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Chants for the post-Tridentine Mass Proper

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ABSTRACT. *In summarizing the findings of a forthcoming monograph and edition, this article reviews the forces leading to the major revisions of chant characteristic of the period 1590–1890. It identifies the major independent editions, outlines their chief characteristics, and documents the need for a geography of chant practice during these centuries. The fundamental changes wrought by the several editors brought about an individualization in melodic constructions and undoubtedly caused accompanying differences in learning processes. New comparative transcriptions of the* Alleluia Veni Domine *provide a view of representative editorial processes.*

Much of my research over the past dozen years has been directed towards constructing a panorama of the post-Tridentine Mass Proper. The fruits of these labours are set forth in two sizeable volumes, comprising a study and an edition, *An Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper*, to be issued by the American Institute of Musicology. The bulk of the study is given over to a detailed examination of a group of five Masses, fleshed out by a selected miscellany of chants, attempting to give a reasonably balanced account of the various repertories involved. (The fields of *plainchant musical* and Neo-Gallican chant are covered in separate chapters.) The main thrust of the study is comparable to that of earlier work that I have done in chant; I maintain that a well-grounded understanding of the subject can be achieved only by wrestling with the details of representative individual readings. Many important conclusions emerge during the course of the study, but it may be that these do not stand out sufficiently from the surrounding thickets of detail. Thus I welcome the opportunity to distil into minimal space the issues that I view as essential, feeling that I have provided elsewhere the necessary detailed justification.

The ultimate foundation for post-Tridentine chant was obviously laid many centuries before 1600, indeed with the very advent of the repertory that is commonly known as Gregorian chant. It is well known that when the Franks chose to adopt and adapt Roman chant in the mid-eighth century, they associated with it the legend of its creation through the agency of the Holy Spirit, descended in the form of a dove, perched on the shoulder of Pope Gregory I, and singing the melodies into the ear of that saint. This legend had profound consequences through the centuries. The first and primary was a drive for the preservation of the melodies unchanged. It is an act of unforgivable hubris to alter the work of the Divine. This led quickly to a perceived

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need for the development of musical notation, to keep the errors of faulty memory to a minimum. To be sure, the goal of perfect preservation was an unattainable utopia. From a very early date dialectal variants made themselves manifest in different areas; we speak of Western and Eastern dialects, each with distinctive traits. Nevertheless, when one considers the chants as entities, one finds more often than not that the transmission is remarkably stable in terms of the numbers of notes and their underlying profiles. At those times when chants were revised for reasons of theoretical propriety (modal integrity), the need for the revisions was justified through claims of faulty transmission attributed to ignorant singers. This is particularly clear when dealing with Cistercian practice. Other conflicts arose at times because of the arbitrary limitations of the medieval pitch vocabulary. On the other hand, the Gregorian legend held no special force for chants created at times subsequent to the fixing of the portion of the repertory with Roman antecedents. Later additions to the repertory might be transmitted in stable fashion, but they might alternatively be transmitted with remarkable variants.

During the sixteenth century, humanistic values proclaiming the centrality of the sacred texts and establishing the forms of musical setting that were appropriate to the proper enunciation of the text grew rapidly in importance. More and more, both churchmen and philosophers chafed irritably with early medieval practices of text setting. The flash point came about with Pope Gregory XIII's well-known letter of 25 October 1577 to Palestrina and Zoilo, in which he describes the chant books of the time as having 'been filled to overflowing with barbarisms, obscurities, contrarieties, and superfluities as a result of the clumsiness or negligence or even wickedness of the composers, scribes, and printers'.[1] These he wishes to be purged, corrected and reformed so that 'God's name may be reverently, distinctly, and devoutly praised'. The letter is unintentionally ironic in that secular scholars of this time had already begun to construct scholarly editions of classics from antiquity. The pope does not request a thorough examination of the medieval chant books that were then available and the selection of better readings. Chant as he knows it clashes so profoundly with his system of aesthetics that it *must* be wrong. Verification is superfluous. Yet it is impossible to attribute the 'faults' to the insufficiency of the Holy Spirit, or the laxness of St Gregory. These faults could only have come about in the process of transmission. It is immaterial whether clumsiness, negligence or wickedness was involved or whether the abysmal state is to be laid at the doors of the singers, scribes or printers. The form of music known to him was intolerable, and it was deemed necessary to rectify this state of affairs.

It is of course well known that while Palestrina was initially interested in this enterprise, he never followed through and the project languished. It would seem, however, that the nature of the letter became known, and in rapid succession churchmen in many parts of continental Europe, persons of 'taste and learning', took it upon

[1] Translation after Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950), 358. The original text was published in Raphael Molitor, *Die nach-Tridentinische Choralreform zu Rom*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1901–2), 1:297–8.

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themselves to rework chant according to their individual personal standards. Within the last decade of the sixteenth century no fewer than six different editorial enterprises saw the light of day. The title-page of the earliest of the French reform editions, issued in Bordeaux by the press of Simon Millange in 1598/99 informs us that the chants contained therein have been 'carefully emended according to the oldest exemplars, restored to their pristine splendour, and corrected throughout of improper accents'.[2] This is a pretty fiction, but a fiction nonetheless. The earlier print of 1591 issued by Angelo Gardano refers more modestly to chant as having 'fallen into numerous errors through the passage of time. [These have been] emended by several of the most excellent musicians through extensive study and work.'[3] The self-encomium, 'Purged of errors', becomes something of a mantra for seventeenth-century title-pages. The title-pages of the remaining three prints of the 1590s are less informative; they come from a set of four volumes edited by Johannes Flandrus (Juan Flamenco) brought out in Madrid, 1595–7, a print brought out in Venice by Giunta in 1596, and a print brought out in Antwerp by the Plantin press under the direction of Johannes Moretus (Jan Moerentorf) in 1599. In 1600, the firm of Piotrkowczyk issued still another Gradual in Krakow.

One of the important questions that we face when dealing with post-Tridentine chant involves the determination of the number of independent editorial enterprises. We have only a partial answer at this time. For reasons of necessity, I have focused almost entirely on printed Graduals. With isolated exceptions the field of late manuscript Graduals remains a *terra incognita*. It is necessary to begin with a focus on printed Graduals because these are the ones most likely to be catalogued by librarians. Many of the surviving manuscript Graduals are held by religious institutions and are not to be found in publicly available listings.

During the second decade of the seventeenth century, there are two further independent revisions of chant, that issued in Rome by the Medici Press in 1614/15, and that brought out in Tournai in 1616 by the firm headed by the widow of Nicolas Laurent. Following a hiatus of several decades, there was issued a German revision, brought out by Christian Küchler in Mainz in 1671. There were also independent editions prepared for the Cistercians, the Premonstratensians and the Dominicans, the last appearing in 1722. Then we seem to skip into the mid-nineteenth century with the Gradual of Louis Lambilotte, brought out posthumously in 1857 in Paris by the firm of LeClere. There are, to be sure, conservative sources, such as those printed for the Carthusian order and occasional manuscript Graduals, that adhere with reasonable fidelity to late medieval readings. In the nineteenth century, we find Graduals, such as those brought out under the direction of the Ecclesiastical Commission of Reims and Cambrai, that attempt a partial return to the readings of medieval chant. Intertwined

[2] *Graduale Romanum Integrum, Complectens cantum Gregorianum officii totius anni, tam de Tempore, quam de Sanctis, A nonnullis viris piis Musicæ peritissimis, præcipueque a D. G. Bony Cantore & Canonico Ecclesiae Metropolitanæ Tolosatum Musico celeberrimo ad vetustissimorum exemplarium fidem accurate emendatum, ac pristino nitori restitutum, correctis ubique pravis accentibus.*

[3] '*. . . et a multis erroribus temporis lapsis. Magno studio ac labore multorum Eccellentissimorum Musicorum emendatum.*'

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with these there are the efforts towards a full restoration of medieval chant undertaken by the monks of Solesmes and by Michael Hermesdorff.

For the most part, the multitudinous printed Graduals issued between 1590 and 1880 are members of traditions formed by one or another of the editions mentioned previously. For example, the Ingolstadt editions of 1618 (by Angermaier) and 1630 (by Sutor) seem to be fairly accurate duplications of the Plantin edition of 1599. Strikingly, the Krakovian editions by Piotrkowczyk of 1600, 1629 and 1651 also trace their ancestry to the Plantin prototype. Yet the Polish editor has chosen to retain his prerogative for change. Although major portions of the chants contained in these editions seem clearly to reflect the influence of the Plantin model and are explainable only through the postulate of direct influence, one also finds from time to time individual passages that depart significantly from this model. If further study demonstrates these provisional conclusions to be well founded, one can only be amazed by the speed of transmission from Antwerp to Krakow. Later publications from the Netherlands follow either the Plantin tradition or the one begun by Laurent. Most later French publications trace their ancestry to the Millange edition of 1598/9, although we may remark on a certain independence to be found in the editions of Cramoisy & Clopeiau and Rigoine (edited by Jean Millet). Later Venetian Graduals form a tradition founded on the 1596 Giunta publication and continued by subsequent Graduals issued by the same firm as well as competitors such as Ciera, Baba, Baglioni and Pezzana. The 1847 Gradual issued in Turin by Canfari also belongs to the same tradition. Again one finds variants among this series of books, some of which can be quite fascinating.

On the other hand neither the Gardano Gradual of 1591, edited by Andrea Gabrieli, Orazio Vecchi and Ludovico Balbi, nor the Medici Gradual of 1614/15, edited by Anerio and Soriano, find direct successors. The Gardano reading of the gradual *Ex Sion species* is to be found among most French prints, but I am not now aware of any further instance of this kind. The Medici Gradual is reflected in isolated passages in a few chants among later Venetian Graduals, creating curious hybrid readings, but I am not aware of any later Gradual that quotes a complete reading that duplicates this idiosyncratic publication.

The caution stated earlier on regarding the need for a complementary study of manuscript Graduals, or, more likely, a series of studies is borne out through an examination of a large, five-volume set of chant books preserved at the Cathedral of Ghent, entitled *Graduale Romanum ad usam exemptae ecclesiae Cathedralis S. Bavonis, Gandavensis*, dated 1659. This extraordinarily handsome, meticulously prepared set of books constitutes a third Belgian tradition, one that is quite Italianate in its editing style, yet without being related to any Italian Gradual now known.

The existence of these several traditions will require the eventual construction of a geography of European chant practice *c*. 1590–1890. Furthermore, this geography must take into account the transportability of printed books. We cannot rely simply on the places of publication of the various editions in constructing our geography of chant practice. One finds, for example, that the three Venetian editions issued beginning in the 1760s by Jean-Nicolas Galles are French through and through, despite

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being described as 'cantui Romano simillima'. As a second example, one ought to take into account that the church of St Peter in Salzburg purchased multiple copies of chant books from the firm of Belgrand and Laurent in Toul. In his native city, the young Mozart was likely exposed to the French dialect of chant, while his early journeys to Italy may have made him aware of the Venetian dialect through performances based on editions by the successors of Giunta. Copies of books issued by Baglioni and by the Medici Press made their way to Vienna. Other examples will likely surface if we persist in keeping our eyes open when making bibliographical searches. This task will demand the cooperation of the scholarly community if we are to make meaningful progress. Our present outlines must remain fluid and cannot be regarded as anything more than tentative.

The need to be mindful of the potential for the broad distribution of any individual chant print is only one of the concerns in constructing a geography of chant practice in the period 1590–1890. It is necessary also to be aware that several different versions of chant might co-exist in a number of major centres. For example, during the years 1675–1725, one might have heard in Paris, the customary French revisions that originated just before the end of the sixteenth century. But one could also have heard the variant version issued by Cramoisy & Clopeiau in 1662, as well as the different editions prepared for the Cistercians, Premonstratensians and the Dominicans, together with the conservative readings of the Carthusians, the *plainchant musical* of Nivers, and some early branch (or branches) of Neo-Gallican chant. Lyon was another city that was host to a number of quite distinctive readings of chant, including one print of 1738 that includes readings not only of numerous offertory verses, but also rare instances of the *versus ad repetendum* for introits, and communions with psalm verses.

The changes wrought in chant as a result of the newly acquired editorial freedoms may be subsumed under two main categories and a subsidiary one. Before treating these, it would be well to note that the chant texts themselves underwent certain changes in the *Missale Romanum* of 1570, now available in facsimile edition.[4] I do not estimate these to be overly frequent, but I have not compiled a full list. Nevertheless, several are quite obvious and these each have an effect on the music. The omission of the opening word of the introit for St Stephen, *Etenim sederunt principes*, has only slight effect on the musical substance. The tones for 'etenim' are easily absorbed into the remainder of the first phrase. On the other hand, the addition of the word, 'Israel', at the very end of the verse to the *Alleluia Veni Domine* is associated in some sources with a major reworking of the final melisma. In their medieval versions, the offertories for the first two Sundays after Epiphany, *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* and *Jubilate Deo universa terra*, each feature non-scriptural repetitions of the opening clause. These are excised in the readings of the 1570 Missal, and this requires major melodic adjustments. The opposite situation may also arise. The offertory, *Dextera Domini*, for the third Sunday after Epiphany and other occasions in the Church year, is based on a scriptural text that makes a threefold reference to the Right Hand of the Lord, producing an a–b–a structure. In the medieval setting

[4] *Missale Romanum, Editio Princeps (1570)*, Monumenta Liturgica Concilii Tridentini **2**, ed. Manlio Sodi and Achille Maria Triacca (Vatican City, 1998).

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of this text, the final reference is excised. In many post-Tridentine Graduals, this third phrase is restored and requires that new music be supplied.

The most scathing of the criticisms levelled against medieval chant by Pope Gregory XIII is that concerning barbarisms, the setting of words in such fashion that unaccented syllables receive a greater number of tones than accented syllables. Very common examples of this practice occur when the word 'Dominus' (in any of its grammatical cases) occurs at the end of a clause, i.e., in cadential position. Often the accented first syllable will receive one tone (e.g., *d*), the unaccented penultimate either three (e.g., *d–e–d*) or six (e.g., *d–e–f–e–d–e*), and the final either one or two (*d*, or *e–d*, respectively). This form of text setting was regarded as intolerable by those who were humanistically inclined. Various remedies were found to address the situation. It was necessary to revamp the alignment between text and music. In the simplest case just cited, the torculus, *d–e–d*, could be assigned to the first syllable, while the last two syllables would receive one tone each. In more complex instances, the readjustment deemed suitable might spill over and involve tone assignments to two or three words in succession. To be sure, not all instances of questionable assignments of tones to syllables were as clear-cut as the one cited. This fluidity opened the door for many differing editorial decisions. The Gardano Gradual of 1591 edited by Andrea Gabrieli and Orazio Vecchi seems relatively conservative in these matters, not departing from medieval readings more than was necessary. The Giunta Gradual of 1596, on the other hand, was much more free in the use of editorial revisions.

The desire to accord priority to textual clarity and proper accentuation in chant gave rise to a desideratum for chant that had even more far-reaching effects. An economical delivery of text was fostered. This led to a sharp pruning, if not virtual elimination of melismata. Pope Gregory's reference to 'superfluities' was likely directed to what he viewed as excessive floridity. This, of course, affected graduals, alleluias, tracts, and offertories more than the simpler introits and communions. The longer the melisma, the more likely it was to be reduced in size. This tendency seems to have roots in the decades preceding the Council of Trent, during which time one may find examples of alleluias whose melismas are reduced, particularly at the end of the verse. As a rule of thumb, the Italian editions of chant tend to be considerably terser than those from more northerly countries. The French, Netherlanders and Germans do reduce the size of the melismas, but normally leave more of the original substance than do their Italian confreres, the firm of Giunta being the most prominent of the latter. At the same time, it is necessary to allow for exceptions, such as the multipartite manuscript Gradual preserved at the Cathedral of Ghent with its markedly succinct style.

Our evidence shows that the post-Tridentine chant revisers tended to proceed on a chant by chant basis. The repertory of medieval chant, on the other hand, was constructed in opposite fashion. The several genres tended to be built on the bonds of common formulaic usage. The size of the material shared in common could vary considerably, from the near totality of major structural units such as the alleluia verses belonging to a single melody family to largish phrases or even comparatively small ones in graduals and tracts. A singer thoroughly familiar with the *Alleluia Dies*

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sanctificatus could use his familiarity to enable him to recall the dozens of other alleluias belonging to the same family provided that he could keep in mind the relatively limited adjustments necessary to accommodate the different sizes and shapes of the texts. The burden of the singers in learning the various second-mode graduals was greatly lessened in the same manner. These forms of assistance were not available to singers following 1590. Chants that were once closely related became far more individualized. I suggest that the singers' tasks now were much greater than the capacities of most memories. It was necessary for learning processes that had formerly functioned primarily through oral instruction – aided to be sure by written documents – to be transformed into others that depended primarily on reading – even though reinforced by oral instruction and memory. This is a very profound change. Nevertheless, the postulate is supported when we investigate the considerable differences in the transmissions of individual members of melody families, and it is supported to an even greater degree when we explore the differences occurring in the transmission of formulaic phrases in graduals and tracts. Oftentimes a scholar comparing passages that had been virtually identical during the Middle Ages will come upon later counterparts that are so different from one another that their common origins would hardly be suspected. Again, northern chant editions tend to preserve more of the formulaic structures than do their southern counterparts.

A third area of change involved modal constructions. Those familiar with medieval chant are of course aware that the sense of tonal centricity could vary from one chant to another. Often this sense was fairly strong. But there were other chants, including several in mode 4, where the sense of a single dominating tone centre is at quite a low level. Anerio and Soriano, the editors of the Medicean Gradual, were especially concerned that the individual chants should each open on the final, and that the final should appear prominently in the central portions of the chant. But other editors shared similar concerns to a lesser extent. Here too it is necessary to allow for exceptions. The transmission of the gradual for the first Sunday of Advent, *Universi qui te exspectant*, illustrates multiple problems concerning modality, both at the opening and at the close. Although the chant is normally classified in mode 1, the opening melisma in normative medieval readings descends to A, employing the lower tetrachord of mode 2. Offended by this violation of modal unity, the Cistercians replaced the opening phrase with one built on a characteristic first-mode formula. This revision carries over in the post-Tridentine prints of Cistercian chant. Other prints cut the melisma, eliminating the offensive descent to A, and limiting the descent to the *sub tonum*. The change that occurs at the end of the verse is much more unexpected. The last tone, *d*, is simply dropped and the end takes place on *e*. This first occurs in the Ciera Gradual of 1618, and one is tempted to jump to the conclusion that we are in the presence of a printer's error. However, this hypothesis must be abandoned when we observe that the same variant is to be found in subsequent editions by Giunta, Ciera, Baba, Baglioni and Pezzana. Furthermore, when we reach a Turinese print of 1847 by Canfari, we find that the chant is assigned numerically to mode 3! One is at a loss to account for this form of thinking. Not only does the respond end on *d*, but the verse opens on the same note. And the skeleton tones of *d*, *f*, *a* and *c′* play an

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important role in the verse. There is little, if anything, that would encourage one to envisage an ending on *e*.

Still other forms of revision may be found in post-Tridentine editions of chant, but these are not easily subsumed under large groupings. At isolated times one may find an example of text painting, as for example in the setting of 'quia hodie descendit' from the verse of the *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus* in the reading of the Medicean Gradual. More often one is hard pressed to find a cogent reason for certain changes in phrase shape and is apt to attribute the revision to editorial whim.

In addition to what one may loosely call the mainstream of chant practice during the period 1590–1890, there are two more specialized repertories that contribute to overall variety. The more limited of these is constituted of *plainchant musical*, a highly simplified style of chant. Introduced in 1634 by François Bourgoing, *plainchant musical* played a modest role in a small number of settings for the Mass Ordinary by a few composers such as Henry Dumont. Among published Graduals, however, the style is utilized only in a group of three volumes issued by Guillaume Gabriel Nivers in 1658 for the use of Nuns of the Augustinian, Benedictine and Franciscan Orders, respectively. These were reissued on an irregular basis until 1734. A few of the melodies are of Gregorian origin, but most are newly composed, albeit with occasional references to their medieval predecessors. These chants tend to be mainly syllabic, although interspersed with occasional neumes of two or even three tones. Yet signs for ornaments appear with modest frequency to alleviate the austerity. Nivers tends to use semibreve shapes in order to indicate brevity somewhat more frequently than do his contemporaries employing other styles. In addition to the tonal palette customary to chant, Nivers employs *f*♯, *c*♯ and *g*♯, often in semitone progressions. Many melodies hover in a mixed tonal realm, being neither fully modal in a medieval context nor fully tonal. Even when Nivers employs simple diatonic gestures these depart from those observable in medieval chant.

Neo-Gallican chant was widespread within France. Here one is dealing with a group of repertories from different locales rather than a single repertory either from a single locale or diffused over a wide area. Some of the sources are highly individual, some are slightly connected, and others are strongly interrelated – the later ones being derivative of some earlier model. The various sources contain different mixtures of contents, including late French versions of Gregorian chants as well as new materials. The proportions of these two elements vary widely among different sources. In some instances Gregorian chants account for the great majority of the contents, while in others such chants are quite infrequent. A Neo-Gallican chant may employ a new melody for a traditional text, a new text for a traditional melody, or both new melody and new text. When the same Neo-Gallican text appears in several sources, one may find that it is set by multiple melodies, sometimes of quite varied character. Some instances in which a traditional melody is joined to a new text may be quite obvious, as in late textings of the *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus* melody. But it is likely that other instances are not so apparent and may escape superficial inspection. This problem is rendered complex by the fact that many new melodies follow recognizable Gregorian patterns without, however, taking over the entire melodic substance of a given medieval chant.

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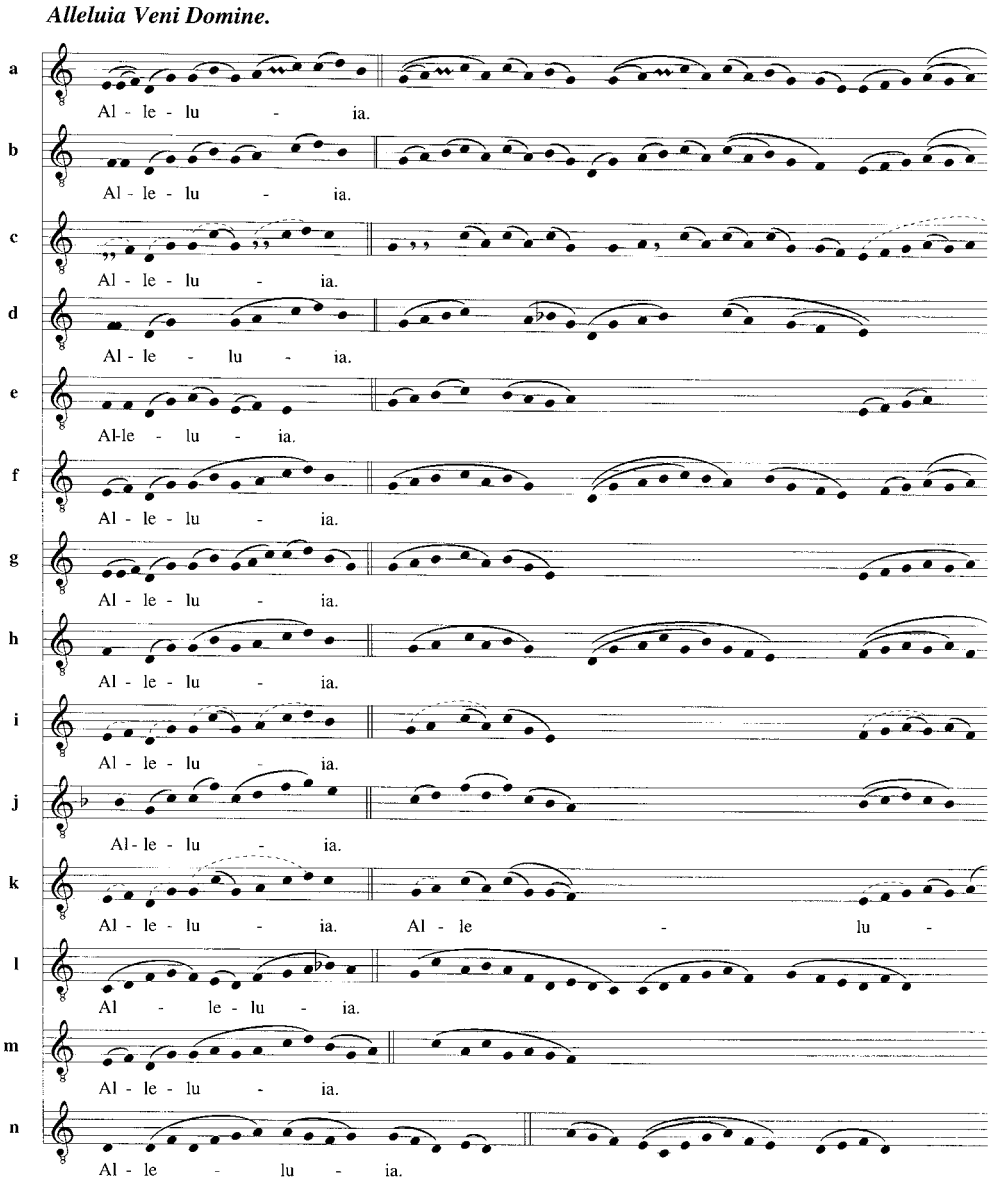
If we evaluate post-Tridentine chant only in terms of its relationships to earlier models, we will almost surely hold it in low esteem. It is understandable that it be thought of as a corruption of a treasured original. I would, however, counsel against the use of such a standard. It would be far preferable in my opinion to reach an assessment based on an examination of its merits as music in the service of an honoured liturgy, quite irrespective of comparisons with its ancestors. I am quite willing to acknowledge that medieval chant holds a greater appeal to my sense of aesthetics, that it presents a broader panorama of opportunities. But there is much in post-Tridentine chant to engage the heart and mind of the listener if only it can be heard as an independent body of music, and not pre-judged as a deformation of a repertory that preceded it.

In order to bring something fresh to this very brief summary of work that has occupied me in the past, I present here a group of comparative transcriptions of the *Alleluia Veni Domine*, a chant not covered in my book. Together with the alleluias *Adducentur regi* and *Paratum cor meum*, *Veni Domine* is part of the core of a fourteen-member family founded on one basic melody. In the first volume of his edition of alleluia melodies,[5] Karlheinz Schlager accords pride of place to the first of these chants. The group is distinguished by the fact that in most untransposed readings the alleluia ends on *e*, while the verse ends on *d*, a trait that provoked discomfort and revision over the course of centuries. We are fortunate that Schlager notes some of the main variants that occur in the transmission of two of these chants,[6] and Urbanus Bomm has also commented on the modal problems.[7] Stringent limits of space prevented both authors from providing full histories of these melodies, and this writer faces similar restraints. Suffice it to say that the transmission of *Veni Domine* is complex and that several of our most valued early sources are either damaged or otherwise incomplete. The reader is invited to compare the selected readings with one another, paying special heed to the treatments of modality and the alignments of text with music. Only minimal comments can be offered. The lower-right edge of the relevant page of the Küchler Gradual of 1671 is lacking, causing the loss of the final cadence of the verse and the opening of the return to the (new) alleluia. I have tried to provide a usable remedy based on the surviving material and the space available to the missing material. The Cistercian Gradual of 1696 transposes the entire Verse up a fifth by virtue of a series of clef errors. The intended realization has been restored by means of comparison with medieval sources which furnish the point of departure for the revised reading. The extraordinary expansiveness of the new final melisma in the Graduale Herbipolense of 1583 may be found nearly ninety years earlier in another Würzburg Gradual issued by Reyser in 1496, but I have not seen this remarkable variant elsewhere among sources available in facsimile. For *Veni Domine* the Piotrkowczyk Gradual of 1600 is quite independent of the Plantin edition. Even when the various comparisons have been completed, much more remains to be done. The

[5] *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi* 7: *Alleluia-Melodien 1, bis 1100* (Kassel, 1968), 6–7.
[6] *Ibid*., 617–18.
[7] *Der Wechsel der Modalitätsbestimmung in der Tradition der Messgesänge im IX. bis XIII. Jahrhundert* (Einsiedeln, 1929; repr. Hildesheim, 1975), 141–2.
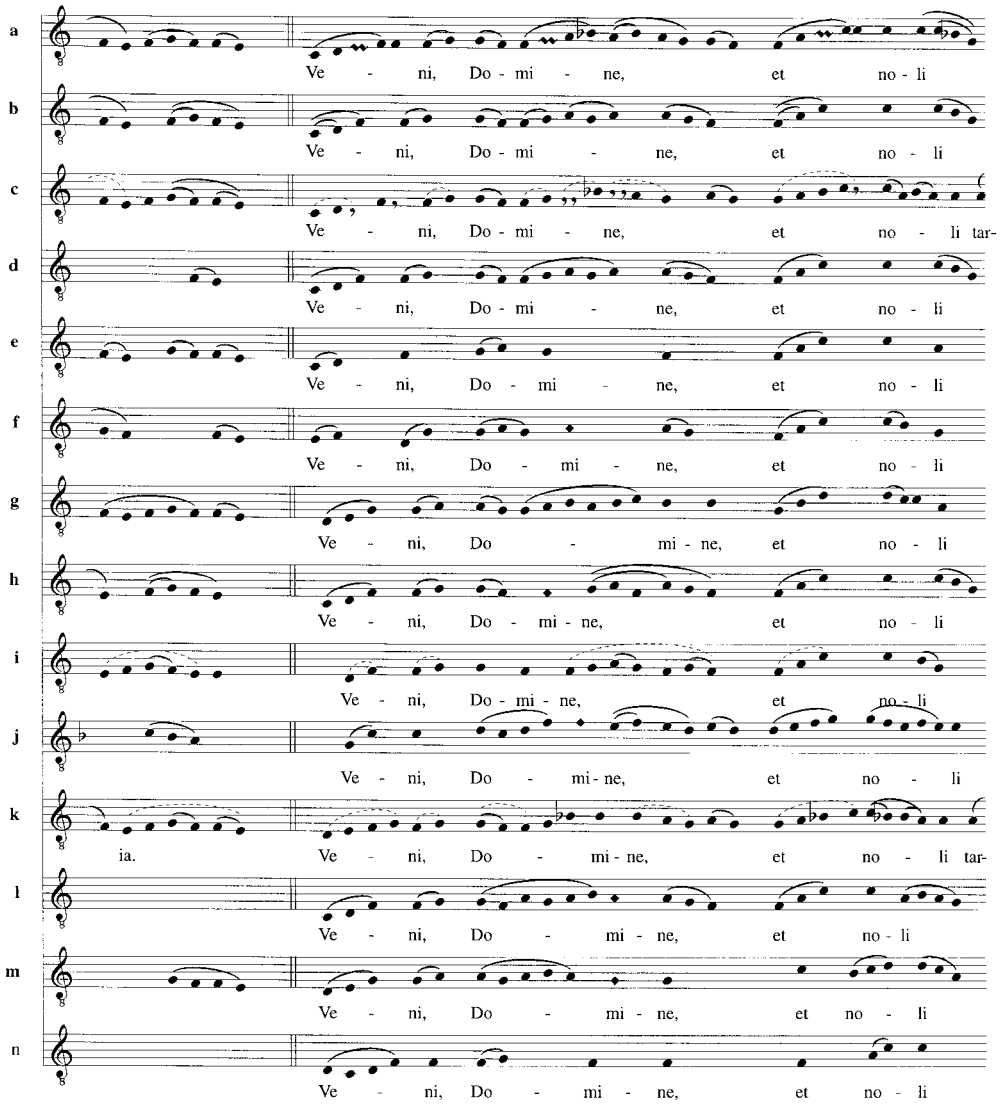
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selected readings should be compared with the readings of the alleluias *Adducentur* and *Paratum cor meum*, in order to establish the level of consistency in the transmission of basically similar materials.
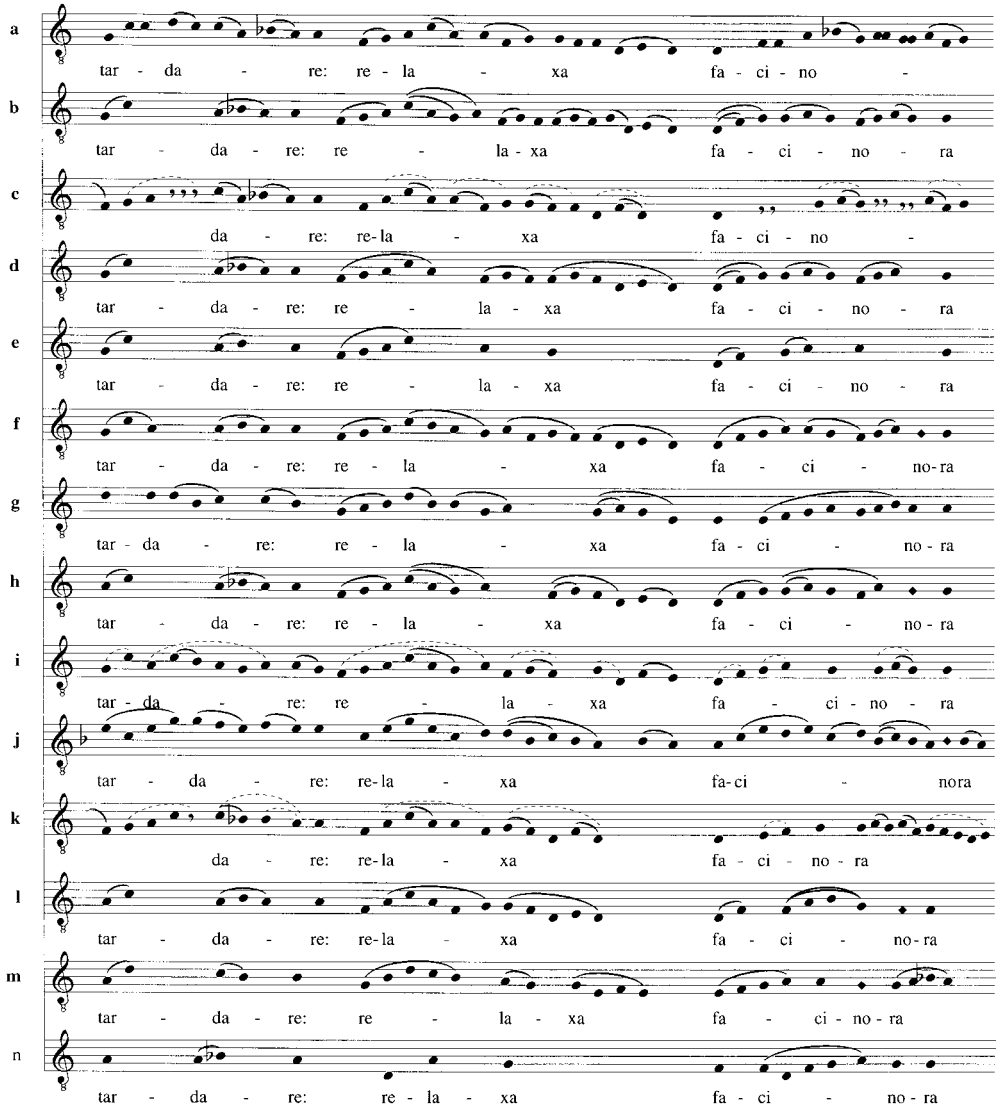


The source citations for the readings provided are as follows: (a) Graduale Triplex; (b) Liechtenstein, 1580; (c) Graduale Herbipolense, 1583; (d) Gardano, 1591; (e) Giunta, 1596; (f) Millange, 1599; (g) Flandrus, 1595; (h) Plantin, 1599; (i) Piotrkowczyk, 1600; (j) Laurent, 1616; (k) Küchler, 1671; (l) Cistercian, 1696; (m) Premonstratensian, 1680; (n) Medici, 1614.

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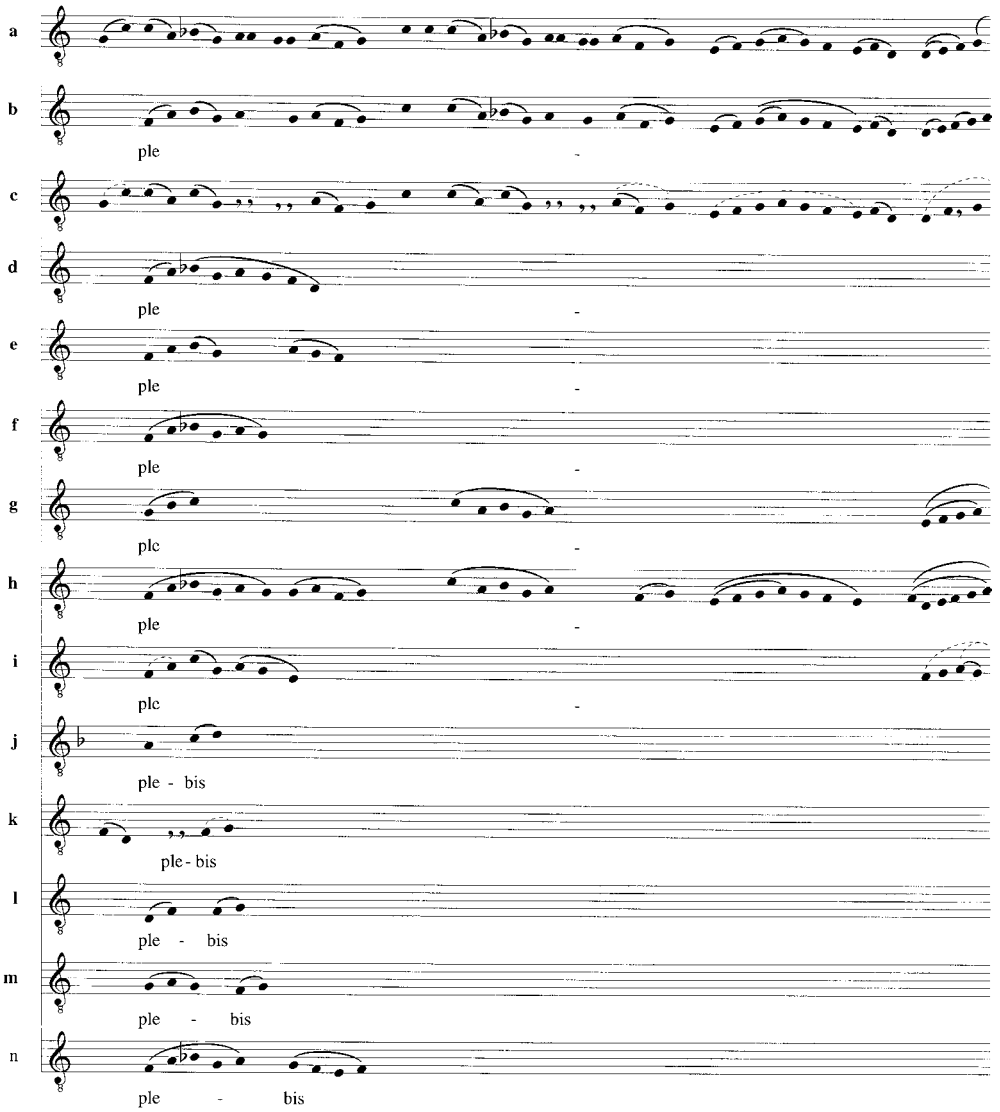
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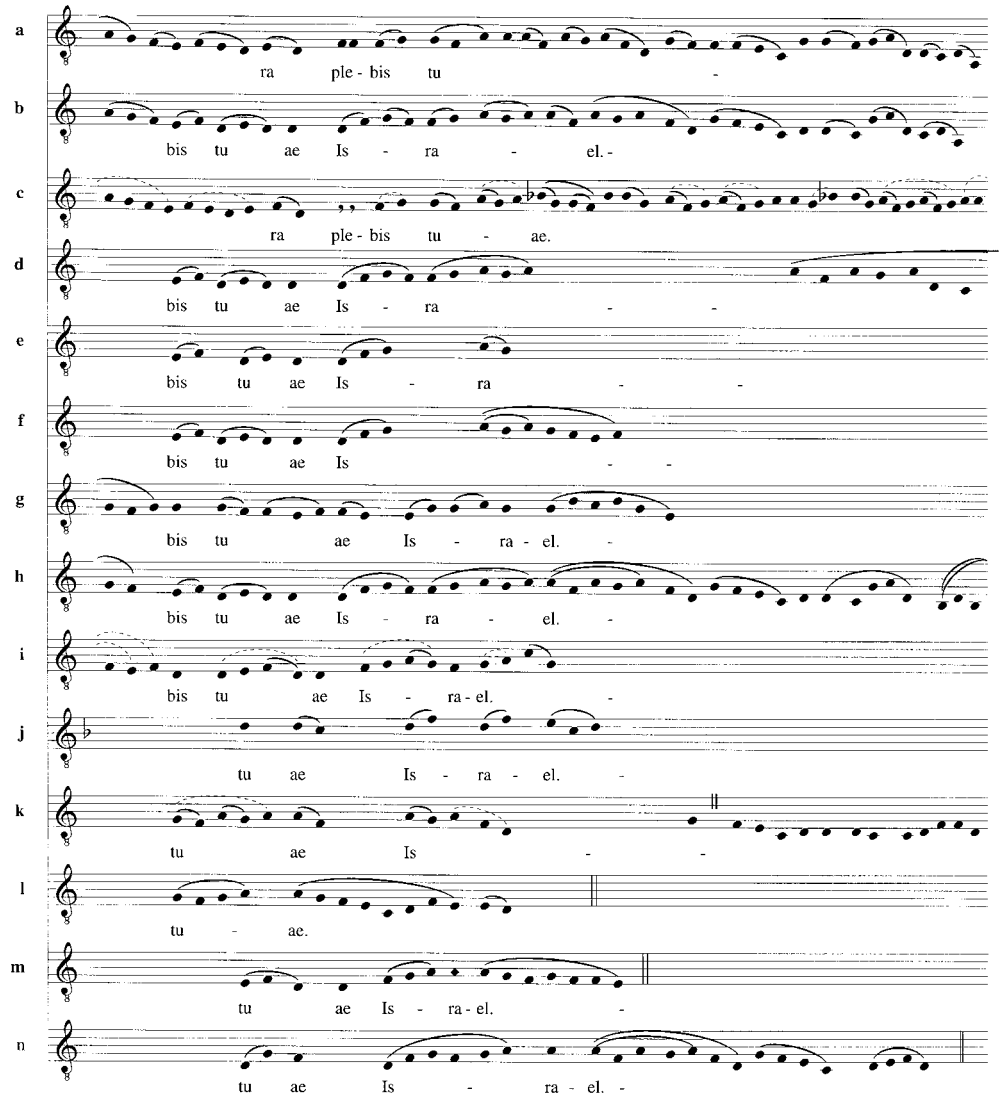


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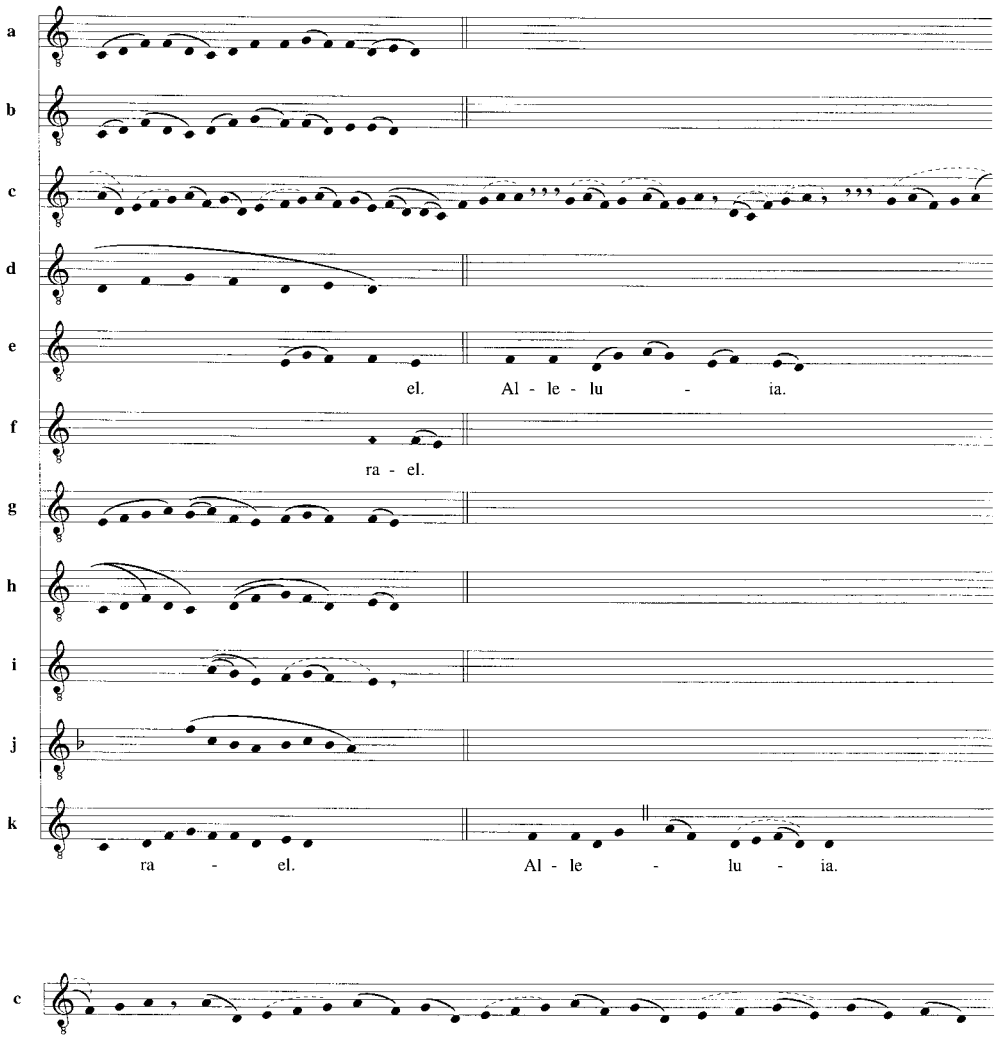
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