

The role of the cathedral in the mediaeval transmission of tropes, and the case of the duomo of Parma¹

Up until 1000 A.D., the transmission of manuscript sources containing tropes – chants resulting from the addition of new melodic material with or without text to pre-existing liturgical chants – was linked principally to monastic institutions. Around the middle of the eleventh century, however, evidence relative to the presence of tropes in the liturgical tradition of cathedrals increases. The extent of this evidence allows us to reconstruct a complex cultural panorama in which the ‘monastery’ and the ‘cathedral’ acquire equal importance in the attention paid towards the tropes, showing in some cases common characteristics within the repertory.

In the first quarter of the eleventh century, for example, the bishop of Minden commissioned from the monks of Saint Gall new liturgical books for his community, including a troper–sequentiary.² The importance of this manuscript (codex Be 11³) is tied to the type of repertory it contained. Although clearly influenced by the Saint Gall repertory, the transmitted tropes also present elements absent in the sources of the Helvetic monastery, thus enabling us to recognise traces of a tradition proper to the cathedral of Minden.⁴ Another case of particular interest is that of the troper–sequentiary of the cathedral of Metz, codex Me 452 dating

¹ We warmly thank Don Alfredo Bianchi of the Archivio Capitolare of Parma for having provided us with all the materials necessary for the purposes of this study.

² Cfr. ANDREAS HAUG, *Sankt Gallen*, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, new edition, ed. Ludwig Finscher, *Sachteil*, vol. 8, Kassel etc., Bärenreiter-Metzler, 1998, coll. 948-969: 953-954.

³ For a list of the abbreviations of the manuscripts cited in this study, see the *Table* in the appendix.

⁴ See *Tropi carminum, Liber hymnorum Notkeri Balbuli* (Berlin, *Ehem. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. theol. lat. qu. 11, z. Zt. Kraków; Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Depositum*), ed. Karlheinz Schlager/Andreas Haug, München, Lengenfelder, 1993 (*Codices illuminati medii aevi*, 20).

from the second half of the eleventh century.⁵ It provides unique evidence relative to the practice of using tropes in a centre that apparently had an important role in the history of cultural processes leading to the diffusion of the use of enlarging the *corpus* of the *cantilena romana* through new liturgical chants: Metz, in fact, is situated between the Seine and the Rhine, a region of great importance for the genesis and early diffusion of tropes in the ninth century. In Italy, also, numerous sources testify to the knowledge and use of singing tropes in the liturgical practices of many cathedrals, even in those where no tropers have been retrieved. An exemplary case is that of the duomo in Florence, in which the presence of a tradition of tropes is corroborated not by a troper but by a rule-book, the *liber ordinarius*, as Giulio Cattin has demonstrated.⁶ The manuscript (Fir 3005) relates for some feasts the incipit of a trope for the introit (the introductory chant of the mass), a type of liturgical chant that often is the only one to appear as troped in Italian manuscripts.

A little-known document within the musicological context is worthy of note: we refer to the ordinal of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Amiens, drafted in 1291 by Raoul de Rouvroy.⁷ This codex represents the only testimony that in Amiens, in northern France, tropes were sung during the celebration of mass. Such a source acquires greater significance if we consider the fact that very few documents referring to the presence of tropes in local liturgical practices have emerged from this region. The indications relative to the staging and performance of sung passages are of great interest. The most important passage is cited below:

In introitu misse incipit precentor versiculos tropi *Sanctus Gregorius presul*
et alios mittit ad sacerdotes canonicos. Ultimum mittitur subdiacono canonico
qui canendo *Tunc composuit hunc libellum* debet monstrare librum quem tenet

⁵ Apropos this manuscript, see above all the study of PIERRE-MARIE GY, *L'hypothèse lotharingienne et la diffusion des tropes*, in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Wulf Arlt/Gunilla Björkvall, Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993 (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 36), pp. 231-237.

⁶ Cfr. GIULIO CATTIN, *Novità dalla cattedrale di Firenze: polifonia, tropi e sequenze nella seconda metà del XII secolo*, «Musica e storia», 6, 1998, pp. 7-36.

⁷ For a modern edition of this ordinal see *Ordinaire de l'église Notre-Dame cathédrale d'Amiens par Raoul de Rouvroy (1291)*, ed. Georges Durand, Amiens, Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, 1934 (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, 22). We are grateful to Professor Lori Kruckenberg for information regarding this source.

legens ante chorum. Hoc versu dicto, conversus ad cantorem, si presens sit, dicit canendo *Eya Domine eya*. Cantor autem alta voce incipit *Ad te levavi*. Si vero deest, alius bene cantans incipiat et cantatur integre ante psalmum. Quo cantato dicitur Ps. *Vias tuas*. Quo dicto reincipitur introitus, et dicitur usque *irrideant me*, et statim dicitur *Gloria Patri*. Quo dicto, cantatur tropus in ordine, scilicet *Almifico clarisonans*, et in sequenti incipitur *Ad te levavi* sicut in gradalibus continetur.⁸

The passage describes the beginning of the mass celebrated on the first Sunday of Advent. The introit was preceded by an *Einleitungstropus* (introductory trope), the famous *Gregorius praesul*, in this case cited with the *sanctus* variant in respect to the standard version.⁹ The trope makes reference to the legend that attributed the composition of the so-called ‘Gregorian chant’ to Pope Gregory I, known as ‘Gregory the Great’. One gesture underlines how this chant might be identified with the repertory contained in the gradual used by the community: as soon as *Tunc composuit hunc libellum* (Then he composed this book) was sung, the gradual was displayed to the congregation. After the trope, the introit (*Ad te levavi*) was sung for the first time, followed by the verse of a psalm (*Vias tuas*), one part of the same introit, the Doxology (*Gloria patri*) and another introit trope (*Almifico clarisonans*); in conclusion, the entire introit was performed again. The whole, constituted by the trope and by the primary plainchant, can be reconstructed thus:

(*Sanctus*) *Gregorius praesul*
AD TE LEVAVI (complete)
VIAS TUAS
AD TE LEVAVI (until IRRIDEANT ME)
GLORIA PATRI
Almifico ... clarisonas (clarisonans)
AD TE LEVAVI

The ordinal of Amiens is important from various perspectives: for the detailed description of the method of using two introductory tropes for the same

⁸ *Ordinaire de l'église Notre-Dame*, p. 25.

⁹ The standard version of this trope can be read in the *Corpus troporum I. Tropes du propre de la messe I: Cycle de Noël*, ed. Ritva Jonsson, Stockholm, Almquist & Wiksell, 1975 (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 21), p. 102.

feast, and also with regard to the transmission of the tropes themselves. While the first, *Gregorius praesul*, was widely diffused in France, Germany and Italy (see example 1, element 1), the second, *Almifico*, was known until today only as transmitted in three manuscripts, all English.¹⁰ It is not surprising, therefore, that Alejandro Enrique Planchart – who was unaware of the Amiens ordinal – claimed that the *Almifico* trope was of English origin.¹¹ The transmission in regions of northern France, however, leaves open the possibility of a French origin of the trope, whose history and ‘French’ traits could not be reconstructed owing to a lack of sources.

The above cited sources reveal how the cathedrals as institutions, and their ordinals as sources, occupy a role of great importance for understanding the background of the mediaeval transmission of tropes. But how is the duomo of Parma positioned in this context? A *liber ordinarius*, dating from 1417, has also reached us from this cathedral.¹² The manuscript does not refer to the use of tropes or sequences; only in one passage is the performance of a sequence during the Requiem Mass prescribed.¹³ However, the sparse information deducible from the *liber ordinarius* does not allow us to exclude the practice of singing tropes in the liturgical celebrations of the cathedral, as is confirmed by three other manuscripts conserved in the Archivio Capitolare of Parma: one troper–sequentiary, and two graduals. The first has been known in a scientific context for around a hundred years, but became the object of scholarship and publication only relatively recently.¹⁴ It consists of a large troper–sequentiary bearing the shelf mark AC

¹⁰ Cfr. *Corpus troporum I*, p. 57.

¹¹ See ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, Princeton/New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1977, vol. 1, pp. 145 (n. 1) and 153-156; IDEM, *On the Nature of Transmission and Change in Trope Repertories*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 41, 1988, p. 215-249: 233.

¹² *Ordinarium Ecclesiae Parmensis e vetustioribus excerptum reformatum a. 1417*, ed. Luigi Barbieri, Parma, Pietro Fiacadori, 1866 (Monumenta historica ad provincias Parmensem et Placentinam pertinentia).

¹³ «Deinde, ipsis finitis, incipiatur Missa cum Diacono et Subdiacono; et, cantata Sequentia, quae nullo modo obmittatur, pulsetur tertium signum praedicationis» (*Ordinarium Ecclesiae Parmensis*, p. 47).

¹⁴ See MARIA LUCIA INGUSCIO, *Le sequenze nella tradizione della Chiesa di Parma*, «Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra», 21, 2000, pp. 195-233; EADEM, *I tropi d'introito nella tradizione della Chiesa di Parma*, «Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra», 23, 2002, pp.

12, cited as Parm 12 in the edition of the tropes in Italian manuscripts edited by Raffaella Camilot-Oswald and Michael Klaper. The other two liturgical books are the gradual F 01 (Parm 1), which transmits the Proper chants of the mass for the liturgical period between Easter and the twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost; and the gradual F 05 (Parm 5), which contains the chants of the mass for the feasts of the Saints.¹⁵ A clear difference exists between the three sources: the graduals transmit introit tropes for some feasts – Easter, Ascension, Pentecost (Parm 1), of St. John the Baptist and St. Peter, and of All Saints (Parm 5) –, while the troper–sequentiary (Parm 12) contains tropes for the entire liturgical year as well as for some saints’ feast-days, presenting therefore a greater number of tropes in respect to the other codices.

As regards the dating of these sources, the scholar Giuseppa Z. Zanchielli attributes them to the same period, around 1340-1350, and not (as thought previously) from the fifteenth century.¹⁶ The codices in question are enumerated for the first time in an inventory of the duomo of Parma compiled in 1436.¹⁷ A

65-93; *Introitus-Tropen II. Introitus-Tropen in Quellen ober- und mittelitalienischer Herkunft: Kritische Edition der Melodien*, ed. Raffaella Camilot-Oswald/Michael Klaper (Monumenta monodica medii aevi, 9) [in press]. We have not had at our disposal the *tesi di laurea* of MARIA LUCIA INGUSCIO, *I tropi d’introito nella tradizione della Cattedrale di Parma: Manoscritto AC 12 (sec. XIV-XV)*, Università degli Studi di Pavia. Scuola di Paleografia e Filologia Musicale di Cremona, anno accademico 1997-1998 [typewritten].

¹⁵ For these codices, see the descriptions of GIACOMO ZAROTTI, *Codici e corali della Cattedrale di Parma*, «Archivio storico per le province parmensi», 20, 1968, pp. 181-216: 191-192, 197-198 and of GIUSEPPA Z. ZANICHELLI, *I conti e il minio: codici miniati dei Rossi 1325-1482*, Parma, Istituto di Storia dell’Arte, 1996 (Quaderni di Storia dell’Arte, 18), pp. 138-143, 154-155. For a codicological description of Parm 12, see also INGUSCIO, *Le sequenze*, pp. 196-200.

¹⁶ See ZANICHELLI, *I conti e il minio*, pp. 138, 140-141, 143, 154-155. For the dating of Parm 12 at the second half of the fifteenth century cfr., for example, HEINRICH HUSMANN, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, München/Duisburg, Henle, 1964 (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B 5.1), pp. 179-180.

¹⁷ This inventory has been reproduced by ZANICHELLI, *I conti e il minio*, pp. 99-122. According to Zanchielli, number 213 of the inventory («Primo unum graduale festivum cum comune sanctorum cuius principium est ‘Dominus secus mare’, finis vero ‘templum regis’, in assidibus feratis et coreo nigro cupertis et habet cartas centum sexaginta septem») can be identified with the gradual Parm 5, and number 214 («Item graduale dominicale cuius principium est ‘Resur-exi’ [sic], finis vero ‘fiet vobis’ qui habet cartas centum sexaginta quinque») with the gradual Parm 1 (cfr. ZANICHELLI, *I conti e il minio*, p. 112). Number 246 of this inventory («Item unum partitum sequentiarum cuius principium est ‘Gregorius’, finis ‘seculorum amen’ in assidibus copertis coreo nigro atque satis est novum»; *ibid.*, p. 114) obviously refers to Parm 12. All

terminus ante quem for their drafting therefore exists; but as Maria Lucia Inguscio underlines, the possibility that Parm 12 might have been copied ‘between the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century’ remains open.¹⁸ As we will show later, it is very probable, however, that Parm 1, Parm 5 and Parm 12 are contemporaneous.

In any case, the proper Parm 12 represents one of the last examples in Italy and Europe of a liturgical manuscript of this type.¹⁹ Although offering a relatively late date for the duomo’s liturgical practices, it is unfortunately difficult to ascertain at which period the presence of tropes in the duomo of Parma was first established, given that no mention of them is made prior to the 1300s or 1400s. Parm 12 is a well-structured codex, with few and insignificant erasures, with a single addition of a later hand²⁰ and without lacunae in the musical notation. We maintain that the repertory transmitted by Parm 12, whose stability matches a clear organization of the manuscript, was not new to Parma at the time of the drafting of the codex.

Example 1 presents a list of all the tropes contained in Parm 12, with their incipits; moreover, the liturgical destination of the tropes and their signatures, which are retraced in the textual edition of the *Corpus troporum*, is indicated. Further information is presented in the column containing the concordances with other manuscripts, divided by geographical areas and cited according to the criteria of the *Corpus troporum*. From this table, it emerges that the tropes in Parm 12 are without exception introductory tropes to the introit (there are no *Binnenelemente*, interpolatory tropes). The indication of the troped chant is always missing from the manuscript; usually only a rubric appears referring to the feast in which the trope would be sung and to its position in the rite, with the

three codices re-emerge in another inventory of the duomo of Parma in 1483, published by ANGELO PEZZANA, *Storia della città di Parma. Tomo quarto: 1477-1483*, Parma, Giorgio Franz, 1852, pp. 72-84 of the appendices: 74-75.

¹⁸ Cfr. INGUSCIO, *Le sequenze*, p. 202.

¹⁹ Cfr. ANDREAS HAUG, *Tropen im südostdeutschen und im norditalienischen Raum. Untersuchungen zu ihren Überlieferungswegen*, in *Itinerari e stratificazioni dei tropi: San Marco, l’Italia settentrionale e le regioni transalpine*, ed. Wulf Arlt/Giulio Cattin, Venezia, Fondazione Levi, 2008 (Edizioni Fondazione Levi: Serie 4, Collezione speciale per la musica veneta. A, Monumenti), pp. 137-175.

²⁰ The last sequence in Parm 12, *Veni sancte spiritus* (ff. 183r-184v), has been added by a later hand.

expression *ante officium* (before the Mass). The exclusion of all those tropes that were not introductory elements connects Parm 12 to the type of troper described for the first time by Andreas Haug, which he dubbed *Kurztropar*.²¹ This type of liturgical book is distinguished from other manuscripts designed for the same function by a tendency toward the abridgement of the repertory, circumscribed by introit tropes, introductory elements and a single element for every feast. According to Haug, the *Kurztropar* is a phenomenon of the late mediaeval period. It remains to be said, however, that it is not clear if the repertory of tropes of Parm 12 reflects the abridgement of a more extensive and older repertory. The complexity of the state of the transmission, more comprehensive than might be thought, is borne out by the testimony of the graduals Parm 5, and above all, Parm 1.

Example 2 shows the three troped introits of Parm 1 as they appear in the manuscript.²² The structure of the complex of the introit is always the same.²³ First, an introductory trope to the introit (accompanied by the rubric *ante officium*) is noted; after the introit comes a *versus*, notated with the melodic formula of the psalmodic verses; only after the *versus* are other elements of the tropes presented – a second introductory element and then two elements of interpolation. Finally, the indication regarding the Doxology is relayed, followed in the performance by the introit, in this case without tropes. From the testimony of Parm 1, one deduces that at Parma, in fact, interpolatory tropes were known and used – a type of trope not present in the troper Parm 12 nor in the gradual Parm 5 that (like the troper) contains only introductory tropes to the introit:

(St. John the Baptist) Hodie exultent iusti (f. 31r) = trope 11 in Parm 12

(St. Peter) Beatissimus Petrus (f. 36r) = trope 12 in Parm 12

(All Saints) Hodie mundo festivus (f. 59r) = trope 14 in Parm 12

At this point, it is necessary to ask what relationship exists between the three

²¹ Cfr. ANDREAS HAUG, *Troparia tardiva. Repertorium später Tropenquellen aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum*, Kassel etc., Bärenreiter, 1995 (Monumenta monodica medii aevi. Subsidia, 1), pp. 7-8.

²² The trope *Terrigenas summus* and the complex *Spiritus almus a throno - Replens mentes fidelium - Virtutum perfundens roribus* have been transcribed by INGUSCIO, *I tropi d'introito*, pp. 91-92.

²³ See the pictures.

sources: is it possible that gradual Parm 1 documents a phase of troping prior to that documented in Parm 5 and Parm 12, and that the repertory of the Parmense tropes was reduced in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? Do the manuscripts document differently the liturgical practices of two or more religious institutions for which they had been copied?

We suggest there might be another response to these questions. A detailed comparison between Parm 1, Parm 5 and Parm 12 indicates how the three codices may be representative of the same tradition. The feasts of the *pars estivalis* and of the Saints troped in Parm 1 and Parm 5 (Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, All Saints)²⁴ are the same as in Parm 12; the introductory tropes that appear in the first place in Parm 1/Parm 5 are the same as those noted in Parm 12 (*Hora est psallite*, *Hodie redemptor mundi*, *Hodie spiritus sanctus procedens*, *Hodie exultent iusti*, *Beatissimus Petrus*, *Hodie mundo festivus*); and the transmission of the texts of the tropes is identical.²⁵ Moreover, a phenomenon of transmission observable in Parm 1 and Parm 5 can be explained through Parm 12: the tropes in Parm 5 like the tropes copied first in Parm 1, and which are also found in Parm 12, have not been notated, but have been intentionally recorded only as texts;²⁶ the other tropes in Parm 1, instead, are accompanied by their melodies. This is a phenomenon that we don't encounter in any other codex. But perhaps it is explainable by the fact that the elements without notation in Parm 1/Parm 5 are those notated melodically in Parm 12: the scribes of the codices might have considered it needless to attach the same melody twice. This would mean that Parm 1, Parm 5 and Parm 12 do not belong to different but rather contemporary periods, and should be considered as three complementary liturgical books. If this interpretation reflects historical reality, we should modify previously-held ideas relating to the transmission of tropes at Parma. One logical conclusion would be the affirmation that in the mediaeval period there would have been other

²⁴ Parm 5 lacks only the Assumption of the Virgin.

²⁵ It has to be noted, however, that the version of the trope *Hodie exultent iusti*, as transmitted in Parm 5, contains a variant with respect to the version of Parm 12. While the version of Parm 5 transmits «Hodie exultent iusti natus est sanctus Johannes dicite gratias dicite eia», the version of Parm 12 has «deo» instead of the first «dicite» in Parm 5. Nevertheless, it is very probable that the repetition of the «dicite» in Parm 5 is an error.

²⁶ Cfr. the pictures, c. 1r.

Parmense graduals with tropes, and at least one for the *pars hiemalis*. In this case, the repertory of Parmense tropes would be only partially reconstructable. This notwithstanding, in our view to speak of the ‘Parmense troper’ involves referring to the content of Parm 12 as much as that of Parm 1 and 5 taken as a whole.

With respect to the concordances, we can observe how all 17 tropes of the Parmense troper are transmitted in other Italian sources (see examples 1 and 2), with the exception of a chant that is a very particular *unicum* (of which we will speak later). Seven of the tropes present at Parma are transmitted only in Italian manuscripts and would have had (at least in part) their origin on the peninsula.²⁷ It should be noted, however, that both the second trope for Pentecost (*Spiritus almus a throno* = trope 17) and the trope for the Assumption of the Virgin (*Hodie virgo Maria caelorum* = trope 13) have only one single Italian concordance: the manuscript Piacenza 65 (dating from the second half of the twelfth century), from the duomo of the same name. *Hodie virgo Maria* is apparently an antique trope. Already documented in the tenth century in sources deriving from the Rhineland (Lo 19768), from northern France (Ba 30) and from Aquitaine (Vat 222), it was a trope ‘composed’ in the so-called ‘zone de transition’ (running between the western and eastern sectors of the Frankish empire marked by the Rhine), and then diffused in various regions. The transmission of the trope in transalpine regions ends in the twelfth century. It had perhaps already arrived in the peninsula in the tenth and eleventh centuries from the south of France, as indicated by the concordance with two manuscripts compiled at that time and in that region (Apt 17 e Pa 1118), which present a variant in common with the two Italian testimonies (Pia 65 e Parm 12): the four codices transmit «et nos» instead of «eia» as in the other sources.²⁸ However, *Spiritus almus* is present only in Pia 65 and now in Parm 1, which underlines once again the close relationship existing between the cathedrals of Piacenza and Parma as regards the tropers.

²⁷ Tropes 3 (*Hora est iam nos de somno*), 5 (*Circumdederunt me gemitus*), 6 (*Ingresso Iesu in praetorio*), 10 (*Hodie spiritus ... procedens*), 11 (*Hodie exultent iusti ... Iohannes*), 12 (*Beatis-simus Petrus*) and 17 (*Spiritus almus a throno*).

²⁸ Cfr. *Corpus troporum IX. Tropes for the Proper of the Mass 4: The Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, ed. Ann-Katrin Andrews Johansson, Stockholm, Almquist & Wiksell, 1998 (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Corpus Troporum, 9), p. 196 (where nevertheless reference to Parm 12 in respect to the variant «et nos» is missing).

The concordances of the Parmense troper with manuscripts from the western regions of the Frankish empire (including the English codices) are generally numerous; concordances with manuscripts from the eastern regions are instead rare.²⁹ We maintain that in no case is it plausible to hypothesize a direct influence from the German region on the repertory of the tropes of Parma.

The trope *Hodie descendit Christus* for Epiphany, for example, was transmitted in two different versions, one ‘German’, the other ‘Italian’, both independent from each other:³⁰

German version: «Hodie descendit Christus in Iordane **ad Iohannem** ibi expurgat nostra facinora eia»

Italian version: «Hodie descendit Christus in Iordane ibi expurgat nostra facinora **deo gratias dicite**»

The Italian version is divided into two families according to the conclusive formula of the trope:

Italian version I: «deo gratias dicite» (Vro 107, RoC 1741, Bo 2824, RoN 1343, RoA 123)

Italian version II: «deo gratias dicite **eia**» (the other manuscripts and the codices of Aquitaine)

It is telling that in this case Parm 12 does not concord with the codices of Nonantola (RoC 1741, Bo 2824, RoN 1343), with which it shares more than half its tropes, but follows instead the traditions of Novalesa (Ox 222), Balerna (Vce 186), Monza, Pavia (Ivr 60) and Bobbio (To 18), in the north-western region of Italy.

A significant concordance is the gradual with tropes and sequences from Bologna, RoA 123. Like Parm 12, after the dialogue-form trope set for Easter (*Quem quaeritis in sepulchro*), RoA 123 transmits *Surrexit Christus iam*, which,

²⁹ Cfr. HAUG, *Tropen im südostdeutschen und im norditalienischen Raum*.

³⁰ Cfr. WULF ARLT, *Aspekte des Repertoires: Die Propriumstropen*, in *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen, Codices 484 & 381*, edition in facsimile by Wulf Arlt/Susan Rankin, vol. 1, Winterthur, Amadeus, 1996, pp. 105-164: 118-119; IDEM, *Die Präsenz des St. Galler Tropenrepertoires der Handschriften SG 484 und 381 in Italien bis ins frühe 12. Jahrhundert*, in *Itinerari e stratificazioni dei tropi*, pp. 73-136.

according to the *Corpus troporum*, is the element «Quem quaeritis K», present only in the Parma and Bologna codices.³¹ Notwithstanding such similarity, we consider that the use made of this trope differed at Parma from Bologna. In the Bologna manuscript, *Surrexit Christus iam* is copied directly after the end of the *Quem quaeritis*, and is then followed by the *incipit* of the Easter introit (*Resurrexi*), as the rubric at the top of the page announces: «Incipit Trophus in diem Sanctum Pasche ad introitum».³² At Bologna, *Surrexit Christus iam* was used as the introductory trope to the introit of the Mass. In contrast, the Parmense manuscript does not refer to the introit *Resurrexi*. The rubric of *Quem quaeritis* states «Officium sepulchri. Versus» (c. 23r), and only after *Surrexit Christus iam* appears the rubric «In resurrectione domini ... Ante officium» (c. 23v), which follows the trope *Hora est psallite* – according to us, a clear indication that the complex *Quem quaeritis* / *Surrexit Christus* did not serve, at Parma, as an indroit trope, and therefore for the Easter Mass, but for another liturgical celebration. This hypothesis is confirmed by the Parmense ordinal, which under the rubric «In Matutino Paschae» contains a description of the performance of *Quem quaeritis*:

In Matutino Paschae ... Ante inchoationem Matutini duo Guardachorii et duo Cantores cum pivialibus SEPULCRUM DOMINI reverenter inrant cum thuribulis et incenso, cereis ante SEPULCRI ostium duobus positus. Et, incensantes SEPULCRO, quaerunt de Corpore Christi ... et palpant linteamina munda, quibus id erat involutum. Quod non inveniunt, revertuntur ad ostium SEPULCRI, foris tamen non euntes sed, versus altare maius, iuxta quod sint aliqui Clerici, dicentes: QUEM QUAERITIS? Qui Clerici respondentes dicant: IESUM NAZARENUM. Quibus primi respondeant: NON EST HIC; SURREXIT, SICUT DIXIT et cetera. Postea egrediuntur SEPULCRUM isti quatuor, praevis dictis cereis, et dicunt, versus populum, antiphonam: SURREXIT CHRISTUS, IAM NON MORITUR.³³

³¹ Cfr. *Corpus troporum III. Tropes du propre de la messe 2: Cycle de Pâques*, ed. Gunilla Björkvall/Gunilla Iversen/Ritva Jonsson, Stockholm, Almquist & Wiksell, 1982 (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 25), p. 221 (where nevertheless reference to Parm 12 is missing).

³² See the edition in facsimile of this manuscript: *Le codex 123 de la Bibliothèque Angelica de Rome (XIe siècle) graduel et tropaire de Bologne*, ed. Jacques Froger, Bern, Herbert Lang, 1969 (Paléographie musicale, 18), c. 214r.

³³ *Ordinarium Ecclesiae Parmensis*, pp. 147ss.

The dialogue at the empty sepulchre of Christ was represented by two *guardachorii*, two *cantores* and by other *clerici*. At the end of this ‘liturgical drama’, an antiphon, *Surrexit Christus*, was sung, transmitted as such in the Veronese antiphoner of the eleventh century published by Hesbert in the *Corpus antiphonalium officii*.³⁴ Since at Parma *Quem quaeritis* / *Surrexit Christus* was sung not before the Mass but in the context of the Office, a direct connection between Bologna and Parma in this case seems unlikely.

On the base of these reflections, it is apparent how the Parmense troper is embedded in a northern and north-western Italian tradition, constituted by the co-existence of material received from regions making part of the Frankish empire situated to the west of the Rhine, and a local production of tropes. The particularity of the Parmense troper is clearly delineated, if compared with that of a typical troper (so to speak) of northern Italy, as described in a rule-book. We have chosen the ordinal of the church of Genoa (Lo 42503, dating from the first half of the fifteenth century), recently noted in the musicological context by Giacomo Baroffio:³⁵

Liturgical destination	Lo 42503	Parm 12
Avvento, Domenica I	Gregorius praesul	Gregorius praesul
Natale	Quem quaeritis in praesepe	Quem quaeritis in praesepe
Natale		Hora est iam nos de somno
Epifania	Hodie descendit Christus	Hodie descendit Christus
Settuagesima		Circumdederunt me gemitus
Domenica <i>in ramis palmarum</i>		Ingresso Iesu in praetorio

³⁴ Cfr. *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. René-Jean Hesbert, vol. 3, Roma, Herder, 1968 (Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series maior: fontes, 9), n. 5078 (p. 498).

³⁵ See GIACOMO BAROFFIO, *Tropi e tropari: spigolando tra codici e frammenti italiani*, «Musica e storia», 8, 2000, pp. 303-324: 312s.

Pasqua	Quem quaeritis in sepulchro	Quem quaeritis in sepulchro
Pasqua		Hora est psallite
Ascensione	<Hodie redemptor mundi>	Hodie redemptor mundi
Pentecoste	Hodie spiritus sanctus	Hodie spiritus sanctus
S. Giovanni Battista	Hodie exultent iusti	Hodie exultent iusti
S. Pietro	Beatissimus Petrus	Beatissimus Petrus
S. Lorenzo	Qui suo Laurentio	
Ascensione della vergine		Hodie virgo Maria caelorum
Onnisanti		Hodie mundo festus ... hodie martyrum turba

All the tropes cited in the Genovese codex, except one for St. Lorenzo, are present in Parm 12: a total of eight of the fourteen tropes contained in the Parmense codex. Among these are found tropes extensively transmitted in Italian codices, such as *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro* for Easter, *Hodie redemptor mundi* for Ascension, *Hodie spiritus sanctus procedens* for Pentecost and *Beatissimus Petrus* for St. Peter. In some cases, the characteristics of the transmission in Parm 12 permit us to recognise liturgical traditions shared by the same elements. Gunilla Björkvali and Andreas Haug have shown how the textual transmission in the Parmense codex of the trope *Hodie redemptor mundi* corresponds to that in a group of Italian manuscripts including, for example, the codices of Novalesa (Ox 222), Vercelli, Balerna (Vce 186), Pavia (Ivr 60) and Piacenza (Pia 65).³⁶ The transmission in Parm 12 of *Hodie spiritus sanctus procedens* reveals a similar situation: yet again, it corresponds to that in testimonies from Novalesa (Ox 222), Balerna (Vce 186), Pavia (Ivr 60) and Bobbio (To 18).³⁷ Such observations clearly

³⁶ Cfr. HAUG, *Tropen im südostdeutschen und im norditalienischen Raum* [in press]. The author maintains that there are three different Italian traditions for the trope *Hodie redemptor mundi*. According to Haug, Parm 12 belongs to the group he dubs «Italia Ila» that transmits the trope with the variant «caelos ascendit» instead of «ascendit caelos».

³⁷ Cfr. HAUG, *Tropen im südostdeutschen und im norditalienischen Raum* [in press].

need to be supported by further research, as they do not in themselves enable us to determine on which tradition the Parma troper directly depends.

From this perspective, those tropes transmitted in the codices of the Parmense church that present few concordances, as for example *Hora est iam nos* per Natale (transmitted in the manuscripts of Novalesa, Borgosesia, Monza, Mantova, San Giulio on Lago d'Orta,³⁸ Pavia, Nonantola and Bologna) and *l'Ingresso Iesu* for Palm Sunday (in sources from Monza, Mantova, Nonantola and Ravenna), occupy a particular position. The state of the transmission of this last trope is rather complex:³⁹ if one variant unites Parm 12 and the manuscripts of Nonantola («in praetorium» instead of «in praetorio»), another ties the Parmense codex to that of Ravenna («de quo propheta» instead of «de quo David propheta»);⁴⁰ moreover, there are some variants that in the description of the transmission prove to be *unica*, known only in the Parmense codices (for example «Iudaei dicebant» instead of «Iudaei clamabant»). Codex Parm 12 is notable also in the case of the trope *Hora est iam nos*:⁴¹ it transmits the variant «et apertis oculis surgere» instead of the phrase «et aperti sunt oculi nostri surgere» that appears in other sources.⁴²

Finally, we would like to discuss two specific cases in order to offer further elucidations on the characteristics of the repertory of tropes present in Parm 12.

1) The Christmas trope set in dialogue form, *Quem quaeritis in praesepe*, which clearly imitates the *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro* for the Easter festival, is transmitted in Parm 12 in a shorter version than usual. The passage «Alleluia alleluia iam vere scimus Christum natum in terris de quo canite omnes cum propheta dicentes»,⁴³ which connects the trope and the introit *Puer natus est* (where the «propheta» in the trope makes allusion to Isaiah as the author of the text of the introit), has been omitted. There are four manuscripts in which the

³⁸ See GIACOMO BAROFFIO, *Tropi e sequenze in Italia: nuove testimonianze*, «Musica e storia», 11, 2003, pp. 445-464: 451s.

³⁹ Cfr. *Corpus troporum III*, p. 125 (where nevertheless reference to Parm 12 is missing).

⁴⁰ Inguscio erroneously affirms that the name «David» is «only absent» in Parm 12: INGUSCIO, *I tropi d'introito*, p. 75.

⁴¹ Cfr. *Corpus troporum I*, p. 113 (where nevertheless reference to Parm 12 is missing).

⁴² This particularity of Parm 12 has been noted also by INGUSCIO, *I tropi d'introito*, p. 75.

⁴³ Cited by *Corpus troporum I*, p. 174.

same textual passage is absent: one from Piacenza (Pia 65), two from Padova (Pad 16, Pad 697) and another from Ravenna (Bo 7). This last is distinguished from the other codices since it presents the trope in a wholly different manner, not using it as an introductory element and dividing it into four sections: the first serving as an introduction while the remaining sections operate as interpolations to the introit. The relationship between the sources from Piacenza, Parma and Padova is closer. Both at Piacenza and Parma, *Quem quaeritis in praesepe* is transmitted before the second Christmas Mass, although in general it was sung at the third Christmas Mass; again at Padova, the trope is transmitted not for the *missa maiora*, but (according to Pad 16) for Christmas eve. Neither Pia 65 nor Parm 12 contain a rubric that refers to the use of *Quem quaeritis in praesepe*; however, Parm 12 (like Pad 16) later transmits the chant *Christus natus est nobis venite adoremus*, which is the invitatory for the Office.⁴⁴

In a very similar way to *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro*, *Quem quaeritis in praesepe* had the function of liturgical drama in the context of the Liturgy of the Hours as much at Parma as at Padua and probably Piacenza. Codex Pad 16 gives a more precise idea of how it was performed through the indications present in the rubrics:⁴⁵

*In nocte natalis domini. In matutinis post Deus in adiutorium cantant obstetrices
ad presepe
Quem queritis in presepe ...
Respondeant pastores
Salvatorem Christum ...
Respondeant obstetrices
Adest hic parvulus ... quia natus est
Et tunc pastores cantant invitorium
CRISTUS NATUS EST*

The passage «Iam vere scimus ... cum propheta dicentes» is clearly missing because of its allusion to the text of the introit *Puer natus*, which in this tradition does not follow the *Quem queritis*. At Parma, however, the passage has been

⁴⁴ Published in *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, n. 1055 (p. 6). Inguscio erroneously affirms that the *Christus natus est nobis* at the end of *Quem quaeritis in praesepe* is «typical of Parma»: INGUSCIO, *I tropi d'introito*, p. 75.

⁴⁵ The complex is cited here according to *Introitus-Tropen II* [in press].

conserved as the introductory trope in the third Christmass Mass, but without the preceding dialogue - there is no other manuscript with this arrangement of the sections of the trope. With respect to the textual transmission, Parm 12 conserves some particular variants, including one evident also at Piacenza («Christum natum infantem» instead of «Salvatorem Christum dominum infantem»);⁴⁶ Next to the variants in common between Piacenza and Parma, the differences between the two transmissions occupy an important role, allowing us to exclude a direct dependence on the tradition of one church or another.

2) The case of the *unicum* of Parm 12, *Circumdederunt me gemitus*, for Septuagesima is also particular and somewhat surprising. As far as we know, it is the only trope for that liturgical occasion, which opens a time of the year when generally neither tropes nor sequences were used. The text is characterised by a parallelism between two sections separated by the rubric ‘Versus’:⁴⁷

Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis dolores inferni circumdederunt me *Versus*
Conturbaverunt me terrores eius eterna supplicia conturbaverunt me

The two sections or ‘versus’ have practically the same number of syllables (the first 23, the second 24), and the same phrase construction; moreover, the corresponding words (placed also in a corresponding position) are almost always of the same length. Since beyond that is added the melodic identity for both sections, the trope taken as a whole recalls the two strophes of a hymn.⁴⁸ Moreover, it suggests the so-called ‘parallelismus membrorum’ of the biblical poetry of the psalms, from where the model of the trope derived: in particular, in Psalms 17 and 87 - where all the formulations are to be found, with the exception of «eterna supplicia».⁴⁹ It might be considered a paraphrase of psalms, but there is something more. The text of the introit, whose trope serves as an introduction,

⁴⁶ Cfr. *Corpus troporum I*, p. 174.

⁴⁷ Cited according to *Introitus-Tropen II* [in press].

⁴⁸ See the transcription of the trope in INGUSCIO, *I tropi d'introito*, p. 84.

⁴⁹ Cfr. Psalm 17, 5-6: «Circumdederunt me dolores mortis, Et torrentes iniquitatis conturbaverunt me. / Dolores inferni circumdederunt me, Praeoccupaverunt me laquei mortis»; and Psalm 87, 17-18: «In me transierunt irae tuae, Et terrores tui conturbaverunt me. / Circumdederunt me sicut aqua tota die; Circumdederunt me simul».

is taken from Psalm 17: «Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis, dolores inferni circumdederunt me...».⁵⁰ Again in this instance, we are dealing with a trope of the ‘paraphrase’ type, in the sense that it mentions the chant troped with the same words, but sung to another melody.

What is the origin of the trope *Circumdederunt me*? Was it perhaps the duomo of Parma? In any case, the trope fits perfectly into the background of the Italian transmission of tropes, through its hymnal character and repetitive melody - as is well-known, two characteristics common to many tropes conserved in Italian manuscripts.⁵¹ Moreover, it is opportune to recall how the ‘paraphrase’ type trope seems to have had a certain popularity in the traditions of the peninsula. On the other hand, however, the *Circumdederunt me* notably differentiates in its poetic character from the ‘paraphrase’ tropes studied by John Gearey Johnstone, interpreted by the scholar as one of the privileged types in the first epoch of trope practices.⁵²

As we have been able to demonstrate, the repertory of tropes in the church of Parma was richer than has been previously thought. The gradual Parm 1 proves it through the *pars estivalis* of the liturgical year; it might be argued that a similar book would have existed for the *pars hiemalis* and perhaps for the Santorale. Parm 1 demonstrates how the repertory of the tropes of the church included not only introductory tropes, but also interpolatory tropes, probably always arranged in the same way (an introduction preceding the first performance of the introit, another introduction and two elements of interpolation after the performance of the psalm or ‘versus’). It is necessary to remember, however, that the Parmense troper today is known only in part. It remains difficult, therefore, to locate precisely the church of Parma in a complex historical panorama regarding the transmission of tropes in the peninsula. We have been able to identify at least two tendencies: while the concordances with the tropers of Nonantola Abbey are numerous, the textual variants transmitted by the troper of the duomo of Parma indicate how

⁵⁰ Cited by the *Graduale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae de tempore et de sanctis*, Ratisbona-Roma, Friedrich Pustet, 1920, p. 58.

⁵¹ On this matter, see for example, ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART, *Italian Tropes*, «Mosaic», 18, 1985, pp. 11-31: 27.

⁵² See JOHN GEAREY JOHNSTON, *The Offertory Trope. Origins, Transmission, and Function*, Ann Arbor [Michigan], UMI, 1984.

this manuscript is tied to one or (more probably) several traditions of north-west Italy. The closest institution to the church of Parma was obviously the cathedral of Piacenza, even if it is impossible to substantiate the troper's direct dependence from the one to the other, or viceversa. The Parmense manuscripts are therefore considered as testimonies of a thriving local tradition, of which only some traces remain.