

THE ORDINARY REPERTORY OF AQUILEIA IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS NEIGHBORING REGIONS

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Izvleček: Razprava prinaša pregled repertoarja ordinarijskih spevov v oglejskih in drugih italijanskih virih. Avtor vire analizira z vidika širjenja njihovih melodij. Analiza se osredotoča predvsem na vprašanje, ali je v repertoarju ordinarija mogoče najti iste kulturne vplive, kakršni so (sodeč po literaturi) značilni za preostali liturgični repertoar Ogleja.

Abstract: The paper gives an overview of the Ordinary chant repertory in Aquileian and other Italian sources. The author analyzes the sources from the point of view of the dissemination of their melodies. The analysis is directed mainly towards the question of whether the Ordinary repertory betrays the same cultural influence that (according to literature) is characteristic of the rest of the liturgical repertory of Aquileia.

Ključne besede: spevi ordinarija, Oglej, Čedad, kirial, repertoar

Keywords: Ordinary chant, Aquileia, Cividale, Kyriale, repertory

The medieval liturgical tradition of Aquileia is by no means an unexplored field of research. Numerous comprehensive or special studies have dealt with the special geographical and cultural position of this diocese, which absorbed and amalgamated many cultural influences. The chief scholarly works have tried to outline an overall picture of the Aquileian Rite (*ritus patriarchinus*) and discussed its individual elements and aspects as well. In addition to works by Giulio Cattin, Michel Huglo, and Alejandro Planchart,¹ not to mention many other individual essays on this topic, a comprehensive monograph was completed by Raffaella Camilot-Oswald in 1997 based on a profound analysis of the Aquileian sources.² In addition to offering a detailed inventory of the individual sources, this work discusses almost all layers of the repertory and contains analysis concerning the chronology or development and inner differentiation of the rite.

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¹ Cattin, "Tradizione liturgica aquileiese"; Huglo, "Liturgia e musica sacra aquileiese"; Huglo, "Manuscripts notés du diocèse d'Aquilée"; Planchart, "Notes on the Tropes in Manuscripts."

² Camilot-Oswald, *Liturgische Musikhandschriften*.

It is, perhaps, understandable that the repertory of the ordinary chants is not explored in it with the same thoroughness as that of the other genres. This generally unstable repertory offers fewer reference points for an analysis; the selection of its components sometimes appears sometimes accidental or inconsistent within one and the same rite, and there is also inconsistency in the way its melodies are recorded. Sometimes neither the existence nor the absence of an ordinary chant is necessarily significant. The mere occurrence of a melody does not necessarily mean that it was an integral element of a given rite, and it may produce an apparent connection between areas and sources that otherwise have considerably different liturgical repertories. The absence of a certain melody is also not necessarily significant and the actual recorded ordinary repertories of sources belonging to the same tradition may differ strikingly in their content and quantity. Extensive comparative research in the field, however, has shown that a rich enough collection of material and properly differentiated interpretation can offer significant points that can usefully supplement the experience gained from other repertories, and may contribute to the definition of the character of a source group.³ This article has a double aim. First it determines whether the findings and methodological experiences gained from the comprehensive comparative study of the Central European ordinary repertory can be applied to other repertories; and second, to give an overall picture of this special repertory in a special source group: the sources from Aquileia and Cividale.

Since only a few Italian sources were available to me either on microfilm or in digital form, I decided to use the published ordinary catalogues⁴ for the reconstruction of the ordinary chant repertory of the Aquileian sources. This rather experimental approach has its necessary consequences. First, my observations and conclusion based on secondary sources must be taken with caution. Second, because of these catalogues' limitations, in my overview I had to concentrate on the presence or absence of individual chants, and other aspects (e.g. liturgical assignment or pairing of melodies) were taken into consideration only if this could be done convincingly. Despite these methodological compromises, the following overview may contribute to a more complete and differentiated picture of the Aquileian tradition (*consuetudo Aquilegiensis*).

I used the following more or less coherent group of sources representing the Aquileian Rite (including manuscripts from Aquileia and Cividale⁵):

Aquileia

Graduale, Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossi 76, 13th century⁶

³ See Kiss, *Ordinarien-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa*.

⁴ Landwehr-Melnicki, *Einstimmiges Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters*; Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien*; Thannabaur, *Einstimmiges Sanctus der römischen Messe*; Schildbach, "Einstimmiges Agnus Dei und seine handschriftliche Überlieferung."

⁵ The place of the patriarchal residence from the eighth to the thirteenth century.

⁶ Camilot-Oswald, *Liturgische Musikhandschriften*, 102–104; Baroffio, "Tropi nei codici italiani," 16 (I use the page numbers of the internet version which is also given in the Bibliography); Huglo, "Manuscrits notés du diocèse d'Aquilée."

Troparium et Sequentiarium, Gorizia, Biblioteca del Seminario Teologico Centrale, I, 14th century⁷

Graduale, Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, 93, 15th century⁸

Graduale, Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. III 125, 15th century⁹

Cividale

Graduale, Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, LVIII, 1st half of the 14th century¹⁰

Graduale, Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, XXXV, 14th century

Graduale, Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, LVI, 14th century

Graduale, Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, LIX, 15th century

After cataloguing all the ordinary melodies found in these sources I tried to categorize them according to dissemination. I wished to determine which ones are rare or unique melodies (Germ. *Einzelmelodien*) – if there are any examples at all – and which ones appear more frequently in the sources. The more frequent melodies required further differentiation according to whether a given melody represents just the appearance of a widely-disseminated melody or a regional and possibly local variant. Finally, it was necessary to check whether these observations concerning the dissemination of the melodies indicate some trends and whether it is possible to grasp the character or orientation of the source group on the basis of these melodies. In Tables 1a–1d I present the content of the sources according to genre.¹¹

Table 1a: Kyrie melodies in Aquileia and Cividale.

Rossi 76 (13)J 40	Gorizia J (14/15) J 54	Udine 93 (15)J 101	Venezia L III 125 (15) J 102	Cividale 58 (14)J 44	Cividale 35 (14)J 47	Cividale 56 (14)J 48	Cividale 79 (15)J 73
		K 7					
							<u>K 14</u>
		K 16	K 16	K 16	K 16	K 16	K 16
K 18	K 18	K 18	K 18	K 18	K 18	K 18	K 18

⁷ Camilot-Oswald, *Liturgische Musikhandschriften*, 86–89; Baroffio, “Tropi nei codici italiani,” 13; Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, vol. 3, 730–731.

⁸ Not included by Camilot-Oswald, according to Baroffio it was produced in Salzburg for use in Aquileia, “Tropi nei codici italiani,” 16.

⁹ Camilot-Oswald, *Liturgische Musikhandschriften*, 112–115; Baroffio, “Tropi nei codici italiani,” 17; Gallo, “Practice of *cantus planus binatim*.”

¹⁰ Camilot-Oswald, *Liturgische Musikhandschriften*, 33–38; Baroffio, “Tropi nei codici italiani,” 12. According to the ordinary catalogues from the first half of the fourteenth century, Baroffio dates it earlier (third quarter of the thirteenth century), whereas Camilot-Oswald dates it to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

¹¹ For the identification of the melodies I took over the numbering system used in the ordinary catalogues mentioned above. As a reference I added the sigla used by Melnicki for these Italian sources (J 40, J 54. etc.), the numbers in brackets after the sigla refer to the date of origin of the manuscript. K, G, S and A stand for Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. Underlined numbers refer to unique melodies or melodies that can be connected to a close circle of sources; bold formatting indicates German-oriented melodies (see below).

K 39	K 39	K 39	K 39	K 39	K 39	K 39	K 39
K 48	K 48	K 48		K 48	K 48	K 48	K 48
	K 58	K 58		K 58	K 58		K 58
		K 60					
K 68	K 68	K 68		K 68	K 68	K 68	K 68
K 74	K 74						
	K 78	K 78	K 78	K 78	K 78	K 78	K 78
K 96	K 96	K 96	K 96	K 96	K 96	K 96	K 96
							K 101
		K 111					
		K 132	K 132	K 132	K 132		K 132
K 144	K 144	K 144					
K 151	K 151	K 151			K 151	K 151	K 151
K 171	K 171	K 171		K 171	K 171	K 171	K 171
K 217	K 217	K 217			K 217	K 217	K 217

Table 1b: Gloria melodies in Aquileia and Cividale.

Rossi 76 (13)J 40	Gorizia J (14/15) J 54	Udine 93 (15)J 101	Venezia L III 125 (15) J 102	Cividale 58 (14)J 44	Cividale 35 (14)J 47	Cividale 56 (14)J 48	Cividale 79 (15)J 73
	G 5		G 5		G 5		G 5
G 11	G 11				G 11	G 11	G 11
G 12	G 12		G 12	G 12	G 12	G 12	G 12
G 21	G 21						
G 23	G 23				G 23	G 23	G 23
G 24	G 24		G 24	G 24	G 24	G 24	G 24
	G 25			G 25	G 25	G 25	G 25
G 43					G 43	G 43	G 43
					G 48	G 48	G 48
			G 51	G 51	G 51	G 51	G 51
G 56	G 56			G 56	G 56	G 56	G 56

Table 1c: Sanctus melodies in Aquileia and Cividale.

Rossi 76 (13)J 40	Gorizia J (14/15) J 54	Udine 93 (15)J 101	Venezia L III 125 (15) J 102	Cividale 58 (14)J 44	Cividale 35 (14)J 47	Cividale 56 (14)J 48	Cividale 79 (15)J 73
		S 19					
		S 29					
S 32	S 32	S 32	S 32	S 32	S 32	S 32	S 32
		S 36					
	S 41	S 41		S 41			
S 49	S 49	S 49	S 49	S 49	S 49	S 49	S 49
		S 72					
		S 103		S 116	S 116		S 116
		S 147					
		S 150					

		S 158					
		S 177					
		S 182					
		<u>S 183</u>					
				<u>S 189</u>	<u>S 189</u>		<u>S 189</u>
				S 202			
	S 203	S 203	S 203	S 203	S 203	S 203	S 203
		S 215					
	S 223	S 223		S 223			S 223

Table 1d: Agnus Dei melodies in Aquileia and Cividale.

Rossi 76 (13)J40	Gorizia J (14/15)J 54	Udine 93 (15)J 101	Venezia L III 125 (15) J 102	Cividale 58 (14)J44	Cividale 35 (14)J47	Cividale 56 (14)J48	Cividale 79 (15)J73
		A 34	A 34	A 34	A 34	A 34	A 34
		A 37					
		A 42					
		A 85					
		A 101					
	A 114		A 114	A 114	A 114	A 114	A 114
		A 120					
A 136	A 136	A 136	A 136	A 136	A 136	A 136	A 136
					A 167		A 167
		A 176					
		A 179					
		A 190					
				A 198			A 198
		A 209		A 209			A 209
		A 210					
		A 216					
		<u>A 218</u>					
A 226	A 226		A 226	A 226	A 226		A 226
		A 258					

Based on an analysis of this survey the melodies could be easily grouped according to their dissemination (see Table 2). In the first group I collected melodies that are documented in the catalogues from one source alone. From a methodological point of view a sharp distinction between unique melodies and local ones that have come down to us in more than one sources cannot be made. This explains why I also have included here Sanctus 189, which occurs in three sources that are, however, all from Cividale. On the whole, these unique melodies (or rare melodies) can be regarded as characteristics of the area or source group under discussion. At the same time, it can be noted that their number does not differ from the average number of such melodies in other areas. For example, with regard to Italy, Schilbach's catalogue registers twenty-six such melodies from the eleventh to the eighteenth century. The unique melodies found in Aquileian sources are

marked in Tables 1a–1d in underline and the same formatting has been used for melodies known only from Italian sources (see Table 5).

Table 2: Melody groups according to dissemination (Aquileia).

Unique melodies (<i>Einzelmelodien</i>)	K 14, S 183, S 189, A 218 (=S 183)
General melodies	K 16, K 18, K 39, K 48, K 58, K 68, K 171, K 217, G 11, G 12, G 23, G 24, G 43, G 51, G 56, S 32, ^{a)} S 41, S 49, S 116, S 203, S 223, A 34, A 114, A 136, A 209, A 226
Exceptionally- documented general melodies	K 7, K 60, S 202, A 101
East Frankish	K 74, K 78, K 96, K 111, K 132, K 144, K 151, G 5, G 25, G 48, S 19, S 29, S 36, S 72, S 103, S 147, S 150, S 158, S 177, S 182, S 215, A 37, A 42, A 85 (=S 72), A 120, A 167, A 176, A 179, A 198, A 210 (=S 177), A 258 (=S 215)
Italian	G 21

a) Although this is a widely known melody, its trope makes it a characteristic point of the Aquileian repertory. The trope *Summus et invisibilis* with this Sanctus can be found only in Aquileia and Cividale in the following sources: Gorizia I, Udine 93, Venezia L III, Cividale 35, 79.

The second group contains melodies that were used all over Europe throughout the entire Middle Ages and which – as Tables 1a–1d show – became integral elements of the Aquileian tradition as well. Those well-known melodies that occur only exceptionally in Aquileia are placed in the next row of the table.

The regional melodies are undoubtedly more interesting than those of the groups mentioned above. The next two categories were not arbitrarily created, but took shape almost automatically on the basis of the collected information concerning the dissemination of the melodies. In the Aquileian sources there are a remarkably large number of melodies that were disseminated mainly in German and Central European manuscripts (in Tables 1a–1d these items are indicated in bold). The significance of this observation is raised by the fact that, apart from the German and “eastern” (Germ. *ostländisch*) sources (using the catalogues’ terminology), they occur mostly or exclusively in Aquileian codices. On the basis of their dissemination in Italian sources the items of this group can be differentiated further, as can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3: East Frankish melodies in Italian sources.

Only Aquileia	K 74, K 111, G 25, G 48, S 19, S 29, S 36, S 72, S 147, S 150, S 158, S 182, A 37, A 42, A 85, A 176, A 179, A 198, A 210
Aquileia + a few other Italian sources	K 78, K 96, K 132, K 144, G 5, S 215, A 167, A 258
Aquileia + many other Italian sources	K 151

Among these “German-oriented” melodies there is only one that proves to be widely disseminated in Italian regions. Beyond numerous northern Italian sources, this Kyrie no. 151 occurs in Beneventan manuscripts as well. It is striking that, other than the overall similarity in their orientation, the sources from Aquileia and Cividale do not agree with

each other in every respect. For example, while the Gloria no. 48 occurs only in sources from Cividale, the Kyrie melody no. 144 or 74 can be exclusively documented from Aquileian sources. Camilot-Oswald emphasized in her monograph that “the Aquileian repertory does not entirely [overlap] with that of Cividale” and that although “the diocesan repertory is transmitted uniformly” it is not “concordant in all points.”¹² As to the chants of the ordinary, the following observations completely agree with these formulations.

A closer look at the sources from this point of view leads to several observations. The Kyrie and Gloria melodies offer sufficient reference points that emphasize the close relationship between the sources of the two centers (see Tables 4a–4d). The large number of differences among the Sanctus and Agnus melodies is misleading, since the overwhelming majority of them belong to a single source, namely Udine 93 (these melodies are indicated with asterisk). The catalogues define this source as “Graduale aus Aquileia,” whereas Baroffio’s comment is: “Salzburg per Aquileia.”¹³ It cannot be determined whether it is a true Salzburg manuscript that was used in Aquileia or whether it represents to some extent the Aquileian use for which it might have been produced. Furthermore, it must be recalled that the recording of Sanctus and Agnus melodies was generally much more capricious than that of Kyrie and Gloria melodies. Consequently, it cannot automatically be determined whether this represents additional material in this very source or a missing portion of the repertory in the other sources. In any case, leaving this source out of consideration, the majority of the Sanctus-Agnus are melodies common to Aquileia and Cividale (see Tables 4a–4d). At the same time, unanimous neglect of some well-known melodies (either universal or East Frankish ones) by one or the other source group cannot be accidental and indicates different selections from the common repertory (e.g. K 144, G 21,¹⁴ A 167, A 198).

An interesting observation drawn from the comparison above is that the German-*ostländisch*, or East Frankish orientation, reveals itself on a more general level than that of the inner differentiation of the diocese: German-oriented melodies prevail not only in the common repertory of the Aquileian region but among the local or exceptional melodies too. In other words, the Aquileia (in the narrow sense) and Cividale source groups reveal a German and Central European orientation not only collectively, but also independently of one other. It is frequently emphasized in the literature that, in addition to indications of a connection between Aquileia and the neighboring Italian regions, the influence of the northern (non-Italian) areas can be strongly felt in the sources. This may be attributed to several factors, the listing of which would exceed the limits of this paper. Suffice it to mention the intercultural position of this area, the fact that between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries all patriarchs were of German origin, the influence of the Italian

¹² “[...] der Bestand von Aquileia [deckt sich] nicht vollkommen mit dem von Cividale [...] das Diözesanrepertoire einheitlich überliefert ist [...] nicht in allen Punkten übereinstimmend.” Camilot-Oswald, *Liturgische Musikhandschriften*, LXXIV.

¹³ Baroffio, “Tropi nei codici italiani,” 16.

¹⁴ The presence of this melody in Aquileia is especially interesting: it seems to be an old Italian melody documented from Nonantola already from the eleventh century and also used in Beneventan sources. It found its way to Aquileia through German and Central European manuscripts, but according to the sources apparently did not enter local use in Cividale.

Tables 4a–4d: The relationship between Aquileia and Cividale.

Aquileia	Aquileia-Cividale	Cividale
	K 16	
	K 18	
	K 39	
	K 48	
	K 58	
	K 78	
	K 96	
	K 132	
	K 151	
	K 171	
	K 217	
K 7*		<u>K 14</u>
K 60*		K 101
K 74		
K 111*		
K 144		

Aquileia	Aquileia-Cividale	Cividale
	G 5	
	G 11	
	G 12	
	G 23	
	G 24	
	G 25	
	G 43	
	G 51	
	G 56	
G 21		G 48

	S 32	
	S 41	
	S 49	
	S 103/116	
	S 203	
	S 23	
S 19*		S 189
S 29*		S 202
S 36*		
S 72*		
S 147*		
S 150*		
S 158*		
S 177*		
S 182*		
<u>S 183*</u>		
S 215*		

	A 34	
	A 114	
	A 136	
	A 209	
	A 226	
A 37*		A 167
A 42*		A 198
A 85*		
A 101*		
A 120*		
A 176*		
A 179*		
A 190*		
A 210*		
A 216*		
<u>A 218*</u>		
A 258*		

monasteries founded from Hirsau, and so on.¹⁵ The many experiences referring to this influence served as a basis for the view that research should concentrate on an identification of the evidence of this German influence, rather than the definition of an independent

¹⁵ Camilot-Oswald, *Liturgische Musikhandschriften*, XXVII–XXVIII; Heinzer, “Musik und Liturgie,” 120.

and to a certain extent imaginary Aquileian liturgy.¹⁶ In any case, an examination of the ordinary repertory of Aquileia coincides with these observations.

A comparative analysis of the kyriale repertories of the sources raises a methodological question. Refining the rough designation system according to the regions or countries used by Melnicki and Bosse, Thannabaur introduced further differentiation for sources that could not fit this categorization and which have ambiguous or intercultural character. He applied the designation “JD” (“italienisch-deutsch”) to two of the sources (Berlin 40608, Udine 93), indicating a mixed Italian-German-Friulian character.¹⁷ Schilbach also applied this appellation to one more source (Venezia L III 125) from Aquileia and introduced further appellations for Spanish-Portuguese and Franco-Norman sources as well. His decisions raise two questions. It is not quite clear why the “JD” designation was not applied to other sources from Aquileia and Cividale, which – according to this survey – also contain mixed repertories.¹⁸ On a more general level the question emerges whether the differentiation of the sources introduced so far is sufficient or not. More recent experience shows that there are other mixed areas (Germ. *Mischgebiet*) and local traditions that deserve special treatment and, furthermore, that taking the institutional aspect into account can be more apposite and fruitful than the mechanical use of a geographical approach.¹⁹

To assess the significance of the German influence detected in the Ordinary chant repertory of Aquileia and to define its character more carefully, it seems advisable to examine the former observations in a broader environment, first of all among Italian sources from the neighboring regions. I used again the catalogues’ source material as a starting point and selected a representative set of northern and central Italian sources for comparison:

Graduale from Bobbio, Torino, Biblioteca Universitaria, F IV 18, 12th century

Graduale from Bobbio, Torino, Biblioteca Universitaria, G V 20, 12th century

Graduale from Monza, Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, K-11, 13th century

Graduale from Monza, Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, c.14-77, 13th century

Graduale from Piacenza, Biblioteca di San Antonio, s. n., 13th century

Graduale from Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare, 65, 13th century

Processionale from Piacenza, Biblioteca di San Antonio, s. n., 15th century

Graduale, Sequ. and Trop., Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, mus. 40608, 2nd half of the 13th century

Graduale from Balerna, Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare, 161, 11th–12th century

Graduale from Vercelli, Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare, 161, beginning of the 12th century

Graduale from Vercelli, Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare, 162, 12th century

Cantatorium from Vercelli and Missale Plenum (Ivrea), Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare, 56, 13th–14th century

Graduale, Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare, 97, 14th century

¹⁶ Cattin, “Tradizione liturgica aquileiese,” 120–121.

¹⁷ Thannabaur, *Einstimmiges Sanctus*, 5.

¹⁸ Apart from Cividale sources, Gorizia I was also labelled by both Thannabaur and Schilbach with “J”.

¹⁹ E.g. Pikulik, “Indeks spiewów Ordinarium Missae”; Hiley, “Ordinary of mass chants”; Kiss, *Ordinarien-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa*; Høye, “West Frankish Kyrie Repertory.”

- Graduale from Middle Italy** [?], Torino, Biblioteca Universitaria, F III 17, 15th century
Trop. Sequ. and Graduale from Pistoia, Pistoia, Biblioteca Capitolare, C 121, 11th–12th century
- Graduale from Ravenna**, Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, I 7, 11th–12th century
Graduale from Ravenna, Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, A 47, 12th century
Graduale from Arezzo, Arezzo, Biblioteca Capitolare, E, 15th century
Graduale from Arezzo, Arezzo, Biblioteca Capitolare, s. n., 15th century
Graduale from Arezzo, Arezzo, Biblioteca Publica della Fraternità dei Laici, 524, 15th century
Kyriale from Arezzo, Arezzo, Biblioteca Publica della Fraternità dei Laici, 526, 16th century
Kyriale from Arezzo, Arezzo, Biblioteca Capitolare, X, 1763
Antiph. and Graduale from Arezzo, Arezzo, Biblioteca Capitolare, H, 16th century
Graduale, Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, H.I.10, 15th century
Graduale, Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, H.I.1, 16th century
Graduale, Siena, Libreria della Capella Piccolomini nella Cattedrale, F 156, 15th century
Graduale, Siena, Libreria della Capella Piccolomini nella Cattedrale, F 213, 15th century

Two factors played an important role in what may appear to be an arbitrary selection: I chose sources from different places in order to be able to point to general characteristics, and I gave preference to sources containing enough ordinary chants for comparison. When it was possible I used several sources from a given place or local area and combined their information in a single column (e.g., Vercelli, Ravenna, etc.). The advantage of this approach is that the sources can supplement each other, but the disadvantage is that the sources as such sink out of sight. In spite of these limitations and compromises, based on the relatively large number of melodies it was possible to isolate some characteristics and draw some conclusions concerning the character of this group of sources and its relations to Aquileia. As we will see, some of the characteristic points (melodies) connect a large number of Italian sources from different areas, while others seem less generally disseminated and can serve as a basis for further differentiation. It must be emphasized that the similarities and differences can be well interpreted along the same categories as those established for the Aquilean repertory; that is, the somewhat abstract and hypothetical methodological categories concerning the orientation of the sources prove to be useful here too. The following comparative tables show the content of the sources from northern and central Italy (Tables 5a–5d).²⁰

²⁰ In the table I follow the same methods that were used in Tables 1a–1d for the differentiation of unique melodies (*Einzelmelodien*) and German-oriented melodies. French-Italian or “western” melodies (see Tables 5a–5d) are indicated with italics.

Table 5a: Kyrie melodies from Italian sources from outside Aquileia (northern and central Italy).

Torino (12) Bobbio J 27, 28	Monza (13) J 37, 38	Piacenza (13) J 33, 39	Berlin 40608 (13) Venezia J 43	Vercelli (11–14) J 6, 29–31, 41, 51	Torino F III 17 (15) J 100	Pistoia C 121 (11–12) J 14	Padua A 47, Modena I 7 (11–12) Ravenna J 12, 21	Arezzo (15–16) J 62–65, 108, 138	Siena (15–16) J 97–99, 120–122
K 3		K 3							
					K 7			K 5	
			K 9					K 7	K 7
		<u>K 15</u>							
K 16		K 16	K 16		K 16			K 16	K 16
K 18		K 18		K 18	K 18			K 18	K 18
	<u>K 21</u>								
						K 27			
K 31	K 31		K 31						
K 39	K 39	K 39	K 39	K 39	K 39	K 39	K 39	K 39	
<u>K 41</u>									
K 45									
K 47	K 47			K 47		K 47		K 47	K 47
			K 48	K 48	K 48			K 48	K 48
	K 52						K 52		
K 55	K 55			K 55		K 55	K 55		
		K 58	K 58		K 58			K 58	K 58
K 68	K 68	K 68	K 68	K 68	K 68	K 68	K 68	K 68	K 68
K 71	K 71								
K 72	K 72								
					K 78				
K 83									
								K 95	
									K 97
					K 101			K 101	K 101
						K 102			
K 103									
	K 109	K 109							
K 124	K 124	K 124				K 124	K 124		
						K 125			
	K 132				K 132		K 132		
						K 136			
						K 144			
		K 151				K 151			
K 155	K 155	K 155		K 155	K 155		K 155		
							K 169		
K 171		K 171		K 171	K 171			K 171	K 171
		<u>K 172</u>							
		K 176							
		K 194							
		<u>K 207</u>							
		K 217		K 217	K 217	K 217		K 217	K 217

Table 5b: Gloria melodies from Italian sources from outside Aquileia (northern and central Italy).

Torino F IV 18 (12) Bobbio J 27	Monza (13) J 37, 38	Berlin 40608 (13) Venezia J 43	Vercelli (11–14) J 6, 29–31, 41, 51	Torino F III 17 (15) J 100	Pistoia C 121 (11–12) J 14	Padua A 47, Modena I 7 (11–12) Ravenna J 12, 21	Arezzo (15–16) J 62, 64, 65, 108, 138 ^{a)}	Siena (15–16) J 97–99, 121–122 ^{b)}
				G 5		G 2		
	G 11	G 11		G 11	G 11		G 11	G 11
	G 12	G 12			G 12	G 12	G 12	
				G 19			G 19	G 19
	G 21							
G 23			G 23	G 23			G 23	G 23
			G 24	G 24			G 24	G 24
							G 38	
G 39	G 39	G 39			G 39	G 39		
				G 43	G 43	G 43	G 43	G 43
G 51	G 51	G 51	G 51	G 51	G 51		G 51	G 51
G 56	G 56	G 56	G 56	G 56	G 56	G 56	G 56	G 56

a) J 63 was not used by Bosse, Thannabaur and Schildbach in their catalogues.

b) J 120 is missing from the catalogue of Bosse.

Table 5c: Sanctus melodies from Italian sources from outside Aquileia (northern and central Italy).

Torino (12) Bobbio J 27, 28	Monza (13) J 37, 38	Piacenza (13) J 33, 39	Berlin 40608 (13) Venezia J 43	Vercelli (11–14) J 6, 29–31, 41, 51	Torino F III 17 (15) J 100	Pistoia C 121 (11–12) J 14	Padua A 47, Modena I 7 (11–12) Ravenna J 12, 21	Arezzo (15–16) J 62, 64, 65, 108, 138	Siena (15–16) J 97–99, 120– 122
								<u>S 11</u>	
	S 32	S 32		S 32	S 32	S 32	S 32	S 32	S 32
								S 33	S 33
		S 41			S 41			S 41	S 41
		<u>S 43</u>							
							S 46		
		<u>S 47</u>							
	S 49		S 49	S 49	S 49	S 49		S 49	S 49
							<u>S 50</u>		
S 55	S 55	S 55		S 55		S 55			
							S 57		
						S 63	S 63		
		S 64							
		<u>S 69</u>							
S 74	S 74	S 74	S 74	S 74		S 74	S 74		

		S 79							
S 92				S 92			S 92		
								S 93	
			S 116		S 116			S 116	S 116
S 154	S 154	S 154	S 154	S 154			S 154		
					S 177			S 177	S 177
							S 197		
				S 202	S 202			S 202	S 202
					S 203			S 203	S 203
S 213		S 213				S 213	S 213		
			S 215		S 215				
S 216									
						<u>S 219</u>			
							<u>S 220</u>		
	S 223	S 223		S 223	S 223	S 223	S 223	S 223	S 223

Table 5d: Agnus Dei melodies from Italian sources from outside Aquileia (northern and central Italy).

Torino (12) Bobbio J 27, 28	Monza (13) J 37, 38	Piacenza (13) J 33, 39 ^{a)}	Berlin 40608 (13) Venezia J 43	Vercelli (11–14) J 6, 29–31, 41, 51	Torino F III 17 (15) J 100	Pistoia C 121 (11–12) J 14	Padua A 47, Modena I 7 (11–12) Ravenna J 12, 21	Arezzo (15–16) J 62, 64, 65, 108 ^{b)}	Siena (15–16) J 97–99, 120–122
								A 2	A 2
				A 34	A 34			A 34	A 34
									A 72
			<u>A 75</u>						
							A 81		
		<u>A 84</u>							
							A 87		
							A 88		
				A 90			A 90		
A 95	A 95			A 95					
		A 97					A 97		
					A 100			A 100	A 100
					A 101			A 101	A 101
		A 114			A 114			A 114	A 114
	<u>A 122</u>								
		A 133		A 133					
				A 136	A 136			A 136	A 136
								A 140	
	A 150								
		A 164		A 164			A 164		
		A 209		A 209	A 209		A 209	A 209	A 209
				A 220	A 220			A 220	A 220

						A 221		
A 226	A 226		A 226	A 226	A 226	A 226		
A 236	A 236	A 236		A 236		A 236		
A 247								
	A 255							
					A 267		A 267	A 267

- a) Schildbach also used a processional from the Basilica of St. Anthony in Piacenza.
b) J 138 is not used in Schildbach's catalogue.

The number of unique melodies is much greater than in Aquileia but this is partly due to the greater number of sources analyzed. Moreover, if the wide region represented by the sources is taken into account, the quantity of unique melodies in them does not differ from the general experience. At the same time, the occurrences of such instances are by no means evenly distributed and there are significant differences between the individual sources. For example, Piacenza 65 surpasses the other sources with its six unique melodies. Concerning the widespread European repertory, largely the same items are found here as in Aquileia. The few differences are, however, noteworthy. The reason is unclear, but most of the general melodies missing from Aquileia belong to simpler, archaic ordinary chants that appear frequently in the sources assigned to the mournful parts of the liturgy, such as the *Quadragesima* and *Pro defunctis* (K7, K 101, K 155, A 101). The single exceptional occurrence of S 202 in Aquileia is not surprising: although it occurs sporadically in German sources, the profile of its dissemination has a rather West Frankish character and, remarkably, it was totally neglected in Central European traditions (see Table 6).²¹

Table 6: Melody groups according to dissemination (outside Aquileia).

Unique melodies (<i>Einzelmelodien</i>)	K 15, K 21, K 41, K 172, K 207, S 11, S 43, S 47, S 50, S 69, S 219, S 220, A 75, A 84, A 122, A 140, A 221, ^{a)} A 247, A 255
General melodies	K 7, K 16, K 18, K 39, K 48, K 58, K 68, K 101, K 155, K 171, K 217, G 11, G 12, G 23, G 24, G 43, G 51, G 56, S 32, S 41, S 49, S 116, S 202, S 203, S 223, A 34, A 101, A 114, A 136, A 209, A 226
Italian	K 3, K 9, K 31, K 27, K 45, K 52, K 71, K 72, K 83, K 109, K 125, K 136, K 169, (K 176), G 2, ^{b)} G 21, G 38, S 46, S 55, S 57, S 63, S 64, (S 93), S 197, A 2, A 72, A 81, A 87, ^{c)} A 88, A 97, A 220
East Frankish	K 78, K 132, K 144, K 151, G 5, G 19, S 177, S 215
West Frankish	K 47*, K 55*, K 95, K 102, K 103, K 124*, K 194, G 39*, S 74*, S 154*, S 213*, S 216, A 90, A 95, A 100, A 133, A 236*, A 267*

- a) Only in two sources from Ravenna.
b) In this case I gave priority to the chronology of the documentation: apart from the many old Italian references, the single French and the few German occurrences seem secondary.
c) Apart from a later French source, only from Italian manuscripts.

The situation is completely different in the cases of the Italian and the regionally disseminated ordinary melodies. I discuss them individually. It is striking that the melodies well-represented in northern and central Italian sources (though not evenly and not always to the same extent) were not in use in Aquileia at all. One exception is G 21, the

²¹ See Kiss, *Ordinarien-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa*.

dissemination of which is very interesting. I regard it as an Italian melody based on the number and chronology of its documentation. Apart from a few sporadic French, English, German, and Czech occurrences, it became especially popular in Hungary, somewhat curiously.²² If a northern influence is assumed in the case of several melodies in Aquileia, this melody may represent the opposite: it may have come from Italy (possibly Aquileia) either directly or through German and Bohemian sources to Hungary.

There are markedly fewer “German-oriented” melodies here than in Aquileia (8 to 30). This seems more significant given that most of them come up here only sporadically. Among such melodies common to the two source groups there are only three (K 132, G 19 and S 177) that occur in three sources. However, one of these, Gloria 19, represents a special case because despite being well-known in German, Central European, and Italian sources it was never used in Aquileia. Although in Thannabaur’s catalogue S 103 and S 116 are different melodies, I feel that it would be more appropriate to define them as variants of the same melodic material.²³ It is noteworthy that their dissemination is clearly different: while the melody S 116 was widely disseminated, the use of S 103 was confined to German and Central European areas. It is not a coincidence that the latter turns up only among the Aquileian group and never occurs among Italian sources given in Tables 5a–5d.

The fifth row represents a new category. The hypothetical term “West Frankish” denotes melodies whose dissemination can be regarded by and large as the inverse of what was seen in the previous group. While they are generally unknown or at best turn up only exceptionally in German sources, aside from their more or less Italian documentation they are well-represented among French and sometimes English and Sicilian sources. Although some of them can only be documented from one or a few sources, others occur more frequently. While a rare occurrence can be a consequence of the random selection of the sources, the multiple presences cannot be accidental and may represent general characteristics of Italian codices outside Aquileia (West Frankish melodies well-represented among Italian sources are marked with an asterisk in Table 6).

The large number of these melodies is completely in harmony with the relatively small number of German-oriented ones. In Aquileia the situation was the opposite: while the German-oriented melodies predominated, West Frankish ones were completely missing from the repertory. This difference between the structure of the two repertories correlates with the general observation that the sources of West and East Frankish melodies represent complementary groups. This can be well demonstrated by checking the occurrences of two source groups in Thannabaur’s and Schildbach’s catalogues. It is telling that the categories of “FN-Sizilianisch” (“franko-normannisch-sizilianisch”) and “JD-Friaulisch” seem mutually exclusive and almost never appear simultaneously in the documentation of the individual melodies.²⁴

²² Whereas Bosse lists nineteen occurrences altogether, in Hungary it can be documented in at least fourteen manuscripts, see Kiss, *Ordinarien-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa*, 189.

²³ *Ibid.*, 207–208.

²⁴ S 32, one of the most widely-disseminated Sanctus melodies, is an exception. S 74, S 116, S 154, and A 236 are only virtual exceptions, since one of their sources which is labelled as JD (Italian-German), is mistakenly counted in the catalogues among Aquileian manuscripts (see below).

One of the Italian sources needs a commentary in this context. What makes the gradual from Berlin (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek mus. 40608) interesting is that it was defined in each of the catalogues as an Aquileian manuscript. More recent studies, however, connect it to northern Italy or, more concretely, to St. Mark's in Venice.²⁵ The analysis of the content of this source according to the above categories contradicts the former and confirms the newer definition of its provenance. At the same time, its characteristics completely fit into the scheme of our regional differentiation of the repertories. While its chants have little in common with the Aquileian sources (apart from some of the general melodies), it contains several melodies labeled as Italian or West Frankish in Table 6 (K 31, G 39, S 74, S 154).

In sum, in the Aquileian repertory a certain German or Central European or East Frankish orientation can be observed, whereas among other Italian sources the overall picture seems quite different: in both the well-documented and the sparsely-represented melodies a quasi-West Frankish orientation reveals itself. In this respect there are differences between the individual sources and smaller areas, but on the whole it can be stated that on the basis of the kyriale repertory the characteristic difference between northern and central Italian sources is much less than between the Aquileian sources on the one hand and non-Aquileian repertories on the other.

My categorization defining one group of the melodies as East Frankish and the other as West Frankish may arouse questions or objections. One theoretical question is whether the use of such broad categories is appropriate at all for characterizing sources or source groups. Another, more practical, question regards the validity of the categories: that is, how the rich source material supports their formulation. Although the large quantity of the sources used in the four ordinary catalogues represents a solid base, further information may weaken or corroborate my hypothetical categorization. There is a further catalogue that can serve to significantly extend the source base of the statistics. David Hiley's ordinary catalogue, published in 1986, was based on 77 English, northern French, and Sicilian manuscripts, representing a markedly western source group.²⁶ If these sources are checked for the appearance of melodies that were categorized in the foregoing as German-oriented (bold) and West Frankish (italics) respectively, the result will be more than convincing. Although the overwhelming majority of the "western" melodies are not only present in Hiley's catalogue but occur frequently in each of its subgroups (English, northern French, Sicilian), most of those items that were defined as German or/and Central European are missing from it. Some exceptions are Kyrie 144 and 151, or Gloria 25, which apart from the large number of German documents can be found in Hiley's English, French, and Sicilian sources as well. Nevertheless, considering the proportion of the sources from the different areas, it seemed justifiable to leave these melodies in the German group. In any case, these examples by no means modify the striking proportional differences in the statistics shown in Table 7.

²⁵ Planchart, "Proses in the Sources of Roman Chant," 321 and 329; Cattin, *Musica e liturgia a San Marco*. Baroffio takes over the definition, see "Corpus Italicum Troporum" (the online edition of "Tropi nei codici italiani"), 11.

²⁶ Hiley, "Ordinary of mass chants."

Table 7: The occurrences of melodies in Italian sources and in Hiley's catalogue.

West Frankish		East Frankish	
Italy	England, etc.	Italy	England, etc.
K 27	–	K 74	–
<i>K 47</i>	<i>K 47</i>	K 78	–
<i>K 55</i>	<i>K 55</i>	K 96	(3 sources)
<i>K 102</i>	<i>K 102</i>	K 111	–
<i>K 103</i>	–	K 132	–
<i>K 124</i>	<i>K 124</i>	K 144	K 144
<i>K 194</i>	<i>K 194</i>	K 151	K 151
<i>G 39</i>	<i>G 39</i>	G 5	–
<i>S 74</i>	<i>S 74</i>	G 25	G 25
<i>S 154</i>	<i>S 154</i>	G 48	–
<i>S 213</i>	<i>S 213</i>	S 19	–
<i>S 216</i>	<i>S 216</i>	S 29	–
<i>A 95</i>	<i>A 95</i>	S 36	–
<i>A 100</i>	<i>A 100</i>	S 72	–
<i>A 236</i>	<i>A 236</i>	S 147	–
<i>A 267</i>	<i>A 267</i>	S 150	–
		S 158	–
		S 182	–
		S 215	–
		A 37	–
		A 42	–
		A 85 (=S 72)	–
		A 167	–
		A 176	–
		A 179	–
		A 198	–
		A 210 (=S 177)	–
		A 258 (=S 215)	–

In closing, I have emphasized in this article the experimental nature of the approach and methods employed here. The use of secondary sources – that is, information on published catalogues instead of actual manuscripts – and the process of reconstructing virtual sources by deduction may seem questionable. At the same time, the catalogues are not always completely reliable; moreover, by nature they are hardly suitable for evaluating the chant sources in their complexity. The evaluation of the sources requires simultaneous examination of several aspects other than the mere occurrence or absence of a certain melody, including, for example, the distribution of the kyriale melodies in the sources, their assignment to certain feasts, their pairing, the compilation of cycles from them and, last but not least, the actual variants of the melodies. These altogether may outline the physiognomy of a repertory that could be characteristic of a diocese or a *consuetudo*.

The other aspect I have neglected here to a certain extent is the chronology. As Camilot-Oswald, among others, emphasized in her monograph, there is a significant

difference between the twelfth-century and fourteenth-to-fifteenth-century state of the Aquileian tradition.²⁷ Among my observations there may be instances in which the differences are the consequences of chronological rather than geographical or institutional “distance” of the sources. However, the tables presented here reveal some of the characteristics of the Aquileian ordinary chant repertory, show its significant points and overall orientation, and offers a promising foundation for a more detailed future analysis involving the examination of other aspects of the repertory as well.

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²⁷ Camilot-Oswald, *Liturgische Musikhandschriften*, XXVIII.

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OGLEJSKI ORDINARIJSKI REPERTOAR V KONTEKSTU SOSEDNJIH REGIJ

Povzetek

Čeprav so se z oglejsko liturgično tradicijo ukvarjale številne študije, repertoar melodij ordinarija še ni bil raziskan tako temeljito kakor repertoarji drugih zvrsti. Pričujoča razprava poskuša predstaviti splošno sliko tega posebnega repertoarja, kakor je zapisan v virih Ogleja in Čedad. Ta pregled je sicer neke vrste eksperiment, a kljub temu lahko prispeva k bolj popolnemu in raznolikemu pogledu na *consuetudo Acquilegensis*. Avtor analizira, iz kakšnih melodij so repertoarji sestavljeni, koliko melodij se pojavlja samo v enem viru oz. so samo lokalno znane in katere spadajo v širše znan osnovni repertoar. Eno od osnovnih vprašanj pri teh statistikah je, ali je v analizirani skupini virov mogoča kakršna koli otipljiva orientacija.

Analiza razkriva osupljivo veliko število melodij, ki so bile razširjene predvsem v nemških in srednjeevropskih rokopisih. Te melodije kažejo na močne cerkvene povezave Ogleja in salzburške nadškofije. Čeprav nemški vpliv v Italiji ni bil omejen na Oglej, se t. i. nemško usmerjene melodije iz analize pojavljajo skoraj izključno v oglejskih rokopisih. In čeprav imata Oglej in Čedad mnogo skupnega, repertoarja obeh centrov še zdaleč nista identična. Obe skupini virov razkrivata nemško usmerjenost, še bolj zanimivo pa je, da te usmerjenosti ne najdemo le v njunih skupnih potezah, temveč tudi v eni skupini popolnoma neodvisno od druge.

Drugi del študije z vidika tovrstne usmeritve oz. lokaliziranja melodij primerja ordinarijski repertoar Ogleja s severno- in osrednjeitalijanskimi praksami. Medtem ko so skupinama oglejskih in italijanskih virov skupne iste široko razširjene melodije, se regionalni in lokalni repertoarji teh virov ostro razlikujejo. V Ogleju je prevladal nemški (t. i. vzhodnofrankovski) tip melodij, v italijanskih virih od drugod pa se razodeva drugačna orientacija. Medtem ko je velik del njihovih melodij v nemških virih na splošno neznan ali redek, so te v francoskih, včasih pa tudi v angleških in sicilijanskih (t. i. zahodnofrankovskih) virih dobro zastopane. Veliko število teh melodij je popolnoma v skladu z relativno majhnim številom nemško orientiranih melodij. Razlike v sestavi dveh repertoarjev (Oglej proti severni in osrednji Italiji) potrjujejo splošno opažanje, da viri zahodno- in vzhodnofrankovskih melodij predstavljajo dve komplementarni skupini.