

RHYTHM IN WESTERN SACRED MUSIC  
BEFORE THE MID-TWELFTH CENTURY  
AND THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF  
PROPORTIONAL-RHYTHM CHANT

ILLUSTRATED WITH MUSIC AND RECORDINGS

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE INSPIRED JAN W. A. VOLLAERTS, S. J., TO WHOSE IDEAS ON  
CHANT RHYTHM THIS ESSAY OWES ITS VERY EXISTENCE; AND WARMLY TO THE MEMORIES OF HIS  
SISTER AGNES, WHO ENCOURAGED JAN, AND OF HIS BROTHER PIET, INTO WHOSE DUTCH HOMES I WAS  
WELCOME; TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE DOM A. GREGORY MURRAY. O. S. B., OF DOWNSIDE ABBEY;  
AND TO MY BELOVED LATE FATHER. AND DEDICATED TO BARBARA LACHMAN, THANKFULLY STILL  
ALIVE AND WITH ME.



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## I. SACRED MUSIC PERFORMED IN SECULAR SOCIETY

A DISTINCTION needs be made between *religious* and *sacred*. The former comes from the Latin verb *religo*, “to bind fast,” implying the making of a strong tie between an individual and an institution or set of beliefs. *Sacred*, from the Latin adjective *sacra*, describes something that is set aside as special or for a special purpose. The Introit or entrance-song for Christmas at Midnight, “*Dominus dixit ad me*,” insofar as it is used at Mass, is a religious chant. “The Lord said to me: you are my son, this day have I begotten you,” is meant to laud and strengthen the belief that Jesus, as Word-made-flesh, is from eternity. Music insofar as it serves religion has an essentially limited aspect, and that is not our concern here.

But if we perform the piece before a concert audience, something much more basic happens. The singers presume the existence of a *mythos* that holds there was some divine birth in eternity, and that such was strangely related to the birth in time of an historical figure named Jesus: then we sing the sparse, haunted melody as softly, slowly, and intensely as the immensity of the text presumes. The listener does not *need* to know the text to experience the music aesthetically, any more than one needs to know the text of a Schumann song to appreciate the music (though textual understanding can increase appreciation in both instances).

Herakleitos said, “All things are filled with gods.” In this view, every thing is sacred, or set aside as special, when seen in its role in the growing universe. In the case of a work of fine art, the poet/composer has contemplatively known a multitude of sacred things; they lodge inside him or her, below the level even of consciousness, where they ferment. At a certain point they will out and will form the work of fine art: *Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum*, “My heart has belched forth a good word.” The work of fine art, such as our “*Dominus dixit ad me*,” is a distillation of the sacred, as is a Schumann song. No religion here, just everything known in the transfiguration that is its right. I’d say that every great piece of music and every great performance, insofar as they are truly great, are to that degree sacred.

What of such depictions of horror as Picasso’s masterpiece *Guernica*, where bodies of humans and animals are bomb-shattered? What is sacred there, in its too-accurate depiction of our era? It is in the creatures that have been destroyed, in the rightness of the horror that we are made to feel, the honesty of Picasso’s eructation, and the recreated presence that must not be forgotten.

Looking back at our two ways of interpreting the “*Dominus dixit ad me*,” we can draw two conclusions. First, any nonlimited experience the religious participant has when the Introit is sung liturgically is due to the sacred aspect we have described, which is essentially the same as that felt by the listener in a concert hall. Second, the concert-hall listener experiences that non-limitation without the addition of any extraneous belief-system, hence more purely and in greater depth. (Of course, the religious listener can have an edge here over the secular listener, since religion brings with it the richness of ancient *tradition*—which is why secular students today need to be educated into a deep humanism.)

And so, as you are kind enough to read this theory about the rhythm of early medieval sacred music, and examine the music or follow it while listening to the recorded examples, please do not hold back or hesitate: for it is not the binding concerns of religion for which I speak, but for the limitless vision of fine art.

## II. TEN RHYTHMS WERE IN USE BACK THEN

THERE HAVE BEEN some basic misunderstandings regarding the rhythm of music before the mid-twelfth century, misdirections that have clouded our appreciation of a sizeable body of music and limited our grasp of music's evolution.

Following a common tendency to read into an earlier era the practices of a later, scholars have generally thought the rhythm of ancient and early medieval music to be either (a) ternary, like the modal rhythm of the Leonin *organa*, or (b) simply lacking relative and measurable lengths, as in equalist-rhythm chant. Writings of certain church Fathers have in the past been cited in favor of an early ternary rhythm, but it is now believed they were referring to the art of rhetoric, not music. The practice of equalist rhythm with nuances espoused by the Abbey of Solesmes and many Benedictine theorists cannot be justified from any musical manuscripts before the eleventh century. (The semiological approach of Dom Eugène Cardine is spoken of in Part IV, below.)

An attempt to plot the evolution of musical rhythm from the beginning centuries of the Christian era until the Notre Dame *organa* is aided and allowed by the shapes of the musical signs used in ninth- and tenth-century chant fragments and manuscripts and in the writings of contemporary monastic musicologists; besides these, there is the witness of commonsense observation.

In examining songs held basic and dear in the West, whether hymns, folk songs, or chorales, we observe these properties:

- (a) it is common and ordinary for there to be one sung note per textual syllable;
- (b) each of these syllables receives a musical length that is long enough to be divisible; thus,
- (c) as a song evolves, there can be instances of a "passing" note being added between two contiguous notes, so that the first note might share its length with the added note and the two together be no longer than the first had been.

There is a principle hidden here: if each syllable has a musical length that is long enough to be able to be divided, then the accentual pattern of the text will determine the accentual pattern of the music. This holds good whether the accentual patterns of the original verbal text were achieved by weightings or durations.

In this ordinary Western song, then, the music is *mensural*: it consists of divisible and sometimes divided notes, of longs and shorts that relate to one another measurably. It may be appropriate to refer to this rhythm as *syllabic*, since, even when it is applied to instrumental music, its origins are with the voice and in the flow of words. This mensural syllabic song falls naturally into two types, *free* and *metrical*, depending upon the physical nature of the text being set. If the text is in metrical verse, having recurrent regular rhythm, the mensural music will tend to be metrical as well [see chant examples 4–6 and 8–10 in Part III, below]; prose, on the contrary, yields a free mensural rhythm [examples 1–3].

Within more sophisticated song, the ordinary musical length over a syllable may be not only divided, but augmented with longer and/or shorter notes, provided this is done in a way that respects the accentuation of the text. In the case of metrical texts, the addition of notes to the melody ordinarily must not compromise the meter [examples 5, 6, 8–10]; there are, however, instances when regular texts are treated freely, with spectacularly beautiful results [example 15]. In the case of the free setting of prose texts, the additions should serve the needs of textual meaning and syntax [examples 11–13].



It was not until the eleventh century that relative pitches were notated precisely, and not till the mid-twelfth century that pitches together with their rhythmic measure could be written. In attempting to perform liturgical dramas, polyphony, and songs composed during this one and one-half-century span, we have been left to our own imaginations regarding rhythm.

But there is the concrete presence of measurable rhythmic values, though without pitches, in the very shapes of musical signs written down in the ninth and tenth centuries, and they fully bear out the principles of divisibility and proportionality we observe in ordinary Western song. They place in our hands a well-forged key.

**T**O FURTHER our understanding of the course of very early music, and to increase the repertory of excellent works to be realized and performed with confidence, we must look to the rhythm of the neumes or musical signs in extant chant manuscripts and fragments written between 880 and 1000. These signs are written versions of hand-signals used by the cantor who conducted the *schola cantorum* in chants of the Mass and Divine Office. A free rhythm of measurable lengths is to be found in the very shapes of the signs, which may be transcribed and their chants sung after their configurative, rhythmic, and ornamental indications are joined to the melodic pitches notated in later, congruent sources. The ninth- and tenth-century sources use five different neumatic systems and represent various geographical areas, and their wonderful rhythmic unanimity yields a single message: in musical signs written before the eleventh century, the divisible note was the ordinary length for a sung syllable, what we might call a *long*, and the long could be divided into two *shorts*. Since long related to short as 1:2, the rhythm is called *proportional* [examples 11–16].

The Metz (Messine, Lorraine) system used in the *graduale* MS Laon 239 (c. 930) is well suited for our examination, since its signs seem to have taken their shape from the human hand in a particularly direct fashion. The *tractulus* (✎) has the shape of the hand momentarily poised in air, relaxed with the large knuckles slightly raised—as if saying, Now hold this note...—before being ready to move on. (*Tractulus* is the diminutive of the Latin *tractus*, which means “drawn out,” having reference both to rhetorical lengthening and to physical spread, as in the English word *tract*; the verb *traho* can mean “to draw out” as a conductor’s hand would draw out a sung note. The term recently used by some writers, *uncinus* or “hook,” distracts us from the rich etymology of the sign, which clearly indicates a length.) A simple short is shown by the *punctum*, “point” (·). The *virga* ( / ) is the shape of the hand’s movement upward and forward, long to indicate a long; *tractulus* with *virga* ( ✎ ) is the graphic representation of two longs ascending, and two *tractuli* vertically placed ( ✎ ) signifies two longs descending. The sign ⊥ clearly indicates two shorts ascending, while ⊏ directs the conductor to sign or the cantor to sing two shorts descending. In the *torculus* ( ⚓ ) and *porrectus* ( ⚓ ), the hand no sooner positions itself than it moves up or down to the next note, whence finally to a third; for this last note, in keeping with the ordinarily binary nature of this rhythm, a long is sung, especially if the sign is alone or the final over a syllable. The *stropha* ( · · — ) indicates two shorts (sometimes there are three) and one long, usually at the same pitch and so with some detachment between its notes. Exceptions to the binary stance of this rhythm are found in signs indicating short-long or long-short-long. The most consistent and depthful paleographic studies of the rhythm of these signs

were made by the Jesuit priest Jan W. A. Vollaerts and the Benedictine Dom A. Gregory Murray. The rhythm of a few musical signs is still uncertain, and much paleographic work remains to be done, especially, of course, as regards ornamentation.

Tiny letters written next to some Metz neumes signified nuancing of the length or the shortness already indicated by the shapes themselves: *t* for *tene*, “hold”; *c* for *celeriter*, “quickly”; *a* for *auge*, “lengthen” (probably calling for a tie or slur); *n* for *non*, “do not hold or speed.” These are helpful in directing expressive song; they are like handed-down annotations in a conductor’s score.

Neumes are not cold equations between writing and practice, nor fanciful signs defying sung production. The conductor’s hand feels these signs: as the shapes of the neumes stemmed originally from the hand and its movement, so the hand of today’s conductor naturally rediscovers them.

That long relates to short as one to two is clear not only from paleographic comparisons within a single manuscript and among manuscripts using different notational systems, but from commonsense observation of the musical signs themselves. Laon 239 gives hand-signs above the opening words of the psalms for a number of Introits, such as these four:

Vi- as tu- as, do- mi- ne (Introit *Ad te levavi*)

Do- mi- nus il- lu- mi- na- ti- [o] (Introit *Exaudi domine...adjutor*)

Do- mi- ne de- us sa- lu- tis me- æ (Introit *Intret oratio mea*)

Ad te do- mi- ne le- va- vi (Introit *Respice in me*)

It is clear that each of the syllables is given a musical length that sometimes is divided into two shorts and that on occasion is augmented by an extra length: but the single long divisible by two remains the norm whereby the text is declaimed with care and affection. It is natural that, though placement of the divided longs varies according to the psalm-melody and any verse can be sung to any of the melodies, textual accents are everywhere respected in the free flow of measurable lengths. Never does a weak syllable take precedence over a strong.

The logic of this rhythmic interpretation, borne out by every Western chant manuscript with musical signs written before 1000, seems to me inescapable. In the St. Gall notation found in MSS St. Gall 359 and 339, Einsiedeln 121, and the Hartker Antiphonale, the *tractulus* and *virga* indicate a low or high long when found alone or when written as the final element of a multi-note neume over a syllable. The *pes* and *clivis* are ascending and descending divisions of the long. A small dash or *episema* is added to indicate

longs where their presence might not be presumed, forming such signs as  $\rightarrow$ ,  $\nearrow$ ,  $\text{J}$ ,  $\text{r}$ ,  $\uparrow$ ,  $\text{u}$ , and  $\text{v}$ . As in the Metz notation, letters written beside the neumes indicate nuances.

Judging from the zealous care expended upon chant during the Carolingian era, motivated in part by the liturgy's use as symbol and means of political unity, and also from the amazing agreement among the neumatic manuscripts regarding note-configurations and rhythm, it is very possible that the rhythmic signs competently represent a tradition begun under the reform of the liturgy and its music by Pope Vitalian in the late seventh century. While chant traditions other than that of Vitalian and his immediate successors existed throughout the Holy Roman Empire during the sixth through eighth centuries, Pepin and Charlemagne's propagation of the new Roman chant and liturgy seems to have proven decisive. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions of chant by the Abbey of Solesmes, insofar as they ignore the clear indications of note-measure in the earliest neumatic manuscripts, fail to provide us with a legitimate view of the performance-practice of chant from the late seventh through the tenth centuries. And Cardine-inspired semiologists who today follow upon the school of Solesmes struggle in an arcane world of nuancing equalist notes in an interpretation that is virtually nontransferable from one schola or geographical area or era to another.

To be frank, enlightened scholarly dialogue with the school of Solesmes and its followers has been painful at best during the last fifty years, and an often disdainful manner has rested upon a not inconsiderable financial and sociopolitical base. The absence of open and welcome dialogue, the presence of a thousand-year-long equalist tradition, and the lack of receptivity to and appreciation for the Carolingian as opposed to the Gothic, have tended to blind many to the strong and clear witness to measurable rhythm offered by the ninth- and tenth-century fragments and manuscripts.

But we can no longer allow ourselves to be discouraged from investigating, performing, and teaching chant in the rhythm to be found in these earliest extant manuscripts: for immersion in the culture of proportional rhythm will not only provide us with a radically new feeling for the vast body of chant, but will allow us to have a sense for the variety of rhythmic materials available in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and enable us to make intelligent and appealing musical realizations of important works whose correct rhythm has thus far eluded us. Furthermore, the essentially binary nature of proportional chant allows us to posit that composers of hymn melodies in the fourth through sixth centuries were no strangers to binary rhythm, and would by no means have forced their regular binary texts into ternary-rhythm music. Binary rhythm should be used for early binary texts, ternary rhythm for early ternary texts, and equalist rhythm for neither.

**T**HE PRACTICE OF PROPORTIONAL RHYTHM disappeared gradually during the eleventh century. As liturgical offices proliferated, monks and cathedral canons glossed over the reciting-note longs in the ever-present psalm melodies, speeding them till there could be little differentiation between long and divided notes; the introduction of lines or staves on which to write the musical signs, as well as the use of chant melodies in part-singing, further weakened the tradition. The gradual decline of proportional practice is evident in manuscripts of the period; the c. 1030 Ecternach Sacramentary, for example, differentiates be-

tween two longs and two shorts ascending, yet has only one sign for two notes descending. But I believe that, as the practice of proportionality waned, some of its elements surely remained in the tradition and were put to good use [cf. examples 17–22].

The rhythm of the Proper liturgical chants as they were sung in the major European centers before 1000 is fairly easy to understand, transcribe, and sing; one has only to study the manuscripts with an open mind and heart. Rhythms for eleventh- and twelfth-century liturgical drama, paraliturgical monody, polyphony, and secular songs and dances, however, were not notated. In making editions for performance, careful choice must be made among the rhythms available at the time. Based on what we have said, there were ten rhythmic types used in the West before 1200. They are described briefly here, then illustrated with musical examples in the pages that follow and, in some cases, by recorded performances.

1. *Free syllabic*. Each syllable of text ordinarily receives the length of a long, which may be divided into two shorts or occasionally augmented. Longs and shorts are freely arranged, without regular occurrence. [examples 1–3]

2. *Binary regular syllabic*. Syllabic rhythm that is not free, but whose regular occurrence of longs and shorts falls into twos or fours. [examples: 4–7, and portions of 26–29]

3. *Ternary regular syllabic*. Syllabic rhythm whose regular occurrence of longs and shorts falls into threes. [examples: 8–10, and portions of 27 and 28]

4. *Free proportional*. The highly sophisticated free syllabic rhythm found in the shapes of musical signs written before the end of the tenth century in Metz, St. Gall, Aquitanian, Nonantolian, and Chartres notations. The long is divisible into two, though “three” is felt in the frequent presence of a long and a short together within a syllable. [examples 11–16]

5. *Free late proportional*, or proportional rhythm on the wane. Almost a reduction to free syllabic rhythm, but with a few sophistications of proportionalism remaining. [examples: 17–22, and portions of 27 & 28]

6. *Free equalist*. The melodic notes are not of divisible length, and all are basically equal. [examples: 23, the chant responsory in 25, and portions of 26–29]

7. *Binary regular equalist*. Equalist rhythm that is not free, but whose indivisible notes fall into regularly occurring twos. [examples: 24, and portions of 26–29]

8. *Ternary regular equalist*. Equalist rhythm that is not free, but whose indivisible notes fall into regularly occurring threes. [example: the three-part verse in 25]

9. *Early modal*. Ternary regular equalist rhythm in which there begin to emerge patterns of longs and shorts relating to one another. [examples: within the last two verses of 26, and portions of 27 and 28]

10. *Modal*. A ternary rhythm of regularly recurring patterns of longs and shorts used by the School of Leonin in the mid-twelfth century. It was to dominate music until well into the fourteenth century. [examples: the closing melisma of 29, and the entire motet 30]

### III. MUSICAL EXAMPLES, WITH COMMENTARIES AND TRANSLATIONS

*THERE ARE MANY AUDIO EXAMPLES (BEGINNING WITH 11),  
AS NOTED BESIDE THE NUMBERS OF THE EXAMPLES IN THE TEXT.*

*THE READER OF THIS BOOK IN PDF HAS ONLY TO  
OPEN TO THE ACTUAL MUSICAL EXAMPLE,  
PAGE BY PAGE, IN ORDER TO HEAR IT IN MP<sub>3</sub>.*

*EXCEPTION: THE RESPONSORY AND INTROIT ON PAGE 35  
NEED TO BE LEFT-CLICKED INDIVIDUALLY TO PLAY.*

*THE PERFORMANCES HAIL FROM MANY YEARS AND CLIMES.*

EARLY PSALM-MELODIES were sung in *free syllabic* rhythm, as in examples 1 and 2.

Regarding our notation, experience shows that, once a few basics are learned, modified square neumes on four or even five lines are clearer to read than oval-shaped notes with stems. Black neumes are ordinary and long, while hollow neumes are shorts, with two shorts equaling one long. Where two notes are written exactly atop one another, the lower is read first; but when the top note precedes or is larger than the lower, the top is read first. In the first example, *fa* is on the line enclosed by its clef-sign at the left; in the second example, a different cleff indicates the position of *do*. Any comfortable pitch may be used. The recitation-longs that mainly bear the text should not be rushed, and the natural flow of prosody should determine the musical flow; measure must never be an absolute in this music, but held to be an opportunity-filled element of its expressive language. *Ictus* or tiny vertical strokes have been placed under notes as an aid, but these editorial markings are less accents than they are focal points for conductor and schola. Of the two examples given, there happen to be no divisions of the ordinary notes in the first, but they are to be sung as longs nonetheless.

At this point, please allow me to apologize for the rough appearance of all music to be found throughout this essay. Time has prevented my attempting to design a computer program that could produce this notation, and lack of funds prevents hiring a professional to do the work by computer or by hand. (In most instances, what you in fact will see is the copy from which our singers performed many times.)

*Translation of 1 and 2: Praise the Lord, all you gentiles; give praise, all you peoples.*

THE WAVE-SHAPED, two-part *Rex celi domine* is given as an example in the treatise *Musica enchiriadis*, c. 900. Given the time and area of its origin, this early *organum* should be understood in *free syllabic* rhythm. Its notes are longs, though this is not signaled by any actual division into two. In its very freedom the music subtly takes on the regular rhythm of the text, changing between the two stanzas. (To accommodate two voices on one staff, example 3 uses quarter-notes on five lines with the usual *sol*-clef.)

*Metrical translation:*

King of the starry skies, Lord of wave-sounding seas,  
of shining planet Sun and of the shadowed Earth:  
we your humble servants pray in voices filled with awe and longing,  
as you have commanded us, that you would free us from all evil.

1

Lau-da-te do-mi-num o-mnes gen-tes: lau-da-te e-um  
o-mnes po-pu-li.

2

Lau-da-te do-mi-num o-mnes gen-tes: lau-da-te e-um  
o-mnes po-pu-li.

3

Rex ce-li do-mi-ne ma-ris un-di-so-ni, ti-ta-nis ni-ti-di squa-li-di-gue so-li:  
Te hu-mi-les fa-mu-li mo-du-lis ve-ne-ran-do pi-is, Se ju-be-as fz-gi-tant va-ri-is li-be-ra-re ma-lis.

1 & 2: *Liber Usualis*. Tournai: Desclée, 1963; p. 114. 3: Davison & Apel: *Historical Anthology of Music*. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1946; p. 22. All bibliographic references are to sources for melodic pitches.

THERE WOULD BE NO pitch-notation for hymns created in the fourth through sixth centuries until the manuscript *hymnaria* of the eleventh through fourteenth centuries. Since the texts were metrical (having regularly recurrent rhythmic structure) and their melodies were likewise metrical (because of syllabic rhythm), and since texts and melodies were written in typically common meters, it is not surprising that a given melody might be used for different texts and a same text sung to different melodies. To complicate matters, there were sometimes different species of single melodies, each species with its own variants. A remarkable number and variety of these melodies have been collected by Bruno Stäblein, and it is to him we thankfully turn, with faith in the stability of oral and aural tradition.

In attempting to secure a reasonable approximation of the *ur-* melody for a hymn-text, one first finds the melody commonly assigned it in the best manuscripts, then looks for the simplest species and variant thereof, and finally determines into what meter the melody naturally falls.

Melodies of many ancient Western Christian hymns fall easily into **binary regular syllabic** rhythm if we simply allow the ordinary note to be a divisible long, for in that way two notes falling on a single syllable may be sung in a single beat if poetic scansion warrants. Most of these hymn-texts were written in iambic feet (weak-strong) according to a formal understanding not always mirrored in the actual verbal accents.

Three examples are given here, two hymns from the Advent Office [4 and 5] and the great Pentecost hymn *Veni creator spiritus* [6]. In the notation, *ictus* mark the beginnings of groups of four. The modern sign  $\curvearrowright$  indicates an expressive rest not called-for by strict regularity. There may be a slight retard and a quick breath midpoint, but with a fairly slow tempo left basically intact.

*Metrical translations:*

Creator of the stars of night, your people's everlasting light,  
O Christ, redeemer of us all, we pray you hear us when we call.

Redeemer of the nations, come; reveal yourself in virgin birth,  
that birth which ages all adore, a wondrous birth, befitting God.

O Holy Spirit, by whose breath life rises vibrant out of death:  
come to create, renew, inspire, come kindle in our hearts your fire.



4

Con-di-tor al-me si-de-rum, fe-ter-na lux cre-den-ti-um, Chri-  
 ste re-dem-p-tor o-mni-um, ex-au-di pre-ces sup-p-li-cum.

5

Ve-ni re-dem-p-tor gen-ti-um, o-sten-de par-tum vir-gi-nis, mi-  
 re-tur o-mne sæ-cu-lum: t2-lis de-cet par-tis de-um.

6

Ve-ni cre-a-tor spi-ri-tus, men-tes tu-o-rum vi-si-ta, im-  
 ple su-per-na gr2-ti-2, quæ tu cre-a-sti pec-to-ra.

Stäblein, Bruno: *Monumenta monodica medii aevi, I: Hymnen (I)*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956. 4: 23<sub>2</sub> p. 30; 5: 503<sub>2</sub> p. 273; 6: 17, p. 260 (omitting the first [repeated] note over the syllable *-sti*). An indispensable book containing transcriptions of ancient hymn melodies in their varied forms as found in manuscripts of the eleventh through fifteenth centuries.

THE CHANT SEQUENCE *Victime paschali laudes*, which falls naturally and immediately into binary regular equalist rhythm, was written at the beginning of the eleventh century; the chant is quoted and its sources described in example 24, q.v.

The two-part version opposite [7], probably composed late in the same century, is contained in the c. 1300 Las Huelgas Codex. The chant melody occurs in the lower voice, and we find there only three instances of syllables bearing two notes (and these at different places than in the usual Solesmes version).

This work fits easily into **binary regular syllabic** rhythm, where it would be more slowly paced than in the binary regular equalist rhythm of example 24, thus allowing space for the extra notes of the upper improvisatory voice. The improvisatory part might be sung or played by an instrument, and its ornamental short notes simply paced to fit into the beat that has been created by the longs. *Ictus* have been placed every two feet; they are structural and are not meant to indicate weighted accent.

*Metrical translation given with commentary in example 24.*

1. Vi-cti-me pas-sa-li lau-des im-mo- lent chri-sti-a- ni. 2. A- gnus re-de-mit o- ves,  
3. Mors et vi-ta du- e- lo

Chri- stus in- no- cens pa- tri Re- con- ci- li- a- vit pec- ca- to- res. 4. Dic no- bis ma- ri- a, Quid vi- di-  
Con- gli- xe- re mi- rando; Dux vi- te mor- tu- us re- gnat vi- vus. 5. An- ge- li- cos te- stes, Su- da- ri-

sti in vi- a? Se- pul- crum, in- quit, vi- ven- tis, Et glo- ri- am vi- di re- sur- gen- tis,  
um et ve- stes. Sur- re- xit chri- stus, spes me- a, Pre- ce- dit su- os in ga- li- le- a.

6. Cre- den- dum est ma- gis so- li Ma- ri- e ve- ra- ci, Quam ju- de- o- rum tur- be fal- la- ci.  
7. Sci- mus chri- stum sur- re- xis- se a mor- tu- is ve- re; Tu no- bis, vi- ctor rex, mi- se- re- re.

A- men.

El Còdex Musical de las Huelgas. Introduction, facsimile, and transcription by Higiní Anglès. Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1931. #63; 54v-56r in vol. 2.

FOR SOME ANCIENT HYMN MELODIES, *ternary regular syllabic* rhythm is suitable, as in the *O lux beata trinitas* [8], the Christmastide *A solis ortus cardine* [9], and the magnificent Passiontide melody *Vexilla regis prodeunt* [10]. In this notation, a horizontal stroke or *episema* over a note extends it to the length of a double-long. Vertical *ictus* mark the beginnings of groups of three.

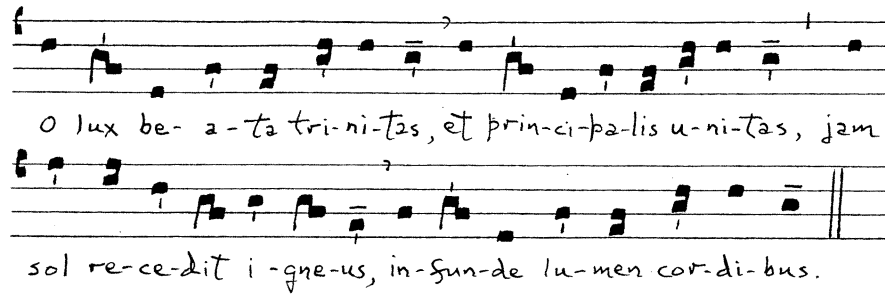
*Metrical translations:*

O Trinity of blessed light, O Unity of princely might,  
the fiery sun now goes his way; shed thou within our hearts thy ray.

From east to west, from shore to shore, let ev'ry heart awake and sing  
the holy child whom Mary bore, the Christ, the everlasting king.

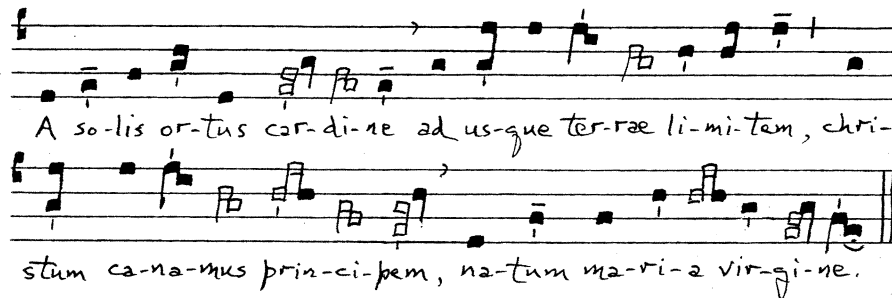
The royal banners forward go, the cross shines forth in mystic glow  
where he through whom our flesh was made in that same flesh our ransom paid.

8



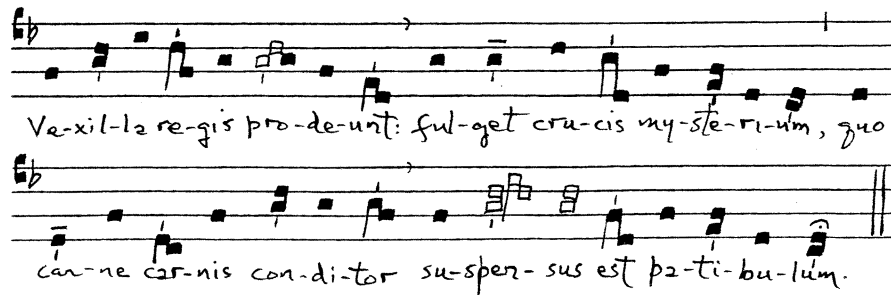
O lux be-a-ta tri-ni-tas, et prin-ci-pa-lis u-ni-tas, jam  
sol re-ce-dit i-gne-us, in-sun-de lu-men cor-di-bus.

9



A so-lis or-tus car-di-ne ad us-que ter-rae li-mi-tam, chri-  
stum ca-na-mus prin-ci-pem, na-tum ma-ri-ae vir-gi-ne.

10



Ve-xil-la re-gis pro-de-unt: ful-get cru-cis my-ste-ri-um, quo  
car-ne car-nis con-di-to-r su-sper-sus est pa-ti-bu-lum.

MMMA Hymnen. 8: 22, p. 85; 9: 535 p. 256; 9: 32, p. 417

## 11 (*with audio*)

MUSIC THEORETICIANS in the tenth and eleventh centuries were monks who lived the chants of Office and Mass, directing and singing with their fellows each day. They wrote of chant on two levels: (a) that of the structure of musical sentence, clause, and phrase in relationship to text and modal pitches, and (b) that of individual notes in themselves and in comparison to one another. As an example of (a), the late ninth-century *Scholia enchiriadis* warns us that the final notes of structural endings are long; a recent brief study by Calvin Bower points this out, but entirely ignores the theorists' concern for individual notes, level (b). Regarding the relative lengths of notes in themselves, and quite specifically not those at endings, the c. 900 *Commemoratio brevis* states clearly that

all the longs must be equally long, all the shorts of equal brevity; the only exceptions are the distinctions (phrase -endings), which in the chant must likewise be observed with care. Everything of long duration must rhythmically concur with what is not long by legitimate and reciprocal durations... And in accordance with the length durations let there be formed short beats, so that they be neither more nor less, but one always twice as long as the other.

Based upon such written evidence, upon comparative examination of the early musical signs, and on commonsense requirements for the formulaic musical setting of prose texts, the **free proportional** rhythm of the Propers of the Mass for Easter Sunday is clear and definite in the extant manuscripts that were used by directors of chant in the tenth century. In examples 11–14, most melodic configuration, rhythm, and ornamentation are taken from the neumatic MS Laon 239, c. 930; melodic pitches are drawn mainly from two diastematic sources, the twelfth-century *graduale* MS Graz 807 and the fourteenth-century *Thomaskirche Graduale*. Careful paleographic studies made by Jan Vollaerts showed that the final note of the three-note *porrectus*  $\mathcal{V}$  is always long, and the final of the three-note *torculus*  $\mathcal{A}$  is long when it is the last note on a syllable. The shorts and longs of the *strophæ* should be sung as light “hammer-taps,” not staccato in the usual sense. A *c* [*celeriter*] means “quickly,” and a *t* [*tene*] means “hold”; these are expressive or interpretative marks, and do not of themselves determine short or long duration, which is shown by the shapes of the signs themselves. For more details, see Appendix: Metz/St. Gall/Schola Antiqua Neume Chart (and kindly realize that this is a draft version).

*Translation:*

*Introit.* I have arisen and am still with you, alleluia: your hand has been laid upon me, alleluia: wondrous has your wisdom proved, alleluia, alleluia.  $\mathcal{V}$ . Lord, you have proven me and known me: you know my sitting-down and my rising. I have arisen...

*Gradual.* This is the day which the Lord has made: let us be glad and rejoice in it.  $\mathcal{V}$ . Praise the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endures for ever. This is the day which the Lord has made...

*Alleluia, alleluia.*  $\mathcal{V}$ . Christ our Pasch is sacrificed. Alleluia.  $\mathcal{V}$ . Let us keep the feast with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Alleluia.

*Offertory.* The earth trembles and is stilled when God arises in judgment, alleluia.  $\mathcal{V}$ . God is known in Judea, his great name in Israel, alleluia. —when God arises in judgment, alleluia.  $\mathcal{V}$ . And his place shall be made in peace, and his dwelling in Sion, alleluia. —when God arises in judgment, alleluia.  $\mathcal{V}$ . There he shatters horn, bow, shield, and sword and warfare: you are shining wondrously from eternal mountains, alleluia. —when God arises in judgment, alleluia.

*Communion.* Our Pasch is sacrificed, the Christ, alleluia: let us, then, keep festival with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth: alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

DOMINICUS IN DIE PASCHAE

**R**ESURREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM ALLELUIA

facta est scientia tua alleluia al le luia

**H**aec de esquam fecit dominus  
culce mus al te mur mea

**C**onfitemini do mino quo nam bo nus quo  
nam in sae culum mi se ricor dia e us

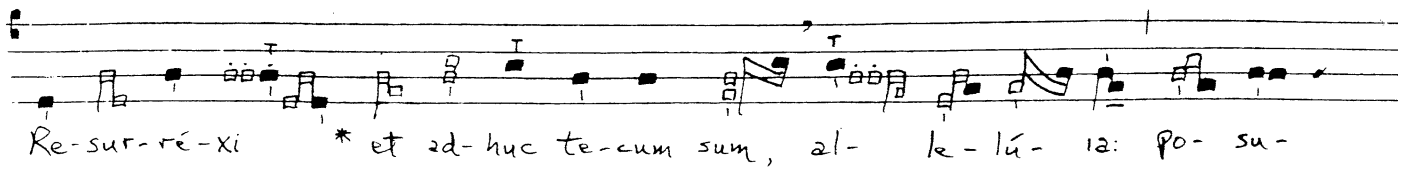
**A**llolu ia **P**ascha nostrum  
immola tus est qui tus

**I**pulo mur ma ti mis  
sinceri ta tus

**T**erra tremuit et  
quiescit dum resurgeret in uidi cum deus al le

THE OPENING OF THE RESURREXI MASS PROPERS, FROM MS LAON 239; OUR TRANSCRIPTION FOLLOWS.

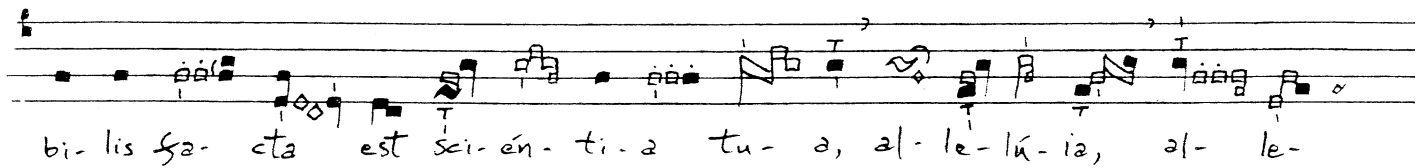
introit



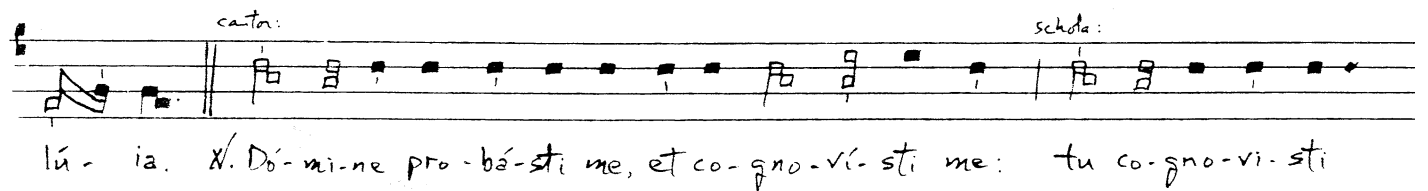
Re-sur-ré-xi \* et ad-huc te-cum sum, al-le-lú-ia: po-su-



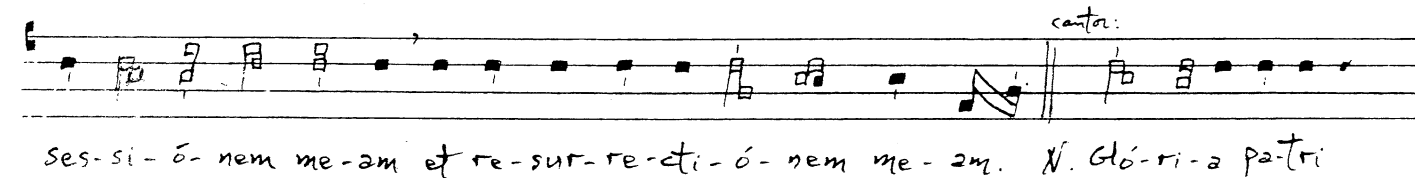
í-sti su-per me ma-num tu-am, al-le-lú-ia: mi-rá-



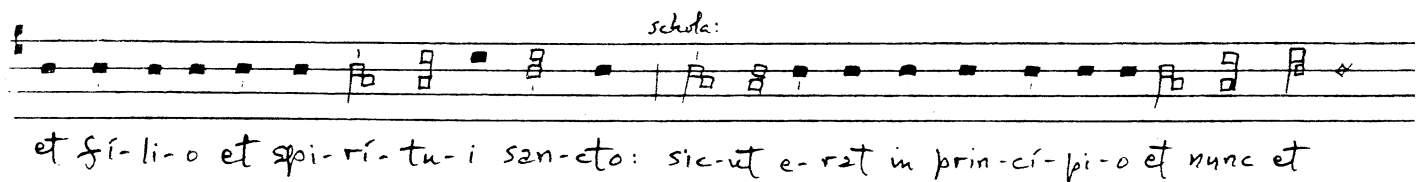
bi-lis fa-cta est sci-én-ti-a tu-a, al-le-lú-ia, al-le-



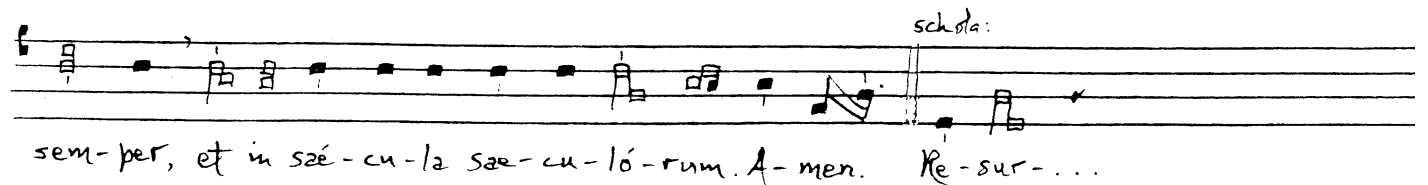
lú-ia. X. Dó-mi-ne pro-bá-sti me, et co-gno-ví-sti me: tu co-gno-vi-sti



ses-si-ó-nem me-am et re-sur-re-cti-ó-nem me-am. X. Gló-ri-a pa-tri



et fí-li-o et spi-ri-tu-i san-cto: sic-ut e-rat in prin-cí-pi-o et nunc et



sem-per, et in sáe-cu-la sáe-cu-ló-rum. A-men. Re-sur-...



gradual

A musical staff with notes and lyrics: Haec di-es\* quam fe-cit do-mi-nus, ex-ul-

A musical staff with notes and lyrics: té-mus et le-té-mur in e-

A musical staff with notes and lyrics: a. N. Con-fi-té-ni-ni do-mi-no

A musical staff with notes and lyrics: quó-ni-am bo-nus, quó-ni-am in sae-

A musical staff with notes and lyrics: cu-lum mi-se-ri-cór-di-a e-jus. Haec...

Alleluia

canto, then schola:

Al-le-lu-ia.

canto:

¶ Pa-scha no-strum im-mo-lá-

tus est chri-

stus.

Al-le-...

solo: Eric

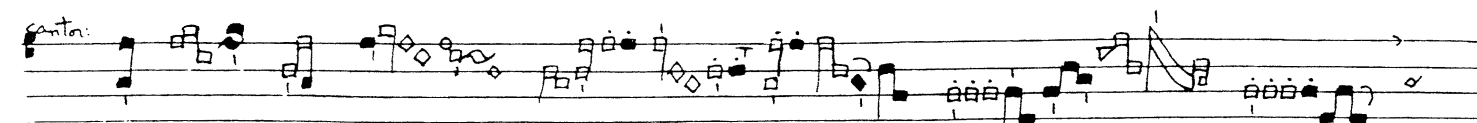
¶ E-pu-lé-mur in á-zi-mis

sin-ce-ri-tá-tis et ve-ri-tá-tis.

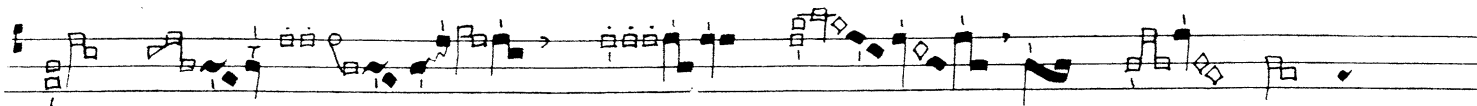
Al-le-...

essertory

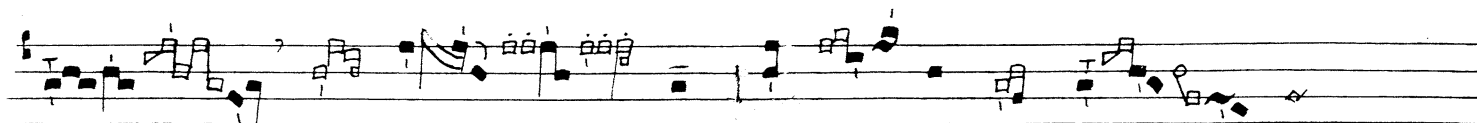
ter-ra \*tre-mu-it et qui-e-vit, \*dum re-sur-ge-ret  
in ju-dí-ci-um de-us, al-le-  
lú-ia. *solo.* N. No-tus in ju-dé-a de-us, in  
is-ra-el ma-gnum no-men e-jus,  
al-le-lú-ia: \*dum...  
*solo.* N. Et Sa-ctus est in pa-ce lo-cus e-  
jus, et ha-bi-té-ti-o e-jus in Sy-on,  
al-le-  
lú-ia: \*dum...



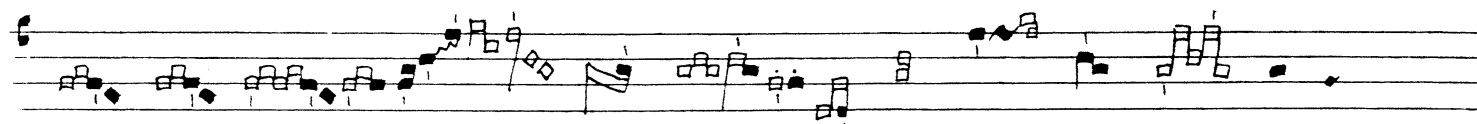
*cantu:*  
X<sup>3</sup> I-bi con-fré- git cor- nu,



ar- cum, scu- tum, et glá- di-



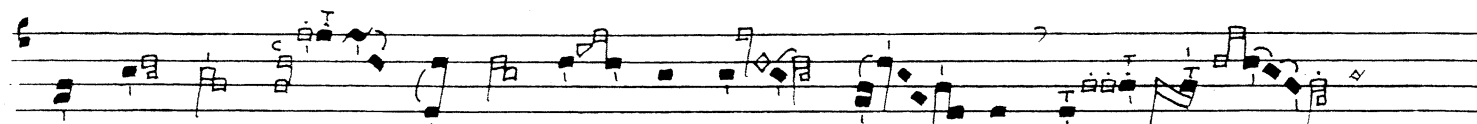
um, et bel- lum: il-lú- mi-nans tu



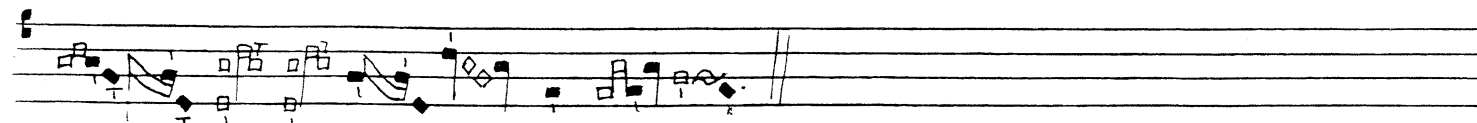
mi- ra- bí- li- ter a mon- ti- bus æ-



tér- nis, al- le- lú- ia: \*dum



re-sur- ge- ret in ju- di- ci- um de- us, al-



le- lú- ia.

Communion

Pa-scha no-strum \* im-mo-lá-tus est chri-stus, al-le-lú-ia:  
 i-ta- que e-bu-lé-mur in a-zi-mis sin-ce-ri-tá-tis  
 et ve-ri-tá-tis: al-le-lú-ia, al-le-lú-ia, al-le-lú-ia.  
 XI. Can-tá-te dó-mi-no cán-ti-cum no-vum, can-tá-te dó-mi-no o-mnis ter-ra.  
 XII. Gló-ri-a pa-tri et fi-li-o et spi-ri-tu-i san-cto: si-cut e-rat  
 in prin-cí-pi-o et nunc et sem-per, et in saé-cu-la sae-cu-ló-rum. Amen.

schola:

Pa-scha...

Main sources: *Paléographie musicale* X: MS Laon 239, f. 52<sup>v</sup>, for rhythm, melodic configuration, and ornamentation. *Paléographie musicale* XIX: MS Graz 807, ff. 103<sup>r</sup>-104<sup>r</sup>. Other sources were used as needed; see Section V. Select, Annotated Chant Bibliography.

Concerning the use of flats to avoid tritones... The highest note (B) of the *alleluia* that closes the Communion antiphon (end of third stave, above) is flatted in Graz 807. On the theory that flats entered the repertory (and with increasing frequency as time went on) in order to make life easier for the singers, and being convinced that the early cantors and scholæ were first-rate musicians, I've chosen not to use flats. The decision seemed a conservative one, and it certainly makes the musical line more interesting!

## 12 (*with audio*)

**I**N THE *REQUIEM* MASS PROPERS the neumes and texts for the Introit, Gradual, and Communion are taken from MS Laon 239; those for the Offertory, absent from 239, are taken from MS St. Gall 339; neumes for the opening responsory *Subvenite* and the closing antiphons *In paradisum* and *Chorus angelorum* are from the *Hartker Antiphonale*, the book of Office chants dating from around 1000.

The *Requiem* Propers were sung in monasteries and convents whenever a member of the community died, and in cathedrals and churches upon the deaths of the faithful. The *Requiem's* beautiful melodies, in **free proportional** rhythm, were deeply lodged in the psyches of all Christians, monastic and secular.

A word is due on the post-tenth-century manuscripts whose neumes are non-rhythmical but from which pitches are drawn: they fall into two “musical dialects,” generally described as “French” and “German.” The German is characterized by its tendency to emphasize *fa* and *do*. Where a French ending would be *re-mi-re re*, the German would be *re-fa-re re*. At a high-point in a melody, the French might be *la-ti-flat-la*, while the German would read *la-do'-la*. I've always thought the German musical dialect to be the older of the two, since emphasis on *fa* and *do* is a sign of the primitive in music and because, if one dialect developed from the other, I could understand the practice of a minor third yielding to a minor second, but not the reverse. Aesthetically, I find the German stronger and more interesting. For a description of the manuscripts, please see Section V. Select, Annotated Chant Bibliography.

### *Translation:*

*Responsory.* Come to his aid, saints of God: hasten, the Lord's angels, to meet him: taking up his spirit, presenting it before the face of the Most High. *℟.* May you be received by Christ, who has called you, and may angels bring you into Abraham's bosom: taking up his spirit...

*Introit.* Grant them eternal rest, Lord, and let perpetual light shine upon them. *℟.* His soul shall die among the just, and his seed shall inherit the earth. Grant them eternal rest...

*Gradual.* Grant them eternal rest, Lord, and let perpetual light shine upon them. *℟.* His soul shall die among the just, and his seed shall inherit the earth. Grant them eternal rest...

*Offertory.* Lord Jesus Christ, king of glory, deliver the souls of the faithful departed from the pains of hell and from the bottomless pit: save them from the lion's jaws; let them not be engulfed in hell nor swallowed up in darkness: but let saint Michael the standard-bearer bring them into that holy light which you of old promised to Abraham and his seed. *℟.* In praise of you, Lord, we offer sacrifice and prayer; accept them for the good of those souls whom we call to mind this day: Lord, make them pass from death to life, which you of old promised to Abraham and his seed.

*Communion.* I am the resurrection and the life: who believes in me, if he will die, shall live: and all who believe in me will not die, not ever. *℟.* His soul shall die among the just, and his seed shall inherit the earth. I am the resurrection and the life...

*Antiphons.* To paradise will angels lead you: at your coming, martyrs will bear you up, and bring you into the holy city of Jerusalem. The angelic choirs will be your support, and with Lazarus, he who once was poor, you shall have eternal rest.

respasory

# Requiem

Hartker, p. 389

Sub-ve-ni-te\* san-cti de-i oc-cu-ri-te an-ge-li do-mi-ni:

\*su-sci-pi-en-tes a-ni-mam e-lus: of-fe-ren-tes e-am in con-spe-ctu

al-tis-si-mi. *cantor* V. Su-sci-pi-at te Chri-stus, qui vo-ca-vit

te, et in si-mum a-bra-hae an-ge-li de-du- cant te. *schola:* \*su-sci-pi-en-tes

introt

Laq 239, §. 74<sup>v</sup>

Re-qui-em\* æ-ter-nam do-na e-is, do-mi-ne: et lux per-

pe-tu-a lu-ce-at e-is.

*cantor:* A-ni-ma e-lus in bo-nis de-mo-ra-bi-tur: et se-men e-lus hæ-re-di-ta-bit ter-ram. *schola:* Re-... *schola:*

gradual

Laon 239, f. 74<sup>v</sup>

cantor:

schola:

Re-qui-am\* æ-ter-nam do-na e-is, do-mi-ne:

et lux per-pe-tua lu-ce-at e-

is. V. A-ni-ma e-

ius in bo-nis de-mo-ra-bi-tur,

et se-men e-ius he-re-di-ta-bit ter-ram.

schola:

Re-qui-em...



offertory

St Gall 339, p. 114

cantor:

soldati

Do-mi-ne je-su chri-ste, \* rex glo-ri-e, li-be-ra a-ni-mas fi-de-li-um

de-fun-cto-rum de ma-nu in-fer-ni, et de pro-fun-do la-cu: li-be-ra e-as

de o-re le-o-nis, ne ab-sor-be-at e-as ter-ra-rus, ne ca-dant in ob-scu-ris:

sed si-gni-fer san-ctus mi-chael re-pre-sen-tet e-as in lu-cem san-ctam:

quam o-lim a-bra-he pro-mi-si-sti, et se-mi-ni e-jus.

cantor:

Ho-sti-as et pre-cas ti-bi do-mi-ne of-fe-ri-mus: tu su-sci-pe pro a-ni-mo-bus

il-lis, qua-rum ho-di-e me-mo-ri-am fa-ci-mus: fac e-as, do-mi-ne, de mor-te

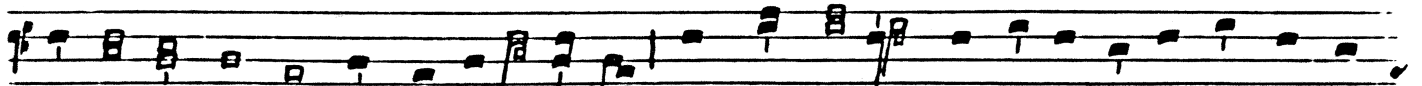
schola:

tran-si-re ad vi-tam: \* quam o-lim a-bra-he pro-mi-si-sti, et

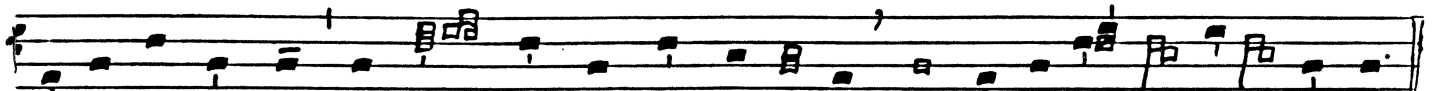
se-mi-ni e-jus.

Communion

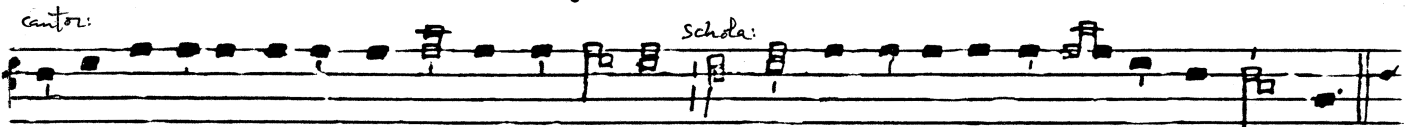
Lara 239, f. 74<sup>v</sup>



E-go sum<sup>\*</sup> re-sur-re-cti-o et vi-ta: qui cre-dit in me, e-ti-am si mor-tu-us



su-e-rit vi-vit: et o-mnis qui cre-dit in me, non mo-ri-e-tur in æ-ter-num.



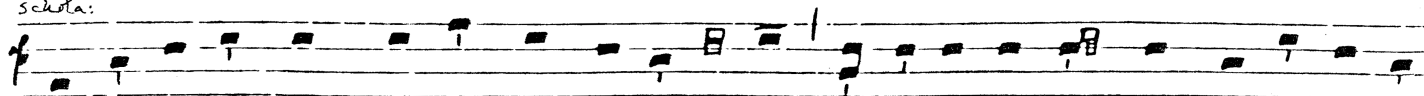
Cantor: Schola:

A-ni-ma e-ius in bo-nis de-mo-ra-bi-tur: et se-men e-ius he-re-di-ta-bit ter-ram.

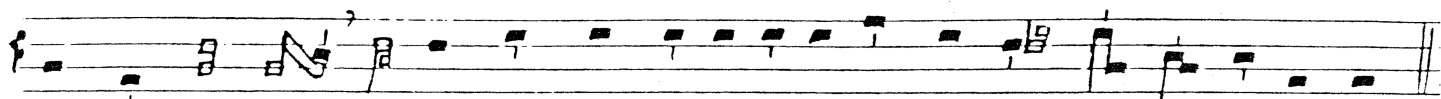
antiphons

Hartker, p. 393

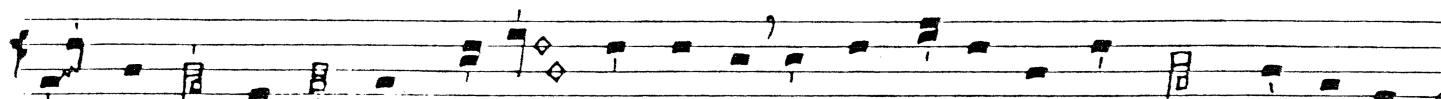
schola:



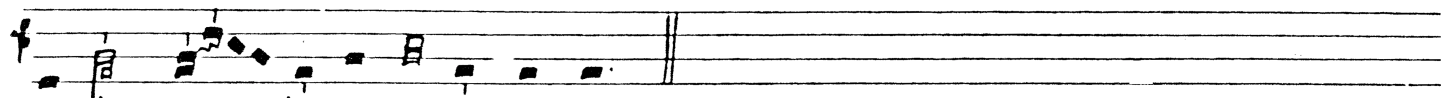
In pe-na-di-sum de-du-cant te an-ge-li: in tu-o ad-ven-tu su-sci-pi-ent



te mar-ty-res, et per-du-cant te in ci-vi-ta-tem san-ctam je-ru-sa-lem.



Cho-rus an-ge-lo-rum te su-sci-pi-ent, et cum la-za-ro quon-dam pau-pe-re



ae-ter-nam ho-be-as re-qui-em.

THE OFFERTORY *Ave Maria* is directed by Laon 239 to be sung on Wednesday after the third Sunday in Advent. Its lovely melodies often seem to show the influence of Hebraic cantoring.

And it is highly dramatic in its form. The Easter Introit-trope *Quem quæritis in sepulcro* ("Whom are you seeking in the tomb"), found in three tenth-century manuscripts, is usually considered to be the first drama to be performed since church bans on theater in the third and fourth centuries. I think, rather, that the revival of drama is to be found in several complex Mass Offertories: in *Precatus est moyses* and *Sanctificavit moyses*, both dialogues between Moses and God from the 12th and 18th Sundays after Pentecost; in *Vir erat in terra nomine job*, in which Job directly addresses God, from the 21st Sunday after Pentecost; and in the present *Ave maria*, wherein Mary dialogues with the angel Gabriel while the schola cantorum offers praise and commentary.

*Translation:*

*Offertory.* Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. *℣.* How shall this be done in me, who have not known a man? The Spirit of the Lord shall suddenly come upon thee, and the strength of the most high shall overshadow thee. —and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. *℣.* Therefore the child born of thee will be called the Son of God. —blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.

A-  
ve, \*ma-ri-  
a, gra-  
ti-a ple- na,  
do-  
mi- nus te-  
cum: be- ne- di-  
ctus tu  
in mu- li- e-  
ri- bus, et be- ne- di-  
ctus fru-  
ctus  
ven-  
tris tu- i. *℣.* Quo-

mo-do in me si-et hoc, quae vi-

rum non co-gno-sco? Spi-ri-tus do-

su-per-ve-ni-et in te, et vir-tus

al-tis-si-mi ob-um-bra-bit ti-bi. et be-ne-di-

ctus sru-ctus ven-tris tu-i.

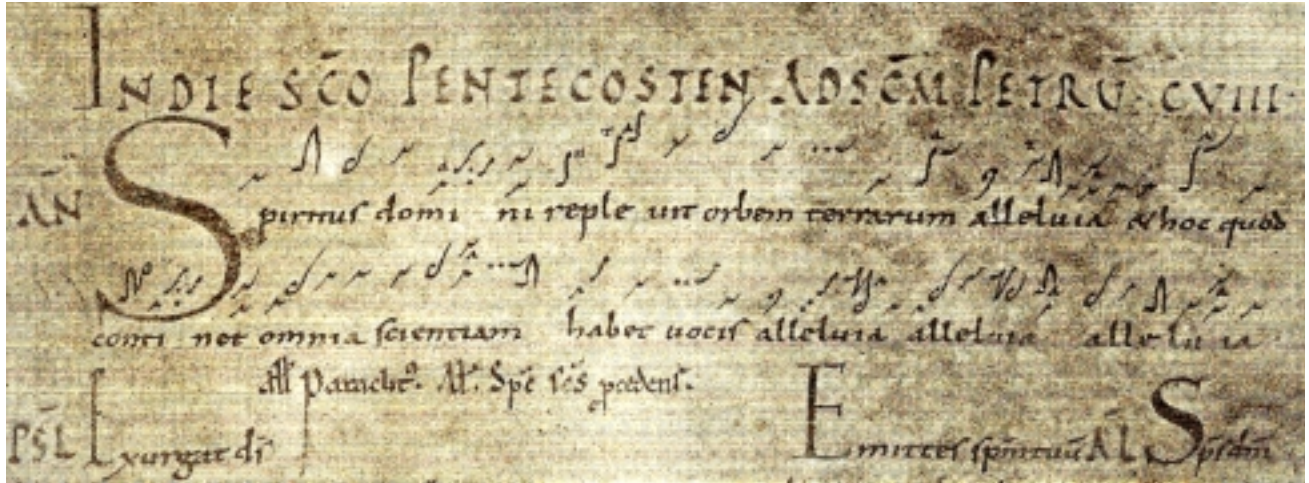
Id-e-o-que quod na-sce-tur ex te san-ctum, vo-ca-bi-

tur si-li-us de-i. be-ne-di-ctus tu in

mu-li-e-ri-bus, et be-ne-di-ctus sru-ctus

Ven-tris tu-i.

Main sources: *Paléographie musicale* X: MS Laon 239, f. 6<sup>v</sup>, for rhythm, melodic configuration, and ornamentation. *Paléographie musicale* XIX: MS Graz 807, f. 10<sup>v</sup>. Other sources were used as needed; see Section V. Select, Annotated Chant Bibliography.



ABOVE IS THE INTROIT from the Mass Propers for Pentecost, MS Laon 239 (slightly enlarged); our transcriptions of the Introit and two Alleluias from 239 and MS Graz 807 follow. The *Spiritus domini* and *Alleluia/Spiritus* have the Laon 239 Metz neumes written above the staves.

The principle of **free proportional** rhythm is this: if every syllable is given a musical length that's long enough to be able to be divided, the accentual pattern of the text will determine the accentual pattern of the music. The opening word of the Introit, with accent, is *Spiritus*. If the three notes on *ri* and the two notes on *tus* are equal in length to the single note on *Spi*, the word will naturally be sung *Spiritus*, with accent on the second syllable, musical rhythm controlling. It is obvious however that, according to the manuscript, the opening note is a long, a *tractulus*; the notes over the second syllable are short-short-long, and there are two shorts over the third syllable. Sung in this rhythm, the first syllable rightly gets an accent, while a secondary accent falls only on the third note of the second syllable and there is no accent at all in the final syllable. Examination of text-versus-musical accentuation over the words *dómini* reveals a similar situation. *With proportional rhythm, textual accentuation is never betrayed.* The very shapes of the ancient neumes and the common sense of the proportional principle are inescapable arguments for the necessity of proportionality in chant. Aesthetics is also an important consideration, for, with the long as the ordinary note, the nobility of the text is more readily heard. The *replevit orbem terrarum* does reach out across the breadth of earth, and the sustained high tessitura of the *omnia, scientiam habet vocis* places the vast mystery unavoidably before us.

*Translation:*

*Introit.* The spirit of the Lord fills the whole world, alleluia: the whole frame of creation recognizes that voice, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. *℟.* Let God arise now, and rout the enemies: confront the illwishers and put them to flight. The spirit of the Lord...

*Alleluia, alleluia.* *℟.* Send forth your spirit, and there will be fresh creation; you will renew the face of the earth. Alleluia.

*Alleluia.* *℟.* The spirit of the Lord fills the whole world, alleluia: the whole frame of creation recognizes that voice. Alleluia.

Introit

Spi-ri- tus do-mi- ni\* re-ple- vit or-bem ter- ra-rum, al-le- lu- ia: et hoc  
quod con- ti- net o- mni-a, sci-en-ti- am ha-bet vo- cis, al-le- lu- ia,  
al- le-lu- ia, al-le- lu- ia. V. Ex-sur-gat deus et dissipentur in-i- mi-ci  
e- jus: \* et fu-giant qui oderunt e-um a fa- ci-e e- jus.

Paléographie musicale X: MS Laon 239, f. 62<sup>r</sup>; Paléographie musicale XIX: MS Graz 807, f. 127<sup>r</sup>.

Lam 239, f. 83<sup>v</sup>, mid. page at left  
cantor, mensural:  
schola

St. Gall 259, 97-117  
cantor:

Al-le-lu-ia. \* E-mit-te spi-ri-tum tu-um

et cre-a-bun-tur, et re-no-vá-bis fá-ci-em

ter-rae.

Lam 239, f. 8<sup>v</sup>, top



Alleluia

Lam 239, 5. 85 v

Al-le-lu-ia. \*

V. Spi-

ri-tus do-mi-ni re-ple-vit or-bem ter-

ra-rum: et hoc quod con-ti-net o-mni-a sci-en-ti-

am ha-bet vo-cis.

The Alleluia is repeated.

## 15 (with audio)

*Let these adore you, ever-almighty,  
and tell their blessings throughout the ages!*

Stars on their axes dancing in chorus,  
and sun, their sister, light of the heavens. *Let these...*

Thus too the moisture, both heaven-felt rains  
and dew that covers creation's spirit. *Let these...*

So fire and seething with bone-drying heat,  
the frigid burning and frost in gardens: *Let these...*

Snowfall and ice rain, nightfall and daylight,  
flashes of lightning outlining cloudbanks, *Let these...*

The arid mountains that spring forth new hills  
and founts of waters, their streams resounding. *Let these ...*

**T**HE RESPONSORIAL HYMN *OMNIPOTENS SEMPER ADORANT*, of which the above is the opening portion placed into metrical translation, was written by Walafrid Strabo in the second quarter of the ninth century. A good part of the hymn with its rhythmic signs is given on one side of the bifolio flyleaf to MS Laon 266, which dates from around 870 [reproduced here as a two-sided frontispiece; on *verso*, right column].

In the accompanying transcription, melodic pitches are taken from *MMMA*; the Laon 266 signs are copied above the staves. Clear neumatic differentiation may be seen between two ascending shorts (  $\lrcorner$  ) and longs (  $\curvearrowright$  ), and between two descending shorts (  $\lrcorner$  ) and longs (  $\curvearrowright$  ). The Metz notation here used no letters indicating nuance: rhythmic difference is mensural and is expressed in the musical signs themselves.

The music for this hymn was written down in the *cantatorium* bifolio no more than thirty or forty years after Walafrid composed it. It is in **free proportional** rhythm. This was the most sophisticated rhythm of the eighth- through tenth-century era, used in all the Proper and Ordinary chants of Mass and Office and found in the manuscripts of major musical centers of the Holy Roman Empire.

In this song, as well as in the magnificent responsorial hymn *Crux fidelis/Pange lingua* in the tenth-century manuscripts, a wonderful and practical counterpoint of rhythm is found between the regularity of the metrical text and the freedom of the mensural music.

Walafrid is known mainly for his long poem about herbs and gardening, the *Hortulus*. In this hymn he looks as well to mountains and stars, and we hear them.

O - mni-po-ten- tem sem- per ad-o- rent et be-ne-di- cant o- mne per æ-vum.

1. A- stra po-lo-rum cun-cta cho-ri-que, sol- que so-ror- que lu- mi- na cæ-li.

2. Sic quo-que lim-phe que-que su-per-ne ros plu-v[ ] æ- g: spi- ri-tus o- m[ ].

3. Ig- nis et æ- stus cau-ma-ge-lu-q: fri-gus et ar- dor at- que pru-i- na.

4. Nix gla-ci- es que nox que di- es que lux te-ne-bre que ful- gu- ra nu- bes.

5. A- ri- da mon-tes ger-mi-na col-les flu- mi-na fon- tes po- nens et un-d[ ].

6. O- mni-a vi-va que[ ] ve-hit æ- quor que[ ] ve-hit a- er ter- ra-que nu- [ ].

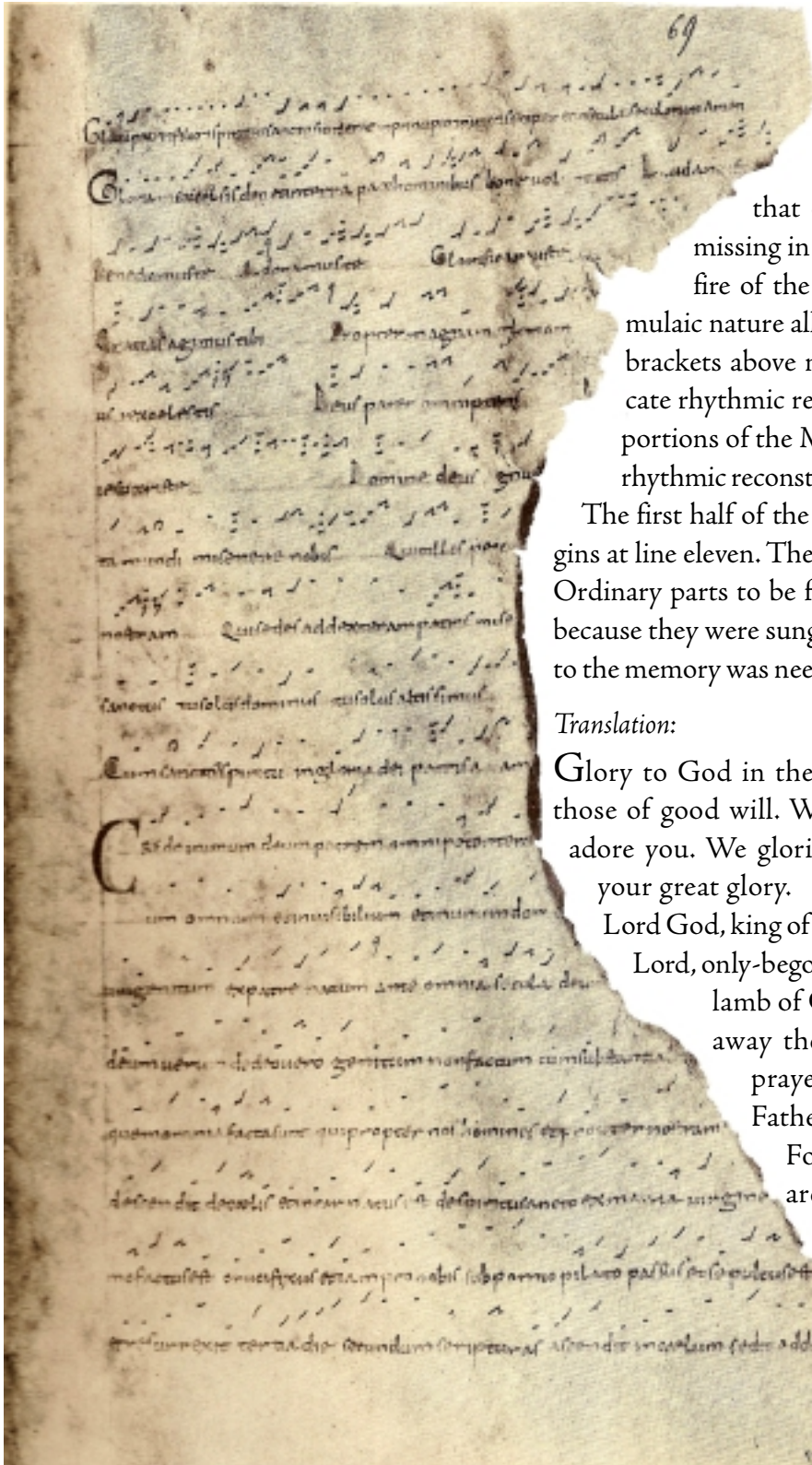
7. Cun-cta ho-mi- num gens is-ra-hel i- pse chri-sti-co-lè que ser- vu- li [ ].

8. Sa- nem hu-mi-les-q cor-de be-ni-gno tres q: pu-sil- la ex [ ].

Sources: see Bibliography, Laon 266; *MMMA op. cit.* under example 4, #1017 p. 489-90.

16 (with audio)

NOT JUST MASS PROPERS, but Ordinary parts as well were sung in *free proportional* rhythm until around 1000. The last folio (*recto*) of MS Chartres 47, dating from the last quarter of the tenth century, is shown here. Beginning at the second line is the Ordinary *Gloria in excelsis deo*, with Chartres rhythmic



neumes; nuancing letters are not used. The melodic pitches are taken from the twelfth-century MS Laon 263, f. 30<sup>rv</sup>. Though the melody in 263 is more ornate than that of Chartres 47, and neumes are missing in 47 due to a partial destruction by fire of the folio at one side, the chant's formulaic nature allows us resurrect the piece. Single brackets above neumes in our transcription indicate rhythmic reconstruction based on unharmed portions of the MS; double brackets indicate pure rhythmic reconstruction.

The first half of the Ordinary *Credo in unum deum* begins at line eleven. There are in fact very few instances of Ordinary parts to be found in the earliest manuscripts, because they were sung so frequently that no written jog to the memory was needed.

*Translation:*

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to those of good will. We praise you. We bless you. We adore you. We glorify you. We give you thanks for your great glory.

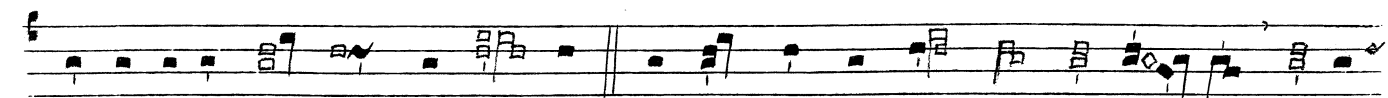
Lord God, king of heaven, God the almighty Father.

Lord, only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ. Lord God, lamb of God, Son of the Father: You take away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. You sit at the right hand of the Father, have mercy on us.

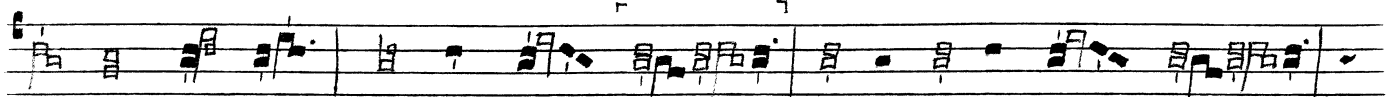
For you alone are holy, you alone are Lord, you alone are most high: Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Gloria in excelsis deo

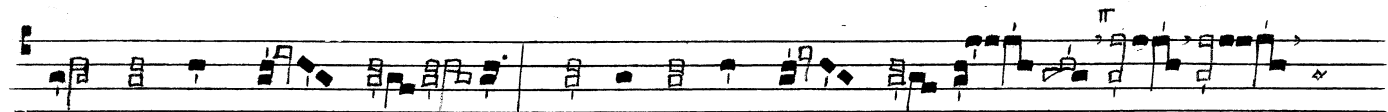
neumatic: Chartres 47, f. 69<sup>r</sup>  
diastematic: Laon 263, f. 30<sup>rv</sup>



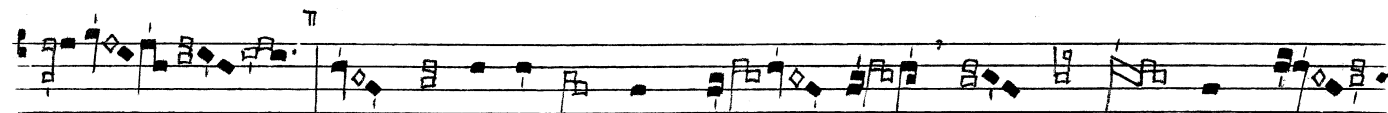
Glo-ri-a in ex-cel-sis de-o, et in ter-ra pax ho-mi-ni-bus, bo-ne



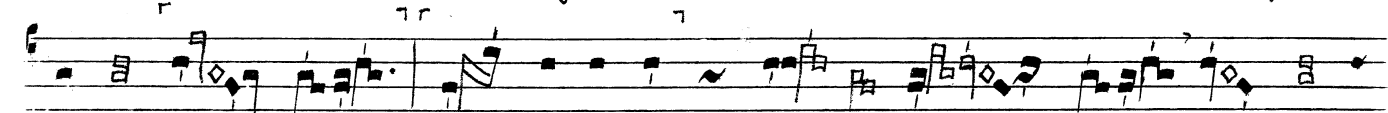
vo-lun-ta-tis. Lau-da-mus te. Be-ne-di-ci-mus te.



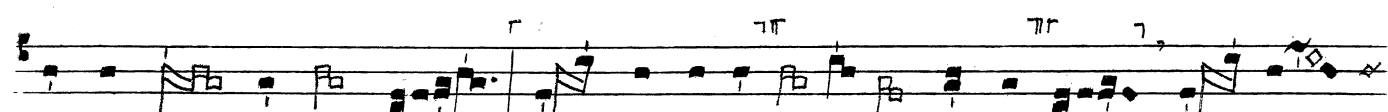
A-do-ra-mus te. Glo-ri-fi-ca-mus te.



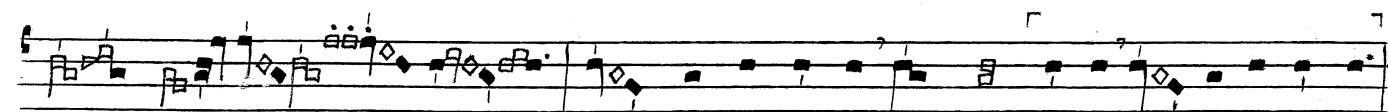
Gra-ti-as a-gi-mus ti-bi, pro-pter ma-gnam glo-



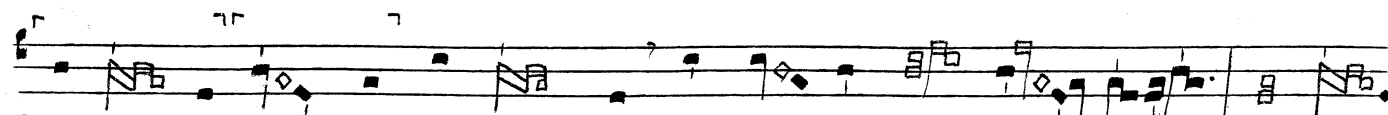
ri-am tu-am. Do-mi-ne de-us rex ce-le-stis, De-us



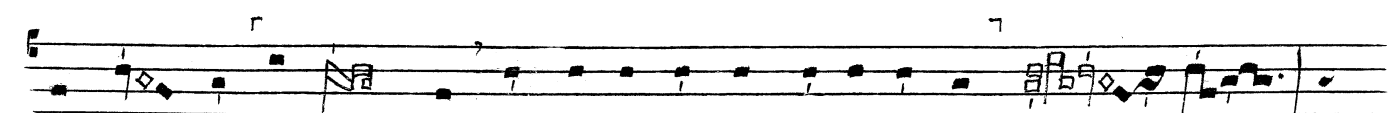
pa-ter o-mni-po-tens. Do-mi-ne fi-li u-ni-ge-ni-te, Jhe-su



xpi-ste. Do-mi-ne de-us, a-gnus de-i, fi-li-us pa-tris:



Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di, mi-se-re-re no-bis. Qui tol-



lis pec-ca-ta mun-di, su-sci-pe de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem no-stram.

Qui se-des ad de-xte-ram pa-tris, mi-se-re-re no-bis.

Quo-ni-am tu so-lus san-ctus, tu so-lus do-mi-nus, tu so-lus el-tis-si-

mus: Jhe-su xpi-ste. Cum san-cto spi-ri-tu in

glo-ri-a de-i pa-tris. A-men.

*Paléographie musicale* XI: MS Chartres 47, f. 69<sup>r</sup>, for rhythm, melodic configuration, and ornamentation. The diastematic source is unpublished; the Schola Antiqua's copy is courtesy of M. Jean Lefebvre, Bibliothèque Municipale, Laon, France.

## 17–18: HILDEGARD VON BINGEN (18 is with audio)

THERE ARE NO INDICATIONS of rhythm in the notation of the liturgical chants and the play *Ordo virtutum* composed by Hildegard von Bingen. Since equalist rhythm fails to match the extraordinary nature of her melodies, the temptation to apply proportional figurations is very strong; yet most of her music stems from the 1150s, which is quite late. Aribo, Archbishop of Mainz, Hildegard's diocese, had written c. 1070 in his *De musica* that "in olden times great care was observed, not only by the composers of the chant but also by the singers themselves, to compose and sing proportionally. But this idea has already been dead for a long time, even buried." Was anything of this rhythm of the ninth- and tenth-century chant fragments and manuscripts preserved in the practice of succeeding centuries? To attempt an answer, one must again look to the essence of proportional rhythm.

This essence is to be found not only in the 1:2 ratios of long and short neumes, but in the underlying rhetorical needs proportionality so perfectly and simply filled: (a) that the free accentual patterns of the verse text be respected, even in formulaic melodies applied to various texts, and (b) that more important melodic notes not be confused with lesser notes of a relatively ornamental nature.

The musical signs in successive manuscripts after c. 1000 show the breaking-down of strict proportion: graphic differentiations once carefully made gradually were made no longer. And we may reasonably posit that for several centuries there were discrepancies between what was written and what was sung. During the tenth century, written signs bore the tradition beautifully (as we can witness), though practice began to grow somewhat lax; thereafter, while the signs were neither exacting nor consistent, practice might be expected to retain blindly certain helpful elements of the old rhythmic tradition.

Though performance according to the proportional tradition was dead, singers could still give a single-note accented syllable sufficient duration that it might, even in the context of two or more notes over an unaccented neighboring syllable, show its own proper rhetorical value. The sign usually found over single-note syllables in Metz-notated sources is the *tractulus*. Its shape in Laon 239 (↘) carried through into the twelfth-century Graz 807 (↗) and the fourteenth-century Thomaskirche *graduale* (↗); in the Hildegard c. 1160 Riesenkodex, its shape is different, a *hufnagel* or hoof-nail (↑). The *tractulus* is the *ordinary* note, and its distinctive shape suggests that its sung duration might support the importance of the syllable it sets. (Instances of such practice can still be heard in *The Gregorian Congress of 1904* [two Discant longplaying records], wherein conductor Baron Rudolph Kanzler was careful to lengthen one-note accented syllables located next to multi-note unaccented syllables.)

It would seem sensible and conservative to sing Metz-notated liturgical chants from eleventh- and twelfth-century sources, including Hildegard's *Lieder*, in **free late proportional** rhythm, with longs and shorts in fairly strict 1:2 ratio (though with a strong tendency to hasten single-syllable recitation-notes), without the sophistications of non-binary rhythm (short, short-long, long-short-long) or of longs within melismata. Two Office compositions with text and music by Hildegard follow. The first is an antiphon in honor of the Holy Spirit, *Spiritus sanctus*, which is a model of intuitively conceived, deeply complex but clear linear composition. The second is a dramatic hymn honoring St. Ursula and Her Companions, *Cum vox sanguinis*. Pitches are taken from *Hildegard von Bingen: Lieder*, edited by Barth, Ritscher, and Schmidt-Görg.

Spi- ri- tus san- ctus vi- vi- fi- cans vi- ta, mo- vens o- mni- a,  
 17 et ra- dix est in o- mni cre- a- tu- ra, ac o- mni  
 a de im- mun- di- ti- a ab- lu- it, ter- gens cri- mi- na,  
 ac un- git vul- ne- ra, et sic est ful- gens ac lau- da- bi- lis  
 vi- ta, su- sci- tans et re- su- sci- tans o- mni- a.

**S**piritus sanctus vivificans vitam in seipso.  
 movens omnia et radix est in omni creatura  
 ac omnia de immundicia abluunt tergens  
 crimina ac ungit vulnera et sic est fulgens  
 ac laudabilis vita suscitans et resuscitans omnia.  
**H**ilaritas habundat in omni summa.

from the Riesencodex,  
folio 466<sup>r</sup>.

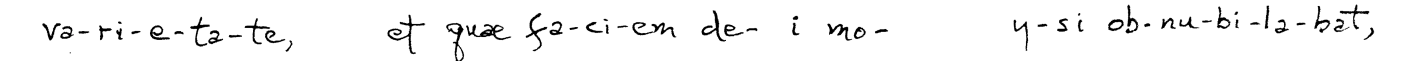
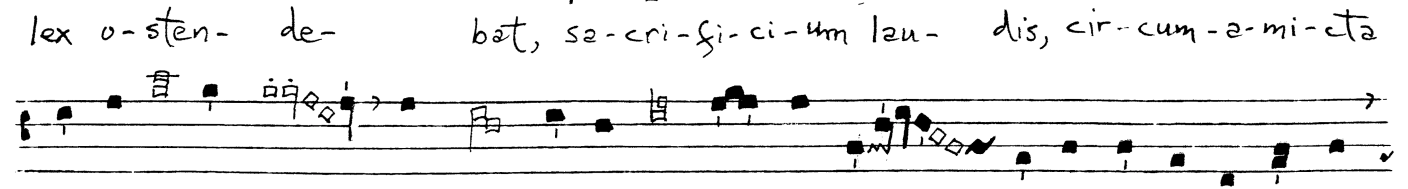
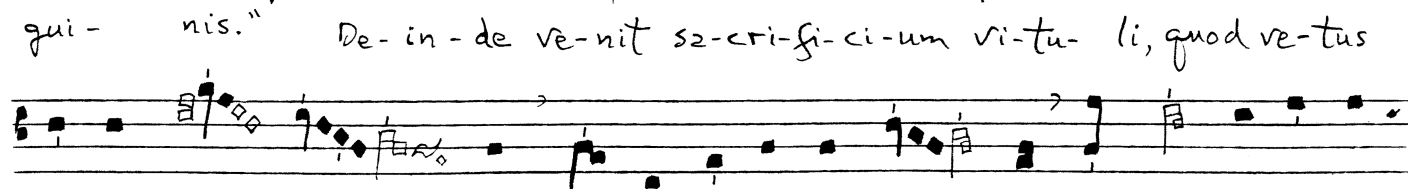
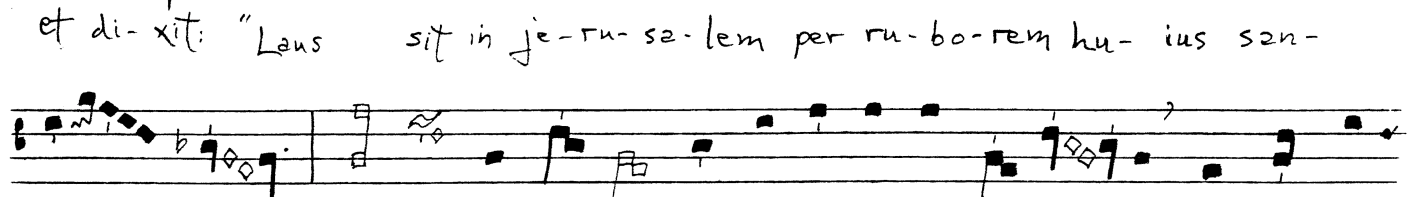
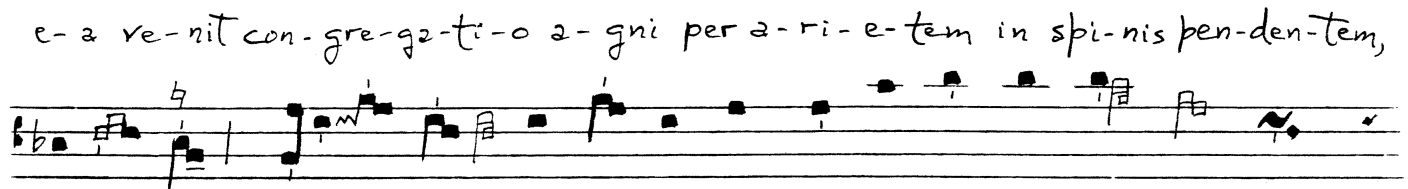
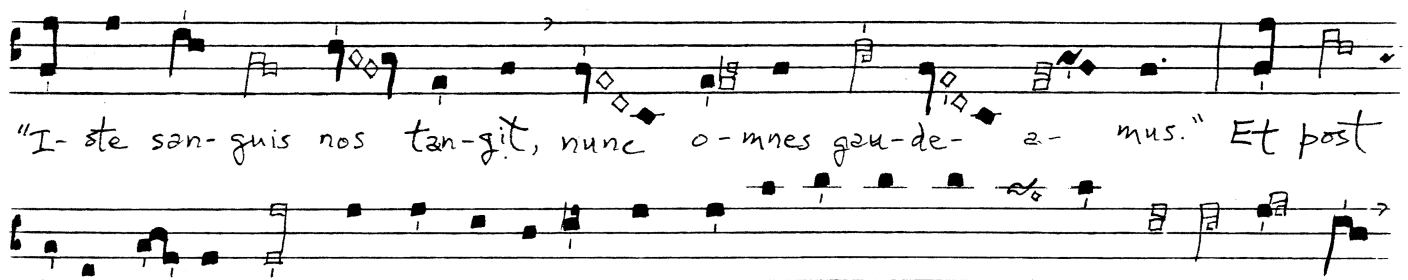
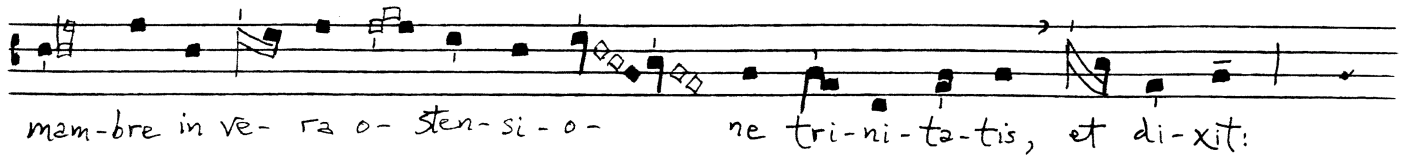
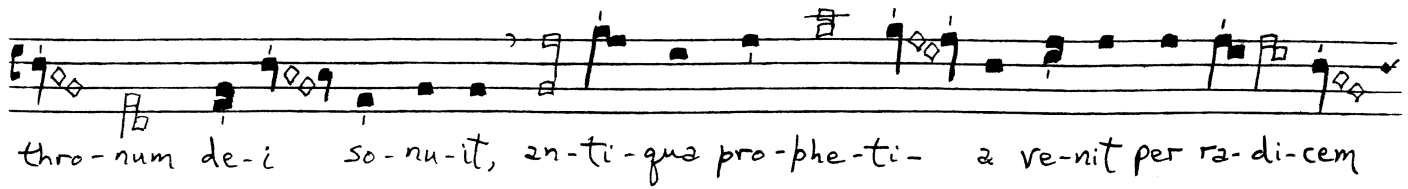
The Spirit of God  
is a life that bestows life,  
root of the world-tree  
and wind in its boughs.

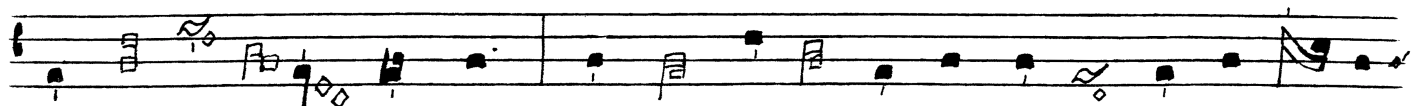
Scrubbing out sins,  
she rubs oil into wounds.

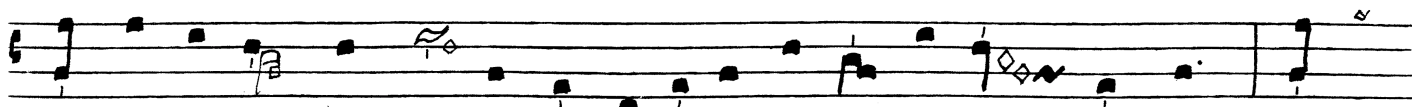
She is glistening life  
alluring all praise,  
all-awakening,  
all-resurrecting.

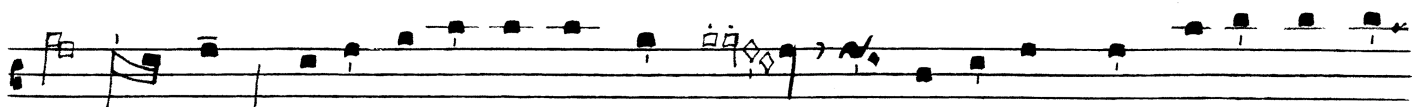
Trans. Barbara Newman,  
from Saint Hildegard  
of Bingen: Symphonia

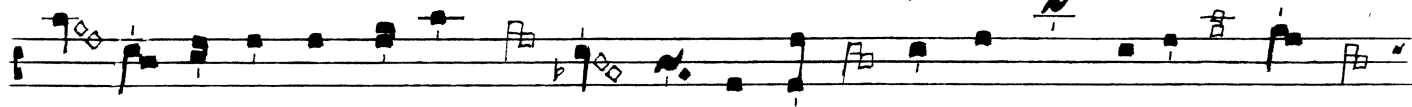





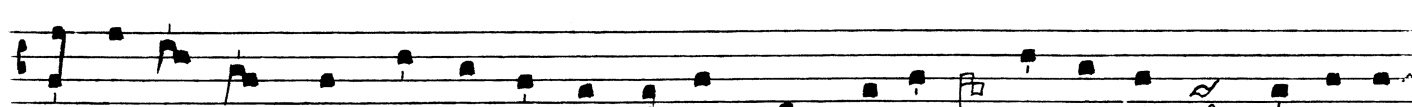
  
dor-sum il-li o- sten-dens. Hec sunt sa-cer-do-tes qui per lin-guas su-as

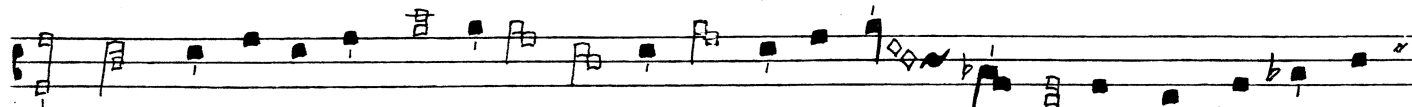
  
de-um o- sten-dunt et per- fe-cte e-um vi-de-re non pos-sunt. Et

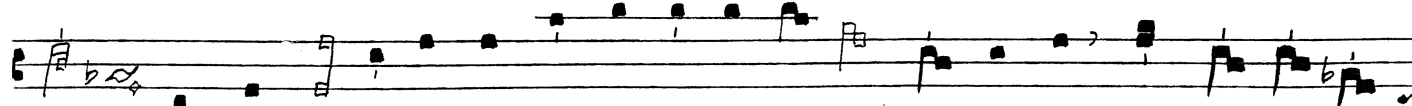
  
di-xe-runt: "O no-bi-lis-si-ma tur-ba, vir-go i-sta, quae in ter-ris ur-

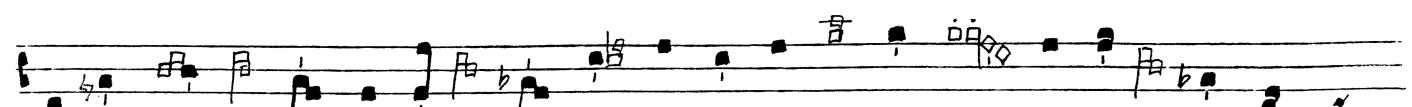
  
su- la vo-ca-tur, in sum-mis co- lum-ba no-mi-na-tur, qui-a in-no-cen-tem

  
tur-bam ad se col-le- git." O ec- cle-si-a, tu es lau-da-bi-lis in i-sta tur-ba!

  
Tur-ba ma-gna, quam in-com-bu-stus ru-bus quem mo-y-ses vi-de-rat, si-gni-fi-cat

  
et quam de-us in pri-ma ra-di-ce plan-ta- ve-rat in ho-mi-ne quem de li-mo

  
sor-ma-ve-rat, ut si-ne com-mi-xti-o-ne vi-ri vi-ve-ret, cum cla-ris-si-

  
ma vo-ce cla-ma-vit in pu-ris-si-mo au-ro, to-pa-zi-o et sa-phi-ro,

cir-cum-a-mi-c-ta in au-ro. Nunc gau-de-ant o-mnes cae-li, et o-mnes  
 po-pu-li cum il-lis or-nen-tur. A-men.

When the voice of the blood of Ursula and her innocent flock  
 Resounded before the throne of God,  
 The ancient prophecy from the Plain of Mambre  
 Quickened through the root in a true showing of the Trinity,  
 And it said:

"This blood of yours touches us,  
 So let all of us rejoice."

After that the flock for the Lamb appeared  
 In the form of a ram hanging in the brambles,  
 And it said:

"Let there be praise in Jerusalem  
 Shining through the crimson of this blood."

Next came the sacrifice of the calf,  
 Which the old law revealed to be a sacrifice of praise,  
 Clothed about with rainbowed light,  
 That light which hid the face of God from the prophet Moses,  
 Uncovering only His back.

In this way there are priests  
 Who reveal God through their own tongues,  
 Although they are not able to see Him fully.  
 And they said:

"O most excellent flock,  
 This virgin who on earth is called Ursula  
 Is named in highest heaven Columba,  
 Because she gathered to herself an innocent flock."

O Ecclesia, you are praised in such a flock.

This great flock,  
 Like the bush not consumed by fire that Moses had seen,  
 Telling us that their God had planted her in the primal root  
 Which in ourselves He had formed out of clay,  
 Intending she live on without marriage to a man,  
 Shouted out in the most brilliant voice,  
 A sound of purest gold,  
 Of topaz, and of sapphire, all clothed about with gold:  
 Now let all of heaven rejoice,  
 And all the earth be honored in that rejoicing. Amen.

*Translation by Barbara Lachman, from The Journal of Hildegard of Bingen.*

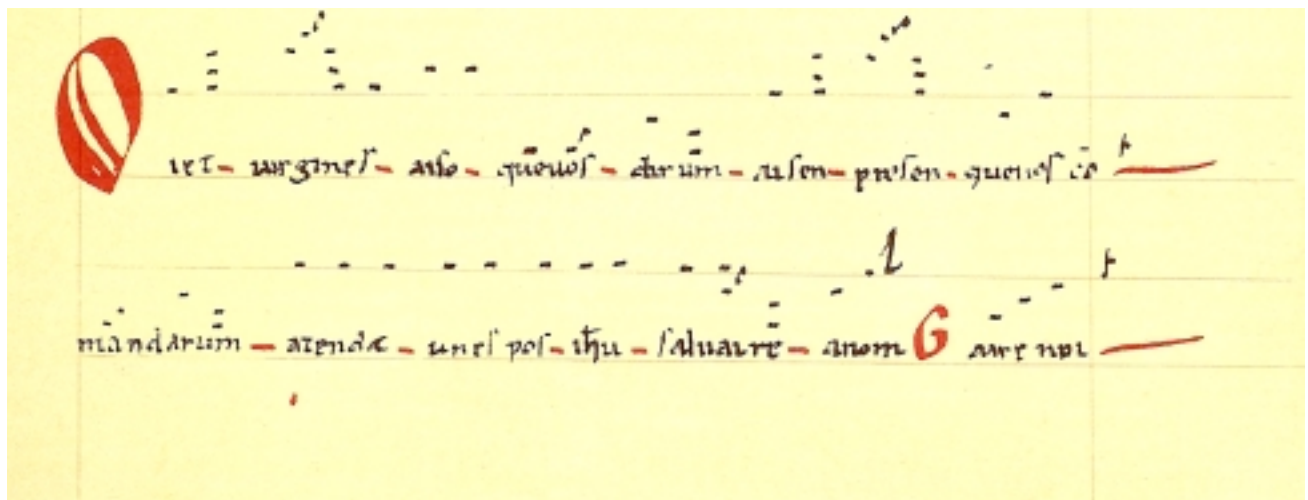
## 19: SPONSUS (*with audio*)

**B**ERNO, ABBOT OF THE BENEDICTINE MONASTERY at Reichenau from 1108, was a poet, philosopher, and musician who had studied in the school of St. Gall. He visited Rome with Emperor Henry II, and on his return brought reforms in chant and liturgy. In his *Prologus in tonarium* Berno wrote,

it is necessary that you pay close attention where the proportional shorter duration is to be measured and where, on the contrary, the longer duration, lest you execute as quick and short what the authority of the masters has determined should be longer and more extended. Nor should we heed those who say there is no reason whatsoever for our making now the quicker disposition, now the more prolonged one, in a chant with a naturally disposed rhythm.

Here is the earliest warning we have of the breaking-down of the proportional practice in chant, though Berno goes on to assure his readers that “as in metrical verse the strophe is constructed with definite measurements of feet, so the chant is composed of a fitting and harmonious combination of long and short sounds,” and urges that “the melody of our music be characterized by the proportional quantity of the sounds.”

The rhythmic figurations of proportionality did not depart this earth suddenly, like Elijah in his chariot, but remained awhile, active remnants of an oral and aural tradition being gradually weakened through lack of dedicated practice. **Free late proportional** is a suitable rhythm for such works as the late eleventh-century highly formulaic liturgical music-drama *Sponsus*, which is too early for modal rhythm and, really, a gilded bore when performed in equalist. Its source, a manuscript from St. Martial de Limoges, gives heightened Aquitaine signs about an incised line indicating pitch but giving no hint as to rhythm. Here are the neumes and text for the opening of the first song, sung by Gabriel to the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

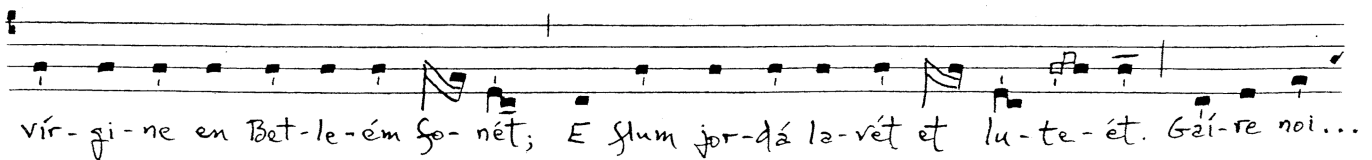
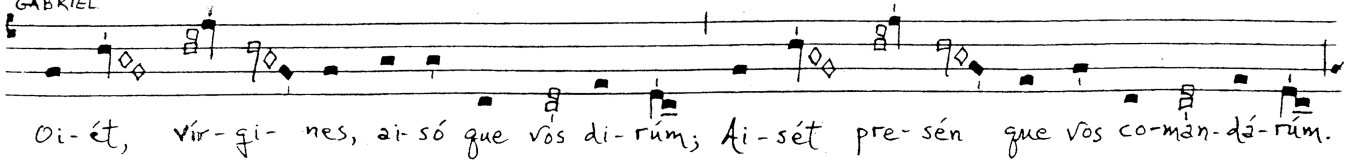


There follows a transcription of a portion of the first song, beginning with the neumes shown above.

*Translation:*

O virgins, hear what I tell you! Present yourselves, as you are commanded. Await the spouse—  
Jesus, the savior. Leave off sleeping while you wait for this bridegroom. Come to the earth for sake  
of our sins, he was born of the Virgin in Bethlehem, washed and baptized in the Jordan. Leave off  
sleeping while you wait for this bridegroom.

## GABRIEL



*Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin 1139, prepared by Bryan Gillingham; Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987; f. 53<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>v</sup>. Cf. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen age*; reprint of 1860 edition, New York: Broude, 1964; pp. 1-10. *Medieval Church Music-Dramas*, transcribed & edited by Fletcher Collins; Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976; pp. 259-279. *Sponsus*, edited, transcribed and translated by W. L. Smoldon; London: Oxford University Press, n.d.*

## 20 (*with audio*)

**T**HE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY WORCESTER FRAGMENTS contain the lovely two-part sequence *O maria virgo pia*, probably composed in the early twelfth century. Though we cannot determine rhythm from the shapes of its musical signs, the melodic lines fall easily and naturally into **free late proportional** rhythm. Notational details are as above. When two successive notes over the same syllable have the same pitch, the second note is lightly reiterated.

*Translation:*

O Mary, kind maiden  
full of God's grace,  
called Star of the Sea,  
you give comfort by your light.

The flesh of Christ,  
which you carried in your body,  
is so made sacred that by it  
the serpent is wholly damned.

This, Mary, is the body  
born from you, a virgin,  
which you, an obedient virgin,  
carried by the divine inspiring.

This is the flesh,  
fastened by nails to the cross,  
which, crucified, rose again  
and gave life to the world.

Now let us praise  
the wonderful son of Mary:  
let us sing a song  
to the king of all kings.

I  
O Ma-ri-a Vir-go pi-a, Ple-na de-i grá-ti-a Stel-la ma-ris Ap-pel-lá-ris,  
O Ma-ri-a Vir-go pi-a, Ple-na de-i grá-ti-a Stel-la ma-ris Ap-pel-lá-ris,

II  
Dons lu-ce so-lá-ti-a. Ca-ro Chri-sti Quam tu-lí-sti In ven-tre ve-rá-ci-ter, Sic sa-  
Dons lu-ce so-lá-ti-a. Ca-ro Chri-sti Quam tu-lí-sti In ven-tre ve-rá-ci-ter, Sic sa-

III  
crá-tur Qua dam-pna-tur Ser-pens eg-gi-cá-ci-ter. Hoc est cor-pus, O Ma-ri-a, ná-tum De te vir-  
crá-tur Qua dam-pna-tur Ser-pens eg-gi-cá-ci-ter. Hoc est cor-pus, O Ma-ri-a, ná-tum De te vir-

IV  
gi-ne, Quod por-tá-sti, Vir-go pi-a Di-vi-ro spi-rá-mi-ne. Hæc est ca-ro Cla-vis gi-xa Cru-  
gi-ne, Quod por-tá-sti, Vir-go pi-a Di-vi-ro spi-rá-mi-ne. Hæc est ca-ro Cla-vis gi-xa Cru-

V  
dis in pa-tri-bu-lo, Quæ sur-ré-xit Cru-ci-gi-xa Vi-tam red-dit sæ-cu-lo. Nunc Ma-ri-æ Si-  
dis in pa-tri-bu-lo, Quæ sur-ré-xit Cru-ci-gi-xa Vi-tam red-dit sæ-cu-lo. Nunc Ma-ri-æ Si-

li-um Lau-dé-mus ma-gní-fi-cum, Re-gi re-gum o-mni-um Can-te-mus nunc can-ti-cum.  
li-um Lau-dé-mus ma-gní-fi-cum, Re-gi re-gum o-mni-um Can-te-mus nunc can-ti-cum.

Worcester Add. 68, et al., facsimile, introduction, index & transcriptions by Luther Dittmer; Brooklyn: Institute of Medieval Music, 1959; pp. 57-58. *The Worcester Fragments*, catalogue raisonné & transcription by Luther Dittmer; American Institute of Musicology, 1957; #101.

## 21 (with audio)

THE THREE-PART CONDUCTUS *SPONSA RECTORIS OMNIUM* is also from the *Worcester Fragments* and was probably composed during the first half of the twelfth century. Though lacking in rhythmic notation, it too falls readily into **free late proportional** rhythm. The music is in two clauses, each having two phrases, and the three stanzas together form a single whole. In its intensity, it reminds me of the closing movement in Anton von Webern's *Cantata II*, opus 31. The bottom voice sings the melody *Veni creator spiritus* [see example 6].

### EXCURSUS: ON CONDUCTING EARLY MEDIEVAL RHYTHMS

A conductor's "beat" is an indication of the rhythmic entry of a note or notes, and may be either upbeat or downbeat, large or small; it may exist by itself, or as part of a linear arc traced by the hand. An upbeat ordinarily precedes a downbeat. Though figured by an upward movement of the hand, an upbeat is a largely psychological communication between conductor and schola, the moment at which the *attention* of all is focused. A natural time-discrepancy between the conductor's thought and the schola's reaction exists at the downbeat, or rather in the translating from upbeat to downbeat. So long as the conductor does not sing with the schola, it is right and clear to conduct at the downbeat; but if conductor and schola sing together, all conducting must be done in and through the upbeat, or else there will be a discrepancy between the conductor's singing (which follows his or her thought) and the schola's singing (which follows his or her downbeat). This insight stems from the New York City singer/teacher William Hess.

To the extent possible, both large and small beats should be given within greater and lesser arcs traced by the hand in air, so the beats are linked properly together and seen for what they are, mere portions of musical phrases, clauses, and sentences.

In binary or ternary regular rhythms (whether syllabic or equalist, early modal or modal), once a *tactus* or basic metrical unit is established, it is enough to indicate the start of each metrical foot, reverting to small beats when changing or modifying the *tactus*. The free rhythms, however, require a more subtle approach.

In free syllabic rhythm, large and small beats mark the occurrence of strong and weak syllables in the text. But large beats should be in fact physically quite small, and small beats should be barely visible, both existing in traced arcs that lead the singers toward a whole musical line.

In free equalist rhythm, individual syllables go by too quickly to be defined even subtly. The conductor must use cheironomy, tracing musical flow through greater or lesser arcs initiated at strong syllables.

Once a conductor becomes thoroughly familiar with a work composed in proportional rhythm, he or she will soon be delighted to discover that the hand is freely defining in air the very shapes that are in the ninth- and tenth-century handwritten sources. And a thousand years become as a day. (The shapes of most Metz signs are particularly straightforward in their depiction of the hand at rest and in act.)

Thus, the grammar and syntax, the easy part. More difficult is tending the place from which the conducting stems. I've found that the composition must be to conductor and each performer as a *familiar*: he or she must so deeply know at each point where the music has been and where it is going that every instant becomes part of the music's organic growth, like a vine playing out or a child developing. It is not too much to say that hand and voice should act stemming from a level beneath the self, so it is really interiorized music most deeply held that is heard by the listener. Not all the technique in the world can manage more than the exterior trappings of this, for it demands a habit of selfless contemplation, thorough familiarity with the piece, and the realization that the essence of music is horizontal line.



1. Spon- sa re-cto-ris o-mni-um, Sum-mi pa-tris sa-cra-ri-um,  
 2. Quæ con-so-la-trix di-ce-ris, Vin-cla re-sol-vens mi-se-ris;  
 3. Tu stel-la stel-lis ful-gi-da, Mun-da-na lu-ce ple-ri-or;

Pre-ce ve-stra con-ti-nu-a Ter-gan-tur no-stra  
 E-sto no-bis so-la-ti-um, Dans spi-ri-ta-le  
 Cum di-es e-rit ul-ti-ma No-bis suc-cu-re

cri-gau-do mi-di-mi na.um. na.

Translation:

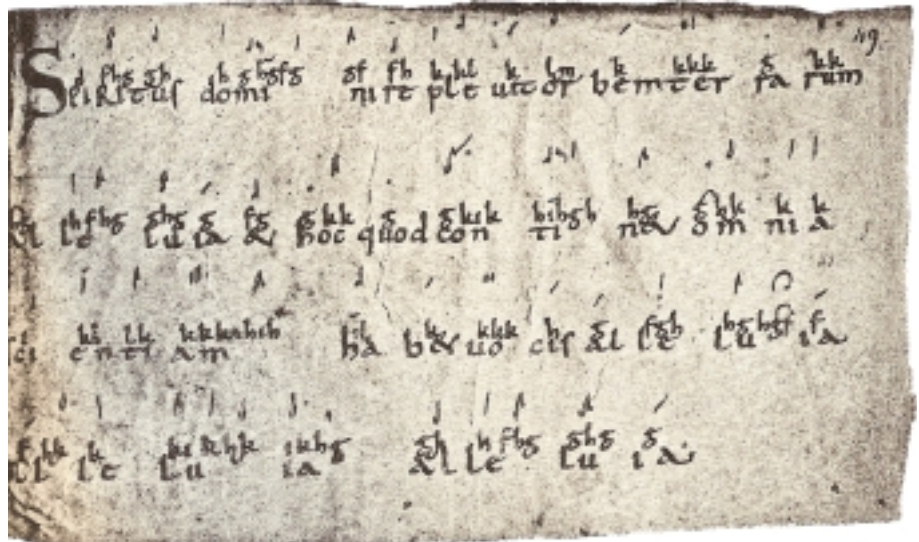
Spouse of the Lord of all,  
 sanctuary of highest father,  
 by your continual prayers  
 may our sins be cleansed.  
 You, called our consoler,  
 dissolve the chains of the wretched;  
 be our refuge,  
 giving spiritual joy.  
 You star shining among stars  
 more brightly than worldly light:  
 at the last day,  
 help us, Lady.

THE INTROIT *SPIRITUS DOMINI* was presented in example 14 as it might have been heard in the ninth or tenth century; rhythmic transcription was from Laon 239, c. 930, with pitches taken from the twelfth-century Graz 807, both manuscripts notated in Metz style. Following the approach suggested with regard to the *free late proportional* singing of chants composed by Hildegard von Bingen [see examples 17–18], and being careful to lengthen notes at the ends of phrases, we suggest that the same Introit might have been sung from Graz 807 as in example 22, opposite. Note that longs on rhetorically unstressed reciting-notes are marked with a *c*, “quickly.”



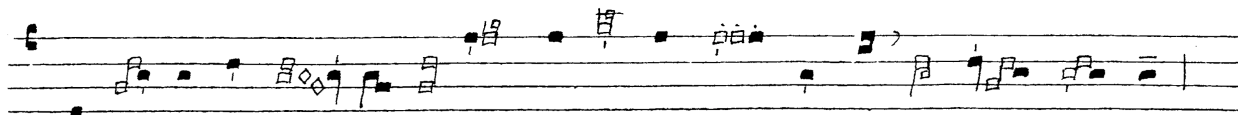
MS Graz 807, f. 127<sup>r</sup>

WITHOUT THE OMNIPRESENT and carefully differentiated *tractulus* of Metz notation, there seems little reason to suppose that the ordinary note—i.e, a note occurring alone over a syllable—would be a long, or different in its length from any other note. An exception might well have been made for an ordinary note sung on an accented syllable occurring next to an unaccented syllable having two or more notes: then the ordinary note might have been somewhat lengthened, lest proper textual accent be displaced. Example 23 gives the *Spiritus domini* transcribed from French notation in the eleventh-century *tonarium* MS H-159 Montpellier as it might have been sung from that manuscript. Though certain accented notes have been marked with a *t*, “hold,” this is true *free equalist* rhythm. Concerning the notation: the black square or diamond note is used throughout this essay as having the *ordinary* duration. In the case of proportional and late proportional rhythms, then, the black is a long and the hollow is a short; in the case of equalist rhythm, as here, the black note is neither long nor short (for there is no such distinction), but of a duration in-between.

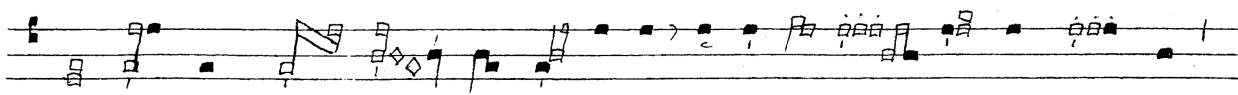


MS H-159 Montpellier. Letters above the words indicate pitches, while above these are non-rhythmical neumes.

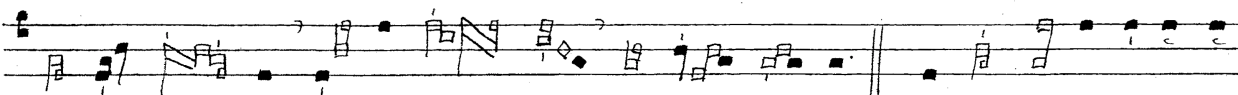
22



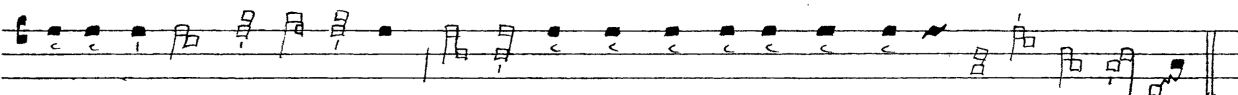
Spi-ri-tus do-mi- ni re-ple-vit or-be-m ter-ra-rum, al-le- lu- 12:



et hoc quod con-ti- net o-mni-a sci-en-ti-am ha-bet vo-cis,

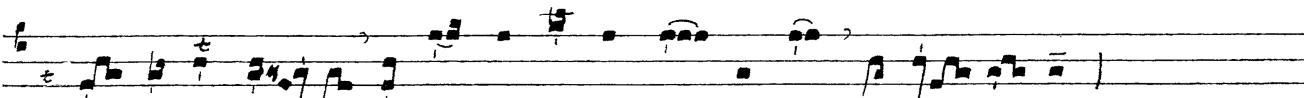


al-le- lu- 12, al-le- lu- 12, al-le- lu- 12. X. Con-sir-ma hoc de-us quod

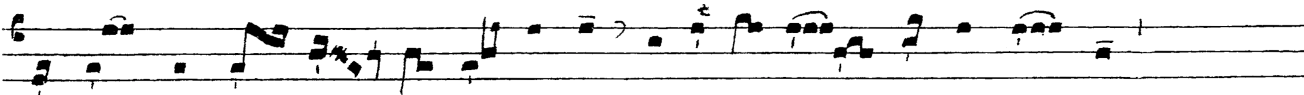


o-pe-ra-tus es in no-bis: a tem-plo san-cto tu-o quod est in je-ru-sa-lem. Spiritus...

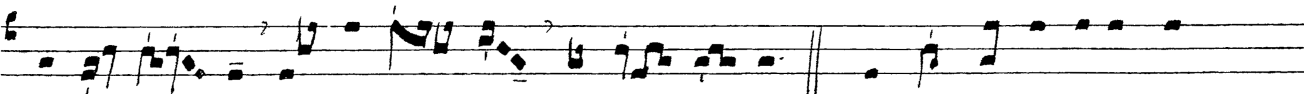
23



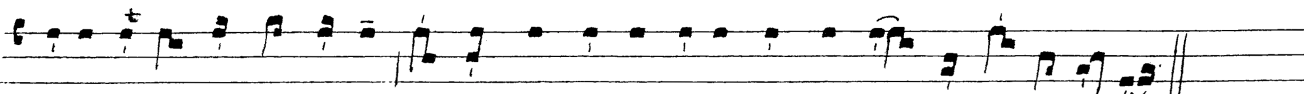
Spi-ri-tus do-mi- ni re-ple-vit or-be-m ter-ra-rum, al-le- lu- 12:



et hoc quod con-ti- net o-mni-a sci-en-ti-am ha-bet vo-cis



al-le- lu- 12, al-le- lu- 12, al-le- lu- 12. X. Con-sir-ma hoc de-us quod



o-pe-ra-tus es in no-bis: a tem-plo san-cto tu-o quod est in je-ru-sa-lem. Spiritus...

Sources: see Bibliography, Graz 807, f. 127<sup>v</sup>; and H 159 Montpellier, in *Paléographie* p. 87 & Hansen #609.

THE SEQUENCE *VICTIME PASCHALI LAUDES* was written at the beginning of the eleventh century, when the tradition of proportional rhythm was breaking down. The text is mostly in poetic couplets: introductory stanzas 1–3 are trochaic or strong-weak, the dialogue between the disciples and Mary Magdalene in stanzas 4–5 is iambic, and the joyous though shamefully prejudiced general exclamations of stanzas 6–7 each display one trochaic and two iambic lines. Because these wayward feet take an overall regularity from the rhythm of the melody, it seems possible that text and music were conceived at the same time.

It may be that the version of the sequence used as the lower voice of the two-part Las Huelgas work given in example 7 represents an old layer of this chant sequence, one fairly close to the original composition, for there each syllable usually is assigned only one melodic note, a characteristic of early sequences. The exception occurs in the first half of verses 6 and 7; the music becomes ecstatic, and three instances of passing-tones occur. The melodic shape found in the usual Solesmes version has passing-tones, but not where Huelgas does, and a reconstruction of the melody can be made by patching-in Solesmes at that point. (This may be seen in the worksheet example opposite, where notes held in common between the two sources are unadorned, those from Huelgas have short stems above the note, those from Solesmes have short stems below.) This sort of tinkering—which Solesmes did constantly in its editions—is to be avoided whenever possible, but it is not always possible or best: here, it seems to yield a beautifully shaped work.

An obvious question presents itself: is the piece to be sung in syllabic or in equalist rhythm? We interpreted Hildegard's chants (examples 17 and 18), written in the 1150s, in late proportional rhythm, which is a species of syllabic; by what right, then, would we understand the *Victime paschali*, written 1020–40, as equalist? By the time of this sequence's composition, late proportional rhythm had begun seriously to wane and equalist practice was on the rise. The author, Wipo, was chaplain to Conrad II and Henry III, and very much at the center of all that was going on; Hildegard, on the contrary, was a cloistered abbess whose through-composed chants stemmed from a spirit deeply imbued with monastic traditions, her sole teacher having been an untaught nun named Jutta. The one wrote for the church at large as it then existed, the other, for a small, removed convent. Equalist seems the rhythm of choice for Wipo's sequence.

The indivisible notes of equalist rhythm may be arranged freely, as in the setting of the prose text in example 23; they may also be arranged regularly, as in the present example 24, which falls naturally into **binary regular equalist** rhythm, alternating trochaic and iambic.

*Metrical translation:*

Christians, to the Paschal victim offer your thankful praises! / A lamb the sheep redeemeth:  
 Christ, who only is sinless, reconcileth sinners to the Father. / Death and life have contended in  
 that combat stupendous: the Prince of life, who died, reigns immortal. / Speak, Mary, declaring  
 what thou sawest, wayfaring: The tomb of Christ, who is living, the glory of Jesus' resurrection; /  
 bright angels attesting, the shroud and napkin resting. Yea, Christ my hope is arisen; to Galilee he  
 will go before you. / We believe your witness only, O Mary, for 'tis true, unlike the lying words of  
 the Jews. / Christ indeed from death is risen, our new life obtaining; have mercy, victor King, ever  
 reigning!

1. Vi-cti-me pas-sa-li lu-des in-mo-lent chri-sti-a-ni. 2. A-gnus re-de-mi-to-  
3. Mors et vi-ta du-el-

ves, chri-stus in-no-cens pa-tri re-con-ci-li-a-vit pec-ca-to-res. 4. Dic no-  
lo con-fli-xe-re mi-ran-do, dux vi-tae mor-tu-us re-gnat vi-vus. 5. An-ge-

bis ma-ri-a, quid vi-di-sti in vi-a? Se-pul-crum chri-sti vi-ven-tis, et glo-  
li-cos te-stes, su-da-ri-um, et ve-stes. Sur-re-xit chri-stus pes me-a: prae-ce-

ri-am vi-di re-sur-gen-tis. 6. Cre-den-dum est ma-gis so-li ma-ri-e ve-ra-ci,  
dit su-os in ge-li-lae-am. 7. Sci-mus chri-stum sur-re-xis-se a mor-tu-is ve-re:

quam ju-de-o-rum tur-be sel-li-ci.  
tu no-bis, vic-tor rex, mi-se-re-re.

Sources: see example 7; and *Liber usualis*, op. cit., p. 780.

## 25 (the polyphony is with audio)

**F**OR THIS THREE-PART GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO—originally from early twelfth-century England but exported to Aachen and now found in a fourteenth-century manuscript from Erfurt (Quarto 332, ff. 105<sup>v</sup>–06<sup>v</sup>)—a **ternary regular equalist** rhythm seems ideal. Professor Denis Stevens kindly pointed out that the piece is really the verse of the first responsory at the Office of Matins for Christmas. As with the later Notre-Dame *organa*, it is the cantorial solo *W* that became the object of part-composition, so it would need be learned by only a few members of the choir.

Given the era of the verse's composition, the chant responsory itself would have been sung in **free equalist** rhythm. The melodic version give below below is taken from the Metz-notated *Antiphonale Pataviense* published in Vienna in 1519, and we have interpreted it as we did the chant in example 23. The cantor should intone *Hodie*, all continuing from *nobis* through *apparuit*. Three soloists then sing the verse *Gloria in excelsis deo* (or its lowest line may be sung softly by the full schola with two soloists above), after which the full choir repeats the chant phrase *quia salus eterna humano generi apparuit*. (All three voices of the verse are freely composed, none depending upon chant.) As with the later *organa*, the chant is the main thing; part-composition is an embellishment, a meditation within a meditation.

*Translation:*

This day the king of heaven was pleased to be born to us of a virgin, that he might bring back to heaven humankind that was lost. There is joy among the hosts of Angels, \*because eternal salvation hath appeared unto us. *W*. Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to those of good will: \*because eternal salvation hath appeared unto us.

Ho-di-e no-bis ce-ló-rum rex de vír-gi-ne na-sci di-  
gnā-tus est; ut hó-mi-nem pér-di-tum ad re-gna ce-lé-sti-a  
re-vo-cá-ret: gau-det ex-ér-ci-tus an-ge-ló-rum,  
\* qui-a sa-lus e-tér-na hu-má-no gé-ne-ri ap-  
pá-ru-it.

Glo-ri-a in ex-cel-  
 sis De-o et in ter-ra pax  
 ho-mi-ni-bus bo-ne vo-lun-ta-  
 tis.

Handschin, Jacques: "Erfordensia I," in *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 6, July-September 1934, p. 101. *Das Erbe Deutsche Musik*, vol. 25, reproduction of *Antiphonale Pataviense*, f. 9<sup>v</sup>; Basel: Bärenreiter, 1985.

ONE OF THE MOST POPULAR SEQUENCES of the Middle Ages, the *Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia* was written by Notker of St. Gall in the late ninth century. A version from St. Martial de Limoges gives the first seven verses in *organum*: the chant melody or tenor (the “held” line) is sung by a lower voice while a higher organal voice elaborates. This work, probably from the eleventh century, likely originated as an improvisation: the chant melody was sung by one or several voices, with each note being lengthened at the discretion of the solo organal singer who, by a sign of the hand or a nod of the head, told the singers of the melody just when to go on to the next note. When the movement between voices became more rapid and regular, the soloist could simply indicate each beat.

The notation we have, then, was an afterthought, a valiant attempt to set down what already existed in practice. A 1992 study of this repertory by Theodore Karp postulates that interpretation of the points at which singers changed from one syllable to the next ought to rest upon our grasp of their notion of consonance and dissonance. He found that the beginning of a ligature or grouping of notes could not automatically be taken to signal a change of syllable; in fact, he states, syllables frequently must change on the final notes of ligatures.

In traditional proportional rhythm, the final notes of ligatures of three or more notes are ordinarily longs (cf. examples 11–16). If what the notator of *Sancti spiritus* heard were several notes moving toward a new syllable whereon the organal voice paused while it and the melodic voices fine-tuned with each other and prepared to continue, it was indeed natural enough that this musical turning-point would be understood and notated as the final, main note of a ligature. (In our example, each small *x* above the staff indicates a point at which the final note of a ligature in the original manuscript is used as entrance-point for a new syllable.)

Karp’s insights concern the occurrence of syllables and the vertical alignment of notes are eminently sensible, and they fit very well with the approach being shaped in our present essay. The ternary modality he chose to use, however, especially in its very common first type ( ♪ ♫ ), is inherently limited and manages being beautiful only when the joy or pathos of dance is called for; otherwise it tends to sound uninspired, and is not very moving. Another recent study of the repertory by Hendrick van der Werf correctly faults Karp’s approach for attempting to straightjacket the music in ternary rhythm. Van der Werf, who is fundamentally an equalist in his approach to chant, carries that practice over into his interpretation of early polyphony. Both scholars have valid insights, but both are too exclusive in the application of their ideas: the first would transcribe the literature entirely in ternary, pre-modal rhythm, and the second, entirely in equalist.

From the standpoint of a musicologist who also sings and directs others in singing, the *Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia* falls naturally into a **free equalist** rhythm that occasionally becomes **binary regular equalist** and finally enters into **early modal** rhythm. The indivisible equalist note remains the *ordinary* note, and the binary and ternary regularities arise out of a rhythmically free matrix. The movement in and out of rhythmic types is of great expressive interest, and the evolution from free into regular ternary rhythm, with a final brief return to freedom, gives the work a most seductive shape.

*Translation:*

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with us! / Let it make dwellings of our hearts, / which will have been emptied by an interchange of spirits. / Nourishing Spirit, enlightener of all, / purge the savage shadows from our minds. / Sacred lover of sentient beings held ever by your knowing, / infuse our sensations with your anointing repast.



San-cti spi-ri-tus a-sit no-bis gra-ti-a. Quae cor-

da-no-stra si-bi ga-ci-at ha-bi-ta-cu-la. Ex-

pul-sis in-de cun-ctis vi-ci-is spi-ri-ta-li-bus.

Spi-ri-tus al-ma, il-lu-stra-tor o-mi-uni. Or-ri-das no-stre men-tis

pur-ga-te ne-bras. A-ma-tor san-cte sen-sa-to-rum sem-per

co-gi-ta-tu-a. In-fun-de un-cti-o-nem tu-am cle-mens no-stris sen-si-bus.

Paris B.N., Fonds Latin 3549 and London, B.L., Add. 36,881, reproduction prepared by Bryan Gillingham, ff. 159<sup>v</sup>-60<sup>r</sup> in 3549; Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1987. Cf. Karp: *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*; Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California, 1992, vol. 2, pp. 37-38. Cf. van der Werf: *The Oldest Extant Part Music and the Origin of Western Polyphony*; Rochester: Author, 1993; vol. 2, pp. 119-20.

## 27–28: *Visitatio sepulchri* and *Peregrinus* (both are with audio)

THE *FLEURY PLAYBOOK*, written in the third quarter of the twelfth century, is a collection of ten music-dramas relating to the liturgical year. Melodic pitches are clearly notated on four-line staves, but the notes bear no indications of rhythm.

Faced with such absence and the need to supply the essential element of rhythm, we must begin by understanding which rhythmic solutions were possible during the age, and which were impossible or highly unlikely. We can be certain of the presence of proportional rhythm in the practice of chant before 1000, for example, and of the nonexistence of equalist rhythm before that time. We know there is no record of modal rhythm being used before the mid-twelfth century; and we can reasonably say that texts written in popular verse, as opposed to prose, are likely to have been sung in one of the mensural rhythms, and not in free equalist. We know that equalist rhythm held sway in liturgical chant from as early as the eleventh century, and that modal rhythm dominated polyphony and much monody from the end of the twelfth century.

For polyphonic pieces, verse music-dramas, and even troubadour/trouvère songs and instrumental pieces written from the eleventh to the mid-twelfth century, there are eight possible rhythmic options from which we might choose: free syllabic, binary and ternary regular syllabic, late proportional, free equalist, binary and ternary regular equalist, and early modal. In choosing among them, one needs to rely on careful judgment, allowing time for trial and error in the context of repeated practice. Sometimes more than one solution makes sense musically; indeed, individual pieces lacking rhythmic notation may have had more than one rhythmic practice near the time of their composition. And surely melodic rhythms were not neatly categorized or separated one from another in people's minds; composers probably moved from one to another with little conscious thought and without hesitation.

The liturgical music-dramas *Visitatio sepulchri* and *Peregrinus*, both from the *Fleury* (Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 201), are given in their entirety in performing editions as examples 27 and 28. The first tells of the three Marys on early Easter morning, detailing their conversation with one another, Magdalene's meeting with Jesus and with the Angels, and the appearance of Jesus to the disciples. To its popular and wisdom-filled poetic grasp of the liturgy, the drama manages to join disgraceful instances of antisemitism that can only stand as witness to inherent theological flaws. The second play opens with a hymn, after which the two disciples on their way to Emmaus are joined by Jesus, whom they slowly recognize. This is followed by two appearances of Jesus to all the disciples, at the second of which the doubting Thomas ceases to doubt. Between the two appearances is the magnificent and unusual sequence *Adam novus veterem duxit ad astra*. A responsorial sequence, the then-popular *Salve festa dies*, concludes the play. (Attempts at rhythmicizing the latter melody are still in process!) In performance, the two liturgical dramas fit perfectly one after the other. Sources are listed at the end of Part V.

Beginnings of the various rhythmic types are noted throughout the scores, identified with the numbers given in the list below and described on page 16, above. Short vertical strokes (*ictus*) below or above notes define rhythmic structure; they do not indicate stresses. Early equalist rhythm is used for the words of the supernal characters, Jesus and the Angels, since these are prose Scriptural quotations, and because it was the rhythm used then in liturgical functions. Translations are given at the end of each play.

1. Free Syllabic
2. Binary Regular Syllabic
3. Ternary Regular Syllabic
6. Free Equalist
9. Early Modal

# VISITATIO SEPULCHRI

early 12th century, from the Fleury Playbook,

3rd quarter, 12th century

27 <sup>3</sup> *MARIA MAGDALENA*

E- U! pi- us pa- stor óc- ci- dit quem cul- pa nul- la ín- fe- cit.

*MARIA JACOBI* He- u! ve- rus

O- res plan- gén- da! \ pa- stor ó- bi- it, qui vi- tam

*MARIA SALOME* He- u! ne- quam

san- ctis cón- tu- lit. O - - - mors lu- gén- da! \ gens ju-

dá- i- ca, quem di- ra fren- dens ve- sá- ni- a, plebs -

*MM* Cur ne- ce

ex- e- crán- da! \ pi- um ím- pi- a dam- pná- sti se- va

*MJ* Quid ju- stus

in- vi- da? O - - - i- ra ne- fán- da!

hic pro- mé- ru- it, quod - - cru- ci- fi- gi dé- bu- it? O - - - gens dam-

*MS* He- u! quid á- ge-

pnán- da! \ mus, mí- se- re, dul- ci ma- gí- stro or-

*MM*

bá- te? Heu sors - - la- cry- mán- da! \| E- á- mus er- go pró- pe- re quod

MJ (2)

so- lum qui- mus fa- ce- re, men- te de- vo- ta. Con-di- mén- tis

a- ro- má- tum un- gá- mus cor- pus san- ctis- si- mum; quo-

MS (3)

pre- si- ó- sa. || Nar- di ve- tet com- míc- ti- o, ne pu- tré- scat in

THREE

tú- mu- lo ca- ro be- á- tá! || Sed né- qui- mus hoc pa- te- re

si- ne ad- ju- tó- ri- o. Quis- nam sa- xum hoc re- vól- vet

ANGEL (6)

ab mon- nu- mén- ti hó- sti- o. QUEM QUE- RI- TIS in se- púl- cro, o

THREE (3)

chri- stí- co- le? Je- sum na- za- ré- num cru- ci- fi- xum, o ce- lí- co- le.

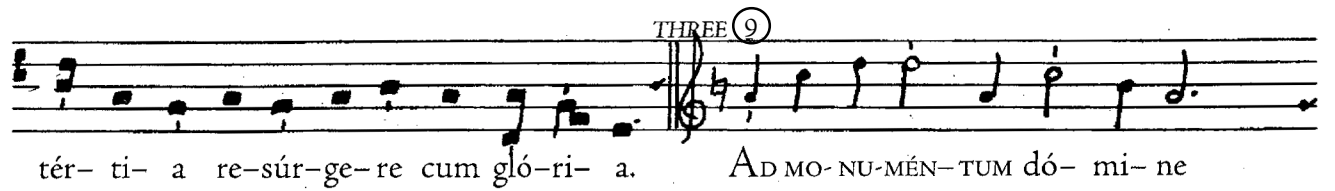
ANGEL (6)

Quid, chri- stí- co- le, vi- vén- tem que- ri- tis cum mór- tu- is? Non est hic

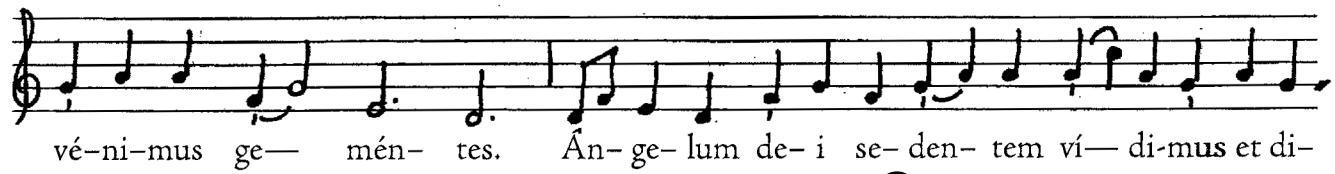
sed sur- ré- xit præ- dí- xit ut di- scí- pu- lis. Me- mén- to te quid jam vo- bis

lo- cú- tus est in ga- li- lé- a, qui- a chri- stum op- por- té- bat pa- ti at- que di- e

THREE (9)



tér-ti-a re-súr-ge-re cum gló-ri-a. AD MO-NU-MÉN-TUM dó-mi-ne

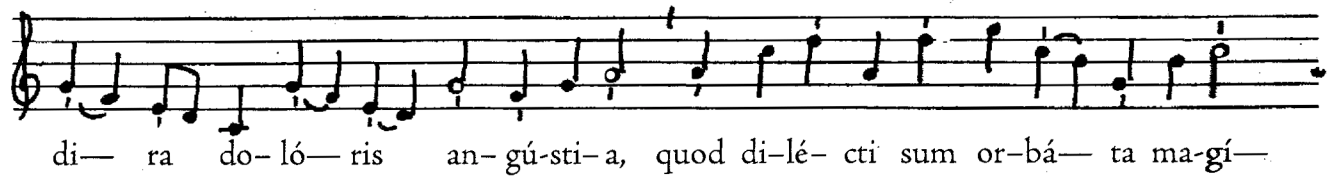


vé-ni-mus ge-mén-tes. Án-ge-lum de-i se-den-tem ví-di-mus et di-

MM (2)



cén-tem qui-a sur-ré-xit a mor-te. HE-U DO-LOR, he-u! Quam



di-ra do-ló-ris an-gú-sti-a, quod di-lé-cti sum or-bá-ta ma-gí-



stri pre-sén-ti-a! He-u! quis cor-pus tam di-lé-ctum sú-stu-lit e tú-mu-

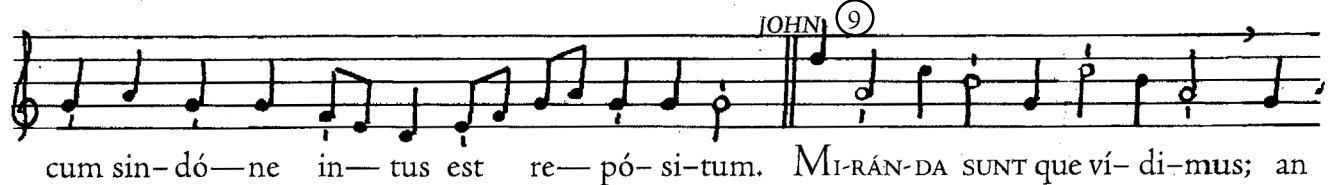


lo? Tu-lé-runt dó-mi-num me-um et ne-sci-o u-bi po-su-é-runt



e-um; et mo-nu-mén-tum vá-cu-um est in-vén-tum, et su-dá-ri-um

JOHN (9)



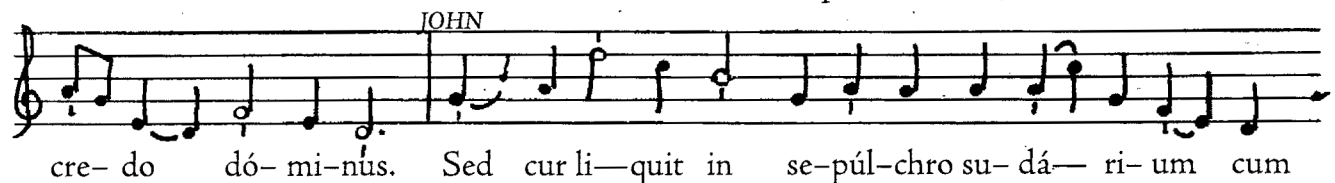
cum sin-dó-ne in-tus est re-pó-si-tum. MI-RÁN-DA SUNT que ví-di-mus; an

PETER



fur-tim su-blá-tus est dó-mi-nus. I-mo, ut pre-dí-xit vi-vus, sur-ré-xit,

JOHN



cre-do dó-mi-nús. Sed cur li-quit in se-púl-chro su-dá-ri-um cum

PETER

lín-the-o? I-sta qui-a re-sur-gén-ti non e-rant ne-ces-sá-ri-a.

I-mo re-sur-re-xi-ó-nis ré-stant hec in-dí-ci-a. HE-U DO-LOR!

He-u! Quam di-ra do-ló-ris an-gú-sti-a, quod di-lé-cti sum or-bá-

ta ma-gí-stri pre-sén-ti-a! He-u! quis cor-pus tam di-lé-ctum sú-stu-lit de

tú-, mú-lo. **TWO ANGELS (ORGANUM AT 5TH)** MÚ-LI-ER, quid plo-ras? Qui-a tu-lé-runt dó-mi-num

me-um et né-sci-o u-bi po-su-é-runt e-um. **AN ANGEL** No-li fle-re,

ma-rí-a; re-sur-ré-xit dó-mi-nus, al-le-lú-ia. **MM(I)** Ar-dens est cor

me-um de-si-dé-ri-o vi-dé-re dó-mi-num me-um; que-ro et

non in-vé-ni-o u-bi po-su-é-runt e-um, al-le-lú-ia.

**CHRIST** MÚ-LI-ER, quid plo-ras? Quem que-ris? **MM(I)** Dó-mi-ne, si tu su-stu-lí-sti e-um,

dí-ci-te mi-chi u-bi po-su-í-sti e-um et e-go e-um tol-lam.

CHRIST (6) MM (1) CHRIST (6)

Ma-rí-a! Ra-bó-ni! No-li me tán-ge-re: non-dum e-nim a-

scén-di ad pa-trem me-um, et pa-trem ve-strum: de-um me-um et de-um ve-strum.

MM (1)

Con-gra-tu-lá-mi-ni mi-chi o-mnes qui di-lí-gi-tis dó-mi-num, qui-a quam que-

ré-bam ap-pá-ru-it mi-chi et dum fle-rem ad mo-nu-mén-tum vi-di

TWO ANGELS (ORGANUM AT 5TH) (6)

dó-mi-num me-um. A-le-lú-ia! VE-NÍ-TE, et vi-dé-te lo-cum

FIRST ANGEL

u-bi pó-si-tus e-rat dó-mi-nus; a-le-lú-ia! No-lí-te ti-mé-re vos; vúl-

SECOND ANGEL FIRST ANGEL

tum tri-stem jam mu-tá-te. Je-sum vi-vum nun-ci-á-te. Ga-li-lé-am jam á-di-te.

SECOND ANGEL TWO ANGELS (ORGANUM AT 5TH)

Si-pla-cet ví-dé-re fe-sti-ná-te. Cí-to e-ún-tes dí-ci-te di-cí-pu-lis

WOMEN EXCEPT FOR MM (1)

qui-a sur-ré-xit dó-mi-nus. Al-le-lú-ia. Sur-ré-xit dó-mi-nus

de se-púl-chro, qui pro no-bis pe-pén-dit in li-gno. Á-le-lú-ia.

Cér-ni-te vos, só-ci-i, sunt cór-po-ris i-sta be-á-ti lín-thé-a que vá-cu-o

ja-cu-é-re re-lí-cta se-púl-chro. RE-SUR-RÉ-XIT HÓ-DI-E dé-us de-ó-rum.

Fru-stra si-gnas lá-pi-dem, plebs ju-de-ó-rum. Jún-ge-re jam pó-pu-lo chri-

sti-a-nó-rum. Re-sur-ré-xit hó-di-e rex an-ge-ló-rum. Dú-ci-tur

de té-ne-bris tur-ba pi-ó-rum. Re-se-rá-tur á-di-tus re-gna ce-

ló-rum. **CHRIST** NO-LÍ-TE TI-MÉ-RE VOS: i-te, nun-ci-á-te frá-tri-bus me-is ut e-

ant in ga-li-lé-am; i-bi me vi-dé-bunt sí-cut pre-dí-xit e-is. **WOMEN** ÁL-LE-LÚ-

IA! Re-sur-ré-xit hó-di-é dó-mi-nus. Re-sur-ré-xit hó-di-é dó-mi-

nus. Le-o for-tis chri-stus fi-li-us de-i.



*Mary Magdalene:* Alas! The faithful shepherd, whom blame did not touch, is dead. O, mournful!

*Mary Mother of Jacob:* Alas! The true shepherd, who brought life to his saints, has fallen. O lamentable death!

*Mary Salome:* You vile Jews: how terrible is your chattering madness! O accursed race!

*Magdalene:* Why did you condemn an innocent man to a guilty death, savagely and enviously? O unspeakable anger!

*M. Jacob:* What had this just man done to be crucified? O damned people!

*M. Salome:* Alas! What shall we do, we wretched ones, widowed of our gentle teacher? Alas, our mournful fate!

*Magdalene:* Let us go quickly with devout thoughts—that is all we can do.

*M. Jacob:* Let us anoint the sacred body with spices—for they are precious.

*M. Salome:* A preparation of spikenard will keep the blessed flesh from rotting in the tomb.

*The Three:* But we cannot open it without help. Who will roll the rock away from the door of the monument?

*Angel:* Christians, whom are you seeking in the grave?

*Three:* Heavenly servant, Jesus of Nazareth crucified.

*Angel:* Christians, why are you seeking a living man among the dead? He is not here. He has risen, as he prophesied to his disciples. Remember what he said to you in Galilee: that it was necessary for Christ to suffer and to rise in glory on the third day.

*Three:* We came lamenting to the sepulchre of the Lord. We saw an angel sitting there, who said that the Lord had risen from death.

*Magdalene:* Alas, my grief, alas, how terrible the torment of my grief! To be widowed of the living presence of my teacher! Alas, who has taken the beloved body from the tomb? They have taken my Lord away, and I do not know where. The sepulchre was found empty, and the shroud and linen were found within.

*John:* These are strange things that we have seen. Was the Lord carried off in secret?

*Peter:* No, I believe the Lord has risen, as he foretold when alive.

*John:* But why did he leave the shroud and linen in the grave?

*Peter:* Because he would not need it when he had risen. It remains as proof of the resurrection.

*Magdalene:* Alas, my grief, alas, how terrible the torment of my grief! To be widowed of the living presence of my teacher! Alas, who has taken the beloved body from the tomb?

*Angels:* Woman, why are you crying?

*Magdalene:* Because they have carried off my Lord, and I do not know where.

*Angels:* Do not weep, Mary, the Lord has risen.

*Magdalene:* My heart is on fire to see my Lord. I am looking for him, but I cannot find him. Alleluia!

*(Christ appears to her in the semblance of a gardener.)*

*Christ:* Woman, why are you crying? Whom are you seeking?

*Magdalene:* Sir, if you have taken him away, tell me where, and I shall take him back.

*Christ:* Mary!

*Magdalene:* Master!

*Christ:* Do not touch me. I have not yet gone up to my father and your father, to my God and your God.

*Magdalene:* Wish me joy, if you love the Lord, for I sought him and he appeared to me. While I wept at the tomb I saw my Lord. Alleluia!

*Angels:* Come and see the place where they put the Lord; alleluia! Do not be afraid; away with those sad faces. Proclaim the living Jesus. Go to Galilee. Hurry, if you want to see. Go quickly; tell the disciples that the Lord has risen. Alleluia!

*Three:* The Lord has risen from the tomb, the same who hung for us upon the cross. Alleluia.

*Magdalene; Three:* Look, friends: these are the graveclothes of the blessed body, which were left in the empty tomb.

*Magdalene:* The God of gods has risen today.

*M. Jacob:* You seal the stone in vain, you Jews.

*M. Salome:* Now is the time to join with the Christians.

*Magdalene:* The king of angels is risen today.

*M. Jacob:* A band of the faithful is led out of darkness.

*M. Salome:* The door to heaven's kingdom is thrown open.

*Christ:* Do not be afraid. Go tell my brothers to go to Galilee: there they shall see me, as I prophesied to them.

*Magdalene:* Alleluia! The Lord has risen today.

*All:* The Lord has risen today: the brave lion, Christ the anointed one, the son of God.

# PEREGRINUS

early 12th century, from the Fleury Playbook,  
3rd quarter, 12th century

28

FIRST DISCIPLE

E-SU no—stra re-dém—pti—o, A-mor et de—si-dé—ri—um, De—us

SECOND DISCIPLE

cre—á—tor ó—ni—um, Ho—mo in fi—ne tém—po—rum. Quæ te vi—

cit cle—mén—ti— a, Ut fer—es no—stra crí—mi—na, Cru—dé—lem mor—tem

FIRST DISCIPLE

pá—ti—ens, Ut nos a mor—te tó—le—res. In—fér—ni clau—stra pé—

ne—trans, Tu—os ca—ptí—vos ré—di—mens, Vi—ctor tri—úm—pho nó—bi—li Ad

SECOND DISCIPLE

dex—tram pa—tris ré—si—dens. I—psa te co—gat pí—e—tas, Ut

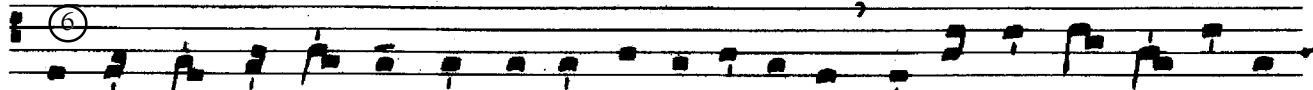
ma—la no—stra sú—pe—res pár—cén—do et vo—ti cóm—po—tes Nos tu—o vul—tu

BOTH

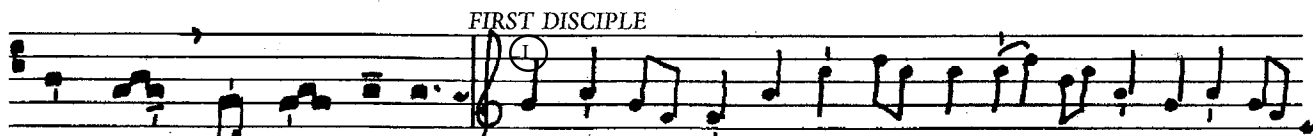
sá—ti—es. Tu e—sto no—strum gáu—di—um, Qui es fu—tú—rus pré—mi—

um: Sit no—stra in te gló—ri— a Per cun—cta sem—per sáe—cu— la.

CHRIST



QUI SUNT hi ser-mó- nes quos of-fér- tis ad ín-vi- cem am-bu- lán- tes et e- stis



tri- stes? Al- le- lú- ia! Tu so- lus pe- re- grí- nus es in je- rú- sa- lem, et



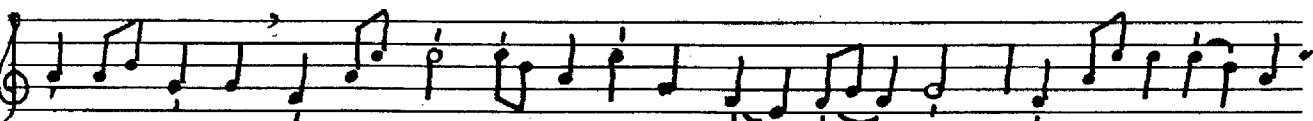
non co- gno- ví- sti que fá- cta sunt in il- la, hic di- é bus? Al- le- lú- ia!

CHRIST

SECOND DISCIPLE



Que? De je- su na- za- ré- no, qui fu- it vir pro- phé- ta po- tens in ó- pe- re



et ser- mó- ne co- ram de- o et o- mni pó- pu- lo. Quo- mo- do tra- di-



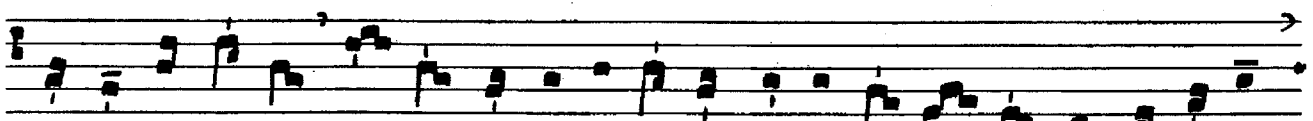
dé- runt e- um su- mi sa- cer- dó- tes et prín- ci- pes no- stri in dam- pna- ti-



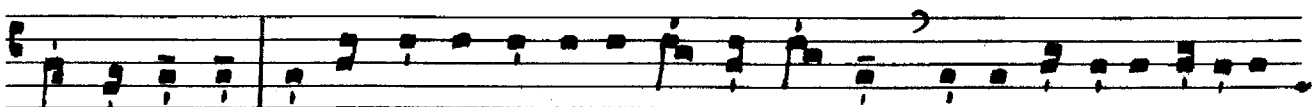
ó- ne mor- tis, et cru- ci- fi- xé- runt e- um, et su- per ó- mni- a



tér- ti- a di- es et quod hæc fá- cta sunt. Al- le- lú- ia! O stul- ti



et tar- di cor- de ad cre- dén- dum in ó- mni- bus que lo- cú- ti sunt pro- phé- te



Al- le- lú- ia! No- ne sic op- pór- tu- it pa- ti chri- stum et in- trá- re in glo- ri- am

## SECOND DISCIPLE

su- am? Al- le- lú- a. Sol oc- cá- sum éx- pe- tit, jam ho- spi- tá- ri

éx- pe- dit. Sa- ne no- li de- si- ré- re nos jam in- stán- te vé- spe-

re. Sed ma- ne no- bis- cum dó- mi- ne, quo sa- ti- é- mur ple- ní- si- me, quo

## FIRST DISCIPLE

de- le- té- mur má- xi- me tu- i ser- mó- nis dul- cé- di- ne. Ma- ne no-

bi- scum quo- ni- am ad- ve- spe- rá- cit et in- cli- ná- ta est jam di- es, al- le- lú-

ia! Sol ver- gens ad oc- cá- sum su- á- det ut no- strum ve- lis ho- spi- ci-

um; pla- cet e- nim no- bis ser- mó- nes tu- os, quos con- fers de re- sur-

## CHRIST

re- cti- ó- ne ma- gí- stri no- stri. Al- le- lú- ia. Pa- cem re- lín- quo

vo- bis. Pa- cem me- am do vo- bis. I- sti sunt ser- mó- nes quos di- cé- bam vo-

bis cum es- sem. Al- le- lú- ia, Al- le- lú- ia! Si- cut di- lé- xit me pa- ter, et e- go

THE TWO

di- lé-xi vos. Ma-né-te in di- le-cti-ó-ne me-a. NO-NE COR no-strum ar-dens  
 e-rat in no-bis de je-su dum lo-que-ré-tur no-bis in vi-á et a-pe-  
 rí-ret no-bis scri-ptú-ras? He-u! mí-se-ri! Ú-bi e-rat  
 sen-sus nó-ster quo in-tel-lé-ctus a-bi-é-rat. Al-le-lú-ia!  
 WOMEN CHRIST  
 SUR-RÉ-XIT DÓ-MI-NUS et ap-pá-ru-it pe-tro. Al-le-lú-ia. Pax vo-bis!  
 DISCIPLES  
 E-go sum, nó-li-te ti-mé-re. Quis est i-ste qui ve-nit de e-dom, tūn-ctis  
 CHRIST DISCIPLES  
 vé-sti-bus de bo-sra? Pax vo-bis! I-ste for-mó-sa in sto-la su-a, grá-di-  
 CHRIST DISCIPLES  
 ens in mul-ti-tú-di-ne for-ti-tú-di-nis su-e. Pax vo-bis! Sur-ré-xit  
 dó-mi-nus de se-púl-chro, qui pro no-bis pe-pén-dit in li-gno.  
 CHRIST  
 Al-le-lú-ia! Al-le-lú-ia! Al-le-lú-ia! Quid tur-bá-ti e-stis

et co-gi-ta-ti— ó-nes a-scén-dunt in cor-da ve-stra? So-lus cal-cá-vi tór-cu-lar, et de  
gén-ti-bus non est vir me-cum. Vi-dé-te ma-nus me-as et pe-des me— os, qui-a  
e— go i- pse sum. Al-le-lú-ia! Al-le-lú-ia! Pal-pá-te et vi-dé-te, qui-a  
spí-ri—tus cār-nem et os-sa non ha-bet, si- cut vi-dé-tis me ha-bé- re. Jam cré-di-te.  
Ac-cí— pi— te spí-ri-tum sanctum; quorum re-mi-sé- ri-tis pec-cá-ta re-mi-  
tén-tur e— is. Al-le-lú-ia! A-DAM NO-VUS vé- te-rem du-xit ad a-stra;  
cre— a— tó—rem re- có-lit jam cre a- tū— ra. Sán-cta ma-rí-a já-co-bi  
cum ma-gda-lé—na et ma-rí— a sá-lo— me fe-rant un-guén- ta. Qui-bus  
di- xit án- ge-lus in ve-ste al- ba; re- sur- ré- xit dó- mi-nus, mor- te cal- cá- ta.  
Fra-cta lin-guens tár-ta-ra et spo-li- á- ta, re— fert se- cum spó-li- a vi-ctor ad

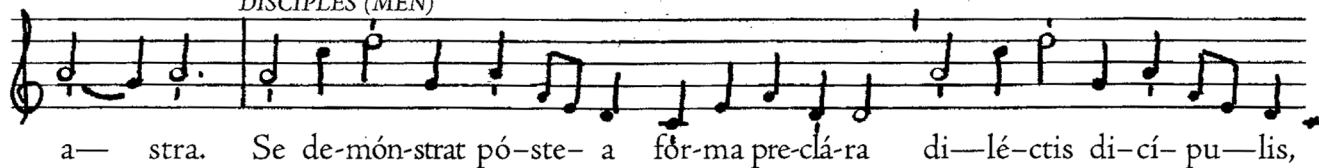
DISCIPLES (MEN)

DISCIPLES (WOMEN)

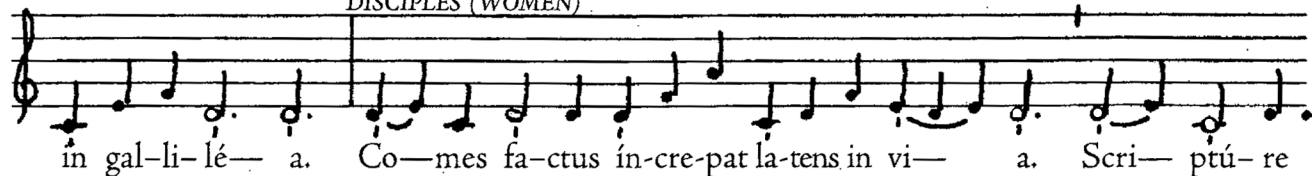
DISCIPLES (MEN)

DISCIPLES (WOMEN)

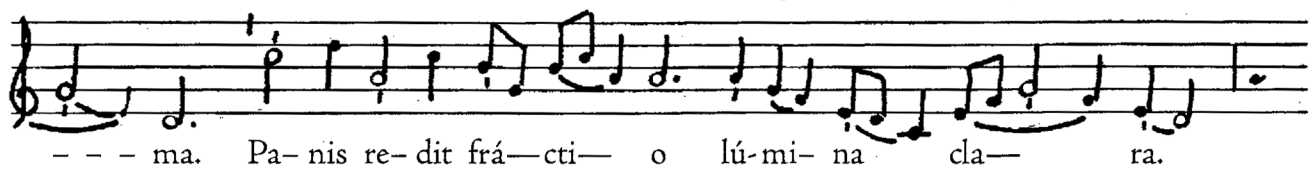
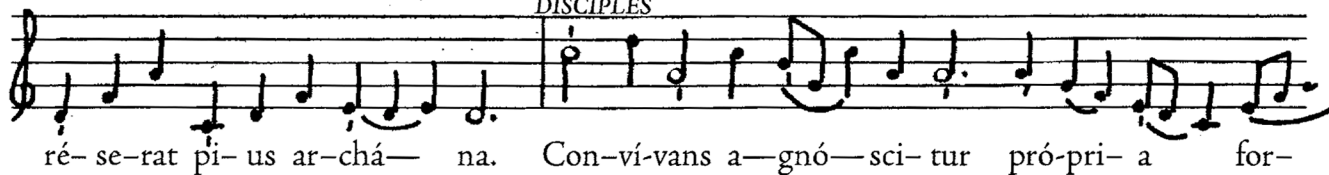
## DISCIPLES (MEN)



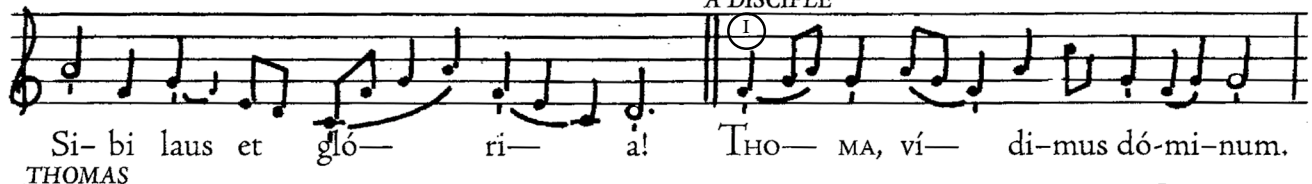
## DISCIPLES (WOMEN)



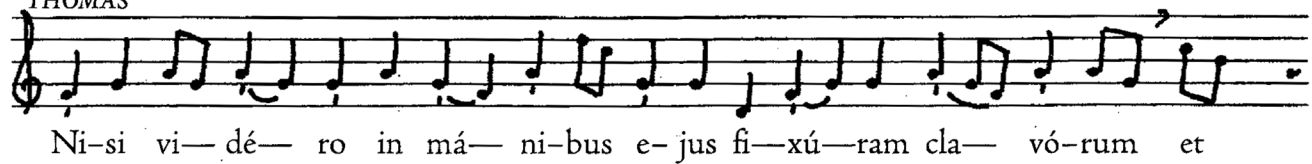
## DISCIPLES



## A DISCIPLE

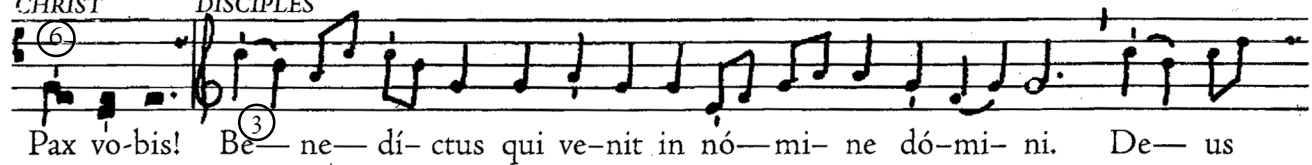


## THOMAS

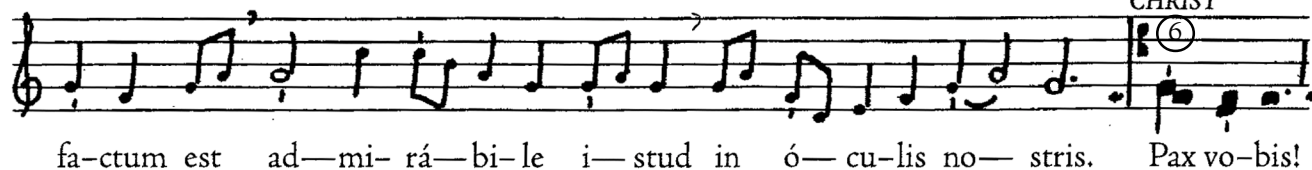


## CHRIST

## DISCIPLES



## CHRIST



DISCIPLES

E-go sum: nó-li—te ti-mé-re vos. <sup>③</sup> Hec est di—es quam fe—cit dó-mi-nus:

CHRIST

ex—ul-té—mus et le-té—mur in e— a! Tho-ma, fer dí-gi-tum tu-um

huc, et vi-de ma-nus me-as. Mi—te ma-num tu-am et co-gnó-sco lo-ca cla-

vó-rum. Al-le—lú-ia! Et no-li es-se in-cré-du-lus, sed fi-dé-lis. Al-le-lú-ia!

THOMAS

CHRIST

<sup>③</sup> Dó-mi-nus me-us et de-us me-us. <sup>⑥</sup> Qui-a vi-dí-sti me tho-ma, cre-di-dí-sti.

Be-á-ti qui non vi-dé-runt, et cre-di-dé-runt. Al-le—lú-ia! Da-ta est mi-hi

o—mnis po-té-stas in ce-lo et in ter-ra. Al-le-lú-ia! Non vos re-lín-quam or-

phá-nos. Al-le-lú-ia! Va-do et vé-ni-o ad vos. Al-le-lú-ia! Et gau-dé-bit cor

ve-strum. Al-le-lú-ia! E-ún-tes in mun-dum u-ni-vér-sum et pre-di-cá-te e-van-

gé-li—um o-mni cre-a-túr-e. Al-le-lú-ia! Qui cre-di-dé-rit et ba-pti-zá-tus fú-e-rit,

sal-vus e-rit. Al-le-lú-ia!

The Fleury Playbook here calls for the Salve festa dies, which follows.



CANTOR SOLO, THEN ALL REPEAT

responsorial hymn by Fortunatus, 6th century



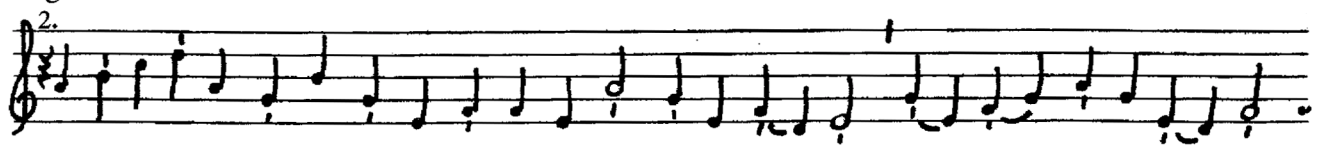
SAL— VE FE—STA DI—ES to—to ve-ne-rá-bi—lis e-vo Qua de-us in—



fér— num vi—cit et a—stra te—net. Ec-ce re-na—scén—tis te—stá—tur



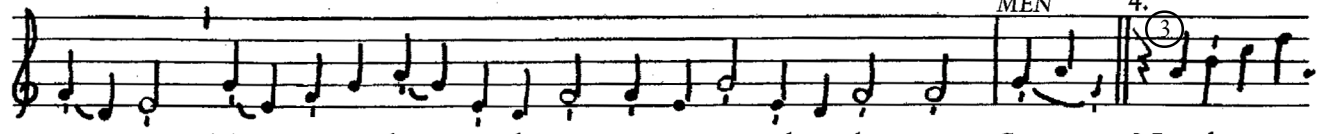
grá—ti— a mun—di, O—mni—a cum dó-mi—no do-na re-dis-se su—o. SAL—



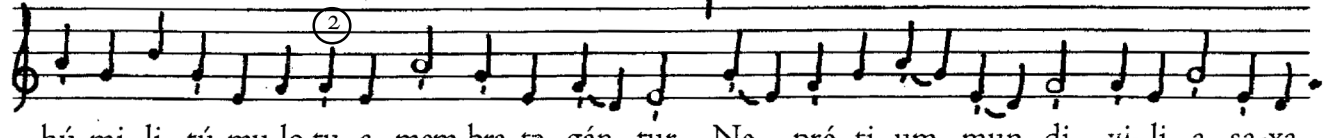
Qui cru-ci-fi-xus e-rat de-us ec-ce per ó-mni—a re—gnat, Dant-que cre-a-tó—ri



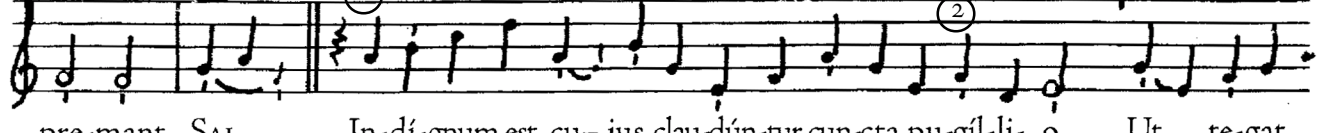
cun-cta cre—á—ta pre—cem. SAL— Sol-li-ci-tam sed red-de fi-dem, pre-cor, al-ma po—



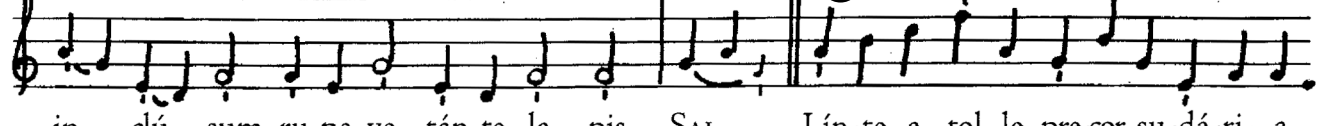
té—stas, Ter—ti—a lux ré-di-it sur-ge se-púl-te de—us. SAL— Non de-cet ut



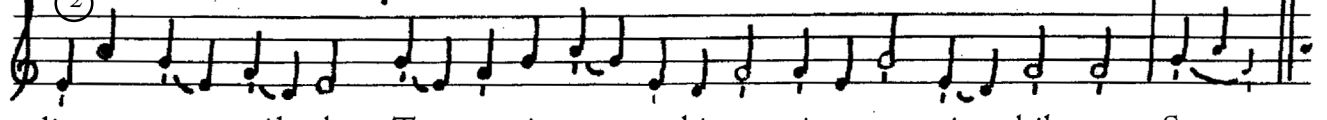
hú-mi-li tú-mu-lo tu-a mem-brá te-gán tur, Ne pré-ti-um mun-di vi-li-a sa-xa



pre-mant. SAL— In-dí-gnum est cu-jus clau-dún-tur cun-cta pu-gíl-li-o, Ut te-gat



in—clú—sum ru-pe ve—tán-te la—pis. SAL— Lín-te-a tol-le, pre-cor, su-dá-ri-a



lin-que se—púl—chro; Tu sa-tis es no-bis et si-ne te ni—hil est. SAL—

7. (3) (2)

Fu-né-ris ex-sé-qui-as pas-sus vi-te au-ctor et or-bis, In-trans mor-tis

ALL 8.

i-ter, dan-do sa-lú-tis o-pem. Sal- Red-de tu-am fá-ci-em ví-de-

(3) (2)

ant ut sé-cu-la lu-cem, Red-de di-em, qui nos te mo-ri-én-te fu-git.

ALL 9. (1) (2)

Sal- É-ri-pis in-nú-me-rum pó-pu-lum de cár-ce-re mor-tis, Et

ALL 10. ALL

sé-qui-tur li-ber quo su-us au-ctor a-bit. Sal- Tri-sti-a ces-

sé-runt in-fér-ne vín-cu-la le-gis, Ex-pa-vít-que cha-os lú-mi-

nis o-re pre-mi. Sal--

PEREGRINUS—THE DISCIPLES AT EMMAUS: TRANSLATION

Jesus, our redemption, Our love, the object of our desire; God the creator of all things, Humankind in the boundaries of time: What mercy was it that won you to take The burden of our crimes, To endure a cruel death, And so to free us from death? Making your way through the gates of hell, Ransoming your captive people, Now again sitting at the Father's right hand, A conqueror in glorious triumph.

May that same pity lead you To overcome our evils too, by forgiveness; And, that ganted, to satisfy us With the sight of your face. You will be our reward: Be also our joy. May our glory Be in you forever. Amen.

*Christ:* What are these words you exchange as you walk along? and are you sad? Alleluia!

*Disciple I:* Are you a stranger alone in Jerusalem? Don't you know what has happened there lately? Alleluia!

*Christ:* What is that?

*Disciple II:* It concerns Jesus of Nazareth, a hero and a prophet, powerful in word and action in the sight of the Lord and of all people; and how the chief priests and magistrates condemned him to death and crucified him. But the main thing is that it is three days since all this took place. Alleluia!

*Christ:* You are so dull, and so slow of heart to believe all that the prophets said! Was it not ordained that Christ was to suffer to come into his glory? Alleluia!

*D II:* The sun is setting, and it is time to find lodging. Do not leave us now, with the evening at hand. Stay with us, sir, so that we may take contentment, even take delight as much as possible, in the music of your conversation.

*DI:* Stay with us, for it is growing dark, and day is falling. The sun, heading toward the west, should prevail on you to share our lodging. And the words you speak about our Lord's resurrection are very welcome. Alleluia!

*Christ:* I bequeath you peace. I give you my peace. These are the words I said to you when I was with you. Alleluia! Alleluia! As the Father loved me, so I have loved you. Abide in my love.

*D I & D II:* Were not our hearts on fire with Jesus while he spoke to us on the way, and opened the scriptures to us? What miserable fools we were! Where was our sense? Where had our understanding gone? Alleluia.

*All:* The Lord has risen and appeared to Peter. Alleluia!

*Christ:* Peace be with you! It is I; don't be afraid.

*All:* "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?"

*Christ:* Peace be with you!

*All:* "This that is glorious in his apparel, traveling in the greatness of his strength."

*Christ:* Peace be with you!

*All:* The Lord has risen from the grave, the same who hung for us upon the cross. Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia!

*Christ:* Why are you troubled?" Why do intricate thoughts rise into your hearts? I have trodden the winepress alone, and there is no heathen to stand up against me. See from my hands and feet that I am who I am. Alleluia! Alleluia! Touch and see, that a ghost does not have flesh and bones like me. Now believe. Take up the Holy Spirit. Whose sins you forgive shall be forgiven. Alleluia!

The new Adam has led the old to the stars. Creation worships the creator once more.

Mary the mother of Jacob, Mary Magdalene, and Mary Salome come bringing spices.

To them an angel in a white garment said, "The Lord is risen, and death is trodden down."

Leaving hell broken and picked bare, The conqueror brings back his spoils to the stars.

Then in Galilee he shows himself, In transcendent beauty, to his beloved disciples.

He becomes our companion. In disguise, he speaks Sharply along the road, unlocking scripture's mysteries.

At supper he is recognized in his own person: The breaking of bread makes our eyes clear again. Praise and glory to him!

*Magdalene:* Thomas, we have seen the Lord.

*Thomas:* Unless I see the print of the nails in his hands, and put my hand on his side, I will not believe.

*Christ:* Peace be with you!

*All:* "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord." "God is the Lord, and has shone out upon us."

*Christ:* Peace be with you!

*All:* "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes."

*Christ:* Peace be with you! It is I; don't be afraid.

*All:* "This is the day which the Lord has made: let us rejoice and be glad in it."

*Christ:* Thomas: place your finger here, and look at my hands. Put your hand here, and recognize the places where the nails were, alleluia!

And do not be sceptical any more; believe. Alleluia!

*Thomas:* You are my Lord and God.

*Christ:* Thomas: you believed because you saw. Those who believed, without having seen, are truly blessed. Alleluia! All power in heaven and earth has been given to me. Alleluia! I shall not leave you orphans. Alleluia! I go, but I shall come again to you, alleluia, and your hearts will rejoice. Alleluia! Go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation, alleluia: who shall believe and be baptized shall be saved. Alleluia!

*Hail, holy day, To be honored by every generation: Day when God conquered hell And takes the stars.*

Look: the graces of the world reborn Bear witness That all good things Came back along with their Lord. Hail, holy day...

He who was crucified reigns, God over all; And all created things Pray to the creator: Hail, holy day...

Kindly Power, I beg you, Keep your promise: The third dawn has come: Rise, my buried Lord. Hail, holy day...

It is not right for your body to be Covered up in a lowly tomb, Not right for senseless rocks To oppress the world's treasure. Hail...

It is shame for a stone to cover him, For him to be shut up By forbidding rock whose Fist can infold all things. Hail, holy day...

I pray you, take off the linen, Leave the shroud to the tomb. You yourself are enough for us, And without you is nothing. Hail...

You are the source of the world, The source of life—yet you endured Funeral rites, embarking on death's journey To give us the treasure of salvation.

Grant again the sight of your face, That the world may see light. Grant again the day which fled us At your death. Hail, holy day...

You wrest a multitude From the prison of death; Once free, it follows Where its creator goes. Hail, holy day...

The grim chains of the law Of hell gave way; Chaos grew pale, shut off From the countenance of light. Hail, holy day...

29 (*with audio*)

IN THIS EXAMPLE FROM THE *WORCESTER FRAGMENTS*, *free equalist* and occasional *binary regular equalist* rhythms flow into a dance in *early modal* rhythm. The work is contemplative in nature, and not to be rushed; the closing melismatic dance is quietly ecstatic.

*Translation:*

O chosen spouse of God,  
be to us a right path  
to eternal joy.  
There is peace and glory;  
always hear us,  
sweet Mry, with kindly ear.

O spon- sa de- i e- le- ctā, E- sto no- bis

O spon- sa de- i e- le- ctā, E- sto no- bis

vi- a re- ctā, ad æ- ter- na gau- di- a. U- bi pax et glo- ri- a: Tu nos sem- per

vi- a re- ctā, ad æ- ter- na gau- di- a. U- bi pax et glo- ri- a: Tu nos sem- per

au- re pi- a Dul- cis ex- au- di ma- ri- a.

au- re pi- a Dul- cis ex- au- di ma- ri- a.

Worcester Add. 68, op. cit., pp. 56. Worcester Fragments, op. cit., #99.

## 30 (with audio)

THE THREE-PART MOTET *NON PEPERCIT / NON PEPERCIT / MORS*, from the 13th-century MS Bamberg Ed. IV 6, is, according to its notation, clearly in *modal* rhythm. Two angular lines having different texts sing over an insistant pattern in the tenor. The chant for the word *Mors* in the tenor occurs in the *Alleluia/Christus resurgens* from the Mass for the fourth Sunday after Easter.

This particular motet moves with an extremity and intensity of line that call to mind the *Five Canons on Latin Texts*, opus 16, by Anton von Webern.

### Translations:

God did not hesitate to give us his Son,  
a man born to undergo sorrow.  
God gave his Son, sending from on high  
the Spirit who shadowed a sinless womb,  
giving freedom through a poor virgin.  
And through Jesus' capture and suffering  
under Pilate, and his crucifixion.  
O what love! Such compassion from  
the crucified king, sacrificial lamb.  
The warrior-victor has rewarded us.  
Rejoice and give thanks,  
you beseechers of freedom: who  
received the blows, forgives our sins.  
Kind prayer from our cause's  
mediator: deliverance and restoration!

God did not disdain to be born for us,  
sent from on high for the world's solace.  
By his stripes, the sign of peace was given.  
Betrayed by a kiss and crowned with thorns,  
spat on with hate, he was offered in suffering.  
Deriding his sorrow, they bent the knee,  
saying, "Hail, King of the Jews!"  
When he cried, "I thirst!"  
bitter vinegar was given him for drink.  
He gave up the spirit,  
he was laid in the tomb,  
and he rose the day after the Sabboth,  
sharing the spoils of redemption.  
O sacred death which is our freeing,  
our restoration!

### Death

*Aubry, Pierre: Cent Motets du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle, Paris, 1908; reprinted Broude Brothers, 1964. Volume II, No. LXVI.*

Non pe - per - cit De - us fi - li - o pro - pri - o

Non pe - per - cit De - - us na - to pro - pri - o,

Mors.

Ho - mi - nis Pro - pa - gi - nis Do - lens ex - i - ci - o.

Mit - tens hunc a sum - - mo pro mun - - di so -

Fi - li - um Pro - pri - um De - i pro - vi - si - - o

(4) - la - ci - o. Dat fla - - gel - - lo, Pa - cis

Mi - sit de so - li - - o Stel -

tra - di - tur si - - gno, Cap - - ti - - o

- la - to Spi - ri - tus Di - vi - ni - tus Fit ob - um -

Jhe - su os - cu - la - to co - ro - na - tur Spi -

- bra - ci - o. Ven - tre gra - vi - da - to Pa - rit

[fol. 42 rº]

- ne - to et ex - pro - bra - tur Spu - to

si - ne pec - ca - to Vir - go, par - vu - lo na - to

sor - di - do, In pa - ti - bu - lo of - fer -



Et fit pas-si-o. Tra-di-tur, Af-fli-gi-tur Cru-  
Ju-de-o, A-ve-to!

-cis sup-pli-ci-o. O quis a-mor! que com-  
Cla-mans: „Si-ci-o!“ Po-ta-tur Fel-le-

-pas-si-o Re-ge cru-ci-a-to  
-o A-ce-to Gus-ta-to.

A-gno ve-ro mac-ta-to! Hos-te  
Spi-ri-tu trans-mi-grat la-xa-to,

tri-um-pha-to Fit re-demp-ti-o  
Con-di-tur iam tu-mu-lo,

Gau - di - o, Tri - pu - di - o, Sup - pli - ci - o, Ne - ce so - la - ti -

Sub - - se - - quen - - ti sur - git pro - xi - mo in

-o Res - - tau - - ra - - to Pul - so pro - cul

sab - - ba - - to, Ba - ra - tro spo - li - - a - -

ab - di - to Re - mo - to Tra - di - to. O pi - a Sup -

-to A - de da - tur re - demp - ti - - o.

-pli - ci - a, Que nos - tra cau - ti - o Sunt ex - emp - ti -

O mors sa - - cra, que nos - tra li - be - - ra - -

-o, Li - be - ra - ti - o — Et re - pa - ra - - ti - - o!

-ti - - o Es et re - pa - ra - - ti - - o!



CHRISTUS PANTAKRATOR: GREEK, UNKNOWN DATE; POSSIBLY A GOSPELS BOOKCOVER.

## IV. THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF PROPORTIONAL-RHYTHM CHANT

IT WAS IN 1988 that a superb musician with whom I had worked since 1972 horrified me by saying, “Well, John, I guess proportional-rhythm chant just didn’t catch on,” implying that it simply might as well be dismissed. But what does popular—or academic—acceptance have to do with verity?

Earnest battle between free mensuralist and free equalist chant began in the early twentieth century. Based on the shapes of the neumes in the tenth-century manuscripts as well as his own theorizing, musicologist Peter Wagner held that chant was in free mensural rhythm. Dom Jules Jeannin held that there were two basic values in chant, long and short, that they were freely arranged, and that this was in accord with medieval theorists. Dom Gregory Murray, basing his work on that of the Abbé Delorme, pointed out that the *episema* in St. Gall notation corresponds “again and again” to the Laon *tractulus*, but never to the Laon *punctum*, and concluded that there were two note-values in chant, a long and a short, and that these two values are shown not only in Metz and St. Gall notations, but in Nonatolian and Aquitanian notations. The Belgian Jesuit J. W. A. Vollaerts strongly influenced Gregory Murray; after years of study, both agreed that the long was the ordinary chant note, and that longs and shorts were in two-to-one proportion.

The battle was compounded by the “semiological” school of Dom Eugène Cardine, which holds that there is no mensuration in chant, but rather varying degrees of nuanced lengths to be determined by a detailed study of the neumatic manuscripts: he disagreed with Vollaerts and Murray, and the complexities of his interpretation separate semiology from the conventional Solesmes’ approach.

In 1984, Chris F. J. Hakkennes, after what must have been extraordinary efforts, published *Graduale Lagal*, containing the Mass Propers for the Sundays and feasts of the liturgical year. He used both Laon (Metz) and St. Gall notations to present an interpretation according to the semiological approach. Various lengths are indicated by slight variants in the actual physical size of the black square neumes. It is very intelligently done and its intentions are elegantly clear. (In his last address before he died, Cardine dismissed the *Graduale Lagal*, but this seems to me to be neither fair nor right.)

On the opposite page are two versions of the Introit *Spiritus domini*. The first has been quoted before, the Schola Antiqua’s; the second is a reproduction of the Introit from Hakkennes’ book. Please note how the physically longer notes in the Hakkennes correspond very frequently with the proportional-rhythm longs, so that one is tempted to say that the semiological “long” is the ordinary note, as is the proportional long. And *Lagal*’s physically smaller notes likewise correspond very frequently with the proportional-rhythm shorts. Closer inspection of the semiological version, however, shows that there are *many* degrees of size. It’s said that one must study six years in Rome to be considered a semiologist. I once saw and heard a small schola sing the *Requiem* Propers. I could scarcely believe the conducting: it was as if each note were being individually finessed or micromanaged. A sense of musical line was noticeably absent. I’m sure the conductor knew what he was doing. Perhaps that was the trouble: perhaps it is not possible, or is at least exceedingly difficult, to sing semiological chant with a sense of long musical line. Proportional-rhythm chant, as I trust you’ll hear from the enclosed CD, is very conducive to a beautiful horizontal line. Now that chant is largely absent from the churches and a small group of semiological experts holds the chant to its bosom, claiming alone to understand it, chant has become something for the museum. But their efforts are not sustainable on either theoretical or practical grounds, and the semiological approach is destined to die out.

Spi-ri- tus do-mi- ni\* re-ple- vit or-bem ter- ra-rum, al-le- lu- ia: et hoc  
quod con- ti- net o- mni-a, sci-en-ti- am ha-bet vo- cis, al-le- lu- ia,  
al- le-lu- ia, al-le- lu- ia. V. Ex-sur-gat deus et dissipentur in-i- mi-ci  
e- jus: \* et fu-giant qui oderunt e-um a fa- ci-e e- jus.

**S** VIII SPI-RI-TUS DOMI—NI \* re-ple—vit or-bem  
ter—ra—rum, al-le—lu—ia: et hoc quod con—  
ti—net ó-mni-a sci—én—ti—am ha-bet vo-cis,  
al-le—lu—ia, al-le—lu—ia, al-le—lu—ia.  
Ps. Exsúr-gat De-us, et dissipéntur in-i-míci e-jus: et  
fú-gi-ant qui o-dérunt e-um, a fá-ci-e e-ius. Ant.

As I write this, the controversy over chant rhythm has largely disappeared, and any mention of proportionality along with it. This is a great shame: *As our examples of hymns, liturgical music-dramas, and early polyphony hopefully show, the reality of proportional rhythm is a vital historical key to understanding rhythm in music from the fourth through the mid-twelfth centuries.* In the end, one has to suspect that vested interests and pride have stood in the way.

The Schola Antiqua was thrilled to take part in the 1984 Utrecht Early Music Festival, and a Day-Book I kept back then illustrates some of the difficulties faced by proportionalists. A few excerpts may amuse.

*Thursday, August 30th.* Jan Nuchelmans at the Center greeted me with an article in that morning's Amsterdam newspaper, *Trouw*, the "Kunst & Cultuur" section: "Semiologen durven niet komen"—"Semiologists forbidden to attend," written by one of the workshop students, Franz Straatman. It was occasioned by the fact that Godehard Joppich decided, pretty much at the last minute, not to give a paper in the seminar to be held Friday [in which we were to participate]; and others of his camp, Louis Agustoni and Johannes Göschi, refused to replace him. Solesmes often deals with things by not dealing with them—as if they were beneath its notice, not worthy of its time. Jan was a bit concerned at the article, however—because he had, at the last minute, gotten a semiologist from Holland to speak on Friday. (As it turns out, no feathers were unduly ruffled.)...

There was a major problem regarding the Mass [which we and the festival participants were to sing] on the next day. Jan had called upon a priest who was very hesitant to have a "real" Mass as part of a music-festival, claiming it was more concert than liturgy. I spent forty minutes this afternoon with Father Anton Vernooy, using every theological and liturgical argument I could contra his position, winning every point hands down—but he would not change his mind. His home, where we met, was immaculate, not jot or tittle out-of-place; ditto his person. I left, faced with the possibility of a "dry" Mass; most distressing. Talk, from him, of the Mass in such circumstances being treated as museum-piece rather than as worship!

Points of interest from conversation with him at his home and in his car as he drove me, very kindly, back to the Music Center... We talked re equalist vs. proportional. He knows the Schola's LPs, is not in disagreement—but is not sure, either way. Studied under Cardine for four years; is a close friend of Joppich (subliminal reasons why he couldn't bring himself to celebrate Mass for us? If so, his non-action is quite improper); tried to get away with saying that, well, maybe only the Metz-notated Laon 239 is proportional, but the St. Gall-notated Einsiedeln 121 and St. Gall 359 and 339 are not... This is one of the nerviest possible positions I've yet to encounter, and I could not help but wonder if it is the next rabbit-out-of-a-hat Solesmes will pull in its attempts to save face (and protect investments). At the very end of today's workshop: after [workshop participants] had practiced hard, and obviously enjoyed themselves, I pointed out that the non-acceptance of proportional rhythm was the only thing that was keeping the entire corpus of chant from being used in the liturgy in every country, because of the perfect translatability of chant understood in this rhythm. ...

That evening I shepherded Jan through the steps and telephone calls needed to secure a priest. We finally got a Father Wesselingh, a Benedictine from Sint Paulus Abbey, in Oosterhout.

Father Vernooy, it turns out, was so intent that this not be a liturgical Mass that he actually got on the telephone (whether before or after the visit to him, I don't know) with (at least) one priest, who *had* told Jan he'd celebrate—and caused him to change his mind! ...It's possible that Vernooy was acting in what he thought was good faith; but I think he was rationalizing, because he did not want proportional rhythm to be heard in actual liturgy—it should remain and be seen as no more than a theory. This whole encounter/aspect was very messy and, really, shameful.

*Friday, August 31st.* Picked up in a car by one of the Festival workers and joined by Jan. We drove [seventy miles] to the monastery, where we picked up Father Wesselingh. An older man, ruddy of face, sparse of short gray hair, gloriously down-to-earth. He brought an attache case stuffed with all sorts of liturgical and chant books, "just in case." (Jan thought it best he not be told we were mensuralists till he was in the car and well en route, given the problems we'd been having! Jan told us, later, that he mentioned to Wesselingh just before Mass that he hoped W. did not mind not having been warned—to which W. replied "You think we haven't heard of Blackley before?" —This man is director of chant in a relatively small monastery in an out-of-the-way town; he is connected with Solesmes monastery. Evidently Solesmes has had its eyes trained on our doings for awhile, though they hadn't seen anything since the third record, seven years ago. ... Franz Moonen had said that this is now the third time the battle-lines have been drawn. It has heretofore been seen as, basically, Benedictines against Jesuits.) Wesselingh laughed during the trip and enjoyed himself thoroughly. ...

Mass began after the singing of Terce. Wesselingh was really wonderful, worth the trouble it took to get him. He sang Latin with rhetorical splendor, pulling out all the stops. Sightread perfectly the Latin Canon (which we have in the modified *Præfatio* tone used at the blessing of baptismal water at the Paschal Vigil). Everyone sang the Ordinary parts with gusto—it was very moving to hear; one woman was even heard softly singing the Canon melody, from time to time, with the priest! The Schola sang the Propers beautifully. ...the great hymn *Aeterna cæli gloria* used as recessional was sung loudly by all, a joyful close to an action that was at once ritual and demonstration.

Father Wesselingh had said that he was a friend of Jan Vollaerts' sister, Mevrouw Agnes Vollaerts, who (at 84) lives in Den Haag. He said that he would telephone her, saying that we wanted to visit her! We have set aside booklets and programs from the Festival to give her. Wesselingh said that Mevrouw Vollaerts is still very devoted to the memory of her brother and his work. Will ask for some photograph or other remembrance of Jan V., to be treasured.

...we went to Augustinuskerk to prepare for the Workshop [participants'] Concert, which began (late) at 4 PM. Lasted forty-five minutes. They did very, very well. ...

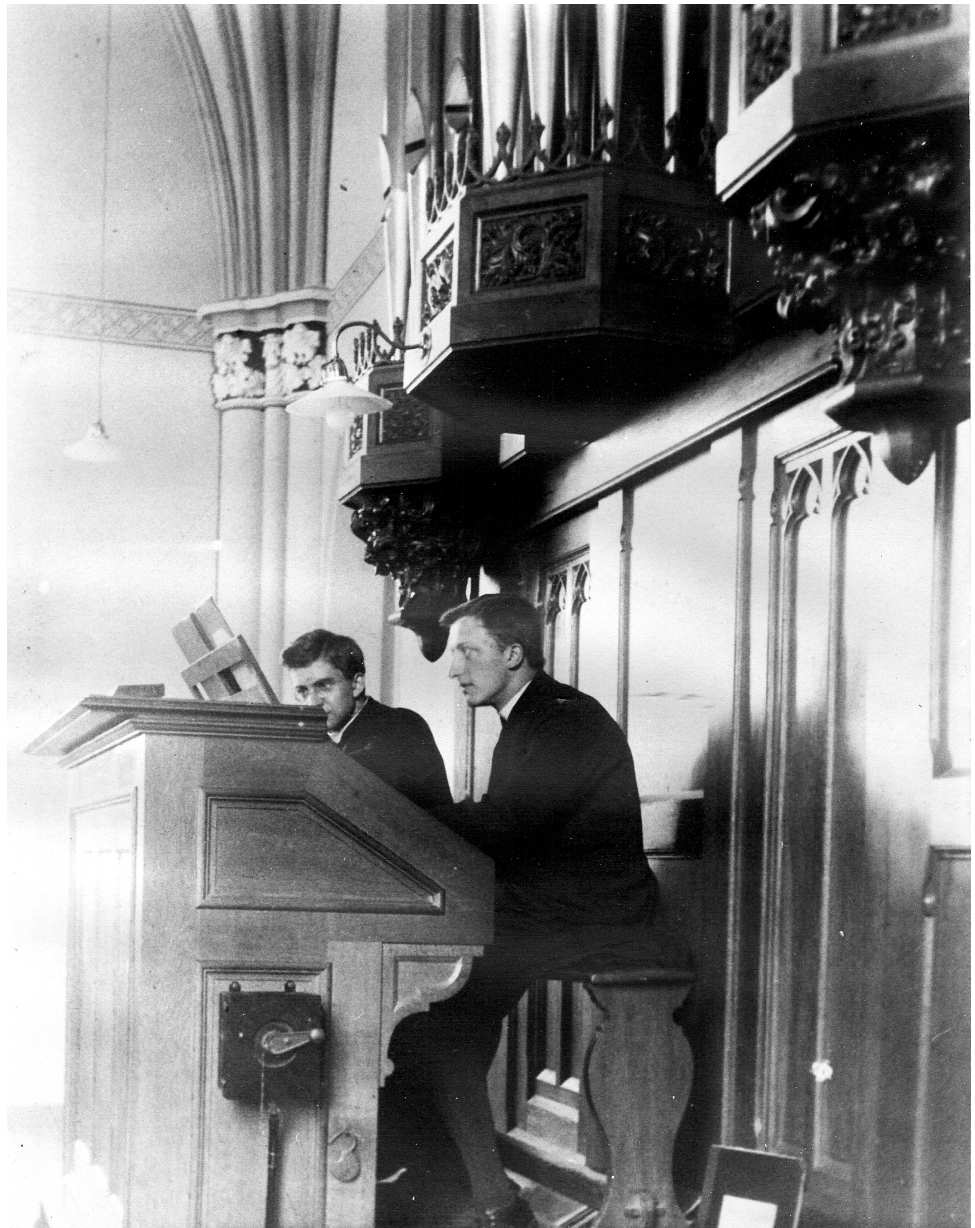
On Friday, September 14th, ...I went on alone to visit Mevrouw Agnes Vollaerets. Jan Nuchelmans kindly agreed to act as translator. ...Jan and I arrived in Heemstede within ten minutes of one another, then went to a modern apartmet house located just nearby the railroad station. There we were delighted to find not only Mevrouw Vollaerts, but her brother Pieter, and J. V. M. Nuyten, who translated Jan Vollaerts' book.

Mevrouw Vollaerts, who is a model of hospitality, was constantly up to get coffee, or sweets, or some wine. (At one point I had to ask Jan to request her please to sit down, so we could talk!) An

energetic, strong woman, who had helped in the publishing of her brother's book. ... She showed us two paperback volumes, each approximately 8½" x 11" x ½", that Vollaerts had written for use in teaching equalist-rhythm chant—after he had been forced to cease teaching his own theories. [His sister said there was much opposition from established interests, and told how the head of the Kerkmuziekschool St. Caecilia in Utrecht, under threat from several bishops that no graduates would be hired from there if Vollaerts continued teaching proportional rhythm, required such teaching to cease.] She showed as well several photographs of her brother, one of which at my request she had reproduced and sent to me (with a most moving letter). The photograph shows V. playing the organ, with another priest nearby (page-turner?). Still youthful; wonderful face, great powers of concentration manifest: the kind of person one would very much like to know and have as a friend.

Meneer Nuyten, when it was mentioned that the transcription of the Sunday and major feastday Mass Propers into proportional rhythm had taken us a minimum of thirteen hundred hours, said that his translation of Vollaerts' book, with its corrections and revisings, must have taken as long.

This meeting must be counted among the greatest honors of my life: I love Jan Vollaerts for his insights, the strength with which he saw them through (despite great odds and a fore-shortened life), and above all for the futurity of his vision.





The proportional rhythm in the tenth-century chant manuscripts is a sophisticated development of the syllabic rhythm of the ancient chant psalm-melodies and hymns. In neither do we have the supple liquidity heard in equalist chant from as early as the eleventh century, but instead a thoughtful deliberation, the delectation of text. This earlier, proportional-rhythm chant, moving more slowly across its syllable-bearing longs, shares a masculine power and drama with feminine groundedness in the earth.

The architecture of the Carolingian-Romanesque era, which saw the birth of the chant held in the ninth- and tenth-century fragments and manuscripts, is characterized by its functionally noble spread upon earth. Buildings with their visible and invisible interconnections accept earthly limitations and create beauty of use and purpose. Arches are no higher than they need be, and horizontals are as important as verticals. One's spirit centers in the atman, not in the empyrean, and one sings not so much towards the air as from a level beneath the self.

In sketching a rhythmic continuity from early hymns and psalmody through pre-Leonin polyphony, have we not in fact newly described a single, whole era of Western music?

Before the *Ars antiqua*, which began with the music of Leonin and the School of Notre Dame, there was what we might call the *Ars liturgica*, extending from the first Christian hymns through the time of Hildegard von Bingen, by whose time the metamorphosis of proportionality into equalist and modal rhythms had been accomplished.

*Ars liturgica* was characterized by its use of the various syllabic and proportional rhythms and by the importance these bestowed upon the sung texts. Each syllable, assured a basic length and proper emphasis, played its part grounding text in musical line. Each pitched musical length, infused with the power of human words, is the element of an architecture stretched in time, in the hearing of which we may so easily find ourselves outside time. This music was sublimely fitted to the liturgy begun under Vitalian reform and taking final shape and reign under Charlemagne. In few rituals of whatever time or place has there been such perfect human balance: every element was symbol or ikon, never mere sign; memorial was nothing less than re-creation, and each moment was charged.

The spirit of *Ars liturgica* lived on for centuries in that seriousness of mien found in all works whose end was not the pleasing of princes but the expressing of the god within. It was especially manifest whenever grave importance was given to horizontal musical line, and the architectonic strength of *Ars liturgica* suffuses the cantatas and passions of Bach, late Beethoven, the symphonies of Bruckner, and the humble cosmos of Anton von Webern.

Vitalian's seventh-century schola, known as the *Vitaliani*, sang in the *sancta sanctorum*; it must have been a small group, perhaps half a dozen. Those who deeply involve themselves with the singing of Carolingian chant and the early polyphony of the *Ars liturgica* realize that the music was conceived for a small group of soloists: it is very demanding music—often technically, but always in the depth of understanding required. It needs individuals who live each horizontal musical line, each singing with a conductor responsible for making of their individual insights a single vision that reflects both their community and the living community from which the music was first created.



## V. SELECT, ANNOTATED CHANT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Vollaerts, Jan W. A. *Rhythmic Proportions in Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Chant*. First published in English in the translation of J. V. M. Nuyten. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958; second edition, 1960. In a letter to Fr. A. M. A. Vollaerts dated March 23, 1958, Dom Gregory Murray wrote "Your brother has opened the door to the truth at last. Previous mensuralists, with the best intentions in the world, were unable to find the key to the door, because they had not studied all the evidence, MSS & literary evidence, as carefully, as thoroughly, and as scientifically as your brother. I believe without any doubt that his book is the finest study of the Chant that has yet been written." Vollaerts begins with an evaluation of the rhythmic significance of tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts, details his paleographic findings regarding Metz, St. Gall, Aquitanian, Nonantolian, and Chartres musical signs, and concludes with a study of the medieval theorists. Chant is approached as an important flowering in the history of Western song. Anthony Milner in *The Tablet*, January 1959: "Vollaerts' work is based on a thorough (and for the greater part originally conceived) re-examination of the four most ancient and reliable groups of MSS. His argument starts from facts admitted by the Solesmes school & proceeds by logical and inevitable steps, each of which is proved by accurate comparison and sifting of the MS. material. The book represents the labour of thirty years; the scholarship of a man who was not only a gifted composer, conductor and performer...but also a genius in the difficult field of early musical paleography. His work employs the most severe principles of textual criticism. In consequence his argument is virtually unassailable." With editorial help from his priest-brother and the unstinting efforts of his sister, *Rhythmic Proportions* was being readied at the publisher as Vollaerts in hospital lay dying. The photograph opposite was one of the last taken of this man, whose life is simply expressed in quotations he had written in Latin at the top of a page now in the Schola Antiqua's care:

And he answered: With zeal have I been zealous for the Lord God of hosts, for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant. [III Kings 19:10]

The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up. [Psalm Vulgate 68:10]

My zeal hath consumed me, for they have forgotten... [Psalm Vulgate 118:139]

*Since the Schola Antiqua has been concerned with transcribing and performing a large body of Mass and Office chants, and resources of time and funding have been scarce, it has seemed sensible to limit its paleographic investigations to Metz, St. Gall, and Chartres notations. Here is a list, in approximate chronological order, of the ninth-century fragments and tenth-century manuscripts containing proportional rhythmic signs:*

Laon 266 bifolio. Four-page fragment from a *cantatorium* or Mass-book containing Propers sung by cantors, used as a flyleaf in the binding of MS 266; c. 880. Metz signs clearly indicate proportional rhythm; there are no rhythmic letters. The *Omnipotentem semper adorant* given as example 15 is transcribed from this bifolio, and it is reproduced in this book as a two-sided frontispiece (enhanced so that the neumes are as clear as possible). The Schola has color slides courtesy of M. Jean Lefevre, Director of the Laon Bibliothèque Municipale. Contents listed in Jeffery, below.

Laon 121 bifolio. Four-page fragment from a *graduale* or Mass-book containing Propers sung by the schola, used as a flyleaf in the binding of MS 121. Mostly illegible; its value lies in its c. 900 date with the fact that it contains Metz signs indicating proportional rhythm and has rhythmic letters (unlike the earlier 266). The Schola has color slides through the kindness of M. Lefevre. Contents: A<sup>r</sup>: First Sunday in Lent: verses 11–13 of Tract *Qui habitat*, Offertory *Scapulis suis* with three verses, and opening of Communion *Scapulis suis*; A<sup>v</sup>: Monday of First Week in Lent: latter part of Introit *Sicut oculi*, Gradual *Protector noster*, Offertory *Levabo*, and Communion *Voce me*. B<sup>r</sup> (only first vertical third of page, hence all parts incomplete): Tuesday of First Week in Lent: probably Introit *Domine refugium*, Gradual *Dirigatur*, Offertory *In te speravi* with two verses, Communion *Cum invocarem*, and Wednesday of First Week in Lent Introit *Reminiscere*. B<sup>v</sup> (last vertical third of page, continuation): Gradual *Tribulationes*, Tract *De necessitatibus*, Offertory *Meditabor* and one verse.

St. Gall 359. Reproduction in Solesmes' essential publication, *Paléographie musicale*, Series 2:II; Tournai, 1924; reprinted Berne, 1968. Complete *cantatorium* with St. Gall musical signs clearly indicating proportional rhythm, and with rhythmic letters; c. 900.

Laon 239. Reproduced in *Paléographie musicale* X; Tournai, 1909; reprinted Berne, 1974. *Graduale* complete except for a few lacunæ and the partial erasure of a number of Offertory verses; c. 930. Heightened Metz signs clearly indicating proportional rhythm, with rhythmic letters. One of the greatest and noblest of manuscripts, indispensable for understanding Western music history. The schola has color slides courtesy of M. Lefevre.

Chartres 47. Reproduced in *Paléographie musicale* XI; Tournai, 1912; reprinted Berne, 1972. Complete *graduale*, last quarter of tenth century. Chartres signs clearly indicating proportional rhythm, without rhythmic letters. The manuscript itself was destroyed towards the end of World War II.

St. Gall 339. Reproduced in *Paléographie musicale* I; Solesmes, 1889; reprinted Berne, 1974. Complete *graduale*, last quarter of tenth century. St. Gall signs clearly indicating proportional rhythm, without rhythmic letters. A particularly straightforward manuscript. From Laon 266, Chartres 47, and St. Gall 339, it is manifest that rhythm in the earliest chant manuscripts depends not upon the rhythmic letters but is inherent in the shapes of the musical signs themselves.

Einsiedeln 121. Reproduced in *Paleographie musicale* IV; Solesmes, 1884; reprinted Berne, 1974. Color reproduction, with sequentiary, Weinheim: VCH, 1991. Complete *graduale*, end of the tenth century. St. Gall signs clearly indicating proportional rhythm, with rhythmic letters.

*Hartker Antiphonale*, St. Gall 390–391. Reproduced in *Paleographie musicale*, Series 2: I; Berne, 1970. An *antiphonale* containing Office Proper chants; c. 1000. St. Gall signs indicating rhythm, with rhythmic letters. The only source of rhythmic signs for the Office music, and indispensable. As *episemata* were added later to some of the musical signs, great care and an experiential understanding of proportional rhythm are required for transcribing.

There follows a list of some later manuscripts giving pitches but having no rhythmic indications, with which the above neumatic sources may be conflated to produce performable proportional-rhythm transcriptions:

H 159 Montpellier: *Tonary of St Benigne of Dijon*. Transcription by Finn Hansen; Copenhagen: Dan Fog, 1974. (Manuscript reproduced in *Paléographie musicale* VII, Tournai, 1901, reprinted Berne, 1972.) Mass Proper chants arranged according to their modes; eleventh century. In the so-called “French” musical dialect of the chant, in which a minor or major second typically is heard at climaxes and cadences [see example 23, at *sci-en-ti-am*; compare with example 22].

Graz 807. Reproduced in *Paléographie musicale* XIX; Berne, 1974. Complete *graduale*, first half of the twelfth century, later Metz notation. In the so-called “German” musical dialect, in which a minor third typically is heard at climaxes and cadences; this yields a hovering around *do* and *fa*, which indicates that it is probably more ancient than the French dialect [see examples 11–14, and 22.].

Lucca 601. Reproduced in *Paléographie musicale* IX; Berne, 1974. *Antiphonale* containing Office Proper chants; twelfth century.

Verdun *Bibliothèque Municipale 759 Missale*; Verona: La Linea Editrice, 1994. Altar Missal that includes musical notation of Proper chants for the schola; thirteenth century. The ornate Offertory verses are absent.

Worcester F. 160. Reproduced in *Paléographie musicale* XIII; Solesmes, 1922; reprinted Berne, 1971. *Antiphonale* containing Office Proper chants; thirteenth century.

*Thomaskirche Graduale*. Reproduction in two volumes, Leipzig 1930 & 1932; reprinted Hildesheim, 1967. The fourteenth-century *graduale* that Bach knew. German musical dialect; most Offertory verses are absent.

*Moosburger Graduale*, dated 1360, useful for minor variants. German dialect, no Offertory verses. The Schola library has a photocopy courtesy Mary Ann Ballard.

Murray, A. Gregory: *Gregorian Chant According to the Manuscripts*. London: L. J. Cary, 1963. The late Dom Gregory, who helped ready the 1960 edition of Vollaerts, was graced with a remarkably clear pedagogical mind. In this his major work, after setting forth the principles of proportional rhythm, he discusses notational details regarding twenty-six different chants, presenting each in from one to four versions from the neumatic manuscripts and with a modern transcription. Thickets of detail are changed into music that may be sung and savored. Murray also wrote these helpful articles:

“Gregorian rhythm in the Gregorian centuries: the literary evidence,” in *The Downside Review*, Summer 1957. Source of quotations in commentaries to music examples 11 and 19, above.

“The Authentic Rhythm of Gregorian Chant,” in *The Downside Review*, January 1959.

“Recovering the Gregorian Rhythm,” in *Jucunda Laudatio*, Venice, 1963.

Rayburn, John: *Gregorian Chant: A History of the Controversy Concerning its Rhythm*. New York, 1964; reprinted Westport, Connecticut, 1975. Originally a doctoral thesis, the first regular publication was by the author. An essential, most helpful book! Details the controversy through 1960.



van Waesburghe, J. Smits. Critique of Vollaerts book, in *Caecilia*, August 1960, pp. 128–37.

Murray, A. Gregory: “A Reply to Fr Smits van Waesburghe, S. J.” For Private Circulation, 1961; reprinted in *Caecilia*, Spring 1961.

Cardine, Eugene: “Is Gregorian Chant measured music?” Translated with a foreword by Dom Aldhelm Dean. Solesmes, 1964.

*Semiologia Gregoriana*. Rome: Pontificio Instituto de Musica Sacra, 1968. Translated by Robert M. Fowells, 1987. Contains Dom Eugène’s own theories on the interpretation of the musical signs.

Jeffrey, Peter. “An Early Cantatorium Fragment Related to MS Laon 239.” Collegeville: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, n.d.

*Anyone who has transcribed a fair amount of chant from tenth-century manuscripts, especially for purposes of actual performance, is aware that there are many annoying and stubborn problems—for example, the possible rhythmic difference (if any) between the cadential oriscus •  and cadential pressus •  of Metz notation in Laon 239. Yet these remain details that need not and should not keep us from a deep understanding and practice. It is useless to fault a paleographer for not having all the answers, as van Waesburghe does in his critique. Rather, what is demanded of a theory of chant rhythm is that it be thoroughly consistent with the musical signs in their systemic variety, with the witness of contemporary theorists and the facts of contemporary history, with the requirements of common sense, and with its own principles. Given these criteria, Vollaerts’ proportional theory is at base the very best we have or are likely to have. That it is of sufficient strength and breadth to support practice is demonstrated by the many examples in Murray’s book, by the three hundred chants the Schola Antiqua has transcribed and performed in the United States, England, France, and Germany, and by the repertory of early medieval music that is opened to musicologists and musicians who may use Vollaerts’ theory as their point of departure. Van Waesburghe’s conclusion, “we cannot penetrate to the authentic practice of Gregorian Chant; perhaps this penetration is permanently beyond our reach,” is simply, and most disturbingly, false.*

*Cardine’s critique of Rhythmic Proportions cites what he considers to be Vollaerts’ three most salient arguments. Cardine responds to the first by positing in Vollaerts’ name a relationship of musical signs with which the book just does not deal, claiming an inconsistency which is in fact of the critic’s own creation. In his replies to all three arguments, and in his critique of Murray’s book, Cardine applies an unwarranted rigidity in the interpretation of parallel melodic phrases or formulæ, drawing therefrom conclusions themselves unwarranted. Cardine ends his essay with an error: he states that equalist is a free rhythm while strongly implying that proportional rhythm is not free. In fact, proportional rhythm and what we have called “syllabic rhythm” are the only pre-1000 rhythms that are free essentially and by their very nature. Proportional rhythm’s flowing, irregularly occurring measure of longs and shorts alone is able sensitively and perfectly to shape the pitches of complex melodies to the accentuation of prose.*

*In chant practice according to semiological principles, it is equal-length, non-divisible notes that are nuanced, and in this Dom Eugène continues the sort of æsthetic enunciated by Dom André Mocquereau one hundred years ago. Their chant does not naturally respect textual accents, and something approaching respect is achieved only through subtleties of singing that barely can be described or communicated and are hardly reproducable, a situation most unsuitable for liturgical song.*

Neither van Waesburghe nor Cardine focused on the whole-picture deeply enough to speak of the things that are really important: (a) the clear indications of rhythm in the very shapes of the written musical signs, (b) the proportional intent of the early musical theorists, and (c) the capacity for setting free prose texts to music with clarity and with ease.

The description by Peter Jeffery of the bifolio in Laon 266 is very helpful. He correctly notes that the rhythmic letters of Laon 239 are completely absent from the 266 bifolio, but errs when he concludes that this “puts to rest any lingering notion” that the rhythmic manuscripts are older than the non-rhythmic. It does nothing of the sort, for the musical signs of the earlier 266 are clearly rhythmical in their very shapes, independent of letters.

Milner, Anthony: “Liturgy, church music and politics in the Carolingian Empire,” in *Studies in Music*. University of Western Ontario, 1980.

Martinet, Suzanne: “La Cathédrale Carolingienne de l’Évêque de Laon Gerfrid,” *Federation des Sociétés d’Histoire et d’Archéologie de l’Aisne—Memoires*, Vol. XII (1967), p. 76.

From a talk by Suzanne Martinet, historian of the City of Laon, entitled “Discoveries About Music at Laon in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries”:

Charlemagne wrote, “Moved by the example of our father, Pepin, who introduced to all the churches of Gaul the beautiful tradition of the Roman chant, we are involved with equal solicitude in procuring a collection of such important teachings.”

This chant, a solemn rendering of the Psalms and liturgical texts, blossomed at Metz, thanks to Bishop Chrodegang (742–766). This holy bishop... had formed a singing school under Charlemagne which gave the name “Metz notation” to the writing-down of the Roman chant... [T]he musical manuscripts of Laon, especially the [Graduale] 239, show that the Church of Laon conformed to the Roman chant advocated by Charlemagne as notated in the manner of Metz. We owe the strict application of these reforms to the personality of Bishop Gerfrid [d. 800]. [translated by Franz Jolowicz]

van Dijk, Stephen J. P.: “Papal Schola versus Charlemagne,” in *Organicae Voces*, Festschrift Joseph Smits van Waesberghe. Amsterdam 1963. Also:

“The Old-Roman Rite,” in *Studia patristica*, 5, Texte und Untersuchungen, 80, 1962.

“The Urban and Papal Rites in seventh- and eighth-century Rome,” in *Sacris erudiri*, 12, 1961.

The liturgist van Dijk held that a reformation of liturgy and chant was begun under the Byzantine Pope Vitalian (657–72) and brought to conclusion under Pope Gregory II (715–31), and that it was this ritual and music—from the Papal court—that was spread through Gaul, first by Pepin (751–69) and then by his son Charlemagne (768–814).

Apropos, from Judith Herrin’s *The Formation of Christendom* (Princeton University Press, 1987):

Under Vitalian, the musical side of ecclesiastical services was transformed by the establishment of particular chanters later known as Vitaliani. The Schola cantorum probably originated in these specially trained singers, recruited from the three junior clerical ranks of acolyte, reader, and exorcist. Later in the seventh century when Leo II, Benedict II, and Sergius performed in this ordo as young clerics, it was an institu-

tion under a primus (chief chanter) devoted to the magisterial splendour of masses both in the papal household and at station services. These were inspired by imperial ritual involving the use of organ and Byzantine antiphony (diaphonia basilika), which symbolised papal supremacy and authority. [p. 266]

Metz had become a stronghold of liturgical music. Van Dijk mentions the story of the Englishman Sigulf: a “friend and companion of Alcuin, whom he succeeded at Ferrières, and sacristan at York, he was sent to Rome (c. 775) by his uncle Autpert to study liturgical customs. But for the actual style of singing he had to go to Metz.” [The Urban and Papal Rites, p. 474]

Apropos, from Pierre Riché’s *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: From the Sixth Through the Eighth Century* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1976), chapter “Italian Schools in the Eighth Century”:

Except for the renewal of Greek culture, especially at the Lateran, there were no innovations in Roman clerical education. The institutions already functioning in the seventh century continued to provide education, just as the schola cantorum remained the nursery of clergymen and popes. Perhaps the schola increasingly approximated the Byzantine orphanotrophium. Perhaps also, as in the Byzantine institution, the study of sacred poetry occupied as important a place as chant. More precise knowledge of eighth-century educational institutions in Byzantium would perhaps help us understand what was happening in Rome. The reputation of the Roman schola went beyond the walls of the City: in the middle of the eighth century (755-67), Bishop Stephen of Naples sent three of his clerics there, and a future abbot of Farfa was raised there. Foreigners also sought masters from the schola. In 760 Simeon, the secundus of the schola, left with the bishop of Rouen (Pepin the Short’s brother) to introduce the monks of Neustria “to the modulations of Roman psalmody.” By 754, the Church of Metz had adopted Roman usages, and shortly afterwards Pepin sought to diffuse them throughout his kingdom. ☪ Early in the eighth century the schola was complemented by another center for religious and administrative training, the cubiculum, which was located in the Lateran after Pope Zachary’s reorganization of the palace. It was open to the best students of the schola and to sons of noble Romans. The future Gregory II, as well as Leo and the two brothers Stephen and Paul—all three, future popes—came out of the cubiculum. Zachary I called the monk Stephen, the future Stephen III, there. [pages 418–19]

Alcuin, friend to Charlemagne, directed the schola cantorum at the monastery of St. Martin in Tours. Though the chant and liturgy that were brought from the Papal Court in Rome into the Holy Roman Empire doubtless interacted with and were influenced by the chants and rituals they replaced, it remains that they were imposed with conserving strength by Pepin, Charlemagne, and others devoted to unifying the empire and the church. And so we are led to believe that the chants of the ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts are truly representative of the tradition begun by Vitalian and his schola (Vitaliani) in the third quarter of the seventh century.

*The Hymnal* 1982. Also, *ibid.*, *Service Music*. New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1985. Rhythmic versions of ancient chant hymns and transcriptions of liturgical chants made by the Schola Antiqua (numbers S 85, S 274, 32, 123, 155, 161, 261, 283, 361, 622, and S 352).

Blackley, R. John: “Rhythmic Interpretation of Chant” in *The Hymnal 1982 Companion*, Raymond F. Glover, general editor. Vol. I, pp. 238–52. New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1990. And the commentaries in Vol. II.



“On Realizing Gregorian Chant,” in the Japanese *Worship and Music*, No. 89, spring 1996 (pages 28–35). A English translation of this article may be found on [www.ScholaAntiqua.net](http://www.ScholaAntiqua.net).

Album notes in Schola Antiqua recordings: *Plainchant & Polyphony from Medieval Germany*, Nonesuch H-71312; *A Guide to Gregorian Chant*, produced by Denis Stevens, Vanguard VSD-71217; *Tenth-Century Liturgical Chant*, Nonesuch H-71348; *Music for Holy Week, Volumes I and II*. L’Oiseau-Lyre 417 324- OH and L’Oiseau-Lyre 421 589-2 OH2. The chants in the first Nonesuch LP are from the *Thomaskirche Graduale*, and there is a performance of the polyphony from example 25. The second Nonesuch disk and the L’Oiseau-Lyre albums contain transcriptions in proportional rhythm from Laon 239.

Bower, Calvin M.: “The Grammatical Model of Musical Understanding in the Middle Ages,” in *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, edited by Gallacher and Damico. Albany 1989; pp. 133–45. Insensitive to the different levels of medieval theorists’ concern with musical lengths, the author renders misleading what could have been a valid and useful insight.

Blachly, Alexander: “A Few Observations on the Germanic Tradition of Plainchant,” in *Current Musicology*, vols. 45–47, 1991, pp. 85–177. Blachly writes that “it is a falsification of history to deny the role of the Germanic tradition altogether, uncritically accepting Romanic [French musical dialect] sources as the sole keys to reconstructing the pitches in the oldest-notated chant sources. Now, as interest in Carolingian and even pre-Carolingian chant seems on the rise, it is especially important to bring all the relevant evidence to bear in our attempts to reconstruct the ancient melodies. Otherwise these reconstructions will almost certainly be 20th-century fictions that never existed in the past.”

Hiley, David: *Western Plainchant*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. In this 700-page book Vollaerts is ignored as a paleographer, while citations he gives from medieval theoreticians supporting proportionality are dismissed as referring only to the final notes of chants and phrases, based upon a simplistic view found in Bower. A transcription by Murray is quoted without comment and his study of the theoreticians is ignored. Proportional rhythm is not mentioned. Never does the author deal with the proportional relations discernable among the shapes of the signs (as in the Psalm-melodies in Part I, above), but instead merely presumes that the differences are only gradations or nuances of length. The role and unique importance of the Laon *tractulus* are simply ignored. And the wondrous agreement among Laon 239, St. Gall 339 and 359, Einsiedeln 121, and Chartres 47—reproductions of which are available to us, and which represent chant at its highest stage of development and in its use at the very centers of Western civilization—seem of far less account to Hiley than the tiny disagreements among them, or the differences between them and other chant traditions that are closed to our scrutiny and are of lesser perfection. Not he nor any semiologist nor anyone associated with Solesmes will face what is obvious among the shapes of the ninth- & tenth-century written musical signs: the ordinary sung note is a long that is divisible!

Strabo, Walafrid: *Hortulus*. Manuscript reproduction, with a translation by Raef Payne and commentary by Wilfrid Blunt. Pittsburgh: The Hunt Botanical Library, 1966.

Hildegard of Bingen: *Symphonia*. Critical edition with introduction, translations, and commentary by Barbara Newman. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988. (Source of translation for Example 17.)

*Symphonia Harmoniæ Cælestium Revelationum*: Dendermonde MS in facsimile. Introduction by Peter van Poucke. Peer, Belgium: Alamire, 1991.

*Lieder*: Riesencodex MS in facsimile. Edited by Lorenz Welker, commentary by Michael Klaper. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichart Verlag, 1998.

*Lieder: Nach den handschriften*. Edited by Pudentiana Barth, Immaculata Ritscher, and Joseph Schmidt-Görg. Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1969.

*The Miniatures from the Book Scivias—Know the Ways—of St Hildegard of Bingen from the illuminated Rupertsberg codex*. Edited by Adelgundis Führkötter. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1977. Excellent.

Lachman, Barbara: *The Journal of Hildegard of Bingen*. New York: Bell Tower, 1993. Prose-poem containing valuable insights into twelfth-century monastic liturgical life and music. (Source of translation for Example 18.)

*Hildegard, the Last Year*. Boston: Shambhala, 1997. A meditation on silence and music in 1178.

Sources for *Visitatio sepulchri* and *Peregrinus*. These liturgical music-dramas are from the thirteenth-century *Fleury Playbook*, a collection of ten such dramas. Originally in the library of the Abbey of St. Benoît de Fleury, the book is now housed in the bibliothèque de la Ville at Orléans. Both early and later manuscripts give text and melodic pitches, but carry no indication of rhythm, which must be supplied.

For the melodies and texts of the plays:

de Coussemaker, E. *Drames Liturgiques du Moyen Age*. Rennes, 1860; reprinted in New York: Broude Brothers, 1964

Tintori, G. *Sacre Rappresentazioni nel Manoscritto 201...Orléans*. Text, transcription, commentary, reproduction of the manuscript. Cremona: Athenaeum Cremonense, 1958.

Collins, jr., Fletcher. *Medieval Church Music-Dramas: A Repertory of Complete Plays*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976.

*The Fleury Playbook*. Ed. Thomas P. Campbell & Clifford Davidson. Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1985.

For the melodies and texts of the hymns:

*Antiphonale monasticum*. Tournai: Desclée, 1934.

*Graduale sarisburiense*. London: Plainsong & Medieval Music Society, 1884. With J. Wickham Legg's *The Sarum Missal*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916.

Terence Bailey; *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1971.

Rhythmic transcriptions are by the Schola Antiqua. Translations of the liturgical dramas and very many of the polyphonic works are by Lawrence Rosenwald.

## APPENDIX

### METZ/ST.-GALL/SCHOLA ANTIQUA NEUME CHART

At the beginning of Section III, an apology was made for the poor appearance of many of the musical examples. A second apology is in order here. The purpose of a neume chart is to help musicians identify and interpret the signs they see. In the case of three special neumes—the *salicus*, the *oriscus*, and the *pressus*—there is not always a consistency between the Schola Antiqua's neumes found in Section III and the Schola's neumes within the chart that follows. This book has been in the writing for fifteen years, based on twenty years' theoretical and practical work before that, and neume chart and musical examples did not always keep up with one another. I am seventy-three, and fear that if I do not stop tinkering with details, this will never get out. And I dare to think that it is important musically. Hopefully, however, the chart will answer many questions and solve some problems regarding musicology and performance. The interpretations of the special neumes on page 115 will most likely always be a matter for discussion, but the views espoused here do seem reasonable, and they work in performance.

Draft NEUME	METZ	MODERN	DESCRIPTION	ST. GALL
<u>ORDINARY NEUMES</u>				
<i>punctum</i> [point]	•	◻	single short	•
<i>tractulus</i> [extended, dash of pen]	~	◻ or ◊	single long (St. Gall: relatively low; follows same <i>episema</i> rule as <i>virga</i> ; always [with no <i>episema</i> ] long in a <i>climicus</i> , and before a <i>quilisma</i> )	—
<i>franculus</i>		◻◻	(St. Gall only) double long	↵
<i>virga</i> [green twig, rod]	b /	a ◻, or ◻ or ◊ b ◻ or ◊	single long, higher than the preceding (St. Gall: not low as such, rather high relative to the note preceding and/or following; a: single short, when occurring among notes within a syllable, but long if standing alone or as the last note on a syllable [the <i>episema</i> is understood]); b: single long	a / b ↗
<i>pes, podatus</i> [foot]	a ↵ b ↗ c ↘	a ◻◻ b ◻◻ c ◻◻	two, rising	a ↵ b ↗ c ↵
<i>clivis</i> [a slope]	a ↘ c ~ d ~ e ~ f ~ g ~	a ◻◻ b ◻◻ c ◻◻ d ◻◻◻ e ◻◻◻◻ f ◻◻◻◻ g ◻◻◻◻ or ◻◻◻◻	two, descending [ <i>clivis</i> + <i>pes</i> ]	a ↘ b ↘ c ↘ d ~ e ~
<i>climacus</i>	a ∴ b ∴ c ∴ d ∴ e ~	a ◻◻◻ b ◻◻◻ c ◻◻◻ d ◻◻◻ e ◻◻◻	three or more, descending (St. Gall: <i>tractuli</i> always long [ <i>episemata</i> understood])	a ∴ b ↘ or ↘ or ↘ c ↘ d ↘ or ↘ or ↘ e ↘

Draft NEUME	METZ	MODERN	DESCRIPTION	ST. GALL
<i>scandicus</i> [climbing]		a	three, ascending (St. Gall: last note follows <i>episema</i> rule for <i>virga</i> )	a
	b	b		b
	c	c		c
	d	d		d
<i>porrectus</i> [reached-out]		a	three, high-low-final (Metz: the last note is always long) (St. Gall: last note follows <i>episema</i> rule for <i>virga</i> )	a
	b	b		b
	c	c		
	d	d		d
	e	e		
	f	f		
	g	g		
<i>torculus</i> [winepress]	a & b	a	three, low-high-low (Metz: two shorts & one long, if occurring before a new syllable or before a higher- or lower-pitched long; otherwise, three shorts) (St. Gall: a & b: note follows <i>episema</i> rule for <i>virga</i> )	a & b
		b		b
		c		c
	d	d		d
	e	e		
	f	f		d

METZ RHYTHMIC LETTERS:

*t* = *tene* [hold]: lengthen slightly  
*n* = *non* [do not (hold/speed)]: *gut im Takt*

*c* = *celeriter* [quickly]: shorten slightly  
*a* = *auge* [lengthen]: extend voice from 1st through to 2nd note--hence, tie or slur

SOME OTHER LETTERS IN METZ:

*f* = *s* = *sursum* [lift up]: high-pitched  
*m* = *mediocriter* [medium]: mid-pitched

*h* = *humiliter* [low]: low-pitched  
*eq* = *equaliter*: same pitch as preceding note

SPECIAL NEUMES

liquescent and graced neumes (see also broken <i>tractulus</i> , below; and d, e, & f in <i>strophe</i> , below)	a	a	the liquescent neume consists of two notes, the 2nd of which is lower or higher, and muted; a: liquescent <i>tractulus</i> (downward); b: liquescent <i>virga</i> (downward); c: liquescent <i>tractulus</i> (upward); d: liquescent <i>virga</i> (upward); the grace-note is sung lightly & quickly	a
	b	b		c
	c	c		
	d	d		
	e	e  or		
	f	f		
	g	g		
	h	h		
	i	i		
	j	j  or  (last note follows rule for <i>torculus</i> )		
	k	k		
	l	l		
	m	m		
	n	n		
	o	o		
		p	p	
	q	q		
	r	r		

<i>strophae</i>	a ..	a	lightly (except in dramatic context) repercussed, but not separated <i>staccato</i> ; 1st or final note may be of different pitch from the others (St. Gall: last note follows <i>episema</i> rule for <i>virga</i> )	
	b ...	b		b  or
	c ....	c		c  or
	d ~	d		
	e ...	e		
	f ..	f		
	g ..	g		
	h ...	h		
	i ...	i		
	j ~	j		

Draft NEUME	METZ	MODERN	DESCRIPTION	ST. GALL
<i>quilisma</i> [to roll off]	a	a	inverted-triplet turn, in length one short, lightly rolling off the (usually) long note preceding (St. Gall: double loop: the note following is a whole-tone up; triple loop: the note following is greater/lesser than a whole tone up; preceding <i>tractulus</i> always a long [ <i>episema</i> understood])	a
	b	b		b
	c	c		
	d	d		
<i>trigon</i>	a	a	the 1st note is ancillary to the 2nd and begins roughly a 1/4-tone lower; (Metz: last note follows rule for <i>torculus</i> )	a
	b	b		
	c	c		
<i>salicus</i> [to leap]	a	a	the ornament begins on pitch, with the voice bending downwards before ascending to the next note	a
	b	b		
	c	c		
	d	d		
	e	e		
		f		f
<i>oriscus</i>	a	a	the ornament is a long note that begins on pitch, bends slightly first above then below the pitch, and returns to the pitch	a
	b	b		
	c	c		
	d	d		
	e	e		
	f	f		
<i>pressus</i> [to lean upon]		a	the ornament begins on pitch, with the voice bending upwards before resolving in the (usually) next note	a
	b	b		b
	c	c		c
	d	d		
	e	e		
broken <i>tractulus</i>	a	a	(Metz only) a long divided into two shorts sung in a lightly plosive fashion, with the 2nd note sung as a short <i>pressus</i> ; usually preceded by a grace-note	
	b	b		
	c	c		
	d	d		
	e	e		
	f	f		
	g	g		

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