Embellishing the Liturgy

Tropes and Polyphony

Edited by
Alejandro Enrique Planchart

Music in Medieval Europe

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Series Preface

This series of volumes provides an overview of the best current scholarship in the study of medieval music. Each volume is edited by a ranking expert, and each presents a selection of writings, mostly in English which, taken together, sketch a picture of the shape of the field and of the nature of current inquiry. The volumes are organized in such a way that readers may go directly to an area that interests them, or they may provide themselves a substantial introduction to the wider field by reading through the entire volume.

There is of course no such thing as the Middle Ages, at least with respect to the history of music. The Middle Ages – if they are plural at all – get their name as the temporal space between the decline of classical antiquity and its rediscovery in the Renaissance. Such a definition might once have been useful in literature and the fine arts, but it makes little sense in music. The history of Western music begins, not with the music of Greece and Rome (about which we know far too little) but with the music of the Latin Christian church. The body of music known as Gregorian chant, and other similar repertories, are the first music that survives to us in Western culture, and is the foundation on which much later music is built, and the basis for describing music in its time and forever after.

We continue to use the term 'medieval' for this music, even though it is the beginning of it all; there is some convenience in this, because historians in other fields continue to find the term useful; what musicians are doing in the twelfth century, however non-medieval it appears to us, is likely to be considered medieval by colleagues in other fields.

The chronological period in question is far from being a single thing. If we consider the Middle Ages as extending from the fall of the Roman Empire, perhaps in 476 when Odoacer deposed Romulus Augustus, into the fifteenth century, we have defined a period of about a millenium, far longer than all subsequent style-periods ('Renaissance', 'Baroque', 'Classical', 'Romantic' etc.) put together; and yet we tend to think of it as one thing.

This is the fallacy of historical parallax, and it owes its existence to two facts; first that things that are nearer to us appear to be larger, so that the history of the twentieth century looms enormous while the distant Middle Ages appear comparatively insignificant. Second, the progressive loss of historical materials over time means that more information survives from recent periods than from more distant ones, leading to the temptation to gauge importance by sheer volume.

There may be those who would have organized these volumes in other ways. One could have presented geographical volumes, for example: Medieval Music in the British Isles, in France, and so on. Or there might have been volumes focused on particular source materials, or individuals. Such materials can be found within some of these volumes, but our organization here is based on the way in which scholars seem in the main to organize and conceptualize the surviving materials. The approach here is largely chronological, with an admixture of stylistic considerations. The result is that changing styles of composition result in volumes focused on different genres – tropes, polyphony, lyric – that are not of course entirely separate in time, or discontinuous in style and usage. There are also volumes –

notably those on chant and on instrumental music – that focus on certain aspects of music through the whole period. Instrumental music, of which very little survives from the Middle Ages, is often neglected in favour of music that does survive – for very good reason; but we do wish to consider what we can know about instruments and their music. And liturgical chant, especially the repertory known as Gregorian chant, is present right through our period, and indeed is the only music in Western culture to have been in continuous use from the beginnings of Western music (indeed it could be said to define its beginnings) right through until the present.

The seven volumes collected here, then, have the challenge of introducing readers to an enormous swathe of musical history and style, and of presenting the best of recent musical scholarship. We trust that, taken together, they will increase access to this rich body of music, and provide scholars and students with an authoritative guide to the best of current thinking about the music of the Middle Ages.

THOMAS FORREST KELLY
Series Editor

Introduction

After the imposition of Gregorian chant upon most of Europe by the authority of the Carolingian kings and emperors in the eighth and ninth centuries a large number of repertories arose in connection with the new chant and its liturgy. The purpose of these repertories was to augment, embellish, explain or make more solemn the liturgy, and the names that local scribes and cantors gave to the new genres varied not only according to the different genres but sometimes from one region to another. And the designations sometimes overlapped. The basic typology of these additions is, at first glance, relatively simple.

1. The addition of a melisma without additional text. These were usually labelled *sequentia* or *tropus* (a Latinized Greek term subjected to various spellings)[1] depending on the context.
2. The addition of words to a pre-existing melody (usually a melisma). These were labelled *prosula*, *prosa*, *versus*, *verba* or even *tropus* in different sources and contexts.
3. The addition of new text *and* music to an existing chant, either as an introduction or as an interpolation. These were labelled *tropus*, *versus* or *laudes*, depending most of the time on the context.

Clearly there was no systematic terminology for these genres in the Middle Ages, and not only are the labels applied inconsistently from source to source or even within one source, but there are numerous instances where examples of one or another of these genres occur with no label whatsoever.[2] These genres affected not only the chants for the mass but those of the office, but while one can find identifying rubrics for most of these genres in manuscripts with music for the mass they are virtually absent from all manuscript of music for the office.[3]

The one term common to all three groups is *tropus*, and late nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars seized upon that term as a blanket category for all these repertories, even extending its reach to encompass certain forms of early polyphony, with results that were not entirely happy. Terminological confusion grew and the volume of tropes for the propers of the mass in Analecta Hymnica contains a good number of items that even under the loosest application of the term are not tropes (Blume, 1906). Richard Crocker, in two essays (1958 and Chapter 1, this volume), sought to disentangle the terminological confusion created by earlier scholarship, even if he could not disentangle that in the medieval sources, but his example was not followed by later scholarship. Instead a compromise was crafted by Michel Huglo and adopted by the editors of the *Corpus Troporum*, using the terms '*meloforme*', '*mélogene*' and

1 'Τρῶπος' means, among other things, 'a turn', which is similar to the meaning of the Latin versus.

2 A useful although incomplete survey of the medieval rubrics can be found in Odelman (1978).

3 It is worth noting that one of the few sources I know that does apply such rubrics to office chants, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, latin 1118, is overwhelmingly a manuscript of music for the mass with a small section of office chants.

'*logogene*' to refer to the three categories described above (Huglo, Chapter 3, this volume). It is a clumsy compromise, but it has come into general use. Its main problem is that the term 'trope' (in its various Latin forms) is virtually never used in the medieval sources for the second category listed above. The exception, unfortunately, is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 1118, an enormous but quite idiosyncratic anthology of tropes, *prosulae*, *sequentiae* and proses, which has become one of the best-known trope collections, a true 'celebrity' among medieval manuscripts, not only because of its size but because of a series of quite beautiful and evocative miniatures in its tonary that have been endlessly reproduced.[4]

One can, however, deal with some of the rubrics in the three categories given above in a relatively simple manner. In the first category the term *sequentia* was applied in West Francia only to the melodies added at the end of the repeat of the alleluia respond after the verse, possibly as a replacement of the original *iubilus*. When these melodies were provided with text they were called *prosa* in West Francia and still *sequentia* in East Francia and in Italy, and this lies behind the modern term 'sequence' for these pieces. The melismatic *sequentia* proper is the one of these genres about which we have the earliest notices. The mass Antiphoner of Mont-Blandin, copied in the late eighth or early ninth century, gives a number of alleluias with the rubric *cum sequential* (Hesbert, 1935, no. 199a), and writing around 830 Amalar of Metz refers to it as 'haec iubilatio quam cantores sequentiam vocant'(Hanssens, 1948–50, II, p. 304). The Council of Meaux, in a decree condemning tropes and *prosae* that could date back to 848, counts the *sequentia* among the 'venerable antiquities' being defiled by the new usages (Silagi, 1985, p. vii). *Sequentiae* and *prosae* or sequences fall outside the purview of this volume, although I will briefly touch on their import later in this introduction.

Laudes is used almost exclusively for tropes connected with the Gloria, the Sanctus and rarely the Agnus Dei. But in the case of the Gloria it poses the problem that the Gloria itself is often called *laus angelica* or even *laudes*. Thus Aquitanian, French, Spanish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts use *laudes* as a generic term for a Gloria with tropes, but we encounter also *laudes* as a rubric for Glorias without tropes (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 1135, fol. 173v), but also *laudes cum tropi* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 1118, fol. 4v) and *tropi cum laudes* (Paris, Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal, 1169, fol. 1v).[5]

Melismatic Additions

Melismatic additions to the chant, Huglo's *tropes méloformes*, affect four repertories: introits, Glorias, Sanctus and the responsories of the office. Those for the introit and the Gloria are most easily detected, since they are sometimes indeed labelled 'trope' in the sources. The additions to the Sanctus are problematic in that in almost all cases they survive only with added prosulas and it is the multiplicity of texts for a given melisma that has led scholars to postulate that at one point the melismas were independent textless additions. The additions to the responsories are also problematic in that the responsories themselves are already melismatic chants, and

4 The most recent study of the manuscript is Doyle (2000).

5 The use of laudes for tropes to the introit is infrequent and restricted to manuscripts from the Rhineland and northern Italy.

the additions are never labelled,[6] so the only way of determining whether the melisma is an addition is by a laborious comparison of multiple sources for each responsory.[7]

Melismatic Additions to the Introit

The melodic additions to introit have been partially catalogued by Michel Huglo (Chapter 3, this volume). With one exception they appear in two sets of manuscripts, one from German-Swiss sources originating in St Gall, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the other in Aquitanian manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The exception is a melodic addition to the final repetition of the introit *Ex ore infantium* for the Holy Innocents in an eleventh-century Gradual from Saint-Vaast in Arras (Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, MS 75, fol. 10r). The Aquitanian manuscripts transmit only one melisma or set of melismas for any given introit. Ornamentations of the introit antiphon are very infrequent,[8] not so additions to the end of the psalm of the amen of the doxology, but these have not been catalogued or studied. None of the melismatic additions to the introit in Aquitaine or in northern France appear with text in any source.

The German-Swiss tradition is very different. A large number of introits are provided with multiple melodic additions, and then some of these additions appear elsewhere in the same sources with text under them. Because the German-Swiss manuscripts used unheightened neumes into the twelfth century, well after the tradition of melismatic tropes had died out, the only examples of these additions that are recoverable today are some of those that were also provided with text, a few of which were transmitted as texted tropes to north Italian sources of the eleventh century that used heightened neumes or to later German manuscripts that used staff notation. The most detailed study of these melodic tropes (and other proper tropes in this tradition) is the truly magisterial account by Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug (Chapter 13, this volume).[9] The existence of melismatic additions, some of which never had a text added to them and others that do, poses an immediate question. Did the melismas come first and was the text added later in the manner we find in prosulas? It is possible that this was the case, and scholars as a rule assume that when a melisma is provided with multiple texts the melisma came first. But there are countless examples that suggest that in a good number of cases what appear to be melismatic additions had a text attached to them from the start, which was suppressed in some instances or replaced by another text in others. Among the melismatic additions to the introit a case in point are the tropes for the introit *In medio ecclesiae* for St

6 The labels in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds latin 1118, appear in a collection of multiple textings of responsory melismas copied as a unit and not within the responsories themselves.

7 The repertory of responsories is immense and has never been completely studied and catalogued. A series of important studies of different segments of the repertory exists, the most important of these being Holman (1961, Chapter 20, this volume), Hofman-Brandt (1971), Kelly (1973, 1974 and Chapter 21, this volume) and Steiner (1973a).

8 Only four introits, Nunc scio vere (St. Peter), Puer natus (Christmas), Resurrexi (Easter) and Viri galilei (Ascension), have melodic tropes. See Weiss (1970, supplement, pp. 20, 23, 29, 31).

9 Particularly useful for the recovery of the melodic substance of the German and German-Swiss repertory are the following editions and studies: Björkvall and Haug (1992), Haug (1995), Borders (1996), Camillot-Oswald (1997), Kruckenberg (2003).

John the Evangelist,[10] where the putative prosula is a hexameter that fits the melody perfectly. David Hiley sensibly asks, 'Is it chance that the verse *milibus argenti* is a hexameter, that the right number of notes were available?' (1993b, p. 197). What this appears to point to is that the border between purely melodic additions and additions of text and music was apparently relatively fluid, and that both types of additions appeared at about the same time. Probably three kinds of troping appeared virtually simultaneously – purely melodic tropes, tropes that could have text but could be purely melodic and tropes that always had text – and the differences between these categories and the reasons for their existence were probably clear to their creators and the circle around St Gall, but proved too tenuous or cumbersome to last very long.

Melodic additions in the singing of the introit affected not only the introit itself but a few introit tropes (category 3 above) which in some sources are fitted with ornamental melismas (see Weiss, 1964). Though troping a trope would appear to be gilding the lily it was not unknown, even in terms of tropes containing text and music: the verse *Hora est psallite iubet domnus canere* is used only to introduce, that is to trope, another trope verse (Björkvall, Iversen and Jonsson, 1982, p. 117). In any case, the addition of melismas to make a chant more impressive and solemn is found in all the chant traditions. Entrance chants were apparently not particularly prominent except in the Roman, Gregorian and Beneventan traditions, but the Beneventan *ingressa* for Easter, the most solemn feast of the year, is one of the most extravagantly melismatic chants in the Beneventan repertory, and is fitted with two enormous alleluias that were apparently 'separable' elements, not entirely unlike melodic tropes (Planchart, 2004).

Melismatic Additions to the Gloria in excelsis

Melismatic additions appear also in the Gloria repertory, and again the principal sources are German-Swiss and Aquitanian, with a similar prolixity of German-Swiss examples and relative paucity of Aquitanian ones. The fundamental study for the Gloria tropes, melismatic or textual, remains that of Klaus Rönnau (1967b), and even though his main concern is the Aquitanian repertory it has a wealth of information on other sources.[11] Although purely melismatic additions to the Gloria are limited to the German-Swiss repertory, they bear some resemblance to traits in what appears to be the main melodic substance of what is probably the oldest and most important of the Gloria melodies, known today as Gloria A, which has long melismatic extensions to a number of its phrases unseen in other untroped Gloria melodies (Bosse, 1955, no. 39).[12] In addition to purely melodic tropes, in the German tropers we find a

10 For facsimiles, see Arlt and Rankin (1996, II, pp. 36–37; III, pp. 212–13) and Weakland (1958). For transcription and further references to facsimiles, see Hiley (1993b, p. 198).

11 Two other more restricted studies are also quite valuable, see Leach (1986) and Falconer (1989).

12 Gloria A is invariably the first Gloria in almost all sources that transmit it. It seldom appears without tropes, but most of the tropes demonstrably belonging to the earliest layer were associated with it. The Gloria itself is tonally unstable and was essentially abandoned as staff notation was adopted. It is not found in the modern chant books. A critical edition of the melody remains to be undertaken, but see the discussions in Rönnau (1967b, pp. 201–5), Falconer (1989, pp. 36–39), Crocker (n.d., 'Gloria'), Colette (1993) and Boe (1982).

situation similar to that found with the introit tropes: a number of tropes where the melismatic additions are provided with text, but are notated successively. These Rönnau calls tropes 'in the manner of prosulas [*Prosula-Technik*]' (1967b, p. 188). He notes further that all the tropes he believes originated in St Gall are tropes in prosula technique (1967b, p. 197), and although he does not deal with the purely melodic tropes, these also survive only in the earliest St Gall manuscripts, 484 and 381 (Arlt and Rankin, 1996, II, pp. 217–18; III, p. 307). The tropes in the manner of prosulas pose the same problem as those for the introit as to the priority of the melody.

The Aquitanian repertory of such tropes consists of a single set of melodies with three texts: *Quem cuncta laudant*, *Angelica iam pater* and *Carmine digno*. The first two probably originated at St Martial, in the first and second halves of the tenth century; the third is a non-St Martial trope from the late tenth or the early eleventh century. In the earliest sources for *Quem cuncta laudant* and in the only two sources for *Carmine digno* each trope verse is preceded by a melismatic version of the music for the verse, and the verses that make the original body of the trope (there are additions in later sources) have assonance as one finds in prosulas and proses. *Angelica iam pater* belongs with them by virtue of having the same melodies, but no source for it transmits the melismas. Later sources or non Aquitanian sources eliminate the melismas.[13] The possibility remains that indeed the melodic version of the trope came before any of the versions with text, but we have no sure evidence. On the other hand this melody (or collection of melodies) is the only one in the Aquitanian or French repertories subjected to multiple textings and yet one must remember that there is one repertory, that of the Kyrie verses or Latin Kyries, where pieces that were most likely composed with text and music at the outset were considered fair game by later poets for new texts.

Melismatic Additions to the Alleluia

Melismatic additions to the alleluia, primarily the *sequentiae*, were already numerous by the end of the ninth century, and according to Notker's letter to Liutward of Vercelli were already being provided with texts by the time the Normans sacked Jumièges, probably around 851.[14] The repertory that can be traced to the end of the ninth century is between 60 and 100 melodies; a small number of them were relatively short melodies, but most were longer melodies where many of the phrases were repeated, and a very small number of these larger melodies had small segments of text in some of the phrases.[15] The origins of the practice could well lie in pre-Gregorian music in the area of Gallican chant, because both the Milanese and the Old Spanish repertories provide their alleluias with extensive melismas with repeating structures, and the *Exposition antiquae liturgiae gallicanae* speaks of a threefold alleluia (Ratcliff, 1971, pp. 10–13). The connection of the *sequentiae* to the alleluias has been considerably argued; a sane and judicious summary of these arguments is provided by David Hiley (1993b, pp. 186–88). Collections of purely melismatic *sequentiae* appear in Aquitanian, French and

13 For concordances, see Rönnau (1967b, pp. 90, 116, 127). For discussion and transcriptions, see Rönnau (1967b, pp. 188–91).

14 Notker's text is most easily accessible in von den Steinen (1948, II, pp. 8–10, 160). An English translation is available in Crocker (1977, pp. 1–2).

15 The best studies of the repertories of purely melismatic sequentiae are Hiley (1992, 1993a) and Bower (2002).

English manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and exceptionally in the earliest of the St. Gall tropers, but in the course of the eleventh century they were replaced by collections where the melodies are given only with a text. Still, in certain French and German centres melismatic *sequentiae* or, by that time, sequences purged of their text, were sung during certain feasts well into the thirteenth century (see Kruckenberg, 2006). *Sequentiae* with text, that is *prosae* or sequences, grew exponentially during the tenth and eleventh centuries and are in many ways the major form of monophonic composition of the central Middle Ages. The production, particularly of new texts, continued unabated until the Renaissance, and the influence of sequences both as poetry and as music extended to every musical and poetic field of the central and late Middle Ages, but a detailed consideration of this immense repertory falls outside the scope of this book.

A little-noticed phenomenon, however, is a very small repertory of melodic ornamentations of the alleluia that are apparently not sequences, and which were as short-lived as the purely melodic ornamentations of the introit or the Gloria. They appear only in the St Gall tropers and, in slightly abridged form, in the Minden troper most likely copied at St Gall (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 484, pp. 237–38; MS 381, pp. 307–8; Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (olim Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek), MS theol. IV^{o} 11, fols 3r, 6v, 10v, 15v). They appear to be the same kind of melodic additions with prosula like texts found in these manuscripts in connection with the introit and discussed above, except that in the case of the alleluia tropes the text of the ornamental melody is a repeat of the verse text, so they have escaped the notice of literary trope scholars. This repertory was as short-lived as that connected to the introit, and none of the melodies survive in transcribable notation. The same two St Gall tropers transmit a set of melodic additions to a single offertory, *Anima nostra* for the Holy Innocents (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 484, pp. 56–57; MS 381, pp. 222–23).

Melismatic Additions to the Office Responsories

The practice of melismatic additions to the office responsories goes back to the early ninth century and, as in the case of the alleluias, may have roots in pre-Gregorian chant traditions. The *responsoria cum infantibus* of the Milanese rite are often provided with enormous melismas that dwarf what one encounters in the Gregorian or post-Gregorian repertory, with the exception of the longest sequence melodies (see Caglio, 1957). Our earliest witness of melismatic additions to the Gregorian responsories is Amalar of Metz, who writing *c.*830 describes such an addition: 'In the last responsory, that is, *In medio ecclesiae*, unlike the case with other responsories, a triple melisma (*neuma triplex*) is sung and the verse and the Gloria are extended beyond the usual manner.'[16] Amalar then adds that modern singers sing it instead in connection with the responsory *Descendit de caelis* for Christmas, at the words *fabricae mundi* (Hanssens, 1948–50, p. 54).[17] In later manuscripts this *neuma triplex* is associated most often with *Descendit de caelis* but also with *In medio ecclesiae* and a few other responsories as well. The melisma comes at the very end of the respond, which in the last responsory of

16 'In novissimo responsorio, id est "In medio ecclesiae," contra consuetudinem ceterorum responsoriorum, cantatur neuma triplex, te versus eius atque gloria extra morem neumate protelantur' (Hanssens, 1948–50, III, p. 54).

17 Even though Amalar claims that the *neuma triplex* protracts the verse and the doxology, the melismas are actually added to the end of the respond itself.

each nocturn in matins is sung three times, since the final section of the respond returns after the verse and again after the doxology; each time the melisma becomes more elaborate.[18] Triple melismas such as this are rare; more frequent is the addition of a single melisma near the end of the responsory, either to the last responsory of matins or to the responsory that concludes one of the first two nocturns. These additions are never rubricated as such, and since responsories are melismatic chants they can be difficult to detect, all the more so since they are often an amplification of an already existing melisma or the substitution of a longer melisma for a shorter one. The only way of detecting them is a detailed comparison of multiple sources for each responsory (see Holman, 1961and Chapter 20, this volume; Hughes, 1972). The repertory is variable and extremely unstable, and even today we do not have a complete overview of the entire corpus of medieval responsories, much less one of the additions to them.[19] Many of these melodic additions were eventually provided with text in the manner of prosulas, and some, like the *neuma triplex* mentioned by Amalar, were the source for multiple texting. These prosulas will be discussed below.

The Addition of Words to a Melody: Prosulas and Verses

The addition of words to a pre-existing melody, usually a melisma, also goes back at least to the ninth century. What may be the oldest example of musical notation in the West transmits one such piece, the prosula *Psalle modulamina* for the Alleluia V. *Christus resurgens* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 9543, fol. 199v; see Smits van Waesberghe, 1957; Stäblein, 1963; Möller, 1990). It was connected mainly with responsorial chants: the gradual, alleluia, offertory and the office responsories, but it affected a few other chants in different ways. The *prosa* began as additions of words to the *sequentia*, but even after sequences began to be composed with both words and music at the outset, poets regarded the melodies of sequences as melodies that could be reused for new texts, and when rhyme and rhythmic verse were used instead of prose texts in the later sequences, poets realized that any text written in a specific metric and stanzaic pattern would fit any number of melodies, and thus, even though new sequences, melody and text continued to be composed, the production of new texts vastly outnumbered that of new melodies. By the same token, another repertory, that of Latin Kyries or Kyries with verses, also developed in a similar manner, as did the corpus of verses for some of the osanna melismas at the end of the Sanctus, and verses for the *regnum tuum solidum* trope within the *Gloria in excelsis*. All of these will be discussed in some detail below.

Prosulas to the Gradual and the Tract

Among the melismatic chants of the mass, the gradual and the tract received by far the least amount of prosulas, and these have not been systematically studied. The texts of a number of prosulas for melismas in graduals were edited in by Clemens Blume (1906, pp. 215–65), but this edition must be used with extreme caution. It includes some prosulas to melismas in graduals, some of the even less frequent tropes to the gradual, mislabelled offertory tropes,

18 A very useful description of the process of elaboration appears in Kelly (1973, pp. 45–46).

19 In addition to Holman's works cited above, Steiner (1973b) and Kelly (1973, 1974 and 1988) are the best introductions to this enormous topic.

antiphonae ante evangelium and a good number of independent pieces that are neither tropes nor prosulas. Stäblein in *MGG* gives some late examples of gradual prosulas (1949–86b, V, cols 655–58). But the practice existed already by the eleventh century.

Example 01 is a prosula within the verse *Vias tuas* of the gradual *Universi qui te exspectant* for the first Sunday in Advent in an eleventh-century *cantatorium* from Novalesa (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 222, fols 3r–3v, pitches established with Pistoia, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS C 120, fol. 1v). In the manuscript the Respond (not included in the transcription) appears only as an incipit, since the manuscript was essentially for the soloist. The melisma is copied continuously, followed by the prosula without a rubric but with a coloured initial, and then the rest of the verse. This was the standard manner of notating prosulas, except that in most sources the rubric *prosa* or *prosula* is added at the beginning of the prosula.

Two details are worth noting about this prosula. First, as with most of this repertory, whoever wrote the text mostly chose words with as many syllables as there were notes in each neume or, as in the case of *te cuncti* and *cuncti te*, chose two words that fill out the neume. At no point does a word go across a division between neumes. This seems to have been an almost universal goal of the *prosulatores*.[20] Second, the prosula most likely came to Novalesa independently of the gradual. The ending of the melisma in the gradual is that found in most of the early Gregorian sources as well as in the modern chant editions; the ending of the prosula appears to have simply repeated twice the final a of *omni* to accommodate the word *plebe*, but at least one north Italian Gradual without the prosula gives the end of the melisma with the melodic contour found in the prosula (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 123, fol. 18v).[21] The prosula itself survives in three eleventh-century tropes from Nonantola, with the ending exactly as that found in Novalesa (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2824, fol. 17v; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 1741, fol. 48r;[22] and Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, M1343, fol. 18v (see Borders, 1996, II, p. 61)) and in a Gradual from Benevento with the ending following the traditional form of the melisma (Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 34, fol. 1).[23] Eleventh-century prosulas for another gradual, *Qui sedes, Domine* for the third Sunday in Advent, also appear in the edition of Nonantolan chants by Borders (1996, II, p. 62),[24] and a number of late examples from Bohemian sources have been edited by Hana Vlhová-Wörner (2004, pp. 116–21).

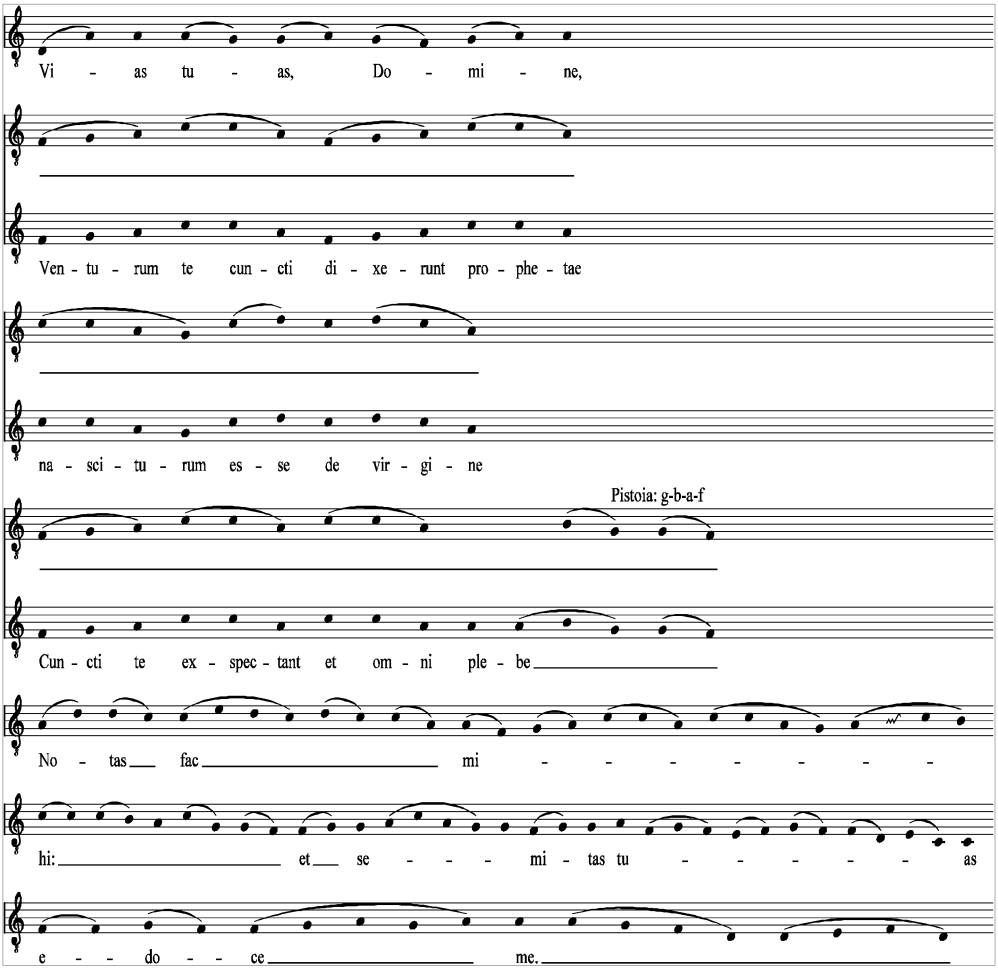
20 I thank Thomas Kelly, who is preparing a study of this phenomenon for this information.

21 For a facsimile, see Froger (1974).

22 For a facsimile, see Vecchi (1955).

23 For a facsimile, see Huglo (1937). The prosula appears also in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CVII (100), fol. 54r, from Mantua, Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 60, fol. 4r, from Pavia, and in a much later Venetian Gradual, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS 40060, fol. 1r.

24 The prosula appears also in Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 34, fol. 5v (facsimile in Huglo, 1937). These are the only two gradual prosulas in the Nonantola and Benevento sources.



Example 01

The situation with the prosulas to the melismas in the tracts is similar to that of the gradual prosulas. There is a very small repertory confined, for the most part, to Italian manuscripts. No systematic study of them has been undertaken.[25] They appear in a few sources and seem to be

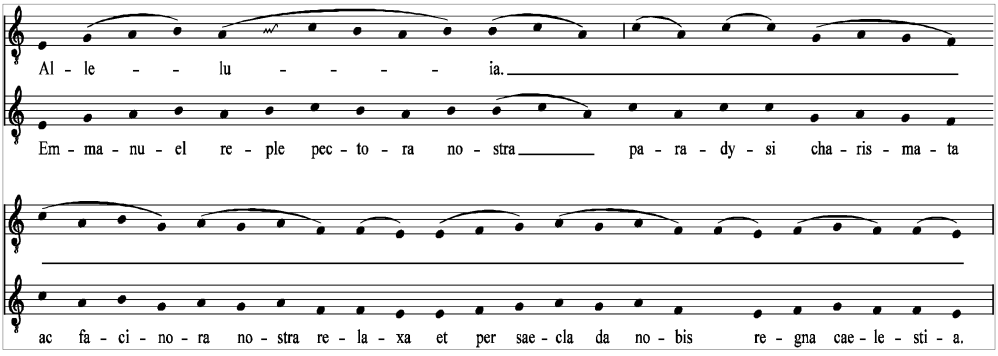
25 The following are available either in facsimile or in modern editions: Libera me Christe, for the tract Deus, Deus meus for Palm Sunday; Memento quaesumus, for the tract Confitemini for Sunday II in Lent; Mons magnus, for the tract Qui confidunt for Sunday IV in Lent; Sana Christe rex and Ut fugiant a vobis, both for the tract Commovisti for Sunday II in Lent. See Huglo (1937, fols 75r, 90r, 110r), Froger (1974, fols 74r–75r) and Borders (1996, II, pp. 64–65). Sources for some of these pieces not mentioned by Borders or in facsimile include Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 35, fols 36r and 45r (Memento quaesumus and Mons magnus) and Pistoia, Biblioteca Capitolare, MSS C 119, fol. 24v and C 120, fol. 44r (Mons magnus).

unique to their localities, only *Mons magnus est* for the tract *Qui confidunt in Domino* had a wider distribution in the peninsula. As with the gradual prosulas two late prosulas to melismas in the tracts appear in Hungarian and Bohemian manuscripts (Vlhová-Wörner, 2004, pp. 122–27; Skendrei, 1990).

Prosulas to the Alleluia

In contrast, prosulas in the alleluia repertory are found in all areas of Europe and are quite numerous. They were copied primarily in two kinds of manuscripts – tropers or cantatories, when they are grouped together in a section, and graduals, where they are copied as part of the alleluias as these appear within the mass formularies throughout the year. The only editions of alleluia prosulas as such are thus far purely literary and need to be used with some caution (Blume, 1906; Marcusson, 1976; Odelman, 1986). Two of the volumes, Analecta Hymnica 49 and *Corpus Troporum II*, include pieces that are not prosulas, and *Corpus Troporum IV* edits an interesting but virtually unique repertory. In addition *Corpus Troporum II* was published when the resources available to the editors of the *Corpus Troporum* were seriously deficient in terms of Italian sources, which are some of the richest in prosulas for the alleluia and the offertory. Studies of the alleluia prosulas as a text and music phenomenon are rare. Some appear in Ruth Steiner's study of one of the Aquitanian manuscripts (1969), and two studies by Luisa Nardini (1995, 1997) not only deal with the music but cover some of the Italian sources not used in *Corpus Troporum II*. Most alleluia prosulas are copied in the sources in the same way as the gradual prosula cited above, with the melisma followed by the texted version. In a few of them that add text not just to a melisma but to a phrase of the alleluia verse with both melisma and some text, the writers of the prosula text often found ingenious ways of using words of the alleluia text as part of the prosula. David Hiley (1993b, p. 203) gives a particularly widespread and very elegantly constructed example of such a procedure. Further, given that the melismas of the alleluias are not extremely long and that the added text is in prose, the extent to which the writers sought to use assonance is still notable, as in Example 02, from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin*, 776, fol. 92r, of one of the alleluias for Pentecost.

The matter of assonance here is not simply picking as many words ending in 'a' as possible, although there is also that, but of where these words and some of the other traits of the prosula are placed. The only syllable with more than one note in the prosula matches the end of the alleluia intonation, which probably would precede the singing of the prosula itself (if the prosula were intended to actually replace the *iubilus*), the next 'a' ending comes at the end of the next syntactical unit of the text and coincides with the only large leap in the melody, which would have called automatically for an articulation even in the melismatic version. For the next syntactical unit, *ac facinora nostra relaxa*, despite the profusion of 'a' endings the text deliberately overrides the neumatic structure of the melisma, so that the main 'point of assonance' is the E, which is the final of the mode. The same applies to the end of the prosula, and the suppression of the repeated F in the melisma allows the final phrase to flow to the end without any internal point of stasis (see also Rönnau, 1984).



Example 02

Since prosulas and proses or sequences are virtually contemporary and the text of the proses, particularly in the West, makes extended use of assonance tied to what might be called musical rhyme in the melodies (see Planchart, 2007, pp. 315–19), it is more than likely that it was the early repertory of proses that influenced the efforts of the *prosulatores* (who might well themselves have been writers of *prosae* as well).

Prosulas to the Offertory and its Verses

By far the largest repertory of prosulas in tenth- and eleventh-century sources is that of prosulas added to the melismas of the offertories, almost always to the immense melismas one finds in the verses, but sometimes even to the melismas of the responds (Björkvall and Steiner, 1982). No comprehensive study of the entire repertory exists, and until recently there were no studies of any of the subrepertories. A number of recent studies suggest that there are at least two distinct repertories, one in the German area and another in France and Italy, although it is possible that the French and Italian repertories, despite a great deal of overlapping, may be different as well (see Björkvall, 1990, 1992; Locanto, 1997; and also Skendrei, 1990 and Vlhová-Wörner, 2004). One repertory that has been now subjected to an exhaustive study and edition is the Aquitanian (Hankeln, 1999), although the smaller repertory fount in the manuscripts from the Abbey of Nonantola has also been published in its entirety (Borders, 1996, II, 61–75). The tendency towards composing the texts with assonance related to the text of the melisma itself is also present in offertory prosulas though not quite as pronounced as in the alleluia prosulas (see, for example, Hiley, 1993b, p. 202).

The offertory prosulas tend to appear not only in the offertories of festal masses that were often, at least in France and Germany, embellished by tropes, but also in ones that are distributed more evenly throughout the year in the sources that transmit them, although in Aquitaine, as Steiner (1969, p. 371) has noted, there might have been a slight categorization of the ornamentation, where offertories with prosulas were not provided with tropes and those with tropes usually had no prosulas. In Italy a slightly different situation obtains. Italian Graduals and tropers are fairly rich in offertory prosulas but have a very small repertory of

offertory tropes, and in some of the manuscripts the few offertory tropes copied are copied not within the troper but within the prosulary and labelled *prosa* or *prosula* as well.[26]

The notation of the prosulas for all of the mass chants, as well as those for the responsories, which will be discussed below, does not ever indicate how they are to be performed. Does the melisma precede the prosula (this is the common manner of notation)? Is the prosula a substitution for the melisma? Are they to be sung together in a form of heterophony? The silence of both the music manuscripts themselves and writers about music on this matter is nearly total. Some late *ordines* mention the performance of the Kyrie verses, or exceptional performances of the sequences and their *sequentiae* that may or may not indicate the survival or transformation of earlier traditions (Kruckenberg, 2006, pp. 275–79). A few scholars have ventured hypotheses, but these remain so (Rönnau, 1967b, p. 188; Marcusson, 1979).

Prosulas to the Responsories

Prosulas to the responsory melismas affect both melismas original to the responsory in question and melismas that were added to them as melodic tropes. As with the case of the melodic tropes, the prosulas are seldom identified by a rubric, and the repertory is both relatively large and diffuse. The only study to attempt a review of the whole repertory is that of Helma Hofman-Brandt (1971), which examined 496 and traced more than 700 prosulas.[27] Also immensely valuable is the study by Francesc Bonastre (1982) of the prosula sources and traditions in Catalonia. The repertory of responsory prosulas is both quite extensive but also 'thin' in terms of its distribution; most antiphoners contain only a few prosulas and nearly a third of the sources examined by Hofman-Brandt have a single prosula in them. Only exceptionally are responsory prosulas copied by themselves and in a series, as is the case with the ten prosulas to the *Fabricae mundi* melisma found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 1118, fols 117v–119r.

The procedures and evolution of the responsory prosulas are similar to those found in relation to the alleluia and offertory prosulas. Writers seek to articulate the neumatic text of the music by choosing words with the appropriate number of syllables, and increasingly they seek words that would produce assonance with the word of the melisma itself. But in responsory prosulas things go further. Because prosulas in the responsories were written not only under the melismas that were part of the responsory, but under melismas that had been expanded or were entirely new additions, as the literary taste changed and metric and rhyming texts became popular under the influence of sequence poetry, musicians and poets felt free to replace the existing melismas (whether original or early additions) with longer ones in double phrases that could accommodate the new texts in rhyming couplets. The many forms this process took in different cases have been carefully studied by Thomas Kelly, although Kelly (Chapter 21, this volume) takes pains to show that many of these expanded melismas existed as melodic ornaments that went from one responsory to another and that the expansions were not simply a result of the added words, and that 'old' and 'new' forms of prosulas or *prosae*

26 This is the case in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 107; see Planchart (1985, pp. 17–19).

27 The number of sources Hofman-Brandt examined is all the more remarkable when one considers that René-Jean Hesbert (1963–79) considered 800 manuscripts, and that most of the earliest ones have no tropes or *prosulae*.

for these melismas coexisted even in late sources, so that an entirely teleological view of their evolution is surely misguided. A few of the most extended textings, such as the very popular *Sospitati dedit aegros* for a melisma added at the end of the responsory *Ex eius tumba* for St Nicholas, eventually became virtually independent works, used sometimes as sequences in the mass or set to polyphony in the fifteenth century as independent motets.

Prosulas to the Sanctus and the Osanna

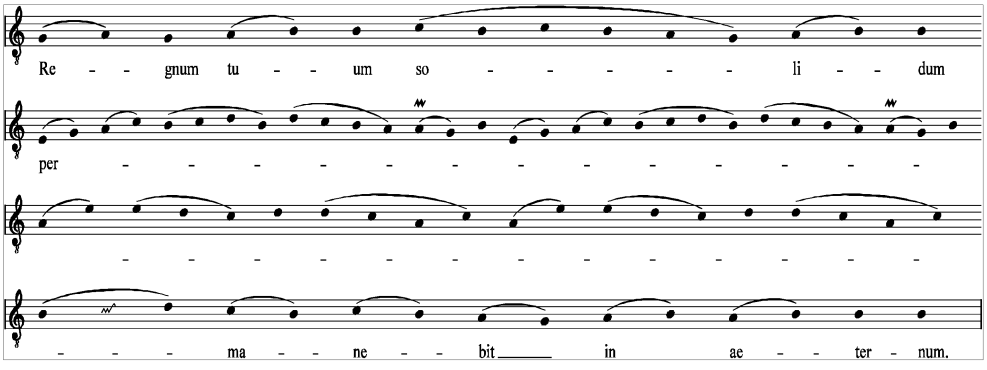
The prosulas to the Sanctus resemble those found in the responsories in two ways. First of all most of these appear with melismas that are not part of the original musical substance of the Sanctus, but were added instead to the final Osanna, and because they occur in an 'open-ended position', as do the prosulas to the final melisma of a responsory, they could be expanded into sequence-like pieces with a double versicle and assonance, and like some of the prosulas for the responsories, a few of these became independent and were used as sequences as well. The extent of this repertory until the thirteenth century can be gathered from Gunilla Iversen's exemplary edition of the trope and prosula texts (1990a). Although Iversen does not deal with the music except for giving the numbers in Thannabaur's catalogue (1962) and an occasional reference in the notes, the length and elaboration of a great number of the Osanna prosulas bespeaks long melodies organized in pairs of strains. These additions, particularly the later ones, blur the boundary between prosula and trope in that all surviving sources have the melody and the text, so it is quite possible that they represent additions of text and music at the same time and hence tropes rather than prosulas. But multiple textings of some of these melodies suggest that, as with the Kyrie verses and the sequences, poets and musicians in the late Middle Ages regarded words and melody in these pieces as detachable.[28] In rare and relatively late instances the prosulas affect the Sanctus melody rather than that of the Osanna (Thannabaur, 1967).

Prosulas to the Regnum tuum solidum

One final group of prosulas, which arose from a melisma in a trope verse, remains to be considered. Originally it was either one of a series of independent trope verses that preceded the formation of what Rönnau calls 'the closed Gloria trope repertory' or else the next to last verse of one of the oldest Gloria tropes, *Laus tua deus*,[29] connected with the melody known as 'Gloria A' (Bosse, 1955, no. 39; see also Falconer, 1989, pp. 36–39 and Rönnau, 1967b, pp. 179–81). Example 03 shows the verse as it appears in a mid-eleventh-century source (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.l. 1871, fol. 71v).

28 For studies of the relationship between text and music in the Osanna prosulas, see Atkinson (1985, 1993) and Iversen (1990b).

29 See Rönnau (1967b, pp. 140–47) for a detailed concordance, but also Falconer (1989, pp. 16–43).



Example 03
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.l. 1871, fol. 71v

Example 03 presents what might be called the mature West Frankish form of the melisma, consisting of four phrases in the pattern aa bb. Klaus Rönnau, in a very careful study of this verse and its prosulas, gives 17 sources for the verse without the prosulas (1967a, p. 195, n. 4),[30] but of these only seven and none of the East Frankish manuscripts are transcribable. Rönnau (1967a, pp. 198–99) argues convincingly that the original form of the melisma was aa b, the form in which it appears in Saint Gall 484 and in London, British Library, Additional 19768, and that the later aa bb form and an aa bb cc pattern found in St. Gall and German sources are later. But all these forms already existed by the second quarter of the tenth century as did the prosulas, which are, by and large, a West Frankish and Italian phenomenon. The general shape of each phrase of the melisma is essentially the same in all versions, but the actual pitches differ noticeably among the transcribable sources.[31]

By the late tenth century the connection of *Regnum tuum solidum* and its prosulas with the trope *Laus tua deus* or even with Gloria A had loosened, and mid-eleventh-century Aquitanian manuscripts transmit a series of *Regnum* prosulas as independent works that could presumably be attached to any Gloria trope at will, or even to an otherwise untroped Gloria.[32]

30 To Rönnau's list one may add Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 35, fol. 185v; Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, MS 546, fol. 63v; Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS O.I.7, fol. 10r; Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 76, fol. 31r; Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 4, 47, fol. 20v; Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS F. IV. 18, fol. 14r, MS G. V. 20, fol. 117v. Some of these, even though they have prosulas, transmit the entire melisma uninterrupted.

31 For different versions of the melisma, see Planchart (n.d.), Falconer (1989, p. 38), Boe (1990a, pp. 140–42) and Borders (1996, I, pp. 41–42, 53).

32 So in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 887, fols 84v–86r; 909, fols 95v–99r; 1084, fols 149r–151r; 1119, fols 132v–139v; 1120, fols 95v–98v; 1121, fols 50v–53r; *nouv.ac.lat.* 1177, fols 4r–4v; Huesca, Biblioteca Capitular, 4, fols 141r–142v. The last two manuscripts in the list have no Gloria tropes in them except for the *Regnum* prosulas.

The Kyrie Verses or Prosulas and the Latin Kyries

The Kyrie presents a number of unique problems. David Hiley (1993b, pp. 151–52) and David Bjork (2003, pp. 1–4) admirably summarize its early history. The Kyrie was part of a number of litanies as far back as the fourth century. In Byzantium it became part of the mass sung after the lessons, but in the West it was incorporated near the beginning of the mass, although how this took place is not altogether clear.[33] By the eighth century its position after the introit is specified in Ordo Romanus I (*c.*700) (Andrieu, 1961–74, II, p. 84), but it was in some ways an 'open form' piece where the number of acclamations varied, although the two main forms, *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison*, are attested already in a letter of Pope Gregory I (d. 604).[34] It was apparently also an acclamation sung by the clergy and the congregation or else by the *schola* and the *regionarii* (subdeacons) in some form of alternation (Andrieu, 1961–74, II, p. 159). Between the time of Ordo Romanus I and Ordo Romanus IV, which represents the situation at the end of the eighth century, the Kyrie had been reduced to nine, or perhaps twice nine invocations (Andrieu, 1961–74, II, p. 159, but see also Crocker, n.d., 'Kyrie'). The earliest sources with music date from the tenth century, and as Bjork (2003, p. 4) notes, the creation of this early tenth century repertory, which includes a good number of Kyries with Latin verses that appear to have been composed from the beginning with their Latin text and show an intricate formal structure, could not have predated the systematization of the number of invocations at nine (or as an alternative as two times nine).[35] In the early tenth century repertory we find side by side Kyrie melodies notated with and without their Latin texts as well as Kyrie melodies that never appear with a Latin text. These Latin texts have been called tropes by modern scholars, but the sources almost never call them so. The most frequent labels, when there is a label other than 'Kyrie', are *versus*, *prosula* and *prosa*.[36] This distinction is worth emphasizing because there is a small repertory of true Kyrie tropes, which will be discussed below, but the vast majority of what modern scholarship calls Kyrie tropes are either prosulas (or verses) or Latin Kyries, works written from the start with Latin and Greek acclamations in alternation. Bjork (2003, pp. 4–5) finds that there are four early Kyrie repertories: Aquitanian-French, German-Swiss, English and Italian.[37] This is correct in terms of the actual repertory of pieces, but in terms of melodic procedures and the writing of the Latin texts this can be subsumed into three traditions: West Frankish, including Aquitaine, northern France, England and Spain; East Frankish, generally including the border region of the Rhine, Germany and Switzerland; and south Italian. North Italian sources are largely within the East Frankish orbit in the east (Venice and Aquileia), and a mixture of East and West Frankish traditions in the centre and west. Written witnesses of the south Italian tradition are no earlier than the middle of the eleventh century, but some of the Kyries in these sources

33 See Bjork (2003, pp. 2–3) for a summary of the different views.

34 *Gregorii papae registrum epistolarum* (ed. Ewald and Hartman), II, Liber IX, 26.

35 It is interesting to note that the performance implied by the notation of most early Kyries results most of the time in 18 invocations as well.

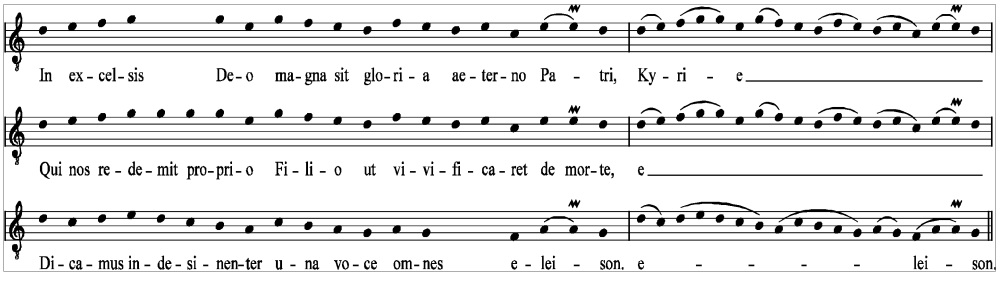
36 Cf. Bjork's thoughtful discussion (2003, pp. 15–18).

37 The melodies themselves are catalogued in Mielnicki (1954). Unfortunately Mielnicki did not use most of the earliest sources notated in non-diastematic neumes, so there are important *lacunae* in her catalogue, some of which are filled in by Hiley (1986).

show traces of having stylistic roots going back to before the time of Ordo IV (see Boe, 1989, 1, pp. 30–32 and 1990b, pp. 345–56).

Two of these traditions have been studied with great care, the West Frankish tradition, particularly in terms of the Aquitanian repertory by David Bjork, and the south Italian tradition by John Boe. No comparable study of the East Frankish tradition exists, although Bjork (1980a, 1980b) has contributed a number of important insights into it.

The normal practice in the West Frankish tradition, at least in the early sources, is for the Latin text to be sung followed by the melody with the Greek invocation.[38] At their simplest the West Frankish Kyries consisted of two melodic strains distributed as follows: AAA BBB AAA', where A' has a different opening but the same ending as A. At their most elaborate they consisted of six strains: ABA CDC EFE', where E' has an elaborate opening consisting of a repeated first phrase, and often there are melodic motives that connect the different strains. As noted above, the melismatic Greek invocation follows each texted phrase except that in the final phrase of the most extended Kyries the melismatic version is interlaced with the texted one. Example 04 shows the final invocation of the Kyrie that most often opens the series of Kyries in West Frankish manuscripts and is the probably the most elaborate Kyrie to have come down to us.



Example 04

Final phrase of *Tibi Christe supplices*[39]

No extended study of the German tradition of Latin Kyries has been undertaken. The early manuscripts show a preponderance of true Kyrie tropes (discussed below) over Latin texted Kyries, but by the beginning of the eleventh century the tropes are falling out of fashion and a larger repertory of Latin texted Kyries is being added.[40] Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek MSS 484 and 381 have no Latin Kyries, but three and five Kyrie tropes respectively, but

38 See Bjork (2003, pp. 21–27) for a particularly thoughtful account of the performance possibilities.

39 This is a critical edition based on a number of north French and English sources, specifically Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 775, fol. 2r; London, British Library, MS Royal 2. B. IV, fol. 2v, MS Royal 8. C. XIII, fols 1r–1v; Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, MS 61, fol. 154v; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.l. 1235, fol. 185r. See also Bjork (2003, pp. 264 and 266); the entire Chapter VI of the work is a detailed analysis of the Aquitanian version of the Kyrie.

40 See Bjork (1980c, p. 11) on the situation in Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 378.

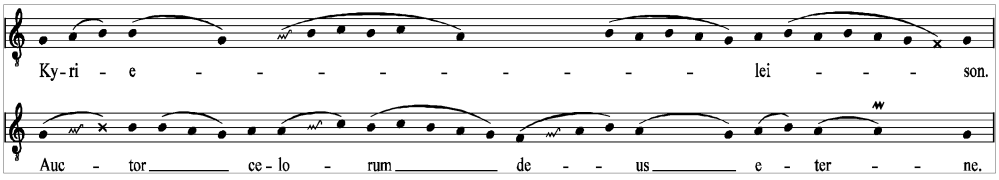
Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS theol. IVo 11,[41] copied in 1024 at St. Gall for Minden, still has the five tropes found in St. Gall 381 plus five Latin Kyries. Among the early Latin Kyries there are few concordances between the West Frankish and East Frankish Kyries. For example, Kyrie melody 55 (Mielnicki, 1954) set to *Tibi Christe supplices* in the West, is set in German sources to *O theos chritis*.[42] Because the repertory of the early German sources is preponderantly not just a trope repertory, but a repertory of tropes that follow a specific pattern, where the first Greek invocation is sung and then a trope introduces the following eight invocations, a number of the early Latin Kyries of the German tradition have only eight verses as well; in some cases a ninth verse was added in later sources to bring them in line with the newer repertory of Latin Kyries often imported from elsewhere. In this respect the later repertory of Latin Kyries in the German sources, pieces that began to be added in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, consists for the most part of a truly international repertory that was sung on both sides of the Rhine. This makes the later Latin Kyries an exception to other repertories, which seldom crossed the stylistic boundary between the French and German regions.

Italian sources show a mixture of East Frankish and West Frankish Kyries, but in addition there is a group of Kyries that are clearly Italian in origin and these seem to follow a slightly different tradition from those written north of the Alps. The earliest Italian sources for these repertories are northern and no earlier than *c.*1000; the earliest Roman and south Italian sources are later still, the oldest ones dating from *c.*1050. But as John Boe (1989, 1, pp. 31–32) has shown, some of the Kyries in these sources make references that go back to the seventh and eighth centuries and have more than nine invocations, and the melodic construction of these Kyries has much in common with the melos of southern Italy's putatively pre-Gregorian repertories (see Planchart, 1982, 1985, 1993). Characteristically the Italian tropes begin with the Greek invocation which is followed by the Latin verse, and the Latin verse is set not always to the melody of the Greek invocation but to a variant of it that cannot, however, be viewed as a different melody. This pattern, A, A', is repeated identically for each successive invocation, so there are only two closely related melodic strains in the entire Kyrie. Example 05 gives the opening verse of what was probably the most wide-spread Italian Kyrie, in its southern version, which is probably the original one.[43] At the end there is a melismatic amen, which in the Roman Kyries is set to the entire melisma, while in the non-Roman ones it is set to a short melisma that is either new or derived from one of the two strains. In the case of *Auctor caelorum Deus* the amen is set to the music of 'Deus aeterne'.

41 Now held in the Biblioteka Jagiellonska in Krakow.

42 The earliest source for *O theos critis*, London, British Library, Additional MS 19768, fol. 28v, is roughly contemporary with the earliest source for *Tibi Christe supplices*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 1240, fol. 79r. *O theos critis* made a modest inroad into French territory, since it appears also in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 1169, fol. 19v.

43 The northern version has melodic variants that mark it as an adaptation and does not end with an amen.



Example 05
Opening of the Kyrie *Auctor caelorum Deus*
Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 40, fol. 21r–21v

Latin Kyries, particularly many of those of the central repertory of West Frankish pieces, continued to be sung until the sixteenth century, notably in England, but also in other parts of Europe. From the thirteenth century on, the Latin Kyries, when they are copied with their Latin text, are copied only once, although it is possible that they were still being sung in alternation with the melismas.[44] Their long life means that they overlapped with the genesis of what became one of the most important musico-liturgical genres of the fifteenth century, the polyphonic *cantus firmus* mass. The Kyries of most of the surviving polyphonic masses written in England in the fifteenth century, including that of the immensely influential *Missa Caput* (*c.*1440), set the Kyrie verses (usually *Deus creator*, which was used in England for the feasts of duplex rank), although also in France (or in northern Italy), we encounter a polyphonic setting of Kyrie verses, some of them newly composed, as those in the *Missa Verbum incarnatum* by Arnold de Lantins (d. 1432), and others traditional, as in the *Missa de Beata Virgine* by Juan de Anchieta (d. 1532).[45] Probably the last documented composition of Kyrie verses is found in an enormous cycle of six polyphonic masses built on the tenor *L'homme armé* and composed at the court of Burgundy sometime around 1468. These works have Kyrie verses written ad hoc for them, full of classical Virgilian references that interact in terms of their meaning with segments of the *L'homme armé* melody being used for each Kyrie and the canons that govern the performance of the music.[46]

Textual and Musical Additions

Tropes to the Introit

The introit tropes can be divided into two categories: introductions to the introit antiphon and interpolations of antiphon text in the manner of a commentary. There were also tropes

44 That, for example, is the import of the rubrics for the Kyries in Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 546, copied in 1507.

45 For the *Missa verbum incarnatum*, see van de Borren (1932), and for Anchieta, see Anglès (1941).

46 For a detailed description with references to earlier literature and music editions, see Wright (2001, pp. 184–88 and Appendix B).

that introduced the psalm verse and the doxology, and very rarely interpolatory lines between the two halves of the doxology. 'Tropings', or constellations of trope verses including an introduction and one or more interpolatory verses, appeared in more or less stable combinations within a specific region, for example the Limousin, but when the same verses were employed in another region they were likely to appear in different combinations and orderings.[47] Scholars see different purposes in the addition of tropes to the introit (and to other proper chants). Among the earliest layer of introit tropes a good number begin with the word *Hodie* (today) and introduce the feast itself. Others include at the end of the verse an exhortation to sing the chant itself. This led Heinrich Husmann (1959) to propose that this was most likely the original goal of most early tropes, although this suggestion appears too reductive when one sees the extent of topics and approaches in even the earliest collections. Bruno Stäblein (1964, pp. 55–59) is surely closer to the mark when he viewed the tropes as glosses that made the sometimes liturgically neutral and culturally distant texts of the introits, offertories or communions more comprehensible and connected to the specific liturgy of the day, something that is carried out in a few manuscripts to create a true liturgical plan out of the sometimes disparate biblical texts that are used in any given mass.[48]

Tropes to the introit are among the earliest as well as the longest lived tropes connected with the proper of the mass. There is one reference to them that places them in the ninth century: Ekkehard IV of St Gall, writing in his *Casus Sancti Galli* around the middle of the eleventh century, mentions the monk Tuotilo (d. 915), a friend of Notker, as a composer of tropes including a number of tropes to the introit and other chants of the proper (Ekkehard IV, 1980, p. 104), including the immensely popular *Hodie cantandus*, but also *Omnium virtutum gemmis*, *Quoniam dominus Iesus Christus*, *Omnipotens genitor fons et origo* and *Gaudete et cantate*.[49] The earliest sources with tropes, dating from around 900, transmit a number of them, albeit without music (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS XC (85); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14843), and the earliest sources with music, coming from both the East Frankish and West Frankish areas and clustered around the second and third quarters of the tenth century, transmit a relatively large repertory (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1609; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MSS 381 and 484; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 1240; London, British Library, Additional MS 19768). If one is to take seriously the marginal entries in Paris 1240 the implication is that the Abbey of St Martial, where the manuscript was copied between 923 and 926, already possessed *libelli* with tropes that were being expanded in this manuscript.[50] Although arguments *ex silentio* are particularly difficult to evaluate, it may be worth noting that the prohibitions of the Council of Meaux (*c.*848) (see Silagi, 1985) describe sequences and Gloria tropes, and perhaps alleluia prosulas, but

47 One can see this in the *Tableaux* sections of *Corpus Troporum I* and *III* or in Planchart (1977, II, *passim*; 1994, 1, pp. 8–92).

48 This is the case in a few trope collections that were carefully prepared and edited, such as the Winchester Troper, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473, or the Gradual-Troper from Prüm, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, latin 9448. Many of the Aquitanian and St Gall trope collections, in contrast, are vast anthologies.

49 See Rüsch (1953) for a discussion of the evidence for Tuotilo's authorship.

50 The manuscript has a number of introit tropes where the first verse is given as an incipit and only the subsequent ones are given in full, since apparently the first verse was available elsewhere to those who were to sing the tropes.

not introit tropes, so it may well be that proper tropes arose in the second half of the ninth century, perhaps even in imitation of the Gloria tropes. Such a date for the beginnings of the repertory would not contradict what little we know about some of the early trope composers, who include not only Tuotilo but Notker and Hucbald of Saint Amand.[51] But it may well be that a small repertory of introit tropes, or rather of trope verses,[52] existed already during the first half of the ninth century.

This is suggested by the fact that a very small number of trope verses fixed only to some extent in what Vlhová-Wörner aptly calls 'constellations' (2004, pp. 55ff.) can be found in the earliest manuscripts from virtually every region of Europe. Typical of this situation among the introit tropes are the basic group of verses associated with *Ecce adest de quo prophetae caecinerunt* for the introit of the third mass on Christmas Day (see Jonsson, 1975, pp. 82–83, 144, 175; wider collations appear in Planchart, 1977, II, pp. 138–41 and 1994, 1, pp. 50–51). But it is notable that for the most part even tropes that can be dated to the second half of the ninth century like those ascribed to Tuotilo or thought to be by Notker seldom cross the stylistic boundary posed by the banks of the Rhine, although many from both sides are found in Italian sources or in the manuscripts of an area of transition between east and west that coincides roughly with the ancient kingdom of Lotharingia. The evolution of the trope repertory in the different regions has not been systematically studied in part because the surviving sources make such a study possible only in a few cases: St. Gall and its circle, Aquitaine and Benevento (from *c.*1050 onwards), and perhaps Anglo-Saxon England from *c.*950 to the conquest (if one assumes Holschneider's position (1968, pp. 24–26) that the repertory of what he calls Bo^{a} goes back to the middle of the tenth century). This has been done systematically only for St. Gall (Rankin, Chapter 15, this volume; Arlt and Rankin, 1996, I, pp. 105–64), but references to the evolution in Aquitaine are given by James Grier (2006, pp. 11–17, 45–49) and, for the introit tropes, could be teased with some effort from the notes of Günther Weiss's edition (1970). The century and a half of evolution available to us in the Beneventan sources has also been mapped to some extent (Planchart, 1990 and 1994, 1, pp. xii–xxiii).

The repertory of introit tropes expanded quite rapidly between the end of the ninth century and the middle of the eleventh. Afterwards it stagnated and contracted equally rapidly during the early part of the twelfth century. Tropes to the introit psalm and the doxology had largely disappeared by the end of the eleventh century, but introductory tropes, and to a much smaller extent interpolatory verses attached to the antiphon, survived. The decline of proper tropes may be due in part to the antagonism towards tropes evidenced by the Cluniacs and the Cistercians, who were immensely influential during the central Middle Ages and whose views affected those of the emerging mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, whose liturgical books are usually entirely devoid of tropes (cf. Fassler, 1992; Maître, 1993; Hiley, 1990). By the thirteenth century a very small repertory of introit tropes, mostly introductions to the introit, survived in a few centres, and in some instances these survived until the sixteenth century. With very few exceptions, sources of proper tropes from the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have yet to be studied (see Gros i Pujol, 1987; Haug, 1995; Kruckenberg, 2003; Vlhová-Wörner,

51 On Notker as a possible author of tropes (or at least trope texts), see von den Steinen (1948, I, p. 495); on Hucbald, see Weakland (1957) and Smits van Waesberghe (1970).

52 The editors of *Corpus Troporum* use the term 'trope elements' for what I call trope verses.

2004; Karp, 2007). From the sources that have been studied it appears that proper tropes in the regions east of the Rhine, where the repertory had contracted early and become stable, survived longer and in a larger number than tropes in the western parts of Europe.

A small repertory of pieces closely related to the introit tropes, many of which began as introit tropes, developed in the tenth and eleventh centuries, mostly in France and England, but also in Italy. English manuscripts label them *Versus ante officium*, in north French manuscripts they are *Tropi ad processionem*, while south French and Italian manuscripts give them no special label, although their function can be determined in Italian manuscripts by the absence of a chant cue and in south French manuscripts by the presence of a 'redundant' introit cue.[53] The function of these pieces apparently was not as introductions to the introit but as introductions to the entire mass (see Planchart, 1977, I, pp. 234–40). In this they are related to the famous prologue to the Gradual *Gregorius praesul*, which is as old as the oldest tropes if not older, and provided an obvious model (see Stäblein, 1968). A complete catalogue of pieces used as *versus ante officium* has not been compiled, and the nature of some of these texts has been generally misunderstood by the editors of Volumes I and III of the *Corpus Troporum*, rendering the repertory, as a repertory, virtually invisible. It includes works such as *Hodie candidati sacerdotum* or *Laudibus alternis pueros*, which were apparently conceived as *versus ante officium* from the beginning (Planchart, 1977, II, pp. 32, 35),[54] works originally conceived as introit tropes, such as Tuotilo's *Hodie cantandus est* (Planchart, 1977, II, pp. 33–35; Jonsson, 1975, p. 107), pieces whose original function remains uncertain, such as *Quem creditis [cernitis] ascendisse* (Planchart, 1977, II, pp. 35–36; Björkvall *et al*., 1982, p. 173) and the famous Easter Dialogue, *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro*, which began apparently as a separate ceremony before the mass, and evolved into the matins *visitatio sepulchri* in the north and in Germany, into an introit trope or a *versus ante officium* in Aquitaine and a *versus ante officium* in Italy.[55]

Tropes to the Gradual and the Alleluia

The repertory of tropes to the gradual is minuscule, consisting of three introductions to the Easter gradual *Haec dies*, namely *Cantibus altissonis* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *nouv. ac. lat.* 1871, fol. 15r) (or *altithronis*), *Haec est dies* (Cividale, Museo Archeologico, 56, fol. 128v; 58, fol. 131v; 79, fol. 67r; Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek, MS 4o theol. 25, fol. 115r) and *Praeclara adest dies* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *latin* 887, fol. 20r; 909, fol. 24r (no music)). It is not surprising that they are part of the most solemn feast of the entire liturgical year or that given their rarity they are given an incorrect rubric in some of the sources.[56] The last two were edited by Blume (1906, nos 430–31),[57] but only the third was edited in *Corpus Troporum*, mislabelled as a prosula to the alleluia (Marcusson, 1976,

53 On these redundant cues, see Planchart (2007, p. 350).

54 Jonsson (1975) incorrectly conflates these with *Tibi Christo regi* (p. 106) and *Eia mater Sion* (p. 131).

55 The literature on the *Quem quaeritis* is immense and virtually all of it is wrong in terms of the early history and transmission of the piece, but see Drumbl (1981), Bjork (1980c, pp. 46–49) and Planchart (1994, 1, pp. 58–59).

56 In Paris 887 *Praeclara adest dies* is labelled *Ad sequentiam*.

57 Concerning *Haec est dies*, see also Planchart (1995, p. 355).

no. 28). All three are true tropes – that is, introductions to the gradual with their own text and melody, and the last was also used in Autun at the end of the tenth century as an introit trope (Björkvall *et al*., 1982, p. 163). Two of them are restricted to Aquitanian sources outside St. Martial (significantly the one copy in a St Martial manuscript, *Praeclara adest dies* in Paris 909, has no music) from the late tenth to the third quarter of the eleventh century. But *Haec est dies* has a very curious distribution: it survives in an eleventh-century Gradual from Fritzlar, and in three fourteenth-century Graduals from Cividale dal Friuli, which indicates that we are probably missing a number of intermediate sources. Equally remarkable is that its extremely unusual function is the same in the two groups of sources, so that it remained constant over a number of centuries.[58]

There is also a small repertory of actual tropes, not prosulas, to the alleluia, which has remained essentially invisible to scholarship, even though one or two of these have been published, albeit as prosulas. The reason for this is that virtually all these tropes are early and are restricted to East Frankish manuscripts notated in adiastematic neumes. Further, many of them are examples of what John Johnstone has called 'paraphrase tropes' (1984, pp. 144–46) where the trope essentially consists of quotation of the chant text. As Johnstone (1984, pp. 148–51) shows, these are among the oldest tropes to have survived. Paraphrase tropes are concentrated in two repertories, the alleluia and the offertory, with only a few to the introit or the communion (see Johnstone, 1984, pp. 150–54).[59] Typical of these are the tropes found in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 484, p. 237:[60]

> Trope: Alleluia. Dies sanctificatus illuxit nobis.
> Chant: Alleluia. Dies sanctifi …
> Trope: Venite gentes et adorate dominum.
> Chant: Venite gentes …
> Trope: Quia hodie descendit lux magna super terram.
> Chant: Quia ho …

The trope and the chant have the same text, but the chant is entered as cues, not complete, and the neumation of the trope and the chant are drastically different, so there can be no doubt that these are two different melodies, and this is apparently one trait that, in the eyes of medieval cantors and scribes, made a trope a trope.[61]

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58 This is seldom the case with 'peripheral' trope repertories.

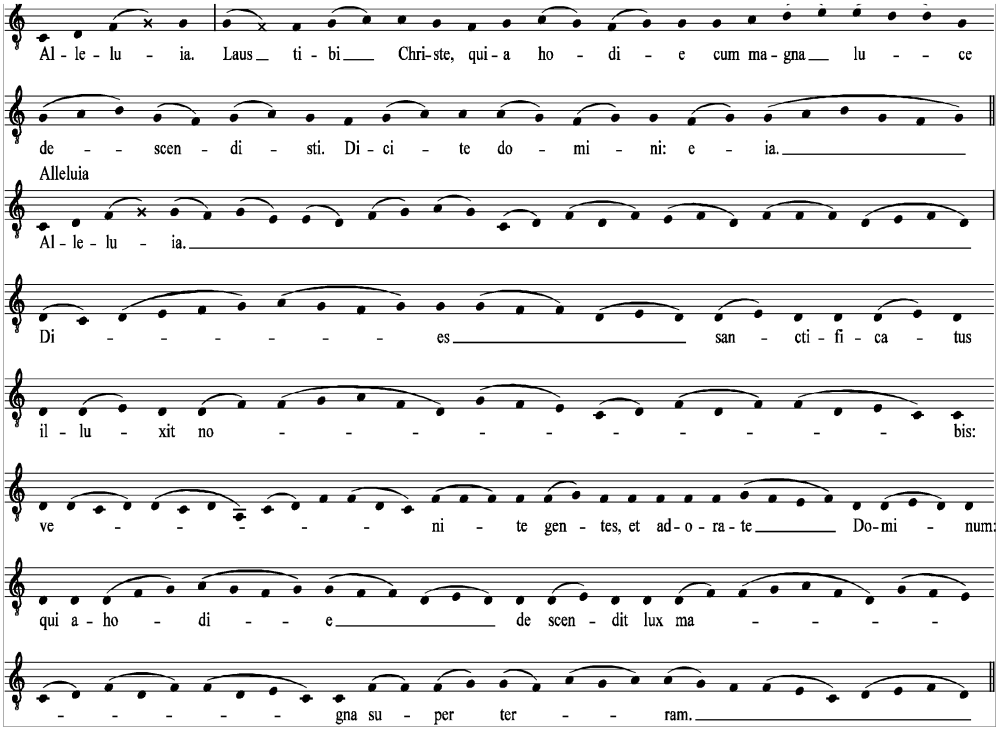
59 At the time Johnstone was writing, tropes to the alleluia were though to be nonexistent, so his discussion does not include them.

60 Other sources are Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (olim Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek), MS theol. IV^{o} 11, fol. 3r; London, British Library, Additional MS 19768, fol. 27v (no music); Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS C 13/76, fol. 18v; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14083, fol. 63v; clm 14322, fol. 6r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 27, fol. 63v. In St Gall 484 and Krakow, similar tropes appear for the alleluias *Video caelos* (St. Stephen) and *Vidimus stellam* (Epiphany). Significantly the scribe of St Gall 484 left all of these out of the later copy St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 381 and they disappear from the liturgy of the abbey. They have been essentially invisible to all trope scholarship, but are correctly identified as tropes in Arlt and Rankin (1996, I, p. 212), but are not discussed otherwise.

61 See Planchart (1977, I, pp. 248–50) for an example that confirms this view.

Not all tropes to the alleluia are paraphrase tropes. A few tropes with a text not based in the alleluia verse exist as well, and some of these are among the oldest surviving tropes. They have been published as prosulas in Volume II of *Corpus Troporum*. The entire repertory is limited to East Frankish and north Italian manuscripts. What remains to be done is to analyse carefully the neumation of all these texts, paraphrase as well as new texts, to determine if they are set to the melodic substance of the chant, in which case they are prosulas, or if they are set to a demonstrably different tune, in which case they are tropes. In a few instances, such as that of *Laus tibi Christe*, the text reads like that of numerous tropes that invite the singer or singers to start the chant. All sources are German or Italian, and virtually all adiastematic, but the neumation of the trope cannot be assimilated to the *iubilus* of the alleluia, and in the one source known to me that gives the melody in transcribable form (Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 65, fols 155r and 230r) one can determine indeed that the trope has its own independent melody.[62] It is interesting to note that this is one of the tropes that appear in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 90, copied around 900, so that small though the repertory of tropes to the alleluia is its roots apparently are in the late ninth century. The one transcribable version of this trope appears as Example 06.

62 The double copy in Piacenza, in the Gradual and in the Troper, and the fact that the sign 'V' precedes *Laus tibi Christe* in the Gradual are clear indications that the scribe of Piacenza 65 no longer understood the function of this piece. For a complete list of sources, some of which date back to *c*.900, see Marcusson (1976, no. 18).



Example 06
Trope *Laus tibi Christe* and *Alleluia* V. *Dies sanctificatus*
(Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 65, fol. 155r)

Tropes to the Sequentia

If tropes to the alleluia are an exclusively East Frankish and north Italian repertory, tropes to the *sequentia* are exclusively an Aquitanian repertory. They consist of short introductions intended to precede the singing of the *sequentia*, although in some manuscripts the chant cue is not the *alleluia* of the *sequentia* but the start of the prose.[63] The entire repertory consists of 16 pieces, five of which show small text changes in order to adapt them to more than one liturgical occasion (for example *Salvator mundi te resurgente/ascendente*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *latin* 1118, fols 45v, 59r). The repertory has been subjected to a study by Paul Evans (1968), and this remains the basic source. The texts have been published in Analecta Hymnica and in *Corpus Troporum* among the 'tropes to the alleluia' (Blume, 1906, pp. 266–77; Marcusson, 1976, *passim*).[64] The sources range in time from the early tenth

63 This is the case, for example, in some tropes to the *sequentia* copied in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *latin* 1118. See Doyle (2000, I, p. 317).

64 In both collections prosulae, tropes to the alleluia and tropes to the *sequentia* are mixed indiscriminately (although generally the rubrics are noted correctly). In Analecta Hymnica the partial texts of *sequentiae* are also included in the edition as 'tropes'.

century to the third quarter of the eleventh century, and are distributed more or less evenly throughout Aquitaine.

Tropes to the Offertory

Tropes to the offertory, particularly introductions of the offertory respond, are also among the earliest tropes, probably going back to the middle of the ninth century, and within this repertory, as Johnstone (1984, pp. 146–51) has noted, there are a good number of tropes that combine the invitation to sing the offertory chant with a paraphrase of the text of that chant. Tropes that introduce each of the offertory verses also belong in this early layer, particularly in the case of paraphrase tropes. But the diffusion and transmission of the offertory tropes differ in many ways from those of the introit tropes. The early paraphrase tropes, although found primarily in East Frankish and north Italian sources, found their way to West Frankish and Aquitanian manuscripts as well, but by the early eleventh century that had all but disappeared. The very early introduction to *Terra tremuit*, the Easter offertory, *Ab increpatione* [*indignatione*] *et ira*, remained in use not only throughout Europe but also as long as offertory tropes were sung. From the late tenth century on, however, offertory tropes, even more than introit tropes, become regional repertories, and by the beginning of the twelfth century they have largely disappeared from the liturgy, although in a few places one or two offertory tropes were still copied as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Except for a few northern centres, the offertory trope was not cultivated in Italy. In fact, south of Rome only one offertory trope, *Ab increpatione et ira*, was ever used (Planchart, 1985 and 1994, 1, pp. 77–79). Apart from Johnstone's 1984 study, offertory tropes as a repertory have not been studied in detail. Musical editions of pieces in the Aquitanian repertory have been compiled by Evans (1960, pp. 129–262) and Doyle (2000, II), and the entire Nonantola repertory has been edited by Borders (1996).

Tropes to the Communion

Tropes to the communion, as a repertory, are less plentiful than introit or even offertory tropes. They followed a pattern very similar to that of the introit tropes, consisting of introductions to the communion antiphon and interpolatory verses, but in the case of the communion tropes interpolatory verses were considerably less frequent than simple introductions. Tropes to the psalm and the doxology of the communion are extremely rare, since the communion psalmody was already being phased out in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The variations in the combination of verses found in introit tropes as they were transmitted from one region to another are less frequent in communion tropes, although not entirely unknown. The development of the different repertories of communion tropes appears to follow the pattern of the offertory tropes; a few very old tropes, notably *Laus, honor, virtus deo nostro* for the Easter communion *Pascha nostrum*, appear in sources from almost all regions, but the majority of the surviving tropes had only a regional dissemination. As in the case of the offertory tropes, communion tropes apparently were less favoured in Italy than in Germany or France, and the trope collections from southern Italy transmit not a single communion trope.

Text editions of the communion tropes have been published in the Volumes I, III and IX of *Corpus Troporum* and in Analecta Hymnica 49, and music editions appear in the different

studies concerned either with individual manuscripts or with regional repertories (Evans 1960; Planchart, 1977; Borders, 1996; Doyle, 2000, II), but no study of the communion tropes as a repertory has even been undertaken. Their ultimate fate is very similar to that of the offertory tropes. By the middle of the twelfth century they had been largely abandoned, although isolated examples continued to be copied in liturgical books until the sixteenth century.

Tropes to the Fraction Antiphon

Tropers and Graduals throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries retained a number of examples of one of the chants of the old Gallican liturgy, the fraction antiphon, a large-scale antiphon without a verse, which was sung at different places in the liturgy depending on the local tradition, but always in very close proximity to the communion. The fraction antiphon may have been a Gallican chant, but in the Gregorian tradition it became a pan-European chant, found in sources from every region. One or two of the 14 fraction antiphons that survive in the Gregorian manuscripts continued to be sung into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly the Easter antiphon *Venite populi*.[65] In Aquitaine one of these antiphons was provided with an introductory trope. Specifically the Christmas antiphon *Emitte spiritum tuum* is preceded by the trope *Haec festa praecelsa* in two sources from Aurillac (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *latin* 887, fol. 11v, and *nouv. acq. lat.* 1871, fol. 18v). This is a particularly interesting case because in all other Aquitanian sources *Haec festa praecelsa* is part of a trope to the Agnus Dei (see Iversen, 1980, nos 4, 16, 27 and 36a, particularly no. 27) but the rubric in Paris 887, 'Ad ant[iphonam]', is unequivocal, and in Paris 1871 the entire antiphons follows the trope.

Kyrie Tropes

Apart from the Kyrie prosulas and Latin Kyries discussed above, there is a small repertory of true Kyrie tropes, which can be divided into two traditions, an East Frankish or German tradition and a West Frankish or French tradition (which in this case also includes Anglo-Saxon England). The distinction between Kyrie tropes and prosulas and between the two traditions has been pointed out most clearly by David Bjork (Chapter 17, this volume). True tropes are introductions to the entire Kyrie (with or without prosulas or verses), to each set of three invocations or to each invocation, but in all cases the text *and the melody* of the trope are different from the text and the melody of the Kyrie invocation that follows the trope. One of the Winchester tropers has a particularly telling example of this, a Kyrie trope that was intended to consist of three introductions, one for each set of three invocations. But the scribe had only one actual trope at hand as well as a set of Kyrie prosulas for that Kyrie, which in this case was meant to be sung melismatically except for the tropes. To produce 'tropes' for the second and third set of invocations he then copied prosulas 3 (Kyrie) as an introduction to the three *Christe eleison* invocations, and prosula 6 (Christe) as an introduction of the last three Kyrie invocations. His criterion for a 'trope' was that the melody had to be different from that of the invocations that *followed* it. That the 'trope' melody was the same as that of the invocation that *preceded* it was, in this case, not a concern (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS

65 The only study of these pieces that has been published is Huglo (1955).

Bodley 775, fol. 62r).[66] The West Frankish tradition of Kyrie tropes is thus: Trope – KKK XXX KKK, or else Trope – KKK, Trope – XXX, Trope – KKK, with the invocations being either melismatic or provided with verses. A few Kyries have tropes preceding the first and second set of invocations but not the third. The East Frankish tradition consists of a melismatic first invocation and then a trope introducing each of the remaining eight invocations. The Italian sources, by and large, transmit Kyries with verses but without tropes, except for a few Kyrie tropes from the East Frankish tradition.

Editions of a few West Frankish Kyries are available in the studies of Bjork (Chapter 17, pp. 428ff., this volume) and Doyle (2000, II, pp. 24–25, 58–59, 80–81). The East Frankish tradition has not been studied in detail, but one example in north Italian sources appears in Borders (1996, I, no. 2).

While Kyrie verses and Latin Kyries remained in the liturgy in various parts of Europe and particularly in England until the sixteenth century, Kyrie tropes, except for a few of the East Frankish pieces, had disappeared by the end of the eleventh century.

Tropes to the Gloria

Tropes to the *Gloria in excelsis* are among the 'new fictions' condemned by the Council of Meaux probably around 848 (Silagi, 1985, p. vii). Accordingly they belong to the earliest layer of tropes for which we have references, and not surprisingly the fragmentary sources dating from *c*.900 transmit a few of them (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14843, fol. 97v, *Laus tua deus*; Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS XC, fol. 134v, *Laudat in excelsis*, 135v, *Laus tua deus*, 136r, *Ut possimus consequi*). And as is the case of a few very early introit tropes, one of the early Gloria tropes has a known author: *Quem vere pia laus* is now regarded as the work of Hucbald of St. Amand (*c*.850–930) (Weakland, 1956, 1959; Planchart, 1977, II, pp. 309–10).

A promised volume on the Gloria tropes from the editors of *Corpus Troporum* has yet to appear, but Gloria tropes have been the object of three extended studies by Rönnau (1967b), Leach (1986) and Falconer (1989), and the music for the entire repertory of south Italian and Novalesan Gloria tropes has been edited (Boe, 1990a; Borders, 1996, I). The Aquitanian, north French and English repertories have not been edited *in toto*, but several transcriptions have been published (Evans, 1960, pp. 254–60; Doyle, 2000, *passim*; Planchart, n.d.; see also Leach, 1986 and Falconer, 1989).

Rönnau (1967b, 246–49) felt that the origins of the Gloria tropes probably lay in independent verses that at one point or another coalesced into actual constellations, although a number of verses remained as 'wandering verses' in that they became associated with different tropes, not only in different traditions but even within a single tradition, as is the case with verses such as *Caelestium terrestrium et infernorum rex*.[67] But Falconer (1984) and other scholars view the early tradition as starting with a few 'complete tropings', such as *Laus tua deus* or

66 See the discussion in Planchart (1977, I, p. 249) and a transcription (with the organum from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473, 135r) (Planchart, 1977, I, pp. 310–13).

67 Cf. Rönnau (1967, pp. 246–48), with a list of such wandering verses within the Aquitanian tradition on p. 247.

Pax sempiterna, which were expanded and in some instances 'mined' for verses by later trope composers.

A glance at such tropes as *Pax sempiterna* or *O gloria sanctorum* would suggest that one of the purposes of adding tropes to the Gloria was to create a 'proper' liturgical connection for this chant. And that is no doubt the effect of a number of Gloria tropes, but these are not in the majority and in the case of a trope such as *Laus tua deus*, despite its relatively early connection with Easter (and Christmas), the text of the verses is liturgically neutral. A few tropes appear to derive their substance from the text of the Gloria itself, where the verbs in each trope verse are the same verbs in the phrase of the Gloria introduced by each verse.[68]

The pattern of which phrases of the Gloria are preceded by a trope is not at all consistent throughout the different repertories, but most of the time the series of phrases from *laudamus te* to *gratias agimus tibi* are the most commonly troped, as are the phrases from *quoniam* to *cum sancto*, and from early on a good number of tropes ended with an extended verse, either one of the variants of *Regnum tuum solidum* with the large melisma and often a prosula, or doxological verses borrowed from the hymn repertory as is the case of *Te trina deitas et una* (in its many variations), which is the final stanza of the hymn *Sanctorum meritis*, thought by some to have been written by Hrabanus Maurus (see Szövérffy, 1964, I, pp. 220–23).

The evolution of the Gloria trope repertory between the end of the ninth and the end of the eleventh century parallels in some respect that of the introit tropes. In the East Frankish region many Gloria tropes originated as texting of the melismatic additions to the Gloria in the manner of prosulas, to the point that, as noted above, all the Gloria tropes whose origins can be traced to St Gall belong to this type (Rönnau, 1967b, p. 197). The Eastern repertory crystallized early and remained quite stable until the end of the twelfth century. In contrast in the West Frankish repertory Gloria tropes in the manner of prosulas are very rare, and the repertory underwent rapid expansion in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Often each trope retained a core of 'stable' verses which were then augmented in different redactions by a number of verses either borrowed from another trope or so apparently unstable that they may be called 'wandering verses' (Rönnau, 1967b, p. 247), even though in a number of cases it is possible to gather what their original locus was, most of the time in one or another of the earliest Gloria tropes. This situation was prevalent in Aquitaine, where multiple expansions of a number of tropes can be found, sometimes in a single manuscript, including an astonishing 'quadruple trope' where phrases of the Gloria are preceded by up to four tropes each (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *latin* 1119, fols 113v–119v; see Iversen, 1998), but different expansions of Gloria tropes appear in different regions of France and Italy, so to some extent these can be treated as regional versions.[69] A fuller account of this must wait for the publication of the edition of the Gloria trope text in the *Corpus Troporum* series.

Each of the Gloria tropes was by and large associated with a single Gloria melody. The majority of the early ones were associated with Gloria A (Bosse, 1955, no. 39), to the point that in all of its earliest sources Gloria A is always found associated with a set of trope verses (most frequently *Laus tua deus*). But in the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries a number

68 This is the case with the trope *Quem patris ad dextram*, verses 1–5. See Planchart (1977, II, p. 306).

69 This can be observed in the critical apparatus in Rönnau (1967b, pp. 89–170) and in Planchart (1977, II, pp. 264–316).

of tropes became associated with different Gloria melodies, again depending on the region where they were used.[70] These shifts in association have not yet been studied in detail.

The use of Gloria tropes fell off rapidly during the twelfth century and had largely disappeared by the thirteenth. Curiously enough, a late and anomalous trope (in terms of which phrases were troped) arose at the beginning of the twelfth century, the trope *Spiritus et alme*, a Marian text associated with Gloria IX (Bosse, 1955, no. 23) used for the Lady Mass on Saturdays and other Marian feasts.[71] This trope remained in use for Marian masses until the reforms of the Council of Trent, and as a result it appears not only in plainsong but in numerous polyphonic settings until the first half of the sixteenth century (see Schmid, 1988).

A small subrepertory of Gloria tropes found in tenth- and eleventh-century sources are the introductions used to call on the bishop to intone the Gloria. They were either copied separately or preceding one or two Glorias, precisely those used during the most solemn feasts of the year, usually Christmas or Easter. In a few sources they are called *Ad rogandum episcopum* (for example Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *latin* 1118, fol. 19v). They have been studied in detail by Thomas Kelly (Chapter 19, this volume), who provides a complete guide to the early sources.

Tropes to the Sanctus

The earliest sources for tropes to the Sanctus date from the second quarter of the tenth century, which suggests that the repertory itself is slightly younger than the repertory of tropes to the introit and the Gloria. From the point of view of the texts the surviving repertory of tropes to the Sanctus prior to 1100, with a substantial number of tropes in sources from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, has been the subject of an exemplary study by Gunilla Iversen (1990a), who also provides a fairly comprehensive introduction to the structure of the Sanctus tropes, the themes favoured by the poets who wrote them, and a brief précis of the evolution of the genre.

Tropes to the proper chants begin with introductions to the chants, and as a rule each trope verse is an introduction to the official text that follows it. With the Kyrie tropes this is also the case, and except for in southern Italy, Kyrie verses precede the Greek invocation. Introductions to the Gloria are relatively rare, particularly since the Gloria is intoned by the bishop or the priest and not by the cantors, but the verses of the Gloria tropes also, by and large, lead to the phrase of the Gloria that follows them. In contrast to this, Sanctus trope verses, particularly the most frequent of them, which trope the first three statements of the word 'Sanctus', qualify the word that precedes the trope, most often with a Trinitarian exegesis. Possibly for this reason there are virtually no tropes to the Sanctus that begin with a trope line. There are only two exceptions to this in the enormous repertory edited by Iversen, the trope *Sanctus deus adorandus* (1990a, p. 183, no. 145), and the trope *Sanctus deus omnipotens pater* (1990a, p. 184, no. 146/1), and it is instructive to note that in both cases the trope writers imitate the traditional form, starting their trope with the word 'Sanctus'. In fact while *Sanctus deus*

70 A summary of the associations in a large number of sources is given in the tables in Rönnau (1967b, pp. 20–52). See also Boe (1990a, 2).

71 Its earliest source appears to be Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1386 (U 158), from c.1100. See Hesbert (1954, p. 63 and plates lxiv–lxv).

adorandus is a unicum (Apt, Basilique de Sainte Anne, MS 17, p. 99) and therefore shows no variation, *Sanctus deus omnipotens pater* was misunderstood in all copies of it outside Aquitaine, where scribes assumed that the three invocations that are part of the extended introduction to the start of the actual Sanctus were in fact a combination of official chant and trope.[72]

As Iversen notes, the contrast in the evolution of the repertory between the East Frankish and the West Frankish (and Italian) regions, which we have mentioned in connection with other repertories, is also evident in the tropes to the Sanctus. The earlier forms of the tropes, with a trope following each of the Sanctus invocations, and sometimes a trope after 'deus sabaoth' or after the first Osanna, crystallizes early in the East Frankish region and remains relatively constant, while in the West, particularly from the late eleventh century on, a large number of additional tropes and in particular prosulas to the Osanna begin to appear (Iversen, 1990a, p. 35).

The prosulas to the Osanna, which Iversen, given the scope of her work, treats together with the tropes, have been discussed above. But it is useful here to recall that, beginning with the twelfth century, a number of true proses, that is new text and new music, often in parallel versicles, begin to appear as additions to the final Osanna. A substantial number of them appear in Iversen's edition, but since she deals only with the texts (despite an increased and useful attempt at reporting on the melodies) it is not always clear which of these additions are prosulas and which are essentially new compositions attached to the end of the Sanctus.

Tropes to the Sanctus continued to be used well into the fifteenth century. The repertory of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries includes not just some of the older texts but newly composed texts (and their melodies) as well as the adaptation of other texts to function as tropes to the Sanctus, such as the fourteenth-century eucharistic hymn *Ave verum corpus natum* (Thannabaur, 1962, pp. 165–66, no. 116; Szöverffy, 1964, II, pp. 298–99), and a number of these late troped Sanctus were set to polyphony, particularly in northern Italy in the early fifteenth century. The extent of the repertory of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tropes to the Sanctus, both in plainsong and in polyphony, has simply not been mapped out.

Tropes to the Agnus Dei

The tropes to the Agnus Dei present a number of unique problems caused by variations in the performance of the Agnus Dei in the ninth and tenth centuries and by a certain fluidity in the border between trope and official text in the early traditions (see Crocker, Chapter 1, p. 14, this volume; Atkinson, Chapter16, this volume). According to the *Liber pontificalis*, the Agnus Dei was introduced in the Roman mass during the pontificate of Sergius I (687–701) (Duchesne, 1886–92, I, p. 376; see also Hiley, 1993b, pp. 165–66), but no tropes to it are found in any source earlier than the second quarter of the tenth century, nor are mentions of tropes to be found in the writing of ninth-century authors.[73] Even though Charles Atkinson (Chapter 16, p. 397, this volume) makes a good case for the threefold Agnus Dei being essentially the

72 Cf. Iversen (1990a, pp. 184–85, nos 146/1–2) and Planchart (1977, pp. 318–19) dealing also with the melodic consequences of the confusion.

73 A convenient summary of ninth-century references to the Agnus Dei appears in Iversen (1980, pp. 206–9).

norm from the ninth century on, the tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts that transmit the Agnus Dei with its tropes present a wide variation, from one to six invocations depending on regional traditions (cf. Iversen, 1980, pp. 219–24).

Between the ninth and the eleventh century the Agnus Dei invocations take three forms:

1. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.
2. Trope text – miserere nobis.
3. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi – trope text – miserere nobis.

The most common versions found in the tenth century consist of a first invocation following the pattern of no. 1 above, followed by one to five (most often three) invocations following the pattern of no. 2. This pattern continues in the eleventh century, but it is increasingly replaced by three invocations following the pattern of no. 3. Starting in the second half of the eleventh century in a number of centres Agnus Dei that consist of three invocations following the pattern of no. 3 above begin to replace the final *miserere nobis* with *dona nobis pacem*. This pattern becomes virtually universal from the twelfth century on, although occasionally a late source will give an Agnus Dei where the tropes follow the pattern of no. 2.

In addition to this a number of Agnus Dei in tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts begin with an introductory trope. Some of these introductions were 'wandering' in that they introduced several different constellations of verses, others were largely restricted to one such constellation but found occasionally with others, and finally some introductions appear always connected with the same constellation of verses (cf. Iversen, 1980, pp. 241–52, 271–74). These introductions, more than any other part of the tropes to the Agnus Dei, serve to tie the troped Agnus to a specific liturgical occasion. Further, among them we find some of the very few tropes that served as tropes to both the ordinary and the proper chants. For example, the introduction *Haec festa praecelsa*, an introduction to the Agnus in a number of Aquitanian tropers, serves also in one instance as a trope to the communion and in another as a trope to the fraction antiphon (Iversen, 1980, pp. 52–53).

As with the introit tropes, verses on the Agnus Dei tropes appear in numerous recombinations in the different sources. These are often regional variants and, as noted in a number of other cases, the East Frankish tradition is by and large more stable than those in the West and in Italy.

An edition of Agnus Dei trope texts from the earliest ones up to *c.*1000 has been published by Gunilla Iversen (1980) from a substantial base of 79 manuscripts, which includes virtually all the important tenth- and eleventh-century sources together with a series of invaluable essays on some aspects of this repertory.[74] A promised edition of the melodies by Charles Atkinson has not yet appeared. This is not surprising because the problems faced by such an undertaking go well beyond those posed by the alleluia melodies, for example, and it took more than two decades for the edition of the alleluias to go from the first catalogue to the publication of the second and final volume of the edition (Schlager, 1965, 1968, 1987).

Unlike the edition of the tropes to the Sanctus, the edition of the tropes to the Agnus does not include a good number of sources copied after 1100, but it does include a number of

74 This manuscript base is slightly smaller than the one she used for the later volume on the tropes to the Sanctus, but nonetheless a fundamentally complete picture of the early repertory emerges from her study.

additions made in the thirteenth century to eleventh-century manuscripts from St. Gall, and this gives the reader a glimpse into the nature of the later repertory of tropes to the Agnus Dei, which includes, as in the case of the tropes to the Sanctus, texts structured in the form of rhythmic stanzas with rhyme, influenced by the style of hymn and sequence poetry (see Iversen, 1980, pp. 297–302).

Tropes to the Ite missa est

The versicle *Ite missa est* (or *Benedicamus domino* during the penitential season) that ends the celebration of the mass received little scholarly attention for most of the century that followed the restoration of plainsong at the end of the nineteenth century. Typical of this situation is that even David Hiley's comprehensive *Western Plainchant* (1993b), barely devotes a few lines to it. The reasons for this are not far to seek, for in the early chant manuscripts with notation the *Ite missa est* is rarely notated. It begins appearing in the late tenth century and no tropes for it survive in sources earlier then the last decade of the tenth century. As Huglo (1982, pp. 117–18) notes, the *Ite missa est* at first had but a single melodic formula, which it shared with the *Benedicamus domino* that ends the hours of the office, which might go back to the ninth century. The tradition of the mass and the office begin to diverge in the tenth century and the tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts transmit a number of different melodies, but a good number of them are melismas taken from responsorial chants of the mass and the office, and by the fourteenth century a practice had risen to sing the *Ite missa est* to the melody of the first Kyrie invocation sung at that mass. Still by the end of the Middle Ages the melodic repertory of the *Ite missa est* had grown to several hundred melodies.[75]

Studies of the *Ite missa est* repertory and its tropes are relatively recent. Still there are two studies of local repertories (Hospenthal, 1990; Ferenczi, 2003) and now a comprehensive edition of the melodies (Eifrig and Pfisterer, 2006). In terms of the texts the edition in Analecta Hymnica 47 presents in this case a remarkably comprehensive picture of the early repertory, leaving out mostly late sources.[76] The typical structure of the tropes, if one assumes that the official text consists of *Ite missa est* (or *Benedicamus domino*) and the response *Deo gratias*, is:

Ite – Trope – missa est. Deo – trope – gratias.

Again, as in the case of the Kyries, it remains in some instances an open question whether we are dealing here with prosulas, true tropes or with works that were composed like some of the Latin Kyries, the extended text and the music together. This is because in a number of instances the earliest sources for a given melody have it with the 'trope' text, and it could well be that later copies of the melody without the trope could be simply the result of pruning the extra text. The earliest surviving example of a trope to the *Ite missa est* is both a true trope and an exception unique in the entire repertory: it consists of introductory tropes to each of the two sentences of the official text (see Blume and Bannister, 2005, p. 409; Doyle, 2000, II, p. 34; Eifrig and Pfisterer, 2006, no. 401a).

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75 Eifrig and Pfisterer (2006, p. xxii) note that in a repertory of nearly 192 melodies 85 of them are contrafacta.

76 Blume and Bannister (1905) edit 25 texts from 22 manuscripts; Eifrig and Pfisterer (2006) edit 60 texts from 57 manuscripts.

In terms of repertory the regional differences that can be observed in other trope repertories apply even more drastically to the tropes to the *Ite missa est*. They were apparently not used at all in England or northern France, a very small number, for example the tropes *Laudantes deum* and *Pabulo refecti*, are found in French, German and Italian sources, while the majority is confined to a single region and many are *unica*. The use of tropes to the *Ite missa est* disappears in France after the eleventh century, and in Italy after the twelfth. In Germany and in Eastern Europe, however, their use continued until the sixteenth century and the reforms of the Council of Trent.

All this being said, there is a small repertory of French and English fourteenth-century works that bears a distant relationship to the tropes for the *Ite missa est*: it consists of three motets with texts that are clearly replacements for the *Deo gratias* response to the *Ite missa est*, specifically the anonymous *Post missarum sollemnia – Post missae modulamina* in the Ivrea manuscript (Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 115, fols 7v–8r),[77] as well as *Ara post libamina – Nunc surgunt* and an incomplete *Post missarum sollemnia* in the Old Hall Manuscript (London, British Library, Additional MS 57950, fols 111v–112v; see Bent and Hughes, 1973, nos 146–47). The *cantus firmi* of the first two motets have not been identified (the *cantus firmus* for the last one is lost), but they could well be *Ite missa est* melodies. But what is important in this case is that the texts refer to their function at the end of the mass and end with the words *Deo gratias*. There are a few thirteenth- and fourteenth-century motets that use an *Ite missa est* melody for their tenor, but their texts are secular, even though one of them is copied as the *Ite missa est* of the so-called Mass of Tournai (see Schrade, 1974, pp. 129–31). The proximate context of these pieces is the tradition of the so-called isorhythmic motet and that of the early polyphonic settings of the ordinary of the mass in France, which often included the *Ite missa est* as well.

Tropes to the Benedicamus domino

As noted above, the beginnings of the *Benedicamus domino* that closes the hours of the office is very similar to that of the *Ite missa est*. The growth of independent new melodies, both actually new and excerpted from office responsories in the tenth and eleventh centuries, is dramatic and has, in this case, been particularly well documented in the case of the untroped melodies.[78] The growth of the tropes to the *Benedicamus domino*, particularly in the eleventh century and beyond, however, was enormous, and to this day there is no study comparable to those of the *Corpus Troporum* or even Eifrig and Pfisterer's study of the *Ite missa est* to provide us with an outline of the repertory as a whole.

There appear to be two interrelated reasons for this. As the *Benedicamus domino* came at the end of the liturgy of each office, and in the case of Vespers at the end of the 'working day', there were fewer constraints on its length, and in particular the singing of the versicle at the end of Vespers seems to have called for a celebratory tone for it. In addition (or perhaps because of this), it became a prime locus for the use of polyphony, which ranged from simple

77 It is listed in the index of the lost Trémoïlle manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.fr. 23190. See Harrison (1974, no. 6) and Stäblein-Harder (1962, no. 73).

78 The best introduction to the repertory and the scholarship on it remains Robertson (1988), but see also Barclay (1977, I, pp. 53–93) and Huglo (1982, pp. 150–54).

cantus planus binatim to elaborate two and three part organa. The tropes ranged in style from short interpolations between the words 'Benedicamus' and 'domino', as well as between 'Deo' and 'gratias', to what amounted to elaborate versus and conductus settings, in one, two or three voices, and even tenor motets where the text of one or another of the voices ended with the words 'Benedicamus domino' or else 'Deo gratias'.

No reliable guide exists for this immense repertory, and in particular the monophonic tropes have not been reliably inventoried or studied in detail. The polyphonic repertory can be teased out laboriously from the indices in the relevant volumes of *RISM* (Reaney, 1966; von Fischer and Lütolf, 1972), and in the case of the motets one needs to go through the editions themselves, because the indices provide incipits, and most of the time the words 'Benedicamus domino' and 'Deo gratias' serve as the explicits of the texts.

Still, a number of studies look at parts of this repertory as tropes (see, for example, Göllner, 2003) or as part of a study of polyphony or of a specific office (see Marshall, 1964, pp. 133–39; Fuller, 1969, 1971; Arlt, 1970, I, pp. 79–81, 160–206; Huglo, 1982, pp. 117–22, 134–35). But what we are dealing with in the case of most of the late *Benedicamus domino* tropes is no longer quite a trope in the classical sense but substitute pieces.

Tropes to the Lessons, the Prayers, and the Credo

All of these categories except for the tropes to the first lesson in the mass consist of very small and generally late repertories that have received little study. The name most often used for these tropes was *farsa*, and sometime the farsing consisted not of newly composed material but of a cento of phrases from pre-existing chants.[79] Tropes to the first lesson of the mass, the Epistle or the Prophecy, were the most plentiful and one of them, *Laudes deo dicam per saecula*, was used throughout much of Europe.[80] Farsed first lessons are the earliest of all of the repertories considered in this section, but none of them can be dated earlier than the twelfth century. They include some of the extremely rare vernacular tropes added to the Latin liturgy (see Hiley, 1993b, p. 237). As a rule farsed lessons were limited to a few of the most important feasts of the year, usually during the Christmas season. Farsed Gospels, in contrast to farsed first lessons, are extremely rare and found only in a few late German sources.[81] The Nicene Creed from the mass as well as the Apostles' Creed from compline also received farses. Among the prayers the *Pater noster* was also provided with tropes in a few festal occasions (Stäblein, 1977). Festal offices from Santiago de Compostela, Sens and Beauvais containing farsed lessons as well as some of the other kinds of tropes mentioned in this section have been published in modern editions (Villetard, 1907; Wagner, 1931; Arlt, 1970, II); an equally extensive set of offices from Laon has not been published.

79 See the example of a farsed Creed with a table of sources for the farses in Hiley (1993b, pp. 234–36).

80 See the collation in Blume (1906, pp. 171–72).

81 See the list in Stäblein (1949–86a) and Wagner (1921, p. 513).

Tropes to the Marian Antiphons

Tropes to the Marian antiphons are a relatively late phenomenon; most examples come from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Marian antiphons were not only used at the end of Compline, but also as magnificat antiphons at the so-called 'vespers of the blessed virgin' (cf. Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599, fol. 124r–126r), and on many of these occasions the *Salve regina* and the *Ave regina caelorum* were provided with tropes. In the case of the *Salve regina* the tropes usually introduce the phrases *O clemens*, *O pia* and *O dulcis*, and in the *Ave regina* the tropes introduce the phrase *Vale, valde decora*. The practice appears to be restricted to north-eastern France, the Low Countries and England. Troped Marian antiphons on the continent were restricted to plainsong, but in England a large number of extraordinary polyphonic settings of the troped *Salve regina* survive from the second half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century, particularly in the Eton Choirbook (see Harrison, 1956–61). Ironically the most famous troped *Ave regina* is a continental work, the setting composed probably in 1464 by Guillaume Du Fay and provided the composer with a unique set of tropes praying for his own salvation. Although the work, as a troped antiphon, is unique in the context of continental polyphony, its roots in the troped Marian antiphons in north French liturgy and quite possibly in examples of English polyphony that could have been known to Du Fay are quite clear.

The Twilight of Troping

The highwater mark of the composition and use of tropes was the second half of the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh. Beginning with the twelfth century tropes began to fall into disuse. Although for a time tropes were used equally extensively in monastic and secular churches, it appears that the impetus for the growth of the repertory was primarily monastic, and by the late eleventh century it was clear that some of the most important monastic movements, the Cluniac and the Cistercian, and among the cathedral and collegiate churches the Augustinians, were antagonistic to the practice. As their influence spread, tropes were used less and less. In addition, the important mendicant orders founded in the thirteenth century – Franciscans, Dominicans and Carmelites – also eschewed the use of tropes in their liturgies, which were intended to be as simple as possible.

By the middle of the thirteenth century tropes to the offertory and communion had entirely fallen from use with only a few exceptions. A small repertory of introit tropes remained in use in some churches until the fifteenth century. Prosulas to the alleluia also disappeared during the twelfth century, and those to the offertory verses disappeared with the verses themselves by the end of the twelfth century. Gloria tropes, with the exception of the late *Spiritus et alme*, disappeared at about the same time, while a small repertory of Sanctus and Agnus tropes, including some composed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, survived into the fifteenth century. Kyrie verses and Latin Kyries survived in England and on parts of the continent until the sixteenth century.

A study of the survival and transformation of the trope repertories in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has never been undertaken systematically. The publication of a number of studies and editions of late trope collections, the so-called *troparia tardiva*, provides the basis to begin such a study, and some of the few survivals that we have sometimes prove intriguing.

In Cambrai, for example, one of the oldest Christmas tropes, *Hodie cantandus est*, used as an introduction to the Christmas mass as a whole, continued to be sung to the end of the fifteenth century, but it disappears from the diocesan missal published in 1507.[82] In a mid-thirteenth-century German Gradual, probably from the diocese of Constance, we encounter, at the end of the Kyriale (which includes a few Agnus Dei and *Ite missa est* tropes), two introit tropes: the first is the popular *Hodie cantandus* for Christmas, but the second consists of the first two stanzas of the sequence *Ecce dies triumphalis* used as an introit trope for the dedication of the church (Yale University, Irving S. Lowe Music Library, MS Music Deposit 64, fol. 10v),[83] which is in itself a symptom that new introit tropes are not being composed.[84] Late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources for proper tropes come largely from the East Frankish region and Eastern Europe (cf. Haug, 1995; Camillot-Oswald, 1997; Vlhová-Wörner, 2004), as well as from the region of the Pyrenees (Gros i Pujol, 1993). Ironically, the regions where tropes were cultivated most intensely in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the abbey of St Gall, the monasteries of Aquitaine and the region of north-eastern France, abandoned these repertories apparently early on.[85]

The most intriguing of these very late sources, however, is the *Graduale Herbipolense*, published in 1583,[86] long after the close of the Council of Trent, which transmits not only a large number of sequences (see Karp, 2002), but even more astonishingly a number of proper tropes, including not only introit but also offertory and communion tropes (see Karp, 2007, pp. 80–81). The tropes in this print do represent a tradition from Würzburg that has been documented as surviving in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources (see Schier, 1991; Karp, 2007, p. 81), so they are indeed part of what was still a living tradition, sufficiently strong locally to run counter to the pronouncements of the Council of Trent,[87] and to merit inclusion in a printed diocesan work. But these were exceptions. Already by the middle of the fifteenth century, and increasingly until the end of the *ancient régime* 'embellishing the liturgy', relied not upon textual additions or elucidations of the basic liturgical text, but rather on the clothing of that text in increasingly splendid forms of polyphonic music.

82 *Missale parvum secundum usum venerabilis ecclesiae Cameracensis* (Paris: Simon Vostre, 1507).

83 This is the earliest known source for the trope; for later sources, see Haug (1995, p. 218). On the sequence, see Fassler (1993, pp. 334–38).

84 Haug (1995, p. 218) gives two further sources for *Ecce dies triumphalis* as a trope, both from the fourteenth century, which indicate that the adaptation of the sequence stanza had a tradition of its own.

85 The presence of tropes in Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 547, copied in 1507 in connection with the anniversary of Notker's canonization, do not represent a living repertory but rather a memorial to a bygone era. See Labhardt (1959–63).

86 *Graduale Herbipolense iussu ...* (Frankfurt am Main: Johannes Wolf, 1583). The only copy known to me is in the Musiksammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, with the shelf number S.A.25.Aa.11.

87 The Decrees of the Council allowed for exceptions where a church could show a continuous liturgical tradition of more than two hundred years.

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Part I
Tropes in General

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[1]

THE TROPING HYPOTHESIS

By RICHARD L. CROCKER

The most valuable thing Jacques Handschin taught us was to mistrust our own systems. By instinct he dug out the exceptions, the anomalies, the cases that just did not fit. By instinct he provided each explanation with its antinomy, each potential system with an antidote. Recalcitrant fragments were what irritated his mind into activity; small wonder his thought came out as a disjunct series of footnotes. Provocative, even if provoking, to read, his writings pose questions that may not always have answers but often have important consequences.

Because of his mistrust of system, Handschin's tussle with the definition of trope is all the more fascinating. In his article *Trope, Sequence, and Conductus*,[1] he was unusually concerned with being systematic; the first two pages embody a kind of categorical definition quite unlike him. Yet his whole being must have reacted against the idea that a trope was a single, clearly definable thing, as is evident from his efforts in the rest of the article to adjust the original definition to the documentary facts.

The same tension between systematic theory and recalcitrant fact is present in three previous discussions of troping — Léon Gautier's *Histoire de la Poésie liturgique au Moyen Age* (1886), the introduction to Walter Howard Frere's *Winchester Troper* (1894), and the introduction to the 47th volume of *Analecta hymnica*, edited by Clemens Blume and Henry Bannister in 1905. To straighten out the complexities of definition embodied in these studies would require far more space than is available here, and would, furthermore, be futile because of the whole approach to defining a trope that these authors have taken.

Actually a trope, in the medieval understanding, can be easily defined. Indeed, there is no need to make up a new definition, for Bishop

Durand wrote a perfectly good one in the 13th century:[2] "A trope is a kind of versicle that is sung on important feasts (for example, Christmas) immediately before the Introit, as if a prelude, and then a continuation of that Introit. Tropes include three [parts of the Introit], namely antiphon, verse, and *Gloria Patri.*" This definition was dismissed out of hand by Blume, with the implication that Durand had not the foggiest idea of what he was talking about. It seems to me, however, that the good bishop was right and that everyone else has been wrong—wrong in trying to include under "trope" all sorts of things that do not belong there. The problems of definition in Gautier, Frere, Blume, and Handschin are merely those that would be encountered in trying to define under one heading oranges, elephants, and, say, meteoric dust.

Hence, the well-known definition ("a trope is an interpolation into an official, liturgical chant") has always been extensively qualified, for almost every element of it raises questions when tested against specific cases. The most immediate questions are these: does an introduction or epilogue count as an interpolation? is the interpolation a musical one, or a textual one, or both? And most important (but usually ignored), what really constitutes an official chant, or a liturgical one, and does this involve text, or melody, or both?

These and other difficulties encountered by Gautier, Frere, Blume, and Handschin seem due in the last analysis to a desire for a single, clear explanation—which I call the "troping hypothesis"—for the confusing wealth of musical forms introduced in the 9th and 10th centuries. If only there were one ruling idea to govern the medieval scene! If only that curious, little-known phenomenon, the trope, could be seen as the ruling idea of a process whereby all medieval music was necessarily and intimately tied to pre-existing materials, concerned primarily with their development or ornamentation, within the limits of respected authority imposed by a presumably all-powerful church whose grip on music was already evident in liturgy or the modal system! If all that were true, then how clear and orderly the medieval picture would be. But if the trope was to become the ruling idea, its image would have to be changed, expanded, generalized. This, I think, was the reasoning behind the inclusive definition of the trope—and the source of the difficulties.

[2]Quoted by Blume in *Analecta hymnica* 47: *Tropi graduales. Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter, I. Tropen zum Ordinarium Missae*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 7-8.

Clarity was purchased at a price, for the troping hypothesis led easily to an evaluation: tropes seemed by nature artistically inferior to their subject. Whether or not this evaluation was made, tropes were generally supposed to be lacking in originality, since they were the products of what was considered to be a rigidly controlled environment. As a result, medieval music of the 9th to 11th centuries came to be viewed not as individual works of art, consciously created, but rather as an "outgrowth of the chant," subject to laws of vegetative morphology rather than to those of original artistic creation. The troping hypothesis also produced a distorted picture of medieval polyphony by undue emphasis upon the use of a cantus firmus, or rather, upon the fact that a cantus firmus is used while neglecting the differences in the *way* it is used; but that is another story.

There has been a strong trend since the war to revise the troping hypothesis in certain respects. Ewald Jammers has insisted on an important distinction between Gregorian chant and medieval chant. Gregorian chant here refers to the Propers of Mass and Office as found in 9th-century sources, while medieval chant begins with the new forms and styles of monophonic sacred music of the 9th century or later.[3] This distinction, which opens the door to a more realistic appreciation of tropes, must be retained in any serious discussion of the problem. Bruno Stäblein, dealing indefatigably with all kinds of tropes in a wisely pragmatic manner, has often taken exception to the troping hypothesis in specific cases, as will be noted later.[4]

On the other hand, there is still a strong tendency for the troping hypothesis to direct research towards isolated examples that demonstrate the hypothesis. Exceptional items that happen to have multiple liturgical and paraliturgical connections are studied in detail, while more representative items or repertories are ignored. A striking example is the almost complete neglect of hymn melodies[5] and votive antiphons, two extensive categories of musical composition in the 9th to 12th centuries that may be stylistically more important than tropes. But hymns and antiphons have few tropic connections, and for this

[3] *Das mittelalterliche Choral: Art und Herkunft*, Mainz, 1954.

[4] See especially *Die Unterlegung von Texten unter Melismen. Tropus, Sequenz und andere Formen*, in *International Musicological Society. Report of the Eighth Congress, New York 1961.* ed. Jan LaRue, Kassel, I (1961), 12-29.

[5] Except, of course, Stäblein's volume of melodies, *Hymnen; die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes. Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, Vol. I, Kassel, 1956.

reason, I think, have been passed over by historians of music in favor of instances of text-underlay to pre-existing melismas, which better fit the trope image.

It would be highly desirable to abandon the whole troping hypothesis — which is, after all, only a hypothesis, not a fact, and therefore has no claim on our credulity beyond its ability to organize known facts or suggest the discovery of new, significant ones. It seems to me that the troping hypothesis is on the one hand invalidated by the real, basic differences that exist between the several things called trope; and on the other, contradicted by the fact that the great bulk of medieval musical composition, within and without the realm of tropes, shows more or less the same degrees of originality generally prevailing in Western music.

One of the most important steps towards reconstruction is to become familiar with the manuscript sources — sources that the originators of the troping hypothesis knew intimately. Here again, a desire for clear definition and classification has tended to obliterate the individuality of the various sources. The separation of 9th-10th century manuscripts into firm categories of graduals on the one hand and tropers on the other is too summary.[6] The best we can do is to retain a long-standing distinction between manuscripts whose repertories are relatively stable and manuscripts where contents vary greatly from one source to the next.

The relatively stable repertories are the Gregorian Mass Propers and the Office antiphons and responsories; in fact, the only workable definition of "Gregorian Mass Proper" seems to be one based upon the repertory held in common by the earliest manuscripts. These include, beside the six manuscripts edited by Dom Hesbert in his *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935) such manuscripts as St. Gall 359, Laon 239, and Chartres 47.[7] Presence of an item in a significant number of these sources seems to be a necessary — though not a sufficient — condition for its being "Gregorian."

The manuscripts with the unstable repertories, usually known as "tropers," are not so much later than those just mentioned. The earliest tropers are 10th-11th centuries rather than 9th-10th; but the tropers often present a very different appearance, being extremely varied in

[6] The separation has most recently been proposed by Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen und Sequenzenhandschriften. Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, B V[1], 1964, p. 9 (=TS).

[7] *Paléographie musicale*, Series 2, Vol. 2, 1924; Series 1, Vol. 10, 1909; Vol. 11, 1912.

their make-up. Dating of the troper manuscripts has always been subject to strong differences of opinion, now more than ever.[8] The following summary is designed to reflect a consensus, with full awareness that exception can and will be taken.

I Verona, Capit. MS XC (85): c. 900?
H. Spanke, *Deutsche und französische Dichtung des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, 1943, p. 33
Munich, Staatsbibl. Cod. lat. 14843: c. 900? Toul (for the proses)
Husmann TS p. 78; Von den Steinen, *Die Anfänge der Sequenzendichtung*, in *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, XL (1946), 256-63
Paris, B.N. MS lat. 17436, fol. 24, 29-30: c. 900?
J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, Brussels, 1935, p. xx. Facs. fol. 30, W. Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, Bloomington, 1958, pl. 8. J. Handschin, in *New Oxford History of Music*, II, 153
Autun, Bibl. Mun. MS 28 S, fol. 64: c. 900?
Facs. B. Stäblein, *Zur Frühgeschichte der Sequenz*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XVIII (1961), Abb. 1, pp. 7-8
Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 1609: 10th cent.
Husmann TS p. 20; R. Weakland, *The Beginnings of Troping*, in *The Musical Quarterly*, XLIV (1958), 477-88

II Paris, B.N. MS lat. 1240: c. 935; St. Martial de Limoges.
Husmann TS p. 137
London, B.M. MS add. 19768: 10th cent., second half; Mainz.
Husmann TS p. 152

III St. Gall, Stiftsbibl. MSS 484, 381: c. 1000; St. Gall.
Husmann TS p. 47, 42
Paris, B.N. MS lat. 9448: c. 1000; Prüm
Oxford, Bodl. lib. MS 775: c. 1000; Winchester.
Husmann TS p. 158
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 473: c. 1000; Winchester.
Husmann TS p. 150
Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 1169: 996-1024; Autun.
Husmann TS p. 110
Paris, B.N. MS lat. 1084: 10th cent., second half, with many later additions; Aquitainian.
Husmann TS p. 120
Paris, B.N. MS lat. 1118: 987-996; Aquitainian.
Husmann TS p. 128

The more important early sources for tropes can be divided into three groups (even if more accurately located on a continuum). The first group, probably the earliest, are small collections of a dozen or so

[8] Husmann, TS, includes many attempts to revise customary datings.