

Essays in Medieval Studies 8

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**Source Readings on the Practice and Spirituality of Chant:
New Texts, New Approaches****Fabian C. Lochner**

Research on performance practice is one of the thriving fields in contemporary musicology. There is indeed a growing demand for information on the performance of medieval, Renaissance and Baroque music by the community of performing artists, baffled by the complexity of "early music" scores. Medieval treatises on music theory as well as Baroque and Renaissance instrumental methods are being perused for specific statements regarding different aspects of performance practice. In the field of Gregorian chant-the sacred music of the Western church such investigations have been initiated by the monks of Solesmes and further pursued by scholars such as Franz Muller-Hauser and Stephen Van Dijk.¹

However, the accumulation of specific technical data (such as tuning practices, number of singers involved in specific circumstances, rhythmical indications etc.) does not yet define a *style of performance*. Even when abundant documentation is available (as e.g., in the Baroque period), the possession of the letter does not necessarily entail the possession of the *spirit!* Indeed, the lack of the spirit often leaves the letter obscure and, eventually, may lead to serious misconceptions (and to fanciful performances).

In this paper dealing with medieval chant practice I contend three things: (1) the performance practice of Gregorian chant in the Middle Ages flows from, and is largely defined by a consistent tradition of Christian spirituality; (2) whereas we have no *sound* documents from the middle ages, the *spiritual* dimensions of chant are accessible through medieval source texts of both devotional and practical character; (3) a *critical yet integral* reading of these texts can show the direct link between spiritual attitude and musical performance, and thus help us to relive and reexperience in our times both the practice and the spirituality of chant.

Today I would like to illustrate both the critical and the integral quality of textual interpretation just suggested. To illustrate the integral approach, I will address one particular aspect of chant, namely psalmody, and try to show the common threads that link its practice and its

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spirituality throughout the middle ages. But before doing so, I need to outline the historical and textual dimension of the sources from which I have drawn, thus illustrating the *critical* part of my endeavor.

(1) The critical reading:

The genres of texts that shed most light on the practice and spirituality of chant in the middle ages are medieval rules, customaries, treatises about ecclesiastic hierarchy, and decrees of church councils-not musical treatises. Customaries, statutes or *consuetudines* of different religious houses are elaborations on the basic texts of a given rule (the Benedictine rule for the monks, the *vetus ordo* and the Augustinian rule for the canons). These sources contain very specific indications that regulate most every aspect of communal life. For example, most customaries feature individual chapters on the duty of the cantor.²

I have gathered thus far a little over forty different texts which I found relevant, covering the 7th to the 15th century.³ My project is to work towards an anthology offering a translated and critically annotated version of the original Latin texts, as a tool for both musicologists and performers. The sources would reflect the liturgical uses of both *monastic houses*, and of communities of *canons*, both secular and regular.⁴

Although most medieval customs and statutes are specific to one house or one specific order, very few are actually made up from scratch. They are the result of the judicious compilation, centonisation, and reformulation of preexisting materials, spiced with scriptural, patristic, homiletic and canonical quotations. Identifying these stratifications is a necessary step to prevent an uncritical use of certain passages in a historical argument, as well as to understand the historical relations between different houses of monks or canons. Indeed, a given community may simply adopt the customs from one particular order or make up a compilation that denotes the influence of different spiritual currents. Beyond the purely liturgical distinction between *ordo romanus* and *ordo monasticus*, the rules for the actual performance of psalms are sometimes different for monks and canons.⁵ On the other hand, the likeness between the customs of monks and canons regular cannot be overseen, in spite of their different background: "[L]es moines sont des religieux qui se sont faits pretres pour etre plus religieux tandis que les chanoines sont des pretres qui se sont faits religieux pour etre plus pretres".⁶ Thus the Carthusian customs derive from the canons regular of S.Ruf, only because two of S.Bruno's companions happened to be former canons from that house;⁷ and the canons regular of Premontre adopt the mode of Organisation of their branches from the Cistercian monks.⁸

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If our goal is to uncover a spiritual tradition we should avoid to engage in *Quellengeschichte* as though it were a one-way street. More important than merely "peeling away" the topical to uncover the new and original, more important than tracing back certain formulas to a historical source is to document the *historic and spiritual potential* of certain texts or formulas as it unfolds in their procession through time. Thus the critical historian may come to behold the strands of spiritually relevant textual traditions.

As an illustration for the hermeneutics of such textual traditions I want to draw attention to a late medieval text, a passage from the statutes for the Brethren of the Common life in Hildesheim (1463), the second sentence in the chapter *De cantore*:

Cui etiam [sc.cantori] providendum est, quando **temperate**, quando **submisse** divinum sit officium peragendum, ut secundum numerum cantantium et officii qualitatem et temporis prolixitatem cantum **protendat** vel **acceleret**.⁹

This instruction contains a series of valuable technical indications for the execution of the office: At different times, according to the number of singers (*numerus cantantium*), the quality of the office (*officii qualitas*, its liturgical rank) and according to the length of available time (*temporis prolixitas*), the cantor should either stretch out (*protendere*) or speed up (*accelerate*) the performance of the office. But what do *temperate* and *submisse* mean? *Protendere* and *accelerate* are clear antinomies, describing opposite rhythmic motions. *Temperate* is an ambiguous term and could be applied to rhythm, pitch, intensity, or even affect alike. *Submisse*, when standing on its own, is ambiguous as well and can suggest both a low pitch or a soft voice-but it cannot normally describe rhythm. How, then, do these two adverbs of the *quando*-clause relate to each other, since antinomy, as for the two verbs of the *ut*-clause, is excluded? And what do they mean?

The solution lies in the history of that sentence. It belongs in fact to the rule for canons issued by the council of Aachen in 816, where the reading is slightly different and has its own difficulties:

Et providendum est illis [sc.cantoribus], quando **temperate** quandoque **submisse** divinum agatur officium, scilicet ut secundum numerum clericorum et officii qualitatem et temporis prolixitatem cantum **protendant** et **voces moderentur caeterorum**.¹⁰

Now the expression *voces moderari* in itself is very confusing, since out of context it seems synonymous with *temperari*--to "regulate" in a vague sense. It doesn't seem to be specific enough to serve as a technical instruction. The words *submisse* and *temperate* seem to stem from the

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classical rhetorical teaching of the three levels of enunciation (*submisse*, *temperate*, *granditer*) --a tradition based on Cicero which entered the medieval curriculum through Augustine and Isidor of Seville.¹¹ But even so, the rhetorical background of the vocabulary does not yield any clues as to specific musical meaning in the present context.

This difficulty might have been the reason why the author of the Hildesheim statutes (or of its model) decided to simply replace this expression by a clear-cut antinomy: *protendere*--*accelerate*. However, the original intention of the authors writing in 816 was different. It becomes clear when we relate temperate to *protendere*, and *submisse* to *moderari*: "slowly (temperate)--lengthen (*protendere*)" and "softly (*submisse*)--soften (*moderari*)." The interpretation of *submisse* as "softly," not "low in pitch," is confirmed by the indications of a much later source of monastic origin, the customs of Cluny, composed under abbot Udalricus (ca. 1080-3), where we read:

[Q]uemlibet cantum, quantumlibet **submissa** voce cantetur, nemo tamen alius audet ad **altio**rem vocem levare.¹² No one shall dare to raise any chant, however softly it is sung, to a stronger voice.

And Wilhelm of Hirsau (d. 1091), whose own customary depends largely on Udalricus, adds after this sentence a remark that seems almost to echo the Aachen text:

Ipsa autem nunquam debet negligere, quando nimis **submis**se canatur, quando vel **festinantius** vel **protractius** quocumque loco, vel tempore quin statim fratribus innuat manu quidquid emendandum est in cantu.¹³

When one sings very softly or when, at any given place or time, one sings either more swiftly or more slowly, he [the cantor] must never fail to tell the brethren immediately with a sign of his hand whatever needs to be improved in the singing.

In this context, the antinomy *submis*se--*altior* in Udalricus' customs for Cluny, which we would have the tendency (without further specification) to relate to *pitch*, can actually not refer to lower pitch, but only to lower *intensity*. Indeed, in that same text error of pitch had already been discussed shortly before, and in different terms:

Quod si **in aliquo tono erratur**, nullius scientia praeiudicat illi.¹⁴ When a mistake occurs in some tone, no one's knowledge supersedes [the cantor's].

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In these Cluniac texts singing out of tune (or in the wrong tone) is considered simply an error (*erratur*), while singing too loudly is a presumption (*nemo audet*). Moreover, the adjective *submissus* is used to indicate the softness, the low intensity of the *spoken* voice a little earlier in the same passage:

Quas [sc.antiphonas] si [sc.cantor] non recte imposuerit, alteruter collateralis eius, ut corrigat, **summissa voce** admonere poterit.¹⁵

If the cantor happens not to give the right intonation of the antiphons one of his neighbors may admonish him with a soft voice to correct himself.

We see that in all of these passages the monastic customs of the Cluniacs are concerned with the same elements of chant practice as is the Aachen rule for canons and, incidentally, the Hildesheim statutes--namely the judicious choice of *vocal intensity* and *tempo of recitation* by the cantor and the community. Neither of them is concerned with pitch, neither of them does mention higher or lower intonation.

My contention, then, is to translate the passage from the Aachen rule as follows:

And they should observe when the divine office ought to be performed [more] slowly, and when [more] softly, namely so that, according to the number of canons, the rank of the office, and the length of [available] time, they may lengthen the chanting and soften the voices of the other singers.

This translation is largely based on context and stylistic considerations (assuming a pairing between the two adverbs of the *quando*-clause and the two verbs in the *ut*-clause). It remains therefore vulnerable. But at least it is consistent in itself and with later traditions, and makes sense. Without the knowledge of the original passage from the Aachen rule, the passage in the Hildesheim statutes would remain obscure altogether. Neither the modern reader nor the cantor of the brethren at Hildesheim could have known what exactly is meant by *temperate* and *submis*se. The cantor at Hildesheim, however, had the advantage of being part of a living oral tradition which is lost to us.

(2) An integral reading: the practice and spirituality of psalmody

Compared to the innumerable scriptural commentaries on the book of Psalms, there are only very few medieval treatises on psalmody. Some of the oldest texts of the genre have been included by Martin Gerbert in his monumental source edition for medieval music theory: [16](#) The Geronticon *S.Parnbonis* (5th c.), [17](#) an anonymous text *Iunior quidam*

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monachus (4th c.?), [18](#) the *De psalmodiae bono* by Nicetas of Remisiana (ca.400), [19](#) the anonymous *Commemoratio brevis de tonis et psalmis modulandis* (9th c.), [20](#) and the *Institula patrum de modo psallendi* (ca. 1220). [21](#) The use of psalms for private devotion at different occasions is indicated by the anonymous *De psalmodium usu* (9th c.), wrongly ascribed to Alcuin. [22](#)

These texts are very little studied, probably because they do not, for the most part, contain any precise technical informations as do the treatises on music theory (except for the *Commemoratio brevis*). Certain scholars have shown a downright contempt for these texts, declaring them "overladen with literary humbug" or "stuffed with allegorical subtleties." [23](#) But if we compare the vocabulary of *De psalmodiae bono*, the opening of *Commemoratio brevis*, or indeed of the *Instituta patrum*, with the more scattered references to psalmody found in medieval rules, customaries, and treatises on ecclesiastic discipline, we come to realise that the traditions presented by these different genres of texts are perfectly consistent.

In order to establish this consistency, I will sketch some of the preliminary results of an interpretative reading of my sources on the practice and spirituality of psalmody. I have grouped these results under seven headings which, in my view, represent some of the essential ingredients for the practice and spirituality of psalmody. The first three headings concern the spiritual, the last four the more technical aspects. This order is intentional, to underscore that the practical aspects of voicing, pronunciation and rhythmic unity in chant and psalmody cannot be separated from Christian spirituality, but rather flow forth naturally from a certain attitude of devotion.

i. The correspondence between mind and voice.

During worship the mind, soul, and heart should be filled by what the mouth proclaims. This basic precept is not only a moral commandment, but the most fundamental aspect of Christian meditational practice. It is rooted in the authority of scripture, as quoted in the Benedictine rule, [24](#) but the most popular formulation seems that of S. Augustine: "Hoc versetur corde quod profertur in voce." [25](#) The canons used this formula by preference, since it is part both of the *vetus ordo* (the Aachen rule) and the Augustinian Praeceptum (the Augustinian rule). [26](#)

ii. The attitude during office.

The key formula *humiliter ac devote*, or *cum humilitate et reverential devotione* derives from the Rule of Benedict, chapter 20, *De reverentia orationis*. The same chapter introduces the notion of *compunctio*: "Et non in multiloquio, sed in puritate cordis et compunctione lacrimarum

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nos exaudiri sciamus." [27](#) The Carolingian commentator Smaragdus uses this term in a way that comes close to the description of the effect of chant in the Aachen rule (see below): "[Q]ui sic studet vivere ut monachis suis in omni vita sua bonum exemplum valeat demonstrare, qui lacrimas vult a suis auditoribus fundi prius ipse fundat et sic eos compunctionis sui cordis accendat." [28](#) Related to *compunctio* are the affects of fear and trembling, *timor* and *tremor*, according to the Psalmist: "Servite Domino in timore." [29](#) But fear and compunction are only the initial stages of an ascensional move towards joy and wisdom: "Initium sapientiae timor domini," [30](#) "Psallite sapienter". [31](#) This ascensional move is magnificently illustrated by the lapse in a scriptural quotation found in the *ceremoniale* of Subiaco, which reads: "Et stent in locis suis sine superstitionibus dicentes horas suas cum omni reverentia et tremore, sicut scriptura dicit: Timor laetificat cor et dabit gaudium et laetitiam." [32](#) The psalm probably referred to (Ps.103, 15 of the Vulgate) actually says "et vinum laetificat cor hominis." [33](#) Thus it is the taste of the fear of God that provokes the joy of spiritual drunkenness.

The Cistercian documents introduce the notion of *mediocritas*, the perfect balance, the golden mean between the extremes, and *gravitas*, seriousness.³⁴ Bernard's admonitions on how to worship eagerly and in purity (*strenue ac pure divinis interesse laudibus*) is a wonderful description of concentration in prayer, all too aware of the manifold distractions of the mind--even of a monk.³⁵

iii. The presence of the angels.

Angelic presence during prayer is attested by scripture,³⁶ and taken up in the rule of Benedict (chap. 19). But the angels themselves sing psalms of everlasting praise, and so the song of the religious community becomes a *concentus* with the choirs of angels, with the celestial harmony. These words from the psalms are in no way understood as pure imagery. The Aachen rule in particular, whose chapter 132 is entitled "Quod cantantibus et psallentibus domino angelorum adsint praesidia,"³⁷ make it clear that the encounter with angelic spirits during the Divine Office is a very real experience, and the source of great spiritual joy "[Q]uia carnaliter conversantes ad Dominum contemplationis corda non elevant, coelestis harmoniae modulos et mellifluas angelici concentus suavitates ignorant".³⁸

iv. The effect of psalmody on the listener and the performer.

Beyond the charm that a good vocal performance should exert on the listener (*mulceat, demulceat, blandiatur*), there are two effects intended in chant: compunction and edification, leading to the *memoria*

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amoremque caelestem and through humble devotion to spiritual joy.³⁹ Compunction should not be confused with sadness or depression. Sadness has no place in the choir. Its undesirable affect is produced only by some unskilled performance....⁴⁰ The edifying power of chant works on two levels: it incites religious fervor of the mind (*incitet, excitet, flectet, movet, trahit*) but also pacifies the soul (*pascat*).⁴¹

v. The care of pronunciation.

Perfect pronunciation, especially in psalmody, is a corollary to the Christian simplicity with its focus on text meditation. Isidore's concept of *vis pronuntiationis* (the power of pronuntiation) suggests more than a sense of perfect rendition: To sing *pleno ore* (with a full mouth) is also the expression of a spiritual attitude.⁴² One might ask whether Isidore's indications as to the affective rendering of the readings hold equally true for later times, and whether these indications apply to the cantor as well. Since they do not appear in the later customaries, they might not apply to psalmody--but one of the most important musical treatises of the 9th century seems to make a strong case for the affective rendering of melodies:

Nec solum diiudicare melos possumus ex propria naturalitate sonorum, sed etiam rerum. Nam affectus rerum, quae canuntur, oportet, ut imitetur cantionis effectus: ut in tranquillis rebus tranquillae sint neumae, laetisonae in iocundis, merentes in tristibus; quae dura sint dicta vel facta, duris neumis exprimi; subditis, clamosis, incitatis et ad ceteras qualitates affectuum et eventuum deformatis; item ut in unum terminentur particulae neumarum atque verborum.⁴³

We can judge melodies not only from the specific nature of sounds, but also of things. For the affect of the things that are sung about needs to be imitated in the rendering of the melody, so that phrases are calm for calm things, cheerful for joyous things, mournful for sad ones. Harsh words or actions need to be expressed by harsh phrases, for] with subdued, loud, or agitated ones, and shaped according to other qualities of affects and events; also the subdivisions of musical and textual phrases should close together.

vi. The ideal voicing.

It is very difficult to catch the esthetics of sound, whether for voice or instrument, of times passed, without the witness of a living performance tradition or some sounding document. Yet, the choice of vocabulary in our medieval sources is highly suggestive--as suggestive as language

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can ever be in these matters. It can at least point the direction to the modern performer for an objective imagination.

1. The cantor is required to have both a brilliant voice and a thorough training in his art, from the cradle on (*ab*

incunabulis loci nutritus).[44](#)

2. The vocal ideal corresponds to the spiritual ideal of Christian simplicity, expounded already in Isidor--as opposed to the *tragica* ars, the expression of wordly passion [45](#) --an ideal that is reflected above all in clarity and purity (of both voice and pronunciation): *Vox non aspera, vel rauca, vel dissonans*.[46](#) It also corresponds to the affection of spiritual joy that results from true devotion: the voice becomes *alta, suavis, canora, liquida*.[47](#)

3. Perhaps the most suggestive vocal qualities are those found in the *Ceremoniae Sublacenses: vox viva et rotunda*, a lively and rounded voice.[48](#) They correspond to the notion of manly song and voice (*virili voce*), opposed to the effeminate falsetto technique, which is ridiculed by S. Bernard and associated with the secular tradition of medieval acrobats and street musicians (*histriones*).[49](#) That this ideal of manly singing is not limited to the Cistercians but stems from a very ancient ecclesiastic tradition, is shown by Isidore's indications for the lectors voice to be full of manly sap (*plena succo virili*).[50](#) The historic continuity of this tradition appears in the notion of *sonus virilis* from the *Consuetudines Floriacenses antiquiores* (end of 10th c.).[51](#)

vii. The performance.

The cantor has the important task of guiding a highly differentiated performance of the divine office. These are some elements of performance practice disclosed by the customaries:

Psalms are sung more slowly or more swiftly, with louder or softer voice according to the number of monks or clerics in the choir, and according to the liturgical occasion and available time: the *qualitas officii* and *prolixitas temporis*. Tempo is a very sensitive element for the success, dignity, and devotional quality of psalm recitation. The cantor has the delicate task of finding and establishing the golden mean (*medio, criter*): not too quick nor too slow (*neque nimis correpte neque nimis protracte*).[52](#) It is very interesting to read about the regrets of the canons who feel that they have to speed up psalmody when a lay congregation is present, in order to gain time for longer sermons--even at the Easter vigil! Clerical writers like Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1092/94-1169) express nostalgia for truly devotional, that is slow or easy-going psalm recitation.[53](#)

The sensitive moments for the *unitas* of the performance are the length of the medium pause (*metrum* or *media distinctio*) and the length of the

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last note of a sentence (*puncture*). The most explicit texts prescribe an exhalation and inhalation after the *metrum* and prohibit any long dwelling on the last note.[54](#) The Aachen rule makes an insightful distinction between the vocal intensity of psalmody and of chant repertoire that is related to the nature of psalmody as *pronuntiatio* rather than *cantus*.[55](#)

If after this survey we turn back to the treatises on psalmody mentioned earlier, we can now appreciate the consistence of their spiritual tradition. Two examples from the fifth and ninth centuries may suffice to serve as comparison:

Si enim in conspectu Dei adstamus, cum magna **compunctions**, non vero in elevations vocis nos adsistere oportet. Neque enim monachi in hanc eremum secesserunt, ut Deo adsistentes vocem extollant, aut cantica modulentur, vel modulos concinnent, manusque agitent, et pedes discurrendo moveant: sed magno cum **timore ac tremore, lacrymisque et suspiriis, cum reverentia** atque bene **compuncta et moderata humili voce** preces Deo nos offerre oportet.[56](#)

For when we stand before the countenance of God, we should stand by in great compunction, not by raising our voice. For the monks did not retire into this desert to raise high their voices **in** the presence of God, or sing canticles, or sing melodies, or move their hands and their feet while running around. Rather, it befits us to offer prayers to God with great fear and trembling, with tears and sighs, with reverence and with well-punctured and moderate, humble voice.

Debitum servitutis nostrae, qui ad ministerium laudationis Domini deputamur, non solum integrum debet esse et plenum, sed decenti quoque convenientia iucundum, atque suave. Et ideo peritos nos esse convenit officii nostri,

ut scienter et ornate confiteamur nomini sancto eius et gloriemur in carminibus suis, quatinus et Deo nostro iocunda sit decoraque laudatio et audientes in operum Dei laudem et reverentiam exardescant. Quamvis enim Deo magis placeat, qui corde quam qui voce canit, utrumque tamen ex ipso est et dupliciter prodest, si utrumque fiat, si scilicet et animo apud Deum dulciter canitur et homines canoris dulcedo sancto affectu commovet. Licet quoque multorum devotio Deo vaide placet, qui in psalmodia nec in ipsa verba rite queant, nequaquam tamen integrae est ille devotionis, uod exhibere debet, quam optime et quam reverentissime sit, Deo non exhibet.[57](#)

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The duty and service of us who are assigned to the service of worshipping the Lord, must not only be full and complete, but also enjoyable by graceful harmony, and sweet. And therefore it is fit that we be skilled in our duty, that we might wisely and ornately profess His holy name and boast in His songs, so that our worship be joyful to our God, and the listener become fired in the praise and reverence of God's works. For although one who sings with his heart pleases God more than one who sings with his voice, nevertheless both things come from Him and help doubly when they both occur, that is, when one sings sweetly in one's mind to God, and the sweetness of the singing moves people to a sacred emotion. Although the devotion of many who are not able to pronounce correctly either the psalmody or the words themselves pleases God very much, nevertheless one who does not show to God what he ought to show, as proficiently and as reverently as possible, does not have a full devotion.

The very words of Nicetas' ascetic text that seems so hostile to chant are used proficiently in the later customaries to describe both the spiritual attitude of the chanting monk or cleric and the desired effect of his singing on himself and on the listener. *Timor, tremor, compunction reverential moderatio, humilitas*, are key words that are used by S. Benedict to describe the good prayer.[58](#) and that appear in Isidore of Seville, Hrabanus Maurus, the Aachen rule, the Cistercian statutes or the Sarum customs.

In the opening paragraph of the *Commemoratio brevis* the parallelism between *canere corde* and *canere voce* corresponds to our first heading above. The beauty of the singing that moves the listeners towards devotion: *audientes ... exardescant ... canoris dulcedo sancto affectu commovet*, is also described under heading iv. This kind of consistency confers a greater value to both the treatises and to the excerpts that are gathered above. Indeed, it indicates the existence of a true and lasting tradition of medieval spirituality associated with the practice of psalmody.

I hope that my twofold approach--critical and integral reading complementing each other--has helped to underscore that the practical aspects of voicing, pronunciation, and rhythmic unity in chant and psalmody cannot be separated from medieval Christian spirituality, but rather flow from a very specific attitude of devotion. Chant is not an ornament and psalmody is not a merely formal obligation. Chanted prayer is at the very heart of the spiritual experience of medieval men and women. Thus, when we try to recapture the sounds of generations past, we should take seriously the words they used to describe the inner life out of which those sounds were born.

Notes

1. F.Muller-Hauser: *Vox humana. Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Stimmasthetik des Mittelalters* (K61ner Beitrage zur Musikforschung XXVI), Regensburg 1963. S.J.P.Van Dijk: "Medieval terminology and methods of psalm singing," *Musica discipline* 6(1952), 7-26.
 2. As an introduction to the study of monastic and canonical customs see K.Hallinger OSB: "Consuetudo. Begriff, Formen," *Forschungsgeschichte, Inhalt,* in: *Untersuchungen zu Kloster und Stift* (=Studien zur Germania sacra 14), Gottingen 1980, 140-166. Musicological studies on these sources are few in number. See however J.F.Angerer: "Die Consuetudines Monasticae als Quelle fur die Musikwissenschaft," in: *Sacerdos et Cantus Gregoriani Magister: Festschrift Ferdinand Haberl zum 70 Geburtstag* (ed. F.A.Stein), Regensburg 1977, 23-37, and M.E.Fassler: "The office of the cantor in early western monastic rules and customaries: A preliminary investigation," *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 29-51.
 3. Bibliographic guides for the study of customaries are found in H.R.Philippeau: "A propos du coutumier de Norwich," *Scriptorium* 3 (1949), 295-302 [with an overview of editions from 1705 to 1948 and some terminological discussions]; Charles Dereine: "Coutumiers et ordinaires de chanoines reguliers," *Scriptorium* 5 (1951), 107-113, supplemented in *Scriptorium* 13 (1959), 244-246 [Dereine's entries are grouped geographically]; Anton Hanggi: *Der Rheinauer Liber ordinarius* (=Spicilegium Friburgense 1), Freiburg/Schweiz 1957, xxiv-xxxvi [lists Mostly ordinaries of secular canons, but includes also several consuetudinaria]; the monumental edition of Kassius Hallinger OSB (ed.): *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, Siegburg 1963 [hereafter CCM]. The standard handbook on customaries announced in the collection *Typologie des sources medijales* by C.D.Fonseca has not appeared yet.
 4. The canonical customaries gathered so far come from both secular chapters (Lyon, Lund, Salisbury) and regular ones (S.Victor, Arrouaise, Marbach, Barnwell, Premontre). Monastic sources feature Fleury, Le Bec, Cluny (with four different customaries), Subiaco, Hirsau, S.Emmeram, Trier, Eynsham, the Cistercians, and the Carthusians. For the Carolingian and PreCarolingian period, where the genre of customaries has not fully developed yet, I include excerpts from the rules of S.Augustine, S.Chrodegang, and the Aachen council of 816, as well as the
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- treatises on ecclesiastical discipline by Isidor of Seville and Hrabanus Maurus, and the writings of spiritual teachers and reformers such as Peter Damian, Bernard of Clairvaux, Anselm of Havelberg, or Gerhoh of Reichersberg. Eventually, liturgical treatises such as the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* by Amalarius of Metz or the *De divinis officiis* by Rupert of Deutz will also have to be taken into account, as well as certain pre-Carolingian Roman documents such as the *Ordines Romani* or the decrees of Gregory the Great.
5. See below, heading vii.
 6. Francois Petit in: *La vita commune del clero nei secoli XI e XII. Atti della Settimana di studio: Mendola, settembre 1959*, Milan 1962, vol.1, (241-73) 138.

7. See *Coutumes de Chartreuse; Guigues Ier Prieur de Chartreuse* (=Sources chrétiennes 313; Paris, 1984), introduction. Unfortunately the customs of S.Ruf, written between 1100 and 1110 by abbot Lietbert (ms.Paris BN lat 1233), are still not accessible in print. See C.Dereine: "Saint-Ruf et ses coutumes aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *Revue bénédictine* 69 (1949), 161.
8. See especially the chapter "Quos libros non licet habere diversos," treating almost exclusively of books for liturgical use ("Missale, textus, epistolare, collectaneus, graduate, antiphonarius, ymnarius, psalterium, lectionarius, regula, kalendarium uniformiter habeantur"); in J.N.Canivez, *Statuta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Cisterciensium ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, vol.1 (Louvain 1933), 13 [Statuta 1134], and P.F. Lefevre & W.M.Grauwen: *Les statuts de Prémontré au milieu du XIIe siècle* (Bibliotheca Analectorum Praemonstratensium Fasc.12) Averbode 1978, 49.
9. R.Doebner (ed.): *Annalen und Akten der Bruder des gemeinsamen Lebens im Liichtenhofe zu Hildesheim*, Hannover, Leipzig 1903, 230; on the liturgy and musical history of the *Devotio moderna*, including the brothers and sisters of the Common Life and the canons of the congregation of Windesheim, see J.Smits van Waesberghe: "Die Handschrift Utrecht NIKK B 1 13," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 50 (1966), 45 and E. Persoons & W. Lourdeaux: "Bibliografische inleiding tot de studie van de Windesheimse Liturgie," *Sacris erudiri* 17 (1968), 401-10, as well as W. Lourdaux & E.Persoons: "De statuten van de Windesheimse mannenklosters in handschrift en druk," *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 6 (1964), 182.

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10. *MGH Legum sectio III, Concilia II*, 1 (ed. A.Werminghoff), 414. Significant passages of the Aachen rule appear in the interpolated version of the rule of St.Chrodegang (both versions found in Migne *Patrologia Latina* [hereafter PLI 89, col .1057-1096, resp. 1097-1126; see J.-B.Pelt: *Études sur la cathédrale de Metz: la liturgie I*. Metz 1937, and G.Hocquard: "La rei de de Saint Chrodegang. Etat de quelques questions," in: Saint Chrodegang, Metz 1967, 55-89). These interpolations are uncritically ascribed to Chrodegang (d. 766) by both Muller-Hauser (op.cit., 169, 173 and passim) and Van Dijk (loc.cit., 9, note 8).
11. Cicero, *Orator* (ed. Wilkins, Oxford 1903), 29, 101: "Is erit igitur eloquens qui poterit parva submisce, modica temperate, magna granditer dicere". Augustine uses this quotation and adopts its terminology throughout book IV of *De doctrina Christiana* (17,9; 17,12 ff). The three modes of enunciation are treated by Isidore, *Etymologiarum Liber II*, chap. XVII.
12. Udalricus, *Consuetudines Cluniacenses* (ca. 1080-3), Liber 111, cap.X. De praecentore et armario, PL 149, col.749C.
13. Wilhelm of Hirsau (d. 1091), *Constitutiones Hirsaugienses, Liber 11*, cap.XXIII, De armario, PL 150, col. 1073A.
- 14., *ibid.* col.11072C. This passage is taken from Udalricus, PL 149, col.749B.
15. *Loc.cit.* col.1072C.
16. Martin Gerbert: *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 4.vols, St. Blasien 1784, repr. Hildesheim 1963 [hereafter GS]. A critical assessment of this essential work is now available through Michael Bernhard: *Clavis Gerberti. Eine Revision von Martin Gerberts Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum. Teil 1*, Munich 1989 [hereafter Bernard, *Clavis*].
17. GS 1, 2-4. Bernhard, *Clavis*, refers to a modern edition of the Greek text and gives a Latin version from Ms.Montecassino 318 that differs widely from the text in Gerbert which might be a modern Latin translation. However, the tenor of both versions is the same.
18. GS 1, 4-5; Bernhard, *Clavis* cannot find Gerbert's source or any other trace of that text. It thus remains enigmatic.

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19. GS 1, 9-14 gives a wrong attribution of Nicetius of Trier. See C.H.Turner: "Niceta of Remesiana II. Introduction and Text of 'De psalmodiae bono'," *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1923), 225-252.
20. GS I, 213-229. Critical edition by H.Schmid: *Musica et scolica enchiridis una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis*, Munich 1981, 157.
21. GS 1, 5-8; A diplomatic edition from the only known ms. (S.Gall 556) is found in Bernhard, *Clavis*, 5-8. Bernhard argues against earlier attributions of this text to Ekkehard V of S.Gall--a fictional person--but retains the attribution to the anonymous author of the *Vita Notkeri Balbuli*, dated ca. 1220. For some Cistercian texts that were incorporated into the *Instituta Patrum* see S.Van Dijk: "Saint Bernard and the Instituta Patrum of Saint Gall," *Musica discipline* 4 (1950), 99-109.
22. See A. Wilmart: "Le manuel de St Jean Gualbert," *Revue bénédictine* 48 (1936), 262.
23. S.J.P.Van Dijk, "Medieval terminology," 8.
24. 1 Cor 14, 15: "Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente."
25. "Let that be considered in the heart which is proclaimed by the voice" . L.Verheijen, *La regle de Saint Augustin. I. Tradition manuscrite*, Paris 1967, 421.
26. "Psallentium in ecclesia Domino mens concordare debet cum voce, ut impleatur illud apostoli: *Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente*"; "Pure vero [vos moneo divinis officiis interesse], ut nil aliud dum psallitis, quam quod psallitis cogitetis." Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo 47 in cantica canticorum*, PL 183, col.IOIIIC; "Cum igitur spiritualia sint semper et ubique in omnibus praeponenda, idcirco quando fratres sunt in ecclesia vel alibi ad divinum officium celebrandum, non sint ibi cum vagatione cordis interponendo nociva vel cogitando diversa, quia ut ait Bernardus: *Magna abusus est os habere in choro et cor in foro*. De quibus propheta ait: *Qui ore benedicebant et corde suo maledicebant* (Ps.61, 4)." Ceremoniae Sublacenses, CCM XI, 1, 30; "[I]d studii psallentes et orantes habeant, quatenus quod ore profertur, mente versetur"; Anselm of Havelberg (tIIS8), *Liber de ordine canonicorum*, PL 188, col. 1 107B.
27. "And we know that our prayers are heard not because of our verbosity, but because, of the compunction of our hearts'.

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28. "He [the abbot] shall strive to live in such a way that he may show a good example to his monks by his whole lifestyle; he should shed first himself the tears that he wants to be shed by his listeners, and thus inflame them by the compunction of his heart". *Smaragdi Abbatis expositio in regulam S.Benedicti*, ed. A.Spannagel, CCM VIII, Siegburg 1974, 66.

29. "Serve ye the Lord with fear" . Ps . 2, 1 1.
30. ".The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom". Ps. 110, 9.
31. "Sing ye wisely" . Ps . 46, 8 .
32. " They should stand at their places without presumption, saying their hours with every reverence and fear, as the psalmist says:'Fear cheers the heart and will give joy cheerfulness".CCM XI, 1, 30.
33. " . . . and that wine may cheer the heart of man".
34. "Et ideo constitutumus mediocritatem servari in cantu, ut et gravitatem redoleat, et devotio conservetur" *Statuta ordinis Cisterciensis* 1134, loc.cit., 30.
35. Unde vos moneo, dilectissimi, pure semper ac strenue divinis interesse laudibus. Strenue quidem, ut sicut reverenter, ita et alacriter Domino assistatis: non pigri, non somnolenti, non oscitantes, non parcentes vocibus, non praecedentes verba dimidia, non integra transsilientes, non fractis et remissis vocibus muliebre quiddam balba de nare sonantes; sed virili, ut dignum est, et sonitu, et affectu voces sancti Spiritus depromentes. Pure vero, ut nil aliud dum psallitis, quam quod psallitis cogitetis. Nec solas dico vitandas cogitationes vanas et otiosas: vitandae sunt et illae, illa diintaxat hora, et ilto loco, quas officiates fratres pro communi necessitate, quasi necessario, frequenter admittere compelluntur. Sed, ne illa quidem profecto recipere tunc consuluerim, quae forte paulo ante, in claustro sedentes, in codicibus legeratis, qualia et nunc me viva voce disserente ex hoc auditorio Spiritus sancti recentia reportatis. Salubria sunt, sed minime illa salubriter inter psallendum revolvitis. Spiritus enim sanctus illa hora gratum non recipit, quidquid aliud quam debes, neglecto eo quod debes, obtuleris." PL 183, col. 1011c.
36. Ps .137, 1: "In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi" .
37. "That the protection of angels is present to those who sing and say psalms to the Lord". Loc.cit., 409.

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38. "Because those who live according to the flesh do not raise their hearts in contemplation to the Lord, they ignore the melodies of the celestial harmony and the choir of the angels, sweet like the flow of honey". Peter Damian, *Epistola XIII ad Desiderium Abbatem et Cardinalem*, PL 144, col.286C.
39. "Tales ad legendum, cantandum et psallendum in ecclesia constituentur, qui ... suavitate lectionis ac melodiae et doctos demulceant et minus doctos erudiant plusque velint in lectione vel cantu populi aedificationem quam popularem vanissimam adulationem. Qui vero haec docte peragere nequeunt erudiantur prius a magistris et instructi haec adimplere studeant, ut audientes aedificent." Aachen rule, loc.cit., 409.
40. "Isti [sc.psalmistae] canunt ut excitant ad compunctiones animos audientium. Licet et quidam lectores ita miscranter pronuntient, ut quosdam ad luctum lamentationemque compellant." Hrabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutions*, PL 107, col.305A.
41. "[Psalmi] planae ac dilucidae et cum compunctionis cordis recitentur, ut et recitantium mens illorum dulcedine pascatur et audientium aures illorum pronuntiatione demulceantur..... Aachen rule, loc.cit., 414; "[C]antor aquam linteo coopertam in festis diacono deferat, quam diaconus vino misceat: dulci enim cantoris modulationis, populus pia devotionis et divino amore accenditur, et sic ad Dominum currit, et unum corpus in Christo efficitur. Per vinum Christus, per aquam populus, per linteum cooperturam aquae labor modulationis cantoris, quo liberator populus a cogitationum pravitate." John of Rouen (ca.1000-1079), *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis*, PL 147, col.35B.
42. "Sicque expeditus vim pronuntiationis tenebit [sc. lector], ut ad intellectum omnium mentes sensusque promoveat, discernendo genera pronuntiationum, atque exprimendo sententiarum proprios affectus, modo indicantis voce, modo dolentis, modo increpantis, modo exhortantis, sive his similia secundum genera propriae pronuntiationis." Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. C.M.Lawson CC 113, Turnhout 1989, 70. "Sonum etiam vocalium litterarum bene atque ornate perstrepat [sc.cantoresl." Aachen rule, loc.cit., 414; "Tam in officio nocturno quam etiam de die attendendum est, ut psallatur bene, videlicet quod primo verba pleno ore cum perfecta syllabarum expressions et etiam I perfectis pausis, ubicumque punctus est, proferat[n]tur. Perfecta pausa est, quae fit communi cursu anhelitum dimittendo et postea resumendo," *Ceremoniae Sublacenses*, CCM XI, 1, 27.
43. *Musica enchiridis*, ed. Schmid (1981), 58.

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44. "Precentor promovetur in monasterio no adventitius sed ab incunabulis loci nutritus, gnarus cantilene ac symphoniarum, qui naturali sit peditus voce." Fleury customs, CCM VII, 3, 14.
45. "Vox enim eius [sc.psalmistael ... habens sonum et melodiam sanctae religioni congruentem, non quae tragicam exciametartem, sed quae christianam simplicitatem et in ipsa modulationis demonstrat, neque quae musico gestu vel theatri arte redoleat, sed quae compunctionem magis audientibus faciat." *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Liber 11, cap.XII, loc.cit., 72. Isidore's instructions seem inspired by texts as ancient as the *De psalmodiae bono* by Nicetas of Remesiana. Compare "Sonus etiam vel melodia condecens (credentium) sancta religions psallatur, non quae tragicas difficultates exclamet, sed quae in vobis veram Christianitatem demonstrat, non quae aliquid theatrale redoleat, sed compunctionem peccatorum faciat." GS I, 13a.
46. "Psalmistam autem et voce et arte praeclarum illustremque esse oportet, it ut oblectamento dulcedinis animos incitet audientium. Vox enim eius non aspera, vel rauca, vel dissonans; sed canora erit, suavis, liquida, atque acuta, habens sonum." Isidore, loc.cit., 71.
47. "Perfecta autem vox est alta, clara, et suavis: alta, ut in sublime sufficiat; clara, ut aures adimpleat; suavis, ut animis audientium blandiatur." Hrabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutions*, Liber 11, cap.48, PL 107, col. 362B. This terminology is derived from Isidore's *Etymologies*. (ed. Lindsay, Oxford 191 1, 111. xx, 14.)
48. "Psalmodiam non multum protrahamus, sed rotunda ac viva voce cantemus..." *Ceremoniae Sublacenses*, loc.cit., 29. The Subiaco text depends on a Cistercian source indicated by Van Dijk, *Saint Bernard...* (1950), 105. The notion is also taken over into the *Instituta patrum* (GS I, 6a; Bernhard, *Clavis*, 6)
49. "...non fractis et remissis vocibus muliebre quiddam balba de nare sonantes; sed virili, ut dignum est, et sonitu et affectu voces sancti spiritus

depromentes." Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo 47 in cantica canticorum*, PL 183, col.1011C. "Viros decet virili voce cantare, et non more femineo tinnulis, vel ut vulgo dicitur falsis vocibus veluti histrionicam imitari lasciviam." *Statuta ordinis cisterciensis 1134*, cap.LXXIII,"De falsis vocibus"; loc.cit., 30.

50. "Porro vox lectoris simplex erit, et clara, et ad omne pronuntiationis genus accomodata, plena succo virili, agrestem, et subrusticum effugiens sonum, non humilis, nec adeo sublimes,

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non fracta, vel tenera, nihilque femineum sonans, neque cum motu corporis, sed tantummodo cum gravitates specie." *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, loc cit., 71.

51. "Quique [i.e.praecentor] virili sono laudis domini campiductor ac si tuba vehementi hymnicas preire ac sustentare queat cantusque dulcedine astantium aures permulceando oblectet." CCM VII, 3, 14. "In psalmodia quoque hoc adnoto, ut mediocriter, id est neque nimis correpte neque