

THE BEGINNINGS OF POLYPHONY AT PARIS:
THE FIRST PARISIAN *ORGANA*¹

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The history of the first endeavors in organum at Paris unfolds within the more general framework of the earliest endeavors in heterophony in the Latin West: in this context, however, philological arguments², or examples of parallel heterophony offered by ethnomusicology³, do not lend our enquiry any clue to certain dating. Therefore we must examine, first, those texts that set out the rules of improvisation, particularly the *Musica enchiriadis* – compiled somewhere between the Seine and the Rhine rivers – and the treatises that are dependent on it, including Chapter XVIII of the *Micrologus*⁴; as well as the treatises

¹ Presentation given on 11 August 1975 at the Mittelalterliches Kolloquium convened by Hans Oesch and Wulf Arlt at the Musicological Institute of the University of Basel; I want to thank my two colleagues, who have given me the opportunity, thanks to this collective discussion, to refine a number of points on the subject. In addition I am indebted to my colleague and friend L. Gushee for some extremely valuable suggestions, particularly concerning the text of the *Vita sancti Baboleni* (see below, p. 96).

² For example, about the meaning of *concinere* in a passage of St Augustine’s *Contra academicos*, examined by Synam (*Testimony*, 3–6); or that of *paraphonista* in the Roman Schola cantorum under the pontificate of Vitalian (657–672): cf. Handschin, *Miszellen*, 52–55, and Stäblein (ed. *Gesänge*, 112*–114*); or, finally, concerning the original meaning of *organum* according to the research of Fritz Reckow (*Organum-Begriff*).

³ From a methodological point of view, see Collaer, *Polyphonie* (particularly p. 52ff). See, above all, the work of Marius Schneider, among others his *Geschichte*; the article by Vogel (*Ursprung*); and lastly that by Bachmann (*Verbreitung*).

⁴ Theoretical texts concerning the earliest organum have been brought together by E. L. Waeltner († 24 December 1975) in a posthumous monograph based on his 1955 dissertation (*Lehre*).

on “new organum” from the beginning of the second half of the 11th century⁵. Secondly, we must survey the oldest examples of liturgical organum that are written and notated in neumes, and which have survived today: fragments from Fleury, *organa* from the Winchester Troper, and pieces scattered in the numerous manuscripts of the Parisian Abbey of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés.

From the second phase of Parisian polyphony, that is, the second half of the 12th century, we still have three settings, notated on lines, at the end of a 12th-century florilegium of theological texts, which may be compared to the two-voice liturgical examples of the Vatican Organum Treatise⁶: these settings represent a stage in the development of the Parisian polyphonic art in the period preceding the solemn consecration of the choir of Notre Dame of Paris, on 17 January 1185.

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I. THE ORGANA OF SAINT-MAUR-DES-FOSSÉS

The Abbey of Saint Pierre-des-Fossés in the diocese of Paris, founded by St Babolen in the 7th century, maintained relations with the Abbey of St Maur-de-Glanfeuil, in the diocese of Angers, since at least the 9th century, when the abbot of the Parisian monastery commissioned the monk Dodon of Glanfeuil to make a revision of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius of Caesarea⁷. Similarly, the Bible of Count Rorigon or Bible of Glanfeuil⁸, entered the library of St Maur-de-Fossés, where the *Vita Mauri* by Odo of Glanfeuil was added to it.

Relations between the two monasteries became even closer during the Viking incursions of the second half of the 9th century: in 857, ahead of a Scandivian raid on the Loire, Abbot Eudes of Glanfeuil had the relics of St Maurus brought to Meslé-sur-Sarthe, then to St Savin-sur-Gartempe in 860, three years after that to St Martin of Autun, and finally the precious remains were deposited, at the command of Charles the Bald, in the main altar of the Abbey of Fossés at Paris on 13 November 868. These spiritual, artistic and literary connections continued until the end of the 11th century: in 1058, a Parisian monk trained at Glanfeuil reviewed and completed a Homiliary of St Maur-des-Fossés⁹. However, at the

⁵ Eggebrecht, Zaminer, *Ad organum faciendum*, 14.

⁶ Zaminer, *Organum-Traktat*.

⁷ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 11738, fol. 214^v.

⁸ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 3.

⁹ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 3786 (on fol. 258^v, addition of the rhythmic antiphon *Splendet Christe* in honor of St Babolen, first abbot of St Pierre-des-Fossés, with French neumes). On this manuscript, see Favier, *Fabrication*, 236; Samaran, Marichal, *Catalogue* II, 233–241; Etaix, *Collection*, 25. I owe several pieces of information to Madame Cl. Durand, who was kind enough to allow me to consult her *Concordance du fonds de St. Maur et du fonds latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale* compiled in preparation for her *Mémoire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études de la Sorbonne, IV^e Section*, on the manuscripts of St Maur-des-Fossés.

Council of Tours in 1096, Pope Urban II granted independence to Glanfeuil, which thenceforth parted ways from the Parisian abbey.

It seems that the difficulties caused by Cluny, which wanted to reduce the Abbey of Fossés to the rank of priory, are not unconnected to the separation between the two abbeys. Yet however that may be, liturgical and musical life at St Maur-des-Fossés would continue to be maintained at a high level throughout the 11th century, despite the fact that the *Ordo Clunicensis* progressively imposed its own traditions on the Parisian monastery¹⁰. Historical sources as well as 11th and 12th-century notated manuscripts attest to the care with which the services were sung.

There is, firstly, the epitaph of Guido Oacrius, in a hagiographic manuscript with decorated initials, memorializing his exceptional talents as a singer, scribe and notator:

CANTOR est et LECTOR, SCRIPTOR simul atque NOTATOR ...

Even more remarkably, however, these artistic gifts were matched by a profound understanding of music theory as well as of the rules of improvised organum:

Ut reor ingenio polleres pythagoreo ...

Tu nosti [sic] modulos musicus organicos¹¹.

[That you, I reckon, had a great natural talent in Pythagorean matters ...

You, a musician, were adept at the tunes of organum.]

Is it, perhaps, Guido's talent to which we owe that magnificent large-size Gradual-Antiphoner,¹² decorated with interlacing initials, carefully notated by an expert hand and containing modal indications in the margins? The question remains open, and would require a thorough inquiry into [manuscript] production at St Maur-des-Fossés. In any case, we should probably not identify this remarkable manuscript with the one mentioned in the last line of an inventory of chant books in an old catalogue once¹³ attributed to the Parisian abbey:

“Antiphonarium [Antiphoner]

Gradalis optimus musicae notatus [An excellent Gradual notated with music]

¹⁰ The Antiphoner of St Maur which I will examine below is connected to Group I of the monastic antiphonaries classified by Hesbert, *Corpus V*, 411, that is, to the Cluny group: but it is only connected, and does not form an integral part of Group I. One could write a separate study on the different degrees to which Cluniac liturgical customs were observed in monasteries connected – but not “given” – to the Burgundian abbey [of Cluny], not without resistance from the old monks who were wedded to their own customs ...

¹¹ Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 2273 (Lives of Sts Benedict, Maurus, and Babolen), fol. 111: the epitaph is written by a secondary hand; Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 11578 (collection of Burchard of Worms) fol. 122' (same hand). The text has been published by Oesch, *Guido von Arezzo*, 26. The text of the second epitaph is less explicit about the talents of the “organista”. Another epitaph, that by Sigon, Cantor of Chartres Cathedral, also remarks upon his strengths as an “organista”: *Singularis organali regnabat in Musica* [A singular man, he was a master in organal music]: Delaporte, *Fulbert de Chartres*, 53.

¹² Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 12584.

¹³ Oesch, op. cit., 27.

Duo troparii musicae notati maior et minor optimi [Two excellent Tropers, one large and one small, notated with music]

Antiphonarium David [Antiphoner of David]

Antiphonarius [Antiphoner]

Antiphonarius Guidonis perobtimus Musicae notatus.”¹⁴ [The most excellent Antiphoner of Guido, notated with music]

Still, it is worth entertaining the possibility that our scribe of St Maur worked on an Antiphoner commissioned by a neighboring abbey such as Rebais, fifteen leagues away from Paris ... In any case, the scientific competence and artistic talents of Guido, who possessed a lively voice (*vox alacris*), probably allowed this singer to gather around him a veritable “school” that could benefit from the teaching of theory and practice. History has transmitted the name of Abbot Odo, *scholae cantorum magister* [master of the Schola cantorum] at Cluny, who became abbot of St Maur in 1006¹⁵, as well as that of a singer by the name of Girardus¹⁶. The author of the *Miracula sancti Baboleni* reported an incident that took place in the choir of the monastic church towards the middle of the 11th century, on the day of the Translation of St Babolen (26 June).¹⁷

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During the night office, the abbot had just ended the reading of the twelfth and last lesson, and four friars, in the middle of the choir, before the altar, intoned the *R Sanctus Domini confessor* in organum (*cum organo*). They continued the rest of the responsory in a loud voice, and when they reached the passage ... *dies terris illuxit* ¹⁸, a monk named Hildoard,

¹⁴ Should we consider that it is our singer-scribe who might have made another Antiphoner for the monks of Rebais, lost at the same time as the other books of this collection? I have consciously refrained from broaching the question of the appellation “Guido-de-Saint-Maur” attributed to Guido of Arezzo, from which came the legend of Aretino’s arrival in France. Cf. Oesch, op. cit., 28ff, and Smits van Waesberghe, *De musico-paedagogico*, 26.

¹⁵ On Odo, monk of Cluny, maître de chant and thereafter abbot of St Maur – where he doubtlessly imposed Cluniac customs – see Oesch, op. cit., 39.

¹⁶ The *cantor Girardus* has copied the patristic manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 1654, whose cover pages (fols. I–II and 185–186) are made up of fragments from an incomplete Missal, without initials, without rubrics and without notation. This fragment is different from the one gathered in Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 13089, fol. 41. In sum, there are very few items left from the collection of liturgical books of the 11th and 12th centuries.

¹⁷ B. H. L. 887 (= *Acta Sanctorum Junii* V, 183). The *Miracula* are closely contemporary with the *Vita*, predating 1067. This biography is based on false information. As for the incident, summarized in the text which follows, it is of interest only in that it tells us about the musical customs and practices at St Maur.

¹⁸ This responsory does not appear among the series of responsories for St Babolen in the fonds latin, ms. 12596 of the Bibl. Nat., examined below, nor in the fonds latin, ms. 5607 of the Bibl. Nat. which contains the 12 lessons and 12 responsories for St Babolen, written in the hand of Eudes (Odo) of St Maur, author of the *Vita Burcardi*, in 1058. The same author reports that the old monks would have preferred to leave rather than adopt the Cluniac discipline introduced, at the request of Bouchard, Count of Corbeil and benefactor of the abbey, at St Maur des Fossés: cf. Rousset, *L’idéal*, 623–633. The biography of Bouchard also reports that the

who was entrusted with the office of precentor (*gerens officium praecantoris*) walked to the middle of the choir, filled with anger, and intoned the *R Ecce vere Israelita*¹⁹. Thereupon he swore that as long as he lived, he would never again allow the “inventions” (*adinventiones*) of that Odo, who had composed the responsory²⁰, to be sung in the church. After this he fell asleep in his choir stall, and St Babolen appeared to him [in a dream] to berate him for his conduct ...

This somewhat “slanted” text provides a good illustration of the resistance, among those of more advanced years in independent monasteries, against the introduction of the Cluniac reform; but above all it allows us – in combination with other documents – to define more precisely the place of organum in the choral practices of the great monasteries of the 11th century, as well as the practical conditions of its performance.

The “organization” [organal performance] of the office responsories was only possible if a monastic or secular church had a sufficient number of *cantores* and *succentores* or *organistae*: normally four²¹. Organum was not practiced every day, in every office, but only on major feasts and in the last responsory of the third nocturn²², just as the *neuma* and the *prosula* (*prosella*, *prosellus*) fashioned on the final vocalise. In both genres, by the way, we are dealing with the ornamentation of monophony in either a “vertical” sense (superposition of a voice in note-against-note polyphony) or a “horizontal” sense (elaboration of the monophony through *neuma* or through a meloform trope), for the purpose of adding solemnity to the Divine Office on major feasts: *superficies quaedam artis musicae pro ornatu ecclesiasticarum carminum* [a certain surface of the art of music for the decoration of ecclesiastical chants]²³.

Organum was not written down, but improvised upon the chant according to rules laid down in theory treatises: these called for a slow performance, at least in the earliest days of

abbot of St Maur, Maynard, was removed from his office due to his bad economic management at Glanfeuil, from 989 to 995, the date of his death (cf. *PL* 143, 851).

¹⁹ Hesbert, *Corpus* IV, no. 6615. In F (= Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 12584, examined below), this responsory is assigned to the Common of Confessors; in D (= Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 17296, from the Abbey of St Denis), it is assigned to St Nicholas (cf. Hesbert, *Corpus* II, nos. 125 and 120²).

²⁰ According to Gastoué (*Histoire*, 77ff), it was indeed this Odo, choirmaster at Cluny, and thereafter Abbot of St Maur from 1006 to 1029, who had composed the responsory in question: the incident provides a good illustration of the underlying conflict with Cluny at St Maur.

²¹ Aside from the text of the *Miracula sancti Baboleni* we should also cite the rubric in the Antiphoner of Cividale, Museo archeologico, ms. LVII, and the directions in the *Ordinaire chartrain au XIII^e siècle* (ed. Delaporte, 115): ... *duo organizent* [let two sing organum]. On the term *organista* which turns up in texts from the middle of the 11th century, see Handschin, *Vorkommen*, 159/160. Later on one encounters the terms *organizator* or *organizans* in treatises, while at Notre Dame of Paris the term *organista* continues to be used until the 16th century: cf. Handschin, *Geschichte*, 5–7 and *passim*; Brenet, *Musiciens* (it is not always easy to distinguish the two senses of the word *organista* in more recent texts ...).

²² See the rubrics of the Winchester Troper (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 473) or the directions in the Ordinary of Lucca Cathedral examined by Ziino (*Polifonia*, 16–31 and particularly the table on p. 20).

²³ *Musica enchiriadis*, ch. XVIII: *GS* I, 171 B; ed. H. Schmid (1981), 56.

the practice of parallel organum: *poscit ... semper organum diligenti et modesta morositate fieri ...* [organum always demands to be made with careful and restrained placidity]²⁴

In responsories of the Mass or the Office, only the intonation and the verse were “organized”. The second voice, improvised upon the chant, was not committed to parchment except as an example in treatises. Exceptionally, we do find [written organum], albeit often written separately from the chant, in 11th-century fragments originating from Fleury²⁵, in those of Chartres²⁶ and in the final section of the Winchester Troper²⁷.

The notated organa from St Maur-des-Fossés are not “grouped” as they are in the fragments just cited, but rather scattered in liturgical books that were used by the abbey, in response to the need to lend fixity to a newly-introduced [musical] form in the local tradition. So it seems opportune to draw up an inventory of the two-voice settings notated in French neumes in the manuscripts of St Maur. The relevant settings will be studied by genre: first the responsories and then the *Benedicamus Domino* settings.

1. The responsories

The responsories in two-voice organum, written in neume notation, are recorded in three manuscripts from the collection of St Germain-des-Près that originated in St Maur-les-Fossés: a Gradual-Antiphoner from the 11th century²⁸; a hagiographic anthology from the same period²⁹; and a manuscript of the letters of St Jerome on whose cover pages later additions were made³⁰.

²⁴ Cologne Organum Treatise: ed. Waeltner, *Lehre*, 54; ed. Schmid, 223.

²⁵ Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., mss. Reg. lat. 586 and 592 examined by Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 796–798; Gushee, *Polyphony*, 167ff; Holschneider, *Organa*, 65–67 and Plate 9 (facsimile of the ms. Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Reg. lat. 586, fol. 87', with transcription on pp. 172–177). Let us note that the rhymed office for St Peter, in the manuscript Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Reg. lat. 592 (ed. *AH* 45, 67) which is in part supplied with organum (cf. Holschneider, op. cit., 66/67), was not composed for a monastery, since the office contains 9 antiphons and 9 responsories: one should rather think of an important secular church such as St Pierre at Angers.

²⁶ Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, mss. 4, 109, 130 (all three perished on 26 May 1944, but they are partially reproduced in facsimile in *PM I*, pl. XXIII and XVII, pl. 1, 5–6 and 16). Examined by Gushee, *Polyphony*, 29ff; Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 265/266; Holschneider, op. cit., 63–65. Here, the two voices are presented in score. It should be added that several of the pieces copied in these fragments are documented in the *Ordinaire chartrain au XIII^e siècle* (ed. Delaporte).

²⁷ Manuscript of Cambridge, between 996 and 1025, partly copied after a French model: the repertory betrays influences from the Tours region, notably in the series of Alleluias, as well as elements from Fleury and Corbie: see the discussion in Holschneider, *Organa*, 68–76.

²⁸ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 12584.

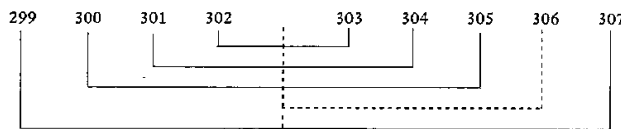
²⁹ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 12596.

³⁰ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 11631.

The Gradual-Antiphoner of St Maur is one of the most beautiful French manuscripts of liturgical chant to survive today³¹. The Antiphoner section as such follows the Martyrology (fol. 1), the Gradual (fol. 127) and the Tonary (fol. 216), and it is followed by a Processional (fol. 373). In terms of its liturgical construction the book is close to the Cluniac tradition³² without however forming part of the Cluniac group properly so called, like for instance that of St Martin-des-Champs, “given” to Cluny in 1079.

The Antiphoner contains a number of prosulas grafted onto responsories of the following feasts: Christmas, St Nicholas, St Denis, and finally St Maurus³³. The prosula for the latter feast, *Orta de coelo gratia*, is certainly of “Maurist” provenance. It is very likely, above all in view of the testimony of the *Miracula sci. Baboleni*, that the “organization” of the last responsories of the principal feasts was improvisatory. It is a stroke of good fortune to discover at least one setting of written organum in the great Antiphoner of St Maur. Now it is for us to examine its context.

It is in the middle of the antiphoner, on the inserted folio 306, that two hands postdating the principal hand have inserted various pieces connected to the feast of the patron St Peter (29 June):



On this folio 306 there is a series of “new” antiphons for the feast of St Peter:

- A. Quem dicunt homines³⁴
- A. Cumque vidisset ventum validum ...³⁵
- A. Domine si tu es jube me venire ...³⁶
- A. Peter ad se reversus ... Seculorum amen³⁷.

Then, still in the same hand and in the same notation, the long *Benedicamus Domino* (monophonic), fashioned on the *neuma* of the *R Stirps Jesse* attributed to Fulbert of Chartres

³¹ The manuscript was studied or described in the following works: Handschin, *Organum*, 16ff; *Graduel II: Les Sources*, 105; Gushee, *Polyphony*, 141–151; Hesbert, *Corpus II*, xv–xvii, with facsimile and edition of the text of the antiphoner (siglum F); Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 403; Huglo, *Tonaires*, 112–115, 319–401 (influence of Cluny on the tonary of St Maur-les-Fossés); Renaudin, *Antiphonaires* [cf. *Bulletin codicologique de Scriptorium* 28 (1974), 432 no. 950].

³² Cf. Hesbert, *Corpus V*, 425, 433, 443, 457 (the manuscript of St Maur is given the number 792).

³³ Cf. Hesbert, *Corpus IV*, no. 6411 (*Descendit*), 6679 (St Nicholas), 7610 (St Maur); Hofmann-Brandt, *Tropen II*, no. 246 (St Denis), no. 510 (prosula of the *R Candida virginitas* which, in our manuscript, has been added on fol. 383, notated on 4 lines), no. 511 (St John the Baptist).

³⁴ Hesbert, *Corpus II*, 479 n. 1; *ib.* III, no. 4454.

³⁵ *ib.* III, no. 2076; only F.

³⁶ *ib.*, no. 2387, only F.

³⁷ *ib.*, no. 4282.

(† 1028), which in 1132 was added by Peter the Venerable to the three *Benedicamus Domino* in use at Cluny³⁸. This addition in our Parisian manuscript could therefore be dated in the middle of the 11th century, or in the third quarter at the latest.

Then, still on fol. 306, a change in handwriting and notation: the lower-case letters become more compact and more compressed; the notation, although still in a French hand, seems of different origin than that which wrote the antiphons at the top of the page.

The first piece with notation, the antiphon *Sancte Petre apostolorum summe hunc locum tibi dicatum clementer respice ...* is entitled ANTIPHONA PROCESSIONALIS³⁹: it was by all accounts composed for the use of the Abbey of St Pierre de Fossés, following a widespread 11th-century tradition which dictated that one should reserve for the patron of the church a special chant to be sung during the procession preceding the Mass, over and above the series composed for the night office. Examples are the antiphon with the verse *Gaudendum nobis est*, entitled ANT. PROCESSIONALIS SCE. MARIAE in a manuscript from Carcassonne⁴⁰; the ANT. DE SCA. FIDE PROCESSIONALIS *O decus egregium* for the Abbey of Ste Foy-de-Conques⁴¹; and the processional antiphon *Sanctissimus atque venerabilis*⁴² composed at the same time as the office of St Marius, patron of the Priory of Mauriac that was a subsidiary of the Abbey St Pierre-le-Vif at Sens.

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Finally we arrive at the Responsory *Petre, amas me*, whose intonation and verse *Symon Johannes* are set in two-part organum: this verse, which includes an unusual *neuma* on the final syllable of the first word, is followed by another melodic version of the same verse entitled *Aliud*.

What is the function of this responsory? Are we dealing with a responsory of first Vespers? or with the last responsory of the nocturns? or, again, with a responsory for the procession before the Mass of 29 June? It may be useful to examine the list of nocturnal responsories of St Maurus in the liturgical books at our disposal, while keeping into account that on the verso of fol. 306, a hand from the end of the 11th century has inserted the text with neumes of the responsory *Cornelis centurio*, recently composed in the North of France, perhaps even at Paris⁴³.

³⁸ see below, p. 118.

³⁹ This processional antiphon was signalled in the six-version edition of Hesbert, *Corpus* II, 479 n. 1, but was not edited in *Corpus* III, reserved for the antiphons of the Office.

⁴⁰ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 271 (Evangelary of Carcassonne), addition on fol. 18' of the antiphon *Gaudendum nobis est ...* *¶ Ecce mater P(rosa) Maria ...* in Aquitanian notation; cf. Gastoué, *Chant gallican*, 112; Mas, *Histoire* II, 63ff and pl. 21.

⁴¹ Paris, Bibl. nat., fonds nouv. acq. lat., ms. 443 (pilgrimage booklet containing the office of St Mary Magdalen and that of Ste Foy, in Aquitanian notation), fol. 26: Ant. de sca. fide processionalis *O decus egregium ...* (antiphon with verse).

⁴² Clermont, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 732 (hagiographic anthology containing the office of St Marius, in Aquitanian notation), p. 91. The twelfth responsory of this office contains a prosula.

⁴³ The Responsory *Cornelis centurio* (Hesbert, *Corpus* IV, no. 6340; melody in the *Processionale monasticum*, 125), drawn from the Acts of the Apostles, was attributed to King Robert the Pious († 1031) by several

Responsories of 29 June in the Parisian tradition							
	St. Maur ¹ <i>Pa</i> 12584	St. Maur ² <i>Pa</i> 12044	St. Maur ³ <i>Tro</i> 1752	Cluny <i>Pa</i> 12601	clunisien (St. Martial) <i>Pa</i> 1253	St. Denis <i>Pa</i> 17296	Paris, N. D. <i>Pa</i> 748
℞. 1 2 3 4	Symon Petre Si diligis me Tu es Petrus Dne si tu es	Symon Petre Si diligis me Tu es Petrus (4) <i>Cornelius c.</i>	Symon Petre Si diligis me Tu es Petrus Dne si tu es	Symon Petre Si diligis Tu es Petrus Dne si tu es	Symon Petre Si diligis me Tu es Petrus Dne si tu es	Symon Petre Si diligis me Tu es Petrus Dne si tu es	Symon Petre Si diligis me Tu es Petrus Dne si tu es (3) <i>Cornelius c.</i>
℞. 5 6 7 8	Surge Petre Tu es Pastor Ego pro te Quem dicunt	Surge Petre Tu es Pastor Solve jubente (8) <i>Quodcumque</i> = 9	Surge Petre Tu es Pastor Solve jubente (8) Ego pro te = 9	Surge Petre Tu es Pastor (7) Ego pro te (8) Quem dicunt	Surge Petre Tu es Pastor Ego pro te = 12 (8) PETRE AMAS	13 ℞ non attribues	(4) Dne si tu es (5) Surge Petre = 7 (6) PETRE AMAS ME
℞. 9 10 11 12	Solve jubente Qui regni cl. Beatus es Sym. PETRE AMAS ME	Quem dicunt Qui regni cl. Beatus es PETRE AMAS ME	Quem dicunt Qui regni cl. Beatus es PETRE AMAS ME	9 Solve jubente Qui regni cl. Beatus es PETRE AMAS ME	Solve jubente = 11 Beatus es 11 Qui regni cl. 12 Quem dicunt		(7) Tu es Pastor (8) Quem dicunt (9) Dum esser P.
<i>Additamenta:</i> ℞. <i>Cornelius centurio</i> ℞. <i>Quodcumque ligaveris</i>		cf. 4 cf. 8	<i>Quodcumque</i>	<i>Quodcumque</i>			cf. 3

The Responsory *Petre amas me* occupies a different position relative to the monastic and secular traditions of Paris, as is apparent from the comparative table above⁴⁴. This picture is most revealing: it shows that the order of the responsories in the monasteries of Cluny and Paris, which was generally stable (especially in the second nocturn), was slightly modified by the adoption of two more recently-composed responsories: the ℞ *Cornelis centurio*, attributed to Robert the Pious, and the Responsory *Quodcumque* concerning the primacy of Peter.

Furthermore, we note that the Responsory *Petre amas me* occupies the twelfth and last place in the monastic office of St Maurus: so we are not dealing here with a processional responsory (in organum), as Marion Gushee supposed, particularly because of its proximity

Medieval chroniclers (cf. *PM* X, 25 n.4). One encounters it again, in isolation, for example in the fragment Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., ms. lat. 10250 (10th century), fol. 53'. Following it, one notices in our antiphoner another French responsory added later, the Responsory *Quodcumque* (Hesbert, *Corpus* IV, no. 7503). In the Antiphoner of St Denis (Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 17296), this responsory is also supernumerary: it comes in the thirteenth place, just as, incidentally, at Cluny (Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 12601, fol. 37). It was probably adopted in the 11th century, during the Investiture Controversy, because of the doctrinal importance of its text.

⁴⁴ see p. 102

Organum

Cantus

Jo - han - nis di - li - gis me plus his? Tu scis

Organum

Cantus

Do - mi - ne qui - a a - mo te. *Pas - ce . .

Aliud

Organum

Cantus

Sy - mon lo - han - nis . .

One immediately notes the presence of a *neuma* at the very beginning of the verse, in melodic version 1 as well as in version 2. A melismatic elaboration at this point is highly unusual: while a *neuma* at the end of the night responsory is normal in 11th-century compositions, its presence at the beginning of the verse – which is normally sung in one of the eight tones of the prolix responsories – occasions surprise. We are dealing here with a “meloform trope”, that is to say, a purely melismatic elaboration of the chant, without the addition of text (as in a prosula or “melogene trope”). Analogous examples may be observed in festal Introits, in the oldest German and Aquitanian tropers, but only on the finals of words at half-cadences⁵¹.

In a gradual from the Abbey of St Denis⁵², very close to that of St Maur-les-Fossés, one finds a similar meloform trope, without text, in the middle of the Communion *Video* for St Stephen: this unexpected melismatic elaboration on the syllable *fa ... ciunt*⁵³, which is not found in any other gradual, could very well have been composed in Paris Cathedral, which was originally dedicated to St Stephen, and then preserved in a 11th-century gradual while it disappeared from later Parisian graduals ...

The organal voice, naturally, has “followed” this meloform trope: but at this point it is impossible to decipher either voice ... Nevertheless, it is apparent from this passage and from the rest of the verse that the organal voice does not accompany the principal voice in

⁵¹ Holman, *Tropes*, 42–44, has provided a list of responsories that have a final *neuma*. As examples of responsories having a *neuma* at the beginning of the verse one could cite the **R** *O pastor apostolice* **V** *Memor esto* (Holman, op. cit., ex. 2) or the twelfth and last responsory of the office proper for Ste Foy de Conques *Jam nunc* **V** *Per ac - - - - ta*, in Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. lat., ms. 443, fol. 8.

⁵² Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, ms. 364.

⁵³ See Plate 2 and Huglo, *Origine*, 48.

parallel motion, but rather embellishes it, note against note, in contrary⁵⁴ or oblique⁵⁵ motion. Voice crossings are harder to detect in neume notation written *in campo aperto* [lit. in the open field, meaning, without staves or lines]: yet they are nonetheless quite probable.

The second melodic version of the verse *Symon* is of great importance to our inquiry. In fact the rubric *Aliud* – whose equivalent (*Alio, Alia*) is often found in other branches of the Gregorian tradition⁵⁶ – contains a local melodic variant: at its occurrence, after version 1 which transmits the tradition proper to St Maurus, a scribe has copied version 2 which also carries a *neuma* at the end of the first word *Symon*. But where does this second melodic version come from?

If one takes into account the “law of the doublets”⁵⁷, we must conclude that the second version entitled *Aliud* is the older one. It is probable that this melody comes from the Church of Paris. Proof of this may be found in two manuscripts which transmit the same responsory with organum [Plate 2]:

1. the Beauvais manuscript⁵⁸ which transmits the repertory of the “Feast of the Ass” on 1 January in the Cathedral of St Pierre of Beauvais, has had to borrow its repertory in part from that of the Cathedral of Paris, before the suppression of the “Feast of Fools” decreed by Bishop Eudes de Sully⁵⁹ in 1198. The fact that it is this manuscript, and this manuscript alone, which gives us a melodic version of the neumed version *Aliud* with its *neuma*, adds weight to our hypothesis, even more interestingly the Beauvais manuscript indicates that this verset should be sung with organum (*℣ cum organo*), but without notating it because organum was improvised at the required moment.
2. The Vatican Organum Treatise⁶⁰, which provides the rules of improvised melismatic organum in the Church of Paris in the third quarter of the 12th century, has taken as its example the Responsory *Petre amas me ℣ Symon Johannis*: here, however, the *neuma* of the chant has disappeared, and melismatic ornamentation is instead left to the top voice – a new compositional technique.

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⁵⁴ For example, pes against clivis or conversely clivis against pes; torculus against porrectus or conversely porrectus against torculus, etc.

⁵⁵ For example tristropha (positioned in principle on the higher pitch of a semitone) in the organal voice against a three-note climacus: yet in the fragments from Fleury or Chartres this is also frequently the case, though one also finds a tristropha in the organal voice against a torculus or against a scandicus, or even, more rarely, against a porrectus.

⁵⁶ Particularly in Italy, for example in the Gradual of Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare, ms. VI 34 (*PM XV*) or in that of Rome, Biblioteca angelica, ms. 123 (*PM XVIII*).

⁵⁷ Huglo, *Tonaires*, 296. This second melody from the Church of Paris has been replaced by the one in use at St Maur, the first of the two.

⁵⁸ London, British Library, ms. Egerton 2615 (= *LoA*).

⁵⁹ *PL* 212, 70. It is true that the Office of the Circumcision at Sens edited by Villetard does not employ this responsory: but Sens Cathedral was not dedicated to St Peter!

⁶⁰ Zamminer, *Organum-Traktat*, facsimile (folded out) of fol. 50.

precio sou tam pe ac ac
 tribus ac alle lina
V D Esiderum anuae
 eius tribuisti e ac uoluntate laborum e
 us non fraudas a
 e um **V** tam po ac

V O magna est glo
 ria e us in salutaris o glo
 riam & mag num de cho ren
 in po nes super e um

C O Ideo celos aper tos & ihm stantem
 ad exors uir acis dei domine ihu accepe
 spiri tum me um & ne staciat illis hoc pec
 ca tum quia nesciunt quid fa

cuius **I N P R I M A**
MISSA S C I I O H A N N I S A P T L I :



Plate 2: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 384, fol. 5 (= p. 9)

3. The *Magnus liber organi de Antiphonario*, which gives the intonation, with organum, of the third night Responsory *Cornelis centurio* as well as of the sixth, *Petre amas*⁶¹, thus following to the letter the rule cited in 1198 in the ordinance of Eudes de Sully. [107]

So our early manuscript from St Maur is in fact the first link in the Parisian tradition connecting the School of Notre-Dame at its peak with the modest beginnings of the “new organum” in 1050–1100.

After the neumed Responsory *Petre amas me*, the scribe and notators of St Maur copied three *Benedicamus Domino* settings in organum which will be the object of a detailed examination below.

A hagiographic anthology of St Maur-les-Fossés⁶², somewhat later than the Gradual-Antiphoner which we have just examined, contains a responsory in organum for the Office of St Clement added on the cover pages of the manuscript. These additions, made by various contemporary hands in the second half of the 11th century, have to do with the Offices of St Babolen, founder and abbot of St Pierre-des-Fossés, as well as that of St Clement. The complexity of the additions demands detailed analysis: the rubrics and numbering of the pieces that are lacking from the manuscript are indicated between brackets.

[OFFICIUM SCI. CLEMENTIS PAPAE & MARTYRIS]
IN I VESPERIS

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(fol. I')

[HYMN.] Summe sanctorum martyrum ... Solemne nobis gaudium reducit ordo
temporum

[R] Post Petrum beatissimum Christi Jesu discipulum ...

[V] Repletus sacro ... P[RO]SA Martyr Domini celica ...

(fol. II)

[ANT. AD MAGN.] Vir beatus Clemens, sanctus praesul ...

AD NOCTURNA

INVITAT. Exultantes adoremus ...

R 1 O quam beatus es ... V Secutus

.....

R 2 Regis //// timebat amicum... Clemens... V Hic...

R 3 I ///// ab exulatis Clemens... V

R 4 C ///// fluente Clemens respons/// ...flu --- (neuma) --- minis V Rele-
gatus

(fol. II') PROSULA Intercede --- (vocalises sur la finale e, usage du pes stratus
cadenciel)

⁶¹ *F*, fol. 73' and 74': Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 627 nos. 64 and 65.

⁶² Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 12596 (olim 1109. S. Mauri Foss. 88 – N 1042): cf. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum III*, 122. The additions in neume notation are on the cover pages with the folio numbers I–III and 166–167. The manuscript (16.5 × 26 cm.) is slightly smaller than the antiphoner (20 × 31). For this manuscript, which Renaudin did not include in his list of notated manuscripts of St Maur, see Gushee, *Polyphony*, 152.

(D'une autre main, cinq antiennes – pour Laudes? – en l'honneur de saint Clément).

- (fol. III) ✠ 5 Videntes autem idolorum cultores... ✠ Nempe scientes...
✠ 6 In beatum Clementem Christi militem... ✠...
✠ 7 Febus et Cornelius... ✠ Invenerunt...⁶³
(autre main) ✠ 8 Duo dicunt ex Clementis populo... ✠ Cum ad litus fleret...
✠ 9 Invenerunt in modum templi... ✠ Orans Christum... ✠ Gloria Patri...
(même main que pour les ✠✠ 5–7) ✠ 10 Clementis Christi gratia... ✠ Discipulus
revelatur... ✠ Gloria Patri... P[RO]SA Adesto Domine famulis clementia...
(fol. 166) INCIPIT S. BABOLENI HISTORIA
*Office monastique pour saint Babolène, au 26 juin, avec 12 antiennes ad nocturna, plus une antienne ad cantica: les quatre répons propres sont transférés au fol. 166', en milieu de page. L'antienne versifiée Ad Magnificat. Splendet Christe per secula... et le répons Post gloriosa ... pour cette même fête figurent dans l'homélaire de St. Maur*⁶⁴.
(fol. 166': main et notation différentes) ✠ 11 O Clemens Domini martir... ✠ (autre main, encre plus pâle) Ne vis...⁶⁵ *Suivent ensuite les quatre répons de st. Babolène cités plus haut*⁶⁶
(autre main) ANT. Divinis insistens operibus... iste Dñi servus...
(main encore différente) ANT. Gloriosi gloriosa Clementis sollemnia...
(fol. 166^{bis}, tronqué en hauteur: il manque la moitié gauche du feuillet)
✠ 12 Sanctissimi martyris Clementis sollemnia // // // //
✠ Tibi iunctus igitur...
✠ 13 Martyr Clemens v // // // ✠ In petra gaudi... // // // (notation de la voix organale au dessus du cantus) ✠ Gloria Patri... PROSULA Sancti Clementis precibus // // // (entre la prosule et le Gloria Patri qui précède, addition de quelques neumes de main lorraine)
(autre main [g tourangeau], autre notation neumatique [tourangelle?])
✠ O felix pueri gurgite custos // // // (ligne suivante: neuma) – – – nus // // //
P[ROSULA] Maxime Deus quem laud // // // Culpe veniam // // // Glo // // //
✠ Martyr ma // // // ✠ Gloria Patri... et Spiri // // // (autre main, plus petite) Qui liberasti morsu leonum Daniel, li // // // Qui Aegypto iustum venumdatum Joseph // // //... Deus suscipias jamque donis virt // // // Christe precantes quaesumus adjuva // // //

Two office propers, then, have been inserted on the cover pages sewn into the hagiographic anthology of St Maur: the Office of St Babolen and that of St Clement.

The Office of St Babolen, the founder of the abbey, is incomplete because it contains only 12 antiphons and the elements of a third nocturn with a monastic structure, that is to

⁶³ Hesbert, *Corpus* IV, no. 7385.

⁶⁴ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 3786, fol. 258', in the middle of the page.

⁶⁵ This responsory with its prosula *Te rogamus omnes* features in the noted breviary of Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 17 E (1245–1266), described by Leroquais, *Bréviaires* IV, 293 – cf. Hofmann-Brandt, *Tropen* II, 137 no. 689, 161, 187.

⁶⁶ see p. 96.

say, an antiphon *ad Cantica* and the last four responsories: this state of affairs lead us to suppose that responsories 1–8 were drawn from the Common of Confessors. We may note that the twelfth and last responsory, *Inclyte Pater*, which is actually found in the breviary of the 13th century⁶⁷, also contains an unusual melisma at the beginning of the verse, just like the verse *Symon* of the Responsory *Petre* examined earlier. By all indications this office proper was composed at St Maur-les-Fossés, like the verse antiphon of the Magnificat, in honor of the same saint, that was added on the penultimate folio of the Homiliary of the Parisian abbey, and like the office proper of St Maur, disciple of St Benedict.



Plate 3: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, ms. 12596, fol. 166bis.

⁶⁷ Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 1752, fol. 93'.

The Office of St Clement poses more difficult problems, for its final structure is difficult [109] to recognize in the midst of all these additions in different hands. In fact, since the Gregorian Antiphoner from the 9th century contains only a few proper responsories, for only one nocturn⁶⁸, our composer had to invent others. But what made him go beyond the number of 12 responsories required for the monastic liturgy? Should we suppose that the Responsory *Febus et Cornelius* – which incidentally does not come from the liturgy of St Maur – is 110 supernumerary? What speaks for this possibility is that responsory 10, which contains a prosula, would then become responsory 9, the last of an office with a canonic scheme which would have been completed by three more responsories so as to make up a monastic office⁶⁹. Under this same hypothesis, responsory 13, *Martyr Clemens*, would be the twelfth and last of this monastic office.

However this may be, it is indeed the last responsory of the list which, exactly according to custom, was supplied with organum. But for which church dedicated to St Clement could this office have been made? Taking into account some slender palaeographic and literary 111 indications, it is possible to suggest a solution to the problem, though it must be a provisional one. The *G* in the shape of *Z*, characteristic of the script of the region of Tours at least in the 9th century, [and] certain forms of neumatic notation, particularly the climacus, seem to direct our inquiry towards the Loire Valley⁷⁰. Second, the hymn of the first Vespers of St Clement borrows some verses from a hymn in honor of St James, proper to the breviary of Angers⁷¹. Consequently we may justly suppose that this office proper, of which no other source is known, was composed for a monastery from Anjou under the patronage of St Clement, such as for example St Clément-des-Levées, not far from Saumur, or, at a push, St Clément de la Place, south of Nantes, close to Louroux-Bottereau⁷². Under this hypothesis it would be easy to explain how it was possible for this office to travel as far as St Maur-les-Fossés, by way of St Maur-de-Glanfeuil on the Loire ...

Yet whatever the first origins of this office proper, the fact that some time in the 11th century, the intonation and verse of the last responsory *Martyr Clemens* were supplied with

⁶⁸ Hesbert, *Corpus* I & II, no. 119. The antiphoner of St Maur (F) gives only the four usual responsories at the third monastic nocturn: *Oremus, Orante sancto Clemente, Ora pro nobis beate Clemens, Dedisti Domine*. The 12th-century antiphoner notated on lines (Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 12044) is also innocent of the proper responsories in question. We must conclude that the composer of the office proper did not work at St Maur.

⁶⁹ As a similar example one may cite the case of the Office of St Julian, the martyr of Brioude: cf. Huglo, *Livres*, 325/326.

⁷⁰ The climacus with its final punctum stretched out to a dash is in fact more often encountered in the basin of the Middle Loire, particularly at Tours [*PM* III, pl. 188a (Tours, Petit séminaire); Bannister, *Monumenti*, Tav. 40 (Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., ms. Reg. lat. 1529)] and at Angers [*PM* III, pl. 187 (Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 801 (717); pl. 185 and Vezin, *Scriptoria*, pl. 45 (Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 814 (730): Office of Sts Sergius and Bacchus)].

⁷¹ *RH* 19130; *AH* 19, 159.

⁷² Cf. H. Cottineau, *Dictionnaire* II, 2636/2637.

organum, notated in a Parisian hand, is likely owing to a singer of the Abbey of Fossés. Since the office in question has only come down to us in a single neumed source, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fons latin, 12596, it is not possible to determine the melodies: the most we can tell from the neumes of the last verse of our responsory is that it is a piece in the second mode:

ORGANUM " 7 J ✓ 5 !
 J J A I: A A

CANTUS
 Mar - tir Cle - mens*

ORGANUM " J A . " 1 ✓ J J.
 J J: J A 1 J 1: J' !

CANTUS
 Im - pe - tra gau - di - a

Here again it is easy to detect, through comparison of the two neumatic notations, the application of contrary and oblique motion. The *Gloria Patri* which follows the verse is notated for a single voice, but since its melody is identical to that of the verse, there was no need to write down the neumes of the second voice again.

We should not leave his hagiographic manuscript without having examined, on fol. 165', the hymn for Prime *Jam lucis orto sidere*, whose text is notated with two melodies – one almost wholly syllabic, the other more ornate –, in which one has believed to recognize another example of organum⁷³. Yet this claim cannot seriously be maintained, for it would lead us to suppose that florid organum was an established practice already in the 11th century, hence that this development of the organal art is first mentioned only in the treatise of Johannes of Afflighem, and finally that its extension is observed towards the middle of the following century in the course of the “middle” period of St Martial⁷⁴. Double notation in one and the same piece, then, does not necessarily constitute a case for organum⁷⁵: here, as it happens, we are dealing with two melodic modes, one ferial [for days other than Sunday] and the other festive, of the same hymn repeated daily at the beginning of the morning office of Prime.

The last examples of Parisian organa are found in a manuscript whose origin is not completely beyond doubt, but which shows a certain affinity with the group of St Maur-les-

⁷³ Facsimile of this hymn: “Paris”, *MGG* X, 265. On this most curious case, see Handschin, *Organum*, 15; Reaney, *RISM* B iv 1, 418; Gushee, *Polyphony*, 157.

⁷⁴ *Musica*, ch. 23, n. 32 (*CSM* 1, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, p. 160). On the practice of organum according to this treatise, see Huglo, *Auteur*, 14.

⁷⁵ See the case of the antiphon *Monasterium istud* in the Gradual of Einsiedeln in Gushee, *Ghost*, 204–211.

Fossés. It is a 9th-century patristic manuscript from the collection of St German-des-Près, now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, ms. 11631, which because of its contents – the Bible commentaries of St Jerome – can be related to a group of 12th-century manuscripts from St Cyran-en-Braine acquired by the Benedictine monks of the Congrégation de St Maur in 1716, together with the entire collection of St Maur-les-Fossés⁷⁶.

The manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, 11631, of folio size (57 × 36 cm.), is different in binding and decoration from the group of manuscripts from the collection of Saint Maur. Based on the style of its initials, the manuscript, which was signed with the name of a copyist and is partly illegible⁷⁷, could come from a scriptorium in the West of France, yet thereafter it must have passed through a monastery dedicated to St Maur – that of Glanfeuil or les Fossés? – judging from numerous additions in honor of this disciple of St Benedict, inserted on the last pages of the manuscript.

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(fol. 71’): *probationes pennae* [pen trials]; French neumes; drawings (heads), exercises in writing initials, among others an R with flowery decoration.

DE UNO CONFESSORE & DE PLURIBUS RP. Post magnorum gloriosa martitum certamina, post triumphos et agones ... (French neumes, resembling those in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, 12596⁷⁸) VR. Celi militibus largitur praemia Christus. Est quibus insignis meriti... PROSA. Gloria decorans meritis (mirits *ms.*) culmina celica hodierna die --- (*neuma*)... ...inclite supera optime Maure sanctissime --- (*neuma*)

Te petimus misericordissime nobis succurre (marginal *neuma* concluding with a *pes stratus*: the climacus is “Loire-style”, as in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, 12596⁷⁹).

beate -----

Justifices precibusque ...

suscipe ----- *neuma* concluding with *pes stratus*

Sub tui patrocini ...

suscipe ----- *neuma* concluding with *pes stratus*

Pro nobis te poscentibus ... exora et omnia ecclesia (customary cadence notated with a clivis, the word *ecclesia* being in fact the last word of the reprise of the responsory)

(fol. 72: independent leaf, partly cropped, once glued to fol. 71’).

Larger script, of different aspect.

⁷⁶ Delisle, *Cabinet* II, 78, and Durand, *Concordance*, mention the manuscripts latin 11626, 11628, 11630, 11633 and 12160 of the Bibl. Nat., Paris. It is curious to observe that the vision of the monk Barontius, taking us to St Cyran-en-Braine, is reported in the hagiographic manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 12596, fols. 160’–165’ (cf. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum* III, 122), which we have just examined ...

⁷⁷ On fol. 69, at the bottom, after the two AMHN in capitals and then in small uncial script, one reads in a different hand *////iocatus indignus clericus scripsit* [a jested unworthy cleric wrote]. The origin of the manuscript – some province in the West of France – has been confirmed to me in person by Mr Jean Vezin and, with regard to the decoration, by Mr Fr. Avril.

⁷⁸ Examined below, p. 107ff.

⁷⁹ Described above, p. 111.

DE CONFESSORE & Ecce homo qui toto corde dominum dilexit ... (neume notation resembling the previous, though more drawn out; use of significative letters *t*, *p* (?), *eq* and *io*) ... claritatis eterne.

¶ Erat uir sanctimonio in deserto ...

[PROSA] Aeterne atque renitentis vitae ----- (*neuma* on the finalis)

Tempistice Christe agie corde voce pneumate ----- (*neuma* on the finalis)

O sancte confessor pie Maure nos munere meritorum plene ornare --- (*neuma* on the finalis)

Hinc quoque celi dynamis ... iubare --- (*neuma* on the finalis)

Claraque lucis lampade eterne (without *neuma*, because it is the last word of the reprise).

The other additions on the cover pages do not permit us to make much progress on the determination of the origin of the manuscript:

(fol. 1) O polorum qui superna resides in aula, summer Pater et tocius salutis medela. Sanguine tuo redemptos in pace conserva, defende, libera, protege, adjuva, Confortare, visita vigilanti dextera (French neume notation, with the use of melodic letters *io* in four places)

(fol. 72', just before the cropped part) AD MANDATUM (the text that followed is lacking).

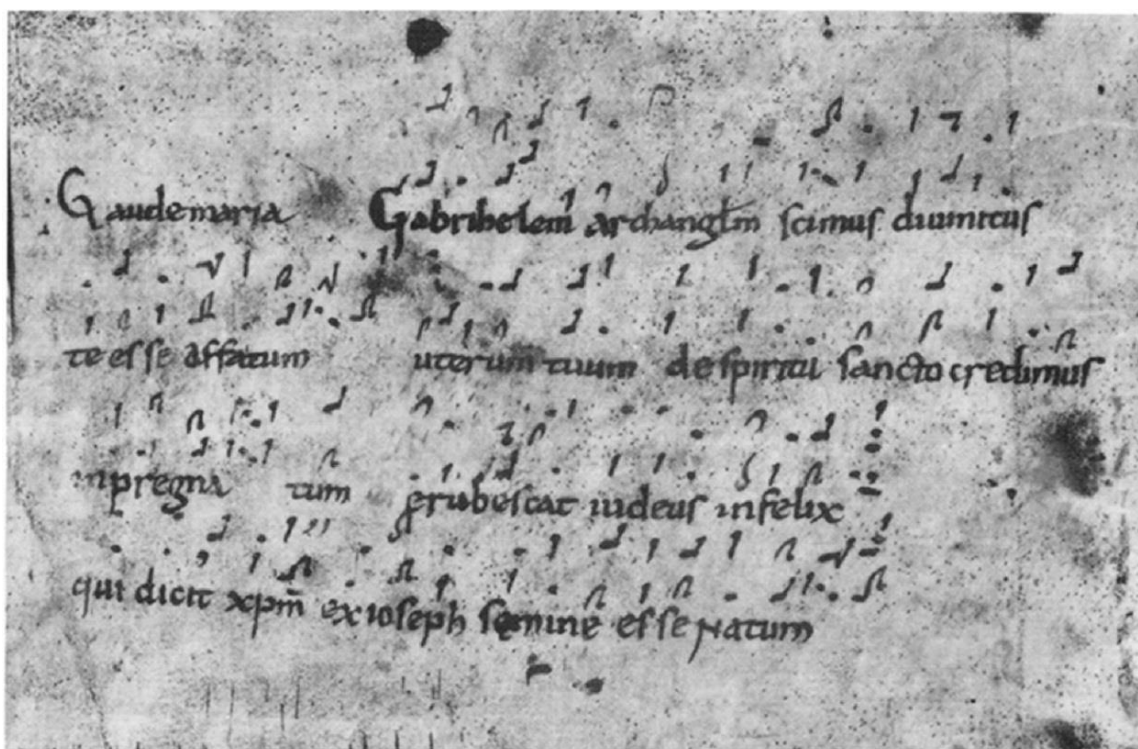


Plate 4: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, ms. 11631, fol. 72 verso

Finally, it remains for us to turn to the settings with organum that are the object of our inquiry. There are two: the text and notation, at least that of the first (fol. 1), is heavily worn; the second (fol. 72'), most fortunately, is wholly transcribable: it is a responsory for the feast of Purification (2 February), *Gaude Maria*, whose intonation without notation is followed immediately by the verse *Gabrielem*, notated in two voices⁸⁰ in the same hand, a hand which seems to be from the West of France, judging from the very short shape of the pes and especially of the clivis, and in any case not Parisian.

The author or authors of this text sung in two voices seem to have succeeded only after one or two failed and incomplete trials. The notated intonation *Gabrielem a.*, in the same hand as the “definitive” text, is found before on the same page; the same verse, this time without notation, is copied in pale sepia ink ...

The original responsory and its verse, probably the product of an antisemitic environment at Rome, belongs to a group of pieces addressed to the Theotocos, whose melodic style seems to innocent of the ideals of Gregorian composition⁸¹: if the body of the responsory is well-centonized with formulas of the 4th mode, the verse owes nothing to the formulary of the eight verses of Gregorian responsories: it was through-composed, not in the first redaction of the Antiphony of the 8th-9th centuries, but a little after that⁸².

ORGANUM

CANTUS

Ga - bri - e - lem ar - chan - ge - lum sci - mus di - vi - ni - tus

⁸⁰ This responsory assuredly figured in the Archetype of the Antiphoner, since we find it in all the early witnesses to the Antiphoner (cf. Hesbert, *Corpus IV*, no. 6759), The second verse *Gloria, virtus et gratia* (cf. ib. and Huglo, *Domaine*, 62) is more rare and probably earlier. A legend narrating the circumstances of the composition of the text and melody by a blind singer was recounted by Aurelian of Réôme, between 840 and 850 (*Musica disciplina*, ch. 15; ed. L. Gushee, *CSM* 21, 105) and in several German manuscripts (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, ms. Aug. LX, fol. ult.; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 2610, fol. 38' and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cpv. 950 (Salzb. 952), fol. 157'). Cf. Brou, *Marie*.

⁸¹ The melodies of the verses of prolix responsories that are different from the ones that customarily figure in the Gregorian “Oktoëchos” are very rare in the early collection of the Antiphoner: apart from the case of the Responsory *Descendit* for Christmas and the Responsory *Gaude Maria virgo* for Purification (2 February), one could mention the melodies of the regrouped verses in the Antiphoner of St Denis (Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 17296, fol. 170) and those in the tonary of Albi (Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 776). Cf. Huglo, *Tonaires*, 319.

⁸² Transcription and analysis by Gushee, *Polyphony*, 131ff.

ORGANUM

CANTUS
te es - se af - fa - tum: u - te - rum tu - um de Spi - ri - tu san - cto

ORGANUM

CANTUS
cre - di - mus in - pre - gna - tum. E - ru - bes - cat iu - de - us in - fe - lix qui

ORGANUM

CANTUS
di - cit Chris - tum ex Jo - seph se - mi - ne es - se na - tum.

The culmination on the word *erubescat* [let him blush], quite unusual in Gregorian style, must have posed some problems for the composer of the second voice-part: judging from the neumes on the top line, it looks as if the organal voice crosses the chant at exactly that point. Moreover, comparison of the neume scripts of the two voices reveals instances of contrary motion and parallel motion, exactly like the settings examined earlier.

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It is interesting to find this responsory a little more than a century later in Notre Dame polyphony, first with an organum setting of the intonation and verse of the responsory in the *Magnus liber organi*⁸³, but also in the Beauvais manuscript⁸⁴ with rubrics giving very precise directions for performance, directions that presuppose the involvement of at least four “organistae”:

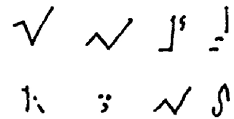
℞ *Gaude Maria Virgo* ... Versus cum organo dicitur: *Gabrielem archangelum*... Chorus (= reprise 1): *Quae Gabrielis archangeli dictis* ... Alii cum organo: *Uterum tuum* ... Chorus (= reprise 2) *Dum Virgo* ... Primi cum organo: *Erubescat Judaeus infelix* ... Chorus (= reprise 3): *Et post partum Virgo inviolata permansisti*.

[℞ *Gaude Maria Virgo* ... The verse is spoken with organum: *Gabrielem archangelum*... Chorus (= reprise 1): *Quae Gabrielis archangeli dictis* ... Others with organum: *Uterum tuum* ... Chorus (= reprise 2) *Dum Virgo* ... The first with organum: *Erubescat Judaeus infelix* ... Chorus (= reprise 3): *Et post partum Virgo inviolata permansisti*.]

⁸³ *F*, fol. 68 (Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 625 no. 54); *W*₁, fol. 14' (ib., 104 no. 15); *W*₂, fol. 48' (ib., 175, no. 27).

⁸⁴ *LoA* fol. 94 (Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 505 no. 19). Cf. Arlt, *Festoffizium I*, 82; II, 17.

On its first folio our manuscript also contains the trace of a setting notated on two parallel lines in neumes that are partly decipherable⁸⁵, and in which one unmistakably recognizes an “organized” melodic passage:



The problem that remains for us to resolve is the reading of the text, a text heavily worn because of the scraping of the [original] folio that was used as cover page in the manuscript. On the first line of the legible text, in the middle of the page, one can read the words *Spiritus sanctus*, apparently without neumes, and then, a little further on *...spi-ri-tus*, this time with neume notation. It is possible that this could be the intonation of a responsory, without notes, just as the Responsory *Gaude* on fol. 72’.

At the end of the next line, there is a barely legible ending of a word *-farie*⁸⁶. Finally, under the neumes reproduced above:

Nos // // // // [di]tat [gra-ti-a (?)]

It is likely that we are dealing with the incipit of a responsory for Pentecost with a verse in organum⁸⁷.

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The rest of this erased page is difficult to read: for our objective it suffices that we have identified two organum settings which, probably by way of a monastery under the patronage of St Maur along the Lower Loire – St Maur-de-Glanfeuil, or some monastery connected with it – which also maintained connections with the Parisian monastery of des Fossés.

2. The *Benedicamus Domino* settings

The organum setting of the Responsory *Petre amas me* in the Antiphoner of St Maur-des-Fossés is followed by three two-voice settings of *Benedicamus Domino* which we should attempt to decipher by comparing them with the richest collections of this genre.

Does the *Benedicamus Domino* constitute a separate genre? It is a little verse – *versiculus* – followed by a response which forms the conclusion of the Daily Hours of the Divine Office, both monastic and secular⁸⁸. For this verse, as for other pieces in the Ordinary of the Office or Mass, there was originally a single melody used throughout the year. A trace of this early

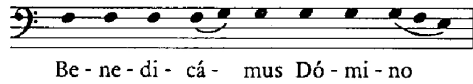
⁸⁵ These neumes were read from the manuscript as well as from ultraviolet images taken by the Photographic Service of the Bibliothèque nationale.

⁸⁶ The end of this word recalls the incipit of the Alleluia verse for the octave of Christmas *Multifarie multisque modis* which was sung in organum at Chartres (cf. Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 130 [148], fol. 50: cf. above, p. 98 n. 26). But my reading, which is conjectural in part, is debatable because of the context.

⁸⁷ I have not been able to find scraps of deciphered syllables among the pieces for Pentecost (Hesbert, *Corpus I & II*, no. 95) ... A concordance for all known chant would be of great help in these difficult cases.

⁸⁸ Two American scholars have undertaken the study of the melodies of the *Benedicamus Domino*: Barclay, *Repertory*; Hallmark, *Tropes*.

stage is still furnished by the Cistercian tradition, based on that of Lyon, which knew only one melody for *Benedicamus Domino*:



At Lyon, where the *B.D.* was sung by the children⁸⁹, one allowed another more extended melody from two Alleluias of Eastertide. That was all! Since these two melodies are the oldest and the most widespread, it seems likely that these are the only early ones ... It is in fact probable that originally, that is to say, in the 9th century, the *B.D.* of the Office, just like the four pieces forming the Ordinary of the Mass, did not comprise more than one melody used every day throughout the year. However, “routine breeds boredom”. Also, one suddenly witnesses the simultaneous appearance, in different places, in the 9th century, of monophonic compositions meant to bring more variety to the excessively uniform “Ordinary”. In Cluniac monasteries, where the proper performance of the Divine Office took on great importance, one kept the “primitive” melody for ferial days, but otherwise there were two other melodies classed according to the degrees of the feasts: *privatis diebus*⁹⁰; *in albis*⁹¹; *in capis*⁹². In the *Statuta* of 1132, Peter the Venerable prescribed the adoption of a fourth melody, which was already quite widespread in Cluniac monasteries⁹³, and of which our Antiphoner of St Maur-des-Fossés furnishes one of the oldest examples⁹⁴:

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⁸⁹ *Pueri dicant Benedicamus Domino* [let the boys say *Benedicamus Domino*] (manuscript Ordinary of Lyon, Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 1017, fol. 16); *Pueri cantant Benedicamus (Domino)* [the boys sing *Benedicamus*] (Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 6167, fol. 10). At the first Vespers of St Stephen, the *B.D.* was the task of the deacons (Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 6167, fol. 12) and at the Vespers of St John of the priests (ib., fol. 14). At Verona, on 27 December, the *B.D.* was sung by two priests, but normally it was the archpriest who intoned it: cf. Meersseman, Adda, Deshusses, *Orazionale*, nos. 97, 104, 105, 109, 112, 402, 423, 429. There, it seems, it was a custom inspired by the Ambrosian liturgy; in France, the *B.D.* was most often the job of the children, to judge from such widespread tropes as *Eia pueri júbilo ...* and *Eia nunc pueri voce praecelsa ...*

⁹⁰ Melody no. 202 of the thematic index at the end.

⁹¹ Melody no. 403 of the thematic index at the end.

⁹² Melody no. 116. – Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 17716 (12th c.), fol. 14: this manuscript of St Martin-des-Champs, which is contemporary with Peter the Venerable, was discussed by Wilmart, *Poème*, 57.

⁹³ See, below, the history of the *B. D.* of Fulbert of Chartres. Statute 74 of Peter the Venerable prescribes for the five great feasts – including St Peter – at Lauds and Vespers, the singing of “...*Benedicamus Domino*, juxta cantum novi quidem, sed boni et jam publici versus illius qui in Nativitate B. Matri Domini a multis canitur: *Virgo Dei genitrix virga est, flos filius ejus*. Sumptus est autem cantus, non de toto versu, sed de fine versus, hoc est *Flos filius e-jus*.” (PL 189, 1046D). On this *B.D.*, see Grospellier, *Origines*, 6; Villier, *Geschichtsstudie*, 33–35.

⁹⁴ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 12584, fol. 306 l. 8 (see Plate 1): the earliest diastematic “translation” is attested by *Pa* 887 (Aurillac), *Pa* 1534 (Carcassonne) and *Ma* 289.

Be - ne - di - cá - mus Dó - mi - no.
Modèle:
 ... flos Fi - li - us e - [] jus.

These new compositions are often added on a spare leaf in some old manuscript⁹⁵. Sometimes the newly adopted melody is added to the only existent melody⁹⁶: it thus forms the nucleus of a small collection of settings which will some day end by being copied in a troper-prosary, after the Ordinary chants, or finally in other chant books: gradual, antiphoner processional.

The newly-created melodies are generally syllabic: melismatic styles are rarely employed in the B. D., at least in the earliest phrase of the musical creation in this domain. The majority of the melodies are composed in *protus* or in *tetrardus*: very few belong to the *mi* and *fa* modes. If the wave of composition had swept two centuries later, one would certainly have recorded more B. D. settings in *fa* mode...

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From an aesthetic point of view, it is apparent that the composers preferred to reserve melismatic elaborations for the two tonic syllables *-ca-* & *Do-*. However, we are dealing less with “composition” than with the adaptation of these eight syllables to pre-existing melismas. In this regard, the most famous example is the B. D. that borrowed its great melismatic elaboration on the *neuma* of the final word *e-jus* from the verse *Virgo* for the Responsory *Stirps Jesse*⁹⁷, the responsory whose composition is attributed, not without plausibility, to Fulbert of Chartres († 1028). The adaption of the melody of the *neuma* to the B. D., undoubtedly at Chartres, and its distribution across France, are very early developments: the cover leaf of an 11th-century Chartres manuscript⁹⁸ already contains this B. D., notated in French neumes. After that comes, in chronological order, the Antiphoner of St Maur which notates this B. D. on folio 306, right after the five antiphons for St Peter, but in the same hand as these pieces. It was added only shortly after the production of the manuscript itself, and in any case before the addition of the two Responsories *Quodcumque* and *Cornelius centurio*, both copied on folio 306’ towards the end of the 11th century.

The responsory and the B. D. adapted from it had already penetrated the Aquitanian region by the end of the 11th century⁹⁹. At St Martial-de-Limoges the responsory and the

⁹⁵ See below, in our Catalogue of sources, the remarks on *Bru* 9843, *Cha* 78, *Cha* 95, *LoC* 8, *Mü* 560, *Pa* 1534, *Pa* 13762, *Rou* 135.

⁹⁶ This unique melody is naturally that of the ferial B. D.

⁹⁷ Text and melody of the responsory with its verse in the *Processionale monasticum*, 186, and in Delaporte, *Fulbert de Chartres*, 65.

⁹⁸ Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 78 (perished on 26 May 1944): facsimile in *Paléographie musicale* XVII. Cf. Delaporte, *Fulbert de Chartres*, 66–68.

⁹⁹ The three responsories by Fulbert are found in the manuscript H. 384 of the Faculté de Médecine of Montpellier, on fol. 125’: cf. Mas, *Histoire* II, 51/52, pl. 16; the B. D. in the Carcassonne manuscript (Paris,

B. D. were employed as a *tenor* in two-part settings¹⁰⁰. – At the Cathedral St Nazaire of Carcassonne¹⁰¹, the B. D. on the verse of *Stirps Jesse* was notated point against point. So Peter the Venerable hardly introduced a novelty when, in 1132, he prescribed this B. D. at Cluny: all he did was ratify, for the Chief Abbey of the Cluniac Order, a custom that was already widespread among monasteries of the congregation.

This same melody was distributed, albeit a little later, in Italy, probably through the channel of Cluniac monasteries established on the peninsula¹⁰²: remarkably, we find it as an addition in Ambrosian chant manuscript, not in the rhomboid-shaped notation peculiar to the Milanese church, but in square notes¹⁰³, that is, with its mark of origin... After that, Don Paolo da Firenze, at the beginning of the 15th century, chooses Fulbert's melody as *tenor* for a three-part composition¹⁰⁴.

But let us return to France, and more specifically to Paris where once again, upon opening the earliest source for Notre Dame polyphony, we find the ferial melody¹⁰⁵ as *tenor* of polyphonic B. D. settings, and the melody of *Flos filius ejus* sometimes with a trope¹⁰⁶.

It is not out of place to take a few moments to consider the case of the trope grafted on the *neuma* of elaborated B. D. settings. This trope is rarely “melogene”, that is to say, “engendered by the melody” of the *neuma* in question: more often the trope is “logogene,”

Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 1534, fol. 115'), reproduced ib., 68, pl. 22 and in *Pa* 887 (Aurillac). Finally, for Bavaria, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14372, fol. 24' (St Emmeram).

¹⁰⁰ *St M-A*: Reaney, *RISM B iv* 1, 403, nos. 10–11; *St M-B*: ib., no. 19; *St M-C*: ib., 409, no. 22; *Compostela*, fol. 190: ed. Wagner, *Gesänge*, 124; Reaney, *RISM B iv* 1, 241, no. 20. The example of melismatic organum in ch. 15 (*Ars ad componendum organum*) of the St Martial treatise (ed. Seay, 35) was left without notation in the manuscripts consulted by the editor. Since then, F. A. Gallo has discovered the melody of this example, copied in the hand of Fr. Gaffurio, in the manuscript Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, parm. 1158: as one might have expected, it is the famous melody of *Flos filius ejus*. Cf. Gallo, *Fonti*, 50 nn. 2, 4.

¹⁰¹ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 1534 (mentioned above, p. 118): the B. D. in question is troped: *Benedicamus Ingenito ipsiusque Unigenito* etc.

¹⁰² Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 1574, fol. 38; Siena, Archivio del Stato, Fondo notarile, ms. 2747.

¹⁰³ Milan, Archivio Capitolare della Basilica di S. Ambrogio, ms. M. 24 (antiphoner of 1369); Muggiasca, Ambrosian antiphoner of 1387 etc. Cf. Huglo, *Fonti*, 52, 73.

¹⁰⁴ Günther, *Datierung*, 99ff; von Fischer, Lütolf, *RISM B iv* 3, 484, no. 197. Besides the various B. D. settings for two or three voices constructed on the same tenor, which one finds in the same volume, one should also mention the B. D. of a 14th-century antiphoner preserved in the Séminaire de Messine, discovered by Ag. Ziino and signalled in Ziino, Donato, *Facti*, 235–245: facsimile of the B. D. ib. between 240/241 and transcription 244.

¹⁰⁵ Above, p. 117.

¹⁰⁶ Tenor borrowed from the ferial melody in *Compostela*, fol. 190': ed. Wagner, *Gesänge*, 125; Reaney, *RISM B iv* 1, 241, no. 22; in *W*₁, fol. 8–9 (Reaney, *RISM B iv* 1, 101 n. 7) and *W*₂ (ib., 173 n. 13); tenor borrowed from the melody *Flos filius ejus* from the verse in *W*₁ no. 165 (for three voices) 198, 199, 200 and 202 and in *F* (ib., 631 no. 82, 83 etc.) Trope *Natus corde Patris flos virginis* etc. in *W*₁ fol. 96' (ib., 145 no. 202). Other polyphonic tropes were signaled by Reaney, ib., 21/22.

resulting, in a more advanced stage of evolution, in a new monophonic or polyphonic genre¹⁰⁷.

The celebrated B. D. of Fulbert is probably the earliest example of a verse that borrows its *neuma* from a piece of the great office. We should also mention another B. D. which borrows part of its melisma from the *neuma* of the Responsoy *Benedicamus Patri* from the Office of the Trinity composed by Étienne of Liège¹⁰⁸. This verse melody will appear as the *tenor* of a two-voice B. D. in the famous *Codex Calixtinus* of Compostela¹⁰⁹. In the 13th century, a missal from Exeter gathered a veritable collection of long melodies and [the scribe] was careful to indicate the source for each *neuma* in red ink in the margin¹¹⁰.

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This truly exceptional collection of B. D., and other that can be discovered in antiphoners or troopers-prosaries, is most precious for our research, given that our final aim is the transcription of two B. D. settings in two voices from the St Maur manuscript, notated *in campo aperto*¹¹¹.

When comparing B. D. from these various collections with the three verses in the St Maur antiphoner, one can tell that the latter stands near the origins of the B. D. tradition, judging from the simplicity of the first segment of the melody, on *Benedica-mus*, which is almost entirely syllabic whereas in the great collections of the beginning of the 12th century¹¹² the first word is almost always melodically extended, particularly on the syllable accentuated *-cá-*. However, thanks to the comparison of these manuscripts one may attempt the partial transcription of the melody of the first two B. D. organa in the antiphoner of St Maur-des-Fossés:

¹⁰⁷ The “trope de substitution”, to invoke Chailley’s terminology (*École*, 191, 275), that is, the *cantio* and the *conductus*, does not always betray clear links with the B. D.: the history of B. D. tropes was written by Arlt, *Festoffizium*, ch. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Auda, *Étienne de Liège*, 118; the B. D. melody in question in *Antiphonale monasticum*, Toni communes, XI: *In II Vesperis in festis Scor.* Cf. Pothier, *Mémoires*, 154. One will note that it is the initial word of the responsoy (*Benedicamus*) that must have guided the choice of the adapter...

¹⁰⁹ *Compostela*, fol. 190: Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 241 no. 21 (ed. Wagner, *Gesänge*, 124). In some Dominican manuscripts from upper Italy, one find this B. D. as tenor of a two-part B. D. whose voices are notated on the same staff, one in red notes, the other in black; Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, ms. 554 (14th/15th c.), p. 275; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. 40563, fol. 189^v; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1549, fol. 199 (add. 15th c.); ib. ms. 2866 (16th c., beginning), fol. 297^v.

¹¹⁰ Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. 24 (13th c.), fol. 14: facsimile in Harrison, *Music*, pl. VII; ed. of the rubrics by the same in *Benedicamus*, 38. The same author cites (*Benedicamus*, 39) the directions for the Ordinary of Siena and the Statutes of the church of Lincoln with regard to the “organizing” of the B. D.

¹¹¹ The manuscript and printed sources for B. D. melodies are presented in the Appendix, at the end of this article, together with the thematic classification table of the most widespread melodies.

¹¹² See below, Appendix, p. 141ff *Ma* 288, *Ma* 289, *Pa* 887 etc.

the “Vatican Anonymous” which concerns itself with *organum purum*, and by a three-part composition of Magister Albertus, who served as Cantor at Notre Dame of Paris in 1142–1174¹¹⁵. Book I of the manuscript of St James of Compostela contains an appendix of polyphonic settings attributed to French composers, and one of these, the three-voice conductus *Congraudeant catholici*, is prefaced by the designation *Magister Albertus parisiensis*; it is notated on lines in typical French notes without rhythmic values¹¹⁶. This attribution, like others in the same appendix, has seemed dubious to critics, but the historian who has retraced the origin of this collection, Pierre David, has removed all doubt¹¹⁷.

In the present context it is less the author’s name than the musical form of this conductus that interests us, for it permits us, together with the examples of organum from the treatises, to follow the evolution of polyphony in France during the 12th century. Thus, the Responsory of Confessors *Sint lumbi vestri*¹¹⁸, whose monophonic version turns up at almost the same time in French and Aquitanian manuscripts¹¹⁹, is “organized” in two different styles:

1. In the St Martial treatise¹²⁰, it is the Responsory *Sint lumbi* which is cited in an example of discant, just as the *Benedicamus Domino* is presented as an example of florid organum:

St M-C (= Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 3719), there are several pieces that are notated in French notes: fol. 15’ (monophonic), fol. 17’ and 18’ (organal voice). In sum, all this happens like two centuries previously when, in the troper Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 1240, one finds several passages in French neumes: cf. Evans, *Elements*, 103–110.

¹¹⁵ This dating was established by Birkner (*Notre Dame-Cantoren*, 113) who, at the suggestion of Jacques Handschin, had taken up the enquiry in 1953 and departed from the latter’s conclusions (1147–1173 in *Geschichte*, 6). Birkner remarked (op. cit., 109 n. 2) that Albert, like the other singers, is always designated in the sources with the title of *cantor* or *praecantor*: however, from the beginning of the 13th century, the latter term increasingly gives way to the former. – At the end of the 12th century, Bernard Itier styled himself, in *St M-B*, fol. 18, “succentor ecclesiae sci. Martialis”.

¹¹⁶ *Compostela*, fol. 185; Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 240 n. 4; ed. Wagner, *Gesänge*, 112.

¹¹⁷ *Études*. On p. 22, P. David argues as follows: “We do not perceive a compelling ground to call into question the attributions to 12th-century persons of whom some were still alive; if the compiler was interested in appropriating the name of Calixtus II or of Pope Leo, what advantage could he have perceived in presenting pieces of chant under obscure false names?” To the extent that one accepts these arguments, one should admit that the *triplum* attributed to Magister Albertus predates the period 1157–1165 when the manuscript was written and thereupon brought Compostela (David, op.cit., 27).

¹¹⁸ Text and melody in the *Responsoriale monasticum*, 202, and in the *Processionale monasticum*, 228. In Parisian breviaries, this responsory appears in ninth place in the Common of Confessors.

¹¹⁹ The Responsory *Sint lumbi vestri* does not appear in *all* the early manuscripts edited by Hesbert, *Corpus IV*, no. 7675: also, one occasionally encounters it as an additional piece in very early manuscripts such as Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 1240, fol. 81 (early addition, with proto-Aquitanian notation), or Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., ms. Reg. lat. 530, fol. 3 (Bannister, *Monumenti*, 37 no. 127).

¹²⁰ Ed. Seay, 7–42. To the three manuscripts collated by the author one should now add Barcelona, Biblioteca Central (olim: de Catalunya), ms. M 883. Since the editor’s edition of the intonation of the responsory is faulty, due to his not knowing the melody of the *cantus* given in the editions cited here, I have



2. as for the Notre Dame period, one finds the intonation of this responsory in organum of a more evolved style, and we learn from the rubric in a Parisian processional from the 15th century¹²¹ that this responsory was indeed “organized” on the feast of St Eloi, 1 December. 124

For a musicologist pondering the evolution of the style and writing of organum this is a very case, and at the same time it reminds us of the notorious difficulty of spontaneous improvisation. On the other hand, since we are dealing here with written pieces, we should take into account the archaisizing tendencies typical of documents of liturgical polyphony. This point bears on the study of a collection of monophonic and polyphonic liturgical pieces copied at the end of a *Mariale* preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris.

The manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 186, was bought by the Bibliothèque nationale on 7 March 1874 (acquisition no. 6596) from Mr Labitte, bookseller on 4 rue de Lille. The manuscript¹²², which dates from the first third of the 13th century, contains a florilegium of patristic texts and theological excerpts pertaining to the Angelic Salutation, whence its name:

LIBER SALUTATORIUS BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS¹²³

Ecce salutis opus	quoniam liber iste salutatur
Unde salus salit	qua sine nulla salus.

[SALUTATION BOOK OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

Behold the work of salvation	because this book greets
Whence salvation has sprung	without which there is no safety.]

The commentaries on the *Ave Maria* were borrowed from the Church Fathers and from theologians whose names are written in rubrics in the margin, side by side with excerpts from

reprinted his example: it should be noted that the half-cadence of the intonation, in the organal voice, could be at the octave.

¹²¹ Intonation of the responsory in organum: Cf. Reaney, *RISM B iv* 1, 105 no. 21 (*W*₁); 176 no. 36 (*W*₂); 630 no. 78 (*F*). The 15th-century processional (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 1799, fol. 103) was signaled by Handschin, *Geschichte*, 15 n. 4.

¹²² Manuscript containing 196 folios of 22.5 × 16.5 cm. Cardboard binding covered with marbled paper with a red back from the 19th century. Title “LIBER SALUTATORIUS B. MARIAE”. Script from the first third of the 13th century, in the opinion of Mademoiselle M. Th. d’Alverny, Directeur de recherche at CNRS. Blue initials with red filigree alternating with red initials with blue filigree ... except for oversights by the “rubricator” (fols. 13–14^r, 26/26^r, 29^r/30 etc.).

¹²³ Fol. 1, addition in cursive script.

their works: *Augustinus, Ambrosius, Petrus Damianus, Fulbertus* etc.¹²⁴ Naturally it is the names of the most recent theologians that concern us, for the dating of the collection:

Magister Hugo de sco. Victore (fol. 113’): Hugo, canon of St Victor, died on 11 February 1141.

Magister Petrus Lombardus, Parisiensis episcopus (fols. 27’, 79’, 88’): Peter the Lombard became bishop of Paris in 1159.

Petrus Comestor (fols. 10, 29, 38’, 54, 116) *decanus Trecensis* (fol. 60), Peter “the Devourer”, dean of Troyes in 1147, was chancellor of the bishop of Paris in 1168 and died in 1179.

Magister Helluinus de sco. Dionisio (fols. 70’, 130’, 136’, 137, 147’, 150, 183’): In a manuscript from Bonport, in the diocese of Évreux¹²⁵, there is a commentary on the gospels attributed to a certain Oynus, who had compiled his text after Petrus Comestor, “Helduinum et Herbertum Turritanum”. Could the reference to the compiler of our *Mariale* “de sco. Dionisio” be due to confusion between Helduinus and Hilduinus, abbot of St Denis in the 9th century?

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Magister Oddo, prior Cantuariæ (fols. 24’, 31, 44, 45, 47’, 64’...): this Benedictine, cited by John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres¹²⁶, was prior of Canterbury from 1167 to 1175, and thereafter became abbot of Battle in Sussex. He died in 1200.

Magister Radulfus Pruviniensis (fols. 50, 62): so far no trace of this theologian has turned up despite the searches of qualified specialists¹²⁷.

Ricardus cancellarius (fols. 134 and 188’): several persons named Richard have fulfilled the responsibility of chancellor, but in England ...¹²⁸.

At the end of the manuscript one encounters, next to the verses *Respice pendentem*, the reference “Hos versus edidit moriens cancellarius parisiensis” [The dying Parisian chancellor brought out these verses]¹²⁹. Whatever the origin of the manuscript, the source from which the anonymous compiler drew can only have been a center rich in writings by Parisian theologians. This anonymous compiler – *excerpsit et compilavit quidam fidelium*

¹²⁴ The “salutations” attributed in our manuscript to St Peter Damian († 1072) were edited by Leclercq, *Fragments*, 301–305. Their authenticity is disputed by Barré, *Prières*, 218.

¹²⁵ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 446 (12th–13th c.), commentaries on Scripture (*Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* I, 151). I owe this information, as well as that concerning Oddo of Canterbury in the next note, to Mademoiselle M. Th. d’Alverny (letter of 31 December 1975), who has admirable knowledge of the sources of philosophical and theological speculation of the Middle Ages.

¹²⁶ John of Salisbury († 25 October 1180) mentions his fellow-countryman Oddo in the *Policraticus* (ed. Webb I, 7).

¹²⁷ I am indebted to Mademoiselle M. Th. d’Alverny, to Mr Ch. Samaran, of the Institut, and to Canon M. Veissière, President of the Société d’histoire et d’archéologie de Provins who, despite persistent research, have been unable to find this Magister mentioned anywhere else. However, Canon Veissière does point out to me that eight Raouls are mentioned in his work *Communauté* (tables, 410) ...

¹²⁸ Chevalier, *Bio-bibliographie*, 3952, 3957, 3962.

¹²⁹ fol. 196. The reading *moriens* is that of Combaluzier, *Textes*, 253, whereas the catalogue of the Nouvelles acquisitions latines reads *Moricus*: this proper name cannot in any way refer to Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris from 12 October 1160 to 11 September 1196.

[someone among the faithful excerpted and compiled] –, who worked in the final third of the 12th century, certainly took from a Parisian library – perhaps that of the chapter? – the materials he needed for the literary edifice that he prepared for the glory of the Virgin, at the very moment when the construction of the choir of the Cathedral of Notre Dame began on the Île de la Cité (1163–1177).

This mariological florilegium or *Mariale*¹³⁰ is followed by another liturgical florilegium that contains notated pieces, almost all addressed to the Virgin, whose eclecticism and originality call for a detailed analysis¹³¹:

fol. 193': Noted Responsory *O Maria Genitrix Salvatoris ...* *¶ Protege nos ...*

Prosula in three stanzas *Te rogamus*¹³²

fol. 194: Hymn *Ave maris stella*: only the first stanza is notated, in two voices¹³³. The subsequent stanzas were not copied in this collection. Noted Responsory *Virgo stella maris divino munere plena ...* *¶ Non arcet partus ...* Prosula *Veni visita nos vera Dei mater*¹³⁴.

fol. 194': *Vite lucina Maria per quam respirant miseri ...* “Rhythmus” in eight stanzas of four iambic dimeters, with internal rhymes. The second hemistich of the last verse repeats the first hemistich of the first verse: *Cuius da nobis bravium vite lucina Maria*¹³⁵.

fol. 195: ANT. *Alma redemptoris mater ...*¹³⁶

fol. 195: (by the second hand, notated on black stave) Sequence *Trinitatem reserat aquila*¹³⁷. The end of the piece, on fol. 195', is not notated, nor is the following piece, named “Joys of the Virgin”: *Salve mundi gaudium mundo praestans gaudia ...*¹³⁸. On fol. 196, in a third hand, without notation: *Gaude plena gratia, Gaude plena gloria ...*¹³⁹

fol. 195: at the bottom of the page (by a fourth hand) *Respice pendentem crucificas in cruce mentem ...* (and in the margin, in different ink) *Hos versus edidit moriens [Moricus?] cancellarius Parisiensis*¹⁴⁰.

fol. 196': (by a fifth hand, script from the 14th century) troped *SANCTUS* for the feast of *Corpus Christi* which, at Paris, was adopted in 1318¹⁴¹.

¹³⁰ In his thesis of 1958, A. Pedrosa distinguishes different categories of *Mariales*, amongst others the liturgical *Mariale*: cf. Pedrosa, *Mariale*. The author cites the *Liber salutatorius* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. lat., ms. 186) as example, but does not describe it.

¹³¹ The pieces were examined and even transcribed by Combaluzier, *Textes*, 248–253, an article to which I shall refer below in order to curtail my own description.

¹³² *RH* 33929; Combaluzier, op. cit., 249.

¹³³ see below, p. 131.

¹³⁴ Combaluzier, op. cit., 250.

¹³⁵ Piece edited by Combaluzier, op. cit. 250.

¹³⁶ Hesbert, *Corpus* III, no. 1356; *RH* 861 and suppl.; *AH* 50, 317 no. 244.

¹³⁷ *RH* 20574; *AH* 55, 218.

¹³⁸ Combaluzier, op. cit., 251.

¹³⁹ Combaluzier, op. cit., 252; cf. Wilmart, *Auteurs*, 326ff.

¹⁴⁰ see below p. 125 n. 129.

¹⁴¹ cf. *RH* 4771 and suppl. (V, 124); *AH* 47, 339 (cf. 9, 38); Thannabaur, *Sanctus*, 250 (melody 32, 49, 106).

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Nos emunda a mendis criminum. Ne demoni famul mortuum.

Et post nostri labors ter mi nu. Redde nobis placatum

domi num. O vari a genitrix.

Aue maris stella dei mater alma atq; semp uirgo felix celi porta.

Vir go ste il la ma ris chus no mu

nie re ple na con ci pit abs que ma ris tae tu

pa riens si ne pe na. Non

ar cet par tus par ien tis uir gi nis ar tus. Con cep

to ria pa tri i fili o. i spi ri tu sanc to. Con cepit.

Veni uisita nos uera dei mater. Quia elegit uer coelestis uer mater.

Plate 5: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat., ms 186, fol. 194

Deum genitricem beatam. Circuibus precorata. Veni que pepisti
 totius mundi precium. Veni que meruisti lactare dei filium.
 Virgo mitis et sapiens. Deum hominem parient si ne peccata,
 vite lucerna maria per quam respiciant miseri cui preuenit ma-
 ria laudum deuore superi aurora felix pura semper in luciferi
 Beate plangra cuius-
 mus obsequi. quod tu
 ueteris regis lecto
 tunc consili. quam
 multum exalta sub
 typo lactificij. da no-
 clemens nobis irruant aspirant ope celeri. ut si in uenia si poe-
 tui filij. fac nos mundi certamina spes nra sic euadere. ne nos hostis
 malicia in ualeat insidere. uia uia uestigia tuo salubri fidere. bella
 traxit exima cui credit prope. sua uia in ingenium omnium utama.
 et a semel genitricis transfer ad uite uia. fac credam in omni tui fide
 non dubia. et plonari tui in uniuersa uia. fac dote in uia. fac
 te benignissima. cura in te aliorum sinceritate actum. q. seruan-
 solue et coli dignissima. hera cunctipotentia. et uicela fortissima.
 Salua magister tu. et uia uia regis. tur a tubis dicitur soliens
 moerit umbra. clava nob multum atar et boni bellita. uia pro-
 pium fructu cui tu uia. O septem uia. gre est thesauraria. pa-
 ranti delice. et colleptul lectica. in oia perempitue lucte nob appia.
 ad esto uia uenie manum in uia. Prece ad te clamantiu et uia
 ua suspiria. audi que uia regis habet in oia cura. ubi nullu
 dispendiu si semper in gla. cui da uobis bractiu. uia lucerna maria

Plate 6: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat., ms 186, fol. 194 verso

This interesting collection transmits, side by side with pieces belonging to the official books of the cathedral or monasteries, such as the antiphon *Alma* or the hymn *Ave maris stella*, other pieces found nowhere else but written and notated in the same ink as the others! Following a remark by the critic André Wilmart, made in connection with other Marian pieces collected in a manuscript of St Martin des Champs in the first third of the 13th century,¹⁴² we could well be dealing here with “overflowing literature, which one might call semi-liturgical, given its place, which is quite particular, indeed exceptional, for regular frameworks ...”

In fact, our two responsories with their prosulas stem from the same current of liturgical devotion that produced the Marian office of St Martin des Champs, which was of Clunian origin: they could very well have been part of a votive office for the Virgin, and their combination with a hymn or *rhythmus* suggests the structure of Vespers or Compline:

Vespers: after the psalmody, prolix *R O Maria*, hymn *Ave maris stella* (movable antiphon *ad Magnificat*)

Compline: after the psalmody, prolix *R Virgo stella*, Rhythmus *Vite lucina*, fixed antiphon *ad Nunc dimittis* then Marian antiphon *Alma*.

This replacement of the metric hymn by a *rhythmus* conforms completely to the trend in the 12th–13th centuries which required that in Vespers the traditional hymns would make room for the sequence. Thus, in his Ordinance of 1198 on the liturgical reform of the feast of 1 January, Eudes de Sully called for the Vespers hymn to be replaced by the prosa *Laetabundus*¹⁴³. Nevertheless, it is not so much the cathedrals or collegiate churches in which sequences substituted hymns, but rather the royal or princely chapels: for example, in the Ordinary of the Chapelle du Roi¹⁴⁴, or better still in the noted Vesperale of the Virgin used in the chapel of the kings of Sicily¹⁴⁵, which provides for every weekday a versified antiphon for the psalmody of Vespers, a responsory with prosula (*prosa*), a prosa in the guise of a hymn

¹⁴² Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 17716, fol. 23–24'. The pieces were examined by Wilmart in his *Note complémentaire sur l'office marial de St. Martin des Champs*, appended to his article *Poème*, 61–69.

¹⁴³ *Cantabatur Laetabundus loco hymni* (PL 212, 72). I will come back to this point once I have finished the inventory of Parisian liturgical manuscripts on this topic. One will note that it is this same Ordinance which dictates that the Vespers in question should be preceded by the prosa *Laetemur gaudiis*, which is in fact a verse prosa of the Offertory: cf. Villetard, *Office*, 88, 133; Arlt, *Festoffizium* I, 67; II, 5.

¹⁴⁴ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fons latin, ms. 1435 (14th–15th c.) “Ordinarium tenendum in Capella regis” [Ordinary to be maintained in the chapel of the king] (*Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* I, 543/544), fol. 5' (Vespers) and fol. 22'(Compline).

¹⁴⁵ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 1343 (14th–15th c.) “Officium b. virginis virginis (sic) Mariae compilatum et ordinatum per serenissimum principem dominum Karolum Dei gracia Jerusalem et Siciliae regem illustrem” [Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary compiled and arranged for the most serene prince Lord Charles, illustrious King of Jerusalem and Sicily by the grace of God]. The title of the manuscript does not specify whether the book was meant for the use of Charles II, King of Sicily (1248–1309), as the label on the back of the binding at the call number of Peiresc († 1637), or for the use of his father Charles I, brother of St Louis, likewise King of Sicily from 1266 to 1285 and finally King of Jerusalem from 1277 onwards. For this manuscript, cf. Reaney, *RISM* B iv 1, 404; Anglès, *Sequenzsammlung*, 9–17.

– one of which celebrates the Seven Joys of the Virgin – and finally an antiphon (*ad Magnificat*). It is precisely here, just as in our *Mariale*, that polyphony has its role to play, since kings and princes remunerated singers and “organists” in order to ensure the singing of Mass and Vespers on Sundays and feast days. The high point of the genre will be reached at the beginning of the 17th century with the *Vespre della Vergine* which Monteverdi composed for the chapel of the dukes of Mantua in 1610 ...

But let us return to the humble beginnings of the Marian Vespers, of which our Parisian manuscript furnishes the earliest known example. The two responsories with prosula testify to an evolution of the genre, especially in comparison with prosulas used at St Maur in the previous century. Here, the text of the prosula is no longer grafted, note for note, on the pre-existing melisma: it leaves aside certain motifs of the neume and it treats the various segments of the melody in little stanzas

℞ *O Maria*

neuma upon *laetaliter* ----- *ad perdendum nos*.

℣ *Protege nos* (regular melody of the 8th mode)

(stanza 1) *Te rogamus* (original melody in 4 sections, final mi)

(stanza 2) *Mundo lumen* ... (4 sections, final mi)

(stanza 3) *Nos emunda* ... (4 sections, final sol designed to reintroduce not the recall, according to custom, but the reprise *ab initio* of the Responsory *O Maria* ... [intonation sol]).

℞ *Virgo stella*

	A	A'	B	C C'	D	E
neuma of ... <i>si</i> -----						<i>ne pena.</i>

prosula: even stanzas	A		B	C	D	
-----------------------	---	--	---	---	---	--

odd stanzas	A		B	C	D	
-------------	---	--	---	---	---	--

prosa after the prosula						E
-------------------------	--	--	--	--	--	---

... *si-ne pena*

Having studied the two monophonic responsories, let us now examine the two hymns provided with polyphony.

The hymn *Ave maris stella* for two voices (4 × 6 p.) takes as its *tenor* a melody widely current in France, at Paris and in churches elsewhere¹⁴⁶. The notation is the same as that for the responsories that frame the hymns: a small punctum drawn horizontally in one penstroke and concluded on the right with a cross stroke touching it. In short, a cursive notation that can be more quickly traced than the small regular square notation¹⁴⁷. The dividing lines and

¹⁴⁶ For Paris: Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 110482, fol. 231^v; for the other churches in France, cf. Stäblein, *Hymnenmelodien*, 40 (Mel. 67). See the restitution of the *Antiphonale monasticum* to the Commune Festorum B.M.V.

¹⁴⁷ This notation is to be compared with that in the Marian addition made to a Parisian missal from around 1225 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin, ms. 1112, fol. 256, col. A): *Ave dulce per quod fit mundus liber, Ave* ... To be compared above all to the virga of Évreux, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 17, concerning which A. Machabey makes the following remark: “the notation from the years 1170/1180 could have continued at

braces were drawn freehand and without ruler. It seems that the plainchant intonation of the hymn, written too low, should be corrected in order thereby to restore the piece¹⁴⁸:

A - ve ma - ris stel - la De - i ma - ter al - ma at - que

sem - per vir - go fe - lix ce - li por - ta

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The top voice is constructed like the organum of an antiphon or responsory, no longer according to the 11th-century “note against note” conception¹⁴⁹: in fact the composer has applied a light flourishing on some notes, following the custom described by Johannes of Afflighem at the beginning of the 12th century¹⁴⁹, flourishes which end up outnumbering the notes in the tenor melody. This slight amplification of the organal melody was permitted in 12th-century discant, but only at the end, not during the course of the piece¹⁵⁰. The organum added to our two hymns seems to predate the developmental stage of Notre-Dame polyphony¹⁵¹ around 1160.

However, the Paris Mariale is not the only witness to the treatment of the Marian hymn in “polyphony”: we find the same piece in a manuscript of around 1300 in the British Library

Évreux until into the 13th century, whose monophonic manuscripts still contain dividing lines ... Thirteenth-century scribes have sometimes reproduced exactly the notations from the 12th century, even on a single line (Prosa de Virginibus): Machabey, *Problèmes*, 386. For the Évreux manuscript, see Lütolf, *Ordinarium Missae-Sätze*, 109.

¹⁴⁸ This correction was discussed during the Basel Colloquium on 11 August 1975, but the possibility of a third (unwritten) voice was rejected by the participants.

¹⁴⁹ “Animadvertere etiam debes, quod quamvis ego in simplicibus motibus simplex organum posuerim, cuilibet tamen organizanti simplices motus duplicare vel triplicare, vel quovis modo competenter conglobare si voluerit licet” [You must also note that although I have notated *organum simplex* in single-note movement, anyone singing organum is allowed to double or triple the single-note movements, or to lump them together in some way if he shall wish]. Johannes Afflighemensis, *De musica*, ch. 23 n. 23 (CSM 1, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 160). See the commentary by Huglo, *Auteur*, 14.

¹⁵⁰ “...si forte in fine clausulae in ultima aut in penultima dictionis sillaba, ut discantus pulchrior et facetior habeatur et ab auscultantibus libentius audiatur, aliquos organi modulos volueris admiscere licet facere...” [Should you perhaps wish to mingle some melodies of organum at the end of a phrase, on the last or penultimate syllable of the text, in order that the discant be more beautiful and more diverting, and be heard more willingly by the listeners, it is permitted to do so]. St Martial treatise, ed. Seay, 33.

¹⁵¹ The style of ornamentation seems closer to the style of Albert of Paris (conductus *Congaudeant*) than that of the Vatican Organum Treatise (ed. Zamminer), followed by three liturgical examples.

at London, originating from Lire in Normandy, and also in a fragment of a troper-sequentiary from Burgos, in 12th-century Aquitanian notation¹⁵². Comparison of the three versions is most informative, for it shows that very similar results can be independently produced when one proceeds from a given melody – the liturgical tenor – and follows analogous compositional principles, in which one can detect a large element of spontaneous improvisation, for example in the shifting of ornaments or the inversion of the motifs.

We have no comparative material for the study of the *rhythmus Vite lucina*. Let us only note, again, that the organal voice is slightly more ornamented than that in *discantus simplex*. All cadences take place on the fifth, but they are alternately exchanged at every verse ending:

G	d	G	d
d	G	d	G
...mise-ri	...supe-ri	...lucife-ri	...cele-ri

Naturally these exchanges are brought about by voice crossings, as if to underline the assonances of the poetic text in the musical arrangement.

After this brief comparison we should consider the question of authorship: judging from the difference in style between the two compositions, it seems that the two-part *Ave maris stella* was written before the compilation of the Marian collection, whereas *Vite lucina Maria*, whose style is simpler and looks more spontaneous, could easily be by the same singer who had composed the small Marian office.

But now that we mention it, what kind of liturgico-musical genre are we dealing with here? By all appearances these Marian Vespers were created for a princely chapter or perhaps even for a royal chapel dedicated to the Virgin. Which one? The old Palace chapel in the center of the Cité? The lower chapel of the Sainte Chapelle, dedicated to Our Lady, [was] consecrated, like the one above it where the relics of the Passion were kept, on 26 April 1248. Since worship at the Sainte Chapelle was focused on the holy relics of the Passion, it is quite possible that the Marian Vespers had fallen out of use at the time of the rebuilding of the Sainte Chapelle in 1241, something that could explain why the pieces of our *Mariale* were not copied again ...¹⁵³

This speculation is not dependent on facts but rather seeks to account for them, responding to objections as needed. The most obvious objection might be that the two-part *Ave maris stella* is not transmitted in the *Magnus liber organi*. However, this choirbook, or at

¹⁵² Lo 16975: Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 512/513 (with transcription); *Burgos SE*: ib., 238 (facsimile in Anglès, *Codex I*, 89). For the ultimate fate of this hymn in the polyphony of Southern France, see Haydon, *Ave maris stella*, 79–91.

¹⁵³ The office propers of the Sainte Chapelle in the Palace – the Holy Crown, the Holy Relics of the Passion etc. – were gathered and notated in a manuscript from 1250/1260 preserved in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. IV 472, mentioned in the inventory of the Trésor de la Sainte Chapelle in 1341: “unus liber de sancta Corona cum pluribus sanctis” [a book of the Holy Crown with many saints], ed. Vidier, *Trésor*, 228.

least the extracts that remain¹⁵⁴ did not encompass all the pieces sung by two voices, particularly hymns, but only the ones that were most richly ornamented with *organum purum*, especially the tripla and quadrupla composed in the final decades of the 12th century.

In any case, we could not a priori dismiss the “Parisian hypothesis” that our *Mariale* comes from a royal chapel at Paris or from a ducal chapel of Normandy¹⁵⁵. From the 12th century onwards, the principal churches in the kingdom of France sought to conform their liturgy and chant to Parisian uses: between 1093 and 1115, Lambert, bishop of Arras, consulted Gualon, canon of Paris, on a number of points concerning the choral office¹⁵⁶. Moreover, when the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, established in the early years of the 12th century, instituted its own liturgy, it took as its model that of Paris Cathedral¹⁵⁷. The melodic versions of the chants contained in manuscripts of Jerusalem or St Jean d’Acre that were later taken to Europe are identical to those of Parisian manuscripts from the 13th century¹⁵⁸. Unsurprisingly so, if one remembers that Anseau, who was canon of Notre Dame of Paris until 1096, and thereafter cantor of St Sépulchre at Jerusalem, had a relic of the cross brought to Notre Dame of Paris in 1120, which he entrusted to Bernard, cantor of Ste Geneviève¹⁵⁹. If the “saintes chapelles” in France and Italy, in the 13th century, obtained the privilege of imitating the usage of the Sainte Chapelle in the Palace, this is surely because of a tradition going back to before the time of Saint Louis.

Thus, from the 11th century all the way to the age of the *Ars nova*, we are able to observe, thanks to the testimony of sources within the liturgical and musical patrimony of the Church of Paris, a marvelous continuity in the thread of the Parisian musical tradition: the Notre Dame School of Paris in the 13th century, which radiated through all of Europe until the middle of the 14th century, reached its height only by a long and persistent process. At the end of our inquiry we may conclude, without exaggeration, that at Paris Cathedral in the 11th century, organum practice involved as much talent as at Chartres since the days of Fulbert and Sigon. The differences between the churches arise above all from differences in

¹⁵⁴ It is quite possible that beside the *Magnus liber organi* seen by Anonymous IV in *coro Beatae Virginis maioris ecclesiae Parisiensis* and of which we have excerpts in *W*₁, *W*₂ and *F*, one also disposed of a hymnal notated for two voices: in fact, the inventory of the books of the Sainte Chapelle of the Dukes of Savoy produced at the command of Duke Charles I, on 6 June 1483, mentions besides a *Magnus liber cantus organi* on paper (no. 221), another *Liber cantus motetorum seu antiphonariorum hymnorum in cujus principio est hymnus “Conditor alme syderum”*... [Books of songs of motets, or antiphoner of hymns, at whose beginning is the hymn *Conditor alme syderum*]: Edmunds, *Library*, 282.

¹⁵⁵ The resemblance with the manuscript of Lyre (*Lo* 16975) and with Évreux, as far as the notation, should not rule out the candidacy of Normandy among available hypotheses ...

¹⁵⁶ *Gualonis presbyteri ad Lambertum Atrebatensem episcopum: PL* 212, 694–695 (cf. Leroquais, *Sacramentaires* I, 275). Gualon was bishop of Paris from 1104 to 1116.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Buchtal, *Miniature*.

¹⁵⁸ The collation of variants among graduals has indicated that the gradual of Jerusalem (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 477: Buchtal, op. cit., 14, 140 and pl. 20–32) directly related to the group PAR(is): cf. *Le Graduel romain. Édition critique* IV, 243 (sigla “JER”).

¹⁵⁹ cf. Bautier, *Envoi*, 387–397.

the nature and number of written sources at our disposal: whereas Chartres and a number of churches of the Loire Valley have left us a small quantity of pieces in organum notated in neumes, whose purpose it was to enhance the celebration of the great feasts, Paris, by contrast, is marked by an almost total absence of neumed pieces. This absence cannot be explained except by the fact that vocal organum was improvised in the choir by *organistae*: it could be understood as resulting from the total disappearance of neumed sources that contained the monophonic repertory of the Mass and Office. Most fortunately, the musicologist can make do with the slender testimony from St Maur-des-Fossés, an abbey in the diocese of Paris that was in constant contact with St Maur-sur-Loire until the end of the 11th century: the gaps in our information can be filled at least with respect to some points. From there, these pieces which in some way form the “antecedents” of the *Magnus liber organi* of the 12th century (a liturgical book placed in the middle of the choir of Notre Dame) aggregated to establish the basis for the great polyphonic repertory of the cathedral church of Paris. Certainly, the style will change, organum will expand horizontally, will develop vertically through the addition of a third and even fourth voice, yet the basis, that is to say, the cycle of pieces dictated by a very strong liturgical tradition, shall remain identical until the end of the Middle Ages: this is reason enough to devote a study to the earliest Parisian organa.

APPENDIX

Thematic classification of the melodies of the Benedicamus Domino

The present catalogue of manuscripts and prints containing *Benedicamus Domino* melody is not exhaustive, any more than the thematic table – after it – which edits only some melodies that are considered important for the history of the *B. D.* in general and that are most useful for our attempt to decipher the neumes of the Antiphoner of St Maur-des-Fossés examined above. It would have been a pity to leave unpublished the documentation on which I depended in my research on the melodies of the *B. D.*: offered as is, this documentation should help, I hope, to pursue and move beyond my own inquiry.

The catalogue of the most easily accessible prints allowed us to gather a first group of melodies that are classified – within each mode – after their formal construction, from the simplest syllabic genre to the most ornate melismatic genre. But to what extent do these prints represent an old Medieval usage rather than only recent adaptations? Only, a consultation of the sources for the prints could answer this question: unfortunately, it was not possible to consult the preparatory tables for the Vatican Edition (1908 & 1912) and for the edition of the *Antiphonale monasticum* (1934), whence the absence of references for several *B. D.* melodies. We should therefore continue the inquiry by examining manuscripts containing series of *B. D.* notated with or without tropes: antiphoners, graduals, troper-prosaries, additions made to non-liturgical manuscripts etc. These manuscript carry a siglum after the systems proposed by W. Arlt in 1970, and then by R. Johnson in 1975.

The melodies in the prints have been classified in the thematic table. Each melody carries a reference number consisting of three figures: The first figure indicates the mode: 1 (D mode), 2 (E mode), etc. The next two numbers represent a ranking in terms of melodic formation, ranging from the simple syllabic genre to the most complex melismatic genre. The asterisk denotes melodies that have served as tenor in compositions for two or three voices.

I have omitted from the tables the numbered “summary” that indicated the number of notes carried by each syllable of the *B. D.*, a summary which allowed me to classify the melodies within each mode. Like so:

1	1	1	13	2	8	2	1	22
Be-	ne-	di-	ca-	mus	Do-	mi-	no	(alleluia)

This numbering allowed me to search in manuscript collections of *B. D.* the melodies that most closely approximated the two melodies for two voices, notated in campo aperto in the Antiphoner of St Maur. One could utilise a general ordering of the note counts to examine the problem of the progressive transfer of melismatic developments on accented syllables...

The ideal would have been, in order to follow the evolution of the genre, that the list of printed and manuscript witnesses could be indicated fully for every melody. But that would

have exceeded the goal which I set out for myself – an inquiry into the melodies of St Maur – and would have turned a simple appendix, already too sizeable, into a monograph on the *B. D.* I have therefore chosen not to edit several collections that were nevertheless very interesting: *Ma* 288, *Ma* 289, *Ma* 19421; *Man* 24; *Pa* 887; *Vic* 111. Finally, I have left aside the melodies that are the sole witness of a more or less strange texture, in *Car* 89, *Lo* 34200, *PaA* 153, *Vat* 7198, *VaR* 466; the *B. D.* melodies followed by several Alleluias; finally, *B. D.* melodies that serve as the tenor for two-part pieces but of which no trace can be found in *B. D.* collections, as for *Pa* 1121*, *VaR* 466*, *Vo* 39* etc.

Nevertheless, I hope that this collection, published at the friendly urging of W. Arlt, will fill, despite its gaps and imperfections, an significant void in the study of the historical sources for Medieval music.

a. Imprimés

ANT. MON. *Antiphonale monasticum*, Tornaci 1934

Les mélodies assignées aux différents degrés de fête sont les mêmes que dans l'*Antiphonale romanum*, édition vaticane 1912.

ANT. SEN. *Antiphonale ad ritum et consuetudinem Metropoleos ac Primatialis Senonensis ecclesiae*, Sens 1554

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Réserve des Imprimés, Vélins 205. — Au fol. II, une mélodie de *B. D.* (n^o 202).

GRAD. CEN. *Graduale Cenomanense politissimum ...*, Paris 1515

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Réserve des Imprimés, Rés. B 1477. — Avant le Commun des saints, au fol. B vj^{vo}, deux mélodies de *B. D.* (nn^o 202 & 118).

GRAD. ROM. *Graduale romanum*, édition vaticane 1907

La plupart des mélodies de *B. D.*, indiquées pour les messes qui ne comportent pas de *Gloria in excelsis*, reproduisent celles du *Kyrie eleyson* de la même messe.

MISS. BAY. Missel imprimé de Bayonne, Paris 1543, réédition facsimilé à Pau (1901)

fol. cxxxv, *Ite missa est* notés, classés suivant les huit tons grégoriens et cinq *B. D.*

MISS. ChD. Missel imprimé de La Chaise Dieu, Lyon 1527

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Réserve des Imprimés, Rés. B 28975.- Fol. 183', trois mélodies du *B. D.*

MISS. VERD. Missel de Verdun imprimé à Paris en 1554

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Rés. 1166 A². — Après le Canon de la messe, trois mélodies de *B. D.*

ORD. AMB. *Ordinaire de l'église cathédrale d'Amiens par Raoul de Rouvroy* (1291)

édité par G. Durand, Amiens 1934, d'après un manuscrit des Archives départementales de la Somme: trois mélodies de *B. D.* notées sans portée aux fol. 18' et 23' (= pl. 11 de l'édition).

ORD. BAIOC. *Ordinaire et coutumier de l'église cathédrale de Bayeux*

édité par Ul. Chevalier, Paris 1902 (*Bibliothèque liturgique* 8). — Les mélodies du *B. D.* sont notées dans le cours du texte et reproduites dans l'édition pp. 33, 42, 78, 80 n. a, 97, 140, 141. Les *B. D.* tropés sont relevés à la table finale.

PROC. OP *Processionarium juxta ritum Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Romae 1913, 399—401

La source des dix mélodies éditées dans ce processionnal se retrouve en partie dans les manuscrits *Bo 2866* et *RoSa* décrits plus loin.

b. Manuscripts

AOSTA, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, ms. 11 (9 E 17) AoS 11
Graduel-troaire-prosaire (XII+XIV^e s.), Sion (?). Fol. 64' etc. *B. D.* tropés et, fol. 68, *B. D.* à deux voix.

Harrison, *Benedicamus*, 35; Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 166; von Fischer, Lütolf, *RISM B iv 4*, 735; Amiet, *Repertorium II*, 48—54; Gallo, Vecchi, *Monumenti*, Tav. VII—IX.

AOSTA, ib., ms. 13 AoS 13

Prosaire-Kyriale (XVI^e s.), Roisan. *B. D.* tropés comme dans *AoS 11*.

Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 166; Amiet, *Repertorium II*, 55—57.

APT, Basilique Ste. Anne, Trésor, ms. 6 (1) Apt 6

Graduel (XIII^e s.), Apt (?). A la fin, *B. D.* tropé *Dulcis sapor novi mellis* à deux voix. Notation aquitaine.

Gastoué, *Chants*, 8; *Graduel II: Les sources*, 27; Arlt, *Peripherie*, 171ss, Taf. 4/5.

APT, ib., ms. 17 Apt 17

Troaire-prosaire (XII^e s.), Apt. A la fin, p. 356, série de douze *B. D.*, notation aquitaine.

Husmann, *RISM B v 1* (omet ce Ms.); Jonsson, *Corpus troporum*, 46.

- BENEVENT, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. VI 37 Ben 37
 Processionnal et Hymnaire (XII^e et XIII^e s.), Ste. Sophie de Bénévent. Fol. 8, en marge, écrit et noté dans le sens de la longueur, *B.D.* tropé *Ad honorem Mariae Virginis*, noté à deux voix. Notation normande sur lignes.
 Ziino, *Polifonia*, 1–14 et tav. h. t.
- BERLIN, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, ms. 554 Ber 554
 Psautier-hymnaire dominicain (XIV–XV^e s.), Venise. Page 275, *B.D.* à deux voix (teneur = n^o 301); *B.D.* tropé *Benedicamus in laude yesus qui sue 275' matri mariae benedixit in eternum...* Notation carrée noire et rouge, pour l'organum, sur la même portée.
 Boese, *Handschriften*, 271/272.
- BERLIN, Staatliche Bibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ber 40562
 Mus. ms. 40562
Cantorinus franciscain (XV^e s.) comportant parmi les *Toni communes* une série de *B.D.* Fol. 203'–207, *Salve Regina* à deux voix; fol. 207'/208, *B.D.* à trois voix.
 Halbig, *Salve Regina*, 57–59.
- BERLIN, Staatliche Bibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ber 40563
 Mus. ms. 40563
 Psautier-hymnaire dominicain (XIV^e s.), Italie du Nord. Fol. 189', *B.D.* à deux voix (teneur = n^o 301), avec même notation que dans *Ber* 554.
 Moberg, *Hymnen*, 168.
- BOLOGNE, Civico Museo bibliografico musicale, ms. Q 11 Bol 11
 Recueil de fragments notés. Fol. 8, 8', 22, 25 *B.D.* à deux voix et *B.D.* tropés.
 Gallo, Vecchi, *Monumenti*, Tav. XXVI–XXIX; Reaney, *RISM B iv* 1, 608.
- BOLOGNE, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1549 Bol 1549
 Graduel (XII–XIII^e s.), S. Domenico di Bologna. Fol. 199 [add. XV^e s. *B.D.* à deux voix (teneur = n^o 301)].
 Gallo, Vecchi, *Monumenti*, Tav. XXI.
- BOLOGNE, ib., 2866 (Fрати, Cat. 1542) Bol 2866
 Psautier-hymnaire (ann. 1515), dominicains de Bologne (prov. S. Salvatore 799). Fol. 294'–298, série de *B.D.*; fol. 297'/298 *B.D.* à deux voix, notation rouge et noire.
- BOLOGNE, ib., ms. 2931 (S. Salvatore 883) Bol 2931
 «*De cantu ecclesiastico*» avec tonaire (XV^e s.), Bologne. Fol. 19', 22, parmi les *toni communes* série de douze *B.D.*, notation carrée. Rubriques pour l'usage suivant le degré des fêtes. Fol. 27, Lamentations *Quomodo sedet sola* à deux voix (omis dans *RISM B iv* 4).
 Frati, *Codici*, 229, 241; Stäblein, *Lamentatio*, 141; Cattin, *Presbyter*, 29; Huglo, *Tonaires*, 367 n. 4.
- BRUXELLES, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 6068 (Catal. 444) Bru 6068
 Missel parisien (XIV^e s.). Sur le plat inférieur, addition du *B.D.* férial, noté sur 3 lignes noires (XV^e s.).

- BRUXELLES, *ib.*, ms. 9843—44 (Catal. 1325) Bru 9843
 Isidore de Séville, *Etymologiae* (XI^e s.), St. Bertin. Le bifolium initial comprend un calendrier inachevé de St. Bertin; en haut du fol. 1, additions dans les marges supérieures avec notation neumatique de St. Bertin: *Benedicamus jugiter regnanti de supernae ... gratias. — Eia pueri iubilo clangente tinnulo ... Domino.*
- BRUXELLES, *ib.*, ms. II 3823 (Fétis 1172) Bru 3823
 Graduel clunisien (XII^e s.), Souvigny, à usage de Sauxillanges. Fol. 181' trois *B. D.* effacés, lisibles sous éclairage ultra-violet.
Graduel II: Les sources, 38; Huglo, *Manuscripts*, 92—100; Cahn, *Bible*.
- BRUXELLES, *ib.*, ms. II 3832 (Fétis 1264) Bru 3832
 Offices de la Vierge notés (XV^e s.) suivant l'usage des Brigittines. Fol. 13, 115'—116', 120 (add.), *B. D.* tropés pour l'office de la Vierge.
 Les manuscrits II 3833 (F. 1265) et II 3834 (F. 1266), présentent le même usage, mais sont d'époque plus récente.
- BURGOS, Monasterio de las Huelgas, s.s. Bur (Hu)
 Recueil de pièces polyphoniques de l'École de St. Martial et de Notre Dame (c. 1325). Fol. 21ss *B. D.* à 2 et à 3 voix, tropés et non tropés.
 Anglès, *Codex I—III* (avec facs.); Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 210—237.
- CAMBRIDGE, University Library, ms. F f I 17 CaU 17
 Fragments contenant des *B. D.* tropés ou non, des conduits etc. notés à deux voix; style St. Martial.
 Schumann, *Liedersammlung*, 48—85; Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 486 nn^o 4, 9.
- CARCASSONNE, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 89 Car 89
 Missel (XIV^e s.), Carcassonne. Fol. 71', *B. D. de Corpore Christi*, adapté sur le *Kyrie de Angelis*.
 Leroquais, *Sacramentaires II*, 297; Mas, *Histoire II*, 151—153 (avec facs.).
- CHARTRES, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 78 Cha 78
 (détruit le 26 mai 1944)
 St. Augustin (X—XI^e s.), Chartres. Fol. 1 (additions contemporaines avec notation neumatique française de Chartres) trois *B. D.*; le troisième est surmonté de la mention *Flos filius*, référence à la mélodie du *neuma* final du *℞ Stirps Jesse*. Fol. 1' *Benedicamus iugiter* (s.n.).
PM XVII, 23 (et planche du Ms. 78)
- CHARTRES, *ib.*, ms. 95 (détruit le 26 mai 1944) Cha 95
 S. Hieronymi opera diversa (X^e s.), St. Père de Chartres. F de g. addition d'un *B. D.* avec notation neumatique française, effacée en partie.
PM XVII, 23 (et planche du Ms. 95).
- CIVIDALE, Museo archeologico, ms. LVI Civ 56
 Antiphonaire (XIV^e s.), Cividale del Friuli. Fol. 242'—252' *B. D.* tropés et pro-sules monodiques ou à deux voix (notation carrée: deux portées pour une ligne de texte). Fol. 242' *Ad cantum leticie* (2 vx.); fol. 243 *Puer natus in Betbleem* (monod.); fol. 243' *Tamquam Sponsus de thalamo* (monod.); fol. 244 *Missus ab arce veniebat* (2 vx.); *Quam etherea et* (244') *terra* (2 vx.); fol. 245 *Facturae*

- plasmator* (monod.); fol. 245' *Gaude chorus fidelium* (monod.); fol. 246 *Submersus iacet pharao* (2 vx.); fol. 247 *B.D. alleluia* (monod.); fol. 247' *Amor Patris et Filii* (2 vx.); fol. 250 *B.D. alleluia* (monod.); fol. 250' *Domus sal///s lybani* (monod.); fol. 251' (rubrique) *B.D. In assumptione glose. virginis mariae dicendum est istud Benedicam' ad vespas (252) O lylum convallium flos virginis ...* (2 vx.); fol. 252' *Ave gloriosa mater Salvatoris* (2 vx.)
Gallo, Vecchi, *Monumenti*, Tav. LV (= fol. 250), LVII (= fol. 252'); von Fischer, Lütolf, *RISM B iv 4*, 743–746.
- CIVIDALE, ib., ms. CII Civ 102
Processionnal de Cividale (XV–XVI^e s.). Fol. 42, *B.D. alleluia*.
Gallo, Vecchi, *Monumenti I*, Tav. LXV (= fol. 42); von Fischer, Lütolf, *RISM B iv 4*, 754.
- CLERMONT-FERRAND, Cl 73
Bibliothèque Municipale et Universitaire, ms. 73
Missel noté (XIV^e s.), St. Flour, selon l'usage de Clermont. Fol. 337/337' quatre mélodies du *B.D.* Notation carrée sur 4 lignes rouges.
Graduel II: Les sources, 44; Huglo, *Manuscrits*, 100–103; id., *Livre*, 306s.
- COMPOSTELLE (Santiago de Compostela), Com
Archivo de la Catedral, Liber Sancti Jacobi
Liber Calixtinus (XII^e s.), Santiago de Compostelle, d'après un modèle français: le *B.D.* à deux voix attribué à Droardus a pour tenor la mélodie du *B.D.* férial (n^o 202). Autres *B.D.* tropés.
Ed.: Wagner, *Gesänge*, 125; Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 241; Stäblein, *Rhythmen*, 3.
- DONAUESCHINGEN Don 882
Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, ms. 882
Tropaire-Prosaire-Processionnal dominicain (XIII–XIV^e s.), Brunnenhof près Möhringen (Schwarzwald). Fol. 223' ss., *B.D.* tropés à deux voix (notation carrée: deux portées pour une ligne de texte).
Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 63/64; Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 80/81.
- DOUAI, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 246 Dou 246
S. Hieronymi opera (XI^e s.), Anchin. La f. de g. contient une série de *B.D.* tropés très ancienne. Notation paléofranque.
Huglo, Hourlier, *Notation*, 216; Arlt, *Festoffizium I*, 167 (concordance des pièces).
- ENGELBERG, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 102 Eng 102
Directorium chori écrit sous l'Abbé Frowin (1142–1178), Engelberg. *B.D.* avec notation neumatique helvétique.
Bruckner, *Scriptoria VIII*, 126 et Taf. 30; Omlin, *Tonarbuchstaben*, 19, 144ss., 161; Huglo, *Tonaires*, 241/242.
- ENGELBERG, ib., ms. 314 Eng 314
Tropaire-Prosaire-Cantionale (ann. 1372). Fol. 121–135, *B.D.* tropés et non tropés, dont un à 2 voix (fol. 127), transcrit par J. Handschin.
Handschin, *Angelomontana Polyphonia*, 64; Labhardt, *Engelberg*, 1353ss; Husmann, *RISM B v 1* (omet le Ms.); Reaney, *RISM B iv 2*, 57.

- ERFURT, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek der Stadt, Erf 44
 Cod. Amplon. 8°44
 Théorie musicale, Tropes, Séquences (XIV^e s. 1/2), Hospitaliers de st. Jean de Jérusalem (d'Aix la Chapelle?). Fol. 14', *B.D.* tropé *Haec est mater Dni.*; fol. 38 *Benedicamus in laude Jesu* à 2 voix; fol. 48 *Procedentem sponsum de thalamo*.
 Notation carrée et gothique.
 Handschin, *Erfordensia* I, 97–110.
- FREIBURG i. Br., Stadtarchiv, ms. 118 Fre 118
 Processionnal dominicain (XV^e s.), Adelhausen. Fol. 50', *B.D.* tropés. Notation carrée dominicaine.
 Huglo, *Processionnaux*.
- FREIBURG i. Br., ib., ms. 122 (IX KHcβ 6) Fre 122
 Processionnal dominicain (XIV^e s.), Forêt noire. Fol. 170', *B.D.* tropés. Notation carrée dominicaine.
 Husmann, *RISM B v I*, 66; Huglo, *Processionnaux*.
- GENEVE, Bibliothèque publique universitaire, Gen 155
 ms. 155 (ol. 30^a)
 Processionnal dominicain (XIV^e s.), diocèse de Constance. Fol. 130' *B.D.* tropés à deux voix.
 Geering, *Organa*, 7; Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 34/35; Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 53; Allworth, *Processional*, 171, 182.
- GETHSEMANI (USA), Cistercian Abbey Get
 Antiphonaire cistercien (XII^e s.), Morimondo. A la fin, parmi les *toni communes*, *B.D.* férial.
 Huglo, *Tonaires*, 361
- GRAND SAINT BERNARD, Bibliothèque de l'Hospice, GSBb
 s. n° (Archiv Nr 2038)
 Processionnal-Tropaire (XV^e s. 2/2), Grand St. Bernard. Fol. 64–71, *B.D.* tropés, notation sur lignes.
 Stenzl, *Repertorium* I, 152 n° 66, 215, 296, Abb. 78.
- GRAZ, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 756 Gr 756
 Cationale (ann. 1345), Seckau. Fol. 218' *B.D.* tropés à deux voix (notation neumatique allemande épaisse), précédés d'un *B.D.* mélismatique *In summis festivitibus* (n° 117).
 Irtenkauf, *Cantatorium*, 116–141; Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 17.
- IVREA, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 71 (LXVIII) Iv 71
 Epistolier (XII^e s.), Ivree. Fol. 97', *B.D.* à deux voix.
 Schrade, *Fund*, 253; Professione, *Inventario*, 58; Grégoire, *Repertorium*, 513; Gallo, Vecchi, *Monumenti* I, Tav. XCIV (= fol. 97'/98); von Fischer, Lütolf, *RISM B iv 4*, 927.
- LAON, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 263 Lan 263
 Tropaire-prosaire-hymnaire (XII^e s.), cathédrale de Laon. Fol. 131, *B.D.* «quale volueris» (incipit noté!); fol. 141' *Tot B. quod novit quisque canatur (canamus?)*.
 Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 103–105; Arlt, *Festoffizium* I, 220ss etc.

- LIMOGES, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 2 (17) Lim 2
 Graduel (XIV^e s.) à l'usage d'Aliénor de Dreux-Bretagne, abbesse de Fontevrault.
 Fol. 298: *B. D.* tropés, en partie sans notation.
 Guibert, *Graduel*, 323–365 (analyse du contenu); Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 103; Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 270.
- LONDRES, British Library, ms. add. 15413 Lo 15413
 Bréviaire (XIV^e s. 1/2), Sion-en-Valais. Fol. 1: Trois *B. D.* notés (notation carrée en partie effacée, lisible aux rayons ultra-violet).
 Stenzl, *Repertorium I*, 82 n^o 32.
- LONDRES, ib., ms. add. 27630 Lo 27630
 Tropaire-Cantuale (XIV–XV^e s.), Indersdorf (?). Au fol. 65', *B. D.* à deux voix, notation carrée.
 Husmann, *Organum*, 76 (fac.); von Fischer-Lütolf, *RISM B iv 4*, 630 n^o 75.
- LONDRES, ib., ms. add. 34200 Lo 34200
 Traités de musique (XIV–XV^e s.), St. Maximin de Trèves. Le traité édité par Coussemaker (*CS III*, 461) contient une série de mélodies monodiques. Deux des mélodies successives semblent avoir formé un *B. D.* à deux voix (teneur au n^o 204).
- LONDRES, ib., ms. add. 36881 Lo 36881 (St. M-D)
 Tropaire (XIII^e s. in.), Sud de la France [Cuxa (?) suivant Anglès]. Série de *B. D.* tropés à deux voix, du style de St. Martial (ms. St. M-D).
 Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 519–521.
- LONDRES, ib., ms. Cotton Julius A VIII LoC 8
 La feuille de garde de ce manuscrit du XIV–XV^e s. contient une série de dix *B. D.* monodiques, tous terminés – sauf le *B. D.* ferial (n^o 202) – par un ou deux alleluia.
- LUCQUES, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, ms. 603 Luc 603
 Antiphonaire (XII^e s. in.), Pontetetto. Fol. 243, série de *B. D.* tropés (texte édité par M. Gushee); fol. 256 *B. D.* tropé à 2 voix (transcrit par R. Baralli).
 Baralli, *Frammento*, 5–10; Gushee, *Polyphony*, 225–226; Gallo, Vecchi, *Monumenti I*, Tav. XCVII (= fol. 256); Arlt, *Festoffizium I*, 205; Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 792; Ziino, *Polifonia*, 27.
- LYON, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 509 (427) Ly 509
 Antiphonaire cartusien (XIV^e s.), chartreuse de Ste. Croix-en-Jarez (anc. dioc. de Lyon). Fol. 238' parmi les tons usuels, 2 *B. D.*: le ton ferial (n^o 202) et le ton pascal (n^o 401).
- MADRID, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 288 Ma 288
 Tropaire-prosaire (XII^e s.), Syracuse. Fol. 163' série de *B. D.* tropés et non tropés.
 Anglès, Subira, *Catalogo I*, 36–53, n^o 20; Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 87; Arlt, *Festoffizium*.
- MADRID, ib., ms. 289 Ma 289
 Tropaire-prosaire (XII^e s.), Syracuse. Fol. 126', série de *B. D.* tropés et non tropés.
 Anglès, Subira, *Catalogo I*, 18–36, n^o 19; Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 88; Arlt, *Festoffizium I*, 78.

- MADRID, ib., ms. 740 Ma 740
Semaine sainte (XVI^e s.). Fol. 52, série de *B.D.* monodiques, suivie de 3 *B.D.* tropés.
Anglès, Subira, *Catalogo* 1, 133/134, n^o 62.
- MADRID, ib., ms. 931 Ma 931
Missel (XV^e s.). Fol. 188' etc.: trois *B.D.* tropés (les mêmes que dans le ms. 740).
Anglès, Subira, *Catalogo* 1, 117, n^o 46.
- MADRID, ib., 19421 Ma 19421
Tropaire-prosaire (XII–XIII^e s.), Catane. Fol. 106, série de *B.D.* tropés et non tropés; fol. 116; *B.D.* à deux voix.
Anglès, Subira, *Catalogo* 1, 66–86, n^o 24, facs. XIV (= fol. 116); Husmann, *RISM* B iv 1, 243.
- MANCHESTER, John Rylands Library, ms. 24 Man 24
Missel noté (XIII^e s.), Exeter. Fol. 14 série de 28 *B.D.* classés suivant le degré des fêtes liturgiques. Le modèle musical du *neuma* est indiqué en rouge: par exemple pour le quatrième *B.D.* le mot *praeconia* nous réfère au *℞ Candida virginitas*, etc.; pour le cinquième *B.D.*, dit de Pierre le Vénérable (n^o 117), la référence à *flos filius* du *℞ Stirps Jesse* est indiquée. La série se termine par les *B.D.* ordinaires et ceux du Temps pascal, avec alleluia.
Harrison, *Music*, pl. VII; id., *Benedicamus*, 38.
- MILAN, Archivio Capitolare della Basilica di S. Ambrogio, Mil 24
ms. M 24
Antiphonaire ambrosien (ann. 1369). Fol. 36' *B.D.* dit de Pierre le Vénérable (n^o 117), en notation carrée et non en notation rhomboïdale milanaise. La même addition se retrouve dans les antiphonaires de Muggiasca (ann. 1387) et dans l'antiphonaire de St. Ambroise, daté de 1399, toujours en notation carrée.
Huglo, *Fonti*, 73.
- MILAN, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. M 17 supra Mil 17
Recueil de théoriciens (XII^e s.), Laon. Fol. 56' *B.D.* à deux voix cité comme exemple dans un traité d'organum; la teneur est empruntée au *B.D.* dit de Pierre le Vénérable (n^o 117). Notation alphabétique.
Reaney, *RISM* B iv 1, 792; Fischer, *RISM* B iii 1, 59; Eggebrecht, Zaminer, *Organum*, 37, 45, 50.
- MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 560 Mü 560
Opera astrologica, Hermannus Contractus etc. Fol. 87', additions de *B.D.* tropés (*In festo Nicholai ... Benedicamus flori orto etc.*). Notation neumatique allemande, XIII^e siècle.
- NAPLES, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. VI F 26 Na 26
Tropaire-prosaire-processionnal dominicain (XIV^e s.). Fol. 120' série de *B.D.*
Arnese, *Catalogo*, 116 n^o 18; Husmann, *RISM* B v 1, 174.
- OXFORD, Bodleian Library, ms. Bodley 218 (2054) Ox 218
Bède (ca. ann. 820), Tours (?). Fol. 166' *Ite missa est* tropé et incipit neumé de *B.D.* *℞ Virgineo honore* (ste. Scholastique) et deuxième *Ite missa est*. Notation neumatique anglaise de Winchester.
Madan etc., *Summary catalogue* 1, 186; van Dijk, *Handlist*, 153; cf. Holschneider, *Organa*, 82ss (concernant la notation).

- OXFORD, ib., ms. Junius 121 (5232) Ox 121
 Conciles, Pénitentiel etc. (X^e s.), Winchester. Fol. 1 («late XI Century») *B.D.*
 tropé *Benedicamus vos regnanti desuper*. Notation neumatique anglaise de
 Winchester.
 Madan etc., *Summary catalogue* II, 989/990; cf. Holschneider, loc. cit.
- OXFORD, Jesus College, ms. 10 OxJ 10
 Antiphonaire (XII^e s.), Gloucester. Fol. 189'/190 addition au XV^e siècle (?)
 d'une série de huit *B.D.* Notation anglaise sur lignes. Communication de Miss
 S. Rankin (Cambridge).
- PARIS, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, ms. 110 PaA 110
 Graduel parisien (XIV^e s.). Fol. 271, col. B, à la fin du Kyriale, six *Ite missa est*
 et les trois *B.D.* usuels de Paris (nn^o 118, 202, 404).
 Bernard, *Répertoire*, 46ss.
- PARIS, ib., ms. 114 PaA 114
 Ordinaire avec Hymnaire et Kyriale (ann. 1471), Ste. Chapelle de Paris. Fol. 258
Cantus de Ita missa est et qualiter variantur per totum annum in prefata sacra
capella: les *Ite* sont suivis des trois tons parisiens du *B.D.* et du *Requiescant in*
pace pour les défunts.
 Brenet, *Musiciens*, 208ss, Bernard, *Répertoire*, 63/64.
- PARIS, ib., ms. 132 PaA 132
 Rituel (XII^e s.), Porquerolles. Fol. 69' et dernier *Benedicamus corde Domino*
laudes ... et trois *B.D.* non tropés. Notation à points superposés.
 Bernard, *Répertoire*, 26 et pl. III (= fol. 69').
- PARIS, ib., ms. 153 PaA 153
 Bréviaire noté (XIII^e s.), Meaux. Fol. 33' *✠ Descendit* avec tropes, noté. Fol.
 283' (addition, XIV^e s.), deux *B.D.* très développés, notamment sur la syllabe
 initiale *Be-*. Une troisième addition, sans texte, pourrait peut-être être envisagée
 comme deuxième partie d'un des deux *B.D.* précédents (?).
 Bernard, *Répertoire*, 49.
- PARIS, ib., ms. 160 PaA 160
 Missel en partie noté (XV^e s.), Utrecht, à usage de Leyde. Fol. 152' Kyriale
 avec *B.D.* notés: notation rhénane.
 Leroquais, *Sacramentaires* III, 250; Bernard, *Répertoire*, 27 et pl. XVIII.
- PARIS, ib., ms. 279 PaA 279
 Bréviaire noté (XIII^e s.), Bayeux, à l'usage de la collégiale du St. Sépulcre de
 Caen. Les *B.D.* tropés ou non sont répartis tout au long du Ms.: fol. 88' *Bene-*
dicamus flori orto ... (Noël); fol. 202 *B.D. alleluia, alleluia* (n^o 303); fol. 203
 Sequens *Benedicamus* cantatura a quattuor duo primi et alii duo. Et sic alter-
 natim: *Deus vita viventium. Resurrexit. Psallat chorus credentium. Resurrexit*
Dominus. Quatrième et dernière strophe: *Qui vivit sine termino. Resurrexit.*
B.D.; fol. 205 *Exultemus et letemur hodie* ...; fol. 240 *Amor Patris et Filii* ...
 A la strophe finale *B.D.* (n^o 103); fol. 335', St. Nicolas: *B.D.* (n^o 412).
 Leroquais, *Bréviaires* II, 334; Bernard, *Répertoire*, 54.

- PARIS, ib., ms. 666 PaA 666
Vita et office complet de St. Martial (XIV^e s.). Fol. 29' Benedicamus Martiali sanctissimo | Jesu Christi discipulo.... (cf. Pa 903).
 Bernard, *Répertoire*, 89.
- PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, ms. 887 Pa 887
 Tropaire-prosaire (XI^e s.), Aurillac. Fol. 6, 45', 155', séries de *B. D.* tropés et non tropés, en partie de seconde main. Notation aquitaine.
Catalogue général des manuscrits latins I, 314; Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 117; Arlt, *Festoffizium I*, 163–165.
- PARIS, ib., ms. 903 Pa 903
 Graduel-tropaire-prosaire (XI^e s.), St. Yrieix. *B. D.* tropés. Notation aquitaine.
Catalogue général des manuscrits latins I, 320; *PM 13* (fac. du seul Graduel).
- PARIS, ib., ms. 904 Pa 904
 Graduel (XIII^e s.), Rouen. *B. D.* tropés. Notation carrée.
Catalogue général des manuscrits latins I, 321; Pothier, Loriguet, Colette, *Graduel* (facsimilé du graduel).
- PARIS, ib., ms. 1087 Pa 1087
 Graduel suivi d'un tropaire-prosaire partiel (XI^e s.), Cluny. Fol. 116' *B. D.* tropés: *Stella regalis oritur* (*RH* 19462); *Letetur orbis hodie*; *Praecelso regi tinnulo* (*RH* 15220). Notation neumatique clunisienne.
Catalogue général des manuscrits latins I, 394; Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 123.
- PARIS, ib., ms. 1112 Pa 1112
 Missel noté (ca. ann. 1225), Paris. Fol. 308', col. B, à la fin du Kyriale après les sept *Ite missa est*, un *B. D.* férial (n^o 202).
 Leroquais, *Sacramentaires II*, 47 n^o 234.
- PARIS, ib., ms. 1120 Pa 1120
 Tropaire-prosaire (XI^e s.), St. Martial. Fol. 105 *B. D.* monodique et, en bas de page, *B. D.* à deux voix (transcription Stäblein). Notation aquitaine.
Catalogue général des manuscrits latins I, 409; Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 128; Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 401; Stäblein, *Rhythmien*, 349.
- PARIS, ib., ms. 1139 (St. Martial 100, ol. cxxiv) Pa 1139 (St. M-A)
 Tropaire-prosaire (XII^e s. 1/2), St. Martial. Série de *B. D.* tropés et non tropés (fol. 62'). Notation aquitaine (pièces à deux voix).
Catalogue général des manuscrits latins I, 415; de Poerck, *Manuscrit*, 298–312 (*Scriptorium*); id., *Manuscrit*, 219–236 (*Travaux de linguistique*); Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 402; Treitler, *Reperitory*; Fuller, *Polyphony*; Arlt, *Festoffizium I*, 191/192 (concordance).
- PARIS, ib., ms. 1248 (St. Martial 74) Pa 1248
 Ordines romani etc. (X^e s.), St. Martial. Fol. 72' *Ite laudantes Deum. ...Benedicamus Deo vero et Mariae Virginis filio Domino. Deo psallamus ac in aula omnigens///et lingua mari/// gracias* (X–XI^e s.). Notation aquitaine adiastrématique.
Catalogue général des manuscrits latins I, 462; Andrieu, *Ordines I*, 265–269; Molin, *Manuscrits*, 124ss; de Clercq, *Prière*, 169ss.

- PARIS, ib., ms. 1534 Pa 1534
 Recueil des conciles (X^e s.), Carcassonne. Fol. 115' (XI^e s.), trois *B.D.* tropé (*Benedicamus Ingenito ipsiusque Unigenito ...*) et non tropés. Notation aquitaine. Texte et notation en partie effacés, mais lisibles sous éclairage aux rayons ultra-violet.
- Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* II, 57; Mas, *Histoire* II, 66–68 et pl. 22.
- PARIS, ib., ms. 2036 (St. Martial 126, ol. XLVII) Pa 2036
 Manuscrit patristique de St. Martial de Limoges (IX^e s.), comportant en marge une table d'antiphonaire de l'Avent, sans notation, ajoutée au X^e s. (ordre des pièces non clunisien, semblable à celui de la table du ms. Pa 1085). Parmi les additions notées, on relève au fol. 87' *Benedicamus et almi(s) potens cunctas catervas ...* avec notation à points superposés aquitaine (X–XI^e s.), adiastrématique.
- Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* II, 289.
- PARIS, ib., 3549 (St. Martial 174, ol. CLXV) Pa 3549 (St. M-B)
 Recueil de 14 manuscrits reliés ensemble (XII–XIII^e s.), St. Martial. Dans le quatorzième, fol. 149, *B.D.* tropés, conduits et *B.D.* non tropés, notés à deux voix. Notation polyphonique aquitaine.
- Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* VI, 52–69; Reaney, *RISM* B iv 1, 404; Treitler, op. cit.; Fuller, op. cit. (cf. Pa 1139).
- PARIS, ib., ms. 3719 Pa 3719 (St. M-C)
 (St. Martial 88, ol. LXXXVIII & CXLVII)
 Recueil de 8 manuscrits ou fragments reliés ensemble (XII–XIII^e s.), St. Martial. Fol. 16, 46, 70 conduits, motets et *B.D.* tropés ou non tropés, notés à deux voix. Notation polyphonique aquitaine [fol. 15'; 17' et 18' (voix organale) notation française sur lignes].
- Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* VI, 578–589; Reaney, *RISM* B iv 1, 406; Treitler, op. cit.; Fuller, op. cit. (cf. Pa 1139).
- PARIS, ib., ms. 12584 Pa 12584
 Graduel-antiphonaire (XI^e s.), St. Maur-des-Fossés. Fol. 306 (ff. addit.) trois *B.D.*, les deux premiers à deux voix. Notation neumatique française. Voir ci-dessus, pp. 117ss, analyse de ces pièces et essai de transcription.
- PARIS, ib., ms. 13762 (St. Germ. 269, ol. 1039) Pa 13762
Vita sci. Viventii; Smaragde, *Diadema monachorum*; Recettes médicales (X^e s.), St. Vivant-sous-Vergy ou St. Germain-des-Près. Au fol. 147', *B.D.* ajouté dans la marge supérieure, à deux voix. Notation alphabétique de St. Bénigne de Dijon (transcription ci-dessus, p. 122).
- Catalogus codicum bagigraphicorum* III, 200; Wickersheimer, *Manuscrits*, 127; cf. Bulst, *Untersuchungen*, 53ss, 70ss.
- PARIS, ib., ms. 15129 Pa 15129
Ars discantandi, Summa de virtutibus, Sermon ... (XIII & XIV^e s.), St. Victor (?). Fol. 8, *B.D.* à trois voix.
- Handschin, *Polyphones*, 60–76; Smits van Wacsberghe, *RISM* B iii 1, 121; Reaney, *RISM* B iv 1, 418/419.

- ROME, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 1574 RoC 1574
 Missel-bréviaire (XIII^e s.), Gaëta. Fol. 38, addition du XIII^e s., *B.D.* (n^o 117).
Graduel II: Les sources, 121.
- ROME, Convento Sta. Sabina, Archives des FF. Prêcheurs RoSa
 ms. XIV lit. 1
 Recueil in-folio des quatorze livres liturgiques dominicains (ann. 1254), Paris, couvent St. Jacques. Les *B.D.* ne sont pas groupés en série comme dans le PROC. O P., mais éparpillés parmi les divers livres du recueil: *B.D. alleluia* dans le *Modus psallendi* (fol. 66), comme *PaR* 1531; le *B.D.* pour les fêtes d'Apôtres (n^o 118) se trouve au *Pulpitarium* ou livre des intonations; de même pour le *B.D. ferial* (n^o 202).
 Huglo, *Règlement*, 121–133; id., *Tonaires*, 368; *CIPOL. Microfiches* n^o 167.
- ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. lat. 129 Vat 129
 Evangile selon st. Marc avec gloses (XII^e s.). Fol. 6, *Benedicamus domino quem chorus angelorum ...*
 Bannister, *Monumenti*, 188 n^o 883 Tav. 130a; Salmon, *Manuscripts* V, n^o 80; von Fischer, Lütolf, *RISM B iv* 4, 1018.
- ROME, ib., ms. 1341 Vat 1341
 Recueil de canons (X^e s.), Autun. Fol. 189, *Benedicamus regnanti Domino* (addition, vers 1100), notation aquitaine (?)
 Bannister, *Monumenti*, 75 n^o 221.
- ROME, ib., ms. 4749 Vat 4749
 Antiphonaire monastique (vers 1300), moniales italiennes. Fol. 15' *B.D.* à trois voix; fol. 112' deux *B.D.* dont un a été gratté.
 Bannister, *Monumenti*, 142 n^o 427, 189 n^o 838; Salmon, *Manuscripts* I, n^o 132; Reaney, *RISM B iv* 2, 305.
- ROME, ib., 7198 Vat 7198
 Imprimé de 1496. Fol. 116 (garde finale), deux *B.D.* notés, notes carrée sur 4 lignes noires: mélodies singulières.
 Bannister, *Monumenti*, 183 n^o 692.
- ROME, ib., Archivio S. Pietro, ms. F 13 VaSP 13
 Sacramentaire (XII–XIII^e s.), Anagni. Fol. 8 cinq mélodies de *B.D.* ajoutées, notation dite «de transition» (cf. *PM* XV, 96 nn^o 269–276), mais transcrite cursivement, toutes notes liées.
 Salmon, *Manuscripts* II, n^o 5.
- ROME, ib., ms. Ottob. lat. 221 VaO 221
 Missel des ermites de st. Augustin (ann. 1506), Naples. Fol. 106 série de sept *B.D.* classés suivant les degrés des fêtes.
 Bannister, *Monumenti*, 181 n^o 646, Tav. 128; Salmon, *Manuscripts* II, n^o 297, III, n^o 182.
- ROME, ib., ms. Palat. lat. 242 VaP 242
 Manuscrit allemand (X–XIII^e s.). Fol. 74 ant. *Gaude Dei Genitrix ... Alma Redemptoris ...* fol. 74' *B.D.* notation neumatique allemande.
 Bannister, *Monumenti*, 24 n^o 84.

- ROME, *ib.*, ms. Palat. lat. 488 VaP 488
 Rituel (XIV^e s.), Mayence. Fol. 69' (*B.D.*) *Procedentem sponsum de thalamo* noté à deux voix (comme dans *Pra VI G 10* et *VII G 16*): seul le premier vers est noté, la portée des vers suivants n'a pas été remplie. Notation gothique allemande sur 5 lignes.
 Bannister, *Monumenti*, 169 n° 567; Salmon, *Manuscripts* II n° 313, III n° 198, V n° 57; manuscrit omis dans *RISM B iv 1-4*.
- ROME, *ib.*, ms. Palat. lat. 501 VaP 501
 Missel selon le rite de Sarum (ann. 1383-1410). Fol. 131', dans le *Kyriale*, série de sept *B.D.* Notation anglaise (Sarum) sur lignes.
 Bannister, *Monumenti*, 159 n° 528, Tav. 102 (= fol. 131'); Salmon, *Manuscripts* II n° 316, III n° 203.
- ROME, *ib.*, ms. Reg. lat. 466 VaR 466
 Lectionnaire (X-XII^e s.), St. Thierry de Reims. Fol. 165, ca. 1200, *B.D.* à deux voix, notation lorraine sur 5 lignes noires: mélodie de la teneur singulière.
 Bannister, *Monumenti*, 102 n° 276, 165 n° 551; Salmon, *Manuscripts* I n° 645; Reaney, *RISM B iv 2*, 419 (d'après Bannister).
- ROME, *ib.*, ms. Reg. lat. 577 VaR 577
 Opuscules d'Odorannus de Sens (XI-XII^e s.), St. Pierre-le-Vif (Sens). Fol. 100 *B.D.* en notation à points superposés.
 Bannister, *Monumenti*, 44 n° 152, 163 n° 545; Salmon, *Manuscripts* I n° 647; Bautier, Duchez, Huglo, *Odorannus*, 31; Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung*, 129, Taf. 62 (= fol. 100).
- ROME, *ib.*, ms. Reg. lat. 1809 VaR 1809
 Traités de médecine (XII-XIII^e s.). Fol. 165' (*Benedicamus*) *Stirps Jesse florigera germinavit virgula virgo parit filium Regem Christum Dominum*, suivi d'un *B.D.* noté sans lignes (n° 107). Notation française, points liés sur portée tracée à la pointe sèche.
 Bannister, *Monumenti*, 150 n° 493.
- ROUEN, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. U 135 (Catal. 1936) Rou 135
Vitae sanctorum (XI^e s.), Jumièges. Fol. 82' *B.D.* (n° 207) ajouté en haut d'une page blanche. Notation alphabétique.
 Hesbert, *Manuscripts*, 49 et pl. LXXV.
- ST. VICTOR sur RHINS (Loire), Paroisse, ms. s.s SVic
 Bréviaire clunisien noté (XIV^e s. in.), prieuré clunisien de St. Victor. Fol. 204' huit *B.D.* ajoutés de deuxième main, mais non notés; fol. 546' (addition de deuxième main), *B.D.* dit de Pierre le Vénéral (n° 117) et *B.D.* n° 112.
 Dechelette, *Roannais*, 138-144; Guerrier, *Note*, 308-312; Charvin, *Status* III, 189.
- SENS, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 46 Sen 46
 Cantatorium contenant l'Office de la «Fête des fous» attribué à Pierre de Corbeil (XIII^e s.), cathédrale de Sens. Huit *B.D.* tropés, notation française sur lignes.
 Villetard, *Office*, 137 etc. (voir table, 235); Artl, *Festoffizium* II, 287 (Register).
- SIENA, Archivio di Stato, Fondo notarile, ms. 2747 Sie 2747
 Fragment de traité de musique (XIII^e s.), région de Sienna. Parmi les *toni communes*, deux *B.D.* (Photographies communiquées par le Professeur Agostino Ziino, Roma).

- STUTT GART, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stu 95
 ms. HB I Asc. 95
 Trotaire-prosaire (XIII^e s.), Weingarten. Fol. 48 *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium* (mélodie dans *Lan* 263, fol. 122); fol. 43' *B. D.* tropés; fol. 70 *B. D.* et conduits. Notation neumatique allemande tardive.
 Spanke, *Handschrift*, 79–81; Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 81/82; Reaney, *RISM B iv 1*, 97.
- TURIN, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. F I 4 Tur 4
 Antiphonaire (XIV^e s. mil.), Bobbio. Fol. 329, à la fin de la partie principale du manuscrit, *B. D.* à deux voix.
 Gallo, Vecchi, *Monumenti I*, Tav. CXXV (= fol. 329); von Fischer, Lütolf, *RISM B iv 4*, 1041; Hesbert, *Corpus V*, 17 n^o 873.
- VERDUN, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 759 Verd 759
 Missel de St. Vanne (XIII^e s. 1/2), St. Vanne de Verdun. A la fin du Canon de la Messe, ajouté au XVI^e siècle, intonations du célébrant et quatre *B. D.* (fol. 140/141'), notation carrée sur quatre lignes noires.
 Leroquais, *Bréviaires IV*, 440 n^o 1045; *Graduel II: Les Sources*, 150.
- VENEZIA, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. ital. IX 145 Ven 145
 Facs. d'un *B. D.* dans Gallo, Vecchi, *Monumenti I*, Tav. CXXXVIII–CXXXIX.
- VERONA, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. DCXC Ver 590
 Hymnaire et antiphonaire sanctoral (XV–XVI^e s.). Fol. 41, 51–53, série de *B. D.* à deux ou à trois voix, tropés ou non.
 Gallo, Vecchi, *Monumenti I*, Tav. CXLIV–CXLV; von Fischer, Lütolf, *RISM B iv 4*, 1108–1110 nn^o 1–7.
- VICH, Museo Episcopale, ms. XXXI (106) Vi 31
 Trotaire-prosaire (XII–XIII^e s.), Vich (et non Ripoll). Fol. 102 série de *B. D.* non tropés. Notation aquitaine.
 Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 96; Jonsson, *Corpus troporum*, 49.
- VICH, ib., ms. CXI (105) Vi 111
 Trotaire-prosaire (XII^e s. 2/2); Vich. Fol. 77' série de *B. D.* non tropés. Notation catalane. Fol. ult. *Exultemus et laetemur bodie* (= *B. D.* tropé pour le temps pascal).
 AH 21, 29; Blume, *Epistola*, 410 (mélodie); Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 97; Arlt, *Festoffizium I*, 179 (concordance pour *Exultemus*).
- VOLTERRA, Museo etrusco (Coll. Guarnacci L III 39) Vo 39
 Trotaire-prosaire (XI^e s.), Italie centrale. Fol. 2 (addition), *B. D.* à deux voix. Notation diastématique sans lignes.
 Husmann, *RISM B v 1*, 187/188; Strohm, *Zeugnis*, 239–249 – cf. 240, fig. 1 et 244, fig. 2; Gallo, Vecchi, *Monumenti*, Tav. CXLVIII; Reaney, *RISM B iv 2*, 420.
- WASHINGTON, Library of Congress, ms. ML 171 J 6 (= 167) Wa 171
 Traités d'astronomie et de musique (XV^e s.). Fol. 121' parmi plusieurs pièces notées trois *B. D.* à deux voix.
 Smits van Waesberghe, *Micrologus*, 68–71; Gallo, Vecchi, *Monumenti I*, Tav. CLI (= fol. 121'/122); von Fischer, Lütolf, *RISM B iv 4*, 1174/1175 nn^o 5–7.

D PROTUS

c. Les mélodies

101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118

al-le-lu-ja, al-le-lu-ja

Be - ne - di - cá - mus dó - mi - no.

Detailed description: This is a musical score for a section titled 'D PROTUS' and 'c. Les mélodies'. It consists of 18 staves, numbered 101 to 118. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music is written in a rhythmic style with various note values, including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, often grouped with beams and slurs. Measure 104 contains the lyrics 'al-le-lu-ja, al-le-lu-ja'. Measure 118 contains the lyrics 'Be - ne - di - cá - mus dó - mi - no.' The score is presented in a clean, black-and-white format.

E DEUTERUS

201 

202 

203 

204 

205 

206  al - le - lu - ja.

207 

208  Be - ne - di - cá - mus dó - mi - no.

F TRITUS

301 

302 

303  al - le - lú - ja, al - le - lú - ja.

304  Be - ne - di - cá - mus dó - mi - no.

G TETRARDUS

401 *al-le-lú-ja, al-le-lú-ja.*

402

403

404

405

406

407

408

409

410

411

412

413

414 *Be-ne-di-cá-mus dó-mi-no, al-le-lú-ja, al-le-lú-ja, al-le-lú-ja.*

d. Sources des mélodies éditées

D Protus

- 101 — PROC OP.
102 — *Apt* 18.
103 — *PaA* 279.
104 — *Apt* 18.
105 — ANT MON.
106 — ANT MON.; *Bo* 2931; *PaR* 1750.
107 — *PaA* 160; *VaO* 221; *VaR* 1809; *Verd* 759 (cf. MISS VERD., *transpos.*)
108* — *Ma* 19421
109 — GRAD ROM. (IV); *Lo* 34200; *Pa* 1139; *PaR* 1750; *VaO* 221; *Vic* 111.
110 — ANT MON. (cf. *la mélodie 107, sur «Domino»*).
111 — *Bru* 3823; *Pa* 1139.
112 — *SVic*.
113 — ANT MON.; *Ma* 288.
114 — ANT MON.; GRAD ROM. (XI); PROC OP. (*variantes*); *Bo* 2931; *Lo* 34200; *PaR* 1750; *VaO* 221.
115 — ANT MON.; GRAD ROM. (IX), *variantes*.
116 — ANT MON.; *Apt* 18; *Cle* 73; *Ma* 19421; *Pa* 887; *Pa* 1139; *Pa* 17716 («*In capis*»); *Vic* 31 (+ *alleluia*).
117* — ANT MON.; PROC OP.; *Be* 40563; *Bo* 2931; *Bru* 3823; *Cha* 78; *Lo* 15413; *LoC* 8 (+ *alleluia*); *Ma* 288; *Ma* 289; *Ma* 19421; *Man* 24; *Mil* 17; *Mil* 24; *PaA* 160; *Pa* 1534; *Pa* 1139*; *Pa* 3549*; *Pa* 3719*; *Pa* 12584 (*voir ci-dessus, p. 118ss*); *Pes* 1336; *RoC* 1574; *Sie* 2747; *SVic*; *VaO* 221; *Verd* 759.
118 — ANT MON. (*variantes*); GRAD CEN. [MISS ChD. (*variantes*)]; PROC OP.; *Bru* 3823; *Man* 24; *PaA* 110; *PaR* 1750; *Pes* 1336; *RoSa*; *VaP* 501.

E Deuterus

- 201 — *Cle* 73 (cf. 202).
202* — [«*Ton férial*»: cf. ci-dessus, p. 117]; ANT SEN.; GRAD CEN.; MISS BAY.; MISS ChD; MISS VERD.; ORD AMB.; ORD BAIOC.; PROC OP.; *Be* 40563; *Bo* 2931; *Bru* 3823; *Cle* 73; *Compostela**; *Get*; *PaN* 1412; *RoSa*; *LoC* 8; *Ly* 509; *Man* 24; *PaA* 110; *PaA* 160; *Pa* 1112; *Pa* 17716; *VaP* 501; *Verd* 759.
203 — ANT MON.
204* — *Lo* 34200* (*variante de 201*).
205 — ANT MON.; *Lo* 34200 (*variante*).
206 — [= *Mélodie 205 + alleluia*] PROC OP.; *Be* 40563; *Man* 24.
207 — *Rou* 135.
208 — ANT MON.

F *Tritus*

- 301* — GRAD ROM. (II); PROC OP.; AoS 11; *Ber* 554*; *Ber* 40563*; *Ber* 40592*; *Bo* 1549*; *Bo* 2886*; *Bo* 2931; *Pes* 1336; *VaO* 221.
302 — *Lo* 34200; *LoC* 8 (+ *alleluia*); *PaR* 1750.
303 — [cf. ANT MON.: *Tonus Responsorii brevis Tempore paschali*]; ORD BAIOC. (p. 140); *Ma* 289.
304 — *PaR* 1750.

G *Tetrardus*

- 401 — MISS BAY.; MISS ChD.; PROC OP.; *Be* 40563; *Bo* 2931; *Lo* 34200; *LoC* 8; *Ly* 509; *Ma* 289; *Man* 24; *Pa* 887; *PaR* 1750.
402 — ANT MON.
403 — PROC OP.; *PaA* 110; *Pa* 17716 («*in albis*»)
404 — ANT MON.; ORD AMB.; *PaA* 110; *PaA* 114.
405 — ORD BAIOC. (p. 79).
406 — ORD BAIOC. (p. 78).
407 — ORD BAIOC. (p. 80).
408 — ANT MON.
409 — ANT MON.
410 — ANT MON.
411* — ANT MON.; *Pa* 13762*; *PaR* 1750.
412 — ANT MON.; PROC OP. (*transp. variantes*); *Be* 40563; *Bo* 2931; *Lo* 15413; *LoC* 8; *PaA* 160; *PaA* 279; *PaR* 1750; *Sie* 2747; *Verd* 759.
413 — *Lo* 34200.
414 — ORD BAIOC. (pp. 97, 141 *variantes*) «*per totum Tempus paschale*».

ABBREVIATIONS

AfMw	Archiv für Musikwissenschaft
AMl	Acta Musicologica
AnnMl	Annales Musicologiques
BHL	Bibliotheca hagiographica latina
CIPOL	Comité International de Publications Oecuméniques des Liturgies
CSM	Corpus Scriptorum de Musica
EG	Etudes Grégoriennes
EL	Ephemerides Liturgicae
EM	Ephemerides Mariologicae
Fs.	Festschrift
JAMS	Journal of the American Musicological Society
JbLH	Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie
KmJb	Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch
MD	Musica Disciplina
MGG	Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart

MMMA	Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi
PM	Paléographie Musicale
RassG	Rassegna Gregoriana
RB	Revue Bénédictine
RBM	Revue Belge de Musicologie
RChG	Revue du Chant Grégorien
RH	Repertorium Hymnologicum (Chevalier)
RIMI	Rivista Italiana di Musicologia
RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
RMI	Revue de Musicologie
SJbMw	Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft

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