

ZSUZSA CZAGÁNY - DAVID HILEY - JAKUB KUBIENIEC

THE *CONIUNCTAE* IN MEDIEVAL SOURCES OF LITURGICAL CHANT

1. INTRODUCTION

David Hiley

As remarked in volume I of *Traditio Iohannis Hollandrini*,²⁸⁸ one of the most characteristic and original parts of the Hollandrinus tradition is its teaching on the *coniunctae*. The purpose of the studies and transcriptions offered here is not to retrace the whole historical context and development of the *coniuncta* theory. Instead, the relationship of the theory to practical chant sources is explored. Our investigation was stimulated by the simple question: are the chromatic notes provided by the *coniuncta* theory found in manuscripts with liturgical chant for mass and for the office?

There is general agreement among chant scholars that when the traditional chant repertory established in the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century was measured against the standard principles of antique music theory, in particular the diatonic scales of the Greater and Lesser Perfect System, it did not match perfectly. The redefinition of the classical arrangement of tetrachords which took root at that time provided for only a limited number of semitone steps: what we would call *E* to *F* and *b \flat* to *c* in two different octave placements, and *a* to *b \flat* by means of the synemmenon tetrachord. There is plenty of evidence that this supply of notes was insufficient for the theoretical conceptualization of the chant repertory, that is, there were many chants which, if one tried to place them upon the grid of the classical diatonic system, did not fit. One would need notes such as those we call *F \sharp* and *E \flat* , and so on.

These “chromatic” notes are not actually notated in the great majority of chant manuscripts. The chants, or sections of them, are transposed to fit the restricted number of semitone steps in the available scale system. One cannot (or should not) notate *F \sharp* , but one can transpose the phrase in question up a fourth, where *b \flat* is available. Structural reasons for their employment include the following: (i) the chant starts with a passage which seems to belong to a mode different from the main tonality of the chant, (ii) the chant includes a section (or sections) in a mode different from the main tonality, (iii) more than one note with variable pitch is used; that is, not only *b \flat* and *b \flat* are required but also *F \flat* and *F \sharp* or *E \flat* and *E \flat* , etc. In

²⁸⁸ See pp. 42-44, 58-61, 187-189, 203-206

all these cases the passage in question could be notated a fourth or a fifth away from the sounding pitch.

An extensive literature has grown up around the topic. More than a century ago Gustav Jacobsthal's study *Die chromatische Alteration im liturgischen Gesang* identified many such pieces;²⁸⁹ Urbanus Bomm made a short descriptive catalogue of them in his dissertation of 1928;²⁹⁰ and the additional notes have even found their way into the *Graduale novum*, whose first volume appeared in 2011.²⁹¹ Apart from Jacobsthal's and Bomm's examples, some of the most interesting and suggestive cases are to be found in the remarkable offertories and their verses, studied by Hubert Sidler, Ruth Steiner and recently by Roman Hankeln and Rebecca Maloy.²⁹²

Early theorists speak of difficult chants and in some instances they suggest a conceptual procedure similar to that apparently practised in the diastematically notated chant manuscripts. Is it possible that the rather problematic tetrachords of the *Enchiridis* treatises, the *Musica* and *Scolica*, reflect this situation? The *Enchiridis*-scale starts from the tetrachord of the Gregorian finales, with a semitone in the middle (not the classical tetrachord with semitone at the lower end) and simply adds on disjunct tetrachords.

²⁸⁹ Gustav Jacobsthal: *Die chromatische Alteration im liturgischen Gesang der abendländischen Kirche*. Berlin 1897

²⁹⁰ Urbanus Bomm: *Der Wechsel der Modalitätbestimmung in der Tradition der Meßgesänge im IX. bis XIII. Jahrhundert und sein Einfluß auf die Tradition ihrer Melodien*. Diss., Göttingen 1928; Einsiedeln 1929

²⁹¹ *Graduale novum editio magis critica iuxta SC 117, Tomus I De dominicis et festis*, ed. Christian Dostal, Johannes Berchmans Göschl, Cornelius Pouderoijen, Franz Karl Prassl, Heinrich Rumphorst and Stephan Zippe. Regensburg 2011

²⁹² Hubert Sidler: *Studien zu den alten Offertorien mit ihren Versen*. Diss., Fribourg 1939; Ruth Steiner: *Some Questions about the Gregorian Offertories and their Verses*. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19, 1966, pp. 162-181; Roman Hankeln: "Was meint der Schreiber?" Überlegungen zur Notation des Offertoriums "*Tui sunt cel?*" im Graduale von St. Yrieix, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 903. In: *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the 6th Meeting*, Eger, Hungary, 1993, ed. László Dobszay. Budapest 1995, pp. 539-559; Roman Hankeln: *Die Offertoriumsprosulen der aquitanischen Handschriften. Voruntersuchungen zur Edition des aquitanischen Offertoriumscorpus und seiner Erweiterungen*. *Regensburger Studien zur Musikgeschichte* 2, Tutzing 1999; Roman Hankeln, ed.: *The Offertory and its Verses: Research, Past, Present and Future. Proceedings of an International Symposium at the Centre for Medieval Studies, Trondheim, 25 and 26 September 2004*. *Senter for middelalderstudier, Skrifter* 21, Trondheim 2007; Rebecca Maloy: *Inside the Offertory. Aspects of Chronology and Transmission*. Oxford 2010

Using Guidonian pitch classes, in the middle tetrachords we therefore have $F\sharp$ and $b\sharp$, in the lowest tetrachord Bb , in the upper tetrachords $f\sharp$ and even $c\sharp$. Could this be a theoretical justification for notes used in chant practice in all octaves? One might say that the *Enchiridis* authors envisage placing the tetrachord not only on A and D but also on G , E and $b\sharp$. Placing additional tetrachords, which he calls *synemmenon* tetrachords, on untraditional pitches is explained by Jerome of Moravia, generating ab , bb , db , eb and gb in all octaves. He nevertheless says that these pitches are not used in ecclesiastical chant: “Licet autem in discantibus sinemima sint utilia tamen cantus ecclesiasticus ipsa non recepit ullo modo.”²⁹³

Clearly the same could be done, and was done, with the scale-segment which largely replaced the tetrachord in elementary plainchant teaching, the Guidonian hexachord.

Another solution to the problem of finding theoretical justification or rationalization of the chromatic notes would have been to use different scale-segments, combined in different ways. This was actually done by Theinred of Dover, using four- and five-note segments.²⁹⁴ Theinred's system was not adopted by others, as far as we know.

At quite an early date, however, we find evidence that the hexachord was being placed on pitches additional to those of Guidonian theory. A hexachord placed on D gives $F\sharp$, a hexachord on A gives $C\sharp$, a hexachord on bb gives eb , which is already one more note than in the *Enchiridis*-scale; ab or $G\sharp$ could be supplied in the same way to complete a dodecaphonic system, though this implies placing a hexachord on a note *not* in the traditional system.

In the Hollandrinus group of treatises such extra-Guidonian notes are not considered as elements in a tetrachord or hexachord at all, but cited as individual pitches under the heading of *coniuncta*,²⁹⁵ a term derived from the *synemmenon* of Greek theory. The classical term referred to a tetrachord joined to the one next to it by a common note. In medieval usage this

²⁹³ HIER. MOR. 23, 162. Oliver Ellsworth cites this passage in his useful article: The origin of the *coniuncta*: a reappraisal. *Journal of Music Theory* 17, 1973, pp. 86-109

²⁹⁴ On Theinred see John L. Snyder: Theinred of Dover. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Second Edition. London 2001, vol. 25, pp. 345-346, and John Snyder: Theinred of Dover's *De legitimis ordinibus pentachordorum et tetrachordorum*. A critical text and translation with an introduction, annotations, and indices. The Institute of Mediaeval Music. *Musical Theorists in Translation* 18, Ottawa 2006.

²⁹⁵ I thank Michael Bernhard and Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba for pointing out to me this significant break with tradition.

would be the note *G*, the synemmenon tetrachord on *G* provided the note *bb*. The term *coniuncta* is in one sense illogical, because hexachords are not defined as conjunct or disjunct; they are not joined or juxtaposed to form longer scales. And in fact the term *coniuncta* usually seems to have been used to refer to the single note, the *F#*, *C#*, *E^b* or *a^b* produced by a non-Guidonian placement of the hexachord.

As Klaus-Jürgen Sachs reminds us, this procedure does not actually imply the use of segments from the chromatic genus alongside diatonic ones, but the shifting of diatonic segments onto other pitches. “Die Einführung der *coniuncte* bewirkt faktisch ein „Chromatisieren“ von Stufen, bei dem aber kein chromatisches *genus* entsteht, sondern diatonische Wendungen transponiert werden.”²⁹⁶

It seems clear, therefore, that the *coniunctae* stem from the practice of teaching Gregorian chant by means of the Guidonian hexachords. They are in fact a simple extension of the “Elementarlehre” which Sachs outlines above. Pupils are taught what the hexachord sounds like, and they then use this pattern of pitches to read music where the semitone steps are clearly notated, or, in a mirror procedure, to notate music which they have learned to sing from memory. Guido’s system did not provide enough positions of the hexachord, so others were supplied. It is important to realise that in the theoretical literature we have only a few examples, which presumably stand for many more similar chants, that is, those using common melodic formulas or a typical melody employed for more than one text.

By now there has been a fair amount of writing about the *coniunctae*, not least because they have been seen by some colleagues as providing a theoretical basis for *musica ficta* in polyphony of the fourteenth century. This is the position of Christian Berger, for example.²⁹⁷ Dolores Pesce provided a concise survey of the topic,²⁹⁸ and Theodore Karp devotes an illuminating chapter to examples cited in Goscalcus.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ above, p. 66, fn. 32

²⁹⁷ Christian Berger: Hexachord, Mensur und Textstruktur. Studien zum französischen Lied des 14. Jahrhunderts. Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 35, Stuttgart 1992

²⁹⁸ Dolores Pesce: The Affinities and Medieval Transposition. Bloomington, Ind. 1987

²⁹⁹ Theodore Karp: From the aural to the written tradition: the *coniunctae* of the Anonymous Berkeley theory MS. In: Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant. Evanston 1998, pp. 181-223

During discussion of papers presented at the Hollandrinus meeting Nieborów 2006 Klaus-Jürgen Sachs reminded us that Goscalcus, apparently writing in 1375, speaks of an established procedure, applied with variations by different teachers. The Hollandrinus group of texts provides some of the same examples as Goscalcus, some different ones, and they do not agree among themselves on their selection. Goscalcus gives an example for low $C\sharp$, a *coniuncta* which is not recognized in the Hollandrinus group. Five other Goscalcus chants are not cited in Hollandrinus.

There are musical examples for seven *coniunctae*: Bb , Eb , $F\sharp$, ab , $c\sharp$, eb , and $f\sharp$. An eighth *coniuncta*, high aab , is mentioned as a theoretical possibility but no examples are cited, except for the untexted one in Szydlovita³⁰⁰. Goscalcus has an example for low $C\sharp$, not in Hollandrinus. Like Hollandrinus, Goscalcus knows the high aab , but gives no example. Berkeley also knows high $cc\sharp$ but gives no examples.

So far no synoptic tables or any sort of critical edition have been published which display comprehensively how these pieces were notated in actual chant books. In his study of the Goscalcus/Berkeley examples Karp traced the readings of a number of practical chant sources, Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba presented examples in a similar way in a paper read at the Cantus Planus conference in Leuven in 2002,³⁰¹ and recently Zsuzsa Czagány presented several further instances.³⁰² Czagány's paper deserves particular notice, since it addresses the Hollandrinus teachings directly, gives many examples of the transposition of chants (or sections of them) to avoid the bothersome *coniuncta* notes, and discusses the implications of this for actual singing practice. But more extensive coverage is needed. So for the present study the *coniunctae*-chants were transcribed complete from a representative selection of Central European chant books, in order to ascertain just how scribes dealt with the 'problematic' chants in practice. It


³⁰⁰ Sz 8, 64

³⁰¹ Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba: The *coniuncta* in Polish sources: late medieval theory and practice. In: Papers read by members of the Study Group 'Cantus Planus' at the Seventeenth International Congress of the International Musicological Society, Leuven 1-7 August 2002. *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 45, Budapest 2004, pp. 255-267

³⁰² Zsuzsa Czagány: Die *coniunctae* des Corpus Hollandrinum in den mitteleuropäischen Choralhandschriften. In: Robert Klugseder (ed.), *International Musicological Society Study Group CANTUS PLANUS. Papers read at the 16th Meeting, Vienna, Austria, 2011*. Vienna 2012, pp. 102-112

should of course be remembered that the very purpose of the technique of transposing hexachords was to circumvent the need for notating chromatic notes; the chants could be notated in the traditional way, while in actual performance the constellation of intervals would be altered. So one should not be optimistic about finding the chromatic notes in the written transmission of chant. Nevertheless, our survey threw up a significant number of interesting cases which form a valuable complement to the statements of the theorists.

For practical reasons, and also to generate fruitful scholarly interchange, the work of transcribing the *coniuncta*-chants from a representative selection of Central European sources was divided between three collaborators. Jakub Kubieniec (Kraków) worked on Polish sources, Zsuzsa Czagány (Budapest) dealt with Bohemian and Hungarian sources, and David Hiley (Regensburg) transcribed German sources.³⁰³ The present surveys are based on complete transcriptions by the three authors from the full range of sources, which were collected and edited by Jakub Kubieniec and made available at [XXXXXXXXXX](#). Particular ways of dealing with the *coniuncta* pitches (accidental sign, transposition, etc.) are sometimes characteristic of a particular area (Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Germany) or areas. A final table has been compiled (see below, Section 5) which summarizes the distribution of the particular strategies among the sources studied.

Before these materials are presented, it may be useful to list the chant examples cited in the treatises themselves. The following table does this. Not all treatises in the *Traditio Hollandrini* cite examples. As will be seen, some of these examples are given in very few treatises, so not all have been traced through the chant manuscripts below; we have left on one side the responsories *Ecce dies veniunt*, *In pace in idipsum* and *Hic est* [] the antiphons *Cum iocunditate* and *Cum venerit Paraclitus*, the sequences *Lauda Sion*, *Laetabundus* and *Verbum bonum et suave*, *Sanctus (IV?)*, the *tonus lectionis*, the introit *Laetare Ierusalem* and the offertory *Iustitiae Domini*.

³⁰³ Jakub Kubieniec set up the final synoptic tables. Apart from presentations and discussions in the series of *Hollandrinus* project meetings, the *coniuncta* part of the project was presented at the 16th Meeting of the Cantus Planus Study Group of the International Musicological Society, in Vienna in 2011. As already mentioned, the lengthy paper which Zsuzsa Czagány read there was published in 2012.

Kommentar [MB4]: Link!

2. CHANT EXAMPLES CITED IN THE HOLLANDRINUS TREATISES

References to editions and catalogues:

- Bosse Detlev Bosse: Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien zum ‚Gloria in excelsis deo‘. Regensburg 1955
- CantSel Cantus selecti ex libris Vaticanis et Solesmensibus. Solesmes 1949
- CAO Hesbert, René-Jean: Corpus antiphonalium officii. Vol. 3: Invitatoria et antiphonae, Vol. 4: Responsoria. Rome 1968, 1970
- DSAnt Dobszay, László, and Szendrei, Janka: Antiphonen. Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 5, Kassel 1999
- DSResp Dobszay, László, and Szendrei, Janka: Responsories. Budapest 2013
- GT Marie-Claire Billecocq and Rupert Fischer (edd.): Graduale triplex. Solesmes 1979
- LibUs Liber usualis missae et officii pro dominicis et festis I. vel II. classis. Rome 1921
- Maciejewski Tadeusz Maciejewski: Gaude Polonia. Święty Stanisław w polskiej muzyce i poezji Średniowiecznej / St. Stanislaus in Polish Music and Mediaeval Poetry. Warsaw 1993

* indicates that the chant is referred to only by text incipit. In other cases a musical example is given.

1 B \flat

I	II	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	XI	XII	XVI	XX	XXI	LZ	Sz
1,8	3	3	33	4	18	2,2	3	10	4	5	4	3	8
<i>Emendemus in melius</i> “et miserere” Resp. Dom. I XL CAO 6653, DSResp 2023 (see also e \flat)													
	161*	201*		318*				23	14			203*	11
<i>Fuerunt sine querela</i> “calicem Domini” Resp. Comm. SS CAO 6748, DSResp 2007													
19	159	199		318*		15*	101*	23	13		45*	202	
<i>Hodie in Iordane</i> “complacui” Resp. Epiph. CAO 6849, DSResp 3031													
		198*											
<i>Sancta et immaculata</i> “non poterant” Resp. Nat. Dom. CAO 7569, DSResp 2024													
	163	197	12*	317	14*	15	100	23	12		45*	201	9
<i>Usquequo exultabitur</i> “inimicus” Resp. Dom. de Passione CAO 7811, DSResp 4051 (see also E \flat)													
										17			

2 E \flat

I	II	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	XI	XII	XVI	XX	XXI	LZ	Sz
1,8	3	3	33	4	18	2,2	3	10	4	5	4	3	8
<i>Conclisit vias meas</i> “leo” “amaritudine” “posuerunt” Resp. fer 2 Ma. Hebd. CAO 6306, DSResp 8148 (see also a \equiv , e \equiv)													
										19			

I 1,8	II 3	V 3	VI 33	VII 4	VIII 18	IX 2,2	XI 3	XII 10	XVI 4	XX 5	XXI 4	LZ 3	Sz 8
<i>Gaude Maria Virgo</i> “interemisti” Resp. Purificatio BMV CAO 6759, DSResp 6030													
	167*	206*	13*	321*	16*	18*	104*	27	19			208* (210)	22*
<i>Gloriosa sanctissimi</i> “et precibus” Ant. Hist. Gregorii CAO 2956, DSAnt 1592													
20	165	205		320		19	103		18			207* (210)	
<i>In pace in idipsium</i> “dormiam” Resp. Sabbato Sancto CAO 6921, DSResp 8172													
									23*				
<i>Ite in orbem</i> “orbem” Resp. Ascensio Domini CAO 7028, DSResp 6033 (see also a=, e=)													
											46		
<i>Lauda Sion Salvatorem</i> “et pastorem” Seq. Corpus Christi GT 379, LibUs 945													
									22*				
<i>O crux gloriosa</i> “et admirabile signum” Ant. Inventio Crucis CAO 4018, DSAnt 3116													
	167*	206*		321*		18*	105*	27				208	21
<i>Salve sancta parens</i> “regit” Intr. BVM GT 403, LibUs 1263													
								27					
<i>Usquequo exaltabitur</i> “meus” Resp. Dom. de Passione CAO 7811, DSResp 4051 (see also Bb)													
										17			
I 1,8	II 3	V 3	VI 33	VII 4	VIII 18	IX 2,2	XI 3	XII 10	XVI 4	XX 5	XXI 4	LZ 3	Sz 8
<i>Verbum bonum et suave</i> “illud ave” Seq. BVM CantSel 119													
									21*				

3 F#

I 1,8	II 3	V 3	VI 33	VII 4	VIII 18	IX 2,2	XI 3	XII 10	XVI 4	XX 5	XXI 4	LZ 3	Sz 8
<i>Beatus servus</i> “vigilantem” (see also c<) Com. Commune SS GT 491, LibUs 1203													
21	170	209	14*	322	17*	21	106	31	27			211	27
<i>Ecce dies veniunt</i> “veniunt” Resp. Adventus CAO 6583, DSResp 8160													
									28				
<i>Gloria in excelsis</i> [place not specified] BVM, Vat. IX, Bosse 23 GT 742, LibUs 40													
	172												
<i>Missus est angelus</i> “Missus” Resp. Adv I, Annunc. BVM CAO 7170, DSResp 7099													
	172												
<i>Que est ista que ascendit</i> “per desertum” Resp. Assumptio BMV CAO 7455, DSResp 1131													
								31				212	30
<i>Tonus lectionis</i> (“in locis innumerabilibus”)													
									21				

4 a b

I	II	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	XI	XII	XVI	XX	XXI	LZ	Sz
1,8	3	3	33	4	18	2,2	3	10	4	5	4	3	8
<i>Conclūsit vias meas</i> "lapidem contra me" (see also Eb, eb) Resp. fer 2 Ma. Hebd. CAO 6306, DSResp 8148													
	175*	214*	15*		18*	25*	111*		31*			216*	
												(216)	
<i>Fidelis servus et prudens</i> "in tempore" Com. Commune SS GT 491, LibUs 1185													
22	173	212		323		22	109	34				214	
<i>Formavit igitur Dominus</i> "et factus est homo" Resp. Dom. LXX - LX CAO 6739, DSResp 7061 (see also aab)													
								29					
<i>Iesum tradidit impius</i> ("in pluribus locis") Resp. fer 6 in Parasceve CAO 7035, DSResp 5015													
	180*	220*											
<i>In [recte: Arae] Dei [dum astaret]</i> "carnifex" Resp. Stanislaus Maciejewski 66													
						25*							
<i>Ite in orbem</i> "alleluia" Resp. Ascensio Domini CAO 7028, DSResp 6033 (see also Eb, eb)													
								30					
I	II	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	XI	XII	XVI	XX	XXI	LZ	Sz
1,8	3	3	33	4	18	2,2	3	10	4	5	4	3	8
<i>Iustitiae Domini</i> "recte" Off. Dom. III in XL GT 309, LibUs 555													
													35
<i>Laetare Ierusalem</i> "Letare" Int. XL Dom. IV in XL GT 108, LibUs 559													
													41

5 c#

I	II	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	XI	XII	XVI	XX	XXI	LZ	Sz
1,8	3	3	33	4	18	2,2	3	10	4	5	4	3	8
<i>All. Assumpta est Maria in celum</i> "Alleluia" All. Assumptio BMV GT 591, LibUs 1603													
23	182	222		324		28	112	37				220	44
<i>Beatus servus</i> "invenerit vigilantem" Com. Commune SS GT 491, LibUs 1203 (see also f#)													
	184	224	16*		19*	30*	114*		32				
<i>Laetabundus</i> "Letabundus" Seq. Nativitas Domini CantSel 31													
								37			219		

6 eb

I	II	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	XI	XII	XVI	XX	XXI	LZ	Sz
1,8	3	3	33	4	18	2,2	3	10	4	5	4	3	8
<i>Adorate Deum</i> "Deum" Int. Dom. III post Epiph. GT 264, LibUs 488													
	186	226	17*	325	20*	33*	116*						

3. SOURCES

Sources of Office Chants - Poland

Kra	Antiphonale de sanctis	s.XIV	Kraków	Kraków, Biblioteka Kapituły Katedralnej 52
Krk	Antiphonale de tempore	s.XV	Kraków	Kraków, Biblioteka Kapituły Katedralnej 47
Wro	Antiphonale	s.XIV	Wrocław, St. Elisabeth	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka R 503
Kie	Antiphonale	1372	Kielce	Kielce, Archiwum Kapituły Kieleckiej 1
Gne	Antiphonale	s.XVI	Gniezno	Gniezno, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne 94-97
Bre	Antiphonale	s.XIV	Brzeg	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka K 21
Plo	Antiphonale	s.XVI	Płock	Płock, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego 35-36
W14	Antiphonale de tempore	s.XVI	Włocławek	Włocławek, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego, ms. 4
W15	Antiphonale de sanctis	s.XVI	Włocławek	Włocławek, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego, ms. 5
Cas	Antiphonale	s.XV	Kazimierz, Augustinian Canons	Kraków, Archiwum kościoła Bożego Ciała Abc 1-6
Sil	Antiphonale de sanctis	s.XV	Silesia	Paradyż, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego sine sign.
Tyn	Antiphonale de tempore	s.XIV	Tyniec, Benedictine Abbey	Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa akc. 10808
Gda	Antiphonale pars hiemalis	s.XVI	Gdańsk	Gdańsk, Biblioteka PAN F 408
Deb	Breviarium notatum	1375	Dębno	Prešov, Štátna vedecká knižnica s.n.
AP	<i>Antiphonale</i>	Kraków 1607	“In Officina Typographica Andreae Petricouij.”	printed book
CE	<i>Cantionale ecclesiasticum</i>	Kraków 1886	ed. Joannes Siedlecki	printed book

Sources of Mass Chants - Poland

Cra	Graduale	s.XV	Kraków	Kraków, Biblioteka Kapituły Katedralnej 45
Gni	Graduale	s.XVI	Gniezno	Gniezno, Biblioteka Archikatedralna 195, 196

Mag	Graduale	s.XV	Wrocław, St. Maria Magdalena	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka M 1194
Ti1	Graduale	s.XIV	Tyniec, Benedictine Abbey	Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa akc. 10810
Ti2	Graduale	ca 1460	Tyniec, Benedictine Abbey	Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa akc. 10809
Wis	Graduale	s.XIII	Wiślica	Kielce, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego 1
Zag	Graduale	s.XV	Żagan, Augustinian Canons	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka IF 387
Crc	Missale	s.XIV	Kraków	Kraków, Biblioteka Kapituły Katedralnej 3
Sta	Missale	s.XIV	Stargard (Pomerania)	Szczecin, Książnica Pomorska cod. 11

Sources of Office Chants - Bohemia

Pr1	Breviarium notatum	s.XIII	Praha, St. Vítus	Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky XIV A 19
Pr2	Breviarium notatum	c1360	Praha, St. Vítus	Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea XV A 10
Pr3	Antiphonale <i>Arnesti</i> I-III	1364	Praha, St. Vítus	Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly P 6/1-3
Olo	Breviarium notatum I-II	s.XIV	Moravian, Olomouc	Brno, Universitní knihovna R 625, R 626
Pr4	Antiphonale I-II	s.XV/XVI	Bohemian	Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea XII A 21, XII A 22

Sources of Mass Chants - Bohemia

Pr5	Missale notatum	s.XIV/1	Bohemian	Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky XII C 4b
Pr6	Graduale <i>Arnesti</i>	1364	Praha, St. Vítus	Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly P 7
Hrk	Graduale	c1470	Bohemian, Hradec Králové	Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech II A 2
Pr7	Graduale	s.XV/ex	Bohemian	Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky XII A 21
Es1	Graduale <i>Wladislai</i>	s.XVI/in	Bohemian-Hungarian	Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár Mss. I. 3

Sources of Office Chants - Hungary

Pr8	Breviarium notatum	s.XIII/2	Hungarian, Esztergom	Praha, Knihovna Královské kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově DE I. 7
Is1	Antiphonale	c1360	Hungarian	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi 42
Br1	Antiphonale	s.XV/1	Hungarian, Bratislava	Bratislava, Slovenský národný archív fond Kapitulska knižnica nr. 2
Br2	Antiphonale	s.XV/1	Hungarian, Bratislava	Bratislava, Archív mesta EC Lad. 3
Br3	Antiphonale	c1487	Hungarian, Bratislava	Bratislava, Slovenský národný archív fond Kapitulska knižnica nr. 4
Br4	Antiphonale	s.XV ex	Hungarian, Buda	Bratislava, Archív mesta EC Lad. 6
Zag	Antiphonale Paulinorum	s.XV ex	Hungarian, Paulines	Zagreb, Metropolitanska knjižnica MR 8

Sources of Mass Chants - Hungary

Is2	Missale notatum	s.XIII ex	Hungarian	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi 60
Alb	Graduale	s.XIV	North Hungarian	Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Națională a României filiala Batthyaneum R I 96
Is3	Graduale of <i>Franciscus de Futbak</i>	1463	Hungarian, Buda (?)	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi 2429
Es2	Graduale of Archbishop <i>Tamás Bakócz</i> I-II	s.XV/XVI	Hungarian, Esztergom	Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár Mss. I, 3b
Bu1	Graduale	1534	Transylvania	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár fol. lat. 3815
Bu2	Graduale from Kassa / Košice I-II	s.XVI/1	North Hungarian, Košice	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár clmae 172a-b

Sources of Office Chants - Germany, Austria, Switzerland

Tri	Antiphonale	s.XIV	Trier	Trier, Domarchiv 480
Utr	Antiphonale	s.XII	Utrecht	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek 406
Aac	Antiphonale	s.XIII	Aachen	Aachen, Dombibliothek 20

Frz	Antiphonale	s.XIV	Fritzlar	Kassel, Landesbibliothek 117
Zwi	Antiphonale	s.XII- s.XIII	Zwiefalten	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Aug. LX
Bam	Antiphonale	s.XIII	Bamberg	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Liturg. 25
Teg	Antiphonale	s.XV	Tegernsee	München, Universitätsbibliothek 175-176
Klo	Antiphonale	s.XII	Klosterneu- burg	Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek 1013 and 1012
Lam	Antiphonale	s.XIV	St. Lambrecht	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 29 and 30
Gal	Antiphonale	1544	St. Gallen	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 541

Sources of Mass Chants - Germany, Austria, Switzerland

Tri	Graduale	s.XIII	Trier	Trier, Stadtbibliothek 2254
Rat	Graduale		Ratingen bei Düsseldorf	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 10075
Her	Graduale	s.XIII	Hersfeld	Kassel, Landesbibliothek 4° ms. theol. 5
Lei	Graduale	s.XIII	Leipzig	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek St. Thomas 391
Reg	Graduale	s.XIV	Regensburg	Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek 4° 19
Moo	Graduale	1355- 60	Moosburg	München, Universitätsbibliothek 2° 156
Sal	Graduale	s.XIII	Salzburg	Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek I. 2. 4° 13
Pas	Graduale	1511	Passau	<i>Graduale Pataviense</i> 1511
Klo	Graduale	s.XII	Klosterneuburg	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 807

4.1 THE *CONIUNCTAE* IN POLISH CHANT SOURCES

Jakub Kubieniec

The sources labeled as “Polish” in this survey come from the boundaries of the archbishopric of Gniezno, which did not always correspond to the borders of medieval Kingdom of Poland. At the turn of the 15th century the province of Gniezno, apart from the archdiocese, included the southern dioceses of Kraków and Wrocław, the dioceses of Płock and Poznań in central Poland, the bishopric of Włocławek in the north, and the newly (in 1388) constituted diocese of Wilno (Vilnius) on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, joined to Poland through dynastic union. No medieval antiphoners or graduals from the bishoprics of Poznań and Wilno have been preserved but all the other dioceses are represented by a selection of chant books.

Late but reliable sources from **Gniezno** cathedral include the only extant antiphoner which was copied by a scribe Abraham in Kraków in 1505-1506 (Gniezno, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, ms. 94-97). Originally it consisted of seven volumes, of which only four have been preserved. Surviving graduals from the cathedral (Gniezno, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, ms. 195 – *de tempore*, and ms. 196 – *de sanctis*) are even later and come from 1536. The cultural and liturgical significance of the bishopric in **Kraków** – a seat of the royal court and a university center – was even more important than that of the metropolitan church. A much richer collection of liturgical sources has also been preserved from the diocese. The oldest of these is a gradual copied around 1300 for the collegiate church at Wiślica (Kielce, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego, ms. 1). Its melodic variants are very often different from those of the cathedral sources. The latter include a *Missale notatum* dated around 1350 (Kraków, Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej, ms. 3) and a gradual from the middle of the 15th century (Kraków, Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej, ms. 45). The books for the Office used at the cathedral are represented here by an early fourteenth-century *antiphonarium de sanctis* (Kraków, Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej, ms. 52) and an *antiphonarium de tempore* (Kraków, Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej, ms. 47), commissioned by bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki and copied circa 1423. A few sources from outside the cathedral were also examined for this survey: an antiphoner

executed in 1372 for the collegiate church in Kielce (Kielce, Archiwum kapitulne, ms. 1), a 15th-century antiphoner in six volumes from the Holy Trinity church in Kazimierz (now a district of Kraków) in the possession of the Canons Regular (Kraków, Archiwum Kościoła i Klasztoru Bożego Ciała, ms. 1-6) and a *breviarium notatum* compiled in 1375 by a parson of St. Margaret's church in Dębno (Prešov, Štátna vedecká knižnica, without shelfmark). In Tyniec, in the same diocese, one of the most important Polish **Benedictine** abbeys was also located. Its independent liturgical and musical tradition can be found, among other sources, in an antiphoner (Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, akc. 10808) and a gradual with unique notation (Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, akc. 10810) copied under abbot Mścislaw (Mstislaus) at the turn of the 15th century. Of the considerable number of liturgical books from the diocese of **Wrocław** (Ger. Breslau) two antiphoners and two graduals were selected for the present study. The 14th-century antiphoner (Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, ms. R 503), which is the oldest notated book for the Office from the diocese, was probably used at the church of St. Elisabeth in Wrocław. A late 14th- or early 15th-century antiphoner (Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, ms. 51319 Mus., olim K 21) comes presumably from the collegiate church in Brzeg (Brieg). Surviving mass books include a gradual copied in 1429 for the church of St. Mary Magdalene in Wrocław (*Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, ms. M 1194*) and a 15th-century gradual of the Canons Regular of Zagań (Sagan). The dioceses of **Płock** and **Włocławek** are each represented by a two-volume antiphoner. The books from Włocławek (Włocławek, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego, ms. 4 – *de tempore*, ms. 5 – *de sanctis*) were copied in the beginning in the first half of the 16th century and used at the cathedral. The Płock antiphoner (Płock, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego, ms. 11, olim 35 – *de tempore*, ms. 7, olim 36 – *de sanctis*), is slightly earlier and comes from the last decade of the 15th century. It is faithful to the use of the local cathedral but its exact provenance is unknown. Two other manuscripts, coming from the churches situated on the Baltic coast, were occasionally referred to: an antiphoner from St. Mary's church in Gdańsk (Danzig), which one would suppose should contain the tradition of Włocławek diocese, is in fact influenced by the use of Teutonic Knights (Gdańsk, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, F 408) and a notated missal from Stargard (Szczecin, Książnica Pomorska, cod. 11) – a valuable and unique 14th-century witness of the usage of bishopric of Kamień Pomorski (Kamenz), in a way an „inheritor” of the bishopric of

Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) which in the 11th century also belonged to the province of Gniezno.

The melodic tradition of Polish chant manuscripts is not uniform. The books from different dioceses or even different churches of the same diocese may offer different solutions for notating non-diatonic pitches.³⁰⁴ One of the most common procedure, known also from other sources, is a transposition of the whole melody. It can be found in the Polish transmission of responsories *Gaude Maria* and *Emendemus in melius*, in *Sancta et immaculata* in the manuscripts from Kraków, Płock and Włocławek and also in the antiphon *Gloriosa sanctissimi* in sources *Wro* and *Plo*. Sometimes the integrity of the whole melody is sacrificed in order to notate the correct intervals of just a short phrase. In such instances only the melodic unit containing the problematic pitch is transposed, usually a second up or down, as at the beginning of the introit *Laetare Jerusalem* in the sources from Kraków, or on the words *[invene]-rit vigilantem* in the Kraków version of *Beatus servus*. A unique instance of the latter procedure can be found in the responsory *Ite in orbem* in the version from the Włocławek antiphoner. According to Hollandrinus treatises at the syllable *[univer]-sum* a semitone step *d-eb* should be sung. It appears that to maintain this semitone the whole beginning of the chant was sung a second up in Włocławek (*e-f* in transposition):

common

W14, f. 191v

I- te in or- bem u- ni- ver- sum et pre- di- ca- te

In Polish sources there are also a few cases of “inconsistent” transpositions. In the antiphon *O crux gloriosa* in the antiphoner from Brzeg and in *Gloriosa sanctissimi* in the version from Gniezno part of the chant is notated in D, but the rest (with *coniunctae* phrases!) is transposed up a fifth. This may be just scribal error, but perhaps the copyist, taking the troublesome intervals into account, notated the respective phrases in a suitable position. Similar notational problems provoked by *coniunctae* can also be found in the

³⁰⁴ See also Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba: The *coniuncta* in Polish sources: Late Medieval Theory and Practice. *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 45, Budapest 2004, pp. 255-267.

antiphoner of the Canons Regular from Kazimierz. The antiphon *O crux gloriosa* and the responsory *Quae est ista* are notated in transposition, with a C-clef. In both chants however a strange combination of flat symbols can be seen:

Cas 3, f. 252v



O crux a-do-ran-da

The first flat sign makes sense only when read in *F*-clef; in that case the second one becomes our *coniuncta eb*.

In some cases sources of the Polish tradition avoid a *coniuncta* by notating another note instead. Thus, in the introit *Adorate Deum*, where according to TH II and TH IV *eb* should be sung at the word *Deum*, *f* is uniformly notated.

TH VII 4, 325

Cra, f. 69r




A-do-ra-te De-um

In this, as in many other cases (see also responsory *Ingressus Pilatus*, and the Wrocław version of the antiphon *Immutemur* – the phrase accompanying the words *ieiunemus*), such a turn of phrase finds some ‘justification’ in following the pentatonic tonality of the so called German dialect. More drastic solutions are also possible, as in the Kraków version of *Gloriosa sanctissimi*, where the note in question disappears (the same solution occurs in some German and Hungarian sources):

Kra, f. 30v

Bre



me-ri-tis et pre-ci-bus

In the same chant in the antiphoner from Brzeg there appears a rare example of a *coniuncta* actually written down in a liturgical chant book. Another (also with *E♭*) can be found in the same manuscript in the processional antiphon *O crux gloriosa*, also mentioned by treatises of the Hollan-

drinus tradition.³⁰⁵ Low Bb was also notated in the responsory *Sancta et immaculata* in the manuscripts from Gniezno and Gdańsk. Once again it is confirmed that the written version does not always present the melody of a chant as actually sung. We can only guess if in all other instances, where transposition was not involved (e.g. in *Beatus servus* in the version from Gniezno, in the offertorium *Iustitiae Domini*, etc.), the chromatic notes were also sung even if they were not notated. Longevity and fidelity of the oral transmission in this respect is confirmed by a peculiar version of the responsory *Ite in orbem* published in a late Polish print. The *Cantionale ecclesiasticum* compiled by Rev. Jan Siedlecki was one of several 19th-century editions of chants particularly useful in parish church ceremonies.³⁰⁶ Melodic versions in this edition were borrowed from a local Polish *Antiphonale* and *Graduale Romanum* printed for the first time by Andrzej Piotrkowczyk in Kraków in 1600. In both prints the responsory *Ite in orbem* is notated a fifth lower than usual, in F , but in the edition of Siedlecki two flat symbols are added, an eb , which is an equivalent of bb of the standard version and an ab , which is a transposed *coniuncta* eb described in the Hollandrinus treatises:



It seems that Father Siedlecki, no longer bound by the rules of medieval theory and Guidonian gamut, did not hesitate to notate the chant as it had been really sung for ages.

In view of the very specific and complex history and mutual relationships of the Hollandrinus Tradition texts, it is perhaps useless to seek for one particular chant tradition which could have been the practical basis for the Hollandrinus teaching. Be that as it may, although some of the “*coniuncta* chants” seem to be particularly popular in Poland (the rare responsory *Quae est ista* mentioned in TH V, TH XII, Sz and LZ) none of the consulted Polish sources fit perfectly the examples presented in the Hollandrinus treatises. Some of the chants never occur in these manuscripts in the version of the theorists (see for example *Conclusit vias meas*, *Fidelis ser-*

³⁰⁵ In both cases the flat sign was added by a later hand.

³⁰⁶ *Cantionale ecclesiasticum ad usum ecclesiarum Poloniae iuxta decreta synodorum praesertim synodi Petricoviensis ...*, per Joannem Siedlecki, Kraków 1890

mus). The least concordant with the treatises' descriptions is probably the transmission of sources from Kraków, in which the tendency to avoid the *coniunctae* leads in many cases to modification of the melody (see *Beatus servus*, *Gloriosa sanctissimi*, *Laetare Ierusalem*). On the other hand, the variants of chants that seem to be closest to the ones quoted in the Hollandrinus Tradition texts can be found in the manuscripts from Wrocław. Unique and peculiar tonal settings of the chants identical with that of the treatises can be found in some of them (see *O crux gloriosa* in *Bre* beginning on *d*; *Conclisit vias meas* beginning on *b* in *Wro*), and only rarely in these manuscripts are the melodies significantly different from the music examples in the sources of the *Traditio Iohannis Hollandrini*.

4.2 *CONIUNCTAE* IN BOHEMIAN CHANT MANUSCRIPTS 

Zsuzsa Czagány

The medieval liturgy in Bohemia was, like that in Hungary, strongly centralized. The bishopric of Prague, founded in 973-976, which up to 1063 also included the Moravian diocese of Olomouc, extended over the whole area of the Duchy, later Kingdom, of Bohemia. Correspondingly, the diocesan manuscripts for mass and office, which are rather sparsely preserved from the 13th century, then in greater numbers from the 14th century onwards, display a basic repertoire homogenous in structure and content. It was a homogeneity which nevertheless permitted some variation, especially in the more recent layers of late medieval *cantus planus*. The unity of transmission was supported not only by the rules and regulations of synodal statutes³⁰⁷ but also by reforms which affected the daily practice of singing chant in a narrower sense. In the second half of the 13th century the Prague dean Vítus (Vít) conducted a campaign to produce and distribute new liturgical books, not only in St Vítus Cathedral but throughout the whole diocese.³⁰⁸ Unfortunately, from this corpus no chant books (or books containing predominantly chant) have survived.³⁰⁹ The second reform was connected with the elevation of Prague to an archbishopric in the year 1344 and the consecration of Archbishop Arnestus of Pardubice, which occasioned the production of new, official choir books.

³⁰⁷ Rostislav Zelený (ed.): Councils and Synods of Prague and their Statutes (1343-1361). Apollinaris 45, 1972; Jaroslav V. Polc (ed.), Councils and Synods of Prague and their Statutes (1362-1395). Apollinaris 52, 1979; Apollinaris 53, 1980; Jaroslav Kadlec (ed.), Councils and Synods of Prague and their Statutes (1396-1414), Apollinaris 64, 1991.

³⁰⁸ Josef Žemlička, Děkan Vít, hodnostář a dobrodinec pražské kapituly. Sonda do života významné kulturní osobnosti 13. století [Dean Vítus – Dignitary and Benefactor of Prague Cathedral Chapter: an Investigation into the Life of an Outstanding Personality of the Thirteenth Century]. In Ivan Hlaváček / Jan Hrdina (edd.), Facta probant homines. Festschrift für Zdeňka Hledíková. Praha: Scriptorium, 1998, pp. 549-569.

³⁰⁹ Only three manuscripts from the reform campaign are presently known: a *Pontificale-Benedictionale* from St Vítus, Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea XIV B 9; an *Epistolarium* from St Vítus, Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea XIV A 9; and an *Evangelarium* from St Vítus, Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea XIV A 10. They are all accessible at the internet site www.manuscriptorium.com.

Sources for the Office chants

The liturgical and musical uniformity of the rite of the *ecclesia Pragensis* is detectable even in the earliest preserved office manuscripts and can be traced right through to the 16th century.³¹⁰ The oldest notated witness to this chain of transmission is the *Breviarium notatum* of Prague Cathedral **Pr1**.³¹¹ This contains only the first part of the church year (*pars hiemalis*) and – in its present incomplete state – only the *pars temporalis*. Of the examples of *coniuncta* under investigation here it therefore contains *Emendemus*, *Ingressus Pilatus*, *Conclusit vias*, *Iesum tradidit* and *Ite in orbem*. Only a fragment of the original Sanctorale survives, and this contains the office *de Inventione Crucis*, where one would expect to find one of the *coniuncta* chants, the Magnificat antiphon *O crux gloriosa*. But it is not there. Study of later sources confirms that this chant is rarely transmitted in Bohemia; in our survey it appears only in the Moravian breviary from Olomouc. In contrast with the Hungarian sources, which assign the chant to the *Inventio Crucis*, the Moravian breviary has it for the *Exaltatio Crucis*. Although so little of the Sanctorale survives, Pr1 does have a *Commune sanctorum*, with the *coniuncta* responsory *Fuerunt sine quaerela*.

The *Breviarium notatum* **Pr2** is an almost exact copy of Pr1, made some eighty years later.³¹² It too contains only the chants of the *pars hiemalis*, but it has no lacunae, and therefore includes the Sanctorale for this part of the year, so the *coniuncta* chants *Gaude Maria virgo* and *Gloriosa sanctissimi* are present.

The three-volume antiphoner **Pr3**³¹³ from the 1360s belongs to the set of official codices which the Archbishop of Prague, Arnestus of Pardubice, caused to be made and which constituted a sort of normative model for the Prague rite for Mass and Office upon the creation of the newly-founded archdiocese of Prague.³¹⁴ With the exception of the antiphon *Quae est ista quae ascendit* this manuscript contains all the *coniuncta* pieces. In the

³¹⁰ Inventory and description in Zsuzsa Czagány: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae (CAO-ECE) III/A Praha (Temporale)*. Institute for Musicology, Budapest 1996; *CAO-ECE III/B Praha (Sanctorale, Commune sanctorum)*. Institute for Musicology, Budapest 2002.

³¹¹ Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky XIV A 19

³¹² Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea XV A 10

³¹³ Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly P 6/1-3.

³¹⁴ On the life and work of the first Prague archbishop in its historical context see Zdeňka Hledíková, *Arnošt z Pardubic, arcibiskup, zakladatel a rádce*, Vyšehrad 2008.

course of its later use (probably in the 16th century) the antiphoner was revised, melismas were shortened, sometimes drastically. In some places the original notation is visible despite the erasures, and in such cases a reconstruction of the original form of the melody has been attempted.

Two further sources were selected for our survey, from the corpus of peripheral Bohemian manuscripts, those outside the immediate environment of Prague cathedral use. These are the antiphoner in two volumes from Kolín, probably written shortly before 1477 (**Pr4**),³¹⁵ and the two-volume noted breviary from the Moravian diocese of Olomouc, copied in the closing years of the 14th century (**Olo**).³¹⁶ The Kolín antiphoner is the only Bohemian source to contain the responsory *Quae est ista quae ascendit*, while Olo is the only one with the antiphon *O crux gloriosa*.

Sources for the Mass chants

Of the Bohemian sources with Mass chants which we have selected, the oldest is the *Missale Notatum secundum rubricam Pragensem Pr5* from the first third of the 14th century. Its exact provenance is not clear, but later entries, made in the 15th century, show that it was used in the southern Bohemian town of Kremže.³¹⁷ The *Graduale Pr6* is one of the above-mentioned set of Arnustus codices of the 1360s.³¹⁸ In contrast to the three-volume antiphoner, which is preserved complete, this gradual has only the first part of the original annual cycle, and so contains only three of the *coniuncta* chants to be studied: *Iustitiae Domini*, *Laetare Jerusalem* and *Adorate Deum*. Three further manuscripts of the 15th-16th centuries, on the other hand, are complete. The gradual **Hrk** comes from Königgrätz (Hradec Králové).³¹⁹ The manuscript **Es1** the *Graduale Wladislai*, is actually preserved among Hungarian sources.³²⁰ It was in use at the court of King Wladislaw II of the Jagellonian dynasty, who was King of Bohemia from 1471 and King of Hungary from 1490. Although the manuscript was used in Hungary, it was made in a Bohemian scriptorium with Bohemian notation, following Bohemian exemplars. Its basic repertory is clearly Bohemian, and only additions in the margins witness to its adaptation to the Hungarian rite for the

³¹⁵ Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea XII A 21, XII A 22.

³¹⁶ Rajhrad, Knihovna benediktínů, R 625, R 626.

³¹⁷ Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky XII C 4b.

³¹⁸ Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly P7.

³¹⁹ Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech II A 2.

³²⁰ Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár Mss. I. 3.

Mass.³²¹ The exact provenance of the Graduale **Pr7** from the late 15th century is unclear; according to a later entry in the book it must have belonged to the church of St Nicholas in the old town centre of Prague.³²²

The Coniunctae

The three responsories (*Sancta et immaculata*, *Fuerunt sine querela*, *Emendemus in melius*), which are employed in the Traditio Hollandrini to exemplify the first *coniuncta* (low *Bb*), are uniformly notated at transposed pitch with finalis *a* in the Bohemian sources. In this the Bohemian transmission displays its highest degree of agreement with the other Central European sources studied here. The only exception is the “Moravian” version of *Fuerunt sine querela*: in Olo the chant is given at its original level, but the *coniuncta Bb* (at *calicem Domini*) which should result is replaced by *B♯*.

Similarly uniform behaviour in the application of transposition in order to avoid irregular melodic progressions may be seen in the Bohemian transmission of *Gaude Maria virgo*, *Beatus servus*, *Fidelis servus*, *Conclusit vias* und *Hodie Maria virgo*.

The practice generally observed in Central Europe is also followed in the Bohemian version of the responsory *Ite in orbem* and the introit *Adorate Deum*. In these two cases it is not, however, a matter of transposition but of local variant details at those points which according to the theorists cause *coniunctae* to arise. Consequently, *Ite in orbem* is notated in all Bohemian sources at the same pitch as in the treatises of the Traditio Hollandrini, that is in transposed sixth mode on *c*. The irregular semitone *d-eb* at *universum* is, however, replaced by *d-f*. In the same way, in *Adorate Deum* the *coniuncta eb* at *Deum*, what might be called a “diatonic” semitone *eb-d*, is avoided by use of the “pentatonic” minor third *f-d*.

In the dossier of *coniuncta* chants investigated here, only the antiphon *Gloriosa sanctissimi* lacks uniform transmission in the Bohemian tradition. While the “central” Prague manuscripts (Pr2, Pr3) notate the chant at transposed pitch with finalis *a* (like Wro and Plo, also Utr and Frz), the

³²¹ Cf. Janka Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai* [Notated sources of medieval Hungary]. Budapest, 1981, 41-42; Gábor Kiss, *Az Ulászló-graduále utóélete az újabb kutatások fényében* [The later career of the Graduale Wladislai in the light of new research], in *Magyar Egyházzene X* (2012/2013) 315–322.

³²² Fol. 1: *Hic liber emptus est a Rectore scholae s. Nicolai Veteris urbis Pragensis Job. Czeslawino ...* Vgl. Václav Plocek, *Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae socialisticae - in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servantur*. Pragae 1973, Vol. II, 114.

“peripheral” sources Pr4 and Olo have it at the original pitch with finalis *D*, which is how we find it in most Central European manuscripts.

Pr2, f. 295v

Pr4

Olo, f. 258v

Glo- ri- o - sa sanctis-si -mi [...] et pre-ci- bus

Finally, two antiphons should be discussed which are rather rare in the Bohemian chant tradition and which constitute unique cases in the manuscripts investigated.

The large-scale antiphon *O crux gloriosa* certainly does not belong to the classical chant corpus, but rather to the body of new *cantus planus* compositions from around the turn of the millenium or shortly after.³²³ As already mentioned, it is not known in the general Bohemian use,³²⁴ appearing only in Olo. We are dealing here not only with an item unique in this area to the Moravian tradition, but also with a peculiar melodic variant which goes against the whole Central European tradition. In the first phrase of the antiphon Olo has the “original” theoretical version with finalis *D*, of course without *coniuncta*. But at *adgranda* the melody unexpectedly steps up a fourth and then continues in regular third mode with finalis *E*, at which level it remains to the end. This Moravian version thus differs from all Central European sources here surveyed, for in these the antiphon is notated either transposed up a second throughout (finalis *E*) or up a fifth throughout (finalis *a*).³²⁵

³²³ In the commentary to the complete edition of antiphons in *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi* L. Dobszay groups it with the “new-style compositions”. See *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi V. Antiphonen*, Kassel 1999, Teilband I, 69*.

³²⁴ It is also a rarity in the group of theoretical sources originating in Bohemia (TH III, VI, X, XVI): it is cited only in TH XI, but without notation. Cf. TH IV, 177.

³²⁵ The version in mode 3 actually appears to have originated in Central European chant practice. The version transposed to the confinalis *a*, which appears in many Polish manuscripts, seems to have been derived from this version and not from that of the theoretical texts. The *D*-mode version promoted by the treatises of the *Traditio Hollandrini* is almost completely absent from chant practice.

Szydlov 8, 24



Olo, f. 191v



Plo



Wro

Line 1: original “theoretical” version with *coniuncta* E \flat .

Line 2: Olo, start at original level with finalis D, change to finalis E.

Line 3: Transposition up a tone to finalis E.

Line 4: Transposition up a fifth to finalis a.

Similarly to *O crux gloriosa*, with *Quae est ista quae ascendit* we have to do with a regional late-medieval composition, whose distribution is restricted to the South German, Bohemian, Polish and Hungarian areas, but even in these regions appears only sporadically. Among the Bohemian sources investigated here, it is found only in Pr4. The melody in this source agrees with the version preferred by most other chant manuscripts and by the treatises of the *Traditio Hollandrini*. A *coniuncta* is avoided by upward transposition of a fifth from D to end with finalis a, therefore in transposed mode 1. In the *Traditio Hollandrini*, a version with finalis E and *coniuncta* F \sharp at “desertum” is regarded as original, but this is more or less unknown in practical chant sources.³²⁶

³²⁶ On this see Czagány, *Coniunctae*.

4.3 *CONIUNCTAE* IN HUNGARIAN CHANT MANUSCRIPTS

Zsuzsa Czagány

The corpus of notated liturgical manuscripts preserved from medieval Hungary is rather small in comparison with the number from other Central European lands.³²⁷ From the first phase in the constitution of the Hungarian liturgy with its centre in Esztergom (Gran, or Strigonium), which lasted from the early 11th to the beginning of the 12th century, no primarily musical sources have survived. The earliest preserved fully-notated manuscript, the so-called Codex Albensis, was made in the 1130s.³²⁸ This antiphoner, from the south of the country,³²⁹ is supplied with German neumes of the St Gall type; consequently, the musical characteristics of its chant tradition can be investigated only to a limited degree. The manuscripts of musical value for the present investigation are mostly those of the 14th and 15th centuries.

The second ecclesiastical centre in medieval Hungary, Kalocsa, which governed the southern area of the country, was established only a few years after Esztergom, probably by 1009. However, the preserved liturgical sources whose provenance in Kalocsa can be determined with any certainty date no earlier than the 14th century. The survival of manuscripts from the third area of the medieval Hungarian rite, Transylvania-Várad (Oradea, Großwardein) in the east, is similarly patchy; the office repertory at least can be reconstructed from breviaries preserved from the 15th century.

³²⁷ For a survey of the surviving notated liturgical manuscripts, including fragments, see Janka Szendrei: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai* [Notated sources from the Middle Ages in Hungary]. Budapest, 1981.

³²⁸ Facsimile of the manuscript with commentary: László Mezey / Zoltán Falvy: *Codex Albensis. Ein Antiphonar aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*. Budapest-Graz, 1963. *Monumenta Hungariae Musica* 1.

³²⁹ The provenance of the manuscript was long thought to have been the royal city of Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia). Exhaustive comparative research of its liturgical content accomplished by László Dobszay in the 1990s has, however, shown conclusively that the antiphoner should be assigned to the south-eastern area of the Hungarian rite in Transylvania-Várad. See further László Dobszay / Gábor Prószyk: *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae (CAO-ECE) – A Preliminary Report*. Budapest, 1988. Péter Ullmann: *Bericht über die vergleichende Repertoire-Analyse der Breviere aus Ungarn*. *Studia Musicologica* 1985, 185-192; Andrea Kovács: *CAO-ECE VII/A, B*. Budapest 2010.

In these circumstances the choice of sources for the investigation of the *coniunctae* of the Corpus Hollandinum has to compromise. In an ideal situation sources would have been available from all three areas of the Hungarian rite, and from all epochs, from the earliest period through to the end of the Middle Ages. And the sources would have been complete, containing all the chants, from the Mass as well as the Office, listed in the *coniuncta* chapters of the treatises. But of course not all these demands can be met. In the end, notated manuscripts were selected which represent the *ritus Strigoniensis* in its broadest sense, that is, sources from both the centre as well as the periphery of the medieval archdiocese of Esztergom. Chronologically, the sources date from the 13th through to the early 16th century, with an emphasis on the 14th-15th centuries.

Sources of Office chants

The earliest Hungarian manuscript with office chants notated on the staff³³⁰ is the *Breviarium notatum Strigoniense* of the late 13th century (**Pr8**), kept today in the library of the Strahov Premonstratensian monastery in Prague.³³¹ The provenance of the manuscript lies within a narrow orbit around Esztergom. This is also the only completely preserved notated Hungarian office source of the 13th century; all other musical remains from this century are fragmentary. It is the first of what was originally a two-volume breviary and contains chants of the *pars temporalis*, so that only six of the *coniuncta* examples to be investigated are present: *Sancta et immaculata*, *Emendemus in melius*, *Ingressus Pilatus*, *Conclisit vias*, *Jesum tradidit* und *Ite in orbem*.

The antiphoner **Is1**, kept today in the treasury of the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul,³³² is from the 1360s. The melodies are recorded in classical calligraphic Esztergom notation. Except for a few lacunae, the antiphoner contains the complete Temporale, Sanctorale and Commune sections, and

³³⁰ This is the so-called Esztergom chant notation, characteristic of manuscripts from the Hungarian dioceses from the early 12th to the 16th centuries. See Janka Szendrei: Die Geschichte der Graner Choralnotation. *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30, 1988, pp. 5-234.

³³¹ Facsimile with introduction: Janka Szendrei: *Breviarium notatum Strigoniense*. *Musicalia Danubiana* 17, Budapest 1998.

³³² Facsimile of the manuscript: Janka Szendrei / László Dobszay / Tünde Wehli / Mária Czigler: *The Istanbul Antiphonal (about 1360): Facsimile Edition with Studies*. Budapest 1999.

therefore the highest total (eleven) of the *coniuncta* chants to be inspected. Before being taken to Turkey in the mid-16th century among the spoils of war, it was used in the south of Hungary, possibly in the diocese of Szerém. This is suggested by the series of suffrages and office formularies added later to the main text at the place where the manuscript was used, in which, among others, Sts Irenaeus and Demetrius are named, both of whom were venerated in this area. The manuscript did not, however, originate in this region, which belonged to Kalocsa, but in the area of the archbishopric of Esztergom. The latest research into the liturgical repertory and musical readings indicates a local tradition dependent on Esztergom but not more precisely identifiable.³³³

The following three antiphoners of the 15th century, **Br1**, **Br2** and **Br3** represent a “peripheral” area which is geographically somewhat removed from the centre in Esztergom, while in matters of liturgical content they follow the *ritus Strigoniensis*. All three come from the collection of the medieval collegiate chapter in Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg).³³⁴ The first two, Br1 and Br2, were probably not originally a pair, making up a complete antiphoner, but in fact their contents complement each other, Br1 containing the *tempus hiemalis*, Br2 the *tempus aestivalis*. Taken together they encompass the complete set of *coniuncta* examples under investigation.

Although the antiphoner **Br3** diverges from the central Hungarian line of transmission in its notation, its illumination and its contents, in the *coniuncta* examples it shows close similarity to the Esztergom codices. Unfortunately the manuscript is badly damaged, and provides only four of the chants required.

The antiphoner **Br4**, from the late 15th century, is also from the manuscript collection of the Bratislava chapter, but both its external features and

³³³ Szendrei/Dobszay/Wehli/Czigler, *Istanbul Antiphonal*, pp. 62-65.

³³⁴ Szendrei, *A magyar középkor*, pp. 36-37. On the liturgical and musical content of the antiphoners see László Dobszay: *Pozsonyi Antifonálék* [Bratislava antiphoners]. *Magyar Könyvszemle* 88/3-4, 1972, pp. 271-275; László Dobszay: *CAO-ECE V/A Esztergom / Strigonium (Temporale)*. Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 2004; facsimile of the manuscripts: *Bratislavaer Antiphonar I-V* [CD ROM], *Memoria Slovaciae Medii Aevi manuscripta*, UNESCO – Memory of World, Begleitstudien: Július Sopko, Dušan Buran, Ľubomír Jankovič, Eva Veselovská, Martin 2002, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2007. Summary of the most recent findings from the investigation of the manuscripts of the Bratislava collegiate foundation, primarily from a paleographical and art-historical viewpoint, including the antiphoners mentioned here, in Juraj Šedivý: *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur im Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel*. Bratislava 2007.

certain musical characteristics (for example its very decidedly pentatonic readings) ally it with the central Esztergom line of transmission. Like Pr8 and Br1, the codex is a *pars temporalis* and contains only the *coniuncta* chants from this part of the repertory.

The last manuscript selected from the corpus of Hungarian office sources is the antiphoner **Zag**, from the close of the 15th century.³³⁵ This was probably used in the Pauline monastery of Remete near Zagreb, and is preserved today in Zagreb. It belongs to the rich collection of sources of the Hungarian Paulines (monks of the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit), and is also, beside the Istanbul antiphoner, one of the few completely preserved notated office manuscripts from medieval Hungary. It contains ten of the *coniuncta* chants. The Pauline Order, founded in the 13th century, was the only monastic order of Hungarian origin. The Paulines had no liturgy of their own, but adopted the central Hungarian diocesan liturgy at the time of their foundation, strictly preserved, one might even say conserved, with very few alterations, for many centuries (in some places until the 18th century).³³⁶ The strong orientation toward the liturgical and musical tradition of Esztergom is discernible in the *coniuncta* examples in *Zag*.

Sources of Mass chants

Six graduals and missals have been chosen from the corpus of Hungarian notated manuscripts for the Mass, which constitute a representative selection of the transmission in both the central and the peripheral regions of the archdiocese of Esztergom. Two of them may be assigned without hesitation to the central Esztergom rite in the narrowest sense, the others come from the east or north of the country. Their degree of completeness is higher than that of the office sources. With practically no exception, the full complement of *coniuncta* examples (*Beatus servus, Fidelis servus, Iustitiae Domini, Laetare Jerusalem, Alleluia Assumpta est Maria, Adorate Deum*) can be inspected in almost all the sources.

The earliest of the selected sources is the *Missale notatum Is2*, from the turn of the 13th-14th century, now preserved like the antiphoner Is1 in the

³³⁵ Szendrei, *A magyar középkor*, p. 35.

³³⁶ József Török: *A magyar pálosrend liturgiájának forrásai, kialakulása és főbb sajátosságai* [Sources, Development and Fundamental Features of the Liturgy of the Hungarian Pauline Order] (1225-1600). Budapest 1977.

Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul. Although the place where the missal was made and where it was used cannot yet be determined precisely, J. Szendrei has asserted that it represents the Esztergom rite in the broader sense.³³⁷ Its external appearance, script and commonplace style of notation suggest that the manuscript was made for daily use in a smaller parish church concerned to hold to tradition. Some features of its contents, such as archaisms in the constitution of the liturgy and the choice of melody for certain chants, and the modest provision of sequences, point in this direction.

The graduals **Is3** and **Es2**, by contrast, represent the main arm of the central *ritus Strigoniensis*. The first of these two manuscripts is known as the *Graduale Francisci de Futhak*, named after its copyist, who according to a colophon completed his work in 1463.³³⁸ The manuscript is distinguished by its particularly rich repertory: beside the basic Temporale, Sanctorale and Commune it contains an extensive kyriale and sequentiary, processions written out in full, tropes, etc. It is possible that it was used in close proximity to the royal chapel in Buda.

The second manuscript of the central Esztergom group is the prestigious two-volume gradual of Archbishop Thomas Bakócz, made at the turn of the 15th-16th century.³³⁹ It constitutes a final monumental compendium of the medieval Esztergom mass repertory, most probably made for Esztergom Cathedral itself.

The other three mass manuscripts come from different peripheral areas of the country. The gradual **Alb** of the 14th century³⁴⁰ was probably made for a church in the north of medieval Hungary, on the territory of present-day Slovakia. This is suggested by its musical notation, typical of this region, and also by its repertory, which in choice of items and musical variant readings betrays strong influence from the neighbouring Bohemian and Polish areas. The same “international” character is shared by the two-volume gradual **Bu2** from Kassa (Košice in the east of present-day Slovakia), dated a century and a half later (before 1518); it was probably copied for

³³⁷ Janka Szendrei: A „Mos patriae” kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében [The development of the ‘Mos patriae’ in the light of Hungarian notated sources originating before 1341]. Budapest 2005, pp. 324-349.

³³⁸ Szendrei, A magyar középkor, p. 31.

³³⁹ The two volumes have independent shelfmarks: see Eszt-I and Eszt-3b. Facsimile of the manuscript with introductory studies by Janka Szendrei, *Graduale Strigoniense* (s. XV/XVI). *Musicalia Danubiana* 12. Budapest, 1993.

³⁴⁰ Szendrei, A magyar középkor, p. 28.

the parish church of St. Elisabeth in Kassa.³⁴¹ The two manuscripts Alb and Bu2, while having a less “native” flavour in comparison with the central Esztergom sources, align themselves more with the broader central European transmission, bearing witness to a Hungarian-German-Bohemian-Polish cultural transfer typical of the north-east Hungarian border area.³⁴² Finally, among the late witnesses to this transfer is the gradual from Transylvania **Bu1**, copied in 1534.³⁴³ Although it comes from the south-eastern region, and thus from the “third area of the Hungarian rite” mentioned at the start of this essay, its content and melodic features ally it closely with the Esztergom graduals.

The coniunctae

Although the transmission of melodies in medieval Hungarian manuscripts is by no means uniform, the treatment of those chants which display *coniunctae* is with few exceptions consistent. This may be seen straightaway in the three basic chants with the first *coniuncta*. The three responsories *Sancta et immaculata*, *Fuerunt sine querela* and *Emendemus in melius* are notated in the Hungarian tradition without transposition, at the original pitch with finalis *D*; the passages which according to the treatises require the *coniuncta* low *Bb* are notated with *B♯*. It is of course difficult to decide if the absent *Bb* was also avoided in actual performance or – as handed down by oral tradition – really sung.

The “problematic” passages in the antiphon *Gloriosa sanctissimi* and the offertory *Iustitiae Domini* are resolved by similar means. In neither case is the melody transposed, and at the crucial places, where a note foreign to the Guidonian system could have been sung, tiny melodic variants or alterations to the intervallic structure get around the difficulty. The same is the case in the written transmission of the responsory *Ite in orbem*: all Hungarian manuscripts except for Is1 notate the responsory at the original pitch in transposed mode 6 with finalis up on *c*, as given by the theorists. But the irregular semitone *d-eb* at *universum* is replaced by the step of a third *d-f*. Only Is1 gives the transposition with finalis *G*, as suggested in the theory

³⁴¹ Szendrei, *A magyar középkor*, p. 38-39.

³⁴² See Gábor Kiss: *Késő középkori periférikus miseforrásaink és az esztergomi hagyomány* [Late medieval manuscripts for the Mass from Hungarian border areas and the Esztergom tradition]. *Zenatudományi Dolgozatok “In memoriam Dobszay László”*, Budapest 2012, pp. 49-81.

³⁴³ Szendrei, *A magyar középkor*, p. 34.

texts; yet here too the semitone step is replaced by a minor third (*a-c* rather than *a-bb*). There seems to be no necessary connection between the transposition and the avoidance of a *coniuncta*, and the notator obviously forgot the original reason for transposing the phrase. In addition to this, in the melodic version of Is1 there is a partial transposition of the start; after the place involving the *coniuncta* the melody drops a tone lower into the range with finalis *F* and continues to the end in regular mode 6 on *F*.

Szydlov 8, 53



Br1, f. 154



Is1, f. 106



In four chants cited in the *Traditio Hollandrini* as examples with *coniunctae* (*O crux gloriosa* for the second *coniuncta*, *Fidelis servus* and *Conclusit* for the fourth, and *Hodie Maria* for the seventh), the Hungarian sources investigated here follow the advice of the theorists: they avoid the problem-pitches by transposing the whole melody; the non-transposed form appears to have been quite unknown, at least in the practice recorded in the late chant sources. There is only one exception in this group of chants, the communion *Fidelis servus* in Bu1. A certain tonal instability can be felt here. It starts in transposed mode 7 (finalis *C*), then in the second line changes up to the regular mode 7 (on *G*), only to return down to the *C*-range in the third line (where the original *coniuncta* was employed at *in tempore*). It stays at this pitch nearly to the end, but ends surprisingly not on *C* but on *E*, which is in fact the original finalis of the “theoretical” version. It is difficult to know whether this version is a late witness to the early form of *Fidelis servus* or a late medieval unravelling of its modal structure.

Bu1, f. 102v

Fi-de-lis ser-vus et pru-dens
 quem con- sti- tu- it Do-mi- nus su-per fa- mi- li - am su-am
 ut det il- lis in tem- po- re tri- ti- ci men-su-ram.

A final member of this group is the responsory *Gaude Maria virgo*. The Corpus Hollandrinum actually suggests two possible ways of eliminating the *coniuncta*. The Hungarian manuscripts go the way of transposing a fifth down from finalis on *G* to finalis on *C*. In fact only two treatises recommend this (IH XII and XVI), but most Central European chant manuscripts adopt this solution.

The responsory *Quae est ista quae ascendit* is rarely found anywhere in the Central European area, and appears in only one Hungarian source, Br2. Here it is given in transposed form, but not the transposition suggested by the treatises. Remarkably, Br2 puts it down a tone, with finalis *D*.³⁴⁴

Szydlov 8, 31

Que est [...] per de-ser- tum

Szydlov 8, 32

Br2, f. 106

Line 1: original “theoretical” variant with *coniuncta* *F*[♯]
 Line 2: transposition suggested in the treatises with finalis *a*
 Line 3: transposition in Br2 with finalis *D*

For the communion *Beatus servus* the Hungarian transmission divides into three groups of sources. The manuscripts of the central Esztergom line transpose from finalis *E* up to *a* and thereby avoid the *coniuncta* *F*[♯]. Sources from the “periphery” keep to the original “theoretical” version with finalis *E*. Bu1 and Bu2 record the version of the treatises exactly, except that the *coniuncta* is ignored, with *F*[♯] simply replacing *F*[♯], the rest of

³⁴⁴ The Central European sources inspected here follow the advice of the *Traditio Hollandrini* and transpose the responsory onto finalis *a*.

the melody remaining unchanged.³⁴⁵ In the other gradual of the group, Alb, a melodic variation has been made in the section *invenerit vigilantem*. This is in fact a case of internal transposition, concerning only this period. The problematic phrase with the *coniuncta* is transposed down a whole tone, the step *F#-G* is replaced by *E-F*. However, this transposition has heavy consequences for the following sections. It causes the next line *amen dico vobis* to descend down to a lower level on *C*. Alb stays at this lower pitch almost to the end of the piece.

³⁴⁵ A word of caution: these are of course cases where one might perhaps suspect that the *coniunctae* were not actually notated but nevertheless sung.

4.4 THE *CONIUNCTAE* IN GERMAN CHANT SOURCES

David Hiley

The sources from the territories of the old German empire selected for this survey span a wide arc. For the north-west there are manuscripts from Utrecht and Aachen, and Trier on the Mosel. Three are from the central German area: Hersfeld, Fritzlär and Leipzig. Southern Germany is represented by manuscripts from Bamberg, Regensburg, Passau, Moosburg, Zwiefalten and Tegernsee. One manuscript is from the diocese of Salzburg (but cannot be located more accurately). Austrian abbey sources are represented by sources from Klosterneuburg (Niederösterreich/Lower Austria) and St. Lambrecht (Steiermark/Styria). One source is from St. Gallen in Switzerland. Other manuscripts might be added, but this is a reasonably representative cross-section of books with staff notation.

Trier and Klosterneuburg are represented by sources for both Mass and Office, other places only by one, a gradual or an antiphoner. The institutions from which the manuscripts come are quite heterogeneous:

Graduals:

Rat	from the parish church of Sts Peter and Paul, Ratingen (diocese of Cologne), 13 th c.
Tri	from Trier or the area of Trier, 13 th c.
Her	from the imperial Benedictine abbey of Sts Simon and Jude, Hersfeld (Hesse), 13 th c.
Lei	from the parish church of St Thomas, Leipzig, 13 th c.
Reg	from a parish church (possibly Sts Peter and Paul) in Regensburg, 14 th c.
Moo	from the collegiate church of St Castulus, Moosburg (diocese of Freising), copied probably by Ernst von Landshut under the direction of the <i>Rector solarium</i> Johannes von Perchausen, 1355-1360
Sal	from a church in the diocese of Salzburg, 13 th c.
Pas	the printed <i>GRAD. PATAV.</i> , printed in Vienna in 1511
Klo	from the double monastery of Augustinian canons (church of the Nativity of St Mary) and canonesses (church of St Magdalena) at Klosterneuburg, 12 th c.

Antiphoners:

Utr	from Utrecht, probably the collegiate church of St Mary, 12 th c., secular cursus. (Facs. ed. I. de Loos, index in <i>CANTUS</i> .)
Aac	from the cathedral church of St Mary, Aachen, 13 th c., secular cursus. (Index in <i>CANTUS</i> .)

Tri	from the cathedral church of St Peter, Trier, 14 th c., secular cursus.
Frz	from the collegiate church of St Peter, Fritzlar (Hessen), 14 th c., secular cursus.
Zwi	from the Benedictine abbey of St Mary, Zwiefalten (Swabia), of the Hirsau group of monasteries, 12 th -13 th c., Benedictine cursus. (Index in CANTUS.)
Bam	from the cathedral of Sts Peter and George, Bamberg, 13 th c., secular cursus. (Index in CANTUS.)
Teg	from the Benedictine abbey of St Quirinus, Tegernsee (Upper Bavaria), 15 th c., Benedictine cursus.
Klo	from the double monastery of Augustinian canons (church of the Nativity of St Mary) and canonesses (church of St Magdalena) at Klosterneuburg, 12 th c., secular cursus. (Index in CANTUS.)
Lam	from the Benedictine abbey of St. Lambrecht, 14 th c., Benedictine cursus. (Two manuscripts, both of the 14 th century.)
Gal	from the Benedictine abbey of St. Gallus, written in 1544 by Fridolin Sicher, Benedictine cursus.

Almost always, these sources stay within the limits of the Guidonian system; almost without exception, they do not use the *coniunctae*. They prefer to employ the usual devices of transposition and alteration of the intervallic structure of the melody. This does not necessarily mean that the *coniunctae* were not sung, but they were not notated. Within the limits of this survey, we find two chants where low B_b is used in some sources, and two chants with E_b only in the St. Lambrecht antiphoner.

It seems superfluous to comment here on all the cases of partial or complete transposition in these sources. Discussion is therefore restricted to the responsory *Fuerunt sine querela* and the two items with E_b , the antiphon *Gloriosa sanctissimi* and the responsory *Gaude Maria virgo*.

In *Fuerunt sine querela* the Hollandrinus treatises place a low B_b at [*calicem domi*]-*ni*. For this chant, the German manuscripts consulted here are divided between: (i) those which begin on low A , aim for the central tone D , and end on D ; and (ii) those pitched a fifth higher, beginning on E , aiming for the central tone a , and ending on a . The *coniuncta* low B_b assumes notation at the lower pitch. But Fritzlar, Zwiefalten and Tegernsee have $B\sharp$. There is no difficulty in notating the responsory a fifth higher, as in Utrecht, Aachen and Bamberg, except that Utrecht uses a high b_b at *do*-[*mini*] (but $b\sharp$ at all other places in the chant). That would be E_b a fifth lower. But the theoretical texts do not mention the possibility of a *coniuncta* E_b at this point.

Utr
non sunt se- pa- ra- ti, ca- li- cem

Aac

Frz

Klo

Lam

Utr
Do- mi- ni bi- be- runt

Aac

Frz

Klo

Lam

Klosterneuburg has a small letter *b* before *[domi]ni*, and this surely means that *B^b* should be sung. Klosterneuburg manuscripts regularly use gamma and low *B* clefs. But examples of a low *B^b* are very rare. Theodore Karp (p. 188) noticed one in manuscript Graz 807 (also from Klosterneuburg) for the introit *Dicit dominus ego cogito* (fol. 162r). Here the scribe simply writes two Bs: “BB”. But the scribe of *Klo* does not use a double *B*. In both *Sancta et immaculata* and *Emendemus in melius* we find *B* as a clef and a *B* once again, a reminder, just before the critical turn of phrase *BAI^bBI*. One might object that this means orthodox *B[♯]*. A more fanciful theory might suppose that *B[♯]* could have been indicated with some sort of square *B* (*♯*), so that round *B* means *B^b*. *Lam* clearly indicates *B^b* in *Fuerunt sine querela*, but notates *Sancta et immaculata* a fifth higher, and takes avoiding action in *Emendemus in melius*:

Klo
Lam

et mi-se-re-re qui-a pec-ca-vi-mus ti-bi

In *Gloriosa sanctissimi* the Hollandrinus treatises place an E_b at [*et pre*]-*ci-bus*]. The three syllables for *precibus* should be sung G- E_b D-CF. A majority of the German sources avoid the note and have only D instead, while Aachen has the *clivis* FE, still a semitone step, but pitched a tone higher. Two sources, Utrecht and Fritzlar, notate the antiphon a fifth higher, and here b_b can be used. But in Lam we find E_b as the treatises state.

Utr
Aac
Zwi
Lam

quam me-ri-tis et pre-ci-bus

Utr
Aac
Zwi
Lam

Xpi-sto com-men-det que-su-mus.

E_b s are to be found in *Lam* in the first half of the responsory *Gaude Maria virgo*, whereas other sources notate the chant a fifth higher, or avoid the difficult note by using other turns of phrase. Ex. 4 shows one source with the higher pitch (*Utr*), one at the lower pitch but with different turns of phrase (*Zwi*), and *Lam* with the E_b s.

Utr
Gau- de Ma- ri- a vir- go cun- ctas

Zwi

Lam

Utr
he- re- ses so- la in- te- re- sti mi- que Ga- bri- e- lis

Zwi

Lam

Utr
ar- chan- ge- li dic- tis cre- di- di- sti

Zwi

Lam

The hesitancy in using *coniunctae* in the German area might possibly be explained by the fact that the Guidonian system was established at an early date, becoming so firmly fixed in the teaching of chant that chromatic notes made no headway in chant notation. Guido's writings were already known on the Reichenau and in Regensburg, for example, in the 11th century. Hollandrinus teachings did indeed reach Germany (TH XX, XXI and XXII, and several treatises in the *Hollandrinus novus* group, for example TH V and XIII), but at a time when most churches would already have possessed chant books notated on the staff. It is certainly possible that a more exhaustive search in books copied in the 15th and 16th centuries might reveal more examples of the *coniunctae*, but it seems unlikely that many will be found.

5. *CONIUNCTAE* IN PRACTICAL CHANT SOURCES1 B \flat

Emendemus in melius "et miserere"	original mode (finalis D)	with B \flat	DE: Klo
		without B \flat	HU <i>all</i> : Is1 Br3 Br1 Pr8 Zag Br4 DE: Frz Zwi Teg Lam
	transposed up a 5th (finalis a)	(with f)	PL <i>all</i> : Krk Kie Cas Wro Bre Plo W14 BO <i>all</i> : Pr1 Pr2 Pr3 Pr4 Olo DE: Utr Aac Tri
Fuerunt sine querela "calicem domini"	original mode (finalis D)	with B \flat	DE: Klo Lam
		without B \flat	PL: Sil BO: Olo HU <i>all</i> : Is1 Zag
	transposed up a 5th (finalis a)	(with f)	PL: Kra Kie Cas Wro BO: Pr1 Pr2 Pr3 Pr4 DE: Utr Aac Tri Bam
Sancta et immaculata "non poterant"	original mode (finalis D)	with B \flat	PL: Gne DE: Gal (up to "capere non po-")
		without B \flat	PL: Wro Bre HU <i>all</i> : Is1 Br1 Pr8 Zag DE: Aac Frz Zwi Teg Klo Gal (from "[po]terant" to end)
	transposed up a 5th (finalis a)	(with f)	PL: Krk Cas Tyn Plo W14 BO <i>all</i> : Pr2 Pr3 Olo DE: Utr Tri Lam

2 E \flat

Conclussit vias meas "leo" "amaritudine" "posuerunt"	original mode (finalis F)		PL: Wro (only up to "insidiator")
	transposed up a tone (finalis G)	(with F)	PL: Krk Kie Wro (from "factus est") Gne Cas Plo Tyn BO <i>all</i> : Pr1 Pr2 Pr3 Pr4 Olo HU <i>all</i> : Pr8 Is1 Br1 Br3 Br4 Zag DE: Aac Frz Zwi Teg Klo Lam Tri
	transposed up a 5th (finalis c)	(with b \flat)	DE: Utr

Gaude Maria Virgo "interemisti"	original mode (finalis F)	with $E \flat$	DE: Lam
		without $E \flat$	DE: Zwi
	transposed up a tone (finalis G)	(with F)	DE: Bam
	transposed up a 5th (finalis c)	with $b \flat$	PL: Kra Kie Cas Wro Bre Plo BO: Pr2 Pr3 DE: Utr Frz
		without $b \flat$	PL: W15 BO: Pr4 Olo HU <i>all.</i> : Is1 Br1 DE: Aac
Gloriosa sanctissimi "et precibus"	original mode (finalis D)	with $E \flat$	PL: Bre DE: Lam
		without $E \flat$	PL: Kra Kie Cas Sil W15 BO: Pra-22 Olo HU: Is1 Ba2 Zag8 DE: Aac Zwi Bam Teg Klo Gal Tri
	transposed up a 5th (finalis a)	with $b \flat$	PL: Wro Pla BO: Pr3 DE: Utr Frz
		without $b \flat$	PL: Gne BO: Pr2
	Ite in orbem "orbem"	original mode (finalis F)	with $E \flat$
without $E \flat$			PL: AP W15 DE: Teg
transposed up a tone (finalis G)		(with F)	HU: Is1 ("Ite in orbem uni-" transposed up a tone, otherwise untransposed) DE: Tri Lam
transposed up a 5th (finalis c)		with $b \flat$	PL: Krk Kie Cas Wro Bre Tyn Gne BO: Pr1 Pr2 Pr3 HU: Pra: Pr8 Br1 Zag DE: Utr Bam Gal
		without $b \flat$	PL: Plo W14 ("Ite in orbem univer-" transposed up a 6th, otherwise up a 5th) BO: Pr4 Olo DE: Aac Zwi

O crux gloriosa "et admirabile signum"	original mode (finalis D)	with E <i>b</i>	-
	transposed up a tone (finalis E)	(with F)	PL: Kra Plo BO: Olo HU: Is1 Br1 Zag DE: Utr Aac Frz Zwi Bam Klo
	transposed up a 5th (finalis a)	with b <i>b</i>	PL: Wro Sil Kie Cas Bre
without b <i>b</i>		PL: Deb	

3 F#

Beatus servus "vigilantem"	original mode (finalis E)	without F#	PL: Gni Cra ("rit vigilantem" one tone lower, otherwise in original mode) HU: Bu1 Bu2 DE: Tri Sal Klo (all three have "invenit vigilantem vobis" one tone lower)
	transposed down a tone (finalis D)	(with E)	HU: Alb (start and end in original mode)
	transposed up a 4th (finalis a)	with b	PL: Mag Ti1 Ti2 Zag BO: Pr5 Pr7 HRK Es1 HU: Is2 Is3 Es2 DE: Her Lei Reg Moo Pas
with b <i>b</i>		PL: Wis	
Que est ista que ascendit "per desertum"	original mode (finalis a)	without F#	PL: Cas Gne BO: Pr4
	transposed down a 5th (finalis D)	with b <i>b</i>	PL: Kra W15 HU: Br2

4 a*b*

Conclisit vias meas "lapidem contra me"	original mode (finalis F)		-
	transposed up one tone (finalis G)	with b <i>b</i>	PL: Krk Kie Wro Cas Tyn BO: Pr1 Pr3 HU: Pr8 Br1 Br3 Zag DE: Aac Frz Teg Klo Lam Tri
		without b <i>b</i>	PL: Gne Plo BO: Pr2 Pr4 Olo HU: Is1 Br4 DE: Zwi

	transposed up a 5th (finalis c)	without e b	DE: Utr
Fidelis servus et prudens "in tempore"	original mode (finalis E)	without a b	HU: Bu1
	transposed up a 5th but with finalis G	without e b	PL <i>all</i> : Cra Gni Mag Wis Ti1 Zag BO <i>all</i> : Pr5 Hrk Pr7 Es1 HU: Is2 Is3 Es2 Alb Bu2 DE <i>all</i> : Rat Tri Her Lei Reg Moo Sal Pas Klo
Iesum tradidit impius ("in pluribus locis") [?? "impius", "populi", "a longe", "finem" ??]	original mode unclear		
	finalis F	with b b	PL: Kie Wro Bre Cas W14 HU: Br1 Pr8 Br3 Br4 Zag DE: Zwi Tri
	finalis G		DE: Aac Frz Bam Teg Klo Lam Gal
	finalis c		PL: Kra Plo Deb (opening one tone lower with b=) Gne (as Deb) BO: Pr1 Pr2 Pr3 Pr4 Olo HU: Is1 DE: Utr

5 c#

Coniuncta 5 (c#) appears to play no part in practical chant sources. The theoretical texts give examples for *All. Assumpta est Maria*, the communion *Beatus servus*, and the sequence *Laetabundus*. For the communion *Beatus servus* see coniuncta 3 (F#). Almost no sources for Mass chants in our survey contained the sequence *Laetabundus*, so it was omitted from our transcriptions. The theoretical texts give *All. Assumpta est Maria* starting on a, with c# occurring later in the *Alleluia* section. All the practical chant sources we consulted start the *Alleluia* on F (the coniuncta becomes a), except for the Polish gradual Szczecin, Książnica Pomorska, cod. 11 (Sta), which starts it on C (the coniuncta becomes E). In view of this unanimity parallel transcriptions seemed superfluous.

6 eb

Adorate Deum "deum"	original mode (finalis G)	with e#	DE: Sal
		with f	PL <i>all</i> : Cra Gni Mag Wis Ti1 Zag Sta BO <i>all</i> : Pr6 Pr5 Pr7 HU <i>all</i> : Is2 Alb Es2 Is3 Bu1 DE: Rat Her Lei Reg Moo Pas Klo

Immutemur habitu "ieiunemus"	original mode (finalis G)	with f	PL: Mag
	transposed down a 4th (finalis D)	with b \flat	PL: Cra Gni Ti1 Zag Crc

7 f#

Hodie Maria virgo celos ascendit "Maria"	original mode (finalis d)		-
	transposed down a 5th (finalis G)	with b \sharp	PL: <i>all</i> : Kra Kie Cas Bre Sil Wro Plo BO: <i>all</i> : Pr3 Olo (Pr4 variant without b) HU: <i>all</i> : Is1 Br2 Zag DE: <i>all</i> : Utr Aac Frz Zwi Bam Teg Klo Lam Gal Tri
Ingressus Pilatus "Iudeorum"	original mode (finalis E)	with f \sharp	PL: Gne BO: Pr1 Pr2 Pr3 Pr4 Olo HU: <i>all</i> : Is1 Br1 Br3 Br4 Pr8 Zag DE: Lam (efgfe)
		with g	PL: Krk Kie Cas Wro Tyn Plo W14 DE: Utr Aac Zwi Gal
	transposed down a 5th (finalis A)	with b \sharp	DE: Klo (abca)
	transposed up a 4th (finalis a)	with cc	DE: Tri