CHAPTER V

The Roman Mass

Throughout the history of Christianity, the reenactment of the Lord's Supper—the Communion service—has been the most important and solemn ceremony of the Church. The Communion rite itself, known as the Eucharist, has constituted the nucleus of liturgical actions in many forms, called by many names. We need not concern ourselves with its various designations in different branches of the Eastern Church, but the origin of the Latin *missa*—in English, *Mass*—warrants a brief explanation. In very early times, the celebration of the Eucharist was either called an *offering* or a *sacrifice,* and in the third and fourth centuries it was often known simply as "the Lord's" (*dominicum*). It is curious that the colorless term *missa* should have replaced these more descriptive designations. The word simply means "dismissal" and appears in the closing formula *Ite, missa est* (Go, it is the dismissal) with which the congregation is sent away at the conclusion of the service. By the end of the fourth century, apparently, the term meant both the dismissal of the assembly and the end of the ceremony, and in the fifth century it designated any divine service, including the Offices. Gradually, however, *missa* was restricted to the celebration of the Eucharist and replaced every other name for that ceremony in the Christian lands owing allegiance to Rome.

As the most sacred part of the Catholic divine service, the Roman Mass developed a ceremonial rite that made it the central artistic achievement of Christian culture. In that achievement, music has always played an extremely important role. Indeed, the Mass has occasioned the composition of more music by more composers than any other liturgical service. This is, of course, especially true in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, but music for the Mass is by no means limited to the plainchant and polyphony of these periods. The ancient texts have continued to inspire composers from Bach and Beethoven to Stravinsky.

Let us consider the basic structure of the Mass in some detail in order to understand the significant contributions of plainchant and polyphony

The celebrant at the altar with his two assistants. From a Sarum Missal of the early fourteenth century (Morgan Library).

has "any consciously determined and accomplished plan," but a living thing, to which "men of many centuries and speaking many languages have all contributed."[1] The latest indications that the Mass is constantly developing are the changes authorized by the Second Vatican Council (1962–63). We must never think of the Mass, therefore, as an artistic achievement in the sense of a completed form, fixed and unchangeable for all time.

We must also remember that, even in a given historical period, the ceremonies of the Mass could and did vary considerably. Although the basic structure might remain the same, a pontifical Mass—that is, one celebrated by a bishop with numerous assistants—would obviously be much more elaborate than a Mass performed by a single priest. Other differences reflected the season of the Church year, the importance of the particular day, or the function of the Mass itself. The Requiem Mass, for example, differs markedly from the High Mass of a joyous festival. Still other differences arose from the size of the congregation, the number of assisting clergy, the presence of a trained choir, the size and physical arrangement of the place of worship, and local attitudes toward the role the congregation should play in the service.

Despite sporadic efforts throughout the Middle Ages to bring about liturgical uniformity in the celebration of the Mass, the Church remained remarkably tolerant of different usages consciously introduced. St. Gregory wrote that "in one faith, diverse usage is in no way harmful

times.[2] Not until the Council of Trent in the middle of the sixteenth century was the luxuriant growth of the Middle Ages pruned away and a simplified, uniform Mass liturgy imposed with almost complete success on the Roman Catholic Church as a whole. It is with the growth, not its suppression, that we are concerned, however, and we may now turn our attention to the form of the Mass as it developed during the first thousand years of the Christian era.

THE EARLY FORM OF THE MASS

We do not know exactly how the Apostles and the primitive Church carried out Christ's command to repeat the sacrament of the bread and wine "for a commemoration of me." Apparently they celebrated it at first in connection with a meal at which the Jewish ritual for community meals was combined with ceremonial elements of the Passover feast. The latter customarily began with the blessing of unleavened bread, which was then broken and shared with all present. Similarly, the meal closed with a blessing over a cup of wine from which all present then drank. Another important part of the Passover ceremony was the singing of the *Hallel* (psalms of praise), with those at table responding "Alleluia" after each half-verse.

As Christian groups grew in size, the connection with meals began to disappear, until Communion was finally celebrated only at special religious services. In this process, the leaders of the young religion naturally continued to use the ritual practices of the Jewish faith with which they were familiar. The consecration and prayers associated with Communion adapted Jewish formulas and responses to Christian needs. The "Amen" response (So be it) even remained untranslated. From the Sabbath service of the synagogue came the practice of Biblical readings from the Law and the Prophets, with singing in between. These readings formed the nucleus of the fore-Mass that preceded the Communion ceremony itself. Thus, the outlines of the later Mass liturgy began to take shape.

The fore-Mass usually consisted of three readings from the Bible, but now the emphasis fell on the New Testament, especially the Epistles and Gospels. Although the various liturgies differed widely in their choice of texts, the final lesson was invariably from a Gospel, after which came a homily (sermon) and prayer. Each of the first two readings was followed by the responsorial singing of a psalm. The function of the fore-Mass was twofold: to prepare the minds of the faithful for Communion, and to provide instruction in the rudiments of Christianity. Those receiving such instruction were known as *catechumens,* and hence the fore-Mass is sometimes called the Mass of the Catechumens. After

the closing prayer, the catechumens were dismissed, for only the faithful might partake of Communion.

The Communion ceremony itself was celebrated to the accompaniment of special prayers that gradually developed into the invariable form known as the Canon of the Mass. Its beginning, however, remained changeable and became what is now called the Preface. From a very early date it included the threefold Sanctus from the vision of Isaiah.[3] Here we have another element of the Jewish Sabbath service that was taken over with its text adapted and expanded to meet Christian needs. Behind this chant and the prayers of praise lay the idea that the bread and wine of the Communion service was a sacrifice to the Lord, which, in turn, led to the offering of gifts—originally animals and fruits of the field—before the Eucharistic prayers. We find accounts of such offerings by the faithful from the beginning of the third century, and the practice developed into an important part of the early Mass: the offertory procession. Thus began the process of growth and elaboration in the Mass that was to continue for many centuries. In order to make that growth more easily understood, here is an outline of the Mass structure that evolved during the first three or four centuries:

Fore-Mass or Mass of the Catechumens

Introductory greeting
Lesson 1: the Prophets
Responsorial psalm
Lesson 2: Epistle
Responsorial psalm
Lesson 3: Gospel
Sermon
Prayer
Dismissal of catechumens

Sacrifice-Mass or Communion (Eucharist) of the Faithful

The offering of gifts	(Offertory)
Prayer over the offerings	(Secret)
Eucharistic prayers of	(Preface)
praise and consecration	(Sanctus)
	(Canon)
Communion rites	
Psalm accompanying	
communion of faithful	(Communion)
Prayer	(Postcommunion)
Dismissal of the faithful	*(Ite, missa est)*

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MASS TO ITS COMPLETED FORM ABOUT A.D. 1000

The most important addition to the structure of the Mass outlined above took place at the very beginning of the service. As late as the fifth century in Rome the Mass began directly with the readings. Gradually, however, a number of unrelated items were assembled into what we may call the entrance or opening ceremonies. These ceremonies apparently developed everywhere at about the same time, presumably motivated only by the idea that the readings needed some sort of introduction. The shape of the entrance ceremonies in Rome seems to be directly connected with the so-called stational Masses of the sixth and seventh centuries. On each of the great feast days, the pope celebrated Mass at a different Roman church (station), to which the papal court came in procession. The congregation normally came in seven processions from the seven regions of Rome, but on certain penitential days, all assembled at a central point and proceeded to the church where the service was to be held. Particularly on these latter occasions, it was customary to sing litanies which used the phrase *Kyrie eleison* (Lord, have mercy) as a refrain. Once the pope had arrived at the church and been vested, a further procession moved from the entrance intoning the Introit, a psalm sung antiphonally.

Rather than being left over from the time when the Roman liturgy was performed in Greek, the Kyrie seems to have been introduced from the East in the fifth century, perhaps by way of Milan. At any rate, in the present Ambrosian liturgy, during the Lenten period, a litany closing with a threefold *Kyrie eleison* follows the *Ingressa* (=Introit). In the sixth century, the Roman liturgy introduced a litany to be used in several places, including the opening ceremonies of the Mass. At times it was complete, while at other times it was reduced to a ninefold invocation that became the standard form of the Kyrie.

Like the Kyrie, the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Glory to God in the highest) did not originate as part of the Mass. It is one of the few surviving remnants, along with the sightly later *Te Deum,* of a rich literature of ancient hymns written in imitation of Biblical lyrics. Like the *Te Deum,* the Gloria was a song of praise and was included in the Mass celebrated by a bishop on particularly festive occasions. Later, its use was extended to other feast days and Sundays, even when the celebrant was a priest. The Gloria is still omitted, however, on weekdays (ferias), in Masses for the Dead, and in periods such as Advent and Lent when its text is inappropriate.

It is usual in liturgical rites for both the service as a whole and its major subdivisions to culminate with prayer. Thus we find that the opening ceremonies end with a Collect, "a gathering together, by the priest, of the preceding petitions of the people."[4]

In contrast to the newly developed opening ceremonies, the service of readings was subject to few radical changes in the later centuries of the first millennium. By the sixth century, the number of readings was reduced from three to two, but traces of the old practice remain in the two intervening chants—Gradual and Alleluia or Tract, which now come one after the other. Originally a chant of the Easter season, the Alleluia gradually came into use throughout the year and on special feast days. It is replaced by a Tract only in penitential seasons such as Lent, when its joyous text, like that of the Gloria, would be inappropriate. Beginning in the ninth century, the Alleluia was often followed by a sequence, a musical and textual expansion of the liturgy to be discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

One other change in the service of readings involves the closing prayers and dismissal formulas. Although the fore-Mass continued to be called the Mass of the Catechumens, its dismissal formulas disappeared as congregations came to consist entirely of the faithful. Eventually, too, the Credo replaced the closing prayers of the fore-Mass. All that remained of these prayers was the single word *Oremus* (Let us pray), followed immediately by the Offertory. It should be noted, however, that the Church has always regarded the Credo as being appropriate only for Sundays and important feasts. Even today, it is not used for ferial Masses.

Although the form and contents of the prayers and ritual actions accompanying the Offertory and Communion changed considerably, only one new item was added to the sacrifice-Mass: the *Agnus Dei* (Lamb of God). It was brought from the East by the influx of clerics from lands overrun by the Moslems, and only became part of the Roman Mass in the late seventh century. The Agnus Dei originally accompanied the breaking of bread, but when the introduction of unleavened bread in small particles made that rite superfluous, it was used to fill the interval between the Consecration and Communion.

A final change came with the substitution of *Benedicamus Domino* (Let us bless the Lord) for the older dismissal formula *Ite, missa est* when the Mass had no Gloria. Apparently unknown in Rome before A.D. 1000, the *Benedicamus* formula may have originated in the Gallican liturgy. In addition to its occasional use in the Mass, it was also the standard dismissal formula for the Offices.

Early in the eleventh century, then, the structure of the Mass had become essentially what it remained until recent returns to some of the older forms. In the following outline of that structure, items with texts that change from day to day (Proper) are marked with a P; the unchanging texts (Ordinary) are marked with an O. Items printed in capital letter are sung to free melodies; asterisks identify those sung to recitation

Form of the Mass c. 1000 A.D.

Fore-Mass

Entrance ceremonies

INTROIT	P
KYRIE	O
GLORIA	O
Collect★	P

Service of readings

Epistle★	P
GRADUAL	P
ALLELUIA	P
or TRACT	P
(SEQUENCE)	P
Gospel★	P
Sermon (optional)	
CREDO	O

Sacrifice-Mass

Offertory rites

OFFERTORY	P
Prayers and Psalm 25	O
(Little canon)	
Secret	P

Eucharistic prayers

Preface★	P
SANCTUS	O
Canon	O

Communion cycle

Pater noster★	O
AGNUS DEI	O
COMMUNION	P
Prayers	O
Postcommunion★	P
ITE, MISSA EST	O
or BENEDICAMUS	O

PROPER CHANTS OF THE MASS: FORM AND FUNCTION

The chants that belong to the Proper of the Mass are those whose texts change from day to day according to the seasons of the Church year. For the most part, these chants, or at least their texts, are among the oldest parts of the Mass. They all stem from the ancient practices of psalmody, although in some cases those practices are now unrecognizable. As the Mass developed, the styles and forms of the Proper chants continually altered to fit the changing situations. Some account of their evolution is necessary if we are to understand the chants as they now exist, but it is their final and present form that is our primary con

Originally, the chants of the Proper represented the two basic types of psalmody, antiphonal and responsorial, with the choice of type depending on the function of the particular chant. Antiphonal psalmody accompanied various actions in the Mass: the entrance and offertory processions and the Communion of the faithful. Responsorial psalmody, as in the Offices, followed the reading of Lessons. Because the division into types produced distinctive musical characteristics, we shall consider the chants of each type as a unit, instead of discussing them in consecutive order.

ANTIPHONAL CHANTS OF THE PROPER

The three antiphonal chants of the Mass—Introit, Offertory, and Communion—constitute the newer portion of the musical Proper. As we have seen, St. Ambrose first brought antiphonal singing from the East to Milan, and according to tradition Pope Celestine I (d. 432) introduced it in Rome. Apparently the antiphonal chants were always performed by the choir and have therefore preserved their musical style more consistently than other chants of the Mass. Their forms, however, have undergone radical amputations.

Originally, Introit, Offertory, and Communion all consisted of a complete psalm with the doxology and a pre-verse or antiphon at the beginning and end. Whether the antiphon was also repeated between the psalm verses remains an open question, since practices varied from place to place. At any rate, all three antiphonal chants were designed to accompany actions of indeterminate length that might well be different each time. Thus it is that even the earliest Roman ordinals direct the bishop, when a particular action is nearing its close, to signal the choir to skip to the doxology and the final antiphon. As the different ceremonies were themselves changed and shortened over the centuries, the accompanying chants became more and more curtailed. Finally, the Offertory and Communion were reduced to nothing but the antiphon, and only the Introit retained a vestige of its original form.

INTROIT

The shortening of the Introit psalm took place during the eighth and ninth centuries and occurred more rapidly in some places than in others. For many churches, it was not possible or desirable to conduct processions with the pomp of the papal liturgy, and eventually, the Introit came to be sung after the priest reached the foot of the altar. It thus be

The Introit *Puer natus est*, from an illuminated manuscript c. 1375 (Morgan Library).

cessional chant. Perhaps for this reason, it remained closer to its original form than the other two antiphonal chants. The first verse of the psalm and the doxology were retained, along with the enclosing antiphon. The resulting form is AVDA.[5]

OFFERTORY

Antiphonal psalmody to accompany the Offertory procession seems to have originated in much the same manner as for the Introit. However, the Offertory underwent a curious and unique development: it is the only antiphonal chant that adopted the form and style of responsorial psalmody. We do not know when or why this change occurred, but it was evidently completed before the first chantbooks with musical notation appeared. As with other responsorial chants, musical elaboration of the solo verses led to a great reduction in their number. Instead of a complete psalm, therefore, the Offertories in medieval manuscripts

have from one to four verses, with the latter part of the respond (R_b) being repeated after each verse. The complete form of an Offertory with three verses would then be R_{ab} $V_1 R_b$ $V_2 R_b$ $V_3 R_b$. So extended a form could not be maintained as the Offertory procession fell into disuse, but the Offertory verses do not begin to disappear until the eleventh century. Although they persisted in exceptional cases throughout the Middle Ages, only the respond (originally, antiphon) remained in later times. In the liturgical reform of the sixteenth century the Offertory retained one verse in the Mass for the Dead (LU, p. 1813), and Offertory verses are still present in both the Ambrosian and Hispanic rites.

It is particularly regrettable that the Offertory verses were never restored to use.[6] In their complete form, the Offertories are among the most interesting and unusual chants of the entire repertory. Perhaps their most striking feature (which, in fact, occurs nowhere else in Gregorian Chant) is the frequent repetition of words and phrases. There may be one or several repetitions, with the same or with different music. Although such repetitions are particularly characteristic of the now discarded verses, they are occasionally to be found in the responds as well (see LU, pp. 480 and 514).[7]

Similar repetitions of melody only occur in many of the extended melismas in the Offertory verses. The form *aab* was particularly favored, but other and longer forms were also frequent.

Most of the characteristics of the complete Offertories do not appear in the older responsorial chants—the Office Responsories, Graduals, and Tracts. These characteristics testify not only to the later introduction of responsorial singing in the Offertories, but also to a new creative spirit. Instead of drawing on common melodic formulas that emphasize group characteristics, composers now use both textual and musical repetition to organize each chant into an individual and unified work of art. Perhaps it is just their personal and even dramatic nature that has kept the Offertory verses from regaining their former position.

COMMUNION

The Communion is without doubt the oldest of the three Mass chants sung antiphonally by the choir. Originally, it seems to have had the same form as the Introit, and both chants often used the same psalm, but with different antiphons. However, the Communion lost its psalm much sooner than the Introit or Offertory; and by the twelfth century, it was almost universally reduced to just the antiphon as the congrega-

5.   It should be noted that the Benedictine monastic liturgy calls for repetition of the antiphon between the verse and doxology. The Introit is so performed in recordings of various Masses made in Germany by Benedictine choirs (Archive Production, I:

6.   They are published in a book that is neither readily available nor entirely reliable: C. Ott, *Offertoriale sive versus offertorium* (Tournai, 1935).

tion came to receive Communion only infrequently. Eventually, the Communion chant came to be regarded as a conclusion rather than an accompaniment and was even called the antiphon after Communion or simply Postcommunion. (The present Postcommunion is a short prayer that is either spoken or sung to a reciting tone—see AMM, No. 21).

It is probably their age, not their concluding function, that accounts for the general characteristics of the Communion chants. As a rule, they are short and relatively simple in style. Many of them are no more elaborate than Office antiphons, although a few are extended with melismas of moderate length (for example, *Panis, quem ego dedero*—The bread of which I shall have given—LU, p. 1043). Another indication of their antiquity is a modal ambiguity that led to disagreement among medieval sources as to the mode of certain Communion antiphons.[8]

RESPONSORIAL CHANTS OF THE MASS

As was pointed out before, responsorial psalmody following scriptural readings goes back to practices of the Jewish synagogue. In the early Christian Church, the people sang simple, short responds between the psalm verses sung by a soloist. With the introduction of the schola cantorum, however, the responds became choral chants, the first instance of a procedure that eventually eliminated most congregational singing in the Mass by replacing the simple melodies that the people could sing with more elaborate chants suitable only for a trained choir. Artistic considerations may also have been influential here. Even in St. Augustine's time (354–430), solo singers were becoming notorious for creating richly embellished melodies.[9] Assigning the responds to the choir made it possible to reduce sharply the stylistic contrast between solo and choral sections.

Complete psalms disappeared from the responsorial chants of the Mass even sooner than from the antiphonal, but for different, primarily musical reasons. Never limited by an accompanying action, responsorial could be of any length. Nevertheless, a complete psalm that psalmody would not have been unduly long in the original method of performance became impractical in the extended ornamental style of the chants for choir and solo singer. Another factor that undoubtedly contributed to shortening the texts was the disappearance of the Lesson between the Gradual and the Alleluia. As a result, the two chants occupy a moment when the action of the Mass gives way before a great lyrical effusion. The Gradual and Alleluia are indeed "the jewels of the Roman Mass," and in their richness the plainchant Mass attains its greatest splendor.

GRADUAL

The chant following the first Lesson was originally called a Responsory (*responsorium*). Later manuscripts designate it as *responsorium graduale,* or simply *graduale,* from which it acquired the name that distinguishes it from other responsorial chants. Opinions differ as to the origin of the term *graduale,* but the most commonly accepted thought is that it derived from the position of the soloist on the step (*gradus*) of the pulpit rather than in the pulpit itself, which was reserved for the reader of the Gospel.

In its reduced form, the Gradual came to consist of a choral respond followed by a solo verse. Repetition of the respond after the verse persisted until the thirteenth century, but soon thereafter it disappeared entirely. At this time developed the method of performance common in later times. After the usual solo intonation, the choir sings the major part of the respond. One or more soloists then sing the verse until the final phrase, at which point the choir joins in to provide a more impressive conclusion. Modern chantbooks provide for an optional repetition of the respond "if the responsorial method is preferred" (LU, p. xv). In this case, the cantors complete the verse alone, after which the choir sings the full respond.

As a class, Graduals are the most elaborate and melismatic of all chants. Even in the choral responds, melismas of twenty to thirty notes are not uncommon, and, as befits solo chants, the verses are even more highly melismatic. The verses also tend to lie more frequently in the upper part of the range than the responds. Some characteristic Graduals that we shall meet later in polyphonic settings are *Viderunt omnes* (All have seen), for the third Mass of Christmas (LU, p. 409), and *Sederunt principes* (The princes have sat), for the Feast of St. Stephen (LU, p. 416). An extreme example of melismatic development may be seen in the Gradual *Clamaverunt justi* (The Righteous have cried aloud; LU, p. 1170).

One of the interesting aspects of the Graduals is their use of the centonization technique that is characteristic of the Office responsories.[10] In the Graduals, however, centonization is applied much more consistently and obviously than in the responsories. A number of standard phrases or formulas supply the melodic material for Graduals in a given mode. Certain formulas serve only as introductory or concluding phrases, while others serve as internal links that may be freely combined and rearranged. In some modes, centonization appears principally in the verses, with the responds being freer but occasionally using standard cadential formulas. In modes 3, 4, 7, and 8, however, both responds and verses make use of standard phrases, which occasionally recur in each

Dominum (Bless the Lord; LU, p. 1654) the melisma after the first "ejus" in the respond reappears intact after the word "Dominum" in the verse. Moreover, the final melismas of the two sections are identical.

The use of standard phrases in combination with extensions, variations, and freely composed passages makes of each Gradual an individual chant that yet bears a strong family resemblance to other members of its group. As we have already remarked, this method of composition is essentially Oriental and was probably adopted from Jewish musical practices. That it is so consistently evident in the Graduals attests to their antiquity as a class in comparison with the Offertories and, even more, the Alleluias, in which centonization is conspicuously absent.

ALLELUIA

Alleluia is the Latin spelling of the Hebrew *Hallelu Jah* (Praise ye Jehovah). As an expression of praise, it was and is used in a great variety of ways in all Christian liturgies. Perhaps because of the association of Alleluia psalms with the Jewish Passover, Western liturgies have made particular use of the Alleluia in Paschal Time—that is, from Easter to Pentecost (Whitsunday or Whitsun). In this season, the word is added at the end of every chant, both in the Offices and the Proper of the Mass. Moreover, from Saturday in Easter Week to Pentecost, an Alleluia replaces the Gradual, so that Masses at this time have two Alleluias between the Epistle and the Gospel (see, for example, the Mass for the fourth Sunday after Easter, LU, p. 827). At other seasons, use of the Alleluia is more restrained; but it functions as an independent chant of the Mass Proper throughout the year, except for penitential days and seasons such as Lent

The Alleluias as they are performed today are even more clearly responsorial than the Graduals. After the cantors sing Alleluia, the choir repeats it, continuing with an extended melisma, the *jubilus* (pl. *jubili*).[11] The cantors then sing the major part of the verse, with the choir joining in for the final phrase. Again the cantors sing Alleluia, but this time, as a closing respond, the choir sings only the jubilus. As in the Gradual, the concluding choral respond of the Alleluia often disappeared in the later Middle Ages. This was normal procedure, as it still is, when a Sequence followed the Alleluia (see the Easter Mass, LU, p. 780). But the repetition also tended to disappear on other occasions, especially days that were not marked by any particular solemnity. Now, with rare exceptions, the *Liber* prescribes responsorial performance as outlined above for the Alleluia.

Much might be said about the historical development of Alleluias, the choice of texts for their verses, and the adaptation of different texts to the same melody. Above all, musical forms in the jubili and melodic relationships between the Alleluia and its verse are particularly interesting and worthy of detailed study.

TRACT

Whether the Alleluia replaced the Tract or vice versa is a question we may leave to the liturgiologists. By the time liturgical Mass books made their appearance, the Alleluia had obviously been deemed inappropriate for the pre-Lenten and Lenten seasons, as well as for some other penitential occasions. Then, a Tract rather than an Alleluia follows the Gradual. This should not be taken to mean, as some medieval commentators concluded, that Tracts were necessarily penitential and sorrowful in themselves. The Tract for Quinquagesima Sunday, for example, consists of the first three verses of Psalm 99 (100): "Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all ye lands." It is also noteworthy that, on Holy Saturday and the Vigil of Pentecost (Whitsun Eve), the two chants between the Lessons are an Alleluia followed by a Tract (see LU, pp. 759–60 and 860).[12]

Opinions differ as to both the original method of performing the Tracts and the derivation of their name. Medieval commentators saw in the word *tractus* references either to a drawn-out (protracted) style of singing or to a continuous performance without respond or antiphon to serve as a refrain. This was certainly a later method of performance; and, as a result, modern scholars often cite the Tracts as a rare instance of direct psalmody in the Roman liturgy. There is clear evidence, however, that some Tracts were originally sung responsorially and were even identified as *responsorium* or *responsorium graduale* in the earliest manuscripts.[13] It is quite possible, therefore, that the Tracts represent an early stage of responsorial psalmody from which the responses were later dropped. Modern chantbooks compound the confusion by directing that the verses be sung alternately by the two sides of the choir or by cantors and full choir.

In their final form, the Tracts consist of a series of psalm verses, ranging in number from two to fourteen. Only rarely is a complete psalm used, but in any given Tract all the verses come from the same psalm. It is noteworthy that the opening verse is not so designated; the symbol for *versus* (℣) appears only with the second and succeeding verses. In the case of Tracts that were originally called Responsories, the undesig-

12. In the revised liturgy for Holy Week, the Saturday Mass is now the "Mass of the

nated opening section must have been a respond, all or part of which served as a refrain between the verses following. Three examples that may be cited are the Tract for Wednesday of Holy Week and the two Tracts for Good Friday (LU, pp. 614, 695, and 697). These were evidently Responsories with several verses in which abbreviation was achieved, not by dropping verses, but by abandoning the repetitive principle of responsorial performance.[14] Even so, Tracts with several verses are among the longest chants in the repertory. On the first Sunday of Lent, for example, the Tract, which includes all of Psalm 90 (91)—He that dwelleth in the secret place—occupies almost three and one-half pages in the *Liber Usualis* (533–36).

One of the features that distinguishes the Tracts from all other types of chant is their restriction to only two modes, the second and eighth. Along with this modal limitation goes a more systematic application of centonization technique than is to be found anywhere else. Willi Apel has calculated that there are only nineteen melodic formulas for the sixty verses of Tracts in Mode 8, and twenty-two for the eighty verses of Tracts in Mode 2.[15] Adherence to these formulas is so strict that each Tract consists almost entirely of a regulated succession of standard phrases.

Melodically, the Tracts tend to be rather ornate. Some of the chants, presumably the oldest, begin many of their phrases with recitativelike passages reminiscent of psalm tones. Almost invariably, however, these same phrases cadence with elaborate melismatic formulas. This style may perhaps be seen most clearly in the five Tracts for Holy Saturday.[16] The majority of Tracts do not combine these syllabic and melismatic extremes but flow smoothly in a neumatic style that frequently expands into melismas of considerable length (see, for example, the Tract for the first Sunday of Lent cited above). Quite obviously a style such as this can only have originated in solo song. It would seem, therefore, that the Tracts preserve that song as it was used in the Mass before its further elaboration in Graduals, Offertories, and Alleluias.

ORDINARY OF THE MASS

The five chant texts that belong to the Ordinary—Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei—provided the basis for the many polyphonic Masses composed in later periods. Unchanging texts that could be used

14. In the 1961 edition of LU, the Tract for Wednesday of Holy Week is still so called (p. 619), but the two for Good Friday are identified as Responsories (pp. 721 and 725).
15. Apel, GC, p. 330.
16. See ibid., pp. 315–18. In older editions of LU, the Tracts are to be found on pp. 745, 748, 751, 753, and 760. In the revised liturgy (1961 edition) for the Paschal Vigil, the

The most solemn moment in the Mass, the elevation of the Host, shown in this miniature from a Sarum Missal of the early fourteenth century (Morgan Library).
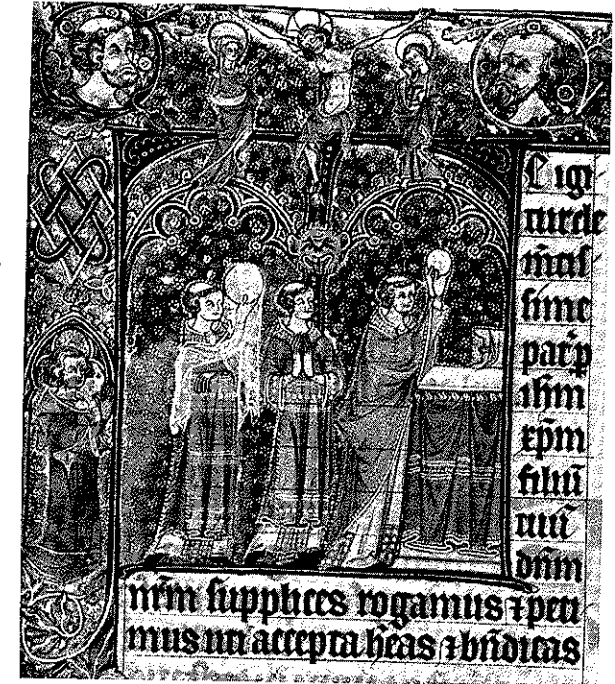
repeatedly were naturally more attractive to composers of elaborate musical settings than the texts of the Proper, which appeared but once a year. In the plainchant repertory, however, the situation is entirely different. Here, the Proper chants are of primary concern, especially the responsorial chants between the Lessons, which, as we have seen, form the musical high point of the Mass. The chants of the Ordinary, taken as a group, are generally less elaborate musically, but we must discuss them in some detail nevertheless. Not only do they, or their texts, form the basis of the later polyphonic Mass, but they also represent the continuing development of plainchant composition.

All the musical items of the Ordinary were originally intended for congregational singing. They were introduced at various times over a period of several centuries, the Credo being the last to be officially authorized by Rome in 1014. It is not possible to say exactly when the singing of these texts passed from the congregation to the assisting clergy or to the trained choir. Undoubtedly, this was a gradual process that took place at different times in different places. For some chants it began as early as the eighth century, and it must have been nearly completed by the end of the eleventh, at least in the larger churches and monasteries. It is from such places, from the tenth century on, that we get manuscript evidence of new melodies for the Ordinary texts.

It is not surprising that composers seized the opportunity to write new melodies for these texts. The chants of the Proper had been firmly established, and additions could be made only with the institution of a new feast. Although such occasions were not rare, they provided an in-

the exception of the Alleluia, were by this time so rigidly fixed in their traditional forms and styles that composers often merely adapted old melodies to the texts of the new feasts. No such restrictions inhibited composers when the chants of the Ordinary became the property of the choir. Therefore, they could and did write a great many new melodies of which the modern chantbooks present but a small selection.

The Ordinary chants in the *Liber Usualis* appear in groups that we may call Mass formularies or, for convenience, simply Masses (see Appendix A, Part 3). These groups, which do not include the Credo, call for some comment. It used to be thought that they were an invention of modern editors, but recent scholarship has shown that such formularies originated in medieval practice. Most manuscripts put all the chants of each type together, as is now done with the *ad libitum* chants in the *Liber Usualis*. In some sources one finds an arrangement in pairs: Kyrie-Gloria, and Sanctus-Agnus Dei—and occasionally in the later Middle Ages complete formularies correspond to those in the modern chant-books. Whatever the medieval arrangement may have been, however, formularies existed in fact whenever individual chants were assigned a particular liturgical use. This began to happen as early as the eleventh century.

The usual explanation for the omission of the Credo from the Mass formularies has been that, because of its late adoption by Rome, it was considered an outsider not to be accepted among the other Ordinary chants. Actually, the Credo had been universally adopted when the Mass formularies were assembled, and its omission is probably to be explained on purely practical grounds. Different settings of the Credo were rare in medieval times, and a chantbook might contain up to twenty Mass formularies but only one or two Credo melodies. Obviously, copying the same Credo in several different formularies would have wasted a great deal of time and parchment. The same situation exists in the *Liber Usualis*. There are eighteen Mass formularies, but only Credo I, the "authentic tone," is normally used. The formularies, at least those for use on Sundays and major feasts, are thus incomplete, ·and the Credo must be added, no matter where it appears in medieval manuscripts or modern chantbooks.

It seems quite obvious that, for whatever reasons the Ordinary chants were assembled in groups, musical unity was not one of them. We will do well, therefore, to avoid using the term *Mass cycles* for collections that are no more true cycles than are the Proper chants of a particular feast. The designation *formulary*, on the other hand, suggests with reasonable accuracy what these collections really are: compilations of disparate chants into somewhat arbitrary and variable groupings with pre-

procedure: "Chants from one Mass may be used together with those from others"; or *ad libitum* chants may be substituted "to add greater solemnity" (LU, p. 78). This latter statement suggests what is perhaps the basic criterion for assembling a Mass formulary: the principle that the rank of a feast, its solemnity, should be matched by the elaborateness of its chants. Given the permissible variability, however, it follows that we must consider the different items of the Ordinary separately rather than as members of the formularies in which they appear.

KYRIE ELEISON

Of some 226 catalogued melodies for the Kyrie, only 30 are included in the *Liber Usualis*. Nevertheless, this small number proves to be representative of the most important stylistic and formal characteristics of the repertory as a whole. Each of the three acclamations—*Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison*—is sung three times, so that the complete chant has nine sections in all. This textual arrangement obviously provided composers with an ideal framework for creating distinct musical forms. In the simplest, and presumably oldest, of such forms the same melody serves for the first eight acclamations, with either a variation or a completely different melody for the ninth. The only example of this form still in use is the Kyrie of the Requiem Mass (LU, p. 1807). The last "Kyrie eleison" begins with a new melodic outline but closes with the final phrase of the other eight acclamations. The form may thus be indicated as *aaa aaa aaa'*; that is, the final melody may be considered as a repeat of *a* with a varied beginning. The repetitive nature of this form suggests that it may have been the usual one for congregational singing, and some even simpler melodies probably served the same purpose. A characteristic Kyrie of this type is illustrated in Example V–1. It has been suggested that the rather unexpected closing melody served as a link with one of the oldest Gloria melodies, as shown in the example. (In medieval practice, "Kyrie eleison" was normally elided to make a six-syllable phrase.)

Example V–1[17]

Ky - ri-e - le-i-son. iij.
Chri-ste e - le-i-son. iij.
Ky - ri-e - le-i-son. iij. Ky-ri-e -   le-i-son.   Glo-ri-a   in ex-cel-sis De-o

As a rule, the later and more elaborate melodies display more complex musical forms. Almost all Kyries that do not have the simple form

described above are usually classed in one of the following three structural patterns: [18]

	Kyrie	Christe	Kyrie
1.	aaa	bbb	aaa'
2.	aaa	bbb	ccc'
3.	aba	cdc	efe'

Examination of the Kyries in the *Liber Usualis* will quickly reveal that these patterns are often oversimplified and misleading, if not inaccurate, indications of the musical structure.

Two structural principles are at work in the Kyrie melodies, neither of which is indicated by the standard formal patterns. The first and more frequently applied principle is the unification of all melodies within a given Kyrie by means of a common closing phrase. The phrase may be fairly short, as in Kyrie III (LU, p. 22); or it may be greatly extended, as in Kyrie II (LU, p. 19). In some of the more complicated forms, two closing phrases may appear in alternation, as in Kyrie IX (LU, p. 40). Curious to modern ears, this sort of musical rhyme recurs with extraordinary frequency during the later Middle Ages. Whether the principle originated in the Kyries one cannot say, but its occurrence in them probably derives from the repetitive nature of litany responses. The text itself, with the words "Kyrie" and "Christe" both followed by "eleison," suggests the use of contrasting or variant opening phrases leading to a common close.

The second structural principle concerns the typical elaboration of the final invocation. Sometimes this elaboration is achieved by repeating segments of the preceding Kyrie melody (see Kyrie II). Often, however, the final melody proves to be a combination of elements from both Christe and Kyrie sections.[19] Perhaps this procedure stems from the theological interpretations of the Kyrie as symbolic of the Trinity that were particularly common in Frankish territories, from which most of the Kyrie melodies came. Combining Kyrie and Christe melodies in a final acclamation certainly fits such an interpretation. Theological considerations aside, the procedure is particularly effective from a musical point of view. It would be difficult, indeed, to find a better way to sum up and conclude a composition.

GLORIA

Because its first lines are the angels' song on the night of the Nativity (Luke 2:14), the Gloria is known as the *hymnus angelicus* (see AMM, No. 7). (It is also called the Greater Doxology, the Lesser being the *Gloria*

18. As in Apel, CC, p. 406

Patri.) The rest of the text consists of short phrases praising God the Father and Christ, and petitions for mercy. In performance, the opening phrase—"Gloria in excelsis Deo"—was always sung by the bishop or, later, the celebrating priest. The rest of the text was sung by the congregation, the chorus of assisting clergy, or a trained choir. After congregational singing disappeared, the choir generally performed the Gloria antiphonally.

Unlike the Kyrie, the Gloria does not form part of every Mass but is omitted during Advent and Lent, on some other penitential days, and on ordinary weekdays. Both these restrictions on its use and the nature of its text probably account for the relatively small number of Gloria settings. Only 56 Gloria melodies are known, compared to 226 Kyries. Whatever the cause for this relative neglect, the Gloria text itself limited the possibilities of free musical expression. Its very length prevented expansive melodic treatment, and most settings alternate between syllabic and slightly neumatic passages with two, three, or four notes per syllable. Though they thus maintained its liturgical fitness, composers managed to incorporate the characteristic musical style of their times in melodies that are often strikingly different.

Perhaps the oldest, and certainly the simplest, of the melodies in the *Liber Usualis* is Gloria XV (p. 57). The entire text, with the exception of the Amen, is adapted to what is really a psalm tone, using only the four notes **e, g, a, b**, with **a** as the reciting tone. To this simplicity, Gloria I *ad libitum* (LU, p. 86) stands in the sharpest possible contrast. Covering a total range of a twelfth, from **d** to **a'**, the melody makes especially bold use of wide skips and abrupt changes of pitch level. Also noteworthy is the strong feeling of tonal organization that results from the fact that all phrases but one end on either **G** or **D**.

The textual structure of the Gloria naturally imposes limitations on its melodic setting. With no textual repetitions to produce a musical pattern for the piece as a whole, composers generally set the successive phrases in a continuous flow of ever-varying melody. Parallel phrases in some sections of the text do suggest the use of the same or similar melodic material, which then creates one or more small internal forms. The absence of an overall formal scheme should not lead us to overlook these and other, more subtle relationships present in many of the Glorias. Musical organization does not depend on a clearly recognizable pattern of sectional repetitions but may result from nothing more than the recurrent use of melodic figures or cadential patterns in an otherwise free melody. In a few instances, the Gloria melodies are organized into repetitive structures that have little or nothing to do with the form of the text. Perhaps the most obvious example is Gloria VIII, in which three basic phrases provide the entire substance of the melody (Example

next appears. Sometimes, two or even all three phrases are telescoped into one, as at the words "Deus Pater omnipotens" and, most remarkably, "suscipe deprecationem nostram." Although Gloria VIII may have originated as late as the fifteenth century, the same technique is used with only slightly less rigidity in Gloria V, a twelfth-century composition.[20] In both Glorias, individual melodic phrases generally correspond with short phrases of text, but the complete melodies are repeated without regard for the larger grammatical units, which may begin on any one of the three phrases. This use of a single reiterated melody, completely independent of the structural patterns of the text, almost seems to foreshadow certain twentieth-century techniques of serial composition.

Example V–2: *Gloria VIII*

CREDO

After formulation of the Credo at the Council of Nicaea in 325 (see above, p. 33), its first liturgical use was as a baptismal creed, hence the singular form *Credo*—"I believe"—instead of the plural "we believe." In the sixth century, the Credo appears in the Mass in Oriental liturgies and also in Spain. Two centuries later, we find it in the Frankish realm, perhaps coming by way of Ireland and England. Not until the tenth century, however, did the Credo come into general use in the North, and the year 1014 then saw its acceptance by the Church of Rome. This late adoption was undoubtedly only one of the factors that limited medieval settings of the Credo to a mere handful of melodies. Another was the Credo's function as a profession of faith by the entire congregation. In many places, therefore, it continued to be sung, or perhaps merely recited, by the people long after the other Ordinary chants had been taken over by the choir. The length of its text—even exceeding the Gloria—must also have acted as a deterrent to the frequent composition of new

Credo melodies. One is tempted to believe, however, that the most important factor may have been a feeling, even in the Middle Ages, that the melody we know as Credo I was the authentic Credo (see AMM, No. 14). Certainly no other Ordinary text was so widely associated with a single melody. Many manuscripts, and even later printed books, have only the "authentic tone" of the *Liber Usualis*.

As in the Gloria, the celebrating priest sings the first phrase of the Credo alone, and the people, or the choir, begin with the words "Patrem omnipotentem." These are the only phrases in the Ordinary chants to be so treated, which accounts for their being absent occasionally in plainchant books and invariably in medieval and Renaissance polyphonic Masses. Antiphonal singing of the Credo by the choir was sometimes frowned on in the Middle Ages because everyone was expected to recite the whole text. It is now permitted, but the full choir may also sing the text continuously.

The melody of Credo I appears in eleventh-century manuscripts, but it is probably much older and may be of Greek origin. Almost completely syllabic, it is made up of a very few melodic formulas that recur in a number of different arrangements. Although the opening formula on "Credo in unum Deum" is not used elsewhere as a separate and complete phrase, it does reappear at least ten times, either within or at the ends of phrases. As may be seen in Example V–3, it is usually varied to some degree but returns once in its original form to close the phrase on "Et resurrexit tertia die." In the example, the lines of text are numbered to show the order in which the different versions of the formula recur. All but one of these versions are introduced by rising, intonationlike progressions (**e–f–g** or **d–e–f–g**), which lead to more extended recitations on the note **g** in the second half of the Credo beginning with the phrase "Et iterum venturus est cum gloria" (No. 7 in Example V–3). When these psalmodic introductions are not followed by variations of the opening formula, they usually begin shorter phrases that cadence on **g** or **d**.

Example V–3: *Variations on the Opening Motive of Credo I*

4. (Et incar-) na-tus est de Spi-ri-tu San-cto

5. (Cruci -) fi - xus et - i - am pro no - bis:
9. (.....ba -) pti - sma in re - mis - si - o - nem (peccatorum.)
10. (Et ex-) spe - cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem (mortuorum.)

6. (Et resur -) re - xit ter - ti - a di - e,

8. (Qui cum Patre et) Fi - li - o si-mul ad - o - ra - tur,

The next most important formula in Credo I first appears on the words "Patrem omnipotentem," immediately following the opening phrase. Whatever variants are later introduced, this formula always begins a–b♭–a and cadences with the rising progression f–g. It usually serves as the closing formula of a section and follows seven of the ten appearances of the opening formula listed in Example V–3.[21] It can hardly be mere chance that most of these ten appearances coincide with textual phrases related either to various aspects of the Trinity or to the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.[22]

Credos V and VI are the only other medieval melodies in the *Liber Usualis*. The motives in Credo V closely resemble those of the "authentic tone," and the derivation from psalmodic recitative is even more obvious. The same derivation is still evident in the slightly neumatic style of Credo VI. Both melodies use a limited number of musical phrases; and, especially in Credo VI, their almost unvaried repetitions become somewhat monotonous. For its imaginative and flexible manipulation of melodic formulas within an extremely simple style, Credo I clearly deserves the predominant position it occupied in the Middle Ages and still occupies today.

SANCTUS

The text of the Sanctus combines passages from both the Old and New Testaments. From the vision of Isaiah (Isaiah 6:3) came the cry of the angels, which the Roman liturgy modified somewhat, appending to it the cry of the multitudes that greeted Jesus when he entered Jerusalem

(Matthew 21:9) (see AMM, No. 17). The enclosing Hosannas of this latter cry, with the first changed to agree with the last, gave the complete text a formal organization often reflected in its musical settings.

Finding a place in all Christian liturgies, the Sanctus at first was invariably a song for all the people. This is evidenced in the Roman liturgy by the Prefaces, which introduce the Sanctus with a phrase suggesting that the people join the angels in saying (*dicentes*): "Holy, holy, holy." During the seventh and eighth centuries in Rome, at least for pontifical Masses, a chorus of assisting clergy began to take over the Sanctus, but there is evidence that in some places congregational performance persisted until the twelfth century. In general, however, transference to the assisting clergy and then to the choir occurred during the tenth to twelfth centuries, the same period that produced so many new melodies for the Mass Ordinary. These and the next two or three centuries have left us some 230 settings of the Sanctus, of which only 21 are available for study in the *Liber*. Even this small number, however, reveals a diversity of forms and styles that makes the Sanctus one of the most interesting chants of the Mass Ordinary.

Once again the simplest, most recitativelike melody is probably the most archaic. Sanctus XVIII seems clearly designed as a continuation of the ferial Preface tone (LU, p. 109). After the first two "Sanctus" come four phrases of recitation on **b**, with cadences alternately on **b** and **g**. The melody for the final Hosanna seems to be free but proves to be a condensation of the ferial tone's first phrase, including the Amen. The *Liber*'s indication of the thirteenth century for this Sanctus is surely an error, although earlier sources usually give the melody a step lower with **a** as the reciting tone. The present version, then, may be a later modification, but the melodic principle involved goes back to the very roots of the plainchant tradition.

No other Sanctus makes use of psalmodic recitative, although a few of the available melodies are nearly as simple and syllabic as Sanctus XVIII.[23] The majority, however, are written in a more ornate neumatic style. It would be a mistake to assume that the simpler melodies are necessarily older and intended for congregational use. They could just as well be late compositions whose style was dictated by liturgical purpose or the capabilities of relatively unskilled choirs. Some of the simplest melodies, moreover, display subtle and sophisticated formal structures that are totally foreign to the needs of an uneducated and largely illiterate congregation singing from memory.

The Sanctus melodies provide excellent material for further study of the means by which composers achieved organized and coherent musical structures. Although the text neither suggests nor permits the kinds of repetitive forms characteristic of the Kyries, composers often did

21. It is missing only after Nos. 2, 9, and 10.
22. This analysis of Credo I differs greatly from that of Apel, GC, pp. 413–14. He lists the appearances of "four standard formulae," but—curiously and, to me, inexpli-

avail themselves of the obvious opportunities for musical repetition. The threefold Sanctus at the beginning sometimes appears as a small three-part form, either *aba* or, less frequently, *aa'b*.[24] Much more often, the two Hosannas are set to the same music. Neither of these practices, however, is sufficient to establish an organizing principle for the complete Sanctus melody.

The one such principle most frequently observable is the adaptation of a basic melody to different lines of text. The second and fourth lines of the Sanctus, for example, are commonly sung to variant forms of the same melody. When this procedure is combined, as it usually is, with identical phrases for the two Hosannas, the form *abcb'c* results.[25] As with the Kyries, careful study of the Sanctus melodies will show that simple representations of the form often conceal more complex and subtly organized musical structures.

AGNUS DEI

The threefold Agnus Dei is related to the Kyrie in a number of ways. Both texts originally formed part of the litany, the Kyrie at the beginning and the Agnus Dei at the close (see LU, p. 758); and both were standard items in Eastern liturgies before their introduction into the Roman Mass. For the Agnus Dei, that introduction apparently took place under the Greek Pope Sergius I (687–701). At first, all three petitions closed with the phrase "miserere nobis"; but during the tenth and eleventh centuries, "dona nobis pacem" became the concluding phrase (see AMM, No. 19). At about the same time, a similar change took place in the Agnus Dei of the Requiem Mass (LU, p. 1815), the first two phrases of which close with the words "dona eis requiem" (give them rest) and the final phrase with "dona eis requiem sempiternam" (give them eternal rest).

Like the other chants of the Ordinary, the Agnus Dei gradually lost its function as a congregational song. Even by the end of the eighth century, it was assigned to the choir (schola) in Roman pontifical Masses. Elsewhere, the people continued to participate until considerably later; but by the tenth and eleventh centuries, performance had generally passed to the assisting clergy or the trained choir. At this time, then, composers began to create new settings of the Agnus Dei, eventually producing about 300 different melodies.

Despite the large number of different melodies, the Agnus Dei does not seem to have inspired composers to the same degree as the Kyrie and Sanctus. A good many of the Agnus melodies prove to be adaptations of preexistent chants, and the musical forms are generally simple and straightforward. Of the twenty Agnus Dei settings available for study, about a third simply repeat the same melody for all three petitions.[26] Even more common is a simple ternary form, *aba*, which appears in half of the Agnus melodies in the *Liber Usualis*. In three cases, the middle section differs completely from the first and third (Nos. XII, XV, and XVI). Six of the ternary melodies, however, have a common ending for all three sections (Nos. II, IV, VIII, IX, XIII, and XIV). In addition, the three sections of Agnus IX have a common opening, so that only the melodies on "Qui tollis peccata mundi" display an *aba* form. The reverse situation obtains in Agnus X, where the "qui tollis" melodies are all the same, and the *aba* structure is evident only in the opening and closing phrases.

Two exceptional forms remain to be mentioned. Agnus VII is arranged in an *aab* pattern, with the same cadence formula for all three sections. A continuous form (*abc*) in Agnus XI is unified by similar, but not quite identical, melodies for the final phrases of each section.

Simple as the forms of these Agnus Dei melodies are, it is striking that none of them reflects the change of text at the close of the third acclamation. Either the closings are identical, or it is the second "miserere nobis" that is differentiated. Once again composers have demonstrated that musical forms need not slavishly follow the organization of their texts.

ITE, MISSA EST

For the sake of completeness, brief mention must be made of the *Ite, missa est* (see AMM, No. 22). It does not form part of the normal polyphonic Mass as it came to be set in the Renaissance, and the history of its development in plainchant has yet to be written. The majority of current Mass formularies, moreover, draw on the Kyrie for the melody of the *Ite, missa est*. For these reasons, perhaps, it is usually slighted or ignored entirely in studies of Gregorian chant.

The celebrating priest or a deacon has always pronounced the dismissal formula, but originally all the people responded with the *Deo gratias*. Singing this response to the rather elaborate melody of the *Ite, missa est* cannot have been introduced until the choir had once again assumed a

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24. For the *aba* form, see Sanctus II and III. Sanctus I and VII have the form *aa'b*.

25. It is curious that Apel makes no mention of the frequent use of common material for these lines. It is present, however, in almost all of the Sanctus melodies listed in the third and fourth of his "four structural types" (GC, p. 417). See, for example, Nos. I, II, IV, VII, X, and XII among others.

26. Agnus Dei I, III, V, VI, XVII, XVIII, and *ad lib.* I. Nos. III and XVII have slight

congregational function. It is unfortunate that we do not know just when this happened, or when it became customary to complete the Mass Ordinary with a melody taken from its opening chant. With this information, we could speak more definitely about the development of musically unified plainchant Masses.

The alternate dismissal formula, *Benedicamus Domino* (Let us bless the Lord), replaces *Ite, missa est* in Masses that do not include the Gloria. It may be of Gallican origin, for it seems to have been unknown in the Roman Mass before A.D. 1000. During the eleventh century, however, its present use became generally established. In modern chantbooks, *Benedicamus Domino* and its response *(Deo gratias)* are sung to the same music as the *Ite, missa est*, but again we do not know to what extent this represents medieval practice.

CHAPTER VI

Expansion of the Liturgy in the Later Middle Ages: Tropes and Sequences

In discussing the music of the Church thus far, we have been primarily concerned with the standard items of the Roman-Frankish liturgy as it developed during the ninth and tenth centuries. To what extent Frankish musicians modified the older chants is now difficult, if not impossible, to say; but they continued to create new chants and to embellish existing chants in a variety of ways. Most chants for the Ordinary of the Mass were composed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries or even later, as were also the Marian antiphons and many hymn melodies. But these represent only a small fraction of the enormous repertory of chants produced in the later Middle Ages. Begun in the ninth century, stimulated by the Carolingian Renaissance, this repertory continued to grow, even through the appalling times brought by the disintegration of the Carolingian empire and the devastating invasions of Huns and Normans. The period of greatest activity came during the tenth to twelfth centuries—the so-called Silver Age of plainchant—and continued throughout the rest of the Middle Ages and much of the Renaissance. The present chapter will begin the survey of important additions to the liturgy that this later age produced.

But first, some words of caution are necessary. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the Council of Trent decreed that the liturgy should be restored as much as possible to its "original" form. As a result, the Church discarded almost all of the repertory with which we are here concerned. This action, combined with the efforts of the Solesmes monks to restore the official chant melodies, seems to have led many musical scholars to believe that what was discarded must necessarily have been second-rate and therefore unworthy of their attention. Literary and liturgical scholars made no such mistake. Not only have they studied the texts of this later repertory, but they have made many thousands of those texts available in a variety of modern publications, including the fifty-five volumes of the series *Analecta Hymnica*. (This series is limited to poetic texts, but it is by no means restricted to hymns alone.) The music for these texts, unfortunately, has remained almost com-

be published in modern editions. For the moment, however, descriptions of the music must remain tentative, for they must still be based on a small fraction of the total repertory. What we already know is sufficient to ascertain the artistic merit and historical importance of this music. Not all of it, of course, is great; but much of it is good and all of it is interesting. The later additions to the plainchant repertory reflect new artistic ideals and new compositional procedures. They are not necessarily inferior simply because they differ from more ancient chant.

TROPES

Since their rediscovery by modern scholars, tropes have been a subject for heated debate. Most of the controversy has centered around their origin and early development, but there has also been disagreement as to what constitutes the process of troping and what a trope actually is. Part of the confusion arises from the medieval use of different designations for what we now group together as tropes. Moreover, tropes involve a number of different musical styles and compositional procedures. Yet all tropes have one characteristic in common: they expand standard items in the liturgy by the addition of words or music or both. One kind of trope, the sequence, became musically—if not liturgically—independent and will therefore be dealt with separately. With few exceptions, other kinds of tropes remained attached to the musical items they enlarged. They could later be pruned away without damage to the original chants, but the rejected clippings lost their musical function and textual logic. This probably accounts in part for their comparative neglect by musical scholars.

The origin of troping is obscure, but it seems that the practice began in France in the ninth century or earlier. Through a series of historical accidents, the early development of tropes and sequences has been associated primarily with two great religious centers: the monasteries of St. Gall in Switzerland and St. Martial at Limoges in southwestern France. Both institutions undoubtedly did contribute to the repertory of tropes, but they were by no means alone in so doing. Their historical importance can be attributed largely to the zeal of their librarians for collecting and preserving an unusually large number of manuscripts. Rather than being at the center of the new activity, St. Gall and St. Martial mark the approximate outer limits of Frankish territory within which troping was born and nurtured in its formative years. From this territory, indeed, came much of the later repertory of tropes and sequences as well as further musical developments, including many forms of early polyphony. The practice of troping became immensely popular and spread rapidly [...]

disseminated throughout Europe and came to be regarded as a normal part of the liturgy.

It is a little difficult to account for the great popularity of tropes and the process of troping. In part, at least, it may reflect Frankish antipathy to the "antique severity" of the Roman liturgy. It seems significant, at any rate, that the beginning of troping closely follows, or coincides with, the imposition of the Roman rite throughout the Carolingian empire. Because the elaboration of existing liturgical items was tolerated much more readily than the introduction of totally new ones, troping provided religious poets and musicians with an important outlet for their creative energies. That these energies also found other outlets will become apparent in later chapters, but troping and related processes continued to play a role in the production of music for the Church throughout most of the Middle Ages.

Medieval churchmen evidently regarded tropes as a means of emphasizing the solemnity and significance of special feasts; and because the Mass was the most important service of the day, it naturally received the greatest elaboration. New texts were freely added to every musical item of the Mass except the Credo, which, as a prescribed confession of faith, could not readily be expanded. These textual additions occur most frequently at the beginning of the Mass, in Introits and Kyries; but even the concluding *Ite, missa est* was sometimes troped, as was the reading of the Epistle, at first with Latin phrases and sentences interspersed throughout the Biblical text and later with translations or explanations in the vernacular. Of all the Mass chants—except the Credo—the Gradual was least frequently troped, probably because it formed a musical unit with the following Alleluia, a favorite spot for the addition of new texts. Much less common than in the Mass, tropes in the Offices generally occur in the Vesper responsory, the last responsory of Matins, or the responsories at the end of each Nocturn. The *Benedicamus Domino* was also a favorite item for troping.

From a textual point of view, the chief function of tropes was to explain or enlarge on the meaning of the official text, but they might also establish a connection between that text and a particular day or season of the Church year. Because the Ordinary chants were used on many different occasions, their tropes tend to be of the more general, amplifying variety. In some cases, however, tropes of the Ordinary are related to a particular season, to feasts in honor of the Virgin Mary, or even to a specific feast, usually one that celebrates a major event in the life of Christ. The texts of the Proper chants, of course, are already assigned to specific days in the Church calendar. Yet these texts are normally taken from the Bible, especially the Book of Psalms, and their relationship to Christian feasts is often vague and obscure. Tropes of the

the official chant texts. It is probably this identifying function that accounts, at least in part, for the preponderance of Introit tropes over those for the Offertory and Communion.

Whether they were written in poetry or prose, tropes were rarely independent literary compositions. More often than not they relied on the original text to complete their sense and their sentences. Examples in the ensuing discussion of the different classes of tropes will illustrate the ways in which new and old texts were combined.

THREE CLASSES OF TROPES

In expanding the standard items of their liturgy, medieval churchmen followed three distinct procedures: the melodic (melismatic) extension of an existing chant; the addition of new text to a preexisting melody; and the addition of both text and music. These procedures do not necessarily represent chronological stages in the development of troping. They all appeared at approximately the same time, and they could be and were used in combination. It is probable, however, that the expansion of a melody through the addition of melismas represents an extremely ancient tradition. It may, indeed, be another legacy of Jewish practices, one that perhaps caused the occasional diatribes of the Church fathers against vocal excesses in the performance of the liturgy. Unfortunately, the absence of manuscripts with musical notation before the ninth century prevents us from documenting the practice at an earlier date. Whether it was an innovation or not, melismatic extension formed an essential part of the troping process as we find it appearing in the ninth and tenth centuries.

CLASS 1 TROPES: MELISMATIC ADDITIONS TO EXISTING CHANTS

In studying tropes, literary scholars ignored purely musical additions to the chant. Some musical scholars, however, have claimed that such additions represent the earliest form of troping and the original meaning of the word *trope* itself.[1] The latter part of this claim, at least, is scarcely justified. An added melisma, when it was identified at all in an early manuscript, was normally called a *neuma* (= melisma), *melodia,* or, in the special case of the Alleluia, a *sequentia.* The way these melismas were added depended to some extent on the style of the original chants. In Glorias and Introits, both of which are essentially neumatic in style, short melismas sometimes functioned as a sort of musical punctuation separating phrases or sections of text. More commonly, however, purely musical expansion occurs ...

ready melismatic in style. Here, a melisma at or near the close of a chant was either extended or replaced by a new and longer melody. Office Responsories and Alleluias in the Mass were particularly subject to expansion in this way.

Perhaps the most famous example of melismas added to an Office Responsory is the *neuma triplex* (triple melisma) mentioned by a ninth-century writer, Amalarius, in describing the liturgy of his day. According to him, these melodies were of Roman origin and originally belonged in the Responsory *In medio ecclesiae* (In the middle of the church), for St. John the Evangelist. Modern singers, says Amalarius, transferred them to the Christmas Responsory *Descendit de caelis* (He descended from heaven). The last words of the respond—"fabricae mundi" (of the fabric of the world)—were set originally in neumatic style. In its complete form, the Responsory with verse and doxology called for three repetitions of the respond (R_{ab} V R_b D R_b R_{ab}), and the neuma triplex provided a new melisma for each repetition. Later sources eliminate one statement of the respond and use only the three melismas given in Example VI–1. The first two are neither longer nor more ornate than melismas in the same position in other responds, but the third, as Apel says, "is of truly staggering dimensions." The three melodies are entirely different, but they all close with the original setting of the words "[fa-]bricae mundi."

Example VI–1: *The Neuma Triplex as used in the Christmas Responsory Descendit de caelis*[2]

Exceptional as it may be, this neuma triplex illustrates several characteristic aspects of the troping process. In the first place, melismatic extensions could be transferred from one chant to another, apparently at the singers' discretion. Secondly, versions of the neuma triplex differ considerably from one manuscript source to another.[3] However, the same sources transmit the original responsory with only the slight variants usually encountered in the older plainchant repertory. This suggests that purely musical tropes were treated much more freely than the original chants and could be varied at will. The existence of notable variations in a given melisma may therefore be a clue that it originated as a melodic trope, even though an earlier form of the chant without the melismatic extension is unknown. Finally, it is interesting to note that some later manuscripts add words to the melismas of the neuma triplex. They thus become examples of Class 2 tropes, in which texts are set syllabically to preexisting melodies.[4]

Even more than in the Office Responsories, purely musical tropes appear in the Alleluia of the Mass. Here they are more easily recognized, because it is the repetition of the Alleluia and jubilus after the verse that is expanded. This might be done by interpolating a new melody between the beginning of the Alleluia and the end of the jubilus; but, at times, a completely new melisma replaced the repeat of the Alleluia. In both cases, these new melodies were called *sequentiae,* and we shall return to them when we deal with the sequence as a separate form. It is also possible that greatly extended melismas at the close of the now suppressed Offertory verses were later, purely musical expansions of the chant. Certainly the repetitive formal structures in some of these melismas suggest that they represent a late period of chant composition.

Much more research must be done before we can know the whole story of melismatic additions to the chant. From the ninth century onward, such melodic expansion seems to have been the least extensively practiced form of troping and the first to disappear. It is noteworthy, however, that some localities developed standardized repertories of melismas classified according to mode. Thus, a ready-made stock of melismas was at hand whenever melodic expansion of a responsory was deemed appropriate. Collections of melismas in the different modes also provided optional extensions for psalm tones, primarily those that were used for the verse and doxology of the Introit. In these ways, at least, melismatic troping continued to be practiced throughout the Middle Ages.

3. For other versions of the neuma triplex, see Apel, GC, p. 343, and Wagner, *Einführung,* 3, pp. 347–48. NOHM, 2, p. 143 (Ex. 47), has a version that appears in the Responsory *In medio ecclesiae.*

CLASS 2 TROPES: TEXTUAL ADDITIONS TO EXISTING CHANTS

The addition of new words to an already existing chant implies that the chant originally had many more notes than syllables, that it was highly melismatic, in other words. Tropes of this type, therefore, are generally found in responsorial chants, where they are usually identified by the term *prosa* (prose; pl. *prosae*) or its diminutive *prosula.* These terms evidently came into use because the first texts added to melismas were in prose, but they continued to be applied to tropes of this class even after poetic texts became the rule. Eventually, they came to designate pieces in a particular style and form in which both words and music might be newly composed. This development we shall explore more fully in dealing with the sequence.

In adding words to a melisma, the normal procedure was to provide each note with a syllable of its own. An almost completely syllabic style, therefore, becomes the distinguishing characteristic of prosae. When one or two prosae appear in an otherwise melismatic chant, the result is a curious alternation between syllabic and highly florid styles. This contrast is still evident, but to a lesser extent, when words are added to a complete chant. In the Alleluia verse *Dicite in gentibus* (Say among the people), we have a characteristic example of a prosa that includes all of the original text in its normal position with regard to the melody. In some cases, words and phrases also keep their original setting; the phrase "in gentibus," for example, retains its original notes but is now imbedded in a syllabic setting (see AMM, No. 23).

This Alleluia and its verse also provide examples of assonance, a frequent characteristic of prosa texts. Assonance—the use of the same vowel sound—is normally associated with verse and later became a characteristic element in Provençal and Old French poetry, where it functioned as a special kind of rhyme. In the Latin texts of prosae, however, assonance seems to result from a desire to reproduce as often as possible the vowel sounds to which the melismas were originally sung. Thus, in the prosa for the Alleluia, the words "caterva," "astra," and "perfecta" fall at normal cadential points on the final of the mode. Assonance in the prosa for the verse is even more complex and interesting. Each added phrase ends either with the vowel sound or the complete syllable of the corresponding section of the original text. In addition, some phrases repeat the vowel of the melisma a number of times. For the melisma on the last syllable of "ligno" (a repetition of the jubilus), the first four and the last two words end with *o,* and the sound appears three more times within words. The preceding phrase provides a shorter example with which we may illustrate the procedure here.

Tropes of Class 2 were not applied solely to melismas in responsorial chants. Long melismas in the Hosanna section of the Sanctus—perhaps examples of melismatic additions—often received textual additions that converted them into prosae. Other tropes of the Mass Ordinary sometimes present special problems with regard to the relationship between text and music. This is particularly true of Kyrie tropes, which are usually regarded as belonging in Class 2. As we saw in Chapter V, most of the melodies for the Ordinary, including the Kyries, were not written until the tenth century or later. It is possible, therefore, that Kyrie melodies may have been written to fit the troped text and only later were converted into a melismatic chant. Priority can rarely be proved, however, for in most cases the melismatic and troped versions appear together in the manuscripts. A further complication arises from the fact that not all Kyrie tropes display the same relationship between text and music. Many of them, it is true, are completely syllabic in the manner of a prosa. The trope *Cunctipotens genitor* (Almighty Father) is a typical example.[5] On the other hand, some Kyrie tropes are set in a richly neumatic style. Typical of this style is the trope *Auctor celorum* (Example VI–2). All nine acclamations are sung to the same melody, and each is followed by a ten-syllable line of the trope. Another melody serves for all nine of these lines, but the two melodies, though obviously related, are by no means identical. In this case, at least, the second melody must have been elaborated as a neumatic setting of the trope.

Example VI–2: *Kyrie Trope,* Auctor celorum[6]

Ky - ri - e		le-y	-	son (iij).
Chri-ste		le-y	-	son (iij).
Ky - ri - e		le-y	-	son (iij).

1. Auc - tor ce-lo - rum	De -	us	e - ter - ne
4. Chri - ste, de ce - lis	suc -	cur - re no - bis
7. Spi - ri - tus cor - di	- um	il - lu - stra-tor

1. Author of the heavens, eternal God
4. Christ, from heaven aid us
7. Holy Spirit, illuminator of hearts
(Complete text: AH, 47, p. 168)

5. HAM, No. 15. The Kyrie is No. IV in LU, where the titles of the Kyries are the opening words of the tropes to which they once were sung.

A similar trope of Kyrie XVIII in the *Liber Usualis* is given in AMM, No. 24. Here too, a line of the trope follows each acclamation of the Kyrie, but in this instance the tropes repeat the Kyrie melodies in settings that are more nearly syllabic, though not entirely so. Occasionally, however, repeated notes accommodate extra syllables.

It should be noted that the alternation of melismatic and troped melodies is not typical of all Kyrie tropes. The longer melodies tend to avoid double repetitions by inserting the trope phrases in the normal nine acclamations. This was done in two different ways. In what seems to be the earlier procedure, a longer Latin phrase was substituted for the words "Kyrie" and "Christe," but "eleison" was kept at the end of each line. Somewhat later, it became customary to retain both words of each acclamation and to insert the trope phrases between them. The two tropes whose first acclamations are given in Example VI–3 illustrate these two different procedures.[7]

Example VI–3: *Different Textual Procedures in Kyrie Tropes*

a. SUMME PATER (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 3719, fol. 160v)

Sum-me   Pa-ter   sum-mum prin - ci - pi - um e-le - y - son.

b. KYRIE FONS BONITATIS (LU, Kyrie II)

Ky -ri - e fons bo-ni-ta-tis Pa-ter in-ge -ni- te

a quo bo-na cunc-ta pro-ce-dunt e - le - y - son.

a. Highest Father, highest beginning, have mercy upon us.
b. Lord, source of goodness, Father not born, from whom all good proceeds, have mercy on us.

Example VI–3 also serves as a reminder that Kyrie tropes show a diversity of style that prevents their classification as a group. Completely syllabic tropes may have resulted from adding words to a melisma, or they may have been newly composed in imitation of prosae. Tropes in neumatic style, on the other hand, bear no resemblance to the typical tropes of Class 2. Instead, they more nearly approach, both in style and in spirit, the tropes of Class 3, to which we may now turn.

7. The trope *Cunctipotens genitor* cited above is another example of the first procedure

CLASS 3 TROPES: ADDITIONS OF TEXT AND MUSIC TO EXISTING CHANTS

This class of trope, unlike the first two, did not alter the style or substance of the original chant. Instead, new phrases of text and music were added before the chant itself or were inserted between its phrases. The new text phrases generally served to introduce the old, to which they were grammatically linked in various ways. Similarly, the new melodies attempted to match the style of the original chant, even drawing on it occasionally for some of their musical material. More often, the trope melodies were freely composed in the style of the original but related to it only by unity of mode and by smooth connections between old and new phrases. Because chants to which tropes of Class 3 were attached were usually neumatic in style, these tropes can be readily distinguished in most cases from texts set syllabically to a preexistent melisma.

More than any other chant, the Introit was a favorite vehicle for tropes of Class 3. At first, these tropes only introduced the Introit, but later they expanded to include line-by-line interpolations in the original chant. In some cases, indeed, tropes also introduced the verse and doxology of the Introit. A trope of the Introit for Epiphany (AMM, No. 25) may serve as an illustration of both the most common form of Introit

tropes and the treatment of Class 3 tropes in general. Similar tropes appear—but much less frequently—with Offertories and Communions.

Medieval sources consistently apply the term *tropus* only to the words and music added to these three chants of the Mass Proper, but Class 3 tropes are also common in three chants of the Mass Ordinary: the Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. Here, they appear under a variety of names. A Gloria trope may be called a song of praise (*laus*, pl. *laudes*), a term that also designates the untroped Gloria itself. Tropes of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei were also known as *laudes,* or sometimes simply as *versus* (verses) on the Sanctus or Agnus Dei. Nevertheless, we find in these chants the same troping process as in the Class 3 tropes of the Proper chants. Occasionally a trope introduces the Gloria, but more often its phrases appear as interpolations in the ancient text. Because the Preface of the Mass introduces the Sanctus, tropes of this chant can be added only within the body of the original text. The Agnus Dei presents a somewhat special case. Here, as in the Kyrie tropes, new phrases sometimes replace the opening words of the three acclamations, and the melodies may well have been written for the tropes rather than for the Agnus Dei text itself. The same is possible, of course, for the Gloria and Sanctus. Textual tropes are clearly later additions to these long established texts, but this does not necessarily mean that new music has been interpolated into old. Instead, it is probable that, in some cases at least, the setting of the original text and its trope was composed as a musical entity.

Because new music could be, and normally was, written for them, tropes of Class 3 were subject to no limitations of size. For tropes of Class 2, the length of the melisma determined the extent of the added text, and these tropes, even at their longest, remained appendages to a chant that preserved its musical and textual unity. Only when the prosae of Class 2 detached themselves from preexistent chants did they become an independent and extended musical form—the sequence. Class 3 tropes continued their function as expansions of preexisting chants, but they often outgrew the chants to which they were attached. Many tropes are far longer than the official chant, which then gives the impression of being no more than a series of familiar quotations inserted in a new and otherwise original piece of music.

MIXED FORMS OF TROPES

The three classes of tropes would seem to be clearly distinguished from each other by the different ways they add music or words or both to the

ertory—several others have contributed to the clouding of the picture.
Literary scholars, with whom the study of tropes began, regarded all
textual additions or substitutions as tropes and did not concern them-
selves with musical processes. Musical scholars, on the other hand,
often gave the impression that adding words to a melisma was the origi-
nal, and indeed only, form of troping. Even recent recognition of the
three classes of tropes has not entirely eliminated the confusion, partly
because of associated efforts to restore medieval terminology. But that
terminology itself is not entirely consistent or free from confusion.
Some terms are too inclusive, others too exclusive, to be presently
useful. The restricted use of the term *tropus,* for example, is unlikely to
win acceptance, even if it is enlarged to include all tropes of Class 3. On
the other hand, the term *prosa* as used in the Middle Ages included
tropes of Class 2 as well as the independent sequence. Here a distinction
needs to be made, but we cannot limit the meaning of *prosa* without
obscuring a relationship that medieval terminology made clear. It seems
best, therefore, to adhere to modern usage by applying the generic term
trope to the products of all three methods of embellishing standard li-
turgical chants. Further support of this usage comes from a situation al-
ready hinted at in the foregoing discussions. However distinct the three
classes of tropes may originally have been, they did not always preserve
their identifying characteristics of liturgical position or musical style.
The Class 3 trope of the Gloria *Regnum tuum solidum,* for example, in-
cluded a melisma that was later converted into Class 2 tropes by the addi-
tion of several different texts. This, and other examples of mixed
classes, may serve both as a warning against a too rigid terminology and
as further proof of the family ties that relate all classes of tropes.

The right of the Roman Church to reject all tropes as corruptions of
the plainchant tradition cannot be denied. To restrict our view of plain-
chant to the purified editions of the Solesmes monks, however, is to re-
ceive a totally erroneous impression of what medieval man heard when
he went to church. That tropes occupied an important place in the lit-
urgy, especially for major feasts, is also undeniable. From the ninth cen-
tury until well after the end of the Middle Ages, they formed a normal
and even integral part of that liturgy. If one of the goals of musical
scholarship is to reconstruct the music of the past as its contemporaries
knew it, then tropes must be restored to the position of prominence
they once enjoyed.

THE SEQUENCE

As additions to the Alleluia of the Mass, sequences have generally been
regarded as a special kind of trope. Recent objections to this classifica-

both textually and musically. Certainly this is reason enough to discuss
one of the most popular literary and musical forms of the Middle Ages
separately. It is not to say, however, that sequences were born from a
different impulse than those that produced other kinds of tropes. With
relatively few exceptions, the sequence remained a liturgical appendage
to the Alleluia or in some cases, perhaps, to other chants that were tradi-
tionally extended by the addition of lengthy melismas. As a class, there-
fore, sequences fall within our broad definition of tropes as expansions
of officially recognized items of the liturgy. We may take the creation of
some 4500 sequences in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance as an-
other sign of the enthusiasm with which religious writers and com-
posers seized every opportunity for self-expression that the liturgical
practices of the time allowed.

The early history of sequences is even more shrouded in obscurity
than are the beginnings of tropes in general. And, paradoxically, the ex-
istence of contemporary evidence only clouds the issue further. That
evidence comes from the often-cited preface to a collection of sequences
written by Notker Balbulus (Notker the Stutterer) about A.D. 884.
Notker (c. 840–912) was a monk of St. Gall who was famous in his day
as a teacher, poet, and author of a prose account of the deeds of Charle-
magne (*Gesta Caroli*). In the preface to his sequences, Notker tells how
they came to be written. As a youth, he confesses, he found it hard to
remember the "longissimae melodiae" of the chant, and he had often
longed for some device to aid his "unstable little memory." Then one
day a monk from Jumièges near Rouen came to St. Gall after his monas-
tery had been sacked by the Normans (862). With him the French monk
brought an antiphonary in which some "verses" were fitted to the "ex-
tremely long melodies," the sequentiae of Alleluias. The idea delighted
Notker, but he thought the verses somewhat crude. Attempting to
improve on the models, he wrote the sequence *Laudes Deo concinat orbis*
(Let the world sing praises to God).[8] After his teacher Iso suggested that
each syllable should have but one note, Notker tried again and produced
his second sequence, *Psallat ecclesia* (Let the Church sing).[9]

This account seems straightforward enough, and it is difficult to un-
derstand why it has given rise to so much controversy and to so many
misconceptions. Notker clearly did not claim to be the "inventor of the
sequence." He merely tells where he first saw sequences with words
and mentions his first attempts at writing better ones. The reference to

8.   The most recent publication of *Laudes Deo* is in N. de Goede, *The Utrecht Prosarium,*
      No. 19, p. 30. It is also given on p. xxxiii, together with a French version that may
      have served as Notker's model. Notker's Latin preface is published, together with
      extensive commentaries in German, in W. von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter*
      (Berne, 1948), 1, pp. 154–63 and 504–07, and 2, pp. 8–11; and also in H. Husmann,
      "Die St. Galler Sequenztradition bei Notker und Ekkehard," AcM, 26 (1954), pp.
   7–13.

Iso's criticism should not be taken to mean that the French examples were not syllabic. Notker probably intended no more than a graceful compliment to his teacher; but if Iso really made his comment, he must have been indulging in typically professorial fault finding. Notker apparently would have had to change only a few words to make *Laudes Deo* almost completely syllabic. Perhaps the most misleading aspect of Notker's account has to do with the process of sequence composition. It is easy to infer that Notker merely added words to preexisting melismas to make them easier to remember. Indeed, this has long been the standard explanation of how sequences originated. The explanation has been challenged, however, because it does not agree with what is found in the earliest manuscript collections of the music. A thorough study of these collections may eventually solve the many "riddles" that scholars have been able to find in Notker's innocent little story of how he came to write sequences.

Medieval terminology has again been one source of confusion. Melismas that expanded or replaced the repeat of the jubilus after the Alleluia verse were called *sequentiae* (sequences), and presumably this term was not used for melismatic additions to other types of chant. Notker called his compositions *hymns,* but German and, later, Italian sources adopted the word *sequence* to designate the pieces in syllabic style that we know by the same name today. In France, however, such a piece was usually called a *prosa* (prose) or sometimes *sequentia cum prosa* (sequence with prose). French and English sources continued to use the term *prosa* long after sequences normally had rhymed poetic texts. Recent proposals to restrict the terms *sequence* and *prose* respectively to melismatic and texted forms do not seem destined to win general approval. In the first place, neither literary nor musical scholars are likely to change their long-standing habit of designating both texts and music as sequences. A more serious objection to the proposed terminology is that the word *prosa* itself never had such a restricted meaning. As we have seen, it was used, along with its diminutive, *prosula,* to designate many different Class 2 tropes. In this instance, at least, medieval terminology clearly establishes a relationship that a limited usage of the word *prose* would only obscure. For convenience in the ensuing discussion, then, we shall make only two distinctions. The Latin form *sequentiae* will designate melodies without words.[10] Syllabic settings of these melodies will continue to be called *sequences.*

THE EARLY SEQUENCE

We know from Notker's account that sequence composition must have begun in northern France by the middle of the ninth century. Unfortunately, the earliest collections of sequences with music date from a cen-

The sequence *Congaudent angelorum chori* from a German manuscript of the second half of the eleventh century.
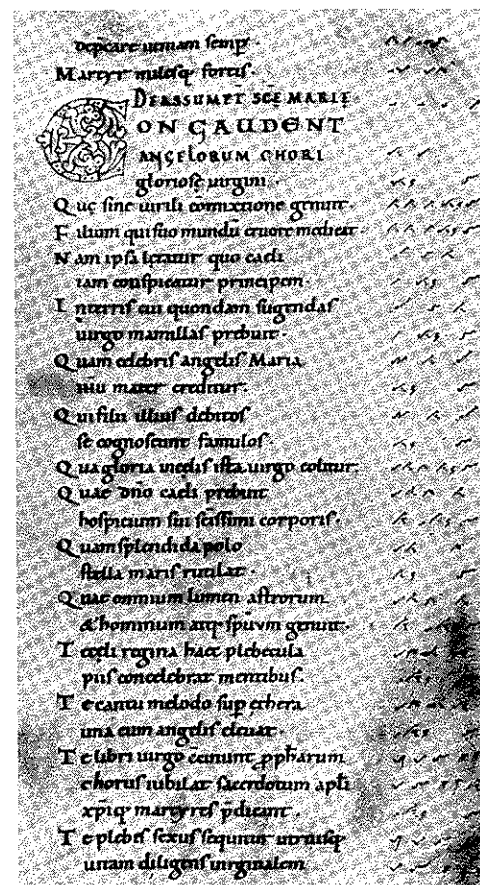
tury or more later; and, when they do begin to appear, they raise a number of problems. That a good many of the oldest sequence melodies have no connection with any known Alleluia creates the first difficulty. A few texts, moreover, do not even seem to be liturgical in nature. Although we must be cautious in deciding whether a piece was actually used in the liturgy, we must admit that the early sequence was not invariably associated with an Alleluia. It is possible that the collections of sequences even contain some prosae for the close of Responsories or Offertory verses. In at least one instance, a sequentia (and sequence) derived from an Alleluia melody reappears as both a melismatic trope and a prosula for an Offertory verse.[11] Evidently the two categories were not then as sharply distinguished as they later became. Perhaps they were never as distinct in the Middle Ages as modern writers have made them seem.

A second difficulty with the earliest collections of sequences is that they normally contain both the melismatic and the texted versions of the melodies. No manuscript sources exist to prove the greater age of the melismatic sequentiae, and in some cases the melismatic notation reflects various characteristics of a particular sequence text. Thus the origin of

specific Alleluias often show only a slight resemblance to the parent chants. They usually begin with the first notes of the Alleluia and, less frequently, close with the final notes of the jubilus. But between these opening and closing motives the major portion of the melodies seems to be newly composed.

To meet these various difficulties, some scholars have recently proposed a complete reversal of the traditional explanation of sequence composition.[12] They suggest that, instead of adding texts to preexisting melodies, composers created words and music together as a unit. Neither theory has yet been definitely proven, and neither accounts satisfactorily for everything we find in the earliest collections of sequences and sequentiae. The two theories, in fact, are not mutually exclusive and may both contain elements of truth. Certainly there is evidence that the traditional explanation based on Notker's preface cannot be dismissed entirely.

Many of the oldest sequence melodies, including several used by Notker, have specific names apart from the opening words of their texts. In some cases, these titles refer to a related Alleluia by giving the first words of its verse. Often, however, they are inexplicable or meaningless to us. Some may indicate a secular derivation; for example, *Puella turbata* (Disturbed girl), *Frigdola* (?), *Duo tres* (Two three), or *Cithara* (Cither or lyre). Others seem to indicate a place of origin, as *Romana, Graeca, Occidentana,* and *Metensis* (Of Metz). The existence of so many titles unrelated to any sequence text strongly suggests that the melodies had an independent life of their own. This impression is confirmed by the fact that the same melody—with the same title—often appears with several different texts. Quite obviously the melody, if it did not already exist, can have been created for only one of these texts; but usually it is impossible to determine which was the original. Even among the oldest sequences we find two or more texts sung to the same melody, and some melodies eventually accumulated as many as twenty or more different texts. More rarely, the same text occurs with different melodies, but this usually happens with later sequences after both poetic and musical forms had become standardized. Whatever the origin of sequence melodies may have been, it is undeniable that writing new words to fit old tunes was a dominant, perhaps predominant, part of sequence composition throughout the history of the form.

It would be a mistake to assume that composers of sequences, because they used preexistent melodic material, were simply literary craftsmen. They evidently did not regard sequence melodies as fixed and unchangeable forms to which they must rigidly adhere. Instead, they treated the melodies as basic material that could be modified in a variety

of ways. Within a single musical phrase, the repetition or omission of notes and motives accommodated text lines with differing numbers of syllables. More significant modifications involve rearrangement of the basic material to produce entirely different musical—and textual—forms. Two versions of a melody known as *Concordia* provide a particularly striking illustration of these procedures.[13] A longer, more complex, and more symmetrical version appears in French sources with several different texts. German sources preserve a drastically shortened, one might even say mutilated, version with two texts by Notker Balbulus.

Despite their divergent forms, a common structural principle underlies the two *Concordia* melodies. The opening and closing phrases have one line of text and are sung but once, while each of the internal phrases has two lines and is repeated. The chief difference between the two versions of *Concordia* arises from the omission of some internal phrases in both of Notker's sequences. To return to generalities, the two lines of text for a repeated phrase will normally be similar in construction and will have the same number of syllables. This parallelism of textual structure and the musical repetition that goes with it produce a form that is often said to be the distinguishing characteristic of the early sequence: *a bb cc dd ee ff g,* for example. Like most generalizations, this one is misleading. In the first place, designating the forms of *Concordia* and of many other sequences in this manner completely obscures the many different ways in which relatively small amounts of musical material were used to create lengthy sequence melodies. Even worse, the generalization hides the fact that many early sequences deviate wholly or in part from the so-called standard pattern. Some, indeed, have no musical repetitions whatsoever, and consequently no textual parallelism. Such sequences are generally short and may represent an early stage in the development of the form. At any rate, their melodies suggest the type of Alleluia jubilus in which repeated phrases had not yet been introduced.

In a much greater number of early sequences, parallelism is present but incomplete. Departures from strict parallelism take two different forms. The two lines sung to one melodic phrase may differ in length by several syllables, thus necessitating the addition or subtraction of several notes in the repetition. A more obvious departure from the standard form results when some internal phrases have only one line of text and are therefore not repeated. In these cases, the single phrase is often longer than usual and may be given a distinct form of its own by the repetition of melodic motives. The second and third phrases of Notker's first sequence provide characteristic examples of both types of departure from strict parallelism (Example VI-4). In the second phrase, an insertion of eight notes and a repetition of four accommodate the

added twelve syllables in the second line of text (2b). The third phrase has only one line of text, but the melody subdivides into three smaller units with considerable motivic repetition.

Example VI–4: *The First Three Phrases of Notker's First Sequence,* Laudes Deo

Sing praises to God everywhere, the whole circle of the earth that has mercifully been set free by the indulgence of the highest father. He, full of pity that mankind was oppressed by the ancient Fall, sent his Son here to earth that with his right hand he might raise to heaven those lying in the mud and restore their fatherland.

Sequences that depart from strict parallelism in one or both of the ways illustrated in Example VI–4 are actually in the majority in the first period of sequence composition. According to recent surveys, less than half of the sequences in both the St. Gall and St. Martial repertories display complete parallelism. In the slightly later repertory of Winchester Cathedral, the situation has changed and more than two-thirds of the sequences exhibit complete parallelism.[14] In its formative period,

14. See N. de Goede, *Utrecht Prosarium,* p. xx, where precise figures are quoted from

then, the sequence is often far removed from textbook descriptions of the type. But we have not yet exhausted the diversity of structure that is perhaps the outstanding characteristic of the early sequence.

SEQUENTIAE WITH PARTIAL TEXTS

Nine sequentiae have double lines of text set syllabically in two or three of their repeated phrases. In every other respect, they appear to be normal, albeit extended, examples of melismas to be sung after an Alleluia. Each of these sequentiae also occurs as a fully texted sequence, some with two or even more different texts. In almost every case, the partial texts of the sequentiae maintain their positions and are thus to be found imbedded in the texts of the sequences. Sequentiae with partial texts seem to be of French origin, and the traditional view has been that they represent an early stage in the transformation of melismatic sequentiae into syllabic sequences. Now, scholars are not so sure. Although the phrases with text are scattered through the sequentiae, they make musical sense when brought together as a unit. It has been claimed, therefore, that they are older songs, well known, well loved, and deliberately preserved by insertion into sequentiae. This could have been easily done, of course, but the partial texts of these sequentiae already have the assonance on the vowel *a* and the double versicles characteristic of the fullfledged sequence. That they were written for any other purpose seems unlikely.

For a better understanding of sequentiae with partial texts, we may examine the melody known as *Adorabo maior* (AMM, No. 26), which also illustrates the characteristics of sequentiae in general. The two phrases with text (5 and 9) have essentially the same melody with open and closed endings (on c′ and d′ respectively). It is curious—and typical—that these phrases do not constitute complete phrases of the sequentia. The same short melisma introduces both syllabic phrases, and shorter melismatic cadences reaffirm the open and closed endings. The position of the texted phrases in *Adorabo maior* is also typical. With one exception, the first lines of text appear in the fifth phrase of each partially texted sequentia; and three or four melismatic phrases always follow the last phrase with text. In addition, melismatic interludes of two or three phrases separate the two or three texted phrases. Obviously, a common structural principle underlies eight of the nine sequentiae with partial texts. Whether this common principle is evidence of a common origin remains to be determined. In any case, the systematic achievement of symmetrically balanced musical structures can only have been deliberate.

(LU, p. 1251). A different and shorter sequentia derived from the same Alleluia was known as *Adorabo minor*. The partial text of *Adorabo maior* is appropriate for dedicatory ceremonies or the celebration of their anniversary, and one of the melody's complete texts, perhaps the oldest, specifically mentions such an anniversary. This text, *Observanda*, is also important because its opening lines establish a connection with St. Martial of Limoges.

1. *Observanda*

| 2a. | *Abunde solemnitas*
nobis omnibus
aderit hodierna, | 2b. | *Qua pontifex maximus*
hanc Martialis
dicavit basilicam. |

According to a French scholar, the correct meaning of these lines is:

> We must all celebrate the solemnity of this day when the very great pontiff (St.) Martial dedicated this basilica (of St. Peter in Limoges).[15]

It is obvious, at any rate, that the sequence *Observanda* must have originated in Limoges as a trope of the *Alleluia: Adorabo ad templum*. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the sequentia with partial text is normally identified by the word *Observanda* or by the opening word of some other complete sequence text.[16] The fully texted sequences, on the other hand, identify the melody as *Adorabo maior*. These cross references have made their own contribution to our uncertainty about the historical relationship between sequentia and sequence.

The melodic relationship between *Adorabo maior* and its parent Alleluia is typically slight. Only the first few notes are identical, and the rest of the long sequentia is entirely new. Even the mode of the sequentia seems to change. The Alleluia and its verse are in Mode 7, ending on **g**, but the Alleluia of the sequentia ends on **d'**. Thereafter, the melody stays within the range of **a** to **a'**, and all of the phrases end on **d'**, with the exception of the open ending in phrase 5. *Adorabo maior* thus gives the impression of being in Mode 2 transposed up an octave. Such a change of mode, or at least of final, is very common in sequences, although it usually occurs during the course of the melody rather than at the beginning. As one example from many, we may cite *Psallat ecclesia*, Notker's second attempt at writing a sequence. Here, the first five phrases end on **d**, but the last three end a fourth higher on **g**.[17] This practice—ending a melody a fourth or fifth higher than its beginning

15. J. Chailley, *L'École musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges* (Paris, 1960), p. 69.
16. The complete text of *Observanda* is printed in AH, 7, No. 221. The first word replaces "Alleluia," and the rest of the text turns the sequentia in AMM, No. 26 into a completely syllabic sequence. Four other sequences that include the partial text of

leads one to expect—has never been satisfactorily explained. Perhaps it is related to the custom reported by medieval writers of repeating the Gradual after the verse "on a higher tone."[18] It may also have some connection with the probable performance of sequences in improvised polyphony or with organ accompaniment.

SEQUENCES WITH DOUBLE CURSUS

The presence of a curious formal structure known as a *double cursus* characterizes another small group of eight or nine early sequences. In these pieces, several repeated phrases are themselves repeated as a unit with different words. Within this double cursus, a further departure from normal sequence structure is the occasional repetition of internal phrases as many as four times instead of the usual two. For most of the sequences with double cursus, the notation of the melodies—if it is present at all—is either incomplete or undecipherable. In two or three cases, however, medieval sources preserve the melodies in a notation that can still be read. By their repetition of musical material, these few examples confirm the parallel structures that scholars first recognized in the texts. A particularly important discovery was the complete melody of the sequence *Rex caeli* (King of heaven; AMM, No. 27).[19] The first two phrases of this sequence had long been famous because of their appearance among the oldest known examples of two-part polyphony (see Chapter VIII and Example VIII–2b). But these two phrases by themselves gave no indication that *Rex caeli* was a typical example of a sequence with double cursus. If we disregard minor variants in the repeated phrases, we may indicate its complete form as follows:

	A							*A*						*A'*	
aa	bb	cccc	aa	dddd	eeee	f	aa	bb	cccc	aa	dddd	eeee	f	aa	f
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16

It is self-evident that *Rex caeli* differs strikingly from the usual early sequence, both in the overall form and in the restricted amount of melodic material, only five phrases plus a cadential figure (*f*) of four or five notes. The large- and small-scale repetitions in *Rex caeli* clearly distinguish it from the "classic" forms of the early sequence. It is this distinction that gives the sequence with double cursus its historical importance and interest.

The origin of the characteristic sequence structure has been the subject of much speculation. Some scholars have attempted to prove By-

18. See J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass*, 1, p. 428 and n. 43.

zantine influence, but without notable success. Parallel phrases of text sung to repeated melodies are not at all characteristic of Byzantine chant, and it is difficult to believe that an exceptional procedure in the liturgy of the Eastern Church could have touched off the widespread and enthusiastic production of sequences in the West. Sequences with double cursus have a much more direct connection with the origin of sequence composition. Most of these pieces date from the ninth century and come from northern France. They are therefore contemporary with the earliest normal sequences and probably developed in the same geographical location. For these reasons, the similarities and differences between the two types become particularly significant.

The chief similarity, of course, lies in their common use of double versicles—paired lines of text sung to the same melody. The differences go far beyond the formal characteristics that we have already observed. Sequences with double cursus have no connection with an Alleluia, and their melodic style is quite unlike that of the normal sequence. In some cases, many repeated notes suggest recitation tones rather than extended melismas. It is significant that their melodies do not appear in melismatic form in the manuscript sources. Their texts also differ from the normal sequence in both style and content. Assonant endings are lacking, but rhymes occasionally appear. Some texts are partly or wholly written in metrical poetry, and three are laments over the desperate conditions resulting from the Norman invasions. Although a few were later assigned a liturgical use, sequences with double cursus apparently did not originate as pieces to follow the Alleluia of the Mass. Instead, it has been suggested that they represent a nonliturgical, perhaps even secular, tradition stemming from the court poets of Charlemagne. In this connection, it is interesting to note the reappearance of the double cursus in the lai and Leich, French and German vernacular songs that bear a structural resemblance to the sequence (see Chapter XII).

SEQUENCES OF LATER PERIODS

All of the sequences that we have been discussing belong to what is sometimes called the first epoch of sequence composition, roughly comprising the ninth and tenth centuries. If this period requires more detailed consideration than later periods, it is because the origin of the sequence is still a controversial matter and because the earliest examples are the least well known—perhaps even the most interesting. As is usually the case, the first stages in the development of a new form display such diverse procedures that it is difficult and dangerous to make generalizations about common characteristics. Only in later periods do we find consistent application of the structural principles that distin-

Evidence of a trend toward greater regularity of formal structure first makes its appearance in sequence texts written during the course of the eleventh century. In place of prose texts either with or without assonance and with lines that varied greatly in length, there is now a tendency to equalize the length of the lines, to introduce real rhyme, and occasionally to alternate strong and weak syllables in a regular pattern. In other words, the sequences of this transitional period show a gradual shift from prose to poetry. It may seem strange that such a shift should have been introduced gradually. Prose and poetry, after all, were rather clearly distinguished from each other in the eleventh century. Why should an intermediate stage that was neither one nor the other have been necessary? Perhaps the answer lies in the conservative attitude of the Church, to which the sudden use of rhythmic poetry and rhyme would have been distasteful. Hymns, as we have seen, were slow to gain general acceptance, even in the Offices; and similar texts could probably be introduced into the Mass only by degrees and surreptitiously. In any case, the changes in textual structure were gradual and were accompanied, inevitably, by corresponding changes in the musical structure of the sequence. The impetus for change, however, seems to have come from the texts rather than from the music.

One of the first examples of the transitional period, and the one that is most commonly cited, is the famous Easter sequence *Victimae paschali laudes* (Praises to the pascal victim). Written by Wipo of Burgundy (d. 1048?), this is one of the four sequences that the Council of Trent (1545–63) kept in the liturgy (LU, p. 780). Unfortunately, the present version alters the original form of the sequence by omitting the first line of text that was sung to the final phrase. The presence of this line gave the form *a bb cc dd* (as in AMM, No. 12); and we may note that the gradual disappearance of single lines at the beginning and end of sequences is another development of the transitional period.

The text of *Victimae paschali laudes* reveals its transitional character in a number of ways. The opening phrase of fifteen syllables is the shortest; phrases *b* and *d* both have twenty-four syllables; and phrase *c* has thirty-one. The latter phrase in particular breaks up into shorter lines with rhyme and occasional suggestions of regular rhythmic patterns. These lines do not yet form typical stanzas of rhythmic poetry, however, for they are all of different lengths.

3a. *Dic nóbis María*	(6)		b. *Angélicos téstes,*	(6)
quid vidístis in vía?	(7)		*Sudárium, et véstes.*	(7)
Sepúlchrum Chrísti vivéntis,	(8)		*Surréxit Chrístus spes méa,*	(8)
et glóriam vídi resurgéntis.	(10)		*Praecédet súos in Galilaéam.*	(10)

As a sidelight, it is interesting to note that some medieval versions emphasize the dramatic nature of this dialogue by repeating the question to Mary before each pair of lines in 3b. The textual structure of these lines is also emphasized by division into separate phrases in the *Liber Usualis*. As a result, the form of the sequence as a whole appears to be *a bb cd cd e*.

By the twelfth century, the transition to completely poetic texts had been accomplished, and the second epoch of sequence composition had begun. Indeed, it quickly reached its peak in the skillful and elegant poems of Adam de St. Victor (d. 1192), whose fifty or so sequences set the standard, often providing the models for an enormous number of late-medieval and early-Renaissance compositions. Adam was a monk in the Abbey of St. Victor on the left bank of the Seine not far from the newly begun cathedral of Notre Dame. It is significant that Adam's productive period also coincided with the first polyphonic compositions of the so-called School of Notre Dame (see Chapter IX). The results of all these activities must be counted among the early signs of the emergence of Paris as the intellectual and artistic center of western Europe.

The essential characteristic of the new sequence was the organization of its text in poetic stanzas, with regular patterns of both rhythm and rhyme. In addition, a limited number of stanzaic forms were used for many different sequences, and one or a few of these forms might serve throughout an entire composition. As a result of this standardization of poetic forms, it became even more common—and much easier—to write new texts for preexistent melodies. Conversely, the new sequence texts could be, and sometimes were, sung to different melodies.

None of the sequences of Adam de St. Victor remains in the present liturgy; but, with the exception of *Victimae paschali laudes*, those that do appear in the *Liber Usualis* are representative examples of sequences of the second epoch.[20] Brief comments on one of these sequences will therefore make clear the features that characterize the output of this period, including the works of Adam de St. Victor.

As is so often the case in the Middle Ages, the authorship of *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (Come, Holy Spirit), the sequence for Pentecost, has been attributed to a number of different men. The most likely candidates, however, are Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1228), and Pope Innocent III (1198–1216). Certainly the form of the poem is typical of the late twelfth century. All of the five stanzas consist

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20. Forty-five sequences attributed to Adam are available in E. Misset and P. Aubry, *Les Proses d'Adam de Saint Victor*.

of six lines, with seven syllables in each line and the rhyme scheme aab ccb. A further unifying device is the use of the same rhyme (*-ium*) in the third and sixth lines of all five stanzas. Such regularity, of course, makes the sequence text exactly like a hymn, and it is only the musical setting that now distinguishes the two forms. Instead of repeating the same melody for all stanzas, the sequence provides the first half of each stanza with a different melody, which is then repeated for the second half (lines 4–6). In the case of *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, this procedure results in the form *aa bb cc dd ee*. Obviously, the regularity of poetic structure has led to the suppression of single versicles at the beginning and end and to the creation of five melodies that are of equal length and identical structure (Example VI–5). Analysis of this and other sequences in the *Liber Usualis* is somewhat difficult because the repeats are written out and the half-stanzas are numbered consecutively when they are numbered at all. In Example VI–5, the numbers in parentheses are those found in the *Liber*. A less confusing procedure numbers each melody, with the half-stanzas indicated as 1a and 1b, 2a and 2b, etc. To facilitate study, the melodies of *Veni Sancte Spiritus* have been given without text except for the indication of the rhyme *-ium* that appears at the close of each. This textual rhyme is paralleled by identical cadential progressions in the first three melodies. In the last two melodies, the cadential phrases are obviously related, but one ends on the fifth, the other on the final of the mode. Although the five melodies are all different, analysis will reveal other motivic relationships between them and between phrases within a single melody. Compare, for example, the first phrase of melody 3 with the first two phrases of melody 4. The careful way in which contrasts of pitch level are used to produce variety and balance is also worthy of attention.

Example VI–5: *Melody of* Veni Sancte Spiritus
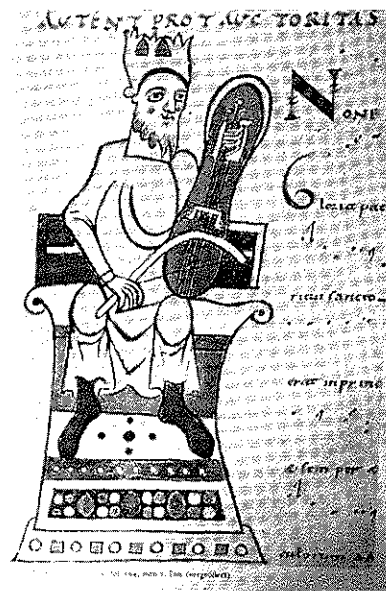
PERFORMANCE OF SEQUENCES

The question of how sequences were performed is difficult to answer, but there is considerable evidence that performances were much more colorful and sonorous than the simple monophonic melodies would suggest. The presence in some manuscripts of both syllabic and melismatic forms of the sequence melodies has led to the belief that both forms were used together, either simultaneously or in alternation. In view of the length of most sequences, simultaneous performance seems more likely, and several sequence texts appear to confirm this judgment. Among the earliest texts we find phrases such as this: "For we celebrate you with the bright melismas of our voices, while with lifted voice we bind together sonorous organa syllable by syllable."[21] A comparable passage from another sequence reads: "Wherefore let us all, joyful, sing melodies, extended melismas."[22] The same sequence begins: "Let us sing organa sufficiently beautiful and fitting" (*Cantemus organa pulchra satis atque decora*). Passages such as these—and many more could be cited—suggest that sequence melodies may have been doubled at the octave, fourth, or fifth to produce the early form of polyphony known as *organum* (see Chapter VIII). Indeed, as we have noted above, one of the earliest and most famous examples of organum used the opening phrases of the sequence *Rex caeli*. Confusion arises, however, because the term *organum* can mean either the early forms of polyphony or the organ as a musical instrument; and, in some cases, performance with organ accompaniment seems to be implied. The eighth stanza of the sequence *Epiphaniam,* for example, begins with the words "Omnis nunc caterva tinnulum iungat laudibus organi pneuma" (Now let the whole assembly join the ringing melody [breath] of the organ in praises; NOHM, 2, pp. 156–57). The phrase "Let us sing organa," on the other hand, suggests polyphonic vocal performance. In either case, the musical result, if not the quality of sound, must have been much the same. As far as we know, medieval organs normally had more than one rank of pipes and probably sounded at least the fifth and octave above each fundamental tone. A melody played on the organ would therefore be doubled in parallel fifths and octaves, very much in the manner of parallel organum. It is even possible that this characteristic of the medieval organ sparked the development of vocal polyphony and eventually gave this new development its name. The first theoretical description of polyphony, be it noted, used the term *symphonia* rather than *organum.*[23]

The organ was by no means the only musical instrument to be men-

21. From AH, 7, No. 11. "Nam pangimus tibi clara dando vocum neumata. Voce praecelsa perstringentes sonora sillabatim simul organa." For other quotations of a similar nature, see W. Waite, "The Era of Melismatic Polyphony," in *Report of the Eighth*

King David and other, apparently secular, performers illustrating different modes in a tonary, part of an eleventh-century troper from the St. Martial library (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale).

tioned in sequence texts. We find phrases such as "Let the flute re-sound" (*Resonet fistula*) and "Let us sing to the accompaniment of the lyre" (*Fidibus canamus*).[24] Liturgical purists insist that references to these and other instruments are merely symbolic and that instruments cannot have been used in the church service. Whether the services really remained that pure is doubtful. Miniatures in an eleventh-century manuscript of tropes and sequences depict both wind and bowed string instruments, with performers ranging from King David to ordinary minstrels. Such illustrations, of course, do not prove that instruments were used in church. More positive indications come from prohibitions of performances by jongleurs during religious services. Laws rarely prohibit nonexistent sins. Whatever unauthorized instruments may occasionally have been used, there can be no doubt that organ accompaniment was a normal procedure in the later Middle Ages. Egidius de Zamora, a Spanish Franciscan who was tutor to the son of King Alfonso the Wise (1252–84), wrote of the organ that "the Church uses only this one musical instrument with diverse chants and with proses, sequentiae, and hymns; other instruments in general are rejected because of abuses by the players."[25]

Leaving the question of instrumental participation, we must return to a consideration of the way sequences were sung. The characteristic repetitive structure of sequence melodies naturally led to performance by alternating groups of singers, a practice that is still followed today. For confirmation of the antiquity of this practice we may turn once again to the early sequence texts themselves. Mention is made of choirs singing alternately (*alternatim*);[26] and one text even names the specific performing groups. The opening double stanza of a sequence for St. Stephen begins as follows:

1a. *Praecentorum*
succentorumque turma
concentorumque pia
personet laude una.

Let the devout choir (crowd)
of precentors, succentors,
and concentors, resound
with one song of praise.

1b. *Psallat Christo*
neumata regi compta
concordi symphonia
vota reddens debita.[27]

Let it sing to Christ the King
melismas adorned with
concordant symphonies,
returning due devotion.

The names of the three groups that form the "devout choir" suggest their different functions, and definitions given by the contemporary theorist Regino of Prüm (d. 915) confirm those functions. The fore-singers (*praecentores*) would naturally begin, and the after-singers (*succentores*) would answer. The *concentores* sing *with* one or both groups to form the "concordant symphonies": that is, organum.

All of the texts that we have cited come from a single volume of the *Analecta Hymnica* (Vol. 7), which is devoted to sequences of the first epoch from the region around Limoges and its famous Abbey of St. Martial. The German scholar Bruno Stäblein asserts that the word *organum*, or its synonym *symphonia*, appears in 71 of the 265 sequence texts in this volume.[28] On the other hand, such references are entirely lacking in texts from East-Frankish areas—those of Notker and his followers. Whether this reflects different methods of performance or more rigid standards of propriety for religious poetry is impossible to say. In any case, we may be grateful that French poet-musicians felt free to combine their religious fervor with expressions of delight in the glorious sounds of their new songs. To their enthusiasm we owe most of our information—and little enough it is—about how sequences were performed. From their enthusiasm we gain some insight into the contemporary attitudes that made the sequence a favorite outlet for creative energy during the course of several centuries.

28. "Zur Frühgeschichte der Sequenz," AMW, 18 (1961).

24. AH, 7, Nos. 55 and 100.
25. GS, 2, 388b. "Et hoc solo musico instrumento utitur ecclesia in diversis cantibus, et in prosis, in sequentiis, et in hymnis, propter abusum histrionum, ejectis aliis com-