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## 2. Exempla zum Brückenschlag zwischen den Zeugnissen aus der Zeit einer schriftlosen Überlieferung und den ersten notierten Handschriften

In besonderer Weise stellt sich die Frage nach dem Verhältnis zwischen Kontinuität und Diskontinuität mit den ältesten erhaltenen Gesangbüchern des 9. Jahrhunderts. Sammlungen der Texte gab es offensichtlich schon vorher. Für die «Gregorianik» hingegen brachten erst die Handschriften des 9. Jahrhunderts den Schritt in die Schrift: den Wechsel von einer ausschliesslich ans Gedächtnis gebundenen Überlieferung zur ersten Fixierung des melodischen Verlaufs mit den Mitteln einer neuen musikalischen Aufzeichnungsweise. Durch sie lässt sich belegen, dass der Grundbestand der Messgesänge dieses Repertoires vom Zeitpunkt der ersten notierten Handschriften an nur mehr mit vergleichsweise geringen Abweichungen überliefert ist. Ob und wieweit allerdings erst der Schritt in die Schrift die Konstanz der Überlieferung sicherte, ist gerade beim Grundbestand der Gregorianik fraglich. So zeigt dieses Repertoire neben den unverkennbaren Spuren einer langen verändernden Überlieferung die Merkmale einer weitreichenden Überarbeitung. Sie führte vielfach zu Fassungen, deren rationale Durchdringung durchaus mit dem Resultat einer kompositorischen Gestaltung zu vergleichen ist und auch vor der Aufzeichnung eine Konstanz der Überlieferung sichergestellt haben kann. Wieweit es sich dabei um das Ergebnis einer einzigen Redaktion oder auch mehrerer Überarbeitungen handelte und wann diese stattfanden, ist offen. So wie sich bei vielen Texten aufgrund der Formulierung und der Verbindung verschiedener Stellen der Psalmen und anderer Teile der Bibel die Frage stellt, wann in den vorangehenden Jahrhunderten und unter welchen Umständen sie zu einem bestimmten Gesang gefügt wurden und wieweit diese Ordnung auch die musikalische Gestaltung betraf. – Noch komplexer wird die Situation dadurch, dass aus dem hohen Mittelalter weitere musikalische Formulierungen zu den gleichen Texten erhalten sind. Das betrifft die Mailänder Überlieferung und den sogenannten «altrömischen» Choral. Beide gehen, wenn auch in je anderer Weise und in unterschiedlichem Umfang, auf eine ältere Überlieferung vor jener Redaktion zurück, deren Konsequenzen in der Gregorianik zu beobachten sind.

Wieweit es dennoch möglich ist, aus einem Vergleich indirekter Zeugnisse, einer Analyse der Texte und nicht zuletzt der unterschiedlichen musikalischen Formulierungen in den notierten Handschriften die Geschichte einzelner Gesänge in der Zeit der schriftlosen Überlieferungen zu diskutieren, verdeutlichen die folgenden Beiträge. So zeigt Kenneth Levy am Beispiel einer Antiphon, deren Vortrag für das Jahr 597 belegt ist, wie gerade die Unterschiede der notierten Formulierungen den Ansatzpunkt zu einer Rekonstruktion der Geschichte dieses Gesanges und der Beziehungen zwi-

schen den unterschiedlichen Repertoires bieten können. Und Ruth Steiner gelingt es, am Beispiel des «Gesangs der drei Jünglinge im Feuerofen» und seiner Verwendung in der Messe Einblick in das Verhältnis zwischen Funktion und musikalischer Gestaltung in der Zeit vor dem Schritt in die Schrift zu gewinnen.

# The Canticle of the Three Children as a Chant of the Roman Mass

RUTH STEINER

It is to Wulf Arlt that we are indebted for the most detailed examination of the work of those medieval liturgists who on occasion flaunted the general rule that the form and style of a chant are determined by liturgical function.<sup>1</sup> As Professor Arlt has shown, what they did was to substitute chants in incongruous styles for the «official» chants of a service. It is days between Christmas and Epiphany that are affected – days reserved for special celebration by the clergy – and the sources in which such substitutions are most abundant are relatively late and come from northern France: Sens, Beauvais, Laon. A key principle is that the text of the substitute chant is either the same as, or a paraphrase of, that of the regular chant. The sense of the words must coincide with that of the original; everything else – including the words themselves – can be changed.

These substitutions have long been recognized as manifestations of ecclesiastical exuberance that could be tolerated because the time when they occurred was one in which all Christians had good reason to rejoice. By providing texts with melodies that were more elaborate than their usual ones, they enhanced the richness of a service.

What appears to be another instance of substitution occurs in a very different context. It is the settings of the Canticle of the Three Children as the chant following the fifth lesson in Masses of Ember Saturdays. Four different musical settings are involved, and at least four different texts. All have the same liturgical function, and the meanings of the texts overlap, when they do not coincide precisely. Yet they are musically quite different. Where did these chants originate, which of them is the oldest, why do the sources differ so much in the way they present them?

The Canticle of the Three Children is part of a long interpolation into chapter 3 of the book of Daniel.<sup>2</sup> The first part of the interpolation (Daniel 3:24–45 in the Vulgate numbering) is known as the Prayer of Azariah; it is followed by a brief prose narrative (Vss. 46–51). Next comes the first section of the Canticle of

1 *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais* (2 vols.; Köln, Arno Volk Verlag, 1970). See also H. Villetard, *L'Office de Pierre de Corbeil* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard & Fils, 1907), D. Hughes, «Music for St. Stephen at Laon,» *Words and Music: The Scholar's View*, ed. L. Berman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 137; and «Compline,» *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 4:598–9.

2 The best introduction to the book of Daniel is that of Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, in *The Anchor Bible*, vol. 23 (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1978). See also M. Delcor, *Le Livre de Daniel* (Paris, 1971). For the Latin text of the Canticle see *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber (2nd ed., rev.; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975), Vol. II, pp. 1348–1351. Concerning the interpolation see Carey A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah: the Additions* (*The Anchor Bible*, vol. 44; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1977), pp. 39–76. Moore presents a detailed review of the scholarly literature, one that the reader of the present study will undoubtedly find enlightening. For his bibliography, see pp. 35–8.

the Three Children (Vss. 52–56), which begins «Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum», exactly as does the Prayer of Azariah. It has a refrain in which the wording is varied in each use. The second section (Vss. 57–90) is known as the «Benedicite», and has an almost completely regular refrain.

Although no ancient Semitic version of these texts has been preserved, there is a modern translation of the «Benedictus es» and the «Benedicite» into Hebrew verse. The translation works so well that it permits «the presumption of a Hebrew original.»<sup>3</sup> According to Moore, it is difficult to date the texts on internal evidence, and to guess just when they were incorporated into the Daniel narrative; but the effect of the interpolation is to shift attention from Nebuchadnezzar to the three young men, and from what they did to what they believed. Setting the prayer at the head of the series of interpolations came later, and it led to some inconsistencies in the telling of the story.

The «Benedicite» is a long and beautiful song of praise to God, one that seems originally to have been composed for use in public worship. Here it represents the response of the children of Israel to yet another miracle, their preservation in the face of certain doom. The whole story of the fiery furnace, especially the response of the three men to the king's threat, is an expression of religious pacifism, an ideology that was strong among Hasidim even at the time of the horrifying persecution of the Jews by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, which reached its climax between 167 and 164 B. C., and came to an end only with the revolt of the Maccabees. Thus the editing of the first six chapters of Daniel is thought by many to have occurred during this period.<sup>4</sup> And for the early Christians, too, suffering persecution, parallels between their plight and that of the Three Young Men must have been evident; the motif appears again and again in wall paintings in the Catacombs.<sup>5</sup>

Our understanding of the liturgical practices of early Christian communities is still imperfect; we do not know every one of the stages by which the development proceeded, from «psalms, canticles, and spiritual songs» to the official public worship according to established formulas of later times. But references to the Canticle of the Three Children are so numerous in accounts of the customs of widely separated religious groups that it must have been used almost as often as the psalms, and known at least as well as they.

In a series of lectures published under the title *Comparative Liturgy*, Anton Baumstark called attention to the wide use of the «Benedicite»: he spoke of its appearance on a fragment of papyrus representing «an ancient Egyptian office book,» in the night office of the Copts and that of the Maronites, in the Sunday Matins of the Nestorians, and in the Matins of the Armenians.<sup>6</sup>

3 Moore, p. 48.

4 Hartman and Di Lella, pp. 43–5.

5 The classic study is that of H. Leclercq, «Hebreux (les trois jeunes),» in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, VI.2 (Paris, 1925), cols. 2107–2126. See also Carlo Carletti, *I tre giovani Ebrei di Babilonia nell'arte cristiana antica* (Brescia, 1975), and the review of that work by Marguerite Rassart-Debergh in *Byzantion*, 48 (1978), 430–455.

6 Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, trans. by F. L. Cross from the 3rd French edition, rev. by B. Botte (Westminster, Md., 1958), pp. 35–6.

Indeed, it would be very interesting and, no doubt, highly rewarding to study all of the liturgical uses of the «Benedicite»: in the East and in the West, in the Mass and in the Office. But for the purpose of this discussion it is necessary to focus on a single topic; the one I have chosen is the use of the «Benedicite» as a chant of the Mass of the Roman rite – specifically, as the chant following the fifth of the six lessons on Ember Saturdays.

These Ember Saturday services are well represented in the Mass antiphonals studied by Hesbert in *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, as they are in the earlier lectionaries and sacramentaries.<sup>7</sup> The sources agree in indicating that the fifth lesson on all four days is drawn from the third chapter of the book of Daniel, leading directly into the chant. The one exception is the Würzburg lectionary, the earliest source of the distinctively Roman lectionary; its omission of the Daniel lesson indicates – according to Hesbert – that neither it nor the Canticle was included in the Mass for Ember Saturdays as originally formulated in Rome.<sup>8</sup> Their introduction into these services in manuscripts prepared for use in France reveals an influence of the Gallican liturgy. In the Mozarabic sources, where the Canticle was regularly sung in the Mass on Sundays and feast days, its text is presented in a number of different arrangements, which have been surveyed by Brou.<sup>9</sup> Only one of the antiphonals of the Roman Mass surveyed by Hesbert in *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* gives the text of the «Benedicite» in full, preceded by the verse, «Benedictus es in firmamento caeli et laudabilis et gloriosus in saecula» – that is, in essentially the same form as that in which it appears in the earliest sources with musical notation.<sup>10</sup> One of the other sources gives the incipit of the chant, preceding it with the rubric «*Lectio Danihel Prophetae*», and the beginning of that lesson, «*In diebus illis Angelus Domini*». One manuscript never refers to the chant at all; the other three refer to it by the title «*Benedictiones*», using this term in a context which bears description.

It is to be remembered that among the other chants for these Ember Saturdays are fourgraduals. These are written in full (or given in incipit, according to the procedure generally followed in the source) in the Ember Week of Advent – the first time they appear in the liturgical year. Thereafter (in the later Ember Weeks), references to them take the form, «*RESP. GRAD. IIII*». There is no mention of any form of the Canticle of the Three Children in the Ember Week

7 R.-J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935; reprint ed., Rome: Herder, 1967), pp. XXXIX–XLIV.

8 Hesbert, p. XLIII, fn. 2. The early history of the Ember Weeks is examined by G. G. Willis, in *Early Christian Liturgy* (London: S. P. C. K., 1964), pp. 51–75. Until the end of the 5th century at Rome there were ordinations only in the December Embertide, making it the most important one. It is evident from early references to the Embertides, and also from the texts employed in the liturgy – particularly Gospels and Communions – that the Lenten Embertide (the fast of the first month) was a later addition (Willis, pp. 53–57). The manner in which the Embertides are presented in the Gelasian Sacramentary (of *ca.* 560) makes it appear that the Lenten Embertide «was coming in about that time» (Willis, p. 57). Nonetheless, the manner in which Ember Weeks are presented in the Mass antiphonals (none of which is earlier than perhaps the end of the eighth century) often makes the Lenten Embertide seem more important than the others.

9 L. Brou, «Les ‘Benedictiones’ ou cantique des trois enfants dans l’ancienne messe espagnole,» *Hispania sacra*, 1 (1948), 21–33.

10 The manuscript in question is the Compiègne Antiphonal, Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 17436; see Hesbert, pp. XLI and 61.

of Advent in any of these MSS; this is particularly striking in view of the fact that – as I said – the *graduals* are written in full.

The three manuscripts that use the term «*Benedictiones*» without providing a text incipit (in Ember Weeks other than that of Advent) do so by simply adding it to the rubric that I have just given, so that it takes the form «RESP. GRAD. IIII ET BENEDICTIONES.» One infers that, just as the singer is expected to know what the *graduals* are (because he has seen them earlier in the book), he is also expected to know the «*Benedictiones*.» But where is that chant given?

What the reference to the Canticle of the Three Children, in one form or another, under the title «*Benedictiones*,» suggested to Hesbert is that it was not a chant in the usual sense of the word – not something to be included in a book intended for the use of cantors. The reason is that what is involved in the lesson and the Canticle is a single passage from Daniel, of which the first part is read – to the customary lesson tone – while the second, of which the text is in the style of a lyric, is given a somewhat more elaborate musical setting. References in some other manuscripts indicate that here and in other passages of similar dual character a single lector performed both sections, chanting the first, singing the second.<sup>11</sup>

The manuscripts surveyed in *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* thus may give evidence of two different phases in the development of this chant – one, in which the Canticle was performed by the lector, to a formula only slightly more elaborate than that he had used for the lesson preceding it; and another, in which the Canticle had been given a more fully developed musical setting, and entrusted to the cantors for performance. (In the first phase, where the lector executed the Canticle, I see no reason not to imagine the congregation participating in its performance, chanting the fixed refrain, «*Laudate et superexaltate eum in saecula.*»)

I should like to propose to my colleagues in the round table yet a third explanation of the term «*Benedictiones*» as employed in these manuscripts. If, as Hesbert has suggested, the inclusion in the service of the Daniel lesson (and a chant to accompany it) was made out of deference to local custom in the Frankish Empire, in an effort to find a place for materials that were traditional there, then Gallican settings (or adaptations) of the *Benedictiones* may have been employed. Now one of the things that characterizes the treatment of the *Benedictiones* in the Mozarabic rite (and very possibly also the Gallican, though here the evidence is less abundant) is a multiplicity of settings of the Canticle, texts selected and arranged in many different ways: there are 26 different *Benedictiones* in the Leon Antiphoner. In an act intended to show deference to local custom, making a choice of one or another (of the *Benedictiones*) would have struck exactly the wrong note: the general term «*Benedictiones*» may indicate that here some choice is possible, the choice to be made from a local repertory which had no place in a book of official, «*Roman*» chant.

Let me pass on now to a consideration of what we find in manuscripts that present the Proper chants of the Mass with musical notation. The form of the Can-

11 Hesbert, p. XLII, including fn. 1.

title that one finds in the early chant manuscripts is a setting of the whole of the «Benedicite» preceded by the verse, «Benedictus es in firmamento caeli.» The setting is elaborate and formulaic; analyses by Wagner and Ferretti have identified the structure of the tone and the points at which it is enriched by melismas.<sup>12</sup> The refrain, which begins in this setting with the words, «Hymnum dicite,» is set after every third blessing, rather than every single one, as in the Bible. There is a good deal of detail in the rhythmic notation of it in such manuscripts as Laon 239 and Einsiedeln 121: it is clear that it is a chant for the cantor, and an occasion for particularly brilliant vocal display. It is this form of the «Benedicite» that one is most likely to find in the early Gregorian Mass manuscripts: it is the only one in Laon 239 and Chartres 47; and when there is reference to others in St. Gall 359, that comes in a later hand.

Another chant used to follow the Daniel lesson in Masses for Ember Saturdays begins «Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum,» that is, with verse 52 of what we have called the «Benedictus es.» It continues with a series of blessings, «Benedictus es in templo sancto gloriae tuae,» «Benedictus es super thronum sanctum regni tui,» and so on, that are not, at least in part, exact Biblical quotations, and which vary both in their number and in their order from one source to another. In numbering the verses of this chant as it appears in Einsiedeln 121, I have set aside the opening, and I am not taking into account the ending, which varies too much from one source to another to be dealt with effectively here.

Table 1

The chant «Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum»  
ORDER OF INNER VERSES

1 2 3 4 5 6 7:	Einsiedeln 121 (St. Gall? beginning of 11th c.) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 807 (Klosterneuburg, 12th c.) Leipzig, Univ., St. Thomas, 391 (Leipzig, end of 13th) Leningrad, O v I 6 (use of Bec, 12th c.) London, B. L., Add. 12194 (Sarum, ca. 1275)
1 2 4 5 3 6 7:	Ediger/Mosel, Pfarrarchiv (Rheinland, end of 12th c.)
1 2 3 5 4 7 6:	Durham, Univ., Cosin V V 6 (Canterbury, Durham, ca. 1080)
1 2 4 3 5 6 7:	Paris, B. n., lat. 1087 (Cluny, 11th c.) Brussels, Bibl. roy., II 3823 (Souvigny [Cluniac], beg. of 12th c.) Paris, B. n., lat. 1107 (St. Denis, 13th c., 2/2)

12 P. Ferretti, *Esthétique grégorienne* (Solesmes, 1938), pp. 203–212; P. Wagner, *Gregorianische Formenlehre (Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien, III)* (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 361–366.

1 x 2 3 4 5 6 7: Rome, Bibl. Angelica, 123  
(Bologna, beg. of 11th c.)

1 2 x 3 4 6 5 7: Paris, B. n., lat. 776  
(St. Michel de Gaillac, 11th c.)

1 2 3 x 5 4 6 7: Monza, Bibl. cap., 12/75  
(Monza, beg. of 11th c.)

1 2 5 3 y 4 6 7: Modena, Bibl. cap., O I 7  
(Forlimpopoli [Ravenna], 11th or 12th.)

1 2 x 3 4 3 6 5 7: London, B. L., Harl. 4951  
(Toulouse, 11th c.)

If the order of the inner verses in Einsiedeln 121 is taken as the standard (this is not to imply that it is necessarily the earliest or best) and that of the other sources is compared with it, the lack of consistency is immediately apparent. (See Table 1.) Some later sources from German-speaking regions, such as one from Klosterneuburg, agree with Einsiedeln; but the gradual of Ediger – an Augustinian source from the end of the 12th century, the earliest gradual from the Rheinland that has come down to us – gives the verses in a very different order. A Leningrad manuscript that represents the use of Bec agrees with Einsiedeln, as does the Sarum Gradual; but a source copied at Canterbury and sent to Durham around 1080 gives the verses in an order that did not occur elsewhere among the sources consulted for this study. Two Cluniac sources and a St. Denis missal agree. An additional verse, «Benedictus es super sedem sanctam divinitatis tuae» (or «Benedictus qui sedes super sedem,» etc.) is sometimes added to the chant; it is designated as x on the chart. You will note that it may come second in the series (in Rome, Angelica 123), third (in lat. 776), or fourth (Monza 12/75). There is a different additional verse – designated y on the chart – in a manuscript from Forlimpopoli. Can we infer that «Benedictus es Domine Deus» did not originate as a chant with a fixed text and a definite length, but as an open-ended series of benedictions – a well-known kind of prayer, one that might be developed differently on different occasions, in response to circumstances and the sense of the congregation, though its central theme would always remain «Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers»? The musical setting is a variant of the 7th-mode psalm tone.

If the inference is correct, that this was once an open-ended text, it was the only one in the chants used in this liturgical role. The other forms of the «Benedicite» used after the Daniel lesson on Ember Saturdays follow the «Benedicite» closely, either in exact quotation or in paraphrase. But this is not to say that there are no differences between the Vulgate edition of the «Benedicite» and the form in which it appears in its chant settings. There are differences, here and there, and particularly in what might be called the second stanza of the text, Daniel 3:64–73. This organization into stanzas is roughly regular in terms of number of lines, and follows content. As Moore expresses it,<sup>13</sup> in the first stanza it is said

13 Moore, pp. 42–3.

that creations in the highest heavens should praise God, in the second, that elements coming from heaven should praise God, in the third, earthly creations, and in the fourth, all mankind.

Table 2

Vulgate	Chant	Theodotion B
64 imber et ros	64 imber et ros	
65 omnis spiritus	65 omnis spiritus	
66 ignis et aestus	66 ignis et aestus	66
67 frigus et aestus	71 noctes et dies	71
68 rores et pruina	72 tenebrae et lumen	72
69 gelu et frigus	69 frigus et cauma	69
70 glacies et nives	70 pruina et nives	70
71 noctes et dies	73 fulgura et nubes	73
72 lux et tenebrae		
73 fulgura et nubes		

In Table 2, I have contrasted the order of elements in the second stanza with their order in the chant. I have used the third column to show the order in which they are given in one early Greek version of the text, the one referred to in scholarship in this field as Theodotion B.<sup>14</sup> The point is clear: the chant text follows an ancient edition of the Canticle in which things are arranged differently than in the Vulgate. There is no need to blame the composer of the chant for rearranging the text, or to credit him with doing so. And there is evidently a parallel in this to the borrowing of texts from the earlier, Roman psalter, rather than the later Gallican psalter, for musical settings in the classic repertory of Mass chants. The word «cauma» in verse 69 comes straight from the Greek.<sup>15</sup> The word is not unknown in Latin; but (according to Fischer) it occurs just once in the Vulgate, not in the «Benedicite» but in the book of Job.<sup>16</sup>

The most familiar substitute for the «Benedicite» in the Mass is the Alleluia that stands in its place in those Mass formularies for the Ember Saturday after Pentecost that have as their lesson chants five Alleluias and a tract. To trace this development adequately would be impossible here. I should like to go on directly to another substitute for the «Benedicite,» a paraphrase of it in verse – in accentual Adonics – that is attributed to Walafrid Strabo (809–ca. 849), Abbot of Reichenau and advisor to Louis the Pious.<sup>17</sup> It begins, «Omnipotentem semper adorant,» and, as I have suggested, follows the «Benedicite» very closely. In what corresponds to the second section, there is inevitably some rearrangement of the elements, for the sake of the meter, but the use of «cauma» indicates that the model is the chant of the Benedicite, rather than the Vulgate text:

14 Moore, pp. 71, 30–33.

15 Moore, p. 71, in the note concerning v. 45. For a reconciliation of Moore's numbering of the verses with that of the Vulgate (employed here), see pp. 66–9.

16 Bonifatius Fischer OSB, *Novae concordantiae Bibliorum sacrorum* (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1977), 1:735.

17 The poetry of Walafrid Strabo is discussed by F. J. E. Raby in *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry* (2nd ed.; London, 1953), pp. 183–9.

Sic quoque limphe queque superna ros pluvieque spiritus omnis  
Ignis et estus cauma geluque frigus et ardor atque pruina  
Nix glaciesque noxque diesque lux tenebreque fulgura nubes

The opening section is repeated, in full or in part, as a refrain after each of the verses, which are all sung to the same melody.

The work appears in a number of manuscripts, not always with the same music. Bruno Stäblein gives two melodies for it in his collection of medieval hymns.<sup>18</sup> The oldest source to present this text with musical notation has recently been identified by Peter Jeffery as the front flyleaf of the manuscript Laon, Bibl. municipale, 266, which dates from the last quarter of the ninth century; it is also the oldest source that assigns this text a role in the liturgy.<sup>19</sup> The melody there is neumatic, and more or less matches that given in the Einsiedeln manuscript, where it is in an appendix – not in place in the liturgical year. London, B. L., Harley 4951 also gives essentially the same melody; but lat. 1121 has a different setting, one that is in almost entirely syllabic style, in which the refrain is called for after every half-verse.

The presentation in lat. 1121 of the «Benedicite» and its alternates follows an organization of the liturgical year that ends in Advent, rather than beginning there.<sup>20</sup> «Benedictus es in firmamento» is given first, then «Benedictus es Domine Deus,» for «Secunda Sabbato, in Iunio»; then «Omnia opera Domini Deum benedicite,» «In autumno»; and finally, «In hieme» (in winter, that is, Advent), «Omnipotentem semper adorant.»

The same organization of the year underlies the way in which «Benedictus es in firmamento» and the «Benedicite» are divided up among the four Ember Saturdays in some Beneventan manuscripts: the beginning of the text is sung on the Ember Saturday of Lent, the next section on that after Pentecost, the next in the fall, and the last, in Advent, with the full antiphon beginning the chant each time.<sup>21</sup> (The four sections into which the «Benedicite» is divided do not coincide with what we have called the stanzas: Lent has rather more than its share, and Advent the smallest part. But grouping the blessings in threes makes following that scheme exactly impossible in any case.)

In lat. 1121, the chant for the fall, «Omnia opera Domini,» is an antiphon that introduces the «Benedicite» chanted to a formula that is practically a psalm tone. (It is shown in Plate 1.) But «Omnia opera Domini» is not one of the hundreds of antiphons collected and edited by Hesbert in *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*; and Randel's index of Mozarabic chant leads us to an antiphon with almost the

18 *Monumenta monodica medii aevi, I.: Hymnen (1)* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956), pp. 489–90, with commentary on p. 620.

19 Peter Jeffery, «An Early Cantatorium Fragment Related to MS Laon 239,» *Scriptorium*, 36 (1982), 245–252.

20 This may reflect a system of arranging the Ember Weeks according to the civil (rather than the liturgical) year, setting them in the first, fourth, seventh and tenth months. For the connection between the Ember Weeks and the Roman seasonal fasts observed at the time of sowing and of harvesting corn, and of harvesting grapes, see Willis, pp. 53–4.

21 [R.-J. Hesbert], «La tradition bénéventaine dans la tradition manuscrite,» *Paléographie musicale*, XIV (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1931), pp. 223–4.

Benedicunt omnes angeli et sancti in Caudabili  
tempore summiscula. Gloria patrum fibi inspirans  
et lucidabili gloriose in te. Sicut erat in principio et nunc  
us semper in sanctis eorum amen. Benedic ies et deus  
minore et domini deus et laetus  
benedicite. Benedicite omnia opere domini  
domino. Benedicite aeterni angeli domini domino  
Omnia. Benedicite aquaque super celos sunt  
domino. Benedicite omnes in terra domini domino  
Omnia. Benedicite soli lunae domini et domino  
benedicite scilicet domino. Omnia. Benedicite himbo

Plate 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. latin 1121, fol. 88<sup>v</sup>

same text but a different melody.<sup>22</sup> The only other source that has yet come to light for this antiphon is an 11th-century Aquitanian antiphonal – Toledo, Bibl. cap. 44.1 – in which it lacks notation.

To sum up, what lat. 1121 shows is three chants based on the «Benedicite» (Daniel 3:57–90). One presents the text in paraphrase; each of the other two provides an introduction and refrain for it, and states it completely. It also has one chant that takes «Benedictus es» (Daniel 3:52–56) as its point of departure. The texts are not identical in character, and the differences between them are significant. «Benedictus es» is a prayer of the type known as «berakah,» or benediction, in which God is blessed; there are many examples of this type of prayer in the Old Testament.<sup>23</sup> The form is flexible, and may be developed in a number of different ways. The «Benedicite,» on the other hand, is like a poem (Moore refers to it as a hymn); in it a systematic organization rules the length of sections and their development. In light of that, it is not surprising that in the Gregorian manuscripts the «Benedicite» is given complete rather than reduced to a series of excerpts. But how can the diversity of musical styles be explained, and the fact that one finds sometimes one of these texts, sometimes the other?

Perhaps the explanation lies in the relatively late date at which the Daniel lesson became part of the service for Ember Saturdays. But there may be another reason, one having to do with the meaning of the text. The effect of the interpolation in chapter 3 of the book of Daniel, as has been said earlier, is to shift attention from what the three young men did to what they believed. It was a miracle of faith that enabled them to live to sing the praise of God in the fiery furnace. Can the diversity of forms for their prayer, and of musical settings for their hymn, have been the product of reluctance to establish one set way of representing in the liturgy a turn of events that is as astonishing and dramatic as any in sacred literature?

22 R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, III (Rome: Herder, 1968); Don Michael Randel, *An Index to the Chant of the Mozarabic Rite* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 305.

23 Paul F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church* (London: Alcuin Club, 1981), pp. 11–18.

# A Gregorian Processional Antiphon

KENNETH LEVY

No chant of the medieval liturgy comes better supplied with evidence of its origin, function, and change than the processional antiphon *Deprecamur te Domine*. No chant, in fact, has a better claim to be called «Gregorian,» for Deprecamur reaches us with a unique parcel of history attached. In 596, Pope Gregory the Great dispatched Augustine, the Italian-born prior of the monastery of Saint Andrew on the Caelian hill at Rome, to refound the Church of England, and before Augustine died in 604–5 he was ordained the first archbishop of Canterbury. In the 8th-century *History* of Bede and again in the *Vita* of Augustine it is recorded that as the Saint approached Canterbury in 597 there was sweetly sung the «litanialem antiphonam» *Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua.*<sup>1</sup> The full text of that antiphon is given by the two English histories, and it appears again in the 9th-century text-antiphonaries of Compiègne and Senlis among the provisions for the Great Litanies.<sup>2</sup> During the following centuries it reappears in neumed sources from all over Europe. Thus there is every reason to suppose that the verbal text was established in the Roman usage by the end of the 6th century. For the music, no fewer than three distinct chants circulate during the Middle Ages, and the present purpose is to examine them and see what they reveal. The most widely diffused chant is a truly international one that appears in France (as early as the 10th century), Germany, Italy, and England. It is apparently the only melody in surviving English sources. A generation ago, one might have labelled a melody with such a pedigree as «Gregorian,» and with that have settled the question of what melody it was that Augustine heard in England. Today, however, it is clear that the question is knottier, and that there are arguments for assigning such a melody to a «Frankish»-fostered recension of the Roman chant, carried out north of the Alps some two centuries or more after Gregory's reign.<sup>3</sup> In the discussion that follows, I shall prefer to call that recension «Carolingian» rather than «Frankish,» on the one hand as describing the time-frame during which it took decisive shape, and on the other as describing what was in some respects a broad-based endeavor which, like its cultural progenitor, the «Carolingian Renaissance,» joined contributions of Visigoths and Lombards, Celts and Saxons, with those of Franks and Italians in shaping the musical tradition that for centuries thereafter was known as «Gregorian.»

1 *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave, R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), 74: . . . *hanc laetaniam consona voce modularentur; Vita Sancti Augustini*, cap. 19; J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus . . . Series Latina* . . . , tomus 80 (Paris, 1863), col. 62: . . . *tum hanc litanialem antiphonam dulcimode intonat, et . . . consona modulatione ac devotione decantat.*

2 R.-J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935), No. 202a; p. cxxi.

3 H. Hucke, «Gregorianischer Gesang in altrömischer und fränkischer Überlieferung,» *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 13 (1956), 74ff.; idem, «Karolingische Renaissance und Gregorianischer Gesang,» *Die Musikforschung*, 28 (1975), 4ff., especially 12–13; idem, *The New Grove Dictionary*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), «Gregorian and Old Roman Chant,» 7, 696–7.

Fig. 1 offers three early witnesses of *Deprecamur te* in the Carolingian tradition: one is from German Switzerland; another from central Italy; and a third from eastern Austria.

Fig. 1 *Deprecamur te* in Carolingian traditions: 1a. Saint Gall 339, 136 (plus Bamberg lit. 6, 90);  
 1b. Pistoia C. 119, 127;  
 1c. Graz 807, 116.

Fig. 1a  
 (St. Gall  
 339)



Fig. 1b  
 (Pistoia  
 C. 119)



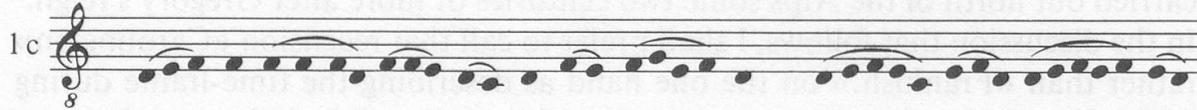
1a



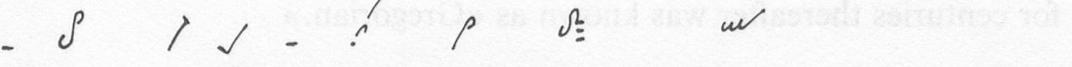
1b



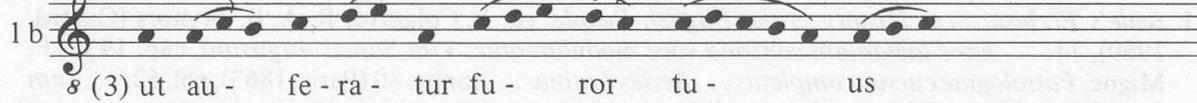
1c



1a



1b



1c



1a

1b   
*s (4) et i- ra tu - a*

1c   
*s*

(Bamberg, St. Gall )

1a lit. 6)

1b   
*s (5) a ci - vi - ta - te i - sta*

1c   
*s*

1a

1b   
*s (6) et de do - mo san - cta tu - a*

1c   
*s*

1a

1b   
*s (7) quo - ni - am pec - ca - vi - mus*

1c   
*s*

Fig. 1 a is a staffless version in 11th-century St. Gall neumes.<sup>4</sup> Its neumation is essentially identical with that in some other prediastematic sources of the middle 10th through early 11th centuries, originating as far apart as Brittany, Picardy, and Aemilia.<sup>5</sup> Despite their spreads of time and place, the staffless versions are so united in details of graphic disposition that they all must represent the sort of single neumatic archetype that Dom Cardine and his associates have been adumbrating for many chants of the standard repertory, an archetype compiled at some scriptorium «between the Seine and the Rhine,» and presumably during the 9th century.<sup>6</sup>

Turning to Fig. 1 b, we have a staffed reading descended from the neumatic archetype represented by Fig. 1 a.<sup>7</sup> This 12th-century melodic version from Pistoia is quite close to Fig. 1 a in its neumatic layout. In fact, it is remarkable how uniformly most of the early staffed versions have come through the process of transformation from neumatic outline to heighted melody. Essentially this same melodic version is found in England, though not to my knowledge in any source before the 13th century. The Worcester reading is descended from the same neumatic model as Fig. 1 a, but with more considerable melodic decay than most, and its testimony seems to contribute little to the dossier of the chant's early history.

With Fig. 1 b we have the substance of the melody, which was evidently thought of as representing a D-Authentic mode. There is the characteristic opening leap from D to A, though other modal earmarks are less indicative. The question of modality takes on further interest when we turn to Fig. 1 c, which shows the 12th-century east Austrian version of Graz 807.<sup>9</sup> This version in its neumatic disposition reflects the same prediastematic model as the versions of Saint Gall (Fig. 1 a) and Pistoia (Fig. 1 b). But the modal premise is changed. Unlike the great majority of Carolingian-derived traditions, Graz is exceptional in presenting the familiar melodic substance at a different pitch-level. While still treating the chant as D-mode, it adjusts some modal-melodic details so that the resulting conception is D-Plagal rather than D-Authentic. This may have come about as a casual result of the process by which chants that originally circulated in staffless neumes became attached to different levels of the tonal system when decisions about staff and clefs were made. Yet like some other Germanic manuscripts, particularly Augustinian and Cistercian, the one at Graz systematically transposes chants like its Graduals of the *Justus ut palma* type, shifting them so as to avoid an upper B-flat. A similar logic may have prevailed in the choice of D-Plagal for Depre-

4 Saint Gall 339, 136 (*Paléographie musicale* [hereafter: *PM*], 1); variants after Bamberg lit. 6, 90.

5 *PM* 11, 126; *PM* 16, 44v; *PM* 18, 169.

6 E. Cardine, «A propos des formes possibles d'une figure neumatique,» in *Sacerdos et Cantus Gregoriani Magister: Festschrift F. X. Haberl* (Regensburg, 1977), 68: «On constate . . . que les manuscrits sont en accord entre eux pour noter les particularités les plus fines, d'autant mieux qu'ils sont plus anciens et qu'ils proviennent des pays situés entre la Seine et le Rhin, c'est-à-dire qu'ils sont plus rapprochés du lieu où fut établi l'archétype de la notation musicale.» The thrust of Cardine's argument is notably expanded by J. B. Göschl, *Semilogische Untersuchungen zum Phänomen der gregorianischen Liqueszenz*, 2 vols, (Wien, 1980).

7 Pistoia, Bibl. cap., C. 119, 127.

8 *PM* 12, 227; a 12th-century Winchester missal, Le Havre 330, was unavailable to me.

9 *PM* 19, 116; the manuscript's origin there assigned by Dom J. Froger to Klosterneuberg.

camur te. Yet whatever the motive behind the change in mode, the underlying neumation of Graz (Fig. 1c) clearly reflects the «Carolingian» neumation of Fig. 1a.

Turning to Fig. 2, we have a south-central Italian, «Beneventan» version of our antiphon after three sources of the 12th century: one from Troia in eastern Puglia, near Monte Gargano; another from Sora in the Abruzzi, near Subiaco to the southeast of Rome; and a third from Campanian Benevento itself.<sup>10</sup>

Fig. 2 *Deprecamur te* in Beneventan tradition:

Naples VI. G. 34, 6; Vat. reg. lat. 334, 68v; Benevento VI. 34, 157.

(1) De - pre - ca - mur te Do - mi - ne

(2) in - om - ni mi - se-ri - cor - di - a tu - a

(3) ut au - fe - ra - tur fu - ror tu - us

(4) et i - ra tu - a

(5) a ci - vi - ta - te i - sta

(6) et do - mo san - cta tu - a

(7) quo - ni - am pec - ca - vi - mus

<sup>10</sup> Napoli, Bibl. Naz., VI.G.34, 6; Vatican, Reg. lat. 334, 68v; Benevento, Bibl. cap., VI.34, 157 (PM 15).

No Beneventan version in staffless neumes has survived, but our three staffed readings are so close in details of neumation that there is likely to have been a single pre-diastematic model behind all of them, as there is for most of the rest of the Beneventan tradition. Like the east Austrian melody in Fig. 1c, our Beneventan melody is in D-Plagal, and it is in many respects so much like Fig. 1c that a first estimate might be that it represents the same kind of transmission: another derivative of the Carolingian neumatic archetype, again shifted from authentic to plagal. Still, the Beneventan reading departs somewhat more considerably from the Carolingian neumation than occurs elsewhere in the 11th–12th century readings, and the aggregate of the Beneventan variants of mode, neumatic disposition, and pitch-detail seems considerable enough to warrant a separate presentation of the Beneventan reading.<sup>11</sup> In a moment I shall return to consider some possibilities that are raised by the Beneventan variants.

There are still two melodies remaining. Fig. 3 shows the Urban-Roman, «Old-Roman» melody, an *unicum* in Vatican 5319, copied c. 1100.<sup>12</sup>

Fig. 3 *Deprecamur te* in Old Roman tradition:

Vat. lat. 5319, 141v.

(1) De - pre - ca - mur te Do - mi - ne

(2) in om - ni mi - se - ri - cor -

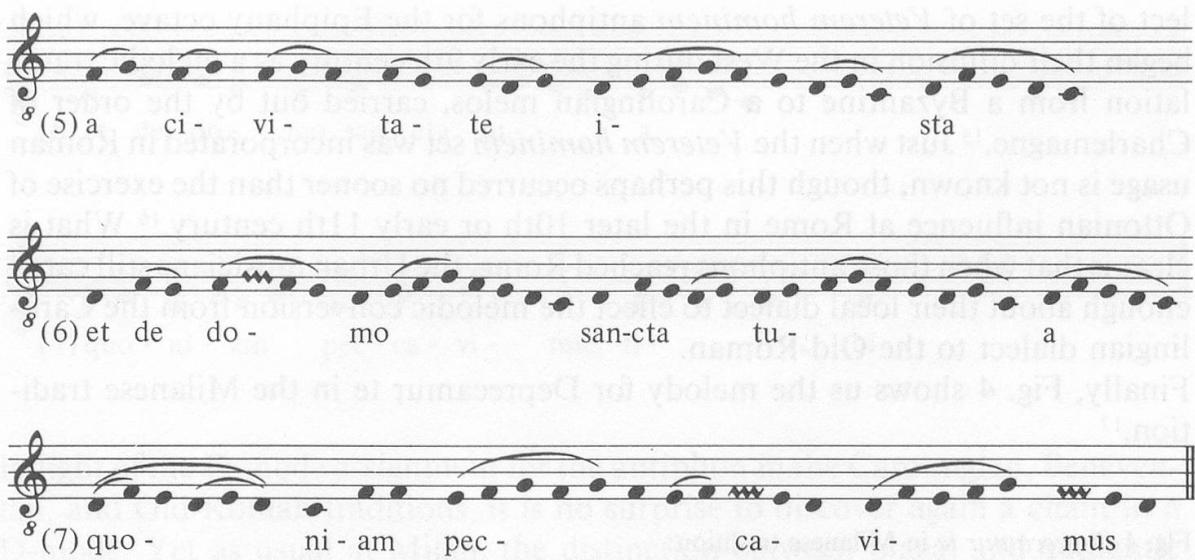
(3) di - e tu - e

(4) ut au - fe - ra - tur fu - ror tu - us

et i - ra tu - a

11 There are the following variants for the first five words: *De-pre-*, C[arolingian]: two puncta or punctum, virga; B[eneventan]: two ornamental(?) neumes (on this type see J. Boe, «The Beneventan Apostrophus in South Italian Notation, A.D. 1000–1100,» in *Early Music History*, 3, 1983, 43–66). *Do-*, C: torculus resupinus; B: torculus, punctum, clivis. *mi-*, C: virga; B: podatus. *ne-*, C: torculus; B: «pressus.» *in*. C: quilisma; B: torculus. *om-*, C: virga; B: torculus. Etc.

12 Vatican, Latin 5319, 141v; B. Stäblein, ed., *Monumenta monodica mediæ aevi*, II (Kassel, 1970), 565.



As at Benevento, the mode is D-Plagal; and these two «Italic» versions also show melodic relationships of a sort found elsewhere between the two neighboring traditions. This is not an occasion to review the problematic history of the Old-Roman repertory, but since the melodic evidence for Deprecamur te falls into an area so burdened with personal opinions, I should state that I favor the view that the Old-Roman chants, as they reach us in a small handful of 11th–13th century sources, represent a relatively late conversion to writing of a melodic tradition that persisted in circulating orally for somewhat longer than the Carolingian tradition.<sup>13</sup> Some years ago I pointed out the special channel that existed between the church of St. Cecilia in Trastevere, where in 1071 the earliest Urban-Roman Gradual was noted, and the abbey of Monte Cassino, whose abbot Desiderius, the most influential of Cassinese abbots after St. Benedict himself, was assigned St. Cecilia as his titular Urban church upon investing the functions of Cardinal-Priest in 1059. Desiderius continued in authority over church and monastery until his elevation to the papacy in 1087.<sup>14</sup> The considerable number of musical borrowings from Beneventan use found in the Old-Roman Gradual of 1071 may reflect that link. Moreover it would not be surprising if the impulse to convert an obsolescent Roman musical tradition from oral transmission to writing also came from Monte Cassino in the middle 11th century. In any case, the close neumatic agreement between the Gradual of 1071 and the slightly later Gradual, Vatican 5319 indicates that both are close to the same model, perhaps the archetype for the Roman noted tradition. As for the melodic substance of that tradition, however, what indications there are suggest that the Roman musicians clung to the stylistic integrity of their chant-dialect at least through the early 9th century. That is how one must interpret the conversion to a Roman melodic dia-

13 A view considered recently by P. Cutter, «The Old-Roman Chant Tradition: Oral or Written?», *Journal of the American Musicological Society* [hereafter: JAMS], 20 (1967), 167–181; see also Cutter in *Acta Musicologica*, 39 (1967), 2–19, and *The Musical Quarterly*, 62 (1976), 182–194; compare T.H. Connolly, «The Gradual of S. Cecilia in Trastevere and the Old Roman Tradition», JAMS, 28 (1975), 413–458.

14 K. Levy, «*Lux de luce*: The Origin of an Italian Sequence», *The Musical Quarterly*, 57 (1971), 44 n. 11.

lect of the set of *Veterem hominem* antiphons for the Epiphany octave, which began their diffusion in the West during the early 9th century as a melodic translation from a Byzantine to a Carolingian melos, carried out by the order of Charlemagne.<sup>15</sup> Just when the *Veterem hominem* set was incorporated in Roman usage is not known, though this perhaps occurred no sooner than the exercise of Ottonian influence at Rome in the later 10th or early 11th century.<sup>16</sup> What is clear is that when those antiphons reached Rome, the Urban musicians still cared enough about their local dialect to effect the melodic conversion from the Carolingian dialect to the Old-Roman.

Finally, Fig. 4 shows us the melody for *Deprecamur te* in the Milanese tradition.<sup>17</sup>

Fig. 4 *Deprecamur te* in Milanese tradition:

Oxford, Bodl. lat. lit. a. 4, 87.

(1) De-pre-ca-mur te Do - mi - ne

(2) in om - ni mi-se - ri - cor - di - a tu - a

(3) ut au - fe - ra - tur fu - ror tu - us

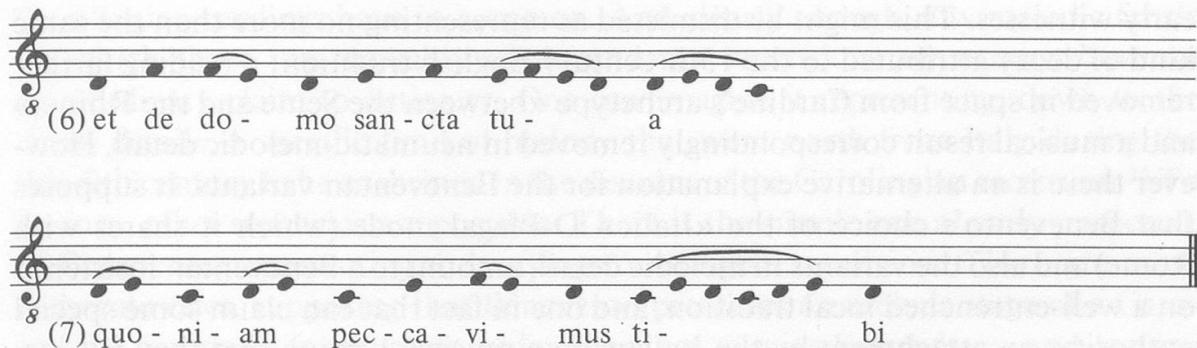
(4) et i - ra tu - a

(5) a ci - vi - ta - te i - sta

15 O. Strunk, «The Latin Antiphons for the Octave of the Epiphany,» *Recueil de travaux de l'institut d'Études byzantines*, No. 8: *Mélanges Georges Ostrogorsky*, 2 (Belgrade, 1964), 417–426; repr. in O. Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York, 1977), 208–219.

16 Berno of Reichenau (d. 1048) (*De Quibusdam rebus ad missae officium spectantibus*, c. 2: Migne, *Patrologiae . . . lat.*, 142, col. 1060f.) recounts (*me coram assistente*) the astonishment of Henry II in 1014 on finding the Credo omitted from the Mass at Rome, which lead to its inclusion at public Masses by Benedict VIII (1012–24).

17 Oxford, Bodl., lat. liturg. a. 4 (30062), 87 (A. D. 1399).



In light of the D-mode assignment for the antiphon in the Carolingian, Beneventan, and Old-Roman traditions, it is no surprise to discover again a chant in a D-mode. Yet as usual at Milan, the distinction between plagal and authentic forms is not clearly made, if made at all, and this chant is not indicative enough in melodic idioms or focussed enough within its range to justify a characterization as either plagal or authentic. The text first appears at Milan in a series of litanic services in an 11th century Ambrosian *Manuale*.<sup>18</sup> The musical version in Fig. 4 is three centuries younger, though the melodic stability exhibited by other Milanese chants as they progress through manuscripts of the early 12th through late 14th centuries allows some possibility that the version of *Deprecamur te* sung at Milan in the 11th–12th century was not too different from the one given here.

If we go on now to compare our three basic melodies – Carolingian-Beneventan (Figs. 1–2), Old-Roman (Fig. 3), and Milanese (Fig. 4) – there is some ground for supposing that they are fundamentally related. Thus there are parallels in the rhetorical rise and fall of lines 1 and 2; in the melodic climaxes on *furor* (line 3) and *ita* (line 4); in the recitations that open line 5. One of these three melodic formulations may have served as the point of departure for another. But it is more likely that behind all three there lies some ancestral modal-melodic formulation whose stylistic details we can no longer ascertain.

\*

Barring some unexpected circumstance, there will be no way of knowing what melodic formulations lie behind our earliest noted sources. I am not about to propose that such an unexpected circumstance exists, yet there is something provocative about the melodic transmissions for *Deprecamur te*, and I do not want to leave the question of this antiphon without sketching a scenario that may lift something of the veil that shrouds the earlier, pre-notational centuries. It depends on the small differences that have already been observed between the Carolingian (Fig. 1) and Beneventan (Fig. 2) versions. What separates those two comes to very little: the choice of authentic mode as opposed to plagal; and a handful of neumatic-melodic details whose divergences reach a bit beyond those in other

<sup>18</sup> M. Magistretti, *Monumenta veteris liturgiae ambrosianae: Manuale ambrosianum (saec XI), pars altera* (Milano, 1904–5), 265; *die tertio de litaniis, Antiphona xvi.*

early witnesses. This might be dismissed as representing no more than the same kind of decay attributed to the 13th-century English tradition: a reading farther removed in space from Cardine's archetype «between the Seine and the Rhine,» and a musical result correspondingly removed in neumatic-melodic detail. However there is an alternative explanation for the Beneventan variants. It supposes that Benevento's choice of the «Italic» D-Plagal mode (which it shares with Rome) and also the variants in melodic detail, amount to a Beneventan insistence on a well-entrenched local tradition, and one in fact that can claim some special authority: an attachment by the Italians to a musical version that they felt justified in maintaining in the face of the Carolingian recension. There is some background for the idea of a Beneventan liturgical-musical practice having special authority. For one thing, the Benedictine mother abbey of Monte Cassino, established in 529, spread its usage from the Beneventan zone to the whole of Europe. In the later 6th century, Gregory the Great governed his monks by the Benedictine Rule, and when Augustine of Canterbury and his company reached England in 596–7 it was that Rule and presumably its accompanying music that they brought with them.<sup>19</sup> There is also the Lindisfarne Gospel, compiled in northeast Britain at the end of the 7th century. Its text model was not an Evangelium of Roman provenance but one going back to a Campanian or Neapolitan exemplar – from the Beneventan zone.<sup>20</sup> As for music, Dom Hesbert has shown the extraordinary tenacity of the Beneventan scribes in preserving archaic details of the Carolingian neumatic recension more faithfully than elsewhere.<sup>21</sup> The other side of that Beneventan archaizing is the tenacity about the local musical liturgy: the scribes continued to copy the old-Beneventan proper chants for major feasts well into the 12th century, long after other regions had bowed to the liturgical unifications dictated by Charlemagne and abandoned the bulk of their local music for the Carolingian recension.<sup>22</sup>

Now if it can be supposed that the Beneventan variants for *Deprecamur te* represent a similar independence of mind, an archaic persuasion about how certain features of the antiphon must go, that may tell us something useful. At face value, the variants say only that the Italians were fussing over some very small details. Yet the insistence on apparent trifles betokens something more: in effect, an «endorsement» of the large amounts of melodic fabric that the Beneventan and

19 F. L. Cross, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London, 1958), 155 («Benedictine Order»).

20 F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, eds., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 12<sup>1</sup>, 766 («Naples»); E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores*, 2 (Oxford, 1935), No. 187.

21 *PM* 14 (1931ff.), 143–196: «L'Archaïsme mélodique,» Hesbert's summary (p. 464): «Archaïque par son écriture, archaïque par maints traits de sa liturgie, archaïque par sa notation musicale, la tradition bénéventaine l'est encore au double point de vue mélodique et modal. Et, ici encore, nous entendons bien parler, non de la cantilène locale qui accompagnait les fonctions de l'ancien rite bénéventain, mais bien du chant romain [i.e. the recension here described as «Carolingian»] en tant qu'il est attesté par des témoins bénéventains.»

22 On the old-Beneventan chant repertory, see Dom B. Baroffio, «Liturgie im beneventanischen Raum,» *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, ed. K.-G. Fellerer, 1 (Kassel, 1972), 204; K. Schlager, «Beneventan rite, music of the,» in *The New Grove Dictionary*, 2, 482–4; K. Levy, «Latin Chant Outside the Roman Tradition,» in *New Oxford History of Music*, 2, rev. ed. (forthcoming), ed. R. L. Crocker. Editions are in preparation of the old-Beneventan proper chants by T.F. Kelly, and the sequences and tropes by A. Planchart and J. Boe.

Carolingian readings have in common. And clearly enough, any melodic fabric on which those two arguably «independent» recensions agree must have an extraordinary claim to antiquity. One can imagine it representing, down to the small details, a specific fund of melody that went north from Italy during the 8th–9th century to be enshrined in the neumes of the Carolingian recension.<sup>23</sup> To be sure, other scenarios are possible. There is the simple one already proposed, of Benevento representing a decaying Carolingian recension. There are more elaborate ones, supposing that Benevento preserves an archaic stage of a Carolingian neumatic formulation older than has survived elsewhere, and leaving open the question of whether the common melodic fabric in Figs. 1–2 was originally Italian or may represent a Gallican or Frankish formulation.

To pursue only the scenario of an Italian original transmitted independently by Benevento, before any claims can be made, there must be further testing of Carolingian-derived versions of *Deprecamur te*, and also tests of comparable processional antiphons. I have undertaken one such comparison with the antiphon *Peccavimus Domine et tu iratus es*, which offers a particularly close parallel to *Deprecamur te*. This is again an antiphon of the Great Litanies, transmitted in the same group as *Deprecamur te* by the Carolingian, Beneventan, and Old-Roman traditions. At Rome, *Deprecamur* and *Peccavimus* are in a sense musical twins: both are in D-Plagal, and they share more specific melodic substance with one another than either shares with any other Roman processional antiphon.<sup>24</sup> The point of the comparison, however, is in the Beneventan and Carolingian recensions. Unlike the case of *Deprecamur*, where the two recensions disagree about the mode, both now have *Peccavimus* in D-Plagal. Moreover the differences in melodic detail are much less considerable for *Peccavimus* than for *Deprecamur*.<sup>25</sup> Since the recensions agree about *Peccavimus* while disagreeing about *Deprecamur*, the likelihood seems increased that the Beneventans were adhering to an entrenched historical tradition in their variant reading of *Deprecamur*.

If such arguments can stand up to further testing, they may give us a unique grip, not only on the melodic pre-history of *Deprecamur te*, but perhaps on something more. By saying that Benevento clung to certain archaic melodic variants while still agreeing in substance with the Carolingian melody, we are implying that the Carolingian music did not acquire its basic stylization in the north as part of a «Frankish» melodic revision, but rather that it originated in Italy and came north already fully stylized. And this may lend support to the view espoused by Stäblein and others that there were «two Roman chants»: that the melodic fabric of the Carolingian recension was not in large measure the outcome of a thorough-going «Frankish» stylistic overlay but represented a melodic fund that in most

23 An early stage of the Carolingian recension may have reached the Beneventan zone before about 838; on the date see K. Levy, «The Italian Neophytes' Chants,» *JAMS*, 23 (1970), 221, n. 100.

24 B. Stäblein, *Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, 2 (Kassel, 1970), 565–6.

25 The Beneventan neumation (Reg. 334, 65v; Napoli VI.G.34, 4; Benevento VI.34 [PM 15], 157) is practically identical with the 10th to 12th century neumations of Saint Gall (PM 1, 136; PM 4, 401), Picardy (PM 16, 45), Aquitaine (Paris lat. 903, 135), Nonantola (Rome, Casanatense 1743, 166v), and Aemilia (PM 18, 169v). The 13th century Worcester reading (PM 12, 224) is again farthest from the archetype.

respects came already stylized from Italy.<sup>26</sup> Yet it is a long way from a single antiphon of peripheral, processional usage to the central repertory of proper chants for the Mass and Office, and the fact remains that each class of liturgical chant, each modal category within a class, and indeed each particular chant, has to be weighed individually in this regard. There is one final point. We have been dealing with an Italian chant-reading that comes down through south-central Italian, Beneventan sources. At the same time we have noted the casual attitude of the Romans about preserving their own «Urban-Roman» musical repertory. Thus it may be that what the Beneventan transmission represents is the provincial survival of a neighboring Roman tradition that the Urban scribes themselves did not bother to commit to writing.

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The main points of the foregoing are: 1. Beneventan sources preserve a slightly variant melodic reading for *Deprecamur te* (Fig. 2), perhaps representing an archaic Italian tradition that did not filter through the Carolingian tradition (Fig. 1); 2. in that case, the Carolingian melody is likely to have been received already stylized from Italy, with little added in the way of «northern» or «Franks» retouching; 3. while the preserved Italian tradition is Beneventan, the ultimate Italian source may have been Rome. In closing, I would reemphasize the tentative nature of these proposals. Yet I would also emphasize that we are unlikely ever to have direct access to melodic readings that are older than our oldest (9th century) neumed documents. That being so, it may only be an argument of the sort traced here that can ever tell us what the fabric of the 6th to 8th century «Gregorian»-Roman chants was actually like.

26 The positions are summarized by Hucke in *The New Grove Dictionary*, 7, 696–7 (art.: «Gregorian and Old Roman chant»).

## Diskussion

Im Blick auf den gerade bei Gattungsfragen immer wieder zu beobachtenden selbstverständlichen Brückenschlag von den notierten Handschriften in die Zeit einer schriftlosen Überlieferung standen mit den hier herangezogenen Exempla die Kriterien einer Interpretation und Einordnung solcher Beispiele zur Diskussion. Das Gespräch konzentrierte sich zunächst auf die von Kenneth Levy vorgelegte Prozessionsantiphon *Deprecamur te Domine* und dann auf das *Canticum trium puerorum*, dem der Beitrag von Ruth Steiner galt. – Bei der Antiphon betraf ein erster Gedankenaustausch die Kriterien einer vergleichenden Analyse von Fassungen unterschiedlicher Herkunft.

*Alejandro Planchart*: This may seem a contradiction of what Professor Levy has said, but I view it as further confirmation of his views. From my work on the Beneventan manuscripts it has become clear to me that the manuscripts from the monastery of Sancta Sophia and from the city of Benevento are indeed fussy manuscripts that hold tenaciously to local variants, and also change deliberately that which comes from outside. Among the pieces that John Boe is editing – the Gloria tropes – there are a number that are clearly traceable to Monte Cassino, but in the manuscripts from the city of Benevento the scribes rework and fuss with these pieces to a great extent. Thus what is most impressive in Professor Levy's example is that here we have a manuscript from Sancta Sophia that is accepting a *general* south Italian tradition, so that all of the little details pointed out by Professor Levy seem to have had a strong authority in southern Italy. In this case I think that the view that holds that the south Italian tradition has a considerable authority, and that whatever the south Italian version has in common with the Carolingian version has a very strong authority, tends to be confirmed by this. The south Italian tradition is unusually stable in terms of melodic variants and in terms of neumation.

*Leo Treitler*: I would like to say what I find particularly exciting about this material, that Professor Levy has presented, and also comment on the remark of Professor Planchart. It seems to me, one can treat this as a little laboratory for the study of musical transmission, in that it shows us a range of factors that would be involved in transmission. And one that is demonstrated most dramatically, is the first one that Professor Levy showed us, that is to say that, when the translation is made from neumes to a notation on the staff, there is exact correspondence between the two distributions of neumes vis-à-vis the text, and of course there are two possible interpretations of that: one is that the musical object is not so much what has been transmitted but rather that in fact the written artifact is being transmitted and we have, as you say, two different realisations or transmissions of it. That is one thing that one does observe very often, but I haven't seen it quite so clearly demonstrated as here, that is to say: variation in respect to

actual pitches but very close correspondence of neume-patterns. I haven't seen it so dramatically demonstrated where the pitch-differences are so great. And on the other hand it gives us the opportunity to see ideas about how the text is to be treated. The central point in the transmission is the emphasis of a particular phrase and so on. Less instructive, I would think, is the sort of comparison that involves three-note-groups here and there between two different transmissions, that is d-f-e here as against d-e-f there. I would rather see us compare versions as a whole or at least whole phrases.

The comment that I wanted to make to Professor Planchart is, that I am very uncomfortable about deliberate changes made, let's say, in Benevento, deliberate rewriting, deliberate recomposition. I think that seems to be an a-priori-judgement. I could make the opposite sort of a-priori-judgement, that in each place they are singing according to their own traditions. I wouldn't value my a-priori-judgement any more than I would value yours, but I would ask you to demonstrate what you mean, and not only what you mean but why you say it.

*Planchart*: By recomposing I mean the addition of twelve elegiac dystichs that were not in the piece before.

*Treitler*: That's okay but that is not what we see in this kind of situation nor in the pieces that you have shown us.

*Planchart*: True, but the recomposing is symptomatic of a certain attitude in Benevento, particularly towards Monte Cassino. What I was trying to say is that when the fussy and idiosyncratic manuscripts from the city of Benevento agree with the other south Italian manuscripts, then I think that these versions have a certain amount of authority, a strong tradition...

*Treitler*: Locally?

*Planchart*: Yes.

*Treitler*: But I think that one runs into a kind of overlap between purely stylistic matters and tendencies and deliberate recomposition.

*Planchart*: But when I talked about rewriting I meant that there is not a single of those pieces from Rome or Monte Cassino that has not been melodically and textually fussed with in Benevento, which makes the editing of some of them a very difficult matter.

*Die Beobachtungen zur Aufzeichnung und zum musikalischen Befund wurden durch Hinweise zum Text ergänzt.*

*Michel Huglo*: Vous avez choisi une antienne qui représente le premier cas d'exportation du chant romain aux extrémités de la chrétienté. Dans la version milanaise, vous avez choisi un manuscrit qui a été écrit à Milan, je crois, à la fin du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle. Mais si vous étiez tombé sur un manuscrit du Ticino ou de la campagne Milanaise, vous auriez eu comme variante «et ira tua ab ecclesia tua» parce que les pièces composées à Milan avaient cette version. On retrouve cette variante dans quelques autres antiennes des litanies majeures et je crois que ces variantes littéraires vont de pair avec des variantes musicales, pas seulement sur le mot qui est changé mais également la version elle-même de toute l'antienne.<sup>1</sup>

1 Dazu Michel Huglo, *Fonti e paleografia del canto ambrosiano*, Mailand 1956, 5 (Archivio Ambrosiano 7).

*Kenneth Levy*: I would agree with you. Let me say that something of this sort occurs already in the Carolingian version of line 5, where for purpose of comparison I made use of Bamberg lit. 6 rather than Saint-Gall 339, because Bamberg, a «city» manuscript, has «a civitate ista», while Saint-Gall has the monastic wording. You yourself have pointed out in print the same variant in the 11th-century *Manuale* of the Ambrosian rite published by Magistretti.<sup>2</sup> I do not suppose that the textual variant has any broad historical significance. Let me add that I would happily offer an earlier Ambrosian musical reading, but the Oxford manuscript is the earliest one I have.

*Die Diskussion zum Canticum exponierte zunächst die Möglichkeit, von allgemeinen Unterschieden der musikalischen Gestalt auf die historische und geographische Schichtung zu schliessen, und sie bot dabei eine neue Erklärung für die Herkunft des «tonus peregrinus» an.*

*Michel Huglo*: Pour le Benedicite, vous avez deux versions: une version syllabique et une version mélismatique. Ce qui est frappant c'est que le cantique *Benedicite* est un cantique dominical et il a été transferé au samedi des Quatre-Temps. Et je suis en train de me demander, si la version mélodique-syllabique n'appartiendrait pas à une forme ornée de récitation des cantiques dans l'office dominical avant l'uniformisation du chant de l'office en pays franc, parce que les cantiques bibliques en excès dans le Psautier ne se chantaient pas nécessairement sur un ton psalmodique. On voit dans la *Commemoratio brevis* que certains tons psalmodiques sont réservés pour certaines antiennes du dimanche ou de certaines festivités.<sup>3</sup> Qu'en pensez-vous?

*Ruth Steiner*: I thank Michel Huglo for giving me an opportunity to refer to a work of his that I found very stimulating. In the article on «Antiphon» in *The New Grove*, he called attention to a group of antiphons with which the *tonus peregrinus* was to be combined. All those antiphons were for the Benedicite, with the exception of «*Nos qui vivimus*» and all had the same melody. This raises a significant question: is the *tonus peregrinus* really a psalm tone? Dom Jean Claire believes that it is, and has shown how its musical development parallels that of the other psalm tones.<sup>4</sup> But I believe that an argument can be made for another view: that the *tonus peregrinus* came into being as a tone for the Benedicite, and that «*Nos qui vivimus*» was originally an antiphon for the Benedicite. The association of «*Nos qui vivimus*» with the psalm «*In exitu Israel*» can, I think, be plausibly explained as the result of a wish to connect a popular antiphon with the psalm from which its text is an excerpt. I presented the argument for this in a paper I read at the meeting of the American Musicological Society in November of 1981. If this is correct, if the *tonus peregrinus* really is a tone for the Benedicite, then it forms a parallel to the special tones for the invitatory psalm.

2 M. Magistretti, *Manuale ambrosianum ex cod. saec. XI olim in usum Canonicae Vallis Travalliae*, Mailand 1905.

3 H. Schmid, *Musica et Scolica enhiriadis cum aliquibus tractatulis*, München 1981, 163–174 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Veröffentlichungen der musikhistorischen Kommission 3).

4 See «The Tonus Peregrinus – A Question Well Put?», *Orbis Musicae* 7 (1979–80), 3–14.

*In einem letzten Abschnitt gab eine Frage von Max Haas nach dem Zusammenhang zwischen der eigentümlichen Textgestalt und der besonderen Stellung dieses Canticum als einer Voraussetzung dafür, dass sich gerade anhand dieses Gesanges Fragen des Brückenschlags in die schriftlose Zeit paradigmatisch diskutieren lassen, den Anstoss zu einem abschliessenden Votum.*

*Ruth Steiner:* There are two ways to incorporate a sacred text in the sung portion of the liturgy. One is to quote it in full: this is what is done with the psalms in the Divine Office. The other is to make excerpts from it (perhaps combining them with excerpts from other Biblical texts). In the Mozarabic repertory, the Canticle was treated in this fashion – presented through a series of excerpts. The text lends itself well to this kind of treatment: it's very repetitious, and in addition it is easy to learn. As Stockhausen pointed out, in commenting on his «Gesang der Jünglinge,» hearing just a few words from it immediately reminds the listener of the whole text in all of its richness and varied imagery. It really isn't necessary to say all of the words every time. But on the other hand, the text does have structure, with well-defined sections. That provides one reason for quoting it in full. The other reason lies in the context in which the chant is sung on Ember Saturdays: it follows a lesson from Book 3 of Daniel which ends in the very words that introduce the Canticle. Singing the full text of the Canticle completes the lesson. A series of excerpts would be less satisfactory in this regard.