Music as Gloss in Newly Discovered Notations for Horace's Odes

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In a new introduction to his article "The Early History of Music Writing in the West," first published in 1982, Leo Treitler expanded upon the implications of his call for a shift from palaeographic to semiotic study of early notations.[1] What was needed was a reorientation to consider who used notation, for what purpose, using what modes of representation, entailing what conception of musical objects, and on the basis of what sort of knowledge and competence. A possible focus for such inquiry was briefly mentioned, namely neumatic notations added to sources of classical poetry copied from the ninth to the twelfth century. The broad extent of these notations had been known since the pioneering codicological work undertaken by Birger Munk Olsen and Yves-François Riou, as reported in a series of publications beginning in the 1980s, which identified some ninety notated manuscripts.[2] Renewed interest was sparked in the first decade of the new millennium by Jan Ziolkowski's framing of questions about these notations as a philologist interested in the reception of classical texts.[3] Inspired by Ziolkowski's exploration of the cultural implications of notating classical verse, Treitler warned that future musical research in this area should not "leap to assimilate this phenomenon to the medieval song traditions of sequence, versus, and conductus and restrict the study of it to the control of the questions we are accustomed to raising about those traditions."[4]

Treitler's call to keep open questions about notational function is taken as a starting point for this survey of music as gloss in select eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscript sources of Horace's Odes. The formulation "music as gloss" is here taken as a starting point for thinking about how music notation might have served to record a particular reading of a text and how notating music outside of the liturgical round might have formed part of a tradition of annotation. The extent to which notation served a similar elucidatory purpose to glosses will be investigated, bearing

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in mind Gernot Wieland's division of early medieval gloss functions into five categories: prosodic, lexical, grammatical, syntactical, and commentary.[5] More recent research into early medieval commentaries has demonstrated how glosses also served to create a link between an individual text and a wider intellectual tradition, in part by functioning as "paratexts" that both recorded and shaped the reception of their associated texts through the Middle Ages.[6] Early medieval gloss traditions comprised multiple layers of diverse readings in an ongoing process of gathering, sorting, selection, and criticism, which can rarely be traced back to specific individuals or institutions but rapidly spread outward from Carolingian heartlands in the ninth century to monasteries, abbeys, and cathedrals across the Latin West.[7] The extent to which music traditions associated with the same classical texts functioned in a similar way remains to be seen; in particular, it remains an open question how far learned clerics seeking to assimilate antique learning at the same time developed new ways of singing lyric poetry by drawing on techniques used in a range of existing song traditions.

Silvia Wälli's study of all known notations for Horace's Odes and Epodes, published in 2002, remains the starting point for musicological research in this field.[8] Her detailed description and analysis of some fifty individual notations added to twenty manuscripts copied in centers across the Latin West from the ninth to the twelfth centuries demonstrated a consistency among melodic profiles recorded for specific Odes. Since her work was based on the admittedly incomplete survey of sources begun by Munk Olsen and Riou, it is not surprising that new notated sources might in time come to light. Besides supplementing Wälli's work by expanding the known body of notated sources and the number of securely reconstructable melodies for Horace's Odes, a new perspective, which opens up the field to wider consideration, is explored here. Wälli's underlying conviction, extending a critical framework introduced by Wulf Arlt, was that notations added to Horace's manuscripts represented a song tradition, however flexibly realized in practice.[9] Manuscripts in which neumes were used as gloss signs, listed by Riou as part of his interest in using neumatic notation as means to determine provenance of Horace manuscripts, were accordingly put to one side.[10] In reexamining the range of notational signs added to sources of Horace's Odes, the possibility is kept open that individual notated examples may function in ways different from those of contemporaneous medieval song traditions.

Notae Boethianae

My first example is, strictly speaking, rediscovered rather than newly discovered since it was known to Munk Olsen but excluded from

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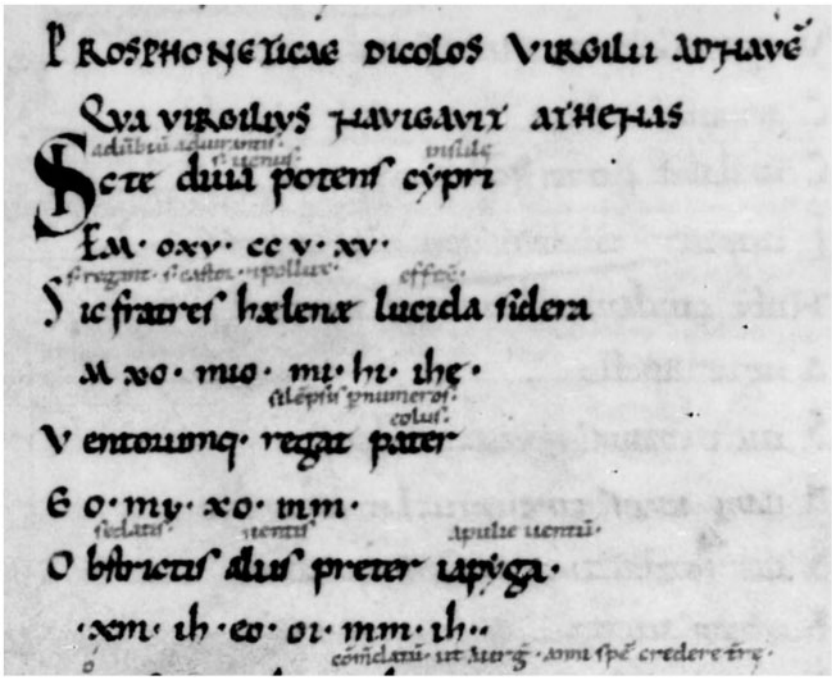

Figure 1. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 7976, fol. 2v. Reprinted by permission.

consideration by Riou and subsequently by Wälli. Munk Olsen noted the presence of what he termed "*notae Boethianae*" added to a number of Odes in a manuscript copied in France in the second half of the eleventh century (PA 7976, Bibliothèque nationale de France).[11] The signs added to Odes 1.4, 1.6, and 1.9 are scansion signs and so are not considered further here. Those added to Ode 1.3 are indeed a Boethian letter notation (see fig. 1, in which the letters copied by the main text scribe appear on alternate lines beneath the initial "S"), but Munk Olsen erred in interpreting them as deviant versions of the system described in the seventeenth chapter of the fourth book of Boethius's *De institutione musica* (IV.17). The signs are instead derived from his detailed account of the Greater Perfect System, including all the notes of the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genera, as set out in IV.11.[12]

A simplified version of Boethius's system, omitting all non-diatonic genera, aids identification of the pitches signified by the letters in PA 7976. Example 1 presents the Boethian letter notation of IV.11 aligned only with the diatonic scale as found in a couple of late eleventh- or twelfth-century northern French manuscripts of the *Alia musica* treatise.[13] Even once this scheme is understood as the key to the letters in PA 7976,

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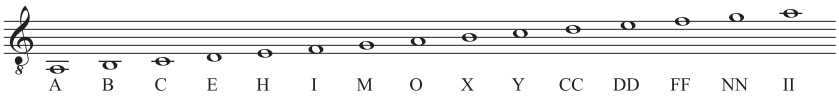
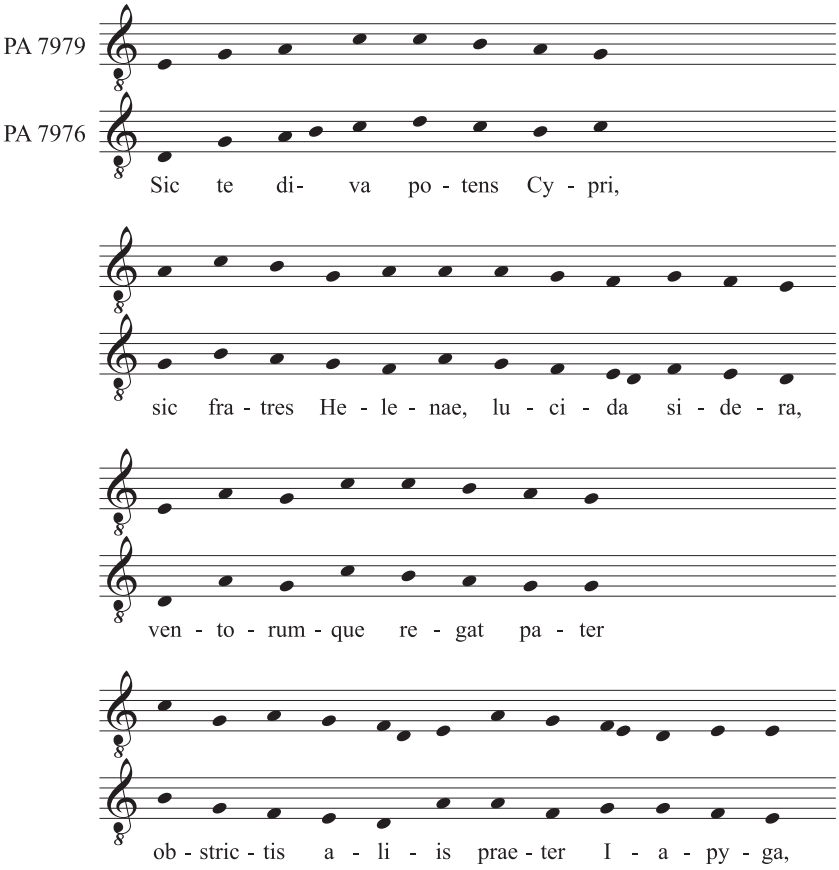


Example 1. Boethian letter notation (IV.11) for the Greater Perfect System (simplified).



Example 2. Reconstructed melodies for *Sic te diva* (1.3).

questions remain about how to apply individual pitches to *Sic te diva potens*. The number of Boethian letters per line broadly corresponds to the syllable count of the lines immediately above but all lines except the third contain an extra Boethian letter. Dots between certain letters appear to provide some guidance insofar as they almost uniformly match word divisions for the opening three lines. The solution proposed below for the fourth line is informed by neumatic notations recorded in three other manuscripts transcribed and analyzed by Wälli (see ex. 2).[14]

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The melody recorded in the Boethian letter notation is significant insofar as it provides a securely reconstructable melody for Horace's Ode 1.3, a prayer that Virgil's ship will transport him safely to Greece. It differs in a few particulars from Wälli's reconstruction of the melody recorded in a heightened, if not consistently aligned Aquitanian notation in the lower margin of a French codex copied around the turn of the twelfth century (PA 7979).[15] The opening D in lines 1 and 3 of the Boethian notation is remarkable since it obscures *e* as the tonal center until its appearance as a cadential tone at the end of the strophe. The somewhat unsettled melody instead initially focuses on *g* with framing fourths above and below as most clearly articulated in cadences at the end of lines 1–3 (on C, D, and G), with a counter sonority explored within lines by means of a third chain from the lower D (D–F–A–C).

The distinctly unusual application of Boethian letter notation prompts further reflection on potential uses and users. A diagram setting out the same alignment of Boethian letters and the diatonic scale as reproduced in example 1 was added at the end of a copy of Remigius's commentary on Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, written in the late tenth century in the region of the Loire Valley.[16] This diagram was copied by the same scribe, writing in the early eleventh century, who added several items to the leaf: (1) a notated version of Argia's lament from Statius's *Thebaid*; (2) two diagrams providing different alignments of notes of the monochord with planets derived from the twenty-seventh chapter of the first book of Boethius's *De institutione musica*; (3) a poem by Alcuin encouraging young men to learn grammar and rhetoric, and to cultivate virtue, *O vos est aetas iuvenes*; and (4) an extract explaining metrical design drawn from the Pseudo-Acro commentary on Horace's Odes.[17] An understanding of this particular form of Boethian letter notation was therefore not restricted to readers of the more daunting sections of the *De institutione musica*; rather, a simplified version was understood within circles that mixed non-liturgical song with cultivation of moral virtue and learning the liberal arts (grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, and astronomy in this instance). Such training in *litterae et mores* was characteristic of clerical learning in cathedral schools from the latter half of the tenth through to the twelfth century, within which a sung version of Horace's prayer for Virgil's safe passage notated in signs derived from Boethius brought together interests in classical literature, the arts of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, and experimentation with new forms of song.[18] This complex of texts is also consistent with reports of singing alongside verse composition and study of classical literature in cathedral schools during this period as mentioned in the *vita* of Bishop Meinwerk with reference to teaching at Paderborn cathedral under Bishop Imoldus (1051–76). Having listed the

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Figure 2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 17897, fol. 29v. Reprinted by permission.

authors studied, including Horace, Vergil, Sallust, and Statius, the anonymous author says, "It was enjoyable for all to work at composing verses, rhetorical exercises and delightful songs."[19]

a–p Notation

My second example is another letter notation noticed but not fully understood by Munk Olsen, which subsequently escaped musicological consideration. Sometime during the first half of the twelfth century an enterprising scribe added six letters over the words *Donec gratus eram* (Ode 3.9) as transmitted in a collection of Horace's works copied around the turn of the twelfth century at the island abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel in Normandy (fig. 2). These additional letters record a melodic incipit using the two-octave *a–p* system probably introduced to Normandy in the previous century by the Benedictine reformer William of Dijon (d. 1031), which survives in a number of Norman manuscripts, including the celebrated Dijon tonary in which are aligned both neumatic and letter notation.[20]

The letter notation in the Mont-Saint-Michel codex (PA 17897, folio 29v) provides the first tonal orientation for one melodic tradition associated with Ode 3.9, a staged dialogue or quarrel between erstwhile and perhaps future lovers, Horace and Lydia (see ex. 3). The single pitches specified for the opening six syllables indicate a melody with a rising intonation (G–A–C) and return to A, leaving open a number of possible modalities for continuation. The melody recorded in Palaeofrankish neumes added to a tenth-century Horace codex copied in northern France (PA

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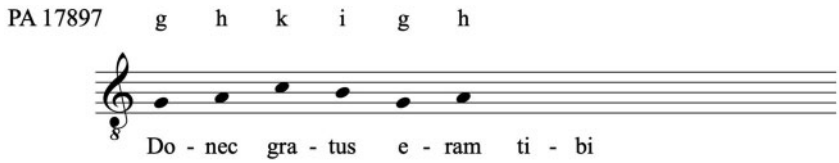

Example 3. Incipit for *Donec gratus eram* (3.9).

7972, folio 39v) is identical in profile at the opening and may serve as the basis for future, speculative reconstructions of this melody.[21]

The function of the *a–p* notation in the Mont-Saint-Michel manuscript source might initially seem uncomplicated insofar as the cue prompts melodic recall of the whole, a practice familiar from recorded incipits of contemporary chant and song notations.[22] Questions nevertheless remain, since it is unclear why notation was added only to these three words in the whole manuscript. A possible clue to the disposition lies in the visual appearance of the Ode on the page for the initial "D" is filled with an image of Eve offering Adam an apple, thereby framing Horace and Lydia's dialogue in an unexpected biblical context.[23] This turn to a biblical parallel as a frame for interpretation is consistent with the glosses in this manuscript, which were most likely composed by a single master active in northwestern France in the late eleventh century.[24] These so-called *Aleph scholia* repeatedly illuminate the Odes and Epodes with reference to Christian imagery; the opening line of the first Ode, for example, is glossed with the comment, *sermo est de libro Geneseos* (discussion about the Book of Genesis).[25] The visual parallel between Lydia and Eve is also consistent with the status granted to Lydia in commentary traditions dating back to the Carolingian era. Lydia speaks to Horace as an equal in the Ode, whereas in titles added in early medieval gloss traditions including the *Aleph scholia* she is referred to as a prostitute (*Ad lidiam meretricem*).[26]

Such a context might be judged coincidental to the presence of musical notation were it not that there are only two illustrations in this manuscript copy of Horace's Odes.[27] The other is found within the opening "O" of Book III for *Odi profanum vulgus*, in which Horace refers to himself as the Muses' priest singing songs never heard before to a chorus of boys and young maidens. The title again accords with the image, addressing the words of the poem to "a chorus of young maidens and boys, practically to the unlearned" (*ad chorus virginum et puerorum, pragmatice ad indoctos*). The marginal gloss confirms that the poem is a profane and worldly ode sung to young men and women for their instruction, and it is just such a scene that is depicted in the opening illustration, which shows a teacher standing with hands raised before young men and women.

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That the only two illustrations within this copy of the Odes should accompany two songs explicitly signaled as profane implies a particular quality of reception; in this instance, a reception situated in teaching and learning and an appreciation of secular themes. That such an exceptional interest in a dialogue love song should be recorded in northern France in the twelfth century is consistent with the rapid growth in Latin and vernacular love songs through the century. The notated incipit appears to be of a piece with the title, commentary, and illustrations in gathering together on the page multiple forms of accretion as a gloss on the main text; in this case, attention is drawn to a love song and a song for young men and maidens via heightened sensual imagery in the paratextual apparatus, which here includes notation that not only represents sound graphically, but also calls to mind and thereby potentially stimulates the affects associated with song in a reader or singer.

Hymn Incipits

A third example shifts the focus from France to the area between the Rhine and Meuse valleys, a region that encompassed leading Ottonian and Salian centers such as Cologne, Speyer, Bonn, Trier, and Liège. A copy of Horace's Odes, which today survives only in fragmentary form as Bonn's Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek S 476, *zz*, was made in this area in the first half of the eleventh century. The single surviving leaf transmits Odes 1.21–24 with the Pseudo-Acro commentary in the margin, all copied by a single scribe. The leaf was listed by Munk Olsen, who did not record the presence of neumatic notation, and it attracted no musicological attention until its presence was signaled early in 2020 by Dominique Gatté.[28]

The neumes on the leaf are remarkable in that they appear in the margin alongside each Ode in the form of a hymn incipit (see fig. 3a and b). Each neumed extract was added by a different notator, who also added the words of the hymn incipit. The hymns are in the same meter as the Horace Odes and their melodies may be identified using Stäblein's edition of medieval Latin hymn melodies (exx. 4a–d).[29]

The textual and melodic pairings for the hymn incipits provide further insight into why particular hymn melodies were aligned with particular odes (see Table 1). *Gaude visceribus* and *Festum nunc celebre* were routinely sung with the hymn melodies indicated in the Bonn fragment; indeed, the pairings were so stable in transmission that Stäblein proposed that both were the original melodies for their texts.[30] Anyone seeking before the twelfth century to associate a hymn melody in the Third or Second Asclepiad with Horace Odes would also have had little other choice than

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(a)

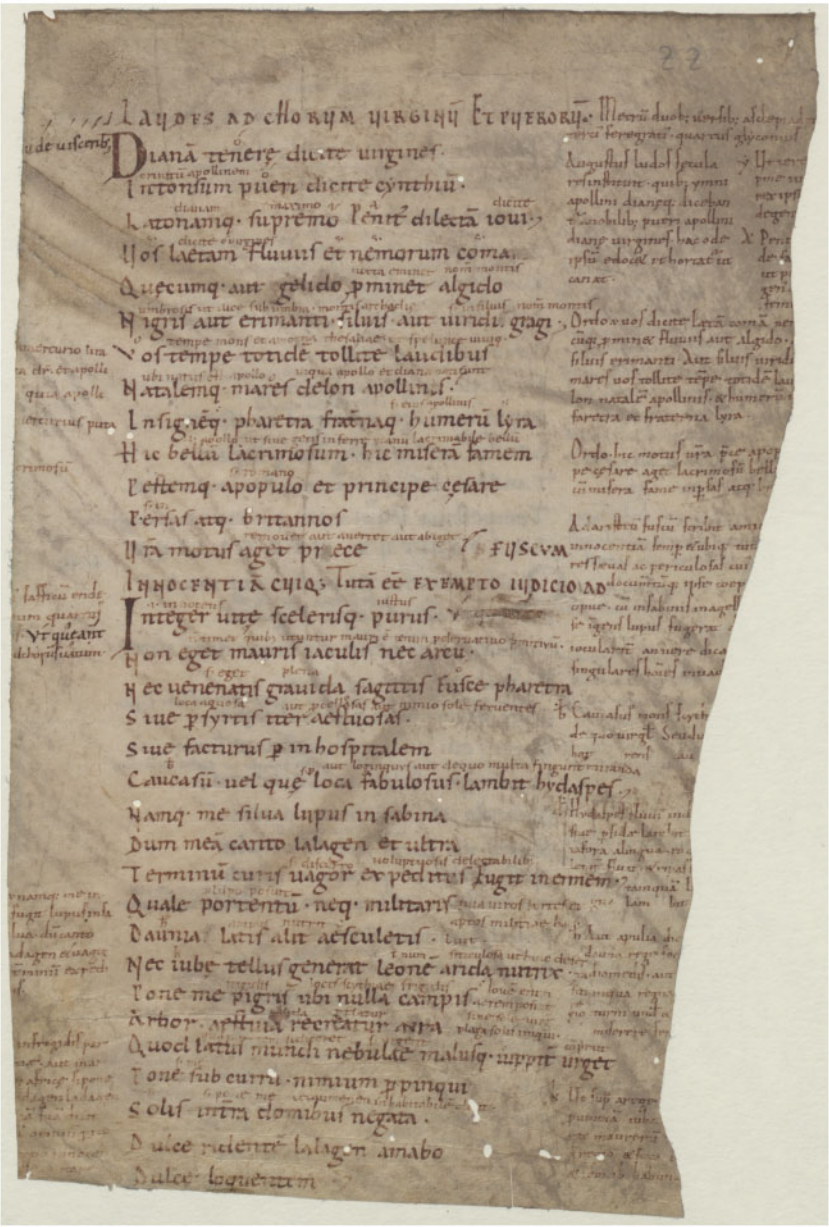

Figure 3. Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, S 476, *zz*. Reprinted by permission.

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(b)

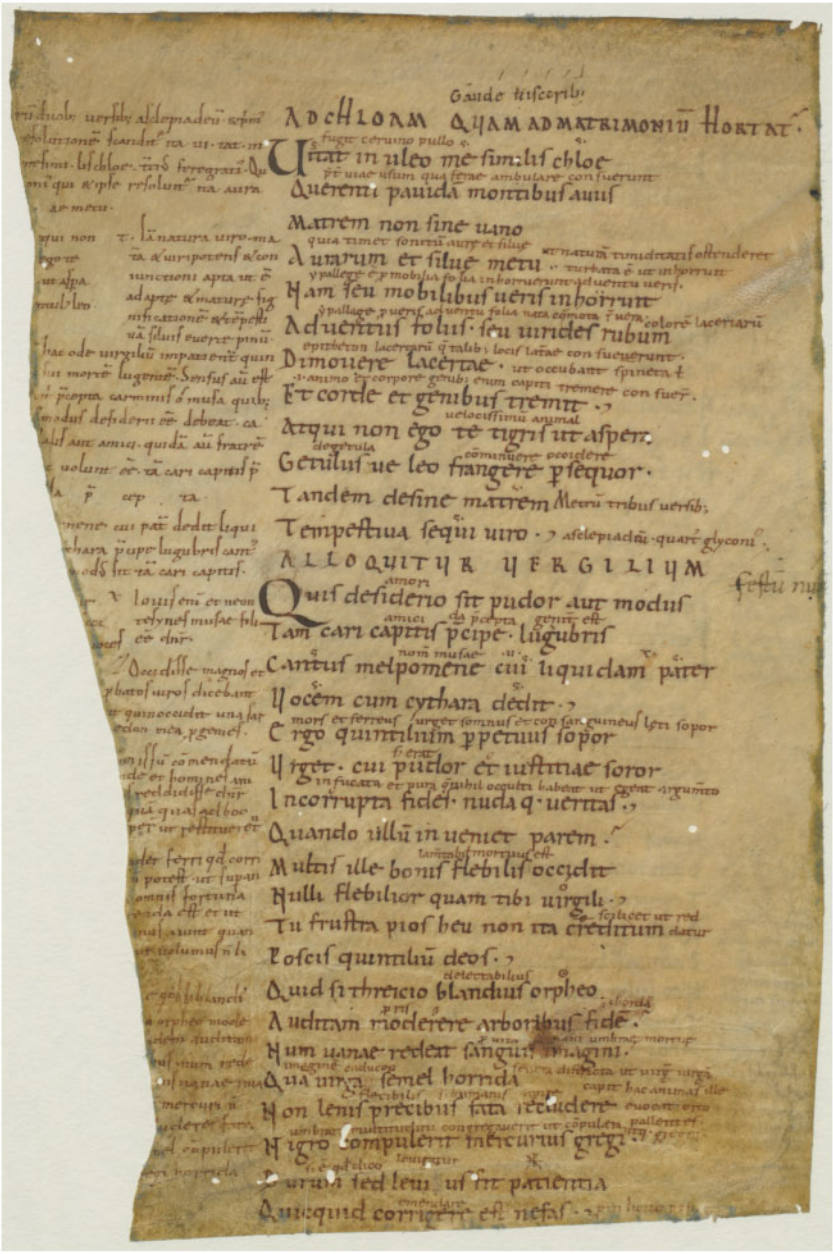

Figure 3. Continued

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(a)

BONN
S 184

Gau - de vi - sce - ri - bus

Di - a - nam te - ne - rae di - ci - te vir - gi - nes,

in - ton - sum, pu - e - ri, di - ci - te Cyn - thi - um

La - to - nam - que su - pre - mo

di - lec - tam pe - ni - tus Io - vi,

Example 4a. Reconstructed melody for *Dianam tenere* (1.21).

(b)

BONN
S 184

Ut que - ant la - xis

Quod cho - rus va -tum

In - te - ger vi tae sce - le - ris - que pu - rus

non e - get Mau - ris ia - cu - lis ne - que ar-cu

nec ve - ne - na - tis gra - vi - da sa - git - tis,

Fus - ce, pha - re - tra,

Example 4b. Reconstructed melody for *Integer vitae* (1.22).

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(c)
BONN
S 184

Gau - de vi - sce - ri - bus

Vi - tas in - u - le - o me si - mi - lis, Chlo - e,

quae - ren - ti pa - vi - dam mon - ti - bus a - vi - is

ma - trem non si - ne va - no

au - ra - rum et sil - vae me - tu.

Example 4c. Reconstructed melody for *Vitas inuleo* (1.23).

(d)
BONN
S 184

Fes - tum nunc ce - le - bre

Quis de - si - de - ri - o sit pu - dor aut mo dus

tam ca - ri ca - pi - tis? prae - ci - pe lu - gu - bris

can - tus Mel - po - me - ne, cui li - qui - dam pa - ter

vo - cem cum ci - tha - ra de - dit

Example 4d. Reconstructed melody for *Quis desiderio* (1.24).

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Table 1. Hymn Incipits and Melodies for Odes 1.21–24, Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, S 476, *zz*.

Horace Ode	Meter	Hymn incipit	Hymn melody
1:21 *Dianam tenere dicite*	Asclepiad III (2 × Asclepiads, Pherecratean, Glyconic)	Gaude visceribus	St 518
1:22 *Integer vitae*	Sapphic	Quod chorus vatum and Ut queant laxis	St 151
1:23 *Vitas in uleo*	Asclepiad III	Gaude visceribus	St 518
1:24 *Quis desiderio*	Asclepiad II	Festum nunc celebre	St 512

these pairings. *Gaude visceribus* was practically the only hymn in the Third Asclepiad strophe available at the time, and the only other widely transmitted hymn text composed in the Second Asclepiad strophe was *Sanctorum meritis*. An intriguing case is presented by the hymn incipits aligned with *Vitas in uleo* (1.23), which include both *Ut queant laxis* and *Quod chorus vatum*. The notated melodies are similar in profile and provide the key to the duplication at this point in that melody 151 in Stäblein's edition was routinely used for both texts: *Ut queant laxis* is found with this melody in Italian and French hymnals for the Nativity of John the Baptist; *Quod chorus vatum* is found in German hymnals for the Purification.[31] In this case, the choice of which Sapphic hymn text and melody to signal for a Horace Ode in the same meter was relatively open given the range of hymns in Sapphic meter in circulation by the eleventh century. In the absence of any other firm indication as to choice, it is conceivable that priority was given to familiar hymns sung on high-ranking feasts.

The simplest conclusion to draw at this point is that at least for the notators of this leaf, if not also more widely by the early eleventh century, it was an accepted practice to sing Horace's Odes to hymn melodies in the same meter. This would not be surprising given the widespread practice of using the same hymn melody for different hymns in comparable meters, as well as occasional examples of the same melody being used for hymns and secular songs in similar meters. That all four Odes on the leaf are linked with hymn incipits in turn raises the prospect that many more Odes were sung to hymn melodies, whether potentially all Odes or, given that the Odes on the leaf are ones for which no other notations survive, only those without established melodies. Although this is an attractive idea, the practice of associating hymn melodies with Horace Odes is rarely documented.

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The much discussed appearance of a melody associated with *Ut queant laxis* over *Est mihi nonum* in a Montpellier manuscript is exceptional since the melody notated is not routinely transmitted in hymnals; rather, the didactic melody quoted by Guido of Arezzo served to facilitate learning degrees of the scale using solmization syllables.[32] Among the remaining fifty or so notations for Horace's Odes, only one may be securely linked to a hymn melody; that is, a melody found in a single source for a processional hymn (*Inventor rutili*) by a late antique author (Prudentius), which is in a different meter to the Horatian Ode.[33] All other associations between melodies recorded for Horace Odes and hymns display general melodic procedures used both for non-liturgical songs and for liturgical hymns.[34] In short, there are no other direct melodic connections between hymn melodies and Horatian Odes based on shared meters apart from the incipits recorded on this leaf.

The rarity of notated evidence for setting Horace meters to hymn melodies raises questions about the meaning and function of the notation in this source. That notated incipits were added in the margin, alongside and at times directly following the marginal commentary, implies a different function for notation than adding it over the main poetic text. It would not have been impossible to add notation into the space above the text in each case as glosses or other lexical signs over the opening words leave enough space for the addition of neumes. It is also notable that the melodic incipits were supplied with the incipits of hymn texts, implying that the association of this melody with this particular Horace Ode was not habitual, but required the additional information that the melody being signaled was the one used for this hymn. It would seem likely that the four Horace Odes on this leaf were on occasion sung to the signalled melodies, but this conclusion does not fully explain the notational strategy adapted. A reader coming across this leaf who was familiar with the hymns recorded would recall not only the melody cued by the incipit but also the hymn text. Putting the hymn and the Ode alongside each other, whether in memory or in sounding performance, would replicate the procedure of the surrounding glosses in providing further information about the Ode by placing one text alongside another. This layering of information could be understood as meaningful, illustrating the sounding quality of the Ode, including its unfolding pattern of lines and strophes, by means of a *comparandum*. The notated incipit would thus provide a gloss for the Horatian Ode, illuminating its sounding form by bringing to mind a parallel case. Such a function for notation accords with the practice of Horatian glossators to expand upon the meaning of the base text by placing it within a tradition of related texts, whether by other classical

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authors (principally Vergil and Terence in the case of the Pseudo-Acro commentary) or among a host of other classical and medieval texts and commentaries (in the case of an exceptional tenth-century south German glossator).[35]

Marginal Notation

The proposal that notation serves as a form of commentary on associated texts may be explored further through a final category of notations, namely those added in the margins of Horace manuscripts that are not explicitly cued to the main text. These have tended to be overlooked in musicological studies as pen trials or gloss signs irrelevant to the task of reconstructing the song tradition of the Odes. Reconsideration of the manuscripts mentioned by Riou as containing such notations but excluded by Wälli throws up a number of intriguing cases. Here only a single example will be discussed due to the difficulty of tracing the layers of implied meaning in a single melodic reference.

Although Bamberg Cathedral appears not to have had a flourishing scriptorium in the early decades of the eleventh century, books covering a wide range of classical learning were collected there following the building's foundation in 1002.[36] One of these, a Horace codex, was originally copied at a Lotharingian or Belgian scriptorium ca. 1000 chiefly by a skilled charter scribe, who also added some of the marginal glosses.[37] The glosses in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Class 32 (M. IV. 7), are unusual in containing extensive interpolations to the Pseudo-Acro commentary, detailing changes of tense and mood, the exchange and insertion of conjunctions, the replacement of single words through synonyms and so forth. This pattern of interpolation appears to reflect the interests of a philologically educated individual who wanted to provide his own expanded version of the Horace commentary.[38]

A short notated extract by a skilled notator appears amid the glosses on folio 2r relating to *Nolis longa fere bella* (Ode 2.12). The gloss at this point appears not to be copied by the main scribe and its wording is distinctive in that it does not appear within any of the modern editions of the Pseudo-Acro commentary.[39] The glossator clarifies Horace's conceit that his Muse prefers to sing of love rather than war:

> Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
> nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare
> Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus
> <u>aptari cytharae modis</u>

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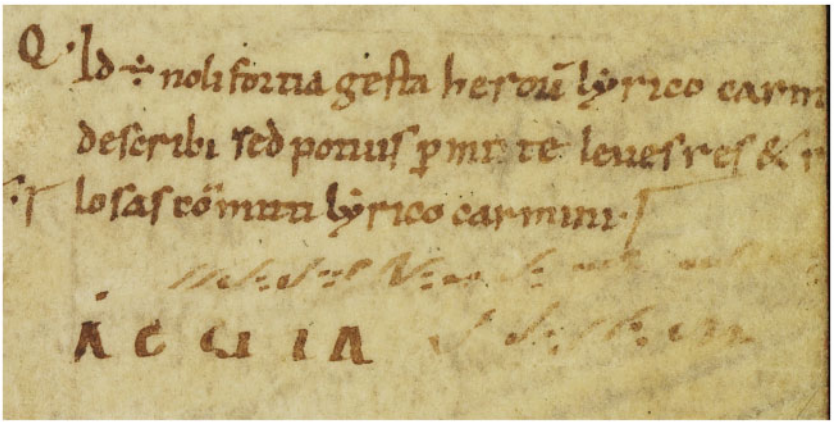

Figure 4. Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Msc.Class.32, fol.2r. Reprinted by permission. Photo by Gerald Raab.

> *Id est noli fortia facta heroum lyrico carmine describi, sed potius res ludicras.*
>
> You would not wish the long drawn-out war against ferocious Numantia, or rugged Hannibal, or the Sicilian Sea red with Punic blood to be set to the soft melodies of the lyre
> *That is, I do not want the brave deeds of heroes to be described in lyrical song, but rather light things.*[40]

A neumed incipit over the vowels AEUIA is copied immediately below the gloss that refers to the fourth line of Ode 2.12 (fig. 4). The notated melodic contour matches most closely with the *Alleluia* melody associated with the verse *Vox exultationis* as found in tenth- and eleventh-century German sources.[41] Any doubts about the strength of the melodic relation due to slightly different neumatic groupings are allayed by the liquescent *virga* that aligns with the connection between the syllables *lu-ia*. The neumed incipit continues into the jubilus, followed by an erasure, after which the neumes appear to pick up the melody again, although it becomes difficult to establish correspondences for the neumes of the second line in the margin (see ex. 5).

The motivation for aligning this *Alleluia* melody with the gloss immediately above appears to lie in its associated texts. The words of the verse are taken from Psalm 117.15 (Vulgate 118.15), which describes Israel's thankfulness for the Lord's enduring mercy, that is, *Vox exhortationis et salutis in tabernaculis iustorum* (A sound of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacles of the righteous). A loose connection might be drawn at this point between rejoicing and Horace's desire to sing of love

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rather than war, but a stronger connection emerges when *prosulae* connected with this particular *Alleluia* verse are taken into account. Three Sankt Gallen manuscripts transmit a *prosula* added to the melody of the verse at the phrase *et salutis in tabernaculis* in versions that may be traced back as far as the twelfth century (see ex. 6):

VOX EXULTATIONIS
et salutis et laetae iocunditatis,
aeternae iuventutis
in tabernaculis iustorum, pax
vox iocundaque laeticia.
Laetentur iuvenes, senes;
iubilent dulcibus ymnis et
viri, feminae sic sine iam fine.
IUSTORUM.

A SOUND OF REJOICING:
and of health and of joyful happiness
and of eternal youth
is in the tabernacles of the righteous, and
a sound of peace and joyous delights.
May young and old men rejoice;
and may men and women sing sweet
hymns, now and for ever:
OF THE JUST.[42]

Although this *prosula* is not assigned to a particular feast and does not appear amid a liturgical series in the Sankt Gallen manuscript sources, its general festal character is clear. Its characterization of festal singing also exceeds a narrowly defined liturgical context through an emphasis on women joining together with old and young men in singing hymns.

An apparently earlier and longer version of this *prosula* on the verse *Vox exhortationis* as found in Graduals and Tropers from the late tenth century onward is more closely aligned in its themes to feasts of several martyrs, to which it is routinely assigned (see ex. 6):

> ALLELUIA Alma agmina splendida super sidera tot civium supernorum adorant, conlaudant Dominum omnium viventem, regnantem tot laeta per saecla. VOX EXSULTATIONIS ET SALUTIS *et laetae iucunditatis*, *aeternae iuventutis* IN TABERNACULIS *iustorum*, *pax*, *lux iucundaque laetitia*. Gaudentes laetantur omnes, iubilant iuvenes, senes sedulo dulcibus cantibus Domino in tabernaculis. IUSTORUM electorum, sanctorum omnium bone Domine, rex aeternae, iam salva nos, omnipotens caelorum conditor omnium hominum, Domine creator omnium, rex regum.
>
> ALLELUIA Splendid above the stars, the blessed multitude of so many heavenly citizens joins in worship; they praise the living Lord of all, ruling over so many, joyous through the ages. There is A SOUND OF REJOICING AND SALVATION and of blessed joy, of eternal youth IN THE TABERNACLES of the just, where there is peace, light and joyous happiness. Rejoicing, they all celebrate; the young men sing joyfully; the old man in their tabernacles join zealously in sweet songs to the Lord.

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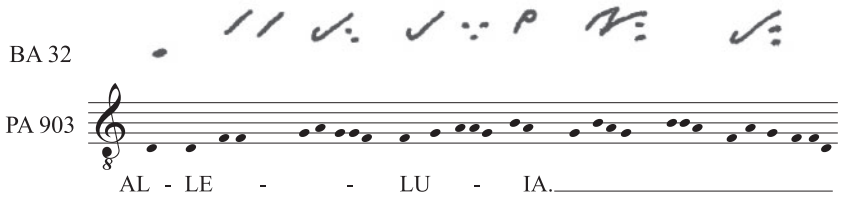
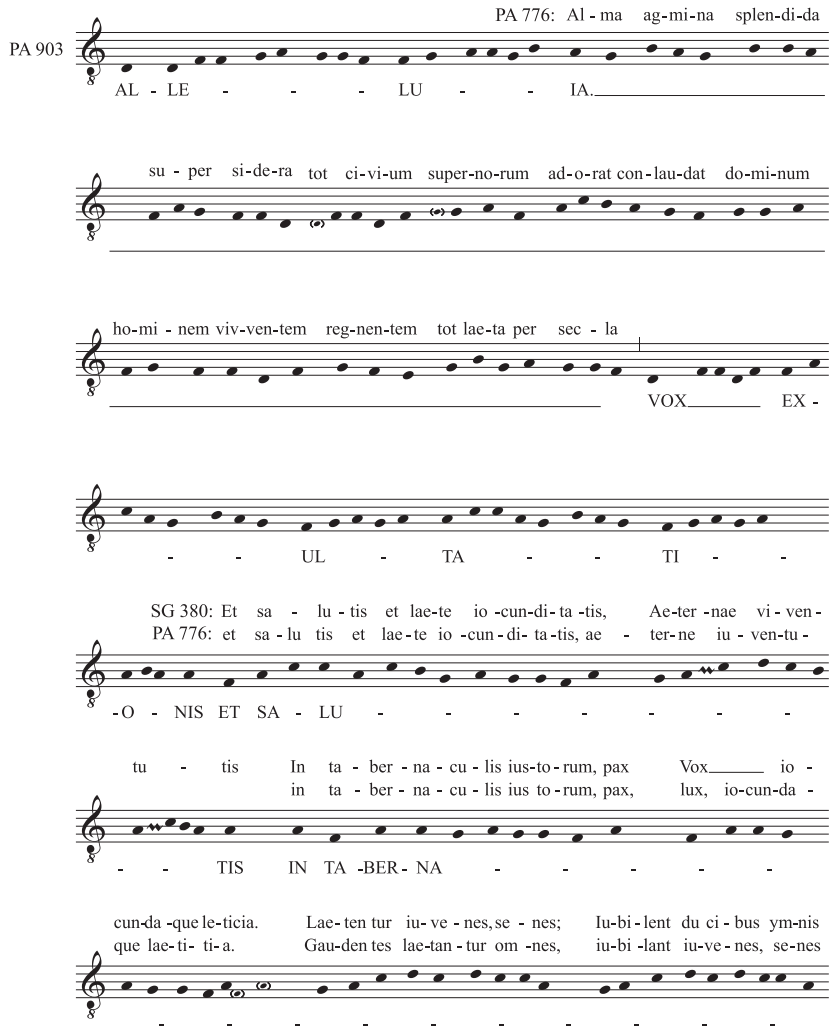


Example 5. Alleluia melody *Vox exultationis* in PA 903 aligned with BA 32 Alleluia incipit.



Example 6. *Alleluia Vox exultationis* in PA 903 aligned with *prosulae* in SG 380 and PA 776.

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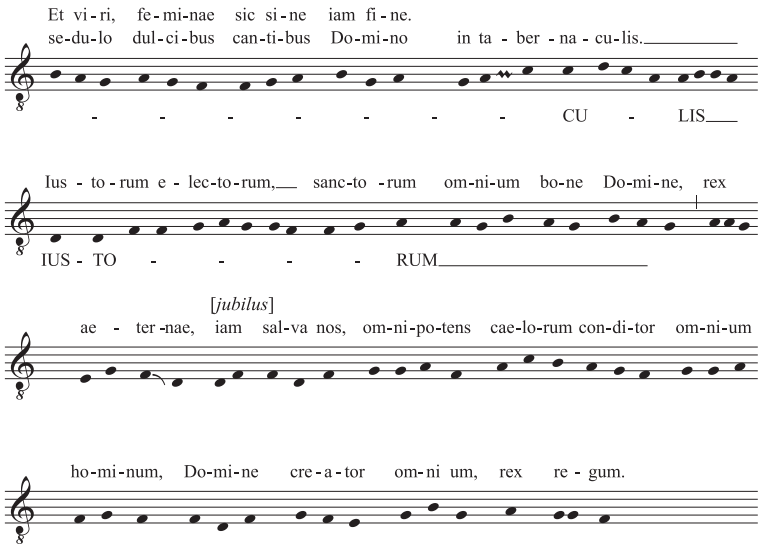

Example 6. Continued.

> Good Lord of the just, of the elect, of all saints, eternal King, save us now, omnipotent Creator of the heavens and of all, Lord, Creator of all things, King of Kings.[43]

This version of the text features a *prosula* on the jubilus of the *Alleluia* addressed to the blessed multitude in heaven (*Alma agmina*). The *prosula* that follows after the opening words of the verse *Vox exsultationis* is initially near identical to the one found in later Sankt Gallen manuscripts: *et laetae . . . laetitia*. The next phrase is similar in meaning and phrasing but differs in precise wording: *Gaudentes . . . in tabernaculis*. The final section, which does not feature in Sankt Gallen manuscripts, begins over the melisma on IUSTORUM (. . . *Domine*), then after a short linking passage (*rex aeternae*) returns to the jubilus (*iam salva nos . . . rex regum*). The overall impression is of an earlier, freer, and more ecstatic version of the *prosula*.

An explicit appeal to secular singing is found in a third *prosula* for *Vox exhortationis* as transmitted as an addition to a late eleventh-century Gradual from Cluny.[44] The text, whose rubric indicates that it was to be sung on the feast of the Dedication, was added at the end of the *Alleluia* verse over a repeat of the melody on *in tabernaculis* before a return to the base chant at IUSTORUM (see ex. 7):

ALLELUIA: VOX EXULTATIONIS ET SALUTIS IN TABERNACULIS IUSTORUM.

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Prosa: In taberna perduntur plurima,
hinc bursarumfiunt dispendia;
mens [?] fides vacillat;
cum potantium loquela nutat,
madida morbida fiunt; hinc corpora
ex [?] sobrietatis [?].

IUSTORUM

Many fortunes are lost in the inn,
because this is where purses are emptied;
the mind . . . faith wavers;
when drinkers' speech falters,
drunken, unwholesome things happen;
because bodies . . .[45]

This unique *prosula* seems to have been erased in part, thereby ruling out full transcription; even what can be recovered is difficult to comprehend, requiring a degree of license in translation. Whatever the precise meaning of the whole, it is remarkable for its vivid description of drunkenness in an inn. It seems no coincidence that this distinctly worldly *prosula* occurs over the words *in tabernaculis*: a tavern becomes the implied setting for the "sound of rejoicing" mentioned in the psalm verse through what appears to be a playful reinterpretation of *tabernaculis* (in the tabernacles) as a diminutive of *taberna* (inn).

It is impossible to tell whether the notator of the Bamberg Horace codex knew any of the *prosulae* associated with *Alleluia Vox exhortationis* discussed here. If so, then the set of associations from rejoicing to drunken revelry outlined above may be assumed to have been intended in providing the notated incipit of the *Alleluia*. If not, it remains possible that this *Alleluia* and its verse carried associations of rejoicing and revelry through the ambiguity of the term *tabernaculis* as realized most explicitly in the Cluny *prosula*. Either possibility leads to the conclusion that the Bamberg notator sought to bring to mind a melody that had both festal and irreverent connotations. The *prosula* celebrates, via reference to the dedication and blessed martyrs, the brave heroic deeds of heroes that Horace rejects, while at the same time gesturing toward the *res ludicras* about which he prefers to sing via an allusion to drinking songs. It is difficult to think of a more elegant melodic representation of Horace's intentions with regard to singing than quotation of an *Alleluia* incipit with an intertwined set of sacred and secular meanings. This is not to imply that notation necessarily cued a performance of the *Alleluia*, its verse and/or even its *prosulae*, but

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In ta - ber - na per - dun - tur plu - ri - ma,
IN TA - BER - NA - - - - - - -

hinc bur - sa - rum fi - unt dis - pen - di - a;
- - - - - - - - - - -

mens [?] fi - des va - cil - lat;
- - - - - - - - - - -

cum po - tan - tium lo - que - la nu - tat,
- - - - - - - - - - -

ma - di - da mor - bi - da fi - unt; hinc cor - po - ra
- - - - - - - - - - -

ex [?] so - bri - e ta - tis_____
- - - - - - CU - - LIS_____

Example 7. *In taberna produntur* in PA 1087.

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that the notated incipit brought to mind a melody in the mind of a reader, thereby illustrating Horace's conceit via a concise melodic example comprehensible to those steeped in the liturgy and its manifold references.

The examples discussed above were selected from a number of notations in manuscript sources of Horace that were previously overlooked because they do not conform to the model of notations added to contemporary liturgical repertories.[46] Preliminary conclusions drawn from the four representative cases may be divided into a number of overlapping areas. Considered as a window onto a medieval song tradition, the expanded focus has led to the recovery of six melodies for Horace's Odes, thereby increasing the total number of Odes for which melodies may be reconstructed from nine to thirteen.[47] The shape of the song tradition represented by the four case studies appears to have been varied. Relatively fixed melodic solutions for individual Odes appear to have circulated widely, as attested by the melodies captured by letter notations when read against their range of surviving notations. At the same time, there appear to have been practices that were local, such as the alignment of hymn melodies with Horace Odes in the same meter as found to date only in the Bonn fragment.

The category of gloss has served to this point as a loose heading for collecting together diverse examples that encompass a range of semiotic functions. The term gloss is itself fluid, encompassing such diverse ends as annotation, translation, commentary, summary, and paraphrase, with little agreement within the rapidly expanding field of research into medieval gloss traditions as to taxonomies for the full range of gloss functions. Certain broad parallels between the ways in which glosses and notation function may nevertheless be drawn as a way of providing an orientation for future research. This is most simply done at this preliminary stage by freely adapting a tripartite distinction introduced by Suzanne Reynolds in her analysis of glossing strategies for Horace's Satires in twelfth-century manuscripts from England and northern France. She distinguishes between word-based glossing, glossing at the level of the phrase, and glossing at the level of the text.[48] Letter notations might accordingly be understood as functionally parallel to word-for-word or *lexical* glosses, providing individual and fixed melodic referents (isolated pitches) on a syllable-by-syllable basis. A case has also been made for considering the notations in the Bonn fragment as functioning in part as a sung *comparandum*, elucidating what might be termed the *grammatical-syntactic* properties of the Ode—its meter, line lengths, caesurae, and strophic units. The Bamberg example stands closest to what may be considered a *rhetorical-semantic* glossing function for neumatic notation insofar as the notated melody

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extends the textual interpretation offered in the marginal commentary through melodic reference.

Much more could be said about the way in which glosses provide a useful paradigm for understanding the notation of Horace's Odes. Further consideration needs to be given to the nature and spread of gloss traditions as possible models for melodic transmission, taking into account both the multiple layers of revision uncovered in gloss traditions previously ascribed to individuals, and patterns of circulation traced through individual manuscripts, many of which contain notations alongside gloss traditions.[49] Ongoing research into the uses and users of glosses also promises insight into possible contexts for the singing and notating of melodies for Horace's Odes. For all the documentary research that remains to be done, there is nevertheless also a need to heed Leo Treitler's call to frame questions about semiotic function in order to keep open questions about both the range of materials that might form the basis of any study and the relation of notated sources to familiar historical traditions.

Notes

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This contribution is offered with profound gratitude for the interest that Leo Treitler showed in my research in its formative stages. His encouragement to keep asking questions and not to ignore their wider implications has proved an ongoing inspiration. I would also like to thank Hanna Marti for assistance in obtaining manuscript images otherwise inaccessible at the time of writing due to travel restrictions.

1. Leo Treitler, "The Early History of Music Writing in the West," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35, no. 2 (1982): 237–79, republished with a new introduction in his *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), chap. 13.

2. Birger Munk Olsen, *L'Etude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, 3 vols. (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1982–89), followed by volume 4 in 2 parts (2009 and 2014); as well as the following publications by Yves-François Riou: "Poésie latine profane et musique dans le haut Moyen Âge," in *Le Livre au Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean Glénisson (Paris: Presses de CNRS, 1988), 187–92; "Codicologie et notation neumatique," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 33 (1990): 225–80 and 381–96; "Chronologie et provenance des manuscrits latins neumés,"

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Revue d'histoire des textes 21 (1991): 77–113; and "La Musique et la poésie latine classique dans le haut Moyen Âge," *Revista de musicologiá* 16, no. 4 (1993): 2198–209.

3. Jan M. Ziolkowski, "Nota Bene: Why the Classics Were Neumed in the Middle Ages," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000): 74–114; Ziolkowski, "Women's Lament and the Neuming of the Classics," in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 128–50; Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, BEL: Brepols, 2007); Ziolkowski and Michael C. J. Putnam, eds., *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 167–78; Ziolkowski, "Virgil, Abelard and Heloise, and the End of Neumes," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 56 (2012): 447–66.

4. Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 324.

5. These five categories are used to structure the study of glosses in Gernot R. Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, Ms Gg. 5. 35*, Studies and Texts 61 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1983).

6. On new directions in research into early medieval gloss traditions, see Mariken Teeuwen, "Marginal Scholarship: Rethinking the Function of Latin Glosses in Early Medieval Manuscripts," in *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses: New Perspectives in the Study of Late Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari, and Claudia Di Sciacca (Turnhout, BEL: Brepols, 2011), 19–37. A parallel between early medieval glosses and Genette's category of paratexts is proposed in Teeuwen, "Carolingian Scholarship on Classical Authors: Practices of Reading and Writing," in *Manuscripts of the Latin Classics, 800–1200*, ed. Erik Kwakkel (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2015), 34. Sinéad O'Sullivan includes neumes among a list of paratextual materials copied alongside glosses in her survey "Text, Gloss, and Tradition in the Early Medieval West: Expanding into a World of Learning," in *Teaching and Learning in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Gernot R. Wieland*, ed. Greti Dinkova-Bruun and Tristan Major, Publications of the *Journal of Medieval Latin* 11 (Turnhout, BEL: Brepols, 2017), 3–24, at 6.

7. For a recent study of layers and patterns of transmission in a specific gloss tradition, see Mariken Teeuwen, "Reading Boethius Around 900: Manuscripts of Boethius's Texts and Their Annotations," in *Knowledge and Culture in Times of Threat: The Fall of the Carolingian Empire (ca. 900)*, ed. Warren Pezé (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2020), 279–305. The conclusion that "glosses were added in successive stages by different hands, in ways which would suggest a variety of sources and commentators" was earlier reached for glosses to Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* in Malcolm Godden and Rohini Jayatilaka, "Counting the Heads of the Hydra: The Development of the Early Medieval Commentary on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*," in *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella: Ninth-Century Commentary Traditions on De Nuptiis in Context*, ed. Mariken Teeuwen and Sinéad O'Sullivan, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 12 (Turnhout, BEL: Brepols, 2011), 363–76, at 365.

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8. Silvia Wälli, *Melodien aus mittelalterlichen Horaz-Handschriften: Edition und Interpretation der Quellen*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi Subsidia III (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002).

9. For a consideration of select notated Horace Odes as witnesses to melodic formulations that display characteristics of the New Song of the later eleventh century, see Wulf Arlt, "Hymnus und Ode: Horaz-Vertonungen des Mittelalters," in *Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter: Überlieferung, Ästhetik, Ausstrahlung*, ed. Andreas Haug, Christoph März, and Lorenz Welker (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), 257–77.

10. Wälli, *Melodien*, 23–25.

11. Munk Olsen, *L'Etude*, 1:479–80 and 4:226–27. Sigla used in this article and in the notes are based on those in the *Corpus Troporum* series: BA—Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek; BONN—Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek; EIN—Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek; LO—London, British Library; PA—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds Latin; PET—St. Petersburg, Gosudarstvennaja Publičnaja Biblioteka; SG—Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek; VAT—Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; VER—Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare.

12. See, most simply, Calvin M. Bower, trans., *Fundamentals of Music: Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 142–45, esp. the diagram on 144–45.

13. Figure 1 follows Charles M. Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus: Tone-System, Mode, and Notation in Early Medieval Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 74–75, with reference to the *Alia musica* manuscripts PA 7211 (s. xii, St-Peter of Luxeuil) and PA 7212 (s. xi ex, Dijon or Luxeuil).

14. See PA 7900A, PET Class. Lat. 8 v 4 and VAT Reg. Lat. 1672. The melody recorded in PA 17897 aligns most closely with the versions recorded in neumatic notation in two eleventh- and late twelfth-century French Horace codices (VAT 1672 and PET 4, respectively). See the synoptic table in Wälli, *Melodien*, 339–40.

15. Wälli, *Melodien*, 14.

16. As in PA 8674, folio 111v. For a reproduction and brief discussion, see Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus*, 74–75.

17. For further discussion of the items copied on this leaf, see Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, 48–50, with a figure on 49; and Gundela Bobeth, *Antike Verse in mittelalterlicher Vertonung: Neumierungen in Vergil-, Statius-, Lucan- und Terenz-Handschriften*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi Subsidia V (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013), 85–87, with a figure of the relevant folio on 86.

18. On the cultivation of *litterae et mores* as an educational ideal in cathedral schools from the mid-tenth through to the late eleventh century, see Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994) and, with reference to earlier publications by the same author, see Mia Münster-Swendsen, "Regimens of Schooling," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, ed. Ralph J. Hexter

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and David Townsend (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 403–22.

19. "Ludusque fuit omnibus insudare versibus et dictaminibus iocundisque cantibus," *Vita Meinwerci episcopi Patherbrunnensis,* cap. 157, ed. and trans. Guido M. Berndt, *Vita Meinwerci episcopi Patherbrunnensis—Das Leben Bischof Meinwerks von Paderborn: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2009), 188.

20. For sources containing the *a–p* letter notation, see Solange Corbin, "Valeur et sens de la notation alphabétique à Jumièges et en Normandie," in *Jumièges: Congrès scientifique du XIIIe centenaire, ii* (Rouen: Lecerf, 1955), 913–24; Alma Colk Browne, "The a-p System of Letter Notation," *Musica Disciplina* 35 (1981): 5–54; and Browne, *Letter Notations in the Middle Ages* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1989). None of these studies mentions PA 17897. For the double notation of the Dijon tonary, see *Antiphonarium tonale missarum, XIe siècle: Codex H. 159 de la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Médecine de Montpellier, Phototypies*, *Paléographie Musicale* 7–8 (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1901–1905).

21. Wälli, *Melodien*, no. 15 and 84–85. German neumes added to a twelfth-century Horace codex of German origin may record a similar melodic profile but doubt remains given that the neumes are not relatively heighted across the page; also see no. 6 and 82–84. The Aquitanian neumes added to the lower margin of a French manuscript, whose main text was copied around the turn of the twelfth century, record a reconstructable melody that stands apart in both profile and procedure; no. 22 and 272–73.

22. On the memorial function of notated incipits, see, for example, Susan Rankin, "From Memory to Record: Musical Notations in Manuscripts from Exeter," *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984): 97–112, esp. with respect to notational practices associated with Leofric, at 103–4.

23. The image may be viewed via the Gallica website of the Bibliothèque nationale de France: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9067207q/f30.image.r=latin%2017897.

24. On the probable origins of the Aleph commentary in this manuscript, see Karsten Friis-Jensen, "Medieval Commentaries on Horace," in *Medieval and Renaissance Scholarship: Proceedings of the Second European Society Foundation Workshop on the Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages & the Renaissance*, ed. Nicholas Mann and Birger Munk Olsen, (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1997), 51–73, at 53. For the whole of the Aleph commentary on 3.9, see Hendrik. J. Botschuyver, ed., *Scholia in Horatium IV Aleph in codicibus Parisinis Latinis 17897 et 8223 obvia, quae ab Heirico Autissiodorensi profecta esse videntur* (Amsterdam: H. A. van Bottenburg, 1942), 112–13.

25. For further examples, see Botschuyver, *Scholia*, ix.

26. The term *meretrix* is not applied to Lydia in the Pseudo-Acro commentary, whose surviving glosses on the Odes (*Expositio* A) are thought to be a Carolingian compilation of a fifth-century commentary. The term is found on several occasions in

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the *Phi scholia* as edited from three tenth-century manuscripts by Botschuyver, for example 3.9 *ad Lidiam meretricem*. See Hendrik. J. Botschuyver, ed., *Scholia in Horatium I Lambda, Phi, Psi codicum parisinorum Latinorum 7972, 7974, 7971* (Amsterdam: H. A. van Bottenburg, 1935), 152. Gottfried Noske believed that the *Phi scholia* were not composed before ca. 800, using older Pseudo-Acro material. Noske, "Quaestiones pseudoacroneae" (PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1969), 189–91.

27. Horace and Maecenas are depicted together on folio 90r, but this is within the opening initial of the first book of *Sermones* or Satires.

28. Dominique Gatté, "A Key to Sing Horatius?," http://gregorian-chant.ning.com/group/les-neumes/forum/topics/a-key-to-sing-horatius?fbclid=IwAR2RJ66l7uy9d1YC0my5qCOaT6Vv9-Lu9P4yWtFEKW9uhYR7hLStZSf6gig (accessed February 5, 2020).

29. The melodies in Examples 4a–d are taken from the earliest manuscript sources edited by Bruno Stäblein that transmit concordant incipits: the Verona hymnal (VER CIX 102) for no. 518 (exx. 4a and 4c), and the Kempten hymnal (ZÜ Rh. 83) for nos. 151 and 512 (exx. 4b and 4d). Stäblein, ed., *Hymnen (I): Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi I (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1956), 299, 257, and 259, respectively.

30. Ibid., 572–73 and 575–76.

31. Ibid., 542–43.

32. The association of the solmization melody for *Ut queant laxis* with *Est mihi nonum* (Ode 4.11) was known already to Jean-Benjamin de Laborde in the late eighteenth century; see his *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, 4 vols. (Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Ph.-D. Pierres, 1780), 1:43. On the melody included by Guido of Arezzo ca. 1030 in his *Epistola de ignotu cantu*, see Carl-Allan Moberg, "Die Musik in Guido von Arezzos Solmisationshymne," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1959): 187–206; and Denis Harbinson, "The Hymn 'Ut queant laxis,'" *Music & Letters* 52 (1971): 55–58.

33. On the similarities between a melody recorded for Ode 1.15 (*Pastor cum traheret*) and a processional hymn melody for *Inventor rutili* as notated in a late twelfth-century hymnal from Laon, see Wälli, *Melodien*, 94–99 and no. 19.

34. For a discussion of comparable melodic procedures recorded for a number of Horatian Odes, a Boethian *metrum* and the hymn *Sanctorum meritis*, see Sam Barrett, *The Melodic Tradition of Boethius' "De consolatione philosophiae" in the Middle Ages*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi Subsidia VII, 2 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013), 1:120–23.

35. For the Pseudo-Acro commentary, see Otto Keller, ed., *Pseudoacronis scholia in Horatium vetustiora*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1902–1904). On the encyclopedic south German commentator who quotes verbatim from a range of texts and commentaries, see Paulina Taraskin, *Reading Horace's Lyric: A Late Tenth-Century Annotated*

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Manuscript from Bavaria (British Library, Harley 2724) (London: Faculty of Arts & Humanities King's College London, 2019).

36. See Hartmut Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1995), 63–70 and 78–88.

37. For identification of the scribes of this codex, see Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften*, 32, 93, and 131.

38. Noske, "Quaestiones Pseudoacroneae," 159–63.

39. The script of the glossator at this point features neither the curved ascender in the "d" nor the splayed final stroke of the "m" identified by Hoffmann as characteristics of the main scribe. The general sentiment of the gloss, but not its precise wording, is in other opening summaries to this Ode as found, for example, in the Pseudo-Acro commentary: *Ad Maecenatem scribit, docens non convenire historiam poetae et graves res carmini lyrico, sed remissas potius et iocis aptas*, Keller, ed., *Pseudoacronis scholia*, 1:172.

40. The text and translation of the first strophe of 2.12 is taken from Niall Rudd, ed. and trans., *Horace Odes and Epodes*, Loeb Classical Library 33 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 118–19.

41. Karl-Heinz Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire* (Munich: Walter Ricke, 1965), no. 223c.

42. See SG 378, page 392, s. xiii, "Versus super Alleluia Vox exhortationis"; SG 359, page 9, addition of s. xii/xiii (without rubric); also SG 380, page 117, s. xii. "Vox Exsultationis." The text is edited by Clemens Blume and Henry Marriott Bannister, in *Tropi graduales II Tropen zum Proprium Missarum*, Analecta Hymnica 49 (Leipzig: O. S. Reisland, 1906), 255. In the cited text, the base chant is given in capitals and italics are used to indicate where the text of base chant is included in the *prosula*.

43. See PA 776, folio 103v. The text is edited in Blume and Bannister, *Tropi graduales II*, 254. In the text as cited here, capitals are used for the base chant and italics are used to indicate the text of the *prosula* as it appears in Sankt Gallen manuscripts.

44. This non-liturgical *prosula* is mentioned in two previous studies, which draw similarly preliminary conclusions and offer partial transcriptions. See David Hiley, "Cluny, Sequences and Tropes," in *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990), 137–38; and Bryan Gillingham, *Music in the Cluniac ecclesia* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2006), 163–65.

45. See PA 1087, folio 1v. On the dating of this Gradual, see Hiley, "Cluny, Sequences and Tropes," 125–26.

46. Among the dozen or so Horace manuscripts signaled by Munk Olsen and Riou as transmitting notation, but that do not appear in Wälli's study, a further two transmit marginal neumatic notations and other forms of musical addition that could form the subject of future studies, for example, VAT Reg. Lat. 1703 and LO Harley 2725.

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A comprehensive study would entail checking all Horace manuscripts for musical additions not presented as neumed melodies for individual Odes.

47. Wälli offered reconstructions for Odes 1.1 (no. 16), 1.3 (no. 17), 1.5 (no. 18), 1.15 (no. 19), 1.33 (nos. 10, 11, 21, and 28b), 3.9 (no. 22), 3.12 (no. 23), 3.13 (nos. 24 and 45), 4.11 (no. 12). Melodic reconstructions have been added here for Odes 1.3, 1.21, 1.22, 1.23, 1.24, and 3.9 (incipit only).

48. Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), part 2, "Reading Practice."

49. For preliminary observations regarding the relation between gloss traditions and notation in manuscripts of the *De consolatione philosophiae*, see Barrett, *Melodic Tradition*, 1:213–16.

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