W. de Wicumbe's Rolls and Singing the Alleluya ca. 1250

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In a short article published in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* of 1924, Falconer Madan, the Bodleian librarian, published a list of works that one "W. of Wicb." had scratched with a dry pen on a blank opening near the end of a twelfth-century Reading Abbey manuscript (**Ob Bodley 125**, 98v–99r).[1] The list concludes as follows: "These are the works of Brother W. de Wicumbe, resident at Leominster for four years."[2] To this list we owe all known biographical information about W. de Wicumbe, who was "of Wycombe" (a town about eighteen miles from Reading).[3] Wicumbe describes himself as a monk of Reading Abbey, and indicates that he had been ordered to Leominster Priory—a dependent house of Reading Abbey in England's rural west (the town borders Wales)—for a period of four years, during which time he copied, excerpted, and corrected the various theological

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1. Madan, "Literary Work." The complete list has also been published in Schofield, "Provenance and Date," 84; Sharpe et al., *English Benedictine Libraries*, 4:461–63; and Coates, *English Medieval Books*, 81–82.

2. **Ob Bodley 125**, 99r, transcribed in Coates, *English Medieval Books*, 82: "Hec sunt opera fratris W. de Wicumbe per quadriennium apud Leom' commorantis." Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.

3. Some scholars expand "W." to the most likely "William": in what follows, however, I simply use his Latin toponym "Wicumbe."

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and liturgical works he cataloged in the list. Though the list is voiced in the third person, scholars agree that Wicumbe compiled it himself. In addition to listing the works he had copied, Wicumbe takes care to acknowledge the contributions of particular individuals: for instance, twice he mentions the individual who had supplied parchment for his copying tasks, including his own personal provision of parchment for the copying of a Marian Mass. He also records on whose authority he had written the priory's Book of Customs and, following it, made the necessary corrections to "all the [priory's] books."[4]

One item at the end of Wicumbe's list caught the eye of the musicologist Luther Dittmer in 1954: "And he wrote two rolls, one containing three-voice polyphonic compositions, another containing two-voice compositions" (see figure 1).[5] This statement implies that Wicumbe was also a music scribe, and probably also the composer of these polyphonic works. In 1948 Bertram Schofield had made the connection between "W. de Wicb" of the **Ob Bodley 125** list and the "W. de Wic." associated with another Reading manuscript, **Lbl Harley 978**. A list of music compositions was copied at the back of **Lbl Harley 978** and the name "W. de Wic." was annotated next to some of them, likely indicating the name of their composer.[6] Building on

4. I thank Teresa Webber for her discussion of certain passages in the **Ob Bodley 125** list (personal communication, November 24, 2019). Some of Wicumbe's comments had previously been read as evidence of his "difficult" character. Alan Coates, for example, repeats Madan's view that the list testifies to "problems regarding the use of his or other monks' parchment": Coates, *English Medieval Books*, 63. In addition, scholars had read the "maledica . . . lingua" of the fourth paragraph as referring to members of the community "badmouthing" Wicumbe (ibid.). The passage in question reads: "Item s[ub eodem suppriore] et domino R. de Sutt' precentore [precanti]bus omnibus scripsit librum consuetudinem secundum quem eciam omnes libros correxisset, si maledica quorundam lingua permisisset." A different and more convincing interpretation was suggested to me by Webber. She proposes that the relative pronoun "quorundam" (whichever of them) in the final clause of the sentence points to the "libros" (books) Wicumbe had corrected rather than to the individuals ("precantibus omnibus") mentioned earlier. The final clause thus describes the "ill-spoken tongue" of the *books* (i.e., textual errors and anything else that might give rise to mispronunciation) that had necessitated Wicumbe's corrections. The overall sense of this passage, then, is that during the time of the same subprior (mentioned in a previous passage) and Richard of Sutton, precentor, "all those individuals had urged Wicumbe to make a copy of the customary, and according to which customs, he had discharged his activity of correcting the books that had textual infelicities." And as Webber has recently noted, by the thirteenth century this kind of detailed information about who provided what in the making of books is common: Webber, "Cantor, Sacrist or Prior?," 180–84. In his list, Wicumbe is properly documenting for posterity who made provision for his work both materially (hence his specific mention of whose parchment was used) and through their authority as office holders in the community.

5. **Ob Bodley 125**, 98v, transcribed in Coates, *English Medieval Books*, 82: "Scripsit [eciam duas rotulas vnam continentem] triplices cantus organi numero, aliam [continentem] duplices cantus numero." Coates has added square brackets to indicate conjectures for words that are difficult to read.

6. Schofield, "Provenance and Date," 84–85. The list of works copied at the back of **Lbl Harley 978** is known to musicologists as the **LoHa** index. The name "W. de Wic." is written in the same hand as the list, to the right of the eighth item on the list, which is the fourth Alleluya of the forty-one Alleluyas listed ("Alleluya Virgo ferax Item postea R[esponsoria] W. de Wic."). The bibliography on **Lbl Harley 978**, which contains the most famous

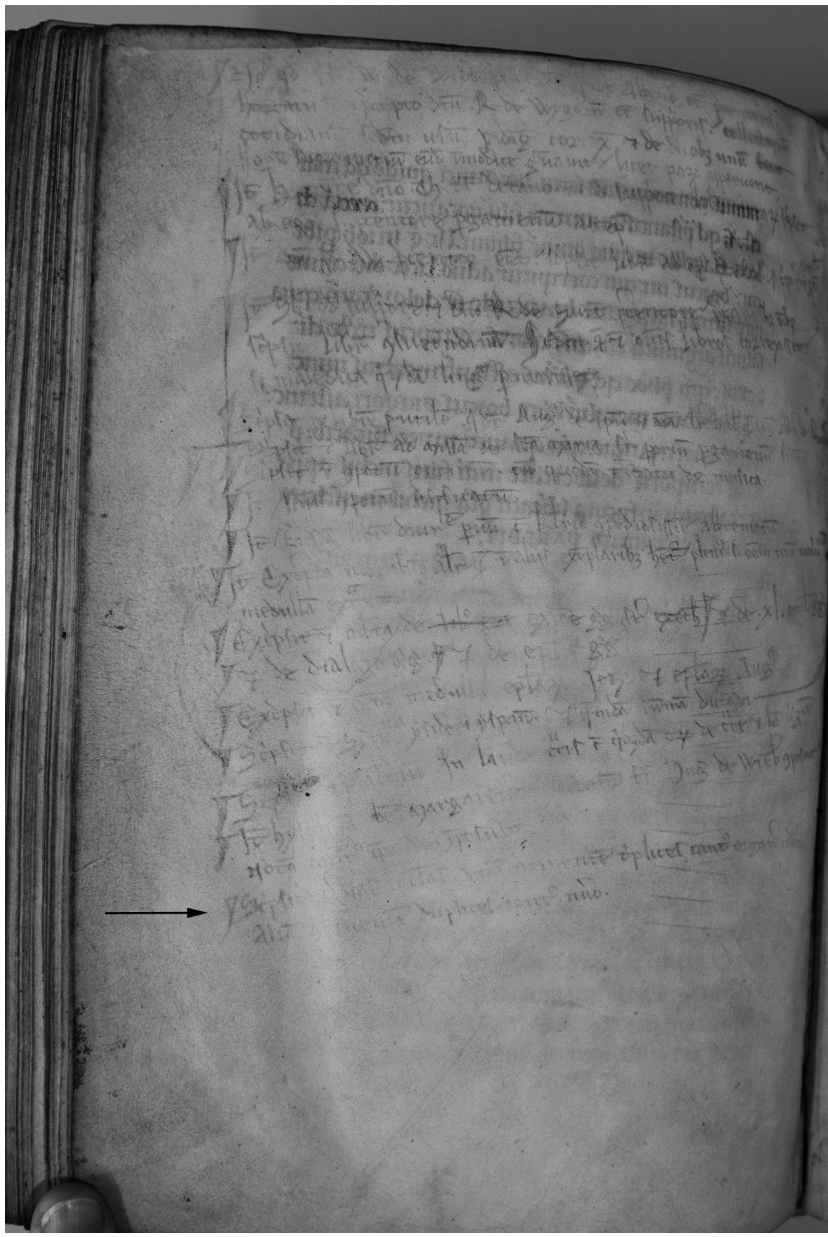

Figure 1 MS. Bodley 125, 98v. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. The arrow highlights the item at the bottom of the page that references the copying of two *rotuli* of polyphony. (The contrast is enhanced to improve the legibility of the text.)

Schofield's work, Dittmer proposed that the composer Wicumbe (of the **Bodley 125** and **Harley 978** lists) must be the composer of the polyphony extant on a set of parchment fragments that also had a probable Reading provenance.[7] These fragments include the remains of two rolls that Dittmer posited must be the two music rolls that Wicumbe mentioned in his **Bodley 125** list. (Hereafter I refer to the complete set of fragments as the "Rawlinson Fragments," and to the rolls by the standard Latin terms, "rotulus" (sing.) and "rotuli" (pl.).)[8]

Wicumbe copied other books that included music. In the **Bodley 125** list he writes that he had copied a troper and a processional, a Mass for the Virgin Mary, a computus with a theory treatise on music, and a diurnal with calendar. He had also added music to a "history of St. Margaret" (an office for St. Margaret), whose text, he writes, Brother Hugo de Wicumbe composed ("composuit").[9] ("Frater" Hugo de Wicumbe is presumed to be one of Wicumbe's monastic brethren, and not his familial brother.) Dittmer's further proof of Wicumbe's connection to the extant Rawlinson Fragments is that an office for St. Margaret is copied on the verso of the second *rotulus*.[10]

It is rare to have even this much information concerning the musical activities of an individual in medieval England.[11] To have these details on a thirteenth-century Benedictine composer—who at one point in his career may have been a precentor,[12] and in this role responsible for the liturgical

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English medieval composition, *Sumer is icumen in*, is large, but see most recently Deeming, "English Monastic Miscellany," and Taylor, *Textual Situations*. The two-part article by Jacques Handschin, "The Summer Canon and Its Background," remains the most comprehensive.

7. Dittmer, "English Discantuum Volumen," 35–37.

8. In general, the English "scroll" refers to a document that is unrolled horizontally, while "roll" refers to a document unrolled vertically.

9. **Ob Bodley 125**, 98v, transcription from Coates, *English Medieval Books*, 81–82: "scripsit librum a[d opus] precentoris scilicet troparium et processionale simul. . . . Scripsit eciam librum ad missam de sancta Maria super proprium pergamenum suum. Scripsit eciam compotum o[ptimum] cum quodam tractatu de musica. . . . Item [quendam] librum diurnalem paruum cum Kalendario compendiossime abbreviatum. . . . Item hys[toriam] beate Margarete [dictamine] fratris Hugonis de Wicumbe composuit. Notam [cantus] ipse W. imposuit." These are Wicumbe's descriptions of his copying of musical and liturgical items, in addition to the two *rotuli*. Note the use of the verb "scribere" (to write), with the exception of "componere" (to compose) in relation to Hugo de Wicumbe's writing of the St. Margaret history, and "imponere" (to place on) for Wicumbe's musical setting of the St. Margaret text.

10. Dittmer, "English Discantuum Volumen," 36.

11. For a recent volume dedicated to medieval cantors that includes a number of case studies from Anglo-Norman England documenting the specific activities of the English twelfth-century medieval cantor (part 3 of the volume), see Bugyis, Kraebel, and Fassler, *Medieval Cantors*.

12. Wicumbe refers to a "W. precentor" in the **Ob Bodley 125** list, and Coates writes, "It seems likely that he mentioned himself when recording the 'W. precentor' in the list": Coates, *English Medieval Books*, 61. The list actually names three different individuals in the role of "precentor." The first two paragraphs contain two references to the precentor "J. of Abingdon,"

and musical aspects of monastic life, including the keeping of the abbey's books, who spent his days copying all sorts of texts, including liturgical books with music, who wrote new music compositions, both plainchant and polyphony, and who had a collaborator in his compositional activities (Brother Hugo)—is unusual. That Wicumbe is likely linked directly to a specific set of music fragments that survive today is remarkable, especially given the poor rate of survival for music sources in late medieval Britain.[13]

Even more remarkable is that the set of music fragments to which Wicumbe has been connected—the Rawlinson Fragments—constitutes one of only a very few late medieval sources that can be dated with relative precision. Using grain purchases noted on the back of one of the *rotuli*, Andrew Wathey brilliantly deduced a date of copying of before December 1256, a dating consistent with Richard Sharpe's recent narrowing down of the four years Wicumbe spent at Leominster to 1245–49 on the basis of individuals mentioned on the **Ob Bodley 125** list.[14] Sharpe's convincing dating of Wicumbe's Leominster sojourn, not yet taken into account by musicologists,[15] implies that Wicumbe copied the *rotuli* in the 1240s, *and* offers a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the polyphony copied on the extant *rotuli* fragments.

This article considers the historical and stylistic significance of the repertoire Wicumbe copied on the Rawlinson Fragments. Besides a single motet

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about whom nothing more is known but whose time in the post may have preceded Wicumbe's stay at Leominster, since in the same sentence Wicumbe mentions Thomas, the then dean and subprior. Thomas is recorded as dean at Leominster as late as 1239 and his death is recorded in an obit from 1245 (ibid., 62). The third paragraph specifies that "W. was precentor" ("W. precentor esset") using the imperfect tense, and the fourth paragraph lists copying undertaken by Wicumbe when Richard of Sutton (d. 1261) was precentor. It is possible that the ordering of these paragraphs in the list reflects a chronology—that is, that Wicumbe was precentor between J. of Abingdon and Richard of Sutton. As regards the duties of the precentor in English monastic communities from the twelfth century onward (the role is variously named as the cantor or "armarius"), which included "general responsibility for the care and maintenance of the community's books," see most recently Webber, "Cantor, Sacrist or Prior?," 173; see also 173–74n9, which discusses references to descriptions of the duties of the cantor in English houses.

13. The comprehensive catalog recently published by William Summers and Peter Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*, lists sixty-eight items. By my count, these represent as many as seventy-five distinct sources, of which seventeen are English liturgical books or miscellaneous manuscripts that transmit isolated polyphonic compositions. The sole complete thirteenth-century codex of polyphony copied in the British Isles (**W$_1$**) is also somewhat exceptional: while it originated in St. Andrews, Scotland, it for the most part transmits the *Magnus liber* repertoire of Paris. The remaining fifty-seven insular sources are manuscript fragments.

14. On the December 1256 *terminus ante quem* for the copying of the second *rotulus*, see Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music*, 73–74. On the 1245–49 date for the copying of the **Ob Bodley 125** list (and thus Wicumbe's years at Leominster), see Sharpe et al., *English Benedictine Libraries*, 4:461.

15. For example, Wicumbe's dates are given in Grove Music Online as "*fl* ?late 13th century," while Nicky Losseff's entry on Wicumbe for the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that he flourished ca. 1275: Sanders, "Wycombe"; Losseff, "Wycombe, W. of (fl. c.1275)."

and one responsory setting, the fragments preserve, in varying states of completeness, twelve three-voice Alleluyas composed in a style unique to late medieval England. And while polyphonic Alleluya settings are a well-known mainstay of the continental *Magnus liber* organum repertoire associated with the Parisian Cathedral of Notre Dame, these English polyphonic Alleluyas are quite different. Most significantly, Wicumbe's Alleluyas, which are based on the texts and pitches of Alleluya plainchants (placed in the tenor voice), include newly composed poetic texts in the upper voices, whereas the *Magnus liber* Alleluyas have only the text of the original plainchant, copied under the tenor voice. Now, the *Magnus liber* repertoire does have a significant number of compositions in which newly composed poetic texts written for one or two voices are associated with plainchant excerpts placed in the tenor (including excerpts from Alleluyas), but these compositions constitute a new genre that emerged in the thirteenth century—the motet—and in the large *Magnus liber* manuscripts were copied in a separate section dedicated to this genre. By contrast, Wicumbe's Alleluyas are settings of *entire* plainchants, not excerpts. Taken alone, these twelve Alleluyas might be considered examples of one individual's idiosyncratic approach—in their blending of organum and motet styles—to writing polyphony based on Alleluya plainchants. However, these twelve Alleluyas are but a subset (and probably the earliest examples) of a much larger and mostly unstudied English tradition of adding new poetic texts to polyphonic settings of entire Alleluya plainchants. Forty-six such compositions are known to be extant today, and as many as forty-one additional settings have been identified that do not survive: these additional compositions are the Alleluyas next to which Wicumbe's name was placed in the **Lbl Harley 978** list.[16] I reassess Wicumbe's contributions within this larger context.

The 1240s dating for Wicumbe's Alleluyas is early and surprising. Few sources of thirteenth-century polyphony are dated this early: by comparison, this is the same decade as is proposed for the production of the largest *Magnus liber* manuscript, **F**. That is to say, at around the same time that the scribe of **F** was in Paris collecting and copying the extensive *Magnus liber* repertoire of liturgical polyphony and motets, Wicumbe, in Leominster Priory, was collecting and fixing on parchment a distinctive repertoire of polyphonic Alleluya settings, whose structural and stylistic characteristics at first glance seem similar to those found in the earliest motets. Being as sure as is possible about the copying date of the Rawlinson Fragments, then, is important: thus, through a paleographical and codicological study of the fragments, the first section of this article offers corroboration for the 1240s dating, investigating the evidence of the text and musical scripts and the way the parchment fragments were reused over time. My investigation of the

16. See note 6 above.

physical evidence of the fragments also corroborates the connection of the fragments to Leominster and Reading.

Next, centering on a case study of one polyphonic Alleluya copied in the Rawlinson Fragments, I consider this insular repertoire in its mid-thirteenth-century musical contexts: monophonic and polyphonic, insular and continental. Investigating how these insular Alleluyas were composed and collected sheds light not only on the extent of these practices in the British Isles, but also on the way performers and composers of polyphony drew inspiration from plainchant performance practices and compositional approaches, and the way the individuals charged with documenting this repertoire, like Wicumbe, chose to organize it. I briefly survey the types of manuscript in which these forty-six insular polyphonic Alleluyas were copied, and highlight the similarities in the internal organization of these sources. Through a second case study of a little-known insular source of Alleluya plainchant prosulas, I explore the resonances between plainchant prosula compositional techniques and those of the insular polyphonic Alleluyas. The stylistic and structural similarities between these two genres may bear witness to improvisational practices related to the polyphonic performance of plainchant prosulas. More generally, this study, which focuses on the activities of one mid-thirteenth-century scribe, reopens broader questions about the copying and performance practices of liturgical polyphony, including previous suggestions that motet texts may have been sung within the performance of the *Magnus liber* organa, regardless of the scribal copying conventions that separated organum and motet in the surviving *Magnus liber* manuscripts.

The damaged and fragmentary nature of the Rawlinson Fragments has thus far discouraged in-depth analysis of its music, yet these fragments and Wicumbe are often name-checked in support of particular narratives of compositional activity in late medieval Britain. Best known is Luther Dittmer's attempt to link "W. de Wicb." to a certain William of Winchecombe, a prebend of St. Andrew's Church in Worcester in 1283. This incorrect identification unfortunately fixed Wicumbe's compositional activity in the historical narrative toward the close of the thirteenth century. Dittmer's claim that the Rawlinson Alleluyas and the lost **Lbl Harley 978** repertoire dated from the late thirteenth century *and* that this William from Worcester was their composer bolstered Anselm Hughes's earlier hypothesis of an influential "Worcester School of Composition" that flourished in England at the turn of the fourteenth century.[17] Christopher Hohler and Nicky Losseff have offered thoughtful critiques of this narrative, yet there are also problems in

17. Hughes, *Worcester Mediaeval Harmony*, 25–30. Coates writes that Dittmer was "perhaps a little over-enthusiastic in trying to fit all his evidence together": Coates, *English Medieval Books*, 62. The 1280s is still the most plausible dating for the **Lbl Harley 978** list: for the supporting paleographical and prosopographical evidence, see most recently Taylor, *Textual Situations*, 235–36. For the previous dating of Wicumbe's activity to the late thirteenth century, see note 15 above.

some of their arguments and evidence.[18] Not all will be resolved here. In particular, the role of Worcester Cathedral (as an institution and as a community of musicians) still awaits detailed study. Yet Sharpe's convincing redating of Wicumbe's years at Leominster to the years 1245–49 and Wathey's new *terminus ante quem* of December 1256 for the copying of the Rawlinson Fragments suggests that this reevaluation of Wicumbe's musical activities and his witness to polyphonic practices in England during the 1240s is warranted. The knowledge we have of some of Wicumbe's creative activities within the monastic communities of Leominster and Reading, including those as composer of both plainchant and polyphony, helps to situate the surviving physical and musical evidence of the creativity and resourcefulness of the musical communities in which he participated as precentor, composer, and scribe.

The Physical Evidence of the Music Fragments

The story of the Rawlinson Fragments as material objects is dramatic. It includes the parchment's use and reuse several times as a writing support in the thirteenth century, the recycling of the parchment scraps as binding materials in the early fourteenth century for a book owned by the influential Roger de Martival, bishop of Salisbury, a further recycling when this book was rebound for the eighteenth-century English book collector Richard Rawlinson, a suspected theft of one of the fragments in the nineteenth century by the Bodleian librarian William D. Macray, and two stages of discovery and reconstruction by musicologists in the twentieth century.

Now shelved in the Bodleian Library under two call numbers (**Ob Rawl. C.400***, fols. 1–10, and **Ob Lat. liturg. b.19**, fol. 4), the "Rawlinson Fragments" represent three separate medieval sources, recently cataloged by William Summers and Peter Lefferts as Fragments A, B, and C (see table 1).[19] The "text booklet" (Fragment A) is two contiguous bifolia from the center of a gathering that were ruled for polyphony. The texts for these six Alleluya settings were copied and room left for music staves, but neither the staves nor the music notation were ever added (= **Ob Rawl. C.400***, fols. 1–4). The first *rotulus* (Fragment B) comprises four rectangular scraps of parchment, with music copied on both sides (a further six polyphonic Alleluyas) (= **Ob Rawl. C.400***, fols. 5–8). The second *rotulus* (Fragment C) comprises three pieces of parchment, with polyphony copied on one side (a motet and a responsory setting) and various texts in various hands on the reverse (= **Ob Rawl. C.400***, fols. 9–10, and **Ob Lat. liturg. b.19**, fol. 4). In what follows, I refer to the "text booklet," the "first *rotulus*," and the

18. Hohler, "Reflections on Some Manuscripts"; Losseff, *Best Concords*, 65–66.
19. Summers and Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*, 27.

Table 1 The sources and contents of the Rawlinson Fragments

Source	Call number, folio	Staff length/gauge	Text scribe	Music scribe	Music compositions
The "text booklet" (Fragment A)	Ob Rawl. C.400*, fols. 1–4	190 × 150–55 mm (originally ca. 240 × 180 mm)	A		*All. Post partum virgo* *All. Nativitas gloriose virginis* *All. In conspectu* *All. Fit Leo* *All. Hic Franciscus* *All. Fulget dies*
Rotulus 1 (Fragment B)	Ob Rawl. C.400*, fols. 5–8	recto: 134 mm/13–14 mm verso: 150 mm/15–16 mm	recto: B verso: A	recto: B verso: A	(recto) *All. Dies sanctificatus* *All. P. . .* (unidentified) *All. Vidimus stellam* *All.* (unidentified) (verso) *All. Assumpta est Maria* *All. Post partum virgo*
Rotulus 2 (Fragment C)	Ob Lat. liturg. b.19, fol. 4 Ob Rawl. C.400*, fols. 9–10	recto: 162 mm/12–13 mm	recto: A verso: various (*possibly* including B)	recto: A	(recto) *Mirabilis deus invisibilis / Ave maria / Ave maria* *Descendit de celis* (verso) Various texts (see Wathey, RISM B/IV[1-2] suppl., 1993), including a history of St. Margaret

"second *rotulus*," rather than to "Fragments A, B, and C," since the latter references are somewhat confusing given that "Fragment B," for example, itself comprises four parchment fragments.

Dittmer made a rough sketch that reconstructed the two *rotuli* in his 1954 article.[20] At that time, only two pieces of the second *rotulus* were known; the third (its top half) was rediscovered by Wathey in 1982 among a box of liturgical fragments up for auction at Sotheby's.[21] This box of fragments was once owned (and likely stolen) by the nineteenth-century Bodleian librarian William D. Macray. The Bodleian Library purchased the box of fragments and cataloged it as **Ob Lat. liturg. b.19** (the top half of the second *rotulus* is folio 4). Wathey estimated that the second *rotulus* had had a vertical height of at least 588 mm and a width of 170 mm, and that it had originally had a ruling of at least thirty-four staves.

As to the dimensions of the first *rotulus*, while the four surviving fragments of it have relatively small dimensions, an extrapolation of its length from the length of the missing music (on both recto and verso) allows for a more exact reconstruction of the *rotulus* and estimate of its original size than have previously been proposed.[22] I estimate the original dimensions of this *rotulus* as a horizontal width of 158 mm and a probable vertical height of at least 1054 mm, with a ruling of fifty-four staves on the recto and, because of the wider staff gauge and spacing between the staves, forty staves on the verso.[23] By way of comparison, the dimensions I propose for this *rotulus*

20. Dittmer, "English Discantuum Volumen," 20.

21. In an item described as "Fragmenta Liturgica. Mss" auctioned by Sotheby's on June 22, 1982, Wathey recognized the significance of the fragment of thirteenth-century polyphony and alerted Bruce Barker-Benfield of the Bodleian, who in turn recognized the relationship of the new fragment to the second *rotulus* of the Rawlinson Fragments; see Barker-Benfield, "Notable Accessions," 116, and Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music*, 73–74.

22. The first Alleluya on the recto of the first *rotulus* (*Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*) gives us a sense of the scale of these compositions. It originally occupied twenty-two staves. The duplum occupied seven and a half staves, and the tenor five and two-thirds staves, since Scribe B squeezed the end of the tenor part into the beginning third of two further staves. The piece concludes with a section written in three-voice score directly after the tenor. Much larger sections are missing from the remaining three Alleluyas on this recto, although a similar analysis of the third Alleluya, the *Alleluya. Vidimus stellam*, suggests it was a shorter work: its triplum is completely missing, but if it was of a similar length to the duplum then the entire composition would have occupied thirteen staves. If the intervening *Alleluya. P . . .* was either as short as the *Alleluya. Vidimus stellam* or as long as the *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*, between eleven and seventeen staves are potentially missing—that is, between 220 and 340 mm of parchment. Similarly, the final Alleluya on the recto probably needs at least a further ten staves, which also corresponds to the extent of parchment that would have been needed to complete the *Alleluya. Post partum virgo* on the verso of the *rotulus*.

23. This is quite different from the dimensions given by Dittmer and by Summers and Lefferts, both of whom note a vertical height of 775 mm for this *rotulus*: Dittmer, "English Discantuum Volumen," 20; Summers and Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*, 27.

would indicate that it was somewhat shorter than the fourteenth-century Brussels *rotulus* (**Br**), which measures 1390 × 175 mm (see figure 2).[24]

The three sources (the text booklet and the two *rotuli*) have been linked to one another because (a) they were all used as binding materials in the same host volume (**Ob Rawl. C.400**) *and* (b) a text hand belonging to the same scribe is found across all three fragments.[25] (This hand is used throughout the text booklet, on the verso of the first *rotulus*, and on the recto of the second *rotulus*.) All three sources have been linked to Reading Abbey because notes regarding purchases of grain at Reading and nearby Wokingham are recorded in a contemporaneous hand on the verso of the second *rotulus*.[26] These purchase notes also allowed Wathey to precisely date the copying of the music on this *rotulus* to "before December 1256," since the music on the recto was copied prior to the texts on the verso.[27] As mentioned above, both *rotuli* have been specifically linked to W. de Wicumbe, monk of Reading Abbey (also corroborating the Reading connection implied by the grain purchases), on the grounds of his references to copying polyphony on two *rotuli* and to adding music to a history of St. Margaret written by Brother Hugo de Wicumbe, when a history of St. Margaret is copied on the verso of the second Rawlinson *rotulus*.[28]

The Medieval Binding of Roger de Martival's Pontifical

The three above-described sources were linked to one another by Dittmer because they survived as recycled binding materials in the same book. Thus he connected all *three* sources to Wicumbe and to Reading, and not just the second *rotulus* that has the notes on the Reading grain purchases. Of course, their survival as binding materials within the same book does not necessarily imply a common origin: binding materials can originate from different locations, and books can be rebound at different times. This was Hohler's argument, which he put forward in support of his hypothesis that the royal court and London were the producers of polyphony in thirteenth-century England, and that monastic Benedictine institutions, like Reading, were primarily consumers of the polyphonic repertoire rather than producers. He argued that Reading was an unlikely locale both for the "composition" of this extensive Alleluya repertoire and for its collection and copying into a

24. And perhaps even as long as **Br**, if seventeen rather than eleven staves are missing between folios 7 and 8 of **Ob Rawl. C.400***.

25. See Barker-Benfield, "Notable Accessions," 117. On the hands, see further below.

26. See Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music*, 73–74.

27. Ibid.

28. See Dittmer, "English Discantuum Volumen," 36. Hohler describes the St. Margaret office as a "versified historia, complete with lessons," noting that the text that survives has "the hymn for First Vespers, includes the whole of the first Nocturn of Matins, giving antiphons for only three psalms": Hohler, "Reflections on Some Manuscripts," 19–20.

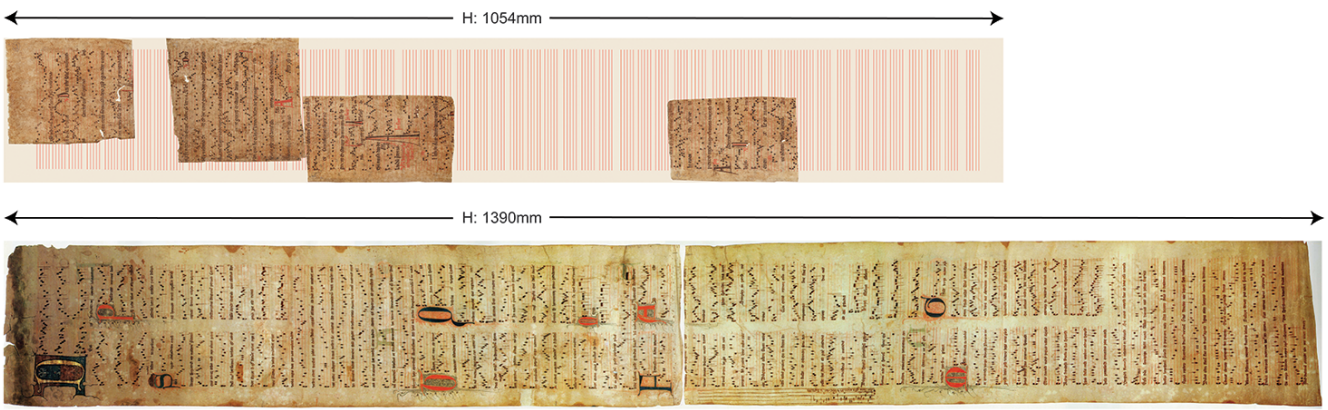


Figure 2 A visual comparison of the vertical dimensions of (above) the first *rotulus* of the Rawlinson Fragments (MS. Rawl. C.400*, 5r, 6r, 7r, 8r, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford) and (below) the Brussels *rotulus* (Bibliothèque royale, MS. 19606, recto). This figure appears in color in the online version of the **Journal**.

formal codex, as represented by the text booklet fragments.[29] So while Hohler agreed that the Rawlinson *rotuli* were likely those copied by Wicumbe, monk of Reading, he did not accept that the text booklet was copied by him, or even that it was produced at the same time and place as the *rotuli*.[30]

The book within which the Rawlinson Fragments were reused as binding materials is **Ob Rawl. C.400**, an incomplete pontifical that belonged to Roger de Martival, bishop of Salisbury from 1315 until his death in 1329.[31] Before Dittmer requested that the Bodleian remove the parchment fragments (in 1952), some were used as front flyleaves and some were pasted to the back board of the pontifical.[32] The pontifical is currently covered in medieval red leather but with more modern "rope" front and back boards (made from recycled rope). Hohler argued that, because of the modern boards, it is impossible to know at what point in the pontifical's history the binding fragments were added, and he hypothesized that the smaller *rotulus* fragments found pasted to the back board had previously been used as stiffeners for the book's spine at a later point in time than its first binding.[33] Barker-Benfield also held that it was impossible to know the exact state of the original binding before it was rebound.[34]

29. Hohler, "Reflections on Some Manuscripts," 32–33.

30. Ibid., 18–22.

31. This pontifical appears in Patrick Young's catalog of Salisbury Cathedral compiled ca. 1622, and was owned by Richard Rawlinson (d. 1755). George Harbin is listed as a previous owner in 1715; see the entry in Neil Ker's "Medieval Libraries of Great Britain," available online at http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/book/4975/. The text of the pontifical was edited by the Surtees Society in the nineteenth century: *Liber pontificalis*, 214–24. See also Brückmann, "Latin Manuscript Pontificals," 454.

32. "Through the kind coöperation of Dr. Hunt, 'Keeper of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,'" the flyleaves were removed from the binding of **Ob Rawl. C. 400** in April 1952 and placed in the appendix volume **Ob Rawl. C. 400***: Dittmer, "English Discantuum Volumen," 20. Dittmer indicates that the two bifolia that constitute the text booklet had been used as the front flyleaves of **Ob Rawl. C. 400** (ibid.). A pencil note on what is now the first folio (foliated as fol. ii) of the host volume **Ob Rawl C. 400** reads, "Fol. i and six scraps formerly pasted in the back cover were removed in April 1952 and put into MS. Rawl. C. 400*." Matthew Holford of the Bodleian Library confirms that this note is not in Richard Hunt's handwriting (personal communication, May 2019). It may be Dittmer's own note, as the handwriting is similar to that found in a letter written by him now stored with the Bodleian Worcester Fragments, **Ob Lat. liturg. d.20**. The note accounts for only one of the three larger Rawlinson Fragments: one other large fragment (the top of the second *rotulus*) was already in the stolen Macray collection by 1952 and unknown to Dittmer. It is unclear, however, where the second text booklet bifolium (fol. ii) was attached to **Ob Rawl C. 400** before it was removed to **Ob Rawl. C. 400*** in 1952, since it is not mentioned in the pencil note.

33. Hohler, "Reflections on Some Manuscripts," 22. Hohler writes that Graham Pollard reported the red leather binding to be "of a kind which must have been put on some twenty years either side of 1600." It is unclear to what exactly Pollard is referring: the leather is medieval; the current rope boards, however, are not. Hohler proposed that the smaller *rotulus* fragments stiffening the spine were added at this late date (that is, around 1600), and that the text booklet fragments were more likely remnants of an earlier medieval binding.

34. Barker-Benfield, "Notable Accessions," 117.

Yet the present binding of **Ob Rawl. C.400** and the fragments removed from it yield additional clues. Slits visible along the outer edge of each of the two text booklet bifolia and the top fragment of the second *rotulus* imply that these fragments (text booklet and *rotulus*) were used together at the same time and in a very specific way, probably in the original medieval binding. These slits align to show where the sewing supports (bands) on the spine of the book were attached to these three larger pieces of parchment, which were laminated together to form padding for the front cover of the book.[35] In addition, as shown in figures 3a and 3b, when the top of the second *rotulus* is held up to transmitted light, impressions on the parchment that emanate at diverging angles from the location of each of the slits are seen to match similar markings on the front leather cover of **Ob Rawl. C.400**. The inner text booklet bifolium (fols. 2–3) has exactly the same impressions. These were made when the "tying up" of the bands left an impression on the parchment binding materials. (Figure 4 shows the sort of tying up process that could leave such marks, although here the process is of the more usual kind that avoids marking the leather cover.) What these impressions indicate is that interior boards were not used in the medieval binding of **Ob Rawl. C.400**, as the tying up process could not then have left impressions on the parchment binding materials as well as the leather.

Ink offsets on the folios and residue from the red leather tell us in exactly which order these parchment materials were used within the front cover. First, on the inner side of the opened-out inner bifolium of the text booklet (fols. 2v–3r) the parchment is stained with the residue of red leather, confirming that this side of the bifolium was directly pressed against the leather. Second, the music copied on the outer side of the opened-out inner bifolium of the text booklet (fols. 3v–2r) and the music composition copied on the recto of the fragment of the second *rotulus* have left ink offsets on one another, confirming that these two sides were once pressed together. (Figure 5 shows a detail of these offsets.) Third, the outer bifolium of the text booklet (fols. 1 and 4) does not have offsets of music or the impressions from the tying up of the bands, though it does have the slits; it was therefore placed against the verso of the second *rotulus* fragment (which contained only text and not music). One side of the outer bifolium—fols. 1v–4r—also has staining that indicates the turn-ins of the red leather overcover that were folded over it, and so it was this side that was facing out.[36]

The binder's use of these three fragments was thus as a "parchment pad" (comprising the two text booklet bifolia with the top half of the second

35. I am very grateful to both Shaun Thompson at Cambridge University Library and Flavio Marzo at the Cambridge Colleges' Conservation Consortium for their detailed discussions with me regarding medieval binding practices and limp bindings in particular.

36. A lengthy cut and repair visible on folio 1 likely shows where this bifolium was cut to remove it from the leather overcover when it was rebound centuries later.

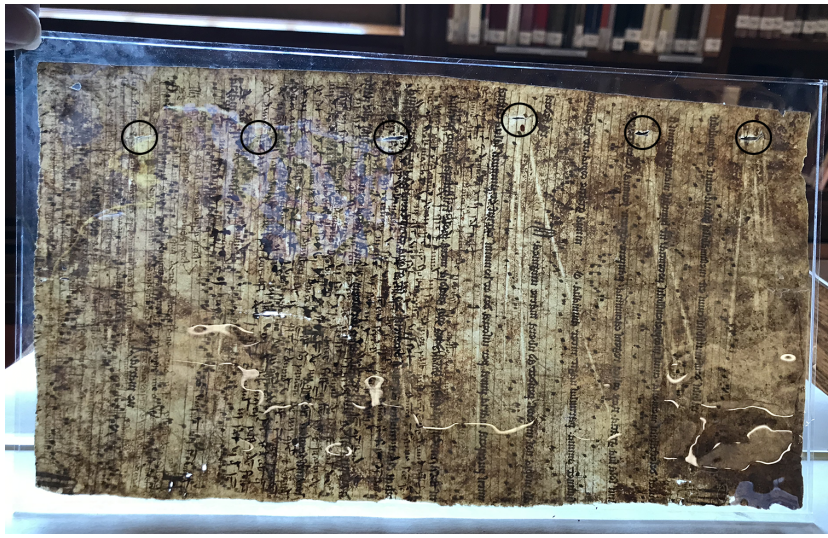


Figure 3a The top half of the second *rotulus*, MS. Lat. liturg. b.19, 4r, photographed with transmitted light to highlight the diagonal impressions of the sewing supports, and with circles added to show slits where the lacing entered the parchment pad. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. This figure appears in color in the online version of the **Journal**.

Figure 3b MS. Rawl. C.400, front cover, with diagonal impressions of the sewing supports visible. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. This figure appears in color in the online version of the **Journal**.

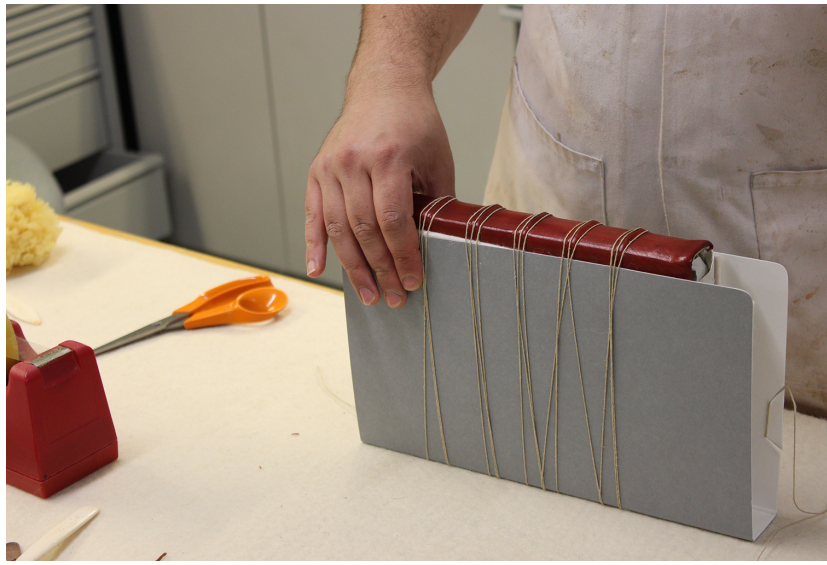


Figure 4 "Tying up" the bands while binding a book. Photograph: Cambridge Colleges' Conservation Consortium. This figure appears in color in the online version of the **Journal**.

rotulus between them) in lieu of a wooden board within a so-called "limp" binding.[37] Figure 6 shows a similar medieval limp binding with a red leather overcover and a parchment pad. (The lacing of the bands under and out of the parchment pad is also visible in this photograph.) Several of the six smaller parchment fragments from the first and second *rotuli* have similarly spaced slits from the sewing of the bands, confirming their relationship to the same binding, most likely as reinforcements between the spine and the lacing inserts.[38]

It is not possible to definitively date the binding technique I have described, since these sorts of bindings were used throughout the Middle Ages and indeed up to the beginning of the eighteenth century in a variety of institutions. But it is possible to say that the binding certainly could date from the fourteenth century, *pace* Pollard.[39] Furthermore, the most plausible scenario, given the medieval red leather cover and the fact that all three sources (text booklet and the two *rotuli*) share a text hand, is that the limp binding

37. For a detailed description of limp bindings, see Szirmai, *Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, ch. 10.

38. All three larger fragments were used in the front cover, and the smaller fragments probably in the spine. It is unknown which fragments were used in the medieval binding's rear parchment pad.

39. See note 33 above.

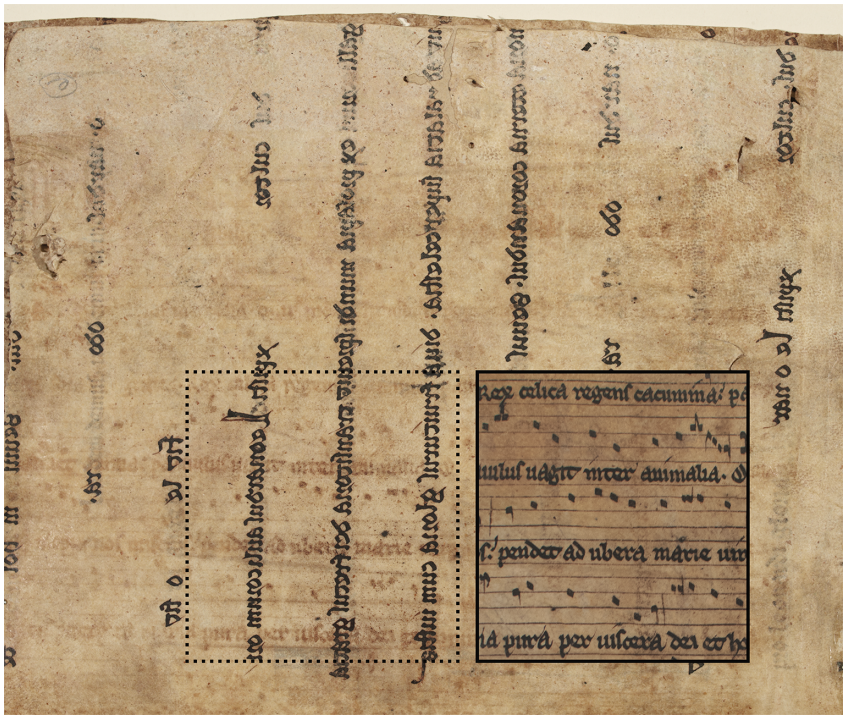


Figure 5 MS. Rawl. C.400*, 3v (the "text booklet"), with the image reversed horizontally so as to render the offset text legible; the inset image is a detail from MS. Lat. liturg. b.19, 4r (the second *rotulus*), that corresponds to the area enclosed in a dotted box in the text booklet page. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. This figure appears in color in the online version of the **Journal**.

Figure 6 Cambridge, University Library, Add. 4325, showing an example of a limp binding, opened to show the entry and exit of the lacing in the parchment pad and the turn-in of the red leather chemise over the parchment. Photograph by Karen Desmond, reproduced by permission of Cambridge University Library. This figure appears in color in the online version of the **Journal**.

and the parchment pad I describe here together constitute the earliest use of these fragments as binding materials. There is no other physical evidence that indicates a prior binding use: that is, there is no unexplained damage or marking on the three larger fragments that cannot be accounted for in the limp binding process described above. The limp binding was probably produced at a date close to that of the copying of Roger's pontifical in the first decades of the fourteenth century, and all the Rawlinson Fragments, text booklet and *rotuli*, were therefore most likely used in the same binding process from an early date.[40]

40. The rebinding of **Ob Rawl. C. 400** was likely undertaken in the eighteenth century (rather than the nineteenth, as noted in previous scholarship), probably when it entered Richard Rawlinson's collection. The rope boards inserted in place of the original parchment pad are indicative of the eighteenth century, as is the Richard Rawlinson bookplate glued to the front rope board. (I thank Matthew Holford for identifying the Rawlinson bookplate.) When the volume was rebound, the leaves constituting the parchment pad were separated and reused as flyleaves, while the smaller fragments removed from the spine were pasted to the back board.

The Evidence of the Hands

In further support of the connection between all the Rawlinson Fragments is the fact that a single text hand, writing in an English *textualis* script, is present across all three sources (see table 1).[41] While Dittmer did not consider the text booklet hand to be identical to that used in the *rotuli*, and Hohler offered no comment, I concur with Bruce Barker-Benfield's assessment that the text booklet hand, labeled "A" in table 1, is the same as the hand that copied the verso of the first *rotulus* and the recto of the second *rotulus*.[42] The hand on the recto of the first *rotulus*, Scribe B, also writes in English *textualis*. Some features of both text hands may be observed in figure 7. The shafts of Scribe B's letters are quite vertical by comparison with Scribe A's slightly left-leaning *ductus*. Scribe B's minims, especially in the letters "i," "m," "n," "u," and "r," are frequently written without serifs and are cut off at a straight angle on the baseline (see, for example, Scribe B's "i" and "u" but also the "l," as in "illuxit"). The pen appears to sit more heavily in Scribe B's hand, while Scribe A's pen flows more confidently, with, for instance, the

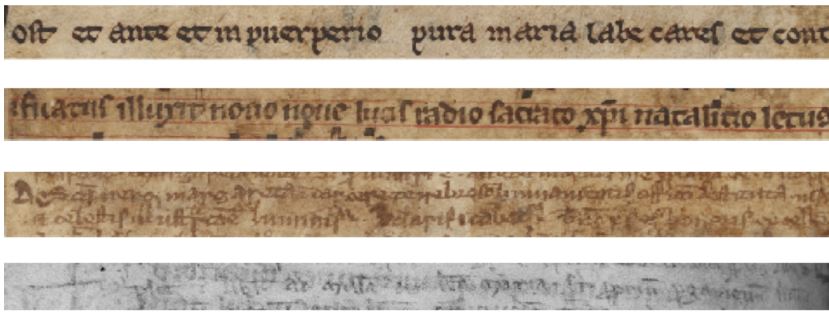


Figure 7 Top to bottom: Scribe A, text booklet (MS. Rawl. C.400*, 1r, text line 7); Scribe B, first *rotulus*, recto (MS. Rawl. C.400*, 6r, text under staff 3); the St. Margaret hand (MS. Rawl. C.400*, 10v, text lines 8–9); the **Ob Bodley 125** hand (MS. Bodley 125, 98v, line 12, contrast manipulated). Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. This figure appears in color in the online version of the **Journal**.

41. Later medieval scripts generally fall into two categories, formal and cursive (or documentary). "Textualis" is the term for the most common formal script, which had specific temporal and regional variants. General discussions of thirteenth-century *textualis* may be found in many of the standard paleography reference works, but the extended discussion by Albert Derolez is particularly useful, especially as regards English *textualis*: Derolez, *Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 72–101. For a recent exemplary study of a thirteenth-century *textualis* hand in a music manuscript, see Curran, "Palaeographical Analysis."

42. Dittmer wrote that while the text booklet hand "cannot be identical with those of the other fragments, used as the rear fly-leaves, it is identical in time and style": Dittmer, "English

attractive curving hair stroke serif from the descender of "p," or the ascending hair stroke to complete the "r" (for both, see "puerperio" and "pura"). Both text hands look earlier than ca. 1250, and could be tentatively placed in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[43]

In terms of the music notation, the same general characteristics are present across the two *rotuli*. The notation is best described as "premensural," having both modal and mensural aspects, and features that are often identified as English (namely the rhomboid breve, and the so-called English *conjunctura*).[44] The resultant rhythms are mostly trochaic, with either single note shapes that specifically indicate the alternation of longs and breves without ambiguity, or ligature groupings in melismatic passages that indicate the first rhythmic mode. Within this framework, techniques of *fractio modi* are occasionally used to denote an all-breve motion within a melismatic context, and the English *conjunctura* to denote three breves to one text syllable. The music notation throughout is precise and careful, attentive to the alignment with the text, and has very few ambiguities with regard to rhythmic interpretation.

Despite the similarities in the content and interpretation of the music notation, however, some paleographic differences are apparent between the music hands labeled "A" and "B" in table 1. Figures 8a and 8b illustrate some of these features. Music Scribe B's figures (both single note shapes and ligatures) have a vertical *ductus*, with the short stems of single longs attached to square, angular note heads (see feature "z" in figure 8a). The left stroke on the English *conjunctura* is truncated (feature "y"), and the vertical strokes attached to the note heads within ligatures are relatively broad (feature "x"). Contrast this to the slightly leftward leaning and more flowing *ductus* of Music Scribe A. The note heads of Music Scribe A's single longs are either slightly angled upward or curved, and have longer, narrower stems (feature "z" in figure 8b). The left stroke of the English *conjunctura* is longer (feature "y"), and the vertical strokes within ligatures are longer, narrower, and use less pressure (feature "x"). These characteristics of style—Music Scribe B truncated, vertical, square, and broad, Music Scribe A flowing, leftward, round, and narrow—respectively

Discantuum Volumen," 20. On the identity of one hand across the three fragments, see Barker-Benfield, "Notable Accessions," 117.

43. I thank Teresa Webber for taking the time to discuss the characteristics of the Rawlinson Fragments' text hands and the hand of the list of works in **Ob Bodley 125**. Coates also dates the script to "around the middle of the thirteenth century": Coates, *English Medieval Books*, 62.

44. The most complete discussion of medieval English notations is Lefferts, *Motet in England*, ch. 4. See also Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music." The figure that scholars term either an English or a Lambertian *conjunctura* is a series of three descending diamond-shaped notes, with an oblique descending stem attached to the left side of the first note. It is so termed because it is frequently (but not exclusively) used in English thirteenth-century sources but is also described in the thirteenth-century Parisian music treatise of Magister Lambertus.

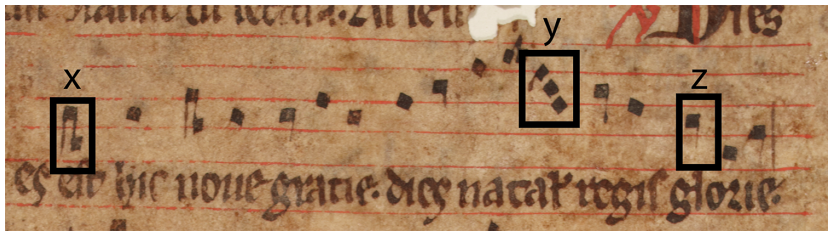


Figure 8a Music Scribe B, first *rotulus*, recto (MS. Rawl. C.400*, 6r, portion of staff 2). Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. This figure appears in color in the online version of the **Journal**.

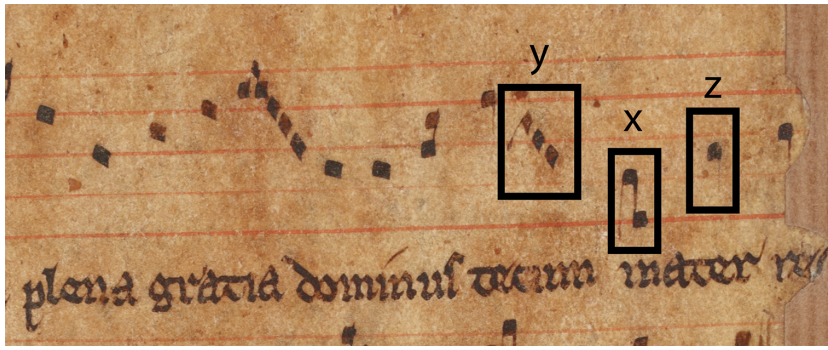


Figure 8b Music Scribe A, first *rotulus*, verso (MS. Rawl. C.400*, 5v, portion of staff 1). Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. This figure appears in color in the online version of the **Journal**.

mirror the general stylistic traits of Text Scribes B and A described above and strongly suggest an identity between Text Scribe A and Music Scribe A, and likewise between Text Scribe B and Music Scribe B. That is, for each side of each *rotulus* containing music compositions, the text and music scribe are one and the same person.

Other features of the layout of the first *rotulus*, specifically the differences in staff gauge and length (see table 1), the size of the margins, and the decoration style of the initials, confirm two separate copying stints. Moreover, the cut-down margins on the verso of the first *rotulus* imply that the verso was copied before the side now cataloged as the recto: in other words, confirming that Scribe A was the first to copy both *rotuli*.

Two further questions about the scribes of the Rawlinson Fragments, which have not been considered in previous scholarship, are also pertinent with respect to Wicumbe's contribution. First, what can be said concerning the hands on the verso of the second *rotulus*, the content of which allowed Wathey to convincingly date the copying of the music on the recto to before December 1256? In particular, can the hand that predominates on that

verso, and that copied the history of St. Margaret (hereafter "the St. Margaret hand"), be linked to either Scribe A or Scribe B? Second, can the hand that copied the list of works in **Ob Bodley 125** (hereafter "the **Ob Bodley 125** hand"), which every scholar who has studied this document has identified as that of Wicumbe, be identified with *any* of the hands on the Rawlinson Fragments?

Providing definitive answers to these questions is tricky, since both the **Ob Bodley 125** hand and the St. Margaret hand write informal cursive scripts. It is thus difficult to compare them directly to the *textualis* book hands that underlaid the music on the *rotuli*. In addition, the **Ob Bodley 125** hand is scratched in drypoint, which affects certain features of the script. Nonetheless, some general observations can be made. Distinctive features of the St. Margaret hand include the verticality of its *ductus*, the tall open "a" and most notably the fairly unusual dip of the shaft of the "a" below the baseline (see, for example, all three occurrences of this letter in the word "Margareta" in the first line of the St. Margaret hand shown in figure 7), which is mirrored by the similar dip of many of the final strokes of "m" and "n" below the baseline (see, for example, "luminis" in the second line of the St. Margaret hand in figure 7). The **Ob Bodley 125** hand shows none of these features and indeed some distinct dissimilarities in the formation of many letters (compare the two hands as illustrated in figure 7). In addition, the *ductus* of the **Ob Bodley 125** hand leans somewhat to the left and is unlike the vertical *ductus* of the St. Margaret hand. It thus seems that different individuals copied the list of works in **Ob Bodley 125** and the St. Margaret history in the Rawlinson Fragments; if Wicumbe copied the list of works himself, he was not the copyist of the St. Margaret history.

Interestingly, though, it is possible that the cursive St. Margaret hand belonged to the same scribe as the *textualis* hand on the recto of the first *rotulus*, Scribe B. Both have a vertical ductus, and the notable "a" whose shaft descends below the baseline (see "natalitio" of Scribe B in figure 7), as at times do the minims/shafts of "i," "m," "n," "r," and "u" (see, for example, the descending shaft of the "u" in "lucis," Scribe B, figure 7). If so, perhaps it was the author of the St. Margaret history, Brother Hugo de Wicumbe, who copied the text of his newly composed office for St. Margaret on the verso of the second *rotulus*, and who also copied the Alleluya settings on the recto of the first *rotulus*.[45] In this, he reused two *rotuli* that had already been used to copy polyphony, by W. de Wicumbe. That is to say, one plausible hypothesis is that W. de Wicumbe was Scribe A—the main scribe, and the more accomplished text and music hand—and Scribe B was Hugo de Wicumbe. W. de Wicumbe first copied polyphonic Alleluyas on one side of the first *rotulus* (the verso) and a motet and responsory setting on one side of

45. As noted above, certain features of the layout suggest that the recto of the first *rotulus* was copied after the verso (namely, the smaller text block and larger margins on the recto, suggesting that it was copied after the *rotulus* had been trimmed).

the second *rotulus* (the recto).[46] At some later point, but before December 1256, both *rotuli* were then reused by Hugo de Wicumbe to copy more polyphonic Alleluyas and the text of his office for St. Margaret.

The music repertoire that these two scribes recorded on the two *rotuli* and the text booklet was music for liturgical services, the copying and organization of which would have fallen under the purview of Wicumbe, if we accept Coates's proposal that he was, for a time, precentor at Reading Abbey. What sorts of liturgical polyphonic compositions merited the labor and expense of being written down, both on *rotuli* and in a more formal codex, given that most monastic communities in mid-thirteenth-century England presumably had the expertise to improvise simple polyphony based on plainchant, if required? Wicumbe's copying concentrated on compositions of mostly a single genre: twelve of the fourteen are three-voice polyphonic Alleluya settings. As will be discussed below, the extant insular repertoire of polyphonic Alleluyas is transmitted in a relatively small number of sources, most of which, like the Rawlinson Fragments, transmit only works of this single genre.[47] This is perhaps unsurprising, since historically, of course, the Alleluya was a primary focus of continual compositional activity and all sorts of musical elaboration in Western Christian liturgies. Before considering the implications of the manuscript transmission of the insular polyphonic Alleluya repertoire, I examine the musical distinctiveness of the Alleluya repertoire copied on the Rawlinson Fragments, and consider the formal and stylistic resonances it has both with the early motet and with the plainchant prosula. Unfortunately, because of the severely fragmentary nature of the Rawlinson *rotuli*, it is only possible to fully reconstruct the text and music for one of these Alleluyas, the first Alleluya copied on the recto of the first *rotulus*, by Scribe B. In what follows, I analyze this setting, and consider in particular the techniques used in the composition of its text and music.

A Closer Look at the *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*

The recto of the first *rotulus* presents the beginning of a polyphonic setting of the Christmas *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*, one of the oldest Alleluyas of the plainchant repertoire and a frequent source of inspiration for composers of polyphony (see figure 9).[48] This polyphonic setting is a substantial composition; at 217 perfections, it is comparable to the lengthy Alleluya setting

46. A common copying practice for *rotuli* was to copy on one side only.

47. Summers and Lefferts make the following observation about the organization of English thirteenth-century polyphonic sources: "Although some of the fragments of purpose-copied *rotuli* and books of polyphony testify to an eclectic, *ad hoc* approach by the copyist to the entering of repertoire, most reveal traces of quite systematic organization and contain a fairly narrow set of musical genres": Summers and Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*, 5.

48. This Alleluya is often copied in chant sources with several extra verses. On the *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus* plainchant, see Stäblein, "Der Tropus 'Dies sanctificatus.'"

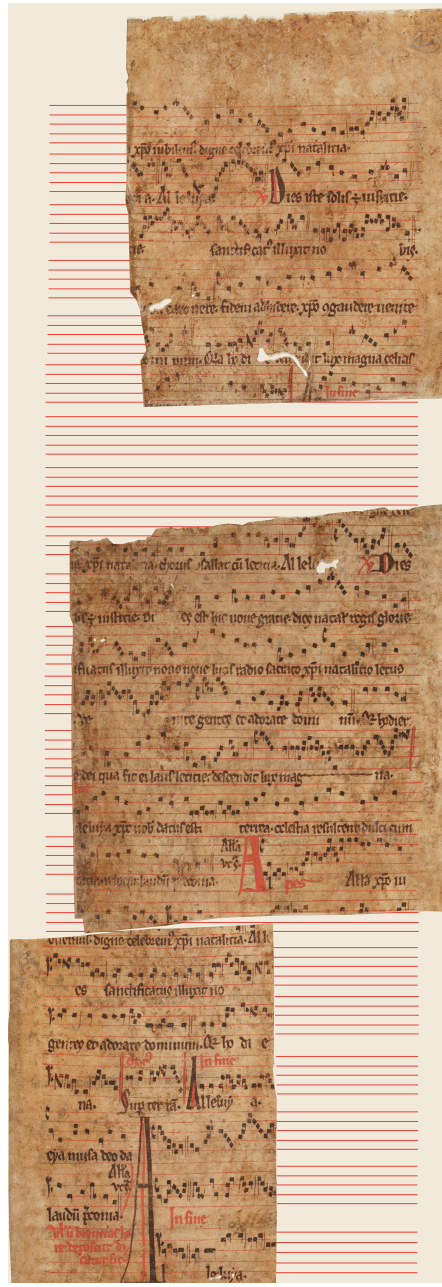


Figure 9 Reconstruction showing the top half of the first *rotulus*, MS. Rawl. C.400*, 5r, 6r, 7r. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. This figure appears in color in the online version of the **Journal**.

copied on the verso of this same *rotulus*, the *Alleluya. Assumpta est Maria*.[49]

The plainchant *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*, as copied in the thirteenth-century gradual from Worcester Cathedral (**WOc F. 160**), is transcribed in example 1. The plainchant verse uses images of the dawn and light to celebrate the birth of Christ and its promise for earth's inhabitants. It has three distinct clauses (the words or phrases set to melismas are added in uppercase letters in parentheses below):

A day (DIES) made holy has dawned for us (NOBIS)
come (VENITE), people, and worship the Lord
for today (HODIE) a great light (LUX MAGNA) has descended to earth (SUPER TERRAM)

There are six lengthy melismas that decorate significant words or phrases of the verse: DIES, NOBIS, VENITE, HODIE, LUX MAGNA, and SUPER TERRAM (marked with brackets above the staff in example 1).

Melodically, the plainchant has a final of D and exploits the plagal range (a fourth below and a fifth above); that is, it is in mode 2. Most cadences are on D, although there is a significant move away from the tonal center to the C that closes the first textual clause. (In example 1, each of the three textual clauses is set on a separate staff and the internal divisions within these clauses are marked with tick barlines.)[50] Between the melismas the remaining text is set as quasi-recitation, sometimes emphasizing the final, D, and sometimes emphasizing F, the recitation tone for chants in this mode (see, for example, "gentes et adorate dominum").

Having identified the essential characteristics of the plainchant (text and music), we can now consider how the preexisting plainchant is incorporated into the polyphonic setting. First, the text. Table 2 presents the texts sung by each of the three voices—triplum, duplum, and tenor—indicating the original words of the base plainchant with uppercase letters. As shown in the first and last rows of table 2, freely composed sections,[51] with new texts and melodies in all three voices, frame the Alleluya respond and verse, in which the plainchant (pitches and text) is sung by the tenor. The final *jubilus* of the Alleluya respond and the final *jubilus* of the verse (SUPER TERRAM) are sung in monophony by the whole choir.[52] My focus in this analysis is on the verse.

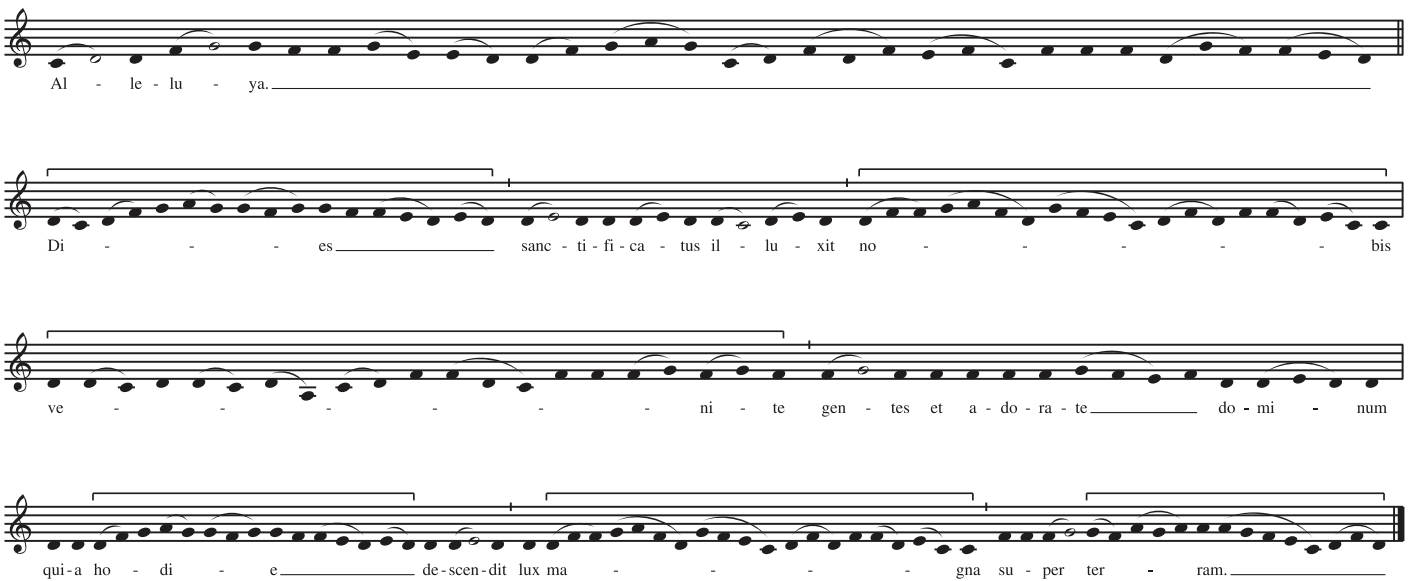
49. Two reconstructions of the music of the *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus* have been published; see Dittmer, "English Discantuum Volumen," 46–49, and Sanders, *English Music*, 14:142–45.

50. The melisma on NOBIS that cadences on C is repeated on LUX MAGNA, but here the move to C does not have the same force, as the text phrase continues for the final words of the clause, SUPER TERRAM, leading to another cadence on D.

51. The piece begins with a *rondellus* section (essentially a round, and a characteristic compositional technique in English music of the period). Another *rondellus* section follows the polyphonic setting of the verse. An alternate ending is also provided, which again polyphonically sets the plainchant pitches of the word "Alleluya."

52. While we assume that the melisma of the Alleluya respond was interpolated as monophony, Scribe B specifically indicates this performance practice for the final melisma of the verse by

Example 1 The plainchant *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus* (transcribed from Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 160, 298r–v)



The scribe marked the ends of the formal sections of this composition with double vertical strokes placed on the staff in each voice part. (In table 2, each of these sections is assigned to a row and the double strokes are marked.) The tenor voice sings only the plainchant text; the triplum and duplum, however, take turns in commenting on the plainchant text where the tenor sings words that were set to melismas in the original chant. A comparison of these sections of the polyphonic setting with the plainchant text shows that each phrase of the plainchant that contains a melisma corresponds to a discrete section in the polyphonic setting. For example, consider the first clause of the plainchant text: DIES SANCTIFICATUS ILLUXIT NOBIS. DIES and NOBIS are set to melismas in the plainchant. In the first section of the polyphonic verse, the tenor and triplum sing the original plainchant text (DIES SANCTIFICATUS ILLUXIT) while the duplum adds new text between the words DIES and SANCTIFICATUS ("DIES est hic nove gratie. DIES natalis regis glorie. SANCTIFICATUS ILLUXIT"). The last word of the verse's first text clause, NOBIS, gives rise to a new section in the polyphonic setting: the tenor and triplum sing the word itself, while the duplum adds more new text between its two syllables ("NOVO nove lucis radio sacrato Christi natalitio letus NOBIS"). This poetic technique of inserting new text between the syllables of a preexisting word (*tmesis*) is used throughout: the next word in the plainchant text, VENITE, is also set to a melisma, and here the triplum has a newly composed text that is inserted after its first syllable; on HODIE, the duplum sings a newly composed text between the final two syllables of that word; and finally, the triplum sings a new text between the two syllables of MAGNA. The role of singing the new text thus alternates between the duplum and triplum voices. The pacing of the text delivery, and indeed the overall effect, is dictated by the soloists' textual interjections, although the length of these interjections is circumscribed by the length (that is, the number of pitches) of the melismas in the original plainchant.

The new texts are not verse in the strict sense, since the syllable counts and rhyme schemes are mostly irregular, but moments of "regularity" do occur. For example, in the VENITE section, the lines "fidem adhibere" and "Christo congaudere" have identical syllable counts, accent, and rhyme. In general, however, the poet-composer appears to have written the texts so as to emphasize the vowel sound(s) of the original chant melismas, shown in the final column of table 2. As also shown in table 2 through underlined text, in the DIES melisma these are the "i-e" vowels; on the tenor's NOBIS it is the "o" vowel sound that is assonant in the duplum's new text; on VENITE it is the first "e" that is highlighted in the triplum's new text; on HODIE it is the two vowels "i-e"; and at the end of the verse it is the first broad "a"

adding the rubric "Chorus" in red ink above the SUPER TERRAM melisma, which he copied at the end of the tenor verse section. In the Notre Dame repertoire, these final monophonic plainchant melismas are never notated in the manuscript source.

Table 2 Texts and musical structure of the Rawlinson *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*

Section	Triplum	Duplum	Tenor	Verse vowel
Freely composed "rondellus"	[ALLELUYA] Christo iubilemus. digne celebremus Christi natalitia. [cum leti]tia. ||	[ALLELUYA Christo iubilemus.] digne cele[bremu]s Christi natalitia. chorus psallat cum letitia. ||	AL[LELUYA] ALLELUYA Christo iubilemus. digne celebremus Christi natalitia. ||	
Chant respond, discant with patterned tenor, monophonic "jubilus"	ALLELUYA. ||	ALLELU[YA.] ||	ALLE[LUYA.]	
Chant verse, first word freely composed	V. DIES iste solis est iustitie. ||	V. DIES [iste sol]is est iustitie. ||	[V. DIES]	ie
Chant verse, discant setting of plainchant	[D]IES	DIES est hic nove gratie. DIES natalis regis glorie.	[DI]ES	ie
	SANCTIFICATUS ILLUXIT ||	[SANCT]IFICATUS ILLUXIT ||	SANCTIFICATUS ILLUXIT ||	
	NOBIS. ||	NOVO nove lucis radio sacrato Christi natalitio letus [NOBIS].	NO[BIS	o
	[VErus nunc est deus ver]bum caro VEre. fidem adhibere. Christo congaudere VENITE	VENITE	VENITE]	e
	[GENTES	GENTES	GENTES	

	ET ADORATE D]OMINUM. ||	ET ADORATE DOMINUM. ||	ET ADORATE DOMINUM. ||	
	QUIA HODIE DESCENDIT ||	QUIA HODIer[no ipso di]e dei qua fit ei laus letitiE. DESCENDIT ||	QUIA HODIE [DESCENDIT	ie
Chant verse, discant	LUX MAGNA celicis [cum radiis hominibus dat] matris [filius magna gaudia.]	LUX MAGNA.	LUX MAG]NA. ||	a
Final verse melisma, monophonic	SUPER TERRAM.	SUPER TERRAM.	SUPER TERRAM. ||	
Closing "rondellus"	A[LLELUYA Christus nobis datus est terrea celestia resultent dulci cum symphonia eya musa deo da laudum preconia.]	ALLELUYA Christus nobis datus est. terrea celestia resultent dulci cum [symph]onia. reloqua laudum preconia. ||	ALLELUYA. eya musa deo da laudum preconia. ||	

Note: The plainchant text is indicated with uppercase letters. Square brackets enclose supplied text. The table rows represent the sections of the composition, which were marked by the scribe in the manuscript with double vertical strokes placed on the staff of each voice part.

vowel of LUX MAGNA. The "a" of course also echoes the predominant vowel of this entire genre: that is, the two "a" vowels of "Alleluya."[53]

In the composition of these new texts, two techniques are evident. The first creates a rhyme between the original melisma vowel(s) and the final syllable(s) of the new text line. In the first section in the duplum on DIES, for example, the "i-e" rhyme sounds of the final two syllables of each line ("gratie," "glorie") are assonant with the two vowels of the melisma DIES.

The second technique, and one that has even more potential to saturate the sonic space, is to ensure that the aforementioned assonant syllables coincide with the accented syllables in the new texts. In late medieval Latin, the text accent falls on either the penultimate syllable (termed the "paroxytone" syllable and traditionally abbreviated as "p") or the antepenultimate syllable (termed the "proparoxytone" syllable and abbreviated as "pp"). The accented and assonant syllables in this setting are not necessarily in rhyme position in the text. This type of assonance is prominent in the added duplum text on NOBIS, for example, where the "o" sounds in "novo" (first syllable), "nove," and "nobis" are all in an accented position (marked here with boldface):

NOVO **no**ve	**lu**cis **ra**dio	4p + 5pp
sacr**a**to Christi	n**a**talitio	5p + 5pp
l**e**tus n**o**BIS		4p

A less obvious example, but rather clever, is in the opening freely composed passage on DIES, where in addition to functioning as the two final rhyming syllables of "iustitie," the "i-e" vowels of DIES are also echoed in the word "iste" and cross the two adjacent words "solis est" ("DIES iste solis est iustitie").[54] All these words also foreground the sibilant "s" sound of DIES.

With this understanding of the composition of the verse's text in mind, we can now turn to the articulation of the musical form as summarized in table 3, focusing on changes in texture and part writing. In brief: in passages that set the syllabic segments of the base chant, all three voices sing the same text almost homorhythmically. This formal articulation through the placement of these quasi-homorhythmic passages is highlighted in the transcription of the musical setting presented in example 2, where the quasi-homorhythmic passages of each section are shaded in gray. In these three passages, all three voices sing the same words at the same time (see the alignment of uppercase letters in all three voices). These shaded quasi-homorhythmic passages

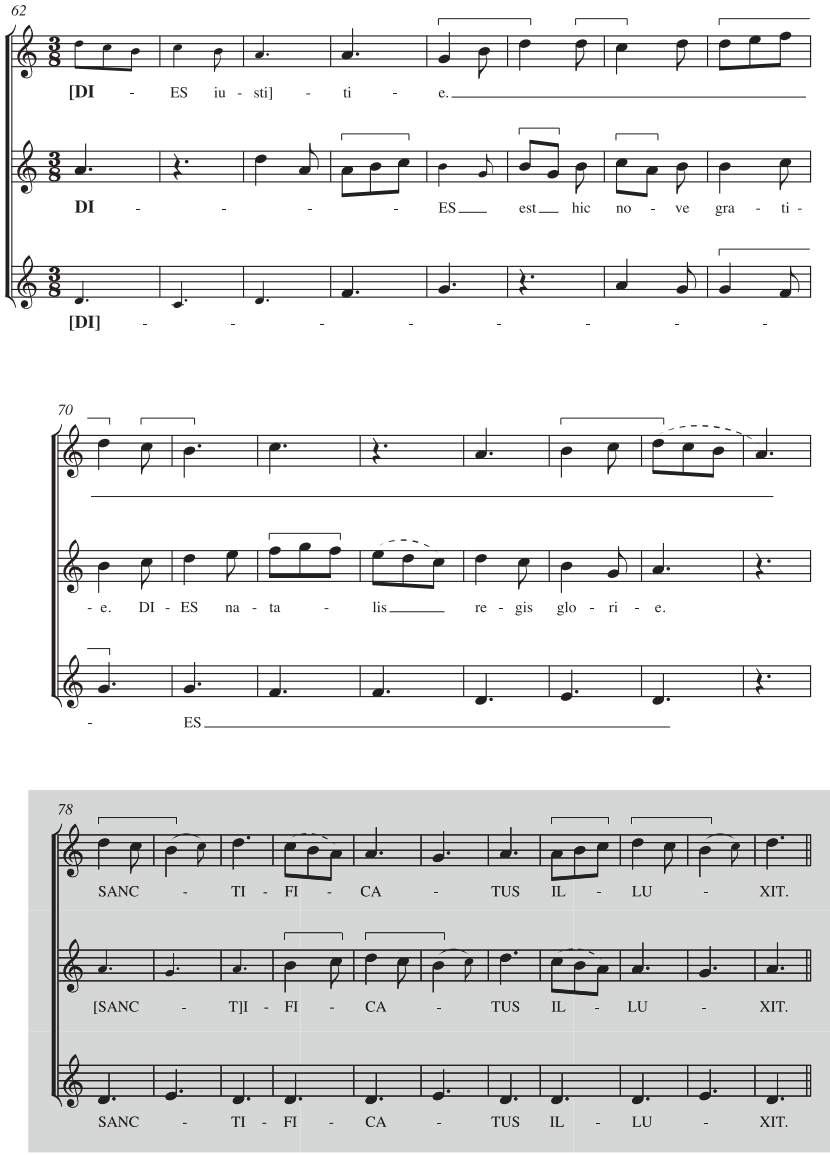
53. In this analysis, the quantity of the vowels, as understood in classical Latin, is generally not taken into account. In medieval Latin verse composition, which was concerned with accent, vowel quantity no longer mattered (with the exception of quantitative verse), and assonance and rhyme relied on contemporaneous pronunciation rather than on rules about quantity. See Norberg, *Introduction*, 41–42.

54. This section, which lasts for ten perfections, sets the word DIES but is freely composed: that is, the tenor pitches in this short passage are not based on the plainchant (see table 2). Several of the polyphonic Alleluyas in the Worcester Fragments include a short freely composed section at the beginning of the verse.

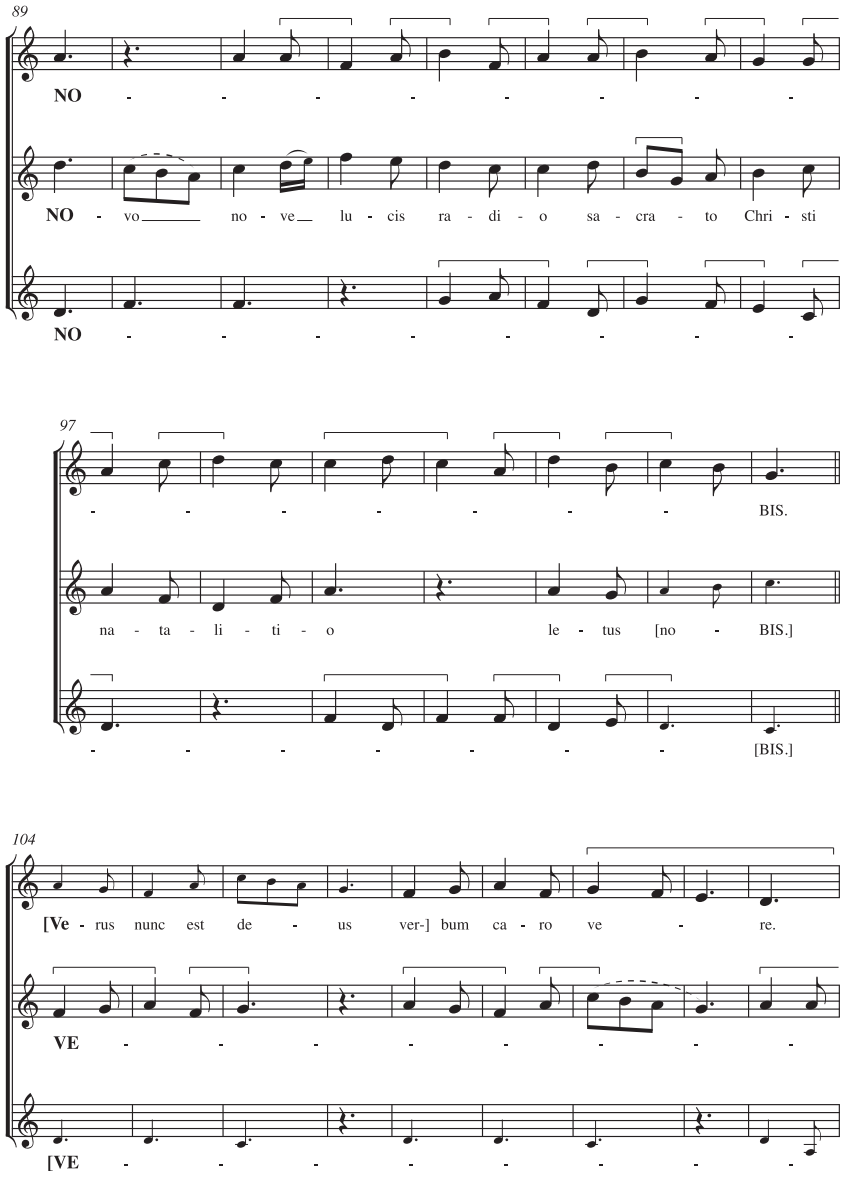
Table 3 Verse structure of the Rawlinson *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*

Tenor text	Length (perfections)	Added text	Texture	First–last sonority
DI-ES	16	Duplum	Overlapping phrases; chant melisma in tenor	D8/5–D8/5
SANCTIFICATUS ILLUXIT	12		Essentially homorhythmic in all three voices; syllabic chant in tenor	D8/5–D8/5
NOBIS	16	Duplum	Overlapping phrases; chant melisma in tenor	D8/5–C8/5
VENITE	20	Triplum	Overlapping phrases; chant melisma in tenor	D5/3–F8/5
GENTES ET ADORATE DOMINUM	16		Essentially homorhythmic in all three voices; syllabic chant in tenor	F8/5–D8/5
QUIA HODIE DESCENDIT	16	Duplum	Overlapping phrases, but begins and ends syllabically and homorhythmically in all three voices; chant melisma in tenor	D8/5–D8/5
LUX MAGNA	24		Overlapping phrases, but begins and ends syllabically and homorhythmically in all three voices; chant melisma in tenor; ends with a freely composed textless cauda	D8/5 (C8/5)–D8/5

Example 2 Verse of the Rawlinson *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus* (original plainchant text indicated in uppercase letters). A sound recording of this example is included in the online version of the **Journal**.



Example 2 continued



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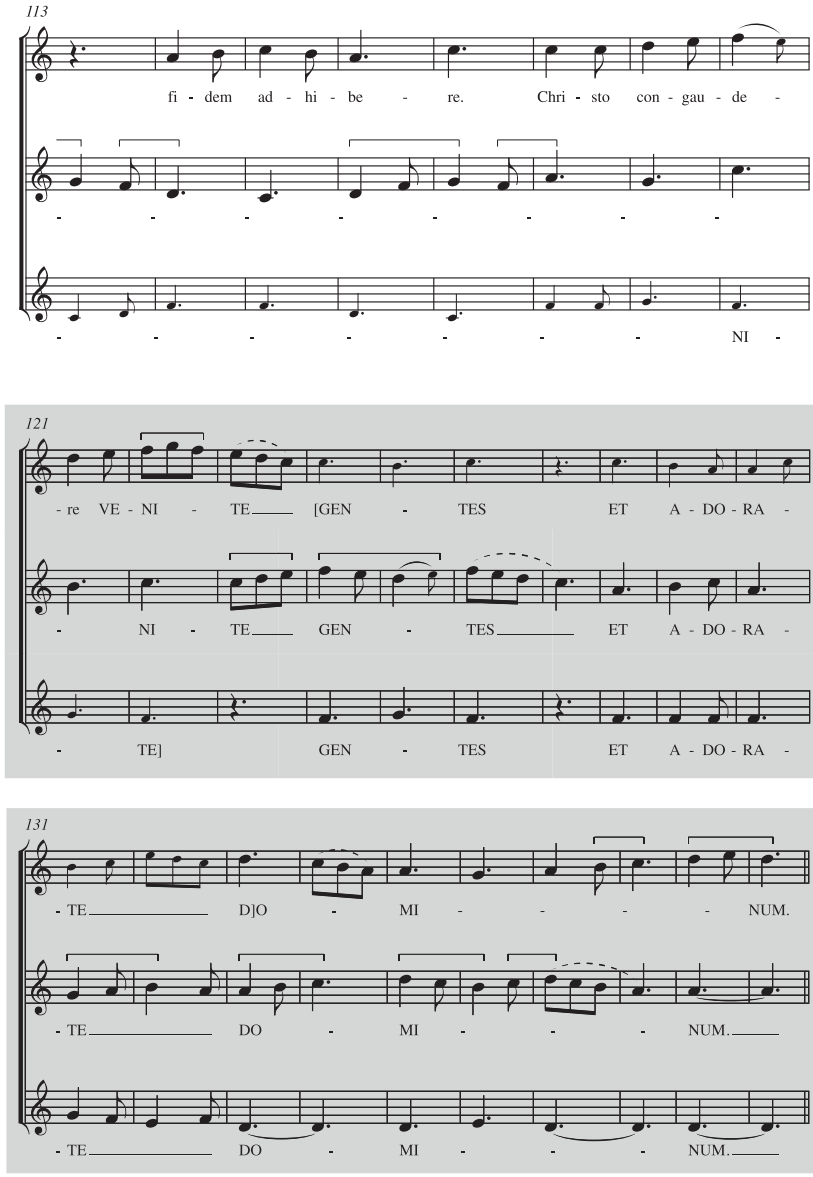
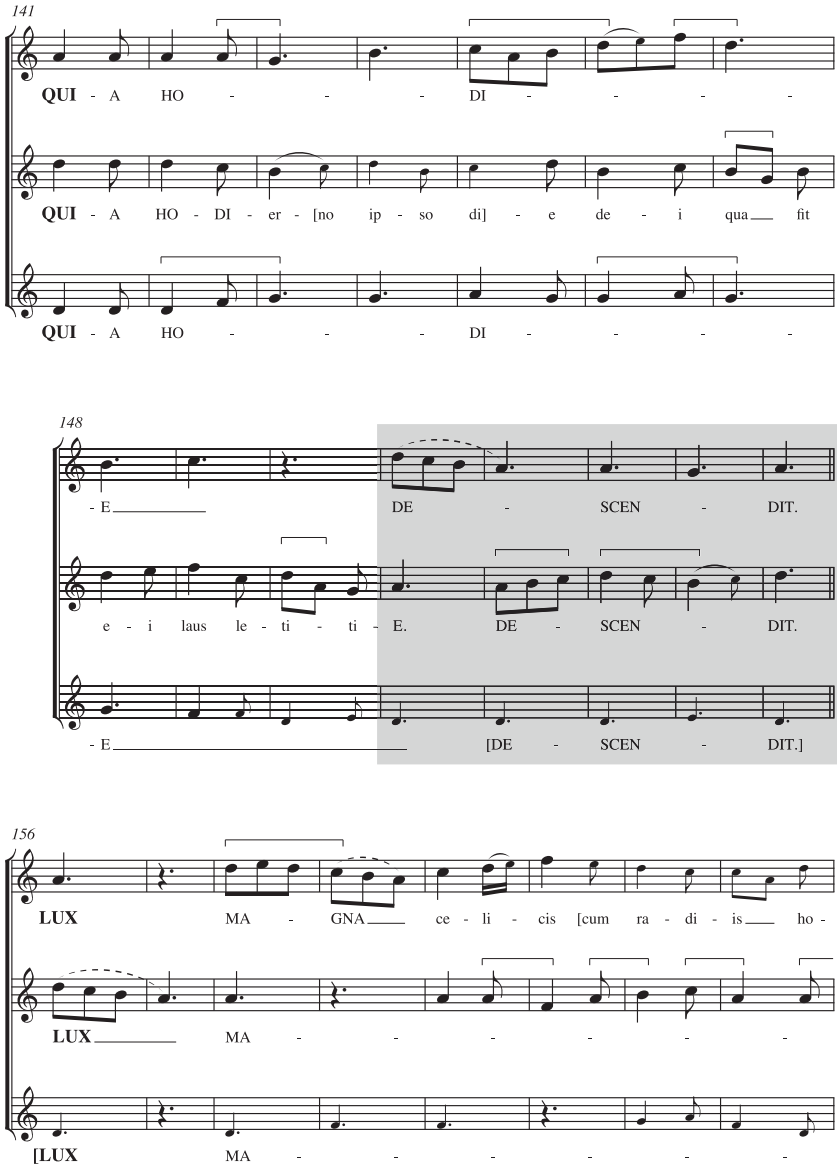
Example 2 continued



Example 2 continued



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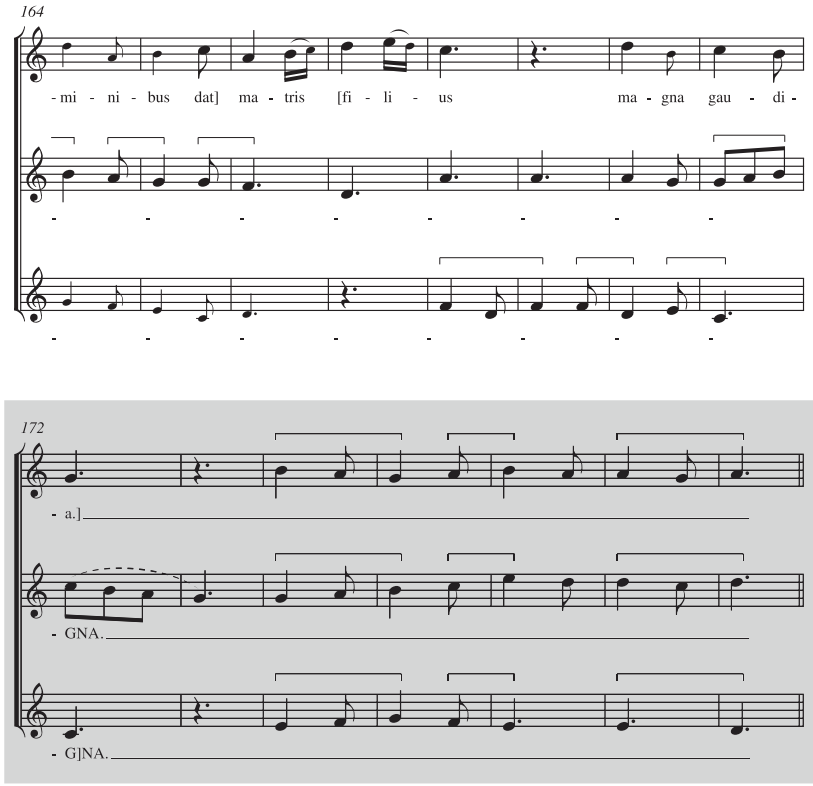
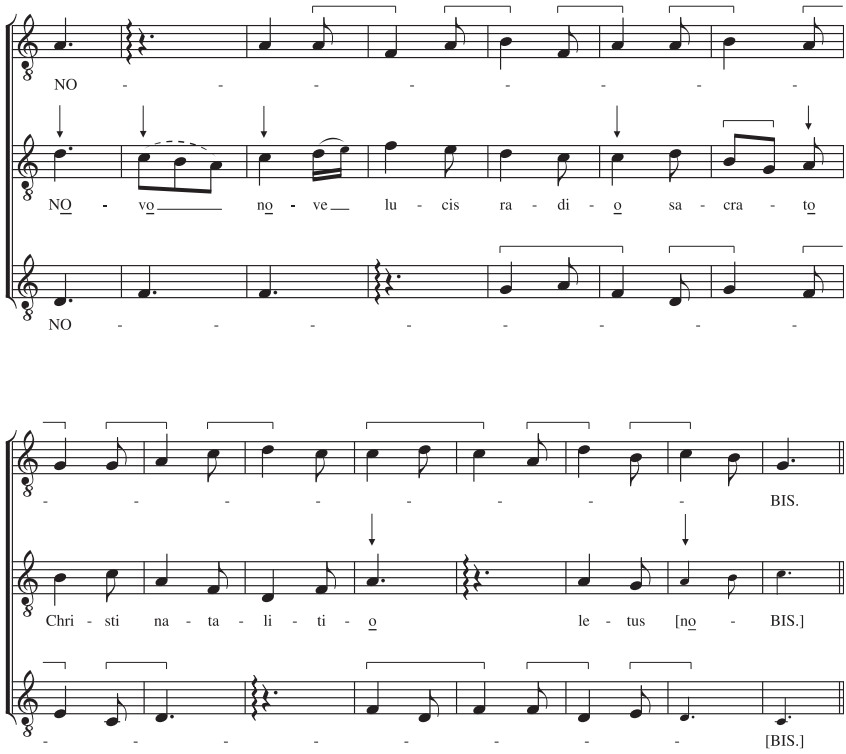
Example 2 continued



alternate with passages of a different textural character that set the five melismatic words/phrases of the original chant (DIES, NOBIS, VENITE, HODIE, LUX MAGNA). The musical texture differs in these passages as a result of their asynchronous musical phrasing (and also, of course, the addition of new texts in one of the upper voices).

Articulation by means of textural change is also deployed in the Notre Dame organa, where the alternation is between the sustained-tone (or organal) style of passages that set syllabic portions of the plainchant and the note-against-note (or discant) style of passages that set the melismatic portions of the chant. (An example is the sustained-tone opening of the two-voice *Viderunt omnes*, which switches to discant style for the section that sets the chant melisma on the word "omnes.") Here, in this insular Alleluya, the contemplative or reflective effect of the passages with newly added texts above the plainchant melismas leads to the unified and chorale-like effect of the quasi-homorhythmic declamation of the same text: for example, the poetic meditation by a single soloist on the word "come" (VENITE) is followed by the affirmation of all three voices declaiming simultaneously "people, and worship the Lord."

Example 3 NOBIS section from the Rawlinson *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*



A detailed focus on the section that sets the NOBIS melisma will illustrate some of the carefully thought-out details of the composer's approach (see example 3). The chant pitches are rhythmicized in the tenor voice. But the two upper voices do not align straightforwardly with the rhythmicized tenor: as is frequently the practice in motet composition, the composer here makes a consistent effort to create overlapping phrases across the three voices. The asynchronous phrases are indicated in example 3 with wavy vertical lines. The three voices have no simultaneous rest until after the final cadence of this section. The triplum, which, like the tenor, sings a melismatic line on the vowel "o," is mostly in thirds with the tenor in the first half of this section, and in fifths and octaves with it in the second half. The duplum sings its newly added text as the top voice of the texture in the first half, not dipping below the triplum until the ninth perfection.

The newly texted line in the duplum, then, is foregrounded in this section, through its initial placement at the top of the three-voice texture, its unbroken phrase extending as far as perfection 12, and its syllabic delivery of its new text. The composer's approach to text setting, in terms of both

rhythmic realization and the choice of vertical sonorities, is also sensitive to textual accent. As mentioned above, the accented first syllables of the first two words ("NOvo nove") are assonant with one another and with the vowel sound of the chant melisma (NOBIS). The composer emphasizes this sonic similarity by prolonging the duplum's pitches on "NO-" and "-vo" for one perfection each, and the following "no" of the next word "nove" is stressed by its placement at the onset of the next perfection (see example 3). In fact, of the seven occurrences of the "o" vowel in this new text (marked by arrows in example 3), six are placed at the onset of a perfection (five of them on a long note), and in five cases the vowel is harmonized with the tenor through a perfect open interval of either a fifth or an octave.[55] The duplum concludes with a brief melisma on "no-" that occupies a complete perfection, again serving to highlight the assonance of this syllable with the melisma vowel. All three voices move to the only cadence of this section by singing the final syllable (-BIS) simultaneously.

This final cadence resolves to a perfect vertical sonority on C, the first significant move away from the D tonal center that has thus far dominated the polyphonic setting of the verse (see the final column of table 3). While the NOBIS section begins on the same open perfect sonority on D that closed the previous section, its harmonies move quickly to emphasize alternating triadic sonorities on F and G. In the plainchant, as we have seen, F is the focal pitch in the melisma on NOBIS, and it is also the focal pitch in this section of the polyphonic setting: six of its fifteen perfections begin with an F sonority. Moreover, five of these F sonorities set a syllable with an "o" vowel.

The way in which the composer sets this new text on NOBIS, which itself highlights particular syllables through their assonance with the "o" of NOBIS, paying careful attention to the congruence of text accent and metrical perfections *and* to the harmonization of these accented and assonant syllables with sonorities based on the focal pitch of the original plainchant, is no mean analytical or compositional feat. The cumulative effect of these features as applied to the setting of the entire verse, which emphasizes the vowel sound(s) of each plainchant melisma, could be broadly heard by a listener as follows: a progression and an opening up from the closed "i-e" of DIES, to the long open "o" of NOBIS, and then to the light short "e" of VENITE,

55. This requires a certain rhythmic flexibility and cannot be accomplished by simply setting the duplum's text in the first rhythmic mode all the way through. The phrase "lucis radio" works perfectly in the first mode (long–short–long–short–long), with the first syllable of each word accented and falling at the beginning of the perfection. The final "o" of "radio" also lands at the beginning of a perfection. In order for the accented "Chri-" of "Christi" to fall at the beginning of a perfection, however, the final "o" vowel of "sacrato" is set to a short note, while still allowing this word's accented second syllable ("-cra-") to fall at the beginning of the perfection. The concluding word of this line, "natalitio," has the same accent pattern as "lucis radio" and works perfectly in first-mode rhythms.

retreating temporarily and briefly to the closed "i-e" of HODIE, before the verse concludes with the climactic joyful and broad long "a" of MAGNA (great, magnificent), a vowel that will come to the fore again with the repeat of the respond. The broad "a" is the most open and pleasing vowel to sing, especially by comparison with the tightness and roof-of-the-mouth position of the "i-e" vowels with which the verse began.

This saturation of the sonic space with the vowel sounds of the plainchant melismas is reflected visually in the manuscript copy of another English polyphonic Alleluya setting with newly added texts in the upper voices. The *Alleluya. Ave Maria gratia plena* is one of two Alleluya settings copied in a fragmentary source that dates from the late thirteenth century and has possible connections to the Benedictine Priory at Durham (**Cjec 1/B**, 2v; see figure 10). In this source, the Alleluya settings are copied in score format, with the tenor part copied on the lowest staff of a three-staff system. The text of the tenor part is that of the original plainchant; the two upper voices here sing the same newly added poem, which is copied under the duplum part. (This is a common layout for conductus motets, where two upper voices sing the same text.) The composer of this setting uses the *tmesis* technique to insert the new poetic lines between syllables of the original plainchant words, and, as in the *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*, each section of the original plainchant verse is marked in the polyphonic setting with synchronous vertical strokes in all three voices.

The newly added text on the final long melisma (BENEDICTA TU) highlights vowel sounds assonant with the "e" of BENE-, whose pair of vowels matches a list of words with paired "e"s in the interpolated verse (indicated here with underline):[56]

BENEdicta inter omnes mulieres vere
angelorum dominum
et hominum
sola digna fovere
sacrato ubere
oculis videre
manibus tenere
amplexari brachiis
osculari labiis
et alere
summopere
Virgo beneDICTA

56. The very act of adding text within the word "blessed" adds resonance to the idea of Mary as blessed among women: here she is poetically blessed among and between the parts of the word "blessed."

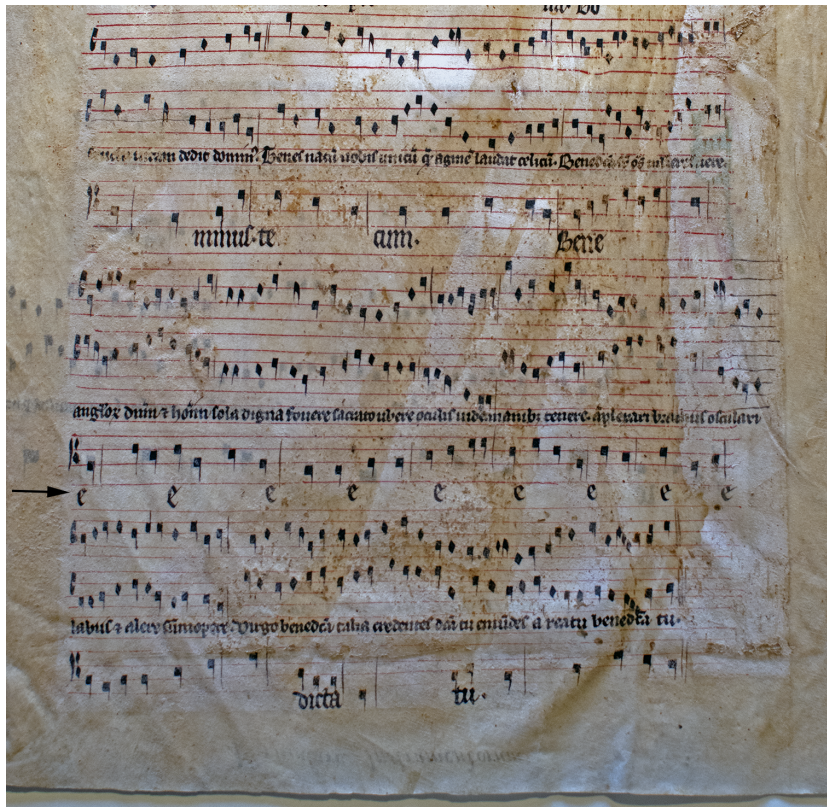


Figure 10 *Alleluya. Ave Maria gratia plena*, Cambridge, Jesus College, MS. QB1, fragment B, 2v, detail. Used by permission of the Master and Fellows of Jesus College, Cambridge. This figure appears in color in the online version of the **Journal**.

In the manuscript, the scribe clearly differentiates the original plainchant by writing the tenor text in a larger script than that used for the new poem sung by the upper voices. What is particularly notable is that the scribe was clearly intimately aware of the new text's assonance, and visually highlights it by reiterating the vowel sound that is sung by the tenor during the melismatic sections. When looking at the manuscript score for the setting of this BENEDICTA melisma, the assonance of the upper voices with the "e" vowel is immediately apparent. (See the repeated large "e" marked by an arrow in the tenor in figure 10.) The "e" vowel is written nine times in the tenor part; this rhymed vowel also occurs nine times in the new text, twice in the restatement of BENE- from the original chant, and seven times with the new rhyme on "-ere."

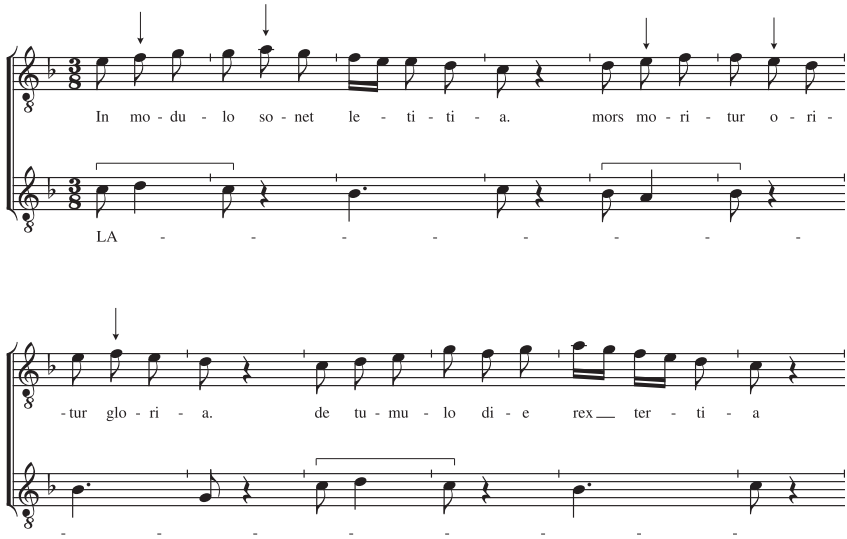
Creating assonance with the vowel(s) of the preexisting chant melisma is also a frequently used poetic technique in the *Magnus liber* motets, particularly in the early Latin motets.[57] To illustrate just one instance from the continental tradition, example 4 gives the opening of the two-voice motet *In modulo sonet letitia / LATUS*, whose tenor is a melisma from the *Alleluya. Pascha nostrum*. This unicum motet in **F** was also copied as a clausula in the same manuscript.[58] In its mostly regularly versified duplum text, the "a" vowel that is assonant with -LATUS functions as the predominant rhyme sound. In addition, although the tenor's chant pitches begin with the melisma on -LA- and do not include the pitches of the first two syllables of the chant word (IMMO-), the duplum text appears to switch from featuring the assonant vowel "o" for the first two lines, to "a" for the next seven lines, and finally to "u" for the last three lines:

IN MODULO SONET LETIT**IA**. |	10pp	ia	o	[IMMO-]
MORS MORITUR ORITUR GLOR**IA**. |	10pp	ia		
de tumulo die rex tert**ia** |	10pp	ia	a	-LA-
exuitur carnis miser**ia**. |	10pp	ia		
induitur stole dupplit**ia**. |	10pp	ia		
in titulo crucis victor**ia**	10pp	ia		
salus redim**itur**. |	+6pp	itur		
signaculo cedunt demon**ia**. |	10pp	ia		
pax seculo redd**itur**. |	7pp	itur		
consumitur vetus nequit**ia** |	10pp	ia	u	-TUS
dum sumitur vite spes host**ia**	10pp	ia		
IMMOLATUS. |	+4p	us		

57. Although it is yet to receive systematic treatment in the musicological literature, important studies that discuss assonance in the early Latin motet include Nathan, "Function of Text"; Kidwell, "Integration of Music and Text," 295–300; Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 442–55; and Pesce, "Significance of Text," 92–99. For a succinct example of the technique of assonance in the motet *Doce nos / DOCEBIT*, see Norberg, *Introduction*, 177–78. More recently, Christopher Page, Emma Dillon, and Suzannah Clark have highlighted the importance of assonance in the thirteenth-century French motet: Page, "Around the Performance," 354–55; Clark, "'S'en dirai chançonete,'" 32–34; Dillon, *Sense of Sound*, 147–73.

58. The motet is additionally interesting in that it is one of a small group of motets in the *Magnus Liber* repertoire that have only one tenor statement and incorporates a melodic refrain that is also found in a French two-voice motet on LATUS. Given the presence of this French refrain, it is likely that the French motet is earlier, and was transcribed as a clausula, which then received a Latin contrafact text. On the differing notations for the refrain in the French motet and clausula, see Bradley, *Polyphony in Medieval Paris*, 123–26. That the French version may have been composed first does not detract from my arguments here regarding the careful composition of the new Latin text such that its syllables are assonant with those of the base chant.

Example 4 *In modulo sonet letitia / LATUS*, perfections 1–12 (transcribed from Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1, 407v)



This matching of vowels is also emphasized musically, as seen in the duplum at the motet's opening, where text syllables on "o" that also carry the word's main accent fall regularly on the "long" position of the second-mode "short–long" pattern that informs the tenor's rhythmic organization (indicated with arrows in example 4).

This saturation of the sonic space with the vowel sounds of the base chant's melismas—through particular word choices in the added texts (in rhyme and/or accent) and the arrangement of both rhythmic patterns and perfect vertical sonorities that highlight these important vowels—is a technique that continues into the fourteenth century, and is particularly associated with motets composed in England.[59] In his study of the fourteenth-century English repertoire, Lefferts has written that it is "rare to find no assonance relating the texts to the tenor."[60] But it does seem that both Wicumbe's Alleluya settings and the earliest Latin motets in the *Magnus liber* are among the earliest polyphonic examples of these

59. Frequently in English motets the initial syllables—the initial consonant and/or first vowel sound—match across all voices. Lefferts gives a typical example, *Petrum cephas / Petrus pastor / PETRE*, in his discussion of assonance in the English fourteenth-century motet: Lefferts, *Motet in England*, 196–97. For early fourteenth-century examples in which the assonance is even more pervasive, see the motets discussed in Hartt, "Duet Motet in England," 263–65, and Colton, "Music, Text and Structure." The extent of this technique in the thirteenth-century English motet repertoire is yet to be ascertained.

60. Lefferts, *Motet in England*, 196.

techniques. In what follows, I explore a possible antecedent for this compositional procedure in plainchant elaboration practices.

The Plainchant Alleluya Prosula

Beyond the possible resonances with certain techniques of Notre Dame motet composition, the techniques of textual and musical elaboration found in the Rawlinson *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus* can perhaps be related more directly to a tradition of compositional elaboration in plainchant that flourished in prior centuries. From the earliest notated sources of plainchant there survive newly composed texts fitted to melismatic passages of plainchant. Usually termed "tropes" when added to Kyries and Glorias, these textual additions are most often termed "prosulas" when added to responsories, offertories, and Alleluyas.

Prosulas for the Alleluya were added to both the respond and the verse, although not all of the new compositions include prosulas for both respond and verse.[61] Olof Marcusson, who edited the texts of the pre-1100 Alleluya prosula repertoire, termed the prosula on the Alleluya respond the "exordium." New text syllables were added to the portion of the respond sung by the soloist (the word "Alleluya"). The prosula functions as an introduction to the Alleluya's wordless melisma (*jubilus*) that closes the respond and that was sung by the choir. Thus the exordium often includes themes of joy and celebration, exhorting all present to sing the Lord's praises. For the verse prosula, which Marcusson termed the "intercalatio," the poet-composer works within the constraints of the preexisting plainchant in order to clarify or elaborate on its often paratactic text. A variety of techniques were employed in the *intercalatio*, the most common of which was to incorporate the entire text of the verse within the new poem, sometimes inserting new lines of verse for every melismatic passage, but sometimes reserving the newly composed text for the longest plainchant melisma. In some cases only the initial word or syllable was all that was retained from the original Alleluya verse.

In the best examples, as Peter Dronke notes, the poet-composer's technique "goes beyond the interleaving of words of the liturgical text and the trope, to what we might well call their interlacing or intertwining, where the

61. On the Alleluya prosula, see most recently Wilton, "Transmission of the Alleluia Prosula." Other important studies that discuss the Alleluya prosula include Kelly, "Poetry for Music"; Kelly, "Melisma and Prosula"; Marcusson, "Comment a-t-on chanté les prosules?"; and Steiner, "Prosulae of the MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, F. Lat. 1118." For text editions of the Alleluya prosula, see especially Marcusson, *Tropes de l'alleluia*, and Odelman, *Les prosules limousines*. Early editions of prosula texts are Gautier, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique*, and Blume, *Tropi Graduales*. For a catalog of plainchant tropers and sequentiaries, see Husmann, *Tropen und Sequenzen Handschriften*. For a case study of a Beneventan example, see Nardini, "Una prosula per san Nicola."

poet's own words enter into the very fabric of the established ones."[62] The "looser syntax" and "associative freedom" that characterize the poetic art of the plainchant prosula allow poet-composers to revel in "new ranges of verbal association."[63] Dronke elaborates further:

> In these there is intellectual rigor—so that the words of, or from, the liturgical verse can still be apprehended coherently as they thread their way through the trope—and at the same time there is imaginative freedom, so that, while one syntactic possibility links the liturgical words to those improvised by the poet, a second possibility links the poet's own lines with one another, as it were cutting across the liturgical moments.[64]

The problem in associating the thirteenth-century English Alleluya settings described in the previous section with the plainchant tradition of Alleluya prosulation is that while Alleluya plainchant prosulas flourished on the continent from the ninth to eleventh centuries—it was a particularly popular genre of plainchant composition in Aquitaine, northern Italy, and Benevento—their popularity and continued composition and transmission after about 1100 is less clear. This is partly a problem of scholarly focus: the *Corpus troporum* series, including Olof Marcusson's edition of the Alleluya prosulas, concentrates on the pre-1100 repertoire. Furthermore, the plainchant Alleluya prosula does not ever seem to have been popular in the British Isles, whether pre- or post-1100. In a study of the Alleluya prosula that centered on the pre-1100 repertoire edited by Marcusson and Eva Odelman, Peter Wilton observed that there is practically no evidence for the performance or composition of Alleluya prosulas in the British Isles: he notes the survival of just a single Alleluya prosula copied in a British manuscript, the widely disseminated "Iam redeunt gaudia" prosula on the *Alleluya. Pascha nostrum*.[65]

Two circumstances may explain why no plainchant books containing Alleluya prosulas survive from the British Isles. First, the poor survival of chant books in general from the British Isles may be a factor. Second, it is possible that the types of source in which Alleluya prosulas were copied were more "ad hoc" and thus had a shorter shelf life than some of the more standard liturgical books. On the continent, Alleluya prosulas tended to be copied in two types of liturgical book: either they were copied in close proximity to the main repertoire of Alleluyas on which they were based—that is, within the graduals that contained Mass chants—or they were copied in tropers, alongside the separate collections of tropes, offertory verses, processional chants, and so on that were copied in these books,

62. Dronke, "Types of Poetic Art," 6.
63. Ibid., 8.
64. Ibid., 10–11.
65. Wilton, "Transmission of the Alleluia Prosula," 13. According to Wilton, the Alleluya prosulas are also uncommon in northern French sources: there is just one Alleluya prosula in Parisian sources and three from Fleury (15–16).

again in liturgical order.[66] The Alleluya prosula source edited by Odelman, however, is a different type of book.[67] It occupies the first twenty-one folios of a manuscript that is otherwise not liturgical, but rather a collection of various theological texts (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Gud.lat.79, fols. 1–21). In all likelihood the music fascicle was originally created as an independent and self-contained *libellus* (small book) of Alleluya prosulas.[68] Regarding this collection of Alleluya prosulas, Ruth Steiner wrote that it "raises the possibility that the repertory of prosulas in southern France was once much larger than the surviving manuscripts would suggest."[69] If there was a practice of copying Alleluya prosulas in smaller, more ephemeral sources such as the abovementioned *libellus*, these *libelli* (and perhaps also the even more ephemeral *rotuli*), copied for reference for the cantors who specialized in singing them, could very well have been discarded or recycled after a single generation of use.

Apart from the single case of the widely transmitted "Iam redeunt gaudia" prosula on the *Alleluya. Pascha nostrum*, no graduals from the British Isles are known to contain Alleluya prosulas. And while new information may yet come to light, the same is currently true of the extant British tropers and sequentiaries.[70] There is, however, a single fragmentary source of English Alleluya prosulas. While the existence of this fragment was noted by Neil Ker, and more recently cataloged by both Rodney Thomson and Drew Hartzell, it is little known or commented on in the musicological literature.[71] It is a single bifolium that transmits nine plainchant Alleluya prosulas, all unica.[72] Copied in the twelfth century, and notated in a diastematic Anglo-Norman notation, this central bifolium of a gathering survived as

66. See Steiner, "Prosulae of the MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, F. Lat. 1118," 368–69. In the prosula repertoire copied in the Saint-Martial troper (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1118), Alleluya and offertory prosulas are mixed together (ibid., 370n12). Kelly comments on the sometimes comprehensive rather than liturgical aims of some collections of Alleluya prosulas: Kelly, "Poetry for Music," 383.

67. Odelman, *Les prosules limousines.*

68. See Wilton, "Transmission of the Alleluia Prosula," 27–28.

69. Steiner, "Prosula."

70. On the bibliography of the prosula, see Alejandro Planchart's introduction to his edited volume *Embellishing the Liturgy.*

71. I thank David Hiley for bringing this source to my attention. For Drew Hartzell's descriptions and identifications of the **WOc Add. 25** Alleluya prosulas, see Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 363–64. The source is also referenced in Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 4:680. A detail of folio 1r is reproduced as plate 26h of Thomson, *Descriptive Catalogue.*

72. The nine Alleluya prosulas of **WOc Add. 25** are as follows: [beginning incomplete] (on *Alleluia. Iste sanctus*), *Canora cantorum clara* (on *Alleluia. Iustus ut palma*), *Sacrata psalle pulchre* (on *Alleluia. Posuisti domine*), *Clara voce exultantur* (on *Alleluia. Letabitur iustus*), *Salve o alme fulgens* (on *Alleluia. Beatus vir qui suffert*), *Salve celse rex* (on *Alleluia. Iuravit dominus*), *Alme glorie celeste* (on *Alleluia. Amavit eum*), *Gratantur turma* (on *Alleluia. Iustus germinabit*), and *Gaudentur ecclesie* (on an unidentified Alleluya, probably *Alleluia. Fulgebunt iusti*). (The spelling "Alleluia" here follows this manuscript source.)

binding material in a late medieval *Liber pensionum* at Worcester Cathedral (Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS. A.3). The fragment was removed from this volume and is now cataloged as **WOc Add. 25**. The notator (but not the text scribe) of this bifolium also notated a twelfth-century troper-sequentiary thought to have been copied at Worcester (London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula XIV, 32r–92v): this link cements the ties of both the prosula fragment and the troper-sequentiary to Worcester.[73] The Alleluyas here prosulated are all standard items in the Common of the Saints and likely originate from a comprehensive collection covering the full year and copied according to the conventions for ordering liturgical books.

An example from **WOc Add. 25** serves to highlight some similarities of technique between the plainchant prosula tradition and the polyphonic settings in the Rawlinson Fragments. A detail of the page that contains the beginning of the prosula on *Alleluia. Letabitur iustus*, which starts on the seventh staff of folio 2v and continues on folio 1r, is reproduced in figure 11. The opening word "Alleluia" is set to neumes, and the exordium follows, in which each new text syllable is in general set to a single pitch, notated with either a *virga* or a *punctum*. The verse begins with the word "Letabitur" set to neumes, followed by the *intercalatio* on the plainchant verse in mostly syllabic style. In presenting the prosula text here below, I have placed the original plainchant text on the right, used uppercase letters within the prosula text to indicate which words derive from the plainchant verse, and underlined vowels that are assonant with the plainchant vowel:

LETABITUR		
Pre celsa aula celi LETABITUR	a	LETABITUR
in perpetuum cum fructu vite,	u	IUSTUS
IUSTUS		
IN throno regnanti perpetuo,	o	IN DOMINO
DOMINO,		
ET per gratiosa merita polo asscripta,	a	ET SPERA-
fulgens iocunda gloria secla		
per cuncta sacra		
cum turma sanctorum		
SPERAVIT		-BIT
IN EO.		IN EO
ET LAUde sine fine		ET
lauDABUNTUR		LAUDABUNTUR
Ore Christi	o	OMNES
benedicto . . . sacro OMNES		
RECTI, iusti, et perfecti	i	RECTI

73. Susan Rankin, personal communication, September 26, 2020. Rankin notes that the date of **WOc Add. 25** may be as early as the second decade of the twelfth century and that the bifolium was certainly made before the Caligula troper-sequentiary. On the links of the Caligula troper-sequentiary to Worcester, see Teviotdale, "Cotton Troper."

placidissimo
CORde, e CORDE
deprecantes iuvamen toto corDE
et ore excelso martyr
tuus sancte semper
protegebat nos ibhoste potente.

The text composition techniques will be familiar from the earlier discussion of the polyphonic *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus.* The entire text of the *Letabitur iustus* verse is incorporated into the new text, either by inserting new words between two words set to a melisma (as in the case of the ET SPERABIT melisma),[74] or by splitting a single word and inserting new text within it (for example, where OMNES becomes "ore Christi benedicto . . . sacro OMNES"). The prosula is sectional, each phrase of the plainchant receiving a passage of newly added text. Because of the constraints imposed by the content of the original plainchant (that is, the number of pitches in the melismas), the resultant lines are of irregular length, but there are some examples of regularly lilting lines (for example, the trochaic eight-syllable line "RECTI, iusti, et perfecti"). The predominant vowel in each section is frequently assonant with the sung vowel of the original plainchant melisma. In the lengthy prosula composed for ET SPERABIT, the vowel that saturates the soundscape is "a": the majority of words end with this vowel, and it also occurs in other positions.

Example 5 presents an excerpt from the music of the Worcester *Letabitur iustus* prosula set against the Alleluya plainchant verse. On the upper staff is the plainchant, as transmitted in the thirteenth-century Worcester gradual (**WOc F. 160**), which, although a later source, is a fairly good match for the pitches in this prosula. There is a high degree of consistency in the way in which the neume groupings are replicated in the prosula. For example, almost every three-note neume in the base chant is found in the prosula with the three-note figure *virga–punctum–punctum* (that is, the first single note shape of each three-note group has a descending stem). Examples of these figures are "merita," "polo as-," "gloria," "secla per," and "cum turma" in the setting of the ET SPERABIT melisma. Two-note ascending neumes in the base chant most frequently become *punctum–virga* (e.g., "fulgens"), whereas two-note descending neumes become *virga–punctum* (e.g., "-RAVIT"). On the other hand, the placement of the assonant vowel sounds varies: sometimes these fall on what would have been the final pitch of a neume grouping, sometimes on the initial pitch, and only rarely on an internal pitch.

One final observation on this prosula: as in the *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*, the beginnings and ends of phrases are made very clear through textual and musical congruences with the base chant. For example, the vowel sound

74. In the prosula, "sperabit" becomes "speravit."

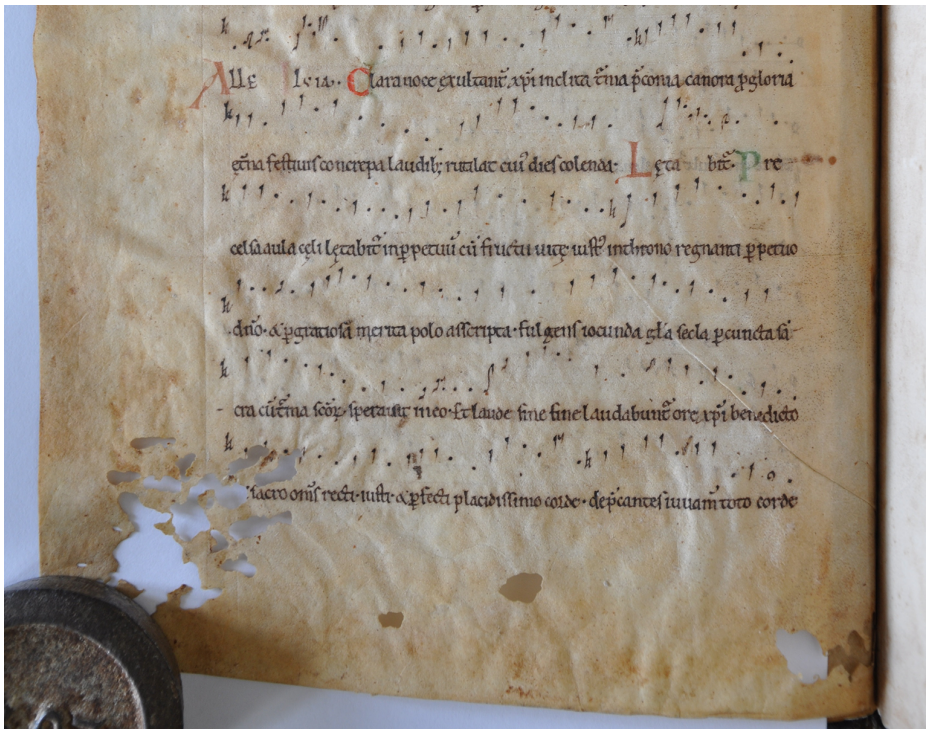


Figure 11 Prosula on *Alleluia. Letabitur iustus*, Worcester, Cathedral Library, Add. 25, 2v, detail of staves 7–12. Photograph by Mr. Christopher Guy, Worcester Cathedral Archaeologist, reproduced by permission of the Chapter of Worcester Cathedral (UK). This figure appears in color in the online version of the **Journal**.

at the beginning of the verse (LE-) is rhymed initially in the prosula with the two syllables "Pre" and "cel-" before switching to the "a" sound for the melisma on -TA-. This first phrase concludes with the same syllables (-BITUR) sung in both the chant and the prosula. Similarly, in the ET SPERABIT phrase, the initial words of the prosula, "ET per," are assonant with the first two syllables of the chant, ET SPE-. Section beginnings are further emphasized by the use of rare neume groupings in the prosula (for the most part, prosulas favor strictly syllabic writing). In this same ET SPERABIT phrase, the word ET in the prosula is set to a two-note neume, exactly as in the original plainchant. Neume groupings are deployed in a similar way at the beginning of the IN EO phrase, where precisely the same text syllables and two-note neumes are found in both the base plainchant and prosula.[75]

Thomas Kelly has pointed out that an underresearched aspect of the Alleluya prosula is the degree to which the prosula text itself is a form of music notation, and functions as a memory aid for the melody.[76] Indeed, Susan Rankin has shown how the earliest known Alleluya prosula—*Psalle modulamina*—was compositionally determined through its recall of the base chant.[77] A prosula text, even in the absence of music notation, could also clarify the performance of the untexted melismas, indicating aspects of phrasing and shape, both locally and on a larger scale. In the *Alleluia. Letabitur iustus* prosula, a clear instance of this is found in the ET SPERABIT melisma, where the musical phrase's tripartite structure, articulated through twice-iterated pitches on D, is matched by the semantic phrasing (and punctuation) of the prosula text. As discussed above, the polyphonic *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus* also reveals its composer's deep analytical awareness of the parsing and phrasing of the base chant. The composers of both the twelfth-century plainchant prosula and the thirteenth-century polyphonic Alleluya convey an intimate knowledge of the original chant; their new compositions, in poetic features and musical setting, demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of the original chant's meaning, phrasing, articulation, and larger shape. Both composers conveyed these local and larger-scale structural aspects in their new compositions, and both seamlessly blended the traditional older work with their new creation. As Margot Fassler insightfully comments on the interplay between old and new in the plainchant Alleluya prosula genre, "simultaneously, [the Alleluia base chant] both remains the same and is completely changed."[78]

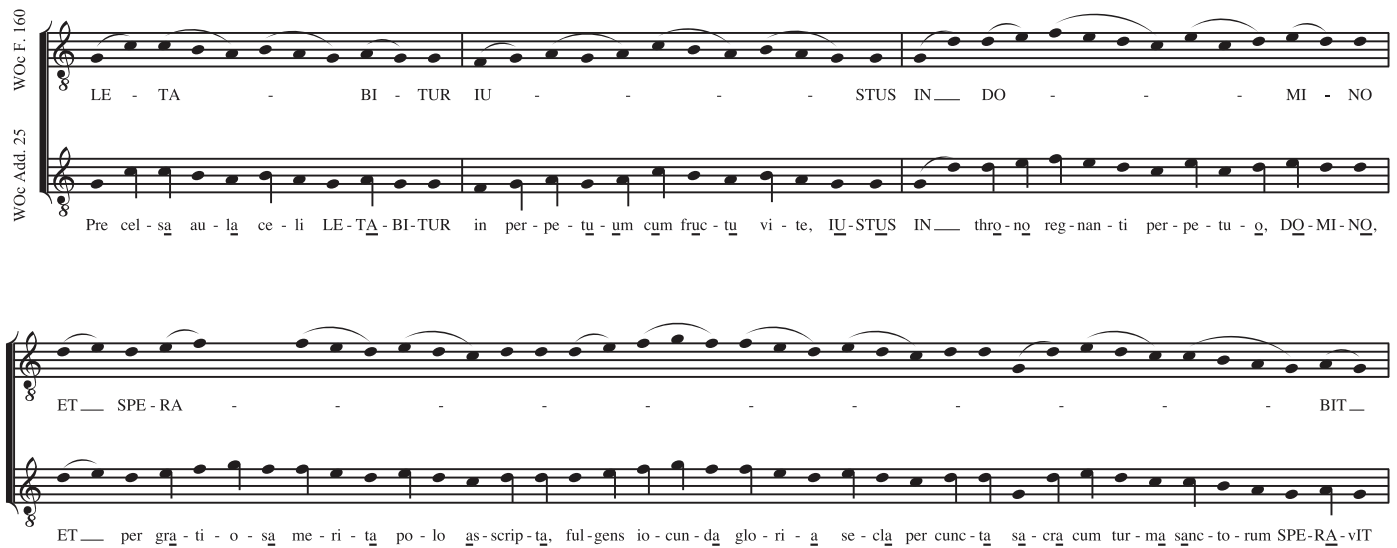
75. For a discussion of the frequent correspondence between added text syllables in the prosula and the neume groupings in the base chant melisma, see Steiner, "Prosulae of the MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, F. Lat. 1118," 384.

76. Kelly, "Poetry for Music," 375–82.

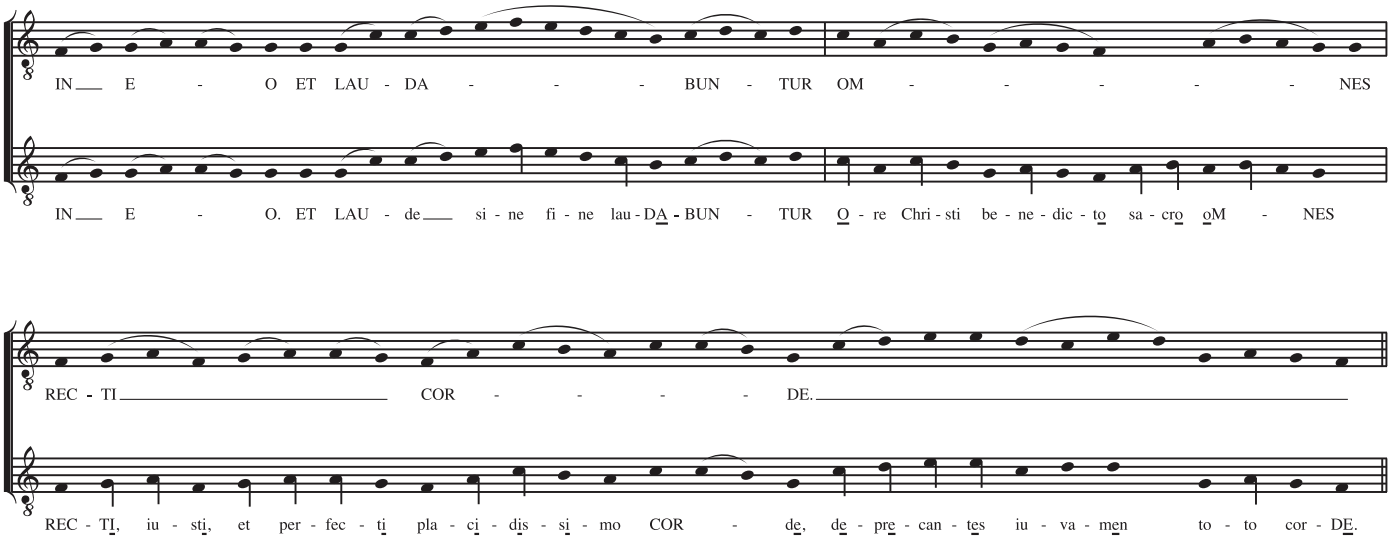
77. Rankin, *Writing Sounds*, 77–84. Rankin provides a detailed analysis of the way in which certain notational features, specifically liquescent neumes, are distributed so as to reflect specific sounds (i.e., liquescence) in the newly composed text.

78. Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 37.

Example 5 *Alleluya. Letabitur iustus*, plainchant from a thirteenth-century gradual above (transcribed from Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 160, 346v), twelfth-century Alleluya prosula below (transcribed from Worcester, Cathedral Library, Add. 25, 2v)



Example 5 continued



The English Polyphonic Prosulated Alleluyas

Many other English polyphonic Alleluya settings, including those in the text booklet of the Rawlinson Fragments for which no music survives, display similar features to those described above for the polyphonic *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus* and *Alleluya. Ave Maria gratia plena* and the plainchant *Alleluia. Letabitur iustus.* Perhaps a new term is warranted in order to differentiate this type of polyphonic Alleluya setting from the better-known *Magnus liber* Alleluya settings, which do not feature additional texts in the upper voices. Here, I term the English polyphonic repertoire "polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas."[79] It is beyond the scope of the present study to describe the full range of compositional techniques evidenced in these insular polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas, but given their close links to the plainchant Alleluya prosula genre described above, it will be useful to briefly survey the sorts of manuscript sources in which this unique polyphonic genre was copied, and the way in which these sources are internally organized.

The full extent of this English polyphonic prosulated Alleluya repertoire has yet to be recognized in modern scholarship, whose narratives are dominated by the focus on the *Magnus liber* repertoire and its dissemination. By my count, there are forty-six polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas extant in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts copied in the British Isles, which is a notably high number given the fragmentary survival of the region's polyphonic sources. These forty-six Alleluyas are augmented by the further forty-one lost Alleluyas listed at the back of **Lbl Harley 978**,

79. The terminology is tricky. The word "trope" is most often used to describe the addition of new music, while "prosula" describes the addition of new words. In these English polyphonic settings of Alleluya plainchants both new music and new texts are added, through the addition of two upper voices with newly composed texts. In his recent essay on tropes, Andreas Haug prefers to use the umbrella term "tropes" (within plainchant) to denote additions of text or music that do not alter the formal structure of the preexisting chant: "The boundaries between the original chant and the added figures remain recognizable and this purely formal feature is the only constant characteristic of the genre": Haug, "Tropes," 263. He categorizes four troping techniques: "(1) purely melodic tropes (melismas added to the original chant at caesuras in its text and melody; (2) purely textual tropes (texts added to melismas of the original chant); (3) melodic tropes to which texts were added later; as well as (4) textual-melodic tropes (texts with their own melodies appended to original chants, either preceding their beginning or inserted at internal caesuras)" (269). On the other hand, in his study of Philip the Chancellor's polyphonic compositions, Thomas Payne opted to use the term "prosula" in a stricter sense, for new texts added to *preexisting polyphony*: he writes, "In this study, the use of the word 'prosula' in connection with Notre Dame organa and conductus refers specifically to the addition of texts to previously composed melismatic polyphony": Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 226n1. Again, however, Philip the Chancellor's polyphonic prosulas differ in an important respect from the repertoire under consideration here, in that there is no evidence that this English repertoire was ever performed or copied without its newly composed texts. For an edition of Philip's prosulas, see Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas.*

fourteen of which may be concordant with the extant repertoire.[80] Thus, the potential number of polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas is at least seventy-three.

Table 4 lists, in alphabetical order according to the verse of the base plainchant, the extant polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas.[81] While a few of these settings are for two or four voices, the majority are three-voice works. With one exception, each musical setting is a unicum, although a portion of one Alleluya is found elsewhere, and two other settings share texts but not the music.[82] Most frequently, these compositions are laid out in parts, exactly like motets, although a few sources are notated in score. Several plainchants have more than one setting.[83] Roughly half of the forty-six Alleluyas are Marian works; a significant number, however, are Alleluyas for other specific saints or standard items in the Common of the Saints. Relatively few are Alleluyas for other major feasts in the church year. The plainchant remains unidentified for ten settings (marked with an asterisk in table 4), either because none of the tenor pitches survive, or because the tenor melody has yet to be identified.

These forty-six Alleluyas are transmitted in fourteen manuscripts. The oldest source is the eleventh fascicle of **W_1**; the next oldest are the Rawlinson

80. See Lefferts, *Motet in England*, 162.

81. My criterion for inclusion in table 4 is that an Alleluya base chant text is prosulated in at least one of the voices. I have not included compositions that are basically motets and only set an excerpt from the original plainchant (cf. the two motets based on Alleluya melismas in **Ctc O.2.1**). To be included, even if surviving fragmentarily, the composition must look as if it was originally a setting of a complete chant. But I have also included here two Alleluya compositions that are probably not chant-based, since both appear to have circulated independently as ad hoc introductions to prosulated Alleluyas. All that survives of the *Alleluya celica rite* (**PRu 119/A**) is this short, apparently freely composed introduction. The *Ave magnifica / Ave mirifica* introduction is found as an independent work in **Mo**, but in **Worcester Reconstruction I** it serves as an introduction to a setting of the *Alleluya. Post partum virgo.* In **Worcester Reconstruction II**, its function is unclear: all that survives is one voice of the introduction, and the facing recto of the opening is not extant. Given the layout and what can be surmised of the collation of **Worcester Reconstruction II**, the function of the *Ave magnifica / Ave mirifica* there is unclear: it may be an introduction to the *Alleluya. Dulcis mater* or these may be two separate works (I have listed them separately in table 4). The *Alleluya. Virga florem germinavit* in **W_1**, fasc. XI, is a prosula on the *Alleluya. Iustus germinabit*, but the prosula text is underlaid only below the tenor of this two-voice composition: this same prosula text (*Alleluya. Virga florem germinavit*) survives in **WOc Add. 68**, frag. xxix, as a two-voice setting with different music and is apparently not chant-based (although this is a very fragmentary source). See Roesner, "Manuscript Wolfenbüttel," 357. Finally, the **W_1**, fasc. XI, Alleluya prosula *Alle psallite celi regina* is appended to an offertory, *O vere beata*.

82. *Ave magnifica Maria / Ave mirifica Maria / Alleluya.* POST PARTUM VIRGO is extant in three insular sources and one continental source (see note 81 above); the texts of *Alleluya. Virga florem germinavit* are concordant in two sources, and while the *Alleluya. Nativitas gloriose virginis* copied in **WOc Add. 68**, frag. xviii, is mostly unique, the texted clausula on EX SEMINE embedded within it has continental concordances.

83. These are *Alleluya. Assumpta est Maria*, *Alleluya. Ave Maria gratia plena*, *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*, *Alleluya. In conspectu*, *Alleluya. Iudicabunt sancti*, *Alleluya. Nativitas gloriose virginis*, and *Alleluya. Post partum virgo*.

Table 4 English polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas copied in insular manuscripts

Triplum	Duplum	Tenor (base chant) / Quartus	Source
[Alleluya celica rite]	Alleluya celica rite	. . .*	**PRu 119/A**
[A]lleluya clare decet decantare		*	**Ob Rawl. C.400*** (*rotulus* 1)
Alleluya confessoris		*	**W_3**
Alleluya Fulget dies		*	**Ob Rawl. C.400*** (text booklet)
	Ave prolem parienti	*	**LI 52**
	. . . rex piaculum homo	*	**TAcro 3182**
[A]ve sanctitatis speculum		*	**Ob Rawl. C.400*** (*rotulus* 1)
		Quartus / Tenor pro iiii [Alleluya. ASSUMPTA EST MARIA]	**W_3**
[A]stra transcendit hodie	Astrorum celsitudinem	[A]lleluya. ASSUMPTA [EST MARIA]	**LI 52**
Ave Maria plena gratia	Ave Maria plena gratia	[Alleluya. ASSUMPTA EST MARIA]	**Ob Rawl. C.400*** (*rotulus* 1)
[A laudanda legione]	[A] laudanda legione	[A]lleluia. [A]VE MARIA GRATIA PLENA	**Cjec 1/B**
Alleluya concrepando	Alleluya consonet presens	[Alleluya. AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA]	**W_3**
	[Alleluia Ave dei genitrix]	Alleluia. Ave dei genitrix (prosula on DIES SANCTIFICATUS)	**Ob Rawl. D.1225**
[Alleluya] Christo iubilemus	[Alleluya Christo iubilemus]	Al Pes Alleluya Christo iu[bilemus. DI]ES SANCTIFICATUS	**Ob Rawl. C.400*** (*rotulus* 1)
	[Alleluya. Virgo intemerata]	Alleluya. Virgo intemerata (prosula on DIES SANCTIFICATUS)	**W_1** (fasc. XI)
Alme morum monitorum		[Alleluya. DILEXIT ANDREAM]	**Dtc 519**
	Alleluya. Dulcis mater cuius nati	[Alleluya. DULCIS MATER] (= DULCE LIGNUM)	**Worcester Reconstruction II**
Alleluya dulci cum harmonia	Alleluya dulci cum harmonia	Alleluya. FIT LEO*	**Ob Rawl. C.400*** (text booklet)
. . . et tanquam scintille	. . . et gloria in celestia	[Alleluya. FULGEBUNT IUSTI]	**Worcester Reconstruction II**
. . . In tuis laudibus	. . . Gaude per quam cornu David	[Alleluya. GAUDE VIRGO GAUDE]	**Worcester Reconstruction II**
Alleluya musica canamus	Alleluya musica canamus	Alleluya. HIC FRANCISCUS	**Ob Rawl. C.400*** (text booklet)
. . . Vas sacratum	Almi patris in laude	[Alleluya. HIC MARTINU]S	**Dtc 519**
Ave maris stella dei mater	Stella maris parens paris	Alleluya. HODIE MARIA VIRGO	**Cjec 1/B**
[. . . In conspec]tu angelorum	Alleluya per . . . -omino cum latria	Alleluya. IN CONSPEC[TU]	**Ob Rawl. C.400*** (text booklet)
	. . . Psallam ergo cantica	[Alleluya. IN CONSPECTU]	**Dtc 519**
	Al Gaude plaude	[Alleluya. IU]DICABUNT SANCTI	**Worcester Reconstruction II**
. . . sancti per subtilia	Alme cohors celica	[Alleluya. IUDICABUNT SANCTI]	**Dtc 519**

Alme veneremur diei	Alme veneremur diei	Al[le]luya. IUSTI EPULENTUR	**Worcester Reconstruction II**
. . . solis vel syderis cum beatis		Quartus / Tenor pro iii / Tenor pro iiii [Alleluya. IUSTUS GERMINABIT]	**W_3**
	[Alleluya. Virga florem germinavit]	Alleluya. [V]irga florem germinavit (prosula on IUSTUS GERMINABIT)	**W_1** (fasc. XI)
			WOc Add. 68, frag. xxix (text concordance)
	. . . Et honore speciali	[Alleluya. LETABITUR IUSTUS]	**Worcester Reconstruction II**
Alleluya Ave Maria ave mater pia	Alleluya Ave Maria ave mater pia	Allel[uya.] NATIVITAS GLORIOSE VIRGINIS	**Ob Rawl C. 400*** (text booklet)
[Alleluya. Nativitas gloriose virginis]	[Alleluya. Nativitas gloriose virginis]	[A]lleluya. NATIVITAS GLORIOSE VIRGINIS	**WOc Add. 68**, frag. xviii
	O laus sanctorum	[Alleluya. O LAUS SANCTORUM]*	**Worcester Reconstruction II**
Alleluya canite	Alleluya canite	[Alleluya.] Pes [PASCHA NOSTRUM]	**Worcester Reconstruction I**
Alma iam ad gaudia	Alme matris dei	Alleluya. PER TE DEI GENITRIX	**Worcester Reconstruction I**
[A]ssunt Augustini		[Alleluya. PIE PATER]	**LI 52**
. . . -libata celi ianitrix		[Alleluya. POST PARTUM VIRGO]	**Ob Rawl. C.400*** (*rotulus* 1)
Ave magnifica Maria	Ave mirifica Maria	Alleluya. POST PARTUM VIRGO	**Worcester Reconstruction I** **Worcester Reconstruction II** **Ob Rawl. C.400*** (text booklet) **Mo**
. . . Regis celorum mater		[Alleluya.] REGIS CELORUM MATER*	**Worcester Reconstruction II**
	Alleluya moduletor Syon	Alleluya. VENI MATER (= VENI PASCHA NOSTRUM)	**Worcester Reconstruction II**
[Adoremus ergo natum matre]	[Adoremus ergo natum matre] . . . in oriente	A Pes Adoremus ergo natum matre. [Alle]luya. VIDIMUS [STELLAM]	**Ob Rawl. C.400*** (*rotulus* 1)
Alleluya psallat hec familia	Alleluya psallat hec familia	[Alleluya. VIRGA IESSE FLORUIT]	**Worcester Reconstruction II**
	[Alleluya. Virga dei mater pia]	[A]lleluya. Virga dei mater pia (prosula on VIRGA IESSE FLORUIT)	**W_1** (fasc. XI)
	[Alle psallite celi regina]	Alle psallite celi regina (appended to offertory O VERE BEATA)	**W_1** (fasc. XI)

Note: Uppercase letters in the tenor voice indicate the text of the base plainchant verse. The Alleluyas are listed in alphabetical order by tenor plainchant. An asterisk indicates that the base Alleluya plainchant has not yet been identified. The absence of an incipit indicates that a voice does not survive. (Note, however, that the **Ob Rawl. D.1225** and **W_1** compositions are two-voice settings.) Square brackets enclose supplied text. An ellipsis indicates either that there is no underlaid text or that text is missing or illegible as a result of manuscript damage and cannot be conjectured.

Fragments under discussion here, and possibly **Ob Rawl. D.1225**;[84] the youngest sources are **Dtc 519**, **LI 52**, and **TAcro 3182**. Like the Rawlinson text booklet and the first Rawlinson *rotulus*, most of the sources in table 4 transmit Alleluyas copied in groups, one setting directly following another. It is surprising how many of these forty-six Alleluyas come from a relatively small number of manuscript sources. In other words, most of these sources transmit a substantial number of these prosulated Alleluyas, even where the source consists of only one or two folios. Eight sources transmit three or more polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas: $\mathbf{W_1}$, the Rawlinson text booklet and first *rotulus*, the two Worcester Reconstructions, $\mathbf{W_3}$, **Dtc 519**, and **LI 52** (for this subset, see table 5). These eight sources transmit thirty-nine of the forty-six extant settings. And apart from $\mathbf{W_1}$ and the two Worcester Reconstructions, the sources in table 5, as they survive today, transmit *only* Alleluya settings. Thus, it is entirely possible that, of the subset of extant fragmentary sources of polyphonic Alleluyas listed in table 5, as many as five represent larger codices or *libelli* that were dedicated collections of Alleluya prosulas.[85]

There are occasional references in British medieval library catalogs to (now lost) music manuscripts as "Liber de alleluyas." In Sharpe's compilation of medieval library catalogs from Benedictine institutions, the book list from Ramsey Abbey concludes with a list of several liturgical books, including breviaries and graduals. The last three items are: "Libri de alleluyes, viii" (no. 607), "Libri de kyryes, iiii" (no. 608), and "Item liber organicus fratris Willelmi de Chilthalm" (no. 609).[86] It is possible that nos. 607 and 608 were collections of plainchant rather than polyphony, but they are grouped in the list with the book of organa of Brother William of Chilthalm, and would be quite untypical as chant books. Another item in Sharpe's catalog is "libri cum responsorium et alleluia."[87] Wathey's list of lost books of polyphony in England includes a set of items dated 1295 in the private ownership of Edward I listed as "*In cofro de .O.*: Et j liber de cantu organi qui incipit *Viderunt* . . . Et j liber de cantu organi qui incipit *Alleluia*."[88] Again, what exactly this book was is unclear, and it could very well have been a collection of *Magnus liber* organa rather than English polyphonic prosulated

84. **Ob Rawl. D.1225** contains only one polyphonic Alleluya—a two-voice setting of the *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*—entered on a blank opening at the end of the manuscript. This manuscript, which contains other monophonic music, has been dated to around 1170, although the hand that copied this Alleluya looks later.

85. The two disjunct folios of the $\mathbf{W_3}$ fragment may have originated from a codex, although Summers and Lefferts note that this source might be fragments from a *rotulus*: Summers and Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*, 40.

86. Sharpe et al., *English Benedictine Libraries*, 415.

87. Ibid., catalog no. B39.40.

88. Wathey, "Lost Books of Polyphony," 14. Wathey notes that these items were repeated in a number of other wardrobe lists between 1297 and 1306. Discussed also in Bent, "English Chapel Royal," 93, and Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts."

Alleluyas, since the conventional way to open a *Magnus liber* manuscript was with the gradual *Viderunt*.

But the contents of one such (lost) large collection from the British Isles are known, through the serendipitous survival of its list of contents as copied at the back of the aforementioned Reading manuscript **Lbl Harley 978**. As noted, Wicumbe's name is written to the right of this list, next to the Alleluya settings. Lefferts has demonstrated that the Alleluya collection of **Lbl Harley 978** is arranged in liturgical order.[89]

Beyond this lost source, it has not yet been recognized that most of the fragmentary sources listed in table 5 also transmit their Alleluyas in liturgical order. The six Alleluyas copied in the Rawlinson text booklet are in strict liturgical order, with the exception of the Alleluyas for St. Leonard and St. Francis, whose feast dates are November 6 and October 4 respectively. While the music does not survive for the text booklet, the texts of the Alleluya for St. Francis, *Alleluya. Hic Franciscus*, suggest that it is likely a contrafact of the *Alleluya. Hic Martinus*.[90] St. Martin's feast was on November 11; thus, if the exemplar for the text booklet instead had an *Alleluya. Hic Martinus* in this position, the liturgical order would have been maintained.[91] The four Alleluyas copied on the recto of the first Rawlinson *rotulus* are probably in liturgical order, although it is difficult to be certain about this, since the tenors for the second and fourth Alleluyas are unidentified. On the *rotulus* verso, the two Marian Alleluyas were appropriate for various occasions, most frequently for the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15).

W_3 comprises two disjunct folios: one has a Marian Alleluya, while the other has one Marian Alleluya and one for the Common of the Saints. But the bifolium **Dtc 519**, now housed in Trinity College, Dublin, transmits four Alleluya settings copied in liturgical order, whose incipits match exactly those of the same series presented toward the end of the liturgical year in the lost collection indexed in the **Lbl Harley 978** manuscript.[92] **LI 52** dates from around the middle of the fourteenth century and is possibly the latest source

89. Lefferts, *Motet in England*, 162. After the initial four Marian Alleluyas (items 1.5–1.9 of the list), there are incipits for twenty-nine Alleluyas (items 2.1–2.29) covering the liturgical year from Christmas (December 25) to the Feast of St. Nicholas (December 6).

90. In the *Magnus liber*, the mini-clausulae for the responsory that begins "Sancte Germane" (O 27) are texted "Sancte Martine," showing the interchangeability of the St. Martin chants; see Bradley, *Polyphony in Medieval Paris*, 68. The Feast of St. Francis is not a regular part of Sarum or Benedictine calendars; see Salisbury, *Secular Liturgical Office*.

91. It was possibly this error in the liturgical order that caused these bifolia to be discarded before the music was entered.

92. The Alleluya series for St. Michael (September 29), All Saints (November 1), St. Martin (November 11), and St. Andrew (November 30) are in **Dtc 519**, in that order, while the **Lbl Harley 978** list also has an Alleluya for St. Katherine (November 25) between the Alleluyas listed for St. Martin and St. Andrew.

Table 5 Subset of manuscript fragments that contain three or more English polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas

Source	Folio	Tenor	Liturgical assignment
Dtc 519	222	Alleluya. IN CONSPECTU	St. Michael, September 29
	222	Alleluya. IUDICABUNT SANCTI	All Saints, November 1
	1	Alleluya. HIC MARTINUS	St. Martin, November 11
	1	Alleluya. DILEXIT ANDREAM	St. Andrew, November 30
LI 52	1r	Alleluya (unidentified)	—
	1v–2r	Alleluya. ASSUMPTA EST MARIA	Assumption BVM, August 15
	2v	Alleluya. PIE PATER	St. Augustine, August 28
Ob Rawl. C.400*	1r–v	Alleluya. POST PARTUM VIRGO	Assumption BVM, August 15
(text booklet)	1v–2r	Alleluya. NATIVITAS GLORIOSE VIRGINIS	Nativity BVM, September 8
	2v–3r	Alleluya. IN CONSPECTU	St. Michael, September 29
	3r–4r	Alleluya. FIT LEO	St. Leonard, November 6
	4r–v	Alleluya. HIC FRANCISCUS	St. Francis, October 4
	4v	Alleluya. FULGET DIES	—
Ob Rawl. C.400*	recto	Alleluya. DIES SANCTIFICATUS	Christmas, December 25
(*rotulus* 1)	recto	Alleluya. P . . . (unidentified)	—
	recto	Alleluya. VIDIMUS STELLAM	Epiphany, January 6
	recto	Alleluya (unidentified)	—
	verso	Alleluya. ASSUMPTA EST MARIA	Assumption BVM, August 15
	verso	Alleluya. POST PARTUM VIRGO	Assumption BVM, August 15
W_1	179v–180r	Alleluya. Virga dei mater pia (prosula on Alleluya. VIRGA IESSE FLORUIT)	Votive for BVM (Purification–Advent)
	180v–181r	Alleluya. Virga florem germinavit (prosula on Alleluya. IUSTUS GERMINABIT)	Votive for BVM (Purification–Advent)
	182r–v	Alleluya. Virgo intemerata (prosula on Alleluya. DIES SANCTIFICATUS)	Votive for BVM (Christmas)
	193r–v	Alle psallite celi regina (appended to offertory O VERE BEATA)	Votive for BVM (Purification–Advent)

W_3	1r	Alleluya. IUSTUS GERMINABIT	Common of the Saints (one confessor/ doctor)
	1v	Alleluya. AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA	Assumption BVM, August 15
	2r	Alleluya. ASSUMPTA EST MARIA	Assumption BVM, August 15
	2v	Alleluya (unidentified)	—
Worcester Reconstruction I	lxxix r	Alleluya. POST PARTUM VIRGO	Assumption BVM, August 15 Votive for BVM (Purification–Advent)
	lxxxii v	Alleluya. PER TE DEI GENITRIX	Octave of the Nativity BVM Votive for BVM (Purification–Advent)
	lxxxxiii v	Alleluya. PASCHA NOSTRUM	Votive for BVM (Easter)
Worcester Reconstruction II	27r	Alleluya. LETABITUR IUSTUS	Common of the Saints (one martyr)
	27r	Alleluya. IUDICABUNT SANCTI	Common of the Saints (many martyrs)
	27v–28r	Alleluya. FULGEBUNT IUSTI	Common of the Saints (many martyrs/ confessors)
	27v–28r	Alleluya. IUSTI EPULENTUR	Common of the Saints (many martyrs)
	29r	Alleluya. O LAUS SANCTORUM	Marian
	29r–v	Alleluya. VENI MATER (= VENI PASCHA NOSTRUM)	Marian (Pentecost)
	29v	Alleluya. POST PARTUM VIRGO	Marian
	30r	Alleluya. DULCIS MATER (= DULCE LIGNUM)	Marian (Feast of the Cross)
	30r–v	Alleluya. REGIS CELORUM MATER	Marian
	25v–26r	Alleluya. GAUDE VIRGO GAUDE	Votive for BVM (Purification–Advent)
	25v–26r	Alleluya. VIRGA IESSE FLORUIT	Marian

for this genre.[93] While Lefferts classified all three compositions copied on this bifolium as Alleluya settings, only the plainchant for the *Alleluya. Assumpta est Maria*, copied on the center opening, had previously been identified.[94] No text is underlaid for the tenor of the third work in **LI 52**, but its melody can here be identified as the *Alleluya. Pie pater Dominice*, composed for St. Dominic (1170–1221).[95] In the polyphonic setting of this Alleluya copied in **LI 52**, the plainchant must have been used for St. Augustine since the triplum text is addressed to him.[96] St. Augustine's feast day was on August 28. It had previously been suggested that **LI 52** was copied in alphabetical order.[97] I would propose rather that this is a bifolium from a gathering of Alleluya settings, copied in liturgical order: the two Alleluyas whose verses can be identified are for August 15 and August 28, respectively.

The three remaining significant sources for these Alleluya settings are $\mathbf{W_1}$ and the two largest reconstructions of the Worcester Fragments.[98] $\mathbf{W_1}$ and **Worcester Reconstruction I** transmit settings suitable for the votive Marian Masses, while **Worcester Reconstruction II**, with the largest number of extant English polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas (eleven), has Alleluyas suitable for votive Marian celebrations and for the Common of the Saints. While it is difficult to conclusively reconstruct the order of the surviving folios, it is entirely possible that the seven surviving Marian Alleluyas were copied as a group, and that they follow a group of four Alleluyas appropriate for the Common of the Saints.[99]

93. One of its Alleluyas is notated with minims.

94. Lefferts, *Motet in England*, 7. Rankin transcribed this Alleluya in her description of this newly discovered source in Bowers and Wathey, "New Sources," 123.

95. See Schlager, *Alleluia-Melodien II*, 750. The plainchant is copied in various sources with the substitution of Dominic's name with those of St. Augustine (of Hippo), St. Benedict, or St. Bernard.

96. It is possible that this setting was written for St. Augustine of Canterbury, and thus may originate from the Benedictine abbey of St. Augustine at Canterbury. While material bound in with these fragments has possible associations with St. Augustine's Abbey, these associations are hypothesized on the basis of the appearance of the script; see Bowers and Wathey, "New Sources," 152. If this work was written for St. Augustine of Canterbury, liturgical order would not be in operation in this source, since his feast day is May 9.

97. Ibid.

98. For the fragments that constitute **Worcester Reconstructions I** and **II**, see the catalog entries in Summers and Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*, 34–38, and the "Manuscript Sources" section of the "Works Cited" list here below.

99. The original manuscript was disassembled in the early sixteenth century and used as binding materials for at least three separate manuscripts. The reconstruction of the music fragments in the early twentieth century was itself quite destructive, and poorly documented, and so it is now difficult to reconstruct the original collation of the surviving folios. For **Worcester Reconstruction II**, if the folio numbered 25 in the composite manuscript **Ob Lat. liturg. d.20** was instead originally found between folio 29 and folio 30, the group of Marian Alleluyas would be kept together and would follow the Alleluyas for the Common of the Saints.

In sum, the broader source context for English polyphony points to a vibrant tradition of singing polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas that were collected as a group by genre in codices or *libelli*, and, for the most part, arranged within these codices or *libelli* according to liturgical order. Wicumbe's Rawlinson *rotulus* could easily have been a compositional or fair copy draft for such a collection, and the bifolia of the text booklet scrappage from a purpose-copied formal codex of polyphonic music intended as a "Book of Alleluyas." It would have been within the purview of Reading Abbey's precentor, Wicumbe, to organize and copy—and even, perhaps, compose new music for—such collections.

Final Thoughts on Singing and Writing Polyphonic Prosulated Alleluyas

The previously unexamined English polyphonic prosulated Alleluya repertoire, together with the survival of the nine surviving plainchant Alleluya prosulas from Worcester, offers evidence that prosulated Alleluyas were known and performed in the British Isles, despite their absence from other English plainchant books. Further investigation is needed as to whether the Worcester plainchant prosulas constitute a unique and anomalous survival. It may be that knowledge, or practice, of the plainchant Alleluya prosula was somewhat localized within the British Isles (since these two Worcester folios are the sole witness) and only became more broadly known and eventually written down in polyphonic versions in the thirteenth century.

How the plainchant Alleluya prosula was performed remains an unsettled question in modern scholarship. Some argue that the base chant and the new prosula were sung simultaneously (with one soloist singing the melismatic vowels of the plainchant and another the new poetic text), while others suggest a consecutive performance, where the plainchant was sung first, followed by the prosulated version.[100] The notation of prosulas in the manuscript sources has been adduced to support both arguments: prosulas are found with and without music notation; they are sometimes added directly after the base chant; and are sometimes transmitted in mixed notation, similar to that used for early sequences, where the base chant's melismas notated with neumes are found in a column or margin adjacent to the prosula text. The English polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas offer supporting evidence for a tradition of simultaneous performance of base chant and prosula,

100. For a succint summary of the performance question and the relevant bibliography, see Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 36n68. Advocates of simultaneous performance include Marcusson, "Comment a-t-on chanté les prosules?"; Smits van Waesberghe, "Zur ursprünglichen Vortragsweise"; and Elfving, "Étude lexicographique." For the alternatim style, see Kelly, "Melisma and Prosula."

especially given the structural importance, described in the examples above, of matching vowel sounds between the two.[101]

I have also suggested here that the particular survival of the English polyphonic prosulated Alleluya repertoire supports the hypothesis that collections of polyphonic prosulas, grouped according to genre (in this case, the Alleluya), may have been regularly copied in discrete fascicles or *libelli* or *rotuli*, and ordered liturgically within these collections. In other words, the sort of liturgical book that several of the British fragmentary polyphonic sources most resemble is the troper. We already know, thanks to Wicumbe's list in **Ob Bodley 125**, that one of the liturgical books he copied was a troper.[102] The Rawlinson *rotuli* may preserve a format in which Wicumbe and another individual (possibly Hugo de Wicumbe) made "fair copies" of new compositions, *before* he collected them and copied them in a polyphonic troper (no longer extant, as far as we know), which may very well have been the book to which the scrappage of the Rawlinson text booklet attests. Furthermore, if Wicumbe indeed first wrote down (composed?) his new polyphony on *rotuli*, these fragments also offer evidence that the *rotulus* was considered a particularly useful format for the first draft of new "literate" polyphony. Previous scholars have discussed iconographical and textual evidence that offers support for the use of *rotuli* in performance and composition.[103] And indeed, several *rotuli* are extant from the British Isles of the later Middle Ages.[104]

Finally, both the manner in which these repertoires of polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas were compiled into collections and the compositional techniques they demonstrate (discussed above in relation to the polyphonic *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus*) point to intriguing areas of overlap with *Magnus liber* organa and motets. The Rawlinson Fragments are crucially significant in providing a fixed point in our understanding of thirteenth-century English polyphonic practice, especially in light of the early copying date of the 1240s corroborated here. In the Rawlinson Fragments we have a *terminus ante quem* for the particular constellation of notational features, aspects of mise-en-page, and compositional techniques. That is to say, very likely as early as the 1240s, the decade in which **F** was copied in Paris, a significant corpus of polyphonic Alleluyas had also been composed in England, copied in separate voice parts using a pre-Franconian notation that distinguished

101. See Marcusson, "Comment a-t-on chanté les prosules?" Indeed, in his study of Tuscan ordinals, Benjamin Brand has found evidence for unwritten extemporized polyphonic Alleluyas with prosulas: that is, plainchant Alleluyas with prosulas, which have performance rubrics that indicate "cum organo": Brand, "Singing from the Pulpit," 56–58, 68–71.

102. See page 642 above.

103. See Page, "English Motet"; Colton, "Languishing for Provenance"; Ferreira, "Medieval Fate"; and Phillips, "Singers without Borders."

104. A preliminary tabulation of *rotuli* with polyphony copied in the British Isles in the thirteenth century shows ten such sources to be extant; see Desmond, "Medieval Music Rolls."

simplex longs and breves and had other nuances of rhythmic interpretation (that **F**, in general, does not have). However, the particular blending of compositional techniques usually associated with the genres of motet, conductus, and organum that are evidenced in these polyphonic Alleluya settings is suggested here to have in fact derived from the composition and performance tradition of the plainchant Alleluya prosula.[105]

Studying the English polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas thus also reopens questions about the performance practice and copying traditions of the *Magnus liber*. While there are a small number of genuine prosulated polyphonic settings in the *Magnus liber* repertoire (five pieces whose texts are attributed to Philip the Chancellor), where the chant set in the tenor is accompanied by a newly composed text in the duplum voice, none of these compositions is a setting of an Alleluya plainchant.[106] As noted above, the English polyphonic prosulated Alleluyas differ from the *Magnus liber* Alleluya settings in two significant ways: first, the *Magnus liber* Alleluyas do not have added texts (the added texts in the Notre Dame tradition are recorded only when the discant sections of organa that set the melismatic portions of the original plainchant are copied separately as motets), and second, the syllabic portions of plainchant were not set in note-against-note style as here, but rather in florid organal style.

With respect to the first point, scholars have already raised the possibility of the performance of motets within the *Magnus liber* organa, even if the organa are copied in the manuscripts in score without the added motet texts.[107] Does this English repertoire provide some corroboration for this hypothesis, and is it perhaps indicative of a more widespread tradition, also evident within the *Magnus liber* settings, of performing newly composed

105. With respect to the Notre Dame motet, the idea that the addition of new texts (prosulas) to preexisting polyphony was central to its emergence as a distinct genre in the thirteenth century has been debated by musicologists since Wilhelm Meyer first advanced this hypothesis in 1898 in his article "Der Ursprung des Motett's." Following Meyer, in seeking the "origins" of the motet, Handschin examined in particular a collection of prosulated chant settings from the Aquitanian tradition: Handschin, "Über der Ursprung der Motette." For a useful summary of this scholarly debate, including the motet-clausula relationship, see Bradley, "Origins and Interactions," 43–45.

106. On these prosulated polyphonic settings, see especially Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 226–326.

107. Rebecca Baltzer, for example, argued that many of the earliest Latin motets are liturgically appropriate for performance within organa: Baltzer, "Performance Practice," 26. Bradley also addresses this possibility, stating that the proposal that "motets could actually have been sung within organa, in place of passages of discant or of substitute clausulae, would further explain the ordering of the collection in F": Bradley, "Ordering in the Motet Fascicles," 52–55, here 53. While ultimately concluding that such a proposal remains speculative, Bradley does cite the evidence of the *Magnus liber* Copenhagen fragment (**K**), where a motet incipit ("Gaudeat devotio") was added under the related discant passage of the copied organum *Alleluya. Pascha nostrum* (53).

poetic texts to accompany the discant sections within complete organa?[108] In terms of their pervasive note-against-note style, perhaps these English Alleluya settings point rather to an alternative tradition of polyphonic elaboration of Mass Propers, simpler and less virtuosic in style, but a way of performing polyphonic Alleluyas that was perhaps diffused more widely in practice than the Parisian Notre Dame tradition. Catherine Bradley has recently proposed that the mini-clausulae in **F**, which similarly employ syllabic tenors, and which feature a single tenor statement, are evidence of a lost independent cycle of *organa dupla*, which were organized liturgically, and which stand apart from the more complex and virtuosic organum repertoire of the *Magnus liber*.[109]

It is tempting to interpret the evidence of these practices teleologically, as pointing to a linear progression emerging from a tradition of performing a monophonic plainchant, which was then elaborated with the addition of a prosula text, but still performed monophonically, and then further elaborated with an improvised polyphonic performance of the base chant with its prosula, and then finally fixed as a written polyphonic composition.[110] These various performance traditions may represent independent phenomena in different geographical locations, or, what is probably more likely, an overlapping and multidirectional set of influences and developments.[111]

Dittmer's article on the Rawlinson Fragments sought to demonstrate the existence of what he termed an English "Discantuum volumen"—that is, an English collection equivalent to the Parisian *Magnus liber*. But it does not seem, at least on the basis of what can be surmised from the extant sources, that there existed in England an exemplary collection of Alleluyas that was disseminated and copied at various institutions, comparable to the *Magnus liber*. The number of unica in the fragments of British provenance would

108. The one instance where a Notre Dame motet, complete with text, is inserted into an organal-style setting, is found in an English source: the EX SEMINE motet, attributed to Pérotin, is inserted into a unique organum on the *Alleluya. Nativitas gloriose virginis* in **Worcester Reconstruction I** (see note 82 above). This setting is exceptional within the English repertoire for its alternation between discant and organal passages. The tenor in the Alleluyas of **Dtc 519** also moves much more slowly than the upper voices, and gives the impression of a florid "organal" style, even though these upper voices are copied in a more precisely measured Franconian notation.

109. Bradley, *Polyphony in Medieval Paris*, ch. 2. Unlike the *Magnus liber* repertoire (but like the majority of the English polyphonic prosulated Alleluya repertoire), the tenors of **F**'s mini-clausulae are single-statement tenors, without repeated rhythmic patterns (ibid., 54).

110. Elizabeth Eva Leach highlights the problems in teleological explanations of the emergence of the medieval motet, and helpfully summarizes the scholarship that has disrupted the traditional narrative of the motet's development, exposing this narrative as "suspect and ragged": Leach, "Genre(s) of Medieval Motets," 16.

111. For an approach that explicitly foregrounds the complexity and multidirectionality of polyphonic practices, in particular with respect to motet-clausula relationships, see Bradley, *Polyphony in Medieval Paris*, esp. chs. 3, 4, and 5.

appear to rule out this type of transmission for these English Alleluyas. I would argue rather that a tradition of making polyphonic Alleluya settings with added texts persisted in England through the thirteenth century. The works that now survive were probably unique to each particular institution. The close interconnectedness of this polyphonic prosulated Alleluya repertoire and the plainchant tradition on which it was based reveals these monastic composers as both immersed in the everyday collaborative practices of chant performance and elaboration within particular institutions (through the addition of new text and new voices) *and* participating in the solitary documentary work of these religious communities, occupying the tactile and visual world of ink and parchment, and recording, collecting, and organizing the content of these performances and compositions in written form. It needs further teasing out, but it is possible that the extant compositions are evidence of local improvisational practices relating to a tradition of performing Alleluya plainchant prosulas, which, during the thirteenth century, became part of the literate tradition—and thus survived to the present day—when scribes and precentors like W. de Wicumbe began copying and circulating their Alleluyas in polyphonic tropers.

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Cjec 1/B	Cambridge, Jesus College, MS. QB 1, fragment B
Ctc O.2.1	Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. O.2.1
Dtc 519	Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 519
F	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1
K	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. 1810 4°
Lbl Add. 25031	London, British Library, Add. MS. 25031
Lbl Harley 978	London, British Library, Harley MS. 978
LI 52	Lincoln, Cathedral Archive, MS. 52
Mo	Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de médecine, H.196
Ob Auct. F. inf. 1. 3	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. F. inf. 1. 3
Ob Bodley 125	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 125
Ob Bodley 862	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 862
Ob Hatton 30	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Hatton 30
Ob Lat. liturg. b.19	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. b.19
Ob Lat. liturg. d.20	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. d.20
Ob Rawl. C.400	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. C.400
Ob Rawl. C.400*	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. C.400*
Ob Rawl. D.1225	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. D.1225
Oma 100	Oxford, Magdalen College, MS. 100

PRu 119/A	Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 119, fragment A
TAcro 3182	Taunton, Somerset Records Office, DD/WHb 3182
W_1	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmstadiensis
W_3	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 499 Helmstadiensis
WOc Add. 25	Worcester, Cathedral Library, Add. 25
WOc Add. 68	Worcester, Cathedral Library, Add. 68
WOc F. 160	Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 160
Worcester Reconstruction I	= **Lbl Add. 25031**; **Ob Lat. liturg. d.20**, formerly **Ob Hatton 30**; **Ob Lat. liturg. d.20**, formerly **Ob Auct. F. inf. 1. 3**; **WOc Add. 68**, fragments x; xi; xiii; xxviii; xxxi; xl; xli; xlii
Worcester Reconstruction II	= **Ob Lat. liturg. d.20**, formerly **Ob Bodley 862**; **WOc Add. 68**, fragment xxxv, formerly **Oma 100**; **WOc Add. 68**, fragment ix

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Abstract

A set of thirteenth-century parchment fragments, including the remnants of two rolls and one manuscript codex, preserves a largely unstudied repertoire unique to medieval England. In addition to a single motet and a setting of a responsory verse, the Rawlinson Fragments preserve twelve three-voice Alleluya settings. While polyphonic Alleluyas are well known from the continental *Magnus liber* repertoire, these insular Alleluya settings are quite different. Most significantly, while composed on the text and pitches of plainchant, they include newly composed texts in at least one voice—that is, they are polytextual chant settings. Aspects of their musical style certainly draw on other polyphonic genres—organum, conductus, and motet. This article presents the paleographical and codicological evidence that corroborates an early date for these fragments (in the 1240s), confirms their connection to Reading Abbey, and situates their repertoire within a broader context. My analysis points to intriguing points of overlap with both the plainchant prosula tradition and the *Magnus liber* organa and motets. It reopens broader questions about the copying and performance practices of liturgical polyphony, including previous suggestions that motet texts may have been sung within the performance of the *Magnus liber* organa, regardless of the scribal copying conventions that separated

organum and motet in the surviving *Magnus liber* manuscripts. The article also considers the role of the Rawlinson Fragments' main scribe, Benedictine monk W. de Wicumbe, who was active within the monastic communities of Leominster and Reading as a composer of plainchant and polyphony, and as precentor, most likely in charge of his community's musical life.

Keywords: W. de Wicumbe, medieval English liturgical polyphony, Alleluya, motet, prosula, *rotulus*