

caecilia

A Review of Catholic Church Music



Father Vitry: Fifty Years Francis Schmitt

A Crisis From the Beginning Dom Ermin Vitry, O. S. B.

VOLUME 85, NO. 2

SPRING, 1958

Sixth Annual

Liturgical Music Workshop

"THE CHOIRMASTER'S WORKSHOP"

BOYS TOWN, NEBRASKA

AUGUST 17th THROUGH THE 30th

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Saint Louis, Missouri
April 15, 1958

To the Editor:

In the little article on organ music, published in the February *Caecilia*, there are a couple of key words which met with disaster at the hands of the typesetter. I had in my original manuscript written about the "three qualities that assure longevity to any artistic creation: beauty, genuinity, and timelessness." This is somewhat different from the "genuiness (*sic*) and timeliness" that got on to the printed page.

Sincerely

Father Francis J. Guentner, S.J.

Syracuse, New York
April 11, 1958

Gentlemen:

The review in *The Caecilia* by Charles J. Keenan on the Rev. Jude Mead's (C.M.) "The Plaints of the Passion" has interested me in the book. But where can I get a copy and how much is it?

Yours,

Leo A. Fisselbrand

Excellent question! — Publisher, Bruce; Price \$3.50.

Detroit, Michigan
April 10, 1958

Gentlemen,

I received your last copy of *Caecilia* and I am very glad to renew hereby my subscription for such an outstanding magazine.

We needed a magazine like this one very badly and I do not see how a Catholic organist and choirmaster could do without it.

The articles, showing much research, are very informative and well-written, and it amuses me to read in "Letters to the Editor", that "you had better fold up"! Please, don't! Mr. Sandar must not know probably that many directors always have been following . . . "The archaic and quack ideas on Chant you are trying to propagate." . . .

I sincerely hope that you may continue in this way and that through your efforts we may see again a "golden age" in Catholic Church Music.

Wishing you many years of prosperity in publication, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Noel Goemann

≡ EDITORIALS ≡

Father Vitry: Fifty Years

Not to many is it given to look back a half century to the dreams of their youth. A father and a mother, with their children gathered about them, no less than a priest with spiritual children he knows not where, must think that golden is a fitting description of the jubilee. And though between the dream and the jubilee there is work, disappointment, frustration, perhaps, and the giving of all one's life, it is past now. There is a mellowing that remembers only gratitude for what one has been able to give to his Maker. In his generation and in his chosen field, and despite mountainous difficulty, Father Vitry has given back more than most. Such confident statement is due to the fact that there is no sham about Father Vitry.

Father Vitry celebrated his golden sacerdotal jubilee last December 21st. He celebrated it among his chosen ones and at St. Meinrad's Abbey, his home away from home. On May 18th there will be a public celebration in his honor at the Mother-House of the Sisters of Precious Blood at O'Fallon, Mo. Father Vitry was born, don't mind when, at Lobbes, Belgium. He entered the Order of Saint Benedict at the Abbey of Maredsous in 1903. He was ordained by Cardinal Mercier in 1907. His first Gregorian formation, then, was the vital one of monastic experience. The Abbot of Maredsous was Dom Hildebrand de Hemptinn. Later, as first Primate of the Order, it was Hildebrand's personal ideal to promote the formation of monks both in sacred and secular music for the purposes of complete liturgical restoration. So it was that Father Vitry became the first ecclesiastical student in Belgium to be sent for professional musical studies. He went to Louvain and lived at the newly founded Abbey of Mont-Cesar. It was at Louvain he listened to the lectures of the Spiritual Director of the School of Theology, Dom Columba Marmion, another monk of Maredsous. These lectures were the core of his well known "*Christ, The Life of the Soul.*" And it was from this vantage point that he attended the Conservatory of Religious Music at Mechelen, and graduated *avec la plus grande distinction* in 1910. When the Director of the Mechelen School, Edgar Tinel, was appointed Director of the Conservatory of Brussels, Father Vitry followed him for further study of counterpoint, and upon Tinel's death, studied modern composition with

Joseph Jongen. He was the founder of the Mont-Cesar Boys' Choir, which in 1957 celebrated its fiftieth jubilee. He was choirmaster at the Abbey for several years and lectured at Maredsous. Then the war, so ruinous to Belgium, and the armistice.

Dom Vitry came to the United States in 1925 at the persuasion of the late Dom Virgil Michel, O.S.B., who was then about to launch the Liturgical Movement in the United States. Father Vitry, who had been secretary to Lambert Beauduin, founder of the Liturgical Movement in Belgium, helped a great deal during the early years of the publication of *Orate Fratres*, (Now *Worship*. Father Vitry is still an Associate Editor) as is attested by Father Marx in his recent biography of Father Virgil. The subsequent ventures of Father Vitry are known to most of us. He worked in various schools in St. Paul and Minneapolis, spent four years, under Archbishop Cantwell, working for all the parochial schools of Los Angeles. He then began the work which may well be his greatest contribution—the formation of nun-teachers at O'Fallon, Mo. From 1941 until 1950 Dom Ermin Vitry was editor of *Caecilia*, and many of the things he wrote during those years bear repeating, for he has always been ahead of his time. He lectured a great deal and began his work on Gregorian Integration at Notre Dame, described elsewhere in these pages. From 1943 until 1949 he taught polyphony for the Gregorian Institute. He has contributed greatly to the musical training at the Grail centers in this country, and there is nothing strange at all about a man of his vision having been invited to be Professor of Chant at Washington University, St. Louis. The writer, and his associates, are especially grateful for his continuing active service on the staff of *Caecilia*, and for his scintillating presence at the Boys Town Workshops, where, in 1956, ours was the honor to offer him our own medal of St. Cecilia — "Jesu Dulcis Memoria".

Memories? Not really much time for them. For Father Vitry, the celebration of the Eucharist, and the extension of the Mystical Christ, involves continued work, humor, and a broad ministerial activity, becoming to a Witness to the Master. A few weeks ago he remarked one morning, that he did not exactly feel like conquering the world. But it was not true. There are only odd moments when he does not feel like conquering the world. When someone inserted "declining years" as descriptive of post jubilee life, he vigorously changed it to "reclining years." Still he naps for just so long in an upright chair, then goes about his business as one in the prime of life. Never mind about the dream of his youth. He continues to fulfill it. And we should like to feel worthy enough to assure him that he has sewn seed on good ground.

The Hymn Problem

In this issue, we present a paper each on the hymns of the Hungarian and Slovak peoples. A third is omitted partly because it covers much the same territory and partly because it poses the material of the other two as "an answer to the hymn problem". This by way of translation of the hymns of nationals to fill in for the hymns "rejected because they do not measure up to the proper textual and musical criteria".

Right off it should be said that despite the rumblings of the past ten or fifteen years, we are blissfully unaware of any serious hymn problem. The fact is that we have such a plenitude of splendid hymns that no single group will ever use all of them anyway. Mind you, no one is denying that a sharing of the hymns of the family of nations does not greatly enrich us. But it is not so easy. The problem of good English translations is not unakin to that of fitting out the chant in languages of the Anglo-Saxon family. (Some of the finest chant I have heard has been Anglican chant, but this was usually in a large Gothic church where only the lofty melodies, not the text, reached one.) Thus the People's *Hymnal* suffers from a too literal and awkward translation. And even in the lovely Slovak *Memorare* in *The Saint Gregory Hymnal* we are still asked to sing "that anyone who sought thee, or made to thee his moan". Why not "groan" or "bone" or even "phone"? The only thing necessary, it seems, is that it rhyme with "known"! What do you use in your parish or institution for congregational singing?—Hymn cards? There is no reason for your not having the very best. Or do you envision hymnals stacked in racks on the rear of every pew as in many Protestant churches? Then what is the matter with the English *Westminster Hymnal*? I do not think it is likely to be surpassed soon.

The following opinion is not meant to be condemnatory of any hymnal, and it is an opinion which has been arrived at earnestly through many discussions and seminars. For straight hymn tunes and good language, we choose the *Westminster* book. For a combination hymnal-choir book, we'll stay with St. *Gregory's*. We welcome all new hymns that have musical and lingual dignity. Meanwhile there are plenty to go around.

It is unfortunate that one must conclude on a somewhat negative note. In many areas of our country there has always been a good hymn tradition. The writer, for example, was not exposed to the kind of tripe Mr. Vincent Higgenson has so securely devastated until after he was ordained. In as many other areas great progress had been made—until the novenas came along. These now eat away

at local traditions of a hundred years and more. It is possible because in the main, and despite Madison Avenue, the world is less musical than it was a hundred years ago. We heartily second all efforts to stamp out an illegitimate growth that calls itself, of all things, "traditional". Is this a hymn problem? Not exactly. There is no reason at all for singing the hymns suggested. None.

■ OUR CONTRIBUTORS ■

David Greenwood teaches at Marymount College, Los Angeles. He has written on Catholic musicians at Oxford for the *Clergy Review*, London . . . Father Henry, O.S.B., hails from St. Pius X Monastery, Pevely, Mo. . . . Martin Bush continues his reviews of the Aeolian Skinner series . . . Myron Roberts, organist and composer, teaches organ at the University of Nebraska . . . Sister Remigia is a Sister of the Precious Blood, teaching in St. Louis, Mo. . . . Joseph Leahy is on the Music Faculty at the University of Notre Dame . . . Dr. Franz Plewa, formerly head of the Child Guidance Clinic in Vienna and lecturer at Oxford, is the psychiatric consultant at Boys Town . . . Father Francis Hajtas teaches in the schools of New Orleans, La.

CHILDREN OF GOD

You come from many homes; but you all belong to one family, the family wherein your heavenly Father reigns. You not only live and play together around the school, together you go into God's House, to praise and to thank your heavenly Father.

There the priest, your best friend and your leader, waits for you. Day by day, he leads you heavenward. In the church, he offers our brother Jesus to the Father of heaven, in the name of His little friends.

This is the Mass. Have you noticed how, at Mass, the offering of our Gift to God by the priest is accompanied with songs? Surely, you want to take your part in this Offering. There is no better way to do this than to sing with your leader and your friend.

Then the whole family of God's children is united in the sacred Banquet of the Eucharist, wherein you and your companions are nourished.

This little book contains some of the songs
which Mother, the Church, gives you to sing,
especially at Holy Mass.

Love them and sing them often.

—from Fr. Vitry's First Book

A CRISIS FROM THE BEGINNING

By Dom Ermin Vitry, O.S.B.

Some twenty-seven years ago, while I was visiting some friends, their son, then a student in the Junior year of High school, gave me my first ride on a speedboat. From our casual acquaintance, I learned that he was playing cello in the school orchestra. One may suspect my surprise at being told that he was hoping for the day when symphony orchestras would have passed out of existence. In those days, I was losing no opportunity of observing the trends and the activities of what was then called "school music", and which by now has grown as a powerful movement under the name of music education. Although I do not know anything about the whereabouts of this lad today, I have often remembered his indictment. Today it appears to be a prophecy which is partly fulfilled. Not only are symphony orchestras trying to survive under worsening conditions, but the whole scope of music education itself is unmistakably passing through a period of revision which is nothing less than a crisis. I found the consciousness of this expressed much more openly than usual in the March issue of the *Music Journal*, preparatory to the biennial convention of the National Music Educators Conference. This periodical may be trusted as the spokesman of the cross-currents which constantly agitate this organization. A current of particular restlessness runs through the entire issue; and this insecurity prompts some of the writers either to a spontaneous acknowledgement of the serious problems which now face music education or to recommend a complete "about-face" in a new approach toward a timely solution.

Fifty years of experimentation and relative growth have passed since the inception of this well-established organization. Having consistently followed its fortunes, I would say that it was under the consistent guidance of sincere men and women who truly desired to bring the spiritual and social benefits to music into the lives of the youth of America. And it is noticeable that the musical qualifications of the teachers have become well-grounded and progressive. Yet, according to their testimony, the results of the enterprise and its impact on the national life are appallingly low. This is not the pessimistic disappointment of people frustrated in their idealistic hopes. It is the factual evaluation of a condition reaching far below the level of a normal average. In the mind of the writers, the issue at stake is not one of deciding upon series of books or technical procedures; nor is it to define the place of music in the incessantly changing aspects of the social scene. The root of the problem is the role of music in human life and, accordingly, the realistic approach which would eventually lead to the fulfillment of that broad but deep ob-

jective. I just quote two paragraphs which sound quite accurately the overtone of the entire writings; they are the expression, often repeated of late, of an awakening consciousness among public educators, that music education is primarily a spiritual issue. I read that "whether it is palatable or not, we, as educators, will be required to defend and justify our philosophies, ideals and procedures, or find others which appear more realistic and functional . . . More specifically, as music educators and desirous of remaining such, we may be required to state the case for music in education in such logical and convincing terms that the public at large will continue to regard it as an integral part of a balanced educational program." After a careful probing of the actual status of music on the various levels, the writer sums up: "to survive and remain strong we shall have to descend from our 'little pink closet' and meet the challenge boldly, but with honesty and integrity, bearing in mind not merely what the child thinks he needs, but what we, in our experience, know will prepare him for a life of richer enjoyment and more useful citizenship in a realistic world of the Sputnik era."

If the above questions sound to you as unsupported generalities, I would like to quote another writer, a college teacher of wide experience, when he says that "it is more than disappointing to find that in spite of several decades of increased emphasis in this country, the musical activities of our adult population have not increased proportionately with the rise of the population itself. The percentage of adult support for music has been declining. This is true in spite of apparent widespread purchasing of records and the establishment of some new community musical organizations. These evidences are statistically small in relation to the population growth." Further: "A large number of my students have played in high school orchestras or bands or have sung in glee-clubs and choirs, and yet have no apparent interest in continuing contact with music in adulthood. By far the majority of the students interviewed felt that those school activities had been fun and exciting but had ended with high school commencement and had no bearing on adult life."

Does this not remind you of the lad whom I met twenty-seven years ago, when school music was in its blooming stage? There are now thousands of such lads who are in their fifties, and who constitute the adult population of the United States. But, as a symptom of their sincerity, another public educator concludes: "Music is more than recreation. It is education. It is synonymous with personality growth."

You may at this point, wonder why I am so interested in the crisis of music in public education, while we have now organized

a National Conference of Catholic Music Educators. If we forget about the "sputnik era" which has nothing to do with music, in spite of the article of a well-intentioned nun who wrote under the influence of the "scare climate", the crisis of public education is our crisis as well; and we would be wise to examine ourselves, notwithstanding the short-lived experience of our Conference. If public educators are willing to re-evaluate music education "boldly and constructively", their example is both a timely warning to which we should listen and a salutary lesson which we ought to heed. You may retort that the Conference was precisely organized with the consciousness of the pitfalls to which public educators were dangerously exposed and is presently aware of the objectives which escaped the mind of public educators. Is it not possible that, in the blossoming of our youth, we are growing under the fallacy of a grave illusion? And if this should be possible, it is therefore permissible to call Catholic music educators before the court of self-examination, that they may evaluate "their philosophies and their ideals".

What is the fundamental trend which led public music education, and thereby national musical life into a severe crisis? In their own term, it is the surrender of music to activities, trends and influences which make it an external radiation rather than a deep personal experience. In our terms, it would be called secularism. Indeed, God is absent in public school music; and even the sincerity of the educators themselves is prevented from giving to Him the place of honor which is due to Him. This is said neither to confuse secular and religious music, nor to make all music religious. This implies that the sole sound philosophy of music reaches God as the ultimate objective of all human experience in musical art. Both the history of music and the observation of its evolutionary trends confirm this view. For having had no opportunity of practicing this philosophy, public educators find themselves today at the cross-roads; for having the possession of this philosophy, we may avoid the painful experience of a crisis.

Are we really putting into practice the tenets of a Catholic philosophy in the field of music education? Do not tell me that the very existence of the Conference is a proof that it fulfills its responsibilities. Catholic auspices without Catholic living are but a form of sectarianism. Even the use of Catholic music is a very questionable realization, unless the whole orientation of the activities of the Conference is a manifestation of our evaluating music according to the ideals of Christ. If this is true, and it is imperatively, I may be pardoned for questioning the conflicting trends which are dividing the members at large (and perhaps the leaders also) of the Con-

ference, as the symptoms of a looming crisis. Let me make the point clearly.

One may easily bypass, for the moment, all laudable efforts in behalf of orchestras, bands, glee-clubs, vocal lessons, harmony courses, scholarships, and the like. If that is all we wanted to accomplish it would have been preferable to remain in agreement with the Conference of public educators, and to enjoy the benefits of their wider organization and their superior equipment. Seen from the vantage-point of a secular education, all that I have mentioned is in no way different because it is led by a Catholic organization.

Exactly what differentiates a secular and a Catholic approach to the art of music? One thing: the Chant of the Church. I have hardly thrown this challenge out of the bag than I hear countless forms of protest; and I am confirmed in this fear by recalling the many discussions which have infected previous conventions. The case is evident; then, why should we dodge it? Do not tell me that, let us say, apianist who is ignorant of the Chant may be as good a Catholic musician as a narrow Gregorianist. Good Catholic perhaps but not a fully radiating Catholic musician! There are two reasons for this: One is philosophical and spiritual, the other is esthetical. If we admit that Catholic philosophy of music is that view of music which both makes of it a spiritual experience of the Christian soul as such and leads ultimately to God through Christ, then this view is bound to affect the process of formation and the appreciation of musical values. In the history of Western music, the Church is the sole organism which possessed this view and realized it. To express in living terms this philosophy is what justifies her to identify, in a certain measure, worship and music. Alone, for twenty centuries, she offers to the human heart that song which is, without fancy or detour, a song of life. That song is her Chant which, in the very words of Pius X, is her own. It grew from her life; it is not superimposed over it. Therefore, it is evident that to be immersed in the Chant is the surest way to develop a musical consciousness which is truly and thoroughly Catholic.

I hear a more specious protest. How dare you compare the tiny and purely homophonic Gregorian melodies with the gigantic developments of music in recent times? I have no idea of under-rating these achievements; I only challenge them before the bar of the Christian outlook on life. And, to be frank, I would not hesitate to compare Gregorian art with anything which has come after its decline.

The relative supremacy of the Gregorian melody as a song is no longer in doubt. The irrefutable testimony of music scholars is

growing day by day, bringing into glaring light the extraordinary craftsmanship of those who composed it. And if, following the inevitable law of all artistic endeavor, the power of its inspiration falls short now and then of the logic of its modal writing, the ensemble of Gregorian literature lives up to the demands of a monumental artistic achievement. At times, Gregorian originality of musical thought and form reaches stunning heights, unsurpassed at any period of musical evolution. Quite a number of prominent music schools have immediately sensed how the study of the Chant might contribute to the development of a sounder musicianship among professional students, regardless of any religious application. For two years now, it has been the privilege of this writer to teach a regular course of Chant in the department of music of a secular University. You may distrust, if you wish, this development as the expression of an avid dilettantism. That does not, however, excuse our own neglect. On the contrary, it forces us to conclude that a thorough formation in the Chant of the Church is an essential part of all music education which prides itself in being Catholic.

I am definitely aware of the fact that, in our own midst, quite a number of educators fear that the place given to the Chant may mean a "loss" in the knowledge and the appreciation of secular music. And, thereby (so they conclude) Catholic youth will be deprived of the opportunities given to the youth of the nation. Therein lies the abysmal and fatal error. For the Chant contains elements in the formation of musicianship unmatched by any other music. Aside from its supreme value in the integration of worship and song, it leads to a technical experience which is infinitely broader than the scope of school music as it stands in the universal program. I would mention at random versatility of tonal response acquired through modality, unlimited expansion of rhythmic motion as against the tyranny of symmetry, and the appreciation of melodic continuity in a line securely hugging the inflections of the word.

Thus, whether we look at it from a spiritual or an esthetic angle, Gregorian Chant is the authentic foundation of an approach to music which pretends to be Catholic. Alas! our esthetic approach has been no better than our spiritual neglect, notwithstanding all demonstrations to the contrary. This brings back to mind the remark of a prominent choral conductor who, after candidly confessing that his evaluation and his experience of the Chant was insufficient, asked: "But why is the Chant always sung so badly?" And another, a priest of exquisite taste, remarked recently: "The Chant is the music which one cannot impunely murder." Lastly, let me recall with delight the little Benedictine nun who starts every lesson of piano with the playing of a Gregorian melody by the student.

I have stated at length the case of the Chant for the consideration of music educators, not to satisfy a desire for criticism but, rather, to contribute to its final restoration. Hence, the following suggestions, the adoption of which I deem to be imperatively necessary, if we are some day to reach the objectives for which we have accepted a public responsibility. I list them in order of precedence:

- 1) All religious communities of men and women who are actively engaged in the field of education must, in their respective convents, experience a truly liturgical life. I mean specifically a worship, not incidental, but regular and, if possible daily, in which the Chant permeates the spiritual current of the life of the community. Because the Chant is the music most integrated to spiritual life, one would in vain teach it who has not learned to live it personally and communally.
- 2) As the success of the restoration depends more upon well-formed teachers than on methods, the novitiate of every motherhouse should provide for all its candidates a gradual and complete course of Chant, not on a theoretical, but on an experimental basis. Such a course should be on a par with the requirements of, let us say, philosophy, history, literature, education and science. It is disgraceful to meet so many teachers, on the level of higher education, who possess neither appreciation nor experience in sacred song. And it is unfair to deprive our young religious from the spiritual happiness which the melodies of the Church hold in reserve for them.
- 3) When we have formed competent teachers in the music school of the Church, but not before, the time will have come when, in the music program of the Catholic school, the Chant will have undisputed precedence over every other musical activity. If the experience of secular music will be thereby somewhat limited, musicianship and general appreciation of music will have gained in quality and depth.

These three suggestions are but a summarized translation of the demands explicitly formulated by the authoritative documents of the three most recent Popes. We are now, after fifty years of futile squabbles, at the crossroads of our musical venture. It will be restoration or disaster. May God grant that the Chant shall not die a second death; for, from the latter, it would never revive.

I began with the reminiscence of a lad; I end with the question of another lad, just three weeks ago: "How was it possible that people having such a treasury of song could forfeit it?" I did not answer; but I leave to the National Catholic Music Educators Association the privilege of pondering upon it.

THE RISE OF POLYPHONIC SACRED MUSIC

By David Greenwood

Two aspects of composition were basic in the work of the writers of medieval church music: one involved the use of pre-existing melodies, formal schemes, and rhythmic schemes. Pre-existing melodies refer to what was known as *cantus firmus*. A *cantus firmus* is a melody borrowed either from the Gregorian chant or from other, e. g., secular, sources and used as a basis for constructing a piece of polyphonic music according to the laws of counterpoint. Pre-existing formal schemes refer to the so-called *formes fixes*, poetical and musical designs like the *rondeau*, the *virelai*, the *ballade*, the *carol*, the *ballata*: a small number of well-defined forms rooted in the aristocratic art of the troubadours and trouvères and transferred from this monodic genre to polyphonic composition. Pre-existing rhythms refer to the so-called rhythmic modes which were taken over from ancient poetic meters: *imabus*, *trochée*, *dactyl* and so on. Medieval notation of music before 1300 had no symbols for rhythm, the invention of which must be credited to the *Ars Nova*. The medieval composer had to rely instead on such schemes as the rhythmic modes. Medieval music was not only based on pre-existing melodies, it was *formally and rhythmically fitted to ready made patterns*.

The second basic aspect of medieval composition is connected with the prevailing technique of *cantus firmus* composition. The different voices in medieval polyphony are composed successively, one after the other. The harmonic effect was not entirely arbitrary, since the addition of voices was regulated by certain general conventions which governed the selection of consonances and dissonances.

The Renaissance composer did not abandon at once the deeply rooted foundations of pre-existing forms, rhythms, melodies and successive composition. Gradually, he advanced new ideas and tried out entirely new conceptions and techniques, which slowly won the upper hand in the struggle between tradition and innovation. New principles came to prevail. The first principle stems from the desire of the Renaissance musician to arrive at a musical expression free from all shackles. This involves abandoning the use of pre-existing melodies, rhythms, and forms. The second principle derives from the urge of the Renaissance artist to conceive of his work as a well planned and carefully organized whole rather than a structure of several successively erected layers. This involves the abandonment

of the successive technique of composition and its replacement by the technique of simultaneous conception. Clearly, the simultaneous composition of polyphonic music is possible only where the composer has learned to think in harmonics. It is well known that a good musician can sit down at the piano and improvise in four voices at once. That means he can think in harmonies. It is less well known that the capacity to think in harmonies had to be acquired and developed at a certain period in history, and that period was the Renaissance. It is in Italy around 1480 that we find whole compositions written in four part harmony with the melody in the highest and the root of the harmony in the lowest part. Harmony was projected and conceived from one point, the "root" or the bass part, and the terms "homophony" or "chordal style" should be strictly limited to this harmonic technique. Indispensable for the new harmonic technique was the recognition of thirds and sixths as consonances by the Spanish theorist Bartholomeo Ramis in 1482, who had studied in Salamanca, but lived and taught for the greater part of his life in Bologna and Rome. According to the Pythagorean theory, which reigned supreme throughout the Middle Ages, thirds and sixths had been considered dissonances, for mathematical reasons only.

The roots of this harmonic style can be found in two phenomena, the *fauxbourdon* and the rise of tonal harmony. Both were brilliantly analyzed and convincingly traced back to the leadership of Guillaume Dufay and the time about 1430 by Heinrich Besseler in his work *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon*. The term *fauxbourdon* designates the accompaniment of a discant melody by fourth and sixth parallels resulting in a composition moving throughout in six-three chords but starting from and ending in an octave-five chord. We may see in this technique, which has its antecedents in English usage and in the English predilection for thirds and sixths, a manifestation of the spreading enthusiasm for these consonances and of the overwhelming desire for a full sensuous sound. Tonal harmony as found in a series of three part *chansons* by Dufay and some of his contemporaries shows the beginnings of the feeling for tonic-dominant relationships. Already in compositions of Ciconia, who had wandered from Liége to Padua, the bass began to assume the function of carrying the root of harmony.

An entirely different process of simultaneous composition is followed in the fugal polyphony of the Renaissance, the systematic beginnings of which fall around the same time as harmonic simultaneous planning: c. 1480. Josquin des Prez (1450-1521) is the first composer to use this technique not as an occasional device—as

such it can be traced back to the early thirteenth century—but as the structural basis for a whole series of extended compositions. Here a number of musical subjects are taking up by one voice after another resulting in a free, unified, and yet complex contrapuntal organism: free because it is not tied to a *cantus firmus*, unified because the same thematic substance penetrates all parts, complex because each part presents the theme at a different time while the other voices go against it contrapuntally, avoiding simultaneity in rhythm and meter. This results in a tonal structure unified harmonically, diversified rhythmically and metrically. Such a structure cannot be conceived either successively or strictly simultaneously: here the composer projects each part in relation to each other part; even the theme itself is invented with an eye toward how it is to be used and by how many voices. An increase in the number of voices restricts the freedom of movement of each of them, a decrease expands it.

Around 1480 the ideal of choral music has been entirely realized. This is evident in the music of the mature Josquin. He knows how to write a fully singable style not only for one or two but for all voices, and the increasing care with which he applies the text to each part shows clearly vocal intent. By that time *fauxbourdon* has matured to *falso bordone*, the Italian four part version of a homophonic, syllabic style of choral singing. It is when the several voices of a composition join into one body of harmony that choral mass effects become possible. This is the meaning of the steady increase in the number of singers symptomatically demonstrated in the growing size of the Sistine Choir in Rome, a growth that coincides with the evolution of the harmonic concept.

The Sistine Choir had had ten singers in 1442. In 1483 their number had increased to 24, in the years following and throughout the sixteenth century the membership fluctuated, rising at times to 30 singers, but holding usually more closely to 24, which number came to be regarded as the ideal size for the Sistine Choir. Besides, in 1480 another choir founded by Pope Julius II, became known as the Capella Giulia and functioned in the Basilica of St. Peter. By its use of the organ it was distinguished from the Sistine Choir functioning for the Papal Court in the Sistine chapel, where no instruments were allowed to intrude upon the sacred services. As the number of singers grew, their privileges increased. Pope Eugenius IV created the economic foundation for the Sistine Choir with his bull *Et si erga* of 1444 in which the income of the singers from benefices, prebends and canonries, as distinguished from their monthly salaries, was stabilized. The Papal singers were to be preferred in their claims on such ecclesiastical benefices to any other claimants.

Under Pope Nicholas V (1447-55) their salary was increased from five to eight ducats monthly. Under every new incoming Pope the privileges of the Papal singers were confirmed in a new bull and substantial amplifications were added. Under Innocent VIII (1484-92) certain provisions were made which illuminate the actual situation through the prohibitions proposed: a Papal singer shall not keep a concubine, he shall not frequent taverns and other *inhonesta loca*, he shall always appear in his choir gown and he shall not wear his hair down to the neck. The same document provides that cardinals shall not keep in their houses trumpeters, other musicians, buffoons, and clowns.

From 1430 onwards we observe a constant increase in the number of voices of composition. *Fauxbourdon* is set for three voices, *falso bordone* for four, and this is also the norm for Josquin and his generation; by the time of Gombert (1490-1556) composition for five parts prevails. The use of a double choir in Italy before and after Willaert presupposes two choirs of four parts joining at final or otherwise emphasized points in an eight part climax. From here the development goes on to compositions for three and four choirs for 12 and 16 voices manipulated with consummate skill by such Venetian composers as Andrea Gabrieli (1510-1586) and his nephew Giovanni (1557-1612). This line extends on the one hand to the German Baroque and to Heinrich Schutz, who studied with Giovanni Gabrieli in Venice, on the other hand to the Roman Baroque, to Vincenzo Ugolini and his pupil Orazio Benevoli (1602-72), who is the uncontested master of the four choir combination.

The theorists of the *Ars Nova* emphasize more than anything else the revolution in the conception and notation of rhythm. Heretofore the composer could draw only on the simple patterns of five rhythmic modes, all in ternary meter. Now not only was duple meter admitted, but a notation of rhythm was introduced based on the principle of the repeated mathematical multiplication of 2 or of 3 by itself. This simple yet ingenious mathematical mensuration of rhythm, the basis of the notation of rhythm ever since, was described for the first time by the mathematician, Johannes de Muris, of the University of Paris, in his treatise *Ars novae musicae* of 1319. We must remember that music was part of the *quadrivium* and that a number of prominent theorists of music of the Middle Ages were mathematicians. It is interesting to observe that the theory of the continued multiplication of integers and fractional numbers by themselves found its first systematic expression in the treatise *Algorismus proportionum* of the greatest French mathematician of the

fourteenth century, Nicholas of Oresme (c. 1323-1382), the inventor of power development with fractional exponents. The fact that Johannes de Muris evolved his notational method before Nicholas of Oresme presented a consistently elaborated theory and mathematical notation of power development suggests that this topic had occupied French mathematicians for some time. Nicholas of Oresme was probably the man who summarized and brought to a conclusion the mathematical thought of a whole generation. Thus it was the mathematicians who opened the way and created the notational means for the whole vast development of rhythmic figurations in Western music.

The revolution in musical thought was consummated by the Venetian theorist, Zarlino, the brilliant student of Willaert. In his *Istituzioni harmoniche* of 1558 he emphasizes the relation between word and tone, recommending the revision of plain chant on the humanistic principles of text declamation:

“... it would be a very praiseworthy thing and the correction would be so easy to make that one could accommodate the chant by gradual changes; and through this it would not lose its original form, since it is only through the binding together of many notes put under short syllables that they become long without any good purpose when it would be sufficient to give one note only.”

Zarlino lived to see this suggestion for reform incorporated in the brief of Gregory XIII of 1577 through which Palestrina and Zoilo, both members of the Sistine Choir, were charged with revising the Gregorian Chant. Nothing illustrates better the change in aesthetic feeling that the imposition of Renaissance principles on the Plain Chant which was held by medieval writers to have been dictated to Pope Gregory I by the Holy Ghost.

It is only when the new fugal style of the motet emerged that a technique was found that enabled the composer of instrumental music to evolve what we call “absolute music,” an autonomous musical structure performed by the instruments independent of voice, word, and other external relationships. These new forms received various names: *canzona*, *ricercar*, *fantasia*, and they all contributed to the evolution of one of the most condensed, logical and integrated structures that music knows—the fugue. At the end of the sixteenth century when vocal music abandons contrapuntal construction, counterpoint has found a new home in instrumental music. Ultimately, the rise of the fugal technique of composition forms the origin of the idea of thematic procedure, on which all instrumental music has been based ever since.

INTEGRATION AT NOTRE DAME

By Eugene Joseph Leahy

Father Vitry has devoted virtually all of his priestly years to beautifying the music of Catholic worship. The past nine summers of this long and significant career have been devoted to the service of the Liturgy Program offered by the University of Notre Dame. This program began in the summer of 1947.

For the past eight summers, Father Vitry has offered two courses which are central to the program of liturgy as conceived at Notre Dame. The first course is entitled Gregorian Integration. In this course, Father Vitry examines the senses in which the Chant is and ought to be an integrating feature of the total concept of liturgy. The second course is a cyclic course in which Father Vitry in successive summers lectures on various topics within the general heading of Gregorian Chant.

To describe accurately the impact of these two courses would be difficult in any case, but it is particularly difficult in the case of Dom Vitry. As a person, Father Vitry possesses a sharp, penetrating mind, and a vivid, almost disarming imagination. Since these qualities permeate his every lecture, nothing musicological is ever settled for him. What has been accomplished in the field needs, from his point of view, constant re-examination. To question is as much part of Dom Vitry's nature as to refer all musical questions back to musical evidence. The closed problem whose solution lies ready at hand in catechetic form and whose relevance is limited rarely interests and often disgusts him. This very openness of inquiry makes it impossible to estimate the impact that these lectures have had on the ordinary student. Neither would it be possible to summarize in essay form the total impact of his insights upon those who have heard him.

Like many another great teacher, Father Vitry's best teaching is done quietly, and leisurely, almost poetically. He is more concerned with cultivating attitudes and principles than of expounding doctrines. He treats his students as adults and as equals. He is the master who inspires, stimulates, and encourages his journeymen and who can assume that the thorough grounding in the fundamentals of the craft combined with the spirit of docility and humility have long since become matters of habit in the apprentice stage of the student's training.

The average graduate student who is more secure with "spoon-fed" courses which are tailored for and by the syllabus and the

credit hour, and which are easily tabulated on an IBM card can and does easily miss the significance of Father Vitry as a teacher. For this reason, it would be inaccurate to say that Dom Vitry's teaching has had widespread influence on great numbers of students at Notre Dame. However, his class-room teaching has had a profound and a permanent effect on a small number of superior students who have come into contact with it.

On the other hand, Dom Vitry's artistic rendering of the chants and the polyphony of the liturgy has communicated itself to many students and teachers, musician and non-musician alike. As one of our students aptly put it last summer, "the man makes music even when directing us in the primary and secondary tones of the basic modal patterns."

The phrase "making music" is the key to Father Vitry's influence. He is an artist whose most articulate expression must be experienced in and through the art object.

In his rehearsals in preparation for the daily sung liturgy he becomes the true artisan exploring his medium and seeking for the "ideal" expression. In performance he endeavors always to create musical forms which have a vitality and a freshness of their own. He delights in penetrating the magic and the mystery of the creative process. Each performance embodies something of the fanciful and the mysterious which characterizes all great creative art. The fact that Dom Vitry both in theory and in practice respects and loves this genuinely musical quality of the chant and polyphony means that his performances embodying these qualities will and have provoked the criticism of some "purists" who tend to keep an aesthetic distance from the chant, and who choose to admire, explain, and study it rather than to experience, enjoy, and feel it intimately.

This fanciful, magical quality of Dom Vitry's musical interpretation has the freshness and the evanescence of a delicate perfume and defies the categorization or the classification of the scientific system. It is on this very point that Father Vitry has in the past been compelled to part company with the musical analysts and pedagogues who would reduce performance practice of the past, the present, and the future to the "one" the "correct" and the "only way."

Our experience at Notre Dame has been that in performance Father Vitry tends to strive constantly for an ideal (though unattainable) performance, which if attained would be the one, the correct, and the only suitable performance. But this attitude of striving toward this kind of goal implies a different concept of

unity than the one implied by the analysts and the pedagogues to which we allude above. This attitude implies a metaphysical rather than a physical or mathematical one.

Another aspect of the genuine Vitry artistry has been revealed to us at Notre Dame in the past eight summers in the program of creative art which he and a small staff conduct with a group of youngsters from the South Bend area.

In a workshop of about twenty meetings, a program of liturgical integration is prepared. In this program, music, the dance, and the graphic arts are integrated within the spirit of the liturgy. Not only does this program have its own intrinsic value but also reveals to some twenty teachers and hundreds of spectators a possible method of integrating the arts within the liturgy. Perhaps this is the most original and freshest aspect of Father Vitry's program of integration, for it never fails to excite the sensitive person who follows the dramatic unfolding of the finished tableaux from its obscure moment of inspiration in the creative imagination of the youngsters to the refinement of expression in a public program given in the fifth week of the summer session.

So exciting has this phase of the integration program become, that in the summer of 1957 the members of the class, planned, explored, and completed their own program which was also given publicly a few days after the children's program. "It was as fruitful as a meditation" is the way one young Jesuit scholastic described his personal experience after participating in this performance.

That the most articulate statement of the wisdom of a creative intellect such as Father Vitry's should be found in artistic objects should not surprise anyone who has reflected on the nature and the function of art. As is always the case with the artistic person, it would be impossible to separate Dom Vitry the man from Dom Vitry the artist, and Dom Vitry the scholar. However, to know and experience the greatness of Dom Vitry the artist is somehow the best and the most direct approach to an estimation of Dom Vitry the man and Dom Vitry the scholar.

It is in this way that we at Notre Dame have known and loved him for the past decade. Perhaps it is because we have had the privilege of knowing him in this way that we join so enthusiastically with his many students, friends, and admirers on this happy occasion of his golden jubilee and ask God to continue to bless, and make fruitful his remaining years in the vineyard.

AD MULTOS ANNOS!

THE VERNACULAR RELIGIOUS SONGS IN HUNGARY SINCE 1932

By Rev. Francis Hajas

At the occasion of the first International Sacred Music Congress held in Rome in 1950, the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities expressed the desire that the Congress should encourage the faithful throughout the world to sing hymns in the churches, whether in large cities or small villages. To reach such a goal, the Congregation stated that it was necessary for every nation to have a collection of vernacular religious songs and that the children should be taught to sing these in the elementary schools.

Last year we celebrated the Silver Anniversary of such a collection published in Hungary in 1932. This hymnal is still in use today in Hungary, where the practice of religion is, of course, extremely difficult. The singing of vernacular hymns in Hungary began in the 11th and 12th centuries. Unfortunately, the documents are missing because the people learned the text and the melodies only through listening to others. If any document concerning the early practice of vernacular hymn singing would have remained, the Tartar Invasion and later the Turkish Occupation which dominated the country for a period of 150 years certainly would have annihilated all trace of such documentation.

With the coming of Protestantism the religious innovators began to change the religious vernacular songs according to their necessities. Fortunately, the great Hungarian Cardinal, Peter Pázmány, realized the great danger involved and ordered the first publication of the existing Hungarian religious vernacular songs. This edition came off the press in 1651, and it was entitled "Cantus Catholici." This edition is very important because it was published with music notation and it precedes by exactly 100 years a similar publication of Protestant religious hymns.

During the 18th and 19th centuries the singing of vernacular religious hymns in Hungary was under German influence. Instead of the old venerated melodies, the faithful sang German and many times Slav melodies which are very different from the Hungarian melodies.

At the beginning of the present century many efforts were made to restore the vernacular religious hymns to their original purity. The Hungarian Bishops finally, in 1927, set up a special Commission to carry on the important work of restoration. This assignment was completed in 1932 when the Commission presented the official and critical collection of Hungarian religious vernacular songs entitled "Szent Vagy Uram" (Holy Art Thou, O Lord).

The Commission was guided principally by the Motu Proprio of St. Pius X which states that the singing in the church should be holy, artistic, and universal. The collection contains 306 hymns, out of which 247 are original melodies and 59 are typical melodies. There are 150 melodies in the collection which had been in oblivion since the 17th century. The restoration of the religious vernacular songs did not have much resistance. It is true that the manner of singing during the period of decadency had become familiar and natural, and there were some who objected to the modern liturgical accompaniment of the new collection which uses perfect harmonies between the melodic accent and the verbal one.

The only objection which can be made against the new collection is that we do not find in it dynamical signs and that there are no tempi indications, but it should be known that the singing of the faithful in Hungary is medium loud. As the melody goes up, the singing gets louder, and as the melody goes down it gradually gets softer. The musical movement is not fast, but it is full of expression according to the character of the hymn which is sung.

In the collection, we find first the hymns for the feasts of the liturgical year. Next come the hymns in honor of Our Lord and the Blessed Sacrament. Following are hymns in honor of our Blessed Lady, after which is an ample collection of hymns for the invariable parts of the Mass as far as the Sanctus. The collection is concluded with a series of hymns for the souls of the faithful departed, and many occasional hymns. An appendix contains twenty-eight hymns of religious-patriotic character.

During the first ten years the manual for the organist reached the fifth edition and the hymnal containing the text and the melodies for the use of the faithful sold over 1,000,000 copies.

These facts clearly indicate the outstanding apostolic fervor in Hungary for the spread of the religious vernacular songs. For every Sunday and Holyday of Obligation there is published a set order of uniform hymns which are sung during the Introit or Gloria, Credo, Offertory, and Sanctus. After the Consecration a second hymn is sung in honor of the Blessed Sacrament. The third hymn, which expresses the special character either of the Sunday or the Feast Day, concludes the Mass.

The teaching of this new edition begins in the elementary schools. Today, despite the extremely difficult conditions, the religion teacher has the duty to bring the beauty of God close to the children with the use of these hymns. In the seminaries the future priests also receive practice in these hymns because on certain days of the week, during the Community Mass, they sing hymns out of this new collection.

One of the Hungarian Bishops, Joseph Petery, contributed a great deal to the success of religious vernacular hymn singing in the community. Many times one would hear the complaint that in churches only the women and children sing. Bishop Petery inaugurated a special contest for men in the field of religious vernacular singing. Shortly after, 4,000 men took part in this noble undertaking and four other dioceses followed his example with similar success. For the sake of interest, let me quote some of the rules of this contest:

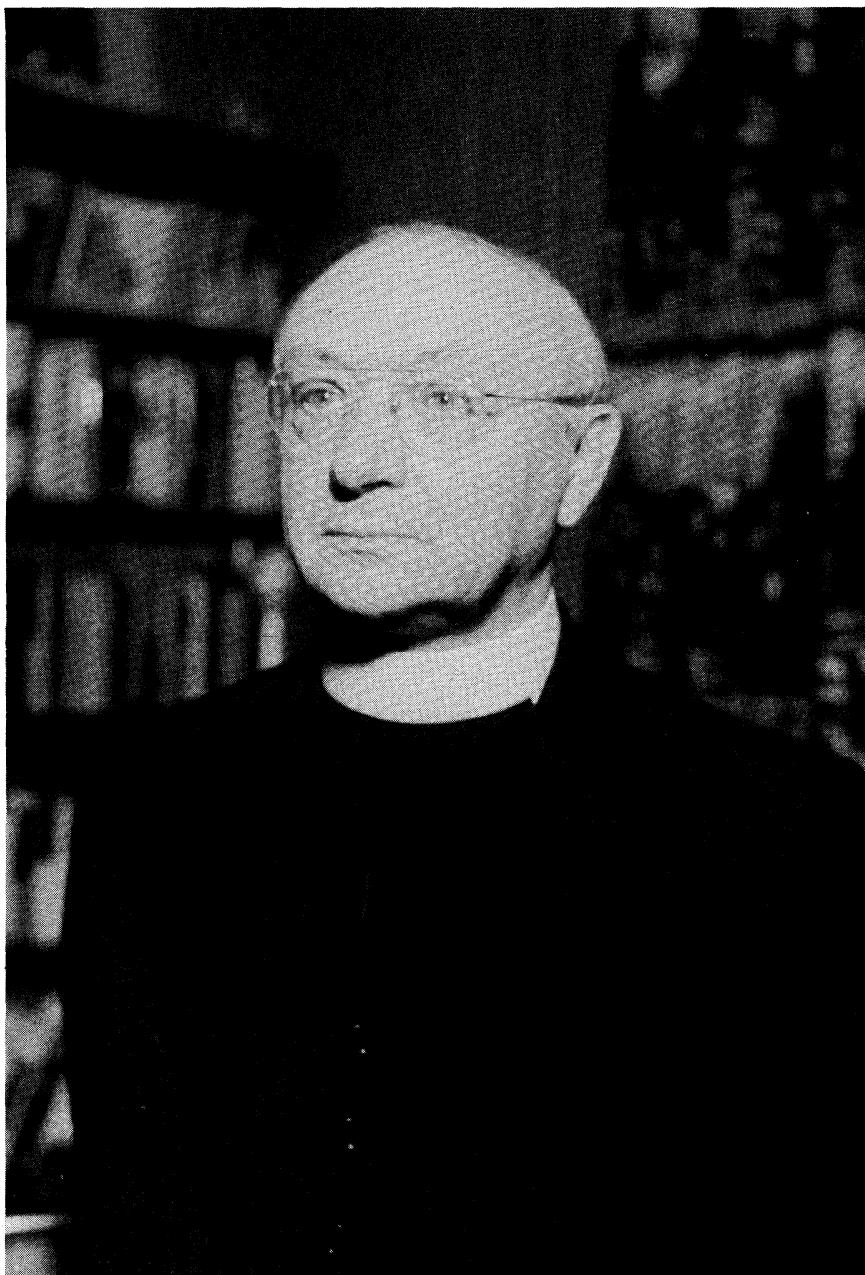
- a. Only men over 18 years in cities and over 16 years in villages were admitted.
 - b. High school students were excluded.
 - c. The number of participants could not be under 1% of the faithful of the parish.
 - d. Even in the smallest parishes the number of participants had to be at least 30 or 40.
 - e. There were three divisions for the singers:
 1. Those who had learned 60 hymns.
 2. Those who had learned 120 hymns.
 3. Those who had learned 180 hymns.
- (But naturally, it was not forbidden to present all of the 306 of the collection.)

Since transportation is extremely difficult, the choirs are auditioned by a special Commission in their own parish churches. The faithful gather in the church and the session begins with a sermon about the beauty and the nobility of the religious hymns. Then the Commission assigns different hymns to be presented by the choir. The contest is concluded with Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

The problem of the vernacular religious hymns still exists in the Catholic Church, and it would be a great help if the Holy See would encourage all countries again and again not only to collect religious hymns but to exchange their religious music treasury with each other so that they would not remain within the limits of one country but would be enjoyed by the Universal Church.

The example of Hungary should be called to the attention of those interested, because the critical edition of the religious vernacular songs, the uniform order of hymns for every Sunday and Holydays, and the contest between men choirs contributed a great deal to the desire of our present Holy Father expressed so beautifully in his Encyclical, "Mediator Dei":

"Let the full harmonious singing of our people rise to heaven like the burst of the thunderous sea, and let them testify by the melody of their song to the unity of their hearts and minds as becomes brothers and children of the same Father."



DOM ERMIN VITRY, O.S.B.

Sacerdotal Jubilee—1907-1957

CHAPTER XI

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ROMAN LITURGY AND ROMAN CHANT BY GREGORY THE GREAT (†604)

The development of the Roman liturgy, and the music belonging to it, up to the close of the Middle Ages, which has been described in detail in the foregoing chapters, though manifold in character is in no way an extensive transformation; it is only the adaptation of an already existing organism to new circumstances and requirements. It presupposes the existence of a liturgical and musical Order which remains in all essential points unchanged, and it is always concerned only with the several parts of this Order, not with the structure to which the different forms belong. Now that the complete results of medieval activity in the matter of Church music lie spread out before us and we have learnt to recognize the characteristics of the musical forms as well as their correspondence with the rites that compose the liturgy, we can approach the question, Who was the builder of this huge structure, who started this movement which has been developing these thousand years?

In general, the impulse towards liturgical directions in Rome proceeded for the most part from the Popes. We are told that Pope Hormisdas (514-523) instructed his clergy in the psalms.¹ We are not told whether this statement is to be interpreted as referring to psalmody as well, and its authenticity cannot be verified: We have only one further document concerning the action of the Popes in the matter of Church music in the 5th and 6th centuries; it is the anonymous narrative of a Frankish monk who stayed in Rome and collected information on the

¹ *Liber Pontif. I*, 269 (*ed. Duchesne*): ‘Clerum composit et psalmis erudit.’

state of the liturgy and liturgical chant.¹ He expresses himself only in general terms and uses almost the same words about all the Popes of whom he speaks; so he and his informants can have had scarcely more than a vague knowledge of past events. For this reason it is advisable to accept his narrative only so far as it is supported by other documents.

He states that 'the holy Pope Damasus with the support of S. Jerome introduced the liturgical Order of Jerusalem into the Roman Church.' It is an ancient tradition that Pope Damasus (366-384) turned his attention to the Roman liturgy. No less an authority than Pope Gregory the Great, as we have seen, testifies that the *Alleluia* was added to the Roman Mass by Damasus at the instance of his liturgical adviser Jerome. From his sojourn in Bethlehem Jerome was familiar with the liturgical practices of the East. Equally well known is the revision of the text of Holy Scripture by Jerome at Damasus' request, which the latter authorised for official use shortly before his death in 383. As was remarked on page 22, it is possible that the Council in Rome in 382, at which several Eastern Bishops were present, made the Romans acquainted with antiphonal psalmody. If this hypothesis be correct, then the pontificate of Damasus marks the beginning of the glorious history of the Roman Church music. Some ritualists have even asserted that Damasus regulated the whole of the Roman liturgy,² just as the first organization of the Milanese liturgy is attributed to Ambrose, and the Greek to Basil.

'After him,' says the anonymous monk, 'Pope Leo (440-461) arranged the chant for the Church's year, and composed important liturgical works. Anyone who refused to accept and honour them all, without exception, was excommunicated.' These statements, so far as the music is concerned, cannot be corroborated, as there is no other document upon the subject extant.

'Next Pope Gelasius (492-496) in like manner composed music for the whole ecclesiastical year, besides canonical (liturgical) writings, after an assemblage of a great many priests at the see of the holy Apostle Peter.' This assembly of clergy in Rome under the presidency of the Pope must be meant for the Council of Damasus. Nothing else is recorded of the activity of Gelasius in regard to ecclesiastical chant, but the Liturgy is indebted to him for considerable augmentation. At least the Sacramentary

¹ *Anonymus de prandii monachorum, qualiter monasteriis in Romana ecclesia constitutis est consuetudo* (*Patr. Lat. cxxxvij*, 1347); cf. Batiffol, *Breviaire*, 349.

² So Probst. *Die ält. Röm. Sacramentarien und Ordines* (Münster 1892), p. 82, and Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, 139.

in use in Rome and Gaul before the introduction of the Gregorian liturgy is named after him.¹ It is not impossible that some sort of organization of Church music accompanied his arrangement of the Mass. There certainly existed in Italy, and in Spain and Gaul as well, before the reforms of Gregory, a liturgical chant which was supplanted by the Gregorian Reform, just as was the case with the Gelasian Sacramentary.

Further, our author mentions Popes Symmachus (498-514), John (523-526) and Boniface (530-532): each of them, he says, arranged a course of chant for the whole year (*cantus annalis* or *cantilena anni circuli*). But in view of their short term of Office one can scarcely believe that these Popes were directly occupied with Church music.

Gregory the Great is mentioned as the last Pope but one, and to him 'a famous chant for the whole ecclesiastical year' is ascribed; Martin is the last Pope mentioned. In conclusion the author names several abbots as having been composers of a *cantus annalis*, viz. Catalenus, Maurianus and Virbonus. Of the two first we are told that they were abbots of S. Peter's. This is worthy of note, for it was from the cloisters at S. Peter's that the Gregorian Choir-school was recruited by preference.

The pith of the Frankish monk's narrative is, perhaps, that the Popes from Damasus to Martin greatly assisted the development of the Roman liturgy, and that, when the main lines of the Mass and Office were set in order, the papal singers also arranged and settled the music of the Church. This development continued for more than two centuries and a half. It would be a gain to discover more about the date of these abbots of S. Peter's. If they were contemporary with Gregory, this statement would harmonize with the tradition which ascribes the arrangement of the Roman ecclesiastical chant to this Pope.

This tradition concerns one of the most important sides of the history of Plainsong, and it requires detailed treatment.

A. THE GREGORIAN TRADITION

There is a tradition more than a thousand years old, which ascribes to Gregory I, who was Pope 590-604, the order of Mass and Divine Service with the chant belonging to it, which in the course of the Middle Ages from the 7th century onwards supplanted all others, and is, in all essentials, the one accepted to-day. It is usually expressed by such designations

¹ Probst. *I.c.* p. 143 foll.

as 'Gregorian Sacramentary,' one which was very often used in the Middle Ages, and '*Officium Gregorianum*,' but more especially '*Antiphonarium S. Gregorii*, i. e. the whole collection of liturgical music, and 'Gregorian chant.' Thus, according to tradition, the groundwork of the whole Roman liturgy of the present day goes back to Gregory I.

During the whole of the Middle Ages no one doubted this tradition. Pierre Gussanville was the first to do so in 1675.¹ Half a century later Georg von Eckhart² (1729) thought it referred to Gregory II. (715-731). In our time the question has been treated afresh, in a sense unfavourable to the tradition, by Gevaert, who pronounces it in favour of Gregory II or III. (731-741). His work³ excited interest and caused others to step forward with the results of their inquiries, such as Morin,⁴ Cagin,⁵ Brambach,⁶ and Frere.⁷ Gevaert finding himself unsupported by a single competent investigator, returned to the subject in 1895.⁸ It has now had sufficient light thrown upon it from all sides, and may be considered for the present as settled. Gevaert has re-awakened a marked interest in a period of the history of plainsong that was hitherto obscure: the result has been to strengthen the tradition, so that it has now taken the rank of an historical fact, according to the conclusion reached by Belgian, French, German and English investigators.

The authors of the Middle Ages, such as S. Aldhelm (†709), Pope Hadrian I. (772-795), Alcuin⁹ and many others, testify that Pope Gregory

¹ Gussanville edited the works of Gregory in 1675. On his attitude towards the Gregorian tradition cf. Tommasi, *I. c. xi, praef. II.*

² *De rebus Franciae orientalis* (Würzburg, 1729), p. 718.

³ *Les origines du chant liturgique de l'Eglise Latine*, Ghent, 1890.

⁴ *Les véritables origines du chant Grégorien* 1890 (*Revue Bénédictine*, Maredsous, afterwards published as an independent work there in the same year).

⁵ *Un mot sur l'Antiphonale Missarum*, Solesmes, 1890.

⁶ *Gregorianisch*. Leipzig, 1895 (2nd edition 1901). See also an interesting treatise, discussing the whole question with logical exactness, *De origine cantus Gregoriani Theses xx* in the *Kathol. Kirchensänger* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1896), No. 7.

⁷ In the Introduction to the *Graduale Sarisburicense* of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1894.

⁸ *La Mélopée antique dans le chant de l'Eglise Latine*, Ghent, 1895.

⁹ (*Patr. Lat. ci*, 266 foll.) Pope Hadrian's witness has reference to the Gregorian Sacramentary: 'Sed et sancta et apostolica ecclesia ab ipso sancto *Gregorio Papa ordinem missarum, solemnitatum, orationum suscipiens* etc (*Patr. Lat. xcviij*, 1252). A generation earlier Egbert, Archbishop of York (732-766), says in his *Institutio Catholica*: 'Nos autem in ecclesia Anglorum idem primi mensis jejunium, ut noster didascalus *Gregorius* in suo *Antiphonario* et *Missali libro* per Paedagogum nostrum

edited the Sacramentary : and for this reason the Mass-books introduced into France under Pipin and Charles the Great are called Gregorian Sacramentaries to distinguish them from the earlier Gelasian books.

Gregory's Order of the Mass was not concerned with Low Masses, the *Missae Peculiares*, which continued to rest as they had previously done, even in Rome, on the Gelasian Sacramentary. It consisted, for convenience sake, of three separate parts : *Proprium de Tempore*, *Proprium de Sanctis*, and the *Missae & Orationes communes*. These three books Gregory combined into one for the purpose of the Roman Stational Masses.¹ The *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* was consequently compiled for the stational services, and was originally suited only to them ; it was only later on that it was revised in Gaul to suit non-Roman conditions. This stational service was the general official service in Rome, and was solemnly celebrated in some Basilica or other church duly selected and announced beforehand. The other churches of the city were represented at it by their delegates. The people used to assemble in a different church, and, after a short prayer, went in solemn procession with singing and prayers to the church of the Station in order to be present at the Mass of the Pope or his deputy.² Gregory made new arrangements for this rite, and compiled the Masses necessary for the stational services from the Gelasian and also perhaps from new sources.

The Office also owes its arrangement to the same Pope, according to a well-attested tradition. Amalaricus (1st half of the 9th century) who, having been on the spot, was personally familiar with the Roman use, calls Gregory 'the pre-eminent regulator of the clerical Office.' He ascribes to him the organization of the psalmody of the Office.³ His contemporary,

Augustinum transmisit ordinatum et rescriptum' etc. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxix, 441). The tradition that Gregory I. was the composer of the Mass-book was specially current in England because it was he who sent Augustine with forty monks for the evangelization of England, and gave him the necessary liturgical books. As we have already seen, Gregory shews in his own writings that he effected changes in the Mass in regard to the *Kyrie* and *Alleluia*. These points formed part of his arrangement of the Mass : but his defence dealt only with these details because it was on account of them that he was attacked.

¹ Johannes Diaconus, *Vita Gregorii II*, 17 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxv, 94). ² Cf. above, p. 66.

³ Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta* (Paris 1723), 93. Morin, *l.c.* 18 : 'quorum Gregorius inter caetera quibus provexit ecclesiam, clericalis officii maximus enituit institutor.' And later : 'Necdum tamen tum temporis (S. Benedicti) totus ordo psallentium in Psalterio et Antiphonario ad liquidum in ordinem redactum fuerat, quod postea Gregorius Papa . . . studiosissime ordinavit institutione S. Spiritus.' And again : 'nec vituperandi sunt, sed potius laudandi, qui gregorianum tenent morem.'

Hildemar, bears witness to the existence of this tradition in North Italy.¹ The oldest MSS. of the Office bear the name of this Pope at the beginning.² Finally, it is agreed that the rich collection of melodies which forms the bulk of the Roman Office book was certainly extant about 600: it therefore follows that the order of the Office itself cannot be later than Gregory I. Some alterations were carried out later; but just as we still possess the Missal and Breviary of the Council of Trent in spite of the festivals which have since been introduced, so the medieval Roman Office is Gregorian.

The medieval Mass and Offices are very richly endowed with chant; according to the tradition, S. Gregory did not compose the melodies of the Mass and Offices, but either arranged them himself or had them arranged. This tradition is not at all improbable, for an arrangement of the Church music was the necessary result of the liturgical measures of the Pope. The Gregorian Sacramentary and chant-book mutually control one another. The liturgical Order was incomplete without the chant, for then, as now, there were no solemn Masses or Offices without chant. Moreover, in the Middle Ages the liturgical singers stood in a much more intimate relation to the Altar than in later times. High and Low Masses are distinguished from one another to-day only by fuller provision of ceremonies and music; in both the minister is bound to say the words of the chants, and it makes no difference whether or not a choir sings them also; moreover the same thing applies to the parts sung at the Altar by others than the celebrant, such as the Gospel etc. It was otherwise in the Middle Ages. Then the sung parts had their place only in the Solemn Mass (Low Mass had originally no Introits, no Offertory etc.); moreover they belonged to the choir alone, and the Sacramentary contained none of them, neither the chorus nor the solo parts; all listened to the latter, even the celebrant, so that the action was interrupted for the time. The medieval choir possessed liturgical functions, and that in no small degree: in a certain sense the celebrant and choir shared in the celebration, for each had his own task, which belonged to him and was not to be performed by the other. In these days the choir no longer has its special liturgical work: it is rather an adjunct to the celebration than an integral part of it. The part rendered by the singers at the Altar is to a certain extent non-essential, since the celebrant must always say the words of the chants himself.

¹ Hildemar (c. 840), who spent the greater part of his life in Milan and Brescia, says in his exposition of the Benedictine Rule: 'Maxime cum b. Gregorius, qui dicitur Romanum officium fecisse, regulam Benedicti laudavit.' Morin, *l. c.* p. 14.

² E.g. the one printed in *Patr. Lat.* lxxvijj, the S. Gall Antiphoner of Hartker (*Cod. 390-391*), and others. Cf. also Bäumer, *Breviergeschichte*, pp. 203 foll.

From this intimate relation between Altar and Choir we can understand that the reform of the Liturgy involved a reform of the liturgical chant; and even apart from the witness of the writers, one would be almost compelled to derive the arrangement of the chant from that of the Liturgy.¹ Thus the Gregorian tradition is well supported by internal and external evidence. The best known external testimony is the statement of John the Deacon, who wrote the life of Gregory the Great about 870. His account, which was intended for liturgical lessons in the Office,² says that Gregory compiled the *Cento Antiphonarius*, and founded or reorganized the *Schola Cantorum*, the celebrated Song-school in Rome, endowing it with two houses. At the time of John many memorials were preserved of his active connexion with the *Schola*, especially his authentic Antiphoner, his own copy of the book of chant. Gevaert rejects the witness of John the Deacon as unworthy of credit, because it was written nearly 300 years after Gregory's death. It is true that the biographer of Gregory relates an anecdote about the fate of Gregorian chant in Germany, France and England, in the interest of the Roman singers: but in this he was the victim of the singers to whom he went for information. In other respects his work gives quite another impression.³ He says himself that he obtained the particulars of the Saint's life from the papal archives by order of John VIII (872-882), to

¹ This connexion of Sacramentary and Antiphoner was especially emphasized by Brambach in his papers in the *Kath. Kirchensänger*. Gevaert, at the very beginning of the discussion aroused by him, dealt with this connexion,—which is not favourable to his view of the origin of the Music,—as though it were of secondary importance. It is not easy to say when the custom arose for the Celebrant to recite the text of the musical parts at Low Mass. It is certainly connected with the adoption of the Gregorian Mass-book for the *Missa privata* and with the compilation of the *Missale plenarium*. In the *Constitutions* of William of Hirschau (11th century) it is prescribed in the 86th chapter:—‘De missa privata, quomodo sit cantanda, i.e. legenda: inde missam incipiens totum cantum, qui ad eum pertinet, pro edicto patrum nostrorum magis legit in directum, quam audeat cantare’ (*Patr. Lat. cl. 1015*). The term *cantare* is very generally used also of the *Missa privata*. Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 355.

² *Vita S. Gregorii Magni*, II, 6 (*Patr. Lat. lxxv, 90*): ‘Deinde in domo Domini, mores sapientissimi Salomonis, propter musicae compunctionem dulcedinis, Antiphonarium centonem, *cantorum studiosissimus*, nimis utiliter compilavit. *Scholam quoque cantorum*, quae haec tenus eiusdem institutionibus in sancta Romana ecclesia modulatur, constituit: eique cum nonnullis praediis duo habitacula, scilicet alterum sub gradibus basilicae beati Petri apostoli, alterum vero sub Lateranensis patriarchii domibus fabricavit, ubi usque hodie lectus eius, in quo recubans modulabatur, et flagellum ipsius, quo pueris minabatur, veneratione congrua cum authentico Antiphonario reservatur.’

³ Brambach, *Gregorianisch.* p. 14 foll.

whom it was dedicated, and that he always adhered to that as his authority. John the Deacon is no exaggerator; at any rate it is clear from his story that about the year 870 the Roman *Schola Cantorum* dated its existence back to Gregory I. and ascribed the editing of the chant-book to him as well. If the biographer of Gregory were the only one to tell us of this, it might be said that John merely repeated legends. But there are earlier witnesses to the work of this Pope, and John the Deacon invented nothing. Pope Leo IV. (847-855) in a letter to the Abbot Honoratus, who held office near Rome, speaks of the Gregorian origin of the chant as beyond all question. He blames the Abbot because he did not accept the chant which had originated from Pope Gregory and was sung almost everywhere, and also because he did not follow the rites established by Gregory in other liturgical matters. In this letter¹ the tradition of the Apostolic See is laid down; and the Pope in the person of Leo IV. threatened anyone who rejected it with excommunication.² This testimony alone would suffice to prove the historical character of the tradition to any but obstinate critics.

In the first half of the 9th century the Gregorian tradition is attested by Walafrid Strabo (807-849), who mentions Gregory's liturgical and musical reforms in the same breath,³ and by his contemporary Amalarius,

¹ See Morin, *L. c.* p. 10, whose excellent and conclusive statement I follow in all particulars. The Pope's words run thus: 'Res una valde incredibilis auribus nostris insonuit . . . id est cum dulcedinem Gregoriani carmi. is, cum sua quam in ecclesia traditione canendi legendique ordinavit et tradidit, in tantum perosam habeatis, ut in omnibus in huiusmodi ratione non tantum ab hac proxima sede, sed et ab omni pene occidentali ecclesia . . . dissentias. Quae cunctae ecclesiae cum tanta aviditate et amore arduo praedictam traditionem Gregorii acceperunt . . . Qui plane sanctissimus papa Gregorius . . . edidit et sonum iam dictum . . . Idcirco sub excommunicationis interpositione praecipimus, ut nequaquam aliter quam et S. Papa Gregorius tradidit et nos tenemus, in lectione et modulatione peragatis.' This is, as far as I know, the first time that the expression *Carmen Gregorianum* (Gregorian Chant) is used: it is interesting that it should come from the mouth of a Pope.

² Probst, *Die ältesten Röm. Sacramentarien und Ordines*. p. 302.

³ 'Traditur denique beatum Gregorianum, sicut ordinationem missarum et consecrationem, ita etiam cantilenae disciplinam maxima ex parte in eam, quae hactenus quasi decentissima observatur, dispositionem perduxisse, sicut et in capite Antiphonarii commemoratur' (*Patr. Lat.* cxiv, 948). This note refers to the chants of the Mass; there is a second referring to those of the Office: 'Ordinem autem cantilenae diurnis seu nocturnis horis dicendae beatus Gregorius plenaria creditur ordinatione distribuisse' (*Patr. Lat.* cxiv, 956). This also Gevaert tries to invalidate (by laying stress on the words *traditur* and *creditur*) on the ground that it depends only upon a legend. But then Gregory's reform of the Mass must be in like case, for the word *traditur* refers to

who actively forwarded Gregory's work.¹ To the 8th century belongs Pope Hadrian I. (772-795), who, in a prologue to the Gradual, which was written to be sung before Mass on the 1st Sunday in Advent, ascribes the origin of the chant-book to a *Praesul Gregorius*.² From the first half of the 8th century comes the testimony of Egbert, Archbishop of York (732-766), who speaks of the *Liber Antiphonarius* which Pope Gregory gave to Augustine when he sent him forth to christianize England.³

The strongest testimony to the Gregorian tradition belongs to the 7th century, at the beginning of which Gregory I. died. The Venerable Bede, the historian of the English Church, born c. 670, who was in an unique position for setting forth the historical facts accurately and truthfully, mentions two men *not hitherto noticed, but worthy of a decisive place in the controversy*, men who were concerned with ecclesiastical chant, and of whom one was adorned with the honour of episcopacy. Bede praises Putta, Bishop of Rochester, who died in 688, for his knowledge of the *Roman Chant which he had learnt from the pupils of S. Gregory*.⁴ The Gregory here mentioned can of course be no other than Gregory I., for

it also. Besides, how would it be possible to acquire any knowledge of history at all, if everything were to be regarded as fable which 'is handed down'?

¹ Cf. above, p. 170. Oddly enough, in many of the MSS. of his works everything which attests the Gregorian origin of the Roman liturgy and music has been suppressed by those who opposed Amalarius as the man who always and everywhere furthered the Roman use, i. e. by the Lyons School of Agobard and Florus, which was unwilling to give up its older customs. Only a few MSS. have the unshortened text.

² A prologue of this kind appears in five forms of varying length. The shortest is
 'Gregorius praesul meritis et nomine dignus,
 Unde genus dicit, sumnum concendit honorem;
 Renovavit monumenta patrum priorum : tunc
 Composuit hunc libellum musicae artis
 Scholae cantorum anni circuli : Ad te levavi' etc.

This form is probably that of Hadrian. But all five begin with the two lines *Gregorius praesul* and *Unde genus dicit*: the last in particular suits Gregory I. a. one: one of his ancestors was the Pope Felix, to whom Gregory himself refers (*Dialog. iv*, 16): he thus enters upon a kind of family inheritance, 'Unde genus dicit, sumnum concendit honorem.' Gevaert at first thought that the superintendance of the editing of the chant-book of the Mass was the work of the Syrian Pope, Gregory III. († 741). But this is impossible, for one cannot suppose that Hadrian, who became Pope in 772 and was alive under Gregory III., had a piece sung which praised Gregory I. as the author of a work which he must have known proceeded from Gregory III.

³ In the passage of his *De Institutione Catholica* quoted above (p. 169). Gevaert gets rid of this passage by declaring it to be an interpolation.

⁴ Beda, *Hist. Eccl. iv*, 2, at the end: 'Maxime autem modulandi in Ecclesia more Romanorum, quem a discipulis b. Papae Gregorii didicerat, peritum' (*Patr. Lat. xciv*, 175).

Gregory II. did not ascend the throne till long after Putta's death (715). Under Bishop Acca of Hexham, who died in 709, a singer named Maban was employed, who 'had been instructed by the successors of the pupils of S. Gregory in Kent.'¹ This notice also makes it impossible to ascribe the ordering of the Roman ecclesiastical chant to any other Gregory than the first, and, together with what has been already quoted, forms an argument not hitherto properly appreciated, but all the more important, both for the existence of the Gregorian tradition in the 7th century, as well as for its truth. Moreover Gregory's liturgical reform concerned the Church at Rome only: he had no intention of providing an order to serve for the whole Church. Uniformity with regard to the Liturgy and Church music was not attempted until the time of the Carolingians, and then it was not the Popes who took the lead in it, but civil rulers, Pipin and Charles the Great. In Italy, even in the neighbourhood of Rome, the older chant survived. Only by degrees did that of Gregory prevail in Italy, as we see from the writings of Leo IV. It is natural that the oldest proofs of the organizing activity of Gregory in the province of the Liturgy and Church music should come from English and Frankish sources. The Anglo-Saxons became acquainted with his reforms in his lifetime, and the Franks under Pipin and Charles.

It is far from true that Gregory's zeal for Church music is only attested by his biographers who wrote in the 2nd half of the 9th century: on the contrary, it is attested wherever it could have been known: the writings of the Venerable Bede in particular take us back even to the century of the death of Gregory I. Therefore it is no exaggeration to assert, that few historical facts are confirmed by such important and direct proofs as S. Gregory's activity in the matter of Church music.

These quotations do not represent the whole proof of Gregory's work: it contains in itself unequivocal evidence of its origin.

B. THE 'ANTIPHONARIUS CENTO'

This is the phrase used by John the Deacon to denote the book of chant which had come down from Gregory. 'Antiphoner' denotes generally a book of Church music, for the Antiphons occupy the principal part of it. *Cento* is a Low-Latin word, meaning 'patch-work,' 'combination' or

¹ *Ib. xcv, 270*: 'Qui a successoribus discipulorum b. Gregorii Papae in Cantia fuerat cantandi sonos edocetus.'

'compilation.' Consequently *Antiphonarius Cento* means a book of Church chant compiled and put together from various sources. Such an expression from the lips of John the Deacon is very striking. If he were indeed an exaggerator or a mere frivolous retailer of legends which had been foisted on him, one would expect that he would at least declare Pope Gregory to be the composer of the ecclesiastical chant. But he does not do this : he gives his hero much slighter praise when he only says of him that he collected the chants into a *Cento*; he says nothing of his having been the actual composer of them himself. This vouches for the truth of the report which he had derived from the tradition of the Roman singers.

But it is a significant circumstance that the Gregorian Antiphoner is actually a *Cento*. It is not one complete work governed from beginning to end by one idea, but a compilation in which one can still recognize the different *strata*, resting one above another. This may be proved by the analysis of our oldest Manuscripts.

The 'authentic Antiphoner' of which John the Deacon speaks has not yet been discovered. Our oldest MSS. of the liturgical chant with musical signs date from the 9th century. For the Mass-book indeed we have MSS. of the 8th century. One comes from the Monastery of Rheinau and is now in the Cantonal Library at Zürich.¹ Another is the Gradual

¹ The Rheinau Gradual occupies the first 13 leaves of *Cod. xxx* of the Zürich Cantonal Library. It begins with the *verso* of the first leaf; unhappily there is a gap after leaf 12. Leaf 12 concludes with the opening of the Gradual *Protector noster aspice Deus* of the 12th Sunday after Trinity, and leaf 13 begins with the words *templi habens thuribulum* of the Offertory of the *Dedicatio S. Michaelis*. Thus the texts of the Offertory and Communion of the 12th Sunday, and all the texts of the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th Sundays after Trinity, including the Introit, Gradual and the beginning of the Offertory of the feast of S. Michael, are missing : besides, probably, the texts of the Ember days of September. After leaf 13 also at least one leaf is missing, as leaf 13 *verso* concludes with the opening of the All. *Qui sanat* of the 23rd Sunday after Trinity. If the MS. is compared with others of the oldest Chant-books, it is easy to see that it represents an abbreviation of a Roman original. Only a couple of feasts of Saints figure in it ; all the others are left out. I have compared the original with the reproduction by Gerbert in *Monumenta liturg. Aleman.* I, 362 foll., and can correct the following errors. (a) In the Offert. *Benedictus es Domine* (Quinquagesima) the opening passage *Benedictus es Domine, doce me iustificationes tuas* stands twice. Gerbert (*l.c.* p. 372) has printed it only once, probably because he supposed it to be an error of the writer, who certainly is not always very careful. (b) Gerbert (p. 376) gives no psalm-verse to the Intr. *Oculi mei* (3rd Sunday in Lent), but in the MS. may be clearly read *Psalm. Ad te Domine*. (c) In the 7th. *Liberator meus* of the Gradual *Eripe me Domine* (5th Sunday

of Monza, but it only contains the solos during Mass, and is consequently a *Cantatorium*.¹ Strangely enough neither of these MSS. has notes, but only the text; still we cannot conclude from this that liturgical notation was not yet known. But though we are not in possession of the 'authentic Antiphoner' of Gregory, we are none the less in a position to reconstruct it from the oldest MSS. which have come down to us, by taking away all that was added to the Liturgy after Gregory's time. A task of this kind can be accomplished on historical lines if we may assume that the Gregorian chant was not substantially altered before the 9th century, the time of our oldest noted MSS. This however is shewn to be true by the writings quoted of Pope Leo IV., who by his papal authority assigned the chant then current in Rome to Gregory I. This excludes the possibility of any important change in the 7th and 8th centuries. Consequently the books which have been preserved to us of the 9th century give us the chant of S. Gregory.

As regards the music of the Mass, W. H. Frere has undertaken a reconstruction of the Gregorian Chant-book from a MS. of the British Museum of the beginning of the 13th century.² It is very instructive to investigate the text of the Gregorian nucleus which remains over when the demonstrably later additions have been taken away. As the chants of the *Ordinarium Missae* have developed differently from the variable ones of the *Proprium*, and were not originally entrusted to the choir, we must not expect to find them in the oldest MSS. Nor are they in Gregory's Antiphoner. Moreover the *Temporale*—which we now

in Lent) the MS. has not the words *iracundis : ab insurgentibus*, which Gerbert prints (p. 379). (d) At Wednesday in Holy Week, after the Intr. *In nomine Domini*, Gerbert gives $\ddot{\text{V}}$ *seu psalmus*; in the MS. there is only $\ddot{\text{V}}$. (e) The psalm-verse opening *Domine probasti me* to the Easter Introit Gerbert has printed in small type (p. 383), like the additions from the 12th century Gradual of S. Blasien, from which he filled up gaps in his edition of the Rheinau MS. But they stand in *Grad. Rhenaug.* (f) In the Intr. *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* (3rd Sunday after Easter) Gerbert has omitted the words *date gloriam laudi eius, alleluia* before the two last Alleluias. (g) The Intr. *Factus est Dominus* (2nd Sunday after Pentecost) concludes in the MS. with *salvum me fecit, quoniam voluit me*, not as in Gerbert, *salvum me fac propter misericordiam tuam*. (h) In the Gradual *Fuit homo missus a Deo* (Vigil of S. John the Baptist) the verse begins, as in all MSS., with *Ut testimonium*, not with *Hic venit* as Gerbert gives (p. 390), in accordance with the later revision.

¹ Printed by Tommasi, *l.c.* xij, p. 214.

² In the Introduction to the *Graduale Sarisburiense*. Mr. Frere's treatise is one which it is a great pleasure to study, and gives an insight into a number of very important questions concerning the history of the Liturgy and of the liturgical chant.

call the *Proprium de Tempore*,—and the *Sanctorale*—now the *Proprium de Sanctis*—were combined. Each Saint's-day stood at the place in the book assigned to it according to the course of the Church's year—*i.e.* among the Festivals of our Lord. Only since the 12th century have the Saints' days been separated from the *Temporale* and put together as a special section. And even still the Missals and Graduals testify, as do the corresponding books for the Office, that these were originally combined, for the separation is not carried out strictly. The feasts of S. Stephen, S. John the Evangelist and the Holy Innocents are in the *Proprium de Tempore*, but all the other Saints-days are in the *Proprium de Sanctis*. Moreover in A.D. 600 there was no *Commune Sanctorum*; the chants were specially indicated for each festival, or written out again entire, even though they had appeared already in the earlier part of the book. In the 12th century the constant repetition of the same texts and melodies led to the creation of the *Commune*; the chants for the various classes of Saints,—Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors etc.,—were written together, so that for each individual feast of one of these classes nothing but a reference to the *Commune* was necessary, unless indeed it possessed special chants of its own.¹

The Gregorian Chant-book of the Mass was thus all in one piece, and the music was arranged for the course of the Church's year, just like the S. Gall MS. 339, from which the text of the music given in the Appendix of this book is taken.

The *Cento*-character of the Gregorian Chant-book of the Mass becomes apparent as soon as the text is subjected to a closer inspection. The oldest constituent part of the book comprises the feasts in honour of the events of the Gospel history and of the earliest Roman Saints. For

¹ The vigil-Mass of the Apostles was originally the vigil-Mass of S. John Evangelist: for the Mass of the day pieces were taken from the Masses of SS. Simon and Jude, and SS. Peter and Paul. The chants for the Masses of the Evangelists come from the Mass of S. Matthew with the exception of the Gradual. The *Commune unius Martyris* is chiefly compiled from the vigil-Mass of S. John Baptist, the Masses of SS. Vincent, Valentine, Vitalis, George and Gorgonius. The *Commune plurimorum Martyrum* is derived from the Masses of the Holy Innocents, SS. Felix and Adauctus, Fabian and Sebastian, Hippolytus, Cyriacus, John and Paul, Gervasius and Protasius, Nereus and Achilles, perhaps also from those of SS. Cyrinus, Processus and Martinianus, Marcellinus and Petrus, Timotheus and Symphorianus. The *Commune unius Confessoris et Pontificis* comes especially from the Masses of SS. Silvester, Marcellus and Sixtus; the *Commune unius Confessoris et Abbatis* from the Mass of S. Eusebius; and finally the *Commune Virginum* from the Masses of the B. V. M. on Jan. 1st, and of SS. Pudentiana, Sabina, Agnes and Cecilia. The tables in the Appendix of this book contain all the material requisite for testing this explanation of the origin of the *Commune*.

these texts are chosen from the Scriptures, especially from the Psalms which directly allude to the feast. See the texts for Easter and Whitsuntide, Christmas, the feasts of SS. Peter and Paul, and S. John Baptist. Feasts of non-Roman origin have the texts of the Church from which they come : for instance the Introit *Gaudeteamus omnes* for the feast of S. Agatha is taken from the Sicilian Church, in which the *cultus* of the Martyr originated.¹ If the feast comes from the Greek Church, it has chants of which the texts are translated from the Greek (*cf.* p. 45). The want of uniformity in the arrangement of the texts is striking if we compare the different kinds of chants with one another. For some Masses the texts are all taken from the same source : *e.g.* the texts of the Mass of the B. V. M. on Jan 1st are from Psalm 44, those of the first Sunday in Lent from Psalm 90; but these are exceptional. The rule is that the words of one and the same Mass are of varying origin.

If we summarize the results of investigations made as to the origin of the texts of the Mass in *Cod. 339*, the following table is obtained :

THE MASS CHANTS IN THE CODEX OF S. GALL NO. 339

	From the Psalter	From other books of the Bible	Non-Biblical	Total
Introits	102	41	6	149
Graduals	104	13	1	118
Alleluias	70	14	11	95
Tracts	17	3	—	20
Offertories	82	16	4	102
Communions	64	80	3	147
Total	439	167	25	631

Out of the 631 chants of the Mass, the texts of 606 are taken from Holy Scripture and of 439 from the Psalter. Thus even in the Middle Ages the Bible remained the liturgical Chant-book, and this title is especially appropriate to the Psalter in particular. The number of texts taken from outside sources is relatively inconsiderable. The preponderance of Holy Scripture increases, if we disregard the Masses introduced for the first

¹ Perhaps this text also is a translation from the Greek. *Cf.* above, p. 61.

time after Gregory's death: *e.g.* the Mass of the Holy Trinity, which dates from the 9th century, and that of the Dedication. The latter Mass is the only one in which the text of the Gradual is not biblical; and thus we have the interesting result that in the book of chant, as it came from the hand of Gregory, *all the more ancient solos of the Mass, Graduals as well as Tracts, without exception had biblical texts.* Up to the time of Gregory the liturgical soloists had only the Bible in their hands. This fact not only attests the relationship which has been already asserted between the Gradual and the Tract, but it proves also,—what is of importance to us,—that the choice of the texts of the solos in the Mass was made according to one system and in compliance with an established tradition. Thus in the Gregorian *Cento Antiphonarius* the solo Graduals and Tracts form a special self-contained group.

Essentially different from this class are the remaining sets of Mass-chants. They are chosen from other points of view. As was explained in detail and shown by the above table, the non-biblical words are here more numerous: moreover books of the Bible other than the Psalter come more to the front.¹ If we compare the Graduals and Introits together we find that they are compiled on different principles. The oldest feasts have Psalm-Graduals, but Introits from other books of Holy Scripture. The order of the Introits and Graduals is thus not of the same date: that of the latter is certainly older than that of the former. For the Communions the majority of the words are taken from other biblical books than the Psalms: we have seen that the Gospels of the Mass influenced the choice of the texts of the Communions. No other class of the Mass-chants was influenced by such a consideration, and thus the Communion-texts form another *stratum* in the *Cento Antiphonarius*. No reference is made to the Gradual and the other chants of the Mass, not even to the Offertory, and so we are compelled to assume that the different chants of one and the same Mass are not all contemporary, but that the various classes of chant were fixed at different times. As the knowledge of liturgical history progresses, no doubt much more light will be thrown in detail on the superimposed *strata* of the Gregorian Chant-book. Specially noticeable is the arrangement of the texts according to the numerical order of the Psalms. This represents the latest work done upon the Chant-book. Examine the Communions of the week days of Lent.² Beginning with Ash Wednesday their texts are taken from Psalms 1 to 26: exceptions are

¹ For the following statement compare the tables in the Appendix of this book.

² Cf. Cagin, *Un mot sur l'Antiphonale Missarum*, p. 14 foll.

made by the Saturday before the 1st Sunday in Lent, which is passed over, and the Thursdays. The latter interrupt the course, which jumps from Wednesday to Friday. Moreover instead of Psalms 12, 16, 17, 20 and 21 there stand texts taken from the Gospels of the days in question. It is clear that the system following the order of the Psalms was already in existence when the Thursdays received their Masses. As this happened under Gregory II. (715-731), it follows that that system and the whole Order of the Mass to which it belongs was earlier than his time. Moreover these Communions form a separate *stratum* in the Gregorian *Cento*, for their arrangement follows laws which are disregarded in the text of the other chants of the Mass. An arrangement of this kind on a larger scale appears in the text of the Sundays after Pentecost, from the 1st to the 17th, not merely in the Introits where the plan is carried out without exception, but also in the Offertories and Communions, where occasionally texts from other books of the Bible interrupt the order of the Psalms. After the 17th Sunday this arrangement is quite abandoned, and one is led to the conclusion that these two groups of Sundays did not receive their texts at the same time. The first however, which was doubtless the later in date, was already incorporated in the Chant-book when the Thursdays in Lent received their Masses under Gregory II, for it provided them with the greatest number of their chants.

The sets of Graduals for the Sundays after Pentecost are peculiar : there is one which follows the arrangement of the bulk of the Chant-book; and there is another which joins on to the arrangement which prevails in the Introit, Offertory and Communion of the same day. The latter series must be a later re-arrangement, made in order to bring the whole set of chants for the Sundays after Pentecost into the system that follows the numerical order of the Psalms. It never won its place; all MSS. except two follow the older series. But the existence of a cycle of Graduals which is not constructed like the other sets of Mass-chants again proves that the chants for the Sundays after Pentecost were not originally fixed at the same time : again we have two *strata* different in design and therefore not contemporary.

Thus the *Cento* character of the Gregorian Chant-book of the Mass is proved beyond doubt by a comparison of its constituent parts. John the Deacon was quite right when he called it a compilation. It is difficult to say for certain how many generations have worked at it. Side by side with later parts, which are distinguished by a systematic observance of definite principles of arrangement, we may see older parts, the arrangement of which is certainly lost in the remote 4th and 5th centuries. But

everything added in course of time to the original plan was kept : when the plan of the Church's year had reached an almost settled state, men shrank from insisting on a strained unity which could not be attained without great inconveniences; it was preferable to retain the newly acquired arrangements side by side, partly even to combine them. Thus the book of the chant which passed together with the Gregorian Mass-book, into England, France and Germany, is no new creation, not even a new arrangement ; if it were so, many of its features would have been altered ; it is a collection and compilation of many interesting varieties—a *Cento*.

We have seen that the settlement of the chants preserved in it belongs neither to Gregory III. nor Gregory II. : it was previous to the pontificate of these two Popes. Gevaert, driven from his original position, now ascribes the organization of Church chant to the Greek Popes of the 7th century : Sergius I. (687-701), Benedict II. (684-685), Leo II. (682-683), and Agatho (678-681).¹ He relies on the statement of the *Liber Pontificalis*, according to which these Popes were brought up in the Roman Song-school and became duly qualified singers. However, it will not do to ascribe such a work to Popes who possessed the See of Peter for a short time only, and were confronted by other important tasks ; besides, the *Liber Pontificalis* only expresses itself in general terms, and also gives us to understand that in the second half of the 7th century the liturgical chant was already set in order : otherwise it could not have been taught systematically. This new hypothesis however is proved to be untenable. The investigations of Morin and Frere have demonstrated that the newly-established feasts of the 7th century have hardly any melodies of their own : they make use of already existing ones, even when they have their own new texts.² This does not show that no one was able any longer to compose new melodies, for at a still later date the Office was enriched with many new settings. The reason can only be, that the book of the music of the Mass was a complete book, and that it would have seemed unwise or presumptuous to add to it.³ Since the great festivals of the B. V. M.⁴ were introduced under Sergius I. viz : the Annunciation, Assumption and Nativity ; besides the Exaltation of Holy Cross and the Procession of Candlemas, one or other of their pieces of chant must have originated with him, or at least

¹ Gevaert, *Mélopée antique*, Introduction p. 12 foll.

² For proofs see Morin, *l.c.* 49 foll. and 73 note, Frere, *l.c.* p. 20 foll.

³ The only Mass with its own melodies which dates from the 7th century is that of the Dedication : but it is only four years later than Gregory (608). ⁴ The feast of the Purification is older and is cited in the Gradual of Monza as *Nativ. Simeonis*.

must have been composed at his request, if he had been the special promoter or organizer of the ecclesiastical chant. But the opposite is the case : all the chants of the Masses mentioned are taken from older Masses, viz. those of Advent and older feasts of virgins and martyrs. Again, the Procession of Candlemas offers us the remarkable spectacle of a simple adoption of a Greek text and melodies by the Roman Church.¹ Any organization of Church music under Sergius I. would have included these processions as well. But they stand in the Roman Chant-book solitary and like strangers. The text is half Latin and half Greek. The melody is unlike the others of Latin origin, as is specially noticeable in its tonality, which is entirely different from the Gregorian. This contrast as regards mode between the Greek chants adopted in Rome under Sergius I. and the remaining chants of the Antiphoner of the Mass would be quite inexplicable on the supposition that some sort of regulation of ecclesiastical chants had taken place under this Pope : both kinds of chants would then have been handled after the same fashion.² Consequently the organization of the liturgical chant must be older than Sergius I. : nothing remains but to place it in the time of Gregory I.

This is supported by another argument. If we open an old Gradual to-day, we find that many texts appear with two different readings. In the Mass of the first Sunday in Advent the Introit-verse begins thus : 'Vias tuas Domine *demonstra mihi*' ; whereas the Gradual begins 'Vias tuas Domine *notas fac mihi*'. Whence comes this difference? The former version is that of the *Vulgate*, and the latter that of the *Itala*. The psalm-verses of the Introits and Communions, as also the *Versus ad repetendum*, are indicated only by their first words in most Chant-books of the Mass, and are not written out in full ;³ they were sung to the eight psalm-tones which were familiar to everyone, and there existed definite rules for the adapta-

¹ Cf. above, p. 45. A few chants of the Palm Sunday Procession also belong to this class, e.g. the R^g. *Collegerunt*.

² By this fact a bright light is thrown on the question of the antiquity of the *Octoechos*, the system of the four authentic and four plagal modes. As the establishment of the liturgical melody in Rome cannot have been carried out under Sergius I., as little also can the *Octoechos* have penetrated to Rome first in his time. Its Greek origin is beyond all doubt. But as its treatment in the Greek pieces first imported into Rome in the 7th century is quite different from the older Latin ones, we must conclude that it was developed differently in the two Churches. The most natural explanation is this : that it was connected with the Antiphonal chant at the beginning, then transferred to the responsorial, but differently developed by the Latins and the Greeks.

³ Thus e.g. in *Cod. 339 S. Gall.*, *Cod. 121 Einsiedeln* and others.

tion of words to music, which every Church singer knew by heart and had learnt to use by daily experience. The text of the psalm-verses required for this choral psalmody was taken from the Psalters; but since the time of Gregory these contained the Vulgate version.¹ As early as the first half of the 7th century, Isidore of Seville says that the version of S. Jerome was better than the earlier one and was therefore already in use in all the churches. It is otherwise with the musical parts of the Mass which had melodies of their own, and were therefore written out in full from the beginning, *i.e.* the Antiphons of the Introit, the Offertory and the Communion, and the solos. They follow the version of the *Itala*.² It therefore follows that the compilation of these chants cannot have been carried out later than Gregory, or else the version of the Vulgate would have been chosen for them too.

We can express ourselves more concisely in relation to the Office, for in this case the conditions are generally simpler, and no difference of opinion exists in the main among investigators. The settlement of the chant of the Office for the Roman Church cannot have taken place after Gregory's time,—even Gevaert has proved that convincingly,³ by an investigation of the melodic forms of the Antiphons like that which Morin and Frere have applied to the Mass-chants. Still more frequently than in the chants of the Mass, one notices the use of the same melody, even for different texts, in the Antiphons of the Office. The reason of these repetitions is without doubt the necessity of enabling those who had no particular musical talent to take an active part in the chant of the Office. For the same reason, while the responsorial psalmody sometimes apportioned different melodies to single verses of the same psalm (*e.g.* the Tracts of the Mass), the verses of antiphonally sung Psalms on the contrary are always without exception provided with the same simple form. When this was arranged for music all the verses of the same psalm followed the same form. But this consideration also extended to the Antiphons, as the present Chant-book of the Office

¹ Morin p. 37.

² The question ought to be investigated more thoroughly, as it is of great importance for the chronology of the Mass chants.

³ *Mélopée antique* etc. p. 172 foll. Gevaert's theory of modes however lies under grave doubts, especially the unjustifiable connexion with the secular music (*Citharodie*), and the untenable explanation of the ancient high, low and normal forms, which he desires to discover in the music of the Antiphons. That he wrongly explains the ancient expressions, *σύντονος* and *ἀντικέντος*, Dechevrens has proved in his *Etudes de science musicale* I, p. 426 foll.

demonstrates by numerous examples.¹ Many a monk or clerk, who would have found a difficulty in intoning a new and unfamiliar Antiphon, was glad to be able to sing a melody which he knew well. Thus the frequent use of the same melody considerably facilitated the prescribed execution of the Office. The number of Antiphon melodies is therefore very small in proportion to the number of texts.

For the chronology also of the Antiphons, Gevaert has utilised these Antiphon forms, and on the whole with complete success.² Next, he has established that Antiphons whose text belongs to the Psalter are distinguished by the great simplicity of their melodies : their compass is small, while the formation of the melodies is chiefly syllabic and unadorned, without modulations into other modes. On the other hand, those texts in particular which are taken from the prophetic books are set to splendid melodies, full of fire and interesting characterization, which bring out the meaning of the words.

Of special importance is Gevaert's proof that the texts of the Antiphons which were lastly incorporated in the Office, viz. those from the *Acta Martyrum*, have not a single melody of their own : they all adopt melodies which had been set to older texts. It therefore follows that the Office-music was settled when the texts were extracted from the *Acta Martyrum*. According to Gevaert this happened shortly after Gregory I : he inferred this from an utterance of Gregory I. declaring that, apart from Eusebius' account of the Martyrs, he possessed nothing but a list of names in a book. But it is unquestionable that the *Acta Martyrum* were appropriated for liturgical purposes in the 5th and 6th centuries in Rome,³ and, even if Gregory's remark had the meaning which Gevaert gives it, nothing follows from it as to the practice of the church singers. The Rule of Stephen and Paul forbids Antiphons with their melodies to be sung which are not contained in the Canonical Scriptures : this prohibition presupposes that such Antiphons were in existence and were sung in the 6th century; only in the monasteries they were more conservative than in the secular churches.

¹ Gevaert explains these repetitions as being the effect of the old Greek *Nomos*, but we do not rightly know what the proper form of this was. It was a musical form of many parts, which may perhaps be compared with the *Sonata* or *Suite*, but in no case with the Antiphon. I suspect that Gevaert arrived at this opinion through the meaning of the word—‘Rule’, or ‘Law.’

² Unfortunately the sources which Gevaert uses for his statement of the changes in the Antiphons are mostly very obscure, and he places printed books on the same level as the MSS.

³ Bäumer, *Breviergeschichte*, 266 foll.

Consequently it is certain that about 600 the composition of Antiphons came to an end, and thus the comparative study of the chants of the Office as well as of the Mass leads in the same manner to the result that about that time *the same arrangement of Church chant was current in Rome which is the groundwork of the medieval and also of the present liturgical music.*

The Gregorian tradition is proved by this to be a historical fact. External testimony—the statements of men who had direct dealings with it—as well as more internal testimony, taken from the Chant-books, prove it to be correct. Gregory I. is the organizer of the liturgical chant in the West, and it is properly called ‘The Gregorian Chant.’

Let us try to summarize briefly Gregory’s musical reform. The decree of the year 595, by which the office of the soloist was handed over to the subdeacon or to those of minor orders, seems intended to correct abuses, and not to favour the singers. The same tendency shows itself in the rubrics of the Gregorian Sacramentary, directing the Pontiff to give the sign to the *Schola* when to stop at the Introit and Communion; as also in the abbreviation of the Mass Respond sanctioned by Gregory, because it took from the singers the possibility of prolonging the Mass beyond reasonable limits. To the same context belongs the union of the *Alleluia-jubilus* with a verse, as it is highly probable that this also goes back to Gregory. Gregory may have shortened the *jubilus*. Although he took care that the soloists should be moderate in their share of the public worship, he did not radically alter the old and hallowed forms of the Mass-chant, but preferred to unite the old chants still more closely to the Liturgy by linking them with liturgical words.¹ At any rate, in Gregory’s reform there is an unmistakeable leaning towards severity with the singers, which quite agrees with the portrait which history draws of this great man. Much light is thrown upon the intentions of the man who composed the Liturgy which still prevails to-day by his action with regard to it. Having to decide whether to re-introduce the whole responsorial psalm, as it

¹ It has at all times been the principle of the Church not simply to abolish practices which, though justifiable in their existence, might give occasion for abuses in their performance, but so to regulate them that the abuses disappeared. Thus, in spite of all opposition, it has permitted hymns not taken from Holy Scripture; thus it has honoured melismatic chant and given it a permanent abode in the Liturgy. Accordingly musicians, who in 1600 altered the *Alleluia* chants according to their subjective taste, acted neither in the spirit of the Church nor in that of the Roman liturgy; they perverted many compositions which were reckoned among the most artistic works of the Middle Ages into disconnected forms without order or symmetry, satisfactory neither to musicians nor to people of taste.

was originally, without very rich melodies, or to content himself with a single Gradual-verse, leaving untouched the florid solo passages with which the singers had ornamented it, he chose the latter course; thereby he decided in favour of the *shortening of the liturgical text*, but not of the melody, and incorporated it thus into his liturgical arrangement. Sternly anxious for the dignity of the service, and rejecting all abuses, Gregory had a wonderful feeling for the artistic structure of the whole Liturgy: he put every part in its right place, and moulded it as it best answered his purpose, but he did not fail to appreciate the beauty of a rich display of the musical art. In Gregory's liturgical arrangement the music is subordinated absolutely to the sacred action. The chants of the choir are merely hymns of accompaniment, during which the action proceeds. It is this that is supreme. On that account a melodic setting is provided which is always unobtrusive and always remains modestly in the background. It is meant to raise the soul of the Christian to heaven, so that he may be the better able to follow what is taking place at the Altar. Quite different is the liturgical situation of the solos. Nothing goes forward in the Gregorian Mass while they are being sung; they do not accompany, but have their own proper place; the Pontiff and all the clergy officiating at the Altar listen. Here the chant is placed on quite a different footing. The singer need not withhold his skill in consideration of the action,—on the contrary he is given time and opportunity to display it—the chant itself becomes the action. The author of the Liturgy has given the soloist the definite right to sing as a soloist must sing, if his rendering is to match the splendour and sublimity of the liturgical ceremonies, and if the intention is to have a soloist sing in contrast to the choir. Thus in Gregory's Order of the Mass the chant is perfectly adapted to the end in view, and all is arranged to suit the liturgical theme and its surroundings.¹

Were the melodies which, from the 7th century onward, spread gradually into all countries of the Latin Church, new compositions, or only artistic rearrangements of existing older ones? The latter supposition is the more probable one; it does not exclude the possibility that the papal

¹ How paltry in form does all later Church music seem from the point of view of the Liturgy! During a florid Kyrie now-a-days, who thinks of what the priest is saying at the Altar in the name of the Church? who thinks at the Offertory of the sublime proceedings? Does it not often seem as if the priest at the Altar had to provide the liturgical accompaniment to the beautiful music? One cannot think without regret of the unhappy circumstances which have broken the bond between the Liturgy and art. And what an unnatural thing it is to put chorus melodies into the mouth of a soloist, as the modern choir-books do!

singers, or even Gregory himself, desired new compositions. As the reform of the Liturgy of the Mass by Gregory was not a new arrangement which replaced the former rites, so we must say the same of the arrangement of the chant. Before Gregory's time there were papal singers in Rome; in fact the transformation of the responsorial music of the Mass which took place between 450 and 550 (*cf.* pp. 74 foll.) demanded a system of solo singing in the Mass which we must regard as a preparatory stage to Gregory's reform. This latter was chiefly confined to shaping the existing forms to suit a single point of view. We are led to this opinion by considering the important differences of style which characterise the Chant-book of the Mass, as well as of the Office, from beginning to end. With all its variety of expression, the melodic treatment of each Introit is essentially the same: it may be distinguished at the first glance from that of a Gradual, as well as that of a Communion from that of an Offertory. *This distinction of the different styles of chant* is so constant and so marked that it cannot be accounted for merely by the contrast between antiphonal and responsorial chant; we shall do best to regard it as the result of the Gregorian reform. It is all the more worthy of admiration because, as we have seen, the texts selected for the music are not everywhere so uniform, but, as in a true *Cento*, the different kinds of disposition are combined with one another. Their melodic treatment is carried out with a care and unity of method which puts the *Cento*-character of the book quite in the background, and even causes it to be forgotten. This is one of the most splendid aesthetic characteristics of the Gregorian Chant-book; not only is it arranged on the most adequate plan, but it compels our admiration as a work of genius, for its perfect conformity to artistic laws.¹

With the means of investigation which exist to-day one cannot definitely decide if there were written liturgical melodies before Gregory. It is not impossible, and an important ritualist has pronounced in favour of this theory.² It is only from imperfect acquaintance with liturgical history that the supposition could ever have arisen that the Roman singers of the 9th century were the first to introduce the rich melodies of the music of the Mass. The forms of chant differing from the Roman-Gregorian, which survived long after Gregory's death in Upper Italy and

¹ The havoc which the modern plainsong publications since the 17th century have made of this work, from the Medicean Gradual in 1614 and 1615 onwards, belongs to the history of artistic vandalism. Of style in particular there is nothing left; liturgical and musical ignorance and wilfulness reign supreme.

² Carus, *i.e.* Tommasi, in the *Prefatio* of his *Antiphonarium et Responsale*, pp. 44 foll.

Spain,¹ and which in any case are of not later date than that, constantly present forms even more melismatic. Everything shows that the chant which preceded Gregory's reform was not essentially different from that which is preserved in Milan under the name of Ambrosian. A chronicler of the Monastery of Monte Cassino² states that it was at the direct command of Pope Stephen IX. (1057-1058) that the convent exchanged the 'Ambrosian chant' for the Gregorian. Here the pre-Gregorian chant is simply called 'Ambrosian.' This view is on the whole true, as is shown by a comparison of the numerous chants which are common to both liturgies. Involuntarily the thought arises that the Gregorian form has resulted from a remodelling of the Ambrosian, and has been in many cases an exceedingly clever abbreviation.³

C. THE GREGORIAN SCHOLA CANTORUM

According to John the Deacon the Roman *Schola Cantorum* traces its foundation back to Gregory I. He gave it property to defray the expense of its maintenance, and also two houses, one near S. Peter's, and the other near the Church of the Lateran.

¹In the Middle Ages teaching depended much more on instruction by word of mouth than it does to-day; teaching by means of books had not the same importance. The existence of musical instruction is a particularly interesting circumstance. For reasons which we shall presently learn, musical instruction went on the assumption that the pupils must have learnt the melody by heart. Certainly there was a written copy,

¹ Cf. the Ambrosian Antiphoner of the British Museum, *Cod. Add. 34209* of the 12th century (published in *Paléographie musicale* V and VI), and the few MSS. of the Mozarabic chant, e.g. in the Spanish Abbey of Silos: from one of these (of the 11th century) the *Paléographie musicale* has published some Antiphons (vol. I, pl. II).

² Gerbert, *De Cantu* I, 255.

³ Cf. the Ambrosian and Gregorian setting of the Gradual *A summo caelo* (British Museum, *Cod. Add. 34209*, p. 7, and *Cod. 339*, S. Gall, p. 6), and the Off. *Benedixisti* with the *Y. Ostende nobis* (pp. 21 and 4 respectively) and many others. The comparative study of the Gregorian and Ambrosian melismatic chants is very instructive. The latter are of an astonishing length, confused in structure, and without melodic accent; the former are models of design, and are works of an extremely symmetrical and highly artistic construction.

but this was something quite different from a modern noted book from which one simply reads off the melodies. This modern method first came into existence in the 13th century at the earliest. A MS. with the melodies noted was intended for the director of the choir as a help when conducting with the hand, which he moved up and down according to the course of the melody, and when practising the chants; the soloist also had his own book—the *Liber Cantatorius*, as the book of solos for the Mass was called.

Consequently the institution of a song-school was more of a necessity in the Middle Ages than now. Each church had to be provided with a staff of liturgical singers. In Rome there was already an establishment of this sort before the time of Gregory. It was he who strengthened it, definitely organized it, and gave it an assured position.

We might suppose that the musical part of Gregory's reform was the work of his song-school: in that case he regulated the forms of prayer and the ceremonies, and left the arrangement and composition of the melodies to the singers of the *Schola*, which he had founded in order that they might select and execute the chants necessary and complementary to his Order. He then gave their work his recognition and approval. The papal singers, then, were not actually in error later on, in ascribing to their organizer the musical side of the liturgical reform also; for *quod quis per alium fecit, ipse fecisse dicitur*. One cannot go a step further from the tradition without contradicting the established fact that the chants of the Mass, like those of the Office, were already existing in collected form about 600. If we accept this supposition, the last doubt which can be entertained as to the Gregorian tradition disappears. Equally do the objections disappear which have been derived from the fact that in the oldest accounts of Gregory his musical activity is not noticed, and from the decretal of 595 which forbade the Deacon to fill the office of chief singer at the Mass, and entrusted it to the subdeacon or to the minor orders. But neither objection is sufficiently justified to make this supposition a necessity. It represents the utmost that can be conceded to the opponents of the tradition. Nothing prevents us from maintaining that Gregory took a direct part in the arrangement of the music. In particular we cannot so lightly disregard the letter of Pope Leo IV. to the Abbot Honoratus, in which the Pope pronounces with his whole authority in favour of Gregory's authorship of the melodies, without setting down the Pope as deceiving or deceived. The papal singers are said to have introduced and spread the legend: then we must ask, for what purpose? were not the liturgical chants quite as worthy of honour when the singers

set them in order and the Pope sealed their work with his authority? why ascribe to him something to which he laid no claim?

The powerful impulse which Church music received from Gregory in Rome was in full operation throughout the whole of the 7th and 8th centuries. The *Schola Cantorum* in a short time acquired an unforeseen importance. In every country it proved itself to be the powerful promoter of all efforts towards the introduction of the Roman liturgy. Its influence is shown by the fact that most of the Popes of the 7th century were closely connected with it, or came directly from it. The singing boys from whom it was recruited came chiefly from orphanages (*orphanotrophia*); it was therefore called *Orphanotrophium* itself.¹ In the boarding-house which was connected with it, the boys were instructed not only in singing, but also in everything else which was then taught in schools.

Pope Honorius I.² (625-638) was an enthusiastic friend of Church music; also Vitalian (657-672), to whom a later tradition, unconfirmed by any older note, attributes a reorganization of Church music.³ His successor Adeodatus (672-676) had been a chorister in the seminary, and as such had taken part in the music of the day- and night-hours.⁴ Leo II. (682-683) was an excellent singer and well versed in psalmody.⁵ Of Benedict II. (684-685) the same is reported.⁶ Of Greek descent (like Leo II.) was Sergius I. (687-701) who came to Rome under Adeodatus and was admitted among the Roman clergy. On account of his beautiful

¹ *Liber diurnus* of the Popes (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 116). With this may be compared the 9th *Ordo Rom.* I: 'In qualicunque schola reperti fuerint pueri bene psallentes, tolluntur inde et nutriuntur in schola cantorum et postea fiunt cubicularii' (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviiij, 1003). Here we may remember that in the 17th and 18th centuries also the Italian Song-schools often sprang from orphanages and were called '*Conservatori*' from them. The Gregorian *Schola Cantorum* was thus the first Conservatorium.

² *Liber Pontif.* I, 326: 'Divino in carmine pollens.'

³ Gerbert, *De Cantu* II, 41. Ekkehart even speaks of *Cantores Vitaliani* who performed in the presence of the Pope a chant of his own, viz. of Vitalian (Ekkehart, *Vita Notkeri Balbuli* II, 12). Ought we to connect this with the three MSS. which deviate somewhat from the Gregorian tradition, Vatican No. 5319, and Archives of S. Peter, Nos. F 22 and B 79 (*Palaeographie musicale* II, 5)?

⁴ *Lib. Pontif.* I, 346.

⁵ *Ibid.* 359: 'Cantilena ac psalmodia praecipuus et in earum sensibus subtilissima exercitatione limatus.' A later tradition, which also found a place in the Roman Breviary, has made of it a complete reorganization of the chant: 'psalmodium compositum hymnosque ad meliorem concentum redegit, artem exercitatione confirmans.' Found as early as Platina (Gerbert, *De Cantu* II, 41).

⁶ *Lib. Pont.* I, 363.

voice and his zeal he was made Head of the *Schola*, and gradually climbed to the highest spiritual dignity.¹ Sergius II. (844-847) also began his career as a chorister in the *Schola Cantorum*, to which Pope Leo III. admitted him. Here 'he took part in the general instruction, and learnt the mellifluous *Cantilenae*', wherein he soon excelled all his fellow-pupils. When he became Pope, he had the buildings in which the *Schola* lived restored from their foundations, as they were in need of repair.² From Gregory's establishment there proceeded also Gregory II., Stephen II. and Paul I.

The chief persons of the *Schola Cantorum* were, first the director and leader of the whole, the *Prior Scholae*, also called the *Primicerius*; then the *Secundicerius*, the *Tertius*, and the *Quartus Scholae* who was also called *Archiparaphonista*, because he had under him the singing boys, the *Paraphonistæ*. Besides the boys there were also seven subdeacons.³ All the lower Roman clergy were subordinate to the *Primicerius*, and for this reason he was a very important personage. According to Hugo Victorinus⁴ the rights of the *Primicerius* were extremely extensive: he had the supervision of all the ceremonies, as far as chanting and reading were concerned, and looked after the moral conduct of the clerks. Indeed he played an important part in the choice of a Pope, and subscribed the nomination decree. For example, that by which Calixtus II. in 1119 was chosen, has, immediately after the subscription of the last Cardinal deacon, *Primicerius Scholae cantorum laudo et confirmo*.⁵ Until the departure of the Pope to Avignon, the papal *Schola Cantorum* remained true to its Gregorian tradition. In Avignon the singers became acquainted with the recent novelty, measured music, and from this time onwards the papal choir turned into the paths of innovation. Its further activity does not concern the history of the liturgical chant.

We have already spoken in the 4th chapter of some of the duties of the Roman singers. Some others may be added here, which are also enjoined in the Roman books of ceremonial. While the Pontiff was vesting in the Sacristy, it was the duty of the *Primicerius* and the *Secundicerius* to help him: in particular they had to see that the different vestments sat properly. The *subdiaconus regionarius*, the subdeacon of

¹ *Ib.* 371.

² *Lib. Pont.* II, 86 and 92.

³ Tommasi, *I.c.* xij, 4.

⁴ Gerbert, *De Cantu* I, 307.

⁵ *Ibid.* 295.

the church in which the station was celebrated, then opened the doors of the sacristy, summoned the *Schola*, and inquired of the *Archiparaphonista*, who was to sing the *Responsorium*. The information received was delivered to the Pope in the sacristy, and he gave his consent thereto. When this consent was once given, no change in the person of the soloist was allowed. The *Archiparaphonista* himself was responsible for the observance of the command, and was threatened with excommunication if any other sang the solo than the one who had been announced to the Pope before Mass. When the Pope gave the sign to the deacon standing before him, the latter went into the Church and ordered the candles to be lit. The *Archiparaphonista* for his part betook himself to the *Schola* assembled in the presbytery, and bade them place themselves in readiness for singing. The singers then went to the Altar, and placed themselves in two rows¹ before it in the Choir, within the allotted place which was surrounded by a marble enclosure.² At the back stood the boys in two rows. This was the time for the *Prior Scholae* to intone the Antiphon of the Introit. At the same moment the Pope with his retinue left the sacristy.³ The singers (with the exception of the boys) wore during Mass a long linen alb, and over it a *planeta* or *casula* which they threw back over both arms as soon as the Introit was begun, so that it folded in over the breast from outwards.⁴ When the Pontiff had once reached the Altar, they might begin a new chant only when he signed to them; the same rule also held good for the Bishop's Mass.⁵ The soloist used to lay aside his *planeta* before ascending the *Ambo*—the one who sang the *Responsorium* as well as the singer of the *Alleluia*. The same order

¹ In the Byzantine Church also it was the rule for the singers to place themselves in two choirs; in the Greek Chant-books they are called the Right and the Left Choir. Each of these had at their head one Precentor, the *Domesticos* (a term which, from the relation of the Cathedral of Byzantium to the Court, was about the equivalent of 'Court-singer'). Over both was placed the *Domesticos Protopsaltes*, the leader of the whole, who had his place in the middle, between the two choirs. He intoned the Antiphons, whereupon the two choirs, each directed by its *Domesticos*, continued alternately with one another. Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 291.

² There is still such an enclosure to be seen in the Church of S. Clemente in Rome: other Churches still have traces of it, e.g. the Cathedral Church of Ravenna.

³ *Ordo Rom. I.* 6 foll. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxvij, 940 foll.).

⁴ Of course we must here understand the old Roman *planeta*, the wide, circular garment, closed all round like the present *cappa*. The *Ordo II.* 3 says: 'Subdiaconi de schola levant planetas cum sinu' (*Patr. Lat.* lxxvij, 969).

⁵ The 6th *Ordo*, which describes the Bishop's Mass, says, § 5: 'Sine cuius (*i.e.* episcopi) insinuatione cantorem nihil canere licebit' (*Patr. Lat.* lxxvij, 991).

applied to the readers.¹ Only the one who read the Gospel placed himself on the highest step of the *Ambo*: the other readers and the singers always stood on a lower step.²

The singing of the Antiphons of the Office was always executed by the *cantores clerici*, the seven subdeacons: the *Primicerius* intoned the first Antiphon, the *Secundicerius* the second, and so on, with the exception of some Antiphons *ad Evangelium* on Easter-day which the deacons had to sing. In the oldest service-books it is always the *Primicerius* or *cantor* who intones the Antiphon, never the Pontiff or Officiant. Doubtless the two choirs sang these intonations chanting in turn. On feast-days, however, the *Primicerius* was always the first to precent, at least in Rome.³

Later, the Roman singers attributed directly to Gregory the composition of the melodies, an idea which also spread outside Rome. It does not quite correspond with the historical order of things, but it is conceivable. The Antiphoner of Hartker, the monk of S. Gall, contains on one of its first pages the following figurative representation. On his throne sits the holy Pope, and dictates to a scribe those melodies with which the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove inspires him.⁴ Another MS. introduces the Introit of the 1st Sunday in Advent with the following text to a melody: *Sanctissimus namque Gregorius, cum preces effunderet ad Dominum, ut musicum tonum ei desuper in carminibus dedisset, tunc descendit Spiritus Sanctus super eum in specie columbae et illustravit cor eius, et sic demum exorsus est canere, ita dicendo: Ad te levavi.*⁵

1 Amalarius, *De Off. div.* iij, 15 (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1122).

2 *Ordo Rom.* VI. 5 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviij, 991).

3 Tommasi, *I.c.* xi, 67.

4 Cf. the reproduction of the whole MS. in *Paléographie musicale*, series II, vol. I. The same representation is also in Gerbert, *De Cantu* I (before p. 1), and Lambillotte, *Antiphonaire de S. Gall*, pl. I.

5 A MS. of the 10th or 11th century at Verona (Gerbert, *De Cantu* II, 2). The MSS. which introduce the Introit of the 1st Sunday in Advent by this or a similar prologue (cf. above, p. 174) are not uncommon. Of such MSS. as I have examined on the spot, I may mention the Gradual of the Paris National Library, *Nouv. acquis.* 1235, and the Gradual of the City Library of Chartres, 520. In the 2nd volume of the 'INTRODUCTION' I shall print the melodies in question from these MSS. In the 1st edition of the *Liber Gradualis* of Dom Pothier (Tournai 1883) the prologue quoted in the text is given with neums. A certain priest named John, in a MS. of the 11th century at Monte Cassino, made a complete romance out of Gregory's work, which can be read in Gerbert, *De Cantu* II, 2.

CHAPTER XII

THE SPREAD OF THE GREGORIAN CHANT

As Gregory's reform of the Mass was regulated with a view to the Roman Stations, so the organization of ecclesiastical chant which sprang from it was primarily intended for Roman needs, *i.e.* for the Papal Chapel. Circumstances however made this the basis of the entire development, not only of this particular section of divine worship, but of Western Music in general.

Copies of the authentic Antiphoner must have reached Southern Italy in Gregory's time. Other places did not accept the new order so quickly. From the writings of Leo IV, we see that about 850, 250 years after Gregory's death, the pre-Gregorian chant was still in use in the neighbourhood of Rome; even the monastery of Monte Cassino, we are told, would not give up the Ambrosian chant without a direct command from the Pope.

The Milanese Church strenuously opposed all attempts to rob it of its chant: people and clergy clung with wonderful tenacity to their old rites and music. The patriotism of the Milanese chroniclers has drawn the veil of legend over the real occurrences that took place, so that it is impossible now to state the facts historically. Landulfus, an author of the second half of the 11th century, relates that Charles the Great wished by every means to exterminate the Milanese tradition. All the books that he could obtain were burnt or done away with: only with great trouble could Bishop Eugenius preserve the old Liturgy and its music for the city of Milan itself. But a miracle is recorded, to confirm the Milanese claim. On the Altar of S. Peter, so he says, there were laid both the books, the Ambrosian and the Gregorian, to await a decision from above; they both opened simultaneously of themselves; and this was considered to be a confirmation of their equal authority. The attempts of the legate of Pope

Nicholas II. and of Peter Damian (1059) had no better result. Four centuries later, in 1440, Pope Eugenius IV. tried through Cardinal Branda di Castiglione to move the Milanese to give up their special liturgy, but without result. The Cardinal so aroused the rage of the people that he was obliged to take flight in order to save his life. Pope Alexander VI. sanctioned the privilege of a special liturgy for the Milanese in 1497. But even so they could not yet enjoy their possession undisturbed. In the time of San Carlo Borromeo a Spanish vice-governor made himself a tool of the party hostile to the Milanese, and it was only with difficulty that the great Bishop preserved the tradition of his church. Above all, he vindicated the Roman origin of its liturgy.¹ Since then the Ambrosian liturgy with its accompanying chant has had no other attacks to withstand in Milan; it still flourishes in unimpaired strength, and is, in its main features, a worthy memorial of ancient times.

It would be strange if the Ambrosian chant had not been damaged through these assaults. Unfortunately, in the later Middle Ages many alterations were made in it; while it was also much affected by the influence of the Roman-Gregorian chant. From France also it occasionally adopted a melody. In the 12th century the Canons of the Cathedral of Milan are said to have combined French melodies with the Ambrosian; but this is a great exaggeration. An Ambrosian Antiphoner of the 13th century which Gerbert consulted has one single melody only with the superscription *Francigena* and some musical notation, viz. the Alleluia *Et lilium convallium*.² About the year 1280 the Milanese Breviary was enriched by the Arch-priest O(b)ricus Scacabarozus with various new offices, the texts and melodies of which were due to him: e.g. for the festivals of SS. Nazarius, Marcellinus, Peter, Mauritius, Anna, Sophia and others.³ It is remarkable too that the Ambrosian Office was able to gain ground outside Milan. For some time it was used in Capua.⁴ Still later, at a time when the Gregorian had already prevailed in all lands of the Latin liturgy, in the 12th century, two Ratisbon clergy, Paul von Bernried and his nephew Gebhard, approached Martin,

¹ Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques I*, 189 foll.

² Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 257. Perhaps the piece referred to was not a melody merely, but a harmonized composition: it may be proved that Italy was much visited in the second half of the 13th century by wandering musicians from the north, so that measures had to be taken to get rid of them. At that time France was the home of the *Musica mensurata*.

³ Muratori, *Antiqu. Med. Aev. iv*, 953.

⁴ Gerbert, *I. c. I*, 254.

the treasurer of Milan Cathedral, in order to ask for an *Antiphonarium cum notulis*. In the monastery of S. Ambrose at Prague in the 12th century, not only the Office but also the Mass was celebrated according to the Ambrosian rite at the instance of its founder, the Emperor Charles V; and in the diocese of Augsburg the Ambrosian and Roman liturgies were combined until the year 1584.¹

Outside the district occupied by the Milanese liturgy the Roman chant reigned without a rival. The accessibility of the Roman *Schola Cantorum* facilitated its maintenance and proper efficiency; and when in the course of the 7th and 8th centuries we see teachers of the chant coming at different times to the north-west and north of Europe from Gregory's establishment, in order to make distant nations acquainted with the Roman chant, we can all the more easily see that in Italy too the liturgical chant spread very naturally from the same centre. The monasteries and Cathedral churches were bound to bestow the utmost care upon the correct performance of this important part of the Liturgy. On the whole, the development of ecclesiastical chant in Italy seems to have proceeded quietly, and there is not much information about it. The organization of the papal *Schola Cantorum* formed a model for similar establishments in monasteries and Cathedral churches. Thus we hear of a Neapolitan Bishop Athanasius (9th century) who established for himself schools of lectors and cantors.² The Chief Singer of each church had everywhere the same papal authority as the *Primicerius*. In a diploma issued by Otto III. the *Primicerius* of Arezzo has precedence immediately after the Archdeacon. Mention is made of a Cantor called John, who flourished in Florence in the 10th century, and in the following century of another Cantor named Rogo; nothing more is said about them.³ One centre of the study of liturgical music was the monastery of Monte Cassino, where the traditions of S. Benedict and S. Gregory entered into a pleasing alliance. This is attested by the extant MSS. there, which are among the most precious which we possess to-day. A certain John, who probably lived in the 11th century (at least the admirable handwriting is of that date), left behind him some instructive remarks upon the way in which the teachers of singing used to conduct the choirs. Here, as in the *Schola Cantorum*,

¹ The See of Augsburg originally belonged to the province of Milan, and from the beginning the Ambrosian rite and chant must have prevailed there. Cf. Hoeynck, *Geschichte der Liturgie des Bistums Augsburg*, pp. 11 foll., Bäumer, *Breviergeschichte*, 243.

² Gerbert, *I. c.* I, 296.

³ Gerbert, *I. c.* I, 298.

the singers were seven in number : they placed themselves in two rows of three each ; the *Magister* stood in the midst between them, vested in alb and cope. In his left hand he held a pastoral staff as a sign of his dignity, with the right hand he conducted, moving it up and down according to the character of the music, so that he, as it were, drew the melody in the air. His movements were followed by the other singers step by step. From this manner of conducting he was also called *Chironomica* (*χειρονομικός*). Before the beginning of the melody he used to give the pitch by first singing an ascending and a descending scale of five notes (clearly corresponding to the required mode). The name *Chironomica*, as well as the mode of conducting, is of Greek origin ; and the seven enigmatical names, such as *Tricanos*, *Cuphos* etc., by which perhaps the notes of the octave were each designated,¹ point in the same direction. This manner of conducting is the one that was generally employed in the Middle Ages for the liturgical chants : there is evidence of its use also at Milan and S. Gall.²

The duties of the *Cantor*, by which name the chief singer was denoted in Italy and elsewhere, was fixed by definite rules, which give us an instructive insight into the arrangement of the church-service in the Italian Church of the 9th and succeeding centuries. With his assistant, the *Succentor*, he led all the chanting in church. Everywhere for the Mass a special choir was provided, which was composed, like the *Schola* in Rome, of monks or secular clergy, and boys. The Office on the other hand was performed by all together. Following the custom which had existed since the 4th century, the monks were placed, like the clergy, in two divisions, on the right and left of the Altar. The *Cantor* stood on the right, the *Succentor* on the left side. Both had to take care that the singers standing below them were always on the alert, that no mistakes might be made in the performance of the Antiphons, Responds, Psalms and Hymns, and, if such were made, that all might quickly get on to the right track again.

Further, the *Armarius*, who was originally practically a librarian, came to have a number of duties relating to the due performance of the Office ; they are exactly prescribed in the monastic constitutions. Those of the monastery of Farfa, which were drawn up by Abbot Guido (c. 1093), contain the following rules on this subject. On Saturday the Order of the Services for the whole of the next week shall be fixed ; a boy is to write the first words of the Responds on a slate ; the *Cantor* then appoints those who

¹ Gerbert, *l. c.* I, 320. prints the passage from the MS.

² Kienle, in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 1885, 158 foll.

are to precent the Alleluia and Respond of the Mass, and the *Armarius* those who are to read the Epistle and Gospel, and the Lessons during the Office and at meal-times. On special feasts the *Armarius* can appoint, in the place of the brother tabled as *Cantor* for the week, someone else more capable, and above all a good singer for the Invitatory. Further, he has to choose the books which are read aloud at meal-times; also to examine the chief singers and readers to see if they understand their duties; to keep all the books in proper condition, to bind them, and make corrections when necessary. In the absence of the Abbot he is to take his place in precenting the *Antiphonae ex Evangelio*. Lastly, it is his duty together with the *Cantor* to put all the books in readiness, and replace them after service.¹

Information about the *Gallican liturgy* is scarce. It has much in common with the Milanese and Spanish; but a recent investigator² has put forward the opinion that the non-Roman liturgies are fundamentally identical, mere branches of the same liturgical order, of which Milan is to be regarded as the centre. However this may be, there were rites established in Gaul before the adoption of the Gregorian liturgy, and liturgical music closely connected with them. The Gallican practice has been already on several previous occasions compared with the Roman. The Order of the Mass of S. Germanus of Paris (†576) presupposes a complete order of liturgical chant; Venantius Fortunatus mentions the zealous activity of the great Bishop with regard to the psalmody of the whole community; Cæsarius of Arles was also a great promoter of this practice (*cf.* above, p. 8). In Gaul they appear to have taken a great delight in the performance of psalmody by boys; thus Gregory of Tours relates that Archbishop Nisier of Lyons kept the boys at psalmody in their early years, and that Bishop Quintain of Clermont had a boy, whose beautiful voice he had admired in a monastery, brought to him to grace the psalmody in his Cathedral.³ Moreover Church-music was highly appreciated at the court of the Sovereign. Gregory of Tours⁴ relates that Chilperic, the ruler of the Franks, composed hymns, but they were not considered to be of any particular poetical merit, as he had no knowledge of metre, and put long syllables for short, and short for long. At the baptism of his son he summoned the bishops from all parts of the kingdom, and

¹ Guido, *Disciplina Farfensis*, cap. 28 (*Patr. Lat.* cl. 1271).

² Duchesne, *Christian Worship*. pp. 86 foll. *Cf.* above, pp. 48 foll.

³ Gregory of Tours, *Vitae patrum* 4 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxj, 1022).

⁴ Gregory of Tours, *Histor. Franc.* 5, 45 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxj, 361).

made them bring their best singers with them to grace the festive occasion. During the banquet they had to take turns in displaying their skill in the execution of solos (*Responds*).¹

The forms of the Gallican chant were the same as those of the chant of other churches, viz. responsorial and antiphonal, not to mention the hymns. There is no evidence as to how it was performed in detail. The result of the introduction of the Roman liturgy under Pippin and Charlemagne was that the Gallican books became scarce. It must have had strongly pronounced peculiarities as contrasted with the Roman. Walafrid Strabo declares that in the Gallican Church enthusiastic and clever musicians were not wanting, and that many of their compositions had been combined with the Roman Office since its adoption; also that it was easy to identify these Gallican melodies, as they differed much from the Roman in text and melody.² As we shall see, the Roman melodies were difficult for Gallican singers, especially on account of the number of embellishments and refinements of execution: hence we may conclude that the Gallican chant was free from such things, and was simpler than the Roman.

The Gallican liturgy showed no such capacity for resistance as the Milanese. It disappeared, suppressed by the policy of the Frankish rulers, or rather, as will be shown below, it became combined with the newly-adopted Roman-Gregorian liturgy.

The Spanish liturgy,³ side by side with its original elements which were probably common to the old Latin liturgy, had in the early Middle Ages, after the immigration of the Goths, adopted many practices from them. The Gothic compositions were often modelled on various Byzantine-Greek originals; this fact may be explained by the sojourn of various important Spanish Bishops in Byzantium, e.g. John of Gerona, and Leander (about 580). As the result of the conversion of the Arian Goths, towards which Leander made specially praiseworthy efforts, it was found necessary to strengthen the Gothic element still more, in order not to alienate the new converts. This stage of the Gothic liturgy was defined

¹ It is related of King Dagobert that he was so charmed with the chanting of a nun named Nantildis that he wanted to have her for a wife (See Ambros, *Musikgesch.* II. 104). Nantildis was certainly one of his wives, but the idea that she had been a nun was an error which arose from the incorrect reading *monasterio* for *ministerio* in the Chronicle of Fredegar, 50 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxj, 643).

² *De Reb. Eccles.* 25 (*Patr. Lat. civ.*, 956).

³ Bäumer, *Breviergeschichte*, 243.

by Isidore of Seville (*c.* 560-636) at the council of Toledo in 633, in which the likeness of the Spanish liturgy to that of Southern Gaul was brought out. About the middle of the 7th century S. Ildephonsus of Toledo, who also is said to have composed Church music himself, introduced some improvements; as also S. Julian (†728). Since the rule of the Moors in Spain this Liturgy has received the name *Mozarabic*. At the end of the 8th century the movement had already begun which led to the adoption of the reforms of Gregory the Great, and many foreign elements seem to have crept into the Mozarabic liturgy. In spite of the opposition of the people, the Roman model triumphed in the 11th century; this was especially owing to the efforts of Pope Gregory VII, who was actively supported by King Alfonso of Castille. Since then the Roman liturgy and chant have prevailed throughout Spain, with the exception of some churches in Toledo and Valladolid, to which the Popes gave the privilege of retaining their ancient liturgies. Lastly, to the 11th century belongs the well-known Geraldus, Archbishop of Braga, who was at first *Primicerius* and teacher of chant in the monastery of Micy near Orleans, and afterwards, at the request of Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, gave instruction in Church music to the choir of that Church.¹

The country which became acquainted with the Roman chant in the life-time of Gregory I. is that of the *Anglo-Saxons*. The spread of Christianity there is his greatest work next to the liturgical reform. It is well known that he had a special affection for this nation. In the year 596 he sent the Benedictine Abbot Augustine to England with forty companions.² They went to meet King Ethelbert of Kent in procession with sacred chant, and announced to him their joyful news.³ Later on, Augustine received more helpers, among whom Bede mentions Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus and Rufinianus. Gregory provided them with everything necessary for the rites and ceremonies of divine service—with sacred vessels and ornaments, altar cloths etc., as well as manuscripts.⁴ If the Pope was so much concerned to secure the reverent celebration of the service, it is certain that among the ‘many manuscripts’ there were those which contained the liturgical chant. Consequently the first copies of the Gregorian Antiphoner came to England.⁵

¹ Gerbert, *De Cantu II*, 28.

² Ven. Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* i, 23 (*Patr. Lat.* xciv, 52).

³ *Ibid.* 25. They sang the Antiphon *Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a civitate ista, et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus, alleluia.*

⁴ *Ibid.* 29.

The kingdom of Kent became the centre of missionary activity. Here churches sprang up; and Augustine, now Bishop of Canterbury, planted the liturgical order of Rome on the ground newly won to Christendom. The Church music also was ordered after the Roman pattern. It was not enough to provide for the Office which was to be said in so many newly founded monasteries, but the solemn Mass in like manner required musical organization; it was also a matter of importance to make an impression on those who were to be converted, by the beauty of the services and ceremonies. Among Augustine's companions there doubtless were some who were able to execute the solos during Mass, and to teach a choir to render the choral music. As a teacher of church-chant a certain James is mentioned with praise, who was first deacon and precentor at Canterbury, and in 633 was appointed by Paulinus as his successor in ruling the Church at York. With his excellent knowledge of Church music, he soon became a highly valued teacher of ecclesiastical melodies; and, as Bede thinks necessary to relate explicitly, he taught them just as it was customary in Rome.¹ Thus the Gregorian chant took root in Northumbria also. In the year 669 Pope Vitalian sent Theodore to England as Archbishop of Canterbury, and with him as companion the priest Hadrian: it is noted of both, that they were highly experienced in all secular and ecclesiastical learning, and instructed many therein. From this time liturgical music received a special impetus in all churches, and in the North also, (particularly after Wilfrid, a northerner, became Bishop of York), under the skilful direction of Eddi Stephen, who, like James, had studied music at Canterbury.² An Anglo-Saxon named Aeonian gave him help in his musical tuition. Another teacher of chant was Putta, who was raised by Wilfrid to the episcopal See of Rochester which had been vacant for some time; he also gave his instruction in church chant according to the Roman use, as Bede informs us.³

An enthusiastic lover of Church music at this same time was Benedict Biscop. Sprung, like Wilfrid, from a highly-respected Anglo-Saxon family, he had stayed a long time abroad, and had become familiar in Rome with the liturgy of the papal church as well as with its chant. An important feature in the development of the Roman liturgy and chant in England was the sending, on his initiative, of John the *Archicantor* of the papal chapel and Abbot of S. Martin, by Pope Agatho (678-682).⁴ When

¹ Bede, *l. c.* Cap. 20.

² Bede, *l. c.* IV, i (*Patr. Lat.* xciv, 175).

³ *Ibid.* IV, i. 174.

⁴ *Ibid.* IV, i. 199.

Rome agreed to send this personage, who was certainly one not easily to be spared, to the newly converted land for a considerable time, it is more than ever clear what interest was taken in the endeavours of the English clergy to connect themselves with the Roman church in everything which concerned the Liturgy and liturgical chant. The labours of John were richly blessed, and justified the hopes that had been formed about his mission in Rome. He taught his pupils in the monastery of Wearmouth to sing and recite the '*Ordo* and *Ritus*' and whatever was appointed for the festivals of the Church's year as celebrated in the church of S. Peter at Rome. Pupils came from all quarters, and they made use of the two years sojourn of the Roman master to render themselves proficient in all that concerned Church music. In 680 John returned to Rome, and was able to give a glowing account of the success of his mission. We shall often again come across the direct teaching of Church music to the non-Italian nations by members of the papal song-school: from the very beginning this was considered by the Gregorian singers to be one of their most important tasks. They remained faithful to this duty of theirs up to the 9th century, when the Schools of Music springing up everywhere were strong enough themselves to spread the Roman chant.

Acca, the successor of Wilfrid, trod in the footsteps of his great predecessor. Having himself a great love and much knowledge of Church music, he summoned the singer Maban from Kent,¹ which was still its head quarters, in order, as it would appear, to freshen up the tradition, which had fallen into disuse about 700. He kept him with him for twelve years, a time which more than sufficed to restore the chant to its original splendour. Moreover, in the basilica which the Anglo-Saxon princess Bugge had built, there resounded antiphons, psalms, responds and hymns, as her contemporary Aldhelm (†709) relates.²

In the following century this development was completed by the Council of Cloveshoe in 747, in which the Fathers determined, among other things, that in all churches the liturgical chant should be carefully studied, and of course according to the Chant-book which had been sent from Rome.³ About 885 legend says that King Alfred summoned to

¹ *Ib.* IV, i. 270. Cf. above, p. 201.

² *Patr. Lat.* lxxxix, 289.

³ 'Ut uno eodemque modo dominicae dispensacionis in carne sacrosanctae festivitates, in omnibus ad eas rite competentibus rebus, i. e. in baptismi officio, in missarum celebratione, in cantilenae modo celebrentur, iuxta exemplum videlicet quod scriptum de Romana habemus ecclesia. Item, ut per gyrum totius anni natalitiae sanctorum uno eodem die iuxta martyrologium eiusdem Romanae ecclesiae cum sua sibi conveniente psalmodia seu cantilena venerentur' (*Can.* 13). Further: 'Ut septem

Oxford a celebrated Frankish teacher of music named John, and conferred on him a professorship of Church music at the newly-founded university. His companion Grimbald also was said to be celebrated as an excellent Cantor. The English singers kept up their connexion with their Frankish colleagues. In the year 946 at the instance of the Abbot Ethelwold some monks of Corbie came to England as teachers of Church chant; towards the end of the 11th century there flourished Osbern and Goscelin, whom Bishop Herman of Salisbury brought to England with him, and who did valuable work in numerous secular and monastic churches.¹ About this same period John Cotton wrote his treatise, a work of great importance in the history of medieval music.²

As in Rome the position of the foremost papal singer had in course of time become very honourable and important, so in England also had the office of Cantor in the monasteries and Cathedral churches gradually become influential. It is related of many of the distinguished priests who appear in the later history of the English church, that they were Cantors; the following are mentioned as Cantors of merit: Simeon, one of the first historians of England, John of Canterbury the mathematician, the learned Wulfstan of Winchester, Thomas Walsingham the historian, William Somerset, and others. Of one Cantor, Eadred by name, it is related that the use of his voice was denied him for six years before his death; only in church was it restored to him.³

The time of working and planting had lasted for a century and a half; from 750 onwards the Liturgy and liturgical chant in England had continued in a quiet and steady course. The numerous monasteries which covered the country faithfully guarded the rites and music which had been entrusted to them.⁴ Then the tradition was temporarily disturbed. Thurstan of Caen, the abbot appointed to the monastery of Glastonbury

canonicae orationum diei ac noctis horae diligenti cura cum psalmodia et cantilena sibimet convenienti observentur, et ut eandem monasterialis psalmodiae parilitatem ubique sectentur, nihilque quod communis usus non admittit praesumant cantare aut legere, sed tantum quod ex sacrarum scripturarum auctoritate descendit et quod Romanae ecclesiae consuetudo permittit, cantent vel legant' (*Can.* 15). Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 262.

¹ Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 282. ² Published in the 2nd vol. of Gerbert's *Scriptores*.

³ Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 299.

⁴ Of great importance with regard to the history of the Liturgy and chant in the English monasteries in the 11th century are the decrees issued for the Benedictine monasteries of his Church by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury (1089). The first part deserves special attention, as it treats (in ten sections) of the Liturgy of the whole Church-year, and gives exact information as to the pieces of chant (*Patr. Lat. cl*, 446 foll.).

by William the Conqueror, who was in other respects also not a pattern abbot, attempted about the middle of the 11th century to suppress the Roman chant in favour of a new and very different kind, attributed to William, monk of Fécamp.¹ The monks offered him such opposition that he was obliged to give up his project. We have no information as to the character of this new chant; it may have depended on a novel manner of execution connected with the *Organum*. The same kind of innovation is also ascribed to William of Dijon.²

The zealous study of the liturgical chant together with the strongly pronounced musical talent of the Anglo-Saxons bore rich fruit. Outside the churches, in the monasteries and at the palaces of ecclesiastical dignitaries the national music seems to have enjoyed great esteem; and this sometimes caused friction between the two kinds.³ These facts are of great importance in musical history, as the art of part-singing gradually grew up through the blending of secular music (in many respects founded on an instrumental basis) with the Church chant. The art of part-singing owes its existence primarily to certain practices of instrumentalists: but the liturgical chant soon lent its best resources, and thus invested it with new forms, so that it gradually spread over the whole of the West, where the ground was in many ways prepared for it.

Through the ecclesiastical disturbances in the 16th century the Gregorian chant died out in the country which had first received it from Rome.⁴

The Popes did not think of pressing the Roman chant upon churches which already possessed adequate melodies for their liturgical use; this is clear from the way in which it was introduced into the country of the Franks. Here it was the secular rulers who urged the introduction of the Roman chant in order to unite their subjects by the links of the same Liturgy. Roman liturgy and Roman chant entered France under Pippin (751-768), the founder of the Carolingian dynasty. The opportunity came for the project when Pippin in 753 sent Bishop Chrodegang of Metz with an embassy to Rome, which in the following year resulted in the journey

¹ Lebœuf, *Traité historique et pratique du chant ecclésiastique* (1741), p. 71.

² Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 262.

³ To this connexion belongs the remark of William of Malmesbury, that Thomas, Archbishop of York, banished effeminate music from his Church and restored music of a strong and serious character. Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 283. Cf. also Nagel, *Geschichte der Musik in England* I, pp. 15 foll.

⁴ In our own day the liturgical and artistic value of the Gregorian chant has again been recognized in England; in particular in a striking manner by the Anglicans, who frequently sing the old melodies to English words.

of Pope Stephen II. to France. This Pope, as we know, crowned Pippin and his sons Charles and Carloman in S. Denys, and demanded of them protection from the Lombards. The contrast between the rites and melodies of the Roman and Frankish clergy who were in the retinues of Pippin and the Pope was brought into strong relief at the festivities which were given in honour of the latter. Pippin resolved to put an end to it, and, after negotiations with the Pope, the Romans began to instruct the Franks in Roman rites and chant.¹ Pippin on his part left nothing undone to forward the introduction of the Roman chant: he was supported in particular by Bishop Chrodegang of Metz, who after travelling to Rome was profoundly interested in the Roman rites and chants. He introduced them into his church,² and in the year 762 issued special orders with a view to their propagation, from which it is evident that he thoroughly understood the Church music.³ A teacher of music, who had been instructed in Rome, was entrusted with the arrangement and direction of a song-school at Metz. It seems that Pippin's efforts were not immediately followed by the desired result, for after the death of Pope Stephen he turned to his successor with a request for singers. Pope Paul I. recognized the importance of the opportunity and sent to Pippin Chant-books, an *Antiphonale* and a *Responsale*. Thus the first Gregorian books reached France. In order that their contents might not remain a dead letter, the Pope commissioned a Roman teacher of chant named Simeon to organize a school of music in Rouen, where Remigius (or Remedius) Pippin's brother was bishop, after the pattern of the one at Rome, just as a century earlier Pope Agatho had ordered one of the foremost singers of the Gregorian school to do in the land of the Anglo-Saxons. But Simeon, who was vice-principal of the Roman school, was soon obliged to return to Rome on account of the death of the principal, George, in order to occupy his position in accordance with the regulations. Pippin informed the Pope of the plans which Remigius had made, with the result that some of the members who had already profited by Simeon's instructions in Rouen betook themselves to Rome and finished their education in the *Schola Cantorum*.⁴ On their return home they became the teachers of their nation, and contributed greatly to the strengthening

¹ Walafrid Strabo, *De Rebus Eccles.* 25 (*Patr. Lat.* cxiv, 956).

² *Patr. Lat.* xcv, 705.

³ His *Regula Canonicorum* is in *Patr. Lat.* lxxxix: chapters 50 and 51 deal with Church music.

⁴ The answer of the Pope is given in *Patr. Lat.* xcviij, 200.

of the new *régime*. The song-school at Metz attained to great fame in Pippin's life-time: the chanting at Chrodegang's cathedral was esteemed equal in beauty to that of the *Schola Cantorum*. Pupils came even from England, attracted by the splendour of the services, e.g. Sigulf, who learned the liturgical customs in Rome, but the Church music in Metz.¹

Even more than Pippin did his successor Charles the Great strive for the union of all Christians of the Latin Church by means of the same Liturgy and the same chant. Under his father many of the bishops had held aloof, but his numerous and energetic measures could not fail to have their effect. A number of synods and decrees were concerned with the compulsory introduction of the *Cantilena Romana* and the Roman liturgy. The collection of his Capitularies contains a decree of 789, addressed to all the clergy of his empire,² ordering them all to learn perfectly the *Cantus Romanus*, and to perform the Nocturnal Office and the *Gradale* in the appointed manner, in accordance with the decree of his father, who had abolished the Gallican chant for the sake of conformity with the Apostolic See and the unity of the whole Church. Accordingly there are minute directions given in the same Capitulary: e.g. in No. 70 the Bishops are to take care that the psalms are sung in a reverent manner, with a pause at the division of the verse; that the *Gloria Patri* is added at the end, and that the priests sing the threefold *Sanctus* (in the Mass); according to No. 72, if mistakes have crept in, the priests are to correct the psalms and chants scrupulously. One Capitulary, of 802,³ which bears upon the examination of the clergy, expressly mentions that they are to be examined in psalmody and in the Day- and Night-Office according to the Roman use.⁴ The synod of Aachen in 803 again enjoined on the bishops the obligation to perform the Office with their clergy *sicut psallit ecclesia Romana*, and added that they ought to erect *Scholæ Cantorum* at suitable places. The royal envoys who travelled over the whole kingdom on Charles' behalf to keep a watch on the observance of his commands, received special instructions respecting the execution of his measures about Church chant.⁵ From all this it is evident that Charles tried resolutely and energetically to accomplish his cherished idea. In his

¹ See the Life of Alcuin, the predecessor of Sigulf as abbot of Ferrières, in Jaffé, *Monum. Alcuin*, p. 16.

² The *Capit.* of Charles in *Monum. Germ.* I, 61.

³ *Ibid.* I, 110.

⁴ Schannat und Harzheim I, 378.

⁵ In the *Capit.* of Charles I, 131.

Court-school at Aachen the chant was carefully studied : the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, Charles' friend and liturgical adviser, had drawn up for its use, in his encyclopædic school-book, the elements of his theory of music,¹ viz. the doctrine of the four authentic and the four plagal modes. Alcuin had been well acquainted with it from his youth, which he had passed in the monastery at York. It was taught, together with the Roman Office, in the country of the Anglo-Saxons. One Sulpicius is celebrated as the teacher of music at this Palatine school.² In certain disputable questions about the antiphonal chant it soon took a solid position, and Aurelian of Réomé, a theorist of the 2nd half of the 9th century, could speak in this connexion of a tradition of the *Schola Palatina*. The same author pronounces this school to be an imitation of the Roman.³

Among the bishops who energetically responded to Charles' encouragement, Haito of Basle may also be mentioned (814-827); he insisted that each of his priests should possess an Antiphoner of his own, and was also anxious for the purity of the liturgical tradition, as is evident from his Capitularies.⁴

¹ In Gerbert's *Scriptores*, vol. i.

² In Alcuin's Poem 221 :

'Candida Sulpicius post se trahit agmina lector;
Hos regat et doceat certis ne accentibus errant.
Instituit pueros Idithun modulamine sacro,
Utque sonos dulces decantent voce sonora,
Quos pedibus, numeris, rhythmo stat musica, discant.'

Gerbert, *De Cantu* I, 277. A monk of S. Gall who describes the life of the Emperor (*Patr. Lat.* xcviij, 1376) relates some interesting anecdotes about the part taken by Charles in the organization of the service. As often as his business and his health allowed it, the Emperor was present at Mass as well as the Day and Night Office. All had to be prepared to execute the lessons of the day : Charles used to specify with his finger or with a staff the one whom he wished to hear. When the one chosen had sung enough, Charles gave him to understand by coughing that he was to stop. As may be imagined, all waited anxiously for this sign ; no one would have dared to go on singing, even if the passage was not ended. How it befell the poor clerk who once approached too near the Choir and then had to sing too, well or badly, although he understood nothing about it, may be read in Ambros, *Musikgesch.* II, 106.

³ His *Musica Disciplina*, a work of great importance as regards the knowledge of Church music in the time of the Carolingians, is printed in the *Scriptores* of Gerbert, vol. i. In chapter 11 he says that the *Palatini* attributed the Antiphon *O Sapientia* to the first ecclesiastical mode on account of its high pitch, though it had formerly been attributed to the second. Cf. also chap. 7.

⁴ These are in the *Monumenta Germaniae* with the Capitularies of Charles the Great, vol. i, 363 and 365.

The abolition of the Gallican rites and chant did not make such rapid progress as Charles wished : this was due, not solely to the tenacity with which ancient customs are preserved, and the opposition which everything new encounters. The Roman liturgical books demanded a state of things quite different from that in France, and some alterations were needed to adapt to Frankish customs the rites and chants which were created for the solemn offices of the Pope. This adaptation to simpler liturgical conditions proved a source of continual discord, each bishop endeavouring to effect it in a different way ; and instead of unity a diversity threatened to appear, which imperilled all reform. To remedy this, Charles had the Roman Sacramentary altered for the Franks by his liturgical adviser Alcuin;¹ he also took steps for the preservation of the Roman melodies, by procuring on several occasions both singers and copies of the Gregorian Antiphoner from Rome. No new Chant-book was to be taken into use until it had been compared with that model, and been found to agree with it.

These statements as to the care of the Emperor for the purity of the Roman chant are mingled with legendary details.² But all agree in recognizing how near the integrity of the tradition lay to his heart, and how in every case he used the right means to keep the liturgical chant in harmony with the Roman practice. The movement often led to strife between the Roman and the Frankish singers. It is easy to understand that the Gauls did not allow themselves to be deprived of their accustomed melodies without protest ; besides, the teachers from Rome, proud as they were of their skill, often neglected the moderation and prudence which are indispensable for such a task. If John the Deacon belittled as much as he could the capabilities of the Gauls and Germans, and said all sorts of rude things about them,³ a monk of S. Gall was justified in complaining

¹ So the *Micrologus De Eccles. Observ.* 60 (*Patr. Lat. clj*, 1020). No doubt Alcuin, who had acquired an accurate knowledge of the Roman liturgy and chant in his native country, was not without a share in the reform of the chant.

² E.g. John the Deacon in his biography of Gregory I. *Patr. Lat. lxxv*, 90 foll., and the S. Gall biographers of Charles the Great. *Patr. Lat. xcviij*, 1377.

³ *Patr. Lat. lxxv*, 90 : 'Huius modulationis dulcedinem inter alias Europae gentes Germani seu Galli discere crebroque rediscere insignite potuerunt, incorruptam vero tam levitate animi, quia non nulla de proprio Gregorianis cantibus miscuerunt, quam feritate quoque naturali, servare minime potuerunt. Alpina siquidem corpora, vocum suarum tonitruis altisone perstrepantia, *susceptae modulationis dulcedinem proprie non resultant*, quia bibuli gutturis barbara feritas, dum *inflexionibus et repercussionibus mitem nititur edere cantilenam*, naturali quodam fragore, quasi plastra per gradus

of the undue self-exaltation of the Romans.¹ At S. Gall and Metz the schools of music had shown that the abilities of the Teutons and Gauls were not at such a low level; and in no country have the Gregorian melodies met with such maltreatment as at a later period in Italy. On the other hand, there is a story told by the monk of S. Gall who wrote the life of Charles the Great, of twelve Roman singers, who being envious of the renown of the Gauls agreed each to teach a different method of singing, and received in consequence from Charles the penalty of publicly asking pardon of the insulted Franks.² Charles took pains to secure the true method as soon as he noticed variations: that is the kernel of the account given by John the Deacon, who dismisses the quarrel between Romans and Franks with the emphatic words which he puts into the mouth of Charles: 'Thus will we also return to the unpolluted sources.'³

In the time of Pippin and Charles there occurred an event which powerfully influenced the development of medieval music, viz. *the acquaintance of the Frankish musicians with those of Byzantium*. In the year 757 Byzantine musicians appeared at Pippin's Court, and on the part of their Sovereign presented him with an organ. In Byzantium this instrument, which had formerly existed solely for the purposes of profane music, had penetrated into the Church, and thenceforward it obtained a new position. In Charles' day a yet larger instrument came to Aachen, and the S. Gall biographer of the Emperor records amazing things about it. Of course there were also players belonging to these organs, who gave instruction in the use of the new instrument. The above-mentioned anonymous writer relates what is probably a fable, when he says that Charles once listened to the Mattins chants of the Greeks in the Cathedral of Aachen, and, enraptured by what he heard, immediately had them translated into Latin. The narrative of Aurelian of Réomé⁴ may be similarly characterized, which recounts that when some singers asserted

confuse sonantia rigidas voces iactat, sicque audientium animos, quos mulcere debuerat,
exasperando magis ac obstrependo conturbat.'

¹ *Cod. S. Gall.* 578, p. 54: 'ecce jāctantiam Romanis consuetam in Teutones et Gallos.'

² *Patr. Lat.* xcviij, 1577.

³ *Patr. Lat.* lxxv, 91: 'Carolus noster patricius, rex Francorum, dissonantia Romani et Gallicani cantus Romae offensus, cum Gallorum procacitas cantum a nostratis quibusdam naenii argumentaretur esse corruptum, nostrique e diverso authenticum antiphonarium probabiliter ostentarent, interrogasse fertur, quis inter rivum et fontem limpidiorem aquam conservare soleret? Respondentibus fontem, prudenter adjicit: Ergo et nos, qui de rivo corruptam usque hactenus bibimus, ad perennis fontis necesse est fluenta principalia recurramus.'

⁴ Gerbert, *Scriptores I*, 41;

that all the Antiphons could not be included in the eight modes, Charles caused four more to be instituted. It is a fact however that from this time forward we meet at every step with Greek, and therefore Byzantine, expressions among the Frankish musicians. The practice of music was also indebted to the new influence for some important suggestions.

The adoption of the Roman liturgy in the empire of the Carolingians was accomplished, not by the disappearance of the rites which had hitherto obtained, and their being replaced by the Gregorian, but rather through a blending of Roman and Frankish elements, the result of which was the medieval Roman-Frankish liturgy. This process occupied the 8th and 9th centuries, and was completed in the 10th century. We have already heard of Alcuin's transformation of the Gregorian Sacramentary. But that was not all. The Roman Office was still more conformed to the new circumstances, in fact the new liturgical work was almost exclusively concerned with this.

The Chant-book of the Mass underwent no alteration in the melodies during the whole of the Middle Ages; a book of the 15th century contains the same music as the MSS. of the 9th and 10th; moreover the secular clergy and the monks used the same book and the same chants. But as to the Office there was no such agreement; here there were differences, not in the general structure but in certain details. The bishops of the individual churches naturally exercised a certain influence over its formation: nearly every church had its own Office and its own Antiphoner, although they were fundamentally the same everywhere, including the melodies. This state of affairs lasted, as is well known, until the Council of Trent.

Amalarius, a pupil of Alcuin, inherited from his teacher the love of liturgical studies, and adopted all his ideas.¹ He worked mainly in Metz, where, as we know, liturgical activity and Roman chant had stood in high honour ever since the time of Chrodegang. The chief work of his which comes under our consideration has the title *De Ordine Antiphonarii*.² It is preceded by a prologue which describes the object of the work. In

¹ On Amalarius of Metz, cf. Mönchemeier, Paderborn 1893, in the *Kirchengeschichtlichen Studien* of Knöpfler, Schrörs and Sdralek. The most recent investigations of Dr. Marx ('Archbishop Amalarius of Trèves,' in the *Jahresbericht der Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschungen*, Trèves 1899) have proved, in agreement with G. Morin (*Revue Benedictine* 1899, p. 419 foll.) and against Mönchemeier, that the Amalarius of Metz and Trèves are one and the same person.

² *Patr. Lat.* cv, 1243 foll.

the course of his liturgical studies he had had numerous opportunities of observing the defects and irregularities of the Office-books, and he endeavoured to bring them as far as possible into agreement with the Roman original. With the permission of the Emperor Louis the Pious he undertook a journey to Rome to Pope Gregory IV. in 831 or 832, in order to study the Roman use at its source. He begged the Pope to give him an Antiphoner for the Church of Metz. But the Pope explained to him that the last which he had to dispose of had been given to the Abbot Wala of Corbie, who had lately stayed in Rome: all the other copies he needed himself. In the meantime Amalarius was able to get instruction in the peculiarities of the Roman rites and music from Archdeacon Theodore, whom the Pope had pointed out as able to give him every information. On his return to Metz he began to search for the Antiphoner of Wala, and discovered it in the monastery of Corbie. It consisted of four volumes, three of which contained the *Officium Nocturnum* and the fourth one the *Diurnum*. On comparing it with his own, he noticed with astonishment sundry variations from the Roman use, such as had been introduced by Chrodegang into the Church of Metz. Many Antiphons and Responds which stood in the new books were missing in the old Roman ones, and *vise versa*. A note in one of the volumes of the Antiphoner of Wala *Hoc opus summus reparat Pontifex dominus Adrianus sioi memoriae per saecula*, gave him the key to the puzzle. While in Metz they had faithfully gone on using the Roman use since Chrodegang's time, some revision of the office had been undertaken in Rome under Pope Hadrian (772-795). Thus there did not exist, as he had at first supposed, a Roman Office which was unalterable, and for all time a conspicuous example for other churches. In order then to have something serviceable for the Church of Metz which did not differ too much from the Roman Office of the time, there was nothing left for Amalarius but to compile a new Antiphoner. He took many things from the new Roman Antiphoner of Wala, others from the old Roman one of Metz, and added some himself, amongst other things Antiphons and Responds which had been previously taught by Alcuin in Tours, and some for the local feasts of Metz. His book *De Ordine Antiphonarii* contains the details of these proceedings of his.

Amalarius paid especial attention to the text of the Verse of the Respond. In this he was assisted by a priest named Helisachar, who had been the Chancellor of Louis the Pious, and later received the revenues of the monastery of S. Maximian near Trèves. We have already spoken of the difference between the Gallican method of singing the Responds and

that which prevailed in Rome, and was also prevalent in the Antiphoner of Wala. According to the Gallican use, after the Verse, the Respond was not repeated in full, but only the second half of it; consequently there were at times pieces fitted to one another without any logical connexion. Amalarius made a point of having only such verses as had a logical connexion with the second half of the Respond: but to secure this he proceeded in as conservative a manner as possible.¹ The work of Amalarius met with violent opposition at Lyons. Here Bishop Leitrad († 816) had introduced the Roman liturgy and set up a song-school.² His successor was Agobard, who was pronounced to have forfeited his office by contentions about the government in France. In 835 Amalarius was appointed administrator of the bishopric, and endeavoured, as such, to procure the introduction of his liturgical reforms into Lyons also. But a powerful antagonist arose in Florus, a highly respected master in Lyons. Agobard, after his return to the See of Lyons, contended with all his might against Amalarius. He wrote a refutation of the *De Ordine Antiphonarii*, the treatise which went with the Antiphoner of Amalarius,—under the title *De Correctione Antiphonarii*.³ This treatise also formed the introduction to an Antiphoner which Agobard had caused to be compiled according to his own ideas. He found especial fault with that of Amalarius because it contained texts which were not derived from Holy Scripture. He had everything of that kind removed from the Antiphoner of Lyons, setting aside the rule which had been almost universal in the Church since the 4th century, by which non-biblical texts might be permitted for liturgical use. Many texts of the Antiphoner came from the Acts of the Martyrs, others were original compositions, or paraphrases of biblical texts. Thus a number of ancient Roman texts of the chant

¹ The above-mentioned theorist, Aurelian of Réomé, also insists that the sense should not suffer at the repetitions of the Responds, and proposes that in certain circumstances the text should be slightly altered, in order that the verse may be fitted on without loss of sense to the R^y. He gives, among other examples, the R^y. *Veni Domine et noli tardare*, with *¶ A solis ortu et occasu, ab aquilone et mari*, and says that in the part of the R^y. to be repeated after this *¶ Et revoca dispersos in terram suam*, the *Et* should be omitted (*Gerbert, Scriptores*, I. 45).

² In a letter to Charles the Great, Leitrad writes: 'In Lugdunensi ecclesia est ordo psallendi instauratus, ut iuxta vires nostras secundum sacri palatii ritum omni ex parte agi videatur, quidquid ad divinum exsolendum officium ordo exposcit. Nam habeo scholas cantorum, ex quibus plerique ita sunt eruditi, ut alios etiam erudire possint' (*Patr. Lat.* xcix, 871).

³ *Patr. Lat. civ*, 330 foll.

were sacrificed to the one sided counter-reform of Agobard. He and Florus succeeded in bringing Amalarius before an ecclesiastical court and getting him condemned.¹

In spite of all opposition the compilation of Amalarius gained for itself the esteem not only of the Church of Metz, but of most of the Churches of the Empire of the Franks. The reformers of the liturgical chant among the Cistercians in the 12th century and the Premonstratensians made use of it.² Even in Rome the Gallican method of singing the Responds was adopted. In fact the work of Amalarius became the general basis of the rich and interesting Roman-Gallican liturgy, which after a thousand years is still able to justify its existence.³

The melodic form of the Office-chants remained untouched by the reform of Amalarius. Neither in his writings nor in those of his opponent is there a syllable said of the melodies being in any way affected by Amalarius' alterations of the text. Had this been the case, Agobard and Florus would not have spared their abuse. The work of Amalarius was especially concerned with the texts of the Verse of the Respond, and for the execution of this there were fixed chant-formulas, so composed that they could be adapted to any text.

—The Metz song-school, the eldest daughter of the Roman *Schola Cantorum* in the kingdom of the Franks, remained, even after Charles' death, the most influential among her numerous sisters. It was held in high esteem until the 12th century, and was always regarded as the faithful guardian of the Roman chant.⁴ In the 10th century its most famous

¹ Mönchemeier, *I.c.* In consequence of this controversy it is to be observed that, under the influence of the liturgists of Lyons, all the passages in the writings of Amalarius which call Gregory the Great the organizer of the Office have been suppressed. See Morin *I.c.* p. 23.

² Bäumer, *Breviergeschichte* 283. We shall speak later of the Cistercian reform of the liturgical chant, and of that effected by the Dominicans.

³ A comparison of the Antiphoner of Trèves (*ed. Hermesdorff* 1864) with the *Ordines Romani* proves conclusively that the former contains much that is primitive Roman. Cf. e.g. above, p. 65.

⁴ In the 9th century the Metz chant held this position, and had the reputation of being far superior to all the other Churches in France and Germany, as John the Deacon expressly intimates: 'Denique usque hodie quantum Romano cantu Metensis cedit, tantum Metensi ecclesiae cedere Gallicanarum ecclesiarum Germanarumque cantus, ab his, qui meram veritatem diligunt, comprobatur' (*Patr. Lat.* lxxv, 91). This remark of Gregory's biographer has a polemical ring, and is directed against a tendency to belittle the merits of the Metz song-school in favour of another, which can only be S. Gall. This view is confirmed by the anonymous biographer of Charles the Great, who also

leader was Rotlandus ; associated with him was Bernacer, a deacon and precentor of the Church of S. Saviour.¹ In the early years of the 11th century the bishopric of Metz was held by Theoger, who had been a Benedictine at Hirschau and at S. George in the Black Forest. He too was a great lover of Church music, and wrote a work upon it which has come down to us.²

When it seemed necessary, synods again enforced a due attention to Church-chant in the schools, e.g. the third Council of Valencia.³ On the whole, the Frankish song-schools reached their prime in the 10th and 11th centuries. A monastery at Argenteuil near Paris was celebrated chiefly in consequence of the teaching of the Deacon Addalaldus (9th century).⁴ In Paris itself Remigius of Auxerre (end of 9th century), who left behind him a tract on Greek rhythm,⁵ taught dialectic and music. His teachers were Hericus, a pupil of Rhabanus Maurus, and Haymo of Halberstadt, who in their turn had received instruction from the singers who came from Rome to France, or from their first pupils.⁶ The most famous pupil of Remigius was Odo, the first Abbot of Cluny, who enjoyed a great reputation as a singer and composer. His setting of the antiphons of the Office of S. Martin is spoken of as his most important work, and these are classed with the most beautiful parts of the Roman Office. Hymns on S. Julian, S. Mary Magdalene and others are ascribed to him. He died in 942.⁷ There were highly esteemed song-schools at Toul, Dijon, Cambrai, Chartres and Nevers. In the latter town there laboured Hucbald

wrote towards the end of the 9th century ; according to him, throughout the regions of France in which Latin was spoken, in place of the term *Ecclesiastica Cantilena* the term *Cantilena Metensis* was used (*Patr. Lat.* xcviij, 1378). (*Vita Carol.* I, 11). This evidence is all the more above suspicion as it comes from a monk of S. Gall. It seems in fact that the activity of the Song-school of Metz has hitherto been greatly underrated.

¹ Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* V. saec. 372 foll.

² Printed in the *Scriptores* of Gerbert, vol. II.

³ The Council decreed in its 18th Canon : 'Ut de scholis quam divinae quam humanae litterarum nec non et ecclesiasticae cantilena iuxta exemplar praedecessorum nostrorum aliquid inter nos tractetur, et, si fieri potest, statuatur atque ordinetur, quia ex huius studii longa intermissione pleraque ecclesiarum Dei loca et ignorantia fidei et totius scientiae inopia invasit.' Gerbert, *De Cantu* I, 243.

⁴ *Histoire littéraire Franc.* V. 249.

⁵ Printed in Gerbert, *Scriptores*, vol. I.

⁶ Lebœuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique*. Paris 1741, p. 8, note.

⁷ Sigebert, *De Script. Eccl. c. 124* (*Patr. Lat.* clx, 573). Cf. also Gerbert, *De Cantu* I, 280, and II, 34. His biographer (Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* V saec. p. 153)

(about 930). The cathedral school of Chartres¹ enjoyed a high reputation under Bishop Fulbert (11th century) and his pupil Arnold, who was also active as a composer, and to whom pupils flocked from afar.² At Dijon there was a musical instructor named William, whom we have already mentioned as the reputed author of certain novelties in the Chant, (others are ascribed to William of Fécamp), which however did not succeed in establishing themselves permanently anywhere.³

LAs the performance of the Office was deemed by the monks to be their chief duty, there were consequently similar establishments of greater or less extent in all monasteries. Efforts were made everywhere to beautify the services, and the music-master of the monastery, *i.e.* the Cantor, laid great stress on the correct and artistic performances of his singers. Church chant and, with it, the theoretical rules of music were taught as prescribed parts of the school instruction: together with arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, music formed the *Quadrivium*. A superb choir of boys was the pride of a monastery or of a secular Church of that time, as the richly developed melodies of the Responds and Alleluias were thought to be especially suited to boys' voices. It was not unusual for the psalmody in a monastery to be performed by a hundred monks and boys.⁴ In Italy and England the Cantor became an important personage, and the monastic and other constitutions describe his rights and duties in detail.⁵ His office soon became an honorary position, as was shewn by the title *Archicantor*. Conspicuous musical knowledge was no longer necessary for it. The post became the preliminary step to that of Abbot or Bishop. Aurelian of Réomé dedicated his musical work to the *Archicantor* Bernard, whom he calls his future Archbishop. In Metz the

gives the following account of the reasons which led to the composition of the Antiphons of S. Martin. The Antiphons at Mattins being too short to fill up the winter night, they at first resorted to repeating the Antiphon after each verse of the Psalms. This lasted too long for the monks, and at their repeated request Odo composed longer Antiphons. The *Dialogus de Musica* (Gerbert, *Scriptores II*) is undoubtedly genuine.

¹ On the cathedral school of Chartres we now possess a model work by Clerval, *L'ancienne Maitrise de Notre-Dame de Chartres*. Paris. 1899.

² Lebœuf, *Traité historique et pratique*, p. 24.

³ He is called *Psalmorum concentus distinguens*, and is said to have embellished them *dulcissimo melodimate*. Gerbert, *De Cantu II*, 30.

⁴ Angilbert, the friend of Charles the Great, organized for the monastery of S. Riquier a school and a college for one hundred boys, who were to be divided into three sections, to aid the psalmody of the monks, so that each time one hundred monks and thirty-four boys sang together. *Monum. German. Script. XV*, 178.

⁵ Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 303 foll.

Roman title *Primicerius* was retained. In course of time this officer also became a high ecclesiastical dignitary. In one of the grants made to the Church of Metz his name stands before that of the Dean and the *Chorepiscopus*.¹ The latter seems to have exercised to some extent the same functions in the secular churches as the *Armarius* in the monasteries. He is mentioned as early as in the Capitularies of Charles the Great. The decrees of the Council of Cologne in 1260 call him the leader of the singers; in the Church of Trèves also he was an important personage.² The supervision of all the Offices was his duty. In France the *Armarius* was the representative of the Abbot in the monastery; according to a Cluniac *Ordo* of the 11th century, not only did he sing over a melody to the Abbot when it was his duty to start it, but if the Abbot were absent, he himself had to sing his Antiphons and Responds. Like the *Chorepiscopus* in the Cathedral, he had to supervise all the services in the monastic churches; and so he was the immediate superior of the actual musical leader to whom the technical execution of the Church music was entrusted.³

The services in nunneries were ordered in the same way: the chief singer, called *Cantorissa* or *Cantrix*, superintended the performance of the Offices and instructed the nuns in reading and singing.⁴

[The care which was given to the orderly performance of the ceremonies makes it easy to understand that here and there, through studying the artistic and finished execution of the music, the severe simplicity which the monastic rule seemed to desiderate was neglected, and that occasionally an importance was attached to these things which was out of harmony with monastic observances. Thus the Cistercians later on reproached the Cluniac Order for using artistic means of enhancing the flexibility and beauty of the voice. They also considered many of the melodies in the newly introduced Offices of these monks to be licentious and contrary to their Rule.⁵ Such opinions may be explained by the general line of the Cistercians, who wished to revive the original monastic severity. Some monasteries thought so much of the beautiful execution of the prescribed chants that they refused to accept novices who were not skilful in Church music, as is shewn by Abbot Peter of Andern.]

¹ *Ibid.* 306.

² Gerbert, *De Cantu*, I, 298.

³ *Ibid.* 309.

⁴ Ducange, *Glossarium*, s. v. 'Cantrix.'

⁵ Gerbert, *Ib.* 318.

⁶ *Ibid.* 284.

The 9th, 10th and 11th centuries were the best period of the Liturgy and its chant. The churches vied with one another in the splendour and embellishment of their services, and the faithful flocked in numbers to the liturgical gatherings. Even secular rulers did not think it beneath their dignity to take part in them, and to show an active interest in all that concerned the Liturgy; though the tradition which ascribes to Charles the Great the text and melody of the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* is not probable,¹ nor that which credits Charles the Bald with composing an Office in honour of the Holy Winding-sheet. An enthusiastic admirer of the Liturgy was King Robert (†1031): whenever he was not hindered by pressing business he took part in the Canonical Hours. He was a composer of liturgical music of the most varied kinds,—hymns, antiphons and responds. Among the best known ones are the R^r. *Cornelius centurio* in honour of S. Peter,² the R^r. *Judaea et Jerusalem*,³ which was formerly sung at the first Vespers of Christmas, and especially the R^r. *O constantia martyrum*.⁴ Even the Sequence *Veni sancte Spiritus*, which was probably composed by Innocent III., was ascribed to him,⁵ as also the Notkerian Sequence *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia*. In later times (under Louis IV.) Count Fulke of Anjou distinguished himself by his enthusiasm for the Liturgy: he used to sing the Office with the clergy, in clerical attire, and is said to have been the composer of twelve Responds in honour of S. Peter.⁶

¹ The melody of this hymn was first connected with the Ambrosian Easter hymn *Hic est dies verus Dei*, and was afterwards transferred to the Pentecostal hymn. It is still to be found with both texts in some later MSS., e.g. *Cod. B. V. 23* of the City Library of Basle, of the 15th century.

² Published in the *Processionale Monasticum*, Solesmes, p. 125. Robert is said to have brought it as an offering to Rome on S. Peter's day, and Pope Sylvester, his former teacher, thereupon directed it to be used. Cf. Bäumer, *Breviergeschichte*, p. 290.

³ *Processionale Monasticum*, p. 25.

⁴ Likewise the R^rR^r. *Solem institiae* (*Process. Monast.* 185), *Stirps Jesse* (*ib.* 186), *Ad nutum Domini* (*ib.* 187) in honour of the B. V. Mary. They each consist of three Hexameters.

⁵ Lebœuf, *Traité historique et pratique*, p. 17.

⁶ *Processionale Monasticum*, p. 195.

ELEVEN HUNDRED YEARS OF PRAYERFUL SONG

A Survey of Slovak Church Music

By Sister M. Paschal

Characterized from the very dawn of history as a singing people, the Slovaks readily consecrated this talent to God's service when the glad tidings of the Gospel were brought to them more than eleven hundred years ago. Christianization of the Slovaks dates back to the ninth century, to the consecration of the first Catholic church, built by Prince Pribina in Nitra in 833. Thereafter, down through the centuries, the Slovak people have been praising God with hymns and songs. In prosperity and in adversity, in the humble church of an obscure village as well as in a baroque cathedral like that of Kosice, at the simple tasks about the home as well as on festive pilgrimages, centuries ago as well as in our own day, the hymn and the chant are offered to God by generation after generation of Slovak Catholics.

In recent times Slovak congregational singing attracted considerable attention during the pilgrimages which the Federation of Slovak Catholics sponsored to shrines in Canada, New York, Philadelphia, Scranton, and Washington, D. C. Onlookers were frankly amazed at the spectacle. Rarely, if ever, had they seen such large groups united in prayerful song. It is truly an inspiration to hear the Slovaks sing at their religious services especially where there is congregational participation.

How did the ancestors of Modern Slovaks develop their religious music and how closely does it follow the spirit of the liturgy? From the earliest Christian era the Catholic Church has solicitously guarded the art and purity of music in her public worship. In this respect Church authorities in Slovakia were exceptionally vigilant. The Byzantine rite with its exquisitely melodic liturgy was introduced among the Slovaks by SS. Cyril and Methodius in 863. Through these apostles the Slovak people likewise learned to foster a special devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, a devotion which is so deeply rooted among the Slovaks that in most of their churches it is still customary for the Rosary Society to sing Marian hymns in public procession after High Mass on the first Sunday of the month.

The saintly brothers translated the missal (*Kievsky misál*), the ritual (*Euchologium Sinajské*), the breviary and a collection of liturgical hymns (*strumicky oktoich*) into Old Slavonic. When they visited Rome to confer with the Holy Father, Pope Hadrian II placed these liturgical books on the Blessed Virgin's altar and blessed

them. Then he permitted SS. Cyril and Methodius to use the Slavonic language in the liturgy. "Hospodine, pomiluj ny," whose author very likely was St. Methodius himself, is the only hymn preserved from that period.

For several centuries the development of religious music was halted by persecutions directed against the Old Slavonic liturgy and a sterile period followed. By the twelfth century, however, various diocesan synods began to approve directives for liturgical singing. A summary of the most important of these would include the following:

In 1114 the Synod of Ostrihom legislated that only hymns approved by Church authorities be used in the churches.

In 1494 the Synod of Nitra directed that Holy Mass be accompanied with singing in all parish churches.

The Synod of Trnava in 1560 commanded under pain of censure that no hymns either in the vernacular or in Latin be admitted for church use unless it could be ascertained that they had been approved by ecclesiastical authorities over a hundred years ago, lest the faithful by their very attraction to exercises of devotion be misled into heresy.

In 1638 the Synod of Trnava charged a committee of competent musicians to collect liturgical hymns sung by the people and have them presented to Church authorities for approval and publication. This measure was needed to guard against the infiltration of Protestant influence which tried to establish itself with the seventeenth century's creation and importation of new homes. Composers of proved merit contributed to standard collections of Slovak hymns and preserved acceptable manuscript copies. One such manuscript collection was *Antifonae et cantiones variae cum notis musicis Slavonice et latine*. It comprises 338 sheets of copy. Another which is dated 1657 was *Cantilenae conventus Lauritani ord. Serv. B.V.M.*

An even greater revival was brought about when the Slovak Jesuits founded the Catholic University of Trnava in 1635. In accordance with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) they collected the ancient Slovak liturgical hymns and prepared for the press the first printed Slovak hymnal *Cantus Catholici*. It was published in two editions: in 1655 and in 1700 and it has been proved that its compiler was a Slovak Jesuit, Benedikt Szollossi (1609-1656).

Cantus Catholici has three hundred eighteen pages of unisonous hymns. Of these, sixty-two are Latin and two hundred twenty-seven

are Slovak. In 1937 Mikulas Schneider-Trnavsky revived about seventy hymns from the three-hundred-year-old *Cantus Catholici* by introducing a modernized form of them in the *Jednotny katolicky spevnik* of which we shall speak presently.

Cantus Catholici is uniquely valuable from the musical standpoint inasmuch as its sources are traceable to Gregorian Chant. The ancient Slovak hymns preserved in it exemplify the use of tropes among the Slavs as early as the close of the Middle Ages. Tropes, of course, are a more or less poetical commentary that is woven into the liturgical text, forming with it a complete unit; it is an interpolation in a liturgical text or the embellishment brought about by such interpolation, that is, insertions or additions.

Let us take the Kyrie Eleison from the Ordinary of the Mass as an example. On the last syllable of the "Kyrie" where a melisma was sung, a phrase or a stanza was composed to fit the melisma. In this way some additional text was inserted between the "Kyrie" and the "eleison." Consequently, a melismatic Kyrie had nine stanzaic insertions. The Gregorian *Kyrie II* in mode 3 carried this interpolation thus: Kyrie—fons bonitatis, Pater ingeniti, a quo cuncta procedunt—eleison. The *Cantus Catholici* has a closely paralleled translation of this interpolation: Hospodine, studnice dobroj, Otce nerozený, od teba wssecko dobre pocháží—smiluj sa nad nami. This is one example of how the ancient vernacular hymns of the Slovaks were developed in Gregorian style, characterized principally by the use of modal modulations and cadences ending on the dominant. It is interesting to note that a number of Slovak folk songs (of which there are some 40,000) were also developed in the same manner.

The Latin preface of the *Cantus Catholici* points out the fact that the liturgy was performed in the vernacular at the altar and in choir. The hymns and psalms taught in church were frequently repeated with much spirit at recreation and feasts, in the vineyards and in the fields.

In the course of time manuscripts of church music were collected by interested individuals. Outstanding among the composers and compilers were Pavlin Bajan (1783), a Franciscan; and later Andrej Radlinsky and Frantisek Sasinek, two priests who made a noteworthy contribution by their 1872 publication of *Vseobecná sbierka cirkevných katolických pesničiek slovenských*, which contained 1047 hymns. The Society of St. Adalbert commissioned Frantisek Matzenauer, a priest director, and Joseph Mathulay, an organist, to write the accompaniments for the above mentioned collection. The result was *Duchovny spevnik katolicky* (1882). In response to the November 22, 1903 "Motu Proprio" of St. Pius X,

a national hymnal entitled *Nábozny krestan* containing 400 hymns was compiled by Msgr. Andrej Hlinka and Joseph Chladek in 1906.

A unique contribution to Catholic Slovak hymnody is the voluminous *Jednotny katolicky spevník* (1937). It was projected at a meeting held by the Society of St. Adalbert on March 8, 1921, when in the presence of three newly consecrated Slovak bishops and at their direction it was resolved to compile and publish a new hymnal. Mikulas Schneider-Trnavsky, a highly reputable Slovak composer, was commissioned to harmonize and arrange the Slovak hymns. Committees on liturgy, literature, and hymnody collaborated with Trnavsky in this responsible undertaking. For ten years they devoted themselves to the dedicated work of collecting the treasures of Slovak Church music, to discriminate, to discard whatever might be classified as undesirable and to preserve or to restore all that was worthy. The Committees closely observed the directives contained in the "Motu Proprio" of Pope Pius X and in the "Apostolic Constitution" (December 22, 1928) of Pope Pius XI. The extensive bibliography enumerates references to thirty-three printed hymnals and one-hundred-four printed manuals and prayer books; six manuscript collections of hymns without melodies and ten manuscript collections with melodies. All these were studied with scholarly diligence.

Of the five hundred forty-one hymns listed in the index of the *Jednotny katolicky spevník* those devoted to Christmas, Lent, the Blessed Sacrament, and the Blessed Virgin Mary are most largely represented. The contents are arranged according to the liturgical year with specific recommendations for the celebration of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, for liturgical processions, and for various other religious functions. Out of consideration for the needs of the congregation, the limitations of school children, and the abilities of trained choirs who would use the hymnal, the compiler also included carols, hymns for pilgrimages, choral Slovak Mass hymns, and Latin hymns.

It may be asked what qualities characterize Slovak liturgical and religious hymns. Careful study will show that it is their singular charm to have those very characteristics which are recommended in the "Musicae Sacrae Disciplina" (December 25, 1955) of Pope Pius XII. Slovak hymns conform fully to Christian teaching, they use simple tunes and simple words, and they possess religious dignity and becoming gravity. They make no provisions for brilliant solos, they exhibit no florid styles, no elaborate cadences, no suggestive worldliness or sentimentality to distract the devotion of the worshippers.

The music of the Mass hymns is consonant with the religious expression contained in the texts of the Ordinary of the Mass. As a matter of fact, the very text of the Mass hymns is a close paraphrase of the text of the Ordinary. These Mass hymns are still sung in Slovak parish churches both in America and abroad during the Missa Cantata. By them the choir and the congregation are enabled to unite closely with the priest in the sacred action of the Mass.

Most of the hymns for Lent and Advent are written in a minor tonality and express sincere expectation, longing, love, hope, and sorrow. Diatonic progressions and sequential melodic passages make the tunes naturally singable, and the inert musical signs of the Christmas and Easter hymns come to life best when they are sung and played by souls radiating a great love for God. Marian hymns expand the praises sung in honor of the Mother of God to very numerous lines comprising more than one hundred hymns. Generally the refrain reiterates the message of her feasts or a particular supplication. Hymns in honor of the Blessed Sacrament and the Saints as well as pilgrimages and processional hymns vary in their messages and expression but they retain the same commendable simplicity of melody subordinated to the prayerfulness of the words.

The melodic structure of the Chant depends on the accent which is the soul of the Latin word. Slovak vernacular hymns which are reliable translations from Latin texts are easily adapted to Gregorian Chant since the accent and the word order of the Slovak language readily correspond to the Latin original in very many instances. A few hymns that illustrate this adaptability from Latin to Slovak are:

Stabat Mater — Stala Matka (Sequence)
Lauda Sion — Chval Sione (Sequence)
Pange Lingua — Javte, ustá
Adoro Te — Klaniam sa Ti
Jesu Dulcis — Jezu sladky

The genuineness and the excellence of Slovak hymn tones was recognized by such an authority as Nicola A. Montani, the compiler of the *Saint Gregory Hymnal* (1920). Mr. Montani incorporated into this American hymn book over twenty Slovak hymn tunes for which he adapted English texts and one setting for the "Tantum Ergo."

In his recent encyclical on sacred music, our Holy Father mentions that hymns are effective in the religious instruction of boys and girls. It is worthy of mention that children in Slovakia sang

their catechism at least as early as 1913. Andrej Cambal, a Slovak Jesuit, translated into Slovak the catechism hymns originally used by Ignac Parhamer, a Jesuit missionary who instructed the people of Austria-Hungary in the eighteenth century. In his preface Father Cambal wrote: "I present this Catechism to you in song, that you may learn Christian Doctrine in a delightful manner and have it well impressed upon your minds."

This survey may help to show how rich is the heritage of sacred music which has been preserved by the Slovak people, who justly pride themselves on having 2,000 hymns in their treasury of music. These hymns are the expression of the mind and heart of the Church regarding sacred music. They also embody the joyous and prayerful spirit of a singing people.

PUBLICATIONS OF DOM ERMIN VITRY, O.S.B.

Fides Jubilans, 3401 Arsenal, St. Louis, Mo.

- Being at Ease With the Liber Usualis (To be reviewed next month)
 - Praise and Song Series
 - Out of the Mouths of Children (Book 1)
 - The Children Sang Out (Book 2)
 - To Thee Now King on High (Book 3)
 - Day by Day We Bless Thee (Book 4)
 - Book 5 in Preparation
 - Reading Sketches (Book 1)
 - Tone Patterns
 - Hymns of the Church
 - A Key to Chant Reading
 - A Treasury of Sacred Polyphony (Records) — Gregorian Institute
-

REVIEW

Chant

A KEY TO CHANT READING

Dom Ermin Vitry, O.S.B.

Fides Jubilans — May, 1955

Only too often does it happen that we pick up a study that bears a promising title and then put it down with a sense of disappointment. Frequently that which promises to give much actually gives very little. In this work by Dom Vitry one has the opposite experience. Here is a title that leads one to expect little. After all a key is only to open the door. Actually this series of lessons leads the student into a proficient and accurate reading of the chant melodies. One condition is placed upon the student by the author, namely, that the lessons be given a few minutes of intense study daily.

In an explanatory note the author expresses his purpose in compiling this work: to provide "a series of lessons destined for the student who desires to read the sacred melodies with facility and assurance."

Instead of presenting the Gregorian modes with rather complicated terminology he sets out by giving typical melodic patterns which are easily memorized both mentally and vocally. These basic patterns are then shown in relation to secondary patterns which make up the chant melody. When a student has grasped these patterns he has not studied the mode so much as he has become conscious of, and developed a feeling for modal tonality. Further the value of this study is increased by the melodic sketches and a list of typical examples of the mode, plus a list of antiphons as found in the *Liber Usualis*.

But chant is more than merely reading melodies. One must also learn to feel and express the subtle intricacies of the rhythm. In this study we are given a presentation of this much discussed element of chant that is at once musically sound and in full accord with the directions of the Vatican Gradual. The author's thesis is this:

"Free rhythm means a sequence of tone-patterns put into a motion which is fairly regular, but which is susceptible of various lengths."

Here is freedom; and the chant rhythm must be free. Here is freedom that would liberate the music teacher or student from any

super-imposed system that would make for absolute uniformity. Rather it would leave to sound musical education and feeling the element of touch and lift that make up the smooth flow of Gregorian melodies. Through a series of practical lessons the student is led into the charm of free rhythm.

Surely we ought to be grateful to Dom Vitry for letting us share in this work; it represents the years of sound and searching thought he has given to the restoration of the true beauty of Sacred Chant. Here we have, as it were, the best of his many and long years of pedagogical experience which have brought an element of beauty and virility to the ancient melodies wherever he has taught.

Not all will agree with Dom Vitry's idea of free rhythm. He permits us the freedom not to do so. But one cannot help feeling that an open-minded approach will help even those, who have accepted a particular method as the final word in this matter, to experience a new beauty in the teaching of chant.

Rev. Henry Huber, O.S.B.

PRAISE AND SONG SERIES

Hymns of the Church

Fides Jubilans Press, 3401 Arsenal Street, St. Louis, Mo.

The genius of Dom Ermin Vitry and his life-long experience with children, has over a span of years produced the most unique set of books, "The Praise and Song Series". To those who know it, an evaluation seems so superfluous—even an effrontery, but since these few words might come to the notice of those less well acquainted, we dare it.

As Dom Vitry in explaining the plan of the book says, "The main object of the series is to provide our children with the means to a full participation in the Chanted Mass." They sing in order that they may offer with priest, that they may be united with all the other children, that they may present to God the offering of the whole Church.

Book I for Third Grade, the first of the series, is an ingenious beginning. Its repertoire was not chosen as an illustration of chant. It is a liturgical sequence of songs, covering the entire way of liturgical life as it may be experienced by young children. There is a complete Eucharist, selections from the Ordinaries as well as from seasonal chants, and a beginning of the use of psalms. The children are acquainted with the basic responses and some of the gems of antiphonal chant, all very charmingly adapted to the age of these children. What a tremendous advancement! To give these "little

ones" the "bread of the children", the centuries-old musical heritage of Mother Church. This is their right; What better could we give them? Have we a right to withhold this from them?

Daily as I watch the Third Grade at Holy Mass one's heart leaps with their joy. As soon as a familiar melody reaches them, their whole bodies move in rhythmic response; not one can resist. These little gems of music are so pure and beautifully simple that recently we gave several of them to our First Grade to sing for their First Holy Communion. This was, it seems to me, so much more worthy of their dignity as children of God. "I rejoiced because they said to me; we shall go into the house of the Lord". From instruction, but perhaps more by intuition, the children felt the impact of these words so much deeper than they would have that of a sweet "Bring the Little Ones to Me". At Offertory time, their whole souls vibrated as they sang "To Thee O God with a joyful heart, I have offered these things, and I have seen with great joy the people which are present." Many times Sister had discussed this text with the children; relating it to the sacrificing Abel, joyfully offering the best he had. So they realized they were offering themselves and this with joy. Sister even vouches she could see their ears prick up as soon as they heard the organ intone the melody. "Taste and see how sweet is the Lord" will, I am sure, stay with them as a living and oft-to be repeated memory of the day.

Book II for the Fourth Grade continues the plan of Book I, including and enlarging on the materials. All the melodies of Book I are repeated; some melodies, presented partially in Book I are given in full, a large selection of new melodies is added, and four psalms for praising God are included. The psychology of this progression in a school pays off for it serves as a great stimulant to "school spirit", if you will have it so. Day after day the lower grades sing along in the daily Mass those chants within their compass, all the while being spurred on to the fuller knowledge as exhibited by their elders. The Fourth Grade becomes irritated and disturbed if we don't select chants they know, when we schedule the week's program.

The lines of Book III follow the same pattern. Here for the first time we find the eight ways to sing the Gloria Patri, so that children of Grade Five can always have their share of participation in the Introit. The alleluias come in for special mention. They are given in the original with especially modified melodies for Gradual verses. These melodies exhibit such spontaneous joy. Recently one of our lay teachers remarked concerning their beauty. She was astounded to think that the church has such "buried treasures" which

we have kept buried. She wanted to know why these beautiful things have not been given to our people in our parish churches. These and the other 47 pages of selections, if learnt with love, joy and reverence, must of necessity increase our children's love of the Church and her worship. Our hearts rejoice when we see the joy of these children's participation. And they have not asked to revert to the "old style" songs from ???

Having advanced to Book IV the religious and musical experience of the child has blossomed into full participation. Everything from Introits to the final greeting of the priest! Though there remain many beauties unexplored by this series, because of lack of space, one rests assured that here only the most authentic and only the best is offered.

Another strong point of the books is the use of psalms and antiphons preparing for a Vesper-singing laity. Since such a "sentire cum Ecclesia" laity is the ideal of our present Pontiff, and since our experience has proven it to be within the grasp of even our "little ones", it seems such a pity to follow other devious paths of piety. The six psalms in use in the book have been selected to give the essential phases of worship in the souls of the young. Psalm 8—The Wondrous Works of God—does the job as well as St. Thomas did in his first article. Psalm 22—Christ the Shepherd—gives youth the ideal Leader it must have in its search for security. Psalm 136—Longing for Jerusalem—gives a few true ideas of heaven and who would say modern youth with its dissipated ideas of a good time doesn't need an orientation concerning the Heavenly Kingdom? Psalm 99—Serving God with Joy—Our children know so few real joys that it becomes increasingly important that they know the deep joys of religion. Psalm 118—Obeying God's Ways—if we are to be happy we must accept the law of obedience to God, and how fast is obedience disappearing from the face of the earth. Psalm 129—Atoning for Our Sins—Again it becomes imperative to teach our children that they are sinners. Recently, Sister had quite a time convincing one first grade girl that she too was a sinner in her own way.

Aside from the spiritual formation achieved by the use of the above psalms, we must know that psalmody is the dynamic root of all Chant, and that chanted prayer is particular to the Catholic Church. Of all forms of music nothing so closely approaches the spiritual ideal as the Psalms. Psalmody is, in fact, an artistic miracle. Our musically distorted taste of today is due to our abandonment of Psalmody at the time of the Renaissance. If we are to re-educate our people and reform their taste, this is where we begin. Theoretical

knowledge of the Psalms will do little—the actual experience of singing Psalms is the indispensable.

Another salient point in the "Praise and Song Series" is that of rhythmic development. The development of basic rhythmic is so integrating to the whole human being—body and soul. If taught well, the series provides opportunity for the child to learn, not only to sing beautifully, to appreciate the beautiful, but to experience the beauty of movement, of rhythm, thus providing an instinctive physical equilibrium, true muscular coordination. This phase of American education has hardly been touched.

Moreover, though this approach to music is not the whole of a school program of music by any means, it does provide a solid foundation. As a vocal trainer, I know of nothing which surpasses chant. If the singing of the chant is taught well it produces the clear bell-like tones, true to pitch. Using the basic patterns of the different Modes from "Key to Chant Reading" as vocalises, moreover, affords our future adult laity the background tonality basic to the appreciation of the music of the Church. Progressive solfeggio reading of the Chant Melodies produces sight readers; and of these America has few. Well grounded in this basic course, no child would have difficulty in singing and appreciating good polyphony. We must here again stress that this series is but a *part* of a good school program of music. Provision is made for learning music in the modern idiom through the other half of a well developed plan which does not come in for consideration under the present heading.

Mention must be made of the beauty and fitness of the many introductory comments which serve as leads to explanation of the various chants throughout the entire series. Then, too, the original and meaningful illustrations enliven and enhance every selection. With these the children are much taken up. Another advantage of the series is the effective preparation for the use of Latin it gives, and no problem here. No time wasted learning Latin.

"The Hymns of the Church"—so close to the folk-lore of the Chant — another unexplored field of the Church's Treasury — is handled in a different book where 23 of these gems are put up in a very strikingly fresh and easily approachable format. Strictly they do not belong to the series and so no more about them here.

Throughout the series a musical notation adequate to the immediate purpose of teaching has received particular attention. The texts, which form so vital a part of vernacular chants, have been provided by a master of English, and adapt themselves artistically to the various chants. All told, there is nothing better on the market for use in our American schools than the "Praise and Song Series."

Sister Remigia

NOVA ORGANI HARMONIA AD GRADUALE
(Juxta Editionem Vaticanam)

Mechelen, H. Dessain

This is the third edition of Part V of the Mechelen accompaniment to the Vatican Graduale and contains the complete Kyriale together with the Requiem Mass and Obsequies, the Ambrosian Gloria and Credos 5 and 6. The first edition appeared in 1942 and is comprised of seven parts which cover not only the Graduale but the most important parts of the Vesperale and some of the Antiphonary. The entire work is the joint effort of the rector and professors of the Interdiocesan Institute of Sacred Music at Mechelen. The writers include J. Van Nuffel, Marius de Jong, H. Durieux, Flor Peeters, G. Nees, Jul. Vyverman, and E. De Laet. The accompaniments are modal and easily the best we have seen. We know of Vatican accompaniments, not so expert as these, that have been junked because they were Vatican. Apparently no one has junked these and no one is likely to. Many have inquired about accompaniments to the Vatican Edition. Here is the answer. The book is available from Helicon Press, World Library and, we suppose, Adrian Hamers, N. Y.

GRADUALE ROMANUM AND KYRIALE

Schwann; Helicon Press, Baltimore

These are new editions. The Graduale (of which the Kyriale is a handsome extract) contains the Holy Week Supplement and the Masses for the Queenship of Mary and St. Pius X. Separately, the Supplement costs 75¢, the Graduale \$6.70, the Kyriale \$1.70.

HOLY WEEK BOOK

St. Gregory Guild, Rittenhouse Square, Philadelphia

We are happy to report the vast improvement over last year's hasty edition.

HOLY WEEK MANUAL

J. Fischer, Glen Rock, N. J.

The fact that the book is compiled and arranged by Philip G. Kreckel assures it of high quality and practicality. The several supplemental hymns are especially fine.

Francis Schmitt

Masses

MISSA MAGNUS ET POTENS
IN HON. STI. ANTONII DE PADUA

By Ernst Tittel

SATB, organ, brass

(2 trumpets in C, 2 horns in F, 2 trombones, 2 kettledrums ad. lib.)

Helicon Press, Publisher; Distributed by World Library
1846 Westwood Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio

Score \$3.00; voice parts 40¢; instrumental parts 35¢

In his encyclical, *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina*, Pope Pius XII spoke of "great and magnificent works of art which not only human voices, but also the organ and other musical instruments embellish, adorn and amplify almost endlessly." His words might well be used to describe this Mass by the German composer Ernst Tittel. It is a long Mass and suited best for great occasions when a large choir and competent brass players can be secured. Then it will never fail to achieve a magnificent effect as an integral part of the liturgical action.

The composer is a master of harmony. His facility in modulation is brilliant in the manner of the late Romanticists who developed that art to such a degree. But the bite of some well placed dissonances, especially in the organ part, makes it a most interesting work even to ears attuned to contemporary writing. Tittel is a master in writing for brass; he obviously knows his instruments and exploits the possibilities of each. The climaxes he achieves with the entrances of the brass ensemble at the *Cum Sancto Spiritu* of the *Gloria* or the *Vitam venturi* of the *Credo* are not easily forgotten.

Probably the most characteristic thing about the composition is the beauty of the melodic line and the masterful fusing of these melodies into the rich harmonious whole. The organ part is not easy because of the chromaticism and frequent scale passages. The voice parts are very singable, although the range of the soprano part is occasionally demanding. There are some *divisi* sections, and here and there an entrance note is difficult to find. The kettledrums need not and should not be used.

While this is not fare for the average choir, nor is it a Mass a very good choir would sing very frequently, it certainly is a composition that demands notice and performance. For a festival of choirs, where the material would be assigned for a year's study in

advance, or for a fine choral society, this would be a most rewarding experience. For a parish choir of fifty or sixty voices this is by no means an impossible undertaking; in fact, for Christmas or a great feast, it can be the means for lifting the minds and hearts of the congregation to the heavens where the climaxes of the composition actually take one.

The chief reason why music of this caliber is not sung in this country is that our singers do not read well enough. On the other hand, the best way to teach facility in sight reading is to read. Work on a challenging Mass will produce wonderful results in your choir, both in their reading ability and in their voice production. This Mass is a challenge; it is well named, "Great and Powerful."

Richard J. Schuler.

Other Music

LOURDES PILGRIM HYMN (*Maria Immaculata*)

SSA with piano or organ — arranged by Jeno Donath

312-40403 Theodore Presser Co. .20

This appears to be the first in a "Catholic Music" series, for women's voices at least, and for 1958 it is a natural. One can have no particular quarrel with Mr.. Donath's generally decent and sometimes bright arrangement although he might prefer the stronger unison. But the Lourdes hymn is not an easy one to fool with. For all that Latin translation may give the hymn utility (liturgical, says the footnote) for High Mass, etc., the Latin version is certainly no prize. After leaving a beat unaccounted for to avoid the French "Ave" in the chorus, we find "Nomen tuum", "Aquam precum" etc. in the verse. I have no idea where the English translation came from since it unfortunately seems taken for granted. But one cringes a little at "Immaculate Mary, our hearts are on fire" and "That title so wondrous fills all our desires". How much more genteel Ronald Knox's translation of a seventh century hymn by St. Bede the Venerable for the same tune:

"Protect us, while telling
Thy praises we sing.
In faithful hearts dwelling
Christ Jesus our King."

"Thou cam'st to redeem us
A pure Maiden's Child;
Pure bodies beseem us
And hearts undefiled."

Francis Schmitt

30 SHORT CHORALE PRELUDES
(*30 Kleine Choralvorspiele*)

By Max Reger, Opus 135a
(C. F. Peters, New York; \$1.50)

This splendid collection of chorale preludes was written by the composer shortly before his untimely death in 1916. With his characteristic, masterly treatment of the organ—a treatment which embodies an amazing contrapuntal skill—Reger has here given us thirty shorter works. They range from eight to thirty-six measures in length, and are of far less difficulty than those usually associated with the great composer. To be sure, we do not find herein the musical giant that we find in the "real" Reger—that is, in the larger works wherein the master gives his art full rein, such as in the fantasias "Straf' mich nicht", "Wie schoen leucht't uns", and in his other many large works for the organ. But in these chorale preludes—in the writing of which Reger (by general demand, for his works were simply too difficult) himself imposed limitations upon his boundless inspiration and phenomenal facility for technical complexity—we nevertheless do have something greatly artistic and original, something not difficult, and something very useful.

Most of the chorales in the collection are well known hymn-tunes and many date back to very early sources. Best known to the Catholic organist are such wonderful melodies as "O Sacred Head," "Holy God, We Praise Thy Name," and "Praise to the Lord, the Almighty." One or two of the preludes included are based on Protestant hymns, as, for example, the prelude on "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God."

This splendid edition is an exact reproduction of the earlier German edition published in 1915, except for the new cover and the very useful addition of the index page which provides both English and German titles. As is usual with editions of this publisher, paper, printing and engraving are of very high quality.

The collection affords a wealth of splendid material for preludes, postludes, and interludes, and for all occasions and seasons of

the church year. Organ registrations are not suggested, but manual indications and dynamics are always very clearly indicated. Certainly this is a work with which our serious Catholic organists should be familiar.

Paul Koch

FORTY-ONE ELEVATIONS

Pour Harmonium

By Dom P. Benoit

(J. Fischer & Bro., Glen Rock, N. J.—\$2.50)

Here is a valuable addition to the library of the Catholic organist. Those familiar with Dom Benoit's previous volumes, and particularly his "50 Elevations for Organ on Modal Themes" can know at once the lovely quality of music to expect. This set of forty-one Elevations, all of them quite short and written on two staves, has been composed especially for the harmonium, but can readily be played on the organ and adapted to use with pedal, for which indications are frequently given.

Dom Benoit is organist at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Maurice and St. Maur at Clervaux, in Luxembourg. He has, in recent years, attained considerable renown as composer, and the loveliness and delicacy of his contemporary approach constantly points up the sensitive and serious artist that he is. His work seems ever imbued with a religious fervor, and with a calm and dignity, so that we have here again compositions ideally suited as preludes and interludes for the Mass and other divine services.

The FOREWORD states that these Elevations . . . "have been based on various Sanctus themes from the Roman Gradual. The themes of some of them are taken from a Gregorian melody; others are interludes for soft stops, with no relation to the Gregorian melody other than the mode common to both; still others are written in free rhythm and require real freedom in their interpretation." The organist who must preside frequently at a harmonium during the Mass will welcome this collection greatly, particularly if he or she has developed a fine legato approach to the instrument.

Paul Koch

We are indebted to Flor Peeters for the following addenda of his works:

ORGAN MUSIC FOR CHURCH

- Op. 6—Four Improvisations on Gregorian Melodies
McLaughlin & Reilly Co., Boston
- Op. 13—Symphonic Fantasy on an Eastern Gregorian Alleluia
H. W. Gray, N. Y.
- Op. 16a—Monastic Peace
McLaughlin & Reilly Co., Boston
- Op. 28—Toccata, Fugue and Hymn on Ave Maris Stella
Elkan-Vogel, Philadelphia
—Sixty Short Pieces (Without Pedal)
H. W. Gray, N. Y.
- Op. 39—Zehn Orgel Choräle
Schott's Söhne, Mainz; Associated Music Publishers, N.Y.
- Op. 42—Passacaglia & Fugue
Schott's Söhne, Mainz; Associated Music Publishers, N.Y.
- Op. 55—Thirty-five Miniatures for Organ (Without Pedal)
McLaughlin & Reilly Co., Boston
- Op. 71—Four Pieces for Organ: Hymn, In Memoriam, Largo, Final
McLaughlin & Reilly Co., Boston
- Op. 72—Drei Praeludien & Fugen
Schott's Söhne, Mainz; Associated Music Publishers, N.Y.
- Op. 73—Organ Motet: Alma Redemptoris (Orgu et Liturgie)
Procure-Générale, Paris
- Op. 75—Ten Choral Preludes on Gregorian Hymns
Peeters, N. Y.
- Op. 76—Ten Choral Preludes on Gregorian Hymns
Peeters, N. Y.
- Op. 77—Ten Choral Preludes on Gregorian Hymns
Peeters, N. Y.
- Op. 78—Manuale: 15 Easy Pieces
Schwann, Düsseldorf
- Op. 83—Prelude, Canzona & Ciacone
Novello, London
- Op. 86c—Solemn Prelude
Hinrichsen, London
- Chorale Prelude: Ertödt uns durch dein' Güte—J. S. Bach
arranged by Flor Peeters
Elkan-Vogel, Philadelphia

Little Organ Book For Beginners in Organ Playing
Graded Exercises in Well-Known Hymn Tunes
McLaughlin & Reilly Co., Boston

Easy Old English and French Masters on 2 Staves
Associated Music Publishers, N. Y.

Easy Old Netherlands Masters on 2 Staves
Associated Music Publishers, N. Y.

Books

PERFORMER AND AUDIENCE

An Investigation into the Psychological Causes of Anxiety and Nervousness in Playing, Singing or Speaking Before an Audience

By James Ching, M.A., B.Mus. (Oxon)

Hall The Publisher, Ltd., 2 Littlegate, Oxford

Copyright 1947

The author attempted here an answer and a remedy for the chilling discomfort which is the lot of anyone who as performer or speaker walks on the stage to face an audience. I had the good fortune to hear Mr. Ching interpret the key-board music of Bach on the piano and I learned to admire in him a fine and scholarly artist. The keener, then, is the disappointment, when his book dishes up another tiresome rehash of the psychoanalytic nostrum of our time. Somehow we feel cheated of the fascination which the problem of stagefright ever has for us and which is apt to make for a challenging topic of discussion in a gathering of fellow-sufferers. Regrettably, Mr. Ching's solution is an invitation for us to relax on the moth-eaten couch of psycho-analysis and to submit to the initiation into the esoteric abracadabra of the great mystagogue, Freud.

Once again we are told the story of repressed sex desires, emerging as nervous symptoms to paralyze the performer. Infantile Oedipus lust is supposed to come to the fore as a feeling of guilt in the presence of the audience, since such a situation awakens in us sinful and hostile tendencies toward our parents which had been lurking in the deep recesses of the Unconscious, that Frankenstein monster of modern psychology. Freud's claim that civilization be the result of the repression of the sexual impulse of mankind, is accepted by Mr. Ching as a fact of reality. Any cultural endeavor, e.g., a performance in public, is then declared as an act against nature,

and as such the cause of emotional disequilibrium bearing the stamp of a secret sin. But no need to go further. Identical doctrines with the same stale notions will be found with every writer of psychoanalytic persuasion, regardless of the subject matter of his book.

When we take the trouble to work our way through this tedious mountain of the Freudian articles of faith, we discover only that Mr. Ching left us where we were before we read the book. The few practical hints which he gives us and which are indicative of his experience, are valuable but do not assist much in alleviating the anticipatory anxiety of the performer. Every artist still has to search for his own medicine. To be worthy of success he knows anyway that stage fright is part of the price he has to pay when he aspires to excel in front of other people. Experience teaches him that its nervous tension may be indispensable for a peak achievement. Lack of it can end in mediocrity and inferior accomplishment. He can use it as an additional incentive, or he can exaggerate it to withdraw in failure.

Mr. Ching could have made a notable contribution to the phenomenon of an intricate and complex aspect of the performing artist, if he had relied on his certainly extensive practical knowledge rather than toyed with the speculative myth of Freud's dream world.

Franz Plewa

THE ORGAN IN CHURCH DESIGN

By Joseph E. Blanton

Venture Press, Albany, Texas (1957)—\$20.00
492 Pages, 550 Illustrations, Notes, Bibliography

This is one of the great books in the English language on the subject of the organ, possibly the greatest.

Although the intended scope of the book is clearly indicated by the title, the actual subject matter and the wealth of illustration are vastly more comprehensive. Most of the work is concerned with the ways in which the organ has been placed in the church, and the various degrees of exposure, enclosure, and even entombment, to which it has been subjected throughout the centuries. Gothic, Renaissance (Italian, French, German, English), Baroque, and contemporary organs and organ cases are discussed and illustrated with splendid drawings and photographs.

Mr. Blanton, who is a Texas architect, takes a position in the matter of church music, organ building, and organ playing, which

will be regarded by many as extreme. He writes of the "visual and tonal crudity of the swell box," and he states categorically that "the Polyphonic organ is ideally suited to the performance of 99 per cent of the organ literature worthy of being brought into the Church." This is a difficult position to defend esthetically, historically, and, may we say, practically.

This book is a labor of love and anger. Mr. Blanton is angry with organists for their part in the decay of church music, and he is angry with organ builders and his professional colleagues for their blundering. But he shows true missionary zeal in his efforts to point out the more persistent errors of taste and judgment, and the ways in which these can be avoided. Mr. Blanton shows scholarly devotion to the subject in the careful organization of the book, and he has obviously devoted many years to the collecting of photographic material, organ specifications, and bibliography.

A list of subscribers appears in the front of the book, a list which is shockingly small. After advance-of-publication advertising in organ journals, only 79 individuals and libraries subscribed! It is hoped that by now, the organ world is aware of the importance of this superb work.

Myron Roberts

RHYTHMIC PROPORTIONS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL CHANT

By J. W. A. Vollaerts, S. J.

(E. J. Brill, Leiden, Holland — 25 Guilders)

Let it be said at once that this is the most important book on the subject of plainsong rhythm that has yet appeared. The author, who unfortunately did not live to see his work through the press, had spent over thirty years in a study both of the chant manuscripts and of the ancient treatises on chant rhythm.

Although he avoids any suggestion of controversy, it is quite obvious to anyone who reads his book that he has finally disposed of the modern Solesmes interpretation and of all other renderings which are based on equal note-values. These must henceforth forfeit any claim to be regarded as valid interpretations of the Church's traditional music. They are no better than modern parodies—exactly as an edition or a performance of Bach, Mozart or Beethoven would be, if the different note-values were all made uniform. In saying this I am not forgetting our great debt to Solesmes in general and to Dom Mocquereau in particular for what Fr. Vollaerts describes as their "inestimable service to the science of paleography".

But anyone who wants to discover the genuine, historical interpretation of the Church's music must base his study, not on the theories of a modern writer, but on the historical evidence that has come down to us. This consists of two elements: the chant manuscripts, and the old writings of equal date with them. In this two-fold study Fr. Vollaerts' book will offer him expert guidance, for it is a work of scholarship of the highest distinction. Indeed, it is now the one indispensable book for any conscientious study of the chant.

A. Gregory Murray

Records

THE MUSIC OF RICHARD PURVIS

4-90 Aeolian-Skinner in Grace Cathedral, San Francisco, California
King of Instruments Series Vol. V. 12" LP. \$5.95

Partita, in five movements, on "Christ ist erstanden"; Pastorale, "Forest Green"; Adoration; Divinum Mysterium; Capriccio on the notes of a cuckoo; Introit and Elevation, from "An American Organ Mass".

Yardsticks employed in evaluation of the writing and playing of organ music are many and, often times, at odds.

Clean, note perfect, colorless, unimaginative, tradition-bound, impersonal music and playing for many, constitutes an ideal. Another hears the same as mechanical, bloodless, refrigerated, stupid and boring

In contrast, purists on hearing colorful, imaginative music and playing which captures and communicates the beauty and soul of that music, polish off, and attack with, their most scornful of epithets, romanticism.

Proud purists will not be allured by Mr. Purvis's music nor its playing, despite the fact that it bears incontrovertible scholarly discipline, contrapuntal adroitness, purposeful dissonance and the reverent dignity of churchliness. All of which, for others, adds to dedicated, imaginative beauty.

Save one, the Capriccio, all choices are based on chorales, plainsongs, or as in "Forest Green" a folksong. Should one be interested in Mr. Purvis's source material, in the Episcopal Hymnal, 1940, Forest Green may be found as No. 21; Adoration's "Adoro Devote" is No. 204; Divinum Mysterium is No. 20; Introit's "Christe Redemptor" is No. 485; Elevation's "Von Himmel Hoch" is No. 22. Bach's harmonization of the Easter chorale, "Christ ist erstanden"; of course, is known to all.

The jacket not only carries a complete stop list of the organ but also the registration used in each number. The recording and reproduction of the music is so fine as to vividly capture the tonal glory of that magnificent instrument.

Strangely, the recording merely bears the legend: "played by the staff organist". Knowing, through personal hearing, the virtuoso attainments of the composer, no psychic powers are necessary to identify the player as Mr. Purvis himself.

Martin W. Bush

PIERRE COCHEREAU, OF NOTRE DAME CATHEDRAL IN PARIS, IN RECITAL AT SYMPHONY HALL, BOSTON

**4-67 Aeolian-Skinner. The King of Instruments Series.
Vol. XII. 12" LP. \$5.95**

Triptych Symphony, in four movements, Cochereau; Modere Expressif, Fleury; Fileuse, Dupre; Adagio, Symphony No. 3, Vierne.

If organ music and organ playing coming out of France in recent decades edifies you, this recording is your dish. For it bears all the hall-marks that have given distinction to what now has become a "school".

Hence, omission of any consideration here of musical matter and musical manner; the fertility or barenness of subject matter and the glibness or labor with which it is developed. Nor need the issue of cacaphony versus euphony here be raised.

However, the high voltage of Mr. Cochereau's playing in parading the color and fire of the Boston Symphony Hall organ has added up to a musical experience of high caloric content. Even though the program is not without soporific moments.

Core of the recording is the symphony — do not ask how a triptych can be comprised of four movements — a recording of an improvisation of themes handed him at the last moment on a recital program.

Granting that such feats, at the hands of Dupre and his many followers over the years, have somewhat dulled the awe and excitement they used to incite, none will gainsay the brilliance of Mr. Cochereau's achievement on this occasion. The improvisation breaks down to an opening adagio which meanders for some ten minutes, a fetching scherzo, another adagio of engaging tonal color and a flashing toccata-finale.

Otherwise the Fleury piece seemed bland and innocuous. The familiar descriptive "Spinner" by Dupre is tossed off with disarming ease. The Vierne Adagio is Vierne in one of his more rewarding aspects.

Sound-wise the recording is superb. The jacket shows a stop list of the Symphony Hall organ.

Martin W. Bush

OTHER RECORDS

We have, besides a number of Archive Records yet to be reviewed, two more private recordings. The first is an intelligent reading of the Josquin des Pres "Missa Pange Lingua" by the Pomona (Cal.) College Glee Clubs, under the direction of William F. Russel. The group has performed the work for High Masses and for music societies. It sometimes lacks spontaneity and steadiness of pulse, and vocal color because of the tonal unification of the tenor and alto parts, but intonation and good sound are beyond cavil and for this group's further excursions with des Pres, we say bravo! The reading under discussion is taken from Das Chorwerk, 1, of Blume, and it certainly shows up Msgr. Berberich's butchery in the Schwann edition.

The second record is entitled "Cantate Domino". Because some readers do not recognize that criticism and charity are often like peace and justice kissing, may we say only that it is a dismal demonstration of how bad things can get, and that for all of that, the portion of Refice's *Missa Choralis* here presented gets exactly the treatment it deserves.

If you must have some trivia after a desultory choir rehearsal one might recommend Columbia's release of "The Piano Artistry of Johnathan Edwards and Darlene Edwards". Uncanny, these two!

Francis Schmitt

NEWS LITTER

• *Beati Mortui* — Father Edgar Boyle, past Archdiocesan Director of Music in San Francisco, who died last December 27th, worked unceasingly over a period of many years to achieve the wishes of St. Pius X. He was revered far and wide.

• The Des Moines Catholic Grade School Music Festival was held on February 11, 1958. Eight hundred singers from eleven Des Moines schools and neighboring Perry took part. Each school was presented in the afternoon program. The day was climaxed by a Solemn High Mass in honor of Our Lady of Lourdes in St. Ambrose Cathedral at 4:30 P.M.; the Mass was sung by the combined group, under the direction of Father Frederick Reece, Diocesan Director of Music.

• Dr. Arthur C. Becker observed his 40th anniversary as organist and choirmaster at the University Church of St. Vincent de Paul, Chicago, on April 13th.

• The Dessoff Choirs presented the first New York performance of Luigi Cherubini's "Missa Solemnis in D Minor" at Carnegie Hall on May 8th.

● THE LITURGY MAY NOT BE ALTERED—*Reminder from Holy Office*—The Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office has issued an instruction with reference to the unauthorized addition of new prayers and devotions or the deletion of portions of the approved liturgy, of public devotions, and even of the Mass.

No new rites, ceremonies, readings or prayers may be introduced into the Divine Office without prior approval from the Holy See, and nothing may be omitted from it, says the decree which is dated February 14, 1958.

The Sacred Congregation and the Holy See at the same time warns the clergy that it alone has authority to regulate the Sacred Liturgy, and to approve liturgical books and new litanies for public recitation (Can. 1257 and Can. 1259); that prayers and pious exercises cannot be permitted in churches or oratories without the express approval and permissions of the Ordinary of the locality who is required in difficult cases to submit the entire matter to the Holy See (Can. 1259).

● More than thirteen hundred children from twenty-four parochial and private schools in the Archdiocese of Vancouver, B.C., Canada, took part in the Twelfth Annual Laetare Sunday Festival of Sacred Music in two centers on March 16th. The programs are arranged under the direction of Reverend Nunzio J. Defoe, Chairman of the Diocesan Sacred Music Commission.

Guests of honor at the programs were the Most Reverend William Mark Duke, D.D., Archbishop of Vancouver, who established this annual demonstration, and the Most Reverend Martin M. Johnson, D.D., Coadjutor Archbishop of Vancouver.

● The Palestrina Society of Connecticut College, under the direction of Paul F. Laubenstein, now professor emeritus of religion, gave the first presentation of its 17th season in Harkness Chapel, New London, on January 26. Its offering was Palestrina's Missa Assumpta Est Maria for six voices, sung in the newly corrected edition of Henry Washington (Chester).

At the organ was Professor James S. Dendy, formerly associate editor of *The Diapason*, and a member of the College department of music. As music of the period he played the Ricercare, the Canzon Francese and a Toccata all by Giovanni Cavaccio (1556-1626), a composer who in 1592 contributed to a volume of Psalm settings dedicated to Palestrina.

● Joseph Surace, A.A.G.O., has been appointed organist at Sacred Heart Cathedral, Newark.

● A thousand music students, representing 40 of Chicago's Catholic High Schools, presented their annual Music Festival in the Civic Opera House on March 9th. Father Mytych supervised the production.

● The Catholic High Schools of the Diocese of Sioux Falls opened their sixth annual Choral Festival with a Gregorian Mass at St. Agatha Church, Howard, S.D.

● The Gregorian Institute announces the first series in its "Connoisseur's Catalog". There are six masses by Andriessen, Johnson, Krenek, Litaize, Peloquin, and Woolen. All but one are for equal voices. The Institute will hold its summer session at Mary Manse College, Toledo, June 22—August 1.

● Paul Koch, Organist and Choirmaster of St. Paul's Cathedral, Pittsburgh, Pa., and City Organist at Carnegie Hall in Pittsburgh, played the dedicatory recital of the new three-manual Casavant Organ in the newly-completed Cathedral of the Holy Name, Steubenville, Ohio, on April 23rd. Mr. Koch was organ consultant for the new organ. The large organ features a Trompette-en-chamade, for which Mr. Koch wrote a special composition "Fanfare in nomine Jesu" based on the Introit for the Patronal Feast of the Diocese. Bishop John King Mussio of Steubenville presided at both the Blessing of the organ and the recital.

● Forty-five hundred youngsters participated in a songfest of varied nature at the Butler Field House in Indianapolis on April 27. Father Edwin Sahm organized the event.

● There is a new publication date—June 18th—for Mr. Apel's book on chant. The Vollaerts book, published in Holland, but written in English, is already in this country.

● First performance on the March series of the N.B.C. Catholic Hour included Psalm 116, Creston; Ingredient, Woolen; Apostles Creed (English), Peloquin. All were sung by the Peloquin Chorale.

● The annual spring concert by the Diocesan Sisters' choirs of Syracuse dedicated to Leo A. Fisselbrand, A.A.G.O., was held on April 27 at the Most Holy Rosary Church Auditorium. Dr. Jos. McGrath directed the combined choirs in three of his own compositions.

● Lillian Murtagh, Director, Organ Division of Colbert-LaBerge, 105 W. 55th St., N.Y., announces that Jean Langlais will be available for concerts next January and February. Catholic organists and choirmasters are particularly indebted to Mr. Langlais.

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2. To seek the cultivation of Gregorian Chant, of Polyphony, of modern and especially contemporary music, of good vernacular hymns, of artistic organ playing, of church music research.
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.
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