

INTRODUCTION

The Carmelite Order and its liturgy

The development of the liturgical tradition of the Carmelite Order in many ways parallels the growth of the Carmelites themselves from a small group of hermits on Mount Carmel to an international mendicant Order. Founded on Mount Carmel as part of the Crusader movement, the Carmelites derive their name, "Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel", from the location of their origins, rather than from an individual founder, in obvious contrast to the other mendicant Orders. Their official beginnings stem from their reception of a rule or way of life from the local patriarch, Albert of Jerusalem, at some unspecified time during his term in office, 1206-14.[1]

The appropriateness of Mount Carmel for the pursuit of prayer was undercut by the perils of Saracen raids and other dangers, stimulating the Carmelites to migrate westward. This movement back to Europe began around the year 1238, with settlements first in Sicily, then in England and other countries of western Europe. The Acts of the General Chapter of London of 1281 already list ten provinces comprising the Order at that time: the Holy Land, Sicily, England, Provence, Tuscany, Lombardy, France, Germany, Aquitaine and Spain, in order of their chronological foundation.[2]

The liturgy of the Order was gradually formulated as they expanded, so that feasts such as the Three Patriarchs, reminiscent of eastern devotions, continued to be observed alongside newer ones such as those of St. Augustine, St. Nicholas of Myra and St. Catherine of Alexandria, all of which were accepted into the Order's Liturgy in 1281 by the General Chapter of London.[3]

The promulgation by a Chapter of London in 1312 of an Ordinal by the Carmelite Sibert de Beka constituted a significant landmark in Carmelite liturgical history, since it was promulgated for use throughout the entire Order and was only definitively replaced by the General Chapter of Venice in 1548, thus remaining in effect for over two hundred years. Sibert's Ordinal stipulated every chant to be performed at every office hour for every feast and ferial day, thereby effectively standardizing and defining the Carmelite liturgy in detail. Unlike the Dominican liturgy, however, it was not accompanied by an Antiphonal with music comparable to the service books prepared for the Dominican Master General,[4] so that the detailed liturgical Carmelite prescriptions did not extend to the music as well. As a consequence, one finds a freedom of musical expression within the standardized liturgical texts in the Carmelite liturgy which,

at least theoretically, would never occur within their Dominican counterparts. Not only does such musical freedom within standardized texts characterize the Carmelite liturgical expression, but in the case of the office of the Three Marys it explains why two distinct Carmelite sources should use two entirely different musical settings for this rhymed office. Since no non-Carmelite musical sources containing this office have come to light, these two Carmelite settings of the office of the Three Marys assume heightened importance.

The Feast of the Three Marys

The Feast of the Three Marys was added to the Carmelite liturgy after the time of Sibert's Ordinal and typifies the eclectic nature of the Carmelite rite, which willingly incorporated elements from various other traditions into its own liturgy. The feast itself derives from a Provençal legend, according to which Lazarus, Mary Magdalene and two sisters of the Virgin Mary were set adrift by the Jews in an oarless boat, which miraculously transported them to the south of France, landing near the village now known as Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer.[5] Devotion to the Three Marys consequently originated in the area of Provence, and from there quickly spread throughout the rest of France and into other countries. The early settlement of the Carmelites in Provence, coupled with their devotion to the Virgin Mary and with liturgical interest in personages from the Holy Land, stimulated them to accept the feast of the Three Marys into their own rite. This occurred at the General Chapter of Lyons in 1342, as the Chapter Acts record: "Item in rubrica tertia de divino officio addatur quod de Sororibus beatae Mariae, scilicet Mariae Jacobi et Mariae Salome in die sancti Urbani fiat officium sicut in festo duplici est notatum." [6] Thus the observance of the feast was established on St. Urban's day, May 25th; the rank of duplex feast indicates the strength of devotion to the Three Marys at this time within the Order.

The very notion of Three Marys invites confusion, although each one's history is allied with the life of St. Ann. According to the Provençal legend, Ann married Joachim and begot Mary, the mother of Jesus; after Joachim's death, Ann married Cleophas and begot another Mary, who in turn married Alphaeus and begot St. James the Less, St. Simon, St. Jude and St. Joseph the Just. After the death of Cleophas, Ann married Salomas and begot a third Mary, who became the mother of St. James the Great and St. John the Evangelist.[7] The title "Sorores

Beatae Mariae Virginis", which often designates the feast, refers to Mary the daughter of Cleophas and Mary the daughter of Salomas, two Marys who, when spoken of in conjunction with the Virgin Mary, then become the Three Marys. Furthermore, they are often associated with St. Mary Magdalene, in whose company they purportedly came to France; this last Mary remains a distinct and not a fourth Mary. The legend of the Three Marys is also linked with the Carmelite chronicler Jean de Venette, who wrote his celebrated *Histoire des Trois Maries* in 1357.[8] Jean de Venette became prior of the Paris Carmel in 1339,[9] and later was provincial of France, in which capacity he undoubtedly attended the General Chapter of Lyons which adopted the feast of the Three Marys in 1342.[10] This feast endured within the Carmelite rite until 1584, when it was suppressed in a liturgical reform which eliminated all feasts of doubtful origin being observed within the Order at that time.[11]

Sources of the Office of the Three Marys

Two complete sets of early Carmelite Antiphonals have survived into modern times: a 14th-century set of codices originally used in the Carmine of Florence and now housed there and in the San Marco Museum; and a 15th-century set of manuscripts originally used in the Carmelite convent of Mainz, and now housed in that city's Dom- und Diözesanmuseum.[12] Not only does each of these two sets of Antiphonals contain a complete rhymed office for the feast of the Three Marys, but an entirely different musical setting for these texts is used in each source; as a result, one rhymed office for the Three Marys occurs in Florence, Carmine, manuscript O, reflecting 14th-century Florentine Carmelite usage, and another is contained in Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Codex E, reflecting 15th-century Mainz Carmelite practice. These two settings offer valuable insights into the liturgical practices of the Carmelite Order in the early centuries of the Carmelite liturgy; they also enhance our appreciation of the office itself, since they are the only two musical settings of this office currently extant.

Table 1 on the next page shows the pieces comprising this feast, along with the number of the folio on which they begin in each of the two Carmelite sources. The following abbreviations will be used in this table, as well as in our discussion of the pieces for this office:

CarME = Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Codex E
CarFO = Florence, Carmine, ms. O

N = Nocturn
L = Lauds

MA = Magnificat Antiphon
BA = Benedictus Antiphon
INV = Invitatory Antiphon
A = Antiphon
R = Responsory
SR = Short Responsory
V = Verse
PS = Psalm (Canticle)

This table shows that the ordering of pieces in each source is consistent except for the Lauds antiphons: the 3rd Lauds antiphon in CarME is *Hee cum aromatibus*, which does not occur in CarFO, and the 5th Lauds antiphon in CarFO is *Respondens autem angelus*, which does not occur in CarME. Both Carmelite sources obviously exhibit some independence in the selection of pieces to be included in the office, perhaps also suggesting that other chants were available to the redactors of these two sources. Only CarFO includes the short responsories for the Little Hours, which supports the idea that more pieces may have been included in the sources from which the Carmelites drew. Nonetheless, these two are the only manuscripts containing the office so far known.

Occasional textual differences in these chants occur from one Carmelite source to another, clearly suggesting that the tradition from which the Carmelites drew was a large one. Thus the 1st Matins responsory is *Sollempnitas beatarum* in CarME and *Dies festus beatarum* in CarFO; the 6th Matins antiphon (N2 A3) is *Maria Salome* in CarME and *Et Maria Salome* in CarFO. Occasionally a seemingly insignificant word substitution or addition may have significant consequences for the metre of the chant, since the number of syllables in the line affects the poetic rhythm of the antiphon or responsory.

Subject matter

This rhymed office is particularly interesting because its subject matter is not only extra-biblical, but also for the most part legendary. Significantly, the texts used for the chants of the rhymed office are conservative in scope and limit themselves to an identification of the three sisters, an account of their discovery of the resurrection at Easter, and a description of the glory they enjoy in heaven. Thus areas that might be open to dispute, such as their activities after the resurrection, are tactfully omitted from the texts of the rhymed office.

Specifically, the antiphons for the 2nd Nocturn of Matins identify the Three Marys, each a daughter of St. Ann by a different husband:

9. N2 A1
Maria de Ioachim / fuit primogenita /
que domini postea / mater fuit inclita.
(Mary of Joachim was the firstborn, who afterwards became the renowned mother of the Lord.)
10. N2 A2
(Hec) Maria Iacobi / minoris est mater /
cuius fuit Cleophas / homo iustus pater.
(Mary is the mother of the Less, whose father was Cleophas the Just man.)
11. N2 A3
(Et) Maria Salome / proles erudita /
paterno sit nomine / fuit insignita.
(Mary of Salomas, since she was a well-educated daughter, was given the distinction of her father's name.)

TABLE 1
 THE FEAST OF THE THREE MARYS
 LOCATION OF CHANTS IN THE CARMELITE SOURCES
 WITH MODAL ASSIGNMENTS

No. in Edition	Chant	Incipit		CarME fol. mode	CarFO fol. mode
1st VESPERS					
1.	MA	Ecce dies gloriosa	PS Magnificat	487r 1	42r 1
MATINS					
2.	INV	Jubilemus in hac die	PS Venite	487v 4	42v 4
1st Nocturn					
3.	N1 A1	Gratuletur civium	PS Domine dominus	488r 1	43r 2
4.	N1 A2	Hodie celebritas	PS Celi enarrant	488v 2	43v 4
5.	N1 A3	Alme matris nomine	PS Domini est terra	489r 3	44r 3
6.	N1 R1	Sollempnitas/Dies festus	V Felicium par sororum	489r 1	44r 1
7.	N1 R2	Ante regis solium	V Hee puelle	490r 2	45r 3
8.	N1 R3	Hodie Marie Iacobi	V Ad earum igitur	491r 6*	46r 1
2nd Nocturn					
9.	N2 A1	Maria de Ioachim	PS Eructavit	492v 4	47v 7
10.	N2 A2	(Hec) Maria Iacobi minoris	PS Deus noster refugium	493r 5	48r 8
11.	N2 A3	(Et) Maria Salome proles	PS Fundamenta	493v 6*	48v 1
12.	N2 R1	Maria Magdalene dueque	V Et dicunt ad invicem	494r 7	48v 5
13.	N2 R2	Mirande propagines	V Sic ex Anna	495r 2	49v 2
14.	N2 R3	Super throno Salomonis	V Virgo mater pietatis	496r 6	50v 8
3rd Nocturn					
15.	N3 A1	Maria primogenita	PS Cantate i.	497v 8	52r 1
16.	N3 A2	Maria mater Iacobi	PS Dominus regnavit	497v 8	52v 3
17.	N3 A3	Cum/Ex hac ergo Iacobus	PS Cantate ii.	498r 6	53r 4
18.	N3 R1	O Ihesu deifere	V Hee super candelabrum	498v 5	53v 6
19.	N3 R2	Orto solis radio	V Non est hic	499v 8	54v 5
20.	N3 R3	Gaudeamus hodie	V Felices matertere	500v 7	55v 6
LAUDS					
21.	L A1	Cum Maria Magdalene	PS Dominus regnavit	502r 8	57r 1
22.	L A2	Ad sepulchrum domini/veniunt	PS Jubilate	502v 7	57v 2
23a.	L A3	Hee cum aromatibus	PS Deus deus meus	503r 7	-
23b.	L A3	Quis revolvat lapidem	PS Deus deus meus	-	58r 5
24.	L A4	Et intrantes iuv./splen.	PS Benedicite	503r 8	58v 3
25a.	L A5	Quis revolvat lapidem	PS Laudate	503v 7	-
25b.	L A5	Respondens autem angelus	PS Laudate	-	59r 7
26.	BA	Mulieres (leniter) angelus	PS Benedictus	504r 6	59v 5
LITTLE HOURS					
27.	SR	Maria Iacobi et Salome	V Ut venientes	-	60r 6
28.	SR	Et respicientes	V Erat quippe	-	60v 6
29.	SR	Hee cum aromatibus	V Ubi corpus	-	61r 6
2nd VESPERS					
30.	MA	O lux (de) luce	PS Magnificat	505r 5	61v 5

* transposed

The 2nd responsory for the 2nd Nocturn also describes their role in history in terms of the offspring they bore:

13. N2 R2

Mirande propagine / tres ex una vita. /
Generantur procreantur / ex quibus sex
homines / et creator vite / alleluia.

V Sic ex Anna tres puella /
omnis dicte maris stelle.

(Three wonderful offspring came forth from the one life, from whom in turn were created six men, and the creator of life, alleluia. Thus from Ann came three young women, all called star of the sea.)

The antiphons of the 3rd Nocturn specify in more detail the progeny of these Marys:

15. N3 A1

Maria primogenita / Ioseph desponsata /
sine viri semine / fuit fecundata.

(Mary the firstborn was betrothed to Joseph; she became with child without the seed of man.)

16. N3 A2

Maria mater Iacobi / minoris Alpheo /
sed Maria Salome / datur Zebedeo.

(Mary [the wife] of Alpheus was the mother of James the Less; but Mary of Salomas was given [in marriage] to Zebedee.)

17. N3 A3

Cum hac ergo Iacobus / maior fuit natus /
et alter discipulus / deo plus amatus.

(Therefore of the latter was born James the Greater and the other disciple most beloved by God.)

The 3rd responsory of the 3rd Nocturn specifies the joy the three Marys enjoy in heaven:

20. N3 R3

Gaudeamus hodie / immense letitie / laudes
extollantur / dum regine glorie / sorores
egregie.

Anna due filie / celo coronantur / alleluia.

V Felices matertere / sorores christifere /
cum virtutum munere / ad nos applicantur.

(Let us therefore rejoice, with immense gladness let the praises be sung, as the famous sisters of the queen of glory, the two daughters, are crowned by Ann in heaven, alleluia.)

Happy are the aunts, sisters of the bearer of Christ, since they are united to us by reason of their virtues.)

The responsory *Mirande propagine* (13. N2 R2) just quoted is textually very significant, since it establishes the relationship between St. Ann, her three daughters, and their offspring. Its verse attributes to all three daughters the title "Star of the Sea", usually attributed only to the Virgin Mary, in her litany. The responsory itself refers to "tres ex una vita", that is, the lives of the three Marys stemming from one life of St. Ann, and then refers to their progeny, "ex quibus sex homines / et creator vite": the six men are the offspring of the two sisters of the Virgin Mary, and the creator of life is Jesus, offspring of the Virgin Mary.

This responsory is pivotal, because it links the three preceding antiphons, which deal with the three husbands of St. Ann, fathers of the three Marys, to the three succeeding antiphons, which speak of their offspring. Thus the second of the following antiphons (16. N3 A2) establishes Mary, the daughter of Cleophas, as the wife of Alphaeus and the mother of St. James the Lesser; she also became the mother of St. Simon, St. Jude and St. Joseph the Just, although this is not specifically mentioned in the antiphon itself. The second half of this antiphon speaks of the third Mary, daughter of Salomas, who married Zebedee. The third antiphon (17. N3 A3) refers to her as being the mother of St. James the Greater and the "discipulus deo plus amatus", the beloved disciple, or St. John the Evangelist. James and John, the sons of Zebedee, it will be recalled, were the disciples called by Our Lord immediately after Simon (Peter) and Andrew; their mother, although not named in the Gospels, intercedes for them directly with Our Lord (Matthew 20:20). To give the relationship of this woman to Mary as her sister is entirely gratuitous; in addition, the identification of John son of Zebedee with John the Evangelist is a liberty taken by the writer of the office. The four offspring of Mary daughter of Cleophas and the two sons of Mary daughter of Salomas thus comprise the six men referred to in the responsory.

As one might expect, Mary the mother of Jesus enjoys pride of place in the liturgical arrangement of these antiphons, and is thus spoken of in the 1st antiphon of the 2nd and 3rd Nocturns, respectively. In the second instance great care is taken to safeguard her Immaculate Conception: "sine viri semine / fuit fecundata", suggesting that by the time of the writing of this office such considerations had become important. In a parallel fashion, the responsory *Mirande propagine* carefully distinguishes the Lord from the offspring of the other two Marys: "ex quibus sex homines et creator vite". The term "creator vite", an alternative one for Our Lord, recalls the opening of St. John's Gospel, which establishes the temporal primacy of the Word, Jesus, and his role as creator. The last responsory in the office, *Gaudeamus hodie*, correctly distinguishes the Virgin Mary from her two sisters, referring to her as "Queen of Glory", and then referring to the coronation of the two other daughters by St. Ann.

At the same time, the chants of this office also extol St. Ann, the mother of all three Marys. The role of her husbands, as well as the role of her daughters' husbands, is as secondary as the women's role in fostering life is preeminent.

The music

The Table on p.3 also gives the modal assignments of each chant after the folio number in the respective sources. As the table readily demonstrates, the antiphons of CarME are in a clearly established modal sequence, the first six being in modes 1 through 6, and the last three being in modes 8, 8 and 6 respectively; the

responsories, however, are in no particular modal order. Interestingly, three of the Lauds antiphons are in mode 7 and the other two are in mode 8. The pieces of CarFO, on the other hand, exhibit no particular modal order.

Our discussion of these pieces will focus on those in modes 1 and 2. Both the Magnificat antiphon *Ecce dies* (1.) and the first responsory in each source, *Sollempnitas beatarum* (6a.) and *Dies festus beatarum* (6b.), occur in mode 1, but with a different setting in each manuscript, thus enabling us to compare these two distinct mode 1 settings of the same text. Having done this, we shall use these two representative pieces as a point of reference for a discussion of selected other pieces within modes 1 and 2. The reader is invited to turn, where necessary, to the parallel editions of these pieces in the main part of this book.

- 6a. NI R1 *Sollempnitas beatarum*
6b. NI R1 *Dies festus beatarum*
V *Feliciam par sororum*

Example 1 shows the verse *Feliciam par sororum* as it appears in both Carmelite sources, in parallel with the traditional tone for the verses of responsories in this mode, mode 1. The CarME verse is slightly simpler than the responsory tone, presumably due to the brevity of the text; nonetheless, it follows the established tone very closely. The CarFO verse, on the other hand, is considerably more elaborate: for instance, at the opening word, "feliciam", the range extends from D to c, a 7th, while the equivalent portion of the responsory tone spans a to F, only a 3rd. In the Florentine version the music at "(cho-)rus gaudet" repeats the median cadence figure, G-a-a-b-a-a, used at "sororum"; while in this repetition the function of the motive is clearly not cadential, since textually and musically this is the interior portion of a larger entity, it nevertheless adds cohesiveness to the Florentine rendition and is obviously used for stylistic reasons rather than for the sake of conformity to the responsory tone. The CarFO verse ends on D rather than on the customary F, a reinforcement of the mode, which happens frequently in verses of rhymed offices.

Sollempnitas beatarum
matris Christi germanarum
celebratur hodie.

Quas invitat ad superna
Christus luce sempiterna
fruituras glorie.

V. Ob feliciam par sororum
chorus gaudet supernorum.

(The solemnity of the blessed sisters of the mother of Christ is celebrated today, whom Christ invites to heaven to enjoy the eternal light of glory. V. The choir of the heavens rejoices because of the companionship of the happy sisters.)

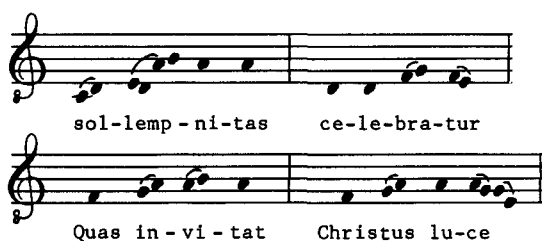
While a musical setting of this text must necessarily take the rhyme and poetic structure of the responsory into account, it must also preserve with clarity the meaning of the text. In the first phrase, for instance, the connection between subject and verb, "sollempnitas" and "celebratur" should be upheld; similarly, in the second phrase, "Christus" is the subject of "invitat", a relationship which must also be safeguarded. In neither case will this happen if the poetic structure is reflected too literally in the music. Such care in the setting of the text matters less in the verse, since customarily the two halves of the text correspond to the two halves of the responsory tone.

CarME uses melodic direction and the careful grouping of notes to clarify these associations: for instance, at "sollempnitas" the melody moves from C to a in only eight notes, a direct arsis contrasting this single word with the second half of the phrase, "beatarum matris Christi germanarum", which moves in thesis fashion back down to D, the final of the mode. The G at the end of "beatarum" leads naturally to the F which marks the beginning of "matris", linking the two words to the disadvantage of the poetic structure, but to the advantage of textual clarity, and thereby creating one long descending phrase which ends at "germanarum". The words "celebratur" and "hodie" function analogously as the two halves of the next phrase. Moreover, the simplicity and directness of the music at "sollempnitas" and "celebratur" links these two words to each other stylistically, thereby conveying the correct

Example 1. A comparison of the responsory verse *Feliciam par sororum* in CarME and CarFO with the first responsory tone

meaning of the text. An analogous and equally important association occurs between "Quas invitat" and "Christus luce"; "fruituras" and the first half of "alleluia" follow the same principle, although here the association is of less consequence from the viewpoint of textual significance.

Musically, these phrase beginnings, as well as their endings, are significant for the shape of the piece in addition to the meaning of the text, and function in a question-response relationship to each other (Example 2).



The a-b-a motive common to the endings of "sollempnitas" and "invitat" adds further cohesiveness to these phrases, especially since it is the median cadence of the responsory formula, thus the same as the ending of "sororum" in the verse.

The endings of phrases such as G-F at "superna" and E-D at "alleluia" create a sense of unity and drive to the final D. Taken as a group, these phrase terminations form a direct line: G...F...E...D...C...D. The melodies of the first and second half of each phrase thus establish a clear sense of direction within the piece, while at the same time reinforcing the meaning of the text.

The CarFO version of the same responsory emphasizes a and D not only as terminations of phrases, but in the interior of the phrases as well: thus, in the first phrase D occurs at the end of each word, "dies", "festus" and "beatarum", while in the second phrase a occurs at the end of "matris" and "germanarum". Such a grouping of musical phrases through emphasis on one or another of these notes characterizes this responsory. A clear sense of movement and definition prevails among the musical phrases. For instance, the range of the phrase "matris Christi germanarum" extends from F to e, and it terminates on the reciting tone a; this phrase is thus one of considerable movement, situated between the relatively stable phrases "Dies festus beatarum" and "celebratur hodie", each of which has a restricted range and ends on D, the final of the mode. So it might be said that D serves as a point of repose and a as a focus of movement, the shift from one to another giving the piece its sense of direction.

In this instance the musical structure coincides with the textual format of the responsory. However, while the inclusion of "beatarum" with "dies festus" in the same musical phrase corresponds to the poetic structure of the responsory, it weakens the coherence of the text, since "beatarum" more properly belongs with "matris Christi germanarum".

The use of common melodic material promotes musical cohesiveness within the responsory: thus both "Quas invitat" and "sempiterna" begin with the motive D-a-b and end with G-a-a; this is a purely melodic connection, however, as the text itself does not warrant such an association. A similar use of the same termination figure occurs at "luce" and "glorie", again for purely musical reasons.

Thus the two sources display different techniques of defining shape and movement while setting the same text. The Florentine version adopts a freer approach to the melodic construction of the piece, and closely follows its poetic form. The Mainz version, by contrast, is melodically the more simple and direct, but takes greater pains to convey the meaning of the text.

13. N2 R2 *Mirande propagines* V *Sic ex Anna*

The second mode responsory *Mirande propagines* is common to both the Mainz and the Florentine Carmelite traditions, but the entire chant is identical in both sources, a highly unusual situation in this office. We have already pointed out the significance of its text and the way it reflects on the sisters' origins and offspring, thereby relating the antiphons of the second nocturn to those of the third. Our musical discussion of this chant begins with a comparison of the verse, *Sic ex Anna*, from both Mainz and Florentine Carmelite sources with the traditional second responsory tone, shown in Example 3 (next page).

While the first half of the verse closely follows the responsory tone, probably because of the brevity of the text, the second half clearly departs from it. Thus the three-note figure at "omnes" is not only an elaboration of the single note D from the responsory tone, but the descent to A also exploits the range of the second mode, thereby providing the necessary identification with the second mode that conformity to the responsory tone would otherwise supply. The main departure from the responsory tone occurs at "maris" in the figure extending from D to a, which establishes the upward limit of the range on a instead of on the customary G; this expanded range is all the more striking, given the brevity of this section. The verse terminates on D rather than on C, a characteristic affirmation of the final of the mode; thus by exploiting the range of the second mode, from A at "omnes" to a at "maris", and by ending on the final of the mode, this verse clearly establishes itself within the second mode framework, an identification rendered necessary by its departure from the commonly accepted responsory verse.

In the responsory itself, the musical phrases carefully follow and reinforce the textual ones. The terminations fall on D at "propagines" and "vite", F at "procreantur" and D again at "homines" and "vite". The constant reiteration of D can leave little doubt as to the intended mode. By reinforcing the poetic structure, the music emphasizes particular ideas, such as "tres

Example 3. A comparison of the responsory verse *Sic ex Anna* in *CarME* and *CarFO* with the second responsory tone.

ex una vite", the three offspring stemming from the one life of St. Ann, set in a more or less self-contained musical phrase. The crucial separation of "ex quibus sex homines" from "et creator vite" mentioned earlier is clarified by the D termination point at "homines" which clearly signals that what follows is a distinct phrase. Thus the musical structure clearly reinforces specific theological points being asserted in the text.

The D-C-A-C-D-D figure at "omnes dicte", which so firmly establishes the verse in mode 2, occurs twice in the responsory itself in slightly varied form, at "mirande" and "creator". The three instances may be compared thus:

mirande	D C D C A	C D D
et creator	D C C A C B C D	
omnes dicte	D C A	C D D

Not only do these three instances clarify the mode of the piece, they also establish a thematic relationship which unifies the chant as a whole. Similarly, the music at "vite" (first time) is the same pattern as at "maris stelle":

"vite"	DC DFED ECD FGa aGFED EFEDCD D
"maris stelle"	DC DFED ECD FGa aGFED CD D

This use of the same cadential formula for responsory and verse gives the responsory a sense of cohesiveness and unity; in fact all the four D-cadences mentioned above, at "propagines", "homines" and twice at "vite", use the figure F-D-C-D-D (with an extra E in the final "vite").

The responsory develops from an elaboration of D at the beginning to an emphasis on a at "generantur" and F at "procreantur", before another elaboration of D in the concluding section.

8. N1 R3 *Hodie Maria Iacobi*

The setting of this responsory in *CarFO* shows just how independent of traditional patterns a piece from a rhymed office may be. The range of this mode 1 responsory extends from C to d. The verse does not follow a responsory tone, but its range from C to G falls within the range of the mode.

The chant artfully avoids interior cadences on the tonic D, exploiting the dominant a instead. But the customary points of emphasis in mode 1 are often avoided, as in the very first phrase, with C at the end of "hodie", a G ending for "sollemnitas" and F for "celebratur". By emphasizing notes other than tonic and dominant at significant textual points, the composer creates an effect of movement, shifting from one point of tonal focus to the next until some stability is attained. Almost by way of compensation, a is emphasized in the phrase "Marie Iacobi et Salome". The pattern of notes which reinforces a at intermediate cadence points, a-a-b-a-a, occurs at "Salome", "gloriatu(r)" (with b), and "quorum" in the responsory, and at "igitur" and "totis" in the verse. The tonal stability thus enhanced is tested and ultimately reinforced by the more indirect approach to the cadence in the verse at "Ipsarum consortes effici vallemur", with its E-C-E-G chain of thirds.

1. MA *Ecce dies gloriosa*

The first Magnificat antiphon receives two different mode 1 settings, enabling us once again to compare the different sources in like situations, for the text is identical in both.

The two sources have similar melodic motives for the opening "Ecce", and again for the closing "alleluia". This may be due to the use of stock phrases common to several traditional mode 1 Magnificat antiphons; or possibly the Florentine version of the antiphon was at least known to the Mainz Carmelites, if not actually revised by them.

Although both CarME and CarFO group the piece into two periods, "Ecce ... vehi" and "deum ... alleluia", the manner in which they do so and the way in which they relate the music to these common opening and closing motives is altogether different. In CarME, for instance, the F-D-C movement at "Ecce" and the F-E-D movement at "alleluia" become structural forces in the construction of phrases. Thus the seven endings of text lines are associated with the following musical cadences:

gloriosa		F E D	
gratiosa	D E	F E D	C
matris dei		F E D E D C	
sursum vehi	E	F E D	C D
propicium	D E F	D	CC
fidelium	E	F E D	CC
alleluia	D E F	E DD	

The upper parts of the modal range are not exploited, and other tonal areas do not assume any significance. Nevertheless, the interplay between C and D as melodic goals suffices to give structure and balance to the antiphon.

CarFO presents a more florid version of the antiphon, and uses the conventional dominant, a, as an alternative intermediate cadence point. Thus where CarME has the first four cadence points on D, C, C and D, in CarFO they fall on a, a, F and D, with a consequently greater sense of openness and movement. The CarME melody reaches c once, but it is CarFO which exploits the upper register more often and more successfully. At the same time the use of the concluding E-F-E-D figure from "alleluya" at "sorores" and "sursum vehi" helps achieve structural unity.

11b. N2 A3 *Et Maria Salome*

The three other mode 1 antiphons in CarFO, *Et Maria Salome*, *Cum Maria Magdalene* and *Maria primogenita*, all end with the same standard cadence figure as *Ecce dies*, E-F-E-D. In CarME, on the other hand, the single other mode 1 antiphon, *Gratuletur civium*, prefers an alternative cadence formula, while utilizing the opening one.

The antiphon *Et Maria Salome* in CarFO illustrates the care with which such a melody was composed. Each of its two phrases has a median cadence on a and final on D, yielding a sense of arsis and thesis within each phrase; in fact, "proles e(r)udita" and "fuit in(signita)" have the same music. The third line revives the upward thrust of the opening line, so that the second half is not a mere repeat of the first, thereby creating a sense of overall shape in the antiphon. While the opening motive is particularly common in the chant repertory, the manner in which it and the other motives are combined to give the antiphon shape reveals much

artistic expertise.

The Lauds antiphons in CarME; other tetrardus antiphons

It is an interesting feature of this feast that four of the Lauds antiphons in CarME are in mode 7 and the fifth is in mode 8. Textually these five Lauds antiphons all relate one aspect or another of the coming of the three Marys to the tomb of the Lord; musically they are interrelated as well, holding in common several of the melodic patterns appropriate to the tetrardus mode. Three of the Florentine antiphons and one additional Mainz antiphon also occur in mode 7, thereby expanding the possibilities for motivic comparison. Since one additional Mainz antiphon is in mode 8, it too will be included in our comparison.

The textual arrangement of the five Lauds antiphons in CarME is significant:

21. L A1
Cum Maria Magdalene / sorores venerunt / et unguentum fide plena / mane portaverunt.
- 22a. L A2
Ad sepulchrum domini / socie beate / choruscante veniunt / solis claritate.
- 23a. L A3
Hee cum aromatibus / intrant monumentum / ubi corpus domini / non fuit inventum.
- 24a. L A4
Et intrantes iuvenem / splendidum sedere / vident stola candidum / et obstuperunt.
- 25a. L A5
Quis revolvat lapidem / ab ostio querunt / revolutum quem lapidum / tam cito viderunt.

The themes of the antiphons are: the setting out with ointments (A1); coming by early morning light to the tomb (A2); entering and not finding the body (A3); finding the young man standing guard (A4); and seeing the stone which had been rolled away (A5). The 5th antiphon is clearly out of order here: it should be the third antiphon if the biblical sequence were correctly followed; that is, the women would have to see that the stone was rolled away before they could enter the tomb. No satisfactory explanation of the illogical order presents itself, though it is possible that the availability or otherwise of tetrardus pieces may have caused it.

The five Lauds antiphons in CarFO, by contrast, preserve the logical sequence of events:

21. L A1
Cum Maria Magdalene ... (mode 1)
- 22b. L A2
Ad sepulchrum veniunt ... (mode 2)
- 23b. L A3
Quis revolvat lapidem ... (mode 5)
- 24b. L A4
Et intrantes splendidum ... (mode 3)
- 25b. L A5
Respondens autem angelus dixit mulieribus nolite timere scio enim quem Ihesum queritis alleluia. (mode 7)

In CarFO, *Quis revolvit* is correctly positioned as the 3rd antiphon; the reassurance of the angel in *Respondens autem* correctly accommodates the order of activity, although the modal order initiated by the 1st and 2nd antiphons is not carried through.

Quis revolvit, the 5th antiphon in CarME, is a brief and simple four-phrase antiphon with a limited range, F to d. Musical phrases parallel the textual ones, with terminations on G, c, G and G. The first and third phrases, containing the same key text words, are musically similar. The similarity extends to the opening of the second and fourth phrases, but these take up the different options of continuation (moving up to c, which necessitates further melodic development) and closure (on the final G) (Example 4):

ab o-sti-a que-runt tam ci-to vi-de-runt

The 'answer' to the women's question is thus apparent musically as well as textually.

By contrast, the music in CarME of the 4th Lauds antiphon, *Et intrantes*, does not strictly conform to the poetic structure of the piece, with the positive result of enhancing its textual clarity instead. Metrically the piece should divide:

Et intrantes iuvenem / splendidum sedere /
vident stola candidum / et obstupuerunt.
But the musical division occurs differently:
Et intrantes /
iuvenem splendidum sedere vident stola
candidum /
et obstupuerunt.

In other words, the phrases "Et intrantes" and "et obstupuerunt" correctly divide the action, separating what the three Marys did from what they saw. "Et intrantes" has c as a reciting note, then falls onto G for a cadence. "iuvenem ... candidum" similarly elaborates c as a reciting tone before moving down to a and terminating on G. The whole of the concluding phrase "et obstupuerunt" is pitched lower, which makes the final G cadence the more decisive. Musical rather than poetic structure clearly reinforces the meaning of the text here.

Example 5 compares the 2nd Lauds antiphon *Ad sepulchrum* in CarME with an established mode 7 antiphon as given in the *Antiphonale Romanum* [13], *Ecce sacerdos*. Structurally the two are the same. In fact, all five Lauds antiphons in CarME emphasize c as a secondary tonal center or reciting tone, like those antiphons represented by *Ecce sacerdos*.

Example 5. A comparison of the antiphon *Ad sepulchrum* from CarME with the antiphon *Ecce sacerdos* from the *Antiphonale Romanum*

CarME Ad se-pul-chrum do-mi-ni

AR Ec-ce sa-cer-dos ma-gnus

CarME so-ci-e be-a-te

AR qui in di-e-bus su-is

CarME cho-rus-can-te ve-ni-unt

AR pla-cu-it de-o

CarME so-lis cla-ri-ta-te.

AR et in-ven-tus est ju-stus.

In addition to the modal unity of these Lauds antiphons, many of them use the same or similar melodic figures. These are also to be found in the other mode 7 antiphons in the Mainz and Florence Carmelite sources, and they are naturally drawn from the greater family of traditional mode 7 antiphons. Example 6 presents the incipits of the Mainz Carmelite Lauds antiphons *Cum Maria Magdalene* and *Quis revolvit*, together with *Maria mater Iacobi* from CarME and *Respondens autem* from CarFO. One can readily see that all these pieces make use of the same skeletal figure: G-c-a-G-F-G-a-G.

Example 6. A comparison of the incipits of four antiphons, three from *CarME* and one from *CarFO*.

CarME La5: Quis revol- -vet la- -pi- -dem

CarFO La5: Respondens autem an- -ge- -lus

CarME La1: Cum Ma-ri- a Mag-da- -le- -ne

CarME N3a2: Ma-ri-a mater Iaco-bi mi- no- ris Alphe- o

Another is to be found (with a certain amount of variation) in one Mainz and three Florence antiphons: c-d-a-G (Example 9).

CarFO N2a2: Hec Maria
iu- -stus pa- -ter

CarME La5: Quis revolvit
tam ci-to vi-de- -runt

CarFO N2a1: Maria de Ioachim
ma-ter fu- -it in - cli-ta

CarFO La5: Respondens
queri-tis al- -le- -luya

Four of the Lauds antiphons in *CarME* have a recitation tone plus intermediate cadence point in common: (c-c)j-c-b-a-c-b (Example 7).

La2: Ad sepulchrum domini
choruscan - te ve-ni-unt

La3: Hee cum aromatibus
u-bi cor - pus do - mi - ni

La1: Cum Maria Magdalene
et un - gen - tum fi - de

La4: Et intrantes
iu - venem splendi - dum

The following termination formula is found in three Mainz antiphons: a-G-F-E-F-G (Example 8).

N3a1: Maria primogenita
fu - it fe - cun - da - ta

N3a2: Maria mater
da - tur Ze - be - de - o

La4: Et intrantes
(can)-di-dum et ob - stu - pu - e - runt

Conclusions

Our examination of the mode 1 and mode 2 chants demonstrates that the two Carmelite sources use a different approach to the setting of the same text. *CarME* takes greater pains to reinforce the meaning of the text, occasionally at the expense of musical elaboration; *CarFO* tends to take the poetic structure as its starting point, with less attention to the significance of particular words or phrases. The *CarME* office has at least a partial modal ordering of chants, and has all the Lauds antiphons in tetrardus mode. The *CarFO* chants, however, are more likely to exploit the purely musical possibilities of a piece, with wider ranges and a greater variety of tonal centers.

Despite the greater musical elaboration, *CarFO* sometimes employs traditional formulas where *CarME* does not, as in the three mode 1 antiphons with a common termination in *CarFO*. Both sources use common formulas for incipits, intermediate cadence points and terminations among their antiphons in modes 7 and 8.

Thus the chants for the office of the Three Marys illustrate the extent to which legend and local devotion could permeate the medieval liturgy, as well as the boundaries convention established for such extra-biblical digression; the legendary aspects of this devotion never infringed upon doctrinal issues such as the Immaculate Conception of Mary or the divinity of Jesus. In an analogous musical sense, such features as extended range, innovative choice of pitches for emphasis and digressions from established responsory tones, never impinged upon the modality of a given chant.

While the Feast of the Three Marys certainly did not originate with the Carmelites, it found within the Order a receptive attitude and a willingness to preserve and disseminate these chants. Furthermore, it is entirely possible that some of these melodies may actually have originated within a Carmelite house, although the absence of sources and legislative documentation renders this impossible to

establish. This feast thus remained within the Order's liturgical tradition for over two centuries, and formed part of the active liturgical life of the Mainz and Florentine Carmelite convents. The presence of the office of the three Marys in Carmelite sources from these two locales indicates the important role the Carmelite Order played in the medieval Church's liturgical and spiritual life, as well as the importance of these codices for modern liturgical and musical studies.

Florentine Carmelite codices and their contents, see Paschalis Kallenberg, O.Carm.: *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae, Investigatio in Decreta, Codices et Proprium Sanctorum* (Romae: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1962), pp.247-54; for a detailed description of the Mainz Carmelite codices, see pp.256-59. See also my articles 'Die Mainzer Karmeliterchorbücher und die liturgische Tradition des Karmeliterordens', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 39 (1987), pp.267-303, and 'Medieval Carmelite office manuscripts, a liturgical inventory', *Carmelus* 33 (1986), pp.17-34.

[13] *Antiphonale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae pro Diurnis Horis* (Romae: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1912), p.[39].

NOTES

[1] These are the years during which he was patriarch of Jerusalem. For further biographical information about Albert, see Adriano Staring: 'Alberto, patriarca di Gerusalemme, santo', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol.I, cols.686-90. For the text of the Rule, see Hugh Clarke, O.Carm. and Bede Edwards, O.D.C., eds.: *The Rule of Saint Albert*, Vinea Carmeli 1/1 (Aylesford and Kensington, 1973), pp.78-93.

[2] P. Ludovicus Saggi, O.Carm.: 'Constitutiones Capituli Londinensis Anni 1281', *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* 15 (1950), p.244.

[3] Saggi, op.cit., p.244.

[4] The portable copy of the Dominican liturgical books to be used by the Master General on visitation is now in the British Library, Additional ms. 23935.

[5] Michael T. Driscoll, O.Carm.: "'L'histoire des Trois Maries" by Jean de Venette, O.Carm.', *Cahiers de Joséphologie* 23 (1975), p.240.

[6] R. P. Benedictus Zimmerman, O.C.D.: *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*, vol.I (Lirinæ: Ex Typis Abbatiae, 1907), p.398.

[7] Alfred Coville: 'Jean de Venette, auteur de l'Histoire des Trois Maries', *Histoire Littéraire de la France* 38 (1949), p.398.

[8] Driscoll, op.cit., p.232.

[9] Driscoll, op.cit., p.234.

[10] Driscoll, op.cit., p.235. Although Driscoll states the date of this Chapter as 1341, we hold to the more official date according to the Acts of the General Chapters as published by Zimmerman in *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*, wherein the date is given as 1342.

[11] Rev. Michael Terence Driscoll, O.Carm.: *'L'histoire des Trois Maries': An Edition with Introduction* (M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1973), p.20. See also Archdale A. King: *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1955), p.260.

[12] For a detailed description of the

Note on b-flat.

The use of the b-flat sign in these sources does not correspond to modern practice. Signs appear where we would not expect them and are omitted where we would. To rationalize their use would require an extensive commentary. Instead of this, each b-flat has been given where it appears in the source, and the end of the corresponding line has been indicated by a short vertical stroke.