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The Italian Neophytes' Chants

BY KENNETH LEVY

SINCE THE EIGHTH CENTURY, at the very latest, the Gregorian Mass that closes the Easter vigil has had essentially the same exceptional musical provisions it has today. For the Introit there is only the litany that accompanies the processional return from the baptismal font. There is no separate Kyrie, only the Kyrie of that same litany. The Alleluia, whose reappearance after its prolonged Lenten absence is the central musical event of the Mass, has an unusually simple refrain, sung by the celebrant rather than the soloist; and its verse, *Confitemini Domino quoniam*, is followed not by the Gospel but by a Tract, *Laudate Dominum*, whose position, if anywhere, should be before the Alleluia. More remarkable still is the absence, in the earliest *Ordines romani* and the antiphoners and sacramentaries related to them, of all chants of the *missa fidelium* except the Sanctus. Thus the Credo, Offertory, Agnus Dei, and Communion are missing. The chanted Ordinary is reduced to the Gloria and Sanctus, and the Proper contains only the Alleluia and Tract.¹

Liturgical commentators since the ninth century have puzzled over these omissions, yet their authority has never been seriously questioned. The Mass reflects an approved Roman tradition that reaches back beyond the earliest documents for the *Antiphonale missarum* into coordinate liturgical sources of the mid-eighth century. Amalarius of Metz takes particular pains to defend it during the ninth century, touching in no less than five ways on the question of the Tract following the Alleluia, and explaining with characteristic invention the omission of the chants following the Gospel (*reducendo*)

¹ *Letania expleta, dicit pontifex: Gloria in excelsis Deo. Deinde legitur apostolus. Alleluia, Confitemini Domino, tractum Laudate Dominum omnes gentes. Non cantant offertorium, nec Agnus Dei, nec communionem;* M. Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, III (Louvain, 1951), p. 297, Ordo XXIV.54 (late eighth century; the Credo was not yet regularly sung at Mass); so also the 8th-9th century *Antiphonale missarum*: R.-J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935), p. 98 (the Blandiniensis, this manuscript transmitting also Andrieu's Ordo XXIV); so also the oldest traditions around Rome: Bibl. Vaticana, Arch. S. Pietro F. 12 (10th-11th century), fol. 128; Arch. S. Pietro F. 18 (12th-13th century), fol. 61^v; *Bernhardi . . . Ordo officiorum ecclesiae lateranensis* (12th century), ed. Ludwig Fischer (Munich, 1916), p. 65. The uniform early tradition is opposed only by the Rheinau Gradual (Hesbert, pp. lxi, 98), with a second Alleluia, *Eduxit Dominus* (interpolated between the Tract *Laudate* and the Alleluia *Confitemini*), the Offertory *Angelus Domini* (also among the marginal additions in the middle 9th century Paris[?] Sacramentary, Ottoboni 313), and the Communion *Cito euntes*; and by Andrieu's Ordo XVII.110 (III, p. 191), a Northern document of the later 8th century that prescribes an Alleluia, *Dominus regnavit*, a Tract, *qualis volueris*, and the Agnus Dei.

ad memoriam silentium et sacrificium mulierum, in tempore sacrificii silent cantores), and the exception of the Sanctus from this rule (*quod est angelorum cantus, quia angeli non tacuerunt de eius resurrectione*).² Among modern commentators the explanation has been that the Proper antiphonal chants (Introit, Offertory, and Communion) and the Agnus Dei (added to the *ordo missæ* by Sergius I [687–701], and still absent from the unique eighth-century copy of the old-Gelasian Sacramentary) are, unlike the Gloria, the Sanctus, and the responsorial chants at the lessons, late additions to the order of the Mass, whose inclusion was resisted by the primitive and authoritative Easter vigil.³

Yet with this much said, the explanations still fall short of being satisfactory. They take no account of major changes in the Easter service before the sixth or seventh century, changes in whose light the problem has at least to be restated. Where the Carolingian-Roman predecessors of the Missal have two Masses for Easter—the vigil-Mass and the Mass for the day—for a long time there was only one. This earlier single Mass, related in most respects to the eventual vigil-Mass, was celebrated at the Lateran as the conclusion to the ceremonies of the vigil, and it was timed so that the chanting of the *Gloria in excelsis*, with the sounding of bells, and of the Alleluia, in whatever primitive form one can suppose its presence, coincided with the appearance of Easter dawn.⁴ Unlike the Carolingian vigil-Mass, however, whose focus is primarily on the approach of the Resurrection, the focus of the earlier vigil-Mass seems to have divided more evenly between the two motives of the Resurrection and the first participation in the Eucharist of the newly-baptized. At a time when the administration of baptism at the Easter-vigil capped the extended series of didactic Lenten Scrutinies, the central event at this Mass was the neophytes' First Communion. With the supplanting of adult baptism by infant baptism, the emphasis shifted toward the Resurrection. And with the institution of the new stational Mass at S. Maria Maggiore during the fifth or sixth century, a Mass for Easter Sunday itself, whose Introit (*Resurrexi, et adhuc tecum sum*) and Gradual (*Haec dies*) proclaim the Resurrection as accomplished, the hour of the older vigil-Mass moved progressively backwards, from dawn towards midnight, and its focus moved accordingly from the presence of the Resurrection to its imminence.⁵ It was the new and implicitly dramatic space

² *Liber officialis*, II, xxxi; J. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, II (Vatican, 1948; Studi e testi, tom. 139), 157–161.

³ B. Botte, "Nuit pascale et chant de communion," *La Maison-Dieu*, No. 31 (1952), 101–106 (the most sensitive discussion); M. Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, II (2nd ed., Milan, 1955), 201; H. Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta* (Rome—Freiburg im Br., 1957), II, 867; J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia* (5th ed., Vienna, 1962), I, 275.

⁴ C. Coebergh, "Les lectures de l'apôtre pour Pâques et leurs vicissitudes," *Revue bénédictine*, 77 (1967), 142–144; Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, I, 867–877.

⁵ A. G. Martimort, *L'Église en prière* (Tournai, 1961), pp. 563–566 (R. Béraudy); L. Robert, "La Pâque chrétienne aux premiers siècles de l'église," *Revue grégorienne*,

between the two Masses that brought on the *Quem quaeritis* tropes and the medieval Easter plays. Since the eighth century, the two Masses have held without essential change to their order and content of prayers, lections, and chants, with the Mass for the day celebrating the Resurrection, and the vigil-Mass, still acknowledging the participation of the neophytes in its processional opening and prayers, and perhaps also in its responsorial chants, now focussing through a historically deceptive shift on the anticipation of the Resurrection.

Against this background, the question concerning the early vigil has to be reframed. Why, after all, does a service whose central action was the first Communion of neophytes avoid precisely the chants connected with that action? One purpose of this study is to consider the possibility of an early state of the Roman vigil-Mass in which such chants were present.

While there is no direct witness of neophytes' chants at Rome, there are traces in other Italian traditions, three of them identified by Hesbert among the relics of the old-Beneventan vigil-Mass:

- (1) an Alleluia-verse, *Laudate pueri* (Psalms: 112, 1), with music related to the Beneventan paschal verse *Resurrexit tamquam dormiens* (Psalms: 77, 65), to which it is normally appended as a second verse.⁶
- (2) an Offertory, *Omnes qui in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis. Alleluia* (Galatians: 3, 27).⁷
- (3) a Communion, *Hymnum canite agni mundi, lavacro fontis renati, satiati corpore Christi. Alleluia.*⁸

Hesbert also pointed out cognates for two of these in the Milanese liturgy, which lacks an Alleluia verse on *Laudate pueri* but has one for the Easter vigil on *Resurrexit tamquam*,⁹ and which has a setting of *Hymnum canite agni mundi* as a Transitorium on Easter, Easter Thursday, and Pentecost.¹⁰

Melodic comparisons between the Beneventan and Milanese chants con-

³² (1953), 49-57; Jungmann, II, 477, n. 81. It is still called *protus communionis missa* in the Roman Antiphoner (12th-13th century) Vatican, Arch. S. Pietro B.79, fol. 102^v. The shift to an earlier hour is discussed by Schmidt, I, 873ff. The possibility that Rome for a time had a separate First Communion Mass is discussed below in connection with note 87.

⁶ *Paléographie musicale* (henceforth PM), 14 (Tournai, 1931-36), 442.

⁷ PM 14, p. 445.

⁸ PM 14, p. 446.

⁹ *Antiphonale missarum mediolanensis* (henceforth AMM; Rome, 1935), p. 202; this refrain, with final on D, appears only with this verse; another Alleluia with this text (final on G, *Commune, AMM*, p. 297), shares its refrain with over a dozen verses.

¹⁰ AMM, p. 225, appearing first in the 10th-century Antiphoner annexed to the Bergamo Sacramentary, where it is an alternate at Easter for the Transitorium *Venite populi*, and the sole chant for the other two feasts; A. Paredi and G. Fassi, *Sacramentarium bergomense* (Bergamo, 1962), pp. 16, 19, 24.

vinced Hesbert that the relationships went little farther than the texts, and with this his interest ended.¹¹ A fresh look, however, shows melodic relationships that are anything but casual. Between the two versions of *Hymnum canite* in Ex. 1¹² there are substantial agreements of range, structure (the second and third lines essentially identical in each), melodic outline, and melismatic density. They disagree only in the concluding Alleluias; but here the Milanese version, whose reading in the D-mode will appear presently as the more authoritative, has an Alleluia in that mode, while the Beneventan chant, which is in a G-mode (though here transposed down a fifth for the comparison), has an Alleluia appropriate to its own mode. There are similar if less obvious relationships between the Beneventan and Milanese representatives of the Alleluia-complex *Laudate pueri—Resurrexit tamquam*, but these can be viewed more adequately in the larger context that will be developed.

Musical connections between Benevento and Milan by themselves suggest only a familiar backwater of medieval Italian practice.¹³ What broadens their interest is the appearance of related material from a previously silent quarter. In two well-known Graduals of the late eleventh or twelfth centuries from the region of Ravenna (Modena O.I.7 and Padua A. 47) there are a pair of unique entries for the Easter vigil. The first is an Alleluia refrain followed by the two opening verses of Psalm 135, *Confitemini Domino quoniam* (Ex. 2a). The second is a setting of [Omnis] qui in Christo baptizati estis (Ex. 2b), the text of the Beneventan neophytes' Offertory.¹⁴ The pieces are entered consecutively in both manuscripts by the main hand, at the position between the Gregorian Tract *Sicut cervus*, which accompanies the ceremonies at the baptismal font, and the Gregorian Alleluia *Confitemini Domino*, the first Proper chant of the standard vigil Mass which normally follows. Neither manuscript has rubrics, but in the absence of better indications it can be supposed that Ex. 2a is a regional Mass Alleluia (or Ante-Evangelium), while Ex. 2b is an Offertory (though perhaps a Post-Evangelium or Communion). Since neither piece turns up elsewhere, and since these MSS are, with one other, the only early copies of the Ravenna Gradual, it is simplest to suppose that they originate

¹¹ *PM* 14, pp. 445, 446; Hesbert observes the relation of mode between the two Alleluia verses on *Resurrexit*; between the two Communion chants, he sees only "une mélodie toute différente."

¹² Ex. 1a: *AMM*, p. 225; the chant does not appear in the Winter-manuscript (British Museum add. 34209) published in *PM*, vols. 5-6; at two points indicated with asterisks, the readings here represent Milan, *Trivulziana* A. 14 (ca. 1400), fol. 14^v; Ex. 1b: *PM* 14, p. 446, transposed. I adapt the useful identifications for line-heads (MED=Milanese, BEN=Beneventan, GREG=Gregorian-Roman, ROM=Old Roman, etc.) from G. Baroffio in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein*, ed. M. Ruhnke (Kassel, 1967), pp. 1ff.

¹³ *PM* 14, pp. 359ff, 453ff.

¹⁴ Modena, Bibl. Estense O.I.7, fol. 101-101^v; Padua, Bibl. Capitolare A. 47, fol. 128^v.

Example 1

(a) MED

(1) Hy - mnus ca - ni - te a - gni mun - - di
(transposed down a 5th)

(b) BEN

(2) la - va - - cro fon - - tis re - na - ti

(3) sa - ti - a - ti cor - po - - re Chri - sti

(4) Al - le - - - - lu - ia

(5) Al - le - - - - lu - ia

BEN

(6) Al - le - - - - ia

lu - - - - ia

there.¹⁵ This remains a conjecture subject to eventual verification, with other origins possible, among them perhaps Grado or Aquileia. Whatever their specific origin, these chants represent a fresh musical dialect to be placed alongside the Italian regional dialects of Benevento, Milan, Rome, and the Gregorian-Roman. It is a dialect whose musical refinement and presumable Ravennate origin command particular attention.

The broad structure of Exx. 2a and 2b is represented in Table A. Lines from the Psalter (2-5) and the two psalmodic lines of the Doxology (8-9) receive one or another of the three psalmodic patterns (I, II, and III). The two lines (6-7) from Galatians have a predictably freer centonate structure. A surprising feature is that the two pieces are musically related. Despite the apparently separate functions, they are linked by a system of refrains and melodic cross-references, most obvious of them *Alleluia II*, which appears at the close of lines 3, 5, and 7; and with line 7 serving as the repetendum of the Offertory, *Alleluia II* also completes lines 8 and 9, thus closing both pieces. At the level of centonate infra-structure, the gross elements are opening formulas *A* through *D*, medial formulas *E* through *G*, and terminal formulas *H* through *J*. Opening *Alleluia I* adds three unique elements, *X*, *Y*, and *Z*; though the melismatic expansion on its second syllable reflects something of formulas *G* and *H*, this opening refrain is cut of different cloth than the verses that follow. Notable in these verses is the relationship between formulas *G* and *J*. With melodies essentially identical yet pitched a tone apart, the tonal difference is reflected in their functions, for medial formula *G* ends on tone *E*, while terminal formula *J* ends on the finalis *D*. One consequence of this appears in line 7, the repetendum of the Offertory, which of all the lines is heard most often. This has the most obvious musical scheme, the succession of formulas *D-G-D-J* producing a symmetrical ABAB', replete with embryonic medial and tonic cadences. Thus this "Ravennate" musical style is distinguished by its tidy organization and concern for a rudimentary kind of tonal logic.

The two psalmodic cadences, circled-*M* in lines 3 and 5, and circled-*N* in line 8, represent the type of four-element cursive cadence found widely in Byzantine chant, and to an extent in archaic layers of Western chant. Two preparatory syllables (numbered 6 and 5 above the staff) set to uninflected repetitions of the reciting tone are followed by the four musical elements of the cadence itself (numbered 4 through 1), applied mechanically and without regard for text accent to the last four syllables of the line. Cadence *M* serves the Alleluia (Ex. 2a), and prepares *Alleluia II* at the

¹⁵ Padua A. 47 is put at Ravenna by *Le Graduel romain*, II: *Les Sources* (Solesmes, [1957]), p. 90; Modena O.I.7 may be from Forlimpopoli in that region; Husmann calls it Tuscan (*Dansk Aarbog for Musikforskning*, 1964-65, p. 30); both are discussed by G. Vecchi, "Lirica liturgica ravennate," *Studi Romagnoli*, 3 (1952), 243-248. The only other early Gradual from the environs of Ravenna is in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 11, a 10th-11th century *missale plenum* from Ranchio, which lacks these pieces.

conclusion of the psalm-refrain in lines 3 and 5; cadence *N* is for the Offertory (Ex. 2b), and introduces the repetendum following the first half of the Doxology in line 8. It is curious that the final two elements of cadence *M* (2 and 1) are identical with the first two of cadence *N* (4 and 3); thus *M* ends with centonate formula *G* while *N* begins with it. Since both cadences lead directly to formula *D* there is no musical need for the differentiation, yet since the two cadences are restricted respectively to the Alleluia verses and the Offertory, the effect is to point up the extraordinary musical connections between the pieces while underlining their independence—evidently another nicety of the Ravennate style.¹⁶

Beyond their interest as representatives of this rare and calculated chant dialect, the related pieces in Ex. 2 have a distinct bearing on the question of the neophytes' chants. The Ravennate [*Omnes qui in Christo*] (Ex. 2b) not only has the same text and liturgical assignment as the old-Beneventan Offertory for the Easter vigil, but also represents the same basic melody. As with the Beneventan *Hymnum canite* (Ex. 1b), the Beneventan *Omnes qui* is taken down a fifth to make the comparison in Ex. 3.¹⁷ There are again obvious correspondences of range and melodic outline, but unlike the tight centonate scheme at Ravenna, the Beneventan structure is looser, with special care evident only in its musical emphasis of accented syllables.

With the addition of Ravenna, what seemed before a familiar and narrow path between Milan and Benevento becomes a broadly inclusive triangle with bases in three of the major liturgical centers of pre-Carolingian

¹⁶ The capital importance of the four-element psalmodic cadence in Early Christian chant was first recognized by O. Strunk; see his "Byzantine Psalmody and its Possible Connection with Hebraic Cantillation," an abstract of a paper delivered in 1946, in *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society*, Nos. 11-12-13 (1948), pp. 19-21; its aspects are explored further in his "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, IX-X (1956), 177-202; in "Influsso del canto liturgico orientale su quello della chiesa occidentale," *L'enciclica 'Musicae sacrae disciplina' di Sua Santità Pio XII* (Rome, 1957), pp. 343-348; and in "The Antiphons of the Oktoechos," this *JOURNAL*, XIII (1960), 53-67. In Ex. 2a, the first line of the Doxology (line 8) has the standard four-element cursive cadence (*N*); in the second line of the Doxology (line 9) this is modified, a melodic element inserted on *-rum* of *seculorum* (* in the analysis) converting this to a tonic cadence (*N'*) with the accentual pattern — / — / —. The simplest explanation is a faulty archetype (both copies agree on this detail): the embolism on *-rum* can be dispensed with and the cursive cadence restored by substituting an additional recitation-tone on D at the syllable *-cu-* of *seculorum* and shifting the next two musical elements forward by one syllable. The anomaly in line 9, however, may be intended as a musical rhyme for the free centonate structure in line 6. In another connection, the reciting tones, which normally inflect with the text-accent, as in line 8 at *filio*, and line 9 (where the recitation shifts from F to D for the second half of the Doxology!) at *nunc et semper et in secula*, disregard this rule in lines 3 and 5 at *misericordia* and in line 8 at *spiritui*; the rule apparently obeyed is that of uninflected preparatory (sixth and fifth) syllables before the four-element cadence. Another cursive arrangement of this sort (a two-element initium?) may be in effect for the odd musical accentuations at the intonations of lines 2 and 4.

¹⁷ Ex. 3a: Padua A. 47, fol. 128'; Ex. 3b: *PM*, 14, p. 445, transposed.

Example 2

(a)

(1) Al - le - lu - ia

(2a) Con-fi - te - mi - ni Do - mi - no (2b) quo-ni-am bo - - - nus

(3) quo-ni - am in se-cu - lum mi-se-ri-cor-di - a e - - ius Al-le - lu - ia

(4) Con - fi - te - mi - ni De - o de - o - - - rum

(5) quo - ni - am in seculum misericordia eius Alleluia

TABLE A: TEXT

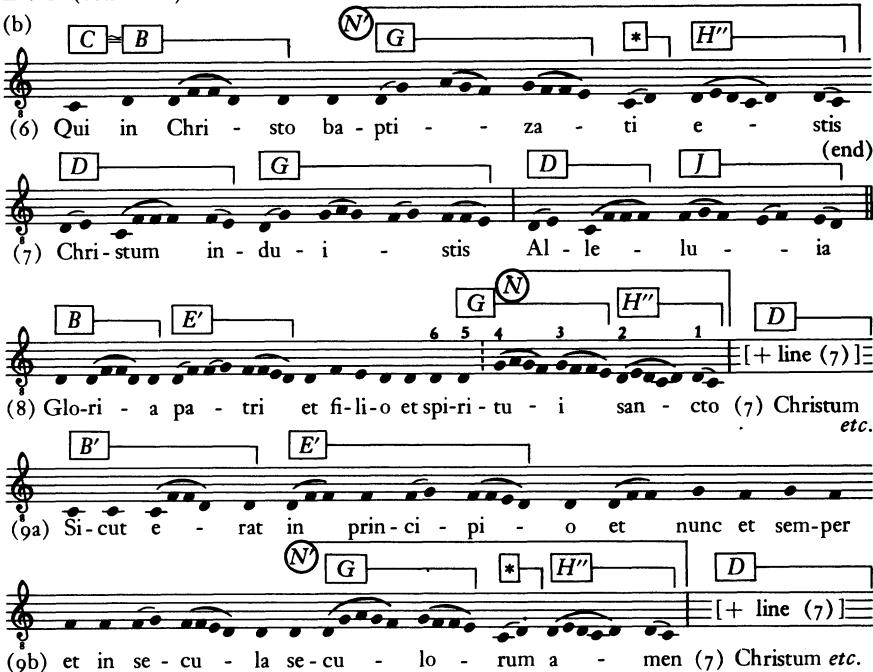
- (1) Alleluia
- (2) Ps. 135: Ia + Ib
- (3) Ps. 135: Refrain + Alleluia
- (4) Ps. 135: 2
- (5) Ps. 135: Refrain + Alleluia

- (6) Gal. 3: 27a
- (7) Gal. 3: 27b + All. (= *repetendum*)
- (8) Doxology A + *repetendum*
- (9) Doxology B + *repetendum*

Italy. The three functions already represented in this collection of neophytes' chants—the Alleluia, Offertory, and Communion—can perhaps be augmented by two others. First of these is the Greco-Latin antiphon *Doxa en ipsistis—Gloria in excelsis*, which is preserved in three of the more conservative Beneventan manuscripts as the accompaniment to the processional return from the baptismal font, or, just after this, at what appears to be the position of the *Gloria in excelsis* at the vigil Mass itself.¹⁸ An Ambrosian melodic counterpart has been pointed out by Huglo in

¹⁸ PM, 14, p. 433 and plates XXI, XXVII.

Ex. 2 (continued)

(b) 

(6) Qui in Chri - sto ba - pti - - za - ti e - stis (end)

(7) Chri - stum in - du - i - stis Al - le - lu - ia

(8) Glo-ri - a pa - tri et fi-li-o et spi-ri - tu - i san - cto (7) Christum etc.

(9a) Si-cut e - rat in prin - ci - pi - o et nunc et sem-per

(9b) et in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum a - men (7) Christum etc.

TABLE A: MUSIC

*Alleluia I**Psalmodic I + Psalmodic II**Psalmodic III + Cadence M + Alleluia II**Psalmodic I*

[= line (3)]

*Free-Centonate + Cadence N'**Free-Centonate + Alleluia II (= repetendum)**Psalmodic III + Cadence N + repetendum**Psalmodic III + Cadence N' + repetendum*

the Ante-Evangelium for Christmas, the text here being only in Latin.¹⁹ Huglo points also to a third representative, closer to the Ambrosian than to the Beneventan, among the Nonantolan tropers, which have it moved from Christmas to St. Stephen's Day in what must be an attempt to hold on to an older regional usage by proximity, after its traditional place is preempted by the standard Gregorian practice. Despite the conflicts of feast and category, the regional dialects again all represent the same under-

¹⁹ M. Huglo *et al.*, *Fonti e paleografia del canto ambrosiano* (Milano, 1956; Archivio Ambrosiano, VII), p. 122.

lying melody. Although the Nonantolan version has the poorest melodic reading, it broadens the geographical base still further, to take in now the central region of North Italy. The three versions are compared in Ex. 4.²⁰ Huglo's observation about the Beneventan and Ambrosian Alleluias is worth recording: "la rassomiglianza melodica è perfino sorprendente."

A fifth relic of this old-Italian neophytes' Proper may be the Fraction antiphon *Hic est Agnus qui de celo*, which was sung before the Pax Domini on Holy Saturday or Easter over a wide area of Northeast and central Italy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries—from Ravenna and Mantua south through Bologna to the regions of Pistoia and Siena. It is, however, the Sacrificial Lamb rather than the Baptismal Lamb with which the text is essentially concerned; and rather than Italian origin it may represent something of the Gallican influence that left other traces in these areas. Huglo, who first published it, remarked that the term *Agnus*, designating Christ as represented in the Eucharistic elements, and particularly at the moment of the Fraction, may indicate a translation from an Eastern liturgy.²¹ The music has a rigorous bi-level organization (line-patterns and their centonate-formulaic components) of the kind if not the complexity found in the Ravennate Alleluia and Offertory in Ex. 2. It also has something of the structural use of tonal contrast found there. But with the shorter text (two distichs plus two half-line Alleluia-refrains, making ten half-lines in all), the *Hic est Agnus* calls for fewer musical elements, and the applications are more mechanical. All of the materials are seen in Ex. 5,²² which has the first half-line (Pattern X), the second half-line (Pattern Y) and the

²⁰ Ex. 4a (Nonantolan): Rome, Casanatense 1741, fol. 58 (facsimile: G. Vecchi, *Troparium sequentiarium nonantulanum, pars prior* [Modena, 1955]); Rome, Bibl. naz. 1343 (Sess. 62), fol. 22^v; Bologna, Bibl. univ. 2824, fol. 29. Ex. 4b (Milanese): *AMM*, p. 43. Ex. 4c (Beneventan): *PM*, 14, p. 433. The first and third Alleluias are the same in each tradition. Worth note in connection with the Doxa-Gloria antiphon is H. Schmidt's remark (*Hebdomada sancta*, p. 867): "Praesertim in GeV (the old Gelasian Sacramentary) et GeE (the Angoulême copy of the 8th-century Gelasian) positio Gloria in excelsis sub capite de baptismo et non sub capite de Missa, signum est, quod hymnus angelicus principio erat hymnus baptismalis." The chant in Ex. 4 may be related to Roman Gloria XI, which appears widely for the Easter and Pentecost vigils in Italian traditions; D. Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien zum "Gloria in excelsis deo"* (Regensburg, 1955), Mel. 51, pp. 62, 99f; *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (henceforth *MGG*), ed. F. Blume, V, col. 314 (article, "Gloria in excelsis").

²¹ M. Huglo, "Antifone antiche per la 'Fractio Panis,'" *Ambrosius*, 31 (1955), pp. 92-94; he concludes that the piece "appartiene ad un repertorio pregregoriano dell'Italia del Nord." Gallican influence is implied by P. Salmon, "Un breviaire-missel du xi^e siècle," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, VIII (Vatican, 1964; Studi e testi, tom. 237), 333. A facsimile after Rome, Angelica 123 is in L. Gherardi, *Il Codice Angelica 123, monumento della chiesa bolognese nel sec. xi* (Bologna, 1960; also *Quadrivium*, III [1959]), Tav. xvii. Sources not previously listed are Verona, Bibl. Capit. CVII (100), fol. 123^v, probably from Mantua, and Pistoia, Bibl. Capit. C.119, fol. 56, probably from Pistoia.

²² Modena O.I.7, fol. 109^v. Melodic variants from source to source are considerable; among diastematic sources, the Nonantolan manuscripts present the material in transposition at the fifth above.

Example 3

(a) RAV [omitted]

(1) Om - - nes qui in Chri - - sto
(transposed down a 5th)

(b) BEN

(2) ba - pti - za - - ti e - - - stis

(3) Chri - - stum in - du - i - - - stis

(4) Al - le - - - - lu - - - ia

final Alleluia (Pattern X again). The two patterns simply alternate to accommodate the ten half-lines, except at (7), where the direct repetition of Y brings the second Alleluia, like the first, out on opening Pattern X:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1=X) <i>Hic est agnus</i> | (2=Y) <i>qui de celo</i> |
| (3=X) <i>cuius corpus</i> | (4=Y) <i>super altare frangitur.</i> |
| (5=X) <i>Alleluia.</i> | |
| (6=Y) <i>Et qui mundo corde</i> | (7=Y) <i>ex eo acceperit</i> |
| (8=X) <i>anima eius</i> | (9=Y) <i>vivet in perpetuum.</i> |
| (10=X) <i>Alleluia.</i> | |

Example 4

(a) NON

(1) Glo - ri - a in ex - cel-sis De - o

(b) MED

(1) Glo - ri - a in ex - cel-sis De - o

(c) BEN

(1) Do - xa en i - psi-stis The - o

(2) et — in ter - ra pax —

(2) et — in ter - ra pax —

(2) ke (e-) pi — gis y - ri - - ni —

(end)

(3) Al - - - le - - lu - ia

(3) Hal - - - le - - lu - jah

(3) Al - - - le - - lu - ia

[repeat line (3)]

(4) Al - - - le - lu - ia

[repeat line (3)]

(4) Hal - - - le - lu - jah

[repeat line (3)]

(4) Al - - - le - lu - ia —

Pattern X is in D-plagal, though only at its last appearance, in the second Alleluia-refrain, does it drop to final pitch D rather than the E on which it has ended previously. In detail, Pattern X has three centonate formulas: *A* and *B* are initial or medial, and *C* is terminal; formula *B* receives the accented syllables so that the order of *A* and *B* in half-line 1 is interchangeable later on. Pattern *Y* is psalmodic, an excursion tonally to a kind of E-plagal with inflected reciting tone on G; it has two formulaic elements, both cadential: *D*, which is penultimate, and *E*, which is terminal. No other material is needed. This Fraction antiphon, of uncertain origin though probably North Italian, and with a liturgical assignment that varies between Easter and its vigil, remains on the margins of the complex. Its structural logic, however, resembles that of the Ravennate Alleluia and Offertory in Ex. 2, and if it issues from some other workshop it is likely to be a neighboring practitioner of comparably high style, and one whose repertory has left as little trace.

Up to this point the musical documents have come from outside Rome. Yet there is a familiar representative at Rome itself. The Communion for Saturday in Easter week, *Omnis qui in Christo*, has the same text as the Beneventan and Ravennate Offertories for the Easter vigil; and though the liturgical assignments and categories differ, the Gregorian (Ex. 6a)²³ and Roman (Ex. 6b)²⁴ Communions represent the same underlying material as the Beneventan and Ravennate Offertories compared in Ex. 3.²⁵

With the addition of Rome, the spectrum of Italian musical evidence for the neophytes' chants is essentially complete. A summary in Table B shows the regional distribution of the materials, with pieces aligned horizontally related musically; except where specified, the liturgical assignments are for the Easter vigil.

These widely dispersed chants are apparent reflections of an important Italian practice. Its outlines can be drawn more sharply by two further observations which lead also into unexpected paths. Each is concerned with the question of mode. The first is that all elements of this neophytes' Proper seem to be in the same mode. This is normally D-plagal, though at Benevento, whose defection will have to be accounted

²³ Modena O.I.7, fol. 117; for the purpose of comparisons that follow, it is the Gregorian reading of Ravenna that is given.

²⁴ Vatican lat. 5319, fol. 95^v.

²⁵ The Gregorian-Beneventan musical connection, obscured by the seat of the Beneventan chant in a variety of E- or G-mode, again eluded Hesbert (*PM*, 14, p. 445). When he republished the discussion some years later, one of his two changes adds emphasis to the text connection: "deux compositeurs différents et indépendants, à Rome et à Bénévent, ne se seraient pas rencontré par hasard sur cette combinaison identique"; but the musical connection remained out of reach: "les mélodies sont spécifiquement différents," as it does also with *Hymnum canite*; "L'*Antiphonale missarum* de l'ancien rit bénéventain. Le Samedi-Saint," *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 61 (1947), pp. 209, 210.

Example 5

Pattern X

(1) Hic est _____ a - - - gnus _____

Pattern Y

(2) qui de ce - lo de - scen - - - dit _____

Pattern X'

(10) Al - - - le - - lu - - - ia _____

Example 6

(a) GREG

(1) Om - - - nes qui in Chri - - - sto

(b) ROM

(2) ba - pti - za - ti e - - - stis

(3) Chri - stum in - du - i - stis

(4) Al - - - le - - lu - - - ia

TABLE B

	BENEVENTO	MILAN	RAVENNA	NONANTOLA & ITALIAN	ROME & GREGORIAN
1. Gloria- antiphon	<i>Doxa-Gloria</i>	<i>Gloria</i> (Xmas)	<i>Gloria</i> (Stephen)		
2. Alleluia verses	<i>Resurrexit</i> \cong <i>Laudate pueri</i>	<i>Resurrexit</i>			[cf. <i>Confitemini</i>]
3. Offertory		<i>Omnis qui</i>	<i>[Omnis] qui</i>	<i>Omnis qui</i> [as Communion, Easter Sat.]	
4. Fraction- antiphon			(?) <i>Hic est</i> <i>Agnus</i>	<i>Hic est</i> <i>Agnus</i>	
5. Communion		<i>Hymnum canite</i>			[cf. Offertory]

for, it is evidently changed to a sort of G-plagal.²⁶ The second observation, related to this, is anticipated by Dom Hesbert's remark that the closing Alleluia-refrain of the Beneventan Offertory *Omnes qui in Christo* is "à peu de chose près," the same as the refrain of the Beneventan Alleluia verse-complex *Resurrexit tamquam—Laudate pueri*.²⁷ At Ravenna as well, it has already appeared that a single Alleluia-refrain (*Alleluia II* of Exx. 2a and 2b) connects the Alleluia verses and the Offertory. In fact, the Alleluia-refrains that occur in every one of these chants may be related by more than the common mode. From the tabulation in Ex. 7 it seems possible that the refrains of all of them (perhaps excepting the *Hic est Agnus* in Ex. 7g) represent a single melodic archetype.²⁸ Thus the interrelationships of these neophytes' chants would run not only horizontally or geographically as in Table B, with the various regional versions, but also vertically or liturgically as in Ex. 7, with the successive chants of a prototype Proper linked by the single mode and by what may have been a single refrain. There would be a fundamental logic about the use of a constant chant for the Alleluia, the principal refrain for Easter as the *Gloria in excelsis* is for Christmas, throughout this archaic Easter Mass. In any case, this helps to secure the connection of the Doxa-Gloria, and perhaps of the *Hic est Agnus*, to the complex.

The questions of single mode and single Alleluia return now within a larger context. Before the network of Italian chants in Exx. 1-7 can be viewed in perspective, a final musical area remains to be filled in. This concerns parallels in the Eastern Church. Hints of Eastern background have already come up in the Greek text of the Doxa-Gloria antiphon, in the theology of the *Hic est Agnus*, and in the four-element cadences of the Ravenna Alleluia *Confitemini*. If the first two of these chants are at the margins of the complex, there are more tangible traces at its center. One is the single mode running through the service, for something like this seems to be at the root of the early musical continuity of the Byzantine Mass—the Divine Liturgy. The elaborate choral chants of the Byzantine Ordinary along with some semi-Ordinary Communions are, by and large,

²⁶ Only the Nonantolan transposition of *Hic est Agnus* to the upper fifth brings any other of these chants in a different mode.

²⁷ *PM*, 14, p. 445.

²⁸ Ex. 7a (Ravenna): *Alleluia I*, preceding the verse *Confitemini* in Ex. 2a; Ex. 7b (Beneventan): Alleluia refrain preceding the verses *Resurrexit tamquam* and *Laudate pueri* (*PM*, 14, p. 442); Ex. 7c (Beneventan): Offertory *Omnes qui* (transposed) (= Ex. 3b); Ex. 7d (Ravenna): interlinear and terminal *Alleluia II* for the Alleluia verse *Confitemini* (Ex. 2a) and the Offertory *Qui in Christo* (Ex. 2b); Ex. 7e (Milanese): first of the terminal Alleluias to the Transitorium *Hymnum canite* (= Ex. 1a); Ex. 7f: (Beneventan = Milanese): terminal Alleluia 1=3 to the Doxa-Gloria antiphon (= Ex. 4); Ex. 7g (North and Central Italian): Fraction Antiphon *Hic est Agnus*, terminal Alleluia (= Ex. 5); Ex. 7h (Milanese): Alleluia refrain preceding Easter-vigil verse *Resurrexit tamquam* (*AMM*, p. 202).

limited to the plagal and authentic modes on E and the plagal on G in their earliest preserved versions, which date from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. These florid chants, in turn, show signs of being musical outgrowths of the liturgical recitatives that evidently clothed the continuity of utterances by the celebrant, deacon, and congregation in the Liturgy's plainer form. There are traces of three such recitatives, differing in function as in musical detail, but compatible within what may have been conceived as a single modal area comprising elements that eventually went into the E- and G-modes.²⁹ One Western reflection of this appears in the odd mixture of Proper and Ordinary, Byzantine, pseudo-Byzantine, and Western chants that make up the *missa graeca* for Pentecost. Relics of this Carolingian compilation, whose chants are in the modes on E and G, circulate in Frankish-derived traditions of the ninth through twelfth centuries.³⁰ Another Western manifestation may be this Italian neophytes' Proper, though the mode here is D-plagal (only Benevento apparently puts it in G-plagal), which conflicts with what is otherwise known of the practice.

For the single melody that would be behind the neophytes' Alleluia refrains in Ex. 7 there is no specific Eastern parallel, although the simple Byzantine liturgical recitatives tend to produce similar effects with the Amen and Alleluia in the course of the Liturgy.³¹ For this particular root-melody the range of comparisons should probably be expanded to include some others, among them the standard Byzantine refrain for the Mass-Alleluias in the protos plagal. At Constantinople, where the Alleluia-verses use only six of the eight modes (as at Milan, the modes in F are ignored), the Psaltikon or soloist's book provides only a single refrain for each mode. The one for D-plagal is given in Ex. 8a³² after an authoritative Byzantine tradition of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, which unfortunately lacks its final jubilus, and in Ex. 8b³³ after a South Italian (Grottaferrata) tradition of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries which supplies what may be the beginning of its jubilus. There is no firm connection between the Byzantine refrains in Ex. 8 and the

²⁹ See my "Three Byzantine Acclamations," *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, 1968), pp. 43-57; "A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week," this JOURNAL, XVI (1963), 127-175, particularly 157ff; "The Byzantine Sanctus and its Modal Tradition in East and West," *Annales musicologiques*, VI (1958-63), 7-67.

³⁰ "The Byzantine Sanctus," cited in the last note, and M. Huglo, "Les Chants de le *Missa Greca* de Saint-Denis," in *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed. Jack Westrup (Oxford, 1966), pp. 74-83.

³¹ See the tabulation in my "Three Byzantine Acclamations," Ex. 3, p. 50.

³² Ex. 8a: Christian Thodberg, *Der Byzantinische Alleluiarionzyklus* (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae [henceforth MMB], Subsidia, Volumen VIII; Copenhagen, 1966), p. 42, after Patmos 221, fol. 44^v and Sinai 1280, fol. 58.

³³ Ex. 8b: Florence, Laurenziana Ashb. gr. 64 (facsimile: MMB, Principal Series, vol. 4, *Contacarium Ashburnhamense*, ed. Carsten Høeg, Copenhagen, 1956), fol. 223^v and Vatican gr. 1562, fol. 60.

Example 7

(a)
RAV: All. I

(b)
BEN: All.

(c)
BEN: Off.

(d)
RAV: All. II
+ Off.

(e)
MED: Transit.

(f)
BEN:
Doxa-ant.

(g)
ITAL:
Fract.-ant.

(h)
MED: All.

Al - - - - le - - - -

hypothetical original underlying Ex. 7 (nor, for that matter, between the two refrains in Ex. 8), but the possibilities are clear enough.³⁴ To develop them further would call for consideration of a broader range of Alleluias in the protos plagal than is possible here, among them the Constantinopolitan Ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν with its cognate Roman (in transliterated Greek), Gregorian-Roman, and Milanese Alleluias on *Dominus regnabit*,³⁵ and the various Western traditions for the enigmatic Latin-Greek verse-pair, *Dies sanctificatus—Ymera agias-*

³⁴ Striking though probably accidental is the resemblance between two melismas in the Italian Greek and Latin traditions: Ex. 8b (Grottaferrata—Greek) and Ex. 8c (Ravenna—Latin = Ex. 7a = Ex. 2a).

³⁵ The question is studied in depth by Thodberg, *Der Byzantinische Alleluianionzyklus*, pp. 175–182.

Ex. 7 (continued)

lu ia _____
meni,

the more familiar of which embodies the same double recitation-tones on D and F found in the Ravennate Alleluia *Confitemini*.³⁶

³⁶ A relationship between the Milanese version of the Alleluia *Resurrexit tamquam* (= Ex. 7h) and the standard Gregorian-Roman and Roman melodies for *Dies sanctificatus* is proposed by Professor Stäblein in *MGG*, I, cols. 341-344; he returns to the *Dies-Ymera* complex from other viewpoints in "Der Tropus 'Dies sanctificatus' zum Alleluia 'Dies sanctificatus,'" *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 25 (1962), pp. 504-515, and "Das sogenannte aquitanische 'Alleluia Dies sanctificatus' und seine Sequenz," in *Hans Albrecht im Memoriam* (Kassel, 1962), pp. 22-26; some points here are anticipated by Heinrich Husmann's remarks in "Sinn und Wesen der Tropen," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XVI (1959), 136. In "Alleluia, Sequenz, und Prosa im alt-spanischen Choral," *Miscelánea en Homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés*, I (Barcelona, 1958-61), 411, Husmann suggests: "wenn man die Alleluia phrasen der Alleluia der verschiedenen Riten miteinander vergleicht, so schälen sich sogar in ihren melodischen Verlauf gemeinsame Urtypen heraus, und es zeigt sich, dass die Vielfalt der heutigen Alleluia sich wohl erst später aus einer kleinen Anzahl von allen Liturgien gemeinsam 'Ur-Alleluia' entwickelt hat." Husmann had previously considered the relation of Christmas and Easter Alleluias in *Annales musicologiques*, IV (1956), and returned to this kind of relationship in an important page of his "*Iustus ut palma*.

Example 8

(a) BYZ
 (b) BYZ-ITAL
 (c) RAV

[Al-] le - ia

A further index of Byzantine connections may lie in the verses of the Ravenna Alleluia. Their origin is obscure: most likely North Italian, though perhaps Byzantine-inspired or related to an archaic Alleluia-usage of some other Eastern rite (Jerusalem?) than Constantinople.³⁷ There is no obvious correspondence with the verses in the Psaltikon. A different sort of parallel would involve the Byzantine settings of the 135th Psalm, called the *Polyeleos* (literally: “many-mercies”) in its liturgical usage, after the refrain that follows each of the Psalm’s twenty-six verses: *for his mercy endureth forever*. The *Polyeleos* usually appears in the

Alleluia und Sequenzen in St. Gallen und St. Martial,” *Revue belge de musicologie*, 10 (1956), 128. A discussion of the literature in its Byzantine applications is in Thodberg, *Der Byzantinische Alleluiaionzyklus*, pp. 41, 176, 192–194.

³⁷ The tradition at the Capital is the main subject of Thodberg’s study; remains of other Eastern traditions (Georgian-Jerusalem, and that of Leningrad gr. 44) are considered on pp. 34–36. A North Italian musical usage deserves notice: *Ps. 135: 1–2* serves as a quasi-ordinary chant, perhaps a Lucernarium, in the preparation of 12th-century Ambrosian Vespers; cf. E. Cattaneo, *Il breviario ambrosiano* (Milan, 1943), p. 219f; *Beroldus* (ed. M. Magistretti [1894], pp. 53–54); *Manuale ambrosianum* (ed. Magistretti [1905], p. 445); there is no Alleluia attached; no music seems to be preserved.

morning service (Orthros) of Great Feasts as one of the Proper selections from the Psalter.³⁸ Its earliest known versions, from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries, are in some respects like the Ravennate Alleluia verses, with similar arrangements of psalm and refrain lines: simple intonations, unembellished reciting-tones, and florid four-element cursive cadences followed by Alleluias whose melismatic expansion comes on the second syllable. But where the Byzantine cursive cadences and Alleluias complete both the psalm and refrain lines, at Ravenna only the refrains are so treated. And where the Ravennate chant is in D-plagal, no preserved Byzantine setting has its opening verses in that mode. The commonest Byzantine arrangement in fact conflicts with this, for the verses are distributed in the number-order of the modal cycle, beginning with D-authentic.³⁹ The Ravennate verses may nevertheless reflect a lost state of an Easter *Polyeleos* or of some Eastern Alleluia cycle; they may represent an independent Byzantinizing construction at Ravenna; or they may be simply the relics of a native Western Alleluia practice with multiple verses.

The last element in the Byzantine background is the most tangible. To anyone familiar with the Eastern rites, the text of the Offertory-Communion *Omnès qui in Christo* is identifiable with the widely-used baptismal chant “Οσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε. Αλληλούια. Its Eastern applications are for baptism in general and for Holy Saturday in particular. The ninth-tenth century Typikon of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople has it at the Easter vigil, sung first by the *primikeros*, the chief of the first choir of *psaltai*, as the Patriarch anoints the neophytes at the baptistry, then again as the Patriarch enters the sanctuary, and again in place of the Ordinary Trisagion, “Αγιος ὁ Θεός, at the opening of the Divine Liturgy on Easter morning and on each

³⁸ Nilo Borgia, *Horologion*. “Diurno” delle chiese di rito bizantino (Orientalia christiana, vol. XVI-2, 1929), pp. 178–182; A. Baumstark, *Nocturna laus*, ed. O. Heiming (Münster Westfalen, 1957), pp. 138f, 147f.

³⁹ The oldest preserved version, Slavic 12th-century, is arranged in this way (Leningrad Public Library Q.I.32 [Blagoveshchensky Kondakar], fols. 107–113; facsimiles: Metallov, *Russkaia Simiografia* [Moscow, 1912], pl. XXI; *Akten des XI. Intern. Byzantinisten-Kongresses* [Munich, 1960], Taf. LXXXVII; N. Uspenskii, *Drevne-russkoe pevtcheskoe iskussstvo* [Moscow, 1965], pl. VII); what is perhaps the next oldest, South-Italian Greek, late 13th-century (Messina, Bibl. univ. gr. 161, fols. 35^v–44^r), is also so arranged, as are most of the monastic Constantinopolitan, Thessalonican, and Athonite versions beginning with the late 13th and 14th centuries. Two examples of what may be other Greek psalmodic “antiphons” in the West are pointed out by Dom Petit (article, “Antiphone dans la liturgie grecque” in Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d’archéologie et de liturgie chrétienne*, I, 2482) in the *Variae preces*, (5th ed. Paris, 1901), p. 201, a version of Psalm 44 for the Assumption, and by Dom Brou (“Les chants en langue grecque dans les liturgies latines,” in *Sacris eruditri*, IV [1952], 234), referring again to the *Variae preces*, p. 153, a version of Psalm 46 for the Ascension. In Vat. Barb. gr. 300 (Byzantine, 15th–16th centuries), fol. 88, there is a version in G-plagal rubricated to the vigils of Great Feasts, though this may be only the last verse of the Psalm.

day of the week that follows.⁴⁰ Its most prominent Byzantine use reaches beyond the Easter season, for it is the regular substitute for the Trisagion on Christmas, Epiphany, the Saturday before Palm Sunday, and Pentecost.⁴¹ It remains today the Trisagion for Great Feasts. In the eclectic Typikon compiled by St. Luke of Messina in the early twelfth century it is prescribed throughout Easter week, while in one thirteenth-century South Italian tradition it is sung until Ascension.⁴² In the Typikon of 1122 for Jerusalem's Church of the Resurrection, which in the face of growing Constantinopolitan influence retains a substantial layer of older Palestinian practice, it is prescribed for the Divine Liturgy at the Easter vigil and at Easter.⁴³ In the tenth-century Sinai copy of the Georgian Lectionary, which reflects a substantially earlier Jerusalem usage, it appears as a processional hymn in the "first mode," sung by the *illuminandi* as they enter following the service of the twelve prophetic lessons.⁴⁴

The Byzantine musical documents have a single tradition for this chant during the Empire. First hints of it are in the tenth-century Constantinople Typikon and the Prophet-Lectionary, which give the mode as D-plagal, and perhaps in the "first" mode designation of the Georgian Lectionary.⁴⁵ The first music is in a related Constantinople source, the *Asmatikon*, a choral anthology that transmits the melismatic repertory of the small choirs (*psaltai*) of Hagia Sophia. While the Asmatic melodic tradition may reach back to the eleventh or even the tenth century, the known copies date from the twelfth through fourteenth. In addition to properly Byzantine copies, there are South Italian Greek and derived Slavonic copies, the latter employing the so-called *kondakarion* notation.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Patmos 266, published by A. A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei*, I (Kiev, 1895), 136; J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la grande église* (Orientalia christiana analecta, vols. 165-166 [Rome, 1962-63]), II, 88-98.

⁴¹ All are feasts with baptismal ceremonies or associations; Mateos, *Le Typicon*, I, 158, 186; II, 64, 138; *Prophetologium*, ed. C. Høeg and G. Zuntz (MMB, Lectionaria, I), 1 (Copenhagen, 1935-62), 78, 353, 492 etc.

⁴² Messina, Bibl. univ. gr. 115, fol. 226^v; Messina gr. 129, fol. 114.

⁴³ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameos, *Analekta Hierosolymitikēs Stachyologias*, II (St. Petersburg, 1894), 186-187; this manuscript, Jerusalem Stavrou 43, unfortunately omits the description of baptism.

⁴⁴ M. Tarchnischvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem* (Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, vols. 188-189, 204-205 [Louvain, 1959-61]), vol. 189, pp. 110, 113. The old-Armenian Lectionary has similar provisions but no text is specified; A. Renoux, "Un manuscrit du lectionnaire arménien de Jérusalem," *Le Muséon*, 74 (1961), p. 377; a related Byzantine usage is noted in the 14th-century description of baptism by Symeon of Thessalonica, *De sacramentis* (Migne, PG, 155, cols. 231ff).

⁴⁵ Mateos, *Le Typicon*, II, 94; Tarchnischvili, vol. 189, p. 110.

⁴⁶ Attention was first directed to the Asmatikon and its companion volume for soloists, the Psaltikon, by Oliver Strunk in a paper delivered at the Ninth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Thessalonika, 1953: "S. Salvatore di Messina and the Musical Tradition of Magna Graecia"; an abstract appears in Περιφραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Λιτεύοντος Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Athens, 1956), II, 275. The copies of the Asmatikon at Grottaferrata are studied by Father Bartolomeo di Salvo, "Asmatikòn," *Bullettino della badia greca di Grottaferrata, Nuova Serie*, XVI (1962), 135-158.

Example 9

(πλ α')

"Ouran."

"Nana"

1

2

3

(1) "Ο - σοι εἰς Χριστόν - στὸν

(2) ἐ - βα - πτὶ - σθη - τε

(3) Χρι - στὸν - ἐ - νε - δὺ - σα - σθε (end)

(4) Ἀλ - λη - λού - α

(5) Δέ - ξα - Πα - τρὶ καὶ - Τὶ - ώ - καὶ - ...

(6) ... αὶ - ώ - νας - τῶν - αὶ - ω - νων - ; [repeat lines (3) and (4)]

(7) Α - μὴν -

All have essentially the same material for "Οσοι εἰς Χριστόν, a moderately florid centonate chant given in Ex. 9 after an authoritative Byzantine tra-

Transcriptions and detailed discussion of the Greek and Slavic Asmatic style are in my "A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week," this JOURNAL, XVI (1963), 127-175. The discovery of the relation between the 12th- and 13th-century Slavonic Kondakar manuscripts and the 13th-century Byzantine copies of the Asmatikon, with the important key to decipherment of the previously enigmatic "kondakarion notation," was communicated in my review of the facsimile edition of the Uspensky Kondakar in *The Musical Quarterly*, XLVII (1961), 554-558, and in my paper delivered at the XIe Congrès International des Études Byzantines at Ochrid in September 1961 ("The Byzantine Communion-Cycle and its Slavic Counterpart," published in the *Actes du Congrès*, II [Belgrade, 1964], 571-574). First applications of the parallel-formula method of decipherment of the *kondakarion* notation appear in the *Musical Quarterly* review and in my "An Early Chant for Romanus' *Contacium trium puerorum*," *Classica et mediaevalia*, XIII (1961), 172-175. The method has since been employed by C. Floros, "Die Entzifferung der Kondakarien-Notation," *Musik des Ostens*, III (1965), 7-71, and IV (1967), 12-44.

dition of the thirteenth century.⁴⁷ The Asmatikon, in principle, contains only those portions of the chants that were sung by the small choirs. Thus the music as it stands is incomplete, for the Typikon specifies that after the *psaltae* stationed at the ambo have sung “Οσοι εἰς Χριστόν, it is sung again by the priests who are within the sanctuary. For the priests’ version no music is preserved until the fourteenth-century monastic anthologies called the *Akolouthiai*.⁴⁸ These provide readings both for the *psaltae* (Ex. 10a)⁴⁹ and for the priests (Ex. 10b),⁵⁰ with the latter turning out to be not the repetition but the complement—a modal and melodic relative—of the former. Ex. 10a, however, is an obvious descendent of the Asmatikon’s version for the *psaltae* in Ex. 9, displaying the tendency of the Akolouthiai to relax the centonate rigor of the older style by dissolving its set formulas into free melismas and exploiting generally their own looser *kalophonic* style of embellishment.⁵¹ One must reckon accordingly with recent melodic decay behind the priests’ version in Ex. 10b, and even with accelerating decay, for at the time of its first noted appearance this priests’ version is competing with a reduction of its material to a simpler modal recitative, given in Ex. 11.⁵²

⁴⁷ Mount Athos, Lavra Γ. 3, fol. 51; the related Slavonic version is available in the Uspensky Kondakar (*Contacarium palaeoslavicum mosquense*, ed. A. Bugge; MMB, Principal Series, VI [Copenhagen, 1960]), fol. 182v.

⁴⁸ The background and styles of the Akolouthiai are treated most extensively in the 1968 Yale Ph.D. dissertation by Edward V. Williams, *John Koukouzeles’ Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth Century*; see also M. M. Velimirović, “Byzantine Composers in MS Athens 2406,” *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed. J. Westrup (Oxford, 1966), pp. 7–18; C. Thodberg, *Der Byzantinische Alleluiaionzyklus*, pp. 27–29; K. Levy, “A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week,” pp. 154–171; O. Strunk, “The Antiphons of the Oktoechos,” this JOURNAL, XIII (1960), 53–67.

⁴⁹ Milan, Ambrosiana grec. 476 (copied between 1341 and ca. 1360), fol. 238v.

⁵⁰ Ibid., fol. 239.

⁵¹ This is illustrated among the opening syllables of Exx. 9 and 10a in the expansion of the modified *ouranisma* on -ο: (although the following *nana* is kept intact) and in the later version’s embellishment of the triple-rising figure on the three syllables εἰς Χριστόν. The names and Early Byzantine notational signs for some formulas (including *ouranisma* and *nana*) are in the little treatise of Athos, Lavra Γ.67 (10th–11th century), fol. 159, published first by H.J.W. Tillyard, “Fragment of a Byzantine Musical Handbook,” *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XIX (1912–13), 95–117, and several times since, most recently by Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1961), p. 273. The names and music of a larger number, including some from the earlier treatise, are in the didactic chant, “Ισον, δλίγον, composed around the turn of the 14th century by Joannes Koukouzeles; a facsimile after the earliest dated copy, Athens 2458 (anno 1336), is published by G. Dévai, “The Musical Study of Koukouzeles in a 14th-century Manuscript,” *Acta antiqua academie scientiarum Hungariae*, VI (1958), 213–235; illustrations of the formulas within the centonate Asmatic style are in my “A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week,” pp. 136–139 (also a discussion of the *kalophonic* style, pp. 155ff), and within the syllabic style in Strunk’s “Intonations and Signatures of the Byzantine Modes,” *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXI (1945), 344, 349, and 352.

⁵² Ambrosiana grec. 476, fol. 239v, labeled ἔτερον, κοινόν (“an alternate, common”). In a source about a generation later (Sinai 1293, fol. 241v) the accompany-

Example 10

(a)

“Ouran.” ————— “Nana” [1] [2] [3]

(1) ο - σοι ————— εις Χρι - στὸν —————
 (2) ἐ - βα - πτι - - - σθη - - -

(3) Χρι - στὸν ————— ἐ - νε - δύ - - -
 (4a) Ἄλ - λη - - -

(b)

(1) ο - σοι ————— εις Χρι - στὸν ————— (2) ἐ - βα - πτι - - - σθη - τε
 (3) Χρι - στὸν - ἐ - νε - δύ - σα - σθε
 (4) Ἄλ - λη - - - λού - - - τ - α
 (5) Δό - ξα - Πα - πτι - καὶ Τι - ω - καὶ - - -
 etc.

Example 11

(πλ α')

(1) "O - σοι εἰς Χρι - στὸν (2) ἐ - βα - πτι - σθη - τε
(3) Χρι - στὸν ἐ - νε - δύ - σα - σθε (4) Ἀλ - λη - - λού - τ - α
(5) Ἄδ - ξα Πα - τρι καὶ Τι - ϕ καὶ 'Α - γι - ω — Πνεύ - μα - τι
(6a) καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀ - εὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἱ - ω - νας
(6b) τῶν αἱ - ω - νων. 'Α - μήν (Repetendum) Χρι - στὸν ἐ - - - etc.

The relationships between the Eastern and Western versions of the hymn are clearest in the repetendum and concluding Alleluia, where the performing forces probably joined. They are compared in Ex. 12.⁵³ In two or three cases there can be traced the kind of underlying scheme already observed in the internal *ABAB'* structure of the Ravennate version (Ex. 12b). Thus the *ABA'B'* of the Byzantine Asmatikon (Ex. 12a) and the *ABCB'* of the Gregorian reading at Ravenna (Ex. 12d) suggest much the same thing—perhaps an original *ABAB*. In the *editio vaticana*, which agrees essentially with the Gregorian-Aquitanian and Gregorian-Beneventan readings, if this once existed it is now obscured. In the old-Beneventan (Ex. 12c), nothing like it can be seen, although the melody-profile of the Beneventan Alleluia is close to that of the old-Ravennate, as it is to the Byzantine. And in the Old-Roman (Ex. 12f), the gentle

ing Doxology is labeled συνοπτικόν, παλαιόν ("simple, old"), though it is improbable that this psalmodic formulation is at the root of the Asmatic-derived stylization in Ex. 12b. The version in Ex. 11 has been published after Athens 899 (15th-century) in the important study by Markos Ph. Dragoumis, "The Survival of Byzantine Chant in the Monophonic Music of the Modern Greek Church," in *Studies in Eastern Chant*, ed. E. Wellesz and M. Velimirović, I (Oxford, 1966), 21; it is accompanied there by a musical descendant in an anthology of the year 1846.

⁵³ Ex. 12a (Byzantine): Lavra Γ.3, fol. 51 (= Ex. 9, line 2); Ex. 12b (Ravennate): Modena O.I.7, fol. 101 (= Ex. 2a); Ex. 12c (Beneventan): PM, 14, p. 445 (= Ex. 3b); Ex. 12d (Gregorian-Ravennate): Modena O.I.7, fol. 117; Ex. 12e (Gregorian-editio-vaticana): *Graduale . . . de tempore et de sanctis* (Vatican, 1908), p. 220; Ex. 12f (Old Roman): Vat. lat. 5319, fol. 95^v.

curves characteristic of that style cover whatever there may have been of the regular scheme. However the notion of the schematic archetype is viewed, the essential unity of the traditions for this hymn is remarkable. With a single musical material represented at the three "Romes," from the Tiber to Constantinople to Kiev, diffused throughout Italy, reaching perhaps to Spain and, in the East, to the early rite of Jerusalem and its Georgian derivative, the breadth of testimony for this hymn is unique among Early Christian chants.⁵⁴ No less remarkable is the close connection that is implied in Ex. 12 between the Byzantine and Ravennate traditions. Extending as this does to other formal aspects—the transmission of the Doxology and the point of initiation of the repetendum—it has historical implications that must now be explored.

The central facts about the neophytes' chants are these: the existence of an extraordinarily unified musical and liturgical practice with substantial remains at three provincial centers, Milan in the North, Ravenna in the East-Center, and the Campanian and Apulian regions of the Beneventan South and East; there are traces in the North-Central regions, and an isolated trace at Rome (the Easter Saturday Communion). A central origin seems indicated, and since Rome appears to play only a minor part, even specifically excluding such chants from its vigil Mass in the earliest preserved books, the choice seems to fall to one or another of the three places where the relics are concentrated. An additional factor is the network of Eastern parallels, which, with the single mode, would embrace all of the Western functions. Even if a Greek melodic parallel were not preserved in "Οσοι εἰς Χριστόν—*Omnis qui in Christo*, Eastern influence must be suspected, for Milan, Ravenna, and Benevento all have long histories of exchange with the East.⁵⁵ In the end, a choice among them, with or without the precondition of Eastern origin, re-

⁵⁴ Among versions with preserved music the Mozarabic cannot be controlled: *Antifonario visigótico de la catedral de Léon* (*Monumenta hispaniae sacra, Serie liturgica*, vol. V, 2; Barcelona, 1953), fol. 177, as the Praelegendum of the Easter Tuesday Mass; in the tradition represented by the *Missale mixtum*, it is the opening Proper chant of the Masses for Epiphany and Pentecost (Migne, *Patrologia latina* [henceforth *PL*], vol. 85, pp. 230, 613). Father Stritmatter sees in this "undoubtedly a relic" of the early Spanish practice of public baptism of catechumens on January 6, to which Pope Siricius (384-399) objects in his letter to Himerius of Tarragona (*PL*, 13, 1134), and which took at least another century to die out; in "Christmas and Epiphany: Origins and Antecedents," *Thought*, XVII (1942), pp. 624-5. Like some other Greek elements in the Spanish rites these may represent Eastern usage; see my remarks in *Annales musicologiques*, VI (1958-63), pp. 63-65; parallel to the Byzantine usage are the disposition of repetendum and Doxology in the *Missale mixtum*, as well as the position at the opening of Mass.

⁵⁵ In the Beneventan zone, Byzantine domination, which began in the 6th century, has its last stages from the middle 9th through later 11th century; Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1904); Herbert Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, III (1946), 163-224. Relations among Milan, Aquileia, Ravenna, and Byzantium are outlined by P. Borella, *Il rito ambrosiano* (Brescia, 1964), pp. 84-92, and by K. Gamber, *Sakramentartypen* (Beuron, 1958), pp. 34ff.

Example 12

The image displays six staves of musical notation, labeled (a) through (f), each representing a different liturgical tradition. The notation is in common time with a treble clef. The lyrics 'Christus indutus' are written below each staff.

- (a) RVZ: Shows two melodic lines, A and B, separated by a vertical bar. Line A consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, while line B consists of sixteenth and eighth notes. The lyrics are: Christus indutus.
- (b) RAV: Shows a single melodic line with sustained notes and short dashes indicating pitch. The lyrics are: Christus indutus.
- (c) BEN: Shows a single melodic line with sustained notes and short dashes. The lyrics are: Christus indutus.
- (d) GREG-RAV: Shows a single melodic line with sustained notes and short dashes. The lyrics are: Christus indutus.
- (e) GREG-VAT: Shows a single melodic line with sustained notes and short dashes. The lyrics are: Christus indutus.
- (f) ROM: Shows a single melodic line with sustained notes and short dashes. The lyrics are: Christus indutus.

mains out of reach. With varying likelihoods at varying times, any of them might be the Italian source as late as the tenth century, when the Milanese and Beneventan documents begin. So late a date, however, runs into the presence of *Omnes qui* at Rome in the ninth century, where it is attested by the traditions of the Sextuplex and the Carolingian Tonary.⁵⁶ Thus an earlier date seems likely. One hypothesis among many would look to Ravenna, whose developed stylizations for the Alleluia and Offertory betoken a prime musical center, and whose musical relations with Byzantium, judged in Exx. 12a and 12b, seem remarkably close. The roots of the Western complex, then, might lie between the establishment of the Byzantine hegemony under Justinian, during the first half of the sixth century, and the occupation by the Lombards in 752. Yet this is only one among a broad range of possibilities, so complex are the historical interrelations within Italy and with Byzantium.

⁵⁶ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, No. 86 (all sources; assigned to D-plagal by the Corbie Tonary). W. Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar von Metz* (Münster Westfalen, 1965), p. 15, dates the Tonary in Metz 351 during the 870s or 880s after an original ca. 820-835. The Communion *Omnes qui* is not included in the abridged Tonary of St.-Riquier (Paris lat. 13159) published by Huglo, "Un tonaire du graduel de la fin du VIII^e siècle," *Revue grégorienne*, 31 (1952), p. 226. Greek influence on the Roman liturgy during the late 7th and 8th centuries is discussed by J. Smits van Waesberghe, "De glorioso officio . . . —Zum Aufbau der Gross-Alleluia in den Päpstlichen Ostervespern," *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed. J. Westrup (Oxford, 1966), pp. 54-56.

Ex. 12 (continued)

(a) *Al - λη - λού - α*

(b) *Al - le - lu - ia*

(c) *Al - le - lu - ia*

(d) *Al - le - lu - ia*

(e) *Al - le - lu - ia*

(f) *Al - le - lu - ia*

An alternative line of explanation, still involving Eastern origin, would look to Jerusalem rather than to Constantinople, perhaps through a Gallican intermediary or directly to Italy, though in the latter case not to dates earlier than can be supposed under the Constantinople-Ravenna connection. An example would be the bilingual pair, "Οτε τῷ σταυρῷ—*O quando in cruce*, whose Eastern base in Jerusalem's Good Friday Hours probably goes back to the time of the Patriarch Sophronios (634-638).⁵⁷ Since its liturgical usage conflicts with that of the Capital, the hymn does not appear there before the tenth or eleventh century.⁵⁸ How and when it reaches the West is a mystery. Its Western appearances are limited to Italian documents (Beneventan, Ravennate, and various central regions), none earlier than the tenth century, some also bearers of relics of the neophytes' Proper.⁵⁹

An important reservation must be entered, however, concerning the arguments for Eastern origin. Likely as these may seem, they involve serious flaws which, if they do not disable the notion, at least put it in a different light. There are six elements in all to the Eastern background:

⁵⁷ PM, 14, pp. 304ff; E. Wellesz, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant* (MMB, Subsidia, vol. 2 [Boston, 1947]), pp. 68ff.

⁵⁸ O. Strunk, "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, IX-X (1956), 198.

⁵⁹ Previously unrecorded is the copy in the 11th-12th century manuscript, Pistoia C. 120, fol. 67, the text only in Latin and with only a neume-incipit.

(1) the bilingual Doxa-Gloria; (2) the theological nuances of the *Hic est Agnus*; (3) the apparent restriction of all the chants to the same mode; (4) the single Western Alleluia-refrain, perhaps related to some Eastern refrain; (5) the verses of the Ravenna Alleluia *Confitemini*, perhaps related to some unknown Eastern verses or to a lost state of the Polyeleos; and (6) the "Oσοι—*Omnes* pair. None of these, in fact provides proof of Eastern origin; cumulatively, they no more than suggest the possibility. The related melodic traditions for "Oσοι—*Omnes* come closest to fulfilling the requirements for proof, but even here the case can be interpreted differently. The text is drawn literally from Galatians: 3, 27, and if its liturgical introduction can be put at a particular time it should be early, like the New Testament derived *Gloria in excelsis*. The wide range of applications and of prescriptions for accompanying psalmody suggest an early flowering of individual usages. Among preserved traditions with psalmody no two agree: Roman, as Communion, Ps. 104; Constantinopolitan, as Trisagion, Ps. 92; Mozarabic (where it is almost surely known before the Arab conquest of 711), as Praelegendum, Ps. 112 (León) or Ps. 113, 23 (*Missale mixtum*). Without psalmody or with psalm unspecified, it is an Italian neophytes' Offertory, and in the Jerusalem-related Georgian tradition, a neophytes' processional hymn—this last perhaps closest to its original destination. The wide circulation in the West, where only Milan lacks a representative, and the universal melodic tradition, including Rome, suggest a more influential base than Ravenna for its diffusion. In all, it is possible that, like some prayers in the Latin Sacramentaries that are suspected translations from a proto-Roman liturgical usage in Greek, the Western origins of "Oσοι—*Omnes* go back of the exchange of liturgical Greek for Latin, which is now supposed to have taken place officially at Rome between 360 and 382.⁶⁰

The strongest argument for Byzantine origin of the neophytes' chants is the musical one in Ex. 12, which purports to show a Byzantine melodic original progressively attenuated as it spreads through Italy after introduction at Ravenna. In a larger sense, however, Ex. 12 shows only that chant dialects impose their own stylizations on whatever materials they contain. Thus the Gregorian Communion *Omnes qui* shares most details of its melodic fabric, not only with other Communions in D-plagal, but with the Office Responsories in the same mode.⁶¹ The cadence of the Old-Roman version, DEFED-E-D, is employed by all the Old-Roman Communions in D-authentic and D-plagal, as well as by the Introits and Re-

⁶⁰ T. Klauser, "Der Übergang der Römischen Kirche von der griechischen zur lateinischen Liturgiesprache," *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, I (Vatican, 1946; Studi e testi, tom. 121), 467–482. Jungmann observes, "der Übergang ist nicht auf einmal geschehen"; *Missarum solemnia*, I (ed. 1962), 65. Italian-Greek originals of Latin prayers are discussed by A. Chavasse, *Le Sacramentaire gélasien* (Tournai, 1957), pp. 464ff.

⁶¹ W. H. Frere, *Antiphonale sarisburiensis* (London, 1901); Introduction, pp. 9–13.

sponsories in those modes.⁶² As for the Beneventan Offertory, the appearance of its cadential formulas in other chants of the South Italian repertory would have sufficed for Hesbert's determination of its mode.⁶³ The overriding rule, then, is that received materials undergo idiomatic remodeling wherever they are, and musical distance from a model is no sure measure of historical distance. In this particular case one can perhaps reckon with a direct link between the Byzantine and Ravennate versions—a fresh stylization at Ravenna after a prevailing Byzantine version of the sixth to eleventh centuries—but even here there are no conclusions imposed. The way remains open for widely different explanations, one of which will now be worth examining in detail.

Since the occasion for the neophytes' chants is no lesser solemnity than the Easter vigil—Augustine's *mater omnium vigiliarum*—and since their usage reflects the ambiance of adult baptism, the possibility exists that the Latin chants in Exx. 1-7 are relics of a native Italian practice significantly older than anything assumed under the Eastern explanations. The central question here concerns Rome. If related chants for neophytes' First Communion were never known in the Roman vigil Mass, it is difficult to account for their near-universal circulation elsewhere except by supposing an Eastern import. Yet apart from the silence of the preserved sources, which do not go back beyond the eighth century, there are no counterindications at Rome, while there is some likelihood that if chants of the neophytes' complex did exist there they were suppressed as part of a general downgrading of baptism-related ceremonial that seems to have taken place between the later fifth and middle seventh centuries. Several baptismal functions of the Lenten and Easter seasons become obsolete or are reorganized during this period. The single vigil Mass gives way to the double arrangement with its increased emphasis on the Resurrection. The baptism-oriented *clausum paschae*, an official ending to the Easter octave, formerly on Easter Saturday, receives a new Resurreccional orientation as it moves to the octave on Low Sunday, mirroring in this the developments at Easter itself. The Scrutinies are rearranged. The *Pascha annotina*, a commemoration of personal baptism, begins its course to obsolescence. The primitive offering to the neophytes of a chalice containing milk and honey at the Mass on Easter eve also disappears. In all, there are not a few signs of a decline in the liturgical appurtenances of baptism. Together, they make an appearance of common design into which a suppression of neophytes would fit.

The shift at Easter from the single Mass at dawn to the arrangement with anticipated Mass for the vigil and added Mass for the day still appears to be unknown at the time of Pope Siricius's (384-399) letter to

⁶² The related responsories are studied in the 1969 Princeton Ph.D. dissertation by P. F. Cutter, "The Old-Roman Responsories of Mode 2."

⁶³ *PM*, 14, p. 445.

Himerius of Tarragona.⁶⁴ The new Mass is likely to have been added after the reconstruction of its stational church, S. Maria Maggiore, during the pontificate of Sixtus III (432-440).⁶⁵ One consequence of this was the migration of the original Epistle for the vigil (*I. Corinthians: 5, 7-8: Expurgate vetus fermentum*), which is concerned with Communion, to the Mass for the day, and the assignment to the vigil in its stead of the current pericope (*Colossians: 3, 1-4: Si consurrexitis cum Christo*), whose subject is the Resurrection. This revised order, which marks the turn from emphasis on neophytes' Communion at the vigil, appears first in the Wurzburg lectionary, whose Roman archetype, placed by Klauser ca. 645, shows signs of reproducing the Epistolary as it was left by Gregory in the 590s.⁶⁶

Something more along this line can be gleaned from the Easter octave, for Rome's observance of paschal baptism did not end with the vigil. A full week of baptismal reminders followed—the “eight days” that drew St. Augustine's comment in the fourth century and Amalar's, within the Roman-Frankish rites, during the ninth.⁶⁷ The last day of the post-baptismal week enjoyed special dignity. With the name of *clausum paschae*, it served in earlier times as the octave of the primitive vigil. On this Saturday, when the stational church returns to the Lateran and the recently-baptized set aside their white garments, the Gregorian Mass contains two musical elements that have some relation to the neophytes' chants. The Alleluia verse *Laudate pueri* represents an independent musical tradition at Rome although it has music of the main Italian tradition in the Beneventan Holy Saturday rite, and by extension, through the related Ambrosian Alleluia *Resurrexit tamquam*, in the Milanese rite. The Roman and Gregorian-Roman Communions *Omnes qui in Christo* have versions of the universal melody. There is the possibility that these chants at the Roman Saturday-octave reflect provisions that became obsolete at the vigil itself before the earliest preserved sources.

The former privileged position of the Saturday-octave disappears by the second half of the seventh century. In a move that mirrors the changes at Easter itself, the octave-*clausum* shifts from the Saturday to the previously aliturgical Low Sunday. The Gospel for the octave (*John 20: 19-31: Post dies octo*) moves with the *clausum* from Saturday to Sunday, and is replaced at the Saturday by the current pericope (*John 20: 1-9: Una autem sabbati*) with its explicit reminder of the Gospel on the eve of the

⁶⁴ PL, 13, 1134; C. Coebergh, “Les Lectures de l'apôtre pour pâques,” *Revue bénédictine*, 77 (1967), pp. 142-148.

⁶⁵ Coebergh, “Les Lectures,” pp. 142-144.

⁶⁶ T. Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum* (Münster Westfalen, 1935), pp. 3ff, 36ff; B. Capelle, “Note sur le lectionnaire romain de la messe avant S. Grégoire,” repr. in Capelle, *Travaux liturgiques*, II (Louvain, 1962), 200, after *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 1938, pp. 556ff.

⁶⁷ *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica*, ed. Hanssens, II, 161ff (*Liber officialis*, I, cap. xxxii); Martimort, *L'Église en prière*, pp. 567, 713f.

Resurrection. The Sunday-octave is first attested in 681, but a speculative narrowing would place it between 590-593, when Gregory's Homilies still show the *clausum*-pericope (*Post dies octo*) on Easter Saturday, and the middle seventh century archetype of the Evangelia containing the first trace of the new Sunday octave.⁶⁸ A further speculative narrowing is possible—one that would locate the transfer of the *clausum* precisely within Gregory's papacy. This depends on the Communions for Easter Friday and Low Sunday. In the Gregorian books these are Gospel-Communions, drawn from the pericopes for the two days, and their use presupposes the use of the pericopes. The Sunday Communion, *Mitte manum*, however, is unlikely to have accompanied the *clausum*-pericope (*Post dies octo*) when that lesson was still at the Saturday, for in that position it would have to precede the Communion *Omnis qui in Christo*, which, apart from its general authority, is ideally suited to the earlier baptismal conception of the Saturday *clausum*. It is more likely, then, that *Mitte manum* was supplied no sooner than the revised arrangement of the readings, and the same can be said for the Gospel-Communion *Data est* for Easter Friday. While signs of change are lacking for the Gospel lessons themselves before the late seventh century, for the related Communions there is a possibility of earlier dating. This depends on an analogy between these two Gospel-Communions and the similar set of Gospel-Communions that interrupt the old series of Psalm-ordered Communions on weekdays during Lent. In a paper by Dom Callewaert, the argument is developed that the alterations in the Lenten series are attributable to Gregory—that he himself composed one, and perhaps all, of the new Lenten Gospel-Communions, and that the changes reflect the general reorganization of the Scrutinies at about this time, something Callewaert is inclined to ascribe also to Gregory.⁶⁹ If there is any application of this situation to that of the Gospel Communions for Easter Friday and Low Sunday, whose introduction also reflects baptism-related change, then the date for the changes at the Easter octave would fall between Gregory's Homilies of 590-593 and his revision of the Evangelia during the decade that followed. Yet whether or not the suppression of the Saturday *clausum* can be narrowed in this way, the wider dating that puts it between Gregory's Homiliary and the middle seventh century Gospel lectionary is reasonably firm.

A final baptism-related change concerns the offering to the newly-baptized on Easter eve of a chalice containing milk and honey, as a symbol of the fulfillment through baptism of the Lord's promise to Moses: *educam [vos] in terram quae fluit lacte et melle* (Exodus: 3, 8, 17).

⁶⁸ Chavasse, *Le Sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 235ff; he inclines to a later date in his contribution to Martimort, *L'Église en prière*, p. 714.

⁶⁹ C. Callewaert, "S. Grégoire, les scrutins et quelques messes quadragésimales," repr. in Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri* (Steenbrugge, 1940), pp. 659-671, after *Ephenerides liturgicae*, 53 (1939), pp. 191ff.

This was administered at Communion between the consecrated bread and wine, a position that, in the words of a recent commentator, "makes a very old impression."⁷⁰ It is first mentioned explicitly in the *Apostolic Tradition* attributed to Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170-c. 236).⁷¹ There may be an earlier reference in Tertullian, and there is a probable reference later on in Jerome.⁷² The custom is still alive at the beginning of the sixth century, when it is described in a letter of the Roman deacon John (later [?] Pope John I [523-526]) to Senarius.⁷³ Since it is no longer mentioned by Roman documents after the unique early seventh century copy of the Leonian Sacramentary, its suppression has been ascribed to Gregory.⁷⁴ The preparation of the draught involved a special prayer that was normally inserted within the Canon before the *per quem haec omnia*—again a position of authority. This Benediction of Milk and Honey is found first in the Leonianum, but the reading there seems to depend on an older one.⁷⁵ Similarly placed benedictions for which root versions in Greek are known or suspected suggest that this too may go back to the Greek period of the Roman liturgy.⁷⁶ There is no necessary connection between the rite of milk and honey and the complex of neophytes' chants, yet the parallels between them are striking. Both are linked with Easter-vigil Communion; both may bear echoes of adult baptism and of the Greek period of the Roman liturgy, and both may have become obsolete during the later sixth or seventh century, victims of the same Gregorian (?) curbs on baptismal ceremonial. Their later histories continue the parallel, for both survive in provincial Italian traditions of the seventh through eleventh centuries, on occasion in the same document.⁷⁷ In the end, ele-

⁷⁰ P.-M. Gy, "Die Segnung von Milch und Honig in der Osternacht," in *Paschatis Sollemnia*, ed. B. Fischer and J. Wagner (Basel, 1959), pp. 206-212; p. 211.

⁷¹ B. Botte, *La Tradition apostolique de Saint Hippolyte. Essai de reconstitution* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, vol. 39), 3rd ed. (Münster Westfalen, 1963), pp. 56-57; most recent commentary in J. M. Hanssens, *La Liturgie d'Hippolyte* (Orientalia christiana analecta, tom. 155; 2nd ed., Rome, 1965), pp. 481ff, 560f.

⁷² Tertullian, *De corona*, 3 (PL, 2 99; E. Dekkers, *Clavis patrum latinorum*, 2nd ed. [Bruges, 1963], No. 21); Jerome, *Dialogus contra luciferianos*, 8 (PL, 23, 164; Dekkers, CPL, No. 608): ". . . in lavacro ter caput mergitare, deinde egressos lactis et mellis praegustare concordiam ad infantiae significationem."

⁷³ PL, 59, 405f; CPL, No. 950.

⁷⁴ A. Wilmart, "La Bénédiction romaine du lait et du miel dans l'euchologe Barberini," *Revue bénédictine*, 45 (1933), p. 12: "c'est saint Grégoire qui, pour quelque raison, a voulu l'écartier lors de sa mise au point, définitive, du sacrementaire." Other views are held by Chavasse, *Sacramentaire gélasien*, p. 466, n. 105; and by Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great* (London, 1966 [1960]), p. 35, who would have it disappear after the 3rd century.

⁷⁵ Gy, "Die Segnung," p. 210.

⁷⁶ Gy, pp. 210-211; cf. Chavasse, *Sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 464-466.

⁷⁷ Vat. lat. 4770, an East-Central Italian Missale plenum (10th-11th century) whose archaic features are first detailed in the description by A. Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale romanum im Mittelalter. Iter italicum* (Freiburg im Br., 1896), pp. 218-224.

ments of both are salvaged by Rome, though without the liturgical actions that were at their origins. As the Communion for Easter Saturday, *Omnes qui in Christo* continues in the musical main stream. Similarly, a version of the Benediction of Milk and Honey reenters the Germanized Roman liturgy through the authoritative edition of the *Pontificale* prepared at Mainz in the middle tenth century.⁷⁸ In this way it is transmitted for another few centuries although, as Dom Wilmart observes, "il ne s'agit plus guère désormais que d'une bénédiction banale."⁷⁹

What emerges from these varied aspects—the new double Mass at Easter, the compensatory reorientation of the octave-*clausum*, the rearrangement of the Scrutinies, the dropping of the rite of milk and honey⁸⁰—is a picture of liturgical reform whose broad effect is the curtailment of baptismal ceremonial. What dates there are fall between the late fifth and middle seventh centuries, and more than one sign points to the intervention of Gregory the Great, perhaps as coordinator of the whole. None of this demonstrates the quondam presence of neophytes' chants in the Roman vigil Mass. Yet the widely-distributed relics of such chants in other Italian regional traditions, coupled with the plausibilities of the liturgical development at Rome, give this explanation a claim to be taken seriously.

What specific chants Rome would have had can only be guessed. One, perhaps, was the Alleluia *Laudate pueri* which is now at the octave of the original vigil, though in a musical usage that differs from that of the neophytes' chants. Another was the Alleluia *Confitemini*, whose text is used for the vigil at both Rome and Ravenna, and whose Roman music will be considered below in its relation to the neophytes' tradition. Another, the Tract *Laudate*, whose presence at the vigil may reflect its function in the Scrutinies—at Milan and elsewhere in North Italy (Aquileia?), as well as at Rome.⁸¹ Another, the *Omnes qui in Christo*, perhaps as a Communion, which it is at Rome since the ninth century or even the seventh, or per-

⁷⁸ C. Vogel and R. Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, II (Studi e testi, tom. 227; Vatican, 1963), p. 116.

⁷⁹ "La Bénédiction du lait," p. 14.

⁸⁰ Perhaps also the *Pascha annotina*, which has no provisions in the Antiphonale missarum though it lingers in the Sacramentary and Ordines until the 12th century: Florence, Laurenz. Gadd. 44 (Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen*, p. 36); PL, 78, 1050: Ordo XI, the *Liber pollicitus* of Benedict, Canon of St. Peter's at Rome.

⁸¹ The archaic North Italian usage is published by C. Lambot, *North Italian Services of the Eleventh Century* (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 67, 1931); a comparison of the Scrutiny-orders is given by M. Huglo, "Vestiges d'un ancien répertoire musical de Haute-Italie," *Zweiter internationaler Kongress für katholische Kirchenmusik, Bericht* (Wien, 1955), pp. 142-145, who inclines to attribute this usage to Aquileia; Morin argued previously for Grado (*Revue bénédictine*, 39 [1927], pp. 56-80, and 46 [1934], pp. 216ff); Gamber prefers the region of Bergamo or Brescia (*Codices liturgici latini antiquiores* [Freiburg Schweiz, 1963], p. 49f). Amalar of Metz, for whatever his opinion is worth, is explicit about the inclusion of the Tract: "Tractus dicit in causa neofytorum: Laudate Dominum omnes gentes . . ." (*Liber officialis*, I, xxxi; ed. Hanssens, II, 159).

haps as an Offertory, its function at Ravenna and Benevento.⁸² In the latter case, an earlier Roman neophytes' Communion may be the *Hymnum canite* (Ex. 1), which has that position at Milan and Benevento.

By the late eighth century and the series of Roman liturgical books sent North by Hadrian to the Franks, there are no traces of neophytes' chants. Local pockets of archaic practice connected with baptism and the Scrutinies survive, enough so that during the final years of his reign Charlemagne tried for a last time to root them out. But his concerns in a questionnaire addressed to his metropolitan bishops are not musical but theological and liturgical.⁸³ If he was aware of the neophytes' chants still at Benevento and Ravenna, they passed beneath notice. The Franks in the meantime had found a new outlet for baptismal observance at the octave of Epiphany. Beginning with the eighth century, the Baptism of Christ was celebrated there with special pomp.⁸⁴ In 802, the Emperor himself ordered musical translations for this feast from the Epiphany Kanon of Andrew of Crete. These became the series of antiphons, beginning with *Veterem hominem renovans*, that have attracted attention recently for the singular light they throw on East-West melodic relations.⁸⁵ Other reflections of this cult at the Epiphany octave appear in the German tropers, among them the Sequence *Iste dies celebris constat*.⁸⁶

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If this discussion were to be considerably expanded it would take account of three problems that are of major importance in themselves while bound up secondarily with the neophytes' chants and with one another. The first is the possibility, already noted, that at some early stage the Roman Easter vigil contained separate Masses for the First Communion of neophytes and for Easter. This arrangement occurs widely in North

⁸² A factor in this may be the supposed change from antiphonal to responsorial performance of the Offertories and a related change from simple to florid style, with *Omnies qui* thus moving to the musically suitable class of Communions; one proposal would put the change in Offertory style as late as the late-ninth century: W. Apel, "The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant," this JOURNAL, IX (1956), 126, and Apel's *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1958), p. 512f. An important step toward a full-dress review of the Offertory question is G. Baroffio's *Die Offertorien der ambrosianischen Kirche, Vorstudie zur kritischen Ausgabe* (Inaugural-Dissertation, Köln, 1964).

⁸³ H. Boone Porter, "Maxentius of Aquileia and the North Italian Baptismal Rites," *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 69 (1955), pp. 3-9.

⁸⁴ M. Righetti, *Storia liturgica*, II (Milan, 1955), 86.

⁸⁵ O. Strunk, "The Latin Antiphons for the Octave of the Epiphany," *Recueil de travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines*, No. VIII², *Mélanges Georges Ostrogorsky* (Belgrade, 1964), II, 417-426; J. Lemarié, "Les antennes 'Veterem hominem' du jour octave de l'Epiphanie et les antennes d'origine grecque de l'Epiphanie," *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 72 (1958), pp. 3-38; J. Handschin, "Sur quelques tropaires grecs traduits en latin," *Annales musicologiques*, II (1954), 27ff.

⁸⁶ C. Blume and H. M. Bannister, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 53 (Leipzig, 1911), p. 55; the Prüm Troper, Paris lat. 9448, fol. 27^v, has a Mass apparently for this feast.

Italy, with two churches in use—an *ecclesia minor* or *hierialis* for the neophytes (where the catechumens received Lenten instruction), and an *ecclesia maior* or *aestivalis* for the Easter Mass of the full congregation. Whether the division of focus within the later Roman vigil Mass reflects a similar liturgical if not architectural dispensation remains to be determined.⁸⁷

The second problem concerns the early provisions for Alleluia verses, in particular the Easter Alleluias, which have special interest because of their claim to liturgical priority over the rest. From the comparison of Ravennate, Beneventan, and Milanese Easter Alleluias in Exx. 7b, c, h, it appears that a single chant may underlie the three refrains. That this agreement does not extend to the accompanying verses may reflect simply the unique destination of this Easter refrain; it would also support the view that Alleluia verses are later additions to the melismatic refrains—or the more likely one that earlier states of the verses had other musical arrangements than those now known, among them perhaps others of the simple style found in the multi-versed Ravennate Alleluia *Confitemini* in Ex. 2a. A comprehensive examination of the question must take into account the disputed testimony of Sozomen and Cassiodorus for the early situation at Rome; Gregory the Great's remarks to John of Syracuse; the provisions for Alleluia verses at Constantinople, Jerusalem, and in the related Eastern rites; the Western regional practices, particularly those with multiple verses; the relations to the lection systems; the indications from the history of the Sequence melismas; the Italian Paschal verses, adding to those Easter Alleluias considered here the traditions for *Vespere autem sabbati*, *Haec dies*, *In die resurrectionis*, and *Pascha nostrum*; and, in this last connection, the changing emphases accorded the themes of Baptism and Resurrection at the vigil.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ The North Italian practice is summarized by K. Gamber, "Zur ältesten Liturgie Aquilejas," *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 11 (1962), p. 52f; the historical discussion of the new rubrics by A. Bugnini, *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 65 (1951), suppl. pp. 42*-43*, considers other usages, including Rome; a note by R. Dubois in *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 72 (1968), pp. 124-125, "La Vigile de Pâques, est-elle une vigile baptismale?", promises a negative answer to this question in a forthcoming study.

⁸⁸ Control of the Gregorian and Beneventan verses is greatly simplified by Karl-heinz Schlager's *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien . . . ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire* (Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft, ed. Martin Ruhnke, Band 2 [Munich, 1965]), and by Schlager's *Alleluia-Melodien I, bis 1100* (Monumenta monodica medii aevi, ed. B. Stäblein, Band VII [Kassel, 1968]); Baroffio's *Die Offertorien der ambrosianischen Kirche* provides an indispensable listing of the Milanese Alleluia verses; Dom Brou's "L'Alleluia dans la liturgie mozarabe," *Annuario musical*, 6 (1951), pp. 3-90, is to be supplemented by Don M. Randel's comprehensive index of the Mozarabic repertoires; Christian Thodberg's *Der Byzantinische Alleluiaionzyklus* sums up the state of the Eastern cycles. Latest views on the historical question are those of Professor Stäblein, in *MGG*, 13 (1966), col. 1520 (art. "Versus"), and Dom M. Robert, "Les Adieux à l'alleluia," *Études grégoriennes*, 7 (1967), pp. 41-51. The multiple paths opened by Professor Husmann's series of papers on the early Sequence (partial listing in his *Tropen- und Sequenzhandschriften* [Répertoire international des sources musicales, series B, vol. I, 1964], p. 228) have still to be adequately explored.

The last of the three problems concerns the modes, and it will repay a closer look. One aspect of this has already appeared—in the apparent limitation of the neophytes' chants to the same mode. The issue now is the particular choice of mode. At Ravenna, Milan, Constantinople, and Rome, the modal seat is D-plagal; only the Nonantolan reading of *Hic est Agnus*, which in other respects has the poorest of the melodic traditions, brings one of these chants in transposition. Yet at Benevento, where the principle of unity seems to be kept, the chants are evidently shifted as a bloc to a modal seat on G, probably without a B-flat. Of the four neophytes' chants at Benevento, only one may be in D: the Doxa-Gloria is assigned there by Hesbert, though in the absence of a source with clefs he has to base his determination on the cadential formulas.⁸⁹ Since the other three Beneventan chants are surely in G, and since for two of these there are extraordinary indications that the choice of mode was intentional, it is likely that the Beneventan Doxa-Gloria was also sung in G. For the Beneventan *Omnes qui* and *Hymnum canite* there are versions on the staff with the transposed finalis. For *Hymnum canite*, moreover, there is the built-in confirmation of its transposition already observed: its concluding Alleluia is not the regular neophytes' refrain in D (Ex. 7) but an independent refrain whose formulas, like the rising triad F-A-C, are characteristic of the transposed modal seat. That the transposition represents a larger plan—something not simply countenanced but calculated—can be shown by examining the Beneventan Alleluia *Laudate pueri*. As this comes down, it is always a second verse to the Alleluia *Resurrexit tamquam*. The two verses share some musical materials and are preceded by a single refrain. All sources with clef agree on the mode of the first verse, *Resurrexit*, and on that of the introductory refrain, which represents the central neophytes' tradition in Ex. 7: for both it is D-plagal.⁹⁰ Yet several of these sources go to astonishing lengths to put the second verse, *Laudate pueri*, in G; this is accomplished by a curious modulation-transposition that brings the final incise of the first verse, *Resurrexit*, out at the upper fourth, with a cadence on the high G rather than the expected D. (See Ex. 13.)⁹¹ The intention here is obvious enough: to assure the departure of the ensuing verse, *Laudate pueri*, from G. Yet the reason could scarcely be more puzzling. Why, after all, should these musically-related verses be sung in different modes, the *Resurrexit* in D, the *Laudate* in G? One explanation is offered by Hesbert, who observes “rien d'étonnant qu'on ait voulu donner à cette invitation à la louange un caractère plus joyeux qu'au premier verset. La transposition à la quarte conduisait très naturel-

⁸⁹ *PM*, 14, p. 433.

⁹⁰ *PM*, 14, p. 442; K. Schlager notes the similarities between the two verses though he is inclined to question their ultimate connection; “Anmerkungen zu den zweiten Alleluia Versen,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 24 (1967), p. 218.

⁹¹ The example is adapted from *PM*, 14, p. 442, with the transposition indicated by the three most archaic sources: Benevento VI.33, VI.38, and VI.40.

Example 13

lement à l'effet désiré"; he adds that the higher pitch would have seemed appropriate to the voices of the *pueri*.⁹² Yet Benevento's apparent transposition of its whole set of neophytes' chants suggests two further possibilities.

One of these is that the move from D to G was designed to bring the mode of the Beneventan Mass into conformity with what was known of the Byzantine Ordinary modal continuity, which had settled on the intermodal area of E and G. The other, again rooted in Byzantine practice, involves a more complex speculation. To begin, it is possible that the verse *Laudate pueri* was not originally attached to its sister-verse *Resurrexit*. Even if the odd pairing—first the Resurrection verse in D, then the one for neophytes in G—did not suggest this, it is made plain by one source, an eleventh century *missale plenum* from Canosa, near Bari, in which *Resurrexit* is the sole verse for Easter Sunday.⁹³ Thus the combination of the two may represent no more than the attempt to collect obsolescent material where handy. Yet if the verses were originally separate in function, the question about their modes can be put in a different way, with emphasis on the liturgical side: why should Benevento take pains to sing the neophytes' Alleluia for Holy Saturday (or, in fact, all of its neophytes' chants) in G while the related Easter Alleluia is in D? One answer to this is that Benevento was imitating the coordinated renewal of ecclesiological and musical cycles that takes place in the Byzantine rite when the prevailing mode changes at the end of Holy Week from the eighth (G-plagal) to the first (D-authentic) for Easter. By the middle eighth century, and perhaps much sooner, the number-order rotation of the Common modes was a central factor in the Greek liturgy. Elsewhere in the West, without moorings in the calendar, the Byzantine eight-mode system made a prodigious appearance in its incorporation by the Carolingian tonaries. In those parts of Southeast Italy where the Greek and Latin rites were neighbors, the calendar-based aspects would not have escaped the notice of Latin musicians. While too little is known about the Byzantine applications of the practice, or about

92 *PM*, 14, p. 443.

⁹³ Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W.6, fol. 124^v.

the old-Beneventan Easter music, for this to amount to more than a conjecture, it is possible that something about the Byzantine modal procedure, perhaps misconstrued or intentionally distorted, furnished the point of departure for the transposition of the Beneventan neophytes' chants.⁹⁴

In this case, some elements of chronology can also be noted. The Byzantine rotation-scheme is embodied most palpably in the *Oktoechos*, a hymnal whose compilation is ascribed to St. John of Damascus (c.675—c.749). There are arguments for the earlier existence of the system at Byzantium, but these are not proven, and at least the force behind its spread may lie where the credit is usually assigned. An indication of its relative lateness is that the derived and identically-ordered hymn-collection called the *Parakletike*, which extends the Sunday anthology to weekdays, receives a major filling-out of its Kanons during the ninth century in the work of the hymnographers Joseph and Theodore.⁹⁵ The first datable appearance of eight-mode ordering is not in an Eastern source but a Western one, the St.-Riquier Tonary of the last years of the eighth century,⁹⁶ and from the rapid enlargement of such collections during the ninth century it can perhaps be argued that the original Western formulation was not much older.⁹⁷ Benevento's calendar-based transpositions are not related directly to the borrowings represented by the Tonaries, but what dates there are also point to the later eighth or ninth century. As a variant of the universal modal tradition for the neophytes' chants in D, Benevento is likely to be a later refinement. Among the Greeks of South Italy during the tenth through twelfth centuries there are traditions that ascribe the important troparion for Holy Saturday, 'Ο συνέχων τὰ πέρατα, and the Kontakion-Hypakoe for Sunday of Orthodoxy (the First Sunday in Lent), 'Ο ἀπεριγράπτος Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, to Tarasios of Constantinople, the Orthodox Patriarch from 784-806.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ An apparent association of D-modality or what may have been D-F intermodality with Greek Easter, or with Baptism as an Easter element, may be older than the schematized modal rotation. Various factors complicate this important question: geographical (Constantinople vs. Palestinian or other local practices), liturgical (Holy Saturday vs. Easter; cathedral vs. monastic), and theological (Baptism vs. Resurrection).

⁹⁵ See W. Christ and M. Paranikas, *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum* (Leipzig, 1871), pp. xlviif, in the light of H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 60ff.

⁹⁶ M. Huglo, "Un tonaire du Graduel de la fin du VIIIe siècle," *Revue greg.*, 31 (1952), pp. 176-186, 224-233.

⁹⁷ The date of the tradition is considered by W. Lipphardt in *MGG*, 13, cols. 522-524 (art. "Tonar"), and by M. Huglo, "Un troisième témoin du 'Tonaire Carolingien,'" *Acta musicologica*, XL (1968), 22-28; its Eastern origins are clarified by O. Strunk, "Influsso del canto liturgico orientale," cited in note 16, above.

⁹⁸ The Holy Saturday troparion is ascribed in manuscript F of the *Prophetologion* (Florence, Laur., pl. IX, 15; MMB, *Lectionaria, I, Prophetologium*, ed. C. Høeg and G. Zuntz, Fasc. 5 [Copenhagen, 1962], p. 427), and in the manuscript *Triodia*, Vat. gr. 771, fol. 185^v, and *Grottaferrata Δ. β. 17*, fol. 51; the Kontakion ascription is after *Torino B.IV.34* (J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio solemensi parata*, I [Paris, 1876], pp. 334-5; the manuscript was destroyed by fire in 1904).

Since the ascriptions appear only in South Italian sources, the kernel of truth here may be that a tradition of Tarasios's time representing enough of a change to be memorable left its mark on the Lenten Triodion then circulating.⁹⁹ This would have provided fresh impetus for a transfer of Greek elements to the neighboring Latin rites, one such, perhaps, being a newly-favored oktoechic organization. In any event, while the Beneventan experiment with the mode of the neophytes' chants may have come well after Tarasios (the last stage of Byzantine domination in the region stretched to the late eleventh century), by the middle ninth century Gregorian chant apparently had a foothold, if not primacy, in the Beneventan zone: the Mass composed shortly after the arrival of St. Bartholomew's relics at Benevento in about 838 has Gregorian, not old-Beneventan, music.¹⁰⁰ Traces of the old rite beyond the neophytes' chants persist into the twelfth century, with major feasts like Holy Saturday holding more stubbornly to the local music than minor ones: and with the Eastern region around Bari—also more susceptible to Byzantine infiltration—slower to give this up than the Western region around Benevento and Monte Cassino. But all this was essentially a delaying action, and fresh creative energy for the old rite (in whose context the neophytes' chants flourished) was surely much diminished after the Gregorian takeover. If the change in mode of the Beneventan neophytes' chants was inspired by the Greek change of Common mode between Holy Saturday and Easter, the slender indications do not preclude the late ninth or tenth centuries but suggest rather the late eighth or early ninth.

A final musical illustration that bears on all three of the questions just considered—the double-Mass, the Alleluias, and the choice of mode—returns now to the central problem of these chants. In both the Roman and Ravennate Easter vigils the Alleluia verses have the text *Confitemini Domino quoniam*. At Milan and in the Beneventan rite, however, where no verse with this text is preserved, the vigil Alleluias are representatives of the pair *Laudate pueri—Resurrexit tamquam*. It is generally agreed that the Gregorian verse *Confitemini* makes use of Ps. 106, 1 or Ps. 117, 1, with the latter more likely since Ps. 117, 6 supplies a central motive of the

⁹⁹ Tarasios won the first major victory over Iconoclasm at the Seventh Council at Nicea (787), which temporarily restored the veneration of icons and took up lapsed relations with Rome; he remained a correspondent of Hadrian I (772-795), who directed the flow of revised Roman liturgical books to the Frankish domains; see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, p. 489f; also J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin*, I, 13f, on the allegiance of the Calabrian bishops to Tarasios.

¹⁰⁰ *PM*, 14, p. 450f; the date of 808 given there for the translation from the Lipari Islands (so also in Cabrol and Leclercq's *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, II¹ [1910], col. 500) is probably incorrect, perhaps a misprint in *DACL*; this translation evidently occurred under Sicard, Prince of Benevento from 832-839; the date ca. 838 is given by the *Bibliotheca sanctorum* (Istituto Giovanni XXIII), II (Rome, 1962), col. 861.

Easter feast (*Haec dies quam fecit Dominus*), and with it the refrain for the series of related Graduals during the week that follows. Yet there are four Psalms in all with this opening: 105 and 135 as well as 106 and 117; and since Ravenna's two verses reveal its source to be Psalm 135, this must also be considered for the single verse at Rome.¹⁰¹

There is support for this in the music. The Gregorian Alleluia is exceptional in several ways. It represents the return of the Alleluia after Lent, and thus occupies the major position for the Alleluia in the liturgical year. Its verse agrees, though only at the beginning and end, with the music for the Alleluia verse sung to the same text at the Greater and Lesser Litanies.¹⁰² Its refrain is intoned by the celebrant rather than by the soloist; and there is internal confirmation of this in the refrain melody, which appears to be related to the celebrant's tone for the Preface, and which in any case is unusually simple and normally has no concluding jubilus.¹⁰³ In some archaic traditions, however, there is a related Sequence complex.¹⁰⁴ And, however unlikely this may seem from a raw confrontation of the Gregorian and Ravennate melodies, the Gregorian regularly in G-plagal, the Ravennate in D-plagal, one must reckon with the possibility of an underlying musical relationship between them. Alongside the majority Gregorian tradition in G-plagal there is a narrow but respectable tradition for the refrain and verse in a transposition to the lower fifth.¹⁰⁵ In the tenth-century Ripoll Tonary the modal assignment is F-plagal;¹⁰⁶ it is there again in the eleventh-century Tonary-Gradual from Dijon (now simply *tritus*, this Tonary ignoring the distinction between authentic and plagal); and it is at the same tonal level in the thirteenth-century Sarum Gradual.¹⁰⁷ Curiously, Dijon and Sarum keep their musically-related verses on *Confitemini Domino* for the Great Litany in the normal G-plagal, this worth noting, perhaps, against the background of calendar-inspired (?) transpositions of the neophytes' chants at Ben-

¹⁰¹ Psalm 106 is cited by Frere, *Graduale sarisburicense* (London, 1895), p. lxxi, and by Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianische Melodien*, I (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1911), 330; Psalm 117 by C. Marbach, *Carmina scriptuarum* (Strassburg, 1907), p. 222. An argument against Psalm 135 is that its refrain in the Vulgate begins *quoniam in aeternam*, rather than *quoniam in saeculum*, as in the Gregorian Alleluia and the other three psalms; but in the Roman Psalter the refrain regularly reads *quoniam in saeculum*; R. Weber, *Le Psautier romain . . . édition critique* (Collectanea biblica latina, vol. X [Rome, 1953]), p. 328.

¹⁰² *Graduale . . . de tempore et de sanctis* (Vatican, 1908), pp. 199, 240.

¹⁰³ P. Wagner, *Einführung*, III (Leipzig, 1921), 397-8; further observations by H. Hucke are in H. Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, II (Rome—Freiburg im Br., 1957), 950.

¹⁰⁴ H. Husmann, "Alleluia, Vers und Sequenz," *Annales musicologiques*, IV (1956), 21ff, 41ff.

¹⁰⁵ U. Bomm, *Der Wechsel der Modalitätbestimmung in der Tradition der Messgesänge im IX. bis XIII. Jh.* (Einsiedeln, 1929), pp. 143ff.

¹⁰⁶ K. Schlageter, *Thematischer Katalog*, p. 186.

¹⁰⁷ PM, 8, p. 114; *Graduale sarisburicense*, ed. Frere, p. 115.

evento.¹⁰⁸ In Ex. 14 the Dijon Gregorian reading for Holy Saturday is compared with the eleventh-twelfth century old-Ravennate Alleluia for the same feast; at two points the Old Roman version, transposed down a fifth, is also entered.¹⁰⁹ There are obvious similarities, while the differences are on the order of those, for instance, that separate the parallel Gregorian and Ravennate versions of *Omnes qui in Christo*. Thus the possibility of the relationship is not easily dismissed; and while it stands new perspectives are opened on the early history of the Mass Alleluias and of the modes, and on the provocative questions of primacy and relations between Ravenna and Rome which have been the subject of lively recent debate among historians of the liturgy.¹¹⁰ In addition, since Ravenna's refrain represents the central musical tradition of the neophytes' chants, the possibility that Rome once participated in this complex is further increased.

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To sum up: at a time before Gregorian chant supplanted the regional Italian dialects, thus at a time before the Frankish-fostered liturgical homogenizations of the eighth and ninth centuries, and perhaps before the revisions instituted two centuries earlier at Rome under Gregory the Great, the Easter-vigil Mass in several regions of Italy normally included chants that reflect the first participation of the newly-baptized. These neophytes' chants are: (1) a Greco-Latin abbreviation of the *Gloria in excelsis*; (2) a handful of Alleluia verses (on *Confitemini Domino quoniam* and the complex, *Resurrexit tamquam—Laudate pueri*); (3) an Offertory or Post-Evangelium, *Omnes qui in Christo*; (4) (perhaps) the Fraction antiphon *Hic est Agnus*; and (5) a Communion, *Hymnum canite agni mundi*. The local usages involved are Milan, Benevento, Ravenna, and, at least tangentially, Rome. In the background there are traces of Eastern practice, and for one of the chants, *Omnes qui in Christo*, there are melodic cognates in the Greek baptismal hymn, "Οσοι εἰσ Χριστόν. On examination, it appears that all the neophytes' chants are in

¹⁰⁸ *PM*, 8, p. 125; *Graduale sarisburicense*, p. 132.

¹⁰⁹ Ex. 14: Ravenna, after Modena, O.I.7, fol. 101; Gregorian, after *PM*, 8, p. 114; Old-Roman, after Vat. lat. 5319, fol. 83.

¹¹⁰ Ravennate or North Italian origin of the old Gelasian and of the so-called 8th-century Gelasian Sacramentaries is championed by K. Gamber (bibliography in his *Ordo antiquus gallicanus* [Regensburg, 1965], pp. 56-62, to be supplemented by: "Das Sakramentar und Lektionar des Bischof Marinianus von Ravenna," *Römische Quartalschrift*, 61 [1966], pp. 203-208; "Das Missale des Bischof Maximian von Ravenna," *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 80 [1966], pp. 205-210, responding to A. Chavasse, "L'Oeuvre littéraire de Maximien de Ravenna (546-553)," *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 74 [1960], pp. 115-120; "Das Fragment von Zara," *Revue bénédictine*, 78 [1968], pp. 127-138). Ultimate Roman origin is argued by Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien* (1958). Other recent studies, including the important views of Coebergh and Raffa, are listed in L. C. Mohlberg, *Liber sacramentorum . . . (Sacramentarium gelasianum)* (*Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series Maior, Fontes*, IV, 2nd ed., Rome, 1968), pp. 321-323, supplementing pp. xxxix-xliv.

Example 14

RAV

Al - le - lu - ia

GREG

Al - le - lu - ia

RAV

Con-fi - te - mi - ni Do - mi - no

GREG

Con-fi - te - mi - ni Do - mi - no
(transposed down a 5th)

ROM

Do - mi - no

RAV

quo - ni - am bo - - - nus

GREG

quo - ni - am bo - - - nus

ROM

quo - ni - am bo - - - nus

RAV

quo - - - ni - am in - se - cu - lum

GREG

quo - - - ni - am in - se - cu - lum

RAV

mi - se - ri-cor - di - a e - - - ius Al-le -

GREG

mi - se - ri-cor - di - a e - - - ius

ROM

mi - se - ri-cor - di - a e - - - ius

the same mode, which is normally D-plagal, though Benevento for its own reasons evidently changes to a form of G-mode. For each text there is a single basic melody in circulation; and, above all, for the Alleluias that occur in each chant there seems to be a single underlying melody knitting the successive elements of this Proper together. At the root of a widely-diffused yet musically and liturgically unified practice like this one there is likely to be a central authority. The obvious choices come down to Milan, Ravenna, and Benevento, with Byzantium perhaps behind them. Or, rejecting Byzantine or some other Eastern origin for native Italian origin, again Milan or Ravenna, Aquileia or the Beneventan zone, but now ultimately perhaps Rome. The beginnings of the practice at Rome would have to be early enough to anticipate its obsolescence between the sixth and the early eighth centuries, for by the late eighth century, when Roman documents begin to appear in something approaching abundance, there are no traces at the Easter vigil. Yet the Roman Ordines and Antiphoners that so firmly exclude the Credo, Offertory, Agnus, and Communion-antiphon at the vigil Mass may reflect only the same latter-day dispensations that rejected or altered the Scrutinies, the neophytes' draught of milk and honey, the *pascha annotina*, the single Easter Mass, and the Saturday *clausum paschae*. More than one indication looks back to adult baptism and to the Greek period of the early Roman liturgy as the time of neophytes' chants' flowering. More than one suggests their disappearance as an aspect of the decline of baptism-related ceremonial that took place during or shortly after the pontificate of Gregory the Great. Against this background, the traditional view of the musical omissions in the Roman Easter vigil Mass has to be reconsidered. It seems possible that until the sixth or seventh century Rome admitted some chants like the neophytes' chants which are so widely represented in other Italian traditions—and still represented at Rome, since at least the earlier ninth century, in the Communion for the primitive octave of the Easter vigil.

Whatever their ultimate histories, the neophytes' chants yield side-results that are no less provocative than the question of early Roman usage. One is their fresh example of a modally-unified continuity throughout a service. There are apparent modal restrictions to the finals on E and G among the earliest choral chants of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy; behind these there are suggestions of a corresponding modal unity among the liturgical recitatives from which the florid, choral settings seem to grow. The appearance of a similar phenomenon in the Frankish *missa graeca* for Pentecost may reflect an eighth- or ninth-century Byzantine practice. The neophytes' chants would offer the earliest such example. Yet when these appearances are coupled with the indications of analogous modal preference among the early Western Ordinary tropes and among the simple Ordinary tones for the Roman

Mass, they raise the question of whether the roots of such a practice are in fact Byzantine at all. At bottom, it would be natural for the recitative-continuity of the primitive Liturgy to embody a monotony, so-to-speak, of just this sort. These may be the relics of a standard Early Christian practice.

Another result is the emergence of a previously unknown chant dialect. It is not certain that the origin of the style represented by the Alleluia *Confitemini* in Ex. 2a and the version of *Omnes qui* in Ex. 2b is Ravenna, in whose orbit the preserved sources are copied,¹¹¹ rather than, let us say, Aquileia or Grado, or elsewhere in Northeast or North Italy, or even somewhere in transalpine rather than cisalpine Gaul. Nor is it clear that this musical dialect ever embraced a full chanted liturgy rather than a handful of special pieces, among them perhaps the *Hic est Agnus* in Ex. 5. Problematic as well is the relationship with the Greek East, which is implied in the connections between the versions of "Oσοι—*Omnes* in Exx. 12a and 12b, and which appears more positively here than in other apparent Byzantine-Ravennate pairings, like the Greek *Sanctus* in Modena O.1.7 and the *O quando in cruce*. Another question concerns the role played by the Byzantine centonate procedure in the formation of this densely centonate style. Still another is the relation with Rome, whose possibilities are suggested by the comparison of Ravennate and Roman Alleluias on *Confitemini Domino* in Ex. 14. What is firm is the existence of this fifth characteristic Italian dialect which must be added alongside the Ambrosian, Beneventan, Roman, and Gregorian-Roman dialects. What the Ravennate shares in general procedures with its sisters is less significant than its independence of them in details, for in the level of calculation and finesse it yields first place to none of them, not even the Gregorian.

Another by-product of the neophytes' chants is their bearing on the question first raised nearly a century ago by Dom Mocquereau's pioneering comparisons of Gregorian, Milanese, and Roman chants.¹¹² There is little doubt that a layer of what might be called Old-Italian chant underlies major segments of the regional repertoires that covered Italy before the Gregorian became standard. Yet without noted documents, attempts at restoration fall back on adaptations of the philologist's stemmata. The notion of archetypes, however, is of doubtful use with chanted

¹¹¹ Traces of musical activity in the late 11th-century Peter Damian manuscript, Vat. lat. 3797, are discussed by Stäblein, "Von der Sequenz zum Strophenlied," *Die Musikforschung*, 7 (1954), pp. 257–268, and in *MGG*, VI, cols. 1467–70; a facsimile and extended bibliography are in C.-A. Moberg, *Die liturgischen Hymnen in Schweden*, I (Copenhagen, 1947), 193–196. Other Ravennate compositions are to be found among the Proper chants for Saints Apollinaris and Vitalis in Italian Graduals and Antiphoners; a published example is the Alleluia *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum* (*Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, 7 [ed. Schlager], p. 3); this shows no stylistic relation to the Alleluia *Confitemini* in Ex. 2 above.

¹¹² *PM*, 2 (1891–92), p. 6.

liturgies. It calls, at the least, for a wider selection of branch-dialects than the three that are regularly available, and for branches that are more surely parallel, as well as independent of Gallican or Frankish grafts. The neophytes' chants offer the most favorable conditions yet for such restorations. With convergent melodic testimony from six traditions, and with five comparable versions of a single chant ("Ooo!—*Omnes*"), they meet the requirements of number and distribution more adequately than usual. And since they are apparent functions of an archaic ceremonial that left little trace at Rome after the middle seventh century and evidently generated little creative activity elsewhere much later, the requirements of authority and antiquity are also singularly well met. What comes of this simply confirms the difficulties of proceeding backwards to musical archetypes. The impulse to stylize is at the heart of the transmission of liturgical melodies. And whether the course they take is temporarily upward to greater elegance or downward to decay, the melodic details of the preceding stage are the first things obscured. This is seen within the Byzantine tradition as the thirteenth-century Asmatic stylization of "Οοοι εἰς Χριστόν in Ex. 9 gives way within a century to the decaying version of that same stylization in Ex. 10a, and then to what appears to be its drastic denaturing in Ex. 11. In the West, the developed Ravennate stylization of *Omnes qui in Christo* in Ex. 2b, which is itself perhaps a remodelling after an Eastern ancestor of Ex. 9, stands alongside less elegant Western formulations in Ex. 12—some perhaps older, others younger—representing the uses of Benevento, Rome, and the Gregorian-Roman. There is a common material behind all of these, yet in every case it is masked by layers of local stylization. There is no way to roll back even one such layer.

If the neophytes' chants have a final point, it is their reminder of the dependence of historians of music and of the liturgy on one another. Without the liturgist's penetrations of the early history of the Sacramentary, Ordines, Homiliary, and Lectionary, it is difficult to put the obscure prehistory of the *Antiphonale missarum*, the *Liber responsalis*,¹¹³ the Troper, and the related Carolingian chant-books into any kind of order. Yet there are cases like the present one, where verbal texts alone do not carry enough information to clarify liturgical events. Here the musical texts may supply their unique testimony for joining the parts that went together.

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¹¹³ J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina* (Paris, 1844-55), vol. 78, pp. 723ff.