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Editors' Note

The current issue of the Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music brings together a series of peer-reviewed articles dealing with very different themes: Fr Damaskinos of Xenophontos discusses the notion of performance within the context of Orthodox liturgy, and with specific relation to monastic typika of the Byzantine era; Serafim Seppälä analyses the Byzantine liturgical structure and ethos of Angelopoulos's film Megalexandros and Nina-Maria Wanek discusses the question of the existence of Greek-language tropes within the mediaeval Latin mass.

These articles are followed by an extensive series of papers given at conferences organized by ISOCM or co-organized with other organizations: the symposium held at St Mary's Cathedral, Minneapolis in June 2018, the conference held in conjunction with the Philokallia association and Charles University in Prague in November of the same year, and from the biannual conference at the University of Eastern Finland in Joensuu in 2019 entitled "Sounds of the Holy". These papers cover a remarkably wide range of topics showing the great diversity of interests of members of ISOCM the world over.

We also publish the glossary which complements Elena Kolyada's paper published in the last issue, and an extensive review of Kurt Sanders's recent setting of the Divine Liturgy. The Editors encourage the submission of further materials for review, including books, scores and recordings, as well as articles related to the subject of Orthodox church music throughout the world.

Very Rev. Dr Ivan Moody
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Tropus Grece: The Use of Greek-Texted Ordinary Chants in 10th/11th-Centuries Manuscripts from St Gall and Limoges

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Introduction

The four ordinary chants (Gloria/Doxa, Credo/Pisteuo, Sanctus/Hagios and Agnus Dei/Amnos tu Theu) that appear with Greek texts in Western manuscripts from the ninth century onwards have come to be known as the "Missa graeca" and constitute one of the great mysteries in mediaeval liturgical chant. These chants appear in various types of codices and among different sections of chants. Numerous hypotheses still surround these chants, concerning their intent and their use:[1] This article will focus on the still-unsolved question as to whether these chants might have functioned as tropes or not. This question was fuelled by a rubric in codex F-Pn lat. 909 from Limoges, where the Amnos tu theu is actually called "Tropus Grece" (see below).

1 See the relevant literature: Charles M. Atkinson, "Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung der 'Missa graeca'", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 39, no. 2 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982): 113–145; Id., "The Doxa, the Pisteuo, and the Ellinici Fratres: Some Anomalies in the Transmission of the Chants of the 'Missa graeca'", *Journal of Musicology* 7 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 81–106; Id., "Further Thoughts on the Origin of the Missa graeca", in *De Musica et cantu, Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), 75–93; Nina-Maria Wanek, "Missa graeca: Mythen und Fakten um griechische Gesänge in westlichen Handschriften", in *Menschen, Bilder, Sprache, Dinge. Wege der Kommunikation zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen 2: Menschen und Worte*, eds. Falko Daim, Christian Gastgeber, Dominik Heher, and Claudia Rapp (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2018), 113–128; Ead., "Die sogenannte Missa Graeca – Schnittstelle zwischen Ost und West?", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 106, no. 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013): 173–190; Ead., "Missa graeca: Eine Standortbestimmung", in *Byzanzrezeption in Europa: Spurensuche über das Mittelalter und die Aufklärung bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. Foteini Kolovou (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 41–74. See further: Otto Ursprung, "Um die Frage der Echtheit der Missa graeca", *Die Musikforschung* 6 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), 28–296; Kaczynski, Bernice M., *Greek in the Carolingian Age: The St. Gall Manuscripts* (Cambridge/Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1988), 99–105; Ewald Jammers, Reinhold Schlötterer, Hans Schmid, and Ernst L. Waeltner, "Byzantinisches in der karolingischen Musik", *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongreß*, ed. Franz Dölger (München: C. H. Beck, 1958), 1–29; Ewald Jammers, "Abendland und Byzanz: II. Kirchenmusik: Byzanz und die abendländische Musik", *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik Reihe A, Heft 3*, ed. Peter Wirth (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1969), 169–197; Kenneth Levy, "The Byzantine Sanctus and its Modal Tradition in East and West", *Annales Musicologiques* 6 (Paris: Société de Musique d'Autrefois, 1958–1963), 35–44.

According to the dictionaries *Grove Music* and *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, a trope can either be:[2]

a) the addition of a new musical phrase (melisma) without text ("meloform"[3]);

b) the addition of a new text to a pre-existing melisma ("melogene") or

c) the addition of a new verse/new verses consisting of both music and text which precede or follow the original material or is interpolated between existing phrases ("logogene").

Atkinson[4] provides an easily understood definition when he summarizes that a trope consists of material "that appears as an 'introduction, interpolation, or addition' in conjunction with a given liturgical chant."

Hypotheses

In 1980, Gunilla Iversen discussed the Amnos in her book on the Agnus Dei-tropes: She comes to the conclusion that O amnos tu theu has the function of a trope, especially in the West-Frankish manuscripts.[5] Regarding the Amnos in St Gall, Iversen sees its role more ambivalent.[6] A year later, Atkinson states in his article on the Amnos[7] that it "[…] is not a trope in the conventional sense of the word – that is, an embellishment of an established liturgical chant. Instead, it is a Latin transliteration of the Greek for *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis*." He then goes on to write[8]: "These embellishments [i.e. tropes] ornamented the liturgy as a whole and enhanced the propriety of the mass for any given feast. An analogous function was served by *O amnos* and the other items of the *Missa graeca*." Atkinson concludes that the chants in question are to be regarded as independent compositions and not as tropes.

In 1982 this question was taken up again by the authors of Corpus Troporum 3:[9] Discussing the Greek-texted chants of the Easter cycle, the authors are so doubtful in regard to their function that they prefer to treat them separately and not among the edition of Easter tropes themselves. Van Deusen calls the introit psalm Ἀναστήτω ὁ Θεός / Natis thos o theos (Exsurgat Deus) in F-Pn lat. 9449 a trope;[10] however, no hint

2 Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Trope", *Grove Music Online*: https://bit.ly/2YMnHjb. Accessed: 22nd May 2019. Andreas Haug, "Tropus", *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart online*: https://bit.ly/38wBz5H. Accessed: 22nd May 2019. David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 196.

3 These terms were coined by Michel Huglo, "Aux origines des tropes d'interpolation: Le trope méloforme de l'introit", *Revue de Musicologie* 64, no. 1 (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1978): 7 and adopted by a.o. Olof Marcusson (ed.), *Corpus troporum 2: Prosules de la messe 1: Tropes de l'alleluia* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wicksell International, 1976), 8 and n. 5 and Ritva Jonsson, "Corpus Troporum", *Journal of Plainsong and Medieval Music* 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978): 102.

4 Charles M. Atkinson, "O Amnos tu theu: The Greek Agnus Dei in the Roman Liturgy from the Eighth to the Eleventh Century", *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 65 (Regensburg: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1981), 7 n. 3 after Ritva Jonsson (ed.), *Corpus Troporum 1. Tropes du propre de la messe. 1 Cycle de Noel* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wicksell International, 1975), 11f.

5 Gunilla Iversen, *Corpus Troporum 4. Tropes de l'Agnus Dei* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wicksell International, 1980), 30, 234.

6 Iversen 1980, 293–95.

7 Atkinson 1981, 7.

8 Atkinson 1981, 30.

9 Gunilla Björkvall, Gunilla Iversen, and Ritva Jonsson, *Corpus Troporum 3. Tropes du Propre de la messe. 2. Cycle de Pâques* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wicksell International, 1982), 25: "Mais il est du res sort de cette édition de savoir si des chants grecs sont dans certains cas, es tropes ou non. Parmi les tropes du propre, il y a des doxologies et des citations scripturaires grecques. Comme il nous semble trop incertain de classer ces passages, nous avons préféré les traiter ensemble ici et non pas dans l'édition des éléments des tropes."

10 Nancy Van Deusen, *Music at Nevers Cathedral: Principal Sources of Mediaeval Chant* (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1980), 336.

whatsoever can be found in the manuscripts that the chants of the Easter cycle might indeed be tropes.[11]

It would be tempting to believe Smoje's statement in her description of the proser-troper GB-Ob Selden Supra 27 that the "parts of the Greek ordinary are interpolated in the continuity of the troped Latin ordinary. Graphically, the presentation is not different from the context; the Missa graeca is here a special trope among others, in the following succession: Kyrie – Gloria – Doxa enipsistis – Gloria – Pistevo – Sanctus – Ayos – O amnos – Agnus dei."[12] So far, this assertion has not been put to the test.

Interestingly, these hypotheses concern only the Amnos, but they should – in my opinion – also include the Doxa which can be found in volume 1 of the Corpus Troporum-series among the Gloria-tropes, without, however, discussing its function. Therefore, I will subsequently try to present various analyses of the different kinds of treatment and functions of the Doxa and the Amnos in the given Western manuscripts. Points of departure will be:

1) the fact that in tenth/eleventh century-manuscripts of St Gall the Greek-texted chants are incorporated in those parts of the codices that contain tropes of the ordinary chants: Among these the interlinear Doxa/Gloria and the Agnus Dei/Amnos tu theu are of special interest;

2) that Aquitanian manuscripts of approximately the same time include Greek-texted chants among the tropes for Pentecost: E.g. in F-Pn lat. 909 from St Martial in Limoges, the Amnos tu theu is called a "tropus grece" and in F-Pn lat. 1084, also from Limoges, the same chant is actually used like a trope with a cue to the "Miserere nobis".

The Doxa/Gloria in St Gall manuscripts

As can be seen in Table 1, there are two sections in St Gall manuscripts, where Greek-texted chants are inserted:

a) in a separate section that does not bear any heading, and

b) in the troper part of the codices. This part will be discussed in the present article as it is here where the Greek-Latin interlinear version of the Doxa/Gloria and the Amnos/Agnus can be found.

11 This refers to the following chants: The introit psalm 67,2 Ἀναστήτω ὁ Θεός / Exsurgat Deus in F-Pn lat. 9449 as well as the introit antiphon for Pentecost Πνεύμα (του) Κυρίου πλήρωσε / Spiritus Domini replevit in F-Pn lat. 779, F-Pn n.a. lat. 1871 and the manuscript from Le-Puy-en-Velay (private possession). See also the forthcoming article Nina-Maria Wanek, "Bilingual Alleluia Chants in Latin Manuscripts of the 11th Century and their Byzantine Counterparts", in *Proceedings of the Congress held at Hernen Castle in December 2015*, eds. Gerda Wolfram, Christian Troelsgård (Leuven: Peeters, 2020).

12 Dujka Smoje (ed.), *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Selden Supra 27; Prosaire-Tropaire de Heidenheim* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2006), 78: "Les parties de l'ordinaire grec sont interpollées dans la continuité de l'ordinaire latin tropé. Graphiquement, la présentation ne se différencie pas du contexte; la missa graeca est ici un trope spécial parmi d'autres, dans la succession suivante […]."

Table 1

	Older MSS				Younger MSS			
Separate section	**CH-SGs 381**	**CH-SGs 382**	**CH-SGs 484**	**CH-SGs 338**	**CH-SGs 376**	**CH-SGs 378**	**CH-SGs 380**	**PL-Kj 11**
				Gloria				
				Credo				
	Doxa	Doxa	Doxa	Doxa				
	Pisteuo	Pisteuo	Pisteuo	Pisteuo				
	Doxa/*Gloria**	Doxa/Gloria	Doxa/Gloria	Doxa/Gloria				
	Patir/*Pater*	*Patir/Pater*						
	Pisteuo/*Credo*	Pisteuo/*Credo*	Pisteuo	Pisteuo				
Troper part	**CH-SGs 381**	**CH-SGs 382**	**CH-SGs 484**	**CH-SGs 338**	**CH-SGs 376**	**CH-SGs 378**	**CH-SGs 380**	**PL-Kj 11**
					Gloria			Gloria (5x)
					Gloria	Gloria		Gloria
					Gloria	Gloria	Gloria	Gloria
					Doxa	Doxa/Gloria	Doxa	Doxa/Gloria
					Doxa/Gloria	Doxa	Doxa/Gloria	Doxa
					Pisteuo	Pisteuo	Pisteuo	Pisteuo/*Credo*
					Pisteuo	Pisteuo	Pisteuo	Pisteuo/*Credo*
								Patir/Pater
					Kyrie	Kyrie		
								Hagios
					Sanctus	Sanctus	Sanctus	Sanctus
					Agnus	Agnus	Agnus	
	Amnos		Amnos		Amnos	Amnos	Amnos	Amnos/Agnus

* *Cursive* = unneumed.

All the eight St Gall manuscripts cited in Table 1 contain the interlinear version of the Doxa/Gloria. However, only the younger ones (CH-SGs 376, 378, 380 and PL-Kj 11) insert it in the troper section. The older codices include it in a separate part together with the other Greek-texted ordinary chants. Except for two manuscripts[13], the interlinear Doxa has its own melody and alternates verse by verse with the Latin Gloria, which uses a melody similar to the one with Greek text.[14]

As can be seen in Fig. 1, the interlinear version always places the Greek text first, with the exception of PL-Kj 11, fol. 91v, which has the Latin text first. The rubric is almost always the same and reads either *Carmen angelicum Grece et Latine* (CH-SGs 381, 382, 378, 338), resp. *Carmen Grece et Latine* (Berlin 11) (see Fig. 2); only CH-SGs 376 and 380 write Latine et Grece in their rubric, although the Greek text is first. Thus the rubrics here do not denote a trope which would be called *Laus* if it concerned the Gloria or one of its tropes.[15]

13 There are two exceptions: CH-SGs 381, p. 15, where the Latin text has no neumes and PL-Kj 11, where only the first verse in Latin is neumed. Apparently the notator forgot to add the Latin melody.

14 Charles M. Atkinson, "Doxa en ipsistis theo: Its Textual and Melodic Tradition in the 'Missa graeca'", in *Chant, Liturgy, and the Inheritance of Rome: Essays in Honour of Joseph Dyer*, eds. Rebecca Maloy and Daniel J. DiCenso (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 3–32.

15 Jonsson 1975, 23: "Les auteurs – et les scribes – médiévaux utilisent des termes très variés, comme : *laus*, *laudes*, *figurata ornamenta*, *festivae laudes*, *tropus* ou *versus*. Comme il apparaît dans l'Aperçu des manuscrits (volume 2), les tropes sont parfois donnés sans titre, ou bien le début d'un nouveau trope peut simplement être signalé par les mots *item*, *aliter*, *alius*, *aliud*, *alium* dans une forme inattendue, ou *alios*. Le terme *laus* peut parfois désigner le Gloria, parfois un vers de trope, et parfois même l'ensemble du chant et du trope. Ainsi, par exemple, le rédacteur du tropaire d'Autun (PaA 1169) écri : *Incipiunt tropi cum laudibus*, et celui du tropaire d'Auch (BnF lat. 1118) emploie *laus* aussi bien que *laudes* pour indiquer le Gloria: *laudes cum tropis*, 'louanges avec des tropes' et *tropi de Laus*, 'tropes du Gloria'."

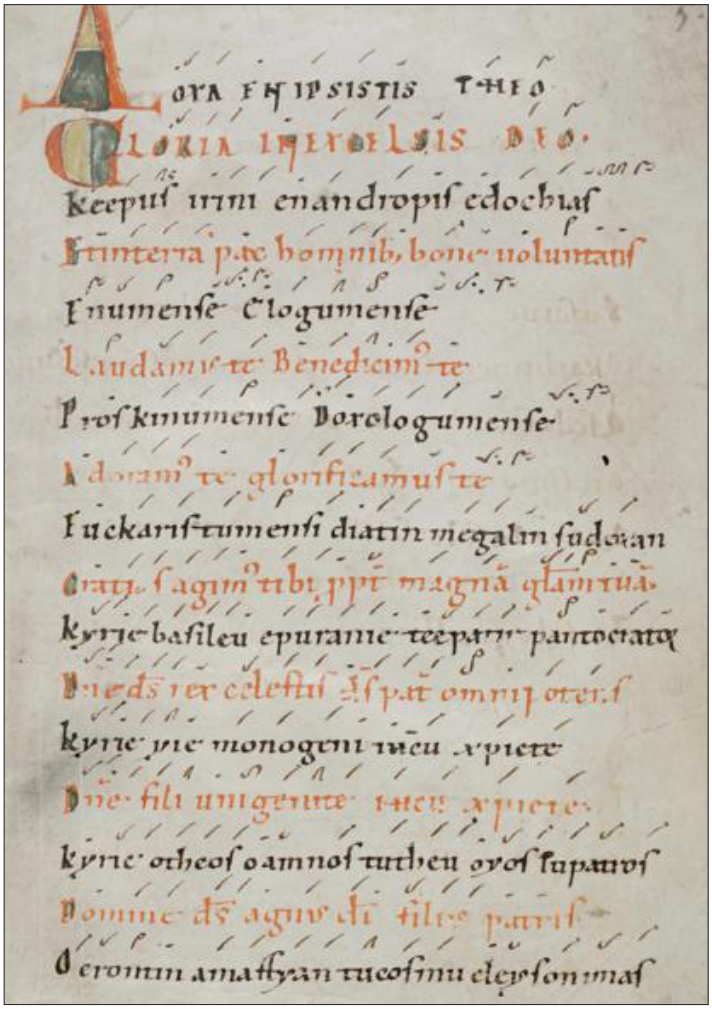


Fig. 1. Excerpt from the Doxa in CH-SGs 382, p. 5
(Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen)

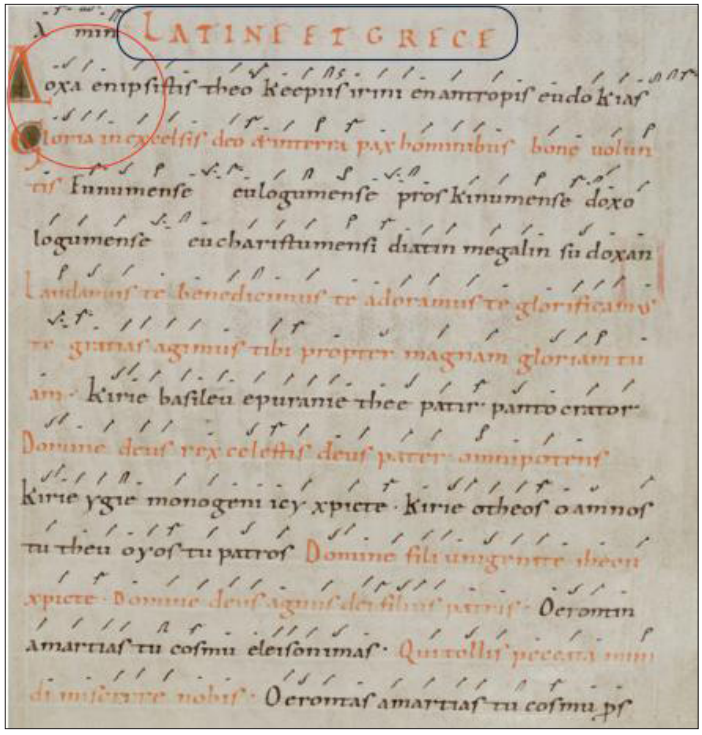


Fig. 2. CH-SGs 376, p. 69 (Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen)

Considering the interlinear Doxa and the definition of "trope", the St Gall form would conform to type C, i.e. an addition of new verses consisting of both music and text that precede or follow the original material or are interpolated between existing phrases (see above). However, in comparing actual (Latin) Gloria tropes with the Doxa/Gloria, the following facts become obvious:

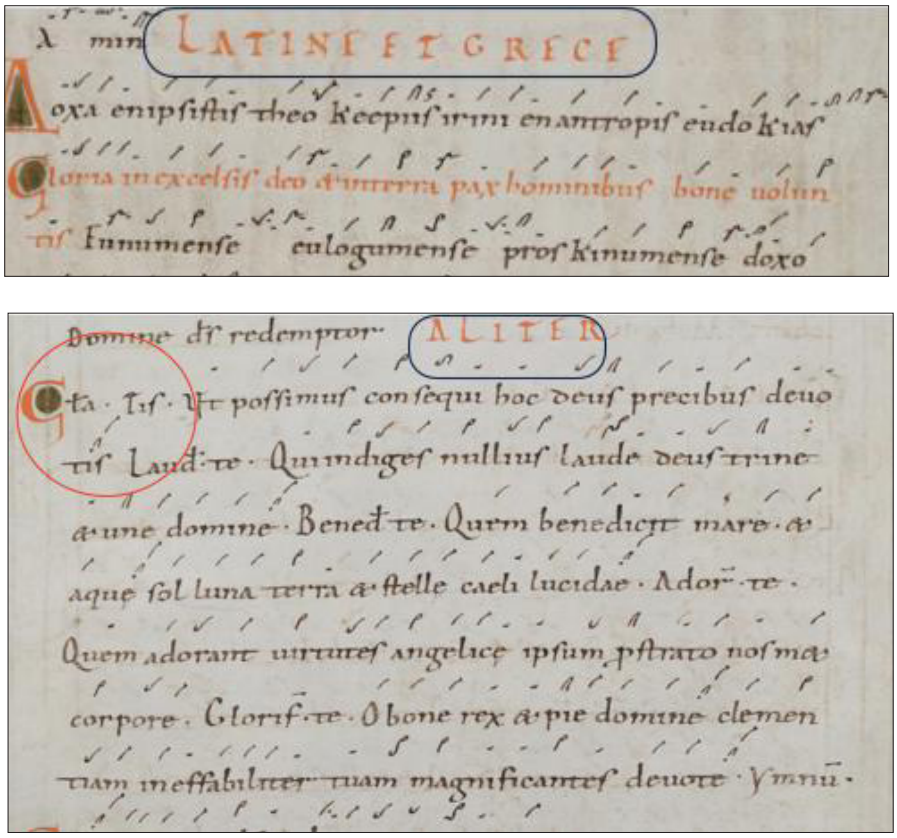


Fig. 3. CH-SGs 376, p. 69 and 66 (Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen)

In Fig. 3 it can be seen at first glance that the Doxa/Gloria has both texts in full and attaches a (different) melody to each language. On the contrary, in the trope Ut possimus only parts of the Gloria text are inserted as cues (e.g. "Gla tis" for the first part until voluntatis) which remain unneumed: Because the tropers are books for the soloist (who performed the tropes), the scribes usually only provide the cues for the host chant. As Grier explains, the soloists knew the "chorally rendered parts of the chant so well that they did not need to have them preserved in writing."[16]

One can therefore imagine the performance of a troped Gloria-chant in such a way that the choir sang the parts of the host chant, i.e. the Gloria in excelsis, alternating with the soloist, who chanted the melody of the trope. What does that mean for the Doxa/Gloria? Did the scribes think it necessary to provide both melodies for the Latin and the Greek part because this version was not as well known as the other chants? If that were so, the standard layout for the troped Gloriae is such that the parts of the Gloria itself sung by the choir always precede the trope, i.e. Gloria in excelsis … voluntatis – Ut possimus verse – Laud[amus] te – trope verse etc. The Doxa/Gloria however, puts the Greek text before the Latin, except – as stated before – PL-Kj 11, fol. 91v which presents the Latin text first. But if the interlinear version

16 James Grier, *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk: Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 311.

indeed constituted a trope, should not the Gloria always be put first? With the Greek text in first place it looks as if the Latin text were the trope and not the Greek.

Also, the rubrics preceding the interlinear Greek-Latin version are different from those announcing a "normal" trope: The Doxa/Gloria bears the rubrics *Carmen angelicum Grece et Latine* (CH-SGs 381, 382, 484, 338), *Latine et Grece* (CH-SGs 376, 380), *Grece et Latine* (CH-SGs 378) and *Carmen Grece et Latine* (PL-Kj 11). On the other hand, tropes have the headings *aliter*, *alio modo* or *item alio modo* (i.e. "different" or in a "different way). Apparently, there existed a standard phrasing for announcing that a chant in Greek and Latin was coming next. Thus, the arguments against classifying the Doxa/Gloria as a trope prevail:

Table 2

Pro	Contra
New verses consisting of both music and text (type C trope)	No cues, but the whole Gloria text
Alternation of choir and soloist	Gloria is also neumed
In the troper part of mss	Not always in the troper part of mss
	Greek text comes first before Latin text
	Different rubrics

The Amnos in St Gall manuscripts

Now, the Amnos is a slightly different case: It can be found in St Gall manuscripts that contain the Doxa/Gloria as well as in Aquitanian codices:

Table 3: Amnos / Agnus Dei-structure in St Gall manuscripts

	Older MSS		Younger MSS			
	CH-SGs 381	CH-SGs 484	CH-SGs 376	CH-SGs 378	CH-SGs 380	PL-Kj 11
A	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis
B	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis
D		Agnus … mundi miserere nobis				
A						Agnus mundi … peccata
C	O amnos tu theu … eleison imas	O amnos tu theu … eleison imas	O amnos tu theu … eleison imas	O amnos tu theu … eleison imas	O amnos tu theu … eleison imas	O amnos tu theu … eleison imas
D	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis		Agnus … mundi miserere nobis		Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis
C						O amnos tu theu … eleison imas
E	Agnus … misericordiam tuam	Agnus … misericordiam tuam				
F	Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	Agnus Dei … mundi miserere nobis			Agnus … mundi miserere nobis	
G		Agnus Dei … eia et eia				

As can be seen in Table 3, only CH-SGs 381 and 384 of the older St Gall manuscripts include the Amnos, but not CH-SGs 382. Furthermore, in the old St Gall manuscripts the Amnos does not appear together with the other Greek chants, but is added in the troper part. The younger manuscripts contain the Amnos in the troper part together with other Greek-texted Ordinary chants except for the Hagios.

The sequence concerning the Amnos is the same in all the above mentioned St Gall manuscripts: At first there are three Agnus Dei-tropes (Qui sedes; Rex regum; Lux indeficiens[17]) alternating with the Agnus Dei itself, which is only neumed the first time. PL-Kj 11 brings three more Agnus Dei-tropes before the ones found in the other manuscripts.

After these tropes the Agnus Dei is repeated several times with different melodies. Among these the Greek Amnos is included. For the Amnos all the St Gall manuscripts use the melody called B by Atkinson[18] (in Table 3 this constitutes C), and also when it appears twice in PL-Kj 11. The melody, however, is not listed in Schildbach.[19]

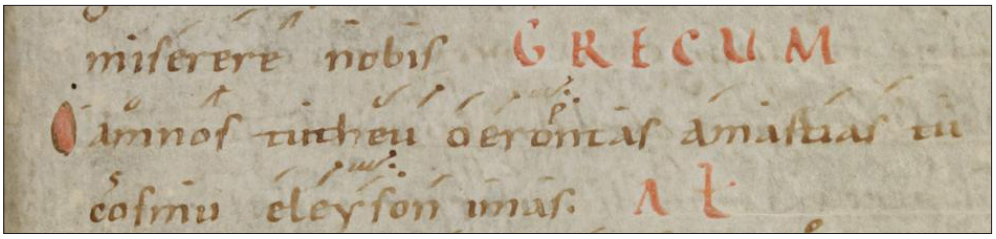


Fig. 4. CH-SGs 381, p. 311 (Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen)

After the Amnos the majority of the codices bring another Agnus Dei-melody followed by two Agnus Dei-chants with different endings (CH-SGs 484: propter misericordiam, CH-SGs 378: dona nobis pacem).

Already Hospenthal in her book on tropes in St Gall asked the obvious question whether the above shown sequence of the Latin Agnus Dei-chants together with the Amnos constitutes a unity and was thus performed in church.[20] A similar question is raised in Corpus Troporum 4: Could the Agnus–Amnos–Agnus constitute a tripartite chant performed with different melodies and the seven texts following the trope Qui sedes be chants ad libitum?[21]

First of all, with the help of Table 3 it becomes obvious that there is no such tripartite structure as assumed in Corpus Troporum. Rather, the Amnos is part of a larger structure: The "standard" version comprises two Latin Agnus Dei-chants before the Amnos:

17 No 63 (A, B, C) according to Iversen 1980, 79.

18 Atkinson 1981, 19.

19 Martin Schildbach, *Das einstimmige Agnus Dei und seine handschriftliche Überlieferung vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*. PhD thesis (Erlangen, 1967).

20 Cristina Hospenthal, *Tropen zum Ordinarium Missae in St. Gallen Untersuchungen zu den Beständen in den Handschriften St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 381, 484, 376, 378, 380 und 382* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 79 n. 20 writes: "O amnos tu theu tritt in unterschiedlichen Konstellationen mit mehreren Agnus-Melodien auf; inwiefern sie eine aufführungspraktische Einheit bilden ist unklar."

21 Iversen 1980, 100 n. 2 and p. 294: "Il est difficile de dire se les trois exclamations forment un chant tripartite. Elles ont des mélodies différentes […]. Il est possible que les sept textes qui suivent le trope Qui sedes soient des chants ad libitum […]."

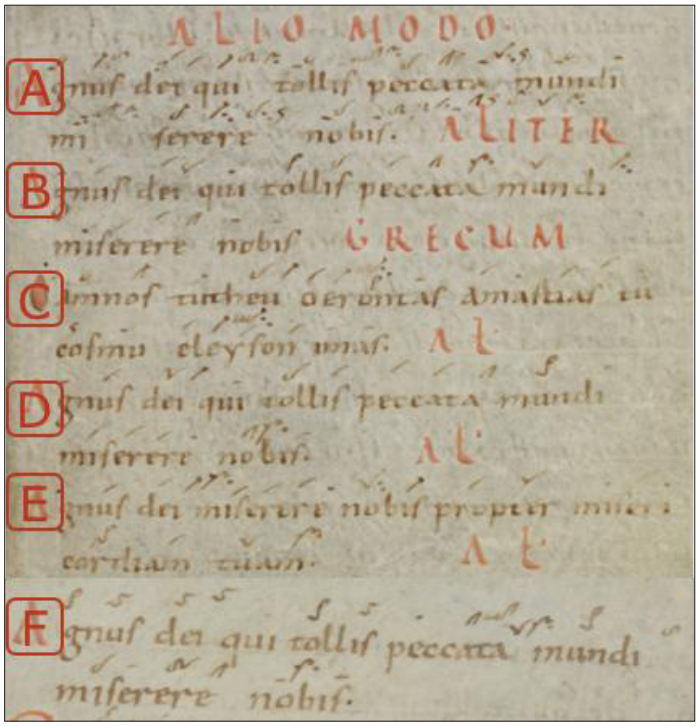


Fig 5a. CH-SGs 381, p. 311 (Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen)

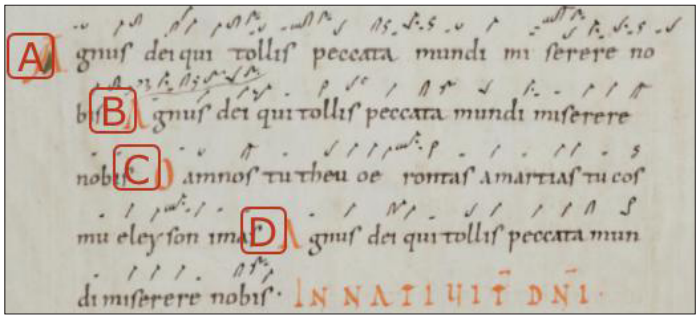


Fig. 5b. CH-SGs 376, p. 76 (Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen)

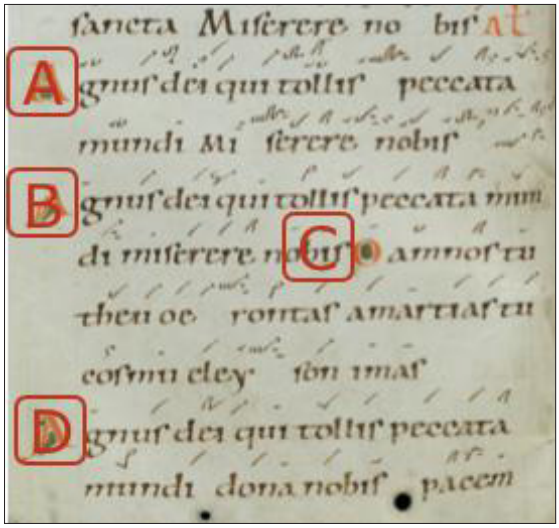


Fig. 5c. CH-SGs 378, p. 126 (Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen)

Furthermore, it can be seen once more that the Latin text is not given as cues to the Greek text, but written and neumed throughout. Above that, the Latin Agnus Dei-chants have a different melody, whereas those accompanying tropes always have the same melody (CH-SGs 376 and 378) or only show the neumes for the incipit, as the chosen melody would be known by heart by the singers (CH-SGs 381, 484); however, the Agnus Dei is completely neumed, albeit always consisting of the same melody (see Fig. 6 below).

The rubric for the whole section of Agnus Dei-chants with the Amnos among them reads *Alio Modo* in CH-SGs 381. The individual Latin Agnus-verses bear the rubric *Aliter*, whereas the Amnos is called *Grecum* (CH-SGs 376 bears no rubrics). PL-Kj 11 writes before the Amnos *Alio Modo Grece*. In comparison with genuine Agnus Dei-tropes one can see that there are no rubrics inserted. Another difference concerns the words "miserere nobis" that are written after the trope-verses, but cannot be found after the Amnos:

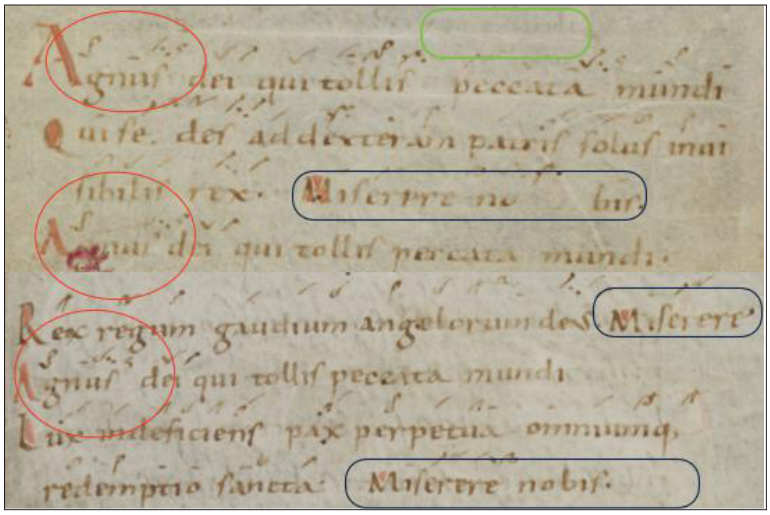


Fig. 6a. Agnus-Dei Tropes. CH-SGs 381, p. 310 (Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen)

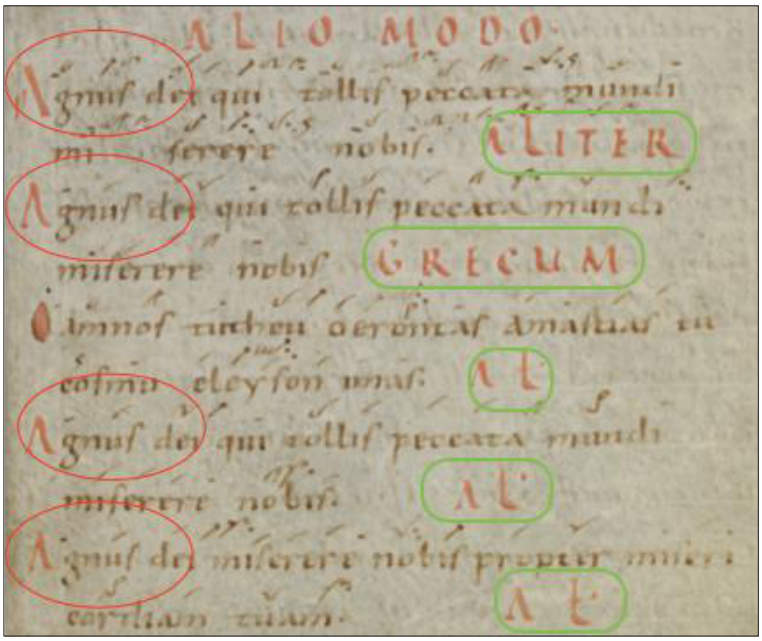


Fig. 6b. Amnos / Agnus Dei. CH-SGs 381, p. 311 (Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen)

The Amnos in Aquitanian manuscripts

The Aquitanian manuscripts date from approximately the same period as their St Gall counterparts, i.e. from the first and second half of the eleventh century. However, the Aquitanian Amnos has a different melody, much more melismatic than that used in St Gall. Furthermore, the Aquitanian Amnos includes the passus "o yo(s) tu patros", taken from the equivalent section in the Doxa. In the Aquitanian codices the Amnos is also included in the trope section; not, however, among the ordinary tropes but among the tropes for Pentecost (except F-Pn n.a. lat. 1871 and F-Pn lat. 1084 which also contain them among the ordinary tropes). The structure is also different from that of the St Gall manuscripts:

Table 4. Amnos/Agnus Dei-structure in Aquitanian manuscripts:

F-Pn lat. 1120	F-Pn lat. 909	F-Pn lat. 1119	F-Pn n.a. lat. 1871	F-Pn lat. 1084
Hagios	Hagios	Hagios		
Amnos	Amnos	Amnos	Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei
Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei	Amnos	Amnos
				Mise[rere]
				Lux indeficiens
				Mise[rere]

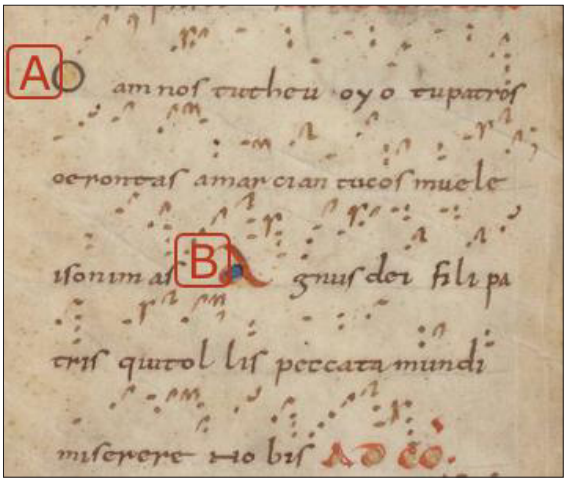


Fig 7a. F-Pn lat. 1120, fol. 38v (Courtesy of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

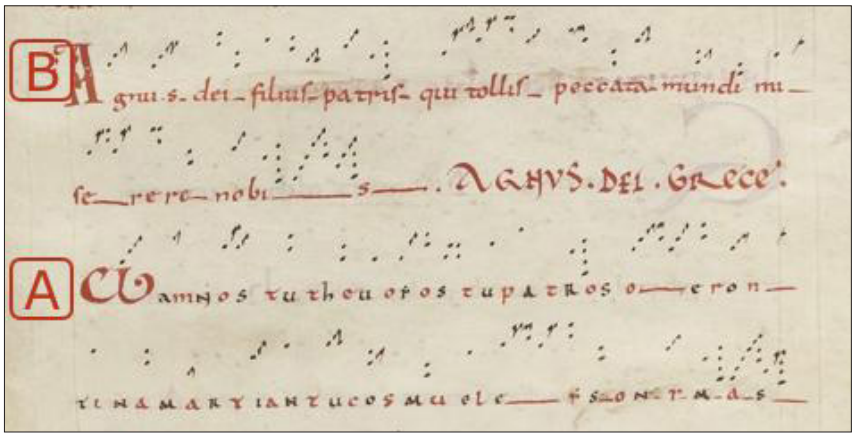


Fig 7b. F-Pn n.a. lat. 1871, fol. 57r (Courtesy of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

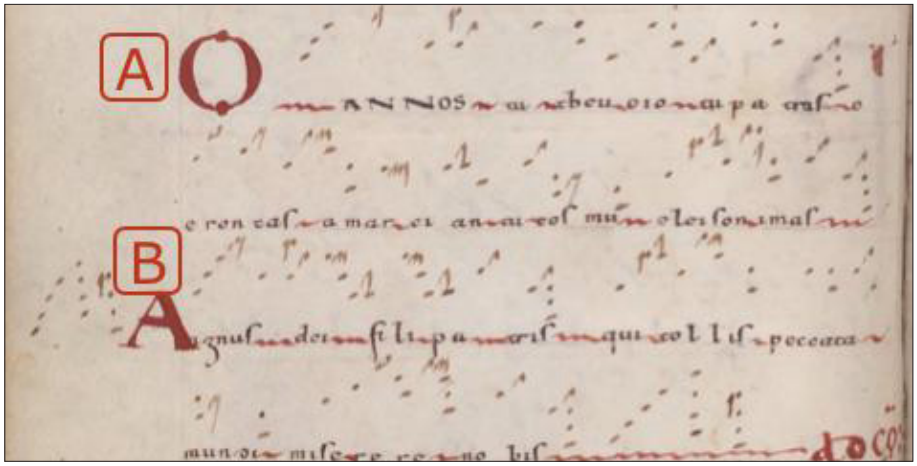


Fig 7c. F-Pn lat. 1119, fol. 46v (Courtesy of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

After the Greek Hagios, the Amnos follows here together with its Latin equivalent. The rubrics read *Agn[us] D[e]i in Greco* or *Agnus Dei Grece*; F-Pn lat. 909 is the only one which actually calls it a *Tropus Grece*. In the Aquitanian sources the Latin and the Greek text have the same melody, which Atkinson found out resembles Schildbach melody 48[22]:

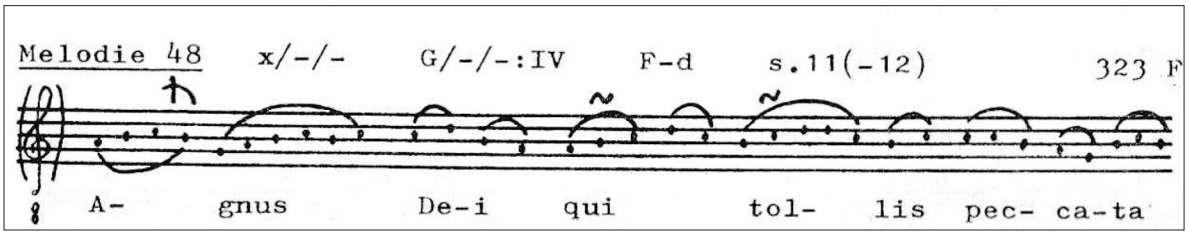
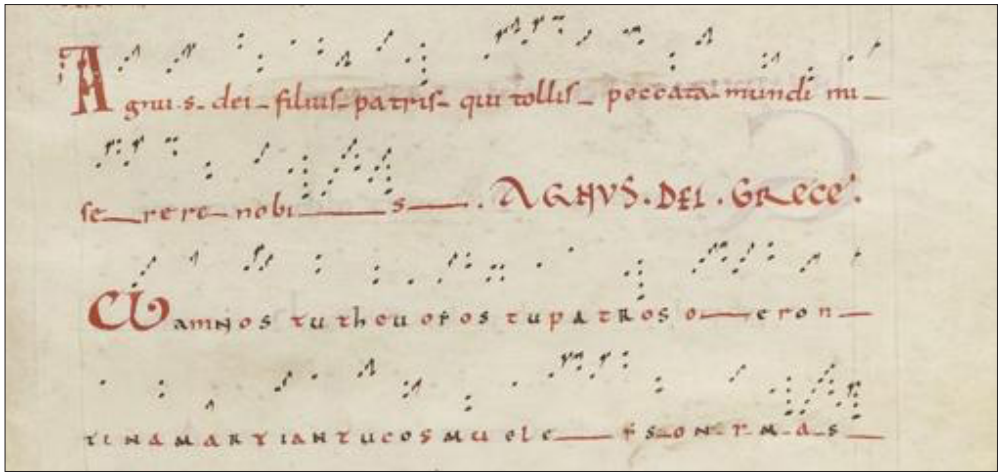


Fig. 8a. Schildbach 1967, 88



F-Pn n.a. lat. 1871, fol. 57r (Courtesy of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

F-Pn lat. 1120 and 909 start with the Greek text, F-Pn lat. 1119 and 1084 with the Latin text; otherwise they are the same.

The question too remains the same: Could the Amnos have been used as a trope here? The only manuscript where the Amnos is actually treated as a trope is not F-Pn lat. 909 which bears the rubric *Tropus Grece*, but actually F-Pn lat. 1084, where – as stated at the beginning – there is a cue to the Miserere nobis:

22 Atkinson 1981, 19 and Schildbach 1967, 88.

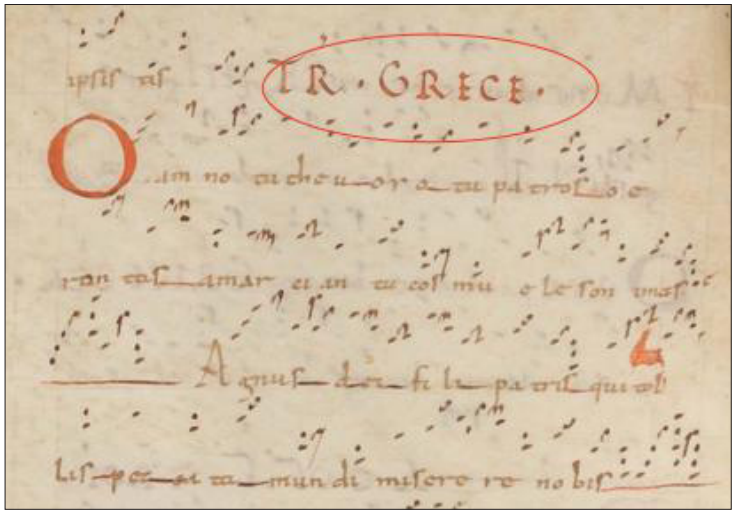


Fig. 9a. F-Pn lat. 909, fol. 37v (Courtesy of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

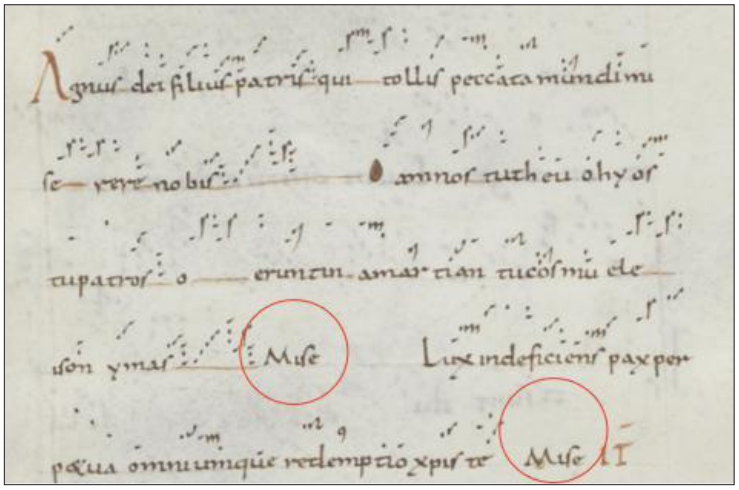


Fig. 9b. F-Pn lat. 1084, fol. 143r (Courtesy of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

As shown in Fig. 9, F-Pn lat. 909 constitutes the only instance in which it can safely be said that the Amnos is used as a trope like the chant Lux indeficiens following afterwards. In all the other instances the Aquitanian manuscripts include the Amnos as a variant which was perhaps also sung responsorially, similarly to the St Gall codices.

Thus, the question of whether the Doxa and the Amnos might have assumed the function of tropes can be answered in the negative: the differences between the Greek-texted chants and "genuine" tropes are too great. Thus, the Amnos and the Doxa rather constitute variants that could be sung on special (festal) occasions and express – as Hiley formulates it – "[…] the simple desire to make more splendid and solemn the performance of the liturgy (particularly mass) on the most important days of the year."[23]

23 Hiley 1993, 196.

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