

David HILEY

## Editing the Winchester Sequence Repertory of ca. 1000

This paper is about some of the problems which face the editor of the sequences in the two manuscripts from Winchester, Cambridge Corpus Christi College 473 and Oxford Bodleian Library Bodley 775. These are the earliest substantial sequence collections not simply from England but from the whole area north of the Loire and west of the Rhine, with the sole exception of Chartres 47 which contains no sequence texts, only melodies. As far as western Europe is concerned the Winchester manuscripts therefore form an important complement to the numerous early Aquitanian collections which have tended to preoccupy scholars so far.

The manuscripts and their sequences are already well known, principally since W. H. Frere published lists, some facsimiles and some melodies back in 1894, in his book *The Winchester Troper*.<sup>1</sup> And all the texts (though not always in their Winchester versions) have been available for several decades.<sup>2</sup> More melodies in versions which approximate to the Winchester versions were published by Anselm Hughes, working from Bannister's papers, in 1934, in the booklet *Anglo-French Sequelae*.<sup>3</sup> But a modern critical edition of the sequences is undoubtedly required.

The manuscripts in their present state are witnesses to complicated processes of revision and addition, especially the Oxford book. In this

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<sup>1</sup> W. H. Frere, *The Winchester Troper: From MSS. of the Xth and XIth Centuries*, Henry Bradshaw Society 8 (London, 1894).

<sup>2</sup> The texts peculiar to Winchester were published in E. Misset and W. H. J. Weale, *Analecta Liturgica II: Thesaurus Hymnologicus* (Bruges - Lille, 1888-1892) and again in H. M. Bannister, *Sequentiae Ineditae: Liturgische Prosen* 7, *Analecta Hymnica* 40 (Leipzig, 1902).

<sup>3</sup> Anselm Hughes, *Anglo-French Sequelae* (Burnham, 1934).

paper I shall not, however, try to describe all of this extremely interesting activity. My concern is the basic 10th-century corpus of sequences, and I shall not have anything to say about the new pieces added in the late 11th and 12th centuries.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest parts of the Cambridge manuscript may have been written out by Wulfstan who was cantor at the Old Minster, Winchester, in the closing years of the 10th century. Assuming it was Wulfstan, he copied the famous *voces organales* for over 150 liturgical items, and also a collection of sequence melodies. Either Wulfstan or someone with a very similar hand copied the texts for the main collection of proper tropes and the collection of sequence texts, but the notation for all of this was also done by Wulfstan. The notation consists of adiastematic neumes, with occasional significative letters. But the notation above the sequence texts frequently has alphabetic letters, using the so-called "instrumental" alphabetic system where the octave *a-a* represents our modern major scale *c-c*. Andreas Holschneider has recently discussed the notation of these sequences.<sup>5</sup> For them at least there is little doubt about the pitches so be used in a modern edition.

More than one scribe seems to have written the texts of the main early part of the Oxford manuscript, but once again a single notator was responsible for notating both sequence melodies and texts. The manuscript seems to have been prepared in the middle of the 11th century, probably not long before the Norman Conquest of England in 1066. In the 12th century considerable portions of the notation for the sequence texts were then erased, stave lines were drawn in and staff notation added. Unfortunately the work was not consistently carried out, so that sometimes the new notation was not written in, and parts of some sequences are now lost to us. Nevertheless, the 12th century notation is a further important help to the editor, assuming, of course, that the modernized notation reflects accurately the earlier versions of the melodies.

That reservation is necessary because between the time of the original notation and that of the staff notation considerable changes had been wrought upon the liturgies of English churches and their music. As I and

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<sup>4</sup> The activity of the various scribes is summarized in Andreas Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester* (Hildesheim, 1968), p. 14ff.

<sup>5</sup> Andreas Holschneider, "Die instrumentalen Tonbuchstaben im Winchester Troper", *Festschrift Georg von Dadelsen zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Thomas Kohlhase and Volker Scherliess (Neuhausen - Stuttgart, 1978), p. 155-166.

others have described elsewhere, after the Norman Conquest an order of service following the use of Bec in Normandy was introduced in many English churches. On the other hand, this did not always affect the versions of chants which we find in post-Conquest music books. We have post-Conquest books with mass and office chants from Canterbury, Worcester and Peterborough which still show pre-Conquest melodic variants. And those variants are characteristic not only of Winchester and other English uses, but also of a group of north French sources, from Corbie, St Denis and St Cornille at Compiègne in particular.<sup>6</sup>

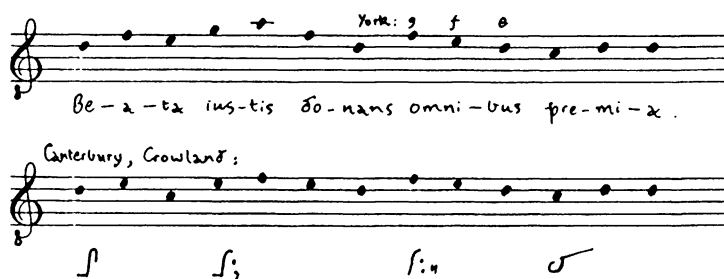
Despite the presence of pitch-accurate notation of one kind or another for the Winchester sequences, one is still faced with a large number of pieces for which the pitches have to be deduced on the basis of later sources. The unheighted Winchester neumes have to be matched with the staff notation in other manuscripts in order to reconstruct a plausible Winchester version of melody. In a general way this is not very difficult, for most sequences have very strongly shaped melodies whose basic outlines vary little from one source to another. But if one is to do the job properly, one wants to acquire some sense of the way the Winchester version would have gone even in equivocal matters of detail. It seems to me, therefore, that one should try to identify the closest "relatives" of the Winchester versions in other manuscripts, and use them as a guide in difficult cases.

The problems may be illustrated by the following two examples.

Ex. 1 shows a line from the Christmas sequence *Celica resonant*. The top line gives the version found in most manuscripts, with a variant in the York gradual for the word *omnibus*. The second line gives the version in two English books of the 12th and 13th centuries respectively. Underneath are the neumes of the melody in the Oxford manuscript, which are compatible with all three readings. Now if I had no other guide than the later manuscripts, I should want to know if the Canterbury and Crowland sources regularly agreed with Winchester in clear-cut cases. If they did then I could feel safe in choosing their pitches on this occasion. Or perhaps York is generally a better guide. As it happens, *Celica resonet* is one of

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<sup>6</sup> K. D. Hartzell, "An unknown Benedictine gradual of the eleventh century", *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), p. 131-144; David Hiley, "The Norman chant traditions - Normandy, Britain, Sicily", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 107 (1980-81), p. 1-33; David Hiley, "Thurstan of Caen and plainchant at Glastonbury: musicological reflections on the Norman Conquest", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 72 (1986), p. 57-90.



Ex. 1. *Celica* 8a

the pieces with staff notation in the Oxford manuscript, which gives the version of the majority of other sources, not the York version, nor the Canterbury/Crowland reading.

Ex. 2 is a line from the Pentecost sequence *Alma chorus domini*, given in three versions. The neumes in the Oxford manuscript appear next. They are certainly compatible with the top line, that is with the version in manuscripts from St Denis, Compiègne, Paris and Longret, but most manuscripts have the second version given here. The repeated *a* for *paracletus*, however, does not quite agree with the neumes below. Perhaps the version in Angers 96 is to be understood. But the instruction *io* (*iosum*) should mean a dip down of an interval larger than a tone, and that looks more like the Norman/English reading at *ac mediator*. Here the alphabetic notation of the Cambridge manuscript provides help. It has *b* instead of *a* for *boni*, descends to *a* at *paracletus*, but then tantalizingly gives out for the rest of the word, *ac mediator* then agrees with the Norman/English version.

From examples like this it is clear that one is going to have to develop a feel for the interrelationships between the sources and try to identify Winchester's closest neighbours. One of the great advantages of the alphabetic and the staff notations is that one can first work from the neumatic notation alone, make a hypothetical transcription with the aid of the most closely related sources, and then test one's judgement against the pitch notation. And that should give one confidence to work out solutions for the other sequences, or force one to revise one's working method.

The manuscripts with which I have been working comprise all the English and North French sources with sequences in staff notation, including



St-Denis, Compiègne, Paris, Longret

Fons et o - ri - go bo - ni pa - ra - cli - tus ac me - di - a - tor.

Norman, English, others

Angers 96

$\frac{1}{14}$   $\frac{m}{f}$   $\frac{1}{1}$   $\frac{f}{14}$   $\frac{f}{10}$   $\frac{1}{1}$

$\Lambda$   $\Lambda$   $B$   $\Lambda$   $G$   $\Lambda$   $F$   $\Lambda$   $G$   $F$   $F$

| . | | | . | . | | . | | . | | .

Ex. 2. *Alma 3a*

those represented on the Map (see prev. page). In view of previous experience with melodic variants in the gradual and antiphoner it was obviously important to consult manuscripts from St Denis and St Corneille. Regrettably, no sequence collection from Corbie has survived. But Fleury, which is also reckoned to have played a part in the monastic revival of 10th-century England, can be represented. I have gone as far west as Angers (two sources), as far south as Nevers and as far east as Reims. Normandy is represented by Rouen cathedral, Bec, Jumièges and St Evroult. The provenance of the sources is not always as clear as the map suggests, and the assignments are in some cases provisional.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The sources represented on the map, in alphabetical order, are: Angers - Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 96 and 97; Bec - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1105; Canterbury - London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xiv; Chartres - Provins, Bibliothèque Municipale, 12; Chelles - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 13254; Compiègne - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 16823; Crowland - London, British Library, Egerton 3759; Fleury - Orleans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 129; Jumièges - Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 250; Laon - Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 263; London - Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 135; Longret - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1106; Marchiennes - Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 124; Nevers - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouvelles acquisitions latines 1235; Paris - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1112; Reims - Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 285; Rouen - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 904; St Albans - London, British

Some years ago I carried out another investigation of variant readings in sequences, those in Norman manuscripts of Normandy, England and Sicily.<sup>8</sup> This showed clear links between the Norman traditions of all three countries, whereas when I added the Winchester books they often disagreed with the mass of later manuscripts. Indeed it is not difficult to find evidence that the Norman Conquest resulted in some radical alterations in the sequence repertory in England.

Ex. 3. is a verse from the Epiphany sequence *Epiphaniam domino*, where all the Norman and later English manuscripts agree against the Winchester reading.

*Qui percussus sorde nimium preira  
extemplo mandat eludia magica  
non linqui taliter impunita sed mox privari eos vita.*

(St Denis, Compiègne, Chelles, Paris, Longret, Nevers,  
Fleury, Chartres, Angers [both], Sens, Laon, WINCHESTER)

*Qui percussus corde nimium preira  
extemplo mandat infantulos per cuncta  
Bethleem confinia et mox privari eum vita.*

(Marchiennes, Rouen, St Evroult, Jumièges, Bec,  
Canterbury, Crowland, Salisbury, London, York)

Ex. 3. *Epiphaniam* 7d

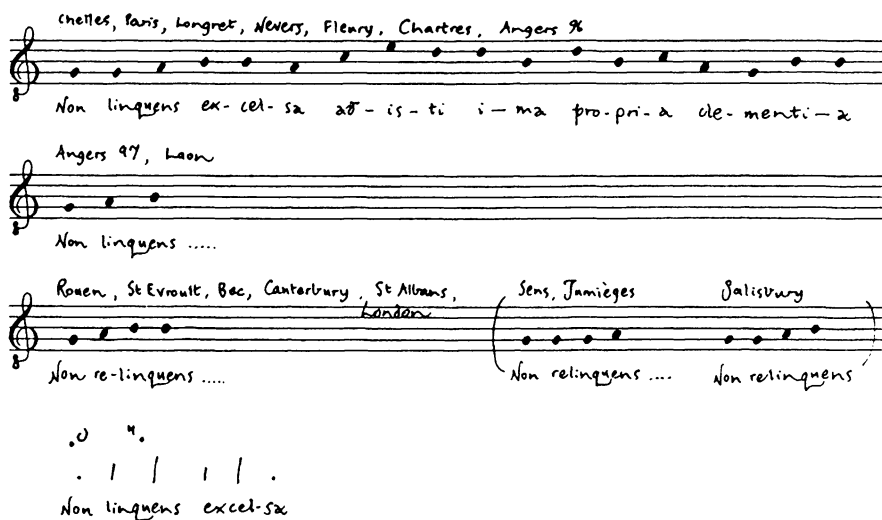
Ex. 4 is a verse from the Advent sequence *Salus eterna*. The Norman and later English versions have an extra syllable at the start, not in the Winchester version. The neumes make it clear that the melody was intended to be as in Angers 97 and Laon, not as in the other North French sources.

Cases like these seemed to suggest that later English manuscripts would not be of much assistance in transcribing Winchester versions.

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Library, Royal 2.B.iv; St Denis - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1107; St Evroult - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 10508; Salisbury - Manchester, John Rylands Library, lat.24; Sens - Sens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 18; York - Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat.lit.b.5.

<sup>8</sup> See my thesis *The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily: A Study Centred on MSS 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20-4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid* (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1981).

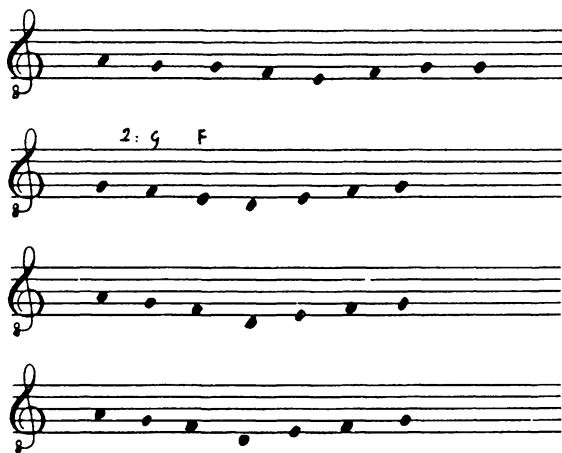


#### Ex. 4. *Salus 2b*

Some variants are decidedly difficult to handle, in that they might have entered the tradition randomly, at several different times and several different places independently. They are not reliable indicators of relationships between sources and of transmission patterns. As with a great deal of medieval chant, sequence melodies have a vocabulary full of typical turns of phrase, ways of launching off, ways of cadencing, and so on. Quite often one finds disagreements between manuscripts which concern typical phrases of this sort, where one group of manuscripts has something less ordinary, and the others have a cliché. One might therefore reason that the extraordinary version is "original", and that it was then regularized in later sources.

A simple example of this can be seen in the sequence melody *Multi-farie*, with text *Nato canunt omnia* for Christmas. The first four double-versicles all cadence on G, approached from below at the end of a seven- or eight-note phrase. Winchester has the series of cadences shown in Ex. 5 (neumes and pitch notation agree with one another). The first cadence is the most common of all sequence cadences, and there must have been a temptation to make the others agree. It would have been done quite unconsciously. In fact the only manuscripts which have the less usual cadence, apart from Winchester, are those from Nevers, Marchiennes and Canterbury. But one has to ask oneself if this is of any real significance, since



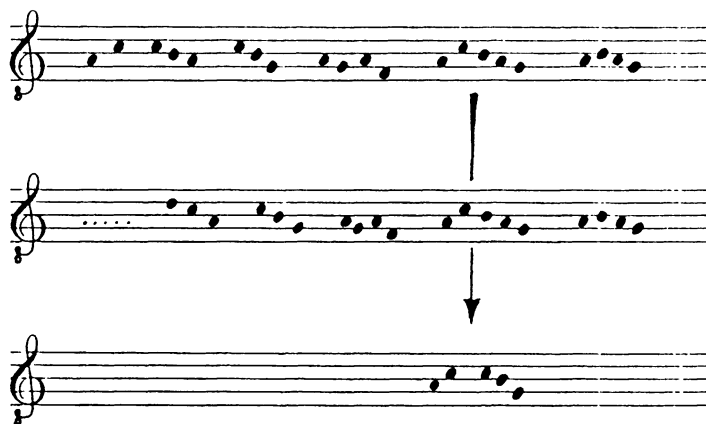


Ex. 5 '*Multifarie*' / *Nato canunt omnia*

any cantor or scribe could have opted for the common cadence formula at any time, hence the version in the other sources.

Ex. 6 shows the third verse and part of the seventh verse from *Epiphaniam domino*. In fact the sixth verse is identical to the third, so that one has here a good proportion of the complete melody. At the place indicated by an arrow some manuscripts have the continuous descent *c-b-a-G*, others repeat the *c* to obtain another *c-b-G* motif, as earlier in the verse. This motif is very common in some sequence melodies (as is the *a-G-a-F* figure just before), and once again one wonders if this variant is of any significance at all as an indicator of transmission patterns, for it could have slipped into the tradition at any time and place, without reference to any written exemplar or to the training of the copyist. And this reasoning seems to find some justification when in the same manuscript the first and second versicle of a pair has a different figure. For what it is worth, only the sources from Longret, Rouen, Salisbury and York have the descent *c-b-a-G* a full six times. Winchester has it just once, like Chartres, Nevers, Laon, Marchiennes and Canterbury, but not in the same places as they. The two Angers manuscripts and from St Evroult, Jumièges, and Crowland always use the other figure.

The same might be held to apply in those cases where there occurs a deviation from strictly syllabic texting. One might suppose that any



Ex. 6 *Epiphaniam domino* 3, 6, 7

two- or three-note group would be ironed out, reduced to the regular one-syllable-per-note routine. And yet among these “first-epoch” sequences, the deviations are so rare and therefore so striking, that they give the opposite impression, that is, of features carefully preserved, of real significance when they occur as variants. One should make an exception here for descending two-note groups which fill in a 3rd, particularly when liquescence may be present. There are too many instances of this sort where one finds either a single note, or a note plus liquescence, or two full notes, for these variants to be counted as significant indicators of transmission patterns.

What I have in mind are phrases such as those at the end of the great Easter sequence *Fulgens preclara*. The melody has reached astronomical heights by this point (a few manuscripts notate the whole piece a 4th or even an octave lower). The highest note d' is usually approached by a three-note slide. The first lines in Ex. 7 show the St Denis/Compiègne version, which I have labelled “A”; most other sources agree with this (except for some minor details which are not the issue here: this is also the case with my other examples so far). A very few sources divide the three-note group into b' c'-d': that is version “B”, found at Chartres (once), Angers 96 (2), Sens (1), Reims (3) and Salisbury (1). Angers 97 will have none of it, and goes for the plain triadic version “C”. What do we find at Winchester? The melodic version has neumes agreeing with version “C”. And that is corroborated by the alphabetic notation in Cambridge 473,

except that for *Pollens laude* the three-note group is indicated (pitched a 4th lower). Oxford 775 has the revised staff notation of the 12th century; it flatly contradicts its own earlier neumes and has the "B" version.

This is one of several cases in *Fulgens* where the earlier and later notations in Oxford 775 do not agree. Some others occur in the mysterious phrases which are texted even in the copy of the sequence melody. These phrases, when they occur in the middle of the complete text, were written at Winchester in red capital letters. Their occasional employment of two-note groups is one of several things that makes them stand out musically, but the manuscripts tend to differ as which syllables should carry two notes. Now the last pair of these special verses does not usually have two-note groups, and it is therefore rather surprising to find one at the cadence at Winchester. Ex.8 is a transcription from the alphabetic notation of Cambridge 473, which is also what the unheighted neumes in Oxford 775 indicate. Only three other sources have this peculiar cadence, those from Nevers, Reims and Canterbury, and Crowland only the second time round. But the later version in Oxford 775 in staff notation has the normal cadence.

It is clearly not possible to isolate one source from the rest as Winchester's closest relative. The affiliations of the Winchester versions are different for each sequence. And for each individual variant the pattern is often different, with the Winchester variants lining up first with one group of manuscripts and then with another. What are the implications of this state of affairs? It has already been remarked many times that the preparation of these liturgical sources is not a matter of the slavish copying of an exemplar. We have to envisage several different considerations which could have influenced what appears on the written parchment, pulling in several different directions at once. One could well imagine that many of the manuscripts discussed above were copied by the chief musician of the church they were designed to serve, men like Wulfstan at Winchester. Perhaps the most important factor behind their "editorial" decisions would have been the way they had learned the chants. They might also have a certain number of exemplars in front of them, say an old book of the church where they worked and others of different age and provenance. New material might have been recently composed or acquired from elsewhere. Or a new ecclesiastical superior – in England a new Norman abbot – might impose a new order of service, which implied consultation of new sources. Out of all this a new and authoritative copy had to be assembled, with

(A)

Per-ac-to as-cen-si-o-nis sacra sol-lemni-a.

Qua es re-gressus in ce-lum nu-be tectus cla-ra.

Pollens lau-de e-ter-na.

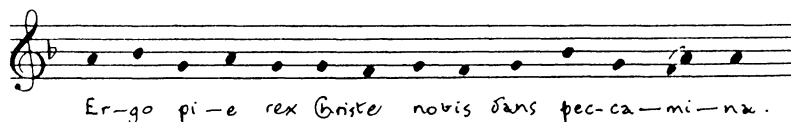
(B)

(C)

Handwritten musical notation and lyrics:

$\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   
 $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   
 $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   
 $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{f}$   
 Pollens lau-de aeter-na.

Ex. 7 *Fulgens preclara* 14, w



Ex. 8 *Fulgens preclara* 12b

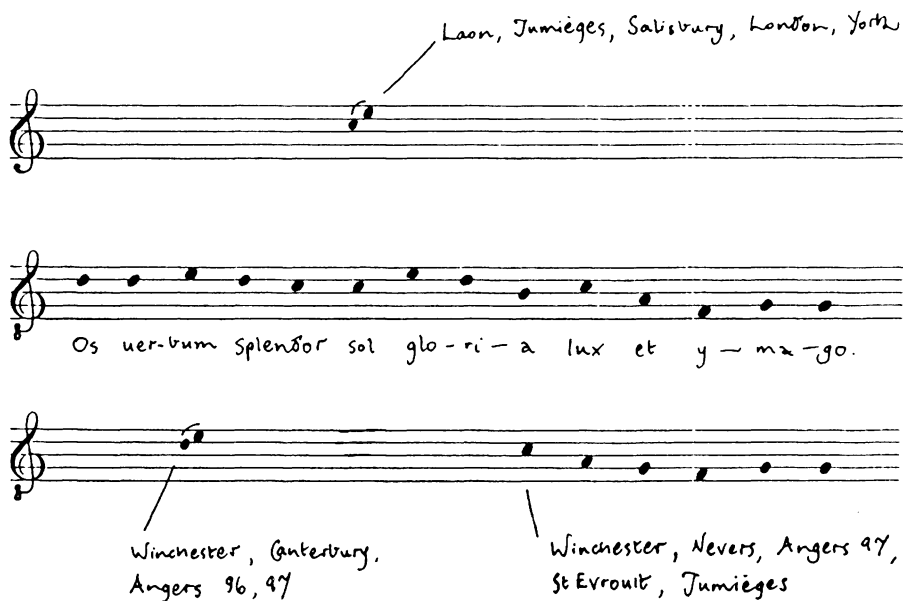
the writer sometimes following one of his exemplars, but often, I think, simply following his instinct and his memory. No wonder, then, that tables of variant readings are often such complicated things. No manuscript emerges from this investigation as the descendent of an exemplar which Winchester might have followed. Indeed, it is entirely conceivable that Wulfstan and his colleagues and successors prepared these books largely from memory.

At the same time, some general tendencies are noticeable. I started out with a suspicion that the St Denis sources were going to prove closest to Winchester, as they had done for melodic variants in mass and office chants. But this proved only very rarely to be the case, and I am now fairly certain that a sequentiary of the St Denis type does not lie at the root of the Winchester tradition. But neither does the Fleury tradition seem to have many points of contact. Among the continental sources the two which most often agree with Winchester variant readings are the Nevers manuscript Paris 1235, and, best of all, Angers 97 (not 96, which belongs to a different tradition). The implications of this for the derivation of Winchester's chant repertory will have to be worked out in future studies.

As remarked earlier, I had also suspected that later English sources were going to be unhelpful. But, while they do frequently have Norman variants, or those of other traditions, this is not always the case. The York source often lines up with Winchester, and so does the London collection. Crowland is even better, but sadly incomplete. And the best source of all is the Canterbury sequentiary, London British Library Cotton Caligula A.xiv.

Two final examples show the above-mentioned "good" sources lining up with Winchester against the others: a couple of verses from the Pentecost sequence *Alma chorus domini* (the favourite for this day in the West until Notker's *Sancti spiritus* started gaining ground).

Ex. 9 show verse 4a. In the middle is what most sources have. There is a small deviation for "sol" in Laon, Jumièges and the three later En-



Ex. 9 Alma 4a

glish sources, Salisbury, London and York. Winchester, and we know this precisely from the alphabetic notation in Cambridge 473, has two substantial differences, the pes over *verBUM* and the different cadence. The pes is found elsewhere only in Angers 96, Angers 97 and Caligula A.xiv. The alternative cadence formula appears only in Nevers, Angers 97, St Evroult, Jumièges and, again, Caligula A.xiv.

Ex. 10 gives verse 5b. Among many small melodic variants, there are two here which involve the presence or absence of syllables. This is more drastic than it may seem, because for the addition of a syllable an extra note of music is required, which may disturb the symmetry of the double verses. Winchester has *kyrrios* instead of *kyrros*, and apart from it only the Nevers manuscript and Caligula A.xiv. (It could be nevertheless be argued that *kyrrios* is a normalization; but then, it could also have been sung to two notes by elision.) Winchester agrees with most manuscripts in having the single word *ysus* at the end, whereas one finds the reading *et ysus* in the sources from Chelles and Laon, the three Norman sources from Rouen, St Evroult and Jumièges, and the three later English sources from

|                  |                                       |                             |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Athanatos</i> | <i>kyrros theos panthocrator ysus</i> |                             |
|                  | <i>kyrrios</i>                        | <i>et ysus</i>              |
|                  |                                       |                             |
|                  | Winchester                            | Chelles, Laon               |
|                  | Nevers                                | Rouen, St Evroult, Jumièges |
|                  | Canterbury                            | Salisbury, London, York     |

Ex. 10 *Alma* 5b

Salisbury, London and York. So Caligula A.xiv agrees with Winchester against the Norman and later English sources.

Comparing one source with another, checking variant readings in this way, is rather tedious at times, but it is also extremely informative. I know no better way of getting to the heart of the process of transmission. Thus rather parochial questions about local English practice can shed some light on the wider history of chant in medieval Europe.