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The Duality of Theory and Praxis in Tonaries
The Antiphonal Psalmody of the Office as Reflected in
Central European Sources

PhD Theses

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1. Research background

The two thematic components given in the title of this thesis, the tonary and the antiphonal psalmody of the Office, were formerly set forth in two distinct threads by the research of medieval liturgical plainchant.

Tonaries played a key role in the early stage of the history of Frankish-Roman Gregorian chant, as they published the liturgical set of chants at the same time as the first chant books, and in the very musical taxonomy that reflected the application of the system of eight modes to the chant material. In the interpretation of the inception and purpose of the book as a genre, as justified by the material contained in it, two notions confronted each other: the one based on praxis and the one based on theory. Michel Huglo was prompted by his study of Carolingian tonary to distinguish its practical archetype, a tonary only comprising chants sounded by means of antiphonal psalmody. In his fundamental monograph (1971), he identified and described several sources of tonaries chiefly by way of external properties (title, textual commentary, structure, and authorship). The questions of the function and bequeathing of tonaries were later discussed by Paul Merkley (1988, 1992) as the medieval history of the theoretical classification of tunes, and he drew the attention to the content of tonaries: presenting the minute stratification of the inventory of chants. Intuitively, tonaries had long been treated in writings of liturgical and musical history as an equal source as graduals and antiphonals that recorded the liturgical set of chants of a particular institution (Lipphardt, 1965).

The second sorting principle of tonaries was supplied at the second level (after modes) by *differentiae*. The abstract concept of *differentia* could also be applied to a subgroup of antiphons within a mode. All through the Middle Ages, this term was used to refer to the last cadence (termination) of psalm recitation, which were worded and represented, not only in tonaries but also in Office chant books, with the six last syllables (*Saeculorum amen – euouae*) of the doxology, sounded as its last verse. Some researchers tend to trace the psalm termination as a substantial element of psalmody back to an early period of antiphonal singing; preceding *Octoéchos*, the formal system of eight modes and eight psalm tones and of course preceding the appearance of the term *differentia* itself. The principal criterion of the concept of *differentia* is matching the psalm termination with the antiphon incipit, while the key factor of assigning chants to subsections within modes is the beginning of antiphons. The specific intervallic relation between the initial note of the antiphon and the psalm termination was a fundamental question of *differentia* praxis for medieval experts. These formalizations did not assist 20th-century researchers in understanding this musical relationship (occasionally indicated as something of an aesthetic nature) at a deeper level. The apparent rigid categorization was in irreconcilable opposition to the variability and contingency of antiphon lists in tonaries. There was little if any opportunity to extract “thematic” tune groups (families of antiphons), exhibiting particular structural elements, out of tonaries (Gevaert, Frere, Merkley 1989). The large-scale reduction of examples, as short tonaries gained ground, posed an outstanding methodological problem in the process of comparison.

The idea to consider antiphonals as a source of information regarding *differentiae* emerged early in the research of Gregorian chant. Pertinent to these studies was Peter Wagner’s thesis (1921), stating that the inventory of *differentiae* is a section of medieval liturgical chant praxis that was handed down in regional and institutional variants, in a fashion comparable to liturgical conventions and other genres of the *cantus planus*. Wagner presented psalm

differentiae from the age of staff notation by means of codices, including an antiphonal, in a way representative to the three centers of the Gregorian chant. He was considerably aided by the fact that the “Tonale” was published, compiled from the material of antiphonals, aside from the facsimile reproductions of Lucca Cod. 601 and Worcester F. 160 codices out of the early 20th-century volumes of *Paléographie Musicale* edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes. From the 1990s on, in parallel to the development of CANTUS indices and an Internet database, there has been a renewed effort to present the set of Office antiphons by means of psalm terminations ascertained from antiphonals. The long-term goal was meant to be, aside from creating a tonary-like list of antiphonals (and their comparison), to pinpoint characteristic traits of actual tonaries and connections between the two source types (Möller 1996; Matthews–Merkley 2000). Based on the features of CANTUS, establishing which tone the antiphon belongs to is always readily available, however, differentia associations are difficult to access with the aim of comparison, there being no distinctive coding in the database for each and every particular differentia tune. As a result, the search engine allows one to navigate them accurately only within a given source; one is eventually compelled to return to the manuscripts in order to identify the musical information.

In the meantime, Joseph Dyer was able to present in 1989 the differentia inventory of Italian Office manuscripts along with their temporal changes. By means of his analyses of source and psalm tunes, he set an example for establishing the features of the differentia inventory gained from the antiphonal as well as the ways to tidy up the thick of differentia forms. However, the entire psalm tune of antiphonal psalmody was practically never registered in antiphonals and notated breviaries. (The exception was the scarce *versus ad repetendum*.) The only conceivable sources for modern scholars to study the full course of the psalm formula were primarily the tonaries and the theoretical textbooks teaching tones. The literature of antiphonal psalm recitation of the Office used an oft-repeated comparison (with no localization of sources and data) to offer the broadest possible panoramic view of this little-documented genre: they put the psalm series of a 9th-century treatise, the *Commemoratio brevis*, beside the tones of early 20th-century books of Solesmes and the Vatican (Stäblein). In addition, widely known although internationally less accepted was the demonstration of two dialects of Gregorian chant by means of psalm tones (P. Wagner 1921). There was little coverage in research for psalmody elements existing in variants, including medium cadence (*mediatio*).

Teaching the psalmody of Office in the Middle Ages by way of knowing how to identify tones belonged to the foundations intended to convey *ars musica*, i.e. music as a theoretical science (*scientia*), to the practicing musician. On the other hand, the textbook and manual dealing with the basic syllabus of monophonic choral, the *musica plana*, arrived at its most pragmatic part (*usus*) when it published the tunes of psalm recitation in order to facilitate the memorization of tones, or merely as a means of illustration. The study of the latter was encouraged with new aspects by the treatise publications that proliferated in the past decades (and the database *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*), including the critical edition of the text group by Iohannes Hollandrinus (TIH I–VIII) via an international project, representing the most significant late medieval tradition of music theory in Central Europe.

II. Methods of the research

Concurrently to my dissertation taking shape, intended as its starting point, I created a compilation and unified coding of the six-syllable psalm terminations for the tune collection (the complete edition of the antiphon inventory of Office codices in Hungary) published as Volume 5 in the series *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi* (1999). By publishing the comparative material of sheet music on the Internet and expanding the scope of sources (i.e. with the Istanbul Antiphonal), later it became possible for me to annotate the differentia data in a more nuanced manner (2018). This work implied exposing the usage of differentiae in various liturgical and musical traditions. One, apparently homogeneous, tradition was represented by codices of the Esztergom rite; the other, by the four-volume antiphonal stored in the University Library and used by Hungarian Franciscans. The preliminary works also included sources by additional institutions loosely connected to the archiepiscopal center (Spiš region) and by the other two rite areas (Kalocsa-Zagreb and Transylvania), which were not included in the publication.

It posed a primary challenge of methodology for me to separate the layers of the differentia phenomenon that substantially distinguish the differentia inventory of the antiphonal from those in tonaries. It is due to the fact that neither regional or temporal variants, related to different usages, nor “decorated” or “undecorated” versions of differentia tunes are to be found simultaneously on the pages of a tonary in a way they exist in practical Office chant books. The uniform abbreviation of differentiae (consisting of the tone number, the alphabetical code of the finalis, and an ordinal number) was meant to refer unambiguously to the typical final cadence, which carries the adjustment between an antiphon and a psalm formula according to medieval praxis. Because of this, it had to abandon momentarily the demonstration of the slight differences in termination formulas that did not affect the adjustment of the antiphon. Thanks to this fact, it was possible for the regularities of differentia designations to be outlined more tangibly in various liturgical usages. Meanwhile, the index with musical notation, the abbreviation key, created for Volume 5 of MMMA, comprised variant forms as well; a single symbol provides information on several different melodic forms.

During the research, I naturally paid close attention to the interpretation of these differences that do not affect the essence, framework, or terminal note of differentiae and yet are all the more significant, to recognizing the stable and variable points of cadences and the logic of their variations, to incorporating variants into a system (e.g. the presentation of the pentatonic-diatonic variant pair at II. 1.2.), as well as to differentiate archaic and late forms. In order to be able to infer the prevalence and temporal limitations of the usage of (for instance) the melodic 1st-tone differentia variants with two-note neumes or a 3rd-tone, less frequent cadence, it was necessary to involve in my examination the broadest possible range, both in terms of chronology and quantity, of theoretical and tonary sources and Office chant books within the same region. (III. 1; II. 2.2.) The phenomenon of multiple variants of melodic differentiae occurring in a miscellany within an Office manuscript urged for explanations for their origins and connections. It was especially suitable for this purpose not only to evaluate in parallel the lessons drawn from the two distinct genres of books, tonary and antiphonal, but also, as a special case, the juxtaposition of the two within the same volume. (III. 2.) A particular, easy-to-interpret tonary with a definite provenience can be applied as a kind of “reference” source,

in relation to which it is possible to make well-grounded observations on the use of differentiae in singing praxis and the identity and customary usage of a given codex.

However, this method can be used in reverse as well, and it is advisable to do so: using practical sources to check the inventory of differentiae in tonaries of late medieval music theory works from Central Europe as well as the assignments of antiphon incipits to differentiae. The legitimacy of such studies derives from enabling us to establish to what extent theory reflects on actual praxis of liturgical chant. Moreover, it is promising in cases when contradictions or anomalies as well as considerable rearrangements between antiphon groups are suspected or detected in classifications in the field of music theory. (III. 3.1. and 3.2.) All these necessitated involving in the study a broad selection of the antiphon inventory of the Office, which implied consulting with great many liturgical music codices, occasionally with a view outside Central Europe. This all would have been inconceivable without the high-quality and ever expanding CANTUS Database and Index. In addition, I considered it essential to use an array of online digital archives, including old and new manuscript catalogs, in order to orientate myself at the same time in matters of the origin of codices, indispensable for analysis, on the latest results of codicology and studies of Western plainchant.

In accordance with its title, the dissertation focused on processing tonary sources, with at least two objectives: looking into the psalmody that appeared with notation and becoming familiar with the medieval system of psalm terminations as thoroughly as possible. This latter goal brought along the broadening of the scope of sources, primarily in terms of time. The earliest point I arrived at was when I attempted to reveal the reception of antiquity in the *Musica* and *Tonarius* by Berno of Reichenau, produced after 1021, or rather, in their hierarchical arrangements of the differentiae. And in order to be able to prove the unbroken continuity of teaching differentiae till the end of the Middle Ages, I heavily relied on basic tonaries from Southern German theoretical authors around 1100: aside from the one by Berno, on those by Frutolfus of Michelsberg and by Johannes Afflighemensis (Cotto). The short annotated tonary by Afflighemensis pointed ahead towards the tonary chapters of late medieval Central European practice-oriented music theory textbooks, where individual psalm differentiae were illustrated only with a handful of antiphon examples, apart from textual explanations. An apparent methodological problem may arise from comparing full and short tonaries with respect to the extensive time interval between their emergence. However, I hoped to bridge it by ignoring temporarily the appearance of the set of chants in the tonary and their variation in time and space, and by foregrounding the theoretical system itself established in the Middle Ages, the order and terminology strictly followed throughout, and the framework of the teaching on psalms. Due to the nature of the material, the Latin quotations from treatises, along with their interpretations and Hungarian translations, form an integral part of the dissertation. The success of the research work was greatly helped by the fact that I was able to study all the treatises of *Traditio Iohannis Hollandrini* in their original manuscripts and in the aforementioned critical editions alike. In order to clarify certain matters of detail of the classification as well as tonary commentaries and antiphon lists, it was necessary on more than one occasion to reach back eventually to such early tonary manuscripts that contained no or only partial staff notation (e.g. Carolingian tonary, Udalscalcus tonary, and tonaries of Bamberg). To be able to illuminate their relation to later, easy-to-read staff data, I had to consider findings of paleography pertaining to writing German neumes.

III. Results of the research

Along the entirety of the dissertation, the explicit intention can be traced to interpret the medieval approach to psalm terminations with equal emphasis on theory and praxis. The starting point was the genre of the tonary, already ambivalent *per se* as early as at its inception. The core question was to find out the amount of role given to theory and to praxis in the system of differentiae during the history of the Gregorian chant, whether we mean this system to imply the groups of antiphon tunes or the exact form and adjustment of terminations to the beginnings of the antiphon. This all defined the method(s) set forth in the previous section, namely, that one is supposed to analyze tonaries and tonary chapters, assumed to be mostly theory-oriented in genre, and practical liturgical chant books, by confronting them constantly with each other. It was confirmed in the process of writing the dissertation that the lessons drawn from them mutually support and complement each other. The present paper can also be treated as a significantly more detailed and more minute implementation of the method “tonary from the antiphonal” than earlier efforts—this goal being a long-standing and recurrent objective along the history of research—on a relatively well-defined Central European scope of sources (with occasional looks on monastic orders and Southern and Western European churches). On the one side are the observations concerning the antiphon groups of the Southern German tonary, their restratification depending on the author or the age, and the transformations of differentia forms. On the other side is the endeavor for an Office chant book to be characterized by way of the psalm differentiae and their antiphon connections comprised in it.

I strove to prove the thesis set up in part I, concerning the Southern German tonary tradition extending till the end of the Middle Ages, by giving a detailed presentation of non-ranking and ranking tonaries in part II. 2. of the dissertation. Tonaries recorded as parts of treatises became more and more formal sets of rules from the 11th century onward. When they reached the Central European treatise type expounding the most important musical syllabus relevant to *cantus planus* in the 15th century, they were constructed with stereotypical formulae both in form and language, and they reapplied the old terminology (*differentia capitalis / principalis*) and method of classification and commentation crystallized by Berno, Frutolfus, and Afflighemensis. The tonary structures examined reflected the fixed series of initial notes across centuries. Abstracted from tonaries of late music theory textbooks, the association and arrangement of psalm terminations and initial notes brought to the surface the cases that were worthy of my treatment in the framework of discussions. For each of these questions raised, it was possible to summon help from earlier theoretical tonaries, as well as notated sources created before differentiae were placed on staves. It was also possible to infer terminations in archaic forms made obsolete in parallel with staff notation, theoreticians’ different antiphon-differentia assignments, and the shifting of antiphon groups probably going hand in hand with the modification of cadences. The reconstruction of the main differentia of the 3rd tone in its original form in accordance with the Southern German monastic tradition of tonaries and the exploration of the related local, institutional, and regional incipit variants yielded especially many additional items of interests and lessons drawn.

In part II, I enumerated all elements of the tonaries that were evidently part of the praxis of liturgical chant: the recitation psalm formula and the related sample tunes and educational texts, the psalm terminations and the antiphon material. What I consider the most important benefit of this processing is that—since the best source of information about the psalm tune

used in liturgy had been, paradoxically, the theoretical source type of the tonary – now it has finally become possible to gain knowledge at a depth yet unprecedented in research as to the full recitation formula of the antiphonal psalmody of the Office along with all its variable elements (mediation, termination). It means that psalm tunes used in Central Europe can now be characterized in terms of time and location, usage and book type, with the aid of certain variants of particular formulae.

Part III of the dissertation is intended to qualify the intricate relationship between tonaries and antiphonals, theoretical differentia associations and praxis. The basic question can be broken up in parts and it is at least two-directional. The question whether the institutional praxis of the local church could possibly seep into the material of late treatises despite all the rigidity of the teaching, can be answered in the positive, based on the example of the 7th tone. (III. 3.2.) The inventory and associations of differentiae drawn from Office chant books being to some extent regulated by a more general, overarching theoretical system, could be conjectured at the main differentiae of the 3rd tone. (II. 2. and 3.) Irregular psalm cadences provided the best demonstration of the fact that there existed segments in contemporary chant praxis that did not appear in music theory taxonomies, except in the shape of references of their not fitting reassuringly into the classification of the tonary. (III. 3.1.) The modifications that took place on the pages of theoretical works did not necessarily affect the appearance of antiphon tunes and psalm terminations in Office chant books. (Ibid.) However, in the case of *tonus peregrinus*, the theoretical instruction kept alive such a hollow category and its antiphon examples that could not be verified at all from liturgical chant books. (III. 4.)

IV. 1. Foreign-language publications of the dissertationist in the field of her dissertation

„Eine späte Abschrift der Lehre der *musica plana* in einem Gesangbuch aus Ungarn“. In *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters, III*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 15, Hrsg. Michael Bernhard. München: Verlag der BAdW, 2001. 481–510.

„Psalmtöne im Tonar des Pauliner Cantuale aus Częstochowa“. In *Liturgy in Pauline Monasteries in Poland. The Sources and Origins*, Musica Claromontana – Studia 1, ed. Remigiusz Pośpiech. Opole: Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2012. 311–342.

„Traditio Iohannis Hollandrini – Tonare“. In *IMS Cantus Planus: Papers read at the 16th meeting, Vienna, Austria, 2011*, ed. Robert Klugseder. Wien-Purkersdorf: ÖAdW Kommission für Musikforschung – Hollinek, 2012. 301–308.

„Eine liturgische Handschrift mit Tonar der Zagreber Diözese aus dem 17. Jahrhundert“, *De musica disserenda IX/1–2*. Ljubljana: Institute of Musicology at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2013. 99–121.

(– Christian Berktold:) „Tractatus ex traditione Hollandrini cod. Cracoviensis 1859 (TRAD. Holl. IX)“. In *Traditio Iohannis Hollandrini, IV, Die Traktate IX – XIV*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 22, Hrsg. Michael Bernhard, Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba. München: Verlag der BAdW, 2013. 1–110.

(– Christian Meyer:) „Tractatus ex traditione Hollandrini cod. Guelferbitani 696 Helmstadiensis una cum cod. monasterii S. Petri Salisburgensis a.VI.44 (TRAD. Holl. XVII)“. In *Traditio Iohannis Hollandrini, V, Die Traktate XV – XXI*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 23, Hrsg. Michael Bernhard, Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba. München: Verlag der BAdW, 2014. 155–246.

(– Christian Meyer:) „Tractatus ex traditione Hollandrini cod. Londoniensis, Arundel 299 (TRAD. Holl. XIX)“. In *Traditio Iohannis Hollandrini, V, Die Traktate XV – XXI*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 23, Hrsg. Michael Bernhard, Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba. München: Verlag der BAdW, 2014. 303–364.

„Tonar und *differentia*: Geschichte, Funktion, Deutungen“, *Studia Musicologica* 56 (2015): 133–145.

(– Zsuzsa Czagány:) „Spätmittelalterliche Musiktheorie und Choralpraxis. Der musikalische Hintergrund der *Traditio Hollandrini*“. In *Traditio Iohannis Hollandrini, VII, Studien*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 25, Hrsg. Michael Bernhard, Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba. München: Verlag der BAdW, 2016. 189–206.

(– Zsuzsa Czagány:) „Index Cantuum“, In *Traditio Iohannis Hollandrini, VIII, Konkordanzen und Indices*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 26, Hrsg. Michael Bernhard, Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba. München: Verlag der BAdW, 2016. 513–644.

„Syllabisch *versus* melodisch. Archaisierung und Reduzierung in der Theorie und Praxis der *Differentiae*?“ In *Ars musica and its contexts in medieval and early modern culture*, ed. Paweł Gancarczyk. Warszawa: Liber Pro Arte, 2016. 205–221.

„Tonar und liturgisches Gesangbuch in einem Band. Das Antiphonar ms. 287 der Stiftsbibliothek Vorau und sein Tonar“. In *Musica mediaeva liturgica II*, ed. Rastislav Adamko. Ružomberok: Katolícka Univerzita v Ružomberku, Pedagogická Fakulta, Katedra Hudby, 2016. 145–160.

„Der *Tonus peregrinus* in der Theorie und Praxis. Eine Gegenüberstellung von spätmittelalterlicher musiktheoretischer Kompendien und Choralhandschriften“, *Musicologica Brunensia* 51 (2016): 113–132.

IV. 2. Unpublished lectures in the field of the dissertation

„Tonar aus dem Antiphonar“. IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the Cantus Planus. Budapest & Visegrád, 2000.

„Eine Regelung für Psalmodie in Handschriften und Drucken der ungarischen Franziskaner nach dem Tridentinum“. Liturgy and Music in the History of the Pauline Order: International Musicological Conference. Budapest, 2013.

„Die Psalmdifferenzen im Antiphonar des Arnestus von Pardubice“. Charles IV (1316–1378) and the Musical Legacy of His Era. Praha, 2016.