

1971

The offertories of Old-Roman chant: a musico-liturgical investigation

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Psalmist 1	verse 1 of psalm
First choir	refrain
Psalmist 2	verse 2 of psalm
Second choir	refrain
Psalmist 1	verse 3 of psalm
First choir	refrain
etc.	
etc. ¹	

Petit has reconstructed a similar scheme (DACL, I, 2473), combining psalm 34 with a troparion he believes can be dated back to the time of Melania the Younger (383-439) because of a reference to a group of fifteen antiphons which have supposedly remained intact in the Greek Good Friday liturgy. In this type of antiphonal psalmody the same phrase is not alternated throughout the psalm but rather successive phrases of the troparion are treated in this way:

First choir	A (refrain)
Psalmist	b (first verse of the psalm)
Second choir	A (refrain)
Psalmist	c (second verse of the psalm)
First choir	A' (refrain)
Psalmist	d (third verse of the psalm)
Second choir	A' (refrain)
etc.	
etc.	

This procedure is much too elaborate for participation by the entire congregation; only a choir would have been able to execute it. The first two schemes, however, involve the continual repetition of a single antiphonated refrain. Several reports confirm that each group of singers had its own leader.

1. Music and Instruments in Christian Worship, trans. by Clifford Howell (Collegeville, Minn." The Liturgical Press, 1964), pp. 102-103. The Improperia of Good Friday (LU 704) display a form almost identical with this but with a bilingual refrain. Wellesz relates antiphonal practice to bilingual singing at the monastery near Zeugma on the Euphrates. Eastern Elements, p. 55.

Antiphonal practice in the West

Antiphons were supposedly introduced into the West by St. Ambrose (340-397), bishop of Milan, in 386 to sustain the courage of his people against the persecution of the Empress Justina.¹ Isidore of Seville also believed that Ambrose was responsible for importing the antiphonal manner of singing from the East:

Antiphonas Graeci primum
composuerunt, duobus choris
alternatim concinentibus
quasi duo Seraphim. Apud
Latinos autem primus idem
beatissimus Ambrosius anti-
phonas constituit, Graecorum
exemplum imitatus: ex hinc in
cunctis occiduis regionibus
earum usus increbuit.²

The Greeks were the first to write antiphons for two choirs answering each other like two seraphim. But among the Latins the blessed Ambrose, following the example of the Greeks, was the first to introduce antiphons; from that time on their use spread throughout the West.

The name of Damasus I (366-384) is also associated with the promotion of antiphonal singing in the West. Augustine looks upon Ambrose and Damasus as co-founders of the practice in the Latin church.³ The most famous instance of Ambrose's sympathy with Greek and Syrian customs is his introduction of hymns in the church of Milan before they were accepted generally in the West. Paulinus recalls this event and also the development of vigils under his patronage.⁴ Damasus may have felt the attraction

1. Paulinus, his biographer, writes: "Hoc in tempore primo antiphonae, hymnique ac vigiliae in ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrari coeperunt." Vita Ambrosii (PL XIV, 31).

2. De eccl. off. I, vii.

3. Conf. IX. The supposed correspondence between Jerome and Pope Damasus (PL, XIII, 440 [from Damasus to Jerome] and PL, XXX, 294-95 [from Jerome to Damasus]) is certainly spurious. Battifol (History of the Roman Breviary, trans. by Atwell Baylay [London, 1912], p. 35, n. 1) thinks the letters were written shortly before 530. In his letter "Jerome" recommends the singing of the Gloria Patri "in fine cujusque psalmi."

4. The vigil preceding the weekly commemoration of the Resurrection was celebrated in the first century so Ambrose is not being credited for its introduction in a see as ancient as Milan. Such an old tradition must have been quite well-known there.

of Eastern customs during a Roman council held in 382 at which many Greek and Syrian bishops were present.¹

The report of Etheria and the singing of antiphons

The Spanish pilgrim known as Etheria, traveling in the East ca. 380, observed at first hand the ceremonies of Holy Week in Jerusalem.² Throughout her journal are expressions like "psalmi responduntur, similiter et antiphonae [responduntur?] . . . dicuntur psalmi et antiphonae . . . dicuntur psalmi responsorii vicibus antiphonae."³ Despite the number of her allusions to antiphonal singing she gives no adequate description of what the performance of "antiphonae" entailed. She assumed that the religious community of women for whom she was writing were already familiar enough with antiphons to understand a brief reference to them. In some cases at least antiphonae must have meant: antiphon + psalm. The antiphon was not necessarily repeated after every psalm verse or after every division of the Psalter.⁴ Etheria does not give a single example of an antiphon except perhaps in describing the entry of the bishop (representing Christ) into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. He is welcomed by the crowd "cum ymnis vel antiphonis respondentibus semper: Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini (Ps. 117:26).⁵ This phrase (with which Jesus was acclaimed) may give only the

1. Wagner, I, 26.

2. D. E. Dekkers ("De Datum der Peregrinatio Etheriae en het Feest van Ons Heer Hemelvaart," Sacris Erudiri, I, 181) places her pilgrimage in the year 417 because of the concurrence that year of the Ascension and the dedication of the basilica of the Nativity (May 31).

3. Journal de Voyage, ed. Hélène Pétré, Sources chrétiennes Vol. XXI (Paris, 1948).

4. Cf. DACL, I, 2470-71; 2474-75.

5. Journal, p. 222.

general tenor of the people's song of greeting, however. If "Benedictus qui venit" was actually used as an antiphon this would damage the case for a non-scriptural basis for all antiphons. However Etheria also notes that the antiphons were "antae loco aut dici."¹ This could mean that either (1) the antiphons were "proper" and made specific reference to the feast of the day with a special (and possibly non-biblical) text; or (2) the antiphons were those prescribed for the feria and hence unchanged from week to week.²

Antiphonal chant in the monastic communities

Saint Benedict (d. 543), the patriarch of Western monasticism, wrote his Rule (ca. 530) on the basis of his knowledge of the practices of Egyptian monks. Many of his liturgical prescriptions are founded on the Institutes which John Cassian wrote for his monks³ and on the traditions of the Milanese church, among which was the use of hymns and antiphons. Much of what Benedict has to say about the latter is concerned with when during the day of prayer they are to be said. Our interest centers about how they were used in conjunction with the psalms. We can be sure that in St. Benedict's day the psalm itself was still sung by a single cantor, this office being rotated among members of the community. The Rule does not legislate this specifically but it can be deduced from a prohibition commanding an excommunicate "ut in oratorio psalmum aut antiphonam non imponat

1. Journal, pp. 222, 224, 228.

2. Chapter xiv of the Rule of St. Benedict requires antiphons "ad ipsum diem pertinentes" on feast days of the saints. Most likely this means "of the feria."

3. Ed. by Jean-Claude Guy, Sources chrétiennes, Vol. CIX (Paris, 1965). Also in PL, XLIX (De Coenobiorum institutis libri duodecim).

noque lectionem recitet."¹ The usual meaning of "imponere," to begin or intone, is not intended here. When Benedict desires this latter meaning he uses "incipere" (chaps. xi, xxxviii, lviii). For the translation of "imponere" Gindele prefers the German equivalent "vortragen" to the translation "anstimmen" proposed by the Thesaurus linguae latinae (VII, 659).² In English, the translation "sing" suits the context quite well.

In the first Benedictine monasteries those psalms to be sung "cum antiphonis" were performed by the soloist with an antiphonal refrain like that described above (pp. 100-101). Fortunately, the Rule names by number a psalm cum antiphona, the invitatory psalm 94, Venite exultemus Domino.³ Probably because of its unique position as the opening chant of the night office it retained a distinctive form as the psalms of the nocturns underwent changes which finally resulted in the antiphony of psalm verses by alternate choirs. The text of the invitatory comes from the old Itala translation of the Psalter in use before the victory of the so-called "Gallican" Psalter. The five long verses are set to a special tripartite psalm tone. Between each of the verses the antiphon is repeated fully or in part according to the following scheme:

A a V₁ a V₂ / a V₃ a V₄ / a V₅ a GP a A(+a)

1. Cap. xxiv. Cf. also John Cassian (ca. 360-432/5), Institutes, II, viii (PL, XLIX, 94): the psalm is sung "uno cantante" and at its conclusion all rise to sing the Gloria Patri. According to the same document (II, x) one of the brethren "psalmum docantat in medio."

2. Gindele, "Doppelchor und Psalmvortrag . . .," p. 299. Vide Justin McCann, The Rule of St. Benedict (London, 1952), p. 59, and the study cited there.

3. "Post hunc psalmus nonagesimum quartum cum antiphona aut corte decantandum" (cap. ix). In a later chapter Benedict recommends that it be sung slowly so that late-comers might arrive before the principal part of the night office began! Amalarius (De ord. ant., lxix) also calls the invitatory an antiphon.

(A=soloist; a=choir; $\frac{1}{2}$ =partial refrain by choir; GP=doxology)¹

This seems at first sight to be an example of responsorial chant and, indeed, would be if we do not posit (at least in its original state) an antiphonal rendition of the (non-scriptural) refrain.

Commentators with an inexact concept of antiphony had to regard the invitatory as responsorial: "Here for St. Benedict the antiphon performs the function of a response."² In fact, little seems to have separated the shape of responsorial and antiphonal singing for St. Benedict. Stäblein believes that he vacillates between antiphona as (1) a piece and (2) a method of performance.³ The former meaning ultimately prevailed to denote a short musico-textual phrase sung by all which precedes and follows the recitation of a psalm or group of psalms. Related to (1) above is a unit consisting of an antiphon + a psalm or psalm verses like the "little antiphons" of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.⁴ Several passages in the journal of Etheria could be thus interpreted and the editor of the Regula Magistri (an elaboration of St. Benedict's Rule) believes that this unit is the normal one in that document.⁵ It is possible, then, that the offertory was never an

1. This partial refrain, or responsio a latere, is certainly not original.

2. Paul Delatte, Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict, trans. by Justin McCann (Latrobe, Pa.: St. Vincent Archabbey, 1950). Apel (Gregorian Chant, p. 188, n. 4) notes that the invitatory is now chanted responsorially "but so are all the antiphonal psalms." This is just the problem in deciding what the original nature of antiphony was: its original form has been completely obscured.

3. "Antiphon," MGG, I, 527.

4. Complete schemata in DACL, I, 2476-77.

5. Règle du Maître, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, and others (3 vols.; Paris, 1964-65). A subsequent controversy seems to have left Vogüé's position intact. Petit's correlation of a passage in the Vita of Melania the Younger (383-439) with the Eastern Office of Good Friday indicates a similar usage. DACL, I, 2472-73.

entire psalm but rather a structure like the Greek "little antiphons." If, despite all the evidence marshalled above, the possibility that the offertory was originally antiphonal remains open one need not assume a massive truncation of psalm verses to reduce the chant to the dimensions found in the earliest manuscripts: refrain (antiphon?) and verse. Much the same can be said for the introit and communion.

The choice of "antiphon" to describe the new practice

Basically, the authentic "antiphon" of the fourth century involved the opposition of two choirs. If we are to believe the legend surrounding the origin of antiphonal practice, the opposing (hence, anti) two "choirs" could have been Arians on one side and Orthodox on the other in a very serious kind of choral game. This explanation rests admittedly on a very literal interpretation of the word (anti + phonē) but it might well be a partial explanation of the name given to the new phenomenon in the fourth century. The Arians maintained that Christ was subordinate to the Father and, hence, not truly God. They possibly exploited the ancient form of the doxology¹ which ascribes glory to the Father through (δία) the Son and either through or in the Holy Spirit to support their belief in Christ's position relative to the Father. The orthodox Christians countered with the doxology in use today which emphasizes the equality of the three persons, glory being ascribed to all three, equally.² The incidents which

1. . . . ὅτι Θεοῦ (the Father) ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας Didache IX, 4. Similar phraseology can be found in Clement of Alexandria (Quis dives XLII, 2) and Origen (De oratione XXXIII).

2. E. J. Gratsch, "Doxology, Liturgical," NCE, IV, 1030. This "modern" form of the doxology has been found on an Antiochene monument from the year 369. See DAEL, IV, 1526.

took place in Antioch during the mid-fourth century and which stimulated the cultivation of antiphonal singing involve this controversy over the doxology. The bishop of Antioch, Leontius, was not a strong enough character to join either side; he secured the bishopric in defiance of a law which prohibited the consecration of eunuchs to such an office. The Orthodox also accused him of immoral conduct. The situation was very tense:

Καὶ διχῆ διηρημένους τοὺς
 ἐρωμένους καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν
 ὄμιλον θεωρῶν καὶ τοὺς
 μὲν τὸν καὶ σύνδεσμον ἐπὶ
 τῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ δοξολογίας,
 τὴν δὲ ἐν τοῦ Πνεύματος
 προσκροζόντας.¹

And seeing the clergy and the multitude divided in two parts, some putting the conjunction "and" before the glorification (δοξολογίας) of the Son, but others applying the preposition "through" to the Son and "in" to the [Holy] Spirit.

The pro-Arian historian, Philostorgius (ca. 368-425 or 433), even credits Flavian with being the first to teach monks the new doxology; the "old" form he quotes is exactly what the Arians had been singing.² This older doxology would be just the kind of addition to the psalms Sozomenos meant when he says that the Arians κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἀντιφώνων τρόπον . . . ἐψάλλον ἀκροτελεύτικα συντεθέντες πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν πεποιημένα (they sang in antiphonal style, adding refrains composed according to their own doctrine).³ The doxology quoted above (p. 107, n. 1) from the Didache

1. Theodoret, Hist. eccl. XIX (resp. 24); (PG LXXXII, 1057). Afterwards, Theodoret recounts the separation of the orthodox Christians into two groups by Flavian and Diodor. (Cf. above, pp. 93ff.) The historian wrote about a century after the events. The apocryphal Acts of Thaddeus (2nd c.?) have the modern form: καὶ ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. (Reliquiae liturgicae vetustissimae, I/2, no. 4552)

2. Eccl. hist. III, 13 (PG LXV, 501).

3. Eccl. hist. VIII, 8 (PG LXVII, 1536-37). Socrates says very much the same. (Hist. eccl. VI, 8; PG LXVII, 689.)

comes at the end of a prayer, a point at which such formulae are common. In the West, a standard formula (Gloria Patri) figures in responsories and (with the addition, Sicut erat) at the close of every psalm (or psalm-section) in the Office. The latter practice in the West antedates the activity of John Cassian who reports in his Institutes:

Illud etiam quod in hac provincia vidimus ut uno cantante in clausula psalmi omnes astantes concinant cum clamore Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, nusquam per omnem Orientem audivimus sed dum omnium silentio ab eo qui cantat, finito psalmo, orationem succedere. Hac vero glorificatione Trinitatis tantummodo solere antiphonam terminari.¹

What we see in this province [Narbonne]: that an individual sings the psalm and at its end all rise, singing loudly: "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit." We never hear this in the East but the psalm is listened to in silence and followed by a prayer. They are accustomed to conclude only an antiphon with this glorification of the Trinity.

Again there is a clear connection made between antiphon and doxology, at least in the East. Both of these, in turn, owe their origin to the Arian-Orthodox confrontation at Antioch during the fourth century. The last three days of Holy Week, abounding in archaic features, lack the Gloria Patri at the ends of psalms: a clear indication that at one time the doxology was not used to conclude the chanting of a psalm.

Whether the term itself was inspired by this confrontation or not the primitive antiphonal style required two choirs alternating, not the psalm verses themselves (which were entrusted to the soloist as in responsorial psalmody), but the short refrain inserted between psalm verses.² In this light the rubric of the Triodion (book of Holy Week ceremonies of

1. Institutes, II, 8 (PL, XLIX, 94-95).

2. Apel regards the two-choir performance of psalm verses as the essential mark of antiphonal singing--a refrain is in no way necessary: "In fact, it is not at all clear how this refrain, the Antiphon, was fitted into the antiphonal (that is, double-chorus) method of performance." (p. 187)

the Eastern Church) δευτεροῦντες ἅπαντα τροπάρια (doubling all the troparia) appears not as an unusual later elaboration but as a remnant of the ancient custom, just where we might expect to find it: in the oldest and most conservative portion of the liturgical year. Less likely to represent this ancient tradition but still interesting as an example of "doubling" of antiphons during the Middle Ages is an anecdote in the Vita of St. Odo. Odo had great devotion to St. Martin and since his antiphons were so short and the night so long (his feast falls on Nov. 11) he and his monks "unamquaque antiphonam per singulos psalmorum versus repetendo canebant" (sang each antiphon repeating it after each psalm verse).¹ Following the theory presented in this chapter such a "doubling" was similar to the primitive practice, one choir answering or opposing (ἀντί) the voices (φωνή) of another--because of which the term ἀντίφωνον was adopted.

Antiphonal psalmody in the Ordines Romani

The earliest Ordines Romani do not describe in detail the singing of the offertory at a papal Mass in the seventh or eighth century. A fortiori no information is available on the ceremonies in the Roman basilicas or tituli, much less the parish churches with separate endowments. Information of this type is provided more generously for the introit and communion but even here important elements must be supplied by hypothesis. None of the Ordines furnishes a complete scheme but Ordo XV, whose compiler was very sensitive about authentic performance of the introit as a sign of orthodoxy, is more thorough than the others.² He neglects to mention only the number of verses normally used and the exact function of the versus ad repetendum

1. PL, CXXXIII, 48.

2. Ordo XV, 122. A less complete account of the introit is to be found at nos. 13 and 17.

(called "alio verso" before the final appearance of the antiphon). We do not know how or when it appeared earlier in the body of the psalm. The order in Ordo XV is as follows:

A V₁ A [V₂ A V₃ . . . A] D₁ A D₂ A VadR A

(A=antiphon; V_{1,2}=first psalm verse, etc.; D_{1,2}=two parts of doxology; VadR=versus ad repetendum)

Material in brackets has been supplied but, unfortunately, not on the basis of other Ordines since they are all reticent about the rendition of the body of the psalm itself (if, indeed, an entire psalm was ever sung, see p. 107). The other Ordines give the following information (arranged schematically):

Ordo I: A [V₁ . . . A] D₁ [A] D₂ [A] VadR A
(nos. 44, 50-52)

Ordo IV: [A V₁ . . . A] D₁ [A] D₂ [A] VadR A
(nos. 14-20)

Ordo XV: A [V₁ . . .] A "cum psalmo" D₁₊₂ [A] AVadR [A]
(nos. 13, 15--first version)

In the case of Ordo XV material in brackets is supplied by analogy with Ordo XV, 122.

The communion displays a form comparable to that of the introit:

Ordo I: A "per vices cum subdiaconibus" [V₁ "psallunt" . . . A] D₁₊₂ VadR [A]

Ordo IV: A [V₁ . . . A] D₁ "schola" D₂ "subdiaconi" VadR [A]
(nos. 76, 84-85)

Ordo XV: { (nos. 61-62) A [V₁ . . . A] D₁₊₂ VadR A
(no. 151) A [V₁ "psalmo de ipsa die cum antiphona" . . .] A D₁₊₂ V "de ipso psalmo" [A]

The function of the versus ad repetendum vis-à-vis the antiphon is not entirely

clear.¹ Was it repeated after every verse (or group of verses) or was it the antiphon which fulfilled this refrain function? By this time the primitive antiphonal method had disappeared and even a two-choir performance is not an indisputable fact.² The communion of Ordines I and IV indicates an antiphonal relationship between the schola and the subdeacons. The phrase "per vices cum subdiaconibus," however, appears in three manuscripts of Ordo I (one of these is the earliest version, St. Gall 614) and the compiler of Ordo IV applies it only to the doxology. The second scheme for the introit in Ordo XV is alone in splitting the two halves of the doxology. The present writer would prefer to consider this to be the authentic procedure and the other, less complete arrangements to be examples of the reductions which would finally terminate in the scheme: $A V_1 D_{1+2} A$.

We are doubly at a loss in using these documents since (1) they do not represent the Old-Roman but the papal liturgy and (2) the offertory had, apparently, little in common with the introit and communion from the standpoint of form (and melodic style, too). The assumption that the offertory was at first an antiphonal chant does not seem well founded. The first literary and musical documents provide no basis for supposing that the offertory was ever cast in any form other than the one known from

1. None of the Old Roman and few of the Gregorian manuscripts have preserved the versus ad repetendum. In the Gradual of Loon (PM X) there was a versus for every introit. They were all subsequently erased. One or two versus can be found with each introit in St. Gall 381 (11th century). Vide Gelineau, Voices and Instruments, pp. 104 and 168. The longer introit scheme which Apol claims to have found described in Ordo I (Apol, p. 190) reflects the fuller form of these MSS, not the form of Ordo I, 44, 50-52.

2. The duae acies of singers, paraphonistae and infantes, mentioned in Ordo I, may be a purely practical arrangement for the entrance procession. The schola is afterwards treated as a unit.

all the medieval sources, especially those with verses.¹ In its complete form (with 2 or 3 verses) the offertory is, if anything, responsorial. To postulate an earlier, antiphonal stage is to take a position sorely lacking in adequate evidence to support it.

1. Apel's contention (p. 193) that "the express reference to the schola suggests that at this time the Offertory was still an antiphonal chant" does not seem to be a compelling argument.

CHAPTER IV

THE OLD-ROMAN CHANT

The question of "témoins indirects"

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to attempt to provide a solution to the vexing problems which plague any investigation of the historical position of Old-Roman chant and its relationship to the standard European repertoire of the Middle Ages, Gregorian chant. The literary and historical material which can be brought to bear on the question is distressingly small but has led to a half dozen hypotheses none of which has enjoyed universal agreement.¹ The irrefutable facts are few: alongside the corpus of "Gregorian" chant there exists another complete repertoire which is preserved in only five manuscripts (3 Graduals and 2 Antiphoners) all from the city of Rome and dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries:

<u>Manuscript</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place of origin</u>
Phillipps 16069 (Gradual)	1071	Santa Cecilia in Trastevere
Rome, Vat. lat. 5319 (Gradual)	11th/12th c.	Lateran (?)
Rome, Vat. basilic. F 22 (Gradual)	13th c.	St. Peter's
Rome, Vat. basilic. B 79 (Antiphoner)	end of 12th c.	St. Peter's
London, Brit. Mus. add. 29988 (Antiphoner)	mid-12th c.	central Italy

It has often been noted that no Gregorian manuscripts originating in the city of Rome itself have been preserved before the thirteenth century. The

1. The best summary is to be found in Ewald Jammers, Musik in Byzanz, päpstlichen Rom und im Frankenreich (Heidelberg, 1962), pp. 107-126. The articles which defend the principal theories can be found in the bibliography of this dissertation under the names of Apol, Handschin, Hücke, Lipphardt, H. Schmidt, Smits van Waasberghe, Stäblein and van Dijk. See also the Introduction to this dissertation.

"romanità" of the repertoire in the five manuscripts cannot be doubted yet Gregorian chant has always been regarded as the official chant propagated by the Roman Church.

In 1954 Michel Huglo undertook to expand the documentation relevant to Old-Roman chant by developing the theory of "témoins indirects" of this chant in manuscripts of the Gregorian repertoire. These "témoins" consist of "variantes de texte et particularités d'ordonnance liturgique propres aux graduels et aux antiphonaires du vieux-romain."¹ The inventory drawn up by Huglo was subsequently whittled down to the original five manuscripts by Georges Frénaud.² The only "témoins" without music admitted by Frénaud are those which describe particulars of the local Roman liturgy (Ordines Romani XII and XXVII).³ He questions whether or not this local liturgy always required a special musical repertoire. He hints that pieces considered unique to Old-Roman chant may have existed with Gregorian melodies which were not preserved. This may be a too facile method of dismissing evidence of the diffusion of Old-Roman chant but Frénaud proves that caution is necessary before assuming that Old-Roman melodies are intended in a manuscript destined as a whole to be used with the Gregorian repertoire. He believes that any document without the Old-Roman melodies themselves should

1. "Le chant 'vieux-romain': Liste des manuscrits et témoins indirects," Sacris erudiri, VI (1954), pp. 96-124.

2. "Les témoins indirects du chant liturgique en usage à Rome aux IX^e et X^e siècles," Etudes grégoriennes, III (1959), pp. 41-74. Frénaud examined in detail a Missal from S. Eutizio of Norcia, a late tenth-century Italian Missal (Vat. Barberini 560), and fragments of an index to a Gradual from Fulda (Kassel, Landesbibliothek Theol. Fol. 36; copies in the ninth century from an older original). All three of these had been cited by Huglo. The manuscripts sometimes agree with the arrangement of the Old-Roman chant books and sometimes with those containing the Gregorian repertoire.

3. Other Ordines with urban features are XIV, XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX and XXVI. See S. J. P. van Dijk, "Gregory the Great: Founder of the Urban Schola Cantorum," Ephemerides liturgicae, LXXVII (1963), p. 348.

not be considered a "témoïn indirect."¹ On the other hand, a rigid separation of the two repertoires would seem to have been out of keeping with the fluidity of liturgical practice in the Middle Ages. A manuscript exhibiting both Old-Roman and Gregorian features may have been derived from two separate sources.

The Sacramentaries

The two melodic repertoires, Old-Roman and Gregorian, invite comparison with the two Roman Sacramentaries known as the Gelasianum and the Gregorianum.² Problems of origin, dating and destination similar to those of the Old Roman-Gregorian relationship beset these most important documents. The Gelasianum has always been regarded as the older of the two even though it is not principally the work of Pope Gelasius (492-96).³ Various dates have been assigned to it. Lowe (Codices latini antiquiores) dated it ca. 740. Frère believed that the Sacramentary "dates in substance to the end of the seventh century."⁴

1. Van Dijk, in commenting on Frénaud's conclusions, takes the position that the coexistence in Italy of urban (Old-Roman) and papal (Gregorian) books produces a mixed type and that a Gradual and Missal used at the same mass might not agree: "the Missal of Sant' Eutizio is and remains an important 'témoïn indirect' of neither Old-Roman nor Gregorian CHANT but of both the Old-Roman and Gregorian RITES," ("The Urban and Papal Rites in Seventh and Eighth-Century Rome," Sacris erudiri, XII [1961], p. 446.)

2. The latest edition of the Gelasianum is that of C. Mohlberg, Liber sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli (Rome, 1960). The Gregorianum has been edited by H. A. Wilson (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1915).

3. "Bene animadvertendum est nomen 'gelasianum' prima vice s. IXo inveniri, ergo post auctoritativam introductionem GrH [the Hadrianum sent to Charlemagne]. Cur hoc tempore antiqua traditio gallo-romana contra novitatem GrH 'gelasiana' vocabatur? Sine dubio hoc fiebat propter distinctionem inter ambas 'liturgias' romanas sed etiam ad vindicandas antiquitatem romanitatemque textuum istorum Sacramentorum franco-gallicorum [the eighth-century mixed Sacramentaries] quam diu existebant, antequam Carolus Magnus Sacramentarium romanum (scil. GrH) introduxit." (H. Schmidt, "De Sacramentariis Romanis," Gregorianum, XXXIV [1953], p. 743)

4. Studies in Early Roman Liturgy I, 36.

Andrieu supposes an even greater antiquity: "On peut, sans ténacité, reculer jusque vers le commencement du VIIe siècle l'arrivée en France de l'exemplaire romain dont descend cette ultime copie."¹ An exhaustive study of the Gelasianum led Antoine Chavasse to conclude that despite subsequent additions it shows marks of an early seventh-century origin.²

The earliest manuscript of the Gregorianum (Cambrai 164) was written for Bishop Hildoard of Cambrai in 811. It is probably a copy of the Sacramentary sent to Charlemagne sometime between 784 and 791 by Pope Hadrian I (772-795).³ A type of (seventh-century) Gregorian Sacramentary was known North of the Alps even earlier, however, since there exist many manuscripts from the eighth century which mix elements of the two types, Gelasian and Gregorian.

It would be very convenient indeed if the Gelasianum were the counterpart of the Old-Roman chant manuscripts just as the Gregorianum presupposes the Gregorian chant repertoire. The conclusions of Chavasse in the study noted above are that the Gelasianum represents the liturgy of the Roman tituli which were served by the clergy of the city. Hence, it is properly the book of the urban rite while the liturgy of the Gregorianum was the special papal liturgy. This papal liturgy would have been well known to the clergy because the acolytes (and priests?) of the seven regions of Rome were each assigned a day to assist the pope were he celebrating the stationary

1. Andrieu II, xxxiii.

2. Le sacramentaire gélasien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): sacramentaire presbytérale en usage dans les titulos romains au moyen-âge (Paris, 1958).

3. Nigel J. Abercrombie, "Alcuin and the Text of the Gregorianum," Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft III/1 (1954), pp. 99-103.

liturgy.¹ This would explain elements borrowed by the urban clergy from the Gregorian Sacramentary and included in the Gelasian. Such elements may be accounted for by postulating a common ancestor of both Sacramentaries in the libelli missarum of the Lateran archives.² We know very little about the liturgy of the presbyteria and only if more information comes to light will we be able to extend further our understanding of its relationship to the papal liturgy.

The Gallican elements in the Gelasianum do not alter its basically Roman (and urban) character. It is strange that Frere did not perceive this character more clearly. He felt that "while remaining fundamentally a book of the Roman rite, it has been deromanized, so far as many details concerning the Pope and the city are concerned."³ But the Roman features he finds lacking (the Lenten stations, vacat on Sundays after ordinations, the pope's alms-giving in Lent, the Litania maior on St. Mark's feast) would not be expected in a non-papal book. Everything which is not papal does not automatically have its origin outside of Rome.⁴

There is no Lectionary to complete the hypothetical trio, Gelasianum-Old-Roman chant-Old-Roman Lectionary, and provide a series of books which, along with an Ordo,⁵ were needed to celebrate the more modest, non-papal

1. Coebergh ("Le sacramentaire gélasien ancien," Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft VII/1 [1961], pp. 46-47) assumes that although Ordo I, 5 commands the presence of acolytes only, the priests of the titulus concerned went with them.

2. As Bernard Capelle does in a review of Chavasse's book (Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, LIV [1959], p. 878).

3. Studies . . . I, 38. Only a few pages before (p. 36) he stated: "It is clear, however, that there are two types of rite which exist side by side, one labelled 'Gregorian' and the other 'Gelasian.'"

4. As Andrieu (Les ordines romani) often assumes.

5. Ordo XV, 121-151 has a mass "ad sanctam Mariam majore sive ad praesepe vel in monasteria monachorum" without the pomp associated with papal ceremonies.

liturgy. Apparently, however, there existed in Rome from the eighth century on two systems of readings from the patristic literature at Matins. The one associated with the Vatican and other monasteries and churches can be traced back to a sixth-century collection.¹ A comparable document for the Mass is lacking. The Gregorian Lectionary tradition is by no means a unified one as the numerous variants in the order of readings show.²

The Old-Roman rite

The most elaborate and well-documented investigations into the Old-Roman chant and the distinctive liturgical features peculiar to it have been the work of S. J. P. van Dijk. Independently of most of the information cited above he arrived at the conclusion that there were two clearly defined liturgical practices within the city of Rome itself. From the third quarter of the seventh century what was previously a more or less unified practice developed along two separate lines. One use centered around the basilicas served by the secular clergy and around the basilica monasteries. The other use was that of the papal chapel. The urban rite used the chant known to us as Old-Roman while the papal rite required Gregorian chant.³ That this situation was not unique to Rome has been demon-

1. J. Löw, "Il codice Ms A. 14 della Bibl Vallicelliana (del sec. IX) e il suo contributo alla liturgia romana," Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. C. Mohlberg II, 252.

2. Theodore Klauser, Studies in Early Roman Liturgy II: The Roman Gospel-Lectionary. Alcuin Club Collection XXX (Oxford, 1934); W. H. Frere, SERL III: The Roman Epistle-Lectionary. Alcuin Club Collection XXXII (Oxford, 1935); A. Chavasse, "Les plus anciens types du lectionnaire et de l'antiphonaire romains de la messe," Revue benedictine LXII (1952), 3-94.

3. Smits van Waesberghe agrees in general with this urban-papal division but (regarding liturgical chant) he postulates a common ancestor of both Old-Roman and Gregorian chant. According to this view, the secular clergy transformed the basilica repertoire into Old-Roman in the seventh century while the monks under the guidance of the abbots of St. Peter's (cf. Ordo XIX, 33-49) in the seventh and eighth centuries developed Gregorian chant which subsequently became the chant of the papal court. ("Neues über die Schola cantorum zu Rom," Bericht der internationalen Kongress für katholische Kirchenmusik [Vienna, 1955], pp. 111-119)

strated by O. Strunk in his comparison of the Office as celebrated by the Eastern monks with the same services at Hagia Sophia, the patriarchal church at Constantinople.¹

About thirty years before our first witness of the Old-Roman chant tradition, the Gradual of St. Cecilia in Trastevere (1071), Peter Abelard (d. 1142) in a letter to St. Bernard of Clairvaux mentioned that no church in Rome followed the liturgy of the Lateran basilica.² While such apparently clearcut statements are rare in this controversial area Abelard's statement raises more questions than it solves. However, it corroborates, at least in part, what can be gleaned from the practical sources: Graduals and Ordines. In this letter he seems to be placing the Lateran, mator omnium ecclesiarum and the pope's cathedral as bishop of Rome, in a position of isolation in matters liturgical from the other churches of the city and from the papal chapel. It is not at all clear what was distinctive about the Lateran in the early twelfth century but some time after mid-century a certain Bernard, prior of the Lateran monastery, put together an ordinal for his community.³ Bernard admits that the canons deviated from the liturgy as celebrated in the earlier part of the century. "He refers to the use of the palace as well as to that of the Romans. Occasionally, he calls the

1. "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," Dumbarton Oaks Papers IX-X (1956), pp. 175-202.

2. "Antiquam certe Romanae sedis consuetudinem nec ipsa civitas tenet; sed sola ecclesia lateranensis, quae est mater omnium, antiquum tenet officium, nulla filiarum suarum in hoc eam sequente nec ipsa etiam romani palatii basilica [i. e., St. Peter's] . . ." Epist. 10 (PL CLXXVIII) (The city itself does not observe the ancient custom of the Roman see; only the Lateran church, the mother of all, retains this ancient office. None of her daughters follow her in this, not even the basilica of the Roman palace . . .)

3. Bernhardi cardinalis et Lateranensis ecclesiae prioris ordo Officiorum ecclesiae Lateranensis, ed. L. Fischer in Hist. Forschungen und Quellen II-III (Munich, 1916). This has not been available for the present study; material on it has been extracted from van Dijk, "The Old-Roman Rite," Studia Patristica V (1962), pp. 185-205.

latter 'more diligent observers of ancient tradition.'¹

Bernard includes details of papal ceremonies in which the canons² were expected to take part. For some of these ceremonies Bernard had to acquire the services of special cantors to sing in place of his community.³ If we relate this statement to Amalar's statements about the double vigils of great feasts⁴ and especially to the elaborate Old-Roman paschal Vespers⁵ it would seem that the canons were unfamiliar with the chant used on some occasions. This chant must have been the Old-Roman; hence, the Lateran canons normally sang Gregorian chant just as the papal court did.⁶ If there were not two repertoires in current use why would the necessity for engaging "guest artists" arise?

The difference between Old-Roman and Gregorian chant is quite pronounced, as the comparison of any chants represented in both traditions would show. The liturgical differences are much more subtle since we are dealing with a single Roman liturgy in its two versions destined for different locales. The elaborate papal ceremonial of Ordo I (for an example see pp. 67-71 above) could not have been carried out in the presbyteria with their more modest resources.

1. "The Old-Roman Rite," p. 195. Ordo lateranensis 117, no. 234. This would seem to case some doubt on the antiqua consuetudo invoked by Abelard (n. 2, p. 120 above).

2. Leo IX united all the monks under the archpriest of St. Peter's (1053); in Rome the monk-canon distinction disappeared. Both of the Old-Roman Antiphoners follow the secular cursum.

3. Ordo lateranensis 140, no. 274.

4. Liber de ordine antiphonarii, capp. 15, 59-63. Only the Nativity and Sts. Peter and Paul retained this feature in the twelfth century.

5. Vat. lat. 5319, ff. 84-98 and Ordo XXVII, 67-94.

6. The Lateran was liturgically Gregorian, too. ("The Old-Roman Rite," p. 196; cf. van Dijk and Walker, Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy [London, 1960], p. 77.)

Liturgical practices within the city of Rome

There exists a letter from Innocent I (401-417) to Bishop Decentius of Gubbio on the subject of the fermentum, the particle of consecrated bread from the pope's altar which was carried to the altar of a titular church there to be mingled in the chalice of a priest-celebrant. Thus was symbolized the unity of the liturgy of the bishop and his people after the growth of the Christian community made it impossible for all to gather in the same place.

De fermento vero quod die
Dominica per titulos mittimus
superflue nos consulere volu-
isti, cum omnes ecclesiae nostrae
sint intra civitatem constitutae.
Quarum presbyteri, quia die ipso
propter plebem sibi creditam
nobiscum convenire non possunt,
idcirco fermentum a nobis con-
fectum per acolythos accipiunt,
ut se a nostra communione, maxime
illa die, non iudicent separatos;
quod per parochias fieri debere
non puto, quia nec longe portanda
sunt sacramenta, nec nos per
coemeteria diversa constitutis
presbyteris destinamus et pres-
byteri eorum conficiendorum ius
habeant et licentiam.
(PL LVI, 516-17)

You have wished to advise us that the fermentum which we send on Sundays to the tituli is unnecessary since all of our churches are within the city. The priests [of these churches] are not able to join with us on that day because of the flock entrusted to their care. Therefore, they receive from the acolytes the bread consecrated by us lest they think themselves separated from us. I do not think this should be done for all the parishes because the sacrament should not be carried for long distances; nor do we designate it to be sent to the priests assigned to [the churches in the] cemeteries since they have the right and the permission to consecrate [alone].

What kind of musical establishment (if any) assisted at the tituli in the early fifth century or what was sung there we do not know. The music may have consisted only of congregational responses to the prayers of the celebrant and of the music of the lector. It would seem that Innocent, with his emphasis on the unity of the urban priests with their bishop, regarded their celebration and his as expressions of a single liturgy. Several of his pronouncements about unanimity of other churches with Rome support this theory. He is willing to suffer:

nulla diversitas, nulla
varietas in ipsis ordinibus
et consecrationibus . . .
(PL XX, 552)

no difference, no deviation
in their [priests'] orders and
consecrations . . .

And again:

Id quod a principe Apostolorum
Petro Romanae Ecclesiae traditum
est ac nunc usque custoditur
ab omnibus debere servari.

(Ibid.)

opportet eos hoc sequi quod
Ecclesia Romana custodit . . .

(Ibid.)

What was handed down to the Roman
church by Peter, prince of apostles,
and preserved by her ought to be
observed by all.

It is obligatory for them [the
churches of Gaul, Spain, etc.]
to follow what the Roman church
holds . . .

With these views Innocent would probably not have tolerated within the city anything that could be considered liturgical diversity. The liturgy of Rome in the early fourth century was one.

Old-Roman chant North of the Alps

Considering the vast difference between the musical styles represented by the Old-Roman and Gregorian chants it is surprising that little evidence has come down to us of conflicts caused by their incompatibility. The famous episode of the charges and countercharges between Charlemagne's cantors and Roman chant experts may involve the Gregorian tradition only.¹ There is a statement in Notker's (d. 912) version of this story which has been used to prove that St. Gall "lange der römischen [i.e., Gregorian] Fassung wider-
setzt."² The entire passage runs as follows:

1. Johannes Diaconus, Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita 2.1 (PL LXXV, 90ff.); Notker, De gestis Karoli magni 1.10 (MGH: SS I, 734ff.); van Dijk, "Papal Schola versus Charlemagne," Organicae vocos (Festschrift Smits van Waesberghe), 1963, pp. 21-30.

2. K. G. Fellerer, Deutsche Gregorianik im Frankenreich (Regensburg, 1941), p. 56.

Referendum hoc in loco videtur,
 quod tamen a nostri temporibus
 hominibus difficile credatur,
 cum et ego ipse qui scribo
 propter nimiam dissimilitudinem
 nostrae et Romanorum cantilenae
 non satis adhuc credam, nisi
 quia patrum veritati plus cre-
 dendum est quam modernae ignaviae
 falsitati. Igitur indefessus
 divinae servitutis amator
 Carolus . . .
 (MGH: SS I, 734f.)

It seems appropriate to relate here something that is difficult to believe nowadays since even I myself who write about the great difference between our chant and that of the Romans would not believe it were not the veracity of the ancients to be trusted rather than the deceitfulness of modern carelessness. Therefore, Charles, an indefatigable zealot in divine service . . .

This statement cannot, of course, refer to a dissimilarity of which Notker had direct knowledge as Peter Wagner seems to have thought.¹ There may have been a tradition about a change from Old-Roman to Gregorian chant at St. Gall but Notker's identification of this tradition with events of Charlemagne's reign cannot be accepted especially in view of his frequent lack of historical perspective. In fact, we do not know one of the terms of the comparison (i.e., the earlier chant at St. Gall) Notker is making any more than he knew himself. This fact severely minimizes the value of his report.

Bruno Stäblein seems not to appreciate this legendary character of Notker's story and has sought to prove that Gregorian chant was introduced at St. Gall shortly after Notker (who thus would have been familiar with Old-Roman chant). This supposedly took place under Abbot Hartmann (III) who was Magister from 913 to 922 and abbot from 922 to 925.² The earliest St. Gall manuscript of Gregorian chant, St. Gall 339 (PM I, dating from the tenth century), is one of the principal early sources of Gregorian chant. Were this the premier document of a new mode of singing at St. Gall, even if introduced after the death of Notker surely someone at that

1. Wagner I, 249-50.

2. "Der altrömische Choral in Oberitalien und im deutschen Süden," *Mf*, XIX (1966), pp. 3-9.

important monastery would have noted the innovation.

The St. Gall manuscripts of the Ordines Romani (Codd. 140 [10th c.], 349 [end of 8th c.], 399 [12th c.], 466 [10th c.], 614 [9th-12th c.]) though they contain elements of the urban liturgy which in Chapter III was associated with Old-Roman chant presuppose the modified papal liturgy in use in Frankish territories.¹ They reflect the eclectic activity of the eighth century continuing into the ninth which brought about a rapprochement between traditional ceremonies of the Frankish church and the liturgy of the Roman pontiff, imposing in its splendor but ill-suited to the more modest resources of a Frankish bishop.

The English evidence

In contrast to the dearth of pre-Carolingian Frankish documents there seems to be a well-attested English tradition which, while not decisive, allows us to draw some conclusions about chant in England. As far as is known only Gregorian chant was transmitted by the Irish and English monks who evangelized the continent. Of the chant brought thither by Augustine (d. 604) as the emissary of Gregory I nothing is known. If Gregory's famous letter to Augustine really reflects the great pontiff's attitudes the music of British Christians was hardly held to a uniform standard.²

1. Andrieu has distinguished two "collections" of Ordines. The older (A; represented by Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine 412 from the beginning of the 9th century) existed in the eighth century but does not provide sufficient material for all liturgical ceremonies. The later, collection B, was widely diffused as a compromise between Roman and indigenous Frankish customs. See Andrieu I, 467-76.

2. So long as the unity of faith is observed local custom is to be respected: "Sed mihi placet ut, sive in Romana, sive in Galliarum seu in qualibet ecclesia aliquid invenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite aligas . . ." (But it suits me that you carefully preserve whatever might be most pleasing to God, whether in the Roman, or the Gallican or any other church . . .) (as quoted in Bede, Eccel. hist. I, 27).

Surely if a certain mode of chanting had been specified by Gregory it would have been implemented and revered.

Shortly after the year 634 the deacon James of York taught in Northumbria a chant "iuxta morem Romanorum sive Cantuariorum."¹ Canterbury is situated in the former kingdom of Kent, the center of Augustine's activity, so we may assume that the chant which James spread in Northumbria bore some relationship to that brought by Augustine a generation before. The next cantor from Kent who is reported to have taught in the North was Aeddius (Eddi, Stephen) whose activity falls in the period after the arrival of Theodore as archbishop of Canterbury (609).²

Even though the missions of James and Aeddius appear to have been similar they do not reflect the changes which had taken place in Northumbria in the intervening years. After the battle of Hatfield (633) in which King Edwin lost his life Paulinus, bishop of York, fled to the South leaving his church in the care of James. After Oswald had driven back the Welsh and Saxons he established himself as king and sought a bishop from the Celtic church rather than from the "Roman" church of Kent. From the abbey of Hy came one of the most noble figures of the Church in the British Isles, Aiden. He probably celebrated in his accustomed simplicity the Celtic rite. Of the music of this rite nothing is known. He held to the Celtic method of reckoning Easter which became a point of considerable conflict a few years later.

A conference was held at Whitby during the latter part of 664 to decide how the date of Easter was to be calculated. This question was debated with an intensity which seems little short of incredible to us today. By royal decree the party favoring the Roman method of reckoning emerged victorious.

1. Bede, Eccl. hist. II, 20.

2. Bede, Eccl. hist. IV, 2.

The spokesman for this group was Wilfrid; he had journeyed to Rome with Benedict Biscop and there absorbed the Roman customs. Upon his return he did not conceal his disdain for the old-fashioned, provincial and even coarse Northumbrian ecclesiastical ways. Whatever passed for ecclesiastical music in Britain, whether some form of Old-Roman chant or not, would certainly have been scorned by Wilfrid in favor of the up-to-date Roman style.

The chief representative of the Celtic method of reckoning Easter was Coman, archbishop of York, who retired from his see after the decision had been rendered. His departure "marks an epoch which we may pause to take note of in its manifold significance. It was the end of the Scotie [i.e., Irish] ascendancy, the triumph of the 'Catholic Easter' and of other Continental Church usages, the opening of a freer communication with Latin Christianity properly so called. It brought new facilities and opportunities, made room for new precedents, held up new models of excellence."¹

Wilfrid's rise was swift and he soon found himself bishop-elect of York. Being very particular about the episcopal pedigree of his consecrators he went to the continent for his ceremonial elevation to the episcopate. After tarrying for a year in Gaul he returned to find his see already occupied by another bishop, the devout Chad. Wilfrid took up residence in his monastery at Ripon. On his visits to Canterbury he collected a circle of adherents which included Aeddius, Aona and Putta. Given Wilfrid's inclination in all matters ecclesiastical, it is certain that Aeddius would have been instructed in the pope's own chant which Wilfrid had imbibed at its Roman source. Bede remembered Putta (later bishop

1. William Bright, Chapters of Early English Church History (3rd ed.; Oxford, 1897), p. 232.

of Rochester; consecrated 669; died 688) as "maxime autem modulandi in ecclesia more Romanorum, quem a discipulis beati papae Gregorii didicerat peritum."¹

Johannes "archicantator" and Bede

A powerful impetus was given to the dissemination of Gregorian (papal) chant in England with the arrival in 679 of Johannes "archicantator ecclesiae sancti apostoli Petri et abbas monasterii beati Martini."² Instrumental in encouraging him to teach in England was Benedict Biscop. He had brought many treasures and books from Rome for his monastery at Wearmouth (founded 674; its sister house, Jarrow, dates from 682); in some ways this was the crowning jewel. At Johannes' feet sat Bede (673-735) himself as a young student. Unless there was a remarkable volte-face shortly after the death of Bede the chant in which he was instructed must have been Gregorian. Though he taught chant viva voce Johannes left some written liturgical instructions to which Bede could refer in his history.

The period 720-732 saw the activity of Maban who had been taught by the successores of the disciples of Gregory. He provided remedial instruction to restore chants which had become corrupt during decades of oral

1. Ecc. hist. IV, 2. Just who these discipuli were and their relationship to Gregory is uncertain.

2. Bede, Ecc. hist. IV, 18. In the light of what is known about the Old-Roman liturgy of the Vatican basilica in later centuries it is doubtful that he taught the "cursum canendi annum sicut ad sanctum Petrum Romae agebatur." Stäblein ("Zur Frühgeschichte des römischen Chorals," Actes du congrès international de musique sacrée [Rome, 1950], pp. 273-75) pointed out the relationship between Johannes' title and the abbots of St. Peter's mentioned in Ordo XIX, 49 to whom he attributes a leading role in the creation of Gregorian chant. Bede does not specifically associate Johannes with the schola cantorum. In Rome the chief officer of the schola was called the Prior (S. Corbin, L'église à la conquête de sa musique [Paris: Gallimard, 1960], p. 185).

transmission and to teach (new?) chants unknown to the singers.¹ Twelve years after the death of Bede the Council of Cloveshore (747) convened and reaffirmed the Roman orientation of the English church. In legislating De ieiunio quarti, septimi et decimi mensis it exhorted all Christians "nec ullatenus in eiusmodi discrepant observatione, sed secundum exemplar quod iuxta ritum Romanae Ecclesiae descriptum habemus studeant celebrare (can. 18)."² Virtually the same words are used in canon 13: ". . . in baptismi officio, in Missarum celebratione, in cantilena modo celebrantur iuxta exemplar videlicet quod scriptum de Romana habemus Ecclesia."³ The sacrotal Kalendar of the Roman church is likewise to be observed "cum sua sibi convenienti psalmodio seu cantilena venerantur."

This examination of the English evidence, sketchy as it is, demonstrates that during the time of greatest insular influence on the continent the chant to be known as Gregorian was cultivated by British monastic and secular foundations.⁴ The monks who spent their lives as missionaries in Gaul and to the East prepared the ground for the Carolingian imposition of papal chant. Earlier waves of missionaries sang another chant but of this we

1. ". . . quatenus et quae illi non noverant carmina ecclesiastica doceret; et ea quae quondam cognita longo usu vel negligentia inveterare coeperunt huius doctrina priscum renovarentur in statum." Eccl. hist. V, 20.

2. ". . . that they should by no means deviate from this observance but be zealous to celebrate according to the written model which we have of the rite of the Roman church."

3. The canons of the council are to be found in A. W. Haddan and Wm. Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland (3 vols.; Oxford, 1871), III, 367-68.

4. The tradition of Gregory's musical activity is first recorded in England: "Nos autem in Ecclesia Anglorum idem primi mensis ieiunium, ut noster didascalus Gregorius in suo Antiphonario et Missali libro per paedagogum nostrum Augustinum transmisit ordinatum et rescriptum." Egbert of York (732-766), Institutio catholica (PL LXX, 441).

know nothing. It could have been Old-Roman but it could just as well have been the native Celtic chant which has disappeared without a trace. This gradual "Gregorianizing" of the continent explains why little conflict between two fully developed bodies of chant (e.g., Gallican-Gregorian or Old-Roman-Gregorian) is recorded. Such conflicts almost to the point of religious war took place in Spain as the Mozarabic chant was expelled and especially in Milan where Ambrosian chant succeeded in maintaining its individuality.

The influence in eight-century Gaul of liturgical books (Sacramentary, Kalendar, Lectionary) representative of the Gregorian liturgy has already been mentioned.¹ The situation in liturgical music bears some similarities. It is, of course, far more difficult to insert a chant in a foreign style into a pre-existent corpus of music than it is to transplant a collect from one Sacramentary to another. The presence on Frankish soil of the new papal chant helped to prepare the way for its eventual triumph under the protection and with the encouragement of the Emperor of the West.

1. This explains why Charlemagne wanted a Sacramentarium immixtum, an unadulterated copy of the work attributed to Gregory. To his chagrin it did not suffice for the needs of the Frankish church and had to be supplemented by Alcuin.

CHAPTER V

THE TEXTS OF THE OFFERTORIES

Sources of the texts

One of the proofs frequently cited for the antiquity of Gregorian chant and hence, a fortiori, of Old-Roman chant is the use of texts drawn from a Latin translation of the Bible called the "Itala" version. This version was not widely used after the seventh century. The name, "Itala," was applied indiscriminately outside of Italy to the various Latin translations circulating South of the Alps. From the ninth century the epithet, Romanum, has been applied to a psalter, part of the Itala bible, from which most of the psalmodic chant texts have been taken. This Roman Psalter was identified with a supposed first (of three) translations made by St. Jerome.¹ While this translation did exist at the time of Jerome's visit to Rome (382) it now seems doubtful that it was actually made or even revised by him.² It is, in the words of Dom Weber, "le texte d'une version latine primitive dont ils [the other Latin Psalters] sont tous tributaires."³

The Gallican Psalter, so called because of its currency in the Frankish kingdom and used for the recitation of psalms in the Divine Office, is the authentic work of Jerome: a Latin translation from a version of the Septuagint. Via Alcuin it found its way into the Vulgate, the official Latin text of the whole Bible. Jerome's final translation based directly on the Hebrew text

1. Samuel Berger, Histoire de la Vulgate (Paris, 1893), p. 4.

2. Robert Weber, Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins (Vatican City, 1953), p. ix and the bibliography cited there.

3. Op. cit., p. viii.

was never put to liturgical use. The manuscript tradition of the Roman Psalter from the eighth century encompasses a large number of manuscripts and a considerable number of variant readings are found in them. Until the Psalter appears in the Vetus Latina edited by the monks of Beuron the best critical edition of the Roman Psalter is that of Dom Weber.¹ His edition is based on a group of eighth-century English manuscripts and contains in parallel columns a collation of the Psalterium Romanum with the other important old Latin texts of the psalms as well as with the Mozarabic, Ambrosian and Gallican Psalters.² It is an invaluable tool for the study of the texts of both Old-Roman and Gregorian chants.

Of help in locating the biblical sources of chants in the then current liturgy (1907) is Carl Marbach, Carmina Scripturarum (Strassburg; Olms reprint, 1963); it does not list the offertory verses. Marbach does not discuss variants between the chants and the Vulgate nor does he comment on the non-psalmodic chant texts which have only a slim connection with the text of the Bible except to remark that "bildeten eben die Alten ihre Texte etwas frei, um sie der Melodie anzupassen die ihrem Geiste vorschwebte, und es lässt sich gegen dieses Verfahren nicht gerade viel einwenden."³

Textual centonization

A thorough discussion of the process of textual centonization would itself require a separate study of considerable length by a skilled biblical and patristic scholar.⁴ In a way reminiscent of the freedom with which the

1. Op. cit.

2. A side-by-side comparison of the entire text of the Psalterium Romanum with the Gallican Psalter may be found in PL XXIX, 123-240.

3. Carmina Scripturarum, p. 40*.

4. It has been briefly touched upon by Johnør (pp. 10-12).

Fathers associated scriptural texts, the compilers of the chant texts chose within a psalm what to them seemed the most appropriate lines. Texts widely separated in the psalm may be brought together, unessential words can be omitted, vocatives (e.g., Domine, Deus) may be added and later verses placed before the first.

Only a few examples must suffice. The offertory Ascendit Deus (R_1 f. 105'; R_2 f. 61') begins with the sixth verse of psalm 46 and Verses 1 and 2 of the offertory use verses 2 and 4, respectively, of the psalm. In Michi autem (R_1 f. 114'; R_2 f. 87) the verses of the psalm are used in the order 17, 3, 5; in Letamini (R_1 f. 28; R_2 f. 90'), 11, 1, 6. In all of these (and many others as well) a single verse of the psalm equals a verse of the offertory. A single offertory verse may also be a fusion of several psalm verses. In the refrain of Benedic (R_1 f. 47'; R_2 f. 24') the connective "et" links verse 2 of the psalm with a line from verse 5. Verse 2 of the offertory includes elements of psalm verses 17 and 18 joined to the entire verse 19. Verse 18 of the psalm is compressed thus:

Psalterium Romanum

custodientibus testamentum
eius et memoria retinentibus
mandata eius ut faciant ea.

Old-Roman offertory

custodientibus testamentum
eius et
mandata eius ut faciant ea.

Because of its inherent redundancy psalm 118 lends itself to this treatment especially well. For Confitebor tibi (R_1 f. 67; R_2 f. 39') verses of psalm 118 are used in the order (refrain) 7, 17, 25; (Vs. 1) 30, 34, 36, 39. In Domine vivifica (R_1 f. 41; R_2 f. 19') the order is (refrain) 107, 125; (Vs. 1) 124, 43; (Vs. 2) 73, 108. Comparing Verse 1 of the offertory with the source psalm we find:

Psalterium Romanum

(124) fac cum servo tuo secundum
misericordiam tuam . . .
(remainder omitted in offertory)
(43) et ne auferas de ore meo verbum
veritatis . . .
(remainder omitted in offertory)

Old-Roman offertory

Fac cum servo tuo Domine secundum
magnam misericordiam tuam
et ne auferas de ore tuo verbum
veritatis.

This system of centonization requires a compiler who has completely mastered the spirit and letter of the psalms to such an extent that they are his own expression to be molded into a newly created integrity.

Comments on Table I

Table I displays the most significant textual variants between the Old-Roman offertories and the critical edition of the Psalterium Romanum prepared by Dom Weber.¹ This edition was also used to locate the Old-Roman offertory readings in other ancient Latin psalters. Likewise, his sigla for the manuscript sources were retained; for a fuller description of the manuscripts cross-referenced to the comprehensive catalogue of manuscripts listed in the first volume of the Vetus Latina published by the monks of Beuron the introduction to Weber's edition should be consulted. The sigla used in Table I are the following:

Roman Psalter

- A London, British Museum, Cotton Vespas. A. I. (8th century) written at St. Augustine of Canterbury (?). J. H. Kuhn in his edition (The Vespasian Psalter [University of Michigan, 1965]) places it at Lichfield in the third quarter of the eighth century.
- H. Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 553 (8th century) from the monastery of Saint-Jean de Laon.
- M Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine 409 (end of 8th century) in pre-Carolingian script for the monastery of Notre Dame in Soissons.
- N New York, Pierpont Morgan 776 (end of 8th century) incomplete (practically nothing remains of psalms 1-30); from Lincoln.
- S Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek cod. Bibl. fol. 12 (8th century); from England or the Northeast of France.

1. The following non-psalmodic offertories were omitted from this table: Angelus Domini, Ave Maria, Beatus es, Confortamini, Domine Deus in simplicitate, Domine Jesu Christo, Erit nobis, Exulta satis, Felix namque, In die solemnitatis, Oratio mea, Oravi Deum, Preceatus est, Recordare, Sanctificavit Moyses, Vir orat.

- K Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. XXXVIII (9th century) a "triple" Psalter (Gallican, Roman, iuxta Hebraeos); from Reichenau.
- T Reims, Bibliothèque de la Ville 15 (A. 20) (beginning 11th century) contents as in manuscript K.
- B London, Brit. Mus., Add. 37517 (end of 10th century) the "Bosworth Psalter" used at Canterbury.
- C Cambridge, University Library Ff. I, 23 (11th century)
- D Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 17.1 (987) (12th century) a triple Psalter written at Canterbury.
- P Monte Cassino 559 (end of 11th century) written at the monastery.
- Q Vatican, Urbinas lat. 585 written at Monte Cassino between 1099 and 1105.
- R Vatican, Reg. lat. 13 (end of 11th century) from the area around Benevento or Naples.
- U Vatican, Basilic. D. 144 (12th century) a commentary on the psalms by Bruno of Segni.
- V Vatican lat. 12958 (12th century) part of a complete Bible from the church of S. Maria ad Martyres (Pantheon).
- X Vatican, Basilic. D. 156 (12th century).

Other Old-Latin Psalters

- α Verona, Chapter Library I (1) (6th-7th century) a Greco-Latin version of the psalms written in the North of Italy.
- β St. Gall 912 a palimpsest manuscript from the sixth century (fragmentary)
- γ Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 11947 (6th century) of Italian origin.
- δ Leningrad, Public Library F. v. I. no. 5 (8th century) triple Psalter from Corbie.
- ε Paris, Bibl. nat. Coislin 186 (7th century) of unknown provenance; a bilingual Psalter (Greek and Latin) but of the Latin text only psalms 19:8 to 72:10 remain.
- ζ Vatican lat. 5359 (7th-8th century) a palimpsest manuscript originally written in the North of Italy.

- 7 Lyon, Bibl. de la Ville 425 (351) and Paris, Bibl. nat., N. acq. lat. 1585 (5th-6th century) a defective manuscript originating possibly in Lyons and now divided between two libraries.
- λ Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, cod. Augiensis CCLIII (mid-7th century) fragmentary.
- σ St. Gall 1395; Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C. 184; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 587 (8th century) twenty folios altogether.
- moz means that the reading is found in one of the Mozarabic manuscripts.
- med Milanese Psalter
- Ga Gallican Psalter translated by St. Jerome
- Gr indicates a reading found in one of the Gregorian offertories.

An asterisk (*) after a word means that this reading is used in the Gregorian offertory. A plus sign (+) means that the following words are added in the offertory text to the Psalterium Romanum version. Details of alterations and corrections noted by Weber in the Psalter manuscripts have been omitted to simplify the table. For the same reason the specific offertory verse in which a word appears has not been included; the numbers in the second column refer to the psalm verse in which the word is to be found. The numbering of the psalms themselves is according to the Vulgate.

This table does not directly compare the Old-Roman offertory texts with their Gregorian equivalents nor is it intended to contrast the Roman and Old-Latin Psalters with the Gallican Psalter used for the recitation of psalms in the Office and the single verse of the Introit.¹ Obvious

1. A recent article by Bruno Stäblein, "Nochmals zur angeblichen Entstehung des gregorianischen Chorals im Frankenreich," AFM, XXVII (1970), pp. 110-121 studies the common textual basis of both Old-Roman and Gregorian chant. The results of his investigation of the graduals agree with those reached on the basis of the offertories. Virtually all the readings which deviate from that of the Psalterium Romanum may be found in one or another of the old Latin Psalters. With few exceptions these readings in the Old-Roman offertories which concord with the Gallican Psalter concord with an old Latin Psalter as well. Stäblein would say the same about Gregorian chant vis-à-vis these "Gallicanisms" (improperly so called as he points out).

scribal errors and alternate spellings (tuo-tuae) have been emended without comment and the omission of final m (in fine-in finem) has not been regarded as a variant unless it appears in an Old-Latin Psalter. Connective words added or deleted in the process of textual centonization and additions of the vocative Domine or Deus, etc., have not been noted in the table. Deletion of an entire phrase--a not uncommon procedure in centonization--was not considered a "variant" in relation to the Psalterium Romanum unless it was characteristic of another Old-Latin Psalter as well as of an offertory.

TABLE 1

TEXTUAL VARIANTS BETWEEN THE OLD-ROMAN OFFERTORIES
AND OLD-LATIN PSALTERS ESPECIALLY THE
PSALTERIUM ROMANUM

Offertory and Psalm number	Text and Psalm Verse	Psalterium Romanum	Other Psalters; Gr. chant
Benedic (Ps. 102) Benedicam (Ps. 15) Benedicite (Ps. 65)	3. Qui propitiatur* 10. delectatione 8. Dominum Deum nostrum* 4. et psallam tibi altissime 5. audite 17. ab ipso 17. exultavit	qui propitius delectationes* Deum nostrum et psallat tibi psalmum dicat nomini tuo Altissime videte* ad ipsum* exultavi	med, Ga X has <u>delectatione</u> T A has <u>psallat</u> . . . <u>psallam</u> Gr: et psallat tibi Altissime α ε ζ (the last two letters are illeg. in this MS) AHMSD Gr and large no. of OL Psalters have <u>exultavi</u>
Benedictus es . . . ne tradas (Ps. 118)	121. calumpnitatibus* 150. appropinquaverunt* 78. et revereantur*	persequentibus adpropiaverunt -----	η Ga have <u>calumpnitatibus</u> α η Ga ----- -----
Benedictus es . . . in labiis (Ps. 118)	22. a plebe tua* 176. non sumus obliti* 32. dilataris	a me non sum oblitus dilatares*	----- ----- <u>dilataris</u> in AHMNKTC <u>factum</u> in moz med Ga KTBCQRUVX α η moz med Ga
Benedictus qui venit (Ps. 117)	23. a Domino factum* 23. mirabile*	a Domino factus mirabilis	
Confirma (Ps. 67)	5. Domino* 27. Deum Dominum	Deo Dominum Deum	γ δ γ med Ga; Gr has <u>Deo Domino</u> α γ med; Gr has <u>adstitit</u> BD
Confitebor Domino (Ps. 108)	31. qui astitit 31. ad dexteram* 27. -----* 27. eam 29. detrahebant* 29. reverentia*	quia adstetit a dextris haec est et eam detrahunt reverentiam	G ₂ has <u>haec et</u> ; γ Ga omit <u>est et</u> Gr moz have <u>ea</u> ----- δ moz med

TABLE 1--Continued

Offertory and Psalm number	Text and Psalm Verse	Psalterium Romanum	OR offertory text found in:
Confitebor tibi (Ps. 118)	36. avaritia	avaritiam*	med
Constitues (Ps. 144)	39. iocunda* 18. omni progenie et generatione*	iocunda omni generatione et progenie	δ δ moz
Deus enim (Ps. 92) Domine exaudi (Ps. 101)	2. sedes* 14. quia venit tempus quia tempus venit miserendi eius	sedis quia venit tempus miserendi eius	α δ γ σ moz med Gr: quia tempus miserendi eius quia venit tempus med Ga add to Ps. Rom.: quoniam (Ga quia) venit tempus
Domine fac (Ps. 108)	21. misericordiam tuam*	misericordiam	γ
Domine in auxilium (Ps. 39)	15. inimici mei*	simul inimici mei	η λ moz
Domine vivifica (Ps. 118)	124. magnam misericordiam	misericordiam	moz: multam m.
Emitte (Ps. 103)	43. ore tuo 31. in saecula*	ore meo* in saeculum saeculi	----- -----
	2. amictum 2. lumen* 2. vestimentum 3. tegit	amictus* lumine vestimento tegis*	moz: hamictum δ moz α γ δ δ moz med med
Eripe . . Deus (Ps. 58)	4. captaverunt* 4. fortes in me* 17. adiutor*	occupaverunt in me fortes susceptor	----- -----
Eripe . . Domino (Ps. 142)	10. Deus meus es tu* 2. ne intres 17. ad Deum*	tu es Deus meus non intres ad Dominum	Ga α moz α γ moz med Ga: Dominum Deum
Exaudi Deus (Ps. 54)	17. ad Deum*	ad Dominum	α γ δ η Ga: protector meus tu es
Expectans (Ps. 39)	18. adiutor meus es Domine et protector meus* (Gr lacks <u>es</u>)	adiutor meus et liberator meus es tu Domine	α γ δ η Ga: protector meus tu es
Factus ost (Ps. 17)	3. Dominus* 18. salvum me fecit 18. ab inimicis meis potentibus et ab his	Domine cripuit me de inimicis meis fortissimis et ab his	moz med Ga ----- ----- (Vs. 18 not used in Gr offertory)

TABLE 1--Continued

Offertory and Psalm number	Text and Psalm Verse	Psalterium Romanum	OR offertory text found in:
Filie regum (Ps. 44)	10. astitit	adstetit	β moz: adstetit Gr: adstetit
Gloriabuntur (Ps. 5)	10. circumdata* 12. noverunt 2. + et exaudi me	circumamicta diligunt* -----	η Ga ----- Gr: exaudi me Domine ----- -----
Gressus (Ps. 118)	133. omni 130. da	omnis* dat*	----- -----
Illumina (Ps 12)	4. in morte* 2. in anima mea* 4. respice in me*	in mortem in animam meam respice (only)	$\beta\gamma$ moz med $\beta\eta$ moz med Ga -----
Immitet (Ps. 33)	8. R ₂ angelus domini* R ₁ angelum dominus 4. exultemus 6. erubescant 22. in esca mea 2. intraverunt* 3. vocis*	angelum Domini angelum dominus exultemus* erubescant* in escam meam* introierunt voci	$\gamma\delta\epsilon$ moz med Ga: angelus Domini moz ----- $\alpha\delta\epsilon$ moz $\gamma\delta\epsilon$ Ga The modern Gr edi- tions have <u>voci</u> . ----- ----- -----
Improperium (Ps. 68)	2. + et exaudi me* 9. vias meas	----- viam meam*	----- ----- -----
Intende (Ps. 5)	14. locutus	locutum*	-----
Iubilate Deo universa (Ps. 65)	12. eam	ea*	α
Iustitia (Ps. 18)	13. que in Libano est*	Libani	$\gamma\delta\epsilon$ omit in; α moz med: que est in Libano γ moz -----
Iustus (Ps. 91)	7. solvet 9. custodit Dominus pupillum et ad- venam et viduam suscipiet*	solvit* Dominus custodit advenam pupillum et viduam suscipiet	-----
Lauda (Ps. 145)	3. quia* 5. quoniam 13. saecula saecu- lorum*	quoniam quod* saeculum saeculi	$\gamma\eta$ moz Ga $\alpha\gamma$
Laudate (Ps. 134)	15. in preceptis tuis me exer- cebor*	in mandatis tuis me exercebo	β moz: me exer- cebor $\delta\eta$ moz Ga HMNST BCRV: exercebor
Levabo (Ps. 118)	47. valde* 48. levabo* 57. pars* 57. Dominum 58. vultum tuum*	nimis levavi portio Domine* faciem tuam	$\alpha\gamma$ MN $\alpha\delta$ η Ga $\alpha\gamma$ med
Meditabor (Ps. 118)			

TABLE 1--Continued

Offertory and Psalm number	Text and Psalm Verse	Psalterium Romanum	OR offertory text found in:
Michi autem (Ps. 138) Mirabilis (Ps. 67)	3. semitas meas 2. qui odorunt eum a facie eius*	semitam meam* a facie eius qui odorunt eum	M $\alpha \beta \gamma \delta \epsilon$ moz Ga: Augustine quotes OR text
Miserere (Ps. 50)	3. michi* 3. Domine*	mei Deus	$\gamma \delta$
Offerentur (Ps. 44)	15. post eam* 15. offerentur* 16. adducentur in letitiae et exultatione adducentur in templum regis* 2. eructavit	postea adferentur in letitia et exultatione adducentur in templum regis eructuavit	$\alpha \beta \lambda$ moz Ga ATBDPQRUVX QR moz both represented in Gr; A
Portas (Ps. 77)	23. portas* 24. ut ederent* 1. popule*	ianuas manducare populus	$\alpha \gamma$ moz ----- γ moz med
Reges (Ps. 71) Repleti (Ps. 89)	3. iustitia 14. misericordiam tuam et veritatem tuam 2. formaretur*	iustitiam* misericordia tua* firmaretur	α $\alpha \gamma \delta$ moz AHMNS $\delta \zeta$ moz Ga
Scapulis (Ps. 90)	4. obumbravit 4. pennis 6. sagittam volentem	obumbrabit* pinnis sagitta volante*	$\alpha \gamma \delta$ moz N -----
Sperant (Ps. 9)	11. derelinquis* 12. habitant 13. orationes 5. et iudicas 6. periet 17. cognoscetur* 38. exaudivit Deus*	derelinques habitat* orationem* qui iudicas* peritit* cognoscitur exaudivit Dominus	$\delta \sigma$ TPQUV ----- moz TBCPQUVX ----- ASKT med γ
Super flumina (Ps. 136)	3. quoniam illic* 3. canticorum* 4. cantavimus 4. Dominus	quia illic cantonum cantabimus* Domini*	α : quoniam ibi α moz $\alpha \delta \zeta$ moz H
Terra (Ps. 75)	10. resurgeret 4. cornu*	exurgeret cornua	β moz med moz
Tollite (Ps. 23)	7. vestras* 2. ea 2. eam	vestri eam* illam	η moz Ga α med Ga G ₁ Ott: cum $\alpha \gamma \eta$ med Ga G ₁ Ott: cum
Tui sunt (Ps. 88)	10. fluctum	fluctuum*	$\alpha \gamma \sigma$
Voritas (Ps. 88)	38. sodas*	sedis	$\alpha \delta \zeta$ med

Only once is a reading from an offertory attested by the Gallican Psalter alone (Eripe Domine: "Deus meus es tu"). This can be easily explained by referring to the many variants which are found solely in the Old-Roman offertories but were surely drawn from Old-Latin Psalters which have not been preserved. "Deus meus es tu" was undoubtedly taken from an Old-Latin Psalter which accidentally agrees with the Gallican Psalter at this point. Table 1 amply demonstrates the purely Roman origin of both Old-Roman and Gregorian chant texts. It is the belief of this thesis that both of the melodic traditions originate in Rome as well. (See Chapter IV.)

Considering the hundreds of words in the Old-Roman offertories there are actually very few differences between the chant texts and the psalter manuscripts. The same might be said about the relationship between the Old-Roman and Gregorian offertories insofar as their texts are concerned. The table reveals several examples of a positive correlation between the two traditions: Lauda ("custodit Dominus . . ."), Expectans ("adiutor"), Levabo ("in preceptis"), Meditabor ("vultum tuum"). There are, on the other hand, not as many substantive and significant agreements between Gregorian texts and the Psalterium Romanum; one example of such agreement may be found in Gloriabuntur ("noverunt--diligunt") but the other starred (*) items in the Psalterium Romanum column of the table do not require derivation from this translation for their explanation.

Some of the variant pairs result from the omission of a final consonant, in the case of final m, perhaps inadvertently. See Benedicam, Benedicite, Illumina, Improperium, etc. Transpositions of words are also significant from the standpoint of the musical setting: Constitues ("omni progenie et generatione--omne generatione et progenie") and Mirabilis ("qui oderunt eum a facie eius--a facie eius qui oderunt eum") are the two clearest examples. Textual similarities between the Old-Roman offertories and the Mozarabic

Psalter, numerous as they are (Emitte, Offerentur, Repleti, Terra), suggest a common ancestor rather than any direct link between the Spanish and Italian traditions. The unanimity of text in the Old-Roman and Gregorian traditions which the preceding pages have attempted to demonstrate will be further confirmed by an investigation of text repetition, a phenomenon unique to the offertories, in Chapter XII.

In a few cases the Old-Roman and Gregorian offertories are the only witnesses of a variant unknown in the Old-Latin Psalters used by Dom Weber for his edition:

Benedictus es . . . ne tradas (et reuertantur), Benedictus es . . . in labiis (a plebe tua; non sumus obliti), Confitebor Domino (detrahebant), Domine vivifica (magnam; in saecula), Eripe Deus (Adiutor; fortes in me), Illumina (respice in me), Interde (et exaudi me), Lauda (custodit Dominus pupillum et advenam et viduam suscipiet), Portas (ut ederent).

This is again a confirmation of the common roots of both chant traditions. Apart from noting the frequent concordances of the Old-Roman text with manuscripts α , γ , δ and η against the Psalterium Romanum it would be hazardous to assume a unitary textual source for the offertory chants.

Texts of the offertory verses

Table 2 listing the number of verses in each Old-Roman offertory and comparing these with the verses in the equivalent Gregorian offertory shows the general agreement of the textual tradition in this regard. A plus sign (+) signifies complete agreement. Some of the apparent divergences in the number of verses are caused by the division of a single verse into two verses. Variants within one of the traditions and other information pertinent to a comparison have been incorporated into the table.

TABLE 2

OLD-ROMAN OFFERTORY VERSES:
NUMBER AND COMPARISON WITH GREGORIAN EQUIVALENTS

Offertory	No. of Vss.		OR-Gr Agreement	Comment
	OR	Gr		
Ad te Domine	2	2	+	
Angelus Domini	2	3	Only G ₃ has 3rd Vs. <u>Surrexit</u>	Gr Vs. 2 used as separate off. in G ₃ , f. 146
Anima nostra	2	2	+	
Ascendit Deus	2	3	OR Vss. 1 and 2 are Gr 1 and 3	
Ave Maria	2	2	+	
Beatus es	1	-		Vs. 2 not in G ₃ Bibl. Nat. lat. 903 (PM XIII) has off. with diff. Vs.
Benedic anima	2	2	+	
Benedicam Dominum	2	2	+	
Benedicite	3	3	+	
Benedictus es . . ne tradas	3	2	Refrain of Gr includes Vs. 1 of OR	First OR Vs. (Bene- dictus est) should be part of refr.
Benedictus es . . in labiis	5	3	Gr refrain and Vs. 1 divided in OR; G ₃ divides last OR Vs. in 2	Last 2 OR Vss. with- out music
Benedictus qui venit	2	2	+	
Benedixisti	3	2		First OR Vs. should be part of refrain
Bonum est	3	3	+	
Confessio	2	2	+	G ₁ has no Vss.; G ₃ and R ₁ give incipits only; Vss. in G ₂
Confirma hoc	3	3	+	
Confitebor Domino	2	2	+	
Confitebor tibi	1	2	OR lacks Vs. 1 of Gr	G ₃ divides Gr Vs. 2 (giving 3 Vss.)
Confitebuntur	2	2	+(G ₃)	G ₁ and G ₂ reverse order of Vss.
Confortamini	2	2	+	
Constitues	3	3	+	
Custodi me	3	3	OR Vss. 1 and 3= Gr Vss. 3 and 2; OR Vs. 2 and Gr Vs. 1 not equiv.	Melody of Vss. 2 and 3 in G ₃ is diff. from that in G ₁ and G ₂

TABLE 2--Continued

Offertory	No. of Vss.		OR-Gr Agreement	Comment
	OR	Gr		
De profundis	0	2	---	R ₁ gives first word of first Vs. only; G ₂ unites Gr Vss. 1 & 2
Desiderium	0	3	---	
Deus Deus meus	2	2	+	OR lacks Gr Vs. 2 Vs. 1 of Gr divided by OR
Deus enim	1	2		
Deus tu convertens	3	2		
Dextera Domini	2	2	+	Vs. 1 lacking in G ₃ Incipit only in R ₁
Diffusa est	(2)	1	Gr Vs.=OR Vs. 2	
Domine convertere	2	2	+	G ₃ lacks Vss. 2 and 3
Comine Deus in simplicitate	2	2	+	
Domine Deus salutis	2	3	OR Vss. 1 and 2= Gr Vss. 1 and 3	
Domine exaudi	1	3	OR Vs.=Gr Vs. 3 Gr Vs. 1 is part of refr. in OR off.	
Domine fac mecum	3	3	+	Vs. 1 of G ₂ (Hostias) is a separate off.; G ₂ adds four Vss. not in G ₁ or G ₃
Domine Jesu Christe	1	1	(see comment)	
Domine in auxilium	2	2	Order of Vss. reversed	Gr Vs. 3 in G ₁ and G ₂ only; Vs. 2 in G ₃ only; Order in G ₁ reversed in G ₂ and G ₃
Domine vivifica	2	2	+	
Emitte Spiritum	3	3	+	
Eripe me . . . Deus	2	2	+	
Eripe me . . . Domine	2	3	Only G ₂ duplicates OR Vss.	
Erit vobis	0	2	OR Vss. erased	
Exaltabo te	2	2	+	
Exaudi Deus	2	2	+	OR lacks Vs. 1 of GR but divides Gr Vs. 2
Expectans	3	3		
Exulta satis	2	2	+	Gr lacks Vs. 1 of OR
Factus est	3	2		
Felix namque	0	1		Only G ₂ has a Vs. R ₁ lacks music for two Vss.
Filie regum	(2)	2	Only Vs. 1 common to OR and Gr	
Gloriabuntur	1	2	Long single OR Vs. split by Gr	
Gloria et honore	2	2	+	
Gressus meos	2	2	+	
Illumina	2	2	+	
Immitot	3	3	+	

TABLE 2--Continued

Offertory	No. of Vss.		OR-Gr Agreement	Comment
	OR	Gr		
Improperium	3	3	+	
In conspectu	2	-		Only in OR
In die solennitatis	2	2	+	
In te speravi	2	2	+	
Intendo vocis	2	2	+	
Intonuit de celo	2	2	+	
Inveni David	3	2	Gr lacks Vs. 2 of OR	
In virtute tua	1	2	Vs. 1 common to OR and Gr	OR Vs. 3 has no music Vs. 2 lacking in G ₃
Iubilate Deo omnis	2	2	+	
Iubilate Deo universa	2	2	+	
Iustitie Domini	2	2	+	
Iustus ut palma	2	2	+	
Letamini	2	2	+	
Lauda anima	2	2	+	
Laudate Dominum	3	3	+	
Letentur celi	2	2	+	
Levabo oculos	2	2	+	
Meditabor	2	2	+	
Michi autem	2	3	OR lacks Vs. 1 of Gr	
Mirabilis Deus	2	2	+	
Miserere michi	2	2	+	
Offerentur (Gr: minor)	2	2	Only Vs. 1 common to OR and Gr	
Oratio mea	1	1	+	
Oravi Deum	0	2	---	
Perfice gressus	3	3	+	
Populum humilem	2	2	+	
Portas celi	2	2	+	
Precatus est Moyses	2	2	Vss. transposed in OR and Gr	
Recordare mei	0	1	OR includes Vs. 1 of Gr in refrain	
Reges Tharsis	3	3	+	
Repleti sumus	2	2	+	
Sanctificavit	8	2	OR splits each Gr Vs. in two	
Scapulis suis	3	3	+	
Si ambulavero	2	2	+	
Sperent in te	2	2	+	
Super flumina	4	3	OR splits Vs. 1 of Gr	
Terra tremuit	3	3	+	
Tollite portas	2	2	+	

TABLE 2--Continued

Offertory	No. of Vss.		OR-Gr Agreement	Comment
	OR	Gr		
Tui sunt	3	3	+	
Veritas mea	2	2	+	
Vir erat	10	4	OR Vss. 1-4 = Gr Vs. 1 OR Vss. 5-6 = Gr Vss. 2 & 3 (not exact) OR Vss. 7-10 = Gr Vs. 4	Following capitalization of OR text there are 17 Vss.; 10-17 (text repetition) considered as one

CHAPTER VI

THE TWO FORMULAE

In attempting to analyze works like the Old-Roman offertories in which the compositional procedures are unknown the observation of melodic repetition provides an obvious and easily controlled starting point. The recurrence of motives or figures establishes musical landmarks which, depending on the frequency and pattern of their use, can determine to a degree formal aspects of the composition. Only in a few Old-Roman offertories (Domine Deus in simplicitate [R_1 f. 136'; R_2 f. 101] and Sanctificavit Moyses [R_1 f. 130', R_2 f. 72]) do we find an application of the principle of repetition so thoroughgoing that it suffices to account for the piece's structure. Of the 94 offertories studied 30 had no extensive reuse of melodic material; yet even in these there is some utilization of melodic repetition on a small scale. This repetition of small melodic fragments constitutes an essential and omnipresent element of the Old-Roman style.

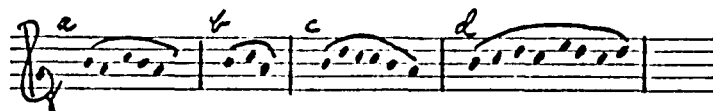
The two formulae: A and B

The clearest examples of the development of a large portion of a piece from a basically small amount of material involve two formulae which are found altogether in 59 of the offertories. One of these is well known, having been cited by Bruno Stäblein in his speech before the First International Congress of Sacred Music which touched off the last twenty years' investigations into Old-Roman chant.¹ It consists of an embellished recitation tone, usually B or E, preceded by an introductory figure and followed by one of

1. Actes du Congrès internationale de musique sacrée (Rome, 1950), p. 272. Robert Snow perceived its central importance for the offertories (Apel, p. 291).

two figures which conclude single repetitions of the formula. The four elements in their usual order of appearance are shown in Ex. 1. This group of figures will be known as Formula A (FormA).

Example 1. Formula a



Example 2 is a typical example of its use from the first verse of the offertory Scapulis.

Example 2. Scapulis, Vs. 1 (R₁ f. 43)

Musical notation for Example 2, Scapulis, Vs. 1 (R₁ f. 43). The notation shows the formula used in a Latin text. The text is:
 Ni Quo-ni--am an-ga-lis su---is
 man--da-vit de te ut
 cu--sto-di- - - - -am te
 in om-ni-bus vi - - - - -is tu--is.

The second formula which we shall call Formula B (FormB) consists of seven elements and may incorporate a brief recitation usually on a repeated podatus (in parenthesis in element b of Example 3).

Example 3. Formula B



This formula also occurs transposed a fifth lower. A notable flexibility and freedom in the treatment of this formula are apparent. The notes in

parentheses are optional but occur with sufficient frequency to merit inclusion in even this schematic representation. Not all seven standard elements appear each time the formula is used. The neume marked d is rarely omitted and practically always preceded by element c. The podatus associated with c (on the pitches $\widehat{C'-D'}$) can never occur without the preceding punctum. On the other hand, element f can be regularly omitted.¹

Formula B

At first glance this formula might appear to be a developed psalmodic formula with an intonation (a), tenor (b), mediant (d), tenor (e), and cadence (g). The reciting function of element e is admittedly weak but b and its associated podatus do seem to carry out this role. That d might have been considered cadential in effect is suggested by the fact that despite the frequency of its occurrence it falls on an accented syllable only thirteen times, four of these in a single offertory (Sperant, R₁ f. 68'; R₂ f. 40'). No inviolable caesure is observed after d. The text is run-on between d and e 76 times; d coincides with a final syllable 96 times. Expressed in percentages, this means that 44% of the time d and e must be run together to preserve the integrity of the word.² This situation would hardly be found at a cadential point.

Formula B, then, must be considered a single unit but according to accent distribution the formula is cursive, i.e., the words are fitted to

1. The number of appearances of all elements except the introductory (a) and cadential (g) ones was computed as follows: b - 142 times; c - 162 times; d - 172 times; e - 121 times; f - 63 times.

2. The vague resemblance between d and the mediant cadence of the version of the tonus peregrinus with three preparatory syllables in the modern books (LU 11?) or with the mediant cadence of first-mode psalmody is accidental. Reference must be made to Gregorian models since the Old-Roman mediants were rarely notated.

the pattern without attempting to fit word-accent to specific elements of the pattern. The element of FormB which proportionately receives an accented syllable with the greatest frequency is the clivis ($\widehat{D'C'}$) associated with d: 61 times in a total of 71 appearances. The accented syllables are, therefore, neither set to the element of the formula with the most melodic weight, d (the so-called "melismatic" accent) nor placed on the highest note in the formula ("tonic" accent)

Offertories with Formula B

Turning to the practical application of FormB we find a considerable spread in the number of times it is used in a single piece: from an entire offertory (Domine Deus in simplicitate, R_1 f. 136'; R_2 f. 101; see Ex. 6) to two occurrences in a single verse (Vs. 3 of Bonum est, R_1 f. 35). Table 3 lists the 29 offertories in which FormB is found. They are listed according to how much of the offertory is based on the formula. This may not coincide with the number of repetitions of the formula since an offertory whose entire verse is set to the formula is listed before an offertory with only part of a verse on the formula even though, for example, the formula may occur three times in each. In the first of these hypothetical cases three repetitions may suffice for the entire verse; in the second case a lengthy text extends beyond three repetitions.

TABLE 3
OFFERTORIES WITH FORMULA B

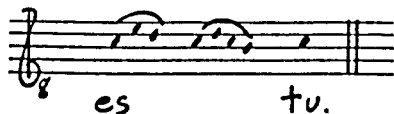
Offertory	Where found	
	Refrain	Verse(s)
Domine Deus in simplicitate (C)	*	*
Sperent in te (F)	*	*
Domine convertere (F)	*	*
Factus est (F)	*	*
Domine in auxilium (F)	*	*
Iustitie (F)	*	*
Reges Tharsis (F)		*
Gloriabuntur (F)	*	*
Benedic anima (D)		*
Laudate (D)		*
Emitte Spiritum (G)		*
Benedicite gentes (D)		*
In conspectu angelorum (F)	*	*
Constituas eos (F; R ₂ E)		*
In die (E)		*
Lauda anima (B)		*
Portas celi (G)		*
Populum humilem (G)		*
Iubilate Deo omnis (F)		*
Intende voci (F)		*
Immitet (G)		*
In te speravi (D)		*
Mirabilis Deus (G)		*
Benedictus qui venit (G)		*
Desiderium (C)	*	
Erit nobis (G)	*	
Expectans expectavi (A)	*	
In virtute (F)	*	*
Bonum est (D)		*

F-mode offertories without Formula B

About half (14) of the offertories using FormB are in the F (or C) mode (the mode determined by the final only) and this mode dominates the upper part of Table 3. The formula itself has an orientation towards F so that a preponderance of appearances in F offertories is not surprising. Only four of the F offertories are not represented in the Table: De profundis (R₁ f. 133'; R₂ f. 73), Eripe me . . . Domine (R₁ f. 76; R₂ f. 47), Inveni (R₁ f. 19'; R₂ f. 96) and Sanctificavit (R₁ f. 130'; R₂ f. 72). The offertory De profundis has no verse in the Old-Roman tradition; every other F offertory has at least one verse.¹ As may be observed in Table 3, verses frequently have the formula when the refrain does not. Only Erit nobis (R₁ f. 94; R₂ f. 57') and Expectans (R₁ f. 61'; R₂ f. 35) have the formula in the refrain but not in the verses.

The two verses of Eripe me . . . Domine employ the torculus formula (FormA) mentioned above instead of FormB. Although Eripe has a C' final in both Old-Roman manuscripts its cadence is unique among the final cadences of that mode (see p. 268) in that it approaches the final from the semitone below (see Ex. 4).

Example 4. Eripe me . . . Domine (R₁ f. 76; R₂ f. 47)



Because of the dearth of Old-Roman manuscripts for comparison it is impossible to ascertain whether or not the final should have been B as in the verses of this same offertory. If B is substituted for C' or if a clivis (C'B) is placed over the last syllable of text the cadence bears a striking resemblance

1. The music of the verse "Vitam" from the offertory Desiderium has not been preserved; only the text incipit remains (R₁ f. 123).

to these final cadences on E (Ex. 5).

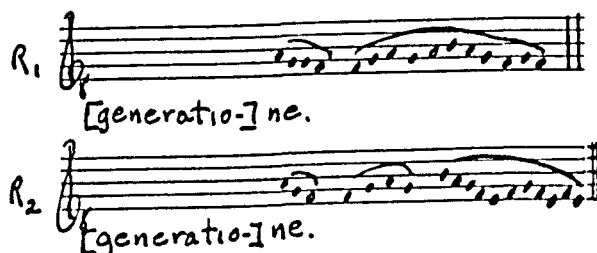
Example 5.



Considering the rather rigid system which seems to have governed cadences in the Old-Roman offertories and the rarity of this under-second cadence in the F mode (only 16 out of a total of 148 cadences) the possibility that Eripe should be reassigned to the E mode remains strong.¹

Sanctificavit Moyses (R₁ f. 130'; R₂ f. 72), another F-mode piece without FormB, is exceptional in having eight verses.² Verses 2 through 8 are built on a system of complex recombinations of the melodic material of Verse 2 (given in full on p. 212). To this closed system FormB is not admitted and would indeed be a force disturbing to its unity. Inveni does not suggest any simple explanation why it alone should avoid a feature (FormB) found in practically all other F-mode offertories. At present it has two verses; a third ("Et ponam," corresponding to the second Gregorian verse) was written in but never provided with music. The second verse

1. Constitues eos (R₁ f. 115'; R₂ f. 87) is a comparable case. Both manuscripts have identical readings except at the final cadence:



Since the cadence on F is similar to other F cadences (cf. Sanctificavit [R₁ f. 130'; R₂ f. 72] and In conspectu [R₁ f. 128'; R₂ f. 85]) and since the third verse of Constitues employs FormB it was decided to include this offertory among the F-mode pieces.

2. The text of the verses is the same in the Gregorian counterpart but it is subdivided: each Gregorian verse equals four Old-Roman ones.

("Veritas") is unique in that it is practically identical with the offertory on this text. It seems unlikely that Veritas would have originated as a verse of this offertory. The tessitura of the verse "Veritas" is much lower than that of the rest of Inveni (with its authentic verse "Potens es"). The repeat of part of the refrain is cued in R_1 at the end of the first and third verses of Inveni by the word "manus" from the refrain. This phrase begins on the note C' and if we assume that it was to be sung also after the supposed second verse ("Veritas") the interval between the end of that verse and the beginning of the phrase which serves as refrain would be a seventh-- a most unlikely situation. We can only suggest that verse 3 (viz. verse 2) "Et ponam" might have had FormB as do most of the other tritus offertories but this can be only speculation.

Individual elements of FormB and their treatment

The seven elements of FormB, especially d, e and f can be repeated and rearranged in various ways. One or another of them can be omitted. A remarkable illustration of the process by which this formula is shaped and molded around a text is the entire offertory Domine Deus in simplicitate (R_1 f. 136'; R_2 f. 101) for the Dedication of a Church (Ex. 6). Every note can be accounted for in terms of the formula. Even the beginning of verse 2, "Maiestas Domini," is not entirely original; this melisma introduces about a dozen verses throughout the repertoire (see Table 4).

Both the opening of Domine Deus and the close of the last verse have a "doubled intonation" (elements a and b) and the former has a repeat of element e as well. Element g may be abbreviated and/or transposed down a tone in this offertory; both manuscripts agree on this procedure. It is abbreviated on line B and abbreviated and transposed on lines A and D_2 . Line A has 9 syllables and B has 10 but in the latter case the seven-element

Example 6. Domine Deus in simpl., Refr., Vss. 1 and 2 (R₁ f. 136¹)

A  Do-mi-ne De-us in sim-pli-ci-ta--te cor-di-s me--i le---tus ob-

B  tu--li u-ni---ver--sa et po---pu-lus

C  tu--us qui re---per-tum est

D₁  vi--di cum in-gen-ti gau-di-o

D₂ 

E  De-----us Is-
ra-hel custodi-at volun-----ta-----tem.

F  *N.1* Fe--ct Sa-lo-----mon sol-lem-ni-----ta-----tem

G  in tem-po-re il--lo

H  et pro-spe---ra-tus est

I  et a-----pe-ro-it e-i Do-mi-nus.

J  *N.2* [Maestas Domini] he---di---fi-ca-vit tem-----plum

K  vi-de---bunt om-----nes

L  fi-li-i Is--ra-----hel

M  glo-ri-am Do-mi-ni ascen-dentem su-per do-----mum

N  et a-do-ra-re-runt et col-lau-da-re--runt Do-mi-ni-di---cen--tes

O  De-----us.

Element d has two variants of equal importance: one which ends with the pitch sequence F'E'D'C' and one which ends F'E'D'E' (see Ex. 3d). The former seems to be preferred when element e is to be omitted and the sequence d-f occurs in the formula. This tendency can scarcely be construed as a "rule," however. In fact, were this the only piece based on FormB to survive the natural sequence of elements as deduced from other appearances of the formula would be in doubt since only line A preserves this order.

As the end of the second verse of Domine Deus approaches the neumes classified as element a begin making appearances. The GAC' "intonation" was heard only at the beginning of the refrain and of the second verse. From a concentration on the pitch region between C' and F' the piece touches G and A of the intonation as if to substitute for a recall of the beginning of the refrain since only the last phrase ("Deus Israhel custodiat voluntatem") serves as refrain. In retrospect we realize that the unusual sequence of elements in lines D₁ and D₂ serves to set off the detachable conclusion of the refrain from the body of the refrain. Both in the whole refrain and in that part of it which appears at the ends of verses element d ("Deus") is preceded by e. This sequence, e-d, occurs nowhere else in the offertory. Moreover, the text of verse 2 was carefully chosen to lead without a break in thought to the refrain ("dicentes: Deus Israhel . . .").¹

The following three offertories in Table 3 (Factus est [R₁ f. 65'; R₂ f. 38'], Domine convertere [R₁ f. 68; R₂ f. 40] and Sperant [R₁ f. 68'; R₂ f. 40']) all occur in close proximity in the liturgical year suggesting that they were planned as a group. Factus is for Saturday in the fourth

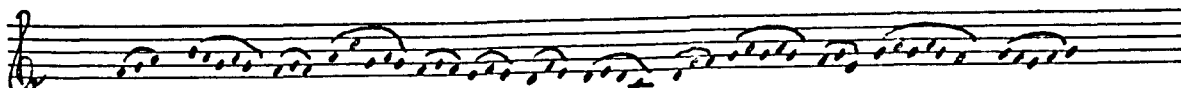
1. The Vulgate text of this passage (Paral. II 7:3) lacks the "dicentes." There we find "adoraverunt et laudaverunt Dominum quoniam bonus quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius." "Dicentes" should be understood in the original to introduce the refrain from psalm 135 (here underlined).

week of Lent and the two others are for the following Monday and Tuesday respectively. Domine in auxilium (R_1 f. 52'; R_2 f. 28) and Iustitie (R_1 f. 54'; R_2 f. 29') are practically contiguous: Friday in the second week of Lent and the third Sunday in Lent respectively.

Free material used with FormB

The "free" material not constituting part of FormB is very small in Factus est and its three verses. The cadence closing the refrain and also the first verse is the most frequently found tritus cadence (F $\bar{3}$; see p. 268). The melismas which open the second and third verses are already familiar from the second verse of Domine Deus in simplicitate. The usual pitch is the one found in the second verse of Factus (Ex. 9).

Example 9. Factus est, Vs. 2 (R_1 f. 65')



Because of its frequent appearances with FormB¹ this melisma could very well be considered an optional element of it.

The musical phrase set to the text "Factus est Dominus" in both refrain and verse 1 is not part of the formula.² The repetition of the words "Factus est Dominus firmamentum meum" entails a like repetition of the music associated with it. The texts of refrain and verse diverge after this point. The verse continues with the third verse of psalm 17 while the refrain

1. Beatus es is the only offertory in which the melisma is not associated with this formula. For a complete list of its occurrences see p. 165.

2. A flat sign in the Old-Roman manuscripts is of great rarity. The one found under the second neume of Factus is a later emendation, perhaps under the influence of the version preserved in R_2 (f. 38'). How long the flat is valid is open to question; perhaps every B in this first phrase should be flatted. Since the equivalence of FormB on F and C' is assumed it follows that the B (viz. F) in element d must be flatted every time it appears.

switches to verse 18 of the same psalm.¹

In Factus est we do not find FormB treated with the same freedom (and ingenuity) observed in Domine Deus in simplicitate. None of the elements come out of the conventional order. The sequence (b)-c-d-e-g predominates in the refrain and first verse. When f occurs in verses 2 and 3 (illos, convertar, subtus, disperdidisti) it is a replacement for e. These four passages are compared in Example 10.

Example 10. Factus est, from verses 2 and 3

[comprehen]dam illos
con- - - ver- - - tar
[disper - -] di - - - di - - - sti
sub - - - tus me

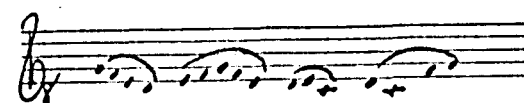
Verse 3 depends heavily on the embellished recitation tone (Ex. 7) placing the extra syllables between elements b and c instead of integrating them in additional repetitions of the formula.

Domine convertere (Ex. 11) is written out twice in R₁: once with two verses (Monday after the fifth Sunday of Lent, f. 68) and once without verses (Missa defunctorum, f. 140). Both versions are virtually identical. This offertory occurs in R₂ with verses omitted, as is the practice in that manuscript, only on the Lenten feria (f. 40). Aside from the first few notes practically the only break in the formula in the refrain is on the word "propter." After element d ("salvum") the sequence of elements is inter-

1. This repetition has no counterpart in the Gregorian Factus (Ott 25) which begins with the text of the Old-Roman verse. On text repetition in general see pp. 283 ff.

rupted for the insertion of a small amount (4 neumes) of free material (Ex. 12). This same phrase occurs not only later on in the first verse of this offertory ("furore tuo") but also in the refrain of Sperent (Ex. 12).

Example 12.



pro - - - - - pter (Domine convertere)
[der]in - - - - - quis (Sperent)

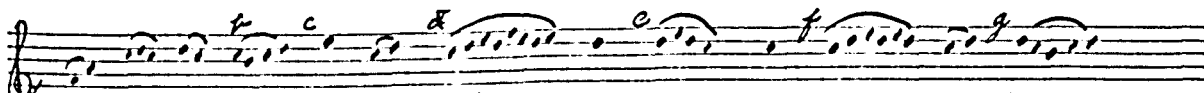
Connecting links which join this phrase to the formula are also freely invented.

Formula B and text

Verse 3 ("Miserere michi") of Domine convertere (Ex. 11) may serve as an example of a tendency to reflect the parallelism of the psalmodic text in the use of the formula. Two statements of it cover a half verse of the psalm. If the text is short the second statement is often abbreviated, beginning with element d and ending with element e.

Even divisions within the hemistich are respected. Example 13 from verse 2 of Benedictus qui venit (R_1 f. 95^r) is a setting of a text which falls naturally into three segments (the beginning of this verse, "Lapidem quem reprobaverunt edificantes," is freely composed) reflected in the three-fold repetition of FormB.

Example 13. Benedictus qui venit, Vs. 2 (R_1 f. 95^r)



hic fac-tus est in ca-pit an-gu - - - - - li
a Do-mi-no fac-tum est
et est mi - - - - - rabi-le in o - - - - - cu-[lis nostris.]

(f is part of the third statement only)

Example 11. Domine convertere (R₁ f. 68)

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A  Do-mi--ne con-ver-te-re et e---ri--pe

B  a-----ni--nam me-am

C  mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu-am.

D  ar-----gu-as me

E  ne----

F  que in fu-ro-re tu----o cor-ri---pi----as me.

G  *Al. 2* Mi-se-re-----re mi-hi Do-mi---ne

H  quo-ni-am in----fir-mus sum

I  se-na me Do-mi-ne quoniam con-tur---ba-ta sunt

J  om-ni-a os-sa me-a.

Examples of non-coincidence of text and formula are not rare, however. In the second verse of Benedicite gentes (R_1 f. 63) "terra" belongs grammatically with "adoret" but is set to element f and a displaced element e (Ex. 14).

Example 14. Benedicite gentes, Vs. 2 (R_1 f. 63)

R_2 In mul-ti-tu-di-nem vir-tu-tis tu - - - - - e
 menti-entur ti-bi i-ni-mi-ci tu--i [omnis] Ter--ra
 a-do - - - - - ret te
 et psal-lam ti-bi.

(Note the splitting of figure g between two syllables at "mentien-tur tibi" and "psallam tibi" subtly pointing up the similarity between element b and the variant of element g which closes the passage quoted in this example.)

The version of Domine convertere found in R_1 does not concord exactly with that in R_2 (f. 40). The latter is musically and textually "rounded": the opening phrase recurs slightly varied at the end of the refrain.¹ The beginning and end of the refrain are compared in Example 15.

Example 15. Domine convertere (R_2 f. 40)

Do-mi--ne con-ver-te-re et e---ri--pe a---ni-mam me-am ...
 Do-mi--ne con-ver-te-re et e---ri---pe.

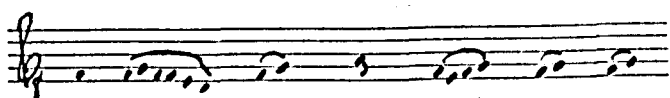
The final cadence on [e-]ripe is a frequently found tritus formula substituted for the passage at "meam" in line 1 of the above example which

1. This a b a form occurs also in Desiderium (R_1 f. 122'; R_2 f. 94) and Domine in auxilium (R_1 f. 52'; R_2 f. 28'). The Gregorian repertoire embraces two examples of this type: Domine in auxilium and De profundis. See pp. 289 ff.

never has a final cadential function.¹ Otherwise, the two lines are identical for the length of the comparison. The whole question of repetition of text and music in the offertories admits of no easy solution. In this offertory refrain the intent seems to have been the creation of a pleasing musical shape rather than the extending of the offertory to fit a long ceremonial.

Sperent in te (R_1 f. 68'; R_2 f. 40'), the third member of the group mentioned on page 161 as being almost entirely of repetitions of FormB, reinforces our observations about the treatment of the formula and "free" material associated with it. The variant of element d with the final note resupinus is preferred throughout. The musical phrase interpolated in Domine convertere (Ex. 11) occurs in the same relative position twice in the refrain of Sperent. Another passing relationship to Domine convertere, again at a comparable position in both offertories, is the short phrase in the middle of the refrain of Sperent which echoes the beginning of Domine convertere (or Domine in auxilium); it is quoted in Example 16.

Example 16.



Do-mi- - - - ne con-ver-te-re ... (Domine convertere)
 Do-mi- - - - ne qui [habitant.] (Sperent)
 Do-mi- - - - ne in au-xi- - - li- - - um ... (Domine in auxilium)

A good number of similar words with similar melodies exists in the Old-

1. The second appearance of Domine convertere in R_1 (f. 140) closes with the same formula on the word "tuam." Given the frequency of this cadence, no specific relationship need be assumed. The same cadence (F³) is appended to FormB in Sperent, Domine Deus in simplicitate, Iustitie, etc. The similarity with element f of FormB will be quickly seen.

Roman offertory repertoire but are to be found generally within the same piece.¹

Melismata in Form B

The melisma at the beginning of verse 2 ("Cognoscetur") of Sperent has already been cited for its multiple occurrences (p. 159 and Ex. 9). Table 4 lists every instance and the location of the melisma within the offertory or verse.

TABLE 4

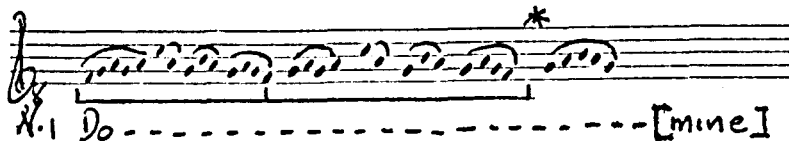
OFFERTORIES WITH INTRODUCTORY OR
CLOSING MELISMA

Offertory	Where found
Angelus Domini	beginning of Vs. 1
Beatus es	end of refrain
Desiderium	beginning of Vs. 1 refrain before repetition of "desiderium"
Domine convertere	beginning of Vs. 2
Domine Deus in simplicitate	beginning of Vs. 2
Domine in auxilium	refrain before repetition of "Domine in auxilium"
	beginning of Vs. 1
	end of Vs. 1
	beginning of Vs. 2
	end of Vs. 2
Factus est	beginning of Vs. 1 beginning of Vs. 2 (a second higher)
Gloria et honore	beginning of Vs. 2
In conspectu	beginning of Vs. 1 beginning of Vs. 2
In virtute	beginning of Vs. 1 end of Vs. 1
Iustitie	beginning of Vs. 1 end of Vs. 1 end of Vs. 2
Sperent	beginning of Vs. 2

1. See p. 209, n. 1-210.

Some of these same offertories share yet another "wandering melisma"-- to adopt a term of Peter Wagner.¹ Its ending is subject to alteration but the melodic contour is fairly consistent as far as (*) in Example 17.

Example 17. Domine convertere, Vs. 1 (R₁ f. 68)



The internal repeat (bracketed) is not to be found every time the phrase occurs and there are about as many variants of the conclusion as there are occurrences of the formula. The following offertories from Table 4 contain this melisma:

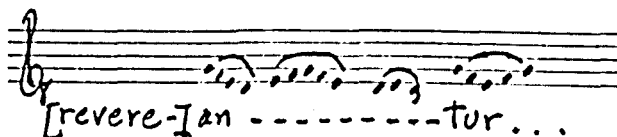
Desiderium (R₁ f. 122'; R₂ f. 94--end of refrain);² Domine convertere (R₁ f. 68--beginning of Vs. 1; R₂ f. 40--end of refrain); Gloria et honore (R₁ f. 16'--beginning of Vs. 1); In virtute (R₁ f. 15'; R₂ f. 93'--end of refrain).

Not included in Table 4 but containing this melisma are:

Benedictus es . . . in labiis (R₁ f. 38'--beginning of Vs. 1); Letamini (R₁ f. 28'--beginning of Vss. 1 and 2)

Considering the long melisma of Example 9 and the shorter interpolation quoted in Example 12 as adjunct elements of FormB, Domine in auxilium (R₁ f. 52'; R₂ f. 28) can be analyzed in its entirety within the framework of this formula. The long melisma is used five times: three times cadentially and two times as an introductory flourish (Table 4). The shorter melisma is inserted at "revereantur" (Ex. 18).

Example 18. Domine in auxilium (R₁ f. 52'; R₂ f. 28)



1. III, 274. We use it in the loose sense of any coherent melodic unit, irrespective of its function (initial, medial, final), common to several offertories.

2. In this piece the melisma appears as a cadential extension (on "io) of "desiderium anime eius . . ." in the last a of an a b a design. See Note 1

Table 3 is not entirely typical. The procedures discussed thus far in this chapter apply with equal validity to offertories in which the text is only partially fitted to the formula.

Both Benedic anima mea (R₁ f. 47'; R₂ f. 24') and Laudate Dominum (R₁ f. 60; R₂ f. 34) have two verses based entirely on FormB. They may serve to illustrate a tendency of the verses to have more frequent recourse to element a, the "intonational" element of the formula. The first verse of Benedic (Ex. 20) is representative.¹

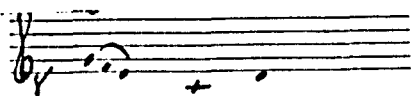
Example 20. Benedic anima mea, Vs. 1 (R₁ f. 47')

Ni Qui propi-ti-a-tur om-ni-bus in-qui-ta-ti-bus tu-is
 et re - - - - di-met
 de-mi-te-ri-tu-vi-ta tu-a
 qui co-ro-nat te
 in mi-se-ra-ti-o-ne et mi-se-ri-cor-di-a.

Not infrequently the initial notes (C and D in this example) are omitted, the formula then beginning with a torculus on its "reciting" tone. The repeated Ds ("Qui propitiatur") are prosthetic by function as is the music in the last line to "in miseratione." Usually the clivis \overline{GF} is a climacus \overline{GFE} in this position as Example 21 shows.

1. Comparable examples may be found in the verses of Laudate (R₁ f. 90); Benedicite gentes (R₁ f. 63), Reges Tharsis (R₁ f. 21'); In die solemnitate (R₁ f. 93) and Iubilato Deo omnis (R₁ f. 24).

Example 21.



cu--sto-di-[entibus] (Benedic: N.2)
 et ex-ul-[tavit] (Benedicite: N.3)
 et vol-tus (Immitet: N.3)
 qlo--ri--am (Domine Deus in simpl.: N.2)

A complete listing of all the variants to be found associated with element a would require a large number of musical examples since the greatest variety reigns here. Most of the basic forms have already been quoted (Exx. 3, 20, 21) and the ingenuity of their use may be studied in Appendix B which gives the complete listing (text and music) of all occurrences of FormB in the Old-Roman offertories.

FormB in a single verse

In 9 of the offertories FormB is confined to a single verse.¹ In most of these cases all (or virtually all) of the verse is set to material from the formula according to the methods discussed in this chapter. How can we account for a verse set only partially to FormB? Or, considered from another direction, why in the midst of a freely composed verse is there recourse to a ready-made pattern? The answer may be hidden far back in the improvisational origins of Old-Roman chant and the continued reliance on an oral tradition.² A certain series of pitches may have led the singer

1. Benedictus qui venit (Vs. 2; R₁ f. 95^o); Penum est (Vs. 3; R₁ f. 35); Constitues (Vs. 3; f. 115^o); Immitet (Vs. 3; R₁ f. 46^o); Intende (Vs. 2; R₁ f. 58^o); In te (Vs. 2; R₁ 44^o); Iubilato Deo omnis (Vs. 2; R₁ f. 24); Lauda anima (Vs. 2; R₁ f. 98^o) and Populum (Vs. 2; R₁ f. 64^o). In one of these, Populum, the formula makes one appearance in another verse.

2. Paul F. Cutter, "The Old-Roman Chant Tradition: Oral or Written?" JAMS, XX (1967), 167-81.

from force of habit into the initial notes of the formula. Because of the relatively small number of such cases it is not possible to draw any general conclusions about Old-Roman procedures in this regard.

In five cases, however, FormB introduced after the beginning of the verse is preceded by a characteristic phrase (Ex. 22) which leads directly to element a of the formula.

Example 22.



The above phrase is used both as a verse cadence and as an internal cadence. About one-third of its appearances in this latter position can be accounted for by the function under discussion here. The offertory verses in which Example 22 introduces FormB are:

Benedictus qui venit (Vs. 2; R₁ f. 95'); Intende (Vs. 2; R₁ f. 58');
Mirabilis (Vss. 1 and 2; R₁ f. 104); Portas (Vs. 1; R₁ f. 91)

Most interesting of these are the two verses from Mirabilis Deus (Exx. 23 and 24) not only with respect to the formula but also with regard to the melody (not part of the formula) to which the first half of each verse is set.

Considering first FormB in each of these verses, we find a twofold repetition. Since the second hemistich of the second verse has two syllables more than the corresponding hemistich of the first verse (18 versus 16) the repetition in the second verse extends back to element a (line 4 of text in Ex. 23).

Example 23. Mirabilis Deus, Vss. 1 and 2 (R₁ f. 104)

N.1 ... ut fu-gi-ant qui o-de-runt e-um a

N.2 ... ex-ul-ent in con-spectu De-i ius-ti-ti-a. (18)

The setting very carefully connects those words which constitute a grammatical unit. The word "a" at the end of line 1 should probably be analyzed as element b; it was placed under g to suggest a possible derivation from the division of that element.

Example 24 compares the earlier portion of both verses with melodic relationships marked. The opening phrases, "Exurgat Deus" and "Pereant peccatores," scarcely need comment. The melisma on the final syllable of "Deus" is reduced in verse 2. All four of the bracketed sections¹ are interrelated both in general contour (the opening leap of a fourth and gradual descent through the same interval) and in individual melodic shapes (the pressus on C', the importance of C' and A, the phrase pointed out in Ex. 22). The similarity of the words "dissipentur" and "epulentur" must have suggested similar treatment but the additional word "iusti" leads to an extension around the note A. Displayed another way the phrase appears as in Example 25. Emphasis is drawn away from the C'-G descent to less directed motion centered on A. This technique is a characteristic one in Old-Roman chant and is at work in the other bracketed passages and also at the beginnings of both verses.

1. Similar brackets indicate the closest relationship.

Example 24. ... In libro, Vss. 1 and 2 (R1 f. 104)

M.1 Ex-ur-gat De-us et dis-si-pen-tur
 M.2 Pe-re-ant pec-ca-to-res a fa-ci-e De-i in-sti-e-pu-len-tur

Example 25. Virebilia Dore, Vss. 1 and 2 (R1 f. 104)

st dis-si-pen-tur
 in-sti-e-pu-len-tur

Example 27. In virtute, Vs. (R1 f. 151)

M. [Utam petiit] et tri-bu-i-st e-i

Example 25. In virtute (R1 f. 151; R2 f. 931)

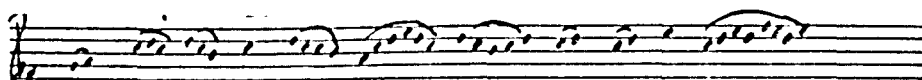
In-vir-tu-te tu-a [Domine] [et] in-ve-hi-men-ter
 ex-til-ita-vit ve-hi-men-ter

Verses partially set to FormB

Analysis of a formula like the present one is not a complex matter once its constituent elements have been revealed and their combination observed in a number of cases. When appearances of the formula are sporadic or surrounded by other material, as in the offertories at the bottom of Table 3, it becomes more difficult to reduce the result to simple explanation. The connecting links cannot be readily integrated or satisfactorily explained. In Example 26 (In virtute [R_1 f. 15'; R_2 f. 93']) the free material is indicated by brackets.

FormB occurs once also in the (single) verse of In virtute; this time it is preceded by the long melisma associated with the formula (see Ex. 9). Example 27 quotes the single statement of the formula. The remainder is set to two appearances of the long melisma, the first time slightly altered.¹ This verse was obviously planned around FormB and its ancillary constituents. Most of the incidental appearances of the formula can be explained (as to proximate cause) in the same manner as was Mirabilis: certain pitch sequences in freely composed material led the singer out of habit into the formula. One cadential "cue" has already been mentioned (Ex. 22).² In similar fashion, Erit nobis (R_1 f. 94; R_2 f. 57') contains an instance of the pitch sequence of element *g* running immediately into FormB. The beginning of the third verse of Immitet (R_1 f. 46') makes a reference to elements *a* and *g* before proceeding to FormB (Ex. 28).

Example 28. Immitet, Vs. 3 (R_1 f. 46')



A.3 Ac-ce-di-te ad e---um et il-lu-mi---[namini]

1. Only the last was noted in Table 4.

2. Related to this technique is the appearance of FormB in Desiderium (R_1 f. 122'; R_2 f. 94') after a phrase like Ex. 12 ending AGC'D'.

(The music to the first two words may also be considered an extended intonation.)

Thus, if FormB fills out only part of a refrain or (more likely) a verse the reason for its insertion can usually be determined. The occurrence of a key phrase or neume suggested in some way the familiar formula. Whether or not these passages had music proper to them which has been supplanted by FormB cannot be ascertained. R_1 is the only source available which contains the verses and it is in the verses that this situation usually arises.¹ Appendix B provides in the sequence of the liturgical year a complete listing of all occurrences of FormB complete with text and music.

Characteristics of Formula A

The torculus formula (Ex. 1) differs from FormB in that it is shorter (4 elements instead of 7) and emphasizes the reciting element (b) to a greater extent. The podatus associated with element b of FormB does not have the independence of the b element in this formula nor is it used in a reciting function so frequently. As with FormB this formula is found at two pitches: E-F and B-C'. Most of the melodic motion centers around the third D-F (A-C' at the higher pitch). The version of FormA given in Example 29 includes a variant of element d not given in Example 1.

Example 29.



The first note in parenthesis in element d is frequently encountered; the

1. The verses in Phillipps 16069, an Old-Roman Gradual, are either reduced in number or entirely missing. I was unable to consult the text of this manuscript in Domenico Giorgi, De liturgia Romani Pontificis IV, to discover whether or not the verses under discussion do, in fact, exist in the Phillipps manuscript.

second note in parenthesis is found less often. FormA is more rigidly applied than FormB is. Rearrangement of elements is very rare and repetition of any element except element b is non-existent. Likewise, fewer deviations in the form of added notes are to be found interpolated between elements of the formula. The following chart summarizes the sequence of elements as deduced from the formula's appearances in thirty-one offertories.

a → b

b → d, c (less frequent), free material

c → d, cadential pattern, free material

d → a, free material, d-c is much rarer;¹ there is a single case of d-b²

(The arrow signifies "may proceed to.")

A complete list of all offertories with at least one statement of FormA (Table 5) shows that this formula appears far more frequently in the verses than it does in the refrains.³ Within the three categories of this Table no attempt has been made to rank pieces according to the number of repetitions of the formula. In category A Scapulis (R₁ f. 43) and Domine exaudi (R₁ f. 78') are the only offertories with an entire verse based on FormA. Only four items in category B have the formula in both refrain and verses. These are listed first within the category. Category C might be regarded as a subdivision of category B.

1. To be found in verse 1 of Intonuit (R₁ f. 89); verse of of Confitebuntur (R₁ f. 100') and at the ends of verses 1 and 2 of Repleti (R₁ f. 103'). It occurs twice in verse 2 of Perfice.

2. In the offertory Tui sunt (R₁ f. 14; R₂ f. 8') at the words "iustitiam et."

3. One of the offertories listed, Lauda anima, is found in Table 3 as well. Verse 2 passes from FormA to FormB thus:

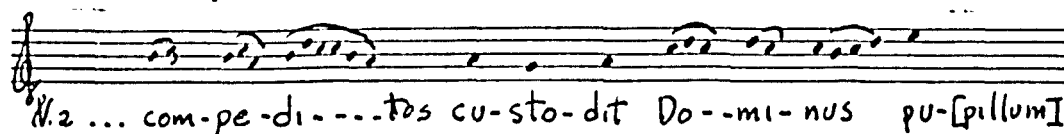
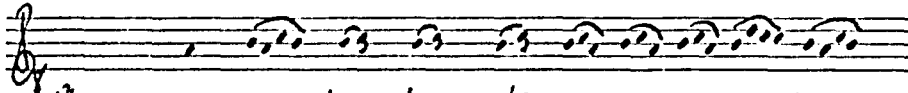


TABLE 5
OFFERTORIES WITH FORMULA A

Offertory	Where found	Amount
A. Formula in one Verse or Refrain		
Confortamini Deus enim Tui sunt	Refrain and Vs. 1 Refrain Refrain	1 word in each 3 words 3 words and brief allusion in Vss.
Inveni Diffusa est Ave Maria Exaltabo te Scapulis suis Exaudi Deus Improperium Domine exaudi Confessio	Refrain Refrain Verse 1 Refrain Verse 1 Verse 1 Refrain Verse 1 Refrain	Few words 3 words 3 times 1 time Entire verse 2 times 1 time Entire verse 3 words
B. Formula in two or more Verses		
Justus Perfice Domine Deus salutis Miserere	Verses 1 and 2 Refrain, Vss. 1, 2 Verses 1 and 2 Verses 1 and 2	Extensive Extensive 1 time in each Vs. Vs. 1: beginning and end Vs. 2: entire
Domine fac mecum Expectans	Verses 1, 2, 3 Refrain, Vss. 1, 2, 3	Extensive Vs. 1: 4 times Vs. 2: 1 time Vs. 3: 2 times
Benedictus es . . . ne tradas Custodi Terra Intonuit Lauda anima	Verses 1 and 2 Verses 2 and 3 Verses 2 and 3 Verses 1 and 2 Verses 1 and 2	2 times in each Vs. 3 times in each Vs. Slight Extensive Vs. 1: 4 times Vs. 2: 1 time
Confitebuntur	Refrain, Vss. 1, 2	Refrain: 1 time Vss.: Extensive
Repleti	Refrain, Vss. 1, 2	Extensive
C. Formula in Refrain and one Verse		
Letentur Oratio mea	Refrain and Vs. 1 Refrain and Vs.	Slight 1 time in each

The most prominent aspect of the formula is the constant reiteration of element b in the manner of an embellished reciting tone as in Example 30.

Example 30. Benedictus es . . . ne tradas, Vs. 2 (R₁ f. 72)



N.2 ... con-fun-dan-tur et re-ve-re-an-tur

The second verse of the offertory Scapulis (R₁ f. 43) provides an example of moderate length which includes all the elements of the formula (Ex. 31).

Example 31. Scapulis, Vs. 2 (R₁ f. 43)

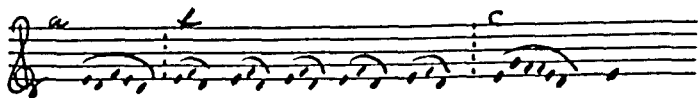


Quo-ni--am an--ge--lis su-----is
 man--da-vit de te ut
 cu-----sto-di-----am te
 in om-ni-bus vi-is tu--is .

In conjunction with this example we might note that element a does not function as an "intonation." When FormA begins abruptly at the first word of a verse element b introduces the formula.

Should the formula be preceded by free material there is a slight preference for beginning with element a but element b appears almost as frequently in this position. The following examples (Ex. 32) are representative:

Example 32.



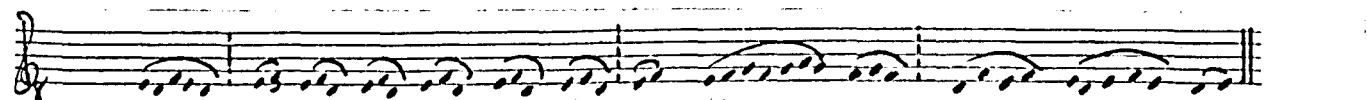
N.2... mi--se-ri-cor-di-am tu----am (Iustus)
 N.1 [super] ve-ni-et [in te] (Ave)
 N.1 no-tos me-os a [me] (Domine Deus salutis)
 N.1 tu Do-mi-ne De-us me--vs (Expectans)
 su-sti-nu-i qui si---mul (Improsperum)

The initial position in the schematic version of FormA (Ex. 29) was allocated to the neume marked a because it can occur as the initial element of the formula and also because the word to which it is usually sung fits best grammatically with what follows rather than with what precedes. Moreover, element d tends to have a cadential effect.

Cadences added to FormA

FormA cannot stand independently since it lacks the necessary cadential elements. If its appearance is surrounded by free material the approach to the cadence will not differ from that of other chants. If the formula extends to practically the end of the verse a (generally) brief cadential phrase is added. In a dozen offertories this cadential phrase is added not to element d but to element c as in Example 33.¹ This indirectly confirms that element d is cadential but its cadential effect is not strong enough to close a verse.

Example 33.



Ni... in...-ton-de de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem	me--am. (Perfice)
Ni... de...-lic-tum me-um co-ram me est	sem--per. (Miserere)
Ni... non est qui si-----mi-lis	^{DFEF} ti...-bi. (Expectans)
Ni.[mi]se-----ren-di	e-----us. (Domine exaudi)

When the sequence c + cadence occurs usually some form of the cadence in

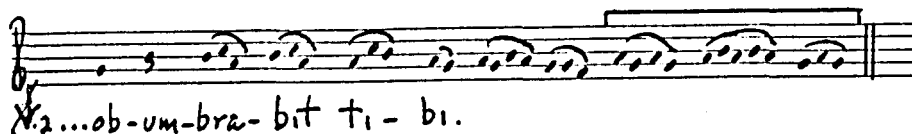
Example 33 is used. The beginning of this cadence (DFEF) remains the same

1. The offertories concerned are: Perfice (Vss. 1 and 2; R₁ f. 36'); Scapulis (Vs. 2; R₁ f. 43); Miserere (Vss. 1 and 2; R₁ f. 50'); Domine fac mecum (Vss. 1, 2, 3; R₁ f. 56'); Expectans (Vs. 1; R₁ f. 61'); Benedictus es . . . ne tradas (Vss. 1 and 2; R₁ f. 71'); Eripe Domine (Vss. 1 and 2; R₁ f. 76); Domine exaudi (Vs. 1; R₁ f. 78'); Intonuit (Vss. 1 and 2; R₁ f. 89); Lauda (Vs. 1; R₁ f. 98'); Confitebuntur (Vss. 1 and 2; R₁ f. 100'); Repleti (Vss. 1 and 2; R₁ f. 103').

with the final deflected toward D or E.

A comparatively few examples of more elaborate cadential melismas exist but they do not constitute a group characteristic. FormA occurs in Ave Maria (R_1 f. 34) only twice; one time in each verse. The second appearance is near the end of verse 2; a melisma is appended at this point (Ex. 34).

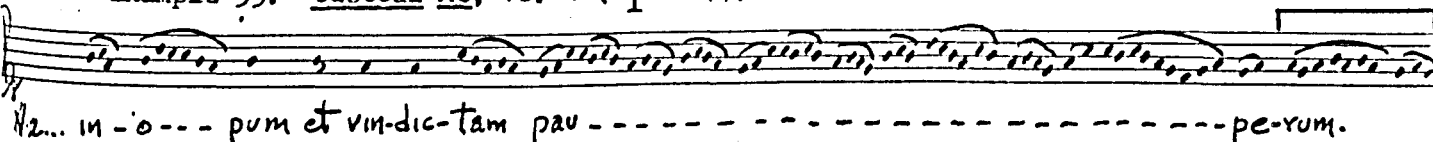
Example 34. Ave Maria, Vs. 2 (R_1 f. 34)



This melisma bears no relationship to the formula since it is found at the end of the preceding verse as well.¹

The situation in verses 2 and 3 of Custodi me (R_1 f. 77) and the same verses of Confirma (R_1 f. 107') is similar. The melisma which closes verses 2 and 3 of the former occurs in the first verse as well but slightly varied. It is preceded in verses 2 and 3 by element d of the formula. This part of the formula is given together with the melisma in Example 35.

Example 35. Custodi me, Vs. 2 (R_1 f. 77)



Note the similarity between the final two neumes (bracketed) and the conclusion of Example 34 above.² The entire melisma is found also at the end of verses 1 and 2 of Exulta satis (R_1 f. 9') without any relationship to FormA.

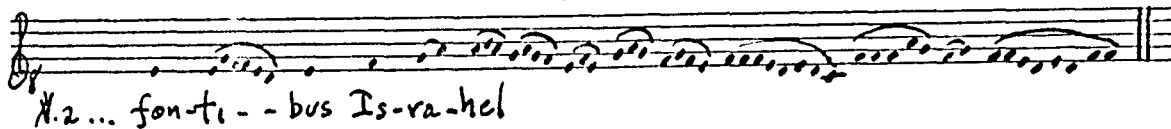
The same combination, element d + melisma, closes verses 2 and 3 (both with FormA) of Confirma (R_1 f. 107') as quoted in Example 36. These final neumes occur earlier, at the end of verse 1, but there the combination is

1. This kind of "rhyme" is not uncommon in the Old-Roman or Gregorian offertories. See pp. 231ff.

2. The same cadence closes verse 1 of Domine Deus salutis (R_1 f. 48') and verse 1 of Deus tu convertens (R_1 f. 2).

element c + cadence.

Example 36. Confirma, Vs. 2 (R₁ f. 107')

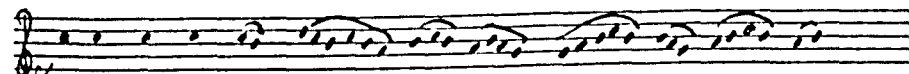


From the preceding examples it can be seen that there existed no specific repertoire of phrases associated with FormA as there was for FormB, phrases available for insertion at internal and cadential points to supplement the melodic material of the formula. Similar melismas closing successive verses is a general stylistic trait to be discussed later.

Other free material inserted in FormA

Three offertories have in common a rather extensive phrase inserted after element b and leading back to element a; they are Miserere (Vs. 1: R₁ f. 50'), Domine fac mecum (Vss. 1 and 2: R₁ f. 56'), and Benedictus es . . . ne tradas (Vss. 1 and 2: R₁ f. 71'). The phrase is rather rigidly applied by Old-Roman offertory standards: the melisma is always distributed among three syllables and preceded by a recitation on C'. In the first verse of Benedictus es . . . ne tradas the melisma occurs twice in succession. Example 37 compares all of the appearances of this phrase. All of the pieces mentioned in this paragraph are to be sung during Lent but at widely spaced intervals, being located in the second, third and fifth weeks.

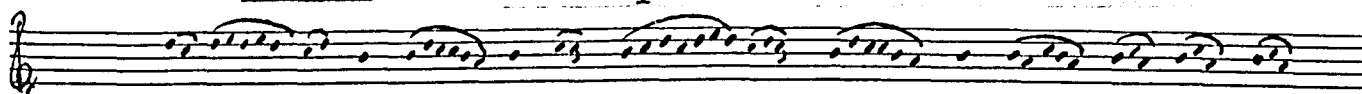
Example 37.



N.1 ... me-am e-go ag-----no--sco (Miserere)
 N.2 me-am ne ta-cu-----e--ris (Domine fac mecum)
 N.2 me lin-gua do-----lo--sa (Domine fac mecum)
 pactum et ta-be-----^{GAGA LA'U'IS}
 -sca-bam
 Do-----mi--ne (Benedictus es)
 N.2 in-----i--qui (Benedictus es)

A survey of the free material preceding the appearance of FormA leads to no conclusive results. No specific phrase or phrases can be said to have suggested the insertion of the formula at a certain point. The few similarities of melodic contour just preceding the entry of FormA seem to be mere coincidence. In one case, the verses of Intonuit (R₁ f. 89), an introductory melisma ends like element c then the formula begins with element d and continues c-d-a-b, etc. (Ex. 38).

Example 38. Intonuit, Vss. 1 and 2 (R₁ f. 89)



A. te Do-mi--ne vir-tus me---a Do---mi-ne
 //2]libera]tor me--us de gen-ti--bus..

The very fact that the formula occurs most often in the (soloists') verse and that it lends itself to expansion as readily as a psalm tone indicates that it was a valuable tool for impromptu use.

Appendix A contains a complete listing (words and music) of all appearances of FormA. To conserve space each line contains two statements of the formula.

CHAPTER VII

REPETITION OF MATERIAL WITHOUT A FORMULA

General considerations

A few offertories have already been discussed in virtually complete form in the preceding chapter on FormA and FormB. Continuing this study of the elusive Old-Roman principles of composition the present chapter analyzes cases of melodic repetition outside of the two formulae. Over one-fourth of the offertories (28) evince this type of repetition in the refrain and/or verses. Table 6 is a complete list of all offertories in which such repetition occurs. In over half of these the repetition is confined to a verse (or two verses) and excludes the refrain.

Presence of an offertory in Table 6 does not necessarily mean that the same phrase runs through all of the units (refrain, verses) noted in the right-hand columns. Precatus est (R_1 f. 51'; R_2 f. 27'), for instance, has paired repetitions within a single verse which are not the model for the other repetitions in this offertory. Melodic material is not passed from refrain to verse or from verse to verse in this case. Not included in this chapter but forming part of this topic are the twelve cases of text repetition which always involve repetition of music as well. This particular phenomenon, unique to the offertories, is treated in Chapter XII.

TABLE 6

OFFERTORIES WITH MELODIC REPETITION
NOT INVOLVING FORMULA A OR B

Offertory	Where found	Offertory	Where found
Angelus Domini	Refrain, Vss. 1 and 2	Improperium	Vss. 1, 2, 3
Ascendit Deus	Vss. 1 and 2	In te speravi	Vss. 1 and 2
Ave Maria	Refrain, Vss. 1 and 2	Iubilate .. univ.	Vss. 1 and 2
Beatus es	Refrain and Verse	Letamini	Vss. 1 and 2
Benedicam	Refrain, Vss. 1 and 2	Letentur	Vss. 1 and 2
Benedicite	Vss. 1 and 2	Levabo	Refrain, Vss. 1 and 2
Confitebor	Vss. 1 and 2	Meditabor	Refrain, Vs. 2
Confortamini	Refrain, Vss. 1 and 2	Mirabilis	Vss. 1 and 2
Deus Deus meus	Vss. 1 and 2	Portas celi	Refrain, Vs. 1
Deus enim	Refrain	Precatus est	Refrain, Vss. 1 and 2
Domine vivifica	Vs. 2	Sanctificavit	Vss. 2-7
Exulta satis	Vss. 1 and 2	Si ambulavero	Refrain, Vss. 1 and 2
Gressus meos	Refrain, Vss. 1 and 2	Super flumina	Vss. 2, 3, 4
Immitet	Refrain	Tui sunt	Vss. 1 and 2

Consideration of individual offertories

The offertory Angelus (R_1 f. 87; R_2 f. 54') exemplifies marvelously the Old-Roman predilection for working with a few motives, altering and recombining them in the subtlest ways. Most of this long offertory with two verses moves within the compass of a fourth (G-C'). There are two basic "melodies" from which virtually the entire offertory can be derived. The first of these furnishes the substance of the piece while the second (a long melisma) is used twice (in its entirety) in verso 1 and once, reduced to half its length, at the beginning of verse 2. Example 39 displays this material and indicates the derivation of the beginning of the melisma (line B) from the first "melody."

Example 39. Angelus (R_1 f. 87; R_2 f. 54')

ce - - - - - lo [cf. Ex. 40, B, and B2.]

The individual elements of Example 39 are not all used with the same frequency. Their order in line A of the example reflects a descending frequency of appearance; d is used only a limited number of times. Relationship to the original melody becomes looser as the offertory proceeds, being most remote, comparatively, in the second verse. Only three passages seem to be underivable from the material of Example 39: "sicut dixit" in the refrain (R_1 is not clear here--the reading in the example is from R_2 f. 54'), "ecce precedet" in verse 1 (based partially on fragments of FormB) and "videte quia ipse ego sum" from verse 2.

Example 40 is an attempt to illustrate the numerous melodic relationships within Angelus by aligning relevant passages. The three passages based on Example 39, line B are located on lines B_1 - B_2 , F_1 - F_2 , H-I. The opening phrase of verse 2, "Hiesus stetit," was adapted for the (single) verse of Beatus es (R_1 f. 117) which begins with the words "Hiesus dixit." These two verses have only this opening passage in common, however.

The amount of material reused in Ascendit Deus (R_1 f. 105') is considerably smaller but clearly intentional and placed at a strategic structural point. The last line of verse 1 is taken over to become the melody of verse 2 as displayed in Example 41.

Example 41. Ascendit Deus, Vss. 1 and 2 (R_1 f. 105')

iv-bi-la - - - - - te De--o in vo-ce ex-ul-ta-ti-o-nis.

Sub--ie-cit po--pulos no--bis et gen-tes sub pe-di-bus no-stris

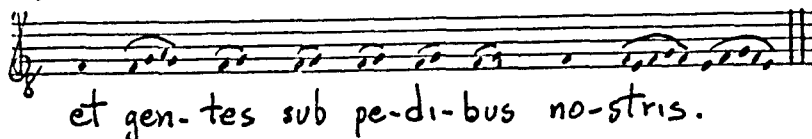
The neume over "populos" is an addition, its contour perhaps suggested by the similarity of the opening notes to the opening of FormA. Even within this limited scope the adaptation is an independent treatment of the model. The

Example 40. Angelus (R₁ f. 87)

A An-ge - - - - - lus Do - - - - mi - - - ni de - - -
 B₁ scen - - - - - dit de ce - - - - -
 B₂ - - - - - lo et
 C di - - - - - xit mu-li-e - - - - - ri - - - bus quem
 D que-ri - - - - - tis sur - -
 E re - - - - - [xit sicut dixit]
 F₁ al - - - - - le - - - - -
 F₂ - - - - - lu - - - - - ia.
 G N. 1 E-um - - - - - tes di-cite di-sci-pu-lis e - - - - -
 H N. 2 He-sus ste - - - - -
 I - - - - - tit in
 J me - - - di - - - o e - - - o-rum et di - - - - - xit
 K pax vo - - - - - bis [videte quia ipse ego sum.]

recitation "voce exultationis" could have been used for the extra syllables in verse 2 but, in fact, was not. Had it been, Example 42 would be the probable result.

Example 42.

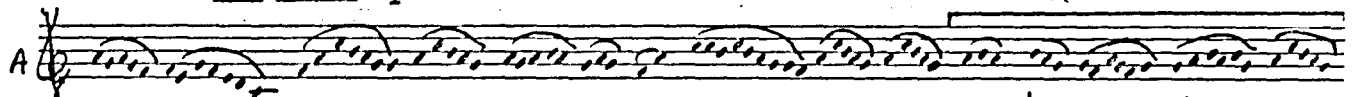


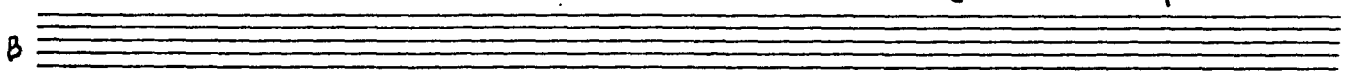
Instead, the syllables were spread out over the latter half of the phrase.

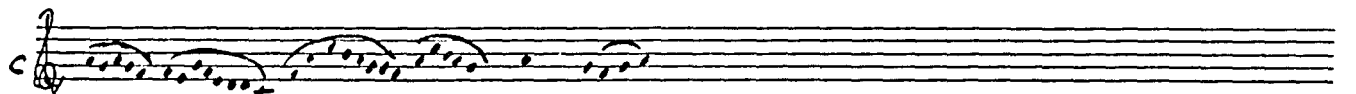
The interdependency of refrain and verse as well as the identity of the compositional techniques in both is clearly demonstrated in Ave Maria (R_1 f. 34; not in R_2). This is one of the offertories in which the final cadences are the same in both refrain and (2) verses. The final cadence is the only element of the model (i.e., refrain) present in verse 2 and, as in the offertory Angelus just discussed, the amount of material taken from the refrain breaks off with the last third of verse 1 (line D of Ex. 43). Of this new phrase at the end of verse 1 only the final melisma recurs elsewhere: at the end of verse 2. The technique here is not unlike that observed in Angelus. The melodic elements are larger and more complex than the individual neumes manipulated in Angelus. Instead of a neume the smallest unit is a short phrase: "Dominus tecum," "que virum," etc. Free material may be inserted ("Quomodo in me") but direct repetition of a phrase occurs only once ("gratia plena - Dominus tecum").

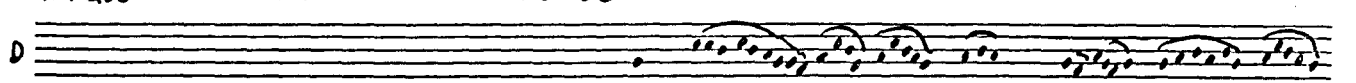
The entire offertory Beatus es (R_1 f. 117; R_2 f. 82') with its single verse is modelled after Angelus. It is not merely a contrafactum (to borrow a term from a later period in music history) and is all the more interesting in that one may here observe two treatments of the same material. One notices immediately that in Beatus es the melisma is more fully integrated with the other material (cf. Ex. 39), occurring at the beginning of both

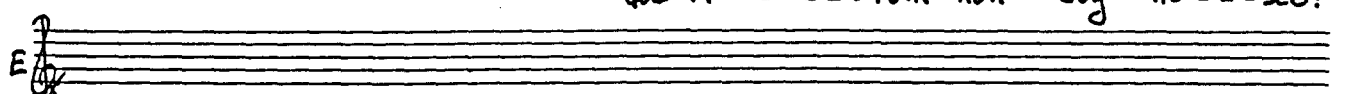
Example 43. Ave Maria (R₁ f. 34)

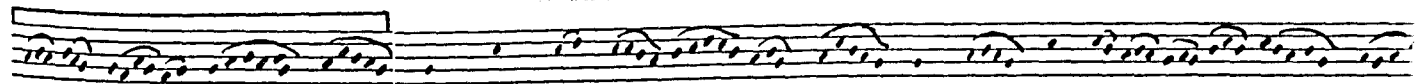
A  A - - - - - ve Mari - - - - - a gra-ti-a ple - na

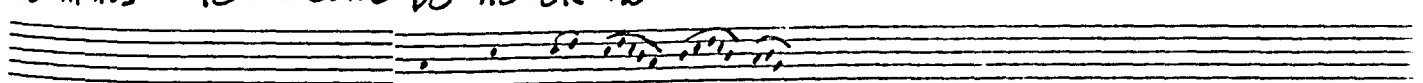
B 

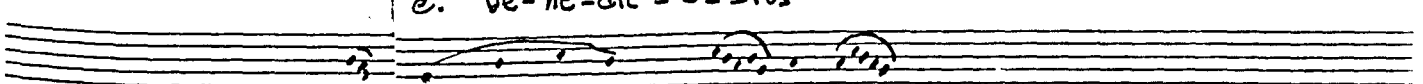
C  N. i Quo - - - - - mo-do

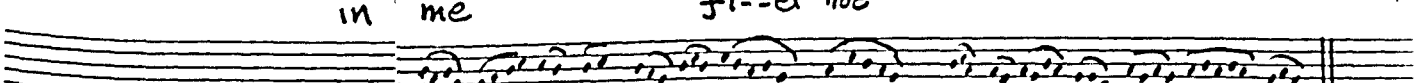
D  que vi - - - - - rum non cog - - - - - sco:

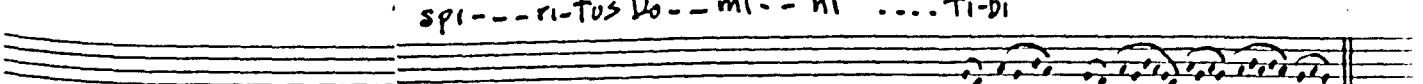
E  X. 2

 Do-mi-nus te - - cum be-ne-dic-ta tu in mu - li - e - - - - - ri - bus

 et be-ne-dic - - - - - tus

 in me fi - et hoc

 spi - - - - - ritus Do - - mi - ni . . . ti - bi

 . . . De - - - - -

refrain and verse and at the end of the refrain. Curiously, the central portion of the melisma is transposed a second lower (see brackets in Ex. 44) on its second and third appearances. Regarding the entire corpus of Old-Roman offertories, it often happens that similar words call forth similar musical phrases: "celo" (Angelus), "colis" (Beatus es), "discipulis eius" (Angelus), "discipulis suis" (Beatus es).

In Beatus es element c of Example 39 is omitted except insofar as it is the opening of the melisma quoted in that example.¹ Element d is represented twice: "sed pater meus qui." The core of this phrase keeps within the ambitus G-C' and opens with the GAC' gambit (element a of Ex. 39) which recurs so frequently. All other relationships should be clear from Example 44 (page 189).

The relationships involving reuse of melodic material in the refrain of Benedicam Dominum (R₁ f. 50; R₂ 26') are more allusive (Ex. 45). Some of the motives of this phrase are also contained in the more extensive repetitions in the (2) verses. A clear distinction seems to be made between the introductory material and the following motives to the words "te speravi ego." This latter group of motives is drawn upon to fill out most of verse 2. It is difficult to account for "in delectatione" in the second verse; the redundancy is found in none of the Psalters collated by Weber.² Most of them have "delectationes" with the significant exception of a twelfth-century psalter from the Vatican basilica (Basilic. D. 156; Weber's manuscript X).³

1. An exception to this may be "quia" and the last two neumes of "est," both of which contain motives from c. Cf. Ex. 44.

2. Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins (Vatican City, 1953).

3. The ninth-century psalterium triplex from Reichenau (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. XXXVIII; Weber's manuscript K) has "et delectatione."

Example 44. Beatus es. (R₁ f. 117)

A Be-a--tus es Sy--mon Pe--tre qui--a

B ca--ro et

C san--guis [non revelavit] ti--bi

D ast in ce--lis.

E A. Hie--sus di--xit

Example 45. Benedicam Dominum (R₁ f. 50; R₂ f. 26¹)

...[tri-]bu--it in-tel-lec--tum pro-vi-de--bam

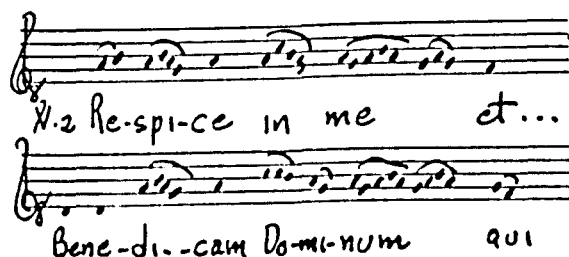
De--um in con-spec-tu me-o sem--per...

It is plausible that the scribe read the "in" of "in dextera" and then accidentally lost his place, thus incorrectly repeating a word and its music (cf. lines E₁ and E₂ of Ex. 46).

The remainder of verse 1 (about half) of Benedicam Dominum (omitted in Ex. 46) is consistent in style with that portion which is quoted but bears only an insignificant motivic resemblance to it in contrast to the thoroughgoing motivic relationships of verse 2. Not the least of these is the reuse at the end of verse 2 of a phrase which appeared earlier in verses 1 and 2 (cf. line F with lines A and B).¹

The motives repeated throughout the refrain and first verse of Benedicite gentes (R₁ f. 63; R₂ f. 36') are fairly common-coin protus formulae but repeated within a definite framework. Verse 1 ends with a melisma borrowed for the end of verse 2 (lines K and N of Ex. 47). Verse 2 also acts as a bridge to the third verse (based entirely on FormA) by gradually introducing various elements of this formula. The refrain with its constant reiterations within the D-F nucleus is every bit as tightly organized as verse 3. The pressus on F and the restricted compass contribute to the sense of stasis and immobility broken only by the slight interruption "qui posuit." The "alleluia" includes several pressus and moves within the D-F ambitus as well.

1. It is interesting to note that the second verse of the offertory Illumina (R₁ f. 49), which is sung the day before Benedicam in the liturgical year, anticipates the beginning of the latter.




Example 46. Benedicem Dominum, Vers. 1 and 2 (R₁ f. 50)

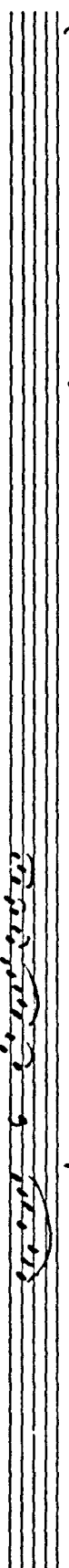
A



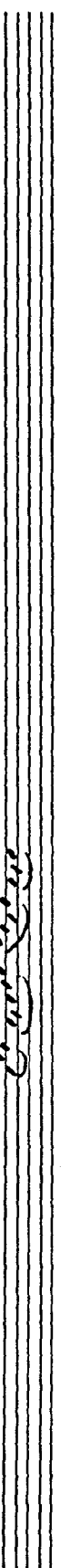
B



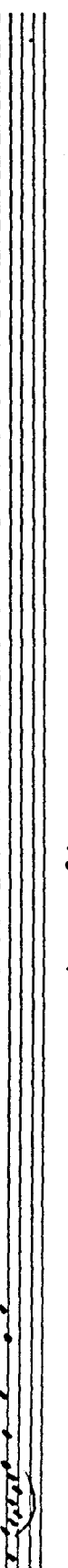
C




D



E₁



E₂



F



Example 47. Benedicite gentes (R₁ f. 63)

A ... Do--mi-num De--um no---strum

B et ob-au-di--te vo-ci lau-dis e---ius [qui posuit animam meam
ad vitam]

C et non de-----dit

D com-mo-----ve-ri pe-des me-os

E be-ne-dic-tus Do--mi--nus

F qui non a-----nto-----vit

G de-pre-ca-ti-o---nem me--am et

H mi-se-ri-cordi-am su-am a me.

I 1. Tu-bi-la-te De--o om-nis [terra]

J psal-mun-di-----ci---te....

K da-te glo-----ri---am lau-----dis e-ius

L 2. In mul-ti-tu-di-nem vir-tu-tis tu-e

M men-ti-en-tur ti-bi in-mi-ni-ci tu-i [omnis terra]

N a-do---ret te [et psallam tibi] et-----tu-si-me

Verses 1 and 2 of Confitebor Domino are not based on multiple repetitions of short phrases but on a single continuous melody. Verse 1 is the longer of the two but most of the music to this "extra" text derives from repetitions of elements of the melody heard once only in verse 2. That the adaptation of the second verse (assuming that verse 1 is the model melody) is not slavish may be seen in Example 48 (p. 198). It would have been a simple matter to fit "confundantur servus tuus leta-[bitur]" to the melody of "Deus meus salvum me fac propter." The syllable count agrees exactly. Instead, we have an extended preparation (anticipating the music of "salvum" in verse 1) for the melisma on "letabitur," the last neume of which is divided: $\widehat{AB} \widehat{AG}$. Despite other subtleties in the shape of individual neumes the melodic correspondence between the two verses is quite close. The end of the first hemistich of each verse ("tuam"-"letabitur") is a point of close agreement as is the beginning of the second hemistich.

The refrain and both verses of Confortamini (R_1 f. 5'; R_2 f. 3') are linked by common melodic motifs, the chief of which is given in Example 49.

Example 49. Confortamini (R_1 f. 5'; R_2 f. 3')



(Cf. also "surdorum audient," "concipiet" and "pariet filium.")

The end of the refrain and that part of the first verse from "aures" to "claudus" are quite closely related. The cadence of the first verse does not agree with that of the refrain but rather with the close of the second verse. The beginnings of the verses seem independent of each other.

Both verses of Deus Deus meus (R_1 f. 98) are fitted rather rigidly to a model melody repeated three times for the first verse and twice for the second (Ex. 50). Any syllables which are not allocated neumes are set

Example 48. Confitebor Domino, Vss. 1 and 2 (R₁ f. 102')

1a *V.1* Ad-ju-va me Do-mi-ne De-us me-us

2a *V.2* Qui in-sur-gunt in me con-fun-dan-tur ser-vus tu-us le - - - - - ta - - - - -

1c sal-vum me fac

1c prop-ter mi-se-ri-cor-di-am

1d tu - - - am ut sci-ant qui-a ma-nus tu - - - a et tu Do - - - mi-ne fe-ci-sti e-am.

2d bi - - - - tur in-du-an-tur qui de-tra-he - - - bant mi-chi re-ve - - - ren - - - ti-a

to single notes. The interior of the model melody is the most flexible part while the beginning and end remain constant. The interior contains only a single neume (twice omitted) and brief syllabic passages. The adaptation is not strikingly inventive but the sense of the text is respected, each completion of the pattern coinciding with the completion of a grammatical unit.

The repetition of melodic motifs which generates the refrain of Deus enim (R_1 f. 12'; R_2 f. 7') is treated with considerable finesse. Motifs are varied and transformed. Subtle allusion replaces overt statement yet a certain fixed succession of melodic contours seems to be in evidence. The underlying structure is shown in Example 51. A better example could hardly be chosen to illustrate the sophisticated musical thought which insures the coherence of the Old-Roman melodic line. The relationships brought out by the alignment of Example 51 obviate any need for comment. One might point out, however, the resemblance between lines A and B, C and E, D and F. Were we to symbolize this differently the result would be: a a b c b c or, more simply, a a b.

In the second verse of the offertory Domine vivifica (R_1 f. 41) a brief passage at the end of the first hemistich (line A) is subjected to two varied repetitions to provide music for the remainder of the text in that verse (Ex. 52). As observed on a previous occasion, the repetition farthest from the first statement tends to deviate from it the most. Identity is restored at each cadence, the final one deflected to G.

An allusive treatment of motives may also be found in the second verse of Exulta satis (R_1 f. 9').¹ The most prominent idea as it first appears

1. The final melisma of both verses is discussed on p. 218.

Example 50. Deus Deus meus, Vss. 1 and 2 (R₁ f. 98)

V.1 Si-ti-vit in te a-ni-mam me-am quam mul-ti-plici-ter et ca-ro me-a
 et vi-de-rem vir-tu-tem tu-am
 et glo-ri-am tu-am.

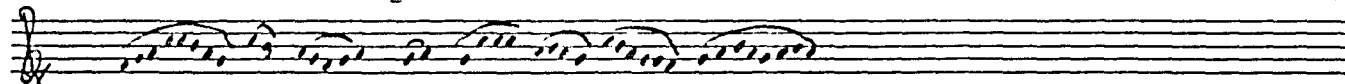
V.2 In ma-tu-ti-nis me-di-ta-bor in te qui-a factus es ad-iu-tor me-us
 et in ve-la-men-to a-la-rum tu-a-rum ex-ul-ta-bor.

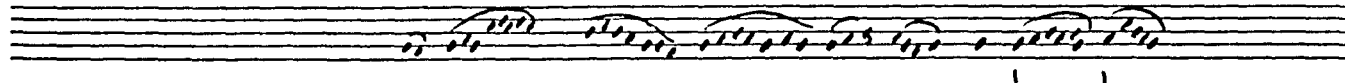
Example 54. Exulta satis, vss. 1 and 2 (R₁ f. 91)

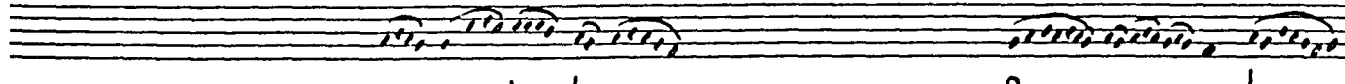
V.1 ... ma-re et a flu-mi-ne us-que ad ter-mi-nos or-bis...

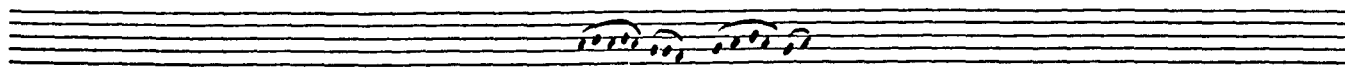
V.2 ... ad te
 il-lus di-em omnes gen-tes
 e-ruunt ti-bi in...

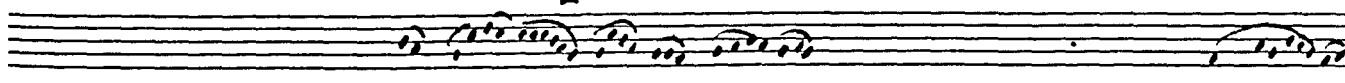
Example 51. Deus enim (R₁ f. 12ⁱ; R₂ f. 7ⁱ)

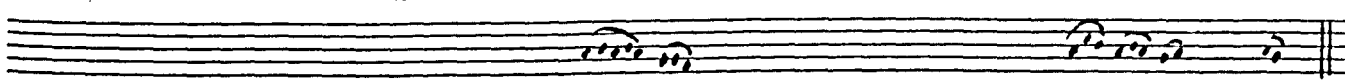
A  ... or - - - - - bem ter-re

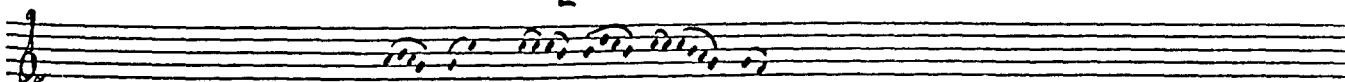
B  qui non com-mo-ve-bi - - tur

C  se - - - des tu-a De - - us ex tunc

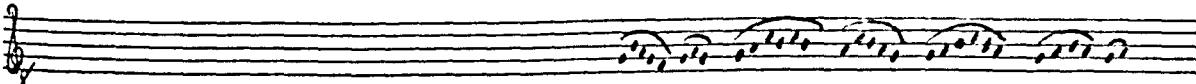
D  [tunc]

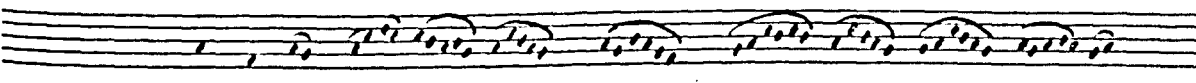
E  a se-cu-lo tu

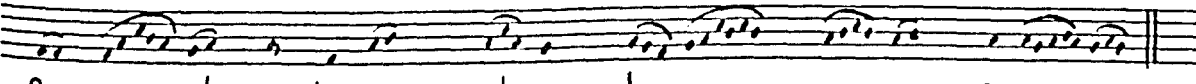
F  [tu] es.

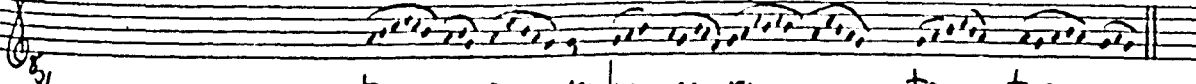
G  ... for - - - - ti - tu - di - - nem ...

Example 52. Domine vivifica (R₁ f. 41)

A  V.2 man-da-ta tu - - a

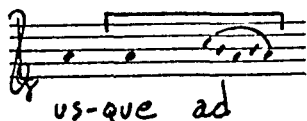
B  et vo-lun-ta-ri--a o - - - ris tu - - i

C  fac mi - - chi in be-ne - - - pla-ci - - to Do-mi--ne.

D  N.1 ... tu - - - o verbum ve-ri - - - - ta - - - tis.

in verse 1 is quoted in Example 53.

Example 53. Exulta satis, Verse 1 (R₁ f. 9')



References to this motive in verse 2 have been indicated with vertical brackets in Example 54; the relationship between "gentes" and "erunt" is indicated by horizontal brackets. (See p. 196.)

The only offertory in which the refrain is varied at its repeat after one of the verses in Gressus meus (R₁ f. 59-59'). After verse 1 R₁ gives the cue "Ut" for the refrain "ut non dominantur omni iniustitia Domine" but after verse 2 the refrain is written out in full with an expanded melisma (Ex. 55; p. 199). In addition, the beginnings of the refrain and of verse 2 are identical ("Gressus meus dirige Domine secun[dum]" - "Cognovi Domine quia equitas") as in Example 56.

A threefold repetition of a long phrase constitutes the basic structural feature of the refrain of the offertory Immitet (R₁ f. 46'; R₂ f. 24). The third statement contains only a few motives from the first statement and closes with a long, independent melisma. Each repetition is a reduction of the material originally presented; each time more and more neumes are subtracted, the difference between the second and third repetitions being the most striking. One might hesitate to relate these two repetitions were it not for the precedent of statements one and two.

Verses 1, 2 and 3 of Improperium (R₁ f. 46) share common material. As usual, the third verse exhibits the most tenuous connection with the verses preceding it. The text of verse 2 is longer than that of verse 1 but instead of a reciting tone we find in that verse a fourfold repetition of the central passage of verse 1 as displayed in Example 57 (p. 199). The numerous

Example 55. Gressus meos (R₁ f. 59; R₂ f. 33¹)

A ... ut non do-mi-nen-tur om-ni in iu-sti-ti-a Do-mi---ne.

B ... ut non do-mi-nen-tur om-nis in iu-sti-ti-a Do-mi---ne.

Example 56. Gressus meos (R₁ f. 59)

Gres-sus me-os di-ri-ge Do-mi-ne se--cun---[dum]

N.2 Cox - - - - - no - - - - - vi Do--mi-ne qui e-qui-tas ...

Example 57. Improberium, Vss. 1 and 2 (R₁ f. 46)

A V.1 ... in-tra-ve---runt a---que

B N.2 ... ex-er-ce - - - - - ban - tur

C qui se-de - - - - - bant in por- - - - ta

D et in me psal - - - le - - - bant

E

repetitions with their concomitant variations have not obscured the original content of the passage (cf. lines A and E). The relationships between these two verses and verse 3 is considerably more oblique. Reference is made to several motives heard in the earlier verses but the connection cannot be called close.

In te speravi (R_1 f. 44'; R_2 f. 22') has already been studied from the standpoint of the similarity of the final melisma + cadence in its (2) verses.¹ In the first verse this final melisma occurs twice, giving the verse an a b b design. Its appearance at the end of verse 2 contains a few minor variants.

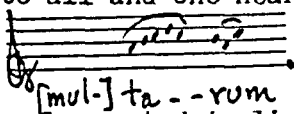
One of the most elaborate and musically complex interrelationships links together the two verses of Iubilate Deo universa (R_1 f. 22').² Each verse has a text repetition within it but each statement is treated differently. In verse 1 beginning and end of the phrase are elaborated melodically (line B of Ex. 58). The melisma on the second "mca" was anticipated in the refrain: "narrabo vobis." The remainder of the verse consists principally of a long melisma ("labia").

Verse 2 of Iubilate Deo universa contains considerably more text. Melodically it has points of contact with verse 1; the melodic elaborations of the initial phrase of this verse (line D of Ex. 59 on p. 202) are exactly like those in verse 1 even though there are some alterations vis-à-vis the first verse. Example 59 is a complete transcription of verse 2. The closing melisma (lines F and G) is also found at the end of verse 1; its main structural features are indicated by alignment and brackets. The large-scale

1. Verse 2 is based on FormA.

2. Repetitions within the closing melisma have been indicated by brackets and alignment in lines F and G of Ex. 59. Cf. also pp. 218-20.

form is a a b b'. Within the first b the lower brackets mark the symmetrical arrangement of individual neumes. On a yet smaller level of organization the many descending three-note groups pervade the entire verse melody and link all of its phrases.

The requirements of text setting in verse 2 of Letamini (R₁ f. 28) led to a solution similar to that found in Improperium (R₁ f. 75), verse 2: a fourfold repetition of the melodic phrase which carries most of the text. Both verses close with the same formula which is itself a melodic elaboration of the phrase which carries most of the text. (See Example 60 on page 205.) A close relationship between lines B and F₁₋₂ on one hand and that part of the phrase subject to repetition may be noted. The C'D'C'EA contour is common to all and one hears also references to the final AC'B AC'BA in this figure:  Otherwise, the adaptation of the text to the phrase as presented in line A is fairly straightforward.

Although the offertory Latentur celi (R₁ f. 11'; R₂ f. 7) was listed as making use of FormA, reuse of other material justifies its inclusion in this discussion. The initial words of both verses ("Cantate Domino") are the same and, not unexpectedly, are set to the same music (Ex. 61). Verse 2 has, however, an excess of 13 syllables over the number in verse 1. Some of these are set to the torculus figure of FormA but some accommodation to the extra syllables involves a brief phrase repetition earlier in the verse (see brackets in Ex. 61). The descending motion on "benedicite" is often associated with FormA. A number of elements (including some from FormA) in the verses had already been anticipated in the refrain which is a kind of a b a. In Example 62 (p. 202) the b section has been omitted and the a sections aligned vertically for comparison. Asterisks (*) indicate points of similarity with the verses.

Example 58. Iubilato Deo universa, Vs. 1 (R₁ f. 22¹)

A *N.1* Red - - - - - dam ti - - - - bi vo - - - - ta me - - - - a ...

B red - - - - - dam ti - - - - bi vo - - - - ta me - - - - a ...

Example 60. Letamini, Vss. 1 and 2 (R₁ f. 28)

A *N.1* Be-a - - - - - ti quo-rum re-mis-se sunt i-ni-qui-ta-tes

B et quo-rum tec - - - - - ta sunt pec-ca - - - - - ta.

C *N.2* Pro hac o - - - - - ra - - - - - bit ad te om-nis sanc-tus

D in tem - - - - - po-re op-por-tu-no

E ve-rum-ta - - - - - men ... mul-ta - - - - - rum

F₁ ad e - - - - - um non ap-pro-xi - - - - - ma - -

F₂ - - - - - bunt.

Example 62. Letentur celi (R₁ f. 11¹; R₂ f. 7)

* *
Le-ten-tur ce - - - - - li et ex-ul-tet [terra ante faciem Domini]

*
quo-ni-am ve - - - - - nit.

Example 59. Iubilate Deo universa, Vs. 2 (R₁ f. 22')

C
 X.2 lo-cu - - - - tus est os me - - um in tri-bu-la-ti-o-ne me-a

D
 lo-cu - - - - tum est os me - - um in tri-bu-la-ti-o-ne me-a

E
 ho-lo-cau-sta

F
 me-dul-la--ta of - - - - -

G
 - - - - - fe-ram ti--bi.

Example 63. Levabo (R₁ f. 43'; R₂ f. 22)

Le-ra-bo o-cu-los me-os et con-si-de-ra-bo mi-ra-bi--li-a tu-a

[ut doceas me] iu-sti-ti-a tu--a

[da michi] in-tel-lec-tum ut di-scam man-data tu--a.

There is also a point of contact between the refrain and the (2) versos of Levabo oculos (R_1 f. 43'; R_2 f. 22). Three times in the refrain (Ex. 63) the melody anticipates a phrase which is stated most fully at the end of verses 1 and 2 (Ex. 64). Conforming to a procedure met elsewhere an introductory passage, not repeated later in the verse, precedes that portion of the music which is subject to repetition.

A certain homogeneity between refrain and verse 2 may be noted in Meditabor (R_1 f. 46; R_2 f. 23'). This is due to some extent to the ambitus of the piece: the D-F third with an occasional C. Furthermore, the motives used (some of these are \widehat{CDF} , \widehat{DF} \widehat{GF} , \widehat{EDFE} , \widehat{FED} \widehat{FED}) recur often in protus pieces and are part of a stereotyped repertoire of small melodic units. Both of these facts may account for what appear to be parallel passages in the refrain. Line B of Example 65 (p. 206) is only tenuously related to lines A and C. The similarity of text in A and C accounts for the musical similarity, the same words calling forth the same (or nearly the same) music.

These same motives are to be found also at the end of verse 2 but the repetitions here are practically literal and follow in direct succession. This passage, coming as it does toward the end of the second verse, reinforces the unity of the piece and leads back to the refrain, which begins with the words "et levabo manus meas." Verse 1 is completely unrelated to the music quoted in Examples 65 and 66.

The relationship between the two verses of Mirabilis Deus (R_1 f. 104) is clearly that of a model melody and its adaptation to a new text.¹ The hemistich division is respected in both verses but there are more syllables in verse 2. The distribution is: verse 1 - 16 + 16; verse 2 - 19 + 18.

1. The first half of each verse was analyzed on p. 172 (Ex. 24).

Example 61. Letentur celi, Vss. 1 and 2 (R1 f. 11')

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V.1 Can-ta -- te Do-mi-no can -- ti -- -- -- cum no-vum
V.2 Can-ta -- te Do-mi-no et be-ne-di-ci-te no --- men e -- ius

can -- -- -- ta -- -- te Do-mi -- no om -- nis ter-ra.
be-ne nun-ti-a -- te de die in di -- em sa-lu -- ta-re e-ius.

Example 64. Levabo, Vss. 1 and 2 (R1 f. 43')

V.1 Le-gem po -- -- -- ne mi-chi Do-mi-ne et vi -- -- -- ram
i-u-sti-fi-ca-ti-o-num ex-qui -- -- -- ram
pre-cep -- -- tis tu -- -- -- is me ex-er -- -- ce-bor.
V.2 Ve-ni-am Do -- mi -- -- ne mi-se-ra-ti-o -- -- nes tu -- -- e et vi -- -- -- ram

Example 65. Meditabor (R₁ f. 46; R₂ f. 23¹)

A Me-di-ta-bor in man-da-tis tu-is que di-le-xi val-de

B et le-va-bo ma-nu-me-as

C a man-da-ta tu-a que di-le-xi.

Example 66. Meditabor, Vs. 2 (R₁ f. 46)

D ... se-cun-[dum]...

E qui-a co-gi-ta-vi vi-as tu-as

F et con-ver-ti pe-des me-os

G in te-sti-mo-ni-a tu-a.

As can be observed in Example 67 (p. 208) the adaptation is anything but slavishly literal, especially at the end of the first hemistich in both verses. In this passage the correspondence hinges on the opening leap of a fourth, G-C', followed by a gradual descent. Some motives are common to both of these descending passages ($\overline{BC'BA}$, $\overline{C'EABAG}$).

Excluding from consideration the brief appearance of FormA in the verses of Portas celi (R_1 f. 91) this offertory has only one passage in which a melody is repeated, in shortened form, with a new text. The alleluia melisma (a similar one occurs in Confitebuntur [R_1 f. 100'; R_2 f. 77'], especially the R_2 version) is reused immediately for the first words of verse 1 (Ex. 68). The adaptation here, too, is non-literal, the melody being carefully fitted to the words; one section of the melisma was deleted for the adaptation.

One of the longest Old-Roman offertories, roughly double the usual length, is Precatus est Moyses (R_1 f. 51'; R_2 f. 27'). The melodic repetitions are mostly immediate; no long-range relationships seem to exist. The entire first section of text ("Precatus est Moyses in conspectu Domini Dei sui et dixit") is repeated and with it the melody, save for the extension of the melisma over the word dixit the second time (Ex. 69).¹

Example 69. Precatus est (R_1 f. 51'; R_2 f. 27')

et di - - - - -xit

et di - - - - -xit

Immediately thereafter there is another melodic repetition, this time the

1. The entire phrase may be found on p. 290.

Example 67. Mirabilis Deus, Vss. 1 and 2 (R₁ f. 104)

N.1 Ex-ur-gat De---us et dis-si-pen---tur i-ni-mi---ci e---ius

N.2 Pe-re-ant pec-ca-to---res a fa-ci-e De-i iu-sti e-pu---len---tur....

ut fu-gi-ant qui ode-runt e---um a fa-ci-e e---ius.

ex-ul---tent in con-spec-tu De---i de-lec-ten-tur in le---ti-ti-a.

Example 68. Portas celi, R. and Vs. 1 (R₁ f. 91)

...al-le...lu...ia.

N.1 Ab-ten-di-te po---pu-le me---us le-gem me-am....

text is different and some notes are deleted at the second statement of the phrase. This second statement has fewer syllables (Ex. 70).

Example 70. Precatus est.

...qua-re Do-mi---ne i-ra--sce-ris in po-pu-lo tu--o
par-ce i---re a---ni-mi tu--i ...

Verse 1 commences with another text repetition but treated differently from the one at the beginning of the offertory. Both phrases are aligned in Example 71 showing that the closest correspondence is between the two statements of "Aron."

Example 71. Precatus est.

Dixit Mo-y-ses et Aa--ron
dixit Mo-y-ses et Aa--ron ...

The second "dixit Moyses" starts as if it were about to repeat the first a fifth higher. This does not continue but the endings of the two "Moyses" do agree though the second statement ends a third higher. For comparison purposes the second "Moyses" is given on line C of Example 71. The similarity of contour is unmistakable and all of the proper names end with the same two notes.¹

1. It is not unusual to find the same or similar words treated with correspondingly similar melodies. The following is a fairly complete list of such melodic "rhyme."

The other two examples of repetition of material in Precatus est are in the second verse; both are illustrations of the techniques of free adaptation observed before. One of these is quoted in Example 72 (the lines should be read consecutively).

Example 72. Precatus est, Vs. 1

[grati-]am in con-spec-tu me - o
et sci-to-te pre om-ni-bus...

Another long composition, Sanctificavit Moyses (R₁ f. 130'; R₂ f. 72), represents the most extensive reuse of material (apart from formulae A and B) in the offertories. The text is exactly that of the corresponding Gregorian offertory but the two Gregorian verses are subdivided into eight for the

Ad te (Vs. 1 Dirige me - Vs. 2 Respice in me); Offerentur (Offerentur - offerentur); Deus enim (induit, induit); Iubilate Deo omnis (servite - intrate); Letamini (Letamini - gloriamini); Ave Maria (benedicta - benedictus); Porfice (mea - Vs. meam - meam); Exaltabo (me - me); In te (Domine - Vs. 2 te - te); Domine Deus salutis (Vs. 1 clamavi - expandi); Precatus est (quaro - parce; tuo - tui); Domine in auxilium (meam - eam); Iustitie (recte - corde); Si ambulavero (Vss. 1 and 2 Domine - Domine; tuam - tuum - tuam; est - est); Factus est (firmamentum meum - et refugium meum); Domine convertere (tuam - Vs. 1 tua; Vs. 1 arguas me - corripias me); Super flumina (Vs. 1 nos - captivos); Improperium (et non [fuit] - et non [inveni]); Eripe me . . . Domine (Vs. 1 Domine - Vs. 2 Domine); Domine exaudi (orationem meam - clamor meus; me - me); Angelus (sicut dixit - Vs. 1 sicut dixit - Vs. 2 dixit); Intonuit (Vs. 1 mea - meum - meum); Benedictus qui venit (Domini - Domini [R₂ only] - Vs. 1 Dominus); Domine Deus meus (Vs. 1 mea - meus); Lauda (Dominum - Dominum); Confitebor Dominum (salvam - salvum); Repletis (misericordiam tuam - veritatem tuam); Confirma (Vs. 1 Dominus - Vs. 2 Dominum; Vs. 2 Deum - Vs. 3 Deo); Gloriabuntur (Domine - Vs. Domine); Michi autem (confortatus - principatus; Vs. 1 meas - meam); In conspectu (Vs. 1 Confitebor - Vs. 2 Confiteantur; Vs. 1 quoniam - Vs. 2 quoniam); Vir erat (passim in Vss.); Domine convertere (animam - misericordiam); Mirabilis (Deus - Deus).

Old-Roman version. The musical material of all of the verses except verse 1 consists basically of two phrases marked a and b in Example 73 (p. 212). Phrase b has recourse liberally to syllabic recitation; its only "melodic" element is the cadential pattern $\overbrace{GAPABG} \overbrace{AC'EAG}$ at the end of every verse save the last. This pattern is anticipated in verse 1. Phrase a is more fluid in its content but it, too, is recognizable by the greater stability of the melodic elements around the cadence.

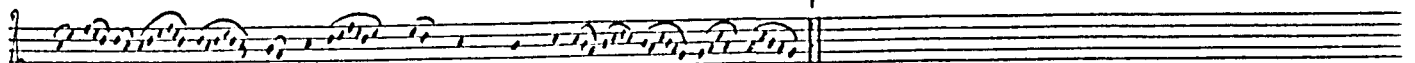
The individual phrases of the model melody are flexible and capable of adaptation. Furthermore, they may be combined in a variety of ways (a b a, a a b b, etc.), none of which is duplicated in the course of the seven verses. Verses 6 and 7 begin with the b phrase and verse 7 consists of this phrase thrice repeated. The scope and variety of the design is clearly revealed in Example 73.

Repetition of material in Si ambulavero (R_1 f. 57'; R_2 f. 32) takes place within a clearly established framework which, nevertheless, tolerates a considerable amount of variation. The invariable element is the cadence; next in order of stability is the beginning of each pattern. Some other units of the pattern are far removed from elements in the same relative position in previous statements of the pattern. Short phrases which seem totally unrelated to the pattern have been bracketed in Example 74 (p. 213). Although the entire offertory is pervaded by the repetition of the same or similar motives because of the motivic homogeneity of the pattern, the (2) verses, on the one hand, and the refrain, on the other, constitute two subdivisions within the larger whole. Taking the three repetitions of the pattern in the refrain as the "fund" from which the verses draw, the first lines of the verses (lines D and H) are farthest removed, motivically, from the rest of the material. Yet even in them references to the "fund" are unmistakable. (Lines D and H are closely related to each other.) The

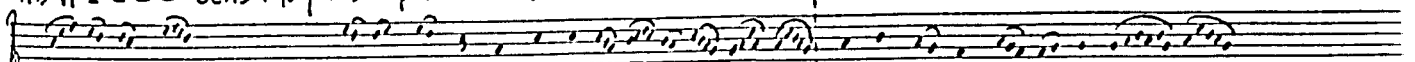
Exemplo 73. Sanctificavit Moyses, Vsb. 2-8 (R₁ f. 130¹)



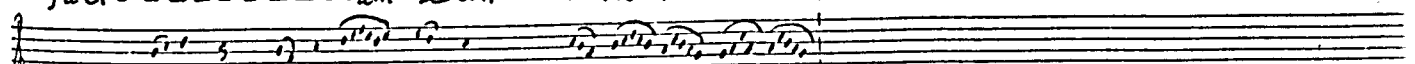
 #2 Sur- -- gens Mo-y-ses a-son-dit in mon- -- tem | u-bi-con-sti-tu-it ei De- -- us
 et descendit ad eum Do-mi-nus in no- -- be
 et asti-tit ante faci-em e- -- us.



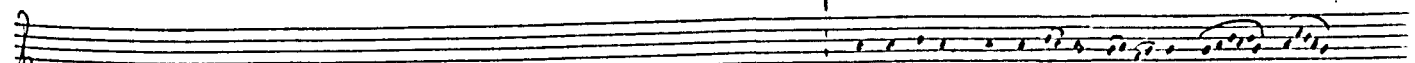
 #3 Vi- -- dens Mo-y-ses pro-ci-dens ado-ra-vit di-cens.



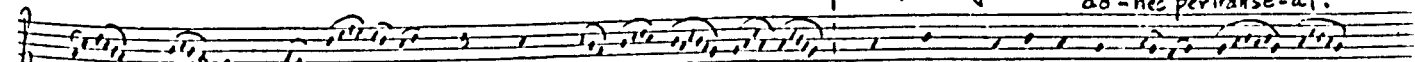
 #4 O-se-cro Do- -- -- mi-ne di-mitte pec-cata po-pu-li tu-i et di-xit ad e-um Do-mi- -- nus
 faci- -- -- -- am se-cun- -- dum ver-bum tu-um.



 #5 O-ra-vit Mo-y-ses Do-mi- -- num et di-xit |
 si in-ve-ni gra-ti-am in con-spec-tu tu-o psten-de mi-chi te-ipsum ma-ni-fe-ste
 ut vi-de-am te.



 #6 Et beatus est ad eum Dominus di- -- cens
 non e-nim vide-bit me ho-mo et vi-ve-re po-est. #7 Sed esto super alti-tu-dinem la-pi- -- dum
 et protegat te dex-te-ra me-a
 do-nes pertran-se-at.



 #8 Dum pertran-si-e-ro au-fe-ram ma-nu-m me-am et tunc vi-de-bis glo-ri-am me- -- am.
 faci- -- -- -- em au-tem meam non vi- -- de-bis quia e-go sum De- -- us
 o-stendens mi-ra-bi-li-a in ter- -- -- ra.

Example 74. Si ambulavero, R., Vss. 1 and 2 (R1 f. 57^v)

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A Si am-bu-la - - - - - ve-ro in me-dio tri-bu-la-ti - - - - - nis

B vi - - - vi-fi-ca - - - - bis me Do-mi-ne

C et su-per i - - - - - ram i-ni-mi-co - - - - - rum me - [o - - - - -] - - - - - rum...

D N.1. [In quacumque die] in - - - vo - [ca - - -] - - ve - ro te

E ex-au-di me Do - - - - - mi - ne

F mul - - ti-phi-ca - - - - - bis in a - ni - ma

G me - - a vir - tu - tem tu - am.

H N.2. Ado-ra-bo ad tem - - - - - plum san-ctum tu - - um.

I et con-fi-te - - - - - bor no-mi-ni tuo

J su - - - per mi-se-ri - cor-di-am tu-am et ver-i-ta-tem tu - - am.

vortical alignment of Example 74 attempts to reflect these relationships.

Verses 2, 3 and 4 of Super flumina (R_1 f. 70') are built up from repetitions of a relatively short phrase which is heard in a somewhat longer version in the first verse (Ex. 75 on p. 215). With some exceptions (lines D, H, I, K, M, N) the cadential passage begins with the six-note neume ($\overline{ABC'EAG}$). All of the cadences are uniform after this point with the exception of that on line K. Of interest are the transformations of the figure beginning with the rising third (\overline{FGA}) which is always (except in line H) set to an accented syllable. Its appearance in line A has been bracketed in the example. Only two variants of the figure are stated more than once: lines D, H and K share a common form while E and G share another. All of the other appearances are variants; it would be presumptuous to choose one specific form as the "original."

Closer to the beginning of the phrase the degree of uniformity diminishes considerably. Some of the initial elements are intonational in character, centering around A as a reciting note (lines A, B, E, G, J). The extra syllables in lines C, F, H and M are simply set to the interpolated notes.

Melodic repetition on a much smaller scale is to be found at the end of verse 1 and at the beginning of verse 2 of the offertory Tui sunt (R_1 f. 14). In Example 76 the phrases subject to repetition have been marked a and b.

Example 75. Super flumina, Vns. 2, 3, 4 (R₁ f. 70¹)

A
X.1 [In sali-] ci - bus in me - di - o e - - - ius sus - pen - di - mus [orga -] na no - - - stra

B
X.2 Ym - num can - ta - - - te no - - - - bis de can - ti - - - - cis Sy - - - on

C
quo - mo - do can - - - ta - - - vi - mus can - ti - - - - cum Do mi - no

D
in ter - - - - - ra a - li - - - e - - - na.

E
X.3 Si ob - li - - - tus fu - e - ro tu - - - i He - - - - ru - - - sa - lem

F
o - bli - vi - sca - - - tur me dex - te - - - - ra me - - - a

G
ad - he - re - - - at lin - - - gua me - - - a fau - ci - - - - bus me - - - is

H
si non memi - - - - - ne - - - - - ro tu - - - i

I
si non me - - - - - mi - - - - - ne - ro.

J
X.4 Mem - o - ri - - - o Do - - - mi - ne fi - - - li - o - - - - rum E - - - dom

K
in di - - - e He - - - ru - - - sa - - - lem.

L
qui di - - - cunt ex - in - - - a nite ex - in - a - - - ni - - - te

M
quo - us - - - que ad fun - da - men - tum in e - a

N
fi - - - li - a Ba - by - lo - nis mi - se - - - ra . . .

Example 76. Tui sunt, Vss. 1 and 2 (R₁ f. 14)

A.1 ... au---tem e---ius tu mi-ti---gas.

B.2 Mi-se-ri-cor-----di-a et ve-ri---tas [preibunt]

an-te fa---ci-em tu-----am

et in be-ne--pla--ci-to tu-o...

Phrase a appears in four shapes, that on line B being the farthest removed from the others yet displaying the significant pitch contours of phrase a. This is especially true of the last syllable of "miseriordia." Phrase b presents no special problems. If verse 2 is considered alone its formal structure is a b a' a'' c.

CHAPTER VIII

REPETITION OF SHORT PHRASES

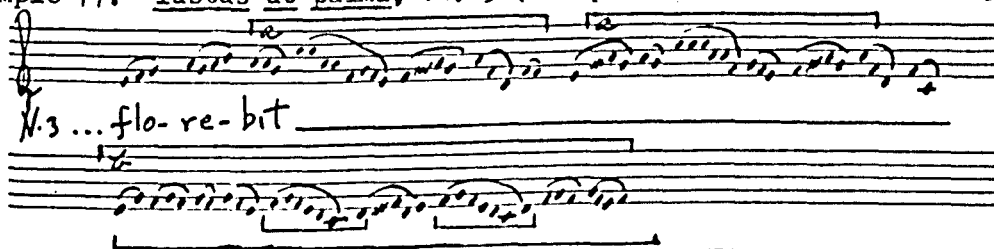
General considerations

Melodic repetition on a smaller scale establishes short-term relationships in the Old-Roman offertories. Most of these situations involve immediate restatements of a relatively brief phrase sometimes forming part of more complex structures like a a b, a b a, etc. Successive variation (a a' a'') is also found in a number of pieces. Repetitions of this type on the level of the individual neume have not been considered in detail in the present chapter since to do so would require hundreds of examples. So widespread is immediate repetition of 2-5 note motives that this practice constitutes one of the important, though by no means dominant, structural features of Old-Roman chant. Sufficient examples of this feature will be given in order to define the mode of its operation.

Repeated melismas

The Old-Roman offertories are much poorer in extensive melismas than their Gregorian counterparts and it is just in these melismas, unencumbered by text, that most of the Gregorian melodic repetitions are found. Such repetitions are a striking structural characteristic of the Gregorian offertories.¹ Example 77 is typical.

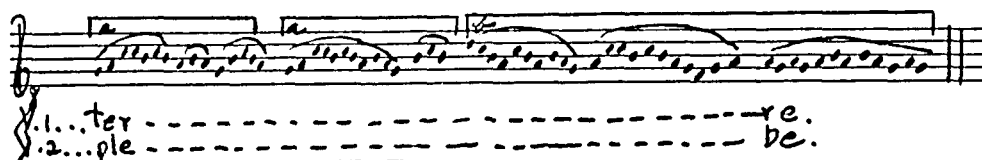
Example 77. Iustus ut palma, Vs. 3 (Montpellier, Fac. de Méd. H 159, f. 120)



1. See the lists in Apel, pp. 368-69, and Johnsr, pp. 371-72.

Only a few of the Old-Roman offertory melismas have anything like this carefully balanced design. Of those that do, two appear in more than one offertory. One of them closes both verses of Exulta satis (R_1 f. 9'; Ex. 78).

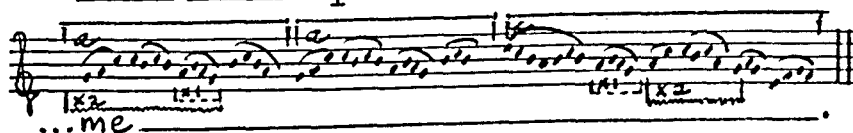
Example 78. Exulta satis, Vss. 1 and 2 (R_1 f. 9')



It is to be found also at the end of all three verses of Custodi (R_1 f. 77) and at the end of the refrain in Domine exaudi (R_1 f. 78; R_2 f. 49) although in the latter case a new b section replaces the one in Example 78.¹

It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain which is the original b of this melisma but one can note the excellent balance of the Domine exaudi version (Ex. 79). The b phrase in this version incorporates the general descending contour of phrase a and rearranges two of its motives (x_1 and x_2).

Example 79. Domine exaudi (R_1 f. 78')



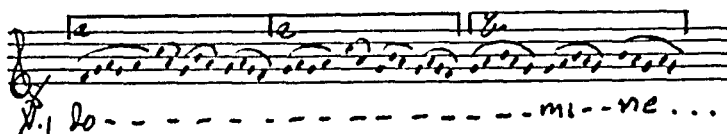
A unified effect is here achieved without resorting to a threefold repetition of phrase a which would tend to be too static. The ambitus of phrase a is defined by the motive marked x_2 and a truncated version of this is at the mid-point of phrase b.

The other melisma with melodic repetition (also a a b) appears in Domine convertere (beginning of Vs. 1 - R_1 f. 68), Gloria (beginning of Vs. 1 - R_1 f. 16') and Benedictus es . . . in labiis (beginning of Vs. 1 -

1. The end of the b section is an independent cadence itself which is to be found at the end of both verses of Ave Maria (R_1 f. 34) and (varied) at the end of verse 1 of Dous onim (R_1 f. 12').

R₁ f. 38'). It is quoted in Example 80.

Example 80. Domine convertere, Vs. 1 (R₁ f. 68)



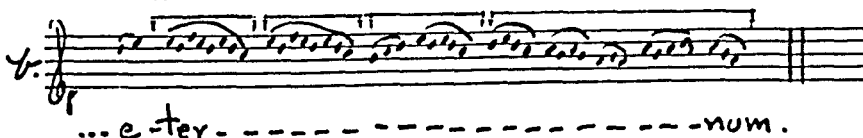
Other melismas with a a (a') b structure occur in the first verse of Immitet (R₁ f. 46') and in Recordare (R₁ f. 134); both are quoted in Example 81.

Example 81.

Immitet, Vs. 1 (R₁ f. 46')

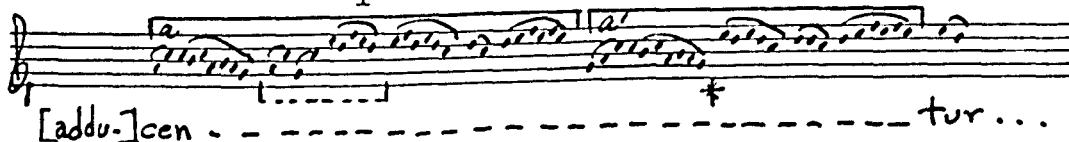


Recordare (R₁ f. 134)



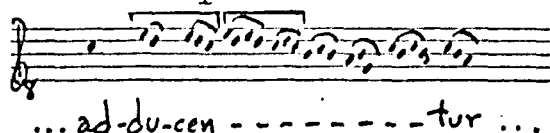
A long melisma within the offertory Offerentur (R₁ f. 3'; not found in R₂) at "adducentur" embraces a repetition which appears to be a compressed version (a') of the first half (a) of the melisma, or so it seems in R₁, the only Old-Roman manuscript with this offertory available to me. The melisma is quoted in Example 82.

Example 82. Offerentur (R₁ f. 3')



The leap of the major sixth (marked with an asterisk in the above example) in a' makes it not inconceivable that the scribe accidentally omitted from a' the notes indicated by the dotted bracket in phrase a. A happy stroke is the allusion to a portion of this melisma at the second occurrence of the word "adducentur" later in the same offertory (Ex. 83).

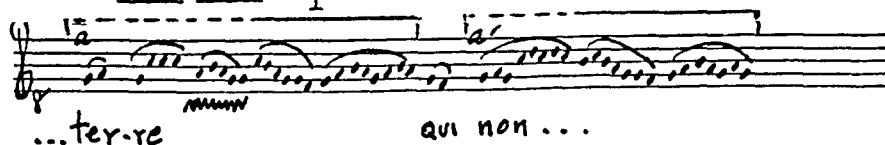
Example 83. Offerentur (R_1 f. 3')



The high tessitura of the notes concerned seems to emphasize the relationship as does the (expanded) repetition of the first bracketed figure in Example 83.

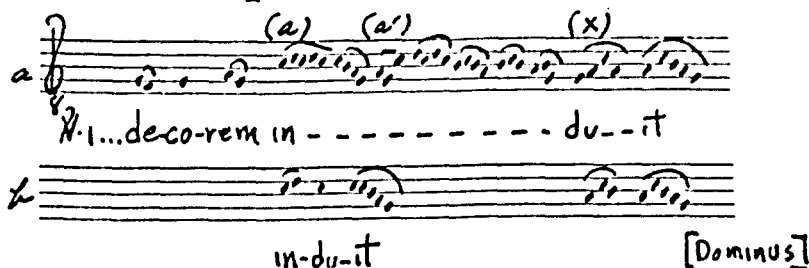
Somewhat the reverse relationship exists in two statements of a melisma which is divided between two words in the refrain of Deus enim (R_1 f. 12'). The phrase marked a' in Example 84 is shorter and lacks the subsidiary motion to G (marked *~~~~~*); it remains instead around C', twice touching the upper neighbor.

Example 84. Deus enim (R_1 f. 12')



In one of those subtle interrelationships which confirm the unity of offertory and verses an amplified version of a' is heard in verse 1 of Deus enim (Ex. 85a).

Example 85. Deus enim (R_1 f. 12')



This melisma is a combination of both a and a', including as it does both descents to G, the latter one extended by a conventional cadential figure (x). The immediately following text of the psalm is "induit Dominus" (Ex. 85b). The text repetition is paralleled in the music not by an obvious repeat of the a phrase but by a reduction of a-a' to its barest essentials, the C'-G descent.