

CAECILIA

A Review of Catholic Church Music



Pentecost, The Epiphany of Easter Edward Malone, O. S. B.

Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies Peter Wagner (1)

VOLUME 84, NO. 2

MAY, 1957

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Published four times a year, February, May, August and November.
Application for second-class privileges is pending at Omaha, Nebr.

Subscription price—\$3.00 per year; \$5.00 for two years.

All articles for publication must be in the hands of the editor, P. O.
Box 1012, Omaha 1, Nebraska, 30 days before month of publication.

Business Manager: Norbert Letter

Change of address should be sent to the circulation manager:
Paul Sing, P. O. Box 1012, Omaha 1, Nebraska

Postmaster: Form 3579 to Caecilia, P. O. Box 1012, Omaha 1, Nebr.

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CAECILIA

A Quarterly Review devoted to the liturgical music apostolate.

Published with ecclesiastical approval by the Society of Saint Caecilia in February, May, August, and November. Established in 1874 by John B. Singenberger, K.C.S.G., K.C.S.S. (1849-1924).

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Subscription Price: \$3.00; Two Years, \$5.00; Additional Single Copy 75c.

Editorial and Business Address: Box 1012, Omaha 1, Nebraska

EDITORIALS

The Chant:

A modus vivendi:

As the discussion of the chant develops, we should like to reach some sort of editorial understanding. Let it be said right off that our chief interest lies in the singing and preservation of the chant, for despite the great propaganda Gregorian chant has enjoyed, both its use and its preservation are in mortal danger. The danger comes from curious sources—those who imagine themselves to be in the advance guard of a) the liturgical movement, especially the vernacular folk, b) congregational singing enthusiasts, c) educational simplification. In the first matter we ask you to weigh most carefully the words of Father Vitry in the February issue of *Caecilia*. In the second we are in substantial agreement with J. Robert Carroll, who in the May-June issue of the *Gregorian Review* ably defended the role of chant in congregational singing. Many of the chant's erstwhile proclaimers have cast it out. This is not to say that congregational singing may not take many other forms, but in the end, whatever form it takes, it will be based on, and it will be the result of, a whole culture, and not the inane notion of three minute rehearsals and shouting down the congregation such as Father Clifford Howell propounds in the current music pages of *Liturgy*. In the third matter we have only to be minded of several new psalm-tone propers that have been added to the plethora of spoon-fed education. About all of these one puts out only a warning. A review would be pointless, for one is as bad as the other. We firmly believe that the guts of chant itself is worth the trouble.

The argumentative side:

In some notes he prepared for the St. Louis Unit of the NCMEA, Father Guentner observed, anent controversy about the chant, that quarrels never arise from the dead. As long as someone thinks enough of it to fight about it, it will be loved, treasured and sung. That it will be sung in different ways is not a matter of great import, indeed it is something fruitful and desirable. Apart from varied systems of chant performance, can you imagine that the people in Holland will sing it precisely as those in Italy, or the French as the Germans, the English as the Hungarians? But in the good old USA—woe to the midwest Pennsylvania Dutch, Irish, and German-Russian, if he doesn't swallow his quilisma exactly as the Dutch, the Irish and the German-Russian brethren in New York or San Francisco! This is the real quarrel we have: the unmistakable

tendency of most of the neo-Solesmes adherents to rule out any other possible chant. The majority of the editors of *Caecilia* do not follow the Solesmes ritual, nor do a good many of its associates, but none of us care especially to be tabbed as "anti-Solesmes"! While Solesmes was not the sole source of chant restoration, who would want to deny its rightful historical role therein? It is not even possible to separate one's self from Dom Pothier. But the sculduggery that saddened his days, and some of those of Pius X, came from within. The attitude that made Pothier's position at Solesmes untenable, and later refused entree to a scholar of the repute of Peter Wagner, also a member of the papal commission, has, alas, in some measure, persisted. Even today if you do not follow what are engagingly described to seminarists as the "footfalls" of the ictus, you run the risk of being labeled a Medicean! It was from Fribourg in Switzerland, that there came, as early as 1907, a defense against "Der Kampf gegen die Editio Vaticana". And there persisted a cry for unity, not conformity. No, let all of us face facts as best we can, and keep the chant a vital thing in the courage of conviction. The history of *Caecilia* has been honourable in this regard. In its pages you may find the arguments of the mensuralists, the accentualists, and the rhythmic proposals of Solesmes. There is no need for apprehension. The very first editor, John Singenberger, though trained at Regensburg, put aside the Medicean editions in favor of the manner of the monks of Beuron before they had ever lost Roman approval.

Musicology and Tradition

What revisions chant might undergo in the future we do not know, but one may feel secure that they will be embodied in an official tradition that the Church will call upon us to accept. If the spirit of archeologism that arose at the turn of the century had prevailed, we should likely be singing a chant that had existed at no time at any given place. Perhaps we should not be singing chant at all, for a thing that was not even an anachronism could have hardly perdured. It is a fair conjecture that if the Solesmes archeologists had gone to their logical conclusion, not they, but the mensuralists, would have won the day. Even when Dom Mocquereau went off to consider pure rhythm, disengaged from musical and historical examples, he was not able to shake himself from the classical and romantic tradition in which he lived. It was not at all surprising that he should come up with only twos and threes, and so circumscribe his chant with a kind of modified mensuralism after all. He had not, of course, the rhythmic varieties of contemporary composition in his subconsciousness. But there were the chant

manuscripts, and the old polyphony to start on. Today we may at least learn from the lesser mistakes of the Liturgical Movement, and avoid the temptation to shackle the chant with an equation of tradition to any given archeological moment or antiquarian period. We will be grateful to the musicologists, but let them rid the body of chant of that considerable portion of bad music, which does not at all characterize it, but which is nonetheless there, before they meddle with the rest. To this point the finest of them have not publicly given more than a hint that the rhythmic method of Solesmes is historically suspect,—only that the artistic performance it secures, gives it, by their own clear implication, some kind of validity. The matter of artistry is open to debate, and the polite musicological nod is hardly brave or scientific. In the matter of the tradition the church establishes for her worship, the musicologist steps out of his field. Here the song of yesterday and today and forever comes in.

The Gregorian Melodies

A word about the reprint of Dr. Wagner's "Introduction To The Gregorian Melodies". The successive chapters will be printed in the center of *Caecilia* with their own pagination. Thus readers may take out the entire series and bind it separately when it is finished, without impairing the rest of the magazine. The magazine pages, however, will include the sum total, since doubtless, many will keep the magazine intact. It has been thought best to present the work exactly as it stands: an historical monument in an oasis of pseudo-scholarship. It is true that after all these years there are things that must be brought up to date, and the editors shall try to do this religiously.

Letters

And a word about letters to the editor! There have been many, all of them helpful. Many of them would be helpful to our readers too, if one had good reason to suppose they were meant for publication. It strikes us that correspondence is a real factor in a journal of free and public opinion, even if it is a quarterly. Besides, who wants to write a letter more than once or twice a year? Letters to the editor (for publication) will be honored.

PENTECOST, THE EPIPHANY OF EASTER

Edward Malone, O. S. B.

There is a striking parallelism between the two great mysteries which form the basis of all Christian dogma, the Incarnation and the Resurrection, and the manner in which they are made known to the world. The Incarnation, is of course, the central truth of all Christian dogma, and the fact of the Resurrection is the evidence which guarantees the truth of the Incarnation. In the designs of Divine Providence, both mysteries are manifested to the world in a two-fold manner; first, the fact is accomplished without ostentation or display, and is made known simply and quietly to a few faithful and reliable witnesses. When it suits the Divine Majesty these mysteries are proclaimed officially with a fitting display of Divine power to the world at large.

When the fullness of time was accomplished the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity descends into the world to assume human nature, but He does so in a manner that is surrounded with mystery and secrecy. As the liturgy of the Sunday Within the Octave of Christmas tells us, it was "While all things were in quiet silence, and the night was in the midst of her course," that the Almighty Word of God "came down from heaven," and assumed human nature.

As far as the world at large is concerned this tremendous event goes almost unnoticed. There is no one on hand to hear the exultant chants of the rejoicing angels but the bewildered shepherds. There is no one to witness the birth of the Savior but His Blessed Mother, the faithful Joseph, a contrite ox and a patient ass. The tremendous event which "many prophets and just men have desired to see" and which has been foretold with such amazing accuracy of detail, is accomplished with little awareness on the part of those who should have been its chief beneficiaries. The Son of God slips into His world almost without being seen; the long awaited Messiah comes into the world, and the world goes about its trivial business with tragic unconcern.

Only when it suits the Divine Majesty is the fact of the Incarnation proclaimed officially and publicly to the world. But when the time for this has come there is an ample display of Divine power, and cosmic publicity. The three Wise Men, the great kings of the East, come in search of the new born Savior. The arrival of these witnesses to the Incarnation is attended with great display and pomp. Their arrival and their quest cannot be ignored. They make

their appearance in the chief center of power and culture in Palestine, in Jerusalem. They openly proclaim their mission and great publicity is given to it. The scholars and the learned men of Israel are called together by the authorities and studies are launched to determine the content of the prophecies regarding the time and the place of the birth of the Savior. Nature itself will not be silent and God proclaims the birth of the Messiah through the appearance of a majestic star which guides the Magi to the birthplace of Christ. In the mystery of the Epiphany Christ manifests Himself publicly and officially to the world.

Much the same process is observable in the manner in which the truth of the other great mystery of our redemption, the Resurrection, is made manifest to the world. The fact of the Resurrection is accomplished in the same quiet and unostentatious way as the Incarnation was. Although the Resurrection had been foretold by Christ Himself with startling accuracy there was no one on hand to witness it, as far as we know, except the heavy eyed and half drunken soldiery, and it is doubtful whether in their terror they understood its significance.

The fact of the Resurrection came to the attention of the Apostles and Disciples in much the same way that the Incarnation came to the attention of the world. Christ manifested Himself to Magdalene in His glorified body, but it is in such a reserved manner that she hardly recognizes Him. Peter and John hasten to the tomb only when the evidence for the Resurrection is overwhelming, and even then they find only the empty tomb and the folded linens. The Disciples on the way to Emmaus meet the Lord, but "their eyes were held that they should not know Him." The Apostles remain in hiding and make no attempt to proclaim the Resurrection.

This is no mere coincidence; it is part of the Divine plan. The Apostles had been commanded to await the coming of the Holy Ghost and then they are to be made witnesses "in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the utmost parts of the earth." And when the time for this official and public declaration of the Resurrection has arrived, there is again, as there was at Epiphany, a striking display of God's power and unrestricted publicity. In a certain sense, Pentecost might be called the Epiphany of Easter. "And when the days of Pentecost were accomplished, they were all assembled in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a mighty wind coming, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them parted tongues as it were of fire, and it sat upon every one of them. And they were filled with the Holy Ghost and they began to speak

with divers tongues, according as the Holy Ghost gave them to speak." As at the arrival of the Magi on Epiphany, this was an event that could not be kept secret. There were in Jerusalem at this time, devout men of every nation, and when it was noised about, the multitude came together and were confounded in mind because every man heard them speak in his own tongue.

Pentecost is the official manifestation and proclamation of the Resurrection, as Epiphany is the official manifestation and proclamation of the Incarnation. The Savior had been born on Christmas day but His birth is proclaimed to the world only on Epiphany. The Church was founded from the side of Christ when the passion was consummated in the Resurrection, but it is launched on its way and proclaimed to the world, only on Pentecost.

The liturgy's approach to these two great mysteries of our redemption also emphasizes the function of these two feasts as the official manifestation of events that had been previously accomplished. The liturgy of Epiphany speaks of a threefold manifestation of Christ to the world. First of all, there is the manifestation of Christ to the gentile world in the person of the Three Holy Kings.

Ibant Magi quam viderant
Stellam sequentes praeiviam
Lumen requirunt lumine
Deum fatentur munere.

On Epiphany the liturgy also commemorates the occasion when Christ manifested Himself publicly and officially to the Hebrews. Thus an official notice is given to the Chosen People at the Baptism in the Jordan, that this is indeed the long promised Savior:

Lavacra puri gurgitis
Caelestis Agnus attigit;
Peccata quae non detulit
Nos abluendo sustulit.

Finally, there is the first public manifestation of His divinity to His disciples at the Wedding Feast of Cana:

Novum genus potentiae
Aquae rubescunt hydriae
Vinumque jussa fundere
Mutavit unda origine.

Pentecost, too, is an official declaration on the part of God, that what had been accomplished by Christ during His public life is now officially approved and manifested to the world as being

truly the work of God. The hymns for the Feast of Pentecost are principally concerned with giving a summary of all that had been promised and accomplished by Christ. In the *Veni Creator Spiritus* the Holy Ghost is called upon to bear witness to the mysteries of the Incarnation and Redemption, now not separately to the Gentiles as on Epiphany, nor to the Jews alone as at the Baptism in the Jordan, nor yet separately to the Apostles, but now openly and publicly to all the world.

Veni, Creator Spiritus
Mentes tuorum visita,
Imple superna gratia
Quae tu creasti pectora.

The hymn for Matins informs us that the time of partial revelation is now past, and the moment approaches when all things promised by Christ are to be realized and proclaimed to the world.

Solemnis urgebat dies
Quo mystico septemplici
Orbis volutus septies
Signat beata tempora.

The reserve and the restraint imposed upon the Apostles by Christ after His resurrection need now be maintained no longer.

Impleta gaudent viscera,
Afflata Sancto Spiritu
Voces diversas intonant
Fantur Dei magnalia.

Perhaps no feast of the year has been so blessed with great musical compositions as the Feast of Pentecost. As this feast would appear to be the climax of all the Christian mysteries, so too, the music which graces it is among the most sublime of the whole liturgical cycle. The *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, which is used for the sequence for the Mass of the day, is called the "golden sequence" and is certainly one of the most majestic of all the sequences approved by the Church. Written, probably by Pope Innocent III, (1161-1216) it has been declared one of the most masterful pieces of Latin sacred poetry ever to be written. In his *Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, Gehr calls it one of the great masterpieces of Christian hymnology. "The sequence for Whitsunday," he says, "can have come but from a heart wholly inflamed with the fire of the Holy Spirit. It is an incomparable hymn, exhaling the sweetness of Paradise, and regaling us with heaven's sweetest fragrance. Only a soul buried deep in recollection can suspect and taste the wealth of deep thought and

affliction this Pentecost hymn contains, and that too, in a form as remarkable for its beauty as for its brevity."

The *Veni Creator Spiritus*, attributed to Rabanus Maurus (776-856) is a suitable companion hymn for the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and may have served partially as a model for it. This hymn is entirely in harmony with the spirit of Pentecost as the feast which proclaims publicly the accomplishment of the redemption. Perhaps no other hymn of the Latin liturgy is so often used at public gatherings where the word of God is to be proclaimed. It is a favorite hymn for the opening of retreats, sermons, missions, and other solemn occasions when the mysteries of the faith are to be solemnly and publicly proclaimed. And it is the hymn which the *Pontificale* directs be sung when the bishop anoints the hands of the newly ordained and declares that whatever these hands bless shall be blessed, whatever they consecrate shall be consecrated and sanctified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is the hymn that rings about the making of all things new.

THE FOREST AND THE TREES

J. Robert Carroll

Controversy can be a very good thing. Whether or not it ever converts persons who enter it with pre-established notions, the important fact is that it requires all who participate in it or who observe it to sharpen their personal viewpoints, documentation and arguments. Some people shy away from controversy, either through fear of non-conformity or through lack of self-confidence. This is a sad state in this day and age, when the jelly-mold of conformity, supported by the American proclivity for sameness, threatens to smother the individuality of the artist and the originality of the thinker. It was, therefore, with pleasure that we perused the questions debated in the February 1957 issue of *Caecilia*, the first number published under the restored aegis of the Society of St. Caecilia of America. Some of the viewpoints we have not agreed with, but we wholeheartedly endorse the free expression which they represent. Naturally, the major issue to this writer, as might be expected, is that of the old problem of chant rhythm. Here, too, we may quote what Dom Jules Jeannin, O.S.B., one of Solesmes most unswerving opponents, has placed on the cover of his most important book, *Etude sur le Rythme Gregorien*, as a motto for his work. Quoting Hesiod, he added the color of Gallic rhetoric to Hellenic thought: *En ce bas monde, la discussion a du bon.*

Indeed, discussion is very worthwhile, but only when it includes all aspects of the question which have a legitimate right to be discussed. It is neither logical nor practical to belabor one point to the detriment of others, particularly when the slighted points are in many ways more important than the ones selected for discussion. More about this presently.

On page 10 of the above-mentioned issue, Dom Gregory Murray, O.S.B., has written a complete and well-presented statement of a viewpoint which not only differs sharply with that of Solesmes, but actually opposes it on most points. This is not a new dispute. It is as old as the Solesmes method itself. It is important, however, that we recognize what this kind of discussion involves for both the musicologist and the practising musician. Since we do not feel that Dom Gregory's article covered these points, we feel obligated to discuss them briefly.

It would be naive to suppose that Solesmes, as Dom Gregory implies on the final page of his article, is standing pat with its theories and its method. No one who has looked into the question, however summarily, can doubt that the Benedictines of Solesmes are constantly seeking new information to perfect their editions and their method. This does not, however, mean to say that Solesmes feels that its method must be revised from end to end, as Dom Gregory insists, but merely that new material and new evidence must be accepted according to its importance and allowed to shed light wherever it may.

To begin with, Solesmes has proved that the Vatican Edition itself, which is the only permitted edition for general practice, contains enough errors to make its use as a basis for future scholarly editions impossible. The number of melodic changes which must be made to bring the Vatican Edition into conformity with present research is so high as to warrant a completely new edition. Dozens of B flats are completely false, many wrong notes are found, particularly in deuterus compositions, and some melodies, such as the *Agnus Dei* of Mass IV, are written in entirety at the wrong pitch. The writings of Henri Potiron, unequalled in perception in modal matters and in questions of melodic nature, demonstrate this defect of the Vatican Edition beyond refute.

In regard to the rhythmic question, moreover, Solesmes continues to revise its studies in the light of continuing research. We must not forget that the Vatican Edition was largely the work of Dom Pothier, and that he, together with his colleagues on the Commission erected to prepare the edition, chose to ignore the presence of rhythmic signs in the manuscripts. Some of the followers of Dom

Pothier's line of thinking have gone so far as to say that there *are* no such signs in the manuscripts! This ostrich-like attitude can be resolved by a very few minutes examination of some of the better St. Gall scripts, those of Beneventan sources, and others. Dom Mocquereau, the one man who is largely responsible for the Solesmes method as it now stands, was among the first of the chant scholars to insist upon consideration of the signs found in the manuscripts. Comparison of the *Antiphonale Romanum* with the *Antiphonale Monasticum* of Solesmes will readily reveal even to the casual observer that many more of the signs are acknowledged by Solesmes than appear in the Solesmes version of the Vatican Edition. It is very enlightening to examine three *Antiphonales* in succession; first, the "pure" Vatican, without signs, second, the Vatican Edition as edited by Solesmes, with a limited number of rhythmic signs, and third, the special monastic version, noted above, which contains a great number of the authentic signs. We must also remember that the monastic edition appeared in 1934, and that it would be measureably improved by any modern revisions.

The Vatican Edition, then, even as edited by Solesmes, is not the ideal which Solesmes itself would like, but, because it is forbidden to alter the official editions, there is a definite limit on what can be done, for the present, at least, to incorporate research with the printed books.

So much for the interest of the musicologist. How about the practicing musician?

Generally speaking, the choirmaster has two choices at the present day. He may either purchase the Solesmes editions with their clearly marked rhythmic method, or he may buy the "pure" Vatican Edition, without rhythmic signs. Little else may be had, except for limited and isolated efforts by individuals and publishers.

To put it briefly, the choirmaster will use either the Solesmes method or the "not-Solesmes" method, which is all we can call the somewhat negative procedure of singing without regard for rhythmic signs.

Which is better? "Better" is a relative term. If you are looking for a method that will work, the Solesmes method is the logical choice. Not only does it take an unusually gifted musician to make convincing music of the "pure" Vatican Edition, but we are obliged to admit, in the light of research, that any edition which ignores the existence of the rhythmic signs of the manuscripts is further from truth than Solesmes has ever been, even in the foggy beginnings of its research, years ago. You may argue with the Solesmes

interpretation of these signs, but you cannot argue with the principle of putting them into present-day editions. We refer, of course, primarily to the horizontal episema, which is the only sign found in the manuscripts, but which Solesmes sometimes indicates by dotting a note, as well as by giving the actual linear form.

This then, is what we meant above when we said that some of the undiscussed aspects of Dom Gregory's subject were possibly more important than those he wrote about. After all, until other editions are available, it is purely academic to discuss the discarding of any method or edition, since we are obliged to sing the liturgy while we continue our research. Unless we can offer alternatives, criticism is pointless. By all means let us continue to seek knowledge which will improve our editions, but let us sing while we seek.

In this respect we recall an afternoon in Paris in 1951 in the company of a Belgian Benedictine who was heatedly intent on converting us to his own brand of anti-Solesmes-ism. He launched vigorously into his argument, and illustrated every other sentence by singing a snatch of the chant. Although his arguments were less solid than most opponents of Solesmes, he was interesting, and we felt obliged to ask, finally, what edition he used with his monastic choir. He halted in his peroration, and his face dropped. Sheepishly he smiled and said, "Well, we sing with the Solesmes editions." Then he brightened somewhat and added, "But we do not always agree with what we sing!"

Which direction must research take, then, in order to better the editions we now have?

There are two points of view. One may either accept the Solesmes method as the best we know of, and proceed from there, or state that the whole thing is to be revamped from start to finish. If the latter viewpoint is taken, the road is already paved by the work of Dom Jules Jeannin, O.S.B., who, until his death, was the most formidable opponent Solesmes ever encountered. It is a matter of hypothesis, from which the rest will flow. If you accept the Solesmes principles that (1) the episema is an expression mark of no fixed metrical value, (2) the Latin accent is independent of the ictus, and (3) syncopation is unknown to chant, then you will follow the Solesmes movement to its logical development. If, on the other hand, you (1) call the episema a metrical sign of length, (2) consider the Latin accent as ictic, and (3) admit syncopation to the chant, you will find that you cannot deny any of the rest of the principles of Dom Jeannin. In the light of long consideration of these matters, the present writer cannot see that one can escape these alternatives.

It is not for us to anticipate ourselves by generalizations in an article of this scope. We cannot make irrevocable statements about future discoveries and developments. We can, however, point out that the opponents of Solesmes have one great comfort in their battle. If the future should bring them success, all well and good. If not, they may, like Dom Jeannin, observe from personal convictions that, at worst, "the Christian world will be influenced for good ends by principles which are at variance with historical truth." Regardless of personal tenets, we cannot but state in full sincerity that truth must conquer, however, and that we are confident that in such important matters as the official music of the Church, discussion and research will eventually lead to authenticity. Let us, like Dom Jeannin, borrow our motto from Greek wisdom, in this case the very pertinent words of Plato:

"Nothing spoken or written is of any real worth if what it states is to be accepted without question, instead of being examined critically with a view toward improving knowledge."

ENCYCLICAL *MUSICAE SACRAE DISCIPLINA*

Rev. Richard Schuler

Part I: History of Sacred Music

When the encyclical letter, *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina*, appeared at Christmas, 1955, it came as a surprise to the world. No other encyclical had come from the Vatican during the whole year. Politically and diplomatically the world was troubled, and the dangers of Communism were pressing the Church on every front. Yet in the midst of one of the most active pontificates in history, Pope Pius XII deemed it wise to make his chief document of the year a lengthy discussion of sacred music. It came during the peace of Christmas time, and it treated a subject that has been associated with the Prince of Peace from the very first moment that He came into the world, greeted by the music of the angelic choirs.

For the head of the Church to say that "sacred music is a subject in which we have always been deeply interested" is significant. It is a statement that surely is consoling to those who have felt that they were struggling alone in the apostolate, and at the same time, it is a challenging one, when one considers the many other fields of study and activity that form part of the life of the Church and the Vicar of Christ. If the Holy Father can find time for a special interest in music, how much more should those for whom it is a chosen work!

A brief introduction points out the purpose of the new encyclical: "to treat once again such a topic systematically . . . and at the same time set out a little more fully several questions which have been brought up and debated in these past decades." The suggestions of the Bishops as well as those of composers and music teachers, expressed at the various national and international congresses of sacred music, have been considered. The *Motu Proprio* of St. Pius X is confirmed as a "juridical code," and certain additions adapted to modern conditions are set forth. In our "round table" forum in these pages of *Caecilia*, we hope to call your attention both to the old and the new things that our Holy Father saw fit to speak about to his venerable brethren, the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops of the universal Church.

The encyclical has four sections: first an historical survey; second, a discussion of the essence of church music; third, a statement of the qualities of church music; and fourth, the means to be used to further good church music. Let us begin our discussion with the section of the history of sacred music.

In the fifty years since Saint Caecilia's day, 1903, when the *Motu Proprio* came from the pen of St. Pius X, many great advances in the knowledge of music history have been made. The discipline of musicology was scarcely born then; interest in the music of the ages preceding the nineteenth century was almost nonexistent. Johann Sebastian Bach was spoken of as the beginning of real music, and what went before him was lumped together under the term "pre-Bach," carrying with it more mystery than the uncharted Atlantic did for Columbus. It is true that the nineteenth century demonstrated interest in some early music. The "rediscovery" of Gregorian chant through the work of the Caecilian societies and the Benedictine monks, as well as the publication of the works of Palestrina by Dr. F. Haberl, were the first stirrings of what has become a tremendous force, investigating and publishing the revived masterpieces of the past. Scholarly study has gone on in the fields of Gregorian chant, the polyphonic choral writings of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Baroque eras. Now, instead of lumping several centuries into one category labeled "pre-Bach," there is sufficient knowledge and information to distinguish within these periods and to subdivide further even within those, according to geographical position, the instrumental or vocal media employed, or the sociological purpose of the music. Little wonder then that the Holy Father, taking notice of these strides in learning, makes use of them, and by his words tracing the history of music, reaffirms the position of sacred music as the intimate handmaid of liturgical worship.

Little is known yet of the music of the Old Testament or even that of the primitive Church. That it existed is unquestioned just what it was has not yet been rediscovered. The Holy Father quotes the references made to music in the Scriptures and in the Fathers of the Church and the ancient pagan authors, reminding us that many of the sacred words we sing and the deep roots of the music we know today go back two thousand years to the dawn of Christianity or even to the worship of the synagogue. If ever musicologists are able to raise the curtain that hides from us the music of those patristic centuries, the interest in and the value of such scholarship will be great indeed.

As in the *Motu Proprio*, the division of sacred music into Gregorian chant, the choral polyphony of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and compositions of the last three centuries is again made. The chant, which was the music of the Church from the beginning, underwent a codification by Saint Gregory the Great, who fostered the practice of music in Rome. His "scholae cantorum" form the historical antecedents of the Papal choirs of today. From Rome the method of singing the chant spread out across the continent of Europe, and the Holy Father refers to its being carried to the various regions of the West. Saint Augustine took it to England; Pepin, the French ruler, asked that the liturgical books of Rome and singers to teach them be sent to France; Charlemagne set up choir schools in the great Cathedral cities of the Rhineland. Except for Spain, where the Mohammedan rule fettered the Church, and the province of Milan in Italy, the Roman chant was sung throughout the West by the eighth century. While Milan retained its Ambrosian chant and Spain its Mozarabic chant, all these styles saw a great volume of composition during the centuries following Saint Gregory, not only for the official liturgical texts, but for vernacular hymns as well. In addition to development in the chant, rudimentary organs were in use, leading up to such huge instruments as the one at Winchester in England, where two organists were required to play it and an army of men was necessary to keep it supplied with wind.

By the ninth century, the first indications of polyphonic music are found, when the chant melodies were sung with the addition of another voice at the interval of a fifth or an octave. The rapid development of this peculiarly western art from the early organum to its high flowering in the Renaissance created for the Church one of its greatest treasures. In the *Motu Proprio* mention was made of the Roman School and in particular Palestrina as representing the great polyphonic liturgical music. In the fifty years since Saint

Pius X, the publication of the works of the great masters who preceded Palestrina has opened to us the gems of the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, upon which Palestrina based his synthesis on the contrapuntal art. Today studies are being made of the music of the School of Notre Dame, which Leoninus and Perotinus grace in the twelfth century; and every history of music course mentions the *Ars Antiqua* of the thirteenth century and the *Ars Nova* of the fourteenth. Now the great artistic giants of the Burgundian and Flemish schools, men like Josquin des Pres, Guillaume Dufay, Jacob Obrecht, Pierre de la Rue, Jean Mouton, Adriaen Willaert, Henrik Isaac and a score of others take their places along with Palestrina as "outstanding artists" who brought church music to a "marvellous perfection." As the Holy Father reminds us, "this polyphonic music has always been held in high esteem by the Church and freely admitted for the more magnificent adornment of her sacred rites." With so many of the works of these Renaissance masters available today in many editions, surely the Holy Father here is calling our attention to his desire that we again sing this great music in our churches.

A most interesting sentence concludes the paragraph on polyphonic music in the first section of the encyclical. Again the Holy Father is basing his writing on the research of musicologists. He says of this classical polyphony that "its force and splendor were even increased because, to the voices of singers, besides the organ, the sound of other instruments was added." Students of performance practice of Renaissance and medieval music have discovered that the polyphonic choral compositions of those ages were usually accompanied by wind and string instruments that doubled the voice parts. The practice of singing those compositions "a cappella," as we do today, is an innovation that came with the Baroque seventeenth century, when a distinction between vocal and instrumental writing came first to be appreciated. Thus the use of wind instruments and strings in church as accompaniment for the singing is a practice of long standing, and the Holy Father makes mention of that. With the progress of the seventeenth century, instruments also found special parts of their own in the liturgical music, not just doubling the voices, but performing music written for the special characteristics of the instruments. In time, too, the organ assumed its place as a solo instrument in church and so did the string ensemble and also the wind ensemble. Thus, research into the history of music has uncovered what was the venerable practice of the Church in the past, and the Pope in this way adds his approval to our study and indeed even suggests our performing these treasures of the past.

This, of course, is not said without a word of caution, because "just as this progress in the art of music shows clearly how dear to the heart of the Church it was to make divine worship more resplendent and appealing to Christian peoples, so too it made clear why the Church also must, from time to time, impose a check lest its proper purposes be exceeded and lest, along with the true progress, an element profane and alien to divine worship creep into sacred music and corrupt it." But in addition to warning of abuse, the Holy Father recognizes that music has progressed "from the simple and natural Gregorian modes, which are, moreover, quite perfect in their kind, to great and even magnificent works of art which not only human voices, but also the organ and other musical instruments embellish, adorn and amplify almost endlessly." Thus, those who feel that polyphonic music is less than good, being merely tolerated by the Church as a concession to human weakness, must now think otherwise. The Pope's language is clear. So also must they think differently who until now have failed to realize that one purpose of sacred music is to move Christians to devotion, for the Holy Father says that it is "dear to the heart of the Church . . . to make divine worship more resplendent and appealing to Christian peoples."

A short history of the care of the Supreme Pontiffs for the true progress of sacred music concludes the first section of the encyclical. What is sensual and unchaste, what is illicit, extravagant and irreverent must be eliminated. But it is not a negative note that is sounded, and the time has past for us to look at the wishes of the Holy See only in a negative way. It is not the elimination of abuse, but rather the cultivation of the great, the beautiful and the artistic that the Holy Father emphasizes. Three things, about all, we can conclude from this first part of *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina*. First, the Church and her visible head are intensely interested in sacred music as the handmaid of the liturgy. Second, we should study the history of the music of the Church, now so wonderfully rediscovered through the research of musicologists, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. And thirdly, in order that this might not be a sterile learning, we should use these riches of the past in our worship today by singing the gems of Gregorian chant and the treasures of the medieval and Renaissance artists.

(To be continued)

VATICAN MUSIC COLLECTIONS ON MICROFILM AT SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY

Ernst C. Krohn

A delightfully written account of the Music Collections in the Vatican Library appeared in the February issue of this journal. Father Richard Schuler visited Rome during the autumn, winter, and spring of 1954-55 and carried away vivid impressions of the musical treasures of the Eternal City. His enthusiastic appreciation of the musical feast spread before him in the Apostolic Vatican Library is shared by many of his colleagues here at Saint Louis University. And with good reason, for we have microfilm copies of practically everything that he so highly praised.

The Vatican Microfilm Project originated in a tentative discussion of its feasibility by several members of the faculty of Saint Louis University, in March, 1950. Father Lowrie Daly, S. J., suggested the idea of microfilming the priceless documents of the Vatican Library, not only for the sake of their preservation, but also for the convenience of American scholars, who were separated by the Atlantic Ocean from the manuscript treasures of Europe. Rev. Paul C. Reinert, S. J., President of Saint Louis University, and the University librarian, Father Joseph Donnelly, S. J., heartily indorsed Father Daly's proposal. Father Reinert entered into the required diplomatic procedure and on December 15, 1950, the Prefect of the Vatican Library, writing in the name of the Holy See, granted permission to make the desired microfilms and made Saint Louis University the sole depository of these treasures. Early in 1951, the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus, acting in conjunction with Saint Louis University, established the Foundation for the Preservation of the Historic Documents at the Vatican Library, now known as the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library at Saint Louis University. Microfilming equipment was shipped to Rome and a team of microfilm technicians began the tremendous task of photographing the millions of manuscript pages on the shelves of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

It was obviously impossible to microfilm all of the manuscript material in the Vatican collections. A group of specialists entered on the task of compiling lists of the most desirable documents in their respective fields. To me fell the agreeable task of selecting the items of musical interest. After several years of intensive study of Vatican printed catalogs¹ and microfilm copies of hand-written

¹ "Catalogues in the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library at Saint Louis University" by C. J. Ermatinger. *Manuscripta* 1:5-21. (1957)

inventories, I compiled a list of over a thousand codices containing documentary material possessing musical interest. The manuscripts selected came from the Latin sections of each of the principal collections, notably the Barberini, the Borghese, the Borgia, the Capponi, the Chigi, the Ferrajoli, the Ottoboni, the Palatine, the Regina, the Rossi, the San Pietro, the Urbino, the Vatican, and the Cappella Sistina. With a few notable exceptions, all of the lists submitted have been microfilmed and are now available in the Vatican Film Library at Saint Louis University. One of the exceptions was the shipment that went down with the Steamship Andrea Doria. This lot is being done over and will eventually be here. Subsequently, a number of Greek lists were compiled which are now in process of being microfilmed.

In 1928, the Vatican Library with the help of funds provided by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, began the compilation of a dictionary card index to the manuscript collections. A photostatic copy of this huge card catalogue is available for consultation in the Vatican Film Library at Saint Louis University. Although it numbers three hundred thousand cards, this catalogue is far from being complete and must be used with caution. Father Schuler in his article, mentioned the desirability of making a thematic index of the musical scores. Father Laurence Feininger was presumably engaged in making such a catalogue at the Vatican Library in 1947.² Father Franz Xavier Haberl published a thematic catalogue of Codices 1—269 of the Cappella Sistina in 1888.³ The American musicologist, Dr. Walter H. Rubsamen, published a thematic catalogue of the scores in *Cod. Pal. Lat.* 1976 to 1982 in 1950.⁴ I started to make a thematic catalogue of the early operatic arias in the Chigi collection, but found it a never-ending task. Whenever Father Feininger publishes the thematic index of the entire Vatican music collection that he started in 1947, we will have one indispensable tool of reference to all of this priceless material.⁵

It may be of interest to point out some of the types of music and music literature available in the Vatican Film Library. It is to be expected that liturgical music, and more specifically Gregorian Chant, will be richly represented in all of the collections. Many

² "The Music Manuscripts in the Vatican" by L. Feininger. *Music Library Association Notes* III:392-394. (1946)

³ "Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikcatalog des Papstlichen Kappellarchives im Vatikan zu Rom" by F. X. Haberl. Supplement to *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 1888.

⁴ "Music Research in Italian Libraries" by W. H. Rubsamen. *Music Library Association Notes* VI:220-233; 543-569; (1949) VIII:70-99. (1950) The thematic catalog is at VIII:72-77.

⁵ *The Books published by the Vatican Library*, Vatican City, 1947, page 164.

manuscripts are notated in Neumes, many more in Quadratic Notation. Practically all of the material studied by Dr. Henry Marriott Bannister in the preparation of his stupendous work *Monumenti Vaticani* has been made available.⁶ The abundant array of service books represents all imaginable types of compilation ranging from *Antiphonale* to *Sanctorale*. A group of liturgical books in the Armenian, Chaldaic, Coptic, and Maronite rites are available in the Borgia collection. When the Greek lists are microfilmed we will have a brilliant representation of service books of the Byzantine Church. Of historic significance are the Pre-Gregorian Graduale, *Cod. Vat. Lat. 5319*, and the Beneventan Graduale, *Cod. Vat. Lat. 10673*.⁷ In the Cappella Sistina are several choir books with superb miniatures (*Cappella Sistina* 2, 3, 4, 5). In fact the creative art lavished on many of the codices beggars description.⁸

In view of the tremendous emphasis on Latin manuscripts, it would be astonishing were there no Latin tracts on medieval music theory. As a matter of fact, *trattati* are found in every collection. All important medieval theoreticians are represented from Boethius to John Hothby. Whenever the Greek manuscripts are available, there will be a rich array of theoretical texts ranging from Aristoxenus to the Byzantine musicologist Pachymeres. The comparative study of theoretical texts may well prove to be one of the most rewarding of microfilm research projects.

The Cappella Sistina contains a magnificent accumulation of polyphonic liturgical music from the Renaissance. Since most of the codices were choir books copied for current use in the daily ecclesiastical program, there was bound to be some duplication of scores. Palestrina's works were literally all over the place. The problem was not to microfilm too many duplicates. It is hoped that the selection made will prove adequate for future research. To list all of the composers represented by choral works would be to call the roll of the masters of the Renaissance from Dufay to Victoria. Much polyphonic material is to be found in other collections. A notable group of masses (*Cod. Chig. C VIII 234*) are so richly illuminated that they have been frequently reproduced.⁹ An interesting collection of scores by Dufay, Binchois and Dunstable is to be found in *Cod. Urb. Lat. 1411* and a similar lot by Dufay, Isaac, de la Rue, and Senfl is gathered in *Cod. Vat. Lat. 11953*.

⁶ *Monumenti Vaticani di Paleografia Musicale Latina* by H. M. Bannister. 2 folio volumes. Leipzig, 1913.

⁷ Published in facsimile as Tome XIV of the Solesmes series *Paléographie Musicale*.

⁸ See *Miniatures of the Renaissance*, Vatican City, 1950.

⁹ *Miniatures of the Renaissance*. Plate 21.

A truly exciting secular manuscript is the French Chansonnier preserved in *Cod. Reg. Lat.* 1490. *Canzoni* in mensural notation are to be found in *Cod. Ross. Lat.* 215, and many Palestrina *Madrigali* are notated in *Cappella Sistina* 458 and 459. Secular Cantatas abound in the Chigi collection which is also a mine of operatic music. Some 17th century collector notated operatic arias in small oblong note books and amassed a respectable number of them. The same collector may have acquired the 17th century operatic scores that have been preserved here. Marc Antonio Cesti, Francesco Cavalli, Jacopo Melani, and Luigi Rossi are some of the composers represented by "full scores" of some three dozen *drammi per musica*. The *Chigi Musicali* harbor much harpsichord music and some organ music by Girolamo Frescobaldi. A *Sonata Intavolata sulla Tiorba* may be found in *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 4145, and several books of *Danze—ghittara spagnuola* in *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 4177 and 4178.

Generally speaking, no material was microfilmed beyond the 18th century. However, a rich collection of autograph scores by Monsignor Lorenzo Perosi (1872-1956) cried aloud for inclusion. The high numbers of *Codices Vaticani Latini* proved to be a "catch-all" for miscellaneous music and presentation copies to the Papal Court, most of them from the 19th and 20th centuries. Much printed music found its way into this section and Strauss waltzes rubbed elbows with military marches for brass band!

This is not the place to give detailed lists of our microfilm treasures. That will be done in the issues of our new journal *Manuscripta*. The first section, listing the *Codices Vaticani Latini* running from 31 to 7937, was published in the February, 1957, issue.¹⁰ However, it may be of interest to register the number of codices containing matter of musical interest now available on microfilm in each collection. They are, Barberini thirty-six, Borghese twelve, Borgia twenty-nine, Capponi ten, Chigi one hundred sixty-five, Ferrajoli three, Ottoboni twenty-five, Palatine one hundred eight, Regina one hundred thirty-three, San Pietro eleven, Cappella Sistina four hundred six, Urbino fourteen, Vatican five hundred thirty-six, a grand total of fourteen hundred and eighty-eight which will easily grow to over fifteen hundred when all the music lists are completely microfilmed. This invaluable material is available to all qualified students. The musicological problems posed by much of this music and music literature should provide research material for untold future doctoral dissertations.

¹⁰ "A Checklist of the Vatican Manuscript Codices available for consultation at the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library: Part I". *Manuscripta* I:27-44. (1957)

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

GREGORIAN MELODIES

A HANDBOOK OF PLAINSONG

BY

PROF. PETER WAGNER, PH. D.

SECOND EDITION, COMPLETELY REVISED AND ENLARGED

PART I

Origin and development of the forms of the Liturgical
Chant up to the end of the Middle Ages.

TRANSLATED BY

AGNES ORME and E. G. P. WYATT

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Since the first edition of this book appeared circumstances have considerably altered. If in the last decades of the previous century it might seem as if learned investigations into Gregorian Music were for ever condemned to remain unfruitful in practical results, such apprehensions will no longer be entertained after the events of the last few months. Science and art alike owe lasting thanks to our present renowned Ruler, the Pope ; by a providential decision he has so utilized the results of learned investigations and the skill of practised exponents of Church music as to make a true reform of the liturgical chant possible.

We stand at the opening of a new era in regard to liturgical and ecclesiastical music. The head of the Church has given it clear direction and aim. It is to be hoped that many workers will now devote their powers to the service of the Gregorian restoration, and not least, that the enthusiasm of the movement may encourage the scientific study of the liturgical chant ; for the field is immense, and the workers are still few. May the second edition of this book have the result of extending in ever-widening circles a knowledge of the magnificent history of the liturgical music, and of its worth and beauty.

I have endeavoured to remove the defects of the first edition, of which I myself am most conscious, and to perfect the book as far as possible. Numerous journeys have enabled me to make use of manuscript collections, especially those of the National Library at Paris : in other cases permission was willingly granted me to examine manuscripts at home. The result is, as will be seen, an entirely new book. Not only has the material grown so much that a division has become necessary, but

the treatment also has become much more detailed ; so that the whole work has now become a *Summa Gregoriana* in a small compass. The aspect of the book being thus entirely altered, I long hesitated whether I should not change its title. Finally, however, I decided to retain the former title in order to show the connection with the first edition, particularly as the general arrangement of the material remains the same.

The present First Part deals with external history and liturgy, and lays the foundation ; as compared with the first edition, besides being in more direct relation to the sources and being able therefore better to represent the development that has gone on, it also brings out more forcibly the importance of the liturgical side. It was the works of Cardinal Tommasi, which, though still valuable, have remained almost unknown to the historians of music, that showed me the road along which every historian of liturgical music must go. I hope in this way that, by using all that is best in ancient and modern research, I have described the history of development of an important section of the Liturgy in such a manner that the description corresponds with the actual course of the history. The careful reader will himself find out how much fresh matter has come to light. But the book itself must demonstrate the absolute necessity of always keeping in sight the development of the Liturgy in dealing with the history of the matter in hand. If any one attempts to proceed in a different fashion, he must inevitably fall at every turn into capricious and prejudiced ways. Recent literature can produce instructive examples to prove this to be so. It will be to his own injury if the historian of music refuses the valuable help which the historian of the Liturgy is able to give ; and I venture to assert that many difficult and disputed problems of plainsong history will finally be solved by the latter and not by the former.

In this way this First Part has reached a form which it is hoped will prove useful to those who, without being professed students, wish to acquaint themselves with the history of the Liturgy.

The Second Part of the book will be quite new ; it will have as its subject the manuscripts of the liturgical music, their contents, and the study of Gregorian forms. As in the present Part, there will be included much that is new from sources which have not been used hitherto.- The

reader will thus be put in a position to examine the manuscripts of the liturgical music for himself. Much that is said in the First Part will then be elucidated and completed : I allude especially to the information which the melodies themselves give concerning their history, as contrasted with their external history which is more especially contained in the First Part. The Third Part, which will be devoted to the Gregorian theory, will considerably improve and amplify the corresponding section of the first edition.

Freiburg in Switzerland, October 1901.

P. WAGNER, PH. D.

Professor at the University
and Director of the Gregorian Academy.

TRANSLATORS' PREFACE

The translators desire to express their deep obligations to the Reverend W. H. Frere and the Reverend G. H. Palmer for the trouble they have taken in revising the translation and reading the proofs.

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INTRODUCTION

The expressions 'Gregorian Melodies,' 'Gregorian Chant,' denote the universal liturgical Chant of the Latin Church as, starting from the practice of the first Christian centuries, it was ordered and fixed under Pope Gregory I. († 604), spread from thence to all churches of the Roman Liturgy, and was used everywhere until recent times. ¹

In the proper sense, the term 'Gregorian' should belong only to those melodies which come from Gregory's own hand or from the Roman *Schola Cantorum* founded by him. But it was right that this his honourable title should be extended to the later medieval melodies, which were composed in consequence of the establishment of new feasts or for similar reasons, and were included with the older ones, because they more or less preserved their essential characteristics.

In recent times many books of liturgical chant have been altered, not only in secondary matters, but also in the most essential particulars, and the contents of these books cannot be called Gregorian. For these alterations continually reveal that the intimate connexion of the Gregorian forms with the Liturgy has been misunderstood, and that contemporary part-music and the theory that underlies it have triumphed over those characteristics of the Gregorian Chant which are bound up with the artistic views of earlier times, and especially over the rights which belong to melody which is intended for unison singing. Thus the gulf which divides the modern form of the melody from the Gregorian is certainly much greater than is usually supposed.

The most important formal principle on which the Gregorian Chant is constructed is the contrast (which governs the whole medieval liturgy) between solo and chorus music, with the consequences resulting from it, or, in other words, between responsorial and antiphonal music.

¹ The designation 'Gregorian Chant' (*Carmen Gregorianum*) is found already in a bull of Leo IV. (847—855). The activity of Gregory I. in Church music is testified to by the Venerable Bede : of which more in Chapter XI.

The rubrics of the Missal and Breviary, which embody the tradition of more than 1500 years, still prescribe solos for certain parts of the Service, and chorus for other parts; but since the 17th century almost all the music books, ignoring this fundamental distinction, have so curtailed the solo melodies that only chorus melodies remain; moreover, since then, the liturgical Cantors (who from early Christian times have always been practised singers,) have come to execute constantly the melodies which were intended to be sung by a choir.¹ It is precisely its power to correspond with the changing demands of the Liturgy, and to interpret all its different moods, which forms the chief title to fame of the Gregorian Chant.² There are other equally important alterations in the modern editions, which have to do with the modes, the rhythm and the words; for these are now treated not according to the rules of the unison music, but according to those of the part-music of the later Middle Ages.³ Finally, the musicians of the 17th century had lost all knowledge of the laws of Gregorian composition; they often laid hands on the liturgical chant from motives which were by no means praise-worthy, not to speak of their method of work, which at every turn left behind it traces of arbitrariness and want of principle, and destroyed the beauty and symmetry of the original. Consequently the facts of liturgical and musical history alike make it impossible to call the chant of the modern books 'Gregorian,' in

1 See what has happened in the later choral books in the case of the solo chants of the Mass,—the Gradual and Alleluia. No distinction is made between them and the Choir chants,—the Introit, Communion &c.

2 None of the later developments of Church Music has succeeded in corresponding so closely with the Liturgy. This in itself should suffice to make the Gregorian Chant appear to us Catholics to be worthy of special honour, even though our musical apprehension, through being bound up with modern music, has some difficulty in becoming familiar with it in one respect or another. But this difficulty (as I can prove from many years' intercourse with singers of the most different types) is not nearly so great as is usually supposed, and is more than counterbalanced by various advantages. There is no better school of Church music than the performance of the Gregorian Chant; if only it keeps well away from that caricature of the proper pronunciation of the Latin, with its angular roughness and ugliness, which is unhappily so wide spread, and undeniably indeed is almost necessitated by our modern editions of plainsong. There is no better method of bringing the singer to understand the admirable masterpieces of the Catholic Liturgy than liturgical and musical explanations given from time to time in practising Gregorian music.

3 It must not of course be thought that there is no other difference to be found between unison and part-music besides that which is implied by those designations. The principle

so far as they have (as is unfortunately the case) 'reformed' what was characteristic of the medieval form of the liturgical chant.

In the Gregorian music two equally important forces meet,—the liturgical—for it has grown out of the Liturgy, and, with it, attained strength and greatness; and the musical—since it shapes itself on the principle of unisonous melody. These do not hinder one another, but enter into a harmonious league together. Thus the Gregorian Chant is the musical art-product of the Church.

The German name for this music, 'Choral,' comes from *chorus*, the Latin term for the body of singers whose duty it was to beautify the liturgical service. This term was then transferred to the space where they took up their position, which was in front of the Altar. In Monasteries, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches the liturgical singers still have their place *in choro*. So it was natural to call the music, which in old times was without exception Gregorian, 'Choral' music. But the German name 'Choral' has always had a more general sense; for example, the Protestants have claimed it for their German hymns. It is therefore best to add to the name 'Choral' the designation 'Gregorian' for the medieval Catholic Melodies.

The Latin terms are: *Cantus Gregorianus*, *Cantus choralis*, and *Cantus planus*; the last refers to its ancient mode of execution, since the difference in duration of the single notes was not so great as was the case in Figured music; it flowed more equally and evenly.¹ The French likewise say 'Mélodies Grégoriennes' or 'Plain Chant,' the English 'Plainsong.' The Italians have formed yet another name, 'Canto fermo,' from the Latin *Cantus firmus*, which in part-music means the melody adopted as the basis of the whole composition, which is usually taken from Gregorian music.

In the Middle Ages, especially before the invention of part-music, roughly speaking before the 12th century, only general designations were in use, such as *Musica*, *Cantilena*, *Cantus*, with or without an adjective such as *ecclesiasticus*. A distinguishing name was not found to be necessary for the liturgical chant, until there was beside it another kind of music,

of unison involves a number of important consequences in the case of unisonous melody, while a melody which is intended to form part with others in an artistic whole, demands on that account an entirely different method of treatment.

¹ An author of the 13th century, Elias Salomon, gives the following *Regula infallibilis* with respect to this: 'Omnis cantus planus in aliqua parte sui *nullam festinationem in uno loco patitur plus quam in alio*, quam est de natura sui; ideo dicitur cantus planus, quia omnino planissime appetit cantari' (Gerbert, *Scriptores*, III, 21).

the *musica mensurata*. As a matter of fact it is from this period, the 12th—13th century, that the phrase *Cantus planus* comes.

The purpose of this book is to be an introduction to the scientific understanding of this music. It aims at expounding the glorious creations of the medieval masters of singing, which are interesting in more than one respect, by describing their origin and their growth, their artistic peculiarities and their liturgical value. After what has been said, no further justification is needed for not extending the scope of the following exposition far beyond the Middle Ages. But the early printed books of the end of the 15th and of the 16th century must be taken into consideration, since they still contain the Gregorian Chant.

Further, the plan of the exposition cannot be doubtful. The Gregorian Chant belongs to two branches of scientific study, the history of the Liturgy, and that of Music: therein lies its peculiarity and thereby is fixed the method which we must follow. Speaking generally, we may say that the method adopted hitherto, of treating the Gregorian Chant historically, has been one-sided, because it has confined itself almost exclusively to a statement of musical history, instead of taking into consideration at the same time the accompanying liturgical conditions. In a word, the history of the origin of the music must be placed in the framework of the development of the Liturgy, the Mass as well as the Divine Office; for these are the two branches of her worship for which the Church has especially supplied the music. It will often be found that this method of treatment proves of great advantage in gaining a knowledge of the subject, and easily solves a number of problems which, from the point of view of musical history, are beset with great difficulties.

Thus the first task which this INTRODUCTION TO THE GREGORIAN MELODIES has to take in hand is to show the history of the origin of the different Gregorian forms in conjunction with the liturgical factors which accompany them or evoke them. This forms the contents of the First Part, which concludes with the origin of the latest forms of liturgical chant, viz. the Sequences and Tropes, and the Offices in poetical form.

CHAPTER I

PSALMS AND PSALMODY IN THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CENTURIES ¹

The oldest part of the Church's music is Psalmody: it is as it were a bequest left by the Jewish Church, before its fall as a political and religious power, to the rising Christian Church. Our Lord Himself had taken part in the liturgical practices of the Jews, and even at the Last Supper recited psalms with His disciples. In various places the Apostle S. Paul exhorts the faithful to offer to the Lord 'psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.'² In a similar manner the heathen who entered the Church became familiar with the Psalter, so that in time the knowledge of it spread wherever Christian communities arose. It formed the treasury from which everyone drew, whether in private or public devotion; and thus the Psalter acquired an importance in the Christian Church, which far surpassed that which it had possessed in the Jewish.

¹ The earliest written liturgical melodies that we have are of the 9th century; the writings of the older Christian authors however are rich in valuable notices of the liturgical chant of their time. Most of these are collected in the work *De Cantu et Musica Sacra* (S. Blasien 1774. vol. 2) of the Benedictine Abbot, Martin Gerbert, of S. Blasien in the Black Forest. His treatment of them is not now in accordance with modern requirements, but the work is still valuable as a collection of materials. Further, the sources of the history of the liturgy are also of importance to us, as the development of the liturgical chant was throughout dependent on the development of the liturgy. Among modern works I have made use of the histories of the Breviary by Bäumer and Batiffol (both 1895), and Pleithner (1887), the various writings of Probst on the history of the liturgy, and especially the liturgical works of Cardinal Tommasi, as they were prefixed, for example, to each volume of the Maurist edition of the Works of Gregory the Great (*ed. Gallicciolli*. vol. 9—12. Venice 1772—4), from which I shall always quote in future.

² Eph. v, 18; Col. iij, 16; 1 Cor. xiv, 26; also S. James v, 13. The Pauline expressions *Psalmi*, *Hymni* and *Cantica spiritualia* are synonymous; in yet later times psalms are called *Hymni* or *Cantica*. Chevalier, *Bibliothèque Lit.* I, 23.

On the same level with the psalms are placed the other lyrical portions of Holy Scripture, particularly those which are called to-day the Canticles of the Old and New Testaments. Among them are veritable pearls of religious lyrical poetry. Those of the Old Testament were already in high esteem among the Jews, and the gospel-canticles are mentioned by Christian authors. ¹

Psalter and canticles thus became the foundation of liturgical prayer and chant. They have kept this place of importance ever since. The most ancient book of liturgical chant which has come down to us, the *Codex Alexandrinus* in the British Museum, which belongs to the 5th century and was intended for the precentor, contains besides the psalter the following 13 canticles: 1 The song of Moses after the passage through the Red Sea, *Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim* (Exod. xv), 2 The song of Moses before his death, *Audite caeli quae loquor* (Deut. xxxii), 3 The prayer of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, *Exultavit cor meum* (1 Kings ij), 4 The song of Habakkuk, *Domine audivi auditum* (Hab. iij), 5 The song of Isaiah, *Confitebor tibi Domine* (Isai. xxvj), 6 The prayer of Jonah, *Clamavi de tribulatione* (Jon: ij, 2), 7 The song of the Three Children in the fiery furnace, *Benedictus es Domine* (Dan. iij, 52 vulg.), 8 The song of Azariah, *Benedictus es* (Dan. iij, 26 vulg.), 9 The song of Hezekiah, *Ego dixi, in dimidio* (Isai. xxxvii), 10 The Prayer of Manasses in the Apocrypha, *Domine omnipotens*, 11 The *Magnificat*, 12 The song of Zachariah, *Benedictus Dominus*, 13 The song of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*. ² If we open a liturgical music-book to-day and consider the text of the chants, we see similarly that even in the parts of the liturgy which appeal most nearly to the personal devotion of the individual, *i. e.* in the chants, the Book of books presents the unchangeable standard, which makes any deviation into subjectivity impossible. The offering which the liturgical singer made to God the Father in the name of the Church in the first centuries, inspires his heart even now: one century has passed on to the other the songs inspired by the Holy Ghost, and to the end of time they will form the strong stem round which all Church singing centres, and from which it draws strong and healthy nourishment.

¹ In the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius (v. 32) an old author is mentioned (who wrote against the heresy of Artemon) as evidence for the antiquity of the belief in the deity of Christ, &c; 'Psalms and songs of the brethren, compiled from the earliest days by the faithful, which extol Christ the Word of God, and ascribe the Godhead to Him.'

² Beside these there is also mention of the morning hymn *Gloria in excelsis*, of which later. On the canticles *cf.* Bäumer, *Breviergeschichte*, 126, and see a list of the

Have these texts from the earliest day been sung, or were they only recited? At the religious exercises in which for a long period they joined with the Jews in the synagogues, the Christians without doubt joined in the psalmody which was customary and in use there. But it is not agreed whether or not there was singing in the assemblies in which they celebrated the Eucharistic sacrifice. Amalarius,¹ the liturgist of the 9th century, takes the negative view: 'Without Singers and Readers and the ceremonial of to-day, the blessing of the bishop or priest sufficed to bless the Bread and Wine, with which the people were refreshed to the salvation of their souls, as it was in the first ages, in the Apostles' time.' It is no doubt true that at that time, when the Christians formed a community persecuted by the State, there was good reason for keeping the religious assemblies simple and inconspicuous.

However, this did not always remain the case: as soon as circumstances allowed, the musical art was admitted into the sanctuary. *The Century which created the great basilicas also inaugurated an artistic development of the liturgical Chant.* The liberation of the Church under Constantine (Edict of Milan, 313) made it possible for the arts to be brought into the service of Christianity. The liturgical forms quickly developed, and an artistic psalmody spread over the world. Eusebius († 340), who was a witness of the budding life of the Church, says² that 'the command to sing psalms in the name of the Lord was obeyed by everyone in every place: for the command to sing psalms is in force in all Churches which exist among the nations, not only for the Greeks but also for the Barbarians;' and further,³ 'throughout the whole world, in towns and villages and in the fields also, in short, in the whole Church, the people of Christ, who are gathered from all nations, sing to the one God, whom the prophets foretold, hymns and psalms with a loud voice, so that the voice of the psalm-singers is heard by those standing outside.' In the letter of S. Basil to the Neocæsaræans we learn also⁴ that psalmody was held as much in esteem by the Lybians and the Thebans, in Palestine, Arabia, Phœnicia and Syria, as by those dwelling on the Euphrates; and Pope Leo I. speaks of 'Davidical psalms which are sung in the whole Church with all piety.'⁵

In psalm singing all the people took part, as the statements of Christian authors show beyond all doubt. It was particularly at the vigils that

canticles in use at Constantinople, Milan, and in Gaul, in *Revue Bénédictine* 1897, 389.

1 Amalarius, *De Off.* III. 1. (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1101). 2 *Ad psalm.* 65. (*Patr. Gr.* xxij, 647). 3 *Ibid.* 658. 4 *Ep.* 207, 3. (*Patr. Gr.* xxxij, 763). 5 Gerbert, *De cantu*, I. 65.

the general psalmody was used; there it was an effective means of keeping alive attention and devotion. The Church historian Sozomen¹ relates how S. Athanasius succeeded in escaping while all were singing in the church, and the pursuers considered it unlucky to lay hands on him under such circumstances. Further, women and maidens were not forbidden to take part in the psalmody. S. Ambrose remarks with regard to the command of the Apostle that women should be silent in the congregation of the faithful,² 'but they also do well to sing their psalm: it is sweet for every age and suitable for either sex . . . and it is a great bond of unity when all the people raise their voices in one chorus.' Another time³ he compares the church to the sea, as the chant of men, women and children resounds in it with loud reverberations, at the responsorial singing of the psalms. With like enthusiasm Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostom⁴ speak of the general psalm-singing of the whole community without distinction of age or sex, and the Fourth Council of Nicaea allows the laity to take part in the Church chant.⁵ Where this practice did not exist, zealous pastors urged its introduction, as for instance Caesarius of Arles.⁶ Venantius Fortunatus praises the activity of S. Germanus of Paris, who let clergy, people, and even the children, join together in the psalms. (*Clerus plebs psallit et infans*⁷). Others on the contrary interpreted the words of the Apostle more strictly, and extended them to the chant in church: thus the *Didascalia 318 patrum* (c. 375) expressly forbade women to take part in psalmody.⁸ Some forbade women to sing loudly enough for their voices to be heard, e.g. Cyril of Jerusalem. The Catechist Isidore of Pelusium (5th century) thought that women should only be allowed to sing in church on the ground that their inclination to gossip might otherwise lead them to talk during the service: but that as this did not suffice to keep them from offending, it should be forbidden them. The Council of Auxerre later in the same century altogether forbade chanting in Church by women and maidens.⁹

¹ *Lib. iij, cap. 6.* (*Patr. Gr. lxxvij, 1047*).

² *In Ps. 1.* (*Patr. Lat. xiv, 968*).

³ *Hexaem. iij, 5.* (*Patr. Lat. xiv, 178*).

⁴ In his *Exposition of Psalm 140* (*Patr. Gr. lv, 425*) he informs us that this psalm was known to nearly every one by heart, and was sung daily in the evening assembly.

⁵ Gerbert, I. 39.

⁶ His biographer Cyprian says: 'Adiecit etiam atque compulit, ut *laicorum populari- tas* psalmos et hymnos oraret, altaque et modulata voce, instar clericorum, alii Graece, alii Latine, prosas antiphonasque cantarent.' (*Patr. Lat. lxxvij, 1008*.)

⁷ Venantius Fortunatus, *Poema in laud. cler. Paris.* (*Patr. Lat. lxxxviii, 104*).

⁸ Batiffol, *Hist. du Brév.* p. 6. note.

⁹ In 578; Gerbert, *De cantu*, I. 40.

From the pre-eminent position of the psalms in prayer and chant, it is easily understood that it soon became a custom to learn them by heart. The Fathers addressed exhortations to monks and clergy to do this, and also to youths and maidens who wished to dedicate themselves to the service of God. Pachomius, who wrote the first monastic Rule, bound his monks to learn the psalter.¹ According to Epiphanius, the monks of the East spent their time in chanting psalms, frequent prayer, and the recitation of the Holy Scriptures, all of which they said by heart;² and Jerome gives the monk Rusticus the advice: 'Never let the book disappear from thy hand or thy sight; thou must learn the psalms word for word by heart.'³ For the nunneries we have evidence of this practice in the *Vita Euphrasiæ*, who upon her request for admission into the Convent received the answer that she must learn the psalter if she wished to stay.⁴ Jerome gives the women of the convent of S. Paula at Jerusalem great praise for keeping strictly to the fulfilment of this obligation: 'No sister may remain, if she does not know the psalms.'⁵ Even little girls were bound to it, as is shewn by Jerome's advice to the Roman matron Laeta with respect to her daughter.⁶ The second council of Nicaea was only laying down an indispensable requirement when it made the bishop's consecration conditional on his knowledge of the psalter,⁷ for the Archbishop Gennadius of Constantinople even refused ordination to the priesthood on these grounds.⁸ Gregory the Great also denied a priest consecration as a bishop for this reason.⁹

There was scarcely any usual practice of the Christian faith, in which the psalter did not occupy a position of honour; especially this was so with the night-and day-hours, which were dedicated to common prayer and chant. We know from Cassian¹⁰ that many Eastern monks used to sing each night 20 or 30 psalms or more. Even in funeral rites psalmody was in use. For this there comes from the East the witness of S. Chrysostom, who explains¹¹ 'If the faithful are keeping vigil in the church, David is first, middle and last. If at dawn any one wishes to sing hymns, David is first, middle and last. At funeral processions and burials, David is first,

1 *Patr. Gr.* xl, 949. Pleithner. *Ælt. Breviergesch.* 142. 2 *Patr. Gr.* xlij, 829.

3 *Patr. Lat.* xxij, 1078. 4 Bolland. 13 *March.* (tom. II, 267).

5 *Epist.* 108 *ad Eustoch.* (*Patr. Lat.* xxij, 896.)

6 *Ep.* 107 *ad Laetam*, (*ibid.* 871.) 7 Gerbert I. 166.

8 Nicephorus. Call. *Hist. Eccl.* xv, 23 (Gerbert *l. c.*), (*Patr. Gr.* cxlvii, 68)

9 *Ep.* 48. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxvij, 778.)

10 Cassian, *De Coen. Inst.* II, 2. (*Patr. Lat.* xlix, 77.)

11 *Homil.* 6. *de poenit.* Gerbert I. 64.

middle and last. In the holy monasteries, among the ranks of the heavenly warriors, David is first, middle and last. In the convents of virgins, who are imitators of Mary, David is first, middle and last.' A beautiful passage in his exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews (*Hom.* 10) refers to funeral rites only: 'Consider the psalmody that thou usest at that time (of the burial): *Turn again then unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee*; and again, *I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me*; and again, *For thou hast been my defence and refuge in the day of my trouble*. Consider what these psalms mean. If thou truly believest what thou sayest, then it is unnecessary to mourn and weep.' The Apostolic Constitutions prescribe for funeral rites the use of psalms 12, 114, 115, etc., which are still in use on such occasions. From the West we have the account of the burial of S. Cyprian, and a great amount of testimony from the catacombs.¹ The use of the psalms at household prayer in the Latin Church is attested by Tertullian, who exhorts Christian married people to emulate one another in psalm-singing.² It was customary to sing psalms in the same manner before and after meals, and before going to sleep, as for example Clement of Alexandria tells us.³

On the other hand, as far as the *Mass* is concerned, the readings from Holy Scripture and the Prayer of the Celebrant took up a great deal of space, and there was not much scope left for the singing. During the communion of the faithful, however, psalm 33 was sung, on account of the words *Gustate et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus* (v. 9); and Tertullian mentions the psalmody between the lessons and the sermon⁴ (the *gradual* of to-day); but all other chants at mass are of later date.

The prominent use of the psalms⁵ is to be explained not only by Jewish tradition, which in many respects was a model for the Christians, but also by their contents. Special attention has rightly been called to the fact that there is actually no religious mood, which has not found its poetic and devout expression in a psalm. This observation is ancient;

1 Pleithner *l. c.* 73, draws attention to the peculiar fact that Justin Martyr quotes only very inexactly the words of the other books of the Old Testament (probably only from memory), but the psalms almost always exactly word for word; in fact he quotes whole psalms quite accurately. Pleithner rightly explains this phenomenon by the daily use of the psalms in devotions.

2 *Ad uxor.* ij 8. (*Patr. Lat.* i, 1304.) 3 *Stromata* 7. Gerbert, *De Cantu* I. 141.

4 Probst, *Liturgie der ersten Jahrh.* Tübingen. 1870, p. 363.

5 S. Chrysostom tries to explain why the psalms are not only recited but sung: 'When God saw that many men were lazy, and gave themselves only with difficulty to spiritual reading, He wished to make it easy for them, and added the melody to the

Athanasius¹ has already summarized it in the following words: 'The words of this book (the psalter) include the whole life of man, all conditions of the mind and movements of thought . . . If thou art in need of repentance or confession, if sorrow or temptation befall thee; if anyone has endured persecution or has escaped by hiding; if anyone is sad or troubled, or if good fortune has returned to him; if the enemy is conquered, and he wishes to offer to the Lord praise, thanks and glory—for all this he can choose material enough from the psalms, and offer to God what they contain as his own work.' Ambrose² calls the Psalm 'the blessing of the people, the glory of God, the praise of the people, the applause of all, the language of the assembly, the voice of the Church, the sweet sounding confession of the faith, the devotion full of authority, the joy of freedom, the cry of rapture, the echo of bliss.'

Abuses might occur from the participation of all the people in the psalmody: the chant might easily degenerate into a shout and into mechanical singing. Against this the Fathers always insist that psalmody must be sung not only with the mouth, but also with the heart, according to the direction of the Apostle.³ But a man's deeds should also agree with what he sings, as it says in the book of Wisdom: 'Praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner.' Origen enjoins,⁴ 'He alone is worthy to sing psalms to the Lord, who does not utter the coarse sounds of sin, whose tongue does not blaspheme, and whose spirit is disinclined to luxury.' Similar utterances are found in Eusebius, Ambrose and Chrysostom.⁵ Very beautifully are these thoughts expressed in the formula used at the blessing of the liturgical singers:⁶ '*Vide ut quod ore cantas, corde credas, et quod corde credis, operibus comprobas.*'

Prophet's words, that all being rejoiced by the charm of the music, should sing hymns to Him with gladness.' *In Ps.* 41. 1. (*Patr. Gr.* lv, 156.)

1 *Ep. ad Marcellinum.* (*Patr. Gr.* xxvii, 42.) Indeed the whole letter deals with this theme in greater detail.

2 Preface to his *Commentary on the Psalms*, (*Patr. Lat.* xiv. 24): '*Psalmus enim benedictio populi est, Dei laus, plebis laudatio, plausus omnium, sermo universorum, vox ecclesiae, auctoritatis plena devotio, libertatis laetitia, clamor iocunditatis, laetitiae resultatio.*' The Manichaeans rejected the Old Testament and with it the psalter and psalmody, on which account S. Augustine especially blames them. *Confess.* ix, 4. (*Patr. Lat.* xxxij, 766.)

3 '*I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also.*' I Cor. xiv. 15.

4 *Hom.* 6 in *Judic.* (*Patr. Gr.* xij, 977.)

5 S. Augustine says very beautifully in his exposition of Psalm 32: '*Cantate vocibus, cantate cordibus, cantate oribus, cantate moribus.*' *Patr. Lat.* xxxvj, 277. There are other utterances of this kind in Gerbert, *De Cantu.* 1. 236 foll.

6 The decree of the 4th council of Carthage, cf. Gerbert I. 239.

For the development of the liturgical chant, as for Western music in general, it was important that instruments should from the beginning be excluded from the liturgical assemblies of the Christians. The noisy, luxurious character which belonged to their use at heathen theatres and banquets accorded ill with the seriousness and modesty of the Christians, who shunned everything connected with sensual pleasures. 'We want, says Clement of Alexandria, ¹ 'only one instrument, the peace-bringing Word alone . . . not therefore the old psaltery, trumpet, drum, and flute, which are dear to those who are training themselves for war.' Eusebius ² says also, 'We sing God's praise with living psaltery, inspired cithara and spiritual songs. For more pleasant and dear to God than any instrument is the harmony of the whole Christian people, when in all the churches of Christ we sing psalms and hymns with harmonious minds and well tuned hearts.' Eusebius says this in opposition to the custom of the Jews, who had formerly allotted a prominent place in psalm-singing to instruments; and he then continues: 'These are the psalmody and the spiritual songs, which are customary with us, in accordance with the direction of the Apostle. Our cithara is the whole body, by whose movement and action the soul sings a fitting hymn to God, and our ten-stringed psaltery is the veneration of the Holy Ghost by the five senses of the body and the five virtues of the spirit.' Chrysostom uses a like figure, in a passage in which he compares with splendid effect the effects of spiritual and of profane music: ³ 'Here no cithara is needed, nor tightened strings, neither the *plectrum*, nor any instrument at all; but if thou wilt, thou canst make thyself into an instrument, if thou mortifiest the flesh, and strivest with the body after beautiful harmony.' An author of the 4th or 5th century says explicitly, ⁴ 'In the churches the use of instruments in singing is excluded, and only the simple chant allowed.'⁵

¹ *Paedag.* ij, 4. (*Patr. Gr.* viij, 443.)

² *In Psalm* 91. (*Patr. Gr.* xxij, 1171 foll.)

³ *Psalm* xli, 2. (*Patr. Gr.* lv, 158.) In his exposition of *Psalm* 150 (*Patr. Gr.* lv, 497) Chrysostom says, 'Now those instruments were then tolerated because of their weakness, and because they stirred them up to love and harmony, and incited their mind to carry out with joy what was profitable: and because by such inducements they were led to a high pitch of zeal.'

⁴ Pseudo-Justin *Resp. ad orthod. quaest.* 107. Gerbert I, 212.

⁵ As regards such utterances of Christian authors, it should be noted that Christians were long compelled by external circumstances to adopt a hostile attitude towards instruments, as everything depended on their not lifting for their enemies the veil of secrecy which hid their meetings. If Christianity had come into the world without the thousand difficulties which actually beset it; if instead of gradually conquering them it

No objection was made to the use of dignified instruments in private devotion, as the further observations of the Alexandrian catechist make clear :¹ 'If thou canst sing or chant psalms to a lyre or cithara, thou wilt incur no blame, for thou dost imitate the Jewish King.'²

The teachers of the Church endeavoured to exclude from the music everything of a noisy or sensual character. In particular they were opposed to chromatic music, which must have been used then in profane music, though long before Christ the enharmonic and chromatic had lost their prominent position, and made way for the diatonic. In regard to this the monition of Clement of Alexandria is classic :³ 'Only modest and discreet harmonies are to be admitted, while on the other hand weak and enervating ones are to be avoided. For with their impure and artificial intervals they lead men on to an over-refined and effeminate course of life ; on the other hand, sober modulations tending to self-restraint do not encourage intoxication and dissoluteness. Chromatic and frivolous scales, such as are the fashion in immodest drinking-bouts where people deck themselves with wreaths, and the music of the wantons, must always be avoided.' In spite of this, here and there in oriental congregations there must sometimes have been a great deal of noise at divine worship ; at any rate at Miletus in the time of Athanasius the hymns were accompanied by clapping of hands and

could have taken possession at once, church music would certainly have had an entirely different development, and, in particular, Christians would have made use of the whole apparatus of the instrumental music of their age, and would have purified it from the stains which defiled it, just as they did not reject on principle other intellectual acquisitions which antiquity had made. It is no mere chance that, as soon as external circumstances allowed, instrumental music was actually brought into church, and it is very remarkable that even the organ, composed of flutes, was admitted. It was popular especially in ancient times at secular concerts, and was introduced into the church by the Byzantine Rulers, who endeavoured to adorn divine worship with all possible magnificence ; thence it spread into the whole Christian Church. It immediately attained the rank of a liturgical instrument, and it has, not merely in modern times but ever since then, exerted a remarkable influence on the development of Church music. It is known that in the middle ages other instruments also were turned to liturgical use in the chief strongholds of Church music, (*e. g.* in England and at S. Gall.) It would be a task well worth undertaking to investigate from original authorities the use made of instruments in mediæval services.

1. Clemens Alex. *Pedag. l. c.* The lyre and cithara were in the time of the Emperors what the lute was during the Italian Renaissance, and what the pianoforte is to-day,—the best instrument for social purposes in every way ; while the flute, the liturgical instrument of the heathen feasts, was held in abhorrence by the Christians.

2 Probst *l. c.* 262 : 'The prevailing tone of the Agapes and feasts was found to be reconcilable with singing and instrumental music.' 3 Clemens Alex. *Pedag. l. c.*

dance-movements, a custom against which the saint constantly fought. ¹

The execution of the psalmody in the earliest times of Christianity was almost exclusively entrusted to a single person. This oldest form of Christian psalmody, the *psalmodic solo*, is a copy of the practice of the synagogues; and the precentor in the Christian communities is the successor of the Jewish precentor in the Temple and the Synagogue. The method in which psalmody was performed by the Jews can be seen to-day, for instance, in the 135th Psalm, every verse of which ends with the words 'for His mercy endureth for ever.' These formed the refrain sung by the people to the first part of the psalm-verse performed by the soloist. The psalmodic solo with interpolated phrases for the people (or exclamations, as in Psalms 32 and 88) is thus an old tradition of the Jews. Its adoption into the Christian service is easily understood, as at first the Christians continued to take part in the liturgical exercises of the Jews, and many a cantor who performed his office in the Synagogue may later have placed his skill at the service of the Christian Church. A positive witness to this is given moreover by the Jew Philo, and the Christian historian Eusebius. According to the former, the psalmody of the Jewish sect of the *Therapeutae*, which he describes, was of great importance: since their liturgical customs were built upon a Jewish foundation, we must accept the fact that the solo psalmody came down from the Synagogue. The same kind of psalm-singing was almost exclusively in use in the Christian services of the first centuries, and Eusebius says expressly that the description of Philo coincided exactly with the Christian practice of his day. ²

The Precentor in the Christian liturgical assemblies began by giving out the title of the psalm which he was to render. It was so in the Greek as well as the Latin Church. S. Ambrose often explains the title of the psalms on which he is preaching, and which he had before caused to be sung by the soloist, as in the case of psalms 54, 65, 88, and 92. ³ For the

1 Theodoret, *Haeret. fab.* 4,7. (*Patr. Gr.* lxxxij. 426). It was the general custom in the East to accompany religious chanting in this manner and with instruments. The old Jewish temple-chant was no exception to this.

2 The part referring to the psalmody of the *Therapeutae* in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius ii, 17, was compiled from Philo, *De vita contemplativa*.

3 A reminiscence of this is preserved in the present forms of the Liturgy, as *Incipit lamentatio Jeremiae prophetae, Lectio Epistolae b. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos, Sequentia S. Evangelii secundum Joannem*. The S. Gall MS. 381 gives (p. 98) among the *Versus ad repetendum* to the Introit *Jubilate (Dom. ii post albas)* the second time, the *V. Canticum psalmi resurrectionis*, the title of Psalm 65. With this compare what Cassiodorus remarks in the second chapter of the Introduction to his *Exposition of the*

answers of the people to the part of the precentor, the Greek authors have the designations ὑποψάλλειν, ὑπηχεῖν, ὑπακούειν, the Latins *succinere* and *respondere*; and this kind of psalm-singing is called by the latter *Cantus Responsorius*. As regards the Church of Jerusalem, this psalmody is mentioned in the second half of the 4th century in the journal of the pilgrim Silvia (or Etheria) (c. 380);¹ and the Apostolic Constitutions (c. 400) say expressly, that the people are to chant the Psalms after the *acrostichia*.² This responsorial chant might take various shapes. If the people responded to the precentor verse for verse, a form arose which is similar to the present mode of saying the Litany of the Saints; it offered no difficulties and was already known to the Jews.³ However the *cantus responsorius* was more frequently practised in the form in which the congregation always answered with the same refrain.⁴ This might be taken from the psalm, or contain a sentence from elsewhere. In choosing them, according to the witness of S. Chrysostom,⁵ preference was given to those texts in which a sublime dogmatic thought found expression. Thus the cry *Amen*, received from the Jews,⁶ the *Alleluia* added to certain psalms, and the short doxology *Gloria Patri et Filio*, were each of them at first a *versus responsorialis*. The church historians⁷ agree in mentioning an example of such responsorial chant on the occasion of the persecution of Athanasius

Psalms: 'Usus ecclesiae catholicae Spiritus Sancti inspiratione generaliter et immobiliter tenet, ut quicumque eorum (i. e. of the psalms) cantandus fuerit qui diverso nomine praenotantur, lector aliud praedicare non audeat, nisi psalmos David. Quodsi essent proprii, id est aut Idithun aut Filiorum Core aut Asaph aut Moysi, eorum nomina utique praedicarentur, sicut in Evangelio fit, quando aut Marci aut Matthaei aut Johannis vocabula pronuntiantur.' (*Patr. Lat.* lxx. 14).

¹ 'Psalmi respondentur', she says in her description of the Night Office (*cf.* the extract in Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 492); she mentions the *psalmus responsorius* in the same connexion (p. 501 etc). On these terms of Silvia *cf.* Dom Cabrol, *Etude sur la Peregrinatio Silviae*, Paris 1895, pp. 59 foll.

² ii, 57. Καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστιχία ὑποψάλλετω, 'And let the people sing the acrostics.' Sozomen calls the short responses of the people *akroteleutia*. Probst, *Lehre und Gebet in den ersten Jahrhunderten*, p. 262, explains: 'Acrostic signifies usually the beginning of a line of writing, but sometimes also the end of it.'

³ Pleithner, *Ælt. Geschichte des Breviers*, 65.

⁴ Psalm 94, *Venite exultemus Domino* is thus sung to-day at Mattins.

⁵ Chrysostom on Ps. 117. (*Patr. Gr.* lv, 328.)

⁶ Already in the time of the Apostle Paul, strangers and those unversed in prayer responded *Amen* to him who led the singing or praying, to show their association with him. 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

⁷ Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, as well as S. Athanasius himself. Gerbert I. 47.

and his Christians in Alexandria : the saint gave the order that the deacon should present a psalm and the people answer after each verse *quoniam in æternum misericordia eius*, 'For His mercy endureth for ever.' In Antioch also this practice was known. When in the Emperor Julian's time the relics of Bishop Babylas were being conveyed thither, the people responded to the precentor with the verse, *Confounded are all they that worship carved images and that delight in vain gods.*

In the Latin Church the *cantus responsorius*, the psalmodic solo with intercalated verses sung by the people, was in use from the beginning. It may have been the first preachers of the Gospel in the West who introduced the psalm-chant there, as far as it was suitable for providing the assemblies of the Christians with chanting. Already Tertullian, who may be regarded as the witness for the Latin practice,¹ mentions the *cantus responsorius*. Augustine testifies in several passages to its use in the Milanese Church : expressions such as *voces psalmi quas audivimus* (executed by the precentor) *et ex parte cantavimus*² (referring to the interpolated verse of the people), or *Psalmo quem cantatum audivimus, cui cantando respondimus*,³ are not uncommon in his writings. Isidore also, the great representative of the Spanish Church, informs us of the great antiquity of this use, and certainly describes the responsorial psalmody exactly in its original form.⁴

The *cantus responsorius* was employed by special preference annexed to a lesson ; uplifted by the words of the Holy Scriptures, the people had an opportunity of offering to the Lord in melody their exalted feelings and pious resolutions ; further, the chant brought variety, and prevented fatigue and flagging of attention. The precept of the Apostolic Constitutions may be understood in this sense, that 'After every two lessons someone (other than the reader) shall always sing the hymns of David, and the people shall join in at the last words of the verse.'

The psalm-singer, *psaltes*, *psalmista* or *cantor*, *praecentor*, *pronuntiator*

¹ Thus Bäumer, *Breviergesch.* 41. Tertullian, *De orat.* 27. (*Patr. Lat.* i. 1301.)

² *In Psalm.* 26. 2. (*Patr. Lat.* xxxvi. 199,) *cf.* Tommasi in *Op. Greg. M.* vol. xi *praef.* xxxvij.

³ *In Psalm* 46. 1. (*Ib.* 525.) Further examples from the writings of Ambrose and Augustine in Tommasi, *praef.* xxxvij foll.

⁴ *De offic.* i. 8. 'Responsoria ab Italis longo ante tempore sunt reperta (i. e. the responsorial chant has not been brought from the East to Italy like the antiphonal chant, but has always been in use there) et vocata hoc nomine, quod uno canente, chorus consonando respondeat., *Patr. Lat.* lxxxiiij. 744.

psalmi, psalmodum modulator et phonascus, as he is called,¹ enjoyed liturgical privileges in the East and in the West. The *Therapeutae* chose for this office only men who had the recommendation, not merely of artistic ability, but also of a worthy manner of life.² Similarly in the Christian Church an order of church singers developed. They were at first certainly not identical with the *lectors* who had to read the lessons from the Holy Scriptures. In a letter, ascribed to S. Ignatius,³ to the inhabitants of Antioch, the *cantors* are enumerated with the *lectors* among the minor orders: it says, 'I greet the subdeacons, *lectors*, *cantors*, doorkeepers and exorcists.' Here *lectors* and *cantors* are different personages. In the Apostolic Constitutions⁴ also they are always kept separate. It seems that some wished to show their skill in leading the singing, who had not been called to it: for this reason the council of Laodicea (c. 350) exhorts that, except the canonical singers, who mounted the platform and sang from the parchment, no one should sing alone in church (*Can.* 15). According to this the precentor had his own raised place, so that all could see and hear him. Already this had been the case in the Synagogue,⁵ and so it continued in the middle ages. In another passage (*Can.* 23) the same council defines the work of the *lectors* as 'reading'; that of the *cantors* as 'singing.'

The contrast between *lectors* and *cantors*, which stood out clearly at first, disappeared later, and the result was that one man was *lector* and *cantor* at once:⁶ according to Zonaras the *lectors* of his time occupied themselves more with chanting than with reading.⁷ In Alexandria the office of *lector* and *cantor* might be given to Catechumens even, but elsewhere only to those who were baptised.⁸ With the Latin Fathers the use of the designation *lector* for the Soloist was quite usual.

1 Pleithner, *Alt. Gesch. d. Breviergeb.* p. 62.

2 Eusebius, *l.c.* Cf. also Gerbert, *De Cantu* I. 20.

3 *Patr. Gr.* v, 908.

4 *Ap. Const.* viij, 28. Chap. 47 urges them to avoid gambling and intemperance.

In the Liturgies of Mark and James also, the 'psalmists' are reckoned among the Church orders.

5 Amalarius, *De off.* iij, 17. (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1123).

6 Sozomen, iv, 3. reports this of a Martyr, Martianus. (*Patr. Gr.* lxxij, 116).

7 Gerbert, *De Cantu* I. 33.

8 This shows that the *cantor* was not employed during the Mass proper. In the Gregorian Roman Liturgy also, the *cantus responsorius* appears only in that part of the Mass which precedes the Offertory. (On the transformation of the *Antiphona ad Offerendum* into a *Cantus responsorius*, see below).

In the Roman inscriptions of the second half of the 4th century the cantor is often commemorated with words of praise. '*Psallere et in populis volui modulante profeta*' is on the gravestone of one Leo, who in later life became a Bishop; on that of a deacon, Redemptus, is

'Dulcia nectareo promebat mella canore,
Profetam celebrans placido modulamine senem.'

From the beginning of the 5th century there comes an epitaph on an Archdeacon Sabinus, 'Who chanted psalms in artistic style and sang the holy words to manifold tunes.' Of another it simply says 'He was singer of the songs of David.'¹

A complete innovation in Church music was made by the *choral psalmody*, which came into prominent use about the middle of the 4th century. It consisted in the alternation of two choirs in the execution of the psalm verse, each in turn taking up a melody which was the same for each choir and for all the psalm verses. This also was inherited from the Jews. David in his time had ordered the separation of the temple-singers into choirs, who evidently sang the psalms in chorus, and responded to one another (I Chron. vj. 31. foll.); and psalmody by alternating choirs was well known to the *Therapeutae*.²

We possess two traditions as to its adoption in the Christian services. According to Socrates³ it is said to have been S. Ignatius who introduced into the Church the custom of executing hymns in alternate chorus. It was shown him in a vision that the angels sang to the Holy Trinity in alternate chorus; and he introduced this method of singing into his church, from whence it passed to all other churches. Theodoret⁴ on the contrary ascribes its introduction to Flavian and Diodorus, two monks of Antioch at the time of the semi-Arian Bishop Leontius (344—357). Both accounts agree in saying that the new mode of singing spread from Antioch, and that is doubtless correct. The tradition of Socrates has found little credit;⁵ and as regards that of Theodoret it is supplemented⁶ by a statement of a contemporary of Flavian and Diodorus, Theodore of Mopsuesta, that the two monks brought over the new mode of chanting from the Syrian to the Antiochene Church.

In the first half of the 4th century there existed in the great churches of the East, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch and Edessa, communities of

¹ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, pp. 169, 170.

³ *Hist. Eccl.* vj, 8. (*Patr. Gr.* lxxij, 692).

⁴ *Hist. Eccl.* ij, 19. (or 24) (*Patr. Gr.* lxxxij, 1060).

⁵ Gerbert, *De Cantu* I. 41.

² Eusebius, *Philo l. c.*

⁶ In Nicetas, *Thes. orth. fid.* v, 30. Gerbert *l. c.*

pious men and women, who united in a common life in order to serve God with greater fervour in seclusion from the world. In Syria they were named *Monazontes* or *Parthenae*, and it is well known that the beginnings of the monastic orders lay in such associations as these. Their influence was very great in the formation of liturgical customs : amongst other things, as we shall presently see, the introduction of daily vigils is traced back to them ; hence also arose the need of combined psalmody in the form of alternate chanting. Thus it was from Syrian monasteries that choral psalmody was transferred by Flavian and Diodorus into the Church of Antioch.

Choral psalmody in the form of alternate chanting has from the first borne the name of '*antiphonal* chant.' The word 'antiphon' used to be translated simply by 'alternate chanting.' But that cannot be its original meaning. Antiphon is an expression that comes from Greek music-theory, and to 'sing in antiphons' was equivalent to 'sing in octaves.'¹ In the first centuries after Christ, Greek music was world-wide music, just as Greek was the world-wide language, and it prevailed in Greece and Rome, Asia Minor and Africa ; so musicians in Syria certainly knew what 'antiphon' meant. One must therefore suppose that the original form of the Christian Antiphonal was chanting in octaves. Support is given to this view by the fact that alternate chanting combined with chanting in octaves may be proved to have existed in the early centuries, and even earlier among the *Therapeutae*. In the description of their vigils, Philo-Eusebius² remarks as follows : 'All at once on both sides rise up . . . and form two choirs, the one of men, the other of women. Each choir chooses as its leader and cantor one who is distinguished as well by the dignity of his person as by his skill in music. Then they sing hymns to God, composed in different metres and melodies, sometimes all together, sometimes answering one another in a skilful manner. Next . . . they form the two choirs into a single one . . . as did the Jews when they went through the Red Sea. One is reminded of this company by the choir of pious men and women, as throughout the singing and the alternation of the melodies the deeper sound of the men's voices and the higher sound of the women's voices singing together compose a sweet and true musical symphony.' Now seeing that Eusebius not only accepts the utterances of Philo on the

¹ Pseudo-aristot, *Problem.* 19. 39. in Jahn. *Mus. Script.* (Leipzig 1895). p. 100 : The consonance of the octave is antiphonal, and antiphony arises when men and children sing together, whose voices are distant from one another, as, for example, the *Nete e* from the *Hypate E*.

chanting of the *Therapeutae*, but represents the practice of his time as agreeing with the description of Philo, without doubt in the first half of the 4th century there was octave-singing in the Christian Church, and that not only in the responses of the *psalmus responsorius* made by all the people; it is still more certain that boys were very early brought up to psalm-singing. After the liberation of the Church under Constantine it is especially found that in churches, both of the East and West, boys with their fresh and penetrating voices were employed for reading the lessons and singing the chants. They were trained for this task in special schools, where they lived together under the supervision of the clergy. Most of the Church dignitaries passed through these *lector*-schools, in fact clerical education began with them. Felix of Nola, Eusebius of Vercelli, Popes Liberius and Siricius, and many other holy men were *lectors* in their boyhood. For these customs in the East we have the testimony of the pilgrim Silvia, who calls the boys *pisinni*,¹ and in the Apostolic Constitutions (vii. 4) boys are ordered to sing the *Kyrie eleison* in the presence of the rest. Somewhat later, in the time of S. Augustine, the responsorial psalmody after the lesson in the Mass was entrusted to them.² An African inscription of the beginning of the 6th century mentions a *lector* of 5 years old.³ A decree of the Second Council of Vaison (529) deals with the singing boys,⁴ at which it was decided, under the presidency of S. Caesarius, that priests who had charge of a parish should, as was customary in Italy, take *juniores lectores* and instruct them in psalmody, reading etc. A Lyons inscription as early as the year 552 speaks of a *Primicerius scholae lectorum*:⁵ the like were to be found at Reims and other churches. The historian of the Vandal persecution tells of 12 singing-boys from Carthage, who on account of their faith, through the treachery of their teacher Teucharis, had to endure much hardship⁶ (about 480). Gregory of Tours praises the pains taken by the Bishop of Lyons, Nicetius, to enable boys to take part in the chants of the psalms and the antiphons.⁷ The Rule of S. Benedict contains particular directions with regard to them.⁸ Consequently there can be no doubt that at least from the 4th century onwards, singing by boys was usual throughout the whole Church. But if

1 Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 493.

2 *Sermo* 352. (*Patr. Lat.* xxxix, 1550. *cf.* also xxxiv, 1049).

3 De Rossi, *Bulletin* 1880. p. 20, 21.

4 Labbe, *Concil.* iv, 1743. 5 Duchesne, *l. c.* p. 348.

6 Victor of Utica, *De persec. Vand.* v, 10. (*Patr. Lat.* lviii, 248).

7 Gregory of Tours, *De vitis patr.* 8. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxj, 1040).

8 According to Chap. 45 the boys who sing wrong are to be beaten.

the boys sang together with men there was naturally a chant in octaves. *Antiphon therefore must be understood to mean a chant in which two choirs of different voices relieved one another in turn and afterwards sang together, thus entailing a singing in octaves.* Later the alternating of the chant was more esteemed than the real feature that was characteristic of this antiphony; and thus this is the meaning which thenceforth remained bound up with the expression. ¹

From Antioch psalmody in alternating chorus spread over the whole Christian world, both in the Greek and the Latin Churches. Already by 375 it was known throughout the whole East, as may be seen in the above-mentioned letter of Basil to the inhabitants of Neocesarea. Basil had introduced among them the chanting by a double-choir; and when they reproached him for this innovation, he reminded them that the psalms were then everywhere so sung. His description gives a clear picture of both kinds of psalmody: ² 'But as for your reproach respecting the psalmody, I can reply to that, that it is arranged in harmony and agreement with all the Churches of God. At night the people rise and go to the House of Prayer, and, when they have prayed, they turn to psalmody. And sometimes they sing psalms, divided into two sections alternating with each other, and sometimes they leave it to a single person to sing solo, while all respond. And when they have thus spent the night in different kinds of psalmody, they all intone the Psalm of penitence as from one mouth and one heart . . . moreover if this is the reason why you separate yourselves from me, then must you likewise separate yourselves from the Egyptians, Libyans, Thebans, and the inhabitants of Palestine, Arabia, Phoenicia and Syria, and from those who dwell on the Euphrates, in a word, from all those by whom the vigil services and the common psalmody are held in honour.' Here attention is called to the fact that the common psalmody was especially in the nightly vigils. Antiphonal and responsorial psalmody are mentioned together in the contemporary *Didascalia 318 patrum*, ³ where, in accordance with the prevailing custom in the East, women are forbidden *συμψάλλειν* and *συνντακούειν*, to join in singing and in the responsorial refrains. Theodoret mentions a peculiar form of antiphonal chanting where in a monastery consisting both of Greek

¹ But Bryennios the Byzantine Theorist of the 14th century, still calls tones which stand in the relation 2 : 1 by the name 'antiphon.' cf. Reimann. *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft*. (Leipzig. 1889). p. 380.

² *Epist.* 209. 3. (*Patr. Gr.* xxxij, 763).

³ Batiffol, *Hist. du Brév.*, 6.

and Syrians, they each sang the psalms in their own language, repeating it verse by verse antiphonally. ¹

At Constantinople *S. Chrysostom* introduced antiphonal chanting towards the end of the 4th century. Before his call to Constantinople he had the opportunity of making himself familiar with it at the place where it could best be heard, namely at Antioch. In his new sphere of work he was able to make new psalmody all the more useful because the Arians had made a great success of their antiphonal songs. As leader of the psalmodic choir-music he appointed the music-master at the Court. ³

The merit of making the West acquainted with the antiphonal chant belongs to *S. Ambrose of Milan*, who at the time of his persecution by the Empress Justina (386) instructed those who were faithful to him, and who had shut themselves up with their pastor in his church, in the singing of antiphons and hymns. ⁴ From Milan the new practice spread quickly into the other regions of the Latin Church, thanks to the favourable position of the city geographically and to the authority of its bishop. Its use in almost all the Churches of the West is shewn by the witness of a contemporary of Ambrose, his secretary and biographer *Paulinus*. ⁵ Rome would not separate herself from the general movement: the night office was in early times celebrated there publicly, and certainly chanted in alternate chorus, as everywhere else. ⁶ Perhaps the council which took place in 382 in Rome, and at which there were present Greek and Syrian Bishops to whom antiphonal chanting was familiar, gave the impulse in introducing it into the Roman Liturgy. A generation later, under Pope *Celestine I* (422-432), it found admission into the Roman mass. ⁷ But here it was only an addition and intended to make the service more artistic; and its use in this way presupposes its use in the Divine office, and particularly in the Vigil, for which it was created, and with which it spread. The numerous monasteries which speedily covered the countries of the Latin

¹ Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* 5. Gerbert, *De Cantu* I. 179.

² Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* viij, 8. (*Patr. Gr.* lxxvij, 1536).

³ *Ibid.* (1538).

⁴ Augustine, *Confess.* 97 (*Patr. Lat.* xxxij, 770).

⁵ Paulinus, *Vita. Amb.* 13. (*Patr. Lat.* xiv, 31).

⁶ The Vigils are mentioned as early as the *Canons of Hippolytus* which according to Batiffol go back to the end of the 2nd century (*History of the Brev.* 42.), according to Bäumer (*Breviersgesch.* 32) to the beginning of the 3rd century. Further, Jerome, the liturgical adviser of Damasus, had learnt the Eastern practices in Bethlehem: *tota Ecclesia nocturnis vigiliis Christum Dominum personabat* he says in his letter to the Deacon Sabinianus (*Patr. Lat.* xxij, 1195).

⁷ *Lib. Pontif. ed. Duchesne*, i, 230.

Church then disseminated antiphonal chanting everywhere, even among the secular churches. ¹

Just as the psalmodic solo was connected with the chorus-refrain, so in like manner the *cantus antiphonus* was made more interesting and richer. The custom of singing a short solo-melody before the psalm, which enabled the singers to grasp more easily the psalm-melody, and was then further repeated after each of the verses performed by the alternate chorus, formed most probably part and parcel of the choir-psalmody from the beginning. This is confirmed by the fact that psalms and antiphons are spoken of as different things, as early as the 4th century. ² Here the refrain which interrupts the alternating chant of the psalm is called antiphon, according to the use which has prevailed ever since. Accordingly the rule of S. Benedict (529 or 530) speaks much of *antiphonam imponere*. Thus it says in the 47th chapter: 'The psalms or antiphons are to be started (*imponat*) by each one in turn after the Abbot'. With this new meaning agrees the strange etymology given by an anonymous writer of the 6th century ³, who identifies the word absolutely with *anteponere*—'to prefix', or 'make to precede', because the antiphon precedes the psalm; so does the form which is used in the oldest MSS of the Rule of S. Benedict, viz. *antefona*. ⁴ Together with the original sense of the word the remembrance of its origin has also disappeared.

From the expressions quoted it is not clear, whether the antiphon was repeated after all the verses of the psalm, or only after some of them. The former is certainly the original use. ⁵

Of less importance was a third kind of psalmody, the *Cantus in directum*, or, *directaneus*, which consisted in the psalm being performed from beginning to end without responsorial or antiphonal additions. . It

1 To quote an example: When S. Agricola, Abbot of Lerins, became Bishop of Avignon (about 660), he took care that in the Church of Avignon, for the canonical hours and other liturgical occasions, psalmody in alternate chorus should be introduced, as was customary in monasteries and 'had been admitted into the Roman Church by Damasus.' Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Saec. iv, praef.* no. 210.

2 This is so in the description of the Liturgy of Jerusalem by the pilgrim Silvia (c. 385) cf. Cabrol. *l.c.*

3 Gerbert, 1. 46.

4 Cf. the edition of Wölfflin (Leipzig, Teubner, 1895).

5 As is well known, the canticle *Nunc Dimittis* is now sung with the antiphon *Lumen ad revelationem* at the procession at the feast of Candlemas in the same manner; the *invitatorium* also is a reminiscence of it. As we shall presently see, the old theory implied the repetition of the antiphon in the psalmody after each verse. This is indicated also by the Greek name for antiphon, *τροπήριον* (from *τρέπειν*, 'turn').

also appears to be of later origin, for it is first mentioned in the Rule of S. Benedict. This prescribes, in the 12th chapter, that at Sunday mattins Psalm 66 shall be sung *in directum* without antiphons; in like manner are Terce, Sext and None to be sung in the smaller monasteries. (Chap. 17). Clearly the founder of the order wished to prevent the brothers from becoming fatigued by the repetition of the antiphon after each verse of the psalm, which moreover would have taken up a disproportionate amount of time. We meet again with the *psalmus directaneus* in the rules of S. Caesarius and of S. Aurelian.¹ It is prescribed also in the Ambrosian Breviary and was sung, as a rubric directs, by both choirs together and not alternately.² Many liturgists have pronounced as their opinion that the psalmody *in directum* was an ordinary recitation without any melodic embellishment.³

The monasteries were the headquarters of psalmody; it was in them that the liturgical forms were fixed, in the West as in the East. Here the requisites for beautiful chant were earlier available, and also the regulation of this part of the worship of God was here more necessary than among the Christians living in the world. The first church song-schools arose in the eastern monasteries, and others after their pattern followed in the West. The education of the brethren in the chant was the duty of the cantors. The impetus which church music received after the middle of the 4th century is to be traced finally to the activity of the Syrian and Egyptian monasteries. Antioch and Alexandria were the centres of the movement; they represent for the Churches of the East what in the 7th and 8th centuries the Gregorian song-school became for the West. It was from Antioch that antiphony had set out on its victorious career in the whole Church; and in Alexandria the art of chanting so flourished that strict ascetics prophesied the decline of religious life. Thus Pambo, abbot of the Egyptian monastery of Nitria in the 4th century, bitterly reproached one of his monks, who while selling in Alexandria the products of his monastery, had listened to the magnificence of the chant in the monastery of S. Mark, because he then wished to introduce into his own monastery the chant of the *Canons* and *Troparia* which he had heard there; and Pambo thought it a great crime for a monk to be occupied with such things.⁴

¹ *Patr. Lat.* lxxij. 1102, and lxxvij, 395.

² Beroldus, *Ordo Mediol. Ecclesiae* in *Muratori Antiq.* iv, 886. [or ed. Magistretti, 44.] The Ambrosian antiphoner published in *Paléographie musicale* vol. v, of the 12th century, also prescribes the *psalmus directaneus* frequently.

³ e. g. Tommasi,

vol. xj of the *Op. Greg. M. praef.* xxxiv.

⁴ Gerbert, *Scriptores* I. 2.

The Monks on Sinai also kept aloof from antiphonal chant, strictly refusing everything that went beyond the simplest performance of the psalms. ¹ Fortunately for liturgical music, such views were not held generally; on the contrary, in other monasteries of the East and West great stress was laid on a beautiful and correct execution of the psalmody. S. Benedict, with rare penetration, understood how to bring the beauty and sublimity of the liturgical functions into harmony with severe monastic observance; thus he created a rule which was in accordance with the spirit of the times and remained full of vigour, while those of his predecessors gradually disappeared; and in chapters 7—19 of this rule he occupied himself very fully with the arrangement of the liturgical psalmody.

The secular churches were not behind the monasteries in zeal for dignified and beautiful church-music. In particular, it was usual to educate boys in the performance of these duties: their singing gave especial brilliancy to the liturgical assemblies. In Carthage, about 484, there were among the numerous clergy many *lectores infantuli*, who rendered good service in the psalmody. An inscription at Lyons of 552 has already been cited which mentions a *primicerius* of the *schola lectorum*, and one in Spain speaks of a *princeps cantorum*. ² As to the state of things in Rome, it is certain that there were liturgical singers there at a very early date. Even if the foundation of a song-school by Pope Silvester (314—336), as Panvinus and others relate, cannot be historically proved, yet its existence in the 2nd half of the 4th century is very probable. ³ The introduction by Pope Celestine I of antiphonal chanting for the Introit of the Mass presupposes a choir of instructed singers. Pope Xystus (432—440) established *ad catacumbas* a monastic community, with the intention that it should make regular use of the day and night psalmody. ⁴ In close proximity to the basilica of S. Peter there arose under Leo the Great (440—461), the successor of Xystus, a monastery, dedicated to S. John and S. Paul, the members of which had the charge of the liturgical prayers and chants in the Pope's church. ⁵ Such were the beginnings from which the Roman

1 Bäumer, *Brevierygeschichte*, 127.

2 Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 348.

3 Gerbert, *De Cantu* I. 36. 'Although at the time of Pope Silvester and later there were several large basilicas in Rome, yet they did not each have their own clergy or monks to perform divine worship . . . Further, the daily psalmody was not yet at this time customary in all monasteries, for till then the single basilicas did not possess the income necessary to support colleges for singers. So a *schola cantorum* was founded, which was common to the whole city; and if a station, procession or feast was celebrated in a basilica, all the singers went there and performed the office and the mass.'

4 Duchesne, *Lib. Pontif.* I. 236.

5 Duchesne, *ibid.* 238.

song-school descended, which later became so flourishing and influential.

More detailed statements on the musical form of this psalmody are unfortunately not forthcoming in the writings of the ancient Christian authors. We understand their silence: they were not musicians by profession, and had more important things to do than to report on something which everyone had the opportunity of hearing daily in church. Consequently, until far on into the middle ages the liturgical chant had a hidden existence; while outside in the world profane music enjoyed universal attention, the liturgical chants were bequeathed from *cantor* to *cantor*, from monastery to monastery. Peaceful and unmoved by the sound of secular music, they were handed down from generation to generation. Professional musicians knew only profane music, while the liturgical music was in other hands, viz. those of liturgical personages, and seldom stepped outside the doors of the House of God. Thus it came about that musical composers did not trouble themselves about the liturgical chant until the time of the Carolingians, because they had nothing to do with it, and did not know it from personal experience.

In the early days, no doubt, one must assume customs analogous to the Jewish use. It would naturally happen, and be in conformity with Jewish tradition, that the part of the soloist took a richer musical form, and assisted the development of virtuoso technique. Similarly it is to be supposed that the psalmody in which the whole community took part bore a more simple character. Elaborate melodies would here have proved to be only hindrances.

The view that church music until far on in the Middle Ages knew only the forms of simple recitation, such as developed naturally out of the pronunciation aloud of the liturgical text, is tenable only so far as the first centuries are concerned, and in the case of some ultra-conservative monasteries of a later date. But it cannot be maintained for most monastic communities and for the secular churches subsequently to the middle of the 4th century. Apart from anything else, it would have been very strange if the Church, after her liberation and while enjoying the protection of the secular power, had not outgrown the simpler forms of chant, which had only been a necessity as long as she was obliged to be content with a hidden existence. Church music could not stop at this point, when all other arts prepared to offer the best that they had to the God of the Christians. In the basilicas of the 4th century, into which were collected all the glory and magnificence which man could give, the old, almost melancholy, melody no longer was found in place. We have followed the course of antiphonal chanting in its triumphal march

through the whole Church ; but the striving after richer and more beautiful forms and ways of expression was not confined to this branch alone.

A passage in the 'Confessions of S. Augustine' is often brought forward to confirm the view that before the 4th century richer melodic forms were unknown to church music. And yet it says just the opposite. The great bishop mentions a tradition, according to which S. Athanasius made the *lector* sing the psalms with such moderate inflexion of the voice, that the psalmody was like speaking rather than singing.¹ Isidore of Seville copies the passage and puts as a correction 'the primitive church' instead of 'Athanasius.'² But what does the passage prove? Hardly that at the time of Athanasius psalmody was still bare of more developed melodic forms. If the Saint thought it necessary to give special instructions to the precentor about his psalmody, we must conclude that otherwise, without special directions, he was not accustomed to sing the psalms so simply. Thus the observation of Augustine directly presupposes a melodic way of performing the psalms in the Church of Alexandria. What Athanasius wanted was an innovation, or a return to primitive practice, anyhow something which at the time of Augustine was regarded as strange and unusual, as we learn from taking the whole context together. Accordingly Augustine is witness to the fact that about the year 400 the liturgical singers performed in other styles than the mere simple forms of recitation, which restricted their skill and ability to a minimum.

There are not wanting positive witnesses among Christian authors who describe the melodic development of church music in a manner not reconcilable with the idea that it was restricted in its method of performance to a mere recitation. Eusebius calls psalmody *μελωζέισθαι*,³ an expression which implies more than mere recitation. In another passage he says : 'We sing the psalms in melodious tones' (*ὁμόφωνον μέλος ἐν ταῖς ψαλμολογίαις ἀναπέμπομεν*.⁴) Chrysostom calls the Psalms 'prophetic songs which are sung with much harmony of the voice and in suitably composed melodies.'⁵ In the Latin Church Augustine even knows of different kinds of reading. He occasionally uses the expression *solemniter legere* ; thus he mentions that on Good Friday the Passion was

1 *Confess.* x, 33. 'Tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi ut pronuntianti vicini esset quam canenti.' (*Patr. Lat.* xxxij, 800).

2 *Patr. Lat.* lxxxij. 762. 'Primitiva ecclesia ita psallebat, ut modico flexu vocis faceret psallentem resonare, ita ut' etc.

3 *In Psalm.* 65. (*Patr. Gr.* xxij, 647). cf. above p. 14.

4 *In Psalm.* 91. (*Patr. Gr.* xxxij, 1174).

5 *Homil. ad Antioch.* 59. Gerbert, *De Cantu* I. 31.

solemnly read.¹ This can only mean such a performance as is nearer to singing than to ordinary reading. This being so, the methods of performance which are not comprised under the term *lectio*, and psalmody in particular, could claim a still more melodious character. This is also shown by the context in which he brings out the simplicity of the Alexandrian chant under Athanasius.

That the saint was very susceptible to musical effect is shown by the oft-quoted passage of his 'Confessions'² where he describes the lasting impression made on him by the antiphons and hymns which had been introduced into the Milanese Church by Ambrose: 'How I have wept at the hymns and songs (*cantica*), deeply moved by the voices of your sweet-sounding church music! Those voices forced an entrance into my ear, and with them the truth into my heart. They awakened emotions of warm devotion and tears which benefited me.' And yet again the saint had scruples on account of the deep emotion and tears, which he declares to be the effect of the sensual impression made by the chant, and 'While I seek to protect myself from this deceptive impression, I err again through too great severity, and to such an extent that I desire to banish from my ears and from the Church all the sweet melodies to which the psalms of David are sung with us (*melos cantilenarum suavium, quibus Davidicum psalterium frequentatur*); and it seems safer to do as I have often been told Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, did; for he made the singer of the psalms chant with such moderate inflexion of the voice, that his performance was like speaking rather than singing. On the other hand, when I remember the tears which I shed at the songs of the Church in the first days of the recovery of my belief, and when I am moved not so much by the chant as by what is chanted—then I again perceive the great use of this arrangement.'³ Thus the saint found himself temporarily hesitating whether to consider the art of chanting allowable or not. At any rate the Milanese chant which he was considering was far advanced beyond the simplicity which he ascribes to the chants of Athanasius.

According to Cassian, who gives a fairly full description of the liturgical uses of the monasteries of the East, and is also a competent witness for the end of the 4th century, the archaic kind of psalmody was still undoubtedly held in honour in the Egyptian monasteries. He adds

1 *Sermo* 218, i. (*Patr. Lat.* xxxviii, 1084). To-day the performance of the Passion and the Lamentations of Jeremiah in Holy Week is still a *lectio sollemnis*.

2 *Confess.* ix, 6, 7. (*Patr. Lat.* xxxij, 769. foll.).

3 *Confess.* ix, 33. (*Patr. Lat.* xxxij, 800).

however that in other monasteries certain psalms were lengthened by antiphons and the addition of special 'modulations.'¹ The last expression has a special importance for us : it can only mean the singing of an elaborate musical phrase ; and thus this remark of Cassian is *the most ancient witness to the existence of melismatic chant in the liturgy of the office*. It deserves to be noticed that Cassian is speaking of the Vigil, the predecessor of Mattins, which throughout the middle ages and up to the present time has been the chief home of melismatic chant in the Divine Office. Solo-psalmody at the vigil is not once referred to : the context, as well as the association of it with the antiphonal chant, shows undoubtedly that Cassian had the choral psalmody in his mind. But if already in the 4th century the tendency to a melismatic form of melody existed in this branch, then we are almost compelled to assume that the same was the case with regard to the solo-singer.

Cassian does not stand alone in his statement. The Rule of S. Benedict contains similar definitions, the tenor of which on careful consideration cannot be doubted. It must not be forgotten here that the great founder of the order was much attached to the practice of the monasteries of the East ; and so the information to be found here is evidence also for the 5th century. Again it is the Vigil that is in question. With regard to it the Saint directs (Chap. 10) that in summer in the time from Easter till the beginning of November only one lesson (instead of three) is to be read, and that from the Old Testament ; and a *brevis responsorius* (*psalmus*) is to follow it. The respond attached to the lessons in the nocturn must thus have been in other cases a longer one and it was only the need of a shorter *officium nocturnum* for the week days in summer that caused him here to prescribe a shorter respond. His direction is only to be understood by taking the short respond to be (as it has been ever since) melodically simple, in contrast to that which was customary on other occasions, and which must have been richer. If the melody of the usual responds were then only syllabic, the saving of time thereby obtained would have been infinitesimal, even if the text were shorter ; but such a

1 'Quidam enim vicenos seu tricenos psalmos, et hos ipsos antiphonarum protelatos melodiis et adjunctione quarundam modulationum debere singulis noctibus censuerunt.' *Inst.* ij. 2. (*Patr. Lat.* xlix, 78). This passage moreover can be cited as proof that the antiphons were at first repeated after each verse of the psalm ; there is no lengthening of the office to speak of when they are only sung before and after the whole psalm. The special addition of melismatic passages (tropes) to a verse is still preserved : thus the versicle after the hymn in certain parts of the office, for example at Evensong, is recited indeed on one note, but on the last syllable a neum is added.

It is possible to go even further, and put the question whether, since the solo-chant was used in the Church three centuries earlier than the choral chant, the artistic and more or less developed chant in the Church is not more ancient than the simple. A ground of support for this opinion might be seen in the fact that those very chants which the history of the liturgy shows to be the oldest, the Gradual-responsories of the Mass and the responsories of the Office, belong to quite the richest pieces which the Middle Ages have handed down. ¹

The chief point at which the melismatic chant is used is the Alleluia. The singing of the Alleluia descends from the liturgy of the Synagogue, ² where it was connected with a number of psalms. These alleluiaic psalms ³ have still in the present edition of the Bible the superscription 'Alleluia.' At the adoption of this custom in the Christian Church no one ventured to translate the Hebrew word into Greek or Latin. The Jewish Christians may have brought many Alleluia melodies with them from the Synagogue into the Christian Church, and many Alleluia *jubilii* of our choral manuscripts may contain a Jewish kernel. It has already

chants in honour of the gods. Demetrius Phalereus (†282), §71. cf. Gevaert, *Mélopée*. p. xxviii.

¹ There is clearly no need to claim for the 4th and 5th centuries the richness of the Gregorian solo-chants, which are unmistakably the work of accomplished singers such as the Roman Song-school possessed. But we may at once dispose of the objection that chants of this kind were first introduced by these schools. If this were the case, it would be hard to understand why, for example, the antiphonal chants of the Mass, such as the Introit and Communion, are melodically simpler, although they were executed by the singers of the *Schola Cantorum*, and were fixed by them. The difference in style is the result of the strong contrast between solo and choral music, which governed the liturgy long before the time of the *schola*. The still simpler construction of the music of the *Gloria*, *Creed* etc. may be similarly explained. They were sung, as the *Ordines Romani* testify, not by the *schola*, but by all the clergy assisting at the Altar. Moreover not the slightest evidence has yet been brought to show that the liturgical chants of the manuscripts were first composed under Gregory I. His work, as will be shown at the proper time, has quite a different character: it is composed of several *strata* of different dates; the gradual-responsories belong to its oldest portions, as is shown by their text. It may further be remarked that under the Emperor Justinian the choir of the Cathedral Church of Byzantium was composed of 111 *lectors* and 25 *cantors* (Gerbert, *De Cantu* I. 33). It was thus more numerous than the Roman *Schola Cantorum*. At any rate the 25 *cantors* were all solo-singers; the 111 *lectors* had the care of the choral psalmody.

² Isidore (*De Off.* i, 13). says: 'Laudes, hoc est alleluia, canere, canticum est Hebraeorum.' (*Patr. Lat.* lxxxiiij, 750).

³ Basil mentions, in his Epistle to Marcellinus, Pss. 104—106, 110—115, 118—134, 146—150. Gerbert I. 57.

been mentioned that the Alleluia was readily used as the response of the assembly to the psalm-verse of the soloist. In conformity with this the Egyptian Monks responded the Alleluia only at the alleluiatric psalms.¹ The Alleluia was indeed frequently used as an exclamation of Christian joy—pious parents taught their children to sing the Alleluia in their earliest youth;² the sailors shouted it from afar on the sea;³ and Christian armies went to battle crying it aloud;⁴—but its chief place was in the Liturgy. But in contrast with the East, where in the middle ages it was still sung daily even on Good Friday and at burials,⁵ its use in the Latin Church was restricted. It was sung everywhere at Eastertide, and is still lavishly employed at that season in the liturgy. For the other seasons of the year there were different customs. According to the testimony of S. Isidore it was sung daily in Spain, except on fast days and in Lent; in Africa only on Sundays, except at Eastertide; and in the Rule of S. Benedict it is forbidden only in Lent. In his writings S. Augustine very often speaks of the singing of Alleluia at Eastertide: in one of these he calls the festal chant of Alleluia an ancient custom of the Church.⁶

From the very first the Alleluia chant has been melismatic. The contrary supposition is opposed to all that has been handed down to us as to the peculiarity, effect and importance of the Alleluia-singing. The singing in *melismata* was called *jubilare*, and the melismatic melody *jubilus*, and various mystic explanations were given of the use of these terms. Augustine says in his exposition of the 99th Psalm: 'He who sings a *jubilus*, speaks no words, but it is a song of joy without words; it is the voice of a heart dissolved in joy, which tries as far as possible to express the feeling, even if it does not understand the meaning. When a man rejoices in his jubilation, he passes from some sounds which do not belong to speech and have no particular meaning, to exulting without words; so that it seems that he rejoices indeed, but that his joy is too great to put into words.'⁷ This passage demonstrates the general human need of the

1 Cassian, *Inst.* ij, 11. (*Patr. Lat.* xlix, 101).

2 Jerome, *Ep. ad Laetam.* (*Patr. Lat.* xxij, 871).

3 Gerbert, *l.c.*

4 Thus S. Germanus inspired the Britons to battle with the Anglo-Saxons and Scots. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* I, 20. (*Patr. Lat.* xcvi, 49).

5 *Patr. Lat.* lxxvlij, 468.

6 'Quod nobis cantare certo tempore solemniter moris est secundum ecclesiae antiquam traditionem.' *In Ps.* 106, 1. (*Patr. Lat.* xxxvij, 1419).

7 *Patr. Lat.* xxxvij, 1272. 'Qui jubilat non verba dicit, sed sonus quidam est laetitiae sine verbis: vox est enim animi diffusi laetitia, quantum potest experimentis affectum non sensum comprehendentis. Gaudens homo in exultatione sua ex verbis quibusdam, quae non possunt dici et intelligi, erumpit in vocem quandam exultationis

jubilatio. Other passages of the same author concern its use in the service of God. In his exposition of Psalm 32 he exclaims: 'And for whom is this *jubilatio* more fitting than for the ineffable God? He is ineffable, for speech is too poor for Him; and if speech cannot help thee there and thou dardest not be silent, what remains but to exult so that thy heart may rejoice without singing words, and the immeasurable breadth of joy may not experience the restriction of syllables?'¹ Jerome expresses himself in the same manner: 'By the term *jubilus* we understand that which neither in words nor syllables nor letters nor speech is it possible to express or comprehend how much man ought to praise God.'² A very clear and important passage on the *jubilus*, of pre-Gregorian date, is to be found in Cassiodorus in his exposition of Psalm 104. He is thinking there of the long drawn *Alleluia-jubili*, and exclaims: 'This (the Alleluia) is peculiar to the churches of God, and specially suitable for the holy feasts. The tongue of the singer rejoices in it; joyfully the community repeat it; and, like something good of which one can never have enough, it is renewed in ever-varying *melismata*.'³ There was thus in the middle of the 6th century a kind of Alleluia in which the liturgical singers could display their skill, and which knew manifold varying modulations. Far from being a recent importation it had already become the subject of some regulations. One can understand that on specially joyful feasts a more extensive use was made of the *jubilus* than at the others.

These passages of Augustine and Cassiodorus imply that the Alleluia is an independent and extremely richly-developed chant, which is not accompanied by a text: the contrast between it and the word is expressly prominent. This is also brought home to us by the designation 'Alleluiatic song,'

sine verbis; ita ut appareat, eum ipsa voce gaudere quidem, sed quasi repletum nimio gaudio, non posse verbis explicare quod gaudet.'

1 Augustine, *In Ps.* 32: 'Et quem decet ista jubilatio, nisi ineffabilem Deum? Ineffabilis enim est, quem fari non potes: et si eum fari non potes et tacere non debes, quid restat, nisi ut jubiles, ut gaudeat cor sine verbis et immensa latitudo gaudiorum metas non habeat syllabarum?' (*Patr. Lat.* xxxvj, 283).

2 Jerome, *In Ps.* 32: '*Jubilus* dicitur, quod nec verbis, nec syllabis, nec litteris, nec voce potest erumpere aut comprehendere quantum homo Deum debeat laudare.' (*Patr. Lat.* xxvj, 970).

3 Cassiodorus, *In Ps.* 104: 'Hoc ecclesiis Dei votivum, hoc sanctis festivitibus decenter accomdatum. Hinc ornatur lingua cantorum; istud aula domini laeta respondet et tanquam insatiabile bonum, tropis semper variantibus innovatur.' (*Patr. Lat.* lxx, 742.) Cassiodorus confirms the connexion of the Alleluia with the *Jubilatio* in another passage: 'Ecce iterum alleluiatica nobis gaudia redierunt; ecce brevi praecipitur, ut Domino totius psalmi jubilatione cantetur.' (*Patr. Lat.* lxx, 735).

which the historian of the African persecution of the Christians hands down.¹

From the words quoted from the Rule of S. Paul and S. Stephen we see that the singers had *written directions* to show in each case whether the *lectio* or the complete melodic execution was to be employed. There is no need to take these to be a specific musical notation; general directions would have sufficed.² Since the number of the liturgical melodies, as well for the Office as for the Mass, would have been only a small one—even in the medieval MSS. we find the same melody set to the most different texts—the tradition by word of mouth might do instead of a written one. Only later, when the chants became regulated, did it become necessary to have them written down. Hence the order quoted from the Council of Laodicea, according to which only the liturgical singer *who performed from the parchment* should sing during the service, is not to be understood to imply that they were in possession of written melodies. They had the text on a leaf before them; they themselves added the melody to it.

There is no trace of a musical notation in the most ancient liturgical piece of writing which has come down to us. This is preserved on a papyrus of the Archduke Rainer of the beginning of the 4th century, and gives us an insight into the responsorial psalmody as it was performed in the East about 300; the leaf contains on one side the *acrostichia* to the festival psalms of Epiphany, on the other side that for the feast of S. John the Baptist, which in the Egyptian Church was celebrated the day before the Epiphany. On the *recto* stands the following text. ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ καὶ ἀνατραφεὶς ἐν Ναζαρέτ, κατοικήσας ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ, εἶδομεν σημεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. (τῷ) ἀστέρος φανέντος, ποιμένες ἀγραυλοῦντες ἐθαύμασαν. (οὐ) γονυπεσόντες ἔλεγον. δόξα τῷ Πατρὶ, ἀλληλούϊα, δόξα τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἀλληλούϊα, ἀλληλούϊα, ἀλληλούϊα.³ On the other side of the leaf: Τυβὶ ἐ: Ἐκλεκτὸς ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Βαπτιστής, ὁ

1 Victor Uticensis, *De Persecut. Vandal.* relates of a cantor singing the Alleluia: 'Quodam tempore paschalis solemnitas agebatur, et dum in quodam loco qui regia vocitatur, ob diei Paschalis honorem nostram sibimet clausam Ecclesiam reserarent, comperiant Ariani . . . et tunc forte audiente et canente populo Dei, lector unus pulpitu sistens Alleluaticum melos canebat; quo tempore sagitta in gutture jaculatus, cadente de manu codice, mortuus post cecidit ipse.' (*Patr. Lat.* lviii, 197).

2 In spite of this it is worth notice that, according to Victor of Utica, the singer of the Alleluia holds a *codex* in his hand. See the foregoing note.

3 'Thou who wast born in Bethlehem, brought up in Nazareth, and who hast dwelt in Galilee, we saw thy sign in the heavens; when the star appeared, the shepherds keeping watch by night marvelled; falling on their knees they said: "Glory be to the Father, alleluia, glory be to the Son, and to the holy Ghost, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia."'

κηρύξας μετάνοιαν ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν.¹

It was thus customary to write antiphonal melodies on single leaves for certain feasts; in our case, only the *acrostichia* are given, the psalm itself would have been familiar to those present. Bickell² supposes that the festival psalm was sung at the beginning of the Liturgy between the Old and New Testament lessons, so that we have here the most ancient form of the gradual responsory of the Mass. The *acrostichion* for the feast of S. John is not long, and was repeated after each psalm-verse; that for the Epiphany is divided into three parts, which are used as responsories one after another for so many parts of the festival psalm. This, according to Bickell, was Ps. 32, as responsories. According to Bickell's ingenious conjecture, the enigmatical words (in parentheses above) τῷ and οὐ contain a reference to the psalm-verses at which the ensuing part of the *acrostichion* is to be used. After the first 5 verses the choir repeated each time the first of the three portions, from ὁ γεννηθεὶς τοῦ ἀστέρος; and from the sixth which begins with τῷ, the second portion was responded as far as γονυπεσόντες; the third portion finally was the responsory for the last part of the psalm which (v. 16) begins with οὐ. It is further worth notice that the doxology forms the conclusion of the *acrostichion*, because later it was always connected with the psalm.

¹ On January 5th. 'Chosen is S. John Baptist, who preached repentance in all the world for the forgiveness of our sins.'

² Bickell, *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Pap. Rainer*. 1887. vols. II & III.

THE AMERICAN PREMIERE OF A PEROSI ORATORIO

Paul Koch

The death of Msgr. Lorenzo Perosi in Rome a few months ago recalls a most unusual event in the pioneer days of Catholic church music in America. The premiere in this country of his oratorio *La Risurrezione di Lazzaro*, a work which had aroused a great deal of discussion upon its appearance in 1898, took place in Pittsburg (as it was then spelled) Pennsylvania, and under noteworthy circumstances.

The year was 1900, the scene a converted trolley car barn, and some 2,500 persons attended the first evening of a "May Festival," of which the new oratorio was a major part. The event, arranged by an energetic group of Catholic musicians, was the beginning of the use of the bizarre auditorium as the setting for important music presentations.

Although in recent years it had become almost exclusively a sports arena, under the name of The Gardens, the large brick building, located directly across from St. Paul's Cathedral, was best known to Pittsburghers as Duquesne Garden. It was razed only within the past year.

For the "May Festival" and the Perosi oratorio there was a chorus of over 1,000 singers and an orchestra of 60 men on the newly-constructed stage. The Festival was a two-evening affair, and the attendance rose to a 5,000 total, "in spite of weather more untrustworthy than a circus poster," as the Pittsburg Dispatch of the day remarked.

The new composition by the brilliant young priest-musician in Rome was exciting some controversy and was being performed throughout Europe, so interest was mounting on this side of the Atlantic to hear it. The printed program stated that there was "divergence of opinion in regard to the artistic worth of the work, some praising it to the skies, and others rather disparaging its importance. One thing is not denied by anyone, however, and that is the very remarkable talent of the priest-composer." Perosi was not yet 26 when *The Raising of Lazzarus* appeared, and had just been appointed by Pope Leo XIII as maestro of the Choir at the Sistine Chapel. (It is of interest to note here that the first appearance of Perosi's works in his country were in the pages of *Caecilia*, and that some of the composer's early compositions bear dedication to John Singenberger.)

Sponsoring the great event was the Organists' Guild of Western Pennsylvania, (not the American Guild of Organists, which came to Pittsburgh much later) a group which consisted almost exclusively of Catholic church musicians. The president that year was one John Vogel, organist at the Redemptorist Church of St. Philomena, who had an outstanding reputation as a choral conductor. John Glomb, a pupil of Singenberger and highly esteemed throughout the state as a Maennerchor director, was vice-president.

Secretary was Caspar Koch, also a pupil of Singenberger, organist at the Carmelite Church of the Holy Trinity and later to become City Organist of Pittsburgh, with whom the writer is closely associated and to whom he is indebted for certain facts not to be found in the accounts of the day.

Chairman of trustees was Joseph Pauley, organist at St. Martin's Church for over 50 years, and father of Monsignor Andrew Pauley, present Rector of St. Paul's Cathedral. Among the other trustees was Charles Guthoerl, the father of a large family of organists well known in the area.

Membership of the Guild included such names as Joseph Otten, organist of the Cathedral, and Harry Archer, renowned teacher and organist of the First Lutheran Church of Pittsburgh, who was one of the very first to bring Bach and Palestrina to the great industrial center.

In a meeting with his friend Frank Weixel, wealthy flour merchant, Caspar Koch outlined plans of the Guild for the May Festival and the Perosi premiere. The "angel" greeted the project with great enthusiasm, generously volunteered to underwrite the entire festival, and suggested even more elaborate plans. "Why not bring Victor Herbert from New York to conduct?"

The assemblage of singers, orchestra, and audience, as planned, was beyond the capacity of any available hall or theater in the city, and so it happened that the Committee turned to Duquesne Garden. Until then the building, except for a very occasional sports event, had served only as a car barn.

Dr Koch recalls that the owners seemed eager to develop the large barn into some sort of assembly hall, and even provided transportation for the singers for rehearsals and concert. A huge stage was specially constructed, and seats were arranged for an audience of 3,000!

The music critic of the Pittsburgh Dispatch wrote, the day after the festival: "The Organists' Guild and the Committee . . . are being

congratulated upon having made Duquesne Garden an admirable music hall. A suitable auditorium for grand opera, future festivals and great choral entertainments has been secured." The years that followed saw the appearance, on this same stage, of such greats as Victor Herbert, Tetrizzini, Caruso, and many others.

The Festival was given under the joint auspices of the Organists' Guild and the Charity Choral Union, and for the benefit of St. Joseph's Protectory for Homeless Boys. The Choral Union seems to have comprised most of the Catholic choirs of the city. Joining with the 20 choirs were some 26 Maennerchoere from the district, only a few of which are still in existence.

A spectacular array of soloists was engaged for the festival. Sara Anderson, great soprano from the Metropolitan opera, featured in the first half of the program and sang arias from Tannhaeuser and Carmen.

The soloists for the oratorio were Caspar Niesen, baritone, who was brought from Berlin, Germany (an item widely publicized!) and who sang the lead role of Christus; Charles Kaiser, tenor, from St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, who was the Storico; and two Pittsburghers Etta Keil, soprano, and Charles Zulauf, bass.

Although one of the papers stated that "the composer had arranged to come to Pittsburg to conduct the oratorio, but his duties kept him in Rome," Dr. Koch is quite certain that Perosi neither was approached nor knew very much about the Pittsburg Festival! Victor Herbert, however, was personally invited to conduct, but a conflict of dates prevented his acceptance. He did recommend ten instrumentalists who were brought on from New York to augment the 50 picked symphony men from Pittsburgh.

Joseph Otten was chosen to conduct the orchestra. This splendid Netherlands-born musician and scholar had been conductor of the St. Louis Symphony, and brought to Pittsburgh and to the Cathedral a wealth of musical background. During his more than 25 years as organist and choirmaster at St. Paul's he kept the music there on an exceedingly high plane of propriety and impressiveness. His was a hymnal that had wide acceptance in America in the last generation, and which represented a most valuable contribution to the development of church music in our country.

John Vogel conducted the chorus numbers and the oratorio, and was responsible for the training of the huge chorus.

The Pittsburg Post commented that the massed "choruses are undoubtedly the best that have ever been formed in Pittsburg . . . almost every society of note is interested in the presentation . . ."

The music critics were lavish in their praise of the performance and those responsible for the festival, although not unanimous in their praise of the oratorio as a work. On the financial side, however, the affair was not so successful — after meeting the total expenses of some \$4,000 only three or four hundred dollars was left to be turned over to charity.

But the event was indeed a milestone in Pittsburgh's history and a tribute to the spirit and energy of an outstanding group of Catholic musicians of an earlier day, working zealously together for the greater honor and glory of God.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Father Edward Malone, O.S.B., is rector of St. John's Seminary and sub-Prior of Mount St. Michael's Monastery near Elkhorn, Nebr. We felicitate him on his silver sacerdotal jubilee this June 5th . . . Dr. J. Robert Carroll is with the Gregorian Institute at Toledo, and Editor of the English *Gregorian Review* . . . Mr. Ernst C. Krohn is on the faculty of St. Louis University and in charge of the musical division of the Vatican Microfilm library at that institution. His article is an official statement of the university . . . Mr. Paul Koch is organist for the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh and Choir Director at St. Paul's Cathedral there . . . Father Richard Schuler is professor of Liturgical Music at St. Thomas College, St. Paul, Minn. . . Winifred Traynor Flanagan, A.A.G.O., is organist and choirmaster at St. Cecilia's Cathedral in Omaha . . . Louis Pisciotta is accompanist for the Boys Town Choir, pianist and theorist . . . Father Guentner, S. J., teaches music at the Jesuit Novitiate in Florissant, Mo. . . . Father Brunner, C.S.S.R., has long been known for his competence in matters of church music. He has translated Jungman's "Mass of the Roman Rite," and is now in charge of music at St. Alphonsus' Church in Chicago. Father Schmitt is director of the Boys Town Choir and the Boys Town Liturgical Music Workshops, and editor of this journal.

In the August Issue:

Classical Polyphony in Catholic Worship. Francis Brunner, C.S.S.R.
 Pitoni—1657-1957..... Rev. Laurence Feininger
 Musical Instruments in Church Fidelis Smith, O.F.M.
 Sing the Chant!..... Francis Schmitt
 Symposium of Christmas Music
 Reviews.....by Rene Desogne, Fr. Guentner, Winifred Flanagan,
 Eugene Selhorst, Alexander Peloquin, Roger Wagner and others
 An Important Announcement by the Society of St. Caecilia

REVIEW

Masses

MISSA HEMMA

Max Jobst

for Soprano, Alto, Baritone, a cappella

Publisher: Franz Feuchtinger, Regensburg

Max Jobst (Feb. 9, 1908), "Meisterschuler" of Joseph Haas, was regarded as one of the most promising young composers of Germany. He has been listed among "those missing" since Stalingrad, 1941.

The *Missa Hemma*, one of Jobst's later works, is an outstanding example of modern liturgical music. Herr Jobst has made use of the ancient church modes, of archaic organum, and of canonic imitation; and with these old forms he has created a polyphonic piece that is undeniably a product of the XX century.

The arrangement for Soprano, Alto and Baritone is a serviceable one; the range of the individual voices is moderate; and because it is a "short mass" it is ideal for the Ordinary Sunday of the year or in Cathedrals for Maundy Thursday.

The first section of the Kyrie is a canon in two parts for women's and men's voices. The first four notes of the subject (Soprano and Alto in unison) form a motivic pattern that is found throughout the mass. The *Christe* and final Kyrie are in three part polyphony and employ the motive in both strict and free imitation.

Frequent changes of time signature in the Gloria present some difficulties in reading. (There are 24 alterations in 66 measures!) Octaves are used very effectively in the "Et in terra pax" and "Quoniam tu solus Sanctus." Strict canon for 2 parts expanding into 3 parts for the cadences, serves to sustain interest during the movement.

Despite its apparent simplicity, the Credo is a real challenge to the choir director. It is written in plain song with a few verses in austere counterpoint. The "Et in carnatus est" is arranged for women's voices (3 part organum, "pp") with a delayed entrance of the theme by the Baritones. A basic knowledge of the rules governing the rendition of chant is an essential factor in securing a satisfactory performance of the Credo.

The Sanctus begins with the Cantus Firmus in the Soprano, with florid counterpoint in the other voices. It builds up to a vigorous declamatory style in the "Dominus Deus" and ends with a jubilant Hosanna for Soprano and Alto—the Baritone adding strength to the "in excelsis" by a simple diatonic five note pattern (D-A).

The Benedictus has a lyrical quality which conforms well with the text. The Hosanna of the Sanctus is repeated. The Agnus Dei is reminiscent of the Kyrie. The first two supplications are sung with animation; the third creates a mood of humble petition by its slower tempo, its descending vocal lines, and its rather somber modal cadence.

This is not an easy mass. However, when understood and well prepared by a choir familiar with chant and a capella singing its liturgical and musical value is patent to all.

Winifred T. Flanagan.

MISSA IN FESTO ASSUMPTIONIS B.M.V.

Hendrik Andriessen

For Three Mixed Voices (STB) with Organ
van Rossum, Utrecht, Holland

World Library, 1846 Westwood, Cincinnati 14

Written in contemporary style, this excellent Mass displays an unusual quality of profound reverence, and should prove a splendid addition to the repertoire of the better-than-average choir. The Mass is published in full score (\$1.50) with separate voice parts (.30). Andriessen, perhaps the foremost of the modern Dutch composers of ecclesiastical music and a renowned organist, is director of the Royal Conservatory at the Hague and professor at the University of Nijmegen.

The Mass possesses a movement and verve that are thoroughly musical. The individual phrases, more often than not, move diatonically and with a succinctness that gives to the melodic line a boldness and transparency quite refreshing. Yet the line is always graceful and there is no sacrifice of the deeply religious character. The individual melodies bear a remarkable similarity to Gregorian Chant in their modal structure, free rhythm, and general movement. There are many passages for one voice part alone, many where only two voices unite, and only seldom in any part of the Mass do all

three voices join . . . giving a striking emphasis to the more climactic sections. The *Credo*, rather unusually, is a series of unison phrases throughout, and all three voices join only at the "Amen." Such treatment contributes, incidentally, to a ready mastery of the Mass.

The added beauty of the independent accompaniment, like that in many others of the better Masses in "modern" style, must produce grateful hearts among the organists able to execute it. Certainly the music in our churches can be embellished by musical accompaniments which are independent of the vocal line. Such accompaniment is particularly appreciated also by singers—that is, they readily respond to the brightness and color of the truly composed accompaniment versus the dull and deadly one which does little more than duplicate the vocal lines.

The proper treatment given the boy's part is an artistically wholesome quality in this Mass. Not only the tessitura but also the original flow of the melody line serves to bring out the boy's voice, and consequently enhance the beauty of the whole.

It is indeed refreshing to find contemporary composers thoroughly schooled in the use of modern devices and in the art of applying them to the texture of their compositions intended for divine service.

Paul Koch.

BRUDER MEINRAD MESSE

Oswald Jaeggi

Edition Lucerna; Paulusverlag, Lucerne

The "Bruder Meinrad Messe" by the contemporary Swiss composer, Oswald Jaeggi, consists of five movements, without *Credo*. Scored for mixed voices and organ, the writing is both modal and contrapuntal. Its style is somewhat austere, because the musical ideas are simple and are used economically to create a closely woven tonal fabric. Short, recurring motives impart unity and coherence not only to each movement but also to the work as a whole.

The Kyrie begins with a one-measure motive in unison, followed by a short *Christe* motive treated in imitation. A fragment of the Kyrie motive builds a final climax which is then relaxed by a quiet coda. The Gloria is built from five motives. One is the previous *Christe* motive while the others are newly fashioned. In general the organ cements the various vocal joints by alternating briefly

with the voices. Again, it provides sustained chords, in open fifths or ninths, above which the voices freely imitate one another. Finally it supports the latter in climaxes like "Gratias agimus" and the "Amen", both of which use the same melody.

The Sanctus, in quiet six-four, links organ and voices somewhat as before. The "laudamus" motive from the Gloria is woven into the tenor where, although not prominent, it maintains some thread of continuity. Suddenly the motive is brought out into the light for the "Pleni sunt coeli", where it is harmonized and imitated between upper and lower voices. The Hosanna repeats the Sanctus material to form an ABA design.

The Benedictus achieves tranquility by having sustained open chords in the organ support the imitating voices as in the Gloria. The vocal line is formed from the Christe motive somewhat extended to accommodate the text. The Hosanna, with freer organ part, continues the same motive in the same dynamic, thus creating a totally unified movement. The Agnus Dei returns to the mode and treatment of the Kyrie. It builds its climax with the same melodic fragment followed by the same quiet coda. This balance of first and last movements provides the Mass with a fitting musical frame.

The Mass as a whole is rather severe in its harmonic and contrapuntal texture, and while the organ part is not overly difficult, the vocal part requires a well-trained choir. With its convincing musical logic and sensitive treatment of the text this work is a welcome contribution to the field of liturgical music.

Louis Pisciotta

Other Music

QUATRE PETITES PRIÈRES de Saint Francois D'Assise

Francis Poulenc

For Men's Voices

Contemporary Music Publishers Corp., 23 East 26th St., N. Y.
90c per copy

A few months ago a new French opera was received with acclaim at La Scala. It was Poulenc's setting of the Bernanos play, *Les Dialogues des Carmélites*. At the time of the performance, Poulenc was quoted as saying, "Bernanos, c'est Boussuet, et avec Bossuet je suis chez moi." Perhaps only a Frenchman could find it

possible to write an opera like *Les Dialogues* one year, and *Les Mamelles de Tiresias* during another.

But as a matter of fact, Poulenc has been interested in composing music to sacred texts off and on for twenty years. The *Mass in G* is perhaps the best known, but choirs of men's voices that are looking for something off the beaten track might investigate the *Quatre Prières*, composed in 1948 to texts of St. Francis Assisi. They are short indeed, for the second and third last little over a minute, and the first and fourth about two minutes or a little more.

The music is almost entirely chordal in structure. The composer specifies one section of tenors, two of baritones, and one of basses—but a second tenor section could take care of one of the baritone lines. Harmonically the pieces start out rather innocently, but within a few measures the chromatics begin to appear and the resulting chords are slightly audacious and frequently rather lush. Some of the intervals in the individual voice parts are rather unusual, and give the impression of having been worked out on the piano. The tenor line will probably be a challenge to most amateur choirs.

These pieces will perhaps be most at home in the concert hall, but there doesn't seem to be anything intrinsically unliturgical about them.

Francis J. Guentner, S. J.

THE PIUS X HYMNAL (For Congregational Singing)

Edited by the Faculty of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music
McLaughlin & Reilly Co. Voice ed. 90c; Organ ed. \$3.

The *Pius X Hymnal*, a choir book first published in 1953, still remains one of the brightest rays on the liturgical music horizon. Some of the Holy Week music has been rendered impractical by the newly restored rites, but most of the material looks as if it will stand the test for some years to come.

Now the publishers have come out with a smaller "abridged edition," fashioned specifically for congregational singing. There are eighty-five titles in all, including a generous scattering of chant numbers, as well as a notable number of new tunes which (though published in the original edition,) have not yet become widely known. About twenty Latin texts, some with interlinear English words, are also part of the contents. The melodies have generally been transposed to a range that an average group could handle.

All in all, this is a high-class publication, one which only a musically well-trained congregation could use. Children of the upper grades could negotiate most of the music, I think, though since there is so much new material, it would take time for them to grow familiar with the greater part of the contents.

Both the organ and the voice copies have only a thick paper cover, but the printing is attractive and very legible.

Francis J. Guentner, S. J.

TRIO SONATA FOR STRINGS AND ORGAN
Op. I, No. 1 and Op. III, No. 2

Arcangelo Corelli

Music Press, Inc., 130 W. 56th St., New York
Score and Three part, \$2.75 for each sonata.

In the mid-seventeenth century, when the noble line of Italian organists which included musicians of the caliber of Frescobaldi and Monteverdi seemed to be dying out, many of the duties of church organist were handed over to instrumental groups. There came into being a whole literature for strings and organ that came to be called the "*sonata da chiesa*" (church sonata). Giovanni Battista Vitale composed many such works, pointing them toward their sacred function, and distinguishing them from profane chamber works with objectionable dance movements, which came to be known as the "*sonata da camera*." Others who utilized the form include Legrenzi, dall'Abaco, Merula, and Marini. But it was not exclusively an Italian monopoly, for the English composer Purcell, the Germans Rosenmuller and Kuhnau, and the Austrian Biber all turned out church sonatas.

The master of the form, however, was Arcangelo Corelli, whose life centered around Modena and Bologna, where the art of violin playing was developed so highly. He indeed is rightly called the "father of violin playing." The two sonatas reviewed here are scored for two violins, cello, and organ. Mr. E. Power Biggs has realized the basso continuo in a very conservative fashion, as well adapted to the organ as Corelli's writing for strings is to the violin and cello. There are four movements in each sonata, alternating slow and fast. The playing time is about ten to fifteen minutes for each sonata. Recordings of both are available on Victor labels, with Mr. Biggs and the Fiedler Symphonietta.

With the Holy Father's reference in the encyclical "Musicae Sacrae Disciplina" to the use of stringed instruments, which "express the soul's emotions, sad and joyful, with ineffable force," we may again see a great use made of these composition produced expressly for the church. They can provide a fine prelude for Mass. On Christmas, when strings have traditionally been employed, these sonatas can well be used either before Mass or during the communion time. This is not new music, even this Biggs' edition is thirteen years old. But the encyclical casts a very new light on it for us.

Richard J. Schuler.

Records

Organ Music

Efforts are being made to bring the skilled French organist, Gaston Litaize, to the U. S. for a concert tour next fall. Though blind, Mr. Litaize has had a very distinguished career both as a concert and liturgical organist, and he has many prizes to his credit. World Library stock a number of his records (on both the Ducretet and Erato labels). I would give especial recommendation to a record called "Les Maitres D'Orgue de J. S. Bach," which is a recital of typical compositions by Boehm, Froberger, Pachelbel, Buxtehude, Frescobaldi, and others. The music on this disc is played on the famous Saint-Merry instrument in Paris.

Mr. E. Power Biggs has performed a distinct service for American devotees of organ music by recording the 17th and 18th century masters on instruments that date from the time when the music was written. His most notable album to date has been an album of 2 LP's entitled *The Art of the Organ*. This set was made up of works by Sweelinck, Pachelbel, and Buxtehude. Now Mr. Biggs offers a cross section of *Organ Music of Spain and Portugal*, the music again being played on authentic Spanish and Portuguese organs. The names on this record are as yet lesser known figures—Pasquini, Cabezon, Carreira, Carvalho, and so on—but I feel certain that any student of the organ will treasure this record. About fifteen pieces are included. (Col. KL 5167, \$5.98)

Vocal Music

The Roger Wagner Chorale has become something of a national institution. The ensemble is at home in older as well as contemporary music, though most of its records represent materials from the

standard repertoire. The latest offering is called *House of the Lord*, a dozen sacred numbers representing several religious faiths: Palestrina's "Tu es Petrus," Malott's "Lord's Prayer," the Russian "Hospidi Pomilui," the Jewish "Kol Nidrei," and so on. Most of the pieces are sung according to arrangements made by the conductor. The tonal quality and blend, of course, are first-rate (Cap. P 8365).

Mention should perhaps be made of the two other excellent records of sacred material, though the works are in no wise liturgical: the Brahms *Deutsches Requiem* is given a superb reading by the Berlin Philharmonic and St. Hedwig Choir (2 Victor LP's), and the Handel oratorio, *Israel in Egypt*, receives a first complete discing from Sir Malcolm Sargent and the Huddersfield Choral Society (2 Angel LP's).

Francis J. Guentner, S. J.

Books

LITTLE GRAMMAR OF GREGORIAN CHANT

Joseph Gogniat

Oeuvre St. Canisius. Fribourg, Switzerland. 1939

80 pages. About \$0.50.

This is not another method of teaching or singing Gregorian chant. It is rather an attempt to secure unity in the performance of the chant by propagating the principles contained in the preface to the typical Vatican edition. Fortified by quotations from the Sacred Congregation of Rites, the author points out that the Vatican preface together with the official "square" notation contain all that is necessary for the correct rendering of the chant, without the addition of any further rhythmic signs.

The Vatican preface says that the "manner of writing the notes, and especially the manner of grouping them . . . is a great help towards a correct rendition of the chant." For that reason, the author undertakes a close examination of the block notation, and any choirmaster who has used the "square" notes with his choir will quickly attest to the speed of reading, the clarity of the melody line and the rhythm, as well as the ease of mastery that the old notation brings about. Mr. Gogniat treats the simple, composite, and ornamental neums. Those who are familiar with the Solesmes theories will notice the *pressus* and the *quilisma* are the main points of variance. However, the chapter on the *mora vocis* and the one on rhythm are the two that contain the meat of the little book as

well as the information wherein the Solesmes theories are opposed. Since the Vatican edition "with its pure traditional notation giving the rhythm of tradition . . . contains whatever indications are necessary in practice," one does not find the dots and dashes of the Solesmes books in the official typical ones. Where to apply the *mora vocis* is indicated by the notation itself, and Mr. Gogniat points out how to read this notation. As for the rhythm, it is based soundly on the accent of the Latin language and the indications provided by the arrangement of the neums. Thus the four elements of rhythm are the accent of the Latin word, the accent of the neum, the *mora vocis*, and the various bar lines. Rhythm may be binary or ternary, but there are cases when the succession of unaccented Latin syllables indicates no accent in the syllabic chant, and thus one may have four or five notes before another accent is reached. The text "sudarium et vestes" in the *Victimae Paschali* is an example.

For those who have been using the official Vatican editions for teaching chant, and for those who would like a clear introduction to the principles enunciated in the preface to them, this modest little "grammar" is a great find. It is well constructed for use as a textbook, especially in seminaries, novitiates or colleges, although it might well be used on a high school level too. One need not fear that it is an innovation or fad. It has the highest ecclesiastical approval in no less a fashion than a letter from Cardinal Pacelli, at the time Papal Secretary of State, and now Pope Pius XII. From a musical viewpoint, it likewise has great recommendation, since Mr. Gogniat is associated with the long tradition of chant at Fribourg, for he knew and studied with the great Dr. Peter Wagner, a truly eminent musicologist and chant expert. The English translation is the work of Father Charles Dreisoerner, one of the Caecilia Associates. The format is attractive, and the use of bold-face type, underlining, and many examples makes the text appealing to students. Get a copy. Every student of chant should know what is contained in the church's official instructions about chant. Mr. Gogniat's little book is a clear exposition of them.

Richard J. Schuler.

CATHOLIC CHURCH MUSIC

Mr Paul Hume's book bearing the above title has been reviewed widely, and most recently (and somewhat more pertinently) by Dr. Paul Henry Lang in the *Saturday Review*. The book has

been heralded as something approaching a definitive work by almost every journal, including *Caecilia*. I think sincerely that "*Catholic Church Music*" needs a re-evaluation. The more especially because the accolades showered upon it, together with Mr. Hume's prestige, seem to have given it undisturbed acceptance. Do not misunderstand me. I admire and respect Paul Hume; I have gone out of my way to defend him in the diocesan press. With the general value of the book, and even with many of the specific suggestions one ought not quarrel. But there are underlying motifs about which a word of caution need not be out of place.

To begin with, an important part of the author's approach to writing his piece is open to severe question. Much of it is based on a series of questionnaires, sent, one knows not how discriminately, to people engaged in church music instruction. This is the manner of finishing off one's Master's degree; and after too many such have crossed your desk, you tire of doing someone else's work, and perhaps wish that you had time to take the degree yourself. It is hardly the proper technique for writing an acceptable work on church music. One receives all sorts of answers, but he is in no position to interpret them in terms of genuine musicianship. The basis of such a work, then, is not really *evidence* or *experience*, but *mere hearsay*. And I would contend that some of the tapes which Mr. Hume used on his Catholic Hour Series last summer abet this point.

It is upon this shaky structure that Mr. Hume climbs to what seems to be his favorite (and facile) conclusion: if the whole business of liturgical music were left, unhampered, to the sisterhoods, the situation in our land would change over night. How comforting to behold the magic cool of the dawn so soon! But who can sensibly place so great a burden on the sisters? It is not only asking too much of them, it is asking the impossible, for where are the nuns who can, by their own constitutions, carry on the singing liturgy for us? In the area of the middle-west, I can think of only one group who are permitted to carry out this task, the School Sisters of St. Francis of Milwaukee, and they perhaps have more decent choirs in remote country parishes than you can find in a week of Sundays in Chicago, New York, or Los Angeles.

Finally, one tires a little of the constant passing of the buck to that nasty old bird, the pastor, and *a fortiori* the hierarchy. As Mr. Lang has pointed out, this tack cannot possibly do much good. All of us know where the ultimate responsibility lies, and all of us have heard often enough, and without benefit of anonymity, remarks about pastoral lethargy. Some of them are as true as they are

dismal and unprintable. But the reverse side of the tapestry is just as clear, and I can say from more than a modicum of experience that the number of prelates and priests who look kindly upon the sacred music apostolate is legion. It is altogether possible that church musicians ought to reexamine their approach. Heaven knows the American Church has put up with enough tomfoolery in the name of liturgical music, and the ease with which many are prone to hide their own ineffectiveness behind a cassock or habit can be a real danger.

If you are in need of a general book on Church music, buy it, as I did, before it was published. Or you might try to dig up an excellent book of the same title by Richard Terry. But I think these things needed saying—not, indeed to lessen the stature of Mr. Hume, nor that of the teaching sisters, whose work is fundamental and so necessary. For I remember well a remark of the late Fulgence Meyer, O.F.M.: “Do not be contentious with the sisters. They will go down to their convent and make a novena, and in nine days you are dead!”

Francis Schmitt.

THE PSALTER IN THE TEMPLE AND THE CHURCH

Marie Pierik

(The Catholic University Press, 1957)

The inspired hymnal of the Old Testament, known as the Psalter, was taken over by the Christian Church not only as part of the Sacred Scriptures but also as its hymn-book. As the author rightly points out, “In the Church, the Psalms have always been the chief source of liturgical prayer, particularly in the Proper of the Mass, and are especially appointed in the Breviary for daily recital of the clergy” (p. 2). The study of the Psalms is therefore an eminently practical study for the church musician who must be in almost daily contact with them. Marie Pierik’s book provides a well-rounded introduction both to the Psalter itself and to the musical use of the Psalter in the Roman liturgy. Perhaps the publishers exaggerate a bit when they use the word “scholarly” to characterize the approach to part one of the book, but surely the work is that of a student well-read, and in her own special field as a musician, a student well-versed.

Miss Pierik’s book is divided into two sections. Part I is a study of the meaning of the Book of Psalms, its formation, its con-

tents, its use in the Temple. Part II is a detailed account of the Roman manner of rendering the Psalms musically. One senses that Miss Pierik is more at ease in this second part of the book than in the first, but this hardly detracts from the interest and value of the first part. In fact it is the first part, with its insights into the vital history and the profound contents of the Psalter that give the book its unique inspirational power. One puts down the book with humiliating consciousness of having for so long missed so much.

The book begins with a consideration of the name of the collection of poems or hymns and of their origin. Then it takes up the numbering of the psalms and explains, by means of a table, the difference between the numbering found in the Massoretic or Hebrew Text (and consequently in the text of the King James and Revised Standard Protestant Bibles) and that found in the Vulgate and Catholic translations. However, no attempt is made to appraise the two groups—why, for example, the Hebrew editors should have divided the Vulgate Psalms 9 or 113, or why they united Psalms 146 and 147. Next the book studies the division of the Psalter into five books and the suggested process by which the final collection of 150 was reached. This is a very interesting study, though unfortunately too sketchy; one realizes how much investigation lies behind the few lines of Miss Pierik's text. A very interesting chapter is Chapter II, which deals with the problem of the titles or superscriptions of the psalms. Generally speaking the treatment of the question is excellent. There is a discussion of authorship, of obscure terms like *maskil* and *miḳtam* and still more inexplicable words like *lamnesseah*, with opposing explanations rather cavalierly dismissed. This last note is particularly noticeable in the explanation of the historical references prefixed to certain Davidic psalms; "this element," says the author, "is void of all historical worth". Are we to suppose that the editors plucked these incidents from the books of Samuel at haphazard?

A worthwhile chapter is the one which discusses the contents of the Psalter. "The Psalms are more than beautiful literary compositions; they are essentially human documents" (Dr. A. Cohen, *The Psalms*.) Two chapters are devoted to the questions of manner of performance in the temple service. As the Greek title of the whole collection suggests, the psalms were sung with musical accompaniment—*psallein* means to play a musical instrument. There is a compressed but adequate treatment of the musical instruments employed by the ancient peoples of the East and of the tonality of Oriental music. Finally Chapter VI deals with the Form and Rhythm

in the Temple Music and the Psalter. For the proper understanding of the psalms something must be known about the principles and structure of Hebrew poetry. The distinctive feature of Hebrew poetry is parallelism, that is, the repetition of the same thought in different words, or the contrasting of one idea with its opposite. Hebrew poetry has no meter in the classical sense of the term. Some scholars have pretended to discover the rules of Hebrew accentuation, but little more can be deduced from these theories than the conclusion that we are still far from understanding them.

Part II of Marie Pierik's book treats the psalmody of the Roman liturgy. Surprisingly, there is no study of the Latin translations employed in the liturgy—the so-called Old Latin (if this was but one version), the two versions rendered by St. Jerome and used in whole or part in the Breviary, and the newest translation prepared under the direction of Rev. Augustine Bea, S. J. A critical evaluation of these in the light of their singability is certainly desirable; one of the criticisms leveled against the Bea version is that it is ill-adapted to the chant. But Miss Pierik does not enter into this question. Her concern is the artistic rendering of the chant melodies to which the psalms have been set, so this second section of the book is pre-eminently practical.

The prospective reader must be warned that portions of the book will not be easy reading, not only because of the compressed and often awkward style—one of Miss Pierik's besetting sins—but more because the author supposes a certain cultural level that may be higher than average. Certainly the book's perusal will be rewarding.

Francis A. Brunner, C.S.S.R.

THE CANTICLE OF THE SUN

Here begin the praises of the creatures which the Blessed Francis made to the praise and honor of God while He was ill at St. Damian's:

Most high, omnipotent, good Lord,
Praise, glory and honor and benediction, all are Thine.
To Thee alone do they belong, Most High,
And there is no man fit to mention Thee.

Praise be to Thee, my Lord, with all Thy creatures,
And especially to my worshipful brother sun,
The which lights up the day, and through him
dost Thou brightness give;
And beautiful is he and radiant with splendor great;
Of Thee, Most High, signification gives.

Praised be my Lord for sister moon and for the stars,
In heaven Thou has formed them clear and precious and fair.

Praised be my Lord for brother wind,
And for the air and clouds and fair and every
kind of weather,
By which Thou gives to Thy creatures nourishment.

Praised be my Lord for sister water,
The which is greatly helpful and humble and
precious and pure.

Praised be my Lord for brother fire,
By the which Thou lightest up the dark.
And fair is he and gay, mighty and strong.

Praised be my Lord for our sister, mother earth,
The which sustains and keeps us,
And brings forth divers fruits with grass and
flowers bright.

Praised be my Lord for those who for Thy love forgive
And weakness bear and tribulation.
Blessed those who shall in peace endure,
For by Thee, Most High, shall they be crowned.

Praised be my Lord for our sister, the bodily death,
From the which no living man can flee.
Woe to them who die in mortal sin;
Blessed those who shall find themselves in Thy
most holy will,
For the second death shall do them no ill.

Praise ye and bless ye my Lord, and give Him thanks,
And be subject unto Him with great humility.

Saint Francis of Assisi

NEWS-LITTER

● A note of thanks to the Monks of Conception Abbey for their timely distribution of the February 1st Directions and Declarations of the Sacred Congregation of Rites Concerning Holy Week.

● A small book of Gregorian Chants, published by Desclee, without a single ictus! Speaking of signs and symbols, one sees more and more of that eighth-note rest at the beginning, and some times the end of the chants transcribed in modern notation. This denotes you know what, and are these too based on the manuscripts?

● Adrian Hamers, Inc., 18 Murray St., New York, has published a handsome 1957 catalog of H. Dessain (Mechlin) Liturgical Editions. The Cantus Sacri list is impressive. The chants are described as "unhampered by signs representing a private interpretation and leading to artificial formalism." "Full freedom of interpretation," however, must certainly be qualified by the instructions of the Vatican preface.

● Watch for these new masses: *Missa Laudis*, of Flor Peeters, which he describes as being "in the middle way between *Missa Festiva* and *Missa in hon .S. Josephi*." Publisher: Schwann.

Missa in Hon. Sancti Bernardi, by Alexander Peloquin, performed successfully and with high promise in manuscript form, is in the hands of World Library. Mr. Peloquin's "Noel—Nouvelet" is to be published by Flammer. His Chorale recently performed Randall Thompson's "Pueri Haebraeorum," Peeter's "Jubilate," Peloquin's "Ave Maria," and a balance of Hassler, Palestrina, and Victoria on the Catholic Hour.

● L. Schwann, Dusseldorf, has recently started an affiliate American branch called the Helicon Press, Inc., Baltimore, Md. We understand that this press will handle the entire Schwann catalog, but that items in their very excellent music catalog may be purchased from World Library, which introduced it in this country, and carries many stock items.

● Mario Salvador, of the Cathedral of St. Louis, played the dedicatory concert on the new Reuter in the chapel of St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, on Laetare Sunday. Father Elmer Pfeil is professor of Sacred Music.

● J. Vincent Higgenson is busy finishing his Hymn Handbook. At present, "including an appendix of trash," there are some 800 titles. He expects his work, a valuable one in our judgment, to be out around the 15th of June.

● "Sing While You Pray"—a popular pamphlet on sacred music by Father Guentner, S. J. Published by the Queens Work. Is it on your parish pamphlet rack?

● The Third International Congress on Sacred Music will be held in Paris, July 1-8, 1957. We will mail a prospectus to anyone who wishes, N.C.M.E.A. is conducting two tours which will include the congress, a follow-up on those held at Rome in 1950 and Vienna in 1954.

● We wish we could print in full the splendid Town Hall program of the Immaculata singers, James Welch, Conductor, and William McDonald, Accompanist, May 23. Dufay, Haydn (Second Mass in C), des Press and others. The same goes for the Holy Week Program at the Church of the Nativity in St. Paul, Minn., where Fr. Richard Schuler prepared an extraordinarily broad treasure from the Roman Graduale, Langlais, Schubert, P. de la Rue, Vittoria, etc. At Boystown besides the chant, Masses of Langlais (Solennelle), Kodaly (Brevis), Schroeder (Psalmody) and others were used. Twenty-three boys were baptized during the Vigil Service. Mrs. Irene Zannini, organist at Holy Rosary in Lawrence, Mass., sent an Easter service which included Lotti, Mozart, and Haller.

● We are indebted to E. P. Dutton & Co. for the use of Sheila Kay-Smith's "Come Friends and Neighbors" in our February supplement.

● 2500 boys and men sang the solemn Pontifical Mass on the Feast Day of St. Dominic Savio in Holy Name Cathedral, Chicago. Guest choir was the Little Singers of Paris. Directors, Abbe Maillet, Msgr. Meter and Father Mroczkowski; organists, Dr. Becker and William Ferris.

● The Cathedral Choir of St. Cecilia, Omaha, Winifred Flanagan directing, sang the Isaac Mass No. 4 Easter Sunday, the first performance of the Isaac masses recently

issued by the University of Michigan Press. Mrs. Flanagan will review the mass for the August Issue of *Caecilia*.

● In "The Sounding Board", a column by Los Angeles Times Critic, Albert Goldberg, Roger Wagner, back from an 18,000 mile tour, is quoted as finding many of the nation's halls designed for everything but music. Of the halls in which his chorale appeared this season he selected Town Hall, New York, Houston Music Hall, (with a new shell designed by Stokowski), and the Boys Town Music Hall as rating among the best. Passing from Music Halls to Churches, it is a common complaint that latter day architects think of everything but acoustics (usually in the name of "acoustics"!) and organ space.

● More on integration: a friend, attending Mass at a particularly well-known "liturgical" church building in Kansas City on St. Patrick's Day, received "Danny Boy" and "Believe Me of All These Endearing Young Charms" for Communion meditation. Full tremolo, of course!

● Paul Koch played Pittsburgh's Carnegie Hall's 2,678th free recital on March 31st. Program by Bach, Molique, Dupre, Kuhnau, Purcell.

● Mr. Carrol Andrews, Director of Music for Blessed Sacrament Parish, Toledo, sends a well worked-out, no-nonsense pamphlet entitled "Music For Your Wedding." Ten points cover matters pretty thoroughly, and a no-exception clause ought to make things clear, before the usual bartering bride begins.

● N. L. Nemmers announces that Dr. Joseph McGrath of Syracuse has won that publishing firm's 1957 \$100.00 prize for his *Missa Simplex*.

● Noel Goemanne, Detroit, has recently performed Jan Mul's *Missa l' Homme Desarme* with his St. Rita Pueri Cantores and the mixed choir.

● Gaston Litaize, French organist, will tour the United States this fall. Father Clarence Corcoran, C. M., of Kenrick Seminary, 7800 Kenrick Road, St. Louis, advises us that there are available dates.

● Rt. Rev. Frederick O. Beck, St. Mary's Church, Victoria, Texas, is looking for a qualified organist and choirmaster.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Summer Workshops:

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June 18 — July 20

Apply: Dom Gunther Rolfson, O.S.B., St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minn.

BOYS TOWN LITURGICAL MUSIC WORKSHOP

August 19-30

Apply: Rev. Francis Schmitt, Boys Town, Nebr.

ST. MICHAEL'S SCHOOL OF SACRED MUSIC

Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. E. Ronan, 66 Bond St., Toronto, Canada.

EASTMAN SCHOOL OF MUSIC, CHURCH ORGANIST INSTITUTE

July 8-12

Apply: Dr. Allen McHose, Rochester, N. Y.

SCHOOL OF LITURGICAL MUSIC,

Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart; Purchase, N. Y.

July 1 — August 9

Apply: Mother Josephine Morgan, R.S.C.J.

DE PAUL CATHOLIC CHURCH MUSIC SEMINAR

July 22 — August 2

Apply: Arthur C. Becker, Dean, 25 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

June 14-25

Apply: Dept. of Music.

GREGORIAN INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

June 27 — July 26

Mary Manse College, Toledo, Ohio.

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3. To foster all efforts toward the improvement of church musicians: choirmasters and choirs, organists, composers and publishers of liturgical music, and through all of these a sound musical approach to congregational participation.
4. To publish its journal, "Caecilia", and to establish a non-commercial repertory service.
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Pius XII—Mus. Sac. Disc.

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