

David Hiley

The Sequentiary of Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 47

There are three principal reasons why the sequentiary in Chartres 47 (hereafter CHR) merits attention. It has not received close critical scrutiny; it is very early in date; and it is of substantial size.

As is well known, the manuscript itself was destroyed in World War II. But a facsimile of it was published in 1912–21 as *Paléographie musicale*, 11. The commentary in that book does not discuss the sequences, nor does a later article on the manuscript by Benoît-Castelli and Huglo (1954). That is not surprising, since those writings were concerned with quite different matters. But it is remarkable that none of the more recent work of sequence scholars has touched upon the sequences of CHR. They do not play any part in the writings of Richard Crocker for example. Heinrich Husmann mentioned them briefly in his articles “Sequenz und Prosa” of 1954 (pp. 67, 70, 71) and “Alleluia, Vers und Sequenz” of 1956 (p. 40). And Klaus Heinrich Kohrs listed some (only) of the a-parallel sequences of CHR in his book of 1978. But the sequentiary merits a special study of its own, particularly as the available information about it is often incomplete and inaccurate.

The date of CHR

The date of the manuscript is uncertain, and can be determined only on paleographical grounds. The editors of *Paléographie musicale*, 11 (p. 29) and most subsequent authorities assign it to the tenth century. But on two occasions Michel Huglo has stated the possibility that the manuscript might be of the ninth century. In his masterwork of 1971, *Les Tonaires* (p. 105, n. 1) he cites the opinion of a colleague: “Selon l’avis autorisé de M. R.H. Bautier, l’écriture et les initiales datent de la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle”. And in his article “Gradual (II)” in *The New Grove* (vol. 7, p. 604) he repeats this estimate. Possibly influenced by Huglo, Stäblein also gave a ninth century date to the manuscript, in his *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik* (1975, p. 112, n. 18).

Thanks to the good offices of Huglo, I recently received a letter about the manuscript from M. Denis Escudier of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes at Orléans. He prefers a date nearer 950 than 900, at any rate in the tenth century.¹

If we admit that the sequentiary represents a repertory of the first half of the tenth century, what does this mean? Through Notker studies we have a fairly good idea of what the early German repertory may have looked like at this time, though we have no German manuscript source before the third quarter of the tenth century.² We have only one Aquitanian sequentiary from the first half of the tenth century, that is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1240. All the other sources for sequences up to about 950 are isolated groups of no more than ten items, text or music or both:

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 10127–10144: 6 alleluias labelled “cum sequentia”, probably indicating an extended repeat of the alleluia after the verse. See Stäblein 1961, pp. 4–7, Kohrs 1978, pp. 78–83.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14843: 10 texts. See von den Steinen 1946, p. 258.

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XC (85): 5 texts (and a sixth may also possibly be early tenth century). See von den Steinen 1946, p. 254.

Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale, 28S: 5 melodies. See Stäblein 1961, pp. 7–8 and Abb. 1 opposite p. 16.

This means that CHR is one of the two earliest surviving sequence collections large enough to constitute a complete liturgical repertory.

The provenance of CHR

The exact provenance of the manuscript is likewise not certain. The liturgical use and the type of notation are well known in manuscripts from Brittany. Against any inclination to regard this as a cultural backwater, a peripheral area, I would urge the following:

¹ “Les conclusions que l'on peut tirer de l'étude paléographique (écriture de la première main, initiales rubriquées, lettres ornées, à l'exclusion de la notation musicale) me paraissent très vagues: je n'ai pu trouver aucun argument irréfutable pour une datation précise. Néanmoins, l'hypothèse la plus raisonnable doit se situer dans la première moitié du IX^e siècle (mais je ne le crois pas) et, dans l'autre sens, aller jusqu'aux années 970 (c'est plus vraisemblable). Si j'avais à conclure, en dépit de mes hésitations, je dirais: vers 950.” (letter of 15 December 1982).

² The earliest German sequentiary is that in London, British Library, Add. 19768. On the basis of the litanies von den Steinen (1948, Editionsband, p. 209) dated the manuscript in the first half of the tenth century, and Crocker (1977, table 1 on p. 5) follows this. But the litanies are in a part of the manuscript codicologically separate from the sequentiary, whereas the *Laudes regiae*, which give a date 968–72, are not; see Humann, 1964, p. 153. Of the other early sources on Crocker's table, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 17436 has sequences which are additions of the late tenth or early eleventh centuries.

- a. The metropolitan see of this area was Tours. Surviving books from Tours do not have the same liturgical use (selection of chants, melodic variants) as CHR and its fellow Breton graduals (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9439, and Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 91—but see Huglo 1963, p. 61 for some interesting points of agreement). This is a problem yet to be fully solved. It is possible that Tours once had an older usage like that of CHR, but that a liturgical reform brought other customs.³
- b. The melodic variants in the chants for the proper of mass in CHR relate it not only to Breton books but also, more distantly, to Laon 239, Rome Angelica 123 and books of Pavia (Ivrea 60 and Vercelli 56). A form of notation derived from Breton notation is also found in the Pavia books. This has led both Huglo and Stäblein to consider the possibility that Breton notation might once have been much more influential and widespread than might now seem to be the case (Huglo 1963, pp. 82–4). In fact Stäblein went so far as to state: “Bedenkt man noch, dass nicht nur die frühen südfranzösischen, die aquitanischen Neumen ihre Herkunft von den bretonischen nicht verleugnen können und gar die Metzger Schrift der Haupteerbe der bretonischen war, sondern dass auch in sämtlichen späteren Regionalschriften die Spuren der bretonischen Neumen sichtbar sind, liegt der Schluss nahe, dass wir es mit einer weitverbreiteten gesamtkarolingischen Notenschrift zu tun haben, der musikalischen Parallele zur karolingischen Minuskel; [...]” (Stäblein 1975, p. 30).

An early sequentiary from this area is therefore worthy of close attention.

The repertory

Paléographie musicale, 11 (p. 40), and, perhaps following that lead, Husmann (1956, p. 40) stated that there were 28 melodies in CHR. By my count there are 29, although that figure is open to discussion since I have not been able to identify all the melodies. Identification is made difficult by the fact that large pieces of each page were burned away even before the facsimile was made. The melodies are preceded in the manuscript by the alleluia collection, ending on pp. 114–6 (ff. 59v–60v) with alleluias for the common of saints and some miscellaneous items for the Blessed Virgin Mary. Immediately after the sequences, on p. 119 (f. 62r) comes one more alleluia, and then a series of processional chants begins.

Most of the sequences were given names, but with the burning away of the outer margin, we have lost those on p. 116 (f. 60v) and p. 118 (f. 61v). Table 1 lists the sequences in manuscript order, giving page and line number, the name of the sequence in the ma-

³ These pronouncements are based on the evidence of the post-Pentecost alleluia series in the Tours manuscripts Tours, Petit Séminaire, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9434, given by Beyssac (1957); and upon the comparison of melodic variants in the proper chants of mass given in *Le Graduel Romain*, iv/1 for the same two manuscripts and also Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 117, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nourry 229/8, and Subiaco s.n.

nuscript, and also whether it is a short or a long melody, and whether the lines are a-parallel, occasionally parallel or mostly parallel. After that I have listed their occurrence in other early sources (to c. 1000), stating what name the melody has, what texts were written for it and for what liturgical occasion (see table 1).

I would like to make the following observations on the table:

- a. There is a strong concentration on short, a-parallel sequences, especially at the beginning of the sequentiary. 10 out of 29 are short and a-parallel, and one more is short with occasional parallel lines. Contrast the 30 pieces of Pn 1240, which include no a-parallel sequences.
- b. There are no partially-texted sequences.
- c. There is no discernible liturgical order in the sequences. It may be recollected that usually it is the text that makes explicit a liturgical assignment, and CHR has no texts. By selecting among the Winchester, Aquitanian and German uses of the sequences, we might guess as to their intended function in CHR, but I have not found this procedure fruitful. I cannot, therefore, agree with Stäblein when he says that "Schon in den ältesten Sammlungen von 'sequentiae' (Angers [136] 144 ... u. Chartres 47 ...) [...] verkörpern die Melodien nicht mehr den Stand der untextierten Jubili, sondern bereits das Stadium einer vorausgegangenen Textierung." (1975, p. 110).

Comparison with other sources

Although I have said that CHR has a substantial collection of melodies, the sequentiary is not large. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 484 has 44 melodies, the Winchester books have 52, while Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1084 has over 90 in its two series of melodies. With 29 melodies CHR has slightly fewer than Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 75 (30 melodies), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1240 (30), and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1087 (33), and slightly more than Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 136 (27 melodies) and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1169 (25).

It is perhaps not surprising that CHR has most concordances with Paris 1084 (18) and Paris 1118 (16). But the next closest are, surprisingly, the early German sequentaries (14 concordances), while the Winchester repertory has significantly fewer (10). Angers 136 (8) does better than either Cambrai 75 (6) or Paris 1240 (only 4); and Angers 136 is the only other source I know besides CHR for the melody *Attendite*. But Angers 136 is not really a close relation of CHR, for Angers 136 has no less than 22 concordances with the Winchester repertory. The presence of *Planctus sterilis* in CHR is another indicator of some sort of link (perhaps only indirect) between the German repertory and CHR.

With this in mind, I made a brief inspection of those melodies common to CHR, German sources, and Aquitanian ones, in order to understand more fully the nature of their interrelationships. There is a particular reason why this is desirable.

As is well known, when Notker of St. Gallen composed the texts of his *Liber hymnorum* he occasionally took as his starting-point a pre-existing text. For example, the text

TABLE 1

no.	page, line	length, structure	name in CHR	Winchester	Aquitaine	Germany	alleluia, other sources
1	116,6–7	s a-p	–	–	“Dominus regnavit”, <i>Age nunc die camena</i> (Christmas)	“Dominus regnavit”, <i>Is qui prius</i> (Easter Monday)	Stäblein in <i>AfMw</i> 19–20 (1962–3): 67; for Schlager K34
2	116,8–9	l occ p	–	–	–	–	
3	116,10	s a-p	–	–	“Spiritus domini” (Pn 1084 only)	“In te domine”, <i>Laus tibi sit o fidelis</i> (3rd Sunday after Easter)	for Schlager K211
4	116,11	s a-p	–	–	–	–	
5	116,12	s a-p	–	–	“Confitemini” (Pn 1084 only)	“Confitemini domino”, <i>O quam mira sunt deus</i> (6th Sunday after Easter)	also Leipzig 391; Schlager K58, ed. p. 81
6	116,13	s a-p	–	–	“Veneranda”, <i>Veneranda die ista</i> (Christmas), <i>Aure benigna</i> (Advent)	“Obtulerunt”, <i>Christe domine letifica</i> (Easter Tuesday); “Pretiosa est”, <i>Miles inclite</i> <i>fortissimi</i> (Martyr)	for Schlager K27, K28
7	116,14	s occ p	–	–	–	–	
8	116,15	s a-p	–	–	–	–	
9	116,16	s a-p	–	–	“Exultate”, <i>(In cithara)</i> <i>Davidis citharedis</i> (Sundays)	“Exultate deo”, <i>Laeta mente canamus</i> (5th Sunday after Easter)	Schlager K337, ed. p. 180
10	116,17	s a-p	–	“Ostende”, <i>Precamur nostras</i> (Advent)	“Ostende”, <i>Precamur nostras</i>	<i>Gratres nunc omnes</i> (Christmas)	also Autun 28S; for Schlager K271
11	116,18– 117,1	l p	–	“Ostende”, <i>Salus eterna</i> (Advent)	<i>Salus eterna, Veniet</i> <i>rex</i> , etc. (various related melodies; Advent)	“Aurea”, <i>Clare sanctorum</i> (Apostles)	

no.	page, line	length, structure	name in CHR	Winchester	Aquitaine	Germany	alleluia, other sources
12	117,2–3	1 p	Deus iudex	–	“Deus iudex”, <i>Fortis atque amara</i> (Sundays), <i>Rex eterne arve</i> (Ascension)	“Deus iudex iustus”, <i>Judicem nos inspicientem</i> (2nd Sunday after Easter)	
13	117,4–5	1 p	Pascha	“Pascha nostrum”, <i>Pange turba corde</i> (Easter)	“Paschalis antica”, “Beata tu”, <i>Hec est vera redemptio</i> (Easter), <i>Beata tu virgo</i> (BMV), <i>Gaudens mater</i> (Easter), <i>Exultet nunc</i> (Martin)	“Cignea”, <i>Gaude Maria virgo</i> (BMV, Christmas Octave)	also Verona XC, clm 14843
14	117,6	s a-p	Beatus vir	–	“Beatus vir”	–	for Schlager K227
15	117,7–8	1 p	Alia	“Beatus vir”, <i>Gloriosa dies adest</i> (Stephen)	“Gloriosa dies adest”, <i>Gloriosa dies adest</i> (Stephen)	“Beatus vir qui timet”, <i>Sacerdotem Christi Martinum</i> (Martin)	also clm 14843
16	117,9–10	1 p	Adtendite	–	–	–	also Angers 136
17	117,11	s a-p	Adorabo	–	“Adorabo”	“Adorabo”, <i>Tu civium deus</i> (Dedicatio ecclesiae)	for Schlager K382
18	117,12–13	1 p	Iustus ut palma	“Iustus ut palma”, <i>Laus armonie</i> (John Ev.), <i>Organicis modulis</i> (John Ev.), <i>Oramus te</i> (John Ev.)	“Iustus ut palma”, “Haec dies”, “Organicis”, “Prefulgida”, <i>Haec dies est sancta</i> (Christmas), <i>Organicis canamus</i> (John Ev.), <i>Prefulgida dies</i> (Andrew), <i>Da camena</i> (John Bapt.), <i>Nativitas precursoris</i> (Andrew)	“Iustus ut palma maior”, <i>Laus tibi... cui sapit</i> (Innocents), <i>Sancti baptiste</i> (John Bapt.), <i>Tuba nostrae vocis</i> (Martin)	for Schlager K38
19	117,14–15	1 p	Item alia	“Iustus ut palma inferior”, <i>Laudem dicite</i> (Saints), <i>Ave pontifex Haedde</i> (Chad)	“Iustus ut palma”, “Precursor”, <i>Precursor Christi</i> (John Bapt.)	“Iustus ut palma minor”, <i>Festa Stephani</i> (Stephen), <i>Salvete agni</i> (Innocents), <i>Rex regum</i> (Eusebius), <i>Dilecte deo Gallo</i> (Gallus)	

no.	page, line	length, structure	name in CHR	Winchester	Aquitaine	Germany	alleluia, other sources
20	117,16–17	1 p	Planctus sterilis	(added to Ccc 473)	–	“Planctus sterilis”, <i>Iste dies celebris</i> (Sundays after Epiphany), <i>Benedicto gratias deo</i> (Whitsun Octave)	
21	117,18– 118,1	1 p	Organ’	–	“Hic est sonus”, <i>Hic est sonus celestis</i> (All Saints)	–	
22	118,2–4	1 p	–	“Musa”, <i>Celica resonant</i> (Christmas)	“Christi odierna”, <i>Christi hodierna, Celica reso-</i> <i>nant, Hodie puer natus est,</i> <i>Laudemus Christum</i> (all Christmas)	“Mater”, <i>Pangamus creatoris</i> (Easter), <i>Laudes Christo re-</i> <i>dempti</i> (Easter), <i>Congaudent</i> <i>angelorum</i> (BMV), <i>Omnis se-</i> <i>xus et aetas</i> (Maurice)	also Autun 28s, Verona XC, clm 14843
23	118,5–6	s a-p	–	–	“De pascha” (Pn 1084 only)	–	for Schlager K346
24	118,7–9	1 occ p	–	–	“Laudes deo”, <i>Laudes deo omnis sexus</i> (Easter)	“Organa”, <i>Laudes deo concinat</i> (Easter Friday)	
25	118,10–11	1 p	–	“Dominus regnavit”, <i>Nostra tuba nunc tua</i> (Christmas)	“Nostra tuba”, <i>Nostra tuba nunc tua</i> (Christmas?), <i>Christe tua agmina</i> (Sundays?)	“Nostra tuba”, <i>Nostra tuba regatur</i> (Sundays after Epiphany)	also Verona XC, clm 14843
26	118,12–13	1 p	–	–	–	–	
27	118,14–16	1 p	–	–	–	–	
28	118,17–18	1 p	–	“Omnipotens deus”, <i>Omnipotens deus</i> (Trinity)	“Trinitatis”, <i>Festa Christi omnis</i> (Epiphany)	–	
29	119,1–2	1 p	...osa?	“Berta vetula”, <i>Arce summa</i> (Sundays)	“Alme sanctorum”, <i>Alme sanctorum</i> (Sundays, Saints)	–	also Angers 136

Notes to table 1

s	short
l	long
a-p	a-parallel
occ p	occasionally parallel
p	parallel (predominantly parallel)

The Winchester repertory, contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473, is listed in Frere 1894, pp. 69–83. The Aquitanian repertory to c. 1000 I have taken as that contained in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1240, 1084, 1118 and 1120, whose contents are listed in Crocker 1957, vol. 2. The German repertory is listed in von den Steinen 1948, Editionsband, pp. 217–20. References in the final column are to Schlager's *Thematische Katalog* of alleluia of 1965 (cited as K followed by a number), and, where a sequence in CHR appears elsewhere as an alleluia jubilus, to Schlager's edition of alleluia in *Monumenta monodica Medii Aevi*, 7.

which he says was the first which he composed, *Laudes deo concinat orbis*, is partly based upon *Laudes deo omnis sexus* (found in Paris 1084 and 1118). Sometimes there are discrepancies between the earlier text and Notker's new one in such matters as the number of lines, whether or not a line of music is exactly repeated, or repeated at all, and the length of individual line. Blume and Bannister (1911) and Richard Crocker (1977) were able to show that where such differences occur Notker often appears to have used an earlier version of the melody than the one shown by his textual models. So that, for instance, a line in *Laudes deo omnis sexus* which has no matching line in Notker's *Laudes deo concinat orbis* can actually be shown to be redundant, syntactically and thematically. Perhaps such "redundant" lines are later interpolations.

Given the probable age of CHR (perhaps 50 years after Notker, where Paris 1084 is 100 years after), my question is therefore: does CHR preserve any of the old versions of sequence melodies which have been hypothesized for Notker's models?

We can ignore the short, a-parallel melodies, for they give us no variants of sufficient consequence to help resolve the question. This leaves ten melodies known in both Germany and Aquitaine: *Ostende*, *Deus iudex*, *Pascha*, *Beatus vir*, *Iustus ut palma maior* and *minor*, *Mater*, *Nostra tuba*, *Omnipotens deus* and *Laudes deo* (I have given the titles actually found in CHR or the Aquitanian ones).

I need not dwell on most of these melodies (the basic facts are summarized in note 4), for the following reasons. When I began the comparison I had hoped that CHR would indeed show "German" versions of the melodies. Except in the case of *Iustus ut palma minor* and possibly also *Pascha* and *Mater*, this was not the case. Quite often no information was forthcoming, either because Aquitanian and German versions were more or less identical in the first place (*Ostende*, *Iustus ut palma maior*) or because vital portions of the version in CHR were burnt away (*Deus iudex*). But in three cases CHR was different from both other versions (*Beatus vir*, *Omnipotens*

deus, Laudes deo), and this suggested ideas which are perhaps more important than the simple location of Notker's models⁴. I shall illustrate this by means of *Laudes deo*.

Ex. 1. *Laudes deo*

Aq. N. CHR

The musical score for Ex. 1. *Laudes deo* is presented in four systems, each with three staves labeled Aq., N., and CHR. The notation includes notes, rests, and lyrics. The CHR part has a bracketed section with the text "inflection that last phrase is repeated".

System 1: Aq. N. CHR

System 2: Aq. N. CHR

System 3: Aq. N. CHR

System 4: Aq. N. CHR

⁴ The most significant points can be summarized thus, referring to the parallel editions in Crocker (1977) for ease of comparison:

The differences between the Aquitanian version (labelled Aq.) and Notker's version (labelled N.) have been explored at length by Crocker (1977, pp. 27–53). He suggests we think of the melody as a verse + refrain structure (p. 48); in my example Crocker's refrain is labelled E. Here I am more concerned with the material labelled X, Xc (that is X with an additional cadential phrase) and Y (which can be varied as Y' and Y''). Even a brief glance at example 1 shows that CHR does not use this material in the same way as either the Aquitanian sources or Notker. It seems that the two ideas X and Y can be combined in a variety of ways, using cadences or cadential extensions on X (but not Y), and occasional slight elaborations of Y. (Other divisions and labels for the material

Ostende (Crocker, pp. 314–30): no significant differences.

Deus iudex (Crocker, pp. 135–45): there are slight differences in the last line between Aquitanian and Notker's versions, but this part of the sequence is missing from CHR.

Pascha (Crocker, pp. 241–61): the burning of the end of p. 117, line 4, means that some crucial phrases are lost, but there would have been space for the 34 notes of Notker's melody (Crocker, p. 243, last 3 notes line 5 to line 8) rather than just 19 notes of the Aquitanian (Crocker, p. 242, last 3 notes line 5 to line 7). The following variants seem to favour the German version:

Ex. 3. Variants in melody "Pascha"



Beatus vir (not in Crocker): the variants of CHR, where they remain, favour neither French nor German versions.

Iustus ut palma maior (Crocker, pp. 279–98): CHR follows the French *Haec dies est sancta*, rather than *Organicis*, but is therefore very close also to Notker's *Sancti baptiste*.

Iustus ut palma minor (Crocker, pp. 279–78): CHR is burnt away at the vital line 5 of the German version (Crocker, p. 264), but seems to start instead with the ascending phrase of line 6. Apart from this CHR follows the German version closely.

Mater (Crocker, pp. 160–88): CHR has the final line as in Notker's *Congaudet angelorum* (Crocker, p. 163, line 9) and not with the extra 7 notes of the French *Christi hodierna* (Crocker, p. 185, line 9), but as Crocker explains, these 7 notes are not always present in French versions of the melody.

Nostra tuba (not in Crocker): no significant variants.

Omnipotens deus (Crocker, pp. 299–313): line 2 of Crocker's editions (pp. 300, 308) is indicated as a singleton in CHR. For line 3 CHR has the sub-tonal ending as in Notker's version, whereas for line 5 the ending is as in the French version. Neither line 4 nor line 6 are in CHR. The French melody now has two lines, whereas Notker has only one; CHR has two lines, but they agree with neither of the others exactly, while yet being similar to each other. The final line is as in the French sequence.

are conceivable, but the overall picture would be similar.) The Aquitanian version shows one way of deploying these ideas, Notker's version another, and CHR has a third. I have the impression of a fluid mixture of ideas, which can be poured into any mould of the redactor's choice.

The knowledge that Notker was aware of the text *Laudes deo omnis sexus* (surviving in Aquitanian sources), or some version of it, tends to bring with it the assumption that the texted sequence *Laudes deo omnis sexus* was Notker's sole starting-point. But after seeing the third version of the melody in CHR, I prefer to imagine the following:

- a. Notker knows a group of melodic ideas (called "Organa" at St. Gallen) and often hears various renditions of these ideas arranged in various combinations and patterns.
- b. He becomes aware of a text for one arrangement of these ideas, but
- c. Either the text, or the melodic arrangement, or both, displease him.
- d. He composes a new text, which either fits a more pleasing arrangement of the melodic ideas, or simultaneously brings into being a new arrangement of them.

We could also consider the possibility that there was a standard St. Gallen arrangement of the melodic ideas that was different from that sung elsewhere, which would provide a different motivation for Notker's activity.⁵

Sequence and lai?

CHR come from Brittany, a strongly Celtic land; and it is Celtic lands that have sometimes been suggested as the home of the secular lai (by Handschin 1954, pp. 151–2, not very convincingly; and by Aarburg in *MGG*, Sp. 85). Stäblein (1962) pointed to melodic characteristics of some early sequences which he thought might be related to secular music, to the lai in fact. Analyzing the melody *Planctus cigni*, he remarked the ninefold appearance of one four-note figure with the melodic shape (high–low–high–low), mostly on e–d–e–c, sometimes d–c–d–c or a–G–a–G.

Are there any melodies of this sort in CHR? *Planctus cigni* is absent, *Planctus sterilis* is not known in diastematic notation, but in any case its neumatic notation does not indicate the above-mentioned four-note figure. But the last melody in the sequentiary of CHR is an outstanding example of the type discussed by Stäblein, although he knew of no transcribable source. It is the melody known at Winchester as *Berta vetula*, and it can be found in the diastematic Aquitanian sources with the text *Alme sanctorum*.

⁵ What is described here in rather simple terms is the emergence of three written versions out of an aurally transmitted matrix. My awareness of such processes has inevitably been heightened by the recent work of Leo Treitler. It is worth pointing out (as was kindly pointed out to me by two colleagues at Milan) that my exposition of the three different versions of this melody reinforces, rather than contradicts, Crocker's basic ideas on the role of an individual artist's decisions in shaping such melodies. I prefer, however, to keep in mind the possibility of a "music only" stage in the evolution of the sequence, a notion Crocker has repeatedly called into question.

This is my example 2. The four-note figure is given crucial importance by being used to make longer endings to the repeat of each line of melody.

Ex. 2. Melody “Berta vetula | Alme sanctorum”; neumes of CHR, pitches derived from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1084, 1118, 1138.

The image displays a musical score for Example 2, consisting of seven staves. The notation is a mix of neumes (CHR) and modern musical notation (pitches derived from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1084, 1118, 1138). The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written in a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some neumes above the staff. The second staff continues the melody, with a repeat sign (double bar line with two dots) indicating a section to be repeated. The third staff shows a continuation of the melody, with a repeat sign. The fourth staff features a four-note figure (A1-le-lu-ia) written in a larger font, with a repeat sign. The fifth staff continues the melody, with a repeat sign. The sixth staff shows a continuation of the melody, with a repeat sign. The seventh staff is a final line of the melody, ending with a double bar line.

Apart from this, only two other melodies in CHR seem to use the figure, and they are both untranscribable: the melodies on p. 116, lines 8–9 and 14.

Until we can transcribe all the melodies in CHR, questions about its exact significance will remain. But perhaps this first account of its sequentiary will have been helpful in raising some important issues in the early history of the sequence.

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