

CHANGES IN ENGLISH CHANT REPERTORIES IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY AS REFLECTED IN THE WINCHESTER SEQUENCES

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Sequence Repertories

It was only to be expected that the changes at the top of the church hierarchy after the Conquest should have had consequences for the celebration of the liturgy, and, since chant is an essential component of the liturgy, caused changes in the repertories of chant to be sung. One of the categories of chant most affected was the sequence, the grand syllabic chant sung immediately after the alleluia of mass in the Middle Ages. Since the sequence was a relative newcomer in the Roman-Frankish liturgy established in Carolingian times, not hallowed by the authority of St Gregory, church musicians generally (not just in post-Conquest England) seem to have felt themselves relatively free to compose new sequences in response to local requirements. In doing so they often retained a traditional sequence melody while providing it with a new text. As is well known, something of this sort was already done by Notker of St Gall at the end of the ninth century. A large proportion of the sequences in pre-Conquest manuscripts from Winchester have texts unknown elsewhere, whereas nearly all the melodies used at Winchester can be found in other sources. The variability in choice of sequences between different churches can be seen, for example, in Table 1, which lists the sequences for Easter and Pentecost sung at Winchester before the Conquest, St Gall in the tenth century, St Martial at Limoges in the eleventh, and Saint-Évroul and Cambrai in the twelfth.

Sequence repertories are therefore a good starting point for investigations into the relationships between the liturgical uses of different churches or changes in liturgical practice.

It so happens that the only sizeable collections of sequences which survive from pre-Conquest England are those in the Winchester manuscripts Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473, whereas practically all our post-Conquest collections are from different churches, and we have nothing directly comparable with them from Winchester itself, that is, no post-Conquest gradual, troper or missal from Winchester with the full cycle of sequences for the church year. Looking at the later sources from other churches, the indications are clear enough that rather little of the old Winchester repertory survived the Conquest. But it is more satisfactory to trace the changes within a single institution, and luckily this is possible, for the Winchester sources received numerous additions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Admittedly, they do not give us the full cycle of sequences which would have been required, but they

Table 1 Easter and Pentecost sequences in selected sources

WINCHESTER	
Easter Sunday	<i>Fulgens preclara</i>
during the week	<i>Prome casta concio, Pange turma</i>
Pentecost Sunday	<i>Benedicta sit beata trinitas</i>
during the week	–
ST GALL	
Easter Sunday	<i>Laudes salvatori</i>
during the week	<i>Is qui prius, Christe domine laetifica, Agni paschalis, Grates salvatori, Laudes deo concinat, Carmen suo</i>
Pentecost Sunday	<i>Sancti spiritus</i>
during the week	–
ST MARTIAL	
Easter Sunday	<i>Fulgens preclara</i>
during the week	<i>Exultet nunc, Laetabunda, Stans a longe, Dic nobis, Candida concio, Prome casta concio</i>
Pentecost Sunday	<i>Benedicta sit beata trinitas, O alma trinitas deitas, O alma trinitas deus</i>
(no clear distinction is made between Sunday and weekday sequences, or between Pentecost and Trinity sequences)	
SAINT-ÉVROUL	
Easter Sunday	<i>Fulgens preclara</i>
during the week	<i>Prome casta concio, Concinat orbis, Laudes Christo redempti, Sempiterno devote</i>
Pentecost Sunday	<i>Sancti spiritus</i>
during the week	<i>Resonet sacrata, Eia musa, Alma chorus domini, Christe salvator</i>
CAMBRAI	
Easter Sunday	<i>Fulgens preclara</i>
during the week	<i>(Eia) Dic nobis, Sancta cunctis letitia, Laudes salvatori</i>
Pentecost Sunday	<i>Fulgens preclara</i> (a different continuation)
during the week	<i>Sancti spiritus, Alma chorus domini, In omnem terram</i>
Sources:	WINCHESTER Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775
	ST GALL Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 381, 376, etc.
	ST MARTIAL Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1120
	SAINT-ÉVROUL Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10508
	CAMBRAI Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 60

nevertheless tell us a good deal about the changes in practice consequent upon the Conquest.¹

Both the Winchester manuscripts contain a collection of sequences as part of the main corpus of the manuscript. The date of the core collection in Corpus 473 may be placed in the last decade of the tenth century, that of Bodley 775 in the

¹ The sequences were first listed by Walter Howard Frere, in *The Winchester Troper*, Henry Bradshaw Society 8, London 1894. There has been more than one edition of the texts local to Winchester. See, for example, E. Misset and W.H.J. Weale, *Analecta liturgica II: Thesaurus hymnologicus 1–2*, Lille and Bruges 1892, and *Analecta Hymnica x1* (1902). In preliminary studies for a critical edition with music I have investigated the sources of the original repertory and

middle of the eleventh century. These sequence collections are of great importance not only as witnesses to the Winchester sequence repertory but also because there is an almost total lack of contemporary collections from other centres in the whole English-North French area (nothing from Corbie, St Denis or Tours, for example). Both manuscripts remained in use for a considerable period of time. This is clear from, among other things, the revision of the musical notation in Bodley 775, very obvious evidence of a later effort to keep the manuscript in use. The notational signs for many sequences were erased and in some cases replaced by staff notation, which may be dated to the later twelfth century. Figure 1 shows, bottom right, the start of the sequence *Pange turba* with the original notation. For the sequence *Prome casta concio* (middle left) the notation has been erased and some stave lines entered, but no new notation. Top left is the end of *Fulgens preclara*, for which the new notation has been provided.

It is clear that the sequences with the later notation were still being sung at the later date. These are listed in Table 2. They are sequences for the highest feasts of the Temporale, excepting the sequence for Birinus.

Table 2 Sequences with revised notation

<i>fol.</i>	<i>scribe</i>	<i>incipit</i>	<i>assignment</i>
136r	E	Celica resonant	Christmas
137v	D	Laus armonie	John Evangelist
139v	E	Nato canunt	Circumcision
140r	E	Epiphaniam domino	Epiphany
142r	E	Fulgens preclara	Easter
145r	E	Rex omnipotens (notation incomplete)	Ascension
146r	E	Benedicta sit beata trinitas (notation inc.)	Trinity
159v	M	Caelum mare tellus	Birinus

Possibly it had been intended to renotate all the sequences whose notation was erased (Table 3).

Whole sides of some sequences were erased to create space for new pieces. It would seem that the sequences thus mutilated can hardly have been required any longer (Table 4).

Yet I do not understand why *Laude iocunda* should have been partly obliterated in this way, since after the Conquest it was easily the most popular sequence for St Peter. Nothing among the later additions would replace it, although it is true that two other sequences for St Peter were available, entered immediately before

compared both literary and musical variants in other sources. See 'The repertory of sequences at Winchester', *From Rome to the Passing of the Gothic: Western Chant Repertories and their Influence on Early Polyphony: A Conference in Honor of David G. Hughes*, Harvard University 1990 – publication in preparation; and 'Editing the Winchester sequence repertory of ca.1000', *Cantus Planus*, International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus, papers read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988, ed. László Doboszay, Péter Halász, János Mezei and Gábor Prószéky, Budapest 1990, 99–113.

Fac tecum resurgere ad beatam gloria
 Digna rependens merita. Paradisi sa
 consolationem piam. Expectamus sciam
 repromissionem tuam. Et acta ascensi
 onis sancta sollempnia. Quia et regres
 sus in caelum nube rectis clara. Sol
 lens laude aeterna.

PROME CASTA CONTIO CARMINA ORGANA
 sub necrens ypodorica. Regi claustra
 deo tu carca rumpenti decantat. nunc
 symphoniam. Nocte quivieta resur
 gens gaudia mundo gettat colenda.
 ac insolita morantes pdica coeiti confinia.
 spectant lumina in stance illo luce beata. error
 percussa. tremisole demonum plebs. ita lida.

Figure 1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 775, fols 143v-144r
 (reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)

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ia.

Dant suspina fluctuum alta repagula
 quis sic audax fregerit mirantur tunc
 fortia. Sic ad supera redit cum turma
 gloriosa & timida refouet discipulo
 rum corda. *P* recelsa huius trophea
 admirantes flagitamus nunc uoce
 delectua. *V*irginum inter agmina mere
 amur pretiosa. colere ut pascha.

Galilea in qua sacrata prefulgide con
 tueri lucis exordia. *P* ROSA EDUX

DENS ALLELUIA *P*ange turma corde
 uultu xPO preconia. Concelebrans
 ammiranda. *P*aschalia sacramenta.

O beneficia o quam mirifica. omni seculo
 posita. Alta polo micantia. Magna
 solo fulgentia. *C*uelic& ampla

Table 3 Other sequences whose notation was erased

<i>fol.</i>	<i>incipit</i>	<i>assignment</i>
143v	Prome casta concio	Easter week
147r	Alle caeleste	Annunciation BMV
148r	Exulta celum (i) (notation partly erased)	John Baptist

In the following case I am not sure if the notation for the first few verses, now missing, was ever entered:

157r	Alme caelorum (notation partly erased)	All Saints
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Table 4 Sequences partly erased to make way for new pieces

<i>fol.</i>	<i>incipit</i>	<i>assignment</i>
152r	Laude iocunda	Peter
178r	Salve mater Christi	BMV
178v?	(a sequence whose start is erased)	?
179v	Exulta celum (ii)	John Baptist
181r	Laudes . . . (notation partly erased)	All Saints?

Laude iocunda in the original collection. But on account of this erasure one is led to speculate that these two manuscripts, even with all their additions, cannot have been the only sources of sequences at Winchester in the later Middle Ages. I should suppose that there were at least a couple of other, newly compiled sequentiaries designed to replace the older manuscripts with their somewhat haphazard accumulation of alterations, replacements and additions to the Winchester sequence repertory. It looks rather as if Bodley 775 and Corpus 473 started life as formal reference books containing a complete record of the pieces required in various chant categories, and were then used more and more as informal notebooks in which recent arrivals and new creations could be jotted down. For during the same period in which the old sequences were altered, numerous new pieces were added to both manuscripts in a variety of hands. Figure 2 shows an opening where the text hand is the same throughout but two notators have been at work, one for *Magnus deus* (bottom left, top right), an earlier one for the *Alle cantabile* (ends top left) and *Fulget dies iocunda* (starts bottom right).

The added sequences in Bodley 775, which date roughly from the time of the Conquest onwards, and at any rate reflect the preferences of Norman musicians, are twenty-nine in number. Similar in nature are the eleven added sequences in Corpus 473. The order in which they were entered by various hands into the manuscripts can be ascertained roughly, but a demonstration of the paleographical layering of the additions would extend the length of this discussion to an undesirable extent, without being of paramount importance for what I wish to explain, namely, the Norman derivation of the additions. Rather brutally, in Table 5 I have arranged the sequences into liturgical order, which facilitates comparison with the old repertory.

If one were to combine the list of sequences with revised notation in Bodley 775 with those added to the two manuscripts, one would still not have a complete

picture of the Winchester sequence repertory of the twelfth century. The number of sequences is undoubtedly too small, the feasts not represented are too important. It is inconceivable, for example, that Winchester alone should not have sung sequences on the Sundays of Advent, yet here the notation was not revised. There should be more sequences for the Blessed Virgin Mary and something for John the Baptist.

Table 5 also indicates concordances with sources from Normandy and elsewhere in North France. On the far right I have given in abbreviated form the probable area of origin of the sequence.²

When surveying the likely origins of the sequences added to the Winchester repertory, I shall not try to make a distinction between Bodley 775 and Corpus 473. My remarks are pitched at a more general level, where the fact that four of the eleven sequences in Corpus 473 are not in Bodley 775 is not of great significance.

For Christmas the original repertory had only *Celica resonant*, which was also known in Normandy and would have continued to be sung at Winchester after the Conquest. Now we have also *Sonent regi nato*, present in the repertory of Rouen cathedral, but not Norman monastic manuscripts, in the Norman-Sicilian books, and in Angers (96), Chartres and Paris. *Verbum legibus* (Corpus 473 only) is found elsewhere only in books of Cambrai (Cambrai, Bibl. mun. 60 and 78, neither with staff notation; I have not been able to find a transcribable version).

Gloriosa dies, the sequence previously sung at Winchester for Stephen, achieved no great distribution in North France, and was not used in Norman churches. *Magnus deus* was the widely-known replacement.

Pura deum, the old sequence for the Holy Innocents, was sung at Angers (97) and Cambrai, and also turns up in the ordinals of Mont-Saint-Michel, but was otherwise unknown in Normandy. *Celsa pueri* was the widely-known replacement.

We may assume that *Epiphaniam domino* continued as the main sequence at Epiphany. *Gaude virgo ecclesia Christi* is known outside Winchester only from the Barking ordinal and Hereford missals. It is therefore almost certainly a new English composition rather than a foreign import.

In the old corpus, *Fulgens preclara* was the original sequence for Easter Sunday and would have remained so. For Pentecost *Benedicta sit beata trinitas* was originally provided, but in the later Middle Ages this was regularly assigned to Trinity Sunday. Notker's *Sancti spiritus* was by then a standard choice for Pentecost.

The five Easter sequences added in Bodley 775 (none in Corpus 473) were all known in Norman uses and probably imported via Norman exemplars. But the distribution of the five in Normandy is not consistent. The four Pentecost sequences were likewise not sung everywhere in Normandy. There seems to be a particularly close relationship between the Winchester selection and that of Rouen cathedral manuscripts, also the manuscript London Royal 8.C.xiii, which, however, lacks the sequences for Pentecost. The case of the last sequence, *Gaude mater ecclesia*, is not uncharacteristic. Rouen books are the only continental

² My thesis *The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily: A Study Centred on Mss 288, 289, 19421 and Virina 20-4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid*, University of London King's College 1981, compares sequence repertories in over sixty sources.

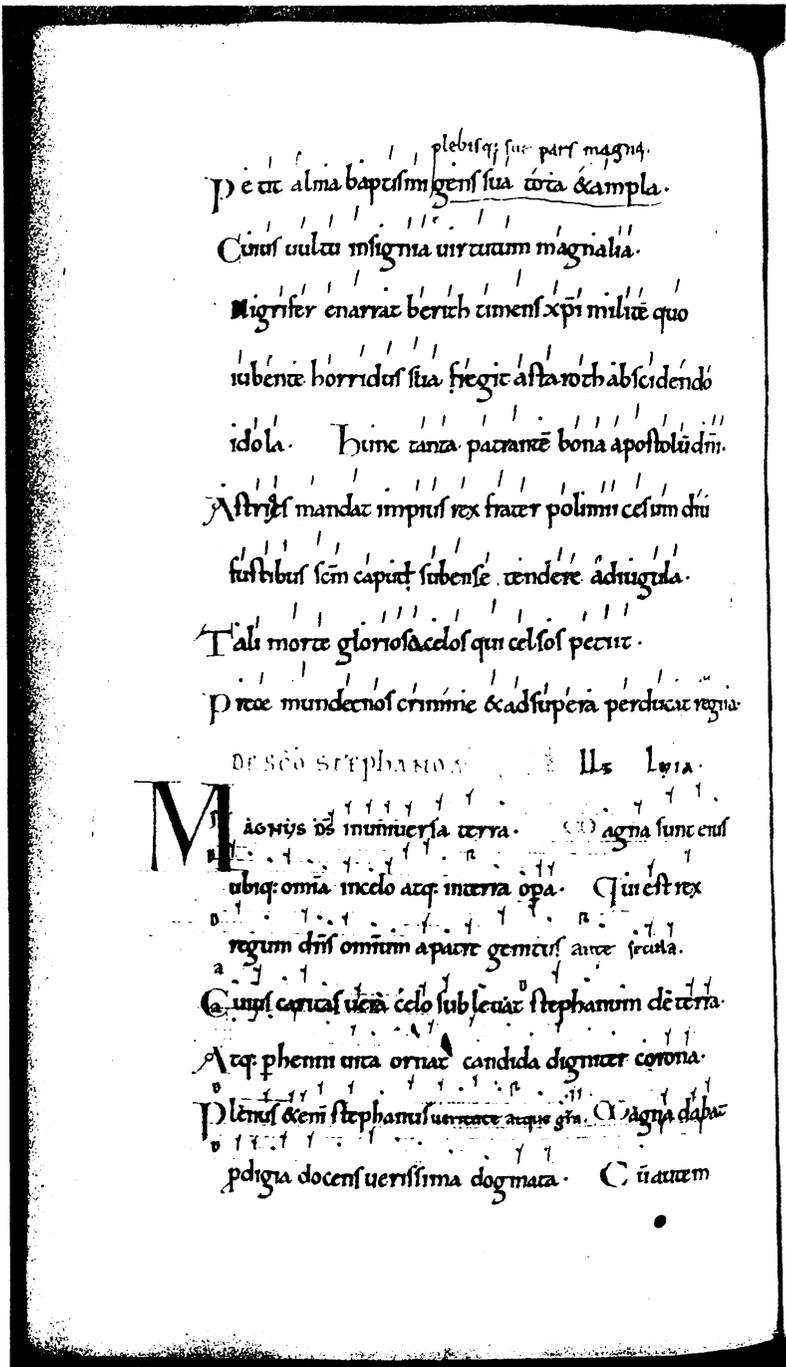


Figure 2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 775, fols 131v–132r
 (reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)

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predicaret iam presentia. Nō v̄e redemptionis noua
 gaudia. Intento insupna celi patet ianua. **O** v̄iq:
 circū stanti plebi uoce publica. **S**acra plenis gratia.
Ecce dei uideo ā mirabilem gl'am. **C**laritate fulgida.
 eq: ihm stantem in uinculis dei dextera. **C**ū hoc
 audisset impia gens iudaea claus fremtū cōtra quā sac
 lapidibus stephani mēbra. **E**d stat foras
 patiens martyr & orat. **E**cce xpe noxam statuas.
 & iam accipe animā meam. **E**cce hoc dixisset
 in domino obdormiuit pace eterna. **I**u & nobis
 martir ostephane sempiterna. **I**mpetra
 gaudia amen. **A**lle *Lyria*
Gloris dies iocunda in qua xpi gaudet ecclesia.
Romartiris eterna sci iusti palma & laudida.
 tal tenera uirtus in quo sed ualida. **M**undi prospera
 tempnit acuminet forcia. **G**ratia quē deus
 mira facit in ipsa pollere infancia. **P**ropheticis illi

Table 5 Concordances with the added sequences

<i>Bodley Corpus</i>		<i>AH</i>	<i>incipit</i>	<i>assignment</i>
<i>775</i>	<i>473</i>	<i>vol.p/no.</i>		
x	x	50.282/212	Sonent regi nato	Christmas
	x	10.22/19	Verbum legibus	Christmas
x	x	53.353/220	Magnus deus	Stephen
x		53.264/162	Celsa pueri	Innocents
x	x	40.25/6	Gaude virgo ecclesia Christi	Epiphany
x		37.30/23	Iubilans concrepa	Easter
x		40.42/23	Psalle lirica carmina	Easter f2?
x		53.69/37	Dic nobis	Easter f3
x		40.39/21	Concinet orbis	Easter f4?
x		53.65/36	Laudes salvatori	Easter
x	x	53.322/200	Sancti spiritus	Pentecost
x		54.21/14	Laudes deo devotas	Pentecost
x		7.90/77	Eia musa	Pentecost f2
x	x	40.53/33	Gaude mater ecclesia filiorum	Pentecost f3
x	x	9.39/47	Gaude virgo mater ecclesia	Dedication
x		53.171/99	Concentu parili	Purification? (2/2)
x		53.186/106a	Aurea virga prime matris	Assumption? (15/8)
	x	53.359/223	Precelsa seclis colitur	Vincent (22/1)
x		54.52/35	Sancti merita Benedicti	Benedict (21/3, 11/7)
x		9.28/30	Laudamus te rex	Holy Cross (3/5, 14/9)
x		53.392/244a	Alma choors una laudum	Swithun (2/7)
x		40.288/337	Gaudens Christi presentia	Swithun (2/7)
x		37.265/306	Psallat ecclesia mater decora	Swithun (2/7)
x		40.269/314	Solennitate rutilans	Peter ad Vincula (1/8)
x	x	40.180/204	Dies sacra dies ista	Ethelwold (1/8, 10/9)
x		53.220/129	Alle cantabile	Bartholomew (24/8)
x		53.306/190	Ad celebres	Michael (29/9)
x		9.141/186	Supernam armonicam	Denis (9/10)
x		40.58/43	Alme deus cui serviunt	All Saints (1/11)
x		40.226/256	Fulget dies iocunda	Justus (10/11)
x		53.294/181	Sacerdotem Christi Martinum	Martin (11/11)
x		40.132/140	Clara cantemus	Andrew (30/11)
x		53.367/228	Clare sanctorum	Apostles

<i>Roy</i>	<i>Rou</i>	<i>Ou</i>	<i>Jum</i>	<i>Evr</i>	<i>Mi</i>	<i>Bec</i>	<i>Dij</i>	<i>Sic</i>	<i>Mag</i>	<i>Che</i>	<i>Par</i>	<i>Den</i>	<i>Cam</i>	<i>A96</i>	<i>A97</i>	<i>Fon</i>	<i>Cha</i>	<i>Fle</i>	<i>Origin</i>		
	Rou							Sic			Par			A96			Cha	Fle	late NFr		
													Cam						late NFr		
	Rou	Ou	Jum	Evr		Bec	Dij	Sic		Che	Par	Den	Cam	A96	A97	Fon	Cha	Fle	old Fr? ¹		
	Rou	Ou	Jum			Bec		Sic		Che	Par	Den					Cha	Fle	late NFr		
																			Winchester		
Roy	Rou							Sic											Norman		
Roy	Rou	Ou			Mi	Bec	Dij												Norman		
Roy	Rou	Ou	Jum			Bec		Sic	Mag	Che	Par		Cam				Cha		old Fr? ²		
Roy	Rou	Ou	Jum	Evr		Bec		Sic		Che	Par								late NFr		
Roy	Rou							Dij	Sic	Che			Cam						St Gall		
	Rou	Ou	Jum	Evr	Mi	Bec	Dij	Sic		Che	Par	Den	Cam	A96	A97	Fon		Fle	St Gall		
	Rou							Sic		Che	Par	Den							late NFr		
	Rou	Ou	Jum	Evr	Mi	Bec	Dij	Sic	Mag										Norman		
	Rou																		Norman		
				Evr		Bec													Norman		
	Rou																		St Gall		
	Rou	Ou	Jum	Evr	Mi	Bec		Sic	Mag	Che	Par	Den	Cam		A97	Fon	Cha	Fle	late NFr		
								Sic			Par							Fle	old Aquit.?		
																		Fle	Fleury?		
								Sic	Mag										Norman		
	Rou	Ou		Evr	Mi			Sic							A97	Fon		Fle	late NFr		
																			Winchester		
																			Winchester		
																			Winchester		
																			Winchester		
																			Canterbury?		
	Rou	Ou		Evr	Mi	Bec	Dij	Sic	Mag		Par	Den	Cam			Fon		Fon	Cha	Fle	old Aquit.
	Rou	Ou		Evr		Bec		Sic	Mag							Fon				late NFr	
																				Winchester	
																				Winchester	
	Rou	Ou	Jum	Evr	Mi	Bec	Dij	Sic			Par		Cam			Fon				old German	
																				Winchester	
Roy	Rou	Ou	Jum	Evr	Mi	Bec	Dij	Sic	Mag	Che	Par	Den	Cam			Fon		Fle	St Gall		

¹ old North French?

² old Aquitainian?

sources for it. In later English sources it turns up only in the Haughmond and Ronton graduals, which of all English uses have the most similarity to Rouen cathedral use. *Laudes deo devotas* is different, in that it was known in Paris, at St Denis, Chelles and Compiègne, and therefore may not have come to Winchester via Normandy.

No sequence in the old repertory can be unequivocally designated as a Dedication chant. The Dedication sequence *Gaude virgo mater ecclesia* is known on the continent only from the Saint-Évroul troper and the Bec missal. In such cases it is difficult to say whether the piece came to England from Normandy or travelled in the reverse direction.

Among the sequences that remain to be considered, that is those for the Proper of Saints and the Common of Saints, if for the moment we set on one side those for English saints, the highest number of concordances is once again to be found in the Rouen sequence repertory.

The Melodies

Among the sequences for the English saints *Alma choors* was a favourite Norman sequence from the Common of Saints, where it was possible to insert the required saint's name in certain verses to make it suitable for any local usage. The rest of the sequences for Swithun, Ethelwold und Justus were not sung abroad, but it is of interest to know what melodies were employed for them, and also for the other texts not known elsewhere. I could have excluded from this group *Alle cantabile* for Bartholomew, which may well have originated in Canterbury, although it is also in the Fontevrault gradual of the fourteenth century.³ That is nine sequences in all, for which Table 6 gives the probable model melody.

In fact, most of the sequence melodies in this group were already known at Winchester before the Conquest, and indications of new Norman influence are rather sparse.

Gaude virgo ecclesia Christi for Epiphany uses the widely known melody 'Post partum virgo' or 'Greca', whose best-known text was *Hac clara die* for the Blessed Virgin Mary, already part of the original corpus at Winchester.

Both *Gaudens Christi presentia* and *Psallat ecclesia mater decora* for Swithun take up a widely-known melody, 'Quoniam deus [minor]', which at Winchester was already sung for *Caelum mare tellus* (Birinus; probably composed with *Magnus deus* in mind). The new sequence for Stephen, *Magnus deus*, also uses this melody.

Solennitate rutilans has the same melody as another sequence for Peter, *Nunc luce alma*, which is a relative newcomer to the international repertory. *Nunc luce alma* may well be a Norman composition. It is the almost universal choice in later English books for the feast of Peter's Chains, but is somewhat less common in North France (again almost always for Peter's Chains): Fontevrault, Chelles, two Sicilian books, in Normandy itself Rouen cathedral and St Ouen, Jumièges,

³ Queen Emma had bought St Bartholomew's arm from the bishop of Benevento and given it to Canterbury. See R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059–c.1130*, Cambridge 1966, 23 n and 234–5.

Table 6 Model melodies used for texts known only, or first, at Winchester

- Gaude virgo ecclesia Christi . . . spirituales* – Epiphany
melody 'Post partum virgo' or 'Greca', usual text *Hac clara die* (BVM), in old Winchester repertory
- Gaudens Christi presentia* – Swithun (2/7)
- Psallat ecclesia mater decora . . . Swithunus* – Swithun (2/7)
melody 'Quoniam deus [minor]', usual text *Magnus deus* (Stephen), at Winchester
Caelum mare tellus (Birinus; probably composed with *Magnus deus* in mind) in old repertory.
- Solennitate rutilans* – Peter ad Vincula (1/8)
usual sequence *Nunc luce alma* (Peter), probably Norman.
- Dies sacra dies ista* – Ethelwold (1/8, 10/9)
usual melody, 'Pretiosa', usual text *O alma trinitas*, at Winchester *Gaudet clemens*
and *Alme caelorum* (both All Saints).
- Alle cantabile* – Bartholomew (24/8)
melody 'Multifarie', usual text *Nato canunt omnia* (Christmas) already in old Winchester repertory.
- Alme deus qui serviunt* – All Saints (1/11)
melody 'Quoniam deus [maior]', otherwise hardly known, but already in old Winchester layer for *Promere chorda* (Martin).
- Fulget dies iocunda* – Justus (10/11)
melody 'Letabitur iustus', usual text *Concelebremus sacram* (Common of Saints),
already used at Winchester for *Laurea clara* (Lawrence).
- Clara cantemus* – Andrew (30/11)
melody 'In omnem terram', usual text *Laude iocunda* (Peter & Paul).

Mont-Saint-Michel and Bec. It is possible that the Winchester cantor was confronted with *Nunc luce alma* as a new piece for the feast of Peter's Chains, and decided to write a fresh text for the new melody.

Dies sacra dies ista for Ethelwold puts to use an old melody, 'Pretiosa', which was already known at Winchester, being used for *Gaudet clemens* and *Alme caelorum*, both for All Saints.

Alle cantabile uses the melody 'Multifarie', associated chiefly with the Christmas text *Nato canunt omnia*, already part of the old Winchester repertory.

Alme deus qui serviunt for All Saints was one of the first added sequences in Corpus 473, and it is not surprising that its melody, 'Quoniam deus [maior]' is already to be found in the old layer for the text *Promere chorda* for St Martin. It was by no means a common melody, being found elsewhere only at Nevers, for *Deus quoniam magnus* for the patron saint Cyricus.

Fulget dies iocunda for Justus also has an old melody, 'Letabitur iustus', used at Winchester for *Laurea clara* (Lawrence) and abroad for texts of the Common of Saints: *Concelebremus sacram* (Angers 97, Saint-Évroul, Aquitanian sources) and *Convenite mellico* (only at Chartres).

Clara cantemus for Andrew has the melody 'In omnem terram'. The best-known text for this melody was *Laude iocunda* for Peter and Paul, but another text exists, *In omnem terram*, for the Common of Saints and other occasions:

Cambrai	Pentecost
Royal 8.C.xiii	Common of Saints
Rouen	Pentecost, Common of Saints
Fleury	Common of Saints
Chelles	Common of Saints

One would like to know whether the old *Laude iocunda* (Peter) or *In omnem terram* was the starting-point for *Clara cantemus*, the new Winchester piece. Except that the text for Andrew refers to the obvious fact that he was Peter's brother, I see nothing in the literary text to decide the matter, and there are no significant divergences in the music of the three pieces which could decide the matter one way or the other.

Thus far I have looked for concordances for the sequence texts added to the Winchester repertory, and, in the case of literary texts not known abroad I have looked to see if foreign (Norman) melodies were employed. The results of these searches indicate that, as one would expect, there is a fair degree of Norman influence upon Winchester practice, and some hints that Rouen cathedral usage played an important part in it. At this point one should acknowledge that the sources upon which one can draw for comparison are but patchily distributed in time and place, and it would be unwise to place too great weight on any one indicator. Our Rouen sequence sources are all of the thirteenth century and later, while from St Ouen we have but one late medieval missal with text incipits only for the sequences, and from Mont-Saint-Michel only ordinals with text incipits for the sequences. From Saint-Évroul we have the twelfth-century troper (one would dearly love to have at least one or two more of the twelve troopers mentioned in the twelfth-century library list of Saint-Évroul), from Jumièges a fourteenth-century gradual, from Bec a thirteenth-century notated missal. The only other source which may come from Normandy is the fragmentary troper London, BL, Royal 8.C.xiii, and in view of the concordances which have cropped up between this manuscript, Rouen and Winchester, it is particularly frustrating that its provenance cannot be more clearly determined.

It is somewhat disappointing that no new melodies appear to have been composed for the additions to the Winchester sequence repertory. The old repertory had only three, it is true. (Some possibly unique melodies in the original collection are only partially preserved, and there are organal voices for two sequences otherwise unknown.) But one might have hoped for at least one new creation. On this evidence, Winchester was less creative than Canterbury, where new melodies and texts for Alpheg, Dunstan and Augustine appear to have been produced.⁴

⁴ See my forthcoming article 'Chant composition at Canterbury after the Norman Conquest', *Festschrift Max Lütolf*.

The Literary Character of the Replacement Texts

The character of the literary texts of the sequences for St Peter is indicative of some of the various currents mingling in sequences of the 'first epoch'.

Laude iocunda, like many old West Frankish pieces (our sources are predominantly Aquitanian) makes play with musical imagery. 'Symphonia rythmica' (well-proportioned harmonious sounds) are to be joined with the words.⁵ Two other texts were sung at Winchester before the Conquest, *Sanctus Petrus* and *Agmina leta*. *Sanctus Petrus* is another old West Frankish text, which treats the two saints Peter and Paul in absolutely even-handed parallelism, in that the first versicle of each pair is devoted to Peter, the second to Paul, with as much correspondence between matter and manner as the poet can manage. *Agmina leta* (known only from the Winchester books, the Crowland gradual, the Sherborne missal and the Book of Cerne) must be modelled upon *Sanctus Petrus*, for not only does it use the same melody, it adopts the same scheme of parallelism. There are one or two examples of the abstruse language which not infrequently turns up in Winchester texts, for example in verse 3. In 3a Peter vanquishes the sorcerer Simon (Acts 8), whereupon it is Paul's turn to perform a similar act (with reference to Acts 13): 3b. *Paulus herile sperma contorquens Elymae gemella obcaecavit lumina*.

Since both *Nunc luce alma* and *Solennitate rutilans* are ostensibly for the feast of Peter's Chains, Paul is not mentioned. In contrast to the above texts, *Nunc luce alma* strikes a rather conventional note, with a little musical imagery and a minimal reference to Peter's power to bind and to loose, to his possession of the key of heaven and his ability to loose our chains as his own were loosened. It is perhaps not surprising that a Winchester poet thought he might provide something more colourful. *Solennitate rutilans* mentions various events in Peter's life (which is a common way of compiling sequence texts): his calling, his abandoning of the fisherman's trade to be a fisher of men, and various miracles which he performed. There is nothing especially abstruse or elevated about it.

This rather homely narration of events from a saint's life is also a feature of some of the imported replacements for older sequences in the Winchester repertory. *Magnus deus*, for example, is of this type, whereas *Gloriosa dies* is not. *Celsa pueri* and *Pura deum* are both narrative. The older *Arce superna* for Benedict is long and laudatory in a general way (though clearly referring to a monastic saint); the effectiveness of the piece must have stemmed largely from the hypnotically repetitive melody. The new sequence for Benedict, *Sancti merita*, brings in as much as possible of Benedict's life and works.⁶ For Michael, the old *Ecce pulchra* (if it was indeed intended for Michael) is really a sequence for All Saints or the Common of Saints, whereas *Ad celebres* is topical in the grand manner. For

⁵ The significance of this vocabulary is discussed by Lars Elfving, *Étude lexicographique sur les séquences limousines*, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 7, Uppsala 1962. On a passage in *Laude iocunda* (AH 7 no. 183) see Elfving p. 254.

⁶ *Sancti merita Benedicti*, like most other Benedict sequences, draws upon the miracles recounted in the Second Dialogue of St Gregory (Migne *PL* 66, 125–204). The sequence is edited in *Eight Sequences for St. Benedict and St. Scholastica* by David Hiley with a translation of the text by Dom Augustine Morris OSB, Wimborne 1980.

Martin the old layer had *Promere chorda*, which is specific enough, and altogether less measured in tone than the popular *Sacerdotem Christi* (possibly German).⁷

It is not certain whether the new sequences for Swithun and Ethelwold replaced the old ones or supplemented them. In the case of Swithun, the tendency towards emphasis on the good deeds of the saint, as opposed to more neutral eulogia, is not discernible. In the old layer of Corpus 473 only, Swithun shared the sequence *Laude resonet* with Birinus: at least both are equally important, insofar as both are mentioned once and deeds of a generally saintly nature enumerated. Of the three new sequences for Swithun, *Alma choors* will do for any saint, as already mentioned, while *Gaudens Christi presentia* is in the old-fashioned enthusiastic Winchester style with learned-sounding expressions, and *Psallat ecclesia mater decora* takes up the musical terminology of the old West Frankish sequences. Only at one place is there a reference to the miracle-working relics of the saint. On the other hand, the old and new sequences for Ethelwold typify the older and newer style of text. *Laude celebret* (in Bodley 775 only) is a long, adulatory text which, as the melody requires, includes some acclamatory phrases (the first is 'Via lux veritas') found in all texts for this music. *Dies sacra dies ista* may be a humdrum effort, but it does refer quite specifically to notable events in Ethelwold's life, such as his nearly being poisoned, his driving of the clerics from the church of Winchester and installing monks, the effect of his curse upon the pilfering monk, and the prodigy of the flask of oil.⁸ It is not possible to say whether there is any link between the sequence and the pre-Conquest lives of St Ethelwold by Wulfstan or Aelfric, wherein these events are naturally recounted.

In general the substitutions therefore favour topicality of content, directness and simplicity of expression.

Conclusions

It may be useful to summarise once again the direction from which the added sequences came to Winchester, that is, not their ultimate place of origin but the place from which Winchester probably received them, as indicated by the concordance patterns in Table 5. Judgement in such matters must often be rather subjective, dependent on the chance survival of sources, and based on such uncertain grounds as that a sequence is found in more Norman sources than any others. That our extant sources for many churches are of the thirteenth century and

⁷ Two verses of *Promere chorda* are in direct speech, whereby they paraphrase passages likewise highlighted in direct speech from Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Sancti Martini*. Cf. Sulpice Sévère, *Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. Jacques Fontaine, I: *Introduction, Texte et Traduction*, Sources Chrétiennes 133, Paris 1967, p. 258 (Ep. 3, 3) and p. 338 (Ep. 3, 10).

In *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*, Berne 1948, Wolfram von den Steinen argued that *Sacerdotem Christi Martinum* itself replaced an older text, *Tuba nostrae vocis*, which already referred to Martin's most famous deed, his dividing his cloak with a beggar, and to his miracles. The more accomplished *Sacerdotem Christi* therefore avoided such allusions and focussed attention on Martin's universal veneration. See *Notker der Dichter*, ii, 125–7 (texts) and i, 435–8 (discussion). The usurpation of *Promere chorda* at Winchester may then have been due to a general sense that both text and melody were simply provincial.

⁸ *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 2, 2 vols, 1858, ii.255–266, see §12, 15, 22, 21.

later demands an act of faith that they actually preserve more or less the same repertory as would have been known in Norman times.

Normandy (10):

Iubilans concrepa, Psalle lirica, Concinet orbis, Laudes salvatori, Sancti spiritus, Eia musa, Alma choors, Supernam armonicam, Sacerdotem Christi Martinum, Clare sanctorum

Rouen? (2):

Gaude mater ecclesia filiorum, Concentu parili

Normandy (Rouen?) or elsewhere in North France (2):

Sonent regi, Laudes deo devotas

Normandy or elsewhere in North France (7):

Magnus deus, Celsa pueri, Dic nobis, Aurea virga, Precelsa seclis, Laudamus te rex, Ad celebres

North France (1):

Sancti merita Benedicti

North-East France (Cambrai?) (1):

Verbum legibus

Normandy or England (1):

Gaude virgo mater ecclesia

English (4):

Gaude virgo ecclesia Christi, Solennitate rutilans, Alle cantabile, Clara cantemus

Winchester (5):

Gaudens Christi presentia, Psallat ecclesia mater decora, Dies sacra dies ista, Alme deus cui serviunt, Fulget dies iocunda

The frequency of the concordances with Rouen and with the manuscript London, BL, Royal 8.C.xiii was noticed above. It would be easy to over-emphasise the significance of these connections. Royal 8.C.xiii contains a full collection of ordinary of mass melodies and tropes which does not in all respects coincide with the numerous pieces in this category added to Bodley 775. We have no comparable collection from Rouen. Although Royal 8.C.xiii is clearly affiliated to other Norman sources of ordinary of mass chants, including the Norman-Sicilian ones, it is not possible to determine its exact place of origin by repertorial comparisons.

The connection with Rouen may, however, be more than a freak indication from insufficient data, since, as is well known, the priest Walkelin of Rouen was installed as Bishop of Winchester after the Conquest. It is true that we have no information about liturgical initiatives on Walkelin's part. His brother Simeon had been a monk of Saint Ouen. When Simeon was elevated to the see of Ely, Godfrey of Cambrai became prior, and in the *Annales de Wintonia* there is at least a hint that Godfrey had some interest in liturgical matters.⁹

In summing up the results of this brief survey, it may be stated that Norman importations had a significant impact upon the Winchester repertory – that is, pieces composed in Normandy as well as sequences which came to England *via*

⁹ David Knowles, *The monastic order in England: from the times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940–1216*, Cambridge 1963, 130, 178.

Normandy. A certain number of new sequence texts were composed in Winchester, but no new sequence melodies. Compared with the achievement of establishing the splendid repertoires of the late tenth century – sequences, proper tropes, ordinary tropes, and polyphony – these may seem to be very modest efforts, and to reinforce the impression which David Knowles communicated many years ago: ‘how small was the development that had taken place since the days of Dunstan’.¹⁰ It is also a pity that whatever creative effort is discernible remains anonymous. But rarely do our relatively scarce sources allow us to pinpoint the place and date of composition with any accuracy. The attachment of a cantor’s name to the composition usually remains no more than a hypothesis. Could one detect unmistakable fingerprints of literary or musical style in these pieces, clues to the composer’s identity, one would have come a good step further in removing the veil of anonymity, but at least in musical matters this is not possible.

Yet what we see at Winchester – the adoption of a large number of pieces known elsewhere, the addition of a few items in response to local needs – is the rule rather than the exception. Even in the largest collections, for example those in the Saint-Évroul troper or the Norman-Sicilian tropers, the proportion of new compositions is small. Thus in the Saint-Évroul troper there are 57 sequences, of which only one is unique: predictably, the one for Ebrulphus himself, with text *Solennis erit dies*, to one of the best-known of all sequence melodies, ‘Mater’ or ‘Musa’. Furthermore, none of those for which the troper is the earliest source can be assigned to Saint-Évroul as place of origin. It is much easier to look at concordance patterns and establish a likely *area* of origin – Normandy, North East France, England, etc. – than to point to one institution. Cantors were on the whole unwilling to venture too far out on a limb, preferring to assemble pieces already sanctioned by use. That a very real change of use took place in England is abundantly clear. The sequences and ordinary of mass chants in sources of the twelfth century (the two St Albans sources, the later part of Caligula A.xiv) have almost nothing in common with the old Winchester repertory. The significance of the additions to Bodley 775 and Corpus 473 is that they show, uniquely, some of the steps taken at one particular institution to rejuvenate and refashion the repertoires established in the age of Dunstan to reflect the needs and tastes of the age of Lanfranc and Anselm.

¹⁰ Knowles, 557.