way reciting tones usually do, and Aurelian would have had no knowledge of them anyway. If the musical characteristics of the offertory in the early ninth century are unclear, how much more hazardous is it to push back beyond that point. The present study has endeavored to show what can legitimately be inferred about the offertory chant in those formative centuries.

⁹³ About the only thorough analysis of a specific liturgy in conjunction with architectural monuments is TH. F. MATHEWS, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*, Pennsylvania State University Press 1971. R. F. TAFT, *The Great Entrance*, Rome 1975 («Orientalia Christiana Analecta», 200) may also be consulted with profit, but both of these studies must be read in the light of the amplification and corrections contained in N. K. MORAN, *The Musical 'Gestaltung' of the Great Entrance Ceremony in the 12th Century in Accordance with the Rite of Hagia Sophia*, «Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik», XXVIII, 1979, pp. 167-193.

THE GREGORIAN OFFICE ANTIPHONS AND THE
COMPARATIVE METHOD

EDWARD NOWACKI

Everyone who has done research on the origins of Gregorian chant is familiar with a certain way of characterizing the differences between the two branches of the Gregorian tradition. Melodies transmitted in the Frankish source tradition are considered to be rational, disciplined, goal-directed, spare in their use of passing and neighbor embellishments, and international in their stylistic appeal. The melodies transmitted in the Old Roman sources, on the other hand, are described as decorative, rambling, melodically prolix to the point of overripeness, and stylistically parochial. This kind of descriptive language is employed to the fullest extent in Bruno Stäblein's introduction to the edition of the Old Roman gradual.¹

Some authors describe the well-known differences between the Frankish and Old Roman traditions in terms of processes by which the differentiation allegedly occurred. Hans Schmidt, for example, describes the Old Roman tradition as a revision (*Nachkomposition*) in which the fine details (*Feinheiten*) of the Frankish versions have been leveled into a kind of bland uniformity.² (The Old Roman tradition is generally regarded as the more uniform of the two branches in spite of its greater melodic prolixity.) Paul Cutter accepts the characterization of the Old Roman versions as uniform, but attributes it to thrift, the tendency of singers asserting itself afresh in each performance, to rely on familiar patterns and avoid novelty.³ Thomas Connolly also acknowledges the uniformity of the Old Roman melodic tradition, but describes it as the result of accuracy in the transmission of ancient formulas. In his view, the relative lack of variety in Old Roman transmission is a primitive characteristic that has not survived in Frankish transmission because of a tendency there to relax and vary the received patterns.⁴

Helmut Huckle, while not denying the possibility of independent change in Rome after the split of the Gregorian tradition into independent branches, has directed his attention primarily to changes in the Frankish branch. The remoteness of the Franks from the Roman cultural milieu contributed, in Huckle's view, to an environment in which a subtle but pervasive translation

¹Bruno Stäblein, Introduction to *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. lat. 5319*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi II (Kassel, 1970), pp. 1*-164*.

²Hans Schmidt, "Die Tractus des zweiten Tones in gregorianischer und stadtrömischer Überlieferung," *Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Dagmar Weise (Bonn, 1957), pp. 283-302.

³Paul F. Cutter, "Oral Transmission of the Old Roman Responsories?" *The Musical Quarterly* LXII (1976), 182-94. For the theoretical background of the concept of thrift in a musicological context, see Leo Treitler, "Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant," *ibid.*, LX (1974), 333-72.

⁴Thomas H. Connolly, "Introits and Archetypes: Some Archaisms of the Old Roman Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXV (1972), 157-74.

of Roman chant into the Frankish tone dialect was the inevitable, though unintended, result.⁵

Some theories of change have been encumbered with a heavy burden of a priori value associations. The scholars of the Solesmes school from Mocquereau to Gajard consistently regarded the Old Roman melodies as versions in which the alleged classic taste and discipline of an earlier epoch have been corrupted by excesses of ornamentation and virtuosic display.⁶ Lipphardt has adopted the Solesmes view, going so far as to attribute the alleged excesses in the Old Roman melodies to a southern mentality.⁷ Bruno Stäblein, while trying to rehabilitate the Old Roman tradition, still considers it too provincial to be of any use to the papacy, which in his view had aspirations to universality not only in matters of theology and Church discipline, but also in musical taste. Gregorian chant in the commonly understood sense (what I call the Frankish tradition), according to Stäblein, is the result of a deliberate and brilliantly executed revision (*geniale Umformung*) in which the Old Roman melodies were ennobled (*nobilitiert, veredelt*) and elevated to a higher style for use in the papal court.⁸

In spite of their obvious differences, all these theories share certain basic assumptions. They are in agreement that the Frankish and Old Roman traditions transmit the same liturgy and texts, and even the same basic melodic structures, and they regard the two traditions in one way or another as branches of a common, originally Roman prototype that has been differentiated into two melodic dialects through a process of incremental change. These assumptions about the objects of comparison, now generally held, entail certain assumptions about the methodology of comparison that are equally widespread in their acceptance. According to these assumptions, the normal and usually unquestioned way of conducting comparative studies of the two traditions is to take given chant texts and to examine the similarities and differences of their melodic settings in Frankish and Old Roman transmission.

My purpose in this article is to show that this familiar research model will not work for the study of the Office antiphons, and that other, more complicated methods must be employed. Robert J. Snow already alluded to this difficulty in 1958 when he observed that the same antiphon texts are set to equivalent melodies in Frankish and Old Roman transmission only about sixty percent of the time,⁹ and Huckle, in his *New Grove* article,

⁵Helmut Huckle, "Die Einführung des gregorianischen Gesanges im Frankenreich," *Römische Quartalschrift* XLIX (1954), 172–85; *idem*, "Gregorianischer Gesang in altrömischer und fränkischer Überlieferung," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XII (1955), 74–87.

⁶*Le Répons-Graduel Justus ut palma*, Pt. 1, *Paléographie musicale*, Vol. II (Solesmes, 1891), pp. 4–6, n. 1; Joseph Gajard, "'Vicux-romain' et 'Grégorien,'" *Études grégoriennes* III (1959), 7–26.

⁷Walther Lipphardt, "Gregor der Grosse und sein Anteil am römischen Antiphonar," *Atti del Congresso internazionale di musica sacra 1950* (Tournai, 1952), pp. 248–54.

⁸Stäblein, pp. 5*–7* and 39*.

⁹Robert J. Snow, "The Old-Roman Chant," in Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, 1958), p. 502. Ewald Jammers, in *Musik in Byzanz, im päpstlichen Rom und im Frankenreich* (Heidelberg, 1962), p. 132, puts the figure at approximately one-half.

“Gregorian and Old Roman Chant,” transmits Snow’s estimate without comment.¹⁰ Having recently completed a comprehensive taxonomy of the Old Roman Office antiphons, I am now in a position to test the veracity of Snow’s estimate in detail.¹¹ At the very least, if it is correct, it will serve as a warning that forty percent of our comparative attempts are doomed to frustration because the melodies in that proportion of cases will not be apt for comparison.

It is true that both branches of the tradition transmit the same basic repertory of themes or melody-types, although one must be careful not to oversimplify this point. There are cases in which a group of melodies embodying a single uniform type in one branch corresponds to a group of melodies in the other branch that is more diverse and may actually embody two or more distinct subtypes. Whether such relationships are the result of divergence in one branch or merger in the other cannot be argued here. Moreover, such one-to-many relationships, where they occur, can be construed as one-to-one relationships in general comparative studies without affecting the results. I have therefore adopted as a working assumption the broadly accurate view that each melody-type in either branch corresponds to one and only one melody-type in the collateral branch. An example of such correspondence is seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Old Roman



Pa - ra - tus e - sto is - ra - el in - oc - cur - sum do - mi - ni quo - ni - am ve - ni - et.

Frankish



Pa - ra - tus e - sto is - ra - el in - oc - cur - sum do - mi - ni quo - ni - am ve - nit.

Figure 2

Old Roman



He - ro - des i - ra - tus oc - ci - dit mul - tos pu - e - ros.

Frankish



He - ro - des i - ra - tus oc - ci - dit mul - tos pu - e - ros.

In beth-le - em ci - vi - ta - tem.



in beth-le-em in - de - ci - vi - ta - te da-vid.



¹⁰Hucke, “Gregorian and Old Roman Chant,” *The New Grove Dictionary* VII (London, 1980), 695.

¹¹Edward Nowacki, “Studies on the Office Antiphons of the Old Roman Manuscripts” (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1980).

Figure 3

Old Roman:

 Hester-na di-e do-mi-nus na-tus est in ter-ris Ut stepha-nus ho-di-e

Frankish:

 Hester-na di-e do-mi-nus na-tus est in ter-ris ut ho-di-e ste-pha-nus


 na-see-re-tur in ce-lis.

 na-see-re-tur in ce-lis.

Figure 4

Old Roman:

 Me-di-a no-cte cla-mor factus est Ecce sponsus ve-nit ex-hi-te ob-vi-am e-i

Frankish:

 Me-di-a no-cte cla-mor factus est ecce sponsus ve-nit ex-i-te ob-vi-am e-i

What distinguishes the Office antiphons from other genres of chant is that the transmission of the melodic heritage is evidently independent of the transmission of particular chants. Old Roman and Frankish sources both transmit a version of the melody illustrated in Figure 1,¹² but the two source traditions disagree on the texts that are assigned to that melody. An example of such disagreement is illustrated in Figure 2. The settings of this antiphon in Frankish and Old Roman transmission are not ones that could have been derived from the same prototype by a process of incremental variation. Such variation produces only the kinds of differences observed in Figure 1. Besides, it should be clear to anyone who has a passing acquaintance with the Office antiphons that the Frankish melody in Figure 2 is simply of a different type,¹³ and that the discrepancy with its Old Roman counterpart is a discrepancy of melodic assignment, not of variation on a common prototype. Typical Frankish and Old Roman embodiments of this other melody-type are illustrated in Figure 3, where, again, the same pattern of dialectical variation that we observed in Figure 1 is evident.

The case presented in Figure 2, of course, exhibits small textual discrepancies, and these could have precipitated the melodic disagreement.

¹²Melody-type D.9, *ibid.*, s.v.

¹³Melody-type D.2, *ibid.*, s.v.

The example in Figure 4, however, has no such excuse. The melodies for the antiphon *Media nocte* in Frankish and Old Roman transmission exhibit conflicting assignments. Typical versions of each melody-type are shown in Figures 5 and 6,¹⁴ where one can see the kinds of dialectical variation that occur when both traditions are in agreement concerning melodic assignment.

Figure 5

Old Roman

 Hoc iam ter-ti-o ma-ni-fe-sta-vit se hic-sus postquam sur-rex-it a mor-tu-is al-le-lu-ia.

Frankish

 Hoc iam ter-ti-o ma-ni-fe-sta-vit se ie-sus post-quam re-sur-rex-it a mor-tu-is al-le-lu-ia.

Figure 6

Old Roman

 Ec-ce ve-ni-et pro- phe-ta ma-gnus Et i-pse re-no-va-bit ier-u-sa-lem al-le-lu-ia.

Frankish

 Ec-ce ve-ni-et pro- phe-ta ma-gnus et i-pse re-no-va-bit ier-u-sa-lem al-le-lu-ia.

The results of a case-by-case comparison of the Office antiphons in the Old Roman antiphoner San Pietro 79 with their counterparts in Lucca 601, a witness of the Frankish tradition,¹⁵ are displayed in Table 1. Consider, for example, Old Roman antiphons of Type G.4. The graph shows that twenty-six percent of them have Frankish counterparts with the equivalent melody, and, reciprocally, that seventy-four percent have Frankish counterparts with entirely different, noncorresponding melodies. Obviously, the determination of nonequivalence between Frankish and Old Roman settings of a given text rests on my analytical judgment, but I have tried to be conservative in these judgments even at the risk of weakening my case. If a Frankish melody was of the same mode and even vaguely resembled its Old Roman counterpart in contour and ambitus, I considered it an example of dialectical variation and therefore of the same genetic class. The noncorrespondence displayed in the graph may be safely taken to be of the nongenetic kind owing to disagreement in melodic assignment.

¹⁴Melody-types G.1 and A.1 resp., *ibid.*, s.v.

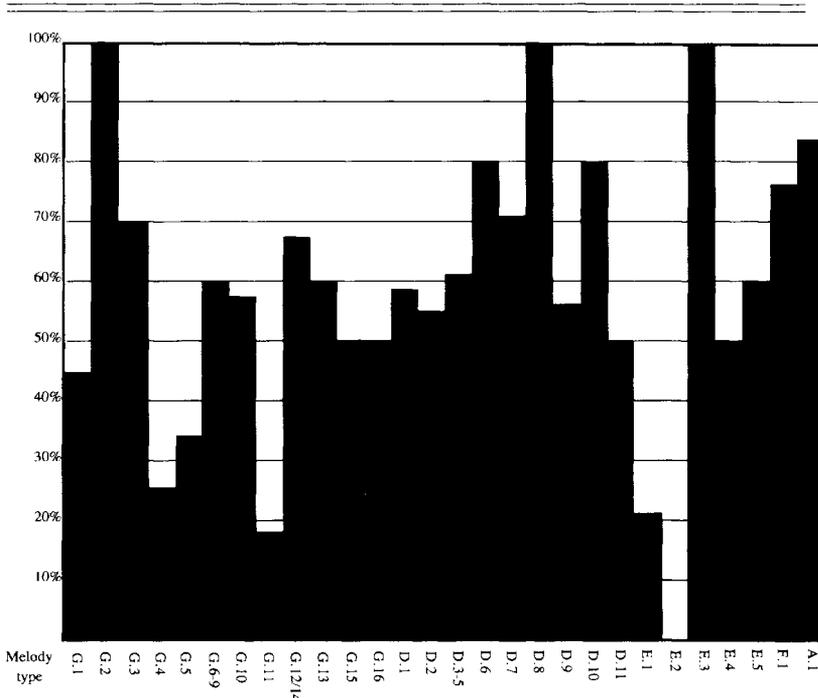
¹⁵Facsimile edition in *Paléographie musicale*, Vol. IX (Solesmes, 1906).

¹⁶Although Nowacki, pp. 345–95, reports the number of Office antiphons in I Rvat San Pietro B 79 as 1111, only 578 have been compared. The remaining examples comprise duplicates, unique melodies assigned to the miscellaneous classes of the various modes, and a large number for which no comparison is possible because they lack counterparts in I Lc 601.

The average level of correspondence, as it turns out, is sixty percent (349/578 cases compared)—exactly Snow's estimate.¹⁶

Table 1

MELODIC EQUIVALENCE OF OFFICE ANTIPHONS IN FRANKISH AND OLD ROMAN TRANSMISSION BROKEN DOWN ACCORDING TO MELODY-TYPE
The domain of comparison is limited to Old Roman examples that have a Frankish counterpart in I Lc 601. The measurements shown are the percentages within that domain of examples having equivalent melodies; the reciprocal figures (unshaded area) give the percentages of nonequivalent melodies.



This statistic by itself is of limited significance because it takes no account of chronological distribution. If all the examples of noncorrespondence were concentrated in the youngest layer of the repertory, stemming from the period after the split of the Gregorian tradition into independent Frankish and Old Roman branches (roughly after 760 to 800), it would be a simple matter to attribute the discrepancies to the independence of the two branches in the assignment of melodies to texts added to the liturgy after the split. On the other hand, if the discrepancies are distributed throughout all chronological layers, some other explanation must be sought, since disagreements in examples that have a common ancestor dating from before the split would necessarily entail a change in at least one of the collateral descendants vis-à-vis the parent version. It has been necessary, therefore, to attempt a division of the repertory into chronological layers in order to determine the incidence of the noncorrespondence in each.

II.

1. Most authorities agree that the oldest layer of the Divine Office is the ferial psalter. This Office, sung on days for which there is no proper feast, is based on a once-weekly rotation through all 150 psalms. The antiphons of this Office are drawn exclusively from the psalms that they embellish and consist of short excerpts, chiefly half lines, three to seven words in length. Gevaert places the origin of these antiphons between 440 and 540,¹⁷ while Lipphardt speculates that they may date from the papacy of Damasus (366-384).¹⁸ It is unlikely, however, that they are as old as either of these scholars have claimed. A careful reading of the evidence presented by Huckle in his outline of the history of antiphonal psalmody suggests that the transition from nonbiblical antiphons sung outside the liturgy to biblical antiphons sung as part of the authorized text of the service was a gradual process that was only beginning in the fifth century.¹⁹ Huglo has observed that the short responds in the psalter of St. Germain-des-Près, copied in sixth-century uncials, are probably ancestors of the earliest ferial antiphons, which by implication must date from an even later period.²⁰

Perhaps the most compelling evidence for advancing the date of the ferial antiphons at least to the sixth century is the history of the weekly cycle itself. While St. Benedict cannot be credited with the invention of this principle, he did promulgate in his Rule (ca. 530) a major reorganization of the weekly rotation that eliminated certain daily repetitions of psalms and redistributed the continuous reading of the psalter, previously limited to vespers and matins, among all the Office hours of the day except compline.²¹ This reorganization, producing what is known as the *cursus monasticus*, and the closely interdependent reorganization of the Roman Office into the *cursus romanus*²² permit us to set a *terminus a quo* for the

¹⁷François Auguste Gevaert, *La Mélodie antique dans le chant de l'église latine* (Ghent, 1895; repr. Osnabrück, 1967), p. 162.

¹⁸Lipphardt, "Gregor der Grosse," p. 250.

¹⁹Huckle, "Die Entwicklung des christlichen Kultgesangs zum gregorianischen Gesang," *Römische Quartalschrift* XLVIII (1953), 147-94.

²⁰Michel Huglo, "Antiphon," *The New Grove Dictionary* I, 471-72.

²¹Adalbert de Vogüé, "Origine et structure de l'office bénédictine," *Collectanea Cisterciensia* XXIX (1967), 195-99.

²²"Thatsächlich gibt es oder gab es damals keine zwei verschiedenen *Libri antiphonales* oder *Libri responsales*, von denen das eine benediktinisch, das andere römisch gewesen wäre, sondern nur eines: ein Responsale, ein Antiphonarium, das zugleich römisch und benediktinisch war. Der Inhalt des Benediktiner-Officiums ist in Wirklichkeit derselbe wie der des römischen. Der ganze Unterschied bezüglich der genannten zwei Bücher reduziert sich auf das Minimum oder die *matière négligeable*, dass im monastischen oder Benediktiner-Officium zu den neun römischen Responsorien der Mette noch drei weitere hinzukommen; das war aber damals sehr selten der Fall, da der *festi novem* (bezw. *duodecim*) *lectionum* in jener Zeit äusserst wenige waren. An den gewöhnlichen Tagen hatte aber das monastische oder Benediktiner-Brevier wie das römische nur drei Lectionen und drei Responsorien. Die Antiphonen für die Psalmen sind ebenfalls die gleichen; nur wird von den fünf Antiphonen, die im römischen Officium zur Vesper wie zur Laudes gesagt werden, im monastischen eine bei der Vesper ausgelassen. Im übrigen stimmen die beiden Ordnungen überein; der Inhalt, der Text ist *derselbe*. . . Diese Übereinstimmung zwischen dem römischen und Benediktiner-Officium wurde schon von einem Iro-Scoten wahrgenommen, der spätestens in der ersten Hälfte des 8., höchst wahrscheinlich in der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts lebte. . . . Es scheint uns nur vernünftig, den Schluss zu ziehen, dass von Anfang an eine innige Verwandtschaft zwischen dem Inhalt des römischen und benediktinischen Officiums obwaltete." Suitbert Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1895), pp. 213-15.

two standard forms of the medieval Office no earlier than the first half of the sixth century. It is conceivable that the ferial antiphons are older than this reorganization, but if we consider them as appurtenances of the Office per se, rather than of individual psalms, then it is difficult to assign them a date older than the Office in which they occur. In fact, they may be a good deal younger. There is no guarantee that the ferial antiphons that we know from ninth-century and later sources are the same ones employed in the reorganized Benedictine and Roman Offices of the sixth century.

2. According to Lipphardt, the layer of the Office next in age to the ferial psalter consists of proper formularies for the oldest feasts of the temporal and sanctoral cycles. The antiphons of these formularies, like those of the ferial psalter, are excerpted exclusively from the psalms that they embellish. They are, however, somewhat longer, consisting in some cases of whole psalm lines or various phrases in centonate combination. Antiphons of this kind are found in the Old Roman formularies for Christmas, Epiphany, Sexagesima,²³ Quinquagesima, the first four Sundays of Lent, the last three days of Holy Week, Ascension, SS. Peter and Paul, and the commons of one martyr and of several martyrs, representing the original proper formulary for St. Lawrence.²⁴ Easter and Pentecost, the most primitive feasts of the entire calendar, are not included in this group because their original antiphon formularies consisted exclusively of *alleluias*, which were in turn replaced with biblical but nonpsalmic antiphons at a later stage in the history of the Office.²⁵

Lipphardt places antiphons of this type in the reigns of Leo the Great (440-461), Gelasius (492-496), and Symmachus (498-514), but this seems hardly likely.²⁶ We know from the Rule of St. Benedict that proper antiphons of some kind were expected to be sung on feasts of saints and other solemnities by the second quarter of the sixth century,²⁷ and a single antiphon mentioned by Gregory the Great (590-604) in his fourth dialogue, consisting of an entire verse of Psalm 117, corresponds in its source material to the definition for antiphons of this type.²⁸ It is, however, uncharacter-

²³Although Sexagesima and Quinquagesima are not as old as the other observances in this list, the formularies for Sexagesima through the fourth Sunday of Lent are the original formularies for the six Sundays of Lent moved back by two weeks at the end of the sixth century. Lipphardt, "Gregor der Grosse," p. 252.

²⁴Joseph Pascher, *Das liturgische Jahr* (Munich, 1963), p. 548.

²⁵Gevaert, p. 171.

²⁶Lipphardt, "Gregor der Grosse," pp. 250-51. Gevaert, pp. 162-63, groups antiphons of this type along with ferial antiphons in this first epoch, 440-540.

²⁷"In sanctorum vero festivitibus, vel omnibus sollempnitatibus, sicut diximus dominico die agendum, ita agatur, excepto quod psalmi aut antiphonae vel lectiones ad ipsum diem pertinentes dicantur." The Rule of St. Benedict, Chap. XIV, in Timothy Fry, ed., *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, 1981), p. 208.

²⁸"Ad horam uero mortis ueniens. mysterium dominici corporis et sanguinis accepit, uocatosque fratres coram se psallere praecepit, quibus tamen antiphonam ipse per semetipsum de semetipso inposuit, dicens: *Aperite mihi portas iustitiae, et ingressus in eas confitebor Domino. Haec porta Domini, iusti intrabunt per eam.*" Dialogues, Book IV, Chap. XXXVI, in Grégoire le Grand, *Dialogues*, Tome III (Livre IV), ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Source chrétiennes*, No. 265 (Paris, 1980), p. 118.

istically long and raises puzzling questions about the kind of melody with which it was declaimed. Perhaps the most certain thing that can be said about the psalmic proper antiphons with which we are familiar is that antiphons resembling them in some way were not unknown by the end of the sixth century.

3. The next layer in the chronology of Lipphardt and Gevaert consists of antiphons from books of the Bible other than the Book of Psalms.²⁹ Antiphons of this type fall into two subcategories. The first comprises the complete antiphon formularies for the season of Advent and the formularies for the five psalms of lauds (with some exceptions) for Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday, and the ferias of Holy Week. These antiphons form a distinctive group by virtue of their texts, which are drawn primarily from the prophetic books of the Old Testament, but also include a handful of texts from the books of wisdom, the historical books, and various books of the New Testament including the gospels. The second subcategory comprises the *de evangelio* antiphons (sung at the gospel canticle, or *evangelium*, of lauds and vespers) for the entire season of Lent. Antiphons of this type are drawn almost exclusively from the gospel pericope of the day.

The dating of the first group is based on the fact that the observance of Advent was introduced into the Roman rite in the second half of the sixth century.³⁰ It is at this time also that the formularies for the six Sundays of Lent were moved back by two weeks to Sexagesima, creating a gap in Passiontide that was filled presumably by the current antiphons.³¹ These dates, of course, provide only a *terminus ante quem non*. Even such vague dating as this cannot be applied to the *de evangelio* antiphons of Lent, but both Lipphardt and Gevaert consider them roughly contemporary with other biblical, nonpsalmic antiphons on stylistic grounds both musical and textual.³² Since they break with the principle of deriving the antiphon from the psalm that it embellishes, Lipphardt considers all antiphons of this general type to be of a substantially more recent date than the first two layers (psalmic antiphons), and he conjectures that only a pope of the stature of Gregory the Great could have succeeded in introducing them into normally conservative Roman practice.³³

To this group, finally, should be added the biblical, nonpsalmic antiphons for John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, and the Commemoration of St. Paul. The first four feasts have attested observances in the fifth century,³⁴ and the Commemoration of St. Paul is attested in the sixth-century Gelasian sacramentary.³⁵ There is nothing in

²⁹Lipphardt, "Gregor der Grosse," pp. 251–54; Gevaert, pp. 160 and 165–68.

³⁰Emmanuel Bourque, *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains*, Pt. 1, Studi di antichità cristiana, XX (Città del Vaticano, 1949), pp. 222–25. (Pt. 2 of this work is published as Pt. 2, Vol. I [Quebec, 1952], and Pt. 2, Vol. II, Studi di antichità cristiana, XXV [Città del Vaticano, 1958].)

³¹Lipphardt, "Gregor der Grosse," p. 252.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 253; Gevaert, pp. 160 and 165–67.

³³Lipphardt, "Gregor der Grosse," p. 252.

³⁴Bourque, Pt. 1, pp. 274–80.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 365.

the age of these feasts, therefore, to prevent us from assigning their antiphon formularies to the third layer. (In the case of Peter and Paul, the feast and part of the formulary, as mentioned above, is at least as old as the second layer.)

Whether the group as a whole is as old as the papacy of Gregory the Great, of course, is another question. If we keep the relative positions of the various layers established by Gevaert and Lipphardt (there is no reason not to do so), and advance the dates of the first two layers to the first and second halves of the sixth century, there may be cause to date the third layer somewhat later than ca. 600, as Lipphardt proposes.

4. The youngest layer of antiphons in the chronology established by Gevaert (Lipphardt's chronology does not concern itself with this latter period) consists of antiphons drawn from the various acts, lives, and passions of the martyrs and other saints.³⁶ These writings, which are acknowledged to depend largely on legendary material, often postdate the introduction of their subjects' cults by several centuries. In testimony extraordinarily specific for the time, Gregory the Great denies any knowledge of this type of hagiographical literature.³⁷ This alone rules out any hagiographical antiphon formularies in the Roman rite before the seventh century.

Three ninth-century witnesses, Amalar of Metz, Agobard of Lyon, and the deacon Florus, provide additional testimony which, while not as specific as we might like, fuels speculation concerning the relative youthfulness of the most recent layer of the Office. Amalar, in his *De ordine antiphonarii* (completed no earlier than 844),³⁸ claims to have added to his revised antiphoner many proper antiphons of saints, which were lacking in the older Roman tradition observed in Metz, on the grounds that he found them in a more recent Roman antiphoner.³⁹ Since the antiphons Amalar refers to are proper, and since virtually all proper antiphons for saints, except those who lived in biblical times, are from hagiographical sources, Amalar's comment can be taken as evidence of the growth of hagiographical formularies in Rome between the first adoption of Roman books in Metz ca. 760 (the books, however, were about thirty years behind the times)⁴⁰ and Amalar's

³⁶Gevaert, pp. 160 and 169–71.

³⁷"Praeter illa enim quae in ejusdem Eusebii libris de gestis sanctorum martyrum continentur, nulla in archivo hujus nostrae Ecclesiae, vel in Romanae urbis bibliothecis esse cognovi, nisi pauca quaedam in unius Codicis volumine collecta. Nos autem paene omnium martyrum distinctis per dies singulos passionibus collecta in uno Codice nomina habemus, atque quotidianis diebus in eorum veneratione missarum solemnia agimus. Non tamen in eodem volumine quis qualiter sit passus indicatur, sed tantummodo nomen, locus, et dies passionis ponitur." Epistles, VIII/xxix, in J.P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina* (Paris, 1844–1905), Vol. LXXVII, cols. 930–31.

³⁸Jean Michel Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia*, 3 vols. (Città del Vaticano, 1948–50), I, p. 201.

³⁹"Multa officia sanctorum indidi in nostro antiphonario ex romano, quae non habet metensis antiphonarius. Cogitavi cur ea omitterem, cum eadem auctoritate fulciantur, qua et illa quae scripta invenimus in metensi antiphonario, scilicet sanctae matris nostrae Romanae ecclesiae." *Ibid.*, III, p. 64. "Responsorios et antiphonas proprias sanctorum plures scripsi de antiphonario romano, quas non inveni in metensi antiphonario." *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁴⁰Theodor Klauser, "Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen zwischen der römischen und der fränkisch-deutschen Kirche vom achten bis zum elften Jahrhundert," *Gesammelte Arbeiten*, ed., Ernst Dassmann (Münster Westfalen, 1974), pp. 143–44.

revision ca. 830, based on a Roman antiphoner dating from the reign of Hadrian I (772-795).⁴¹ In other words, antiphon formularies drawn from hagiographical sources were being introduced into the Roman rite in the eighth century at the same time that less up-to-date Roman practices were being adopted by the Franks. The hagiographical formularies eventually crossed the Alps in the ninth century principally as a result of Amalar's advocacy.

Agobard of Lyon, Amalar's bitter rival, in his *De correctione antiphonarii*,⁴² severely criticizes the use of nonbiblical texts in the liturgy and, more important, uses language that suggests such texts are recent innovations: "From these [words of Gregory the Great] it is clearly demonstrated that psalms are what were customarily sung in church in those days, and it is acknowledged that most of the divine Offices *even now* [emphasis added] are composed of psalms and not of the creations of just any person."⁴³

Agobard's collaborator, the deacon Florus, in his much more vituperative *De divina psalmodia*,⁴⁴ although he does not mention Amalar by name, seems to be responding to him when he cites a proverb of Gregory the Great to the effect that things are not justified by their place of origin (*non pro locis res*), but rather confer value on their place of origin by virtue of their intrinsic merit (*sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sint*).⁴⁵ With these words Florus shows not only that he is aware of Amalar's principal line of argumentation—that liturgical innovations are justified on grounds of their Roman origin—but also that he accepts the truth of Amalar's claim; for it would have been easier to defeat Amalar's innovations on grounds of their not being Roman, if he had believed that to be the case. While the tone and content of their polemics indicate that Agobard and Florus are simply fundamentalists in the tradition of St. Jerome, opposed to all human artifice in the liturgy, their thinly veiled allusions to Amalar suggest that much, if not all, of their opposition to nonbiblical texts was aroused by his recent innovations.

The *Expositio brevis antiquae liturgiae gallicanae*, a book describing Gallican liturgical practices dating from the seventh or eighth century,⁴⁶ states that antiphons are derived from four sources: the psalms, the books

⁴¹Concerning the age and provenance of his source, Amalar himself states: "Inveni in uno volumine memoratorum antiphonariorum ex his quae infra continebantur, esse illud ordinatum prisco tempore ab Adriano apostolico." Hanssens, I, p. 361.

⁴²Probably written during the period 835–38, which Agobard spent in exile while Amalar administered his diocese. L. Van Acker, ed., *Agobardi Lugdunensis Opera Omnia*, Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis, LII (Turnhout, 1981), p. XLVI.

⁴³"Ex quibus perspicue demonstratur, psalmos tunc in ecclesia decantari solitum, unde maximam partem diuinorum officiorum etiam nunc constat esse compositam, et non figmenta quorumlibet hominum. . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 348.

⁴⁴Migne, CIV, cols. 325–30, where the work is incorrectly attributed to Agobard. See Hanssens, I, p. 60, n. 4.

⁴⁵Migne, CIV, col. 327.

⁴⁶Few scholars today believe the ascription to Germanus (496–576). Johannes Quasten, "Gallican Rites," *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* VI (New York, 1967), 261.

of the prophets, the gospels, and the writings of the Catholic Fathers.⁴⁷ While the last category does not exclude hagiographical texts (e.g., the panegyrics on St. Stephen by Fulgentius, or the *Vita S. Martini* of Sulpicius Severus), it is not an obvious heading for antiphons based on material of that kind. Most of the well-known acts of the martyrs, from which hagiographical antiphons were eventually extracted, are anonymous and unlikely to be referred to by anyone as writings of the Fathers. While this testimony refers to Gallican rather than Roman practice, it adds further weight to the mass of circumstantial evidence derived from the writings of Amalar, Agobard, and Florus to the effect that antiphons based on hagiographical texts were relatively uncommon before the end of the eighth century.

In the preceding discussion I have proposed a firm, if cautious, *terminus ante quem non* for hagiographical antiphon formularies in the papacy of Gregory the Great; beyond that, I have sought to establish by means of circumstantial evidence a more general framework for dating such antiphons no earlier than the end of the eighth century. In the light of these considerations, I now subdivide hagiographical antiphon texts into three chronological periods: (4a) those for which the basic *terminus ante quem non* is the only available criterion; (4b) those whose origin can be placed with some confidence in the eighth or ninth century; and (4c) those that can be dated no earlier than the tenth or eleventh century, bringing us to the threshold of the period in which the principal sources of this study (I Rvat San Pietro B 79 and I Lc 601) were copied.

4a. The first group comprises antiphon formularies for the following feasts (the dates in parentheses are of each feast's earliest attested liturgical observance and are independent of the dating of the actual formularies): Lawrence (4/5th century), Tiburtius (4/5th century), John and Paul (4/5th century), Clement (4/5th century), Andrew (5th century),⁴⁸ and Martin (end, 6th century).⁴⁹

4b. Feasts whose formularies originated in the eighth or ninth century include the following: Sebastian (4/5th century), Agnes (4/5th century), Michael (4/5th century), Agatha (5th century), Philip and James (5th century),⁵⁰ Lucy (end, 6th century),⁵¹ Assumption (7th century), Nativity of the Virgin Mary (7th century),⁵² Benedict (9th century),⁵³ Marius and Mar-

⁴⁷"Quarum quaterna sunt genera. (ex davidico) organo, ex prophetico tympano, ex evangelii sacri tonitruo, vel compositione catholicorum patrum pro ordine temporum, vel deprecando vel narrando vel laudes divinas tympanizando compositae." Cited in Huckle, "Die Entwicklung," p. 170, n. 104.

⁴⁸Bourque, Pt. 1, pp. 275–79.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 274–80.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 252 and 267–68; Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum: Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte*, liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, XXVIII (Münster Westfalen, 1935), pp. 184–85.

⁵³Mass formularies for St. Benedict first begin appearing in sacramentaries of the tenth and eleventh centuries (Bourque, Pt. 2, Vol. II, p. 475), but a full Office formulary is already present in the ninth-century antiphoner of Compiègne (René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols. [Rome, 1963–79], I, pp. 266–68).

tha (9th century),⁵⁴ and All Saints (9th century).⁵⁵ While the formularies for some of these feasts do not belong to the literary genre properly termed hagiographic, they are of relatively late composition, and their inclusion in this layer is independently confirmed by the evidence that follows.

Formularies for all the feasts of this subgroup are transmitted in the Carolingian tonary of Metz, a full tonary closer than any other book of Office chants to the original reception of Roman chant by the Franks, and our best witness of the state of the Roman Office at the time of the reception. The earliest surviving source of this tonary, Metz 351, has been dated by Lipphardt ca. 869.⁵⁶ Lipphardt has also shown that the formularies for these feasts cannot be much older than the copying of the manuscript, because they are out of order and must have been copied from marginal additions in the archetype. Since the completion of the archetype took place between 817 and 840 (Lipphardt rounds this off to ca. 835), the marginalia can be dated between that time and the copying of Metz 351 about forty years later.⁵⁷ The absence or incomplete state of several of these formularies in the earliest sources of the *Corpus Antiphonale Officii*,⁵⁸ particularly the antiphoner of Compiègne, independently confirms that they were in a nascent state in the ninth century, and one of the observances, All Saints, is known to have been created between 827 and 840.⁵⁹

Three other formularies in this layer, for Stephen, the Purification, and the Finding and Exaltation of the Holy Cross, are not out of order in Metz 351, but can be assigned to this period on other grounds. The feast of the Purification, introduced in the seventh century along with three other feasts dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Annunciation, Assumption, and Nativity),⁶⁰ probably received its proper formulary, based on the account in Luke 2, in the second half of the eighth century. Amalar testifies that the antiphons he found in the old Messine antiphoner, based on Roman practice of the first half of the eighth century, did not accord well with the theme of the feast. Later, he says, when he examined the more up-to-date Roman antiphoner recently deposited in Corbie by the abbot Wala, he found proper

⁵⁴Date based on the presence of this feast in F MZ 351. In sacramentaries the feast is attested no earlier than the tenth century. Bourque, Pt. 2, Vol. II, p. 474.

⁵⁵Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar von Metz*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, XI.III (Münster Westfalen, 1965), p. 67, n. 320.

⁵⁶Lipphardt's actual claim is that the tonary part of the manuscript was completed before the entry of a text referring to an event that allegedly took place in 869. The text in praise of a certain *imperator Karolus* is taken by Lipphardt to refer to the coronation of Charles the Bald in the cathedral of Metz in 869. *Ibid.*, p. 8. In that ceremony, however, Charles was crowned as king of Lorraine. His coronation as emperor took place in Rome in 875. René Poupardin, "The Carolingian Kingdoms (840–877)," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. III (New York, 1930), pp. 44 and 51.

⁵⁷Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar*, pp. 200–01.

⁵⁸Hesbert, ed.

⁵⁹See n. 55.

⁶⁰See n. 52.

antiphons for the feast and employed them in his revision.⁶¹ Since the Roman antiphoner consulted by him was current only through the papacy of Hadrian I (772-95),⁶² the antiphons in question must have been composed in Rome in the second half of the eighth century.

The cult of St. Stephen was introduced in Rome in the fifth century,⁶³ and the literary sources of the proper formulary beginning with the antiphon *Hesternae die* are the sermons of Fulgentius (467-532). Without further information, this formulary would have to be assigned to the earliest layer of antiphons with hagiographical texts. However, Amalar, in discussing the first nocturn for the feast, mentions not the formulary beginning *Hesternae die*, but an older psalmic formulary for the common of one martyr beginning *In lege domini*. Then, in a somewhat cryptic remark motivated, perhaps, by modesty or caution, he says he believes that the older formulary is omitted by modern liturgists from the multitude of Roman antiphons that he has made available to them.⁶⁴ They are free, in other words, to substitute antiphons more proper to the theme of the feast. The inescapable inference is that they employed the Fulgentius texts, since they are the ones that predominate in later medieval sources.⁶⁵ Since these antiphons, lacking in the older Romano-Messine tradition, were presumably taken over by Amalar from the Roman antiphoner at Corbie, they must have been adopted in Rome in the second half of the eighth century.

The legendary formulary for the two feasts of the Holy Cross (*Inventio*, May 3; *Exaltatio*, Sept. 14) cannot be much older than the eighth century. While an observance in honor of the Holy Cross on September 14 was introduced in Rome during the papacy of Sergius I (687-701),⁶⁶ the observance in Rome of the Finding of the Holy Cross on May 3 dates only from around the year 800,⁶⁷ and the composition of the legendary formulary may be connected with the adoption of the latter feast.

The dating of the last two formularies in this layer, those for Caecilia (4/5th century),⁶⁸ and Hermes (4/5th century),⁶⁹ is uncertain. The composition of a proper Office for St. Caecilia, drawn from the saint's legendary *passio* of the sixth century, may be connected with the revival of her cult

⁶¹ "Olim quando solus antiphonarius metensis erat mihi notus, in quo repperi antiphonas super psalmos nocturnales de communibus virginibus, quae non videbantur mihi congruere festivitati praesentationis Domini in templo, coepi inquirere antiphonas de diversis locis quae congruerent memoratae festivitati, atque eas coepi canere cum meis fratribus in choro; postea repperi in romano antiphonario proprias; quas utrasque posui in nostro antiphonario." Hanssens, III, p. 64.

⁶² See n. 41.

⁶³ Bourque, Pt. 1, p. 279.

⁶⁴ "Antiphonae quas solemus canere in nocturnali officio in festivitatis sanctorum, et [quae] habent initium in antiphona 'In lege Domini fuit voluntas eius die ac nocte,' excerptae sunt, ut reor, a modernis de multitudine antiphonarum quas habemus scriptas in nostro antiphonario de romano." Hanssens, III, p. 54.

⁶⁵ Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar*, p. 124. See also Hesbert, ed., *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, I, pp. 40-41 and II, pp. 72-73.

⁶⁶ Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare*, pp. 184-85.

⁶⁷ Pascher, pp. 445-46.

⁶⁸ Bourque, Pt. 1, p. 276.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

during the papacy of Paschal I (817-24).⁷⁰ If that is the case, the formulary would be just old enough to be included in the archetype from which Metz 351 was copied, a fact that explains why it is not out of order in that manuscript. The Old Roman formulary for St. Hermes, while lacking in the Metz tonary, is transmitted in the nearly contemporaneous antiphoner of Compiègne. The reason for caution in assigning it to a still earlier layer is its location in the appendix of the Old Roman antiphoner, out of the basic calendrical series; this suggests that the formulary was a later addition to the core of the Roman liturgy. In both cases the uncertainty consists in whether the formularies should be assigned to layer 4a or 4b. Recognizing that the early date of feasts can in no way be transferred to the formularies that were eventually composed for them, I have resolved the question on the side of caution and assigned the formularies in question to the later layer.

4c. Hagiographical antiphon formularies of the tenth and eleventh centuries have been assigned to this layer on various grounds. Formularies for Agapitus (5th century),⁷¹ Prisca (end, 6th century), Pancras (end, 6th century), Cyriacus (end, 6th century), Chrysogonus (end, 6th century), Sabina (end, 6th century),⁷² Euplus (7th century),⁷³ Cyrus and John (8th century),⁷⁴ Petronilla (8th century),⁷⁵ Rufina and Secunda (8th century),⁷⁶ Praxedes (8th century),⁷⁷ and Balbina (ca. 800)⁷⁸ are lacking in the Carolingian tonary of Metz, the twelve antiphoners of the *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, and Lucca 601, a sign that they are late and isolated compositions of the Old Roman parochial tradition.

Proper antiphons for Cosmas and Damian (5th century)⁷⁹ are lacking in the Carolingian tonary of Metz and the Lucca codex. Of the twelve antiphoners of the *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, five (CBEHR) transmit only a commemoration for this feast; the full lauds formulary, as it occurs in Old Roman transmission, is found only in the antiphoners of Monza (11th century), Verona (11th century), and San Lupo di Benevento (12th century). The single Old Roman proper antiphon for St. Sylvester (6th century)⁸⁰ is lacking in all of the above-mentioned sources except San Lupo

⁷⁰Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar*, p. 172.

⁷¹Bourque, Pt. 1, p. 279.

⁷²*Ibid.*, pp. 366–67.

⁷³Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare*, pp. 184–85.

⁷⁴Henri Leclercq, "Cyr et Jean," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. Fernand Cabrol (Paris, 1907–39), Vol. III, Pt. 2, cols. 3216–20.

⁷⁵Bourque, Pt. 2, Vol. II, p. 109; Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare*, pp. 177 and 184–85.

⁷⁶Benedetto Cignitti, "Rufina e Secunda," *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* XI (Rome, 1961–70), cols. 460–64.

⁷⁷Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935), p. XCIX. See also Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, eds., *Butler's Lives of the Saints, Complete Edition*, 4 vols. (New York, 1963), III, p. 157.

⁷⁸Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare*, pp. 180 and 184–85.

⁷⁹Bourque, Pt. 1, p. 279.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 366.

di Benevento. The seven Old Roman proper antiphons for St. Mark (10/11th century)⁸¹ are lacking in the Carolingian tonary, the Lucca codex, and the twelve antiphoners of the *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* with the exception of a single concordance in San Lupo di Benevento and a single concordance in Saint-Denis (12th century).

The Old Roman formularies for Valentine (4/5th century),⁸² Blaise,⁸³ and Nicholas (11th century)⁸⁴ are found in an appendix in B 79, indicating that they are late additions to Old Roman practice. With the exception of one antiphon for Valentine that has concordances in Compiègne and Monza, none of the antiphons for these feasts occurs in the Carolingian tonary, the Lucca codex, or any of the sources of the *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*.

The foregoing chronological analysis serves as the basis for the breakdown of the findings first presented in Table 1 (melodic equivalence of Frankish and Old Roman settings of the same text) according to their chronological distribution. In the oldest layer of the Office, the ferial psalter, the degree of equivalence is fifty-four percent (41/76 comparable cases; an additional fifty Old Roman examples have no Frankish counterpart in I Lc 601). In the next oldest layer, proper antiphons with psalmic texts, the ratio is sixty-six percent (83/126 comparable cases; only eight additional Old Roman examples lack a Frankish counterpart).

In the group of nonsalmic, biblical antiphons for Advent, Passiontide, and the feasts of John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, John the Baptist, Peter, and Paul, the ratio is sixty-seven percent (122/181 comparable cases; an additional twenty-nine Old Roman examples lack Frankish counterparts). The ratio for the *de evangelio* antiphons of Lent is fifty-nine percent (47/80 comparable cases; an additional twenty-seven Old Roman examples have no Frankish counterpart).

Among antiphons with hagiographical texts, those dated in the seventh century have an equivalence ratio of sixty-five percent (17/26 comparable cases; an additional sixteen have no Frankish counterpart). Those dated in the eighth and ninth centuries exhibit a fifty-five-percent rate of equivalence (56/102 comparable cases; an additional forty-three Old Roman examples have no Frankish counterpart).

The most recent layer, dated in the tenth century or later, comprises forty-four Old Roman examples for which there is not a single Frankish counterpart in the Lucca codex. The texts of these chants are evidently late compositions of the Roman parochial tradition, but the melodies set to them, in accord with Cutter's findings concerning the Old Roman responsories,⁸⁵ do not differ from the melodies set to older, more traditional texts. The familiar melody-types have simply been used to declaim the new texts in

⁸¹*Ibid.*, Pt. 2, Vol. II, p. 475. See also Klausner, *Das römische Capitulare*, p. 25.

⁸²Bourque, Pt. 1, p. 276.

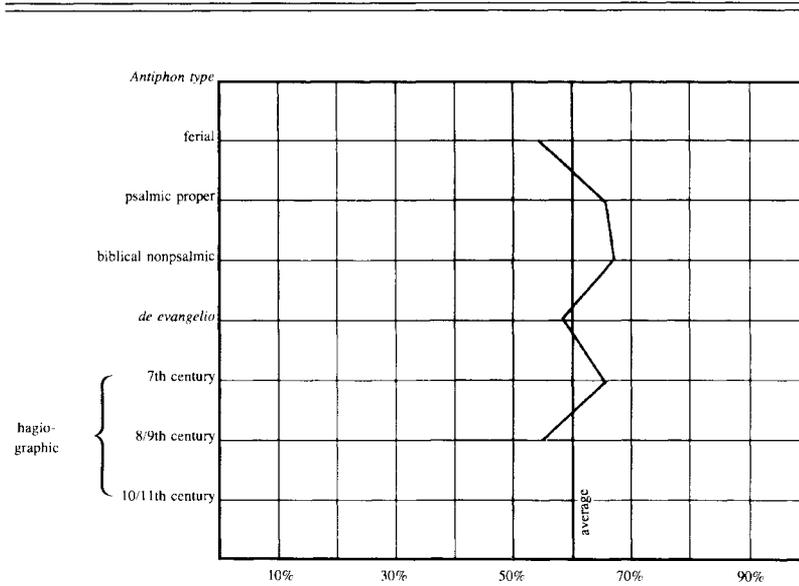
⁸³There is no evidence of a cult of St. Blaise earlier than the eighth century. Thurston and Attwater, I, p. 239.

⁸⁴Charles W. Jones, *The Saint Nicholas Liturgy* (Berkeley, Calif., 1963), p. 2.

⁸⁵Cutter, pp. 190-91.

Table 2

CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF AVERAGE MELODIC EQUIVALENCE OF OFFICE ANTIPHONS IN FRANKISH AND OLD ROMAN TRANSMISSION



a way that reflects both the conservatism and the productivity of the Old Roman melodic tradition.⁸⁶

These statistics, summarized in Table 2, present a rather simple picture. The level of conformity between Frankish and Old Roman settings of the same text, established at sixty percent, is distributed with little significant variation throughout all chronological layers of the Office except the most recent, where no comparison is possible because of the lack of comparable texts.⁸⁷ Although the nonconformity in the most recent layers may be explained as the result of independent adaptation of melodies to newly introduced texts, this explanation obviously does not apply to the early and middle layers, which predate the adoption of Gregorian chant by the Franks. In my view, the nonconformity in these earlier layers can be explained only as the result of widespread breach of tradition in the association of particular melodies with particular texts, that is, as discrete shifts, not incremental variation, in which one traditional melody-type is substituted for another in one or both branches of the tradition.

⁸⁶For a listing and transcription of all the melodies assigned to the feasts in question, consult Nowacki, Appendices 1 and 2, pp. 345–604.

⁸⁷Although I have not treated psalmic antiphons for Lent as a separate group, my findings in a broad sense contradict those of Jammers (pp. 132–34), who has claimed that Lenten psalmic antiphons exhibit a significantly lower rate of equivalence than the repertory as a whole. In my interpretation the findings show that no chronological subcategory differs significantly from the whole.

III.

Changes of this nature are unlike those that have been observed as normal in all other genres of chant, and their discovery in such great quantity should cause us to reconsider the familiar theories about the origins of Gregorian chant and the relationship of its two branches. The theories of Stäblein, Smits van Waesberge, Jammers, and van Dijk that the two chant traditions developed virtually across the street from each other seem even less tenable than before. Helmut Hucke has already argued in his review of Stäblein's *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. lat. 5319* that such stylistic eclecticism, particularly if it was deliberate, could not have occurred in the cultural climate of the seventh century.⁸⁸ To this argument I may now add the following question. Even if there was an attempt in the seventh century to modernize the chant for some institutions in the city of Rome, what could possibly have been the purpose of an apparently random shuffling of melodies vis-à-vis the texts?

In particular, the theories of Jammers and van Dijk require our critical attention. According to Jammers, Gregorian chant, in the familiar sense of the term, was adapted from Old Roman during the papacy of Vitalian (657-72) in order to make the chant of the papal court more compatible with *ison* singing, a practice allegedly borrowed from the Byzantine liturgy.⁸⁹ There are two problems with this theory. In the first place, *ison* singing, a kind of drone accompaniment heard to this day in Greek Orthodox services, is not attested before the fifteenth century.⁹⁰ The acknowledged byzantinization of the papal court in the second half of the seventh century could have manifested itself in dress, etiquette, interior decoration, or any number of ways; there is no particular reason to pick *ison* singing as one of its manifestations. The belief that any kind of polyphony at all was practiced in seventh-century Rome rests on highly anachronistic accounts such as that of Adhemar of Chabannes (ca. 1000), who claims that the Roman cantors sent to Charlemagne had been trained by St. Gregory himself, and that they instructed the Franks not only in *ars organandi*, but also in the use of musical notation.⁹¹ The second problem is that the alleged necessity of revising Old Roman chant (assuming we have the slightest idea from the twelfth-century witnesses of what seventh-century Roman practice was like), and the concomitant superiority of the revised version (Gregorian) for singing to a drone rest on purely subjective assumptions and guesswork concerning the kind of diaphony that would have sounded well to seventh-century ears.

Jammers' historical explanation for the split of Gregorian chant into two branches seems self-contradictory. Speaking metaphorically, he claims

⁸⁸Hucke, "Die altrömische Überlieferung der gregorianischen Messgesänge," *Musik und Altar* XXIV (1972), 138-41.

⁸⁹Jammers, pp. 183-89.

⁹⁰Kenneth Levy, "Byzantine Rite, Music of the," *The New Grove Dictionary* III, 561.

⁹¹Jammers, p. 181.

that it would require a mighty crag (*eines gewaltigen Felsens*) to divide the Roman tradition into two separate streams. Even the transplantation of Roman chant to the Franco-Germanic North is not considered a sufficiently powerful force to accomplish such a breach.⁹² (The adoption of *ison* singing, however, is.) Yet elsewhere, he argues that singers could change the melody with which an antiphon was declaimed spontaneously: “Man darf ohne Erörterung annehmen, dass nicht alle Sängerkomponisten den Text mit der gleichen Sprachmelodie lasen.”⁹³ In contradicting himself, he has abandoned his theory of *ison* singing as the “driving factor” that produced Gregorian chant from Old Roman. If it was the driving factor, how, and to what end, did it cause the widespread shifting around of melodic assignments that has been observed? If, on the other hand, the shifts were spontaneous and unmotivated, then what is the point of appealing to the concept of *ison* singing as a kind of catastrophic force, especially when a much more obvious catastrophe, the uprooting of the Roman tradition and its transplantation into foreign soil, lay so near at hand?

The work of the liturgical historian S.J.P. van Dijk⁹⁴ is so thorough in its erudition that one hesitates at first to challenge it, and yet some of its aspects, particularly those of a musicological nature, give rise to serious reservations. The gist of van Dijk’s thesis is that as far back as the seventh century, there were two Latin rites in Rome, one urban, the other papal, and that the latter was developed specifically for the stationary liturgy, services in which the pope, in the full dignity of his rank and surrounded by his court, celebrated the Mass of the day at churches designated for that purpose on a rotating basis. For this stationary liturgy, Gregorian chant, in the familiar sense, was “composed.”⁹⁵ One notes the close resemblance of this theory to those of Jammers and Stäblein, and the following criticism should be construed as applying to them as well as to the theory of van Dijk. The notion of musical composition adopted by these authorities requires us to believe that singers in a nonliterate musical culture abruptly created without the help of musical notation a whole new version of their repertory in a different musical style, and that this version was subsequently transmitted alongside its parent version unscathed through centuries of turmoil, until the two versions were written down and preserved as the so-called Gregorian and Old Roman chant that we know today. Not only does this theory entail an anachronistic notion of musical composition, it also projects an incorrect view of transmission as mere communication. The possibility of composition in transmission, a concept of musical composi-

⁹²*Ibid.*, pp. 124–25.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁹⁴Stephen J.P. van Dijk, “The Urban and Papal Rites in Seventh- and Eighth-Century Rome,” *Sacris Erudiri* XII (1961), 411–87.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 414–15 and 428–86.

tion more appropriate to the Middle Ages and one for which there were five hundred years of opportunity, is completely ignored.⁹⁶

Van Dijk argues that Gregorian chant cannot be what Hucce claims, simply the Frankish transmission of the Gregorian heritage, because that would have required an unexplained liturgical volte-face on the part of the papacy as it abandoned its traditional Roman forms in favor of international forms developed in Frankish Gaul.⁹⁷ And yet, the case for just such a volte-face has stood unchallenged for several decades in the published writings of Theodor Klauser and other authors, who maintain that two tenth-century movements, the monastic reform of Cluny and the revitalization of the empire beginning with Otto I, had an internationalizing effect on the papacy.⁹⁸ Clearly, the necessity of acknowledging a liturgical change of allegiance in papal circles is no impediment to accepting a major Frankish influence in the transmission of Gregorian chant.

In the end, van Dijk fails to address the problem of Gregorian and Old Roman chant as chant. His evidence attesting to Roman liturgical dualism concerns the aspects of the two rites that are *complementary*. However, the core of basic texts that the two rites have in common exhibits very little difference at all, except in its musical settings, and on that subject van Dijk's witnesses are silent. It is easy to imagine the papal rite adopting new features that the urban rite lacked, in order to make itself more ceremonious, and omitting features that the urban rite retained, because they were not needed in the stationary liturgy. But most of the proper chants of the Mass and Office were retained by both rites and were in no need of modification. In effect, what van Dijk is asking us to believe—with no supporting evidence—is that even the minute and pervasive differences of melodic style that distinguish the Gregorian and Old Roman traditions were introduced into chants whose text and liturgical function had undergone no change whatsoever in order to satisfy the assumed ceremonial requirements of the papal stationary liturgy. As hard as that is to accept, we would now have to assume additionally, pursuant to the van Dijk thesis, that the shifting around of melodic assignments that has been observed in the Office antiphons was undertaken to adapt the urban liturgy for papal stationary celebration. Indeed, the furnishing of the entire Office with a complete set of Gregorian and Old Roman variants is a serious problem for the van Dijk thesis, since the stationary services for which the adaptation was allegedly made, except in the special case of double vigils, involved only the Mass.

The differences of assignment that exist between the Frankish and Old Roman traditions of the Gregorian Office antiphons have nothing to do with

⁹⁶The concept of composition in transmission is discussed by Leo Treitler in "Transmission and the Study of Music History," International Musicological Society, *Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley, 1977* (Kassel, 1981), pp. 202–11. See also Nowacki, pp. 3–8.

⁹⁷Van Dijk, p. 413.

⁹⁸Klauser, "Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen," pp. 139–54; this article originally appeared in *Historisches Jahrbuch* LIII (1933), 169–89. See also Bourque, Pt. 2, Vol. II, pp. 492–95. On the cluniac reform of Roman monasteries, see Guy Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, Studi di antichità cristiana XXIII (Città del Vaticano, 1957), pp. 265 and 403.

melodic style or liturgical propriety. For that reason, it is difficult to find any rational pretext that might have motivated them. It makes more sense to seek the origins of the discrepancies in accidental changes occurring at a time when the two branches of the tradition were prevented by external circumstances from keeping *au courant* with each other's practices. Such conditions certainly did not exist in seventh-century Rome, where it is alleged by Stäblein, Jammers, and van Dijk that the two branches first began their separate courses. They did exist, however, after the year 754, when Roman chant was adopted by the Franks and became a kind of international patrimony under the curatorship of widely dispersed musical authorities.

The early stages of the struggle to adopt the Roman standard for the chanting of the liturgy, comprising the reigns of Pippin the Short (d. 768) and Charlemagne (d. 814), are described in John the Deacon's *Vita Sancti Gregorii* and the *De Carlo Magno* attributed to Notker of St. Gall. Despite obvious exaggerations and partisan biases, these accounts reveal that the accurate imitation of Roman chant by the Franks was an elusive and continually frustrating pursuit.⁹⁹

In the second quarter of the ninth century during the reigns of Charlemagne's successors Louis the Pious and his sons, we have a witness in Amalar of Metz who addresses even more directly the specific problem of the Office antiphons. In the prologue to his lost antiphoner, composed between 831 and 834,¹⁰⁰ and in his *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, completed no earlier than 844,¹⁰¹ he comments on the problem of establishing a uniform canon of formularies for the Gregorian Office. The following excerpts present the gist of Amalar's thinking on this matter and capture some of his exasperated tone as well.

After I had suffered a long time from weariness on account of the antiphoners of our province disagreeing among themselves—for the modern antiphoners followed a different order than the old ones, and I no longer knew which should be retained—it pleased Him who gives generously to all to release me from this scruple. . . .

I compared the aforementioned volumes {four volumes of a Roman antiphoner recently brought to Corbie by the abbot Wala} with our antiphoners and found them to differ from ours not only in their order, but also in their words and in the multitude of responsories and antiphons that we do not sing. . . . I marveled how it could be that mother and daughter should disagree with each other so greatly.¹⁰²

⁹⁹For the relevant excerpts and discussion, see Hucce. "Die Einführung," pp. 172–87.

¹⁰⁰Hanssens, I, p. 117.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, p. 201.

¹⁰²"Cum longo tempore taedio affectus essem propter antiphonarios discordantes inter se in nostra provincia, moderni enim alio ordine correbant quam vetusti, et quid plus retinendum esset nesciebam, placuit ei qui omnibus tribuit affluenter, ab hoc scrupulo liberare me. . . . Quae memorata volumina contuli cum nostris antiphonariis, invenique ea discrepare a nostris non solum in ordine, verum etiam in verbis et multitudine responsoriorum et antiphonarum, quas non cantamus. . . . Mirabar quomodo factum sit quod mater et filia tantum a se discreparent." *Ibid.*, p. 361.

After the Office for the dedication of a church, I have written the *de evangelis* antiphons. Concerning these, I asked the masters of the Roman church whether they sang them, and they said, not at all. Our chant masters, however, claim that they learned them from the Romans through the first chant teachers whom the Romans instructed in the melodies of Roman chant within Frankish territory. God knows if the Romans are in error, or if the Franks themselves, who glory in having learned those antiphons from the masters of the Roman church, have erred; or if the Romans have forgotten them out of carelessness and neglect, or, alternatively, never sang them in the first place.¹⁰³

Amalar's dismayed comments bear witness to a breakdown in liturgical liaison between Rome and the Frankish Church in the waning years of the Carolingian empire. Moreover, conditions favorable to Amalar's concerns were not to be restored for at least another hundred years. The period from the mid-ninth to the mid-tenth century was marked by the collapse of Carolingian imperial authority, internecine struggle among the descendants of Charlemagne, constant harassment from Scandinavian, Saracen, and Magyar raiders, and the domination of the papacy by the Roman petty aristocracy leading to its complete political and moral degradation. Not until Otto the Great's restoration of the empire in 962 was there an environment favorable to the liturgical unity that Amalar sought, although the reform of four Roman monasteries by Odo of Cluny in 936 may represent an initial foray in that direction.¹⁰⁴

It seems clear, then, in the light of prevailing political conditions in the immediate postcarolingian period, that there was nothing to inhibit the separate development of the two branches of the Gregorian tradition, had they exhibited any tendency in that direction. The mere opportunity for separate development, of course, proves nothing. Without spontaneous impulses to change in one or both of the branches, no divergence would have occurred. Important questions remain concerning the likelihood of change in each branch, questions that are dependent on the changing conditions that prevailed over the course of each branch's separate history.

Between the year 754 and the end of the century, both branches must have undergone some change. This follows from the assumption that they were transmitted orally and behaved as oral traditions normally behave even in the presence of strong cultural biases against originality. In the study of oral traditions as in that of language, the burden of proof is on those who claim that no change occurred. Particularly in the Frankish branch, the

¹⁰³ "Post officium quo dedicatur ecclesia, scripsi antiphonas de evangelis. De quibus interrogavi magistros Romanae ecclesiae si illas canerent; responderunt: Nequaquam. Nostri tamen magistri dicunt se eas ab eis percepisse per primos magistros quos melodiam cantus Romani docuerunt infra terminos Francorum. Deus scit si isti fallant, aut si ipsi fefellissent qui gloriati sunt se eas percepisse a magistris Romanae ecclesiae, aut Romani propter incuriam et neglegentiam eas amisissent, aut si numquam cantassent eas." *Ibid.*, III, p. 99.

¹⁰⁴Ferrari, pp. 265 and 403.

special difficulties of assimilating a foreign tone dialect make perfect fidelity in the transmission of received patterns extremely unlikely.¹⁰⁵

Around the year 800, however, an important development came into play that significantly improved the Franks' ability to transmit chant with literal accuracy. At that time Frankish music theorists discovered a method for cataloguing plainchants according to purely melodic criteria.¹⁰⁶ Although the purpose of the catalogues they produced, later called tonaries, may have been only to identify the psalm tone and psalm-tone cadence (*differentia*) that best suited each given antiphon, the arrangement of the entries according to mode and within each mode according to initial contour (that being the deciding factor in the choice of *differentia*) had the effect of organizing the repertory into classes of melody-types. In the long run, this effect was probably far more important than the intended one, since it helped to stabilize melodic assignments in the enormous corpus of the Office antiphons (typically 1500 examples in a given collection) two hundred years before the first antiphoners with musical notation.

The Romans, for their part, did not have tonaries as far as we know; no tonary transmitting the peculiar melodic assignments of the Old Roman antiphoner has yet come to light. Although the Old Roman tradition preserves the same basic melodic heritage as the Frankish tradition, the assignment of those melodies to particular texts—a totally arbitrary aspect of the tradition requiring rote memorization—eventually reached a state of considerable difference in the Old Roman tradition vis-à-vis its Frankish counterpart. Since the Franks had tonaries and the Romans did not, it stands to reason that discrepancies that had not already occurred by the first quarter of the ninth century should be attributed principally to Rome. As the following three examples will show, independent change in Rome can be understood in terms that take account of psychological realities and pay due heed to the oral condition of the Old Roman tradition.

IV.

Figure 7 presents examples of a melody-type that is assigned to three texts in Old Roman transmission. They are *Quem vidistis pastores* for Christmas Day, December 25, *Jerusalem Jerusalem* for the feast of St. Stephen, December 26, and *Exiit sermo inter fratres* for the feast of St. John the Evangelist, December 27. The assignment of this second-mode melody to *Quem vidistis pastores* is invariable throughout international transmission, and the text itself occurs in virtually all the important early sources. Accordingly, there can be little doubt that *Quem vidistis pastores*

¹⁰⁵See n. 5.

¹⁰⁶The date of the earliest tonary, that of St. Riquier, is put by Huglo at the end of the eighth century, but it lists only Mass chants. Huglo, "Tonary," *The New Grove Dictionary* XIX, 56. The earliest surviving full tonary of the Office antiphons is the Carolingian tonary of Metz, which transmits the vestiges of a lost archetype dated by Lipphardt around 835. The archetype, in turn, depends on still earlier antecedents possibly originating in the work of Alcuin. Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar*, pp. 243–44.

Figure 7

I Rvat San Pietro B 79, fol. 29v

Quem vi-di stis pa-sto-res di-cen-te annun-ti-a-re no-bis in ter-ris quis ap-pa-ru-it

Na-tum vi-di-mus et clo-ros an-ge-lo-rum col-lau-dan-tes do-mi-num.

Ibid., fol. 35

Ex-i-it ser-mo in-ter Pa-tres ut dis-ci-pu-lus il-le non mo-re-re-tur Et non d-i-xit

Ite-sus qui a non mo-ti-tur sed sic e-am vo-lo ma-ne-re do-nec ve-ni-am.

in association with this particular melody was part of the proto-Roman tradition before it split into Frankish and Old Roman branches.

The case of the other two examples is quite different. *Jerusalem Jerusalem* is not widely distributed in the earliest antiphoners and tonaries. It is lacking in the Carolingian tonary of Metz, the antiphoner of Compiègne,¹⁰⁷ and the entire St. Gall tradition deriving from the Hartker codex.¹⁰⁸ Of the twelve early antiphoners edited by Hesbert in the *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, only two, Saint-Maur-les-Fossés and Silos, transmit it. In later sources of the Frankish tradition where its mode and melody-type can be determined, there is no trace of the *Quem vidistis* melody-type in connection with this particular text. In Lucca 601, for example, this text is assigned an unrelated melody of the seventh mode,¹⁰⁹ while the Carthusian tonary in Grenoble 467 assigns its melody to the fourth mode.¹¹⁰

Exiit sermo is more widely distributed in the earliest sources. It is found in the Carolingian tonary of Metz and the tonary of Regino of Prüm,¹¹¹ as well as in five of Hesbert's early sources, though not in Compiègne, the earliest. What is significant in the case of *Exiit sermo* is that the melodies assigned to it vary from source to source, and no known witness of the Frankish tradition agrees with the Old Roman tradition in assigning to this text a melody of the *Quem vidistis* type. The Carolingian tonary of Metz and sources that depend on it assign to this text a melody of the sixth mode. The modern *Antiphonale Monasticum*, following the Hartker tradition, gives it a melody of the first mode unrelated to the *Quem vidistis* type, and the

¹⁰⁷Edited in Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*.

¹⁰⁸See Ephrem Omlin, *Die Sankt-Gallischen Tonarbuchstaben* (Regensburg, 1934).

¹⁰⁹*Paléographie musicale*, Vol. IX, p. 241.

¹¹⁰Hansjakob Becker, *Das Tonale Güngos I*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung XXIII (Munich, 1975), p. 258.

¹¹¹Mary Protase LeRoux, "The *De harmonica institutione* and *Tonarius* of Regino of Prüm" (Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1965), p. 175.

tonary of Regino assigns to it a melody of the eighth mode.¹¹² In addition, the twelfth-century northern Italian manuscript Ivrea 62 (olim 64) transmits this antiphon with an eighth-mode melody evidently different from the one implied in Regino's tonary.¹¹³

The various ways of interpreting the transmission history of these three antiphons quickly resolve themselves into two basic alternatives. The first is that the Old Roman tradition preserves the original assignments and that the assignments for *Jerusalem Jerusalem* and *Exiit sermo* were changed in Frankish transmission to a number of local variants. Such changes would have had to occur during the first fifty years of reception, since the practice, beginning in the first quarter of the ninth century, of classifying melodies according to mode and *differentia* makes inadvertent changes of assignment after that time relatively improbable. However conceivable this explanation may be, it does not accord well with the Franks' expressed desire to follow authentic Roman practice in all matters pertaining to liturgical chant, and it ignores the disposition of the antiphons on three consecutive liturgical days, an arrangement that could not fail to remind cantors of any similarities among these three antiphons, if in fact any such existed.

The alternative explanation is that the assignment of the *Quem vidistis* melody-type to *Jerusalem Jerusalem* and *Exiit sermo* is not original. It is possible that one of the branches of the Frankish tradition preserves the original assignments, but in light of the uncharacteristic diversity of the Frankish tradition for these two antiphons, it seems more likely that the melodies originally received from the Romans simply varied from performance to performance, or were of such an uncertain design that the Franks had to fall back on their own invention in order to supply the melodic clarity that they required. This is exactly the sort of pluralism that Notker complains about in his polemic against the Roman cantors who originally taught Roman chant in Gaul.¹¹⁴

In Rome itself, the lack of melodic clarity would have resolved itself in a way that is probably fairly normal for oral traditions. Cantors, losing patience with two melodies whose traditions were obscure or unacceptably variable, could have reached the conclusion that those traditions were in fact inauthentic. Having so concluded, they would have been compelled by their conservatism to substitute better-known melodies, and the one that they apparently chose, *Quem vidistis pastores*, not only has a vivid melodic profile easily adapted to a variety of texts, but also was fresh in the memory from having been sung the day before. Because of its association with the season, cantors may have actually believed it to be the original melody for

¹¹²The various melodic assignments of this antiphon and their sources are listed in Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar*, p. 259.

¹¹³Ivrea, Bib. cap. del duomo, MS 62 (olim 64), fol. 32. Compare LeRoux, pp. 133 and 175, or Gevaert, p. 292, which follows the tonary of Regino.

¹¹⁴The relevant passage is cited in Huckle, "Die Einführung," pp. 178–79, n. 9. For an English translation, see Einhard and Notker the Stammerer, *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Penguin Books, 1969), pp. 103–04.

the chants in question. Its assignment to those chants, then, would have been regarded as a restoration. As Albert Lord has urged us to realize, oral traditions that do not highly value novelty or creative originality may still experience change through purely conservative motivations.¹¹⁵

Of the two explanations offered, I believe the second to be the more likely. This is particularly so because it invokes a principle that has been shown to be instrumental in the transmission of the Old Roman Office generally. The physical proximity of chants in the order of their occurrence, not only in the service books, but also in the actual services, is a condition that favors and may even promote the assimilation of melodic characteristics from one chant to another as well as the complete absorption of some melodies by others.¹¹⁶ The first explanation requires us to conclude that the original melodic assignments of two antiphons fail to be preserved in a single source of the Frankish tradition in spite of the deliberate intention of the Franks to preserve the original Roman character of their chant and their ability to do so after ca. 800 by means of written transmission. The second explanation requires us to believe only that the Old Roman tradition behaved in a way that is normal for it and consistent with a general theory of oral transmission.

Figure 8

I Rvat San Pietro B 79, fol. 103v

Alleluia noli flere matri - a al-le - lu - ia resur-rexit dominus alleluia alleluia alle - lu - ia.

I Le 601, p. 222

Alle-lu - ia Noli flere matri-a al-le - lu-ia resur-rexit dominus alle-lu - ia al-le - lu-ia.

The next example is presented in Figure 8. Melodies of this type are assigned to texts that have a vivid, well-articulated formal pattern consisting of balanced antecedent and consequent phrases, and framed with single *alleluias* at the beginning and at the caesura, and two or three *alleluias* at the end. Because of the intimate connection of this melody-type with the formal pattern of its texts, it is possible within limits to regard older sources that transmit only texts as witnesses of the melody-type of these particular antiphons, and thus to trace their transmission history in the unnotated antiphoners of the tenth and even ninth century. A summary of that history is presented in Table 3.

As the table shows, melodies of the *Alleluia noli flere* type are assigned to seven texts in Old Roman transmission, of which only two bear that

¹¹⁵Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p. 120.

¹¹⁶For discussion of this phenomenon, see Nowacki, especially pp. 35 f., 39–41, 100 f., 106–09, 132, 152 f., 253, and 285 f.

Table 3

Old Roman transmission		Frankish transmission
Alleluia noli flere Alleluia ego sum vitis	}	Alleluia noli flere Alleluia ego sum vitis
Alleluia cognoverunt dominum Alleluia gavisi sunt discipuli Alleluia ego sum pastor Alleluia iterum videbo vos Alleluia Philippe qui videt me		{ Cognoverunt dominum Gavisi sunt discipuli Ego sum pastor Iterum videbo vos Philippe qui videt me
Melodies of <i>Alleluia noli flere</i> type		Other melodies

melody in Frankish transmission.¹¹⁷ The other five texts, as attested in the Carolingian tonary of Metz and the twelve antiphoners of the *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, never bore melodies of the *Alleluia noli flere* type at least since the beginning of written transmission, since they lack in those early sources the specific configuration of framing *alleluias* that that melody-type entails, although the body of their texts corresponds exactly to their Old Roman counterparts. In other words, as early as the mid-ninth century, and probably earlier, those antiphons had melodic assignments in Frankish transmission that differed from the assignments eventually transmitted in the Old Roman sources. It is conceivable that the Old Roman tradition transmits the original assignments and that the discrepancies were caused by breach of tradition in the North during the first fifty years of reception, but given the fact that this is a question of *textual* form, and that texts had always been transmitted in writing, it is more likely that the Frankish tradition transmits the older, more authentic Roman assignments, and that the Old Roman sources transmit assignments changed independently in Rome after the split.^{117a} All the examples in question are in extremely close liturgical proximity (Numbers 645, 661, 670, 682, 686, 693, and 710 in the author's serially numbered inventory),¹¹⁸ so that their assimilation of this melody-type is consistent with oral practice.

The final example concerns the melody-type illustrated above in Figure 3. I assign twenty-nine Old Roman antiphons to the core of this melody-type and designate another thirty-three as a cluster of borderline cases. The

¹¹⁷Witnesses of the Frankish tradition actually transmit two melodies for the antiphon *Alleluia ego sum vitis*; one of them is of the *Alleluia noli flere* type, and the other is an unrelated melody of the first mode. Several additional melodies of the *Alleluia noli flere* type are found in Frankish and Sarum transmission assigned to texts that the Old Roman tradition lacks. See Nowacki, p. 121.

^{117a}On the face of it, the appeal to written transmission should apply equally to the Romans as to the Franks, yet it was the Franks, not the Romans, who made the most explicit claims about the Roman purity of their chant. (On this subject, see Klauser, "Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen.") Moreover, an examination of the texts transmitted in the Old Roman antiphoner reveals many egregious errors and liberties, suggesting that the Romans did not share the Franks' standards of literalness in the written transmission of liturgical texts.

¹¹⁸Nowacki, App. I, pp. 345 ff., s.v.

melodies of the core are stereotyped with respect to one another and exhibit a well-balanced and vivid melodic gestalt in four phrases. The melodies of the periphery are not stereotyped with respect to one another nor in the way they resemble the stereotyped core, except that they all share its initial phrase. In other respects they fail to exhibit its overall gestalt, in many cases because their texts lack the balanced four-phrase formal design to which the stereotyped melody is particularly adapted. Essentially these melodies constitute a miscellaneous class of special cases that loosely resemble the basic melody, but are also to some extent unique.

The degree of agreement between the Old Roman and Frankish traditions in the assignment of this melody-type is seventy percent (16/23 examples available for comparison) for the borderline cases, but only thirty-five percent (7/20 examples available for comparison) for the stereotyped core.¹¹⁹ Again, two interpretations are possible. The first is that the Old Roman tradition preserves the original assignments and that the discrepancies are due to breach of tradition in the Frankish branch. This interpretation, however, raises a vexing question. Why would the Franks be so successful (seventy percent) in preserving the correct melodic assignments for a set of antiphons whose melodies all represent unique, *ad hoc* solutions to particular declamation problems, and yet fail so badly (thirty-five percent) to preserve the correct assignments for the antiphons declaimed with a stereotyped melody having a vivid and independently memorable melodic gestalt?

The alternative explanation, that the breaches of tradition occurred in the Old Roman branch, is the more probable. Changes there can be understood as well-intentioned substitutions (whether actually deliberate is beside the point). The stereotyped melody, because of its familiarity, tunefulness, and plasticity, was easily adapted to texts that were not originally assigned to it, and functioned as a kind of standard ersatz melody when chants, for whatever reason, lost their original assignment in Old Roman transmission. That would explain the high degree of noncorrespondence vis-à-vis the more conservative Frankish branch in the assignment of the stereotyped melody. The nonstereotyped melodies show a higher degree of correspondence because they did not figure in such substitutions, and differences of assignment in their case occurred only as a result of the inevitable accidental changes to which both branches were subject.

V.

I have presented the empirical evidence for a widespread breach of tradition in the assignment of melodies to antiphon texts, and I have suggested how certain extrinsic historical circumstances may have caused these lapses to occur. Now I wish to propose a hypothesis about the underlying condition of the tradition itself that makes such changes possible in the first

¹¹⁹For purposes of this comparison, the Frankish tradition is represented by I Lc 601. For a complete listing of the antiphons compared, see Nowacki, pp. 172–76.

place. In my view, the Old Roman manuscripts do not transmit fixed works in the sense that a score of a Beethoven sonata transmits the sonata—that is, by guaranteeing its unique and invariable status in Western culture.¹²⁰ Rather, I propose that the Old Roman sources transmit two things: (1) *information* concerning the desired melodic assignment, and (2) *examples* showing how melodies of the specified type go.

The Old Roman manuscripts are witnesses to a tradition in which each performance is a link in a chain transmitting those two constituents. In each case, the singer recalls the type of the melody to be sung based on his recollection of that information from previous performances, and then reconstructs another example of that melody-type based on knowledge inferred from many examples heard over the course of his training, not just on the single example most recently heard. In doing this, he transmits to his listeners the information concerning type assignment that they need in order to carry on the tradition and provides them with another example of how melodies of that type are made.

No performance—and no written copy, for that matter—merely gives the version of a specific exemplar, prescribing in turn a specific version to be repeated by others, because examples are constructed according to rules that have been inferred from, and apply to, *all* chants of the given type. Attention, of course, is given to the declamatory requirements of the particular text, but even those requirements pertain to broad subcategories of texts having the same number of syllables and accentuation. If two performances of the same chant happen to transmit the same version, or if the written transmission happens to give the same reading as its most recent oral predecessor, that is the result of both examples being subject to the same general rules, which even while tolerating a certain range of variation, may produce identical versions coincidentally.

Now one could argue that sixty percent of the tradition preserves correct assignments, and that in those cases, singers would not have to go to the trouble of reconstructing examples according to the rules; they could simply repeat works in the fixed condition in which they had received them. It is necessary to remember, however, that the Old Roman tradition was oral, and that singers did not receive works in a fixed condition. They heard only performances, and performances evidently varied. It was impossible to memorize one version; they had no choice but to assimilate the structure.¹²¹

Beyond that, it is important to recall that a large percentage of the tradition transmits assignments that are not original. Presumably this came about because examples transmitting the original assignments were incorrectly remembered and thus lost. Lacking such exemplars, the singer would be forced to construct “original” versions according to the rules of melody-

¹²⁰This definition of the role of the score is part of what Treitler calls the modern paradigm. Treitler, “Transmission,” p. 202.

¹²¹Gradual assimilation of the structure is the essence of the apprentice method of learning described by Lord, pp. 13–29.

types other than the ones initially assigned. The question now arises how this situation differs from that in which the assignments transmitted are correct. In both cases the singer has nothing more than his memory of what the correct assignments are and his knowledge of how to reconstruct melodies of the desired types. It would be absurd to propose that singers followed two procedures, reconstructing chants according to the rules when assignments were wrong, and repeating fixed works when they were correct. Undoubtedly assignment errors were almost always inadvertent, and the method of performance must have been the same in every case. Since that method has been shown to involve reconstruction in forty percent of the cases, that method must also be the one employed in the remaining sixty percent.

The hypothesis that I propose has the following methodological consequences. In conducting comparisons of the two branches of the Gregorian tradition, one cannot simply compare isolated pairs. Apart from the mere nuisance that forty percent of such pairs will not be apt for comparison, even pairs that share the same assignment are not dialectical variants of the same work, but only dialectical variants of the same melody-type, and as such, are equal in status to all other exemplifications of that type, including those with different texts. For comparisons to be valid, they must take all the exemplifications of a given type in each dialect, make appropriate generalizations, and compare the two dialects on the level of the generalizations. Even exemplifications that are assumed to be incorrectly assigned must be taken into consideration. Lacking the native singer's intuitive knowledge of the musical system, we cannot afford to ignore examples that may help us to acquire that knowledge simply because they happen to be incorrectly assigned.

This makes the comparative task much more difficult, since defining the domain of comparison in one branch is no help whatsoever concerning the identity of the items to be compared in the other branch. One cannot simply locate all the comparable texts; one must search the entire repertory to be compared for examples of the melody-type in question, which are liable to be found assigned to completely different texts.

Figure 9

L' Ryat San Pietro B 79, fol. 59v
E-go co-gno-vi virtutem domini mei ihesu xpisti Secura contempno minas tuas.

Ibid. fol. 183
E - go co-gno-vi *fos abavef*

Ibid. fol. 116v
In - ve nit ie sus philipum et dixit e i Sequere me al - le lu ia.

One of the main assumptions of the traditional comparative paradigm, that each chant's prototype is another specific chant with the same text, is disproven by examples such as that in Figure 9, where one version of the antiphon *Ego cognovi* (first phrase only) resembles a different chant of the same melody-type more closely than it resembles another performance of the same text. The example shows that the range of permissible variation of a given phrase is just as liable to be exhibited by multiple performances of the same text as by antiphons with different texts. This suggests rather strongly that same-text relationships have no priority over affinities between antiphons of the same type with different texts, and that in some cases at least, affinities of the latter kind are the stronger of the two.

Of course, putting the matter in that way has already betrayed the inappropriateness of the traditional comparative paradigm. The second version of *Ego cognovi* is not derived from an antiphon with a different text, and we do not have to invoke *ad hoc* concepts such as contamination in order to explain it. In the light of the comparative paradigm that I propose, it may be viewed as a perfectly normal realization of the melody-type, reconstructed in performance on the basis of rules that apply to all members of the type, and without reference to any specific prior performance whether of the same, or of a different text.

This paradigm also saves us from the absurd dilemma of having to choose one of the versions of *Ego cognovi* as the representative of the Old Roman dialect. Instead, all three examples in Figure 9 are viewed as equally plausible embodiments of the melody-type in question, and comparisons with the Frankish dialect are made on the level of the melody-type *per se* insofar as it can be inferred from those examples and all its other available instances.

The following illustration (Figure 10) is perhaps the more convincing because it is based on the direct testimony of the Roman scribe himself. The Old Roman antiphoner GB Lbm Add. 29988 transmits a series of antiphons for the Easter period whose only text is the word *alleluia* repeated several times. These antiphons are based on normally texted antiphons, and the normally texted model for each *alleluia* antiphon is given in the manuscript as an incipit before the *alleluia* version begins. Two specimens may be seen in Figure 10, where full versions of the model antiphons, located elsewhere in the manuscript, have been projected above the *alleluia* versions in order to demonstrate how closely the derivatives follow their respective exemplars. (For purposes of this comparison, only the first two phrases are considered.)¹²² One significant discrepancy is in the goal-tone at the second caesura, where each model version pauses on C, while its respective derivative pauses on B. In the second example the derivative also disagrees with its model in the use of a flourish at the first caesura.

¹²²Concluding phrases of G-mode antiphons in the Old Roman tradition tend to vary within a broad range that is not specific to any melody-type, but only to the mode in general, and is to some extent random. See Nowacki, pp. 21–43.

Figure 10

GB Ibm Add. 29988, fol. 144v



No - vit do-mi-nus viam iustorum sanctorum iter preparatum est.

Bibl. fol. 87



No - vit dominus a Al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia alleluia alleluia.

Bibl. fol. 144v



In caelestibus regnis sanctorum habitatio et in e - ter - num: requies - e - o - rum.

Bibl. fol. 87



In caelestibus a Alleluia al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia alleluia alleluia alleluia.

Figure 11

GB Ibm Add. 29988, fol. 64v



Ancilla dixit pe - tro vere tu ex illis es nam et loquela tua manifestum te facit.

Each of these examples begins with an abbreviated exemplification of the type to be sung and then proceeds to realize that type only in the most general way, without concern for optional details of the particular exemplar. In fact, the two exemplars in question are both slightly anomalous versions of the melody-type that they exemplify, and what the composer of the *alleluia* versions has done has been to ignore the anomalies and realize the melody-type as he knows it best—in its most stereotyped form, of which a specimen may be seen in Figure 11. The attitude of the Roman scribe toward the examples that he cites could hardly be made more explicit. After recording the incipit of the examples he intends to follow, or believes to have been followed by others, he treats those examples as precisely that—examples, tokens, signs of a melodic type, certainly not as works whose identity is preserved in, limited to, and somehow legitimized by, the details of the musical notation.

The intuitive sense of scepticism that we feel when we are directed at countless musicological conferences and seminars to observe the differences between single examples of a given chant from two traditions or dialects is not without foundation. Particularly when the differences between the ver-

sions are within the range of permissible variation for multiple performances of the same text by adherents of the same tradition (a range that we are obliged to infer by examining different exemplifications of the given type), such comparisons may be completely meaningless. In my *opinion*, this holds true not only for the study of the Old Roman Office *antiphons*, but for all genres and dialects of plainchant. So long as a tradition has not adopted the modern notion of the musical artifact frozen in the image of the score, its individual examples must be treated with the utmost circumspection. As Treitler has shown, specific examples in the medieval period do not transmit "works" in the modern sense. The substance of musical composition is found, rather, in the structures that many examples jointly embody.¹²³ Comparative work in medieval music must recognize this reality by extending its reach to all the examples in each given dialect in order to make the most well-informed analytic generalizations. Limiting comparisons between dialects to isolated pairs is at best a hit-and-miss affair, dealing with mere tokens of a much more varied and complex musical practice.¹²⁴

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¹²³Treitler, "Transmission," especially pp. 208-10.

¹²⁴In the preparation of this article, I have been greatly helped by the advice and suggestions of Allan R. Keiler and Joseph Dyer.



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Part V
Roman and Frankish Chant



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The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant*

By WILLI APEL

FOR MORE THAN a thousand years the liturgical chant of the Roman Church has been called "Gregorian Chant," with reference to Pope Gregory I, also known as "the Great," who ruled the Church from 590 to 604 and who is thus honored and revered as the man to whom the Church owes this distinctive and significant part of its ceremonial. Venerable though this tradition is, it has repeatedly been questioned or refuted, and arguments pro and con have been exchanged in articles, books, and discussions for more than a hundred years. To the present day the designation "Gregorian" constitutes what may well be called the central problem of the chant, because it bears directly on the question of its origin, both in time and locale. If the designation can be proved to be historically correct, it follows that the traditional music of the Church goes back to the period *ca.* 600 and that it emanated from its spiritual center, *i.e.*, Rome.

This view is backed up by a very old tradition according to which Gregory was the author of a *liber antiphonarius*, *i.e.*, a book contain-

ing the liturgical chants, probably both for the Mass and the Office.¹ The earliest known testimony to this effect dates from *ca.* 750, when Egbert, Bishop of York, tells us in his *De institutione catholica* that certain English customs concerning Lent and Ember Weeks were ordered by Gregory "in suo antiphonario et missali" (in his book of chants and in his book of prayers) and were brought to England by his missionary, St. Augustine. From the end of the 8th century we have evidence which, although not very conclusive, may be mentioned here because of its rather unusual character. It consists of a poem which is found at the beginning of several Antiphonaries of the 9th and 10th centuries and which, according to the 9th-century Pope Hadrian II, was written by Hadrian I, who ruled from 772 to 795. It says that *hic libellus musicae artis* (this book of musical art) was composed by Gregory, who is described as follows:²

Gregorius praesul meritis et nomine dignus
Unde genus ducit, summum conscendit
honorem.

Some liturgists have maintained that the Gregorius of this poem was not Gregory the Great, but Gregory II who held the Papal See from 715 to 731, or even his successor Gregory

¹ For more details, full quotations, etc., see, for instance, Dom Germain Morin, *Les Véritables Origines du chant grégorien* (1912), pp. 11 ff.

² Free translation: "Gregory, through deeds and name a worthy leader, has ascended to the highest honor at the place where his ancestors lived."

* This article was read at the Annual Meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America, held in Cambridge, Mass., on April 27 and 28, 1956. It is taken (with some changes) from a book on Gregorian Chant to be published in the fall of 1957 by the Indiana University Press and is reproduced here by permission of the publishers. Its main thesis, although formulated independently about two years ago, has been "in the air" for some time. See, *e.g.*, H. Huckle, "Gregorianischer Gesang in alt-römischer und fränkischer Überlieferung," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XII (1955), p. 74.

III, who died in 741. Others, however, have pointed out that both Gregory II and III were of Greek lineage, while Gregory I came from an old Roman family. He is therefore the only one who could "have ascended to the highest honor at the place where his ancestors lived."

The next, and more significant, witness is the well-known historiographer Walafrid Strabo, who lived in the first half of the 9th century and was Abbot of Reichenau. He says that there is a tradition according to which Gregory regulated not only the order of the Masses and the Consecrations but also to a large extent the arrangement of the chants in that manner in which it is now observed. Passing over some other testimonies of a more or less certain character, we finally come to the crown-witness, *i.e.*, Gregory's biographer, Johannes Diaconus, whose *Vita Sancti Gregorii*, written about 872, contains a chapter inscribed: *Antiphonarium centonizans, cantorum constituit scholam*. The chapter begins with the sentence: "In the house of the Lord, like another wise Solomon, he compiled in the most diligent manner a collection called Antiphonary, which is of the greatest usefulness."

With John the Deacon's biography the tradition implied in the term "Gregorian Chant" became so firmly established that it would be pointless to pursue it any further. It found an expression not only in such terms as *cantus Gregorianus* or *Antiphonarius S. Gregorii*, but also in pictorial representations showing Gregory sitting on the papal throne and dictating to a scribe the melodies that a heavenly dove, perched on his shoulder, is whispering into his ears.

It was not until the 17th and 18th centuries that the Gregorian tradition was questioned, first by Pierre

Gussanville who, in 1675, published the complete works of Gregory, and about fifty years later by Georg von Eckhart, a friend of Leibnitz who had been converted to Catholicism, in his *De rebus Francia orientalis*, published in 1729. However, these early attempts to deprive Gregory of his lofty position found practically no response. The tradition remained unchallenged until 1890, when the Belgian musicologist Gevaert published a pamphlet, *Les Origines du chant liturgique de l'église latine*, in which he severely attacked what he called "the Gregorian legend," maintaining that its chief witness, John the Deacon, was entirely untrustworthy, and that the role commonly assigned to Gregory the Great was actually performed by a number of Greek and Syrian popes—Agathon, Leo II, Sergius I, Gregory II, and Gregory III—who reigned considerably later, from 678 till 741. Gevaert's ideas, however, were almost unanimously refuted by other liturgists, with the result that the old tradition was once more accepted as basically correct. It is only in the past five or six years that the problem has once more been scrutinized, with entirely novel results. To present these recent developments is the main purpose of this paper.

We may begin with an attempt at an objective and critical evaluation of the evidence adduced in support of the tradition, as I have just sketched it. How much is it worth? How well does it stand up under close scrutiny? Frankly, it depends. If you are the scholar who admits nothing but unquestionably authentic and contemporary documentation, it is of no value, since the earliest witness, Bishop Egbert, lived 150 years later than the period we are concerned with. I wonder, however, what would become of Medieval—and not only

Medieval—research if such a rigid and somewhat pedantic yardstick were used. I am willing to admit that we have sufficient documentation to warrant the assumption that a *liber antiphonarius* of Gregory did exist. The main difficulty, it seems to me, is one, not of documentation, but of interpretation. What was this book like, and in which relationship does it stand to the earliest antiphonals that are preserved? Was it written by Gregory personally or written by others under his direction and supervision, or was it only a compilation of material that existed before his time, as the report of John the Deacon would seem to imply? Other questions are of even greater importance and consequence. Did it have music in some primitive sort of notation, or did it contain only the texts for the musical items—the Introit and Gradual of the Mass, the Responses of Matins, etc.—as is still the case in the earliest antiphonals that have come down to us, e.g., the famous Codex of Monza, written in the 8th century with gold and silver letters on black parchment?³ And finally, what reason do we have to assume that the melodies used at the time of Gregory, regardless of whether they were notated or orally transmitted, were the same as those known today as “Gregorian melodies”?

That Gregory was not the only pope to be active on behalf of liturgical music is suggested by a short account from the 8th century, according to which a considerable number of popes had contributed to the formation of the ecclesiastical chant.⁴

³ These Antiphonals without musical notation are published in R. J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (1935).

⁴ The account appears at the end of the earliest *Ordo Romanus* (usually called *Ordo Romanus Gerbert*, because it was first published by Gerbert in his *Monumenta veteris*

The list opens with Damasus I, who reigned from 366 to 384 and who, we are told, “instituted and decreed the ecclesiastical order with the help of the priest St. Jerome who, with the permission of the pope himself, had transmitted it from Jerusalem.” While the report makes no mention of music in connection with Damasus, it does so in connection with a number of popes of the 5th to the 7th centuries: Leo I, Gelasius, Symmachus, Johannes, Bonifacius, Gregory, and Martinus, each of whom is said to have edited an *annalis cantus omnis*, a cycle of chants for the entire year. Thus it would appear that Gregory was by no means the first and not even the last of the popes who contributed to the development and consolidation of the ecclesiastical chant. Exactly what role Gregory played in this long evolutionary process is, of course, the crucial question.

Let us now approach the problem from a different angle, i.e., on the basis, not of short and vague remarks, but of actual documents. In doing so, it is important to realize that the formation of the liturgical chant involves at least three different processes or layers. One is the formation of the cycle of feasts throughout the year, in other words, of the liturgical calendar with its *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*, the feasts of the Lord and the feasts of Saints; the second concerns the texts of the musical items for the Masses and Offices of these feasts; the third, the melodies for these texts. To distinguish clearly between these fields is necessary for the simple reason that for each of them we have documentation of

liturgiae alemannicae, Vol. II [1779], pp. 168ff.) and also at the end of a report, *De prandio monachorum*, of a Frankish monk who, about 800, visited monasteries in Rome and tells us mostly about the rituals at the meals of the Roman monks (*Patr. lat.* 138, col. 1346).

widely different antiquity. The development of the liturgical calendar is known to us through such early liturgical sources as the Sacramentaries and Lectionaries, which include the non-musical items of the Masses, such as prayers and readings from Scripture. Through careful examination and comparison of these sources, liturgists have been able to establish which feasts were celebrated at the time of Gregory. The *Temporale* was almost as complete as it is today, except for certain well-known additions of a later date, such as the Thursdays of Lent, the Sundays following the four Ember Weeks, and such special feasts as the Holy Trinity, the Holy Name of Jesus, and the Holy Family. The *Sanctorale* included about sixty feasts, to which, of course, many others were added later.

As for the musical items used for the Masses of these old feasts, e.g., the First Sunday of Advent or the Nativity, our earliest information comes from certain Antiphonaries, such as the previously mentioned Codex of Monza, that contain the texts of the Introids, Graduals, etc., but no musical notation. These manuscripts permit us to trace the texts back to the 8th century, although it is, of course, possible that many of them existed long before this time. Thus, we can say that the feast of the First Sunday of Advent existed about 600, and that its traditional Introit, *Ad te levamus*, existed about 750. What can we say about the age of its melody?

The earliest manuscripts showing the liturgical melodies in a clearly readable notation—the so-called diastematic neumes, written on a staff—are from the mid-11th century, a very late date in comparison with that of the aforementioned sources for the calendar and for the texts.

Fortunately, we can improve upon this dating by means of earlier manuscripts notated in staffless neumes. Although this notation cannot be read as such, extended comparative studies have shown beyond any doubt that their neumatic symbols fully agree with the diastematic signs of the later sources as to type (whether ascending or descending), number of notes, grouping in extended melismas, etc. Clearly, the melodies are the same, although the possibility of minor changes will have to be admitted.

On the whole, therefore, we are justified in assuming that the majority of the melodies existed about 900 or 850 in nearly the same form as they do in the later Medieval sources and in the present-day publications. We might well be satisfied with this state of affairs, were it not for the fact that we have considerably earlier documentation for the existence of the texts and even earlier evidence for the feasts. We have seen that the former can be traced back to the middle of the 8th century, the latter at least to the time of Gregory. It has always been the aim of musical scholars to match this record and to show or, more properly speaking, to maintain that the melodies are equally old, except for those that are connected with post-Gregorian feasts.

Obviously, this argument proceeds from the premise that the developments of the liturgical calendar, of the liturgical texts, and of the liturgical music are strictly synchronous phenomena, in other words, that the permanent institution of a certain feast entails and insures equal permanence of the texts and the melodies that were originally used. This, however, is a highly uncertain and, in fact, entirely unwarranted premise. By its very nature a liturgical calendar has a much higher degree of fixity

than a collection of prayers or other texts for the Masses and Offices, and this, in turn, has an incomparably higher degree of fixity than a collection of melodies, at least in a period in which, to the best of our knowledge, the preservation of music was exclusively a matter of oral tradition. It is entirely unthinkable that a collection of melodies even approximating the size and elaborateness of the "Gregorian" repertory could have been transmitted—to say nothing of "preserved"—orally over two or three centuries. The truly Gregorian and, even more, any pre-Gregorian repertory must have been of a much more elementary character. Possibly the melodies even for a Gradual were of a very simple type; possibly only one or a few melodies served for all Graduals; possibly the melodies were not fixed at all or only in their main outlines, much being left to improvisation; possibly only the Psalms and other basic scriptural texts had a musical delivery regulated to some extent by tradition. It is idle to speculate about these matters. If we rely on evidence rather than on wishful thinking or fantasy we cannot but admit that we know nothing about the liturgical melodies until we approach the period from which we have the earliest musical manuscripts, *i.e.*, the end of the 9th century. Naturally, we cannot assume that the earliest musical manuscript that has come down to us from these remote times was actually the earliest ever written. On the contrary, the highly complex and intricate notation of a manuscript such as St. Gall 359, written about 900, marks it beyond any doubt as one that was preceded by others, now lost. All in all, it is safe to say that paleographic evidence permits us to trace the "Gregorian" melodies back to the period of about 800, and

to think of them as having received their final form during the century from *ca.* 800 to 875.

To sum up: it is a matter of scientific caution and prudence to assign to the liturgical melodies, as we have them, a considerably later date than has generally been done before. True enough, caution and prudence are negative rather than positive virtues, preventing us from committing mistakes rather than helping us to establish the truth. In the present case, however, they seem to have the latter property as well, as I shall now try to demonstrate.

About five years ago, Professor Bruno Stäblein of Regensburg presented a theory proceeding from two facts, both known for about fifty years but now for the first time brought into close relationship.⁵ The first of these is that the aforementioned list of men who "edited an *annalis cantus*" does not close with Gregory. There follow not only Pope Martinus (640-53) but also, after him, three abbots of St. Peter's in Rome, Catolenus, Maurianus, and Virbonus, whose activity in the field of the *cantus annalis* is mentioned with especially distinctive words of praise—"diligentissime," "nobile," and "magnifice." The second fact is that there exist, in addition to the numerous manuscripts of "Gregorian Chant," four (or possibly more) manuscripts of the 11th to 13th centuries that contain essentially the same liturgical repertory with entirely different melodies. These form a striking contrast to all the other sources in which the melodies, ex-

⁵ See "Zur Entstehung der gregorianischen Melodien," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* XXXV (1951), p. 5; "Zur Frühgeschichte des römischen Chorals," *Atti del Congresso internazionale di musica sacra* (1952), p. 271. See also his article "Choral" in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Band II, cols. 1272ff.

cept for occasional minor variants, are absolutely identical. Dom Mocquereau of Solesmes, who was the first to call attention to this special group of manuscripts,⁶ considered and dismissed them as variants from a decadent epoch. This assumption, however, is contradicted by the fact that their liturgical repertory is that of the oldest sources, excluding, as it does, the feasts that were added in the 9th, 10th, and later centuries. Dom Andoyer was the first to maintain that these special manuscripts contain a musical repertory that, far from being "decadent," is actually older than the repertory commonly referred to as Gregorian. He therefore designated it as "pre-Gregorian."⁷ For the purpose of noncommittal reference we shall distinguish the two repertories as the "standard" and the "special."

Stäblein (in common with nearly all modern scholars) agrees with Andoyer's conclusion that the special repertory is older than the standard repertory but changes their relative historical positions from "pre-Gregorian" and "Gregorian" to "Gregorian" and "post-Gregorian." According to him, the standard repertory is the work of the above-named abbots Catolenus, Maurianus, and Virbonus, whom he believes to have been active between 653 and 680. This period coincides with the rule of Pope Vitalian (657-72), and Stäblein adduces some additional evidence for musical activity under this pope. He concludes that the special repertory represents the chant that was used in Rome shortly before and at the time of Gregory, and that half a century later, under Pope Vitalian, the melodies were considerably revised in the direction of greater sim-

plicity, plasticity, balance, and tonal definition, receiving that form in which we find them in the standard repertory. He distinguishes the two repertories as Old-Roman and New-Roman and associates the former with the service in the Basilica of the Lateran, the later with that in the papal palace.

Stäblein's provocative theory is a most important contribution, because it once more brings the Gregorian problem into the open. I do not, however, believe that it represents the final answer. A weak spot is the *terminus ad quem* for the activity of the three Roman abbots, the year 680. This date is based on the theory, proposed some thirty years ago by Silva-Tarouca, that the list of musical popes and abbots was the work of John the Archicantor who is known to have been sent from Rome to England at that time.⁸ This theory has been completely refuted by recent investigations. Some scholars even maintain that this list, which has played such a prominent role in the discussion of our problem, is a completely worthless and manufactured report of the 9th century.⁹ However, even if we admit Stäblein's dates as approximately correct, the main difficulty is not removed: we are still faced with a gap of 200 years between origin and written fixation, in other words, we still have no way of knowing what relationship the "Vitalian" melodies had to those that

⁸ "Giovanni archicantor di S. Pietro a Roma e l'Ordo Romanus da lui composta," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia di Archaeologia*, Serie III: *Memorie*, Vol. I, Parte 1 (1923), p. 159. Silva-Tarouca's theory was adopted by Stäblein, who considered the list as the "bedeutsamste und grundlegendste Dokument zur Frühgeschichte des liturgischen Gesanges in Rom" (*Atti del Congresso* [see n. 5], p. 273).

⁹ See M. Andrieu, "Les Ordines Romani" (*Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense*, Fasc. 24 [1951]). I have been indirectly informed that Professor Stäblein himself no longer considers his theory as tenable.

⁶ *Paléographie musicale*, Vol. II, p. 4, n. 1.

⁷ "Le Chant romain antégrégorien," *Revue du Chant Grégorien* XX, pp. 69, 107.

have been transmitted. Even greater difficulties exist with the Old-Roman repertory, if this is supposed to represent the true "Gregorian" Chant. Here the gap amounts to almost 500 years.¹⁰

Let us for the moment leave aside all questions of time and dates and look at the source material from a different point of view, *i.e.*, of locale and provenance. It is highly significant that the manuscripts containing the special repertory are all of Roman origin, having been written for local churches such as St. Cecilia and the Lateran. Thus there can be no doubt that we are in the presence of a chant that originated and was mainly employed in Rome and therefore is properly called Roman Chant.

As for the early sources of the standard repertory (*i.e.*, of "Gregorian" Chant), it has often been noticed, though only grudgingly admitted, that none of them was written in Rome. They all come from such places in Western Europe as St. Gall, Metz, Einsiedeln, Chartres, Laon, and Montpellier, in other words, from the Franco-German empire. Surely this fact is also of the highest significance, particularly in connection with—or in contrast to—the exclusively Roman origin of the special sources. It leads to the conclusion that the standard repertory is of Frankish origin or, at least, that it received its final form—the only one known to us—in places of the West.

There is, indeed, a great deal of historical evidence in support of the

view that what we call "Gregorian Chant" represents an 8th-to-9th-century fusion of Roman and Frankish elements. This fusion is of particular interest because of its political implication and motivation: it was one of the chief means by which the Frankish rulers tried to strengthen their relationship with the Church of Rome. It probably began in 752, when Pope Stephen II visited Gaul, accompanied by Roman clergy who celebrated Mass according to the Roman usage. We have numerous records—too many to be mentioned here—showing Pepin's and Charlemagne's efforts to establish the Roman liturgy in their realm.¹¹ However, we have also records showing no less clearly that their efforts met with the stubborn resistance of the Frankish clergy, who tried to preserve their traditional manner of worship, the Gallican rites.¹² Finally, we have evidence showing that, although the Roman rite emerged from this struggle victorious, it did not emerge unscathed or intact. Liturgical scholars have long been fully aware of this fact. Thus, J. A. Jungmann, in his standard work, *The Mass of the Roman Rite (Missarum Solemnia)*, discussing the Roman Mass in France, says (p. 76):

Unconsciously, of course, but nonetheless surely, profound alterations were made from the very outset in the Roman liturgy, especially in the Roman Mass—in fact, fundamental transformations. The exotic seedling, when planted in a new soil and in a new climate, was still pliant enough to be reshaped and modified by these influences.

¹⁰ The earliest of the special manuscripts is dated 1071. In an article, "Le Chant 'vieux-romain,'" *Sacris erudiri* VI, p. 120, Dom Huglo has shown that the special repertory can be traced back by means of non-musical documents to the 8th century. Important though this result is, it affects primarily matters of liturgical and textual significance, not necessarily the melodies.

¹¹ See, *e.g.*, R. Van Doren, *Étude sur l'influence musicale de l'abbaye de Saint-Gall* (1925), pp. 34ff.

¹² See H. Hücke, "Die Einführung des Gregorianischen Gesanges im Frankenreich," *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* XLIX (1954), pp. 172ff.

And later (p. 95):

Thus we come to that episode which proved to be of such incalculable importance for the entire subsequent history of the Roman liturgy. About the middle of the tenth century the Roman liturgy began to return in force from Franco-Germanic lands to Italy and to Rome, but it was a liturgy which meanwhile had undergone radical changes and a great development. This importation entailed supplanting the local form of the Roman liturgy by its Gallicized version, even at the very center of Christendom.

It would be more than wishful thinking to assume that during this process of profound alterations in the liturgy the melodies remained unchanged. Yet it is to the West that we owe the written fixation and preservation of what is now called "Gregorian Chant." The conclusion is almost inescapable that this chant, as found in the manuscripts of St. Gall, Einsiedeln, Metz, Chartres, etc., received its final form in France in the period about 800, a form that differed considerably from its Roman model. A very interesting confirmation of this state of affairs exists in the report of an anonymous monk of St. Gall who, about 885, speaks of the "exceedingly large difference between our chant and that of Rome" and tells us that, through the endeavors of a singer whom Charlemagne had sent to Rome for instruction and later assigned to the cathedral of Metz, the chant spread over all France, "so that it is even now called *ecclesiastica cantilena Metensis*."¹³

¹³ Monachus Sangalliensis (Notker Balbulus?), *De vita Caroli magni*; see P. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, Vol. IV (1867), pp. 639, 641. Monachus's book is largely a collection of legends about Charlemagne and therefore of little historical value. However, this is no reason to doubt the accuracy of information about his own time. The importance of Metz, rather than St. Gall, had been emphasized by Van Doren, long before the recent re-examination of the Gregorian problem, in his *Étude sur l'influence . . .* (see n. 11).

We may then assume that what we call Gregorian Chant is the result of a development that took place in the Franco-German empire under Pepin, Charlemagne, and his successors. This does not mean to say that all the many thousands of melodies of the present-day repertory were composed during this time, in the same way as the symphonies of Mozart and Beethoven were composed during the 50 years from 1770 to 1820. It means that they represent the final stage, and the only one known to us, of an evolution, the beginnings of which may go back to the earliest Christian period and even to the chant of the Synagogue. What changes took place during the numerous pre-formative stages we cannot say. Some chants may have changed relatively little, others so much that their original form was greatly obscured or completely lost. On grounds of probability and plausibility we may assume that the simpler chants were much less affected by the vicissitudes of a purely oral tradition than those of a highly ornate character. Certain very rudimentary types of chant, such as lesson tones, psalmodic recitations, or the archaic Gloria of the Mass XV, may well be a heritage from pre-Christian days, an assumption that has been raised to the level of scientific certainty by Idelsohn's studies of the chants of Jewish tribes in Yemen and Babylonia.¹⁴ Simple antiphons may have been preserved in an almost unchanged form since the time of Gregory, as has recently been suggested in an article by Lipphardt. As for the highly melismatic chants, the Graduals, Tracts, Alleluias, etc., we can only say that in their present-day form they are Franco-Roman prod-

¹⁴ See Eric Werner, "The Common Ground in the Chant of Church and Synagogue," *Atti del Congresso* (see n. 5), p. 134.

ucts of the 8th or 9th centuries.

The above theory concerning the origin of the Gregorian melodies proceeds from considerations of a rather general character. It certainly would be desirable to have it confirmed or supported by evidence of a more special and more intrinsically musical character. I believe that one such support can be found. It comes from one relatively little known area of the Gregorian repertory, *viz.*, the verses of the Offertories, which are no longer sung today but were still in general use in the 11th and 12th centuries. These are now accessible in a most interesting publication by Karl Ott.¹⁵ They represent one of the most fascinating phenomena of Gregorian Chant. Ott did not hesitate to declare that they surpass even the Graduals. Indeed, they show a boldness of melodic line, a wealth of unusual formations (particularly many outlining a seventh), and numerous other details (*e.g.*, the lowest and highest tones of the entire repertory) that bestow upon them a very special stamp, so much so that one is tempted to speak of a "Beethoven style" in Gregorian Chant. There can be no doubt that they belong to a later phase of the development than the Graduals, Tracts, or Responsories.

What interests us here is the fact that these verses can be assigned to a definite period. The basis for this assignment is the second-oldest book containing information about the singing of the Psalms and the Psalm verses, *i.e.*, the *Musica disciplina* by Aurelianus of Réomé, which was written about 850. This book includes a special chapter, *Cap. XVIII: Deuterologium tonorum*, dealing with the question "quot varietates unusquisque contineat tonus" (how many varieties each church mode contains).

¹⁵ *Offertoriale sive versus offertorium* (Tournai, etc., 1935).

From the context it becomes perfectly clear that the *varietates* are the various recitation formulae to be used for the Psalms (including the *differentiae*, *i.e.*, the different endings) or the Psalm verses of the Introits, Communions, etc. Thus, Aurelianus says, "De authentis proto: Sane authentus protus septemdecim continet varietates, videlicet introitum tres, offertorium unum, communionum duas, responsorium sex, antiphonarum quinque, quae simul junctae septemdecim faciunt."¹⁶ Similar information is given about each of the other church modes. The surprising and important fact is that the Offertories are mentioned here together with the Introits, Communions, Responsories, and Antiphons. This shows that at the time of Aurelianus the verses of the Offertories were sung to a recitation formula similar to those that were used for the verses of the other chants. Since, however, the traditional melodies for the Offertory verses have an entirely different character, they must have been composed after the time of Aurelianus, *i.e.*, after 850. Actually they must have been written shortly thereafter, since indications of the above-mentioned nature are not to be found in any of the later documents. Thus the *Tonarius* of Regino, written about 900, includes Antiphons, Introits, Communions, and Responsories, but no Offertories.¹⁷ Thus we come to the conclusion that the melodies for the verses of the Offertories were composed in the second half of the 9th century. This result fits very well into the general picture of the evolution as we have traced it. The main development of the chant took place in the latter part of the 8th and in the first half of the 9th century (a statement sub-

¹⁶ *GS*, Vol. I, p. 53.

¹⁷ *CS*, Vol. I, pp. 1ff; see, *e.g.*, pp. 66, 68.

ject to all the reservations previously made) and was followed immediately by another creative period during which the Offertory verses received those extremely bold and highly individual melodies that are known to us. Many of the Alleluia melodies probably belong to the same or even a slightly later period. There emerges before our eyes a picture of a relatively rapid and spontaneous evolution spanning only three or four generations. The decisive impetus for this sudden outburst of creative activity may well have come from the invention of a sufficiently developed neumatic notation.

In connection with this outline of evolution I should like to comment briefly upon the relationship between the Roman (or Franco-Roman) Chant and that of the Cathedral of Milan, usually called Ambrosian Chant after St. Ambrose who was bishop of Milan about 400. Probably because Ambrose lived 200 years before Gregory, one often finds statements to the effect that Ambrosian Chant is even older than Gregorian Chant. Since many of the Ambrosian melodies are extremely ornate and melismatic, there has arisen the notion that the chant of the earliest Middle Ages was of highly embellished character and that the Gregorian Chant represents a sort of reform in the direction of greater simplicity and structural balance. Needless to say, the assumption that the Ambrosian melodies go back to the period of *ca.* 400 is even more fallacious than the notion that the

Gregorian melodies go back to 600. We do not mean to deny the possibility that highly ornate melodies may have existed at the time of St. Ambrose, *e.g.*, those seemingly endless Alleluia jubilations that are mentioned by Augustine. We only profess our complete ignorance as to what these melodies were like and whether they had any relationship to the melodies as we find them in the Ambrosian or the Gregorian repertory. Probably they were forgotten 50 years later. Or are we seriously to believe that during two centuries of the most cruel devastation that Italy ever suffered—under the Huns, Goths, and Vandals—music, the most intangible and evasive medium of artistic expression, remained miraculously unaffected? The true relationship between Gregorian and Ambrosian chant can be established only on the basis of stylistic criteria. Following this line of thought I have come to the opinion that the Ambrosian repertory is, on the whole, of an even later date than the Gregorian, perhaps of the 10th or 11th century.¹⁸ Recently I received a letter from Msgr. Anglés, Director of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music, in which he informed me that liturgical scholars in Rome have reached exactly the same conclusion.

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¹⁸ The possibility of a late date for the Ambrosian Chant has been suggested by R. H. Jesson in a chapter on "Ambrosian Chant" that he contributed to my forthcoming book on Gregorian Chant.

Die Entstehung des gregorianischen Choral

von Bruno Stäblein, Erlangen

Friedrich Blume zum achtzigsten Geburtstag

Das Gewicht des hier angesprochenen Fragenkomplexes ist so bedeutend, daß es nachgerade an der Zeit scheint, einen breiteren musikalischen Leserkreis mit den Forschungsergebnissen der letzten Jahrzehnte bekannt zu machen². Handelt es sich doch nicht um ein Seitenthema der Musikgeschichte, in das sich ein Spezialist verliebt hat und nun meint, diese seine Liebe auch anderen Menschen begreiflich machen zu müssen, sondern um wesentlich anderes und mehr: der gewaltige Koloß des *cantus gregorianus*, ein Tausende von Gesängen umfassendes Repertoire von vielfacher und abwechslungsreicher Abstufung eröffnet die Geschichte der abendländischen Musik; jahrhundertlang hat er das mittelalterliche Musikleben in vieler Beziehung beherrscht, technisch wie geistig³ und ist so die Basis geworden, die den stolzen Bau der Musikgeschichte Westeuropas getragen hat, und reicht in seinen Auswirkungen noch bis in unsere Tage. So bedarf es keiner Rechtfertigung, wenn wir hier an die ersten Anfänge, die tiefst hinabreichenden Wurzeln einer ein und einhalbtausendjährigen Entwicklung rühren und Antwort geben auf die vier entscheidenden Fragen: wann, wo, warum und wie ist der Choral entstanden. Wann und wo, zwei Fragen, die sich nicht trennen lassen; dann die wichtige geistes- und sozialgeschichtliche Frage: warum, zu welchem Zweck ist er geschaffen worden – und schließlich, ganz praktisch gefragt: wie ist er geworden, das heißt, wie müssen wir uns das Werden dieser Melodien vorstellen, also ein Stück Kompositionslehre oder angewandte Musikästhetik.

I.

Wie sah es im 7. Jahrhundert aus? denn das ist, um es gleich vorweg zu sagen, die Zeit, die den römischen Choral hat entstehen sehen. Im Gegensatz zu dem für das Hochmittelalter gültigen Bild einer religiösen Einheit unter Rom, gliederte sich

1 Die folgenden Ausführungen sind eine von der „Rede“ in die „Schreibe“ übersetzte Fassung eines an mehreren westdeutschen Universitäten in den letzten Jahren gehaltenen Vortrages.

2 Eine umfassendere Darstellung sind die 164 Seiten meiner Einführung zu Band 2 der *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi* (Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. lat. 5319, Bärenreiter-Verlag Kassel 1970); auf sie, die im Rahmen der Edition selbstverständlich nur die grundlegenden Fragen behandeln konnte, ohne auf alle Einzelheiten einzugehen, wird im folgenden immer wieder verwiesen werden müssen.

3 „... noch während des ganzen Mittelalters galten die heiligen Weisen der kirchlichen Liturgie . . . als unveränderliches Dogma, als heiliger Begriff“, mußte vor bald 50 Jahren Rudolf von Ficker feststellen (*Die Musik des Mittelalters und ihre Beziehungen zum Geistesleben*, in: Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 3, 1925, S. 504/05).

damals das lateinische Abendland in mindestens sechs große Kreise, deren jeder seine eigene Liturgie und damit auch seine eigenen Melodien besaß. Und das Merkwürdige: fast als ob ein Gesetz gewaltet habe, die Mehrzahl dieser Liturgien und ihres Gesangsschatzes erlebte im selben 7. Jahrhundert ihre höchste Blüte und endgültige Ausprägung. Dabei ist, was nicht außer acht gelassen werden darf, zweierlei mitentscheidend gewesen: einmal die ethnische Beschaffenheit des betreffenden Volkes und dann die jeweilige gesellschaftlich-politische Konstellation: Religionen waren damals, anders als heute, quasi Staatsreligionen und ihre Liturgien dementsprechend, bis zu einem gewissen Grade, Manifestationen des Herrschaftsbewußtseins der Regierenden⁴. Lassen wir kurz die damaligen liturgischen Bereiche Revue passieren.

In **S p a n i e n** hat sich um die Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts, zusammen mit dem westgotischen Königtum in Toledo, auch die liturgische Einheit der Pyrenäenhalbinsel konstituiert; die Quellen berichten von einer geeinten Toledanischen Liturgie und von damit verbundenen Reformen und Neuschöpfungen⁵. Ihre Melodien sind in nicht wenigen, zum Teil prächtigen Handschriften erhalten. Leider ist ihre Neumennotation für uns nicht entzifferbar, denn den Schritt vom Unlesbaren zum Lesbaren, den von der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts an alle Neumengattungen taten, hat die altspanisch-toledanische Liturgie mit ihrem Melodienschatz nicht mehr erlebt, sie war vorher schon abgeschafft worden, ein Opfer des römischen Zentralismus, für uns einer der schmerzlichsten Verluste der Musikgeschichte⁶.

Aus **G a l l i e n** besitzen wir – ebenfalls aus dem 7. Jahrhundert – einen Bericht, fälschlich dem großen Bischof Germanus von Paris (+ 576) zugeschrieben, der uns die ausgereifte altgallikanische Liturgie unter den Merowingerkönigen beschreibt. Ihre Melodien sind uns nur insoweit erhalten, als sich manches bei der Ersetzung der heimischen Liturgie durch die römische nach 753 in die neuen Bücher gerettet hat, wo die Forschung es aussondern muß⁷.

In **S ü d i t a l i e n** scheint die Hochblüte der beneventanischen Liturgie zusammenzufallen mit der Regierung der beiden machtvollsten Langobardenherzöge Grimoald (ab 662) und Romoald (ab 672). Zehn vollständige Meßformulare sind noch erhalten; man hat nach der Übernahme der römischen Liturgie (seit etwa 800) bei den Hauptfesten die immer noch geliebten heimischen Meßgesänge in einigen Handschrif-

4 Übrigens ein Zustand, der verschiedentlich noch bis in die Neuzeit hinein ragte. Dafür ein Beispiel: Wenn heute der Erzbischof und Patriarch von Venedig in San Marco zelebriert, dann darf man daran denken, daß das nicht immer so war; im Gegenteil, die Kirche des Patriarchen befand sich ganz an der Peripherie, im Osten der Inselgruppe; San Marco war die Staatskirche des Dogen, anschließend an seinen Palast, und die Werke, kirchliche oder weltliche, der Willaert, Gabrieli etc. waren die repräsentative Musik der venezianischen Republik, und so blieb es noch bis in die Neuzeit hinein.

5 Wobei die aufeinander folgenden drei großen Toledaner Kirchenfürsten, Eugen II. (646-657), Ildefons (657-667) und Julian (679-690) als Reformers und schöpferische Persönlichkeiten die führende Rolle spielten.

6 Der Verfasser darf hierzu, wie auch für das Folgende auf die neueste Darstellung in *Das Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik des Mittelalters* (in der Reihe „Musikgeschichte in Bildern“, Leipzig 1974) verweisen.

7 Begonnen von Amédée Gastoué (*Le chant gallican*, in: *Revue du chant grégorien* 1937-1939, auch separat: Grenoble 1939), weitergeführt von Bruno Stäblein in *MGG* 4, Sp. 302-330 (Art. *Gallikanische Liturgie*).

ten mit aufgezeichnet; aber auch sonst findet sich in den späteren römischen Büchern allerhand Altbeneventanisches⁸.

In Oberitalien herrschte bis weit über die Alpen nach Norden die Liturgie *M a i l a n d s*, der damals mächtigsten Stadt Italiens. Über die Entstehung dieser Liturgie und ihrer Melodien, die die Mailänder nach ihrem größten Bischof, dem hl. Ambrosius († 397) benannten, wissen wir noch recht wenig. Aber die Melodien sind uns alle erhalten⁹.

Eine Sonderstellung nimmt die keltische, genauer: die *a l t i r i s c h e* Liturgie ein, deren Blüte den kontinentalen Liturgien vorausging. Bis vor kurzem mußte man, da keine musikalischen Aufzeichnungen bekannt sind, annehmen, daß jede Spur von Melodien verschollen sei. Dem Schreiber dieser Zeilen war es vergönnt, zwei Gesänge zu erschließen und so den Vorhang ein klein wenig zu lüften, der die altirischen Melodien verbirgt¹⁰.

Und schließlich *R o m*, der letzte Bezirk? Während die Evolutionen, die die meisten der genannten Liturgien im 7. Jahrhundert durchmachten, nur aus literarischen Quellen bekannt sind, beziehungsweise erschlossen werden können, wissen wir, was Rom betrifft, konkrete Einzelheiten. In Grundzügen ist die Lage folgendermaßen: Sicher schon zu Lebzeiten von Papst Gregor dem Großen († 604) gab es eine einheitliche Liturgie für die zahlreichen Basiliken, Kirchen und Klöster der ewigen Stadt¹¹. Wir kennen deren Melodien, weil sie sich in einigen Kirchen, wie in St. Peter, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere und in der Lateranbasilika, bis ins 13. Jahrhundert lebendig erhalten haben¹². Ich habe sie altrömisch genannt, ein Terminus, der sich eingebürgert hat, seit ich ihn auf dem ersten Internationalen Kongreß für Kirchenmusik in Rom 1950 vorgeschlagen habe. Dieser altrömische Gesang, so müssen wir annehmen, war in der Frühzeit der in Rom allgemein übliche, nicht nur in den vielen Gotteshäusern verschiedensten Ranges, sondern auch am päpstlichen Hof, der damals noch nicht der Vatikan mit St. Peter war, sondern der Lateranpalast. Stilistisch bilden die altrömischen Melodien, zusammen mit den oberitalienischen Mailands und denen im Süden um Benevent und Monte Cassino, eine Familie, die man am besten alt-italisch nennt. In ganz Italien, auch – zunächst wenigstens – in Rom,

8 Viel davon mitgeteilt von René-Jean Hesbert in der machtvollen Einleitung zu *Paléographie Musicale* 14 (*La tradition bénéventaine*, S. 60-479); dazu neuerdings Bonifazio Baroffio in: *MGG* 15 (1973), Sp. 653-56, sowie in: *Liturgie im beneventanischen Raum (Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik* 1, Kassel 1972, S. 204 ff.).

9 Zum Teil ediert in *Paléographie Musicale* 5/6; Gesamtausgabe wird von Bonifazio Baroffio für *Monumenta Monodica* 13 und 14 vorbereitet.

10 Ich habe sie mitgeteilt in *Musicae Scientiae Collectanea*, Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer, Köln 1973, S. 590-597 (die Melodien S. 593 und 596).

11 In *Monumenta Monodica* 2, S. 42⁺-47⁺ habe ich ein Bild von dem geradezu verwirrenden Reichtum an Kirchen und Klöstern, sowie von deren liturgischen und erzieherischen Aufgaben zu zeichnen versucht.

12 Fünf lesbare neumierte Handschriften vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, die gesamte Liturgie, Messe wie Officium enthaltend, sind aus den drei genannten Kirchen erhalten; das vollständigste Graduale, heute der lat. 5319 der Vatikana, liegt seit 1970 in *Monumenta Monodica* 2 in Umschrift vor; er stammt mit einer an Sicherheit grenzenden Wahrscheinlichkeit aus der Lateranbasilika San Giovanni – wohl zu unterscheiden vom Lateranpalast, dem Sitz des Papstes und der Gesamtverwaltung (der späteren Kurie).

begnügte man sich mit dieser regionalen Melodik¹³ – mit einer Ausnahme: einzig und allein am päpstlichen Hof muß man mit den alt-italischen (altrömischen) Melodien nicht mehr zufrieden gewesen sein. Sie waren wohl zu provinziell, zu sehr auf das heimische Volkstum zugeschnitten. Man brauchte eine Melodiesprache, die dem Anspruch des Papsttums, eine Weltreligion zu sein, besser entsprach. Unter dem Pontifikat Vitalians (657-673) war die Zeit reif. Die Liturgieforschung, vorab der niederländische Franziskaner van Dijk († 1972), hat festgestellt, daß seit Vitalian in Rom zwei verschiedene Liturgien herrschten, oder sagen wir besser: zwei verschiedene Riten, Ausprägungen ein und derselben Liturgie. Unter Vitalian sind dann auch für die päpstlichen Funktionen die neuen Melodien entstanden. Sie erklangen vor allem bei den Stationsmessen, die der Papst – um damit seine besondere, seine übergeordnete Stellung zu dokumentieren – mit seinem Hofstaat und unter Assistenz zahlreicher stadtrömischer Kleriker an jedem Festtag in einer anderen der großen Kirchen Roms feierte, wohin man in feierlicher Prozession zog mit Fahnen, Kerzen, Standarten, der Papst in vollem Ornat, hoch zu Roß. Wie gleich zu zeigen sein wird, haben diese neuen Melodien – es sind die dann später gregorianisch genannten – ihr lokal-italisches (lokal-römisches) Kolorit abgestreift und stehen auf einer höheren, über-regionalen Ebene. Denn sie sind so beschaffen, daß sie auch außerhalb Roms und Italiens verstanden, gesungen, leichter eingepreßt und, wie fränkische Berichte glaubhaft versichern, geliebt werden konnten¹⁴. Es sind eben nicht mehr Melodien eines römischen Pfarrherrn oder des römischen Bischofs und seiner römischen Gläubigen, sondern Melodien des obersten Fürsten der Kirche, Melodien, die überall gewürdigt werden konnten, eben Melodien einer Weltmacht.

Während man bisher von einer liturgischen Tätigkeit unter Vitalian nur in einem Falle wußte¹⁵, konnte ich eine das ganze Mittelalter überdauernde Vitaliantradition nachweisen¹⁶. Schon der offizielle, von der päpstlichen Verwaltung beauftragte Biograph Gregors des Großen, Johannes Hymmonides, Diakon der römischen Kirche, der gegen Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts, gut drei Jahrhunderte nach Gregor, das erstmaligen diesen Papst als den verantwortlichen für die neuen Melodien vorstellte, konnte nicht umhin, Vitalian zu nennen, wenn er ihm auch nur eine zweitrangige Rolle neben seinem Helden zuerkannte¹⁷. Vom 12. Jahrhundert an häufen sich die Zeugnisse; in neun Belegen wird ganz dezidiert Vitalian als der Urheber des aktuellen, also des gregorianischen Chorals genannt: „*cantum Romanum composuit, quo hodie Romani utuntur*“, so oder ähnlich lautet der Tenor all dieser Aussagen¹⁶. Glücklicherweise besitzen wir darüber hinaus das Zeugnis eines Zeitgenossen, der – wenn auch indirekt

13 Darüber gleich unten (bei II).

14 „*iam pene tota Gallia diligit*“, schreibt in der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts Walahfrid Strabo, Abt von der Reichenau (*Monumenta Monodica* 2, S. 147⁺).

15 Peter Wagner zitiert diese Stelle (nach Martin Gerberts *De cantu et musica sacra*) in Band 1 seiner Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien (S. 216, Anmerkung 2); der von ihm gefragte Zusammenhang der Vitalianischen Melodien mit den von der Tradition abweichenden (unseren altrömischen) existiert tatsächlich, allerdings, was P. Wagner 1895 noch nicht wissen konnte, im entgegengesetzten Sinn.

16 Die genaueren Belege in *Monumenta Monodica* 2, S. 53⁺ und 144⁺ ff.

17 Ebenda S. 52⁺/53⁺ und 143⁺ (hier der Wortlaut).

und ohne Vitalian zu nennen – dessen choralische Initiative belegt. Es gibt eine Art kleiner „Kirchenmusikgeschichte“ in Annalenform¹⁸. Hier werden die Päpste der Reihe nach aufgezählt, die sich um den römischen Gesang Verdienste erworben haben. Diese Liste reicht nur bis Martin I., dem Geschichtskundigen wohl bekannt durch sein unglückseliges Ende in byzantinischer Gefangenschaft. Der nächstfolgende wäre Vitalian gewesen. Doch vor ihm endet die Aufzählung der Päpste, ein Indiz dafür, daß der Verfasser ein Zeitgenosse war¹⁹. Was aber noch interessanter und auffallender ist, am Ende der Liste erscheinen unerwartet drei Abbates römischer Klöster, die damals die Musikhochschulen waren und deren Angehörige den musikalischen Dienst an den Kirchen und Basiliken versahen: Maurianus, Catolenus und Virbonus. Wenn Kantoren, die einem relativ untergeordneten hierarchischen Rang angehörten, in einem Atemzug mit Päpsten genannt werden, müssen sie sich ganz besondere Verdienste erworben haben. Die ziemlich gleichbleibende stereotype Formel „*annalem cantum nobilem edidit*“ oder so ähnlich kann bei ihnen kaum anders gesehen werden als in Verbindung mit der Schaffung der neuen Melodien unter Vitalian²⁰.

Halten wir fest: seit Vitalian also war Rom liturgisch zweigeteilt. Für die Menge der Kirchen und Klöster verblieb der heimische altrömische Gesang; zu den herausragenden Funktionen der Päpste, besonders bei den Stationsmessen, erklangen die neuen Melodien. Um diese auch terminologisch aufzuwerten, benannte man sie – und das fast drei Jahrhunderte später – offiziell nach dem größten aller bisherigen Päpste, nach Gregor dem Großen, dessen exegetische Schriften und sonstige Werke im ganzen Mittelalter außerordentlich viel gelesen wurden und als richtungweisend anerkannt waren²¹. So wurde Gregor zum Erfinder der neuen, nun nach ihm benannten Melodien. Zahlreiche Bilder, besonders gern gleich zu Beginn der musikalischen Bücher, führen ihn ad oculos in dieser Eigenschaft vor: der Papst sitzt auf seinem Thron, auf seiner Schulter die Taube des heiligen Geistes, die ihm die Melodien ins Ohr flüstert und die der Papst selber niederschreibt oder seinem Schreiber diktiert²². Das war die mittelalterliche Vorstellung von der Entstehung der gregorianischen Me-

18 Diese Liste ist oft veröffentlicht worden, zuletzt in *Monumenta Monodica* 2, S. 146⁺; zur Datierung in die 2. Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts, also in die Zeit der hier beschriebenen Ereignisse, s. ebenda S. 5⁺ und 54⁺/55⁺.

19 Wenn der anonyme Verfasser der Liste, wie man einmal gemeint hat, hundert Jahre später gelebt hätte, wäre es unverständlich, warum er die musikalisch so interessierten und verdienstvollen Päpste Leo II. (682/83), Benedikt II. (684/85) und besonders den großen Sergius I. (687-701) nicht genannt hat.

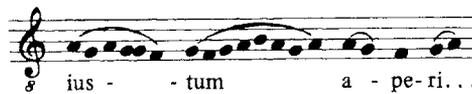
20 Wenn Klaus Gamber meint (in: *Missa Romensis*, Regensburg 1970, S. 165-169), die Tätigkeit der drei Abbates beziehe sich „*nicht oder nicht ausschließlich*“ auf eine musikalische Tätigkeit, sondern auf eine bloße textliche Redigierung, vermag ich dem verdienten Forscher nicht zu folgen; abgesehen von der teilweise gezwungenen Beweisführung, wird übersehen, daß es sich bei den drei Männern um Kantoren, also um Fachmusiker handelt, denen man eine liturgische Tätigkeit, wenn überhaupt, höchstens am Rande zuschreiben darf; auch das zeitliche Zusammentreffen mit Vitalian ist zu auffallend, als daß es unberücksichtigt bleiben darf.

21 Als Propagator für den römischen Choral war Gregor weitaus besser geeignet, als die vergleichsweise blasse Gestalt des Vitalian; auch sonst beobachten wir immer wieder die Tendenz, nur große Namen als Urheber von Liturgien zu beanspruchen.

22 Dazu neuerdings Bruno Stäblein, *Gregorius Praesul, der Prolog zum römischen Antiphonale*, in: *Musik und Verlag*, Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag, Kassel 1968, S. 537-561.



Wenn man das so über-hört (oder über-sieht), spürt man, daß die Melodie überwiegend in kleinen Schritten (das ist ja vornehmlich das Charakteristikum des Alt-italischen!), sanft und elegant, geschmeidig („*dulciter*“ sagen die Schriftsteller), ohne Kanten und Ecken dahin gleitet, ohne fühlbare Unterbrechung, ohne einen Einschnitt. So wird beispielsweise die Mitte nach „*iustum*“, wo ein neuer Satz beginnt, überspielt, oder sagen wir: überspült vom Tonstrom:



Auch bei der ersten grammatikalischen Zäsur nach „*desuper*“ macht die Linie keinen fühlbaren Einschnitt, es geht mit derselben Wendung weiter, mit der es vorher aufgehört hatte:



Der folgende zweite Satz „*et nubes pluunt iustum*“ dreht sich überhaupt bloß um den einen Ton *a*, und das in eleganten Wendungen. Auch bei der allerletzten Silbe (*salvato-rem*) gibt es keinen sofortigen Halt wie im Gregorianischen:



Silbe und Melodie decken sich nicht.

Das ist nämlich das zweite Auffallende: die Melodie scheint wie eine Perlenkette über den Text gebreitet zu sein. Es wird geradezu vermieden, die einzelnen Worte musikalisch zu profilieren. Aber nicht nur die Worte, sondern auch die Satzteile treten kaum in ihrer grammatikalischen Geschlossenheit hervor. Wie eine unendliche Melodie strömt es weiter.

Was hat nun der musikalische Redaktor unter Vitalian aus dieser Melodie gemacht?



2. 3.
 et nu - bes plu - ant ius - - tum a-pe-ri-a - tur
 4.
 ter - ra et ger-mi-net sal - va - to - rem.

Das ist ein gänzlich anderer Stil: man hört deutlich Worte, die vorher im gleichbleibenden Tonstrom nicht in Erscheinung getreten sind: „*Rorate*“

Ro - rá - te

„*caeli*“

cae - li

„*desuper*“ mit seiner Abbildung des „*super*“, des Höheren:

de - su - per

Das sind plastische Gestalten, die man fast mit den Händen greifen zu können glaubt. Gehen wir weiter zum zweiten Satz; wieder treten die Worte klar heraus: „*nubes*“ mit der Heraushebung des Wortakzentes

et nú - bes

„*pluant*“ ebenso (ganz ähnlich wie das „*caeli*“ im ersten Satz):

plu - ant

schließlich das letzte Wort „*iustum*“; dessen Akzentsilbe erhält mehr als das Doppelte an Tönen, als die beiden vorhergehenden Worte – ganz natürlich: es handelt sich weniger um ein Wort, als um einen Satzteil, dessen Schluß deutlich gemacht werden muß:

altromisch
 ius - - tum
 gregorianisch
 iús - - - tum

Dritter Satz: das Wort „*aperiatur*“ wird insofern deutlicher, als nur die Hauptsilbe mehrere Töne hat, im Gegensatz zur altrömischen Fassung, die rein musikalisch gesehen sicher eine entzückende Wendung ist:

Im vierten Satz bleibt die neue Melodie in der Tiefe. Es entsteht hier etwas, was sonst nicht die Regel ist, nämlich zwei Ebenen; die caeli-Ebene in der Höhe: „*pluant*“ = von oben herab regnen, und die terra-Ebene = von unten nach oben sprießen. In der altrömischen Version ist wohl auch diese Tendenz spürbar, wird aber lange nicht so deutlich akzentuiert: der Anfang bei „*et germinet*“ hält noch die Höhe, erst allmählich gleitet die Linie zur Tiefe. Wir bewundern wieder den Charme und die Anmut, mit der sich die Linie zum Schluß hin absetzt. Die neue Melodie dagegen ist gestraffter

In der gregorianischen Fassung wird das Zielen auf den Endton vom *G* bei „*germinet*“ an immer zwingender; auch das tiefe *C* bei (*sal*-)*va*-*(torem)*, das im altrömischen nie aufklang, ist wichtig, da es den Endton *D* von unten her einkreist und abstützt:

Der Schlußton *D* wird von *G* über *F* und *E* (* im Notenbeispiel) mit geradezu logischer Gewalt herbei gezwungen.

Es sind eben zwei verschiedene Arten zu singen und zu hören: das Alt-italische breitet seine Melodie wie ein üppiges Gewand über den Text, während das Gregorianische die Worte und damit den Sinn des Gesungenen plastisch herausarbeitet. Die gregorianischen Melodien bestehen vielfach aus solch systemvoll herausgemeißelten Tongestalten, aus musikalischen Individuen. Das Altrömische läßt die Melodie weiter fluten und meidet markante Zäsuren, das Gregorianische macht die Satzglieder evident: je wichtiger die Satzteile, desto längere Melismen erhalten die Schlüsse. In der Gregorianik herrscht ein System der musikalischen Rhetorik. Vergleicht man die beiden Repertoire als Ganzes, wird man entdecken, daß im Gregorianischen die einzelnen Gesangsgattungen, die ja verschiedenen liturgischen Funktionen zugehören, in ihrer stilistischen Haltung gegeneinander abgestuft sind. Unser Introitus,

ein Prozessionsgesang zum Einzug des Klerus in die Stationskirche, ist mit weniger Melismen durchsetzt, während ein Sologesang, bei dem liturgisch nichts passiert, sondern alles zuhört, sehr reich mit Melismen bedacht ist. Im Altrömischen tritt diese Unterscheidung nicht so prononciert und konsequent in Erscheinung.

So könnte man fortfahren und die gegensätzlichen Stileigenheiten weiter herausarbeiten. Nur eines darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben. Während wir bei der uns geläufigen Musik zwei Tongeschlechter unterscheiden (Dur und Moll), kannte das Mittelalter deren vier, vier Modi wie man sagte. Wenn man fragt, wie unterscheiden sich die Gesänge modal voneinander, bekommt man gerne zur Antwort: durch den Schlußton; enden sie auf *D*, herrscht *D*-Modus, auf *E* herrscht *E*-Modus etc. Doch sagt der Schlußton zu wenig. Im Prinzip (Ausnahmen gibt es immer und überall) läßt sich allein aus dem Duktus der Melodie das Tongeschlecht entnehmen, ohne daß man auf den Schlußton hört oder sieht. Der Modus spricht sich unverwechselbar aus durch Verwendung eines bestimmten Tongerüsts, das heißt bestimmter wichtiger, weniger wichtiger und unwichtiger Töne im Verlauf der Melodie, durch Bevorzugung bestimmter Formeln, besonders solcher, die am ehesten ins Ohr fallen, wie Initial- und Kadenzwendungen²⁵, kurz: der Modus durchzieht die Melodie wie ein Nervengeflecht. Das wußten auch die Theoretiker des Mittelalters, sie nannten diese Erscheinung *vis, virtus, vigor, ratio, potestas, proprietas, qualitas, cor atque animus* oder ähnlich. Dieses modale Verhalten der Gregorianik gab es im Altrömischen nicht oder allenfalls in Ansätzen. Hier sieht ein Gesang mehr oder weniger wie der andere aus; hier muß man wirklich, um den Modus zu erkennen, auf den Endton schauen. Ich halte es dabei durchaus für möglich, daß die Fixierung des Schlußtones, wie sie uns in den Späthandschriften vorliegt, erst durch eine Angleichung an die Gregorianik zustande gekommen ist²⁶. Sei dem, wie ihm wolle, die modale Durcharbeitung der gregorianischen Melodik ist eines der wichtigsten Charakteristika und eine der genialsten Taten der musikalischen Redaktoren um 670.

III.

Es wäre verwunderlich, wenn eine so neue These wie die von der Priorität des Altrömischen²⁷ und von dessen Umarbeitung zum systemvollen gregorianischen Choral unter Vitalian, unwidersprochen geblieben wäre. Die folgenden beiden Einwände waren die wesentlichen.

25 Soviel ich sehe, hat das erstmal Franz Brenn († 1963) auf dieses wichtige Phänomen aufmerksam gemacht, was weiter nicht beachtet worden ist, da es an abgelegener Stelle geschah (*Römisch-Gregorianisch. Ein kurzer Vergleich*, in: Katholische Kirchenmusik, St. Gallen, Heft 4, Juli 1962, S. 3-12; dazu auch: Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Bericht über den 9. Internationalen Kongreß Salzburg 1964, II, S. 156); in der schon oben (Anmerkung 6) angezeigten Publikation, einem Überblick über die Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Einstimmigkeit und ihrer Notation, habe ich dieses modale Verhalten ausführlich und übersichtlich dargestellt.

26 Wie auch sonst Beeinflussungen verschiedenster Art vonseiten der Gregorianik in die uns ja einzig und allein vorliegenden altrömischen Spätquellen nicht zu übersehen sind.

27 Die im Übrigen schon von Raphael Andoyer 1911 in einer längeren Artikelfolge in der *Revue du chant grégorien* behauptet worden ist (dazu *Monumenta Monodica* 2, S. 4⁺), sowie von Pierre Batiffol (dazu ebenda S. 5⁺, Anmerkung 15).

(1) Schon 1891, als sonst noch niemand etwas von der Existenz der altrömischen Melodien wußte, hat André Mocquereau, als er das erstmal solche Melodien vorlegte²⁸, diese als Entartung, als beklagenswerte Degeneration der gregorianischen deklariert. Diese Auffassung hat sich, wenn auch später teilweise abgeschwächt und sogar bezweifelt²⁹, bei einigen Vertretern der Solesmer Schule gehalten. Der Versuch einer Begründung wurde nie unternommen. Die letzte Position, auf die man sich zurückzog, war: das Einzige, was wir wissen, ist die Tatsache, daß uns Quellen des gregorianischen Chorals aus früherer Zeit überliefert sind, als solche des altrömischen. Das ist richtig, ist aber noch kein Beweis, da das später Überlieferte durchaus nicht immer auch das später Entstandene ist. Nun ist der Beweis der Priorität des Altrömischen unschwer zu führen; ich darf, um hier die Geduld des Lesers nicht über Gebühr zu beanspruchen, auf meine diesbezüglichen Ausführungen in *Monumenta Monodica* 2, S. 39⁺–41⁺, verweisen.

(2) Mehr Aufsehen erregt hat eine zweite Hypothese. Sie geht zwar aus von der Priorität des Altrömischen, suchte aber die Umredigierung zum Gregorianischen nicht in Rom, sondern nördlich der Alpen: um bei der unter den Karolingern seit 753 erfolgten Einführung der römischen Liturgie und ihrer altrömischen Melodien diese den Franken schmackhafter zu machen, habe man sie irgendwo im Frankenreich zu den gregorianischen umredigiert³⁰. Die Hauptlast der Beweisführung mußte die (irrtümliche) Behauptung tragen: die fränkischen Kantoren übernahmen nicht die in Rom übliche Übersetzung der Psalmtexte, sondern die in Gallien heimische – also könne die Redigierung nicht in Rom, sondern nur in Gallien erfolgt sein. Doch gerade das Umgekehrte ist der Fall, was sich mühelos nachweisen läßt³¹: die Quellen der gregorianischen Melodien kennen, und das von Anfang an, eben nicht die gallikanische Übersetzung, sondern die in Rom übliche. Lediglich für die Rezitation der Psalmen (nicht aber für die Melodien!) benützten die Franken ihre altgewohnten gallikanischen Texte. Damit ist der fränkischen These endgültig der Boden entzogen³².

Fassen wir zusammen und geben Antwort auf die zu Anfang aufgeworfenen vier Fragen.

1. Wo ist der gregorianische Choral entstanden? – Auf keinen Fall im Frankenreich, bestimmt in Italien und hier deutet doch wohl alles auf Rom, den Sitz des Papsttums, für dessen Gebrauch die neuen Melodien gemacht worden sind. Es ist

28 *Paléographie Musicale* 2, S. 4, Anmerkung 1.

29 So selbst vom Solesmer Kantor Joseph Gajard, dem Herausgeber der *Paléographie Musicale* bis zu seinem Tode 1973.

30 So Helmut Huckle in mehreren Veröffentlichungen (dazu *Monumenta Monodica* 2, S. 7⁺, 67⁺–78⁺, 81⁺–83⁺).

31 Ich habe es in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 27 (1970), S. 110–121 getan.

32 Sie ist in den zwanzig Jahren seit 1950 bis zu meiner Gegendarstellung verschiedentlich in die Sekundärliteratur eingegangen; sogar der, allerdings bereits schwer erkrankte Jacques Händschin hat sich 1954 (er ist 1955 verstorben) auf die Richtigkeit der Voraussetzungen verlassen und für Metz als vermutlichen Entstehungsort der gregorianischen Melodiefassungen plädiert; Louis Brou hat, ebenfalls ohne weiter zu prüfen, den sagenhaften Ort der Umarbeitung irgendwo zwischen Loire und dem Oberrhein gesucht, vermutlich hat er an Aurelian von Auxerre (!) gedacht, den ersten Autor eines Lehrbuches des gregorianischen Chorals.

kaum anzunehmen, daß Vitalian seine Sänger nicht in Rom, wo die reichste Musikpflege Italiens zentriert war³³, in den neuen Melodien unterrichten ließ. Außerdem war in Rom eine ähnliche stilistische Tendenz auf dem Gebiet der Textfassung lebendig: der „*Genius of Rome*“, den der englische Liturgiker Edmund Bishop (+ 1917) in einem berühmt gewordenen Aufsatz als die treibende Kraft der römischen Liturgie, vor allem auch für die knappe, disziplinierte, rationale Durchgestaltung der Orationen erkannte, muß sich auch in der Musik ausgewirkt haben.

2. *W a n n* ist er entstanden? – Unter dem Pontifikat Vitalians, also im dritten Viertel des 7. Jahrhunderts.

3. *W a r u m* ist er geschaffen worden? Um die Musik des päpstlichen Hofes aus der sie umgebenden stadtrömischen als höherstehend, als edler, nobilitierter herauszuheben. Kirchenpolitische Motive waren im letzten Grunde die treibenden Kräfte. In Mailand und in Benevent, wo man frei war von solchem Ehrgeiz, begnügte man sich auch weiterhin mit den heimischen alt-italischen Weisen.

4. Letzte Frage: *W i e* ist der Choral entstanden? – In einem musikgeschichtlichen Umformungsprozeß erster Ordnung³⁴. Das relativ freie Dahinströmen der altrömischen Melodik wurde gebändigt, wurde umstilisiert zu einer systemvollen „ars musica“ – mit diesem feinsinnigen, so ganz und gar treffenden Terminus bezeichnete schon ein Gedicht des 8. Jahrhunderts das Reformwerk³⁵.

33 Ich verweise nochmals auf *Monumenta Monodica* 2, S. 42⁺ 47⁺.

34 Es könnte hier der Eindruck erweckt worden sein, als ob die Entstehung der gregorianischen Melodien sich in der Umformung der altrömischen erschöpfte. Doch nicht selten erscheinen schon in den ältesten Büchern neu komponierte Gesänge oder Teile von solchen, für die im Altrömischen kein Vorgang zu finden ist. Besonders (wenn wir uns auf die Meßgesänge beschränken) die Offertorien mit ihren Versen bieten hier ein außerordentlich dankbares Studienfeld. Nicht wenige altrömische Versmelodien, die ein Spätstadium repräsentieren, da in ihnen noch Reste einer früher vermutlich allein herrschenden archaischen Psalmodie lebendig sind (ein Beispiel in MGG 10, Sp. 1689/90, Notenbeispiel 12), sind im Gregorianischen neu komponiert worden (ich nenne: *Benedictus es, Confitebuntur, Custodi me, Domine exaudi, Emitte spiritum, Exaudi deus, Expectans, Gloriabuntur, Intonuit, Miserere mihi, Mihi autem, Repleti, Si ambulavero*). Wenn aber altrömische Vorbilder verwendet wurden, haben die Redaktoren diese gerne erweitert, sei es, daß sie – offenbar bestrebt, den Sängern Gelegenheit zu virtuoser Stimmentfaltung zu bieten – ganze Partien wiederholten (so im Offertorium *Iubilare deo omnis terra*), sei es, daß sie (dies besonders häufig) kurz vor Schluß ein oft riesiges Melisma einfügten (das dann später ein dankbares Textierungsobjekt wurde), oder sei es, daß sie normale altrömische Melismen zu notenreicheren Partien ausbauten, in denen plastische Gestalten von seltener Schönheit abwechseln mit Tonwiederholungen, bei denen vermutlich die Sänger besondere stimmliche Kunstfertigkeiten zeigen konnten; ich nenne nur drei solche Beispiele: die Anfänge von *Reges Tharsis* und *Filiae regum*, sowie den Schluß des 1. Verses von *Ascendit*:



In nicht wenigen Fällen entsteht statt des alltäglichen altrömischen Figurenwerkes ein fesselndes Panorama gleich einer phantastischen Gebirgslandschaft.

35 Siehe Anmerkung 22.

Daß die neue Musiksprache, die fähig war, den Text leichter verständlich zu machen und dadurch seinen Sinn besser verdeutlichte, auch außerhalb Roms verstanden wurde, das beweist die Wirkung. Schon die Verpflanzung ins Frankenreich war letzten Endes ein voller Erfolg; ein Zeitgenosse, der die Umstellung persönlich miterlebt hat, der Langobarde Paulus Diaconus, der Geschichtsschreiber seines Volkes, kann in seiner Geschichte der Metzger Bischöfe nicht umhin, mit ganz starken Worten die volle Aufnahme durch den Metzger Klerus zu charakterisieren: der Klerus der damals musikalisch führenden Stadt sei „*abundanter imbutus Romana cantilena*“, er sei überströmend von der römischen Melodik durchdrungen (trunken) gewesen. Und hundert Jahre nach der Übernahme urteilt Walahfrid Strabo, ein Mann, der voll im geistigen Leben seiner Zeit stand (er war zuletzt Abt der Reichenau und ertrank 849 auf einer Reise in politischer Mission beim Loireübergang in Orléans): obwohl, so beginnt er und läßt den gallikanischen heimischen Melodien volle Gerechtigkeit widerfahren, obwohl die gallische Kirche über einen von außerordentlich fähigen Männern geschaffenen Gesangsschatz verfügte, haben die neuen Melodien wegen ihrer vollkommeneren Qualität („*perfectior scientia*“) weit und breit an Boden gewonnen („*longe lateque convaluit*“), fast das ganze Frankenreich liebt sie („*iam pene tota Gallia diligit*“). In „*perfectior scientia*“, einem wunderbaren Terminus, schwingt der Gedanke der systemvollen, mit höchster Intelligenz vollzogenen Durcharbeitung der Musiksprache mit.

Nehmen wir einmal an, die päpstliche Liturgie hätte sich über das Abendland mit den altrömischen Gesängen verbreiten müssen. Ob diese bei den Nicht-Italienern, besonders bei den nördlichen Völkern, eine solche Gegenliebe gefunden hätten³⁶? und ob sie die geeignete Grundlage für die weitere musikgeschichtliche Entwicklung im Laufe des Mittelalters hätten abgeben können? Die Frage stellen, heißt sie beantworten.

36 Das Altrömische ist eben mehr Stil seiner Zeit und vor allem nur aus der mittelmeerischen Umgebung heraus verständlich, während das Gregorianische solchen Einengungen entwachsen ist, es steht über Ort und Zeit.



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The Question of the "Old-Roman" Chant: A Reappraisal

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In the preface to Volume II of the *Paléographie musicale*, 1891, the Solesmes monk, Dom Mocquereau, described three unusual manuscripts that he had found in Rome during his search for graduals containing chants of the type *Iustus ut palma*.¹ He recognized that the three books, two graduals and an antiphoner, contained basically the same feasts with the same Mass and Office texts but not the same melodies as the Gregorian books he knew. The melodies seemed as different from Gregorian as did Ambrosian chant melodies; and to him, these manuscripts revealed the existence of still another chant repertory, which he called "Vatican" chant. Nevertheless, he thought that the melodies were borrowed from the Gregorian chant, and he claimed that, stripped of the melismatic figuration that characterizes them, one can recognize the basic Gregorian design. He suggested, therefore, that the Vatican chant was a late formation whose melodies had been borrowed from the Gregorian tradition at a time when the rules for Gregorian composition had

¹ Footnote, pp. 4–9. These manuscripts are nos. 2, 3, and 15 of Michel Huglo; see Example I.

fallen into disuse. Thus, for Dom Mocquereau, the Vatican chant was a late deformation of Gregorian chant.

The manuscripts soon came to the attention of another Solesmes monk, Dom Andoyer, who was struck not only by the strange melodic repertory but also by many features of an apparently archaic liturgical tradition. He reported in 1912 that the liturgical practice was as old if not older than the Gregorian, excluding, for example, the many feasts added to Gregorian books in the 9th century and later.² Accordingly, he classified the manuscripts as "*antégrégorien*."

In dismissing them as pre- or post-Gregorian without further study, both writers had considered the manuscripts merely as exceptional, curiosity pieces, both had failed to consider what their real meaning could be, and neither had seen them as a threat to the long established, traditional beliefs concerning Gregorian chant. Other writers during the first half of this century, Peter Wagner among them,³ also knew the three manuscripts but still included them within the standard, Gregorian framework. The situation remained this way until 1950, when Bruno Stäblein finally exposed the problem as such and attempted to come to grips with it.⁴ He clearly recognized that these three unusual manuscripts were intimately connected with the origins of Gregorian chant; and he designated their repertory as "Old-Roman" in contrast to that of the Gregorian, which he thought was, by comparison, "New-Roman." Whether as a direct result of his own investigation or a by-product of the general enthusiasm for Gregorian chant research during the 1950s, that decade saw no less than a dozen musicologists and liturgists contribute twice as many articles to the study of the Old-Roman chant. Today, the problem is well formulated.

The traditional theory of the origin and development of Gregorian chant, according to which the chant is supposed to have originated in Rome in the time of if not by the hand of Gregory the Great (d. 604) and to have been disseminated from there throughout Europe in the course of the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries, seems to contradict thoroughly the evidence of the chant manuscripts that have survived to our time. Two astounding facts confront us:

1. Of the hundreds of graduals and antiphoners of Gregorian chant that have come down to us, not a single one is known to have been written or used in Rome before the middle of the 13th century.
2. There is a small group of manuscripts which are definitely known to have been written and used in Rome before the middle of the 13th century, manuscripts whose repertory is strikingly different from the Gregorian chant.⁵

How does the presence of this so-called "Old-Roman" chant affect the traditional historical picture of Rome as the center of Western Christendom, Rome as the Mother Church of Europe, Rome as the source for the diffusion of the liturgy and

² *Le Chant romain antégrégorien*, in: *Revue du chant grégorien* XX (1912), pp. 71–75, 107–114.

³ See fn. 16.

⁴ *Zur Frühgeschichte des römischen Chorals*, in: *Atti del congresso internazionale di musica sacra* (1950), 1952, pp. 271–275.

⁵ See MICHEL HUGLO, *Le Chant "vieux-romain": Liste des manuscrits et témoins indirects*, in: *Sacris erudiri* VI (1954), p. 96.

chant, when, indeed, Rome has a chant repertory different from that known throughout Europe? Is it possible that Gregorian chant is not from Rome?

To these and other such demanding questions musicologists have devoted much energy during the past fifteen years. A great deal has now been said about the origins and relationships of the two repertories. There have, however, been many obstacles to progress, and much confusion has arisen—from inaccurate medieval literary reports, from insufficient study of the repertories, and from our scanty knowledge about the Middle Ages, in general, and about the chant during its period of oral transmission in Rome and in France, in particular. There has been far too much speculation in the absence of fact; and the whole affair, thusfar, has been characterized by a deplorable lack of objectivity. Therefore, in spite of many attempts to explain the meaning of the Old-Roman chant and the relationship between the Old-Roman and Gregorian repertories, not much progress has been made. It is my intent here to bring order to the literary chaos now enveloping the question of the Old-Roman chant, first by distilling the essence of the more rational and useful contemporary ideas and evaluating the contribution of each, and then by examining briefly the actual liturgical and musical situation that exists between the Old-Roman and Gregorian chants.

In a series of articles published between 1950 and 1952, Bruno Stäblein sought to uncover the real meaning of the Old-Roman chant and to determine its relationship to the Gregorian.⁶ He limited his investigation to the Old-Roman Mass, confining his study to those two graduals mentioned in the literature sixty years earlier by Dom Mocquereau: *Biblioteca vaticana* 5319, from c. 1100, and *Archivio di San Pietro F* 22, 13th century (nos. 2 and 3 of Example I, which will be explained later). Despite their late redaction, he noted many apparently archaic features, such as:

1. the consistent use of communion verses and, in the introits, of the *versus ad repetendum* even in the 13th century Old-Roman gradual, a custom which disappeared entirely from Gregorian manuscripts c. 1100,
2. the very limited number of alleluia melodies, only eighteen for about seventy-five alleluias while the oldest Gregorian graduals with music contain over fifty, e. g., fifty-six melodies for the ninety-seven alleluias in *St. Gall* 359, c. 900,
3. the use of *secundae melodiae*, the usually extended jubilation connected to the repetition of an alleluia after its verse, a retention, according to Stäblein, of an ancient liturgical practice evident also in the Milanese chant, and
4. traces of a psalmodic construction for some offertory verses while no such parallel is to be found among Gregorian offertories.⁷

So Stäblein, like Andoyer and others before him, was also struck by the signs of conservatism in this repertory, by the retention in these quite late Old-Roman

⁶ *Zur Frühgeschichte.*

Alt- und neordmischer Choral, in: *Kongress-Bericht Lüneburg* (1950), n. d., pp. 53–56.

Zur Entstehung der gregorianischen Melodien, in: *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* XXXV (1951), pp. 5–9.

Choral, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* II (1952), cols. 1265–1303. (Hereafter referred to as MGG.)

⁷ *Zur Frühgeschichte*, pp. 271–272.

manuscripts of apparently much older practices, which often did not survive even in the earliest-notated Gregorian graduals. A study of the Mass chants of the Old-Roman repertory, followed, presumably, by a comparison of both melodic collections, leads Stäblein to conclude that there is a question not of two different melody repertories but only of two different versions of a single chant: one repertory is the result of a stylistic revision of the other. Accepting the more conservative features of the Old-Roman as signs of greater antiquity, Stäblein concludes that the Old-Roman must represent the older repertory and that the Gregorian must be a later revision of it.

Stäblein believes, furthermore, that historical evidence not only supports his contention but also allows him to determine where, when, and by whom this reform came about. Of the numerous *ordines romani* that have survived from the Middle Ages, *ordos* giving prescriptions for some liturgical function or ceremony supposedly according to the Roman use, there is one that gives a list of eight popes, from Damasus (366–384) to Martin (649–653), who are supposed to have contributed to the editing or compiling of an annual liturgical cycle.⁸ On the testimony of the document, Stäblein credits these eight popes with the formation of the Roman liturgy, its annual cycle of texts as well as chants.

After the list of popes, the *ordo* goes on to name three abbots of St. Peter's in Rome who were also thought to have made great contributions to the yearly cycle.⁹ Stäblein thinks that the activity of the three abbots, in contrast to that of the eight popes, must have been entirely musical, for, he says, only popes could legislate liturgical matters. Their activity, then, must have involved a musical reform, a revision of the chant "edited" by the popes before them. He concludes, therefore, that the Old-Roman chant must be the repertory connected with the work of the eight popes, that it existed essentially in its present form by the year 653, and that in that year or shortly thereafter three abbots of St. Peter's undertook a reformation of this "old" Roman chant, leading to the creation of the Gregorian chant. Furthermore, this revision must have been complete by c. 680, the time of the trip to England of John, the archcantor of St. Peter's in Rome and the supposed author of the *ordo*, for, according to Stäblein, he was sent to England for the express purpose of teaching the new chant. And since it is the Gregorian that became known

⁸ MICHEL ANDRIEU, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, Vol. III, 1951, pp. 211–227:

a. *Primus beatus Damasus papa [366–384] . . . ordinem ecclesiasticum . . . instituit et ordinavit.*

b. *Post hunc beatissimus Leo papa [440–461] annalem cantum omnem instituit.*

c. *Deinde beatus Zelasius papa [492–496] similiter omnem annalem cantum . . . conscripsit.*

d. *Post hunc Simachus papa [498–514] similiter et ipse annalem suum cantum ededit.*

e. *Iterum post hunc Iohannis papa [523–526] similiter et ipse annum circoli cantum vel omni ordine conscripsit.*

f. *Post hunc Bonifacius papa [530–532] . . . regulam conscripsit et cantilena anni circoli ordinavit.*

g. *Post hos quoque beatus Gregorius papa [590–604] . . . cantum anni circoli nobili ededit.*

h. *Post hunc Martinus papa [649–653] similiter et ipse anni circoli cantum ededit.*

⁹ a. *Post istos quoque Catolenus abba, ibi deserviens ad sepulchro sancti Petri et ipse quidem annum circoli cantum diligentissime ededit.*

b. *Post hunc quoque Maurianus abba, ipsius sancti Petri apostoli serviens, annalem suum cantum et ipse nobile ordinavit.*

c. *Post hunc vero dominus Virbonus abba et omnem cantum anni circoli magnifice ordinavit.*

throughout all British churches, it must have been the chant brought by John, c. 680. Thus, the revisionary work on the Old-Roman and the formation of the Gregorian chant must have taken place c. 653 — c. 680.¹⁰

It is no accident, claims Stäblein, that this period coincides with the pontificate of Vitalian (657—672), for there is much medieval literature pointing to Vitalian's importance for the history of chant. First, there is the biography by Ekkehard V, written c. 1220, of the famous Notker Balbulus, wherein it is reported that in Rome during the pontificate of Vitalian, the chant of the papal service was performed by singers called "Vitaliani."¹¹ For Stäblein, this means that a special, papal chant was sung in Rome during the pontificate of Vitalian by that pope's private choir of singers; and he finds irresistible the temptation to equate this chant with the reform of the three abbots. Second, there is the evidence of Radulph de Rivo, a late 14th-century critic of the Roman church, who reported that popes Gregory and Vitalian "received" the Roman chant that is sung today, *i. e.*, the Gregorian chant.¹² And there are still other medieval reports to which Stäblein refers, such as that of Martinus Polonus, who, in the 13th century, credited Vitalian not only with composing the Gregorian chant but also with writing organum upon it!¹³

Finally, for an explanation of why the Old-Roman was still in use in the 11th—13th centuries, long after its presumed 7th-century revision into the Gregorian, Stäblein suggests two uses at Rome: that of the basilican monasteries of the Lateran, the "original," Old-Roman chant, and that of the papal palace in the Lateran, the reformed, Gregorian chant.¹⁴

Most subsequent writers have not been too charitable towards Stäblein's view of the Old-Roman-Gregorian problem; in particular, they have looked more critically at his historical witnesses. First, there seems to be little doubt that some kind of strong tradition that attributed to Vitalian an important role in the history of chant had existed in the later Middle Ages; but, as Jacques Handschin points out, the earliest evidence thereof that has reached us comes from c. 500 years after the facts—whatever they may have been.¹⁵ In annals more contemporary with Vitalian there are no such attributions. Therefore, there is really no reason to assume that the papal singers during the pontificate of Vitalian sang any new, reformed chant, or to think that Ekkehard reveals anything more than the 13th-century belief that Vitalian had a private choir of singers who chanted Mass when he celebrated. The fact is that neither we nor Ekkehard have the slightest idea what the Vitaliani sang.¹⁶

¹⁰ *Zur Frühgeschichte*, pp. 273—275.

¹¹ "Hic est ille Vitalianus praesul, cuius adhuc cantum quando apostolicus celebret, quidam dicuntur Vitaliani, solent edere in praesentia eius." *Vita Notkeri Balbuli*, II, c. 12; STÄBLEIN, *Choral*, col. 1272.

¹² "Apyd Romanos beatus Gregorius et Vitalianus papae cantum Romanum receperunt . . . qui hodie cantatur. . . ." *De canonum observantia*, 1397, c. 22; STÄBLEIN, *Choral*, cols. 1272—73.

¹³ "Vitalianus cantum Romanorum composuit et organo concordavit." See JACQUES HANDSCHIN, *Sur quelques tropaires grecs traduits en latin*, Appendix: *La Question du chant "vieux-romain,"* in: *Annales musicologiques* II (1954), p. 56.

¹⁴ *Zur Frühgeschichte*, p. 275.

¹⁵ *Sur quelques tropaires*, p. 56.

¹⁶ PETER WAGNER (*Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, Vol. I: *Ursprung und Entwicklung*

As for the ordo listing the eight popes and three abbots, it is all too evident how heavily Stäblein has relied upon its testimony to support his theory. He has accepted its attribution to John, the Archcantor of St. Peter's, he has dated its content according to events in John's life, and, most important, he has assumed its testimony to be historically accurate. The liturgist Michel Andrieu, who has studied and published this among fifty Roman ordos, has questioned the validity of the entire document and has introduced considerable doubt into those very issues upon whose accuracy and contemporaneity so much of Stäblein's theory depends. Andrieu argues quite convincingly that the ordo is totally unauthentic, a forgery created to enhance the prestige of the Roman chant in France. It was not written by John; it was not written in Rome; it was not written in the 7th century. Andrieu sees it as the work of an 8th-century, French monk.¹⁷

Finally, aside from the date of the document and its authenticity, one must question the content itself. Is there any compelling reason to think that the work of the three abbots constituted a revision of the chant, or to see in the supposed chant contributions of the eight popes and three abbots the Old-Roman and Gregorian repertoires that we know today? Certainly not. And, in fact, the ordo tells us really nothing about the work of these men.

In summary, Stäblein's historical witnesses to the 7th-century revision of the Old-Roman into a new Roman chant cannot be accepted. Since he presents no other evidence, liturgical or musical, his entire theory must be rejected. A great part of his difficulty can, I think, be traced to an incomplete knowledge of the sources of the Old-Roman chant. Far more information than he had about the sources has been readily available to all subsequent writers on the subject, thanks to the singularly important contribution, in 1954, of Michel Huglo: an inventory of all the evidence, direct and indirect, of the Old-Roman chant.¹⁸

It would be useful here to consider briefly this inventory and the nature of the various sources, for which I have drawn up the tabular summary in Example I.

Beginning with the Mass, Huglo describes thirteen sources of varying degrees of importance. The first three are fully notated graduals, of which nos. 2 and 3 have been well known since Dom Mocquereau's study, though no. 1 has been in private hands and not generally available. Important for both the Mass and Office is no. 5, an orational from St. Peter's which contains music for three Masses as well as a complete Office for the Dead. In a missal also from St. Peter's, no. 8, neumes have been added to one piece, the alleluia for Holy Saturday. In addition to these Old-Roman sources containing Old-Roman chant, Huglo has found three Gregorian manuscripts that contain certain Old-Roman melodies: a canticle in no. 4, a 12th-century gradual from Valcastoriana, about ninety miles north of Rome, and one Mass in no. 6 and two in no. 7, two 11th-century Gregorian manuscripts from the

der liturgischen Gesangsformen, 1911, p. 216) also tried to clarify the legend of the Vitaliani; he thought that the chant of Vitalian was to be seen in the (later called) Old-Roman, not in the Gregorian, chant.

¹⁷ *Les Ordines romani*, Vol. III, pp. 6–15.

¹⁸ *Le Chant "vieux-romain,"* pp. 90–124.

vicinity of Siena, also quite close to Rome. According to Huglo, the presence of an Old-Roman formulary in a Gregorian manuscript is easily explained: since the Gregorian repertory had not provided any proper chants for, for example, the Mass of marriage, that formulary was drawn from the chant of Rome, the Old-Roman chant.¹⁹ We should not be surprised, therefore, to find Gregorian manuscripts borrowing from the Old-Roman tradition, or the reverse situation of Gregorian chants infiltrating the Old-Roman repertory, as is the case with about thirty alleluias and twenty sequences. The borrowings filled a need, and they came from the nearest adequate source—a different tradition notwithstanding. Huglo's final witness to the Old-Roman Mass is the early 13th-century revision of the Pontifical of the Roman Curia, a book of liturgical prescriptions containing three antiphons for the procession of the relics on the feast of the Dedication of the Church according to the Old-Roman version of these chants.

Huglo's non-musical evidence for the Old-Roman Mass comprises four sources, two Old-Roman and two Gregorian. His decision whether a non-musical source was evidence of the Old-Roman or of the Gregorian tradition was based on those peculiarities of liturgical ordering and text variation of the notated Old-Roman and Gregorian books which are found in the non-notated sources. No. 10, then, is a fragment from a 9th-century table of Mass chants in which the order of pieces extant is the same as that in the notated Old-Roman graduals but considerably different from the order in corresponding Gregorian graduals. Similarly, no. 11 shows its Old-Roman provenance by the order of its lectionary as well as its Mass texts. Finally, nos. 12 and 13 each reveal a certain amount of Old-Roman influence, though their orientation is basically Gregorian.

There are only three known musical sources for the Old-Roman Office: two completely notated antiphoners, nos. 14 and 15, and the orational mentioned above, no. 5, with its Office for the Dead. The non-musical evidence consists of four documents: two early, Roman ordos, from the mid-8th²⁰ and late-8th / early-9th centuries;²¹ the *Liber politicus*,²² a book of ceremonial instructions for celebrating the major liturgical feasts of the year, written shortly before 1143 by Benedict, a canon of St. Peter's in Rome; and, lastly, the description, c. 844, by Amalar of Metz of a much earlier Roman antiphoner that he had examined at Corbie.²³ The *Liber politicus* agrees almost perfectly with the antiphoner of St. Peter's (no. 15) in the liturgical prescriptions and in the order of pieces occasionally cited; and the testimony of the Corbie antiphoner is assured because certain peculiarities noted by Amalar are found later in Old-Roman but never in Gregorian manuscripts.

In sum, then, Huglo describes twenty-one witnesses to the Old-Roman tradition from the 8th to the 13th centuries, evidence that includes six late, notated manu-

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

²⁰ *Les Ordines romani* Vol. III, pp. 362–372; see below, pp. 15.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II (1948), pp. 459–466.

²² P. FABRE and L. DUCHESNE, eds., *Le Liber Censuum*, Vol. II, pt. IV: *Le Liber politicus de Benoit*, 1910; J. P. MIGNÉ, ed., *Patrologia latina*, Vol. 78, cols. 1025–54. (Hereafter referred to as PL.)

²³ *Liber de ordine antiphonarum*, in: PL, Vol. 105, cols. 1243–1316 or in J. M. HANSSSENS, *Amalarit episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, Vol. III (in: *Studi e testi*, Vol. 140), pp. 9–224.

scripts, the earliest dating from 1071, three Gregorian sources that contain Old-Roman melodies and two others that have been influenced by the Old-Roman tradition, and four books of liturgical prescriptions for the Roman, *i. e.*, Old-Roman, ceremonial.²⁴

We shall postpone momentarily discussion of his views on the meaning and importance of the Old-Roman chant in order to turn to Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, who, with full knowledge of Huglo's inventory and therefore the physical extent of the Old-Roman chant in time and space, still defends the hypothesis that both chants originated in Rome, that one is merely a revision of the other, and that both were used simultaneously in Rome until the 13th century by different groups representing different religious interests.²⁵

Van Waesberghe believes there is sufficient justification for supposing that two chant repertoires could have been in use simultaneously in Rome, that, in fact, a situation existed that made inevitable the rise of two different versions of the chant. Like Stäblein, he builds his entire hypothesis upon a cornerstone of medieval literature.

His primary witness is the *Liber pontificalis*, the so-called "Book of the Popes," an anonymously compiled collection of papal biographies. The *Liber pontificalis* contains references to the effect that certain early 7th-century popes gave special support to the monks of the basilican monasteries attached to the great cathedrals of Rome, and that others favored the clerics of the churches of the City. To van Waesberghe, these veiled references indicate that a continuous struggle must have existed between the monks and clerics of Rome over liturgical matters, and that in this conflict certain popes favored the monks, *e. g.*, Gregory I, who had made his house into a monastery, and others favored the clerics, *e. g.*, Sabinian, Gregory's successor, who had filled his church with clerics.²⁶ Van Waesberghe assumes that each party in this struggle for liturgical primacy in Rome must have had its own chant. Accordingly, he concludes that the "original" chant of Pope Gregory must have been reformed twice in the course of the 7th century, first by the monks and later by the clerics. The result of the first reform, he says, was the Gregorian chant; the result of the second, the Old-Roman.²⁷

Van Waesberghe claims that the Gregorian must have been the chant of the monks, and the Old-Roman that of the clerics, because:

²⁴ Note that no. 5 = no. 16 and that no. 17, a notated diurnal supposedly found in Rome by Dom R. Baratta, is now lost.

²⁵ *Neues über die Schola cantorum zu Rom*, in: *Zweiter internationaler Kongreß für Katholische Kirchenmusik: Bericht* (1954), 1955, pp. 111–119.

The Two Versions of the Gregorian Chant, read before the sixth congress of the International Musicological Society, 1955, 11 pp.

L'Etat actuel des recherches scientifiques dans le domaine du chant grégorien, in: *Actes du troisième congrès international de musique sacrée* (1957), 1957, pp. 206–217.

²⁶ L. DUCHESNE, ed., *Le Liber pontificalis*, Vol. I, p. 312: Gregory I (590–604), "Hic domum suam constituit monasterium." *Neues*, p. 112; Vol. I, p. 315: Sabinian (604–606), "Hic ecclesiam de clero implavit."

²⁷ *Neues*, pp. 114–116.

1. the Old-Roman manuscripts omit references to monks but give many details of performance and other information specifically mentioning clerics, canons, deacons, and the schola cantorum, and
2. all the Old-Roman graduals and antiphoners with music come from churches, not monasteries.²⁸

Unfortunately for Van Waesberghe, closer examination of the sources shows that both points are erroneous. As for the first, I know of at least two direct references in the Old-Roman sources to monks: one, in the *Liber politicus* (no. 18), which says that in the vigils of the feast of St. Paul, "the monks of the church read three lessons . . . and sing three responsories;"²⁹ the other, in the antiphoner of St. Peter's (no. 15), which directs three or four of the "brothers" to sing the invitatory, read the lessons, and sing the responsories on Easter Sunday.³⁰ As for the second, while we do not know where all the musical sources were used, to assume that they were used only by the clerics of the Roman churches and not by the monks of the basilican monasteries is wrong. First, the above-mentioned rubric in the antiphoner of St. Peter's tells us that monks did assist in the reading of lessons and in the singing of responsories, at least for the vigil of St. Paul and on Easter Sunday, though it seems to me that the practice must have been more general. Second, a note at the end of this same antiphoner tells us that in the year 1266 it was owned by the monks of the monastery of St. Saba in Rome.³¹ This antiphoner, then, was used by both monks and clerics in Rome; it is evidence that, at least in the 13th century, the clerics and monks of Rome used the same liturgical books and sang the same liturgical chant, the Old-Roman chant.

Furthermore, van Waesberghe's claim that a difference existed in the 7th century between the chant of the monks and that of the clerics can also be invalidated. For one thing, he has accepted at face value the testimony of the *Liber pontificalis*, but liturgists have always doubted its reliability. For example, Donald Attwater, in *A Catholic Dictionary*, says "those [biographies] up to Boniface II (530–2) were written all together about that time and a great deal of spurious matter included; those which follow were written shortly after the death of each pope or group of popes but are of unequal value."³² And in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* we read that before c. 700 the biographies were entered by various authors at different times, each writer treating a group of papal lives.³³ It seems to me that this kind of treatment can produce neither reliable nor accurate results. I would add that, in a sense, the purpose of the *Liber pontificalis*, like that of all medieval biographical writing, was to glorify the words and deeds, supposed or real, of the subject. And what is worse, many of these accounts were written centuries after the death of their subjects, and

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 118–119.

²⁹ "Monachi ecclesiae legunt tres lectiones, Saulus adhuc spirans minarum; cantant tria responsoria." PL, Vol. 78, col. 1051.

³⁰ "Ad matutinum tres vel quatuor de fratribus, induti pluvialibus, cantant invitatorium, similiter lect. et Ry, cum pluvialibus." (f. 102').

³¹ "Constat me fratrem Franciscum monachum S. Sabe recepisse . . . [illegible] anno domini 1266 mens. novembri in vigilia dedicationis basilicarum Petri et Pauli." (f. 197).

³² 1941, p. 308.

³³ Vol. IX, 1910, pp. 224–226.

do not discriminate between the facts, however few, that may have been known and the legendary material, however extensive, that had accrued. Such is the case, for example, with the notorious, late 9th-century biography of Gregory the Great (d. 604) by John the Deacon of Monte Cassino, and the 13th-century biography of Notker Balbulus (d. 912) by Ekkehard V. Hence, such documents are usually of little if any use in establishing historical truth. And for determining the relationship, historically, between the Old-Roman and Gregorian chants, I think they are all quite useless; they should be abandoned by musicologists seeking to answer the question of the Old-Roman chant.³⁴

Finally, Helmut Hucke suggests that van Waesberghe has been overly indulgent towards the *Liber's* rather indiscriminate use of the terms *monachi* and *clerici*, and he produces some evidence to show, in all probability, that no distinction at all was intended and that the terms were used synonymously.³⁵

I believe, then, that we must reject van Waesberghe's entire hypothesis as we did Stäblein's, and largely for the same reasons. There is no evidence of any chant reform in the 7th century, in Rome or anywhere else, no evidence to support the claim that the chant of the clerics was different from that of the monks, at that or any other time, and no evidence to prove the presence of two chant repertories in Rome before the middle of the 13th century.

Nevertheless, there are other writers, including Jacques Handschin,³⁶ Ewald Jammers,³⁷ S. P. van Dijk,³⁸ and Joseph Gajard,³⁹ who still ascribe to the theory

³⁴ My rather summary dismissal of the historical evidence called upon by other writers on the Old-Roman chant is not too harsh a judgment of the literary records of the Middle Ages; it merely reflects, to a necessary extreme here, the realistic attitude and critical approach taken by professional historians. HEINRICH VON SYBEL, for example, makes the following evaluation:

This period possessed no idea of historical judgement, no sense of historical reality, no trace of critical reflection. The principle of authority, ruling without limitation in the religious domain, defended all tradition, as well as traditional dogma . . . No distinction was made between ideal and real, between poetical and historical truth . . . Almost no one felt any scruples in giving to existing conditions the sanction of venerable age by means of fabricated history or forged documents. The question whether the ascribed derivation was true interested no one; it was enough if the result harmonized with existing rights, dominating interests and prevalent beliefs. (Cited in ERNST BERNHEIM, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichts-Philosophie*, 1903, pp. 190–191.)

GEORGE G. COULTON warns us that the medieval historian's "calculations of numbers, for instance, can scarcely ever be trusted, and nearly always exceptionally great allowance must be made for his professional or religious bias." (*Historiography*, in: *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. VII, 1932, p. 374.)

More outspoken is H. E. BARNES's contemporary appraisal of the literature produced by the monks of medieval Europe, the chief historians of the time:

While we owe much to their industry and devotion, their religious superstitions and prejudices, as well as their preponderantly religious interests, warped, distorted and limited their historical work. (*A History of Historical Writing* [1937], 2nd ed., 1962, pp. 56–57.)

³⁵ *Zu einigen Problemen der Choralforschung*, in: *Die Musikforschung* XI (1958), p. 402.

³⁶ *Sur quelques tropaires*.

³⁷ *Der gregorianische Choral und das byzantinische Kaisertum*, in: *Stimmen der Zeit* 167 (1961), pp. 445–452.

Musik in Byzanz, im päpstlichen Rom und im Frankenreich, 1962.

³⁸ *The Urban and Papal Rites in Seventh and Eighth-Century Rome*, in: *Sacris erudiri* XII (1961), pp. 411–487.

that both chant repertoires are Roman. There is no need here to consider their individual evidence; their collective contribution must ultimately share the same fate as that of Stäblein and van Waesberghe. Their approach, by and large, has been fundamentally wrong. By almost totally neglecting the chant itself and by concentrating almost entirely on the historical side of the question, they have followed a path to failure. A measure of success, however, in direct proportion to their consideration of the sources of the Old-Roman chant and their subsequent conclusions based on comparative studies of the two repertoires, has been achieved by the writers to be discussed now.

Michel Huglo, on the basis of his list of manuscript and other evidence, believes that a liturgical-musical repertory quite distinct from the Gregorian has been uncovered and proved, that it has a different but no less important music tradition, and that it is at least as old as the Gregorian chant. He has shown that the Old-Roman was the official usage of Rome in the mid-8th century (Example I, no. 20), that it was still the official chant c. 1140 (no. 18), and that it was in use even into the 13th century (nos. 3 and 9).

On the basis of the diffusion of the Old-Roman chant as seen from its sources, Huglo concludes that it was a local repertory with origins and use particularly at Rome, much like the Ambrosian at Milan or the Beneventan in Beneventum. The repertory is encountered in certain 10th-century manuscripts from central Italy: some churches in this area show in their traditions a mixture of Old-Roman and Gregorian (nos. 11 and 12). In the late 11th and early 12th centuries this area around Rome still shows traces of Old-Roman usage through direct borrowings, where needed, from the Old-Roman repertory (nos. 4, 6, and 7). In the beginning of the 9th century, the Old-Roman usage was known at Corbie, near Aachen, the capital of the Carolingian Empire (no. 21); and the Fulda source (no. 10) reveals Old-Roman penetration even to that area. But during the 9th century, imposed by official will, the Gregorian had triumphed almost everywhere, and through the influence of the German popes in the Ottonian era, it had penetrated to the very center of the Old-Roman sphere of influence, Rome, and had even infiltrated into the Old-Roman repertory where we find a number of Gregorian melodies.⁴⁰

Huglo has no doubt about the origins and use of the Old-Roman chant, and, on the basis of the evidence itself, he concludes that it must have been the only chant known to the Roman Curia, the clergy, and the churches of the City.⁴¹ But on the origins of Gregorian chant, he is silent. He goes no further than to recognize its spread from imperial decree. The purpose of his essay was to study the sources of the Old-Roman chant. It remained for Helmut Hucke to defend the idea, only

Papal Schola versus Charlemagne, in: *Organicae voces. Festschrift Joseph Smits van Waesberghe* (1961), 1963, pp. 21–30.

Gregory the Great, Founder of the Urban Schola Cantorum, in: *Ephemerides liturgicae LXXVII* (1963), pp. 335–356.

Rom, Frühchristentum und Mittelalter, in: *MGG XI* (1963), cols. 692–695.

³⁹ "Vieux-romain" et "grégorien," in: *Etudes grégoriennes III* (1959), pp. 7–26.

⁴⁰ *Le Chant "vieux-romain,"* p. 123.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

intimated by Huglo, that the origins of Gregorian chant are intimately linked to the Carolingian Empire.⁴²

On the basis of Huglo's study, Hucke too concludes that the Old-Roman was the official and the only use of Rome before the 13th century. The Gregorian must have had its origins elsewhere. The impetus, he believes, came from the Carolingian court and its imperial ideal of a politically unified empire strengthened by liturgical unity in the Western world, to be accomplished by the adoption of the Roman liturgy and the propagation of its use, and only its use, in the Empire.⁴³ Hucke thinks that the chant of Rome must have accompanied the liturgy into France, but, as the two repertories now reveal, the melodies exported from Rome during the 8th century developed abroad rather independently and under different influences from the parent repertory. By 1071, the earliest time that both musical repertories can be compared, they are quite different.

On the basis of a comparison of the gradual chants of both repertories, Hucke concludes that the Gregorian melodies are, generally speaking, subsequent arrangements of the Old-Roman melodies, whereby the structure of the original is preserved though the melodic line may be considerably altered in matters of detail.⁴⁴ He gets the impression of an intentional transformation and deliberate arrangement of the Old-Roman into the Gregorian for aesthetic reasons rather than of a mere translation from a foreign language into the native tongue. Also, he thinks that the formation of the Gregorian must have occurred at some distance from Rome and in a different stylistic environment, *i. e.*, in France.

As for the actual splitting off of the Roman chant into two branches, this must have occurred some time after 731, the death date of Pope Gregory II who is thought to have added to the liturgy the Masses for the Thursdays in Lent. These Masses are common to both traditions and must have belonged to the model sent into France at the time of the split.⁴⁵

Because of the degree to which the melodies in the two repertories agree even after their separate existence for two or three centuries, Hucke believes the Old-Roman chant must have been largely fixed and the tradition already scriptural at the time of its export to France.⁴⁶ Reasonable as this assumption may seem, it cannot be justified. There is no musical evidence to the existence of any chant reper-

⁴² *Einführung des gregorianischen Gesanges in Frankreich*, in: *Römische Quartalschrift* 49 (1954), pp. 172—187.

Improvisation im gregorianischen Gesang, in: *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 38 (1954), pp. 5—8. *Die Tradition des gregorianischen Gesanges in der römischen Schola cantorum*, in: *Zweiter internationaler Kongress für Katholische Kirchenmusik: Bericht* (1954), 1955, pp. 120—123.

Die Entstehung der Überlieferung von einer musikalischen Tätigkeit Gregors des Großen, in: *Die Musikforschung* VIII (1955), pp. 259—264.

Gregorianischer Gesang in altrömischer und fränkischer Überlieferung, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XII (1955), pp. 74—87.

Zu einigen Problemen, 1958, pp. 385—414.

Responsorium, in: *MGG* XI (1963), cols. 313—325.

⁴³ See also HANDSCHIN, *Sur quelques tropaires*, p. 51.

⁴⁴ *Gregorianischer Gesang*, p. 86.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87; *Zu einigen Problemen*, p. 414.

⁴⁶ *Gregorianischer Gesang*, p. 87.

tory before about the middle of the 9th century, yet such an assumption would presume the use of neumatic notation far back into the 8th. Also, the absence of a single trace of an Old-Roman melody before the middle of the 11th century speaks against the existence of a written tradition at Rome before this time. Such is the position taken by Walther Lipphardt.⁴⁷

Lipphardt belongs to the school that sees the Gregorian as a Frankish redaction of a Roman original, but he does not believe that the Gregorian is a subsequent arrangement in France of the chant imported from Rome. Rather, it is his opinion that the melodic repertory exported from Rome was accepted in France essentially without alteration and fixed there almost immediately. The chant we call Gregorian, then, is the Roman chant of the 9th century; the written Old-Roman repertory is the outcome of two more centuries of oral transmission in Rome of that same repertory. Lipphardt attributes the melodic differences to a highly improvisatory Old-Roman tradition, which continued to be transmitted orally long after the scriptural "fixation" of the Gregorian in France.

Hucke's ideas have received the support of Willi Apel⁴⁸ and Robert J. Snow,⁴⁹ who point to the very limited number of alleluia jubili, the greater dependence on standard themes and formulas, the more limited melodic range, and the almost complete absence of the repetitive type of melodic structure so typical of Gregorian alleluias as indications of the earlier existence of the Old-Roman and of its use as model for the creation of the Gregorian. Snow cannot imagine that the thematically more limited Old-Roman repertory could have followed the more highly diversified Gregorian.⁵⁰

Lipphardt's theory, on the other hand, has received practically no support;⁵¹ yet the Old-Roman melodies as we have them are more developed melodically than the Gregorian and have a *fin de siècle* appearance characteristic of a later stage of evolution. In their present form they could hardly have been the model for the Gregorian. Furthermore, fixed scripturally 200 years before the Old-Roman, the Gregorian should lie closer to the Roman chant at the time of the split. It remains to be seen, however, whether the views of Hucke or Lipphardt will ultimately prove more acceptable.

II

Now that we have seen something of the essence of contemporary views on the question of the Old-Roman chant, let us, insofar as it is practicable and useful to do

⁴⁷ *Gregor der Große und sein Anteil am römischen Antiphonar*, in: *Atti del congresso internazionale di musica sacra* (1950), 1952, pp. 248—254.

⁴⁸ *Neue Forschungen zur Gregorianik*, in: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* II (1956), pp. 134—141.

⁴⁹ *The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant*, *JAMS* IX (1956), pp. 118—127.

Gregorian Chant, 1958, pp. 74—83, 507—515.

⁵⁰ *The Old-Roman Chant*, in: *Apel, Gregorian Chant*, pp. 484—505.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 503.

⁵¹ HANS SCHMIDT indirectly corroborates Lipphardt's theory in his attempt to demonstrate that the Old-Roman tract repertory is dependent on the Gregorian as model. (*Die Tractus des zweiten Tones in gregorianischer und stadtrömischer Überlieferung*, in: *Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg*, 1957, pp. 283—302.)

so here, turn to the actual question of the liturgical and musical relationship of the two repertories.

On the liturgical side, the structure of the Mass and Office, the calendar, and the texts are basically the same. There is only one liturgy involved here: the Roman liturgy. But we are dealing with two different traditions, two different versions of the use of Rome, each with its own, local peculiarities. The following are among the more important differences found in the Office:⁵²

First, the number of responsories for matins in the Gregorian, always nine for a full three nocturns or three for a single nocturn, is greater than the number in the Old-Roman, which uses only eight responsories for the festival or Sunday Office and two for the ferial Office.

Second, there are certain ceremonies observed regularly in the Old-Roman but unknown to the Gregorian tradition. One such is the special vespers that was performed at the Lateran each night during Easter week.⁵³ The ritual consisted of the usual five antiphons and five psalms, but the last three were each followed by a Mass-like alleluia with one or more verses in Latin or Greek, the *Magnificat* with antiphon, an oration, and a procession to another station in the church accompanied by a processional antiphon. In effect, vespers was celebrated three times, at different stations in the church. That the Paschal Vespers belonged to the Roman model sent into France is shown by the vestiges of it—some of the processional antiphons—that remain in a number of Gregorian manuscripts.⁵⁴ The special meaning of the ceremony, however, with its processions in the Lateran to the baptismal founts in the oratory of St. John the Baptist and to the oratory of the Holy Cross, in imitation of the model established in Jerusalem centuries before, where during Easter week there were vespers stations at the Baptistery, Cross, Sepulchre, and Resurrection—this meaning was lost in France.

Another difference between the practice of the Roman liturgy in Rome and in Carolingian France involves another Roman peculiarity: the "double" office. The 9th-century liturgist Amalar of Metz, in an antiphoner he composed c. 844 based on the practices of Rome and Metz, tells us that at Rome a double office was performed for certain important feasts: the Nativity, St. John the Baptist, Sts. Peter & Paul, St. Lawrence, St. Andrew, and the Assumption.⁵⁵ In the 9th century it consisted of a first vespers followed by a complete matins of three nocturns and a complete lauds, celebrated by the pope and clergy in private, *i. e.*, without the people. Then came the midnight Mass and a procession to another stational church to begin the second office, which contained the regular matins and lauds, to which the people of

⁵² I refer particularly to the Office here because so far it has been largely ignored; the articles by STÄBLEIN, HUCKE, SCHMIDT, and GAJARD have dealt almost exclusively with the Mass.

⁵³ The Paschal Vespers is found complete only in two of the Old-Roman books: London, B. M. *Add.* 29988, ff. 74–83, and Rome, Vat. lat 5319, ff. 84'–97'. The St. Peter's antiphoner knows the special vespers office only for Easter Sunday (ff. 104–105). See ANDRIEU, Vol. III, pp. 362–372 for the *ordo* known in the Carolingian realm.

⁵⁴ The Paschal Vespers does exist complete in one known Gregorian manuscript: Paris, B. N. *lat.* 17436; the Compiègne antiphoner (c. 860–880), however, is without notation.

⁵⁵ *Liber de ordine antiphonarum*, chapters 15, 59–63.

the City were "invited." By the 12th century, this complete service remained only for the Nativity and Sts. Peter & Paul, a shorter vigil being substituted for the other four feasts.⁵⁶ That this Roman double office belonged to the model of the liturgy sent into France is shown, as with the Paschal Vespers, by the presence of some of its texts in Frankish antiphoners; that, however, the Roman significance of the double office was lost in France is evident, in the case of the Nativity and of Sts. Peter & Paul, from the mere addition to the end of the first office, as extras, of some of the texts of the second, to be used, presumably, during the week and on the octave.⁵⁷

Third, there are a number of saints peculiar to the Old-Roman tradition. Gregorian manuscripts normally have no texts for Abdon and Sennen, Aquila & Prisca, Celsus & Julian, Cyrus & John, Caesarius, Pancras, Praxedes, Petronilla, Rufina & Secunda, and many others. These saints have significance primarily for Rome.

In addition to the many proper texts for these Roman saints, there are many other texts peculiar to the Old-Roman books for feasts which are common to both traditions. For example, not one of the six responsories or sixteen antiphons for St. Nicholas in the Old-Roman antiphoners has been found in any Gregorian manuscript; likewise, none of the even greater number of Gregorian texts for this office is known to the Old-Roman tradition. How can this striking disagreement be explained? Actually, the answer here is quite simple. St. Nicholas did not become venerated by Western churches until the 11th century, long after the split of the Old-Roman and the Gregorian, when, apparently, the feast was added independently to both traditions, each composing its own office. The answer, however, is more problematic in the case of a common liturgical element whose usage we assume to have been fixed at a very early time. How can we explain, for example, the use in the Old-Roman Psalter of five responsories and thirteen antiphons that are never found in Gregorian books? Since the Old-Roman Psalter contains only twenty responsories and 121 antiphons,⁵⁸ the rather large percentage of those texts absent from Gregorian books indicates that the state of the Psalter had not been finally determined at the time of the split, *i. e.*, that *c.* 750, stability existed only for the distribution of the psalms.⁵⁹ Be that as it may, the Old-Roman antiphoners have seventy-four responsories alone that are not found in Gregorian antiphoners. Are they all absent from the latter because they were all added to the former after the split? Perhaps this is true for some, but others are undoubtedly the product of a local repertory whose validity existed only for a particular usage and in a limited geographic area: Rome.

⁵⁶ The two Old-Roman antiphoners and the *Liber politicus* know this abbreviated usage.

⁵⁷ See, for example, the use of Compiègne and other early Gregorian antiphoners in RENÉ HESBERT, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, Vol. I: *Manuscripti "cursus Romanus"*, 1963, nos. 19, 22² and 23; no. 10. Amalar reports that it was the Frankish custom in his time to sing only one of the two Roman, Nativity Offices on the Nativity, the other on the octave. (*Liber*, chapter 19.)

⁵⁸ Including an extra set in *Add.* 29988 for Sundays in Lent, but excluding *Benedictus* and *Magificat* antiphons.

⁵⁹ The variability evident among Gregorian antiphoners in regard to the use of Psalter antiphons and responsories also points toward an incomplete or at least indefinite Roman model.

Fourth, the Roman performance practice for antiphons and responsories on certain feasts was not observed outside Rome by the time of the earliest known Gregorian antiphoner, but was still alive in Rome even in the 12th century, as the following examples, taken from the antiphoner of St. Peter's, show:

1. the custom on the Nativity of singing each antiphon five times: before the psalm, within the psalm at the place from where it is taken, at the end of the psalm, after the *Gloria patri*, and, finally, after the *Sicut erat*. This performance practice, with its five-fold repetition of the antiphon, is closer to the original practice of singing the antiphon after every verse of the psalm than anything known from any Gregorian manuscript,
2. the custom on such older feasts as the Epiphany, Easter Sunday, Ascension, Sts. Peter & Paul, and the first Sunday of Advent (nocturn I) of repeating all the responsories *a capite* after the verse,
3. the unusual practice on the vigil of the Nativity of singing the second responsory in place of the repetenda after the verse of the first, *i. e.*, R₁ V R₂. Likewise for responsories three and four.

That the exclusiveness was not entirely one-sided is shown by certain elements found regularly in the Gregorian Office but not in the Old-Roman:

1. Whether or not the archconservatism of the Roman church caused it to exclude poetic texts from the service, the fact remains that hymns did not form part of the Roman Office; nor, for that matter, did sequences and tropes belong to the Roman Mass.
2. Provisions for the Sundays after Pentecost and for the Sundays after the Octave of Epiphany are lacking in the Old-Roman Office, as well as
3. the later, Gregorian feasts, such as the Holy Trinity.

We cannot consider here all the liturgical characteristics peculiar to one or the other of the two traditions, but even from this introductory comparison many significant differences have emerged. In particular, we have seen that certain Old-Roman peculiarities of ceremony, calendar, and performance practice are not found in the Gregorian tradition. All reflect the local and older usage of Rome; and all reveal the small but fundamental degree of independence between the two traditions. Liturgically speaking, then, the Gregorian could not have developed in Rome alongside the Old-Roman, though, indeed, it developed from the Roman model.

But what of the musical repertoires? Even if the Roman liturgy has been the model for the Gregorian tradition, what musical significance does this purely liturgical fact have? The musical similarity between the two chants allows us to conclude that the Roman chant must have followed the Roman liturgy into France, but 1) does this necessarily mean that the Old-Roman chant was the melodic model for the Gregorian, or 2) could it be the Gregorian that more closely represents the Roman chant of *c.* 800, the Old-Roman being a later Roman development, or 3) is the relationship of Old-Roman and Gregorian to be understood best in terms of a common original whose offspring developed independently in Rome and in Carolingian France? The answer must come from purely musical evidence.

We will not attempt to answer the ultimate question at this time, but it would be useful to consider here for purposes of illustration the kinds of differences that

Example I

Huglo: Evidence of Old-Roman Tradition

Mass :	Type	Description
(with notation)		
1) London, Ms. Phillipps 16069 (Gradual 1071)	Gradual	128 ff., 31x19.5 cm, 13 staves/page
2) Rome, Vat. lat. 5319	Gradual	159 ff., 30 x 20 cm., 13 staves
3) Rome, Vat. basilic. F. 22	Gradual	103 ff., 31 x 21 cm., 11—12 staves
4) Rome, Bibl. vallicel. C. 52	Gradual	166 ff., 23 x 15 cm., 12 staves
5) Rome, Vat. basilic. F. 11	Orational	166 ff., 23 x 14 cm., 8 staves
6) Florence, Riccardi 299	Sacramentary	230 ff., 26 x 16 cm.
7) Florence, Riccardi 300	Missal	129 ff., 24 x 16 cm.
8) Rome, Vat. basilic. F. 18	Missal	230 ff., 27 x 19 cm.
9) Pontifical of the Roman Curia	Ordo	
(without notation)		
10) Cassel, Landesbibl. Theol., Fol. 36	Gradual	Fly leaves
11) Rome, Bibl. vallicel. B. 8	Missal	408 ff., 35 x 22 cm.
12) Rome, Vat. Barberini 560	Missal	106 ff., 32.5 x 26 cm.
13) Brussels, Bibl. royale 10127—10144	Gradual	136 ff., 20.7 x 13.5 cm.
Office:		
(with notation)		
14) London, B. M. Add. 29988	Antiphoner	154 ff., 28 x 18 cm., 13 staves
15) Rome, Vat. basilic. B. 79	Antiphoner	198 ff., 35.5 x 25 cm., 11 staves
16) = no. 5		
17) Manuscript "unidentified"	Breviary	
(without notation)		
18) <i>Liber politicus</i> of Canon Benedict	Ordo	
19) Ordo of the Antiphoner	Ordo	
20) Ordo of the Paschal Vespers	Ordo	
21) Antiphoner of Corbie	Antiphoner	

comparison of at least one melody, *Ne tradideris me*, will reveal (Example 2).⁶⁰ First, the Old-Roman embellishes the Gregorian on practically every syllable. This example amply illustrates this Old-Roman melodic characteristic, as on line 1, letters *d*, *g*, and *i*, or on line 2, letters *g*, *h*, *i*, and *j*. Note that these melodic embellishments are particularly evident at cadential points. Second, there is one interesting instance, at letter *b* on line 2, of the reverse situation, where the Gregorian colors the Old-Roman, thus illustrating that some development has occurred in the Gregorian tradition since the split. Third, the finals and concluding phrases are different. The melody is essentially the same in both versions up to the last phrase ("*iniquitas sibi*"), which ends on *f* and is followed by a tone 5 verse in the Old-Roman, but ends on *g* with a tone 7 verse in the Gregorian. And fourth, the recitation note in the respond has been changed in one of the two traditions: the Old-Roman recites on *e* where the Gregorian recites on *d*.

⁶⁰ This melody serves as both a communion and responsory (with verse added) during Passiontide. The Gregorian version is taken from the Beneventan manuscript reproduced in *Paléographie musicale*, Vol. XV: *Le Codex VI. 34 de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Bénévent*, 1937. The Old-Roman version is taken from the St. Peter's antiphoner, Huglo no. 15.

Example I

Huglo: Evidence of Old-Roman Tradition

Date	Use	Remarks
1) 1071	St. Cecilia in Trastevere	Complete Gradual
2) XI/XII	Roman Basilica (Lateran?)	Complete Gradual
3) XIII	St. Peter's Basilica	Complete Gradual
4) XII	St. Eutizio, Valcastoriana (Norcia)	Gregorian Ms.; Canticle <i>Vinea</i> = Old-Roman
5) early XII	St. Peter's	Music for Office for the dead and three Masses
6) late XI	Sts. Philip & James, Siena	Gregorian Ms., Mass of Marriage = Old-Roman
7) late XI	Sts. Philip & James, Siena	Gregorian Ms.; Masses <i>pro congregatione</i> & <i>ad sponsas benedicendas</i> = Old-Roman
8) XII/XIII	St. Peter's	Music only for alleluia of Holy Saturday
9) early XIII	Rome	Three processional antiphons (Relics) = Old-Roman melodies
10) IX	Fulda	Table of Gradual
11) X/XI	St. Eutizio, Valcastoriana (Norcia)	Mixed Old-Roman and Gregorian Missal
12) late X	Central Italy	Gregorian Ms.; Old-Roman features
13) late VIII	Mt. Blandin	Gregorian Ms.; Old-Roman features
14) mid XII	Central Italy [Rome?]	Complete Antiphoner
15) late XII	St. Peter's	Complete Antiphoner
16)		
17)	Rome	Lost
18) 1140–1143	Rome	Ordo XI of Mabillon
19) IX [late VIII?]	Rome	Ordo XII of Andrieu
20) mid VIII	Rome	Ordo XXVII of Andrieu
21) [783?]	Corbie	Amalar

It is not clear why these anomalies exist or which version more closely represents the "original." But it is clear that the Old-Roman presents a highly ornamented version of the melody known in the Gregorian tradition.

It would be unwise, however, to try to draw any general conclusions about the relationship of the Old-Roman and Gregorian chant repertoires from one example. The overall picture is far more complex, featuring melodies relating in varying degrees from note for note identity, as in many antiphons, to complete disagreement. Not only do we find modal conflict, different reciting tones, different finals, different cadential formulas, different musical phrases, and even entirely different melodies for the same text—in addition to a multitude of variants of lesser magnitude—but also we see that, for example, in the case of the responsory tones, the two traditions operate according to quite different principles,⁶¹ and in the psalm

⁶¹ The bipartite responsory tones have recitation on the 5th and 6th in the authentic and on the 3rd and 2nd in the plagal modes in the Old-Roman tradition; the Gregorian, however, has recitation on the 4th and 5th in the authentic and on the 3rd and final in the plagal modes. Both traditions alter the standard practice to avoid recitation on the note *b*.

tones, a basic constituent of the Gregorian, the mediant flex, is not even used in the Old-Roman.⁶² We hope, ultimately, to be able to explain these differences.

Our task now, however, must be to gather all the musical evidence, for, in spite of the overabundance of literature on the Old-Roman chant, this task has yet to be begun in a systematic way. The failure of all efforts so far to explain the Old-Roman chant can be traced in part to inconsistent attempts—if any at all—to compare the Old-Roman and Gregorian repertoires. The number of musicologists who have tried to answer the question of the Old-Roman chant is great, but only in the writings of a few, notably Huccke and Snow, can one find any significant musical analysis and comparison. And even they have only sampled; their conclusions are premature. Nothing less than an exhaustive study is needed now. Only after all the evidence has been analysed and extensive comparison of the two repertoires has been made can we hope to understand the differences between them and interpret correctly the meaning of agreement and disagreement.

The image shows a musical score comparing Old Roman and Gregorian chant. It consists of five systems of music, each with two staves. The top staff is labeled 'Oldroman' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Gregorian'. The lyrics are written below the staves. Above the first staff of each system are letters 'a' through 'j' indicating notes. The lyrics are: 'Ne tra-di-de-ris me do-mi-ne in a-ni-mas per-se-quen-ti-um me qui-in-sur-rex-erunt in me tes-tes i-ni-qui et men-ti-ta est i-ni-qui-tas si-bi'. The Old Roman chant uses a different melodic line than the Gregorian chant, particularly in the way it handles the 'flex' (the interval between 'e' and 'f').

⁶² The Old-Roman psalm tones, then, consist of only three parts: intonation-recitation-termination.



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PAPAL SCHOLA *VERSUS* CHARLEMAGNE

S. J. P. VAN DIJK

A friend who for years has shewn a most generous and inspiring interest in my researches, prof. SMITS v. WAESBERGHE drew my attention to the problem of the Old-Roman and Gregorian repertoires early in the 1950s. Since then he repeatedly invited me to express my ideas on certain aspects of an hypothesis by which he attempted to explain the antiquity and Roman origin of both these chants¹. My answers, vague and mostly negative, cannot have been very helpful, for in those days I had no occasion to acquaint myself with the implications of the problem. Nor had I an inkling that my fear for its complexity would ever disappear. If I have ventured recently to oppose the current hypotheses², including that of SMITS v. WAESBERGHE, this is undoubtedly due to his amiable insistence which made me reflect upon the details and yet think along the lines he suggested. Thus my hypothesis is little more than an inversion of some basic elements provided by him. We both agree that the Old-Roman repertoire belonged to the original Roman liturgy and that the Gregorian style developed from the mid-seventh century. But where he maintains that this happened in the basilica monasteries, while the ancient style continued solely in the papal liturgy, I prefer to see Gregorian chant as a development within the papal services, the ancient one persisting in the Roman monasteries and, through these, in the urban churches. The main reason for this switch round is the historical background of the later centuries. And for a similar reason I prefer to speak of urban and papal rites rather than of Old-Roman and Gregorian chants alone. This approach is, indeed, that of a liturgist. Still, this too first came to me through Smits van Waesberghe's theory. Although chiefly concerned with musicological issues, historically it is more elaborated than any other thus far announced. And, again, it was his work which finally decided me to see the problem in so wide a perspective. Any endeavour to launch an hypothesis which may serve as a working method as well needs to integrate as many details as possible. Although I have tried to give a new interpretation of some of the well-known records from the Carolingian era, the number available constantly challenges further testing and ex-

1. 'Neues über die Schola Cantorum' in *Actes du congrès de Vienne*, Vienna 1954, 111 ff.; 'The Two Versions of the Gregorian Chant', paper read at the Sixth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Oxford 1955; 'L'état actuel des recherches scientifiques dans le domaine du chant grégorien' in *Actes du troisième congrès internat. de musique sacrée*, Paris 1957, 206 ff.

2. 'The Old-Roman Rite', paper read at the Third Patristic Conference, Oxford 1959; 'The Urban and Papal Rites in Seventh and Eighth-Century Rome' in *Sacris Erudiri XII*, 1961, 411 ff.

planation. Among these are the accounts of the discussions between Roman and Frankish chanters during the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne, i.e. by John the Deacon of Montecassino, Notker the Stammerer of St. Gall, Ademar of Chabannes and the two Ekkehard IV and V also from St Gall. They have been so frequently cited, surveyed and interpreted,³ that it may seem presumptuous or even useless to return to them. But the theory on the origin of the papal rite gives these texts an unexpected prominence and relief. Automatically they appear to become an integral part of the period to which they refer. This alone makes further analysis of at least the two most ancient ones justified. The background inspiring a renewed study is this. The original, Old-Roman rite of the Eternal City, celebrated more or less solemnly at the stations, in basilicas and suburban churches, began to influence the Gallican liturgy early in the seventh century, when it was already a strong and venerated tradition in England. Here it was closely connected with the name of Gregory the Great. From the pontificate of Vitalian (657-72), however, a new, awe-inspiring papal rite or court liturgy developed under the influence and in imitation of Byzantine culture. Soon this involved both Mass and Office liturgies, each with its own text and chant books, with elaborate ceremonials and a unique type of *diaphonia* chant, performed by a specially trained choir, the *papal schola*. The formative period of this rite of the Apostolic See or 'Roman Church' terminated during the pontificate of Gregory II (715-31), who compiled an *editio typica* of the papal sacramentary and gradual, and seems to have been the first pontiff to propagate its books beyond the walls of the City, particularly in Germany. Success, however, was found first, in England where his sacramentary was adopted by the council of Cloveshoe (747) and, shortly after, in Gaul where the initial propaganda by Pepin (741-68) was consolidated by his son Charlemagne (768-814).

The enthusiasm for this new Roman rite was intimately connected with the nature of the sacred empire created by the Franks. The liturgical idiom of the pontiff, the western sovereign, became a much esteemed symbol, hence real strength to any participating power, secular or spiritual. But in practice it was beyond what was possible in daily life. Adaptation and simplification were much needed. Again, the best source was the centre of Christendom with its venerable urban tradition. But the books of the 'Romans' or 'the Church of Rome' were found not only and around Rome, but also in northern churches which had adopted them before the mid-eighth century. Thus, apart from anything really new, the Roman liturgy of the Carolingian empire became a

3. R. v. DOREN, *Étude sur l'influence musicale de l'abbaye de S.-Gall (VIIIe au IXe siècle)*, Louvain 1925, 45 ff., 127 ff where literature. See also SMITS v. WAESBERGHE, *Verklaring der letterteekens (litterae significativae) in het Gregoriaansche neumenschrift van Sint Gallen*, Tilburg 1939-42, 285 ff.

mixture of papal chant with papal and urban ceremonial, and with papal urban and Gallican customs.

The successive stages of this widespread reform are little known. But it must have been brought about by circulation of books and expert teachers (*cantores*) of the papal court. As for the latter, Walafrid Strabo refers to what seems to have been the first official mission: *cantilenae vero perfectiorem scientiam . . . Stephanus papa, cum ad Pippinum . . . pro iustitia s. Petri a Longobardis expetenda venisset, per suos clericos, petente eodem Pippino, invexit.*⁴ This first dispatch of papal clerics to teach the new liturgy and chant must have taken place during or immediately after Stephen II's sojourn in Gaul (754).⁵ Chrodegang of Metz (742-60), who had gone to Rome to arrange the pope's visit, was among the first to seek their help. He thus laid the foundation of the authority that Metz acquired in the teaching of the *romana cantilena* and the *ordo Romanae Ecclesiae*, until then unknown there.⁶ Even so, only from the sixties is anything specific heard. Symeon, succentor of the papal *schola*, sent by Paul I (758-67) to instruct the monks of Remedius, bishop of Rouen, was recalled to Rome to take the place of the precentor George who had died. The monks joined him to continue their instruction in the same (papal) mode of singing.⁷ Hardly anything else of really important activities by Roman or Frankish chanters is recorded.

Then suddenly a century later, in 873-5, John the Deacon gave a dramatic account of their movements and behaviour in his *Life of Gregory the Great*, as soon as he comes to speak of the pope's musical activity. His principal points are ⁸:

- I. 1. St. Gregory compiled an antiphonarium.
2. He founded a *schola* which up to now performs the chant in the Church of Rome according to his instructions. He also erected two dwellings for it, at St. Peter's and at the Lateran palace,
3. where are venerated the couch from which he gave lessons in chant⁹, the whip with which he threatened the boys, and the authentic antiphonal.
- II. 1. Again and again Germans and Gauls were given the opportunity to learn this chant. But they were unable to preserve it uncorrupted, since a) they mixed elements of their own with the Gregorian melodies, and b) their barbaric savageness (*feritas*) was coupled with vocal crudeness and inability to execute the technicalities.

4. *De exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiast. rerum*, cap. 25; PL 114, 957.

5. This is also the year in which the Carolingians were made 'protectors of the Roman Church'.

6. Paul the Deacon, *Liber episcoporum metensium*; PL 95, 709. J. HANDSCHIN's explanation of this text seems incorrect; 'Sur quelques trophées grecs traduits en latin' in *Annales musicologiques* ii, 1954, 52.

7. *MGH, Epist. Merov. et Karolini Aevi* i, 554, no. 41; PL 89, 1187.

8. *Lib. ii*, cap. 1; PL 75, 90 ff.

9. In the 7th century this was the bed on which he had died; see P. BATIFFOL, *Histoire*, 3rd ed., 64; *History*, 42.

2. Thus in the days of St. Gregory chanters taught these barbarians throughout the West. After their death the western churches corrupted the chant so much that John the arch-chanter and Theodore archbishop of York, both Romans, were sent to England by Vitalian¹⁰. All around John restored the early chant; for years he and his pupils preserved the Roman method (*doctrina*).
- III. 1. Charlemagne too was struck, when in Rome, by the discordance between Roman and Gallican singing, when the Franks in their precocity argued that the(ir) chant was corrupted by our chanters with some poor melodies (*neniae*); ours probably showed the authentic antiphonal.
2. On that occasion, so the story goes, Charlemagne asked whether the stream or the source carries the clearest water. When they answered the source, he added wisely, 'Then we too, who till now drank the troubled water from the stream, must go back to the clarity of the source.'
3. Hence he soon left two of his assiduous clerics with Hadrian. After good instruction they restored for him the early chant at Metz and, by way of Metz, all over Gaul.
- IV. But after a long time, when those educated in Rome had died, Charlemagne discovered that the chant of the other churches differed from that of Metz. 'We must return again to the source,' he said. And at his request - as present-day trustworthy information states - Hadrian sent two chanters, who convinced the king that all had corrupted the Roman chant through carelessness (*levitas*) but that at Metz the differences were due to that natural savageness.
- V. In conclusion, those who love the truth have established that, on the point of chant, Rome so far excelled Metz as Metz excels the Gauls and Germans. I have mentioned this at once, lest I may seem to pass over the careless attitude of the Gauls.

Apart from the facts that, in the prevailing political situation, a zealous deacon of the papal court had to write unfavourably about the Franks, and that several details in John's account are incorrect, I see no reason to doubt the gist of the story or to dismiss it as pure legend.¹¹ But a few points must be borne in mind, if it is to be seen in the right perspective.

Paragraphs I and II. The long-standing and predominantly English tradition connecting the name of St Gregory with a Roman gradual and Mass book may well be correct. But these books contained the Old-Roman, urban rite. The gradual probably bore a title similar to that preserved in the Mont-Blandin copy¹² which is basically papal but also has many urban elements. If in John's days an old copy was exhibited at the Lateran, this may also have been true later at St Peter's.¹³ Meanwhile, during the ninth century the tradition of the saint's authorship of these books was erroneously applied to the now popular papal gradual and sacramentary, compiled by Gregory II. Moreover, the preface to this gradual had created another belief, equally accepted by John, that Gregory the Great also founded the papal *schola*. These two aspects of the new tradition gave rise to a third, unavoidable conclusion that the Roman

10. John was actually sent by Agatho (678-81).

11. See v. DOREN, 47 f.

12. *In dei nomen. Incipit antefonarius (ordinatus a s. Gregorio) per circulum anni*; R.-J. HESBERT, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, Brussels 1935, 2.

13. See Ekkehard IV, *Casus s. Galli* in *MGH, SS* ii, 102 f.; v. DOREN, 128; SMITS v. WAESBERGHE, *Verklaring*, 286 f.

chanters before Charlemagne had taught the same chant as those during his reign, viz. Gregorian, papal chant. In fact, however, they only knew and taught the Old-Roman, urban rite.¹⁴ Again, John was not the only one to believe this. Yet since he exploited the common opinion to expose the savageness of the Franks, the insinuations of his historical survey appear most impressive. But the facts, being different, destroy his argument.

As for the Carolingian era (III), a first point to be noticed is that, in changing to another period, John also changed his subject. The previous part (II) was written to show the *feritas* of Gauls and Germans; what follows is an attempt to prove their *levitas* as well; see the conclusion (V). For this purpose he relates three incidents connected with Charlemagne's first awareness of discordances. They actually contain six basic facts:

- a) It happened at Rome,
- b) on the occasion of a dispute,
- c) during which the Franks argued that their chant was corrupted by the Romans themselves, teaching poor melodies.
- d) Not certain how the Romans answered this accusation, John thought the authentic antiphonal, which he had just mentioned, would be their best defence.
- e) An existing tradition about Charlemagne's decision;
- f) the incident provoked the king to leave behind two clerics at the papal court for instruction.

It is obvious at once that, although John used these facts to imply Frankish *levitas*, in actuality they do not. John was ignorant of the crucial point, the Romans' reply, which should have refuted the accusations of their opponents. Instead he construes an argument of his own,¹⁵ conveniently disregarding the Frankish complaint about bad teaching as irrelevant. Nor, for that matter, did Charlemagne really blame his chanters.¹⁶ If the latter had to content themselves with a stream, as the source was inaccessible, this may well have been the fault of the Romans. But the king was wise enough not to say so. His words are a cunning feat of high politics: admitting the mistakes made by his chanters, he avoided hurting the Roman party by leaving the cause of the trouble unmentioned; rather, he smoothed it over with a parable.¹⁷ In short, John was

14. If John's statement that Roman chanters taught the West is correct, Gallican chant must be similar to urban chant.

15. Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronica*, lib ii, cap. 8; *MGH*, SS iv, 170 f., ed. Chavanon, 1897, 81, elaborating John's account, does the same but in a different manner. None of his details on the discussion are warranted by John's text.

16. Ademar, loc. cit., put his words in the 2nd person plural and, misinterpreting, adds *quia manifeste corruptis cantilenam*. John has nothing of the kind.

17. See below, p. 29, no. 4.

out to make the Franks feel small, but his facts were far from conclusive. He either did not know them sufficiently or he tried to wriggle out of them.

The remainder, which can be accepted, is that Charlemagne realised the divergences early in his reign; the trouble became acute during his first visit to Rome in 774 when his experts clashed with those at court; they repudiated responsibility, accusing the Romans; but the king ended the discussion with a practical suggestion: - two of his clerics were to remain for instruction.

The subsequent paragraph (IV) again differs in character. Its content is clear and, for the first time, to the point, an argument against Frankish *levitas* (except for Metz). After years of continued teaching since their return from Rome, the king's chanters died. Tradition deteriorated again and the king asked for a Roman commission of enquiry. Its brief was not to instruct but to report, thus justifying stricter measures if required. The twenty years between Charlemagne's visit to Rome and Hadrian I's death warrant John's expression *multa post tempora* as well as his statement that the chanters were dead. Even if the king's *Iterum redeamus ad fontem* is invented by John to stress his point, nothing else is open to question, except perhaps the exaggerated claim for the truth of his observation that this second mission was at the king's own request: *sicut hodie quidam veridice adstipulantur*.

Since nothing is known about this commission and later chant books do not reveal divergences worth mentioning, this paragraph is also used to argue for the legendary character of John's account. However, even if it has never been interpreted correctly, the fact remains that the chanters reported on the actual performance (*dulcedo*) of Roman chant and that their investigations only revealed *quaedam levitas*, a certain carelessness. Had the verdict been more serious, John would not have hesitated to broadcast it. Finally, this commission of enquiry explains an otherwise enigmatic order among the capitularies issued in 805 at Thionville: *ut cantores de Mettis revertantur*.¹⁸ If it was set up in the last year(s) of Hadrian's reign (d. 795), the king may have arranged a ten-year plan. Chanters from Metz, acting upon the report, would have gone the rounds to re-establish unity of performance. The order for them to return to Metz may signify both the conclusion and the ultimate success of the reform.

Some ten years after John's tirade an answer came from Notker. It has been suggested that an acrid comment, written in the margin of John's text, by a confrère inspired him: 'Here you have the familiar Roman sneer at Germans and Gauls.'¹⁹ More likely Notker inspired the note; he did not just call a halt

18. *MGH, Capitularia regum Francorum* i, 120 f.; see v. DOREN, 60.

19. See v. DOREN, 48 f.

after answering the accusations, he squashed them by revealing things which John did not know or had ignored.²⁰

- I. 'Worth mentioning here is something that people today would scarcely credit, since even I, now writing about the great difference between Roman chant and ours²¹, would not yet be fully convinced were it not that the trustworthiness of the fathers must be preferred to the fabrications of modern slipshodiness.'
- II. Deploring the widespread variety in chanted liturgy, Charlemagne got some experienced chanters from pope Stephen, who deposed Hilderic²². Like twelve apostles they were sent from Rome to all provinces north of the Alps.
- III. 1. Just as all Greeks and Romans were carping spitefully at the glory of the Franks, these clerics planned to vary their teaching so that neither the unity nor the consonance of the chant would spread in a kingdom and province other than its own.
2. Received with honour, they were sent to the most important cities where each of them taught as badly as he could. But in the course of time Charlemagne unmasked the plot, for each year he celebrated the major feasts in a different place. Stephen's successor²³, Leo, informed of this, recalled the chanters and exiled or imprisoned them.
- IV. The pontiff then confessed to Charlemagne that, if he would lend him others, they, blinded by the same spite, would not fail to deceive him (again). He suggested smuggling two of the king's most intelligent clerics into the papal *schola* 'so that those who are with me do not find out that they are yours'. This was done successfully.
- V. These two chanters returned to Charlemagne; one was kept at court, the other sent to Metz at the request of his son, bishop Drogo²⁴. Because of Drogo's zeal the chant began to flourish not only there, but throughout Gaul.

It is a simple procedure to deny to this account, as to that by John the Deacon, all historical value because of its chronological howlers.²⁵ But in Notker's writings we are used to these²⁶ and yet, time and again, we find the essence of his anecdotes correct. The latest instance is where he describes how Charlemagne ordered the translation of the Greek antiphons for the octave of the Epiphany in 802 (or 813).²⁷ If in the present case we take the *personae dramatis* as Charlemagne, Stephen III and his successor Hadrian I, we can learn some interesting facts; and their chronology fits.

Although one can agree with v. DOREN²⁸ that Notker was inspired by John;

20. *De gestis Karoli imperatoris*, lib. i; *MGH, SS* i, 734 f.; JAFFÉ, *Bibl. rerum Germanicarum IV. Monumenta Carolina*, 639 ff.

21. I punctuate: *ego ipse, qui scribo propter dissimilitudinem, non satis credam* instead of *ego ipse qui scribo, propter dissimilitudinem non satis credam*, the preposition *propter* to be understood as 'in the defence of'.

22. Stephen II died 11 years before Charlemagne succeeded Pepin.

23. His successors were Paul I (757-67), Constantine (767-8), Stephen III (768-72), Hadrian I (772-95), Leo III (795-816).

24. Who became bishop 9 years after Charlemagne's death.

25. v. DOREN, 50 f.

26. *Op. cit.*, 90 f.; also H. FICHTENAU, *The Carolingian Empire*, Oxford 1957, 28, note 4; transl. from the German, *Das Karolingische Imperium*, chap. 2.

27. J. HANDSCHIN, 'Sur quelques tropaires', 27 ff.; J. LEMARIÉ, 'Les antiennes "Veterem hominem" du jour d'octave de l'Épiphanie et les antiennes d'origine grecque de l'Épiphanie' in *Ephemerides liturgicae* lxxii, 1958, 3 ff.

28. *Op. cit.*, 48.

to say that he followed, copied and embellished his model is a misapprehension. This view separates Notker's opening remark from the subsequent story. Notker begins with criticising John's slipshod fabrication of history which, nevertheless, was so convincing that no one was prepared to accept another explanation of the differences between Roman and northern chants. He himself would not have believed his ears, had his source of information not been so ancient and trustworthy. He does not deny the facts described by John but rejects his interpretation; he mentions other facts which throw an entirely new light upon the origin of the differences. In this manner Notker first justifies his re-writing the story. The 'coincidences' of his account with that by John are, obviously, striking, but it does not mean that the discrepancies were invented. On the contrary, both Notker's interpretation and the new facts explain all those elements which, as we have seen, really weaken John's argument.

1) John (III, 1) does not give the immediate cause of the dispute between Roman and Frankish chanters in 774. Yet the fact that differences were known to exist is not sufficient explanation itself. Notker reveals that the quarrel was perhaps the first occasion when the leading Frankish experts could vent their indignation over the abominable treatment the kingdom had had from the papal *schola*. Immediately after his accession to the throne Charlemagne had approached the newly elected Stephen III (768) for experts to assist him in the reform. Four years later the pontiff died and was succeeded by Hadrian. About that time Charlemagne discovered the plot. The new pope had only just recalled the chanters, when the king and his court visited Rome. Scandal was still in the air; no wonder, feelings ran high.

2) John quietly presents the Frankish 'precocious' accusations as merely of bad teaching of certain third-rate melodies. Notker implies that putting it in this way was, to say the least, a twofold misleading understatement; those *neniae* must have been disastrously numerous, and their poverty was due not to ignorance nor to human error but to bad faith.

3) John did not say what the Romans answered; probably he did not know, for the papal court of his days would not have spoken of what really had happened. Even if, as he suggests, they produced an authentic papal chant-book, they still evaded the truth. Notker suggests that the Romans had nothing to say in their defence. Moreover, their books were patently trustworthy alright, but those who taught from them were not. All this, of course, presupposing that these books had musical notation. The ones preserved from that period have none.²⁹

29. Again misinterpreting, Ademar, loc. cit., draws a conclusion, obvious at the time but wrong: *Correcti sunt ergo antiphonarii Francorum . . .*

4) John refers to a tradition of how Charlemagne's wise parable put an end to the dispute. How wise this was in the circumstances described by him has already been explained. But Notker's revelation about the precedents to the controversy also means that the troubled waters of the stream left an unexpected pungent odour in the Roman nostrils. The kingdom had been inundated with the teaching of some murky schemers, accepted as apostles. Now, thanks to the great papal *schola*, its musical tradition was as clear as mud.

5) John informs us that, in consequence of the whole affair, the king left two of his intelligent clerics with Hadrian for instruction. But if he knew, he certainly did not say they were smuggled into the court and that they were so well educated and so ingenious (*ingeniosissimi*) that the *schola* failed to recognise them as Franks. John exalted Charlemagne for his veneration of the source, but to Notker it was obvious that neither he nor the pontiff trusted its guardians.

6) The Frankish chanters, educated in Rome, died several years before Hadrian was succeeded by Leo III (795), by which time the tradition in Gaul was deteriorating again. The commission of enquiry which, according to John, was arranged between the king and Hadrian is not mentioned by Notker. This however does not necessarily mean that he did not know of its existence. The later period had no connection with Notker's argument against John, and his silence here in no way affects our judgment on either author.

7) Notker's plea for leniency with the Franks is strengthened by none less than Amalar.³⁰ Masters of the Roman Church had told him in Rome that those ferial gospel antiphons in the books of Metz were unknown there. Yet his own chanters (*nostrī magistri*) maintained they had come through the first ones who taught Roman chant on Frankish territory. And Amalar wondered, 'God knows; are they mistaken, or were those who prided themselves on having got them from masters of the Roman church or did the Romans lose them through carelessness?' Most likely none of the chanters were wrong. The only mistake of Amalar's contemporaries lies in their belief that the antiphons were inherited from the chanters of Stephen II and Pepin,³¹ while much more obviously they are a heritage from one of the conspirators in that apostolic band who had worked at Metz. Surely, much of the confusion that pervades Amalar's writings³² is due to that early disastrous period of Charlemagne's reign.

If after all this one accepts, upon certain conditions, that John's and Notker's

30. *De ordine antiphonarii*, cap. 68; ed. J. M. HANSENS in *Studi e Testi* vol. 140, Città del Vaticano 1950; PL 105, 1307.

31. See above, p. 23.

32. See also HANDSCHIN, 53 f.

accounts together give us some insight into what actually happened, an important conclusion must be drawn and a fundamental question be asked. If the inherent difficulties, already grave in any liturgical reform, were indeed aggravated by chanters of the papal court, who tried to wreck Charlemagne's work out of spite (*invidentia*), the musical technicalities brought into the discussion by John the Deacon and studiously elaborated by others must be taken with a pinch of salt. The Romans used them as excuses and disguises for an entirely different problem. The technical factors continued to exist; yet they were never such an issue as we are made to believe they were during Charlemagne's reign.

Secondly, if the above interpretation of the texts is correct, the question should be asked what motifs brought the papal *schola* to this attitude and action. If I am not mistaken, only the theory of a seventh-century origin of the papal rite provides an answer.³³ If jealousy was at the root, it was because the *schola* rejected the policy of both Charlemagne and the reigning pontiffs (Notker III, 1). They objected to their own, papal repertoire being broadcast and made into something 'common' (Notker IV). They resented the loss of authority, of their unequalled position in the West, based upon a unique western *diaphonia basilika*, symbol of papal sovereignty. Under Pepin they may have believed that the reform was a pious but rather wild idea. But as soon as his successor appeared to continue in the same spirit and Stephen III even approved, they took matters in their own hands. Like so many other Romans (Notker IV), they attempted to undermine the foundations of the sacred, new Roman empire.

33. Further details in VAN DIJK, 'The Urban and Papal Rites', 465 ff, 469 ff.

P.S. - The paper 'The Old-Roman Rite', mentioned above, p. 21, note 2, is published in *Studia Patristica V*, ed. F. L. Cross in *Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristlichen Literatur*, Bnd. LXXX, Berlin 1962, 185 ff.

The connection of Gregory the Great with a Roman *schola*, mentioned above, p. 24, last line but one, will be studied by VAN DIJK, 'Gregory the Great, Founder of the Urban Schola Cantorum', possibly in *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 1963.

Introits and Archetypes: Some Archaisms of the Old Roman Chant

BY THOMAS H. CONNOLLY

ALMOST FROM THE BEGINNING of the modern revival of chant, the attention of scholars has been given increasingly to probing the early limits of our knowledge, to seeking a way across the pale of the earliest noted sources to the dim musical prehistory of the 8th and 7th centuries. What was chant like then? What was it like at the time of Pope Gregory I? What were its origins? The approach to these questions through the historical records of the times can, in the absence of written music, yield only very limited results. More success has been attained by Eric Werner and others in their comparative studies of chant in the Jewish and Christian traditions, but their conclusions, too, are necessarily limited. Dom Mocquereau, misled by the overwhelming survival in written form of one dialect of chant, the Gregorian,¹ disregarded the scant remains of other, superseded traditions and declared that the tradition of Pope Gregory himself was enshrined in the manuscripts that had survived in such great numbers:

From its beginnings down to the time of the earliest neumatic sources in which it is preserved, the musical achievement of St. Gregory suffered no significant corruption. In both the neumatic and the diastematic manuscripts, we have intact the authentic version of the reformer of sacred music.²

Such a judgment has been discarded as it has become apparent that the Gregorian tradition was itself a latecomer and a usurper of earlier, regional chant dialects. Professor Kenneth Levy, in a recent article, has drawn attention to the problem of laying bare the primitive, archetypal forms that underlie the multiple dialects of later ages: "There is a common material behind all of these [later versions of the neophytes' chants], yet in every case it is masked by layers of local stylization. There is no way to roll back even one such layer."³ Yet he very justly sees "that the neophytes' chants offer the most favorable conditions yet for such resto-

¹ I have called these two bodies of chant "Gregorian" and "Old Roman" simply because these are the most familiar terms, whatever their accuracy as descriptions. The latter should by now be quite acceptable, the former much less so. But whether "New Roman" or "Frankish" might be preferred to "Gregorian" seems not yet beyond dispute.

² *Le Répons-Graduel Justus ut palma*, Pt. 1, Paléographie musicale, Vol. II (Solesmes, 1891), p. 4 (my translation).

³ "The Italian Neophytes' Chants," this JOURNAL, XXIII (1970), 227.

ration," chiefly because of the greater number of dialects in which they have been preserved.

While describing some of the more significant and archaic features of the Old Roman Introits, this study will suggest another, though equally difficult, path to such restoration. It is a path suggested by the formulaic character of the Old Roman Introit Antiphons and by some puzzling melodic relationships that exist between them and Mass chants of other categories, similarities which raise the suspicion that there may exist among the various categories a community of formulaic origins.

In any discussion of the Old Roman chant, one must keep constantly in mind the relationship that exists between it and the Gregorian tradition, a relationship that may be summed up thus:

1. The liturgy and texts of the two traditions are essentially the same.
2. The melodies to these texts differ, but not completely. There is, in most cases, a similarity of melodic contour between the Old Roman and the Gregorian versions of the same text.

A comparative study of the Introits of both repertoires leads to a further important observation on the nature of this melodic similarity: the Introits of the Old Roman tradition are more formulaic than those of the Gregorian, and that which is formulaic in the Old Roman is relaxed in the Gregorian.⁴ The principle at work is, in fact, one of variation. A formulaic melody, or melodic phrase or fragment, may be found in a number of Old Roman Introit Antiphons, the melody, phrase, or fragment being identical in all cases. The same Antiphons, or the phrases or fragments in question, in the Gregorian version will be found to resemble the single formula of their Old Roman counterparts, but each in a different way. Each has become, in fact, a kind of variation of the Old Roman formula.

It should be noted that the Old Roman Antiphons consist of musical phrases based on half-verses or phrases from Psalm texts. This musical phrase often moves on or about a central pitch, in effect a reciting pitch, with an introductory inflection or intonation (usually) and a cadence. This is true also of many Gregorian Introits. Where the Old Roman version differs is that these elements—intonation, recitation, and cadence—are more standard than in the Gregorian. There are a comparatively few intonation formulas and cadence formulas; and the passages of reci-

⁴ This observation is limited to the Introits. The Gregorian Graduals, of course, are formulaic in the extreme and in many instances adhere more rigidly to their accepted formulas than do the Old Roman Graduals, which give somewhat inexact versions of their model phrases. But the Graduals form a repertory which is very consciously formulaic and centonate in both traditions. This is not true of the Introits in either. Nevertheless, Helmut Hucke, "Gregorianischer Gesang in altrömischer und fränkischer Überlieferung," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XII (1955), 74-87, demonstrated convincingly that the Old Roman Graduals are more archaic than the Gregorian.

SOME ARCHAISMS OF THE OLD ROMAN CHANT

159

tation are often simpler and more syllabic, more readily identifiable as recitation, than the corresponding passages of the Gregorian Introits. These elements are sometimes freely associated with one another. At other times they are used in apparently orderly fashion, the same intonation and cadence being associated with a number of clear reciting lines to produce a type-phrase that is itself a standard formula.

Gregorian relaxation of formula may be best illustrated by reference to the more prominent kinds of Old Roman formulas under the headings that follow:

- I. Type-melodies, whether for a phrase, an incipit, or even a whole Antiphon; and simple psalmodic recitation, which is far more common in Old Roman than in Gregorian Introits.
- II. Psalm-tone structures which are repeated within an Antiphon. In these cases the same formula, in the nature of a psalm tone, is used for several half-verses within the Antiphon.
- III. Final cadences, which are rather rigidly restricted to four basic types, one for each final. They sometimes occur internally, even taking on a modified, *ouvert* form and dividing the Antiphon into balanced sections akin to the structures mentioned under II.

Let us take representative examples from each of the above headings.

I

One of the most common and distinctive phrase formulas is that used in the Introit *Time-te*. It is given in Example 1, in two of its fifteen occurrences, together with the Gregorian treatment of the same phrases.⁵

Example 1

a. OR

Ti - me - - te do - mi - num om - -

b. GR

Ti - me - - te do - mi - num om - -

nes san - - - cti e - - - jus

nes san - - - cti e - - - jus

⁵ Ex. 1a: Rome, Vat. lat. 5319, fol. 120^v. Ex. 1b: *Graduale Sacrosanctae Romanae*

160 JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY

c. OR
Do - mi - ne re - fu - gi - um fa - - -

d. GR
Do - mi - ne re - fu - gi - um fa - - -

c.
ctus es no - - - bis

d.
ctus es no - - - bis

This formula begins with a simple intonation, $G-a-c$, leading to recitation on c (or in transposition to recitation on F), and closes with an inflection which always begins on the second-last word-accent. For other examples, see *In deo laudabo* (5319, fol. 55, and GR, p. 116), *In nomine domini* (5319, fol. 77^v, and GR, p. 178), and *Meditatio* (5319, fol. 64, and GR, p. 137). Of all of these, only *Meditatio* in the Gregorian version can be considered unrelated melodically to the formula. Yet at “mei,” and again at “semper,” it has the outline of the Old Roman inflection. The other instances leave no room for doubt. The intonation takes the shapes $G-c-a-G-c$, $F-a-c$, $G-a-c$, $E-D-G-a-c$, all leading to recitation on c . And in each case the inflection occurs at the same place as in the Old Roman and has the same general outline. The melodic relationship between the two traditions is here undeniable, but the formula of the Old Roman has been relaxed, varied, in the Gregorian.

The Old Roman Introit Antiphons have much more recitation than do the Gregorian. Sometimes this is a plain, monotone recitation, which may include a rise of a second at accented syllables, thus respecting the principle of tonic accentuation. At other times it is a succession of melodic seconds repeated on each syllable or of pitches a third apart on alternate syllables. When these are compared with their Gregorian counterparts, it is often found that the strictly formulaic line has been elaborated, though in a modest way. Again the principle is one of variation through apparently random decoration. Example 2 compares two lines of Old Roman recitation with the ornamental treatment of the same texts in the Gregorian version.⁶ For other examples, see *Miserere mihi* (5319,

Ecclesiae . . . et rhythmicis signis a Solesmensibus monachis diligenter ornatum (henceforth GR), (Rome, 1908), p. 553. Ex. 1c: 5319, fol. 44^v. Ex. 1d: GR, p. 90.

⁶ Ex. 2a: 5319, fol. 69. Ex. 2b: GR, p. 148. Ex. 2c: 5319, fol. 121. Ex. 2d: GR, p. 555.

SOME ARCHAISMS OF THE OLD ROMAN CHANT

161

Example 2

a. OR
Li - be - ra - tor me - - - us do - mi - nus

b. GR
Li - be - ra - tor me - - - us —

de - gen - ti - bus i - ra - cun - - - dis —

de - gen - ti - bus i - ra - cun - - - dis

c. OR
Dispersit . . . cor - nu e - jus

d. GR
Dispersit . . . cor - nu e - jus —

ex - al - ta - bi - tur in glo - ri - - - a.

ex - al - ta - bi - tur — in glo - - ri - - a.

fol. 67^v, and *GR*, p. 145), *Dicit dominus Petro* (5319, fol. 114^v, and *GR*, p. 509), and Example 3. In Example 2 we meet another distinctive Old Roman characteristic, the use of a standard cadence in *ouvert* and *clos* forms, to be discussed below.⁷ Example 2c, a concluding phrase from an Antiphon, ends with the standard cadence on *E*. Example 2a, an initial phrase, ends with the same cadential pattern, but with an added *F*, which lessens the feeling of finality and renders the phrase *ouvert*.

Although recitation lines are quite apparent at the beginnings of many

⁷ See Ex. 6.

Gregorian Introits, they are always introduced by decorative intonations. This is not the case in the Old Roman version, in which the Antiphons sometimes launch immediately into recitation without any kind of incipit. Of such Antiphons, the most common are those which begin with the undulating type of recitation in which a melodic second is repeated on each syllable. Two of eight Introits which begin thus are compared, in Example 3, to their Gregorian counterparts.⁸ Seven of these

Example 3

Example 3 consists of four staves of musical notation, arranged in two pairs. The first pair (a and b) shows the antiphon 'Cir - cum - de - de - runt me...'. Staff 'a. OR' (Old Roman) features a reciting line with a melodic second (D) repeated on each syllable, creating an undulating pattern. Staff 'b. GR' (Gregorian) shows a more varied intonation with a distinct melodic contour. The second pair (c and d) shows the antiphon 'Da - pa - cem do - mi - - ne...'. Staff 'c. OR' (Old Roman) again uses the undulating reciting line. Staff 'd. GR' (Gregorian) shows a more complex intonation with multiple melodic changes. All staves are in a single system with a brace on the left, and the lyrics are written below the notes.

eight, the exception being *Venite benedicti*, are based on a single reciting pattern in the Old Roman version, whereas the Gregorian has far less consistency in its treatment of the text. Four of the Gregorian Antiphons have the familiar intonation *D-a-b-a*. Yet even these do not continue in similar fashion, but fall into pairs: *Da pacem* and *Statuit*, and *Factus est* and *Justus es*. While maintaining a general resemblance to the Old Roman reciting line, the Gregorian Antiphons have relaxed it, so that it takes on several different forms.

Where the Old Roman tradition does apply an intonation, it does so much more consistently than does the Gregorian, as has already been seen in Example 1. In that example, and in the Introits already mentioned in connection with it, both traditions maintain a generally clear reciting line, but the Gregorian uses a variety of intonations in place of the simple *G-a-c* of the Old Roman. Of the 150 Old Roman Introit Antiphons, 49 have unique intonations, while 70, almost half the total, make

⁸ Ex. 3a: 5319, fol. 34^v. Ex. 3b: *GR*, p. 62. Ex. 3c: 5319, fol. 130^v. Ex. 3d: *GR*, p. 348. The other six are *Fac mecum*, 5319, fol. 58, and *GR*, p. 123; *Factus est*, 5319, fol. 113^v, and *GR*, p. 300; *Justus es*, 5319, fol. 130, and *GR*, p. 341; *Respice domine*, 5319, fol. 124^v, and *GR*, p. 330; *Statuit*, 5319, fol. 26, and *GR*, p. [2]; and *Venite benedicti*, 5319, fol. 90^v, and *GR*, p. 230.

SOME ARCHAISMS OF THE OLD ROMAN CHANT

163

use of only seven common incipits. Each of the remaining intonations occurs two or three times. One of these seven common incipit formulas, a more elaborate example than that of Example 1 and one which occurs in ten Antiphons, may be seen in Example 4, where two of its occurrences

Example 4

a. OR
Cla - ma - ve - runt ————— ju - sti ...

b. GR
Cla - ma - ve - runt ju - sti ...

c. OR
Dum cla - ma - rem ad ————— do - mi - num...

d. GR
Dum cla - ma - rem ad ————— do - mi - num...

are given with their Gregorian counterparts.⁹ Its consistency is not absolute, for some of the Old Roman intonations themselves diverge from the formula, but not enough to raise any doubt that it is essentially the same formula in each case. All ten of these Old Roman Antiphons, moreover, are in E mode and have other features in common, such as formulaic internal cadences and a marked preference for *c* and *a* as reciting notes. Their consistency, then, goes beyond their common intonation, but not far enough for them to be considered a type-melody. The Gregorian Antiphons, on the other hand, while maintaining a resemblance to the Old Roman, fall variously into D, E, and G modes, though E mode predominates.¹⁰

⁹ Ex. 4a: 5319, fol. 104. Ex. 4b: GR, p. 428. Ex. 4c: 5319, fol. 40. Ex. 4d: GR, p. 320. The other eight are *Ecce oculi*, 5319, fol. 105, and GR, p. 471; *Jubilate deo*, 5319, fol. 98^v, and GR, p. 245; *Judica me*, 5319, fol. 66, and GR, p. 140; *Ommis terra* (in which the formula occurs twice), 5319, fol. 22, and GR, p. 56; *Protexisti*, 5319, fol. 100^v, and GR, p. [16]; *Sacerdotes tui*, 5319, fol. 119^v, and GR, p. [36]; *Sancti tui*, 5319, fol. 100, and GR, p. [19]; and *Vocem jucunditatis*, 5319, fol. 99, and GR, p. 250.

¹⁰ It does seem that in the Old Roman tradition the "mode" of an Antiphon is sometimes determined purely by the cadential formula chosen. This, in turn, might have been dictated by the psalm tone, or vice versa. Thus *Eduxit eos*, 5319, fol. 93^v, from Friday of Easter week, and *Eduxit dominus*, 5319, fol. 95, from Saturday *in albis*, have essentially the same melody until the final "alleluia," where they simply apply different cadences, the standard E cadence, and the standard F cadence, respectively. These cadences are discussed below. The Gregorian versions of these Antiphons

It begins without intonation and with recitation centered on *a* (*R'*) and followed by a mediant (*M*). An intonation (*I'*) leads to the second part of the structure, which recites on *F* (*R''*) and closes with a standard cadence (*T*). All three Antiphons then return, by way of an intonation (*I'*), to recitation on *a* (*R'*), but *Respice domine* and *Statuit* break off and continue in a free recitative style, whereas *Da pacem* repeats the whole formula. The text of *Da pacem* is not exhausted by this repetition of the formula. There remain the words "et plebi tuae Israel," which recite about *F* and conclude with a standard Old Roman cadence, that on *D*. As the cadence of the repeated formula is the *ouvert* form of this standard *D* cadence, we again meet reciting patterns within an Antiphon that present a contrast of *ouvert-clos*.

A great part of the Old Roman Introit repertory is based on structures of this kind, though no other case is so exact as that of *Da pacem*. Introits in which the same intonation formula and the same cadence formula, surrounding passages of recitation, are repeated for two or three sections of the text are fairly common. But the reciting passages are often obscured by elaboration and additional material intruded into the cadences, rendering these other instances less clear than *Da pacem*. In almost all of these cases, certainly in the cases of *Da pacem*, *Statuit*, and *Respice domine*, when comparison is made between the two versions, it is found that the Gregorian has broken down the psalmodic structures of the Old Roman into less rigid, less consistent, but still melodically related shapes.

III

Of all the melodic formulas of the Old Roman Introits, none are quite so standard as the final cadences. There are, in fact, only four basic cadences, one for each final.

Of the thirty-two Introits which end on *D*, twenty-six have the standard cadence indicated as *D'* in Example 6b. Twelve of these include common prior material and are indicated as *D''*. Slightly altered, and with an added *F*, this cadence occurs internally in the *ouvert* form of Example 6a. Some of the other *D* cadences are no more than the standard *E* cadence with notes added to give an ending on *D*. Sixty-seven of the Introits end on *E*, forty-seven of them with the standard cadence given in Example 6d. The remaining twenty differ from this standard type in varying degrees. This cadence, too, occurs in non-final positions with an added *F* as a kind of *ouvert* (Ex. 6c). There are, besides, six Introits which have the standard *E* cadence in transposition to end on *F* or *B*. The strange transposition to *F*, with its emphatic tritone, is shown in Example 6g. Twenty-six Old Roman Introits end on *F*, of which nineteen have the standard cadence (Ex. 6e). Of the other seven, three are transpositions

Da pacem and *Statuit* are from *Ecclesiasticus* 36:18 and 45:30. But they are psalms in the literary sense.

166 JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY

of the *E* cadence. Sixteen of the eighteen G-mode Antiphons end with the standard cadence given in Example 6f. The syllabification of all these cadences is indicated in Example 6 by numerals and ties below the line.

Yet again we meet a state of affairs in which fewer but more rigidly applied formulas are used than in the Gregorian tradition. Comparison reveals that there is generally a melodic resemblance between the two versions at these points, but that again the Gregorian forms appear almost as variations of the Old Roman. Especially interesting is the comparison

Example 6

of those Introits which in the Old Roman version present the contrast of *ouvert* and *clos* phrases within the one Antiphon. In these cases, particularly those whose phrases, like those of *Da pacem*, are formulaically similar, there is a definite suggestion of an antiphonal division within the Antiphon itself.¹² Here an element of rationally ordered formal division

¹² Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, I, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1911), p. 65, recalls and rejects an opinion of Cardinal Tommasi in the Maurists' edition of the *Opera Gregorii Magni* (Venice, 1772-74), Vol. XII, praef. 6, that the Introit Antiphon had at one time been sung twice before the Psalm, once by each

seems to have been lost by the Gregorian tradition in its relaxation of formula.

A strange feature of these final cadences is that three of them, those on *E*, *F*, and *G*, are tonally altered forms of one basic cadence. This may be seen in the alignments of Example 6. The standard *E* and *G* cadences (Exx. 6d and 6f) are obviously parallel. Example 6g shows the transposition mentioned above of the *E* cadence to an ending on *F*, a transposition found only in three Introits and then only in the version of the later of the two available sources, Rome, Vat. basilic. F 22. These three are *Ego autem in domino sperabo*, F 22, fol. 31; *Exaudi deus*, F 22, fol. 35; and *Tibi dixit*, F 22, fol. 26^v. In Vat. lat. 5319, these end respectively on *D*, *B*, and *B*, but their cadences are undoubtedly transpositions of the *E* cadence. The *D* transposition of the first may be a scribal error or the result of Gregorian influence, for this is a first-mode Introit in the Gregorian version. *Exaudi deus* is fifth-mode Gregorian, and the last *b* of its cadence is flatted in the *Graduale Romanum*.¹³ *Tibi dixit* is Gregorian third mode, as are the bulk of Antiphons which, in the Old Roman version, end with the standard *E* cadence. These three Introits hint, possibly, at the confusion that must have resulted from the eventual confluence of the two traditions, a confusion that is evident in the three cadences. The transposed Old Roman *E* cadence that ends on *F* (Ex. 6g), with its obvious tritone, is quite ambiguous. With *b_h*, it is equivalent, note for note, to the *G* cadence (Ex. 6f). With *F[#]*, it equals the standard cadence to *E* (or *B*) (Ex. 6d), the cadence which two of the three Introits just discussed have in the version of Vat. lat. 5319.

The antiquity of these Old Roman cadential formulas can only be guessed at. But their consistency, taken with the fact that the Gregorian cadences are related but varied, makes it probable that cadences like them, or at least as consistent as they are, were ancestral to both the Gregorian and Old Roman formulas. Did such cadences predate the writing down of pitches? In an age when fixed, named pitches were of less consequence, a singer might have regarded them as a single formula with different tonal coloring for different occasions. Such an attitude among singers who were not thinking of named pitches but of following a tradition of very formulaic psalmody might account for many of the anomalies of the Old Roman chant and for many of the changes wrought by the Gregorian tradition.

An instance of the varied tonal treatment given to the one formula

half-choir, or had perhaps been divided between them. Tommasi based his opinion on the implications of the word "antiphon." Wagner rejected it because there was no indication of such a method of performance either in the *Ordines Romani* or in the early liturgical texts. This antiphonal division within the Old Roman Antiphons would support Tommasi's contention.

¹³ *GR*, p. 132.

by Vat. lat. 5319 and Vat. basilic. F 22 can be seen in Example 7.¹⁴ Only the intonation and final cadence are cited, but they suffice to show how a single formulaic melody is in one case narrowed and in another expanded so as to be tonally more acceptable. If we prescind from all thought of named pitches, it is not difficult to imagine a singer performing this on one occasion with a minor and on another with a major intonation, making adjustments in the subsequent material that were in accord with some incipient tonal sense.

Example 7

a. De - - - us in _____ ad - ju - to -
 ri - um _____ me - um . . . qui _____ quae - runt

b. De - - - us in _____ ad - ju - to -
 ri - um _____ me - um . . . qui _____ quae - runt

a - ni - mam me - - - - - am.

a - ni - mam me - - - - - am.

In summary of the foregoing sampling of some of the more significant formulaic characteristics of the Old Roman Intros, the following conclusions are offered:

1. The Old Roman Introit Antiphons are more formulaic in style than the Gregorian. Their often rigid formulas include intonations, cadences, recitation, and total phrases. In some instances they extend to complete Antiphons: type-melodies exist which resemble the structure of psalm tones and are sometimes repeated within an Antiphon.

¹⁴ Ex. 7a: F 22, fol. 27^v. Ex. 7b: 5319, fol. 51.

2. The Gregorian Introit Antiphons have a general melodic resemblance to the Old Roman, even at points where the latter appear most formulaic. But the formulaic character seems to have been relaxed, varied.
3. These two facts, the melodic resemblance of the two repertories and the formulaic nature of the Old Roman, suggest that both stem from a state of affairs that was at least as formulaic as the Old Roman. The evolution of dissimilar chants into a common type is highly improbable. The Old Roman Introit repertory, then, in so far as it has preserved more of this formulaic character, is surely closer to this earlier state of affairs.
4. The total evolutionary development of Introit Antiphons seems to have been from formula to relaxation of formula. Since the Old Roman Intros are from comparatively late manuscripts¹⁵ and represent an apparently decayed formulaic style, it seems likely that at some earlier stage, Intros were sung in an even more formulaic way. It may, indeed, have been a completely formulaic style, a regulated style, akin to the recitation of the psalm tones.

If this last point is correct, and Introit Antiphons did evolve from stricter formulas to the elaborated yet still formulaic style of the Old Roman manuscripts and to the freer style of the Gregorian tradition, the following questions arise: Did other categories of Mass chants evolve from such formulas? If so, were these formulas the same as those used for the Intros?

These are formidable and perhaps rash questions. If the great stylistic differences among various chant categories are indeed the result of divergent development from earlier formulas, how can one ever hope to strip away the changes, the graftings and growths of centuries, to reach the common ground beneath? There are, however, points at which this common ground might have remained discernible: chants which were of different categories but which had the same text would have tended to maintain signs of their common melodic origin. Let us state this as a hypothesis, confining the discussion for now to two categories, Intros and Graduals.

Psalms as entrance chants and as postlesson chants were once sung at Rome to the same formulaic psalmody. Stylistic differences began to appear in these chant categories for various reasons. The Introit was an action chant, a Psalm with Antiphon to accompany the entrance procession, and the practical requirements of this procession, which divided the singing antiphonally between two half-choirs, tended to preserve the early antiphonal character of the chant. The Psalm sung after the lesson, however, was a reflective chant, divided between a soloist and a respond-

¹⁵ The earliest, a *Graduale* from S. Cecilia in Trastevere, now in the Bodmer Library in Geneva, bears the date 1071.

ing congregation or choir, and so tended more to stylistic overgrowth of a florid, melismatic character. Thus the similarity of the two chants was lost. But such chants as the Gradual *Sederunt* and the Introit *Etenim sederunt*, both for the feast of St. Stephen and both using the text of Ps. 118:23, would very likely have maintained melodic similarity long after chants to different texts had lost it. The text itself would have acted as a kind of framework, preserving the basic formulaic shape under whatever stylistic fleshing-out took place. And the singers would have been conscious that these were the same chant, an awareness that would have quickly died in the case of chants that did not have a common text. When these chants, in some later stylistic state and by some as yet unexplained means, were transformed into the Gregorian version, the diverging process was carried even further. Meanwhile the parent version continued its more conservative tradition, which preserved some traces of this community of formulaic origins.

If such a hypothesis is correct, there would be more likelihood of finding similarities between *Sederunt* and *Etenim sederunt* in the Old Roman than in the Gregorian version. Such a similarity does, in fact, exist. And an investigation of text-sharing chants of the Old Roman tradition reveals several cases not only of melodic similarity but of identity too. There are two likely explanations for these relationships. Either the chants developed from a common melodic origin, or one was borrowed from the other at a later time to serve in a different category.¹⁶ Robert Snow and Paul Cutter have already called attention to the large number of Old Roman Communions that occur also as Responsories.¹⁷ These are certainly cases of borrowing, especially in view of the lack of liturgical fixity of Responsories. In fact, not only Communions, but Introits and Offertories too are found doing duty as Responsories in the Old Roman tradition. But when there is question of similarities and identities among a large group of Mass chants the liturgical fixity of whose texts is attested by the most ancient sources, it is difficult to appeal to borrowing as an explanation. The case for divergent evolution is strengthened when the Gregorian versions of the same chants are taken into account. Although, for instance, the Gregorian melodies of *Sederunt* and *Etenim sederunt* seem unrelated, a definite four-way relationship comes to light when they are compared with their Old Roman counterparts.

Limiting the investigation to Old Roman Mass chants which share

¹⁶ As Gradual Psalms almost certainly preceded the introduction of entrance Psalms into the Mass, the Introit could have derived its psalmody from the *Gradual*, but not vice versa. This could have happened, however, well before the familiar stylistic character of the Graduals began to develop. It is in this sense that "development from a common melodic origin" should be understood.

¹⁷ Snow, "The Old-Roman Chant," in Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, 1958), p. 500, fn. 17; and Cutter, "The Old-Roman Chant Tradition: Oral or Written?" this JOURNAL, XX (1967), 173.

their text with an Introit, four cases are found in which there is substantial melodic identity.

1. *Confessio*: Introit, Vat. lat. 5319, fol. 46^v; Offertory, 5319, fol. 122.
2. *Esto mihi*: Introit, 5319, fol. 38; Gradual, 5319, fol. 61.
3. *In virtute tua*: Introit, 5319, fol. 32^v; Offertory, 5319, fol. 15^v.
4. *Judica domine*: Introit, 5319, fol. 75^v; Gradual, 5319, fol. 76^v.

In *Confessio*, the Offertory is written a fifth lower than the Introit at the outset, but the melodies are otherwise identical for the first phrase. The Offertory then rises to a higher level of recitation, and both end with the same cadence, the standard *E* pattern of the Introits. There is rather less identity in the Gradual and Introit to *Esto mihi* than in any of the other cases, but they are substantially identical for their first phrases. The Offertory and Introit on the text *In virtute tua* are almost completely identical, as also are the Gradual and Introit to *Judica domine*.

These cases, however, are much easier to deal with than those in which there is similarity but not identity. Resemblance is largely a matter of personal judgment, and there is no way to measure it. Of the thirty cases in which a text is used both as an Introit and as a chant of some other category, I find that the following are too much alike for their resemblance to be called coincidental:

1. *Ad te domine levavi animam*: Introit, Vat. basilic. F 22, fol. 1 (which lacks the first words of the text); Tract verse (more properly, Gradual verse), from Tract (Gradual) *De necessitatibus*, 5319, fol. 45^v; Offertory, 5319, fol. 1.
2. *De necessitatibus*: Introit, 5319, fol. 47; Tract (Gradual), 5319, fol. 45^v; Gradual (second phrase of Gradual *Tribulationes*), 5319, fol. 45^v.
3. *Dispersit*: Introit, 5319, fol. 121; Gradual, 5319, fol. 121.
4. *Ego clamavi*: Introit, 5319, fol. 55^v; Communion, 5319, fol. 114.
5. *Etenim sederunt*: Introit, 5319, fol. 15; Gradual (*Sederunt*), 5319, fol. 15.

The Introit and Gradual from the last case listed are compared in Example 8, which also includes their counterparts from the Gregorian tradition.¹⁸ The resemblance of Introit to Introit and Gradual to Gradual is not surprising; but that of Introit to Gradual assuredly is. Those static parts of the melody, where one pitch suddenly becomes quite central, occur in all four chants, as at “loquebantur” and “persecuti.” But there are strong resemblances at the more active sections, too, as at “sederunt,” “et adversum,” and “et iniqui.” The numbered brackets above the lines of Example 8 draw attention to these and other points of similarity. Noteworthy are the cadences at “persecuti sunt me.” The Old Roman Introit (Ex. 8a), after recitation on *F*, has the *ouvert* form of the standard *D*

¹⁸ Ex. 8a: 5319, fol. 15. Ex. 8b: 5319, fol. 15. Ex. 8c: *GR*, p. 36. Ex. 8d: *GR*, p. 36.

Example 8

a. OR E - - - te - nim se - de - - runt

b. OR Se - de - - runt

c. GR E - - - te - nim se - de - - runt

d. GR Se - de - - runt

prin - - ci - pes

prin - - ci - pes

prin - ci - pes

prin - ci - pes

et ad - ver - sum me

SOME ARCHAISMS OF THE OLD ROMAN CHANT

7. 8. 9.

lo - que - ban - - tur et i - ni - qui

7. 9.

lo - que - ban - - tur 8. et i - ni - qui

7. 9.

lo - que - ban - - tur et i - ni - qui

7. 9.

lo - que - ban - - tur et i - ni - qui

10. 11.

per - se - cu - - ti sunt me:

10. 11.

per - se - cu - - ti sunt me

10.

per - se - cu - - ti sunt me:

10.

per - se - cu - - ti sunt me

12.

ad - ju - va me do - mi - ne...

12.

♩. Ad - ju - va me do - mi - ne...

12.

ad - ju - va me do - mi - ne...

12.

♩. Ad - ju - va me do - mi - ne...

cadence. The Old Roman Gradual (Ex. 8b), after recitation on *c* following an intonation that is a transposition of the Introit's intonation at "et iniqui," has the standard *F* cadence of the Introits at "sunt," then adds a long melisma to "me." This treatment of what appears to be the same basic reciting pattern resembles the case of *Deus in adiutorium* (Ex. 7), which was adapted differently by two Old Roman Mass books. At this cadential point in Example 8, the Gregorian Introit (Ex. 8c) and Gradual (Ex. 8d) match their Old Roman counterparts. Similar treatment, the narrowing or expansion of a basic formula seemingly for tonal reasons, is observable at the beginning of the next phrase, "adjuva me," but thereafter the texts differ, the Gradual verse being from Ps. 118:23, 86 and Ps. 108:26.

These text-sharing chants present a fascinating but involved complex of related formulaic treatment. While dogmatically asserted solutions of the problems they present would be untimely, it does seem that, like the neophytes' chants, they are stylistic and perhaps regional variants of common material. And again, like the neophytes' chants, they present formidable difficulties of proceeding backwards to musical archetypes. They do, however, greatly increase the number of cases behind which such common material can be identified. That fact alone may ease the task of rolling back the layers of stylization with which they have been encrusted.

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Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant

BY HELMUT HUCKE

THE CURRENT UNDERSTANDING of the history of Gregorian chant was worked out mainly by the school of Solesmes and by Peter Wagner, whose *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien*¹ still remains the classic work on Gregorian chant. The last edition of Wagner's book appeared from 1911 to 1921; since that time, apart from contributions to handbooks and encyclopedias, there has been only one serious general overview of Gregorian chant: that of Willi Apel.² And Apel, though referring to new research and offering some interesting new insights of his own and of his collaborators, acknowledged generously that Wagner "laid the foundation for so many studies of Gregorian chant, including the one presented here."³

I

The early course of development of Gregorian chant, as outlined mainly by the school of Solesmes and Peter Wagner, may be briefly sketched as follows. In the early centuries of Christianity a liturgical chant was developed in Italy as well as in Gaul and in Spain, on the basis of chant brought over with the liturgy itself from the Church of Jerusalem and perhaps some other churches of the Orient (for example, the Church of Antioch). The oldest source still preserved of the once common old Italian chant is the liturgical chant of Milan, the so-called "Ambrosian" chant. Thus Higinio Anglès, in his contribution to the second volume of the *New Oxford History of Music*, deals with Ambrosian chant alongside Gallican and Spanish (Mozarabic) chant

¹ Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien*: Vol. I, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1911; Vol. II, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1912; Vol. III, Leipzig, 1921. Rprt. Hildesheim, 1962. English translation of the second edition of Vol. I: *The Origin and Development of the Forms of the Liturgical Chant* (London, 1907).

² Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, 1958).

³ Apel, p. ix.

under the title "Latin Chant before St. Gregory."⁴ And Bruno Stäblein's articles on chant in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* reflect a similar point of view. Through comparison of Gregorian and, of course, Ambrosian with Byzantine melodies, Egon Wellesz attempted to show that all these chants must be closely related, and must derive from a common source, which would have been the Church of Jerusalem⁵—even though Byzantine melodies have not been deciphered from sources before the end of the twelfth century, and even though we do not have Western chant books with melodies notated from before the tenth century. Other scholars have tried to demonstrate that specific Gregorian chants were derived directly from Jewish tradition, by comparing Gregorian melodies with Jewish songs collected in recent times in isolated Jewish communities. This kind of research was introduced especially by Abraham Zewi Idelsohn.⁶ It has been carried on by Eric Werner.⁷

Roman chant, according to Wagner, was at first more or less identical with the chant of Milan. It was artfully transformed into Grego-

⁴ Higini Anglès, "Latin Chant Before St. Gregory," *New Oxford History of Music*, Vol. II, ed. Dom Anselm Hughes, *Early Medieval Music up to 1300* (London, 1954), pp. 58–91.

⁵ See, for example, Egon Wellesz, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant*, *Monumenta musicae byzantinae*, Subsidia, Vol. II, no. 1, American Series (Oxford, 1947), p. 126.

⁶ Abraham Zewi Idelsohn, "Parallelen zwischen gregorianischen und hebräisch-orientalischen Gesangsweisen," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, IV (1921/2), pp. 515–24.

⁷ Werner's work does not stand up under scrutiny: in his article "Die jüdischen Wurzeln der christlichen Kultmusik" in Karl Gustav Fellerer, ed., *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, Vol. I (Kassel, 1972), p. 29, he writes that when the Jews in Blois were burned in 1171, they sang the 'alenu. "Nachher wurde die Judenmelodie dem gregorianischen Repertoire einverleibt. Das hören wir von zwei verlässlichen jüdischen Chronisten." According to him, the melody of Sanctus IX is that of the 'alenu. But the Jewish chroniclers do not say anything about incorporating the melody of the 'alenu into the Gregorian repertory (see the article "'Olenu" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (New York, 1929), p. 157). The melody of Sanctus IX is not transmitted in manuscripts from before the thirteenth century, and its earliest appearances are mainly in Italy and Germany: cf. Peter Josef Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1962). Werner does not mention that the melody of the 'alenu which he quotes in connection with what happened in 1171 was transcribed by Idelsohn from a manuscript written about 1765 by Ahron Beer, chazzan in Berlin. Furthermore, Werner gives two different versions of the melody. The one in his article is identical to the version in his book *The Sacred Bridge* (London, 1959), p. 570. A second one is to be found in *The Sacred Bridge* on p. 504 (the page numbers given in his article as reference are incorrect). Both versions are different from the one given in what he identifies as his source—Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, p. 148.

rian chant by St. Gregory and his *Schola cantorum*.⁸ When chant research began, it was believed that an old chant book from the monastery of St. Gall, the manuscript St. Gall 359, was, if not the original antiphonary of St. Gregory, at least an authentic copy of the original. As early as 1851 Louis Lambilotte published a facsimile edition.⁹ As far as I know, this was the very first facsimile edition of a complete musical manuscript ever published. But it became clear that Codex St. Gall 359 could not have been copied before the turn of the tenth century, and naturally there was no evidence that it was copied from St. Gregory's autograph. To retrieve the original and authentic text of the Gregorian melodies, or at least to get the oldest and best possible text, one had to collect every manuscript available, and finally prepare a critical edition of the Gregorian melodies by adapting the solid methods of classical philology. These were the aims which engendered the *Paléographie musicale* (the indispensable collection of facsimile editions published from 1889 onwards), and which motivated the attempt at a critical edition of the *Graduel romain* which has been under way at the Abbey of Solesmes since 1957.

However, there was a certain gap between this understanding of the development of chant and the results of studies of literary accounts of early Christian chant in patristic literature,¹⁰ and a growing alienation between liturgical scholars and students of chant. What is the point of comparing a Gregorian gradual with a Jewish melody, when it is clear from patristic literature that until the fifth century the position of the gradual in the service was occupied by a different chant-form, the *psalmus responsorius*? When I attempted to classify the manners and forms of early Christian singing described in patristic literature, I obtained a picture which was at variance with the common view of chant history: I pointed out that none of the forms of Western chant can be traced back to Jewish liturgy or even to early Christian times.¹¹ The forms of Western chant were developed in the West, even if they were sometimes stimulated from the Orient.

⁸ Wagner, I, pp. 55 ff.

⁹ Louis Lambilotte, ed., *Antiphonaire de Saint-Grégoire. Facsimile du manuscrit de Saint-Gall: copie authentique de l'autographe écrite vers l'an 700* (Brussels, 1851). A second edition followed in 1865. Cf. the newer facsimile edition of the "Cantatorium de Saint-Gall" in *Paléographie musicale*, II, 2 (1924, rprt. Bern, 1968).

¹⁰ See especially Franz Leitner, *Der gottesdienstliche Volksgesang im jüdischen und christlichen Altertum* (Freiburg, 1906); Johannes Quasten, *Musik und Gesang in den Kulturen der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit* (Münster, 1930); Helmut Leeb, *Die Psalmodie bei Ambrosius*, Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie, XVII (Vienna, 1967).

¹¹ Helmut Huckle, "Die Entwicklung des frühchristlichen Kultgesangs zum Gregorianischen Gesang," *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLVIII (1953), pp. 152 ff.

II

The accepted view of Gregorian chant was challenged when Bruno Stäblein, in 1950, drew attention to some Roman manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries containing a different version of the Gregorian melodies.¹² The manuscripts had not been unknown, but Stäblein has the credit of inaugurating serious discussion of what Apel then called "the central problem of Gregorian chant."¹³

Stäblein labelled the chant of the Roman manuscripts "Old Roman chant," but I prefer to talk about the "Old Roman" (or simply "Roman") *version* of Gregorian chant, since, as a matter of fact, Old Roman chant is not a different collection of songs in a different liturgical order (like, for example, Ambrosian chant), but a different musical redaction of the same liturgical repertory. As to the origin of the two versions of Gregorian chant, Stäblein referred to a tradition traceable to the twelfth century that Pope Vitalian (657-72) "composed the chant which the Romans use today"¹⁴ and to a list of Roman authorities who concerned themselves with the chant. This list enumerates first the Popes Damasus I (366-84), Leo I (440-61), Gelasius I (492-6), Symmachus (498-514), John I (523-6), Boniface II (530-2), Gregory I (590-604) and Martin I (649-55); and then three abbots, Catolenus, Maurianus, and Virbonus.¹⁵ The list is transmitted in the *Ordo romanus XIX*, formerly called *Ordo* of the Archicantor Johannes, which Stäblein believed to be a Roman document from about 675. But according to the editor of the *Ordines romani*, Michel Andrieu, it was written down by an untrustworthy Frankish monk a hundred years later.¹⁶ For Stäblein, the Old Roman version of the chant was the

¹² Bruno Stäblein, "Zur Frühgeschichte des römischen Chorals," *Atti del Congresso internazionale di musica sacra 1950* (Tournai, 1952), pp. 271-5; "Alt- und neurömischer Choral," *Kongressbericht, Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Lüneburg 1950* (Kassel, n.d.), pp. 53-6; "Zur Entstehung der gregorianischen Melodien," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, XXXV (1951), pp. 5-9; article "Choral," *MGG*, II (1952), cols. 1265-1303.

¹³ Apel, "The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant," this *JOURNAL*, IX (1956), pp. 118-27.

¹⁴ "Compositum cantum, quo hodie Romani utuntur." These are the words of the first witness of the tradition, Romoald II, Archbishop of Salerno, who died in 1181 (published in Lodovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, Nuova edizione, VII, 1, rev. G. Carducci and V. Fiorini (Città di Castello, 1914), pp. 127, 31. Further testimonies of the tradition are collected by Stäblein in his introduction to *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. lat. 5319*, *Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, II (Kassel, 1970), pp. 140*-50*.

¹⁵ Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge* (Louvain, 1931-61), Vol. III, pp. 223-4; Stäblein, *Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, p. 146*.

¹⁶ Andrieu, III, pp. 6 ff.

original Gregorian chant edited by Pope Gregory the Great, and the standard version was a "New Roman chant" produced at the time of Pope Vitalian by the abbots Catolenus, Maurianus and Virbonus, whom he calls "musicians." What other reason could there be for their having been included in this list?¹⁷ But to me the answer is not so clear. I really do not know the reason, and I am likewise uncertain about what the musical activity of Pope Vitalian may have been.¹⁸ In any case Stäblein's theory has three fundamental weaknesses: first, the reliability of his witnesses is questionable; second, there is no evidence that their ambiguous testimony has anything to do with the two versions of Gregorian chant; third, it is not at all clear why the Romans would have wished to change their venerable tradition of chant,¹⁹ and particularly to do so not by composing new melodies especially for the most solemn occasions, but by producing a new elaborate version of every single melody.

Josef Smits van Waesberghe and Ewald Jammers have proposed somewhat different theories. Smits van Waesberghe believed the standard version of Gregorian chant to be that of the papal court, as against the Old Roman version of the Roman city-monasteries.²⁰ For Jammers, the origin of the standard version would have had to do with the introduction of polyphonic performance of chant at the papal

¹⁷ "Hinter Martin, dem letzten Papst, folgen in der Liste überraschenderweise drei Namen von Abbates, drei führenden römischen Kantoren. Die Frage lag nahe: Wenn in einer Liste, die nur Päpste aufzählt, vor Vitalian haltgemacht wird und plötzlich drei Kantoren, drei Fachmusiker erscheinen, sollten nicht diese mit der Umwandlung der Melodien in Zusammenhang stehen?" (Stäblein, *Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, p. 5*). "Wie man sich die Tätigkeit der drei Musiker im Einselnen vorzustellen hat, kann nur vermutet werden und lässt der Phantasie freien Spielraum" (p. 56*).

¹⁸ Some medieval writers—Ricobaldus Gervasius from Ferrara, Martinus Polonius, Tolomeo Fiadoni, Amalricus Augerius, and Bartolomeo Platina—add: "cantum Romanum . . . organo concordavit," perhaps because they were irritated by the claims for Vitalian as against Gregory. Cf. Stäblein, *Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, pp. 144* ff.

¹⁹ Stäblein tries to explain the origin of the "New Roman chant" by the tendency to growing splendor at the papal court and the need for a more international musical language of Roman liturgy: "Die Völker umgreifende Autorität des päpstlichen Rom beanspruchte einen liturgischen Gesang, der über alle lokal-provinziellen Bindungen hinausstrebte, einen Gesang, der 'vernünftiger', weniger emotional, mehr rational, verständlicher, mehr übernational und dadurch auch für die übrigen unter dem geistigen Szepter Roms vereinigten Völker des Abendlandes akzeptabel war" (*Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, p. 61*). But these are certainly not concepts of musical esthetics of the 7th century!

²⁰ Josef Smits van Waesberghe, "Neues über die Schola cantorum zu Rom," 2. *Internationaler Kongress für katholische Kirchenmusik 1954* (Vienna, 1955), pp. 111-19.

court, following the example of the Byzantine court.²¹ I have proposed a different view: that the standard version of Gregorian chant originated when the *cantus romanus* was introduced into the Frankish Empire by King Pepin and Charlemagne. It is the result of the adaptation of Roman chant by the Franks, a version of Roman chant created by Frankish cantors, a kind of translation of foreign music into their own musical language. It came into being not, of course, because the Franks wanted to have a different chant, but because of the difficulty of carrying an enormous musical repertory over from one culture to a very distant and different one, translating it, and establishing it there.²² It was my suggestion that the standard version of Gregorian chant should be labelled the Frankish version, because in fact its oldest sources are of Frankish origin, and there is no evidence of the Frankish version of Gregorian chant in Rome before the eleventh century.

The discussion about the two versions of Gregorian chant has been going on for some twenty years. In a series of subsequent publications Stäblein elaborated and somewhat altered his theory, abandoning especially the assumption that the Old Roman version was St. Gregory's own redaction.²³ It seems to me that the question was settled when I was able to point out, at the Berlin Musicological Congress in 1974, that the Roman version of Gregorian chant originally did not involve the system of the eight church modes, and that the system of church modes was adopted only late and gradually into the Roman version from its Frankish counterpart.²⁴ As Michel Huglo has shown,²⁵ the system of the church modes was developed in the Frank-

²¹ Ewald Jammers, *Musik in Byzanz, im päpstlichen Rom und im Frankenreich. Der Choral als Textausssprache* (Heidelberg, 1962).

²² Huckle, "Die Einführung des Gregorianischen Gesangs im Frankenreich," *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLIX (1954), pp. 172-85; "Gregorianischer Gesang in altrömischer und fränkischer Überlieferung," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XII (1955), pp. 74-87; "Zu einigen Problemen der Choralforschung," *Die Musikforschung*, XI (1958), especially pp. 394-414.

²³ Stäblein, "Der altrömische Choral in Oberitalien und im deutschen Süden," *Die Musikforschung*, XIX (1966), pp. 3-9; "Kann der gregorianische Choral im Frankenreich entstanden sein?," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXIV (1967), pp. 153-69; "Nochmals zur angeblichen Entstehung des gregorianischen Choral im Frankenreich," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXVII (1970), pp. 110-21; *Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, pp. 3*-164*.

²⁴ Huckle, "Karolingische Renaissance und Gregorianischer Gesang," *Die Musikforschung*, XXVIII (1975), pp. 4-18; *ibid.*, "Die Herkunft der Kirchentonarten und die fränkische Überlieferung des Gregorianischen Gesangs," *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Berlin 1974* (Kassel, 1980), pp. 257-60.

²⁵ Michel Huglo, *Les Tonaires* (Paris, 1971). According to John Planer, "The Ecclesiastical Modes in the Late Eighth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan,

ish Empire, and we do not have any evidence of use in Rome before the thirteenth century. Because the Frankish version of Gregorian chant is indivisibly connected with and based on the system of the church modes, this version of Gregorian chant cannot be Roman, if the church modes are Frankish.

III

The traditional historical view of Gregorian chant was further affected by new research on Ambrosian chant. As I have already pointed out, the Ambrosian melodies had been regarded as "the oldest form of plainchant."²⁶ According to Anglès, "Ambrosian chant, as it has come down to us, may be regarded as a fair representative of what it was at the turn of the fifth century."²⁷ And Bruno Stäblein even published a responsory from an Ambrosian manuscript of the twelfth century as an example of chant at the time of St. Augustine because St. Augustine once mentioned a chant with the same text!²⁸ But we do not have sources of Ambrosian melodies from before the twelfth century. In a study of parallel pieces transmitted in both Gregorian and Ambrosian chant, I was able to show that the Ambrosian versions of these pieces are not relics of an older common "Old Italian chant," but were taken over from the Frankish version of Gregorian chant into Ambrosian chant in the Middle Ages.²⁹ This was confirmed by Michel Huglo,³⁰ who arrived at an even more specific conclusion: that the pieces of Gregorian chant adopted into the Ambrosian chant—there are about 130 in the Mass and about 230 in the Office³¹—were taken over from North Italian sources of the Frankish tradition of Gregorian chant.³² The Ambrosian chant tradition never utilized staffless notation.³³ The written tradition of Ambrosian chant began in the twelfth century with "Ambrosian neumes" on staves, a special kind of nota-

1970), the so-called Tonary of Saint-Riquier, which Huglo believes to be the earliest source indicating the existence of the ecclesiastical modes, was written not between 795 and 800, but perhaps as late as the 10th century. If Planer is right, we would have the first evidence of the church modes from the first half of the 9th century.

²⁶ Wellesz, p. 126.

²⁷ Anglès, "Latin Chant," p. 62.

²⁸ Stäblein, "Frühchristliche Musik," *MGG*, IV (1955), col. 1060.

²⁹ Huckle, "Die gregorianische Gradualeweise des 2. Tons und ihre ambrosianischen Parallelen," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XIII (1956), pp. 285-314.

³⁰ Michel Huglo, Luigi Agustoni, Eugene Cardine, Ernesto Moneta Caglio, *Fonti e paleografia del canto ambrosiano*, Archivio ambrosiano, VII (Milan, 1956).

³¹ Huglo *et al.*, p. 136.

³² Huglo *et al.*, p. 134.

³³ Huglo *et al.*, p. 34.

tion derived from the notation of North Italian sources of the Frankish version of Gregorian chant.³⁴ The transition from oral to written transmission entails redaction of the tradition. The development of a special notation testifies to the very conscious and systematic character of the redaction of the Ambrosian tradition in the twelfth century. The Ambrosian counterparts of Gregorian pieces should be regarded as adoptions from Gregorian sources into the singing tradition of Ambrosian chant.

IV

The relationship between St. Gregory and the corpus of melodies which bears his name had already been a critical issue in chant historiography. In 1890 F. A. Gevaert questioned whether Gregory the Great really had anything to do with Gregorian chant.³⁵ He believed that Gregorian chant had originally been named, not after Pope Gregory I, the Great (590–604), but after Pope Gregory II (715–31). His study initiated a long and heated discussion, and his views were generally disregarded. In the last twenty years the situation has changed. In a study in 1955 I pointed out that the connection of the name of St. Gregory the Great with chant goes back to a prologue introducing some antiphonaries from the eighth century on.³⁶ “Gregory”—and it remains uncertain which one—is said in that prologue to be the author of the antiphonary. But the oldest of these antiphonary manuscripts do not have musical notation, and we do not have evidence that the prologue means anything other than that Gregory was thought to be the author of the liturgical ordering, or the authority behind it. It is only in an early-ninth-century manuscript, in the Cantatorium from Monza,³⁷ that for the first time the book is claimed to be one of “musical art.” With the conception of a liturgical book as a book of musical art, a specifically *musical* activity is attributed to its author, or to the authority who bestows his imprimatur upon it. Further evidence has been supplied by Bruno Stäblein³⁸ and by Leo Treitler, who traced the famous family of medieval illustrations showing St. Gregory and

³⁴ Huglo *et al.*, p. 35.

³⁵ François Auguste Gevaert, *Les origines du chant liturgique de l'église latine* (Ghent, 1890).

³⁶ Huckle, “Die Entstehung der Überlieferung von einer musikalischen Tätigkeit Gregors des Grossen,” *Die Musikforschung*, VIII (1955), pp. 259–64.

³⁷ The text is published in René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935).

³⁸ Stäblein, “Gregorius Praesul, der Prolog zum römischen Antiphonale,” *Musik und Verlag*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Kassel, 1968), pp. 537–61.

the dove.³⁹ In the first appearances of this motive, St. Gregory is dictating his commentary on Ezekiel: the legend of Gregory as composer or collector of the Gregorian melodies was crystallized in the ninth century, and only then was the illustration given specifically musical content. Gregory the Great became the "auctoritas" for the chant which was imposed by Charlemagne on the church of his empire with the intent of achieving its ecclesiastical unification, in order to stress that the Frankish Empire was the legal successor of the Roman Empire.

V

Finally the traditional view of the early history of Gregorian chant has been shaken by studies on the notation of Gregorian chant, the neumes. It had often been remarked that there is no evidence of neumatic notation before 800. Through the studies of Solange Corbin⁴⁰ it has become evident that the neumes are of Carolingian origin. They were developed in France in the ninth century, possibly under Byzantine influence, in the course of the adaptation and theoretical appropriation of the chant repertory by the Franks. Hardly more than a dozen examples of neumatic notation from the ninth century are known, and these are all examples in which only individual pieces within manuscripts of different kind were provided with neumes.⁴¹ There are different kinds of neumatic notation even in the ninth century; the different regional paleographic styles go back to the very beginning of neume notation. Perhaps neumes were developed and used at first for theoretical demonstrations, and only occasionally employed to notate a particular melody or to give a musical explanation here or there in a parchment manuscript.

Solange Corbin's conclusions have been questioned especially by Ewald Jammers⁴² and Constantin Floros.⁴³ Floros argues that the de-

³⁹ Leo Treitler, "Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant," *The Musical Quarterly*, LX (1974), pp. 333-72.

⁴⁰ Solange Corbin, "Les notations neumatiques en France à l'époque carolingienne," *Revue d'histoire de l'église en France*, XXXVIII (1953), pp. 225-32; *L'église à la conquête de sa musique* (Paris, 1960), pp. 258 ff.; *Die Neumen*, Palaeographie der Musik, I, 3 (Cologne, 1977).

⁴¹ See Corbin, *Die Neumen*, pp. 3.21-3.41.

⁴² Jammers, *Tafeln zur Neumenschrift* (Tutzing, 1965), pp. 27 ff., but without any argument.

⁴³ Constantin Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde*, 3 vols. (Kassel, 1970), II, pp. 232 ff. With regard to Floros's book, cf. Max Haas, "Probleme einer 'Universalen Neumenkunde'," *Forum musicologicum*, Basler Studien zur Musikgeschichte, I (Bern, 1975), pp. 305-22.

velopment of neumes must have taken place at least one to two centuries before the earliest surviving sources, that they are of Byzantine origin, and that they were first used in Rome. But there is other evidence that the neumes were originally developed and used not in Rome but in the Frankish Empire: in the manuscripts of the Old Roman version of Gregorian chant,⁴⁴ the oldest of them being the so-called Gradual of Santa Cecilia di Trastevere in Rome (1071),⁴⁵ the scribes employed Beneventanian neumes.⁴⁶ This type of notation is derived from Frankish notation. If the Romans had had an adequate notation of their own, with a tradition going back centuries before the Frankish version of Gregorian chant, why would they have written down their own distinct melodic tradition in an adaptation of the Frankish notation?

VI

We do not know when and where the first chant manuscript was notated. The oldest remaining chant manuscripts in which neumes original to the manuscript are employed throughout are generally dated to the tenth century: the Gradual Laon 239 with Messine neumes;⁴⁷ a Sacramentarium/Gradual written possibly in St. Pierre in Angers;⁴⁸ the Gradual Chartres 47, which was written somewhere in Brittany;⁴⁹ the Cantatorium St. Gall 359.⁵⁰ There are some fragments of chant manuscripts that may go back to the ninth century.⁵¹

⁴⁴ Huglo, "Le chant 'vieux-romain'. Liste des manuscrits et témoins indirects," *Sacris erudiri*, VI (1954), pp. 96-124; Stäblein, *Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, pp. 8*-30*.

⁴⁵ Jacques Hourlier and Michel Huglo, "Un important témoin du chant vieux-romain: le Graduel de Ste. Cécile du Trastévère," *Revue grégorienne*, XXXI (1952), pp. 26-37; Stäblein, *Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, pp. 25* ff. The manuscript is in the library of Dr. Martin Bodmer at Cognoy, near Geneva.

⁴⁶ See Corbin, *Die Neumen*, p. 3.141.

⁴⁷ Facsimile edition in *Paléographie musicale*, Vol. X.

⁴⁸ Angers, Bibliothèque de la ville, 91 (83).

⁴⁹ *Paléographie musicale*, Vol. XI. The manuscript was destroyed in 1944.

⁵⁰ *Paléographie musicale*, II^e série, Vol. II.

⁵¹ Jammers, *Tafeln*, pp. 26-7, lists three fragments of "Kantorenhandschriften im strengen Sinne" (nos. 16-19 in his list). But numbers 16 and 17 seem to have been written in the 10th century (cf. Corbin, *Die Neumen*, pp. 3.28-9), and 18 (Leiden, University Library, Cod. 25, fol. 1^r) needs further investigation. The troper Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 1240, and the Gradual Laon 239, listed by Jammers as numbers 19 and 20 of his sources of the 9th century, are evidently later. Cf. Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, RISM, B IV/1 (Munich-Duisburg, 1964, pp. 137-9 (n. 19), and *Le Graduel romain*, II: *Les sources* (Solesmes, 1957), p. 99 (n. 20).

On the other hand, the five complete chant books that survive from the ninth century,⁵² and three from the first half of the tenth century,⁵³ contain only texts or incipits of texts, and whatever neumes they contain were added later. Even if one wishes, despite this evidence, to suppose that there were in certain localities chant books with neumes as early as the ninth century, chant books without neumes were written at least until the tenth century. We must be able to explain the beginning of chant transmission in the Frankish Empire without assuming the use of neumes.⁵⁴ The appearance of increasing numbers of chant manuscripts with neumes in different places through the Empire in the tenth and eleventh centuries appears in a new light: since chant transmission in the Frankish Empire took place without neumes, the propagation of Gregorian chant in the Empire and the distribution of manuscripts with neumes are not the same phenomenon; they represent two different stages in the spread of the chant. The second stage (the distribution of manuscripts with neumes) may have begun as early as the ninth century. In the tenth century it was definitely under way, and by the eleventh century chant books with neumes were written in Germany and in Italy.

This does not mean that people began to sing from the books at once. The oldest chant books are very small: the Gradual Einsiedeln 121 measures 15.5 x 11 cm. (that is just about the size of a post card); the famous Codex Hartker from St. Gall, 22.2 x 16.7 cm.; the manuscript St. Gall 359, 28 x 12.5 cm.; the Gradual Graz 807, 23 x 15 cm.; and the largest of the oldest manuscripts, the Gradual Chartres 43, 29.5 x 21.5 cm. These manuscripts were too small for a choir to sing

⁵² The manuscripts Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Cod. lat. 10127/10144 ("Antiphonaire du Mont-Blandin"); Monza, Tesoro della Cattedrale ("Graduel" or better "Cantatorium de Monza"); Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Cod. Rh. 30 ("Antiphonaire de Rheinau"); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 17436 ("Antiphonaire de Compiègne"); Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 111 ("Antiphonaire de Senlis"). All are published in Hesbert.

⁵³ The manuscripts Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 12050 ("Antiphonaire de Corbie"), published in Hesbert; Paris, private collection ("Antiphonaire de Mont Renaud" near Noyon), in which neumes were added later, published in *Paléographie musicale*, Vol. XVI; Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 118, Gradual-Sacramentarium-Lectioarium from Saint-Denis.

⁵⁴ I must correct my assumption in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XII (1955), p. 87: "Sowohl die Art und Weise, in der diese Redaktion (der römischen Melodien, die zur fränkischen Überlieferung führte) vorgenommen wurde, wie die erstaunliche Treue, in der beide Traditionen sich entsprechen, nachdem sie bereits lange Zeit getrennt voneinander weitergelebt haben, setzt schriftliche Überlieferung bereits zu der Zeit voraus, als sie auseinandergingen." Floros (*Universale Neumenkunde*, II, p. 233) took this assumption for an argument for the origin of neumes before the 9th century and in Rome.

from. They were small even for a cantor at the pulpit. They seem instead to be archive manuscripts, which may have served as a reference for the cantor and as a control against deviation from the true and venerable tradition.

The proposition that written tradition does not necessarily imply singing from a book may seem strange to us, at least outside the practice of popular music. In this context it is interesting to read what Jacques Goar, a French Dominican who from 1631 to 1637 lived on the island of Chios in the Aegean sea, tells about singing in Byzantine liturgy. In 1647 he commented about what he had seen and heard in Greek liturgical celebrations: "The Greeks have music books, but they rarely look at them while singing."⁵⁵ He also remarked: "The Greeks seldom sing from a book at the pulpit, and even more rarely do they conduct or teach singing with written notation at hand." According to Goar's account, one of the ministers, using a book, indicated phrase by phrase with his voice what was to be sung. In the pieces which were better known and more often sung the appropriate intervals were indicated by certain movements of the fingers, by a process called "cheironomy."⁵⁶

VII

The chant books which the Romans sent to France at the request of the Franks must have been chant books without neumes. How then were the melodies transmitted? How did the Romans remember their melodies before the eleventh century? How did the Franks receive the melodies of the *cantus romanus*? How did they transmit the Frankish version of Gregorian chant before the written tradition began?

The problem is not entirely new. Even if we presume music writing to be much older (as in the traditional view) there must in any case have been a chant tradition still older. Scholars have always wondered how singers and even entire monastic communities remembered so many different melodies.

⁵⁵ "Libros notis musicis exaratos, inter cantandum rarissime conspiciunt, vel etiam habent Graeci." Jacques Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum*, In officium Sancti Olei notae, 12 (Paris, 1647), p. 434.

⁵⁶ "Nam cum raro e libris in pulpito recitent Graeci, rariusque item musices notis exaratis cantum dirigant at instruant. Defectibus his consultum satis putaverunt, si minister quivis voce quae commode a reliquis audiretur, membratim per cola huic et alteri choro e libro suggereret, quicquid occurreret canendum: dum interim cantus notitia et usu magis insignes variis dextrae digitorumque motibus, contractione, inflexione, extensione etc. (χειρογομία vocavit Cedrenus in Theophilo) tanquam signis ad varias voces modulosque exprimendos uterentur." Goar, *Euchologion*, In ordinem Sacri Ministerii notae, 21 (Paris, 1647), p. 30.

Before there were neumes, it is claimed, there was cheironomy. But here the concept of cheironomy is different from what it was in Byzantine music according to Goar and others.⁵⁷ It was André Mocquereau (1849–1930) who adopted the term for his method of conducting Gregorian chant by “painting” melodic and rhythmic movement with somewhat casual gestures of the hand.⁵⁸ In addition he introduced the term “cheironomic neumes” for staffless neumes.⁵⁹ Obviously he did not know that the term had been used in Byzantine sources with a different meaning. Oskar Fleischer then developed the theory that the neumes originated in “cheironomic” conducting: at first the neumes were “written in the air,” and later they began to be written down on parchment.⁶⁰ The belief arose that cheironomy was a medium of melodic transmission in an oral tradition, despite the difficulty of conceiving that cheironomic signs are easier to remember than the melodies themselves.

Fleischer’s theory concerning the origin of neumatic notation from “cheironomy” is almost universally accepted today.⁶¹ But there is not a shred of evidence for any connection between the neumes and conducting movements.⁶² Cheironomy, as understood in Byzantine music, indicated precisely what “cheironomic neumes” do not: exact intervals. It was not a mode of transmission in oral tradition. Who gave the cheironomic signs to the conductor? The cantor could indicate by cheironomic signs only what he read from a book or what he knew better than the singers.

Solange Corbin, when she found herself confronted with the question of how Gregorian chant had been transmitted before neumes were developed, did not refer to cheironomy, but to Paolo Ferretti and his theory of “centonization.”⁶³ Ferretti in his *Estetica gregoriana*⁶⁴ drew an analogy between chant melodies and cento poetry. In cento poetry, of which there are many examples in Gregorian chant texts,

⁵⁷ See Huckle, “Die Cheironomie und die Entstehung der Neumenschrift,” *Die Musikforschung*, XXXII (1979), pp. 1–16.

⁵⁸ André Mocquereau, *Le nombre musical grégorien* (Rome and Tournai, 1908–27).

⁵⁹ *Paléographie musicale*, I (1889), pp. 96 ff.

⁶⁰ Oskar Fleischer, *Neumenstudien*, Teil I: *Über Ursprung und Entzifferung der Neumen* (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 25 ff.

⁶¹ Cf., for example, *MGG*, III (1954), col. 537; Jammers, *Tafeln*, pp. 23 ff.; Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, III/4 (Leipzig, 1975), p. 28. Similarly for Byzantine neumes: Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1961), p. 287.

⁶² Huckle, “Cheironomie.”

⁶³ Corbin, *L’église*, pp. 222 ff.

⁶⁴ Paolo Ferretti, *Estetica gregoriana ossia Trattato della forme musicali del canto gregoriano*, Vol. I [only this volume printed] (Rome, 1934).

parts of different literary sources (or different parts of the same source) are combined to form a new text with a new sense. According to Ferretti, Gregorian cantors would have worked the same way, composing new melodies from certain formulas. At one point he compares cento poetry with putting together a mosaic from single stones, and he refers also to the potpourri.⁶⁵

But handling the stones of a mosaic and composing a cento are two different things, and a potpourri is something else again. A cento in literature, in which fragments of different, well defined texts are put together to form a new, meaningful literary unity, is not to be compared with melodies adapting melodic formulas. The analogy is the wrong one. The cento principle, as well as the potpourri, requires a fixed and written tradition. It cannot by any means explain an oral tradition.

It was Leo Treitler who put the problem in the context of research on oral tradition in literature (particularly Parry's and Lord's studies of oral transmission of epic poetry in Serbia, and of Homeric transmission), and of the psychology of remembering.⁶⁶

VIII

Indeed, the features of oral tradition are evident in Gregorian melodies.

Example 1 shows two responsories of the Office (without their verse).⁶⁷ They are the first two in the cycle of responsories labelled "Historia Adam" which tells the story of the creation of man, his fall and his banishment from Paradise. The texts are centonized from the book of Genesis, chapters 1-3. In various manuscripts the cycle contains between nine and fourteen responsories that were sung in the matins of Septuagesima, i.e., the ninth Sunday before Easter, and the following week.

The two responsories begin with the same words. Both melodies are in the first mode and they move in single notes and short melismas

⁶⁵ "Tali centoni (in literature) erano veri mosaici letterari . . . I moderni potpourri altro non sono che centoni musicale" (p. 114). Cf. my critique of Ferretti in *Die Musikforschung*, XI (1958), p. 393.

⁶⁶ Treitler, "Homer and Gregory" (see n. 39 above); "'Centonate' Chant: *Übles Flickwerk* or *E pluribus unus?*", this *JOURNAL*, XXVIII (1975), pp. 1-23; contribution to the Symposium "Peripherie und Zentrum in der Geschichte der ein- und mehrstimmigen Musik des 12.-14. Jahrhunderts," Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Berlin 1974* (Kassel, 1980), pp. 58-74; "Observations on the Transmission of some Aquitanian Tropes," *Forum musicologicum*, II (forthcoming).

⁶⁷ From Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare, Codex 601 (*Paléographie musicale*, IX).

TOWARD A NEW VIEW OF GREGORIAN CHANT

451

Example 1

Two responsories of the Office

a.

In prin-ci - pi - o fe - cit De-us cae - lum et ter - ram

b.

In prin-ci - pi - o De - us cre - a - vit cae - lum et ter - ram

et cre - a - vit in e - a ho - mi - nem.

et spi - ri - tus Do - mi - ni fe - re - ba - tur su - per a - quas.

Ad i - ma - gi - nem

Et vi - dit De - us

et si - mi - li - tu - di - nem su - am

cunc - ta quae fe - ce - rat, et e - rat val - de bo - na.

mainly in the space *defga*. In both, *c* is used as beginning tone; at high points the melodic movement stretches out to *b* and *c'*; in the second melody there is one long melisma on *Deus*. Clausulae are on *d* and *f*; in Example 1b there is twice an intermediate clausula on *a*. Twice the beginning of an internal phrase in both melodies is nearly the same (marked A, B). The clausula (M) before the beginning of the respective repetendas “Ad imaginem . . .” and “Et vidit . . .,” which are repeated after the verse, is the same. In the Antiphoner of Lucca, from which these examples are taken, the beginning of the repetenda in the responsories is marked by a cross, and it seems that the melody up to the cross was sung by the cantor and at that point the schola began. The clausula (S) at the end of the melodies is also the same. In Example 1b this clausula is also sung at the end of the second phrase.

It seems striking that two responsories with similar texts, which are to be sung one after the other on the same day, have different melodies, but common formulas that are used sometimes at the same place and sometimes not. This raises the question of how the singers were able to keep the melodies distinct in their mind. It is a question precisely because the melodies are so similar, and because the melodic movement seems so equivocal and so undefined. And there are many more responsories in the first mode which are similar to these two.

The basic principle of composition in Gregorian chant is the division of the text into units defined by sense; the melodic phrases correspond to these text units. In Example 1a, the first phrase runs “In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram.” In Example 1b there is a caesura: “In principio Deus / creavit caelum et terram.” The caesura is evoked by the word *Deus*, and the remainder of the text is a complete sentence. If the beginning phrase of 1a were divided in a similar way (“In principio fecit Deus / caelum et terram”), the second phrase would be rather short and it would lack a verb. Now that would not be out of the question for Gregorian chant in general, and indeed there is such a case at the end of the same responsory: “Ad imaginem / et similitudinem suam.” But in responsories the phrases are not usually so short. In any case 1a reflects a decision not to break the first sentence with a cadence, although to do so would have made the melodies 1a and 1b much more alike.

Apparently the difference in the beginnings of the two melodies is mainly a consequence of the different ways of dividing the text. Because the first phrase of 1b is shorter and leads immediately to a cadence on *Deus*, some musical accentuation at the very beginning is called for, and that is provided by the elaboration of “In principio.” This elaboration evokes a corresponding second phrase “creavit cae-

lum et terram” and a weightier cadence. What will be the final cadence, S, is anticipated at the end of the second phrase of the responsory in such a way that the first two phrases seem like a motto.⁶⁸

At the beginning of the following phrase (at A) the same internal initium is used in both melodies. It is adapted to the different number of syllables by a variable number of tones. In 1a the initium leads immediately to a clausula (M) which points to the following repetenda. In 1b the repetenda begins only at “Et vidit”; therefore one more cadence at “Domini” is required.

The first accented syllable in the repetenda (at B) has the same melisma in both melodies. The differences in the initia of the repetendas in 1a and 1b derive again from the different number of syllables, but the additional syllables in this case are treated in a way different from the initium A. In 1a there is a caesura after *imaginem*, marked by a shortened form of clausula M. The last phrase is treated very simply. There is no emphasis on the parallelism “*imaginem-similitudinem*”; “*et similitudinem*” is sung with recitation on one tone leading to the final melisma S. It is a feature to be found often in Gregorian chant, that at the end the melody becomes relatively simple and has a tendency to be formulaic. Example 1b is different. Its repetenda is not an adverbial modifier of the preceding text as in 1a, “according to this image and likeness,” but rather it introduces an additional idea: “And God saw what he had made, and it was good.” Therefore in 1b the repetenda is composed in a much more emphatic manner: *Deus* is given a long melisma, and even the following two phrases are more melismatic than is normal for a responsory. The penultimate cadence is once more on *a*, like the cadence of the beginning phrase.

Examples 1a and 1b are not different, individual melodies in a strict sense. They are documentations of a performance practice. In this practice certain formulas, especially cadential figures, are available for use; and some melismas may be inserted. The rest is a kind of florid recitation which may be now simpler, now more melismatic. Attention is paid to the beginning of the repetenda, but there is no general pattern, no typical layout for a responsory melody, and one finds hardly two responsories in which the melodic performance is exactly alike.

When the performance practice was written down, a fluid tradition had to be frozen into a fixed melodic form. The notator could not

⁶⁸ I mean this in the sense of the opening of a “Devisenarie.”

write down the rules for singing the melodies, he had to exemplify them by following one cantor or one authority. By this hypothesis a puzzling problem of Gregorian chant is clarified: that there is a larger number of melodies for the schola than for the cantor. Can it be that greater demands were laid on the memory of the singers in the schola than on that of the soloists? There must be another explanation for the multitude of "original" melodies for the schola and the paucity of "typical" melodies for the cantor. The cantor could command a more complex system of rules and performance procedures than could the schola. In writing down the melodies of the cantor, the notator was far more constrained by the rules than he would have been in writing down the melodies of the schola. He would therefore have written out fewer and more uniform melodies for the cantor. For the melodies of the schola he would have given examples of how they could artfully be sung. The appearance of the repertories in the manuscripts is deceptive. With the notated melodies for the cantor we are probably closer to what was sung because the notator was more closely guided by rules and principles. The breadth in the repertory for the schola reflects not so much a richness in its practice as the play of the notator's fancy under lesser constraints.

IX

Example 2 shows six Gradual verses in the fifth mode.⁶⁹ The Gradual verses were sung by the cantor. Unlike the responsories of the Office, they follow a general pattern: each phrase ends with a melisma or a group of melismas, and the verse has at least three phrases.

Example 2a is an example of a "normal" Gradual verse. As in the responsories, the text is divided into sense units. The verse has three phrases, the first and the last one ending with long melismas (A, Q), the second one with a series of melismas (K). In 2b the first text phrase "Bonum est" is very short. There would have been other possibilities of text arrangement: an opening phrase "Bonum est sperare in Domino" would have been somewhat long. But with "Bonum est sperare / in Domino / quam sperare / in principibus" perfect parallelism could have been obtained, and the word *sperare* would have been accentuated. The notator preferred to place the accent on "Bonum est" by separating it as an opening phrase. Again he obtained a kind of motto. This way of handling the beginning is especially typical of Gradual verses; it seems to be one of the principles of performing them.

⁶⁹ All examples from *Graduale romanum*.

Example 2

Verses of six Graduals

a. *Domine Deus noster*

Quo - ni - am e - le - va - ta est

A

Musical notation for 'Domine Deus noster' showing a single melodic line with a fermata over the word 'est' and a letter 'A' above the staff.

b. *Bonum est confidere*

Bo - num est spe - ra - re in Do - mi -

B

Musical notation for 'Bonum est confidere' showing a single melodic line with a fermata over 'est' and a letter 'B' above the staff.

c. *Omnes de Saba*

Sur - ge et il - lu - mi - na

C G

Musical notation for 'Omnes de Saba' showing a single melodic line with a fermata over 'na' and letters 'C' and 'G' above the staff.

d. *Diffusa est gratia*

Prop - ter ve - ri - ta - tem et man - sue - tu - di - nem

D' J

Musical notation for 'Diffusa est gratia' showing a single melodic line with a fermata over 'nem' and letters 'D'' and 'J' above the staff.

e. *Locus iste*

De - us, cu - i ad - stat An - ge - lo - rum cho - rus,

E

Musical notation for 'Locus iste' showing a single melodic line with a fermata over 'rus,' and a letter 'E' above the staff.

f. *Propitius esto*

Ad - ju - va nos, De - us sa - lu - ta - ris no - ster,

E

Musical notation for 'Propitius esto' showing a single melodic line with a fermata over 'ster,' and a letter 'E' above the staff.

Example 2 (continued)

mag-ni - fi - cen - ti - a ————— tu - - a —

no —————

quam spe - ra - - - - - re —————

- - re Je - ru - sa - lem, ————— qui - a glo - ri - a Do - - - mi - ni —

et ju - sti - - - - ti - am, — et de - du - cet ————— te mi - ra - bi -

ex - au - - - di pre - - - - ces

et - pro - pter ho - no - - - - - rem —————

(Melisma letters: K, F, L, M, H, G', N, R, O, P, L, M)

Example 2 (continued)

su - per cae - - - los. Q

in prin - ci - pi - bus. Q

su - per te or - ta est. Q

S T
- - - - - li - ter dex - te - ra tu - - - a.

ser - vo - rum tu - o - - - rum. Q

no - mi - nis tu - i Do - mi - ne li - be - ra nos. Q

This is confirmed by Example 2c, where the first phrase of the Gradual verse is comprised by the word *Surge* alone. In this case, the parallelism “Surge / et illuminare” provoked an unusual melisma G at the beginning of the second phrase, with the main caesura still to come at *Jerusalem*. This requires adequate treatment, and therefore again a large melisma, H. After this departure from the normal track for the performance of a Gradual verse, the anomaly continues with the establishing of a melodic relationship between “illuminare” and “gloria Domini” (melisma G’). The last phrase is different from that of 2a and 2b, but it is one of the typical final phrases of Gradual verses of the fifth mode.

The text of 2d begins in an unusual way, with an enumeration: “Propter veritatem, et mansuetudinem, et justitiam . . .” Here the decision was to follow the structure of the text, and not the three-part form, by applying the long melismas D, J, G’ to the words *veritatem*, *mansuetudinem*, *justitiam*, one notes the character and variability of melisma G as an auxiliary melisma for special purposes in Gradual verses of the fifth mode. We do not know why the melisma in *veritatem* and *justitiam* is placed on the stressed syllable and in *mansuetudinem* on the last syllable. There seems to be no rule that every melisma is to be sung on a stressed syllable, but melismas are generally sung either on the stressed syllable or on the last syllable. In 2d the second part, “et deducet te,” was treated similarly to the first part, and the result is a Gradual verse with an extraordinary form.

If the beginning of 2e had been articulated “Deus / cui adstat angelorum chorus,” the result would have been similar to 2c, and to the verse of the Gradual “Tribulationes,” which begins “Vide / humilitatem meam . . .”. There is a verse beginning “Domine / refugium . . .” (in the Gradual “Convertere Domine”) and one beginning “Domine / libera anima mea . . .” (in “Ad Dominum”), but in verses beginning with the word *Deus* this word is never treated as a two-syllable motto. Making a stop after “Deus cui adstat” would not produce a coherent first phrase. Allowance had to be made for an unusually long phrase. The text is performed by simple tenor recitation, and to articulate the long recitation a melisma was applied at *adstat*. The beginning of this verse looks similar to the first part of a psalm tone, but thereafter the usual pattern of a Gradual is followed.

At the beginning of Example 2f one would have expected the phrasing “Adjuva nos Deus / salutaris noster.” However, these words from Psalm 78:9 are familiar in liturgical tradition as a versicle to which the response is “Et propter honorem nominis tui Domine libera nos”—the same text as that of the continuation of this Gradual

verse.⁷⁰ Probably the notator hesitated to make a caesura in a text which was familiar to him as a liturgical formula. (The melody for the versicle could not be used in the Gradual verse, of course, because the conventional ways of singing Gradual verses were different from those for versicles and responses.) He decided to take a more neutral course: he began the Gradual verse like a psalm tone, providing it with an intonation, recitation on a tenor, and—as a kind of mediant cadence—a long melisma, the same as the one used in the opening phrase of 2e.

At this point he had solved only half of the problem; how would he treat the remainder of the verse? One possibility would have been to continue using a psalm tone as a model, and to set the second part of the text in a way that paralleled the treatment of the first. But this would have entailed a complete departure from the usual plan for Gradual verses; when the soloist came to the end of such an unusual verse, how would the choir find its pitch for the beginning of the repeat of the responsory? A return to the traditional style of Gradual verses was clearly necessary.

There were two possible ways of phrasing the text that remained. The first was: “Et propter honorem nominis tui Domine / libera nos.” In this phrasing, the last part would be rather short; but that is also the case in 2a, 2b, and 2e. The problem would be the first part, because that would be much longer than the penultimate phrase of a Gradual verse usually is. A way of dealing with that might have been to treat the beginning of the phrase as recitation on a tenor. Actually, there is a Gradual verse in which the penultimate phrase is set up just that way, with recitation on a tenor followed by two melismas: Example 2b. Thus the words “Et propter honorem nominis tui Do-” could have been recited on *c*, with “-mine” set to the melismas L and M. Given the text setting of the first part of the verse, that might have seemed a logical way to continue.

A second possibility would have been to phrase the text as follows: “Et propter honorem / nominis tui Domine / libera nos.” Had that been done, “et propter honorem” would have been treated as an intermediate phrase—like “sperare in Domino” in 2b—and the penultimate phrase would have been made up by the words “nominis tui domine.” But the notator took still another way. Was it perhaps because the verse had begun in an unusual manner? The notator seems

⁷⁰ According to the antiphonary Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, 106, for example, this versicle and response are to be sung before the absolutions and blessings at Matins, and after the hymns of the Little Hours and Vespers every Thursday of the year. See *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert, Vol. I: *Manuscripti* “*Cursus romanus*” (Rome, 1963), n. 41.

to have felt that he should return without further deviations to a pattern familiar in Gradual verses. For the setting of "et propter honorem" he made use of an unambiguous formula, one associated with penultimate phrases, which ends in the melismas L and M. The resulting phrasing is unfortunate: "Et propter honorem / nominis tui Domine libera nos." Yet once the musical material of the penultimate phrase has been stated, the final musical phrase must follow directly; there is no possibility of an intermediate phrase. For the beginning of this last phrase, he uses recitation on a tenor, the very device he avoided at the beginning of the second phrase. Here, as an introduction to the final melisma, recitation on a tenor was a familiar stylistic device at the time when Gregorian chant was being written down: we have found the same phenomenon in Example 1a.

In the Gradual verses such recitation seems to be related to a change in performance practice. Originally the responsory was repeated after the verse. But it took time to repeat the responsory; and therefore instead of repeating the responsory, the choir joined the soloist at the end of his verse. The rounding up, accentuation and standardizing of the terminal phrase in Gradual verses seems to be connected with this change in performance.

These examples suggest that in performing a Gradual verse a cantor had a general pattern to follow, and certain rules to observe with respect to the text. But there were opportunities for him to demonstrate his artistry in the way that he accommodated each individual text to the general pattern. The more the text was understood by the cantor as deflecting from the normal pattern, the more he was to make decisions of his own about how to sing it. The notation of the solo parts of Gregorian chant gives an impression of patterns and rules; it reflects decisions made by the notator, but at the same time suggests that different decisions would have been possible. It gives an idea of how notators may have written down the same piece in different ways, and how one notator would have possibly written down the melody if he had followed another authority, or if his authority had changed his mind.

X

Example 3 shows the Introit "In nomine Domini" in Frankish Gregorian, Roman Gregorian, and Ambrosian or Milanese transmission.⁷¹

⁷¹ F from *Graduale romanum*; R from Rome, Biblioteca vaticana, lat. 5319 (Monumenta monodica medii aevi, II); M from London, British Library, Add. 34209 (*Paléographie musicale*, V-VI).

The three versions sometimes differ considerably, while at other times one corresponds nearly note for note to another. Consider for example the phrase “quia Dominus factus obediens.” R corresponds closely to F, but the first few notes are one degree lower. At “Ideo Dominus Jesus Christus” there seems to be the same initium in all three versions, but on different degrees. At the end of this phrase at “Christus” there seems to be the same clausula in three different forms. The same phenomena appears at the end of the last phrase, at “Dei Patris.”

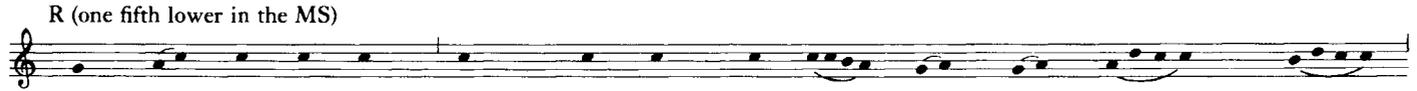
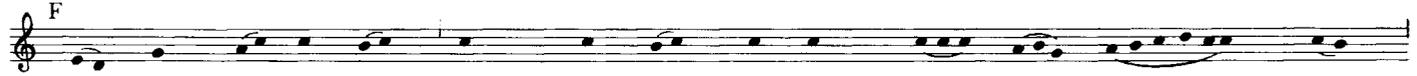
Let us compare F and R first. The beginning of the melody shows two ways of beginning an Introit or an antiphon of the Office in the third mode. Both ways, the initium *ed g ac* and the initium *g ac*, are found in both Frankish and Roman chant. The choice made in this example in R is evidently connected with the fact that this version at the end reaches a higher register than that in F. For the same reason this version was notated a fifth lower. In the second phrase in R there is a melodic correspondence between *caelestium* and *terrestrium* which F does not show. In the latter the melody leads to a slightly emphasized ending “et infernorum.” This gives F a different declamation of the same words. Both settings fall within the norms for the performance of an Introit antiphon. In this sense the difference here is of the same order as the differences between the two responsories in Example 1.

At “usque ad mortem” R still follows F closely, but at “mortem autem crucis” it moves into a different register, and from the beginning of the following phrase R lies a fourth higher than F. But it is F which changes its register by descending to *e*, apparently in response to the words “mortem autem crucis.” The R version shows no response to that change. Perhaps it was considered contrary to the rules, or there was a different idea about how to interpret the words. In any case R follows a different melodic track, but remains closely related to the progress of F. This kind of partial transposition in a melody is a phenomenon quite often to be found in comparing Frankish and Roman versions of Gregorian melodies. Sometimes it seems to be a copyist’s error, sometimes it seems that an extraordinary progression of a melody was considered as a mistake.

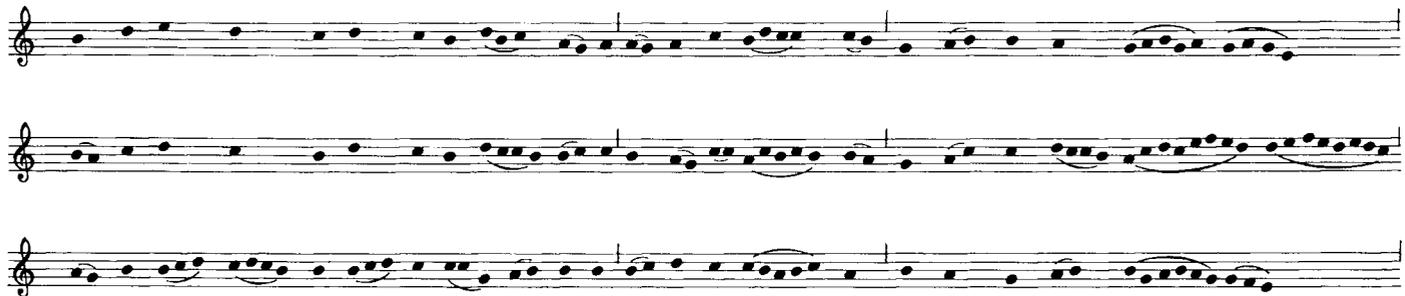
The beginning of the Milanese version of the Introit differs from the Frankish and Roman versions in its recitation tone *b*, which is familiar in Milanese chant tradition. At “caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum” the formal idea in Milan is similar to that in Rome, but the details are different. Then the Milanese version returns to the central tone *b*. In moving to the lower register at “mortem autem crucis” and for the rest of the melody, it follows closely the Frankish version,

Example 3

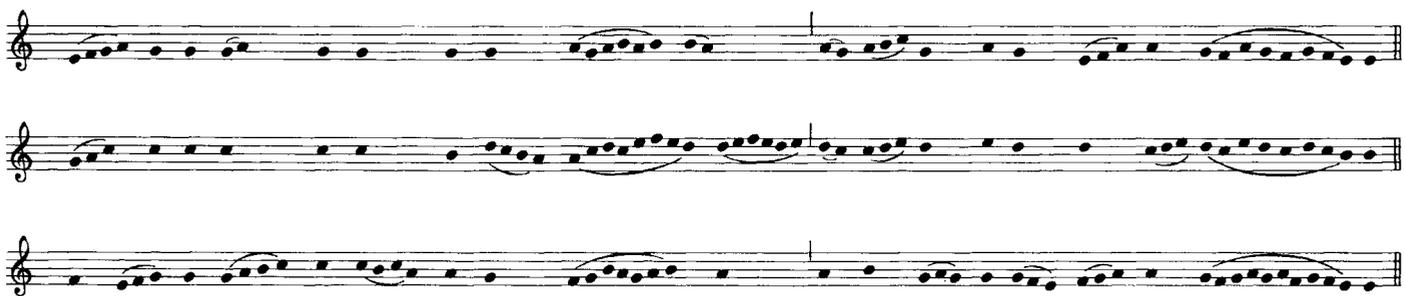
The introit "In nomine Domini" in Frankish Gregorian (F), Roman Gregorian (R), and Ambrosian or Milanese (M) transmission



Example 3 (continued)



qui - a Do - mi - nus fa - ctus o - be - di - ens us - que ad mor - tem, mor - tem au - tem cru - cis. —



I - de - o Do - mi - nus Je - sus Chri - - stus in glo - ri - a est De - i Pa - - ris.

possibly because this change in register was unusual and there was not a ready model for it in the Milanese tradition.

The relationship between Frankish Gregorian, Roman Gregorian, and Ambrosian chant shows features that seem to be characteristic of early written tradition. That is, it suggests both direct copying and the translation of melodies from one tradition into another. When the Romans and the Milanese copied the Frankish books, they were still accustomed to their oral tradition. They still did not regard the Frankish melodies as canonized compositions, to be adopted tone by tone, but as products of a performance practice, to be translated into their own tradition and manner of singing.

XI

I shall now try to sketch a new historical view of Gregorian chant. As patristic literature increases in quantity in the fourth and fifth centuries, there are many references in it to singing. Of the various kinds of singing to which reference is made, two seem particularly important. In the monasteries, the monks sang psalms one after another; as each sang, the others listened, and after each psalm they prayed together. And in the liturgical celebrations of communities, every lesson was followed by a responsorial psalm sung by a psalmista or cantor or lector; to it the whole community responded with a refrain. This kind of singing was familiar everywhere from the Orient to Gaul, and from Northern Africa to Milan. It may well derive from Jewish tradition.

A third kind of singing spread from Syria all over Christianity in the fourth century, in connection with the dispute between Arians and Orthodox: "antiphonal" singing, which then meant singing of psalms and hymns by a choir in processions, the people responding with refrains.

In the sixth century the picture looks different. In the *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, instead of the *psalmus responsorius* after every lesson there is a responsory. And instead of monks singing the psalms one by one there is choir psalmody with "antiphons": a kind of adaptation of the processional singing of the fourth century to meditation psalmody in the Office. The advantage is evident: the whole monastic community takes part in the Office of the psalms, and every Old Testament psalm is transposed into Christian revelation by the text of the antiphon. St. Benedict's order of the Office, including its musical layout, together with Roman liturgy, spread all over the Occident.

In the seventh century the order of the Mass and its musical forms—except the Tract, and possibly the Alleluia and the Of-

fertory—appears to have been fully developed at the papal court. There are processional songs with antiphons, Introit and Communion, reminiscent of antiphonal processional singing in the fourth century. And there is the *responsorium graduale* instead of the old *psalmus responsorius*, as in the Office of St. Benedict, after the lesson.

When the Franks, beginning with King Pepin and definitely by command of Charlemagne, adopted the liturgy of the papal court as “the Roman liturgy,” chant received an importance and meaning which to our knowledge it had never had before. Before then it seems that every church had its own tradition and its own music. But now, chant became a sign of unity, of the right tradition of liturgy, of faith itself. To be sure, the term *cantus romanus* as used by the Franks in the eighth and ninth centuries means a certain liturgical order of certain liturgical texts. But so much of it was to be sung that the whole order was called *cantus*. That does not yet mean certain melodies to be sung in a certain manner, but it does mean at least the necessity of dealing with the music of *cantus romanus*, its customs and laws, and its manners of performance.

What did the Franks really take over from the music of Roman chant? What was the relationship between Frankish Gregorian chant and Roman Gregorian chant in the ninth century? The Franks certainly did not produce new melodies at random. They evidently adopted more than the liturgical order and the texts of the chant of the papal court as sung by the Roman *schola cantorum*. Because they felt the need for some system of organizing all the melodies and rules of singing, and because of their interest in going back to the authorities of antiquity, they developed the system of the church modes, and together with the church modes they developed the system of the eight psalm tones, with its implications for the recitation of the Office. But the very fact that there is no system behind the allocation of chants of different modes to certain offices indicates that the Franks followed Roman musical tradition in spite of their church-mode system. What is more, it seems that chants provided for new feasts introduced in the second half of the eighth century were not entirely new, but were adaptations of existing melodies to new texts. Specific melodic tradition therefore seems to go back to that time even without evidence of written tradition.

The systematization according to church modes took place at an early stage of chant propagation in France: every piece of chant had to be classified modally, to have a tone assigned to it, before its melody was written down. The first chant books, after the books containing only the texts, were “tonaries,” which listed the chants according to their tone.

The manuscripts with neumes represent only a second stage of propagation of chant in the Frankish Empire and beyond its limits, and the first manuscripts are to be regarded not as books to sing from, but as archive books, to be used for reference by the cantor teaching the schola and for regulation of the oral tradition. Chant melodies as they appear in the manuscripts are to be understood and interpreted differently, depending on whether they are melodies of the cantor or of the schola (the melodies of the community, of course, present still different problems).

The Old Roman version of Gregorian chant was written down in the eleventh century, in notation borrowed from middle Italian sources of the Frankish version of Gregorian chant. This development was evidently related to, perhaps provoked by, the advance of the Frankish version in Italy, connected with the spreading of the reform of Cluny; and by Rome's recovering and gaining new self-consciousness after centuries of decay, a process culminating in the reign of Pope Gregory VII (1073-85).

About a century later, the church of Milan wrote down its chant tradition. It was then that Milan, at the head of the Lombard towns, made its appearance as a political force in its own right between the Emperor and the Pope. The copyists of Ambrosian chant worked in a way different from their Roman colleagues: they had a distinct liturgical order, which they maintained. They developed, on the basis of northern Italian neumes, a notation of their own; and they adopted some Frankish Gregorian melodies, putting them in several places in their liturgy. It would be interesting to know how far the Milanese and also the Roman versions of Frankish Gregorian melodies are within the limits of realization by the singers producing the Frankish version, for example in northern Italy, in central Italy, and in other places.

The uniformity of melodic transmission of Gregorian chant books does not prove uniformity of musical practice. A fundamental change of conception was needed before what had been written down at the beginning of the written tradition was understood, as it is in the current historical view of Gregorian chant, as a collection of melodies. This new understanding may have been furthered by the fixing of the different traditions in Rome and Milan; by the elaboration of "reformed" editions of Gregorian chant within the Frankish tradition by the Cistercians, Carthusians and Dominicans in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and by the development of polyphony. The increase in size of the chant books from the small manuscripts of the tenth century to large choirbooks is to be regarded in this context.

The new historical view of Gregorian chant that I have proposed solves some problems which had not been solved by the old view. But it leaves many questions unanswered and it poses new problems. It is a challenge for further research.

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I wish to thank Scott Staton and particularly Leo Treitler for helping me to convert my text into idiomatic English. Reviewing the article with Professor Treitler provided welcome opportunity to test my arguments.



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Gregorian Chant and the Romans

KENNETH LEVY

This paper is about Gregorian chant—where it came from and how it has reached us. The major issues are of two kinds, which might be described as “transmissional” and “national.” Prominent as a transmissional issue is the shift from deliveries that were in some sense fresh on successive occasions, to melodic states that were fixed in memory and accurately reproduced. Parallel but separate is the shift from “oral” deliveries that were not supported by written memoranda, to those where memory went hand in hand with neumes. The prevailing theory about Gregorian chant has been that it received its definitive musical shaping, in the form of fixed melodies, during the later eighth century, and that this was done without notation, by means of memory alone. It then continued notationless for over a century, with neumes entering the picture only around 900. Further, the varied regional styles of tenth-century neuming arose independently at different places.¹ For some time, I have been developing an alternative theory, according to which a fixed Gregorian mass repertory was spread among Carolingian dependencies by means of an archetypal neuming of the later eighth century, a now-lost model from which the diverse tenth-century neumings would descend.²

1. An overview of recent positions is provided by David Hiley, “Writings on Western Plainchant in the 1980s and 1990s,” *Acta musicologica* 69 (1997): 53–56. During the 1980s, a popular variant of the prevailing view saw the Gregorian repertory continuing with improvisational deliveries through a notationless ninth century and into the tenth century and beyond, well after the introduction of neumes. See Helmut Hucke, “Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant,” this *Journal* 33 (1980): 437–67; Leo Treitler, “Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music,” *Speculum* 56 (1981): 471–91; and Hendrik van der Werf, *The Emergence of Gregorian Chant: A Comparative Study of Ambrosian, Roman, and Gregorian Chant*, 2 vols. (Rochester, N.Y.: the author, 1983). David Hughes effectively countered that variant in “Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant,” this *Journal* 40 (1987): 377–404.

2. The principal arguments are collected in my *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

6 Journal of the American Musicological Society

The transmissional issues find little place in what follows. Instead, I focus on national issues, chief of them the musical practice of Rome. A major problem arises from the fact that medieval Rome is represented, not by a single plainchant repertory, but by two full repertoires, each bearing substantial marks of Roman ancestry. The “Gregorian” repertory (GREG) was used throughout Carolingian Europe. It is generally understood—I believe correctly—to have originated as a Frankish compilation of the middle eighth century.³ The “Old Roman” repertory (ROM) survives only in a recension of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, diffused in the region around Rome. These repertoires tend to be related in their musical substance, but the nature of the relationships and the historical circumstances giving rise to them have yet to be comprehensively explained. Common to practically all explanations is the notion that Rome supplied the Frankish compilers of GREG with large amounts of fixed melodic material, which the Franks more or less thoroughly revised. In place of that, I propose a historical flow in essentially the other direction. The musical relationship between GREG and ROM, then, results from the arrival of the authorized Frankish GREG at Rome, where it was meant to replace the local ROM repertory. But Roman musicians, instead of abandoning their music, effected a compromise. They accepted considerable amounts of GREG music, but remodeled what they took into conformity with their own ROM style.

A handful of abbreviations will identify musical repertoires: ROM stands for Old Roman, GREG for Gregorian, GALL for Gallican (only traces of properly GALL repertoires survive), MOZ for Mozarabic or Old Hispanic, MOZ/GALL for a mixed usage perhaps partly discernible through MOZ, and BYZ for Byzantine. Where numerals are attached, they denote a century or range of centuries: MOZ-8/10 refers to Mozarabic repertory of the middle eighth century, with first abundant witnesses of the tenth century;⁴ GREG-8/10 to Gregorian repertory with verbal texts of the late eighth century⁵ and first abundant musical witnesses of the early tenth century;⁶ ROM-8 to conjectural Old Roman states of the eighth century; ROM-8/11 to con-

3. Walter Lipphardt, “Gregor der Grosse und sein Anteil am römischen Antiphonar,” in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di musica sacra, Roma, 1950*, ed. Igino Anglès (Tournai: Desclée, 1952), 248–54; Helmut Hucke, “Die Einführung des Gregorianischen Gesangs im Frankenreich,” *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 49 (1954): 172–87; idem, “Gregorianische Gesang in altrömischer und fränkischer Überlieferung,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1955): 74–87 (translated with extensive commentary by Edward Nowacki in his “Chant Research at the Turn of the Century and the Analytical Programme of Helmut Hucke,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 7 [1998]: 47–71); and Michel Huglo, “Division de la tradition monodique en deux groupes, ‘est’ et ‘ouest,’” *Revue de musicologie* 85 (1999): 5–27.

4. Don M. Randel, *An Index to the Chant of the Mozarabic Rite* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973).

5. René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels: Vromant, 1935).

6. *Graduale triplex*, ed. M.-C. Billecoq and R. Fischer (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint Pierre, 1979). The GREG offertories with their verses are in Carolus Ott, ed., *Offertoriale sive versus offertoriorum cantus gregoriani* (Paris and Tournai: Desclée, 1935).

jectural Old Roman states of the eighth through early eleventh centuries; and ROM-11 to the received Roman musical recension of the later eleventh century.⁷

1. *ROM's relationship with GREG.* Charlemagne made reference to plainchant in three late eighth-century documents. In the *Admonitio generalis* of 789, all clergy were instructed to “fully learn Roman chant and correctly celebrate the night and day offices, as our father of blessed memory, King Pippin, decreed when he abandoned the Gallican [chant] for the sake of unity with the Apostolic chair and pacific concord with the holy church of God.”⁸ In the *Epistola generalis* of 786–800, he cited “the example of our father Pippin, who saw to it that all the Gallican churches were decorated with chants of the Roman tradition.”⁹ And in the *Libri carolini* of circa 790–92, authored for him by Theodulph of Orleans, there is the Frankish Church, which

from the beginning stood in the union of holy religion [with the Roman Church . . . and] by the care and industry of Pippin or the arrival in Gaul of the most reverend and holy Stephen, bishop of Rome, was joined to the Roman church even in the order of singing; so that for those whose faith was of the same intensity, there would not be a different order of singing; and those things which the pious devotion to a single faith had united would also be united in the venerable tradition of a single chant . . . God, having given us the kingdom of Italy, wishing to exalt the summit of the Holy Roman Church, and endeavoring to conform to the salutary wishes of the most reverent Pope Adrian, . . . many churches of that region, which formerly declined to receive the tradition of the Apostolic See in their singing, now may embrace it with all diligence.¹⁰

7. Bruno Stäblein, ed., *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. Lat. 5319*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970).

8. “Omni clero. Ut cantum Romanum pleniter discant, et ordinabiliter per nocturnale vel gradale officium pergatur, secundum quod beatae memoriae genitor noster Pippinus rex decernavit ut fieret, quando Gallicanum tulit ob unanimitatem apostolicae sedis et sanctae Dei ecclesiae pacificam concordiam” (*Admonitio generalis* of 23 March 789, par. 80 in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (hereafter *MGH*), *Leges*, 2, *Capitularia regum francorum*, vol. 1, ed. Alfred Boretius [Hannover, 1883], 61).

9. “Accensi praeterea . . . Pippini genitoris nostri exemplis, qui totas Galliarum ecclesias Romanae traditionis suo studio cantibus decoravit, nos etc.” (*Epistola generalis* [786–800], in *MGH*, *Leges*, 2, *Capitularia regum francorum*, vol. 1, ed. Boretius, 80).

10. “Quae dum a primis fidei temporibus cum ea [per]staret in sacrae religionis unione et ab ea paulo distaret . . . venerandae memoriae genitoris nostri . . . Pippini regis cura et industria sive adventu in Gallias reverentissimi et sanctissimi viri Stephani romanae urbis antestitis est ei etiam in psallendi ordine copulata, ut non esset dispar ordo psallendi, quibus erat conpar ardor credendi, et quae unitae erant unius sanctae legis sacra lectione, essent etiam unitae modulaminis veneranda traditio . . . Quod quidem et nos conlato nobis a Deo Italiae regno fecimus sanctae Romanae ecclesiae fastigium sublimare cupientes et (reverentissimi) papae Adriani salutaribus exhortationibus parere nitentes, scilicet ut plures illius partis ecclesiae, quae quondam apostolicae sedis traditionem in psallendo suscipere recusabant, nunc eam cum omni diligentia amplectantur” (*Opus Caroli regis contra synodum [Libri carolini]*, in *MGH*, *Leges*, 4, *Concilia*, vol. 2, supplement 1, ed. Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert [Hannover: Hahn, 1998], 135–36); translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

8 Journal of the American Musicological Society

The ecclesiastical reforms that began with Pope Stephen II's visit to Francia in 753–54 brought major changes to music. Not least of them was the spread of a freshly edited, officially authorized repertory of “Gregorian” mass chants (GREG-8) through regions under Frankish control. This replaced the “Gallican” (GALL-8) and other chants that were sung locally. Music tends to receive offhand treatment in Carolingian documents, where it is regarded as an accessory to its ecclesiastically more consequential siblings, the prayers and lections. Yet Charlemagne took notice, and some anecdotes told by Notker Balbulus suggest he had a real interest in it.¹¹ Charlemagne's statements seem clear on two points: first, the circulation of the new repertory was essentially accomplished during his father's reign, and second, the main musical source for that repertory was Rome. Charlemagne describes himself as a consolidator, not an originator, and so, while it seems likely that revised editions were launched during his own lengthy reign (772–814), a landmark first edition of the Frankish GREG-8 mass antiphoner would have circulated under Pippin III (741–68). That is consistent with the evidence of the prayer books, where calendars and content identify the Sacramentary of Gellone as a close relative of the early GREG-8 antiphoners.¹² This sacramentary was a “Frankish Gelasian” compilation of circa 800 whose original, the so-called Sacramentary of Flavigny, was “very likely assembled late in the reign of Pippin III.”¹³

Concerning the direction in which the repertory traveled, Charlemagne states that Gallo-Frankish music was replaced by Roman music, which implies a ROM-to-GREG flow. That has the ring of truth, for not only does it link musical primacy with ecclesiastical primacy, but contemporary documents contain confirming statements. There is, however, the difficulty already noted: where we might expect a single, authoritative Roman repertory, there are two medieval repertories, each with claims to Roman authority. Of these two, GREG-8/10 is manifestly an outcome of Pippin's Rome-based initiative. Its liturgical and textual details are largely Roman; the name of Gregory the Great is soon attached; and it is diffused throughout Carolingian-Ottonian Europe, reaching back without neumes to around 800, and with neumes to circa 900.¹⁴ Yet it begins as a Frankish compilation, not a Roman one, and its music

11. Notker Balbulus, *Gesta Karoli magni imperatoris*, ed. Hans F. Haefele, *MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum*, new ser., 12 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1959); Einhard and Notker the Stammerer, *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, trans. with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969). The anecdote related in the latter (p. 142) concerning the *Veterem hominem* antiphons is reviewed below; see also pp. 113–14 (on Charles's taste for fine singing) and p. 131 (on his knowledge of sacred and secular music).

12. Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, cxiv–cxviii; and *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. A. Dumas, 2 vols., *Corpus Christianorum: Series latina* 159, 159A, ed. J. Deshusses (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981).

13. Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986), 76.

14. Michel Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 81; idem, “Division de la tradition monodique,” 6; Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff, eds.,

leaves little trace at Rome before the thirteenth century. The other repertory, ROM-8/11, has liturgical and textual details that are unmistakably Roman, and that is where its musical remains are concentrated. But they appear only in the eleventh century, and the late date raises questions about the ROM-11 musical readings, which might reflect changes that entered between the eighth and eleventh centuries.

What is most intriguing about the two repertories is that they have considerable amounts of music in common. Yet what they share are not specific melodies, but rather modal features and melodic contours, and those in varying degrees. Some cognate ROM/GREG chants have a good deal of basic musical material in common; others reveal only a barely detectable relationship beneath major differences in style, process, and detail; and still others have no common substance at all.

There have been numerous attempts to explain the patterns of sharing between GREG and ROM, but so far none has clarified their complex musical relationships. Nearly all scholars have embraced the notion of a ROM-to-GREG flow, in which archaic ROM-8 music is brought into a Frankish musical environment and transformed into the GREG-8/10 we know.¹⁵ A variant of the ROM-to-GREG explanation regards the archaic ROM-8 music as differing from the eventual ROM-11, even to the point where ROM-8 is better represented by GREG-8/10 than it is by ROM-11.¹⁶ So far these explanations have provided only partial answers. The riddle persists, and Dom Saulnier speaks sagely of the “mystérieuse alchimie qui présida à la naissance du répertoire grégorien.”¹⁷

I advance an alternative hypothesis here, in which the flow, instead of ROM-to-GREG, would be GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM. In its current state, this idea applies mainly to offertories, though there are signs that it may be applicable to introits, communions, and other classes of chant as well. It sees the Frankish editors of GREG-8 as at first welcoming the musical practices imported from Rome. That would change, however, and the definitive GREG-8 repertory that was compiled under Pippin and Charlemagne would draw the bulk of its music from existing GALL chants. The GALL-nourished GREG-8 would presently make its way to Rome, and there some of its melodic substances would be merged into the local ROM style.

799—*Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn. Katalog der Ausstellung, Paderborn 1999* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999), 2:831–34; and Michel Huglo, “The Cantatorium: From Charlemagne to the Fourteenth Century,” trans. Susan Boynton, in *The Study of Medieval Chant, Paths and Bridges, East and West: In Honor of Kenneth Levy*, ed. Peter Jeffery (Woodbridge, U.K., and Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell and Brewer, 2001), 89–103.

15. Willi Apel, “The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant,” this *Journal* 9 (1956): 118–27.

16. This was proposed in Lipphardt, “Gregor der Grosse,” 248–54.

17. Daniel Saulnier, “Un souvenir du métissage romano-franc?” *Études grégoriennes* 28 (2000): 172.

10 Journal of the American Musicological Society

Robert Snow considered the possibility of a GREG-to-ROM flow, but dismissed it because the notion of ROM-to-GREG at the time seemed so unassailable.¹⁸ In 1984, I suggested that Roman musicians reworked GALL-supplied GREG materials in the process of finalizing ROM-8/11, and I have since developed that idea in two papers.¹⁹ In recent years, Philippe Bernard has similarly proposed GREG-8 as a “hybridization” of GALL and ROM; that leaves intact the position of ROM as the major musical supplier of GREG, however, so the difficulties of explaining the musical relationships persist.²⁰

In support of a GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM hypothesis, one can expect nothing like the documentation that exists for ROM-to-GREG. The stated Carolingian purpose was to establish a “Roman” musical practice, and eventual departures from that were unlikely to be proclaimed. Furthermore, the GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM hypothesis assumes ROM-to-GREG as a preliminary stage. The Roman musical imports were at first well received by the northern musicians. In a letter written between 758 and 763, Pope Paul I affirms the Frankish zeal for the ROM-8 music that came with the Roman liturgical texts, and there were complaints when a Roman musician was recently unable to complete his teaching mission.²¹ But the Frankish musicians would lose patience with the Roman imports, and give GREG-8 music its decisive state by drawing on GALL music, with which they were already familiar. Certain GALL chants—texts and music—would be taken over whole with little change. Other GALL music would be detached from its original texts and fitted to the imported Roman liturgical texts.²² Once GREG-8 was complete, it would circulate to regions under Carolingian control. Eventually, that took

18. Robert Snow, “The Old-Roman Chant,” chap. 5 of Willi Apel’s *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), 503.

19. Kenneth Levy, “Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul,” *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 94–95; idem, “A New Look at Old Roman Chant,” *Early Music History* 19 (2000): 81–104; and idem, “A New Look at Old Roman Chant—II,” *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 173–97.

20. Philippe Bernard, “Le cantique des trois enfants (Dan. III:52–90): Les répertoires liturgiques occidentaux dans l’antiquité tardive et le haut moyen âge,” *Musica e storia* 1 (1993): 231–72, esp. 261–64; and idem, *Du chant romain au chant grégorien (IVe–XIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1996): “Ce chant [GREG] est un moyen d’expression moderne, qui surclassait largement le chant romain ancien, tout en tirant directement sa source de lui” (“Gregorian chant represents a modern musical expression that largely outmoded the older Roman chant, although having its direct source there”) (p. 758); “avant d’arriver en Gaule franque le chant liturgique de Rome est né et s’est développé dans l’*Urbs*; méconnaître cette vérité d’évidence serait se condamner à ignorer les racines du chant de l’Église de Rome” (“Before arriving in Frankish Gaul, the Roman liturgical chant originated and developed in Rome; to mistake that clear fact condemns one to ignorance about the roots of Roman chant”) (p. 11).

21. Wilhelm Gundlach, ed., *Epistolae merovingici et karolini aevi, MGH, Epistolae*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), letter 41, pp. 553–54; and Stäblein, ed., *Die Gesänge*, 148*–149*. The relevant texts with translations are in Levy, “A New Look—II,” 180.

22. A trace of this may be seen in the relationship between the GREG offertories *Posuisti Domine* (for St. Gorgonius of Metz, ostensibly a “Gallican” piece) and *Angelus Domini* (a “Roman” Paschal piece), which have the same music; see Ott, ed., *Offertoriale*, 57, 136.

Gregorian Chant and the Romans 11

it to Rome, where as elsewhere it was destined for adoption. But there it encountered Roman resistance, perhaps due to inertia as well as to local pride, and even to lingering resentment at the Frankish rejection of ROM-8 in the compilation of GREG-8. The Roman editors managed a compromise that respected GREG authority and Roman dignity. They accepted some amounts of the GALL-derived GREG-8 music, but they converted what they took into their own styles. The distinctive, fixed melodies of GREG were rounded down and absorbed into the less distinctively contoured idioms of ROM.

2. *National antipathies: Collegerunt.* The chief obstacle for the GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM hypothesis lies in contemporary documents such as Charlemagne's and the papal letter of 758–63, which speak unequivocally of the repertory traveling from ROM to GREG. Yet the later eighth century also provides a persuasive argument in its favor. This turns on some differences between the GREG and ROM musical styles. The offertories in both repertoires are similar in their use of florid music, but they differ fundamentally in process and style. In GREG-8 there are distinctive melodies that feature bold skips, rhetorical gestures, and even touches of word painting.²³ The melodic contours are fixed and memorable; adopting a term from ninth-century Byzantine musical usage, the GREG offertories are “idiomelic”—“hav[ing] melodies of their own.”²⁴ The ROM offertory music is less distinctive. Even in the notationally crystallized versions of ROM-11 there is little that is memorable, little that distinguishes one piece from the next. Generally, ROM melodies have narrow-range scrollings, supplemented by short recurring “formulas.” Joseph Dyer has identified an “improvisational” style in the many ROM-11 offertories whose musical substance amounts largely to applications of what he has labeled as “FormA” and “FormB.”²⁵ These are shown in Example 1.²⁶ A somewhat related style, including uses of FormA, can be found in the ROM-11 music for Easter Week Vespers.²⁷ Such styles as these

23. Dominicus Johner, *Wort und Ton im Choral* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1953), 362–84.

24. Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 243–44; and Oliver Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 303.

25. Joseph Dyer, Jr., “The Offertories of Old-Roman Chant: A Musico-Liturgical Investigation” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1971); and idem, “*Tropis semper variantibus*: Compositional Strategies in the Offertories of Old Roman Chant,” *Early Music History* 17 (1998): 1–53: “The notated versions of the Old Roman offertories . . . hint strongly at their oral, improvisational antecedents” (p. 7). For other perspectives, see Rebecca Maloy, “The Offertory Chant: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission” (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 2001).

26. Example 1: after Dyer, “*Tropis semper variantibus*,” 9 and 21.

27. Stäblein, ed., *Die Gesänge*, 84*–140* (discussion), 524–43 (transcription), and 526 and 535 (FormA in two antiphons); and Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 3 (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense Bureaux, 1951), 362–72 (Ordo XXVII).

12 Journal of the American Musicological Society

Example 1 ROM FormA and FormB

might have accompanied the Mass ceremonial described by the early eighth-century *Ordo romanus*, where the pope, having completed the offertory rite, “nods the schola to silence.”²⁸ This suggests music that could be halted peremptorily without offending artistic pretensions.

During the later ninth century, the musical differences between ROM and GREG were remarked by commentators, and some high emotions were attached. In the *Gesta Karoli magni* (ca. 884), Notker of Saint Gall speaks of the “great dissimilarity between our chants and those of the Romans,” and chastises the Romans for obstructing the Frankish efforts to master ROM music. They are said to have been “greatly envious of the glory of the Franks, [and to have] plotted among themselves to see how they could vary the ways of singing and so prevent the Franks in the kingdom and territory of Charlemagne from ever achieving uniformity.”²⁹ On the Roman side, in the *Vita* of Gregory the Great (written in 872–82), John the Deacon ridicules the Frankish ineptitude in handling ROM music. He derides their

frivolity of spirit . . . [and the] natural barbarousness of Alpine constitutions; their brilliant, thunderous voices would not correctly render the [Roman] musical sweetness. The unrefined roughness of those bibulous throats, when dealing with the nuanced and reiterated pitches of a mellow [Roman] chant, would

28. “Et pontifex, inclinans se paululum ad altare, respicit scolam et annuit ut silcant. Tunc, finito offertorio, episcopi sunt stantes” (Andrieu, *Les ordines romani*, vol. 2 [1948], 94–95, no. 85).

29. “Nimiam dissimilitudinem nostrae ac romanorum cantilenae; . . . invidia Francorum gloriae carpebantur, consiliati sunt inter se, quomodo ita cantum variare potuissent, ut numquam unitas et consonantia eius in regno et provincia non sua laetaretur” (Notker Balbulus, *Gesta Karoli magni imperatoris*, ed. Haefele, 15); and Einhard and Notker, *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, trans. Thorpe, 103. Cf. James McKinnon, ed., *The Early Christian Period and the Latin Middle Ages*, vol. 2 of *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Oliver Strunk, rev. ed. edited by Leo Treitler (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 71–73; and Levy, “A New Look—II,” 187–89.

Gregorian Chant and the Romans 13

give the sounds a certain vocal harshness, like the noisy, confusing racket of a cart upon steps.³⁰

The strong sentiments might relate to the rebuff of ROM material by the editors of GREG-8.

A keen observation by Dom Jean Claire of Solesmes makes this all but certain.³¹ The Palm Sunday processional antiphon, *Collegerunt pontifices*, is mentioned first in the late ninth-century Antiphoner of Compiègne (the *Compendiensis*),³² though like many antiphons of its kind it probably had eighth-century Gallican antecedents. Its text, which is a “libretto” excerpted from John 11:47–53, contains the clause “ne forte veniant Romani et tollant nostrum locum et gentem” (“lest the Romans come and take away our place and nation”). As Example 2 makes clear, this phrase gave some enterprising Franks a way to comment on the musical politics of their time.³³ The differences between the music for the “Romani” clause and that of the rest are much like those between the Frankish and Roman offertories: the ambitious melodic flights of the north contrast with the Italianate narrow-range gyrations. On the opening “Collegerunt,” the music is in Frankish style, sweeping twice through a full octave; the striking leaps of a fifth on “quid facimus” are followed on the “ve-” of “veniant” by another melisma spanning an octave. Abruptly, on the words “Romani et tollant nostrum locum,” the melody changes to narrow scrollings in the characteristic ROM style. The bolder northern style then resumes with “et gentem.” Here are, in a nutshell, not only the competing national styles, but a clear indication of Frankish contempt for what the Romans were trying to impose. Nothing could better document a Frankish rejection of ROM and embrace of GALL in the process of forming GREG.

3. *The nonpsalms offertories.* For a different kind of support for GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM, which concerns both the GALL-to-GREG and the GREG-to-ROM stages, we may draw again on offertories. Particularly relevant are those GREG-8 offertories that are based on nonpsalms texts, such as *Sanctificavit Moyses* (eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost), *Erit hic vobis* (Easter Friday), *Oravi Deum* (seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost), *Precatus est Moyses*

30. “Levitate animi . . . [et] feritate quoque naturali . . . Alpina siquidem corpora, vocum suarum tonitruis altisona perstreptentia, susceptae modulationis dulcedinem proprie non resultant, quia bibuli gutturis barbara feritas, dum inflexionibus et repercussionibus mitem nititur edere cantilenam, naturali quodam fragore, quasi plaustra per gradus confuse sonantia rigidas voces jactat” (John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. 75 [Paris: Garnier, 1892], cols. 90–91). See also Stäblein, ed., *Die Gesänge*, 142*–144*; McKinnon, *The Early Christian Period*, 68–70; and Levy, “A New Look—II,” 186.

31. Dom Claire’s observations were introduced and elaborated in Bernard, “Le cantique,” 263.

32. Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, 213b.

33. Example 2: *Graduale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae* (Paris: Desclée, 1952), 166–67.

14 Journal of the American Musicological Society

Example 2 Processional antiphon, *Collegerunt* (excerpts)

Col - le - ge - runt -

pon - ti - fi - ces . . . Quid - fa - ci - mus . . .

Ne - for - te - ve -

-ni - ant - Ro - ma - ni - et - tol - lant - no - strum - lo - cum -

et - gen - tem -

(twelfth Sunday after Pentecost), *Vir erat in terra* (twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost), and *Sicut in holocausto* (seventh Sunday after Pentecost), whose literary sources are not from the psalter. Both ROM and GREG have well over a dozen pieces of this sort. In both these “Roman” repertoires they are generally assigned to feasts of lesser importance and belated entry to the calendar, while the more prominent liturgical assignments are held by the majority of offertories that are built on psalmic texts. Yet in MOZ, and perhaps also some lost GALL rites that may be related to MOZ, that situation is reversed: the nonpsalmic offertories constitute a great majority and are assigned to the major occasions. What gives this particular interest is that, for some of these nonpsalmic pieces (*Sanctificavit*, *Erit hic vobis*, and *Oravi Deum*), the same artfully excerpted “libretto” texts are found both in MOZ and in GREG and ROM. And some of the MOZ music (which can be controlled only in staffless neumes) appears to be close to the GREG music, though not to that of ROM.³⁴ It seems, then, that such chants came into the GREG-8 liturgical-

34. Bonifazio [Giacomo] Baroffio, “Die Offertorien der ambrosianischen Kirche: Vorstudie zur kritischen Ausgabe der mailändischen Gesänge” (Ph.D. diss., Cologne University, 1964), 29, 64; idem, “Die mailändische Überlieferung des offertoriums Sanctificavit,” in *Festschrift Bruno Stüblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Martin Ruhnke (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), 1–8; and Levy, “Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul,” 49–99.

Gregorian Chant and the Romans 15

musical orbit by way of MOZ/GALL rather than ROM. This idea is supported by the fact that the musical styles in the GREG-8 offertories are in most respects the same, whether the texts are nonpsalms or psalms. From this we may conclude that MOZ/GALL was a large-scale supplier of offertory music to GREG: the GREG-8 editors would have fitted MOZ/GALL music to the psalms received from Rome.

The nonpsalms offertories are also informative about a GREG-to-ROM stage that followed. If the musical substances that are shared by GREG and ROM originally passed from MOZ/GALL to GREG, then they eventually found their way from GREG into ROM. The particulars of a GREG-to-ROM musical transfer will be considered below. What interests for the moment is a perspective that the nonpsalms offertories supply about the date of the Roman reception and conversion of GREG. The prevailing view has been that ROM was notationally fixed for the first time shortly before its earliest surviving witness in the Gradual of Saint Cecilia in Trastevere, copied in 1071.³⁵ Yet this stabilization may have occurred at any time between GREG-8's first circulation during the late eighth century and the Saint Cecilia manuscript. It was long supposed that notation was not used at Rome before the middle eleventh century, and that the ROM music was originally recorded in staff notation and never in neumes. John Boe has documented an occasional use of neumes at Saint Peter's Basilica around 1000,³⁶ and he has suggested the possibility of neumes being used even before this.³⁷ In addition, there are earlier times when the GREG repertory might have asserted its rights at Rome. One would have been during the movement for imperial renewal that began under Otto I in the 960s,³⁸ which led to a Roman reception of northern liturgical materials, notably the "Roman-German Pontifical."³⁹ A similar occasion would have been the imperial renewal that took place under Charlemagne.⁴⁰

35. Max Lütolf, ed., *Das Graduale von Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (Cod. Bodmer 74)*, 2 vols. (Cologny-Geneva: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1987).

36. John Boe, "Music Notation in Archivio San Pietro C 105 and in the Farfa Breviary, Chigi C.VI.177," *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 1–45. This revises views in John Boe, "Chant Notation in Eleventh-Century Roman Manuscripts," in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. Graeme M. Boone (Cambridge: Harvard University Department of Music, 1995), 43–57.

37. Boe sees notation "perhaps coming into very occasional and tentative use at Rome some time after 800 but probably not until late in the ninth century" ("Music Notation," 41).

38. Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit* (Leipzig, 1929; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975); on the *Renovatio* during the years 962–83, see pp. 69 and 85–86.

39. Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, eds., *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, 3 vols. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963–72); on this pontifical's spread to Italy and Rome, see 3:44–51.

40. See Stiegemann and Wemhoff, eds., *799—Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit*, vol. 3, Kapitel 2, "Renovatio Imperii" (pp. 35–173), particularly Donald A. Bullough, "Die Kaiseridee zwischen Antike und Mittelalter," 35–46.

16 Journal of the American Musicological Society

By the early ninth century, GREG was established in the Beneventan zone, to the south of Rome.⁴¹ A prompt installation at Rome would surely fit with Charlemagne's ambitions for the spread of that repertory (as declared in the *Libri carolini*), much as his imperial ambitions were realized by his coronation at Rome in 800.⁴²

A further perspective is provided by a tale in Notker's *Vita Caroli*: while at Aachen, probably in 802, Charlemagne hears a visiting Greek choir perform the antiphons of the *Veterem hominem* series for the Epiphany octave in their original Byzantine versions.⁴³ The emperor calls for an accurate Latin translation, and the results appear in GREG antiphoners of the tenth through the twelfth centuries, in which the Greek texts have been changed into Latin, and the BYZ music has been turned into GREG melodic style. Those texts, with the same Latin translations, also appear in twelfth-century Roman antiphoners, but there they are accommodated to related music in ROM style.⁴⁴ Clearly, an initial BYZ-to-GREG remodeling by Frankish palace musicians was followed by a Roman remodeling of the GREG music, a process similar to that suggested for the offertories. In light of the emperor's expressed interest in both the *Veterem hominem* set and the spread of the full GREG repertory, the melodic conversions at Rome may not have been delayed.

More can be learned about a ROM reception of GREG from the nonpsalms offertories, in particular their relation to the familiar "seventh-Sunday remark" in the *Codex Blandiniensis*.⁴⁵ *Bland*, which dates from the very end of the eighth century, is the most comprehensive of surviving early Frankish antiphoners. As is common, it provides for twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost. Uncommonly, however, at the seventh Sunday the scribe has entered the comment, "Ista ebdomata non est in antefonarios romanos" ("This week is not found in Roman antiphoners"). In its way, this may indi-

41. R.-J. Hesbert, ed., *Codex 10,673 de la Bibliothèque vaticane, fonds latin (XIe siècle) Graduel bénéventain*, Paléographie musicale 14 (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1931-36), 450; Kenneth Levy, "The Italian Neophytes' Chants," this *Journal* 23 (1970): 221; Thomas F. Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 21-23, 73, and Huglo, "Division de la tradition monodique," 27.

42. Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680-825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 291-99.

43. Jacques Handschin, "Sur quelques tropaires grecs traduits en latin," *Annales musicologiques* 2 (1954): 27-60; Oliver Strunk, "The Latin Antiphons for the Octave of the Epiphany," in *Mélanges Georges Ostrogorsky*, ed. Franjo Barisic, Recueil de travaux de l'Institut d'Études byzantines 8 (Belgrade, 1964), 2:417-26 (reprinted in Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*, 208-19); Levy, "Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul," 93-94 (reprinted in Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians*, 75-76); and Edward Nowacki, "Constantinople-Aachen-Rome: The Transmission of *Veterem hominem*," in *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Huckle zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), 95-115.

44. Nowacki, "Constantinople," 105-14.

45. Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, no. 179.

Gregorian Chant and the Romans 17

cate an eighth-century date for a ROM musical reception of GREG. The remark's accuracy was established by Dom Hesbert: the seventh Sunday, whose offertory is the nonpsalmonic *Sicut in holocausto*, does not appear in ROM sources, though the other twenty-two Sundays with their offertories are all there.⁴⁶ Now most offertories in that series have psalmonic texts, and they are assigned to the numbered Sundays in ascending number-order of the psalter. Interpolated among the psalmonic pieces, however, are six nonpsalmonic, presumably MOZ/GALL-derived, offertories: *Precatus est* (twelfth Sunday), *Oravi Deum* (seventeenth), *Sanctificavit* (eighteenth), *Vir erat* (twenty-first), and *Recordare me* (twenty-third), in addition to *Sicut in holocausto*. There are, for *Oravi* and *Sanctificavit*, neumatic-melodic counterparts in MOZ that speak for an early musical progression from MOZ/GALL to GREG-8/10. In these circumstances, the nonpsalmonic pieces should be later additions to the GREG numbered-psalmonic series. However, with the exception of *Sicut in holocausto*, the nonpsalmonic offertories can be seen as already present in the Roman exemplar that the scribe of *Bland* was comparing. In effect, what the scribal remark says is that the seventh Sunday (with its offertory *Sicut in holocausto*) was a northern addition, made too late for inclusion in an earlier Frankish antiphoner that had gone to Rome, where the bulk of its GALL-derived provisions were incorporated in a forerunner of the ROM antiphoner that the *Bland* scribe had before him. *Bland* was copied around 800, so the Roman incorporation of the six nonpsalmonic offertories would have come earlier. As it stands, this may apply only to the verbal texts, yet those texts and their music are so closely linked in the GREG-8 nonpsalmonic offertories that it may also apply to the music. The texts draw some vivid musical responses, which suggest they went together into GREG-8. Most striking are the rhetorical word repetitions in the offertory *Vir erat*,⁴⁷ though these repetitions can be traced only as far as Amalarius of Metz, who in the middle ninth century comments on *Vir erat* "bringing the afflicted Job affectingly to mind with repeated words, in the manner of the sick."⁴⁸

4. *Idiomelic GREG and formulaic ROM.* Further support for GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM can be found in its GREG-to-ROM stage. For this we may look to the musical behavior of all the offertories, those with psalmonic as well as nonpsalmonic texts, along with that of certain introits, communions, and processional antiphons in whose ROM music some of the offertories' distinctive

46. René-Jean Hesbert, "La messe 'Omnes gentes' du VIIe dimanche après la Pentecôte et l'Antiphonale Missarum romain," *Revue grégorienne* 17 (1932): 81–89, 170–79; *ibid.*, 18 (1933): 1–14; and Huglo, "Division de la tradition monodique," 12–14.

47. Ott, ed., *Offertoriale*, 124–25; and Johner, *Wort und Ton*, 380–81.

48. "Ut affectanter nobis ad memoriam reduceret acgrotantem Iob, repetitit saepius verba more acgrotantium" (Amalarius of Metz, *Opera liturgica omnia*, ed. John-Michel Hanssens, vol. 2, *Liber officialis* [Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948], 373).

18 Journal of the American Musicological Society

traits appear.⁴⁹ Here again, we find the contrasts between ROM's narrow-range "improvisational" scrollings and GREG's craggier profiles, some of which may have already attained melodic fixity in MOZ/GALL. Despite their differences, however, the GREG and ROM cognates are musically related, and some patterns in those relationships are revealing. At times, the parallel GREG and ROM offertories have quite different music throughout. For instance, the ROM Dedication offertory *Domine Deus in simplicitate* uses only FormB musical materials and has nothing to do with its GREG counterpart.⁵⁰ At the other extreme is *Vir erat in terra*, remarkable for the musical rhetoric of its GREG setting, whose ROM music shares underlying substance with GREG almost throughout.⁵¹ Most common, however, are musical sharings that are in evidence just part of the time, and in these cases the tendency is for the pieces to be closer to each other at the beginnings and more distant later on. The way it works is that the GREG chants are consistent throughout in style and substance, while the ROM chants are less regular; sometimes they share underlying musical material with GREG, but other times—increasingly as the pieces go on—they have only the characteristic ROM scrollings and formulas.

Such differences in behavior might conceivably be explained by a ROM-to-GREG scenario: the ROM music would have eroded between the eighth and eleventh centuries, producing the spotty relationships, while the GREG-8 music would have remained more stable, to the point where ROM-8 may be better represented by GREG-10 than by ROM-11. An alternative ROM-to-GREG scenario by Joseph Dyer suggests "that the Franks supplanted all these [FormA and FormB] passages (and there are scores of them) with diversified music, while the Romans, depending on these [FormA and FormB] strategies, were able to maintain the traditional melodies with some degree of integrity until they were notated in the late eleventh century."⁵² Yet a less cumbersome GREG-to-ROM explanation fits the situation at least as well: the ROM editors remodeled some parts of GREG, but for the rest they adhered to their traditional style. An obvious motive was to save labor. Because there were potentially quite massive amounts of GREG music to be converted—and this would have been true above all with the offertories—often just token passages were taken, enough to show an effort being made, and with more of that effort applied to the prominent opening refrains than the following verses. That would produce just such spotty patterns of GREG-ROM relationships as are found. Yet when faced with an unusually interesting piece such as *Vir erat*, the Romans converted much more of the GREG melody.

49. I have dealt with this at length in my "A New Look," 100–103.

50. *Ibid.*, 89–92.

51. *Ibid.*, 83.

52. Joseph Dyer, review of *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper*, by James McKinnon, *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 303.

5. *Roman doubles*. A fresh avenue of musical support for a GREG-to-ROM stage may be drawn from cases of “doubles,” in which the same words and music turn up within different chants. Doubles have long been noticed within the GREG repertory; German scholars describe them as “Zitate,” and a list was compiled by Dominicus Johner.⁵³ Dom Cardine spoke of “même mot, même musique” and provided a much ampler list, which has recently been elaborated by Emmanuela Kohlhaas.⁵⁴ The GREG doubles often involve citations of just a single word—identical text and music isolated within otherwise unrelated contexts. That suggests a certain preciousness in the editorial environment where GREG was shaped, and demands on memory that may indicate the presence of notational aids. GREG doubles can also be extensive, as with the text “Custodi me Domine ut pupillam oculi sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me” (Psalm 16:7b), which has identical music in the GREG introit *Ego clamavi* and the second verse of the GREG offertory *Perfice gressus*. Such a lengthy double might reflect satisfaction with what was seen as a particularly apt setting, or it may simply have been produced in an effort to save labor by reusing already crystallized melodic material.

Doubles are also found in the ROM repertory, and there the historical circumstances are different and perhaps more revealing than with GREG. A handful of ROM doubles were remarked by Thomas Connolly in 1974, and the discussion was expanded in 1983 by Hendrik van der Werf, who unearthed a striking “triple.”⁵⁵ Max Haas has since listed another half-dozen cases, fruits of his computer-based analyses of the entire ROM corpus.⁵⁶ The ROM doubles become particularly interesting when the corresponding behavior in GREG is considered.⁵⁷ If the ROM-11 readings can be supposed in some degree to represent archaic ROM usage, then the fixed melodic passages in the ROM doubles can be supposed to have some significant musical authority at Rome, enough so that if the historical path went from ROM to GREG, one would expect to find in GREG some musical reflection of the ROM pairings. But that is not what happens. As some examples will show,

53. Johner, *Wort und Ton*, 101–4; Max Haas, *Mündliche Überlieferung und altrömischer Choral: Historische und analytische computergestützte Untersuchungen* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997), 121–27. On the latter, see the review by Daniel Saulnier in *Études grégoriennes* 27 (1999): 194–96.

54. Eugène Cardine, *Graduel neumé* (Solesmes: Abbaye St. Pierre, n.d.), 158–59; and Emmanuela Kohlhaas, “Eugène Cardines ‘Liste’: Mêmes textes—mêmes mélodies,” *Beiträge zur Gregorianik* 33 (2002): 45–62.

55. Thomas Connolly, “Intros and Archetypes: Some Archaisms of the Old Roman Chant,” this *Journal* 25 (1972): 157–74, esp. 170–74; and van der Werf, *The Emergence of Gregorian Chant*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 123–28, and pt. 2, pp. 179–84.

56. Haas, *Mündliche Überlieferung*, 122.

57. The problems were addressed by Connolly (“Intros and Archetypes,” 174) and van der Werf (*The Emergence of Gregorian Chant*, vol. 1, 124). Haas has avoided the GREG parallels altogether, remarking about the ROM “Zitate”: “Ich verzichte . . . alle aufgestöberten Funde mitzuteilen, da ich nicht weiss, was sie bedeuten” (“I have refrained from listing all instances that turned up because I do not know what they mean”) (*Mündliche Überlieferung*, 122).

20 Journal of the American Musicological Society

the tendency is for GREG to ignore the ROM doubles, which can only increase doubts as to a ROM-to-GREG flow.

In the following comparisons of ROM doubles and their GREG counterparts, there are four classes of chant and seven individual chants represented (three introts, a gradual verse, two offertories, and a communion). Each of these pieces can claim some considerable antiquity and status. They are all assigned to old feasts in ROM-11, as well as in the GREG text-traditions of Hesbert's *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*; in the early GREG neumings of Lorraine and Saint Gall, their music is the same.⁵⁸

In a first case, pointed out by Connolly, verses of Psalm 20—2a (*In virtute tua*), 2b, 3a, and 3b—are set to identical music in a ROM introit and a ROM offertory refrain. The liturgical assignments are old and Roman: Saints Valentine and Theodore. Example 3 compares the offertory refrain and the beginning of the first verse in ROM and in GREG.⁵⁹ GREG, as is typical, has a distinctive melody, with elements of an overall ABA' structure (verses 2a, 2b, and 3a + 3b). Also typical is the behavior of the ROM offertory, which is focused on local scrollings, with elements of the "improvisational" FormB at verse ends. Some musical relationship may be seen between the ROM and GREG offertories, particularly if transpositions at the fifth are considered. Example 4 (upper two staves) compares the introts.⁶⁰ Here there may be no relationship at all; even the modes are different, with ROM in F and GREG in G. But the ROM introit and ROM offertory (bottom two staves of Ex. 4) form a double. They have a lengthy passage of text and music in common, and some of that music even reappears in the ROM offertory *Desiderium*, at the concluding melisma on "ei."⁶¹ This double use of the fixed ROM music suggests its status at Rome. If the historical progression went from ROM to GREG, we might expect the ROM double to find some reflection at the corresponding points in GREG. GREG, however, ignores the ROM musical parallel.

A second case of ROM doubles adds a gradual verse to the classes of chant. Example 5 shows verses of Psalm 34—1a (*Judica Domine nocentes*), 1b, 2a, and 2b—with the same music in a ROM introit and a ROM gradual verse;⁶² the host gradual is *Ego autem dum mihi*. Here, a musical relationship might exist between the GREG and ROM introts, but the gradual verses have little

58. All appear in the *Graduale triplex*.

59. Example 3: *Graduale triplex*, 512 (GREG offertory); Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 355 (ROM offertory).

60. Example 4: *Graduale triplex*, 523 (GREG introit); Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 66 (ROM introit); Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 355 (ROM offertory).

61. Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 360.

62. Example 5: *Graduale triplex*, 153 (GREG gradual verse); Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 101 (ROM gradual verse); *Graduale triplex*, 150 (GREG introit); Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 47 (ROM introit).

Example 3 Offertory, *In virtute tua*, GREG and ROM

20:2a

GREG OFF.  In vir - tu - te tu - a Do - mi - ne le - ta - bi - tur iu - stus _

ROM OFF.  FormB: d f

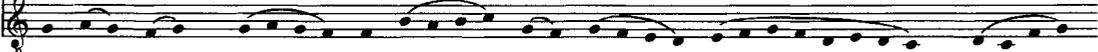
20:2b

GREG OFF.  et su - per sa - lu - ta - re tu - um e - xul - ta - vit ve - he - men - ter _

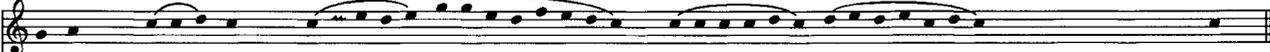
ROM OFF.  d f g

20:3a

GREG OFF.  de - si - de - ri - um a - ni - me e - ius _

ROM OFF. 

20:3b

GREG OFF.  tri - bu - i - sti e i

ROM OFF. 

Example 3 continued

20:5a

GREG
OFF. V

Vi - tam _ pe ti - it

ROM
OFF. V

e g

et _ tri - bu - i - sti _ e - i

d e g

The image shows a musical score for Gregorian and Roman chant. It consists of four staves. The top two staves are for Gregorian chant (GREG OFF. V) and Roman chant (ROM OFF. V). The bottom two staves are for a second Roman chant. The lyrics are: 'Vi - tam _ pe ti - it et _ tri - bu - i - sti _ e - i'. The Roman chant parts include specific notes labeled 'e' and 'g'.

Example 4 Introit, *In virtute tua*, GREG and ROM

20:2a

GREG
INTR.

In vir - tu - te tu - a Do - mi - ne le - ta - bi - tur iu - stus

ROM
INTR.

In vir - tu - te tu - a Do - mi - ne le - ta - bi - tur iu - stus

ROM
OFF.

d f

20:2b

et su - per sa - lu - ta - re tu - um ex - sul - ta - vit ve - he - men - ter

et su - per sa - lu - ta - re tu - um ex - sul - ta - vit ve - he - men - ter

FormB: d f g

Example 4 continued

20:3a

de - si - de - ri - um a - ni - mae e - ius

de - si - de - ri - um a - ni - mae e - ius

20:3b

tri - bu - i - sti e - i

tri - bu - i - sti e - i

Example 5 Gradual verse and introit, *Judica Domine*, GREG and ROM

34:1a

GREG
GRAD. V

ROM
GRAD. V

GREG
INTR.

ROM
INTR.

Ju - di - ca Do - mi - ne no - cen - tes me

34:1b

34:1c

ex - pu - gna im - pu - gnan - tes me ap - pre - hen - de - ar - ma

ex - pu - gna im - pu - gnan - tes me ap - pre - hen - de - ar - ma

Example 5 continued

34:1c cont'd 34:2b

et scu - tum et ex-sur - ge

et scu - tum et ex-sur - ge

34:2b cont'd

in ad - iu - to - ri - um mi - hi

in ad - iu - to - ri - um me - um etc.

in common.⁶³ As for a GREG correspondence to the ROM double, there is none; again, supposing the ROM-to-GREG flow, the authority of ROM would be slighted.

A final case is the ROM triple first presented by van der Werf.⁶⁴ This has verses of Psalm 5—2a (*Verba mea*), 2b (*Intellege clamorem*), 3a (*Intende voci orationis*), 3b, 4a, 4b, 9b, and so on—in an introit, an offertory, and a communion. Where the verbal texts agree, all three ROM chants have lengthy musical passages in common. Example 6 compares the GREG and ROM offertories that begin *Intende voci* (verses 3a, 3b, 4a, 2a, etc.).⁶⁵ As so often happens, GREG displays a spacious melodic profile while ROM cultivates narrow-range twists; there is some musical relationship between them toward the beginning, but part of the way through (verse 12a), this lessens, and elements of FormB take over in the ROM fabric.⁶⁶ Example 7 compares the GREG and ROM introits on *Verba mea auribus percipe* (Psalm 5:2a, 2b, 3a).⁶⁷ Except for the F-mode beginnings and endings, these have little in common. Example 8 compares the GREG and ROM communions on *Intellege clamorem meum* (Psalm 5:2b, 3a, 3b, 4a).⁶⁸ There are again no substantial relationships, though as with the introits, the beginnings and endings roughly correspond.

Finally, Example 9 compares the ROM music for the sections of the offertory, introit, and communion that have the same texts.⁶⁹ The order of the offertory is observed, since it has all the verses that make up the introit and communion. The three ROM chants share lengthy passages. Once again, we find music with an evident status in ROM—indeed a triple, where an introit, offertory, and communion share large amounts of the same fixed melody. But this music is ignored by GREG, where only the offertory has any considerable musical relationship with its ROM counterpart.

If fixed, idiomatic ROM music went north to be refashioned into GREG style, it is puzzling that the GREG editors would disregard what was evidently an esteemed ROM formulation. If, on the other hand, GREG went south and was refashioned into ROM style, the relationships make better sense. The

63. Nancy van Deusen describes the musical setting of the GREG verse as “free” (“An Historical and Stylistic Comparison of the Graduals of Gregorian and Old Roman Chant” [Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1972], 275).

64. Van der Werf, *The Emergence of Gregorian Chant*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 124.

65. Example 6: *Graduale triplex*, 153 (GREG gradual verse); Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 101 (ROM gradual verse); *Graduale triplex*, 150 (GREG introit); Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 47 (ROM introit).

66. Levy, “A New Look,” 96–99.

67. Example 7: *Graduale triplex*, 83 (GREG introit); Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 55 (ROM introit).

68. Example 8: *Graduale triplex*, 82 (GREG communion); Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 462 (ROM communion).

69. Example 9: Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 364 (ROM offertory); Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 55 (ROM introit); Stäblein, ed., *Die Graduale*, 462 (ROM communion).

Example 6 Offertory, *Intende voci*, GREG and ROM

5:3a

GREG
OFF.

8 In - ten - de - vo - ci o - ra - ti - o - nis _____ me - e

ROM
OFF.

5:3b

8 Rex - me - us - et - De - us - me - us

5:4a

8 quo - ni - am - ad - te _____ o - ra - bo _____ Do - mi - ne

5:2a

8 Ver - ba _____ me - a _____ au - ri - bus _____ per - ci - pe _____ Do - mi - ne -

Example 6 continued

5:2b

In - tel - le - ge cla - mo - rem - me - am -

5:4b variant

et ex - au - di - me -

5:9b

Di - ri - ge in con - spec - tu - tu - o - vi - am me - am -

5:12a

et le - ten - tur om - nes qui spe - rant in te Do - mi - ne -

FormB: d e g

Example 6 continued

5:12b etc.

The musical score consists of two systems, each with a vocal line on a treble clef staff and an organ accompaniment on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system contains the lyrics: "in e - ter - num glo - ri - a - bun - tur qui di - li - gunt". The organ accompaniment features a melodic line with dynamic markings 'd', 'f', and 'g'. The second system contains the lyrics: "no - men tu - um Do - mi - ne". The organ accompaniment continues with dynamic markings 'd' and 'e'. The piece concludes with a double bar line and the word "etc." written above the final note of the vocal line.

Example 7 Introit, *Verba mea*, GREG and ROM

5:2a

GREG
INTR.

Ver - ba me - a au - ri - bus _ per - ci - pe Do - mi - ne _

ROM
INTR.

5:2b

in - tel - le - ge _ cla - mo - rem _ me - um _

5:3a

in - ten - de _ vo - ci o - ra - ti - o - nis _ me - e _

The image displays a musical score for the Introit 'Verba mea', comparing Gregorian (GREG) and Roman (ROM) chant styles. The score is organized into three systems, each with a Gregorian staff (top) and a Roman staff (bottom). The first system (5:2a) contains the lyrics 'Ver - ba me - a au - ri - bus _ per - ci - pe Do - mi - ne _'. The second system (5:2b) contains 'in - tel - le - ge _ cla - mo - rem _ me - um _'. The third system (5:3a) contains 'in - ten - de _ vo - ci o - ra - ti - o - nis _ me - e _'. The Gregorian staves use a four-line staff with a single sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The Roman staves use a five-line staff with a single sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The Roman staves feature a more complex melodic line with many eighth and sixteenth notes, while the Gregorian staves use a simpler, more melismatic style with long horizontal lines and fewer notes.

Example 8 Communion, *Intellege clamorem*, GREG and ROM

5:2b

GREG
COMM.

In - tel - le - ge - cla - mo - rem me - um -

ROM
COMM.

5:3a

in - ten - de vo - ci o - ra - ti - o - nis - me - e

5:3b

rex me - us et De - us me - us -

5:4a

quo - ni - am ad - te o - ra - bo Do - mi - ne -

Example 9 ROM offertory, introit, and communion (Psalm 5)

5:3a

ROM OFF.
In - ten - de - vo - cis - o - ra - ti - o - nis - me - e -

ROM INTR.

ROM COMM.

5:3b

Rex - me - us - et De - us - me - us -

(absent)

5:4a

quo - ni - am - ad - te - o - ra - bo - Do - mi - ne -

(absent)

Example 9 continued

5:2a

Ver - ba me - a au - ri - bus per - ci - pe Do - mi - ne

(absent)

5:2b

in - tel - le - ge cla - mo - rem me - um

Romans, confronting GREG music, subjected it to idiomatic remodeling; we have considered similar Roman operations with the antiphons for the Epiphany octave, conceivably carried out in response to Charlemagne's wish. With the ROM doubles and triples, we in effect see the Roman editors facing the entire GREG repertory. They were proud of their own styles and resentful of the notion that those should be replaced, so they remodeled some of the GREG melodic substance to conform with ROM style. With the doubles and triples, they were again saving labor: when verses turned up whose music had already been processed, that music was taken from the shelf and put to further use.

6. *GREG-to-ROM conversions.* For more than a century, specialists have wrestled with the musical relationships between ROM and GREG. The belief persists in a flow from ROM to GREG, where an archaic ROM-8, consisting mainly of fixed, "composed" melodies (with some stable paradigms for graduals, tracts, etc.), journeyed north to the Frankish heartland during the middle eighth century, and there by still obscure processes was transformed into the styles and substances of the GREG-8/10 that we know.⁷⁰ In my alternative proposal, the repertory traveled decisively in the other direction: GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM. The Carolingian musical reform of the 750s and 760s would still begin with a progression from ROM to GREG: the Franks initially embraced the musical styles that the Roman musicians supplied—styles that were largely improvisational rather than melodically fixed. But already under Pippin, or during the 770s and 780s under Charlemagne, the Frankish attitude changed. The Roman offerings were abandoned, and the GREG-8 musical repertory acquired much of its final state from accommodations of GALL music to the Roman liturgical texts. This newly authoritative GREG-8 presently came to Rome. That may have happened only in the middle eleventh century, when musical documentation begins; but perhaps it was in the later tenth century, during the *renovatio imperii* of Otto I, or even under Charlemagne, whose imperial ambitions would have favored GREG's prompt installation at Rome. In any event, when GREG-8 arrived, Roman musicians were expected to adopt it, as happened almost everywhere. Instead they compromised, taking some of the GREG music but remodeling it to fit their own processes and styles. The resultant hybrid ROM remained in use until the thirteenth century, when an unadulterated GREG was finally adopted.

To entertain the GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM theory is to relinquish a ROM-to-GREG theory that has always seemed beyond question. Yet support

70. The presence of fixed melodies in seventh- and eighth-century ROM is basic to most ROM-to-GREG hypotheses, including that of James McKinnon in *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000). See reviews of McKinnon's book by Dyer; Rebecca Maloy (*Notes of the Music Library Association* 58 [2001]: 329–32); and Susan Rankin (*Plainsong and Medieval Music* 11 [2002]: 73–82).

36 Journal of the American Musicological Society

for the latter is thin: a presumption that Roman musical primacy went hand in hand with Roman ecclesiastical primacy; and some corroborative statements in regal and papal documents contemporary with the reform, which find echoes in later commentators. Those early documents, however, are high-level political ones in which a rebuff to ROM music might not be mentioned, whether because it ran counter to declared policy or simply passed beneath notice. Evidence favoring GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM, on the other hand, includes Dom Claire's clarification of *Collegerunt*, which reveals an eighth-century(?) Frankish disdain for the ROM musical offerings. That is consistent with Notker's ninth-century hostility to Roman musicians and John the Deacon's denunciation of Frankish musicians. In addition, there now are respectable arguments drawn from the textual and musical behavior of the ROM offertories, and from the ROM doubles, which support the theory and extend it well beyond the offertories. Together, these provide some solid basis for GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM.

In the end, all this may be regarded as simply a revision in the direction of flow, which in itself would have just minor historical significance. It becomes interesting, however, in light of some potential insights about archaic musical states. GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM may offer some extraordinary access to the prenotational GREG and ROM. Concerning GREG during the third quarter of the eighth century, the nonpsalms offertories that GREG shares with MOZ/GALL indicate that at that time the repertoires already contained large amounts of fixed, memorable melody; by way of the Verona Orationale, some of that melody may even be traced to a MOZ usage before the Moorish invasion of Spain in 711.⁷¹

Turning to ROM-8, what is learned may be greater. In theory, GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM allows us to observe as ROM-8/11 takes on fixed melodic contours in a merger between GREG-8/10 and ROM-8/11 music. We may control the GREG-8 input when GREG-10 neumings that are as different as those of Lorraine and Saint Gall represent the same melodic substances—which they do throughout the *Graduale triplex*. We may control the ROM-8 input as an underlying layer in ROM-11—what would remain if the melodic elements that are attributable to GREG were removed. Whereas the GREG-8 music can be seen as largely idiomatic, the archaic ROM music—for the offertories and some others—seems to have relied largely on “improvisational” processes, which might produce such narrow-range scrollings punctuated by conventional formulas as are identified by Dyer.⁷² Granting that access to archaic melodic states, a comparison of GREG-10 and ROM-11 would reveal some inner workings of Roman process and style. Any twist of ROM-11

71. José Vives, ed., *Oracional visigótico*, Monumenta hispaniae sacra: Serie liturgica 1 (Barcelona: Biblioteca Balmes, 1946); and Louis Brou, “L'antiphonaire wisigothique et l'antiphonaire grégorien au début du 8e siècle,” *Anuario musical* 5 (1950): 3–10.

72. Dyer, “*Tropis semper variantibus*,” 1–60.

Gregorian Chant and the Romans 37

melody might reflect a Roman editor's weighing of ROM and GREG inputs and their merger in a crystallized ROM version which would then resist change on the way to the ROM-11 version we know. There are related transmissional issues, such as whether ROM-8/11 could have been crystallized in this way—by taking two existing versions and producing a third, where one absorbs the other—without the support of memory-aid notation. To cover all the issues would require major efforts. For the moment, I suggest only that a GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM hypothesis, here viewed largely through the prism of the offertories, has enough in its favor to merit further consideration. The outcome may be an astonishingly close look at how some of the major plain-chant repertoires were formed.

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Gregorian Chant and the Romans 39

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40 Journal of the American Musicological Society

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Abstract

A central problem in plainchant studies has been the relationship between the two “Roman” repertoires, “Old Roman” (ROM) and “Gregorian” (GREG).

Gregorian Chant and the Romans 41

Many attempts have been made to penetrate the “mystérieuse alchimie” that links them. Almost without exception, these have embraced the notion that ROM music was the supplier of GREG. This paper advances an alternative hypothesis. It recognizes initial transfers of ROM musical material to the Franks under Pippin III (before 768)—ROM music that was generally improvisational in process and style. However, still under Pippin or later under Charlemagne, the Franks rejected the ROM music and, in their effort to establish GREG, turned to familiar Gallican chants, which tended to have fixed, memorable melodies. Later, perhaps during the tenth century *renovatio imperii* under Otto I, though perhaps even during Charlemagne’s reign, the authorized GREG repertory reached Rome, where it was supposed to supplant the local ROM. But the Roman musicians resisted; rather than abandon ROM, they compromised by accepting certain portions of GREG music and remodeling them so they conformed with ROM style. This sequence of events would explain the musical relationships between ROM and GREG.



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Remarks on Roman and non-Roman offertories

ANDREAS PFISTERER

ABSTRACT. Responding to recent theories on Roman chant by Kenneth Levy, this article argues, on the basis of liturgical and textual evidence, that non-psalmonic offertories were included in the Roman chant repertory before Carolingian times, that the composition of the offertory cycle was finished by the beginning of the seventh century, that pieces of non-Roman origin can be found among psalmonic offertories, and that 'non-Roman' can mean African as well as Gallican.

Kenneth Levy has recently proposed a new view of the interrelationship of 'Gregorian' and 'Old-Roman' chant.¹ I will not address this large topic directly here, referring readers instead to my own view in my dissertation.² Rather, I want to focus on the historical issue which was Levy's starting point: the origin of the small group of non-psalmonic offertories in the Roman repertory. In an earlier article Levy compared related versions of these non-psalmonic offertories from Milan and Spain and concluded that the origin of these pieces was to be sought in Gaul. Their introduction into the Roman liturgy must therefore be credited to the Carolingian reform in the late eighth century, which took over some sort of Roman chant and later influenced the development of liturgy in the eternal city itself.³

My argument begins with one of the most important dates in the history of Roman liturgical books. The contemporary vita of Pope Gregory II (714–31) in the *Liber pontificalis* credits him with the introduction of Masses on the Thursdays in Lent.⁴ This addition to the Roman calendar can be confirmed by analysis of each of the Roman liturgical books. It has been observed that the chant formularies of these Thursday Masses use (with one exception) already extant pieces, mostly from the Sundays after

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¹ Kenneth Levy, 'A New Look at Old Roman Chant', *Early Music History*, 19 (2000), 81–104; *idem*, 'A New Look at Old Roman Chant – II', *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), 173–97; *idem*, 'Gregorian Chant and the Romans', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 5–41.

² Andreas Pfisterer, *Cantilena Romana: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des gregorianischen Chorals*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik 11 (Paderborn, 2002).

³ Kenneth Levy, 'Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul', *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), 49–99.

⁴ Louis Duchesne, ed., *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1887–92), complemented by Cyrille Vogel, *Additions et Corrections* (Paris, 1957), 1:402; James McKinnon (*The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley, 2000), 133) narrowed the date of introduction to c. 721, based on the observation by Raymond Davis (*The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool, 1992), 1–2) that the vita of Gregory II is written in chronological order. Since for our purposes precision of this sort is secondary, I retain the more cautious date of c. 730.

170

Andreas Pfisterer

Table 1 *Masses of the Thursdays in Lent*

	Statio		original (secondary) assignment
Qq 5	Georgius	In. Dum clamarem	Pent IX
		Gr. Iacta	Qd II 3 (Pent)
		Of. Ad te Domine	Qd II 4 (Pent IX, Ad I)
		Co. Acceptabis	Pent IX
Qd I 5	Laurentius	In. Confessio	Laurentius (Caesarius)
		Gr. Custodi	(Pent)
		Of. Immittit	Pent XIII
		Co. Panis quem ego dederō	Pent XIII
Qd II 5	Maria tr. Tib.	In. Deus in adiutorium	Pent XI
		Gr. Propitius	(Pent)
		Of. Precatus est	Pent XI
		Co. Qui manducat	Pent XIV
Qd III 5	Cosmas et Damianus	In. Salus populi	Pent XVIII
		Gr. Oculi omnium	(Pent)
		Of. Si ambulauero	Pent XVIII
		Co. Tu mandasti	Pent XVIII
Qd IV 5	Siluester	In. Laetetur cor	QT VII 6
		Gr. Respice	(Pent)
		Of. Domine in auxilium	Qd II 6 (Pent XV)
		Co. Domine memorabor	Pent XV
Qd V 5	Apollinaris	In. Omnia quae fecisti	Pent XIX
		Gr. Tollite hostias	?
		Of. Super flumina	Pent XIX
		Co. Memento uerbi	Pent XIX

Pentecost, while the normal Lenten formularies have unique assignments or pieces which are only secondarily reused outside Lent.⁵ Table 1 lists the Thursday formularies with the original assignment of each chant.⁶

⁵ Antoine Chavasse, 'Cantatorium et Antiphonale missarum: Quelque procédés de confection—dimanches après la Pentecôte—graduels du sanctoral', *Ecclesia Orans*, 1 (1984), 15–55, esp. 17–20; James McKinnon, 'The Eighth-Century Frankish-Roman Communion Cycle', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1992), 179–227, esp. 183; *idem*, *The Advent Project*, 133–7.

⁶ I use the following abbreviations: Ad(uentus), Nat(iuitas Domini), Ep(iphania), Qq (Quinquagesima), Qd (Quadragesima), Pas(cha), Pent(ecoste), QT VII (quatuor tempora mensis septimi), vig(ilia), oct(ava); Numbered Sundays/weeks have Roman numbers, ferias have Arabic numbers; exception is Nat, where Arabic numbers signify the three Masses of the day. For Sundays after Pentecost I use the numbering I–XXII, omitting the *Omnes gentes* formulary added in the late eighth century. Assignments of graduals to the Sundays after Pentecost seem to have become stable only in the ninth century, so they were probably taken from some undistributed list we cannot reconstruct.

Remarks on Roman and non-Roman offertories

171

Important for our topic is the observation that in every formulary two or three pieces have a common assignment among the Sundays after Pentecost (bold in the table). This indicates that they must have been taken over as groups, not as single pieces, thus leading to the conclusion that these pieces were not only in existence but also fixed at their post-Pentecost assignments around 730.⁷ Among these chants is the offertory *Precatus est Moyses*, one of the leading examples of Levy's 'Gallican' offertories. Wherever it came from originally, it must have been present in Rome before any Carolingian intervention. If this is true for one non-psalmic offertory, there is no reason to postulate a later date of introduction for the other ones.

With respect to the non-psalmic offertories, I would propose the following differentiation:

- (a) Pieces present in the Roman as well the Frankish tradition with a stable liturgical placement:

Confortamini, Ave Maria, Exsulla satis, Angelus Domini, In die sollemnitatis, Erit uobis, Precatus est, Oraui Deum, Sanctificauit, Vir erat, Recordare, Oratio mea, Domine Deus in simplicitate

These thirteen pieces seem to have belonged to the Roman repertory before being taken up by the Franks.

- (b) Pieces present in the Frankish tradition with stable liturgical placement, but missing at Rome:

Viri Galilaei, Stetit angelus, Sicut in holocausto

Sicut in holocausto is surely a Frankish addition, being part of the added *Omnes gentes* formulary.⁸ For the other two, which are musically closely related, a Gallican origin seems plausible.

- (c) Pieces present in only one of the oldest Frankish manuscripts:

Audi Israhel, Factus est repente, Ingressus est Zacharias

These seem to be early local additions, perhaps taken over from some older repertory.

- (d) Pieces attested only at the end of the ninth century or later:

Elegerunt apostoli, Benedictus sit Deus (contrafactum of *Constitues*), *Domine Iesu Christe*, etc.

These are surely late additions; *Elegerunt apostoli* is probably an older Gallican piece.

Levy's proposed scenario of Roman singers adapting the Frankish (Gregorian) repertory can be questioned from another point of view as well. There are a few pieces

⁷ One would expect the choice of complete formularies. If we leave aside the graduals (see note 6), there are only three exchanged pieces: the introit *Confessio* of St Lawrence for Qd I 5 is chosen obviously in accordance with the stational church; at Qd II 5 the communion *De fructu operum* (Pent XI), fitting for harvest, but not for Lent, has been replaced by a more general piece; for the presence of the introit *Laetetur cor* at Qd IV 5, I can give no explanation.

⁸ For the *Omnes gentes* formulary, see René-Jean Hesbert, 'I a Messe *Omnes gentes* du VII^e Dimanche après la Pentecôte et l'*Antiphonale Missarum* Romain', *Revue Grégorienne*, 17 (1932), 81–9; 170–9; 18 (1933), 1–14.

Table 2 Chants of presumed Frankish origin

In. <i>Omnes gentes</i>	7th Sunday after Pentecost
Of. <i>Sicut in holocausto</i>	7th Sunday after Pentecost
Co. <i>Inclina aurem</i>	7th Sunday after Pentecost, text version of PsG
In. <i>Probasti</i>	Octave of St Lawrence, contrafactum of In. <i>In uirtute tua</i>
Of. <i>Posuisti</i>	Matthaeus, Gorgonius, contrafactum of Of. <i>Angelus Domini</i> , text version of PsG
Of. <i>Exsultabunt</i>	Vigil of Simon and Jude, Octave of Peter and Paul, Basilides and companions, contrafactum of Of. <i>Offerentur</i> (maior), text version of PsG in the verse
Of. <i>In omnem terram</i>	Simon and Jude, contrafactum of Of. <i>Dextera Domini</i>
Co. <i>Vos qui secuti</i>	Simon and Jude, reuse of an office antiphon

in the Frankish standard tradition that can reasonably be taken as Frankish additions. All of them are present in the AMS manuscripts,⁹ including the Codex Blandiniensis from around 800, but they are absent from the Roman tradition. This fact would not in itself be sufficient to prove Frankish origin, because some pieces missing in the Roman manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries can be shown to have existed earlier at Rome.¹⁰ The pieces in Table 2 present additional indications of Frankish origin: liturgical placement only in formularies that are of Frankish origin (cf. below), text versions drawn from the Psalterium Gallicanum (PsG), and the probability that some of them contrafact Roman pieces. None of them was taken over by the Roman singers.

There are, however, formularies of probably Frankish origin that were taken over into the Roman tradition. Leaving aside late additions like All Saints and Decollatio Iohannis, these include the feasts of the apostles Matthew, and Simon and Jude, which are missing in all Roman liturgical books of the seventh and eighth centuries, but are present in the Frankish reworkings of those books from the eighth century onward. Thus it is reasonable to assume that the formularies were created by the Franks in the late eighth century and then adopted by the Romans. Table 3 shows these formularies.

Comparing the Roman formularies to their probable models, one can easily see that all the pieces of probable Frankish origin (bold in the table) were replaced by Roman pieces. Besides that, there are only minor changes (italics in the table). The gradual *lustus ut palma* was replaced, but it is not clear whether this piece was lost in Rome or whether it also is a Frankish addition. The gradual *Vindica*, a piece for martyrs,¹¹ was replaced by the correct piece for apostles, thereby probably causing the exchange between feast and vigil. These examples reveal that Rome was receiving materials from the north sometime between the eighth and the eleventh century. The Roman singers were apparently receptive to new liturgical formularies, but not to new musical pieces. We cannot be certain that this situation is representative of the whole period between the Carolingian reform and the appearance of the first Roman chant

⁹ René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935).

¹⁰ See Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 126–7.

¹¹ A separate *commune* does not yet exist in the chant manuscripts, but one can deduce the assignments of the ‘virtual’ *commune* from the use of such pieces in the Sanctoriale.

Remarks on Roman and non-Roman offertories

173

Table 3 Frankish formularies later adapted at Rome

	Frankish	Roman
Vigilia Mathaei	In. Ego autem sicut oliua Gr. Iustus ut palma Of. Gloria et honore Co. Posuisti	In. Ego autem sicut oliua <i>Gr. Posuisti</i> Of. Gloria et honore Co. Posuisti
Natale Mathaei	In. Os iusti Gr. Beatus uir Of. Posuisti Co. Magna est gloria	In. Os iusti Gr. Beatus uir <i>Of. Gloria et honore</i> Co. Magna est gloria
Vigilia Simonis et Iudae	In. Intret in conspectu Gr. Vindica Domine Of. Exultabunt Co. Iustorum animae	In. Intret in conspectu <i>Gr. Nimis honorati</i> <i>Of. Mihi autem</i> Co. Iustorum animae
Natale Simonis et Iudae	In. Mihi autem Gr. Nimis honorati Of. In omnem terram Co. Vos qui secuti	In. Mihi autem <i>Gr. In omnem terram</i> <i>Of. Constitues</i> <i>Co. Amen dico uobis quod</i>

manuscripts; but there seems to be no other situation in which the reception of Frankish material by the Roman chant tradition can be rendered plausible by liturgical evidence.

Additional instances of the reception of Frankish chant at Rome are confined to limited parts of the Roman tradition. The gradual of S. Cecilia in Trastevere contains many melodies, especially alleluias, that were taken over practically unchanged from Benevento or Montecassino, and a similar repertory of borrowed melodies is contained in the gradual of the Roman schola cantorum (Vat. lat. 5319),¹² but obviously derived from another (probably central Italian) tradition. Both of these cases must be regarded as local phenomena that do not concern the Roman tradition as a whole. The same is true for the rare examples of melodic 'Romanization' of Frankish pieces in the St Cecilia gradual and in the St Peter's gradual. The example from the St Cecilia gradual is the introit *Omnes gentes*, for the vigil of Ascension. Since this formulary is missing in both of the other Roman manuscripts as well as in most of the older Frankish manuscripts, it must be considered a local addition made at the Trastevere church. The Marian Mass, *Salve sancta parens*, seems to have been created in the tenth century somewhere in the north. The Roman version has been notated as a later addition to the twelfth-century gradual of St Peter's, thus it is clearly anachronistic for our purposes. Ultimately, however, these are marginal events, not comparable either to the Roman reception of Frankish melodies postulated by Levy or to the Roman

¹² This localization of the famous manuscript has been established in Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 107–108.

reception of Frankish formularies indicated above. They probably occurred shortly before the date of our earliest Roman manuscript, i.e., in the eleventh century.

These two arguments rely on (comparatively) secure liturgical material. They demonstrate the impossibility of connecting the introduction of non-psalms to the predominantly psalms Roman offertory repertory with the events during and after the Carolingian reforms of the late eighth century. As a consequence, the question of a putative Gallican or Mozarabic origin of non-psalms offertories should be eliminated from discussions about the history of 'Old Roman' chant.

The abandonment of this hypothesis returns the problem of non-Roman pieces in the Roman repertory back to Rome. Some general reflections on the Roman offertory repertory may serve as an introduction. Elsewhere, I have questioned the chronological framework developed by James McKinnon.¹³ Using the same sort of evidence as he did and additionally considering the versions of the Latin biblical texts, I have argued for a date of origin around 500 for the earlier strata of the repertory, without being able to provide a detailed chronology.¹⁴ It is, however, possible to fill in some additional chronological details.

Table 4 gives in liturgical order the complete offertory repertory for the Temporale, each piece being inserted only at its original assignment.

In the case of those pieces transmitted with several assignments, the direction of the borrowing can be determined with some plausibility in most cases. The last column lists borrowings that are surely late: the Thursdays of Lent added during the pontificate of Gregory II, the formulary for Maundy Thursday added in the mid-seventh century.¹⁵ Assignments made probably in Francia after the reception of Roman chant are given in parentheses.¹⁶ Of less certainty with respect to the direction of borrowing are the entries in the third column.

Following the rule that formularies for Sundays are usually later than the Lenten or festal formularies, one arrives at a rather consistent picture. The single Sunday after Christmas, the three Sundays after Epiphany, those before and after Ascension, the octave of Easter and most of the Sundays after Pentecost as well as the ferias of Pentecost week all lack Proper offertories. Proper chants, though, are ascribed to the Sundays of the Easter complex, i.e., from Septuagesima to Pentecost.

This picture corresponds well with observations made about other chant genres and with liturgical history. Pentecost week developed during the seventh century;¹⁷

¹³ McKinnon, *The Advent Project*. In her dissertation ('The Offertory Chant: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission', Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 2001) Rebecca Maloy has tried to refine McKinnon's chronology regarding offertories. Her observations on the distribution of individual/formulaic verse melodies in the Roman tradition merit further consideration. From my point of view, however, this does not touch the question of chronology, but the question of instability of transmission in Rome.

¹⁴ Andreas Pfisterer, 'James McKinnon und die Datierung des gregorianischen Choral', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 85 (2001), 31–53.

¹⁵ Antoine Chavasse, 'Aménagements liturgiques, à Rome, au VII^e et au VIII^e siècle', in *idem, La liturgie de la ville de Rome du V^e au VIII^e siècle: Une liturgie conditionnée par l'organisation de la vie in urbe et extra muros* (Rome, 1993), 109–46 (originally *Revue bénédictine*, 99 (1989), 75–102), esp. 110–12.

¹⁶ See Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 119–22.

¹⁷ Cf. Pfisterer, 'James McKinnon', 42–5.

the octave of Easter seems to have been originally a 'vacat' Sunday as can be seen in the earliest Gospel list (Π^W in Klauser's edition) that repeats for this Sunday the second part of the Gospel of the preceding Saturday.¹⁸ The formulary for the Sunday after Ascension is missing both in the Codex Blandiniensis and in the ninth-century Fulda fragment, which represents most probably a Roman gradual.¹⁹ Later Roman and Frankish books give different communions for this Sunday, but the same Proper introit and the same borrowed offertory. I cannot deal here with variant assignments of communions, but I would suppose that this formulary was missing in eighth-century books, only to be added later from unwritten traditions at Rome as well as in Francia. In every case, then, the formulary for the Sunday after Ascension has a special status among the Eastertide Masses.

The Sundays after Christmas and Epiphany and those after Pentecost fill in the 'common time' between the festal complexes of Easter and Christmas. Since the number of these Sundays is variable according to the date of Easter, they are organized as a numbered series that needs to be adapted to the actual number of Sundays. The post-Pentecostal series was probably revised several times (before 730), though we cannot reconstruct earlier stages. The first part of the offertory series (I–XV) borrows exclusively from Lenten offertories with texts from Psalm 1 to 49 (except *Factus est Dominus*, Ps. 17). It adds one more psalmic piece (*Inmittit angelus*, Ps. 33), and brings them into a numerical ordering, with only one non-psalmic piece, *Precatus est Moyses*, interrupting this group. The second part of the series (XVI–XXII) consists of Proper pieces, probably additions that came too late to find a place in festal seasons. The Sunday after Christmas borrows its offertory from the second Mass of Christmas Day, whereas it has a Proper introit, gradual and communion. From the liturgical point of view, the Sundays after Epiphany have the same (low) rank as the Sundays after Pentecost and the Sunday after Christmas. It seems plausible that they borrow in similar fashion, as they do in my interpretation.

In McKinnon's view, the creation of the repertory followed the course of the liturgical year, an assumption that causes him to give priority of liturgical assignment to the Sundays after Epiphany. This leads to the (as I think, less consistent) interpretation that the Roman singers integrated two of the post-Epiphany offertories into the large Lenten corpus, but not the third one (it was reused only in the next step, the Sundays after Easter), and none of the introits and graduals.

A special case is *Ad te Domine leuauit* used in Advent as well as in Lent, both seasons that usually have unique liturgical assignments. McKinnon argued for priority of the Advent assignment on grounds of thematic appropriateness.²⁰ As I observed in my review article of his book, it is precisely that feature which argues for movement in the reverse direction, since the taking over of a piece because of its (accidental) suitability

¹⁸ Germain Morin, 'Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu du VII^e siècle d'après les listes d'évangiles de Würzburg', *Revue bénédictine*, 28 (1911), 296–330; Theodor Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare euangeliorum*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 28 (Münster in Westfalen, 1935), 1–46.

¹⁹ The current whereabouts of the fragment is unknown; its content has been edited in Bernhard Opfermann, 'Un frammento liturgico di Fulda del IX^o sec.', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 50 (1936), 208–19.

²⁰ McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 310.

176

Andreas Pfisterer

Table 4 *Offertories of the Temporale*

	Original assignment	Early reuse	Later reuse
Deus tu conuertens	Ad II		(Ad QT 6)
Benedixisti	Ad III		
Confortamini	Ad QT 4		
Aue Maria	Ad QT 4		(Annuntiatio, Ad IV)
Exsulta satis	Ad QT 7		
Tollite portas	Vig Nat		
Laetentur caeli	Nat 1		
Deus enim firmauit	Nat 2	Nat I	
Tui sunt caeli	Nat 3		
Reges Tharsis	Ep		
Bonum est confiteri	Septuagesima		
Perfice	Sexagesima	Pent VI	
Benedictus . . . in labiis	Qq		
Exaltabo te	Qq 4	Pent X	
Domine uiuifica	Qq 6		
Scapulis suis	Qd I		
Leuabo oculos	Qd I 2		
In te speraui	Qd I 3	Pent XII	
Meditabar	QT 4		
Benedic anima	QT 6	Ord episc, Ord pl episc	
Domine Deus salutis	QT 7		
Benedicam Dominum	Qd II 2	Pent V	
Miserere mihi	Qd II 3		
Ad te Domine leuaui	Qd II 4	Pent IX, Ad I	Qq 5
Domine in auxilium	Qd II 6	Pent XV	Qd IV 5
Illumina oculos	Qd II 7	Pent IV	
Iustitiae Domini	Qd III	Pent VIII	
Exaudi Deus orationem	Qd III 2		
Dextera Domini	Qd III 3	Ep III	Cena Domini
Domine fac mecum	Qd III 4		
Intende uoci	Qd III 6	Pent I	
Gressus meos	Qd III 7		
Laudate Dominum	Qd IV		
Iubilate Deo omnis	Qd IV 2	Ep I	
Exspectans expectaui	Qd IV 3	Pent XIV	
Benedicite gentes	Qd IV 4	Pas V	
Populum humilem	Qd IV 6	Pent VII	
Factus est Dominus	Qd IV 7		
Confitebor tibi	Qd V		
Domine conuertere	Qd V 2	Pent II	
Sperent in te	Qd V 3	Pent III	
Eripe . . . Deus	Qd V 4		
Benedictus . . . et non	Qd V 6		
Improperium	Qd VI		
Eripe . . . Domine	Qd VI 2		
Custodi me	Qd VI 3		

Remarks on Roman and non-Roman offertories

177

Table 4 Continued

	Original assignment	Early reuse	Later reuse
Domine exaudi	Qd VI 4		
Terra tremuit	Pascha		
Angelus Domini	Pas 2	Oct Pas	
Intonuit	Pas 3	Pent 2	
Portas caeli	Pas 4	Pent 3	
In die sollemnitatis	Pas 5		
Erit uobis	Pas 6		
Benedictus qui uenit	Pas 7		
Deus Deus meus	Pas II		
Lauda anima	Pas III	Pent 6 (Asc I)	
Iubilate Deo uniuersa	Pas IV	Ep II	
Confitebor Domino	Lectania maior		
Ascendit Deus	Ascensio		
(Viri Galilaei)	Ascensio		
Emitte spiritum	Vig Pent		
Confirma hoc	Pentecoste		
Precatus est	Pent XI		Qd II 5
Immittit	Pent XIII		Qd I 5
Oraui Deum	Pent XVI		
Sanctificauit	Pent XVII		
Si ambulauero	Pent XVIII		Qd III 5
Super flumina	Pent XIX		Qd V 5
Vir erat	Pent XX		
Recordare	Pent XXI		
De profundis	Pent XXII		

to its secondary assignment is more probable than a borrowing without obvious motivation.²¹

Interpreted in my way, the pattern of primary assignments singles out a group of formularies of low rank or late introduction. They lack Proper offertories, though all of them have a Proper introit and most of them a Proper communion. If this observation is significant, it requires an explanation, the most obvious inference being a chronological hypothesis. The lack of Proper offertories from certain formularies can be interpreted as an indication of a cessation of compositional activity in that genre, while the composition of pieces in other genres continued. Such a view supports two assumptions: that the creation of the Roman Mass Proper followed a descending order of solemnity, and that the Sundays of 'common time' form the most recent stratum of the repertory. The latest datable formularies with Proper offertories must be placed somewhere around 600; these include Septuagesima,²² the Sundays of Advent,²³ and

²¹ Pfisterer, 'James McKinnon', 43.

²² The date of introduction in Rome is disputed, depending on the date of Gregory's homily 19 on Mt. 20, 1–16, later assigned to Septuagesima. Chavasse has argued that it was preached during Lent (28 March

the final organization of Easter week.²⁴ This chronology is confirmed by the absence of Proper offertories for sanctoral feasts introduced after 600.²⁵

It is significant that most non-psalmonic offertories are found in the latest strata: Advent, Easter week, and the Sundays after Pentecost. Perhaps the chants imported into the Roman repertory filled in gaps for which new, indigenous compositions could not be supplied. Nevertheless, there must have been a desire to integrate these pieces into the Roman repertory, since an easier solution would have been to repeat older Roman pieces, as was extensively done, especially in the Sanctorale. For this reason, I would connect the introduction of at least some of the non-psalmonic offertories with the end of the creation of the Roman offertory repertory. This assumption points to a date in the first half of the seventh century.

With this in view, the question of the origin of the non-psalmonic offertories can now be reopened. Levy's option for Gaul seems to have been dictated by the situation existing in Carolingian times, when liturgical developments were clearly dominated by exchanges between Rome as the ecclesiastical centre and the Frankish court as the secular centre. In the early seventh century, on the other hand, the Frankish king was almost as far away from Rome as the emperor at Constantinople. Nor should other regions of Latin Christianity be overlooked: Sicily, with its close ties to Rome but removed from Roman jurisdiction in the early eighth century, and the old ecclesiastical tradition of northern Africa, which was destroyed by the Arab invasion around 700.

In my dissertation I demonstrated that the biblical text of the offertory *Confortamini* corresponds closely to the text version used by Quodvultdeus of Carthage (d. 454).²⁶ This coincidence does not necessarily mean that the offertory actually came from Africa nor that Quodvultdeus had anything to do with it, but it gives some probability to an African hypothesis. Among the psalmonic offertories there are additional examples which seem significant, of which two will be discussed here.²⁷ Below I have supplied in the left column the texts of F(rankish) and R(oman) chant versions, compared with the *Psalterium Romanum* (PsR) and the *Psalterium Gallicanum*

591), see 'Aménagements', 135–7. If he is right, it is probable that there was no Septuagesima at this time; the *terminus ante quem* would then be the *capitulare evangeliorum* II from about 645.

²³ The celebration of Advent time seems to have been introduced shortly before Gregory began his preaching in Advent 590. His homilies probably presuppose an Advent of six Sundays (preserved in the different types of *capitulare evangeliorum*), while the gradual represents a later stage with four Sundays. Cf. Antoine Chavasse, 'Après Grégoire le Grand: L'organisation des évangéliaires au VII^e et au VIII^e siècle', in *idem, La liturgie de la ville de Rome du V^e au VIII^e siècle: Une liturgie conditionnée par l'organisation de la vie in urbe et extra muros* (Rome, 1993), 147–52 (originally in *Rituels: Mélanges offerts à Pierre-Marie Gy OP*, ed. Paul de Clerck (Paris, 1990), 125–30).

²⁴ Gregory's homilies of 591 presuppose an order without Mass on Thursday. By 645 (*capitulare* 11) the formulary of Friday has been placed on Thursday and a new formulary for Friday has been created. Since the new station for Friday is S. Maria ad martyres, dedicated 608/9, the definitive order of Easter week must have been composed c. 610–45. See Chavasse, 'Aménagements', 118–27.

²⁵ See Pfisterer, 'James McKinnon', 41–2.

²⁶ Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 226–8 and 231–2.

²⁷ For a third example, see my forthcoming article 'Super flumina Babylonis: On the Prehistory of a Roman Offertory' in the Congress Report of the symposium 'The Offertory and its Verses: The Current State of Research and Ideas for Future Exploration' (Trondheim, September 2004).

Remarks on Roman and non-Roman offertories

179

(PsG) as well as the closest version among the Old Latin Psalters edited by Robert Weber.²⁸ In the right column will be found significant variants of the Frankish chant text from seven selected manuscripts, identified by their Solesmes sigla (Bab1, Lan, Cha1, Eli, Lav, Yrx, Ben5),²⁹ together with variants from the three Roman graduals CVP (P transmitting only the responds).³⁰ Significant variants found in various witnesses of the PsR and PsG tradition are cited according to the sigla assigned by their editor, Robert Weber.³¹

Of. Meditabar (Ps 118, 47–48a|57–58a|58b–59)

a et meditabar in mandatis tuis quae dilexi *ualde*
F Meditabar in mandatis tuis quae dilexi *ualde*

ualde] *aγ uehementer δζη moz^x med om. moz^c*
Meditabor Lan Cha1 Lav Yrx Ben5
dilexit Lan

R Meditabar in mandatis tuis quae dilexi *ualde*
PsR et meditabor in mandatis tuis quae dilexi *nimis*
PsG et meditabar in mandatis tuis quae dilexi

meditabar N*ST²RVX
meditabor FWSK + uehementer FL

et leuauī manus meas ad mandata tua quae dilexi
et leuabo manus meas ad mandata tua quae dilexi.
et leuabo manus meas ad mandata tua quae dilexi.
et leuauī manus meas ad mandata tua quae dilexi *uehementer*
et leuauī manus meas ad mandata quae dilexi

+nimis *γδ +uehementer ζ*
a mandata Lan Cha1 Fili* Lav Yrx
leuauī C a mandata V
leuabo MN²
mandata] RL mandata tua *cet.*

pars mea Domine
V. 1 *Pars* mea Domine
V. 1 *Pars* mea Dominus
portio mea Domine
portio mea Dominus

dixi custodire legem tuam
dixi custodire legem tuam
dixi custodire legem tuam
dixi custodire legem tuam
dixi custodire legem tuam

pars] *αδ Dominus η*
Dominus Lav Yrx Ben5
dixit V
Dominus A*H²
Dominus] RFIL Domine *cet.*

praecatus sum *uultum tuum* in toto corde meo
precatus sum *uultum tuum* in toto corde meo.
deprecatus sum *uultum tuum* in toto corde meo.
deprecatus sum *faciem tuam* in toto corde meo
deprecatus sum *faciem tuam* in toto corde meo

praecatus] *α uultum tuum] aγ med*

V. 2 miserere mei secundum eloquium tuum
V. 2 Miserere mei secundum eloquium tuum
V. 2 Miserere mei secundum eloquium tuum
miserere mei secundum eloquium tuum
miserere mei secundum eloquium tuum

quia cogitauī uias tuas
quia cogitauī uias tuas
quia cogitauī uias tuas
quia cogitauī uias tuas
cogitauī uias meas

tuas] meas Lav Eli*
tuas] meas KT*Q*U

et conuerti pedes meos in testimonia tua
et conuerti pedes meos in testimonia tua.
et conuerti pedes meos in testimonia tua.
et conuerti pedes meos in testimonia tua
et auertisti pedes meos in testimonia tua

auertisti] FII. auerti RKΦ conuerti WS

Leaving aside some smaller variants that are equally present in different branches (*meditabor/-bar*, *leuauī/-bo*, *Domine/Dominus*), there are three characteristic *a* readings in the chant text (*ualde*, *pars*, *uultum tuum*). Another can be added, if one takes the Frankish version at *precatus/deprecatus* as original and the Roman version as a later

²⁸ Robert Weber, ed., *Le Psautier Romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins* (Rome, 1953). For a summary of the history of Latin psalm texts, see Joseph Dyer, 'Latin Psalters, Old Roman and Gregorian Chants', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 68 (1984), 11–30, esp. 11–16.

²⁹ See [Michel Huglo,] *Le Graduel Romain: Édition critique II: Les sources* (Solesmes, 1957) for the sigla.

³⁰ See Michel Huglo, 'Le chant vieux-romain: Liste des manuscrits et témoins indirects', *Sacris erudiri*, 6 (1954), 96–124.

³¹ PsR: see note 28; PsG: Robert Weber, ed., *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 3rd edn (Stuttgart, 1983).

assimilation to the Roman Psalter. Since assimilation to the current liturgical Psalm text is a common feature in chant transmission,³² this interpretation is more probable than the assumption that the Franks changed the text without obvious reason. On the other hand, since there is no characteristic deviation from *a*, it is probable that the author of this chant text took an *a* text as source, which speaks clearly against Rome as place of origin. If the Romans took over this text in a foreign biblical version (a simple collection of psalm verses which they could easily produce themselves), they must have had some reason; I cannot imagine any other reason than that they took over not a text, but a piece, and that they wanted to preserve this chant as they had learned it from their foreign colleagues.

The *a* text has some notoriety because of its use by St Augustine. Current wisdom about its origin is based on an article by Alberto Vaccari, who corrected in part the position of Donatien de Bruyne.³³ The base for this characteristic Psalter is a text from northern Italy, fragmentarily preserved in citations by Ambrose and in a palimpsest fragment in St Gall. Augustine took this text to Africa, where he revised it, introducing vocabulary from old African text versions and correcting it according to an excellent Greek text. His revision was used as a liturgical text in Africa. The only complete manuscript of this Psalter version (*a* in Weber, R in older literature) is a sixth- or seventh-century Greek-Latin Psalter from northern Italy.³⁴ Liturgical use outside of Africa cannot be proven, but is of course possible. Thus for this offertory an importation from Africa, while not certain, is probable. Interestingly, it does not belong to a late stratum of the repertory, but to the especially Roman institution of Ember Days.

These four seasonal fasts (called *quattuor tempora*) can be traced back at least to the fifth century; they are located in our seventh-century books on Wednesday, Friday and Saturday of the first week of Lent, during the week after Pentecost, in the week after the feast of Sts Cornelius and Cyprian (14 September, later replaced by the Exaltation of the Cross) and in the last week before Christmas. I would suppose that there existed at an early stage a common set of chants for all four seasons. After the introduction of Advent, the Ember Days of December were completely 'Properized' with Advent texts. The other seasons eventually received Proper introits and communions, but they retained the common tract, *Laudate Dominum*, and the common offertory series: *Meditabar*, *Benedic anima* and *Domine Deus salutis*. Pentecost week required only small adjustments when it became part of Eastertide and needed a closing alleluia for every chant. Dom René-Jean Hesbert observed that this was probably the reason for the replacement of *Benedic anima* by *Lauda anima* on Friday of Pentecost week.³⁵ In every case, the three offertories have been integrated into the Lenten liturgy, which is in my view the central (and perhaps the oldest) layer

³² See Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 113–14, 127–35 and 205–6.

³³ Alberto Vaccari, 'I salteri di S. Girolamo e di S. Agostino', in *idem*, *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia I: Filologia biblica e patristica* (Rome, 1952), 207–55. Donatien de Bruyne, 'Saint Augustin reviseur de la bible', *Miscellanea Agostiniana II: Studi Agostiniani*, ed. Antonio Casamassa (Rome, 1931), 521–606. Similiar conclusions are found in Giovanni Ongaro, 'Salterio Veronese e revisione agostiniana', *Biblica*, 35 (1954), 443–74.

³⁴ Weber, *Le psautier romain*, xvii–xviii.

³⁵ Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, lxx–lxxi.

Remarks on Roman and non-Roman offertories

181

of the Properized Roman chant repertory. The second example shows different characteristics.

Of. *Portas caeli* (Ps 77, 23b–25a) [1 2]

γ	et <i>portas</i> caeli aperuit	et pluit illis mannam manducare	<i>portas</i>] $\alpha\gamma$ moz ^c ad manducandum $\alpha\delta^2$ moz ^c
F=R	<i>Portas</i> caeli aperuit	Dominus et pluit illis manna <i>ut ederent</i>	
PsR	et <i>ianuas</i> caeli aperuit	et pluit illis manna manducare	
PsG	et <i>ianuas</i> caeli aperuit	et pluit illis manna ad manducandum	

et panem caeli dedit *illis* panem angelorum manducauit homo et] $\alpha\gamma\delta$ moz^c *illis*] γ
 panem caeli dedit *illis* panem angelorum manducauit homo alleluia.
 panem caeli dedit *eis* panem angelorum manducauit homo
 et panem caeli dedit *eis* panem angelorum manducauit homo

	<i>Intendite</i> popule meus <i>in</i> legem meam inclinate <i>aures uestras</i> in uerba oris mei	<i>Intendite</i>] γ <i>aures uestras</i>] γ
V.1	Attendite popule meus <i>in</i> legem meam inclinate aurem uestram in uerba oris mei.	popule] γ moz ^x med in legem] γ populus C in ¹] om. CV popule BCX
	Adtendite populus meus legem meam inclinate aurem uestram in uerba oris mei	
	Adtendite populus meus legem meam inclinate aurem uestram in uerba oris mei	
	aperiam in parabolis os meum <i>eloquar</i> propositionem meam ab initio saeculi	<i>eloquar</i>] $\alpha\gamma$ propositionem meam] γ
V.2	Aperiam in parabolis os meum <i>loquar</i> propositiones ab initio saeculi.	
	aperiam in parabolis os meum <i>loquar</i> propositiones ab initio saeculi	
	aperiam in parabola os meum <i>eloquar</i> propositiones ab initio	parabolis WK
		<i>eloquar</i>] HI et <i>loquar</i> F <i>loquar cet.</i>

The chant text shares three significant variants with the γ text (*portas*, *illis*, *in legem*; the last one being assimilated to the PsR in the Roman graduals), which seems to be a version used in northern Gaul.³⁶ But it does not share some other unique readings of γ and has instead a unique reading of its own (*ut ederent*). Probably the author of the chant text used a text version that has not been preserved, that was close to γ . This author should be sought in Gaul rather than in Africa.

The foregoing observations lead to the conclusion that, while a non-psalmic text can be cautiously taken as a sign of non-Roman origin, a psalmic text cannot of itself be construed as a sign of Roman origin. There must be much more foreign material included in the Roman repertory than Levy suggested. In all likelihood, we will never be able to disentangle the history of that repertory completely because of the lack of sufficient criteria. Nevertheless, there are hints that can be easily overlooked, if we concentrate our view too narrowly on Carolingian times and constellations, as has often been the case in recent decades.

Another point remains to be made about these textual comparisons: The local ‘colour’ of the biblical version is the same in both the respond and the verses. It is thus almost impossible to conceive of the verses as later Roman additions; they must have been part of the piece as taken over by the Roman singers.³⁷

³⁶ The manuscript was probably written in Italy (Weber, *Le psautier romain*, xviii), but the text version has been localized by Bernard Capelle to *Gallia Lugdunensis* (see Alban Dold and Bernard Capelle, ‘Deux psautiers gaulois dans le Cod. Aug. CCLIII’, *Revue Bénédictine*, 37 (1925), 181–223). Capelle’s conclusions are based on comparison of significant variants with patristic citations: in this case, Eucherius of Lyons and Hilary of Poitiers.

³⁷ I would like to thank David Hiley and Joseph Dyer for their thorough revision of my text.



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Part VI
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[19]

The Development and Chronology of the Ambrosian Sanctorale

The Evidence of the Antiphon Texts

TERENCE BAILEY

Of all the churches in medieval Europe, only Milan's was able to preserve successfully its own liturgical and musical traditions against the centuries-long assault of the Roman-Frankish chant and liturgy, first launched in Charlemagne's time, and triumphing almost everywhere by the early twelfth century. But although the Milanese Church is ancient, and its liturgical practice unique, its independence must not lead us to assume that the Ambrosian liturgy and chant (misleadingly but commonly named after Ambrose, the revered bishop of the fourth century) are entirely indigenous and uniformly old. In the more than 800 years between the city's first bishop, ca. 200, and the earliest books to detail its Offices, the long and complex history of the Milanese liturgy is shadowy at best. This chapter will focus on the Ambrosian Offices for the saints, especially Vespers and the characteristic stational Vigils, which followed Vespers and were extraordinarily well developed in Milan. An examination of the texts of the antiphons sung in these Offices reveals distinct layers and suggests a chronology for the development of the Sanctorale and the enrichment of the public veneration of the saints in the course of these centuries.

The saints had a place in the Milanese Mass liturgy from at least the fifth century. Ambrosian Mass prefaces, the introductions to the great eucharistic prayer, date from at least this period, if not earlier. Specific saints are mentioned in the earliest surviving Milanese witness to these prayers, the sacramentary from Bergamo (Paredi, *Sacramentarium*), which is probably not earlier than the third quarter of the ninth century.¹ But even if these prefaces were written, as tradition and some modern scholars would have it, by Eusebius, bishop of Milan from 451 to 462, there is no indication that there were any *chants* proper to the saints in the middle of the fifth century. Such evidence is very much later. Introits, responsorials, and other *Mass* chants of the saints are documented first in Gregorian books written about the year 800, proper *Office* chants only at the end of the ninth century. In the earliest Gregorian service books—as in the oldest Ambrosian ex-

amples written a century or so later—the list of saints with proper Mass and Office chants is already extensive. But this is by no means proof that such chants were ancient; an extrapolation from the rapid increase in the number of saints with proper Offices in the first centuries of the written tradition would rather suggest the opposite.

The Offices of the Saints in the Ambrosian Liturgy

In the Roman-Gregorian liturgy of the Middle Ages, the festivals of saints and the special liturgies commemorating the events of Jesus' life regularly displaced the ordinary observances of the day. Occasions "of the Lord" were treated similarly in the medieval Ambrosian liturgy, but the saints' feasts were not so assertive. On six days of the week—including Saturday, which in Milan was not treated as an ordinary feria—the ongoing rota of psalms and canticles and the neutral ferial antiphons assigned to them were displaced by others that were particularly appropriate to the occasion. But not so on Sunday. Moreover, the Milanese ferial liturgy did not give way to the saints in *all* of the Offices. The lesser Hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, None, and Compline were unaffected by the yearly commemorations.² Similarly, in the Ambrosian night Office, the sequential series of psalms and their usual antiphon refrains were usually undisturbed: the psalms sung in the first part of Matins on saints' feasts were those normally allotted to Monday, Tuesday, or whatever the day happened to be. The only exceptions were the four feasts of Stephen, John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, and James—the saints of Christmas Week. In the morning Office, that is, in the second part of the Ambrosian Matins, the part that corresponded to the Gregorian Lauds, the psalmody was invariable—the same on saints' feasts as on regular Sundays. In the medieval books, some of the antiphons for the fixed psalms and canticles at Matins do refer to the occasion, but there is ample evidence that these refrains *de sanctis*—virtually all of them borrowed from other occasions³—were a late development.

Although a student of the Sanctorale of the Roman-Gregorian rite must look primarily at Matins and only secondarily at Vespers, the opposite is true for the Ambrosian liturgy. There, the principal Office of the saints—and the earliest—was Vespers. In the Middle Ages, on saints' feasts, the five psalms of the Vespers sequential series and their neutral refrains were replaced by two specially chosen psalms⁴ whose antiphons, and usually the antiphon sung with the invariable Magnificat canticle, were topical—appropriate to the particular day. The Ambrosians had an additional, idiosyncratic, Office that was exclusively *de sanctis*. Vespers on the eve of a saint's day marked the beginning of the festival (just as the Jewish Sabbath is reckoned from sundown on Friday). On most such feasts, Vespers was followed by Vigils (the Latin term is *Vigiliae*), an Office that began in the cathedral but—after remarkably protracted observations at various stations in the city—concluded in another church that was considered especially sacred to the cult of the particular saint. Although Vigils is an impressive Office that was peculiar to saints' festivals, the psalms, antiphons, and other chants assigned to it show that it

was a secondary development of the Ambrosian liturgy—a later elaboration rather than an essential and primary element of the liturgy.⁵

Support for some of these assertions, and answers to some of the primary questions about the development of the Ambrosian Sanctoriale, emerge from an analysis of the liturgical assignments, and the classification of the antiphons according to specific textual criteria.

The Text Classes

The largest group of antiphons in the Ambrosian Office⁶—those I will refer to as Class 1—have texts cited directly from the psalms or canticles they are sung with.⁷ Normally, such citations are verbatim, but slight departures from Scripture are sometimes encountered: for example, the reordering of words (*Anima mea magnificat* for *Magnificat anima mea*); the appending of the phrase “saith the Lord”; the substitution of “we” or “us” for “I” or “me” (appropriate, obviously, in a choral refrain); a change of tense from from oblique to direct.⁸ Some of the alterations appear casual; but others seem to have been made deliberately—in order to provide a distinctive text when the same psalm citation was employed in another liturgical chant (see Bailey 1994, 176–78, 257–58). It is worth keeping in mind that such slight departures from the exact text of Scripture may all be the result of later revision.

The antiphons forming the second-largest group are taken from Scripture outside the psalms and canticles they are sung with. Thus, a refrain that is an exact citation from a psalm, but not the psalm it was sung with, belongs to Class 2, not Class 1. The great majority of Class 2 refrains have texts selected from the New Testament, and all but a few of these are from the Gospels. Generally speaking, such scriptural excerpts are treated more freely than those from the Psalter: far fewer are verbatim citations. For the present purposes there seems to be no advantage in distinguishing between exact citations of Scripture and paraphrases, but I have assigned no antiphon to Class 2 whose direct source is not a passage from Scripture. All nonbiblical refrains have been assigned to Class 3, even those that feature—in a different context—words and phrases whose source in the Bible is readily identified. (The Bible, it need hardly be said, remained the most important influence in the composition of free refrains.)

Although it is obviously pointless to multiply categories where the assignments become increasingly arbitrary, there is one subclass that should be identified. A considerable number of antiphons that—according to the criteria given earlier—belong squarely in Class 3, might rather be assigned to a Class 1A.⁹ These refrains are pastiches made up of phrases taken from the psalm or canticle they accompany.

These three or four categories of antiphon represent at least two historical strata in the development of the Office, and probably three. But while this hypothesis of a correspondence between class and stratum seems to hold true generally, the idea must still admit individual exceptions. It is easy to imagine circumstances that would explain the ancient assignment of an exceptional nonscriptural antiphon,¹⁰

just as it is conceivable that a refrain might still be selected from the psalms at a much later time, after freely composed, topical antiphons had become the fashion.¹¹

The Antiphons Assigned to the Proper Psalms at Vespers: The Earliest Stratum

In the *Manuale* (ed. Magistretti, *Manuale*), which is the earliest document to provide details of the Ambrosian Office, and in the earliest antiphoners—that is, in the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth century—there were 40 Vespers Offices *de sanctis*. In 23 of these Offices, antiphons of Class 1 are assigned to both psalms. The actual preponderance of Class 1 antiphons in the *Sanctorale* is greater than these numbers might suggest, for the figure 23 includes all six Offices of the *commune sanctorum*,¹² which served for the rest of the more than 100 saints of the medieval Milanese calendar.¹³ The plurality of Class 1 refrains is general in the Ambrosian liturgy: not only in the proper psalmody at Vespers *de sanctis*, but also in all of the ferial Offices and in all of the Offices of the *Temporale*, a clear majority of the refrains—those that belong to the oldest layer—are drawn from the poems they were sung with.

All but two of the saints' feasts with Class 1 antiphons for both psalms at Vespers are attested in the Bergamo sacramentary.¹⁴ St. Martin is not,¹⁵ but he was one of the first holy men, not martyrs, to be publicly venerated; and since he was brought up in Ambrosian territory (in Pavia), it is all the more likely that his feast would have been celebrated early in the local liturgy. The evangeliary of Busto Arsizio, whose exemplar is said to date from the eighth century, does include St. Martin (see Borella 1934, 212). The other exception is not significant: the Feast of St. Babylas and the Three Boys is mentioned in none of the Milanese formularies before the eleventh century (see the chart given in Frei 1974, 90), but its antiphons and psalms are simply borrowed from the ancient Feast of the Holy Innocents. The age of the *commune sanctorum* is not as easy to establish. It may perhaps be taken for granted that these Offices are not as old as those of some of the proper Offices of the saints, but the evidence of the earliest Mass books does suggest that an Ambrosian *commune sanctorum* was pre-Carolingian.¹⁶

For most of the saints' festivals, only Class 1 antiphons are assigned for the Vespers psalms. There are, however, six occasions¹⁷ when one of the Vespers psalms was sung with an antiphon of Class 1 and the other with an antiphon of Class 2 or 3, and a further thirteen festivals¹⁸ at which both the antiphons assigned to the Vespers psalms belong to Class 2 or Class 3.

Feasts with an Antiphon of Class 2 or Class 3 for One of the Proper Psalms at Vespers

The six feasts with a single Class 1 antiphon (the other being of Class 2 or 3) are all attested by ancient prefaces. I hope, in what now follows, to show that these six

Offices have been revised—that the medieval books do not contain the original assignments. If my arguments are correct, then at least 29 of the 40 Vespers *de sanctis* found in medieval books had, originally, Class 1 antiphons for both psalms. The explanation for the Offices that employ only antiphons of Class 2 or Class 3 is not as simple: some of the festivals are obviously post-Carolingian, but eight are unquestionably ancient. This matter will be taken up later, but first I will consider the question of the six ancient Offices that have only one refrain of Class 1, the other being of Class 2 or Class 3. In every case, there are indications suggesting that both psalms were originally sung with antiphons of Class 1.

The Feast of St. Andrew

On the feast of St. Andrew, the Second Vespers psalm is assigned the refrain *Unus ex duobus*, which is taken from the Gospel (John 1:40). At Vigils, however, *Unxit te deus* is sung with the third psalm, the refrain taken from verse 8. *Unxit te* is assigned on no other occasion in the Ambrosian liturgy; it is, in fact, the only antiphon of Class 1 whose sole assignment is in the supernumerary Office of Vigils. The obvious explanation is that Ps. 44 and the Class 1 antiphon at Vigils actually belong at Vespers; and the Class 3 chant (*Unus ex duobus*) and Ps. 138—which is one of the Vigils psalms of the Common of Apostles—was originally intended for that Office. This kind of mistake—*Unus* for *Unxit*—is encountered a number of times in the Ambrosian liturgy, and gives support to the notion (generally accepted, in any case) that before the compilation of the *Manuale* and the other medieval service books, the cantor had to rely on simple lists of incipits in determining the content of the Offices.

The Feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist

The circumstances are similar for the feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist and the feast of St. James. At Vespers on the first occasion, a Class 3 antiphon was assigned for Ps. 35. It was a normal Ambrosian practice to repeat the Vespers psalms and their antiphons at Vigils. In the case of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist, the two psalms and *one* of the antiphons are in fact repeated; but at Vigils, Ps. 35 has a Class 1 antiphon (*Verba oris eius*), and it seems likely that this had formerly been sung at Vespers, that is, that there had originally been two Class 1 refrains.

The replacement of *Verba oris eius* at Vespers was perhaps intended to correct a mistake made by the compilers of the *Manuale*. The antiphon (with its psalm) was also sung at Matins on the Thursday in Holy Week, where the refrain seems to belong. On that occasion the text (“The words of his mouth are iniquity and deceit; he hath left off to be wise and to do good”) is obviously appropriate, and refers to the betrayal of Judas. For a feast of the Baptist, Ps. 35 is certainly apt (cf. v. 9, “For with thee is the fountain of life”), but the antiphon is not.

The Feast of St. James

The assignment of *Iacob puer meus*, the Class 3 antiphon for Ps. 45 at Vespers on the feast of St. James, was probably another mistake on the part of the compilers of the Manuale. This feast was one of the four within the octave of Christmas that have proper psalms at Matins. Vigils are not specified for St. James, but the two Vespers psalms on this occasion are assigned also at Matins—as would be expected.¹⁹ At Matins and Vespers, Ps. 46 is sung with the same Class 1 antiphon; but for Ps. 45, the Matins antiphon was *Dominus virtutum nobiscum*, taken from v. 8. This, presumably, was the intended assignment at Vespers.²⁰

The Feast of St. Stephen

The argument is slightly different in the case of the feast of St. Stephen, although the the same kind of mistake seems to have been involved. *Coronavit te dominus*, the Class 3 refrain assigned in the medieval books for Ps. 114 at Vespers, is repeated, not once, but twice on the same feast: at Vigils the same evening, and again the next morning at Matins. But in both of the latter Offices the antiphon is sung, not with Ps. 114, but with 111, for which, as a v. 9 makes clear, the refrain was actually intended.²¹ The first antiphon at Vespers is thus doubly anomalous: a Class 3 chant for an ancient feast, and associated with the wrong psalm.

It is conceivable that Ps. 114 was the intended psalm at Vespers (although it is only generally appropriate)²² and that the original, Class 1 antiphon has somehow been lost.²³ But there is another, perhaps better, explanation. Among the Matins assignments on the day are Ps. 102 and its refrain from v. 4, *Qui coronat te*. To confuse *Qui coronat te* and *Coronavit te* would certainly be easy—especially if the confusion dates from a time when assignments were determined from bare lists of incipits. The suggestion is that the correct assignment at Vespers was Ps. 102 and *Qui coronat te*, its Class 1 antiphon. *Coronavit te* is probably a mistake at Vespers, and Ps. 114 was probably assigned in an attempt to repair a gap in the assignments²⁴—a late attempt, if the mismatch of psalm and antiphon is any indication.

The Feast of St. John the Evangelist

Next, the feast of St. John the Evangelist. The first two psalms at Matins, numbers 118 (beginning at v. 153) and 55, were chosen because they contain—as epitomized in their antiphons taken from verses 153 and 11, respectively—plausible references to the Gospel of John: the first refrain, *Principium verborum tuorum*, is meant, unmistakably, as a reference to the opening words of the fourth Gospel, “In principium erat verbum”; the second antiphon, *In deo laudabo verbum*, was obviously chosen with a similar intention (“In God will I praise his word: in the Lord will I praise his word”). The principal theme of the day’s liturgy is John as Gospel writer—a theme that is reinforced by most of the other assignments at Matins.²⁵ The first of the Matins psalms and its antiphon is assigned also at Vespers; but the other Vespers assignment is Ps. 114—here too, only generally²⁶ appropriate—with the Class 3 refrain, *Hic est discipulus qui*. It seems likely that *Hic est discipulus qui*²⁷

and Ps. 114 replace at Vespers one of the other psalms and its Class 1 antiphon assigned at Matins, probably Ps. 55 and the refrain *In deo laudabo*, which contains the most explicit reference to the Gospel.

The Feast of St. Sisinius

Of the six ancient Offices with one antiphon of Class 1 and the other of Class 2 or 3, only that of St Sisinius remains to be examined.²⁸ The explanation in this case is fairly obvious. All of the psalms for the feast of St Sisinius, and all but two of the refrains sung at Vespers, Vigils, and in the Morning Office are from the *commune sanctorum*. *Nolite timere pusillus grex* at Vespers and *Sint lumbi vestri* at Vigils are late substitutions—taken, very likely, from Gregorian books (I will have more to say later about such borrowings).

Ancient Feasts with Antiphons of Class 2 or 3 for Both Proper Psalms at Vespers

At least seven of the thirteen saints' feasts with Class 2 or Class 3 antiphons for both psalms at Vespers are ancient,²⁹ that is, these festivals are attested by authentic Ambrosian prefaces in the Bergamo sacramentary or by genuine Ambrosian hymns.³⁰ It is certainly conceivable that Ambrosian commemorations of the saints were at first confined to Mass,³¹ but it is more difficult to explain why the seven ancient festivals for which there are no refrains of the primary type would have remained at this primitive stage long after *proper* Offices were developed for the others. As the arrangements for St Sisinius suggest, it is more than likely that chants *de sanctis* for Vespers, Vigils, and Matins were—until proper chants became available—provided from the *commune sanctorum*. Later, I will give evidence in support of this hypothesis.

There is no obvious alternative to believing that the ancient feasts that did receive proper, Class 1, chants *de sanctis* (whenever that occurred) were those considered at the time to be the most important—those, perhaps, with important local or regional churches dedicated to their cult. But rank cannot have been the deciding factor for the seven ancient feasts whose proper psalms were all sung with refrains of Class 2 or Class 3. How would we account for the case of St. Thecla, who was revered by St. Ambrose, who was included in all of the ancient formularies (see Frei 1974, 93), and who—in the Middle Ages at least³²—was the patron saint of the Summer Cathedral of Milan? Her Offices, even in the latest books, were provided for entirely from the *commune virginum*. These circumstances allow some inferences: (1) that the proper Offices of ancient feasts not at first provided with topical refrains for the Vespers psalms date from a time when antiphons of the old type were no longer fashionable, and (2) from a time, when—as would appear from the case of St. Thecla—new chants could no longer be produced locally. The suggestion is that proper Offices were added only when and where ready-made chants were available.

Late Feasts

Six of the feasts with no Class 1 antiphons for the Vespers psalms—namely those of the Chair of Peter, St. Bartholomew, the Discovery of the Cross, and the three³³ Marian festivals of Annunciation, Purification, and Nativity—seem to have been added to the Ambrosian calendar significantly later than the others.

The earliest mention of the feasts of Purification and Annunciation in Ambrosian territory is in marginal additions dated ca. 700 that mark the Mass pericopes in an ancient Gospel book of northern Italy.³⁴ But there is some question whether this document represents the official Ambrosian liturgy. Only the first of these feasts is included in the evangeliary of Busto Arsizio,³⁵ whose exemplar may date from the eighth century.³⁶ Both Annunciation and Purification are found in an evangeliary³⁷ dating from the end of the ninth century (Ghiglione 1984, 224) and used by the cathedral clergy of Milan. (This evidence, it must be repeated, relates only to commemorations at Mass—not to any special Offices.) The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin seems not have been introduced until much later. In a Milanese calendar dating from the eleventh century³⁸ the feast is noted as being specially observed in Foligno³⁹—with the implication, perhaps, that it was not yet observed in Milan. In the *Manuale*, a book intended for the archiepiscopal liturgy, there is no trace of the festival in copies written before the thirteenth century,⁴⁰ although there seems to be some evidence that Nativity was introduced before the end of the eleventh (see Magistretti, *Beroldus*, 140–41, n. 46).

Vespers on the feasts of Annunciation and Purification are irregular, the irregularity established by the circumstances of Annunciation, which—as will be apparent in a moment—was the first of the Marian feasts to be assigned proper psalmody in the evening Office. The ancient date of Annunciation was 25 March.⁴¹ The festival is entered for this day in the Milanese calendar referred to just above, but already in the oldest copy of the *Manuale*, the celebration has been transferred to the last Sunday of Advent (presumably to remove it from Lent⁴²), and in this new position⁴³ its Vespers⁴⁴ were constituted, not like those of the other saints' feasts, but like an important occasion of the *Temporale*: only one psalm is assigned. This has been chosen with reference to the Virgin and sung with the (borrowed)⁴⁵ refrain, *Ave virgo Maria* (Hail, virgin Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee), the Angel's greeting on the occasion commemorated in the feast. The irregularity can be explained if we assume that the single psalm⁴⁶ and antiphon *de Maria* have simply been substituted for the single psalm and antiphon *de tempore* that would be expected at Vespers on an important Saturday.⁴⁷

Although the feast of 2 February is generally regarded as the earliest of the great Marian feasts, and was certainly known in Milan by the ninth century, the Ambrosians simply repeated Annunciation chants for Purification: This is an unsatisfactory expedient, since the antiphon for the single Vespers psalm and the three refrains sung at Vigils⁴⁸ all refer to the Angel's announcement, and are not really appropriate in their second assignment.⁴⁹ For the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, the *Vigils* chants are once again those of Annunciation—no more appropriate on this third occasion than on Purification. At *Vespers* on the feast of the Nativity, topical, Class 3 antiphons are assigned to the *two* proper psalms, but these

antiphons, like *Ave virgo* on Annunciation, are obviously late borrowings. Such *ad hoc* arrangements suggest that the proper Offices for these three feasts of the Virgin were among the last to be added. For Assumption, the psalms and their antiphons at Vespers were simply taken from the *Commune virginum*.⁵⁰

Although Ambrose spoke of the discovery of the Cross (*De obitu Theodosii* 46; PL 16, col. 1399), neither the festival that commemorated this event nor the other feast of the Cross, the Exaltation, is mentioned in Ambrosian documents until the tenth century.⁵¹ But these documents relate only to the Mass; special *Offices* seem to be later still—even in the twelfth and thirteenth century, the feasts of the Cross are not fully integrated into the service books.⁵² In the earliest copies of the Manuale and antiphoner, no proper psalms or antiphons are specified at Vespers of the Discovery—although these books do include the antiphon for the Magnificat.⁵³ The only items found in the Manuale for the feast of the Exaltation on 14 September are three prayers;⁵⁴ in the earliest antiphoners nothing at all is entered for this occasion. It may be presumed that the Discovery chants were meant to be repeated for the Exaltation—as they are in Gregorian books.⁵⁵ The two refrains assigned in antiphoners of the thirteenth century and later⁵⁶ for the Vespers psalms on the feast of the Discovery are nonspecific, and could serve for either feast.⁵⁷ The same can be said of the chants assigned at Mass.⁵⁸ But the Magnificat antiphon, *Orabat Iudas deus*, is appropriate only for the Discovery: the Iudas in this refrain is the Jew (later christened as Quiriacus) who is said to have aided the empress Helen in her search for the True Cross.⁵⁹ This is the same kind of anomaly encountered in two of the Marian feasts; such carelessness is characteristic of the latest revisions to the liturgy, whether Ambrosian or Gregorian.⁶⁰

Of the late feasts there remain two to be discussed: that of St. Bartholomew and the feast of the Chair of Peter. These are absent in Mass books earlier than the eleventh century.⁶¹ In the case of the latter feast, the evidence for the Office is in keeping with the contents of the Mass books: the Chair of Peter is not mentioned in the earliest copies of the Manuale, nor, indeed, in the earliest antiphoners. Only in the thirteenth century⁶² is an Office provided, but then the chants needed at Vespers and Matins (no Vigils are indicated) were simply borrowed from the feast of SS. Peter and Paul. The proper Offices of St. Bartholomew are probably older, since they are constituted in the usual way in the oldest copy of the Manuale, albeit with lurid, Class 3 antiphons.

In both cases, for St. Bartholomew and the Chair of Peter, the psalms chosen are numbers 46 and 138. These are not *proper* psalms at all, but rather the Vespers psalms of the Common Office of Apostles. The antiphons assigned to the latter feast, *Tu es pastor* and *Petre amas me*, contain no reference to the psalms they accompany: indeed, these refrains are multipurpose; *Tu es pastor* is repeated at Matins the following morning with the Benedictus canticle, and is assigned to Ps. 18 at Vespers on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, when *Petre amas me* also doubles as the antiphon for the Benedicite canticle. The two Class 3 antiphons for St. Bartholomew are also without any obvious reference to their psalms. These circumstances make it likely that on these occasions the free antiphons were late substitutions for the Class 1 chants that usually accompany Pss. 46 and 138 in the Common Office of Apostles—in other words, the Office of Vespers on these occasions had

earlier been taken from the *commune*. The Vespers psalms on feast of St. Maurice and his Fellow Soldiers and on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul are also shared: in this case the numbers are 32 and 127. These are the psalms assigned to the *commune plurium sanctorum* at Vigils. The arrangements are similar in the case of St. George: the Class 3 antiphons that are assigned are sung with Pss. 20 and 63, the usual Vespers psalms of the *commune martyrum*. So also for the feasts of St. Agnes, St. Agatha, St. Apollinaris (all three share Pss. 114 and 115) and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (the psalms are numbers 127 and 115).

It emerges that for the seven feasts known to have been adopted in post-Carolingian times, psalms from the *commune* are assigned in nearly every instance.⁶³ The only exception—an obvious one, since it is not the feast of a saint—is the Discovery of the Cross.⁶⁴ It may seem that I have given more examples than necessary, but I have multiplied them in order to show that *commune* psalms are also assigned for all seven of the *ancient* feasts whose Vespers psalms were sung only with antiphons of Class 2 and Class 3. This is the evidence I promised earlier in support of the hypothesis that ancient feasts not assigned Class 1 refrains were originally provided for from the *commune sanctorum*. Of course, these offices were only partly transformed—from common to semi-proper (so to speak): the psalms were not specially chosen, only the antiphons. And I want to repeat my suggestion that these changes were made only where appropriate, ready-made refrains happened to be available. Other important festivals, for example, those of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, St. Barnabas, the Assumption of the Virgin—and, of course, the feast of St. Thecla—were never revised.

The Magnificat Antiphons

At Ambrosian Vespers, the last of the items sung in the choir⁶⁵ was the New Testament canticle of Mary. This was a fixed assignment⁶⁶ in the ferial liturgy, in the Temporale and in the Sanctorale. The canticle was invariable, but on important occasions it was sung with refrains that were appropriate to the day or to the season. Magnificat antiphons *de sanctis* were among the latest developments of the Sanctorale. This is shown most obviously by the character of the texts employed as refrains.

To begin with, no Class 1 antiphons are assigned, except in the *commune sanctorum*, and even there the two⁶⁷ exceptions are probably *commune* chants appropriated from the Temporale.⁶⁸ The first of these two Magnificat antiphons, *Fecit mihi magna dominus qui potens est et sanctum nomen eius*, is an almost exact citation from the canticle (the *dominus* is added). This refrain (“The Lord that is mighty hath done to me great things; and holy is his name”) contains no obvious reference that would account for its assignment in the Sanctorale,⁶⁹ but there is no doubt that *Fecit mihi magna* did come to have a special connection with the liturgy of the saints: its text is also employed (internally) in one of the processional antiphons of the *commune sanctorum*.⁷⁰ The appropriation to the Sanctorale of *Fecit mihi magna*, the seemingly neutral Magnificat refrain, is perhaps explained through its association with *Qui fecisti magnalia*⁷¹ (a psallenda sung in Ambrosian

penitential processions) and *Loquebantur variis linguis apostoli magnalia dei* (cf. Acts 2:11), the antiphon for the *Laudate* psalms at Matins on Pentecost. If my hypothesis is correct, this latter text provided the the direct source of the assignment of *Fecit mihi magna* to the Common of Apostles.

The other Class 1 Magnificat refrain of the *commune sanctorum* is very similar. Like *Fecit mihi magna, Quia respexit humilitatem dominus ancillae suae*, for the Common of Virgins, is an exact scriptural citation with the addition of the word *dominus*. This text (“For the Lord hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden”) is appropriate enough for the occasion, but the same could be said for most or all of the Magnificat antiphons collected in the *commune* for Sundays and the other days of the week. *Quia respexit* would not be out of place among the Sunday chants, but in the Common of Virgins the neutral character of refrain antiphon is placed in relief by the surrounding liturgical forms. The *commune in natali virginum* was intended for a virgin martyr, and in the successive texts of the Vespers hymn, the *responsorium post hymnum*, and the four Vespers prayers—that is to say in all of the free texts of this Office—we hear of “wounds,” of the “spilling of blood,” of the “victory of the martyr,” of the “anniversary of the virgin martyr,” the “blessed martyr,” and so on (Magistretti, *Manuale*, pt. 2, 395–96). Obviously, other similar (neutral) Class 1 antiphons from the *commune dominicarum et feriarum* could easily have been seconded to the Offices of Apostles, Martyrs, and Confessors; in the medieval books, however, antiphons of Class 2 and Class 3 have been assigned (*Euge serve bone* and *Per os apostoli*). The inconsistency suggests that the *commune* did not originally include Magnificat refrains *de sanctis*—that these chants belong to a later stage.

The argument *ex discrepantia* also applies in general. Outside the *commune sanctorum*, only refrains of Class 2 and Class 3 have been assigned to the Magnificat—even in those Offices where both Vespers psalms are sung with antiphons of Class 1. This is an even clearer indication that Magnificat refrains *de sanctis* are a tertiary development. Some signs of the stages in that development are in fact visible, and most obviously in the disagreement in the service books of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Some copies of the *Manuale* and the antiphoners assign a refrain from the *commune* where others provide a chant that is appropriate to the day.⁷² In some instances, three chants are variously assigned.⁷³ For certain important festivals with indigenous, Class 1 antiphons for the Vespers psalms, the refrain for the Magnificat was taken from the *commune sanctorum*,⁷⁴ or borrowed from another occasion.⁷⁵ Yet a number of saints whose provisions are otherwise entirely from the *commune* were assigned Magnificat antiphons appropriate to the particular festival.⁷⁶

General Remarks Concerning the Evolution of the Repertory of Refrains

I conclude with some remarks on the stages in the evolution of refrains for the psalmody of the Sanctoriale, and some comments concerning the origins of the antiphons added at the end of that development. In the oldest stage of the Ambro-

sian Office that is represented by service books,⁷⁷ the integrity of the psalmody was obviously an imperative: the refrains were invariably taken from the poems themselves. In the earliest liturgy, when the weekly, Sabbath cycle was dominant, when each Sunday was a commemoration of Easter and the series of annual commemorations was still rudimentary, the topicality of refrains could not have been an issue. But with the development of the Temporale and Sanctorale, it became increasingly important to employ liturgical forms that made reference to the events of the particular day or season. The psalms sung in the liturgy *de sanctis* were chosen because they were seen to contain a reference (the antitype) that was especially appropriate to the saint (the type) whose feast it was. Usually this reference involved a single phrase, which would then be employed as the refrain. In such circumstances it is, in fact, the text of the antiphon that explains the choice of psalm.

With the entire Psalter to choose from, a psalm could usually be found that would provide an appropriate reference: for example, at Vespers of the ancient Feast of St. Romanus,⁷⁸ a fourth-century martyr who had his tongue torn from his mouth, Pss. 48 and 70 have been chosen because of verses 4 and 24 respectively (“*Os meum loquetur*”; “*Lingua mea meditabitur*”), the texts that were selected as refrains. The Magnificat was not specially chosen at Vespers; it was an invariable assignment, and the canticle does not provide the same opportunities for appropriate references.⁷⁹ As long as Class 1 refrains were mandated, a special repertory of Magnificat antiphons *de sanctis* could hardly develop. But it would appear that the fashion for topical refrains eventually overcame earlier concern that an antiphon should at least contain a reference to its psalm.

The Magnificat antiphon for St. Romanus, *Si linguae membrum* (“If your tongue be cut away, God will hear its silence”), is a free text, like so many of the refrains sung with the Vespers canticle in the Sanctorale. But it may be supposed that before such free texts became acceptable, efforts were made to find topical refrains that were less radically different from those of antiquity. The first may have been the refrains I have called Class 1A—those whose texts are pastiches of phrases from the psalms or canticles they accompany. The Magnificat antiphon of the Common of Martyrs, *Respexit dominus ad humilitatem sanctorum suorum*, is not an authentic scriptural verse (the canticle reads “*quia respexit ad humilitatem ancillae suae*”), but its assignment was doubtless more acceptable because something of the original connection between psalmody and refrain was maintained.

The next step in the evolution, and it is a small one, is seen in the Office of a saint that must have been one of the first to be provided with a proper liturgy in Milan. The Magnificat refrain for the Ordination of St. Ambrose is from verse 20 of Ps. 88: *Posui adiutorium super potentem, et exaltavi eum, dicit dominus*. This text, “I have laid help upon one who is mighty; I have exalted him, saith the Lord,” provides a remarkably fortuitous reference to the elevation of Ambrose, formerly the Roman governor of the province, to the post of bishop of Milan. More than that, the words *posui*, *potentem*, and *exaltavi* are, no less fortuitously, echoes of words in the seventh verse of the canticle: “*Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles*.” In this case, the text of the refrain is not taken from the psalmody it accompanies, but the essential connection between refrain and psalmody is maintained.

It may be supposed that the first *free* texts were also expected to preserve this kind of connection. The feast of St. Andrew, from all appearances,⁸⁰ was one of the most important saints' festivals in the Ambrosian calendar, and more likely, therefore, to be assigned earlier than later a proper refrain for the Magnificat. The refrain assigned is *Suscipe beata crux humilem propter deum, suscipe discipulum eius qui pependit in te*, a Class 3 chant, whose text refers to the apostle's martyrdom on the cross ("Uphold this humble man, O Blessed Cross, for God's sake; uphold his disciple who hangs upon thee"). The text is a free composition, but *suscipe . . . humilem* and *suscipe discipulum eius* are meant to echo the *exaltavit humiles* and *suscipit . . . puerum suum* of the seventh and ninth verse of the Canticle. This antiphon too, preserves a specific connection with its psalmody.⁸¹

Both *Posui adiutorium* and *Suscipe beata crux* preserve the relationship between refrain and psalmody that is characteristic of the oldest stratum of Ambrosian liturgy. Such antiphons⁸² may be authentically Ambrosian,⁸³ but most of the refrains of Class 2 and Class 3 lack this connection with their psalmody, and it seems likely that these are either authentic chants displaced from their original Ambrosian assignments or foreign borrowings. I have already suggested that two of the so-called proper antiphons of the *commune sanctorum* were not originally intended for the Sanctoriale. There is another interesting example. The feast of St. Genesius is ancient, and Class 1 antiphons are provided for both Vespers psalms. The refrain for the Magnificat belongs to Class 2: it is an exact quotation from Scripture, but from Ps. 50, not from the Vespers canticle. The fiftieth psalm, the *Miserere*, was sung in the Ambrosian morning Office on ordinary weekdays and—no doubt because it was sung so often—is provided with a large repertory of antiphons: 35 are included in the medieval books—all of Class 1 or Class 1A. The Magnificat antiphon for St. Genesius is *Incerta et occulta*. Its seemingly neutral text, *Incerta et occulta sapientiae tuae, domine, manifestasti mihi* ("What is hidden and obscure in thy wisdom, O Lord, thou has made plain to me") would serve equally for any of the ordinary occurrences of Ps. 50. But for St. Genesius, who as legend has it was an actor suddenly converted while playing the part of a candidate for baptism in a satirical play performed before the emperor Diocletian, the text has a fortuitous relevance, and I want to suggest that this chant was originally a thirty-sixth *antiphona in quinquagesimo*, seconded to the feast of St. Genesius at a time when cantors were looking around for topical refrains. This hypothesis is strengthened by the close melodic similarity of *Incerta et occulta* and other antiphons for the Ambrosian *Miserere*.⁸⁴

The inexorable development of the liturgy was away from the weekly Sabbath cycle. The annual commemorations and topical liturgical forms became the focus of change, and eventually all but overwhelmed the ferial cycle and its neutral chants. By the Middle Ages, except only in Lent (whose penitential character restrained the development of festivals), there was not a single week in the year when the psalms of the sequential series and the other regular fixed assignments of Sunday, Monday, or whatever day were not at least once displaced by the specially chosen psalms and liturgical forms of the growing Temporale and Sanctoriale. At some point in this development, the original relationship of refrain and psalmody ceased to be an issue and the topicality of the refrain text became the *only* concern.

This new attitude allowed for assignments that would not previously have been acceptable. In later times, as we have seen, the same refrain could be assigned to two and even three psalms or canticles, in different Offices. More striking (even shocking) is the interchangeability of Mass and Office chants, several examples of which are offered by the medieval Ambrosian service books, for example, all three of the Vespers antiphons for the Nativity of the Virgin⁸⁵ and two of the three on the feast of St. James.⁸⁶ This unconcern for proper forms speaks to the decay of the Ambrosian tradition in the late medieval period.

The Sources of the Latest Antiphons of the Ambrosian Sanctoriale

None of the festivals known to have been added to the Ambrosian Sanctoriale after the Carolingian conquest had proper antiphons of Class 1 for the Vespers psalms. However (if the arguments I presented earlier are acceptable), *all* of the unquestionably ancient feasts did have such refrains, and from these circumstances it seems to follow (1) that Vespers antiphons *de sanctis* are authentically Ambrosian, and (2) that Class 1 antiphons fell out of fashion. In fact, circumstances allow us to say more: they suggest that after the conquest of Milan by Charlemagne (in 773), the Ambrosians found it difficult or impossible to produce antiphons of any kind. Purification was certainly known in Milan in the ninth century, but for this feast, only borrowed refrains were assigned at Vespers and at Vigils. The Vespers and Vigils antiphons for Assumption, which seems to have been introduced about the same time,⁸⁷ were all taken from the *commune*, as were those for All Saints. Although their status in the Ambrosian Office is equivocal, these were universal feasts of the first rank—elsewhere among the most important in the calendar. The circumstances are similar for important local feasts: for St. Babylas, the patron of one of Milan's most impressive medieval churches, borrowed chants were used; for St. Thecla, the patroness of the Summer Cathedral, chants from the *commune*. The obvious question is, if proper refrains of Class 2 and 3 were assigned for saints of lesser importance (as for St. Agnes and St. Thomas), why were such refrains not assigned to all the others, or at least to the more important?

Before I try to answer this question I want to bring the proper antiphons for the Magnificat into the discussion. All proper refrains for the evening canticle on saints' feasts—even those that are unquestionably ancient—belong to Class 2 or Class 3. Proper Magnificat antiphons were obviously wanted: they are provided in the medieval books even where the antiphons for the Vespers psalms were taken from the *commune*. But circumstances suggest that the Ambrosians were unable to provide enough of these refrains. Antiphons from the *commune sanctorum* are employed for the feasts of some of the greatest saints of the Ambrosian calendar, that of Nazarius, for example, and for the feast of Nabor and Felix—saints for whom proper antiphons of Class 1 are assigned to the Vespers psalms. On the other hand, some relatively unimportant saints otherwise provided for from the *commune* (St. Dominus, St. Euphemia, St. Quiricus) are seen to have proper Mag-

nificat antiphons that mention them by name. How are we to explain these circumstances? I raised earlier the possibility that Ambrosians were unable to produce new antiphons after the encirclement of the archdiocese by the Gregorian rite in the wake of the Carolingian conquests. I have also suggested that nearly all of the newer refrains of the Sanctoriale were borrowed. But we must add to this the notion that ready-made chants were not available in every case. Nothing else explains why proper refrains are distributed so unsystematically in the Ambrosian Sanctoriale.

It is impossible to make precise determinations, but some general observations are enough to suggest the main sources of the borrowed refrains of the Ambrosian Sanctoriale. Even though Class 1 refrains were usually taken verbatim from the psalms, the Gregorian and Ambrosian antiphons for the ferial cursus and even the Gregorian and Ambrosian antiphons for the substantial number of psalms that happen to have been selected for the same occasions in both liturgies are overwhelmingly independent. For refrains of other kinds, the facts are different. Sixty-seven antiphons of Class 2 and Class 3 are assigned in the Ambrosian Sanctoriale for the Vespers psalms or the Magnificat.⁸⁸ It must be remembered that only a very few of these refrains are exact citations from Scripture; the rest are free compositions or paraphrases, and this is to say that a correspondence between Gregorian and Ambrosian texts is almost bound to be significant. Fully two-thirds of these 67 refrain texts are found easily in Gregorian books, and it seems likely that concordances for some of the remaining third will be discovered.

Of course, this is not to suggest that Ambrosian borrowings were all from Gregorian books: *Responsum accepit Symeon*, *Rubum quem viderat Moyses*, and several other less familiar antiphons are known to be Byzantine in origin, even though they may have been brought to Milan via Rome. And although the primary assignment cannot in every case be determined, there can be no doubt that some of the topical antiphons of the saints' Offices were simply borrowed from elsewhere in the Ambrosian liturgy. Mention has been made of chants seconded from the *commune* and even borrowed from Mass. It seems likely that a substantial number of the borrowed Vespers refrains were originally processional chants. The Ambrosian repertory of processional antiphons is very large: well over 700 are assigned for processions; and more than 500 of these have no other assignment. It is probably significant, therefore, that all of the 18 Vespers refrains of Class 2 and Class 3 that I have *not* found in Gregorian books (or have not otherwise explained) do double duty as processional antiphons.

Several of the refrains given proper assignments in the Ambrosian Office were employed in the Gregorian *commune sanctorum*. If the Ambrosians were content to take over such unspecific antiphons for specific occasions, why were *all* Ambrosian saints not provided with proper Magnificat antiphons? The Gregorian antiphoners contain many suitable refrains that were not taken over, but the fact is, antiphons known to us were not necessarily known to the Ambrosians. The written tradition of their chant is remarkably simple—so simple that it seems likely that all known copies of the antiphoner descend from a single exemplar compiled for the cathedral. The same can be said of the Manuale. The Ambrosian codification—perhaps prompted by the alarming encroachment of Roman-Frankish usages—

made official a liturgy that contains obvious mistakes, inconsistencies, and lacunae, a liturgy that was in the process of change, but was frozen before some of the developments were thoroughly carried out. Those who set down the official form of the Ambrosian chant were limited by their own experience: they provided antiphons of the new topical kind whenever suitable chants were known to them; but where such refrains were not available, the *commune* continued to serve.

Notes

1. For the dating of the Bergamo sacramentary, see Heiming, *Das ambrosianische Sakramentar*, part 1, p. xlvi.

2. In the Ambrosian rite all of these lesser hours were very simple and sung without antiphons.

3. For an analysis of the antiphon assignments in the Ambrosian Office see Bailey and Merkle (1989).

4. At Second Vespers of the Feast of St Lawrence only one psalm and antiphon are assigned. The editors of the modern Ambrosian books (see Suñol, *Liber*, 708–9) have supplied a second psalm and antiphon (actually, a psallenda) treating the anomaly as a simple mistake. The special circumstances of Annunciation and Purification will be discussed below. There is little doubt that Second Vespers were a late development of the Ambrosian Sanctoriale (see Bailey 1994, 293–94).

5. Almost all of the chants assigned at Vigils are borrowed from elsewhere in the liturgy. See Bailey and Merkle (1989), *passim*.

6. I have excluded the processional antiphons (psallendae) from this discussion; these chants accompanied actions that took place outside the choir.

7. Frequently, as in the Matins ferial cursus, two or more psalms are sung under a single antiphon. I have assigned such antiphons to Class 1 if their text is taken from one of these psalms.

8. As, for example, in the case of the Magnificat antiphon *Sic eum volo manere donec venio* (properly, *veniam*; see John 21:22).

9. The subclass under discussion is also found in the Temporale, especially among the antiphons for the Benedicite (the Sunday Matins canticle) and the Magnificat.

10. Very brief, nonscriptural refrains (“Save us, Lord,” “Glory to you, O God,” etc.) were used for the distributed Psalter and the canticles in the Byzantine cathedral Office. For a list of these refrains, see Strunk (1977), 140–41.

11. The *antiphonae duplae* are certainly among the latest authentic Ambrosian antiphons (see Bailey 1995); several of them are exact citations from a psalm or canticle. None of these impressive antiphons is assigned at Vespers.

12. The medieval books contain what might seem to be an exception. The antiphon for the first psalm at the common Vespers of a Virgin is *Ego autem sicut*, taken verbatim from verse 10 of Ps. 51. Although the psalm and refrain (“I am like a green olive tree in the house of God”) are obviously suitable, the *Manuale* assigns Ps. 53. This seems to be a simple mistake. In the modern Ambrosian books Ps. 51 is assigned (see Suñol, *Liber*, 492).

13. The saints’ feasts with Class 1 antiphons for both Vespers psalms were those of St. Martin, St. Romanus, St. Ambrose, Holy Innocents, St. Vincent, St. Babylas and the Three Boys, St. Victor ad Ulmum, St. Nazarius, the Translation of Victor with Felix and Fortunatus (one antiphon on this occasion is from the *commune martyris*), SS. Protasius and Gervasius, SS. Nabor and Felix, SS. Nazarius and Celsus, St. Sixtus, St. Lawrence, SS. Mamas and Agapitus, St. Genesisius, and St. Michael in Monte Gargano. The medieval categories of the *commune* were: (1) for a single Apostle, (2) for plural Apos-

bles, (3) for a single martyr, (4) for plural martyrs, (5) for a Confessor and (6) for a Virgin (martyr). Some chants were shared, and the circumstances suggest that the earliest *commune* was more loosely structured.

14. Paredi, *Sacramentarium*, xxv–xxvi; see also Pietro Borella in Paredi (1937), 56.

15. This is one of the indications that the document represents a much earlier period than the time of its earliest copy.

16. Frei (1974), 158–61. She suggests that the Ambrosian redactor compiled the *commune sanctorum* along Roman-Gregorian lines.

17. The feasts of St. Andrew, St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, St. James, the Translation of St. Sisinius (with the Passion of SS. Felix and Fortunatus), and the Decollation of St. John the Baptist.

18. Namely, Annunciation, St. Agnes, Purification, St. Agatha, the Chair of Peter, St. George, the Invention of the Cross, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, St. Apollinaris, St. Bartholomew, the Nativity of Mary, and the feast of St. Maurice and his Fellow Soldiers.

19. Six of the eight Vespers psalms assigned on the four saints' feasts with proper psalms and antiphons at Matins are repeated in the morning Office. Although these numbers alone are perhaps too small to establish what was normal, the similar borrowing between Vespers and Vigils (throughout the Sanctoriale) adds considerable weight to the presumption.

20. The two Vespers psalms on the feast of the Holy Innocents are repeated at Matins with the same antiphons.

21. The antiphon reads: "Coronavit te dominus *corona iustitiae et dedit tibi nomen sanctum gloriae*." Cf. Ps. 111:9: "dispersit *dedit* pauperibus *iustitia*; eius manet in saeculum saeculi; *cornu* [i.e., of a head-dress] eius exaltabitur in *gloria*." There is no obvious connection between *Coronavit te* and Ps. 114.

22. It was regularly assigned in the *commune confessorum*.

23. It is curious that although Ps. 114 was assigned as a proper psalm 14 times for saints' feasts, some of which were certainly ancient, no Ambrosian Class 1 antiphon survives.

24. It may be presumed that the psalms were not specified in the primitive lists. At a time when Class 1 refrains were normal, their bare incipits would suffice to identify the psalms they were sung with. The incipit of a Class 2 or Class 3 refrain, unless it contained an obvious reference to a psalm, would give no such indication.

25. The fourth and fifth psalms contain general references to St. John as evangelist (*Dominus dabit verbum*: "The Lord gave the word: great was the company of those that published it"; *Diffusa est gratia*: "Grace is poured into thy lips" [i.e., the lips that proclaim the Gospel]). The third psalm and the verse chosen as its refrain (*Vox tonitru tui*: "The voice of the thunder was in the heaven") are meant as a references to John as one of the "sons of thunder" (cf. Mark 3:17).

26. It has already been shown that the other psalms for this feast were chosen for very clear references to the Evangelist.

27. This Class 3 antiphon stands apart from the other Ambrosian refrains: it is not set to one of the standard melodies. See Bailey and Merkley (1990), 208. There can be little doubt that *Hic est discipulus* is a Gregorian borrowing.

28. The feast was multipurpose: The Translation of SS. Sisinius, Martyrus, and Alexander and the Deposition of St. Simplicianus.

29. Namely, the feasts of St. Agnes, St. Agatha, St. George, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, St. Apollinaris, St. Maurice and his Fellow Soldiers.

30. Concerning the authentic Ambrosian hymns see Borella (1934), 64.

31. Or, in any case, confined to prayers. References will be made below to two instances (Annunciation on 25 March and the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross) where

prayers—some of them certainly for Vespers—are the only items entered in the Manuale for feasts of the Sanctorale.

32. That the feast of St. Thecla was not provided with proper Offices may be an indication that the dedication to her of the Summer Cathedral was not ancient.

33. For Assumption, the psalms and antiphons are simply taken from the *commune virginum*.

34. The manuscript is Milan, Ambrosiana SP 45 (*olim* C 39 inf). The marginalia were edited by Morin (1903), 375–89; see p. 378: “in sanctae Mariae” (the pericope indicated is the one assigned in the Manuale for Annunciation); “in sanctae Mariae in februario” (the feast of the Purification, certainly, but whether 2 or 14 February is not clear).

35. Borella (1934), 212; Frei (1974), 91. Frei’s chart indicates that Annunciation is missing in the Busto manuscript on 25 March; but the Gospel reading “ad sanctam mariam” for the sixth Sunday of Advent (the medieval date for the Ambrosian feast) is “Missus est angelus.”

36. See Borella (1934), 221. The manuscript itself (Busto Arsizio, BC di S. Giovanni M. I. 14) is probably from the third quarter of the ninth century; see Ghiglione (1984), 222.

37. Milan, Ambrosiana A 28 inf. See Frei (1974), 91.

38. Muratori, *Rerum*, vol. 2/2, 1021, dated the calendar to the year 1000; Magistretti, who included it in his edition of Beroldus’ ordinal (*Beroldus*, xv), refers to parts that he believed to be from the tenth century. Inserted in the calendar are records of important incidents. Some of the entries seem to belong to the oldest stratum of this complex document; they record very early events imprecisely, for example, the date of the discovery of the Cross is given as 233, although St. Helen was born ca. 255, and the date of the entombment of St. Ambrose is given as 381, although he died in 397 (see Magistretti, *Beroldus*, 4, 5). But records of a series of more recent local events (fires, earthquakes, etc.) are also inserted; the earliest of these have dates in the eleventh century.

39. “Nativitas s. Mariae Fulcuini” (Magistretti 1894, 10).

40. Cf. Magistretti, *Manuale*, pt. 2, 348. It should be noted, however, that the eleventh-century copy from Brezzo di Bedero (Milan, BC D.2.30) does include Assumption.

41. In the the Biasca manuscript (Milan, Ambrosiana A 24 bis inf.) and in the other ancient Ambrosian sacramentaries, the feast is assigned to 25 March (Frei 1974, 91; Magistretti, *Beroldus*, 4).

42. The Council of Toledo in 656 ordered that Annunciation should be kept on the octave before Christmas day. This is not exactly the practice in Ambrosian regions, where the feast was always celebrated on the *Sunday* prior to 25 December.

43. In the Manuale, Annunciation is actually entered twice: for the Last Sunday of Advent and also for 25 March—where, however, only prayers are given.

44. I.e., Vespers on Saturday, the eve of the feast. Advent was the theme of Vespers on Sunday: the single proper antiphon (for Ps. 113) was *Ecce dominus sedet* (cf. Isa. 19:1).

45. The antiphon was assigned to the Benedicite canticle at Matins on the previous Sunday (the fifth Sunday of Advent). The appropriateness of *Ave virgo Maria* for this canticle—called the “Benedictio,” i.e., “the blessing,” by St. Benedict and others—is explained by the very next phrase of the scriptural passage cited in the antiphon: “blessed art thou among women” (cf. Luke 1:28). *Ave virgo Maria* belongs to one of the standard Ambrosian melody families, but is particularly related to that of *Anania Azaria et Misael*, the *antiphona in Benedicite* for the Sunday *de Samaritana*. See Bailey and Merkley (1990), 435, 632.

46. Number 114. Here again, the assignment seems unspecific. It may be that the

psalm's prominent references to "trouble and sorrow" are intended to refer to Mary's later sufferings, but that suggests late-medieval thinking.

47. On the Saturday *in traditione Symboli* (but cf. Bailey and Merkley 1989, 41), and the Saturday *ante dominicam I de adventu*, analogous occasions of the Temporal (i.e., occasions important enough to have proper psalmody), a single psalm is similarly assigned. Cf. the arrangements for the Vigil of Christmas. The Ambrosian service books assume the day will be a Saturday: the Cantemus canticle is assigned at Matins (which are designated alternately as *die sabbati* and *In vigiliis nativitatis domini*). As might be expected on such an important occasion, a single psalm (number 84) is assigned at Vespers. In the service books, this psalm, short as it is, has been divided into two, each part provided with an antiphon, but the division is probably a later development. See Magistretti, *Manuale*, pt. 2, 170, 53, 55–56.

48. *Ave Maria gratia plena, Beatus ille venter, Magnificamus te dei genetrix quia ex te natus est.*

49. In this respect, the circumstances are similar to those of the two Feasts of the Cross (see below).

50. The ancient Ambrosian festival of SS. Sisinius, Alexander, and Simplicianus also fell on 15 August. This feast, for which there were proper chants and prayers in the Office, was evidently the more important. In one of the manuscripts of the *Manuale* there is a note: "After Mass all of the priests, cardinal deacons, subdeacons . . . [here follows a detailed list of those who were involved in the celebration] are to dine magnificently in the monastery of San Simpliciano" (Magistretti, *Manuale*, pt. 2, 338, note to line 23).

51. The first Ambrosian document to include them is the Biasca sacramentary (see Frei 1974, 91, 93). For the dating of this document, see Heiming, *Das ambrosianische Sakramentar*, xxxv–xlili.

52. This seems to be evidence that Mass commemorations sufficed for some feasts.

53. Bedero di Val Travaglia, S. Vittore B and Milan, Ambrosiana M 99 sup. do not mention Vespers psalms or antiphons, although these antiphoners do specify the Magnificat refrain. Slightly later manuscripts, for example, Vimercate, S. Stefano C and D, agree on *Laudamus te Christe* and *Adoramus crucem tuam*. The modern books (cf. Suñol, *Liber*, 354–55) assign *Crucem tuam adoramus* and *Adoramus crucem tuam*.

54. Only the first of these refers specifically to the Exaltation (Magistretti, *Manuale*, pt. 2, 350). The fact that prayers alone are entered for certain feasts (the case of Annunciation on 25 March has already been mentioned) makes it clear that a sacramentary was one of the sources for the compilation of the *Manuale*. Among the other sources would have been the lists of chant incipits postulated above.

55. The modern Ambrosian books assign the same antiphons for the Vespers psalms on the feast of the Discovery and the feast of the Exaltation, but *Crucem tuam adoramus* is put in place of *Laudamus te Christe* (Suñol, *Liber*, 354, 411).

56. As in Vimercate D, fol. 67r–v.

57. The melodies of *Laudamus te Christe* and *Adoramus crucem tuam* are significantly related (cf. Bailey and Merkley 1990, 212, 207). Both have other assignments in the Ambrosian liturgy. *Laudamus te* is assigned at Mass as the Confractorium and at Matins as the antiphon to the *Laudate* psalms. The Matins assignment was doubtless suggested by the first word (*Laudamus*), but an equally plausible assignment would have been to the Benedicite canticle, to which the antiphon is obviously related (cf. "Laudamus te, Christe; et *hymnum dicimus tibi, quia per crucem redemisti mundum*" and the last verse of the canticle as it was sung at Matins: "*Hymnum dicamus et superexaltemus eum in saecula*"). The antiphon for the second psalm at Vespers ("*Adoramus crucem tuam, et signum de cruce tua, et qui crucifixus est virtute*") was assigned also to the Benedicite canticle at Matins.

58. It is probably significant in this respect that the Byzantine Church did not have a separate feast for the Exaltation and the Discovery, but commemorated both events on the same occasion (on 14 Sept.).

59. In the modern Ambrosian books, the (Gregorian) antiphon *Nos autem gloriamur* is substituted on the feast of 3 May (see Suñol, *Liber*, 357).

60. In the ordinal of Beroldus, compiled shortly after 1126, there is notice of a special celebration of the Exaltation of the Cross on the first Sunday of October, this occasion instituted by a certain Tado or Tadelbertus "for the relief of his soul" (see Magistretti, *Beroldus*, 125–26 and 228, n. 265). On this occasion the two psalms of First Vespers (i.e., on Saturday) are the same as for the Discovery, but the antiphons are *Crucem tuam adoramus* and *Adoramus crucem tuam*; the Magnificat antiphon is *Laudamus te Christe*.

61. The feast of St. Bartholomew appears first in Milan, Ambrosiana A 24 inf., the Lodrino sacramentary (source D in Heiming, *Das ambrosianische Sakramentar*, pt. 1, xxxix); the Chair of Peter, in Milan, Ambrosiana T 120 sup. (see Frei 1974, 91). For the dating of these manuscripts, see Heiming, xxxix.

62. For example, in Milan, BC D.z.28 (MS M in Magistretti, *Manuale*, pt. 1, 17; pt. 2, 115).

63. For Annunciation and Purification, the single psalm is 114 (*commune virginum*); for the Nativity of the Virgin, the psalms are numbers 66 (*commune apostolorum*!) and 44 (*commune virginum*). As mentioned earlier, the psalms (and refrains) for Assumption are taken from the Common of a Virgin.

64. For the Discovery, proper psalms were assigned, the first is number 66, chosen, certainly, for verse 3 ("ut cognoscamus in terra uiam tuam in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum"), which can, in this context, be understood to mean "that we may discover, in the earth, thy salvation." The second psalm is 118; the portion allocated (v. 25 and following) begins with a reference to the *pavement* (*pavimento*) under which the Cross was discovered.

65. On most occasions of the Temporale, the Office concluded (with additional psalms, prayers, etc.) in the baptistery.

66. The Magnificat was, however, omitted on Fridays in Lent and in Holy Week.

67. It might seem there is a third exception, but *Respexit dominus ad humilitatem sanctorum suorum*, the Magnificat antiphon for plural saints, must be assigned to Class 1A. The citation has been significantly altered to make it appropriate: the canticle verse reads "quia respexit ad humilitatem ancillae suae." The alteration might, of course, be a late revision.

68. In the *Manuale* and in the antiphoners, 19 refrains (four of them exact citations, but most, close paraphrases of verses from the canticle, i.e., antiphons of Class 1A) are collected in a *commune* for the Magnificat on Sundays and the other days of the week.

69. It is assigned to the Common of Apostles and to the Common of Martyrs. In later times, the text was used as a Gregorian Magnificat refrain on the feast of the Holy Name.

70. "Anima mea, magna deum, qui fecit mihi magna, qui potens est; et sanctum nomen eius." The text notwithstanding, this antiphon was never assigned as a Magnificat antiphon, but used only as a processional.

71. The full text is: "Qui fecisti magnalia in Aegypto, mirabilia in terra Cham, terribilia in mare rubro, non tradas nos in manus gentium, nec dominantur nobis, qui oderunt nos."

72. The feasts of St. Quiricus and of SS. Cosmas and Damian.

73. The feasts of St. James and of St. Vincent.

74. The feasts of Martin, James, the Translation of Nazarius, Protasius, and Gervasius, Nabor and Felix, Quiricus, Sisinius et al., Mamas and Agapitus.

75. The feasts of Vincent, Lawrence, Genesisius, and the Nativity of the Baptist.

76. Clement; Thomas; Philip and James; Alexander; Cosmas and Damian; Quiricus; Nazarius and Celsus (ad S. Celsum); Euphemia; Dominus; Simon, Jude and Fidelis; Hippolytus and Cassianus; All Saints.

77. Evidence of an earlier stage, i.e., psalmody without antiphons, may survive in the Paschal cursus (see Bailey 1993).

78. Romanus is one of the saints with authentic Ambrosian prefaces in the earliest sacramentaries.

79. The same is true, of course, of the fixed assignments in the second part of Matins.

80. Vigils are doubled on the Feast of St. Andrew: the first Office begins in the (winter) Cathedral, the second “ad sanctam Andream” (Magistretti, *Manuale*, pt. 1, 13). This is the only Ambrosian feast so distinguished.

81. In *Sub clamide terreni*, the Magnificat antiphon for St. Victor, the last word, *potuit*, may similarly be meant as a reference to the *potens*, *potentiam* and *potentes* of the canticle.

82. *Errant iusti*, the Vespers antiphon for the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, may also be purposefully connected with Ps. 127. A striking series of Class 2 and Class 3 antiphons connected with their psalmody is found outside the Sanctorale at Matins in Holy Week (see Bailey 1994, 322–35).

83. The melody is a close adaptation of a standard Ambrosian type-melody, as is *Suscipe beata crux* (Bailey and Merkle 1990, 305, 620–21; 279, 605). The Gregorian *Posui adiutorium super potentem*, from the Common of Confessors, is a responsory.

84. Cf. *Miserere mei quia peccavi*, *Averte faciem tuam*, and *Asperges me domine*. The relationship between these *antiphonae in quinquagesimo* and the antiphon for St. Genesis is at least as close as the relationship between *Occulta* and the other Magnificat antiphons that develop the same type-melody (see Bailey and Merkle 1990, 295, 464–65).

85. *Beata progenies unde* and *Rubum quem viderat* (the Magnificat antiphon) are also assigned as the confractorium and the antiphona post evangelium, respectively, at the Mass of the day. *De radice Jesse* can be found in some books as the confractorium for the late feast of the Presentation of the Virgin on 21 November (cf. Suñol, *Antiphonale*, 390).

86. *Iacob puer meus* was sung as the confractorium (see Magistretti, *Manuale*, pt. 2, 76–77) and *Audi me Iacob* (the Magnificat antiphon) is also sung as the antiphona post evangelium on the feast of St. James. *Audi me* is not assigned to Vespers in the *Manuale*, but this assignment is found in certain antiphoners, for example, Vimercate, S. Stefano B, fol. 80r.

87. Mass prayers are found in the Biasca sacramentary (see Frei 1974, 93).

88. This figure is slightly higher if refrains that have been adapted for different feasts (such as *Sancte Georgi [Fidelis] martyr Christi fiduciam habens intercede pro nobis*) are counted separately.



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The Beneventan Chant*

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On the twenty-third of December, 1908, the diocesan newspaper *La Settimana* of Benevento carried the first report by Dom Raphaël Andoyer of his visit to the liturgical manuscripts of the chapter library. Andoyer was the first modern scholar to appreciate the importance of the archaic regional music he discovered there. Fifty years ago, Dom Hesbert and his colleagues made a thorough study of the Beneventan rites for Holy Week, and published a series of facsimiles in *Paléographie musicale*. More recently, studies by Bonifacio Baroffio, Michel Huglo, John Boe, Terence Bailey, and others including myself, have expanded our knowledge of this repertory. But there is still no comprehensive study, and no complete list of sources.

The Beneventan chant is the liturgical music of Latin south Italy before the spread of Gregorian chant; it is preserved in manuscripts from the medieval Lombard duchy of Benevento. My own census shows some eighty manuscripts which preserve at last some musical remnant of the Beneventan chant.

The manuscripts preserving Beneventan chant are like pearls: they are precious, of course, but also their composition is a series of superimposed layers of musical style and liturgical and historical influence. To peel back these layers is no easy matter, but they are important in understanding the context of the Beneventan chant as it survives.

Chief among the sources are the five graduals in the Biblioteca capitolare of Benevento. Of these, two (Benevento 38 and 40) are the principal sources of Beneventan chant. But they, like their shelfmates, reveal many more layers of musical development; we can very roughly identify five.

1) At the center — the seed of the pearl, to continue the analogy — is the common foundation of Western liturgy, elements shared alike by all the many musical and liturgical areas of the West; this is a substratum difficult to detect and almost impossible to define, but the common language of litur-

* Study Session VII: Tradizioni periferiche della monodia liturgica medievale in Italia.

gical shape, of musical form, of widely used texts, as well as the early history of Christianity in the West, make it clear that such a foundation is the basis of the other layers.

2) Next comes the music of the Beneventan chant, originating in the seventh and eighth centuries; this is the principal subject of this report. But overlaid on this is a third early layer — 3) the so-called Gregorian chant; this repertory arrived in south Italy, in a fully developed form, in the course of the eighth century. To this the local liturgists and musicians added 4) a substantial body of music in Gregorian style, composed for local needs and used only in the area. This 'Romano-Beneventan' chant fills gaps in the received Gregorian tradition, and provides music for feasts of purely local importance; it is a repertory worthy of a study of its own. The creative spirit of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, however, turned from liturgical chant, by now essentially fixed, to the creation of 5) a rich body of tropes and sequences. Some of these are borrowed, but many are local products, witnesses to a thriving musical culture. (The tropes are the subject of an edition by John Boe and Alejandro Planchart, and the south Italian sequences have been studied by Lance Brunner). It is worth noticing that there is relatively little effort to preserve the Beneventan chant itself by disguising Beneventan pieces as tropes; and Beneventan pieces themselves do not bear tropes.

All of these layers, then, are present in the graduals of Benevento and in many other regional manuscripts; they are presented together, so that, for example, the mass of the Holy Twelve Brothers of Benevento in manuscript Benevento 40 includes standard Gregorian elements, local Romano-Beneventan pieces, a rich selection of tropes, and an entire alternative mass in Beneventan chant. The material is rich, and the Beneventan chant is only one of many elements preserved together.

The Beneventan chant itself is linked closely with the fortunes of the Lombards, who made in south Italy a political and cultural sphere of influence that lasted until the eleventh century. The history of the Lombards is reflected in music, for there is another ancient chant connected with the Lombards, equally distinct from the Gregorian: the Ambrosian chant of Milan — from the region, that is, of the Lombard kingdom of Pavia, whose kings in principle also ruled Benevento until the late eighth century. Despite their many differences, the Beneventan and Ambrosian chants have so many characteristics in common as to suggest that the Lombard areas, north and south, once shared a similar liturgy and music, whose separate development produced the related repertories of Milan and Benevento. The Beneventan scribes were in a way aware of this link, for when they labeled their local music they inevitably called it 'Ambrosian'.

It is in this 'Lombard' aspect of the Beneventan liturgy that we can see its connections with politics; its preservation, over several centuries, as an artistic patrimony, and its ultimate suppression, in a much weakened Benevento peopled still with proud Lombard nobles, under the joint forces of Norman invasion and Papal reform.

What is the Beneventan chant like? How do we recognize it as a separate repertory? For us, familiar with the Gregorian repertory, a Beneventan chant is most readily recognized by liturgical or musical anomalies. The Beneventan chant almost never uses the same text in the same function as the Gregorian. Thus an unusual liturgical text (particularly a non-Biblical one) in a south Italian manuscript, or a familiar text in the wrong place, immediately arouses interest in the hunter of Beneventana.

And there are other instant clues: any music in Beneventan writing which is labeled 'Ambrosian' is Beneventan: this is its only local name, used to distinguish it from Gregorian chant. The Beneventan begins with an *ingressa*, not an introit; almost all Alleluia verses have the same melody.

Musically, the Beneventan chant jumps to the eye. This is not to say that it is paleographically different; it survives in the hands of the same scribes who wrote Gregorian chant. But the music itself has its own style, its own methods of procedure, its own turns of phrase, that set it apart from other chant dialects. It has a very standardized group of cadences; a limited stock of frequently-used melodic turns of phrase; and a tendency in many cases to form longer pieces from several repetitions of a single phrase. And, unlike the Gregorian repertory, these cadences, formulas, and repeated elements are not separated by liturgical category or by mode (a fact that would not be evident, of course, from looking at a single piece), so that their number is smaller, and their occurrences proportionately more frequent. The Beneventan chant, regardless of liturgical category, proceeds at a uniform, rather ornate pace, with much stepwise motion and relatively few dramatic melodic contours. Every piece ends either on G or on A, but there are no other differences to be seen between the two groups.

It is in this simplicity and regularity that the repertory has much of its value for us. An undifferentiated modality; a very limited number of melodic formulas; an archaic liturgical usage; and a small number of surviving pieces: these make of the Beneventan chant an important specimen to compare with the 'modern' features of more developed chant repertories. But there is much charm in its simplicity, much to observe about its arrangement of very limited materials, and much to learn from its position as a cultural artifact.

There remains much to be done. The Beneventan liturgy as it survives is incomplete: as to its chant it is entirely different from the Roman liturgy;

but we have no lectionaries, sacramentaries, or missals of the old Beneventan rite; we are not now sure how the mass was said, nor how the calendar was arranged. Hints of Beneventan practice can be gained from the chant, from a few surviving rubrics (notably a long *ordo* for Holy Week in Vatican lat. 10673), and perhaps also from some of the unusual liturgical practices surviving in Gregorian books from south Italy: the use of three readings at mass, a prayer after the Gospel, a large number of proper prefaces, and so on: but these features, preserved not with Beneventan masses but with Gregorian, may in fact be early or regional varieties of the Roman liturgy.

Geography remains a problem. Though we have many manuscripts, there are significant lacunae. We have almost nothing from the great abbey of San Vincenzo al Volturno, whose Beneventan Lombard foundation and subsequent Frankish leanings should make it an ideal place to study the conflict of the two liturgies; we know little of other important centers: Salerno, the second capital of the great Beneventan prince Arichis II; Capua, the first metropolitan archbishopric of southern Italy.

The details of transmission need much careful study. A curious example is the survival of the Beneventan vespers of Good Friday, a rare specimen of Beneventan music for the office; this office is found in the principal central sources: Benevento 38, 39, and 40; but it is found also, with much other Beneventan material, in an addendum to the eleventh-century missal Lucca 606; and it survives complete also in the thirteenth-century missal Subiaco XVIII. A monastic conduit leading north from Montecassino through Subiaco and Lucca is to be imagined here, for the northern sources have Beneventan notation; Subiaco, with its close connections with St. Benedict, has further materials in Beneventan script and notation; and Montecassino 175 includes a precious tenth-century *ordo* for Good Friday whose rubrics match almost exactly those in the Lucca manuscript. Montecassino itself is a vexing problem; for although we have much evidence that the Beneventan chant was used there, the growing power of the monastery, and increased contact with Rome, led to a liturgical purification, and a renewal of liturgical books under abbot Desiderius, that substantially obscures the earlier liturgical history of this important monastic center.

And perhaps the most vexing question of all is among the most difficult: how was this music used by those who wrote it in the eleventh century, so long after its creation? Was it merely a memory of a glorious past, preserved by proud Lombard scribes who had no other real use for it? Or were there separate churches which practiced the Beneventan chant as an alternative or an adjunct to the now universal Roman liturgy? Was the Beneventan chant a real alternative for the high feast days for which masses are preserved?

Lacking further information we cannot be sure. But there is at least some evidence that the Beneventan chant was a real alternative, at least at certain places and occasions. An example is the rubric first published by John Boe from Vat. Ottob. 145, a manuscript connecting Montecassino with the important church of Santa Sofia of Benevento, describing antiphons used for a monastic *mandatum* ceremony: 'when we do not sing these antiphons according to the Roman (rite, liturgy) as they are written above, we sing them according to the Ambrosian (we would say, "Beneventan"), as follow' (*Quando non canimus ipse an. secundum romano. quo modo supra scripte sunt canimus secundum Ambro[sianum] hoc modo*). And then follow six antiphons, all of them used elsewhere in the Beneventan rite as communions.

The scribes of the eleventh century made the effort to preserve at least a portion of the older local liturgy. For us it remains to unravel its history, and to uncover, as far as we can, the full breadth of this important repertory.



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[21]

THE OLD HISPANIC RITE AS EVIDENCE FOR THE EARLIEST FORMS OF THE WESTERN CHRISTIAN LITURGIES

DON M. RANDEL

I have prepared for our discussion today in the first instance by rereading several of the most recent contributions to our topic by our distinguished chair, Kenneth Levy.¹ His has been a salutary activity for us all in recent years, for it has reminded us of the importance of painstaking comparative studies in the face of tempting efforts to shift the narrative strategies governing our efforts to understand the early history of liturgical chant in the West. As in every other branch of musicology, the stories we like to tell depend for the most part on the kinds of stories we like to tell. For a time, we only told stories about written versions of immutable works created by heroic composers. With a good deal of help from other disciplines, we then began to tell stories that privileged processes other than writing and that dissolved the work itself into a function of —depending on the repertory in question— orality of performance or the analyst. To recognize the importance of narrative strategies in our work and their multiplicity has itself been salutary. But it will continue to be salutary only to the extent that we continue to engage in the process of testing these strategies against what we can learn the hard way and to the extent that we continue to remain willing to change strategies —even new ones— for the sake of telling a better, richer story. Much of the history of musicology is captured in the title of a recent novel by Lamar Herrin: *The Lies Boys Tell*. This does not mean that boys and girls both should not continue to work hard at telling bet-

¹ See especially «Toledo, Rome, and Legacy of Gaul,» in *Early Music History*, 4, 1984, p. 49-99; «Charlemagne's Archetype of Gregorian Chant,» in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 40, 1987, p. 1-30; «On Gregorian Orality,» in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43, 1990, p. 185-227.

ter, richer lies about the history of music. This may be the best we can hope for. But we do require scholars like Kenneth Levy to help us see which stories are not rich enough to incorporate all of the relevant detail and to create for us stories that are indeed better and richer.

Several of Professor Levy's most recent and most striking contributions to our subject derive from the careful comparison of chants surviving in more than one rite. In this connection he has shown that the Old Hispanic Rite can be usefully studied even in the context of investigating specific melodic parallels. But he has also found it necessary to lament—as have we all—that the specifically melodic substance of this rite is almost certainly lost forever.

My own wish here today is to recall a strategy urged on us long ago by Oliver Strunk; to suggest that in this light the Old Hispanic Rite still constitutes by far the largest, earliest body of evidence for almost everything about the character of the Western Christian liturgies before the time of Charlemagne; and to urge that more scholars aid in the investigation of the Old Hispanic Rite as a topic central to our common interests rather than as a topic that is merely peripheral and exotic. (Parenthetically, I might say that here again we perhaps encounter a legacy of narrative strategies that dominated earlier periods in the history of our discipline. The concept «peripheral» has long told us what it was important to study and how it ought to be studied. Northern Europeans and their descendants in America did not immediately suppose that there was anything they could learn about themselves by studying the Iberian Peninsula, especially when nondiastematic notation made the topic inaccessible to their pitch—and notation—based analytical tools.)

Oliver Strunk observed that comparative studies could fruitfully concentrate on underlying structures—on the basic musical procedures that support musical detail.² At a minimum, it would seem that our confidence in the significance of what are bound to be relatively meagre amounts of concrete melodic similarity that can be shown to have existed among all of the early Western rites would be considerably strengthened if we understood those melodic similarities to rest on shared structural similarities. In this study of structures, the Old Hispanic Rite has a very great deal to tell us and can reasonably be thought to provide us with a solid basis from which to investigate what is most ancient in other rites. I hope that I have already shown some of what it has to tell us about the earliest forms of psalmody in the West—forms antedating

² «Influsso del canto liturgico orientale su quello della Chiesa occidentale,» in *L'Enciclica Musicae Sacrae Disciplina di Sua Santità Pio XII; testo e commento, a cura dell'Associazione Italiana S. Cecilia*, Rome, 1957, p. 343-48; published in English as «The Influence of the Liturgical Chant of the East on that of the Western Church,» in Oliver Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*, New York, 1977, p. 151-56.

the octoechos.³ But it can also help with some others of our favorite topics. These include: 1) the dates of some early stages in the development of the Western rites; 2) oral versus written composition and transmission; 3) the early history and function of neumatic notations; 4) principles of form in early chant; and, in consequence of all of these, 5) the basic outlines of a story that we have wanted to push back to the time of St. Gregory the Great and beyond. Let me say just a few words about each of these topics in turn and suggest along the way some of what still needs to be done in the study of the Old Hispanic Rite.

1) Dates. The date of the *Orationale of Verona* should be understood to be one of the most important pieces in our early puzzle. Although its date of the early 8th century is not contested, it is sufficiently important that it deserves further study and confirmation. Assuming the currently accepted date to be the correct one, this manuscript, though it lacks notation, gives us a basis for identifying what is most ancient in the later Hispanic sources with notation and for believing that a good deal of the detail that we find in manuscripts of the 10th and 11th centuries derives from the early 8th. When, for example, we are able to show that music for some items clearly added to the rite after the copying of the *Orationale* differs significantly in character from music that is used with comparable items already present in the rite around 700, we have reason to believe in the antiquity of some musical materials even though their earliest surviving notated versions date from two or more centuries later. This manuscript, then, gives us a sieve with which to sift and sort chronological layers within the Old Hispanic Rite and hence to identify a stratum of substantial extent that can serve as our earliest basis for comparison among the Western rites generally.

2) Oral versus written composition and transmission. Kenneth Levy's view that the earliest neumatation of the Gregorian repertory must date from the conclusion of the 8th century rather than the beginning of the 10th makes a great deal of sense in terms of everything we know—including what we know about the Old Hispanic Rite. Here again, the *Orationale of Verona* is a crucial witness, as Levy himself has observed in his study of the offertories and their cognates. Similar arguments could be made for others of the elaborate chants of both Mass and Office as well. There is every reason to believe that the texts of the liturgy as we first come to know it in the early 8th century are designed from written texts for the purpose of being set to music—music that is often elaborately conceived and that embodies principles of musical-textual

³ See my «El antiguo rito hispánico y la salmodia primitiva en occidente,» in *Revista de Musicología*, vol. 8, n.º 2, 1985, p. 229-38.

form more easily associated with composition than with improvisation. For example, some of the most elaborate chants for Mass and Office embody musical repetition at the ends of successive verses that is independent of textual repetition. Here the singer is compelled to remember individual compositions—namely, which verses in which pieces have text that will not signal musical repetition by a repetition of refrainlike words—rather than remember that certain types of pieces are simple refrain forms. These texts, the ways in which they are sometimes created out of the scriptures rather than merely drawing literally from scripture, and the way in which some series of pieces draw from the Psalms or other books of the Bible in numerical order make clear that the people who established the liturgy worked as creators from the written word and not as singers concerned with reciting long texts from memory.

3) The early history and function of neumatic notations. The notation associated with the northern branches of the Old Hispanic Rite in the 10th and 11th centuries is intricate and elaborate to a degree that goes well beyond the needs of someone who in fact had the repertory memorized but felt free to improvise on it. This notation and its use in surviving sources points to a long history in which the fixing of individual melodies themselves and the ways in which these melodies could be adapted to various texts was a central concern. We must grant that much about pitch evidently was carried in the memory. But almost certainly not everything. Many recurrent phrases in this music probably existed at only one pitch level, and this may well have been true of some of the more elaborate notational signs as well. In any case, an improviser of the kind we have been encouraged to believe in would presumably be quite good at adapting new texts to old melodies, and what we see of the intricate ways in which the Old Hispanic notation from the North works out such adaptations in writing suggests that such an improviser was either not available or not trusted with the preservation of the repertory.

This general point can be confirmed and much else could be learned from further studies of this notation. Some of this study would entail simply the tedious labor of copying parallel passages so as to be able to compare them effectively. On the other hand, genuinely simple formulas such as those for the antiphonal psalmody of the Office obviously could be remembered and adapted, and these were in general not copied out in surviving sources.

4) Principles of form in early chant. The forms of liturgical chant—both in the large and in its detail—have often been explained as resulting from more or less mechanical methods of one type or another.

Sometimes the aim is to show that these forms are reducible to two or three that are inherent in the Psalms themselves (and thus perhaps in pre-Christian practice). Sometimes the aim is to show that there is no human agency of consequence—at least not in the Middle Ages—but only the activity of a servile mind that assembles and reassembles ancient fragments about whose origins we do not dare to speculate.

The Old Hispanic Rite suggests that the elaborate chants of Mass and Office do not in any meaningful sense derive from ancient methods of singing the Psalms. The responsorial pieces with more than one verse show every sign of resulting from a will to elaborate rather than the survival of more nearly «complete» early forms. Pieces belonging to the general family of the offertory have even more clearly the look of elaborately composed music based on texts conceived for the purpose. They reveal internal repetitions, furthermore, that at least deserve to be considered in light of a hypothesis concerning aesthetic value rather than as examples of a «wretched poverty of invention.» Even in this nondias-temmatic desert a careful consideration of the relation between words and music in critical-aesthetic terms might repay our efforts and might have a salutary effect on our perspective on such matters in other liturgical repertoires, where the possibility of such relations are often either simply ignored or consigned to the domain of the piously fanciful. Here again, the tedious labor of copying out a few hundred pieces in parallel would surely tell one a good deal.

Even the simpler psalmodic forms, such as the antiphons and responsories for the Office, suggest that we are by the 10th century (and perhaps by the 8th) at a considerable remove from the «standard» forms of Psalm-singing. The choice of texts and individual verses in relation to accompanying prayers suggests composition rather than remnants of the practice of singing whole Psalms. To understand all of this properly, we will need to study with care not just the musical texts but the texts of prayers, lessons, and homilies as well, all as forming part of an aesthetic whole.

5) The basic outlines of our story of the origins of Christian chant. Even when we do not subscribe in detail to links between chant and the truly ancient past, we sometimes allow venerable myths to guide our thinking. We search for origins and see originality as corruption. In this respect, the singer of tales is just transportation across the sacred brige. We might be better off to concentrate for a while on what is in fact more nearly at hand. Something very important happened in the reign of Charlemagne and the period immediately following. We begin to have substantial evidence for what that might have been. Our interpretation of that evidence will benefit if we do not burden it too much with theories of a remoter past. The Old Hispanic chant provides a significant body

of evidence for the state of affairs in and around the period of Charlemagne. It points to a number of ways in which we might rethink the relationship of medieval chant to its origins; to a number of ways in which we might rethink the nature of the enterprise of creating that chant and writing it down; and to a number of ways in which we might rethink the kind of credit we give to liturgists and composers of the period from, say, the 8th century through the 11th. All of this deserves the concentrated attention of more musical scholars, even though the subject seems in its way to be so unmusical.

Index

(References to music examples are in **bold**)

- Adhemar of Chabannes 304, 368
Agatho, Pope 107
Agobard of Lyon 296
 De correctione antiphonarii 297
Amalarius of Metz 118–19, 266, 267, 272, 274, 280, 284
 on the double office 360–1
 Liber de ordine antiphonarii 236, 296, 307–8
Ambrosian chant xix, 117, 395, 401
 Beneventan chant, relationship 504
 date 332
 Gregorian chant, relationship 401
 notation 401–2
 see also Milan chant
Ambrosian Sanctorale, antiphons 482–96
 ancient feasts 487
 evolution 491–3
 late feasts 488–90
 Magnificat 490–1
 St Andrew's feast 485, 493
 St James's feast 486
 St John the Baptist's feast 485
 St John the Evangelist's feast 486–7
 St Sisinius's feast 487
 St Stephen's feast 486
 sources 494–6
 Vespers 484–91
Analecta hymnica medii aevi 23
anaphoras 10
Andoyer, Dom Raphaël 328, 348, 503
Andrew of Crete 106
Andrieu, Michel 236, 272, 352, 398
Anglès, Higini 395, 401
Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex *see under* Hesbert
Antiphonale monasticum 63, 140, 256, 310
antiphoners 128, 130–1, 484
 Compiègne 184, 273, 274, 299, 301, 435
 Gregorian 137
 manuscripts 147–8
 Mont-Renaud gradual-antiphoner 170
 Mt Blandin 273, 438–9, 468
 Old Roman 317
 Quedlingburg 170, 186
 research 227–36
 Senlis 273
antiphons 59, 60
 Byzantine liturgy 284
 Collegerunt pontifices 435, **436**
 Frankish–Roman Communion Cycle **168–9**
 ‘little’ 284–5
 psalms 118–20
 sources 297–8
 see also Gregorian office antiphons
Apel, Willi 14, 278–9, 280, 359, 395
archetypes
 concept 235
 text criticism 53
Armenian church, adoption of Jerusalem liturgy 109–10
Attwater, Donald, *A Catholic Dictionary* 355
Augustine, St 401
 on the psalms 115
Aurelian of Arles 121, 284–5
Aurelian of Réôme
 Deuterologium tonorum 276–7
 Musica disciplina 117, 275, 276, 278–9, 331
 on tone 276–7
Bailey, Terence 503
Baroffio, Bonifacio 503
Bede, the Venerable, *Historia Gentis Anglorum Ecclesiastica* 106–7
Benedict, St 113, 293
Benedictine monasteries, chant 73
Benedictine Rule 121–2, 294
Beneventan chant xix, 64, 188, 334–5, 503–7
 Ambrosian chant, relationship 504
 features 505
 and Lombard fortunes 504, 505
 manuscripts 503, 506
 musical development 503–4
 psalm tones 139–40, **139**
 simplicity 505
Beneventan liturgy 505–6

- transmission 506
 Beneventan psalmody 129
 Bernard, Philippe 432
 Beyssac, Gabriel 234
 Blume, Clement 23–4
 Boe, John 437, 503
 Bohemia, chant 72
 Boniface II, Pope 398
 Botstein, Leo 9
 Botte, Bernard 228
 breviaries 148–9
 Monte Cassino 129
 Rome 129
 Byzantine rite, Typikon of Jerusalem 110

 Caesarius of Arles 284–5
cantus annalis 327
 CANTUS project 66
cantus romanus 11, 176, 400, 423
 CAO-ECE project 65–6, 234–5
 aims 235
 sources 235
 Cardine, Dom Eugene 24–5, 41, 441
 Carmelites, chant 73
 Carthusians, chant 73
The Catholic Encyclopedia 355
 Celestine I, Pope 103
 cento poetry 407–8
 ‘centonization’ theory, Ferretti 407–8
 chant
 analytical studies xvi–xvii
 Benedictine monasteries 73
 Bohemia 72
 Carmelites 73
 Carthusians 73
 Dominicans 73
 England 73
 France 72–3
 Franciscans 73
 genres xvi–xvii, 59–60
 studies 70–1
 history, centres 72
 Hungary 72
 importance of xi–xiii
 journals 58
 and liturgy 5–6, 9
 and medieval music xii
 melodies 60–4
 non-Gregorian xi, 64–5
 octoechos xvi
 origins xiv–xv, 513–14
 Popes, contribution of 325
 post-Middle Ages, studies 73–4
 principles of form 512–13
 scholarship xiii–xiv
 Spain 72, 334
 studies
 1980s–1990s 57–74
 bibliography 74–97
 supra-regional comparisons 71–2
 texts, cycles 60
 and tone 62–3, 274–7, 286
 tradition 406–7
 see also Ambrosian chant; Beneventan chant;
 Frankish chant; Gallican chant; Gregorian
 chant; Jerusalem chant; Old Roman
 chant; Old Spanish chant
 chants
 Frankish origin 468
 masses of Thursdays in Lent 466
 Charlemagne 184, 307, 368, 371–2, 375, 403,
 430, 437–8
Admonitio generalis 429
Epistola generalis 429
Libri carolini 429
 papal court liturgy 423
 cheironomy 407
 see also notation
 Chrodegang of Metz 369
 Claire, Dom Jean 137, 435
 octoechos theory xvi, 243–58
 application 255–8
 dating problems 251
 evolution basis 245–8
 melodic identity 248
 problems with 245–55
 sources 244, 252–3
 tonal analysis 244
 Cloveshoe, Council (747AD) 368
Codex Blandiniensis 438–9, 468
 communion *see* Frankish-Roman Communion
 Cycle
 Compiègne *see under* antiphoners
 Connolly, Thomas 287, 441
 contrafacta 12
 Corbin, Solange 403, 407
Corpus antiphonalium officii (CAO) xv–xvi, 186,
 299, 301, 302, 313
 Advent responsories, diocesan variants 234
 archetype reconstruction 227–8

- criticism of 228, 232–4
 manuscript sources 229, 231
 problems 230
 local traditions, identification 227, 234
 manuscript classification 227, 230–2
see also CAO-ECE
Corpus Troporum series 69, 70
 Cosmas Melodos 106
 cursus 16
cursus monasticus 293
cursus romanus 293
 Cutter, Paul 287
- Damasus I, Pope 293, 325, 350, 398
 Dobszay, László 235
 Dominicans, chant 73
 double office, Amalarius of Metz on 360–1
 Dufay, Guillaume 44
 Durand, Guillaume 268
 Dyer, Joseph 175, 433
- Eckhart, Georg von, *De rebus Franciae orientalis* 324
 Egbert, Bishop of York 324
De institutione catholica 323
 Ekkehard IV 368
 Ekkehard V 351, 356, 368
 England, chant 73
estampies xiii
 Eusebius, Bishop of Milan 481
Expositio brevis antiquae liturgiae gallicanae 297
- Felix IV, Pope 264
 Ferretti, Paolo
 ‘centonization’ theory 407–8
Estetica gregoriana 407
 Fleischer, Oskar 407
 Floros, Constantin 403–4
 Florus 296
De divina psalmodia 297
 Foley, Edward 6
 formulae
 Gregorian studies 50–4
 melody-type, distinction 51–3
 France, chant 72–3
 Franciscans, chant 73
 Frankish, term 63
 Frankish chant 468
 Old Roman, comparison 288, **289–90**, 303
 Frankish Church 429
 Frankish formularies, adapted at Rome 469
 Frankish-Roman Communion Cycle 157–200
 Advent/Christmas 157–8
In splendoribus **158**
Jerusalem surge 158
 antiphons 168–70, **185**, 186
Domine si tu vis 196, 197
Lutum fecit 187, 189
Nos autem **183**, 184, 186, 187, 188, 190, 195
Qui hiberit 189
Spiritus qui a patre **169**, 170, **185**, 186, 187, 188
Spiritus sanctus docebit **168**, 170, 186, 187, 188
Spiritus ubi vult **169**, 170
Videns dominus 187, 189
Vos qui secuti **182**, 186, 187, 188, 190, 195
cantabo 172
 Communion and Antiphon Melodic
 Concordances 186–8
Dominus firmamentum 172
Ego clamavi 172
 Epiphany Gospels/Communions 177, 178
 Frankish input 199–200
 Lenten Sundays/Holy Week 163–4
Cito euntes 191, **191**, 195
Ecce lignum 191, 195
 Lenten weekdays 161–2
Nemo te 181, 187, 188, 189
Oportet te 161, **163**, 181, 187, 188
 music examples **182–3**, **185**, **191**, **194**
narrabo 172
 Paschaltide 164–6
Cantate domino 166, 193, **194**, 195
 date 198–9
 planning, evidence of 172–4
 post-Christmas 159
Dicit dominus **160**
Mirabantur omnes 161, 174, 177, 178, 179, **180**, 181, 182, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200
Video celos 159, 168
Vidimus stellam 161
 responsories 167–8
schola cantorum, performance by 174–5, 198
 Sundays after Pentecost 171–2
Inclina aurem 171, 192, 193, **194**, 195
 Frankish-Roman repertory 329
 Froger, Jacques 228, 232, 235

- Fulgentius 300
- Gallican chant 62, 63, 64, 430
- Gregorian/Old Roman transmission
- hypothesis 432–59
 - objections to 433
 - Old Roman, influence of 368
- Gelasius I, Pope 294, 398
- Gerson-Kiwi, Edith 247
- Gevaert, F.A. 293, 295, 296, 402
- Les Origines du chant liturgique* 324
- Goar, Jacques 406, 407
- Gregorian chant xii
- Ambrosian, relationship 401
 - antecedents 377–8
 - antiphons 119
 - ‘Beethoven style’ 331
 - church modes 400–1
 - composition principle 410
 - early history 4–5, 395–6
 - final form 330
 - Frankish elements 287–8, 400–1, 423, 428
 - Germanic dialect 129–30
 - Graduale triplex* 41, 45
 - ‘Gregorian’ designation, problem 323–32
 - and Gregory the Great 294, 402–3, 430
 - and Gregory II 402
 - inner text hypothesis 33–5
 - manuscript sources 65–6
 - melodic variations 327–8
 - Mocquereau on 377
 - modality xvi
 - notation 403–4
 - before, transmission 406–7, 427
- Old Roman
- differences 287, 434–5
 - Introsits, comparison 378–94, **379–83**, **388**, **392–3**
 - Ne tradideris me*, comparison 363–4, **365**
 - relationship xviii, 59, 101, 128, 136–7, 288, 304–5, 335–45, 348–51, 358, 360, 362–3, 378, 396–7, 400, 424, 429–33
 - Rorate caeli*, comparison 338–42, **338–41**
 - shared features 431
- oral
- composition 31, 32, 33
 - performance 33–5
- oral tradition 25, 408–22, 427
- music examples **409**, **413–15**, **420–1**
- original text problem 26–7
- origins 287, 330–1, 333–45, 348–9, 367, 399–400
- pre-900AD 9, 54
- ‘pre-Gregorian’ 328
- psalms 119
- scholarship, twenty-first century 3–56
- and Synagogue chant 330, 396
- tradition, challenges to 324
- word/tone relationship 13–14
- and writing, absence of 28, 31, 33
- Gregorian chant repertory 7, 12
- facsimiles 66–7
 - music editions 67–8
 - notation issues 69
 - text editions 69
- Gregorian office antiphons 287–319
- Biblical sources 295–6, 302
 - Ego cognovi* **316**, 317
 - ferial 293–4, 302
 - formularies 294
 - hagiographical sources 296–7, 298–302
 - Hesterna die* 300
 - In lege domini* 300
 - Old Roman sources 302–3
 - Old Roman/Frankish sources 289–92, **289–90**, **291**, 303
- Gregorian studies 23, 24, 65
- formulae 50–4
- Gregory the Great, Pope 176, 235, 261, 269, 323, 335, 398
- cult 107–8
 - and Gregorian chant 294, 402–3, 430
 - and Homer 54–6
 - liber antiphonarius* 323, 325
- Gregory II, Pope 161, 172, 175, 176, 195, 199, 323, 358, 368
- and Gregorian chant 402
 - Lenten Thursday masses, introduction 465–6
- Gregory III, Pope 324
- Gregory IV, Pope 263
- Gregory VII, Pope 424
- Grier, James 21
- Gushee, Lawrence 275–6
- Gussanville, Pierre 324
- Guy d’Eu 127
- Gy, Pierre-Marie 228, 234
- Haas, Max 441
- Hadrian I, Pope 274, 297, 300
- Hadrian II, Pope 323

- Handschin, Jacques 351
 Hannick, Christian 10
 Harper, John, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* xiii
 Hartker Codex 168, 186
 Hebrew psalms *see* psalms
 Hesbert, Dom René-Jean 54, 192, 439, 503
 Antiphonale missarum sextuplex xv, 4, 219, 221, 227, 273, 442
 see also Corpus antiphonalium officii
 Hilary of Poitiers, on the psalms 115
 Hiley, David 17–18, 50, 51, 55
 Western Plainchant xiii, 3, 4
 Homer
 and Gregory the Great 54–6
 transmission issues 27–31, 33
 Huebald 46, 47
 Huckle, Helmut 14–15, 16, 136, 175, 197, 280–1, 287, 288, 293, 304, 356, 357–8
 Hughes, David 184
 Huglo, Michel 197, 228, 259, 293, 352, 353, 357, 358, 400, 401, 503
 Hungary, chant 72
 Huot, François 228, 234

 Iberia, liturgy 11
 Idelsohn, Abraham Zewi 396
In splendoribus, music example **158**
 Isidor of Seville 116
ison singing 304, 305
Iubilate Deo 9

 Jammers, Ewald 304, 399, 403
 Jeffrey, Peter 175
 Jerome, St *Tractatus in psalmos* 114
 Jerusalem chant
 cantors/hymnodists 106–9
 chant book 103–6
 exporting of 109–11
 graduals/alleluias 102–3
 history 102–12
 lectionary 102
 Old Roman, comparison 102–11
 Jerusalem, Church of 396
 John of Afflighem 126
 John the Archicantor 328, 350, 351, 352
 John Cassian 118
 Institutes 116, 120–1
 John of Damascus 106
 John the Deacon 368, 374–5, 376
 on Old Roman chant 434–5
 Vita Sancti Gregorii 307, 324, 325, 369–71, 434
 John I, Pope 398
 Johnner, Dominicus 441
 Jungmann, J.A. *The Mass of the Roman Rite* 329–30

 Kalkar, Heinrich Eger von 127
 Kelly, Thomas 188
 Kirsch, J.P. 265
 Klausner, Theodor 177, 265, 269, 306
 Kohlaas, Emmanuela 441
 Kohlschein, Franz 234

lais xiii
 Lambilotte, Louis 397
 Lattimore, Richard 33
 Leclercq, Dom 115
 lectionary, Jerusalem chant tradition 102
 Leo the Great, Pope 103, 294, 398
 Leo III, Pope 108, 375
 Leroquais, Victor 234
 Levy, Kenneth 184, 377, 465, 467, 509, 510, 511
Liber politicus 353, 355
Liber Pontificalis 261, 263, 266, 269, 354, 465
 purpose 355–6
 Lipphardt, Walter 234, 288, 293, 294, 295, 296, 299, 359
 liturgical calendar 326–7
 liturgical chant *see* chant
 liturgy 5–13
 and chant 5–6, 9
 definition 6–7
 Iberia 11
 Lombards, and Beneventan chant 504, 505
 Lord, Albert 312

 McKinnon, James 15–16, 249, 470, 471
 The Advent Project xv
 manuscripts xvii, 130–1, 330
 antiphoners 147–8
 Hartker Codex 168, 186
 Old Roman 315
 oldest 404–6
 psalters 147
 Mar Saba monastery 106, 109
 Martin I, Pope 327, 337, 350, 398
 Martinus Polonus 351
 Mass Propers 7, 8
 Masses, Lenten Thursdays, chants 465–6

- Mathews, Thomas F. 262–3
matroneum 263–4, 265
 Maurus 284
 medieval music 42–3
 melodies
 chant 60–4
 liturgical 326, 327
 melody-type, formulae, distinction 51–3
 Milan chant 64–5, 395, 396, 424, 481
 see also Ambrosian chant
 Mocquereau, Dom André 14, 25, 41, 235, 328, 343, 407
 on Gregorian chant 377
 Paléographie musicale 347
 modes
 eight-mode system xvi, 104, 131–5, 196, 400–1, 423
 RE-mode 63
 see also under psalms
 Möller, Hartmut 170
 Monte Cassino, breviary 129
 Monza, Codes 324, 326
 Mozarabic chant *see* Spanish chant
 music
 objective observation about 43–4
 responses to 44–8
 and tradition 48
 and words 13–18, 69–70
 see also medieval music
Musica enchiriadis, psalm tone 140–1, **141**
 musical judgement, and tradition 49–50
 musical notation *see* notation
 neumes
 cheironomic 407
 diastematic 326
 origins 403–4
 Nicholas IV, Pope 265
 notation xiv, 25
 Ambrosian chant 401–2
 diastematic 65
 Gregorian chant 403–4
 issues, Gregorian chant repertory 69
 neumatic 58, 129, 403, 512
 and pitch 45–6, 129
 studies 57
 Notker Balbulus 12, 351, 368, 372–5, 430
 Gesta Karoli magni 434
 Vita Caroli 438
octoechos theory *see* Claire, Dom Jean
 Odo of Cluny 308
 offertories, non-psalmic 467
 Old Hispanic Rite 510–14
 see also Old Spanish chant
 Old Irish liturgy 335
 Old Roman
 antiphoners 135–6, 156
 differentiae 137
 melodies 358–9
 offertories, improvisational style 433–4, **434**
 psalmody 129
 Psalter 361
 Old Roman chant xi, xvii, 62, 64, 65, 287, 336, 347–65
 archaisms 378–94
 diffusion 357
 evidence of 352–4, 363–4
 Frankish, comparison 288, **289–90**
 Gallican, influence on 368
 Gregorian
 differences 287, 434–5
 Introits, comparison 378–94, **379–84**, **388**, **392–3**
 Ne tradideris me, comparison 363–4, **365**
 relationship xviii, 59, 101, 128, 136–7, 288, 304–5, 335–45, 348–51, 358, 360–2, 378, 396–7, 400, 424, 429–33
 Rorate caeli comparison 338–42, **338–41**
 shared features 431
 Jerusalem chant, comparison 102–11
 John the Deacon on 434–5
 offertory 281–2
 music examples **281**, **282**
 origins 357
 Old Roman gradual 287
 Old Roman Mass
 evidence for 353
 Stäblein on 349–50
 Old Roman tradition, antiphons
 Alleluia noli flere 312–13, **312**
 Exiit sermo inter fratres 309, **310**, 311
 Jerusalem Jerusalem 309, 310, 311
 Quem vidistis pastores 309, **310**, 311–12
 Old Spanish chant xix, 65, 72, 285, 334, 395, 428
 see also Old Hispanic Rite
 oral
 composition 26
 transmission 26, 59
 oral tradition

- Gregorian chant 25, 408–12, 427
 literature 408
 studies 58
 and text tradition 25, 36–9
- Orationale of Verona* 511
- Ordines romani* 7, 259, 260–1, 262, 266, 350, 398
- Origen
 on Psalm 36 115
 on the psalms 114–15
- Ott, Karl 331
- Otto the Great (Otto I) 306, 308
- Ottosen, Knud 234
- Paléographie musicale* xv, xvii, 66, 170, 235, 397
- papal schola see schola cantorum*
- Parry, Milman 28–33
 on Homeric transmission 27–31, 33
- Paschal I, Pope 261, 264–5, 301
- Paschal Vespers 360, 361
- Paul I, Pope 369, 432
- performance, reconstruction 40
- Petrus de Cruce 127
- Pfisterer, Andreas, *Cantilena Romana* xviii
- philological interval 23
- Pippin, King 307, 329, 330, 368, 423, 430
 Stephen II, meeting 190
- pitch, and notation 45–6, 129
- plainchant *see* chant
- Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, Journal* xvi
- polyphonic music xii–xiii, 399
- Positivism 49
- psalm tones 117–18, 136, **138**
 final cadences 144, **145**
 mediant cadences 143–4, **143**, **144**
Musica enchiriadis 140–1, **141**
 second intonation **145**
 texted 141–3, **142**
- ‘psalmic hypothesis’ 16–17
- psalms xiv–xv
 antiphons 118–20
 Augustine on 115
 Christian approach 116
 commentaries on 114–15
 D-mode **151**, 156, 188, 197–8
differentiae 117–18, 125–45, 150, 331
 antiphon, link 133–4
 music examples **132**, **133**, **134**, **135**
 purpose 146
 and solo psalmody 128–37
 E-mode 136, **152**, 156
 in education 113
 F-mode **153**, 156, 449
 G-mode **154–5**
 Gregorian chant 119
 Hilary of Poitiers on 115
 in monastic life 113
 in monastic Office 120–4
 Origen on 114–15
 performance xv
 choral 123–4, 125
 seniority rule 122
 solo 121–3
 and refrains 117
 responsories 123
 singing 123
 instructions on 117, 124
 reading, distinction 116–17
- psalmus responsorius* 422, 423
- Psalterium Monasticum* 255–6
- psalters, manuscripts 147
- Quodvultdeus of Carthage 474
- Radulph de Rivo 351
- Regino of Prüm 125, 126
Tonarius 331
- Regula Sancti Benedicti* 422, 423
- Robertson, Anne 6
- Roman Gradual, critical edition xv, 209, 230
 authentic form 217–18
 individual pieces 216–17
 literary texts, corpus 216
 liturgical structure 218–19
 manuscripts 210, 211–14, 219–22
 musical text, establishment 214–16
 Old Roman elements 224–5
 order of masses 216
 process 223–5
 progress 210–11
- Roman offertory rite 259–86
 chant 269–71, 285–6
confessio 261
 fresco representation 268–9
 non-psalmic offertories 465–77
 categories 467
 Frankish chants 468
 Frankish formularies 469
 origin 474–7
 Temporale repertory 470–4
- pars mulierum* 263

- procession 259, 267
 scholarship 259
senatorium 262–3
 verses 272–5
romana cantilena 369
 Rome breviary 129
 Rufinus, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* 121
 Rule of the Four Fathers 122
 Rule of the Master 121, 122
 Rule of St Paul and St Stephen 123, 124

 St Gall 359
 manuscript 235, 327, 349, 397
 Salomon, Elias 127
Sanctorale 325, 326
 Santa Maria Maggiore 261–2, 265
 Saulnier, Dom Daniel 431
 Schmidt, Hans 287
schola cantorum xv, 108–9, 174–5, 370, 397
 foundation date 175–6, 368
 Schumann, Clara, on tradition 41–2
 scientific method 48, 49
 Second Vatican Council (1962–5) xii, 6
senatorium 262
 Sergius I, Pope 106, 108
 Sergius II, Pope 108
 Siebert, chronicle 74
 Silva-Tarouca, 328
 Snow, Robert J. 288, 359, 432
 Stäblein, Bruno xviii, 10, 287, 288, 327, 328,
 348, 352, 357, 398, 402
 Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat.
 lat. 5319: 304
 Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart 396
 on Old Roman Mass 349–50
 Stephen II, Pope 199, 329, 369
 music reforms 430
 Pepin meeting 190
 Stephen, St
 cult 300
 martyrdom 159
 Stevens, John, *Words and Music in the Middle*
 Ages 14
 Strabo, Walafrid 324, 369
 Strunk, Oliver 510
 Studite typikon 110
 Symmachus, Pope 263, 294, 398
 Szabolcsi, Bence 244

 Taft, Robert, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East*
 and West 10

Temporale 325, 326
 text
 definition 5
 omissions from 39–40
 as performance 35–9
 and tradition 18–19, 42
 text criticism 20, 35–9
 archetypes 53
 assumptions 22–3
 diagrams **36, 37**
 limitations 20–2
 text tradition 19
 and oral tradition 25, 36–9
 Theodulph of Orleans 429
 tonaries 120, 309, 424
 Metz 299, 310, 313
 Regino 311
 Saint-Bénigne de Dijon 279–80
 tone
 Aurelian of Réôme on 276–7
 and chant 62–3, 274–7, 286
 tradition
 Clara Schumann on 41–2
 definition 41
 and musical judgement 49–50
 and musical response 48
 and text 18–19, 42
 Treitler, Leo 14, 26, 27, 55, 319, 402, 408
 Typikon of Jerusalem, Byzantine rite 110

 van der Werf, Hendrik 441
 van Dijk, S.J.P. 304, 305, 306
 van Waesberghe, Smits 175, 230, 304, 354–5,
 356, 357, 367, 399
 Vitalian, Pope 304, 328, 336, 337, 351, 368, 398,
 399
 schola cantorum formed 368
 Vogel, Cyrille 227, 236
 Medieval Liturgy 10–11

 Wagner, Peter 8, 348
 Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien
 395
 Wellesz, Egon 396
 Werner, Eric 396
 Wiora, Walter 246
 words and music 13–18, 69–70
 views on 15

 Zephyrinus, Pope 269