

Historiographical Problems of the *Tonus Peregrinus*

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The forms and liturgical functions of the collateral psalm tone *tonus peregrinus* (hereinafter referred to as “t. p.”) are well known to any student of Western psalmody. The question of its origin, on the other hand, is commonly approached not only with opacity but sometimes also with a sense of impropriety, or even a manifest lack of interest. Vague assertions about Jewish or “eastern” provenance and drastic simplifications seem to suffice for the purposes of modern historiography. This is all the more surprising as early twentieth-century ethnomusicology, in alliance with contemporaneous research into synagogal traditions, led to some important and relevant insights, even if these should be regarded as tentative rather than conclusive. Modern musicology seems therefore to have sidestepped two once widely discussed problems in the historiography of Gregorianism: 1.) the extent to which the t. p. is set aside from the other psalm tones; and 2.) whether or not it can be said to have a more immanent Jewish ancestry than that possessed by the main corpus of Western psalmody?

No theorists before 1700 discuss the origins of the t. p. directly, but the question has been subject to much discussion and considerable disagreement since the first stirrings of modern musicology in the eighteenth century. The gentleman-scholar Roger North, in his *Memoires of Musick, being some Historio-criticall collections of that subject* (1728), had little confidence that any knowledge of early psalmody could ever be established: “That there was a frequent usage of singing Psalmes and Hymnes from the beginning of Christianity, wherein consisted a

great measure of their devotion is without all doubt. But what that manner of singing was is hard to determine, and to refer to the Jewish psalmody, from whence it is supposed to have been derived, is *ignotum per ignotius*.”¹

French musicologists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries advanced the theory that the t. p. was an indigenous remnant of the Gallican chant tradition.² This theory presents fundamental problems, as a result of which it has been relegated to the sidelines of historiography rather than surviving to become part of modern musicology. In 1895 Peter Wagner established that the Roman rite used the same antiphons with the same liturgical application in Roman chant at a time when there was little exchange between the two (Roman and Gallican) traditions.³ This strongly suggests that both traditions used the t. p. as a recitation formula and that this tone did not ultimately originate on European soil. Of a similar kind is the anecdote found in an anonymous monastic *Tractatus de musica plana et mensurabili*,⁴ which injects a slightly humorous note into the mystery of the origins of the t. p. According to this manuscript, a rather unmusical abbot accidentally invented the tone when joining in the singing of an antiphon of Psalm 113. The historical relevance of this anecdote is that it shows that the origins of the t. p. were not known to its author or, one may assume, to most of his contemporaries.

Following on from the theories of nineteenth-century historians and archaeologists, musicologists of the Romantic era attempted to trace the roots of Christian music back to the ancient Roman world. However, the theory that early psalmody was an organic continuation

¹ . Roger North, *Memoires of Musick, being some Historio-criticall Collections of that Subject* [1728], ed. J. Wilson (London: Novello, 1959), 335.

² . Weisenbäck, taking the 1900 Congrès international de musique as his only source, states: “er [der t. p.] soll von fränkischen Sängern nach Rom gebracht worden sein” (“it [the t. p.] is supposed to have been brought to Rome by Frankish singers”) (Andreas Weissenbäck, *Sacra musica – Lexikon der katholischen Kirchenmusik* [Klosterneuburg bei Wien: Verlag der Augustinus-Druckerei, 1937], 383.)

³ . Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1921), 108.

⁴ . Anonymous III: “Tractatus de musica plana et mensurabili” (15th century), in *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi (nova series)*, 3, ed. E. Coussemaeker (Milan: Bollettino Bibliografico Musicale, 1931), 457–58.

of Hellenistic and Roman art, as proposed by Wagner,⁵ Gevaert,⁶ and more recently Torben Christensen,⁷ has now definitively been refuted by modern research into the cultures of the Near East;⁸ rather, the formula is now generally believed to be of Hebrew origin. From the beginning of the twentieth century two main theories have prevailed, although neither has been supported by historical evidence strong enough to place the question beyond doubt. Arguing from philological premises, many scholars have independently suggested that the t. p. predates the eight regular psalm tones. Idelsohn found chants resembling the psalm tone in his process of collecting Jewish folk-melodies, while Werner was the first scholar to draw attention to an almost identical recitation formula employed by Yemenite Jews for Psalm 113⁹—the same psalm for which the tone has been used in the Western Church.¹⁰ This new research completely supersedes the views on these matters held by early twentieth-century German musicologists, including Wagner.¹¹

Examples 1 a and b show two common forms of the t. p.; on account of its predominance in northern Europe, the variant given in Example 1b is often referred to as the Germanic dialect. Conversely, the reading in Example 1a is sometimes called the Roman dialect.¹² Example 2 is a Sephardic folk-tune to the text of Psalm 24 from the Idelsohn collections.¹³

⁵ . 1908.

⁶ . 1895.

⁷ . 1967.

⁸ . Heinrich Bessler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1931), 35–40; and Regina Randhofer, “Psalmen in jüdischen und christlichen Überlieferungen – Vielfalt, Wandel und Konstanz,” *Acta Musicologica* 70, no. 1 (1998): 45–78.

⁹ . Psalm 113 in the original Masoretic numbering, which was re-established by the Protestant churches in the sixteenth century, corresponds to Psalm 112 in the Vulgate numbering.

¹⁰ . Eric Werner, *The Sacred Bridge – The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millennium* (London: Dobson, 1959), 466; and Heidi Zimmermann, *Tora und Shira – Untersuchungen zur Musikauffassung der rabbinischen Judentums* (Bern: Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2000), 309.

¹¹ . Philological analysis of the Hartker Codex convinced Wagner that “Es ist eine phantastische Behauptung, daß der Tonus Peregrinus aus der Synagoge stamme” (“it is a fantastic claim that the *tonus peregrinus* originated in the synagogue”), and that the t. p. sprang directly from *tonus* 8; Wagner, *Einführung* 3, 108.

¹² . 1a: Johannes Gallicus, “Praefatio libelli musicalis de ritu canendi vetustissimo et novo” (ca. 1460), in *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi (nova series)*, 4, ed. E. Coussemaker (Milan: Bollettino Bibliografico Musicale, 1931); 1b: Anonymous III, “Tractatus de musica plana et mensurabili.”

¹³ . Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music – Its Historical Development* (Holt, 1929; reprint New York: Dover, 1992), 63.

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The degree to which this melody, collected in an area more or less unexposed to any element of Christian liturgy, resembles the t. p. is remarkable.

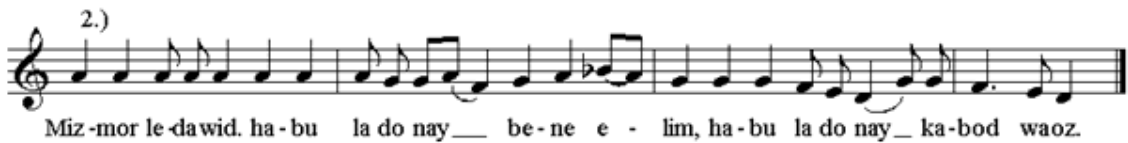
Example 1a Roman dialect of the *Tonus Peregrinus*



Example 1b German dialect of the *Tonus Peregrinus*



Example 2 Sephardic folk-tune to the text of Psalm 24. Note the similarity between this melody and the *Tonus Peregrinus*.



Another theory regarding the age and origins of the t. p. is concerned with theory that the early psalmody and *Officium* liturgies were derived from the synagogue, Willi Apel suggested that the t. p. was a late addition to the regular psalm tones—one that was “made to order” for antiphons that did not readily suit any of these tones.¹⁴ Apel finds support in Aurelianus, who refers to the t. p. as a “*neophytus tonus*,”¹⁵ and in the *Commemoratio brevis*, where it is called “*tonus novissimus*.”¹⁶ These same terms have, however, been interpreted in divergent ways; some authors have understood the superlative in

¹⁴ . Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (London: Burns and Oates, 1958), 213.

¹⁵ . Aurelianus (of Réôme), “Musica Disciplina” (ca. 850), in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 1, ed. M. Gerbert (Hildesheim: R/Georg Olms, 1963), 52: “*neophyto...tono*.”

¹⁶ . Anonymous I [ca. 900] 1963), 218: “Item ad tonum novissimum.”

Commemoratio brevis as denoting “the last” rather than “the newest.”¹⁷ This connects with the fact that many medieval theorists held that the tone, and the antiphons connected with it, represented a variant of *tonus* and *modus* 8.¹⁸ We have another reason to be wary of Apel’s theory: the antiphon whose incompatibility with *modus* 8 is advanced as evidence that the t. p. was a late and deliberate invention (*Deus autem*) is itself a notably late invention and is not connected with the tone in any of the medieval sources that mention it.¹⁹ Apel is also contradicted in the very source in which he found the term *neophytus*: in the same passage Aurelianus also writes that the tone “*obesset veteranorum memoria patrum*” (“appeared in the time of our forefathers”).²⁰ There can be no doubt that the t. p. was absorbed into the Gregorian repertory after the latter’s psalmodic system had been finalized (this is evident from the mere fact that it was never regarded as a “normal” tone), but Apel’s hypothesis of a tone that was invented in the West as a complement to pre-existing ones is dubious and possibly inexact in its chronology.

Apel is able to explain the existence of nine (or more) psalm tones to match eight *modi*, but the greatest problem with his theory is the “unsuitable” antiphons themselves. What are the origins of these—and why would medieval clerics and theorists, strongly influenced—as they must have been—by Boethius (with his scholastic concept of numeric relationships and the divine order of all music), by Isidore of Seville, and possibly even by the Platonic doctrine of ethos and pathos of the modes, compose such music and impose it on an already established liturgy?²¹ Guido’s view of the eight modes typically conveys a desire for order, but

¹⁷ . E.g., Rhabanus Erbacher, *Tonus peregrinus – aus der Geschichte eines Psalmtons* (Münsterschwarzach: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 1971), 54; John Caldwell, *Medieval Music* (London: Hutchinson, 1978), 45. Caldwell here interprets the *Commemoratio* thus: “The term *tonus novissimus* does not refer to the psalm-melody itself, which is in fact very old and of Jewish origin, but to the tonality, which appears to be characterized by a range of *c* to *b* (flat?) with *finalis g*.”

¹⁸ . Hucbald (of St Amand), “De musica (De harmonica institutione)” (ca. 900), in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 1, ed. M. Gerbert (Hildesheim: R/Georg Olms, 1963), 149.

¹⁹ . Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 39; Erbacher, *Tonus peregrinus*, 40.

²⁰ . Aurelianus, “Musica Disciplina,” 52.

²¹ . See Harold S. Powers, “Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 430–31, for a discussion of Platonic influence in medieval and

also a concern for divinity: “*Igitur octo sunt modi, ut octo partes orationis et octo formæ beatudinis, per quos omnis cantilena discurrens octo dissimilibus qualitatibus variatur.*”²² (Therefore, the modes are eight—just as there are eight species of speech and eight forms of beatitudes—for every song is varied by one of eight different properties.)

It is far from improbable that the reference in Aurelianus’s writings was likewise conceived under the influence of older music theory and was motivated by an urge to “bring order” to a psalmody in which one “extra” tone had survived. If this were indeed the case, the author of the *Commemoratio brevis* would have found it natural to base his theory on the same grounds. Quite apart from this, all common melodic antiphon models can be related directly to psalmodic formulae, and this is the case also with the t. p. and “its” antiphons. Knowing, as we do, that *toni* 1-8 are older than the antiphons to which they were assigned, why should this relationship become inverted in the case of the t. p.? It is plausible to conclude that the t. p. is a formula that is altogether separate from the regular psalm tones: probably older than these, certainly derived from an altogether different source, and possibly preserving its Judaic properties to a greater extent than any other psalm tone.

In medieval sources the t. p. comes in many variants; indeed, it is hardly ever given in exactly the same form, and sometimes the forms given reveal quite remarkable differences in the understanding of the function and use of the tone. Prior to our earliest sources, chant melodies must have been passed on by oral transmission. Important and groundbreaking research on oral tradition in early Western music has been carried out in recent years with models borrowed from ethnomusicology. Scholars of this “new school” have drawn attention

Renaissance musical thought.

²² . Guido (of Arezzo), *Micrologus* (ca.1020), ed. J. van Waesberge (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1955), 150. Another example of this is found in Johannes Affligemensis (Cotto), *De musica (cum Tonario)* (ca. 1100), ed. J. van Waesberghe (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950), Chapter 10.

Here, the author even appeals to the authority of the Psalmist himself: “Et hos quatuor modos Psalmista notare videtur, ubi dicit: Psallite Deo Nostro, psallite, psallite regi nostro, psallite [Psalm 46, v.7]” (“And note that the Psalmist seems to have four modes when he speaks: sing to our God, sing, sing to our King, sing [Psalm 46, v. 7]”). This statement was later paraphrased in Adam de Fulda, “De musica” (ca.1490), in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 3, ed. M. Gerbert. (R/Georg Olms, Hildesheim, 1963), 357.

to the fact that the Gregorian tradition survived without notation for hundreds of years, for which reason we should logically remain cautious regarding conclusions of “prototypical” chant forms. Peter Jeffery asked: “Is it possible that the oldest written melodies we have are actually revisions that had never in that form been part of the ‘pure’ oral tradition before the introduction of the modes and the neumes?”²³ One answer could be that although we can never be sure, there must be a hierarchy of exactitude in the transmission of melodies based on the frequency of their being sung. Thus, early readings of psalm tones must be more reliable than readings of their concomitant antiphons, and readings of *toni* 1-8 more reliable than readings of the t. p., a hypothesis that is validated by the abovementioned inconsistency in early t. p. occurrences.

In his “*Tonus Peregrinus – Aus der Geschichte eines Psalmtones*,” the only substantial work to date taking the t. p. as its main subject, Rhabanus Erbacher offers a most credible and eloquent theory regarding the age and origins of the tone and its assimilation in the theory of the Western Church:

Indem man dieses System [modi I–VIII] auf die Antike zurückführte (mit wieviel Recht, ist hier nicht zu untersuchen), erhob man es in den Rang des Seit-jehergewesenen und gab ihm den Anspruch und die Geltung des Alten und Wahren. Eine Melodie, die dem derart verifizierten (überdies noch spekulativ unterbauten) System im Wege stand, konnte nur eine neuartige, vielleicht sogar willkürliche Erfindung oder die durch Unkundige entstellte Form einer regulären Gestalt sein.²⁴ (By tracing this system [*modi* 1-8] back to antiquity (with what justification this was done will not be investigated here), researchers gave to it claims and validity of something old and

²⁴ Erbacher, *Tonus peregrinus*, 51.

traditional. A melody that challenged (or even deliberately undermined) such a system, could only be seen as a new, possibly even arbitrary, kind of invention or as a deviant variety of a normal form.)

Erbacher describes here the problem of dealing with deviant elements in the Gregorian system—a problem inherent in an exclusive, positivist system whose drive for clarity and consistency imposed rules that were then considered universal.

That the prototype of the t. p. formula is older than those of the eight regular tones grew during the twentieth century from a speculative idea into an implicit consensus position.²⁵ It has been pointed out that formulae with two *tenores* played an important part in pre-Christian synagogal text recitation,²⁶ and that many Jewish cantors, after their conversion, became responsible for psalm-singing in early Christian congregations.²⁷ The possibility of tracing the t. p. back to Byzantine liturgy²⁸ can be regarded as of only secondary importance; Gustave Reese has pointed to the fact that the Byzantines themselves considered their *echoi* to be of Hebrew origin.²⁹ A possible role for the t. p. in the Eastern Church lies outside the scope of this investigation. We need merely note that the psalm tone most likely reached the Occident

²⁵ . Avigdor Herzog and André Hajdu, “A la recherche du *tonus peregrinus* dans la tradition musicale juive,” *Yuval* 1 (1968): 203, with a cautious approach typical of twentieth-century scholars, state that their intention is not to purport a hypothesis as to the transmission of the t. p., but rather to extrapolate on earlier research. Reinhard Flender, “Hebrew Psalmody: A Structural Investigation,” *Yuval Monograph Series* 9 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1992), 131-34, has drawn attention to the discrepancies of the t. p. in Christian sources and the variants discussed by Herzog and Hajdu.

²⁶ . Eric Werner, “Die jüdischen Wurzeln der christlichen Kirchenmusik,” *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, 1, ed. K. G. Fellerer (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1972), 25.

²⁷ . Otto Ursprung, *Die katholische Kirchenmusik* (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1931), 9.

²⁸ . Charles M. Atkinson, “The *Parapteres*: *Nothi* or Not?” *The Musical Quarterly* 68 (1982): 55–57.

²⁹ . Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: Norton, 1940), 174. More recently, Peter Jeffery (*Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures*, 107-108) has concluded that the *oktechos* system occurs in the Jerusalem *Iadgari*, which undoubtedly predates the compilation of John of Damascus. In the near future, we are likely to see much valuable research as regards the relationship between Jewish and early Byzantine chant; see Reinhard Flender, “Vom liturgischen Sprechgesang zur autonomen Musiksprache,” *Yuval* 7 (2002): 92-112.

via Byzantium; the intermixing of cultures in the Near East during the early Middle Ages makes it impossible to distinguish clearly between Jewish and Byzantine chant.³⁰

The Jewish legacy of the t. p. was preserved in the texts with which it became associated and used: originally Psalm 113, *In exitu Israel*, in the Roman Catholic Church, and, from the sixteenth century onwards, a variety of applications capable of interpretation as references to Abraham, the covenant, and the chosen people.³¹ The t. p. takes its name either from its connection with the “wandering” (*peregrinor*) people of Israel, or from a different interpretation of the word *peregrinus*: “strange,” “foreign,” or “from afar.” Both interpretations could reflect, in their different ways, the Jewish legacy. That *peregrinus* has a relevance to purely musical properties—e.g., a “migration” from one tenor to another—is not totally implausible, but musical *hypotyposis* of this kind had no universal understanding at this stage. Hence this interpretation should be seen as a natural secondary extension of the “pilgrim” concept rather than as a factor in the original naming of the tone. As we have seen, the psalm tones are intimately connected with antiphons, which resemble them both modally and melodically. A hint at foreign, even non-Christian, roots occurs in a discussion of certain antiphons in the *De harmonica institutione* of Regino of Prüm: “Sunt namque quaedam antiphonae, quas nothas, id est, degeneres et non-legitimas appellamus...”³² (“There are certain antiphons that we call *nothae*, that is, degenerate and illegitimate”). The term *nothus*, translatable as “illegitimate” or “born out of wedlock,” could well have been a roundabout way of describing something not originally belonging to the Christian liturgy.

We can never hope to find any musical-technical information by tracing the roots of psalmody back to the Talmud as a principal source, enlightening though such research is in

³⁰ . Eric Werner, “The Psalmic Formula *Neannoë* and its Origin,” *Musical Quarterly* 28, no.1 (1942): 96. See also Erbacher, *Tonus peregrinus*, 60.

³¹ . An example in the second category is the *Suscepit Israel* movement in the D (and Eb) Major *Magnificat* of J.S. Bach (BWV 243).

³² . Regino (of Prüm), “(Epistola) de harmonica institutione” (ca. 900), in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 1, ed. M. Gerbert (Hildesheim: R/Georg Olms, 1963), 231.

relation to broader fields of cultural history.³³ In “The Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue,” James McKinnon discusses one of the most important psalmodic practices of the Temple of Jerusalem: the singing of “*Hallel*” (Psalms 112-18), characterized by an *Alleluia* refrain, on feast days.³⁴ This is most likely the original connection between the t. p. and this group of Psalms—recitation formulae resembling it would logically have been used in the Temple of Jerusalem in pre-Christian times. J. A. Smith even sought biblical support for his efforts to trace antiphonal psalmody in connection with the *Hallel* back to Old Testament times.³⁵ The fact that the *Hallel* includes Psalm 113 is of great importance for speculations concerning the subject of this investigation; if this Psalm verse, or indeed the whole *Hallel*, was associated from the very beginning of synagogal liturgy with a specific chant, it is far from implausible that this should resemble that found in the earliest Christian sources of the t. p.

So far, we have not come across anything that directly and effectively contradicts the theory that the t. p. stems from ancient Jewish origin. We now have to consider the following passage by Aurelianus:

Existere etenim nonnulli cantores, qui quasdam esse antiphonas, quæ nulli earum regulæ possent aptari, asseruerunt. Unde pius Augustus Avus Vester Carolus Paterque totius orbis, quator augere iussit, quorum hic vocabula subter tenentur interta: Ananno, noëane, nonannoëane, noëane. Et quia gloriabuntur Græci, suo ingenio octo indeptos esse tonos, amluit ille duodenarium adimplere numerum [...]

³³ See Hanoch Avenary, “Formal Structure of Psalms and Canticles in Early Jewish and Christian Chant,” *Musica Disciplina* 8 (1953).

³⁴ The eve of Passover, the eight days of Tabernacles, and probably the eight days of *Hanukkah* (see James McKinnon, “The Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue,” in *Early Music History*, 6, ed. I. Fenlon [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986], 164).

³⁵ J. A. Smith, “First Century Christian Singing and its Relationship to Contemporary Jewish Religious Song,” *Music & Letters* 75 (1994): 1–2; and idem, “Musical Aspects of Old Testament Canticles in their Biblical Setting,” in *Early Music History*, 7, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 232–33.

Qui tamen toni modernis temporibus inventi tam Latinorum, quam Græcorum, licet litteraturam inæqualem habeant, tamen semper ad priores octo eorum revertitur modulatio.³⁶ (For there were some singers, who held that certain antiphons could not be adapted to their rules. Then Carolus, your pious and venerable ancestor and father of the whole kingdom [Aurelianus was a native of Réôme, in the diocese of Langres], had them increased with four, which were held among the others and called: *Ananno*, *noëane*, *nonannoëan*, and *noëane*. And the Greeks from whose acumen we had the eight tones shall be honored for this as they [also] increased them to twelve in number. Modern tones of our time, however, are by Latin as well as Greek [authors], given that these [authors] have different ways of writing, but these [tones] are always turned back to the melodies of the first eight.)

The suggestion that Charlemagne should have added four tones of originally Greek origin does not really exclude the possibility of a Jewish origin for the t. p. If the t. p. was one of these *toni*, it could well have been introduced during the rule of the great king and could have been believed to have its roots in Greek culture (due to the cultural intermixture mentioned above). The problem with this passage is, rather, the statement that this addition happened because some singers were unable to join up certain antiphons to *toni* 1-8—an explanation that seems to support both the views of nineteenth-century French musicologists (see above), and Apel's theory that the t. p. was introduced in Western liturgy as a response to problematic antiphons (although Apel himself does not draw attention to this passage). However, there is no evidence that Aurelianus is speaking here of the t. p. It is interesting to see that he regards the named *toni* as rather unproblematic and easy to trace back to one or other of *toni* 1-8. He appears to be quite knowledgeable in these matters, and it is therefore unlikely that he intends

to make any connection between these *toni* and the unspecified *neophytus tonus* mentioned in his Chapter 16. It may also be noted that the chant reforms of the Franks are usually considered to have been ones of radical simplification.³⁷ They would logically have been more prone to adapt the antiphons to the psalm tones rather than vice versa.

If a connection with Jewish *Kulturgut* is stronger in the t. p. than in any other psalm tone, a key indication might be sought in its marginalization. This, in turn, has its roots in its very specific liturgical application and in its problematic properties. As for the practical application of the t. p. and its antiphons in the *Officium* during any given period in the history of the Western Church, it is very hard to deduce anything with certainty. In the discourse of theorists we are given only hints at the frequency of their use in Western liturgy, as when Hucbald relates, “et parumper inveniuntur” (“and they are encountered [only] occasionally”), or when Ornithoparcus explains the term *peregrinus*: “Non est quod peregrinorum: sed quod est in nostra concinnentia rarus admodum ac peregrinus sit, sic dictus”³⁸ (“It is so called, not because it is strange, but because it is seldom used”). Drawing on statements by Heinrich von Kalkar, Balthasar Prasberg, Glareanus, and Luther, Erbacher identified a specific use of the t. p. in the celebration of Easter Vespers; Psalm 113 appears to have been used in Easter processions from the fourteenth century onwards, something that again connects this psalm verse with the *Hallel* in the Jewish *Passah* (*Pesach*) liturgy of “Easter” night.³⁹

For Hugo Riemann in 1929 the liturgical importance of the t. p. was merely that of a tone “welchen man für einige sonst nicht recht klassifizierbare Gesänge neben den acht alten Kirchentönen annehmen zu müssen glaubte”⁴⁰ (“which people felt obliged to recognize alongside the eight old church tones for the sake of a few chants that otherwise were

³⁷ . See David Hiley, *Western Plainchant – A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 560, for a discussion on this topic.

³⁸ . Andreas Ornithoparcus, *Musice active micrologus* (2d Leipzig ed. 1517; New York: Dover, 1973), 45.

³⁹ . Erbacher, *Tonus peregrinus*, 29–31.

⁴⁰ . Hugo Riemann, *Musiklexikon*, 11th ed., ed. A. Einstein (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1929), 1868.

impossible to classify satisfactorily”). This may be an oversimplification, and one related to Apel’s anachronism, but it provides an adequate explanation for at least one practical liturgical function of the tone. The problem with writing from a modern viewpoint is that we tend to take psalm tones 1-8 as the “rule” and everything beyond them as “exceptions” in a fashion that, most likely, would have seemed foreign to the medieval liturgist (and even to many theorists of the time). Riemann was a chief exponent of this tendency. Nevertheless, we have seen that it was through the antiphons discussed above that the t. p. entered Gregorian psalmody. With its connection to the Office hours via the antiphons on one hand, and via the psalm tone on the other, the t. p. was raised above all the other “irregular” tones and grew, indeed, to become a truly important element in the liturgy of the Western Church.

Each of *toni* 1-8 adheres to its concomitant *modus*: the first tone is in the authentic first *modus*, the second in the plagal first *modus*, the third in the authentic second *modus*, and so on. An understanding of the *modi* as the framework of the *toni* would be simplistic, even if passages where *modus* and *tonus* are used as near equivalents abound in medieval sources. Guido’s remark that “Alioquin plures cantus invenies, in quibus adeo confunditur gravitas et acumen ut non possit adverti cui magis, id est autentico an plagoe conferantur” (“Moreover, one finds singing, in which high and low are mixed together so that it is no longer possible to tell if it is authentic or plagal”),⁴¹ shows that the two could not have been regarded as true equivalents. The reciting-note in a psalm tone formula is normally the degree regarded as the “tenor” of the mode to which the tone is assigned. The t. p. cannot be viewed in this way, however, since neither of its two different reciting-notes is the degree with which the *finalis* of modes 1, 2, 7, or 8—the modes that could possibly accommodate the tone—would normally be connected. The author of the *Summa Musicae* (ca. 1300) described the problem thus:

⁴¹ . Guido, *Micrologus*, 156–57.

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Et notandum, quod sicut sunt octo toni et octo tenores tonorum, sic et octo sunt hemitonia, quæ dicuntur ab hemis, quod est dimidium et tonus. Sicut enim consideratur modulatio tonalis circa principium et circa finem, sic et penes medietatem ipsius: magis tamen ab usu quam a ratione duo principia et duo hemitonia dantur octavo, quoniam differentiae huius antiphonae nos qui vivimus, et consimilibus assignatur hemitonium speciale differens ab hemitono sui tenoris, et aliarum differentiarum ipsius. Differenter etiam modulantur hemitonia secundi, septimi et octavi secundum diversarum ecclesiarum regionum.⁴² (And it shall be noted that just as there are eight psalm tones and eight psalm tone tenors, there are also eight hemitones, which are called “hemi” because they are but half a tone [alt: “a tone-and-a-half”]. So just as the singing of the tones is considered as regards their beginnings and their endings, so also as to their middle. But, more due to experience than to reason, two beginnings and two hemitones are given to the eight, because the *differentiae* of antiphons like “*nos qui vivimus*” and other similar [antiphons] to which is given a special hemitone different from the hemitone of its tenor and different with every *differentia*. There are also differences in the second hemitone, the seventh and eighth and individual differences between provinces of the church.)

This is the place to mention that the expressions “*tonus peregrinus*” and “*tonus IX*” were not in general use until the late fifteenth century.⁴³ Prior to that, we can normally only identify the tone because it is represented in notation, because of the way in which a certain tone is described in words or, as in the *Summa Musicae* above, because antiphons that we know were connected with it are discussed. In the second instance, we frequently encounter problems

⁴² . Anonymous II, “*Summa Musicae*” (c.1300), in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 3, ed. M. Gerbert (Hildesheim: R/Georg Olms, 1963), 231.

⁴³ . One of the earliest influential uses of the term *peregrinus* is found in de Fulda’s “*De musica*,” 358.

concerning the modal designation of the tone. Aurelianus understood what we today call the t. p. to be the eleventh *differentia* of *tonus* 7;⁴⁴ Hucbald viewed it as an extension of *tonus* 8;⁴⁵ Berno, again, as a *differentia* of *tonus* 7.⁴⁶ Elias Salomo lists it as a *differentia* of *tonus* 8 but adds: “illud seculorum non est de octavo tono, nec de aliquo tonorum, nisi derisione et abusive, et magis sapit naturam primi toni, quam alterius cuiusque” (“This *seculorum* is not in the eighth psalm tone [alt: mode] neither is it in any other tone, unless possibly a perversion and an impropriety; and it tastes more of the first tone than of any other”).⁴⁷ Theorists of the generation of Adam de Fulda are untypical in their anti-dogmatic approach to these matters:

Postremo tonum adiiciunt, quem peregrinum vocant; sed aliqui eum differentiam octavi esse affirmant: ego autem eundem [eundem?] potius primi differentiam esse dicerem, cum in lichano hypaton, id est in D. finale terminatur. Nullius tamen opinionem probare aut reprobare volo, nam ipse inter tonos non numeratur, et in figurata musica de differentiis nulla nobis cura est. (The following tone, which is called “*peregrinus*,” is added; but some claim that it is a *differentia* of the eighth [tone]. I, however, would rather say it is a *differentia* of the first [tone] as it finishes in *lichano hypaton*, that is with D as its final. But I do not wish to approve or disapprove of any opinion because I do not number the tones and in figural [polyphonic?] music the *differentia* in question does not pose a problem to us.)⁴⁸

⁴⁴ . Aurelianus, “Musica Disciplina,” 51–52.

⁴⁵ . Hucbald, “De musica (De harmonica institutione),” 149: “Parapter vero quartus contingit tonum octavum” (“The fourth is mixed up with [is related to] the eighth tone”).

⁴⁶ . A *differentia* which he calls “*rara ac barbara*” (“rare and barbarous”), the last of which might either denote “strange” and “barbarous,” or relate to an understanding of the tone as an element foreign to Western theory. (Berno [of Reichenau; Augiensis], “Tonarius” [ca.1000], in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 2, ed. M. Gerbert [Hildesheim: R/Georg Olms, 1963], 82–83.)

⁴⁷ . Elias Salomo, “Scientia artis musicae” (1274), in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 3, ed. M. Gerbert (Hildesheim: R/Georg Olms, 1963), 54.

⁴⁸ . De Fulda, “De musica,” 358.

Later, however, the problems connected with the modal designation of the t. p. became an issue of altogether less *gravitas*. Thus Apel's claim that classification of the antiphons connected with the tone was problematic "as early as the ninth century"⁴⁹ is misleadingly expressed: the problem was actually **never greater** than in ninth-century theory!

Affligemensis testifies that "polymodal" or "un-modal" chants were not unknown to theorists of his generation:

Attentendum praetera quod cum praedicta lex et certa regula disposita sit tonorum cursibus, plerique novi modulatores id tantum attendentes ut prurimum aurium faciant, saepissime eam confundunt communemque cantum faciunt, uni videlicet melodiae cursum, duorum tonorum tribuentes [...]. In huiusmodi itaque cantibus qui tam laxè atque confuse componuntur, cantoris arbitrio relinquitur, uti talem cantum ei tono adaptet cui cantus principium competentius responderit. (It shall also be noted that even if the flow [melodies] of the psalm tones are arranged according to a pre-existing principle and fixed rule, many young [alt: "modern"] musicians [alt: "composers"] are concerned chiefly with how to tickle the ears; most of all they intermingle the singing, the result being that it attains the flow [alt: melody] of two psalm tones [...]. Thus such melodies, which are so loosely and disorderly put together, are left to the judgment of each singer, so that such singing is adapted to the psalm tone that suits its beginning best.)⁵⁰

Again, we must consider the opaque nomenclature of the music theorists; "*tonus*" in the last sentence must here be interpreted as "mode" rather than "tone;" the adaptation of an antiphon to a psalm tone on the sole basis of the latter's first note would not make sense. If we

⁴⁹ . Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 213.

⁵⁰ . Affligemensis, *De musica (cum Tonario)*, 96.

understand Affligemensis as leaving each singer to seek out a psalm tone with a suitable mode for deviant antiphons, we can view the function of the t. p. within the Gregorian repertory in a new light. This concept expressed in *De Musica* is of the utmost importance to our topic, since it not only shows that antiphons that did not adhere to the modes were composed, but also touches on the esthetic reasons for their existence; if nonmodal characteristics “*prurimum aurium faciant*,” then the Aeolian t. p., too, must have been regarded as such and excluded from the regular tones by more conservative authorities on esthetic as well as taxonomic grounds (Affligemensis himself, for example, did not include it in his *Tonario*).⁵¹

We have already seen that the “*tonus novissimus*” in the *Commemoratio brevis* could be understood as “the last (eighth) tone.” Erbacher has offered an alternative reading also of Aurelianus’s “*neophytus tonus*.” in this instance, he believes that the theorist is not concerned with a tone at all, but rather with a mode—which would *de facto* be identical with the Aeolian mode.⁵² Glareanus and his followers believed that the Aeolian mode was something natural that had been neglected in the modal theory of their forebears. They therefore saw no need for a justification on its behalf, and discussions of it usually take the form of attempts to reconcile older and newer modal theory. This, of course, brings the “eastern”, “ancient,” and “Jewish” concepts back into focus. An example of this reconciliation procedure is found in Thomas Morley’s *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*: “... also if you divide the same kind of diapason [D-d] harmonically, that is, set the fifth lowest, and the fourth highest, you shal have the compasse of that tune which the ancients had for their ninth, and was called *aeolius*, though the latter age woulde not acknowledge it for one of the number of theirs.”⁵³

⁵¹ . Ibid.

⁵² . Erbacher, *Tonus peregrinus*, 56.

⁵³ . Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* [Facsimile of 1597 London ed.] (Amsterdam and New York: Da Capo Press, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969), p. 2 in the section *Annotations*

The Gregorian system of modes was by its nature exclusive, and the marginalization of the t. p. by theorists can be ascribed only to unidiomatic thinking and a desire for syntagmatic logic. Egon Wellesz put forward the effective argument that the modes were *post factum* constructions of theorists and therefore of little relevance to a description of the rise of early psalmody.⁵⁴ Gustave Reese's understanding of regulation relationships between mode and psalm tone was that "an attempt was made to reduce to a system a method of determining what psalm tone should be used between two performances of an antiphon."⁵⁵ The conclusions of these two writers implicitly shed fresh light on one reason why the t. p. was excluded from the regular psalm tones. The modal characteristics of the tone thus predate Glareanus's discussion of *modus* 9 (Aeolian) by several hundred years.⁵⁶ The nomenclature "*tonus IX*" is not encountered earlier than Glareanus and must be ascribed, if not to this particular theorist, at least to speculation by theorists of his generation.

Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century musicologists, focused as they were on Glareanus and Zarlino, frequently stressed the modal rather than the melodic properties of the t. p. Under the entry *Tonus Peregrinus* in the fourth edition of Moser's *Musiklexikon* we find: "... gelegentlich ähnelt er dem d-Aeolisch, z.B. vor allem in der Antiphon *Nos qui vivimus* mit dem Psalm *In exitu Israel*"⁵⁷ ("...occasionally it does resemble the D-Aeolian mode, for example, and most notably, in the Antiphon *Nos qui vivimus* with the Psalm *In exitu Israel*"). Although the dual reciting-tone ("*Tuba-Verschiebung*") is mentioned, Moser's description is typical of German musicology of the period; the intrinsic **melodic** properties of the psalm tone upon the third part

⁵⁴ . Egon Wellesz, "Die Struktur des serbischen Oktoechos," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 2 (1919–20); and idem, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant – Studies in the Early History of Ecclesiastical Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, for Byzantine Institute, 1947), 30–31. See also Atkinson, "The *Parapteres*: *Nothi* or *Not*?" 32.

⁵⁵ . Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, 162. See also p. 174. Writing later, Van der Werf (*The Emergence of Gregorian Chant – A Comparative Study of Ambrosian, Roman, and Gregorian Chant*, 1, no. 1 [Rochester, New York: 1983], 141) did not even exclude the possibility that the theory of the modes was conceived primarily in order to achieve a melodic compatibility between antiphons and their concomitant psalm tones.

⁵⁶ . See Henricus Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* [Facsimile of 1547 Basel ed.] (New York: Broude Bros., 1967).

⁵⁷ . Hans J. Moser, *Musiklexikon*, 2, 4th ed. (Hamburg: Musikverlag Hans Sikorski, 1955), 1306.

are marginalized—something that is all the more surprising when one considers the role that these have played in German Lutheranism, and consequently in the German national tradition. Instead, Moser focuses on **spatial** qualities: modality. In our own age, Caldwell interprets the “*tonus novissimus*” in *Commemoratio brevis* as a reference not to the psalm tone itself but to the tonality (a term that he uses in the modern sense but which is not at all problematic: the *modus* of the t. p. is, of course, Aeolian) of the antiphons with which the tone was employed.⁵⁸

Even among modern scholars who have laid stress on the distinction between mode and psalm tone, the t. p. is mainly overlooked.⁵⁹ To Psalm 113 have been allotted *Alleluia* verses in several different *modi*,⁶⁰ so one might easily draw the conclusion that this psalm verse was not sung exclusively to the t. p. This interpretation of the situation is supported by the fact that the t. p. was excluded from many an important *Tonale*. Again, we have to assume that the choice of antiphons dictated the use of the psalm tones. The very latest research has brought about a new understanding of modal theory; Gregory Barnett has discussed the ways in which theorists tended to characterize the D modality with one flat (Aeolian) as a mode even in tonal theory, and he goes so far as to employ the term *tonus peregrinus* as the description of a *modus* in his analysis of Baroque sonatas. Unpragmatic and confusing as this may seem, the concept was used by Giovanni Maria Bononcini (1642-78), and proves a useful tool in Barnett’s analysis.⁶¹

⁵⁸ . Caldwell, *Medieval Music*, 45.

⁵⁹ . See Amédée Gastoué, “Über die 8, ‘Töne,’ die authentischen und die plagalen,” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 25 (1930), trans. R. Bragard.

⁶⁰ . See Urbanus Bomm, *Der Wechsel der Modalitätsbestimmung in der Tradition der Messgesänge im IX. bis XIII. Jahrhundert und sein Einfluß auf die Tradition ihrer Melodien* (Hildesheim: R/Georg Olms, 1975), 131; John R. Bryden and David G. Hughes, *An Index of Gregorian Chant*, 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), 216.

⁶¹ . Gregory Barnett, “Modal Theory, Church Keys, and the Sonata at the End of the Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51 (1998): 265.

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In sources before 1300 the term *parapter* or *paracter* is sometimes used to describe species lying outside the modal system.⁶² Whether these species were what we understand as *modi* or *toni* is often hard to deduce from the theoretical discourse, which seems to regard them as natural extensions of the Gregorian system. Since they are only rarely discussed in terms of *tenor* and *ambitus*, it has been assumed that they were melodic formulae—what we understand as *toni*.⁶³ Atkinson has linked the term *parapter* with Greek *para* (“at the side of”) and *pteron* (“wing”),⁶⁴ an explanation that, bearing in mind the antiquity of its first reference in Byzantine sources, is more plausible than Hucbald’s derivation from Latin *paro* + *iter*.⁶⁵ The problem with the *paraptere* antiphons in Hucbald’s eyes was that they “*non finiuntur ita ut inchoant*” (“do not finish as they begin”).⁶⁶ When David Hiley states that the *paraptere toni* reverse this modulation, he hints at answers to the question of their function, and also to that of their liturgical justification.⁶⁷

When we consider that the practice of regularly framing each psalm with an antiphon was replaced by one in which antiphons were sung before and after the entire group of psalms in each *Officium*,⁶⁸ it becomes clear that the t. p. was more problematic than one might at first think; we have already seen that the tone was used in conjunction with only five to ten antiphons based on a single melodic prototype. Aurelian’s *Musica Disciplina*, the earliest source to discuss the tone, also refers to its problematic aspects: “*Quia per omnia ab orbita in sui canore versiculi segregatur, huiusce toni, secernendam putavi a cæteris diffinitionibus*” (“As this tone is separated by a semiverse from the common rut of all singing [psalm tones] it was excluded from the other”).⁶⁹ Hucbald, as we saw, dwelt on the problem that the t. p. and

⁶² . E.g., Hucbald, “*De musica (De harmonica institutione)*,” 149.

⁶³ . Atkinson, “*The Parapteres: Nothi or Not?*” 32–33.

⁶⁴ . Ibid. Hiley derives the term from “*para*” and “*apto*” (“join alongside”); see Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 63.

⁶⁵ . Hucbald, “*De musica (De harmonica institutione)*,” 149.

⁶⁶ . Ibid.

⁶⁷ . Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 63.

⁶⁸ . See Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 20.

⁶⁹ . Aurelianus, “*Musica Disciplina*.”

its antiphons do not end in the same way they begin. Could the notion of deviant *versiculi* in Aurelianus be understood as an attempt to describe the dual reciting-note?

With few exceptions, all psalm verses fall into halves (semiverses), normally quasi-pleonastically presenting one thought in two complementary ways. This feature of the psalm verses, called *parallelismus membrorum*,⁷⁰ is reflected in a corresponding musical unification—having the same tenor in both halves—in the regular psalm tones, whereas the t. p. negates this effect. To the clergy, in the period before the advent of polyphonic music, this must have posed a problem bigger than we can appreciate today. The *parallelismus membrorum* of the eight regular psalm tones has been the object of discussion by Apel and Lukas Kunz. The published research of the latter is of utmost importance and quality, but, unfortunately, it omits consideration of irregular tone formulae. However, Kunz's discussion of *parallelismus membrorum* can be used as a relevant starting point for discussion of the t. p. and other irregular psalm tones.

Wird bei dieser offenen Zählung festgestellt, daß ein Psalm zahlentechnisch aus zwei gleichen Hälften (jede enthält gleich viel Worte oder Zeilen) A+A besteht, so hat man es mit offen zweiteiliger Symmetrie zu tun. Es ist zu beobachten, das ein Psalm gelegentlich nur bezüglich der Zeilenanzahl zweiteilig symmetrisch ist, während die Wortzählung (gleichzeitig) ein dreiteilig symmetrisches Bild ergibt.⁷¹ (It becomes obvious from this calculation that a Psalm verse consists of two similar parts (containing the same number of words or lines): A+A, so that one finds a loosely symmetric bipartite structure. It should be observed that a Psalm verse occasionally is

⁷⁰ . See Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 210 for a discussion of this topic.

⁷¹ . Lukas Kunz, "Untersuchungen zur Textstruktur solistischer Psalmen," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 45 (1961): 16.

symmetrical only as regards the number of lines of which it is constructed, while the amount of words at the same time constitutes a tripartite structure.)

The word underlay and recitation of the second half of the t. p. has been open to interpretation, as it is never presented uniformly in medieval sources. Sometimes, the tenor is given as G and sometimes as A. Indeed, even in modern chant instruction there appears to be confusion; in the appendix of *Elements of Plainsong* the editors have (conveniently?) avoided stating which note is the tenor in the second half, with the result that it does not appear at all problematic in this respect. This is all the more surprising in that a contributor in the same volume discusses its dual reciting-tone!⁷² Here, we have a clear indication of the ambiguity of the tone and the simplification of its problematic aspects that are frequently encountered in early twentieth-century musicology. Such an unidiomatic rhythmic interpretation as one finds in Riemann is, of course, no longer possible,⁷³ and we have already seen how he and his compatriots of the time rarely discussed the melodic complications of the t. p. Nevertheless, German musicologists of this period tend to show a greater understanding of other fundamental problems connected with it.⁷⁴

The fact that detailed discussion of the problems connected with the dual reciting-tone is rarely encountered in medieval sources has led modern scholars to accord little weight to this aspect: “The distinctive trait of the *tonus peregrinus* is (or was) not the two different tenors, but the special intonation and termination formula to harmonize with the melodic outline of the antiphons.”⁷⁵ Erbacher has deduced from the lack of early commentary on this problematic

⁷² . Henry B. Briggs, “Structure [of plainsong],” *The Elements of Plainsong: Lectures from the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society*, 2d ed. (London: The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1909), 28.

⁷³ . 1905.

⁷⁴ . See Ludwig Finscher, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 10, ed. F. Blume (Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1962), 1682–83.

⁷⁵ . Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 213.

aspect that *toni* 1-8 were similarly inconsistent in their tenor recitation.⁷⁶ Once again, we find support for the assumption that the t. p. was not a late addition to the Gregorian system but a vestige of a pre-existing, once more widespread practice. Erbacher has interpreted Aurelianus' concept "defectus contra regulares tenores et principia saeculorum" ("deviate from the model tenors and the beginning of the *saeculorum*") as a reference to the problem that neither of the two tenors is on the "correct" degree vis-à-vis the *finalis* according to the rules observed by *toni* 1-8.⁷⁷

It must be pointed out in this connection that several other psalm tones with multiple reciting-notes existed in the Middle Ages. Ruth Steiner has drawn attention to other deviant psalm tones, some of which are irregular (e.g., the tone called Tone S) in a way resembling the t. p., and Charles Atkinson has catalogued four *toni* for the *parapteres* that he believes have origins similar to those of *toni* 1-8.⁷⁸ These, however, remained strictly invitational tones and do not often appear even as such after ca. 1200—a fact that provides extra support for the view of the t. p. as an older formula, since it must have enjoyed self-evident status as an "ordinary" psalm tone to an extent matched by no other such formula.

It has been suggested that two proto-modes, equivalent to our Aeolian and Ionian, existed in an oral tradition all over Eurasia in the first century CE. In addition to validating the supposition that the t. p. and its concomitant antiphons belong to an older and altogether different "order" than *toni* 1-8 of the "reformed" Gregorian repertory, this distinction may also explain some of its liturgical applications. Rosemary Thoonen-Dubowchik writes: "In some cases, notably that of the Gregorian *Crucem tuam*, the archaic Jerusalem modality was not

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁷⁸ . Ruth Steiner, "Tones for the Palm Sunday Invitatory," *The Journal of Musicology* 3, no. 2 (1984); Atkinson, "The *Parapteres*: *Nothi* or Not?" 55–56. Reese has made comparisons with the sixth of the psalm-introitus tones, which similarly employs two tenors.

completely reconciled with the modal system that was later imposed on the melodic repertory. Perhaps some of the high value placed on the relics of the cross in the medieval world was extended to this musical relic, preserving an echo of the holy City of Jerusalem.”⁷⁹

Our problem in drawing a similar conclusion about the t. p., together with all Aeolian antiphons sung together with it, may well trace its origin back to a tacit consensus among the early theorists, who rarely discuss connections with ancient traditions or look back into the past further than a couple of generations. However, we cannot entirely discount the possibility that the problematic aspects of the tone enjoyed some relic-like reverence among early Christians. In a recent collaborative anthology,⁸⁰ David Cohen has attempted a distinction between three different types of musical outlook in Carolingian theory: 1.) the concrete actuality of liturgical singing; 2.) the system of modal classification; 3.) the abstract structures and analytical tools.⁸¹ If we examine our conclusions with Cohen’s distinction in mind, it is clear that the t. p. earned its place in the Gregorian chant repertory via a pragmatic approach in the first category. Indeed, to the medieval theorist this must have been its sole merit, having the other two approaches against it.

Despite all the diligent research conducted on the early history of the t. p., we have not come far since the days of Roger North’s pessimistic prognosis. Stephen Van Dijk sums up the tacit consensus among modern researchers into the origins of psalmody, which is not far removed from North’s statement quoted above: “Reading history backwards may be satisfactory for propaganda purposes; from an historical point of view it is seldom impartial, often incorrect and always imperfect.”⁸²

Rites,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 5, no. 2 (1996): 128–29.

⁸⁰ . *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁸¹ . David E. Cohen, “Notes, Scales and Modes in the Earlier Middle Ages,” *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 308.

⁸² . Stephen J.P. Van Dijk, “Medieval Terminology and Methods of Psalm Singing,” *Musica Disciplina* 6 (1952): 7.

Finally, we must allow that many of the stimuli to which composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reacted when they set the t. p. polyphonically—some of the intrinsic properties of the tone—would indeed have been foreign to the medieval theorists: “Nicht ästhetische Bedenken bewegen die Theoretiker des Mittelalters zum Widerspruch, sondern ihre Bemühungen um die Wahrung und Festigung eines in langwieriger und mühsamer Arbeit erstellten und minutiös durchgebildeten Regelsystems”⁸³ (“It was not on aesthetic grounds that medieval theorists objected to it, but in their endeavor to preserve and define the product of much labor and effort that was the meticulously structured system of rules”).

It seems inevitable that our view should also be dimmed by such anachronisms. What we can deduce from the material presented in this article, however, is that the altogether strongest implication of the t. p. being the product of a bypass tradition and of its problematic properties being more distinctively Judaic than those shared by the eight regular psalm tones is to be found in tradition rather than in evidence proper. Contributions such as Idelsohn’s comparative analysis of Yemenite folk song and the t. p. are chronologically uncertain testimonies, best seen as complementary technical evidence to the impact of a descending tradition—one that prompted the Western church to connect the t. p. with Psalm 113, call it a *nothus*, and ultimately to connect it with the concept of peregrination and exoticism.

⁸³ . Erbacher, *Tonus peregrinus*, 8.

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