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A second medial mode Palestinian chant in Old Roman, Beneventan and Frankish sources

NEIL MORAN*

ABSTRACT. *Chants based on* Crucem tuam *in the second medial mode are examined in Greek, Slavonic and Latin sources. Central to the discussion is the role of Jerusalem in the dissemination of the modal system. On the Latin side, the emphasis is on Old Roman melodies, showing how they reproduce the prototypes more faithfully than Beneventan or Frankish melodies. The analysis does not support certain conclusions regarding the origins of the modal system and the relationship of Old Roman and Gregorian melodies advanced by Robert Snow, Helmut Hucke and Leo Treitler.*

In his dissertation of 1980 on Office antiphons in the Old Roman tradition, Edward Nowacki identified a series of Old Roman melodies that use the chant *Crucem tuam* as a model.[1] These are: *Tres video viros, Inter natos mulierum, Liberabit nos dominus, A viro iniquo, Ante torum huius virginis, Mentem sanctam* and *Justi autem*. In an article from the same year, I suggested that the Old Roman version of *Crucem tuam* was based on the Palestinian chant Τον σταυρον σου.[2] In my article, I compared the Byzantine version in Greek manuscripts with versions in Church Slavonic and Latin. The text of this chant unites the idea of the life-giving Cross as a sign of victory with that of the resurrection:

Τον Σταυρόν σου προσκυνουμεν, Δέσποτα,
και τήν αγίαν σου 'Ανάστασιν δοξάζομεν.

We adore thy cross, O Lord,
and glorify thy holy resurrection

The liturgical celebration of the cross finds its origins in the discovery of the True Cross by Helena in 320 and the dedication of churches on the site of the Holy

*m6045758@hotmail.com

[1] Edward C. Nowacki, 'Studies of the Office Antiphons of the Old Roman Manuscripts', Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University (1980), 255–57, 578–79. The Office antiphons of the codex I – Rvat S Pietro B. 79 are also found in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, C. 5, written in the script known as *carolina romana* of the later eleventh century. See also Jacob Carl Ledwon, 'The Winter Office of Sant' Eutizio di Norcia. A Study of the Contents and Construction of Biblioteca Vallicelliana Manuscripts C 13 and C 5', Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Buffalo (1986).

[2] Neil K. Moran, 'The Chant "Crucem tuam" in the Byzantine, Slavonic and Latin Recension', *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario*, 5 (1980), 35–48.

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Sepulchre and Calvary in Jerusalem on 13 and 14 September 325. From Jerusalem, the ritual spread to other Oriental and Occidental Churches.[3] Rome adopted the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in the seventh century. In the eighth century, the Gallican Churches introduced the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross on 3 May. In the Greek Church, Τον Σταυρόν σου is associated with two feasts with strong ties to the liturgy of Jerusalem: that is, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September) and the feast of the Adoration of the Cross (third Sunday in Lent).[4] The original setting of the troparium was probably within the ceremonies venerating the Holy Cross on Holy Friday, as practised by the Church of Jerusalem, for it was here during Passion Week that the cult of the Cross was observed with particular fervour.

Crucem tuam appears in numerous Latin manuscripts, but, with the exception of the Ambrosian version, they are all distinguished by an additional line of text. Example 1 compares five of these versions with the Greek and Slavonic melodies. From both a text-critical and a musical point of view, the most faithful rendition of the Greek text is preserved in the so-called Old Roman rite (codex Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, lat. 5319). Both the Greek and the Latin versions have eleven syllables in the first line. In the second line, the Old Roman version has one extra syllable, and it omits the initial *et* found in other Latin sources.

Ton stav-ron sou pros-ky-nou-men des-po-ta (11)
Cru-cem tu- am ad- o - ra - mus do-mi-ne (11)

Kai ten a- gi- an sou a -na- sta-sin do-xa- zo-men (14)
Sanc-tam re-sur-rec- ti- on-em tu-am glo-ri-(fi)- ca-mus (15)

In Example 1, four Latin traditions can be distinguished on the basis of the text and melody: an Old Roman, an Ambrosian, a Beneventan and a Gregorian.[5] The Gregorian version introduces the text reading *laudamus et* before *glorificamus* and has *et* before *sanctam*.

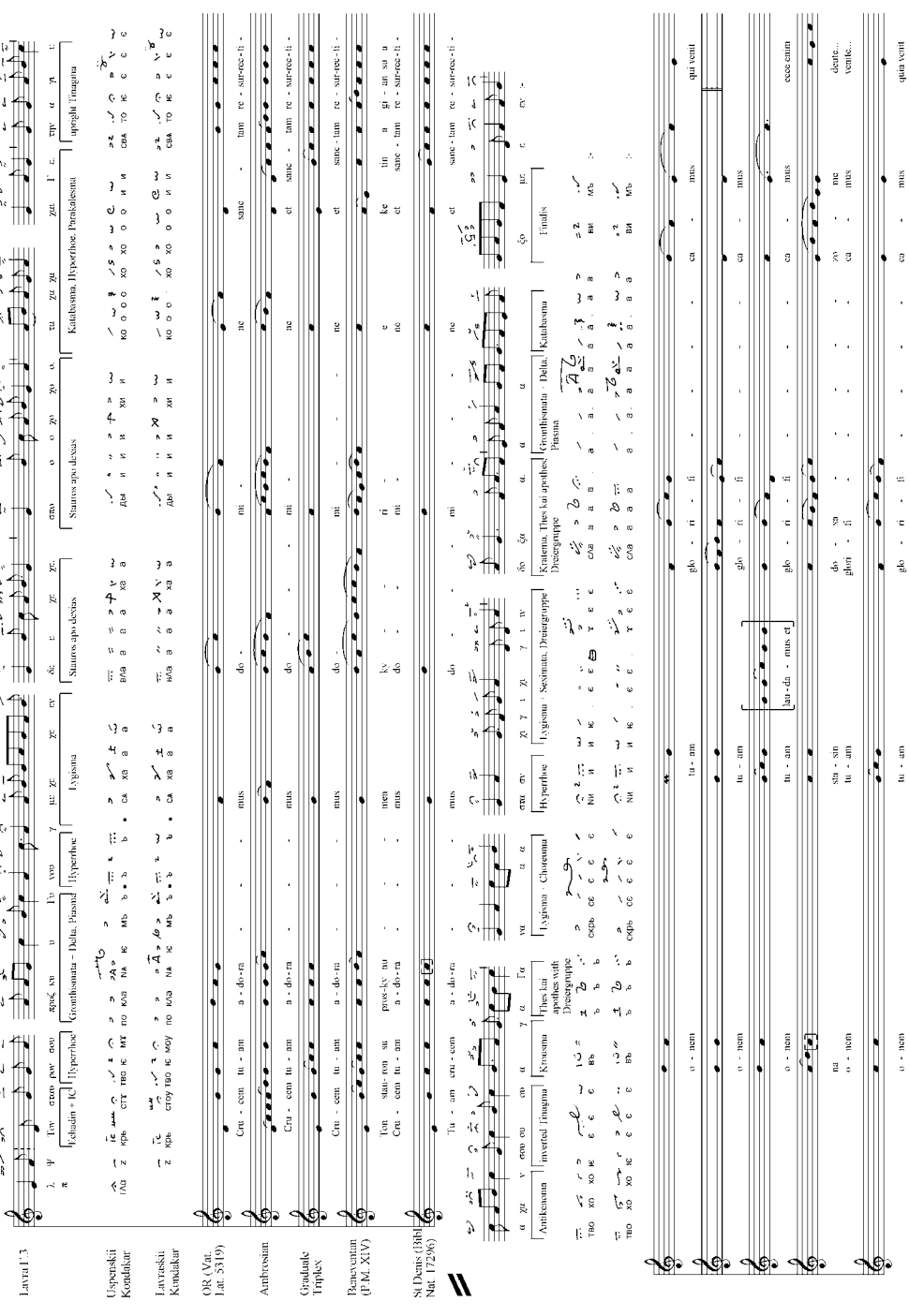
[3] C. Meinberg, 'Cross', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn, (Washington, DC, 2003), 2: 382–3.

[4] H.W. van Os and Géza Jászai, 'Kreuzlegende', *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 2 (Rome, 1970), 642. Anton Baumstark mentions Coptic translations of the text in his article 'Der Orient und die Gesänge der Adoratio crucis', *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 2 (1922), 1–17. On images of the Exaltation of the Cross, see Neil Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Leiden, 1986), 58–65.

[5] Sources of the melodies:
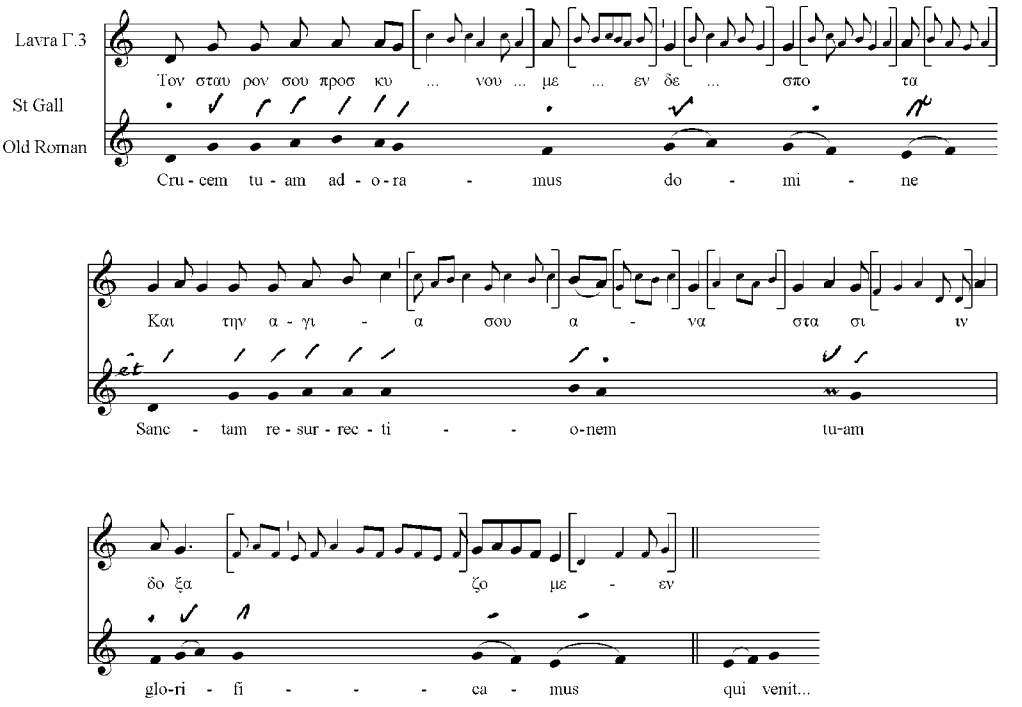
1 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, Γ. 3, fol. 58 (fourteenth century).
2 Moscow, Gosdarstvennyi Istoričeskii Muzei, Usp. 9, Uspenskii Kondakar (dated 1207).
3 Moscow, Rossiiskaya Gosudarstvennaya Biblioteka, Tr.-Serg 23, Lavrskii Kondakar (twelfth century).
4 Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, lat. 5319, fol. 80.
5 *Antiphonale missarum juxta ritum Sanctae Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (Rome, 1935).
6 *Graduale triplex: seu Graduale Romanum Pauli PP. VI cura recognitum & rhythmicis signis signis a Solesmensibus monachis ornatum Neumis Laudunensibus (Cod. 239) et Sangallensibus (Codicum San Gallensis 359359 et Einsidlensis 121) nunc auctum* (Solesmes, 1998), 175.
7 Beneventan version from *Le Codex 10673 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane fonds latin (XIe siècle): Graduel bénéventain*, Paléographie musicale 14 (Tournai, 1931), 311.
8 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 17296, fols. 213v–214 (antiphonary of St Denis).

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Ex. 1 Eight versions of *Crucem tuam.*

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Ex. 2 Greek and Old Roman melodies for the chant *Crucem tuam*.

Cru-cem tu-am ad-o-ra-mus do-mi-ne (11)
Et sanc-tam re-sur-rec-ti-on-em tu-am lau-da-mus et glo-ri-fi-ca-mus (20)

The Old Roman version has the additional line *qui venit salus in universo mundo*. The Gregorian version reads, in contrast, *ecce enim propter crucem venit gaudium in universo mundo.* The bilingual Beneventan version in codex Vatican lat. 10673 in Greek and Latin transmits the Gregorian melody with melismas on the words *domine* and *glorificamus* but it omits the text *laudamus et* and has the additional line *venite gentes adoremus Christi resurrectionem* (=*deute pantes proskynumen tin tu Xristu anastasin*). The *Tuam crucem* from the St Denis antiphonary (Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 17296) begins as the Gregorian recension on *E* but omits the *laudamus et* of the second line. The additional line reads *quia venit salus in universo mundo* as in the Old Roman text.

Books from St Gall preserve both the Gregorian and Old Roman versions of *Crucem tuam*. Bruno Stäblein was of the opinion that the liturgy of St Gall was sung in accordance with the Old Roman chant recension until about 900, when it was replaced by the Gregorian.[6] In Example 2, the Greek version in the Athos manuscript Lavra Γ. 3 (fol. 58) is compared with the Old Roman versions in Vat. lat. 5319 (fol. 30) and the second version of *Crucem tuam* in St Gall, codex 339 (pp. 102–103), which has

[6] Manuscripts from St Gall are available on the internet at Codices Electronici Sangallenses (http:www.cesg.unifr.ch/de/index.htm). Regarding evidence of the Old Roman rite in St Gall see Bruno Stäblein, 'Der "altrömische" Choral in Oberitalien und im deutschen Süden', *Die Musikforschung*, 19 (1966), 3–9.

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the *et* of the Greek original. The Gregorian versions in the St Gall manuscripts 339 (p. 102), 378 (p. 319), 380 (p. 335) and 382 (p. 256) retain the *et* and have the reading *laudamus et*. In these sources, the Gregorian versions have a combination with a quilisma[7] on *domine* while the alternate Old Roman versions have here an episematic flexa (i.e. clivis/clinis).[8] The episem is a rhythmic sign found in St Gall notation, which indicates a lengthening.

The two versions also appear in Aquitanian manuscripts. The antiphonary of St Denis, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 17296 (twelfth century) contains, among a series of antiphons for 14 September, both the Gregorian *Crucem tuam* and a *Tuam crucem* version with the Old Roman text *quia venit salus in universo mundo*.[9] The Aquitanian manuscripts Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 776 and 903 from the first half of the eleventh century has the communion *Tuam crucem* for the Inventio feast on 3 May. Codex Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 776 has the same chant in the liturgy for the Exaltatio on 14 September.[10] Dom René-Jean Hespert records that the ninth-century Compiègne Antiphonary (Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 17436) has the Old Roman text *Crucem tuam adoramus domine et sanctam resurrectionem tuam glorificamus quia venit salus in universo mundo*.

According to Thomas Kelly, the Vatican codex lat. 10673, dating from the beginning of the eleventh century, mixes old Beneventan chant with Gregorian rites for Holy Week.[11] The bilingual chant *Ton stauron/Crucem* is preserved in three codices in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Benevento, namely Ben. 33, Ben. 35 and Ben. 40, as well as in the codices Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana ms 606, Vaticanus latinus 4770 and Vaticanus Barberininus latinus 560.[12] In the transliterated text, the original Δέσποτα is replaced with *kyrie*.[13] These sources can be divided into two

[7] Constantin Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde* (Kassel, 1970), 2:64–78.

[8] Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde* 2:160, 2:47 and 3:348. Floros believes that *clinis* (from κλίνειν) is the correct spelling of *clivis*.

[9] For description of this ms, see http://palmus.free.fr/These/02_12_BNF_03_17296.htm. In his collation of Latin antiphonaries, René-Jean Hesbert notes the presence of both the Gregorian *Crucem tuam* and the Old Roman version in the ninth-century antiphonary of Compiègne; Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii, III, Invatatoria et antiphonae* (Rome, 1968), 115 and 516.

[10] As tabulated in a handout for a paper by Luisa Nardini on 'Imported and Local Elements in the Masses for the Holy Cross in Medieval Italy' at the 82nd meeting of the Medieval Academy, Toronto, 12–14 April, 2007. See also Rupert Fischer, 'Die Bedeutung des Codex Paris, B.N. lat. 776 (Albi) und des Codex St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 381 (Versikular) für die Rekonstruktion gregorianischer Melodien', *Beiträge zur Gregorianik*, 22 (1996), 43–73.

[11] *Le Codex 10673 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane fonds latin (XIe siècle): Graduel bénéventain*; Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 18. For descriptions of Beneventan manuscripts, see E.A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2nd edn prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown (Rome, 1980). For sources in Benevento itself, see Jean Mallet and André Thibaut, *Les manuscrits en écriture bénéventaine de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent* (Paris, 1984–97). Nardini deals with the theme 'Transmission of Repertories/Contamination of Styles: The Case of Liturgical Music in Southern Italy' in a paper of 2004 published on the internet site http://www.italianacademy.columbia.edu/publications/working_papers/2004_2005/paper_fa04_Nardini.pdf.

[12] Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant*, 56, Table 2.1.

[13] See table giving arrangement of the antiphons in *Paléographie musicale, XIV*, 296–301, 310–313.

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groups based on whether the additional line begins with *venite gentes*[14] or *venite omnes*.[15]

As demonstrated in Example 2, the original Greek melody in the second medial mode is most faithfully preserved in the Old Roman repertoire. In this article, Nowacki's identification of seven other chants in the Old Roman repertoire based on this melody will serve as the basis for an investigation of how the *Crucem tuam* melody was treated in these seven chants as well as in eight chants based on the Old Roman introit *Omnis terra*. These chants are then compared with the melodies in the Beneventan gradual Biblioteca Capitolare VI, 34. This codex preserves the Gregorian tradition and serves therefore as an example of both the Gregorian and the late Beneventan repertoire. The melodies isolated by Nowacki are then investigated in tonaries and treatises reflecting the Gregorian tradition.

The author wishes to emphasize that this article investigates the second medial mode in Latin sources. It is concerned neither with imported or local melodic elements in the various sources nor with any lack of thoroughness in introducing the Gregorian reforms.

In the *Universale Neumenkunde*, Constantin Floros cites *Crucem tuam* as a paradigm of a melody in the medial second mode.[16] The *echema* (intonation formula) of the *mesos deuteros* is NENANO. Its finalis is *E* and *a* is the main reciting tone.[17] The note *a* functions as a cadential or repercussion tone, and the prominence of *D* serves to underline the medial character. Medial modes are mentioned in theoretical sources, but their actual characteristics were unknown until Floros identified a series of Greek chants in the medial second and medial fourth modes in his investigation of the Slavonic kondakarian notation in the years 1961, 1962 and 1963.[18]
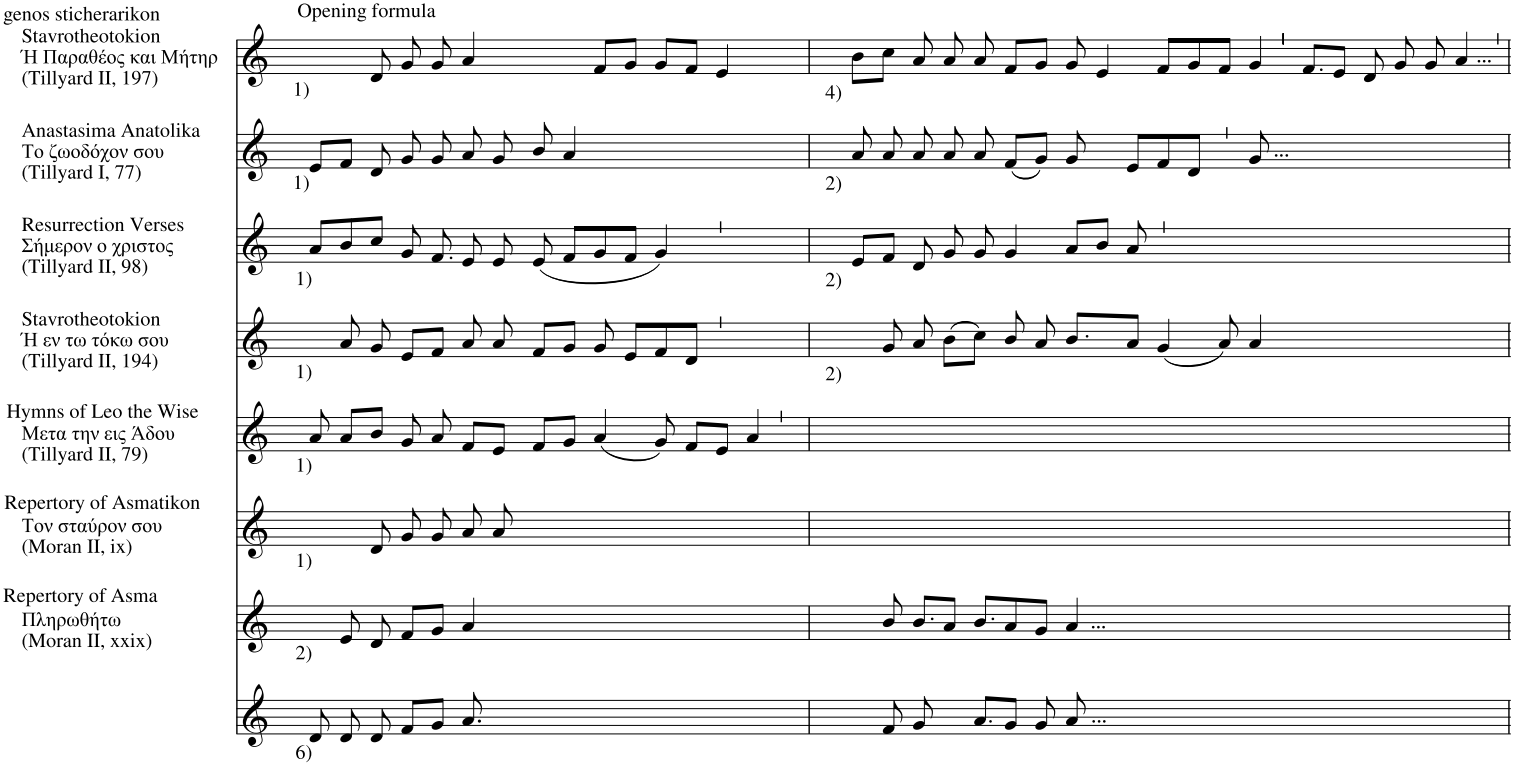
In Example 3, characteristic formulas of the medial second mode have been tabulated. Although the *E–F–G–a* opening appears frequently in this mode, melodies also occasionally begin and cadence on the repercussion tone *a*. Many of the formulas in Example 3 might appear in other modes, but they are especially important in defining the *mesos deuteros*. The formulas are drawn from chants in the syllabic, choral and solo repertoires or, to use the technical term, from the *genos sticherarikon*, the repertory of the *asmatikon*, and the repertory of the *Asma*.

Of the melodies in Example 1, the Greek and Slavonic versions are already removed by several centuries from the simple syllabic chant preserved in the Latin tradition. The Eastern sources are written in differing stages of notation (i.e. Middle Byzantine and an early form of Byzantine notation known as kondakarian), but both retain the melody as sung in the melismatic choral repertory of the *asmatikon*.

[14] Vat. lat. 10673 and Ben. 35.
[15] Ben. 33, Ben. 40 and Lucca 606.
[16] Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde* 2:248: 'Die bilingue Antiphon Crucem tuam adoramus als Paradigma einer Melodie im moesus secundus'. See also his article 'Die Entzifferung der Kondakarien-Notation', *Musik des Ostens*, 3 (1965), 7–71; 4 (1967), 12–44. Charles Atkinson deals with the medial modes in 'The Parapteres: Nothi or Not?', *The Musical Quarterly*, 67 (1982), 32–59.
[17] Constantin Floros, *Introduction to Early Medieval Notation*, enlarged 2nd edn, revised, translated and with an illustrated chapter on cheironomy by Neil Moran (Warren, MI, 2005), 43–5.
[18] Floros, 'Die Entzifferung der Kondakarien-Notation', 3, 7ff.

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Sources: Tillyard = H. Tillyard, *The Hymns of the Octoechos*, MMB, transcripta 3, 5 (Copenhagen, 1940-9)
Moran = N. Moran, *The Ordinary Chants of the Byzantine Mass* (Hamburg, 1975)

Ex. 3 Characteristic formulas of the medial second mode.

The Latin sources, in contrast, retain the more syllabic tradition of the *genos sticherarikon*.[19]

One characteristic feature of the medial second which speaks for the reliance of the Old Roman version on the Greek prototype is the accentuation of both *crucem* and *sanctam* by an ascending fourth (*D–G*). In the Slavonic versions of *Krestu tvoemu*, this beginning is indicated by the *echadin*. The name of this figure is derived from 'echos' and is illustrated in Table XXXV.3 in the study by Floros on kondakarian notation. The Ambrosian version ameliorates the *D* opening by passing notes; the remaining three Latin chants set the beginning on E.[20]

The list prepared by Edward Nowacki allows us to add another dimension to this ancient chant in the medial second mode. In Example 4, the first phrase of this group has been collated. All the examples include the typical *D–G* medial formula at the beginning of the melody. *Mentem sanctam* and *Justi autem* precede this formula with a descending *initium* (*G EF EF D*). Nowacki states that these typical 'Type E.4' melodies begin with a leap from *D* to *G*, followed by a further ascent to *B*, embellished pitch-repetition on *A*, and an embellished descent to *E*.

The introit antiphon *Omnis terra* from the Old Roman gradual also falls without difficulty into the pattern established for the second medial mode in the Greek sources and in *Crucem tuam*.[21] Since the melodies of the gradual generally retain a rather ornamented structure, this chant provides a better means of comparison with the Eastern examples of the *mesos deuteros* than the syllabic texture of *Crucem tuam*. In Example 5, the Old Roman version of *Omnis terra* has been compared with seven other introits with the same basic melody: *Sancti tui*, *Protexisti me*, *Ecce oculi*, *Jubilate deo*, *Clamaverunt iusti*, *Dum clamarem* and *Iudica me deus*. All commence with a characteristic medial second opening, which includes the leap *D–G*. This is followed by a figure emphasising the note *a*. One formula in several of the versions involves a descent from *c* or *a* to *D* or *C*, which is brought to a conclusion by a leap to *F–G–a*.

One remarkable structural feature of the chants is the prominence of the two conjunct tetrachords *D–G*/*G–c* at the opening of all the chants except *Omnis terra*. *Omnis terra* uses leaps of *D–G*/*G–c*, however, at the beginning of the second half of the melody. In the introit *Clamaverunt*, the two conjunct tetrachords are clearly outlined at the end of the chant at the alleluia (Example 6).

The eight Old Roman introits in Example 5 can be classified into three different groups. The most archaic structure is shown by *Omnis terra* and *Sancti tui domine*. Like *Crucem tuam*, they manifest a simple binary form. The second group consists of *Protexisti me*, *Ecce oculi*, *Jubilate Deo*, *Clamaverunt justi* and *Dum clamarem*. All these chants follow the opening figure with a longer section containing figures encircling
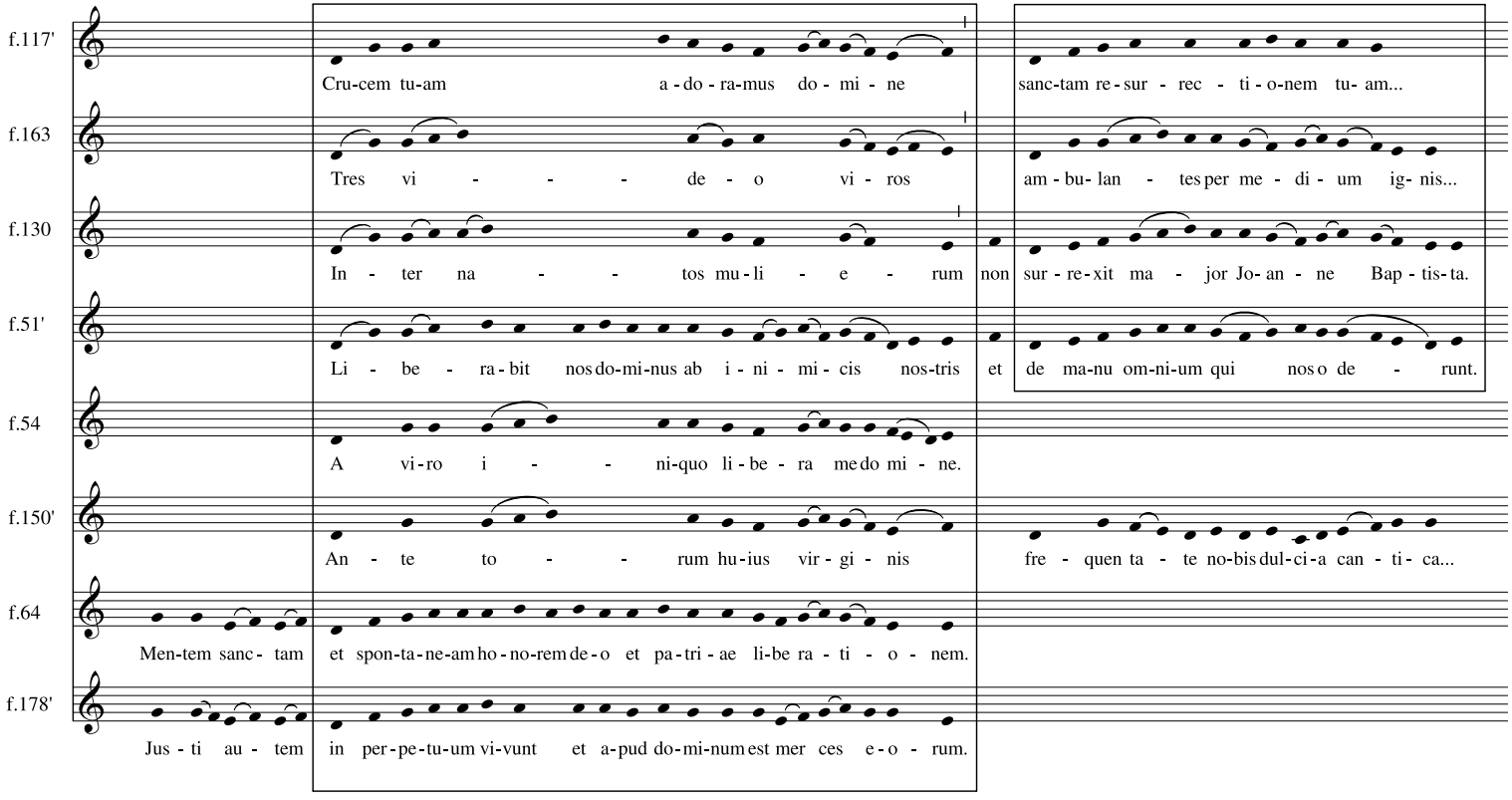
[19] Bartolomeo De Salvo used the term *genos sticherarikon* to describe the repertory of the Hagiopolites in his article 'L'essenza della musica nella liturgie orientali', *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, 15 (1961), 173–91.

[20] The rhythmic distortion in *Crucem tuam* is noted by Jan W.A. Vollaerts, *Rhythmic Proportions in Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Chant*, 2nd edn (Leiden, 1960), 141.

[21] Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki, ed., *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale: Vat. Lat. 5319* (Kassel, 1970), with an introduction by Bruno Stäblein. See also Nowacki, *Studies of the Office Antiphons*, nos. 215, 259 and 361.

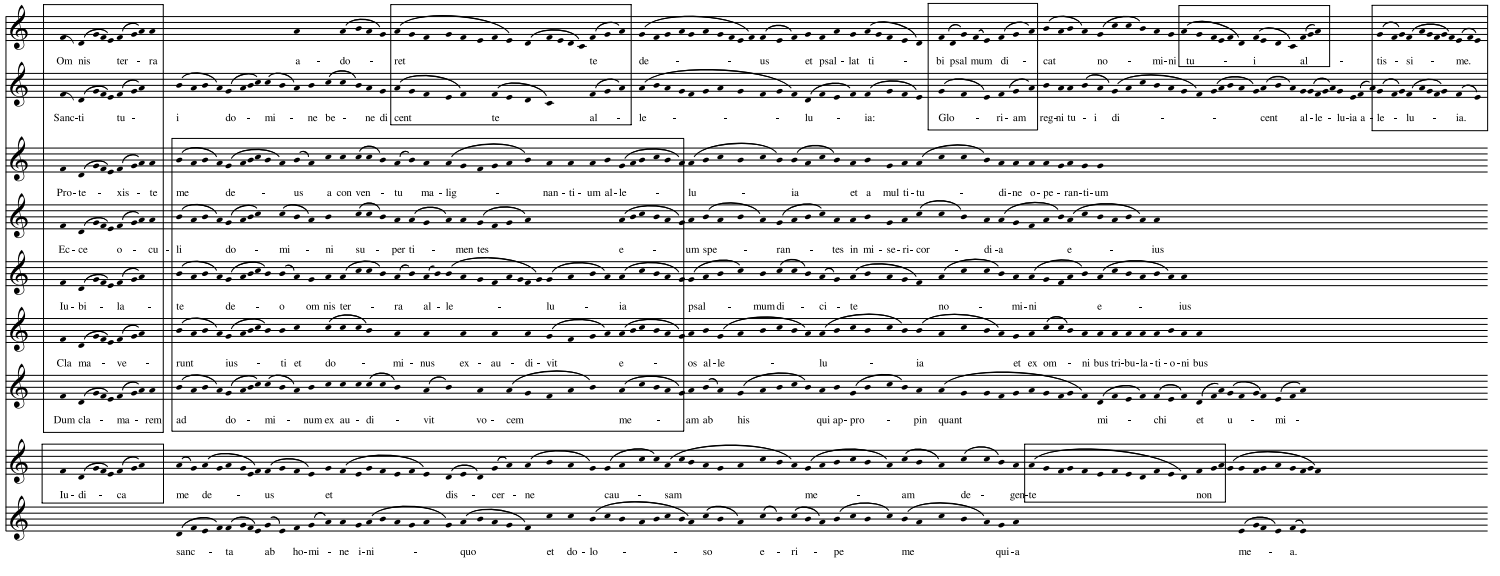
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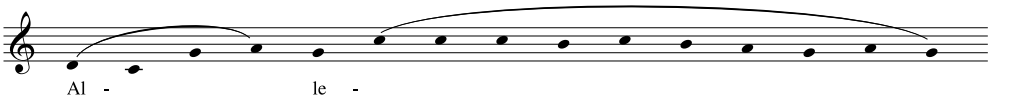


Ex. 4 Antiphons of the Old Roman rite in the medial second mode (codex I-Rvat S Pietro B.79).

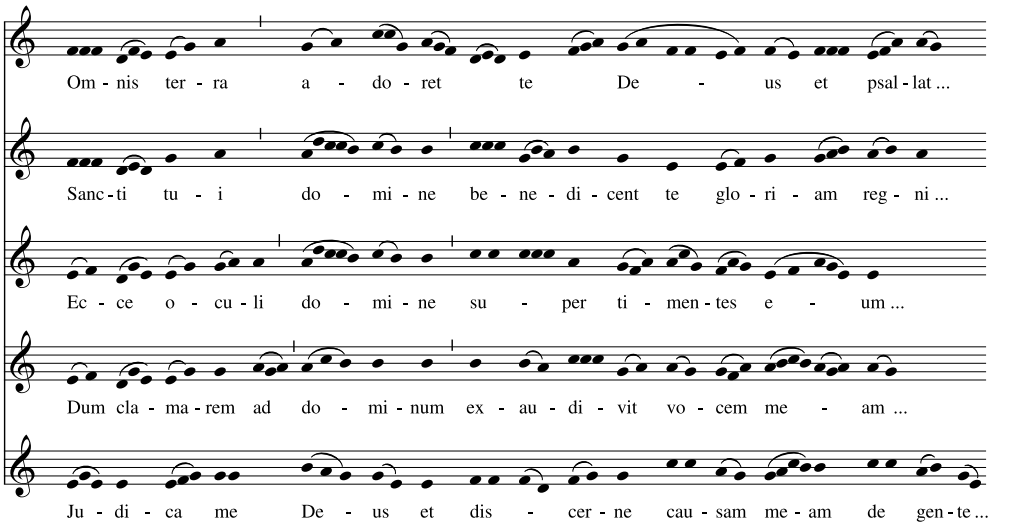
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Ex. 5 The Old Roman *Omnis terra* (1) and seven other introits compared.



Ex. 6 From *Clamaverunt*, Vat. lat. 5319, fol. 104.



Ex. 7 The initial formulas of *Omnis terra*, *Sancti tui*, *Ecce oculi*, *Dum clamarem* and *Judica me* in the Beneventan codex Ben. 34.

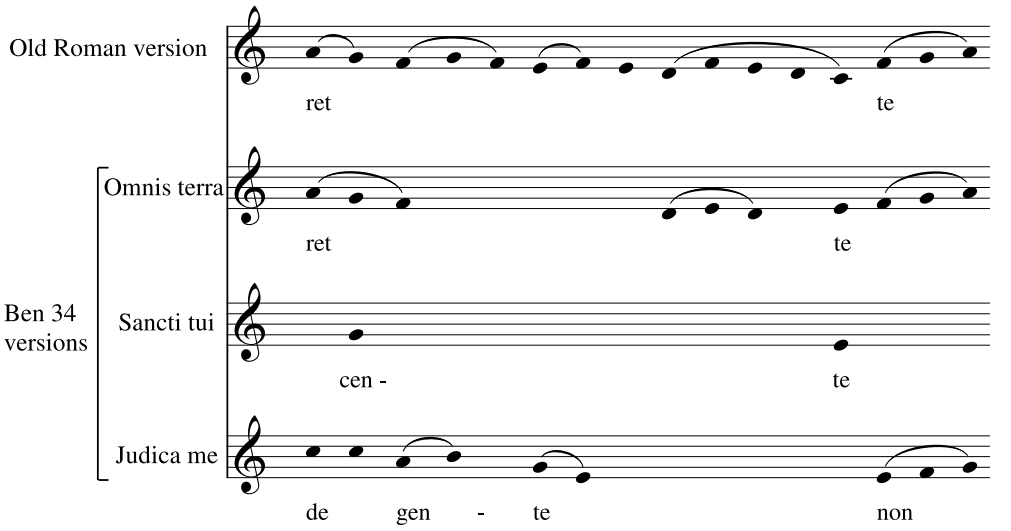
the tone *a*. The chant *Judica me* seems to be exploring the relationship between the conjunct tetrachords in both ascending and descending motion. The cadential formulas are more conventional.

Of the eight Old Roman antiphons in the medial second mode, five are transmitted in the Beneventan Gradual, Biblioteca Capitolare VI.34 from the twelfth century.[22] This is a late Beneventan source that Thomas Kelly considers to be the latest of the five surviving graduals from Benevento. He states that it contains very few original Beneventan chants and therefore serves as an example of both the late Beneventan and the Gregorian repertoire. The initial formulas of *Omnis terra*, *Sancti tui domine*, *Ecce oculi*, *Dum clamarem* and *Judica me* are compared in Example 7.

In the Old Roman repertory, all the medial chants begin with the same figure. The Beneventan/Gregorian versions in codex Ben. 34 lack this uniformity, even if an outline of the initial figure is retained. The figures are placed more solidly within the range of the standard *E* modes, and in the case of *Judica me*, the complete melody is transformed into a second authentic mode chant. The chants *Ecce oculi* and *Sancti tui* in the Old Roman versions are distinguished by a subtle overlap between the initial words and the following invocation *domine*. In the Beneventan/Gregorian versions of codex Ben. 34, the text takes precedence and the melody is adapted to the words.

[22] For the facsimile, see *Paléographie musicale, XV, Le Codex VI. 34 de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent avec prosaire et tropaire* (Tournai, 1931).

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Ex. 8 The medial formula of the medial second mode in the Old Roman repertoire compared with the versions of Ben 34 of *Omnis terra*, *Sancti tui*, and *Judica me*.

The unhurried lingering about the medial repercussion tone *a* is frequently replaced by more stereotyped cadences.

Another characteristic medial formula is the stepwise descent from *a* to *D* (or *C*) followed by a leap to *F–G–a*. In Example 8, versions of this formula in codex Ben. 34 are presented. Only the version of *Omnis terra* resembles the medial formula, but the introduction of *E* before the *F–G–a* progression destroys the medial flavouring. *Sancti tui* eliminates the medial formula completely, and *Judica me* transposes the progession into a regular *E* mode formula.

Finally, the conjunct tetrachords remain to be investigated. Only a hint of this subtle feature of the Old Roman repertory is recaptured in most of the melodies of codex Ben. 34. *Ecce oculi* and *Dum clamarem* preserve the *D–G* leap of the initial formula (see Example 7), but both begin the formula firmly on *E* rather than, as in the Old Roman versions, on *F*. The second tetrachord, *G–c*, is outlined in *Omnis terra* and in *Dum clamarem*. *Sancti tui* and *Ecce oculi* transpose the tetrachord to *a–d* and thus replace the medial figure with a standard figure of the second plagal mode.[23]

[23] It is worthy of note that the introduction of Gregorian melodies into the late Beneventan repertoire represented by Ben. 34 was not always strictly carried through. The final alleluia of *Sancti tui* in Ben. 34 (fol. 152) resembles the Old Roman version of Vat. lat. 5319 (fol. 100) and the word 'alleluia' occurs only once. This differs from the regular Gregorian version of *Sancti tui*, which has two alleluias. However, the Gregorian versions in the codices Laon, Bibl. Mun. 239 and Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl. 121 have only one. The alleluia of *Ecce oculi* in Ben. 34 differs from both the Old Roman and the regular Gregorian version (*Graduale triplex*, 439–40). These are perhaps indications that final alleluias retained elements of the original Beneventan repertoire, but these questions fall outside an investigation of the medial second mode. As mentioned above, medial traits have all but been eliminated in both *Ecce oculi* and *Sancti tui* in Ben. 34.

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On the basis of an analysis of these tone formulas and figures, a number of chants in the Old Roman books could be assigned to the second medial mode. It remains to be seen how these same chants were treated in 'Gregorian' treatises and tonaries.

Five of the group of Old Roman antiphons cited by Nowacki appear in the Metz tonary.[24] They are relegated to either the authentic or plagal second mode within the standard eight-mode system:

Tuam crucem	II authentic
Inter natos mulierum	II authentic
Ante torum huius	II plagal
Mentem sanctam	II plagal
Justi autem in perpetuum	II plagal

It is striking that *Tuam crucem* is listed rather than the Gregorian version *Crucem tuam*. This version is also found in manuscripts of St Gall and St Denis. This would lead one to suppose that *Tuam crucem* represents the original wording of the translation from the Greek. The text *tuam crucem* might have seemed to correspond to the accentuation of the rising fourth in the Old Roman setting. The *D–G* opening fits the wording *Ton stavron* perfectly but the strong accent on the syllable *cru-* upsets the balance. It is notable that the conservative Ambrosian rite retains the beginning on *D*. The word order and the beginning on *E* can probably be attributed to the influence of the Gregorian reform.

Eight melodies based on that of *Omnis terra* in the mesos second mode are presented in Example 4. To these can be added the chants *Vocem iucunditatis* and *Sacerdotes tui* mentioned in the study of the Old Roman introits by Thomas Connolly, although the versions in Vat. lat. 5319 differ slightly from the model.[25] Below are their modal designations in the Metz tonary, in the treatise *Alia musica* published by Jacques Chailley and in *Les tonaires: inventaire, analyse, comparaison* of Michel Huglo.[26]

[24] W. Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar von Metz* (Münster, 1965), 69–100.

[25] The introits of the Old Roman rite are discussed by Thomas Connolly, 'Introits and Archetypes: Some Archaisms of the Old Roman Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* [hereafter *JAMS*], 25 (1972), 157–74, esp. 163, n. 9. According to a communication from Joseph Dyer (26 May 1983), the introit *Vocem iucunditatis* begins with a typical *mesos devteros* leap *D–G* in the Old Roman gradual from St Cecilia (fol. 90), although the version in codex Vat. lat. 5319 does not have this opening. See Max Lütolf, *Das Graduale von Santa Cecilia in Trastevere: Cod. Bodmer 74*, 2 vols. (Cologny-Geneva, 1987).

[26] Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar*, 13–21; Jacques Chailley, *Alia musica (Traité de musique du IXe siècle)* (Paris, 1964), 141; and Michel Huglo, *Les tonaires: inventaire, analyse, comparaison* (Paris, 1971). The second tonary in codex Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, Q 13 is not considered because it contains non-Gregorian readings. See also Paul Merkley, *Italian Tonaries* (Ottawa, 1988), 127.

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	Metz	Alia	Huglo
		207f.	95f.
Omnis terra	II pl.	II pl.	II pl.
Sancti tui	II pl.	II	II pl.
Vocem iucunditatis	II	II	II
Protexisti me	IV	IV	IV
Ecce oculi	II	II	II
Jubilate deo	IV pl.	IV pl.	IV pl.
Clamaverunt iusti	I pl.	I pl.	I pl.
Dum clamarem	II	II	II
Iudica me	II pl.	II pl.	II pl.
Sacerdotes tui	II pl.	II pl.	II pl.

Seven of the chants are in either the second authentic or the second plagal mode. Huglo has already drawn attention to the hesitation in the sources between the authentic and plagal versions of the second mode of the chants *Sancti tui*, *Ecce oculi* and *Dum clamarem*.[27] It seems reasonable to assume that this variation can be attributed to the medial nature of these chants.

Three of the chants fall completely out of this pattern: *Protexisti me* (IV), *Jubilate deo* (IV plagal) and *Clamaverunt iusti* (I plagal). An examination of the musical sources, both Beneventan and Frankish, reveals that these three chants possess melodies that differ completely from those of the Old Roman sources. It may be that these chants did not belong to the original Old Roman repertory that was first brought across the Alps.[28] This comparison has, in any case, not confirmed the statement by Robert Snow that 'the introits of the Old-Roman tradition, 149 in number, are identical in form with the Gregorian'.[29]

As documented by Floros, Byzantine treatises list four medial modes (*mesoi*) in addition to the *oktoechos* and he concluded that 'the modal system of the Middle Ages originally consisted of twelve modes'.[30] In Middle Latin treatises, the additional modes are designed as the *moesi*, *parapteres*, *paracteres*, *circumaequales*, *medii* and *mesi*. The author of the so-called Anonymous Vatican treatise in codex Vat. lat. 235 'speaks of the four authentic (*autenti*), the four plagal (*plagi*) and four medials, which he designates with the Greek term *moesi*'.[31] The treatise in codex Leipzig Rep. I 93 of the tenth century cites *Crucem tuam* as an example of a chant in the 'medius (parapter) secundus'.

In a study of Latin treatises which refer to the extra tones, Charles Atkinson concluded, in contrast, 'that medial signatures or other modulatory signs are *not*

[27] In *Les Tonaires*, pp. 309 and 402, 84 and 118 respectively.

[28] Bruno Stäblein believed that chant *Protexisti* for the feast of St George did not belong to the original Old Roman repertory but was introduced in the so-called Byzantine period in about 740. The feast of Alexander and Theodulus with the introit *Clamaverunt* is classified as 'urrömisch'. See Stäblein, Introduction to Landwehr-Melnicki, ed., *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, 14. Lipphardt was of the opinion that the feasts of St George and St Alexander were added to the Frankish antiphony after 835. See Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar von Metz*, 201.

[29] Robert Snow, 'The Old-Roman Chant', in Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, IN, 1958), 484–505.

[30] Floros, *Introduction to Early Medieval Notation*, 8 and *Universale Neumenkunde*, 2, 241–49.

[31] Floros, *Introduction to Early Medieval Notation*, 10.

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found in Western manuscripts, however, is rather telling evidence against an immediate translation of Byzantine practice' and 'the likelihood that the Western practice was taken over from the East seems a bit remote'.[32] The expression *parapter* is undoubtedly Greek (meaning *side wing*), but since it does not appear in Greek musical sources, he suggests that 'the term *parapter* originated in the West'.[33] Atkinson admits that 'the picture of the parapteres presented by the sources discussed so far is by no means a completely clear and unified one' and he is well aware of the many discrepancies in the classification of chants in medial modes in Latin sources.

Atkinson seeks support for the view that the medial modes originated in the West in the legend that Charlemagne added four extra tones to the normal eight.[34] Aurelian states that the medial intonation formulas are *ananno*, *noëane*, *nonannoëane* and *noëane*. *De modis musicis* has the most thorough discussion of the medial modes among the sources, yet of the four antiphons listed as belonging to the second parapter (*Quia mirabilia*, *Sede a dextris meis*, *Speret Israel* and *Omnis terra*) only the last exhibits the melodic formula isolated by Nowacki.[35] *De modis musicis* lists the medial intonation formulas *Nenotenarsis, Anos, Anagetanenagis* and *Aianneagies*.[36]

In his *Universale Neumenkunde*, Floros reproduces the *echemata* from Leipzig, Rep. I 93 (German neumes) and Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 118 (Aquitanian neumes).[37] Aurelian says outright that his discussion of the modes was based on a Greek source (*sciat a Graecorum derivari fonte*).[38] Floros comes to the conclusion that most of the *echemata* in Frankish sources appear to be corrupted versions of known Byzantine intonation formulas.[39] If Charlemagne did indeed have anything to do with the extra modes, Floros suggests that he may have sanctioned an already existing practice. The present study of *Crucem tuam* makes it more likely that Charlemagne simply called for the reintroduction of medial shadings that had been eliminated in the sanitised recension received from Rome.

Commenting on Atkinson's theory, Floros writes 'the term *parapter* appears to be a newly invented Western form (as an analogy to πλάγιος/plagalis) which reflected a graecistic tendency' in Carolingian Latin. He added: 'this does not say very much … one does not have to be a believer in a Byzantine origin for the modes

[32] Atkinson, 'The Parapteres', 57.
[33] *Ibid.*, 56.
[34] *Ibid.*, 41.
[35] Terence Bailey, 'De modis musicis: a New Edition and Explanation', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 61/62 (1977–78), 47–60; and Atkinson, 'The Parapteres', 44-48. In introducing the *parapteres*, the author of *De modis musicis* refers to examples which are found '*in antiphonis minutis*'. Both *Quia mirabilia* and *Speret* are listed in the codex Lucca, Bibl. Cap. 601 of the twelfth century under the antiphons of the first tone. The Office antiphon *Omnis terra* is set in the *G* mode in the Old Roman Office antiphonary and in the *E* mode in Gregorian sources.
[36] Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde*, 2:244.
[37] *Ibid.*, 3: plates 107–10 and 121–24.
[38] *Ibid.*, 2:241–44.
[39] Floros, *Introduction to Early Medieval Notation*, 44. See also Constantin Floros, 'Byzantinische Musiktheorie', *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, 2: *Vom Mythos zur Fachdisziplin. Antike und Byzanz*, ed. Thomas Ertelt *et al.* (Darmstadt, 2006), 259–318, esp. 311–13.

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to recognise that there is a close connection between *modi mesi* and the Byzantine expression *Echoi mesoi*.'[40]

On the basis of our survey, certain deductions about medieval modality and about the transmission of melodies in the early medieval period can be advanced. Using as an example a chant that was certainly in existence by the seventh century, it could be shown that the medial kernel of the chant remained preserved in the Greek, Slavonic and Old Roman repertories despite melodic variations or transfers from a syllabic to a melismatic idiom. The medial flavour was diluted or even disappeared, however, when the chant was introduced into the late Beneventan and Frankish rites. To judge by the various transformations of the opening formula of the group based on *Omnis terra* in the codex Ben. 34, it is to be questioned whether the singers of these melodies were fully aware that they were in a medial mode. The subtler features of the second medial mode, such as the conjunct tetrachords, seem to have been recognised in the chant *Omnis terra*. In most cases, however, the tonal figures or formulas that gave rise to the medial colouring were consciously or unconsciously transferred into the idiom of the traditional second modes.

Within a wider frame of reference, the nature of the relationship between Greek and Latin models raises a number of questions. In particular, claims that the system of the church modes was developed in the Frankish empire have been undermined. Helmut Hucke has written 'that the Roman version of Gregorian chant originally did not involve the system of eight church modes, and that the system of church modes was adopted only late and gradually into the Roman version from its Frankish counterpart'.[41] The system of church modes, he writes, 'was developed in the Frankish Empire'. Terence Bailey spoke of the 'complete absence in Byzantine sources of any reference to extra modes'.[42] These hypotheses are not supported by the evidence presented here.

Some Gregorian scholars view notation and modality as developing in the Frankish realm out of a 'zone of fog' leading to more developed notations. Kenneth Levy discusses this development in *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* and illustrates the stages with diagrams.[43] It is well documented that the Roman liturgy was brought to the Franks prior to and during the reign of Charlemagne. Levy, however, proposes what he calls a 'flow' in the direction of Gallican to Gregorian to Roman: 'In my alternative proposal, the repertory traveled decisively in the other direction:

[40] 'Der Begriff *parapter* scheint somit eine westliche Neubildung (eine Analogie-Bildung zu πλάγιος/plagalis) im Rahmen einer gräzistischen Bewegung zu sein. Das besagt aber nicht viel. Denn die lateinische Terminologie der medial Modi … ist nicht einheitlich. … Und man braucht nicht Anhänger einer byzantinischen Ursprungshypothese zu sein, um zu erkennen, daß zwischen *modi mesi* und den byzantinischen *Echoi mesoi* ein enger Zusammenhang besteht'; Floros, '*Byzantinische Musiktheorie*', 310–11.

[41] Helmut Hucke, 'Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant', *JAMS*, 33 (1980), 437–67, esp. 442. Hucke's ideas have been elaborated upon by Leo Treitler, Kenneth Levy, Peter Jeffrey and Theodore Karp.

[42] Bailey, 'De modis musicis', 56.

[43] Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton, 1998), 116 (Fig. 2), 118 (Fig. 3). The research of Constantin Floros seems not to be taken into account in this book.

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GALL-to-GREG-to-ROM.'[44] He writes: 'the GREG music was not built with ROM musical input; rather, it was the other way round: the Romans accommodated GREG music to their own Roman style'.[45] During this period of incubation, the Franks supposedly developed the modal system and it was passed on to the Romans.[46] In an article entitled 'Gregorian Chant to 900', Michel Huglo and Barbara Haggh concur with Kenneth Levy's diagrams showing a 'zone brumeuse' or a 'zone of fog' leading to the more developed 'gestural' notations.[47]

The preservation of the ancient medial second mode Palestinian chant *Crucem tuam* in the Old Roman repertoire as well as the Old Roman versions in Aquitanian sources, at St Gall and in the Metz tonary run counter to any theory of a GALL to GREG to ROM flow. I have examined an example of a medial fourth mode Palestinian chant in the Ambrosian rite elsewhere.[48]

[44] Kenneth Levy, 'Gregorian Chant and the Romans', *JAMS*, 56 (2003), 5–41, esp. 35.

[45] Kenneth Levy, 'A New Look at Old Roman Chant', *Early Music History*, 19 (2000), 81–104, esp. 99.

[46] With regard to this period of incubation, Kenneth Levy has advanced a hypothesis about the existence of a modal 'interregnum that combined the modes of E and G' in a study on the Sanctus in East and West: Kenneth Levy, 'The Byzantine Sanctus and its modal tradition in East and West', *Annales Musicologiques*, 6 (1958–63), 7–67, esp. 56. The Byzantine Hagios in codex Athens, NL, ms 2438 is transcribed on page 13 of his article (Example 3). This codex is dated 1336. In my study, *The Ordinary Chants of the Byzantine Mass*, I transcribed this chant from four sources, including codex Barberinus gr. 300 (fifteenth century), which ascribes the piece to Joannes Glykys. Glykys was the teacher of Joannes Koukouzeles (*c*.1280–*c*.1360). The *martyria* for the echos deuteros stands before this composition, although the tone *E* is not touched once in the course of the melody. This Hagios melody builds the foundation of Levy's argument, that not only the Anaphora, but also all the Ordinary Chants of the Byzantine Mass were originally sung in the modal area of this melody: that is, in echos deuteros. He concludes that, 'It has seemed possible to advance the further hypothesis that the nucleus of the Ordinary at Constantinople in the fourth century drew its chants exclusively from the modal area expressed by the Sanctus.' In other words, the author extends the modal propensities of a composition by a known composer of the fourteenth century back to the founding years of Constantinople. At no point in the discussion is it mentioned that the codex Barb. Gr. 300 ascribes this composition to Joannes Glykys. Levy makes no mention of two earlier versions from thirteenth-century manuscripts of the Hagios in the fourth plagal mode, which are published in *The Ordinary Chants of the Byzantine Mass* (Table XXIII and Table XXV). One of these, in codex Grottaferrata Γ.β. 37 (vi) is a 'Latin' Hagios: that is, a Latin Sanctus in Greek letters on the text σαντους σαντους σαντους δδομινους δδεους σαββαοθ. I have suggested that these chants were sung by castrati: Neil Moran, 'Byzantine castrati', *Plainsong & Medieval Music,* 11 (2002), 99–112. For the Slavonic versions of the Sanctus, see Svetlana Kujumdzieva, 'The Byzantine-Slavic Sanctus: Its Liturgical Context through the Centuries', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 39 (1998), 223–32. Drawing on Levy's musings on chants in 'a G-mode', 'a variety of E- or G-mode', 'a sort of G-plagal', 'a form of G-mode' or in 'the modal region of low G', Luisa Nardini extrapolates a E–G–a–b–a–a–G phrase 'as a rare witness to the physiognomy of Byzantine music before the introduction of the theoretical system of the Oktoechos' ('Aliens in disguise: Byzantine and Gallican chants in the Latin Liturgy', *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 16 (2007), 145–72, esp. 154). This, however, is a typical E-mode (kyrios deuteros) phrase. Nardini admits as much when she writes 'the formula is quite frequent in E mode and rarely appears in G mode' (p. 153). Nardini's work makes no mention of the present author's research into the earliest recorded Byzantine Sanctus and Trisagion melodies.

[47] 'Gregorian Chant to 900': http://www.music.umd.edu/Faculty/haggh-huglo/barbtwo.html.

[48] 'Wechselbeziehungen zwischen dem lateinischen, byzantinischen und slavischen Kirchengesang im frühen und hohen Mittelalter: Das Cherubikon für Gründonnerstag ΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΥ ΣΟΥ', *Ostkirchliche Studien,* 56 (2007), 155–69.
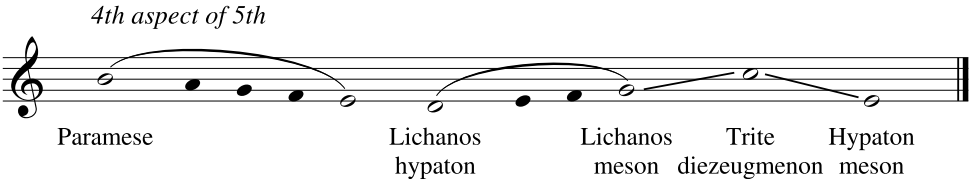
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There remains the question of how a complicated melody originating in the Middle East could be so faithfully transmitted to the West.[49] Was it transmitted orally? An important indication of how this was achieved is preserved in at least one medieval theoretical treatise. Among the fragmentary materials contained in the ninth-century treatise *Alia musica*, there appears an *echema* that corresponds to the melodic traits outlined in the chants discussed in this article.[50] This source was overlooked by Atkinson, who wrote regarding the medial modes: 'they are not discussed in terms of species of diapason, diapente or diatessaron'.[51]

In a section on the second authentic mode, one of the authors introduces the intonation formula *AIANE OEANAE* with the following description:

> Sequidem a paramese, peracta quarta specie diapente, ad lichanos hypaton descendit, et a lichanos meson per singulas chordas ascendendo diapente [*recte*: diatessaron] intendit, rursusque ad trite diezeugmenon gravando remittet; ad extremum in sua finali.[52]

Chailley translated the terminology derived from the Pythagoreans into a formula on *E*, which includes the conjunct tetrachords *D–G*/*G–c* (Example 9). Chailley noted



Ex. 9: Intonation formula from the ninth-century treatise, *Alia musica*.

that this formula did not correspond to the intonation formula for the authentic second mode in the *Commemoratio brevis*. However, the chant *Dum clamarem* (see above) is mentioned immediately after this formula as an example of this mode. This demonstrates that an *echema* could be notated for the purposes of memorisation in terms of Pythagorian acoustics and it could thereafter be recreated wherever one

[49] Leo Treitler, 'The Early History of Music Writing in the West', *JAMS*, 35 (1982), 237–79.
[50] Chailley, *Alia musica*, 141.
[51] Atkinson, 'The Parapteres', 33.
[52] Since completing this article, Oliver Gerlach has completed his dissertation at the Humboldt University with the title 'Im Labyrinth des Oktoichos. Über die Rekonstruktion mittelalterlicher Improvisationspraktiken in liturgischer Musik' (2006). In his article, 'About the Import of the Byzantine Intonation Aianoeane in a 9th-century Tonary', he translates the passage as:

> This you will also feel singing AIANEOEANE.
> As far as [the chant] descends from 'paramese' [b natural] to 'lichanos hypaton' [D], after passing through the 4th species of the fifth [between d and G], the chords [degrees of the mode] inside the fifth will be raised, if [the melody] ascends from 'lichanos meson' [G], while it will turn away like as an act of rejection, if [the melody] descends from 'trite diezeugmenon' [c] down to the extreme of its final degree [low E].

Online: http://home.arcor.de/olins/publications/OliverGerlachAIANOEANE.pdf.

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might find a monochord. It was not dependent upon the development of notation that could record exact musical intervals.

I began my article of 1980 with a reference to Anton Baumstark's 'Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit' (law of the preservation of ancient usages at times of especially solemn celebration). With this formulation, Baumstark drew attention to the apparent reticence on the part of the Church in introducing novelties into liturgical ceremonies which were particularly venerable.

In the foreword to *Introduction to Early Medieval Notation*, Floros notes that the many-layered problem of the so-called Old Roman chant has been frequently the centre of controversy.[53] The melodies of this repertory differ inherently from those of Gregorian chants. 'All indications considered', he writes, 'it would appear that the peculiar Old Roman melodies were subject to a strong Byzantine influence.' This article on the transformation of the second medial mode offers further evidence for the preservation of ancient usages in Rome.[54]

[53] Floros, *Introduction to Early Medieval Notation*, xv. On Greek elements in the Old Roman liturgy, see Ewald Jammers, *Musik in Byzanz, im päpstlichen Rom und im Frankenreich; der Choral als Musik der Textaussprache* (Heidelberg, 1962); Hans Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tons in Gregorianischer und stadtrömischer Überlieferung', in *Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 60. Geburtstag; gemeinsam mit seinen Kollegen, Schülern und Freunden im Auftrag des Beethovenhauses Bonn*, ed. Dagmar Weise (Bonn, 1957), 283–302; Hans Schmidt, 'Gregorianik – Legende oder Wahrheit?', in *Ars musica, musica scientia. Festschrift Heinrich Hüschen zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag am 2. März 1980*, ed. Detlef Altenburg (Cologne, 1980), 400–11; and Edward Nowacki, 'Constantinople–Aachen–Rome: The Transmission of Veterem hominem', in *De musica et de cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim, 1993) 95–115. Regarding the Byzantine influence on the Roman alleluia, see James McKinnon, *The Advent Project. The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley, 2000), 252–60, 274–9. At the 82nd meeting of the Medieval Academy, Toronto, 12–14 April 2007, Joseph Dyer presented a paper on 'The Double Office at St. Peter's Basilica on *Dominica de Gaudete*' with reference to Old Roman sources.

[54] Floros' 'Die Entzifferung der Kondakarien-Notation' has now been translated into English in *The Origins of Russian Music*, revised, translated and with a chapter on relationships between Latin, Byzantine and Slavonic church music by Neil K. Moran (Frankfurt, Peter Lang Verlag, 2009).

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