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## Offices of the Saints

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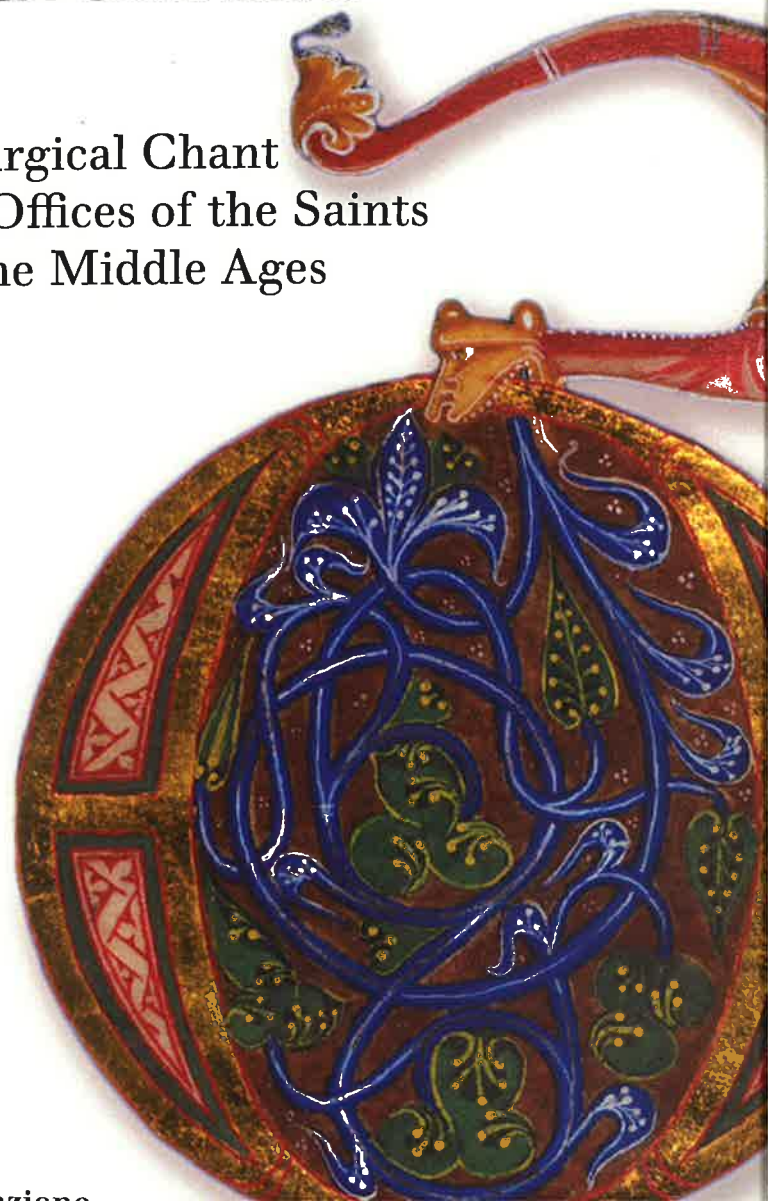
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Historiae. Liturgical Chant for Offices of the Saints in the Middle Ages

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# Historiae

Liturgical Chant  
for Offices of the Saints  
in the Middle Ages



Fondazione

study I have given priority to topics contemporary with the composers of the six offices: the psalmody of the office antiphons and responsories, and the neumes. Where possible, it would be interesting to compare the pairs of antiphons and differentiae to tonaries, though the choice of differentia may depend on the date of the manuscript rather than of the office, and tonaries may have come from the same region as the offices.<sup>23</sup> A catalogue of longer neumes and their use might also reveal interesting patterns of regional practice or transmission.

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## Geography and historiography in early West Frankish *historiae* (750-950)

In the following pages I would like to propose a change of emphasis in our view of the development of the *Sanctorale* in the Frankish realm in the eighth to tenth centuries. Research has hitherto focused mainly on *historiae* composed after 900 – a sort of *terminus post quem* was established by Antoine Auda's publication of the offices composed about that date by Stephen of Liège, with chants in numerical modal order (Auda 1923). However, we might profitably redirect our attention to the evidence of new composition before this date, which reveals a remarkable concentration of creativity in the geographical area of Frankish Neustria, with Saint-Denis and Tours as its two best-known centres. This is, of course, the period when Roman chant was adopted and adapted for the Carolingian church. I wish to raise the question, at least – before it can be answered, more music analysis will have to be done – as to whether chants from before the 'Gregorian' revision of the office repertory may survive among the *historiae* of Frankish Neustria. I begin with a simple list, with bibliographical references, of the *historiae* which can be placed in this area and period (section 1) and then I discuss the circumstances under which they were created (sections 2-4). After noting references to Rome in *historiae* texts (5), I summarize stages of Carolingian reform and symptoms of a general break in transmission in the tenth century, taking into account the irruption of the Vikings and Normans (6). Finally some of the changes in the musical conception of office chant cycles are discussed (7).

### 1. The distribution of *historiae* in the Carolingian realm to circa 930

The *historiae* that can be located in the Carolingian realm up to about 930 are listed in the table below, together with an indication of their place of origin and authorship (where known), and references to sources, editions, and other literature (see Table 1).

Given the strong cultural links between several generations of scholars in the Carolingian period, and their consciousness of their place in a historical continuum, prudence has to be exercised when defining the temporal limits of the present study. The sequence of events in the tenth century is by no means

Table 1. Historiae in the Carolingian realm to ca. 930

Saint	Place of origin	Significant dates, authorship
Amandus	Elnone (St-Amand)	elevatio 809, translation under Milo 845
Apollinaris	Ravenna	translation 9th c.
Bartholomaeus	Benevento, Azzano	translation from Lipari to Benevento 838
Benedictus	Montecassino/Fleury/ Subiaco	translation from Cassino to Fleury 703; restoration/reform at Fleury 930-988
Bricius	Tours	vitae by Gregory of Tours and Sulpicius Severus
Cathedra Petri	Reims	office by Hucbald ca. 900
Chrysanthus and Daria	Münstereifel/ Prüm	translation under Markward from Prüm 844; inventio of relics 886
Cilinia	Reims or Laon	office possibly by Hucbald ca. 900
Cornelius and Cyprianus	Compiègne/ St. Denis	chronicle by Hilduin (abbot 814-840)
Crispinus and Crispinianus	Soissons	see early sources
Cuthbertus	Lindisfarne-Durham	see early sources
Cyricus and Iulitta	Nevers or Elnone	office by Hucbald ca. 900
Dionysius (Rusticus and Eleutherius)	St-Denis	dedication under Fulrad and Charlemagne 775; translation under Hilduin 834
Eligius	Noyon	860-986 (between Norman raids and restoration under Lindulf)
Eugenius	St-Denis or Toledo	translation 914-918
Eusebius	Vercelli	reform/restoration under Attone (924-960)
Fillastrus	Brescia	translation 853-950
Fuscianus, Victoricus and Gentiane	Corbie or Laon	translation 900
Gallus	St. Gallen	office possibly by Ratpert (873-902)
Gaugericus	Cambrai	Benedictine abbey and collegiate church founded in 9th c. by Theoderic
Germanus Parisiensis	Paris	translations 755 and 845
Gervasius and Prothasius	Milan or Soissons ? or Sées or Le Mans	dedication 815 by Rothade of Soissons (d. 869)
Gregorius	German version	see early sources

Early sources (to ca. 1050) (those in CAO are referred to only by siglum)	Editions, studies (* = study)
I-Rvat Reg. Lat. 466 (10th-11th c.)	Goudesenne 2002a, [93]-[108]
CAO: M	
CAO: EM	*Goudesenne 2014, 44-47
CAO: C	
E-Tc 44.1 (11th c.)	*Guilmard 2006; Goudesenne 2015
CAO: H	Weakland 1959; Chartier 1995, 392-399
D-LEu 169 / Rep. I.93 (10th c.)	
I-Vc 205 (late 10th c.); F-LA 262 (second half 12th c.)	Chartier 1995, 5; Goudesenne 2002a, [197]-[202]
F-R 1391 (12th c.)	*Dolbeau 1992, 51-52; Goudesenne 2002a, [3]-[16]
CAO: C	Goudesenne 2002a, [17]-[20] and [109]-[119]
GB-Ccc 183 (first half 10th c., s.n.), GB-Lbl Harley 1117 (early 11th c.)	*Hohler 1956; *Sole 1998
F-Pm 1708 (early 11th c.); F-VAL 114 (second half 12th c.)	Weakland 1959; Chartier 1995, 5-6; Goudesenne 2002a, [203]-[216]
CAO: C	Goudesenne 2002b
Mont-Renaud (second half 10th c.); F-TO 1028 (10th-11th c.)	Goudesenne 2002a, [120]-[136]
	Petersen, Holger, 1925
CAO: E	*Vitale in this volume, 373-402; Capellino 1997, 401-402
GB-Ob Can. lit. 366 (11th c.)	*Goudesenne 2009, 20-21
Mont-Renaud (second half 10th c.)	Jonsson 1968, 210-213; Goudesenne 1996, III, 677-714
D-W Guelf. 17.5. Aug. 4 <sup>o</sup> and GB-Lbl Add. 21170 (10th c.)	*Berschin et al 1989-1990; *Möller 2000; Tremp et al. Historiae 21
	Goudesenne 1996, II, 35-69
CAO: C	
F-LA 107 (10th c.); I-Rvat Reg. Lat. 466 (10th-11th c.)	Goudesenne 2002a, [21]-[39]
A-Wn s.n. 3645 and D-Mbs cgm 6943 (late 9th c.)	*Stäblein 1975, 182-183
E-Tc 44.1 and 44.2 (11th c.)	Haggh, Hugo, Historiae 28

Saint	Place of origin	Significant dates, authorship
Marcus	Venice	translation 830
Martinus	Tours	office quoted in Alcuin, <i>Sermo in Transitu</i> (end 8th c.)
Maurus	Glanfeuil or Monte Cassino	translation 868 (from Glanfeuil to St-Maur-des-Fossés); writings by Odo of Glanfeuil ca., 920; Cluniac reform of Fossés 989-1005
Mauricius and the Theban Legion	Agaune	writings by Eucherius of Lyon, Walafrid Strabo, Marbod, Gregory of Tours, Sigebert of Gembloux and others
Medardus	Soissons	writings by Venantius Fortunatus, Radbod of Noyon, Odilo of Soissons; translation to Dijon (early 10th c.)
Nazarius	Milan or Frankish Gaul	linked with Gervasius
Nicasius	Reims	<i>Historia Remensis ecclesiae</i> by Flodoard (894-966)
Othmar	St. Gallen	<i>Vita Gozberti</i> by Walafrid Strabo (BHL 6386); <i>Miracula</i> by Yso (BHL 6387); <i>Rythmi</i> by Ekkehard IV (BHL 6388)
Quintinus	Vermand	<i>Translatio</i> 835 (BHL 7017); <i>Miracula</i> 10th c. (BHL 7019)
Remigius	Reims	translation 852 under Hincmar
Richarius	Centule/St. Riquier	<i>Vita</i> by Alcuin ca. 800 (BHL 7223); <i>Vita et Miracula metrica</i> by Angelram (975) (BHL 7231); <i>Vita</i> by Hariulf (980) (BHL 7234)
Saturninus	Toulouse or Auch	<i>Gesta</i> , letter from Bernard I to Agapitus II (946-955)
Sebastianus	Milan	<i>Passio</i> by St Ambrose (BHL 7543); translation 826 under Hilduin to Soissons; <i>Translatio</i> by monk Odilo of St Medard (BHL 7545)
Stephani Inventio	Metz or Liège	Stephen of Liège ca. 900
Sylvester	Rome or Nonantola	translation 753/4 (cf. BHL 7736/7)
Symphorianus	Autun	<i>Miracula</i> in Gregory of Tours (BHL 7970)
Syrus (Ticinensis)	Pavia	<i>Translatio</i> 9th c. (BHL 7978)
Theodericus (Thierry)	Reims	office by Hucbald ca. 900
Trinitas	Metz or Liège	office by Stephen of Liège ca. 900
Vedastus	Arras	852 inventio of relics ( <i>Inventio et miracula</i> by provost Ulmar, late 9th c.); 893 relatio of relics from Beauvais (after Norman invasions)
Victor	Marseille	966-977 (Benedictine reform)
Zeno	Verona	<i>Elevatio et Miracula</i> early 9th c. (BHL 9011)

Early sources (to ca. 1050) (those in CAO are referred to only by siglum)	Editions, studies (* = study)
	Cattin 1990, 2, 86-88; 3, 110-111
CAO all sources	*Goudesenne 2004
F-AN 261; F-CHR 89 (late 10th c.)	*Goudesenne 2012, 212ff.
CAO: CGEMHS	Stäblein 1955, col. 1310-11; Huglo 1971, 318; Hankeln <i>Historiae</i> 30
CAO: C	Goudesenne 2013, 375ff.
CAO: M	
Mont-Renaud (second half 10th c.)	Goudesenne 2002a, [229]-[239]
D-W Guelf. 17.5. Aug. 4 <sup>o</sup> (10th c.)	*Berschlin et al 1999
CAO: C	Goudesenne 2002a, [21]-[39]
D-Mbs clm 29316 (9th-10th c.); I-VEcap 205 (10th-11th c.)	Goudesenne 1996, III, 41-109; Goudesenne 2002a, [72]-[90]
E-Tc 44.1 and 44.2 (11th c.)	*Gilles 2002
CAO: GEMHS	
F-AS 650 (10th-11th c.); CAO: S	Auda 1923, 58-66
CAO: CEMV	
CAO: E	
	Chartier 1995, 346-371; Goudesenne 2002a, [21]-[39]
CAO: H; F-CHR 47 (ca. 930)	Auda 1923, 113-121
CAO: C	Goudesenne 2002a, [21]-[39]
	*Goudesenne 2002c
CAO: V	

the production of the great codices with the first neumatic notations continues through the first half of the tenth century, which seems to argue for an ebb rather than a rise in the decades 930-950.

The table offers a global perspective on the Carolingian *historiae*, taking into account as far as possible the most recent research on the dating of relevant hagiographical texts. These are of course a *terminus a quo* for the liturgical offices based upon them, whose surviving sources may postdate the tenth century. While several of the proposed dates must perforce remain hypothetical, the circumstantial evidence supporting them is strong.

### **Historiae, the veneration of relics, and poliadic cults in Gaul**

The list above suggests a strong concentration of activity in the composition of *historiae* in Frankish Gaul (meaning, of course, an area considerably larger than modern France). As early as 397 the Council of Carthage had sanctioned the reading of martyrs' passions in the liturgy, a practice obviously not restricted to the Frankish kingdoms. It was part and parcel of the Christian cult of relics, particularly in Rome and Italian sees (Riché 1991, 220). But the creation of new *historiae* is peculiarly Frankish. They were totally unknown in the Iberian Peninsula before its Romanization, and were absent from the Ambrosian rite as well, both rites using only psalmic or other biblical texts. Furthermore, as a literary and liturgical genre, *historiae* traceable to the seventh and eighth centuries are absent within *poliadic* cults (that is, cults tied to a particular city or town, *polis*), which can be traced back to as early as the sixth century, increasing strongly during Merovingian and Carolingian times, when the political entities and their historians needed to construct the memory of their own past, using narrative processes in their literary works (Depreux 2002; McKitterick 2009, 33-68).

Together with other poetic liturgical compositions, *historiae* facilitated an actualization of the biblical record, combining scriptural texts with the history of the Franks and other Christian nations, where biblical history was still in progress. This is how we should understand the freedom with which liturgical books took in so many new hagiographic and historical texts. After a certain degree of stability had been achieved around 900 in the mass and office, the employment of non-biblical texts and new formularies becomes increasingly evident, the number of such texts increasing exponentially up to the late Middle Ages.

The geographical diffusion of *historiae* is the natural counterpart of the absence of any centralized power. The royal or imperial court was generally itinerant at this time, using the cathedral and monastic networks for its own administrative purposes. Episcopal monasteries and royal basilicas, built around memorial cults, may be seen as characteristic of the period before 900. Liturgical and musical

stage. It is thus no surprise to find great variability in the diffusion of the antiphons and responsories of, for example, the Dionysius office (Goudesenne 2002b, xxxvii-viii). Even when the early transmission of an office is relatively stable, as in the Martin office *Martinus adhuc catecumenus*, other chants may enter the lines of transmission, for example the antiphon *Domine deus noster* (CAO 2335), which becomes embedded in later East Frankish versions of the office.

Our understanding of the situation in later periods (twelfth to fifteenth centuries) has biased us towards seeing capital cities as centres of overriding influence and distribution (Depreux 2005). But *historiae* remain local, as the example of Paris shows (Gastoué 1903-1904; Wright 1989, 49). The *historia* for St Germanus of Auxerre originated in Paris and is linked more with the eleventh-century *historia* for St Genevieve of Paris than with the see of Auxerre. It attained a modest diffusion (Cambrai, Arras, England), whereas the homonymous offices for Germanus of Paris, Marcellus, and Gendulphus remained purely local (Haggh 1998).

### **3. A case in point: the diffusion of Alcuin's *Invocatio Trinitatis***

The way in which various sources and influences operated on the materials of a *historia* is illustrated by the Trinity office *Gloria tibi trinitas*, which is of great importance from a theological point of view. Its success was the culmination of several stages of germination, beginning in Tours with Alcuin's *De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis* dedicated to Charlemagne, also called *Invocatio Trinitatis*,<sup>1</sup> which was widely distributed all over the Carolingian realm, thus preparing the way for the chant cycle composed a century later by Stephen, member of the palace school of Charles the Bald, cathedral canon in Metz, and bishop of Liège 903-920 (Close 2008). One may ask whether the success of the *historia* was not due more to Alcuin's reputation and admiration for his work than to its authorship by Stephen.

Other centres in the West contributed extra chants to the Trinity cycle, notably when the Benedictine cursus with twelve lessons required new responsories. The original nucleus remains very stable. Variation is nevertheless discernible in the readings both for music and texts. The best readings are those in sources from Corbie,<sup>2</sup> even though Corbie lies outside Lotharingia, where the office was composed. If we look at details of ornamentation, intonation formulas, and the numerous neumae with repetitive, symmetrical schemes (*aa bb*), which I believe to be original, then sources from neither Metz nor Liège stand closest to this putative original. Furthermore, by this argument, the fourteenth-century antiphoner from

Croix, Liège, upon which Auda's edition is based, is probably not the most accurate witness for this corpus (Frisque 1990). The Corbeian breviary has more convincing readings of ornamental details, repeating systematically the small modes in tripartite neumas (*aab, abb*), also giving standard responsory formulas in abbreviated form, not to mention its version of the Latin text, which is much more correct in its high Carolingian renderings. Thus the absence of production of new *historiae* in such an important cultural centre as Corbie before the eleventh century – Anscharius, monk of Corbie and “Apostle of the North” in the ninth century, received a proper office only later, probably written in the monastery – is more than compensated by the preservation of accurate versions of the offices for the Trinity (CAO 97) and the Exaltation of the Cross (CAO 110).

In the following table we indicate lists of complementary pieces that are not in the main corpus attributed by Auda to Stephen of Liège, but which constitute a sort of parallel tradition (worth editing in a revised edition of Stephen's works). They are mostly to be found in monastic sources. Literary formulas for the Trinity in Stephen's office appear to be echoed in new offices such as All Saints, Audomarus, Felix, the Holy Cross, and even in the *Commune sanctorum* (see Table 2).

**Neustrian Frankish centres**

Neustrian centres important for the early cultivation of *historiae* are marked on the map below (see Figure 1, p. 232).

St-Denis and more specifically the *historiae* for its patron saint (to whom we may add the martyrs Cornelius and Cyprianus) have been accorded a fair amount of attention, while other centres and saints deserve more systematic investigation, for example Eustachius and Eugenius from Toledo. Tours, studied by Pierre-Marie Gy (1979, 1988) and then by Dom Guilmard (2006), clearly exercised considerable influence on the history of the office. The Martin office (*Martinus adhuc catecumenus*, together with the ninth-century *historia* for Martin's successor Brice (their feasts fall on 11 and 13 November respectively)) may even be said to create a new typology of *historiae*, a dynastic corpus, for “Martinopolis” (Goudesenne 2015). Guilmard's arguments for the importance of Tours are confirmed when we follow the diffusion of the highly successful responsory *O quantus erat luctus*, found in four other *historiae*, all composed in the turn of the ninth to tenth century.<sup>5</sup>

- Martinus *O quantus erat luctus* (CAO 7295)
- Maurus *O quantus moeror* (CAO 7296)
- Sylvester *O quantus est colendus* (CAO 7295)
- Eusebius of Vercelli *O quantus erat fletus episcop.* (CAO 7294)

**Table 2.** The wider connections of Stephen of Liège's Trinity office

Stephen of Liège's <i>Historia</i>	Concordances with other contemporary <i>historiae</i>
Inv. <i>Deum verum</i>	<i>Historia Audomari</i> (St-Omer): Inv. <i>Unum deum in Trinitate</i>
Hymnus <i>Gloria laudis; Laus deo patri</i>	Hymnus <i>Vedasti</i> (attributed to Alcuin) <i>Voce iocunda</i>
Texts quoting the Trinity <i>historia</i>	
R <i>Benedictus deus</i> [tonus II]	R <i>Ad laudem et gloriam</i> [tonus II] ( <i>Historia Vedasti</i> )
R <i>Honor virtus</i>	Hymnus <i>Felix Vedastus</i> ( <i>Hymnus Vedasti</i> attrib. Alcuin)
Parallel corpus for Trinity feast (monastic cursus; not by Stephen)	
R <i>O sublime decus</i> <sup>4</sup> – CANTUS ID 601658; sources from St-Amand, Arras, St-Taurin l'Échelle (F-Pn 12601), Aquitaine (E-Tc 44.2)	
R <i>O beata trinitas te laudamus</i> <sup>5</sup> [tonus I] – CAO 7254; adapted for R <i>Sacer sanctus</i> [tonus I] ( <i>Historia Vedasti</i> )	
R <i>Deum time</i> [tonus II] – CAO 6416; related to R <i>Agmina sacra</i> [tonus I]; R <i>Felix namque</i> [tonus I] ( <i>Commune confessorum</i> )	
R <i>Deus maiestatis rex</i> <sup>6</sup> – CAO 6426; Arras, St-Taurin l'Échelle, CAO L, I-Rval C5	
Ant. [?] <i>Te decet laus</i> – CANTUS ID 850332	
Rbrev <i>Magnus dominus noster</i> – CAO 7117	
Rbrev <i>Haec est dies</i> <sup>7</sup>	
R <i>Excelsus super omnes</i> – CAO 6692	
R <i>Oriens splendor lucis</i> (with prosula) – CANTUS ID 601717 <sup>8</sup>	
R <i>Laudem dicite letantes trino</i> – CAO 7080 <sup>9</sup>	

4. R *O sublime decus*, trino quod nomine polles, te tremit et laudat cunctorum machina rerum, \*Scilicet ether, humus, mare, sol seu fulgida luna. VOTe laudat generosus homo altithroni quem lustrat imago.

5. R *O beata Trinitas te laudamus te benedicimus te adoramus, auge in nobis fidem auge spem, auge caritatem* \*O beata trinitas. V Tibi laus tibi gloria tibi gratiarum actio in secula sempiterna.

6. R *Deus majestatis rex omnipotens, cui astat angelorum chorus exercitus caelorum, te adorat et orbis terrarum laudes tuas resonat et cuncta creata simul, \*tibi laus et honor et gloria o beata Trinitas sancte sanctorum. V. Gloriam psallat chorus.* In L and I-Rval C5: V *Benedictio et claritas.*

7. In L and I-Rval C5.



After Tours, the see of Soissons should be mentioned. Its cathedral was dedicated to the martyrs Gervasius and Prothasius in 815 under Bishop Rothadus. The famous “Compendiensis” (gradual and antiphoner, manuscript C in CAO) was written at the abbey of St Medard for Charles the Bald’s imperial coronation around 875 (Huglo 1993, 129). The manuscript also contains the office of Crispinus and Crispinianus, patron saints of another monastery in Soissons. Chants for all three nocturns on this feast day are recorded, one antiphon being entered also in I-VEcap 98 (ms. V in CAO). Astonishingly for this early source, the first antiphon of the Second Nocturn *Quibus haec optantibus* is notated by the main hand (see Figure 2).<sup>10</sup> But Medardus, patron saint of the great abbey, receives the most important historia in the *Compendiensis*. (Space is left in the manuscript for a title, presumably in gold letters, which was never entered. Medardus would have been the only saint in the whole antiphonary to be thus distinguished.) Amalarius mentions the office as well, indicating diffusion outside Soissons.<sup>11</sup> (We shall speak about this historia later when we consider apparent breaks in transmission.)

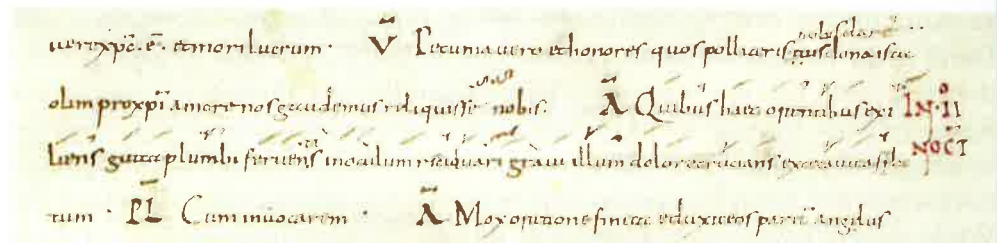


Figure 2  
Antiphon *Quibus haec optantibus* for Medardus  
(F-Pn lat. 17436, fol. 81r, detail)

For St Quintinus, from the nearby Vermandois, the *Compendiensis* has chants only for Lauds.<sup>12</sup> For the second half of the ninth century we should take into account such cities as Rheims (in Table 1: Cathedra Petri, Cilinia, Nicasius, Remigius, Theodericus) and Soissons/Compiègne, both satellites of Hilduin’s school at Saint-Denis: both their texts and their melodic materials show common features, thus they constitute a small related group. Other centres distinguished by historiae for their patron saints are the famous monastery of Elnone (Saint-

10. There is a notable discrepancy in the text here – *optantibus/orantibus* – as often in the *Compendiensis*, corrected by Hebert, following the text of the *Vita*.



and – Amandus), central to the education of the sons of Charles the Bald (Chartier 1995, 5), Noyon, with the famous episcopal monastery of St Eloi (Eloi), Beauvais (Lucianus), and Amiens (Firminus – actually two distinct persons, the first a martyr of the late third century, the second a simple bishop of the fourth).

The witnesses to historia composition in this early period outside Neustria are less numerous. The cult of St Hilary of Poitiers (in Aquitania) is pre-Carolingian; a historia was composed there in the second half of the ninth century.<sup>13</sup> Although Metz (in Austrasia, as was the Carolingian capital, Aachen) is often regarded as a sort of ‘capital’ of Gregorian chant, the historia for its patron saint Arnulfus – related to the Pippinids and closely associated with the very identity of Austrasia – does not attempt to stress the importance of the city, but mentions Rheims instead.<sup>14</sup> Even if the chant tradition of Metz was so famous that the Cistercians referred to it when reforming their chant three or four centuries later (Hiley 1993, 609-611), it is curious that, as Christopher Page has pointed out (2010, 317, 319), Sigebert of Gembloux, writing in Lotharingia so far from Metz, regards Rouen as the most famous see for liturgy and chant. Looking further east, we find chants for the Roman martyrs Chrysanthus and Daria in the famous antiphony table now in Leipzig (D-LEu Rep. I 93) from the early tenth century, a source originating in Prüm.<sup>15</sup> These are obviously not Roman chants, but new items composed after relics of the saints had been given by Sergius II to Abbot Markward when visiting Rome at the behest of Emperor Lothaire in 844.<sup>16</sup> But Poitiers and Prüm are the exceptions rather than the rule. While sources have no doubt been lost, we have few early historiae beyond those already mentioned. The early ninth-century office for Emmeram of Regensburg, the tenth-century office for Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, and the two offices of the same period from St. Gall – for Gallus and Othmar respectively – more or less complete the picture.<sup>17</sup>

### 5. Rome in historiae texts

Rome is often mentioned in the texts of historiae, but not, of course, in connection with liturgy or music. Most of the historiae citing Rome were probably composed around 950-1050, a period of revival after the disasters of the late ninth and early tenth centuries, when new structures and melodies emerged. In this context, occasions when ‘classical Gregorian’ or Franco-Roman type melodies are employed are doubly interesting. As an example we may cite the responsory *Predicatione apostolica* in mode 4 from the historia for Lucianus of Beauvais, datable to around 900 (see Example 1).<sup>18</sup>

Example 1. R. *Predicatione apostolica*  
for Lucianus of Beauvais (F-Psg 117, fol. 154r)

Pre-di - ca - ti - o - ne a - pos - to - li - ca

Ro - ma - nis ar - ti - bus cho - rus - can - te

Lu - ci - a - nus cre - di - dit et eggre - gi - us Chri - sti

E - van - ge - li - um mi - les ac - qui - si - tus est.

Et qui an - te - a di - ce - ba - tur Lu - ci - us

mar - tyr fu - tu - rus in - si - gnis pre - sa - go me - ru - it ho - no - ra - ri

vo - ca - bu - lo Lucianus.

Ed. Haggh-Huglo 2018 (Historiae 28).

A very rare office, found only in the West. Our dating of this office, transmitted in St-Maur-des-Fossés (F-Pn 12044, fols. 161r-163v), Chartres, and Angers, is based on the attribution to Eudes de Glanfeuil (868) and the return of the monks from Glanfeuil to St-Maur-des-Fossés, and not to the sources actually preserved, which are from the tenth century and later. See Goudesenne 2012, 201.

Yves Chartier 2009 argues for the Irish origin of the notators, perhaps from Corbie.

See *Regesta Imperii*, anno 844, online: <<http://www.regesta-imperii.de>>.

On Emmeram see Yeager 2009; on Cuthbert see Hohler 1956; on Gallus see Berschin - Ochsenbein - Möller 2000, Möller 2000, and Trempp - Berschin - Hiley 2012; on Othmar see Berschin - Ochsenbein - Möller 1999.

While the responsory verses are sung to the standard tones, and the modal order of the chants is not numerical, the office often presents non-traditional turns of phrase. *Predicatione apostolica* relates to the missionary work of Lucianus, one of the legendary group of twelve apostles of Gaul (Jullian 1923). He converts the people by preaching and singing chant the Roman way: “*Predicatione apostolica, manibus artibus choruscante [...]*” And for this very phrase the melody follows a traditional formula.<sup>19</sup> Does this happen just by chance? Lucianus, like many other saints, is a prototype of the apostolic saint, coming from Rome to Gaul. Such saints, more legendary than historical, were often bishops and founders of monasteries. Here in Beauvais, as in Rheims, Noyon, or Soissons, we find an episcopal monastery in the Carolingian period (Goudesenne 2002a, 230). Earlier, when martyrs were succeeded by confessors, the direction of travel was reversed, as it were, with pilgrims journeying to the Holy City, and diplomatic exchanges between local churches and the papacy, as in the cases of Firminus of Amiens (the bishop, distinct from the first martyr), Fuscianus, Victoricus, and Gentianus, Amandus, Bricius of Tours, the monastic founders Benedict, Maurus, Arnulfus of Metz. Are there other examples where the appearance of some name in the text of the historia is mirrored by a reference to ‘Roman’ chant or melody?

### Finding patterns in an unstable period

The earliest historiae are by no means uniformly transmitted, and reflect the overall condition of change and instability in liturgical developments typical of the early medieval period. Thus the historiae in the *Compendiensis* (or ‘Antiphoner of Charles the Bald’) or the Mont-Renaud manuscript contain chants difficult to trace in other sources. For example, the above-mentioned antiphon for Crispinus and Cyprianus *Quibus haec optantibus* is absent from all known later sources, nor can a melody be found that corresponds to the Paleofrankish neumes probably created by the first hand, in 870-877. We see the same phenomenon with the historia of St Medardus. The Medardus chants are slightly better known because a few items survive in a thirteenth-century source from Saintes (the breviary F-Pn 16309, mid-thirteenth century), and I was fortunate enough to find some of the responsories in a late antiphoner from Novara, an exceptional discovery probably resulting from a translation of relics (Goudesenne 2013). But the transmission of the texts is by no means stable, as the following transcriptions

show:

Historia Medardi, R. *Inter christicolos / Pars tibi* <sup>20</sup>

F-Pn lat. 17436 (*Compendiensis*) (Soissons, ca. 870)

R Inter christicolos quos actio vexit in astris \*Pars tibi pro meritis magna Medarde pater

V Exsiliium tibi mundus erat caenosa caventi (CAO 6978)

F-Pn lat. 16309 (Saintes, 13th century)

R Pars tibi pro meritis magne Medarde pater, Quos actio vexit in astris \*Inter christicolos

V Gloriam petisti gloriam conserutus es gloriosus exultas

I-NOVd A1 (Novara, 1321)

R Exsiliium tibi mundus erat caenosa caventi et modo te gaudet cive manente polu exutus tenebris, vestitur tegmine lucis post obitum frueris liberiore die

V Inter christicolos quos actio vexit in astris pars tibi pro meritis magna Medard pater[r] (CAO 6700)

One wonders which version Amalarius, writing in his *Liber Officiorum* around 830, might have known when he speaks of having added the offices of Medardus and Mauricius to his antiphoner (Falconer 1999). The instability of the period and the evident disruption in the tenth century, must have resulted in the loss of other historiae. A *Historia Richarii* is attested in the chronicles of Saint-Riquier attributed to Angilbert (740-814), nephew of Charlemagne (Duhamel 2003: 230). Old Neustria was finally replaced by the new Normandy, created in 911. We can only speculate about the number of offices lost during the Norman invasion. The fragmentary antiphoner discovered by Hesbert after the publication of the CAO raised the possibility of a native type in this area during the ninth century before the Norman invasion (Hesbert 1954). Any historiae that might have survived could well have been replaced during the subsequent ecclesiastical and monastic reforms, imported from other areas such as Burgundy, Septimania, or Italy. The historiae for the Milanese martyrs Gervasius and Prothasius present just such a case. A mass for their feast was composed by Gregory the Great after peace with the Lombards had been concluded in 590.<sup>21</sup> Their first historia date from the mid-ninth century and is conservative in style, its antiphons employing the type melodies with verses (as in Gallican usage), the responsories following the formulas of the ‘classical Gregorian’ pattern.<sup>22</sup> (See Example 2 p. 238, where the Laon neumes from the earliest known source, F-LA 107, are given.)

20. Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen de sancto Medardo*, 78.

21. The mass beginning with Intr. *Loquetur dominus pacem* was introduced by Gregory I at the beginning of his pontificate, for peace with the Lombards, as related in the *Liber Pontificalis* and later in the *Legenda Aurea*.

Example 2. Antiphon *Isti sunt angelica* for Gervasius and Prothasius  
(M 112, fol. 165v; neumes of F-LA 107, fol. 1r)

Is - li - sunt an - ge - li - ca - so - li - da - ti - ca - ri - ta - te  
in - cli - ti mar - ty - res\* Ger - va - si - us et Pro - tha - si - us  
quo - rum ger - ma - ni - tas a Christo in - ter im - ma - ni - a  
fu - it ful - si - ta tor - menta  
om - nes pre - ca - mur ut e - o - rum in - ter - ces - si - o - ne  
a Do - mi - no ad - iu - venur. Magnificat.

\* Laon 107: martyres incliti

This first *historia* was followed by a new one, versified, first known from a copy with Breton neumes from the tenth-eleventh century,<sup>23</sup> and this is relatively new in style, very far from the classical structures.

As Yitzak Hen observed (Hen 2016) in the last Jerusalem Colloquium in June 2016, the Carolingian Reform around the *Hadrianum* sacramentary reordered basic liturgical procedures and created chaotic conditions:

The ninth century was an intensive period of liturgical experimentations in the West. New forms of liturgical practices were formulated, older ones were reshaped and readapted, and an unprecedented obsession with liturgical performance spread throughout the Carolingian empire. This activity was, no doubt, inspired by the Carolingian reform movement, but it was also closely linked to the changing views of late Carolingian political ideology [...]. I shall look at some of the phenomena that characterized the changing nature of the Frankish liturgy during the ninth century, among them some of the most bizarre and gruesome liturgical turns.

While Hen was mostly concerned with the relatively well documented history of the sacramentary, his strictures may well be relevant to liturgical chant. Some pieces are employed as a sort of 'new commune' group for several confessors, for example the antiphon *Ave praesul gloriose* (CAO 1541) and the responsory *Agmina sacra* (CAO 6063) with its contrafactum *Felix namque* (CAO 6725).<sup>24</sup> These may be contemporaneous with new chants from the end of the tenth century sometimes attributed to Robert the Pious.<sup>25</sup> Yet, although the responsories conform largely to mode 1 models, they display a specific cadence (C FF D or C EF D) that Gastoué and others have classified as Gallican.<sup>26</sup> The great antiphon *Insignes preconiiis* (CAO 3355) is ignored at Rome but found in the Beneventan,<sup>27</sup> Gallican, and Ambrosian<sup>28</sup> rites, for the martyrs Vincentius, Mauritius, Sebastian, and Dionysius (Example 3a, p. 240) (Goudesenne 2009, 24 ex. 1).

23. Huglo 1963, 75. We might also add the antiphon *Gentem francorum* from the Remigius *historia* (transcr. Goudesenne 2002a, [89]) to be completed by a source with paleofrankish neumes, BnF lat. 13397, fol. 115v, see Colette 2003, 52.

24. *Processionale monasticum*, 242-243.

25. The responsories are assigned to various saints, many already in the Compendiensiis (Germanus, Vedastus, Martin, etc.), for example R. *O constantia martyrum* (CAO 7262). The attributions to the King Robert occur in the *Chronicle of St Bertin* (see Hincmar in *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. Félix Grat and Jeanne Vielliard, Paris, 1964), often cited in historical studies: see Pfister 1885, 35.

26. Gastoué 1904.

27. Kelly 1992, 66, 248-249 and 258 (Vincentius); here *Insigne preconium* is considered as ancient Beneventan. Interchanges with Gregorian or Gallican usage need to be researched further. The antiphon is also in I-MC 542.

Example 3a. Antiphon *Insignes preconii*

108  
168  
204  
227

**I** N S I G N E S pre-co-ni-is al-me tu-e no-bi-li-ta-tis con-so-nant vo-ces con-laudan-tes

f. 67  
N S I G N E pre-co-ni-um con-so-na vo-ce col-laudan-tes

MH Ganagobie Ant. Varese f. 139v

ver-bo sup-pli-ci pro-se-qua-mur: A-ve in-cli-te mar-tir, an-ge-lo-rum consors, aposto-lo-rum so-ci-us

fra-gi-li

in-ter-ce-de pro nos-tra om-ni-um-que sa-lu-te. E v o v a e.

es:  
D-Bsb Mus. 40047  
D-TRs 1245/597  
Mont-Renaud  
3: F-Pn lat. 17296  
21: I-BV 21

Example 3b. Antiphon *Insignis preconii* for Sebastian (F-Pn lat. 1090, fol. 138v)

In-sig-nis pre-co-ni-i al-me tu-e no-bi-li-ta-ti con-so-nant

vo-ces con-laudan-tes ver-bo sup-pli-ci pro-se-quan-tur

a-ve in-cli-te mar-tir anglorum consors a-po-sto-lorum so-ci-us

prophe-ta-rum con-ci-vis et mar-ti-rum co-heres.

San-cte Se-ba-sti-a-ne cum so-ci-is tu-is in-ter-ce-de

pro no-stra om-ni-um-que sa-lu-te. Se-cu-lorum amen.

Example 4. Antiphon *Insignium virorum* for Cornelius and Cyprianus  
F-AS 650; UTR: NL-Uu 406

In-si-gni-um vi-ro-rum mi-ra-cu-la sup-pli-ci vo-ta ve-ne-ran-tes e-o-rum suffra-gi-a  
de-pos-ca-mus a-ve-te du-ces ce-les-tis au-le an-ge-lo-rum co-e-qua-les  
a-pos-to-lo-rum con-sor-tes mar-ty-rum con-ci-ves sancti De-i Cor-ne-li et Cy-pri-a-ne  
in-ter-ve-ni-te pro cuncto po-pu-lo De-i al-le-lu-ia. Magnificat.

usually assigned to mode 8 in medieval sources, but it does not fit well with the simplified octoechos system. It displays an ambiguity between G and g with  $b\flat$  or  $b\sharp$ , more characteristic of the deuterus, something considered a Frankish-Gallican feature (Huglo and Cullin 1995). Example 3a p. 240 shows the readings in sources from Quedlinburg, Prüm, Corbie, St Denis, and Le Mans.

The reading of *Insignes preconii* in the source from Marseilles (F-Pn 1090), given in Example 3b p. 241, is a rather plain one, displaying few fundamental melodic turns of phrase. And this raises the question of possible embellishment (such as extensions by repetition of previous materials) in the St Denis version – the antiphon continues after “martyrum coheres”). The antiphon *Factum et verum lumen* (CAO 4768) for Mauricius is another example of this type. *Insignium virorum* (Example 4) in the historia for Cornelius and Cyprianus – a rare item, which may also be attributed to Hilduin of Saint-Denis (Goudesenne 2002a, [11]) – presents common features with the octodic group that includes *Ave presul gloriose* and *Insignes preconii*. The octodic reshaping of this Magnificat antiphon from the older model *Insignes preconii* illustrates symptoms of rewriting and simplification to make it conform better to the eight-mode system or octoechos. At the same time, we can see how poetic models – the rhymed antiphons *Ave presul gloriose* / *Ave presul Stephane* (CAO 1545) recycled from local ‘Gallican’ prayers – display a different melodic and melodic structure, indicating that it will be

Is it really credible that Hilduin, often presented as a pro-Roman reformer and actually involved in the making of the historiae for Dionysius and for Cornelius and Cyprian, did not recycle old Gallican materials, despite his remark that old books at Saint-Denis were too dilapidated and unusable?<sup>29</sup> The great processional antiphon *Deus omnipotens qui electis tuis*,<sup>30</sup> adapted from the text of a collect, is comparable to numerous items found in Aquitanian antiphoners and processionals, further evidence of compositional processes widespread in the ninth century, including the maintenance of local pre-Carolingian uses. And this suggests we should be cautious about accepting at face value the statements of chroniclers and historians contrasting Roman and Frankish forms and habits in a rhetorical manner.

## 7. The transformation of musical structures

Studies of historiae have understandably tended to concentrate on more or less homogeneous cycles of chants, some early, some later. But a number of cycles may well be a mixture of different chronological layers, including pre-Carolingian local liturgies (Hiley 1993, 553ff.).

Elsewhere I have discussed some of the constellations of chants for the Archangel Michael (29 September), which admittedly involves a more complex hagiography than that for an ‘ordinary’ human saint. The processional antiphon *Factum est prelium in caelo* (F-Pn lat. 776, fol. 117v) appears to be a relic of responsorial psalmody, thus a part of a pre-Carolingian repertory, transmitted only sporadically. The sequence *Summi regis*, found in sources before 1000, has been attributed to Alcuin (Bannister 1913, pl. 17a and no. 131, 39-40). It would be worth investigating carefully the corpus of historiae for Michael, which present a complex of different strata dating from the eighth century up to the tenth (with many instances of influence on the offices for Denis, Maurice, Martin, and All Saints) (Goudesenne 2007). An example of ‘non-Gregorian’, possibly Gallican modal behaviour can be seen in the very first responsory, *Factum est silentium* (CAO 6715), starting in tetrardus but falling back into protus mode.

Some versions of the historia for Apollinaris, found in books from Ivrea (and probably elsewhere), contain traces of Old-Italic liturgies, using non-classical verse forms in the texts though the language is formulaic (Goudesenne 2009, exx. 3-5, 25-26). Mauritius is a prototype for the historia of St Martin, and the attributes of these two saints are relevant to the typology of other soldier-saints

29. In a letter to Louis the Pious Hilduin writes: “antiquissimi et nimia pene vetustate consumpti missales libri, continentes missae ordinem more gallico, qui ab initio receptae fidei usu in hoc occidentali plaga est habitus, usque

from the Roman Empire (Maurey 2014, 180-181). Amédée Gastoué classified several parts of this office – composed at an elevated monastic site in the Valais (within Burgundy and ultimately the Holy Roman Empire) – as relevant for Gallican chant, for example the antiphon *Sanctum et verum lumen* (CAO 658), which was later taken into the office for All Saints on 1 November.<sup>31</sup> Thus, although this paper has focussed on the area of Neustria, *historiae* from within a broader geographic area and a longer historical period should ultimately be used for comparison and for the degree to which they display ‘classical Gregorian’ ways of singing the office. After all, several of them were an integral element of the Roman-Frankish liturgical unification. One may pick out offices for the following saints:

Vincent and Sebastian, martyrs of the third and fourth centuries, not Roman, but from northeast Spain and Lombardy respectively. Sebastian was made famous by his translation in 826, proposed by the arch-chancellor Hilduin, sanctioned by Eugene II.

Saints who were translated to Gaul from Rome and Milan: Nazarius, whose relics came to Gorze and Lorsch; Gervasius and Prothasius, the invention of whose relics is associated with St Ambrose, and who became dedicatees of such prominent churches as Soissons, Angers, Séz, and Le Mans.

Sylvester, whose relics were transferred from Rome to Nonantola in 756, occasioning the making of a *historia* with a relatively straightforward diffusion.<sup>32</sup>

A Roman-Benedictine group with Gregory, Benedict, and Maurus, shared between the Italic peninsula and the great Frankish monasteries of Fleury, Glanfeuil, and St-Maur-des-Fossés (Goudesenne 2012).

Such responsories as the non-Roman *Gloriosi domine testis suis* (CAO 6782, sung for Vincentius, Quintinus, Valentinus, Clemens, and Georgius, appearing also in the *Commune Martyrum*: Goudesenne 2002a, [170]); *Isti sunt viri* (CAO 7020) for Crispinus; *Hodie martyrum flores* (CAO 6853) for Holy Innocents, Fuscian, Victorius, and Gentianus, also *Gloriosi martires Christi* for the same saints,<sup>33</sup> have striking, epic poetic texts that can be applied to different parts of the same category, like a sort of pseudo *commune*, with a certain flexibility in their melody as well as their text. They are difficult to date precisely, because we find them in liturgical books only from the tenth century onward.

Gastoué 1904, 37; Stäblein 1955, cols. 1299-1325.

The hagiographical and historical background of this *historia* is very complex, involving the infamous

Philologists and liturgists may be able to locate citations in hagiographical texts or chronicles.

Their melodic shape shows transitional features. On the one hand there are standard turns of phrase of the protus mode,<sup>34</sup> while in the Mont-Renaud manuscript we find neumes for their verses which clearly indicate more variable, ornamented formulas than the standard Gregorian tones. They are placed as the final responsory of Matins, which may be related to their melodic behaviour and indicate later composition – though not too late, in view of the *terminus ante quem* of ca. 950 set by the Mont-Renaud manuscript and the wide distribution of manuscripts (Worcester, Noyon, Soissons ...). The modal language revolves around a pentachord (D-a) and the adjoining tetrachord (a-d), with the lower tetrachord (A-D). Their neumas display internal repetitions (*aab*, *abb*), often coupled to a prosula.<sup>35</sup>

Example 5. Antiphon *Ablactatus igitur* for Remigius  
CHA: F-Pn lat. 1269; REM 1: I-VCd 205

CHA, 356  
REM 1, 136v

Ablac-ta tus i-gi-tur sanc-tus pu-er Re-mi-gi-us lac-te ma-tris o-cu-los su-i  
va-tus ip-sa obste-tri-can-te per-ungens \*Et lu-men il-li  
gra-ti-a di-vi-na res-ti-tu-it. V. An-te-quam per-e-ta-tem  
corpo-ris sci-ret vo-ca-re patrem atque matrem di-vi-no mu-ne-re vir-tu-tes o-pe-ta-tus est si-cut  
su-us pre-nun-ti-a-tor pre-di-xe-rat.

Much work remains to be done in analysing the melodies of these early offices, in particular in distinguishing ‘classical Gregorian’ elements, attributable to the Frankish adoption of Roman models, from relics of earlier musical strata. Two final examples may be cited. *Ablactatus igitur* is the second responsory of the Remigius office (Goudesenne 2002a, [89]). Although its classical materials

are not all handled in the traditional manner (the second part of the verse repeats the former responsory phrase), we cannot see any very unusual structure compared with Gregorian standard models. We nevertheless observe the frequent use of the 'Gallican' ending fg-g, even in the intonation (see Example 5.) *Ablactatus igitur* is transmitted only sparsely in diastematic sources, in the breviary of Châlons (F-Pn lat. 1269), in F-AN 12, and in a few later books such as an antiphoner from Florennes (Belgium) as late as 1743 (Goudesenne 1997). While we may consider it to be a late Franco-Roman responsory from the end of the ninth century, it is curious that it is not found in more sources.

In the *Historia Sancti Mauri* we again find contradictory elements which arouse the suspicion that we are dealing with several stages in musical composition (Goudesenne 2012, 212ff.). These are just a few of the many questions facing future historia scholarship, as the early development of the genre not only in West Francia but across the rest of Europe is analysed in more detail.

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## The seven historiae for the medieval cathedral of Trier: a conservative point of view

This paper discusses the liturgical chants written in honour of the saints of Trier – believed to be the seat of the oldest bishopric north of the Alps. Liturgical books from the bishopric contain a wealth of offices for local saints. No less than seventeen historiae are known from the diocese so far, of which seven were composed for the use of the cathedral itself. In the following survey of the offices composed for the cathedral liturgy I explain their unique connection to the city of Trier, and then suggest a hypothetical timeline for these historiae, supported by evidence from the analysis of the text and musical style of each cycle. Historical information about the liturgical veneration of each saint and the survival of some early sources are taken into account.

The starting point for my recent dissertation,<sup>1</sup> on which this paper is based, was the antiphoner Trier, Bistumsarchiv (D-TRb) MS 480. This source, the oldest surviving witness with staff notation of the liturgical chant repertory of Trier Cathedral, dates to the middle of the fourteenth century.

The seven local saints' offices in D-TRb 480 are as follows, listed in calendric order

- Matthias, the apostle who took the place of Judas Iscariot (24 February);
- Maximinus, fifth Bishop of Trier (29 May);
- Simeon, hermit, who towards the end of his life settled in Trier (1 June);
- Helena, mother of Constantine the Great (18 August);
- Paulinus, sixth Bishop of Trier (31 August);
- Maternus, third Bishop of Trier (14 September);
- Eucharius, first Bishop of Trier (9 December).

Such a high number of local offices in the liturgical veneration of Trier Cathedral, as also the plentiful evidence of local chant composition in the rest of the diocese (nine more were studied in my dissertation), is impressive. The historiae clearly deserved transcription and analysis. The main part of this paper discusses their stylistic features, then some early fragmentary sources are introduced, before conclusions about the chronology of the offices are offered.