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3. Zum Problemkreis Funktion – Text – Musik bei den Erweiterungen des älteren Repertoires im Tropus

Die Gesänge der Gregorianik wurden im Mittelalter nicht nur bewahrt, sondern zugleich in Text und Musik erweitert. Damit ist es für die Zeit vom 9. bis ins 12. Jahrhundert – und in anderer Weise darüber hinaus – möglich, das Verhältnis zum Älteren unmittelbarer zu beobachten als vor dem Schritt in die Schrift. Von besonderem Interesse für die Frage nach Kontinuität und Diskontinuität in der Geschichte des lateinischen Kirchengesangs sind dabei die Erweiterungen, bei denen Alt und Neu eng ineinandergreifen, wie es bei der Textierung bestehender Melodien und vor allem beim eigentlichen «Tropus» der Fall war. Denn hier wurden die überlieferten Gesänge mit einer Einleitung versehen und durch eingeschobene Abschnitte ergänzt. Dass dabei der Introitus, als Eingangsgesang der Messe, besonders häufig und eingehend tropiert wurde, entspricht offensichtlich einerseits einem Wandel in der Funktion sowie einer Verlagerung in den tragenden Institutionen und andererseits der Tatsache, dass diese Gattung die römische Tradition in eigener Weise repräsentierte. So sind die Introitus stärker als andere Gesänge durch jene Redaktion zur «Gregorianik» geprägt, deren Konsequenzen nicht zuletzt am Verhältnis zwischen Musik und Sprache zu beobachten sind: an einer individuellen musikalischen Gestaltung, die von den Gegebenheiten des Textes ausgeht und sie zum Tragen bringt, von der formalen Gliederung, vom Sinngefüge, vom Sprachfall oder auch von der Bedeutung des einzelnen Wortes. Damit stehen die Introitus für eine späte Phase der kunstvollen Durchgestaltung in der langen Geschichte des christlichen Kultgesangs.

Dass dieses subtile Verhältnis zwischen Musik und Text bei der Formulierung der Tropen sein Gegenstück fand und wie das geschah, zeigt Leo Treitler an einigen anschaulichen Beispielen der unterschiedlichen Tropierung des gleichen Introitus. Mit dem Beitrag von Alejandro Planchart schliesslich kommt das beneventanische Repertoire aus dem Süden Italiens zu Wort und damit die Vielfalt der Stile auch in der Erweiterung des Älteren nach dem Schritt in die Schrift.

From Ritual Through Language to Music

LEO TREITLER

In the network of ritual-language-music that is our subject here today, I would like to work at these connections in particular: language as form of ritual meaning, and music as form of language utterance. My objective will not be quite the demonstration of how *particular* forms and genres have been derived from particular ritual procedures, but rather the suggestion and illustration of this general hypothesis: the task of liturgical melody to present language structure clearly and appropriately – and thereby to articulate language meaning – constituted a driving force for the exercise and development – in a sense the further discovery of the formal and syntactical properties of the musical system. So it is not the path from ritual to forms that I want to follow, but the path from ritual meaning to the idea and the resources of musical form.

My examples are drawn from the troping tradition, for several reasons. Ritual is of course a factor in the language of the tropes in constituting an outer structure to which the troped chant must conform. But that may be relatively trivial, compared to the hermeneutic role of the tropes vis-à-vis the meaning of their ritual occasions. In playing out that role the tropes dispose of an artful language in which meaning depends closely on form. My thesis is that in developing melody as an instrument of that hermeneutic task – that is in finding means for the projection or translation of language-form in the resources of the chant tradition, musicians worked out the formal and syntactical properties of the musical system in ways that had lasting effect.

I would like to set forth, first in general terms, a view of the music-language relation in the tropes (but not alone in the tropes) that is central to the hypothesis I am suggesting. Then I shall try to concretize this view with reference to some examples.

Melody was the medium for the oral recitation of the texts; it was an adjunct to language. The melodic realization of a text, as it is recorded in writing in a particular source, represents a particular way of reciting it. It records a «reading» of the text, in the sense of «interpretation.» In this process melody plays a role something like that of punctuation, whose signs, as Cassiodorus put it, «are, as it were, paths of meaning and lanterns to words, as instructive to readers as the best commentaries.»¹ Melody was the musician's way of elucidating the relation-

1 Cited in M. B. Parkes, «Medieval Punctuation, or Pause and Effect,» *Medieval Eloquence*, ed. J. J. Murphy (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1978) pp. 127–42. The functional continuity between melody and punctuation was, I now believe, the basis for the derivation of neumatic notation from the practice and signs of punctuation. Although this is an important side-aspect of my subject here, it cannot be discussed within the framework of this paper. But see my papers «The Early History of Music Writing in the West,» *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), pp. 237–79, and «Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Music-Writing,» *Early Music History* 4 (1984), pp. 137–210.

ships among word order, syntax, and phrasing, and through those relationships, of elucidating meaning. The melody sets commas, it underscores syntax, it associates words and clauses, it places emphasis. The musician making melody attends to the way the text can be segmented according to its sense, to the grouping of words through syntactic and semantic associations or through rhyme and assonance, and to the effect on semantic nuance of rhythmic details such as accent patterns and word- or phrase-length.

The analysis of melody in relation to language seeks out intentions with respect to these matters. I suggest two general dimensions for the pursuit of such analysis. Like verbal language, the melody of tropes conforms to a grammar – generally the grammar of the chant tradition. The grammar can be described in terms of principles that determine what will constitute a correct, or well-formed, melodic expression. Such principles may apply at different levels of melodic flow and structure: from the shortest note-groups (neumes), through phrases and phrase-groups, to entire melodies. These principles would be concerned mainly with modal coherence and contrast (ranges, intervals, formulas) and melodic syntax (phrase sequences and associations, cadence hierarchies, proprieties of formula-placement). Such principles determine both the resources and the constraints that define particular melodic domains – the domains of mode or melodic family. Such a grammar must be understood and accepted both by those who make melody and by those who hear it. But in itself the grammar is not sufficient. A melody must not only be correct; it must also be appropriate and effective in respect of some purpose or idea, and it must be informed by a design. A melody embodies choices made from among the correct things that the grammar makes available. The musician must choose *where* to place a caesura or a cadence, *when* to pose a modal contrast, *how* to open a phrase (with what intervals or formulas) and *how* to close it, and *when* to make associations between and among phrases. We might say that these things have to do with the rhetoric of the melody.

The grammar of a trope melody is a matter of musical tradition. Its rhetoric arises from the text as that text has been interpreted by the maker of the melody, who must attend to all the formal matters that have been enumerated above.

The examples are three widely broadcast sets of trope elements for the Introit antiphon, two of them for Epiphany and one for Pentecost. All three are transmitted in sources dated to the tenth through twelfth centuries; i.e. they represent the troping tradition in its active period as early as we can know that.

In the enumeration of the *Corpus Troporum*,² the trope sets are 15–17–18–19 (Example 1), for the antiphon «Ecce advenit dominator Dominus» (Epiphany); 63^{a+}–64^{a+}–65^{a+} (Example 2), for the same Introit antiphon; and 23^a–25^a–24^a (Example 3), for the Introit antiphon «Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum» (Pentecost).

The analysis begins with the comparison of the texts of the antiphon and trope elements 15–17–18–19, as instance of the transformation of the force and mean-

2 Ritva Jonsson et alii, *Corpus Troporum, Tropes du propre de la messe*. Vol. I, Cycle de Noël (Stockholm, 1975).

ing of a liturgical item through the troping process.³ It is a matter of the deepening and differentiation of meaning, activation of voice, enlivening, dramatizing, actualizing. A different conception is projected of the central figure of Christ, the response of the Christian is transformed, the object of celebration is living event over and above ritual symbol. This is achieved through the manipulation of language, in both its semantic and formal aspects.

The comparison is followed by observations on the melodic settings as translations and clarifications of the structural aspects of the texts. Comparison with the melodic setting of the antiphon suggests the enrichment and differentiation of the syntactic properties of the musical style that is the response to the task of intoning the language.

The other two trope sets will provide material for complementary observations bearing on the general hypothesis. The transmission of the examples is taken into account to show that variants in the texts result in different musical structures. This is supportive of the hypothesis.

Example 1

Trope element 15

Pa 909, fol. 18v.

Ec - cle - si - ae spon - sus il - lu - mi - na - tor gen - ti - um

Apt 17, fol. 91

as in 909

Ec - cle - si - ae spon - sus il - lu - mi - na - tor

ba - ptis - ma - tis sa - cra - tor or - bis re - dem - ptor

Introit antiphon

Pa 776, fol. 19v.

Ec - ce ad - ve - nit

³ I have learned much about these texts, and about the close interpretation of liturgical texts in general, from conversations with Ritva Jonsson.

Trope element 17

Pa 909

Ihe - sus quem re - ges gen - ti - um cum mu - ne - ri - bus

Apt 17

quem re - ges gen - ti - um . . .

mis - ti - cis Hie - ro - so - li - mam re - qui - runt

di - cen - tes u - bi est qui na - tus est

Antiphon

Do - mi - na - tor do - mi - nus

Trope element 18

Pa 909

Vi - di - mus stel - lam e - ius in o - ri - en - to

et a - gno - vi - mus re - gem re - gum es - se na - tum.

Antiphon

et re - gnum in ma - nu e - ius

Musical notation for an antiphon in 8/8 time, featuring a melodic line with various note values and rests, and a corresponding Latin text.

Trope element 19

Pa 909

Cu - i so - li de - be - tur ho - nor

Musical notation for a trope element in 8/8 time, with a melodic line and Latin text.

glo - ri - a laus et iu - bi - la - ti - o.

Musical notation for the continuation of the trope element in 8/8 time, with a melodic line and Latin text.

Antiphon

et po - tes - tas et im - pe - ri - um.

Musical notation for an antiphon in 8/8 time, with a melodic line and Latin text.

Example 2

Trope element 63^a

Pa 1871, fol. 10

E - ia Sy - on gau - de et le - ta - re a - spe - ctu de - i tu - i

Musical notation for a trope element in 8/8 time, with a melodic line and Latin text.

Introit antiphon

Pa 776, fol 19v.

Ec - ce ad - ve - nit do - mi - na - tor do - mi - nus

Musical notation for an introit antiphon in 8/8 time, with a melodic line and Latin text.

Trope element 64^{a+}

Pa 1871

Cu - i ma - the - ri - ae ce - li et ter - rae fa - mu - lan - tur

Musical notation for a trope element in 8/8 time, with a melodic line and Latin text.

Pa 909, fol. 18

Musical notation for the continuation of the trope element in 8/8 time, with a melodic line.

Antiphon

et reg - num in ma - nu e - ius

Trope element 65^{a+}
(Pa 1871)

I - psi de - cet de - cus

glo - ri - a at - que iu - bi - la - ti - o

Antiphon

et po - tes - tas et im - pe - ri - um.

Example 3

Trope element 23^a

Version A (Pa 909, 1084b, 1119, 1121)

Di - sci - pu - lis flam - mas in - fun - dens cae - li - tus al - mas

Version B (Benevento VI 34, 38, 40)

Di - sci - pu - lis flam - mas in - fu - dit pec - to - re blan - da

Introit antiphon

Pa 776

Spi - ri - tus do - mi - ni re - ple - vit

or - bem ter - ra - rum al - le - lu - ia

Trope element 25^a

Version A

Om - ni - ge - nis lin - guis re - se - rans mag - na - li - a Chris - ti

Version B (Vich 105)

pa - tu - it

Antiphon

Et hoc quod con - ti - net om - ni - a

sci - en - ti - a ha - bet vo - cis al - le - lu - ia

Trope element 24

Version A

Ip - si per - spi - cu - as di - ca - mus vo - ci - bus o - das

Antiphon

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

The text of the Introit antiphon for Epiphany starkly proclaims the advent of the Deity, identifying him only by reference to the domain of his power: «Ecce advenit Dominator dominus.» The effect of the trope text is, in a way, to bring that cosmic proclamation down to earth.

The center of the whole complex in the version of Pa 909 is the first word of the second element (17), «Ihesus,» naming the figure whom the antiphon had announced in such an impersonal way. It is in fact a substitution in the text, which now reads «Ecce advenit Ihesus,» instead of «Ecce advenit Dominator dominus.» This latter epithet is pushed forward, newly motivated as aspect of the question «Ubi est qui natus est?» in element 17. The question comes as climax

to the reference to the story of the Magi, which has been introduced by way of the relative clause «quem reges. . .» following upon the central word «Ihesus.» It all becomes present, local («Hierosolymam») and concrete.

A network of associations operates throughout: «reges gentium» takes up the attribute «Illuminator gentium» of the first element (15). The Magi represent the heathens and are led to the light under the guidance of the star of Bethlehem. «Dicentes» continues the participial «reges.» And «Dominator dominus» circles back to «Ihesus.»

The principal task of the melody that intones the long sentence of this element (17) is the clear presentation of its complex clausal structure. The first word, «Ihesus,» comes as the subject of the verb phrase «Ecce advenit.» A natural way of setting that would have been to make a single phrase of «Ecce advenit Ihesus,» i. e. bringing the trope element in at the end of a musical phrase. Something like that is done in the trope-set 63^{a+}–64^{a+}–65^{a+}. There the epithet «Dominator dominus» in the antiphon is followed by the relative pronoun «cui» of element 64^{a+}. By itself the antiphon phrase cadences at «dominus.» But in the trope the cadence is extended on «cui,» and the consequent noun phrase «matherie celi et terrae» is given a new melodic phrase whose cadence rhymes with that of «cui.» This illustrates nicely how the melodic setting can clarify the language syntax, and in doing so create formal bonds of its own.

But this particular option is not taken in the setting of element 17. Perhaps the idea of singing the word «Ihesus» to a cadential figure did not seem appropriate. Instead, it is articulated separately, by what is potentially one of the strongest opening gestures in the vocabulary of the style, the rising 5th. This has to be understood in the light of the importance of the word, absolutely, but also of its central position in the form of the whole complex.

The setting of «Ihesus» enunciates the interval of the 5th that identifies the mode, and the relative clause «quem reges gentium» prolongs and spells out that 5th as a pentachord, thus underscoring the coherence of noun and relative clause. The clause regarding the gifts – «cum muneribus misticis» – develops the contrasting phrase based on the 4th f–c, which temporarily destabilizes the melody. The localization, «Hierosolymam,» inverts the latter phrase to c–f. This re-establishes the stability of the melody, for the f becomes the center of the pentachord d–a in the setting of «requirunt dicentes.»

The trope melody could end there, with the clear cadence on the final d at («di)centes.» But in fact that cadence functions as a colon, and the question «ubi est qui natus est» is set off entirely by itself, in a phrase that rhymes with the setting of the identification, «Dominator dominus.»

I call attention to two variants in the transmission of this element. One is a matter of a minute detail with broadening consequences. The other is a more substantial matter from the start.

(1) In Apt 17 the setting of («misti)cis» is a pes, c–d. This keeps the entire clause «cum muneribus misticis Hierosolymam» within the tonic pentachord (along with «Ihesus quem reges gentium») rather than setting it off by means of the contrasting 4th; it obscures the cadence at «misticis;» and in consequence it does not separate «Hierosolymam.» In short, the whole line is run together, rather than being punctuated, as it is in Pa 909. Variants in the pitches, then, are not just that;

they are variants in the melodic structure, and they reflect different ways of reading the text.

(2) Apt 17 lacks the word «Ihesus.»⁴ The text reads (from the beginning) «Ecclesiae sponsus illuminator gentium baptismatis sacrator *Ecce advenit* quem reges gentium. . .» This works well enough grammatically. But to begin with the accumulation of epithets building up to the verb phrase («ecce advenit»), and then to provide only the relative clause as subject («quem reges. . .»), is quite weak from the point of view of poetic effect. And it is noteworthy from the theological point of view, as well, for the subject of the complex as a whole then remains the «Dominator dominus» of the antiphon.⁵

I have already called attention to the fact that the melodic high-point in the version of Pa 909 is at the beginning of element 17, coinciding with «Ihesus.» The striking thing is that Apt 17's melody for that place opens with the same rising 5th, despite the absence of the word «Ihesus.» It seems that there has been an independent melodic transmission. And it also seems that there has not been the same sort of attention to the coordination of music- and language-effect as in the version of Pa 909. In a way the gesture of the rising 5th has been wasted here, its potential for making a strong effect has not been exploited. But this same gesture had already been neutralized in Apt 17's setting of element 15. If we compare the use of this figure in just these two versions of our trope complex, we receive the impression that in Apt 17 it is just another melodic turn while in Pa 909 it is reserved for special effect. And this contrast generalizes. As I shall have occasion to suggest again, compared to the Aquitanian sources, Apt 17 tends to take less advantage of the possibilities of differentiation in the use of melodic resources to articulate language. Its melodies tend therefore to be flatter, less contoured.

But it will be more instructive to transpose this observation into the positive mode. The effect that is made by a bit of traditional formulaic melody depends not only on the characteristics of the formula in itself, but also on the context in

4 The versions in the following sources are also without the word «Ihesus:» Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473 (folio 20); Oxford, Bodleian 775 (folio 14); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 9449 (folio 18); Paris, B. n., nouv. acq. lat. 1235 (folio 199 v); Paris, B. n., lat. 13252 (folio 7 v); Paris Bibl. Ars. 1169 (folio 13).

5 It is at just about the time during which this trope was in circulation that a shift was taking place in the western Christian conception of God – from the self-sufficient and awesome God of the Jewish and early Christian tradition (i. e. the «Dominator dominus») to the human, loving figure of Jesus (cf. this dictum of Bernard of Clairvaux: «This was the principal cause why the invisible God wished to be seen in the flesh and to converse with man, that he might draw all the affections of carnal men, who were unable to love except after the flesh, to the saving love of His flesh, and so step by step to lead them to spiritual love.» *Sermo super cantica* 20 V, 5–6. Trans. R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* New Haven, 1953, p. 233). Concerning the wider significance of this shift see Charles M. Radding, «Evolution of Medieval Mentalities: A Cognitive-Structural Approach», *American Historical Review* 83 (1978), pp. 577–597. – The significance of the variant with respect to the presence or absence of the name of Jesus is confirmed by the following statistic. 750 distinct trope elements (or verses) are identified in volume I of the *Corpus Troporum*, i. e. trope verses for the mass proper of feasts of the Christmas season that circulated in Europe from the 10th to the 12th centuries. Of those, nineteen include the name of Jesus in their texts, as against 114 that mention Christus, and they are especially rare in the oldest sources (only one in Pa 1240, three in St. Gall 484, four in St. Gall 381, etc.). The new attitude was manifested also in a new kind of representation of the figure of Christ in Gothic art: a more gentle, personal figure in comparison to the stern God-figure of earlier representations.

which it is sung. Expressive force is latent in the formulaic material of the tradition and becomes actual in the musician's composition, if he has the intention and the ability to make it so. But it must be put the other way about, too. Expressive force becomes latent in the material as a consequence of the accumulation of compositional practice in the tradition.⁶ The artful use of the figure of the rising 5th in Pa 909 exemplifies the central thesis of this paper, which is that the potentials of the melodic style for articulating musical form were developed by musicians carrying out their primary task, to provide clear projection of the structure and meaning of language through melody.⁷

Now I want to consider element 15 in the reverse order: first the melodies of Pa 909 and Apt 17, then the text. Both melodies move in four phrases, dividing the text in exactly the same places. But their progress is very different. The movement in Pa 909 is a steady ascent through the peak-tones of the first three phrases: to f', to g', and to a'. There is an intensification as the melody stretches upward. The climax comes at the peak of the third phrase, and the tension is sprung when that phrase cadences on the contrasting tone, e'. The fourth phrase picks up the e' at the beginning, returns once again to g' at its peak, and brings the melody to rest again on d'.

Apt 17, though the second and fourth of its phrases are identical to their counterparts in Pa 909, makes an altogether different effect. Its most noticeable feature is the virtual repetition of the first phrase as its third phrase (but with cadence on e', as in Pa 909). That casts the melody of the element as a whole in a symmetrical two-part form, since the fourth phrase is closely congruent with the second. The form is balanced and symmetrical (A B A' B') in contrast to the skewed form of Pa 909. The latter is motivated as the melody unfolds; each phrase follows the preceding with increasing necessity. In Apt 17 that is the case only from the third to the fourth phrase, and then only because of the cadential e' in the third phrase which must be displaced to d'. That is rather a more mechanical procedure. In consequence the Apt melody is more static, the Aquitanian melody more dynamic. (The bare fact that two phrases are identical in the two versions and two quite different is itself significant for the nature of the transmission. It is highly characteristic for a situation in which oral and written processes of transmission interacted. Although written models were undoubtedly at hand in the passage of such an item from one place to another, in taking up the item for

6 This formulation was suggested to me by Michael N. Nagler's paper, «Towards a Generative View of the Oral Formula.» in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 98 (1967), pp. 269–311. Of all the efforts I know to come to grips with the nature of oral formulaic poetry and its compositional process, Nagler's is closest to my own generative and critical approach to the understanding of medieval melody. The similarity of conception is strong, despite the vast difference in our objects – Homeric verse and medieval chant melody – and despite the fact that his are the artifacts of a purely oral culture while mine belong to a culture that put into writing music that was composed through techniques continuous with those of oral composition.

7 Of the other sources omitting «Jhesus» that are cited in note 5, Pa 1235 begins the setting of element 17 with an ascending 5th. The neumatation of Pa 9449 allows for such an opening. That of the remaining four sources seems not to. In none of these sources does the notation suggest an opening of element 15 with an ascending 5th, as in Apt 17.

their use, the musicians reprocessed it through the screen of local styles and standards. This could be as true for the transmission of texts as of music.⁸) Now to the text of element 15, and its setting in the melodies. The four phrases of the melodies correspond to four epithets by which the subject of the trope-chant complex is characterized: Bridegroom of the Church, Enlightener of the Gentiles, Consecrator of the Baptism, Redeemer of the World. That the melodies of both versions fall into four phrases is in response to that. The first three epithets refer to the three miracles that are celebrated in the feast of the Epiphany: the transformation of water to wine in the Marriage at Cana, the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles (the Magi), and the Baptism in the Jordan. The fourth can be understood as consequent to the others; i.e. it is through the three miracles that the world is redeemed. The melody of Pa 909 organizes the text for comprehension in that way, that of Apt 17 not so clearly, if at all: the repetition of the first phrase can be heard to close off the first three phrases as a group, but the paraphrase of the second in the fourth contradicts that by grouping 2+2. Whether the intensification on the third phrase of the Aquitanian melody is meant to highlight the Baptism among the three miracles is difficult to say. As the event that confirmed the Messiahship of Jesus, the Baptism *can* occupy a central position in Christian thought. On the other hand the special weight of the third phrase would follow in any case from the decision to group the three phrases in that way.

Twice now I have suggested that Apt 17 presents a melody that is related to an Aquitanian counterpart but is yet independent, is less differentiated within itself, is less acutely responsive to the fine points of structure and meaning in the text, proceeding more mechanically to provide an adequate setting through the use of the conventional resources of the melodic tradition. The Aquitanian versions in both cases are more individualized, because they have made a compositional task of providing a closely responsive setting of their texts.⁹

Now I would like to take this interpretation one step further, and at the same time to steer it in a different direction. My analysis so far has focussed on consistently different ways that versions of melodies of Apt 17 and Pa 909 have utilized the conventional resources and procedures of a tradition. I have characterized the Apt settings as more «mechanical» (I might better have said «additive»), more «repetitive,» less «differentiated» and in that sense «flatter,» less distinctly shaped as an integrated response to an overall conception of the poetry. These interpretations come essentially from the vantage point of a critic comparing and evaluating two texts of equivalent status as regards their textuality, and there is a clear implication that one is artistically less successful than the other. But the

8 See, for example, Joseph Duggan, «Oral Performance, Writing, and the Textual Tradition of the Medieval Epic in the Romance Languages: The Example of the Song of Roland.» Forthcoming in the journal *Paragon* (Sydney, 1984).

9 Another instance of this is described in my paper «Observations on the Transmission of Some Aquitanian Tropes», *Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung* (Winterthur, 1982, pp. 11–60 (Forum musicologicum 3). See especially p. 22. It remains to be discovered through future study whether this tendency is consistent through Apt 17. But such critical study of the contents of whole manuscripts should have a high priority now.

premise of their equivalent status may mask an important historical differentiation, and that suspicion suggests a different vantage point. I have already hinted at it in speaking of the interaction of oral and written processes in the transmission of the tropes.

There is no doubt that we must learn to read the sources from this period as witnesses to a transition in musical thought and expression from oral to literate modes, for that is surely what they represent. The characteristics that I have thought to identify in the Apt 17 versions, and that I have just summarized, are typically characteristics of the products of oral traditions, and they are caused originally by the constraints of composition in the absence of any writing.¹⁰

In the age with which we are dealing here these characteristics are residues of the habits of oral composition, which cannot be expected to have been extinguished all at once by the introduction of writing, but only supplanted in varying degrees here and there by new modes of composition made possible by writing. The larger designs that I have thought to recognize in the Pa 909 versions, the more integral assimilation of the given chant material into those designs, may be attributable to the possibility of looking backward and thinking forward and reworking that is afforded by writing, and that would have been seized upon more in one place than in another. The interpretation in this light, then, is not the claim that the Apt 17 versions *were* orally composed, but that they belong to a musical tradition with a greater retention of the manners of the oral tradition; and that the development of the «formal and syntactical properties of the musical system» through working at the compositional task of setting poetic texts was helped along by the opportunity for working things out that was presented by writing. From this point of view the implied judgement about the relative artistic successfulness of the two versions loses its relevance.

How well that task can be carried out is again nicely outlined by a contrast that can be drawn between elements 15 and 65^{a+}. In the latter there is a series of words emphasizing the general praise theme of this trope set: «*Ipsi decet decus gloria atque iubilatio.*» The successive lengthening of the words in italics effects an intensification. The melodic setting sharpens the effect. Each of those words is given its own phrase («iubilatio» together with the connective «atque»). Each of the three phrases begins on *f* and falls to *d*, so that one hears them as versions of the same melodic episode. And the successive lengthening of the phrases gives the feeling of stretching that gesture, intensifying it. In element 15, on the other hand, the intensification depends on an upward expansion at the center of successive phrases – stretching the range rather than the duration. These are musical resources that are still in use today. They are born of the musical response to the structure of language.

The two text lines of element 18 are in a simple antecedent-consequent relationship (there is an implied «therefore» or «thus» at the beginning of the second line). That logical relationship is reflected in the melodic setting, which falls in two phrases that are to one another as antecedent and consequent.

10 This has been described in a rich literature dealing with oral and written composition with respect to language. For a recent survey of this literature, and an excellent overview of what has been learned through it, see Walter J. Ong, S. J., *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* [London: Methuen & Co., 1982].)

«Cui,» the first word of element 19, refers to «eius,» the last word of the preceding antiphon clause. Its melodic setting reiterates the end of the antiphon phrase. (In my experience such «motivic» identities or reiterations generally have some explanation in terms of the music-language relation, and are not simply to be understood as efforts at purely musical «unity,» as one sometimes reads in the recent literature. That is what I mean in suggesting that the task of elucidating the structure and meaning of language calls forth the formal resources of music.) The first caesura in the melody occurs at «debetur,» and it serves, again, as a sort of colon, preparing the series of tributes that follows. Each item in the series is given an articulated setting, beginning with that strong gesture of the rising 5th, and descending step by step in the peak tones to the final.

I have been suggesting that the very structured flow of the trope melodies results from the adaptation of melody to its task of rendering clear the syntax and therefore the meaning of language. That impression is reinforced for me by trope elements like 23^a, where the language is of a markedly different style from that of, say, the elements 15–17–18–19. The difference is in the relationship between word order and syntactic (or simply sense) grouping.¹¹

The basic principle underlying the text settings that we have considered so far is that sense-units in the text are given distinct melodic phrases, so that that melodic caesuras and cadences act rather like punctuation. Hucke has repeatedly called attention to this principle,¹² and Bielitz¹³ and Powers¹⁴ have shown that it was explicitly taught in the Middle Ages as a principle of chant composition and analysis. I call the division of language into sense units, and the corresponding division of melody into phrases, segmentation. Segmentation in language, especially in the oral presentation of language, serves the projection of meaning. Segmentation in melody that intones language serves the same purpose. It would obscure the sense of a text to make a melody continuous over successive words that do not belong together syntactically.

The stylistic difference to which I want to call attention has to do with these things. It is that in the language of the elements 15–17–18–19 the constituents of syntactic groups are generally adjacent to one another in the word order. This tends also to be the case in the scriptural language of the host chants. But it is not the case in the language of element 23^a. One sees that quickly in a translation into English that preserves the word order: «Into the disciples the flames instilling from heaven propitious.» (Words in the English joined by continuous underlining correspond in each case to a single word in the Latin.) A higher degree of segmentation is introduced by this dispersal of the constituents of syntactic groups across the line. It is at least in part a consequence of the fact that 23^a is

11 This matter is discussed more fully in Ritva Jonsson and Leo Treitler, «Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship.» *Studies in the History of Music, I: Music and Language* (New York, Broude Brothers, 1983), pp. 1–23.

12 Most recently in «Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant,» *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 (1980), pp. 437–67.

13 Mathias Bielitz, *Musik und Grammatik. Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiktheorie* (Munich, 1977) (Beiträge zur Musikforschung 4).

14 Harold S. Powers, «Language Models and Musical Analysis,» *Ethnomusicology* 24 (1980), pp. 1–60.

in hexameter verse, and in general represents a Latin that is based on classical literary models marked by a high degree of refinement in diction, word order, and syntax.

Of course the word order seems peculiar in my English version, but it would not have seemed so to someone accustomed to reading Latin, who would have read it more or less as a synchronic aggregate in which the understanding is less dependent on a particular word order. In the Middle Ages Latin was the *written* language. I conjecture that the issue entailed in the difference would have been forced by the need for oral presentation of the language in a liturgical situation. That is what is suggested by the musical setting. Virtually every word is given a distinct phrase. I interpret that in the sense of the general principle of segmentation, that words not belonging together in a syntactic group are separated by the melodic phrasing. (The exception is the last phrase, which groups «caelitus almas.» But, while «almas» belongs syntactically with «flammas,» there is a different sort of basis for its grouping with «caelitus.» «Almas» is an adjective frequently used in conjunction with the Holy Spirit, e.g. Notker's Pentecost sequence: «Spiritus alme illustrator hominum.» That association may have been carried by the word as a fringe of meaning independent of its particular syntactic connection.)

The greater frequency of segmentation in this sort of trope melody is in effect forced by the style characteristic of the language that I have been describing. The formal arrangement of the segments seems designed to hold together the scattered elements of the linguistic syntax. The verse is sung in four phrases, linked in successive pairs with a form something like ABAC. The first two phrases span the octave, with a certain ambivalence about whether the pivotal tone is g or a. An aspect of the melodic process is the clarification of g as the central tone. With g established as central tone, we can see that the two phrases are in contrast as the tetrachord and pentachord of the G tonality.

The third phrase reiterates the first, but without the opening d. The absence of the low tone neutralizes the phrase, so that it corresponds musically to the syntactic isolation of the verb. The fourth phrase, unambiguously in the g tetrachord, balances the second, which is in the corresponding pentachord; the two relate as antecedent and consequent. These associations between the first and third phrases and the second and fourth pair the phrases, giving an overall coherence to the whole verse. The antecedent-consequent relation between the second and fourth phrases underscores the rhyme «flammas» – «almas» (or «flammas» – «blandas»).

Comparison of the other main version in the transmission of this element (version B) is again instructive. Like version A, it comprises four phrases corresponding to the text segmentation «Discipulis/flammas/infudit/pectore blandas.» The first two phrases are related in much the same way as they are in the Aquitanian version. But with the third phrase version B takes a different direction from the Aquitanian. The third phrase reverses the second, and the fourth is like the first. The resulting form is ABBA, a more closed form than the ABAC of version A. That corresponds to the fact that the B text, with the verb form «infudit,» has a more self-contained form than the A version, with the verb «infundens.» The sequence of elements is paratactic in the B version, not so in the A version. This

in turn corresponds to the fact that in the transmission the A version, open in musical form and text-sense, is always in the introductory position, whereas the B version floats, so to speak: it appears before «Spiritus Domini» (Vich 105), before «et hoc quod continet omnia» (Benevento 34, 38, 40), before «replevit orbem terrarum» (Benevento 35), and before the «alleluias» (Benevento 39).

The linkage of text form and meaning and musical form that is demonstrated by all this can be seen from another side in the element 25^a. The text is in mirror form, with the sequence: adjective attribute – noun – verb – noun – genitive attribute. In the transmission of both the A and B versions the melodic settings reflect the language form with a three-part symmetrical form of their own, despite the fact that surface details of the two melodies are quite different. This exemplifies the general phenomenon in the transmission of trope melodies that often it is the *form* of the melodies, more than their surface details, that is transmitted. And that, in turn, I take to be reflective of the principal task of melody to articulate the structure of language. Again, I suggest that in carrying out that task the musicians developed the formal properties, or better, perhaps, the *form-making* properties, of the musical system in which they worked.

beginning already with Pepin the Short, in order and method to impose upon the churches of their realm a liturgy and presumably a chant taken from Rome itself. It is a moot point here to ask whether these imports were essentially a purely liturgical rite and music, as maintained by Bruce B. Wilkins,¹ or whether the chant and liturgy sent north by a series of popes were as to speak a *separat-Romane* or perhaps more accurately a *separat-Italiane* chant and liturgy, for as Helmut Hucke has shown in a number of occasions, the final product that crystallized in the cathedral *scholar* of the ultramontane north in the ninth and tenth centuries retained its Roman texts and musical categories for the most part, but all of this was clothed in a melodic language that, even though it shows a clear relationship to the central Italian language, was different in a number of essential ways.² What is important is that the liturgy and chant imposed on Europe by the Carolingians were different, often drastically different, from the traditional forms of ritual and music that had evolved in the course of centuries in Merovingian and early Carolingian Gaul, so that the adoption of the new liturgical and musical forms must have represented a relatively drastic change in the ways of public worship in these regions.

The numerous references to epistles connected with the imposition and early transmission of Gregorian chant in the north – its very name became something of a propaganda ploy – and the comments of chroniclers, liturgists, and music theorists suggests that the decision of the Carolingian emperors met with puzzlement and incomprehension on the part of the popes, at least at the beginning, a similar incomprehension, misunderstood as malevolence by Frankish writers, on the part of the Roman singers, and outright resistance and resentment on the

1. Wilkins's thesis appears most fully in his introduction to *The Gregorian Chant: A New Study* (Paris, 1971), and also in *Medieval Music: Manuscripts, Monuments, Methods* (Kassel, 1970).

2. Helmut Hucke, «Thema: A New Historical View of Gregorian Chant», *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 33 (1980), 437–90.

About Tropes

ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART

The very nature of the object of my enquiry places my contribution to this panel beyond the chronological limits that had been established originally, and for this I apologize. But the rise of the trope and sequence repertory as well as the relatively rapid demise of much of it do present us with models that may open fruitful perspectives to our view of the evolution and growth of musical forms and categories in the realm of christian liturgy.

In the history of the evolution of musical forms and categories connected with the liturgical rites of the Christian west during the second half of the first millennium few decisions can be regarded as momentous or had such wide and long lasting implications as the essentially political decision of the early Carolingians, beginning already with Pepin the Short, to adopt and indeed to impose upon the churches of their realm a liturgy and presumably a chant taken from Rome itself. It is a moot point here to ask whether these imports were essentially a purely papal rite and music, as maintained by Bruno Stäblein,¹ or whether the chant and liturgy sent north by a series of popes were so to speak a «pan-Roman» or perhaps more accurately a «central-Italian» chant and liturgy, for as Helmut Hucke has shown in a number of occasions, the final product that crystallized in the cathedral *scholae* of the ultramontane north in the ninth and tenth centuries retained its Roman texts and musical categories for the most part, but all of this was clothed in a melodic language that, even though it shows a clear relationship to the central Italian language, was different in a number of essential ways.² What is important is that the liturgy and chant imposed on Europe by the Carolingians were different, often drastically different, from the traditional forms of ritual and music that had evolved in the course centuries in Merovingian and early Carolingian Gaul, so that the adoption of the new liturgical and musical forms must have represented a relatively drastic change in the ways of public worship in these regions.

The numerous references to episodes connected with the imposition and early transmission of Gregorian chant in the north – its very name became something of a propaganda ploy – and the comments of chroniclers, liturgists, and music theorists suggests that the decision of the Carolingian emperors met with puzzlement and incomprehension on the part of the popes, at least at the beginning, a similar incomprehension, misunderstood as malevolence by Frankish writers, on the part of the Roman singers, and outright resistance and resentment on the

1 Stäblein's ideas appear most fully in his introduction to *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. lat. 5319*, ed. Margareta Landwehr-Melnicki, Monumenta monodica medii aevi, 2 (Kassel, 1970).

2 Helmut Hucke, «Towards a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant,» *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 33 (1980), 437–467.

part of numerous Frankish communities and prelates.³ It is interesting to note in this context that the adoption of the Roman sacramentary seems to have met with less resistance perhaps on account of three reasons: First, the prayers of the Gregorianum and the Hadrianum are not qualitatively so different from those of the Gallican lectionaries and Mass books or from those of the Gelasiana. Second, the existence of written texts right from the start seems to have made the process of transmission and dissemination much easier.⁴ Third, the items contained in these books are by far less «public» than those contained in the Antiphonale Missarum or the Cantatorium. The opposition to the new rite seems to have been focused upon those elements that were closest to the surface as perceived by a congregation, in this case the influential «congregations» made up of monastic communities and cathedral chapters, in a situation not without parallels to the reaction of conservative Catholics to the liturgical reforms instituted by the Second Vatican Council.

Some of what has been outlined above for the Frankish lands was then repeated in central and southern Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries and beyond, as a series of German and German-influenced popes imposed the Romano-Frankish Gregorian music on the old Lombard duchy of Benevento and on Rome itself. The opposition to the new music may have been less strenuous now, but I have little doubt that it was one of the main driving forces behind the copying of the surviving manuscripts of Old Roman chant or the entering of a number of Old Beneventan Masses into the Gregorian Graduals now at the Biblioteca Capitolare in Benevento. We need not seek far causes and for rationales for the conflicts and the resistance. They spring from basic traits of the nature of human collectivities, but in addition we must remember that the concept of tradition was one of the most valued and powerful tools of Christian theology, which had been given powerful expression in the writings of the early Fathers and in the numerous decrees of the Ecumenical Councils that specifically caution against innovation.⁵ And can we doubt that in ninth-century France and Germany the Roman liturgy and the Romano-Frankish chant, no matter what their putative origins and authority could be, were in fact innovations and innovations that affected directly the very core of Christian modes of public expression during the most important liturgical functions of each day? The same may be said to some extent of central and south Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and particularly in the case of Rome itself we may be assured that Roman cantors and precentors had a relatively clear view of their own tradition and consequently a fair idea of the spurious claims to Roman authority of the part of the Romano-Frankish chant.

3 The literature on this is enormous and has not been thoroughly explored in terms of primary sources; a convenient if tendentious sample appears in Stäblein, *Die Gesänge*, pp. 62*–83*.

4 If we are to believe some of the medieval writers, e.g., John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii Magni*, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 75, were primarily musical rather than textual or liturgical.

5 The suspicion and condemnation of innovation pervades patristic writing and the writings of later chroniclers and theologians until well into the middle ages. Cf. F. de Groot, *Conspectus historiae dogmatum ad aetate patrum apostolicorum usque ad saeculum XIII*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1931) and Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, 3 vols. (Utrecht, 1950–1960).

The ways in which the Gallican liturgies of Merovingian Gaul differed from that of Rome and from the new Romano-Frankish liturgy are relatively well known.⁶ What we do not have truly clear picture of however is the exact nature of the chant and the musical forms that were part of that liturgy. Remnants of it, displaced and probably transformed, survive in the Gregorian repertoires, but to my knowledge no systematic effort has been made to sift, identify, collect, and analyze these remnants. This is something that may turn out to be a long, complex, and infinitely frustrating task, but one that needs to be undertaken with increased urgency if we are to understand properly certain aspects of the Gregorian style itself. Comparison with the Mozarabic liturgy can be useful up to a point but is hampered by the insuperable barrier of silence that surrounds the written-down Mozarabic melodies. Comparison with the Ambrosian is also useful but it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the Gallican melodic ethos was almost as far removed from that of Milan as from that of Rome. The common view of Gallican chant, which stresses its prolixity and its «irrationality,»⁷ could be reinforced by examination of some of the putative Gallican survivals such as the Offertory *Elegerunt apostoli* – provided the melody does indeed reflect the Gallican tune for it – which is, at least textually, prolix and not entirely well organized, but they are contradicted by the simplicity and regularity of the bilingual *trisagion* in all of its various melodic garbs, all of which seem to go back to a common ancestor.⁸ In any case, given the paucity of sources and repertory and the very wide area they cover we need to pay very close attention to Michel Huglo's *caveat* when he states that there were probably considerable differences in the repertoires that we subsume today under the term Gallican.⁹

In any case, the imposition of the Roman liturgy and the Romano-Frankish chant over most of transalpine Europe in the historically brief period of two or three generations caused a serious dislocation of liturgical thought and of liturgical practice as it resulted in a rupture with local traditions and the introduction of new musical forms and categories into the local worship, and even if in retrospect we can perceive numerous continuities between the old and the new forms such insight is not usually given to those who live through the change. Thus it is perhaps no coincidence that the rise of some of the even «newer» Frankish forms such as tropes and sequences comes about right at the time when the imposition of the Romano-Frankish liturgy and its music is being completed. In fact, among the earliest references to one of the new musical forms are the rubrics «cum sequentia» found in the Mont Blandin Antiphoner, which is in turn one of the earlier written witnesses for the choral pieces of the new Romano-Frankish liturgy.¹⁰ Notker's letter to Liutward points in the same direction with its impli-

6 See the very useful summary in Michel Huglo, «Gallican Rite,» *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), 7, 113–125.

7 See Edmund Bishop, «The Genius of the Roman Rite,» *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 1–19. The contrast made by Bishop between Roman and non Roman rites, though valid, has been perhaps overemphasized.

8 Kenneth Levy, «The Trisagion in Byzantium and the West,» *International Musicological Society, Report of the Eleventh Congress, Copenhagen, 1972*, ed. Henrik Glahn et al. (Copenhagen, 1974), 2, 761–765.

9 Huglo, «Gallican Rite,» p. 114.

10 See René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935), No. 199a.

cation that the style of the new *versus ad sequentias* was apparently well known to his teacher Iso.¹¹

With the exception of Paul Evans, who regarded the musical style of the tropes as an essential continuation of the Gregorian style,¹² most recent scholarship on these genres has laid stress on their novelty and their differences from the chant, at least from our present perspective, and has sought to explain the differences in a number of different ways.¹³ Other studies have pointed out what seem to be considerable differences of style and tradition in the musical settings of the same trope texts in different regions.¹⁴ In my own work preparing a critical edition of the corpus of tropes from Beneventan and central Italian manuscripts¹⁵ I have been working with a repertory that survives in circumstances particularly favorable to the examination of the musical and formal cross-currents generated by the displacement of an older liturgy and chant in favor of the Gregorian repertory and by the rise of the new forms and categories, since in the south Italian manuscripts we have in transcribable notation: 1. A substantial amount of the non Gregorian music sung at these localities presumably before the adoption of Gregorian chant. 2. The Gregorian chants that supplanted the earlier music, copied in the versions sung locally. 3. Some apparently new local pieces composed in conformity with the new Gregorian music. 4. Tropes, prosulae, and sequences imported from other centers and copied with or without local alteration. 5. Tropes, prosulae, and sequences that seem to be of a purely local origin.

One of the most notable traits of the demonstrably local trope melodies in central and south Italian sources is the extent to which they seem to avoid the melodic patterns and procedures of the Gregorian chants that they complement. The entire melodic ethos of the tropes is different from that of the chant not only in terms of melodic formulae but even in terms of the general intervallic vocabulary. The distinction between melodic patterns or formulae and intervallic vocabulary is a hard one to make but it is, I think, worth stressing. One of the traits of the northern trope repertory that led Evans to his view that tropes represent merely a continuation of the style of Gregorian chant is precisely a similarity of intervallic vocabulary rather than one of melodic behavior between tropes and chant. The relatively rich intervallic vocabulary of the authentic tetrardus chants is also present, albeit utilized in a different manner, in the tropes to chants in that

11 Wolfram von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*, 2 vols. (Bern, 1948), 2, 8–11.

12 Paul Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges*, Princeton Studies in Music, 2 (Princeton, 1970), p. 73, but cf. Sarah Fuller's review in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXVI (1973), 157–158.

13 For example, Bruno Stäblein, «Der 'altrömische' Choral in Oberitalien und im deutschen Süden,» *Die Musikforschung*, 19 (1966), 3–9; Richard Crocker, «The Troping Hypothesis,» *The Musical Quarterly*, 52 (1966), 182–203, and *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 110–123; and Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1977), 1, 207–210.

14 Cf. Planchart, *loc. cit.*; Günther Weiss, «Zur Rolle Italiens im frühen Tropenschaffen. Beobachtungen zu den Vertonungen der Introitus-Tropen *Quem nasci mundo* und *Quod prisco vates*,» *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein*, ed. Martin Ruhnke (Kassel, 1967), pp. 287–292; Ellen Reier, «The Introit Trope Repertory at Nevers: MSS Paris B. N. lat. 9449 and Paris B. N. n. a. lat. 1235,» 3 vols., Ph.D. dissertation (University of California at Berkeley, 1981), 1, 74–213.

15 Alejandro Enrique Planchart and John Boe, eds., *Beneventanum troporum corpus* (in preparation).

mode.¹⁶ This is simply not the case in south Italian tropes, which have a tendency towards wholesale repetition of extended melodic patterns – something noted in connection with the Old Beneventan chant¹⁷ – and an equally pronounced tendency to use a very restricted intervallic vocabulary.

A few examples may illustrate this. Example 1 gives you the Beneventan and Roman version of one of the Latin Kyries most widely used in the region.¹⁸

Example 1

Ky-ri - e ley- son.
 Auc - tor ce-lo - rum de - us e - ter - ne.
 Kyrie ū Qui po - lum for - mas - ti nec - ne so - lum.
 Kyrie ū Ab om - ni ma - lo tu nos de - fen - de.
 Xpis - te ley son.
 ū Xpis - te de ce - lis suc - cur - re no - bis.
 Xpe ū Per cru - cem qui cunc - ta ad te tra - xis - ti.
 Xpe ū In - fer - ni mors ex - is - tens et mor - su.

16 Evans, *Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 73–118.

17 Thomas Kelly, «Music for Easter in the Old-Beneventan Rite,» Paper read at the Forty Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Minneapolis, 1978.

18 The version given is that of Benevento 40, fols. 21r–21v, but I have written out in full the final melisma, which is given in the manuscript only as a text incipit. Liquesces and quilismas are not shown in the transcription.

Ky-ri - e ley son.
 ū Spi - ri - tus cor - di - um il - lus - tra - tor.
 Kyrie ū Pu - ri - fi - ca sanc - te cor - da nos - tra.
 Kyrie ū Qui tri - nus re - gnas de - us et u - nus.
 A - men.

Example 2

Auc - tor ce - lo - rum de - us e - ter - ne.
 Ky - ri - e ley - son.

The melody of the Latin verses has no interval larger than a second, while the melody for the melismas has only two thirds in it. Both melodies have B as the effective reciting tone with C as an upper structural tone that sets off the B, but the melody of the Latin verses is so baldly schematic that it risks being meaningless in the sense that there is barely enough time to hear the modal gesture of the melody were it not for the preceding melisma with its extreme insistence on the B as a main melodic tone. Now, the north Italian version of the Kyrie, given in Example 2 in a reconstruction from Verona 107, shows the same modal dialectic as the southern melody but with telling differences in the melodic detail. I have given only the first verse and the first melisma, as all the others are identical, but already there is a structural difference from the southern version in the precedence of the Latin verse, which brings this version of the Kyrie closer to the northern transalpine tradition. Further, the northern version «opens up» the melody so to speak. The crucial C in the Latin verse is now approached by a leap, the only leap in the melody, while the melisma has now four thirds in it. The two

thirds moving by contrary motion at the end of the word «Kyrrie» and the leap of a third up from the F and into the final cadential formula are common melodic gambits of the Gregorian repertory, and the approach to the final cadential formula of the melisma is a procedure that was taken over also by the northern trope and sequence repertory to the point of becoming one of the most common endings. These, however, are simply not part of the normal melodic vocabulary of south Italian tropes. By the same token, the insistence on the alternation of B and A found in the southern version of the Kyrie which recalls the melodic behavior of Old Roman chant and in particular of some of the Old Roman introits, is effectively eliminated from the northern version of the melody.

It is not my intention here to argue for precedence for either version; both versions are removed from the melodic ethos of Gregorian chant, but the northern version is less so for it shares with it and with the transalpine trope repertory a number of surface melodic traits. The southern version instead seems to approximate itself to forms of melodic behavior that are more prevalent in Old Roman chant and perhaps in Old Beneventan chant though the extent of the Old Beneventan repertory does not give us an entirely clear picture of the style.

The differences in melodic behavior suggested by the two versions of the Kyrie are present in an even more marked manner in the Introit tropes, though the south Italian tendency towards large scale repetition of melodic patterns could also be found in the Gloria tropes, e.g. the *Gloria Rex hodie Christus*, as well as the tropes to the Sanctus and the Agnus dei. In addition to the melodic repetitions and the restricted intervallic vocabulary some of the introit tropes in the Italian sources show a tendency to present a continuous discourse that is only casually related to the text of the introit. The end result is not a gloss, however remote, of the chant text such as one finds in the northern tropes,¹⁹ nor even what Stäblein once characterized as an attempt to bring the psalmodic texts of the Mass closer to tenth and eleventh century sensibilities,²⁰ but rather a text that simply coexists with that of the chant instead of interacting with it in any manner.

Example 3 gives you an Italian introit trope that survives with two melodies, one in the Beneventan Graduals and the other in Pistoia C 121.²¹

19 The relatively coherent and gloss-like nature of many northern trope texts has been pointed out forcefully by Ritva Jonsson in an unpublished paper on the Easter troper of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 9448, delivered at the University of California at Santa Barbara in November of 1978.

20 Bruno Stäblein, «Zum Verständnis des 'klassischen' Tropus,» *Acta Musicologica*, 35 (1963), 88–89.

21 I do not indicate liquescences or quilismata in these transcriptions since at this point my concern is only with the pitch structure itself. The spelling and punctuation in all examples is that of the manuscripts.

Example 3

Benevento 38, 47v-48r.

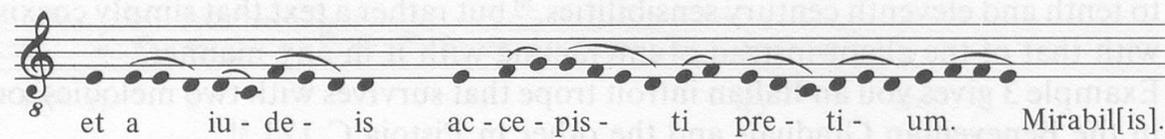
[1]  Mu - li - e res que ad se - pul - crum ue - ne - rant

 an - ge - lus di - xit iam sur - re - xit do - mi - nus. Resurrexi.

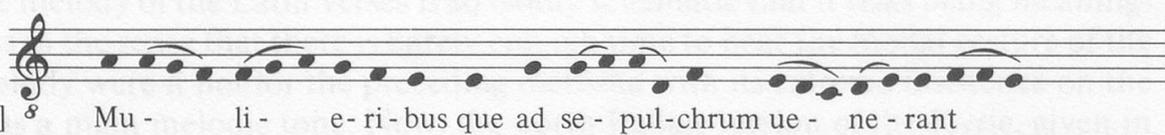
[2]  Ci - to e - un - tes di - ci - te di - sci - pu - li

 qui a sur - re - xit sic - ut di - xit do - mi - nus. Posu[isti].

[3]  Ue ti - bi iu - da qui tra - di - dis - ti do - mi - num

 et a iu - de - is ac - ce - pis - ti pre - ti - um. Mirabil[is].

Pistoia C 121, 34v.

[1]  Mu - li - e - ri - bus que ad se - pul - chrum ue - ne - rant

 an - ge - lus di - xit re - sur - re - xit do - mi - nus. Resurrexi.

[2] Ci - to e - un - tes di - ci - te di - sci - pu - lis
qui - a sur - re - xit sic - ut di - xit do - mi - nus. Posuisti.

[3] Ve ti - bi iu - da qui tra - di - di - sti do - mi - num
et a iu - de - is ac - ce - pi - sti pre - ti - um. Mirabilis.

Both show large scale repetition of melodic phrases not only within each trope verse but from one trope verse to the next, and it is possible that both go back to a common ancestor since the ending of each half-verse is identical in both. The north Italian melody is less consistent throughout the piece than the southern one, and some of the variations in it do seem triggered by the introit melody, so that verse three of the trope, which follows a phrase of the introit ending on F rather than E, shifts to a new opening gesture for the verse, even though the new gesture quickly assimilates itself to the melodic pattern of the previous phrases. The northern melody also gives more emphasis to the final of the mode with its play upon the third E–G as an articulation point in the first part of each half-verse. The southern melody gives instead no hint that we are dealing with a E mode until the final cadence of each half-verse, and even so the beginning of the second half of each verse with the same pattern as the opening but a step down effectively nullifies the cadence of the first half of each verse by subsuming it into an elaborate flex from D to C and back to D. Further, the articulation point of each half verse is now on D rather than on E, so that were it not for the final cadence of each full verse it would be possible to understand the melody as some form of protus. This in turn does suggest that the southern trope melody comes out of a tradition where D was by far a more common final than E, in other words from a tradition closer to a two rather than a four finals system of modality. The reading of the text provided by both melodies is both very clear and extremely formal. The articulation points in the southern melody make this if anything even more clear than those of the northern one. The melody «punctuates» the first verse as follows:

Mulieres / que ad sepulcrum uenerant // angelus dixit / iam surrexit dominus.
and in a putative «grammatically correct» reading of the opening word «Mulieribus» rather than «Mulieres» (as in Pistoia C 121) the extra syllable probably

would be taken, as it is in all the remaining five opening figures, by an extra note at the beginning of the phrase. There is for all intents and purposes only one interval larger than a second in the southern melody, and it is the gap that alternates between a third and a fourth and serves to point out the articulation and define the flex-like function of the pitch change in the first part of each half verse. The range of the southern trope melody is virtually identical to the range of the introit melody, but juxtaposed in actual performance the difference in what I have called melodic ethos between the trope and the introit is quite striking.

Example 4 gives you the Easter introit antiphon as it appears in the Beneventan Graduals.

Example 4

Benevento 38, 48r.

Re-sur - re - xi et ad - huc te - cum sum. Al - le - lu - ia.

Po - su - is - ti su - per me ma - num tu - am.

Al - le - lu - ia, Mi-ra - bi-lis fac - ta est

sci - en - ti - a tu - a. Al-le - lu-ia al - le - lu - ia.

The introit despite its narrow range opens up its own melody by a careful use of leaps. The F is defined very early as the main melodic note – the effective reciting tone of the antiphon itself – even though the E on the third syllable of *Resurrexi* softens the stark contrast of D and F that opens the introit in the northern traditions. The alleluias at the end of each phrase define the effective range of most of the antiphon through two leaps, D–F and E–G, and the lowest note of the piece is approached by the widest leap and permanently abandoned by another leap. All of these amount to simply a different «manner of singing» from that implied by the trope.

In the trope the repetition of the same melody for each verse, a repetition that in the southern version is carried to each half verse, has the effect of bringing all the phrases of the trope into close connection despite the gaps produced by the intercalation of the introit phrases. The connection between the extremely regu-

lar trope melody and the far less regular introit also points to the very loose connection that exists between trope and introit at the textual level. Such a connection ranges from the casual in the turn from Verse 1 to *Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum* to the meaningless in the turn from Verse 4 to *Mirabilis facta est scientia tua*. In contrast the three verses of the trope, their bond strengthened by melodic similarity and regularity, present us with a continuous discourse couched in almost dramatic terms that ranges from the announcement to the Marys to the command to tell the disciples and to an emotional climax in the sudden exclamation against Judas, an exclamation that in the context of the resurrection takes an apocalyptic tone. In other words, the trope tells its own story, and it is at best loosely connected with what the introit antiphon is talking about.

To be sure a number of the south Italian introit tropes are more closely connected textually to their antiphons. *Martyr Laurentius*, for example, presents all the characteristics of extreme repetition of phrases albeit far more expansive and ornamental ones found in *Mulieres que ad sepulcrum*, but its textual connection to the introit is closer. But it is also perhaps no coincidence that in this case the introit itself is part of a body of Romano-Beneventan music that probably originated in south Italy itself.²²

I have used as examples two south Italian chants, but I believe that a similar case can be made for both northern and Aquitanian tropes and sequences belonging to the oldest layers of those repertoires.²³ The very nature of the tropes, however, prevented most of them from achieving the kind of coherence as musico-textual genres that would become ultimately a satisfactory medium for the expression of the mixture of new and old forms of expression that appear to be rising in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. It is worth noting that the genres that survived the longest in these categories are those where the chant did not really interrupt the flow of the newly composed pieces, most notably the Kyrie verses and the sequences, and that among the proper tropes the introit tropes survive for the longest time but reduced to essentially short introductions to the introit, which allows them albeit in a modest scale to present their text and music uninterruptedly.

In the long run also the Gregorian chant became something of an accepted tradition though we cannot ever be certain that it was a true musical vernacular except in a very restricted area of northern Europe and for a relatively short time considering its long life as a musical language. Chant-derived musical vernaculars do spring up in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries in Italy, France, Germany, England, and Spain, but our knowledge of these vernaculars is still fragmentary and clouded by views of them as decadent, though recent interest in such repertoires as the rhythmic offices, the victorine sequences and their derivatives, and the interfaces of chant, conductus, and secular music hold a promising prospect for the future.

22 The introit *Probasti domine* can be seen in *Paléographie musicale*, 15, fol. 217v. It is restricted to my knowledge to Italian manuscripts from the south.

23 Huglo, «Gallican Rite,» *passim*, suggests that such a case can be made with some of the northern tropes.

Diskussion

Die Diskussion zum Tropus, als Schritt in den Bereich der Formen und Gattungen, mit denen das Mittelalter den überkommenen Bestand erweiterte, ging von den beneventanischen Beispielen aus. Sie begann mit einer kurzen Verständigung über Fragen einer modalen Bestimmung. Dabei unterstrich Alejandro Planchart den Unterschied zwischen dem Repertoire diessseits bzw. jenseits der Alpen, der sich darin zeigt, «that G-final pieces in the north tend to have large intervals, but that G-final pieces in the south tend not to have large intervals». – Im weiteren konzentrierte sich das Gespräch auf einzelne Aspekte der Frage nach dem Verhältnis zwischen Musik und Text, die der Beitrag Leo Treitlers in den Vordergrund gerückt hatte, insbesondere hinsichtlich der «music as form of language utterance». Das betraf zunächst die Einordnung eines Beispiels aus Benevent.

Leo Treitler: I have a question for Professor Planchart. Why do you think that the Beneventan singers or notators were less interested in clearly punctuating the texts, in projecting the sense of the texts than the northern singers or notators?

Alejandro Planchart: I did not quite say that. I said that the Beneventan version is very clear in its text-music relationship. In this piece, *Mulieres quae ad sepulchrum*, the northern version of Pistoia C 121 is far less effective in its setting off of the text than the Beneventan version. But the Beneventans have set the text in a repetitious manner – a carefully calculated repetitious manner – which is not that of the northern pieces like your lovely Epiphany trope work. There is something of a survival of the Beneventan melodic ethos in these tropes, similar to the survival of the Old Beneventan Masses in the same manuscripts. I believe that this may have something to do with political power of the dukes of Benevento, who may have insisted on the performance of the traditional chants in certain feasts. Thus these melodic styles survived until the middle of the eleventh century.

Ein Votum des Gesprächsleiters führte auf die generelle Frage nach Unterschieden hinsichtlich der «text-articulation» zwischen den Tropen und den älteren Gesängen, die damals erweitert wurden.

Leo Treitler: I wouldn't say a fundamental difference in a strict sense. I would say it is a matter of degree. As I said the more challenging the language-structure the more resourceful the melodic response to it. What they of course had in common is the principal task of the singer, which is to make clear the structure and therefore the sense of the text. Though in the paper that I prepared, I went a little further and put forward some notions about what happened in a hexameter-text, where very complicated matters arise about the relationship between the syntax of the language and the word-order. I have made some suggestions about that,

that could very easily be discussed and questioned. But in any case, just to summarize very briefly, it seems to me that the language is stylistically very different from what one generally finds in a traditional chant-text, particularly with respect to his matter of the relationship between the syntax or the sense-grouping of the words and the word-order itself. The conventions of the hexameter impose certain constraints on the language which the language as a literate language allows, and I have suggested that one would have read it as a language, one would have understood it in some sort of synchronic way where the word-order does not so much matter, but one looks down and makes the syntactical connections. But when one begins to sing that kind of language, it forces the issue because one has to sing from beginning to end and one is not able to make the syntactic connections visually, one has to make them aurally through the retention of elements. I have suggested that the musician served his purpose by making associations, by making clear the syntactic linkages that are difficult to take in when we hear the language in sequential order, and that especially seems to me to have enriched the form-making resources of the musical language and enriches them in a way that could be retained.

Die verbleibende Zeit galt der Verständigung über das oben wiedergegebene, für die Überlegungen Leo Treitlers zentrale Beispiel.

Max Haas: Wäre es für diese Problematik möglich, Tropus-Element 15 heranzuziehen. Wir finden hier acht Nomina, die vier Nominativ-Genetiv- bzw. Genetiv-Nominativ-Bildungen ausmachen. Die syntaktische Gliederung, die damit gegeben ist, scheint mir durch die Melodie aufgenommen zu sein. Darin liegt doch auch ein Element des Tropus, das gegenüber dem Choral neu ist. Dass das Tropus-Element 15 in die Antiphon *Ecce advenit* hineinführt, scheint mir klar. Aber ist dieses Tropus-Element nicht zugleich eine Art Vorbereitung musikalischer Art für das Tropus-Element 17?

Leo Treitler: Preparation in what way, what do you mean?

Haas: Ich denke an den Ambitus.

Treitler: Certainly, the ambitus has been opened up to that point by the climatic third phrase of trope-element 15.

Haas: Dann haben wir uns möglicherweise missverstanden. Ich dachte, der Hinweis auf das Wort «Jesus» würde sich auf eine Art «Wortausdeutung» beziehen.

Treitler: Yes, it is, I think. I just made the contrast between this case and the one in the next example at the beginning of the trope-element, where the words belong together syntactically and are set together in a phrase. Here I think it is a kind of «Wortausdeutung», it is separated off. I mean it is consequent to the opening part of the end in the first element. But it is striking to me that although the singer or the notator could simply have completed the phrase at the end of the first element or rather at the end of the antiphon with the word «Jesus», he did not, whereas in the other case he did.

Alejandro Planchart: I have one remark and a question for Leo. First, when Leo talked about point-notes or peak-tones, notice how different is the behavior, the «melodic ethos» of the northern trope from that of *Mulieres quae ad sepulchrum*: the Beneventan trope has not a single peak-tone all the way through.

Now the question: What do you do with the north French, Rhenish, and English versions of your trope, which begin element 17 simply with «Quem reges gentium,» thus leaving out the crucial «Jesus?»

Treitler: I said, you wouldn't analyze it in the same way.

Planchart: I insist because you have made a number of valuable and interesting distinctions between several kinds of variants and what I call recomposition. This is one variant I would not call «recomposition». How could we handle it, it creates an elided sense. Unfortunately we cannot tell what they did with the melody – there is not a single transcribable North French, English, or Rhenish source for this particular melody – but what is interesting is that the crucial «Jesus» is missing in some major sources.

Treitler: I don't know how you want me to answer the question, it certainly works differently. It is very difficult.

Planchart: What would be interesting to see – we do have a neumatic text for these pieces – is if there is a melisma in the sources that do not have the word «Jesus,» then we could argue for scribal corruption.

Treitler: That would make me quite worried about my interpretation of the setting of «Jesus», that is to say I would be committing the pathetic fallacy. I would be overinterpreting. That is to say, then one would have to expect that this person simply slapped this word underneath the opening pitches that were given.