archa verbi
Subsidia 24

Florian Wöller • Ueli Zahnd (eds.)

Dominican Culture, Dominican Theology

The Order of Preachers and Its Spheres of Action (1215 – ca. 1600)

Aschendorff Verlag

Archa Verbi
Subsidia, Vol. 24

Archa Verbi

Yearbook for the Study of
Medieval Theology

Subsidia
24

Florian Wöller • Ueli Zahnd (eds.)

Dominican Culture, Dominican Theology

The Order of Preachers and Its Spheres of Action (1215 – ca. 1600)

Aschendorff Verlag

Archa Verbi
Annuarium Societatis Internationalis
pro Studiis Theologiae Medii Aevi promovendis

Annuaire de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Théologie Médiévale
Annuario della Società Internazionale per lo Studio della Teologia Medievale
Anuario de la Sociedad Internacional para los Estudios de la Teología Medieval
Jahrbuch der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Theologische Mediävistik
Yearbook of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theology

Subsidia

iussu Societatis edendum curaverunt
Jan C. Klok
Volker Leppin
Ulli Roth

curator
Jan C. Klok

Annemarie Pilarski
Ulrike Treusch
directorium Societatis

Krijn Pansters
praeses Societatis

Printed with support from
CARLSBERG FOUNDATION

This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 (CC BY), which means that the text may be used, provided credit is given to the author.
For details go to http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/
Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.) not original to the Open Access publication and further permission may be required from the rights holder.



1. Auflage 2025

© 2025 The editors and authors. A publication by Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, Münster
This book is part of the Aschendorff Verlag Open Access program.

Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co. KG
Soester Straße 13
D-48155 Münster
buchverlag@aschendorff-buchverlag.de
www.aschendorff-buchverlag.de

ISSN 1865–2964
ISBN 978-3-402-10333-3 (Print)
ISBN 978-3-402-10334-0 (ePDF)
https://doi.org/10.17438/978-3-402-22688-9

Table of Contents

Preface 9

List of Figures 11

1. Florian Wöller/Ueli Zahnd
Dominican Culture, Dominican Theology: Introduction 13

I. Dominican Identities and Cultures of Expertise

2. Jan-Hendryk de Boer
Giving Advice to the Pope
Dominicans as Experts During the Pontificate of Pope John XXII 23

3. Marcel Bubert
Black Friars as Heresy Experts
Dominican Identities and Inquisitorial Expert Culture
in Late Medieval France and Aragon 43

4. Isabel Iribarren
The Monzón Affair (1387–1403) and the Construction
of a Dominican Thomist Identity 59

5. Ulrike Treusch
The Grabow Case
An Example of Dominican Identity at the Council of Constance 79

II. Preaching and Liturgy

6. Christian Troelsgård
Mnemonic Verse, Theology, and Pedagogy
in Augustinus de Dacia's († 1285) *Rotulus pugillaris* 93

7. Carol J. Williams
Guy of Saint-Denis and Jerome of Moravia
on the Modally Sequential Office 109

8. Alberto Ferreiro
In Vigilia Sancti Iohannis Babtiste
St Vicent Ferrer on the Vigil of John the Baptist in a Catalán Sermon 123

9. Kristin Hoefener
Liturgical Chant and Devotional Practices
in Late Medieval Dominican Nunneries 139

III. Memory and Material Cultures

10. Marika Räsänen
Rethinking Relic Devotion in Medieval Dominican Culture 161

11. Kirsten Schut
Lay Death and Burial in Dominican Habits 181

12. Christian Etheridge
The Iconography of Dominican Saints Found on the
Claus Berg Altarpiece Made for the Priory of St Nicholas
in Aarhus, Denmark 197

IV. Dionysian Theology

13. J. Cornelia Linde
Pseudo-Dionysian Thought in Early Dominican Theology
The Concept of *Ordo* in Guerric of St Quentin's *In Lamentationes* 225

14. Samuel Baudinette
Between Philosophical and Christian Contemplation
The Role of Dionysius in the Writings of Albert the Great 241

15. Constant J. Mews
Dionysius, *Theologia*, and Thomas's Final *Summa* 265

V. Albert the Great and the Plurality of Dominican Thought

16. Amalia Cerrito
Faith and Natural Philosophy in Albert the Great's Account
of the *generatio Christi* 283

17. Marco Vorcelli
The Book of Job Through the Lens of the *Nicomachean Ethics*
Aristotelian Fortitude and Virtuousness of Job's Lamentation
in Albert the Great's Commentary on Job 6:11–12 297

18. Paul D. Hellmeier
Neo-Platonic Ways and Levels of Knowledge in the Interpretation
of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Berthold of Moosburg 311

VI. Dominicans on Prayer

19. Jonathan Reinert
Thomas Aquinas on Petitionary Prayer and Divine Providence 327

20. Anja Bork
Meister Eckhart on Petitionary Prayer and the Relationship between God and Human 345

21. Andreas Zecherle
Johannes Tauler on Petitionary Prayer
An Attempt at Bridging the Gap Between Ecclesiastical Tradition and Mystical Thought 359

VII. Dominicans and the 'Others'

22. Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen
The Dominicans and 'the Others'
The Friars Preachers as Vanguard Against Pagans, Orthodox, Jews, Muslims, and Heretics. The Case of the Baltic Sea Region 373

23. Cheryl Midson
The Dominican Order and Eastern Christianity in the Thirteenth Century 395

24. Volker Leppin
Just a Quarrel of Monks?
Dominicans, Augustinians and the Early Reformation 409

List of Contributors 425

Index of Names 427

Index of Places 432

Index of Subjects 435

Guy of Saint-Denis and Jerome of Moravia on the Modally Sequential Office

Carol J. Williams

In his *Tractatus de tonis,* the Benedictine chant theorist Guy of Saint-Denis (fl. 1300) expressed strong disapproval of the fashion of composing new liturgical feasts following modal order for each element of the feast. His position was that the composer should select the mode that best matched the mood of the text. On the other hand, the contemporary theorist Jerome of Moravia, involved in the process of developing new chant for the Dominican liturgy, adopted the rhymed office with sequential modal order freely. His chief concern was for order, and he demonstrated in his *Tractatus de musica* that by using sequential ordering of the modes he could create a sense of unity throughout the several services of the feast.

Guy of Saint-Denis, firmly convinced of the expressivity of chant, followed the guidance of fellow Benedictine theorist and monk, Guido of Arezzo (c. 990–c. 1050) in requiring that "ecclesiastical chants be adapted [...] appropriately to the material on which they are founded."[1] Guido of Arezzo presents this idea in chapter 15 entitled "On grateful melodic lines and composing them"[2] of the *Micrologus*, a theory handbook for his young pupils. He recommends "that the effect of the song should imitate the outcome of matters, so that for sad matters the neumes are grave, for serene ones they are agreeable, and for auspicious texts exultant, and so forth."[3] Guy enriches the context of this instruction by alluding to Guido's source as Aristotle's *Ethics* and says: "For just as elsewhere it is written that expressions are to be crafted according to subject matter, so also it should be in this way for ecclesiastical chants. For it is fitting that ecclesiastical chants be adapted not just in any way but appropriately to the material on which they are founded."[4] Guy expands on Guido's position by saying: "thus the effect

[1] Guido de Sancto Dionysio: *Tractatus de tonis* 1.4.22, eds. and trans. Constant J. Mews/Carol J. Williams/John N. Crossley/Catherine Jeffreys (Teams Varia), Kalamazoo, MI 2017, p. 82: "Decet enim ecclesiasticos cantus materie super quam fundatur non qualitercumque sed convenienter aptari." To avoid confusion Guy of Saint-Denis is always referred to as Guy while Guido of Arezzo retains the Latin form of Guido.

[2] Guido Aretinus: *Micrologus* 15, ed. Joseph Smits van Waesberghe (Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 4), Rome 1955, p. 162: "De commoda vel componenda modulatione".

[3] Guido Aretinus *Micrologus* 15, ed. van Waesberghe, p. 174: "Item ut rerum eventus sic cantionis imitetur effectus, ut in tristibus rebus graves sint neumae, in tranquillis iocundae, in prosperis exultantes et reliqua."

[4] Guido de Sancto Dionysio *Tractatus de tonis* 1.4.22, eds. and trans. Mews/Williams/Crossley/Jeffreys, p. 82–84: "Sicut enim ut alibi scribitur sermones exigendi sunt secundum materiam subiectam ita etiam suo modo de ecclesiasticis cantibus debet esse. Decet enim ecclesiasticos cantus materie super quam fundantur non qualiterque sed convenienter aptari." Derived from Aristoteles: *Ethica Nichomachea* 2.2 (1103b-1104a), trans. Robert

doi.org/10.17438/978-3-402-22695-7

of singing imitates the flow of things, namely that in sad matters, the neumes, that is the modulations of pitch or their performance, are lower, while in peaceful matters they are agreeable, and in fortunate things they are exultant."[5]

This statement is presented prominently at the end of the first section of Guy of Saint-Denis's *Tractatus de tonis,* as a summary statement on the theory of the tones. One of the reasons why he is driven to remind his readers of this position is his objection to the increasingly fashionable business of composing new feasts for the medieval Office in sequential modal order, that is, ordering the chants comprising the liturgy of the feast by number according to their mode. Guy says:

> It should be known, however, that although later and modern musicians or cantors, who seem to have composed ecclesiastical chants recently, have generally proceeded according to the order of the eight tones, and they have kept this mainly in the antiphons and night responsories, as appears in the offices (*hystoria*) of the Holy Trinity, Mary Magdalene, Blessed Nicholas, Louis, Augustine, Katherine, and many others, especially when they are sung in the same order in which they were composed, and in the way those who are satisfied with nine readings are known to sing them. The ancients and the first cantors, however, who rarely or never seem to have been concerned with such an order (which seems to have been introduced more for a certain ornament or elegance than for the requirement of the Divine Office) seem to have been concerned more with the moderation and sobriety of chants and also with the quality of the material upon which they based their ecclesiastical chants.[6]

He reasons that it is impossible to follow a sequential modal order and match the expressive characteristics of each tone to the requirements of the text to be set.

Guy's observation of the history and fashion of this practice is confirmed by modern scholarship led by Michel Huglo who says that in the oldest layers of Gregorian chant the composer had chosen the mode of each piece "following the inspiration of the moment, according to the content of the lyric and the intention of the liturgy." He continues, "in new offices composed [...] in honor

Grosseteste and William of Moerbeke, ed. René-Antoine Gauthier: *Aristoteles Latinus* XXVI.1–3, fasc. 4, Leiden/Bruxelles 1973, p. 375–588: 398: "Quod sermones secundum materiam expetendi sunt."

5 Guido de Sancto Dionysio *Tractatus de tonis* 1.4.22, eds. and trans. Mews/Williams/Crossley/Jeffreys, pp. 82–84: "sic rerum eventus cantionis imitetur effectus quod in rebus tristibus graviores sint neume id est vocum modulationes seu emissiones earum in tranquillis autem iocunde, et in rebus prosperis exultantes."

6 Guido de Sancto Dionysio *Tractatus de tonis* 1.4.22, eds. and trans. Mews/Williams/Crossley/Jeffreys, p. 82: "Sciendum est autem quod licet posteriores modernique musici vel cantores qui ecclesiasticos cantus ultimo composuisse videntur plerumque secundum ordinem octo tonorum processerint. Et eum maxime in antiphonis responsoriisque nocturnis servaverint, ut apparet in hystoria sancta trinitatis, Marie Magdalene, Beati Nicholai, Ludovici, Augustini, Katerine, multisque aliis. Presertim quando eodem cantantur ordine quo fuerunt composite, et sicut illi qui novem lectionibus sunt contenti eas decantare noscuntur. Antiquiores tamen et primi cantores de tali ordine qui potius ad ornatum quemdam vel decorum quam ad necessitate divini officii introductus videtur, raro vel numquam videntur curasse eo forte quod ad mediocritatem ac sobrietatem cantuum vel etiam qualitatem materie super quam cantus ecclesiasticos fundaverunt attendere potius videbantur."

of specific saints [...] the choice of the psalmodic tone of the antiphons of the night office and of Lauds as well as the verses of the response are habitually in numerical order of the tones, from I – VIII, 1st antiphon, 1st tone, 2nd antiphon, 2nd tone etc."[7] The feasts which Guy lists, those of the Holy Trinity, Mary Magdalene, Blessed Nicholas, Louis, Augustine, and Katherine, were all composed in his lifetime and confirm that this was an ongoing process. He might also have mentioned the feasts of St Thomas of Canterbury, Corpus Christi, and St Francis of Assisi as well as that of St Dominic and St Peter the Martyr.

The contemporary term used when considering these special offices was *hystoria* designating an office for the entire day consisting of chants, including antiphons and responsories, as well as readings for the feast of a saint or some other votive purpose. The term was first used by Amalarius of Metz (c. 775–c. 850) and in the early offices the texts were taken from books of the Bible other than Psalms. At a later date, non-biblical sources, some of which might be versified, were used for the responsories and antiphons of newly written Offices. The aim was to produce a coherent narrative. A common musical device, already alluded to, was the numerical ordering of chants according to their mode.[8]

Guy's objection to the sequential modal order of these recent feasts is that the primary concern of fitting the melody appropriately to the meaning of the text of the chant, had been relegated to the secondary concern of modal order. The affective relationship of verse and melody founded on the specific characteristics of each mode had been supplanted by the mechanical ordering of the modes with no reference to the character of each mode. That the link between meaning, melody, and mode was a primary concern for Guy is found in his explanation of why sometimes the irregular treatment of mode is necessary:

> [...] sometimes composers of chant of this kind rush into a kind of unrestrained ascent, either because of the sweetness of the melody they contain, or sometimes because of the matter on which chants of this kind are based. It is just as if they suffer a certain excess of mind or ecstasy in the manner of lovers or those rejoicing or sometimes of the sad and those who mourn. For this seems to be the case not only in that responsory *Conclusit vias*, which exceeds the limits of the eighth tone at that point *et iudica* but also in that responsory of the same tone, *Tenebre facte sunt* at the point *deus, deus* where the powerful cry of Christ is evoked.[9]

[7] Huglo, Michel: *Les Tonaires: Inventaire, Analyse, Comparaison* (Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie 3e Série 2), Paris 1971, p. 122. "Dans les offices qui appartiennent au fonds primitif de l'Antiphonaire grégorien, le compositeur a choisi le ton de chaque pièce suivant l'inspiration du moment [...] Or, dans les offices nouveaux composés au xe et au xie siècles en l'honneur de saints dont le culte était restreint à un diocèse ou à une province ecclésiastique, il est remarquable que le choix du ton psalmodique des antiennes de l'office nocturne et des Laudes, ainsi que les versets de répons, suit habituellement l'ordre numérique des tons, de I à VIII: première antienne, premier ton; deuxième antienne, deuxième ton, etc."

[8] Jacobsson, Ritva Maria/Haug, Andreas: "Versified Office," in *Grove music online*, Oxford 2001. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043100 (accessed 17 September 2024)

[9] Guido de Sancto Dionysio *Tractatus de tonis* 1.3.20, eds. and trans. Mews/Williams/Crossley/Jeffreys, p. 50: "[...] interdum compositores huiusmodi cantuum, vel propter melodie suavitatem quam continent, vel interdum occasione materie supra quam fundan-

It is clear that Guy was affected by the meaning of the liturgical expression of chant and the perfect matching of melody to that meaning. He was thus incensed that this depth of meaning could be ignored and hidden behind the formal abstraction of the numerical order of the modes.

While his critique of the sequential order of the modes in those fashionable feasts mentioned above is cautiously diplomatic—he says that "it seems to have been introduced more for a certain ornament or elegance than for the requirement of the Divine Office"[10]—it is easily read as a critique of contemporary practice. This contemporary practice was described by the influential Dominican, Jerome of Moravia (c. 1220–d. after 1271) in his *Summa*, the *Tractatus de musica*. Jerome, a contemporary of Aquinas, was active in Paris at the order's convent on the rue St Jacques during the time of the liturgical reform movement. Though the discussion concerning his origins continues, it now seems likely that he had come from a convent founded c. 1235 at Elgin in Moray, Scotland, rather than from the Dominican community in Moravia.[11] His treatise, compiled sometime in the final quarter of the 13th century, is the most extensive and comprehensive treatment of all kinds of music from speculative science in the tradition of Boethius to the practical aspects of plainchant and polyphonic music. There is only one surviving copy of the treatise (MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16663). By the 1290s it was owned and annotated by Pierre de Limoges who bequeathed it to the theological library of the Sorbonne, where it was shelved among the textbooks on quadrivial subjects from 1306.[12]

Jerome's work is largely drawn from recognized authorities and epitomizes the musical side of Dominican scholasticism. In the original material, however, between chapters 20 and 25, he presents a summary of the revision of the musical and liturgical books carried out by the Dominican order. Chapter 24 shows how to compose new chants and chapter 25 discusses singing and performing plainchant. Preceding these two, a thorough examination of the modal system interpreted from the Dominican perspective is given in chapters 20 to 23.[13] While these discussions of the modes and chant practice rely on the works

tur huiusmodi cantus, tamquam quendam mentis excessum vel extasim, quodammodo passi amatorum seu letantium, vel quandoque tristium atque lugentium more in ascensum proruperint aliqualiter excessivum. Sic enim videtur esse non solum in Responsorio illo *Conclusit vias* quod scilicet in illo puncto '*et iudica*' excedit limites toni octavi et in illo Responsorio toni eiusdem *Tenebre facte sunt* in illo puncto '*deus deus*' ubi Christi clamor validus designatur."

10 Guido de Sancto Dionysio *Tractatus de tonis* 1.4.22, eds. and trans. Mews/Williams/Crossley/Jeffreys, p. 82: "[...] potius ad ornatum quemdam vel decorum quam ad necessitatem divini officii introductus videtur."

11 Huglo, Michel: "La *Musica* du Fr. Prêcheur Jérome de Moray," in eds. Bernhard Hangartner/Urs Fischer: *Max Lütolf zum 60. Geburtstag*, Basel 1994, pp. 113–116.

12 The manuscript is digitised and available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8432480x (accessed 17 September 2024). For further information see Weber, Laura: *Intellectual Currents in Thirteenth-Century Paris: A Translation and Commentary on Jerome of Moravia's "Tractatus de Musica"*, Ph.d. dissertation, Yale University 2009, pp. 1–20.

13 Hieronymus de Moravia: *Tractatus de musica* 20–23, eds. Christian Meyer/Guy Lobrichon (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 250), Turnhout 2012, pp. 140–161.

of earlier theorists, especially John of Afflighem, Guido of Arezzo, Boethius and Isidore of Seville, the selection of material and its ordering is distinctly Dominican. Particularly valuable is the tonary of chapter 22 reflecting Dominican practice. Comparison of this chapter with the tonary in the manuscript BL add. 23935—a complete set of Dominican liturgical books copied for the master-general of the order at mid-century—shows that while the two are not identical, Jerome's tonary is clearly a closely related version of the earlier document.[14] It is significant too in that it presents the Parisian Dominican milieu within a scholarly context focussing on the heart of Dominican doctrine on the organisation of psalmody.[15] The rules, particularly those of chapter 24 on composing new chant reflect 13th century Dominican chant practice. As a relatively young order that was just beginning to canonise its first saints there was a real need for chant composers within the order.[16]

Guy's *Tractatus de tonis* (c. 1301) is less well-known than Jerome's *Summa* and is closely focused on the eight tones into which all plainchant was classified. The work is divided into two parts: the first providing a theoretical basis for understanding the tones into which all chant is divided; the second, particular examples of chants illustrating the tones. In the first part he considers the impact of the various tones on the soul, inspired in part by teachings of Aristotle, and in the second he presents numerous specific examples drawn from his experience of the liturgy at his own abbey, Saint-Denis just outside Paris.[17] In the Prologue to the work Guy explains his approach:

> I have divided the present book into two principal parts. The first is about the tones in relation to theory or speculation about them through some artifice or science. In consequence, since every art and science, as is written elsewhere, is about what is good and difficult; the more difficult and subtle is for the more studious and advanced. In the second, I will deal with praxis, that is, the operation of these things more figuratively and by examples easier for the simpler and the young. This is that those who perchance are not able to grasp the subtlety of the first part to the full are at least able to delight in the clarity of the examples in the second part.[18]

The second part is the tonary proper, an extended treatment of the practice and operation of the tones, and "how those tones ought to be applied or adapted

[14] Weber 2009, p. 151.

[15] Meyer, Christian: "Le Tonaire des Frères Prêcheurs," in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 76 (2006), pp. 117–156: 118.

[16] Weber 2009, p. 165.

[17] Guido de Sancto Dionysio *Tractatus de tonis*, eds. and trans. Mews/Williams/Crossley/Jeffreys, "Introduction", p. xi.

[18] Guido de Sancto Dionysio *Tractatus de tonis* 1.0.1, eds. and trans. Mews/Williams/Crossley/Jeffreys, pp. 2–3: "libellum presentem in duas partes principales distinxi. In prima videlicet de tonis quantum ad theoriam sive speculationem eorum artificialiter quodammodo vel scientifice et per consequens cum omnis ars atque scientia ut alibi scribitur sint de bono et difficili difficilius atque sutbtilius pro studiosioribus ac provectis. In secunda vero quantum ad praxim idest operationem ipsorum figuraliter magis et per exempla atque facilius pro simplicioribus et parvulis tractaturus. Ut qui forte prime partis subtilitatem capere ad plenum non potuerunt, saltem in secunde partis exemplari planitie delectentur."

not only to the intonations of the psalms according to the antiphons and introits of masses, but also to certain other ecclesiastical chants as much of the antiphonary as of the gradual."[19] It is this which should be compared with Jerome's concise tonary found in chapter 22 of his *De musica*. In Guy's case we see a Benedictine practice in the particularly idiosyncratic use of Saint-Denis which paid reverence to the Gallican roots of some of its chant, while Jerome presents the sternly pared back Dominican practice reflecting the reforms promulgated less than two decades earlier. These reforms involved editing the liturgical chant to conform to five criteria: 1) chants were to be simple; 2) they were to be restricted to a decachord; 3) B flat was to be avoided wherever possible; 4) each chant was to be in one mode, and 5) mixtures of plagal and authentic modes were to be avoided.[20] There is no parallel for Jerome's chapter 24 in Guy's work as it was not Benedictine practice to compose new chant.

Jerome outlines five necessary steps the composer of a new *hystoria* must take. As a prelude to this he reminds us that different people are given pleasure in different ways. "For just as everyone's palate is not pleased by the same foods [...] so indeed the ears of all are not delighted by the same sounds [...] So, in composing chant a musician ought first to make such a chant that delights those that he wishes the chant to delight."[21] He continues: "since music moves the souls of hearers this will effect the order of the prose [...] Thus, the second necessary concern in composing chant is that what the words express, the chant should be considered to express, and that the song should pause when the sense of the words comes to a natural break."[22] The third requirement of the musician composing chant is that he assigns mellow and gloomy songs to the even numbered modes and playful and happy ones to the odd numbered or principal modes.[23] The fourth requirement is that to every syllable of text only one note

[19] Guido de Sancto Dionysio *Tractatus de tonis* 2.0.1, eds. and trans. Mews/Williams/Crossley/Jeffreys, pp. 84–85: "[...] qualiter ipsi toni non solum ad intonationes psalmorum secundum antiphonas et missarum introitus applicari seu adaptari debeant, immo etiam ad quosdam alios cantus ecclesiasticos tam antiphonarii quam gradalis."

[20] Stinson, John: "The Poissy Antiphonal: A Major Source of Late Medieval Chant," in *The LaTrobe Journal* 51 & 52 (1993), pp. 50–59: 54.

[21] Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 24, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 161 "Nunc quoque de ipsorum qualitate subvertendum videtur, quia scilicet diversi diversis delectantur modis. Sicut enim non omnium ora eosdem cibos, sed ille quidem acrioribus, iste vero lenioribus escis juvatur, ita profecto non omnium aures unius et ejusdem modi sono delectantur [...] Quapropter in componendis cantibus hoc primum musicus facere debet, ut talem cantum faciat, in quo quidem convicit delectari hos, quibus cantum placere desiderat." See Johannes Affligemensis: *De Musica cum Tonario* 16, ed. Joseph Smits van Waesberghe (Corpus scriptorum de musica 1), Rome 1950, pp. 109–110.

[22] Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 24, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 162: "Quoniam autem musicus cantus, ut diximus, commovet animos auditorum, [...] horum autem quaedam efficit ordo prosaicus. Ideo secundario necessarium est cantum componenti, quod scilicet ita proprie cantum componat, ut quod verba sonant, cantus videatur exprimere et ibi cantus pausationem recipiat, ubi finalis sensus verborum facit pausationem." See Johannes Affligemensis *De Musica cum Tonario*, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, p. 114 and 117.

[23] Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 24, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 162: "Tertio necessarium est musico, ut ipsum quem facit cantum, ad aliquem dictorum tonorum re-

responds. So here Jerome is recommending an essentially syllabic style of word setting, though he qualifies this with a number of exceptions derived largely from Isidore.[24] This is one of the most distinctive characteristics of Dominican chant and is perhaps a reflection of Humbert of Romans's emphasis on brevity of liturgy. In addition to the length of the melodies, there are clear indications that the early Dominicans self-consciously sang the chants faster than many of their contemporaries. Humbert of Romans recommended singing "not overly morosely as do some religious".[25]

In preparation for the fifth requirement, Jerome embarks on a highly technical disquisition on the two-fold classification of melody into the ugly and the beautiful. Both of these can be further subdivided into the comparative and superlative—more beautiful, most beautiful and more ugly, most ugly.[26] The properties of these ranks are then considered and can be summarised as a relatively mechanistic way of organising melodic behaviour. In the process he provides what seems to be an original discussion of ugliness as an essential aesthetic element. He says:

> Granted that (the beautiful and the ugly) are distinguished from each other in many ways, yet none of them ought to be rejected, since according to the need of the material each is shown to be appropriate. For the custom of the poets is that sometimes they sing songs of the ugly, sad or terrible, sometimes indeed of the uglier, sadder and more terrible and sometimes too of the ugliest, saddest and most terrible things. For these, whatever ugly, uglier and ugliest ranks of tones may be relevant, none is uncertain.[27]

Dominican discussions in thirteenth century Paris of the apposition of the beautiful and the ugly were enriched by the carefully thought-out deliberations of Thomas Aquinas. For him one of the conditions of beauty was "integrity or

ducat, maturum tamen et tristem ad aliquem tonorum parium, lascivum vero et laetum ad aliquem tonorum imparium sive principalium."

24 Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 24, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 162: "Quarto necessarium est, ut unicuique syllabae dictionis naturaliter et principaliter et per se una tantum nota respondeat, per accidens vero fiat earundem notarum additio, scilicet secundum differentias litterarum." See Isidorus Hispalensis: *Etymologiae* 1.4.1–18, eds. Stephen A. Barney/W.J. Lewis/J.A. Beach/Oliver Berghof, Cambridge 2005, pp. 40–42.

25 Humbertus de Romanis: *Expositio in Constitutiones* 32, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier: *Humberti de Romanis Opera de vita regulari*, Rome 1889, vol. 2, p. 97: "Non nimis morose, sicut faciunt quidam religiosi."

26 Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 24, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 163: "Nam duo sunt principales tonorum gradus sibi invicem contrarie oppositi, pulcher scilicet et turpis, qui etiam sicut pulchrum et turpe gradus comparationis recipiunt, intensive scilicet et remissive. Nam pulchrorum graduum alius pulcher, alius pulchrior, alius pulcherrimus, turpium autem alius turpis, alius turpior, alius turpissimus."

27 Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 24, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 163: "Licet autem talibus differentiis a se invicem distinguantur, tamen nullus eorum reici debet, cum secundum materiae exigentiam unusquisque competens esse monstretur. Nam poetarum mos est, ut aliquando de turpi, tristi vel horribili, aliquando vero de turpiori, tristiori et horribiliori, aliquando autem de turpissima, tristissima et horribilissima materia decantent carmina. Quibus autem turpis, turpior et turpissimus tonorum gradus competant, nulli est ambiguum."

perfection, since those things which are impaired are by the very fact ugly." That ugliness was an essential element of his aesthetic theory is clear from his continuation: "Hence, we see that an image is said to be beautiful if it represents a thing perfectly, even an ugly thing."[28] For Jerome too, ugliness was an essential element of his aesthetic palette. Ugliness by formal definition is the property of having aesthetic disvalue, eliciting not indifference but discomfort or misery. Modes of ugliness correspond to the various modes of beauty. If the mode is formal, ugliness is the ill-formed; if the mode is expressive, the ugly may be sentimental or it may arise from uncontrolled emotion.[29] For Jerome ugly is the opposite of beauty. So, if a beautiful chant is characterised by having melodic behaviour governed by close steps in ascent and descent, an ugly chant would be one that makes jagged leaps in one direction then another. So, it is not an absence of beauty but an opposing reflection of it.

In fact, Jerome devotes little descriptive effort to the ranks of ugly chants, preferring instead to critically analyze the beautiful, more beautiful and most beautiful examples of chant. From the beautiful rank he selects three chants, the lesson *Liber generationis* for Christmas Day, the Marian Alleluia *Virga Jesse floruit* and the Alleluia *In die resurrectionis meae* from Resurrection Sunday. Though Jerome considers these to be beautiful chants he critiques the first two for failing to begin on the final of the tone, for leaping in a vulgar manner to the fifth or fourth and for indulging in too much pitch repetition. The third example is accused of an uneven style, opening with gentle ascents and descents then concluding coarsely. Even worse and more defective is the fact that this chant does not fulfill its complete range.[30] Jerome illustrates the more beautiful rank with two chants from the feast for St Dominic, the Alleluia *Pie pater* and the Magnificat antiphon *O lumen ecclesie*. He suggests that plagal notes in the authentic mode five *Pie pater* and authentic notes in the plagal mode six *O lumen ecclesie* have caused some singers to assign them to the wrong tone, further confusion being caused by the lack of these chants to completely fill the ambitus of the tone.[31] The final rank, the most beautiful one, is illustrated by Jerome with

[28] Thomas de Aquino: *Summa Theologiae* I, q. 39, a. 8, co, ed. Leonina 4, Rome 1888, p. 409a: "integritas sive perfectio, quae enim diminuta sunt, hoc ipso turpia sunt [...] Unde videmus quod aliqua imago dicitur esse pulchra, si perfecte repraesentat rem, quamvis turpem"; trans. Alfred J. Freddoso: "New English Translation of St. Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*", https://www3.nd.edu/~afreddos/summa-translation/Part%201/st1-ques39.pdf (accessed 24 July 2024).

[29] Hepburn, R.W.: "Ugliness" in ed. Ted Honderich: *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, Oxford 2005, p. 931.

[30] Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 24, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 164: "Non enim in sua finali incipit, vel si in finali incipit, clamose ut in diapente vel in diatesseron salit, et iterum, si in uno et eodem cantu dictos modos frequenter ingeminat, sicut, verbi gratia, quantum ad inceptionem in evangelio *Liber generationis*, quantum vero ad alia in Alleluja *Virga Jesse floruit*. Item si in principio sui cantus mediocriter ascendit et descendit, reliquum vero totum clamose determinet, sicut in Alleluja *In die resurrectionis meae*, et, quod deterius est, et magis defectuosus est si terminos tonorum suorum non implet."

[31] Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 24, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 165: "Hic est dictum, quod sint plagales notae in paribus, verbi gratia sicut Alleluja *Pie pater* et antiphona *O lumen ecclesiae*, quae etiam tonorum parium propter notas plagales a cantatoribus

two chants from the feast for St Peter the Martyr, the mode six responsory *Dum Samsonis* and the mode five Alleluia *Felix ex fructu triplici*. These chants are characterised as having very few repeated notes, gentle melodic movement throughout and extending throughout the whole range of the mode.[32]

Finally, he comes to the fifth requirement that must be satisfied if a musician desires to compose the most beautiful *hystoria* of a saint. There is an order to be followed which includes that the antiphons in First Vespers should be built on psalms relating to both odd and even modes. The same is true for all the antiphons in Lauds and Matins. The antiphons at the Magnificat of first and second Vespers and also the sequence at the Benedictus of the Mass must be from the most beautiful rank. The first Nocturn with antiphons, responsories and verses is made from the first rank, the second from the second, the third from the third. In summary, for religious occasions when beautiful music is called for, Jerome describes a progressive increase in beauty over the course of a service. Thus, each successive Nocturn should contain chants of a more beautiful rank than the previous one. Vespers antiphons ought to be composed of a mixture of the beautiful ranks while the Magnificat antiphon at the end of the service should be of the most beautiful rank. There should be an increase in beauty according to the importance of the location of the chant so that the Magnificat antiphon and the sequence of the Mass are assigned to the most beautiful rank.[33] Jerome is more concerned with the overall modal shape and form of the *hystoria* or feast than with matching melody with the meaning of each particular text.[34]

1. The Feast of St Peter the Martyr

Peter of Verona, born (c. 1203) among Cathar sympathisers, eventually joined the young Dominican order (c. 1221) and became one of its renowned preachers. Constantly preaching against heresy Peter was appointed inquisitor in 1251

intitulantur eronee. Et e converso, si scilicet authenticae notae tonis jungantur plagalibus, et iterum, si terminos tonorum suorum etiam quantum ad ipsas notas licentiales non implent, secundus gradus deficit a tertio."

[32] Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 24, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 166: "insuper et omnium tonorum suorum terminos, etiam quantum ad notas licentiales complectitur, sicut responsorium beati Petri Martyris illud *Dum Samsonis*. Et hoc exemplum quantum ad pares, et Alleluja ejusdem, scilicet *Felix ex fructu triplici*, et hoc quantum ad impares."

[33] Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 24, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 166: "Hic igitur est quinto notandum, quod si musicus pulcherrimam historiam de sancto vel de sanctis facere cupit, hunc in faciendo ordinem debet habere, ut scilicet antiphonam vel antiphonas in primis vesperis super psalmos statuat in duobus mixtis gradibus, et similiter omnes antiphonas in laudibus in matutinis. Antiphonas vero scilicet ad Magnificat in primis vesperis et in secundis, et etiam ad Benedictus, in missa sequentiam faciat de gradu pulcherrimo, sive de tertio, primum autem nocturnum cum antiphonis, responsoriis et versibus de primo gradu, secundum de secundo, tertium vero de tertio gradu constituat."

[34] Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 24, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 162: "Ideo secundario necessarium est cantum componenti, quod scilicet ita proprie cantum componat, ut quod verba sonant, cantus videatur exprimere."

and martyred a year later. He received papal canonisation only eleven months after his death, making this the fastest official canonisation in history.[35] Dominican legislation enacting Peter's canonisation would have to wait until the Budapest gathering of 1254, the first under Humbert of Romans's leadership. The Budapest general chapter made several decisions concerning the celebration of Peter and mandated "that the names of Blessed Dominic and of Blessed Peter Martyr should be inscribed in calendars and litanies [...] and their feasts celebrated."[36] The final form of the liturgy was developed over the next couple of years and was enshrined in a compendium of fourteen liturgical books. These were carefully copied to produce exemplars, the most famous of which is called the "Humbert Codex" completed 1256–59 and kept until the French Revolution at the convent of Saint-Jacques in Paris.[37] It is now in the Archives of the Dominican order in Santa Sabina.[38] In the early 1260s another exemplar was copied at Saint-Jacques and this is now held at the British Library as Additional manuscript 23935.[39] Peter's office was drawn from the common of martyrs with proper collects, hymns, antiphons and responsories and was incorporated into the revised liturgy from the beginning.[40]

It seems likely that Jerome who was resident at Saint-Jacques during the years when the revision and copying of the new Dominican liturgy was being carried out was involved in the process in some way. It is just possible that he may have developed his methodology for the composing of new chant for the *hystoria* by working on the feasts for Peter the Martyr and St Dominic. Certainly, the brief passage *Omnis (igitur) cantus ecclesiasticus* which precedes his tonary of chapter 22, also appears in the early exemplar British Library, Add. 23935 and other later Dominican antiphonaries including the *Poissy antiphonale*.[41] Perhaps he was the original author of it at the request of Humbert of Romans. The short theoretical argument found there details the basis of psalmody and proposes that all chant is bounded within an ambitus ranging from an octave above the final and the fourth below it. The ambitus is ranged around the notes D, E, F, G, a, b, c, the principal and secondary finals. Jerome may also have had a hand in the construction of the concise Dominican tonary following *Omnis cantus ecclesiasticus* in all the extant exemplars. In the twenty or so years between the liturgical reforms of the 1250s and the compilation of the *Tractatus de musica* (1272?) Jerome had gathered more chant examples illustrating the *differentiae* as well as tones for the

35 Prudlo, Donald Sherm: *Peter of Verona: The Martyred Inquisitor,* Ph.d. dissertation, University of Virginia 2004, p. vi.

36 Prudlo 2004, p. 153.

37 Giraud, Eleanor: "The Dominican Scriptorium at Saint-Jacques, and Its Production of Liturgical Exemplars", in eds. Andreas Nievergelt/Rudolf Gamper/Marina Bernasconi/Birgit Ebersperger/Ernst Tremp: *Scriptorium: Wesen – Funktion – Eigenheiten*, Munich 2013, pp. 247–258: 248.

38 MS Rome, Santa Sabina, XIV L1.

39 MS London, British Library, Add. 23935. The antiphonary is found at ff. 249r–377v.

40 Prudlo 2004, p. 154.

41 Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 21, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 145 and *Poissy Antiphonale*, MS Melbourne, State Library, *096.1/R66A, ff. 1r–v.

Magnificat and Introit in his own tonary.[42] Jerome's influence is also shown in the concise tonary of the *Poissy antiphonale.*[43]

2. The Poissy Antiphonal and the Feast of St Peter the Martyr

The Poissy antiphonal was a luxury production written on fine vellum in Paris between 1335 and 1345, probably for the richly endowed Dominican monastery at Poissy. Located on the Seine to the north-west of Paris the monastery was founded by the French king Philippe IV (le Bel) to commemorate the recent canonisation of his grandfather King Louis IX, St Louis. Work began in 1298, and in 1304 the founding Dominican nuns entered, celebrating a full liturgy in the only part of the church that was finished, a small chapel dedicated to St Dominic. Twenty-seven years later, on 12 February 1331, the church was consecrated, and solemnly dedicated to St Louis by two archbishops and twenty-two bishops in a magnificent ceremony attended by King Philippe le Valois and the royal court.[44] Until the Poissy antiphonal was available for use, the nuns were reliant on an earlier, finely made and illustrated antiphonal, now held in London, British Library, Add. 30072. Both antiphonals follow the Dominican exemplar from the mid-1250s, written and held at Saint-Jacques.

The decorated initial, pen flourished initials and depiction of Peter's martyrdom by the sword are similar and clearly related, from the 1254–56 exemplar, through the Add. Ms 30072 (c.1300) to the *Poissy antiphonale* (1335––45).[45] Consistent too is the influence of Jerome, not only through the prefatory *Omnis cantus ecclesiasticus*, and the modal paradigms defined in the tonary, but also in the guidelines which he provided for the composing of new chant in the *hystoriae* underpinning the feasts found within these liturgical books. The influence of Jerome is found in virtually every one of the 3,241 pieces of chant making up the Poissy antiphonal.[46]

The Poissy antiphonal contains the complete annual cycle of liturgical chants needed for the Divine Office according to the Dominican observance (see fig. 7.1). The musical incipit and cadence formula of each psalm is given thus leaving no ambiguity about the mode of the associated antiphon. Each antiphon is normally followed both by the opening phrases and closing phrases of its psalm. These closing phrases representing the conclusion of the doxology appended to each psalm are notated in the shorthand E V O V A E, the vowels of *seculorum amen* (see fig. 7.2).

[42] Hieronymus de Moravia *Tractatus de musica* 21, eds. Meyer/Lobrichon, p. 147–153.

[43] Poissy Antiphonale, MS Melbourne *096.1/R66A, ff. 1v–5r.

[44] Naughton, Joan: "The Poissy Antiphonary in Its Royal Monastic Milieu", in *The LaTrobe Journal* 52 & 53 (1993), pp. 38–49: 39–40.

[45] Naughton 1993, p. 45.

[46] Stinson 1993, p. 56.

Fig. 7.1: The contents of the Poissy antiphonal

ff. 1r–5r	*Omnis cantus ecclesiasticus* and the tonary
ff. 5r–196v	Temporal cycle
ff. 197r–368v ff. 256v–259r	Sanctoral cycle Peter Martyr
ff. 369r–397v	Commons of Saints
ff. 398r–424r ff. 410v–411r	Hymns Peter Martyr
ff. 425r–428v	Translation of St. Thomas Aquinas

Fig. 7.2: The feast of St Peter the Martyr, Dominican Friar and Priest
as presented in the Poissy antiphonal (feast code: 14042900[47]; feast date: April 29)

Cantus ID	Incipit	Genre	Poissy	Comment
1.a01846	*Colletetur turba fidelium triumphantis athletae* *Laudate pueri* (psalm)	Antiphon	f. 256v	First Vespers Mode 1 Final D
2.a01877	*O Petre martyr inclyte praedicatorum* *Magnificat* EVOVAE	Antiphon	f. 256v–257r	Mode 6T Final C
3.a01879	*Celestis exercitus regem adoremus* *Venite* (invitatory psalm)	Invitatory	f. 257r	At Matins Mode 1 Final D
4.a01880	*De fumo lumen oritur* *Beatus vir* (psalm) EVOVAE	Antiphon	f. 257r	At Nocturn Mode 1 Final D
5.a01881	*Praedicatorum ordinis militans in acie* *Quare fremuerunt* (psalm) EVOVAE	Antiphon	f. 257r	Mode 2 Final D
6.a01882	*Mens fuit angelica lingua fructuosa* *Domine quid multiplicati* (psalm) EVOVAE	Antiphon	f. 257r	Mode 3 Final E
7.a01883	*O Petre sidus aureum summi*	Responsory	f. 257v	Historiated opening Mode 1 Final D

[47] The code references for the feast itself and its various elements are provided by *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant - Inventories of Chant Sources*, found online at https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/ (accessed on 24 July 2024).

7a.a01883a	*Tu speculum munditiae tu custos*	Verse	f. 257v	Mode 1 Final D
8.a01884	*Praedicator fervidus fidei zelator circuit*	Responsory	f. 257v–258r	Mode 5 Final F
8a.a01884a	*Verbo vita praedicat signis crebris*	Verse	f. 258r	Mode 5 Final F
9.a01878	*Dum Sansonis vulpes quaerit*	Responsory	f. 258r	Mode 6T Final C
9a.a01878a	*Stat invictus pugit fortis constans*	Verse	f. 258r	Mode 6T Final C
9b.909000	*Gloria patri et filio*	Verse	f. 258r–258v	Mode 6T Final C
10.a01885	*Petrus novus incola caelos laureatus* *Dominus regnavit* (psalm)	Antiphon	f. 258v	At Lauds Mode 1 Final D
11.a01886	*Turbe currunt languentium signa coruscant* EVOVAE	Antiphon	f. 258v	Mode 2 Final D
12.a01887	*Bolus digne alleluia guttur detrahentis* EVOVAE	Antiphon	f. 258v	Mode 5 Final F
13.a01888	*Motu sensu corporis juvenis privatur* EVOVAE	Antiphon	f. 258v	Lauds Mode 6T Final C
14.a01889	*Ad sancti Petri tumulum frequens* EVOVAE	Antiphon	f. 258v–259r	Lauds Mode 6T Final C
15.a01890	*Summa pollens Petrus munditia* *Benedictus* EVOVAE	Antiphon	f. 259r	Lauds Mode 7 Final G
16.a01891	*O martyr egregie doctor Veritatis* *Magnificat* EVOVAE	Antiphon	f. 259r	Second Vespers Mode 6T Final C
17.	*Magne dies leticie nobis illuxit*	Hymn	f. 410v	Vespers Mode 1 Final D
18.	*Adest triumphus nobilis festum*	Hymn	f. 410v	At Matins Mode 1 Final D
19.	*Exultet claro sydere fulgens*	Hymn	f. 411r	At Lauds Mode 1 Final D

3. Conclusion

As can be seen from the list of the ordering of the elements of the feast for Peter the Martyr from the Poissy antiphonal, the sequential modal order which Jerome prescribed in chapter 24 of his *Tractatus de musica* and which Guy railed against at the end of the first part of his *Tractatus de tonis* is indeed in evidence. It is also the case that the melodies found there predominantly use small stepping intervals avoiding leaps greater than a fifth, that the predominant text setting style is lightly decorated syllabic, that the appearance of B flat is controlled, and that it uses the more beautiful and most beautiful ranks of chant style as I understand these.

Whereas Guy was proud of the ancient Gallican heritage of the chant which he and his brothers at Saint-Denis sang, Dominican chant can only be said to have a tradition dating from the thirteenth century. Guy's energy was directed to examining and preserving the chant for which he considered himself custodian, whereas the Dominican energy which Jerome reveals was for restraining and controlling what chant there was and creating new chant freely. The rhymed office with sequential modal order, the *hystoria*, was a part of this growth with the peculiarity that its principal components—Vespers, Matins and Lauds—were conceived as portions of a unified composition. The notion of unity served to organise both texts and music. Strictly musical unification can be seen in the pattern of modal order. One of the reasons for adopting the sequentially ordered modal reasoning might have been that it provided an expanded vision which allowed the performer and perhaps auditor to listen beyond the particular chant to be able to link it to the broader span of design and thus the intention of the feast itself. The narrative of the life of the saint would hold the attention of the listener and provide a tempo that allowed little time for reflection on the detailed relationship of melody and meaning.

In Guy's examples he addresses the exceptions which go beyond the modal rule in order to be expressive whereas remaining within the modal rule was the point of the Dominican reforms. This is why Guy comes down on the expressive side and Jerome on the other. The one makes the expressive point and the other says this negates the modal purity of the chant. It is about modality in the service of chant (Guy's position) rather than chant that must be regulated by mode (Jerome). Thus, for Guy's approach the attention is paid to the particular relationship of meaning of word and its expression in melody with the mode or tone selected reflecting that relationship. For Jerome the attention is focused on the broad design, and the abstract modal characteristics of each chant will take precedence over the detailed relationship of word and pitch.