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Approaches to Early Medieval Music and Rites

Mind the Gap: Bridging disciplinary differences

The publication, twenty years ago, of David Hiley's *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* is a good starting-point for assessing the work being done by musicologists and its relationship to other work on ecclesiastical ceremonies and rites.[1] Intended to be introductory, it nevertheless contains a large bibliography (64 pages) and text of nearly 700 pages, and, some two decades later, it is still the essential synthesis of twentieth-century scholarship on Western chant. The coverage of the book suggests that earlier musicologists tended to defer to liturgical scholars and theologians for basic historical understanding of medieval rites. The book's summary of the work of liturgical scholars takes up only the first 46 pages, and the rites (baptism, confirmation, ordination, coronation, marriage, burial, and dedication) are given a mere 3 pages without further bibliographic references, presumably for the reason that 'not all of these services require the performance of music as an essential element'.[2] Much more attention is given to two areas: Musicologists first focus on the fundamental work of identifying, inventorying, and editing the sources. This has to be accomplished at a level of detail necessary to enable careful analysis of individual genres of chant (e.g. Introit, Offertory, Communion and each item of the Mass proper, as well as the Responsories, and antiphons of the Office). Studies of individual genres (defined by a formal analysis of their linguistic and musical structures) then become the focus, since each has a complex history of its own, and the several families of early chant have differing forms within the same portions of the Mass and

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[1] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[2] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 42.

Office. The book's historical discussion focuses on debates about the early history of the music up to the first fully notated—though not pitch-secure—sources and then, in a section that anticipates the direction the field would turn in subsequent years, it summarises scholarship on chant as it was practiced and revised at specific institutions.

Based on Hiley's summary, which I believe is reasonably comprehensive and fair, the contribution of musicology seems to have been curiously inattentive to the historical study of the rites in which music appeared. Questions of how chant functioned within particular rites seem to have been subordinated to others that could be answered by attending to the music alone, often without consideration of the music's connections to the services and wider religious contexts that gave rise to it. Chant was thus treated somewhat reductively as part of a history of musical style that had a tendency to be co-opted into progressive evolutionary narratives which gave the impression of far greater ritual and musical uniformity than was the case. Musicologists, if they were to follow Willi Apel's famous and highly influential proposal to 'reconstruct a picture of the formative processes which led to the final stage of Gregorian chant, as it appears in the earliest manuscripts', had to accept the supposition that the surviving manuscripts represented some kind of relatively closed and very consistent and uniform canon, and the pinnacle of a musical development. [3] Hiley's own remarks throughout his *Western Plainchant* display a thorough awareness of this wider problem, but the rigorous focus on music as the object of study creates very little space in a large book for

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[3] Willi Apel's chapter title is particularly revealing: 'Conclusion: Prolegomena to a History of Gregorian Style' in his *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), pp. 507-515.

consideration of the context for which the music was destined by its creators.[4]

Not long after Hiley's book was published, Barbara Haggh - Huglo noted a similar disconnection between the study of church music and church history, from the perspective of someone interested in medieval polyphony.[5] The principal argument of her article is that musicologists have been extraordinarily selective in the kinds of historical sources that they pay attention to, favouring, in addition to the musical sources themselves, those that record the administrative transactions of institutions (such as account books) that yield information about musicians, but neglecting others such as cartularies, obits, wills, foundation charters and narratives. As Haggh-Huglo points out, the value of these sources has often been demonstrated by art historians, who have found in them information on the patronage of books, artworks, and architecture. By paying little attention to such evidence, musicologists are in danger of distorting the history of music, because they may miss many references to the music itself (whether still extant or lost), its principal patrons, its religious purposes, and the shifting attitudes towards its use in rites. All of these sources may help one consider in what circumstances and why rites were continually altered. For Haggh-Huglo a more broadly conceived form of archival research is needed to give direction to historical musicology. As she suggests, this would help musicologists make connections with medievalists in allied fields.

Hiley's caveats about musical and ritual diversity and Haggh-Huglo's admonition concerning the need to use a wider variety of documentary sources demonstrate that musicologists themselves

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[4] Typical of his balanced and cautious approach is Hiley's remark that 'a medieval source records only what was understood to be 'right' at a particular place and time' (*Western Plainchant,* p. 400).

[5] Barbara Haggh, 'Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music', *Acta Musicologica* 68 (1996): 87–128.

were already raising questions two decades ago about how their discipline might come into better dialogue with other medievalists. Haggh-Huglo's article defines the gap in understanding between musicologists and ecclesiastical historians as a kind of blindness to the study of religious history in general. All of the neglected sources she mentions are related to the mechanics of instituting, maintaining and performing ecclesiastical rituals, and so ought to be of key interest to historians of the liturgy. The music that medieval benefactors endowed gave these rituals varying degrees of solemnity and fullness that affected both their form and their content. The music within such bespoke rites was often passed down, but it was also continually adapted and sometimes extensively renewed. Therefore, unless the music is firmly situated within wider spheres of inquiry into the adaptation of rites, little progress can be made in understanding how benefactors, church leaders and musicians all provoked and reacted to ritual change.

However, this gap in understanding flows in both directions: the close connection in the West between music and rite should make it equally difficult for other medievalists to ignore the work of musicologists—even those who have paid closer attention to the musical objects that they uncover than to that music's ritual context. Aside from the basic historical data that can be uncovered by paying attention to musical palaeography and the transmission and distribution of repertories, paying specific attention to the musical content of a rite in performance (to the extent that it is possible to recreate or imagine) provides an alternative reading of texts for that rite that must be considered essential to its understanding. By taking the music of a rite into account one begins to consider

questions concerning its effect on a rite's performance and delivery, and therefore on its rhetoric and its diverse audiences.[6]

This gap between ecclesiastical historians and musicologists has since been addressed in many productive ways, but the results are still often couched in intimidating layers of technical language and specialised analysis of both music and medieval ritual that sometimes hide the fact that the common ground shared by all medievalists covers a much greater area than their disciplinary allotments. We are all working with material sources, especially manuscripts, that give us our sole access to the middle ages. The remainder of this chapter therefore focuses on introducing a personal, but hopefully representative, selection of musicological studies and resources, both completed and emerging, that seem to me to bridge -- or show greatest potential for bridging -- the gap; all of them are the fruits of the last twenty years of internal criticism amongst musicologists concerned about the directions taken by their own discipline.

Recent approaches to sources

It is unlikely that musicologists will ever give up the search for the origin of Gregorian chant, but this search is no longer dominated, as it was during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by the need to establish one authentic earliest version of Gregorian chant as it was transmitted from Rome to the Carolingians. Even if one accepts the theory that there was a period of Frankish development and a re-transmission back to Rome, the gradual accumulation of evidence has proved that no single version of chant exists in the written record that represents an original authoritative tradition. The transmission of the chants that eventually formed a corpus of

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[6]These are research questions that have dominated my own work; see Willam T Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis* (Lanham, Maryland, and London: Scarecrow Press, 1999).

fairly stable texts and melodies and that is now called 'Gregorian' was a mixed-literate and oral phenomenon in which a variety of notations conveyed differing amounts of musical information. The least musical information is conveyed by references to partial text (incipits or even references that merely list the subject matter to be used). The most information is conveyed by fully written-out texts with at least one kind of music notation (some of which convey information primarily about musical gesture and delivery, and others of which convey information primarily about pitch). The early text-only transmissions differ substantively from each other though the critical editions obscure this.[7] Later notated transmissions show at most a correspondence of ca 80-90% of melodic content, unless one makes assumptions that dissimilar notational signs have exactly the same melodic meaning when occurring in similar musical contexts.[8] Although the consensus that a core repertory of Roman-Frankish chant was transmitted with some stability has not broken down, there is at present little agreement on the direction(s) of the transmission and its chronology: what exists are late-ninth and tenth-century fully notated manuscripts that encode similar musical gestures in differing though arguably related semiotic systems that scholars have assumed to record similar melodies.[9] Moreover, this limited consensus has been built without agreement on some fundamental questions that are logically prior: for example, there is currently no agreement about 'What constitutes a

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[7] See remarks on Hesbert's editions below, pp. <>

[8] This is the assumption guiding much of Eugène Cardine's *Gregorian Semiology*, trans. by Robert M. Fowels (Solesmes, 1982). Although *Gregorian Semiology* has nearly reached classic status, Óscar Octavio Mascareñas Garza demonstrates the assumptions behind the approach and its tendency towards uniformity instead of 'différance' in 'Exposing the Play in Gregorian Chant: The Manuscript as an Opening of Re-Presentation' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Limerick, 2010).

[9] The sixty years of scholarship that have led to a current agreement-to-disagree can best be traced in two volumes of reprinted essays collected by Thomas Forrest Kelly, ed., *Oral and Written Transmission in Chant* and *Chant and its Origins* (Farnham and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2009).

significant musical variant?' without which one cannot really state whether one melody is essentially the same or essentially different.[10]

Recently, musicologists' ideas of what might constitute the transmission of a Roman rite in the early middle ages have changed dramatically. They are no longer thinking solely that the rites were transmitted as a fundamentally distinct set of texts and melodies, but rather as check-lists and guides for selecting good texts for specific feasts, and that the sending of teachers who could give instruction in a regional musical style was crucial.[11] For example, Susan Rankin's recent work on the liturgical florilegium in Alcuin's *De laude Dei* has demonstrated the eclectic mixture of office chants that may have been interpreted as 'Roman' (or at least Romanizing) before the Carolingian reforms. Her work on Carolingian sources themselves demonstrates that a long series of redactions, which probably involved multiple centres, produced the relative stability of the later ninth-century Gregorian repertory.[12] An important

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[10] David G. Hughes has provided work towards a typology of variants; see especially 'The implications of variants for chant transmission', in *De musica et cantu: Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag,* ed. by Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim: Ohlms, 1993), pp. 65-73. Recent work by Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy uses a statistical method combined with text-music analysis to give greater probability to their readings of pitch-insecure sources in *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants: Psalmi, Threni and Easter Vigil Canticles* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013). Craig Wright (discussing the intellectual context of the notation of Notre Dame polyphony) suggests that in his own scholarly past fundamental questions that 'we failed to ask—nor were encouraged to ask' might be reduced to the 'most basic question: What *is* this document that we see on the page?'; see his 'Quantification in Medieval Paris and How it Changed Western Music', in *City, Chant, and the Topography of Early Music in Honour of Thomas Forrest Kelly*, ed. by Michael Scott Cuthbert, Sean Gallagher and Christoph Wolff (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), pp. 3–26 (at p. 7).

[11] For one of the rare examples of such a teacher see Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* iv, 18 on John the arch-chanter; for brief but illuminating remarks on him, see Christopher Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 269-74.

[12] Susan Rankin, 'Beyond the Boundaries of Roman-Frankish Chant: Alcuin's *De laude Dei* and Other Early Medieval Sources of Office Chants', in *City, Chant, and the Topography of Early Music*, pp. 229–62. See also, Jesse Billet, 'The Liturgy of the 'Roman' office in England from the Conversion to the Conquest', in *Rome Across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas, c. 500-1400*, ed. by Claudia Bolgia,

consequence of such work is that a largely tacit consensus about uniformity of early text-only transmissions of the Roman rite, established by René Hesbert's 1935 edition of the eighth- and ninth-century text-only transmissions of Mass repertory, has now broken down. [13] This is for two main reasons, both exemplified by the recent work of Daniel Dicenso: First, by taking into account fragments unknown to (or neglected by) Hesbert, Discenso proposes to bring together all of the earliest sources of Gregorian chant afresh. [14] Second, ideas about how to edit texts have changed. Editors are now likely to think that the editing of texts designed to convey music should have a different set of conventions from those designed for editing other types of texts. [15] DiCenso's proposed edition of early Gregorian chant sources promises to provide a music-critical analysis in which variants that might be considered insignificant in establishing a text's meaning (e.g. transposition of phrases, omission or addition of adverbs or conjunctions) will be carefully examined for the melodic variants that they imply as mnemonic notations of music.

Rosamond McKitterick, and John Osborne (Cambridge: Cambrige University Press, 2011), pp. 84–110, and Susan Rankin, 'The Making of Carolingian Mass Chant Books', in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum*: *Studies in honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. by Rena Mueller and John Nadas, American Institute of Musicology Miscellanea 7 (Middleton, WI, 2008), pp. 37–63.

[13] René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels: Vromont, 1935; Reprinted Rome: Herder, 1967).

[14] DiCenso, 'Sacramentary-Antiphoners as Sources of Gregorian Chant in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012). For the proposed new edition, See Daniel DiCenso's webpage: http://www.danieljdicenso.com where links to very brief project descriptions may be found.

[15] The University of Stockholm project *Ars Edendi* (project director: Gunilla Iversen) focuses on recent developments in the editing of particular categories of Medieval Latin texts, including liturgical texts: http://www.arsedendi.org (accessed 2 July 2014). Even liturgical rubrication can provide guides to interpretation that alter the readings of traditional text editors; see William T Flynn, 'Reading Hildegard of Bingen's Antiphons for the 11,000 Virgin-Martyrs of Cologne: Rhetorical *Ductus* and Liturgical Rubrics', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 56 (2012): 171-89.

It would not be too strong to say that musicologists dealing with notated sources also accepted the bias of liturgical historians for sources that represented a complete repertory of Gregorian chant, and there has been a healthy turn towards abbreviated and fragmentary sources that give more variegated, although incomplete, pictures of the whole repertory. These neglected sources may helpfully be compared to the fuller and better known sources to facilitate a thoroughgoing revision (and hopefully clarification) of the history of Carolingian (and later) transmissions of chant. While musicologists will continue to discuss the earliest sources, the result of recent research suggests that they will not find any single, decisive moment of transmission of what later became known as the Roman rite, and that the continuing diversity within the families of rites that claim Roman origin will be considered more fully than it was in earlier scholarship.

When one comes to the later sources containing musical notations, it is fair to say that two areas of concern have dominated—first discovering and cataloging the sources; and then producing editions suitable for the purpose of reading and analysing the sound of the music and/or for performing it. Since musicologists can only begin studying the music itself when they have decoded the manuscript witness (i.e. when they have reconstructed from it the object of their study), it is not surprising that they have in general been slower to undertake detailed study of the manuscripts for the information these might yield about their production and use. Even though some textual scholars and historians have been engaged in such research, they have seldom treated manuscripts that contain mostly notated music. Recent editions however suggest that this tendency is changing. For example, Susan Rankin's commentary to her facsimile edition of the Winchester Troper (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473) carefully indexes both text and music scribes, and in describing the notation reveals a

great range of pitch-clarifying strategies, uncovered through painstaking palaeographical analysis. [16] Not only does this manuscript contain chants that were partially dually notated (where letter names of pitches provide some information) it also contains many pitch-clarifying neumes. Its carefully notated polyphonic lines interact with the chant lines in ways that can be interpreted with the help of music treatises. The edition provides essential material that expands and revises earlier scholarship especially on the sound of the music and its historical context.

There is still extensive work to be done in all of the areas that have interested earlier musicologists—even basic indexed descriptions of many sources are still lacking. This is partly due to the tendency of palaeographers to mention merely that a source contains music notation (or even ignore it altogether in manuscripts dominated by text only). K. D. Hartzell's *Catalogue of Manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1200 containing Music* attempts to rectify these omissions for early medieval English manuscripts.[17] It will prove valuable, though it should not be used without reference to the review by Michael Gullick and Susan Rankin which supplies corrections, supplemental listings of manuscripts, and a critical evaluation of the information given on music palaeography.[18]

Chant scholars are now paying considerable attention to fragmentary sources, not only of texts that were intended to be performed musically, but also of music manuscripts themselves. One of the reasons that musicologists once found it convenient to think of Gregorian chant as a relatively stable and relatively uniform corpus is that they gave priority to comprehensive manuscripts that

[16] Susan Rankin, *The Winchester Troper*, Early English Church Music 50 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2007).

[17] K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1200 containing Music* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press in association with the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 2006).

[18] Michael Gullick and Susan Rankin, 'Review of K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue*', *Early Music History* 28 (2009): 262–85.

attempt to record the repertory for the whole of, or large portions of, a rite. Eduardo Henrik Aubert's thesis on Aquitanian fragments before 1100 and his forthcoming catalogue of chant fragments (from four departmental archives in Burgundy—Côte d' Or, Nièvre, Saône-et-Loire, and Yonne) provide important resources and perhaps pave the way for larger research projects to address the need for incorporating such sources into music histories.[19]

There is still much work to be undertaken on music treatises. Until recently the priority was to make their texts available in modern editions, but little systematic work has been undertaken on their manuscript transmission. There is a parallel between the study of these texts and those for other educational purposes, but it is not overstating the case to say that historians of grammar and rhetoric have at present taken the lead. Music treatises pose a particular problem in that they seem to have been classified by medieval librarians simply as part of the quadrivium, yet many of them display practical concerns with teaching the music as practiced in institutional liturgies. For example, in a recent study, T. J. H. McCarthy identified an interesting corpus of twenty music-theoretical compilations in manuscripts associated principally with monasteries in Salian Germany, yet it is not clear whether these manuscripts form a coherent corpus, since some contain full texts while others contain excerpts; some are encyclopaedic and comprehensive while others seem much more practical.[20] It is fair to say that we need a better understanding of such miscellanies both in terms of their production, and the purposes that underlie them, and in terms of their use in teaching. A recent chapter by Michel

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[19] Eduardo Henrik Aubert, 'Ecrire, chanter, agir: les graduels et missels notés en notation aquitaine avant 1100' (Unpublished PhD thesis, l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales: Paris, 2011). For the catalogue, see Aubert's webpage http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?id=K4231522Y6

[20] T. J. H. McCarthy, *Music Scholasticism and Reform: Salian Germany, 1024-1125* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009). See also my review of this work in *German History* 28 (2010): 572–73.

Huglo and Barbara Haghh-Huglo (with Leofranc Holford-Strevens) has begun to address some of these issues, plotting the institutional provenance of all known surviving Parisian music treatises from 900–1450. The results of the survey have pointed out remaining 'gaping lacunae' and provided a list of possible gains to be made from further work: (1) A thorough palaeographic and codicological assessment of music theory codices (many of whose contents are already indexed) needs to be undertaken. At present even the country of origin is imprecise for some. (2) A taxonomy of music theory manuscripts needs to be constructed so that like can be compared with like. (3) Attempts might be made to identify the hands of musicians using localisable and datable music theory manuscripts.[21]

To sum up, there is a notable convergence between the ways historians and musicologists are approaching and reassessing manuscript sources. Musicologists, in abandoning a simple narrative about the origins of chant, have turned their attention more fully to the centres of production and transmission of the manuscripts. The opportunities for interdisciplinary and co-operative projects should be noted. For early medievalists, it is important to recognise that words alone are a powerful form of musical notation, and perhaps the most common form, even after more specialised notations were invented and transmitted by cantors and clerics.[22] All early medievalists looking at liturgical texts should become aware that in doing so they are also probably looking at a kind of musical notation, even if that notation is simply the words of the rite itself.

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[21] Michel Huglo, Barbara Haggh, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'The Topography of Music Theory in Paris, 900–1450', in *City, Chant, and the Topography of Early Music*, pp. 275–334 (at 314–15).

[22] See Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Univeristy of California Press: Berkeley, 2005), especially pp. 1-120, for a consideration of the many possible ways the *artes memorativae* influenced the creators of early medieval music. This should be read together with the review by William Flynn and Jane Flynn in *Early Music History* 28 (2009): 249-62.

Recent approaches to (Genre) Analysis

The analysis of repertories of individual chant genres (Introit, Repsonsory, etc.) remains an important focus for musicologists, who have recently pushed beyond earlier boundaries that constrained the field because of two factors. First, it is now much easier for scholars to create, use, and share digital data and to manipulate large data sets that previously would have required specialist computing assistance. Second, new attention is being paid to the ways in which the grammatical and rhetorical structures of the texts interact with their musical structures.

The use of large data sets underpins Katherine Helsen's thesis on the great-responsory repertory of the early twelfth-century antiphoner, Paris, Bibliothèque, lat. ms 12044. Greatly expanding upon and ultimately revising the conclusions of the seminal work on responsories of Walter Frere, she compares this manuscript with eight other repertories, and points a way forward for such studies.[23] Her meticulous collection of data allows her to catalogue both textual and musical detail and to analyse how melodic material is reused both within and between repertories. Moreover, she is able to demonstrate the existence of a number of house-styles and to demonstrate their characteristic melodic choices. The great value in this approach is that variants that might seem insignificant when casually encountered are shown to create significant and discernable differences in style, even if a singer then and now would not dispute that it is the 'same' piece being sung. Helsen demonstrates one application of this data, using it to localize

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[23] Katherine Eve Helsen, 'The Great Responsories of the Divine Office: Aspects of Structure and Transmission' (Unpub. PhD thesis: University of Regensberg, 2008), Available online and downloadable: http://epub.uni-regensburg.de/10769/ . For Walter Frere's analytical work on the great responsories see his introduction to *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1901-24).

fragmentary sources (even to identify some very partial fragments). While the thesis itself displays little concern with the structure of the texts, since Helsen's focus is on the musical structures, the careful organisation of her database makes further exploration of the both text and music of the repertory practical for any interested scholar.[24]

The new analytical attention given to the dual structures of a text's grammar and its musical setting has been particularly valuable when comparing different liturgical families. Since the families of Old Roman and Gregorian chant share texts, and have related yet very different melodic content, text-analysis has been integral to discerning the differences between the two musical styles in the important studies by Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy.[25] Hornby's work has been particularly attentive to the potential mnemonic functions of the structure of liturgical texts. She has demonstrated how the highly formulaic melodic style of Old Roman tracts (psalm texts that are sung between the readings of Lenten masses) work in concert with the texts' grammar to create memorable structures that may not have needed any musical notation beyond the words themselves for their accurate oral transmission. Furthermore, the interaction between text and music and its potential for emphasising particular verbal meanings has become a focus of Hornby's analysis and the focal point of Hornby

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[24] Technological gains are also evident in older databases such as Cantus (now at the University of Waterloo: http://cantusdatabase.org) which still claims to be largely an incipit database of the musical items of the divine office. Its scope has become considerably broader. Cantus now links not only to full texts from René-Jean Hesbert's *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, RED, Series maior, Fontes, 7–12 (Rome, 1063-79), but even supplies full newly transcribed texts for unica, as well as links to the manuscript images themselves, where available.

[25] Emma Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth Mode Tracts: A Case Study in the Transmission of Western Chant* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Rebecca Maloy, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

and Maloy's joint project on Old Hispanic Lenten Chant. [26] These works demonstrate the significant amount of musical information that can be obtained from adiastemmatic neumes, i.e. neumes that do not represent pitch graphically (e.g. on a staff) but instead serve as a mnemonic for a known melody. Even though the pitch content cannot be recovered, significant melodic gestures and cadential structures can be compared with textual structures. When the musical reading goes against the grain of the texts' grammar, points of particular rhetorical emphasis are generated, and these can be examined first within the texts' fuller liturgical context (informed by the emphases and progression of the whole rite) and second compared with interpretations (in liturgical commentary, ordines and rules) contemporary with the formation and use of the repertory. The engagement with the musical content thus adds to, and sometimes alters, readings available from attending to the texts alone and opens up a whole field in which dialogue between musicologists and historians will prove particularly productive. Hornby and Maloy have already demonstrated that there was a complex relationship between the two major manuscript (and liturgical) traditions that preserve Old Hispanic chant, and it is clear that genre studies are only just reaching their potential for challenging and revising theories of liturgical transmission that have been dominated in the past by textual scholars.

Musical sources interpreted in institutional, pedagogical, and ritual contexts

Musicological work that concentrates on rituals as manifested in specific manuscripts made within particular institutional and

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[26] Emma Hornby, *Medieval Liturgical Chant and Patristic Exegesis: Words and Music in the Second-Mode Tracts* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009); Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants.*

pedagogical circumstances is perhaps the most immediately useful for historians interested in liturgy. Although this is also the kind of work that is most fraught with technical difficulty and fragmentary source material, musicologists have been mining the most promising aggregations of source material, which are mostly from the end of the early Middle Ages. Notable examples of such work are James Grier's studies of Adémar de Chabannes (996-1034), and Margot Fassler's two monographs: the first on the sequences associated with the Augustinian canons of St Victor (Paris), and the second on the fabric and liturgy of Chartres. Grier's extensive manuscript work has demonstrated that Adémar was composer, text- and music-scribe for a large corpus of work (and text- and/or music-scribe for an even larger corpus). [27] Having identified this evidence of liturgical and textual production by a known and important churchman, Grier has been able to investigate Adémar's contributions to the enhancement and promotion of St Martial's cult as apostle. Fassler's earlier study of the sequences of the Parisian Victorines shows how this Mass genre (important because it precedes the Gospel reading and can directly affect its interpretation) changed in both content and function, in part due to the educational reforms of the early Augustinians. [28] Fassler's more recent study argues that the process of making history in the early medieval West was intimately tied to the liturgy. She makes the basic, but important, point that cantors were especially active in

[27] See especially his article 'The Musical Autographs of Adémar de Chabannes (989–1034)', *Early Music History* 24 (2005): 125–68; his monograph, *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk: Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); his edition, Adémar de Chabannes, *Opera liturgica et poetica: Musica cum textibus*, ed. by James Grier, Ademari Cabannensis Opera Omnia Pars II, CCCM(Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), vols 245 and 245A; and most recently his article, 'Adémar de Chabannes (989–1034) and Musical Literacy', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66 (2013): 605–38.

[28] Margot E. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in twelfth-century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; 2nd revised ed. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame Press, 2011).

history writing both in cathedral and monastic institutions. Her study therefore examines the role of cantors and the officials of the Cathedral (and town) of Chartres in their production of a sacred history in which the liturgy is employed as the primary means of creating a communal memory that promotes the cathedral's famous relic of the Virgin Mary and her cult.[29] Fassler's implicit claim is that a modern critical reading of medieval historical sources is not achievable if their connections to the liturgy go unrecognised by modern historians. In an important article, she argues that the liturgy provided a 'fundamental default mode for the representation of the past in the Latin Middle ages (especially up to the twelfth century)', exercising an influence that is 'both more beautiful and more terrible than has been imagined.'[30] Such aggregations of liturgical and historical material as survive from Chartres can be found, as Fassler points out, because cantors were not only musically and liturgically educated, but were also often authors of institutional and (in Adémar's case universal) chronicles and were in charge of the production of necrologies and cartularies; insofar as history was made, it was made by cantors.[31]

Such innovative work, offering readings of medieval liturgies informed by extensive study of the liturgical manuscripts, relies on evidence that is necessarily partial and often necessarily speculative. Liturgical manuscripts are inherently prescriptive, offering rules and repertories for enacting a rite; they never provide evidence that it was in fact enacted in the way the cantor-scribes intended. Yet, nevertheless, they are the best and fullest witnesses to what might

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[29] Margot E. Fassler, The *Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

[30] Margot Fassler, 'The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History', in *Representing History,* ed. by Robert A. Maxwell (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Press, 2010), pp. 149-71 (at p. 157).

[31] Fassler, 'The Liturgical Framework of Time', p. 168, and Margot Fassler, 'The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries', *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 29-52.

have happened and are certain witnesses to what their creators wanted to happen. For another example of work that situates liturgical innovation within specific institutions, I refer to my own work on liturgies intended for Heloise's abbey of the Paraclete (near Troyes) in the 1130s that were shaped profoundly by the contributions of Peter Abelard.[32] In the 1980s, Chrysogonus Waddell did the essential spadework for the Paraclete liturgy in a lengthy series of publications that provided editions of key sources as well as detailed commentary.[33] The most important sources he edited were a reasonably full late thirteenth-century Old French translation of a somewhat earlier Latin Ordinary giving detailed, though not comprehensive, information about the order of the services in summary form, and a late fifteenth-century Breviary containing principally the offices of Vespers and Lauds (although some other repertory is occasionally included). These two sources can be compared with a number of twelfth-century texts: Abelard and Heloise's letters including Abelard's Rule for the Paraclete; Abelard's hymns and sermons, and the anonymous *Institutiones nostrae* of the Paraclete whose text is thought to date from Heloise's abbacy.

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[32] William T Flynn, 'Letters, Liturgy, and Identity: The Use of *Epithalamica* at the Paraclete', in *Sapientia et Eloquentia: Meaning and Function in Liturgical Poetry, Music, Drama, and Biblical Commentary in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Gunilla Iversen and Nicolas Bell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 301-48; '*Ductus figuratis et subtilis*: Rhetorical interventions for women in two twelfth-century liturgies', in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 250-80; and 'Abelard and Rhetoric: Widows and Virgins at the Paraclete', in *Rethinking Abelard: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. by Babette S. Heelemans (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 155-86.

[33] C. Waddell, ed., *The Old French Paraclete Ordinary: Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Ms français 14410 and the Paraclete Breviary: Chaumont, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 31*: *Introduction and commentary* CLS 3 (1985); *The Old French Paraclete Ordinary: Edition,* CLS 4 (1983); *The Paraclete Breviary: Edition,* 3 vols, CLS 5-7 (1983); *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete,* 2 vols, CLS 8-9; and *The Paraclete Statutes Institutiones Nostrae: Introduction, Edition and Commentary,* CLS 20 (1987). All of these editions appeared as photocopies of typescripts in the *Cistercian Liturgy Series* and were distributed by Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, and are now available online from Western Michigan University: http://digitalcollections-wmich.cdmhost.com/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15032coll5 (accessed 4 July, 2014).

All of these texts have late transmission histories and no manuscript dates from a period earlier than the ordinary, but these sources often legislate for, or provide repertory for, a form of the liturgy that is earlier. Even if this earlier liturgy was instituted fully, it was no longer completely in use by the time the ordinary was copied. But by examining the proposed liturgy as something that was at least intended to be enacted, one gains an insight into Abelard's intent and purpose for the Paraclete and an appreciation for the rhetorical skill with which he created a novel monastic identity for the Paraclete nuns. When there are sources available, as illuminating as those for the Paraclete, it is possible to detect the ways the liturgy was altered intentionally by individuals and evaluate their work.

By way of a conclusion, it should be emphasised that musicologists rightly bring their own experience of reading and performing music to their examination of liturgical sources. Western music notations grew out of liturgical sources after all, and the combination of graphic representation of the music and sufficient verbal directions that one can find in modern scores suggests a form of reading that acknowledges these origins. In the performance of liturgies, structures of time and space can be experienced (rather than simply imagined): For example, a source may give a single rubric stating that a sequence 'Epithalamica' should precede the reading of a Gospel 'Maria Magdalene', but a performance of the ritual involves the singing of this nine-minute dramatic poem, sections of which may be assigned to a variety of singers, solo and choral, during which a candle-lit procession and censing of the Gospel takes place. Interpreting such a rubric is not only a complex matter of tracking down additional sources that might give some insight into the ritual, but is also a matter of going beyond the sources, extrapolating from them to reproduce a ritual. It is arguable that such reconstruction allows for a fuller 'reading' of

the liturgical sources and exposes more of the rubricator's tacit and memorised knowledge. Musicologists have recently been emphasising a need for practice-based research that allows a fuller investigation of the sense of space and time that rubrics and notated music attempt to encode. Perhaps the boldest experiment along these lines to date is John and Sally Harper's AHRC/ESRC-funded project 'The Experience of Worship in Late-Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church'.[34] Even with the luxury of a Cathedral (Salisbury) with standing fabric from a time at which one of the versions of its customary was composed, the project discovered innumerable lacunae in the sources through such a practice-based approach. One of the most important of the lacunae was the huge gap in understanding of how the Cathedral rite was transferred into parish settings.[35] By making the attempt to transfer it to a completely different space than that for which it was conceived, the project took part in a process that no doubt took place throughout the middle ages in churches that wished to be allied with Salisbury (Sarum) use. The process also exposed both pedagogical and sociological distance between modern and medieval participants. The differences in musical training are perhaps easier to fill in with future research that aims for a practical recreation of performance techniques well documented in the sources, using performance strategies that are recoverable through further research. The even greater differences in sociological expectations regarding class, gender, and belief systems are also somewhat amenable to further research and at the very least need to be accorded critical and methodological weight by liturgical historians. In recognising the tacit knowledge needed to perform the liturgy, liturgical historians can become attuned to the clues medieval sources occasionally

[34] The Experience of Worship in Late-Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church website is http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk (Accessed 2 July 2014)

[35] See also Matthew Cheung Salisbury's discussion of this issue in chapter 5 below (pp. 00-00).

yield when medieval conventions are violated and provoke commentary. While the 'Experience of Worship' project has considerably broader aims than historical investigation, it demonstrates both the value and the limits of a full imaginative reconstruction of an enacted ritual for historical research.[36] All real or imagined reconstructions highlight an irreducible element of invention in historical inquiry. However, if one demurs at investigating the sources in this way, perhaps on the grounds that it is too experimental, or somehow ahistorical, one arguably ends up with an equally invented historicised reading that ignores many features of the sources, the most important of which are the abundant rubrics and music notation. Such features suggest that great care was taken by medieval scribes to aid liturgical celebration and that today a fundamental form of reading these texts must take into account their sound, pacing, and the use of space that they encode and describe. By recognising these features of our sources, and by using the better analytical tools available, and by incorporating the fuller picture of the sources that is currently emerging, scholars from all disciplines may yet realise their enormous potential for further insight into the history of medieval liturgies.

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[36] Early medieval institutions that might benefit from such an approach include Winchester in the mid-eleventh century, and any of the many monasteries and several cathedrals that produced tropes and sequences. Gunilla Iversen's monograph, *Laus Angelica: Poetry in the Medieval Mass*, trans. by W. Flynn, ed by J. Flynn (Tournhout: Brepols, 2010) gives a rich selection of these rewarding texts and points to the need for further study of the liturgies of the institutions where they were produced.