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EARLY DOMINICAN MASS CHANTS
A WITNESS TO THIRTEENTH CENTURY CHANT STYLE

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This dissertation is an examination and analysis of the earliest known sources of Dominican Mass chants, the process by which these were edited, and the style of the chant which resulted. To accomplish this, three closely related chant traditions are studied and compared with the chant of other traditions: the Cistercian chant as edited under Bernard of Clairvaux, the pre-1244 edition of Dominican chant, and the Dominican chant reformed under Humbert of Romans and completed in 1256. By examining the musical principles which guided the editors in their work and the cultural and religious pre-suppositions which underlay these principles, the author seeks to gain insight into the editorial process and what that process can reveal about the aesthetic sense of the age in which it is found.

By examining early Cistercian and Dominican

legislative documents the author provides a brief history of the reforms and the spirit which underlay them. The theoretical principles which guided the editors are examined and their origins traced in medieval music theory. By examining specific chants the author shows the way in which the theoretical principles were applied to the music of each tradition. The application of principles of abbreviation and simplification, narrowing of range, and of the use of b-flat are examined in detail. Special attention is given to the analysis of twenty chants chosen because they reveal the way in which many editors approach the more complex problems of modal unity and the notation of impossible intervals.

In large part the study of medieval plainchant has concentrated on attempts to rediscover the earliest, and presumably most authentic form of the chant. By examining the chant of the 12th and 13th centuries this dissertation seeks instead to examine the way in which the chant developed in response to a continually changing musical aesthetic. It should be noted that this dissertation is the first to study the Dominican chant as it existed prior to the reform of Humbert of Romans and to analyze the music of this tradition in some detail.

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This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of a man whose work on the history of the Dominican liturgy is well known. He has been an inspiration and a help to me and to so many others who have worked in the field of Dominican liturgy. I was privileged to live with him during the last year of his life, and even at ninety-seven he was still eager to discuss, evaluate, and offer suggestions. To the memory of William Raymond Bonniwell, O.P., historian, liturgist, friar, priest, and friend, I dedicate this work.

I am most grateful to the Divinity School at Yale University, New Haven, CT, for the research fellowship which they gave me for the three year period during which time the body of the dissertation was completed. Their generosity also allowed ready access to the collection of the Sterling Memorial Library and of the Beinecke Collection of Rare Books

and Manuscripts, whose manuscript, Yale, Beinecke 530, has been used in this work.

I would like to thank the Dom Mocquereau Foundation for making possible the collection of chant manuscripts on microfilm which is housed at the Benjamin T. Rome School of Music, Catholic University. My thanks also to the Catholic University Library, and especially to the staff of the music division for their assistance. I would also like to thank the librarian of the Phillips Memorial Library, Providence College, Mr. Joseph Doherty, for his assistance and for the use of the Bonniwell Collection of manuscript facsimiles and liturgical sources.

A special thanks to Thomas Kren and the staff of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, CA for allowing access to the Ms. Ludwig V 5, so important to the present study, and for providing a microfilm of the manuscript. Thanks are also due to the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City for access to Ms. Morgan Lib. 797; and to the Vatican Library, the British Library, and the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris for the use of their respective manuscripts as cited in Table I.

A final word of thanks to my Dominican superiors for providing the time and support necessary to complete this dissertation: especially to Raymond Daley, O.P., Provincial of the Province of St. Joseph, to Mark Heath, O.P., Regent of Studies, and to John McGuire, Prior of the house where the actual writing of the dissertation was completed.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CS	Edmund de Coussemaker (ed.), <u>Scriptorum de musica medii aevi</u>
CSM. . . .	<u>Corpus Scriptorum de Musica</u> , American Institute of Musicology
GS	Martin Gerbert (ed.), <u>Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra</u>
JAMS	<u>Journal of the American Musicological Society</u>
MOPH	<u>Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica</u>
NG	<u>The New Grove Dictionary</u>
PM	<u>Paleographie Musicale</u>

CHAPTER I

THE MANUSCRIPTS

In a comparative study such as the present work it is, of course, necessary to examine a large number of manuscripts. Some of these are central to the dissertation and made use of throughout the study, whereas others are used perhaps for only a single point of comparison. For the most important manuscripts a full and detailed description will be given, based on the author's personal examination of the manuscript and presenting his conclusions concerning its origins, provenance, dating and significance for this study. The remaining manuscripts will be described more briefly and, though in most cases the original has been examined by this author, conclusions as to dating and provenance will be based on the work of scholars who have studied these manuscripts in greater detail, except in those cases in which the present author disagrees with a dating or attribution. Table I may be referred to for a listing of all the manuscripts, the abbreviation used for each of them in this study, and a brief description of each.

There are three Dominican manuscripts known to exist which are of primary importance in the study of the earliest

TABLE I
THE MANUSCRIPTS

<u>ABBR.</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>ORIGIN</u>	<u>PROVENANCE/TYPE</u>
R	Getty Museum Ludwig V 5 ^r	ca. 1234-1244	Lyons N.D. de Confort	Dominican Friars Missal/Gradual
V	Rome, Bibl. Vat. lat. 10773	pre-1234 ?	Diessenhoffen St. Cath. Cony. 7	Dominican Nuns Gradual
H	Archiv. Gen. O.P. XIV L 1	ca. 1256	Paris	Dominican Friars Gradual Prototype
H2	British Lib. add. 23935	ca. 1256-1262	Paris ?	Dominican Mag. Gen. Prototype copy
P	Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 8884	1234-1244	Paris	Dominican Missal alt. to Paris use
C1	Colmar, Bibl. Mun. ms. 445	1175	Pairis in Alsace	Cistercian Monks Gradual
C2	Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 17328	ca. 1175	Northern Frn.?	Cistercian Monks Gradual
C3	British Lib. add. 27921	ca. 1192	German	Cistercian Nuns Gradual
C4	Yale, Beinecke ms. 530	ca. 1292-1329	Lenan in Alsace	Cistercian Nuns ? Gradual
F1	Naples, Bibl. Nat. VI G 38	ca. 1232-1260	Naples ?	Franciscan Missal/Gradual
F2	Rome, Bibl. Vat. Regin. lat. 2049	ca. 1232-1260	?	Franciscan Missal/Gradual
F3	Rome, Bibl. Vat. Regin. lat. 2052	ca. 1232-1260	?	Franciscan Gradual
F4	Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat 10503	2nd half 13th c.	Holy Land	Franciscan Gradual
O1	Darmstadt Hess. Land. 868	ca. 1208-1215	Arnstein	O. Praem. Gradual
O2	British Lib. add. 39678	ca. 1255-1266	Louvain	O. Praem. Gradual

TABLE I - 2

G1	British Lib. add. 38723	ca. 1250	Paris	? Missal/Gradual
G2	N.Y., Morgan Lib. ms. 797	1256	Padua	Priory of S. Matteo Gradual
G3	Brussels, Bibl. Roy. II 3824	mid.-13th c.	France	for St. Benigne de de Dijon. Gradual
G4	British Lib. add. 16905	ca. 1297-1317	Paris	Cathedral Church Missal/Gradual
G5	Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 1337	13th-14th c.	Paris	Cathedral Church ? Gradual
G6	Rouen 250 (A 233)	14th c.	Jumieges	? Gradual
S	British Lib. add. 12194	ca. 1275	Salisbury	Sarum Gradual
I	Mont., Fac. Med. H 159	11th c.	Dijon	Abbey of St. Benigne Gradual Tonary

strata of Mass chants used by the Order of Preachers or Dominicans. The best known of these, Ms. Rome, Archivum generale XIV L. 1, described below, is the so-called Prototype or Codex humberti, completed before 1260, which provides scholars with the complete text, ritual, and chant of the Dominican liturgy as definitively revised by Humbert of Romans (the fifth Master General of the Dominican Order) in 1256. All subsequent Dominican manuscripts (including Ms. London, British Library add. 23935 which is probably an immediate copy of the above) are, aside from additions or deletions of later feasts, obviously direct derivations of the Prototype or of exemplars identical to it.

There are, however, two known extant manuscripts which provide a more or less complete witness to Dominican Mass chants before the revision of 1256. Ms. Ludwig V 5, often referred to as the Lyons Missal or the Arthur Rau Missal, is a complete Missal/Gradual from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, well before the revision of Humbert of Romans. This manuscript has recently been acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California.

Ms. Rome, Vat. lat. 10773 (described below, immediately after Ms. Ludwig V 5) is a Gradual which, in its present form, shows the readings of the 1256 revision, but which clearly has been erased and corrected at some point in its history. In most cases the original readings can be

recovered, and are, as will be shown, those of the pre-1256 tradition as it is preserved in Ms. Ludwig V 5. There are no other known complete copies of the Dominican Gradual which ante-date the revision of 1256.

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig V 5

Appearance of the Manuscript

Certainly the most important source for Dominican Mass chants as they existed before the revision of Humbert of Romans is the manuscript Ludwig V 5 (referred to as R in this dissertation). It is the only manuscript which is known to contain all the texts and chants of the Mass in their un-altered, pre-1256 form. The manuscript, a part of the Ludwig collection purchased by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1983, is a complete Missal combined with all the chants normally found in a Gradual. It consists of 252 parchment folios, and measures 248 by 176 mm. An average area of 165 by 110 mm. is filled with double columns of text in an elegant Gothic book hand with music written in a 13th century square French notation on four red lines. A tight nineteenth century decorated red velvet binding prevents examination of the signatures, and there are no catchwords.

There is no continuous original pagination in the manuscript, although the folios have been numbered consecutively with modern numbers in pencil, beginning with

January of the calendar. This modern pencil foliation has been adopted for use in the official catalog of the Ludwig collection, [L] and will be used in this dissertation.

(Philip Gleeson and Ansgar Dirks use a notation which numbers the two beginning un-numbered folios as 1 and 2, thus making the folio numbers two higher than the pencil foliation. W. R. Bonniwell uses his own notation which ignores the two un-numbered folios, identifies the pages of the calendar with the letters A through F, and then uses a consecutive foliation--one must add six to get his pagination to agree with the modern pencil notation.) The two beginning blank folios and the calendar have no original foliation. The temporal cycle is numbered with red roman numerals from fol. i through cxxxix, with nine un-numbered folios containing prefaces and the Canon of the Mass having been inserted between folios lxxxv and lxxxvi. A separate roman enumeration in red covers the sanctoral cycle and votive Masses, and is followed by several folios numbered in black and another group of folios with no original enumeration.

The contents of the manuscript are as follows:

calendar, one month to a page, fol. 1-6v; temporal cycle, 1 Sunday of Advent to Easter, 7-99v; prefaces (apparently not a part of the original manuscript), 99v-104; Canon of the Mass (also an apparent addition), 104v-110; temporal cycle, Easter through XXV Sunday after Trinity, 110v-154; "Missa pro

mortalitate emitanda" added by later hand, 154v; sanctoral cycle, Vigil of St. Andrew through St. Catherine (Nov. 25), 155-194; common of the saints, 194-217; common for the dedication of a church, 217v-218v; votive Masses, 219-224; the Requiem Mass, 224v-226; the blessing of holy water, the "Asperges" and "Vidi aquam", 226-227; additional Gospels and collects and various rubrics, 227-228; Kyriale, 230-235; Sequences (twenty-seven of them), 235-250v; genealogy according to Matthew and intonation of the "Te Deum", Alleluia V. "Pie pater" for St. Dominic, Introit, prayer and part of epistle for St. Peter Martyr, 250v-251v; [a folio is probably missing here]; Mass of St. Thomas Aquinas and text of sequence, "Lauda Sion", later additions, 252-252v.

R is a manuscript which shows dutiful, though not always accurate preparation. Clearly not the work of a first class atelier, it is nonetheless of good quality, and though there are several puzzling inaccuracies, it was certainly intended as a finished copy for actual use. There is no immediately satisfying explanation for the later insertion of the folios containing the Prefaces and Canon of the Mass. The illuminations, which seem to have been done at some later date after the above mentioned folios were added, are of consistently higher quality and all seem to have been done by the same hand. Their later addition is also pointed to by the fact that the more elaborate ones frequently obscure part

of the original text, or even of the notation. Liturgical days are separated by capitals illuminated with burnished gold, dark red and dark blue, highlighted with white decorative pen work and outlined in black. Each element of text is set off with decorated capitals in blue with red pen work or red with blue pen work, often incorporating elaborate risers and descenders. At folio 226 the blessing of holy water is delineated by an unusually rich illuminated "E" for Exorcizo, done in burnished gold and a variety of colors.

There are nine fully colored historiated initials used to delineate major liturgical days and other important textual elements. The beginning of the Temporal Cycle is marked off by a very large historiated "A," the first letter of the chant, "Ad te levavi" (f. 7). The upper half of the initial holds a figure of a beardless Christ enthroned in majesty. The lower left quadrant contains the figure of a seated scribe holding a quill and knife, possibly Luke the Evangelist whose Gospel is used on this day. The lower right quadrant encloses the seated figure of King David playing his harp. The figures are clothed in red and blue. The initial itself is predominantly blue with a background of burnished gold, red, green and mauve with black and white ink lining used for accent. The upper right corner provides a whimsical touch by the addition of a green dragon head which spews fire across the top of the page.

The beginning of the Sanctoral Cycle is delineated by the scene of the crucifixion of St. Andrew, enclosed within the "D" of the Introit, "Dominus secus," of his vigil Mass (f. 155). Less elaborate than the "A" which opens the Temporal Cycle (and thus the entire Gradual), the scene is still beautifully done. Two men crucify Andrew on a cross which lies on its right side, rather than on the "X" cross more familiar to modern eyes. The initial, "D" is decoratively extended across the top of the page to make the division in the manuscript, though without the dragon which has a similar function at the "Ad te levavi." The only other liturgical day given an historiated initial is Easter day, at which the "R" (much smaller than the above two letters though still quite beautiful) of "Resurrexi" (f. 110v) encloses the scene of the two Mary's approaching the empty tomb, on top of which the angel clothed in white is seated.

The remaining historiated initials are all found on the un-numbered folios in the center of the manuscript which contain the Canon of the Mass. Though these folios were almost certainly added later, the illumination has obviously been done at the same time as in the rest of the manuscript. Not surprisingly for miniatures at the Canon of the Mass, all but one of these illuminations are of various ministers engaged in liturgical actions. Folio 102 shows a priest celebrant, standing in the orantes position, and vested in

blue gothic chasuble and alb without apparels. He is wearing a full tonsure, though apparently the amice is worn in the Roman way in collar fashion rather than in the hood fashion expected for Dominican religious. (This is true of all the liturgical figures shown.) He is accompanied by a server vested in alb and holding a flabellum (liturgical fan) in one hand and what appears to be a cloth in the other.

On folio 103 in the left hand column a similarly vested celebrant (though the chasuble is red this time) is assisted by two ministers vested in dalmatics, probably deacon and sub-deacon. They both have their left hand on their breast, and are either holding something in their right hand or are pointing toward their mouths. In the right column of this same folio a miniature has been squeezed in at the "W" of Were [=vere] dignum et iustum est. It contains two figures, the triumphant church on the left, holding a chalice and staff; and the defeated synagogue on the right, bent far over and holding something which cannot be made out.

At folio 105v a celebrant in blue chasuble is shown inclining before the altar with the chalice visible before him. He is assisted by a server in a blue tunic. Folio 108 shows a celebrant in red chasuble holding the chalice, probably at the consecration. One can clearly see the joined thumb and forefinger of his right hand. Behind him are two

assistants. Finally, folio 109 shows a celebrant standing before the chalice which is covered with the purificator. Again the thumbs and forefingers of his hands are joined. Behind him is a server holding a flabellum.

At the approximate center of the manuscript immediately before the "Te igitur" of the Canon are two full page illuminations on facing pages. Folio 104v is the expected crucifixion scene. The cross is done in light green with apparent reference to the tree of life motif. The figure of Christ is wearing a white loin cloth, the face is bearded, and surrounded by a cruciform halo. The Virgin Mary and St. John stand at either side clothed in dark blue. A small figure at the foot of the cross (Adam?) catches the blood of the Saviour in a chalice. At the top two angels hold the veiled sun and moon. The inscription above the Christ reads IHS NAZAREN REX IVDEORVM.

The other full page illumination, on folio 105, is of Christ enthroned in majesty. The figure is seated facing straight forward, the face is bearded, a cruciform halo surrounds the head, and the right hand is raised in blessing. The entire figure is enclosed in a diamond shaped lozenge, the background of which is gold, bordered in pale red and blue with white decorative penwork. In the triangles where the lozenge meets the square border are the usual symbols of the four evangelists, clockwise from the upper

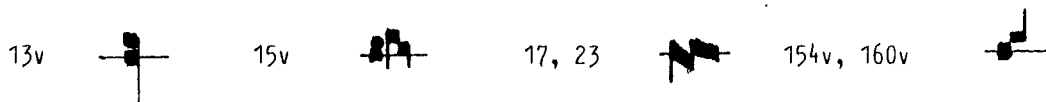
left: Matthew (an angel), John (an eagle), Luke (an ox), and Mark (a lion).

It is interesting to note that in none of the historiated initials or miniatures is there any content which could be recognized as Dominican. There are no Dominicans in any of the biblical scenes, though such added figures were common at the time. Even the celebrants and ministers in the liturgical settings would seem to be non-Dominican in both dress and ritual.

The Notation

The musical notation of R, when compared with the decorations, and even with the text, is of poorer quality than would be expected. It would almost seem that the notation was done by someone whose primary expertise was not music copying at all. Ms. Ludwig VI 1, also in the Getty collection, was certainly copied by a single individual who identifies himself in the manuscript. Though the text and illuminations of this manuscript are beautifully done, the notation appears rudimentary by comparison. One is tempted to surmise that R, too, was copied by a single scribe whose primary expertise was as a text copier. Though there are few erasures and corrections in the text itself, there are over a dozen erasures and corrections of the chant which appear to have been scribal rather than editorial in origin.

The 13th century French square notation on four red lines is in large part correctly made, though it has a pronounced slant to the right throughout the manuscript. Liquescent neumes are clearly formed, though varying somewhat in appearance. The liquescent pitch itself is usually easy to determine. The note heads within neumes are not always of the same size, nor are they always of the expected shape, though their placement is such that the pitches are clear. There are some neumes, however which are definitely made incorrectly--a few examples will suffice:



All puncta in R seem to have at least a minimal degree of descending tail on the right side of the note, though the length of the descender seems to have no significance. These descenders, apparently no more than a scribal idiosyncrasy, are clearly visible in the manuscript, though they do not always show up on the microfilm.

There are two clefs used in R: the C clef, placed on the top line, the third line, and occasionally the second line; and the F clef which appears invariably on the third line. At times the flat sign replaces the C clef, apparently when all "B"'s in the line are meant to be flatted.

The custos, a characteristic element in Dominican manuscripts, does not appear at all as an original element in R. A custos, different in form from that found in H and in other Dominican manuscripts, has been added in the chants of the Mass of the Christmas octave (see fols. 18-22 and 157-58). In all likelihood a later cantor has added them to facilitate the learning of these chants.

Another element characteristic of Dominican manuscripts, the vertical bar line, is also used sparingly in R. This is in obvious contrast to the barring of H and all subsequent Dominican manuscripts, including the corrections made in V. The manuscript R uses the single bar line only at the end of individual chants, occasionally to separate crowded neumes, and rarely to indicate the location of a syllable change. Neither the double bar which usually follows the cantor's intonation in Dominican manuscripts, nor the double bar which is normally placed at the end of chants exists anywhere in R. As with other such manuscripts, the bars in R do not have any rhythmic significance.

The flat is used frequently in R, though it is not always easy to discover how long a single flat is meant to endure. Whether a given flat is original to the manuscript or a later addition cannot always be determined, though certain generalizations can be made. The flats are definitely of two types. The more common type is darker in

appearance, made with a single pen stroke, sometimes used in place of the C clef, or placed relatively near to the first "b" to be flatted. It is this type which would seem to be original to the manuscript. The other type of flat is used more rarely, is lighter in color, and is made with two strokes of the pen. This second type of flat would appear to have been added later. The natural, which occurs relatively rarely in R, consists of two vertical strokes only, without the cross bars characteristic of the modern natural.

Origins and Provenance

There can be no doubt whatever that the Ms. Ludwig V 5 is a Dominican Missal/Gradual--written for Dominicans and used by them for almost one hundred years, after which the manuscript was no longer updated through the addition of new feasts. Feasts proper to Dominicans or celebrated only by Dominicans at the rank given are abundant in the manuscript. The presence of such feasts as St. Dominic on August 5 (Totum duplex with octave on August 12), the translation of St. Dominic on May 24, St. Peter Martyr on April 29 as a Totum duplex, and the Crown of thorns celebrated on the Dominican date of May 4 rather than the Roman date of August 11, must be taken as definitive. Moreover, the four anniversaries of the dead (fathers and mothers on February 4, those buried in our cemeteries on July 7, familiars and benefactors on

September 5, and the brethren on October 10) are present in the calendar celebrated on the days unique to the Dominican rite. The series of Alleluia verses for Easter week, the Sundays after Easter, Pentecost week and the Sundays after Trinity are the same as those established by Dominique Delalande as unique to Dominican manuscripts.[2]

Examination of various aspects of R would seem to lead to the conclusion that though the manuscript was always intended for Dominican use, as is evident from the above, it was probably prepared by others, perhaps by a scribe working for a secular atelier and employed by the Order. The overall quality of the manuscript is not that which would be expected of a major atelier such as the one which prepared the Prototype, Archivum generale, O.P. XIV L 1. Perhaps the Order's sense of poverty, still a matter of great concern at the time R was being prepared, prevented the use of a first quality atelier. As was mentioned above, the illumination of R seems to have been done at a later date, by which time, perhaps, the sense of absolute poverty had been mitigated sufficiently to allow more being spent on the copying and illumination of more important manuscripts. Certainly by the time the Prototype was prepared, the Order was ready to employ a first class atelier. In this light it is interesting to note that the Dominican General Chapter of 1239 introduced a modification to the Constitutions which

would have forbidden the use of letters illuminated in gold in Dominican manuscripts, but the prohibition failed to be confirmed by succeeding chapters.[3]

As was mentioned above, there is a difference in quality between the Gothic book hand and the musical notation, perhaps resulting from the use of a single copyist. Still, there are a number of instances of textual carelessness as well, such as the copying of the word "possede" for "pixide" (f. 85,) the omission of some words, such as "letificas" and "concede" from the collect of St. George (f. 169,) and even of the word "turba" from the beginning of the "Exultet" (f. 92).

The total lack of notation for some chants, even though space was left for such notation, seems to have resulted merely from the scribe's having used a source for text copying which contained texts for processional or office chants not normally found in the Gradual, but a musical source limited to chants of the Gradual. Thus the antiphons "Ne remeniscaris" f. 30v, "Ingrediente" f. 73, "Vespere autem" f. 99, "Exurge Domine" f. 121v, are lacking musical notation either in whole or in part. This lack of a musical source for processional antiphons may also be the reason why the music expected for the processional antiphon, "Viri Galilei," (f. 123) is not given at all. Instead the copyist merely fills in the music for the Introit twice!

One notable instance of what would certainly appear to be some kind of carelessness gives support to the contention that the scribe was not a Dominican. In one of the strangest anomalies in the manuscript great confusion surrounds the entry for the founder of the Dominican Order, St Dominic, himself. At the bottom of f. 180v an entry by a second hand reads: "Sixti pp. Offm. Sacerdotes eius." Below this in the margin are references to the remaining propers. At the top of f. 181 the same hand has written "Systi ppe" (note the difference in spelling). Immediately below this in the original hand are found the collect, secret and post-communion of St. Sixtus (universally celebrated on August 6.) The entry following, in the second hand, is for St. Dominic (which should have been celebrated on August 5, the day before St. Sixtus!) This entry in a second hand also refers to the Introit, [sic] "In medio," rather than using the title, "Officium," normal in Dominican manuscripts. There follows the earliest form of the collect for St. Dominic in the original hand.

The rest of Dominic's feast follows still in the original hand, but with titles added to the Epistle and Gospel, and an earlier Alleluia verse erased and replaced by a reference to the V. "Pie Pater" the complete chant for which is found at the end of the manuscript (in finem libri). After the text of the post-communion for St.

Dominic, the second hand has added "Sanctorum Sixti [sic], Felicissimi. & Agapiti. mris." This second reference to St. Sixtus (now cited as celebrated together with Sts. Felicissimus and Agapitus as was the Dominican usage) is in the correct place for celebration on August 6. Certainly a Dominican scribe would have been more careful about the insertion of the founder's feast into a manuscript.

Though the artistic style and manner of execution of the historiated initials seem to point to their addition after the completion of the rest of the manuscript,[4] it is still somewhat strange that they nowhere include Dominican friars or elements unique to Dominican liturgy. This would seem to be yet another indication that the manuscript was done for Dominicans but not by them.

The question of the origins and provenance of R has been well handled by Philip Gleeson in the article in Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum which presents the major portion of his dissertation, so his arguments will only be summarized here.[5] In the calendar of R one finds the entry on March 4 for "Dedicatio eccl. lugd." to be celebrated as a Totum duplex feast. The reference is to a church in Lyons (=Lugdunensis), which, on further investigation is found to be the Dominican church in Lyons, Notre Dame de Confort, consecrated for the Dominicans by Pope Innocent IV during the Lent of 1251 (for which the March 4 date would be

appropriate.) One would normally celebrate a dedication with the rank of Totum duplex in the actual church, so the manuscript would seem, according to this calendar entry, to have been prepared for the Dominican church in Lyons. Gleeson also makes the point that the rank of Simplex given to the feast of St. Ireneus of Lyons (June 28), the highest rank given this feast in any other pre-1256 Dominican calendar, would also point to Lyons as the city of the manuscript's origin.

Dating the Manuscript

Certainly the most difficult aspect of the identification of the manuscript, Ludwig V 5, is its correct dating. Though there is clear evidence of its Dominican character and even of its origins in Lyons, the question of its correct dating is much more complex. A brief summary of earlier attempts at dating the manuscript will give some indication of the problem, part of which has been that scholars until recently have been forced to work from microfilm or from only brief examination of the manuscript itself. Its purchase by the Getty Museum has in large part eliminated this as a problem.

In the early 1950's the manuscript came into the hands of the book-seller, H. P. Kraus, who asked W. R. Bonniwell to examine the manuscript and offer a date for its

origin.[6] Bonniwell dated the manuscript as ca. 1240, based on the pre-1244 reading of the collect of St. Dominic, the existence of the feast of the 11,000 virgins at a lower rank than that ordered by the general chapter of 1243, the fact that St. Elizabeth (also mentioned in the acts of the 1243 chapter) is not in the original calendar, and finally, the ranking of Vincent of Saragossa as semi-duplex, as ordered by the general chapter of 1239. He also mentions the addition of the feast of the Crown of Thorns, which could have taken place any time after 1239, but which, Bonniwell conjectures, would have entered the calendar soon after. The date of 1251 for the consecration of the Dominican church in Lyons is mentioned, but does not seem to alter Bonniwell's view of the 1240 date.

In his dissertation on early Dominican liturgical documents, completed in 1969, Philip Gleeson offers a somewhat later date for R. Though Gleeson examines both the calendar and the body of the Missal, he concludes that the calendar and body form a unity and thus must be dated together. He concludes that "it seems best to say the whole book was transcribed in 1251-54, but that the body of the Missal is not up to date on every point." [7] He does admit, however, that some of those elements in which the body of the Missal is not up to date could even go back as far as the canonization of St. Dominic in 1234. The 1251 date is taken

from the consecration date of the Dominican church in Lyons and the 1254 date results from Gleeson's conclusion that the entry for "St. Peter Martyr in the calendar is a later addition.[8]

More recently Ansgar Dirks has approached the dating of R in his monumental study of early Dominican liturgical documents appearing serially in Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum. He specifically disagrees with Gleeson's arguments and gives evidence for a date before 1244.[9] According to Dirks, the presence of the octave of our Lady's Nativity (Sept. 15) does not presume a date of after 1245, since this octave was certainly celebrated before then, at least in many French and English churches. The Alleluia verse "Hic Franciscus" (an apparent original entry in R) is, indeed, found in Haymo's Ordinal of 1243-44, but it may well have existed before then.

Dirks' most telling arguments for a pre-1244 date, however, are based on the entries concerning St. Dominic. The early reading of "meritis et exemplis" in the collect, the inept way in which the feast is entered in the body of the Missal, the lack of an octave for St. Dominic in the body (though the entry is original in the calendar), and the marginal addition of the feast of the Translation of Dominic (again, with an original entry in the calendar) all point to an early date for the transcription of the manuscript. The

present author is also indebted to Fr. Dirks for the suggestion that the calendar and body of the Missal quite possibly do not form an original unity, and that this question, and consequently the question of the manuscript's date, should be settled by a careful examination of the manuscript, itself, rather than reliance on the microfilms to which previous scholars have, for the most part, been limited.

The first volume of the catalog of the Ludwig collection gives a very late date to the entire manuscript of R--stating that with great probability it originated shortly after [sic] 1256.[10] This dating, which the editors of the catalog admit fails to explain a few "discrepancies and lacunae," seems to have been based largely on the artistic style of the manuscript with special attention given to the illuminations, rather than on its content, which will be shown to be demonstrably from before the revision of Humbert of Romans in 1256. As is evident, then, R cannot be dated adequately without first attempting to solve the question of whether or not the calendar and the body of the Missal were originally copied at the same time and intended to form a single manuscript. Unfortunately, because of the tight binding, a collation of signatures is not possible, so the conclusions will have to be based on other evidence. It is certain that at least some sections of the manuscript were

not a part of the original whole. The insertion of the un-numbered section of prefaces and the Canon between folios 95 and 96 of the temporal cycle would seem to make this clear, since otherwise the pagination would have been consecutive. Moreover, the handwriting and layout of these pages is quite different from the handwriting and layout of the rest of the manuscript. If these pages have been added, then it is certainly possible that the calendar pages could also have been added, a not uncommon occurrence with liturgical manuscripts.

It is evident that the text hand in the calendar and the body of the Missal are quite similar, indeed this seems to have been the basis for Gleeson's conclusion that they form a unity.[11] Moreover, it seems certain that the illumination of the calendar, the prefaces and Canon, and the body of the Missal are all of a piece. However, since the prefaces and Canon are almost certainly added, this would merely support the contention that the illumination was done later. The partial obscuring of text and notation by some of the illuminations would tend to give credence to this. Indeed, a later style illumination would seem to be the reason for the late date assigned to the manuscript in the Ludwig catalog. Similarity of text hand and style of illumination would not seem sufficient of themselves to prove that the calendar and body were originally one.

There are, on the other hand, several extraneous indications that the calendar and body may originally have been separate. The text area of the calendar is set much higher on the page in the calendar than in the body of the Missal. The parchment of the calendar appears to be more porous and rougher to the touch than that of the body. Though this is not definitive, it might indicate a different source for the two. Perhaps most interestingly, the first folio of the body of the Missal (numbered "i" in the first Roman enumeration) is quite worn and faint as it might have been if it had been the original page one of the manuscript. December of the calendar, which forms an opening with this page is not worn, as it would have been if the manuscript were merely displayed at this opening for a long time.

The most important evidence for the calendar's originally having been separate from the body of the Missal is internal, however. The feast of St. Dominic (August 5) is an original, careful entry in the calendar, but found in a confused way (with the title added) in the body of the Missal. The Octave of his feast (August 12) is original to the calendar and completely lacking in the body, even though octaves of other major feasts are indicated in the body. The feast of his Translation (May 24) is also original in the calendar, but a marginal addition in the body. The feast of St. Peter Martyr (April 29) is original in the calendar (at

least in the view of the editors of the Ludwig catalog; [12] of Consuelo Dutschke, a specialist in medieval book hands at the Getty Museum; and of the present author) but the feast is a marginal addition in the body of the Missal.

There are also some eighteen differences in the titles of the feasts as entered in the calendar and in the body of the Missal which point to a separate origin for the two. Those differences which could have resulted from lack of space have not been considered. The most significant are: (March 25) "Annunciacione sce Marie" in the calendar vs. "Annunciatio Dnica." in the body; the consistent use of the phrase, "cum soc. tuis" in the calendar for "sociorumque" in the body (see August 8, August 13, September 22); the calendar's consistent use of "archiepiscopi" where the body uses "episcopi" (see April 4, November 11, December 29); as well as several variants in spelling: "Micahel" vs. "Michael" on September 29 and "Tymotei" vs. "Thymothei" on August 22. Taken together, these differences would definitely support a different origin for the calendar and the body of the Missal.

What then can be concluded concerning the dating of this manuscript? It is clearly evident that if the body of the Missal and the calendar were originally separate, a contention which is most likely, then the calendar must be assigned the later date, since elements original to the

calendar occur as added entries in the Missal.

Taking the entry of St. Peter Martyr on April 29 as original, one must surmise that the calendar would have to have been written after 1253, the year in which Peter was canonized, and probably after 1254 when the General Chapter mandated the celebration of the saint as a Totum duplex feast.[13] Only if, as Gleeson contends, the entry for Peter Martyr in the calendar is not original, could one assign an earlier date. This would most likely be 1251, the date of the dedication of the Dominican church in Lyons, an original entry in the calendar on March 4. Certainly the calendar must be dated after 1248, since the anniversary of deceased familiars and benefactors on September 5 and that of deceased brethren on October 10 are original entries given on the dates mandated by the General Chapter that year.[14]

Further support is given to a date for the calendar of ca. 1248-54, probably immediately after 1254, by the existence of another Dominican calendar, one attached to a bible (British Museum add. 35085) and definitely dated between 1248 and 1254. In this calendar the 1248 date is certain since the two anniversaries mentioned above are already found on September 5 and October 10. The entry for the feast of St. Peter Martyr is obviously an addition in this calendar, thus placing it prior to 1254. The calendar shows an amazing identity with the calendar of R. Apart from

Ireneus of Lyons which R has (probably because it is from Lyons) and add. 35085 lacks; and two commemorations found in add. 35085 and lacking in R (Albanus and Eligius), the calendars are virtually identical. Only four rankings of feasts are different (and these by a single degree), whereas in six instances add. 35085 gives the rank original to R and later changed.[15]

Even if R's calendar is taken to be somewhat later than 1254, it cannot be later than 1262, since Anthony of Padua (June 13) whose feast entered the Dominican calendar in that year[16] is quite obviously an added entry. Based on the contention that the Peter Martyr entry is original, the best conclusion would seem to be a date shortly after 1254, rather than the 1251-54 date suggested by Gleeson (and based on the view that the Peter Martyr entry is added.)

The dating of the body of the Missal is not so clear cut. The earliest date possible would have to be 1234, since Dominic's feast (August 5) is original at least in part. Moreover his name is an original entry in the litany of the saints (see f. 96v). A date soon after this would also be indicated by the fact that there is no celebration of Dominic's octave day mentioned in the Missal, that the feast of the Translation (May 24) is only an added marginal entry, and that a certain confusion surrounds the entry of the feast itself (see f. 181).

In 1244 the General Chapter apparently changed the reading of the collect for the feast of St. Dominic from "meritis et exemplis" to "meritis et doctrinis." This change is, unfortunately, found only in one of the extant manuscripts which record the Acts of general chapters: the Florentine codex, Archivum generale, O.P., XIV A 1.[17] R definitely has the earlier "meritis et exemplis" reading, however, which would imply a date before 1244.

A further precision of the date within the 1234-1244 decade would not seem possible, though support is given for a date early in the decade by the way in which material relative to Dominic's celebration is presented. St. Elizabeth (November 19) who was canonized in 1235 is not found in the body of the Missal, but there is no certainty of the date in which she enters the Dominican calendar. The same is true of the celebration of the feast of the 11,000 virgins (October 21). Vincent of Saragossa (January 22) is an original entry in the body of the Missal, but the 1239 admonition of the general chapter[18] refers to the rank of the feast (which would not appear in the body of the Missal) not when it began to be celebrated. The soundest approach would seem to be to agree with Dirks' conclusion that the body of the Missal is definitely pre-1244,[19] and leave open the possibility that it may well come from a date much closer to the canonization of St. Dominic, 1234.

There can be no doubt at all that the chant tradition of R is both earlier and quite different in many aspects from that of Humbert's revision. As will become clearer in Chapters IV and V, the obvious dependence of the Prototype, H, on Cistercian sources is almost wholly lacking in R. The many other differences between the chant of R and that of H will be treated with greater specification in Chapters IV and V. Whether the chant tradition of R goes back to the first uniform liturgy, or whether it came into existence well before or even just before the work undertaken by the Four Friars, cannot be determined from R alone. The dating of the manuscript, Rome, Vat. lat. 10773, the only other witness to this earlier tradition, can, perhaps help to precise the origins of what is the earliest surviving form of the Dominican chant.

Rome, Bibl. Vat. lat. 10773

Appearance of the Manuscript

The manuscript Vat. lat. 10773 (abbreviated as "V" in this study) would seem to be, in its original, uncorrected form, an even earlier witness to the Dominican chant before the revision of 1256 than is Ludwig V 5. This manuscript is a complete Gradual, containing all of the chants of the Mass. Since it is not a Missal as well, it does not include the texts of the Mass, nor, as is frequently the case with

Graduals, does it have a calendar appended to it. The manuscript size is 430 by 305 mm. and it consists of some 202 parchment folios, at least the first five and last six of which have been added at a later date.

The text is written in a 13th century Gothic book hand, and the music in what would appear to be 13th century square notation on four red lines. Though the Vatican library proposes the notation to be 14th century,[20] J. Hourlier, a musical paleographer from Solesmes, considers the notation to be definitely 13th century.[21] There would seem to be ample evidence of other kinds, however, which would date V as definitely 13th century. The text and music are written in single column with ten lines to the page.

The manuscript shows signs of a large number of erasures and corrections which, as will be shown, are evidently an attempt to bring it into conformity with the revision of 1256. These corrections are of several types. The most common approach seems to have been the mere erasure of the old text or notation by scraping the ink from the page and writing the new text or notation over it. Fortunately, in many cases the penetration of the ink allows the erased material to be read underneath the re-writing. Where material is merely to be omitted with no revision substituted for it, it is either circled, crossed out, or occasionally bracketed. Addition of text and/or notation where

insufficient room exists within the line, is usually made in the margin with a cross indicating the point at which the insertion is to be made.

The original Roman numeral foliation, located in the center right hand margin, begins on the sixth folio, the first five folios being un-numbered. It continues through folio 177 (actually the 183rd consecutive folio), after which are 19 more un-numbered folios. Fortunately, a modern continuous foliation has been added in the lower right hand margin, and it is this foliation which is used to describe the contents of the manuscript.

Folios 1-5 contain several sequences and Alleluias in a later hand. These were no doubt bound into the manuscript at a later time, apparently to bring it into closer conformity with the revision of 1256. Folios 6-104v contain the chants of the temporal cycle from the I Sunday of Advent through the XXIII Sunday after Trinity. The sanctoral cycle is contained on folios 104v-133v from the vigil of St. Andrew (Nov. 29) through the feast of St. Catherine (Nov. 25.) The common of the saints begins on folio 134 with the vigil Mass of an apostle and continues through folio 157v with the Mass of Our Lady on Saturday. Folio 158 contains the "Asperges," the "Vidi aquam," and several solo chants for celebrant or deacon. The Kyriale is found on folios 159-164v, after which are a number of sequences. A further series of sequences and

Alleluias found after folio 183 (the last folio with original foliation) was obviously added at a later time, again apparently to bring the manuscript more into conformity with the 1256 revision.[22]

V is a beautiful manuscript which shows, in its original form, definite artistry in its presentation, and especially in the quality of its illuminations which seem to be original to the manuscript, except for the obviously added miniatures of St. John. Unlike R, V would seem, at least in its original state, to be of a more uniform quality overall. There are a total of seven historiated or illuminated initials which serve to mark off the major sections of the manuscript or indicate the major feasts. The beginning of the temporal cycle is indicated by a highly illuminated "A" (f. 6) done in burnished gold, red, blue, and lavender floral patterns. The historiated initials consist of fully colored miniatures of the Nativity (f. 14v), the Resurrection (f. 73), Pentecost (f. 86), and, to mark the beginning of the sanctoral cycle, the crucifixion of St. Andrew (f. 104v.) The Annunciation (f. 115) and the birth of John the Baptist (f. 120v) are also marked off by illuminated initials, as is the Mass which begins the common of the saints on folio 134. St. John the Evangelist is given special prominence through the addition of miniatures of the saint in the margin wherever the chants for his feast are found. The remaining liturgical

days are set off by more or less decorated capitals in two colors, and separate chants are indicated by larger, single color capitals.

The Notation

As was indicated above, V is written in 13th century square notation on four red lines. The neumes are correctly written and well formed, though there are some corrections of single neumes which could conceivably have been made by the original copyist. Liquescents are neatly formed and the liquescent note is easy to identify. The quillisma is not used anywhere in the manuscript. Like R, but unlike H and all later Dominican manuscripts, V makes frequent use of the tristropha. The custos, found in all later Dominican manuscripts, though absent from R, is absent as well from the original folios of V. Apparently insistence on the use of the custos is a characteristic of the revision of 1256 rather than of earlier Dominican sources.

The two usual clefs are found: the C clef, most frequently on the fourth or third line, but less frequently on the second or even first; and the F clef, almost invariably found on the third line. In what is an apparent idiosyncrasy of the copyist, the C and F clefs frequently appear together on the same staff. In this case the C clef is on the fourth line and the F on the second. The C clef is

similar in appearance to most C clefs of the period, but the F clef looks more like a capital F than most. The flat is not used as a clef at all.

The flats and naturals seem, for the most part, to be original, and are in large part, formed identically. The flat is formed in a single stroke, and the natural resembles the modern natural sign.

The bar lines in the manuscript are definitely a later addition in a browner ink, and one surmises that they have been added in imitation of the Prototype manuscript of the 1256 revision. The single bars, which are almost as numerous as those in H, separate words, and especially in cases where the notation is crowded, individual neumes. In some cases the single bar has been used to divide neumes in a way different from the intention of the original copyist. Double bars are used to indicate cantor intonations, change of choirs or singers, and often the ends of chants.

Origins and Provenance

The arguments given by Dirks[23] seem to prove beyond a doubt that V was copied for the Dominican nuns of the convent of St. Catherine at Diessenhöffen in the diocese of Constance. The title, "Beatissima Katherina," used for the feast of St. Catherine (f. 133v) shows special devotion to her, as would be expected if she were the titular patron of

the house. Special devotion to St. John the Evangelist, for which Dirks says this monastery was known, is clear in the three added (and almost identical) miniatures of him found at his feast (f. 106) and in the supplemental Alleluia and sequence (ff. 186 & 191v) for that feast. The figure of the nun kneeling at the feet of St John found on folio 106, and identified as S. M. Pfefferhartin, can most likely be identified with the nun of that name who, records show, lived at St. Catherine's in the later part of the 13th century. Since V is apparently closely related to mss. Vat. lat. 10771, 10772, 10774, and 10775 which clearly come from St. Catherine's in Diessenhoffen, there can be little doubt that this is the origin of the present manuscript as well.

Though the monastery of St. Catherine began as a convent of Beguines, it was incorporated into the Dominican order by Innocent IV, certainly by 1245, and probably somewhat earlier.[24] The present manuscript would certainly seem to have been prepared after the convent became Dominican. A comparison of V with other Dominican sources, both before and after the revision of 1256, shows a degree of identity which can be explained in no other way. The calendar and proper of the saints found in H and R and the proper of the saints in V are obviously of the same tradition, though, of course, the later feasts do not appear in V. The cycle of Alleluia verses for the Sundays after

Trinity are identical in V, R, and H, as well as in all other Dominican sources. The cycle of Alleluia verses for Easter and Pentecost weeks and the Sundays after Easter are also identical in the three manuscripts. Where V and R have extra Alleluia verses beyond those found in H and later Dominican sources, both have the same seven instances of two Alleluia verses on the same day, and the same two instances of three such verses. Indeed, the only reason why one might surmise a non-Dominican origin for this manuscript would be its complete lack of any Dominican saints in the proper--a fact that is, of course, also explained by a very early date for the manuscript.

Dating the Manuscript

Several considerations make the dating of 10773 somewhat difficult. Since it is a Gradual and not accompanied by a calendar, no conclusions can be drawn from the rank of feasts or the presence or absence of the four Anniversaries of the deceased. Since no Dominican saints are in the proper, not even Dominic, these cannot be used to date the manuscript. Dirks gives very cogent arguments for dating the manuscript from the first half of the 13th century, indeed from before 1234, the year in which Dominic was canonized.[25] The lack of his feast in a manuscript belonging to Dominican nuns can only be explained, it would

seem, by proposing a date before his canonization.

There is no doubt that the manuscript is in closer textual agreement with R than it is with H. The so-called Paris Missal or P (a Dominican missal from the same decade as R, later adapted to the use of Paris) also shows close textual agreement with both V and R. This is also true of the arrangement of the elements within the manuscript, which Dirks finds to agree with other pre-Humbert sources.[26] These similarities would certainly point at least to a date close to the date of R and P. After examining the Kyriale, Prof. J. Evan Kreider of the University of British Columbia is certain that it is definitely pre-1254.[27] If a pre-1234 date cannot be definitely sustained, though this is certainly the most likely conclusion, then V would have to be at least of the same decade 1234 through 1244 as R and P.

Are there reasons why one might surmise that V was originally a non-Dominican though Dominican-like source which was later adapted for Dominican usage? The fact that the nuns of St. Catherine's monastery were Beguines, possibly till after the date of Dominic's canonization, might support the argument that the manuscript was adapted to Dominican usage after they were incorporated into the Order by Innocent IV. Is this why (though there is no entry for Dominic in the proper of the saints) his sequence appears on folio 177v in what is apparently an original part of the manuscript? The

Alleluia verse, "Pie pater," which originates only around the time of Humbert's revision, is, as expected, found in the supplement (f. 185v.) Since the remaining chants for Dominic's Mass are common to other feasts, the feast could still have been celebrated at St. Catherine's even though it was never entered in place in the proper of the saints. One cannot help recalling the confusion surrounding the same entry in R.

The only other question, though a minor one, has to do with the titles given to elements of the Mass. The universal practice of all known Dominican sources is to call the first of the chants after the Epistle by the name, "Responsorium," yet V uses the term, "Graduale," more generally found in non-Dominican sources. It is not possible to determine whether V identifies the opening chant of the Mass as "Officium," the Dominican practice, or "Introit," the more common practice, since the first chant of each Mass is not given a title.

Nonetheless, the most likely conclusion concerning the dating and origins of V, given all the evidence, would seem to be that the manuscript is, in fact, an original Dominican source, and that it is quite possibly datable from before the canonization of Dominic in 1234, or at least within the following decade. If V is from before 1234, this would support the contention that the chant which, in its

uncorrected form, it shares with R, and which is so different from that found in H, was indeed the chant of the Order from what must have been the very beginning of a uniform liturgy, well before the work of the Four Friars was begun. This would also place the date of the first uniform Dominican liturgy, at least of the Mass, a good deal earlier than was previously thought. The many similarities between V and R make them a clear witness to the wide spread use of this tradition, since R is a manuscript used by the friars of the Order in France whereas V is a manuscript used by the nuns of the Order near the German border of Switzerland, and the chant in the two manuscripts was originally virtually identical.

Rome, Archivum generale O.P. XIV L 1

Appearance of the Manuscript

The manuscript Archivum generale O.P. XIV L 1 (abbreviated as "H" in this study) is referred to variously as the Codex Humberti, the Prototype, or the Paris Exemplar. It is a very large parchment manuscript, 480 by 320 mm., consisting of 500 folios written largely in double columns, though there are a few sections with three or even four columns to a page. The manuscript is contained in a 20th century board binding trimmed in calf. It is, without doubt, the exemplar or Prototype copy of the definitive revision of

the Dominican liturgy mandated by the General Chapter of 1256. Since this manuscript has been studied so exhaustively and from so many aspects by a number of scholars, the description here will be a summary one with references to more detailed studies available elsewhere.

The entire text is written in a clear, beautiful Gothic minuscule, and the chant is 13th century French square notation on four red lines. There are no historiated initials in the manuscript, and except for the title page which also lists the contents of the manuscript, there are no miniatures or highly illuminated initials at all. Relatively simple but elegant pen work in red and blue with touches of color added at important divisions of the manuscript make for a work which combines a sense of austerity with one of beauty. Feasts are separated by larger capitals with elaborate pen work involving both risers and descenders. Single chants or text elements are indicated by simpler capitals, though still some three times the height of the text. Additional coloring added at major separations or feasts (viz. "Ad te levavi" and "Puer natus est" in the Gradual) is delicate and used with restraint. This manuscript is characterized by an elegant simplicity, and judging from the quality of text, chant and decoration, it would appear to have been the work of a major Parisian atelier.

The title page which also lists the contents of the manuscript is highly decorated with four miniatures in the corners--the Blessed Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel at the top, and two Dominican friars at the bottom. Around the border is the title of the manuscript, Ecclesiasticum officium secundum ordinem Fratrum Praedicatorum. . . with the fourteen "books" contained in the manuscript listed in the center.[28] Of these, only the Gradual (ff. 323-369) will be of primary concern in this study. The foliation of the manuscript is continuous throughout and is hand-written in the upper right margins and stamped in the lower right margins.

The Gradual begins on folio 323 with the tones for the "Gloria Patri" of the Introit, followed by the "Asperges" and "Vidi aquam." The temporal cycle begins on f. 323v with the first Sunday of Advent and ends at f. 348v with the XXIII Sunday after Trinity. The Mass, "Terribilis," for the dedication (here called "consecrationis") of a church follows. The temporal cycle runs from the vigil of St. Andrew (Nov. 29) through the feast of St. Catherine (Nov. 25), and is found between folios 349 and 355v. The common of the saints is contained on folios 355v through 361v, and is followed by the Kyriale which ends on f. 363v. The final section containing the sequences ends on f. 369.

Though there are corrections, and particularly

additions, throughout the manuscript, the Gradual shows remarkably few such corrections. There are only three marginal additions and these are relatively unimportant: an added rubric for the Nativity of Our Lady (f. 354), the correction of the word, "edificia" to "artificia" (f. 365), and the marginal correction of the text and music of a sequence on f. 367. Their general appearance would seem to indicate that certain chants such as the new style Alleluias for the feasts of St. Dominic (f. 353v) and St. Peter Martyr (f. 352v) may have been added later in space intentionally left blank. The only erasures evident in the Gradual are of a few flats and bar lines.

Since H is a single manuscript containing all of the books necessary for the celebration of the entire liturgy, there are a number of cases of the exact same chant being repeated in various places such as in the Gradual and the Pulpitarium. These cases of repetition have allowed P. Bonhomme to do a very interesting study on the consistency with which the chants have been copied.[29] Though the chants are by and large identical, he did find some sixty differences involving liquescence, the use of flats, the changing of a melody through the substitution of a podatus or clivis for a punctum, and several differences which do not fit into these categories. His conclusions are that there are too many such differences for them to be mere copyists

errors, that the editing of H is not the work of a single individual, and that the existence of these differences are most consistent with a theory that the Prototype is a compilation from a number of different manuscripts of liturgical books of various kinds.

The Notation

The French square notation is clear and carefully done, the neumes are correctly formed and easy to read. In his definitive study of the notation of H, Bonhomme gives ample evidence that the specific forms of the neumes are of apparently little importance, however.[30] Indeed, he gives many examples in which the exact same music is repeated in different sections of the manuscript with different neume structures altogether. The liquescents, though carefully written, are often difficult to read with respect to the exact pitch of the liquescent note. The lack of the quillisma and tristropha in the manuscript is a result of deliberate editorial policy, as is the constant use of the characteristic Dominican custos throughout the manuscript.

The usual clefs are found: a C clef, most frequently found on the top or third line, but occasionally on the second or first; and the F clef, found as expected on the third line. The flat is not used as a clef in this manuscript. It would seem that some of the flats and a few

of the naturals are later additions. The later flats seem to have a rounder bottom than the flats original to the manuscript. There is no difference in ink color between the two types of flats, however.

Much has been written about the existence and function of the numerous bar lines found in H. The most complete study is that of Bonhomme, [31] in which he distinguishes the various uses for the bar line. In syllabic chants the bars are placed after each melodic grouping or each phrase member, often at places where modern editors would punctuate. In more ornate chants the bars are used to separate words of two or more syllables from each other. Longer words are often subdivided by bars. Though the bars do not seem to separate the neumes themselves, they often break longer melodic phrases up into sections. It is the present author's contention that their principal use may be to allow the eye to focus on easily recognizable note groupings in order to facilitate reading of the chant or the correction of other manuscripts. In examining melodies duplicated in different parts of the manuscript, Bonhomme comes to the conclusion that precision and consistency in barring does not seem to have been important to the editors. In any event, the bars certainly do not seem to have had rhythmic value. The double bar indicates the intonation by the cantor, the change of singers, and, in most cases the

ends of chants.

The Origin, Provenance, and Dating

The Dominican provenance of this manuscript and its identification with the revision of Humbert of Romans confirmed by the General Chapter of 1256 is so well documented that there is no need to cover it here. Chapter II, which traces the historical background of the early revisions of Dominican chant, will identify this manuscript quite clearly with that revision. The date of 1256 is certainly the date for the approval of the revision, itself, but, as would be expected with a manuscript of this size, there are indications that it was actually copied over a period of several years.

The copying may well have been begun in the year 1254, the year in which the General Chapter first mentions a revision "according to the arrangement and exemplar of the venerable father, friar Humbert." [32] This would seem likely because of the reference in the Martyrology, at the section on the calculation of dates, to "the present year" (f. 15) which a marginal note identifies as 1254. The Breviary as well seems to have been copied quite early, since the propers and lessons of Peter Martyr, whose feast was celebrated as a totum duplex from 1254 on, had to be added in the margins of folio 123v. The entries for Peter Martyr in the Gradual (f.

351v) and in the Pulpitarium (f. 376) are both original and so would point to a somewhat later date for these sections of the manuscript. Bonniwell proposes that the Ordinarium was copied after the Chapter of 1259, since changes made by that chapter are in the body of the text.[33] Leonard Boyle concludes that the Lectionarium would have been completed before 1259, since the corrections to Dominic's lessons made in that year have been made over erasures in the manuscript.[34] It would seem certain that H was copied over a period of years between 1254 and 1259, incorporating changes which took place during those years as they occurred. The dating of the revision, itself, and its completion will be covered in Chapter II.

Other Dominican Manuscripts

London, British Lib., add. 23935 [abbreviated "H2"]

This is the manuscript most closely related to the Prototype of 1256. From an original note at the front of the manuscript, it can be identified as the master general's personal exemplar, carried with him as a check against the liturgical books of the different houses of the Order.[35] It is a small manuscript (175 by 265 mm.) as would be consistent with its intended use, and consists of twelve of the fourteen books found in H, written on 579 sheets of very fine, thin vellum. No doubt the Breviary and lesser Missal

are not included since the master general would have had his own copy of these two books with him whenever he traveled.

The manuscript is written in a beautiful, even, and surprisingly small Gothic book hand, with an elegant, unusually clear French square notation on four red lines. There are no historiated initials and the highly illuminated capitals in blue, red, and gold are found mainly in a supplementary section added later. The capitals which separate the various feasts and elements are done in elegant pen work, but very much in accord with simplicity. The vellum on which the manuscript is written is of such fineness that the 579 folios form a book only about two and one half inches thick. The fineness and beauty of the work make it certain that the manuscript is from one of the first class Parisian ateliers.

The Gradual, of principal concern for this study, is found between folios 378 and 443v. It is in large part identical to that of H, but provides a useful standard for comparison. Since this manuscript is an almost immediate copy of the Prototype of Humbert and since it was, itself intended to be an exemplar, it is especially useful for investigating the degree of identity to be expected in manuscripts copied one from another, and how great a degree of variation was acceptable to the 13th century mind.

The feast of Peter Martyr is found in the original

hand in the Gradual (f. 418v), and his name is also an original entry in the litany (f. 401v), thus placing the manuscript after 1254. Indeed, since it is an obvious copy of the revision of Humbert, it is most likely from after 1256. The latest date for the copying of the manuscript would have to be 1262, since an entry for Anthony of Padua, whose feast day of 13 June was confirmed for the Order in 1262,[36] is not found in the Gradual (see f. 419v), and is an added entry in the calendar (f. 81v.) Though Le graduel romain, les Sources dates the manuscript as "end of the 13th century,[37] and a date of between 1260 and 1275 is given in Paléographie Musicale,[38] there would seem to be sufficient internal evidence to support a date between 1256 and 1262.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8884 [abbreviated "P"]

This manuscript is a Missal rather than a Missal/Gradual and thus it contains only the texts of the proper and common chants without any notation. Nonetheless, it is very useful in establishing textual parallels among various early Dominican sources from before the reform of 1256. It is a parchment manuscript (360 by 255 mm.) of 336 folios written in double column. The manuscript begins with a calendar (ff. 2 - 7v), followed by the body of the original Missal (ff. 8 - 296v.) This is followed by a non-Dominican supplement on stiffer parchment (ff. 297 - 332v,) which is in

turn followed by a Dominican supplement (ff. 333 - 335) in a hand distinct from both the body of the Missal and the first supplement. The same hand which wrote the non-Dominican supplement also adapted the calendar and the body of the Missal to the rite of Paris some time in the 14th century.

There can be no doubt that the manuscript was a Dominican book in its original form. Both the calendar and the sanctoral contain the feast of St. Dominic (Aug. 5) as "Beati Dominici, Patris nostri" (the usual description of the founder in Dominican sources), as well as the feast of his Translation on May 24. The feast is ranked totum duplex and the Translation, duplex. The collect of St. Dominic presents the earlier reading, "meritis et exemplis," found also in R. The litany of the saints includes the name of Dominic, but not that of Peter Martyr, and gives the earlier, though certainly Dominican reading of "episcopos et priores" for "episcopos et prelatos." The feast of Peter Martyr, adopted by the Order in 1254, has been added to the second supplement and is not in the calendar at all, so the manuscript is certainly from before that date. For the above reasons the manuscript can probably be dated, along with R, as from the decade between 1234 and 1244.[39]

Manuscripts of Other Religious Orders

Cistercian Manuscripts

There is general agreement among scholars that it is the Cistercian Gradual which provides the closest readings overall to the Dominican, though the relationship of dependence is a complex one when the various stages of the development of Dominican chant are examined in detail. This study will examine four Cistercian sources, three 12th century Graduals which provide readings close to the Cistercian chant reform of 1134, and one from the late 13th century, more likely to represent the Cistercian tradition in the form in which the Dominican editors found it.

The first of these, Colmar, Bibl. Mun. 445 [abbreviated, C1], is a Gradual, probably from Pairis in Alsace, consisting of 134 folios and written in German Cistercian notation on four lines. The presence of the feast of St. Bernard as a marginal addition dates the manuscript from around 1175, since he was canonized in that year.[40] The other manuscript, which provides a comparative reading for the chants of the classical Cistercian reform, is Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 17328 [abbreviated, C2]. It is a Gradual of 178 folios preceded by a copyists' prologue. It is written in French square notation on four red lines, and Le graduel romain, les Sources identifies the manuscript as French, probably the northern part.[41] From the fact that the feast of St. Bernard and other feasts introduced into the Cistercian calendar after 1175, are marginal entries, it can

be concluded that this manuscript, like Colmar 445, was copied around the year 1175.

A source for comparison which is somewhat later in date, and from the Cistercian nuns rather than the monks, is the manuscript London, British Lib., add. 27921 [abbreviated, C3]. The manuscript is a small one (150 by 125 mm.) consisting of 202 folios written in German Cistercian chant notation on four lines, the F-line of which is red. That this Gradual belonged to the Cistercian nuns is clear from the fact that the kneeling figure pictured in the "A" of the "Ad te levavi" (f. 1) is a nun rather than a monk. The calendar, arrangement of elements, and chant are clearly Cistercian. A date of about 1192 can be surmised from the fact that the entries for Thomas of Canterbury, whose feast entered the Cistercian calendar in 1191, and Malachy, whose feast entered in 1192, are both original entries. The entry for St. Julian, whose feast was celebrated beginning in the year 1193, has clearly been added later.

In order to provide a Cistercian Gradual from closer to the period of the actual work of the Dominican editors the manuscript Yale, Beinecke Lib. 530 [abbreviated, C4] was chosen for comparison. This large Gradual (385 by 255 mm., and consisting of 185 folios) is written in a large Gothic hand, with German musical notation on a five line staff. In its present condition the manuscript is incomplete, beginning

with the Mass for Saturday of the second Sunday of Lent. The calendar is lacking as well. An entry on the fly-leaf at the front of the manuscript proposes a date for the manuscript from between 1292 and 1329. This is based on the fact that the entry for the feast of the Crown of Thorns (found in Cistercian calendars on Aug. 11), which was celebrated by Cistercians beginning in 1292, is in the original hand (f. 52); whereas the feast of Thomas Aquinas (Mar. 7), celebrated by them after 1329, has been added later. The same entry proposes the manuscript to have come from the monastery of Cistercian nuns at Lenan in Alsace, since the calendar has an entry for St. Severinus of Cologne (f. 65), which feast seems to have been celebrated at no other Cistercian monastery. The additions to the sanctoral cycle of this manuscript provide an interesting witness to the degree to which Cistercians came to celebrate feasts proper to other religious orders. In addition to the expected Cistercian additions, the manuscript also adds Dominic, Peter Martyr and Thomas Aquinas for the Dominicans, and Francis, Clare and Bonaventure for the Franciscans. Like V, the manuscript shows extensive alteration, though apparently without the same consistency as in the Dominican manuscript.

Franciscan Manuscripts

An order very close to the Dominicans in many ways is

that founded by St. Francis at almost the same point in history. Both orders are a part of the new movement of friars, both share many of the same ideals, and yet the liturgical traditions of the two orders are from very different sources. It is the Franciscan liturgy which had great influence on the formation of what is today called the Roman liturgy[42]--a tradition quite different in both rites and chant from the Dominican. Franciscan manuscripts, then, provide an excellent witness for a chant tradition which has clearly different origins from the Dominican.

Three Franciscan manuscripts of almost the same date have been chosen in order to make possible a comparison within the Franciscan tradition as well as between it and the Dominican. The manuscript Naples, Bibl. Nat., VI G 38 [abbreviated, F1], is a Franciscan Missal/Gradual which comes from the Franciscan convent of San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples.[43] It is written in Italian transitional notation on four red lines. Since Anthony of Padua, canonized in 1232, is an original entry in the sanctoral, the manuscript must have been transcribed after that date. Since the feasts of St. Bernard, the Stigmata of St. Francis, and the Translation of St. Clare--all of which were celebrated from 1260 on--are all missing, the manuscript must have been copied some time between 1232 and 1260. van Dijk emphasizes the importance of this manuscript as one of the four extant copies of the

Franciscan Regula Missal.[44] Another Franciscan Missal/Gradual is the manuscript Rome Bibl. Vat. Regin. lat. 2049 [abbreviated, F2]. A manuscript of 454 folios, it is written in double columns using square notation in black on four red lines. It, too, is certainly datable between 1232 and 1260 for the same reasons as Naples VI G 38, above. The feast of St. Dominic shows the "meritis et exemplis" reading for his collect, however, so if the Franciscans followed the Dominican lead in changing the reading to "meritis et doctrinis" in 1244, the manuscript would be from before that date.

A manuscript which seems, both from the viewpoint of appearance and date, to be closely related to the above manuscript is Rome, Bibl. Vat. Regin. lat. 2052 [abbreviated, F3]. A Gradual only, it has 282 folios written in single column using square notation in black on four red lines. Though Salmon dates the manuscript as 14th century,[45] there would seem to be no reason for assigning a date later than that of lat. 2049. Again, the presence of Anthony of Padua as an original entry would point to a date after 1232, and the absence of St. Clare and the Stigmata of St. Francis would make probable a date prior to 1260. Since there are several lacunae in the temporal cycle of this manuscript, the missing chants for comparison have been taken from Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 10503 [abbreviated, F4], a

Franciscan Gradual of similar date.

Premonstratensian Manuscripts

Another order which has often been linked with the Dominicans is that of the Premonstratensian Canons. Humbert of Romans, himself, identifies their constitutions as one of the sources for the Dominican Constitutions.[46] Bonniwell cites them as forerunners in the desire for liturgical uniformity which ultimately led the Dominicans to the revision of 1256,[47] and sees similarities between the Dominican and Premonstratensian calendars, though he admits this may merely show dependence on the same common source.[48] In short, there would seem to be sufficient connection to make a comparison of chants from the two traditions worth while. As with the Franciscan sources, the Premonstratensian sources are obviously from a tradition quite different from that used by the Dominicans and Cistercians.

The first manuscript is Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek 868 [abbreviated 01], a Premonstratensian Gradual from Arnstein in the diocese of Trier. It is written using Messine notation on four lines and is dated by the monks of Solesmes as between 1208 and 1215.[49] The article in the New Grove, however, accepts a somewhat earlier date of ca. 1180.[50] The other Premonstratensian manuscript

examined is London, British Library add. 39678 [abbreviated, 02] from the Abbey of S. Maria de Parcho near Louvain. It is written in square notation in black on four red lines. From an inscription at the end of the manuscript (f. 226) the manuscript can be dated from the priorship of Simon of Louvain, prior at the abbey from 1255 to 1266.[51]

Manuscripts of Monastic or Local Usage

One of the challenges in the comparative study of chant is the determination of which manuscripts to use for what is often described as the "traditional reading" against which other more clearly identifiable chant dialects, such as the Cistercian or Dominican, can be measured. Though it would not seem possible to choose one source, or even a group of sources, as the definitive bearer of the "tradition," it is possible to assemble a collection of manuscripts which point more or less to a style of chant that is both strongly contrasted to the Cistercian/Dominican style and also wide spread and ancient enough to be considered witness to a more common tradition. That some few chants which exhibit special problems are radically different in reading from one manuscript to another, only highlights the remarkable uniformity which characterizes the large majority of chants in these manuscripts. The following sources have been chosen to provide a witness to this more common tradition.

Since much of the work of the Dominican revision of 1256 seems to have taken place in Paris, several sources have been chosen from that city. The manuscript London, British Library add. 38723 [abbreviated, G1] is a mid-13th century Missal/Gradual from the city of Paris.[52] A manuscript of 232 double column folios, it is written in French square notation on four red lines. The manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 1337 [abbreviated, G5], a Gradual of some 464 folios, is also from Paris though probably from the late 13th or even early 14th century.[53] It, too, is written in French square notation on four red lines. The final Parisian source is the manuscript London, British Library add. 16905 [abbreviated, G4], a Missal/Gradual from Notre Dame de Paris.[54] A cataloger's note added on the flyleaf in a modern hand proposes a date between 1297 and 1317, based on a comparison with the calendar in Ms. Harl. 2891.

Three other French manuscripts have been chosen for comparison. The first of these is the manuscript well known to scholars, Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine H. 159 [abbreviated, T]. A tonary containing all the proper chants of the Gradual, it utilizes a double notation--a French neumatic notation above which is an alphabetic notation. Written in the 11th century and from the abbey of St. Bénigne de Dijon,[55] its chant readings are virtually identical to the next manuscript, Brussels Bibl. Roy. II 3824

[abbreviated, G3], This Gradual, written for St. Bénigne de Dijon, dates from the middle of the 13th century.[56] The final French manuscript, Rouen 250 (A 233) [abbreviated, G6], is a manuscript of the 14th century from Jumièges.[57] Its value to this study lies in the fact that it is, like V (lat. 10773), a corrected manuscript in which the uncorrected readings are decipherable. The uncorrected readings often resemble those of Mont. H. 159.

The two remaining manuscripts have been chosen as non-French sources. The first is the so-called Sarum Gradual, London, British Library add. 12194 [abbreviated, S], well known to scholars through the study and facsimile edition of W. H. Frere.[58] It is a complete Gradual of the Sarum usage in England, and is dated by Frere as from between 1203 and 1219 on the basis of the entry of certain feasts into the calendar.[59] Le graduel romain, les Sources gives a date of around 1275, but without giving any reason for that date.[60] The final source which will be used for comparison is the manuscript New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 797 [abbreviated G2], identified by them as a Gradual for Roman use from Padua. The manuscript uses the musical staff described by Guido of Arezzo in his Prologus antiphonarii sui, [61] that is, a four line staff which uses a yellow C line and a red F line. The remaining two lines (D and A) are dry point lines. A note which appears to have formed an

original part of the manuscript (folio 256v) identifies it as from the priory of St. Matteo de Caleys, under the priorship of a certain Gregory, in the year 1256.

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1. Anton von Euw and Joachim M. Plotzek, Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig, vol. 1 (Cologne: Pro Arte Medii Aevi, 1979), pp. 240-244.
 2. Dominique Delalande, O.P., Le Graduel des Prêcheurs (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1949), pp. 15-21.
 3. Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, ed. Benedictus M. Reichert, O.P., MOPH III (Rome: Typographia polyglotta, 1898), p. 11.
 4. See Philip Gleeson, O.P., "Early Dominican Liturgical Documents" (Paris: Institut Catholique, 1969), p. 303.
 5. See Philip Gleeson, "Dominican Liturgical Manuscripts from before 1254," Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, XLII (1972), p. 113
 6. See typescript description of Missal and Gradual (Dominican use) Lyons, ca. 1240, from H. P. Kraus, Rare Books and Manuscripts, 16 E. 46th Street, New York, NY 10017.
 7. Gleeson, "Documents," p. 303.
 8. Ibid., p. 302.
 9. Ansgar Dirks, O.P., "De tribus libris manuscriptis primaevae liturgiae dominicanae," Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, XLIX (1979), pp. 6-7.
 10. von Euw, p. 241.
 11. Gleeson, "Documents", p. 303.
 12. von Euw, p. 240.
 13. Acta capitulorum, p. 71.
 14. Ibid., p. 41.
 15. See André Gignac, O.P., "Le sanctoral dominicain jusqu'à la correction d'Humbert de Romans" (Paris, Institut Catholique, 1959), for other calendar studies.
 16. Ibid., p. 113.
 17. See Acta capitulorum, p. 29, fn. 32.

18. Ibid., p 11.
19. Ansgar Dirks, O.P., "De liturgiae dominicane evolutione (continuatio)," Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, LIII (1983), p. 97.
20. P. Salmon, Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliotheque Vaticane, II, "Sacramentaires," Studi e testi, 253 (n.p., 1969), p. 90, fn. 204.
21. In a private correspondence to Ansgar Dirks, May 29, 1973.
22. For a detailed analysis of the contents of V, see Dirks, 1979, pp. 10-27.
23. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid. pp. 26-27.
26. Ibid.
27. In a letter written from the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B. C., to Ansgar Dirks, June 20, 1978.
28. For a detailed description of the contents see W. R. Bonniwell, O. P., A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 2nd ed. (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1945), pp. 85-147.
29. Pie Bonhomme, O.P., "La musique grégorienne, Codex archétype du Bhx. Humbert de Romans," (Rome: Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music, 1934), pp. 50-60.
30. Ibid., pp. 27-40.
31. Ibid., p. 63ff.
32. Acta capitulorum, p. 68.
33. Bonniwell, p. 86.
34. Leonard Boyle, O.P., "Dominican Lectionaries and Leo of Ostia's Translatio S. Clementis," Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, XXVIII (1958), p. 368, fn. 20.
35. The text of this note is given in the Appendix of Latin Texts, C 5.
36. Acta capitulorum, p. 113.

37. Le Graduel romain, II: Les sources (Abbey of St. Pierre de Solesmes, 1957), p. 62.
38. Les répons graduel, "Justus ut Palma", Paléographie musicale, III, deuxième partie, plate 200 (Solesmes, 1892).
39. See Bonniwell, pp. 29-35 for a fuller description.
40. Solutor Marosszeki, S.O.Cist., "Les origines du chant cistercien," Analecta sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, VIII (1952), IIe partie, p. 153.
41. Les Sources, p. 109.
42. S. J. P. van Dijk, The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1960).
43. S. J. P. van Dijk, Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy (Leiden: Studia et documenta franciscana, 1963), p. 85.
44. van Dijk, Origins, pp. 239-44.
45. Salmon, p. 136.
46. Humbert of Romans, Opera de Vita Regulari, II (Rome: A Befani, 1889, reprinted Turin, 1956), pp. 2-3.
47. Bonniwell, p. 24.
48. Ibid., p. 113.
49. Les Sources, p. 46.
50. "Sources, MS, II, Western plainchant, 12th century" The New Grove Dictionary, XVII, p. 621.
51. Ibid., p. 629.
52. Ibid.
53. Les Sources, p. 100.
54. Ibid., p. 61.
55. Ibid., p. 75.
56. Ibid., p. 38.
57. Ibid., p. 128.

58. W. H. Frere, Graduale Sarisburiense, (Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, London: Bernard Quaritch, 1894, republished Farnborough, England: Gregg Press, Ltd., 1966).

59. Ibid., p. xxxv.

60. Les Sources, p. 61.

61. See Oliver Strunk, Source Readings in Music History, I, "Antiquity and the Middle Ages" (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950 and 1965), p. 119.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Cistercian Chant Reform

Underlying Principles

Reform movements are often difficult to comprehend because of the temptation to allow the cultural, social and religious pre-suppositions of ones own era to influence the way in which another age is viewed. But the concerns, values, and desires of the twelfth century are often not those of the twentieth. Moreover, the principles which underlie reform, whether in the twelfth or any century, effect not only broad and sweeping changes, but show their influence even in the details of such reforms. Such is the case with the origins of Cistercian monasticism: a movement which, in response to a heightened desire for religious perfection, sought to reform the very concept of Benedictine monasticism, and carried that reform even to the details of liturgy and chant which form the basis for this study.

The era which encompasses the origins of the Cistercian movement and its development throughout the 12th century is one in which some kind of monastic reform movement

would seem almost inevitable. A dissatisfaction with the current practice of monasticism was joined to the idea that a solution lay in a return to what was perceived as the purity of an earlier age--a rediscovery of authentic monasticism, indeed of authentic Christian living. This desire for the authenticity of an earlier age can be seen operating on three levels: a return to the unencumbered purity of the Rule of St. Benedict, a return to the purity and simplicity of the Christianity of the Apostolic age, and a return to the purity of the liturgical chant and ritual of the age of St. Gregory the Great.

Before examining these levels in detail it would be helpful to try and understand the way in which the medieval mind understood the concept of authenticity, itself. To seek the authentic is to seek something in its original form. In the medieval mind authenticity is intimately tied to the concept of the authority of the original, especially as that authority is embodied in some historic figure upon whom one can rely. Anyone familiar with medieval learning knows the almost compulsive need to quote an authority for any position held. This relationship between authenticity and the witness of authority is discussed more fully in Fr. M.-D. Chenu's, Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century. [1] The medieval Cistercians, then, looked to the authority of the Rule of St. Benedict for authentic monasticism, to the

authority of the Apostles and their way of life for authentic Christian living, and to the authority of St. Gregory the Great for the most authentic liturgy and chant.

By the 12th century, however, the witness of a reliable authority from the past was no longer the only means for discovering authenticity. A measure for authenticity had been discovered which was much closer at hand--the measure of a person's intellect, his own ability to reason. As Georges Duby points out, it was a new approach to learning which made logic the supreme member of the trivium as

the basis for all the progress which the mind could make; and it was the mind which, by means of the ratio, went beyond the experience of the senses and made it intelligible, then, by means of the intellectus, related things to their divine cause and comprehended the order of creation, and ultimately arrived at the true knowledge, sapientia. [2]

In a movement which was to culminate in the scholasticism of the 13th century, the role of ratio, of recourse to "scientific" principles, in the determination of what was most authentic came to have increasing importance. Since that which is truly authentic comes from God and is thus eminently reasonable, one should be able to arrive at the authentic by discovering that which is most reasonable, most in accord with first principles. If an idea, or even a piece of chant, is not in accord with these principles, then it must have been corrupted at some point and can be restored to

its original authenticity by the re-application of the principles. As will be seen below, this dependence on reason as a measure of authenticity, especially when that reason was opposed to the witness of authority, often led the reformers astray.

The Cistercian reform began as a return to the common life lived strictly according to the Rule of St. Benedict. This return was seen as a rejection of all that prevented the living out of the common life in the purity and simplicity of the Rule as Benedict intended it. The highly developed and complex form of Benedictine life characteristic of the monks of Cluny (in its time a reform in its own right) was now viewed as a departure from the primitive purity of St. Benedict's ideal. To speak only of the area of liturgy, the multiplication of Psalms, Offices and other devotions was seen as a departure from the "right measure" of the Rule. As described in the Exordium Magnum, one of the earliest Cistercian historical documents, this multiplication of devotions, which failed to take into account normal human frailty, leads to a negligence and lessening of devotion, not only in the slothful, but even in the fervent monk.[3] The liturgical solution for the Cistercians was to abandon all additions to the liturgy which could not be found in the Rule, itself.

Almost from the beginning, the monks of Citeaux found

themselves part of a movement which was spreading beyond the walls of their monastery. Like the Cluniacs before them, as monasteries flocked to their reform they became the center of a movement which encompassed a number of monasteries. Though the idea of many houses sharing in some common group identity was not a new one, it was still new enough for the concept of centralization to assume great importance for the Cistercians. How could the authentic living of the Rule be guaranteed in all these monasteries without some central authority. Taking their cue from Cluny, and more immediately from the Vallombrosans,[4] the Cistercians set up a system whereby the independence of each monastery could be assured, while at the same time insuring that all would maintain the simple purity of the Rule. This system of annual general chapters, along with the annual visitation of houses, made it possible for the reform to be accomplished and sustained in all the abbeys affiliated with Citeaux. It was this system of visitations and general chapters which the Dominicans in their turn would adopt and modify in order to establish their own centralized form of government. The relative rapidity with which they in their turn were able to establish a uniform liturgy and revise it was due in large part to the adoption of the Cistercian approach to government.

The common life envisioned by the Rule was now seen to refer both to the local community and to that larger

identity, the whole Cistercian Order. The concept of the common life now included not only centralized authority but also the establishment of a uniformity of observance among houses effected by that authority. The Carta Caritatis, the document written by the early Cistercians to codify the way in which all Cistercian houses were to live, puts the matter succinctly:

We wish [all monasteries] to have the usages, chant and books needed for the day and night office and the Mass the way the new monastery [Cîteaux] keeps its usages and books so that there be no discord in our actions, but that we may live with one love, under one Rule, and in the same observances.[5]

The second level of the Cistercian search for authenticity revolves around a concept new to the religious thought of the age--the "apostolic way of life." The degree of knowledge and education necessary to construct an image of life in the apostolic Church was widespread enough by the 12th century for such an idea to gain support. Here now was a way of going back to the highest possible authority for Christian living, the authority of the apostles themselves. The comparison of a somewhat idealized image of the apostolic Church with "the corruption of the present age" would certainly have been enough to stimulate a desire for return to the purity of the apostolic church. In this picture of the earliest days of the Church, monks especially would have found reflected an image of the common life very much in

accord with that found in the Rule of St. Benedict. Common prayer, a life of poverty and simplicity in which everything was shared in common, and a life of shared mutual concern under recognized authority would have presented a most appealing picture.

..In this image of religious life poverty and simplicity would have been seen as two sides of the same coin. By the middle of the 11th century the reformer Peter Damian was already criticizing the unnecessary sounding of bells, the protracted chanting of hymns, and the conspicuous use of ornaments.[6] Early Cistercian legislation continues this concern for simplicity by prohibiting silken or multi-colored vestments, the use of gold, silver or ornamentation with precious stones (except for chalices which could be gold-plated silver), and even crucifixes which were not plain, painted wood.[7] An echo of this same concern for poverty and simplicity will be found in early Dominican legislation as well. Indeed, in both the Cistercian and Dominican chant reforms, simplicity will become a central principle underlying the changes in the chant.

This desire for simplicity also expressed itself in a preference for brevity of chant and liturgy. The first Cistercians were enjoined to sing with less delay, quickly, or with haste ("minus morose," "citius," "festinanter"),[8] and even the earliest reforms of their liturgy replaced what

van Dijk calls "a showpiece of dramatic but unmethodical and disproportionate accretions"[9] with a much simpler more stream-lined liturgy better suited to men dedicated to a simpler way of life. The Cluniac concept of the monk as primarily for the ceremonial and ritual worship of God in the liturgy was dying. Its place was being taken by a newer concept in which a simpler liturgy was seen as a functioning part of a whole way of life based on what was perceived as the simplicity of the apostles. The Dominicans, too, will adopt the concept of "the apostolic way of life" with its emphases on poverty and simplicity, but will further transform the concept by including the work of preaching and the care of souls (what is today called "apostolic activity", though the word had no such connotations before the 13th century).

The final level of authenticity sought by the early Cistercians had to do with authentic liturgy and chant based on the authority of St. Gregory the Great. For the Cistercians, as for everyone at the time, the image of Gregory the Great transcribing the authentic chants under the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit (in the form of a dove) was proof enough that only he could provide the chants in their authentic form. As will be seen below, this desire for the authentic chant led the early fathers of Citeaux first to Metz, where they hoped to find the authentic chant of

Gregory; to Milan, from which they adopted the hymns mentioned in the Rule of St. Benedict; and finally to an entirely new revision based on theoretical principles which they hoped would lead them to back to the chant in its most authentic form.

Historical Outline

The roots of the Cistercian reform go back to 1075, the year in which Abbot Robert founded a reform monastery at Molesme in Burgundy. The monks adopted the Cluniac pattern in their customs and organization, though, as Bede Lackner points out, they may well have derived part of their usages from the abbey of St. Bénigne in Dijon.[10] In 1098, less than a quarter of a century later, Robert, along with almost two dozen monks from Molesme, founded a new monastery at Citeaux. These first monks apparently continued to use the books which they had brought with them from Molesmes. Bruno Schneider, in an article on the origins of Cistercian chant, finds evidence, even in later Cistercian manuscripts, for this earliest stratum of Cistercian tradition.[11]

It was the third abbot of Citeaux, Stephen Harding (1109-1132), who brought about the first reform of Cistercian liturgy and chant. There is no clear agreement among scholars for the precise date of the reform, though its general outlines are clear. Possibly at the very beginning

of his abbacy, but more likely during its last decade, as Lackner believes, Stephen led his monks in a return to the liturgical spirit of the Rule, by purging the liturgical books of the accretions (extra Psalms, prayers and litanies) associated with their Cluniac origins, and by seeking to find a more authentic source for them. Both the authority of the Rule and that of St. Gregory demanded that the authentic source be the original chant of the Roman church, but where was it to be found? Stephen settled on the chant tradition of Metz, which, as Waddell points out, had a reputation at that time for having the Roman chant in its purest form.[12] Despite early dissatisfaction with the Metz Antiphonary, it was accepted as is and remained the source of Cistercian chant until the reform undertaken by St. Bernard. In retaining a tradition which is recognized as imperfect, one sees, perhaps for the last time, the uncritical acceptance of the witness of authority from the past even in the face of contrary evidence.

Eventually, growing dissatisfaction led to a new reform, ordered by the General Chapter of 1134, and guided by the hand of Bernard of Clairvaux. No longer was the authority of the Metz chant enough to assure its continued usage. The study of music theory had reinforced the early dissatisfaction with the Metz tradition. The chant of the Metz books was perceived as not in accord with the principles

of "correct" chant devised by the theorists, and thus evidently corrupt. The degree to which these theoretical principles governed the editorial work of the reformers is an issue hotly debated by scholars. Both Waddell[13] and Mary Berry[14] speak of the editors of the second reform as responding to the "living chant tradition" of the time--a concept which, Berry says, often carried more weight than the theoretical principles which the reformers themselves said guided their reform. Is it not possible that both "the living chant tradition" as it had developed, and the choice of certain theoretical principles to support that tradition represent different aspects of the same developing aesthetic sense? It is true that not all of the changes found in the second reform are explainable by recourse to theoretical principles, but, as will be shown in chapter three, many certainly can be.

A closer look at the reform and its authors should provide a clearer picture of the reformers own concept of what they were doing. Though the reform was begun in 1134, it was not completed until over a decade later around the year 1148. In that year, according to the anonymous biographer of Abbot Stephen of Aubazine (Obazine), the monastery of Aubazine was affiliated with Citeaux and had to replace its choir books, only recently received from the abbey of Dalon, because they did not accord with the books of

Citeaux. The presumption of scholars has been that this was because Citeaux had, by 1148, completed the reform and adopted new choir books, whereas the Aubazine books, though Cistercian, were from before the reform. As Sarah Fuller points out, however, Dalon, itself did not affiliate with Citeaux till eleven years after Aubazine, so one cannot presume that the books they gave Aubazine were Cistercian.[15] Nonetheless, Fuller accepts a date of 1148-53 for the completion of the second reform.

The fact that the work of the reform took at least ten years points to the care with which the reform was undertaken. St. Bernard, who was put in charge of the reform, was perhaps the most important figure in the entire Order at that time. His co-workers in the reform are not known, but two other abbots: Guy de Cherlieu (=Guido Cari-Loci), the probable author of the medieval musical treatise, Regulae de arte musica, [16] and Richard of Vauclair, cantor of Clairvaux and later abbot of Vauclair [17] are the most likely candidates.

Several extant theoretical and introductory documents are associated with the work of the reform. The first, usually referred to as the Prologue or the Letter of St. Bernard, (Prologus in Antiphonarium) [18] is actually the official act of promulgation of the reform under his authority. It is this brief Prologue which provides most of

what is known about the history of the Cistercian chant reforms. The remaining documents, which present the theoretical principles underlying the second reform, will be discussed in Chapter IV.

St Bernard begins by telling of the desire of the early Cistercians to find the most authentic source for the chanting of the divine praises, of their transcribing and bringing back the Metz Antiphonary which was said to be "Gregorian," and of their consequent dissatisfaction with the Metz tradition as "corrupt, very poorly structured, and despicable from almost every point of view." [19] Despite this dissatisfaction, "because they had begun, they continued to use it, and they retained it until our own time."

Eventually though, since the abbots "could no longer endure it," Bernard was put in charge of a committee to revise and correct the chant. He summoned brethren "who have been found to be better instructed and more skilled in the theory and practice of chant," who "collected from many and diverse sources a new Antiphonary," unanimously accepted and confirmed by the authority of the General Chapter. This revision is to be "everywhere kept both in text and melody exactly as it has at length been revised and is contained in this volume." It is forbidden "that it be changed in any respect by any person." The "reasons and principles behind the present revision" are to be found in the Preface which

follows.

The Prologue perfectly reflects the cultural and religious pre-suppositions which underlie its ideas. The desire for authenticity is clearly evidenced, as is the shift from seeking authenticity on the authority of a witness to discovering authenticity "scientifically" in the application of principles. The use of a centralized authority, the General Chapter, to insure uniformity in the acceptance of the reform is also clearly shown. When the principles enunciated in the Praefatio are examined in Chapter IV, the effect of the Cistercian concern for simplicity and brevity will also be evident.

With respect to the chants of the Mass which form the immediate concern of this study, virtually no independent manuscript evidence has been found for them from before the reform of 1147. Though one can presume that at least some part of the unrevised Metz chant would remain after the work of the 1147 revision was complete, the principal focus of this study will be precisely those changes brought about by the 1147 reform and how they affected the Dominican liturgical reforms of the next century. The first two Cistercian manuscripts examined in this study, Mss. Colmar 445 and Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat 17328, are the earliest extant complete manuscripts of Mass chants, and, coming from around the year 1175, are witness only to the chant as reformed

under the leadership of St. Bernard. The manuscript, London Br. Lib. add 27921, probably copied around the year, 1192, is a witness to what Mary Berry calls the last stage of the Cistercian chant reform (ca. 1175-83), which really amounted to little more than some minor textual emendations.[20] The final manuscript, Yale Beinecke Lib. ms. 530, a manuscript from the late 13th century, is presented as a witness to the Cistercian tradition as it existed during and shortly after the period of the Dominican chant reform.

The Dominican Chant Reforms

Underlying Principles

Just about a century separates the liturgical reforms undertaken by the Cistercians from similar reforms undertaken by the Dominican Order in the second and third quarters of the 13th century. Not only were many of the same cultural, religious and social principles still operative in society, but the newly founded Dominican Order was very much influenced by the Cistercian ideal and even adopted certain elements of Cistercian life and liturgy. This is not surprising when one considers the close contact between the two orders--a contact which goes back to the founder, himself. St. Dominic worked with the Cistercians from the very beginning of the preaching in the south of France which would lead to the foundation of the new Order.[21] He was

also vicar general to the Cistercian bishop, Guy of Carcassonne, in the year 1213.[22]

The first religious community founded by Dominic, the nuns of Prouille, was given the Cistercian rule and, according to an ancient tradition, even vested in the Cistercian habit.[23] In Humbert of Romans' commentary on the Dominican Constitutions there is frequent reference to the Cistercian influence on the early Dominican legislation.[24] The early friars frequently stayed at Cistercian houses when traveling through areas which had no Dominican houses. The degree to which the Dominicans borrowed from Cistercian usages and chant in developing their own liturgy will be made clear below. It is not surprising, then, to find many of the same pre-suppositions which guided the Cistercian reformers at work in the liturgical reforms of the Dominicans. As would be expected, however, Dominican response to these principles has been modified both by the spirit of the new age and by a different approach to religious life.

Basic to the Dominican reforms, as it was to the Cistercian, is the desire to return to the authenticity of some earlier age. For the early Dominicans the Rule of St. Augustine replaced the Rule of St. Benedict as the basic authority. Much less detailed than the Rule of St. Benedict, however, Augustine's Rule was seen more as a source of unity for Dominicans rather than as a comprehensive set of

instructions for living the Dominican life. It was at a very early stage supplemented by a set of constitutions which detailed the actual way in which Dominican life would be lived.

The Rule of St. Augustine begins with the call to be intent on one thing, "to live with one heart and one mind in God." Humbert of Romans comments on this passage as it is repeated in the early constitutions in order to explain the Dominican concepts of centralization and uniformity of observance. The centralization of authority was especially necessary for Dominicans in order that their mission of preaching and the salvation of souls be directed in the most effective manner possible. The brethren should live under one rule, one profession of vows, in obedience to one Master General, uniform in observance though not in all its details so that legitimate variation is allowed from province to province.[28] As will be seen below, this concept of legitimate variation of observance would not have extended to the texts and chants of the liturgy in any but the earliest stages of the historical development. The very means of centralization (annual general chapters and visitation of the houses and provinces by those in authority) which the Dominicans had adopted from the Cistercians assured rapid development of a uniform liturgy early in the Order's history.

Again, for the Dominicans and the Cistercians before them, the search for authenticity led them to an authority antecedent even to the Rule--that of "the apostolic way of life". Because of a very different approach to religious life, however, the Dominican understanding of this concept was not the same as the Cistercian. Going beyond the mere desire to live a life of common prayer, poverty and simplicity under authority in imitation of the life of the apostolic church, the Dominicans chose to emphasize this imitation as a means to an end, rather than an end in itself.

Confronted by the rapid growth of the Catharist or Albigensian heresy in southern France the Church's response had been for some years to send preachers into the area to combat the heresy. To a great extent, however, these first preachers were ineffective because of the way in which they were perceived by the very people they had been sent to convert. Unlike the Albigensian leaders, who led austere lives of poverty and renunciation and were admired greatly by their followers, the preachers sent by Rome came as prelates, with all of the panoply which surrounded the lives of prelates in the 13th century. Though they claimed to be preaching with the apostolic authority of Rome, itself, the people of southern France failed to be convinced because of their life style. Dominic's response was to give credibility

to his preachers by adopting the poverty and simplicity of the apostles. This concept was taken up by his Order as a constant emphasis on the apostolic way of life, lived not only for the sanctification of the brethren themselves, but even more so for the sanctification by preaching of those whom they would serve.[26]

This modification of the concept of the apostolic way of life to include the needs of the active ministry or apostolate was to have far reaching ramifications in the liturgical reforms of the Dominicans. The same desire the Cistercians had for simplicity in imitation of the life style of the early Church is present. In matters liturgical the early Acts of the General Chapters reflect this desire by prohibiting such things as ornamentation with gold and silver or precious stones, silk vestments, stained glass, illuminated manuscripts, more than a single bell, statues, monumental tombs, or, indeed any notable superfluities.[27] Though some of these prohibitions were later removed, the desire for a certain sobriety and simplicity in both liturgy and chant remained, especially in the revision of 1256.

This simplicity, whether in decoration or in the liturgy and chant, was seen as a sign of commitment to the apostolic way of life--a sign and witness which was necessary for an effective ministry. But simplicity would also result in a more abridged liturgy, making it possible to combine the

sung liturgy of the monastic tradition with the more active concerns of the preaching friar. This problem of how effectively to combine the active life of preaching with the contemplative monastic life was a matter of real concern for the Dominicans, and remains so to this day.

The brevity and succinctness of the Cistercian chant resulted largely from a desire for purity and simplicity as well as the desire to avoid overtaxing the ordinary monk. The brevity of Dominican chant responded also to the needs of the active ministry. Dominicans simply did not have time for long hours spent in liturgy. Humbert of Romans in his commentary on this constitution sees the need to keep liturgy "brief and succinct" not only in order to avoid taxing the devotion of the brethren, but even more in order that study, an essential matter for preachers, not be impeded.[28] The brethren could be dispensed from the liturgy for three reasons only: for study, for preaching, and that the fruits of the ministry not be impeded.[29] It would not seem to be overstating the case to say that the Dominican emphasis on the apostolate and on study, lived by choice in the context of a monastic life style, led to a single-minded application of the principle of simplicity almost to the exclusion of any other concerns.

This pre-occupation with simplicity and the needs of the apostolate produced among Dominicans a rather pragmatic

approach to the reform of their chant. The Cistercian desire to rediscover the authentic chant of St. Gregory is quite clear, whether this is done by adopting an "authentic" tradition or by correcting a corrupt one. This same emphasis cannot be found anywhere in the documents relating to the Dominican reforms. Their approach is more practical, often based, it would seem, on a simple desire for uniformity which would enable the brethren to pray together. . .and then get on with the work of the apostolate. As will be seen in the historical section which follows, the Acts of the General Chapters emphasize a desire for uniformity based on the authority of the Chapter itself with no mention at all of a return to the authority of some earlier witness. Though in his commentary on the Rule, Humbert of Romans identifies Dominican chant as having its origin "not only from the time of Gregory, but long before then, with Augustine,"[30] one suspects that this is done more out of reverence to St. Augustine as the author of the rule than out of any real belief that Dominican chant takes its origin from him.

The Cistercian editors under St. Bernard make clear their desire to discover the authentic chant through the application of the principles of music theory to what they perceived as a corrupt tradition. Because of the well known emphasis of the Dominicans on the scholastic method involving logic, ratio, and scientia, one would expect a similar

approach from them. In the Dominican documents, there is no actual description of the application of the principles of music theory to the reforms. It is possible, however, to discover the application of such principles by examining the chants themselves. The rigor with which these principles are often applied is more likely to be the result of a desire for simplicity and brevity, than any belief in the possibility of re-creating the purity of an earlier tradition.

Historical Outline

Though there is little in early Dominican documents concerning the editorial processes which underlie the development of Dominican liturgy and chant, there is abundant evidence for the outline of the history of its evolution. The clearest brief summary of the process is that given in the commentary on the Constitutions written by Humbert of Romans, under whose guidance the revisions of the Dominican liturgy were completed.

...at the beginning of the Order there was a great deal of variety in the Office [i.e. the entire liturgy], and therefore a single Office was compiled in order to achieve uniformity everywhere. In the process of time four of the brethren from four provinces were commissioned to bring [the Office] into better order, which they did, and their arrangement was confirmed. But because there were still some things to be corrected, a commission was again appointed, [now] under Master Humbert, and approved by three chapters. It is this Office, therefore, which is spoken of here by the Constitutions.[31]

What Humbert describes here is apparently a four stage development of the Dominican liturgy: 1. a very early period characterized by variation from house to house, in which the brethren merely followed the liturgy of the local church, 2. the establishment (date uncertain) of the first uniform liturgy--a compilation [note the use of a word which implies the gathering of elements from different liturgical sources, the same process described by the Cistercian reformers above] which was undertaken in order to achieve liturgical unity, a real value for a centralized order which had become so wide spread, 3. the period marked by of the work of four unnamed friars from the provinces of France, England, Lombardy and Germany (the so-called Four Friars) who were commissioned by the General Chapter of 1245 to bring an already unified liturgy into better order [=melius ordinaret], and 4. the reform completed ca. 1256 under the guidance of Humbert, himself, "because there were still some things to be corrected."

It should be noted, however, that as Humbert describes it, the liturgical reform seems to have consisted in an initial compilation which resulted in the first uniform liturgy, followed by a lengthy process of correction. Humbert's text need not be taken as evidence for three distinct reforms, each with its own separate identity and its own liturgical books, though this has often been the way in

which the Dominican liturgical reform has been presented. As will be shown below, the evidence of the liturgical manuscripts would seem to give stronger support for only two levels of reform, at least for the Mass: the first uniform liturgy witnessed by the tradition of R and V, and the reformed liturgy completed under Humbert of Romans and contained in the Prototype, H. The work of the Four Friars would seem to have been a part of the lengthy process of correction which ultimately led to the Prototype of 1256.

The First Uniform Liturgy

Though the dating of the last stages of the evolution of the Dominican liturgy can be taken from the Acts of the General Chapters, the dating of the first uniform liturgy is much less certain. All Humbert says is that the period of diversity, which existed from the beginning of the Order, was brought to an end by the compilation of a uniform liturgy. There is no known reference anywhere to the date at which this took place. Bonniwell summarizes the opinions held by scholars writing earlier in the century.[32] Laporte, Mortier, and Rousseau, along with Bonniwell, agree that the work toward a uniform liturgy began during the lifetime of Dominic, himself. According to Laporte, Mortier, Rousseau and Mandonnet, as well as Bonniwell, the work was certainly completed during the term of Jordan of Saxony, Dominic's

successor, and Master General from 1222 to 1237. Bonniwell would like to believe that the work was actually completed under Dominic, but adduces as proof only the idea that no one but Dominic, the founder, could have introduced a unified liturgy without stirring up a tempest.[33]

Dominique Delalande, writing shortly after Bonniwell, agrees with most of the earlier scholars that the first uniform liturgy was adopted under Jordan, and goes on to say that this was the most important work in the whole development of the Dominican liturgy. He would see the work of later revisors as relatively insignificant.[34] His opinion was presented, however, before the chant tradition found in R and V (a quite different and markedly less Cistercian tradition than that of H) was known to exist. Leonard Boyle, in an article on Dominican lectionaries, places the task of "producing a uniform liturgy" into the hands of the Four Friars, and thus would appear to propose a date for the first uniform liturgy considerably later than that of other scholars.[35] The witness of Humbert to a uniform liturgy which ante-dated the work of the Four Friars would seem to make this position difficult to maintain. Ansgar Dirks has not treated the question specifically in the work he has published thus far on the early Dominican liturgy, but his dating of the earliest manuscripts, which share much in common with one another, certainly points to an

early date for the existence of a uniform liturgy.

There is certainly adequate evidence for a date for the first uniform liturgy antecedent to the work of the Four Friars. The Commission given them by the General Chapter of 1245, is described as one of correcting, bringing into agreement, and supplying defects ["corrigan et concordent. ac defectus suppleant"]. [36] Presumably the reference is to an already existing liturgy which can be corrected, etc. Bonniwell cites further evidence in the permission received from Innocent IV by the Teutonic Knights to adopt the Dominican rite in 1244 (one cannot adopt that which does not exist). [37] In the Acts of the General Chapter of 1241 legislation is approved which allows brethren who are assigned to another province to take their Breviary and certain other books with them. [38] If the Divine Office had not been fairly well unified by that time, there would be no value in carrying Breviaries which followed one local usage into a province or to a house which followed another.

There is evidence that the uniform liturgy was already in existence even before 1240. Both the Acts of the General Chapter of 1236 and that of 1239 give attention to small liturgical details which would seem rather pointless except in the context of an already uniform liturgy. The 1236 Chapter decides on the posture the brethren will take during the recitation of a specific Psalm, and the 1239

Chapter concerns itself with specific details of the way in which St. Dominic is to be commemorated in the Office and with the rank which the feast of St. Vincent should have.[39] Since the 1236 reference mentioned above is the first liturgical reference found in the Acts of the General Chapters, and since none of the Acts survive from before the Chapter of 1233, one must turn elsewhere for earlier evidence for a uniform liturgy.

Bonniwell proposes 1235 as the earliest date he can support for a uniform liturgy--the date in which Pope Gregory IX gives the Dominican nuns in Milan permission to abandon the Ambrosian rite and "celebrate office according to the way the other Sisters of your Order celebrate it." [40] As he points out, the privilege of the Ambrosian rite was so strong in Milan that the pope would have to have had a very serious reason (namely permitting the sisters to join in a rite used by all the rest of the Dominicans) for allowing the use of a non-Ambrosian rite in the city.

More recently, the dating of the primitive Constitutions of the Order by A. H. Thomas has made possible the proposal of an even earlier date for the first uniform liturgy. In the manuscript of the earliest Dominican Constitutions is found the following:

Totum officium tam nocturnum quam diurnum confirmamus et volumus ab omnibus uniformiter observari, ita quod nulli liceat de cetero aliquid innovare. [We confirm the whole Office, both night

and day, and wish it to be uniformly observed by all, so that concerning the rest no one is permitted to add anything new.][41]

There can be no doubt at all that this legislation refers to a uniform liturgy, here given the full support of the Dominican Constitutions. A. H. Thomas dates this legislation as coming from Bologna in the year 1228.[42] It would seem certain then, that the first uniform liturgy can definitely be dated as early as 1228, well within Jordan of Saxony's term as Master General.

There is one important aspect of this question which remains to be discussed--whether one must see the uniform liturgy as having been created all at once, or whether it might possibly have been created in stages, culminating in some form of fully uniform liturgy by the year 1228. The concept, still present in Humbert's final revision, of the liturgy as divided into fourteen separate "books" allows one to surmise that each "book" would always have been viewed as a separate entity capable of separate unification and revision. Even after the first uniform liturgy it would still have been possible for entire sections of the liturgy to be completely revised and re-worked, and even for new traditions to be incorporated into certain parts of the liturgy, as would seem to have happened with the Gradual.

There is evidence that the separate sections of the Dominican liturgy did indeed become unified at different

stages. André Gignac finds conclusive evidence in his study of early calendars for an organized Dominican sanctoral cycle dating from even before 1228.[43] From an examination of the contents and dating of the Mass manuscripts R and V, one can be certain of a uniform Mass by at least 1234, if not earlier. The enactment of legislation between 1240 and 1242 concerning the carrying of Breviaries from province to province gives witness to a uniform Breviary from at least 1240, though an earlier date cannot be excluded. On the other hand a uniform Breviary implies the existence of a uniform Office lectionary, though it is known that Humbert of Romans was commissioned by the Roman province in 1244 to prepare a new Office lectionary, and that the General Chapter of 1246 imposed his lectionary on the whole Order.[44] This would be an example of the replacement of an existing liturgical book with another. The witness of the notable differences between the chant tradition of R/V and that of H points to the major revision of the Gradual well after the uniform liturgy had been adopted.

It is clear that there was, at least by 1228, some kind of uniform liturgy in use throughout the Order. Less clear are the details of the changes which this liturgy underwent up to the completion of the reform under Humbert of Romans. From 1244 on, however, the general outline is clearly presented in the Acts of the General Chapters.

The Work of the Four Friars

The Acts of the General Chapter held in Bologna in the year 1244 contain the first clear reference to the intention of reforming the Dominican liturgy. Since the Acts of the Chapters before 1233 are lost, there can be no certainty that the 1244 Chapter was the first to address the issue. It did however, and it is conceivable that the reasons lay not so much in dissatisfaction with the Order's liturgy itself, but rather with influences from the Church at large. At this very time the Roman liturgy was being revised, and there was a great deal of liturgical interchange between the liturgy of the Roman Curia and that of the Franciscans under Haymo of Faversham.[45] Pope Gregory IX adopted the newly revised Franciscan Breviary in 1241,[46] and Haymo's Ordinal, which was to become the source of the new Roman Missal, was completed in 1243-44.[47] Perhaps the Dominicans were motivated by a concern that the Franciscan revisions might be pressed on them, or perhaps their own revision was made to convince themselves they could do as well as the Franciscans. Such rivalry between the two orders was not unknown. What is certain is that liturgical revision was in the air and a Dominican revision should come as no surprise.

The Chapter of 1244 began the remote preparations for such a Dominican revision:

We wish and direct that the diffinitors of this next General Chapter bring with them to that Chapter all rubrics and notes concerning the Breviary, both day and night [office] and the Gradual and Missal, in order to bring the liturgy into harmony. (See Appendix, B 8.)[48]

The phrase, "to bring the liturgy into harmony" [pro concordando officio], would seem to contain the key to the Chapter's intentions. The translation could also read "to make a concordance of the liturgy," a reading which would support the idea that this is the first compilation of a uniform liturgy. It would seem likely that this is the phrase which led Leonard Boyle to identify the work of the Four Friars with the first uniform liturgy.[49] It would not seem possible, however, to come to any conclusion based on this phrase alone. The Acts of the succeeding chapter, in which the commission given to the Four Friars is detailed, can provide a clearer picture both of the liturgy as it already existed and of the desired reform.

It was at the General Chapter meeting in Cologne in 1245 that four unnamed brethren from the provinces of France, England, Lombardy and Germany, were commissioned "to correct, bring into harmony, and supply what is defective in both the day and night liturgy, texts, chant and rubrics." (Appendix, B 10.) The words, "corrigan, et concordent, ac defectus suppleant" would certainly seem to refer to an already existing uniform liturgy, though one which, at least in the

minds of the chapter fathers, was in need of further correction. It is possible to imagine the Four Friars, gathered at Angers on the feast of St. Remigius as the Chapter had ordered, each presenting a different form of the liturgy (that celebrated in his own province), and attempting to create one, unified liturgy out of these diverse books, but this would not seem likely. The task was much more likely one of correcting inconsistencies, up-dating the liturgy to bring it into agreement with recent developments, and supplying those additional elements thought to be necessary.

This first stage of the work apparently took some three years, since both the Chapters of 1246 and 1247, envision the work as on-going by making reference to "the whole arrangement of the liturgy made by the Four Friars, or being made up till this year" [ordinacio...facta...vel facienda usque ad annum]. (See Appendix, B 11 and B 12.) Meanwhile, the Chapter ordered recourse to the Master General for the settling of disagreements while the work is in progress. In accordance with Dominican legislative practice, however, it takes three General Chapters to make legislation permanent. The 1246 Chapter began the process of imposing the new revision [=inchoatio], the 1247 Chapter approved it [=approbatio], but final confirmation [=confirmatio] was given by the Chapter meeting in Paris in 1248. (See Appendix,

B 13.) The work of the Four Friars must have been completed by 1248, since the legislation no longer makes reference to "facta...vel facienda," nor to the settling of disputes by the General, but merely imposes the revision simply.

Before completing this summary of the work of revision undertaken by the Four Friars, the question of manuscript evidence for their work must be examined. Can any manuscript be pointed to as the revision of the Four Friars? Dirks dates all of the earliest Dominican liturgical manuscripts as from the period before the work of the Four Friars.[50] With respect to the Mass manuscripts, the immediate focus of this study, this is certainly the case. As was pointed out in Chapter I, R and P are both apparently from the decade between 1234 and 1244. V is even earlier, almost certainly from before the canonization of Dominic in 1234.

The next later known manuscript witness is that of H, the exemplar manuscript of the revision of 1256. As will be shown in Chapter IV, both the textual tradition and the chant tradition of R and V are quite different in many respects from that of H. From the extant manuscripts it is not possible to discover anything of the revisory work of the Four Friars, but only of the earlier uniform liturgy and of the final stages of the reform as completed during the term of Humbert of Romans as Master General. The exact content of

the work of the Four Friars which was given final approval in 1248 is not known, nor is there any evidence for how the corrections made by them were disseminated. Were new books prepared, or did they merely provide a list of corrections which could be made in existing books? Of these matters nothing is really known.

What can be known from the Acts of the Chapters is that acceptance of their revision was less than enthusiastic. Only two years after this revision was imposed on the whole Order, the Chapter of 1250 meeting in London found it necessary to concern itself with the many problems which had arisen:

Since we have, at the time of the General Chapter, received the complaints of a number of brothers concerning the many discrepancies [discordia multiplici] in the Divine Office as arranged by the Four Friars, it would seem to the Master and diffinitors, that in order to settle these disagreements, the aforementioned Friars should meet at Metz on the feast of All Saints, to make a correction of the said Office and reduce it to a single volume. (Appendix, B 14.)

The Chapter does not see fit to detail any of the complaints. The problem seems more than a mere refusal to adopt what is new and different, though it is possible that some of the complaints came from losing texts or chants to which the brethren had become attached. The reference to reducing the corrections to a single volume might imply that the 1248 revision had been more of a list of corrections to

be made to the old liturgical books than a new book to be copied. But, since this same chapter also forbade both the copying and correcting of books according to the 1248 revision, one must presume that there was at least some new material ready to be copied.

The General Chapter meeting at Metz in 1251 enjoined that this most recent correction, presumably the new 1251 correction, be accepted by all and that exemplar copies be placed at Paris and Bologna, from which all other copies or corrections are to be made. (See Appendix, B 15.) Since the Four Friars did not meet at Metz themselves until November of 1251, it is hard to imagine that they could have completed their work by the time the Chapter ordered the preparation of the exemplar copies. Perhaps the Four Friars did their correcting in the existing books and intended afterwards to hire an atelier to prepare the Paris and Bologna exemplars required by the chapter. In any event, in 1252 the Chapter meeting at Bologna passed the first legislation [inchoatio] necessary to give the Metz revision the force of constitutional authority. (See Appendix, B 16.) As was the case with the Four Friars revision of 1248, so with the revision of 1251 there is no extant manuscript evidence for its contents, nor is there any definite way to know how much of a change it represented. Since, as was pointed out in Chapter I, Humbert's Prototype seems to have been begun in

1254 (only three years after the 1251 request for an exemplar), perhaps no separate 1251 exemplar was ever completed. Whatever the case, this revision, too, was destined to be short lived.

The Final Stages of the Reform.

Because of the death of Master General John of Wildenhausen, there was no chapter in 1253. In 1254 in the city of Buda, Humbert of Romans was elected Master General, and the Chapter committed to him "the whole arrangement of the liturgy, both day and night [office], those things which pertain to it, and the correction of the liturgical books. Instead of continuing with the second stage of approval for the 1251 liturgy of Metz, this Chapter made a new inchoation replacing the reference to the Metz correction with reference to a correction "according to the arrangement and exemplar of the venerable father Humbert, Master of the Order. . ." (See Appendix, B 17.) The phrasing of this inchoation would seem to imply a work already in existence, or at least in progress. Had Humbert already started his work, or is this just the chapter Chapter's way of arranging matters so that there will be full legislative approval for Humbert's revision by the time it is completed?

Before presenting the account of the final stages of the reform, it is necessary to define more exactly the

overall role which Humbert of Romans had in the Dominican liturgical reform. It is known from the Acts of the Provincial Chapter of the Roman Province that Humbert of Romans was already provincial there in 1244, and that he was commissioned that same year to revise the Office Lectionary for the province.[51] As a provincial he would have attended the General Chapters at least from the year 1244, the very year in which first mention was made of the need for a liturgical revision. Since he was already involved in the revision of the Office Lectionary, could Humbert himself have been the moving force behind the desire for a more comprehensive revision of the liturgy? Could he, in fact, have been one of the four brethren appointed by the chapter of 1245 to revise the Dominican liturgy? It is certainly tempting to think so. One of the Four Friars was from France, and Humbert was not only from there, but by 1246 was Provincial of the Province of France.[52] The Chapter of 1246 imposed Humbert's Office Lectionary on the whole Order in the same year in which they first approved the work of the Four Friars. (See Appendix, B 11.) Would it not seem likely that the previous chapter had already made him a member of the committee charged with the overall correction and revision of the liturgy?

These questions are not merely asked for the sake of giving added importance to the name of Humbert, but to

connect him more definitely with the earlier stages of the revision. The action of the 1254 Chapter is hard to explain otherwise, since it seems to entail the acceptance of the new revision under Humbert even before it was begun. It would be far easier to explain if Humbert, himself, was already involved in the work of revision. Is it not at least possible that the revision enjoined in 1254 is really no more than a continuation of the earlier work of the Four Friars, now re-named because one of the four revisors has been elected Master General and commissioned directly to finish the work?

If one views the revisions of the Four Friars and of Humbert as more of a single process extending from 1245 to 1256 it is much easier to explain how the liturgy and chant of the pre-1244 period witnessed by R, V, and P, could evolve into the markedly different, more Cistercian tradition presented in H. To see these changes as taking place over the time span of about a decade certainly seems preferable to trying to find a single point within that decade when such major changes could have been made. This would also explain why, in fact, there is no manuscript evidence for clearly defined stages of revision between 1244 and 1256. What the Acts seem to describe is a long and involved process in the revision of the Dominican liturgy, one filled with many false starts and interruptions. One even wonders if it would be

possible for the houses of the Order to change their liturgical practices and their liturgical books at every stage mentioned by the Acts. The work of the revision under Humbert would seem to have been well under way by the time the 1254 Chapter began the legislation imposing it, for it was immediately approved and confirmed by the succeeding Chapters in 1255 and 1256. (See Appendix, B 18 and B 19.) The work must have been essentially completed by the time the Chapter met in Paris in 1256, for that Chapter also imposes a tax of twenty pounds which each provincial is to pay to the prior of St. Jacques in Paris, for the preparation of exemplar copies of Humbert's revision and for certain curial expenses. (See Appendix, B 20.) Indeed, the atelier engaged to prepare the fair copy of the Prototype would even seem to have begun working on it in 1254, the year the first approval of Humbert's revision was given. The preparation of the fair copy apparently took some six years, since changes made between 1254 and 1259 are in places added in the margins, and in other places written as original entries.[53] Though minor changes continued to be made and new feasts introduced, it is quite clear that Humbert's revision was intended to be definitive. Appended to the Acts of the Chapter of 1256 is a letter from Humbert to the whole Order announcing the completion of the revision, listing its contents, and asking that it be accepted fully by all the brethren:

The diversities of our liturgy, the unification of which has been the object of no little care on the part of many General Chapters, has now, by the grace of God been reduced to uniformity in certain exemplars. I ask that you correct the Office according to these exemplars, so that the uniformity so long desired in the Order be found everywhere. Know also that the wishes of the brethren concerning the Office were so diverse that it has been impossible in this arrangement [of the office] to satisfy everyone. Hence you should bear it patiently if, perhaps, you find something less pleasing in your opinion. So you may ascertain whether you have the whole Office, know that it is a volume of fourteen books: namely, the Ordinary, the Antiphonary, the Lectionary, the Psalter, the Collectarium, the Martyrology, the Processional, the Gradual, the Missal for the high altar, the Book of Gospels, the Book of Epistles, the Missal for lesser altars, the Pulpitarium, and the portable Breviary.[54]

The General Chapter of 1257 prohibits the use both of uncorrected books which ante-date Humbert's revision and of unauthorized copies which seem to have been floating around:

~ Whoever has written anything of the liturgy up to now should not give it to anyone else to be copied until what he has written has been carefully corrected according to the exemplars which are at Paris. And whoever will write down such works in the future should not refer to those [earlier] works until they have been carefully corrected by the brethren. Neither should any credence be given to the particular corrections which some people are said to have carried around in notebooks and leaflets. (See Appendix, B 21.)

It is worth noting that this injunction is probably from a time shortly before the completion of the fair copy of the Prototype which is preserved today in the manuscript, H. The mention of "exemplars" in the plural, here as well as in Humbert's letter above, may well mean that other copies,

perhaps less elaborate in execution than the Prototype, were available by 1256 even though the Prototype, itself, was not completed till 1259. At least one other exemplar is known to exist, Ms. add. 23935, the portable copy of the exemplar carried on visitations by the Master General. An original notation on folio 1 of the manuscript describes its purpose as an exemplar to be used by the Master to rectify doubtful passages in the liturgy, and reminds the brethren not to use this exemplar hastily because of its fragility. (See Appendix, C 5.) As was shown in Chapter I, above, this manuscript can be dated from between the years 1256 and 1262.

The General Chapter of 1258 reminds the brethren that newly made copies of the liturgical books are to be "diligently corrected according to the first exemplar." (Appendix, B 22.) The 1259 Chapter reminds the priors to take care that they have the "new correction" and that their liturgical books be corrected according to it. Perhaps by way of encouragement, it is pointed out that the Master General envisions making no more changes. (See Appendix, B 23.) Once more, in 1265, the Chapter reminds the priors to obtain copies of the "new correction." This is the last mention of Humbert's revision in the Acts. (See Appendix, B 24.)

In 1267, by the bull, "Consurget in nobis," Clement IV gives papal approval to the revision of 1256 as valid and

lasting, orders that it be followed in all the houses of the Order, and forbids changes contrary to the intention of this bull without the permission of the Apostolic See.[55] In 1285, pope Honorius IV modifies the bull of Clement IV to the extent of allowing the Master General to make additions or deletions to the liturgy of Humbert without recourse to the Apostolic See, but reminds the General that the overall work of the revision is not to be destroyed or changed.[56]

The Role of Jerome of Moravia

The only name which can be certainly attached to the revision of 1256 is that of Humbert of Romans. There is, however the possibility that Jerome of Moravia, 13th century Dominican friar, music theorist, and author of the Tractatus de Musica, was also involved in the reform of the Dominican liturgy. The problem lies in the uncertainty which surrounds Jerome's dating. The actual dates for his birth, religious profession, or death are not known. The birth records were apparently destroyed during the Hussite uprisings of the 14th century, and any records of his profession and death were lost in the sack of the priory of St. Jacques at the time of the French revolution. Jerome's own dates, then, must depend on what can be discovered concerning the dates of the Tractatus.

Quetif and Echard, who compiled what was for several

centuries the standard source for information about Dominican authors, avoid a specific date and simply identify Jerome as a writer of the mid-13th century from around the time of St. Thomas Aquinas.[57] Thomas Kaeppli, whose newer bibliography of Dominican authors will replace Quetif-Echard when it is completed, gives a date of 1272.[58] This date, which would seem quite late in the opinion of many scholars, is also that proposed by Simon Cserba. It will be discussed in detail below.

A date more consistent with the possibility of Jerome's having been a part of the revision of 1256 was first presented by Gastoué in his article on Jerome written in 1932.[59] He gives 1256 as the earliest date for Jerome's Tractatus since the Alleluia chants, Pie pater and Felix ex fructu, which are referred to by Jerome, were written around that time. Since the chants for Corpus Christi are not mentioned by Jerome (and Gastoué thinks it likely they would have been if they existed), Gastoué proposes 1264, the date he gives for these chants, as the latest date for the Tractatus. He concludes by suggesting a date of "around 1260" as the most likely date for Jerome's treatise. Though one might possibly disagree with Gastoué's basing his date on the presence or absence of the Corpus Christi chants, there are many, as will be seen below, who would agree generally with a date closer to 1260 than to 1272.

According to Gastoué, the Tractatus could not have been written after 1270, since Jerome's personal copy of it (preserved today as Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 16663) was placed in the library of the Sorbonne in that year.[60] Cserba disputes this date and says that Peter of Limoges did not give the manuscript to the Sorbonne until 1304.[61] Neither Cserba nor Gastoué present any further proof for the year of Jerome's death, though both base it on the date, unsupported in both cases, for Peter of Limoge's gift to the Sorbonne.

Cserba, who prepared the critical edition of the Tractatus, rejects Gastoué's dating entirely and proposes instead a date between 1272 and 1304. The entire argument for the 1272 date is based on a passage in the Tractatus in which, Cserba says, Jerome is quoting from Thomas Aquinas' commentary on the De coelo et mundo of Aristotle, a commentary which he dates as 1272.[62] Michel Huglo sees this date as too late, and presents the possibility that in his commentary, St. Thomas, himself, is quoting from some earlier source.[63] An examination of the Index Thomisticus, as completed thus far, shows no references for this quotation other than the De coelo et mundo commentary,[64] though this would not exclude the possibility that the original quotation is from somewhere other than Thomas's own earlier works.

Huglo also argues for an earlier date by observing that, since the Tonary of the Tractatus differs from

Humbert's Tonary (despite the authority given the 1256 revision) it would seem likely that Jerome's Tonary, and thus the entire Tractatus, is from before the revision of 1256. In a letter to the present author, Dirks disagrees with Huglo's conclusion and asserts that the Tractatus is from after the 1256 revision, though he gives no reasons for his assertion.[65] Kenneth Levy inclines toward a date sometime in the third quarter of the 13th century, though after the 1256 revision which he sees as a relatively recent event.[66] Claude Palisca holds for a date around 1260 based on the fact that the theorist who is traditionally called Johannes Cotto even in 13th century manuscripts is still referred to by Jerome simply as, Johannes.[67] Thus, though Cserba's date of 1272 is widely accepted,[68] there are many scholars, among whom the above must be counted, who incline toward an earlier date..

* If Jerome had already produced a major work of music theory before the completion of Humbert's revision, it would be hard to imagine that he would not have been involved in the work which in all likelihood took place in the Dominican house where he lived. Even if the Tractatus was completed around 1260, Jerome would probably have been a scholar of sufficient prominence that he would have been chosen to aid in the work. If, in fact, the Tractatus did not appear until after 1272 it would still be conceivable that Jerome worked

on the revision of 1256, though he would have had to have done so as a very young man. Since the present state of scholarship would seem unable to propose a definite date for Jerome, he cannot be certainly identified with the work of the Dominican liturgical reform of 1256, though his influence is a real possibility.

His importance to the present study is twofold, however. Whether he personally took part in the 1256 revision or not, the Tractatus is a witness to those principles of music theory which influenced the editors of the Cistercian chant reform and the Dominicans after them. These ideas, taken by Jerome from the writings of earlier music theorists, would certainly have been known to the editors of the Dominican reform, whoever they might have been. Perhaps his greatest contribution, though, lies in the witness which he gives to the changing aesthetic values of the 13th century. In Chapter 24 of the Tractatus Jerome presents us with a new aesthetic based, as will be seen, on newly composed ecclesiastical chants, radically different in character and sound from the traditional chants which form the main body of the Gregorian repertory.

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1. M.-D. Chénu, O.P. Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century, ed. by J. Taylor and L. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), Chapter 9, "Tradition and Progress."
 2. Georges Duby, The Age of the Cathedrals: Art and Society 980-1420 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 116.
 3. See Appendix of Latin Texts, A 2, for full text.
 4. See Louis Lekai, S.O. Cist., "Motives and Ideals of the Eleventh Century Monastic Renewal," in The Cistercian Spirit, Cistercian Studies, III (Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, 1970), p. 45.
 5. See Appendix, A 1, for Latin text.
 6. Lekai, p. 33, fn. 6.
 7. Bede Lackner, S.O. Cist., "The Liturgy of Early Citeaux," Studies in Medieval Cistercian History, Cistercian Studies, XIII (Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, 1971), p. 13.
 8. Quoted in van Dijk, Origins, p. 25.
 9. Ibid., p. 57.
 10. Lackner, p. 2.
 11. See Bruno Schneider, "Citeaux und die benediktinische Tradition," Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 16 (1960), p. 100ff and 17(1961), p. 169ff.
 12. Chrysogonus Waddell, O.C.S.O., "The Origin and Early Evolution of the Cistercian Antiphony," The Cistercian Spirit, Cistercian Studies, III (Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, 1970), p. 197.
 13. Ibid., p. 218.
 14. See her article, "Cistercian monks," in The New Grove Dictionary, IV, p. 412.
 15. Sarah Fuller, "An Anonymous Treatise Dictus de Sancto Martiale: a New Source for Cistercian Music Theory," Musica Disciplina, 31 (1977), p. 22, fn. 63.
 16. See Cecily Sweeney, "The Musical Treatise Formerly

Attributed to John Wylde and the Cistercian Chant Reform," (Ph.D. dissertation, U.C.L.A., 1962) esp. pp. 53-64, for a complete study of this treatise and its contents.

17. Waddell, p. 207.

18. The critical edition, prepared by Francis Guentner, S.J., is in volume 24 of CSM.

19. Direct quotations here are taken from Guentner's translation in vol. 24, CSM, pp. 42-43. Appendix, A 3, gives the full Latin text.

20. Berry, NG, IV, p. 412.

21. See Delalande, pp. 10-11.

22. Pierre Mandonnet, O.P., Saint Dominic and His Work (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1944), p. 373.

23. H. C. Scheeben, O.P., "Die Anfänge des Zweiten Ordens des Hl. Dominikus," Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, II (1932), p. 294.

24. See Humbert, Opera, II, Prologus, pp. 1-67 passim. See especially pp. 2, 5, 8, 39 and 61.

25. See Appendix, C 1, for the full text of this section of Humbert's commentary.

26. See M.-H. Vicaire, O.P., Saint Dominic and His Times (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), Chapter IV.

27. See Appendix, B 2, B 4, B 5, B 6, and B 9 for the pertinent legislation.

28. Humbert, Opera, II, pp. 85-98.

29. Ibid. p. 28.

30. Ibid., I, p. 186.

31. See Appendix, C 2, for Latin text.

32. Bonniwell, p. 61.

33. Ibid., p. 27.

34. Delalande, pp. 3-6.

35. Boyle, p. 367.

36. Acta capitulorum, I, p. 33.
37. Bonniwell, p. 62.
38. See Appendix, B 7, for the Latin text of this legislation.
39. See Appendix, B 1 and B 3.
40. Bonniwell, pp. 65-66.
41. Constitutiones antique ord. fratrum praed., ed. P. Mothon, Analecta sacri ordinis fratrum Praed., II (1895-1896), p. 648.
42. A. H. Thomas, De oudste constituties van de Dominicanen voor geschiedenis tekst, bronnen, ontstaan ontwikkeling (1215-1237), Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, fasc. 42 (Louvain, 1965), p. 289, fn. 241.
43. Gignac, p. 113.
44. Boyle, p. 369.
45. See van Dijk, Origins for a full treatment of this movement.
46. Bonniwell, p. 75.
47. Dirks, 1979, pp. 6-7.
48. The original Latin text for this and succeeding legislation can be found in the Appendix of Latin texts. The English translations are the author's.
49. See Boyle, p. 367.
50. Dirks 1979, passim.
51. Boyle, p. 369.
52. G. Gieraths, "Humbertus de Romanis," Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche, V, p. 563.
53. See Chapter I of this dissertation, pp. 46-47.
54. The original Latin text of this letter may be found in the Appendix, C 3.
55. The Latin text of the pertinent section of the bull is

given in the Appendix, C 4.

56. See Bullarium ordinis fratrum praedicatorum, Thomas Ripoli, O.P., ed. (Rome: Mainardi, 1729), II, p. 81.

57. J. Quetif and J. Echard, Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Recensiti (Paris, Ballard and Simart, 1719), I, p. 159.

58. Thomas Kaeppli, O.P., Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi (Rome: Santa Sabina, 1975), II (G-I), entry number 1946.

59. Amadée Gastoué, "Un dominicain professeur de musique au xiii^e siècle," Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, II, pp. 233-237.

60. Ibid., p. 235.

61. Simon Cserba, ed., Hieronymus de Moravia, O.P., Tractatus de Musica, Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, heft 2 (Regensburg: Verlag F. Pustet, 1935), p. xxii.

62. Ibid., p. xxxii, cf. p. 34.

63. Michel Huglo, Les Tonaires, Publications de la Société française de musicologie, troisième série, vol. II (Paris, 1971), p. 335, fn. 3.

64. Index Thomisticus, Robert Busa (ed.), Stuttgart and Bad Constatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1974--, s.v. "sphaericae."

65. Private correspondence from Ansgar Dirks, written April 29, 1977.

66. Kenneth Levy, "A Dominican Organum Duplum," JAMS, XXVII (1974), p. 184.

67. Claude Palisca, ed., Hucbald, Guido and John on Music, translated by Warren Babb (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 88.

68. See Frederick Hammond's article, "Jerome of Moravia," in The New Grove Dictionary, IX, pp. 606-607.

CHAPTER III

MEDIEVAL THEORISTS AND CHANT REFORM

Historical Background

The chant reform undertaken by the Dominicans, and by the Cistercians before them, was based not on principles newly discovered by the reformers, but rather on their own interpretations of medieval chant theory as it was transmitted to them from the work of earlier theorists. As a part of their reform, the Cistercians prepared a treatise describing the principles upon which their reform was largely based, but even a cursory examination of the chants of the reform manuscripts will reveal editorial practices which go well beyond, and at times even contradict, the expressed principles of the reform. The Dominicans did not even prepare such a treatise, or at least not one which has been preserved, but left to later scholars the task of determining the principles of the reform from an examination of the editorial changes made in the chants themselves.

It is therefore important to examine the development of the medieval theory of chant, especially in those aspects which were recognized as important by the Cistercian and

Dominican editors. Only by such examination can one come to an understanding of the intellectual and aesthetic atmosphere in which the Cistercian and Dominican reformers accomplished their work. The way in which they approached the tradition, their concept of the need for reform, and the editorial practices which they found acceptable were in large part bequeathed to them from the past, as was their understanding of basic modal theory, and the principles of melodic structure and style. The aesthetic dimension of what was acceptable and even beautiful, was a constantly evolving reality, but one which can only be seen developing in an historical context.

This paper will not treat the work of theorists from before the Carolingian renaissance directly, since their work was only known to 12th and 13th century musicians through the work of later writers. Aurelian of Reome, whose Musica Disciplina from the middle of the 9th century is the earliest extant medieval treatise, will not be examined, since, as Lawrence Gushee points out, "there is little evidence that he was much read in the later Middle Ages." [1] Aurelian's treatise is, however, the earliest extant source for the so-called noeane patterns--a series of melodic types discussed below, which approach the modes from the aspect of their sound or melodic design rather than of the abstract scale into which they fit.

Since the approach of both the Cistercian and Dominican reformers was practical and directly tied to the actual editing of chant, the treatises examined will be of the same type, and such purely theoretical questions as the origins and definition of music, musical proportion, and similar topics will not be discussed. The treatise, De harmonica institutione, attributed to Hucbald and written around the year 900 provides an excellent synthesis of earlier modal theory as it was applied to the chant and gives a succinct presentation of the concepts of note, interval, mode, final, and range as these were known to the later Middle Ages. It does not appear to have had direct influence on the remaining treatises discussed below, but is valuable in its presentation of an approach somewhat different from the other treatises discussed. Certain ideas treated by Hucbald, but not by the other theorists examined, will appear again in some of the Cistercian theoretical writings. This is true of Hucbald's description of the use of the Greek tetrachord of the synemmenon to introduce the half step which will be called b-flat by later theorists.[2]

The anonymous treatise, Dialogus de musica, written apparently around the year 1000, is the earliest witness to that theoretical tradition which came to influence the work of both the Cistercian and Dominican chant reforms. It provides a clear statement of the need for chant reform and

presents one approach to such reform. Some of the concepts presented by Hucbald are discussed in greater detail. The idea of limiting chants to the range of a tenth is clearly presented, perhaps for the first time. Salutor Marosszeki sees the Dialogus as the original source for the Cistercian approach to modal unity.[3] Claude Palisca recognizes a direct line of influence from the Dialogus to Guido of Arezzo, John of Affligem, and ultimately to Jerome of Moravia.[4]

Another statement of the need for chant reform and a reasoned approach to it is given in the Prologus antiphonarii sui of Guido of Arezzo. His Micrologus, thought to have been written around the year 1030, presents the developed concept of secondary finals or "affinals," treats the process of modal transposition, describes the characteristics of each of the modes, and speaks at length of what would today be called compositional techniques. Guido also provides the familiar letter names by which the notes of the scale have been known ever since.[5] Marosszeki recognizes the influence of Guido's Micrologus on the Cistercian reformers,[6] and the similarity between the Cistercian presentation of chant theory and Guido's is evident. Jerome of Moravia also makes use of Guido's thought and often quotes him directly.[7]

The final pre-Cistercian reform theorist presented will be John, variously surnamed Cotton, Cotto, or Affligem

(Afflighimensis in Latin), who flourished around the year 1100. His work, a practical treatise which provides both a summary and an amplification of many of the concepts of earlier theorists, presents in the greatest detail those concepts important to the Cistercian and Dominican reforms. Of particular importance are his understanding of the musician as judge and editor of earlier music and composer of new, his extensive treatment of editing and compositional techniques, and his discussion of the characteristics of each mode. He also provides a series of pattern melodies later than the noeane syllables, the so-called "Primum quaerite" melodies, which will be examined as yet another witness to an approach to the modes which emphasizes their actual sound. His work was not only important to the Cistercian theorists, but Jerome of Moravia in his turn depended heavily on John and quoted him directly in a number of instances.[8]

Need for Chant Reform

Before treating modal theory directly, it is important to examine both what medieval theorists perceived as a need for the reform of the chant and the basic approaches which they took to that reform. For John, the origins of the authentic chant are clearly rooted in early Christian tradition.

The first use of music in the Roman church was made by St. Ignatius the Martyr and also by St.

Ambrose, bishop of Milan. After them the most blessed Pope Gregory composed chant with the assistance and at the dictation, it is said, of the Holy Ghost, and he gave the Roman church the chant by which the Divine Service is celebrated throughout the year.[9]

John acknowledges that "certain chants have long since been corrupted," and urges strongly "that the corrupted usage be cast out which has debased either these or any other chants," pointing out that "Since it is established that the one Lord is pleased by one faith, one baptism, and complete unanimity of morals, who would not believe that he also is offended by the manifold disagreement of singers." [10]

Guido of Arezzo, in his Prologus antiphonarii sui written several generations before, complains that there are as many varieties of the chant as there are masters so that the chant is commonly said to be "not Gregory's, but Leo's or Albert's or someone else's." [11] The common strand, then, which runs through the writings of medieval theorists is that the chant in its original form was inspired and that this inspired original has been replaced to a greater or lesser extent by corrupted forms of the chant. The solution is, of course, to restore and unify the chant by bringing it back to its "original" form.

The question of how the chants became corrupted is presented with great intensity by John:

. . .we do know most assuredly that a chant is oftentimes distorted by the ignorance of men, so that we could now enumerate many corrupted ones.

These were really not produced by the composers originally in the way that they are now sung in churches, but wrong pitches, by men who followed the promptings of their own minds, have distorted what was composed correctly and perpetuated what was distorted in an incorrigible tradition, so that now the worst usage is clung to as authentic.[12]

Writing as he does in the period when staff notation was first coming into general usage, John is quite willing to place much of the blame for the corrupted chants on the use of unlined neumes [irregulares], which perpetuate the errors of unskilled singers.[13] In a presentation of the problem which must have come from his own personal experience with singers, John points out:

One must realize that whatever is sung wrongly goes wrong either at the beginning or in the middle or at the end. Thus chant is sometimes corrupted at the beginning in that it either does not begin on the right note, or, beginning on the right note, it is taken too far down or up by the undisciplined voice of the singer....Realizing part way through that something is amiss, they blame the chant for being wrong and strive to emend it.[14]

Like many theorists both before and after him, John recognizes the dangers inherent in the editing process and then fails to avoid the same pitfalls himself when he seeks to emend chants which have "gone wrong."[15]

The multiplicity of different traditions from church to church and readings from manuscript to manuscript made it obvious to medieval theorists that something had to be done to correct the chant repertory. The problem lay in how to deal with these errors in an intelligent way. Since they did

not possess an archetype in which they could recognize Gregory's original readings, they were forced to rely on a threefold editorial approach in their attempts to restore the chant to its "authentic" form--changes made by rule and based on theoretical principles; changes based on common usage or the living chant tradition; and changes which depended on the recognition of what constituted the correct sound for a chant. One must acknowledge, however, the close connection between the aesthetic judgment of what "sounds correct" and influence of the living tradition in providing the basis for such a judgment.

John does not address this question directly himself, but like all medieval thinkers he puts great value on an approach based on principle or rule. Much of his treatise, as will be seen below, consists in just such rules for how the modes ought to be used and how chants ought to be constructed. Along with this approach, however, is a clear interest in how chants sound. Speaking clearly of the beautiful, and not merely the correct use of the 4th and 5th, John says:

...the diatesseron and the diapente give the greatest pleasure in chant if they are disposed suitably in their places; for they make a beautiful sound [emphasis mine] if sometimes after descending one ascends immediately to the same note...the fourth makes a much sweeter melody--and especially in mode 3--if now and then it is repeated with various notes 3 or 4 times.[16]

Though John is apparently speaking primarily of composing new chants, it would seem that these principles would be equally applicable to editorial restorations. This interest in how chants should sound is also evident in his presentation "for more fully showing how to get to know the modes" of "some little chants which we may call 'models' or 'formulas of the modes'" [aptitudines formulas modorum]. [17] These so-called "Primum quaerite" chants, which will be examined below, are descendents of the noeane patterns which were in turn based on the melodic formulae or octoechoi which were used by the Byzantine Greeks to describe the various modes.

For Guido, on the other hand, there is an obvious preference for the rule, even when it opposes common usage:

...since the masters change many things arbitrarily, little or no blame should attach to me if I depart from common use in scarcely more than a few respects in order that every chant may return uniformly to a common rule of art. And inasmuch as all these evils and many others have arisen from the fault of those who make antiphoners, I strongly urge and maintain that no one should henceforth presume to provide an antiphoner with neumes except he understand this business and know how to do it properly according to the rules here laid down. [18]

The author of the Dialogus de musica seems to seek a balance of all three--rule, sound, and usage--in his approach to the restoration of chants. Moreover, the impulse toward radical restoration which will characterize many of the later reforms would seem to be in large part lacking from his work.

I investigated the antiphoner of the

blessed Gregory, in which I found that nearly all things were regularly set down. A few things, corrupted by unskilled singers, were corrected, both on the evidence of other singers and by the authority of the rules....but in the longer melodies...we found sounds...contrary to the rule. Yet, since universal usage agreed in defending these melodies, we did not presume to amend them. We noted them as unusual, however, in order that no one inquiring into the truth of the rule might be left in doubt.[19]

Speaking more specifically of how the editorial work was to be undertaken, the author warns:

...the musician who lightly and presumptuously emends many melodies is ignorant unless he first goes through all the modes to determine whether the melody may perhaps not stand in one or another, nor should he care as much for its similarity to other melodies as for regular truth. But if it suits no mode, let it be emended according to the one with which it least disagrees. This also should be observed: that the emended melody either sound better [emphasis mine] or depart little from its previous likeness.[20]

- For the medieval theorist then, the reform of chant is often presented in the context of an opposition between the singer, who more often than not is blamed for corrupting the chant, and the musicus or musician properly so called, who is the arbiter of what is correct, pure, and in accord with the ancient tradition. Perhaps John describes the situation most succinctly:

The knowledge of music, then, is no small ground for praise, is of no slight use, and is no mean achievement, since it makes him who know it a judge of music already created, an emender of faulty music, and an inventor of new....Whereas the musician always proceeds correctly and by calculation, the singer holds the right road

intermittently, merely through habit.[21]

Basic Modal Theory

Before proceeding with the actual concepts of melodic structure and style which were of direct influence on later editors and reformers of chant, it is necessary to treat those elements of medieval modal theory which form the foundation on which the melodic concepts were built. Though much attention is paid by medieval theorists to the inter-relation between the ancient Greek modal system as it was understood and the system of ecclesiastical modes, this was really more of a theoretical than a practical problem and did not directly influence the editorial decisions of the reformers. The same can be said of the treatments of music and number, proportion, the monochord, and of the Greek names for the notes. This survey will concentrate only on those elements of modal theory which have a direct bearing on the reformers' understanding of the modal system as it relates to their editorial concerns.

The Concept of Mode

The operative concept of mode as understood by the theorist of the 12th or 13th century is perhaps most succinctly stated by the author of the Dialogus as "a rule which classes every melody according to its final." [22] This definition, if four notes are accepted as finals (D, E, F,

G), would provide for four modes, though the more widely accepted theory enumerates eight. John presents the commonly accepted explanation in the context of the question of correct terminology:

...the modes--which, as Guido declares, we call "tones" improperly--are eight, in imitation clearly, of the eight parts of speech.... Whereas they are now eight, they were formerly only four, perhaps like the four seasons.... They are called "tropes" from a suitable turning back, for however the chant may be diversified in the middle, it always led fittingly back to the final by means of the tropes, that is, tones. But what we term "modes" or "tropes" the Greeks call phthongoi. [23]

Those who first wrote about music, John says, "classified all varieties of composition among four modes, so that there are reckoned to be just four finals." [24] The "moderns," however, recognizing that chants with the same final appeared to fall naturally into two groups based on high or low tessitura, divided the four original modes into eight, calling the chants of high tessitura "authentic" and those of low tessitura, "plagal." In naming the modes John says Latin singers call the authentic Protus the first "tone," the plagal Protus the second, the authentic Deuterus the third, the plagal Deuterus the fourth, and so on with the Tritus and Tetrardus. He also refers to the Greek naming of the eight modes according to peoples: viz. Dorian, Hypodorian, Phrygian, Hypophrygian, etc. [25]

Guido's Micrologus, not yet having developed the

later terminology of John, makes reference to four "modes" which he defines by the half-step relationships within the tetrachords.

The first mode of notes arises when from a note one descends by a tone and ascends by a tone, a semitone, and two tones, as from A and D. The second mode arises when from a note one descends by two tones and ascends by a semitone and two tones, as from B and E. The third is that in which one descends by a semitone and two tones but ascends by two tones, as from C and F. The fourth goes down by a tone but rises by two tones and a semitone, like G. Notice that they follow each other in order. Thus the first [mode] on A, the second on B, the third on C; and also the first on D, the second on E, the third on F, and the fourth on G.[26]

It is interesting to note that what most later theorists would see as the "secondary finals" or "affinals" ("a," "b" and "c") are mentioned first by Guido, who seems to make no distinction between these and "D," "E," "F," and "G," for which the term, "final" is more commonly reserved. Guido also divides these four "modes" into eight, using the authentic/plagal distinction, but insists on the terminology, "authentic Protus and the plagal of the Protus," calling the Latin usage, "first and second," a mistake [abusio].[27]

Hucbald, writing even earlier than Guido, speaks only of four modes or tropes: Protus, Deuterus, Tritus and Tetrardus, based on D, E, F, and G respectively "in such a way that each of these four notes reigns over a pair of tropes subject to it, namely, a principal one, which is called the "authentic," and a collateral one, which is called

the "plagal." [28] Like Guido, Hucbald also recognizes the possibility that melodies can close on the higher finals of "a," "b," "c," though, surprisingly, he includes the possibility of closing on the higher final, "d," as well. It should be noted that Palisca emends the text of Gerbert in this instance and follows the reading of the manuscript, Brussels, Bibl. Roy. 10078/95, which places the phrase, "quae quinto...disparantur" after "paranete diezeugmenon." [29]

This preference for four "modes" each with its own final and encompassing an authentic/plagal pair would seem to be much closer to the actual practice of the Middle Ages than the customary theoretical division of the modes into eight. It is the Cistercians who apparently first use the grammatical term maneriae to describe these four basic modal structures, [30] though they, too, recognize the division into plagal and authentic which yields a total of eight. The division into eight modes was, it would seem, more intended for those chants sung with a Psalm, to aid in the choice of the correct psalm tone and differentia necessary to join Psalm and antiphon.

The importance of the final in identifying and characterizing each of the modes, and in classifying chants according to them is recognized by all medieval theorists. For John "...the whole quality of chant turns on the finals. Wherever a chant begins and however it is diversified, it is

always to be assigned to that mode on whose final it ends." [31] Guido presents an even fuller role for the final:

Though any chant is made up of all the notes and intervals, the note that ends it holds the chief place, for it sounds both longer and more lasting. The previous notes, as is evident to trained musicians only, are so adjusted to the last one than in an amazing way they seem to draw a certain semblance of color from it....The beginning of a chant and the end of all its phrases and even their beginnings need to cling close to the note that ends the chant. An exception is that when a chant ends in E it often begins on 'c,' which is a diapente plus a semitone away... [32]

Guido's statement certainly provides ample justification for the single-minded approach which the Cistercian and Dominican editors often take to the concept of modal unity in which the final becomes the ending note of all cadences of a piece, whether final or internal.

Modal Transposition

The question of how many finals there actually are is complicated by the recognition that it is possible, especially with the occasional use of b-flat, to transpose chants to a higher tetrachord and still maintain the appropriate distribution of whole and half steps. These secondary finals are recognized as secondary by some theorists, but others see them simply as finals, thus increasing the number of possible finals. As will be seen, the Cistercians actually opt for seven finals. For John,

however, there are only four finals: D, E, F, and G. The others he calls "affines" (often Anglicised to "affinals") and assigns a definitely secondary role to them. It is possible to use these affinals or "kindred notes" as finals because they "agree in descent and ascent." Thus, D, the final of the Protus concords with "a" because from either one can descend a whole step and ascend a whole step and a half step. So too, E Deuterus accords with b-natural Deuterus, since it descends by a tone and ascends by a semitone and a tone. The same is true of F Tritus which accords with "c" because of the semitone descent and ascent of two tones. G, the final of the Tetrardus has no such kinship, and thus there is no affinal on "d." [33] John looks on any such transposition with suspicion, however, though he agrees it turns out tolerably in the Protus, Deuterus and Tritus modes. [34]

John does recognize, however, the problem of chants which must be transposed in order to be notated correctly, saying that "there are chants which are defective in their natural range, but proceed without impediment among the kindred notes." [35] These are cases in which the notation of an appropriate half or whole step in the natural range would require an E-flat or F-sharp, though the problem would be taken care of in the affinal range by the normal placement of the half and whole steps there. Two examples, the Communion

chants, "Aufer a me" and "De fructu," which John uses to illustrate the problem will be analyzed in detail in Chapter V below. There are also chants, John recognizes,

that can be sung neither in their natural range nor among the kindred notes. For such we give this advice, that they be emended within their natural range. If, however, they are much disordered and can be emended more easily in the kindred range, let them be rearranged there.[36]

Guido is also aware of the problem of chants which cannot be written as they are sung, attributing them to inaccurate singing in such a way that "by ascending or descending more than is right for the prescribed interval, we pervert a neume of a certain mode into another mode or we begin at a place [in the scale] which does not admit [that] note." Though providing no solution to the problem, Guido does give an example, the Communion, "Diffusa est gratia," in which, he says, "propterea" should begin on F, though many begin it a whole step below "where there is no note" [ubi nulla vox est] (i.e. E-flat).[37] Guido also appears to allow for partial transposition of only those sections of chants which have notes that cannot be written--a procedure which often leads to great confusion when later editors cannot recognize precisely where the transposition has taken place. "The place and mode where each neume [emphasis mine] begins should be left to the judgment of the singer, so that if it needs to be transposed [si motione opus est], he may search

out related [affines] notes.[38]

Editorial reconstruction of such chants has often so distorted their shape that it is very difficult to determine what the original reading must have been. The Cistercian and Dominican editors seem not to have been directly concerned with the problem of chants which cannot be notated in the way in which they were sung. As will be shown in Chapter V, they tended to accept uncritically the witness of their source manuscripts (in which the problem had often already been addressed), and with a lack of any real awareness of a problem, sang the chant as it appeared there. They were more concerned, it would seem, with the simpler question of whether or not a given chant should be transposed to its "other final" or left as they found it.

As Palisca points out, the question of transposition had become more pressing in the 12th century, since, for the first time, musicians are forced

to come to terms with the transition from an ambiguous notation of relative pitch height to a notation that, if it did not assume absolute pitch, dwelt in a gamut that prescribed the precise placement of tones and semitones. Melodies sung by custom at whatever pitch was comfortable for the voice now had to be fitted into a scale that provided semitones in only certain configurations, requiring a b-flat and even E-flat to locate some melodies in a comfortable range.[39]

As will be seen below, these questions, especially as they affect range or ambitus and the use of the b-flat, will

remain problems for the Cistercian and Dominican editors--and perhaps even to a greater extent since such questions are viewed by them as reflections of faithfulness to their underlying rule of simplicity.

The Use of B-flat

The question of transposition is closely allied with the problems which surround the use of the b-flat. John treats the b-flat in connection with the transposition of chants which cannot be correctly notated in their natural range. He is quite conservative in its use, and prefers, as will the Cistercians after him, to transpose the chant to the affinal range rather than introduce a b-flat.[40] He also describes the introduction between low A and B of a "Greek S, which they call synemmenon" so that there can be a whole tone below C--a procedure with which he disagrees, finding no adequate authority for accepting such a procedure.

For Guido, the most important use of b-flat or b-rotundum is in relation to the tritone. It is added, he says, "because F cannot make a concord with b-quadratum a fourth away, since it is a tritone distant.[41] He describes the b-flat as less regular than the b-quadratum, calls it "added" or "soft," and requires that the two not be used in the same neume. He mentions that b-flat is used most often

in chants in which F or "f" occur extensively in order to avoid the tritone.[42] As Keith Fleming points out in his careful study of the use of b-flat in relation to the tritone, Guido is also willing to change the pitches of an entire group of notes by transposition in order to avoid the tritone.[43]

Guido also shows how to avoid b-flat altogether "by altering the neumes in which it occurs, so that instead of F, G, a, b-flat you have G, a, b-quadratum, c." [44] It is unclear, however, whether he is here referring to the transposition of an entire chant to its affinal range or of merely transposing the problem incise or phrase in order to avoid the flat. Unlike John, he does not indicate a preference for transposition over the use of the b-flat.

Guido also recognizes the problem, as will the Cistercians later, that the inappropriate use of b-flat can actually alter the mode altogether, creating "a certain confusion and transformation so that G sounds as Protus and "a" as Deuterus, whereas b-flat, itself, sounds as Tritus." [45] He cites this as a reason why many have never even mentioned b-flat, and one can surmise that the Cistercian desire to avoid b-flat can be traced to concern over this kind of ambiguity.

For Hucbald the half step above "a" was created not by the use of a symbol for another kind of "b," but rather by

transposition. The ordinary Boethian tetrachords as described by Hucbald did not contain the b-flat at all. For this reason another tetrachord, called the synemmenon, which does contain the b-flat in the configuration, G, a, b-flat, c, was inserted midway between the other tetrachords. Hucbald shows how phrases of chants which must contain the b-flat are "transposed" into the tetrachord of the synemmenon in order to accommodate the flat.[46] This approach, which had to be used by Hucbald since he had no other way of notating b-flat, would seem, at least in some cases, to have led to confusion when, in later manuscripts written in staff notation, a similar procedure was used. Later singers and editors, unaware that a given incise had been transposed merely for notational reasons, seem to have accepted it at face value as un-transposed, thus altering the shape of the melodic line at that point.

Problems of Ambitus

One final question of basic modal theory must be treated before the theorists' understanding of melodic structure can be examined--that of the range or ambitus of chants. The recognition of the importance of range first led to the division of modes into plagal and authentic. But tessitura, as well as range, was important to medieval theorists, especially after the introduction of staff

notation made relative tessitura a practical problem for singers and not just a theoretical concern. John treats directly of the tessitura of chants saying:

For chant ranges now among the graves, as in the Offertory, "In omnem terram," now around the finales, as though it were engaged in a kind of circumflexion, as in the antiphon, "Benedicat nos," and now it is borne among the acutae, as though dancing, as in the antiphon "Veterem hominem." [47]

For John, such different tessiturae were seen to affect the basic sound and character of a chant, and were thus of significance in themselves. Tessitura does not seem for him to have been a neutral matter which could always be subordinated to questions of notation or ease in singing.

His treatment of correct ambitus, on the other hand, was more a question of rules to be followed. He describes the need for dividing chants according to ambitus as having arisen historically from the recognition that certain chants tend always to "begin among the low notes and roam amongst them," whereas other chants "commence among the high notes and dwell for the most part there." Chants were therefore divided between the authentic, "original" or "principal," which frequent the high notes, and the plagal, "collateral" or "subordinate," which spend more time among the low notes. [48]

John also distinguishes the ambitus of chants "by way of rule" from what he calls "by way of license," which he

describes as very rarely to be resorted to. Thus authentic chants by way of rule may rise an octave above their finals. By license they may rise a ninth or tenth. Similarly they may descend, only by rule (John does not admit descent by license in any mode) to the next note below the final. John does not permit the descent in the case of the authentic Tritus, since the semitone does not allow an acceptable descent to be made. Plagal modes, on the other hand, may ascend as far as a fifth by rule, or a sixth by way of license, since they must dwell among the lower notes. John even quotes Guido as saying that any chant which ascends to the fifth 3 or 4 times should be assigned to the authentic mode. Plagal chants descend a fourth or even a fifth below their final.

Guido describes the plagal/authentic distinction as having arisen from the need for joining antiphons to their Psalms correctly, "for what was added on, if it was low pitched, did not go well with the high notes [of the antiphon]; but if it was high, it was at odds with the low notes." The problem was solved, says Guido, by dividing each mode in two.[49] For Guido, "in any chant it is right to go down [as far as] a fifth from the final note and up [as far as] an octave, though it often happens that, contrary to the rule, we go up to a ninth or tenth." [50] In the next section Guido does exclude plagal chants from ascending to the

octave, however. Such chants are said to go "down and up a fifth, (the Latin can also be translated "down and up to the fifth degree," which would mean down only a fourth) yet the sixth above is also allowed. Authentic chants should "scarcely go more than one note below their finals, as is shown by the testimony of the chants generally used." The authentic Tritus, however, does so rarely because of the flaw of the semitone beneath.[51]

The author of the Dialogus is more conservative in his treatment of ambitus. What he calls "acute or high melodies" (authentic chants) may rise an octave from the final, and descend a tone below it. No mention is made of the exclusion of the authentic Tritus from descent. Lower (plagal) melodies are said to descend no further than one of the six consonances (this would include descent of a fifth) and ascend to the fifth and sometimes as far as the sixth.[52]

Hucbald does not seem to make the authentic/plagal distinction at all in terms of range. His tonary[53] groups the authentic and plagal forms of each mode together and treats not finals or differentiae but notes on which the chants may begin. He seems to assign all notes on which a given mode may begin to both the authentic and plagal indiscriminately.

Implicit in the descriptions of the ranges of chants

is the question, which the author of the Dialogus mentions and which will become very important to both the Cistercian and Dominican reformers. This is the question of the correct maximum allowable range for a chant. For the Cistercians and Dominicans this question will be related directly to the concept of simplicity of the chant. The author of the Dialogus concludes that chants must be restricted to the range of the decachord or the tenth first because of the authority of David's psaltery. The reference here is to the "Psalterio decachordo" mentioned in Psalm 32. The second reason he adduces is based on the range of the tenth which can be arrived at by counting the notes from the "low-G" or gamma up to "b," which give the ten notes of the three lower conjoined tetrachords. The Cistercians in their turn will provide further justification for the decachord. If one follows the author's rules for the ambitus of authentic chants, however, the theoretical range of the 10th is not even attained, though plagal chants do reach the range of the tenth.

John and Guido do not mention the decachord, nor does Hucbald, though it can be inferred to a greater or lesser extent by examining their rules for ambitus. For John, authentic chants are in the range of a tenth if they go up a ninth and down a whole step. However if they go up tenth, as he allows by way of license, the total range would be an

eleventh unless, in such cases, the sub-final were avoided. Plagal chants would always seem to fall within the decachord, even if they descended a fifth and ascended a sixth. An examination of Guido's rules for ambitus produces similar conclusions. Hucbald does not treat the question of ambitus in this context at all.

The final problem of range is closely related to the question of ambitus and has to do with the "mixing" of the ranges proper to the authentic and plagal forms of a mode in a single chant. Though such is often the case with solo chants, such as the Graduals of the Mass and the long Responsories of the Office, such mixing was more often than not forbidden in theory. For the Cistercians and Dominicans it would become an inflexible principle to be adhered to even at the cost of cutting off the upper range of melismas which go too high or of transposing whole sections of a chant to avoid the problem. Whenever both ranges are included in a single chant the range of a 10th will almost certainly be exceeded. Guido makes no value judgments in such cases, but merely notes that "you will find a number of chants in which the low and high are so intermingled that one cannot make out whether they should be assigned to authentic or plagal.[54]

The author of the Dialogus is more judgmental, though he does not insist on emending such chants:

But in the longer melodies [viz. Graduals, long Responsories], beloved brothers, we found

sounds belonging to the high modes and excessive ascents and descents, contrary to the rule. Yet, since universal usage agreed in defending these melodies, we did not presume to amend them. We noted them as unusual, however, in order that no one inquiring into the truth of the rule might be left in doubt.[55]

For him, though such melodies are contrary to the rule, universal usage would prevent their being changed. The Cistercians will have no such scruples about changing these melodies, nor will the second generation of Dominican editors.

Melodic Structure and Style

Though the basic principles of modal theory provide the foundation for the work of editors and reformers of chant, it is, at least in their best work, the understanding of the details of melodic structure and style which should govern the way in which the task of editing is carried out. The basis for such understanding begins with observations made concerning the relative importance of individual notes within the chants. By the 12th century the primary role of the final in a chant was undisputed--indeed, the extension of the concept of modal unity often gives it a far greater role than would have been originally intended.

Significance of Individual Notes

John, writing at the beginning of the 12th century,

presents a carefully worked out approach to the relative importance of the notes within a chant. The final is that note on which "the whole quality of chant turns," and regardless of wherever or however a chant begins or however it is diversified within itself, "it is always to be assigned to that mode on whose final it ends." [56] For John, however, there is another note of singular importance, the tenor, which he likens to the key to a lock, as it were controlling melodies, and providing a way to identify chants. The tenor he defines as "the place where the first syllable of the "saeculorum amen" of any mode begins." He lists them as: F, for mode 2, which has the lowest tenor because it goes lower than any other mode; "a" for modes 1, 4, and 6; "c" for modes 3, 5, and 8; and "d" for mode seven, since it goes up beyond any other mode. [57]

Unique to John is the emphasis which he gives to a third note, the "gloria," which he defines as that note upon which the "Gloria Patri" begins. He lists these as C for mode 2, again the lowest mode; E for mode 4; F for modes 1, 5, and 6; G for modes 3 and 8; and once again "c" for mode 7 because it goes the highest of any mode. [58] After these three notes John gives preference to the other notes which relate to the final by means of one of the six consonances: semitone, whole tone, ditone (major 3rd), semiditone (minor third), diatesseron (perfect 4th), and diapente (perfect

5th).[59] This order of preference governs John's treatment of intervals, beginnings or intonations, and internal cadences. Though he does not mention it specifically, John and all medieval theorists would also recognize the possibility of giving importance to any note through its repetition, though such reiterated notes would normally be one of the above, especially, as is evident in the chant repertory, the F and the "c."

Aside from giving primary importance to the final, theorists earlier than John do not seem to treat the relative importance of single notes within a chant directly, though which notes are of greater importance can be discovered from their treatment of interval, beginnings, and internal cadence. Guido uses the term, tenor, but only in the sense of a lengthening of the last note of an incise or phrase [tenor...id est mora ultimae vocis], and not the sense in which John uses it.[60] Though Hucbald bases his modal theory on the final like all other theorists, he does give great prominence to the note on which a chant begins by organizing his tonary around these beginning notes.[61]

The Concept of Interval

It is from the treatment of interval that any actual analysis of melodic shape must begin. John's treatment recognizes nine "intervals from which melody is put

together," calling six, "consonances," either because in singing they sound together--at the same time--more often than the others; or, more likely, because they sound together in the sense that they are related among themselves." [62] These six (semitone, tone, minor 3rd, major 3rd, perfect 4th and perfect 5th) are preferred, whereas the remaining two (the minor and major 6th), the largest, are rarely found. He does not mention the diapason (octave) in his list of intervals, but mentions it separately as "including within itself all the different consonances" [quod omnes consonantias in se concludit]. [63] It is interesting to note that John does not include the tritone among his list of intervals, nor does he mention it in any other part of the treatise.

Guido restricts his treatment of interval to the six consonances and says that "in no chant is one note joined to another by any other intervals, going either up or down" [in nullo enim cantu aliis modis vox voci coniungetur, vel intendo vel remittendo]. [64] The only exception he allows is that of the minor 6th which occurs when chants which end on E often begin on "c." [65] The tritone is mentioned not among the intervals, but as something to be avoided by the use of b-flat. [66] The author of the Dialogus mentions the same six consonances and makes the same exception to allow the minor 6th in Deuterus melodies. [67] It is rather surprising that

the intervals of the major 6th and the tritone are excluded from mention by these three theorists, since examples of both are found in the repertory, and both are mentioned by earlier theorists. One is perhaps again dealing here with another instance of the inconsistency which exists between usage and rule.

Hucbald's treatment of interval is somewhat more comprehensive. After excluding unison from a concept of interval as requiring two different pitches, Hucbald proceeds to enumerate all the intervals possible up through the 6th: the semitone, the whole tone, the minor 3rd, the major 3rd, the perfect 4th, the tritone, the perfect 5th, the minor 6th and the major 6th; presenting for each interval (including the tritone) examples from the chant repertory of the interval in both ascending and descending forms. Intervals of a greater size, Hucbald says, will not be found in any rational music, since even the largest of these (the major 6th) is rarely made.[68] The octave is described as a species of unison, though in a different range.[69]

Beginnings and Internal Cadences

Theorists also recognized the importance of the beginning or intonation (by which they usually meant only the first note) as well as of internal cadences in defining melodic structure. John sees authentic modes as beginning

properly within the range of a 5th above their final, or a tone below, though, by way of exception, mode 3 often begins a 6th above. Plagal modes should begin a 4th above or occasionally a 5th below their final, and, he points out, the same is true of the beginnings of phrases within plagal chants.[70] John's obvious preference with respect to internal cadences is for their return to the final, "whenever the sense of the words calls for a punctuation mark." [71] In a specific analogy with punctuation he also admits other possibilities: "...when a chant makes a pause by dwelling on the 4th or 5th note above the final, there is a colon; when in mid-course it returns to the final, there is a comma; when it arrives at the final at the end, there is a period." [72]

Guido seems at first much more concerned with relating beginnings and internal cadences to the governing role of the final: "The beginning of a chant and the end of all its phrases and even their beginnings need to cling close to the note that ends the chant." [73] This statement is made in the context of Guido's discussion of the relationship of the final to the six consonances, and thus "to cling close" no doubt is meant to include the possibility of all six. Nonetheless, it is evident how such a statement could be used by later reformers to justify the constant return to the final itself, as enjoined by their principle of modal unity.

Guido presents rules similar to John's for beginnings

and internal cadences of authentic modes, limiting them to less than the range of the 6th above the final, except in the case of the Deuterus. In plagal modes, however, Guido is more restrictive in his rules, saying that "in plagal modes it is least permissible to rise either in beginnings or endings of phrases to the fifth degree, although one may very rarely rise to the fourth." He further limits plagal Protus and Tritus to the third, and plagal Tetrardus to the fourth.[74] He also mentions internal cadences in his treatment of phrase structure, where he presents the general rule that almost all phrases should proceed to the final or a note related [affinis] to the final.[75]

Hucbald makes no mention of internal cadences, but in connection with his special emphasis on the beginnings of chants he sets out where each ~~mode~~ can begin in detail. His general rule is that no chant in any mode can ever begin more than a 5th above or below its final.[76] As he works this out in the "tonary" which follows, Protus chants can begin on any note between "a" a 5th above the final, and "A" a 4th below it, though he is unclear about chants beginning on "B." Deuterus chants can begin anywhere in the octave, b-natural down to "B." Tritus chants must begin within the range of the "c" to "C" octave, and Tetrardus chants can begin anywhere within the range of a 9th from high "d" down to "C." [77]

John on Melodic Style

Perhaps the most significant way in which medieval theorists have approached questions of melodic structure and style is in their treatment of what would today be called compositional technique. Two of the theorists examined here treat this question in some detail, John and Guido. John begins by saying that he sees no reason why composition of new chants should not continue in his own time, even if they are not needed for the services of the Church.[78] He then presents his analysis of what such compositions should be like. It is not too much of a leap to assume that for John the same principles of what is correct and beautiful would be applicable to chants composed in previous ages, and thus serve as aids in the editing of chants which had become corrupt.

John gives as his first precept "that the chant be varied according to the meaning of the words," a rather surprising support for a concept not unlike word painting in a tradition which seems to have made little actual use of it. He goes on to suggest that the music be composed according to the audience for which it is intended--"youthful and playful" for young people, "slow and staid" for old folk. He then becomes more specific, suggesting that the constant repetition of a single neume is an abuse of that neume, citing as an example the Response, "Ecce odor," in

which the same pattern, d-e-f-e-d, is repeated six times in rapid succession with a seventh repetition which differs by only a single note.[79] He does allow the single repetition of a melodic figure and cites two examples of such repetition.[80] He says it is commendable to prolong authentic chants slightly near the end, but that plagal chants should hasten to their conclusion.[81]

John continues with a description of what he calls the "best plan for ordering melody" as it applies to plagal and to authentic chants. Plagal chants should "repeat the final often and hover around it." They may very rarely make a rest on the 4th above the final but never on the 5th, and if they touch the 5th, "let them quickly turn back, as though touching on it in haste and almost trepidation." Plagal chants, with the exception of mode 4, should never leap up or down by the interval of a 5th from the final, though the leap up or down of a 4th occurs freely. In general plagal chants should not descend as far as the fifth, lest they sound too deep, or ascend a fifth, lest they sound too resonant and authentic in character.[82]

Authentic chants should "circulate mostly among the higher notes, and after they have paused two or three times on the fifth from the final, they should revisit the final, and again betake themselves hastily to the higher notes." Except for mode 5, they may also descend a note below the

final. Mode 3 is said to rise and fall from the final by a 6th more easily than from the 5th. Mode 5 is singled out as particularly appropriate for the rise and fall from the 5th, especially when it rises by a major and then a minor 3rd.[83]

John now turns to even more specific details of composition. In his discussion of the specific roles of the 4th and 5th he observes that they "give the greatest pleasure in chant if they are disposed suitably in their places, for they make a beautiful sound if sometimes after descending one ascends immediately to the same notes, as can be seen in the Alleluia, "Vox exultationis." He goes on to cite any example in the Antiphon, "O gloriosum lumen," in which the 4th "makes a much sweeter melody" if now and then it is repeated with various notes three or four times.[84] He takes notice of the use of inversion, noting that "it is beautiful too, if, by whatever notes a neume descends, it at once ascends by the same ones." [Item pulchrum est si per quas notas neuma descendat, per easdem statim ascendat.][85]

Though he tries to relate what has been discussed to definite laws or rules for composition, it would seem evident from the above that John's treatment of melody is based not so much on rule as on usage, and on the sound of such melodies as they are familiar to musicians and singers. Authentic chants should sound authentic by their circulation among the higher register. Mode 5 "sounds well" when, as it

often does, it begins with an intonation which rises by thirds. The 4th "makes a sweeter melody" when it is used in a particular fashion. Plagal chants are more in character when they remain low in their register, hovering, as it were around the final.

Guido On Melodic Style

Guido also provides, in Chapter 15 of the Micrologus, an analysis of what is needed for shaping good melodic lines. Though this section of his treatise seems primarily to have been intended for the analysis of hymns and sequences, at least some of the ideas are general enough that they could be applied to the general repertory of chant as well. Like John, Guido suggests that the music should reflect the meaning of the text:

Let the effect of the song express what is going on in the text, so that for sad things the neumes are grave, for serene ones they are cheerful, and for auspicious texts, exultant, and so forth.[86]

His requirement for balanced phrase length would seem to be more applicable to hymns and sequences, though examples of his principle that phrases be sometimes repeated, either exactly or modified by some change, can be found in other kinds of chant as well. He proposes modification by varying the intervals of a phrase or retaining the same intervals but repeating the material transposed higher or lower. In

general, variety can be achieved: by using more or fewer notes in neumes and melodic movements, by the intervals being closer together or farther apart, and by changes in tessitura.[87]

He describes both retrograde: "a neume turning back on itself, may return the same way it came and by the same steps," and inversion:

"when a neume traverses a certain range or contour by leaping down from high notes, another neume may respond similarly in a opposite direction from low notes, as happens when we look for our likeness confronting us in a well." [88]

His concept of balance is general enough to be applied to the traditional repertory as well as to hymns and sequences. Diversity, he says, should "create a measured variety of neumes and phrases, yet in such a way that neumes answer harmoniously to neumes and phrases to phrases, with always a certain resemblance, at the same time alike and dissimilar." [89]

His treatment of liquescence is important because it provides a witness from theoretical writings of an approach often found in the manuscript tradition. Liquescent notes, written "as a kind of blot under a note," should move limpedly from one note to another without seeming to stop." He then adds: "If you wish to perform the note fully and not make it liquece, no harm is done; indeed, it is often more pleasing." [90] A similarly casual approach was often taken by

editors and copyists of manuscripts. There is ample evidence of the same neume in a chant appearing in liquescent form in one manuscript, or indeed in one place in the same manuscript, and in non-liquescent form in another. Certainly by the period of the Cistercian and Dominican reforms the use of the liquescent is not at all consistent.

Melodic Patterns and Formulas

The basic principles of modal theory, and especially discussions of melodic structure and style reveal much of what was considered to be correct, valid and beautiful in the repertory of medieval chant. The existence of pattern melodies for each of the modes, however, provide a strong witness for an evaluation of chants based more on their sound. These melodies rather than presenting another approach by rule, reflect an attempt to describe the sound unique to each mode. The approach is not a new one, and would seem to derive originally from the Byzantine Greek intonation formulae or enechmata which enter the western tradition as the noeane syllables preserved in several medieval treatises. Their earliest witness in the West is apparently in the Musica disciplina of Aurelian of Reome from around the year, 850.[91] Hucbald's use of the syllables, "no-ne-no-o," is apparently related to the noeane syllables, but does not actually correspond with them.[92] Two separate

series of noeane syllables, somewhat different from each other and from Aurelian's presentation, can be found in the 10th century treatise, Commemoratio brevis, formerly attributed to Hucbald.[93] Indeed, many different manuscripts contain these noeane patterns in similar, though not identical form.

The Noeane Patterns

Table II on the next page presents Huglo's transcriptions of the noeane melodies as they are found in Aurelian.[94] At times they accord with the principles set down by the theorists, but in other ways there seems to be little agreement at all. The melodies are all atypical in the sense that none of them approach their maximum allowable range. Indeed, all (except mode 3 which has the range of a 7th) lie within the range of a 6th, or even a 5th or 4th, as is often characteristic of more ancient melodies.

The melody for the first mode begins somewhat atypically, though certainly within the rule, on "a," rather than on the final or subfinal, and does not touch the final until the internal cadence at incise 5.[95] This internal cadence is reached, characteristically, by descent to the final. Perhaps because of the brevity of the melody, no example is given of the internal cadence which descends to the sub-final--a common half cadence in mode 1 melodies.

TABLE II

THE NOEANE PATTERNS

PROTUS (Final on D)

1

2

DEUTERUS (Final on E)

3

4

TRITUS (Final on F)

5

6

TETRARDUS (Final on G)

7

8

Incise 6 extends the melody by scalewise circling around the F-a region with an exact repetition of the F-G-a-G pattern. Indeed, the melody is rather unrelievedly scalar and does not exhibit the skips (especially the D-a leap) often characteristic of mode 1 melodies. Interestingly, the melody does not really follow the rule of keeping to the higher notes of the mode. Since it never rises above "a," it might just as easily be a plagal melody, though Guido would classify it as authentic since it touches the 5th more than three times.

The melody for mode 2 is characteristically plagal in that it begins on and circles around its final, although it never takes advantage of the lower ambitus allowed it by rule. Again, it is a melody of very narrow range, never descending beyond the subfinal. As with the mode 1 melody, the movement of this melody is almost wholly scalar and lacks even the skip down to low "A" often found in mode 2. If incise 3 is considered to be an internal cadence, this would give support to the theorists' observation that Protus melodies often have an internal cadence on E. The final cadence is one frequently associated with mode 2.

The mode 3 melody begins acceptably on the 4th above the final. It also characteristically remains in large part in the upper part of its range. The internal cadence at incise 6 and the final cadence are both of the typical kind

which descends from G. This melody does not use the other common mode 3 cadential pattern, E-F-E-D-E. Even though it is brief, the melody gives at least a suggestion of the modal ambiguity which is often characteristic of the Deuterus. The opening gesture could just as easily be the beginning of a Protus melody on "a," only becoming characteristically Deuterus at the cadence in incise 6. Incises 7 seems to hint at Tritus or even Tetrardus tonality with its outlining of the G-d scale which descends to F and leads into the typically Tritus F-a-c pattern in incise 8.

The melody of mode 4 begins on its final, and circles continually within the E-G region with its emphasis on the E-F half step characteristic of the mode. Atypically, the melody avoids the use of much of the lower region of the mode. The final cadence is typical, though again of the type which descends from G. Especially in plagal melodies one would be more likely to expect the lower E-F-E-D-E cadence. Of all the noeane melodies, this is perhaps the least melodic and least interesting.

For mode 5, the beginning on "c" is theoretically quite acceptable, though the chants of the repertory do not often begin this way--the most typical beginning being the outline of the "major triad," F-A-C, recommended by the theorists. Though the melody has the range of a 6th, it certainly does not explore the upper reaches of the ambitus

allowed to the mode. The leap from "c" down to G (incise 2 and 3) is quite typical of mode 5 melodies. The F-G-a pattern in incise 4 with its skip to "c" in incise 5 is also typically Tritus. The final cadence is acceptable, though not as common as the F-G-a-G-F-G-G-F pattern. The approach is from above to avoid the semitone below the final. In passing one might note that by changing only the last two notes of the final cadence to "bb-a," an editor could create a transposed Protus ending on "a." As will be seen in Chapter V, this kind of variation is often found in different manuscript traditions.

The mode 6 melody, though brief is quite typical of such melodies. The beginning is characteristically one of descent to low C, taking the melody immediately into the lower range of the mode. Incise 4 presents a characteristic half cadence on D. The entire melody remains closely attached to its final, rising above it only to descend to the final cadence.

The melody for the seventh mode begins acceptably on "c," a 4th above the final, and though it stays above the final throughout, the upper part of the range is never explored beyond the 5th. In the tradition it is more common for mode 7 chants to begin on their final. The final cadence of the melody is not really typical of mode 7, and one wonders why the very common cadential pattern,

G-a-b-a-G-a-a-G, was not used. Though it does not rise as high, the scale pattern in incise 4 is almost identical in melodic shape to the pattern in incise 7 of the mode 3 melody. It even outlines the same F-a-c pattern as it continues.

The mode 8 melody begins, as it often does in the tradition, on its final, rising to the 4th above, but descending immediately to return to the final. This melody is certainly not typical of plagal Tetrardus, since it does not go below its final at all. The leap from G up to "c" is quite common in mode 8, and provides the only relief from an otherwise almost wholly scalar melody. Indeed the pattern in incise 4 is exactly the same as that in incise 4 of the mode 7 melody, though a step higher. The final cadence is typical, though perhaps more typical would be the simpler, G-a-G-G, which often closes mode 8 chants.

The examination of the noeane melodies reveals much that is typical of each of the modes. The disagreement with respect to the rules of range, is, at least in part perhaps due to the brevity of the melodies themselves, which would make the exploration of the full range difficult, if not impossible. The same brevity, and the fact that only one melody is given for each mode, can explain why not all cadential formulae are presented. Bearing in mind their Byzantine Greek origins, and remembering that they are not

really melodies at all but patterns, they can nonetheless be quite helpful in determining at least in part, what sounds were acceptable to the medieval ear for each of the modes.

The "Primum quaerite" Melodies

A closely related set of pattern melodies are those with Latin texts, the first of which begins "Primum quaerite regnum Dei." Each text is based on a reference to a passage in the New Testament: Seek first the kingdom of God." (cf. Mt. 6:33); "and the second [commandment] is like it" (cf. Mt. 22:39); "It is the third day since these things happened." (cf. Luke 24:21); "At the fourth hour he came to them." (cf. Mt. 14:25); "The five wise [virgins] entered into the wedding feast." (cf. Mt. 25:1-2); "At the sixth hour he sat down by the well." (cf. Jn. 4:6); "There are seven spirits before the throne of God." (cf. Rev. 1:4); "There are eight beatitudes." (cf. Mt. 5:1-12).

Guido quotes only the formula for authentic Protus chants but makes reference to "certain neumes [which] have been composed, so that we learn the mode of the chant from the way it fits these, just as we often discover from the way it fits the body which tunic is whose." [96] It is not clear whether Guido means just the "Primum quaerite" melodies, the first of which he cites, or the noeane formulas as well by his reference to "certain neumes." John, however quotes all

eight "Primum quaerite" melodies in their entirety in his treatise, De musica. [97] These melodies, like the noeane patterns before them, are intended to present various patterns characteristic of each mode.

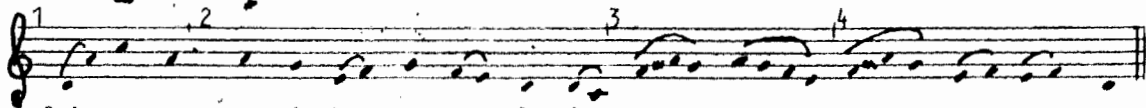
Table III on the next page presents these chants for examination. Like the noeane patterns, they consist of a texted section of melody followed by a lengthy melisma. Since these are actual texts, however, and somewhat longer than the noeane syllables, there is more of an opportunity to develop some of the characteristic patterns, figures, and cadences for each mode. They are more melodic in character than the noeane patterns, and, having been written specifically to show how each mode should function, follow the medieval rules of theory much more closely. Their ranges and tessiturae are more in keeping with the rules, yet none reaches the theoretical limit of a 10th. The intonation figures are much more characteristic of what is found in the actual chant repertory. Each melody provides a clear example of a characteristic intonation, internal cadence, and final cadence.

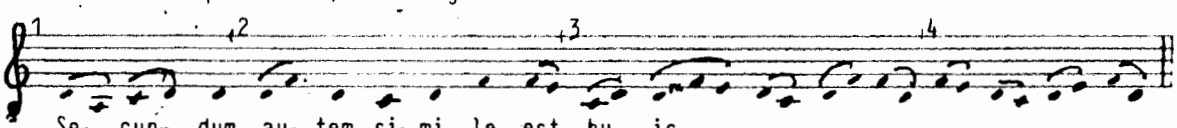
The mode 1 melody begins with one variation of the common intonation which begins with the upward leap of the 5th from the final. John gives "c" as the highest note of the intonation, though different manuscript traditions will often present this type of intonation as D-a-c-a, D-a-b-a, or

TABLE III

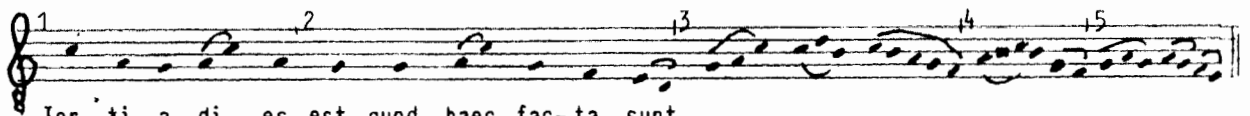
THE "PRIMUM QUÆRITE" MELODIES

PROTUS (Final on D)

1 
 Pri - mum quæ - ri - te re - gnum De - i.

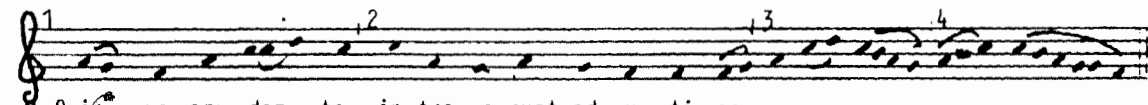
2 
 Se - cun - dum au - tem si - mi - le est hu - ic.

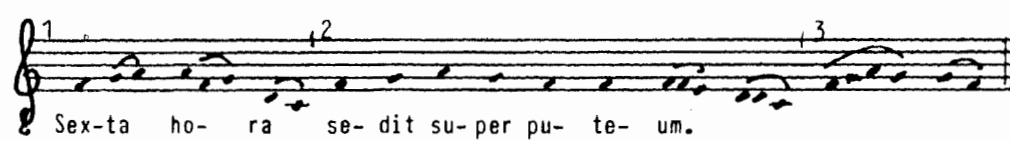
DEUTERUS (Final on E)

3 
 Ter - ti - a di - es est quod hæc fac - ta sunt.

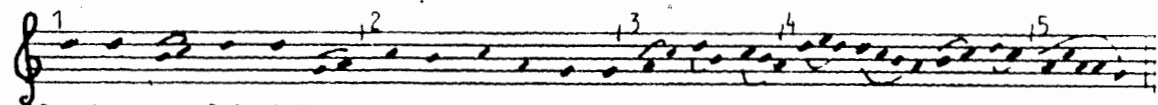
4 
 Quar - ta vi - gi - li - a ve - nit ad e - os.

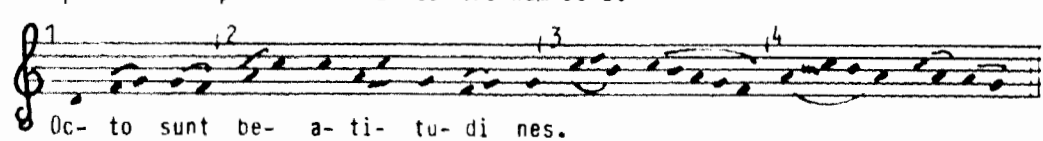
TRITUS (Final on F)

5 
 Quin - que pru - den - tes in - tra - ve - runt ad nup - ti - as.

6 
 Sex - ta ho - ra se - dit su - per pu - te - um.

TETRARDUS (Final on G)

7 
 Sep - tem sunt Spi - ri - tus an - te tro - num De - i.

8 
 Oc - to sunt be - a - ti - tu - di - nes.

D-a-"b-flat"-a, depending on their approach to the ambiguous quality of the "b." John's substitution of the "c" is a common way in which later manuscripts often avoid the problem altogether. The end of incise 2 presents a typical mode 1 internal cadence on C. The reiteration of the F-G-a-G pattern, also witnessed by the mode 1 noeane formula, is quite characteristic of mode 1. The final cadence is not, however, the most typical mode 1 cadence, more often some variation of D-E-F-E-D-E-E-D, though it is certainly acceptable. Less characteristic is the limiting of the melody largely to the D-A fifth, except for the "c" touched at the intonation and the C at the internal cadence.

The second mode melody, "Secundum autem," begins with an intonation pattern quite typical of mode 2 chants with its drop down a 4th to low A. Typical, too, is the circling of the final and the repeated D-E-F-E-D and D-F-D figures, also witnessed to in the noeane patterns. It is again surprising that only the very limited D-F range is explored except for the drop at the intonation. The final cadence is of a common type, but is certainly not as prevalent as the D-E-D-C-C-D cadence so often found in the repertory.

Beginning the third mode melody on "c," a 6th above the final, is not really a typical intonation, but does reflect the theorists' description of mode 3 chants as more likely to rise and fall from the 6th, "c," than from the 5th

"b." The range is that of a full octave above the subfinal, and does give this melody much of the characteristic high mode 3 sound. The relative importance of both G and "c" to mode 3 melodies is clearly highlighted, "c" being the tenor of the mode, and G being what John calls the "gloria." The internal cadence on the subfinal at the end of incise 2 is a common one, though perhaps not as common in the authentic range chants as a cadence on "b." The outlining of the F-c 5th at incise 4 and the last part of 3 is rather atypical, though balanced by the more typical G-a-c gesture which opens incise 3. The scalar descent to the E at the final cadence is quite typical. Notice the internal cadence on D at the end of incise 2. This, along with the rather Tritus quality of the region between incises 3 and 4 points again to the rather ambiguous sound of the Deuterus.

The melody, "Quarta vigilia," begins on F, a common enough occurrence in mode 4 chants, as is the use of F in incise 2 at the internal cadence, and the general importance of F to the melody. As is often the case, however, this emphasis on F, and especially in connection with D, gives the melody a rather Protus character. The very narrow range of this melody prevents the tenor, "a" from even sounding, much less assuming a role of importance. The melody does hover around the final as theorists suggest, though. The final cadence descending scalewise to E is acceptable, though again

one notices that an editor could very easily transform this into a Protus chant by bringing the melody down one more note to cadence on D.

The mode 5 melody does not really begin typically, since the great majority of mode 5 chants begin with the F-a-c "triadic" figure. The melody does move in the expected higher part of its range, and the "c" tenor has a prominent place, as does the F, which John calls the "gloria." The final cadence is the same given in the noeane pattern for this mode, though, as was already pointed out, is not nearly as typical of the mode as the F-G-a-G-F-G-G-F pattern. The sense of the very common F-a-c pattern is present in the melody, though in a somewhat subtle and disguised fashion.

The sixth mode melody begins quite acceptably on F. The melody characteristically explores the lower range of the mode, though, since it only rises a 3rd above the final, reveals nothing of the use of the b-flat in sixth mode pieces. The same was true of the noeane pattern for this mode and both place more emphasis on the lower 4th F-C than on the upper portion of the mode. The final cadences are the same for the noeane pattern and for this melody.

The mode 7 melody begins on its tenor, "d," and remains in the high part of the tessitura, touching the final, G, only at the end of incise 1 and at the final cadence. It is rather surprising that the melody goes no

higher than "e," since seventh mode chants tend to explore the highest part of their range and many relatively short melodies rise to "f" and even "g." This melody is a good example of the way in which the chants of this mode frequently circle around the G-a-c pitches. The final cadence is a characteristic one, though perhaps not as common as the pattern, G-a-b-a-G-a-a-G.

Apparently to emphasize its plagal quality, the mode 8 chant begins on D, a 4th below its final. Though it remains well within the theoretical ambitus for the mode throughout, it exhibits a characteristic of many eighth mode chants, in that it tends to move in the range between the final and the 5th above it, rather than exploring its lower range, and thus shares much with authentic chants on G which are of similar narrow range. The emphasis on the a-c minor third is also characteristic of chants of this mode, as is the preference for b-natural over b-flat. The final cadence, the same as that given for the mode 7 melody, "Septem sunt," is not atypical, though a more frequently used pattern would include the b, as in the pattern, a-c-a-b-aa-g, the form of the cadence used in the eighth noeane pattern.

Though the above descriptions of the pattern melodies and their relationship to the theoretical rules of chant is by no means exhaustive, it does provide a brief look at melodies which were specifically intended to characterize the

sound of each mode. They were undoubtedly used in the Middle Ages as examples of the way in which the rules should be applied, but also they provided melodic examples by means of which students could learn the actual sounds of the modes. The fact that such patterns exist, whether the noeane patterns or the "Primum quaerite" melodies, points directly to an approach which goes beyond the merely theoretical to the actual sounds of the chant. Both the Cistercian and the Dominican reformers obviously had their rules for editing, and many chants adhere to those rules. For other chants, however, one strongly suspects that editorial decisions have been based on their preconceptions of the sound of the mode, even when these did not always accord well with the rules.

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1. Lawrence Gushee, "Aurelian of Reome," The New Grove Dictionary, I, p. 704.
 2. See in Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 29.
 3. Marosszeki, p. 83.
 4. See Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, pp. 52, 55, 88.
 5. This study will use his system with slight modifications, viz.: beginning with "low G" below middle C (the Greek "gamma"), A, B, C, D, E, F, G, a, b-flat, b-natural, c, d, e, f, g, a', b'-flat, etc.
 6. Marosszeki, p. 86.
 7. See chapter 14 of Jerome's Tractatus, p. 59.
 8. Cserba, p. xxiv, says that Jerome relies on John as the second most important witness after Boethius.
 9. English translation by Warren Babb in Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 136. For Latin text, see Appendix, D 1.
 10. Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 152. cf. Appendix, D 2.
 11. Strunk, I, p. 118.
 12. Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 129-130. cf. Appendix, D 3.
 13. Ibid., p. 150. cf. Appendix, D 4.
 14. Ibid., p. 152. cf. Appendix, D 5.
 15. Examples of John's editorial corrections can be found in Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, pp. 152-157.
 16. Ibid., p. 143. cf. Appendix, D 6.
 17. Ibid., pp. 120-121. cf. Chapter 11 of John of Affligem, De musica cum tonario in CSM, I, p. 86.
 18. Strunk, I, p. 118. cf. Appendix, D 7.
 19. Ibid., p. 104. cf. Appendix, D 8.

20. Ibid., p. 111. cf. Appendix, D 9.
21. Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 104. Cf. Appendix, D 10.
22. Strunk, I, p. 113.
23. Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 115. cf. Appendix, D 11.
24. Ibid., p. 117. cf. Appendix, D 12.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., p. 63. cf. Appendix, D 13.
27. Ibid., p. 67. cf. Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, p. 149.
28. Ibid., p. 38. cf. Appendix, D 14.
29. Ibid., p. 39 and p. 46. cf. Appendix, D 15.
30. See Fuller, p. 9, fn. 26.
31. Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 118. cf. Appendix, D 16.
32. Ibid., p. 66. cf. Appendix, D 17.
33. Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 127. cf. Appendix, D 18.
34. Ibid., p. 127. cf. Appendix, D 19.
35. Ibid., p. 154. cf. Appendix, D 20.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., p. 66. cf. Appendix, D 21.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., p. 99.
40. See Ibid., p. 96 and p. 128.
41. Ibid., p. 64. cf. Appendix, D 22.
42. Ibid.
43. Keith A. Fleming, "The Editing of Some Communion Melodies

- in Medieval Chant Manuscripts," Catholic University, Ph.D. dissertation (Washington, DC, 1979), p. 21.
44. Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 64. cf. Appendix, D 22.
45. Ibid.
46. See Ibid., pp. 29-31.
47. Ibid., p. 116. cf. Appendix, D 23.
48. Ibid., p. 117. cf. Appendix, D 12.
49. Ibid., p. 67. cf. Appendix, D 24.
50. Ibid. p. 67. cf. Appendix, D 25.
51. Ibid., p. 69. cf. Appendix, D 26.
52. Strunk, I, p. 114.
53. See Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, pp. 39-44.
54. Ibid., p. 69. cf. Appendix, D 27.
55. Strunk, I, p. 104. cf. Appendix, D 8.
56. Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 118. cf. Appendix, D 16.
57. Ibid., p. 117-118. cf. CSM, 1, pp. 82-83.
58. Ibid., p. 119. cf. CSM, 1, p. 84.
59. Ibid., p. 110. cf. CSM, 1, pp. 67-68.
60. Ibid., p. 70. cf. CSM, 4, pp. 163-64.
61. The tonary is reproduced in Palisca, pp. 39-44.
62. Ibid., p. 110. cf. CSM, 1, p. 67.
63. CSM, 1, p. 73, translation mine.
64. Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 61. cf. Appendix, D 28.
65. Ibid., p. 66. cf. Appendix, D 17.
66. Ibid., p. 64. cf. Appendix, D 19.

67. Strunk, I, pp. 113-114.
68. Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 16.
69. Ibid., p. 19. cf. Appendix, D 29.
70. Ibid., p. 124-25. cf. Appendix, D 30.
71. Ibid., p. 139. cf. Appendix, D 36.
72. Ibid., p. 116. cf. Appendix, D 31.
73. Ibid., p. 66. cf. Appendix, D 17.
74. Ibid., p. 69. cf. Appendix, D 32.
75. Ibid., p. 71. cf. Appendix, D 33.
76. Ibid., p. 39. cf. Appendix, D 34.
77. See the tonary in Ibid., pp. 40-44.
78. Ibid., p. 137. cf. CSM, 1, p. 116.
79. Ibid., p. 137-38. cf. Appendix, D 35.
80. See Ibid., p. 139, Appendix, D 35.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid., p. 140-43. cf. Appendix, D 36.
83. Ibid.
84. See Ibid., p. 143. cf. Appendix, D 6.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., p. 72. cf. Appendix, D 37.
87. Ibid., p. 73. cf. CSM, 4, pp. 180-81.
88. Ibid., p. 71. cf. Appendix, D 38.
89. Ibid., p. 72. cf. Appendix, D 39.
90. cf. Appendix, D 40, translation mine.
91. For a careful analysis and comparison of Aurelian's work with other manuscripts, see Huglo, Les Tonaires, pp. 383-90.

92. See Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 7 & 26.
93. They are reproduced, though somewhat inaccurately, in GS, I, pp. 214-17 & p. 228.
94. See Huglo, Les Tonaires, table following p. 384.
95. The incise numbers printed in Table II will be used for describing the various parts of each melody.
96. Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 68. cf. Appendix, D 41.
97. See Palisca, p. 120-21, and CSM, 1, p. 86.

CHAPTER IV

THE CISTERCIAN AND DOMINICAN REFORMS

As was pointed out in Chapter III, the foundation for both the Cistercian and Dominican reforms was the generally accepted modal theory of the time. They were not the first, nor would they be the last to seek to restore or improve the chant, but what is perhaps unique about their work is the systematic way in which they went about it. As Salutor Marosszeki points out, the Cistercians seem to have been the first to undertake a reform based on a clearly enunciated system of principles which would be used to guide the work of the reform.[1] The principles of the Cistercian reform are clearly stated in a number of theoretical sources.

That the Dominican reformers, at least those of the 1256 reform, were also guided in their work by a set of principles is evident from an examination of the reformed chants themselves, though there is no direct parallel in Dominican sources to the Cistercian theoretical sources. Nonetheless, the Tractatus of Jerome of Moravia, though it may date from some years after the reform, does present scholars with a less direct witness to the Dominican reform principles.

The Theoretical Manuscripts

Cistercian Sources

The most important sources for the principles of the Cistercian chant reform are the introductions to the reformed Antiphonary and the reformed Gradual. These introductions form an integral part of the reform and are usually associated with the historical Prologue or letter of St. Bernard described in Chapter II. The introduction to the Antiphonary--called variously the Tractatus de ratione cantandi Antiphonariorum, Tractatus de cantu seu Correctione Antiphonarii, or simply the Tractatus or Praefatio--is perhaps best identified by its opening words, "Cantus quem Cisterciensis." In this paper it will be referred to as the Praefatio to avoid confusing it with the Dominican Tractatus of Jerome. Though editions can be found in several earlier printed sources, including Migne[2], it now exists in critical edition as volume 24 of the Corpus Scriptorum de Musica. Francis Guentner, S.J. here provides scholars with the critical Latin editions as well as English translations of the letter of St. Bernard and the Praefatio, "Cantus quem." [3]

The companion work, the introduction to the Gradual, usually referred to as the Tractatus cantandi Graduale, does not exist in critical edition. Somewhat defective editions

exist in Migne[4] and in a collection of early Cistercian sources edited by Hugo Séjalon[5] Fortunately, the Praefatio is the more important work and contains most of the principles of the reform. The Tractatus cantandi Graduale presupposes all that is found in the Praefatio and merely enlarges on certain ideas as they relate to transposition and the use of b-flat, the nature of the final, and several questions involving specific Introits and Gradual chants.

Both the Praefatio and the Tractatus cantandi Graduale would seem to be the work of a single author, and are really more of a single work in two parts, as is evident by the directions to the notators of the Gradual that they follow the same principles as the notators of the Antiphonary.[6] Sarah Fuller speculates that the author might be either Guido of Cherlieu or Guido of Eu or Longpont, or even that a group of scholars might have authored the work.[7] Since these introductions form an integral part of the reform Antiphonary and Gradual, they must be given the same date--probably between 1148 and 1153.[8]

The actual introductions to the reform Gradual and Antiphonary are not, however, the earliest witness to the principles of the Cistercian reformers. A somewhat earlier work, the so-called Regulae de Arte Musica, preserved in Coussemaker[9] contains many of the principles of the reform. Coussemaker proposed Guido of Caroli-loci, Guido of

Cherlieu, or Guido of Eu or Longpont as the author,[10] though Guentner says that the literary style of the Regulae and the Praefatio are in striking contrast and they are thus perhaps not by the same author.[11] In any event, the author is certainly Cistercian, since he refers to having made his novitiate at Clairvaux.[12] Fuller describes this work as definitely a part of the second Cistercian reform of 1132-48, though earlier than the date of the reform's completion--possibly ca. 1132.[13]

A third Cistercian treatise which gives witness to the reformers' principles is the work edited by Albert Seay and presented in its entirety in volume V of Annales Musicologiques. [14] Though Seay believed it to be an anonymous treatise from St. Martial, Sarah Fuller has shown that it is actually a Cistercian treatise, again a part of the second Cistercian chant reform.[15] This treatise, which Fuller refers to as LaFage Anonymous, is described by her as a successor to the Regulae and to the introductions to the Gradual and Antiphonary. She gives evidence that the anonymous Cistercian author knew and borrowed from the earlier Cistercian works.[16] The treatise certainly comes from after the completion of the reform of 1148-53, though it could have been written in the last half of the 12th century, or in the 13th century, or possibly even later.[17]

Fuller bases her conclusions on the fact that LaFage

Anonymous presents its theories in a more succinct and systematic form than the earlier treatises, and as accepted doctrine rather than as propositions which need to be supported.[18] The value of this short treatise for the current study lies in its systematic character as an exposition of basic chant theory in the tradition of the Micrologus or the treatise of John of Afflighem. It also gives witness by its later date to the enduring quality of the principles of the Cistercian reform.

A final early source for Cistercian theory is the so-called Tonale S. Bernardi, a tonary usually closely associated with the LaFage Anonymous treatise in the manuscripts. Seay presents it (in what he calls an extremely corrupt condensation) as chapters XVI-XVIII of the LaFage treatise, though he points out that on current evidence one cannot be certain it was always a part of the treatise.[19] Fuller sees it as originally a separate work, probably drawn up soon after the reform, and proposes that the author is not St. Bernard, but one or more of the expert brethren St. Bernard mentions in his Prologue.[20] A critical edition of the Tonale has yet to be done, though it can be found in both Gerbert[21] and Migne.[22]

Though the above treatises are by different authors and they were composed for somewhat different reasons, they are, as Sarah Fuller points out, all "of Cistercian parentage

and belong to the same generation. Conceived about the same time, 1132-48, all...are associated by a common impulse, that of the 'second' reform of Cistercian chant." [23]

One other Cistercian treatise which begins "Quia iuxta sapientissimum Salomonem" and which was formerly attributed to John Wylde gives witness to the continuing traditions of the Cistercian reform, but it is too late to be of value for the current study. It is available, both text and commentary, in the form of a doctoral dissertation by Cecily Sweeney. [24] A comparative study of the earlier Cistercian treatises with this one would be valuable in showing the development of Cistercian theory into the later Middle Ages.

Dominican Sources

It is unfortunate that the Dominican editors of the 1256 reform did not attach an introduction to their reformed chant books. The fact is, they did not, and there is therefore no direct theoretical formulation of the principles which guided their reform. Their work was undertaken with great consistency, however, and an examination of the chants found in the Prototype, especially when these are compared with the readings of the earlier Dominican manuscript R, makes clear what these principles must have been. The earlier uniform liturgy found in R and V is less consistent

in terms of the application of principles, and indeed seems to be more of a collection of chants from various sources than a systematic attempt to reform the chant.

Fortunately, there is one valuable theoretical source from the Dominican tradition, the Tractatus de musica of Jerome of Moravia. As was pointed out at the end of Chapter II, there is no certain evidence that Jerome, himself, was a part of the 1256 reform, though this is possible. Even if one accepts Cserba's date of 1272, however, the fact remains that many of the principles evident in the chants of the Dominican reform are enunciated by Jerome in his treatise. Whether or not he was a part of the work of the reform, he certainly shared its principles.

Jerome's Tractatus exists in a critical edition completed in 1935 by Simon Cserba.[25] The principal manuscript source for the Tractatus is Paris, B. N. lat. 16663, which may well have been Jerome's own copy, given to the Sorbonne after his death.[26] This treatise, like most medieval treatises, is a compilation of the work of many earlier theorists presented along with a good amount of original material. Jerome was, as mentioned above, influenced by the work of both Guido of Arezzo in the Micrologus and John of Afflighem in his treatise, De Musica.

The Tractatus is both a theoretical and a practical treatise. Chapters 1 through 9 present the "science" of

music according to the tradition, beginning with Boethius and continuing through Isidore, Richard of St. Victor, and the Arab theorists down to Guido and John. Chapters 10 through 17 present the basic theory of music: the names of notes, transposition, tetrachords, intervals, consonance and dissonance, and proportion. Chapters 18, 19, and 28 deal with instrumental music: 18 with carillons and bells, 19 with the monochord (especially as a teaching device), and 28 with stringed instruments such as the vielle. Chapters 20 through 24 present Jerome's own treatise on plain chant. In chapter 20 he treats of the modes and the plagal/authentic distinction, chapter 21 covers questions of the final and ambitus, chapter 22 is a tonary presenting intonations, differentiae, Psalm tones and other tones according to the Dominican usage, and chapter 23 deals with the transpositions or "commutations" involving b-flat and b-natural.

It is chapter 24, however, which presents Jerome's original contribution to the analysis of plain chant. It is in the context of rules for composing new chants and of editing other plain chant that Jerome gives witness to the principles of the Dominican reform. Dividing all chant into six grades, from the most beautiful [pulcherrimus] to the most corrupt or deformed [turpissimus], he then proceeds to analyze each type showing where it is defective and what prevents it from being assigned to the "most beautiful"

category. How these principles relate to those of the 1256 reform will be explained below.

Chapters 25 and 26 form the polyphonic section of Jerome's treatise. Chapter 25 deals with the rhythm of early polyphony, though at one point in history Dominican editors revised the chant according to its principles with disastrous results.[27] Chapter 26 contains four polyphonic treatises by other authors: the Discantus positio vulgaris, and the treatises of John of Garlandia, Franco of Cologne, and Petrus Piccardus. Chapter 28, the final chapter, forms a kind of appendix in which the Greek names of the notes, no longer in common usage, are discussed.

As can be seen from this brief outline, much of what Jerome presents is merely a restatement of the principles of earlier theorists discussed in Chapter III. In the section which follows, only those concepts and principles which seem to reflect the Dominican chant reform of 1256 will be presented.

The Concept of Chant Reform

As was pointed out in Chapter II, underlying the editorial principles used by the Cistercian and Dominican reformers were several basic pre-suppositions which directed the way in which these editorial principles were formulated and the way in which they were used to "restore" the chant.

Reduced to the least common denominator, these pre-suppositions consisted in a strong desire for authenticity on various levels, and flowing from this desire, an emphasis on simplicity, seen as a hallmark of the authentic spirit of an earlier age. Some chants would seem to have been corrected because the editors viewed a lack of conformity with their own editorial principles as evidence that the original form of the chant had been corrupted. Other chants were perhaps merely seen as in conflict with the ideal of simplicity and were changed because they failed to respond to the more immediate needs of religious or apostolic life. In either case the editorial changes were based on conformity to these editorial principles or rules, often without a real awareness or concern for what the original form of the chant might have been.

The introductory section to the Cistercian Praefatio makes it clear that the approach to the restoration of the chant is to be by rule:

. . .it seemed altogether unfitting that the very persons who had set themselves to live according to rule should oppose the rule in singing praises to God. And so by their agreement you will find the Chant corrected, in the sense that through the removal of the defiling impurity of errors, and by the rejection of the illicit liberties taken by unskilled hands, the [Chant] now stands buttressed by the pure truth of the rules.[28]

In the concluding justification for their work the Cistercian editors declare that their approach by rule follows nature

and is in accord with ratio or reason, and that it is this which makes their editorial work different from all the others.

... we have been compelled in contrast to the use of all the churches to correct this Antiphonary, striving to follow nature rather than usage. And it was not presumption that suggested it, but obedience that enjoined it. If we are criticized for having made the work unique and different from all other Antiphonaries, we have this consolation that reason made ours different--whereas chance, and not reason or any other thing [like reason] which does not depend upon chance in acting as a cause, has made the others conflict with one another.[29]

They do point out, however, that there are cases in which they did not always apply the rules uniformly, but chose to retain "many elements from the old Antiphonary which are tolerable, but actually could be much better." [30]

The work of the Dominican editors also reflects this approach by rule, and indeed the Tractatus of Jerome, with its emphasis on the chant theory of his predecessors, shows a similar dependence on rule and reason. In Chapter 24 of the Tractatus[31] Jerome presents his own rules for correct and authentic chant, rules clearly based on those of the reform of 1256. The chants of the Dominican reform show in places the same uneven application of the principles of the reform mentioned by the Cistercians. They, too, seem to have retained some chants from the old books which were "tolerable" but could have been improved.

This uneven application of carefully formulated

principles first by the Cistercians and later by the Dominicans is perplexing to scholars, and there would seem to be no single way to explain it. Perhaps part of the reason is the desire to retain what is familiar. Perhaps some chants were retained in their older form because they were perceived as more beautiful that way. One cannot carry such a principle too far, or there would have been no reform at all, but preference for the familiar is a not uncommon phenomenon in many areas of human existence. The question of the sound of chants and the relation of that sound to the way in which the chants were adapted is an important one, however.

As was pointed out in Chapter III, both the sound of a chant and its conformity with theoretical rules were involved in defining correct chant. Descriptions of the modes based purely on theoretical principles had always been counterbalanced by descriptions of the modes based on sound such as the noeane patterns and "Primum quaerite" melodies found in the tradition. The Cistercians were well aware of these patterns and saw in them the possibility of bringing both mind and ear to bear on the question of modality.

In order to distinguish these modes from each other, neumas have been devised to be placed under each antiphon; by some these are called stivae, and among the Greeks they are designated by the words, Nona, noe, ane, and noe ais, and others similar to these. These have no meaning, of course, but they were formulated by the Greeks themselves for the one purpose only, that through

their contrary and unlike sounds, the wonderful variety of the modes could be perceived at the same time by ear and mind. These [neumas] should make clear the maneria and melodic characteristics of their modes in such a way that, after they have been carefully imprinted on your memory, and you have made frequent use of a variety of chants over a period of time, you might easily recognize by hearing which chants these [neumas] designate.[32]

Though these formulae were obviously seen by the Cistercians as sound patterns, it is significant that their evaluation is in terms not so much of how they sound, but of whether or not they accord with the Cistercian concept of proprietas or rules governing the modal characteristics of each mode. The plagal noeane patterns are described as "properly formulated," since they are "adequate and unique for their modes;" but the authentic formulae (with the exception of mode 1) are described as "poorly composed, or corrupted after they were composed," since they do not exhibit all the proper characteristics of their mode." [33] The Cistercian editors, like music theorists before them, are still very much aware of the subtle interplay between sound and rule in the chant; and the twenty-fourth chapter of Jerome's Tractatus gives evidence of similar nuance in the Dominican approach.

The work of editing by both the Cistercians and Dominicans was, in large part, carefully planned and ordered according to the principles of the reforms, and though there are instances in which it is difficult to see why chants were

left unreformed, the preponderance is of chants carefully corrected according to rule. The editors were well aware that the traditional chants were quite different in their degree of conformity with the theoretical principles of the reform, and divided them accordingly. Perhaps the clearest division for the Cistercians is that found in LaFage Anonymous treatise.[34] Here chants are divided into "regular," "irregular," and "false."

A regular chant is one in which the range of notes on both sides is properly combined, not exceeding that which accords well with its mode [=modus] and not contradicting by combination; neither ascending excessively high nor descending excessively low, but content with its own characteristics [=proprietas], and progressing within its own proper notes, well and congruously to the final note in which its maneria terminates. An irregular chant is one which keeps its proper range, but is poorly and inordinately composed--its mode being disordered, partly authentic and partly plagal; and although it terminates in some [single] maneria, the correct mode [=tonus], higher or lower, cannot be determined. A false chant is one which follows no rule, but moves in the way of discordant composition, and does not follow the natural order of music. It cannot be written in musical notation.[35]

This threefold distinction would seem to be based largely on matters of range and on the unlawful combination of plagal and authentic characteristics within a single chant, though it also indicates an awareness that there are chants so disordered that they cannot be written down correctly.

The other Cistercian theoretical treatises do not make direct reference to the question of regular and

irregular chants by name, but do recognize the same kinds of problems. The Praefatio treats both of chants of defective range and of the combination of plagal and authentic characteristics, but never assigns a name for such defective chants.[36] The Regulae de Arte Musica calls such chants "dissolutus."[37] The Tonale takes a different approach, seeing chants as either defectively or well composed [cantus vitiose composuerunt vel bene compositos], poorly notated [male notando], or sung in a depraved fashion [cantando depravaverunt]. This last approach shows that the editors were well aware that the problem could have been one of initial composition (a surprising recognition considering the reverence in which the authentic chant of St. Gregory seems to have been held), of carelessness or ignorance in notation or copying, or the fault of the singers whose faulty performance was ultimately copied into the manuscripts.

It is difficult to know exactly how chants were evaluated for editing in the Dominican reform, since no direct theoretical evidence is extant. Although the twenty-fourth chapter of Jerome's Tractatus is apparently his own work, it is at least possible that his systematic division of chants into various categories reflects the ideals if not the actual approach of the reform of 1256. He divides chants into six categories from best to worst, basing his distinctions on many more aspects of the reform than the

Cistercians had. Whereas the Cistercian evaluation was, at least as expressed by the theorists, based largely on questions of range and the mixing of plagal and authentic, Jerome's evaluation includes matters of range, the distinction of plagal and authentic characteristics, principles of abbreviation and simplification, modal unity, the use of b-flat, and even details of correct compositional technique.[38] In the end Jerome does not hide his preference for such newly composed chants as the Alleluia, "Felix ex fructu," for the feast of St. Peter Martyr over the chants of the traditional Gregorian repertory. It is thus easy to perceive why so many of the traditional chants were in fact altered to bring them into closer agreement with the principles of "beautiful chant."

Modal Theory and Reform

Both the Cistercian and Dominican editors based their work in large part on the traditional concepts of modal theory presented by such earlier theorists as Guido of Arezzo and John of Afflighem. This section will highlight only those concepts which differ in some way from the generally accepted norms. Several such departures are embodied, at least for the Cistercians, by their formulation of a unique vocabulary for certain theoretical concepts. This Cistercian

terminology is so distinctive that Sarah Fuller encourages using the presence or absence of certain specifically Cistercian terms as a means for identifying Cistercian manuscripts.[39]

As was pointed out in Chapter III,[40] the idea of four basic modal structures differentiated by their finals had long been accepted, though the terms, mode, tone, or even trope were used both to describe these four and the eight modes derived from them. It was apparently the Cistercians who began calling these four basic structures maneriae, reserving the term modus or tonus for the eight modes which result from dividing each of these maneriae into authentic and plagal.[41] In explaining how the two modes paired together under one final are differentiated, the Cistercian editors recognize not only the factor of range, but also that of melodic character.

The two modes paired together in each of the maneriae are distinguished from each other not by a difference in the finals--for they share the same final--but rather by the position on the scale, and by the melodic character. The first determines the range, and the second determines the specific modal flavor.[42]

This recognition of modal quality is closely related to the Cistercian concept of proprietas, and points to the possibility of evaluation of a chant based on its sound as well as its conformity to the theoretical principles.

Jerome did not adopt the Cistercian terminology but

continued to use the term modus or tonus to refer both to the eight modes and the four maneriae. Jerome, himself, seems to prefer the term tonus where he is not quoting a previous authority.[43] He uses modus more to refer to interval than to the eight modes.

The Cistercians also had their own unique term for interval, preferring the term coniunctio over the more traditional terms, intervallum, consonantia, or modus vocum. The term consonantia was reserved by the Cistercians for the intervals of the 4th, 5th and octave.[44] Once again, Jerome, and presumably the Dominicans, do not adopt the Cistercian usage. Though Jerome uses intervallum especially when he is quoting John or Boethius, he shows a marked personal preference for using the term modus instead, though he also refers to intervals as proportionones. [45]

The remaining term which seems to be unique to the Cistercians is the term proprietas, which is used to describe the characteristics or qualities of each of the modes.[46] Though all theorists treat the qualities of the modes in some way, it is only the Cistercians who assign a specific term to the concept. These properties of characteristics of each mode are based primarily on the location of the whole and half steps which result from the placement of the finals of each mode[47], though the melodic character or specific modal flavor mentioned above would also imply a recognition of

certain melodic patterns characteristic of each mode. In terms of editorial decision, this concept will have ramifications for the question of modal unity as well as of transposition and the use of b-flat.

The most significant departure which the Cistercians have made from standard modal theory is in the number of finals which they recognize. Traditional modal theory recognized four finals, D, E, F, and G. Although it was recognized that the same intervallic structure could be achieved, especially with the use of b-flat, by beginning on other notes, these others never were given the same primacy as the aforementioned finals. Thus chants with a D final, it was recognized, could also begin on "a," those with an E final on "b," and those with an F final, on "c," but these secondary finals were called "affines," and not "finals."

The Cistercians, however, actually recognize seven finals, with no preference given to the lower finals, D, E, F, and G. The first three maneriae are each said to have two finals each, D and "a" for the first, E and b-natural for the second, F and "c" for the third. The fourth is recognized as having only one final, G.[48] The LaFage Anonymous treatise justifies the existence of seven finals as being derived from the seven octave species which are in turn derived from the location of the half steps within the scale.[49] This recognition of seven finals and the consequent lack of

differentiation between primary and secondary finals will have definite ramifications with reference to transposition, the use of b-flat, and, indeed, of whether a given chant can be correctly notated or not without being emended.

Jerome's treatment of finals returns to the traditional concept of the finals as D, E, F, and G as "prima tonorum sedes," but recognizes as "secunda sedes" the higher finals. Speaking theoretically Jerome recognizes transposition as possible not only to "a," b-natural, and "c," for the first three maneriae, but even to "d" for the fourth. He then excludes the actual use of the high "d" final for Tetrardus chants by saying that ecclesiastical chants must end in the "middle keys" and not in the super-acute range where high "d" is found.[50] He does not deal with the f-sharp which would be needed if a Tetrardus chant were to be begun on high "d."

Principles of the Reforms

The work of the Cistercian and Dominican reformers was not seen by them as something new and divorced from tradition, but rather as a kind of restoration of the chant according to a set of principles devised to make such a systematic restoration possible. The Cistercian editors make it clear in the introduction to the Praefatio that their work is based on principles developed in order to correct the

errors of the past.

It is indeed altogether proper that men who cling to the truth of rule should put aside the exceptions allowed by others, and should hold to the correct principles of chanting. They should repudiate the liberties of those who, by paying more attention to a counterfeit than to the natural form of the chants, separate things which belong together, and join elements which are opposed to each other. And thus throwing everything into confusion, they begin and end a chant, they make it go low or high, they shape and structure the melody just as they please, and not as is permitted. For this reason let no one be surprised or angered if he finds the Chant changed in many respects from what he has heard up to now. For [in the Chant as sung hitherto] there is either an unlawful scale progression, or else the melodic line flatly contradicts either the proper range or spacing of the notes, or a combination of opposites disfigures the melodic line.[51]

In this brief passage the Cistercian editors indicate the need for such a reform by rule rather than one based merely on the customs of the past. The confusing situation which the editors have inherited from the past is one which can only be corrected by re-editing and "restoring" the chant to its original simple state by removing the inconsistencies and incongruities. Some chants contradict the principle of correct range by going low or high as they please rather than as is permitted. Others contradict the proper distinction between plagal and authentic by joining elements which should be opposed. Modal unity is also violated by beginning and ending chants wrongly, by allowing the melodic line to be contradictory of range, and by shaping and structuring the

melody by whim rather than by rule. Notational problems and difficulties with transposition exist because of unlawful scale progressions, or melodic lines which contradict the proper range or spacing of the notes.

Both Marosszeki for the Cistercians, and Delalande for the Dominicans have, in their analysis of the reformed chants, extracted the principles which they recognized as operative in the work of the editors of the reforms. For Marosszeki, four principles are seen to be at work in the Cistercian reform: modal unity, restriction of the ambitus or range (seen to include both the principle of the decachord and the prohibition on combining plagal and authentic), the exclusion of b-flat in notation, and simplification by suppression of certain repetitions and making of other cuts in the chant.[52]

Delalande's description of the Cistercian reform separates the principle of the decachord from that of what he calls the "non-compenetration of authentic and plagal," and refers to the principle of abbreviation as the "reduction of melismas." [53] In his comparison of the work of the Dominican and Cistercian editors, Delalande analyzes the reform under four headings: "horizontal abbreviation" (under which he includes reduction of melismas, suppression of repercussed strophata, and similar abbreviations), modal unity, the exclusion of b-flat in notation (which, as he points out was

more a Cistercian than a Dominican principle), and "vertical mutilation" (under which he includes the principle of the decachord and the "non-compenetration of authentic and plagal.)[54]

This paper will treat the principles of the reforms under five headings which seem to respond both to the approach of the theoretical documents and to the editorial decisions which can be discovered from an examination of the chants themselves. The five are: 1. abbreviation and simplification, under which heading will be treated the types of simplification not covered by the other four, namely those which involve the simple shortening of chants by removing some of the notes; 2. problems with range or the Cistercian principle of the decachord, often a result of combining plagal and authentic ranges in a single chant; 3. the use of b-flat, and especially its avoidance through transposition by the Cistercian editors; 4. problems of modal unity, which can include the mixing of plagal and authentic even when this is not merely a matter of range; and 5. problems involving difficult or partial transpositions and the need to notate "impossible" notes.

The first three principles are presented in a relatively straightforward way in the theoretical treatises, and they involve editorial decisions which are direct, simple, and easily explained. The results are visible in

even a cursory comparison of Cistercian and Dominican manuscripts with more traditional ones. Sufficient examples will be given in this chapter to exemplify the principles and an overall view of the extent of their application will be provided.

The remaining two areas of concern involve editorial decisions which are much more complex and for which the manuscript evidence is more difficult to interpret. Though modal unity is presented as a principle in the theoretical treatises, the fifth concern (that involving complex and often partial transpositions as well as solutions for notating "impossible" notes) is not really a stated principle at all, but is nonetheless evident in several indirect references from the theoretical treatises and from an examination of the chants themselves. The theoretical foundations for these last two areas of concern will be presented in the current chapter, but the analysis of their effects upon the editorial practices of the Cistercian and Dominican reformers will be examined in Chapter V in the context of a detailed examination and comparison of certain chants chosen to demonstrate these problems and their solutions.

Abbreviation and Simplification

Of all the principles of both the Cistercian and

Dominican reforms, the principle of abbreviation and simplification is perhaps the most pervasive. The desire for simplification as an expression of the concern for austerity and simplicity is discussed in Chapter II. As was pointed out, this resulted both from the desire to return to the simplicity and authenticity of an earlier age, and from a desire to provide a somewhat abbreviated, succinct liturgy more in keeping with the spirituality of the time, and (especially for the Dominicans) with the needs of study and the apostolate.

In a certain sense, it is possible to view the entire work of the reform as a process of simplification on various levels. Reduction of the range of chants makes them both simpler to notate and simpler to sing. By avoiding the mixing of plagal and authentic forms of a single maneria, the chant is simplified in that the available melodic patterns or gestures are restricted to a single mode rather than to two, and incidentally, the range is often restricted as well. The principle of modal unity simplifies the chant by making it more uniform, though often at the cost of removing melodic subtleties which were a part of the original. Restricting the use of b-flat, as the Cistercians often did, makes for a simpler notation, and often avoids the problem evident in many manuscripts of whether or not a given "b" should be flatted. Notational problems involving the presence of whole

and half steps at positions in the scale where they cannot be written are often solved by Cistercians and Dominicans with a solution which is itself simple, and which often reveals either a lack of awareness or lack of concern with the more complex issues which underlay the problem in the first place.

This desire for simplicity is evident in some cases even in the simplification of the modal theory itself. In the LaFage Anonymous treatise, the most systematic of the Cistercian treatises, several points of modal theory are thus over-simplified. Though such simplification is to a certain extent common to the thought of many later theorists, it is still interesting to compare Cistercian expression with that of earlier theorists. The earlier theoretical concept that not all semitones are the same[55] is specifically rejected: "one tone does not differ from another in any respect, nor does one semitone from another." [56] If all tones and semitones are interchangeable, then the transposition of a chant would have its effect only on tessitura, if that, and thus transposition can be conceived as a mere matter of convenience of notation. Such an approach would seem to be responsible for the Cistercian application of the principle that chants which can be written without b-flat by transposing them should be so transposed.

Again, the discussion in LaFage Anonymous of

proprietas or of modal characteristics is so simplified that it is no longer accurate. For example it is stated that it is "proper to the first mode to have a semitone above the fifth,"[57] a situation which in fact arises only with the constant use of b-flat. Perhaps the acceptance of such a principle would explain why the Cistercian editors often transposed chants which contained both b-flat and b-natural in the original, and by so doing suppressed the whole step above the fifth altogether.

This desire for abbreviation or shortening of chants is never directly stated by the Cistercian editors, though the chants, themselves, show a definite application of the principle. The Dominican editors follow this principle of abbreviation with an even higher degree of consistency than the Cistercians. Jerome gives theoretical support to the Dominican practice in the Tractatus. For Jerome, "each syllable of text naturally, principally and per se responds to only one note, though others may be added per accidens" [. . . unicuique syllabae dictionis naturaliter et principaliter et per se una tantum nota respondeat, per accidens vera fiat earundem notarum additio.] [58] This "accidental" quality of all but one principal note in a neume would make it theoretically possible to delete as many others as was felt necessary. This deletion of "superfluous" notes for the sake of shortening chants is evident throughout the manuscripts of

the 1256 reform. Jerome also supports the idea that there should never be more than two successive notes on the same pitch [*. . . unisono raro et non plus quam ad duas notas recipit*],[59] a principle which results in the exclusion of the tristropha and all its more extended forms in Dominican manuscripts.

This exclusion of the tristropha, a purely Dominican rather than a Cistercian concern, is carried out in a remarkably uniform way in all manuscripts after the 1256 reform. Examples abound, but one will suffice to demonstrate the process. The Offertory for the Second Sunday of Advent, "Deus tu convertens," shows the process at work.

Figure 1

De- us tu con- ver- tens vi- vi- fi- ca- bis nos

("x" indicates erasures)

The musical score consists of six staves, each with a label on the left: G1, S, C1, R, V, and H. Each staff contains musical notation in a single system. The lyrics are written below the G1 staff. The V staff has a note with an 'x' above it, indicating an erasure.

All the manuscripts presented, with the exception of Dominican manuscripts from after 1256, show three or four, or even more tristrophas in the opening phrase of the Offertory. Cistercian manuscripts show no attempt to reduce or omit them, nor does the Dominican manuscript, R, which pre-dates the reform. Only H, and V which has been altered to agree with H, show the characteristic Dominican abbreviations. All tristrophas have been reduced to bistrophas or single notes, thus significantly altering the rhythmic flow of the chant. The same procedure has been followed in many other chants, for example, the Offertory chant for Epiphany, "Reges Tharsis." The second syllable of "Tharsis," which is at least a tristropha in most manuscripts, and even a six or seven note neume in others, is reduced to a simple bistropha in the Dominican reform manuscripts. An example of how the procedure is applied through an entire chant can be seen in the Offertory "Tollite portas." [See Table XI in Chapter V.]

Though this simplification of the tristropha is certainly characteristic of Dominican manuscripts after 1256, it is not the most radical type of abbreviation, affecting as it does little more than the rhythm of a phrase. It is the frequent and systematic abbreviation of many of the longer melismata by the Cistercians and, to an even greater extent, by the Dominicans which has the most noticeable effect on their chant reforms. Delalande cites some seventy-eight

cases of abbreviation in longer melismata in the Dominican Prototype, sixty of which are also found in Cistercian manuscripts.[60] An examination of the Prototype reveals these to be principally of two types: the abbreviation of the cauda or melismatic extension of the Alleluia verse and the less systematic abbreviation of other melismata, found principally in Graduals and Offertories.

As Marosszeki points out, the Cistercian abbreviation of the cauda, adopted also by the Dominicans, is really the result of a desire to avoid repetition, since the cauda is sometimes, though not always, in melodic rhyme with the iubilus or extension of the Alleluia.[61] Unfortunately when the cauda and iubilus are not in rhyme, the abbreviation of the cauda results in the removal of a unique part of the original chant. The technique of repeating a melodic gesture, whether immediately or by use of melodic rhyme, is found in many chants of the tradition. The Cistercian editors, and to an even greater extent the Dominicans after 1256, will often view such repetitions as superfluous and remove them. The Prototype shows some thirty-five instances of the removal of such repeated figures in the temporal cycle alone. Even harder to explain is the removal of non-repeated material simply for the sake of shortening the melisma. Both types of abbreviation are evident in the examples which follow.

The verse of the Alleluia, "Veni Domine" for the Fourth Sunday of Advent shows the principle at work. [See next page.] On the syllable, "ci-" of the word, "facinora," one can see a figure repeated more or less exactly three times in the manuscripts which reflect the more traditional reading. In the Cistercian reading and the Dominican reading of the 1256 reform, the third repetition has been suppressed. The earlier Dominican reading in R and the uncorrected form of V shows the more traditional threefold repetition. The Prototype not only suppresses this threefold repetition but also removes the repetition of the scale passage which follows. It should be noted that the editors did not remove only exactly repeated material, but also, as in this instance, material which was merely quite similar.

The final melisma of the verse at the word, "tue," shows another aspect of the principle of abbreviation. The material omitted here does not involve repeated figures at all, but is simply a removal of "superfluous" material from the extended neume. Here also is clear evidence that some of the abbreviations in Cistercian and Dominican manuscripts are not unique, but merely part of a more general trend. The omitted material here is removed not only by the Dominican and Cistercian editors, but also by the other contemporary French manuscripts examined. It may well be that the Cistercian and Dominican editors were in such instances not

Figure 2

S
fa - ci - - - - - no - - -

G4

C1

R

V
(circled for omission)

H

S
ra ple - bis tu - - -

G4

C1

R

V
(melisma omitted here) (orig. E endind. erased)

H

applying their principle at all, but merely following the reading of their original source.

The Gradual, "Christus factus est," from the liturgy of Holy Thursday shows an abbreviation found in many places in the Dominican Prototype, H. On the "nomen" melisma some fourteen notes which are not a part of any repetition are removed in order to shorten this final melisma. The CC bistropha is apparently seen as a likely place to perform this elision, although in so doing the editors come very close to violating their own principle of no more than two unison notes in succession.

Figure 3

The musical score consists of six staves, labeled S, G4, C1, R, V, and H from top to bottom. The S staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "...su- per om- ne no- men." The G4, C1, R, and H staves contain instrumental accompaniment. The V staff contains a section of music that is completely erased, indicated by the text "(completely erased)" above the staff and "(no- men.)" below it. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Apparently the change of syllable between the two bistrophas in Dominican sources is seen as enough to justify the procedure. The fact that there are at least fifteen instances of the abbreviation of this exact same pattern in mode 5 Graduals in the Prototype points to the consistency with which the Dominican editors applied their principles. Neither the "traditional" manuscripts, nor the Cistercians, nor even the earlier Dominican manuscripts follow this particular abbreviation.

The treatment of the six Offertories which involve the repetition of an entire phrase show another aspect of the principle. As would be expected, these provide a perfect opportunity for the removal of repeated material. Four of these Offertories, "Iubilate Deo...omnis" from the Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany, "Iubilate Deo...universa" from the Second Sunday after Epiphany, "Benedictus es" from Quinquagesima Sunday, and "Precatus est" from Thursday of the Second Week of Lent, repeat the entire first phrase immediately in the large majority of manuscripts. The Cistercian editors have omitted the repetition in all cases but "Benedictus es," though why this last abbreviation was not made is unknown. The Dominican editors of the 1256 reform have omitted the repeated phrase in all four cases. The manuscript R, and V before it was corrected, maintain the traditional retention of all four repetitions.

Two other Offertories, "Domine in auxilium" for the XVI Sunday after Pentecost, and "De profundis" for the XXIII Sunday, originally showed the first phrase repeated da capo at the end of the chant. In the manuscripts under discussion in this paper, however, the repetition in the chant, "De profundis" is no longer found, and only some manuscripts have the repetition for the chant, "Domine in auxilium." Thus it is difficult to draw conclusions from the lack of the repetition in Cistercian and Dominican manuscripts, though, in fact, none show phrase repetition for either of these chants.

Range and the Decachord

Though the principle of abbreviation by shortening of the tristropha and longer melismata is evident to the greatest extent in the Dominican reform manuscripts, another relatively straightforward editorial manipulation, the limitation of range, is more characteristic of Cistercian manuscripts. Chants with a range of more than a tenth are not uncommon in the tradition, especially among Graduals, Alleluias, and Offertories, parts of which would have originally been performed by a soloist capable of singing the wider ranges. At times the question is simply a question of wide range. At other times, especially in Graduals, the situation results from the combination of a respond in the

plagal mode of a given maniera with a verse in the authentic mode. The Cistercian editors considered both such cases to be a violation of the principle of range. This principle, is well supported in the theoretical treatises of the Cistercian reform. The distinction which the LaFage Anonymous treatise makes between regular and irregular chants is based on matters of range.[62]

The Tonale is more direct, answering the question, "How many notes can make up a chant?" with, "Ten, because according to the disposition of tones and semitones by musicians, no [chant] of ten notes is possible which cannot be notated, but it is possible to have a chant of eleven notes which cannot be notated." [63] Apparently the author is referring that type of chant whose range is sufficiently wide that its transposition to correct one problem with notation would give rise to other un-notatable intervals. This problem of "impossible" notes, often solved in earlier manuscripts of the tradition by partial transposition, will be addressed more specifically in Chapter 5.

The most systematic treatment of the question of restricting the range of chants to a decachord or tenth is found in the Praefatio. The editors begin with a condemnation of chants which exceed a tenth as being "ambiguous in nature....and [offending] against the rule by going too high or too low....[joining] contradictories together, trespassing

on natural boundries, [imposing] disharmony on unity, [and inflicting] injury on nature." Such chant is said to be "offensively and irregularly composed which sinks so low that it cannot be heard as it ought to be, or soars so high that it cannot be sung." [64] This passage, despite its polemic tone, gives witness to an awareness of the twofold character of the problem of range mentioned above. Some chants exceed the theoretical range of a tenth even though they remain within a single mode--perhaps merely as a result of a certain exuberance in composition. Others do so because they combine the plagal and authentic modes of a single maneria, thus "joining contradictories together." This combination of plagal and authentic chants in a single maneria also has ramifications for the question of modal unity, though range is almost always affected as well. The emphasis on performance of the chant and on the difficulties for singers in chants of too great a range should also be noted.

The next section of the Praefatio gives the justification for restricting ranges to a tenth:

...according to those whose opinion seems to be more carefully formulated, a chant can range up to ten notes on account of the authority of the psaltery, which has ten strings, and also in order that the individual notes of the octave, which are eight, and the outer notes might have an identical capacity, that is, to be raised or lowered by positioning two notes at the ends, one above and one below. [65]

The reference to the "authority of the psaltery", or rather

to the authority of the Psalter or Book of Psalms, is a typical medieval appeal to the authority of Scripture, in this case to the "psalterio decem chordarum" of Psalm 32. The reference to "identical capacity" [aequalis sint dignitatis singulae voces diapason] refers to the novel concept that every note of the octave, including the lowest and highest, must have both an upper and a lower neighbor if they are to be "equal in dignity."

A remaining reason for the restriction of chants to the range of a tenth has to do with possibilities of notation and is echoed in the passage from the LaFage Anonymous treatise quoted above. As the Praefatio states it, "...no chant can be composed in the range of ten notes or less which cannot be notated. But it is possible for a chant of eleven notes to be composed which cannot be notated:"[66] The editors give an example of such a chant, a responsory entitled "Fundamenta eius." [67] The chant is a Tritus chant notated beginning on low C. Both a B-natural and a B-flat are required below the C, although such a low B-flat is not allowed in traditional notation. If the chant were, on the other hand, notated on the normal final of F, it would require an E-flat in order to be ~~notated~~. Thus, such a chant of eleven notes cannot be notated correctly. The editors conclude with a summary of the reasons why chants must be restricted to the range of a tenth: "Hence there is a

threefold reason why ten notes should be assigned to the chant: the authority of the psalter, the equality of dignity, and the exigencies of notation." [68]

Because it is among Graduals that excessive range most frequently occurs, it is these chants which are most often altered by the Cistercian editors. Since the verse of the Gradual was originally conceived as a solo chant, its range is frequently much wider than that of the respond. In some cases this is simply a question of a range of more than a tenth. In other cases the respond is in the plagal and the verse in the authentic. In both such situations the Cistercian editors felt the need to reduce such chants by various means to the theoretical range of a tenth.

There are thirty-one Graduals in the temporal cycle which exceed the range of a tenth and which the Cistercians have altered in some way. [See pages 212-213.] Of these, twenty-seven are the result of the mixing of plagal and authentic modes of a single maneria. The remaining four (numbers 3, 8, 9, and 13) are Graduals which do not combine a plagal respond with an authentic verse, but still exceed the range of a tenth. The Dominican editors respond only minimally to this problem of range, following the Cistercian editorial changes in only six of the thirty-one (numbers 2, 3, 8, 13, 19, and 31). The witness of the Tractatus of Jerome agrees with the Dominican practice. Though he theoretically

TABLE IV
REDUCTION OF RANGE IN GRADUALS

N.	INCIPIIT	LOCATION	MODE	PROBLEM	SOLUTION
1.	Universi	Dom I Adv	1	D M	L
2.	Qui sedes	Dom III Adv	7	D M	T
3.	Ostende	Fer VI Q.T. Adv	2	D	L
4.	Prope est	Dom IV Adv	5	D M	A
5.	Benedictus Dns	Dom Inf 8va Epiph	7	D M	L
6.	Misit Dns	Dom II Epiph	5	M	A
7.	Timebunt	Dom III Epiph	5	M	A
8.	Adiutor in	Dom Septuag.	3	D	A
9.	Sciunt gentes	Dom Sexages	1	D	H
10.	Unam petii	Fer VI p Cin	5	M	A
11.	Adiutor meus	Fer II Heb II Quad	1	M	A
12.	Miserere mihi	Fer IV Heb III Quad	7	M	T
13.	Tibi Dne	Sabb Heb I st Quad	3	D	L
14.	Discerne causam	Fer III Heb Pass	5	M	A
15.	Pacifico loqueb.	Fer VI Heb Pass	5	M	A
16.	Christus factus	Fer V in Cen Dni	5	D M	A
17.	Ego dixi	Dom I Pent	5	D M	A
18.	Ad Dominum	Dom II Pent	5	M	A
19.	Jacta cogitatum	Dom III Pent	7	D M	L
20.	Propitius	Dom IV Pent	5	D M	L
21.	Protector	Dom V Pent	5	D M	A
22.	Convertere	Dom VI Pent	5	M	A
23.	Venite filii	Dom VII Pent	5	D M	L
24.	Esto mihi	Dom VIII Pent	5	D M	T
25.	Dne, Dns noster	Dom IX Pent	5	M	A
26.	In Deo speravi	Dom XI Pent	5	D M	T
27.	Respice	Dom XIII Pent	5	M	A
28.	Bonum...confiteri	Dom XIV Pent	5	D M	A
29.	Bonum...confidere	Dom XV Pent	5	D M	T
30.	Quis sicut Dns	Fer IV Q.T. Sept	5	D M	A
31.	Ecce quam bonum	Dom XXII Pent	1	D M	A

ABBREVIATIONS: D - range (decachord) problem
M - plagal/authentic mixing

L - removal of low note(s)
H - removal of high note(s)
A - alteration to avoid low notes
T - transposition to avoid low notes

describes chants as having the range of a ninth or tenth[69], he recognizes that many exceed the range, and allows chants of the grade "pulcher," to mix plagal and authentic ranges.[70]

There are basically three ways in which the Cistercian editors altered the thirty-one Graduals to reduce them to the range of a tenth: simply removing the highest or lowest notes to narrow the range, recomposing the melody line of the plagal section so that it does not descend to the lower part of its range, or transposing entire sections of the plagal respond up into the authentic range. In seven cases (those marked with "L" in Table IV) the Cistercian editors merely omitted the lowest notes of the respond, whereas in only one case, number 9, was it the highest notes which were omitted.

In a much greater number, eighteen cases in all (those marked with an "A" in Table IV), the editors felt the need to recompose a neume or two in order to make the omission of the low notes less evident. Such is the case with the Gradual, "Christus factus est," for Holy Thursday. The problem occurs in this chant near the end of the respond where, at the word, "crucis" the melody drops, for the first time, into the lower part of the plagal range.

Figure 4

The image shows a musical score for six parts: Soprano (S), Alto (G4), Contralto (C1), Tenor (R), Violoncello (V), and Harp (H). The lyrics are: "... mor- tem au- tem cru- cis." The score is written in a single system with six staves. The Soprano part has lyrics under it. The other parts are instrumental. There is a note in the Violoncello part marked "(erased D)".

In all manuscripts but Cistercian ones the melody drops to D (or even C in manuscripts of the Dominican reform) before the cadential pattern. The Cistercians, in order to avoid this plagal section, replace the F-F-D (or F-F-C) pattern with the F-A-C/F-A-CC pattern which is wholly within the authentic range, and which, incidentally, is very characteristic of Authentic Tritus or Mode 5 chants. The final result for this chant, and for the other seventeen altered in a similar way, is that both the respond and the verse are kept within the authentic range. The Introduction to the Cistercian Gradual

specifically mentions this problem with reference to the Gradual, "Christus factus est," and many others [et consimilia quorum copiosa est multitudo], and indicates the solution of editing the respond so that it falls within the authentic, mode 5 range.[71]

The remaining way in which the Cistercians edit chants of mixed range is reserved for those chants in which the section of the chant which lies outside the authentic range is so long that the removal of a few notes or recomposing of a few neumes is not sufficient. In these cases the Cistercian editors actually transpose an entire phrase in order to bring it up into the range of the authentic. Of the five Graduals so altered, four of them (numbers 12, 24, 26, and 29) are transposed up a fifth and one (number 2) is transposed up a fourth. This last, the Gradual, "Qui sedes," for the Third Sunday of Advent, will provide an example of the process. [See Figure 5, page 216.] In the earlier manuscripts of the tradition, the phrase, "excita potentiam tuam et veni," which ends the respond, moves this Tetrardus chant down into the plagal range for the first time. The Cistercian solution is to transpose this entire phrase up a fourth, thus causing it to ascend to high "g," and, incidentally, to make this phrase more like the opening phrase. This is one of the six cases in which the Dominican reformers have followed the Cistercian lead,

Figure 5

Musical score for the first system, featuring four staves (G1, C1, R, H) with lyrics: Qui se- des... (- - bim.) ex- ci- ta- po- ten- ti- am tu- am. The score includes a vertical bar line and a fermata over the final note of the first phrase.

Musical score for the second system, featuring four staves (G1, C1, R, H) with lyrics: et ve- ni. and a fermata over the final note. A second system begins with the lyrics: y. Qui... The score includes a vertical bar line and a fermata over the final note of the first phrase.

despite the fact that the earlier Dominican chant in R has the more traditional plagal section. Perhaps the Dominican editors chose the higher reading because of the clearly authentic character of the first phrase of the respond with its ascent to high "g," and thus followed the Cistercian lead more for the sake of modal unity than for the sake of restricting the range.

There is no doubt that the Cistercian editors show a definite preference for the authentic over the plagal mode in Graduals of mixed mode. This is not surprising since the authentic modes are, by definition, those of greater authority [qui maioris sunt auctoritatis], whereas the plagal modes are of lesser dignity [minoris sunt dignitatis]. [72] Of the thirty-one Graduals altered, only one (number 2) is in a plagal mode, plagal Protus, and here the alteration is the removal of several low notes which descend too far even for a plagal chant, and which would also require the low B-flat, a note not usually written. Again, this is one of the six in which the Dominican reform editors follow the Cistercian lead. Of the remaining thirty Graduals, twenty are mode 5, four are mode 1, four are mode 7, and two are mode 3.

The Use of B-Flat

The final problem for which the reforming editors are able to offer a somewhat direct and predictable solution, at

least in a majority of cases, concerns the question of the use of b-flat. For the Cistercian editors there was a definite suspicion of this note, and its use was greatly restricted. All the Cistercian theoretical treatises recognize that the b-flat does not occur "naturally" among the seven letter notes, and that it is therefore accidental and temporary in character. The Praefatio treats this question most completely:

In this ordering of letters, b-flat is not taken into account; for it is clear to everybody that it is not one of the lower notes, since it is never inserted among them; neither is it one of the higher notes since it does not correspond to one of the lower notes by the proportion of 1:2. It has been devised, however, not in order to determine the proper position of the finals, but to preserve a pleasant sound in many chants, a sound which the tritone, which ends on b-natural, would otherwise weaken or destroy. And so, in any maneria, where it is expedient that a softer sound be used, the b-flat is sometimes placed instead of the b-natural--covertly, however, and quickly--lest on account of it a false resemblance to some other mode be created in a chant. For in our books, it occupies no line or space by the designation of a letter unless it is specifically written down; and once a b-natural has appeared again, all memory of the b-flat should be removed from the book, until, if the same need mentioned above recurs, it is again written down.[73]

Basing their argument on the fact that there is no low B-flat, the Cistercian editors almost conclude that the higher b-flat is not a real note at all, since it does not correspond to one of essential notes by a ratio of 1:2. Only one reason is given for its use--that of preserving a

pleasant sound which would be weakened by the presence of the tritone. Only in such cases is it to be used and then immediately cancelled and replaced at once by the natural "b." It is to be used covertly [furtim] and quickly [raptim] lest the unnatural placing of this half step give the impression of another mode.

The Praefatio recognizes the theoretical possibility that b-flat could be used throughout a chant in order to bring about the transposition of an entire mode. Though it would be possible to create a transposed Protus mode in which the characteristic whole step, half step configuration would exist as G-"a"-b-flat rather than as D-E-F, the Cistercian editors forbid such a transposition in practice, "since the necessary law which we have mentioned prevents this" [impediente quam diximus necessitate].[74] The authors also specifically prohibit the transposed Deuterus on "a" in which the characteristic initial half step is produced by the use of a constant b-flat.

From forbidding the use of b-flat to create a transposed mode the Cistercians move directly to their basic editorial rule concerning the use of b-flat: "No chant should be notated with [b-flat] which can be notated without it." [Nullus enim cantus qui sine ipso notari potest per ipsum notari debet.][75] In theory this should mean that chants which contain both b-natural and b-flat would be notated at

the level of the primary finals (D,E,F, and G). Any Protus, Deuterus or Tritus chant which uses a constant b-flat would be transposed to the higher final of "a," "b," or "c." Since Tetrardus does not transpose, it must remain on G. In fact this rule is applied with such rigor by the Cistercians that one finds chants in which the b-naturals are effectively suppressed by transposition merely in order to avoid writing the b-flat.

The Introduction to the Cistercian Gradual refers to the "a" final as the "proper" final whenever there is a half step above the fifth [sed semitonium habent, propria finalis est A acutum]. Whenever there is a whole step above the fifth, the D final is "proper". A similar argument is made for plagal chants of the Protus which require a low B-flat by descending two whole steps. Such chants are said to be notated "naturally" on the high "a" final [notatos esse naturaliter in A acuto]. Similar arguments are made for Deuterus and Tritus chants.[76]

In the next section the authors discuss the case of Deuterus Introits (both modes 3 and 4) which, it would seem, would always have to be notated on the lower finals, since the Psalm tones of these modes traditionally require a b-natural. Rather than accepting this situation, they have made the use of the higher final possible by changing the Psalm tones for these two modes so that they no longer

contain b-naturals, as shown in the figure below.

Figure 6



They do, however, exclude the use of the "c" final for mode 5 Introits, apparently being unwilling to make a similar change in the mode 5 Psalm tone.[77]

The remaining theoretical treatises handle the use of b-flat in similar ways. The Regulae says that "b-flat was invented to take away the harshness of the tritone, not in just any chant, but only where the sound is most harsh" [inventum est b rotundum propter auferendum asperitatem tritoni, non tamen in quolibet cantu, sed ubi asperius sonat]. Its introduction in place of b-natural to avoid the tritone is described as "furtive," since, of itself, b-flat occupies no space or line.[78]

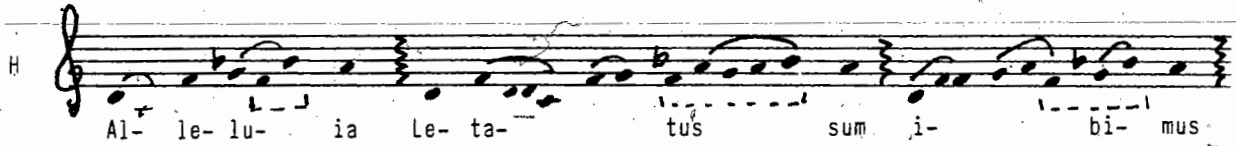
The LaFage Anonymous treatise says of the b-flat that "it cannot, of itself, occupy a line or space, nor have a natural place, since it is not made up of one of the seven letters" [non debet per se lineam aut spatium occupare nec locum naturaliter habere, quia non est de compositione septem

litterarum]. The Greeks call b-flat "sinemenon" or accidental, for what is accidental is not proper, and what is not proper is not natural [vocatur apud Graecos b rotundum sinemenon, hoc est accidens vel accidentale, quod est enim accidentale non est proprium, et quod non proprium est non est naturale].[79] "The b-flat was invented to temper the tritone naturally found above F....[and should be] furtively introduced, but when the chant returns to its natural form, it should at once be removed" [Inventum est autem b rotundum ad temperandum tritonum, qui super F naturaliter invenitur....furtim interponitur; sed ubi cantus ad suam naturam recurrerit statim debet auferri].[80]

As can be seen from the above, the Cistercian concern with b-flat is twofold. The b-flat is accidental in character and is only used in a temporary way to prevent the harsh sound of the tritone wherever it might occur. Because of this accidental character, however, if the same tempering effect can be produced without writing b-flat (that is by transposition to the higher range where the natural e-f half step replaces it) then the chant should be so written. The question of when a tritone is actually present with its disturbing sound is a somewhat subjective one. In the most straightforward case the b-flat is used when the chant leaps directly from F up to "b." This is the case with the beginning of the Alleluia, "Letatus sum," for the Second

Sunday of Advent.

Figure 7



The direct leap from F to b-natural must obviously be tempered by a flat (or by the Cistercian transposition where it becomes "c"- "f") if the harsh sound of the tritone is to be avoided. This is done directly in the Dominican Prototype manuscript reading shown in Figure 7, and indirectly in the Cistercian manuscripts through transposition to the "a" final. As in many manuscripts, however, the flat or its transposed equivalent is continued even when the relationship between F and "b" is somewhat softened by intervening notes. The question of when precisely to use a b-flat in order to temper the tritone, and how long, in fact the flat should continue, is not new to the Cistercians and Dominicans. The solution in each case is handled quite differently from manuscript to manuscript. Examples of varied treatment of the tritone will be evident in the transcriptions found in Chapter V.

The Cistercian practice of transposing from the lower finals (D, E, F) to the higher finals ("a," "b," "c") simply to avoid writing the b-flat results in an effective solution to

the problem of the tritone. Once a chant has been so transposed the tritone can no longer exist--the ambiguous leap from F to some kind of "b" having been replaced by the constant perfect fourth, "c"- "f". As can be seen from an examination of Table V on the next two pages, such transposition seems to have been made in a very mechanical fashion--at times merely to avoid the writing of the "unnatural" b-flat; at other times excluding b-naturals as well (chants marked with an "N"); and at times for no apparent reason at all (such as those cases, marked "B", in which the note, "b," does not appear at all.) In most of the sixty-four chants in Table V the process is one of simple transposition (marked with an "S"). In other cases (marked with a "P") the problem is more complex. This type of problem will be examined in Chapter V when questions of modal unity and the notation of "impossible" intervals are discussed.

That this process of transposition is very much a Cistercian concern can be seen by comparing the Cistercian finals with those of several manuscripts selected from outside the Cistercian tradition. In the majority of cases examined in Table V, the Sarum Gradual and the two 13th century Parisian manuscripts (abbreviated as S, G1, and G4 respectively) have preferred the lower final. The Dominican reformers of the 1256 reform appear to have rejected the

TABLE V
TRANSPOSITION TO AVOID B-FLAT

No.	CHANT	LOCATION	P R O B S	MANUSCRIPTS EXAMINED							
				C1	C4	H	R	S	G1	G4	
1.	ALL: Letatus sum	Dom II Adv	S	a	-	D	a	a	a	a	a
2.	INT: Gaudete	Dom III Adv	N	a	-	D	D	D	D	D	D
3.	ALL: Excita (TYPE)	Dom III Adv	S	b*	-	E	b	E	E	E	E
4.	INT: Prope est	Fer VI Q I Adv	D	b	-	E	E	E	E	E	E
5.	ALL: Veni Dne (TYPE)	Dom IV Adv	P	a	-	D	E	a	E	E	E
6.	OFF: Confortamini	Dom IV Adv	N	b	-	E	b	E	E	E	E
7.	INT: Hodie scietis	Vigil Nat.	S	c	-	F	c	F	F	F	F
8.	OFF: Tollite portas	Vigil Nat.	S	a	-	D	D	D	D	D	D
9.	OFF: Letentur	Nat. 1am missam	S	b	-	E	E	E	E	E	E
10.	COM: In splendoribus	Nat. 1am missam	B	c	-	F	F	F	F	F	F
11.	INT: Omnis terra	Dom II Epiph	D	b	-	E	E	E	E	E	E
12.	COM: Illumina	Dom Septuag.	A	a	-	a	a	a	a	a	a
13.	INT: Esto michi	Dom Quinq.	S	c	-	F	F	F	F	F	F
14.	COM: Manducaverunt	Dom Quinq.	S	a	-	D	D	D	D	D	D
15.	TRA: Dne non sec. (TYPE)	Fer IV Cin	S	a	-	D	D	D	D	D	D
16.	COM: Cum invocarem	Fer III Heb I Quad	B	a	-	D	D	D	D	D	D
17.	INT: De necessitatibus	Fer VI Heb I Quad	D	b	-	E	E	E	E	E	E
18.	COM: Erubescant	Fer VI Heb I Quad	S	b	-	E	E	E	E	E	b
19.	GRAD: Adiutor	Fer II Heb II Quad	S?	a/D	-	D	D	D	D	D	D
20.	COM: Narrabo	Fer III Heb II Quad	N	a	-	D	D	D	D	D	D
21.	INT: Ego autem	Fer VI Heb II Quad	S	a	-	D	D	D	D	D	D
22.	COM: Tu mandasti	Fer V Heb III Quad	P	c	c	G	G	G	F	F	F
23.	INT: Liberator	Fer IV Heb Pass.	D	b	b/E	E	E	E	E	E	E
24.	INT: Iudica me	Fer II Maj. Heb.	DP	b	b	E	E	G	E	G	G
25.	OFF: Dne exaudi	Fer IV Maj. Heb.	P	b	b	E	E	E	E	E	E
26.	INT: Nos autem	Fer V Maj. Heb.	D	b	b	E	E	E	E	E	E
27.	OFF: Terra tremuit	Dom Resurr.	N	b	b	E	E	E	E	E	E
28.	COM: Pascha nostrum	Dom Resurr.	S	c	c	F	F	F	F	F	F
29.	OFF: Intonuit	Fer III Pasch	S	b	b	E	E	E	E	E	E
30.	COM: Christus resurgens	Fer IV Pasch	P	c	c	G	G	G	G	G	G
31.	INT: Eduxit eos	Fer VI Pasch	D	b	b	E	E	E	E	E	E
32.	COM: Data est michi	Fer VI Pasch	S	a	a	D	a	D	a	a	a

* To save space, "b" in this table represents b-natural (b quadratum)

TABLE V - 2

33. ALL: Laudate pueri	Sab Pasch	S	b	b	E	E	E	E	E
34. INT: Quasimodo	Dom in Albis	P	c	c	c	c	F	F	c
35. ALL: Surrexit Dns de	Dom in Albis	P	a	a	D	a	-	G	G
36. COM: Mitte manum	Dom in Albis	S	c	c	c	c	F	c	c
37. INT: Misericordia	Dom I p Oct Pasch	D	b	b	E	E	E	E	E
38. ALL: Ego sum pastor	Dom I p Oct Pasch	S	a	a	D	D	F	D	D
39. INT: Cantate Dno	Dom III p Oct Pasch	S	c	c	F	F	F	F	F
40. OFF: Viri Galelei	Ascens.	S	a	a	D	a	D	D	D
41. INT: Exaudi Dne...allel.	Dom Inf Oct Ascens	P	a	a	D	D	D	D	D
42. ALL: Veni Sancte Spir.	Dom Pent	S	a	a	D	D	D	D	D
43. OFF: Confirma hoc	Dom Pent	S	b	b	E	E	E	E	E
44. ALL: Loquebantur	Fer III Pent	S	a	a	D	a	D	D	-
45. ALL: Non vos relinquam	Fer III Pent	S	a	a	D	D	-	-	-
46. INT: Caritas Dei	Sab Q I Pent	D	b	^E /b	E	E	E	E	E
47. COM: Benedicimus	Dom Trin	S	b	b	E	E	E	E	E
48. COM: Cantabo Dno	Dom II Pent	P	a	a	D	a	D	D	D
49. INT: Respice in me	Dom III Pent	N	c	c	F	F	F	F	F
50. COM: Ego clamavi	Dom III Pent	P	c	c	F	c	c	c	c
51. INT: Deus illuminat	Dom IV Pent	S	a	<u>D</u>	D	D	D	D	D
52. INT: Exaudi Dne...adiutor	Dom V Pent	D	b	b	E	E	E	E	E
53. COM: Panem de celo	Dom XIII Pent	S	c	c	F	F	F	F	F
54. INT: Protector noster	Dom XIV Pent	D	b	b	E	E	E	E	E
55. COM: Panis quem	Dom XIV Pent	S	a	a	D	D	D	D	D
56. INT: Inclina Dne	Dom XV Pent	S	a	a	D	D	D	D	D
57. ALL: Timebunt	Dom XV Pent	S	a	a	D	D	a	-	-
58. ALL: Confitemini Dne	Dom XVI Pent	S	a	a	D	a	a	-	-
59. ALL: Paratum cor	DOM XVII Pent	NP	a	a	E	E	-	-	-
60. OFF: Oravi Deum	Dom XVII Pent	P	b	b	E	E	E	E	b
61. INT: Da pacem	Dom XVIII Pent	S	a	a	D	D	D	D	D
62. ALL: Qui tement	Dom XVIII Pent	S	a	a	D	D	-	-	-
63. ALL: Dexter a Dei	Dom XIX Pent	SP	a	a	D	a	E	-	-
64. INT: Dicit Dns ego	Dom XXIII Pent	A	c	c	c	c	c	c	f

** ABBREVIATIONS USED IN "PROB" COLUMN:

- S - simple transposition problem in manuscripts examined
- N - b-natural & b-flat both present in untransposed chant (i.e. requires F-sharp)
- D - Deuterus Introit involves change of Psalm tone in V. to avoid F-sharp
- P - other problems affecting transposition present in chant
- B - no B's at all in chant, thus no need for transposition
- A - all manuscripts present chant at transposed level

Cistercian principle and returned almost every case to the more traditional lower final [cf. column H, the readings of the Prototype, in Table V]. In a few cases (numbers 1, 32, 54, 57, 58) even those chants which were frequently written at the higher transposition were "returned" to the lower final by the Dominican reformers. In only four of the cases examined (numbers 12, 34, 36, and 64) have the editors of H adopted the higher transposition; and in two of these, numbers 12 and 64, all the manuscripts examined have preferred the higher transposition.

Marosszeki proposes that the Cistercians, themselves, ceased to apply this principle in a rigorous way in later manuscripts. He cites, as an example of the return to the more ancient readings, the witness of the manuscript, Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. lat. 1413.[81] If this were the case in all 13th century Cistercian manuscripts, one would have to admit that the Dominican editors of the 1256 reform were probably not returning to the more ancient tradition themselves, but merely following the lead of the Cistercian manuscripts with which they were familiar. Unfortunately the manuscript evidence is not uniform. The manuscript, Yale, Beinecki 530 (abbreviated as C4) provides a late 13th century witness to the continuing Cistercian practice of resorting to the higher finals. In only one case, number 51, does a return to the lower final seem to be the original reading.

In one other case, number 23, the lower final was returned to by altering the original clef in the manuscript; but in a parallel case, number 46, the clef was altered to change from the lower to the higher final. Which Cistercian manuscripts the Dominican reformers used is not known. Thus the question of how the reform of 1256 came to the more ancient practice of using the lower finals cannot be resolved.

The question is perhaps made more complex by the readings of the earlier Dominican editors of the manuscripts R and V. The readings of R (and the original V readings, ultimately changed to agree with H) lie somewhere between the overly rigorous Cistercian approach of always using the higher final to avoid b-flat and the perhaps overly systematic return to the lower final adopted by the Dominican reform. In sixteen cases R does use the higher transposition, and in four of these (numbers 12, 34, 36, and 64) R and H agree. Does this imply that the editors of R were familiar with the Cistercian principle and applied it themselves in some cases and not in others, or were they merely following a manuscript tradition which used the higher final somewhat more frequently? When the editors of the Prototype used the higher final themselves, were they following the lead of R? If so, why not follow it in all such cases? There would seem to be no possibility at present of clear answers to these questions given the present state of

3

knowledge concerning the manuscripts sources of the Dominican reform.

The overly rigorous Cistercian application of the principle of transposition to avoid b-flat was not without its problems, though these seem not to have bothered the editors very much. As was pointed out above, the traditional Psalm tones for modes 3 and 4 required the presence of b-natural. Rather than abandon their principle, the Cistercian editors merely changed the Psalm tones so they would not need a b-natural (or an f-sharp, as it would have to be in the higher transposition.) [See Figure 6, above.] This would allow such chants to be written at the higher transposition without problem. All such Deuterus Introits, marked with a "D" in Table V, have in fact been written at the higher transposition in both C1 and C4.

An even greater problem concerns those chants which, in the tradition, include both b-flat and b-natural. The Cistercian theorists recognized that such chants would have to be written at the level of the lower finals,[82] since no f-sharp was available to create a whole step in the higher transposition where b-natural would occur in the lower. Nonetheless in six cases (the chants marked "N" in Table V) such chants are transposed with the effect that the sound of the whole step which would be produced by b-natural in the lower transposition is merely suppressed as if all b's in the

original were in fact flatted. This certainly avoids the possibility of the tritone, but also prevents any sound of the b-natural at all, even where its use was clearly intended in the original form of the chant.

More Complex Problems

It is in confronting the issues of modal unity and of problems involving complex or partial transpositions and notating "impossible" intervals that the Cistercian and Dominican editors are taken beyond such simple procedures as manipulation of range or removal of "superfluous" notes. Though at times the reform editors seem unaware of the origins of a problem being addressed, and either adopt an overly simple solution or accept the chant unchanged as it was found in their source manuscripts, at other times they seem able to address the complexity of the problem and search for adequate solutions. Though the editorial decisions involving simple abbreviation, range narrowing, or transposition to avoid b-flat are readily identifiable because they are applied in a consistent and characteristic way, solutions to the more complex problems are more difficult to identify as the work of the reformers. Since, in most cases, it is not known which manuscripts were used by the reformers as their immediate sources, it is often difficult to determine whether a given solution is that of

the reforming editors or merely one adopted from the source manuscript. From an examination of the theoretical sources, however, it is possible to determine something of the approach which the reformers intended to take, at least in broad outline, and then see if the approach was actually taken in the process of editing the chants.

The principle of modal unity is first presented in the Praefatio to the Cistercian reform as a concern that modal consistency be maintained by copyists. Those who notate the manuscripts are enjoined to

take care to end each piece on its proper final, since by the thoughtless changing of these notes such a confusion has arisen in the chants that quite a number of them actually belong to one maneria, but are classed in another.[83]

Examples are given of chants which, through the injudicious use of the b-flat, appear to be in one mode but are actually in another, in which "a false similarity smothers their real nature [in quibus naturam suffocat similitudo].[84] Other chants are false because they suggest one mode at their beginning and another at their conclusion.[85] Speaking specifically of chants of the Tritus and Tetrardus maneriae, yet expressing a principle which equally applicable to all maneriae, the editors conclude that

...all those chants which are not distinguished by a definite maneria are contrary to the rules; and...either the range of these chants should be extended or the shape of the melodies varied so that henceforth they cannot end on the

finals of different maneriae, or at least cannot properly do so.[86]

In other words, the chants should be so altered (by extending the range in one direction or the other) that they are clearly either plagal or authentic in range. If the question is of different modal characteristics, then the shape of the melody should reflect only a single maneria. Often this question of melodic shape will be limited even further to those melodic gestures characteristic of the single mode under consideration.

The Cistercian desire for some degree of modal unity is clear from the above. An examination of the chants of the Dominican Prototype of the 1256 reform makes it clear that the Dominican reform editors made use of the principle as well. Jerome of Moravia reveals a continuing concern for modal unity in his preference for chants which begin as well as end on their final, for chants which do not mix plagal and authentic, and for intonations which are characteristic of their mode.[87] The degree of modal unity which was achieved by the Cistercian editors, and the Dominicans after them, can be discovered in examining the chants as they were edited by the reformers. As will be seen, some chants were altered only slightly. Others, though they would seem likely candidates for application of the principle, were left unchanged. Still others were altered in such a way that no nuance remained which would cast any doubt at all on the

"correct" mode of the piece.

Marosszeki refers to the Cistercian application of the principle of modal unity as a "tendency," rather than as a principle pushed to the extreme. What is new, he says, is a systematic approach to modal unity, one which responds to a new aesthetic taste which was developing.[88] This preference for a more simplified sound led to the application of a principle which, as will be seen, often altered the complex nuances of the chants to such an extent that much of their original subtle beauty was lost. Given the Cistercian desire for simplicity and their suspicion of corruption in the chant tradition which they had received, however, it is not surprising that such nuances were not seen as important, or even authentic.

Questions of complex or partial transpositions within chants, especially as they have to do with the notation of "impossible" intervals are not dealt with directly in the Cistercian reform treatises, though the results of such concerns are clearly evident in the manuscripts. Their obvious concern with the role of the notator, however, gives some indication of their awareness of the problems of notation which must be confronted. The beginning of the Introduction to the Gradual is directed specifically to the notator [eos qui Gradualia notaturi] rather than to the theorist or singer.[89] It must be admitted that the solution

to notating b-flat by transposing to avoid it is overly simplistic and was applied too rigorously by the copyists. The treatises do seem to take notice, however, of other chants or intervals which it is not possible to notate. The LaFage Anonymous treatise defines a false chant [cantus falsus] as one which cannot be notated in music [in musica notari non potest].[90] The existence of such chants which contained intervals impossible to notate had long been recognized.[91] The complex manuscript tradition for such chants gives witness to the manifold efforts which went in to "correcting" them. How the Cistercian and Dominican editors confronted such problems, and how their solutions relate to the solutions of chant editors before them, will be addressed through the detailed analysis of specific problem chants in the chapter which follows.

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1. See Marosszeki, p. 60.
 2. Bernard of Clairvaux, "Tractatus de cantu," Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Latina, J. P. Migne, ed. (Paris, n.p. 1854), 182, 1121-1132.
 3. translated and edited by Francis J. Guentner, S.J. in CSM, 24, (American Institute of Musicology, 1974.)
 4. P.L. 182, 1151-54.
 5. Hugo Séjalon, ed., Nomasticon Cisterciense, (revised ed., Solesmes, 1892), pp. 257-259.
 6. See Séjalon, p. 257.
 7. Fuller, p. 7.
 8. See Ibid., p. 22, fn. 63.
 9. Edmund de Coussemaker, ed., Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi, novam seriem, (Paris: A. Durand, 1867), II, pp. 150-192.
 10. CS, II, p. xi.
 11. Guentner, p. 17.
 12. CS, II, p. 150.
 13. Fuller, p. 22.
 14. Albert Seay, "An Anonymous Treatise from St. Martial," Annales Musicologiques, V (1957), pp. 7-42.
 15. Fuller, passim.
 16. Ibid., p. 21.
 17. Ibid., p. 22-23.
 18. Ibid., p. 21.
 19. Seay, p. 12.
 20. Fuller, p. 8.
 21. GS, II, pp. 265-277.

22. P.L. 182, 1153-66.
23. Fuller, p. 8.
24. Sweeney, op. cit.
25. Cserba, op. cit.
26. See Ibid., pp lxxvii-lxxxiv for a full discussion of the manuscript sources.
27. Bonniwell, p. 358.
28. Translation is from Guentner, p. 43. See Appendix, E 1, for Latin text.
29. Ibid., p. 59. cf. Appendix, E 2.
30. Ibid., p. 60, Latin text, p. 40-41.
31. Cserba, pp. 173-79.
32. Guentner, p. 56-7. cf. Appendix, E 3
33. Ibid., p. 57, Latin text, p. 38.
34. Seay's study, mentioned above, contains the full text of LaFage Anonymous and the Tonale of St. Bernard.
35. Seay, p. 25. (my translation). cf. Appendix, E 4.
36. See Guentner, pp. 52-56, 57-58.
37. CS, II, pp. 174-175.
38. Cserba, pp. 173-179 passim.
39. See Fuller, op. cit.
40. See above, under "The Concept of Mode".
41. See Fuller, p. 9. fn. 26.
42. Guentner, p. 46. cf. Appendix, E 5.
43. See Cserba, especially Chapter 20, p. 152ff.
44. See Fuller, pp. 15-17.
45. See Cserba, p. 58ff.

46. See Fuhler, pp. 17-20.
47. See Guentner, pp. 45-46, 51-52, Latin text pp. 25-26, 31-33.
48. Guentner, pp. 45-46, Latin text p. 26.

49. Seay, pp. 22-24.
50. See Cserba, pp. 157-160.
51. Guentner, pp. 43-44. cf. Appendix, E 6.
52. Marosszeki, p. 48.
53. Delalande, pp. 29-34.
54. Ibid., pp. 36-62 passim.
55. See Hucbald's distinction between major and minor semitones. Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 22.
56. Seay, p. 16, (translation mine).
57. Ibid., p. 31.
58. Cserba, p. 175.
59. Ibid., p. 178.
60. See Delalande, pp. 38-41.
61. Marosszeki, p. 76.
62. See section quoted above, p. and Appendix, E 4.
63. Translation mine. cf. Appendix, E 7.
64. Guentner, p. 53. cf. Appendix, E 8.
65. Ibid., pp. 53-54. cf. Appendix, E 9.
66. Ibid.
67. See Ibid., p. 61.
68. Ibid., p. 54. cf. Appendix, E 9.
69. See Cserba, p. 157.

70. Ibid., p. 176.
71. Séjalon, p. 259.
72. Guentner, pp. 35-36.
73. Ibid., p. 47-48. cf. Appendix, E 10.
74. Ibid., p. 48, Latin text p. 28.
75. Ibid.
76. Séjalon, p. 258.
77. Ibid.
78. CS, II, p. 152.
79. Seay, p. 32.
80. Ibid., p. 33.
81. Marosszeki, p. 72.
82. Guentner, p. 48, Latin text p. 29.
83. Ibid., p. 45. cf. Appendix, E 11.
84. Ibid., p. 50, Latin text p. 31.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., p. 51. cf. Appendix, E 12.
87. Cserba, p. 177.
88. Marosszeki, pp. 60-61.
89. Séjalon, p. 257.
90. Seay, p. 25.
91. See Fleming, op. cit. on the editing of Communion melodies in medieval manuscripts.

CHAPTER V

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CHANTS AND MANUSCRIPTS

Among all the Mass chants found in the Gradual, only a relatively small number exhibit serious modal problems. These problems are not new to the Cistercian and Dominican editors, but are already evident in the earlier manuscript tradition. Some chants exhibit relatively uncomplicated problems having to do with modal unity or with simpler notational problems. Others present more difficult modal unity problems having to do with the combining of melodic material characteristic of more than one mode in a single chant or with the transposition of modes to atypical finals. Still others present even more complex problems having to do with the presence of intervals impossible to notate or with various misunderstandings involving partial transposition. All of these problems can be made even more complex, and frequently are, by the failure of later editors to recognize the work of earlier editors as such, consequently superimposing their own editorial work on an already edited chant, and thus obscuring the original form of the chant even further.

These more complex problems, then, seem at times to

come from the superimposition of the solutions of successive editors, at other times from attempts to correct copyists' errors which had produced readings inconsistent with correct modal theory, and perhaps most frequently from attempts to notate chants in their original form, even though it was not possible to reproduce the chromatic complexity of the original in a notational system which was limited to the b-flat as the only possible chromatic alteration. Such chants would have originally contained intervals requiring the use of an E-flat or F-sharp, although the notational systems which developed were not able to notate these intervals except indirectly by means of transposition of either the entire chant, or that section of it in which the problem occurs. Partial transpositions especially were often not recognized as such in later manuscripts, with the result that they were often re-emended in order to "correct" the apparent inconsistencies. The result for such chants was a very complex manuscript tradition in which different "solutions" to the same problem are often combined in a single manuscript reading so that the original reading can only be recovered by examining how the chant was handled in earlier manuscripts, or at least in manuscripts which had preserved the earlier readings.

As was the case with the editing procedures discussed in chapter IV, the editing of chants with more complex modal

problems by Cistercian and Dominican editors was very much influenced by that desire for simplification which underlies so much of their work. Indeed, the problem seems often to have been one of over-simplification. In handling problems of modal unity, for example, they frequently apply the principle with such rigor that any more complex problems are concealed behind the facade of a chant so predictably in a single mode that no complex problem remains visible at all. Both the Cistercian and Dominican editors often appear to have sought solutions based not so much on the original form of these chants which often would not even have been known, as on attempts to "correct" the reading found in the immediate source manuscripts used in order to bring this reading into conformity with the principles of the respective reforms.

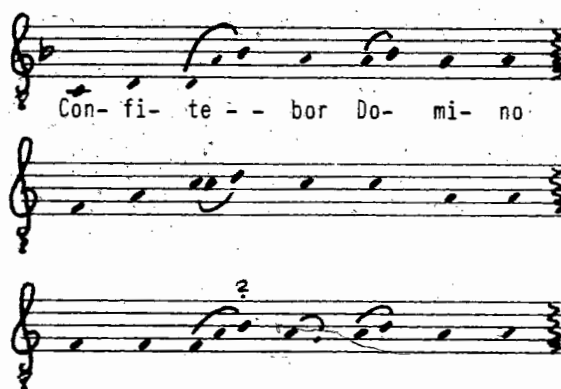
Modal Problems of Lesser Complexity

Though the modal problems treated in this chapter are certainly more complex than the problems of abbreviation and range dealt with in Chapter IV, some of them involve relatively straightforward questions dealt with in clear and direct ways by various editors of the chant. Such problems will be considered first, with more complex questions being treated in the sections which follow.

1. Offertory: "Confitebor Domine"

The Offertory "Confitebor Domine" (Fer. II post Dom. V Pasch. in Let. Maj.) provides a simple example of the modal ambiguity which can occur in a chant. Though this chant is clearly Tritus in all the manuscripts examined, the original intonation seems to have been one normally associated with chants of the Protus.

FIGURE 8



How such an intonation came to be attached to an obviously Tritus chant is not known, but such a violation of the principle of modal unity was unacceptable to the Cistercian editors and to the Dominican editors of the Prototype. The earlier Dominican tradition of R has retained the traditional "Gaudeamus" type intonation, and this same intonation has been erased in V and replaced by the typical Tritus intonation found in all Cistercian and later Dominican manuscripts. The new intonation seems to have been formed from the characteristic mode 5 "F-a-c" pattern, perhaps

derived from the mode 5 Psalm tone intonation. This same pattern also begins the phrase, "ut salvum...", and exists in several other places in the chant in the somewhat disguised form, F-a-G-c.

In the manuscripts examined for this paper only one instance of this replacement intonation was found in a source neither Cistercian nor Dominican--the manuscript, G6, a 14th century manuscript from Jumieges. Whether it was influenced by Cistercian or Dominican practice is not known, though its 14th century date would, of course, allow for this. An interesting approach was taken in the manuscript, G2, a mid-13th century presentation manuscript from Padua, in which the intonation for this chant appears to be a combination of the new Tritus intonation with the older Protus one--an F-a beginning responding to the Tritus character now grafted onto the a-b-a ending of the original intonation.

2. Introit: "Iudica me Deus"

The Introit "Iudica me Deus" (Dom. V Quad. =Dom. Passionis) presents another case in which the Cistercian and later Dominican editors have seen fit to "correct" a more traditional reading preserved in R. [See Table VI. Tables VI through XXIV are found at the end of this chapter, p. 298 and following.] Here the problem is not of different maneriae, but of whether the chant should be plagal or authentic

Deuterus. Traditionally, indeed in all the manuscripts examined except for the Cistercian and later Dominican ones, the chant is classified as Deuterus plagal or mode 4 with the appropriate mode 4 Psalm verse. The problem recognized by the Cistercian and later Dominican editors focused on range. The chant never descends below D, though it often ascends to high "c" and circles around it. Though traditional theory did accept the rise of a sixth in plagal chants, especially those of the Deuterus, this chant by hovering in the higher range and not descending into the plagal range is certainly not typically plagal.

The Cistercian solution, adopted also by the editors of the Prototype, was to modify the chant at the words, "Deus et discerne," so that the low D is removed, even though it does not actually contradict the authentic range, and replaced by a series of high "c's" which emphasize the authentic range. The remainder of the chant is unaltered, though of course the Psalm tone for the verse is changed to mode 3. This is also a case in which one might have expected the Cistercian editors to transpose the chant to the affinal range in order to avoid having to write the b-flat which occurs in several spots in the chant. All the Cistercian manuscripts transcribe the chant in the E Deuterus range, however, and do not transpose it to the b-natural affinal. It should be noted, however, that there is some ambiguity

from manuscript to manuscript as to whether or not the "b" should be flatted and where.

The intonation of this chant also presents a good example of the small variations affecting only a few notes which can occur without seeming to have any substantive effect. Such variations are so pervasive in later manuscripts, and present in earlier manuscripts as well, that one wonders if it really made much difference to medieval ears (or at least to medieval eyes!) which variant reading was in fact used. One group of manuscripts (R, F2, F3, T, and the original reading of V) begins the intonation with an E-G-F torculus. G2 retains the G-F but with an initial D replacing the E. Another group (F1, G3, G6, O1, O2, the Cistercian and later Dominican mss.) uses an initial F-G-F torculus. Yet another approach uses either a C-F-E torculus, as S does, or a D-F-E torculus (G1, G4, G5). To modern ears the different initial notes just might be tolerated, but it is difficult to imagine that the use of F-E as opposed to G-F would not have been heard as distinctly different. Of course earlier "campo aperto" manuscripts would have transcribed the torculus the same regardless of the intervals sung. Could the singing of the intonation of such a piece still be more a matter of oral tradition in which the neumes as actually written would not have been taken literally? If this could be proved it would have definite ramifications on the

interpretation of differences among 12th and 13th century manuscripts, and not only with respect to minor differences, but perhaps even with respect to such concerns as partial transposition.

3. Communion: "Mense septimo"

The Communion "Mense septimo" (Sabb. Q. T. Sept.) is a chant which, in almost every case, is presented as a Tetrardus chant in manuscripts outside the Cistercian/Dominican tradition. Cistercian and Dominican manuscripts universally present it as a Protus chant on D. The key to understanding what happened to the chant lies in the constant reiteration of figures on "a" such as a-c-a, a-b-c-b-a, or cc-b-a. [See Table VII below.] Any chant with such a preponderance of this kind of melodic gesture both looks and sounds like a Protus chant which has been transposed to the higher "a" final. This would seem to have been the thinking of the editors of G6, who have simply altered the final cadence so that it agrees with what was perceived as the transposed Protus character of the rest of the chant.

The Cistercian and Dominican editors (and in this case the editors of the earlier Dominican tradition as well) have also recognized the Protus quality of the chant, restored the Protus ending in accord with the principle of

modal unity, and then "re-transposed" it down to the D level. Perhaps the Cistercians "returned" the chant to its natural final for the simple reason that, since there are no b-flats in the chant, the higher transposition would not have been necessary according to Cistercian theory. Since the D-Protus reading has been found only in Dominican and Cistercian manuscripts, one wonders if this chant provides evidence that the editors of R were, at times, themselves, influenced by the Cistercian readings.

The exceptional reading of the manuscript, G2, is difficult to explain. The entire chant is presented at the a-c level of the more traditional reading, but at the final cadence a typical Deuterus cadential gesture is substituted for the Tetrardus cadence. It cannot be merely a matter of mis-copying the last neumes, since the shape of the cadential gesture is different. It is hard to imagine that the editor considered the rest of the chant to be Deuterus in quality, since there are no typically Deuterus melodic gestures, and the final phrase certainly gives no indication that a Deuterus cadence is expected. There is definitely some modal ambiguity about the original chant with its transposed Protus quality and Tetrardus ending, but one sees no reason for seeking to solve the ambiguity with a Deuterus cadence.

4. Communion: "Ego sum Pastor"

The Communion "Ego sum Pastor" (Dom. II Pasch) represents an approach taken by the Cistercian and Dominican editors which can be seen as the reverse of that taken above in number 3. [See Table VIII below.] In this instance, most of the manuscripts examined present a rather unremarkable Protus chant on D. There is frequent circling around the D-F region (analogous to the a-c region in number 3), as well as a characteristic descent into the plagal Protus range in the final phrase. The Cistercian and Dominican manuscripts, however, present a reading which begins with the chant at the "a" transposition, a fifth higher. Then, at the first Alleluia, the transposition shifts from a transposition at the fifth to one at the fourth, thus bringing the note G into greater prominence than the "a" and causing the chant to cadence on the normal Tetrardus G instead of the "a" which would be needed for a transposed Protus chant.

One manuscript, F2, does transpose the chant into the range of the higher final, "a," throughout, and thus cadences in Protus at the fifth transposition. Perhaps this transposition was made in order to write a low B-flat (not possible according to some theorists) which would become an F in the higher transposition. In any event the transposition to Protus on "a" suggests one possible explanation for the Cistercian/Dominican reading. Could it be that the Cistercians and Dominicans were more familiar with the

transposed setting on "a" than the untransposed one on D? In a reverse application of the principle of modal unity, the editors might then have seen this chant (at the "a" level) as properly in the Tetrardus range and transposed most of it down a step to attain the Tetrardus emphasis on G and the final G cadence. Perhaps they, or the manuscript which they followed were also influenced by the fact that the Communion "Ego sum vitis," with similar beginning text and, more important, intonation is always classified as a Tetrardus chant. Regardless of the underlying reason, the fact remains that this chant is customarily written as a typical Protus chant on D, and yet the Cistercian/Dominican manuscripts have all chosen a transposed version which results in a quite acceptable Tetrardus chant.

5. Offertory: "Eripe me...Domine"

The Offertory "Eripe me...Domine" (Fer. II Maj. Heb.) is treated universally as a Deuterus chant, the problem being whether it is considered to be Deuterus plagal or Deuterus authentic. [See Table IX below.] Most manuscripts examined treat it as a plagal chant cadencing at the level of the higher final, b-natural, though having a beginning more suggestive of an E Deuterus chant. This apparently presented a problem for the Cistercian editors, since the intonation on E, the cadence on E at "Domine" in phrase 2, and the cadence

at "confugi" in phrase 3 (seen as an acceptable E Deuterus half cadence) would all seem to be more suited to an untransposed Deuterus chant. It is only in phrase 4 that the ascent to the b-natural range becomes fixed and ultimately leads to the b-natural final. The Cistercian and later Dominican editors, seeking a reading more consistent with the first three phrases, need only alter the final cadence of the chant, however, to return it to the level of untransposed Deuterus. This makes a transposed Deuterus chant into an untransposed one, and at the same time transforms it from a plagal to an authentic chant.

The manuscript G5, a Parisian manuscript from the late 13th or early 14th century, makes the change to E Deuterus by the simple expedient of changing from a C clef to an F clef at the final cadence. This manuscript also transposes the beginning of phrase 5 at "quia Deus" down a third, though the melody still rises to the original "c" at "meus" before the descent to the E final created by the changed clef.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about this chant is that either reading (the Deuterus plagal chant cadencing on b-natural or the Deuterus authentic chant cadencing on E) has a certain inner logic about it. The Cistercian/Dominican reading is the simpler and perhaps the more consistent, since the intonation and first three phrases imply untransposed

Deuterus, and the final cadence need only be transposed down a fifth to the natural final to bring it into modal unity with the beginning. Moreover the use of the lower final at the end mirrors the rise and fall which occurs in the first two phrases. On the other hand, there is a graceful movement in the transposed reading from the lower range to the higher which gives to the b-natural ending a certain logic as well. Apparently this chant in its original form contained elements consistent with untransposed Deuterus (the intonation and first three cadences) as well as elements consistent with transposed Deuterus (the cadence on b-natural in phrase 4 and at the final cadence. This apparently original ambiguity reminds one that the kind of consistency and simplicity sought by the Cistercian and Dominican editors can take one away from the original reading, which is often less consistent and less in accord with theoretical principles than they would like.

6. Offertory: "Iusticie Domine"

The Offertory "Iusticie Domine" (Dom. III Quad.) presents yet another case in which the mode implied through most of the chant is "contradicted" in the final cadence. [See Table X below.] Again, the ambiguity seems to have been a part of the original chant. The melodic richness of Deuterus modality is such that one often finds within

Deuterus chants melodic gestures which seem to imply a different mode or even several different modes. The final cadence at "custodiet ea" was almost certainly a Deuterus cadence in the original reading--and this despite the fact that the first three phrases all end with a cadence more characteristic of Tritus chants. Phrase 4 might be seen as more Protus in character, though the cadence on low C is an acceptable half cadence for Tritus plagal chants, as is the half cadence on G which ends phrase 5. The logic of bringing the chant into modal unity by altering the final cadence to make it Tritus as well is certainly consistent. All of the Cistercian and Dominican manuscripts have adopted the Tritus ending. Interestingly, though C1, C3 and C4 have transposed the chant to "c" Tritus (apparently to avoid having to write the b-flat at "iudicia"), C2 leaves the chant at the F level in one of the few instances in which C1 and C2 have a different reading.

This apparent desire for modal unity is found in several other manuscripts outside the Cistercian and Dominican tradition, and is even carried a step further by the editors of G2, who also alter the cadence in phrase 5 to make it a Tritus cadence on F. The same tendency can be observed in the manuscript T, though the F is a liquescent note, rather unusually placed on "tuus" which would not be expected to take a liquescent. As he does in several other instances,

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the copyist of T shows his discomfort with the ending of this chant quite graphically. He includes the chant in that section of the tonary reserved for Tritus chants, even though the chant has apparently been copied from a manuscript which contained the Deuterus final cadence. T's "solution" is to copy all of the final cadence but the expected final E which he leaves out altogether!

There is also another element in this chant which shows editorial practice at work. The Cistercian and Dominican manuscripts consistently include the words "iudicia eius" in phrase 3, thus restoring the parallelism of the Hebrew text which compares the justice of the Lord and his judgment. None of the manuscripts outside the Cistercian and Dominican tradition show this reading, though the phrase has been added by a much later hand in the margin of G6. As this chant was originally sung there were two verses, after each of which only the section called the resumption (from "et dulciora" through "glorie") would have been sung. The transcription in Ott's Offertoriale[1] shows that the "et dulciora" phrase, without "iudicia eius" occurs right at the point of the resumption. Since the first verse ends with the phrase "iudicia Domini vera, it would have been repetitive to refer to "iudicia eius" immediately thereafter in the resumption. The Cistercian and Dominican traditions, however, no longer used Offertory verses, so the original

parallelism of the text could be restored.

7. Offertory: "Tollite portas"

The Offertory "Tollite portas" (Vigil Nat.) would no doubt have been seen by the Cistercians and Dominicans as a rather unremarkable plagal Protus chant which maintains its consistently Protus character throughout. [See Table XI below.] A large number of other manuscripts also show this chant as Protus either on D or transposed to the higher "a" final. The Cistercians have, as expected, chosen the reading with the higher final in order to avoid writing b-flat. This, incidentally, is a chant in which the characteristic reduction of tristrophas by the Dominican editors of the Prototype can clearly be seen.

There is, however, a problem with the original form of the chant, one which would probably not have been evident to the Cistercian and Dominican editors. Like several chants to be treated in the third section of this chapter, the original version of this chant contained a section (in this case the final cadence) in which the proper intervallic structure could be achieved only by transposing the chant to the "a" level where the b-flat could be used to notate what would have to be an E-flat if the chant were written at the D level. What Bomm describes as the original ending seems to have involved a strange chromatic displacement which can be

seen at the transposed level in the manuscript, T.[2] At the transposed level this causes the chant to end on G, and thus T, G2, and G3 class the piece as Tetrardus, despite its rather Protus character.

One solution to the problem, which is consistent with the shape of the chant though it still does not explain the chromatic displacement which requires an E-flat, is to view the chant as originally a da capo chant like the Offertories, "De profundis" and "Domine in auxilium." In this case the cadence at "glorie" could be seen as a half cadence on C (or G at the transposed level), with the final cadence actually being at "principes vestras" which would have been repeated da capo at the end. Whether or not this was the actual case, the simpler solution adopted by most manuscripts was merely to transpose the final part of the "glorie" melisma up a whole step so that it could cadence on D or "a." Once this small transposition had been made, the E-flat problem disappeared as well since the natural half step would now be provided between E and F or "b" and "c."

8. Offertory: "Exulta satis"

The Offertory "Exulta satis" (Sabb. Q. T. Adv.) presents another case in which the Cistercian editors would seem to have been unable to accept the degree of ambiguity characteristic of many Deuterus chants, although in this case

the Dominican editors have retained the more traditional reading with its final Deuterus cadence on E. (See Table XII below.) Without changing the rest of the chant, the Cistercian editors have altered the final cadence so that the chant becomes Tetrardus with a cadence on G. Of all the manuscripts examined only the Cistercians have made this change.

The reason for the change is explained in the Praefatio to the Antiphonary where the editors describe certain "illegitimate" chants which begin in the seventh mode and maintain this mode in the middle, but degenerate near the end. The end of all such chants, the editors proudly state, "has been suitably revised, and you will find them placed securely in the seventh mode." [3] The Offertory "Exultatis" is a good example of such a chant.

Certainly the cadence on G at "Syon" would have been seen as Tetrardus in character by the Cistercians. One surmises that the intonation with its leap from G to "c" and the subsequent reiteration of the "c" was also seen as Tetrardus in this case, though one finds Deuterus chants such as the Introits "Caritas Dei...alleluia" and "Intret oratio" which do the same thing. Although phrase 3 does not seem to maintain a Tetrardus quality especially with its cadence on D (or F in some manuscripts), it has not been altered toward the Tetrardus. The cadence in phrase 4 actually is a G in a

number of manuscripts; yet the Cistercian editors seem content with leaving the "a" cadence. Indeed, only the ending has been changed just as the procedure is described in the Praefatio. Perhaps the Dominican editors did not follow the Cistercian lead because of the rather ambiguous quality of the rest of the chant. If true modal unity were being sought, one would have expected other changes toward the Tetrardus as well.

9. Communion: "Pacem meam"

The final chant to be discussed in this first section is the Communion "Pacem meam" (Fer. IV Pent.). This antiphon exists both as a Tritus and as a Tetrardus chant. [See Table XIII below.] The difficulty hinges not on modal ambiguity, but on a transposition inserted in some manuscripts in order to avoid the tritone at the first "alleluia" in phrase two. According to Keith Fleming in his study of editing practices in Communion antiphons, this chant was originally a Tritus chant which began on C, utilized the b-natural throughout and cadenced on F.[4] This would have produced the sound of the tritone at the first "alleluia" between the b-natural on "-lu-" and the F on "-ia," and between the F on "-ia" and the b-natural which follows at "pacem." Though no manuscript has the exact original reading as described by Fleming, different editors have chosen a variety of ways to avoid this tritone.

The Tetrardus setting on G results from a transposition up a whole step from "-ia" of the first "alleluia" to the end of the chant. This raises the final note from an F to a G, thus making the chant Tetrardus. The "-lu-ia" tritone is avoided because the interval is no longer an F to b-natural augmented fourth but a G to b-natural third. The original F to b-natural between the "alleluia" and "pacem" is now a G to "c" perfect fourth instead. This is the solution taken by both levels of the Dominican tradition, though the earlier manuscripts R and V utilize a "c" instead of a b-natural at "-lu." This Tetrardus setting is quite widespread, being found also in most of the French manuscripts examined, in S, and in two of the Franciscan manuscripts.

Other manuscripts, the Cistercian among them, have kept the chant at its original Tritus level and chosen other ways to avoid the tritone. The Cistercians substitute a "c" for the b-natural at "-lu" and change the b-natural to a b-flat in phrases 3 and 4--thus using the flat for what theorists give as the primary reason for its existence. The manuscript T uses b-flat to avoid the tritone from phrase 2 on. G3 also uses the flat everywhere but at the intonation, though also changing the final F to a G in phrase 2. F1 also uses the final G in phrase 2, but does not use the flat. O1, O2, and G2 use the G in phrase 2 and the flat in the rest of

the chant.

This chant provides an instance in which the Cistercian reading has not been adopted by the editors of the Prototype, who seem instead to have followed the R reading. R's source for its reading was certainly not the Cistercians, but the original source for the Tetrardus reading is not known.

More Complex Modal Unity Problems

10. Introit: "Eduxit Dominus"

In addition to those chants in which essentially two editorial approaches are visible, there are others in which the editorial history is more complex. The Introit "Eduxit Dominus" (Sabb. Pasch.) is such a chant. [See Table XIV below.] At first glance the choice appears to be a simple one between a mode 4 setting (E Deuterus) or a mode 7 setting (G Tetrardus). The actual problem is more complex however, and is made more so by the existence of at least three different intonations for this chant. Indeed the editorial history is sufficiently complicated that it is not possible to discover for certain which was the original form of the chant.

One possibility (type A in Table XIV) is that the manuscript, S, presents something close to the original form of the chant--a basically mode 4 setting similar to the

Introit "Eduxit eos" (Fer. VI Pasch), which, in fact, begins with the same intonation. From the F-G-D intonation, the chant moves clearly in mode 4 with a typical mode 4 alleluia ending phrase 3, and a similar mode 4 double alleluia at the end. A variation on this type is that found in the manuscripts G6, G3, and T, which present essentially the same reading as S, but with the substitution of a more ornate mode 4 style intonation, the best witness to which is probably T since it cadences on E. One would also have to admit the possibility that this is the original intonation and that the simpler intonation was borrowed from "Eduxit eos" or substituted from it unintentionally by an inattentive copyist, perhaps copying from memory.

There would seem to be some problem with this setting in phrase 2, at "populum suum." The existence of several different readings of this phrase signals some difficulty--most likely one having to do with the need for writing an E-flat here. If this is the case, S has avoided the problem by transposing only this phrase up a third to get rid of any E's. Further witness of the possibility of an E-flat problem here is that G3 leaves out the word, "suum," where the E-flat would occur. The E which ends this phrase in the manuscript, T, is that other type of E (4) which this manuscript uses upon occasion. In fact most of the E's are of the alternate type and, though the editor classifies the

chant as Deuterus plagal, the last note is not written at all, thus making the chant appear to close on an F. As will be seen in the treatment of number 20, below, where an alternate type of "b" is used by the editor of T, this alternate type E may signal the editor's awareness of some ambiguity with the note.

It has long been an accepted principle of textual criticism that the more difficult reading (the so-called "lectio difficilior") is often the original, precisely because "simpler" solutions have frequently been made so by editorial change, whereas there would be less reason for an editor to have made a change toward a more difficult and perhaps unexplainable reading. Such an eventuality would seem even more likely when dealing with the Cistercian and Dominican editors, who often made a virtue of simplicity and simplification. Though one must always recognize the possibility that a difficult reading merely results from some error, nonetheless, the mere difficulty of the reading should not be taken as a sign that it is somehow corrupted. The original version of chants would probably be much easier to recover if medieval editors had not frequently sought to change complicated readings in the hope of restoring them to their "original, simpler form."

There is a possibility that such a complex reading is in fact the original reading for "Eduxit Dominus," and the

manuscript, G2, provides such a reading, though one which is somewhat defective in other particulars. Theorists had long recognized the existence of chants beginning in one mode and ending in another. The Cistercian editors of the Praefatio describe the need to "correct" chants which begin in one mode and end in another.[5] Bomm proposes that this chant is one of those described by Regino's tonary as beginning in mode 4 and ending in mode 8.[6] (Regino would no doubt have considered such a chant mode 8 rather than 7 because of the low range of the mode 4 part of the chant.) The setting found in G2 is one in which most of the chant is written at the higher mode 7 level found in the type B setting below, except for the intonation (G-a-d-F-FaG-G) which is still at the level of the intonation for mode 4. It would seem more likely, however, that the first three notes would originally have been F-G-D rather than G-a-D, since the downward leap of a fourth is found in all the other manuscripts having this type of intonation. If this were the original setting then the type A setting would have to be considered to have been brought into modal unity by transposing everything after phrase 1 down a fifth to bring it into accord with the mode 4 intonation.

A different approach (type B in Table XIV), the one found in the largest number of manuscripts examined, presents the entire chant as mode 7. This is the setting found in R

(and also in the original text of V, in G1, G4, G5, O1, O2, F1, F2, and F3). The editors of this setting would apparently have been confronted with a modally ambiguous reading such as that of G2, and rather than transposing the entire body of the chant down a fifth to the E level as the type A editors did, would have instead transposed the phrase 1 intonation up into the Tetrardus (mode 7) range. This approach is, in one way, not as consistent as the type A approach, since the shape of this intonation is more often associated with mode 4 chants (as in "Eduxit eos"), yet, on the other hand, one need only transpose a single phrase rather than the entire body of the chant.

A final approach (type C), one which seeks a more total unity of mode, is that taken by the Cistercians, and in large part adopted by the editors of the Dominican Prototype. Having accepted the chant from a tradition which presented it at the mode 7 level (from either a type B manuscript or even from the modally ambiguous G2 type) the Cistercians sought to bring it into greater conformity with mode 7 style as they perceived it. For the simpler mode 4 style intonation a typical mode 7 intonation has been substituted, one probably derived from the shape of the beginning of the mode 7 Introit verse Psalm tone which begins similarly with G--c--b-nat'l--c, etc. In Cistercian manuscripts the alleluia which ends phrase 3 has been altered so that its

cadence no longer looks like a transposed mode 3 cadence on b-natural, but like a typical mode 7 alleluia cadencing on G. The final cadence, already mode 7 on G in the source manuscript, need not be changed.

The Dominican editors of the Prototype seem to have adopted the mode 7 Cistercian reading in preference to the earlier Dominican setting of R, which is in mode 4. Interestingly, the editors of H have not accepted the changed ending of the phrase 3 alleluia, but have retained the probably original ending on b-natural, perhaps not wanting to destroy the melodic parallelism of this phrase between "exultatione" and "alleluia."

11. Introit: "Deus dum egredieris"

Whereas the previous chant might have originally begun in mode 4 and ended in mode 8, the Introit "Deus dum egredieris" (Fer. IV Pent.) seems, in its original form, to have begun in mode 8 and ended in mode 3. Bomm cites Regino as having held this to be the case.[7] If so, then the reading found in T and G3 (see Table XV below) would be the original one (as also found in G2, G3, G6, and the Premonstratensian and Franciscan mss.) In this setting the intonation appears to be Tetrardus plagal (mode 8) in quality, and G cadential gestures are found at "egredieris," "tuo," "eis," and "illis." The effect is somewhat lessened at

"tuo" and "eis" by the cadencing on "a" of the alleluia which ends these phrases. It is only in the last phrase that the chant moves to a clear mode 3 Deuterus ending on E. The manuscripts which have this mode 3 final cadence also seem to give preference to the G-a-c pattern over the F-a-c pattern found in manuscripts which view this chant as wholly Tetrardus.

The alternate reading, that of a wholly Tetrardus chant, is found in all the manuscripts of the Cistercian and Dominican tradition, as well as in G1, G4, G5, and S. Rather than accept the modally ambiguous "lectio difficilior," these editors have apparently sought modal unity by changing the final cadence to a Tetrardus one. This is easily accomplished by substituting a final mode 8 type alleluia for the mode 3 type. It should be noticed that the manuscripts which view the entire chant as Tetrardus also give preference to the F-a-c pattern over the G-a-c pattern. This is probably because the G-a-c pattern is used to begin the Introit verse Psalm tone in mode 3, whereas the F-a-c pattern does not have this association. Actually the F-a-c pattern is frequently found in both mode 3 and mode 8 chants.

12. Communion: "Dicit Dominus implete"

The original reading of the chant "Dicit Dominus implete" (Dom. II post Epiph.) was probably Tritus, though

with a certain degree of modal ambiguity. As Fleming points out, this modally ambiguous reading has been preserved virtually intact in the manuscript, T.[8] [See Table XVI below.] As presented there, phrase 1 begins on F with the b-flat and ends on G. Phrase 2 is F dominated, but more Protus in character. Phrase 3 and 4 cadence on F, but now with a b-natural. Phrase 5 has a G cadence, but phrase 6 returns to the F cadence and to the use of the b-flat. Phrases 7 and 8 are ambiguous with a return to b-natural, whereas in phrase 9 the b-flat is present and the original cadence would have been on F. This same reading is preserved in S, but with a G cadence in phrase 7 instead of an "a."

G3, G6, O1, and O2 have essentially the same reading but with apparent difficulty concerning the alternation of sections with b-natural and b-flat. G2 presents a similar reading but with phrase 6 transposed up a step, perhaps to avoid having to worry about what to do with the "b." The Franciscan manuscripts are similar to G2, although F1 has phrases 6, 7, and 8 all at the "b" rather than the "c" level. The Parisian manuscripts (G1, G4, and G5) all begin with a different intonation (D-a instead of F-a), one apparently borrowed from the Introit "Dicit Dominus sermones," a mode 1 chant. This intonation, strangely enough, has the effect of making the chant even more modally ambiguous, by giving the first two phrases a Protus

character. In G1 and G5 the next phrases cadence alternately on F or G, with the chant ending on F. G4 presents a different reading discussed below which cadences on G.

Apparently this degree of modal ambiguity was not acceptable to certain editors, notably the Cistercians, the Dominicans, and the editor of G4. The solution taken by the Cistercians, and adopted as well by the Dominicans, consisted in transposing the first six phrases from "Dicit" through "sponso" and the final phrase up a whole step to the level of G Tetrardus. The entire chant could not have been raised a whole step, since the same transposition in phrases 7 and 8 would have required that the b-naturals become c-sharps and the e's, f-sharps. In any event, phrases 7 and 8 already cadence on G in most manuscripts, and thus already exhibit modal unity. Marosszeki sees the Cistercian transposition as fulfilling the rule which requires transposition to avoid writing b-flat.[9] Although such an effect is achieved by this transposition since the "old" b-flats would become c's and the "new" b's would all be natural, this does not seem to the present author to have been the intention of the Cistercian principle which involves the transposition at the fifth so that the "a" to b-flat semitone is replaced by the "e" to "f."

The solution taken by the editor of G4 is perhaps not as consistent, but much of the ambiguity of the original is

avoided, or at least reduced to one major ambiguity. His solution divides the chant into two parts with the division between phrases 4 and 5. The first four phrases are clearly F dominated, though one wonders why the apparently borrowed D-a intonation replaces the more consistent F-a one. From phrase 5 on, the chant is clearly G dominated with phrases 6 and 9 raised to that level, thus both avoiding the b's and letting the latter half of the chant be seen a clearly Tetrardus. Leaving phrase 5 at the G level (unlike the Cistercians who transpose it as well) merely reinforces the Tetrardus quality of the chant.

13. Communion: "Tu mandasti"

The Communion "Tu mandasti" (Fer. V Heb. III Quad.) is a chant which is presented either as a Tetrardus on G, as a Tritus on F with a constant b-flat, or as a transposed Tritus on C. [See Table XVII below.] Since there is no sub-final anywhere in the chant, and since the Tritus settings maintain the half step between the third and fourth degrees above the final, it is impossible to ascertain whether this chant is actually Tritus or Tetrardus. In the last analysis it makes little difference, since the interval structure remains the same in any case. Indeed, since the chant has a total range of only a sixth, it is hardly possible to determine whether it should be classified as

authentic or plagal, though it is usually called authentic since all of the movement is above the final. In both the Tetrardus and Tritus settings there is some ambiguity at the words, "utinam dirigentur"--some manuscripts ending on the fourth degree of the scale and others at the third. Some settings of these words are more syllabic than others, the Cistercians being unique in using a four note scandicus to begin "utinam."

The manuscript T provides a typical Tetrardus setting in which "utinam dirigentur" ends at the third, as do O2 and G6. The Tetrardus setting in which "utinam dirigentur" rises to the fourth degree of the scale is shown in R (as also in all other Dominican manuscripts and in G2, G3, and S.) The final cadence of the Tetrardus settings is of two types--the simpler is like that found in T, and the more ornate like that found in R. The first syllable of "mandasti" at the intonation is shown variously as a descending minor third or as a major second, and is liquescent in some manuscripts and not in others. This is another example of the degree of minor variation which seems to have been tolerated among different manuscripts.

The Tritus setting is found in G1 (and in G4 and G5) with the rise to the fourth degree of the scale at "utinam dirigentur." Perhaps the identity of these three manuscripts, all from Paris, points to a certain unanimity of

manuscript tradition there by the 13th century. All the Cistercian manuscripts, following their principle of transposition to avoid having to write b-flat, transpose this chant to a Tritus setting on C. The Cistercian manuscripts (and also the Franciscan ones) maintain the level of the third at "utinam dirigentur." Though exactly why is unclear, the maintaining of this incise at the level of the third degree of the scale might be a way to avoid overemphasizing the "flatted" fourth degree. There is the same kind of variation at "mandasti" as was found in the Tetrardus settings.

It is interesting to note that by utilizing unusual clefs or staves the Cistercian manuscripts seem to indicate that this chant should be written not at the high "c" level, but at the lower C. In both C2 and C4 a clef on G has been used instead of the more usual C or F clef. In C1 and C3 a line has been drawn in for the F, even though F should be a space according to the clef used. Perhaps this latter was a way (though not one followed in other such chants) of emphasizing the E-F half step which replaces the b-flat through transposition.

14. Introit: "Miserere michi...conculcavit"

The Introit "Miserere...conculcavit" (Fer. II Heb. V Quad. = Heb. Pass.) presents another case of modal ambiguity

in which some manuscripts assign this chant to mode 3, whereas other classify it as mode 1. [See Table XVIII below.] Bomm maintains that one cannot determine which type of setting, the mode 3 or the mode 1, was the original, [10] although the principle of the "lectio difficilior" might point more toward the mode 1 type with its greater ambiguity.

Reduced to the simplest outline, the mode 3 settings are less ambiguous because they are more characteristically Deuterus throughout. They begin with an acceptably Deuterus intonation, terminate with a Deuterus style final cadence, have at least some internal Deuterus cadences, and emphasize either the so called "ancient tenor" on b-natural or the tenor on "c," or sometimes both, as is characteristic of mode 3 chants. The mode 1 type settings, on the other hand, are more ambiguous; with an intonation still reminiscent of Deuterus (except in the obviously altered Cistercian manuscripts), a Deuterus style and "c" emphasis evident in the first two phrases; and then a surprising shift in phrases 3 and 4 to a definitely more Protus style with emphasis now on "a" and cadences on D.

Actually the evidence points to four different manuscript traditions with a number of variations within each type--two in mode 3 (types A and B) and two in mode 1 (types C and D.) Type A, found in all the Dominican manuscripts and

represented here by R, has the typically Deuterus intonation on E, an E cadence in phrase 2 and characteristically Deuterus final cadence on E. Phrase 3 cadences on D, but is acceptably Deuterus in quality. The differences between R and H in phrase 1 (H rises to a "c" in the intonation and has the reading, G-a-c-bdcc-cb, at "michi Domine" instead of the reading found in R) apparently result from the ambiguity which exists between b-natural and "c" in many mode 3 chants.

The type B mode 3 setting is found in S, in G6 at the transposition of a fourth, and in all the G- manuscripts except G3. This setting shows the greatest degree of modal unity of all the settings with its "c" dominated intonation beginning on E, cadences on E in all four phrases, b-natural or "c" dominance throughout, and preponderance of Deuterus gestures. The setting in G6 is a good example of an atypical modal transposition which must make us of b-flat. Normally a Deuterus chant would be transposed up a fifth to the b-natural final, but in this case the transposition is one of a fourth to "a," with the constant b-flat serving to create the characteristic half step between the first and second degree of the scale. It is this kind of transposition which the Cistercians viewed as an illicit use of b-flat.[11]

The first of the Protus settings, type C, is shown in the reading of T (and also found in G3, O1, O2, and, except

for the altered intonation, in the Cistercian manuscripts.) It is the most ambiguous of the four types, and its logic is hard to perceive. Again as the "lectio difficilior" it may well give witness to the original form of the chant, the internal logic of which might not necessarily respond to the principles of Carolingian modal theory. The intonation is on E and Deuterus in character and phrase phrase 2 cadences on E. The first phrase emphasizes b-natural, and the second, "c," either of which can be the tenor of Deuterus chants. The third and fourth phrases, however, show a definite move toward Protus style, with cadences on D on both cases. The last phrase highlights the Protus tenor, "a," though phrase 3 is more ambiguous. The final cadence is typically Protus. This chant represents another case in which the Protus ending caused the Cistercian editors to substitute a Protus intonation--again the "Gaudeamus" intonation. This change having been made, the "c" dominance of phrase 2 can be seen as more of an emphasis on the mode 1 "a-c" gesture. No attempt has been made to alter phrase 3, which already ends on D, though it is not very Protus in character.

Type D provides a Protus setting unique, at least in the manuscripts examined for this paper, to the Franciscans. It would seem to represent a move toward an even greater modal unity within the context of mode 1. Though the original intonation has been preserved, a constant b-flat has been

introduced which is not untypical of many Protus chants. The major change has been to transpose phrase 2 down a major second so that all three of the final phrases cadence on D. There is still some degree of ambiguity present, since the first two phrases emphasize b-flat rather than "a" (though, at least not b-natural which would be more associated with the mode 3 tenor), whereas the last two phrases emphasize the "a" tenor of mode 1.

With exception of the type D Franciscan setting, it is rather difficult to ascertain which sections of the chant are the ones transposed from the original, since there remains some uncertainty as to which setting is in fact the original. If the mode 1 type setting was the original one, then the editors who chose to emphasize mode 3 must have transposed phrases 3 and 4 up a step to bring them to the mode 3 level. If, on the other hand, the mode 3 setting is the original, then these same phrases would have to have been transposed down a step to the Protus level. Again, the problem is caused by a certain natural ambiguity in the original chant. Since the first two phrases are definitely more Deuterus in character, one is at a loss to explain why the editors who chose to transpose to the level of the Protus would have done so. As was mentioned above, it would seem more logical to accept the more difficult mode 1 reading as original and see this as one more example of a chant which

seems to begin in one mode and end in another. In this case types A and B would be seen as attempts to achieve modal unity by making the whole chant mode 3, whereas type C without the Cistercian alteration at the intonation would be the original setting, and type D would be an attempt to achieve modal unity by making the whole chant more Protus in style.

15. Antiphon: "Immutemur habitu"

The Ash Wednesday Antiphon "Immutemur habitu" presents problems not of modal ambiguity in the sense of mixing different maneriae, but rather of modal transposition and of the mixing of plagal and authentic ranges within a single maneria. It would seem, in its original form, to be the kind of transposed mode 1 chant with a G final and a constant b-flat which the Cistercian editors specifically forbade in the Praefatio. [12] This chant is, moreover, originally one in which the ranges of mode 1 and 2 have been mixed--a procedure also forbidden by the Cistercians. [13]

The original reading would seem to be that found in S (and in G3, O1, and O2). [See Table XIX below.] Not only is this the "lectio difficilior," but the Cistercian editors specifically point to the existence of such chants in the tradition. Delalande also recognizes this as the original reading, one which he intends to restore in his critical

edition.[14] Though the b-flat is not shown on the first staff in the S setting, this is apparently an oversight, since the constant b-flat would be necessary in a transposed Protus chant on G.

The Dominicans, Cistercians, Franciscans, and the editors of G2 have all preferred to return to some form of untransposed Protus on D. The Dominican editors and the editor of G2 retain the original mixing of the ranges of mode 1 and 2, whereas the Cistercians and Franciscans (although in different ways) present the chant wholly in the authentic range. The original chant would have begun in the plagal range with the reference to clothing oneself in sackcloth and ashes, and then leapt up a fifth into the authentic range at "ieiunemus" ["let us fast and cry out before the Lord..."], before descending gradually to the D level while proclaiming the great mercy of our God in forgiving our sins. This original outline with its close relationship between melody and text was retained by R, V, and G2. H and H2 retained most of it, but for some reason (perhaps the problem of whether the low B could be flatted or not), chose to avoid the repeat of the descent into the low range at "cinere."

The Franciscan manuscripts present a reading which seems to be a combination of the original transposed G-Protus beginning (phrases 1 through 3) with a re-transposed D-Protus reading grafted on to it beginning with phrase 4. Whether

intentional or not (and plagal authentic mixing does not usually seem to be a concern in Franciscan manuscripts), this also has the effect of removing the plagal part of the range and placing the entire chant in the authentic. It also incidentally removes the nice contrast between the two sections of text described above.

The Cistercian reading seems to have been derived not from the original G-Protus reading, or from a wholly re-transposed D-Protus reading similar to R, but rather from a reading like the Franciscan one. Except for the intonation (where once again the Cistercians make use of the "Gaudeamus" intonation!) the beginning phrases of the Cistercian reading are identical to the Franciscan reading with its retention of the G-Protus pitch level. Of course it would be possible for the Cistercians to have adopted the "Gaudeamus" intonation and at the same time conceived of retaining the G pitch level of the next two phrases as a way of avoiding the plagal range, but this would seem less likely. In fact, it is surprising that the Cistercians did not construct a reading in phrase 2 more like the clearly Protus one found in H. This would appear to be a case in which the editors of H, who certainly knew the Cistercian reading, must have seen it as atypical of Protus chants and substituted one of their own, albeit a different one from the simple transposed reading found in R at this point.

The Notation of Impossible Intervals

Perhaps the most difficult cases in which to determine the original form of a chant, both for modern scholars and for later medieval chant editors, are those which concern various solutions taken in order to allow the writing of intervals which would otherwise be impossible to notate. Whether the solution is arrived at by partial transposition or whether it entails the transposition of an entire chant with the consequent alteration of the final, the work of the editors is often much harder to recognize than is the case with problems involving only modal ambiguity.

There have been several instances mentioned earlier in this chapter in which the notation of such "impossible" notes may have affected the decisions of the editors to some extent (numbers 10 and 12, for example), but incidentally, as it were, to the modal problems at hand. In the following section five chants will be discussed, the editing problems of which have arisen specifically because the editors found themselves unable to write an interval which was present in the original form of the chant. The various ways in which each problem chant was changed in order to accommodate the necessary interval will be discussed in turn. These editorial emendations, of which later editors seem often unaware, have resulted in an amazingly pluriform manuscript tradition with at least three, and sometimes four or even

five substantially different settings of the same chant.

16. Communion: "Ego clamavi"

The Communion "Ego clamavi" (Dom., III Pent.) is such a chant. [See Table XX below.] As Fleming points out in his study, this chant would have originally been a Tritus chant with an E-flat in the final phrase at the beginning of the word, "verba." [15] Since such an E-flat could not, of course, have been written down even though the chant had originally been sung that way, the various editors had to devise different ways to make the writing of the interval possible, or, in some instances, to change the interval itself.

The easiest solution was merely to transpose this Tritus chant from the natural F final where an E-flat would be needed for the whole step below F to the affinal Tritus on "c" where this needed whole step could be written as a b-flat. This was the solution adopted by S, as well as by T, G1, G3, G4, and G6. It allowed both the whole step below the final in the last phrase and the half step below the final in the first part of the chant. Since all the settings examined show this chant using a constant b-flat when written at the F level, there is no f-sharp problem at the higher transposition (as would have been the case if the original chant at the F level had b-naturals in it.)

Apparently by the time of the Cistercian editors the

original reason for transposing the chant to the "c" final was forgotten, for in all the Cistercian manuscripts examined (and in the Dominican manuscripts and G5 as well) the whole step below the final at the end of the chant has disappeared. The Cistercians, R, and G5 all write the chant at the "c" level, but the b-flat at the end has been suppressed. In all likelihood their reason for the transposition was merely for the sake of not having to write the constant b-flat--the normal Cistercian practice for such chants. Since this was not a problem for the editors of the Prototype, H returns the chant to the F pitch level, though, of course, without the E-flat. This is one of the few cases in which the correctors of the manuscript V have not bothered to change to the reading of the Prototype, perhaps considering a matter of simple transposition not worth the effort of correcting.

There is, however, another approach to the E-flat problem in this chant, one which results, through partial transposition, in an apparently Tetrardus chant on G. Some editors were obviously aware that the whole step below the final could also be created by transposing one or several incises or phrases up a whole step. This, of course causes the chant to cadence on G, as well as altering several other intervals, but it does create a G-F whole step at "verba." The question of whether the chant was now sung exactly as

written, or whether the singers would have recognized that the transposition was merely for the sake of convenience and continued to sing it as a Tritus chant with an E-flat is not known. Certainly later editors seem to have lost the significance of the transposition.

The witness to one such partial transposition is preserved in the manuscript G2, in which almost the entire chant has been transposed--from "exaudisti" to the end. The needed whole step at the end thus becomes a G-F, though other intervals are altered as well. It would seem doubtful, in view of the extensive alteration of the beginning of this chant, that the editor of G2 was fully aware of the original form of the chant, however. The transposition at "exaudisti" is also the reading adopted by the Franciscan editors, although F2 and F3 do not really need the transposition at all, since there is no whole step at "verba" but only two minor thirds. Only F1 retains the G-F whole step, and thus the need for the transposition. The editors of O1 and O2 also have the Tetrardus ending, though without apparently knowing why, since they transpose only the final cadence up to G after [sic] the point at which the G-F whole step is needed.

Though, as was mentioned above, the earlier manuscript tradition points to an original Tritus chant with E-flat, there is also the theoretical possibility (one which

might have influenced the Franciscan and Premonstratensian editors) that the original chant was one which ambiguously began in Tritus and ended in Tetrardus. If this were the case, the manuscripts which cadence in Tetrardus might be correct, and the "transposition" from Tritus to Tetrardus might well be a part of the original chant. Even so, it would be difficult to determine whether the original shift was at "exaudisti" or at "verba," though the setting found in Fl seems to have the smoothest transition.

17. Communion: "De fructu"

The Communion "De fructu" (Dom. XII Pent.) presents another instance of a chant with an E-flat problem, one which might shed further light on the problem in number 16. Again the original question concerns the Tritus or Tetrardus character of the chant (though, as will be seen below, the issue as perceived by the Cistercians and the editors of the Dominican Prototype was rather one of a Protus chant with modal unity problems.) John of Afflighem cites this chant as an example of a Tritus chant which cannot be written at the natural final but must be transposed.[16] Fleming agrees that the original would have been an F Tritus chant with E-flats which could not be written occurring at "de" in phrase 3 and in phrases 6 and 7.[17] The original response to the problem would have been that of the editor of T: transpose the chant

to "c," the acceptable Tritus affinal, where b-flat can take the place of the E-flat which cannot be written. [See Table XXI below.]

Tritus cadences and melodic gestures usually found in Tritus chants are undeniably present in this chant. The intonation is characteristically Tritus, and the repeat of this pattern (c-d-e or F-G-A, in its untransposed form) at the beginning of phrases 2, 3 and 5 reinforces this character. These same phrases also end on the cadential note for Tritus ("c" or F). The cadence at the end of phrase 1 is a characteristic Tritus half cadence. The whole step below the final at "de" in phrase 3 and in phrases 6 and 7 creates a definite ambiguity, however. The reading found in the Franciscan manuscripts and in G3 solves this ambiguity with a return to the ~~F Tritus pitch level~~ with its consequent E-natural. Unfortunately this creates a final cadence with a half step below the final--certainly no more a characteristic of Tritus finals than the original whole step.

There is, however, another possibility which presents itself, that this chant in its original form was a Tetrardus chant. Bomm indicates that both Berno and Frutolf classify this chant as Tetrardus.[18] One way in which this would be possible is presented in the manuscript R, which preserves the essentially Tritus character of the chant throughout (though without the E-flat), and then, in a rather smooth

transition in the final phrase (made possible by the importance of both F and G in this phrase) brings the chant to an end in G Tetrardus, thus making it yet another example of a chant which was ambiguous in its original form.

There is another possibility for a Tetrardus reading which, though complex, is really no less likely than a Tritus chant with an E-flat sub-final. This is the interpretation that the setting with a "c" final, as it is found in S, for instance, is really not "c" Tritus at all, but rather a transposed Tetrardus chant on "c" in which the b-flat sub-final, especially important at the final cadence, gives the chant its Tetrardus shape. In such a reading the b-naturals, at "Domine satiabitur" in the S reading, (which would be F-sharps in a G Tetrardus chant) are the anomalous elements which must be transposed in order to be written--rather than the E-flats of the Tritus setting. This would give the effect of a Tetrardus chant which begins with a Tritus section, but moves into the Tetrardus quality through the introduction of the b-flat. Beginning with phrase 3 this b-flat is constant in the S reading, with the result that the cadence in phrase 3, and especially the final cadence, point to a Tetrardus interpretation, though one which, because of the unusual transposition and the "accidental" b-naturals, is certainly not typical.

A final solution to the problem of this chant, one

which shows how an awareness of the original problem can be lost altogether and replaced by another more immediate concern, is that found in the Cistercian manuscripts and in the Dominican Prototype. The concern is no longer with whether the chant is Tritus or Tetrardus, and one suspects that the Cistercian and later Dominican editors are not even aware of the existence of an E-flat problem. In any event, the presence of an F at "de" in phrase 3 rather than an E, and the alteration of the final cadence to a Protus one have, in large part removed the possibility of such a problem. The E at "oleo" in phrase 6 is presented unambiguously as E-natural, with no attempt to "correct" it by transposition. The editors are apparently concerned merely with the question of whether this chant, with its Protus type cadences on D in phrases 4 and 6 and its Tritus ending, should be brought into greater modal unity. They accomplish this by transposing the cadence in phrase 2 and the final cadence down to D in order to make them Protus. Apparently the intonation on F and the cadences on F in phrases 3 and 5 are not seen as in conflict with the Protus modality, so they are left unchanged.

It should perhaps be noted that Bomm also mentions some manuscripts and theoretical treatises which classify this chant as Deuterus.[19] Perhaps the half step cadence on E or b-natural which ends phrase 1 would have caused some editors to see this chant as Deuterus and make the necessary

changes to accomodate a Deuterus reading. Since none of the manuscripts examined for this paper have the Deuterus ending, however, further investigation of such an approach would not seem to be important to the current discussion.

18. Communion: "Passer invenit"

Just as in the last two chants discussed, the need for an E-flat created problems of ambiguity between the Tritus and Tetrardus maneriae, so the next three chants present similar problems involving Deuterus and Protus. This ambiguity in the first such chant, the Communion "Passer invenit," (Dom. III Quad.) is perhaps most clearly shown in the manuscript T. [See Table XXII below.] In this tonary the chant is included among the Deuterus authentic chants, yet when the copyist reaches the end of the chant, he uses not the b-flats which would be necessary for transposed Deuterus, but rather b-naturals which have the effect of making the chant sound like a transposed Protus on "a" (and indeed, most of the manuscripts examined have written the chant as Protus, either on "a" or D.) Moreover, the b-naturals used in T's setting could not be written at the E Deuterus level at all, where they would have had to be F-sharps. The problem is made more difficult by the melodic complexities inherent in most Deuterus chants. At first glance the intonation does not look acceptably Deuterus, yet many mode 3 chants do begin

similarly (e.g. the Offertory "Exulta satis," see Table XII.) As will be seen below, this intonation is not at all acceptable for a Protus chant, and so must be changed in some way by those editors who see the chant as Protus.

There are basically three solutions proposed for the problems of this chant. The type A setting is essentially that found in T, and in G3, G4, G5, G6, O1, and O2. The first two phrases of type A are clearly transposed "a" Deuterus in character, with an acceptably Deuterus intonation and the needed b-flat in phrase 2, at "pullos suos." This b-flat or its equivalent must be original, since it occurs in all the type A manuscripts, even though the ultimate modal assignment is Protus. Phrase 3 is somewhat ambiguous, though still acceptably "a" Deuterus, but the introduction of the b-natural in phrase 4 moves the chant into the Protus modality on "a." Phrase 4 also has a rather typically Protus "minor triadic" figure at its beginning and a typical Protus half cadence on the sub-final at its end. Phrase 5 continues the Protus quality while exploring the upper part of the range, and phrase 6 cadences acceptably for a transposed Protus chant on "a."

The ending of this chant with its drop of a fifth just at the final cadence is perhaps responsible for a variant reading of the type A setting, that found in S. The setting in S is type A throughout except for the final

cadence, which is not on "a," but on "c"--thus making the chant a transposed Tritus. This reading is not impossible except that it would require an E-flat in phrase 2, were it written on the natural final, F. There was, however, no other manuscript support found for this reading.

The type B setting, that found in R, (and in the original un-corrected form of V, and in the Franciscan manuscripts) merely transposes the entire type A setting down a fifth from the transposed "a" Protus to the natural D Protus. In phrase 2 the E-flat problem at "pullos suos" is avoided by transposing the torculus on "-los" and on "su-" up a whole step, while still dropping to the D final. This retains the original intervallic relationships, while at the same time permitting the expected cadential note. A definite problem is created in phrase 1, however, since the b-flat pitch level thus produced is certainly not very Protus. Phrase 3 is still somewhat ambiguous, but not contradictory to Protus modality, and the remaining phrases are quite acceptably Protus.

The type C setting, that found in H, in the altered form of V, in H2, and in C2, attempts to "correct" the intonation and first three phrases of the chant and make them as clearly Protus as the last three. Essentially the first three phrases are merely transposed down yet another fourth, although the ending of phrase 2 is kept on D by not taking

the leap downward at "suos." The other three Cistercian manuscripts re-transpose this reading back up a fifth to the "a" level, thus creating a new form of the transposed Protus on "a." (The manuscript, G2 also begins with what looks like the transposed type C setting, but follows the type B reading from "pullos suos" to the end of phrase 3. Phrases 4 through 6 are the same in types B and C.) It is unusual for the Cistercian manuscripts to differ in transposition, but apparently the editors of C2 were more willing to write the flat in the last phrase at "seculum" than to transpose the whole chant. The type C setting results in the kind of absolute, unambiguous modal unity favored by the Cistercian editors and the editors of the Dominican Prototype.

19. Communion: "Aufer a me"

The Communion "Aufer a me" (Fer. VI Q. T. Sept.) in its original form (called type A in this analysis) was probably a transposed Protus chant on "a," but with a Deuterus region created by the use of the b-flat (an E-flat if untransposed) in phrases 3 and 4. [See Table XXIII below.] This reading is found in the manuscript G6 as well as in O1 and O2. John of Afflighem mentions this chant as another example of one which must be transposed to the higher final since it needs a whole step below F.[20] The final cadence in G6 with the b-natural is characteristically

transposed Protus, and the intonation (though perhaps more characteristic of Tritus chants) is still acceptably Protus. Even with their penchant for modal unity, the Cistercian editors have left this same intonation intact in the Communion "De fructu," which is classified as Protus by them (see Table XVII.) Phrases 3 and 4 with the b-flat, however, are quite characteristically Deuterus.

A second setting; type B, consists basically in the re-transposition of this chant down a fifth to the natural D Protus level with the consequently loss of the ability to write the flat needed for the Deuterus region in phrase 3. Interestingly, though phrase 3 thus becomes somewhat ambiguous, the editors seem to want to retain something of the Deuterus character in phrase 4, and this in two different ways. Some type B manuscripts (the Cistercian ones and those which follow the Dominican Prototype) keep the Deuterus quality by retaining the original "a" level at phrase 4 with its b-flat, though the upward leap of a fifth with which these manuscripts begin the phrase makes it acceptably Protus as well. These manuscripts return to the transposition at the lower fifth only at the final cadence, "mea est." Other type B manuscripts (T, G3, and S) transpose phrase 4 down, but only a fourth, with the result that the E-F half step retains something of the Deuterus flavor.

What can be called a type C setting is found in all

the Franciscan manuscripts examined, though with some variations. The desire here seems to be for a more fully Protus reading. Perhaps the most consistent witness to this reading is found in F1, where essentially the entire chant has been transposed down a fifth from the original "a" level and phrase 3 has been re-composed to make it even more Protus. The Deuterus ambiguity (which would require an E-flat at this level) is simply done away with. In F2 and F3 the E-naturals in phrase 3 have the same effect of making the phrase more Protus. Phrases 4 and 5 are merely transposed down a fifth in all three Franciscan sources and remain unambiguously Protus.

A type D setting solves the Protus/Deuterus ambiguity in the opposite direction, making the entire chant Deuterus. Phrases 1 and 2 are like the other settings which begin on F, but from phrase 3 on, the chant has been transposed to bring everything to an acceptable E pitch level. It is no longer possible to determine whether this was accomplished by transposing a D level setting up a whole step after the first two phrases, or by transposing the original A setting down--the first two phrases by a fifth and the remaining phrases by a fourth.

The manuscript R has essentially the same setting as the Cistercians and later Dominicans, but chooses to make the chant Tritus by using a final cadence on F (simply a third

transposition higher) instead of the Protus cadence on D. The reading found in G2 remains ambiguous, being neither characteristically Protus nor Deuterus and cadencing finally on low C. Perhaps the editor of G2 considered the chant to be a transposed Tritus on C.

20. Offertory: "In die solemnitatis"

The final chant to be examined is another instance of a chant with E-flat problems in which the original was probably a Protus chant on "a" with a Deuterus region. In this case the Deuterus region is much more extensive and begins early in the second phrase at the end of the word, "solemnitatis," and extends into the final phrase at the middle of the final alleluia. [See Table XXIV below.] This reading, the type A setting, is found in the manuscript T, as well as in S and G6. In all three manuscripts the Deuterus region with the b-flat extends through most of the chant. As with the previous example, the transposition is necessary to obtain the needed half step above the final, which in D Protus would require an E-flat. The manuscript G2 seems to have taken the type A setting and transposed the intonation and final cadence down a fifth to the natural D Protus level. The Deuterus quality of the long middle section has been retained by transposing it down only a fourth to the E level, thus avoiding the problem of having to deal with

E-flat.

It is interesting to notice that the copyist of T, who regularly uses a third kind of "b" (7) in addition to the b-flat and the b-natural, has used this third kind at the cadence points in phrases 3 and 5 within the Deuterus section, as well as at the point in the final phrase at which the b-natural returns. Its use at these precise points would seem to point toward a certain awareness by the editors of T of the ambiguous role of "b" in this chant, and perhaps give support to the thesis that this type of "b" may represent some kind of shading of the pitch toward the b-natural. This would seem to be so especially since the "b" occurs in combination with b-flat in repercussed strophas in a section of the chant in which the role of "b" is already rather ambiguous.

Apparently the size of the Deuterus section of this chant has caused a number of editors to see the entire chant as an originally Deuterus chant, which had acquired a contradictory Protus ending which must be corrected. The simplest solution is merely to extend the b-flat to the end of the final alleluia, thus creating a transposed Deuterus setting on "a." This type B solution is adopted by the editor of G3. The editor of G3 does not seem to feel the need to "correct" the b-natural in the first two phrases, however. This leaves a decidedly atypical intonation which does not

really fit with the rest of the "a" Deuterus chant. Indeed, the intonation in G3, with its G-a-c beginning and use of b-natural would really seem to be more characteristic of an un-transposed Deuterus chant, an intonation similar to that of number 18, had it written at the E level (see Table XXII.) No manuscript evidence was found, however, for an E Deuterus setting of this chant with the higher type G-a-c intonation.

Once this chant is considered to be wholly Deuterus, there is really no reason for its being written at the "a" level, since the half step above the final can just as well be the one between E and F at the normal Deuterus level. This solution, adopted by the Cistercian, Dominican, and even Franciscan editors, has the effect of presenting an acceptably Deuterus chant on its natural, un-transposed final. This re-transposition also fulfills the Cistercian principle that a chant should not be written with b-flat if it can be written without it. The return to the natural Deuterus final is achieved by transposing all but the first two phrases down a fourth from the reading as found in G3. The atypical quality of the intonation noted above is apparently recognized. By transposing the first two phrases down a fifth rather than a fourth, the editors achieve an acceptably Deuterus intonation with the first phrase having a Deuterus cadence on E and the second, cadencing on the sub-final of the Deuterus.

A fourth or type D solution depends on viewing the entire chant as Protus. Some manuscripts seem merely to have adopted the type A reading with the Deuterus section altered to conform with the Protus final cadence and acceptably Protus intonation. This solution, found in G1 (and also in G4, G5, O1 and O2), is achieved by transposing the Deuterus section up a whole step from where the b-flat first occurs in phrase two, all the way to the fifth neume of the final alleluia. The resulting emphasis on "c," the minor third above the "a" final, instead of b-flat, a semitone above it, gives the chant a characteristically Protus quality.

A final possible solution mentioned by Bomm,[21] though not found in any of the manuscripts examined for this paper, is that of the manuscript, St. Petersburg O v I, which alters the final cadence of the type A form of the chant from the transposed Protus on "a" to a Tetrardus cadence by transposing it a whole step down. The chant thus becomes a Tetrardus chant on G with a b-flat. This solution, though it would seem to be an attractive one, has not been adopted by any of the manuscripts examined for this paper. John of Afflighem also gives witness to a Tetrardus reading for this chant, though in a rather confused context.[22] Though the example as presented by John cadences on the natural final, G, it is presented as an instance of a chant which is disordered in such a way that it can be more easily amended

in the affinal or kindred range.

Not only does this chant exhibit problems with E-flat, it also has tritone problems in phrase 2 in some manuscripts. The problem occurs just before the point at which the b-flat introduces the Deuterus region in the original form of the chant. If T presents the original reading accurately, then it is at least possible that the Deuterus quality of the middle section of the chant was caused by the introduction of the b-flat in order to avoid the tritone between "f" and b-natural, though one wonders why the flat would have been kept for so long. Although G6, a similar reading, has no need of the b-flat to avoid the tritone here (since an "e" to "c" third is found in place of the diminished fifth), the b-flat is still used after this point to create the Deuterus region. G3 actually transcribes the tritone, apparently without concern. F2 and F3 (and no doubt F1 as well, though the manuscript is deficient in flats) prevent the tritone from b-natural to F by the introduction of b-flat. The remaining manuscripts do not have the problem, since either a natural perfect fourth, a perfect fifth or, in one case a sixth, occurs at this point.

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1. Karl Ott, ed., Offertoriale sive Versus Offertorium cantus Gregoriani (Paris, Tournai & Rome, n.p., 1935), pp. 94-96.
 2. Urbanus Bomm, Der Wechsel der Modalitätsbestimmung in der Tradition der Messgesänge im IX bis XIII Jahrhundert (Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1929), p. 175.
 3. Guentner, p. 50. cf. Appendix, E 12.
 4. Fleming, p. 31.
 5. Guentner, p. 50, Latin text, p. 30.
 6. Bomm, p. 44.
 7. Ibid., p. 40.
 8. Fleming, p. 71.
 9. Marosszeki, p. 71.
 10. Bomm, p. 51.
 11. Guentner, pp. 48-51, Latin text, pp. 29-31.
 12. Ibid., pp 46-49, Latin text, pp. 26-28.
 13. Ibid., pp. 53-56, Latin text, pp. 34-37.
 14. Delalande, p. 252.
 15. Fleming, p. 111.
 16. See Palisca, Hucbald, Guido and John, p. 129, cf. CSM, 1, p. 103, for Latin text.
 17. Fleming, p. 102.
 18. Bomm, p. 99-100.
 19. Ibid., p. 60.
 20. See Palisca, p. 128. cf. CSM, 1, p. 103 for Latin text.
 21. Bomm, p. 167.
 22. See Palisca, p. 155. cf. CSM, 1, p. 148 for Latin text.

TABLE VI

INTROIT: IUDICA ME DEUS

The musical score is arranged in four systems, each with four staves. The vocal line (G4) is on the top staff of each system, with lyrics written below it. The piano accompaniment consists of three staves: R (Right Hand), C1 (Cello/Double Bass), and H (Horn). The score is divided into measures by a vertical bar line. Various musical notations are present, including slurs, accents, and dynamic markings like 'z' and 'b'. The lyrics are: 'Iu- di- ca me De- us et di- scer- ne cau- sam me- am de- gen- te non sanc- ta ab ho- mi- ne in- i- quo et do- lo- so e- ri- pe me qui- a tu es De- us me- us et for- ti'.

G4
Iu- di- ca me De- us et di- scer- ne cau- sam me- am de.

R

C1

H

G4
gen- te non sanc- ta ab ho- mi- ne in- i- quo et do- lo- so

R

C1

H

G4
e- ri- pe me qui- a tu es De- us me- us et for- ti

R

C1

H
(erased nat'l)

Musical score for four staves: G4, R, C1, and H. The lyrics are "tu- do me- a". The score is divided into two measures by a vertical bar line. Above the G4 staff, the text "mode 4" is written above the first measure and "4" above the second measure. Above the R staff, "mode 4" is written above the first measure and "4" above the second measure. Above the C1 staff, "mode 3" is written above the first measure. Above the H staff, "mode 3" is written above the first measure. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes with various articulations and slurs.

TABLE VII

COMMUNION: MENSE SEPTIMO

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes vocal parts (T, S) and instrumental parts (G6, R, G2). The second system includes vocal parts (T, S) and instrumental parts (G6, R, G2). The lyrics are in Latin and are placed below the vocal staves. The score is divided into three measures by vertical bar lines. The first measure ends with a double bar line, and the second measure ends with a double bar line. The third measure ends with a double bar line. The instrumental parts are marked with 'V' above the notes, indicating vibrato. The vocal parts are marked with 'V' above the notes, indicating vibrato. The instrumental parts are marked with '2' and '3' below the notes, indicating fingerings.

T
Men- se sep- ti- mo fes- ta ce- le- bra- bi- tis cum in ta- ber- na- cu

S

G6

R

G2

2

T
lis ha- bi- ta- re fe- det- rim fi- li- os Is- ra- hel cum e- du- ce- rem e- os de

S

G6

R

G2

3

Musical score for five voices: Tenor (T), Soprano (S), Alto (G6), Bass (B), and Bass II (B2). The lyrics are: "ter- ra E- gyp- ti e- go Do- mi- nus De- us ves- ter." The score is written in a single system with a vertical bar line. The lyrics are placed below the Tenor staff. The Soprano staff has a 'v' marking above the first measure. The Bass staff has a 'v' marking above the first measure. The Bass II staff has a 'v' marking above the first measure.

TABLE VIII

COMMUNION: EGO SUM PASTOR

S
E- go sum Pas- tor bo- nus al-le-lu- ia et cog- nos- co o- ves

T
(et cog- nos- co)

C2

R

F2
1 2

S
me- as et cog- nos- cunt me me- e. al- le- lu- ia al- le- lu- ia.

T

C2

R

F2
3 4

TABLE IX

OFFERTORY: ERIPE ME... DOMINE

R
E-ri-pe me de in-i-mi-cis me-is Do-mi-ne ad te

G5

H

C2

1 2 3

R
con-fu-gi do-ce me fa-ce-re vo-lun-ta-tem tu-am

G5

H

C2

4

R
(note missing)
qui-a De-us me-us es tu.

G5
(orig. rdg.)
(altered rdg.)

H

C2

5

TABLE X

OFFERTORY: IUSTICIE DOMINE

Musical score for the first system of 'OFFERTORY: IUSTICIE DOMINE'. It consists of five staves: G1 (Soprano), R (Alto), C1 (Cello), G2 (Tenor), and T (Bass). The lyrics are: Iu- sti- ci- e Do- mi- ne rec- te le- ti- fi- can- tes. The score is divided into two measures, labeled 1 and 2. A 'V' (Vivace) marking is present above the first measure. A '(sic)' marking is placed above the C1 staff in the second measure.

Musical score for the second system of 'OFFERTORY: IUSTICIE DOMINE'. It consists of five staves: G1 (Soprano), R (Alto), C1 (Cello), G2 (Tenor), and T (Bass). The lyrics are: cor- da et [] dul- ci- o- ra [iu- di- ci- a ei- us] [] []. The score is divided into two measures, labeled 3 and 4. A 'V' (Vivace) marking is present above the first measure of each system.

G1
su-per mel et fa- vum nam et ser-vus tu- us cus-
R
C1
G2
T
4 5 6 (sic)

G1
to- di- et e- a.
R
C1
G2
T
(sic)

TABLE XI

OFFERTORY: TOLLITE PORTAS

R
Tol- li- te por- tas prin- ci- pes ves- tras et e- le- va-

H

C2

T

1 2 3

R
mi- ni por- te e- ter- na- les et in- tro- i-

H

C2

T

4 5

R
bit rex glo- ri- e.

H

C2

T

6

TABLE XII

OFFERTORY: EXULTA SATIS

S
Ex-ul- ta sa- tis fi- li- a Sy- on pre-di- ca

R

C2

1 2 3

S
fi- li- a Ihe- ru- sa- lem ec- ce rex tu- [us]

R
tu- us

C2

4

S
ve- nit ti- bi sanc- tus et sal- va- tor.

R

C2

5

TABLE XIII

COMMUNION: PACEM MEAM

Pa- cem me- am do vo- bis al- le- lu- ia pa- cem re- lin- quo vo- bis

1 2 3

Detailed description: This system contains five staves of music. The top staff is for the voice (H) and includes the lyrics. The four lower staves are for instruments: F2 (Flute 2), C2 (Clarinet 2), G3 (Guitar 3), and O2 (Organ 2). The music is divided into three measures. The first measure contains the lyrics 'Pa- cem me- am do vo- bis'. The second measure contains 'al- le- lu- ia'. The third measure contains 'pa- cem re- lin- quo vo- bis'. Various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings are present throughout the score.

al- le- lu- ia al- le- lu- ia.

4

Detailed description: This system contains five staves of music. The top staff is for the voice (H) and includes the lyrics. The four lower staves are for instruments: F2 (Flute 2), C2 (Clarinet 2), G3 (Guitar 3), and O2 (Organ 2). The music is divided into one measure. The lyrics are 'al- le- lu- ia al- le- lu- ia.'. The number '4' is written below the O2 staff. Various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings are present throughout the score.

TABLE XIV

INTROIT: EDUXIT DOMINUS

[TYPE A]

S
E- dux- it Do- mi- nus po- pu- lum su- um in ex- ul- ta- ti- o- ne

T
[TYPE A] →
[Do- mi- nus]

G2
[ORIG.?] V

R
[TYPE B] V

C2
[TYPE C] V

1 2 3

S
al- le- lu- ia et e- lec- tos su- os in le- ti-

T

G2 V

R

C2

4

S
ci- a al- le- lu- ia al- le- lu- ia

T
e

G2

R

C2

5

TABLE XV

INTROIT: DEUS DUM EGREDIERIS

T
De-us dum e-gre-di-e-ris co-ram po-pu-lo tu-o al-le-lu-

G3
[cum]

C2
[de-re-ris]

R
1 2

T
ia i-ter fa-ci-ens e-is al-le-lu-ia ha-bi-tans in il-lis

G3

C2

R
3 4

T
al-le-lu-ia al-le-lu-ia

G3

C2

R
5

TABLE XVI

COMMUNION: DICIT DOMINUS IMLETE

T
Di- cit Do- mi- nus im- ple te hy- dri- as a- qua et fer- te

G2

G1

H

G4
1 2 3

T
ar- chi- tri- cli- no dum gus- tas- set ar- chi- tri- cli- nus

G2

G1

H

G4
4

T
a- quam vi- num fac- tam di- cit spon- so ser- vas- ti vi- num bo- num

G2

G1

H

G4

5 6 7

T
us- que ad- huc hoc sig- num fe- cit Ihe- sus pri- mum co- ram di- ci- pu- lis su- is.

G2

G1

H

G4

8 9

TABLE XVII

COMMUNION: TU MANDASTI

T
 Tu man- das- ti man- da- ta tu- a cus-to di- ri ni- mis u- ti- nam

R

G1

C2

1 2 3 4

T
 di- ri- gen- tur vi- e me- e ad cus- to- di- en- das ius- ti- fi-

R

G1

C2

5

T
 ca- ti- o- nes tu- as.

R

G1

G2

TABLE XVIII

INTROIT: MISÉRERE MICH... CONCVLCAVIT

TYPE A)

R Mi-se-re-re mi-chi Do-mi-ne quo-ni-am con-cul-ca-vit me ho-mo

(TYPE B)

(TYPE B transposed) (Verse uses mode 3 Psalm tone.)

G6

(TYPE C')

C2

(TYPE C)

T

(TYPE D)

F2

1 2

R to-ta di-e bel-lans tri-bu-la-vit me.

S

(Original lower ending has been erased.)

G6

C2

T

F2

3 4 - 315 -

TABLE XIX

ANTIPHON: IMMUTEMUR HABITU

S
Im- mu- te- mur ha- bi- tu in ci- ne- re et ci- li- ci- o

R

H

F2

C2

1 2 3

S
ie- iu- ne- mus et plo- re- mus an- te Do- mi- num qui-

R

H

F2

C2

4 5 6

S
a mul- tum mi- se- ri- cors est di- mit- te- re pec- ca- ta nos-

R

H

F2

C2

7

S
tra De- us nos- ter.

R

H

F2

C2

8

TABLE XX

COMMUNION: EGO CLAMAVI

S
E- go cla- ma- vi quō- ni- am ex- au- di- sti me De- us in- cli-

R

H

G2

F1

O1

1 2 3

S
na au- rem tu- am et ex- au- di ver- ba me- a.

R

H

G2

F1

O1

TABLE XXI

COMMUNION: DE FRUCTU

T
De fruc- tu o- pe- rum tu- o- rum Do- mi- ne sa- ti- a- bi- tur ter- ra ut

F2

R

S

H

1 2 3

T
e- du- cas pa- nem de ter- ra et vi- num le- ti- fi- cet cor ho- mi-

F2

R

S

H

4

Musical score for voices and instruments (T, F2, R, S, H) with lyrics: nis ut ex-hi-la-ret fa-ci-em in o-le-o et pa-

5 6 7

Musical score for voices and instruments (T, F2, R, S, H) with lyrics: nis cor ho-mi-nis con-fir-met.

TABLE XXII

COMMUNION: PASSER INVENIT

(TYPE A)
T Pas-ser in-ve-nit si-bi do-mum et tur-tur ni-dum u-bi re-po-nat

(TYPE A')
S

(TYPE B)
R 6 V 6 (sic)

(TYPE C)
H V

(TYPE C transposed)
C1 1 2

T pul-los su-os al-ta-ri-a-tu-a Do-mi-ne vir-tu-tum rex

S

R 6 V 6

H

C1 3 4

T
me- us et De- us me- us be- a- ti qui ha- bi- tant in

S

R

H

C1

5

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for measures 5 and 6 of the first system. It features five staves: Tenor (T), Soprano (S), Alto (R), Alto (H), and Cello/Double Bass (C1). The lyrics are: "me- us et De- us me- us be- a- ti qui ha- bi- tant in". The notation includes various musical symbols such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings. A vertical bar line separates measure 5 from measure 6. The number "5" is centered below the staves.

T
do- mo tu- a in se- cu- lum se- cu- li lau- da- bunt te.

S

R

H

C1

6

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for measures 7 and 8 of the second system. It features five staves: Tenor (T), Soprano (S), Alto (R), Alto (H), and Cello/Double Bass (C1). The lyrics are: "do- mo tu- a in se- cu- lum se- cu- li lau- da- bunt te.". The notation includes various musical symbols such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings. A vertical bar line separates measure 7 from measure 8. The number "6" is centered below the staves.

TABLE XXIII

COMMUNION: AUFER A ME

(TYPE A)
G6 Au-fer a me ob-pro-bri-um et con-temp-tum qui-a man-da-ta tu-a ex-

(TYPE B)
H

(TYPE B')
T

(TYPE C)
F1

(TYPE D)
G5

G2

1 2 3

G6 qui-si-vi Do-mi-ne nam et tes-ti-mo-ni-a tu-a me-di-ta-ti-o me-a est.

H [-o me-a est]

T

F1

G5

G2

4 5

TABLE XXIV

OFFERTORY: IN DIE SOLEM(P)NITATIS

(TYPE A)
T In di- e so-lem-ni-ta-tis ves-tre di-cit Do-
(TYPE A transposed)

G2

(TYPE B)
G3

(TYPE C)
R

(TYPE D)
G1

1 2 3

T mi- nus in- du- cam vos in- ter-

G2

G3

R

G1

4 5

T
ram flu- en- tem lac et mel al- le-

G2

G3

R

G1

6 7

T
lu- ia.

G2

G3
[lu- ia.]

R

G1

6 7 4 4 4 4 4 4 4

CONCLUSIONS

The original idea for this dissertation grew out of the realization that in the liturgy and chant of the Cistercian and Dominican orders it was possible to study several uniform, well-defined, yet inter-related chant traditions which could be traced historically, examined in terms of the principles which underlay them, and analyzed to determine their relationship to one another and to the sources from which they came. The clearly defined identity and the uniformity of the Cistercian tradition as well as its dependence on certain theoretical principles has been well established by Marosszeki. His conclusions are supported by the examination of the Cistercian chant tradition in this present study.

The Dominican Mass chants, as found in Humbert of Romans' reform and in all Dominican manuscripts subsequent to it, have been carefully studied by Dominique Delelande, who has clearly shown the dependence of this Dominican chant reform on the Cistercian reform which preceded it. The principles of the two reforms have been adequately examined and compared by both Delelande and Marosszeki. Though the present study has taken a somewhat different approach, it has

in large part supported their conclusions. There can be no doubt that the Cistercian editors relied heavily on the theoretical principles outlined in the Praefatio and in related documents in order to accomplish their work.

Although the Dominican editors of the 1256 revision left no theoretical treatise as such, an examination of the chants of the Prototype reveals that their editorial work was guided by principles based largely on those of the Cistercian reform. The Tractatus of Jerome of Moravia provides evidence of the continuing influence of these principles.

Since the time of Delalande's study, however, the existence of an earlier level of Dominican chant tradition has been recognized. For the chants of the Mass this earlier Dominican tradition is preserved in two manuscripts which have been described in detail in Chapter I: R, the Rau or Lyons Missal (J. Paul Getty Museum, ms. Ludwig V 5) and V, the Gradual of the Dominican nuns at St. Catherine's (ms. Bibl. Vat. lat. 10773). That these manuscripts are, in fact, Dominican has been clearly established by a comparison of their texts, rubrics, festal calendars, arrangement of the commons of the saints, and series of Alleluia verses. These elements are, with exception of saints added later, the same in both manuscripts and are identical to those found in later Dominican sources. The corrected chant found in the manuscript V is virtually identical to that found in the

Prototype and all later Dominican Graduals.

What has made these two manuscripts important for the present study, however, is the frequent dis-similarity between the chant found in R and the chant of Humbert's Prototype. The original readings in V (still visible underneath the corrections which brought the manuscript into agreement with the Prototype) are, in almost every case, the earlier readings as they exist in R. An examination of the chants of the temporal cycle showed that in 113 out of 117 corrections the chant has been altered from the reading found in R to the reading of the Prototype.

R and V, then, present scholars with another well-defined Dominican tradition, earlier than the reform of Humbert and quite distinct from it. Unlike the Prototype edition of 1256, this earlier edition of Dominican chant does not show the influence of the Cistercian reform. Though its specific origins are still unclear, it seems to be more a simple collection of chants from several different sources than an edition prepared in accord with a set of well-defined editorial principles, Cistercian or otherwise.

The editors of the Prototype of 1256 have, in some instances, retained chants from this earlier Dominican tradition. In a greater number of cases, however, they have been strongly influenced by the example of the Cistercian reform. Adapting its principles to their own needs, the

editors of the Prototype have prepared a new edition of the chant, one in which the Cistercian influence is obvious, and which is often characterized by a brevity and simplicity not found in the earlier Dominican tradition.

Thus it has been possible to examine three related yet distinct editions of chant: the Cistercian chant of the second reform, which is based on the editorial principles clearly described in the Cistercian theoretical sources; the Dominican chant of the reform of 1256, which is based on a similar, though unstated, set of principles and is dependent in many ways on the Cisterian reform; and the earlier edition of Dominican chant found in R and V, probably more of a collection than an edition properly so called, and apparently not influenced by the Cistercian reform. The editors of the Prototype were obviously familiar with this earlier Dominican tradition, yet in large part they rejected it and chose instead to follow the lead of the Cistercians.

The question of how much of a chant tradition consists of material taken unchanged from source manuscripts and how much is the result of the immediate application of editorial principles is always a difficult one. Obviously the editors of all three of the traditions under discussion had source manuscripts. Obviously, too, those who accomplished the reform of the Cistercian chant and of the Dominican chant of 1256 edited the material taken from these

sources in accord with a predetermined set of theoretical principles. In those simpler cases discussed in Chapter IV it is usually easy to see the editorial changes which have been made by application of the principles of the reform.

When the situation is more complex, as with the chants discussed in Chapter V, it is often difficult or impossible to determine what has been taken from the source manuscript and what has been altered by the current editor. In a tradition such as the earlier Dominican chant in which consistent editorial principles are not in evidence, it is virtually impossible to separate the work of the current editors from that of the editors of the source manuscripts. In the last analysis the understanding of the editorial process itself is often more important than the ability to identify the specific editor who made a given change.

What general conclusions can be drawn concerning the editorial work which led to the clearly defined style of Cistercian and Dominican chant? The overriding concern for both the Cistercian and later Dominican editors seems to have been a desire for simplicity and brevity. It is probably the principle of abbreviation and simplification which is the easiest to observe and which was the most consistently applied. As was shown in Chapter IV, longer melismata are frequently shortened by the Cistercian editors. Such abbreviation is carried out with even greater consistency by

the editors of the Dominican Prototype, who often remove even more of a given melisma. The frequently awkward results of such truncation are evident in the singing of these chants.

For both Cistercian and Dominican editors the original shape of the melodic line and the musical value of devices such as repetition seem to have been largely subordinated to the desire for simplification and abbreviation. The sources of the earlier Dominican chant tradition, however, exhibit little of this desire to reduce the length of longer melismata. Some minimal abbreviation is at times evident, but to a no greater extent than in other contemporary non-Dominican sources such as the Paris manuscripts, G1, G4, and G5.

The approach to other possibilities for abbreviation is similar. In those Offertories discussed in Chapter IV in which an entire phrase is repeated, the Cistercians omit the repeated phrase in all of the possible cases but one, and the editors of the Dominican Prototype omit that one as well. Since the entire phrase was repeated in the original (often with some embellishment), its removal provided a simple way to shorten a chant without making any changes in its internal shape. The effect of the repetition with variation is, of course, lost. The earlier Dominican tradition has accepted the original form of these chants in which the repeated phrases are retained.

There is one kind of abbreviation, however, which is characteristic of the Dominican Prototype alone. This is the absolute suppression of all repercussed strophata greater than the bistropha, an editorial approach which is found only in the later Dominican chant. Unfortunately this lack of the tristropha and longer figures of the same type is often detrimental to the smooth flow of the chant and makes the phrase structure harder to perceive. It is possible that the results were aesthetically pleasing to the editors of the Prototype, but it would seem more likely that this is once again a case in which the aesthetic dimension was subordinated to the application of a principle whose main function was to insure the desired brevity of the chant.

The Dominican editors of the Prototype were the most single-minded in their application of the principle of abbreviation and simplification, whereas the Cistercians had been less so. With respect to two other principles, however, it is the Cistercians who have applied them with rigor and the Dominicans who have been less rigorous in following the Cistercian lead. The first such principle, which the Cistercian editors applied in virtually every case, was that of the restriction of the range of chants to the interval of a tenth. Certainly it made these chants easier to sing and easier to notate, but it often made them less interesting as well. As was seen in Chapter V, the contrast between high

and low ranges in the chant, "Immutemur habitu" greatly enhances the meaning of the text. Whether the Dominican editors of the Prototype saw this principle as contradictory to actual practice, or whether they merely preferred the sound of the chants whose range had not been restricted cannot be known. The chants in the earlier Dominican tradition were not restricted to the range of a tenth, so perhaps the editors of the Prototype chose to retain their own earlier tradition with which they were already familiar rather than follow the lead of the Cistercians.

The Cistercian principle that chants should be transposed to their higher final in order to avoid having to write b-flat is also one that is followed with rigor by the Cistercian editors and almost completely avoided by the Dominican editors. Exactly what was at stake here is difficult to determine centuries later. The question was more likely one of convenience rather than of range in the strict sense. It would seem most unlikely that the Cistercian editors intended such chants to be sung a fifth higher. Certainly writing the chants at the higher final does avoid the need to write b-flat, and the Cistercian suspicion of the b-flat is well known. Perhaps the later Dominican editors chose to return to the lower final merely because it was perceived as the true or normal final.

On the other hand, perhaps the return was made

because in many chants the b-flat is not used consistently, and transposition to the higher final makes it impossible to write a b-natural. There is certainly enough manuscript evidence, in Dominican as well as other sources, that there is constant disagreement over whether a given "b" should be flat or natural. The Cistercians may well have seen transposition as a way of solving the ambiguity by creating a situation in which the constant flat becomes the only possibility. If such be the case one wonders why the later Dominican editors with their love for the "simple solution" did not follow suit. Perhaps return to the natural final was seen as the simple solution, because, as was shown in Table V, the editors of the Prototype often return to the lower final even when both the Cistercian and earlier Dominican editors have written the chant at the higher final. It is in the more complex cases that the hand of a specific editor is difficult to discern. As was seen in Chapter V, the extensive alteration of chants in response to these more complex questions is evident, and indeed the reasons behind the specific alterations can often be determined. With respect to the general principles of the Cistercian and Dominican reforms, two are often seen to be operative--the use of b-flat in relation to the tritone and the principle of modal unity. Beyond these two principles the editors seem to have been more concerned with solving an individual problem

rather than with the application of editorial principles. It would seem, however, that the Cistercian and later Dominican editors were often not fully aware of the ramifications of a given complex problem. In some instances the original complexity may not even have been evident in their source manuscripts. Their solution, in any event, was often a direct application of the principle of modal unity or of some other editorial decision in keeping with their general desire for simplicity.

It should be noted that in terms of modality the Cistercian and later Dominican editors seem to have preferred the simpler, less complex sound of Protus, or to a lesser extent, Tritus or even Tetrardus modality to the melodic richness and what, to their ears at least was an unacceptable ambiguity, found in chants of the Deuterus or in chants which combine the characteristics of different modalities. In a number of cases one finds chants in which the Deuterus modality or modal complexity of the original has been altered to Protus, or in fewer cases, to Tritus or Tetrardus.

In the twenty chants examined in Chapter V, the Cistercian and later Dominican editors have created, or at least preferred a Protus setting for numbers 3, 7, 17, 18 and 19. Tritus settings have been adopted or created for numbers 1 and 6, and Tetrardus settings, for numbers 11 and 12. The Cistercian editors seemed to prefer the simpler modalities to

an even greater extent than the later Dominicans, for in numbers 9, 13, and 14 only the Cistercians have adopted the Tritus or Protus settings. This approach is not universal, however. In some chants, even those with ambiguous sections, the Deuterus quality is sufficiently dominant that the Deuterus modality has been retained. This is the case with numbers 14 (for the Dominican, but not the Cistercian editors) and for number 20. Though they are not among the twenty chants examined in Chapter V, an examination of the Offertory, "Oravi Deum," the Introit, "Exaudi," and the Alleluia, "Veni Domine" will show a similar transformation or preference for the Protus.

It is also interesting to note that many Protus and Tritus chants are presented with the constant b-flat which has the effect of transforming them into the modes which will later be called ionian and aeolian. Though musicians are still over two hundred years away from the theoretical recognition of these ionian and aeolian modes, which in turn will become the major and minor scales of modern theory, 13th century editors of chant already seem to show a marked preference for the sounds of these scales. This would seem to be another case of theoretical concepts being developed out of a practice which has already been long in existence.

It is in the readings of the earlier Dominican tradition that one frequently finds more creative solutions

to the problems of complex chants. Whether these solutions are a result of the decisions of the earlier Dominican editors themselves, or whether they have merely been preserved from the source manuscripts is a question that cannot be answered at the present stage of research. The fact remains, however, that the readings of R often preserve a more traditional solution, one which is more creative, and in a few instances (such as numbers 17 and 19 in Chapter V) one which is found in none of the other manuscripts examined.

A general comparison of the twenty chants examined in Chapter V can shed more light on the relationships which exist between the Cistercian and Dominican traditions. [See Table XXV on the next page.] Though one could not claim that conclusions drawn from only twenty chants actually prove the relationships, it is because these complex cases provide so many different opportunities for solution that a similarity of approach among manuscripts is significant. Support for the relationship between the Prototype and the Cistercian tradition is given by the fact that in a total of thirteen out of these twenty chants the reading of the Prototype is the same as the Cistercian reading, though in three cases without the transposition to the higher final. A relationship between the Dominican Prototype and the earlier Dominican tradition is indicated by the existence of the same

TABLE XXV

COMPARISON OF THE DOMINICAN AND CISTERCIAN READINGS FOR THE TWENTY CHANTS

IDENTITY OF READING IN:	UNIQUE IN:			NOTES:		
	R	H	Cist.		Cist.	OP/Cist.
1.	N	Y	Y	Y		R retains older rdg.
2.	N	Y	Y			R retains plagal section.
3.	Y	Y	Y		Y	D Protus only in OP/Cist.
4.	Y	Y	Y		Y	G Tetrardus only in OP/Cist.
5.	N	Y	Y			R retains transp. ending.
6.	Y	Y	Y/T		Y	C1 = OP, C2, C3, C4 transp., unique "iudicia eius" phrase
7.	Y	Y	T			
8.	Y	Y	N	Y		
9.	Y	Y	N			
10.	N	N	N	Y		R retains older rdg.
11.	Y	Y	N	Y		Only minor diff. betw. Cist. & OP
12.	Y	Y	Y		Y	
13.	Y	Y	N	Y		
14.	Y	Y	N	Y		Slight diff. betw. R & H.
15.	N	N	N	Y		All 3 D Protus, yet diff.
16.	T	Y	T			H is only untransp. rdg.
17.	N	Y	Y		Y	R has Tetrardus rdg. of theorists.
18.	N	Y	Y			R retains older rdg.
19.	N	Y	Y			R unique with Tritus rdg.
20.	Y	Y	Y			

ABBREVIATIONS:

Y - manuscript reading agrees with other reading marked "Y."

N - manuscript does not agree with reading of manuscript marked "Y."

T - manuscript agrees with reading of ms. marked "Y," except for transposition.

reading in R and H for twelve of the twenty chants. It is interesting to note that where R and H differ (nos. 1, 2, 5, 10, 15, 17, 18, and 19), R retains the reading of an earlier tradition, but H (in all but two cases, nos. 10 and 15) adopts the less traditional Cistercian reading. It is only in numbers 10 and 15 that each of the three traditions has chosen a separate reading. In five cases (nos. 8, 9, 11, 13, and 14) in which H has not followed the Cistercian reading, the editors have adopted the earlier Dominican reading in R. Though it is, perhaps, too few cases to prove a definite continuity of tradition, all the Cistercian and Dominican manuscripts do show the same reading for seven out of the twenty chants.

This study of three distinct yet related chant traditions, the work of three different groups of editors, has allowed the examination of some of the editorial practices of the 12th and 13th centuries and the way in which these editorial practices have led to the development of characteristic styles of chant. The chant of the 12th and 13th centuries is certainly not the chant of the 10th and 11th centuries, and even that chant is still several stages removed from what must have been the original Gregorian tradition. The Cistercian and Dominican editors were certainly not aware that the very principles which they developed in order to "restore" the chants and the way in

which they applied these principles had actually led them away from the style of the authentic chant which they sought to recapture. The principles which they applied in order to adapt the chant to the specific needs of the Order and of the time took it even farther from the style of the original. The editors of the earlier Dominican tradition did retain some of the more traditional chant style--apparently through the eclectic approach of making a simple compilation from earlier sources--but even those sources were already quite removed from the original.

The analyses of the chants in Chapter V has shown how difficult it is to determine the original form of a chant. Certainly in the work of the Cistercian and Dominican editors there is a lesson for scholars today. The pre-Carolingian origins of the chant, and the development which took place even before the invention of notation, make it virtually impossible to recover the original form of many chants. Perhaps the preparation of a critical edition which seeks to recover the original form of a huge body of music which developed over a period of some thousand years is simply not possible. What is possible is the careful examination of single manuscripts of known date. Scholars can thereby view one moment in the history of the development of the chant, so to speak, and examine what one editor, one tradition, one singer thought was the most correct or most beautiful chant.

The examination of single manuscript or tradition may not be much help in discovering the original form of Gregorian chant, but it can provide a window through which one can view something of the aesthetics, style and tastes of a single moment in history. A comparison of several manuscripts or traditions still may not lead to the recovery of the original, but does give a standard for comparison of different styles.

Ultimately, the greatest value of this vast and complex tradition for scholars and musicians may well lie not so much in the recovery of what originally was, but in the analysis of what has for over fifteen hundred years been coming to be. Is 10th or 11th century chant superior musically to 12th or 13th century chant? It depends upon what ones musical values are, and here, perhaps is where the real issue lies. Every editor, and indeed every performer, has as his goal the creation of an edition or performance which is better and, one hopes, more musical than what has gone before. The very purpose of editing, and for that matter of performing, is to strive for the best possible edition, interpretation, or performance. By examining each manuscript or tradition for what it is in itself, musicologists can come very close indeed to understanding the musical ethos, taste and style of an age. In the body of ecclesiastical chant, musicologists and performers have a

tradition which exhibits both continuity and change--which gives witness on one level to an aesthetic which is continuous through the centuries, and on another level to one which responds to the immediate concerns of the age.

What of the influence of contemporary aesthetics and concepts of style? The chant style of Solesmes, which for much of this century was the norm for the correct performance of the chant, can no longer simply be accepted as a recapturing of the authentic style of the original. Rather, it must be seen as reflective in many ways of the musical tastes of the latter part of the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries. It would be naive to assume that the last half of this century would not bring its own presuppositions and stylistic preferences to the chant, and even to the determination of what is the "best" manuscript tradition. As long as the chant is a living tradition it will continue to develop and to provide a window through which one can examine the aesthetics and stylistic development of previous ages and a mirror in which one can see reflected the stylistic preferences of ones own.

APPENDIX OF LATIN TEXTS

Early Cistercian Texts

- A 1. Volumus ut mores et cantum et omnes libros ad horas diurnas sive nocturnas et ad missam necessarios secundum formam morum et librorum novi monasterii possideant quatinus in actibus nostris nulla sit discordia, sed una caritate, una regula, similibusque vivamus moribus.

Carta Caritatis, in Documenta pro Cisterciensis Ordinis historiae ac curis studio, 3, J. B. Van Damme, ed. (Westmalle: Typis Ordinis Cisterciensis, 1949), p. 17.

- A 2. Et primitus quidem modum et ordinem servitii Dei per omnia secundum traditiones regulae observare decreverunt recisis penitus et reiectis cunctis appendiciis psalmodiarum, orationum et letaniarum, quae minus discreti patres pro velle suo superaddiderant, quae etiam propter fragilitatem infirmitatis humanae non tam ad salutem quam ad perniciem monachorum esse sagaci consideratione deprehenderunt, dum ob multipliciter sui non solum a fastidiosis, sed ab ipsis quoque studiosis omnino tepide et negligenter persolverentur.

Exordium Magnum Cisterciense sive Narratio de Initio Cisterciensis Ordinis, I:20, Bruno Griesser, ed. (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1961), p. 75.

- A 3. Bernardus humilis Abbas Claraevallis omnibus transcripturis hoc Antiphonarium sive cantaturis in illo: Inter cetera quae optime aemulati sunt patres nostri, Cisterciensis videlicet ordinis inchoatores, hoc quoque studiosissime et religiosissime curaverunt ut in divinis laudibus id canerent quod magis autenticum inveniretur. Missis denique qui Metensis ecclesiae antiphonarium--nam id Gregorianum esse.

dicebatur--transcriberent et afferent, longe aliter rem esse quam audierant invenerunt. Itaque examinatum displicuit, eo quod et cantu et littera inventum sit vitiosum et incompositum nimis, ac paene per omnia contemptibile. Quia tamen semel coeperant, usi sunt eo, et usque ad nostra tempora retinuerunt. Tandem aliquando non sustinentibus iam fratribus nostris abbatibus ordinis, cum mutari et corrigi placuisset, curae nostrae id operis iniunxerunt. Ego vero accitis de ipsis fratribus nostris qui in arte et usu canendi instructiores atque peritiores inventi sunt, de multis et diversis novum tandem antiphonarium in subiectum volumen collegimus et cantu, sicut credimus, et littera irreprehensibile. Denique cantator ipsius, si tamen gnarus fuerit, hoc probabit. Ita ergo ut demum mutatum est et in hoc volumine continetur, volumus in nostris de cetero monasteriis tam verbo quam nota ubique teneri, et mutari omnino in aliquo ab aliquo auctoritate totius capituli, ubi ab universis abbatibus concorditer susceptum et confirmatum est, prohibemus. Porro mutationis huius causam et rationem si quem evidentius et plenius nosse delectat, legat subiectam praefatiunculam quam praefati discussores veteris antiphonarii ad hoc ipsum praeponere curaverunt ut, palam factis quae in illo erant tam cantus quam litterae vitiis, renovationis et correctionis necessitas atque utilitas clarius appareret.

Prologus in Antiphonario, Letter of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux on Revision of Cistercian Chant, edited & translated by Francis J. Guentner, S.J., Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, 24, (American Institute of Musicology, 1974), pp. 21-22.

Early Dominican Texts

Acts of the General Chapters

All of the following texts are taken from: Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, i, ab anno 1220-1303, Benedictus Maria Reichert, O.P., ed., in Monumenta ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, III (Rome: Typographia polyglotta, 1898). At the end of each text the place and year of the General Chapter is given, followed by the page in the above volume where the text is found.

B 1. Quando dicitur. Laudate dominum omnes gentes. fratres

- non sedeant. et eo finito sedeat chorus ille qui prius sedere debuerat. (Paris, 1236, p. 8.)
- B 2. Statuimus ut ornamenta aurea et argentea preter calices fratres nostri non habeant. nec pannos sericos. nec lapides preciosos. nec campanas ad horas nisi unam. Item Statuimus ne de cetero in nostris conventibus habeantur ymagine nisi picte nec fenestre vitree nisi albe cum cruce nec littere auree in libris nostris. (Paris, 1239, p. 11.)
- B 3. Admonemus. ut fratres nostri si vacaverit. semel in septimana celebrent in honorem beati Dominici missam conventualem. et quod in festis .ix. lectionum dicatur ad vespervas ad memoriam antiphona. Transit pauper. ad laudes antiphona. Carnis vigor. ad secundas vespervas. O decus Hyspanie. In deibus vero ferialibus ad vespervas. Senescenti Iacob. in matutinis. Imitator. Item. Ut festum beati Vincencii fiat de cetero semiduplex. (Paris, 1239, p. 11.)
- B 4. Approbamus. quod non habeamus nisi unam campanam ad omnes horas. Item Quod non habeamus ymagine sculptas. (Bologna, 1240, p. 13.)
- B 5. Statuimus. ut ornamenta pannorum tam altaris quam ministrorum sint absque lapidibus preciosis et auro. preter aurifrisium. et quod solus ebdomadarius cappa serica tam in choro quam in processione utatur. (Bologna, 1240, p. 15.)
- B 6. Notabiles superfluitates a choris nostris penitus removeantur. et amodo alie in nostro ordine numquam fiant. (Bologna, 1240, p. 17.)
- B 7. Frater. qui in aliam provinciam mittitur ad legendum omnes libros suos glosatos. postillas. bibliam. breviarium et quaternos secum deferat. et si simpliciter illi provincie ad quam mittitur assignetur. libri quos habuerit a provincia a qua mittitur. ipso mortuo ad illam provinciam pertinebunt. alii vero omnes sint illius provincie. ad quam mittitur. sive in via sive in provincia moriatur. Si vero ad tempus mittitur. omnes libri ad provinciam. de qua assumptus est. revertantur. (Paris, 1241, p. 19.)
- B 8. [Admonicio] Volumus et mandamus ut diffinitores proximo sequentis capituli generalis. pro concordando officio. portent secum ad dictum capitulum omnes rubricas et notulas breviarii nocturni et diurni. et gradualis et missalis. (Bologna, 1244, p. 29.)

- B 9. Non fiant in ecclesiis nostris cum sculpturis prominentibus sepulture. et que facte sunt auferantur. (Cologne, 1245, p. 32.)
- B 10. Committimus quatuor fratribus Francie, Anglie. Lombardie. Theotonie. quod stantes in domo Andegavensi officium nocturnum. et diurnum. tam in littera. quam in cantu et rubricis. corrigant et concordent. ac defectus suppleant. cum quanto possint dispendio minori. et quilibet de predictorum quatuor afferat tam nocturnum quam diurnum officium. secum de provincia sua. et hec provinciales procurent. et sint in festo Remigii. et si qui non venerint. alii nichilominus procedant. (Cologne, 1245, p. 33.)
- B 11. [Inchoamus] Tota ordinatio ecclesiastici officii facta a quatuor fratribus .iiii. provinciarum. vel facienda usque ad annum. communiter per totum ordinem observetur. et si in aliquo discordaverint. sententia magistri teneatur. Item hanc. Ut liber lectionarius. tam de tempore quam de festis. quem committimus provinciali Francie ordinandum. universaliter per totum ordinem recipiatur. (Paris, 1246, p. 35-36.)
- B 12. [Approbamus] Tota ordinatio ecclesiastici officii facta a .iiii. fratribus provinciarum. vel facienda usque ad annum. communiter per totum ordinem observetur. et si in aliquo discordaverint. sententia magistri teneatur. Et hec habet .ii. capitula. (Montpellier, 1247, p. 39.)
- B 13. Confirmamus hanc. Tota ordinatio ecclesiastici officii a .iiii. fratribus .iiii. provinciarum facta. communiter per totum ordinem observetur. Et hec habet .iii. capitula. (Paris, 1248, p. 41.)
- B 14. [Admonemus] Cum multorum fratrum de diversis provinciis super discordia multiplici divini officii. per .iiii. fratres ordinati. querelas recepimus tempore capituli generalis. visum est magistro et diffinitoribus. ut ad sedandas querelas. predicti fratres in Methim viniant in festo omnium sanctorum. ad correctionem dicti officii faciendam. et in unum volumen redigendam. qua propter mandamus et in remissionem peccatorum inungimus. quatinus ad predicta perficienda dicti fratres statuto tempore ad locum veniant memoratum. interim autem a rescribendis libris vel corrigendis secundum predictam correctionem eorundem. abstineant universi. (London, 1250, p. 53-54.)

- B 15. [Admonemus] Officium diurnum et nocturnum secundum ultimam correptionem ab omnibus recipiatur. et unum exemplar Parisius. aliud Bononie reponatur. et secundum eorum formam omnes libri ordinis scribantur vel corrigantur. (Metz, 1251, p. 60.)
- B 16. [Inchoamus] In capitulo de officio ecclesie. totum officium tam diurnum. quam nocturnum. secundum ordinationem ultimo traditam Methis. anno domini .m.cc.li. in generali capitulo communiter per totum ordinem observetur. (Bologna, 1252, p. 63.)
- B 17. Committimus magistro ordinis. totam ordinationem ecclesiastici officii. diurni quam nocturni. et eorum que ad hoc pertinent. et correctionem librorum ecclesiasticorum. et quod corrigat litteram regule. Inchoamus has. In capitulo de officio ecclesie. ubi dicitur. totum officium. tam diurnum. quam nocturnum. addatur. secundum ordinationem et exemplar venerabilis patris Humberti magistri ordinis confirmamus. etc. (Buda, 1254, p. 68.)
- B. 18. Approbamus has. In capitulo de officio ecclesie. ubi dicitur. totum officium tam diurnum. quam nocturnum. addatur. secundum ordinationem et correctionem. venerabilis patris nostri fratris Hymberti magistri ordinis confirmamus. Et hec habet .ii. capitula. (Milan, 1255, p. 73.)
- B 19. Confirmamus has constitutiones. In capitulo de officio ecclesie. ubi dicitur. totum officium tam diurnum quam nocturnum. addatur. secundum correctionem et ordinationem venerabilis patris fratris Hymberti. magistri ordinis nostri. confirmamus. Et hec habet .iii. capitula. (Paris, 1256, p. 78.)
- B 20. [Admonicio] Ad facienda communia exemplaria ordini pro divino officio. et ad providendum procuratori ordinis in curia de quibusdam expensis. quilibet prior provincialis solvat .xx. libras Turonenses. quas mittant priori Parisiensi. et volumus quod accipiant pecuniam istam de primis libris vacantibus. nisi per diffinitores capitulorum provincialium ordinetur. quomodo dicta pecunia solvatur. (Paris, 1256, p. 81-82.)
- B 21. [Admonemus] Quicumque scripserunt usque hodie aliquid de officio. non dent ad transcribendum aliis. quousque correcta fuerint diligenter. ea que scripserunt ad exemplaria que sunt Parisius. et quicumque amodo scribent. non utantur illis scriptis. quousque per

fratres diligenter correcta fuerint scripta illa. nec credatur particularibus correctionibus. quas quidam dicuntur portasse in quaternis et cedulais. (Florence, 1257, p. 88.)

B 22. [Admonemus] Apponant fratres curam. quod libri de officio qui de novo scribuntur. corrigantur diligenter ad exemplaria prima. (Toulouse, 1258, p. 92.)

B 23. [Admonemus] Procurent priores. quod habeant novam correctionem de officio ecclesiastico. et libros de ea bene correctos. et illa que certo sciuntur de officio isto esse. amodo dicantur a fratribus. et sciant omnes quod magister ordinis nichil de cetero immutare proponit. (Valenciennes, 1259, p. 98-99.)

B 24. [Admonicio] Priores. ad habendum libros ecclesiastici officii. secundum novam correctionem. dent operam efficacem. (Montpellier, 1265, p. 130.)

Other Early Dominican Texts

C 1. Quoniam ex praecepto regulae jubemur habere cor unum et animam unam in Deo, justum est ut qui sub una regula et unius professionis voto vivimus, uniformes in observantiis canonicae religionis inveniamur, quatenus unitatem, quae interius servanda est in cordibus, foveat et repraesentet uniformitas servata in moribus....

"Justum est," id est rationabile, id est ratio exigit, "ut qui sub una regula," scilicet Augustini "et unius professionis voto vivimus," etc. Multi vivunt sub una regula, qui tamen non vivunt sub unius professionis voto. Omnes enim monachi, tam albi quam nigri vivunt sub una regula, scilicet beati Benedicti: non sunt tamen ejusdem professionis, sed alterius albi, et alterius nigri. Illi autem religiosi dicuntur ejusdem professionis qui sunt sub obedientia unius praelati, ut Templarii omnes, vel saltem sub unius Capituli regimine, sicut Cistercienses omnes.

Nos ergo qui sub unius magistri obedientia sumus, sub unius professionis voto vivere dicimur. Justum est autem ut nos qui hujusmodi unitatem habemus, "uniformes in observantiis canonicae," id est regularis, "religionis inveniamur." Sic nimirum invenitur apud approbatas religiones ejusdem professionis quod summam

uniformitatem in exterioribus praetendant non solum in observantiis, sed etiam in habitu, et in aedificiis, et in aliis quibusdam. In quo cum gemitu quodam considerandum est quantum in hoc adhuc distamus ab illis. Habent namque ecclesias et officinas ejusdem formae, et eodem modo dispositas: nos autem fere quot domos tot varias formas et dispositiones officinarum et ecclesiarum habemus....

Non solum in aedificiis et in habitu, sed etiam in consuetudinibus quibusdam tam in officio divino quam in aliis multis varietas per provincias diversas, immo per domos ejusdem provinciae reperitur quoad multa.

Causa vero hujus varietatis est varietas nationum, inequalitas provinciarum et domorum, abundantia etiam sensus quorundam. Cum enim sint diversae consuetudines in diversis nationibus ubique, de varietate illa attulerunt diversi diversa ad Ordinem, licet unus sit ordo. Cum autem pares sint domus et provinciae, non tenetur una provincia vel una domus sequi consuetudines alterius, vel se ille conformare.

Humbert of Romans, Expositio super Constitutiones Fratrum Praedicatorum, in Opera de Vita Regulari, II, Joachim Berthier, O.P., ed. (Rome: Typis A. Befani, 1889), pp. 3, 5-6.

C 2. Postea sciendum quod ab initio Ordinis fuit multa varietas in officio, et ideo compilatum fuit unum officium propter uniformitatem habendam ubique. Processu vero temporis commissum fuit quatuor fratribus de quatuor provinciis, ut illud melius ordinarent; quod et fecerunt, et eorum ordinatio confirmata est. Sed quia adhuc erant ibi aliqua corrigenda, facta fuit iterum commissio per tria capitula approbata Magistro Humberto. Hoc est ergo officium de quo hic loquitur constitutio;.... Innovatio quae est facta, non est facta per aliquem, id est per aliquam personam, sive Magistrum, sive priorem, sive alium quemcumque, sicut fiebat ab initio; sed per tria capitula, quod non prohibet constitutio quae dicit: "Nullus de caetero audeat innovare, etc."

Humbert of Romans, Opera, II, pp. 152-153.

C 3. Adhuc noveritis quod diversitas Officii Ecclesiastici,

circa quod unificandum multa jam capitula sollicitudinem non modicam adhibuerunt, per Dei gratiam, ad unitatem incertis exulantibus est reducta. Rogo autem ut detis operam ad correctionem illius secundum illa, ut uniformitas Officii diu desiderata in Ordine inveniatur ubique. Siatis etiam quod voluntatum fratrum circa praedictum fuit officium tam diversa petentium varietas, quod impossibile fuit in ipsius ordinatione satisfacere voluntatibus singulorum; propter quod quilibet vestrum ferre debet patienter, si fortassis occurrerit ei aliquid in ipso officio suae sententiae minus gratum. Ut autem scire possitis utrum totum habeatis officium, noveritis xiv esse volumina in quibus multipliciter continetur, videlicet: Ordinarium, Antiphonarium, Lectionarium, Psalterium, Collectarium. Martyrologium, Libellum processionale, Graduale, Missale majoris altaris, Evangelistarium ejusdem, Epistolarium ejusdem, Missale pro minoribus altaribus, Pulpitarium et Breviarium portatile.

Encyclical Letter of Humbert of Romans, 1256, Litterae Encyclicae Magistrorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, Benedict Maria Reichert, ed., in Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, V (Rome: Typographia polyglotta, 1900), p. 42.

C 4. Nos, itaque vestris supplicationibus inclinati, ordinationem eandem sicut provide facta est, ratam, et firmam habentes, eam, quam in domibus vestris propriis dumtaxat, observari statuimus, auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus, et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus, districtius inhibentes ne aliquis sine licentia sedis Apostolice, circa predictum Officium contra confirmationis et Constitutionis nostre, ac ordinationis predicti tenorem, aliquid immutare presumat.

Bullarium ordinis fratrum praedicatorum, I (1215 - 1280), Thomas Ripoli, O.P., ed. (Rome: Mainardi, 1729), p. 486.

C 5. Iste liber factus est pro magistro ordinis quicumque fuerit pro tempore ut quicumque dubitaverint in aliquo de officio possint per eum rectificari. Non est recurrendum ad exemplar quia facile destruitur propter operis subtilitatem. London, British Library Ms. lat. 23935, folio 1.

Medieval Theory Texts

D 1. Primum autem a S. Ignatio martyre nec non et a beato Ambrosio Mediolanensium antistite usus musicae in Romana ecclesia haberi coepit. Post hos beatissimus Papa Gregorius Spiritu Sancto ei, ut fertur, assidente et dictante cantum modulatus est, cantumque Romanae Ecclesiae, quo per anni circulum Divinum celebratur officium, dedit.

John of Affligem, De musica cum tonario, edited by J. Smits van Waesberghe, Corpus Scriptorum de musica, 1, (American Institute of Musicology, 1952), p.115.

D 2. Libet modo quorundam cantuum recordari, qui per irregulares neumas iamdudum sunt depravati, utque pravus usus et in his et in aliis omnibus corruptus hucusque servatus abiiciatur, magnopere hortari. Cum enim constet quod unus Dominus una fide, uno baptismo, et omnino morum unitate oblectatur, quis non credat quod idem ex multiplici cantorum discordia, quam non inviti neque ignorantes, sed voluntarie constrepunt, offendatur? (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, p. 142.)

D 3. ...certissime novimus, quod per quorundam ingorantiam multoties cantus depravatur, quemadmodum iam plures habemus depravatos quam enumerare possimus. Quos revera non ita, ut nunc in ecclesiis canuntur, modulantium auctoritas protulit, sed pravae hominum voces motum animi sui sequentium recte composita pervertere perversaque in usum incorrigibilem deduxere, adeo ut iam pessimus usus pro auctoritate teneatur. (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, p. 104.)

D 4. Irregulares vero, ut ostensum est, dubietatem gignunt et errorem, nec tantulam utilitatem cantori conferre valent, ut postquam per eas totum graduale usque ad unum officium, et ut amplius dicam, usque ad unam communionem a magistro didicerit, illam unam communionem, quae restat, per se canere sciat. Liquet ergo, quod qui istas amplectitur, amator est erroris ac falsitatis; qui autem musicis adhaeret neumis, tenere vult semitam certitudinis et veritatis. (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, p. 139.)

- D 5. Sciendum sane, quod quidquid vitiose canitur, aut in principio aut in medio aut in fine pervertitur. In principio quippe cantus interdum depravatur, cum vel in propria nota non inchoatur, vel in sua nota inchoatus per incompositam proferentis vocem nimium deprimitur aut elevatur.... et in medio errorem videntes, cantum falsitatis arguunt eumque emendare contendunt. (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, p. 142-43.)
- D 6. Animadvertendum praeterea quod maximam in cantu iocunditatem faciunt istae duae consonantiae diatessaron et diapente, si convenienter in suis locis disponantur; pulchrum namque sonum reddunt si remissa aliquotiens statim in eisdem vocibus elevantur.... Verumtamen diatessaron multo dulciorem melodiam facit, et maxime in autento deuterio, si interdum ter vel quater vel eo amplius varie repercutiatur sicut in fine huius antiphonae 'O gloriosum lumen'.... Item pulchrum est si per quas notas neuma descendat, per easdem statim ascendat. (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, p. 123-24.)
- D 7. Qua in re cum pro sua ipsi voluntate multa commutent, aut parum aut nihil mihi indignari debent, si a communi usu vix in paucis abscedo, ut ad communem artis regulam uniformiter omnis cantilena recurrat. Quoniam vero haec omnia mala et multa alia eorum culpa eveniunt, qui antiphonaria faciunt, valde moneo et contestor, ne aliquis amplius praesumat antiphonarium neumare, nisi qui secundum subiectas regulas bene potent et sapit ipsam artem perficere...

Guido of Arrezo, "Prologus antiphonarii sui," in Martin Gerbert, Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica (Typis San Blasianis, n. p., 1784, facs. ed. Graz, 1905 and Milan, 1931, 8vo reprint Hildesheim, 1963), II, p. 35.

- D 8. ...antiphonarium sancti Gregorii diligentissime investigavi, in quo pene omnia regulariter stare inveni. Pauca vero, quae ab imperitis cantoribus erant vitiata, non minus aliquorum cantorum testimonio, quam regulae sunt auctoritate correpta. Carissimi, tamen in prolixioribus cantibus vocem ad altum tonum pertinentem,

et superfluas elevationes et depositiones contra regulam invenimus. Sed quia illos cantus omnium usus unanimiter defendabat, emendare nos non praesumpsimus. Sane per singulos notavimus, ne veritatem regulae quaerentes dubios redderemus.

Dialogus de musica (Enchiridion musices), (olim attr. to Odo of Cluny), in GS, I, p. 251.

- D 9. Ex quo comprehenditur, quia imperitus musicus est, qui facile ac praesumptuose plures cantus emendat, nisi prius per omnes modos investigaverit, si forsitan in aliquo stare possit; nec magnopere de similitudine aliorum cantuum, sed de regulari veritate curet. Quodsi nulli tono placet, secundum eum tonum emendatus, in quo minis dissonat. Atque hoc observari debet, ut emendatus, datus cantus aut decentius tonet, aut a priori similitudine parum discrepet. (Dialogus, GS, I, pp. 256-57.)
- D 10. Non est igitur parva laus, non modica utilitas, non vilipendendus labor musicae scientia, quae sui cognitorem compositi cantus efficit iudicem, falsi emendatorem et novi inventorem. Nec praetereundum videtur, quod musicus et cantor non parum a se invicem discrepant. Nam cum musicus semper per artem recte incedat, cant rectam aliquotiens viam solummodo per usum tenet. (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, p. 52.)
- D 11. ...modi, quos uti Guido asserit, abusive tonos appellamus, octo sunt, ad imitationem videlicet octo partium orationis.... Sed cum nunc octo sint, quondam dumtaxat quattuor erant, ad similitudinem fortasse quattuor temporum.... Tropi a convenienti conversione dicti; quomodo cumque enim cantus in medio varietur, ad finalem semper per tropos id est tonos convenienter convertitur. Quos autem nos modos vel tropos nominamus, Graeci phtongos vocant. (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, pp. 76-77.)
- D 12. Qui primitus de musica scripserunt, natura vocum diligenter considerata, prout tunc vires ingenium praebuit, omnem modulandi varietatem in quattuor

distinxerunt modos, unde et quattuor tantum finales habentur. Moderni autem priorum inventa subtilius examinantes, considerabant harmoniam modorum confusam esse ac dissonam. Videbant namque cantum eiusdem modi nunc in gravibus principium habere et circa ipsas vagari, nunc in acutis inchoari et ibidem maxime commorari. Hanc igitur dissonantiam volentes avertere, unumquemque modum in duos partiti sunt, ut videlicet ille canendi modus qui in acutis versaretur, autentus id est auctoralis sive principalis vocaretur; qui vero magis in gravibus moram faceret, plagis vel plagalis id est collateralis seu subiugalis diceretur. Distinguuntur autem sic: Autentus protus apud Latinos cantores primus tonus vocatur; plagis protus secundus, autentus deuterus tertius, plagis deuteri quartus, autentus tritus quintus, plagis triti sextus, autentus tetrardus septimus, plagis tetrardi octavus. Interpretatur autem protus primus, deuterus secundus, tritus tertius, tetrardus quartus. Autentus vero auctoralis graece sonat, auctoritatem namque ipsi authentian vocant. Plagis autem quasi partialis vel collateralis exponi potest; dicimus enim: in illa plaga, id est in illo latere sive in illa parte. Graeci autem phtongos id est tonos, gentium vocabulis sic efferunt: I Dorius, II hypodorius; III phrygius, IV hypophrygius;... (John of Affligem, CSM, I, pp. 80-81.)

D 13. Primus modus vocum est, cum vox tono deponitur et tono et semitonio duobusque tonis intenditur, ut .A. et .D. Secundus modus est, cum vox duobus tonis remissa semitonio et duobus tonis intenditur, ut .B. et .E. Tertius est qui semitonio et duobus tonis descendit, duobus vero tonis ascendit, ut .C. et .F. Quartus vero deponitur tono, surgit autem per duos tonos et semitonium, ut .G. Et nota quod se per ordinem sequuntur, ut primus in .A., secundus in .B., tertius in .C. Itemque primus in .D., secundus in .E., tertius in .F., quartus in .G.

Guido of Arrezzo, Micrologus, ed. by J. Smits van Waesberghe, Corpus scriptorum de musica, 4, (American Institute of Musicology, 1952), pp. 117-19.

D 14. ...ita ut singulae earum quattuor chordarum geminos sibi tropos regant subiectos, principalem, qui autentos, et lateralem, qui plagius appellatur.

Hucbald, De harmonica institutione, in GS, I, p. 119.

D 15. Hac ergo societate continentur lichanos hypaton (D) cum mese (a), hypate meson (E) cum paramese (b-quadratum), parhypate meson (F) cum trite diezeugmenon (c), quae quinto scilicet loco singulae a se disparantur, lichanos meson (G) cum paranete diezeugmenon (d). (Hucbald, GS, I, p. 119.)

D 16. Sciendum autem quod tota vis cantus ad finales respicit. Nam ubicumque cantus incipiatur et quomocumque varietur, semper ei modo adiudicandus est, in cuius finali cessaverit. (John of Affligem, CSM 1, p. 83.)

D 17. Cum autem quilibet cantus omnibus vocibus et modis fiat, vox tamen quae cantum terminat, obtinet principatum; ea enim et diutius et morosius sonat. Et praemissae voces, quod tantum exercitatis patet, ita ad eam aptantur, ut mirum, in modum quandam ab ea coloris faciem ducere videantur.... Voci vero quae cantum terminat, principium eius cunctarumque distinctionum fines vel etiam principia opus est adhaerere. Excipitur quod cum cantus in .E. terminat, saepe in .c. quae ab ea diapente et semitonio distat principium facit... (Guido Micrologus, CSM, 4, pp. 139-41.)

D 18. Affines autem illas voces dicimus, quae in depositione et elevatione concordant, verbi gratia .D. finalis protium cum .a. acuta concordat. Ambae enim tono deponuntur et tono et semitonio eleventur. Item .E. finalis deuteri cum .b. quadrato affinitatem habet, cum similiter deponantur et eleventur. Sed et .F. finalis triti cum .c. acuta in depositione et elevatione convenit. Propria autem affinitas non est in depositione vel elevatione, nisi utrumque vel saltem elevatio duplicetur. Sed quoniam finalis tetrardi huiusmodi affinitatem non habet, ideo delicti venia caret. (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, pp. 101-02.)

- D 19. In quibus autem cantuum perturbatio tolerabiliter evenit, hi sunt modi: protus, deuterus, tritus. (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, p. 101.)
- D 20. ~~Sciendum praeterea quod, sicut superius ostendimus,~~ sunt aliqui cantus, qui in proprio cursu deficiunt, sed in affinibus absque impedimento decurrunt....Sunt item aliqui cantus, qui nec in proprio cursu nec in affinibus cantari possunt. De quibus tale praeceptum damus ut ad proprium cursum corrigantur. Si autem multum sunt confusi et in affinibus facilius possunt emendari, eo dirigantur. (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, pp. 147-48.)
- D 21. Dissonantia quoque per falsitatem ita in canendo subrepat, cum aut de bene dimensis vocibus parum quid demunt gravantes, vel adiciunt intendentes, quod pravae voces hominum faciunt; aut cum ad praedictam rationem plus iusto intendentes vel remittentes, neumam cuiuslibet modi aut in alium modum pervertimus, aut in loco qui vocem non recipit inchoamus.... Quod ut exemplo pateat, in Communione "Diffusa est gratia," multi "propterea," quod erat incipiendum in .F. uno tono deponunt cum ante .F. tonus non sit; sicque fit ut finis Communionis eiusdem ibidem veniat ubi nulla vox est. Cantoris itaque peritiae esse debet quo loco vel modo quamlibet neumam incipiat, ut ei vel si motione opus est, affines voces inquirat. (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, p. 134 & 137-38.)
- D 22. .b. vero rotundum, quod minus est regulare, quod adiunctum vel molle dicunt, cum .F. habet concordiam; et ideo additum est, quia .F. cum quarta a se .b-quadratum. tritono differente nequibat habere concordiam; utramque autem .b-rotundum.b-quadratum. in eadem neuma non iungas. In eodem vero cantu maxime .b-rotundum. molli utimur, in quo .F.f. amplius continuatur gravis vel acuta, ubi et quandam confusionem et transformationem videtur facere, ut .G. sonet protum, .a. deuterum, cum ipsa .b-rotundum. sonet tritum. Unde eius a multis nec mentio facta est; altera vero .b-quadratum. in commune placuit. Quod si ipsam .b-rotundum. mollem vis omnino non habere, neumas in quibus ipsa est, ita tempera, ut pro .F.G.a. et ipsa .b-rotundum. habeas .G.a.b-quadratum.c.; (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, p. 124-25.)

- D 23. Nam cantus nunc in gravibus vagatur, ut in offertorio illo: 'In omnem terram;' nunc circa finales, quasi quadam circumflexione versatur, ut in antiphona illa: 'Benedicat nos Dominus Deus noster;' nunc in acutis quasi saltando movetur, ut in antiphona illa: 'Veterem hominem.' (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, p. 78-79.)
- D 24. Interea cum cantus unius modi, utpote protii, ad comparationem finis tum sint graves et plani, tum acuti et alti, versus et psalmi et siquid ut diximus, fini aptandum erat uno eodemque modo prolatum, diversis aptari non poterat. Quod enim subiungebatur si erat grave, cum acutis non conveniebat; si erat acutum a gravibus discordabat. Consilium itaque fuit ut quisque modus partiretur in duos, id est acutum et gravem... (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, p. 147-48.)
- D 25. A finali itaque voce ad quintam in quolibet cantu iusta est depositio, et usque ad octavas elevatio, licet contra hanc regulam saepe fiat cum ad nonam decimamve progrediamur. (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, p. 146.)
- D 26. Memineris praeterea, quod sicut usualium cantuum attestazione perhibetur, autentii vix a suo fine plus una voce descendunt. Ex quibus autentus tritus rarissime id facere propter subiectam semitonii imperfectionem videtur. Ascendunt autem ad octavam et nonam vel etiam decimam. Plagae vero ad quintas remittuntur et intenduntur. Sed intensionii et sexta auctoritate tribuitur, sicut in autentis nona et decima. Plagae vero protii, deuterii et tritii aliquando in .a.b-quadratum.c. acutas necessario finiuntur. (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, pp. 155-56.)
- D 27. Alioquin plures cantus invenies, in quibus adeo confunditur gravitas et acumen ut non possit adverti cui magis, id est autentii an plagae conferantur. (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, p. 157.)

D 28. In nullo enim cantu aliis modis vox voci coniungitur, vel intendendo vel remittendo. (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, p. 105.)

D 29. ...si comparetur cum ipsa prima, eodem modo sonabit, quamvis voce haec virili, illa puerili. Et est haec Diapason consonantia, ideoque a ratione sequestratur intervallorum. (Hucbald, GS, I, p. 107.)

D 30. De intensione autem et remissione modorum sic est animadvertendum: Autentis omnibus licet suum cuique principium a finali ad quintam intendere, et ad eam quae sub finali proxima est remittere. Si autem ad quintam licet, quanto magis ad quartam vel tertiam? Solus autem autentus deuterus, id est tertius, istam legem transgreditur: ad sextam namque plerumque principium suum intendit. (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, p. 95.)

D 31. Similiter cum cantus in quarta vel quinta a finali voce per suspensionem pausat, colon est; cum in medio ad finalem reducitur, comma est; cum in fine ad finalem pervenit periodus est. (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, p. 79.)

D 32. Ibi enim praevидetur quibus in vocibus singulorum modorum cantus rarius saepiusve incipiant et in quibus minime id fiat, ut in plagis quidem minime licet vel principia vel fines distinctionum ad quintas intendere, cum ad quartas perraro soleat evenire. In autentis vero, praeter deuterum, eadem principia et fines distinctionum minime licet ad sextas intendere; plagae autem proti vel triti ad tertias intendunt, et plagae siquidem deuteri vel tetrardi ad quartas intendunt. (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, p. 154-55.)

D 33. Item ut ad principalem vocem, id est finalem, vel si quam affinem eius pro ipsa elegerint, pene omnes distinctiones currant, et eadem aliquando sicut et vox neumas omnes aut perplures distinctiones finiat, aliquando et incipiat, qualia apud Ambrosium si curiosus

sis, invenire licebit. (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, pp. 170-71.)

D 34. Et omnis omnino tonus a finale suo nec supra quintum ~~superiorem, nec infra quintum inferiorem~~ umquam ordiendi facultatem habebit, sed intra eas novem vocis, vel aliquando octo partim principiæ, partim late laterales, fines vel initia cohibebunt. (Hucbald, GS, I, p. 119.)

D 35. Primum igitur præceptum modulandi subnectimus, ut secundum sensum verborum cantus varietur.... Itaque si iuvenum rogatu cantum componere volueris, iuvenilis sit ille et lascivus; sin vero senum, morosus sit et severitatem exprimens.... Illud præterea laudis cupido modulatori iniungimus, ne in una neuma nimium eam inculcando oberret, ut quanta opera peritus poeta vitare contendit vitium illud, quod Graeci dicunt homioptoton, id est similitum casuum, tanto nisu cantuum compositor vitium quod apud musicos homioiphthongon, id est similitum sonorum appellatur, evitare studeat. Sed de priore vitio grammatici sive etiam rhetores videant. Nos autem de posteriori, quod musicis vitandum esse diximus exemplum damus in hoc R.: 'Ecce odor filii mei.' Nam in eo loco ubi est 'Crescere te faciat Deus meus' vitiosa est unius neumae inculcatio.... Si autem interdum aliquae decentes neumae semel repetantur, non vituperamus, ut in fine R. 'Qui cum audissent,' ubi est 'laudantes clementiam,' itemque in fine R. 'Sint lumbi vestri,' ubi est 'a nuptiis.' Sciendum etiam quod in principalibus ad finem cantum paulatim ducere laus est, in collateralibus vero ad finem cantum praecipitare decet. (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, pp. 117-19.)

D 36. Optima autem modulandi forma haec est, si ibi cantus pausationem finalis recipit, ubi sensus verborum distinctionem facit.... Sed et hoc harmoniam non minimum exornat, si in cantibus discipulorum, id observetur ut finalem saepe repetant circaque illam versentur, et in quarta rarissime pausent, in quinto vero nullo modo. Sed et si quintam aliquando contigerint, raptim et quasi formidando eam contingentes properanter recurrant.... In cantibus autem magistrorum id providendum est, ut in acutis maxime versentur, et postquam in quinta a finali bis vel ter pausaverint,

finale[m] revisant rursusque ad superiores festinando se transferant; quia sicut subiugaliu[m] est maxime in gravibus, ita autentoru[m] maxime in acutis conversari.... Observandum etiam de diapente ut in melodia subiugaliu[m] a finali nunquam ad superiores saliat; diatessaron vero supra et infra libere fiat. Quarti tamen cantus per diapente competentius quam per diatessaron cadit et resurgit. Nec mirum, cum et magistri huius harmonia saepius et melius ad sextam quam ad quintam intendatur et remittatur. Notandum quoque, quod cum in cantibus autentoru[m] pulchrum sit eos a finali crebro per diapente deponi et elevari, in tertio id inconcinnius est, sed in quinto decentissimum. In quo et hoc ornatui est, si plerumque cantus eius a finali per ditonum et semiditonum surgat... (John of Affligem, CSM, 1, pp. 120-21.)

- D 37. Item ut reru[m] eventus sic cantionis imitetur effectus, ut in tristibus rebus graves sint neumae, in tranquillis iocundae, in prosperis exultantes et reliqua. (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, p. 174.)
- D 38. Item ut reciprocata neuma eadem via qua venerat redeat, ac per eadem vestigia. Item ut qualem ambitum vel lineam una facit saliendo ab acutis, talem altera inclinata e regione opponat respondendo a gravibus, sicut fit cum in puteo nos imaginem nostram contra expectamus. (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, pp. 168-69.)
- D 39. Rationabilis vero discretio est, si ita fit neumarum et distinctionu[m] moderata varietas, ut tamen neumae neumis et distinctiones distinctionibus quadam semper similitudine sibi consonanter respondeant, id est sit similitudo dissimilis, more praedulcis Ambrosii. (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, p. 172.)
- D. 40. Liquescent vero in multis voces more litteraru[m], ita ut inceptus modus unius ad alteram limpide transiens nec finiri videatur. Porro liquescenti voci punctum quasi maculando supponimus.... Si eam plenius vis proferre non liquefaciens nihil nocet, saepe autem magis placet. (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, pp. 175-77.)

- D. 41. Ad quos in cantibus discernendos etiam quaedam neumae inventae sunt, ex quarum aptitudine ita modum cantionis agnoscimus sicut saepe ex aptitudine corporis, quae cuius sit tunica, reperimus... (Guido, Micrologus, CSM, 4, pp. 150-51.)

Cistercian Theory Texts

- E 1. Sed quia penitus indignum videbatur, qui regulariter vivere proposuerant, hos irregulariter laudes Deo decantare, ex eorum assensu cantum ita correctum invenies quatenus eliminata falsitatum spurcitia, expulsisque illicitis ineptorum licentiis, integra regularum veritate fulciatur, aliorumque cantibus quibus erat deterior ad notandum et cantandum commodior habeatur.

Bernard of Clairvaux, Cantus quem Cisterciensis (=Praefatio), translated and edited by Francis J. Guentner, S.J., Corpus scriptorum de musica, 24, (American Institute of Musicology, 1974), p. 23.

- E 2. His et aliis rationum probabilitatibus contra usum omnium ecclesiarum antiphonarium hoc corrigere coacti sumus, magis nimirum naturam quam usum aemulantes. Nec hoc utique suggestit praesumptio sed iniunxit obedientia. Si ergo opus singulare et ab omnibus antiphonariis diversum fecisse reprehendimur, id nobis restat solatii quod nostrum ab aliis ratio fecit diversum; alia vero inter se diversa fecit casus, non ratio, vel aliud quippiam quod in causa casui non praeponderat.... Nolumus autem latere posteros quod hortatu dominorum et patrum nostrorum multa retinimus de veteri antiphonario, quae quidem tolerabilia sunt, sed multo melius possent haberi. Duo tamen incorrecta reliquimus digna penitus correctione, videlicet metrum quarti toni, metrumque septimi. Quae licet in gradali correximus, propter usum tamen psalmodiarum in antiphonario non potuimus corrigere, reclamantibus eisdem patribus nostris, quorum assensu ac benedictione cetera pro viribus executi sumus. (Bernard, Praefatio, CSM, 24, p. 40.)

E 3. Ad hos inter se distinguendos, neumata inventa sunt, singulis subiicienda antiphonis, quae apud quosdam stivae vocantur, et apud Graecos signantur per haec verba, nona, noe, ane, et noe ais, et his similia, quae quidem nihil significant, sed ad hoc tantum ab ipsis Graecis sunt reperta ut per eorum diversos ac dissimiles sonos tonorum admiranda varietas aure simul et mente posset comprehendere. Haec ita maneriam et compositionem suorum modorum debent exprimere, ut postquam tuae diligentius memoriae impressa fuerint, frequentatis aliquandiu cantuum diversitatibus quibus arrideant cantibus auditu etiam facile cognoscas....Praetermissis interim neumatibus plagalium, quae competenter inventa esse videntur, utpote sufficientia suis modis atque singularia--de neumatibus autentorum sciendum est omnia male esse inventa vel post inventionem corrupta praeter neuma primi toni. (Bernard, Praefatio, CSM, 24, pp. 37-38.)

E 4. Regularis autem cantus est qui litterarum metas altrinsecus positas bene compositus non excedens quique suo modo bene consonans, non per compositionem reclamans, nec nimium ascendit superiores nec nimium descendit inferius, sed sua proprietate contentus et infra proprias litteras progrediens bene et congrue in litteris finalibus suae manerie terminatur.... Irregularis vero est qui proprias metas conservans sed male et inordinate compositus, et suo modo dissonans partim autentus est, partim plagalis, et licet in finali alicuius manerie terminetur nullius tamen toni plusquam debet elevatus vel depositus esse iudicatur.... Falsus autem ille est qui nullam regulam servans sed per regionem dissonae compositionis progrediens et naturalem musicae ordinem non sequens, in musica notari non potest.

From an anonymous treatise transcribed and edited by Albert Seay, "An Anonymous Treatise from St. Martial," Annales Musicologiques, V (1957), p. 25.

E 5. Bini vero et bini toni qui sub singulis continentur maneriis non distinguuntur a se diversitate finalium, quas prorsus easdem habent, sed progressionem et compositionem, quarum altera quantitatem, altera qualitatem determinat. (Bernard, Praefatio, CSM, 24,

- E 6. Dignum siquidem est ut qui tenent regulae veritatem, praetermissis aliorum dispensationibus, habeant etiam rectam canendi scientiam, repudiatis eorum licentiis qui similitudinem magis quam naturam in cantibus attendentes, cohaerentia disiungunt, et coniungunt opposita: sicque omnia confidentes, cantum prout libet non prout licet incipiunt et terminant, deponunt et elevant, componunt et ordinant. Unde nemo miretur aut indignetur si cantum aliter quam hucusque audierit in plerisque mutatum invenerit. Ibi enim aut irregularis est progressio, aut progressionis sive dispositionis reclamatur compositio, aut compositionem dissolvit oppositio. (Bernard, Praefatio, CSM, 24, p. 23.)
- E 7. (D): Quot igitur vocum est cantus? (M): Decem, quia secundum dispositionem tonorum et semitoniorum quam habent musici, nullus decem vocum fieri potest qui notari non potest, sed undecim vocum cantus fieri potest qui notari non potest. (Seay, "An Anonymous Treatise," p. 37.)
- E 8. Omnes enim huiusmodi cantus duplices sunt et irregulares: duplices, quia partim sunt autentici, partim plagales; quod vero contra regulam sic ascendant et descendant.... Quae est inquam haec illicita licentia quae coniungens opposita, metasque naturales transgrediens, sicut inconcinnitatem inuncturae, ita et iniuriam irrogat naturae? Luce siquidem clarius est cantum illum male et inordinate compositum qui vel ita deprimitur quatenus prout decet audiri nequeat, vel ita elevatur ut cantari non valeat. (Bernard, Praefatio, CSM, 24, p. 34.)
- E 9. Verumtamen secundum illos quorum exquisitior videtur esse sententia, usque ad decem voces potest cantus progredi, propter auctoritatem psalterii, quod decacordum est, et us aequalis sint dignitatis singulae voces diapason, quae octo sunt, quatenus ultimae sicut et mediae geminam habeant habitudinem, scilicet elevari et deponi, collocatis aliter duabus vocibus altera superius et altera inferius.... nullus cantus fieri

potest in decem vocibus vel citra qui notari non possit. Sed undecim vocum cantus fieri potest qui notari non potest.... Est igitur triplex ratio quare cantibus decem voces attribuantur, psalterii auctoritas, dignitatis aequalitas, et notandi necessitas. (Bernard, Praefatio, CSM, 24, pp. 34-35.)

E 10. In hoc litterarum ordine non computatur B rotundum: patet enim omnibus quod non sit aliqua de gravibus, cum etiam inter eas nusquam ponatur. Sed nec aliqua est de acutis, cum nulli gravium per duplarem coniungatur proportionem. Est autem inventum non ad proprietatem finalium determinandam, sed ad servandam in plerisque cantibus euphonia, quam apud eos minueret vel auferret tritonus qui apud B quadratum terminatur. Unde in qualibet maneria ubi molliorum sonum fieri expedit, loco B quadrati B rotundum quandoque ponitur, furtim tamen ac raptim, ne propter ipsum generetur in cantu similitudo alterius modi, quod nimirum nullam lineam nullumve spatium per determinationem alicuius litterae in libris obtinet nisi ipsum apponatur, et si semel B quadratum supervenerit, de libro deleatur omnis eius memoria donec, urgente supradicta necessitate, iterum apponatur. (Bernard, Praefatio, CSM, 24, pp. 27-28.)

E 11. Insuper et singulos cantus in propriis studeant terminare finalibus, per quarum inconsultam transmutationem tanta in cantibus orta est confusio, ut plures eorum alterius sint maneriae et alteri deputentur. (Bernard, Praefatio, CSM, 24, p. 25.)

E 12. ...omnes illos cantus esse irregulares quos nullius maneriae certitudo distinguit, et...omnium horum cantuum ita debere vel extendi progressionem vel compositionem variari, ut in finalibus diversarum maneriarum terminari nullatenus possint, vel proprie non possint. (Bernard, Praefatio, CSM, 24, p. 31.)

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