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THE EVOLUTION OF LATIN AND MEDIEVAL MUSIC PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES

by

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Introduction

The measure of an intellectual in Latin-speaking Medieval Europe was dependent upon one's ability to memorize ideas and to recollect as it allowed for the creation of rhetoric, music, sermons, etc. The memorization of text and music depended upon the mnemonic devices of verse, rhyme, metrical regularity, written text, and neumes. As Classical Latin evolved into several dialects of Romance Latin, mnemonic devices, musical performance, and composition would also have exhibited dialectal characteristics and dependencies.

Scholars agree that it was Charlemagne's concern over inconsistencies in the regional performance of liturgical chant that led him to establish policies that standardized the chant repertoire, eliminating regional chant dialects during the Carolingian Renaissance in favor of Roman-style chant, ultimately leading to the creation of musical notation. However, a full account of the role that regional dialects and language reform played in regional vocal performance is missing from the literature. Charlemagne's Latin reform posed new problems introducing new pronunciation, word order, word structure, and lexicon requiring that music education tools be re-written.

Through careful consideration of the medieval pedagogical practices that allowed for the reproduction of music in performance and composition as well as recent linguistic research encompassing the period between C. 100 and 1100 CE, it will be shown that Latin's dialectal evolution along with Charlemagne's Latin reform played a significant role in the creation of musical notation. The role memory aids, word order, pronunciation, and usage from both a colloquial perspective and Charlemagne's new standard will be considered, as well as the

regional differences in vocal music according to colloquial tendencies and their expulsion as a result of the reformation of Latin.

Chapter 1

Literature Review

In most scholarly works regarding medieval vocal music, little attention is given to the nuances of regional dialects that influenced education, performance, and composition. This includes texts originating from a time in which a great change was taking place in the pronunciation of Latin as a part of Charlemagne's language reform. However, great detail exists for the notion of varying styles of vocal music and that its composition was highly dependent upon the syllabic stress of the text accompanying the music. For instance, in *Micrologus*, Guido offers the manner in which music is to be composed. He, like many others, compares music creation to the creation of text. He states "Just as in verse there are letters and syllables ...so in music there are phthongi, that is, sounds, of which one, two, or three are grouped in syllables..."¹

David Hiley makes mention that the conclusion of chanted prayer was dependent upon the correct placement of a melisma according to syllable, but does not make mention of regional dialect as an issue creating variation in performance. In his work *Western Plainchant: a Handbook*, Hiley discusses the great expansion of the chant repertoire lasting through the end of the ninth century which was largely due to the introduction of notation. He provides illustrations of each office, the church year, types of chant, and the history surrounding the development of each.

In *Studies in Medieval Music Theory and the Early Sequence*, Richard Crocker presents an in depth study of music theory as it pertains to medieval music beginning with Pythagorean mathematics and ending with the Frankish Sequence. He offers extensive data and analysis of

¹ Guido of Arezzo, *Hucbald, Guido, and John on music: three medieval treatises*, translated by Warran Babb (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 70.

works including matters of *Musica Rythmica* and *Musica Metrica* where metrical patterns are dealt with in hymns and chant writing. John Stevens work *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* argues that medieval song is based on the arrangement of words counted by syllables. The work provides great insight as to the importance of language and its performance in the composition of music, though language is not the central theme.

Jeremy Yudkin presents the role of music in the western medieval church, covering the very beginning of the church's history through 1200 CE. In his work *Music in Medieval Europe*, he provides newly translated musical examples, demonstrating how music was composed according to text in grammatical harmony. Of particular interest are sections dedicated to syllabic hymns and chant. He argued that musical movement in these vocal works relied on syllabic stress in text as indicators of where and when to change pitch or perform a melisma. However, music representing medieval chants that are most commonly performed today seems to move independently of syllables. While describing the Carolingian singing schools in his work *Medieval Music*, Richard Hoppin discusses the adaptation of melisma to hymns that originally adhered to a strict metrical formula that required patterns of a syllabic stress in the text. These syllabic changes in the music leave open the question "why did it change?"

Suzanne Lord's *Music in the Middle Ages: A Reference Guide* presents the reader with general knowledge of Music of the Middle Ages from the years 1000 – 1450 CE. Her introductory remarks introduce regional variations of chant present in medieval Europe. Lord only presents the variations as a matter of fact and gives no attention to dialectal variance as a reason for regional style. Included is a small section devoted to Charlemagne's reign and a story written by the monk Notker Balbulus, describing resistance to the standardization of music and

sabotage by clerics appointed by Charlemagne himself. The story is understood to be fictional, but lends itself to inquiry as to the social and political currents surrounding Charlemagne's reforms.

Covering the periods C. 800 through 1400 CE, David Wilson provides a thorough overview of music beginning with Roman and Gallican Chant and ending with polyphonic instrumental music in the work *Music of the Middle Ages: Style and Structure*. Regarding Roman and Gallican chant, Wilson recalls the dichotomy between Roman and Frankish singers regarding melody, words, and technical performance, though he spends little time speaking of political and/or social problems of the period. Instead, he dedicates his research to the progression of the liturgy, the music contained within, and the tools used to aid in performance. Of interest is his choice of words when describing the division of Charlemagne's empire after his death by his son Louis of Pious. He describes the establishment of linguistic and musical separation for the regions of France, Germany, and Italy. He uses the term "dialect" when describing the differences in favoritism of interval selection according to the regions.

Regarding music education, there is a great deal of literature that demonstrates that vocal music was taught with the intention of retaining it in the memory for purposes of composition and performance. In *Medieval Craft of Memory*, Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski put together an anthology of works written during the twelfth century and later that were geared toward someone in need of instruction on composing orally. Although the works included in the anthology are dated later than the period under consideration in this thesis, their introductory remarks survey the art of memory from antiquity to medieval Europe. Carruthers and Ziolkowski note that memories were thought to have distinct locations in the mind sharing

aspects of the past and that an individual had to devise ways to distinguish one memory from another so that a memory could be identified and re-invented. Their scholarship includes remarks from Aristotle, Quintillian, and Augustine, providing insight that explains how to arrange material in preparation for memorization. This includes the division and order of materials and placing emotional items around them to facilitate an organized library of thought. This arrangement gives way for stronger recollection as it becomes part of a web of other personal experiences. They argued that the great minds of antiquity and the medieval period were well aware of the nuances of memory and as the population became more literate, more texts were written regarding the craft. According to Carruthers and Ziolkowski, memory was the foundation of rhetorical and elementary education and allowed for the creation of prayer, music, architecture, sermons, meditations, stories, etc. It was an art or craft that served the purpose of elevating the intellectual and community.

Anna Berger's *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* argues that while written text and written music were to serve as memory aids in Medieval Europe, they did not deviate the need to memorize text. Her discussion revolves around the expectation of memorized performance in the medieval church and the day-to-day dedication to the memorization of the liturgy and music in the monastery. She argues that the practice of dividing and organizing information in glossed tonaries included items such as Bible verse that was used as intonation formulas. These formulas are organized in modal order designed to assist the performer in remembering where the half step

and whole step lie in relation to the final of each mode.² Berger also recognizes that these formulas were present in the monastery's decorative architecture.

Delores Pesce examines Guido d'Arezzo's writings portraying what he may have strived to achieve in her work *Guido d'Arezzo, Ut quent laxis, and Musical Understanding*. She presents the case that the medieval church needed performers of chant that understood music at a higher level than a mere practitioner and recognizes Guido's aim to create singers that could meet that need. Her study of educational tools created by Guido reinforces the importance of memorization, but sheds new light on his approach to internalize music with a higher purpose such as the use of different colors in documents allowing awareness of a tone's property. Pesce's conclusions illustrate the move away from memorization through rote or from non-musical sources in favor of memorization through personal experience in singing. Her examination briefly includes the treatise *Micrologus, Regule, and Prologue* while extensively covering the method presented in *Epistola*.

In the work *What did Medieval Schools do for us?*, Nicholas Orme provides an understanding of medieval education in Britain from the period of the Roman conquest until 1500 CE. According to Orme, the Roman education system was designed for those of noble lineage leaving out most of the supporting population. However, when Roman influence disappeared, schools became much more forward thinking allowing anyone to attend including girls as they were relocated to monasteries. He describes the condition in which Monks were tasked with teaching non-Latin speaking pupils Latin with materials designed for Latin speaking people. Orme identifies Latin grammar books that were written in other languages rather than

² Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) p. 68.

Latin containing anecdotes empathizing with students regarding everyday living. He concludes that intent in engaging students rather than merely passing along facts is a credit to the schools of Medieval Britain.

While surveying monastic customaries and glossed hymnaries, Susan Boyton observes the way in which boys were taught and the functions of an instructor. She concludes that daily, the teacher would recite text and music to students expecting them to repeat the information back. If a student came to the monastery already literate, a psalter was lent to them for a year allowing them to memorize the text on their own with the aid of glosses. Boyton also offers the concept of dual roles of the teacher, in some cases, as the librarian of the monastery who was not only responsible for the education of the children, but also the organization of the liturgy. One of the librarian's duties was editing the tonaries provided to students giving them aids for memorization. Boyton presented twelve glossed hymnaries and categorized them according to the text within them. Her work is one of a few that recognizes the difficulties present in education regarding language, expressing that "as the first Latin poetry that monks learned, hymns presented new challenges of vocabulary, syntax, and word order."³

As an aid to help the student achieve the goal of composition, Charles Atkinson finds tonaries containing marginal glosses with instruction on grammar and the arrangement of notes and register which was influenced by the work of school masters such as Remigius of Auxerre. Atkinson's approach to providing an understanding of music education is unique in that it tries to recount what was taught about music in the Carolingian schools while addressing the recommended materials used. In his essay *Some Thoughts on Music Pedagogy in the*

³ Susan Boyton, "Medieval Music Education Outside Music Theory" in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010) p. 55.

Carolingian Era, Atkinson produces texts from figures such as Charlemagne, Matianus Capella, and Martin of Laon that illustrate the importance of proper grammar and pronunciation as it informed music's composition and performance. He presents these texts as examples of what Carolingian schoolmasters would have been preoccupied with when advising students how to compose and perform music. The commentary includes syllabic accent, pitch relationship, and voicing. His conclusion that music and language are intertwined is not new, but is strengthened by his relation of texts from the Carolingian period.

According to Kenneth Levy, glosses and other textual memory aids were not enough to ensure that music be memorized appropriately and consistently. In his book *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians*, Levy surveys not only the various types of chants and their makeup, but the means for writing melodies or symbols depicting melodic shape. He asserts that these symbols, neumes, surfaced as early as the early eighth century and aided the monks in the recollection of how to perform and compose chant. Levy surveys neumes from 2 distinct geographical locations, comparing them by their appearance by how they would have achieved their goal. The neumes used in Gaul, which are named "Paleofrank", used straight lines and dots providing information regarding the outline of the melody and length of accents. Roman type, "Alammanian", was made up of flowing shapes to show the movement of a cantor's hand and the shape of the melody. Levy affirms that of the two, "Alammanian" prevailed as it represented more closely the movement of notes with regard to rising and declining pitches.

Building on Levy's arguments, James Grier argued that neumes began to surface in Rome and Gaul as early as the late eighth century and that Charlemagne's political agenda was a driving force leading to musical notation. In his article "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian

Musical Practices, and Nota Romana”, Grier observes the narrative *Chronico* written by Adémar regarding a conflict between Frankish cantors who accompanied Charlemagne to Rome and the papal cantors at the court of Pope Adrian I. According to the narrative, the Romans argued that the Gauls sang corruptly and destroyed the “correct song.”⁴ Upon returning from Rome, Charlemagne rejected the singing tradition of the Frankish monks, requiring instead that their performance be more like that of Rome. Adémar describes a Frankish notation that would be replaced as it did not accurately depict the nuances of melody. Grier is quick to point out the narrative took place 200 years after the events would have taken place and that Adémar may have been under the influence of Carolingian propaganda. However, Adémar’s *Chronico* is based on a passage from the biography *Gregory the Great* by John the Deacon written between 873 and 875 CE. John’s account speaks of two monks sent from Rome with Charlemagne with the intention of teaching the Franks Roman Chant. These two accounts are paralleled by a third text thought to be written by the composer Notker Balbulus about Charlemagne’s life. This text, like that of Adémar and John, names Metz as the city where Roman chant was transplanted.

Craig Wright’s *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500 – 1550* provides insight into the aspects of the ceremonial music of Notre Dame ranging from Pre-Carolingian to the beginning of the Renaissance. Wright dedicates a small section to the Carolingian reform and observes a deviation from the Roman Rite in the surrounding areas of Paris and Metz. He concludes that Pepin, and later Charlemagne, imposed a standardized Roman ceremony to replace that of Gallican traditions to no avail and as a result, Charlemagne issued the mandate *Admonitio Generalis* providing 82 regulations to be followed by the clergy of his kingdom.

⁴ James Grier, “Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and Nota Romana,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003): p. 49.

Regarding music and measured obedience, numbers 70, 72, and 80 of the mandate speak of schools, their structure and the content to be taught, the removal of Gallican chant and the standardized move to Roman chant, and the mandates that would be followed and reviewed by Bishops.

Richard Crocker provides an introductory look at Gregorian chant, its origins, and development in his work *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant*. He argued that by the time the Gregorian repertoire was developed, many of the performers no longer spoke Latin natively if at all. Instead, they were speaking early forms of Spanish, French, Italian, German, and English, etc... His argument was not intended to present a problem with pronunciation in music but to illustrate a problem standardizing music education.

Providing great detail in the matters of musical notation and the performance of medieval chant, John Caldwell describes notation as it pertains to syllabic stress in his work *Medieval Music*. Regarding the pronunciation of Latin, he declares that the introduction of diphthongs came from Northern Gaul. After conducting a review of literature written about medieval linguistics, his statement regarding diphthongs is rather incomplete, leaving much to be desired regarding their origins and regional impact.

In *Music of the Middle Ages*, Giulio Cattin provides a detailed account of the origins of Christian worship and the development of music during the Middle Ages, paying close attention to outside influences, standardization of chant or the lack thereof, educational problems, and social tolerance of foreign musical material. His conclusions on the development of music in the Medieval Western Church present an ever changing landscape during a period wrought with political reformation. Of particular interest, Cattin presents the notion of standardized text

accompanied by a memorized formula for the performance of chant, psalms, and prayers. A distinct set of rules accompanied each of the musical types while adhering to a policy of tolerance to local traditions. He concludes that local traditions would be eradicated as a result of the Carolingian reforms.

James Grier's recounting of an argument between Roman and Frankish cantors did not mention dialect as a reason for the difference in performance. Linguists have shown that there is a great deal of evidence suggesting a regional evolution from Classical Latin as a result of the Roman conquest that lasted 500 years. F.A.C. Montello argues that Romance Latin was a living language that borrowed aspects from other languages that it came into contact with in his article "Orbis Latinus: When the World was Latin". Words were redefined, dropped from use, or newly created from a combination of Latin words and those of other languages. However, there was a point when Romance Latin became Medieval Latin (church Latin) that "resisted linguistic change more forcefully than its spoken counterpart, because it was formally taught by schoolmasters who drew upon an established and revered literary heritage."⁵ Though he recognizes a change in Latin for the church, he also acknowledges that Medieval and Romance Latin coexisted.

József Herman provides the most extensive data regarding the development of Romance Latin in his book *Vulgar Latin*. He too contended that Romance Latin borrowed from other languages. His collection of examples shows the differences between Classical Latin and Romance Latin in pronunciation, spelling, definition, and words from various regions of Europe dating back to the first century. He studied texts from Pompeii, documents from grammarians

⁵ F. A. C. Montallo, "Orbis Latinus: When the World was Latin." *Humanities* 15 (1994): pp. 40 - 44.

starting from the third century, versions of the Bible and compared words from Classical Latin, Romance Latin, and modern day romance languages. Herman's use of the term "Vulgar Latin" describes a common language that developed in varying periods of bilingualism as a result of the Roman conquest, taking on the traits of the conquered populations' vernacular.

In *Language change and the metalinguistic change: Latin to Romance and other case*, Tore Janson argues that a language is not defined until a population defines it. In his view, Romance Latin did not exist until around 900 CE, when the Carolingian language reforms began. In Janson's introduction, he asked the question why do people in France and Spain not speak Latin? He observes that the naming of a language by a population is typically politically associated and intimately involved with written forms that differentiates it from diverse areas.

"...the difference between ...Spain and Morocco is not necessarily that language change has progressed at a different pace...at some time the inhabitants of Spain discarded an old language name as a denotation for their mode of communication, whereas nothing similar has happened in Morocco."⁶

According to Janson, regional dialects may exist in a broad sense, but they generally can be understood by the population speaking the core language.

Regarding these dialectal differences, Harm Pinkster suggests that word order in sentence structure was not regionally standard in Classical or Romance Latin. In "Evidence for SVO in Latin?", Pinkster argues that though many scholars have recognized a Subject, Object, Verb (SOV) in Classical Latin and a SVO in Romance Latin, inconsistencies in texts that have survived

⁶ Tore Janson, "Language Change and Metalinguistic Change," in *Latin and Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, Ed. Roger Wright (London: Routledge, 1991), pg. 19.

have shown variety regarding word order. He surveyed the sentence structure in historical texts showing that though SOV was mostly used, in some cases SVO, OSV, as well as other arrangements were all represented within the same document. Pinkster's conclusion asserts that there was never a definite word order present in any form of Latin before 400 CE.

Linguists generally agree that Romance Latin existed with great diversity and was generally understood by those speaking it across different regions. There is also the understanding that when Charlemagne's reform of Latin was introduced in performance, there was a divide of understanding between those that could speak the newly reformed language and those who could not. Roger Wright's research has shed new light on the issues surrounding Charlemagne's new Latin and the populations that experienced it. Both of his works, *Late Latin and Early Romance* and *The conceptual distinction between Latin and Romance: invention or evolution?*, includes stark differences in pronunciation between Romance and Charlemagne's Latin. These differences include the sounding of each vowel in words and the choice of words used so that mispronunciation would not alter the meaning of text. Wright is the only linguist surveyed for this study that made a statement regarding Latin reform's imposition on music. However, he merely made the statement without elaboration.

Thomas Walsh continues Wright's research agreeing that Charlemagne's Latin and local dialects were vastly different. In his work *Spelling lapses and primitive Romance phonology?*, Walsh goes further back in history filling in what he deems are gaps in Wright's statements regarding Classical and Romance Latin. He contends that before the Carolingian reforms, Latin was generally considered to be an ancient language, one that was no longer spoken or understood. At best, it was used in a somewhat broken manner in written form, and as a spoken

language it was highly influenced by an individual's phonology, making it undecipherable compared to Classical Latin. He establishes the notion that the misspellings encountered by other scholars were a direct result of low education and influence of the vernacular that ultimately influenced Latin's orthography.

Regarding the question of when Latin had ceased to be understood by European populations, there is much debate and inconclusive evidence. Marc Van Uytfanghe's essay "The consciousness of a linguistic dichotomy (Latin-Romance) in Carolingian Gaul: the contradictions of the sources and their interpretation surveys" various literature on the medieval evolution of language in Gaul, looking for a time line of change when Latin had evolved to a different language. Though he concludes that the existing evidence does not suggest an accurate timeline, Uytfanghe's research illustrates a separation of understanding with regard to Latin and the vernacular.

Chapter 2

Music Education for Performance and Composition of Medieval Europe:

Memory, Texts, and Symbols

Over the years, scholars of medieval music education have presented a wide range of theories with regard to what was taught and how. For instance, it is generally accepted that music was learned by rote for the purpose of performing. It has also been discovered that instructional tools in monastic schools in the eighth and ninth centuries included training in both performance and composition. Piecing together the various materials regarding medieval music education, there seems to be a polarity shift that separates performance and composition as two individual disciplines. Perhaps the cycle is falsely understood due to a modern definition of composition that omits improvisation as an act of composing. Whatever the case may be, music education did inform both disciplines whether separate or not, and the tools used in pedagogy were mnemonic aids. These mnemonic devices were based on a tradition of philosophical thought regarding how memory functioned dating back to antiquity.

The art of memory appears in the philosophical works of Aristotle, Augustine, Boethius, and Albertus Magnus to name a few. Memories were thought to have a specific location in the mind much like time in space. Aristotle thought of memory as a segment of time in the past while Augustine argued that memory existed in the past, but could only be remembered in the present. These places in memory were associated with other entities making it possible for retrieval. As taught by Aristotle, memory is an “emotional resonance... which serves to hook a

particular memory into one (or perhaps more) of a person's existing networks of experience."⁷

For instance, the scent of a flower may remind someone of the perfume another was wearing at a particular time while to another person, it may bring images of an event like a wedding.

Directed memorization was an integral part of education in the middle ages. However, it was much more than a tool for retention and recollection so as to pass on exact happenings or text to others. Memory was also thought of as a necessary craft to help achieve the overall growth and development of the individual and community. Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski observes that "the realization that composing depended on a well-furnished and securely available memory formed the basis of rhetorical education in antiquity, the elementary education in language arts that was the vehicle for forming excellence in both the person and the citizen."⁸ Memory was used to create new things like art, poems, sermons, hymns, and chants. It is often regarded as a mechanism for reasoning which is required for the composition of any sort. In modern music, particularly jazz, a similar sentiment is held with improvisational performers. A performer may be given a higher status among peers if he or she has the ability to quote another piece's melody or segment of a melody from memory, weaving it into their own composition.

Julius Victor, a highly influential grammarian from the fourth century, observes that memory is "the firm mental grasp of things and words for the purpose of invention."⁹ Victor along with grammarian Fortunatianus of the same period prescribed organizing materials into segments, then organizing the segments in order such as alphabetically or numerically to help

⁷ Carruthers, Mary and Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, (University of Pennsylvania, 2002), p. 8.

⁸ Carruthers and Ziolkowski, p. 2.

⁹ Carruthers and Ziolkowski, p. 4.

secure information so that it could be readily retrieved. In this way, the segments are bound together. Their work paid homage to the work of Quintillian who in *Institutio oratoria* also advised in the use of division in order to aid in the memorization of long passages. Carruthers and Ziolkowski both contend that “by building chains of such segments in one’s memory, a very long work, such as all the Psalms or the whole *Aeneid*, can readily be retained and securely recovered, either in its original order or rearranged and extracted to suit a new composition, simply by invoking various numerical sequences.”¹⁰ This is also the principle behind the separation of large written works into chapters and verse or versification and strophic text in hymns and other vocal music. It should be noted that education was not necessarily concerned with the art of writing. Much of the medieval population was illiterate, requiring memory aids such as rhyme, strophes, etc. so that text could be obtained through listening.

In practice, there were two different approaches to memorization in education. One, *memoria verborum*, a technique understood as being used more in rhetorical education for the advanced learner, and *recitatio* (recitation or learn by heart). *Recitatio* was most widely prescribed for the elementary learner and was most effective for memorizing sacred texts, poems, and music. Proof of *recitatio* as an educational practice has been found in Monastic *customaries*, texts containing all aspects of monastic life. Susan Boyton observes that teachers of grammar and singing, typically the same teacher, worked with students in several daily

¹⁰ Carruthers and Ziolkowski, p. 5.

sessions where “chant was learned by ear, first by listening and then by repeating after their teachers...”¹¹

With the amount of material required to be memorized, how could a singer manage without a written aid? Levy suggests “...a provisional tally of the music of Gregorian Propers, about 800 might come to seventy-five or eighty hours of memorized music.”¹² To complement the division of text, the reading of texts was used to help gather and collect material in reference for easy composition. This sort of memorization created collections of sayings and summarized stories, florilegium. Carruthers and Ziolkowski describe this as a pre-modern encyclopedia, “the flowers of (one’s extensive) reading gathered up in some orderly arrangement for the purpose of quick, secure recollection in connection with making a new composition.”¹³ Architecture was also employed as an aid of memorization using columns in some churches inscribed with numbers corresponding to particular offices. Paintings were created and placed in a particular order to assist with the recollection of which chants to perform according to the time of year, while others contained numbers to assist in the recollection of which mode to perform.

Other mnemonic materials such as tonaries, liturgical books containing the texts of vocal music, were also developed to aid in the memorization of text. Tonaries were divided into sections and organized in such a way that the cantor, a lead performer tasked with understanding music and its place in the liturgy, would be able to quickly know what, when, and how to

¹¹ Susan Boyton, “Medieval Music Education Outside Music Theory” in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010) p. 55.

¹² Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 176.

¹³ Carruthers and Ziolkowski, p. 5.

perform in ceremony. Berger observes that tonaries between the ninth and sixteenth centuries typically had the same distinctive quality with regard to the ordering of text:

The most distinctive feature of the tonaries is that the chant is classified hierarchically. On the first level it is always arranged by mode, and it is noteworthy that there are no exceptions to this. Then within each mode, there are a number of possibilities: the antiphons may, in turn, be arranged (a) liturgically, (b) alphabetically, (c) according to the proximity of the first note to the final, (d) according to similarities of antiphon beginnings, (e) according to the level of complexity.¹⁴

It is thought that these books were only used during study by the choir. Otherwise, vocal music was performed completely from memory. Only the cantor would have had access to a tonary during performance.

Glosses could serve as another mnemonic device as well. These were notes that were sometimes written down by scribes from dictation rather than the performer or cantor and have provided the best insight as to what was taught in monastic schools. Glosses were sometimes in the native dialect of the region rather than the Latin contained in the text and were used by the schoolmaster in preparation for teaching. Anna Berger observes that Regino of Prüm wrote the following passage from Boethius in a gloss for instrumentalists, as he was unhappy with lute and lyre players for not knowing where half and whole steps were to be performed in a piece: “Now, it should be known that he is not called a musician who performs only with his hands, but he is truly a musician who knows naturally how to discuss music and to elucidate its meaning with

¹⁴ Berger, p. 58.

sure reasons.”¹⁵ They also provided a great deal of instruction regarding composition. Charles Atkinson notes that the glosses of a tonary from the ninth century contain the following instruction:

First [you compose] the (melodic) material in your mind, with which both depth and height together. Thus, if you wish to form another (melody?) from the lower tropes –if the work has to be prepared for an organ or stringed instrument, etc., or even for the voice – you must likewise form it for the stringed instrument from the higher tropes.¹⁶

Additional notes written by students and performers have been observed as well alongside of glosses. These were personal notes written by students, utilizing personal experience as an aid for the retrieval from memory how to pronounce words, sing, or compose. They would contain abbreviated verses from the Bible, names, places, etc...

Without proper notation to aid in the transference of vocal music, a great deal of melodic variation existed in the performance of a piece of music. Levy states “the lack of a handy written means for consolidating and reviewing compositional decisions kept plainchant deliveries near the free end of the improvisatory spectrum...”¹⁷ As an individual performed in solo, the performer might change the melody from its original form to include ornamentation, leaving the basic form of the melody intact. Perhaps this is where composition and/or performance training was necessary. To aid in the proper delivery of vocal music, neumatation was added to tonaries in

¹⁵ Berger, p. 72.

¹⁶ Charles Atkinson, “Some Thoughts on Music Pedagogy in the Carolingian Era” in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), p. 43.

¹⁷ Levy, p. 172

the form of glosses or appearing above normal text providing the performer an idea of the shape to be sung while chanting.

Neumes were too ambiguous to give the exact pitch or melody as they were written in approximation and translated as such providing no rhythmic instruction. There is still much debate regarding the origins of neumes. Some scholars suggest they were born from grammar. One theory states the first neumes depicted phrase and punctuation, while another suggests they came from pronunciation symbols used in antiquity. Carl Parish observes that the two basic signs of the classical grammarians were the *acutus*, indicating a rise of the voice, and the *gravis*, indicating a lowering. These could be combined to represent graphically vocal inflections on a syllable.¹⁸ Later developments of these signs, or accents, found in late antiquity, *acute*, *grave*, *circumflex*, *quilisma*, *oriscus*, etc are thought to be musical indicators for the shape of each syllable in a melody. Kenneth Levy cites Don Cardine's formulation of the origins of neumes:

The first scribes of Gregorian melodies employed signs that were already used with literary texts, retaining essentially their original signification or modifying this in an analogous sense. The acute and grave accents of the grammarians were by nature suited to distinguish high and low notes...The interrogative sign was chosen as the figure for a vocal phenomenon that lay close to the rising melos of an interrogative phrase...¹⁹

¹⁸ Carl Parish, *The Notation of Medieval Music* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company inc, 1957), p. 4.

¹⁹ Levy, p. 114.

A third argument comes from a linguistic background that speaks of Latin as a language concerned with the stress of an accent rather than pitch.²⁰ As language and music influence each other, they also benefit from one another. In this argument, neumes were to depict the stress of each accent musically. A fourth argument comes from Levy suggesting neumes were invented independent of grammar solely for the purpose of music. There have also been discussions on cheironomy, drawings of hand gestures and melodic trajectories. The symbols used from region to region were not consistent in shape and often a gloss would explain neume usage differently than another gloss.

Levey suggests the first type of neumes, Paleofrank mass neumations, surfaced before 800 CE.²¹ Table 2.1 is an excerpt from Levy's work providing an example of Paleofrank neumes in comparison to another regional neume type called Alammanian as they appeared over the text of the Introit *Ad te lavavi*:

²⁰ Atkinson, Charles, "Glosses on Music and Grammar and the Advent of Music Writing in the West" in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and Its Music*, p.199

²¹ Levy, p. 176.

Table 2.1. Introit: *Ad te lavavi*²²

Paleofrank	7		丿	•	•	/•	•	/	••	ㄣ
Alammanian	ρ	✓	✓	•	•	//	•	∩	✓	∩λ
Text	Ad	te	la-	va-	vi	a-	ni-	mam	me-	am:

²² Levy, p. 123.

The Paleofrank neumes are mostly made up of dots and straight lines, outlining melody and phrase while some are rounded, describing melodic nuance. These neumes were either combined or slightly altered to depict length. The Alammanian neume provided gestures linked to the melodic line and the waving of the cantor's hand. They are much more descriptive of the music to be performed and show a departure from thoughts of grammar. Though the two types of neumes coexisted, the Alammanian neume would prevail as it provided enhanced support for melodic memorization and performance.

It is difficult to replicate exactly how vocal music was performed prior to notation regarding pitch or melody, particularly music that fell under the responsibility of someone other than trained musicians. For instance, prayers and lessons do not appear in tonaries and are thought to have been known well enough not to require a written source. To gain some insight into the delivery of vocal music, scholars have looked to various treatises on music and grammar and the contents of tonaries, comparing them with notation available from the late Carolingian age. A common theme arises in the research that suggests that syllabic accent was the force driving melodic motion for vocal music.

Charles Atkinson has provided the most interesting perspective on performance in arguing that neumes are tied to prosodic accents. He surveyed a Martianus Gloss dating around the late eleventh century that dealt with grammar. It should be noted that neumes are unique to music of the medieval period. No grammatical characters for early ordinary text have survived which brings to question whether they ever existed for Latin. However, the author of the gloss places accent signs over syllables that do not already carry an accent. Atkinson writes "Granted all neumes are *pedes*, and thus represent acute accents, but the glossator seems to have been

interested in showing that there can be an accent on every syllable, a reasonably logical illustration of Martianus' statement."²³ What this suggests is the author of the gloss may have been accustomed to speaking Latin in a way that removes accent on certain syllables. Having seen the contents of Martianus' treaty on pronunciation appear in music books leads to the probability that vocal music experienced the same issues in pronunciation.

Writing makes verbatim memory possible. It allows for the establishment of comparison between a static entity and memory. With that said, the texts written in tonaries were likely to have been an inaccurate representation of the original content conforming to a vernacular that did not necessarily match that of the original form. Prior to the education reforms of Charlemagne, scribes, young boys, transcribed from dictation and/or copied written materials. Neumes depicting accent and stress have been shown to vary in style and words were replaced and/or misspelled all adhering to the native phonology of the scribe. As will be discussed, these characteristics exhibit the evolution of Romance Latin that presented problems in the standardization of the liturgy.

²³ Atkinson, *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium*, p. 209.

Chapter 3

The Transformation of Classical Latin into Romance Latin

and the Language of the Carolingian Reform

Part 1: The Transformation of Classical Latin into Romance Latin

Classical Latin was the language spoken in the region surrounding the modern city of Rome between 200 BCE and 100 CE. It developed from the dialect spoken by the Latins, one of many Indo-European peoples that had settled in Italy in the period 1000 B.C.E. As the Roman Empire expanded over the course of 500 years, Classical Latin would transform into Romance Latin (previously referred to as “Vulgar Latin”), the Latin of common speech that is the ancestor to our modern day Romance languages.

Latin was an evolving language that borrowed many of its aspects from other languages that Romans came into contact with like the pronunciation of words, word order, the definition of words, and even the words themselves. Montello observes that “It (Latin) did not, for example, suffer from lexical purism or hostility to innovations; in fact it was so ready to admit new words, to readmit words fallen from use, to change the meaning of words, and to form new words from Latin building blocks that no single comprehensive dictionary could easily contain them all.”²⁴ The Latin alphabet is one example of the Romans’ ability to adapt new systems into their culture. It is a derivative of the Greek alphabet that evolved from an adaptation by the Etruscans.

Before going further into discussions of some of the linguistic anomalies that have been discovered about Romance Latin, it is important to bear in mind that the definition of Romance

²⁴ F. A. C. Montello “Orbis Latinus: When the World was Latin.” *Humanities* 15, no. 5 (1994): pp. 40 - 44.

Latin should be thought of loosely, much like today's definition of English. English is spoken in many countries today and in each one there exists two or more dialectal variances borrowing characteristics from another language. In general, those speaking various dialects of English are able to understand one another. Tore Janson provides the state of communication between the Sotho-Tswana groups of Bantu languages in Southern African as an example of how a dialect of Romance Latin may have been received by populations speaking other dialects while crossing regions. The Sotho-Tswana population lives in an area spanning Botswana, Lesotho, and northern South Africa, roughly the size of Spain and France together. Janson notes that there is "a dialectal continuum reminiscent of the Romance one, although on the whole the dialectal differences are smaller: people from different regions can usually understand one another without much training."²⁵ The language group Janson speaks of is actually comprised of three subgroups of different dialects though considered one language.

The genesis of Romance Latin occurred at varying rates during the Roman conquest and in some areas of the Empire it never completely took hold. Reasons for the varying rate of development are beyond the scope of this study; however, it is worth noting that Romans did not destroy all conquered populations through death or slavery. In most instances, the population was left behind to produce goods for the empire, barter and trade with Roman merchants, and work for stationed soldiers and politicians that colonized conquered areas. Politically, Latin may not have been required of the conquered population, but socially, it would have been necessary for survival. Józef Herman explains that

²⁵ Tore Janson, "Language change and metalinguistic change" in *Latin and romance Languages in the Early Middle Age* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 26.

“the change to using Latin was thus the result of an apparently spontaneous process, of the pressure of many straightforward practical needs, and also, in many cases, of the cultural prestige that Latin had; but the changeover to Latin happened via several intermediate stages of both individual and general bilingualism, without any deliberate administrative intervention to that end from the Romans themselves.”²⁶

Early evidence of a bilingual society can be found in *Satyricon*, the only surviving work of Gaius Petronius, a satirical writer who was one of Nero’s advisors. It is generally characterized as a humorous discussion of philosophy that uses varied levels of language, from the speech of the uneducated to the sophisticated. Herman suggests that the work is an “accurate sample of what the speech of slaves and freedmen could have been...in the second half of the first century A.D.”²⁷ At varying rates, bilingual and multi-lingual societies often create new dialects, with some dialects receiving the recognition of a new language, mixing elements of source cultures. South Africa is home to a modern example of language mixing. Afrikaans is a mixture of Dutch, German, and San Bushman to name a few. Two hundred years after European colonists settled in a region of South Africa known as the Southern Cape, Afrikaans, a language that had once been considered a dialect of Dutch, was recognized as a language of its own. Though approximately ninety percent of the vocabulary comes from Dutch, its pronunciation, word endings, word order, and colloquial definitions are different enough to allow for distinction

²⁶ József Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, edited and translated by Roger Wright (Pensylvania, PA: The Pennsylvania University State Press, 2000), p. 11.

²⁷ Herman, p. 15

with its mother language. It was an evolution in language that allowed a diverse local population to communicate.

As Romance Latin developed, bilingual regions not only adapted the addition of word endings and word combinations fit to pre-existing words, Classical Latin words were dropped from use in some regions in exchange for words of other languages. Herman cites the Classical Latin word *loquor* (speak) as an example of a word lost in the Romance languages and replaced by a variety of words that were not of Latin origin. “Modern Italian *parlare*, Occitan and Catalan *parlar*, and French *parler* are words for “speak” that correspond to a late Latin *parabolare*, formed from the Greek word *parabola*...”²⁸

Bilingual societies also have a tendency to change the reference point of a word in favor of terms of higher status that are used more frequently. This is called a hyponym. This colloquialism is not isolated to bilingual societies in their literal sense, but can also occur within a dialectal subset. Roger Wright makes the following observation in his discussion of hyponyms:

Scientists, philosophers, or social reformers often have recourse to the establishment of their own definitions of words that are already in use with a related by slightly less clear or defined meaning, and if they have sufficient authority they can in time succeed in changing the meaning of the word thereby. Einstein did not invent the word relativity, but he invented the definition of it that is now its central meaning.²⁹

²⁸ Herman, p. 2.

²⁹ Roger Wright, “The Conceptual Distinction Between Latin and Romance: Invention or Evolution?” in *Latin and Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (London : Routledge, 1991), p. 106.

As a word's definition changes, so does its use.

The borrowing of language forms from other cultures during the evolution of Romance Latin was regional and produced various dialects from region to region. Herman provided an old African version of Genesis as an example: "...absconderunt se Adam et mulier eius abante faciem domini."³⁰ The compound word *abante*, *ab* (moving away from) + *ante* (in front of), represents a preposition combination that did not exist in Classical Latin.³¹ It was borrowed from another language present in North Africa and did not make it into influence throughout all of Europe. Another example is the suffix "-itas." Montello argues the suffix was borrowed from Arabic sources and added to words such as *asineitas* and *talitas* "to shorten their explanations or to make precise philosophical or theological points."³²

Other borrowed elements of Romance Latin were influenced by native phonology such as pronunciation. The accent and inflection in words, even in the presence of written words, are influenced by personal experience. For instance, if I were to present the words of my ancestors by reading them aloud, the accent and inflection of the words would not bear any resemblance to their speech. Thomas Walsh argued "I have no doubt but that Latin as articulated by the average English, French, or Spanish university student (or, for that matter, professor) bears far more resemblance, on the strictly phonological level, to English, French, or Spanish than to Vergil's pronunciation of the classical tongue."³³ As an example, the word "heretical" may be

³⁰ Herman, p. 24.

³¹ Herman, p. 24.

³² Montallo, p. 43.

³³ Thomas J. Walsh "Spelling lapses and primitive Romance phonology ?" *Latin and Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (London : Routledge, 1991), p. 207.

understood as being pronounced with a /d/ instead of a /t/ in parts of the United States. Over time, the spelling may change as is the case with languages based on Romance Latin (Latin *capillus* to Portuguese *cabelo*).

Vowel pronunciation played a large role in the definition and accent of words and was also influenced by native phonology. There were five vowels with short and long values in Classical Latin as in today's modern English: a e i o and u. The short and long values could determine the meaning of the word and were distinguishable from one another when heard in speech. For example, Herman illustrates that the word *malum* pronounced with a short /a/ meant "bad" and if pronounced with a long /a:/ it meant "apple."³⁴ The difference between long and short vowels virtually disappeared in some regions before the end of the Roman Empire. By the end of the third century, vowels in the final syllable of a word were shortened. Augustine of Hippo speaks of the lack of distinction between long and short vowels as his African neighbors would have pronounced them in his *De doctrina christiana*, published in 397 A.D.³⁵ Between the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., grammarian Sergius commented "it is difficult to know which syllables are naturally long."³⁶ The central issue fought over by grammarians of the period was the decline in the use of the classical vowel duration system that threatened their own teachings. Herman states

"on the one hand, the whole tradition of metric poetry was inseparably tied to this system and so were rhythmic patterns of oratorical prose; on the other, the grammarians

³⁴ Herman, p. 27.

³⁵ Herman, p. 29.

³⁶ Herman, p. 28.

constructed some rules of inflectional morphology – and they did very rightly so - on the inherited distinction of long and short vowels.”³⁷

As noted above, vowel distinction also affected the placement of accent in words. In words of two syllables, the first syllable was accented. In words of three or more syllables, the accent fell on the penult if it was long; the accent fell on the antepenult if it was short.

As vowel distinction disappeared, so did some short words with lesser phonetic distinction. For example, the word *os* (mouth) did not survive the Romance evolution of languages. Pronounced with a long /o:/, *os* lost its distinctiveness when the long and short /o/ became indistinguishable. *Os* with a short /o/ is “bone.” Herman observes that “*Os* (mouth) survives nowhere in Romance Latin, and most of Romance now has derivatives of *bucca* as the ordinary word for mouth (Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan *boca*, French *bouche*, Italian *bocca*).”³⁸ The loss of these words was a communicative need. To the listener, a great deal of misunderstanding or uncertainty may have presented itself in conversation. However, most of the smaller words were replaced by derivative forms. Diminutives, for instance, were a colloquial feature. The word *oricla* is a diminutive form of *auris* (ear). *Auris* did not survive in Romance languages. Instead Italian *orecchio*, French *oreille*, Catalan *orella*, and Spanish *oreja*, derived from *oricla*, are used for the word “ear.”

Word ending consonants and consonant clusters began to disappear in Romance Latin and palatalization began to change at different rates depending on the region. The letter /-t/, for instance, though not a common word ending, appears in all periods. Yet, in all periods, words

³⁷ Herman, p. 37.

³⁸ Herman, p. 99.

that had /-t/ as an ending, particularly with a preceding consonant, dropping the pronunciation of the letter was more prominent. Herman illustrates this evolution with the words *pos consulatum* as a replacement for *post consulatum* and *posuerun* for *posuerunt* as common phrases that dropped /-t/ as a word ending.³⁹ Consonant clusters were also simplified changing the character of the pronunciation of words (i.e. *mensis* became *mesis*, *sponsus* became *sposus*, *emptores* became *imtores*, etc.).⁴⁰ Evidence of changes in palatalization comes from the spelling of words that exhibit confusion on pronunciation. Herman suggests that the original pronunciation of /k/ before /j/ changed to a /tj/ as the effort of sounding t and j was much less since both sounds are produced in the same region of the palate. Later the /tj/ would become /ts/ as the /j/ would be pronounced in a relaxed fashion. Herman observes that “grammarians of the fifth and sixth centuries are already mentioning the /ts/ pronunciation and even present it as being normal. The letter /s/ is also sometimes used to represent this affricate /ts/, as, for example, in the written form *consiensia* (knowledge) instead of *conscientia*”⁴¹

Not long after the fall of Rome, evidence begins to emerge of educated writers misrepresenting Classical Latin in pronunciation and meter. Commadianus was a Christian poet who lived around 250 A.D whose writings consistently break the rules of *hexameter*, the poetic form consisting of six metrical feet. Classical hexameter adhered to the following pattern: $\bar{\text{L}}\sim\bar{\text{L}}\sim\bar{\text{L}}\sim\bar{\text{L}}\sim\bar{\text{L}}\sim$ (~ is the symbol for short, ¯ is the symbol for long, and / is the symbol for ictus, the first long syllable stressed in the foot). Herman refers to Commadianus’s work *Carmen*

³⁹ Herman, p. 41.

⁴⁰ Herman, p. 47.

⁴¹ Herman, p. 43.

apologeticum 27 as an example of misuse. The phrase “*datas a sumo*” is used to end the line. “Here the first three vowels would in Classical Latin have been respectively short, long, long, and yet the original hexameter required the line to end as $\bar{\sim}|\bar{\sim} \sim \dots$ ” It is not known whether Commandianus’ broke the rules purposely or not.⁴²

Word order also varied according to the emphasis intended in a statement, and could be either Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) versus Subject-Object-Verb (SOV).⁴³ However, there is evidence of a somewhat free form of presentation depending on the situation. An example of deviation from any fixed word order can be found in the work of Quintilian. As was discussed in chapter two, his work was highly influential throughout the medieval period as it not only provided instruction for rhetoric; it also provided the foundation of an orator’s education. In the work *Institutio Oratoria*, published around 95 A.D, Quintilian advises against word order for artistic purposes. Harm Pinkster provides the following translation from Quintilian:

If the demands of artistic structure permit, it is far best to end the sentence with a verb: for it is in verbs that the real strength of language resides. But if it results in harshness of sound, this principle must give way before the demands of rhythm, as is frequently the case in the best authors of Greece and Rome.⁴⁴

Pinkster has also observed that the variation in word order in reviewed texts of the period suggests that there was no fixed word order and “there is no reason for assuming a SOV order in

⁴² Herman, p. 29

⁴³ Harm Pinkster, “Evidence for SVO in Latin?” *Latin and Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (London : Routledge, 1991,) p. 70.

⁴⁴ Pinkster, p. 70.

Classical Latin, nor is there one for assuming a SVO order by AD 400.”⁴⁵ However, word order may have become fixed in Romance Latin in some regions as has been discovered in the *Codice Emilianense 60* found in the monasteries of San Millan. Birte Stengarrd breaks down the codex revealing two types of glosses, one consisting of words and another of only letters. The latter purposefully organizes word order consistently suggesting it is an adaptation of the intended vernacular.

Part 2: The Carolingian Reforms

The seventy second chapter of *Admonitio generalous*, written in 789 CE, demonstrates the importance Charlemagne placed on the creation of schools and the role they would play in the reformation of Latin. The document requires that boys be given instruction in “Psalms, written characters, chant, calculation, and grammar” in every monastery and diocese.⁴⁶ Of the five subjects mentioned, four are directly related to a reformed language that would change the landscape of music performance and education. He also calls for standard texts, and indicates how they should come to exist: “... young clerks should not be allowed to corrupt these texts...and the making of new copies of books such as the evangel, psalter, or missal should be done by a grown man...;”⁴⁷ presumably, this would be someone properly educated in language.

In 795, *De Litteris Colendis*, “On the need to learn literature,” was attached to *Admonitio generalous* as a supplement. Charlemagne sets a precedent using a spiritual reference requiring special attention to a reformed language. “We, in company with our *fideles*,...for as observance

⁴⁵ Pinkster, p. 80.

⁴⁶ Charles Atkinson, “Some Thoughts on Music Pedagogy in the Carolingian Era” in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), p. 38.

⁴⁷ Atkinson, p. 38.

of the monastic rule preserves purity of behavior, so in the same way this perseverance in teaching and learning should direct and embellish the series of words, in order that those who aim to please God by living correctly should in addition not fail to please him by speaking correctly ...”⁴⁸ In Charlemagne’s view, only those with a “mastery of non-spiritual literature” can understand spiritual texts, meaning, only those with a proper education in language can be spiritually connected with God.⁴⁹ Though religious reference is used throughout *De Litteras Colendis*, the text is an edict that hints at an issue throughout Charlemagne’s kingdom regarding a varied vernacular.

Charlemagne’s admiration of Gregorian education tradition, that was present in the cathedral school of York, was an integral part of his success as an administrator. During a visit to Italy in 780, he invited a British deacon, Alcuin of York, to join him as the Master of the Palace school in Aachen and standardize the rules of grammar and pronunciation of Latin. Alcuin was previously a student of the cathedral school in York founded by Egbert and he stayed as a scholar and later became master. His course of study included the liberal arts, and most importantly, grammar. It should be noted that many scholars have found differences between Alcuin’s linguistic work and Classical Latin. Roger Wright goes as far as to argue that Alcuin invented the new form of Latin taught in the Carolingian schools.

To better understand the significance of Alcuin’s appointment with regard to grammar, the conditions of education in Britain should be noted. The Romanization of Britain did not occur widely or at least was not lasting. During the Roman occupation, towns were populated by

⁴⁸ Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1982), pp. 112 - 113.

⁴⁹ Atkinson, p. 39.

politicians and merchants literate in Latin which supported the presence of local schoolmasters. After the fall of Rome, the literate population migrated to other regions which in turn left towns that once enjoyed local education in a state that could no longer support schoolmasters. As a result, the centers of education and learning were transplanted to regional monasteries. Monks who were not trained in instruction or grammar were now schoolmasters. Prior to the fall of Roman control, school masters assumed that students had a basic understanding of Latin as most of their students were from prominent backgrounds. Therefore all of the texts about Latin grammar were in Latin until about 990 AD. There was no thought as to how to teach Latin to non-Latinists. On British education in Latin, Nicholas Ormes offers this explanation as to how Latin was taught:

Latin is a complicated language. There are five major types of nouns and four major types of verbs, and unlike English nouns and verbs, they have many ‘paradigms’ or forms, depending on the roles they play in a sentence. So in the post-roman period, Irish, British, and eventually Anglo-Saxon teachers, compiled new grammars, based on those of the romans, but expanded to help learners who knew no Latin already and whose own language worked in different ways.⁵⁰

In short, those reading and/or speaking Latin would have done so in a somewhat broken manner. This is not to say the lack of colloquial materials would have prohibited the learning of basic Latin, but full mastery of the language is unlikely to have occurred. This strengthens Roger Wright’s assertion that Alcuin invented Medieval Latin as his knowledge of Classical Latin may not have been extensive.

⁵⁰ Nicholas Orme, “What did Medieval Schools do for us?” *History Today* 56 (2006): p. 12.

While writing a new version of the Bible for Charlemagne to be presented to the Pope, Alcuin wrote *De Orthographia* (*About writing correctly*). It is essentially a work that identifies words that were in frequent use and liable to be misspelled. Mullinger speaks of Alcuin's need to distinguish between letters as the misspelling or mispronunciation would result in a different meaning: "If you mean wool, he says, you must write *vellus*; if handsome, *bellus*."⁵¹ He also took issue with the letter /f/. "He tells us that /f/ resembles in shape the letter known as the digamma; but as the sound of that letter was more accurately represented by the letter /v/, it was decided to write *votum*, *virgo*, instead of *fotum*, *firgo*."⁵² Here we see a conscious transformation of words. It is likely that a vernacular was transforming the pronunciation of words that was then causing the spelling to change.

Other reforms included ensuring the correct sounding of each letter. Wright uses his name as an example of how this system worked. "Were such a reform applied in Modern English, Wright would be read as [wrixt] rather than [rait]."⁵³ He goes further to say how different this prescribed method of production was from contemporary French. For example, *varidiarium* now had six syllables; in Old French *vergier* it had two."⁵⁴ The system of reading aloud text with a sound for each letter, Latinate pronunciation, came from England. It would not have been natural to do so in a Romance speaking area. Latinate pronunciation was reinforced by the addition of the edict *De litteris colendis* requiring the study of literature according to the

⁵¹ J. Bass Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great and the Restoration of Education in the Ninth Century* (Cambridge: St. John's College, 1877), p. 78.

⁵² Mullinger, pp. 78 - 79.

⁵³ Wright, p. xi.

⁵⁴ Wright, p. 107.

new pronunciation standard. As mentioned above, Romance Latin had already seen a decline in the differentiation of long and short vowels. However, they were still in existence in some dialects of Romance Latin. Alcuin's work influenced the final decline. For instance, words written with a short "e" and those with long "e" were not distinguishable. This may have made it easier to ensure rhyme in later text, but nullified it in old verse.

Though diphthongs still existed, the sounding of a syllable for each vowel was prescribed. For instance, in the word *sapientia* (rational), one would normally join the vowels /a/ and /i/ as they form the last syllable of the word and thus have no stress. The same would be true of the /i/ and /e/ with exception to words containing the pronunciation of a /y/ in place of the /i/ as would occur in French. However, in Alcuin's new Latin, the vowels would be sounded independently giving the word five syllables instead of three. This has significant implications regarding the treatment of accent in language. In Martianus Capella's work *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, the idea that each vowel contains an accent emerges. Charles Atkinson provides the following translation:

Every single syllable is either grave, acute, or circumflex; and just as there is no syllable without a vowel, there is none without accent. As some assert, accent is the soul of utterance and the seedbed of music, because every melody is composed of elevation or depression of the voice. Thus accent is call for the purpose of song, so to speak.⁵⁵

As the new reforms were being introduced and taught, another type of bilingualism emerged. Diglossia is the purposeful use of variations of a language according to a given situation. A priest would speak the reformed Latin during mass and a more colloquial version

⁵⁵ Atkinson, p. 42.

during everyday living situations. W. D. Elcock states “the knowledgeable man in France was to be consciously bilingual, and the priest was credited with the two languages to use and confuse.”⁵⁶ It should be noted that diglossia went through its own stages of development as the reforms took time to take root. Wright contends that “once the reformed pronunciation was introduced, the services stopped being intelligible to the congregation.”⁵⁷ Sermons were fixed and approved by fathers of the church. Priests were forbidden to preach using their own words as there was a fear they would not produce the correct pronunciation. Marc Uytfanghe quotes canons from Minz and Rheims around 813 CE illustrating the difficulty the public experienced while trying to understand readings from the new language. The clergy had asked priests to preach “in a like manner and to the understanding of the public” and “as each is able to understand, according to their language.”⁵⁸

⁵⁶ W. D. Elcock *The Romance Languages* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), p. 331.

⁵⁷ Wright p. 118.

⁵⁸ Marc Van Uytfanghe “The consciousness of a linguistic dichotomy (Latin – Romance) in Carolingian Gaul: the contradictions of the sources and their interpretation” in *Latin and Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (London : Routledge, 1991), p. 120.

Chapter Four: Conclusion

Language and vocal music were and still are intertwined, exposing, among other things, regional tendencies in pronunciation, colloquial conversation, and musical preference. In other words, together, they strengthen a population's identity. As Latin underwent an evolution during the medieval period, so too did vocal music, which required education materials to be rewritten and redesigned; this resulted in the creation of new aids such as musical notation. Latin grammar affected musical performance and composition according to varying pronunciations, definitions, and sometimes substitutions of words.

As we have seen, Latin dialects began to surface almost immediately during the Roman conquest. Latin was an evolving language that regionally took on the characteristics of populations conquered by the Roman Empire. This would ultimately lead to the present day national languages of Spanish, French, Italian, Portuguese, Catalan, and Romanian, the result of from hundreds of years of evolution. Latin speaking populations in the Middle Ages associated with the western church experienced additional linguistic change following liturgical reforms. These reforms involved the Latin language and were in response to Latin's diverse vernacular that borrowed elements from local traditions. Medieval vocal music, being intertwined with language, along with the tools used for instruction would have experienced dialectal variation as well.

Regarding the liturgy, David Hiley states, "there was no special urgency to impose uniformity, for Latin did not replace Greek as the language of the liturgy until the late fourth century. The main rites of Western Europe, Milanese Mazarabic, etc. had their own

translations.”⁵⁹ Coupling a varied dialect along with multiple translations of the liturgy must have created a multitude of regional music and educational materials as well. As dialects evolve at varying rates according to region, regional tools developed for education would also experience revision at varying rates. The period of each liturgical reform might suggest when major changes in education took place. Taking into account the dates when Latin replaced Greek and Hebrew as the language of the liturgy, Pepin the Short’s first call to standardize the Roman liturgy, and Charlemagne’s edict *Admonitio generalous*, major revisions to education tools may have taken place in three stages.

When Latin replaced Greek and Hebrew as the language of the liturgy at the end of the fourth century, vocal music and pedagogical tools to educate would have been written to match the new standard. But the new creations would not be uniform for all of the western church. For instance, the three major Psalters in use were the Roman, Gallican, and Hebrew. All three were used in various regions and provided specific resources for the liturgy. The Roman Psalter was the basis of chants sung at Mass and was in use in Italy and later by the Franks, the Gallican Psalter provided the singing of the office and was used in most areas outside of Italy and Spain, and the Hebrew Psalter was primarily used in Spain.⁶⁰

There was also the sanctioned tolerance of Gregory the Great that allowed for local chant traditions to remain while introducing new chant. It should be assumed that local chant traditions were based on a local dialect of Latin if not another language all together. Much of music education, prior to the Carolingian schools, was dependent upon mnemonic aids designed

⁵⁹ Hiley, David. *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 309.

⁶⁰ Hiley, pg. 309.

to assist illiterate students in the memorization of music through rote. These aids included rhyme and metrical rhythms characteristic to a local dialect. Word order was not fixed and at times was arranged to fit rhythmic structure. Versification was also important to the illiterate as it provided an easy way to memorize text using division. Hymns, for example, were in strophic form, utilizing rhyme and metrical regularity, most of which were composed in one of two meters. The disappearance of distinction between long and short vowels, word order, compound words, borrowed words, etc. would have varied regionally in the medieval church resulting in regional mnemonic materials as well as dialectal performance in music.

The next major revision would have taken place as a result of Pepin's ecclesiastical reforms. In order to strengthen the ties of the Roman church and expand his realm, Pepin sought to standardize the Roman liturgy in his domain in agreement with Pope Stephen II, which included chant. As David Hiley has pointed out, chant books were sent from Rome to England as early as 747 CE. It has also been discovered that Chrodegang of Metz "composed a rule for the canons of his city which borrows heavily from Benedictine practice and refers frequently to Roman customs."⁶¹ Knowledge of these events provides a clear picture of the political growth of the Roman church and its influence on liturgical practices of Pepin's kingdom. The import of music books that would ultimately be copied by scribes demonstrates a new focus on education and performance. This move would ultimately suppress the local traditions Gregory the Great had sought to preserve and move toward Latin as the sole language of the church. However, education tools would have been influenced by the native phonology of the instructor and performer. This would be unacceptable to Pepin's son Charlemagne.

⁶¹ Hiley, pg. 516.

The final revision, concluding research covering a period through the end of the Carolingian reform, would come as a result of Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis*. The document calls for the reform of education in grammar and music and pays homage to the work of his father Pepin. Charlemagne called for the proper copying of text by grown men so as not to taint the original work, suggesting education tools were already being revised. This came after learning Gallican chant did not match that of the Roman Rite. As Charlemagne called on Alcuin to create a new school for grammar, a new pronunciation of Latin was introduced that included syllabic stress on each vowel and omitted elision. Words were also replaced and/or redefined. This would all require revision in written education tools.

To provide momentum for the reform, tonaries were remade to include the new pronunciation system with glossed text reminding the cantor and performer of the correct placement of syllabic stress. Dialectal notes appear in margins providing the reader information pertaining to pronunciation, composition, and/or performance. Teachers of grammar and singing, typically the same teacher, worked with students in several daily sessions where "chant was learned by ear, first by listening and then by repeating after their teachers..."⁶² This type of memorization reinforces the speech and grammar presented by the instructor, particularly if the grammar and singing instructor were one in the same.

As Latin is a language of stress, it would seem appropriate to find characters over words in song books to enforce the idea of adding new stress on each syllable. Although no one has definitively proven the origin of neumes, recognition of their variation and purpose exists. Whether the characters are illustrations of hand gestures or straight lines depicting the rise and

⁶² Susan Boyton, *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), p. 53.

fall of the voice, they provided the stress indicators for each syllable. This would not have been important if all populations spoke the same dialect or natively pronounced Alcuin's new Latin.

Though Charlemagne's edict called for the standardization of education which included music and grammar, music education materials were already in constant revision due to varying dialects of Latin. Indeed, Latin's evolution not only informed the performance and composition of vocal music, it delivered the tools used to teach it. Language variation played a significant role in the development of medieval music education, which played an important role in the creation of musical notation.

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