

# The Word–Music Relationship in the Gregorian and Old Roman Offertories

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**Abstract:** Differences between Gregorian and Roman chant are especially evident in the solo verses of the offertory. The contrast becomes pronounced among offertories assigned to Lent and Paschaltide. A central distinction between offertories is the relationship between melody and text. Eight examples illustrate these differences and the relationship between the dialects. The melodies underwent further development in both dialects after their separation. The sensitivity to the content of the words is best viewed as a token of the emphasis on literacy in Frankish culture.

**Keywords:** Gregorian chant, Roman chant, offertory, text–melody relationship

The relationship and historical position of Gregorian and Old Roman chant remains one of the central unresolved questions of chant scholarship. The various theories about the origins of the two traditions proposed in the 1950s have been echoed in recent scholarship. Joseph Dyer and Max Haas, for example, have suggested that the Old Roman dialect more closely represents the original state of the repertory, whereas James McKinnon argued that the Gregorian tradition more accurately resembles the chant of seventh-century Rome.<sup>1</sup> Kenneth Levy has recently proposed a third alternative, namely a widespread Gallican influence on the Gregorian repertory. Levy has suggested that Gregorian melodies are Gallican ones set to Roman texts. He attributes the partial resemblance between the Gregorian and Roman versions to a reverse transmission, in which these Gallican melodies made their way to Rome to be absorbed into the Old Roman dialect.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Joseph Dyer, “‘*Tropis semper variantibus*’: Compositional Strategies in the Offertories of the Old Roman Chant”, *Early Music History* 17 (1998): 1–59; Max Haas, *Mündliche Überlieferung und altrömischer Choral: Historische und analytische computergestützte Untersuchungen* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997); and James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000): 375–403.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth Levy, “A New Look at Old Roman Chant.” *Early Music History* 18 (2000): 81–104; and idem, “A New Look at Old Roman Chant I” *Early Music History* 19 (2001): 173–197.

As recent work on specific genres has shown, comparative musical analysis of the Gregorian and Roman melodies can be a valuable tool in determining which of these alternatives is more plausible.<sup>3</sup> Although these recent studies have made significant strides, we do not yet possess a full comparative picture of the relationship between Gregorian and Roman chant. The objective of the present essay is to address the larger questions about the two dialects by focusing on a single aspect of one genre, namely the relationship between words and music in the offertories, and to demonstrate the ways in which such analysis can shed light on the problem. Although analysis can provide no absolute answers about the eighth-century state of the melodies, it does offer insight into Frankish and Roman principles of singing and the nature of the changes that took place in both dialects.

The offertories show a less consistent similarity between the two traditions than has been demonstrated in other genres. Differences between the two versions are especially evident in the solo verses of the offertory. Gregorian verses are elaborate, melismatic and expansive in range, whereas many Roman verses are based on standard formulas. This contrast becomes increasingly pronounced among offertories assigned to the later liturgical seasons, particularly Lent and Paschaltide. A central distinction between offertories of the two traditions is the relationship between melody and text. Although both traditions are highly dependent upon the text, they manifest this dependency in divergent ways. The following examples will illustrate some of these differences and explore their implications for understanding the relationship between the two dialects.


Let us first consider the role of the words in the Roman formulas. *Example 1* presents an offertory verse based on a common formula that Dyer labeled Formula B.<sup>4</sup> This verse illustrates the repetitive structure typical of many Roman offertory verses; each clause of text is set to similar melodic material.<sup>5</sup> Despite this pervasive repetition, the melody is far from simple. As the example illustrates, the statements of the formula exhibit small variants. In line 1,

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Emma Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts: A Case-study in the Transmission of Western Chant* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); and Brad Maiani, "The Responsory-Communions: Toward a Chronology of Selected Proper Chants" (Ph.D. Diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1996).

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Dyer, "The Offertories of the Old Roman Chant: A Musico-Liturgical Investigation" (Ph.D. Diss., Boston University, 1971); and idem, "Tropis semper variantibus". This formula is also discussed in Inge Kähler, "Die Offertoriums-Überlieferung in Rom Vat. Lat 5319" (Ph.D. Diss., Universität Köln, 1971), where it is labeled "Singweise 2".


<sup>5</sup> In all musical examples, the Old Roman readings are those of Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 5319. In examples 3, 4, 5, and 7, Gregorian readings are those of Benevento, Archivio Capitolare, MS VI 34. Example 8 uses the reading of Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 807 because aspects of this reading are more representative.

**Formula B Statement 1**




Qui pro- pi- ti- a- tur o- mni- bus in- i- qui- ta- ti- bus tu- is

**Formula B Statement 2**



et re- di- met de in- te- ri- tu vi- tam tu- am

**Formula B Statement 3**



qui co- ro- nat te in mi- se- ra- ti- o- ne et mi- se- ri- cor- di- a.

The image displays three musical staves, each representing a different statement of Formula B. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are written in a medieval square style. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The first statement covers the text 'Qui pro- pi- ti- a- tur o- mni- bus in- i- qui- ta- ti- bus tu- is'. The second statement covers 'et re- di- met de in- te- ri- tu vi- tam tu- am'. The third statement covers 'qui co- ro- nat te in mi- se- ra- ti- o- ne et mi- se- ri- cor- di- a.'.

Example 1: *Qui Propitiatur*, verse of the Old Roman offertory *Benedic anima*

for example, the formula begins on D, whereas in line 2 it begins on a.<sup>6</sup> These variants can often be traced to differences in the text, such as the length and accent pattern of the clause. The singers relied upon a complex and sophisticated set of principles that allowed them to adapt the formula to different verbal conditions.

The key to these principles lies in the distribution and function of its constituent parts. *Example 2* shows five statements of Formula B. The formula is built from small melodic segments, each comprising a syllable, that play consistent roles in the melodic syntax and delivery of the words. The Roman-numeral headings at the top of each column refer to the functions of the melodic segments, as determined by their position in the phrase and their relationship to the accents of the text. Function I is pre-accentual; all segments in columns labeled I serve the role of accent preparation. Function II carries the accent; segments in columns labeled II fall on an accent. Function III is post-accentual; segments under this heading fall after the accent or on the final syllable of the word. Function IV is accent-neutral recitation on the F–G pes. This neume occurs on both accented and unaccented syllables, and repeated as often as needed to accommodate syllables remaining before the cadential pattern. Function V is precadential, and may occur on either an accented or unaccented syllable. Functions VI, VII, and VIII are cadential, accommodating the final three or four syllables of the clause.

The small variants between statements of the formula can often be traced to differences in the length of a clause and its accent pattern. Although it is not possible to demonstrate these principles fully here, a few examples can suffice to illustrate the types of constraints that govern the formula. Consider the statements of the formula in lines 1–4. The melodic segments in the first column, under the heading I, occur before the accent, and illustrate ways in which the singers accommodate different numbers of syllables before the accent. In column 3, the segments labeled A and B are post-accentual, and always fall on the last syllable of the word. If the first word is proparoxytone, as in line 1, the intervening syllable is given a single F or bistropha. Although segments A and B are different ways of carrying out the same function, they alternate under different conditions: segment A is always followed by an accented syllable, as in lines 1 and 4, whereas segment B may be followed either by an accented or unaccented syllable.

The same segment may serve more than one role in the melodic syntax and delivery of the words. These separate functions are clearly distinguished by

<sup>6</sup> For a description of the specific version of the formula in line 2 and the conditions under which it occurs, see Rebecca Maloy, “The Offertory Chant: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Cincinnati, 2001), 48–49.

Column:	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
Function:	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII

1. In-si-ti-a

2. Vé-ni-te

3. et ad-o-ra-vé-runt

4. et col-lau-da-vé-runt

5. mé-a

6. in cé-

7. lo pa-rá-vit sé-dem

8. in cé-li-

9. os fi-li-

10. ra-dó-mi-ni

11. ce-les-tes

12. ne am

Example 2: Statements of Formula B

Functions of melodic segments: Function I: syllables before the accent; Function II: accented syllables; Function III: syllables after the accent; Function IV: accent-neutral recitation; Function V: pre-cadential; Functions IV, VII, and VIII: cadential pattern

their position in the clause and their immediate musical context. The segment labeled B, for example, occurs in two contexts, as indicated in columns 3 and 8. At beginning of the formula, in column 3, segment B follows an accent, At the end of the formula, in column 8, it carries the accent, and is always followed by recitation on the F–g pes and the cadential pattern.

To summarize, the melodic segments of Formula B occur specific combinations and patterns; the use of particular segments is tied to the accent pattern of the words and their position in the formula. The consistent response to verbal conditions indicates that the words were a fundamental constraint in making melodies from formulas. The singers followed a set of principles that would have allowed them to reconstruct the melodies without memorizing numerous individual chants. These formulas are thus consistent with the model of oral transmission proposed by Leo Treitler.<sup>7</sup> Their systematic nature suggests that the transmission process was not dependent upon the modern concept of the work as a fixed text. Rather, the stability of the tradition was established through the singers' adherence to traditional rules and customs.

Gregorian offertories lack the melodic formulas and large-scale repetition that characterize their Roman counterparts. Although some Gregorian melodies are similar to the Roman formulas in range and tonal structure, they are far more varied in the details of the musical surface. Consider, for example, the Gregorian and Roman readings of the sixth-mode offertory *Domine convertere* (Example 3) for Monday of the fifth week in Lent. The Roman version is based primarily on Formula B, as indicated in the example. Much of other material in the Roman reading is also determined by conventions of the genre. The brief descent to C on the word “propter”, for example, is a common caesura in penultimate phrases of sixth-mode offertories, and the melodic turns in boxes 1 and 2 are common ways of singing the words “domine” and “animam” in sixth-mode offertories.<sup>8</sup>

The Gregorian version of this offertory, in line 2, shows a broad similarity to the Roman in its emphasis on F as a focal pitch and its descent to C on “propter”, traits that characterize sixth-mode offertories of both dialects. The Gregorian version, however, lacks the large-scale repetition of the Roman. In

<sup>7</sup> Leo Treitler, “Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant”, *Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974): 333–372; idem, “Transmission and the Study of Music History”, in *International Musicological Society: Report, Berkeley 1977* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981): 202–211; idem, “Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music”, *Speculum* 56 (1981): 471–491; idem, “Orality and Literacy in the Music of the European Middle Ages”, in *The Oral and Literate in Music* (Tokyo: Academia Music, 1986), 36–56, and idem, “The ‘Unwritten’ and ‘Written Transmission’ of Medieval Chant and the Startup of Musical Notation,” *Journal of Musicology* 10 (1992): 132–191.

<sup>8</sup> The melodic material on “domine”, for example, recurs on the same word in the opening of *Domine in auxilium* and in the second verse of *Domine deus in simplicitate*. The melodic material on “animam” recurs on this word numerous times. See, for example, *Domine in auxilium*.

1. Rome, vat. lat 5319 Benevento 34

Formula B

Do-mi-ne con-ver-te-re et e-ri-pe

Do-mi-ne con-ver-te-re et e-ri-pe

2. Formula B (cadential pattern)

a-ni-mam me-am sal-vum me fac

a-ni-mam me-am sal-vum me fac

3. Formula B

prop-ter mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu-am

prop-ter mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu-am

Example 3: Gregorian and Roman versions of *Domine convertere*, offertory for Monday of the fifth week in Lent

the Roman version, for example, the words “convertere et eripe” in system 1 are melodically identical to “misericordiam tuam” in system 3. In the Gregorian version, the two corresponding passages differ in melodic detail. Similar patterns may be observed throughout the repertory.

The significance of words in the Roman tradition is also reflected in the tendency of particular formulas or melodic turns to recur with specific words. In *Domine convertere*, for example, we noted that the words “animam” and “domine” are sung the same way in many other Roman offertories. In these cases, the words seem to have served as cues to the singers to remember the melody. This verbal parallelism occurs far more frequently in the Roman offertories than in their Gregorian counterparts. Moreover, breaches in continuity between the two traditions often occur precisely in the passages where the Roman singers were prompted by verbal relationships with other offertories. Consider, for example, *Illumina faciem*, the first verse of the second-mode offertory *In te speravi* (Example 4) for Tuesday of the first week in Lent. Although the Gregorian and Roman readings of this offertory are quite dissimilar, they do correspond in some places. In system 2, for example, both versions place long melismas articulating the fourth C–F on the first syllable

of “servum” and cadence on D on “tuum”. In system 4, both readings articulate the third F–a and cadence on F. Despite their differences, the two versions evidently descend from a common melodic prototype.

The Gregorian and Roman readings of *Illumina faciem* show the most striking differences in systems 1 and 3. Here the Roman version responds to verbal cues. In systems 3 and 4, *Illumina faciem* shares the words “salvum me fac propter misericordiam tuam” with the sixth-mode offertory *Domine convertere* (Example 3). In the Roman tradition, these two passages are musically similar. (Compare Example 3, line 1, systems 2 and 3 and Example 4, line 1, systems 3 and 4.) The gesture articulating the F–C tetrachord on “propter” (box 2) is typical of sixth-mode offertories. Its use in *Illumina faciem*, unique among second-mode offertories, is evidently prompted by the

The image displays a musical score for the Gregorian chant *Illumina faciem*, comparing two versions: Vat. lat. 5319 (top) and Benevento 34 (bottom). The score is organized into four systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. System 1 (labeled '1') covers the text 'Il- lu- mi- na fa- ci- em tu- am'. A box labeled '1' highlights the melodic phrase for 'ci- em tu- am' in the Vat. lat. 5319 version. System 2 (labeled '2') covers 'su- per ser- vum tu- um'. System 3 (labeled '3') covers 'et sal- vum me fac prop- ter'. A box labeled '2' highlights the melodic phrase for 'prop- ter' in the Benevento 34 version. System 4 (labeled '4') covers 'mi- se- ri- cor- di- am tu- am.' and is labeled 'Formula B'. The Benevento 34 version shows a distinct melodic contour for the 'prop- ter' text compared to the Vat. lat. 5319 version.



The image shows a musical score for the first verse of the offertory *In te speravi*. It is divided into three systems, labeled 5, 6, and 7. Each system contains two staves: a top staff for the Gregorian version and a bottom staff for the Old Roman version. The lyrics are written below the staves. System 5: 'do- mi- ne ne con- fun- dar'. System 6: 'quo- ni- am in- vo- ca-'. System 7: 'vi- te.' The Gregorian version features a more melismatic and flowing line, while the Old Roman version is more rhythmic and syllabic.

Example 4: Gregorian and Old Roman versions of *Illumina faciem*, first verse of the offertory *In te speravi* for Tuesday of the first week in Lent

verbal similarity to the sixth-mode offertory *Domine convertere*. The two versions of *Illumina faciem* are particularly dissimilar where the Roman singer responds to this verbal cue.

A further breach of continuity between the Gregorian and Roman versions of *Illumina faciem* occurs in the opening phrase; here the two readings differ both in range and placement of melismas. Once again, the Roman version is prompted by the text. The formula on “faciem tuam” (box 1) is found among offertories of all modes. In a great majority of cases, it occurs under specific verbal conditions, namely a noun, usually a three-syllable proparoxytone, followed by a possessive adjective.<sup>9</sup> In this passage, the Roman singer is clearly responding to the words “faciem tuam”.

Examples 3 and 4 show that the Roman offertories are more dependent upon formulas than their Gregorian counterparts are, and that these formulas are closely tied to verbal conditions. This pattern raises questions about the historical position of the Roman formulas vis-à-vis the Gregorian melodies.

<sup>9</sup> This formula occurs in slightly different forms, depending upon whether it is followed by a caesura. Compare, for example, the first verse of *Bonum est* (on “oculus tuus”) and the offertory responds *Benedicte gentes* (on “animam meam”) and *Domine deus in simplicitate* (“populus meus”). An altered form occurs with two-syllable proparoxytones. See, for example, the first verse of *Laudate dominum* (“deus noster”).

Did these formulas exist in the eighth century and the Franks simply fail to assimilate them? Or did the extensive dependency on verbal cues in the Roman melodies develop after their separation from the Gregorian, during their three centuries of oral transmission?

The repertory exhibits a prominent pattern that must play a fundamental role in considering the two possibilities: A significant majority of Roman melodies based on formulas differ sharply from their Gregorian counterparts. The Roman repertory, however, also includes offertories that lack formulas. These distinctive Roman melodies often resemble the Gregorian readings quite closely. Most Roman offertories assigned to Advent and Christmas are distinctive in their musical details, and it is these melodies that show the closest similarity to their Gregorian counterparts.<sup>10</sup> This pattern is illustrated in Examples 5 and 6.

*Example 5* presents the two versions of the Advent offertory *Benedixisti* for the third Sunday of Advent. The Roman reading (line 1) lacks melodic formulas and resembles the Gregorian reading in range, melodic shape, and distribution of syllabic passages and melismas, particularly in the boxed passages and in phrase 3. The similarity between the two readings indicates that they descend from a common melodic prototype that was relatively stable in transmission. *Example 6* shows *Venite et videte/audite*, the third verse of the second-mode offertory *Benedicite gentes* for Wednesday of the fourth week in Lent. This example illustrates the marked differences between Gregorian and Roman verses assigned to the later liturgical seasons.<sup>11</sup> The Roman version, in line 2, is based on Formula B, whereas the Gregorian is expansive in range and melismatic density. The two versions show no traces of a common origin. These two examples illustrate a pattern found throughout the repertory. The Roman formulaic melodies rarely bear any resemblance to the Gregorian version, whereas the non-formulaic Roman melodies usually show some affinity with their Gregorian counterparts.

This trend invites several possible explanations. The first is that the Roman formulas represent the state of the repertory in the eighth century. With this hypothesis, the Franks were selective in their assimilation of the Roman repertory. For non-formulaic melodies such as *Benedixisti* (*Example 5*) they reproduced the Roman version with some accuracy. When faced with formulaic melodies, however, the Franks rejected them, either modifying the melodic details (as in *Domine convertere*, *Example 3*) or replacing them with entirely

<sup>10</sup> There are a few exceptions to this principles, such as the verses of the Christmas offertory *Laetentur celi*, which are based on the formula Dyer labeled Formula A.

<sup>11</sup> This correlation between melodic traits liturgical assignments is consistent with theory of James McKinnon proposed in *The Advent Project*.

Phrase 1

Rome, vat. lat. 5319

Benevento 34

Be-ne-di-xi-sti ti do-mi-ne

Be-ne-di-xi-sti ti do-mi-ne

Phrase 2

ter-ram tu-am a-ver-ti-sti

ter-ram tu-am a-ver-ti-

Phrase 3

cap-ti-vi-ta-tem ia-cob-re-mi-si-sti

cap-ti-vi-ta-tem ia-cob-re-mi-si-sti

i-ni-qui-ta-tem ple-bis tu-e.

i-ni-qui-ta-tem ple-bis tu-e.

Example 5: Roman and Gregorian versions of *Benedixisti*,  
offertory for the Third Sunday of Advent

new melodies (as in *Venite*, Example 6). Although this scenario is conceivable, it does contradict the oft-assumed intentions of the Franks to reproduce the Roman melodies faithfully. If the formulas were a pervasive feature of the eighth-century offertories, they would have stood out to the Franks as their most salient characteristic. The extreme melodic economy of the formulas would have aided the Franks in learning the repertory. If the Roman melodies represent the eighth-century state of the repertory, we must view the Frankish reception of Roman chant as a selective revision process, in which the Franks retained unique details of many Roman melodies, but eliminated their most easily assimilable characteristic, their formulas.

A second possibility is that the Gregorian offertories more closely resemble the eighth-century prototypes, and that the Roman formulas developed

during the three centuries of oral transmission that followed the Frankish reception. Without written notation, singers relied increasingly on the text as an aid to learning and remembering the melodies; the Roman melodies became stereotyped into uniform formulas that were easily recalled and reproduced without notation. This scenario is consistent with the evidence that the Roman chant was transmitted in a purely oral tradition for longer than the Gregorian was.<sup>12</sup>

Rome, var. lat. 5319

1. Benevento 34

Ve- ni- te et au- di- te o- pe- ra do- mi- ni  
 Ve- ni- te et vi- de- te o- pe- ra do- mi- ni

2. D  
 quam ter-ri- bi- lis in con- si- li- is su- per fi- li- os  
 quam ter-ri- bi- lis in con- si- li- is su- per fi- li- os

3.  
 ho- mi- num ab ip- so o- re me- o  
 ho- mi- num ad ip- sum o- re me- o

4.  
 cla- ma- vi et ex- ul- ta- vit  
 cla- ma- vi et ex- ul- ta- vit

5.  
 sub lin- gua me- a  
 sub lin- gua me- a

<sup>12</sup> See John Boe, "Chant Notation in Eleventh-Century Roman Manuscripts", in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. Graeme Boone (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 43–58; and idem, "Music Notation in Archivio San Pietro C 105 and in the Farfa Breviary, Chigi C. VI. 177", *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 1–45.

6. prop- te- re- a ex- au- di- vit me de- us  
prop- te- re- a ex- au- di- vit me de- us

7. et in- ten- dit vo de- pre- ca- ti- o.  
et in- ten- dit vo o- ra- ti- o.

8.

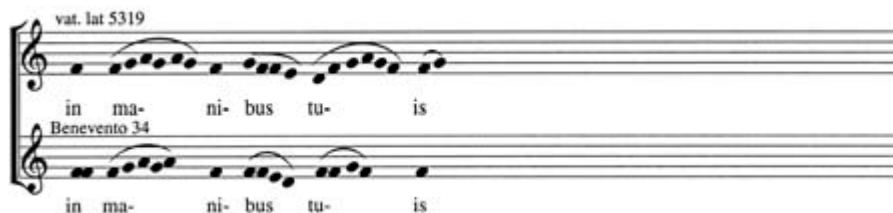
9. em me- e  
em me- e

Example 6: Gregorian and Roman versions of *Venite et videte/audite*, final verse of the offertory *Benedicite gentes*, for Wednesday of the fourth week in Lent

The frequent cases of verbal and musical parallelism in the Roman offertories raise similar questions. These instances occur far more frequently in the Roman offertories than in the Gregorian. Let us briefly reconsider the offertory verse *Illumina faciem* (Example 4). The formula on “faciem tuam” (system 1, line 1) offers perhaps the most striking illustration of the significance of verbal cues in the Roman offertories. As previously mentioned, it is typically prompted by specific verbal conditions, namely a noun, usually a three syllable proparoxytone, followed by a possessive pronoun.<sup>13</sup> Nearly every statement of this formula produces a breach in melodic continuity with the Gregorian reading. The repertory, however, includes one exception to this rule, which occurs in the offertory respond *In te speravi* (Example 7). The Roman

<sup>13</sup> There are a few exceptions in the repertory. In two offertories, *Benedicite gentes* and *Ascendit deus*, it occurs on the words “iubilate deo”.

version incorporates an incomplete statement of this formula on the words “manibus tuis” in the final clause. In this particular case, the corresponding Gregorian passage is similar in melodic shape, particularly on the word “manibus”. In most cases, however, the corresponding passage in the Gregorian reading bears no melodic affinity to the Roman formula.<sup>14</sup>



Example 7: *In te speravi*, offertory, excerpt

The manifold use of this formula in the Roman offertories and the single corresponding passage in the Gregorian tradition invite two possible explanations. The first is that the melodic tradition received by the Franks relied heavily on this formula, but that the Frankish singers retained it only in one case, perhaps because they failed to grasp the verbal parallelism underlying most of its occurrences.<sup>15</sup> The second possibility is that during the centuries following the separation of the two dialects, the Roman singers relied increasingly on words as an aid to remembering the melodies. I am inclined to favor the second explanation because it is consistent with evidence that the Roman tradition existed in an oral tradition for far longer than the Gregorian.

The examples pose a challenge to the oft-stated view that the Old Roman manuscripts, copied in the eleventh century, reflect the state of the melodies in the eighth century. It is also unlikely that the Gregorian melodies are identical to the eighth-century prototype. As contemporaneous evidence suggests, learning the Roman repertory posed an enormous task for the Franks, one they cannot have accomplished with absolute accuracy.<sup>16</sup> The more likely scenario, then, is that the offertory melodies underwent change in both dialects. The

<sup>14</sup> Compare, for example, the instances of the formula cited in note 9 with the corresponding passages in the Gregorian tradition.

<sup>15</sup> An explanation similar to this is proposed by Max Haas in *Mündliche Überlieferung und altrömischer Choral: Historische und analytische computergestützte Untersuchungen* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997). See especially 133–138.

<sup>16</sup> For example, the oft-cited comment of John the Deacon: “Huius modulationis dulcedinem inter alias Europae gentes Germani seu Galli discere crebroque rediscere insigniter poterunt, incorruptam vero tam levitate animo, quia nonnulla de proprio Gregorianis cantibus miscuerunt, quam feritate quoque naturali servare minime poterunt”, John the Deacon, *Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita*, in *Patrologia Latina* 75 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1862), 90–91.

utter lack of melodic continuity between the two traditions, evident particularly in the Lenten and Paschaltide offertories, raises the possibility that the melodies were not fully rooted in the melodic tradition at the time of the Frankish reception, leaving ample opportunity for Frankish initiative.

In considering the possible Frankish contributions to the tradition, the relationship between words and music again warrants close examination. We have seen that the Roman formulas exhibit a great sensitivity to the aural features of the text, such as accent pattern and phonetic similarity. Although the Gregorian melodies are less sensitive to these factors, at times they respond more sensitively to the content and meaning of the text.

Consider the two readings of the lengthy verse of the Post-Pentecost offertory *Sanctificavit* provided in *Example 8*.<sup>17</sup> The text consists of alternating sections of narrative and dialogue. The Gregorian reading, given in line 2, employs different ranges to underscore the meaning of the text and to mark shifts between narrative and quotation. The verse begins in the lower part of the fifth-mode range, articulating the fifth F–c. In system 2, however, the melody expands into the upper part of the range, beginning with the melisma on “ascende”. This apparent text painting also highlights the first shift between narrative and quotation. In system 5, the word “ascendit” is emphasized with further expansion of range. In system 7, the word “descendit” is marked by a return to the lower part of the range, evidently another literal depiction of the text. The Roman reading of this verse, in line 2 is typically repetitive, consisting largely of the recurring phrases labeled X, Y, and Z. Although restatements of these phrases are altered according to certain features of the text such as accent, Roman version does not respond in any discernable way to the content of the text.

Although literal depictions of text such as those in *Sanctificavit* are rare among Gregorian offertories, the Gregorian melodies often underscore the meaning of the text in more subtle ways. Consider once again the two versions of the verse *Venite* in *Example 6*. In this final verse of a second-mode offertory, the Gregorian version (line 2) has the traits of mode 1, exhibiting a climatic modal expansion typical of many final verses in the Gregorian tradition. The words “ad ipsum ore meo clamavi” (system 3) are marked by a further heightening, articulating the third a–c. With this shift in range, the Gregorian version provides a reading of the text that highlights these words as the verbal and musical climax. The Roman version, based on Formula B, is cursory by comparison.

<sup>17</sup> *Sanctificavit* is one of the non-psalmic offertories the Kenneth Levy has proposed are of Gallican origin. See “Toledo, Rome, and the legacy of Gaul”, *EMH* 4 (1984): 44–99. James McKinnon has argued that this and other non-psalmic offertories are Roman in origin in *The Advent Project*, 318–325.

The lack of melodic continuity between the Gregorian and Roman offertories suggests that the melodies underwent further development in both dialects after their separation. This brief examination of the word–music relationship offers clues to the possible nature of these changes. Responding in some cases to the content and meaning of the text, the Franks created melodies of exceptional breadth. The sensitivity to the content of the words in some Gregorian offertories is perhaps best viewed as a token of the emphasis on literacy in Frankish culture.<sup>18</sup> During a more prolonged period of oral transmission, the Roman tradition developed along different lines, toward an extreme melodic economy and a mnemonic dependency upon the aural features of the text.

Rome, vat. lat 5319

1 Lo- cu- tus est do- mi- nus ad mo- y- ses di- cens:

Graz 807

Lo- cu- tus est do- mi- nus ad mo- y- ses di- cens:

2 "a- scen- de ad me

"a- scen- de ad me

Phrase X

3 in mon- tem sy- na et sta- bis su- per ca- cu- men

in mon- tem sy- na et sta- bis su- per ca- cu- men

Phrase Y

4 e- ius." Sur- gens mo- y- ses

e- ius." Sur- gens mo- y- ses

<sup>18</sup> Susan Rankin, "Carolingian Music", in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 281–290. Rankin considers responses to the content of the text to be one of the central features of Gregorian chant that distinguishes it from Old Roman chant, but I have not observed this trend consistently in the Gregorian offertories.



5 a- scen- dit in mon- tem

Phrase X

6 u- bi con-sti-tu- it e- i de- us  
u- bi con-sti-tu- it e- i de- us

Phrase X

7 et de- scen- dit ad e- um do- mi- nus in  
et de- scen- dit ad e- um do- mi- nus in

Phrase X

8 nu- be et a- sti- tit an- te fa- ci- em e- ius  
nu- be et a- sti- tit an- te fa- ci- em e- ius

Phrase Y

9 vi- dens mo- y- ses pro ci- dens  
vi- dens mo- y- ses pro ci- dens

Phrase Z

10 a- do- ra- vit di- cens: "ob- sce- ro do- mi- ne  
a- do- ra- vit di- cens: "ob- sce- ro do- mi- ne

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

System 11: *di-mit-te pec-ca-ta po-pu-li tu-i.*  
 System 12: *et di-xit ad e-um do-mi-nus: "fa-ci-am se-cun-dum*  
 System 13: *ver-bum tu-um."*

The lute line in system 12 includes the annotation "Phrase Z (shortened)".

Example 8: Excerpt from *Locutus est dominus*, verse of the offertory *Sanctificavit*,  
 Gregorian and Old Roman versions