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edited by

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Music, Text and Historical Context
of Medieval Saints' Offices**

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Jean-François Goudesenne (Orléans)

**Historiae from Alta Italia and their Frankish Models:
a Progressive "Romanisation" by the Carolingian Franks (750-950)**

Historical and liturgical context

Understanding the romanization of local liturgical repertoires in the Carolingian age has led us to turn towards Rome and the Old-Roman chant; thus, many studies provide opportunities for new approaches in musicological historiography and new types of investigation through the comparison of Old-Roman and Gregorian melodies. Nevertheless, the exploration of northern Italian sources opens many avenues for research, establishing more sophisticated views about the creation, transformation and transmission of important repertoires called *historiae*, a term well established since Jonsson's book in 1968.¹ Indeed, older *historiae* were first composed during the Carolingian romanisation (end of 8th-9th century) and later, around 900-950, appeared contemporaneously with the first entirely notated liturgical manuscripts.

The ecclesiastic Province of Milan (Vercelli, Novara, Ivrea, Pavia) and several dioceses in the Province of Aquileia (Como, Brescia or Verona) present many sources similar to the 11th century antiphoner from Ivrea included in the CAO (ms. E). This area long maintained the co-existence of several rites, most particularly the Ambrosian and, to a lesser degree, the ancient rites of Aquileia and of the old exarchate of Ravenna.² All these ancient rites had mutually important influences on the Gregorian or Romano-Frankish repertoires during the Carolingian unification of the liturgy. I was encouraged by the presence of some Ambrosian pieces in Gregorian Mass books dating from the 10th to 12th century from the areas of the Alpine Lakes towards the Padan Valley around Milan,³ to explore the Office, particularly the historical offices or *historiae*, which were composed from hagiographical texts in which historical and local elements are very important.

Since the cult of saints and hagiography departs from the normal division into rites and is not really dependent on institutional or liturgical reforms, it seems essential in this historical and geographical context to find common *historiae* between Ambrosian, Beneventan and Gregorian repertoires. We encounter these in the *historiae* related to the founders of dioceses (who were

¹ See Jonsson 1968, a book which can be completed with the article from Jacobsson/Haug 2001.

² See Baroffio 1978; Hiley 1993, 482-483, 585-586; Levy 2001.

³ See Huglo 1956, 111 (map).

often martyrs from late antiquity), around which very strategic points concerning political and religious culture are present. These points, which may be even more important than the liturgical unification of the Roman use, are: the collective memory of the city, the development and influence of metropolitan cities like Ravenna or Milan, the apostolical myth concerning some older saints such as St. Syrus (a symbolic disciple of Marcus linked to Hermagoras), and the cultural and political emancipation of small episcopal cities (*i.e.* Vercelli, Ivrea, Novara) in the 10th and 11th centuries which prefigured the emergence of future duchies and were very competitive in this area of medieval Europe.

If the more ancient of these *historiae* preserved important links between different rites, (*i.e.*, Ambrosian, Beneventan, Roman, Roman-Frankish) where they were maintained and coexisted like nowhere else in Europe in the 8th and 9th century, they would figure as an important and specific corpus for the unification promoted by the Carolingian Franks in northern Italy from 800 to 840. The musical compositional influence would originate in the northern part of the Empire, specifically West Francia. This article will not consist, obviously, of a complete examination of all *historiae* from Alta Italia but instead will be an example of research on repertoires, according to five points related to the critical analysis of texts and melodies.

Antiquity of a chant and its presence in different rites

Many philologists and liturgists have substantiated the claim that the extent and the distribution of a text or a chant is generally related to its antiquity. Thus, the tradition of an *historia* is even better established if its repertory is found in the different rites remaining after the Carolingian reforms. As we can read in various studies from Gastoué to Kelly, some formularies and several of their chants are common both to Ambrosian and Beneventan chant, and are also sometimes found in the Gregorian or pre-Gregorian tradition.⁴ These chants come from the *Commune martyrum* and were used for a group of northern Italian saints whose cult grew initially during the 7th century, in the region between Ravenna and Milan. During a second wave, they were exported as musical *historiae* to Benevento, Rome and the Frankish kingdom. These *historiae* were composed in honour of Apollinarius, the first bishop of Ravenna,⁵ and Nazarius & Celsius, Diocletanian martyrs, whose cult and hagiography were promoted from the time of St. Ambrose himself.⁶

Thomas F. Kelly's magisterial book about Beneventan chant deals essentially with office repertoires, notably with respect to these two Ambrosian saints, exposing a remarkable link between both the Beneventan and Ambrosian repertoires: Benevento is shown to have

⁴ See Kelly 1987; Kelly 1989.

⁵ DHGE Apollinaire 1924.

⁶ DACL Milan 1932, c. 1000.

readapted an Ambrosian corpus in the specifically Beneventan melodic style.⁷ For Nazarius & Celsius as for Apollinarius, we find a mixture of Ambrosian (Lauds and Vespers) and Beneventan formularies (Vigils). The manuscript Benevento 21 retains both versions of those pieces common to both Ambrosian and Beneventan repertoires; what Kelly considers a Beneventan melody is effectively a local rewriting from an Ambrosian archetype, with a specific, generally more ornamented style. For example, in *Demonstra michi* (CAO 2147) and *Turbati sunt nautae* (CAO 5257),⁸ Benevento 21 inserts a prolific ornamentation into the same melodic shape, which is characteristic of other Beneventan melody-types. The Ambrosian version is also a melody-type: thus, we can observe that, in these times of oral transmission, imported music was not identically reproduced, but re-adapted to the musical categories and features specific to the respective local rites.⁹ The more developed antiphon *Beatus Nazarius una* (CAO 1650, **Ex. 2**) is only different in its level of ornamentation and the Beneventan version seems prolix compared to the Ambrosian version, although both correspond to the same melodic shape.¹⁰ In fact, we are not sure that it is definitely an Old-Beneventan melody; the materials applied to the responds (group “Ia”)¹¹ which correspond approximately to those in the antiphon melody-type, have more in common with the Gregorian tradition, where we find this same process used to compose an *antiphona ad evangelium* with responsory formulas.¹²

Some concordances between Beneventan, Ambrosian and Gregorian repertoires complicate the construction of clear distinctions in our modern classification of liturgical chant repertoires. An example of this is the great antiphon *Insignes preconiiis* (CAO 3355, **Ex. 1**).¹³ Sung at the feasts for many saints, notably martyrs like St. Vincentius, Fabianus & Sebastianus, and the more ancient Mauritius or Dionysius,¹⁴ the shape and structure of the melody of these versions are identical in the three traditions, Beneventan, Ambrosian and Gregorian, which would permit us to consider it a pre-Carolingian piece or an Old-Italian one, even if it is not Roman. If Kelly ranks it as a Beneventan one, it is because the antiphon shows some Beneventan (*i.e.*, often more developed) features in the cadences and ornamentation (for example, the intonation in the upper tetrachord in the 2nd and 4th verses – *consonant, ave*).¹⁵ This melody is characteristic of the third

⁷ See Kelly 1989, 197-203.

⁸ Transcription in Kelly 1989, 202, ex. 5.14.

⁹ A point well discussed by many other studies, notably Levy 1998, or Treitler 2003.

¹⁰ Kelly 1989, 149 (ex.), 200 (transcription).

¹¹ According to the classification in Frere 1901.

¹² Here the first group of the first mode, if we follow Frere’s classifications.

¹³ Sometimes with variants in text like *Insigne preconium*.

¹⁴ This antiphon was also assigned to more recent feasts like Nicasius, Hippolytus and Omnium Sanctorum.

¹⁵ Kelly 1989, 69-70, and transcription, 152 (at the top of the table).

method of transmission defined by Kelly in *Beneventan chant*, that is to say a local adaptation in the style of an imported melody, probably through the important royal monastery of San Vincenzo of Volturno.¹⁶ We have the opportunity to establish a parallel with the liturgy of Agaune, an old basilical monastery and royal Merovingian foundation, with the patronal St. Mauritius and the Theban soldiers. Even if the Beneventan version is more florid, we can also see that it corresponds perfectly to the Gregorian version, but less to the Ambrosian one. In fact, the only divergence is found on “sancte Dionisi cum sociis tuis...”, where we can observe the influence of the *octoechos*, with the repetition of a centonised formula on the lower tetrachord. If we follow Gastoué and in part Huglo-Agustoni, we could object that this antiphon might actually be Gallican in origin.¹⁷ The text, extracted from a prayer, and the melodic and ornamental shapes in the melody support this hypothesis. Here, then, is a similar typology of the constitution of other repertoires to those observed by Kelly about SS. Apollinarius and Nazarius: an Old-Italic archetype, adapted in each rite and tradition, a process in which it remains difficult to distinguish the model from its adaptation or development. The presence of that chant offers resistance to our modern categories (Ambrosian, Gregorian, Beneventan ...) and shows, as remarked by Levy, for example, in his article on Ravenna, that parts of specific repertoires could have evolved during their later development under mutual influence of the Gregorian.¹⁸ Finally, let us remark how quickly chants were exchanged, even if non-Roman, in the 8th century, when this piece was, at the latest, composed.

Different melodic traditions for the same piece or the same formulary

The formulary of Apollinarius, bishop and patron for the metropolis of Ravenna, represents an exception accorded in the 7th century to the old exarchate in the Roman liturgy: Ravenna is incited to conform to the Roman use and in compensation, Apollinarius is kept in the Roman *sanctorale* with a proper *Historia*.¹⁹ When Benevento and Milan have some chants in common (*R. Iste est sacerdos, R. Deus qui operaris*), Rome shows an independent formulary, with only responsories. If we look to hagiography we may observe how the Roman church and papacy adopted a very critical attitude toward texts and especially acts of the 7th century, whose historicity concerning the events involving St. Peter was revealed as originating purely in legend.²⁰ We can explain their emergence with the political and religious context of rivalry between the old

¹⁶ Kelly 1989, 70.

¹⁷ Gastoué 1904, 41-44 (with transcription); Huglo 1956, 125.

¹⁸ Levy 2001.

¹⁹ Bernard 1996, 317.

²⁰ The legend was promoted by bishop Maurus (642-671). The translation of relics seems to have been at the centre of a rivalry between Rome and Ravenna. We find a new translation in the 9th century, from Classe to St. Martin, which then became St. Apollinarius. See DHGE Apollinaire 1924.

exarchate and neighbouring metropolises and Rome.²¹ Only one responsory, *Beatus Petrus apostolus* (Ex. 3) might be able to establish a slight concordance with an Old-Italian archetype. However, the differences between the two melodies seem too great.

An unknown formulary for St. Apollinarius, which can be found in a 12th century manuscript fragment in Ivrea, has a melody which has nothing to do with the Old-Roman formulary (R. *Hic est doctor gentium*, Ex. 4). Written in *tetrardus*, the Old-Roman version conforms to the classical standard formulas of this mode. On the other hand, the Ivrea version uses the *tritus* plagal mode and does not correspond with any Gregorian or Romano-Frankish group, nor to any standard melody in the antiphonary; even the verse is not at all formulaic. However, it seems to be a melody-type, since we find the same melody adapted to the next responsory, *Iste est sacerdos*, which seems to have been included in the same set of composition (Ex. 5). Also, the end of the text shows divergences, a type of textual variant similar to the antiphon *Accipe spiritum sanctum*, found in Benevento.²² Returning to melodic aspects, the writing seems to exclude any musical and modal characteristic from the 10th and 11th century, post-Gregorian style. The melody is not less decorated than in its Old-Roman version. So we can see here a local composition among the 8th and 9th Old-Italian rites, representing a small remnant of a Ravenna corpus.

The evident melodic – as also textual – divergences are typical of later *historiae*: once the first Carolingian period was over, many individual compositions and creations flourished and circulated within small geographic areas. For example, the cult of the famous infant Cyrus and his mother Iulitta received a new *Historia* in northern Italy, which had nothing in common, except for some parts of hagiographical texts, with those composed in Nevers or at Saint-Amand by Hucbald around the end of the 9th century.²³ Thus, the phenomenon of numerically ordered antiphons, known to have a Frankish origin, is not found here at all.²⁴ Just as hagiographical texts were constantly being rewritten in prose or versified poetry in order to create new works, so the chants of the antiphonary were also recast. In dealing with early Merovingian or Carolingian times – those of Amalarius and Hucbald – when there was no musical notation, we cannot ignore this procedure.²⁵ The whole antiphonary corpus wavers between stable transmission and reworking of melodies. One of the main challenges when we study this corpus is distinguishing the different layers of composition, being careful not to confuse a very old chant with a newer one. It is surely very difficult to define a Gregorian contamination in a Gallican or in an Ambrosian piece!

²¹ See also Bernard 1999, 84-89.

²² Kelly 1989, 224 pl. 5.

²³ Goudesenne 2002a, 233-235 and edition-transcription, [203]-[216].

²⁴ Goudesenne 2002c.

²⁵ Goulet/Heinzelmann 2003.

Melodic variants and the division of the Empire

Since the formulary for SS. Gervasius & Prothasius remains universally constant, this *Historia* is certainly a Gregorian corpus exported to Benevento and not vice-versa.²⁶ In contrast to what we may observe for Apollinarius or even Nazarius, the Ambrosian formulary is totally different: it ignores hagiographical and historical texts and is borrowed from the *Commune martyrum*.²⁷ The melodic variants and the diffusion of this *Historia* all over the Empire (Amiens, Reims, Piacenza, Ravenna, Ivrea, Novara, Benevento) speaks in favour of its composition taking place before the divisions of 843. That period, which we can call the “second Renaissance”, was marked by several important translations of relics (for example, that from Milan to Soissons in 815 for Gervasius, and that of 826 for Sebastianus, obtained by Hilduin from Pope Stephen II), which were often linked to serious rebuilding projects (for example, the crypt of Saint-Denis by the same Hilduin around 830,²⁸ and the Ambrosian basilica of Milan in 835).²⁹ At this time, most of the Gregorian repertory was exported to Benevento and some other northern Italian centres. Not only Metz and Reims play an important role here: Soissons was very close to the Carolingian power and deeply involved in the cultural network around Louis the Pious and Lothair.

Considering two main groups, the Frankish and the Italian, one antiphon, *Dixitque sanctus Prothasius*, presents a triple melodic tradition (CAO 2314, Ex. 6). One source from Novara conforms to the Frankish sources and brings some complications in the division.³⁰ In addition, the antiphonary from Ivrea has its own melodic type.³¹ Thus, northern Italy, including old Lotharingia at the end of the 9th century, shows once more that, like the Mass corpus, the palaeographical types of neumatic notations (even for tropes and sequences)³² divide this large area, sometimes curiously, into three zones: the “French” or Frankish zone, the Aquitanian and, thirdly, the Alemanno-Germanic area. The *Historia* of Gervasius & Prothasius shows a direct Frankish influence here over the centres most involved in the second Carolingian Renaissance.

²⁶ About Gervasius & Prothasius’ cult and office, see DHGE Gervais 1984, and Goudesenne 2002a, 213-216 and edition-transcription, [21]-[39].

²⁷ Magistretti 1904, 294-298.

²⁸ Goudesenne 2002b.

²⁹ Marcora 1953, 70-72.

³⁰ Novara A1, antiphonary, Vegiezzo, written in 1321 by Petrus de Yverardus, f. 85v.

³¹ Ivrea 106, antiphonary, Ivrea, 11th century, f. 48v-49.

³² Hiley 1983, see especially the map.

Influence of the basilical Carolingian ‘*Historia*’

I have already spoken about a specific type of *historia* called “basilical Carolingian Office”.³³ They were composed in the great basilicas, “seniores basilicae” (royal foundations), long before the reforms instigated by the Council of Aachen (816) and the monastic reforms of the 9th and 10th centuries. In general, this type of *historiae* concerns very ancient patron saints, particularly the martyrs of the 3rd-4th centuries, favoured by the royal dynasties; these basilical offices represent, after common offices and universal saints, the most ancient layer of the Roman-Frankish *sanctorale*. They are modelled on great Roman *historiae* of the 7th and 8th centuries, for example, Paulus, Johannes baptista and the first martyrs, Laurentius, Stephanus, Innocentes. In the Frankish kingdoms, the compositions for Dionysius and Remigius are the main components of this type between 830 and 870.

The *Historia* of St. Gervasius, studied above, is also relevant to this type. It seems significant that an antiphon found in a 12th century processional from Ravenna, *Gervasius martyr Christi V. Laudemus proceres Christi (Ex. 7)* has a proper psalmodic verse, characteristic of that type.³⁴ We do not find it in the Frankish sources and it has no verse in Piacenza 65. The literary text, extracted from a prayer and the presence of such a verse indicate the Gallican tradition.³⁵

The most important *historia* to belong to this type, probably modelled on a Frankish office not too far from the Palatine court, is that in honour of St. Syrus, the founder of the Bishopric of Pavia, who inspired an important cult in all of Pavia, Lombardy and in some parts of Piedmont,³⁶ making this one of the most widespread offices in northern Italy. All antiphons have a verse for psalmodic recitation, not extracted from the psalms but from hagiographical texts. Like the *Historiae* for Dionysius or Remigius, the choice of that type is obviously not a musical but an ideological one.³⁷ The supposed apostolicity of the saint and his spiritual association with St. Peter, are claims probably linked to the pretensions of clerks very close to the ducal or royal political power in certain bishoprics. The antiphon *Gratia suprema V. Omnium quidem (CAO 2969)* insists on the doctrinal transmission of orthodox Christianity defended by St. Syrus, who received it from Hermagoras in Antioch, who had himself received it from St. Marcus and before him St. Peter (Ex. 8).³⁸ The Syrus-*Historia* shows, in fact, many characteristics of a later layer of Gregorian chant, which is surely later than the Carolingian romanization; nevertheless,

³³ Goudesenne 2002a, 213-215.

³⁴ Roma 4750, f. 40v.

³⁵ Huglo 1980, 119 (§8, the Office).

³⁶ Prelini 1880.

³⁷ Goudesenne 2004a.

³⁸ We find a *versiculus* for St. Paul with the same incipit in Roma C. 5, f. 80.

the adoption of esthetical particularities are first and foremost a result of the ideological views hidden behind this cult.

Frankish models and their influence at the end of the Carolingian period

Even if many northern Italian *historiae* belong to more recent Romano-Frankish repertoires, we can observe the obvious influence of several important old Frankish *historiae* during the end of the Carolingian period. This phenomenon can be seen, first of all, in literary texts, taken from West Frankish hagiographical cycles, as well as in the more pervasive presence of *contrafacta* among chants. For example the local patron's office of St. Zeno from Verona, in the famous antiphony, offers the very explicit rubrication: "Sancte Zeno: requiratur in sancti Martini".³⁹ Thus it is not very surprising to find in the same book an antiphon for St. Prosper, another patron of the city, *O beatum Prosperum gemma sacerdotum* (CAO 4003), which was surely constructed from the literary text (and possibly the melody as well)⁴⁰ of the famous antiphon for St. Martin, *O beatum virum* (CAO 4005, Ex. 9).⁴¹ Originally celebrated in Gaul but also found elsewhere in Europe, especially in Benevento and in northern Italy, Martin is a real model of holiness: he represents for Christianity the model confessor. Music and hagiographical texts referred to as "martinelli", circulating everywhere in Latin Europe, furnished ready-made materials when local churches had to find new formularies for new *historiae* quickly.

In the office for St. Eusebius (d. 371), one of the great church fathers involved in the defeat of Arianism in the 4th century, the responsory in the last nocturn *O quantus erat fletus* (a *contrafactum*) is immediately recognizable from parts of text and music for the liturgy for St. Martin (CAO 7295). It is a very emotive chant dealing with St. Martin's funeral, in which the ecclesiastical community is mourning the death of its beloved guide, an hagiographical model mirrored in other hagiographical cycles and in the iconography of art history.

In Ivrea, the *Historia* for St. Yventius,⁴² more recent than both St. Syrus and St. Eusebius, borrows the same hagiographical model in two antiphons, *Dum vir domini s. obitum* and *Post cuius excessum*, the latter corresponding to the beginning of the formulary for St. Brictius, the successor of Martin in Tours, whose *Historia* is grouped next to that of the main Frankish patron saint. In Brescia, the *Historia* for the main patron saint, Filastrius, presents a distinctive *contrafactum* borrowed from an antiphon of St. Remigius' *Historia*, unfortunately without melody:

³⁹ Verona 98, f. 147-150.

⁴⁰ Notably the melodic type of O-antiphons sung during Advent.

⁴¹ Verona 98, f. 211v.

⁴² Prelini 1880, 218-32; AASS Febr. II, c. 153-154.

Jean-François Goudesenne – *Historiae* from Alta Italia

Antiphona in ev<angelio>:

Presul *Filastrius* gaudens barbarorum doctor egregius
ferocitatem gentium perdomuit,
mores crudelium superavit,
victor in Christo, populum acceptabilem domino *consecravit*.

Hypothetic model

Ant.

Gloriosus cultor dei Remigius, barbarorum doctor egregius,
ferocitatem gentium perdomuit,
mores crudelium superavit,
victor in Christo, populum acceptabilem Domino *preparavit*.⁴³

Other antiphon: Presul Remigius gaudens baptismi...⁴⁴

The Brescia borrowing from the *Vita Hincmari* of Reims is unquestionable: this chant testifies to the success of this great hagiographical work and at the same time, provides evidence of the rapid exportation of St. Remigius' office to the Italian peninsula. This exportation is an indication of the influence the Reims archbishops had over the Roman papacy in the 10th and 11th centuries, in particular over Leo IX, previously bishop of Toul in Lorraine.⁴⁵

In Pavia and in several cities of the Ticino (Monza, Ivrea, Novara...), the feast of St. Syrus, the basilical Carolingian Office mentioned above integrates the responsory *Felix namque es* (CAO 6724) into the office. This is a pure *contrafactum* of the famous responsory devoted to the blessed Virgin Mary (Ex. 10). This post-Gregorian responsory is found also as a *contrafactum* in the *Com-mune confessorum*, particularly for Frankish Gallican saints such as Germanus or Vedastus: *Agmina sacra angelorum* (CAO 6063). Ignored by the famous *Compendiensis* antiphony of Charles the Bald,⁴⁶ the settings of such pieces surely date back to the second half of the 10th century.

⁴³ Ed. Goudesenne 2002a, [78].

⁴⁴ Ed. Goudesenne 2002a, [76].

⁴⁵ Hourlier 1954.

⁴⁶ Paris 17436.

Conclusion

Some decades after Hesbert's famous CAO appeared, we can now expose a contradiction in Hesbert's research, in that many formularies and pieces have nothing to do with the Roman primitive Office. This casts doubt on the existence of an archetype of the Roman antiphony, a concept dear to Hesbert. That archetype belongs to the tradition of a "Gregorian mythology" the origins of which go back to Johannes Hymmonides (Diaconus) at the end of the 9th century.⁴⁷ Without going too far into this topic, it should be noted that the complexity of exchanges between the repertories and manuscript sources are symptoms of a very large problem, caused by the increase of new liturgical formularies, which continued from the Carolingian era (with the *Compendiensis*, c. 870) up through the following centuries. This is amply relected in CAO's sources, which are considered as most important for a critical edition of the "Antiphony".

The great number of repertories with their diverse adaptations and re-adaptations, as we can see them in manuscripts from North Italy, Benevento and Francia, forbids a simplistic view of the romanization, which would have resulted from the transmission of an influential book or single original repertory attributed to Gregory with Carolingian and then Ottonian complicity. As Kelly has shown, the absence of a specific label for Old-Beneventan chant, called improperly "Ambrosian" during the Middle Ages, and the presence of ancient local repertories subsequently transmitted as Gregorian formularies, reveals the open attitude of cantors and clerks towards the supposedly closed boundaries between chants of different rites and repertories. The evident increase of local *historiae*, the *ordo* in the formularies, the coexistence of different melodies setting the same texts, and melodic and textual variants, constitute new evidence for a phenomenon observed by liturgists and philologists about texts and their transmission in late antiquity and the high Middle Ages: the Carolingian liturgical reform, from Pippin to Louis the Pious and further, did not simply occasion the suppression of texts and repertories, but also led to an increase of texts, melodies and traditions.⁴⁸ This phenomenon is revealed by the *historiae* themselves, which invite us to consider cultural, political and religious topics more or less independent of the context of Carolingian reform. These concerns, and not the liturgical reform, encouraged clerks to adapt and enrich the musical and liturgical corpus from the 8th to 10th century, as reflected in the theological and grammatical discussions between Godescalc of Orbais, Agobard, Helisachar or Amalar, which stand as symptomatic proof of this creative and non-normative context.⁴⁹

Are we so sure that Gregorian chant was established from a unique and central process of romanization for which historiography usually begins with Pippin and Charlemagne? Many

⁴⁷ Treitler 1974.

⁴⁸ Vogel 1966, 72-73 and Vogel 1986, 80-81.

⁴⁹ Huglo 1979.

sources and repertoires show us a more complex reality for both composition and transmission: between 750 and 900 there is proof of an important oral legacy in the uncertain aspects of ornamentation in melodic formulas and their neumatic writing. Because of the many variants and ornamental differences in the process of the adaptation of a melodic type we conclude that the diffusion or importation of a corpus was not mechanical during the period of purely oral transmission and even later, when the two types of transmission were parallel.⁵⁰ Is it not the case that Amalarius saw these differences between different versions of the Divine Office (which provide continuing contrast to the uniformity of transmission of Mass chants) when he came from Metz to Corbie at the beginning of the 9th century, where he studied antiphoners that Wala brought from his travel to Rome, nearly one century after Pippin's reform?

The Ambrosian *sanctorale*, as yet insufficiently studied, as well as a few rare Italian traditions, will certainly show new elements which will constitute new materials for a better understanding of the complex process of Carolingian unification or romanization. Michel Huglo called long ago for a new method for the study of Ambrosian chant in relation to other, neighbouring traditions, applying a better more critical method for defining precisely which tradition could have influenced the other.⁵¹ Related to different periods of writing texts and music, *historiae* could often be distinct from the normative categories of rites; some of them can even be considered an entity in themselves; perhaps they constitute parts of different layers in which Romano-Frankish, Roman, Beneventan, and Old-Italian influences are perceptible, even if they are confined in liturgical books dating from more recent periods, most notably from the 12th to the 14th century. Manuscript compilations from the 9th and 10th centuries, often written later than the time of the oral elaboration, suggest an illusory uniformity among formularies which in fact were constantly evolving.⁵²

⁵⁰ Treitler 1982; Huglo 1985.

⁵¹ Huglo 1956, 117ff.

⁵² This article has been followed by other studies, notably one about proper *historiae* from the diocese of Novara, which was given at the IMS Congress, Zürich 2007 (see Goudesenne 2007).


Examples


Ex. 1 *Insignes praeconii* CAO 3355

MIL: Ganagobie ms., f. 139^v-140.


BEN: Benevento 21, f. 67; Benevento 22, f. 132^v, cf. PalMus 21, pl. 36 and 66.


MIL 


BEN 

GREG 
Insi-gnes pre-co-ni-is alme tu-e nobi-li-ta-tis, conso-nant vo-ces conlaudan-tes,


BEN 

GREG 
verbo suppli-ci pro-se-qua-mur: A-ve incli-te mar-tir ange-lorum con-sors,

BEN 

GREG 
aposto-lorum so-ci-us, prophetarum conci-vis et martyrum co-he-res

BEN 

GREG 
sancte x x cum so-ci-is tu-is interce-de pro nos-tra omni-umque sa-lu-te.

Jean-François Goudesenne – *Historiae* from *Alta Italia*

Ex. 2 *Beatus Nazarius una* (Nazarius, CAO 1650)
Benevento 20, f. 236



Be-a- -tus Na- za-ri- -us... (see Kelly 1989, p. 200, ex. 5.12, with BEN and MIL).

Ex. 3 *Beatus Petrus apostolus dixit* (Apollinarius)
Roma B 79, f. 140, Old Roman version



Be-a- -tus Petrus a- pos- to- lus di-xit disci- pu- lo su- o



be-a-to A- po- -li- -nario...

Ex. 4 R. *Hic est doctor gentium* (Apollinarius)
Ivrea Fr 19, f. Vrv



Hic est doctor gen- -ti- um predi- ca- -tor om- -ni popu- -lo




*hic mis- sus est ab a- pos- tolo Pe- -tro



ut plebem do- ce- -ret vi- am ve- -ri- -ta- -tis.

Jean-François Goudesenne – *Historiae* from *Alta Italia*




V. De-us qui co- o-pera- ris cum a-pos-to- lo tu- o ma-gis-tro me-o Pe- tro



*Hic

Ex. 5 *Iste est sacerdos* (Apollinarius)

Ivrea Fr 19, f. Vv




Is- te est sacerdos do- mi- ni qui in manda- tis e- rius medi- ta- bitur di- e ...




V. Be- a - -tus vir qui ...

Ex. 6 *Dixitque sanctus Prothasius* (Gervasius & Prothasius, CAO 2314.

Piacenza 65, f. 389; compare the version on D in Amiens 112, common with Novara A1; cf. Goudesenne 2002a, p. [30].



Dixitque sanctus Prota- si- us a-ge ergo quod cepis-ti ut michi possit occurre-re ho-di- e



cum fratre me-o benigni-tas salva-to-ris moxque Astasi-us ius-sit e- um in ca-pi-te cedi

Jean-François Goudesenne – Historiae from Alta Italia

Ex. 7 R. *Gervasius martyr Christi V. Laudemus proceres Christi* (Gervasius & Prothasius)
 Roma 4750, f. 40v (concordance with Piacenza 65, f. 389).



R. Ger-vasi-us martyr Christi et Pro-ta- -si-us almus abster- -gant preci-bus nostra de-licta su-is



ut mere-a-mur e- is as- sisti in se-de be- a- ta premi-a qua ius- tis cer- -ta manent popu- lis.



V. Laudemus pro-ceres Christi qui vincendo ter-rena attinge-re celesti-a regna meru-e-runt

Ex. 8 R. *Gratia superna V. Omnium quidem* (Syrus, CAO 2969)
 Monza 15.79 (Ivrea, 1150-1200), f. 207v.



R. Grati-a su-perna per be-atorum pec-to-ra Ticy-nensi popu-lo precucurrit i- ta



a Christo in be-atum Petrum a Pe- tro in Marco a Marco ve-ro in Ar-ma-go- ram



cu-ius be-a-ti patres nostri Sy- rus atque Yventi-us auditores de-o digni es- titerunt.



V. Om-ni-um quidem precibus adiu-va- ri peti-mus quorum distributi-o-ne sacram doctrinam suscepimus.

Jean-François Goudesenne – Historiae from Alta Italia



V.1 O-ra pro cle-ro interve-ni pro po-pu-lo et pro ple - be pos-tu- -la.



V.2 O-ra pro po-pulo interve-ni pro cle-ro...