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“ Did The Carolingians Achieve the Cantus Renovatio Before 814? The Improbable Notated Antiphoner of Charlemagne ” in Michael Embach, Claudine Moulin & Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, Die Handschriften der Hofschule Kaiser Karls des Grossen, Actes du Colloque de Trèves, 10-12 oct. 2018, Trier, Geschichte & Kultur, 2019, p. 441-469.

Jean-François Goudesenne

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*Die Handschriften der Hofschule
Kaiser Karls des Großen*

Individuelle Gestalt und europäisches Kulturerbe

Ergebnisse der Trierer Tagung vom 10.–12. Oktober 2018

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Herausgegeben von

Michael EMBACH, Claudine MOULIN
und Harald WOLTER-VON DEM KNESEBECK

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DID THE CAROLINGIANS ACHIEVE THE *CANTUS RENOVATIO* BEFORE 814? THE IMPROBABLE *NOTATED ANTIPHONER* *OF CHARLEMAGNE*

Jean-François GOUDESSENNE

Carolus praesul meritis et nomine dignus ...

Charlemagne's figure is largely presented in historiography as the main leader of the so called Renaissance or *renovatio*, which bears his name and will only have a corresponding level with the humanistic Renaissance in the 15th c. – that fact, too famously and systematically mentioned in history of music or liturgy, imposes itself as a *topos*. After the Reform in the 15th century. and the french *Révolution* disorders, Roman Church took obviously interest in valorizing its own unity: thus church intellectual leaders repeated or reinforced that ,antiphon' of a liturgical chant, symbolically called «gregorian», living and sensible allegory of a large Christian and European unity, founded on fatherly figures as Gregory or Carolus, which I will associate to that diverted quotation *Carolus praesul meritis et nomine dingus ...*, borrowed to John the Deacon (825–880) and liturgical poets around 900.¹

The cantors of that founding narrative developed the same historical mythification strategy as their successors, famous hagiographers around John the Deacon, inventors of the Gregory icon and myth of the holy apostle of the Roman chant tradition (ill. 1–2), mainly picked up again during the 14th century Roman Church restoration in Western Europe. Charlemagne then became that legendary icon of the Emperor unifying liturgy

1 HILEY 1993, p. 506–509.



Ill. 1: Gregory & the dove's myth: *Magister Registrum Gregorii*, Lorsch Sakramentar, Trier, ca 990.



Ill. 2: Gregory & the dove's myth: Hartker Antiphonar, St Gallen ca 1030, St Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 390-391.

and chant inflated in the Vatican printed books, mixing medieval cultural backgrounds with modern ecclesiological issues, favorable to the Roman centralism.² The climax of that ideology could be situated between Lambillotte's works (1852) and the hypothetical „Charlemagne's antiphony“ defended by the Princeton professor Kenneth Levy (1987).³ From the beginning of my own studies up to the issue of my recent book, I heavily carried this historiographical heritage, when I confronted it with the reality of sources and musical written texts among hundreds of manuscripts, notated with neumes and staff notations, mainly between 870 and the mid 14th century.

Considering these narratives about liturgical reform and romanisation, obviously involving the Carolingian Courtschool, I will begin to focus on few small iconographic details, questioning me about chronology and typology of such miniatures, magnifying afterwards that Carolingian *Renovatio*, few decades later, even more one or two centuries. Let me cite again the constructive point of view of Prof. Rosamond Mc Kitterick towards Levy's „Antiphoner of Charlemagne“: „much of [...] interpretation on the part of early medieval musicologists is weakened by insufficient attention to the non-musical historical background. [...] Harmony and diversity, as well as unity, indeed have been constant themes [...] of Carolingian political and cultural life. [...] For musicologists, there is scope for creative and necessarily speculative interpretation [about Gregorian chant origins]“.⁴

This paper doesn't focus on the paleographic types of neumes which spread over mainly after 870 (far from Charlemagne's times) and even later in the mid-tenth century.⁵ However, our purpose is to examine precisely some Chant books which have been written in the same famous spaces involved by the Carolingian *renovatio* (Tours, Prüm, Trier, Corbie, Metz, Saint-Denis and Saint-Gall) in the two centuries following the first Carolingian Renaissance; Some centers are directly concerned, which created several manuscripts illustrated in this Conference: Saint-Riquier, Soissons, Noyon, Corbie, Tours, Arras, Saint-Amand... Three major points are crossing our present researches:

1. The power of books, symbol of controlled transmission, when writing challenges orality. Patrimonial libraries keep precious books which indicates a clearly climax around 800–850, surely linked with the Carolingian reform, imposing to priests and monks the use of books to normalize practices and texts in liturgy. Recent researches then show how writing fixation can cross oral usages and numerous discrepancies (for ex. in the texts of the psalter), revealing a combination or interferences between orality and writing.⁶
2. Music and notation, mostly invoked in music history as an exceptional phenomenon, comparable to the „greek miracle“ of alypian notations in the third century

2 GOUDESSENNE 2018, p. 36f.

3 LEVY 1987 and published again in the *Variorum* (LEVY 1988) [review: SAULNIER 1999, p. 185–194; MC KITTERICK 2000, p. 279–291].

4 R. MC KITTERICK about K. Levy (MC KITTERICK 2000, p. 281, 282, 284.

5 Then we can justify the evidence that there never was any possibility of a complete fixed notated book before 900.

6 CULLIN 2007, p. 87–98.



Ill. 3: *Hadrianum Sacramentary of Hildeard, ca 811, Cambrai, Bibl. mun. 164.*

before Christ. The famous „neumes“, involving yet new researches, as will bring here a distinguished member honoring our meeting, with her new book, *Writing Sounds*.⁷ We only wish not to infirm all these results, but to brush a more interdisciplinary overview in musical paleography, which is not completely independent from other fields in culture and historical sciences.

3. Text and transmission possibility in glosses and comments, principles of self-appropriating traditions, linked to the concept of «*acculturation*» can help to establish new ways in looking forward about new methodologies in philology, newly adapted to the written-oral context. That point seems to be the major in which academic approaches had to be promoted to hoist musicological practices on the ways of new philology, the last discipline following history, anthropology and linguistics since the mid-1970's.

1. Deconstructing the Making of a Carolingian myth

From several historians and philologists specialized in cultural history of high Middle Ages as Michel Sot, Philippe Depreux, Yitzhak Hen or the previous Rosamond Mc Kitterick, slowly emerged that idea of an alternative sight about the imposition of a strict centralised view about the Carolingian Reform and the real application of the *Admonitio generalis* directives, when the hypothetical notated antiphonary of Charlemagne by Levy looked as a forced interpretation of that evidence.⁸

From the posthumous Hourlier's *Credo* to the Levy's *Caroli magni Antiphoner* (1980–1990)

That strange hypothesis of the existence of a notated antiphoner going back to Charlemagne's times was defended as soon as 1987 by Professor Kenneth Levy of Princeton.⁹ It was quickly criticized by the medieval philologist and historian Rosamond Mc Kitterick, as well as musicologists;¹⁰ it rapidly looked like a chronological error, trans-

7 By the later notated books with neumes indexed by Susan Rankin on the basis of Bischoff works, we can have a large and real sight among the cultural itineraries which cross the main Frankish and Imperial spaces between Lotharingia, Neustria, Alemannia and Aquitaine: Susan RANKIN: *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation*. Cambridge, issued at the same time of this Trier Conference, november 2018.

8 HONRBY 2004.

9 See note 3.

10 SAULNIER 1999, p. 185–194.

posing in a more ‚modern‘ context such as the Trento *Concilium*, cultural realities from high Middle Ages, very far from printed books, which could effectively impose new ecclesiastical doctrines and liturgical directives in the 16th to 17th centuries. Such a posture encounters also in other studies, notably the posthumous article published by Daniel Saulnier in 1995,¹¹ opening to the Gregorian chant community a finally too old paper, written in 1957, which has not been renovated by researches in the new philology, which rose around 1970–80 in Europe and America.

When I was student, I was fully used with these neo-lachmanian practices, more or less linked to some schools, not only with Solesmes,¹² but a very large and influent positivistic philology, hugely promoted by the philological practices in the 19th century. After 15 years of practice with chant manuscript sources and their transmission, I could finally theorise new ways for crossing such an heritage. The main problem, I think, is to adapt one’s thought to specific *media* of these times as well as understanding accurately the texts transmission schemas. How much time and carefulness is necessary for constructing alternative hypotheses, finally leading to a complete ‚new history‘ of Gregorian chant¹³!

2. New ways in philology

Searching the ‚authentic‘ exemplary of the *Sacramentarium* or the *Antiphonarium sancti Gregorii aut Caroli* surely obsessed, even unconsciously, numerous generations of scholars: more than one century after Lambillotte (1852),¹⁴ the focus on very important centers, notably from Alemany, quite rather far from a geographic point of view from the major centers of the Carolingian renaissances, didn’t dispensed me to observe what happened for transmission of musical notated repertoires, in not always studied ‚central‘ places, partly and curiously abandoned by gregorian studies, probably because their later chronology.

Works upon Sacramentaries (1950–1990)

Several researches and works by liturgists after Cyril Vogel as soon as 60’s,¹⁵ underlined incoherencies for different results in musicological studies, mainly issued from Solesmes theories, driven in a pseudo-scientific way, notably with a lachmanian dogmatic

11 HOURLIER 1995, p. 145–163.

12 BERGERON 1998.

13 HUCKE 1980.

14 For ex. the *Hadrianum* (exemplary in Cambrai’s Library 164, ill. 3).

15 VOGEL 1979, p. 15–41.

posture concerning 1. Authorship 2. Nature of texts 3. Dialectical approach of Writing against Orality.

Soon after the issue of the *CAO* by Hesbert,¹⁶ the works of Antoine Chavasse and Jean Deshusses gave us indirectly new ways in musical inquiries about reconstructing stratas and chronologies of layers in Gregorian chant corpus from seventh to the ninth century.¹⁷ Their thought about liturgical reform can be condensed in this quote : „That production and this widespreading of [sacramentaries] didn't receive any official nor normative considerations. The ordinary Romans' genius was then compatible with a certain liturgical plurality. Another genius succeeded when they need to organise Angles as well as reorganise frankish lands. One tradition overlapped others [...]. We don't have to judge, but only to understand, sparing anachronicisms and hunting ready-made ideas which sometimes live secretly in our historian mind“.¹⁸

Firstly, all these works showed that author's attribution does not often give us any better comprehension of the transmission text phenomenon, overall when we know that in Middle Ages, attributions were involved in an only legitimacy purpose, to justify a change, a reform, a local use or generalizing changes at a larger scale. When we know the incredible number of false charts and diplomas in archives, we can't ignore that sometimes in rubrics or texts themselves, symbolic or false attribution with authors' names can obviously not be literally understood.

Secondly, the nature of texts has also to be completely reevaluated, especially for liturgical texts, which radically differs from classical authors text, more corresponding to small units of improvised prayers then fixed by script. Ceremonies present collections of small units, relatively independent from each other, like centos or mosaic creations. In that way, overall when chants and lectures are only given by their incipit on a list (ordines, tonaries, tables of graduals or antiphonaries), we should not be surprised to find different layers of texts, corresponding to distinct historical phases, as well as in architecture¹⁹ when archeologists or art historians analyze a cathedral, whose crypt includes pre-carolingian foundations, the nave pre-roman pillars and the choir was rebuilt in gothic style. The texts that have to be performed in liturgy show mainly interchangeable drawer-units in their formularies and we don't have to fear to deal with them as materials, differently from untouchable sacred texts, a concept very far to the medieval approach which always favoured glosses and commentaries rather than exact copies.

The unified sacramentary doesn't at all reveal the existence of former or local stratas, attributing (substituting) in the formulary a „roman“ psalmic text, very standard. In this case, „normalization“ doesn't have any direct link with archeological aspects or with stratas with elder roots. Considerations about an ‚authenticus‘ has been relativized by

16 *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*,

17 CHAVASSE 1984, p. p. 15–55. CHAVASSE 1989, p. p. 177–255.

18 CHAVASSE 1982, p. 92. DESHUSSES 1992.

19 For ex. the famous Gradual-table from Elnone, the only one older source subsisting from that famous monastery, before XI–XIIth c., see ill. 13) ; later, another one from Nevers, linked with Elnone at the time of Huclabd, for the Office, see ill. 14).

liturgists and philologists for a long time, more than by musicologists, who sometimes remained under the illusory dream for unity and standard lachmanian philological point of view. They probably ignored yet for a long time such clear positions as these one by Joseph Décréaux and Victor Saxer: „Neither Charlemagne, nor Alcuin had in mind a technical plan to reform frankish liturgy, neither [pope] Hadrian when he thought to renove cult in West“.²⁰

Eulogy of variants at invariability dogma's expense (*cantus*)

The results of the major solesmian Masterworks as the *Graduel Critique* by Dom Froger²¹ or the *CAO* by Dom Hesbert²² reinforced the hypothetical idea of a firmly fixed bulk of chant in the sixth and seventh centuries, which could not have been transformed nor evolved up to the ninth century in the first great notated books: the dogma of invariability of chant, largely elaborated at the beginning of the french Benedictine works after Dom Guéranger, then the founders of *Paléographie musicale* up to 1930 with Dom Gajard, up to Froger and Hesbert times, *i. e.* near the end of the previous century.²³ Otherwise, when elaborating huge and deep critical editions in different corpus (Mass feast, Office, *historiae*, even tropes or sequences), we often remark, as made historians and philologist in liturgical texts from sacramentaries or office books, that text variability can be observed at mean at three different levels for text itself and music in melodies:

Ex. I. The formulary and its content (feast) can show different orders or encountering few modifications in one or two pieces, which can be substituted by other ones

Ex. St-Stephen Feast: formulary and its content

	Major group of mss.	Alternatives in other manuscripts
Introit	Et enim sederunt	
Graduale	Sederunt Principes	
Alleluia	Video caelos apertos	+ Addendum novas cantilenas
Offerenda	Elegerunt Apostoli	In virtute
	Verse 1 Positis autem	Vitam petiit
	Verse 2 Surrexerunt	Magna est gloria
	Verse 3 Viderunt	
Communio	Video caelos apertos	

20 DÉCRÉAUX/SAXER 1985, vol. 1, p. 208.

21 FROGER 1978.

22 FROGER 1979/80.

23 See GY 1979, p. 296–299.

2. Textual variants are numerous and far from showing only grammatical problematics, but illustrating a lot of typologies (phonetic alterations, synonymes, syntax, lexicography, topography and so on).²⁴ The following examples give an idea of what we could multiply by many dozens of other, not only in the Office, but also in the more stable Mass repertories.

Ex. 2. Textual variants

Responsorium. Vidi speciosam (CAO 7878)

West-Frankish : (...) sicut columbam ascendentem desuper rivos aquarum

East-Frankish : (...) sicut columbam descendentem desuper rivos aquarum

Introitus. Gaudete in domino

(...) apud deum

(...) apud dominum

3. Musical variants show the same numerous typologies,²⁵ that cannot only be understood as defaults or errors by scribes but revealing a lot of transmission phenomenons. As Bernard Cerquiglini explains with eloquence after many other predecessors, variant is constitutive in the writing thought in early medieval times, even more later.²⁶ Let us illustrate with the famous beginning of the liturgical year, the introitus *Ad te levavi* for the first Sunday in Advent, as we can sometimes read in the artistic paintings or ivory sculptures from tenth to ninth century (ill. 4). Hundreds of manuscripts all over Europe can be classified with these three distinct intonations :

Ex. 3 Intonation of *Ad te levavi*



And it seems very probable that the composition of the new antiphon/trope in introduction of the old venerable introit from sixth and seventh century occurred changes in the intonation:

Version initiale



Version remaniée, sous l'influence probable des tropes



24 BERNARD 1995.

25 HUGHES 2010; HUGHES 1993; SAULNIER 2010.

26 CERQUIGLINI 1990, p. 1110–1112.

Here is one of the major melodic variants in a melism in the Offertory *Emitte spiritum*, partly corresponding with the Old-Roman version:

Ex. 5 Melism variant in Of. *Emitte spiritum*

GI 250-251



... et cre - a - bun - tur, et re - no - va - bis...



Types Neustrien, Italique "ancien"

Another case of distributing the same gradual in the first Sunday in Lent, *Angelis suis*, in two different tones, to most represented in *protus plagal* (second) but sometimes given with a more flourished melody in the deuterus (third), which could be relevant from an previous gallican-frankish strata:

Ex. 6 Gr. *Angelis suis* in two different tonal systems

Coc 3, f. 74

An - ge - lis su - is (...) tu - is V/ In ma - ni - bus...

Pic. f. 75

Noy 2, f. 28v

n - ge - lis su - is (...) tu - is. V/ In ma - ni - bus...

GI 72

Textual and musical sources

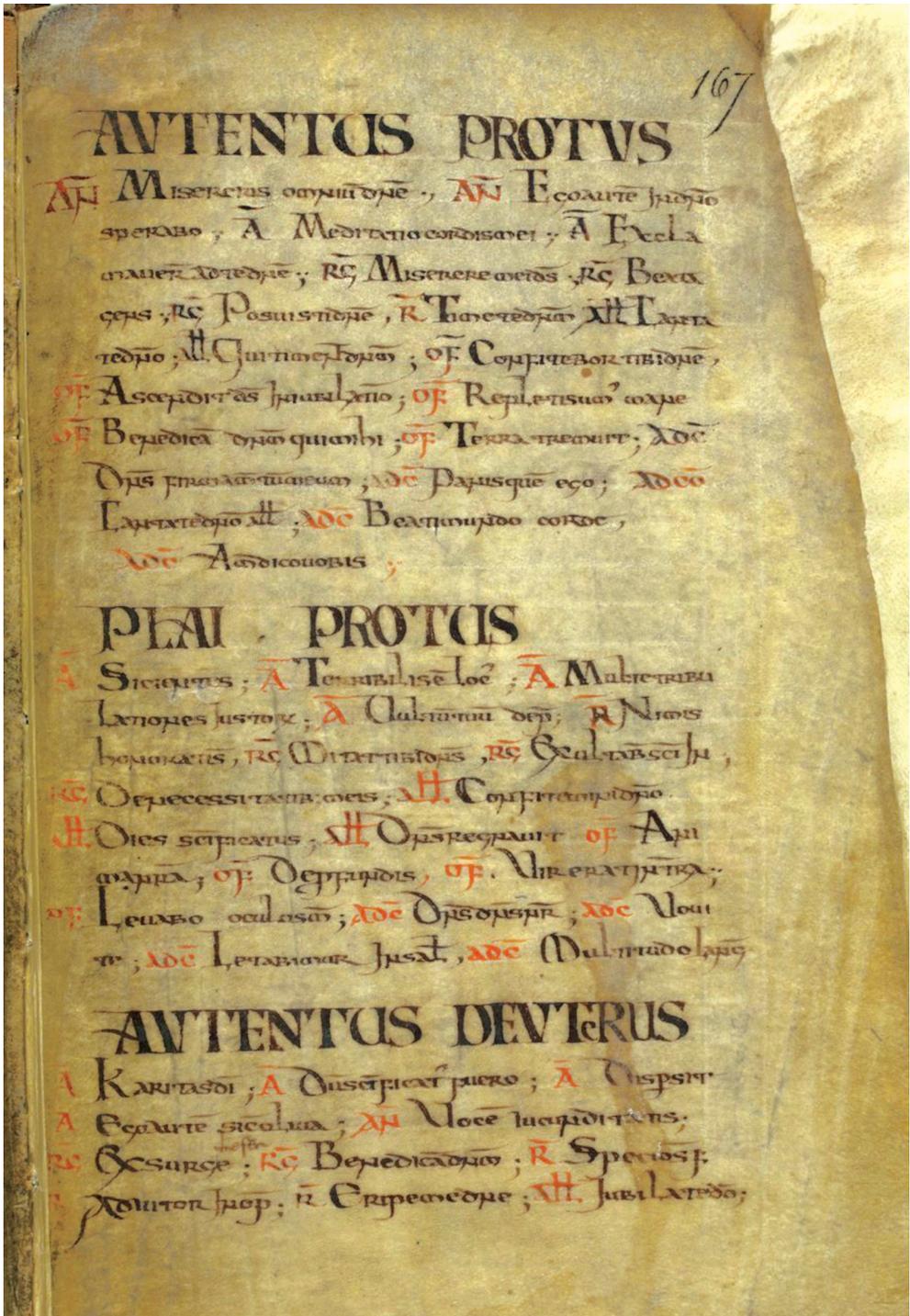
The Carolingian tonary and tone stability (800–1030)

Michel Huglo hugely studied the most convenient book typology, exactly corresponding to the Carolingian realm; before the gradual nor the antiphony and decades before neumes invention,²⁷ the first testimony to study the concrete musical impacts of the first Carolingian Renaissance: the *tonary*. The oldest tonaries involve several high cultural and political centers from the Carolingian Court School as for example that Charlemagne's

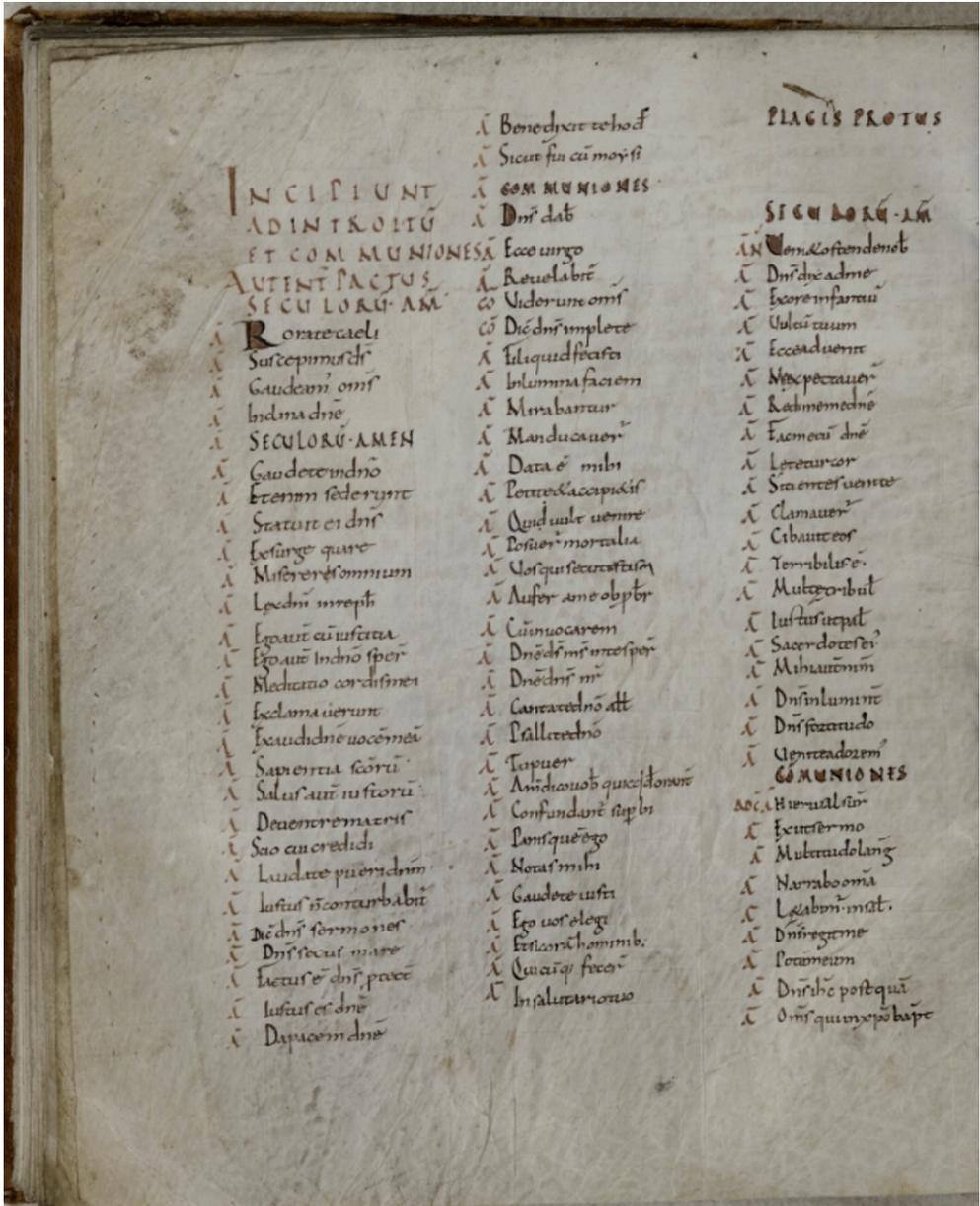
²⁷ We know that it is very difficult to appreciate musical indications by Amalarius of Metz's works, because before 830, books did not yet receive fully notated books.



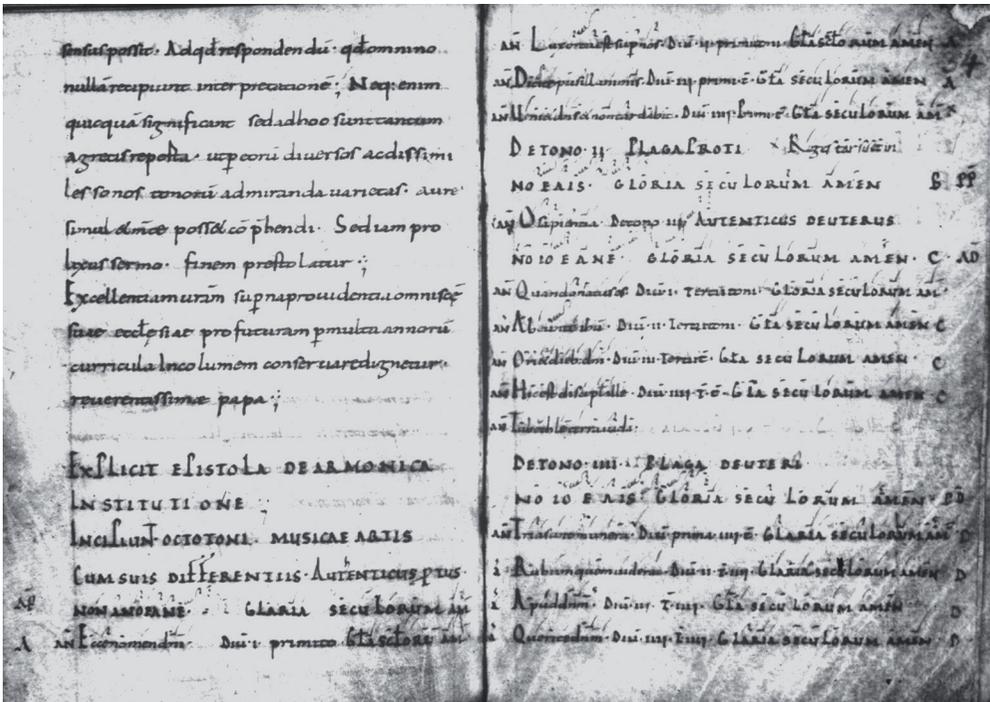
Ill. 4: Lotharingian Ivory, Gregorius and the dove, Xth c. ? Wien, National Museum.



Ill. 5: Tonary of Centula (St-Riquier), ca 800, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 13159, f. 167.



Ill. 6: Tonary of Metz, Metz, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 351, f. 66v.



Ill. 7. Table of antiphoner from Prüm (Regino), Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 169, f. 34v.

psalter of Centula (Saint-Riquier), written just before 800 (ill. 5);²⁸ another one from the time of Drogon in Metz (826–855) (ill. 6)²⁹ and a little bit later the famous one attributed to Regino of Prüm, containing some chants of the gradual and overall an antiphoner's table with Mosan neumes in contact with Irish scribes (ca 900) (ill. 7).³⁰

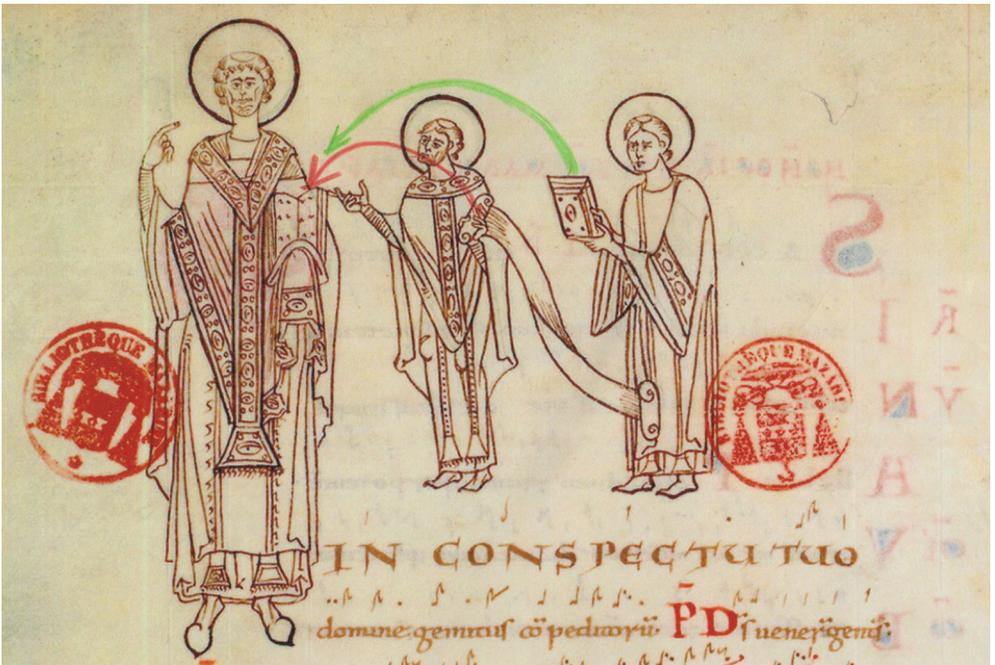
New look about cultural *media* between 800–950 Open book typologies (lists, *libelli*, fragments ...)

These more or less important discrepancies about tone attribution for each chant in different typologies (introit, gradual, alleluia, communion, tract, diverse antiphons and versus) that we encounter in these books (ill. 8), even in quite later sources from the tenth to eleventh century, thus invite us to take more care and develop more reflections about cultural media and material tools of that period (780–900), to whom one attributes too largely the question of neumatic notations, which flourished at least in a second,

28 BnF lat. 13159, see HUGLO 1971, p. 25 f.

29 Ibid., p. 29 f.

30 Leipzig, Univ. Bibl. Rep. I 93 or ms. 169.



Ill. 8. Libellus, book and rotulus in carolingian and roman miniatures, Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 233, f. 8 ; Gradual of St-Denis, Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 384, f. 117v.

either a third historical phase.³¹ By that way, we can reconsider the widespread of chant repertories only with these chant lists in the eighth and ninth century – without or not the tonary, nor fully notated chant books. It must have been very easy that way, to unify liturgical practices, overall for the Mass. In this context, it looks for me too ingenuous from a philological point de view, to proceed with removals or substractions into later books from the tenth and eleventh century, to restore a former state of chant corpus, as we can see in *CAO*, even in *AMS*.

Here are two examples: the first one, well known thanks to Levy and Steiner works, the Offertory For St. Stephen, *Elegerunt apostoli*, directly taken from the *Acta* and not psalms or purely scriptural texts (ill. 9). It seems curious to find in a famous old missal from Compiègne or Picardy with a single paleofrankish notation in neumes a very single version of the Offertory for St-Stephen, *Elegerunt apostoli*, which does not correspond at all with different versions found in sources, but only with the single Arras version, probably later, from the end of the tenth century, from St-Vaast's abbey, close to Charles le Chauve's influence.³² An important example of changes in melodic materials which are difficult to track in non-notated liturgical books.

Here is another example, lesser well known, with this Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus*. A melodic type hugely repeated in the Christmas liturgical period.³³ A first melodic tradition, parallel to the so-called „Gregorian“ is hold by a greek-latin version (*Ymera agias meni*, ill. 10),³⁴ imitating a byzantine model, according to Egon Wellesz, notably a stroph taken from an *hirmos* from the *Kontakion*, exactly corresponding to the syriac *Ris-qolo*.³⁵ That relatively rare version found all over the whole Empire in a dozen of tenth and eleventh centuries sources, was progressively erased; perhaps it didn't occur a universal or systematic diffusion when the standard ‚Gregorian‘ on e – perhaps deriving from it – overlapped it.³⁶

Nevertheless, the normalized *ordo* (as we read in *AMS*) does not give any idea of that acculturation phenomena, probably relevant from the eighth to the ninth century, as Michel Huglo showed concerning the repertories of the antiphoner.³⁷ We need to look for informations in later sources and to practice comparative analysis, with other non-Roman traditions. These two examples could also reveal invisible borrowings to former heritages (Byzantine, Merovingian, non-Roman liturgies...). The origins and hypotexts of such unities written by compilers were out of sight and not an archeological nor philological concern! Thus, we quickly encounter narrow limits when we think that only elder sources will preciously bring enough elements for historiography, liturgical and musicological analysis.

31 GOUDESSENNE 2018, t. II, p. 385.

32 Ibid., p. 117.

33 BROU 1938, p. 170–175, BROU (1939), p. 1–8, 81–89, 202–213.

34 SCHLAGER 1965, Th K 23.

35 WELLESZ 1947, p. 38.

36 Ibid., p. 40 ; HUGHES 1998; HUGHES 2005.

37 HUGLO 1979.

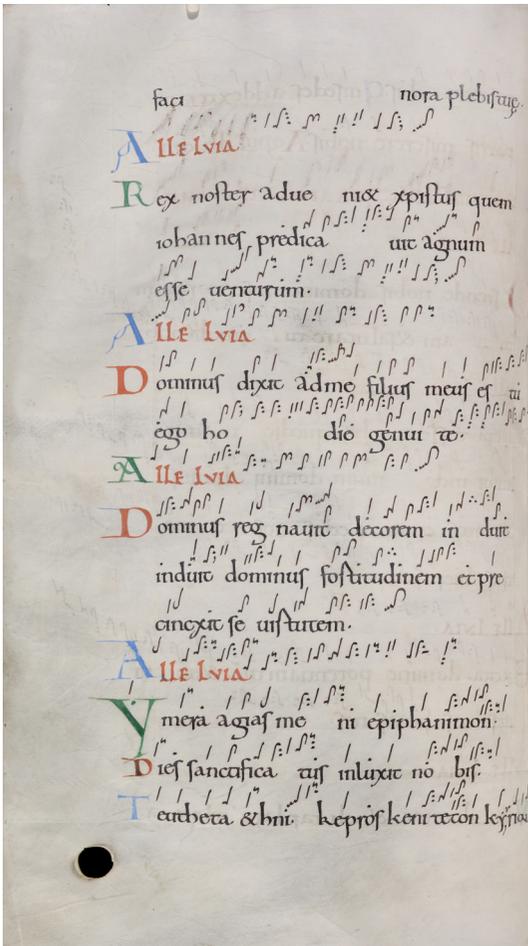
vobis uenient heroma sup generati
 one ista. Hierusale. hierusale que
 occidisti phas. & lapidast eos. qui ad te
 missi sunt. Quociens uolui congrega
 re filios tuos. que amodo dum gallina con
 gregat pullos suos sub alas. & noluit.
 Ecce relinquetur uobis domus de
 serta. Dico enim uobis non me uidebi
 us amodo. donec dicatis. Benedicite
 qui uenit in nomine dñi.
A *of* Elegerunt apostoli stephanu leuita plenu fide. & spu sco.
 que lapidauerunt iudei omnes. & dicebat dñe ihu xpe accipe
 spm meu.

Suscipe dñe munera *sup* *of* *sp* *meu* *all*.
 p tuoz comemoratione scoz. ut quod
 illis passio gloriosos. nos deuotio red
 dat innocuos. p **PRAEFATIO.**

Daccedis. Beati stephan leuita
 simul & marceris. nataliciare colen
 tes. qui fidei. q̄ sacre militie. q̄ dispen
 sationis. & castitatis egregie. qui pdi
 cationis. mirabilisq̄. constantis q̄ confes
 sionis. ac patientie nob exemplum uene
 randa pposuit. Et uideonatiuitate
 filitui merito p̄ ceteris passionis sue.
 festiuitate p̄sequitur. cuius gl̄ie sempi
 terno pr̄m̄. martir̄i occurrat. p̄ xpm.
Quid et hoc capite. si non ad dñe. si non ad dñe.

dñe ihu accipe spm meu. & ne statuas illis hoc peccatu
 quia nesciunt quid faciunt. **AD COMPI.**
Auxilient nobis dñe sumptam i ste
 ria. & int̄cedente beato stephanoma
 riteretio. sempiterna p̄tectione confir
Omp̄s sempit̄ne. **A** *uia* *men* *sp*
 ds. qui primitias martir̄i. uin beatide
 uite stephani sanguine. dedicasti.
 tribus q̄ sit p nob int̄cessor existat.
 qui p̄sueti am p̄secutorib. exorauit.
Ds qui nos unigeniti tui. **A** *uia*
 clem̄ter incarnatione redemisti.
 danobis *patrocinia* *continuata*
 tuoz scoz. quib. capere ualeam.
VIKLIAN NAT SCI IOHANNIS
A *In medio ecclesie. aperuit os eius. & dicit.*
& impleuit eum sp̄s sapientie. & int̄cessor est p̄ uos.
inducit eum. & d. Bonu e. confitebitur dño
Eccliam uadñe benigni iustit
 inluminata. doctrinis. addonap
 mat sempit̄na p̄ *in* *sp* *meu* *all*.
Quia met dñm facia. b̄na. &
 continens. e. iusticie. app̄h̄ndit
 si ob̄t̄. aut illi. quasin̄. honorifi
 cata. Et. quia illi. p̄ancunt. & int̄c̄.

Ill. 9. Offertory for St. Stephen, Elegerunt apostoli, Missal from Compiègne with paleofrankish neumes, Xlth c., Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17305, f. 14v.



Ill. 10. *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus/Ymera agias meni in the Winchester gradual, X-XIth c., Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 775, f. 76v.*

Chronology and steps of the Renovatio

When we deal with such phenomena in music and liturgy, spreading during centuries, it seems mostly important to us to be careful about chronological distortions and confusing stratas in repertories between different historical periods. Mc Kitterick insisted in her works about the Carolingian era to erase or to rebuild the memory of their predecessors: many facts and historic events or phenomena which could be relevant from previous periods as Barbarians, Roman or Merovingian could be, in the new narrative point of view, rewritten in a new sense, involving present Carolingian context, thus tidying up the precursors.³⁸ That present research already

known invites meanwhile to a better appreciation of the Carolingian renaissance. This one was probably not constructed from a breaking with elder usages, but a progressive cultural *renovatio*, step by step: I confirm my doubts toward that hypothesis of a breaking in 752 in the liturgical books when the pope Stephen came from Rome, or few decades later with the *Admonitio* confirming the liturgical use of Rome rather than local gallican practices.³⁹ Why music histories fell in the trap of that fact which does not escape to an ideological strategy when they present that reform as a cancellation of local Frankish usages, comparable to the later reform by the pope Alexander II (1061–1073) with the Hispanic rite, sometimes with a caricatural posture when Charlemagne is nearly presented in the suit of modern printers of the humanistic Renaissance. What we call unification needs to be understood in a specific cultural context, which is surely not the same as in modern or contemporary times...

38 MC KITTERICK 2004/2009.

39 VOGEL 1965.



Ill. 11. Sacramentaire de Charles-le-Chauve, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1141, f. 3.

Conclusion : *Carolus imperator in arborem ...*

Finding appropriate philological methods released from the imperial icon

Even surprising, Kenneth Levy's hypothesis of that pre-notated antiphony from Charlemagne's times, is unfortunately and obviously not a simple accident for scholarship and medievalists. It rather results from a symptomatic imbalance in the *background* of medieval & gregorian musicology, which before long, held a not favorable ground to create new research tools, more adapted to the *real* cultural context of the eighth and ninth centuries. Anyway, 45 years after Solange Corbin's death, whose studies did develop the study of older neumes in other fields than liturgical chant, for example concerning transmission of Latin Classical texts, when they were used as soon as 850–1050 to memorize poems by Virgil, Horace or Lucanus, whose metrical verses were learned with music in Carolingian schools.⁴⁰

The results of my works – begun more than 15 years ago – released among numerous sources in the Empire, a single network in Neustria, resisting and imposing itself against an Austrasian-Lotharingian block. An unknown „Neustrian type“ of Gregorian chant is establishing roots with North-Western areas, towards Anglo-Celtic centers⁴¹; then down to South-Eastern, towards Piedmont and Lombardy (map): thus, we confirm surely the reality of a double *stemma* in *cantus* genesis, with at least two branches, as you can understand in that book cover, borrowed to a splendid Carolingian miniature painting two scribes copying a same model given by Gregory-the-Great – painted under the facial features of Carolus Calvus (ill. 11)⁴²; the left one for Neustria or approximatively Western Francia; the other one to the right for East and Germano-alemanic areas. This scheme of transmission illustrates with nuances the catalytic role of the Carolingian power; we could cite the famous Europe slogan *Unitas in diversitas* by reclaiming the concept of acculturation, opposed to a more essentialist and top fixist conception of cultural and artistic patrimonies. My works seriously close the doubts expressed from Stäblein and Hücke for the possibility of a Frankish origin about Gregorian Chant, and secondly, after Daniel Saulnier's hypotheses in 1996, clearly confirm that double stemma separating western Frankish centers from Germano-Alemanic ones, that Andreas Pfisterer did not want to recognize, up to 2006.

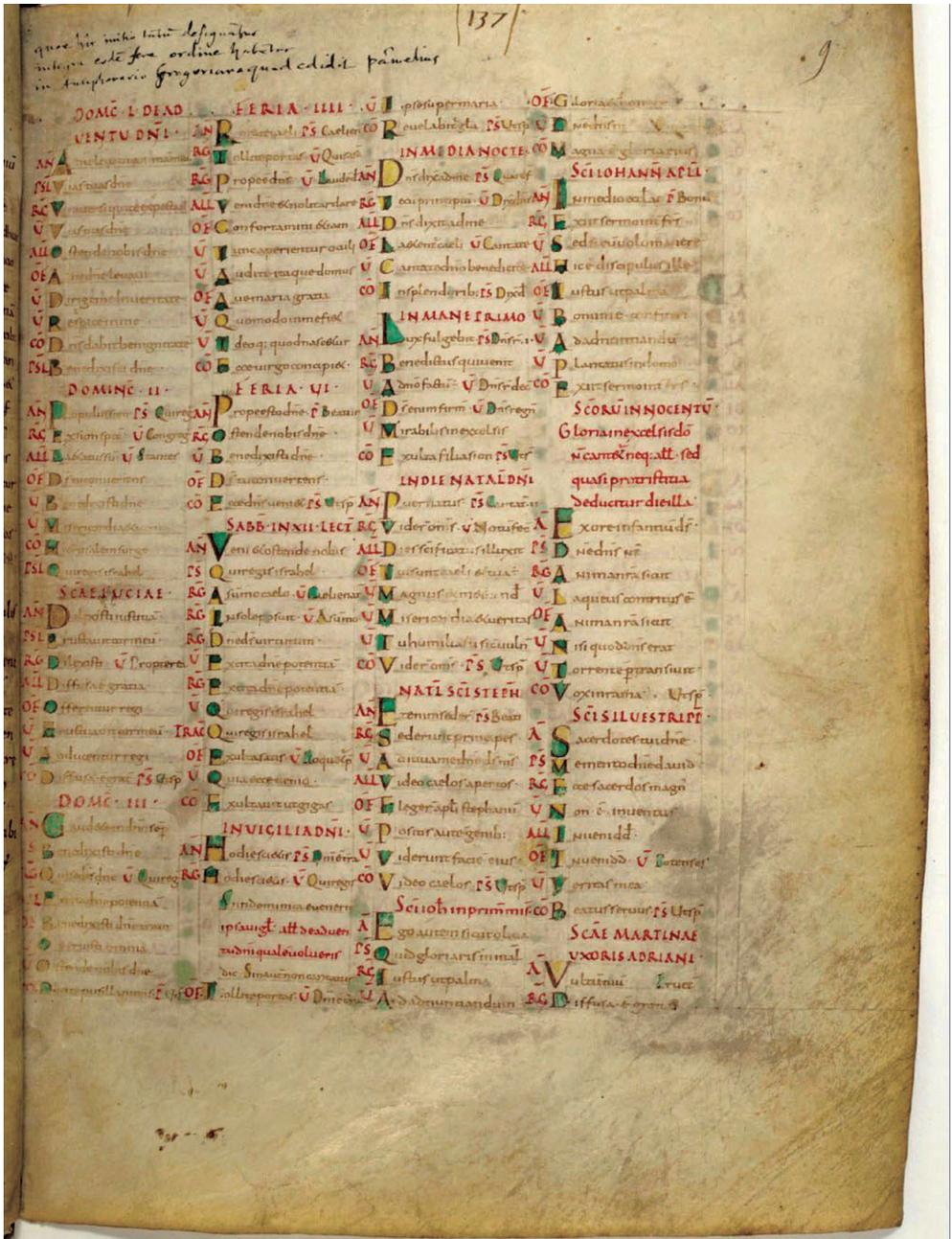
40 Denise Jourdan-Hemmerdinger studied them with Solange Corbin, *RIOU* 1993/1996, p. 2198–2209.

41 *AT SMA* 1989.

42 Cover of my recent book *Émergences du chant grégorien*, Turnhout 2018, taken from Charles the Bald's Sacramentary, BnF lat. 1141.



Ill. 12. Evangeliary from St-Riquier, Abbeville, Bibliothèque municipale 4, f. 18.



Ill. 13. Table of Gradual from St-Amand (Elnone), ca 900, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2291, f. 9.



Ill. 14. Antiphoner table from Nevers, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1708, f. 75.

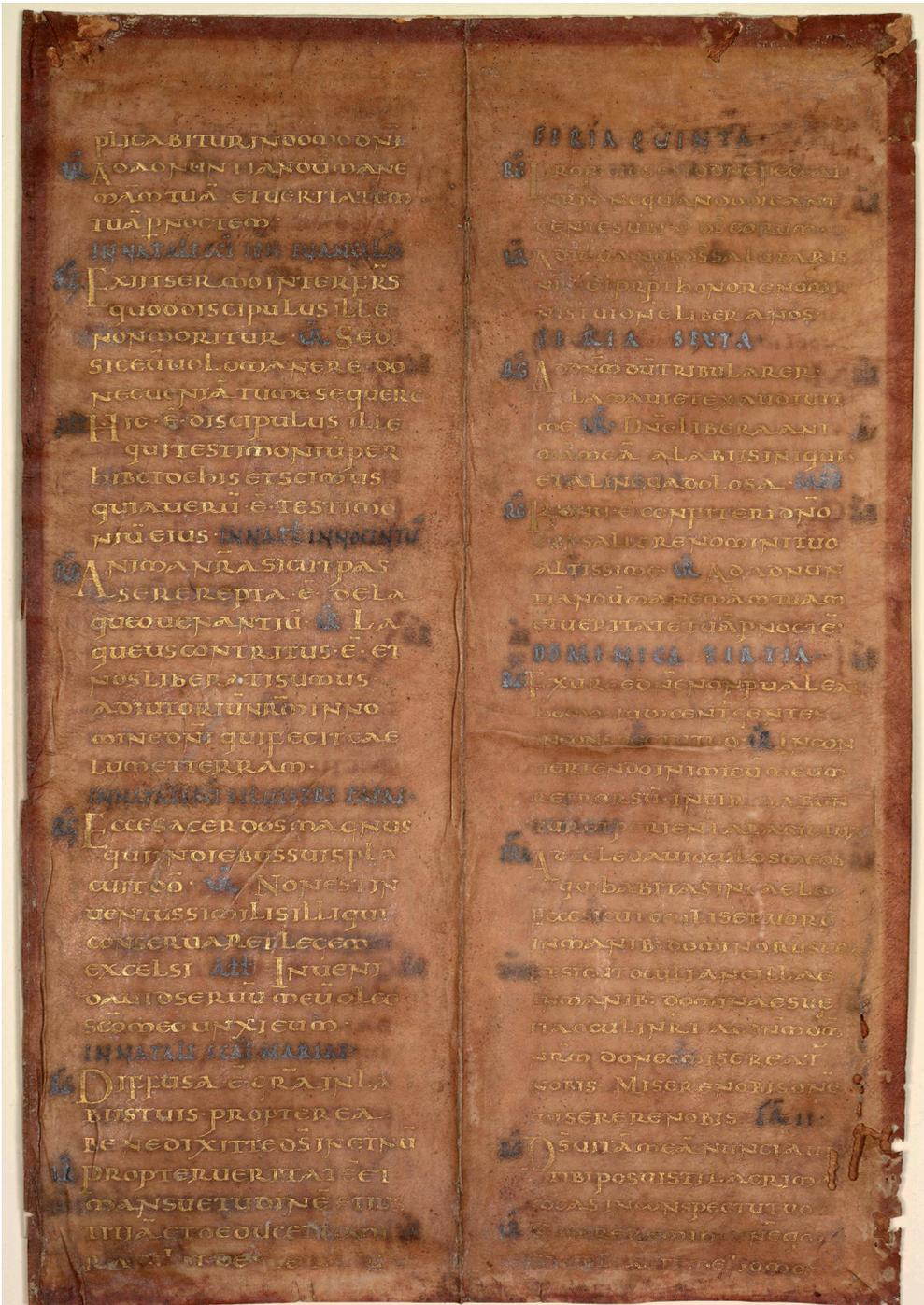
Flexibility of artistic, literary and musical corpus during the 1st millenium: Jesse's Tree

Kindly aslept in the first branches of the Jesse's Tree (ill. 12), the two main Carolingian kings *Carolus magnus* and *Ludovicus the pius*, following their ancestor *Pippinus*, really built foundation stones of a large cultural edifice; but surely without going anymore to so much details in the liturgical texts and melodies, neither to interactions with romanisation processes, already begun several centuries before. Interactions again with older and local strata from liturgical traditions, mixed with roman ones at different levels.⁴³ Tonaries or *libelli*, then *codices*⁴⁴ showing chants lists mostly contributing to normalize cantoral practices, with help of fellows, gone to or returned from Rome, do effectively correspond to a cultural and material *medium*, which permitted a concrete implement of liturgical reforms⁵, overall after the Aachen Concile in 817.

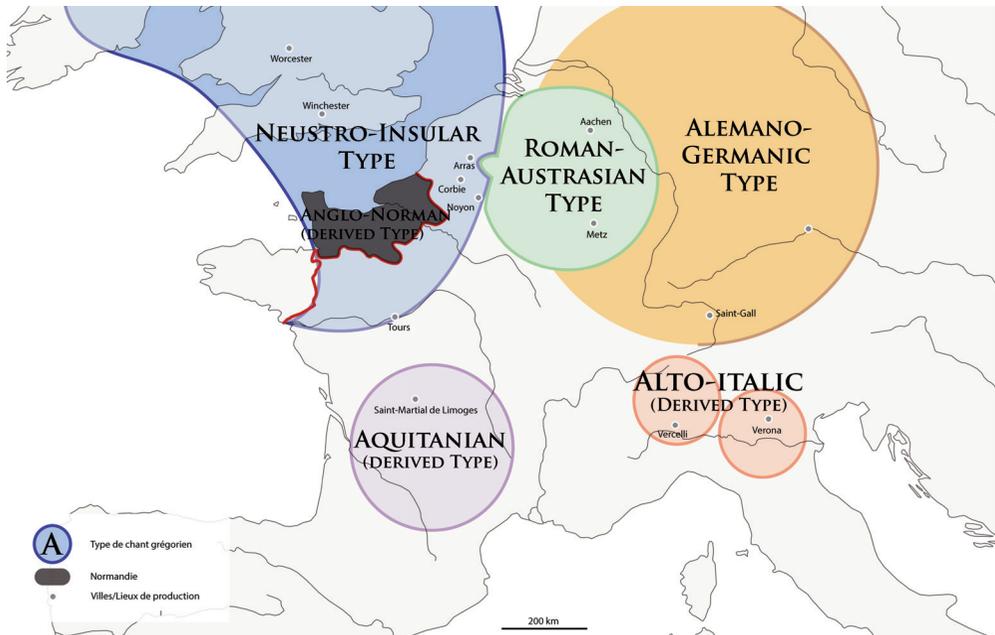
It seems nevertheless essential to claim today that prescriptions of the famous *Admonitio generalis*, mainly repeated in modern either contemporary historiography, as we can patiently read through a thick mattress of medieval manuscripts, were not always applied in books and practices. Indeed, textual sources are someway playing their return compa-

43 SMYTH 2000. HEN 2002. HEN 2001.

44 Some fragments of old books like a gradual found in Cleveland Museum give an idea of such non-notated books, see ill. 15.



Ill. 15. Gradual fragment from Northern-Est France, IXth c. ?



Ill. 16: *Map of Types in Gregorian Chant (VIIIth–Xth c.).*

red to narrative sources, over-estimated by historians in the 19th and 20th centuries : such notated books which don't at all belong to a corrupted transmission, but indeed bring true testimonies to culture and political limits; from a historical point of view, they are partly offering resistance to the imposition of new directives, because cultural tools and *media* at these times did not permit a concrete applying of them, particularly when they were confronted to the cantors memories. These protagonists of chant could absolutely not suddenly left the traditional forms in the liturgical practices they were practicing for several generations of cantors and scholars, as we encounter through local and specific repertoires or stratas, afterwards separated in different designations as franco-gallican, hispanic, ambrosian, old-beneventan – without missing the former stratas in Rome itself. Even with the first neumes appearing at the end of that golden age (towards 850), Carolingians seemed only to create tonaries and few collections of texts, in exegetics, hagiography, sciences and literature. One should be much more free from this excessive focus in musicological researches on musical paleography and overall the so called semiology 'cardinienne', provoking often amazement by historians and philologists. I think however the complete and whole book with neumes, mostly systematized, conceived as teaching practices complementary to oral traditions, to be very relevant to another cultural period, mainly away from the first Carolingian centuries between Pippin and Charles the Bald's death (750–877) with Charlemagne's coronation in Rome at the middle of 800.⁴⁵

45 See the major study about contributions by Carolingians to music, RANKIN 1994. RANKIN 1999.

As soon as the middle of the ninth century, Norman invasions occurred major structural changes to the Carolingian imperial project; saints' relics and their numerous movements disrupted the map of ecclesiastical networks; monastic and cathedral schools needed more than several decades to rebuild the 'Carolingia' edifice; Carolingians gave thus over the relay to other dynasties: the Empire and kingdoms in the second half of the tenth century seemed to be a descendant. I fear not to be sure that we could simply attribute all that cultural *renovatio* only to Carolingians, despite their leader position. Upstream, the Merovingian certainly played a preceding role in romanization and development of liturgical-musical forms & structures, new feasts; perhaps Byzantine debts sometimes went back to that large period, from Clovis to Charles Martel) as well as downstream. Surely admiring a such heritage, I plead for that half-empty glass than for the mid-full about evaluating the success and the concrete applying of Carolingian reforms in the musical forms about *cantus* as they appear in manuscript sources, which transmitted and enriched the models.⁴⁶ Distinguishing different chronological stratas, researching other terminologies (ottonian, anglo-norman, capetian ...) permits a more precise and functional interpretation to evaluate that fascinating founding period of the first Carolingian kingdoms.

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46 DEPREUX 2002/03.

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