

ROUEN, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, MS 249 (A.280) AND THE EARLY PARIS REPERTORY OF ORDINARY OF MASS CHANTS AND SEQUENCES

BY DAVID HILEY

LITTLE is known about the origins and development of the plainchant repertory in the cathedral and other churches of Paris before the late twelfth century, for older chant sources have not survived. Only monastic books, from St Denis, St Magloire and St Maur des Fossés, remain to illuminate the earlier period, but they are of limited relevance to the secular churches. The situation is regrettable, especially in view of the spectacular achievements in the areas of liturgical polyphony and the rhymed sequence for which twelfth- and thirteenth-century Paris is famous. It is therefore agreeable to be able to add a 'new' Parisian gradual to those known from the twelfth century.

The manuscript Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 249 (A.280) has not made many appearances in the scholarly literature, since it has generally passed for a relatively late source from a church of secondary importance. In the second volume of the Solesmes publication *Le Graduel romain* it is called a gradual of the twelfth century from the Benedictine monastery of St Ouen in Rouen.¹ But while the manuscript may have come to the Bibliothèque Municipale in Rouen from St Ouen (the *Catalogue générale* of the library makes no mention of this, however) it cannot have originated there. A subsequent volume of *Le Graduel romain* made the affiliations of the manuscript clear by grouping it with books from Paris according to the melodic variants in its chants.² Other simple checks, on the series of alleluias for the summer Sundays of the year, and the saints represented in the Sanctorale, confirm that this is basically a Parisian book. The placing of St Stephen, St John the Evangelist and the Holy Innocents at the start of the Sanctorale instead of within the Temporale is also rare at this date outside Parisian liturgical books. Furthermore, Rouen 249 gives the repertory of Mass chants not simply for Paris churches in general but for the Augustinian house of St Victor in particular.

Most of the beginning of the manuscript was copied in the second half of the twelfth century. But some pages in this part, and all the last two-thirds of the book, were replaced by newer pages copied in the fourteenth century. The newer pages dovetail neatly with the original, sometimes taking over in the middle of a word. Although one suspects that they may have been intended to update some of the original material, I have actually found little clear evidence of this,³ and it therefore seems fair to regard them for the most part as simple replacements intended to

¹ *Le Graduel romain*, ii: *Les Sources*, Solesmes, 1957, p. 128.

² *Le Graduel romain*, iv: *Le Texte neumatique*, 1. *Le groupement des manuscrits*, Solesmes, 1960. The manuscript is designated ROG 4.

³ As an example of possible later revision one might cite the instructions for the celebration of Masses within the Octave of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; and the sequence for St Thomas of Canterbury at the end of the sequentiary is clearly a latecomer into the repertory.

repair damage or loss of some sort. The manuscript is not without inconsistencies, but these do not seem to be connected directly with the provision of new leaves.

The distribution of original and newer leaves is as follows:

Original ff. 2-67 (to the middle of the word 'di-xit' in verse 2 'Respondens autem' of the Alleluia 'Angelus domini' on Friday of Easter week). The first leaf of the manuscript is missing, the first chant being the Introit 'Populus Syon' for the second Sunday of Advent.
New ff. 68-71 (to the middle of the word 'su-um' of the Introit 'Vocem iocunditatis' on the fifth Sunday after Easter)

Original ff. 72-73 (to the middle of the word 'ma-lo' of the Communion 'Pater cum essem' on the Vigil of the Ascension)

New ff. 74-78 (to the end of the word 'relinquo' of the Communion 'Pacem meam do vobis' on Wednesday of Whitsun week)

Original ff. 79-96 (to the end of the Temporale)

New ff. 97-247 (containing the Sanctorale, the Commune Sanctorum, a collection of Ordinary of Mass chants and a Sequentiary).

In addition, the top outside corners of folios 79 and 80 were renovated by the later scribe, and he added chants for Corpus Christi on what was presumably left blank on folio 96 recto and verso. A bifolio in a different hand, with the sequence for Evangelists 'Jocundare plebs fidelis', constitutes folios 232-3. A modern series of gathering numbers indicates no hiatus in the manuscript structure here, and takes these two folios in its stride. An old foliation in Roman minuscule figures appears in the left-hand margin of each verso in the twelfth-century portions of the manuscript, and this corresponds to a modern foliation on the other side of each leaf in the usual place, top right. According to this modern foliation folios 218-29 are missing. From folio 230 there are two foliations, the second starting 214. The gathering numbers show no sign of the missing leaves (see the table of sequences in the Appendix, below).

The older musical notation is typical of Parisian books of the later twelfth century, and is most nearly comparable with that in Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, MS 93, or Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 17328.⁴ The *oriscus* used to indicate a repeated note is still clearly visible, and the first element in the *pes subbipunctus* is turned to the right (see Fig. 1 and Pl. I).

Fig. 1



pes subbipunctus

(e.g. f. 11^v, line 1, 'de (us)'; see Pl. I)

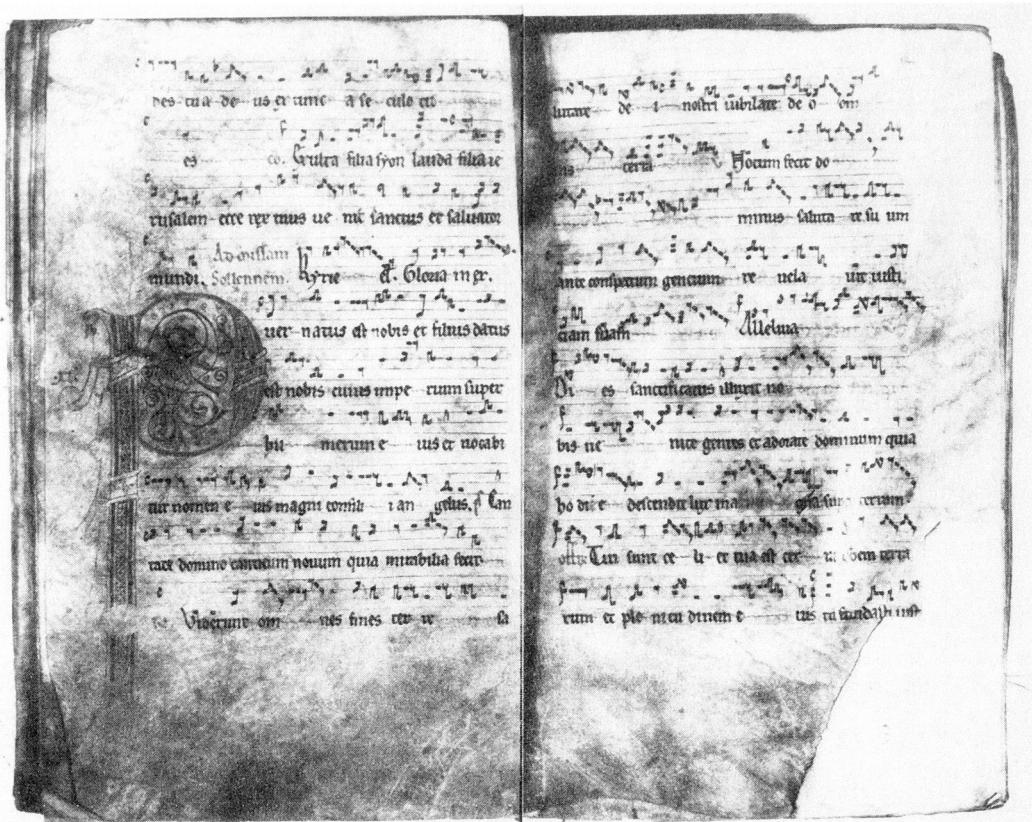


oriscus

(e.g. f. 11^v, last line, 'terre'; see Pl. I)

⁴ For Ste Geneviève 93, see Madeleine Bernard, *Répertoire de manuscrits médiévaux contenant des notations musicales*, i: *Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève—Paris*, Paris, 1965, p. 25 and Pl. III. For Paris 17328, see *Paléographie musicale*, iii, Pl. 197.

PLATE I



Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 249 (A.280), ff. 11^v-12^r, showing the end of the second Mass on Christmas Day and most of the third Mass

By permission of Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale

The suspicion naturally arises that a revision of the Sanctorale and other material caused the rewriting of the codex, but evidence of the origins of the codex at St Victor can be deduced from the original leaves. All important Masses are provided with cues for the Kyrie and Gloria (usually tucked in at the end of the first line of the Introit, or at the end of the previous line, very rarely at the end of the Introit). The chants thus indicated include three which are found in books following the use of St Victor but not that of Notre-Dame or other secular Paris churches. The chants in question are Kyries 47, 57 and 151 in the catalogue of Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki and Gloria 24 in the catalogue of Detlev Bosse. These are not, of course, known only from St Victor manuscripts, but within a Parisian context they seem to constitute evidence for Victorine provenance. On the other hand, Kyrie 210, which is also among those indicated, seems to have originated in Paris and was little sung elsewhere.⁵

⁵ See Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters* ('Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft', i), Regensburg, 1955; Detlev Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher*

The provision of cues for these chants makes it easy for the musician responsible for the correct singing of the chants for any particular Mass to see at a glance what is required. The chants are given in full later in the manuscript. Of course, an enormous number of incipits have to be provided (132 Kyrie cues and 109 Gloria cues by my count, in addition to which some cues were left without notation and others were erased). But the number of different chants to be sung is actually very small—eleven Kyries and six Glorias—so that there is a great deal of repetition. Later, as is well known, the system of cues was dropped, and the chants were grouped in sets with a rubric indicating for which class of feast day they were appropriate. This saves space but necessitates memorizing the grading of feasts and still leaves some assignments open to choice.

The eleven Kyries and six Glorias are listed below as pairs, with no mention of the Sanctus and Agnus chants. Rather than reproduce the order of cues as they appear in the manuscript, I give here a classified list with the chants in numerical, the feasts in calendric order:

Kyrie 16 and Gloria 51: first Mass of Christmas; first Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany; first Sunday after Easter; first Sunday after Whitsun (*sic*, actually first after Trinity); seventh, thirteenth, nineteenth and 25th Sundays after Whitsun; Silvester; first day in the Octave of the Assumption of the BVM

Kyrie 16 alone: Quadragesima Sunday; Barnabas; Lucy

Kyrie 18 and Gloria 24: third Mass of Christmas; Circumcision; Easter Sunday; Whitsunday; Purification of the BVM; Assumption of the BVM; Nativity of the BVM

Kyrie 18 and Gloria 56: Trinity Sunday

Kyrie 47 and Gloria 12: Monday of Easter week; Monday of Pentecost week; Stephen; John the Baptist; Transfiguration; Sunday within the Octave of Augustine

Kyrie 47 alone: Nicholas; Octave of Andrew

Kyrie 48 and Gloria 56: Epiphany; Ascension; Tuesday in Whitsun week; John the Evangelist; Vincent; Peter; Octave of the Assumption of the BVM; Bartholomew; Augustine; Michael; Denis and his companions; All Saints; Martin

Kyrie 48 alone: Tuesday in Easter week; Conception of the BVM

Kyrie 57 and Gloria 12: second Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany; second Sunday after Easter; second, eighth, fourteenth and twentieth Sundays after Whitsun; Fabian & Sebastian; Gervase & Prothase; James; second day in the Octave of the Assumption of the BVM; Beheading of John the Baptist

Kyrie 57 alone: fourth Sunday in Quadragesima; Thomas

(For the 26th Sunday after Whitsun, where one would expect Kyrie 57, the notes have been erased; Gloria 12 alone appears.)

Kyrie 68 and Gloria 12: Octave of Epiphany; Wednesday of Easter week; Wednesday of Whitsun week; Innocents; Invention of the Holy Cross; Mary Magdalene; Laurence; Exaltation of the Holy Cross; Andrew

Kyrie 144 and Gloria 43: Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany; Friday in Easter week; fifth Sunday after Easter; Friday of Whitsun week; fifth, eleventh, seventeenth and 23rd Sundays after Whitsun; Octave of John the Evangelist; Agatha; Mark; Ordination of Martin (4 July); Invention of Stephen; fourth day in the Octave of the Assumption of the BVM; Jerome; Cecilia

Kyrie 144 alone: Quinquagesima Sunday; Passion Sunday

Kyrie 151 and Gloria 43: Saturday of Easter week; Saturday of Whitsun week; sixth, twelfth, eighteenth and 24th Sundays after Whitsun; Octave of Innocents; John before the Latin

Melodien zum 'Gloria in excelsis deo' ('Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft', ii), Regensburg, 1955. A full list of the Ordinary of Mass melodies in Rouen 249 is given on page 51 of my supplement to these catalogues: 'Ordinary of Mass Chants in English, North French and Sicilian Manuscripts', *Journal of the Plainsong & Medieval Music Society*, ix (1986), 1-128. And compare the list for the Victorine MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 14452, on page 48.

Gate; Octave of Peter; Hippolytus and companions; fifth day in the Octave of the Assumption of the BVM; Leodegarius; Clement

Kyrie 151 alone: second Sunday in Quadragesima; Peter's Chair

Kyrie 210 and Gloria 51: third Sunday after Easter; Sunday within the Octave of the Ascension; third, ninth, fifteenth and 21st Sundays after Whitsun; Agnes; Philip & James; Victor; Germanus of Auxerre; Simon & Jude

Kyrie 210 alone: third Sunday in Advent; Sunday within the Octave of Christmas; Septuagesima Sunday; Palm Sunday; third day in the Octave of the Assumption of the BVM

Kyrie 217 and Gloria 11: second Mass of Christmas; fourth Sunday after Easter; Vigil of Whitsunday; Thursday of Whitsun week; fourth, tenth, sixteenth and 22nd Sundays after Whitsun; Octave of Stephen; John & Paul; Romanus (of Rouen, 23 October)

Kyrie 217 alone: fourth Sunday of Advent; Sexagesima Sunday; third Sunday of Quadragesima; Thursday of Easter week; Blasius; Benedict (21 March)

Some of the pairs, it will be noticed, are arranged in recurring cycles: for the Sundays after Whitsun, for Easter week, Whitsun week, and so on. No cues are given for the Commune Sanctorum. The collection of Ordinary of Mass chants copied after the Commune Sanctorum complements the cues almost perfectly. The Kyries are given in full, but are accompanied by cues for the Glorias which usually accompany them. Thus after the first Kyrie—Kyrie 18—there appear cues for Gloria 24 and Gloria 56; Kyrie 47 comes next, with a cue for Gloria 12; and so on. Then five Glorias are copied in full; Gloria 43 does not appear. Before the rest of the Ordinary chants are given the Sequentiary follows, a common arrangement which reflects the order of these chants in the Mass itself. There are three Sanctus and four Agnus chants. At the end (after a lacuna) come two chants which were presumably intended for Masses of the Blessed Virgin Mary: Kyrie 171 and Gloria 23 with trope verses 'Spiritus et alme'. These two chants were not cued earlier in the manuscript. None of these chants bears a rubric.

Now, although the chants so far mentioned contain some deviations from the repertory contained in, say, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 14452 (which is often used as a standard against which possible Victorine books may be compared), there seems little doubt that Rouen 249 represents the musical practice of St Victor, perhaps in an earlier phase than we know from other manuscripts. The contents of the Sequentiary indicate, however, that it was not used at St Victor, but rather at the collegiate church of St Laurent in Eu, close to the coast on the northern border of Normandy. For among the sequences is a whole week's supply of compositions in honour of St Laurence O'Toole (Lorcan ua Tuathail), Primate of Ireland, who died at Eu in 1180 on his way back to Dublin after petitioning Henry II of England to let him return to Ireland.⁶ He was canonized in 1226, and the church at Eu, previously dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, bore a joint dedication thereafter. The oldest parts of Rouen 249 may well have been copied before the cult of St Laurence of Eu gathered momentum. Yet neither does the new section, containing the Sanctorale, contain any mention of him. His feast day was 14 November, shortly after Martinmas (11 November), and though the book contains instructions for Masses within the Octave of St Martin, nothing is indicated for St Laurence. Then again, on previous pages (as elsewhere in the book) a still later hand has written text cues in the margins for Masses in honour of Sts Maglorius, Crispin & Crispinian, and Linus, but no similar notes were entered for St Laurence.

⁶ David H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, Oxford, 1978, pp. 239–40.

Perhaps, then, the manuscript came to Eu relatively late. One might chance the hypothesis that we have here the remains of an old St Victor book, refurbished for an affiliated house, with additional sequences in honour of the local patron. The sequences in honour of St Laurence are as follows, with references to the text edition in *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. 10:

- f. 236^r 'Superne matris filia'; *AH* 229 ('In die transitus sancti Laurentii')
- f. 237^r 'Gratuletur mater ecclesia'; *AH* 230 ('Prima die octavarum')
- f. 238^r 'Interna cordis gaudia'; *AH* 231 ('Tercia die prosa')
- f. 239^r 'Laude multipharia'; *AH* 232 ('Quarta die')
- f. 240^r 'Festa sunt nobis gaudia'; *AH* 233 ('Quinta die de sancto')
- f. 241^r 'Gaudens gaude et letare'; *AH* 234 ('Sexta die prosa')
- f. 242^r 'Collaudantes exultemus'; *AH* 234 ([*'Septima die'*])
- f. 243^v 'Leta dies hodierna'; *AH* 236 ([*'Octava die'*])

At first sight it would seem that a sequence for the second day had been omitted from the series, but if one counts the feast day itself as the first day of eight, then 'Gratuletur mater ecclesia' falls on the second day of the eight, 'Interna cordis gaudia' on the third (as indicated in the rubric) and so on. 'Festa sunt nobis gaudia' actually celebrates Laurence and Martin jointly, for that day—18 November—is also the Octave of St Martin.

A full account of the melodies for the Laurence sequences, indeed of the melodies for the rhymed sequences in general, will have to be deferred to another occasion. Suffice it to say here that while many are what we should expect from a Victorine book, a few are not.⁷ The sequences are listed in the Appendix, below. The interest of the sequence collection in Rouen 249 extends further than this, however. Among the older sequences are some which cannot be found in Parisian books of the thirteenth century. The variant readings in these sequences as they appear in Rouen 249 suggest that we have here sequences which once belonged to the Paris repertory, before being ousted by newer rhyming compositions, and, what is more, in their original Parisian versions. Demonstration of this is somewhat complicated but, I believe, conclusive. In approaching this problem I should like first to air a few speculations about the repertory of sequences sung in Parisian churches before the rise to popularity of the rhymed sequences associated generally with the name of Adam of St Victor. Then I shall try to show how Rouen 249 sheds additional light on this repertory.

Margot Fassler's recent account of the work of Adam of St Victor and the origins of the new rhymed sequence repertory in Paris⁸ naturally arouses curiosity about the sequences sung in Paris before the advent of the new fashion. What was the repertory of 'first-epoch' sequences which the new ones displaced? Professor Fassler was of course aware of this question, and courteously mentioned an announcement I had

⁷ Rouen 249 has the St Victor melodies (as in Paris 14452) for 'Zyma vetus' and 'Lux iocunda'. It has the Notre-Dame melodies for 'Ave virgo singularis mater' und 'Jocundare plebs fidelis' (added). It has the following sequences sung at St Victor but not at Notre-Dame: 'Ecce dies triumphalis' (Victor), 'Interni festi gaudia' (Augustine), 'Clara chorus' (Dedication). It has 'Templum cordis adornemus' (BVM), a text sung at St Victor, but with a melody different from both those in Paris 14452 and Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 695. It has six rhymed sequences not used at either Notre-Dame or St Victor: 'Triumphalis lux illuxit' (Vincent: Assisi 695), 'Virgo gaude speciosa' (BVM: Assisi 695), 'Virginis in laude' (BVM), 'Clemens et benigna' (BVM), 'Dies festa celebretur' (BVM: Assisi 695) and 'Spe mercedis et corone' (Thomas of Canterbury: English).

⁸ 'Who Was Adam of St. Victor? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxvii (1984), 233–69.

made that I wanted to attempt a reconstruction of the lost repertory.⁹ She also hazarded the opinion that the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 13254, might contain something resembling the lost corpus. In a general way, this is probably true, for Paris 13254 has a repertory of mostly old sequences, and was written in the Parisian area in the late twelfth century. The same might also be said of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 13252, which Professor Fassler tells me in correspondence she also believes relevant to the matter. This manuscript would indicate something of the repertory at the end of the eleventh century.

What I had in mind, however, was more definite information about the repertory of the secular churches of Paris at, say, the beginning of the twelfth century. Paris 13254 and 13252 are monastic books, and experience shows that in repertory and variant readings monastic books often differ substantially from those of secular churches in or near the same city. In fact, it is not a difficult matter to check the text and music of sequences in these two books against the readings of, say, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1112, to discover plenty of significant variants.

There are, I think, at least three means by which one can suggest candidates for the pre-Victorine Paris sequence repertory. First of all, some older sequences did live on amid the new compositions. They can already be seen in the lists published by Heinrich Husmann (for Saint Germain l'Auxerrois [SG]) and Professor Fassler (for St Victor [SV]), and in the Sainte-Chapelle [SC] collection published in facsimile by René-Jean Hesbert.¹⁰ To these we can add the witness of Paris 1112, for Notre-Dame [ND]. Not all four lists are identical, of course. Table I shows which sequences are attested for each of the four centres mentioned. I have not attempted to show all the alternative liturgical occasions for sequences used more than once during the year. For the purposes of this study I have also omitted such 'transitional' sequences as 'Congaudentes exultemus' (Nicholas) and 'Stola iocunditatis' (Lawrence etc.) probably known in Paris in the early twelfth century.

I cannot claim to have checked all Parisian graduals, missals and ordinals for further traces of the earlier repertory, and a longer search might well turn up more. I can, however, cite at least one further source, from Ste Geneviève: Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, MS 1259, of the early thirteenth century, in which five more 'first-epoch' sequences have lingered. Sequences for the Temporale are copied in full in this noted missal, but thereafter only incipits for the sequences are given. The five additions to the list are shown in Table II. The manuscript also has 'Alle celeste' for the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, as in the Sainte-Chapelle manuscript, but not 'Almiphona' at Whitsuntide.

At this point, one is tempted to try a second approach, and to look outside Paris for sequences well known in northern France which might once have been employed in Paris as well. Plenty of manuscripts and printed books have survived from cathedrals in a wide circle around Paris.¹¹ Putting the witness of these side by side, one may suggest over 40 candidates for the Paris repertory, which are listed in Table

⁹ Ibid., p. 243 n. 40. My announcement came in 'Further Observations on W1: the Ordinary of Mass Chants and the Sequences', *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society*, iv (1981), 79.

¹⁰ Husmann, 'Notre-Dame und Saint-Victor: Repertoire-Studien zur Geschichte der gereimten Prosen', *Acta musicologica*, xxxvi (1964), 98–123, 191–221, table on pp. 110 ff., from Paris 830; Fassler, op. cit., table on pp. 245 ff., from a St Victor ordinal of c.1200 – Paris 14506; Hesbert, *Le Prosaire de la Sainte-Chapelle: manuscrit du Chapitre de Saint-Nicholas de Bari (vers 1250)* ('Monumenta musicae sacrae', i), Macon, 1952.

¹¹ Lists of sequences in many printed missals are contained in *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, ed. E. Misset & W. H. J. Weale ('Analecta liturgica', ii), Bruges & Lille, 1888–92.

TABLE I

First-epoch sequences in Parisian books of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries

		ND	SG	SV	SC
First Sunday in Advent	Salus eterna	x	x	x	x
Second Sunday in Advent	Regnante sempiterna	x	x	x	x
Third Sunday in Advent	Qui regis sceptra	x	x	x	x
Fourth Sunday in Advent	Jubilemus omnes una	x	x	x	x
Epiphany	Epiphaniam domino	x	x	x	x
Easter Sunday	Fulgens preclara	x	x	x	x
Ascension Day	Rex omnipotens	x	x	x	x
Whitsuntide	Fulgens (end of)	x	x		x
Whitsuntide	Sancti spiritus	x	x	x	x
Whitsuntide	Almiphona				x
Whitsuntide	Alma chorus domini	x	x	x	x
Trinity Sunday	Benedicta semper'	x	x		x
Stephen	Magnus deus	x	x		x
Holy Innocents	Celsa pueri	x	x	x	x
Purification of BVM	Hac clara	x	x		x
Assumption of BVM	Aurea virga	x	x		x
Nativity of BVM	Alle celeste				x
All Saints	Christo inclita	x	x	x	x
Common of Saints	Clare sanctorum	x	x	x	x
Common of Saints	Mirabilis deus	x	x		x
Common of Saints	Mundi etate	x	x		x
Common of Saints	N. inclite*	x	x		x
Common of Saints	Organicis canamus	x	x		x
Common of Saints	Regina virginum*	x	x		x

* Both use parts of 'Christo inclita'

TABLE II

Additional first-epoch sequences in Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, MS 1259

Christmas Day, first Mass	Nato canunt omnia
Christmas Day, third Mass	Christi hodierna . . . Celica resonent
Circumcision	Eia recolamus
Whitsuntide	Laudes deo
Peter	Laude iocunda

III. I have allowed sequences sung in as few as two centres if these are reasonably widely separated. Once again, I have not attempted to include all alternative liturgical uses of the sequences. It is important simply that they appear in the table. There can be little objection to looking in sixteenth-century printed sources for evidence concerning the eleventh century, for there can have been little pressure to take 'first-epoch' sequences into the repertory after the twelfth century; rather were they jettisoned in favour of the new rhyming pieces. Comparison of the repertoires in sources 1 and 7 (Rouen), 3 and 11 (Sens), and 5 and 14 (Noyon) shows how little the situation changed there from the thirteenth century onwards. The same is, of course, true in Paris itself, as a check of Paris printed missals reveals.

TABLE III

Manuscripts

- ¹ Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 277, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 904 (Rouen, thirteenth century)
² Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1058 (Chartres, thirteenth century), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Can. lit. 344 (Chartres, fourteenth century)
³ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 10502 (Sens, thirteenth century)
⁴ Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 263 (Laon, late twelfth century)
⁵ Abbeville, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 7 (Noyon, thirteenth century)
⁶ Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 224 (Reims, fourteenth century)

Printed Missals

- | | | | |
|----|---------------|----|---------------|
| 7 | Rouen 1499 | 12 | Troyes 1497 |
| 8 | Evreux 1497 | 13 | Senlis 1524 |
| 9 | Orléans 1519 | 14 | Noyon 1506 |
| 10 | Essonnes 1547 | 15 | Amiens 1487 |
| 11 | Sens 1543 | 16 | Beauvais 1514 |

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
First Sunday in Advent	Salus eterna	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Second Sunday in Advent	Regnante semipeterna	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Third Sunday in Advent	Qui regis sceptra	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Fourth Sunday in Advent	Jubilemus omnes una	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Christmas	Nato canunt	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Christmas	Sonent regi	x	x	x					x		x						
Christmas	Christi hodierna . . . Celica								x		x						x
Christmas	Christi hodierna . . . Voce	x			x				x			x	x	x	x	x	x
Christmas	Celeste organum			x		x			x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Christmas	Eia recolamus	x			x				x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Epiphany	Epiphaniam domino	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Easter	Fulgens preclara	x	x	x	x	x			x	x		x					x
Easter	Prome casta	x	x						x		x			x			x
Easter	Concinat orbis	x			x				x		x				x	x	x
Easter	Dic nobis	x	x			x			x					x	x	x	x

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Ascension Day	Rex omnipotens	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Whitsuntide	Fulgens preclara	x											x		x	x	x
Whitsuntide	Sancti spiritus	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Whitsuntide	Alma chorus domini	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Whitsuntide	Laudes deo	x			x	x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Whitsuntide	Almiphona	x								x	x	x	x				
Whitsuntide	In omnem terram	x			x	x				x				x		x	
Trinity Sunday	Benedicta semper		x	x	x	x	x			x			x	x	x		
<hr/>																	
Blessed Virgin Mary	Hac clara	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Blessed Virgin Mary	Salve porta perpetue	x	x		x												
Blessed Virgin Mary	Aurea virga	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Blessed Virgin Mary	Alle celeste	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
<hr/>																	
Stephen	Magnus deus	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Holy Innocents	Celsa pueri	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Vincent	Precelsa seclis		x	x						x	x						
Holy Cross	Salve crux sancta	x			x					x							
John Baptist	Gaude caterva		x	x							x		x				
John Baptist	Sancti baptiste	x			x		x	x	x	x		x					x
Peter	Laude iocunda	x	x	x				x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x
Michael	Ad celebres	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Denis	Supere armonie			x						x		x	x	x	x	x	x
All Saints	Christo inclita	x		x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Martin	Sacerdotem Christi	x						x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
<hr/>																	
Common of Saints	Adest nobis	x						x	x	x							x
Common of Saints	Clare sanctorum	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Common of Saints	Ecce pulchra	x	x					x	x		x						
Common of Saints	Mirabilis deus		x	x	x					x	x	x	x				x
Common of Saints	Mundi etate													x	x		
Common of Saints	Organicis canamus	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Common of Saints	Virginis venerande	x			x			x	x			x		x		x	x

What the search of books from outside Paris also shows is how progressive Paris was by comparison with other centres. Whereas about two-thirds of the repertory at Chartres and Rouen, for example, was old-style, only a quarter of the Paris repertory consisted of 'first-epoch' sequences.

Of the 21 sequences in Table I (not counting those which borrow parts of other sequences) and the five in Table II, all appear in Table III. This is hardly surprising, for the cause of their popularity in northern France generally was presumably also the cause of their survival in Paris. Least popular elsewhere in the area among the sequences definitely attested for Paris were 'Christi hodierna . . . Celica resonant' and 'Mundi etate octava'. 'Salve porta perpetue' hardly survived anywhere beyond the twelfth century.

Some of the nineteen sequences in Table III which were not in Tables I and II can be eliminated from further consideration. Of the two versions of 'Christi hodierna', ' . . . Celica resonant' is attested in St Geneviève 1259, so that ' . . . Voce consona' can be set aside. There is a choice between 'Gaude caterva' and Notker's 'Sancti baptiste' for John the Baptist. For Martin, part of 'Christo inclita' was used in Paris, as it was in Sens (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 10502), so 'Sacerdotem Christi' may also be set aside. That leaves seventeen sequences (or sixteen, omitting one of the John the Baptist ones) as candidates for the pre-Victorine Paris repertory.

We do not yet know the versions of text and music which might have been sung in Paris for these seventeen, nor for 'Laude iocunda melos' (Peter), which is indicated only by its text incipit in Ste Geneviève 1259. But by a stroke of good fortune the Paris versions of 'Laude iocunda' and 'Ad celebres' can be shown to have survived elsewhere, in Rouen 249 and in the manuscript Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 695. Assisi 695 is a late thirteenth-century source of unknown origin. Since the manuscript has been discussed several times before,¹² it will suffice for present purposes simply to bear in mind that its sequence collection is mainly an amalgamation of Paris and Reims repertoires.

Given the connection of both books with Paris, it seems reasonable to assume that when they agree in small melodic and textual details it is because they are reproducing Parisian variants. In the course of work on a wide selection of northern French sequence collections I had cause to check the readings of nineteen sequences which Rouen 249 and Assisi 695 have in common, and discovered that in fifteen pieces their readings did indeed agree against other sources.¹³ All fifteen sequences are in Table III, and for two of them, 'Laude iocunda' and 'Ad celebres', I know of

¹² The best discussion is still that in Ulysse Chevalier, *Sacramentaire et martyrologe de l'abbaye de Saint-Rémy. Martyrologe, calendrier, ordinaires et prosaie de la métropole de Reims (VIII^e-XIII^e siècle), publiés d'après les manuscrits de Paris, Londres, Reims et Assise* ('Bibliothèque liturgique', vii), Paris, 1900, 1-lxxii. See also Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, RISM, B V/1, pp. 167-9.

¹³ The following lists show that all concordances ('first-epoch' sequences) between Rouen 249 and Assisi 695 are in the Paris repertory, though not all versions may be Parisian. The sequences in Assisi 695 alone may prove to be in Paris versions. D = variants checked, but in disagreement; A = variants in agreement.

In Rouen 249 and Assisi 695, but not Reims sources: 'Salus eterna' A, 'Regnante sempiterna' A, 'Qui regis' A, 'Iubilemus omnes' A, 'Christi hodierna' . . . 'Celica' A, 'Nato canunt', 'Organicis canamus', 'Alma chorus' A, 'Christo inclita' A.

In Rouen 249, Assisi 695 and Reims sources (Reims 264 and 285): 'Eya [simul] recolamus' D, 'Magnus deus' A, 'Celsa pueri' A, 'Epiphaniam' A, 'Hac clara' A, 'Fulgens preclara' A, 'Rex omnipotens' D, 'Sancti spiritus' A, 'Benedicta semper', 'Laude iocunda' A, 'Area virga', 'Alle celeste' D, 'Ad celebres' A, 'Clare sanctorum' D.

In Assisi 695 and Reims sources (Reims 264 and 285): 'Natus ante secula', 'Salve porta perpetua', 'Nostram musicam', 'Festa Christi', 'Pangite celsa', 'Salve crux sancta', 'Laudum carmina', 'Psallat ecclesia', 'Regina nunc celorum', 'Fraterna grataanter', 'Stans a longe', 'Mirabilis'.

In Assisi 695 alone (of these four sources): 'Celeste organum', 'Laudes salvatori', 'Alme mundi Jesu', 'Laus tibi Christe qui es', 'Gaudie eya', 'Gloriosa dies', 'Virginis venerande', 'Tripudiet tinnitum', 'Mundi etate octava'.

no other Parisian sources. The final score, then, is 27 'first-epoch' sequences for which we have Paris versions, and fifteen candidates for which no Paris version is yet known.

A typical example of the variants which proved useful is shown in Ex. 1, which reproduces the last line of 'Epiphaniam' from nine sources. Assisi 695, Rouen 249 and London, British Library, Add. MS 38723, agree against other sources at four crucial points, which can only be explained by their being Parisian. Thus four sources have C-B instead of B-C for 'ut per'; four sources have C-D instead of D-B for 'orbem'; two sources have D-C instead of C-D for '[prote]-gat in'; and three sources have 'secla' (two syllables) instead of 'secula'.¹⁴

The presence of 'Epiphaniam' in the Paris repertory was in any case not in doubt. Ex. 2 shows a line from 'Ad celebres rex celice' where Rouen 249 and Assisi 695 again agree consistently against other sources. The text variants are insignificant. On only one occasion—the cadence at 'simbola'—does Assisi 695 go a different way from Rouen 249, but here it seems eccentric against all other sources. The agreement of these two sources at 'tertripertita', and to a lesser extent at 'cathegorizans' and 'per', is surely conclusive.

In conclusion, I must admit that until a thorough comparison of all known Parisian sources—a dauntingly large task—has been completed question marks will remain hovering over some details of the present study. Greater precision about the place of Rouen 249 and Assisi 695 in the Parisian tradition will undoubtedly some day be possible. If the enquiry has served to draw attention to a manuscript hitherto neglected, and to point out the possibilities of some methods of investigation, it will have fulfilled its modest purpose. The most important point of this brief study is not so much that the early Paris sequence repertory has been filled out a little. After all, one cannot claim for the repertory any particularly startling features. It remains true that the Paris sequence repertory became interesting only when the rhymed sequence was taken up, to an extent unparalleled elsewhere. The study may therefore have helped to throw into relief more clearly the extent and quality of the new achievements. More importantly, it shows once again how powerful a tool textual and musical variants are for tracing relationships between medieval sources.

¹⁴ Many more key variants are registered in Part II, Section 8, of my dissertation *The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily: a Study Centred on Manuscripts 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20-4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid* (unpublished), University of London, 1981, pp. 634-91. A version of the diagram on page 371 of the dissertation, which seeks to group the manuscripts according to their variant readings, was published on page 33 of my article 'The Norman Chant Traditions—Normandy, Britain, Sicily', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, cvii (1980-81), 1-33, which the closeness of Rouen 249 and Assisi 695; see also the remarks in my dissertation, p. 368. The dissertation also contains my first attempt to reconstruct the early Paris sequence repertory; see pp. 558-61.

Ex. 1 (only readings different from those of Assisi 695 are entered)

476

Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 695
(Paris/Reims)

Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 249 (Eu)

London, British Library, Add. MS 38723 (Paris)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds lat. 904
(Rouen)

Provins, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 12
(Chartres)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds lat. 13254 (Chelles)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds lat. 10508 (St Evroult)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds lat. 1105 (Bec)

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 477 (Jerusalem)

Pos - cens ut per or - bem re - gna om - ni - a pro - te - gat in se - cu - la sem - pi - ter - na

se - cla

se - cla

se - cla

Ex. 2 (only readings different from those of Assisi 695 are entered)

Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 695
(Paris/Reims)

Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 249 (Eu)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds lat. 904
(Rouen)

Provins, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 12
(Chartres)

480

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds lat.
10508 (St Evroult)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds lat.
1105 (Bec)

Limoges, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 2
(Fontévrault)

Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 129
(Pleury)

Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 437
(Le Mans)

The musical score consists of a grid of eight measures by seven rows, one for each manuscript. The manuscripts are listed on the left, and the measures are numbered 1 through 8 at the top. The lyrics are as follows:

- Measure 1:** The-o - lo - ga
- Measure 2:** ca - the - go - ri - zans
- Measure 3:** sim - bo - la
- Measure 4:** no - bis hec
- Measure 5:** ter - tri - per - ti - ta
- Measure 6:** per pri - ua - ta
- Measure 7:** of - fi - ci - na.

Differences between manuscripts are indicated as follows:

- Rouen (Eu):** In measure 2, the last two notes of the first staff are replaced by "zent" and "sym -".
- Paris f.904 (Rouen):** In measure 2, the last two notes of the first staff are replaced by "zent" and "sym -".
- Provins (Chartres):** In measure 2, the last two notes of the first staff are replaced by "zent" and "sym -". In measure 6, the last two notes of the first staff are replaced by "- tas" and "- nas".
- Paris f.10508 (St Evroult):** In measure 2, the last two notes of the first staff are replaced by "zent" and "sym -". In measure 6, the last two notes of the first staff are replaced by "- tas" and "- as".
- Paris f.1105 (Bec):** In measure 2, the last two notes of the first staff are replaced by "zent" and "sym -". In measure 6, the last two notes of the first staff are replaced by "per".
- Limoges (Fontévrault):** In measure 2, the last two notes of the first staff are replaced by "zent". In measure 6, the last two notes of the first staff are replaced by "he o ter - ri per - tri - ta".
- Orléans (Pleury):** In measure 2, the last two notes of the first staff are replaced by "zent". In measure 6, there is a bracketed note and a note head in measure 7.
- Le Mans (Le Mans):** In measure 2, the last two notes of the first staff are replaced by "zent" and "sym -".

APPENDIX

Sequences in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 249 (A.280)

The main series falls between the Kyries and Glorias (ff. 159^v-164^r) and the Sanctus and Agnus settings (ff. 210^v-212^v). A supplementary series follows the Marian Kyrie and Gloria on ff. 230^{r-v}. Although space for a rubric was generally provided, the assignment was not always entered. Sometimes it was entered by a later hand. Those given here in square brackets are editorial.

Folio	Rubric	Sequence
164 ^r	First Sunday in Advent	Salus eterna
165 ^r	Second Sunday in Advent	Regnanter semipiterna
165 ^v	Third Sunday in Advent	Qui regis sceptra
165 ^v	Fourth Sunday in Advent	Jubilemus omnes una deo nostro
166 ^r	Christmas Day	Christi hodierna . . . Celica resonant
167 ^r	Stephen	Magnus deus
168 ^r	John the Evangelist	Organicis canamus modulis
169 ^r	Innocents	Celsa pueri
170 ^r	Sunday within Octave of Christmas	Nato canant omnia
171 ^r	[Vespers of Circumcision?]	Letabundus exultet . . . Regem regum
171 ^v	[Circumcision]	Eya recolamus
172 ^v	Epiphany	Epiphaniam domino
173 ^v	[Easter Sunday]	Fulgens preclara
175 ^r	Monday of Easter week	Adest namque pascha
175 ^v	Tuesday of Easter week	Concinat orbis
176 ^v	Wednesday of Easter week	Dic nobis quibus
177 ^r	[Thursday of Easter week]	Mane prima sabbati
178 ^r	Friday of Easter week	Prome casta concio
178 ^v	Saturday of Easter week	Victime paschali laudes
179 ^r	Octave of Easter	Zima vetus expurgetur
180 ^v	Ascension	Rex omnipotens
181 ^v	Whit Sunday	Sancti spiritus assit
182 ^v	Monday of Whit week	Lux iocunda lux insignis
184 ^r	Tuesday of Whit week	Almiphona iam gaudia
184 ^v	Wednesday of Whit week	Alma chorus domini
185 ^r	Thursday of Whit week	Simplex in essentia
186 ^v	Friday of Whit week	Lux iocunda [incipit only]
186 ^v	Saturday of Whit week	Veni sancte spiritus
187 ^v	Trinity Sunday	Benedicta sit sancta
188 ^r	Silvester	Nato canant [incipit only]
188 ^r	Vincent	Triumphalis lux illuxit
189 ^v	Purification of BVM	Hac clara die turma
190 ^r	Invention of the Holy Cross	Laudes crucis attollamus
192 ^r	John the Baptist	Sancte baptiste Christe preconis
192 ^v	Peter	Laude iocunda melos
193 ^r	[Paul]	Sacra Paule ingere dogmata (second part of 'Laude iocunda')
193 ^v	Victor	Ecce dies triumphalis
195 ^r	Mary Magdalene	Mane prima sabbati [incipit only]
195 ^r	Laurence	Stola iocunditatis
196 ^r	Assumption of BVM	Area virga
197 ^v	Sunday within Octave of Assumption	Hac clara die [incipit only]

(There follow rubrics for the next six sequences)

197 ^v	First day within Octave	Ave Maria gratia plena
198 ^r	Second day within Octave	Virgo gaude speciosa
199 ^r	Third day within Octave	Virginis in laude grex
199 ^r	Fourth day within Octave	Clemens et benigna
199 ^v	Fifth day within Octave	Hodierne lux diei
200 ^r	Octave of Assumption	Ave virgo singularis
201 ^v	[Augustine]	Interni festi gaudia
203 ^r	Nativity of BVM	Alle celeste
204 ^v	Michael	Ad celebres rex celice
205 ^v	All Saints	Christo inclitam candida nostra
206 ^v	Andrew	Sacrosancta hodierne
207 ^v	Nicholas	Congaudentes exultemus
208 ^v	[Apostles]	Clare sanctorum senatus apostolorum
209 ^r	[Dedication]	Clara chorus dulce pangat
209 ^v	[Martyrs]	Superne matris gaudia

230^v Purification of BVM
232^r Evangelists

Templum cordis adoremus
Iocundare plebs fidelis (later
hand)

(Folios 232-3, which are later additions, appear to have been inserted at the expense of other leaves, for the beginning of the next sequence is missing)

234 ^r	Denis	. . . Gallorum apostolus (end of 'Gaudete prole Grecia') Gaude Syon que diem recolis Superne matris filia
234 ^v	Martin	
236 ^r	'In die transitus s. Laurencii' (Laurence O'Toole)	
237 ^r	First day within Octave	Gratuletur mater ecclesia
238 ^r	[Second day within Octave]	Interna cordis gaudia
239 ^r	[Third day within Octave]	Laude multipharia
240 ^r	[Fourth day, Octave of Martin]	Festa sunt nobis gaudia
241 ^r	[Fifth day within Octave]	Gaudens gaude et letare
242 ^r	[Sixth day within Octave]	Collaudantes exultemus
243 ^v	[Octave of Laurence]	Leta dies hodierna
244 ^v	Katherine	Vox sonora nostri chorii
246 ^r	[Conception of BVM]	Dies festa celebretur
247 ^r	[Thomas of Canterbury]	Spe mercedis et corone