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## Reverse Transmission, Pervasive Dissemination

### The Case of Carolingian Hodie-tropes in Northern Italy

If the transmission of Roman chant into Frankish realms north of the Alps represented the opening shot in the formation of a supraregional – indeed, European – music culture, what transpired when syncretic Carolingian inventions made their way back on to Italian soil? Hodie-tropes (prose introductions, beginning with the temporal adverb ›today‹, for the standardized chants of the Mass) furnish vital materials for approaching this question: a decidedly Carolingian conceit, they reflected in their opening deictic gesture concerns for the ordering of liturgical time; and in their concluding appeal to communal singing the institutional development of monastic communities. A close examination of Italian manuscripts from the eleventh century onwards reveals various local and regional strategies in the reception, regeneration and ultimate dissemination of Hodie-tropes along the north of the peninsula. Crucial, however, is the marked persistence in the Italian cultivation of this liturgical chant type; a persistence which calls into question previous characterisations of this region's role in cultural exchange.

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## The Absence of Transmission

### Symptoms of a Musical-Cultural Reception Barrier between the West- and East Frankish Regions

Studies dealing with the transculturation of medieval music concentrate understandably on the successful transfer of materials. Such studies, however, rarely take into account the obstruction of the dissemination of music. For instance, while as chant scholars we often look at how a given chant or chant repertory was copied in one scriptorium, sent on its way, and made available in other monastic and ecclesiastical institutions, we are less attentive to the fact that the transmission of such works may have been intentionally intercepted, suspended, or altogether disrupted. In the following essay I will address signs pointing to the unsuccessful transfer of early medieval sequences, and how a kind of ›reception barrier‹ operated as an agent of acculturation, affecting the transmission histories of these types of songs. Rather than dwell on the active trading, vigorous circulation, and sometimes even

forceful distribution of sequences so apparent in 10th- and 11th-century sources such as redactions of the East-Frankish *Liber ymnorum Notkeri* or West-Frankish collections, I wish instead to bring to light evidence for the rejection of pieces from these repertoires. I will argue, moreover, that, prior to 1100, what is often at the heart of both the reception and non-reception of sequences were different definitions of the genre and regional-cultural identities tied to the understanding of what constituted the sequence.

Against the view of a single, uniform history of the early sequence, I will offer symptoms of barred transculturation of these songs, evidence that to my mind's eye controverts the received wisdom and modern perception of the early sequence. These traces of resistance are sundry: medieval comments made both in passing and with point; reasoned tales and didactic instructions; monastic prescriptions and reactions to customs; marginal annotations and practices of labeling; notational conventions and source tendencies. Moreover, I believe that different medieval views regarding this genre and its ›superior‹ identity acted as a kind of reception barrier roughly matching the former East and West-Frankish regional divide. With this reception barrier, then, I hope to advance another viewpoint regarding the history of the first two and half centuries of the sequence, and suggest some possible consequences that the breakdown of the barrier had for the later history of the sequence.

Since the 19th century, Latinists have recognized that early sequences could essentially be grouped into two regional repertoires, often labeled East- and West-Frankish, respectively. Musicologists, too, have long acknowledged the existence of these two repertoires, but they typically underscore the aspects common to the regional traditions, often favoring a more uniform view of the genre. Richard Crocker's *The Early Medieval Sequence* remains the most comprehensive study of the two traditions. In this seminal work, the author proposes a means of reconstructing the melodies of Notker's sequences through his analyses of the musically related sequences in the West-Frankish tradition.<sup>1</sup> His and other scholars' emphasis on the Pan-Frankish dimension of the early genre derives in part from the important fact that East- and West-Frankish repertoires had some 30 melodies (or more accurately, 30 melodic families) in common.<sup>2</sup> Yet the numerous incongruities between the East and West have yet to be fully explored in the musicological literature. The view of the early sequence often relies on musical and historical conflation, and while scholars

1 Richard L. Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence*, Berkeley, CA 1977.

2 Ibid., p. 12–13. The interest in the early sequence is an old one. The linking of East- and West-Frankish melodic traditions and the implied equivalencies between the two are found in numerous editions and studies. See, for instance, Clemens Blume and Henry M. Bannister, eds., *Liturgische Prosen erster Epoche aus den Sequenzschulen des Abendlandes, insbesondere die dem Notkerus Balbulus zugeschriebenen, nebst Skizze über den Ursprung der Sequenz. Auf Grund der Melodien aus den Quellen des 10.–16. Jahrhunderts* (= Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi 53, Thesauri hymnologici prosarium 1,1), Leipzig 1911, p. 409–411; Lance Brunner, *Catalogo delle sequenze in manoscritti di origine italiana anteriori al 1200*, Florence 1986, p. 269–276. A recent study on Notker's *Clare sanctorum* in the tenth-century MS SG 318 underscores Crocker's premise of a connection between Notker and West-Frankish use. See Caitlin Snyder and Alison Altstatt, ›Oriens et occidens, immo teres mundi circulus: Notker's *Clare sanctorum* in the German, Anglo-French, and Nidaros traditions‹, in: *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory and Its European Context*, ed. by Lori Kruckenberg, with Andreas Haug, consulting editor, Trondheim 2006.

concede that sequence traditions differ from one another in their texts, they regard early sequences as constituting a single genre, as a product of a collective Frankish genius.<sup>3</sup>

Here I would like to advocate a suspension of the traditional view of the early medieval sequence and to appreciate more actively differences between the genre of the East and West beginning with a quick look at the repertorial traditions.

The transmission of East-Frankish sequences is so stable, the contents of the collections so predictable, that the word monolithic comes to mind for characterizing this regional repertory. The consistency is apparent in all of the earliest East-Frankish sources. This collection of witnesses is made up of more than three dozen East-Frankish sources, dating from between c. 900 to c. 1100, and representing around 20 provenances throughout the region.<sup>4</sup> A great many of the sequences are believed to be by Notker Balbulus himself, and several of the early manuscripts introduce the sequence collection with a notice recognizing Notker's role. A manuscript written in St Gallen for Bishop Sigebert of Minden reads:

IN NOMINE DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI  
INCIPIT LIBER YMNORUM AD SEQUENTIAS MODULATORUM  
NOTKERI BALBULI MAGISTRI CAENOBIOTAE SANCTI GALLI.<sup>5</sup>

This rubric identifies not just the kinds of pieces that follow, but also ties these chants to a repertory, a person, a place, and finally the compositional prototypes that ensue. In the same Minden manuscript, just a few openings prior to the rubric, there is even a portrait of Notker with the sequence incipit »Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia« on the writing desk before him. Though the specific contents of sources transmitting the *Liber ymnorum Notkeri* are by no means identical, they do have in common approximately 60 texts for 30 melodies. Furthermore, even when texts – often honoring local saints – appear in a particular collection, their melodies are drawn almost exclusively from one of the 30 standard melodies. Thus, the dissemination of Notker's *Liber ymnorum* was so successful that already within a hundred years of his death the surviving 10th-century sources attest to a wide dissemination throughout the former East Frankish lands, a picture reinforced for another 100 years by 11th-century sequence collections.

There is no West-Frankish counterpart to the East-Frankish *Liber ymnorum*, and the repertorial traditions and transmission patterns of the West defy a one-to-one correspondence with those of East Francia. Still, roughly 30 texts were known throughout the Anglo-French regions up to around 1100, and even when English and West-Frankish sources differ on texts for a particular melody, they often agree on the liturgical use and assignment of that melody. Though less homogeneous than the East, then, a core repertory of sequences was known throughout the Anglo-French West.<sup>6</sup>

3 Crocker, *Early Medieval Sequence*, p. 3–4.

4 Lori Kruckenberg, art. »Sequenz«, in: *MGG*2, Sachteil, vol. 8, Kassel 1998, col. 1254–1286, here: col. 1259–1260.

5 For a complete facsimile of this manuscript, see the color microfilm edition: Karlheinz Schlager and Andreas Haug, eds., *Tropi carminum: Liber hymnorum Notkeri Balbuli: Berlin Ehem. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. theol. lat. qu. 11 (z. Zt. Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Depositum)* (= *Codices illuminati medii aevi* 20), München 1993.

11th-century Italian sequence collections demonstrate in contradistinction repertorial amalgams of East-Frankish, West-Frankish and Italian compositions, and vigorous cultural exchange. Nevertheless, though certain sequences may have been known in both the German-speaking realm and Italy, or in both the Anglo-French region and Italy, there are virtually no sequences found in the three primary regional traditions. Before c. 1100 little overlap of East-West repertories occurs, and as regards Pan-Frankish sequences, there are virtually none. Therefore, it is not only the existence of two basic regional repertories that is of interest, but also the uncompromising separation and the utter lack of overlap between the Eastern and Western traditions north of the Alps, a separation that remains firm at least until the end of the 11th century. The East-West gulf might, then, be more than a mere surface detail – a difference that might indicate what I call the East-West ›reception barrier‹.

In order to presume that sequences were rejected, however, it must first be proven that they were available where they are not recorded in extant sources, that they were accessible in order to be rejected. This is already no great leap of faith considering the transmission of tropes, a type of chant suitable for comparison to sequences, since former usually appear in the same chant books as the latter. The dissemination patterns of tropes, however, tell a much different story about the formation of these collections, namely, that although there are identifiable East- and West-Frankish repertorial layers, the transmission of tropes was on the whole much more complex and diverse than that of sequences. In short, some tropes were known throughout Francia, and there was regular and sometimes intense exchange of tropes between East and West Frankish scriptoria.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, whereas the troper in a particular manuscript might reveal exchange (even if indirect) between the Eastern and Western regions, the sequence collection in the same book unequivocally aligns itself with either the East-Frankish tradition or the West-Frankish one. In sum, trope repertories indicate that cross-regional exchange was common in the period of the early sequence. Therefore, if the accessibility of various types of liturgical materials was a possibility, might general availability imply a reception barrier for sequences? And if so, is there any other evidence indicating availability or knowledge of the ›other‹ tradition? I would like to offer a few brief examples intimating such access to and regional consciousness of the other tradition.

That there was an awareness of different traditions is already clear in one of the oldest discussions of sequences, namely Notker's well-known letter preceding some surviving exemplars of the aforementioned *Liber ymnorum Notkeri*.<sup>8</sup> In his preface dating from around

6 David Hiley, *The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily: A Study Centred on Manuscripts 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20-4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid*, PhD Diss. University of London 1981, p. 249–256.

7 See, for instance, Wulf Arlt, »Schichten und Wege in der Überlieferung der älteren Tropen zum Introitus *Nunc scio vere* des Petrus-Festes«, in: *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. by Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (= Corpus Troporum: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 36), Stockholm 1993, p. 13–93; and Ritva Maria Jacobsson, »Poésie liturgique et fond biblique: Essai sur quatre complexes de tropes en l'honneur de Saint Pierre apôtre et sur leur transmission«, in: *ibid.*, p. 309–341.

8 For an edition of Notker's letter see Wolfram von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*, 2 vols., Bern 1948, vol. 2, p. 8–11, p. 160. The reader's attention should also be directed to two

884–885, Notker tells the story of a monk from Jumièges who came to St Gallen with a book to which »versus ad sequentias erant modulati«. Notker expresses displeasure with the Jumièges model, but apparently lacking a better prototype, imitates it in his first attempts at texting sequence melodies. His teacher Iso corrects these early attempts, articulating a guiding principle of setting melodies syllabically with »verse«. Though the sequences brought by the monk from Jumièges need not exemplify the West-Frankish sequence, the account makes clear that Notker encountered a specimen of the genre from West Francia, and that he considered this »other« to be in some respect objectionable – »bitter to the taste« (»ita sum gustu amaricatus«) as he remarks. All the same, Wolfram von den Steinen demonstrated in detail that Notker relied on a couple of West-Frankish sequences as models for his own compositions.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, these West-Frankish models are found in at least one, when not both, of the two oldest sequence collections, each dating to c. 875.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the essence of the West-Frankish models is in effect suppressed through Notker's re-workings. Notker has acted as filter to these models, restructuring them melodically – or at least in accordance with his memory of another, related melody – as well as textually.

We likely will never know what Notker saw in the chant book from Jumièges, but within the many surviving sequence collections, small traces of the »other« tradition have survived. These are not arguments of silence, but rather what the historian Patrick Geary might call »whispers« or »faint rustlings« of another past, »phantoms of remembrance«.<sup>11</sup> Let us examine three such phantoms.

The first example is found in a manuscript from monastery Prüm in the Eifel region, copied sometime between 990 and 995. This codex, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 9448, contains several clues indicating that the East-Frankish sequences were new at Prüm at the time of the copying of this book.<sup>12</sup> A marginal annotation alludes, furthermore, to the scribe's acquaintance with one of the earliest known West-Frankish sequences.

forthcoming studies: Andreas Haug's soon-to-be-published article »Re-Reading Notker's Preface«, in: Fs. Edward Roesner; and Calvin Bower's chapter »Grasping the Wind: Melody, Text, and Memory according to Notker«, in his monograph: *Setting Music to Text in the South German Sphere, 800–1200*. My thanks to both authors for showing or discussing their work with me in advance.

9 For a discussion of Notker's reliance on pre-existing sequence texts for the writing of his own works *Gaude Maria virgo dei genitrix* and *Haec est sancta solemnitatis solemnitatum*, as well as another East-Frankish poet's *Nostra tuba regatur fortissima*, see Wolfram von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*, vol. 1, Bern 1948, p. 232–233, p. 296, and p. 297–325.

10 The manuscripts Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 14843 and Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XC (85) are described by Wolfram von den Steinen, »Anfänge der Sequenzdichtung: Erster Teil«, in: *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 40 (1946), p. 190–221, p. 241–268; here: p. 252–263. For a more recent description and dating of the Munich 14843, see Wulf Arlt, catalog entry »XI. 43 Sammelhandschrift mit Tropen und Sequenzen«, in: *799 – Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn. Katalog der Ausstellung, Paderborn 1999*, 3 vols., ed. by Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff, Mainz 1999, p. 853–855.

11 Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*, Princeton 1994, p. xiv.

12 Lori Kruckenberg, *The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change*, PhD Diss. University of Iowa 1997, p. 131–133.

As in most other East-Frankish sources, the name of the melody appears at the beginning of each text in the Prüm book.<sup>13</sup> As typical, preceding the sequence *Eia recolamus*, the scribe has entered EIA TURMA, the common East-Frankish name for this tune. Strangely, he added a remark about two more melodies in the right margin:

AUT DIES S[ANCT]IFICATUS MAIOR . AUT XPISTI HODIERNA.

DIES SANCTIFICATUS refers to the name for the melody of Notker's Christmas sequence *Natus ante secula*, which, in fact, is found in full on folio 5v of Prüm book. *Christi hodierna*/CHRISTI HODIERNA is both text incipit (here italicized) and melody title (here in small capitals) for a widespread West-Frankish Christmas sequence. Neither as melody name nor as sequence text is CHRISTI HODIERNA/*Christi hodierna* preserved in any extant East-Frankish sequentiary. Not even in the Prüm codex can we find either complete text *Christi hodierna* or tune referent by that name for another text. Exactly why the scribe refers to CHRISTI HODIERNA/*Christi hodierna* remains uncertain, but he must have been familiar with this West-Frankish sequence. I would venture that sequence text *Christi hodierna* had been known and used at Prüm prior to the copying of Paris 9448. By the final decade of the 10th century, however, this particular sequence no longer had a place in the liturgy. Perhaps it was removed from the liturgy so as not to compete with the East-Frankish Christmas sequences, or so as not to be confused with those sequences in the *Liber ymnorum Notkeri Balbuli* sung to a similar melody.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps it was eliminated so as not to encroach upon the comprehensive cycle of the *Liber ymnorum*, or to disrupt the identity of these more recent acquisitions and representatives of the genre.

We will likely never know specifically what Notker saw in the Jumieges book, and if the model was text only or notated, but by happenstance Codex 614 from the Stiftsbibliothek at St Gallen preserves the aforementioned *Christi hodierna*. A 10th-century ›Sammelhandschrift‹ containing primarily patristic writings, SG 614 also includes two 10th-century musical addenda: a prosula notated with Lotharingian neumes and the aforementioned West-Frankish sequence *Christi hodierna* left unnotated. Though from the 10th century, it has not yet been discerned where this manuscript was written, if and when it arrived at St Gallen, or whether Notker or his immediate successors laid eyes on it. Perhaps they had; but irrespective of these unknowns, it is safe to say that *Christi hodierna* was available at St Gallen at some point in the Middle Ages. Even so *Christi hodierna* was not integrated into a single manuscript of that richly attested tradition of St Gallen, a tradition witnessed to by nearly a dozen sequentaries. Not even that most inclusive, consciously comprehensive sequentiary – the immense 16th-century anthology known as the Cuontz Codex (St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 546) – has *Christi hodierna* among its contents.<sup>15</sup>

13 With the exception of the Aquitanian tradition, names of sequence melodies are typically a nomenclature separate from the incipit of a sequence text itself. See Kruckenberg, ›Sequenz‹, in: *MGG2*, Sachteil, vol. 8, col. 1265–1266.

14 Three common East-Frankish texts, *Congaudent angelorum*, *Pangamus creatoris* and *Laudes Christo redempti*, were composed on the tune ›mater‹, a melody quite similar to the West-Frankish tune *Christi hodierna*.

We find traces of the East-Frankish sequences in West-Frankish sources as well. The text of Notker's Christmas sequence *Natus ante secula* was entered into a late 10th-century Aquitanian source from the vicinity of Toulouse (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 1118). Yet it, too, went unnotated. Perhaps the music had not been successfully transmitted. But then again, the neumator may have chosen ultimately to relegate this chant to oblivion, overriding the text scribe's decision to provide it entry into the liturgy. I cautiously make the observation that certain indicators of disrupted transmission of sequences can be found in the prosarium Paris 1118. Of those 28 texted sequences left entirely unnotated in this manuscript, 21 find no resonance in subsequent extant Aquitanian sources. Perhaps this numerical correspondence is a mere coincidence, but notation and lack of notation in Paris 1118 proves a very strong predictor for which sequences will be found in the surviving 14 11th-century Aquitanian proser, and which ones will not. In any case, Notker's *Natus ante secula* is not found in any of the two and half dozen West-Frankish books to survive from before 1100, many containing generous provisions of well over a hundred sequences.

The vestigial flickers giving witness to incomplete transmission take on greater force still when we consider yet another medieval opinion rendered about the genre and its cultural identity. An unequivocal testimony to the existence and consciousness of two traditions is made by Ulrich of Zell, a monk originally from the cloister Sankt Emmeram in Regensburg, but who later settled in Cluny. Nearly 200 years after Notker penned his letter, Ulrich, in his *Consuetudines Cluniacenses* (c. 1083), has set out to describe liturgical practices at Cluny for his former Emmeram confrere Wilhelm, now abbot of the cloister Hirsau. Ulrich devotes a few passages to the practice of singing sequences at Cluny, and at one point unambiguously testifies to the regional identities linked to the genre. The passage reads:

Quamvis autem omnis Galli non magnopere curent de prosis Teutonicorum, tamen beato Patre Odilone adnitente et de nostratibus aserente, haec sola, *Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia*, obtinuit ut in nostro loco in isto die cantaretur.<sup>16</sup>

(But although not all the French care very much for the proses of the Germans, nevertheless, the blessed father Odilo, being pressed and then allying himself with our countrymen [the Germans], maintained that this one only, *Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia*, might be sung on this day [Pentecost] in our place [Cluny].<sup>17</sup>)

Ulrich's mention of the East-Frankish *Sancti spiritus* (the same sequence shown in the Minden portrait of Notker) precipitated a comment on the negative attitude of the ›Gauls‹ toward sequences of the ›Teutonics‹. From Ulrich it becomes clear that he, his new French brothers, his former German brothers, and the addressee Wilhelm were in some way cognizant of an acute repertorial gulf between East and West. Furthermore, it took the

15 Frank Labhardt, *Das Sequentiar Cod. 546 der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen und seine Quellen*, 2 vols., Bern 1959–1963.

16 Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina*, Tomus 149, col. 643–778, here: col. 672.

17 The English translation of this and other passages from the Cluniac customary are from David Hiley, ›The Sequence Melodies Sung at Cluny and Elsewhere‹, in: *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Huckle zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer, Hildesheim 1993, p. 131–155, here: p. 139, and later p. 140–141.

persuasion of the none other than the abbot for the French brothers to agree to admit a single German sequence into the rite at Cluny. An extant sequence collection from Cluny from the same time (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 1087) substantiates Ulrich's report: save for *Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia* there are no other ›German‹ or East-Frankish sequences in Cluny's thoroughly ›French‹ or West-Frankish collection.<sup>18</sup>

The disjuncture between these two traditions manifests itself in the studied nomenclature of Ulrich's descriptions. In fact, Ulrich's comments reveal the limits and weaknesses of our modern umbrella term sequence or ›Sequenz‹. The medieval terms *sequentia*, *prosa*, *verba*, (*p*)*neuma* – all found in conjunction with our modern ›sequence‹ – illustrate that these chants had various labels, functions, appearances and constitutions. For example, before 1100, the word *sequentia* had two distinct uses. In the West *sequentia* referred to a textless melody or a partially-texted melody, while *prosa* or *prosa ad sequentiam* referred to a texted melody. In the East, the term *sequentia* was used as a joint term for music and text together, whereas *prosa* was not applied to the genre in the German-speaking realm.

Modern sensitivity to such distinctions is not just an overwrought construction. Ulrich of Zell, apparently cognizant of the potential confusion when describing the Cluniac sequence practice, was himself thorough in his own terminological references to the genre. In one passage of the *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*, Ulrich describes how textless sequences were sung on particular saints' feasts, saying:

Post alleluia quaedam melodia neumarum cantatur quod sequentiam quidam appellant.

(After the Alleluia, a melody [comprised] of phrases, what some call *sequentia*, was sung.)

In yet another passage he writes »prosa, vel quod alii sequentiam vocant«, that is, »the *prosa*, or what others call the *sequentia*«, clearly addressing the incongruent nomenclature of both regions. It should be noted that whereas the West-Frankish *prosa* finds an East-Frankish equivalent with *sequentia*, the West-Frankish *sequentia* finds no East-Frankish equivalent from the standpoint of an identified genre of liturgical chant, that is, there are no East-Frankish rubrics like *incipiunt melodiae neumarum*. In other words Ulrich's phrase »melodia neumarum« is not a genre, rather a descriptor for a West-Frankish performance phenomenon perhaps unknown or uncommon in the German-speaking realm.

This cultural gap is further delineated by the East- and West-Frankish scribal traditions. In the West-Frankish tradition, the *prosa* appeared like any other chant, with the neumes entered interlinearly above its text. On the other hand, up to c. 1100, the *sequentia* in the West-Frankish tradition was written entirely as textless melody or partially-texted one, a »melodia neumarum«, as Ulrich called it.<sup>19</sup> Prior to 1100, for an East-Frankish *sequentia*,

18 See *ibid.*, p. 137–141, and p. 148–151, 153, for Hiley's discussion, inventory, and comparison of the *consuetudines* to the *sequentiae* and *prosa* of a contemporary chantbook from Cluny, respectively.

19 These scribal conventions connected to the sequence are well-known to chant scholars, and widely available as plates and in dozens of facsimiles. For a convenient overview of the array of layouts, see Bruno Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik* (= Musikgeschichte in Bildern 3–4), Abbildungen 4, 6, 7a–c, 8, 42, 60, 61, 62, as well as the analogous treatment of *prosa* found in Abbildung 14a–b.



the scribe typically enters notation to the side of text with a rubric naming the melody. As Andreas Haug has shown, the layout stresses optical coordination of text and music by presenting them in a synoptic arrangement.<sup>20</sup> By extension, we should view the East-Frankish ›synoptisches Schriftbild‹ as a single entity regarding composition and performance: the singer is expected to coordinate music and text, to render as joined components. In contrast to the West-Frankish tradition, there are no double collections of sequences as in the East, although there is a St Gallen source that transmits sequence melodies sans text. This codex, however, is singular in that these wordless melodies must be read in reverse vertical direction, that is, from bottom to top (though still left to right). Why the scribe copied these melodies in this manner is not known. Based on Wulf Arlt's and Susan Rankin's close studies of the codex as a whole,<sup>21</sup> I submit that this bottom-to-top reading is in keeping with both the scribe's general habits and quest for an individualized product: the inverted recording signals an unfinished, non-performable state of the genre, and though the melodies are indeed intact, they are as yet untexted, thus incomplete. Superficially SG 484 may seem to resemble a collection of West-Frankish *sequentiae*, but I think that the scribe creates an unusual reading path, certainly negotiable for copying or composing, but counterintuitive for an immediate, vocalized realization by a cantor.

Curiously, these well-known notational idiosyncrasies between types of written representation of ›sequence‹ have been traditionally viewed as subtle variations on essentially the same recording method. Walter Howard Frere has stated that these various ways of recording sequences were simply ›the same need [being] differently met‹.<sup>22</sup> Alejandro Planchart has suggested that the two basic possibilities for performance provided for in West-Frankish sources applied to East-Frankish musical practice, remarking that ›East of the Rhine, *sequentiae* were virtually never copied as separate pieces, instead they were entered in the margins of the texts to which they were sung, which were provided with no music other than the marginal *sequentiae*. The singer had thus the possibility of singing the melody with or without words‹.<sup>23</sup> Richard Crocker has pointed out that the melismatic states of sequences could help clear up difficulties in reading the *prosa* versions and that the wordless versions might have little significance to the historical performances of this genre.<sup>24</sup> Though these three scholars' interpretations of the material differ somewhat, they have

20 Andreas Haug, *Gesungene und schriftlich dargestellte Sequenz: Beobachtungen zum Schriftbild der ältesten ostfränkischen Sequenzenhandschriften* (= Tübinger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 12), Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1987, p. 18–38.

21 Wulf Arlt and Susan Rankin, eds., *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 und 318*, 3 vols., Winterthur 1996, here: vol. 1 (Kommentarband), p. 78–95, p. 169.

22 Walter Howard Frere, *The Winchester Troper from Mss. of the Xth and XIth Centuries*, London 1894 (= Henry Bradshaw Society 8), p. xxxii.

23 Alejandro Enrique Planchart, ›An Aquitanian *Sequentia* in Italian Sources‹, in: *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. by Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, Stockholm 1993 (= Corpus Troporum: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 36), p. 371–393, here: p. 371–372, n5.

24 Richard Crocker, art. ›Sequence (i)‹ in: *NGroveD*, vol. 23, London 1980, p. 91–107, here: p. 100. Crocker is certainly correct to note that in cases of adiastematic notation (e.g. in the Winchester and East-Frankish sources), much more melodic information can be gleaned from the melismatic presentation of sequences than from the syllabic interlinear notation. Moreover, in several of the older Aquitanian

in common an attempt to find a single reality, an overarching solution for the different scribal approaches. Such a perspective de-emphasizes, however, the fact that the particular ways of recording, and of labeling the possible manifestations of ›sequence‹ signal division in views of the constitution and definition of the genre.

Certainly for over a century the potential for transculturation loomed, but the cultural barrier seems to have withstood the reception of the ›other‹ in spite of the meddling efforts of bishops, abbots and noblemen. In the 10th and 11th centuries, one of the most effective ways of bringing about change in liturgical chant was via monastic reform. Still, the handful of 10th- and 11th-century reform movements seem to have had little impact on breaking down the barrier between East- and West-Frankish sequence traditions. In the 10th century, the Gorzian movement, emanating originally from the vicinity of Metz and claiming her prestige, maintained that – according to its customary – the abbot was to make decisions concerning the choice of sequences, tropes and ordinary chants.<sup>25</sup> Thus, a newly installed reform abbot could in effect usurp the authority of the office of the cantor. Indeed, at Sankt Emmeram in Regensburg numerous tropes from West of the Rhine appear in an Emmeram manuscript post-dating the introduction of Gorzian reform there, suggesting that a reform bishop had indeed brought tropes from outside the region.<sup>26</sup> In sharp contrast, the thoroughly East-Frankish sequence tradition of Emmeram remains virtually untouched, unwaveringly Notkerian despite the Gorzian reform.<sup>27</sup> As already mentioned, Abbot Odilo of Cluny could convince his French charges to accept but one East-Frankish sequence into their monastery's thoroughly West-Frankish sequence practice. Likewise, though Wilhelm of Hirsau was eager to learn of liturgy at Cluny and consciously modeled some rites after Cluny, the detailed West-Frankish sequence practice described by Ulrich found no resonance in the sequentiaries connected with Hirsau monastic reform.<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, towards the end of the 11th century, the strict repertorial division once so conspicuous began to break down. A handful of late 11th- and 12th-century manuscripts, typically from northern France (Cambrai, Laon, St-Magloire, Normandy) and England,

sources, the readability of the diastematis is greatly enhanced by the more vertical disposition of the melismatic layout, while the horizontally-disposed layout of *prosa* in quasi-diastematic notation can be intervallically more difficult to read.

25 Bruno Albers, *Consuetudines monasticae*, vol. 5, Monte Cassino 1912, especially p. 48 and p. 83 for the passage concerning the abbot's role in the selection of tropes, sequences and Mass Ordinary items.

26 See David Hiley, »Some Observations on the Repertory of Tropes at St Emmeram, Regensburg«, in: *International Musicological Society. Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, ed. by László Dobszay e. a., Budapest 1992, p. 337–357; Lori Kruckenberg, »The Lotharingian Axis and Monastic Reforms: Towards the Recovery of an Early Messine Trope Tradition«, in: *International Musicological Society. Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Twelfth Meeting Lillafüred, Hungary, 23–28 August 2004*, Budapest 2006, p. 723–752.

27 Hiley, »Some Observations«, p. 343.

28 Lori Kruckenberg, »Zur Hirsauer Prägung der liturgischen Musikpraxis an St. Peter in Salzburg«, in: *Musica Sacra Mediaevalis: Geistliche Musik Salzburgs im Mittelalter, Salzburg, 6.–9. Juni 1996, Kongressbericht*, ed. by Stefan Engels and Gerhard Walterskirchen (= Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige 40), St. Ottilien 1998, p. 49–54; idem, »Zur Rekonstruktion des Hirsauer Sequentiars«, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 109 (1999), p. 186–207.

contain both East- and West-Frankish sequences. Moreover, most of these books contain a relatively high percentage of *cantica nova* – new kinds of songs like experimental sequences as well as second-epoch rhymed ones. Many of these sequences use newly-composed melodies rather than relying on tunes from the older East- and West-Frankish fund; several new sequences eschew the strict syllabism of the previous layers; and finally many of these new sequences incorporate rhythmic stress and rhyme. In other words, the first sequence sources to extend the definition of genre in terms of later medieval developments – the use of rhyme, rhythm, new melodies, and non-syllabic melodies – were also the first sources to include both East- and West-Frankish sequence. Thus the extension of repertory in favor of newer styles and by result, the relaxation of ›Gattungsverständnis‹ aided in the negation of the regional-cultural reception barrier formerly found between the East- and West-Frankish regions.

In conclusion, I have presented various kinds of evidence compelling us to reconsider the view that the early sequence had a single, common tradition, and, indeed, pressing us to be more aware of medieval views concerning cultural distinctions and barred transmission. The older historiography requires overlooking differences and smoothing over the contradictions; in doing so, early sequence traditions lose a great deal of their profiles; their colors are lost in the monochromatic wash of a single historical view. Moreover, insisting upon cultural homogeneity for the early history impedes a fuller comprehension of the dramatic changes that occurred at the end of the 11th century. In order to perceive the new definitions and experiments found in manifestations of the genre after 1100, we must better understand the plurality of the early ways of thinking about sequence composition prior to 1100 – an understanding that leads away from a single model of the early preserved specimens of genre, and recommends at least two strong, separate traditions. When we consider the early sequences from East and West as exactly the same things rather than as related yet nevertheless different realizations of a genre, we may be less informed about past realities and constrained by our present notion of genre.

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## Zum Transfer von Conducti des Notre-Dame-Repertoires

Aspekte der Aneignung, Modifizierung und Neukontextualisierung  
im deutschen Sprachbereich

Es erscheint als frühes Plädoyer für die Applikation eines Kulturtransfer-Konzeptes, wenn Jacques Handschin in seinem Artikel über »Die Rolle der Nationen in der mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte« die bestehenden Unterschiede in der »Kunstpflge der Völker des Mittelalters« betont und – unter Verweis auf ein dichtes Netz interregionaler Mobilität –