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Editorial

Polyphony | William Mahrt 3

Articles

“Fulfilled is All that David Told”: Recovering the Christian Psalter
 | Fr. Benedict Maria Andersen, O.S.B. 9

The Primacy of Gregorian Chant: Reflections on the Fiftieth Anniversary of
Musicam Sacram | Ted Krasnicki 26

Progressive Solemnity and the Dominican Liturgy | Fr. Innocent Smith, O.P. 42

Repertory

Palestrina’s Singers’ Lament: *Super flumina Babylonis* | William Mahrt 54

Commentary

“Hermeneutic of Continuity” | William Mahrt 62

CMAA Announcements 65

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Polyphony

What is the status of polyphony in the liturgy today? What does the principal place enjoyed by chant mean for the place of polyphonic compositions?

by William Mahrt



Gregorian chant is sufficient for the liturgy. When the Mass is sung in chant with the priest singing his parts, the congregation responding to the priest's parts and singing the ordinary, and the choir singing the proper, the beauty of the liturgy can be moving, its sacredness apparent, and the sense of participation can be most natural. The Second Vatican Council prescribed the ideal for the sung liturgy:

Liturgical worship is given a more noble form when the divine offices are celebrated solemnly in song, with the assistance of sacred ministers and the active participation of the people.

If one follows the principle that the reading of the texts of the council should be done in light of tradition, then it is clear that what the fathers of the council were describing in this text was the Solemn High Mass.

Likewise the council gave principal place to Gregorian chant. Pope St. Pius X,

and after him, Pope St. John Paul II both state that Gregorian chant was the paradigm of all sacred music: any sacred music is to be judged in so far as it approaches the chant in its motion, spirit, and function.

With regard to compositions of liturgical music, I make my own the "general rule" that St. Pius X formulated in these words: "The more closely a composition for church approaches in its movement, inspiration and savor the Gregorian melodic form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes; and the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple." It is not, of course, a question of imitating Gregorian chant but rather of ensuring that new compositions are imbued with the same spirit that inspired and little by little came to shape it. Only an artist who is profoundly steeped in the *sensus Ecclesiae* can attempt to perceive and express in melody the truth of the Mystery

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that is celebrated in the Liturgy.¹

Liturgical music must meet the specific prerequisites of the Liturgy: full adherence to the text it presents, synchronization with the time and moment in the Liturgy for which it is intended, appropriately reflecting the gestures proposed by the rite. The various moments in the Liturgy require a musical expression of their own. From time to time this must fittingly bring out the nature proper to a specific rite, now proclaiming God's marvels, now expressing praise, supplication or even sorrow for the experience of human suffering which, however, faith opens to the prospect of Christian hope.²

While the council gave first place to the chant, it singled out polyphony for special mention.

The Church acknowledges Gregorian chant as specially suited to the Roman liturgy: therefore, other things being equal, it should be given principal place in liturgical services.

But other kinds of sacred music, especially polyphony, are by no means excluded from liturgical celebrations, so long as they accord with the spirit of the liturgical action.³

¹Pope St. John Paul II, Chirograph for the Centenary of the Motu Proprio "Tra Le Sollecitudini" On Sacred Music (2003), ¶12 .

²Ibid., ¶5.

³Second Vatican Council, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (1963), ¶116.

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The intimate relation of chant and liturgy stems from the fact that a chant melody is an immediate and direct expression of text and action prescribed by the liturgy. Each genre of chant (introit, offertory, gradual, etc.) is distinguished from the others by a style that corresponds to its liturgical function.⁴ Each piece of Gregorian chant, moreover, is not just a text for which a melody happens to have been provided, but, rather, text and melody arose together as integral parts of the liturgy. This gives the Gregorian propers an obligatory status in the extraordinary form and the status of first place, even in the ordinary form. These chants are integral parts of the sung liturgy. For any part of the liturgy on any particular day, there is a right piece to be sung.

⁴Cf. William Mahrt, "Gregorian Chant as a Paradigm of Liturgical Music," *Sacred Music*, 133, no. 1 (2006); reprint in *The Musical Shape of the Liturgy* (Richmond, Va.: CMAA, 2012), 115–29.

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The standing of the Ordinary of the Mass is somewhat different. There is more choice of which chant is to be sung for Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. The chant books present eighteen cycles plus some *ad libitum* pieces, and, while some of them have traditional association with seasons or degrees of solemnity,⁵ their standing is not obligatory, and their history demonstrates that from place to place and time to time, the assignment of some of them was quite various,⁶ something quite different from the chants of the proper.

The situation is yet quite different for polyphony. It has served many different functions over its history, some of which are still pertinent in cultivating a liturgy that

⁵Particularly those for the Easter Season (I), Blessed Virgin (IX), Advent and Lent (XVII) and weekdays (XVIII); Mass XI for Sundays has some status as well.

⁶Kyrie, *Orbis factor* (XI), for example, in some chant books is given for feasts of apostles and in others for confessors.

is sacred and beautiful, but each of which is what might be called voluntary—it is up to the discretion of those executing the liturgy to decide where and when it might be performed.

In its beginnings, polyphony derived from the chant, since at first it involved simply the adding of a single voice to the melody of a chant. This process developed until several voices were added, and gradually the chant voice was made to stand out by being sung slower than the other voices. By the fifteenth century, this *cantus firmus* technique was a principal means of the composition of polyphony. In the wake of humanism, voice parts were made equal, and the technique of polyphony involved imitation—each voice took the melody in turn (a technique that led to the fugue later). Sometimes the subject of such imitation was a paraphrase of a chant melody, but other times it was a freely invented subject; still it retained the “movement, inspiration, and savor” of chant.

At first, polyphony carried the same functions that the chant upon which it was based served. For example, the organa of the Notre Dame School in thirteenth-century Paris elaborated upon the melodies of the gradual and alleluia of the Mass and the responsory of the office, at the place where these chants were to be sung. Movements of the Mass did likewise: the Mass of Guillaume de Machaut bases its Kyrie upon a chant Kyrie, and so forth. The introits, alleluias, sequences, and communions of the Mass all received polyphonic setting by Heinrich Isaac in the *Choralis Constantinus*. Likewise chants for the office were provided with polyphony which incorporated them: particularly at Vespers, the hymn, and the Magnificat,

at Compline the Marian Antiphon, and in Holy Week the Lamentations of the Tenebrae service. Yet, the very use of polyphony was voluntary; it was not required, but chosen to enhance the beauty of the liturgy.

This voluntary character applies particularly to motets, compositions upon sacred texts, often without any specific location prescribed. Some motets were designated for particular liturgical usage: the offertories of Lassus or Palestrina, but most motets were of such sacred character that they could serve different functions from time to time.

How can sacred polyphony be employed in the liturgy of today? Those pieces written for particular liturgical purposes may still serve. One can sing a Tenebrae service during Holy Week and the Lamentations or responsories for that service can be included. Vespers can be sung every Sunday, or for special occasions. A Vespers for a major feast day in the evening can include polyphonic Hymn, Magnificat and can conclude with a Marian antiphon.⁷ Special occasions can be enhanced with the singing of a motet: baptisms, house blessings, even grace before meals at a formal dinner.

The most likely place in today's liturgy for polyphony is as an amplification of the time at the offertory and communion in the Mass. An important principle is that at the processional places in the liturgy, the music should fully accompany the action. Since most of today's congregations receive communion, more time is required than the singing of a Gregorian commu-

nion provides, even when the communion antiphon is alternated with psalm verses. A polyphonic motet, particularly a Eucharistic one, can complement the chant proper, adding an element of meditation and reflection that is suitable for those having received communion. Likewise, if there is incensation at the offertory, the chant may not fill the time it takes; before the twelfth or thirteenth centuries offertory verses supplied this accompaniment of the liturgical action, and such verses have been published and can be sung. But more frequently, this is a time for a motet. While the offertory is a time of action, there is also an element of reflection as well, coming between the activity of the Credo and the preface with Sanctus. A polyphonic motet can provide accompaniment to the incensation, while at the same time compliment the intense activity before and after it with something reflective.

There are brief times in the liturgy when it has been common for the organ to accompany some brief action; for instance, at the completion of the gospel in the solemn Mass, the deacon takes the Gospel book to the celebrant for his veneration. It makes sense for there to be a musical accompaniment. It is thought that in the thirteenth century that the genre of conductus served this function; there are brief pieces in the repertory that have a rhythmic quality that appropriately "conduct" the deacon to the celebrant, or the preacher from the pulpit.

I contend that it is not necessary that the congregation sing a hymn at the introit, offertory, and communion, if they actively sing the parts of the Ordinary of the Mass. The texts of the ordinary are in themselves acts of worship and therefore belong to the congregation, while the processional

⁷Technically, the Marian antiphon belongs to Compline, but if Vespers is sung without following it immediately with Compline, then it is concluded with the Marian antiphon, Cf. *Liber Usualis* (Tournai: Desclée, 1962), p. 261.

chants are accompaniments of other liturgical actions and are more appropriately witnessed by members of the congregation. The transition from the “four-hymn sandwich” to this practice, however, needs to be accomplished quite gradually, with good instruction of the congregation.

But what about the polyphonic Ordinary of the Mass? The council gave special recognition to polyphony, and of the repertory of classical polyphony perhaps the greater part is settings of the Ordinary of the Mass.⁸ To exclude the ordinary from the liturgy is not consistent with the council’s special endorsement of classical polyphony. Moreover, the traditional compositions of the ordinary are integral works; while one or another movement can be performed separately, their proper performance should be of all five movements.

Musicam Sacram disapproves of all of the proper and ordinary being sung by the choir, to the exclusion of the singing of the people:

the usage of entrusting to the choir alone the entire singing of the whole Proper and of the whole Ordinary, to the complete exclusion of the people’s participa-

⁸Among the works of Palestrina for the Mass, for example, I count 104 masses, 315 motets, and 67 offertories. Since each mass consists of five movements, this amounts to 520 mass movements as compared to 382 motets and offertories. There is also, of course a large body of works for the Divine Office: 71 hymns (an average of three verses each), 57 lamentations, 35 Magnificats (consisting of six verses each), and 11 litanies. Since the masses consist of five movements each, and even granting that some motets have been composed for performance at Mass, a strong majority of Palestrina’s works for Mass consists of ordinaries.

tion in the singing, is to be deprecated.⁹

But *Musicam Sacram* also endorsed traditional choirs and their musical heritage.

Large choirs (*Capellæ musicæ*) existing in basilicas, cathedrals, monasteries and other major churches, which have in the course of centuries earned for themselves high renown by preserving and developing a musical heritage of inestimable value, should be retained for sacred celebrations of a more elaborate kind, according to their own traditional norms, recognized and approved by the Ordinary.

However, the directors of these choirs and the rectors of the churches should take care that the people always associate themselves with the singing by performing at least the easier sections of those parts which belong to them.¹⁰

But since the Lord’s Prayer has been given to the congregation to sing, it has become a part of the ordinary; thus when the traditional movements are sung by the choir, there is not “complete exclusion of the people’s participation in the singing,” and they still sing the numerous responses during the liturgy as well. I have addressed the question of the singing of the polyphonic ordinary extensively in these pages previously,¹¹ but one point should be made

⁹Sacred Congregation of Rites, Instruction on Music in the Liturgy *Musicam Sacram* (March 5, 1967), ¶16c.

¹⁰*Musicam Sacram*, 20.

¹¹Cf. Jared Ostermann, “Twentieth-Century Reform and the Transition from a ‘Parallel’ to a

here. If, as in the case of the Mass where my own choir sings, the congregation sings six different cycles of the chant ordinary in the course of the year on the normal Sundays, and the choir sings a complete ordinary on a few major feast days, the congregation, by their having sung in Latin the very texts of the ordinary, are well prepared to participate in the Mass by hearing the ordinary sung by the choir. This is not taking their participation away from them, but rather enhancing it.

There are special Masses for which polyphony can enhance the beauty and sacrality of the occasion. Funerals are difficult for those close to the departed, and the Gregorian Requiem Mass together with a couple of polyphonic motets can elevate the mourning of those present.¹² My

‘Sequential’ Liturgical Model: Implications for the Inherited Choral Repertoire and Future Liturgical Compositions,” *Sacred Music*, 142, no. 1 (Spring 2015), 8–21; William Mahrt, “The Choral Ordinary in the Ordinary Form,” *Ibid.*, 22–29; Jared Ostermann, “The Case against the Choral Ordinary in the Ordinary Form,” *Sacred Music*, 142, no. 2 (Summer, 2015), 26–37; and William Mahrt, “Singing the Ordinary of the Mass: A Response to Jared Ostermann,” *Ibid.*, 38–45.

¹²I observed this on two occasions: one was the funeral of Msgr. Richard Schuler. He had often conducted the Mozart Requiem on All Souls’ Day, and so it was sung for his funeral. The ceremonies of meeting the casket were conducted in English and were somewhat disorderly; attendant priests wandered from the sacristy and crowded around the casket; the old ICEL texts grated as not projecting a sense of formality requisite for a funeral. The brief, eloquent instrumental introduction to the Mozart then began, and the assembled priests turned and returned to the sacristy in quite an orderly manner. From that moment, the entire funeral was elevated to a level appropriate for a man who devoted his life to the beauty and sacredness of the liturgy.

experience of this has been that those present were quite moved by such singing. The same is true in a very different way for wedding.

Polyphony adds something unique to a liturgy celebrated in chant. Its beauty is, for some, more tangible, but what it adds is a sense of cosmic order. The coordination of the contrapuntal parts of a motet suggest the order and purpose with which the Creator endowed all of creation, and while the chant orients the worshiper to the liturgical action and joins him to it, the motet evokes a larger order that at the same time aids the worshiper in reflecting upon his interior state. ❖

A young woman on the Stanford faculty died a very premature death, and her husband and colleagues were devastated. The university held a memorial service at which colleagues remembered her, but her death was too prominent for them to be able to contain themselves and some of them broke down; a cello played in a very disorderly way. Her husband asked if we could sing a Gregorian Requiem Mass for her, and, though she was not Catholic, our pastor said it was possible as long as it was not public. A number of her colleagues attended. A few months later, I saw one of them, an expert on Nietzsche, and he said to me that he had been at the university service and it had torn him apart, he was disconsolate after it. He had come to the Requiem Mass and he told me that although he was not a believer, he was edified by the Mass, that seemed “a fitting closure to a life.”

I advise people to leave directions for their funeral, if they want it to be beautiful and sacred; these directions should be placed with the will, but not in it, because the sealed will might not be read until after the funeral.

“Fulfilled is All that David Told”: Recovering the Christian Psalter

The Septuagint undergirds the church’s liturgical life and provides the key to the traditional interpretation of biblical texts.

by Benedict Maria Andersen, O.S.B.



From the earliest days of the Faith, there has existed a distinct tradition which might justly be called “the Christian Psalter.” They are no different from the Psalms of David passed down from Hebrew antiquity, but they exist within the church in a unique form, or rather, a whole constellation of textual traditions which have come down to us not only in Greek and Latin, but also in various other Christian languages:¹ texts which have come to

be enshrined, permanently and for all time, in every historic Christian liturgy in East and West.

The uniquely Christian Psalter, one might say, revolves like a solar system around the so-called Septuagint (“LXX” henceforth), the pre-Christian Greek translation, by Hellenistic Jewish scholars, of the Hebrew Old Testament. Latin Rite Catholics receive the tradition of the LXX substantially through its Latin “daughter” and “granddaughter” respectively—the so-called “Old Latin” (*Vetus Latina*) or “Old Italic” family of manuscripts, and the

¹Bruce M. Metzger lists these as follows: “Old Latin, Coptic, Gothic, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Syriac (in Paul of Tella’s translation around 616 of Origen’s Hexaplaric text), Arabic, and Slavonic.”

See *The Bible in Translation: Ancient and English Versions* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 2001), p. 20.

This paper was given as a plenary address at the annual sacred music colloquium, held in 2017 in Saint Paul, Minnesota at Saint Thomas University.

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revision of this tradition by Jerome which we call the Vulgate (*Biblia Sacra Vulgata*).

That this textual tradition is not just of passing academic interest for Catholics is shown by Pope Benedict XVI, in his 2006 Regensburg address, in which he argued that the LXX is more than a simple translation from Hebrew: “it is an independent textual witness and a distinct and important step in the history of revelation.” According to the pope, the LXX became the locus of a dynamic encounter between Hebrew faith and Greek wisdom “in a way that was decisive for the birth and spread of Christianity.”²

These words, coming from a contemporary Roman Pontiff, are significant, especially given the direction which Catholic biblical studies have taken since the middle of the twentieth century. Coming from the same man who, years earlier in 1988 as Cardinal Ratzinger, had announced a “crisis” in modern historical-critical biblical studies,³ the reference to the LXX could be seen as a clarion call for Catholics to rediscover the roots of the church’s biblical faith in that particular form in which it was received, and passed on, by the apostles themselves.

Until the Reformation, the status of the LXX (and its Latin descendants) within

²Pope Benedict XVI, “Apostolic Journey to München, Altötting, and Regensburg: Meeting with the Representatives of Science in the Aula Magna of the University of Regensburg,” September 12, 2006 <http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2006/september/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20060912_university-regensburg.html>.

³Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, “Biblical Interpretation in Crisis: The 1988 Erasmus Lecture” <<https://www.firstthings.com/web-exclusives/2008/04/biblical-interpretation-in-crisis>>.

*In the words of
Augustine,
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Christendom was universal and virtually unchallenged. In the words of Augustine, the church approaches the Septuagint version “as if it were the only one.”⁴ Origen, in his Letter to Africanus, speaks of comparing “our” Greek readings with “theirs” (the Jews).

The situation changed dramatically with the advent of the Reformation. Heavily influenced by late medieval nominalism,⁵ Protestant divines by and large declared themselves in favor of the so-called Masoretic manuscript tradition (henceforth, “MT”), which they regarded as “the original Hebrew,” as from the mouths of the prophets themselves, the pure Word of God, unmediated by corrupt medieval ecclesiasticism. With time, this quest for a

⁴St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII.43: “hanc tamen, quæ Septuaginta est, tamquam sola esset, sic recepit Ecclesia.”

⁵See Scott Hahn and Benjamin Wiker, *Politicizing the Bible: The Roots of Historical Criticism and the Secularization of Scripture 1300–1700* (New York: Crossroad, 2013), pp. 17–59.

pristine text morphed, under the influence of the Enlightenment, into the rationalism and radical skepticism of the liberal Protestant school of biblical scholarship.

Catholic biblical scholars enamored of these methodologies, long believing themselves to be constricted by Roman resistance, finally received in 1943, from the highest authority in the church, vindication in the form of the encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu*, which called for biblical translations to be made from something called “the original languages.” For many Catholic biblical scholars, this was seen as nothing less than a revolution, a kind of “green light” to abandon the Vulgate entirely and to relegate the LXX to the status of a tool to clarify obscure passages in the MT.

The language of the encyclical must be understood in light of the sensational discovery by a young Bedouin shepherd, only three years after the encyclical’s release, of the first of the Qumran texts, the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls. This discovery witnesses to a vast multiplicity of Hebrew readings, some favoring the MT, some the Samaritan Pentateuch, and others the LXX. It is no longer possible, then, blithely to assume that the MT is more or less “the Hebrew original,” and that its differences with the LXX are due to defects in the latter. Any search therefore, for “the original Hebrew,” is a dead end. We have only what has been mediated to us by the tradition in which we stand. And herein lies the problem.

Western Catholics thus find themselves in an unprecedented position: almost two millennia of theology, liturgy, and devotion based upon the LXX and its Latin cognates have been pushed aside in favor of a medieval rabbinic Jewish version of the Old Testament, never used by Christians anywhere

from apostolic times until early modernity, when it arises in the context of a revolt against Catholic faith and order.⁶

Interestingly, in modern times, there has also been a re-evaluation of the LXX tradition by a number of Protestant scholars. In 1905, for instance, Anglican scholar F. W. Mozley, speaking of the “Coverdale Psalter” of the Book of Common Prayer, remarked

It has pleased the Divine Author of the Psalter and Director of the devotions of the Church that the form of the Psalms in liturgical use should not agree exactly with what has been called the Hebrew Verity. There is no clear reason why it should.⁷

Almost a century later, Brevard Childs, the renowned Protestant biblical scholar, raised the same question:

Why should the Christian Church be committed in any way to the authority of the Masoretic text when its development extended long after the inception of the Church and was carried on within a rabbinic tradition?⁸

⁶It must be mentioned that the Catholic humanists of the sixteenth century, such as Erasmus, Thomas More, and Cardinal Cajetan, contributed also to this shift, albeit somewhat inadvertently. See Allan K. Jenkins and Patrick Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church: A Sixteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2016).

⁷F. W. Mozley, *The Psalter of the Church: The Septuagint Psalms Compared with the Hebrew, with Various Notes* (Cambridge: University Press, 1905), p. viii.

⁸Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament*

Likewise, Mogens Müller, a Danish Lutheran theologian, writes in his fascinating study *The First Bible of the Church* (1996):

The question of the Old Testament text cannot be separated from the question of what the early church regarded as its Bible. It is unreasonable to say that the “true” text actually differs from what the early church believed it to be. A historical determination of what early Christians believed to be the biblical text cannot be replaced by the text-critical question of its original appearance, if this can be answered at all. The quotation from Isa. 7.14 in Mt. 1.23 makes this absolutely clear. Matthew says “virgin” in accordance with the Greek translation, whereas the Hebrew text uses the word “young woman.” It would be pointless to rebuke the evangelist for using the “wrong” text. On the contrary, the “wrong” text gains a significance of its own by being used.⁹

The church, Müller argues,

has its own Old Testament with respect to both text form and volume, inspired by the Spirit of God with special regard to its appearance and mission. To put it differently, the Church has made its choice beforehand, and another option of an inherent retrospective effect is unthinkable.¹⁰

as Scripture (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), p. 89.

⁹Mogens Müller, *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint* (Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), p. 23.

¹⁰Müller, *The First Bible*, 94.

“The use of the LXX,” writes Martin Hengel, “as Holy Scripture is practically as old as the church itself.”¹¹ To the fathers, therefore, with the exception of Jerome, the LXX was more than just a translation; it was part and parcel of God’s saving economy towards the Gentiles, the movement from Jewish particularity to Catholic universality. As he arrives in Rome, that symbol of the entire οἰκουμένη, Paul declares: “This salvation of God is sent to the Gentiles, and they will hear it” (Acts 28:28). “He who would *read* the New Testament,” wrote Sidney Jellicoe, “must know *Koiné*; but he who would *understand* the New Testament must know the LXX.”¹²

For Cyril of Jerusalem, for instance, the Greek Old Testament, received from the Jews of Alexandria by the church, “was no word-craft, nor contrivance of human devices: but the translation of the Divine Scriptures, spoken by the Holy Ghost, was of the Holy Ghost accomplished.”¹³ “It was not alien,” wrote Clement of Alexandria, “to the inspiration of God who gave the prophecy, also to produce the translation, and make it as it were Greek prophecy.”¹⁴ Likewise, Augustine, in critiquing Jerome’s insistence upon the *Hebraica Veri-*

¹¹Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon* (New York: T & T Clark, 2002), p. 22.

¹²Sidney Jellicoe, “Septuagint Studies in the Current Century,” *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 88 (1969), 199. In a similar vein, the German biblical critic Ferdinand Hitzig (1807–1875) reportedly told his students: “Gentlemen, have you a Septuagint? If not, sell all you have, and buy a Septuagint!”

¹³Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, IV.34.

¹⁴Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, I.22,149.

*The church's faith is, as it
were, inseparably bound
up with the Septuagint
tradition.*

tas, insisted that “the same Spirit that was in the prophets when they delivered those messages was present in person in the seventy men also.”¹⁵ While some might look askance at the idea of the inspiration (or quasi-inspiration) of the Septuagint, at the very least it can be seen as a strong conviction in the providential role of the Greek Old Testament in preparing the way for the acceptance by the Greco-Roman world of the Jewish Messiah who came “according to the Scriptures.”

Arguably, Jerome's insistence on the *Hebraica Veritas* introduced an uncertainty in the Western Church as to the status of the Greek Old Testament, a tension that was to surface in full force with the Reformation, influenced by the parallel movement of the “new humanism” with its call *ad fontes*, as well as a kind of naive association of post-temple rabbinic religion, and its version of the Hebrew Scriptures, with Judaism at the time of Our Lord. *Hebraica veritas* thus becomes linked with a late medieval Hebrew manuscript tradition which Jerome never knew and of which he

¹⁵Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII.43.

most certainly would not have approved.

The situation in the Christian East has been different, and still is to a great extent. No tradition, of course, Eastern or Western, has remained untouched by the spirit of the Reformation and the Enlightenment. But for the most part, the Orthodox Churches, despite the adoption of Western biblical hermeneutics on the part of many Orthodox scholars, have clung more or less faithfully to the Septuagint tradition for all things liturgical,¹⁶ and therefore, of necessity, for all things theological.¹⁷

Greek Orthodox biblical scholar Eugen Pentiuc speaks of “the impact of the Septuagint (conceptually and lexically) on the liturgical life of the [Orthodox] Church,” since “the whole Eastern Orthodox hymnography is infused with concepts and terms” from the LXX.¹⁸ The situation, it seems to me, is no different in the classic Roman liturgical tradition, with regard to the Vulgate and Old Latin Psalters.

In the West no less than in the East, the church's faith is, as it were, inseparably

¹⁶In fact, the textual variants very often provide the *only* reason for a particular text's utilization within the liturgy. In the Byzantine Rite, Psalm 67:11 (LXX) forms the basis of the prayer by which the deacon is blessed to read the Gospel. The Psalm in both the LXX and Vulgate reads: “The Lord will give speech with great might to those who preach good tidings.” The MT variant could not be more different: “The *women* that publish the tidings are a great host.”

¹⁷On this point, the Latin Church, I would suggest, would do well to learn from the Greek East in the spirit of Pope St John Paul II's apostolic letter *Orientalis Lumen*.

¹⁸Eugen J. Pentiuc, *The Old Testament in Eastern Orthodox Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 90.

bound up with the LXX tradition, which Müller has called “the Old Testament of the New Testament.”¹⁹ Given the New Testament utilization of Old Testament passages, the majority of them coming from or relating in some way to the LXX, any sort of marginalization of this tradition risks undermining the basic foundations of the faith itself.²⁰

Of all the Old Testament writings, the Psalms are by far the most frequently invoked by the apostolic writers; and of these the vast majority of the references agree with the LXX. Moreover, these specifically LXX-based references are often the most pivotal in terms of shaping the church’s faith concerning the identity and mission of Jesus as the Christ. For the apostles, and for the fathers and the medieval commentators, Christ is the fulfillment of the Psalms. He is at one and the same time the subject matter, the praying subject, and the One who is prayed to.

From the moment of the first official proclamation of the message of Christ by Simon Peter on the Day of Pentecost, the first and most fundamental assumption of the entire Christian tradition with regard to the Psalter is that it is all about Christ, God and man, head and body, from the first psalm to the last, *Beatus vir* to *Laudate Dominum*.²¹ In every generation, Christians

¹⁹Müller, *The First Bible*, p. 115–16.

²⁰Perhaps it is not by chance that the shattering of Western Christendom into thousands of sectarian pieces coincided with the growing preference, on the part of Renaissance humanists, for the MT over the LXX and Vulgate.

²¹The following three paragraphs are from a sermon I preached on the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost, June 12, 2016.

have rejoiced to search every psalm, verse by verse, phrase by phrase, word by word, and sometimes even letter by letter and to find in them only Christ.²²

The title of this paper is lifted from the *Vexilla Regis*, that masterpiece of Christian hymnology written by Venantius Fortunatus (530–607), or rather, John Mason Neale’s (1818–1866) translation of it, which is, in itself, a masterpiece of liturgical translation. The full strophe is:

Fulfilled is all that David told
In true Prophetic song of old:
Amidst the nations God (saith he)
Hath reigned and triumphed from
the Tree.²³

“Fulfilled (*impleta sunt*) is all that David told.” The English word “fulfill” renders very well the Latin *impleo*, *implere*: to fill up

²²I refer to the patristic and medieval interpretations of the Hebrew letters prefacing every section of Psalm 118 (LXX), indicative of its original acrostic structure. To the modern critic, most, if not all, of these beautiful interpretations are quaint, and not to be taken seriously, as for instance this take on the letter Nun: “The fourteenth letter, *Nun*, signifies a *fish*, and thus fitly follows *Mem*, or *water*. Beda takes it of the believer tossed about in the waves of this world, and desiring the light of life.” J. M. Neale and R. F. Littledale, *A Commentary on the Psalms from Primitive and Mediaeval Writers; and from the Various Office-books and Hymns of the Roman, Mozarabic, Ambrosian, Gallican, Greek, Coptic, Armenian, and Syrian Rites*, vol. IV (London: Joseph Masters, 1874), p. 96.

²³The translation first appears in *The Hymnal Noted*, part I, ed. John Mason Neale and Thomas Helmore (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1851), p. 51.

to the full as in a vessel something which was lacking, to complete or flesh out something that was formerly an empty form or skeleton. The ancient Scriptures of the chosen people were as a vessel waiting to be filled. Thus Origen wrote:

Before the sojourn of Christ, the Law and the Prophets did not contain the proclamation which belongs to the definition of the Gospel, since he who explained the mysteries in them had not yet come. But since the Saviour has come and has caused the Gospel to be embodied, he has by the Gospel made all things as Gospel.²⁴

Ephrem the Syrian put it this way: the Risen Christ “by his explanations for symbols, and interpretations for similes, [receives] into himself all streams” of the former revelation:

the sea is Christ who is able to receive the sources and the springs and rivers and streams that flow forth from within Scripture [the Old Testament]. . . . it is Christ who perfects its symbols by his cross, its types by his body, its adornments by his beauty, and all of it by all of him!²⁵

We moderns, raised with all the

²⁴Origen, *Commentary on John*, I.33; quoted in John Behr, *The Way to Nicaea*, vol. 1 (Crestwood, N.Y.: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2001), p. 170.

²⁵Ephrem the Syrian, “Hymns on Virginity,” hymn 9, vv. 10, 12, 15, in *Hymns*, tr. Kathleen McVey (New York: Paulist Press, 1989), pp. 302–03.

*We moderns, raised
with all the assumptions
of modernity, are
distinctly uncomfortable
in this realm of
traditional Christian
interpretation of the
Psalms.*

assumptions of modernity, are distinctly uncomfortable in this realm of traditional Christian interpretation of the Psalms. There is nothing simple or straightforward about the Christology of the Psalms. In fact, one might accurately say that Christ is more *concealed* than *revealed* in the Psalms. The Psalter is not a “preview of coming attractions”; it is read *retrospectively* in Christ. It is a realm which the overly literalistic or rationalistic mind quite simply cannot enter. To such a mind, traditional spiritual exegesis of scripture can only appear arbitrary, forced, and even dishonest. One must have the “mind of Christ” (1 Cor. 2:16) and “the anointing” (1 John 2:20), that is, the grace of a holy life and a deep communion with Christ himself and his Holy Spirit. A man must allow Christ himself, who holds the Key of David (Apoc. 3:7), to open up the

Psalms: as we sing in Psalm 118 (v. 18): *Revela oculos meos, et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua* (Open thou mine eyes, that I may see the wondrous things of thy law).

It was no lack of intelligence on the part of the majority of Jews at the time of Jesus that they did not agree with the picture painted by Simon Peter on the Day of Pentecost. Christ is “the treasure hidden in the field,” as Irenaeus wrote. The Psalms reveal Christ and conceal him in one and the same breath: he stands behind the wall, gazing through the latticework (Cant. 2:9). He sees us as we are, but we see him only as “through a glass darkly” (1 Cor. 13:12). “I will open my mouth in parables,” says David in Psalm 77:2, “I will utter dark sayings (προβλημιατα) that have been from the beginning.”²⁶

There is a reason why Our Lord, after his resurrection (which no one but the Father observed in the darkness of the tomb), often appears to his friends in a form which is not immediately recognizable; Mary Magdalene, for instance, mistakes him for the gardener. The story of the meeting on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24) shows how it is not possible to know beforehand how Christ is the one who comes (as we confess) *secundum Scripturas*. The Scriptures must be opened by Christ himself in and through the prayer and teaching of his church.

Rather, to use an image of Irenaeus, the church finds in the Psalter, as well as in the Law and Prophets, a thesaurus as it were, a treasure-trove of countless little precious *tesseræ* which the Holy Spirit, the master artist, fashions into the beautiful likeness of

²⁶Psalms are cited according to the LXX numbering.

*The Psalms reveal
Christ and conceal him
in one and the same
breath: he stands behind
the wall, gazing through
the latticework.*

a king.²⁷ In and of themselves, the tiny tiles mean nothing. What matters is the icon fashioned out of them by the Spirit of God in the minds and hearts of his saints.

The *Vexilla's* warlike strains proclaim the faith of the church: bold, audacious, embarrassingly pre-critical, yet so evocative of a higher order of truth. The Psalter is not a kind of disjointed collection of hymns, poems, laments, and curses, or liturgical relics from a long dead Hebrew cult, but a kind of sacramental by which the soul may pierce through the visible veils of the mere letter in the power of the Spirit of God, in a way analogous to our perception of the Eucharistic presence: “Faith our outward sense befriending makes the inward

²⁷Heretics, according to Irenaeus, break the image and “rearrange the jewels, and make the form of a dog, or of a fox, out of them, and that a rather bad piece of work.” *Adversus Hæreses* I.8.1., trans. John J. Dillon, *Ancient Christian Writers*, vol. 55 (New York: The Newman Press, 1992), p. 41.

vision clear” (*Præstet fides supplementum sensuum defectui*).²⁸

What exactly, then, did David say in the Psalms that was fulfilled in the passion and cross of the Lord? Our poet, Venantius Fortunatus, continues: “Amidst the nations God (saith he) hath reign’d and triumphed from the Tree”: *regnavit a ligno Deus*, literally, “God has reigned from the wood.” In your personal bible, whatever the translation, you will find similar language—“God reigns amidst the nations”—but you will find nothing about a tree or wood. On the other hand, the mysterious text known to Fortunatus is as close and accessible as our trusty well-worn pre-conciliar hand missal or breviary. What could be going on here?

Fortunatus was working with a particular version of Psalm 95:10, a rare variant, found only in a few old Greek manuscripts, in the Psalter of the Coptic Church, and in the pre-Vulgate Latin Psalter.²⁹ It never became a part of the “mainstream” LXX tradition, nor did it find its way into Jerome’s version now known as the *Gallicanum*³⁰ which was destined to become the

²⁸Thomas Aquinas, *Pange lingua gloriosi Corporis mysterium*, trans. by J. M. Neale, E. Caswall, and others, from *The English Hymnal* (London: Oxford University Press, 1906), p. 459.

²⁹The Coptic text, as given by M. G. Schwartz, in *Psalterium in Dialectum Copticae Linguae Memphisiticam Translatum* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1843), p. 151, is *ebolhi ou se*, which corresponds exactly with the Old Latin and Greek, where the word is not in fact “tree” but “wood” (in *ligno*, *απο ξυλου*). Note also that in the Coptic Orthodox Divine Office, Psalm 95 is said daily at None, the hour when Christ, reigning upon the Wood, “gave up his spirit” to the Father.

³⁰So-called due to its imposition upon the cler-

liturgical psalter of Latin Christendom.

The origins of the variant are extremely obscure: are we dealing here with a pre-Christian text or a kind of early Christian gloss or midrash which at some point was blended into the text of the psalm?³¹ The dearth of real evidence either way makes a definitive judgment impossible, although, as J. Brinktrine demonstrates, there is good reason to believe that a Hebrew original lies behind *a ligno* / *απο ξυλου*.³² Old Testament scholar Margaret Barker argues for the possibility of the “tree” reading being extremely old, possibly reflecting First-Temple ideas concerning the identity of the throne of the Davidic king with the tree of life from Eden. Barker mentions, for instance, a mural in the synagogue at Dura Europos depicting a regal figure sitting in a tree, along with a lion (the

gy and monasteries of the Frankish empire by Charlemagne on the advice of Alcuin of York; it had earlier been adopted by John Cassian at Marseilles and Gregory of Tours. Eventually it was to overtake the Roman Psalter, used in parts of Italy and England, and Jerome’s Hebrew Psalter, which was used in Spain. See Scott Goins, “Jerome’s Psalters” in William P. Brown, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms* (London: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 185–98.

³¹See J. Duncan M. Derrett, “O KYPIOS ΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΕΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛΟΥ,” *Vigiliae Christianae*, 43 (1989), pp. 378–92.

³²J. Brinktrine, “Dominus regnavit a lingo,” *Biblische Zeitschrift*, 10 (1966), 105–07. Brinktrine suggests that it may be in reference to the superiority of the God of Israel over idols of wood. Neale and Littledale mention the theory that it refers to “the wood of the Ark of the Covenant, from which went forth the might which overthrew Dagon, the Philistine idol, and brought about the restoration of the Ark itself to Israel.” (*Commentary on the Psalms*, III, 232).

Lion of Judah?), and under the tree a table containing shewbread (loaves of proposition) from the temple. Even conceding the opinion of most critics, that “from the tree” was added to the psalm at a late date, Barker opines that “it would have been an appropriate addition even before the Christians began to describe the cross as the tree.”³³

Indeed, the reign of the God-Man from the tree of the cross appears as a central image of the earliest Christian witness to Christ and his saving works, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. In Peter’s apologetics before the Sanhedrin in Acts 5, he lands this devastating blow upon the very men who had just participated in the bloody scene at Calvary: “The God of our fathers has raised up Jesus, whom *you* put to death, hanging him upon a tree.”³⁴

But note that there is a bit of a disconnect in terms of imagery. Jesus was nailed to a *cross*, a fabricated wooden instrument of torture and execution invented by the Romans. He was not literally hung from a tree as from a gallows, and yet this is the image painted for us in the earliest apostolic κηρυγμα (witness) to the meaning of Christ’s death. He who was without sin became a curse for us, for in the law we read “cursed is every one who hangs on a tree” (Gal. 3:13, Deut. 21:23 [LXX]).³⁵

³³Margaret Barker, *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy* (London: T&T Clark, 2003), p. 243.

³⁴Acts 5:30–31, Douay-Rheims-Challoner translation (slightly modernized by the author, emphasis added). Peter conjures up the same image in the discourse he delivers at the baptism of the first Gentile, the centurion Cornelius (Acts 10:39).

³⁵“Tree” occurs nowhere in the MT version of this verse.

The first direct allusion to the “tree” reading of Psalm 95:10 outside of the canonical New Testament can be found in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, dated by most to between A.D. 100 and 130 (and possibly earlier). “The royal realm of Jesus,” writes Barnabas, “is founded on the wood,” referring to a leper-cleansing ritual in Leviticus 14:1–9, involving a water lustration with cedar wood and hyssop bound with red wool.³⁶

A few decades later, the verse is quoted directly in Justin Martyr’s *Dialogue with Trypho*, probably written around 155. Here Justin makes Psalm 95:10, along with Isaiah 7:14 (“a Virgin shall conceive”), a centerpiece of his argument that the post-Christian Jewish rabbinical establishment had suppressed or altered certain Old Testament passages because of their prophetic witness to the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. “No one of your people,” said Justin, “was ever said to have reigned as God and King over the Gentiles, except the Crucified One.”³⁷

Later references to the verse appear mostly in the Latin fathers. Tertullian appeals to the verse alongside a text from Deuteronomy (28:66, “And thy life shall be as it were hanging before thee”), the Prophet Joel (2:22, “The tree hath brought forth its fruit”), and Psalm 21:17 (“they

³⁶*Epistle of Barnabas*, 8.5, translation in Margaret Barker, *The Mother of the Lord*, Vol. 1: The Lady in the Temple (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2012), p. 162.

³⁷Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. 73; tr. Thomas B. Falls, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, vol. 6 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1948), p. 264.

look and stare upon me”). “David himself,” said Tertullian, “was saying the Lord would reign from the tree ... not that tree in paradise that gave death to the first human beings, but the tree of the suffering of the Christ, from where the life that hung there was not believed by you [the non-Christian Jews].”³⁸

Another particularly striking example is this comment by Augustine in his exposition of Psalm 95: “The Lord established his sovereignty from a tree. Who is it that fights with wood? Christ. From his Cross he has conquered kings.”³⁹

As a precise quotation, the reading appears at these crucial places in the traditional Roman Rite:⁴⁰

1. In the Alleluia verse for the Friday in the Easter Octave and Paschaltide Masses of the Cross;
2. In the daily Paschaltide commemoration of the Cross at Lauds and Vespers;
3. In a Matins antiphon of the Feast of the Most Holy Rosary: *Crucis imperium super humerum ejus: regnavit a ligno Deus* (The empire shall be upon

³⁸Tertullian, *Adversus Judaeos*, 13.12; tr. Geoffrey D. Dunn, *Tertullian* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 98.

³⁹St. Augustine, *Expositions of the Psalms*: 73–98, tr. Maria Boulding, O.S.B. (Hyde Park, N.Y.: New City Press, 2002), p. 425.

⁴⁰As reported in Carl Marbach, *Carmina scripturarum, scilicet antiphonas et responsoria, ex Sacro Scripturae fonte in libros liturgicos Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae derivata* (Strasbourg: F. X. Le Roux, 1907), p. 197.

his shoulders, even the Cross, for the Lord hath reigned from the tree).⁴¹

Somewhat akin, one might say, to the church’s insistence upon *Four* Gospels with very different details and interpretations of Our Lord’s earthly ministry, the church has not only tolerated but has cherished the differences which exist between the two Latin versions of the Old Testament. While Jerome’s *Psalterium Gallicanum* did (through the promotion of the Carolingians) become the standard Psalter of Latin Christendom, the extreme conservatism of the Roman ecclesiastical mindset would never countenance a complete replacement of all *Vetus* texts, such as this version of Psalm 95, the Invitatory at Matins, and a great many of the proper chants of the Mass and Divine Office.

A perfect example of this mindset can be observed in the utmost vigilance shown by Pope Clement VIII in his revision of the *Missale Romanum*. Certain printers, apparently, had begun on their own initiative to conform the text of the propers to the Clementine Vulgate edition, issued decades earlier by the same pope (1592). On July 7, 1604, in the bull *Cum Sanctissimum*, Clement acted decisively against what he called the “*temeritas et audacia*” of these printers and others who dared to eliminate the Old Latin texts, declaring their copies null and void, and even threatening excommunication *latae sententiae* against printers or book-

⁴¹After the reforms of John XXIII, sadly, two out of five of these references dropped out, casualties of the suppression of the Finding of the Cross on May 3, as well as the Paschaltide commemoration of the Cross at Lauds and Vespers, in both the Roman and monastic breviaries.

sellers who persisted in printing and selling the bastardized missals.⁴²

The modern church seems less tolerant of this kind of diversity. As far as I have been able to discern, in the modern Latin liturgical books, surprisingly all references to the ancient variant of Psalm 95:10 have been completely expunged, except for one last place: the Alleluia verse of the Friday after Easter in the 1974 *Graduale Romanum*. The reformers of the Consilium even saw fit to brush under the proverbial rug the reference to Christ reigning from the tree in the *Vexilla Regis*. The barbarism and contempt for immemorial tradition here is shocking, to say the least. There could not be a more perfect example of a “hermeneutic of rupture” or “discontinuity” than this. Dom Lentini, in his first draft (1968) of revised hymn texts for the *Liturgia Horarum*, specifically retained it, with the comment: “We dare not (*non audemus*) suppress the strophe nor change the line.” Clearly something happened between the first draft and the publication of the *editio typica*.⁴³

The dependence of the sacred liturgy, the *lex orandi*, and therefore the theology of the church, the *lex credendi*, upon these sorts

⁴²An English translation of the bull can be found at <<http://www.catholicliturgy.com/index.cfm/FuseAction/DocumentContents/Index/2/Sub-Index/41/DocumentIndex/314>>.

⁴³Comment by Anselmo Lentini, O.S.B., *Hymni instaurandi breviarii romani*; (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1968), p. 89; trans. Fr. John Hunwicke, *Mutual Enrichment* <<http://liturgicalnotes.blogspot.ie/2017/04/regnavit-ligno-deus.html>>. “*Regnavit a ligno Deus*” did eventually reappear in the Solesmes *Liber Hymnarius* of 1983 in the form of an alternative version, “*ad libitum, secundum veterem editione vaticanam.*”

of ancient textual variations is shown also in the use made in the traditional Roman Liturgy of Psalm 138 for the feasts of apostles and evangelists. The following form of v. 17, from the *Psalterium Gallicanum*, and derived literally from the LXX, forms the basis of numerous proper parts of both Office and Mass: *Mihi autem nimis honorati sunt amici tui, Deus: nimis confortatus est principatus eorum* (To me, O God, thy friends (the Apostles) are most highly honored: their dominion is strengthened exceedingly).

As Neale and Littledale remark,

The Chaldee and all the other ancient versions with one voice translate [the Hebrew word] עֲרֵב *Thy friends* instead of *Thy thoughts*. . . . And the commentators, with one voice, explain the verse of the Saints of God, under the leadership of the Apostles. . . . In this sense this verse has suggested the use of the Psalm in the Common of Apostles, and has furnished its antiphon.⁴⁴

The Psalter of the *Nova Vulgata* (first issued in 1969 in tandem with the new liturgical books), taking its cue from the MT, gives us: *Mihi autem nimis pretiosae cogitationes tuae, Deus: nimis gravis summa earum* (To me, O God, thy thoughts are most precious: how weighty are the sum of them).

So, the image of the apostles as God’s friends, present in the Roman liturgical tradition as far back as we can go, is jettisoned, along with the valuable cross-testamental connection with John 15:15: “I no longer call you servants, but my friends.”

⁴⁴Neale and Littledale, *Commentary on the Psalms*, IV, 322–23.

Furthermore, having also made nonsensical the reference to the principdom of the apostles, the reformers proceeded also, in a systematic way, to eliminate all psalm verses from the liturgy which speak of the apostles as having monarchical or princely character: thus we no longer speak of the apostles as princes over all the earth (Ps. 44), crowned with glory and honor (Ps. 8). Thus, as Peter Jeffery writes, “An entire line of patristic exegetical thinking, which could not have been more Roman, has been systematically excised from the renewed Roman rite.”⁴⁵

Thus the problem with liturgical texts in the Roman rite goes far beyond the usual disagreements about “inclusive language,” or “dynamic equivalence,” or which styles of translation appeal more to John and Mary Catholic. The problem is much more fundamental. It is a problem of root texts themselves, which leads me to say that *Liturgiam Authenticam* is simply not enough. It is true that the document has done an immense service to Catholics who attend the holy mysteries celebrated in their mother tongue, defending them from the importation of heterodox ideologies by means of non-literal methods of translation. Yet while *Liturgiam Authenticam* states that “the greatest care is to be taken so that the translations express the traditional Christological, typological and spiritual sense,”⁴⁶ nonetheless it then endorses the MT-based

Nova Vulgata as the text of reference for liturgical translations in the ordinary form of the Roman Rite, whereas the traditional senses to which it refers are based entirely on the LXX/Vulgate tradition.

Therefore *Liturgiam Authenticam* conceals a deeper and more profound theological rift. The authority of the MT is unchallenged and even confirmed. The point of reference is not the textual tradition of the church, East and West, but a rabbinic Jewish production, originating well into the Middle Ages,⁴⁷ which was never regarded as a standard in the Christian Church before the Reformation, and contains notable instances of what some have argued were attempts to eliminate, or at least blunt, Christological interpretations.⁴⁸

For the fathers, and for the liturgy, all these details matter, even those which according to a more literal reading seem to be taken out of context or over-interpreted. Even apparent minutiae, such as differences in verb tenses, can become the occasion for profound theological insights. Take, for instance, Psalm 121:2. The MT reads “Our feet *shall* stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem,” whereas the LXX and Vulgate have “Our feet *were* standing.” Neale and Littledale, in the spirit of the Fathers, offer this beautiful explanation:

The very sign and cause of our hope that we shall *go* into the House of the Lord

⁴⁵Peter Jeffery, *Translating Tradition: A Chant Historian Reads Liturgiam Authenticam* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2005), p. 35.

⁴⁶Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, *Instruction Liturgiam authenticam*, ¶41. <http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20010507_liturgiam-authenticam_en.html>.

⁴⁷The scribes known as the Masoretes flourished between the seventh and tenth centuries AD. The oldest complete MT manuscript is the early eleventh century *Codex Leningradensis*.

⁴⁸Margaret Barker is probably the foremost contemporary proponent of this view. See, for instance, her *Temple Mysticism: An Introduction* (London: SPCK, 2011), pp. 14–39.

is that our feet are, even now, already standing in the gates of Jerusalem, that is, that our desires and contemplations are fixed and established in the mansions of the kingdom of heaven, because our conversation is in heaven, and accordingly the Apostle speaks in similar language to those still on pilgrimage, “Ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the Living God, the heavenly Jerusalem.”⁴⁹

Likewise, odd renderings and constructions (according to a critical approach), such as the sixfold appearance in the Old Latin Psalter (preserved also in the Vulgate) of the mysterious word *Idipsum*, give Augustine the occasion for a startlingly beautiful insight about the nature of God and our participation in him.⁵⁰ *Idipsum*, for him, becomes a title of God, a different way of rendering the “I AM THAT I AM,” God’s self-revelation to Moses in the burning bush: in Greek εγω ειμι, or the ο ων of Christ’s halo in Orthodox iconography: “I am the Existing One, I am Being, I am Existence itself.” So, in the same Psalm 121, the city of God is said to be “in *Idipsum*”: that is, the unity of the church is based

⁴⁹Neale and Littledale, *Commentary on the Psalms*, IV, 183.

⁵⁰The most thorough of Augustine’s discussions of *Idipsum* can be found in his commentary on Psalm 121: “That you might participate in Being-Itself (*idipsum*), [Christ] first became a partaker in what you are; the Word was made flesh so that flesh might be a partaker in the Word (*ut autem efficiaris tu particeps in idipsum, factus est ipse prior particeps tui; et Verbum caro factum est, ut caro participet Verbum*).” *Enarrationes in Psalmos (Patrologia Latina, 37:1622)*.

on the unity existing within the immanent tri-personal Godhead.

Ultimately, it matters very little, according to the church’s spiritual vision, where particular constructions came from, and whether or not they are, critically speaking, the “best” readings. Liturgists and theologians simply do not have the authority to suppress elements of the liturgy that they find strange or unsettling or hard to understand. The words *Regnavit a ligno Deus* have become sacred and authoritative by virtue of their venerable liturgical use, their very adoption in the perennial tradition of the Latin Church, and they are, in a non-technical but in a nonetheless authentic theological sense, the words “that David told, in true prophetic song of old.”

Thus there is not merely a Christological key to the Psalter, but a *liturgical* key. The church, through the liturgy, not only gives us prompts for our meditation on the Psalms, but also applies in some way the grace of any particular psalm to different contexts. With a kind of playfulness, and a profound freedom in the Holy Spirit, the liturgy teaches us to view the mystery from every possible direction, in an almost kaleidoscopic fashion: applying the same phrase or image here to Our Lord in one and then the other mystery; here to Our Lady, and there to a holy martyr or confessor; here in the mouth of a penitent, there in the mouth of a departed soul.

Consider, for example, Psalm 23, *Domini est terra*. One of the most important psalms in terms of Christology, it appears, in the classical Roman rite, in a wide array of different liturgical contexts, not only the Mass and Office but also the ritual and pontifical.

1. On the Second Sunday after Epiphany, in a Matins responsory, we sing of the whole earth as the domain of Christ the Lord, all its fullness and all who dwell therein: that is, the Gentiles. “For he has founded it upon the sea, and established it upon the floods”— a reference to the beginning of a new creation and a new humanity when Christ the God-Man arose from the waters of the Jordan.
2. In other contexts, such the propers of Advent and Christmas, the psalm sets forth the innocent and pure-hearted Man as Christ himself, who alone was worthy to ascend the hill of Calvary and therefore to ascend into the heavens. Yet another Christological insight is brought to the fore, in the same seasons, and especially in Advent Masses of Our Lady, with the verse commanding that the *portæ aeternales* be thrown open, so that the King of glory may enter in. Is this not an image of Christ coming forth from the womb of the Virgin, the *porta cæli*?
3. In another Marian context, the third antiphon from Matins of the Immaculate Conception reads: *In Conceptione sua accepit Maria benedictionem a Domino, et misericordiam a Deo salutari suo*. Is this not the dogmatic definition of 1854 clothed in sacred song: that Our Lady, “at the first instant of her conception,” receives the “blessing,” the “singular privilege,” of freedom from all stain of original sin, and “mercy” through Jesus Christ her Son, both the Savior of mankind, and her Savior?
4. In the ritual and pontifical, the one who is worthy to ascend, who seeks the face of Jacob’s God, is the young cleric receiving tonsure, or the abbot chosen to shepherd his sons, or even, most poignantly, the little child who dies in the Lord. All these receive “the blessing of the Lord” and his mercy through the ministry of the church.
5. And finally, one of the most picturesque rites of our Roman liturgical tradition is the dialogue that takes place between the bishop and the deacon at the door of the church before its consecration (Bishop: “Lift up your gates, ye princes, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in!” Deacon: “Who is this King of Glory?” Bishop: “The Lord, strong and mighty; the Lord mighty in battle,” etc.)

The issues here are not minor, nor are they merely poetic or æsthetic in nature. They are about the very basic stuff of our Catholic faith, especially our Christology, and about reverence for tradition just as we have received it. The debate between Augustine and Jerome on the *Hebraica veritas* in some way anticipates our dilemma. In the words of Mogens Müller: “To Augustine history has a meaning which is lost upon Jerome, who thinks it possible to start all over again.”⁵¹

Catholic biblical scholars can, do, and should examine multiple manuscript traditions, but the sacred liturgy does not depend upon the current state of biblical scholarship.⁵² In the church it is the *liturgy*, not the

⁵¹Müller, *The First Bible*, 94.

⁵²Witness the disastrous “Bea Psalter,” or “Pian

lecture hall, the academic journal, or the overpriced monograph, which is the privileged place of the interpretation of Scripture and of the Psalter in particular. The liturgy is where these obscure songs and poems are transformed from being dead, inert relics of a long-dead civilization into a living and life-giving participation (one might say even *sacrament*, small “s”) of the Mystical Body in the prayer of the Christ the Head.

Our liturgical life as Roman Catholics bears the wounds, still very raw, of a giving into this same temptation of “starting all over again” according to a kind of pure standard, which is only a figment of the reformer’s imagination. As church musicians, and clergy, and simply as Catholics, we do not work in a vacuum—the fathers of the Second Vatican Council did not, nor did the experts of the Consilium, nor do any of the successors of St. Peter. If we are Catholics, we stand within a tradition which first became incarnate in the intersection of biblical faith with Greco-Roman culture, even as the Savior took flesh in the womb of a Jewish Virgin, subject of a Hellenized Roman Empire.

The situation, I think, is quite serious, and as with the more general liturgical crisis in the Latin Church, there are no easy solutions. We must continue to apply to all

Psalter” (approved by Pope Pius XII). By basing itself on the MT, not only does it depart radically from the inheritance of patristic and medieval commentary, but it also jettisons the precious heritage of Christian Latin in favor of a stale, sterile, “correct” sort of classical (pagan) Latinity (for which it received a well-deserved trouncing by Christine Mohrmann, champion of the heritage of Christian Latin).

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things theological and liturgical a “hermeneutic of continuity,” but said hermeneutic cannot blind us to the bare fact that there has been in this area, as in many other areas of the church’s life, a rupture, a breach, a discontinuity with the past.

It is my conviction that the ancient Greek and Latin texts of Christian psalmody must be at the forefront of our efforts to bring about a “restoration of all things in Christ” (Eph. 1:10, cf. Acts 3:21). The challenge is immense, but I do have a few preliminary, fragmentary ideas about how Latin Catholics can at least *begin* to recover the Christian Psalter, liturgically, theologically, and spiritually.

My first observation is that this issue highlights once again the dire need for “mutual enrichment” between what we now call the “two forms of the Roman Rite.” I am not a believer in the idea that the modern form of the liturgy has absolutely nothing to offer the *usus antiquior*, but I believe that in this area, the enrichment must come exclusively from the direction of the old to the new. Concretely, this means fostering in any way we can in our celebrations of the ordinary form the use of the 1974 edition of the *Graduale Romanum*, either according to their proper melodies, or in the various simplified versions of its text which have been made available by the CMAA.

My second observation is that pastors, both bishops and priests, as well as deacons, should seek to immerse themselves in the mystical and Christological approach to the Psalter, and then to open up those riches little by little to the faithful. There is *no* requirement whatsoever that the homily be on the Gospel or one of the other readings. You can and should—and this goes for homilies in the *usus antiquior*—preach from time to time or even regularly on the introit, the gradual or responsorial psalm, or the communion antiphon.

It is easier than ever for pastors to instruct themselves in the school of the fathers through, for instance, the two psalm volumes of the *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture* (an ecumenical effort published by the evangelical InterVarsity Press), or the four-volume Psalm Commentary by Neale and Littledale, cited several times above. In terms of individual fathers, it would be hard to match the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* of Augustine; I would argue that this is his finest work.

A third and related observation is that

the lay faithful should pursue this same sort of study. How wonderful would it be to see in our parishes bible study groups dedicated to reading through the psalms line by line, comparing translations, and learning from the old commentators and the liturgy itself the various ways in which Christ reveals his face in the Psalms.

My fourth and final observation is that the time is long overdue for a fresh translation of the Old Testament based on the Latin Vulgate, with an eye perhaps also to LXX and *Vetus* traditions where variant readings give rise to significant theological or spiritual insights. The Douay-Rheims Bible, of course, is a much loved and historically significant translation, but I think there is a need for a somewhat updated idiom, perhaps in the style of the RSV. Such a translation ought to be fairly literal, especially given the genius of the fathers and the medieval commentators for mining even the tiniest linguistic details for the choicest of spiritual gems. It would also be extremely beneficial for such a text to be accompanied by some form of gloss or catena, synthesizing the insights of these commentators, as well as of modern ones who write in their spirit.

After all, we inherit not merely bare texts, but ones which have been passed down century after century by holy men and women, guided by the Spirit of truth, as they prayed it, preached it, and lived it. In the face of such a treasure, we can only say with David in Psalm 15: *Funes ceciderunt mihi in præclaris, etenim hæreditas mea præclara est mihi* (To me the boundary lines have fallen in the fairest of places: my inheritance, how goodly it is to me!) ❖

The Primacy of Gregorian Chant: Reflections on the Fiftieth Anniversary of *Musicam Sacram*

Why has Gregorian chant all but disappeared from vernacular-language liturgies?

by Ted Krasnicki



Gregorian Chant and Latin are rarely heard in the reformed Mass, the *Novus Ordo Mass* which Pope Paul VI authorized after the Second Vatican Council for use in the celebration of the Roman Rite. Yet the Vatican II document on liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (SC), while calling for some liturgical reforms, specifically mandated that Latin continue to be used in the reformed liturgy:

36.1 Particular law remaining in force, the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rites.¹

¹“Linguae latinæ usus, salvo particulari iure, in Ritibus latinis servetur.” Second Vatican Council, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, ¶36.1. For the English texts of Latin documents, I use the Vatican online English texts, but I modify them when needed for a more precise

This conciliar document also mandated that, second, Gregorian chant have a special place in the reformed liturgy:

116. The Church acknowledges that Gregorian chant is proper to the Roman liturgy: therefore, other things being equal, it should have first place in liturgical services.²

Moreover, the faithful too had a role singing in Latin:

54. In Masses which are celebrated with the people, a suitable place may be allotted to their mother tongue. . . .

rendering of the Latin meaning.

²“Ecclesia cantum gregorianum agnoscit ut liturgiæ romanæ proprium: qui ideo in actionibus liturgicis, ceteris paribus, principem locum obtineat.” *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, ¶116.

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Nevertheless steps should be taken so that the faithful may also be able to say or to sing together in Latin those parts of the Ordinary of the Mass which pertain to them.³

How is it, then, that over fifty years after the Second Vatican Council we continue to have this lacuna of Gregorian chant and Latin in the reformed Mass despite these mandates in SC? This question is increasingly being asked, especially in the Catholic blogosphere.⁴

³Linguae vernaculae in Missis cum populo celebratis congruus locus tribui possit. . . .

Provideatur tamen ut christifideles etiam lingua latina partes Ordinarii Missae quae ad ipsos spectant possint simul dicere vel cantare.” *Sacro-sanctum Concilium*, ¶54.

⁴For instance, the remarks by Peter Kwasniewski, “‘Song Befits the Lover’: Understanding the Place of Gregorian Chant in the Mass,” *One Peter* 5 weblog, September 2, 2015 <<http://www.onepe->

The answer lies in *Musicam Sacram* (MS) the official instruction on music in the sacred liturgy published soon after the council. This document authoritatively interprets, presents, and mandates the musical principles that are found in SC. In it, we find a very important distinction being made:

50. In sung liturgical services celebrated in Latin:

(a) Gregorian chant, as proper to the Roman liturgy, should be given first place, all things being equal.⁵

The statement “In sung liturgical services celebrated in Latin” is not found in SC. Its implication is that, if the sung liturgy is not in Latin, then 50 (a) above need not apply. Indeed, when we continue reading the next article, 51, any Latin sacred music, which would include Gregorian chant, is not required at all in a vernacular liturgy but “could” [*conveniat*] be used:

51. Pastors of souls, having taken into consideration pastoral usefulness and the character of their own language, should see whether parts of the heritage of sacred music, written in previous centuries

terfive.com/song-befits-the-lover-understanding-the-place-of-gregorian-chant-in-the-mass/.

⁵“In actionibus liturgicis in cantu lingua latina celebrandis: a) Cantus gregorianus, utpote liturgiæ romanæ proprius, principem locum, ceteris paribus, obtineat.” Instruction *Musicam Sacram*, March 5, 1967. The Latin text of *Musicam Sacram* has, as of this writing, still not been posted at the vatican.va website. I am using the document posted at the MusicaSacra website: <<http://media.musicasacra.com/pdf/musicam-sacram.pdf>>.

for Latin texts, could also be conveniently used, not only in liturgical celebrations in Latin but also in those performed in the vernacular. There is nothing to prevent different parts in one and the same celebration being sung in different languages.⁶

That is to say, MS assumes that there are two forms of post-conciliar liturgical celebrations, one in Latin and the other in the vernacular. If the liturgy is in Latin then 50 (a) necessarily applies; if it is in the vernacular, or even partly so, then 50 (a) could apply at the will of the pastor of souls. Latin sacred song, in other words, is not necessary although it could be used. But did not SC call for Latin to be retained, and Gregorian chant to have first place in the reformed liturgy we saw above?

Latin vs. Full Participation

The tasks of interpreting SC and implementing its proposed reforms were given to the Consilium (*Consilium ad exsequendam Constitutionem de Sacra Liturgia*) headed by its secretary, Msgr. Annibale Bugnini.⁷ This distinction between Latin and vernac-

⁶“Videant insuper animorum pastores, præ oculis habitis locorum condicionibus, fidelium utilitate pastoralis et cuius que sermonis ingenio, utrum partes thesauri musicæ sacræ, quæ pro textibus lingua latina exaratis superioribus sæculis conscriptæ sunt, præterquam in actionibus liturgicis lingua latina celebratis, etiam in iis adhiberi conveniat, quæ lingua vernacula peraguntur. Nihil enim impedit quominus in una eademque celebratione aliquæ partes alia lingua canantur.” *Musicam Sacram*, ¶151.

⁷Cf. Marini, Piero, *A Challenging Reform: Realizing the Vision of the Liturgical Renewal* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2007), p. 34.

The tasks of interpreting SC and implementing its proposed reforms were given to the Consilium.

ular forms of liturgical celebrations does not *prima facie* appear in SC, but was derived from an underlying tension that the Consilium perceived in SC and which eventually came to the surface when preparing the instruction on music. If there is one word with its derivatives that characterizes the mandated liturgical reforms, it is “participate,” appearing twenty-seven times in SC. The participation by the faithful in the liturgy was of paramount importance for the liturgical reforms: “In the renewal and promotion of the sacred liturgy, this full and real participation by all the people is the aim to be considered before all else.”⁸ Because most of the parish-based faithful could not understand Latin, the Consilium saw its use in the liturgy as conflicting with that “full, conscious, and real”⁹ participation asked of the faithful. As Bugnini said:

If, then, the purpose of using the vernacular in the liturgy is to enable the assembly to participate consciously, actively,

⁸“Quæ totius populi plena et participatio actuosa, in instauranda et fovenda sacra Liturgia, summopere est attendenda.” *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, ¶14

⁹“...ad plenam illam, consciam atque actuosam...” *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, ¶14.

and fruitfully, there is no justification for using in any part of the sacred action a language that the people do not understand.¹⁰

The Consilium found a solution to this conflict through a more nuanced interpretation of SC. The conflict arises only when the faithful do not understand the language of the liturgy. This suggests that, when SC stressed *participatio actuosa*, it assumed that some would understand Latin while others would not. Therefore, SC intrinsically distinguished two forms of liturgical celebration, one in Latin for those who could understand it, and one in the vernacular for those who could not. The Consilium interpreted passages on music, such as SC ¶114 which states that “the treasury of sacred music is to be preserved and cultivated with great care,”¹¹ correspondingly:

The reference [in SC ¶114] is to the musical repertory connected with the Latin texts of the liturgy. When therefore the Constitution [SC] allowed the introduction of the vernaculars, it necessarily anticipated that the preservation of this “treasure of sacred music” would be dependent solely on celebrations in Latin. . .

In this part of the text, the instruction intends to make it clear that just as there are two forms of celebration, one in Latin, the other in the vernacular, in accordance with the norms established by competent

authority, so the use of the musical repertory that is connected with the Latin text is for celebrations in Latin, although it is possible to use some parts of it even in celebrations in the vernacular.¹²

In preparing the instruction on sacred music, then, the idea of two forms of celebration appeared in order to reconcile the perceived tension between the use of Latin and *participatio actuosa* as the Consilium understood it.¹³ Latin and Gregorian chant are to be used in the settings where it was mainly understood, such as at religious houses and monasteries;¹⁴ at the local parish, where it was generally not understood, the liturgy was to be in the vernacular because “of the great advantage to the

¹²Bugnini, *Reform*, 907.

¹³It should be noted, that Bugnini had also been influential in the Preparatory Commission responsible for drafting the schema on the liturgy that was to be presented to the Council Fathers for approval and which later became SC. As its secretary, he had “a position of considerable importance,” so much so that when Cardinal Larraona became the head of the new Liturgy Commission later set up by the Council he “considered Bugnini too progressive and held him responsible for the disagreeable schema he inherited”; John W. O’Malley, S.J., *What Happened at Vatican II?* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 129–130.

¹⁴Nonetheless, this two-form interpretation was also applied to the Divine Office: “The Latin language is to be retained for clerics celebrating the Divine Office in choir.” In the case where it is sung “both by the faithful and by nuns and other members of Institutes professing the evangelical virtues, who are not clerics” it is to be sung “in the vernacular.” *Musicam Sacram*, ¶41.

¹⁰Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy (1948–1975)* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1990), p. 112.

¹¹“Thesaurus Musicæ sacræ summa cura servetur et foveatur.” *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, ¶114.

people.”¹⁵ Accordingly, the statement in SC 36.1 that Latin is “to be preserved in the Roman liturgy” was interpreted in the sense of there being two forms of liturgical celebration, one in Latin with its Gregorian chant and treasure of Latin sacred music, and the other completely or partly in the vernacular with vernacular songs.

This two-forms interpretation of participation introduces another way of understanding SC ¶54 above. The original context of SC ¶54 is within a limited use of the vernacular, where it is assumed that Latin would continue to be extensively used. But MS foresees the possibility of greater use of the vernacular, considering that SC ¶54 actually continues with “and wherever a more extended use of the mother tongue within the Mass appears desirable.” MS ¶47 relates the participation in song to the language of the celebration, restricting the faithful to singing “together in Latin those parts of the Ordinary of the Mass” to a Latin Mass:

one will therefore employ that form of participation which best matches the capabilities of each congregation. Pastors of souls should take care that, besides (*præterquam*) the vernacular, “the faithful may also be able to say or sing together in Latin those parts of the Ordinary of the Mass which pertain to them (SC 54).”¹⁶

¹⁵*Musicam Sacram*, ¶47 and *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, ¶54.

¹⁶“congrua participationis forma pro cuiusque coetus facultatibus opportune adhibeatur. Curent animarum pastores, ut, præterquam lingua vernacula «christifideles etiam lingua latina partes Ordinarii Missæ, quæ ad ipsos spectant,

The key word here is “*præterquam*” which usually indicates an exception to something, in this case to the vernacular. In other words, “besides the vernacular” is taken to mean that the vernacular is the norm, and that in the exceptional case that the Mass is in Latin, the faithful ought to be able to say or sing the ordinary in Latin just as they would sing the vernacular ordinary in vernacular Masses. That would be the case when people come from different countries, as is suggested next in MS:

Where the vernacular has been introduced into the celebration of Mass, the local Ordinaries will judge whether it may be opportune to preserve one or more Masses celebrated in Latin—especially sung Masses (*Missæ in cantu*)—in certain churches, above all in large cities, where many come together with faithful of different languages.¹⁷

Bugnini had some interesting comments about this two-forms solution while defending the Consilium against accusations that it was trying to rid Latin from the liturgy. He admitted that “it cannot be denied that the principle, approved by the Council, of using the vernaculars was given a broad interpretation,” but that it was “in line with the spirit of the conciliar decrees,”

simul dicere vel cantare seiant.” (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, ¶54). *Musicam Sacram*, ¶47.

¹⁷“Videant locorum Ordinarii utrum, inducto usu linguæ vernaculæ in celebrationem Missæ, opportunum evadat ut, in aliquibus ecclesiis, præcipue vero in magnis urbibus, quo fideles diversi sermonis frequentius conveniunt, unam aut plures Missas lingua latina celebrandas servant, præsertim in cantu.” *Musicam Sacram*, ¶48.

and “cannot be said to contradict the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy.”¹⁸ And he adds, “This, then, is a classic example of a legitimate post-conciliar development.” In other words, extending the vernacular to the entire liturgy, including its songs, was in the same “spirit of the council,” subsequently used to justify all sorts of novelties and changes to the liturgy.

The Liturgists vs. the Musicians

This two-forms solution became particularly important for the final version of MS. A year after Bugnini’s Consilium was asked to produce the instruction on music, there was so much disagreement between mainly liturgists and the musicians invited to the committee assigned for this task that, as Susan Benofy has pointed out, a final version became impossible.¹⁹ Most of these invited musicians did not believe *participatio actuosa* implied that people necessarily had to sing in order to participate fully in the liturgy, since attentive listening was also active participation. But the liturgists felt that “full participation” required the faithful to act in an outwardly detectable way, by singing:

Here precisely is where the views of the two sides diverged: in the view of the liturgists the people must truly *sing* in order to participate actively as desired by the liturgical constitution; in the view of

the musicians, however, even “listening to good, devout, and edifying music . . . promotes ‘active’ participation.”²⁰

Even though the musicians quoted St. Thomas Aquinas in their defense,²¹ Bugnini was opposed to their position.²² He saw them as having “a mentality that could not come to grips with new pastoral needs,” so that their position “could not be accepted without betraying the mandate the Consilium had received.”²³ On the musicians’ side,

we had to fight many a battle over this instruction, as the liturgists did not want to hear about the true value of good church music in the liturgy. They tried to destroy everything that belonged to the old Roman rite.²⁴

²⁰Bugnini, *Reform*, 904.

²¹“The soul is distracted from that which is sung by a chant that is employed for the purpose of giving pleasure. But if the singer chant for the sake of devotion, he pays more attention to what he says, both because he lingers more thereon, and because, as Augustine remarks (*Confess.* x, 33), ‘each affection of our spirit, according to its variety, has its own appropriate measure in the voice, and singing, by some hidden correspondence wherewith it is stirred.’ The same applies to the hearers, for even if some of them understand not what is sung, yet they understand why it is sung, namely, for God’s glory: and this is enough to arouse their devotion.” St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, tr. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York: Benziger, 1920), II-II, ques. 91, art. 2, ad. 5 <www.newadvent.org/summa/3091.htm>.

²²Bugnini, *Reform*, 904, and n. 12.

²³Bugnini, *Reform*, 904.

²⁴Monsignor Iginio Anglès, a member of the

¹⁸Bugnini, *Reform*, 110.

¹⁹Susan Benofy, “The Instruction *Musica Sacram* after Fifty Years: Rediscovering the Principles of Sacred Music,” in *Adoremus Bulletin*, September 15, 2016 <<https://adoremus.org/2016/09/15/instruction-musicam-sacram-fifty-years-rediscovering-principles-sacred-music/>>.

On the surface, the disagreement converged on whether people or trained choirs ought to sing at Mass. One would think that both are possible, such as the people singing the ordinary, and the schola the propers. Yet, Bugnini adds a perplexing statement on this:

. . . two conceptions of the function of sacred song were at work. One type of musician looked upon song primarily as an art-form and an adornment of the celebration. Liturgists and pastors, on the other hand, as well as musicians more conscious of pastoral needs, saw song as having a structural role and serving to give better expression to the mystery being celebrated.²⁵

This “structural role” of sacred song is that the people singing constitutes an essential part of the liturgy, and not some artistic ornamentation; singing belonged to the entire assembly if *participatio actuosa* was to be achieved. One of the most ardent proponents of this position was Joseph Gelineau, whose influence on MS was so significant²⁶

Consilium committee on sacred music, as quoted in Richard, J. Schuler, “A Chronicle of the Reform,” in *Cum Angelis Canere*, ed. Robert A. Skeris (St. Paul, Minn.: Catholic Church Music Associates, 1990), p. 376 <http://media.musica-sacra.com/books/cum_angelis_canere.pdf >.

²⁵Bugnini, *Reform*, 885.

²⁶Gelineau served in different capacities on the Consilium as a member of various committees, relator to various study groups, as well as presenting papers at related conferences attended by Consilium members. But his biggest influence was through *Universa Laus*, of which he was one of the founders in 1966, which was a

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that the musicians apparently attacked him “on the grounds that some points in the [music] instruction depended on his ideas, as though the document was aiming to canonize these ideas.”²⁷ Although himself a musician, he was vehemently on the side of the pastoral liturgists in emphasizing the priesthood of the faithful as a community of solidarity in faith united in singing. Singing for him was a kind of “mystery of faith” because God “gave music to mankind that it might signify the suffering and glory, the sacrifice and love of His Son who dies and lives among His brethren.”²⁸ When human speech is transformed into music

song is a complete expression of the person, coming from within him, involving

parallel association for liturgical music in competition with the *Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae*, an advisory group on sacred music that had been founded by Paul VI’s motu proprio *Nobile Subsidiium Liturgiæ* in 1964.

²⁷Bugnini, *Reform*, 910, n.17.

²⁸Joseph Gelineau, S. J., *Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship: Principles, Laws, Applications*, tr. Clifford Howell, S. J. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1964), p. 27.

all his powers of desire and development, filled with life because of its rhythm, with meaning because of its words, and with emotion because of its melos, springing forth toward another in a cry of appeal or exclamation of loving admiration.²⁹

He believed that as a complete expression of the person, singing had an essential function in the ritual action for a *participatio actuosa*. Although the choir was a subset of the people, its role in the Mass was only to lead or support the singing for the rest of the people.³⁰

Gelineau acknowledged that this goal was contrary to what had existed in the Latin Church for at least fifteen hundred years: “The first blow suffered by active participation of the faithful in worship came at the end of the ancient culture when the barbarians invaded the West.”³¹ The pristine times of the patristic era when “people’s singing in the liturgy was taken for granted,”³² had been corrupted over all the centuries until the Second Vatican Council came along to remedy it.

We cannot regard as a norm that historical evolution of the choir’s role which, in order to give greater prominence to the achievements of art, has progressively invaded the rites to the detriment of the people’s part in them. It would be incorrect, for example, to conclude that the singing in church is primarily entrusted to the choir, even if it is composed of clerics. The people should keep

²⁹Gelineau, *Voices*, 22.

³⁰Gelineau, *Voices*, 89.

³¹Gelineau, *Voices*, 82.

³²Gelineau, *Voices*, 82.

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their fundamental role in the assembly, and the choir should be limited to its own subordinate function of embellishment and support. The restoration to the people of their active participation in the rites, desired by the Church in these days, absolutely requires the correction of imbalance when the proper equilibrium has been disturbed.³³

As problematic as this historical interpretation might be today, these ideas greatly influenced the Consilium and its liturgists, and, apparently, Paul VI.

Modern vs. Traditional

Although the division over sacred music was about the theology of the Mass, as Schuler has noted,³⁴ this disagreement was founded on deeper philosophical principles. Since the Council of Trent, much had changed in the worldview of society, particularly during

³³Gelineau, *Voices*, 87–88.

³⁴Schuler, “Chronicle,” 376.

the European Enlightenment when the religious sense of mystery was greatly lost as was the recognition of God's active work in the world. Vatican II itself was called for an *aggiornamento* or updating of the church, "to adapt more suitably to the needs of our own times those institutions which are subject to change."³⁵ The liturgists in the music committee had in mind this "modern man" to whom the pre-Vatican II "mediæval" liturgy no longer spoke. To address this perceived problem, important elements of the Enlightenment were to be advanced, the very ones found in twentieth-century philosophical modernism which the later form of the liturgical movement had also been advocating. Rationalism, and along with it, egalitarianism founded on the Enlightenment ideal of the independence of reason, appeared in the emphasis on the liturgical assembly as composed of priests of the faithful who, as such, were entitled to participate fully and "actively" in the liturgy as much as the "presider" did:

The Council's intention was to open up the treasures of the table of the Word and of the Eucharistic table to the people. Is there anything that is not part of the liturgical action of God's people? No! Everything belongs to them. Nothing is excluded from their attention and their participation. They are to take part in the singing with minds and voices; in the readings through hearing and understanding, for the first thing a speaker wants is to be understood; in the presidential prayers and Eucharistic Prayer through understanding.³⁶

³⁵*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, ¶1.

³⁶Bugnini, *Reform*, 112.

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This view required that the faithful primarily encounter the liturgy with the intellect to compensate for the loss of the sense of mystery that came with the Enlightenment. Bugnini's "principle of intelligibility"³⁷ permeated the work of the Consilium and if not dangerously approaching a sort of modern version of the gnostic salvation by knowledge, placed it ahead of liturgical tradition. It seems everything had to be easily intelligible for a full *participatio actuosa*. As historian Thomas Munck has pointed out, "If the Enlightenment was anything, it was about exposing all inherited beliefs to reason and open debate, and ultimately replacing passive acceptance with active participation."³⁸ Tradition, including liturgical

³⁷Bugnini, *Reform*, 110,

³⁸Thomas Munck, *The Enlightenment: A Com-*

tradition, constitutes a large part of such inherited beliefs.

The committee, then, was divided between modernists and traditionalists on the very nature of sacred music in respect of *participatio actuosa*. For the former, the form of sacred music, the people singing, followed its function in the liturgy, just as form followed function in the modernist architecture of the twentieth century. Beauty was no longer seen in relation to God as it was for Augustine, but to the judgments of reason, a criticism that twentieth century modernism in the arts used against elitist art. Beautiful melodies in the liturgy contained no truth; only words and ideas did. Elitist art-music was secondary, mere ornamentation within the liturgy and so had little place in it. “Popular sacred song” was primary and had to be fostered.³⁹ In short, since the liturgists accepted Gelineau’s main ideas, it made no sense to the Consilium if the assembly could neither understand what they sang nor be able to sing it easily, for “without singing there can be no adequate expression of the people’s participation.”⁴⁰

By emphasizing artistic value, on the other hand, the musicians had a more traditional understanding of art-music as connected to beauty. The beauty of sacred music, expressed by its form, could lead the human soul towards God as the source of all beauty and truth. Even Pius XII had pointed out that

art certainly must be listed among the noblest manifestations of human genius.

parative Social History 1721–1794 (London: Arnold, 2000), p. 222.

³⁹Bugnini, *Reform*, 888.

⁴⁰Bugnini, *Reform*, 885.

Its purpose is to express in human works the infinite divine beauty of which it is, as it were, the reflection.⁴¹

And likewise

religious art is even more closely bound to God and the promotion of His praise and glory, because its only purpose is to give the faithful the greatest aid in turning their minds piously to God through the works it directs to their senses of sight and hearing.⁴²

For the musicians, the church’s timeless musical treasure possessed beauty and truth, and it had to be passed on to future generations in the liturgy. As important as words were, the melodies also had affective meaning, and, like all true art, mysteriously reached the admirer, a function that follows its form. For the musicians, listening to beautiful sacred art-music could help move the hearts of people towards God, thereby being an important form of *actuosa participatio*. Like Gelineau, Bugnini and his Consilium liturgists had a problem with this.⁴³

⁴¹Pope Pius XII, Encyclical Letter, *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina* (1955), ¶25 <http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_25121955_musicae-sacrae.html>.

⁴²Pius XII, *Musicae Sacrae*, ¶27.

⁴³Bugnini does not seem to have understood the importance of true art for the liturgy. Perhaps he understood art only in the modernist sense of art for art’s sake. In this connection, Louis Bouyer, a consultant to the Consilium and the main author of Eucharistic Prayer 2, thought Bugnini was uncultured, lacking an appreciation (per the traditional French understanding of the) best that the human spirit has achieved

Bugnini saw the musicians' firm position in the impasse as an attack "against the entire liturgical reform,"⁴⁴ so he asked the pope to intervene in 1966.⁴⁵ Paul VI did so, and, following Bugnini's suggestions,⁴⁶ revised the drafts on sacred music, trying to make them acceptable to the two opposing parties. A compromise solution was reached using Bugnini's two-forms celebration interpretation. In this interpretation, the traditional view of sacred music as a *participatio actuosa* through listening as well as singing could be kept in the Latin form of the Mass, while the rationalist version of *participatio actuosa* as the people's complete expression through singing could be enacted in the vernacular Mass. Following the pope's intervention, the instruction was completed in a timely manner and became known as *Musicam Sacram* by March 1967,

in civilization, particularly in the arts and the humanities, including art-music. Cf., Louis Bouyer, *Mémoires* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2014), p. 198. Bouyer was not alone in such strong *ad hominem* attacks against members of the Consilium. In an August 2009 *Interview with Monsignor Domenico Bartolucci* by Pucci Cipriani and Stefano Carusi, the late Maestro in Perpetuity of the Sistine Chapel, who served under six popes, said: "the reform [of the liturgy] was done by arid people—*arid, I repeat to you*. And I knew them. As far as doctrine is concerned, I recall that Cardinal Ferdinand Antonelli, of venerable memory, often said: 'What are we to make of liturgists who don't know theology?'" See *The Remnant Newspaper*, Aug. 31, 2009 <www.remnantnewspaper.com/Archives/2009-0831-ferrara-catholic_tradition_vindicated.htm>.

⁴⁴Bugnini, *Reform*, 900.

⁴⁵Bugnini, *Reform*, 905.

⁴⁶Bugnini, *Reform*, 905.

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and it retained the two-forms of celebration interpretation. In all, Bugnini was very satisfied with MS:

In fact, this instruction remains one of the soundest documents of the reform; it opened the way for the progress made in subsequent years and supplied it in advance with balanced guidelines that were in harmony with the spirit of the liturgical Constitution and the authentic renewal of the liturgy.⁴⁷

Farewell to Latin and Gregorian Chant

The two-forms interpretation as espoused in MS was readily accepted at that time because, on the one hand, Latin was still being retained in significant parts of the provisional liturgy, which satisfied the musicians. On the other hand, the liturgists were satisfied because they foresaw a widespread growth of vernacular celebrations of the Mass. Indeed, there was a growing reaction, an outcry around the world, from

⁴⁷Bugnini, *Reform*, 911.

Prior to the release of MS, Paul VI had already been under increasing pressure to allow completely vernacular liturgies.

bishops and their conferences against the limited use of the vernacular in the liturgical changes that went into effect in 1965. SC had given to the bishops' conferences the permission from the Holy See to extend the use of the vernacular in the liturgy.⁴⁸ Prior to the release of MS, Paul VI had already been under increasing pressure to allow completely vernacular liturgies. As Baldovin has pointed out, "by 1966, just a year after the end of the council, it was clear that a majority of the episcopal conferences wanted the entire liturgy in the vernacular."⁴⁹ Even so, these attacks against Latin had been a concern of Paul VI when in 1966 he issued a letter to religious houses showing his displeasure with their hostility

⁴⁸"est competentis auctoritatis ecclesiasticæ territorialis . . . si casus ferat, consilio habito cum Episcopis finitimarum regionum eiusdem linguæ, de usu et modo linguæ vernaculæ statuere, actis ab Apostolica Sede probatis seu confirmatis." *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, ¶36.3.

⁴⁹John F. Baldovin, *Reforming the Liturgy: A Response to the Critics* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2008), p. 115.

to the use of Latin and Gregorian Chant, and at that time refused them permission to use the vernacular.⁵⁰ The musicians did not foresee that the Latin form of celebration would soon almost disappear from the face of the earth, and along with it Gregorian Chant.

In any case, that which Paul VI expected of religious houses he no longer expected of ordinary parishes because of the pressure. Eventually, and considering that the pressure came from "the same bishops who had voted for SC,"⁵¹ Paul VI capitulated in view of the Consilium's unanimous interpretation of the two forms of celebration.⁵² He became resigned to Latin and Gregorian Chant becoming less and less common in

⁵⁰Pope Paul VI, Apostolic Letter *Sacrificium Laudis* (August 15, 1966) <http://w2.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/la/apost_letters/documents/hf_p-vi_apl_19660815_sacrificium-laudis.html>.

⁵¹Baldovin, *Response*, 115.

⁵²Bouyer's account of how Bugnini got his way in the Consilium is disconcerting. In his *Mémoires*, he accused Bugnini "of lacking basic honesty" (p. 198) in the way he deceived not only the Consilium but Pope Paul VI himself. When faced with great opposition to his important views, "the wicked scoundrel" (p. 198) Bugnini declared to the Consilium that the Pope absolutely willed his views thereby ending debate and obtaining unanimity from the Consilium. But the Pope had never willed this. The "contemptible" (p. 199) Bugnini soon after told the Pope that the Consilium was unanimous in support of his views thereby obtaining consent from the Pope in support of them (p. 201, my translations). If true, one wonders if this papal intervention in the musical instruction was not an occasion for such deceit so as to stop the musicians who were a real threat to the entire liturgical reform as Bugnini conceived it.

ordinary parish churches, meanwhile desiring that “Gregorian chant be preserved and performed in monasteries, religious houses and seminaries as a privileged form of prayer in song and as an element of supreme cultural and pedagogical value.”⁵³ His later authorization of *Jubilate Deo*, a collection of simple Gregorian chants sent to each bishop around the world, shows that he was not opposed to using Gregorian chant for congregational singing of the ordinary at the local parish.

The two-forms interpretation also raises a question with regards to the current *General Instruction of the Roman Missal* (GIRM) which closely follows the wording of SC:

41. The main place should be given, all things being equal, to Gregorian chant, as being proper to the Roman Liturgy. Other kinds of sacred music, in particular polyphony, are in no way excluded, provided that they correspond to the spirit of the liturgical action and that they foster the participation of all the faithful.

Since the faithful from different countries come together ever more frequently, it is desirable that they know how to sing together at least some parts of the Ordinary of the Mass in Latin, especially the Profession of Faith and the Lord’s Prayer, according to the simpler settings.⁵⁴

⁵³Letter by Cardinal Vilot sent in the name of Paul VI on September 26, 1973 to Cardinal Siri of Genoa and the National Congress on Sacred Music, in *Sacred Music*, vol. 101, no. 1 (Spring 1974), 23.

⁵⁴This instruction may also be found on the USCCB web site: <<http://www.usccb.org/prayer-and-worship/the-mass/general-instruction-of-the-roman-missal/>>.

Given the Consilium’s interpretation in MS, how do we understand these last two paragraphs?

The first paragraph of GIRM 41 above is a paraphrase of SC 116 and MS 51. The second paragraph is a paraphrase of SC 54 and MS 47 which adds specific examples of the ordinary as well as noting the desirability and utility of having Latin Masses in global worship as suggested in MS 48. Since MS is the interpretation for these two articles from SC, the GIRM, therefore, is to be interpreted likewise; that is to say, GIRM 41 does not apply to a vernacular form of Roman Mass, but only to a Latin one. In the latter case, it would be desirable for the faithful to then know certain Latin chants of the ordinary, but it is not necessary.

MS became the official instruction derived from SC that specifically dealt with the musical participation of the faithful in the reformed liturgy of the Latin Church. Because a pope promulgated it, it is church law and binding on all Catholics using the *Novus Ordo*. When a Mass is in the vernacular form, whether in whole or in part, it need not have any Gregorian Chant. Those who are using SC or the GIRM to justify the use of Gregorian chant or any Latin in a vernacular Mass are mistaken since MS does not support their view. MS allows for Latin and Gregorian Chant, but does not mandate it. Unless someone clearly shows that Paul VI violated the Deposit of Faith by permitting a completely vernacular form of the Roman Rite, devoid of Gregorian Chant or Latin sacred music, MS will remain unchanged for any foreseeable future.

Conclusion

A re-evaluation of the Consilium's two-forms of celebration solution as found in MS, however, may not be farfetched even under the current widespread neglect of using Latin and Gregorian Chant in ordinary parish Masses. As the musicians had tried to point out to the liturgical experts of the Consilium, *participatio actuosa* need not necessarily presuppose only the cognitive function of verbal language. The Mass is more a work of art than an intellectually didactic event. Even Paul VI was aware that melody is a non-verbal language of the soul through which Gregorian Chant illuminates the beauty of the sacred text and invites a spiritual *participatio actuosa*.

That choir from which is removed this language of wondrous spiritual power, transcending the boundaries of the nations, and from which is removed this melody proceeding from the inmost sanctuary of the soul, where faith dwells and charity burns—We speak of Gregorian chant—such a choir will be like to a snuffed candle, which gives light no more, no more attracts the eyes and minds of men.⁵⁵

Since time immemorial Christians have called the inmost sanctuary of the soul “the heart.” Gregorian chant is liturgical art-music whose spiritual power is its beauty as a sung prayer of the heart in a sacred language devoted to the ineffable Trinity. As Eric Werner has pointed out

since it is stated in Holy Scripture that God desires the heart, we cannot as-

⁵⁵Pope Paul VI, *Sacrificium Laudis*.

Unless someone clearly shows that Paul VI violated the Deposit of Faith by permitting a completely vernacular form of the Roman Rite, devoid of Gregorian Chant or Latin sacred music, MS will remain unchanged for any foreseeable future.

sume that prayer is precluded for the deaf, dumb, paralyzed, etc. Now if their prayer is just as valuable as that of the shouting masses . . . it certainly is evident that what counts is not the quantity or the volume but the intention and the intensity of the one praying. Now it is precisely in artistic music that this is at its highest.⁵⁶

⁵⁶Eric Warner, “Problem of Congregational Singing and Art Singing in the Liturgy,” in *Sacred Liturgy and Music Reform after Vatican II: Proceedings of the Fifth International Church Music Congress Chicago-Milwaukee, August 21–28, 1966*, ed. Johannes Overath (Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1969), p. 144.

As it was for Pius XII, such participation is in the order of devotion “which is the principal act of the virtue of religion.”⁵⁷ And this is primarily an internal activity. Listening to art-music, which includes the Mass Propers of Gregorian Chant, is an important internalized form of *participatio actuosa*. Whether such listening moves hearts to God as much as singing, if not more, was and remains the main issue for Gregorian chant and Latin sacred music in the liturgy. We saw that MS took sides by adopting the views of a certain group of liturgical experts that followed Gelineau’s narrow ideas on the nature of music. But as Ratzinger has made quite clear,

We must go on to say that listening, the receptive employment of the senses and the mind, spiritual participation, are surely as much “activity” as speaking is. Are receptivity, perception being moved, not “active” things to do? What we have here, surely, is a diminished view of man which reduces him to what is verbally intelligible, and this at a time when we are aware that what comes to the surface in rationality is only the tip of the iceberg compared with the totality of man. In more concrete terms, there are a good number of people who can sing better “with their heart” than “with their mouth”; but their hearts are really stimulated to sing through the singing of those who *have* the gift of singing “with their mouths.” It is as if they themselves actually sing in the others; their thank-

ful listening is united with the voices of the singers in one worship of God.⁵⁸

Furthermore, the medium of liturgical Latin as a language, made sacred for the church in the West by its use on the Cross, is itself the message, having metaphysical, sociological, psychological, and linguistic dimensions in fostering reverence towards a God whose sacred essence is beyond verbal description and intellectual comprehension in the first place.⁵⁹ To honor God because of his sacredness, as Mohrmann has pointed out, “from very earliest times, Christians sought for prayer forms that were far removed, in their style and mode of expres-

⁵⁸Joseph Ratzinger, *The Feast of Faith: Approaches to a Theology of the Liturgy*, tr. Graham Harrison (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1986), pp. 123–24.

⁵⁹Since the release of *Musicam Sacram*, much has been done in the fields of sociology, psychology, and linguistics that concerns religion and religious language. The sociologist Danièle Hervieu-Léger, for instance, in her *Religion as a Chain of Memory* (tr. Simon Lee, New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2000), has brought to our attention the importance of tradition—the handing of belief on to others in a chain through time—in religion to nourish the individual believer in the face of “a modernity that rejects the notion of a necessary continuity between past and present” (p. 4). For Catholics of the Latin rite, I would argue that this makes a strong case for the use of Latin with Gregorian chant to connect the faithful with their Catholic heritage as nourishment in a hostile secular world, not unlike the role that Hebrew has somewhat recently had in preserving Judaism: “as our fathers believed, and because they believed, we too believe.” (p. 81).

⁵⁷Pope Pius XII, Encyclical Letter, *Mediator Dei*, ¶32 <http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_20111947_mediator-dei.html>. See also ¶23.

sion, from the language of everyday life.”⁶⁰ So too does Gregorian Chant accommodate the ineffability of God. Following St. Augustine,⁶¹ Gregorian Chant uses wordless melismatic melodies as a way for the heart to sing about a God that no human words can describe with the intellect. In many ways, this is absolutely opposed to the mainly syllabic melodies used in today’s vernacular liturgical song which render the melodies “easy” for people to sing.

More recently, the current prefect of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments (the church’s liturgy chief), Cardinal Robert Sarah, has noted various misinterpretations of SC following the council, not only arguing that “the council sees participation as primarily internal,”⁶² but calling for a greater use of Latin and Gregorian chant in vernacular Novus Ordo liturgies. As he continues,

Before I conclude, please permit me to mention some other small ways that can also contribute to a more faithful implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. One is that we must sing the liturgy, we must sing the liturgical texts, respecting the liturgical traditions of the Church

⁶⁰Christine Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin: Its Origin and Character* (London: Burns & Oates, 1959), p. 26.

⁶¹St. Augustine, *In psalmum xxxii*, II, S.I, 8 from *Enarrationes in Psalmos* in J.P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina*, XXXVI, 283.

⁶²Robert Cardinal Sarah, “Towards an Authentic Implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*,” keynote address Sacra Liturgia UK conference, London, July 5, 2016. <<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B8CZzED2HiWJNzdaOE9y-cVI4ekU/view>>

and rejoicing in the treasury of sacred music that is ours, most especially that music proper to the Roman rite, Gregorian chant. [. .]

We must get the right balance between the vernacular languages and the use of Latin in the liturgy. The council never intended to insinuate that the Roman rite be exclusively celebrated in the vernacular. But it did intend to allow its increased use, particularly for the readings.⁶³

As encouraging as Cardinal Sarah’s remarks are, they are, of course, unofficial. Time will reveal the extent of their influence which, if substantial, would require a revision of MS, still the current official interpretation of SC on sacred music. A revision would not be a task to be taken lightly considering that its realization was a divisive “way of the cross” for the Consilium that finally required a papal intervention.⁶⁴ In the meantime, MS mandates neither Gregorian Chant nor Latin sacred music in a vernacular liturgy, only in a Latin one. These are allowed as an option, which, as such, become arbitrary and usually ignored as we have seen over the decades. But, then, perhaps that was Bugnini’s and Gelineau’s intention after all. ❖

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Bugnini, *Reform*, 900 ff.

Progressive Solemnity and the Dominican Liturgy

What can medieval liturgical and theological traditions teach us about effective approaches to liturgical solemnity?

by Fr. Innocent Smith, O.P.



In recent years, there has been much discussion of the concept of “progressive solemnity,” a principle that seeks to modulate a particular celebration of the liturgy based on the importance of the day or office in question. Although the term was first coined in the twentieth-century, the concept has existed in the church’s liturgical practice for centuries.¹ As we try to interpret and apply this concept today, we can gain much insight from a careful examination of historical theories and applications of progressive solemnity. Among the various liturgical traditions of the church, one that is of particular value for understanding this principle is the medieval Dominican liturgy, developed by the Order of

Preachers in the mid-thirteenth century. The Dominican liturgy is a useful locus of study because, in addition to being textually and musically well-documented, it served as the backdrop and inspiration for several important theologians and liturgists of the thirteenth century. In this paper, I will examine the concept of solemnity as articulated by the Dominican friars St. Thomas Aquinas, Humbert of Romans, and Jerome of Moravia, and as expressed in the chants of the Dominican liturgy itself, with the aim of providing resources for enriching contemporary reflections on this topic.

Thomas Aquinas on Solemnity

To begin with, we must consider what solemnity is in itself. For Thomas Aquinas, solemnity in the liturgy and the sacraments helps the Christian to come to the worship of God with greater devotion, and thus to be better disposed to receive the fruits of

¹Cf. Mary Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 353.

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the sacraments.² For Aquinas, in divine worship

we pay God honor and reverence, not for His sake . . . but for our own sake, because by the very fact that we revere and honor God, our mind is subjected to Him; wherein its perfection consists ... Now the human mind, in order to be united to God, needs to be guided by the sensible world ... Wherefore in the Divine worship it is necessary to make use of corporeal things, that man's mind may be aroused thereby, as by signs, to the spiritual acts by means of which he is united to God.³

²Cf. Sr. Thomas Augustine Becker's survey of Thomas's writings on the topic of solemnity: "The Role of *Solemnitas* in the Liturgy According to Saint Thomas Aquinas" in Matthew Levering and Michael Dauphinas, eds., *Rediscovering Aquinas and the Sacraments: Studies in Sacramental Theology* (Chicago: Hillenbrand Books, 2009), pp. 114–136.

³*Summa theologiae*, II-II.81.7.R.

Thus, the worship of God by human beings has both internal and external aspects:

Since man is composed of soul and body, each of these should be applied to the worship of God; the soul by an interior worship; the body by an outward worship ... And as the body is ordained to God through the soul, so the outward worship is ordained to the internal worship [which] consists in the soul being united to God by the intellect and affections.⁴

According to St. Thomas Aquinas, the use of the body and the voice in divine worship helps to arouse devotion in the heart of the worshipper, and allows one to "serve God with all that he has from God, that is to say, not only with his mind, but also with his body."⁵ The voice, in particular, helps to "excite interior devotion, whereby the mind of the person praying is raised to God."⁶ As Thomas clarifies, "vocal prayer is employed, not in order to tell God something He does not know, but in order to lift up the mind of the person praying or of other persons to God."⁷ As Thomas writes elsewhere, "we employ words, in speaking to God, not indeed to make known our thoughts to Him Who is the searcher of hearts, but that we may bring ourselves and our hearers to reverence Him. Consequently we need to praise God with our lips, not indeed for His sake, but for our own sake; since by praising Him our devotion is aroused

⁴*Ibid.*, I-II.101.2.R.

⁵*Ibid.*, II-II.83.12.R.

⁶*Ibid.*, II-II.83.12.R.

⁷*Ibid.*, II-II.83.12.1um.

towards Him.”⁸ Thomas points out further that “the use of music in the divine praises is a salutary institution, that the souls of the faint-hearted may be the more incited to devotion,”⁹ although he makes a characteristically Dominican clarification by pointing out that “to arouse men to devotion by teaching and preaching is a more excellent way than by singing.”¹⁰

In liturgy and the sacraments, we encounter God through physical symbols and words. God takes this initiative in providing modes of reaching him that are suited to our nature. In instituting the sacraments, Jesus Christ chose certain words and objects to serve as the form and matter of the individual sacraments. However, as a study of the diversity of legitimate liturgical forms reveals, the church has the right and duty to develop liturgical rites for the divinely instituted sacraments, a fact of which Thomas is well aware. For Thomas, these ecclesial arrangements help us to receive the sacraments with the proper disposition: “human institutions observed in the sacraments are not essential to the sacrament; but belong to the solemnity which is added to the sacraments in order to arouse devotion and reverence in the recipients.”¹¹ Among the various liturgical rites, Thomas states that the Eucharist is fittingly celebrated “with greater solemnity than the other sacraments,” because the whole mystery of our salvation is comprised in the Eucharist.¹² For Thomas, then, solemnity is principally

⁸Ibid., II-II.91.1.R.

⁹Ibid., II-II.91.2.R.

¹⁰Ibid., II-II.91.2.3um.

¹¹Ibid., III.64.2.1um

¹²Ibid., III.83.4.

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concerned with the human institutions and arrangements that help us to celebrate the liturgy and the sacraments in such a way that we may be brought to true, inward, spiritual worship by means of exterior, bodily worship. As we have seen, singing has a particularly important role in exciting devotion, and it is fitting that some liturgical rites are celebrated with greater solemnity than others.

Humbert and the Ancient Constitutions

Now that we have outlined a basic understanding of solemnity in itself, we will consider early Dominican approaches to the principle of progressive solemnity. Two important sources for understanding this topic are the *Ancient Constitutions* formulated during the first decades of the Order’s existence and the *Commentary on the Constitutions* written by Humbert of Romans. The *Constitutions* contain detailed regulations on the performance of the liturgy, constituting a collective attitude about the liturgy that predates the formulation of the distinctive rite

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of the Order. Humbert of Romans, a contemporary and close collaborator of Thomas Aquinas, who, as Master of the Order, played a central role in the standardization of the Dominican liturgy, wrote a partial commentary on the *Constitutions* which offers precious insights into Dominican attitudes about the liturgy.

One important passage from the *Ancient Constitutions* that determined the Dominican approach to the performance of the liturgy was a succinct description of the performance of the Divine Office:

All the hours in the church should be said briefly and succinctly, lest the brothers should lose devotion or be at all impeded in their study. We say that this is to be done such that in the middle of the verse a *metrum* with a pause should be preserved, not by extending the voice at the pause or at the end of the verse, but, as was said, they should be ended briefly and succinctly. However, this should be

observed to a greater or lesser extent according to the season.¹³

This succinct description captures several important details about early Dominican attitudes to the liturgy. First, the liturgy is to be sung “briefly and succinctly” so that the devotion of the brothers may not become lax, and that their study be impeded as little as possible. According to Humbert, study is not to be preferred to prayer as such, but to overly prolix prayer.¹⁴ St. Thomas writes within this tradition when he states that liturgical prayer should not last such a long time that the devotion of the participants would grow slack.¹⁵ Humbert offers several reasons why a shorter office is better than a longer one, the first of which is that other-

¹³*Constitutiones antique*, d. 1, c. 4. For a critical edition of the *Constitutiones antique* (also known as the “Primitive Constitutions”), see Antoninus Hendrik Thomas, ed., “Constitutiones antique Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum,” in *De oudste Constituties van de dominicanen: Voorgeschiedenis, tekst, bronnen, ontstaan en ontwikkeling* (1215–1237), Bibliothèque de la Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique 42 (Louvain: Bureel van de R.H.E. Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1965), 304–69.

¹⁴Humbert of Romans, “Expositio in Constitutiones,” in *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier, vol. 2 (Rome: A. Befani, 1889), 1–178, at 97.

¹⁵*Summa*, II-II.83.14: “It is becoming that prayer should last long enough to arouse the fervor of the interior desire: and when it exceeds this measure, so that it cannot be continued any longer without causing weariness, it should be discontinued. ... And just as we must judge of this in private prayers by considering the attention of the person praying, so too, in public prayers we must judge of it by considering the devotion of the people.”

wise the choir would be evacuated as many would seek occasions of staying away based on this prolixity!¹⁶

Despite the emphasis on brief and succinct singing, the constitutions also order that pauses are to be made in the middle of verses of the psalms, showing that the desired rapidity was not to be sought at the expense of a certain dignity of performance. This *metrum* or mediant pause is “observed to a greater or lesser extent according to the season.” This statement of the *Constitutions* leads Humbert to offer an extensive reflection on the reasons why the liturgy is performed with greater solemnity on feast days. First of all, the fact that the friars are not occupied with lectures or study on major feast days removes the necessity of a rapid performance of the liturgy. Secondly, on feast days more outside guests come to the priory for the liturgy, and Humbert suggests that “it is just that the [liturgy] is said more devoutly for the sake of their edification.” Thirdly, because feasts are instituted so that people may have leisure to be with God, it is fitting that they should linger more in performing the liturgy. Further, Humbert points out that the devil hates feast days and tries to disturb them, and that thus the choir should perform the liturgy with greater solemnity and devotion to prevent the devil’s victory. Finally, Humbert points out that feast days prefigure the “great future feast in which there will continual and most devout praise,” and that thus the liturgy should be performed with great devotion on feast days so that they may prefigure the eternal feast more clearly.

In this presentation, we see a concise summary of early Dominican attitudes to

¹⁶*Expositio*, II:85–86.

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solemnity in the liturgy. First of all, the duties of study, preaching, and teaching are seen to necessitate concision with respect to the liturgy, but these duties do not preclude a more solemn celebration on certain occasions. Next, the greater solemnity of feast days is seen to be of pastoral benefit for assisting the laity in coming to the liturgy with devotion. Further, we see that the devotion enkindled by solemnity is understood within the context of both commitment to God and protection from demonic distractions. Finally, there is a clear recognition that the earthly liturgy prefigures the heavenly liturgy and that this prefigurement is more clearly articulated by liturgical solemnity. Although these principles are articulated in the context of Dominican conventual life, by extension they are of great relevance to pastoral practice, for instance in articulating the reason why there should be a difference between a daily parish Mass and a Sunday celebration, or for helping the faith-

ful to understand that liturgical solemnity is not merely a question of aesthetics, but one that is deeply related to spiritual combat and preparation for heaven.

The Dominican Liturgy and Jerome of Moravia

Having considered the perspectives on solemnity offered by Thomas and Humbert, we will now consider the ways in which the Dominican liturgy itself utilizes gradations of solemnity to demarcate the relative importance of feasts, offices, and components of the liturgy.

In the medieval Dominican liturgy, five ranks of liturgical feasts are observed: from highest to lowest, these are: *Totum Duplex*, *Duplex*, *Semiduplex*, *Simplex*, and *Trium Lectionum*.¹⁷ The various feast ranks effect the way in which the liturgy is performed principally in two areas: the ministers of the liturgy and the musical settings employed in the liturgy.

With respect to the ministers of the liturgy, the major difference between the various ranks is found in the number of singers who perform various chants. The Dominican Ordinarium, which gives both a list of chants and texts used throughout the year at Mass and Office as well as instructions for the general performance of the liturgy, provides specific instructions for the number of singers who ought to sing chants on

¹⁷In the Dominican Calendar of 1254, there were 23 *Totum Duplex* feasts (including the major feasts of the Temporale such as Christmas and Easter), 4 *Duplex* feasts, 22 *Semi-duplex*, 36 *Simplex*, and 30 *Trium Lectionum* feasts. Cf. Ludovicus Rousseau, *De ecclesiastico officio Fratrum Praedicatorum: secundum ordinationem venerabilis magistri, Humberti de Romanis* (Rome: A. Manuzio, 1927), pp. 78–83.

various occasions.¹⁸ The invitatory at Matins, for instance, is led by one cantor on feasts of the lowest rank, but is sung by two cantors on *Simplex* and *Semiduplex* feasts, and by four cantors on *Duplex* and *Totum Duplex* feasts.¹⁹ Similarly, the long responsories are each led by one cantor on *Simplex* feasts, but by two cantors on *Semiduplex* and four cantors on *Duplex* feasts.²⁰ In addition to the extra cantors, *Duplex* feasts are distinguished by being officiated by the superior of the community, by the cantor and subcantor singing certain chants from the middle of the choir rather than from their choir stalls, and by the incensation of the altar at the Gospel canticles of Vespers and Lauds.²¹ Finally, the antiphons at the Magnificat and Benedictus are sung both before and after the canticles on *Totum Duplex* feasts, whereas on lower ranks the antiphon is only fully sung after the canticle.²² These variations are subtle, but taken as a whole contribute to a liturgical ethos that demarcates their importance on a particular feast.

When we consider the music of the

¹⁸The *Ordinarium* from Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1 has been edited in Franciscus-M. Guerrini, ed., *Ordinarium juxta ritum Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum jussu rev.mi patris fr. Ludovici Theissling eiusdem ordinis magistri generalis editum* (Rome: Apud Collegium Angelicum, 1921).

¹⁹*Ordinarium*, ¶¶269, 272, 282 (pp. 69, 71).

²⁰*Ordinarium*, ¶¶272, 274, 278 (pp. 69–71). The number of cantors for the responsories on *Duplex* feasts has further variations for individual responsories: cf. *Ordinarium*, ¶¶278, 283, 287 (pp. 71–72).

²¹*Ordinarium*, ¶¶275, 277, 280 (pp. 70–71).

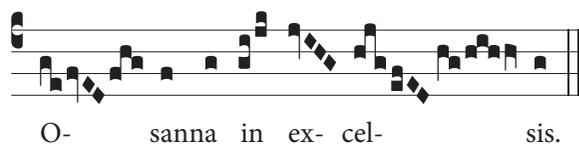
²²*Ordinarium*, ¶287 (p. 72).

Dominican liturgy, we find the gradations of feast rank most clearly present in the texts that are invariable or metrically regular, namely the chants of the *Kyriale* such as the Gloria and Sanctus, and the hymns of the Divine Office. In the Dominican liturgy, seven cycles are provided for the Ordinary of the Mass based on the rank or class of the feast, ranging from a very simple setting for ferial days to an ornate setting for *Totum Duplex* feasts. The development of the Mass cycle was a thirteenth-century phenomenon in which the Dominicans (along with the Franciscans) took a leading role—in prior centuries, musical manuscripts had provided a selection of melodies for each part of the Mass without grouping the settings according to feast rank.²³ Thus, the Dominican arrangement of Mass cycles was rather avant-garde, which helps us realize that the friars were self-conscious in their use of musical solemnity to articulate liturgical solemnity.

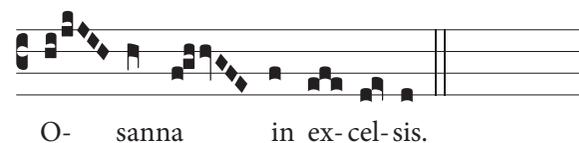
To demonstrate this arrangement, note the final line of the Sanctus, “Osanna in Excelsis,” from four settings as they are hierarchically arranged in the Dominican liturgy. As we descend from highest to lowest, there is a shift from melismatic settings (where four or more notes are frequently used on a syllable) to neumatic settings (where two- or three-note neumes predominate) and finally to a syllabic setting where most syllables get only one or two notes.

²³Cf. David Hiley, “Kyriale,” in *Grove Music Online*.

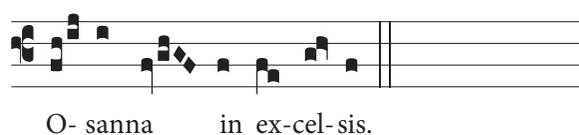
Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 362v:
In toto duplici et duplici



Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 363ra:
In festis semiduplicibus



Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 363rb:
In dominicis et festis simplicibus



Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 363va:
In profestis diebus



When we consider the hymns of the Divine Office we find an even more sophisticated system which, by carefully arranging the use of texts and melodies, links and distinguishes Sundays and weekdays, feasts of different ranks, and the liturgical seasons of the year. In the first case, the Dominican liturgy employs only one text for each of the major hours in the time throughout the year, rather than providing the more common seven-day cycle of hymns. However, the Dominican liturgy assigns a solemn melody for these texts on Sundays and a simple melody of weekdays. One example of this is the Vespers hymn *Lucis Creator optime*: the Sunday melody is neumatic, having two or three notes on many of the

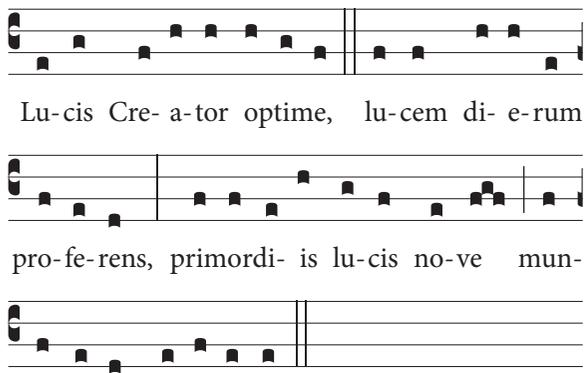
syllables, while the ferial melody is almost entirely syllabic, providing more than one note on only a single syllable.

Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 318vb:
*Dominica prima post octavas Epiphaniae ... ad
 vespervas ymnus*



Lu- cis cre- a- tor op-time, lu-cem di- e-
 rum pro- fe- rens, primor- di- is lu- cis no-
 ve mundi pa-rans o-ri-gi-nem.

Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 319ra:
Cantus ferialis ad vespervas et completorium



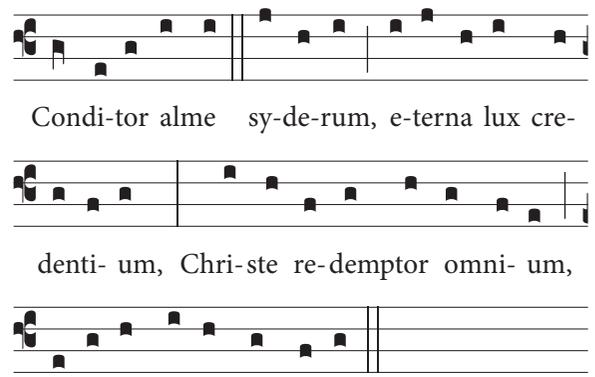
Lu- cis Cre- a- tor optime, lu- cem di- e- rum
 pro- fe- rens, primordi- is lu- cis no- ve mun-
 di pa- rans o- ri- gi- nem.

As we can see, the ferial melody is purely syllabic, whereas the Sunday melody is neumatic, having two or three notes on many of the syllables. A similar use of melodic complexity to distinguish Sunday and ferial days is found for all of the hymns used in the time throughout the year. Within the melodies assigned for ferial days or for Sundays, we can further distinguish between those assigned for the major

hours and the minor hours; the melodies for the minor hours tend to have a smaller musical range and to be somewhat simpler than those assigned for the major hours.

In addition to the melodic differentiation of weekdays and Sundays, the seasons of the liturgical year are differentiated by the character of the melodies assigned for the seasonal hymns. This is strikingly illustrated in the difference between the simple, syllabic melody assigned for Vespers during Advent, *Conditor Alme Syderum*, and the complex, neumatic melody assigned for Christmas, *Veni Redemptor Gentium*.

Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 318rb:
In adventu Domini ad vespervas ymnus



Condi- tor alme sy- de- rum, e- terna lux cre-
 denti- um, Chri- ste re- demptor omni- um,
 exaudi pre- ces suppli- cum.

Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 318rb:
In nativitate Domini ad vespervas ymnus



Ve- ni re- demptor gen- ti- um, ostende par-
 tum virgi- nis, mi- re- tur omne se- cu- lum,
 ta- lis de- cet par- tus De- um.

When we compare the melodies assigned for Lent and Easter, we find a difference based not on the number of notes for each syllable but on the range of the melody, with the Lenten tune possessing a constrained range of six tones in comparison to the nine tones of the Easter melody.

Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 319ra:
*Dominica prima in Quadragesima ad vespas
 ymnus*

Audi be-nigne condi-tor, nostras pre- ces
 cum fle-ti-bus in hoc sacro ie-iu-ni-o
 fu-sas quadra-ge-na-ri-o.

Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 318rb:
In octavis Pasche ad vespas ymnus

Ad ce-nam agni pro-vi-di et sto-lis al-bis
 candi-di, post transi-tum ma-ris rubri,
 Chri-sto ca-na- mus princi-pi.

The third type of melodic differentiation closely parallels the structure of the *Kyriale* settings by providing a set of melodies that are coordinated with the different

feast ranks. One distinctive aspect of the Dominican liturgy is that the melodies for the common of the saints are not based on the category of the saint (for instance providing a distinct melody for virgins and a different melody for martyrs) but instead are assigned on account of the rank of the feast being celebrated. Hymns from the Common of Saints in iambic dimeter (long meter) have four melodies assigned for the various ranks of feasts (with a fifth provided for within octaves of other feasts):

Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 322rb:
In totis duplicibus et duplicibus

Iam lu-cis orto sy-de- re, De-um pre- ce-
 mur suppli-ces ut in di-urnis ac-ti-bus
 nos ser- vet a no-cen-ti-bus.

Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 322rb:
In festo semiduplici

Iam lu-cis orto sy-de- re, De-um pre-
 cemur suppli-ces ut in di-urnis ac-ti-
 bus nos servet a no-cen-ti-bus.

Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 322rb:
In festo simplici

Iam lu-cis orto sy-de-re, De-um pre-ce-
mur suppli-ces ut in di-urnis ac-ti-bus
nos servet a no-cen-ti-bus.

The musical notation consists of three staves. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of text. The second staff contains the melody for the second line of text. The third staff contains the melody for the third line of text. The notes are square and the stems are vertical.

Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 322rb:
In festo trium lectionum

Iam lu-cis orto sy-de-re, De-um pre-cemur
suppli-ces ut in di-urnis acti-bus nos ser-
vet a no-centi-bus.

The musical notation consists of three staves. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of text. The second staff contains the melody for the second line of text. The third staff contains the melody for the third line of text. The notes are square and the stems are vertical.

Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 322rb:
Infra octavas

Iam lu-cis orto sy-de-re, De-um pre-ce-
mur sup- pli-ces ut in di-urnis acti-bus
nos servet a no-cen-ti-bus.

The musical notation consists of three staves. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of text. The second staff contains the melody for the second line of text. The third staff contains the melody for the third line of text. The notes are square and the stems are vertical.

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A different aspect of solemnity is articulated by the Dominican music theorist Jerome of Moravia in chapter twenty-four of his *Tractatus de Musica*:²⁴ in compos-

²⁴Hieronymus de Moravia, *Tractatus de Musica*, ed. Christian Meyer, Guy Lobricon, and Carola Hertel-Geay, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 250 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), p. 166: "Hic igitur est quinto notandum, quod si musicus pulcherimam istoriam de sancto uel de sanctis facere cupit, hunc in faciendo ordinem debet habere, ut scilicet antiphonam

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ing new melodies for feasts, Jerome suggests that the Magnificat antiphons should be composed according to a set of princi-

uel anthiphonas in primis uesperis super psalmos statuat in duobus mixtis gradibus, et similiter omnes antiphonas in laudibus in matutinis. Antiphonas uero scilicet ad magnificat in primis uesperis et in secundis, et eciam ad benedictus, in missa sequenciam faciat de gradu pulcherimo siue de tercio, primum autem nocturnum cum antiphonis, responsoriis et uersibus de primo gradu, secundum de secundo, tercium uero de tercio gradu constituat.”

ples that lead to the most beautiful type of chant, whereas the other antiphons may be fittingly composed in a less beautiful manner. This indicates that within a particular set of chants for a feast, some may deserve greater solemnity than others. This phenomenon may be often observed in the Dominican office when comparing the antiphons for the psalms of an office with those assigned for the canticles. This parallels the distinction between the tones provided for the recitation of the psalms and the elaborated versions provided for the recitation of the Gospel canticles.

Progressive solemnity based on genre is implicit in the more solemn melodies assigned for the Mass, where the gradual, alleluia, and offertory melodies are considerably more ornate than those of the introit and communion antiphons. The character of these proper chants of the Mass remain constant throughout the various seasons and feast ranks of the year: thus, Advent and Lent or lower ranked feasts are not given simpler proper chants, despite the simpler settings used on these occasions for the *Kyriale* and hymns of the Divine Office. In fact, Lent is one of the most solemn seasons of the year when it comes to the proper chants, as the extremely ornate tract replaces the alleluia and as distinct chants are given for each day of the season rather than repeating the Sunday chants on the ferial days.

In the Dominican liturgy, the use of more and less ornate liturgical genres is the principle musical mode of distinguishing the minor hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, None, and Compline from the major hours of Matins, Lauds, and Vespers. The major hours employ the musically solemn long responsories and canticle antiphons in addition to the psalm antiphons and short

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responsories shared with the minor hours. In contrast to the normal practice throughout the year, it is interesting to note that the medieval Dominican liturgy provides long responsories for the minor hours during Lent. Thus, in a way that is perhaps contrary to our expectations, the Dominican liturgy gives a greater solemnity to even the minor hours during this season of the year. A related feature of the major and minor hours is the assignment of one tone for the orations at Mass, Vespers, and Lauds, and a different tone for the orations at the minor hours. Although when heard out of context the tone for the minor hours may seem more musically complex than the solemn tone, there is a musical parallel between the solemn collect and the melody used to chant the Gospel and the simple collect and

the melody used to chant the short readings at the Divine Office.²⁵

Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined Dominican perspectives on progressive solemnity as expressed by Thomas Aquinas, Humbert of Romans, and Jerome of Moravia. These sources help us to understand the nature of solemnity in itself as well as the pastoral and theological considerations that led the early Dominicans to celebrate the liturgy with brevity on certain occasions and with greater solemnity on others. The medieval Dominican liturgy in itself gives an example of an historical form of the liturgy that has an intrinsic and sophisticated system of progressive solemnity. This system modulates the performance of certain aspects of the liturgy based on the season and rank of the celebration while arranging other elements in a fixed hierarchical order. As we attempt to articulate the principle of progressive solemnity and apply this principle to contemporary celebrations of the liturgy, the Dominican liturgical and theological tradition can be of great assistance in offering a practical and pastorally sensitive approach of progressive solemnity. ❖

²⁵I am thankful to Fr. Thomas Donoghue, O.P., for pointing out the parallel between the collect tone and the gospel tone.

Repertory
Palestrina's Singer's Lament: *Super flumina Babylonis*

How does this motet compare with Palestrina's famous Sicut Cervus?

by William Mahrt

The Psalm

1. Super flumina Babylonis, illic sedimus et flevimus: dum recordaremur Sion:
2. In salicibus in medio ejus, suspendimus organa nostra.
3. Quia illic interrogaverunt nos, qui captivos duxerunt nos, verba cantionum: Et qui abduxerunt nos: Hymnum cantate nobis de canticis Sion.
4. Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena?

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat and wept: when we remembered Zion: On the willows in the midst thereof we hung up our harps. For there they that led us into captivity required of us the words of songs. And they that carried us away, said: Sing ye to us a hymn of the songs of Zion. How shall we sing the song of the Lord in a strange land? Ps. 136 (137):1–4 [of 9 vss.]



Psalm 136 (137), *Super flumina Babylonis*, is the quintessential psalm of exile. It is in the voice of one looking back to the Babylonian captivity, where the Hebrews “sat weeping as they thought of the glories of Jerusalem’s worship, in which they had at one time shared.”¹ But the sacred music of

the Temple did not belong in Babylon, and so when their captors mockingly demanded a “Song of Zion,” the Hebrews responded, “How can we sing a Song of Zion in a foreign land?” and they sadly hung their harps upon the willows which lined the rivers. The psalm is also understood in a spiritual sense—we are all exiles in this valley of tears longing for the joys of the heavenly Jerusalem.

This psalm is the basis for the offertory for the Twenty-sixth Sunday in Ordinary

¹Patrick Boylan, *The Psalms; A Study of the Vulgate Psalter in the Light of the Hebrew Text*, 2 vols. (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1924), vol. 2, p. 339.

William Mahrt is the president of the CMAA and the editor of Sacred Music.

Example 1: Offertory *Super flumina Babylonis*, melisma of verse one



Time (ordinary form) and the Twentieth Sunday after Pentecost (extraordinary form). The offertory chant sets just the first verse of the psalm and this is all that has been sung since the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. Before that, the first verse of the offertory was a respond, to which were added two or three relatively melismatic verses. The first of these verses contains the evocative phrase “*suspéndimus órgana nostra*” (we hung up our harps), the accented syllable “-pén-” of which receives a melisma of sixty-six notes, the longest of any melisma in the chant.² (See Example 1 above.)

Super flumina Babylonis has traditionally been used to express the lamentation of musicians. From the period of classical polyphony, there are several such settings; three are most notable:

After persecution of Catholics in England had intensified, Philippe de Monte sent an eight-part setting to William Byrd in 1583. While this appeared to be a simple biblical psalm, the order of verses was inverted: 1, 3, 4, and 2, being a cryptic expression of explicit sympathy. Byrd responded by sending an eight-part, canonical setting of the ensuing text, beginning “*Quomodo cantabimus,*”

including verses 4 through 7.³

A double-choir setting of the same psalm by Tomás Luis de Victoria served another occasion of lamenting, though one not so dire. The Jesuits had founded two colleges in Rome, German and Roman, for the education of seminarians, who at first studied together. In 1573 it was decided to separate the students of the two colleges, a farewell ceremony was celebrated, and Victoria’s psalm was sung. The psalm of exile expressed the musical separation of the two bodies of students, being a lament of musicians.⁴

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²Cf. *Offertoriale sive Versus Offertoriorum Cantus Gregoriani*, ed. Carolus Ott (Tournai: Desclée, 1935), p. 120; because of these verses as well as its more melismatic style, the offertory should be called a responsory (as are the gradual and alleluia) and not an antiphon.

³Cf. Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 44f.

⁴Cf. Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), pp. 357f.

Upon the death of the aged King Louis XII of France, Costanzo Festa composed a motet whose text began with the first two verses of our psalm, but the motet included texts from five other sources. While some of these texts have been read as cryptic criticism of the young queen, the ostensible content included repeated mention of the lamenting of musicians, for example, from Job (30:31) “Versa est in luctum citara nostra et organum nostrum in vocem flentium” (My harp is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of those that weep). This funeral motet thus strongly features the mourning of musicians.⁵

Two extensive cycles of polyphonic offertories include a setting of the first verse of Psalm 136 (137): Lasso’s cycle of offertory motets in four voices for Advent and Lent includes *Super flumina* for the Thursday after Passion Sunday; Palestrina’s five-voice setting is for the Twentieth Sunday after Pentecost.⁶ Other settings

⁵Cf. Edward E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518, Historical Introduction and Commentary*, Monuments of Renaissance Music, III (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 42–51.

⁶See Orlando di Lasso, *Sacrae Cantiones for Four Voices (Munich, 1585)*, the Complete Motets, vol. 14, ed. David Crook (Madison: A-R Editions, 1997), p. xiii; in the early 1580s, Lasso provided a motet for each day of Advent and Lent (except for the third and fourth Sundays of Lent), a cycle of forty-six motets; Palestrina’s cycle consisted of sixty-eight motets in five voices for the Sundays of the entire year, published in 1593; cf. Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Le Opere Complete*, Vol. 17, ed. Lavinio Virgili (Rome: Fratelli Scalera, 1952), pp. 205–08.



Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina
1525–1594

of more verses include a twelve-part triple-choir motet, variously attributed to Luca Marenzio and Giovanni Battista Locatello, and four-voice motets of Nicolas Gombert and Giacomo Carissimi. Francisco Guerrero composed a beautiful five-voice *Missa super Super flumina Babylonis*, ostensibly a parody Mass, although the motet upon which it is supposed to be based has never been found.

While Lasso’s motet and Palestrina’s for five-voices consist of the first verse of the psalm and were meant as offertory motets, Palestrina’s motet for four voices is not an offertory motet, since it includes the second verse of the psalm, a significant part of the composition. Palestrina certainly could not have known the offertory verse quoted above, but he responded to the expressive potential of the same text “suspendimus organa nostra” as eloquently as the chant verse had done; this is a principal point of his motet.

Super Flumina Babylonis

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina

Musical score for the first system, featuring three vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) and a Bass line. The lyrics are: Su - per flu-mi-na Ba - - - by -

Musical score for the second system, featuring three vocal parts and a Bass line. The lyrics are: lo - nis, su - per flu - mi - na Ba - - - by - lo - nis il - lic se - di-mus et fle - nis, su - per flu - mi - na Ba - - - by - lo - nis il - lic se - di-mus et Su - per flu-mi-na Ba - - - by - lo - nis il - lic se - di-mus et fle - lo - - - - - nis il - lic se - di-mus et

Musical score for the third system, featuring three vocal parts and a Bass line. The lyrics are: vi - mus, il - lic se - di - mus et fle - - - vi - mus, dum re - cor - fle - ci - mus, il - lic se - di - mus et fle - vi - mus, dum re - cor - da - re - vi - mus, il - lic se - di - mus et fle - vi - mus, dum re - cor - fle - vi - mus, il - lic se - di - mus et fle - vi - mus,

The Motet

Super flumina Babyonis (See Example 2)⁷ shares the status of a widely sung and loved motet with Palestrina's *Sicut cervus*.⁸ It is, however, a very different kind of motet. Both motets make exquisite presentation of their texts, but while *Sicut cervus* uses pervasive imitation to achieve an effect of equanimity and balance, *Super flumina* sets each text segment to strikingly various textures, differentiating the significance of each text segment. Moreover, its modality vacillates somewhat between E-Phrygian and A-Hypocaeolian.⁹ These remarkable shifts of texture and mode underlie the expression of lamentation, as will be shown below.

The motet begins with a formal point of imitation, each voice carrying the subject in turn (mm. 1–14). It does not, however, have the typical double exposition—two complete points of imitation¹⁰ in all the voices, as in *Sicut cervus*—but rather after a single

point of imitation, makes a brief cadence in just two voices, leading directly to the next section. The subject of this imitation initiates the expression of lamentation by beginning with a chromatic half step below *a*, then leaping up a third and then making a stepwise descent to *E*. This stepwise descent I call a Phrygian descent—beginning from *c*, the reciting tone of the mode and descending to *E*, its final; its last interval is the expressive descent of a half step.

At “illic sedimus et flevimus” (there we sat and wept), a remarkable shift of texture occurs, in which all the voices sing the text simultaneously (homophonic texture, or familiar style), and the accented syllable of “sédimus” receives a long note, stopping the rhythmic progress momentarily, representing sitting, and moves to a Phrygian cadence to A by way of B-flat, an effective representation of weeping. The whole text is repeated with a slight contrapuntal variation (the bass imitates the other voices), and rises to a peak with a Phrygian cadence to E. This higher iteration of the text gives an intensity to the idea of weeping, especially through the Phrygian cadences.

“Dum recordaremur tui Sion” (When we remembered thee Zion) is now set to a fully double point of imitation, but with another wrinkle. It uses two subjects, one is the approximate inversion of the other. These imitations recall the point at the beginning of the piece, since they all begin on either E or A. The reflexivity of these two subjects suggests the reflexivity of introspective remembering.

“In salicibus, in medio ejus” (On the willows, in the midst thereof) is set to a quasi-fauxbourdon texture in the bottom three parts, parallel 6/3 chords, with the alto voice beginning a quarter note earlier than the other two, the soprano then imi-

⁷The score is modified from the file by Thomas F. Savoy in the Choral Public Domain Library.

⁸Cf. “Palestrina's *Sicut Cervus*: A Motet Upon a *Parallelismus Membrorum*,” *Sacred Music*, 141, no. 1 (Spring 2014), 34–41, available online at <<https://musicasacra.com/journal/archives/>>.

⁹E-Phrygian has a scale from *E-e*, with a final on E, while A-Hypocaeolian has a scale *E-e*, with a final on A. The Phrygian final is unique among finals in that it is approached by a descent of a half step. The two modes thus share a common scale, but different finals; this is reflected in the motet by shifts in cadence between E and A.

¹⁰A point is a complete phrase of a piece in imitation consisting of an imitative entry in each voice in turn leading to a cadence; here “point” does not mean a point in time, but rather is the equivalent of period—a complete sentence marked by a period.

<i>mm.</i>	<i>text</i>	<i>texture</i>	<i>entry notes</i>	<i>cadences</i>
1–14	Super flumina	formal imitation, one point	A, E	A
14–23	illic sedimus	homophonic, then partially imitative	E	A & E Phrygian
23–39	dum recordaremur	imitation in two subjects	A, E	A
39–57	in salicibus	quasi-fauxbourdon, then partially imitative	E, A, D	E Phrygian
57–71	suspendimus organa	quasi-fauxbourdon	B, C, D, E, F#, G	A, E Phrygian

tates the bass voice exactly (m. 41), while the other voices break out in a fairly dense imitative texture. These imitations could be called “three-pitch imitations,” since after entries on E and A, new ones on D answer the ones on A. The melody of this text rises to a peak on the accent of “salícibus” (willows), as if reaching for a branch upon which to hang the harp.

The concluding section, on “suspendimus organa nostra” (we hung up our harps) constitutes a kind of peroration (in rhetoric, the eloquent conclusion to an argument). Its dotted quarter rhythm causes a slight delay, suggesting interruption, suspension. The passage consists of pairs of three-voice, quasi-fauxbourdon passages, alto-tenor-bass first, then soprano-alto-tenor. The lower voice of each trio quickly imitates the upper voice a seventh lower. This might lead the listener to anticipate dissonant suspensions between the outer voices of each trio, but aside from passing notes, they are entirely consonant until the closing cadence of each passage, with its the conventional suspension in a two-voice cadence (m. 57, alto and bass to A; m. 60, soprano and tenor to G; m. 63, soprano and tenor to A; m. 65, alto and bass to C; m. 68, soprano and tenor to A) It is, in fact, the dissonant interval of imitation, a seventh, that intimates the lamentable situation of the exile.¹¹ The cadence to A at mea-

sure 68 is as close to a full four-voice cadence as occurs in the motet, but the bass avoids it, moving E-F rather than the expected E-A; the piece concludes with a Phrygian cadence to E (between bass and alto), which, however has no suspension and gives an impression of being incomplete. A climax is created when the quasi-fauxbourdon passage is placed a third higher (beginning m. 65). The entry notes of the imitations comprise all diatonic scale degrees except A, which is then the location of that stronger cadence. The avoidance of full cadences is an important part of the sense of incompleteness summarized by the hanging up of harps. Likewise, the contrast of the various entry-notes of this last section with those of the previous sections also suggests the disorder of the exile.

“Suspendimus organa nostra” thus eloquently expresses the absence of music but also the memory of the full sacred music of the Temple from which the exile occurred.

The textures of the piece appear above.

What a contrast between these two motets! *Sicut cervus* expresses a serene confidence of the soul seeking the Lord, while *Super flumina* laments the unhappy state of exile, both in Babylon and in the present vale of tears. ❖

this motet on YouTube, many of which are quite beautiful; one of the best is by Clare College (search Super Flumina Clare); there is also a recording of the Sistine Chapel Choir from 1924, of considerable historical interest, but somewhat different from the rest.

¹¹There are well over a hundred recordings of

Commentary

“Hermeneutic of Continuity”

Elements of the beauty of the liturgy are validated by the continuity of tradition.

by William Mahrt



The tradition of liturgy makes use of all the senses, all the arts, in Divine Worship. This is, however, not “art for art’s sake,” but for the sake of the liturgy.

Many in charge of the liturgy have long labored under the misapprehension that the purpose of the liturgy is instruction. It follows that the congregation is the object of the acts of the liturgy, but in the end that is not so.

The purposes of liturgy are manifold, and such purposes as preaching, confession of sins, profession of faith, singing the praise of God, and many more, all have their focus upon the highest purpose: the drawing of the entire Mystical Body of Christ into offering the Sacrifice of the Son to the Father. Everything else we do in the liturgy leads us to this highest purpose.

The liturgy is a complex ordering of many elements. The various elements of the liturgy aid in establishing a transcendent and sacred order that leads to the highest purpose. All of the senses are involved in various elements that show forth the sacredness of the action.

Sight: the vestments, which are unlike anything in the secular world, but whose shapes and colors highlight the various orders of ministers and the days of the year; the architecture, which creates a focus upon the altar where the principal action will take place and orders the entire congregation to it. *Smell:* the incense, whose fragrance immediately evokes the sacred, reinforces the beginnings and highpoints of the two parts of the Mass: the liturgy of the word is prepared by incensing the altar at the introit and culminated by incensing the Gospel at its peak; the Liturgy of the Eucharist is prepared by incensing the altar upon which the sacrament will be offered and incensing the participants of the liturgy in order from priest through acolytes to congregation, preparing them to be holy participants in the action. The high point is incensed, when after the consecration, the Body and Blood of Christ are elevated for adoration; the incensation draws the attention to the sacredness of the event. *Hearing:* The chants of the Mass differentiate and reinforce each of the parts of the Mass that prepare for the

William Mahrt is the president of the CMAA and the editor of Sacred Music.

high point, the consecration and then the communion. But there are the sounds of bells and thuribles; at the consecration, the bells are rung; bells have a way of immediately drawing forth our affections; likewise the chains of the thurible make a rhythmic clanking, a slight synesthesia of sound and smell, all in the service of adoration. *Touch and taste*: these senses find their culmination in receiving of the Body and Blood of the Savior. Many of these elements are the result of artistic effort that makes them all the more effective. These things transcend mere instruction and draw the whole person into divine worship.

Fr. Smith's depiction of progressive solemnity in the Dominican Liturgy focuses upon an important element of such liturgical order. Similar orders could be shown for the Roman and Monastic usages. The differentiation of the times of the day and the year by simpler and more complex chants is one of the reasons Gregorian chant has first place in the liturgy. Recently theories of progressive solemnity have been proposed, in which the degrees of solemnity are varied by how much singing is employed in alternation with spoken parts. I have not supported such theories, because the proper progressive solemnity is, just as Fr. Smith proposes, all within the beauty of a sung liturgy. When parts are sung, parts spoken, the differences are fairly rudimentary and perhaps not very significant, but when they are differences between kinds of music, they all fall within the range of the beautiful and are more persuasive.

Fr. Andersen's eloquent defense of the multifarious senses of the scripture in underlining the meanings of the liturgy goes strongly against the rationalism of the present day, which sees the scripture as hav-

*Proper progressive
solemnity is all within
the beauty of a sung
liturgy.*

ing a single sense. The tradition has always understood the scriptures as having multiple meanings, and in the context of the liturgy, these become profound and significant support of the whole liturgy. His advocacy of the Septuagint is something I have always thought was right. To go back to the Masoretic (Hebrew) text as original overlooks the fact that this text comes to us from centuries after Christ. When Christ quotes scripture, he quotes the Septuagint.

A key text is that of the gradual of the Midnight Mass on Christmas: "Tecum principium in die virtutis tuæ: in splendoribus sanctorum ex utero ante luciferum genui te" (With thee is the principality in the day of thy strength: in the brightness of the saints, from the womb before the day-star I begot Thee), Ps. 109 [110]:3. This text is a translation from the Septuagint, and at the Midnight Mass of Christmas, the propers focus upon the eternal begetting of the Son from the Father, where "before the daystar," i.e.,

*We no longer
need Bugnini's
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the first light, the beginning, points to the eternal begetting. The King James version as well as the Revised Standard Version rely upon the Masoretic text and come up with “Your people will offer themselves freely on the day you lead your host upon the holy mountains. From the womb of the morning like dew your youth will come to you” (RSV). The Septuagint was a translation by seventy elders from the Hebrew to Greek, whose work resolved some of the ambiguity of the Hebrew text. The modernist notion that you must go back to the earliest version obliterates this meaning.

The most serious issues are raised by Ted Krasnicki concerning *Musicam Sacram*. The relegation of the normative status of Gregorian chant only to liturgies celebrated in Latin was an accomplishment of Archbishop Bugnini, and we have seen the fruits of this over the last fifty years. Krasnicki shows that Bugnini's agenda—that active participation could only be achieved through the vernacular—had as a premise a rationalism that precluded the multiplicity of the

senses and the efficient use of art for liturgical purposes that I have described above. Even more seriously, there was no place for beauty: “Beautiful melodies in the liturgy contained no truth; only words and ideas did.” Krasnicki points out that *Musicam Sacram* went beyond the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy by limiting the normative status of Gregorian chant—*principem locum*, first place—only to Masses celebrated in Latin as opposed to those celebrated in the vernacular. What a different reform it could have been had that distinction not been enforced! However he is correct that *Musicam Sacram*, despite the shady history of its compilation, has the status of liturgical law.

This means that we must rely upon the notion we have from Pope Benedict of the Hermeneutic of Continuity—the prescriptions of the council are to be read in the context of the tradition. When the council gave Gregorian chant first place, it was quite simply stating an element of continuity with the whole tradition. Thus, in spite of the lack of a legal status for Gregorian chant from *Musicam Sacram*, we should employ the chant according the precedent of tradition. This goes for the rest of the elements of the liturgy alluded to above. We no longer need Bugnini's imprimatur, we have the precedent of continuity. ❖



Photo courtesy of Charles Cole

Support the CMAA Annual Fund

In 2014, the CMAA board of directors established the CMAA Annual Fund – a campaign to generate contributions beyond dues from members and others. Monies raised through the annual fund are support the organization’s general operating expenses as well as specific programs.

The annual fund allows the CMAA to meet the organization’s day-to-day challenges and strengthens its financial foundation. Gifts to the fund are used to support:

Annual Fund Projects and Programs

- ❑ **Online publication of a comprehensive free library** of educational materials for choir directors and others. Materials include numerous books on chant as well as the many CMAA publications.
- ❑ **Publication, distribution, and sponsorship of a wide array of books** useful in promoting sacred music. The CMAA is also active in sponsoring new publications such as the *Parish Book of Chant*, the *Simple English Propers*, and our latest new publication: *Now I Walk In Beauty – 100 Songs and Melodies for School and Choir*.
- ❑ **Continuing-education programs**, including Chant Intensive workshops, the annual Colloquium, our Winter Sacred Music courses, and Ward courses. The CMAA continues to develop new educational programs and training to support the needs of musicians and clergy. The CMAA also supports regional workshops sponsored by local groups through advertising and materials.
- ❑ **Commissions of new music.** Although promoting the use of the vast repertory of existing music in the public domain is a key part of our annual programs, it is also crucial to encourage the composition of new music. When new engravings are needed for our programs, they are made public at our website.
- ❑ **Scholarships for students and seminarians** to attend our programs. Every year we receive many requests for funding; providing scholarships to support these requests is crucial for the future of the Church in promoting sacred music to seminarians and students.
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Cancellation: Requests received in writing at the CMAA Office postmarked on or before June 9th will receive a refund less the non-refundable \$75 deposit. After that date, refunds are given only in the form of a credit toward registration for the 2019 Colloquium. Refunds may be processed after the Colloquium. All requests for credit must be received in the CMAA office or by email (programs@musicasacra.com) by June 24th in order to be considered for any credit. Late requests may only receive a partial credit, depending on charges to the CMAA for meals.

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With a current CMAA membership, the members' rate is available to you; it is not transferable to another person. If your parish has a CMAA parish membership, please note the name of your parish on your registration form.

Not yet a member? Join now and receive the benefits of membership for a full year for nearly the same price as a non-member registration. Additional postage charges for members outside the U.S. will be billed later.

Youth Participants

A parent or chaperone must accompany youth attendees at least sixteen years of age and under eighteen. The chaperone must be at least twenty-one years old and registered for the full Colloquium or as a Companion. A parental or guardian permission form and release must be on file with the CMAA or hand-carried to registration before anyone under the age of eighteen may be admitted to the Colloquium.

Daily Registration

Be sure to indicate the day(s) for which you are registering and note that the fee for full colloquium registration is usually less than the fee for multiple days. Day rates include lunch for the days scheduled. If you

wish to purchase other meals in the campus dining hall, please contact us directly at gm@musicasacra.com for pricing.

Additional Information

Companion (Adult): Those registering as companions are welcome to accompany a full Colloquium registrant to all activities *except* breakouts and choir rehearsals. A separate registration form must be filled out for **each** companion including payment for any additional activities and must include the name of the Full Convention Registrant.

Scholarship Assistance is available for partial tuition for persons or parishes of limited means. For information about the scholarship, visit the CMAA site at: <http://musicasacra.com/>. Or request a packet from the CMAA office by calling (505) 263-6298.

Application deadline is April 7.

Photographs and Recordings: You are welcome to take photos and videos, but please do not use flash, especially during sacred liturgies.

We welcome private recordings during the Colloquium. In fact, amateur recordings are kept in a collection online by one of our members, Carl Dierschow, and are available for free access. If you do record a session or liturgy, please consider sharing your files with him so that others may hear them.

Contact us at programs@musicasacra.com for more information about sharing your recording.

MEAL PLANS

All participants will receive lunches included in the cost of their registration fee. It is highly recommended by the campus food service staff that any participants or companions who are not Chicago residents plan to also purchase the full meal plan option. There is also a plan for an accompanying spouse to eat all meals with the CMAA, even if not registering as a companion.

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A group rate of \$169/night (plus applicable tax) is available at the Hampton Inn Hotel near the Loyola campus. This hotel is within walking distance of the University. Please see our website for more details.

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Registration Form ♦ CMAA Colloquium XXVIII ♦ Chicago, Illinois

June 25-30, 2018

Please print. **Early bird** registration forms must be postmarked by March 1st. **Regular** registration forms must be postmarked by May 8th. If registering more than one person, fill out another form – photocopy the form as necessary. You may also register online at the CMAA website (musicasacra.com/colloquium). If you have not received confirmation by June 10th, please contact the CMAA office: (505) 263-6298. **Late** registration must be received at the CMAA office (by mail or online) by the close of business on June 9th. Registration after that date will be available only by telephoning the CMAA office and will be on a space available basis.

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CMAA Member Registration	\$590	\$640	\$690	\$ _____
<i>(Includes all sessions plus Lunches Tu-Fr and Banquet on June 25, 2018)</i>				
Not yet member: Add \$60 <i>(includes one year individual 2017 membership; foreign postage, if applicable, will be billed)</i>				
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Name of Full Attendee _____				

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Circle Day(s): Mon Tue Wed Thu Fri Sat

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Daily Rate CMAA Member	\$155	\$180	\$205	x _____ #days = \$ _____
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Please note: Daily rates include lunch for Tuesday - Friday. Monday day rate includes Monday banquet.

* A parent or chaperone must accompany youth attendees under 18. Attendees must be at least 16 years of age. Chaperone must be at least 21 years old and registered as a full colloquium or companion attendee. Name of accompanying parent or chaperone: _____

Signed copies of the Parental or Guardian Medical Treatment Authorization for a Minor and Release of Liability form must be on file with CMAA before anyone under the age of 18 may admitted to the Colloquium without a parent accompanying.

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Opening Banquet extra ticket <i>(included in full tuition or Companion registration, but not day rates)</i>	\$50	\$ _____
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Closing Lunch Saturday <i>(not included in Full Meal Plan)</i>	\$30	\$ _____
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Please list your dietary requirements *(vegan, gluten-free, etc.)* _____

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The Church Music Association of America (CMAA) is an association of Catholic musicians, and those who have a special interest in music and liturgy, active in advancing Gregorian chant, Renaissance polyphony and other forms of sacred music, including new composition, for liturgical use. The CMAA's purpose is the advancement of *musica sacra* in keeping with the norms established by competent ecclesiastical authority.

The CMAA is a non-profit educational organization, 501(c)(3). Contributions, for which we are very grateful, are tax-deductible to the full extent of the law. Your financial assistance helps teach and promote the cause of authentic sacred music in Catholic liturgy through workshops, publications, and other forms of support.

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Make plans to join these fine instructors next summer in expanding your chant skills.