MEDIEVAL LITURGICAL CHANT AND PATRISTIC EXEGESIS

Words and Music in the Second-Mode Tracts

EMMA HORNBY

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How do text and melody relate in Western liturgical chant? Is the music simply an abstract vehicle for the text, or does it articulate textual structure and meaning? These questions are addressed here through a case study of the second-mode tracts, lengthy and complex solo chants for Lent, which were created in the papal choir of Rome before the mid-eighth century. These partially formulaic chants function as exegesis, with non-syntactical text divisions and emphatic musical phrases promoting certain directions of inner meditation in both performers and listeners. Dr Hornby compares the four second-mode tracts of the core repertory to related ninth-century Frankish chants, showing that their structural and aesthetic principles are neither Frankish nor a function of their notation in the earliest extant manuscripts, but are instead a well-remembered written reflection of a long oral tradition, stemming from Rome.

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Words and Music in the Second-Mode Tracts

Emma Hornby

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TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AMS	René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels: Vromant, 1935).
AOFGC	Theodore Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant* (Evanston, 1998)
BL	British Library
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CR	Andreas Pfisterer, *Cantilena Romana, Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des gregorianischen Chorals*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik 11 (Paderborn, 2002).
PL	Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologia Latina (Paris: Garnier, 1844–55).
PM	Paléographie musicale
WP	David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Details of manuscript sigla are given overleaf.

SIGLUM	LIBRARY AND SHELFMARK
Aki2	SALAMANCA, Bibl. Universitaria, MS 2637
Aki3	LANGRES, Grand Seminary, MS 312
Aki4	PARIS, BNF, MS n. a. lat. 1177
Aki5	ALBI, Bibliothèque municipale Rochegude, MS 44
Alb	PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 776
All1	MILAN, Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS L 77 sup.
Bab1	BAMBERG, Staatsbibliothek, MS lit. 6
Bec	PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 1105
Ben5	BENEVENTO, Biblioteca capitolare, MS VI.34
Bis2	BESANÇON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 79
Bob2	TURIN, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, MS G. V. 20
Bre	OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 366
Cant2	DURHAM, Cathedral Library, MS Cosin V.V.6
Cha1	CHARTRES, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 47
Cha3	CHARTRES, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 520
Clu1	PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 1087
Coc6	PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 17436
Com2	VERCELLI, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 186
Cor2	PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 12050
Cor3	TRIER, Dombibliothek, MS 433 (142); CLEVELAND, Museum of Art Illumination 33, 446; BERLIN, Staatliche Kunstbibliothek, MS 1400
Crow	LONDON, BL, MS Egerton 3759
Den1	PARIS, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS384
Den5	LAON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 118
Den6	VATICAN, MS Ottob. Lat. 313
Den7	PARIS, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 111
Dij1	MONTPELLIER, Faculté de médecine, MS H.159
Dij2	BRUSSELS, Bibl. royale, MS II 3824
Eli	*Private Collection*('MS du Mont-Renaud').
Ext2	OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS 579
Fle1	ANGERS, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 91
Gal1	ST GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 359
Gal2	SAINT GALL, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 339
Iri	OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 892
Itn1	VATICAN, MS Rossi 231
Ivr1	IVREA, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 60
Klo1	GRAZ, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 807
Kor	WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 510 Helmst
Lan	LAON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 239

Laon266	LAON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 266
Lav	ROME, Biblioteca angelica, MS 123
Lei	LEIPZIG, University Library, MS Rep.I.93
Leo3	BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque royale, MS 10127-10144
Luc1	LUCCA, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 606
Mal1	PARIS, BNF, lat 1132
Mal3	PARIS, BNF, lat 1121
Mal4	PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 909
Mog4	OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 340
Mon6	MONZA, Basilica s. Giovanni, MS CIX
Mor4	PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 12584
Mur3	EINSIEDELN, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 121
Nar	PARIS, BNF, MS 780
Nov2	OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 222
Noy1	LONDON, BL, MS Egerton 857
Noy3	REIMS, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 213 (E. 320)
Orc	COLOGNY-GENÈVE, private collection (Martin Bodmer MS 74)
Orj	ROME, Vatican, MS Lat. 5319
Orp	ROME, San Pietro, MS F22
Pas2	OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 354
Rag	OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 342
Rei5	ZURICH, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 30
Rog1	PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 904
Sab	OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 358
Sam1	VALENCIENNES, Bibliothèque municipale MS 121
Sam2	PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 2291
Sar1	LONDON, BL, Additional MS 12194
Stm	OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 350
Tou	LONDON, BL, MS Harleian 4951
Tyr	OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 341
Vaa1	CAMBRAI, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 75
Vec1	VERCELLI, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 161
Vin2	OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS 775
Vor1	WORCESTER, Chapter Library, MS F. 160
Yrx	PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 903

Full details about dating, provenance, manuscript type, notation and editions or facsimiles of these manuscripts may be found in Appendix 2.

A NOTE ON THE MUSICAL TRANSCRIPTIONS

W HERE MUSICAL PITCH is referred to in the text, I follow the Guidonian practice:

A   B   C   D   E   F   G   a   b   c

The pitches of the Romano-Frankish transcriptions are taken from *Cha3*, while reflecting the neuming found in *Fle1*. Notes under a slur are notated with a single penstroke in *Fle1*, except for the pressus major which, despite comprising an oriscus and a punctum in two separate pen strokes, is always transcribed with a slur over the two elements. The sign which is used in Breton notation for both the oriscus and the quilisma is consistently transcribed here as a single x-shaped note head. This sign occasionally appears as the first element of a porrectus, and in these cases I have transcribed the neume as an x-shaped note head followed by two ordinary note heads, with all three elements joined under a slur. The virga with a hook to the right is a descending liquescence, transcribed consistently as indicating two notes, and the virga preceded by a lower hook to the left is an ascending liquescence, also transcribed as indicating two notes. The sign reminiscent of a number 9 does not signal a neume, but is a syllable divider. I have transcribed the text as presented in *Fle1*, even when there are lexical or other variants, with the exception of the verse ordering and numbering of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui*, for which I have followed the standard outline of the Romano-Frankish tradition.

The Old Roman transcriptions are taken from *Orc* and, as with the Romano-Frankish transcriptions, slurs over notes are used to indicate that all appear within the same penstroke in the manuscript. One apparently ornamental neume shaped rather like ~ is transcribed as an x-shaped notehead. I interpret each liquescent sign (and there are many in *Orc*) as adding an extra element to the existing neume.[1] The liquescent sign combining a vertical penstroke with diagonal ~ across it is transcribed as two notes, the second (and liquescent one) higher than the first.

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1 In this I follow Thomas H. Connolly, 'The "Graduale" of S. Cecilia in Trastevere and the Old Roman Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), 413–58.

In the transcriptions and in the main text, accented syllables are indicated where necessary by an acute accent (´) over the vowel, or over one of the Guidonian pitch letters within the relevant string of pitch letters.

INTRODUCTION

A SPONTANEOUS RESPONSE to hearing liturgical chant might well highlight its apparently simple beauty and its spiritual qualities, in which the architectural space, the tone quality of the singers, and the imagery and style of CD cover design might also play a role. Such a response might also focus on the way in which liturgical chant provides an acoustic and temporal space for meditation or prayer. And, within such a spontaneous response, one might also find a certain resistance to the idea of looking more closely at the textual and musical techniques which underlie the repertory. Is there not a danger that an appreciation of the beauty of chant and of its potential for mediating a spiritual experience will be lost under the scholarly microscope? The primary aim of this book is to demonstrate the opposite, through a case study of a single genre of liturgical chant, the second-mode tracts. By looking closely at the compositional principles of this genre, we can begin to appreciate not just the melodies' beauty, but the melodies' structured beauty. We can uncover the intimate way in which the musical shape articulates the text, helping listeners to follow the semantic and syntactical rhythm of the prose text as it passes by them, and thus to appreciate not just an attractive sound, but also a holy text.[1] Furthermore, peculiarities of the melodic construction draw particular attention to certain words or phrases which, as I shall show, were important within the patristic tradition of exegetical commentary on these biblical texts. The second-mode tracts provide more than an acoustic and temporal space for meditation and prayer. The words highlighted by the melodic emphases guide the meditation of listeners in particular directions, connected to the theological themes of the biblical text and of the feast day.

A tract, broadly speaking, is a solo chant, sung straight through without repeats, which replaces the alleluia between the readings of the Mass during penitential times of year, especially Lent.[2] Tracts appear in two melodic families, categorised within

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1   In many medieval listeners a certain level of Latin competence and familiarity with the biblical text would have been assumed. On the place of psalm and canticle texts in medieval monastic education, see, *inter alia*, Susan Boynton, 'Training for the Liturgy as a Form of Monastic Education', in George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (eds.), *Medieval Monastic Education* (Leicester, 2000), 7–20.

2   This simplified definition is qualified in Chapter 5, where I assemble the evidence pertaining to the medieval definition of the genre, considering nomenclature, liturgical position, textual structure and performance practice as well as musical structure. For the purposes of this study, I have chosen to define as second-mode tracts those chants which belong to a single melodic family, using common formulaic material in cognate ways, and departing from it in similar ways and for similar purposes. *De necessitatibus* is often identified as a second-mode tract and analysed in conjunction with the

the church modes which emerged in the ninth century as eighth-mode tracts and second-mode tracts respectively. The second-mode tracts are the subject of this study; the modal classification indicates the final note and tonal 'home' of each chant (D), the main pitch which is used within syllabic recitation passages (F), and the range of each chant (surrounding the final D, from A to a or, exceptionally, b♭). The core repertory of four second-mode tracts (see Table 1) can be traced back to late-eighth-century

TABLE 1. Text origins and liturgical assignments
of the core-repertory second-mode tracts

TRACT	TEXT ORIGIN[a]	LITURGICAL ASSIGNMENT
Qui habitat	Psalm 90 [91]: 1–7, 11–16	Quadragesima Sunday
Deus deus meus	Psalm 21 [22]: 2–9, 18₂–19, 22, 24, 32	Passion Sunday
Domine exaudi	Psalm 101 [102]: 2–5 and 14	Wednesday of Holy Week
Domine audiui	Habakkuk 3: 2–3	Good Friday
Qui habitat	Psalm 90 [91]: 1–7, 11–16	Good Friday (until 9th c.)

[a] Each begins at the start of a psalm/canticle; the first verses of Psalm 21 [22], Psalm 101 [102] and Habakkuk 3 comprise titles. *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus* each include the last verse of their psalm. In this study, the Roman Psalter, Vulgate or Septuagint verse numberings are used as appropriate, with the Psalm numbering generally found in English Bible translations included in square brackets.

northern Europe and, from there, to mid-eighth-century Rome and perhaps earlier, as will be explored in Chapter 1. These four chants are sung during some of the most important Lenten feasts, and their length and complexity makes them a formidable challenge for singers. This has long been appreciated: Angilram, bishop of Metz (768–91), explicitly included *Qui habitat* (twice), *Deus deus meus* and *Domine exaudi* in his list of *stipendia* as chants so difficult that their performance would be rewarded with extra renumeration.[3] The demands these tracts – the longest of which take more than ten minutes to perform[4] – place on singers has led to a recurring interest in the second-mode tracts by scholars seeking to show how the chant repertory might have been transmitted before musical notation became regularly used as an aide-mémoire.[5] The construction of the second-mode tracts, on a broad scale, makes them ideal candidates for such investigation. They are regu-

rest of the genre, but I believe this to be a mistaken classification of a gradual which shares melodic material and some formal characteristics, but not fundamental compositional processes, with the second-mode tracts.

3 Edited with commentary in Michel Andrieu, 'Règlement d'Angilramme de Metz (768–791) fixant les honoraires de quelques fonctions liturgiques', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 10 (1930), 349–69.

4 For example, *Deus deus meus* takes 12'5" on the CD *Ieremias* by Vox Clamantis, directed by Jaan-Eik Tulve (Arion ARN 68602, 2002).

5 The oral origin of the second-mode tracts was asserted in 1974 by Treitler: see Leo Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant', *Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974), 333–72. The oral characteristics of the second-mode tracts have since been discussed in magisterial detail by Karp, whose focus is on the oral processes of composition, transmission and cross-fertilisation with chants of other genres: see *AOFGC*, especially essays 3–8. Pfisterer has taken a different approach to a similar end: he finds that the patterns of variants in the early Romano-Frankish manuscripts reveal a primarily oral rather than written transmission: see *CR*.

larly described as 'formulaic', with particular melodic phrases recurring in specific formal and textual contexts,[6] and their formulaic character would indeed have been an important part of their memorability. Each second-mode tract consists of an apparently unpredictable mixture of formulaic material with unique ('idiomelic') phrases and extended rhapsodic melismas. It is the interplay between these elements, rather than the memorability of the formulaic passages, which is my main concern here.

The primary evidence

THE MASS PROPER chants were the chants sung within the Mass by the most expert singers of a medieval religious establishment. As the Mass Proper repertory evolved, fixed texts and melodies became associated with fixed days of the year. The first surviving manuscripts containing the texts of these Mass Proper chants date from the end of the eighth century, and the first surviving manuscripts containing their melodies from c. 880; all are from the Frankish Empire. The first complete Roman manuscript is another two hundred years later, dated 1071. In preparing this study, I consulted as many as possible of the relevant Western European manuscripts dating from the early-tenth century or before, and the three surviving Roman Graduals.[7]

Consultation of these early sources confirms that the second-mode tracts were transmitted as largely fixed pieces by the late-ninth century, both melodically and textually. Some variants indicate a continuing degree of performative flexibility in the matters of ornamentation and precise melodic outline.[8] Other variants suggest a gradual process of standardisation, while further variants are the result of different interpretations of text accents.[9] Small-scale variants which do not affect the overall shape of the melody are not of major concern in this study per se; large-scale variants are extremely rare. I have ensured that my analytical findings do not hold only for localised versions of the second-mode tracts.

Fle1, a tenth-century Breton Gradual, is the basis of the transcribed musical examples in this book.[10] The lack of a facsimile edition means that the manuscript

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6   The basic formal structure has been well understood since Schmidt's rigorous analysis of the 1950s: see Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954); 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones'; and 'Untersuchungen' (1958).

7   Appendix 2 contains information about these manuscripts, references to printed and online facsimiles and a table summarising which second-mode tracts are found in each manuscript. The table also notes the presence or absence of the related gradual *De necessitatibus*, which is the focus of Chapter 5. Appendix 2 also includes summary information about later Mass Proper manuscripts referred to in the text. It does not include chants which have been added to a manuscript after the main body was copied.

8   A discussion of the nature of the variants found in Mass Proper chants and their implications for our understanding of chant transmission may be found in Emma Hornby, 'The Transmission of Western Chant in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Evaluating Kenneth Levy's Reading of the Evidence', *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004), 418–57: 422–43.

9   As demonstrated exhaustively in *CR*.

10   The relevant folios of *Fle1* are reproduced in Appendix 3, and complete transcriptions from

has often been neglected in the scholarly literature,[11] and the notational sophistication of early manuscripts from the Saint Gall and Laon regions (such as *Lan*, *Gal1*, *Gal2* and *Mur3*) has made them the focus of much more scholarly attention in modern times; use of *Fle1* here is intended to act as a partial corrective.[12] *Fle1* appears to have been compiled by a connoisseur of the second-mode tracts, or at least compiled in an institution where considerable interest in composing and/or collecting second-mode tracts had been a priority in the past, since it includes eight second-mode tracts beyond the core repertory and the widely transmitted ninth-century Frankish chant *Eripe me*. *Fle1* has no special claim to authority, but it is broadly representative of the wider European tradition. The melodic detail of *Fle1* is of course contradicted by that of other manuscripts, but this would be the case with any manuscript chosen as the basis of a transcription. The nature of the variants between manuscripts, however, means that one would compile essentially the same analysis regardless of the manuscript chosen: at earlier stages in this project I based my melodic analysis firstly on the twelfth-century German Gradual *Klo1* and subsequently on the twelfth-century Beneventan Gradual *Ben5*, and my conclusions have not altered with the presentational shift to the Breton tradition.[13] In the transcribed examples, pitches have been supplied from *Cha3*, an early-thirteenth-century Chartres Missal.[14] The two manuscripts are generally melodically compatible and share almost the same repertory of second-mode tracts, although of course the origins of *Cha3* lie rather further east than those of *Fle1*.

Comparative analysis of the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish traditions

T HE FAMILIAR REPERTORY of medieval Western chant is commonly known as Gregorian chant. The term 'Gregorian' is misleading, since it implies a repertory which is certainly Roman, and perhaps connected to Pope Gregory the Great (d.604). The chant usually labelled as 'Gregorian' is instead the result of an eighth-century adoption of Roman chant across the Carolingian Empire, as transmitted through late-ninth-century northern European manuscripts, and the term 'Romano-Frankish' more closely reflects its historical context. While *Fle1* contains this synthesis

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Fle1 of the chants discussed in this study are given in Appendix 6.

11   *CR* is an honourable exception to this. I have not encountered a dating more specific than 'tenth century'.

12   My motivations are similar to those of Haggh and Huglo, who advise scholars 'to reconfigure our early history of chant, taking central Gaul into account as much as the Carolingian court and the centres from which we have manuscripts': see Barbara Haggh and Michel Huglo, 'Réôme, Cluny, Dijon', in Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (eds.), *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham* (Aldershot, 2007), 49–64: 57.

13   For detailed consideration of melodic variants within the manuscript tradition of the second-mode tracts, I refer readers to the exhaustive work of Pfisterer, whose work informs the current study: see *CR*.

14   David Hiley (ed.), *Chartres Codex 520. Faksimile der Handschrift von Chartres, Einführung, Register, Gebete, Lesungen*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi 4 (Kassel, 1992).

of Roman chant with Frankish culture – the Romano-Frankish repertory – the surviving Mass Proper manuscripts from Rome itself (*Orc*, *Orj* and *Orp*) contain a separate melodic dialect, known as Old Roman chant since it is the chant found in Rome before it was replaced by the wider European chant tradition in the thirteenth century. I use *Orc* as the basis of the transcribed Old Roman musical examples in this book, while also taking the evidence of *Orj* and *Orp* into account.[15]

Defining the musical and historical relationship between Old Roman and Romano-Frankish chant remains the 'central problem' of chant scholarship, more than fifty years after Willi Apel's eponymous article.[16] The two traditions generally use the same text in a given liturgical context, leading to the working hypothesis that they share a common eighth-century Roman origin. In recent years, a detailed picture of the relationship has begun to emerge through close comparisons of the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish expressions of individual genres. In some genres, such as the offertories, there may be little or no discernible melodic relationship between cognate chants (that is, chants of the same genre with the same text), or they may share goal tones, melodic density and ambitus.[17] In other genres, such as the eighth-mode tracts, the two traditions are essentially equivalent, being constructed on exactly the same formal principles.[18] While isolated Romano-Frankish pieces such as the Easter vigil tracts are found in the Old Roman manuscripts, they stand out stylistically 'like water from oil'.[19] Occasional Old Roman chant readings suggest 'contamination' by Romano-Frankish versions but, in the main, there does not seem to be a great deal of influence of the Romano-Frankish chant back into the Old Roman melodic idiom, which is quite different in style.[20] The two traditions thus appear to have gone along largely separate paths after the late-eighth century.

There have been comparative analyses of the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish second-mode tracts in the past, but none have fully integrated the analysis of the two traditions.[21] Parallel consideration of the two traditions, together with the

15   A colour facsimile of *Orc* is available at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch>. Transcriptions of the chants discussed in this study may be found in Appendix 6.

16   Willi Apel, 'The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 9 (1956), 118–27.

17   Rebecca Maloy, 'The Offertory Chant: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission' (Ph.D. thesis, Cincinnati University, 2001); Maloy, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (New York and Oxford, forthcoming).

18   Emma Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts: A Case Study in the Transmission of Western Chant* (Aldershot, 2002).

19   James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley, 2000), 132.

20   See *WP*, 561. For examples of chants known to have been transmitted to Rome from Francia, and which took on Roman stylistic features, see Edward Nowacki, 'Constantinople–Aachen–Rome: The Transmission of *Veterem hominem*', in Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (eds.), *De musica et cantu: Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim, 1993), 95–115. There is extensive discussion of this issue in Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*.

21   Schmidt was the first to compare the Romano-Frankish and Old Roman second-mode tracts: see Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones'. Karp's analysis of the chants is particularly valuable because it combines a close reading of the cognate chants in the two repertories with

working assumption that a common structural procedure underlies the surviving melodies, is central to uncovering the genre's constructive principles in this book, and confirmation of the common ancestry of the two traditions in this genre is a by-product of my analysis. In general, the second-mode tracts in the two traditions are equivalent in range, goal tones, melodic density and structural procedure, usually having analogous versions of the different phrase shapes used under the same circumstances.[22] The Old Roman version is generally more melodically profuse than the Romano-Frankish, tends to move by step rather than by leap, and regularly switches between the two tenor notes F and D where the Romano-Frankish tradition tends to concentrate on one of them at a time.[23] It is not possible to confirm which is closer to the idiom of their shared eighth-century ancestor, if either, and I do not attempt to establish the precedence of one melodic dialect over the other. It is also problematic to claim precedence of the structural principles of either reading in a passage where the two traditions are not in parallel: one version may have lost a formulaic phrase and supplied an idiomelic phrase or an alternative formulaic phrase; one version may have lost an idiomelic phrase and replaced it with a formulaic phrase; one version may have followed a textual cue while the other followed a formal cue. There will also have been variants, within the grammar of the genre, which were sung and perhaps notated in some places, but have not been preserved. In general, I tend towards the view that, within an oral tradition, changes to a melody are more likely to move towards rather than away from a stereotyped profile.[24] Comparative analysis of the surviving Old Roman and Romano-Frankish melodies thus makes it possible to guess at characteristics of their common ancestor, the eighth-century Roman chant adopted throughout the Carolingian empire.

Analytical terminology

MANY SCHOLARS have recognised the close relationship between the structure of the second-mode tracts and the structures of the psalm verses, using the terminology of simple psalmody to describe the tract verse structure: 'intonation' for the first phrase in the verse, cadencing on D; 'mediation' for the mid-verse cadence on C; 'flex' for the F cadence within the second half of the verse; and 'final' for the D cadence ending the verse.[25] Karp instead labels phrases according to their

consideration of melodic and formulaic connections with other chants. However, he considers the two traditions separately before combining his findings, even adopting numbers for the formulas used in one tradition and letters for those used in the other: see *AOFGC*.

22   Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 285–7; see also *AOFGC*, 318.

23   Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 291, 294.

24   This is a view shared by both Pfisterer and Maloy: see *CR*, and Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*.

25   See, for example, Olivier Cullin, 'Le trait dans les repertoires vieux-romains et grégoriens: un témoin de la psalmodie sans refrain' (Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris IV, Sorbonne, 1990), 227; Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, 1958), 323–4; Helmut Hucke, 'Tract', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. XIX (London, 1980), 108–10: 110; Helmut Hucke, 'Tractusstudien', in Martin Ruhnke (ed.), *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*

cadence notes, with subscripts to show the groups of related phrases (C_{10a} or D_{53}, for example). I have not adopted the same labels because my interpretation of the structure of the genre is not always identical to his, and use of almost the same labelling system with variations according to my differing analytical interpretations would cause considerable confusion. Apel's similar labels with subscripts are equally inconvenient for use here. I use the labels **1**, **2**, **3** and **4** to refer to the phrases in a second-mode tract verse. Phrase **1** cadences on *D* and is followed by phrase **2** cadencing on *C* at the half-verse caesura. The second verse half begins with phrase **3** cadencing on *F* and ends with phrase **4** cadencing on *D*. Each of the four formal contexts has a limited set of phrase shapes associated with it; I label each of these phrase shapes with an alphabetical subscript (**2a**, **3a** etc.). Phrases or less independent melodic units which occur in more than one formal context are labelled **V**, **W**, **X**, **Y** and **Z**, to show their freedom from the usual formal associations. Each occurrence of each formulaic phrase type in *Fle1* and *Orc* is transcribed in Appendix 4.

My disinclination to label tract phrases according to the divisions of simple psalmody, shared by several other scholars,[26] is based on the fact that such generic psalmodic labels disguise rather than reveal the variety of melodic shapes used in different verses and the way in which textual structure and meaning affects the melodic shapes used, on the level of small melodic fragments and on the level of musical phrases. To use the terminology of psalm tones also suggests that the psalmodic skeleton was an important structural principle. Instead, although subconscious awareness of tonal goals was often important, 'on the level of technique the singers depended on their awareness of different series of motivic groups.'[27]

Summary

CHAPTER 1 explores the textual evidence supporting the hypothesis that both the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish core-repertory second-mode tracts are Roman in origin, with the textual variants tabulated in Appendix 5. Chapter 2 provides an introduction to the importance of textual structure and syntax in the phrase divisions of the chants. Appendix 1 contains accompanying analytical tables consisting of the texts arranged according to the musical phrase divisions, together with translations, parts of speech, and the melodic shape used for each portion of text. Chapter 3 consists of a general analysis of the second-mode tracts, identifying each of the phrase shapes associated with each position in the verse, as well as phrase shapes associated with particular verses, phrase shapes associated with particular accent patterns, words or syntactical structures, and phrase shapes whose function is emphatic. These chapters provide the necessary background for Chapter 4,

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(Kassel and New York, 1967), 116–20: 116; Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 284–5; Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 42. Unlike the other scholars here, Apel uses 'flex' for the mid-verse cadence and 'mediation' for the *F* cadence in the middle of the second verse half, which has no precedent in the terminology of simple psalm recitation.

26   See *WP*, 85, and McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 289.

27   *AOFGC*, 112.

in which I attempt to account for the occasions on which the second-mode tract melodies depart from the formulaic system. While the formulaic structure of the genre is well understood, the factors governing the choice of phrase shape have not been satisfactorily identified and there has previously been almost no consideration of why unique phrase shapes are sometimes used, beyond assertions that they were an original and integral part of the genre.[28] I argue that the chant melodies not only embody a response to the accent patterns and textual grammar, but also promote a particular exegetical interpretation of and meditation on a given text during its performance as a second-mode tract.

The understanding of the second-mode tracts outlined in the first half of the book forms the foundation for a consideration in the second half, firstly in Chapter 5 of the complex generic delineation of the second-mode tracts in the Middle Ages, and then, in Chapters 6 and 7, of the way the genre developed and was understood in northern Europe through the ninth century. Tract composition continued after the Carolingian adoption of Roman chant and, by *c*. 850, *Qui habitat* had been replaced on Good Friday by a newly composed Frankish chant, *Eripe me* (discussed in Chapter 6). *Audi filia*, *Confitemini*, *Diffusa est gratia* and *Tu es petrus*, composed in northern Europe during the late-ninth century, appear in manuscripts which can confidently be dated to *c*. 920 or earlier. The melodic outlines and the notational details of these four chants are investigated in Chapter 7 (with analytical tables provided in Appendix 1 and transcriptions in Appendix 6). The earliest surviving notated examples of second-mode tracts, including the core-repertory chants and *Eripe me*, date from the end of the ninth century. The lateness of the earliest notated sources raises a large methodological question: do the earliest extant versions of the core-repertory chants and *Eripe me* reflect a more-or-less intact transmission through the ninth century, or are they instead late-ninth-century melodies, albeit with texts used in those liturgical contexts at least since the time of Angilram of Metz (768–91)? The close reading of *Eripe me*, *Audi filia*, *Confitemini*, *Diffusa est gratia* and *Tu es petrus* sheds light on how the genre was understood in the early- and later-ninth centuries, respectively, making it possible to assess the likely impact of an increasingly notated musical culture on the aesthetic and melodic outlines of the core-repertory second-mode tracts. I conclude that the text/music relationship established in the first half of the book is unlikely to be a ninth-century phenomenon connected to a notated chant culture, but was probably in place in the eighth-century Roman repertory adopted by the Franks.

While this study is based on the close analysis of a limited number of chants within a single genre, its implications are far reaching for our appreciation of the potential theological resonances of Western liturgical chant, and also for our understanding of the relationship between the melodies as first encountered in the late-ninth-century sources and the melodic tradition as it was understood for a century or more before that.

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28   Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 302; Richard Crocker, 'Chants of the Roman Mass', in Richard Crocker and David Hiley (eds.), *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, The New Oxford History of Music, vol. II (2nd edn, Oxford, 1990), 174–222: 212.

I

THE ORIGINS OF THE SECOND-MODE TRACT TEXTS

I T IS POSSIBLE that the origins of the second-mode tracts are as old as the fourth century, when the Lenten liturgical cycle from Quadragesima to Easter came into being.[1] The tracts have frequently been singled out as a particularly ancient genre: the great length of *Deus deus meus* and *Qui habitat* in particular has often been seen as a remnant of the fourth-century practice of singing an entire psalm *in directum* (straight through, without repeats or refrains).[2] In the early Church, the music heard between the readings of the Mass consisted of psalms sung by a solo-ist or 'lector', with congregational responds. There was no fixed repertory. Instead, psalms were chosen and melodies used, or improvised, on an ad hoc basis.[3] At some point in the early Middle Ages, there was a repertorial and institutional shift to 'schola' chant, whereby a fixed repertory of proper texts and melodies (graduals, alleluias, tracts etc.) was sung in the Mass in an annual cycle by clerics or monastics whose primary duty was singing. Pinpointing the timing and nature of this shift and of the emergence of the Mass Proper repertory would be critical to establishing the likely dating of the second-mode tracts in anything approximating their current textual, musical and generic state, but this continues to exercise scholars.

In *The Advent Project*, McKinnon argued that the Mass Proper repertory was composed (or at least compiled) by the papal *schola cantorum* of secular canons based at St John in the Lateran, Rome, in a conscious project in the later-seventh century.[4] This hypothesis has been challenged by several reviewers,[5] perhaps most

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1   McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 357–8.

2   Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien: ein Handbuch der Choralwissenschaft* (Hildesheim, 1962), 87–8, 352; see also Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 1; Joseph Dyer, 'Latin Psalters, Old Roman and Gregorian Chants', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 68 (1984), 11–30: 21.

3   See McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 62–3; James McKinnon, 'Lector Chant versus Schola Chant: A Question of Historical Plausibility', in David Hiley and Janka Szendrei (eds.), *Laborare fratres in unum: Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim, 1995), 201–11.

4   McKinnon, *The Advent Project*. The hypothesis is summarised on pp. 356–74. On the institution of the *schola cantorum*, see Joseph Dyer, 'The Monastic Origins of Western Music Theory', in László Dobszay *et al.* (eds.), *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting. Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988* (Budapest, 1990), 199–225: 215; see also Joseph Dyer, 'The Schola Cantorum and its Roman Milieu in the Early Middle Ages', in Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (eds.), *De musica et Cantu: Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim, 1993), 19–40.

5   See, for example, Peter Jeffery, 'Review', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003), 168–79; Joseph Dyer, 'Review', *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 279–309; Susan Rankin,

notably by Pfisterer, who argues persuasively that the repertory evolved gradually over several centuries, and was substantially complete by the early-seventh century.[6] Pfisterer's dating of some chant texts to as early as the fifth century is less convincing, however. Securely dated versions of biblical texts do not necessarily map directly onto securely datable versions of chant texts since older versions of biblical texts are not necessarily put aside as soon as new ones are made. Instead, chant compilers may have drawn on texts old and new, including pre-existing liturgical texts, and for some chants they certainly paraphrased existing biblical texts in creating 'libretti' for liturgical chants.[7] Identifying the version of a biblical text used in a particular chant may help to secure its geographical origin and its *terminus a quo*, but cannot be used to identify a *terminus ante quem*. Also, the early association of a particular biblical text with a particular liturgical occasion confirms a similarly early date neither for the music now associated with it nor indeed for the precise selection and structure of the text. Despite the very probably ancient association of at least the second-mode tract texts *Deus deus meus* (Psalm 21 [22]) and *Qui habitat* (Psalm 90 [91]) with their respective feast days,[8] the likelihood of purposeful alteration and gradual evolution to both the musical state and also the textual selection between their origins and their earliest surviving sources means that it would be foolhardy to assume continuity of melodic substance or musical style much before the late-seventh century.[9]

Despite doubts about the detail of McKinnon's *Advent Project* hypothesis, the role of the papal *schola* in gathering and transmitting the Mass Proper repertory in the later-seventh and early-eighth century remains crucial. According to *Ordo Romanus I*, dated *c.* 700, the Roman *schola cantorum*, responsible for the performance of the stational Papal Mass, sang fixed texts consistently on their assigned feast days each year. The institution of the *schola cantorum*, together with its chant repertory, began to be adopted by the Franks during and after the visit of Pope Stephen to Francia from 753 to 754/5. The pope had a large entourage with him, including members of his *schola cantorum*, and the establishment by Bishop Chrodegang (d. 766) of a *schola cantorum* at Metz (attested to in his *Regula canonicorum*), consisting of clerics living in community and dedicated to the performance of the liturgy, is

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'Review', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 11 (2002), 73–82.

6   Unlike McKinnon, Pfisterer sees the eighth- and ninth-century Frankish chant sources as reflecting early Roman liturgical practice more closely than the eleventh-century Roman ones, and sees the surviving seventh-century Roman liturgical books as preserving different liturgies for different purposes rather than demonstrating a straightforward chronological evolution: see *CR*; see also Andreas Pfisterer, 'James McKinnon und die Datierung des gregorianischen Chorals', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 85 (2001), 31–53. For a comparison of the arguments of Pfisterer and McKinnon, see Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*, ch. 5, 'Origin and Chronology'.

7   This term was coined by Kenneth Levy in 'Toledo, Rome and the Legacy of Gaul', *Early Music History* 4 (1984), 49–99.

8   Peter Jeffery, 'Monastic Reading and the Emerging Roman Chant Repertory', in Sean Gallagher, James Haar, John Nádas and Timothy Striplin (eds.), *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium* (Aldershot, 2003), 45–103: 65 and 69.

9   Peter Jeffery also adheres to this view: 'my own research . . . convinces me that many of these texts grew and changed over many centuries, in constant reciprocity with related texts and melodies, with the written Bible, and with the oral reading and preaching of the liturgy': 'Review' (2003), 174.

a clear manifestation of this Roman influence.[10] Pippin's son Charlemagne and his advisers attempted to unify the liturgy of the entire empire, including the unification of chant, and they turned to Rome for their models. By *c.* 800 all Frankish monasteries and cathedrals were singing basically the same repertory of *schola* chant, which they considered to be Roman.

While the Frankish propaganda suggests that their liturgy was authentically Roman, the extent to which this propaganda is borne out in historical fact seems to vary widely, even between genres within the Mass Proper repertory:[11] the core-repertory eighth-mode tracts are certainly Roman in origin,[12] but the genesis of the offertory and its verses was much more complex, with some chants being of Gallican, Mozarabic or Milanese origin.[13] In the following discussion, I outline the textual origins of the second-mode tract texts, explore the nature of their textual variants in the early surviving sources, and summarise the (minimal) impact of textual variants on melodic shape in the early neumed manuscripts.

The psalmic chants

T HE SMALL NUMBER of surviving pre-Carolingian Psalters makes it difficult to pinpoint the origins of many textual variants in liturgical chants.[14] In general, pre-Carolingian Gallican chants are likely to have used one of the 'gaulois' Psalter translations.[15] The Gallican Psalter,[16] spreading from Tours under the influence of Alcuin,[17] was used for the office psalms and also for introit and communion verses since, based on recitation tones rather than composed melodies, these were easily adapted to the preferred text of the Carolingian liturgists. Newly composed Carolingian chants also tended to use the Gallican Psalter text, as will be seen in Chapter 7. Presence of a Roman Psalter text, the version of the psalms used liturgically in Rome, Italy and England throughout the early Middle Ages, in a Romano-Frankish chant which consistently appears in the repertory from the earliest written sources

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10　On the papal visit, see, *inter alia*, Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint Denis* (Oxford, 1991), 23–9.

11　On the limited success of the unification in most areas of liturgy, and the possibility that the Romanisation of chant was, by contrast, largely achieved, see Hornby, 'The Transmission of Western Chant', 423–6.

12　Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts*.

13　This is a central theme of Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*.

14　For a clear introduction to the different psalter families, see Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*, ch. 2, subsection 'Psalter sources'.

15　These are included, as a subsection of the Old Latin Psalter tradition, in the critical apparatus of Robert Weber, *Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins* (Rome, 1953).

16　This is Jerome's Latin edition, made after 386, of Origen's Greek Hexapla, which corrected the Septuagint against the Hebrew. Jerome's translation from *c.* 400 directly from the Hebrew, the Psalter *Iuxta Hebraeos*, was not used in Carolingian Bibles and liturgy. A useful summary of the history of the Latin Psalter is given in Dyer, 'Latin Psalters', 11–12.

17　Although Alcuin's Bible was not universally accepted: see Rosamund McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible Production: The Tours Anomaly', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use* (Cambridge, 1994), 63–77.

is a useful first indication of its probable Roman origin.[18] The three psalmic second-mode tracts of the core repertory (*Deus deus meus*, *Domine exaudi* and *Qui habitat*) are all based on the Roman Psalter.

Very occasionally, a tract text is aligned with the gaulois Psalter tradition in contradiction to the Roman Psalter. In *Qui habitat* verse 4, the tract text and the gaulois Psalter version γ have 'pennis' rather than 'pinnis'.[19] Such an isolated and minor variant is of course insufficient to suggest a pre-Carolingian Gallican origin for the tract text. Similarly, in verse 13 of *Qui habitat*, the usual reading in the tract is 'longitudinem', found in γ and δ, rather than the ablative 'longitudine' of the Roman Psalter.[20] However, 'longitudinem' is also encountered occasionally in the Roman Psalter tradition and it need not signal a Gallican influence on the text.

On a handful of occasions, a single chant manuscript has a reading which correlates with one of the gaulois Psalter traditions rather than with the Gallican or Roman Psalter (see Table 2). These are likely to be localised lexical variants rather than reflecting some influence of the gaulois tradition. Indeed, *Den5* is not even consistently aligned with the same gaulois Psalter tradition on the two occasions where such a variant occurs.

TABLE 2. Gaulois Psalter readings in a single second-mode tract manuscript

TRACT VERSE	NORMAL TEXT	VARIANT	MANUSCRIPT	PSALTER(S)
Deus deus meus 3	'exaudies'	'exaudias'	*Den5*	ε
Qui habitat 1	'adiutorio'	'adiutorium'	*Den5*	δ
Qui habitat 13	'salutare'	'salutarem'	*Mon6*	γ, δ

The alignment of the tract texts with the Roman Psalter is made clear by the summary Table 3 (full tabular comparisons of the tract texts with the Roman, gaulois and Gallican Psalters are given in Appendix 5). An empty box indicates that, for the given portion of text, the Psalter tradition in question is compatible with the tract.

The variants in Table 3 range from being small both semantically and aurally (for example, 'conspexerunt'/'inspexerunt') to major ('sicut in frixorio confrixa sunt'/'sicut gremium aruerunt'/'sicut [in] frictorium confricta sunt'). The largest variants are between the Roman Psalter/tract tradition and the Gallican Psalter, but there is also clear differentiation of the Roman Psalter/tract tradition from the gaulois tradition.

18   The Roman Psalter may be Jerome's revision of an Old Latin version of the Psalter, undertaken in Rome *c.* 384. His authorship is disputed, however; some maintain that the Roman Psalter is simply one of several Old Latin versions: see, for example, Donatien De Bruyne, 'Le problème du psautier romain', *Révue bénédictine* 42 (1930), 101–26.

19   Both mean 'wings', but they were still being differentiated etymologically as late as Isidore ('pinnas murorum, pennas avium dicimus') although the two are used interchangeably in manuscripts: C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), 1330.

20   In *Gal1* and *Lan*, the ablative 'longitudine' is used with no contraction, and the partial erasure of the 'm' in both *Cha1* and *Eli* suggests that the same interpretation was chosen in those places some time after each manuscript was initially copied. With 'longitudine', the sentence translates literally as 'I will satisfy him within the length of his days' rather than 'I will satisfy him throughout the length of his days'.

TABLE 3. Second-mode tract text variants and Psalter alignments

TRACT VERSE	TRACT AND ROMAN PSALTER	GALLICAN PSALTER[a]	GAULOIS (LYONNAIS: γ AND δ)[b]	GAULOIS (NARBONNAIS: ε)[c]
Deus deus meus				
1	respice in me	respice me	respice me	
3	nec exaudies	et non exaudies		nec exaudias
8	Omnes qui uidebant me aspernabantur me	Omnes uidentes me deriserunt me		
8	locuti sunt labiis		et locuti sunt labiis	et locuti sunt labiis
10	conspexerunt	inspexerunt		inspexerunt
10	uestem meam		uestimentum meum	ueste mea
11	Libera me	Salva me		
13	et annunciabunt celi	et annunciabunt		
13	quem fecit dominus	quem fecit		
Domine exaudi				
2	inclina ad me aurem tuam		inclina aurem tuam ad me	
4	sicut in frixorio confrixa sunt	sicut gremium aruerunt	sicut [in][d] frictorium confricta sunt	
5	Percussus sum	Percussus sum/ percussum est	Percussum est	
5	sicut fenum	ut fenum		
5	manducare	comedere		
6	Tu exurgens Domine	Tu exurgens		
6	qui uenit tempus miserendi eius	quia tempus miserendi eius quia uenit tempus	quoniam uenit tempus miserendi eius	
Qui habitat				
2	susceptor meus es (some RP manuscripts include 'tu')	susceptor meus es tu	susceptor meus es tu	
4	Scapulis suis	In scapulis suis	Inter scapulis suis	
6	a ruina	ab incurso		
7	tibi autem	ad te autem		
9	ne umquam	ne forte	ne quando	
9	liberabo	et liberabo	et liberabo	
12	Inuocavit/ Inuocabit	Clamabit/ Clamauit	Inuocauit	
12	et ego	et		
13	adimplebo	replebo	inplebo	
13	salutare meum		salutarem meum	

[a]   Represented by the Stuttgart Bible critical apparatus: *Biblia sacra vulgata* (Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994). This version of the Bible is used to provide texts and variants for the Gallican Psalter and other Vulgate texts throughout this chapter.

[b]   Variants are only noted here when both are unified against the tract text; the full picture is given in Appendix 5.

[c]   Only *Deus deus meus* appears in this source.

[d]   In δ but not γ.

The Roman Psalter origin of the three psalmic second-mode tracts, the chants' presence in the earliest Frankish sources as well as in the Old Roman tradition, and the close melodic relationship between the two (on which see Chapter 3) confirms the Roman origin of the chants. However, the Roman Psalter texts are not perfectly reflected in the tract sources, since some manuscripts have isolated moments of assimilation to the Gallican Psalter.[21] More widespread variants are found in *Domine exaudi*, where in three places the Old Roman version of the text is different from the Romano-Frankish version. In verse 1, the Romano-Frankish chant has 'ueniat' like the Gallican Psalter and the gaulois δ rather than the 'perueniat' found in the Roman Psalter and the Old Roman chant manuscripts. It seems likely in this case that the Gallican Psalter reading was assimilated to the chant in its northern European transmission.[22] In the third verse, the Romano-Frankish version preserves the 'exaudi me' of both the Roman and Gallican Psalters while the Old Roman version has 'exaudi me domine', found also in the gaulois δ. One possibility is that the Frankish version became assimilated to the Psalter tradition, although this would be in contrast to the many occasions, charted in Table 3, where the Frankish cantors maintained a Roman Psalter reading in these chants against the more familiar Gallican reading. It seems more likely that 'domine' was added in the Old Roman tradition after the two traditions diverged, a hypothesis supported by the melodic state of the chant, as discussed below on pp. 103–4. Similarly, in the final verse, the Roman Psalter and the Romano-Frankish tract have the text 'quia uenit tempus miserendi eius'. The Old Roman tract repeats 'quia uenit tempus' as 'quia tempus uenit', with exactly the same music as the previous phrase. For discussion of the probably purposeful and rhetorical interpolation of repetitive text and music here, see p. 107.

Some text variants do not align the manuscript in question to any particular Psalter tradition. *Qui habitat* has several points of variation which concern the exchange of the past tense ('-uit') and the future ('-bit'), as shown in Table 4.

The presence of both past and future-tense verb forms in Gallican and Roman Psalter manuscripts at each of these points, and the lack of a consistent mirroring either of the normal tract text or of its variants in the gaulois tradition, mean that one cannot use the variants to point to any particular textual

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21 In *Domine exaudi*, *Coc6* and *Aki5* both begin verse 5 'Percussum', like the Gallican Psalter, rather than 'percussum sum' (tract text and Roman Psalter) or 'percussum est' (γ and δ). Neither has neumes at this point, so one cannot tell what effect it had on the melody. In *Deus deus meus* verse 11, *Lan* uses the Gallican Psalter variant 'unicornium' rather than the usual (and Roman Psalter) 'unicornuorum' (this has recently been discussed by Pfisterer, and the variant is also found in many later manuscripts in his sample: see *CR*, 204). *Leo3* and *Den7* have only the opening words of *Deus deus meus*. These appear as 'Deus deus meus respice me', as in the Gallican Psalter, rather than the usual 'Deus deus meus respice in me', which derives from the Roman Psalter. This might indicate that the Gallican text was occasionally used for this chant, although it would be foolhardy to theorise on the basis of one omitted two-letter word in two manuscripts, each of which transmits only five words of the tract.

22 In phrase **4e**, used here, the melodic shapes before the final accent are simply divided between the syllables available. Without a firm association of the text accents with particular melodic patterns, it was easy for 'per-' to drop out of the northern tradition. On phrase **4e**, see p. 58.

TABLE 4. *The exchange between '-bit' and '-uit' in* Qui habitat

TRACT VERSE	USUAL TRACT TEXT	VARIANT AND MANUSCRIPT(S)	GAULOIS (LYONNAIS: γ AND δ)	ROMAN PSALTER	GALLICAN PSALTER
Qui habitat					
3	liberauit	liberabit (*Den5*)	liberauit	either	either
4	obumbrabit	obumbrauit (*Coc6, Fle1, Mon6, Orc, Orj, Orp*)	obumbrauit	either	either
7	appropinquabit	approprinquauit (*Coc6, Cor3,ᵃ Fle1, Mon6, Orj, Orp*)	adpropriauit (δ); adpropiabit (γ)	either (but both rare)	either
11	sperauit	sperabit (*Cha1, Den5, Orj*)	sperabit (δ); sperauit (γ)	sperabit (rare) or sperauit	sperabit (rare) or sperauit
12	Inuocauit	Inuocabis (*Den5, Orj*); Inuocabit (*Gal1*)	Inuocauit	either	(Clamabit/ Clamauit)

ᵃ   Lacunary until this point in the chant.

tradition. Instead, such interchange between 'b' and 'u' seems to be a casual variant and, indeed, it is one of the common types of error cited by Cassiodorus.[23]

Two further text variants do not align the manuscripts in question to any particular Psalter tradition. In *Deus deus meus* verse 9, *Lan*, *Cha1* and *Fle1* all use 'faciet' rather than 'faciat', the former being a variant found in both the Gallican and Roman Psalter traditions (but not the gaulois). In *Domine exaudi* verse 2, almost all of the early Frankish manuscripts have 'Non auertas' rather than the Roman Psalter 'Ne auertas'.[24] 'Non' is found (albeit rarely) in Roman Psalter manuscripts, is the standard Gallican wording and is found also in the gaulois δ. It could therefore derive from any of the Psalter traditions.

Some isolated variants in individual chant manuscripts appear to be localised copying or spelling errors, or lexical variants, and I have not encountered them in any of the Psalter traditions (see Table 5).

While individual discussion of each of these is unnecessary, the omission in *Coc6* of the following bracketed section of *Domine exaudi* merits closer consideration: 'Non auertas faciem tuam a me in quacumque die tribulor (inclina ad me aurem tuam. V.II In quacumque die inuocauero te) uelociter exaudi me'. At first glance, the scribe seems to have copied accurately the first occurrence of 'in quacumque die', with its accompanying 'tribulor', but then leapt, mentally or visually, to the second 'in quacumque die', continuing from the following piece of text, 'uelociter'. However, the subsequent verses are numbered II, III and IIII instead of the III, IIII and V which would have been expected if this had simply been a scribal elision. The psalm verse beginning 'Non/Ne auertas' consists of three parallel sentences, although two

23   Dyer, 'Latin Psalters', 18. The levelling of intervocalic b and v was typical of the Romance languages and is reflected in manuscripts from the medieval period onwards.

24   Only *Leo3* and *Gal1* have the more usual Roman reading of 'Ne', perhaps retaining the original reading, which is also preserved in all three Old Roman Graduals.

TABLE 5. Non-Psalter text variants in isolated manuscripts
of the psalmic second-mode tracts

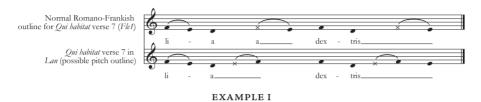| TRACT VERSE	NORMAL TEXT	VARIANT	MANUSCRIPT
Deus deus meus			
1	'dereliquisti'	'derelinquisti'	*Fle1*
3	'et nocte et non'	'in nocte et non'	*Orp*[a]
6	'clamauerunt'	'clameuerunt'	*Coc6*
6	'in te sperauerunt'	'sperauerunt'	*Coc6*[b]
9	'eripiat eum'	'eripiam eum'	*Fle1*[c]
Domine exaudi			
1	'orationem meam'	'oratio meam'	*Rei5*
2–3	'inclina ad me aurem tuam. In quacumque die inuocauero te'	(omitted)	*Coc6*
4	'frixorio confrixa sunt'	'fixorio confixa sunt'	*Cha1, Fle1, Lan*
6	'oblitus'	'oblatus' corrected to 'oblitus'	*Aki5*
Qui habitat			
2	'meum'	'meam'	*Den5*
4	'Scapulis'	'Sapulis'	*Cha1*
6	'uolante'	'uolantem'	*Aki5*
6	'a negotio perambulate in tenebris'	'an nogotio perambulatem In tenebris'	*Aki5*
6	'perambulante'	'perambulantem'	*Mon6, Coc6* and *Fle1*
7	'milia a dextris'	'milia dextris'	*Lan*
8	'custodiant'	'custodiam'	*Mon6, Coc6, Fle1, Cha1, Aki5*
9	'portabunt te'	'portabunte'	*Fle1, Cor3*
11	'cognouit'	'cognoui'	*Lan*
13	'et ostendam illi'	'et ostendam'	*Cor3*

[a] Rather than being a lexical error, 'in nocte et non' is a rare Roman Psalter variant, with the conjunction rather than the preposition implied.
[b] This clearly shows scribal inattention; the omission of 'in te' provides a mistaken parallel of 'sperauerunt et non sunt confusi' to the second half of verse 5 which has the text 'sperauerunt et liberasti eos'. Since *Coc6* has no musical notation, the melodic impact of this omission is unrecoverable.
[c] The use of 'eripiam eum' rather than 'eripiat eum' may reflect the textual parallel of 'eripiam eum' in *Qui habitat* verse 13.

sentences are adequate to fill the usual four-fold form of a second-mode tract verse. While in most manuscripts, the first two sentences form the second verse of the tract and the third sentence forms the third verse, the tradition represented by *Coc6* has instead abbreviated the psalm verse to fit the expected melodic form (on the structure of this psalm verse, see also p. 24).

On only one occasion does such a lexical error have a recoverable musical impact. In *Lan*, 'dextris' is used rather than 'a dextris' in *Qui habitat* verse 7. As Example 1 shows, rather than retaining the usual cadential point at the end of 'milia', *Lan* elides the two phrases. Textual variants in early unneumed manuscripts may similarly have involved variant cadence placement, or different phrases to reflect the new accentual context, but this is of course impossible to confirm.

Normal Romano-Frankish
outline for *Qui habitat* verse 7 (*Fle1*)

Qui habitat verse 7 in
Lan (possible pitch outline)

EXAMPLE I

As we have seen, the Frankish cantors of the early Middle Ages largely maintained the Roman Psalter-based tract texts as separate entities to the Gallican psalms they sang in the daily office, with little seepage of the Gallican Psalter into the tracts' textual transmission. This is not surprising since the Roman Psalter texts were familiar to those who had studied Latin grammar, a fundamental component of Carolingian monastic education: secondary grammar started with psalm commentaries and exegesis, and much patristic exegesis was based on, and directly quoted, the Roman Psalter.[25] Further, the written transmission of the Mass Proper texts in unneumed Graduals and Cantatoria will have helped to maintain the Roman texts at least from the late-eighth century.[26] As described above, while there are occasional correlations in individual manuscripts with either the Gallican or the gaulois Psalter, these are isolated, and do not represent a rival textual tradition for the tracts. The textual variants which exist in the early neumed manuscripts very rarely affect the number of syllables and hence rarely affect the melody.

The textual tradition of *Domine audiui*

Domine audiui is taken from the canticle in Habakkuk 3. There are isolated variants in the chant manuscripts, all of which appear to be lexical variants or errors rather than representing an alternative textual tradition (see Table 6).

25   On the importance of grammar to Charlemagne, see Dyer, 'The Monastic Origins', 211–12; see also Charles Atkinson, '*De accentibus toni oritur nota quae dicitur neuma*: Prosodic Accents, the Accent Theory, and the Paleofrankish Script', in Graeme Boone (ed.), *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes: Isham Library Papers* 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 17–42: 20; William Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis* (Lanham, Maryland and London, 1998), 9; Leo Treitler, 'Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Music-Writing', *Early Music History* 4 (Cambridge, 1984), 135–208: 136–7.

26   For the earliest surviving sources, see Peter Jeffery, 'The Oldest Sources of the *Graduale*: A Preliminary Checklist of MSS Copied before about 900 AD', *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983), 316–21; see also the list of sources in Appendix 2.

TABLE 6. Text variants in isolated manuscripts of *Domine audiui*

TRACT VERSE	USUAL TRACT TEXT	VARIANTS
1	consideraui	'consederaui' in *Cor2*, 'et consideraui' in *Aki5*
2	innotesceris	'innodisceris' in *Rei5*, 'innotisceris' in *Leo3*
2	dum appropinquauerint	'dum appropinquauerunt' in *Cha1*
3	In eo dum	'In eo dun' in *Fle1*
3	fuerit anima mea	'fuerint anima mea' in *Leo3*, 'fuerit animam meam' in *Aki5*
3	in ira misericordie	'misericordie' in *Aki5*
3	memor eris	'memor ero' in *Mon6*, *Aki5*; 'memor eoro' in *Leo3*
5	et laudis eius	'et laudes eius' in *Coc6*, *Aki5*, *Fle1*, *Cha1*; 'laudes' corrected to 'laudis' in *Lan*.

None of the variants with a different syllable count appear in a manuscript with notation at the relevant point, so it is not possible to ascertain the impact on the melodic state of the chant. In its five verses, *Domine audiui* has as many lexical variants in early manuscripts (counting parallel variants in different manuscripts as separate entities) as are found in all thirteen verses of *Qui habitat*. This density of lexical variation immediately suggests that the text was unfamiliar to the scribes.

Like the other second-mode tracts, *Domine audiui* is not derived from a text in common liturgical use in Francia. Instead, it is based on a Latin translation of the Greek Septuagint, which was itself a translation from the Hebrew Old Testament undertaken in the third to first centuries BC. This Latin Septuagint version of the Habakkuk canticle was used at Lauds every Friday in the Roman tradition, and was taken with the Roman Psalter to Canterbury by St Augustine of Canterbury *c.* 597, from where it spread across England. It is therefore familiar from the canticle sections of both Italian and Insular Psalters.[27] The tract text is identical to that found in the Vespasian Psalter,[28] and Bede's commentary uses almost the same text as the tract.[29] These examples illustrate the close kinship of the tract text and the Latin Septuagint canticle.[30]

27 For a list of manuscripts with this text, see James Mearns, *The Canticles of the Christian Church Eastern and Western in Early and Medieval Times* (Cambridge, 1914), 52. The manuscripts he lists originated in England and Benevento.

28 London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian A1 (a Canterbury copy dating from *c.* 700; the canticles are an eleventh-century addition).

29 Bede has 'innotesces' in verse 2 rather than 'innotesceris', 'adpropriauerint' rather than 'appropinquauerint' in verse 3, and 'laude' instead of 'laudis' in the last verse: Bede, *In canticum Habakuk*, ed. David Hurst, CCSL 119B (Turnhout, 1983), 379–87; for an English translation, see *Bede on Tobit and on the Canticle of Habakkuk*, transl. Seán Connolly (Dublin, 1997). It should be noted, however, that of the manuscripts used for the CCSL edition, only two date from the ninth century (Cambridge, Pembroke College, MA 81, from Bury St Edmunds, and Orleans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 59 (62), from Fleury). One is tenth century (Paris, BNF, lat. 12274, from Corbie), one is tenth or eleventh century (Paris, BNF, lat. 2372, from St Martial), and the rest are twelfth century or later. It would be foolhardy to claim that, in every detail of quotation from the Septuagint, this manuscript tradition faithfully represents Bede's original text. There are few variants in the quotation of the Septuagint in these early manuscripts, but 'laudis' is in fact found in the ninth-century Fleury manuscript and the tenth/eleventh-century St Martial one.

30 The only difference in the Regius Psalter (London, BL, MS Royal 2 B. v; tenth century,