

## Medieval and Modern Dominican Chant in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century\*

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THE restoration of the Order of Preachers following the French Revolution required the publication of new liturgical books that would allow the friars to celebrate the medieval Dominican liturgy despite the confiscation of their liturgical manuscripts and printed books. Pie Bernard, O.P., entered the Dominican order in 1849 during the early stages of the Order's restoration, and in 1854 published the first Dominican gradual in over a century. During the next forty years, Bernard published a complete set of books for the Mass and Divine Office according to the Dominican rite, incorporating both the medieval repertoire and later compositions. Within this output two stages may be discerned. From 1854 until 1873, Bernard published volumes that were to be sung according to a mensuralist rhythm partially derived from the 13<sup>th</sup> century Dominican theorist Jerome of Moravia. Beginning in the late 1870s, however, Bernard revised his own approach and began a new set of books, now based more carefully on the earliest available Dominican manuscripts, that were to be sung according to an equalist rhythm inspired by the approach of Dom Pothier at Solesmes. This essay will describe

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Bernard's chant publications and set them within the context of the revival of the Dominican order in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the contemporary restoration of Gregorian chant at Solesmes.

### **The Dominican Order in the 19th Century**

After the devastation of Catholic religious orders following the French Revolution, the Order of Preachers began to experience a revival in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, led initially by Henri-Dominique Lacordaire (1802-1861), who, inspired by the Benedictine revival at Solesmes, restored the Dominican order in France in the 1840s. One of Lacordaire's early associates, Alexander-Vincent Jandel (1810-1872), was appointed Vicar General of the Order of Preachers by Pope Pius IX in 1850 and elected Master General in 1862.

Given the synthesis of apostolic preaching and monastic observance established by St. Dominic in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the restoration of the Order required the publication of new liturgical books that would facilitate the solemn performance of the Mass and Divine Office. The medieval Dominican liturgy, standardized in the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century under the direction of Humbert of Romans (c. 1200-1277), was a synthesis of various liturgical traditions that seems to have been particularly influenced by the Sarum use and the Cistercian chant reform. Although clearly of the same liturgical family as the Roman rite, the Dominican rite provided distinctive versions of the chants of the Mass and Office as well as a particularly rich repertoire of processional chants. While further study remains to be done on the degree of continuity between the 13<sup>th</sup> century sources and the later manuscripts and printed editions, the Order has been zealous throughout its history to preserve its distinctive liturgical traditions, although periodically it has been encouraged or has elected to incorporate aspects of the broader Roman rite.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> At the Most General Chapter of River Forest in 1968, the Order of Preachers decided to adopt the new editions of the liturgical books of the Roman Rite that were in the process of being edited, but through the publication of supplements for the Mass and Office it has preserved certain aspects of the ancient Dominican liturgy in the context of the Ordinary Form of the Roman Rite; most notably in the present context, the *Proprium Officiorum Ordinis Prædicatorum ad normam decretorum sacrosancti æcumenici concilii Vaticani II instauratum reverendissimi patris Fratris Vincentii de Couesnongle eiusdem Ordinis Magistri iussu editum* (Rome: Santa Sabina, 1982) assigns traditional Dominican chants for the Divine Office, and the *Missale et Lectionarium ad normam decretorum sacrosancti æcumenici concilii Vaticani II instauratum rev.mi P. Fr. Vincentii de Couesnongle eiusdem Ordinis Magistri auctoritate exaratum eiusque in munere successoris rev.mi. P. Fr. Damiani Byrne iussu editum* (Rome: Santa Sabina, 1985) provides a list of chants from the Dominican *Graduale* for use in the Mass. A further

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In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, a series of books was printed at Paris that represents the Dominican chant tradition as practiced before the French Revolution; these books included a volume for Vespers for the whole year, published in 1704,<sup>2</sup> another for Matins and Lauds on major feasts, published in 1718,<sup>3</sup> and a book of Mass-chants for the whole year, published in 1722.<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that these volumes did not include the chants for all of the hours of the Office throughout the year—for instance the long responsories at Matins on ferial days, which gives some indication of the liturgical practice at the time; it is likely that most communities would have recited or sung on a single pitch those parts of the office, as was already practiced in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by smaller Dominican communities.<sup>5</sup>

With the restoration of the Province of France in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, a new set of books was desired, both to replace those that had been confiscated at the time of the revolution and also to provide music for all of the hours of the Office, including Matins. Some of the French Dominicans pursued the ideal of singing the entire Divine Office and Mass in Dominican chant (*in nota Ordinis*), and thus it was necessary not simply to collect earlier printed editions, but rather to create new books that would make this repertoire available. Providentially, at the beginning stages of the French restoration, a man of great talent and perseverance, who was well poised to lead this effort, entered the Order.

### Pie Bernard's early life and entry into the Order

Pie Bernard was born François-Florentin Bernard in Vittel in the department of Vosges in the Lorraine region of France on October 17,

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supplement which covers material from both volumes appeared more recently as *Addimenta ad Proprium Missalis et Liturgiæ Horarum post editiones typicas 1982-1985 Fr. Caroli Alphonsi Azpiroz Costa, Magistri Ordinis iussu edita* (Rome: Santa Sabina, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> *Cantus vesperrarum totius anni, ad usum Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum* (Paris: apud Fratres Prædicates Magni Conventus ac Collegii Generalis S. Jacobi, 1704).

<sup>3</sup> *Cantus matutinarum et laudum iuxta ritum Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum / Pro solemnitatibus et festis in quibus cantari solent, quarum ordinem et numerum sequens pagella docebit* (Paris: apud Fratres Prædicates magni Conventus et Collegii Sancti Jacobi, Typis Jacobi Vincent, 1718).

<sup>4</sup> *Cantus missarum totius anni ad usum Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum* (Paris: apud Fratres Prædicates Sancti Jacobi, 1722).

<sup>5</sup> See Humbert of Romans, *Expositio super constitutiones fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum*, ed. Sonja Reisner, in *Die Expositio super constitutiones fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum des Humbertus de Romanis* (Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Wien, 2004), 210. Cf. Humberti de Romanis, *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier (Turin: Marietti, 1956), II: 102.

1826.<sup>6</sup> After studying Latin at the parish rectory he went to the minor seminary of Châtel-sur-Moselle and then to the major seminary of Saint-Dié. After completing his studies at Saint-Dié he was still too young to be ordained to the subdiaconate, so he worked for two years as a supervisor at the minor seminary of Senaide.<sup>7</sup> While at Senaide, Bernard may have become acquainted with a twelve-year-old Joseph Pothier (1835-1923), who would later lead the restoration of chant at Solesmes and have a significant influence on Bernard's own musical efforts.<sup>8</sup> At Saint-Dié Bernard would have certainly known Abbé Hingre (1823-1898), a professor of philosophy and dogma as well as master of chant for the seminary, who began teaching at Saint-Dié after his ordination in 1847.<sup>9</sup> Hingre was later to encourage the musical interests of Joseph Pothier, and it is likely that he would have had a similar influence on Bernard.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The most detailed published source about Bernard is an obituary notice written soon after his death: "Le T.R.P. Pie Bernard des Frères Prêcheurs," *La Couronne de Marie*, Mai 1899, 131-135; see also Rogatien Laure and Charles Chéry, "L'œuvre des Pères de Lyon de 1860 à 1900," *La Couronne de Marie*, Octobre-Novembre 1935, 314-331, which describes Bernard's work on the liturgy on 315-318.

Hyacinthe-Marie Cormier's *Vie de Révérendissime Père Alexandre-Vincent Jandel* (Paris: Poussielgue, 1890), first published just as the 1890 edition of the *Graduale* was appearing, provides interesting details on role of Bernard in the publication on the liturgical books of the Order (see 333-335; cf. 1896 edition, 349-351).

Vincent Laporte's "Précis historique et descriptif du rit dominicain," *Analecta sacri Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum* vol. 25 (1917): 93-106, 213-231, 272-296; Vol. 26 (1918): 331-334; discusses Bernard's role in the compilation of the chant editions (217-222, 281), but some of the details of his presentation of details of Bernard's life are inaccurate.

<sup>7</sup> "Le T.R.P. Pie Bernard des Frères Prêcheurs," *La Couronne de Marie*, Mai 1899: 132.

<sup>8</sup> For the life of Pothier, see Dom Lucien David, O.S.B., "Dom Joseph Pothier: Abbé de Saint-Wandrille, Restaurateur du chant grégorien (1835-1923)," *Précis analytique des travaux de l'Académie des sciences belles-lettres et arts de Rouen* 1942-1944 (Rouen: Imprimerie Lainé, 1947): 269-302, also published as a pamphlet, *Dom Joseph Pothier abbé de Saint-Wandrille et la restauration grégorienne* (Saint-Wandrille, 1943). Dom David indicates that Pothier entered Senaide at the age of twelve (274); he was born on December 7, 1835, so he likely arrived at Senaide in 1848. Vincent Laporte asserts that Bernard taught Pothier chant at Saint-Dié ("Précis historique et descriptif du rit dominicain," *Analecta sacri Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum*, Vol. 25: 222: "le vénérable Père Pie se fit en quelque sorte le disciple de Dom Pothier, à qui lui-même avait enseigné le chant au séminaire de Saint-Dié"). Interestingly, the 1944 edition of William R. Bonniwell's *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1945) cites Laporte in stating that Bernard "had once taught [Pothier] chant at the seminary of Saint-Dié," (342, fn. 7), but the 1945 edition (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1945) removes this reference (358, fn. 7).

<sup>9</sup> *Bulletin de la Société philomatique vosgienne* (1897-1898): 346.

<sup>10</sup> Dom Lucien David, "Dom Joseph Pothier, Abbé de Saint-Wandrille et la Restauration du Chant Grégorien", Ed. Dom Joseph Thiron, in *L'Abbaye S. Wandrille de Fontenelle*,



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Bernard was inspired to join the Order of Preachers after attending a retreat preached by Alexander-Vincent Jandel at the seminary of Saint-Dié, perhaps in 1849, and after consulting with Lacordaire.<sup>11</sup> Having apparently reached an agreement with his bishop, Bernard was ordained a priest at Saint-Dié on November 3, 1849 by Msgr. Caverot, and arrived at Flavigny on December 13, 1849.<sup>12</sup> He began the canonical novitiate on December 25, 1849, taking the name Pie after the Dominican Pope St. Pius V.<sup>13</sup> During Bernard's novitiate, the Dominican Province of France was officially restored on September 14, 1850, with Lacordaire designated as the first provincial, and Jandel was appointed Vicar General of Order by Bl. Pius IX on October 1, 1850.<sup>14</sup> On December 25, 1850, Pie Bernard made profession, the fortieth French brother to do so since the beginning of Lacordaire's restoration.<sup>15</sup> Bernard was then assigned to the convent of Carmes in Paris, where he engaged in apostolic work in addition to serving as procurator and sacristan for the next two years.<sup>16</sup>

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32 (1983): 18: "À Saint-Dié, le séminariste eut la bonne fortune de trouver parmi ses professeurs un musicien de talent, l'abbé Hingre, qui encouragea ses dispositions pour le chant. Il deviendra son ami de toutes les heures, bientôt son admirateur, et à l'occasion son défenseur." In 1863 Hingre lent Pothier a copy of Bernard's 1854 edition of the *Cantus Missarum*. This suggests the possibility that Bernard stayed in contact with Hingre after joining the Order.

<sup>11</sup> "Le T.R.P. Pie Bernard des Frères Prêcheurs," 132, states that "P. Jandel, alors Prieur de Nancy, lequel était venu prêcher une retraite au Grand Séminaire de Saint-Dié, impressionnèrent vivement le jeune prêtre; il se mit en rapport avec le P. Lacordaire, qui lui conseilla de se présenter au noviciat de Flavigny." Jandel was Prioxy of Nancy from 1846 until October 1849 (cf. Bonvin, *Lacordaire Jandel*, 121).

<sup>12</sup> "Le T.R.P. Pie Bernard des Frères Prêcheurs," 132. As a parallel for understanding Bernard's rapid entry into the Order after ordination by his diocesan bishop, Joseph Pothier was ordained at Saint-Dié less than ten years later by the same bishop, on December 18, 1858, with the intention, "agrée par son Supérieur et par son Evêque Mgr Caverot," that he would immediately enter Solesmes, where he received the habit on February 1, 1859 (David, "Dom Joseph Pothier," 275; cf. Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant*, 34).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Laure and Chéry, "L'œuvre des Pères de Lyon," 317; "Le T.R.P. Pie Bernard des Frères Prêcheurs," 132.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel-Antonin Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1914), VII: 489.

<sup>15</sup> See André Duval, "Le Rapport du P. Lacordaire au chapitre de la Province de France (Septembre 1854), *Archivum Fratrum Prædicatorum* 31 (1961): 358.

<sup>16</sup> "Le T.R.P. Pie Bernard des Frères Prêcheurs," 132.

### The 1854 *Cantus Missarum*

In 1853 Lacordaire appointed Bernard as novice master for the Belgian Dominicans at Ghent, a position he held for two years.<sup>17</sup> At Ghent Bernard encountered two beautiful manuscripts in the conventual library and took the initiative to produce a lithographed book of Mass chants based on these manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> This volume, published in 1854 under the title *Cantus Missarum*, was printed in a large format meant to be placed on a lectern.<sup>19</sup> Bernard undertook this project at his own initiative, receiving permission to publish the volume from Lacordaire, rather than at the instigation of his superiors.<sup>20</sup>

In the preface to the volume, Bernard suggests that the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century Dominican manuscript sources he has used transmit an uncorrupted chant.<sup>21</sup> Bernard indicates that, due to the lack of music for the

<sup>17</sup> “Le T.R.P. Pie Bernard des Frères Prêcheurs,” 132-133.

<sup>18</sup> The first manuscript described by Bernard in the preface can be identified as Ghent University Library DOM 65 A 1; it contains only the temporale, and has a colophon stating that it was written by Nicolaas van Rosendael at 's-Hertogenbosch (Netherlands) in 1515 for the convent of Antwerp. (Rosendael made profession at 's-Hertogenbosch in 1484 and died in 1537.) The colophon to this manuscript is given in G. A. Meijer, *De predikheeren te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1296-1770* (Nijmegen: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1897), 23-4: “Scriptus ac consummatus est liber iste in conventu Buscoducensi Ord. F. F. Præd. per me fratrem Nicolaum de Roosendael pro conventu Antverpiensi ejusdem ordinis. An. D. MCCCCCXV ipso die Alexii Conf. [17 July 1515].”

The second manuscript mentioned by Bernard may possibly be DOM 65 A 5, an anonymous sanctorale that some have identified as a companion volume to DOM 61 A 1. (See J. Koldewey, P. Vandenbroeck, B. Vermet, *Jheronimus Bosch. Alle schilderijen en tekeningen*, (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2001), 34.)

Other Dominican graduals at Ghent University Library include DOM B 1048 (XV/XVI c.) and DOM B 1049 (XVI c.). I am indebted to Martine De Reu of the Ghent University Library for providing me with bibliographical information about the manuscripts owned by the Ghent Dominicans, which are currently held at the Ghent University Library.

<sup>19</sup> *Cantus missarum juxta ritum Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum, ad fidem antiquorum codicum restitutus, et reverendissimi patris Fr. Alex. Vincentii Jandel totius ejusdem ordinis vicarii generalis permissu editus* (Ghent: G. Jacquain, 1854). The title is modeled on a Graduale published in the previous century: *Cantus missarum totius anni ad usum Sacri ordinis FF. Prædicatorum*, (Paris: apud FF. Prædicatores Magni conventus ac collegii generalis S. Jacobi, 1722).

<sup>20</sup> Pace Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (1945 ed., 357), suggests that the *Cantus Missarum* was made at the direction of Jandel. Both “Le T.R.P. Pie Bernard des Frères Prêcheurs,” (132) and Laure and Chéry (317) indicate that Bernard obtained permission from Lacordaire to publish the volume; Laure and Chéry state (317) that “une fois engagé dans cette voie, les supérieurs ne le laissèrent pas s’arrêter.”

<sup>21</sup> *Cantus Missarum* (1854), iii: “In illis porro sæculis, cantum ordinis nostri nondum corruptum, nec saltem notabiliter truncatum fuisse, nemo peritus inficias ibit. Enimvero,

more recent saints, he has made certain adaptations and restorations, although he insists that he has only included chants marked with the “character of authenticity and antiquity.”<sup>22</sup> After commenting on what he describes as exact if inelegant lithograph printing, Bernard explains that he will attempt to briefly describe rules for singing “insofar as they are able to be observed in our time.”<sup>23</sup>

After discussing the Gregorian modes, Bernard proceeds to articulate a mensuralist rhythmic system which assigns longer and shorter lengths for individual notes and rests: to give a partial list, a diamond shaped note is sung for “one instant” (*unam instantiam*), a normal square note is sung for “one tempus which equals three instants” (*unum tempus, seu tres instantias*), and a note with a tail is sung for “one tempus with one instant or sometimes with two instants” (*unum tempus habet, cum una aut aliquando cum duabus instantiis*).<sup>24</sup> After articulating a six-fold system of lengths, however, Bernard suggests that there can still be some flexibility with the rhythm due to the difficulty of exact measurement of musical time.<sup>25</sup> It should be noted that although mensuralist interpretations of chant may be foreign to 21<sup>st</sup>-century sensibilities, they were widespread in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> In any event, the system of varying durations articulated

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ipsum in diversis codicibus, et quidem posterioribus, sibi concordantem, insuper manuscriptis multo antiquioribus, et regulis cantus ecclesiastici, seu, ut aiunt, *gregoriani*, substantialiter conformem reperimus.”

<sup>22</sup> *Cantus Missarum* (1854), iii: “Quantum ad Missas recentiores SS. necdum musica compositas, aut stylo ab antiquiori satis dissono, ut concordantia in cantu maximè congruens habeatur, has omnino ad primævi illius temporis cantandi normam, vel reduximus, vel aptavimus: quin etiam, propter eandem concordantiæ rationem, nullos cantus nisi certo authenticitatis et antiquitatis caractere insignitos admisimus.”

<sup>23</sup> *Cantus Missarum* (1854), iii: “Inde est quod notam a primis Patribus nostris acceptatam et cantatam, integrè fideliterque servatam, hic habere confidimus: quam quidem non eleganter exacte tamen transcriptam ut religiose custodiamus, et majori qua decet diligentia cantare discamus, illius regulas ab eisdem nobis transmissas, in quantum nostris temporibus observari queunt, breviter exponere conabimur.”

<sup>24</sup> *Cantus Missarum* (1854), v. As will be discussed below, this is in contrast to the practice adopted by the Order in the later part of the century in which each note is fundamentally equal in length.

<sup>25</sup> *Cantus Missarum* (1854), v: “Haec enim non ita rigorose aestimanda sunt, quod satis esset difficile.”

<sup>26</sup> Shortly before the publication of the *Cantus Missarum*, a gradual and antiphonal were publishes by the Dioceses of Rheims and Cambrai in 1851 that assigned “different time values . . . to the notes”; cf. John Rayburn, *Gregorian Chant: A History of the Controversy Concerning its Rhythm* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 9. Others at this time, however, were advocating an equalist approach where each note was to be about the same length; see, for example, Abbé Gontier’s 1859 definition of plainchant as “an inflected recitation in which the notes have an unfixed value, the rhythm of which,

here was essentially the official musical practice of the Order until the publication of Bernard's *Graduale* in 1890.

Example 1. Note Shapes in the *Cantus missarum* (1854), v.

1° Sonorum valor mensuralis effingitur per notarum figuras. « Notarum autem aliæ longæ, aliæ breves: longæ, » aliæ longiores, aliæ longissimæ; breves vero aliæ bre- » viores aliæ brevissimæ. Figura notæ longæ est quadrata » et caudata: ■ , ■ , ■ . Figura notæ brevis est quidem » quadrata, sed non caudata, ut hæc: ■ . Figura semi- » brevis notæ nec est quadrata, nec caudata, habet enim » expansos angulos, ut hæc: ■ ». (1) Figura brevissimæ » similis est huic, sed est recta, non autem obliqua, sic: ◆ . » Ad longiores effingendas duæ ex supradictis adjunguntur » notæ, unisona et non interrupta voce faciendæ, sive una » semibrevis cum una quadrata, ■■ . sive duæ quadratæ, » ■■ , sive etiam una semibrevis cum una caudata, ◆■ ; » ad longissimas vero duæ similiter conjunguntur notæ, sive » una quadrata cum una caudata, ■■ , ■■ , sive duæ » caudatæ, simul, ■■ , ■■ .

In this section, Bernard professes to quote certain passages from Chapter 25 of Jerome of Moravia's *Tractatus de Musica*.<sup>27</sup> This treatise, written by a Dominican music theorist living in Paris in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, compiles earlier texts on music, discusses different approaches to

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essentially free, is that of ordinary speech" (cited in Rayburn, *Gregorian Chant: A History of the Controversy Concerning its Rhythm*, 10.)

<sup>27</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Latin 16663. This manuscript may be consulted in digital images on *Gallica* (<http://xrl.us/bnlat16663>). The text is edited by Simon M. Cserba, *Hieronymus de Moravia O.P., Tractatus de Musica* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1935); an English translation is available by Laura Weber, *Intellectual Currents in Thirteenth Century Paris: A Translation and Commentary of Jerome of Moravia's Tractatus de Musica* (Ph.D. Diss., Yale, 2009). A new critical edition by Christian Meyer is forthcoming in the Corpus Christianorum series published by Brepols. It is a matter of some controversy whether Chapter 25 of the *Tractatus* indicates performance practice for plain chant, polyphony, or both styles indiscriminately; cf. Laura Weber, *Intellectual Currents in Thirteenth Century Paris*, 166-170. For a bibliography about Jerome, see Olga Weijers, *Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris: textes et maîtres (ca. 1200-1500)*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 82-83.

musical performance, and even comments on the rank of beauty exhibited by distinctively Dominican chants such as the *Pie pater* and the *O Lumen*.<sup>28</sup> While Bernard was living in Belgium, he received extracts of the sole surviving manuscript of the *Tractatus* from his confrère Vincent Ligiez (1823-1898) who was living in Paris at the time.<sup>29</sup> Bernard evidently adapted both the text of the quotations of Jerome and supplemented the text with his own additions. For instance, the original manuscript of the *Tractatus* states that “Figura notae longae est quadrata et ex dextera parte caudata,” whereas Bernard’s quotation of the *Tractatus* states simply that “Figura notae longae est quadrata et caudata.”<sup>30</sup> After the description of the *longa*, BN lat. 16663 gives an example of this note with a descending tail on the right-hand side, whereas Bernard’s version provides three versions of the note: one with a descending tail on the right-hand side, another with an ascending tail on the left-hand side, and a third with a descending tail on the left-hand side.<sup>31</sup> Further, Bernard adds several note-forms to the set explicitly articulated by Jerome in order to have a different notational form to represent each of the six lengths described by Jerome, even though Jerome himself only provides three different note-forms in this section of the text.<sup>32</sup> Whatever relation Jerome’s treatise has to 13<sup>th</sup> century performance practice, it seems clear that the system presented in the introduction to the *Cantus Missarum* is not a straightforward restoration of a normative practice, but rather a creative adaptation of the text of Jerome.

It is important to emphasize that after only five years within the Dominican Order, Bernard had published a volume that effectively determined the Order’s musical practice for the next thirty years. The rapidity with which his first stage of musical publications were approved by the Order raises questions regarding the character of Bernard’s musical

<sup>28</sup> Laura Weber, *Intellectual Currents in Thirteenth Century Paris*, describes Jerome’s role as both a compiler of earlier sources and as an *auctor*.

<sup>29</sup> Laporte, “Précis historique et descriptif du rit dominicain,” 220. Ligiez overlapped with Bernard for several months in the novitiate and was assigned to Paris after his profession on August 20, 1851 until 1854. Cf. A. Duval, “La rapport du P. Lacordaire,” 358, M.D. Chapotin, “Le Père Ligiez,” *L’Année Dominicaine*, Septembre 1898, 385-394, here p. 387. It seems likely that Bernard did not have direct access to the entire text of Jerome while he was preparing the *Cantus Missarum*.

<sup>30</sup> Jerome of Moravia, *Tractatus de Musica*, BN lat. 16663, fol. 61v; Cserba, 181.

<sup>31</sup> This difference would have tremendous consequences for the interpretation of the chants in the *Cantus Missarum* itself, for it dramatically increases the number of notes which would be lengthened given the frequent use of the additional two forms.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Jerome of Moravia, *Tractatus de Musica*, XXV; Cserba, 180: “Notarum autem aliae longae, aliae breves. Longae, aliae longiores, aliae longissimae, breves vero aliae breviores, aliae brevissimae.”

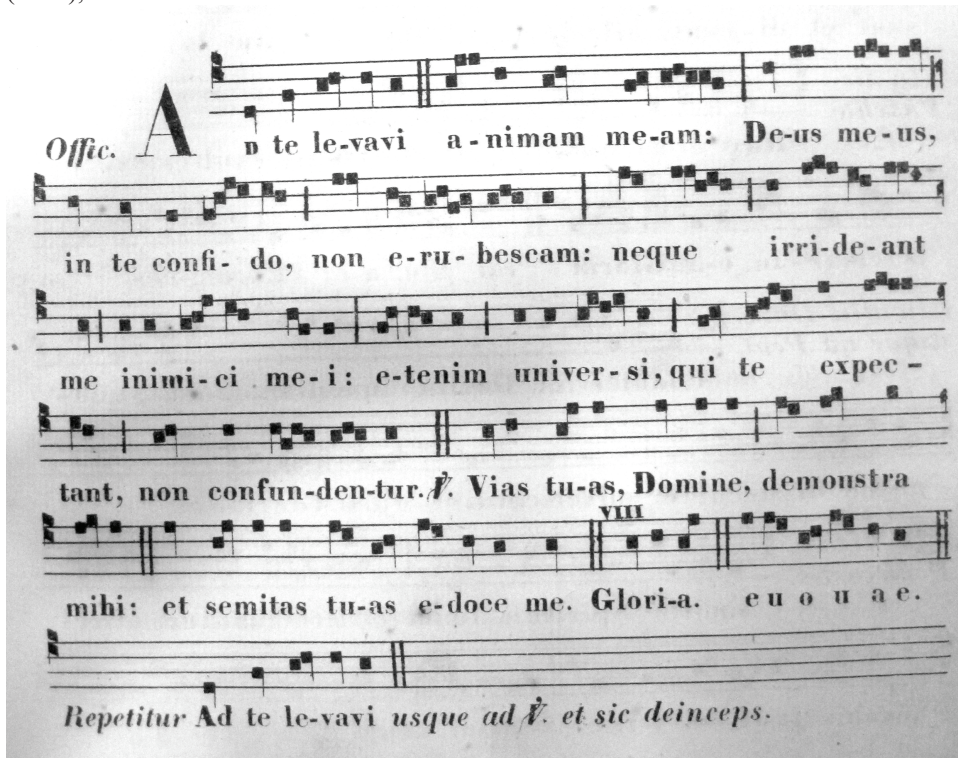


## CHANT OLD AND NEW

formation before he joined the Dominicans and what musical training he might have received within the Order.

There was a wide range of reactions to the publication of the *Cantus Missarum*. According to Hyacinth Cormier, the publication met with the approbation of the French Benedictines as well as Abbé Alix and Père

Example 2. Officium (introit) *Ad te Levavi* (First Sunday of Advent), *Cantus Missarum* (1854), 1.



Lambillotte, two contemporary experts in Gregorian chant.<sup>33</sup> The volume was also included in Adrian de la Fage's comprehensive 1862 *Catalogue*

<sup>33</sup> Hyacinth Cormier, *Vie de Révérendissime Père Alexandre-Vincent Jandel* (Paris: Poussielgue, 1890), 334: "Quand parut, rédigé dans cet esprit, le *Cantus*, les personnes les plus compétentes l'apprécièrent beaucoup, en particulier les Pères Bénédictins de la Congrégation de France, qui le regardèrent comme ce qui avait paru de mieux jusqu'alors. L'abbé Alix, membre de Tiers-Ordre, chapelain de Sainte-Geneviève, et le P. Lambillotte, S.-J., l'approuvèrent aussi, quoique ce dernier, chargé d'un travail de ce genre, eût été obligé, avouait-il, de sacrifier les principes au mauvais goût du temps. En effet, pour cette époque, le *Cantus* était œuvre à étonner, à choquer même." Alix and Lambillotte each wrote treatises on the performance of Gregorian chant around this time: Céleste Alix, *Cours complet de chant ecclésiastique* (Paris: LeCoffre, 1853); Louis Lambillotte, *Esthétique, théorie et pratique du chant grégorien* (Paris: Le Clere, 1855).



*de la bibliothèque musicale*.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, some people apparently complained to Jandel that the chants were “excentrique,” although it is unclear whether the objection was to the Dominican melodies in themselves or to Bernard’s presentation of them.<sup>35</sup>

### **Influence of the *Cantus Missarum* on Solesmes**

The *Cantus Missarum* had a modest but direct influence on the work of the chant restoration at Solesmes. At the time of its publication, the monks of Solesmes had not yet begun their efforts at the restoration of Gregorian chant. The first two serious chant-scholars of Solesmes, Dom Jausions and Dom Pothier, entered Solesmes in 1854 and 1859 respectively, and although Pothier was assigned to study chant in 1860, the first publications of Solesmes came only in 1864.<sup>36</sup> In 1863, Dom Pothier received a copy of the *Cantus Missarum* from his former chant teacher Abbé Hingre, who been at Saint-Dié during Bernard’s time at the seminary as well as during Pothier’s years as a student.<sup>37</sup> Pothier seems to have found the volume interesting, for in July 1863 he asked permission to continue using it.<sup>38</sup> In 1868 the volume was still being studied at Solesmes

<sup>34</sup> Adrian de la Fage, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque musicale* (Paris: Potier, 1862), 56: 689bis.

<sup>35</sup> Hyacinth Cormier, *Vie de Réverendissime Père Alexandre-Vincent Jandel*, 334-335: “Des réclamations arrivèrent jusqu’au Général; on qualifiait ce chant d’*excentrique*, comme si, ramener les choses à leur premier centre, c’était les en sortir; on invoquait la *désuétude*, sans penser qu’un tel argument battrait en brèche toute observance, justifierait tout abus, et ouvrirait, dans la liturgie, la porte à tout caprice du mauvais goût. Ce dernier désordre n’était même plus à pressentir; il régnait. En désertant les vraies traditions, on était tombé, presque partout, dans un genre sans nom, qui n’était ni la musique profane avec ses ressources enchanteresses, ni le plain-chant avec sa dignité pleine de céleste onction.”

<sup>36</sup> Pierre Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant*, tr. Theodore Marier and William Skinner (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 23; 34; 48.

<sup>37</sup> Joseph Pothier, undated letter (before July 17, 1863) to Alphonse Pothier; Saint-Wandrille-Rançon, Bibliothèque de St-Wandrille. Archive 1T1: “J’ai reçu ta lettre et le Graduel que tu as eu la bonté de m’envoyer; n’aie là-dessus aucune inquiétude. Je vais écrire à Monsieur Hingre pour le remercier de son extrême obligeance.” This transcription, and those of the manuscript letters of Joseph Pothier and his brother Alphonse Pothier that follow, were kindly provided to me by Jean-Pierre Noiseux.

<sup>38</sup> Joseph Pothier, letter of July 17, 1863, to Alphonse Pothier: “Que Monsieur Hingre ne soit pas en peine du livre qu’il a bien voulu me prêter; s’il en avait besoin, dis le moi, je le lui retournerais; sinon, je lui demande la permission de le conserver encore quelque temps.” (St-Wandrille. Archive 1T1). A copy of the *Cantus Missarum* is still preserved at Solesmes (LLb/7-8).

in the context of comparative tables of alleluia verses.<sup>39</sup>

Between 1868 and 1870, during his preparation of drafts for the melodies of the Mass, Pothier undertook a study of the alleluia verses that did not appear in the Roman chant tradition. In the course of his work he produced a four-page list of alleluia chants in liturgical order provided in the *Cantus Missarum* that were not found in the Roman Gradual; these entries were then integrated into a twelve-page alphabetized list titled “Versus Alleluitici a Romano usu alieni” that included 54 chants from the *Cantus Missarum*, in addition to chants from other religious order and regional liturgies.<sup>40</sup>

Pothier’s study of the Dominican alleluia chants had a direct influence on his own musical publications. According to Alexandre Grospellier, several chants from the Dominican Gradual served as models for Dom Pothier: “Ainsi on y trouve au 3e dimanche après Pâques l’ancien alléluia *Modicum*, dont la mélodie a été empruntée par Dom Pothier pour l’alléluia *Fac nos*, du Patronage de saint Joseph; . . . Au 4e dimanche après Pâques, on voit le bel alléluia *Vado ad eum*, qui a servi de modèle à Dom Pothier pour l’alléluia *Concaluit* de saint Philippe de Neri.”<sup>41</sup> The alleluia verses *Fac nos* and *Concaluit* are found in the *Liber Gradualis* of 1883, which indicates that the adaptation must have been made from the *Cantus Missarum* of 1854. Both entered into the official use of the Church in the 1908 *Graduale Romanum*, and the alleluia *Fac nos* remains in use today in

<sup>39</sup> Alphonse Pothier, December 7, 1868, letter to Ferdinand Romary: “Le No 66 est tiré d’un in 4o prêté à mon frère par M. Hingre, ce volume est auto-lithographié si je puis m’exprimer ainsi, vous avez pu le voir autrefois à S. Dié, ce Cantus missarum a été lithogr. à Gand en 1854; sa publication est due au R. P. Pie Bernard (de Vittel) des Dominicains de Lyon. On appelle ce beau travail le Graduel des Dominicains, il a été extrait d’anciens mss. de Belgique antérieurs à l’année 1450.” (St-Wandrille. Archive 1U4). According to Jean-Pierre Noiseux, “No 66” refers to a comparative table of the Alleluia *Pascha nostrum* accompanying the letter; cf. Jean-Pierre Noiseux, “Les manuscrits de chant en communication à Solesmes (1866-1869) d’après des documents d’archives de l’abbaye de Saint-Wandrille,” *Etudes grégoriennes* 32 (2004), 153-176.

<sup>40</sup> Both lists are inserted within St-Wandrille Archive Ms. 61, which contains Pothier’s drafts for the Alleluia melodies of the proper of the Mass undertaken in preparation for the *Liber gradualis* eventually published in 1883. The four-page supplement, made of a folded fly-leaf, is titled “Versus alleluiatici/Qui in Grad. rom. minime reperiuntur, sed in *Cantu missarum* ord. Prædic. requirendi sunt.” The twelve-page booklet, of which the last two pages are blank, indicates the modal classification, incipit, occasion, and source for each chant. The chant sources include the Dominican, Carthusian, and Augustinian traditions, as well as the *Graduale Cenomanense* printed at Le Mans in 1515. I thank Jean-Pierre Noiseux for providing me with photographs and notes related to the Ms. 61 supplements.

<sup>41</sup> Alexandre Grospellier, “Graduale juxta ritum sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum,” *Revue du chant Grégorien* 16:9-10 (Mai-Juin 1908): 168.

the 1974 *Graduale Romanum*, assigned for the feast of St. Joseph the Worker. Further, the review of the Dominican Gradual gives a brief bibliography of Dom Pothier's articles about chants distinctive to the Dominican repertoire: each of the alleluia verses mentioned is contained in Pothier's catalogue of the *Cantus Missarum*. Bernard's first publication thus had an influence beyond the Dominican Order, and through the melodic adaptation of Pothier continues to have a modest impact on the liturgical life of the Church.

### **Liturgical legislation of the Provincial Chapters of France and the Foundation of Lyon**

After the success of the *Cantus Missarum*, Bernard was encouraged by his superiors to produce further books on chant and the liturgy.<sup>42</sup> In 1856 he began work on the *Caeremoniale*, a volume that synthesized the rubrics of all of the liturgical books of the Order, providing precise details on the ceremonies of the liturgy.<sup>43</sup> On October 9, 1856, an intermediate congress between provincial chapters was held at Flavigny, which issued a decree concerning the celebration of Rosary processions.<sup>44</sup> It may be noted that the next chant book Bernard produced was the *Processionarium* of 1861, which included music for such processions.

In December 1856 Bernard moved to Lyon, taking on the roles of Subprior and Cantor in the new priory that was canonically established on December 24.<sup>45</sup> At Lyon, according to the account of Raymond Devas, "the singing of the entire Office had been decided upon principle; but this was not possible at once for want of the necessary books. Some of these,

<sup>42</sup> Laure and Chéry, "L'œuvre des Pères de Lyon de 1860 a 1900," 317.

<sup>43</sup> *Caeremoniale juxta ritum S. Ordinis Prædicatorum / Alexandri Vincentii Jandel ejusdem ordinis Generalis Magistri jussu editum* (Melchin: H. Dessain, 1869). On the compilation of this volume, see Laure and Chéry, "L'œuvre des Pères de Lyon de 1860 a 1900," 318; cf. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, 358-360. Jandel's introduction is dated January 30, 1868. It is a testament to Bernard's accomplishments that this was the only complete edition of the *Caeremoniale* ever officially published by the Order, and it offers witness to Bernard's broad understanding of the Dominican liturgy. In the 1930s there was an attempt to publish a new edition, but this did not come about (cf. *Analecta sacri Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum* 21 [1933-34]: 573).

<sup>44</sup> *Acta Congregationis Intermediæ Provinciæ Franciæ Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum* (1856), "5. Item juxta admonitionem 4 Cap. Romæ 1592, admonemus, quod in omnibus nostræ Provinciæ ecclesiis, qualibet prima Dominica mensis et præsertim prima Dominica Octobris sedulo celebretur sollemnis SS. Rosarii Supplicatio sive processio, et detur de licentia Ordinarii sollemnis SS. Sacramenti benedictio."

<sup>45</sup> Raymund Devas, *Ex umbris: letters and papers hitherto unpublished of the Fathers Lacordaire, Jandel, Danzas* (Rugeley: The Editor, 1920), 103; cf. "Le T.R.P. Pie Bernard des Frères Prêcheurs," 133.

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however, were soon obtained from Fr. Vermeersch, then Prior of Tirlémont, and by Easter, 1858, the whole of the Office often was sung *in nota Ordinis*, and there was not even a harmonium.”<sup>46</sup> In 1858 Bernard became prior of Lyon, the first of his many terms as prior of various communities.<sup>47</sup>

On September 12, 1858, the Province of France celebrated a provincial chapter at Flavigny. Amongst other legislation it was decreed that Mass and Second Vespers should be sung on certain major feasts, that Mass and Compline be sung on other occasions, and that Lauds should be sung on feasts with a solemn octave.<sup>48</sup> Jandel’s letter of approbation for the chapter notes that the decrees regarding the singing of Mass and Vespers “are by no means to be taken exclusively, particularly in novitiate houses.”<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Raymund Devas, *Ex umbris*, 103-4.

<sup>47</sup> “Le T.R.P. Pie Bernard des Frères Prêcheurs,” 133: “De 1858 à 1892, le Révérend Père remplit presque sans interruption les fonctions de Prieur ou de Maître des novices. Lyon, Corbara, Poitiers, Lyon une second fois, Carpentras deux fois consécutives, Sierre en Valais et Ryckholt en Hollande, aux jours difficiles des expulsions et de l’exil, l’eurent successivement pour Prieur, et, pendant quatorze années, il eut la charge de former les jeunes Religieux durant leur premier noviciat. En 1892, il revint à Lyon: ce devait être sa dernière étape.”

<sup>48</sup> *Acta Capituli Provincialis Provinciae Franciae / celebrati in conventu S. Dominici Flaviniacensi / Die duo decima Septembris 1858*; typescript (Paris: Archives de la province dominicaine de France), 2-3: “Ut augeatur Fratrum necnon extraneorum in Sanctas Ordinis nostri devotio, plura festa celebranda esse decrevimus quæ huc usque sine solemnitate fuerunt. Iste erit igitur ritus et numerus festorum.

1 - Independentem a diebus dominicis cantabuntur Missa et secundæ Vesperæ in festis sequentibus: Circumcisionis, Epiphaniæ, Paschatis, Ascensionis, Pentecostis, S. Corporis Christi et Nativitatis Domini item Purificationis, Annuntiationis, Assumptionis, Nativitatis B.M.V. et Immaculatæ Conceptionis item, S. Thomæ, S. Catharinæ Seneniis, SS. Petri et Pauli, S. Dominici et omnium Sanctorum.

2 - Cantabuntur Missa Conventualis hora consueta et Completorium in quo dabitur benedictio SS. Sacramenti in festis sequentibus: Visitationis et Præsentationis B.M.V. et S. Francisci, S. Stephani, Protomartyris, omnium et singulorum Sanctorum Ordinis nostri. Item fiet in feria secunda post Pascha et post Pentecostem.

3 - Cantabitur Missa hora consueta in die animarum et in quatuor Anniversariis pro Defunctis.

4 - Cantabuntur Laudes in quatuor festis quæ habent Octavam solemnissiam.

5 - Poterit tamen Prior in his omnibus, propter Fratrum paucitatem vel ministerii necessitates, dispendare.

6 - In Festis S. Thomæ, S. Catherinæ Senensis, et S. Dominici fiet sermo sicut in Dominicis.”

<sup>49</sup> *Acta Capituli Provincialis Provinciae Franciae / celebrati in conventu S. Dominici Flaviniacensi / Die duo decima Septembris 1858*: Alexander Vincent Jandel, letter of November 29, 1858, typescript, Provincial Archives, Province of France: “In primis, ordinationem sub N° 1 de Cultu habetur quæque pro Missa et Vesperis canendis

Bernard was not a participant at this chapter, but it is possible that he had some influence on its legislation regarding Gregorian chant.

### The 1861 *Processionarium* and the 1862/3 *Antiphonarium*

In 1861 Bernard produced a new edition of the *Processionarium*, a book containing all the chants for the processions on major liturgical feasts and special occasions in the life of a priory printed in a small format for ease of use during processions.<sup>50</sup> Jandel's letter of approbation, dated February 25, describes the necessity of producing a new edition due to the scarcity and imperfections of the previous editions, and reminds the reader that chant that is well performed is better for exciting devotion.<sup>51</sup> The 1861 *Processionarium* was based on the earlier edition of 1754, but included new material for public processions. In one passage, after speaking of proper chants for St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr, Bernard acknowledges that some chants in the Dominican repertoire were "in ista aetate composita."<sup>52</sup> Further, the *Processionarium* included a newly expanded section on the rules of singing (*Regulae cantus*) intended specifically for novices.<sup>53</sup> Bernard's experience as a novice master in Belgium seems to have given him a sense of the importance of clear guidelines for singing for the formation of novices. His practical approach was illustrated by the inclusion of many examples for each abstract musical concept, e.g. actual chant pieces that used particular intervals under discussion. The *Regulae cantus* incorporated the rhythmic system described in the 1854 *Cantus Missarum* into a full theory of scales,

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præscribit haud exclusive accipiendam esse, præsertim in domibus novitatus declaramus."

<sup>50</sup> *Processionarium sacri Ordinis prædicatorum : auctoritate apostolica approbatum, et reverendissimi patris fr. Al. Vincentii Jandel ejusdem ordinis magistri generalis jussu editum* (Lyon: J.B. Pelagaud, 1861).

<sup>51</sup> Alexander Vincent Jandel, letter of February 25, 1861, in *Processionarium* (1861), 5-6: "Veterum editionum Processionarii quæ nobis supersunt exemplaria, cum adeo pauca et imperfecta sint, ut usui longè imparia evaserint, novam ordinantes curavimus ut et cantus forma omni, quâ poterat, correctione excuderetur, eaque omnia adjicerentur quæ pro publicis præsertim Processionibus desiderabantur. Hanc itaque vobis proponentes admonitos vos esse volumus, ut quemadmodum ad nostrarum tramitem legum nihil cantandum est, nisi quod legitur esse cantandum, ita et cantandum non sit, nisi ad formam præscriptam."

<sup>52</sup> *Processionarium* (1861), 391.

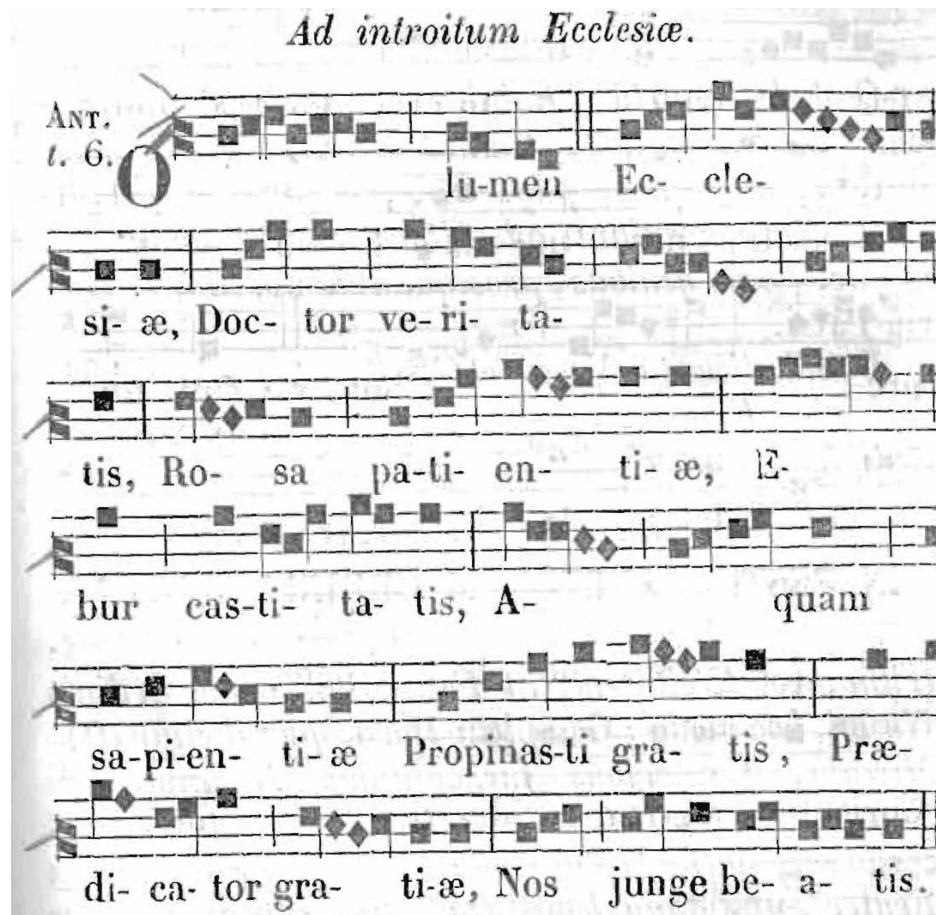
<sup>53</sup> Laure and Chéry, "L'œuvre des Pères de Lyon de 1860 a 1900," 317. The full title of the rules of singing is "Regulae cantus ecclesiastici regularis, juxta ritum S. Ordinis Prædicatorum, pro instructione novitiorum." Cf. Jandel's letter of approbation, included as the preface to the *Processionarium*.



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intervals, and modes, fulfilling contemporary expectations for a Gregorian method.<sup>54</sup>

Example 3. Antiphon *O Lumen*, *Processionarium* (1861) This antiphon is used both in procession and as the *Magnificat* Antiphon at II Vespers for the Feast of St. Dominic.



<sup>54</sup> In the introduction to the *Regulæ cantus*, Bernard states that “regulas cantus exponimus prout jam in substantia habentur in recentiori editione *Cantus missarum*, adjunctis exemplis ad clariorem rerum explicationem, et exercitiis pro intonatione notarum; quibusdam etiam Superiorum jussu moderatis, ut videbitur” (*Processionarium*, 1861, 393). On the contemporary expectations for training in Gregorian chant, see Dom Pierre Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant*, 57, which quotes a letter from 1866 in which Dom Jausions, one of the early musicologists of Solesmes, mentions that a Method that he is composing with the assistance of Dom Pothier “will not include everything usually expected in a basic method, namely the theory of the scale, of intervals, and of modes.”



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On October 31, 1861, the Province of France held a Provincial Chapter in Toulouse that strictly enjoined superiors to ensure that the prescriptions of the recently published *Processionarium* be observed for the unity of the chant, emphasizing the fact that the volume had been “approved by the Supreme Pontiff.”<sup>55</sup> In the same paragraph, the chapter urged that the *Caeremoniale* then in preparation was to be observed completely within one month of its promulgation.<sup>56</sup> The acts of the chapter also repeated in slightly modified language the prescriptions of the 1856 intermediate congress regarding Rosary processions and the 1858 chapter regarding the chanting of Mass and the Divine Office on major feast days,<sup>57</sup> and issued a decree cautioning against the introduction of choir boys or secular singers.<sup>58</sup>

Bernard’s next publication was a two volume *Antiphonarium* that provided music for the antiphons, hymns, and responsories of both the night and the day offices.<sup>59</sup> Jandel’s letter of approbation for the first volume, dated February 4, 1862, situates the publication in the context of the revival of certain provinces “from the ashes” and of the need to collate the chants into a more useful and complete ordering.<sup>60</sup> The second volume

<sup>55</sup> *Acta Capituli Provincialis Provinciae Franciae / celebrati in conventu S. Romani de Tolosa, / Die 31 octobris anni 1861*, 9: “Stricte injungimus [s]uperioribus quorumcumque conventuum, ut praescripta Processionalis Ordinis nostri, a Summo Pontifice approbati, in choro semper observentur pro unitate cantus.”

<sup>56</sup> *Acta Capituli Provincialis Provinciae Franciae* (1861), 9: “Similiter ad unitatem saepe saepius desideratam in caeremoniis nostris, quando distribui poterit Caeremoniale eadem approbatione apostolica indutum, volumus ut infra unum mensem post receptionem ejus, omnes regulae in eo promulgatae observentur.” The *Caeremoniale* was not in fact published until 1869, but perhaps was thought to be near completion at the time of the chapter.

<sup>57</sup> *Acta Capituli Provincialis Provinciae Franciae* (1861), 7-9. Referring to his letter confirming the acts of the 1858 provincial chapter, Jandel again clarified that the list of Masses and liturgical offices that were to be sung was not to be taken exclusively; see p. 25.

<sup>58</sup> *Acta Capituli Provincialis Provinciae Franciae* (1861), 8: “Item ecclesiae nostrae cum gravitate quae Religiosos decet teneantur; ad officia deputentur tantummodo Fratres, sive clerici, sive laici, nec in istis officiis introducantur habitualiter pueri aut cantores saeculares sine licentia adm. R.P. Provincialis.”

<sup>59</sup> *Antiphonarium juxta ritum sacri ordinis praedicatorum reverendissimi patris Fr. Al. Vincentii Jandel, ejusdem ordinis magistri generalis jussu editum* (Mechlin: Dessain, 1862-3).

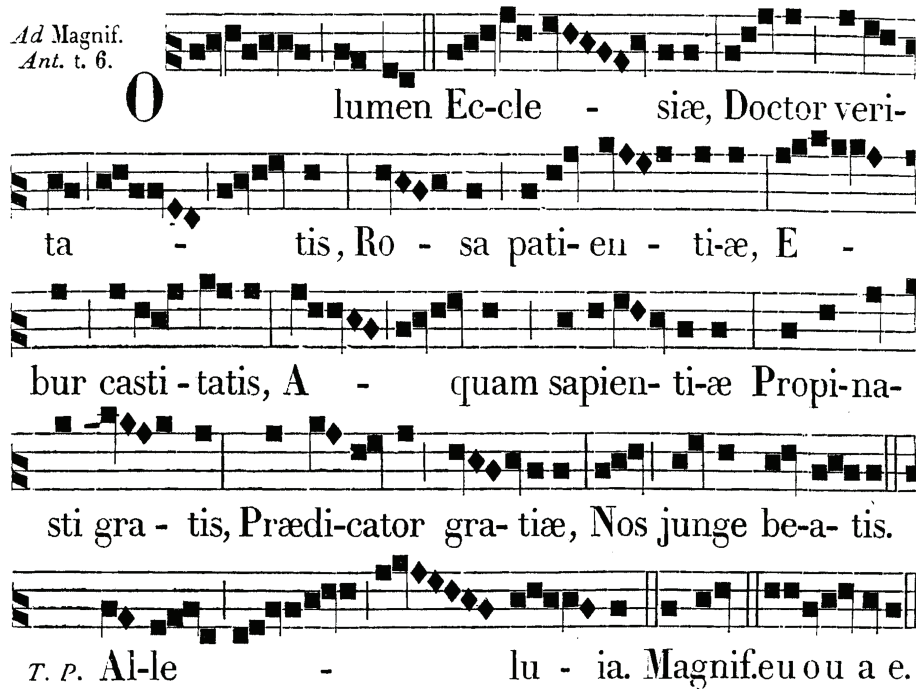
<sup>60</sup> Alexander Vincent Jandel, *Antiphonarium* (1862), introduction: “Edito, paucis ab hinc mensibus, Processionario, nunc quoque novum in lucem prodere volumus Antiphonarium omnium hucusque votis expetitur, et precibus, earum praecipue Ordinis Provinciarum, quae propriis velut ex cineribus jam undequaque renascentes, ritu Ordinis nostri Altissimo laudes modulari nequibant: non enim unde sacrae modulationis norma sibi depromenda esset habebant; cum praesertim Libri Chorales apud nos, vel ex parte

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was finished in January 1863, thus constituting the first and the only complete printing of the music for the Dominican office.<sup>61</sup>

Example 4. Antiphon *O Lumen*, *Antiphonarium* (1863), 161.

*Ad Magnif.  
Ant. t. 6.*



O lumen Ec-cle - siae, Doctor veri-  
ta - tis, Ro - sa pati-en - ti-æ, E -  
bur casti - tatis, A - quam sapien- ti-æ Propi-na-  
sti gra - tis, Prædi-cator gra-tiæ, Nos junge be-a- tis.  
T. P. Al-le - lu - ia. Magnif. eu ou a e.

In 1863 Bernard also published at Lyon the first edition of a volume of Marian hymns with texts by Francois Ribons, O.P., and

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tantum typis editi, seriem divini officii haud integram exhibeant, nee de cætero nisi ægre reperiri possint; vel manu et penicillo exarati, numero superstitem hodie conventuum omnino impares existant.

“Hanc itaque novissimam Cantus Ordinis nostri editionem, Officium divinum, diurnum scilicet ac nocturnum, nunc primum integra serie referentem, et quidem distinctioribus, et elegantioribus typis impressam, Pietati vestræ offerimus: quam juxta Patrum traditionem, atque fide librorum tum manuscriptorum tum editorum (haud tamen despecta temporum exigentia), cura peritorum virorum exactissime descriptam, perfici curavimus; et dum plurima, quæ diversis antea sparsa libris erant, novo naturalique ordine digesta, complectitur, modicitate pretii hodiernæ Conventuum nostrorum penuriæ se satis accommodatam exhibet.

“Quapropter præsentem editionem, jussu nostro diligenter examinatam, Auctoritate Officii nostri approbare statuimus, et ita approbatam tanquam novum erga vos sollicitudinis nostræ pignus, Religioni vestræ proponimus, et commendamus.”

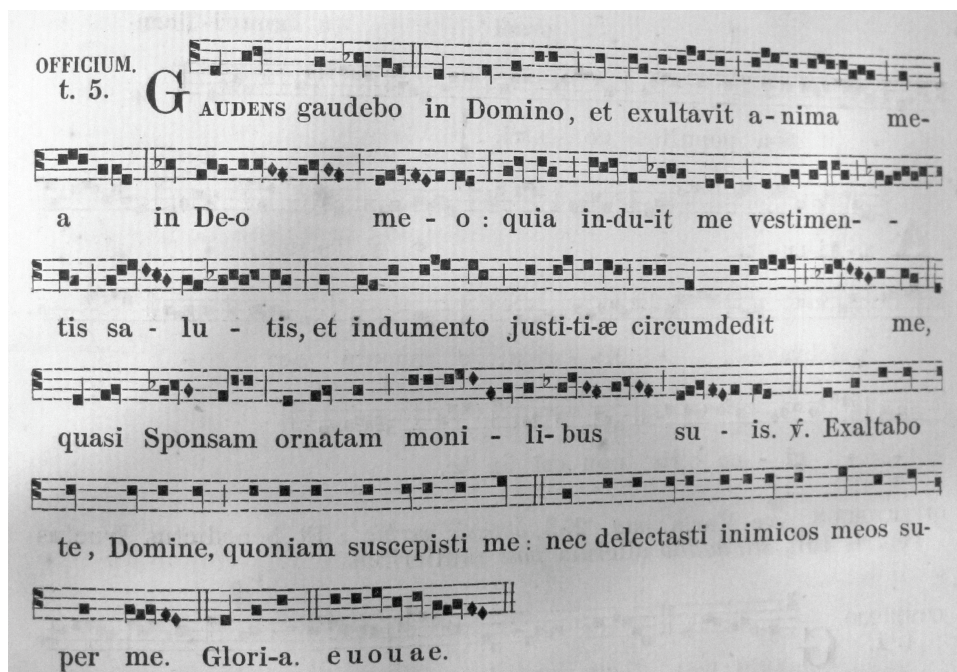
<sup>61</sup> Laure and Chéry, “L’œuvre des Pères de Lyon de 1860 a 1900,” 318; cf. Laporte, “Précis historique et descriptif du rit dominicain,” 217.

## MEDIEVAL AND MODERN DOMINICAN CHANT

melodies composed by Bernard.<sup>62</sup> This volume went through many editions, with the second, expanded edition of 1869 being jointly published by Bauchu in Lyon and Poussielgue in Paris.<sup>63</sup>

In 1864, Bernard published a supplement to the *Cantus Missarum* that was printed, rather than lithographed.<sup>64</sup> This contained, amongst other material, newly composed music for the feast of the Immaculate Conception. New texts had been approved for the Mass and Office of the Immaculate Conception in preparation for the declaration of the dogma in 1854, and the supplement to the *Cantus Missarum* of 1864 contains musical settings of these texts that are different than those found in other contemporary publications and were probably composed by Bernard a

Example 5. Officium (Introit) *Gaudens gaudebo* (the Immaculate Conception), *Supplementum ad Cantus Missarum*. (1864), 17.



<sup>62</sup> *La Lyre mystique, ou Recueil de nouveaux cantiques sur le saint rosaire et la garde d'honneur de Marie* (Lyon: Bauchu, 1863), 107 pp.

<sup>63</sup> *La Lyre mystique, ou Recueil de nouveaux cantiques sur le saint rosaire et la garde d'honneur de Marie* (Paris: Poussielgue frères, 1869) XVIII-264. This edition provides the following attribution: "paroles du R.P. Marie-François, des Frères-Prêcheurs, directeur général du Rosaire perpétuel; musique du T.R.P. Pie, des Frères-Prêcheurs, prieur du couvent de Lyon, Province de l'Immaculate Conception."

<sup>64</sup> *Supplementum ad Cantus Missarum, juxta ritum Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum Reverendissimi Patris Fr. Al. Vincentii Jandel ejusdem Ordinis Magistri Generalis permissu editum* (Mechlin: H. Dessain, 1864).

himself. The 1864 settings of these texts continued to be printed (in slightly modified form) in Dominican graduals through the most recent edition of 1950. This publication gives clear witness to Bernard's efforts to both make available the traditional music of the Order and to provide new music when necessary.

### **A New Approach to Dominican chant**

By 1864, at the age of 38, Pie Bernard had produced a complete set of chant books for the Dominican rite, a feat never before accomplished nor since rivaled. It is remarkable that in addition to his immense musical and liturgical output during this period Bernard was also heavily involved with the internal administration and formation of the Order.<sup>65</sup> In the 1870s, however, Bernard completely revised his approach to Gregorian chant and began the production of a new set of Dominican chant books.

On July 29, 1871, Jandel wrote a letter to the Procurator General of the Order, Fr. Bianchi, where he speaks of authorizing Bernard to work on a new edition of the *Cantus Missarum* and refers to the possibility of reprinting the *Processionarium*.<sup>66</sup> Interestingly, Jandel acknowledges in this letter that "je ne suis pas fort en rubriques et je n'entends rien au chant." The *Processionarium* was reprinted several years later, in 1873, but the chants for the Mass were not republished until 1890, by which point Bernard had completely revised his approach to editing, typesetting, and rhythmic interpretation.

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<sup>65</sup> During the period from 1858 until the exile of the Dominicans from France in 1880, Bernard served successive terms as prior at Lyon, Corbara, Poitiers, Lyon (for a second time), and twice at Carpentras. Cf. "Le T.R.P. Pie Bernard des Frères Prêcheurs," 133. The 1876 *Catalogus* (p. 87) indicates that Bernard was prior of the Convent of the Holy Rosary in Carpentras at that time. Bernard also had non-musical literary projects: he was actively involved with the French Dominican publication *La Couronne de Marie*, and published a biography of Fr. Marie-Raphaël H. Meysson: Pie Bernard, O.P., *Vie intérieure du Fr. Marie-Raphaël H. Meysson, O.P. d'après ses notes et ses lettres* (Paris: Poussielgue, 1874).

<sup>66</sup> Alexandre-Vincent Jandel, letter to Père Bianchi, July 29, 1871, written from Vienne. Archivum Generale Ordinis Prædicatorum (Rome), V.61b9.39: "J'autorise le P. Pie Bernard à traiter pour la nouvelle édition de son Cantus missarum et je le lui écris, en le renvoyant à vous et au P. Carones pour toutes les autres questions qu'il m'adresse, y compris celle du credo in missa patronnii S. Josephi, car je ne suis pas fort en rubriques et je n'entends rien au chant. Je trouverais fort juste d'autoriser Mme Dessain à faire une édition de notre Processionnal, mais cela ne pourrait être que quand la nôtre sera sur le point d'être épuisée. (Je vous renvoie la lettre du P. Bernard afin que vous puissiez y répondre.)" I am thankful to Jean-Pierre Noiseux for his assistance with this transcription.

### The General Chapter of Ghent

At the General Chapter of Ghent, which took place from September 7-14, 1871, several important decrees were enacted concerning the performance of the Mass and Office.<sup>67</sup> In the section of ordinations for the revision of the Constitutions, the chapter acknowledged the great difficulty of observing “the ordinations of many General Chapters, by which not only part of the Office, but the whole Office, both day and night, *in nota Ordinis* was ordered to be sung,” noting that “we do not urge the full execution of them.”<sup>68</sup> The chapter nevertheless exhorted priors and provincials to foster the solemn celebration of the liturgy in accord with the circumstances of their numbers, occupations, and abilities, suggesting that God would more abundantly bless the preaching and ministry of those brothers who were fervent in choir.<sup>69</sup> The chapter then outlined practical guidelines: in the principle convents (*praecipuis conventibus*), Mass and Compline should be sung every day, and Vespers should be sung on Sundays and feasts; in other communities, even small ones, Mass, Vespers and Compline should be sung on Sundays and feast days, or at the very least Mass together with Vespers or Compline.<sup>70</sup> Although given with less

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<sup>67</sup> Cf. William Hinnebusch, *A Short History of the Order of Preachers* (Staten Island, N.Y.: Alba House, 1975) 157: “Three chapters met under [Jandel’s] presidency—in 1862, 1868, and 1871. The first set in motion machinery for the revision of the Constitutions, the second approved a preliminary text and framed five rules for the new edition; the third, empowered with a papal dispensation, modified the Constitutions to bring certain points into greater accord with modern conditions. Jandel published the definitive edition in 1872.”

<sup>68</sup> *Acta Capituli Generalis Diffinitorum Ordinis Prædicatorum Gandavi in venerabili conventu SS. Annuntiationis B.M.V. a die VII ad XIV Septembris MDCCCLXXI celebrati sub Rmo Patre Fr. A.V. Jandel S. Theologiæ Professore ejusdemque Ordinis Magistro Generali* (Rome: Ex Typographia Editrice-Romana, 1871) 39: “Quantum ad cantum divini Officii, cum valde difficile videatur ad litteram observare ordinationes plurium Capitulum Generalium, quibus, non jam pars Officii, sed totum Officium, tam diurnum quam nocturnum, in nota Ordinis cantari jubebatur, plenam illarum executionem non urgemus.”

<sup>69</sup> *Acta Capituli Generalis* (1871), 39-40: “Priores tamen et Provinciales admonemus, oneratis in Domino illorum conscientis, ut, pensatis Religiosorum suorum numero, occupationibus et viribus, solemnitates Officii divini, cantum, processiones et cæremonias præscriptas, quantum congruenter fieri poterit, in suis Conventibus retineant et foveant; persuasum habentes, quod Deus omnipotens abundantius benedicet prædicationibus et ministerio illorum, quos viderit in Chori servitiis libentius et ferventius occupatos.”

<sup>70</sup> *Acta Capituli Generalis* (1871), 40: “In præcipuis Conventibus, in quibus Missa et Completorium quotidie, et insuper Vesperæ diebus Dominicis et festivis cantari consueverunt, usus adeo laudabilis fideliter observetur: ubi vero non viget, pro viribus introducatur. In cæteris vero Conventibus, etiam parvis, quantum fieri poterit, diebus



detail, the minimum requirements outlined are similar to those given in the 1858 and 1861 Provincial Chapters of the Province of France. According to William Hinnebusch, this decree had a practical effect within the Order:

Many priories then began singing Mass, vespers, and compline each day; in Santa Sabina, Viterbo, Riete, the novitiate at Woodchester, England, and in the province of Lyons, the full observance was maintained. This was true to a lesser degree in the province of France and the new German priories.<sup>71</sup>

In the section of Ordinations for the Divine Office, the chapter censured those who abandoned the chant of the Order for “*musicae complicatae*,” suggesting that the Order’s own chant tradition better fulfilled the need for brief and succinct chant and was more effective in fostering the devotion of the brethren and of the faithful.<sup>72</sup> In the section on Ordinations for Good Governance, the chapter recalled the difficulty of maintaining the common life, including the celebration of the Divine Office, in convents with too few brothers.<sup>73</sup>

Most importantly for the future development of the Order’s liturgical books, the chapter commissioned the Master of the Order to select a group of experts to produce a new edition of liturgical books which would be corrected to be more useful and complete.<sup>74</sup> The text of this commission

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saltem Dominicis et festivis, Missa cum Vesperis et Completorio, aut ad minus cum solis Vesperis vel cum solo Completorio, decantetur.”

<sup>71</sup> William Hinnebusch, *A Short History of the Order of Preachers*, 159.

<sup>72</sup> *Acta Capituli Generalis* (1871), 45-46: “Cum in aliquibus Conventibus nimis derelinquatur cantus noster, qui tamen, dum ad normam nostrarum Constitutionum concinnatur, breviter, succincte, sine caudis et voce mediocri, non ita laboriosus est, et plurimi valet ad nutriendam nostram et populi fidelis devotionem; et cum hujus cantus loco, aliquando substituantur musicae complicatae, quae saepe saeculum et nonnunquam theatrum redolere videntur; ideo, ad tollendum abusum, in memoriam revocamus, et de novo inculcamus duas sequentes ordinationes.

“1a. ‘In organis non permittantur ullo pacto vanitates saeculares sonari ... quia, sicut, secundum sacros canones, cantus saecularis est inhibitus in Ecclesiis, ita et saecularis sonus, licet uterque ad sacram materiam possit applicari (Neapoli 1515, ord. 2).’

“2.a ‘Ne, dum nimium saecularium devotioni indulgemus, inordinatus a nobis cultus Deo Opt. Max. reddatur, cum praesertim paupertatis et instituti nostri memores esse debeamus, utpote divina Officia ex praescripto nostrarum Constitutionum cantu choraliter breviter et succincte, pro qualitate tamen et varietate solemnitatum, taliter persolvantur, ne Fratres devotionem amittant, aut eorum studium impediatur, districte praecipimus, conscientias Praelatorum aggravantes, ut musicae in Ecclesiis nostris moderatissimae fiant, neque liceat eisdem musicis seriem nostri Officii, contra praescriptum Ordinis nostri, truncare vel immutare. (Bononiae 1615, ord. 5).’”

<sup>73</sup> *Acta Capituli Generalis* (1871), 47.

<sup>74</sup> *Acta Capituli Generalis* (1871), 73-74: “Committimus Reverendissimo Magistro Ordinis, ut, per viros peritiores a se delectos, curet fieri generalem revisionem et novam editionem librorum nostrorum liturgicorum; taliter quod, nihil omissum quod sit



gave a broad mandate for the rearrangement of the liturgical books, which may be one factor in Bernard's willingness to reevaluate the approach to printing and performance found in his first editions of the *Graduale* and *Processionarium*.

### First collaborations with Desclée

After the death of Jandel on December 11, 1872, Fr. Joseph-Marie Sanvito became Vicar General of the Order until October 1879.<sup>75</sup> During Sanvito's term of office a slightly modified version of the 1861 *Processionarium* was printed in 1873.<sup>76</sup> In addition, the preparation of new editions of the liturgical books as requested by the 1871 Chapter began to take shape: in 1878, a new one-volume edition of the Dominican Breviary was published by the Society of St. John the Evangelist founded by the Desclée brothers in Tournai.<sup>77</sup> Shortly before the publication of the Dominican Breviary, Desclée had published an edition of the *Breviarium Romanum* in 1876-7, and in the next decade published the *Breviarium Monasticum* in 1884 and the *Breviarium Ordinis fratrum beatissimae Virginis Mariae de monte Carmelo* in 1886. The Desclée publications were marked by a careful attention to typographical excellence, and the association between the publisher and the Order formed through the publication of the 1878 Breviary played an important role in the chant books produced by Bernard in the 1890s.

### Correspondence with Pothier

On December 16, 1878, Bernard wrote to Dom Pothier at Solesmes, asking various questions concerning the rhythm of Gregorian chant.<sup>78</sup> In this letter, Bernard offers to send a copy of the Dominican Missal, then apparently already at the press in Tournai, which he describes as having

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necessarium, et nihil admissio quod sit inutile, omnia plene cohæreant, in bono ordine disponantur, et correcte, cum typis nitidis, sub forma decenti et commoda, ad utilitatem totius Ordinis feliciter imprimantur."

<sup>75</sup> Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*, vol. VII, 494.

<sup>76</sup> *Processionarium Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum / auctoritate apostolica approbatum et Josephi-Mariæ Sanvito, ejusdem Ordinis Vicarii Generalis jussu editum* (Mechlin: H. Dessain, 1873). The introductory letter by Sanvito is dated January 10, 1873.

<sup>77</sup> *Breviarium juxta ritum sacri ordinis fratrum Prædicatorum auctoritate apostolica approbatum et Reverendissimi Patris Fr. Josephi Mariæ Sanvito totius Ord. Magistri Vic. Generalis jussu editum* (Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre, 1878). The introductory letter, which incorporates text from the commission of the 1871 chapter for the editing of new liturgical books, is dated March 7, 1878.

<sup>78</sup> Pie Bernard, letter of December 16, 1878 to Joseph Pothier. Saint-Wandrille-Rançon, Bibliothèque de St-Wandrille. Archive #1W231, letter 2.

“le chant avec des caractères anciens.” This Missal, which eventually appeared in 1881, invariably used bar lines which spanned from the top to the bottom of the staff for the prefaces and other material with musical notation, rather than the bar lines of varying heights which Bernard had devised by the time the 1890 Gradual.<sup>79</sup> Bernard then states his aspiration to produce an edition of the Gradual following the “original manuscript” of Humbert of Romans. Laporte asserted that Bernard was “chargé . . . par le vénérable Père Larroca, de donner une édition du Graduel conforme à l’archetype de 1256,”<sup>80</sup> but this letter indicates that although Bernard may have been assigned by Joseph-Marie Larroca to do this task, he had aspired to produce a more critical edition of the Gradual even before the election of Larroca as Master General on October 3, 1879.<sup>81</sup>

Over the next several years, Bernard wrote Pothier a number of letters concerning musical practice that are still preserved at the Abbey of Saint-Wandrille where Pothier became abbot in 1898.<sup>82</sup> These letters deserve further attention than is possible here, but they clearly indicate that during this period Bernard decided to adopt Pothier’s equalist approach to chant interpretation. As early as May 4, 1879, they reveal a desire to adopt the Solesmes method of execution for the chant, although a letter of November 21, 1879, acknowledges the attendant difficulties in making such a change. A letter of January 18, 1880, shows that Bernard had received a pre-publication copy of Pothier’s *Les melodies Grégoriennes* (the imprimatur of which is dated March 10, 1880), and in a letter of October 9, 1880, Bernard asked further questions regarding *Les melodies Grégoriennes*. In letters of January 25, 1881, and April 16, 1881, Bernard corresponded regarding the Dominican *Regulae cantus*, and on December

<sup>79</sup> *Missale juxta ritum Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum auctoritate Apostolica approbatum et Reverendissimi Patris Fr. Josephi Mariæ Larroca ejusdem Ordinis Magistri Generalis jussu editum* (Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre, 1881). The introductory letter is dated April 17, 1881, and the imprimatur is dated August 26, 1881.

<sup>80</sup> Laporte, “Précis historique et descriptif du rit dominicain,” 281.

<sup>81</sup> Larroca was elected by the extraordinary method of a postal ballot, rather than at a General Chapter. Cf. *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l’ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*, Vol. VII, 494 n1. It is perhaps possible that Bernard’s aspiration already existed in the early 1870s, when Jandel referred to Bernard working on a new edition of the *Cantus Missarum*, but the republication of the *Processionarium* in 1873 suggests that the inspiration to reevaluate the rhythmic approach may have come later. Strictly speaking, the question of rhythm is separate from the use of the so-called Humbert codex (Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1) as the sole source for an edition, are not intrinsically linked, although Laporte has suggested that the discovery of the abundance of bar lines in the Humbert codex played some role in Bernard’s reevaluation of his earlier rhythmic system; cf. Laporte, “Précis historique et descriptif du rit dominicain,” 281.

<sup>82</sup> Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant*, 34.

28, 1881, indicated that he had received excerpts from Pothier's *Liber Gradualis*, which would eventually be published in 1883. On November 10, 1882, Bernard wrote further in praise of Pothier's system. On April 13, 1884, Bernard congratulated Pothier for the praise he had received in Leo XIII's brief *Redditum fuit nobis* of March 3, 1884.<sup>83</sup> On December 27, 1884, Bernard wrote about notation and typography, and on March 28, 1885, Bernard wrote further about the *Liber Gradualis*. On March 3, 1886, Bernard wrote again about the execution of chant and about the new edition of the Dominican Gradual in preparation based on the "Correctorium of Blessed Humbert" of 1254, treating in particular the abundance of bar lines in the 13<sup>th</sup> century manuscript, and on March 16, 1886, indicated that he would soon be travelling to Tournai to attend to certain small details concerning the new edition of the Gradual. On April 27, 1888, Bernard wrote again about the issue of barlines in the new edition of the *Graduale*, and on September 17, 1888, offered further reflections on issues of performance practice and the printing of barlines. On June 18, 1890, Bernard sent a copy of the new *Graduale*, acknowledging the tremendous influence of Pothier's principles and publications on the volume. These letters thus give significant insight into the progress and motivations of Bernard's work.<sup>84</sup>

### **The *Graduale* of 1890 and the *Processionarium* of 1894**

In 1890 Bernard published the new edition of the *Graduale* with melodies taken from the Humbert codex.<sup>85</sup> The introduction to this book includes a treatise on rhythm that nulls the mensuralist rhythm of Bernard's earlier editions and states that Jerome of Moravia's system of assigning time-

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant*, 90, 419-420.

<sup>84</sup> Bernard wrote one further letter to Pothier on September 4, 1895, in which he discusses the publication of a set of conferences on music by one of his confrères.

<sup>85</sup> *Graduale juxta ritum sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum auctoritate apostolica approbatum et Reverendissimi Patris Fr. Josephi-Mariæ Larroca ejusdem Ordinis Magistri Generalis jussu editum* (Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre, 1890). The letter of approbation is dated April 20, 1890, and the imprimatur is dated May 16, 1890.

Bernard's study of the Humbert codex was presumably facilitated by Vincent Ligiez, the same friar who had provided the passages of Jerome of Moravia, who served as archivist and postulator general for the Order from 1880 until his death in 1898. Cf. the obituary of Ligiez given in *Acta Capituli Generalis Diffinitorum Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum Gandavi in conventu B. Virginis Mariæ Annuntiatae celebrati in Festo Pentecostes a die 26 Maii ad diem 1 Iunii anno Domini MCMI sub reverendissimo patre Fr. Andrea Frühwirth S. Theologiæ Professore Magistro Generali eiusdem Ordinis* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1901), 165-168.

value to notes based on their shape applies to descant rather than to plain chant.<sup>86</sup>

Aside from the evidence of the letters cited above, Pothier's influence on the rhythmic theory articulated in the introduction can be clearly discerned from the fact that certain passages and quotations from musical authorities in the introduction were borrowed word for word from the preface of Pothier's 1883 *Liber Gradualis*. The new *Graduale* also took advantage of the advances in Gregorian typesetting technique that had been developed by Desclée in conjunction with Solesmes for the printing of Pothier's *Les mélodies Gregoriennes* in 1880 and his *Liber gradualis* in 1883. The new typography resembled the note groupings and general appearance of the 13<sup>th</sup> century notation of the Humbert codex much more closely than any preceding printed editions of Dominican chant.<sup>87</sup> It is also important to note that the *Graduale* was printed in a format that could be easily held by the singer, rather than be placed on a lectern as was the 1854 edition.

The most controversial aspect of the new editions based on the Humbert codex was the extent to which the numerous vertical bar lines found in the manuscripts would be included in the printed editions.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> *Graduale juxta ritum sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum* (1890), iii-iv: "Tres adhibentur notarum simplicium figuræ, videlicet: Caudata [virga], quadrata [punctum], et obliqua [punctum inclinatum]. Caudata vel quadrata indifferenter ponitur super omnes syllabas verborum quæ unicam habent notam. Non desunt tamen manuscripta posterioris ætatis in quibus caudata designat accentum, ut habetur in Processionnario et Antiphonario actualiter in usu. Neumarum sonum acutorem sæpius caudata, graviores vero sonos sæpe quadrata, eosdem plures obliquæ in descensu semper indicant. Tenor prædictarum notarum, licet non mensuratus, ex se æqualis et brevis est, aliquibus exceptis, prout expresse docet de cantu plano Fr. Hieronymus ex Moravia, licet idem auctor certas differentias temporis notis simplicibus tribuat ad musicam mensuratam seu discantum pertinentes. Nulla igitur figura notæ simplicis ex se longioris aut brevioris tenoris habet rationem, sed ex aliis causis tenor illius diversimode variatur, ut dicitur infra."

Cf. Laporte, "Précis historique et descriptif du rit dominicain," 222: "La morale de ce récit est que les *Regulæ cantus* du Graduel de 1890 annulent celles du *Cantus Missarum* de 1854 ainsi que des Processionaux de 1861 et de 1873."

<sup>87</sup> As Laporte points out, the printing of Desclée fulfilled the rules for copyists included at the beginning of the London version of the Humbert codex. See Laporte, "Précis historique et descriptif du rit dominicain," 224; cf. Michel Huglo, "Règlement du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle pour la transcription des livres notés," in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1967): 121-133.

<sup>88</sup> A full treatment of the issue is beyond the scope of this article, but this debate sheds light on the involvement of the monks of Solesmes in the Dominican chant reform. Laporte devotes fifteen pages of his brief history of the Dominican rite ("Précis historique et descriptif du rit dominicain," 276-291) to arguing against the apparently common critique that there are too many bar-lines in Dominican chant books. Laporte's

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Example 6. Note Shapes, *Graduale* (1890), iv.

### I. DE FIGURIS NOTARUM SIMPLICIUM ET EARUMDEM TENORE.

Tres adhibentur notarum simplicium figuræ, videlicet : Caudata ¶, quadrata ■, et obliqua ◆. Caudata vel quadrata indifferenter ponitur super omnes syllabas verborum quæ unicam habent notam. Non desunt tamen manuscripta posterioris ætatis in quibus caudata designat accentum, ut habetur in Processionario et Antiphonario actualiter in usu. Neumarum sonum acutiorem sæpius caudata, graviores vero sonos sæpe quadrata, eosdem plures obliquæ in descensu semper indicant.

According to Vincent Laporte's presentation, Bernard assumed that the abundance of bars found in the 15th-century manuscript used for the *Cantus Missarum* could be dispensed with as a late encroachment upon the chant, and only included bars to indicate places to breathe, but when he began to edit the 1890 *Graduale* Bernard was embarrassed to discover that there was a similar proliferation of bars.<sup>89</sup> According to Laporte, Bernard consulted Dom Pothier, who suggested that the bars did not have a well defined rhythmic meaning, and that Bernard could omit some of them.<sup>90</sup> Thus, in the 1890 *Graduale*, "les barres estimées de moindre importance ont été remplacées par des espaces vides."<sup>91</sup>

To the full bar and half bar used by Pothier in the 1883 *Liber Gradualis*, Bernard added a quarter bar which appeared at different heights on the score based on the context of the nearby notes. Solesmes first used the quarter bar in publications beginning in the late 1890s; it is thus plausible that the Dominican quarter-bar may have had some influence on the development of the Solesmes practice.<sup>92</sup> It is interesting to note that a manuscript draft of this edition preserved in the Archives of the Province of France reveals a certain ambivalence about the height of some of the bars: for instance, in the officium *Ad te levavi* of the first Sunday of Advent, a full bar was initially written after the word "confido"

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arguments have been criticized by Dominique Delalande, *Le graduel des prêcheurs: recherches sur les sources et la valeur de son texte musical* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1949), 265-268. Both Delalande and Laporte make frequent reference to the work of Solesmes.

<sup>89</sup> Laporte, "Précis historique et descriptif du rit dominicain," 281.

<sup>90</sup> Laporte was clearly aware of Bernard's consultation with Pothier, but it is not clear whether he would have had access to either side of the correspondence while preparing his article in the 1920s.

<sup>91</sup> Laporte, "Précis historique et descriptif du rit dominicain," 281.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant*, 207.



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but was apparently crossed out by Bernard in the manuscript itself, and appears in the printed edition as a half bar.<sup>93</sup>

Example 7. Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L1, fol. 323v. Source manuscript for the melodies of the 1890 Graduale.



In 1894 Bernard published a *Processionarium*<sup>94</sup>, also based on the Humbert codex, which incorporated the 1890 rhythmic instructions into a revised version of the *Regulae cantus* published in the 1861 and 1873 Processionals. The 1895 General Chapter ordained that all the brethren should

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Laporte's acknowledgement of the ambiguity of the heights of the bars themselves (Laporte, "Précis historique et descriptif du rit dominicain," 280): "Il faut reconnaître pourtant que, dans notre archétype, les barres de pauses ont été tracées sans distinction de longueur proportionnelle. C'est une difficulté pour nous; ce n'en était pas une pour nos anciens, qui chantaient chaque jour tout l'Office. Ils sentaient, par habitude et comme d'instinct, à quelles proportions correspondait dans le phrasé mélodique la position de chaque signe de division ou pause."

<sup>94</sup> *Processionarium sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum: auctoritate apostolica approbatum et Andrea Frühwirth ... jussu editum* (Rome: Desclée, Lefebvre, 1894).



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Example 8. Draft manuscript by Pie Bernard of the 1890 Graduale. Preserved in the Archives of the Province of France.)

Graduale  
iuxta ritum  
Ord. Fratrum Præd.  
Dominica I Adventus.

Offic.  
VIII. A. Ad te levavi animam meam: Deus  
meus, in te confisi. Do, non erubescam: neque irideant  
me inimici mei: etenim universi, qui te expectant,  
non confundentur. V. Vias tuas, Domine, de-  
monstra mihi: et semitas tuas edoce me. Gloria.  
euo u a e. Repet. Ad te levavi, usque ad V. exclusive.  
H. 1. U. - mi vici - si, qui te expectant, non con-

purchase the recently printed liturgical books.<sup>95</sup> In recognition of the profound change in musical practice introduced by the 1890 and 1894

<sup>95</sup> "Ordinamus ut, iuxta antiquam Ordinis nostri consuetudinem, Libri nostri Liturgici omnes edantur sumptibus et cura Hospitii Generalitii, et non detur talium librorum editio Typographis, suis sumptibus facienda, a quibus nostri Religiosi illos libros emere

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Example 9. Officium *Ad te Levavi*, from the 1854 *Graduale* (1890), 1-2. In this example there are additional Solesmes rhythmic markings that are not in the original print.

Offic. VIII.



D te le-vá-vi á - nimam me - am :

De - us me - us in te con - fí - do,

non e - ru - bé - scam : ne - que ir - rí - de - ant me

i - ni - mí - ci me - i : ét - e - nim u - ni - vér - si, qui te

exspé - ctant, non con - fun - dén - tur. V. Vi - as tu - as Dó -

mi - ne de - món - stra mi - hi : et sé - mitas tu - as é - do -

ce me. Gló - ri - a. e u o u a e. *Repet. Ad te le - vá - vi, usque ad V. exclusive.*

cogantur.” *Acta Capituli Generalis Diffinitorum Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum Abulæ in conventu S. Thomæ Aquinatis celebrati in Festo Pentecostes die prima Iunii et sequentibus anno Domini MDCCCLXXXV sub Reverendissimo Patre Fr. Andrea Früwirth S. Theologiæ Professore Magistro Generali eiusdem Ordinis* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1895), 94.



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Example 10. Antiphon *O Lumen*, *Processionarium* (1894). 138.

Ad introitum Ecclesiae.

Ant.  
VI.

**O** lumen Ec-clé-si-æ, Doctor ve-ri-  
 tá-tis, Ro-sa pa-ti-én-ti-æ, E-bur  
 ca-sti-tá-tis, A- - quam sapi-én-ti-æ Propinásti  
 grá-tis; Prædicátor grá-ti-æ Nos junge be-á-tis.  
 T. P. Al-le- - lú-ia.

editions, the chapter explicitly exhorted novices, students, and “all other brothers” to diligently study “those things which pertained to chant.”<sup>96</sup>

### Pie Bernard’s death

On August 4, 1897, the feast of St. Dominic, Père Pie Bernard was struck with paralysis. He spent the last two years of his life in quite prayer at his priory in Lyon. Having served the Dominican order for 49 years, Bernard died in Lyon on March 17, 1899. An obituary appeared in May

<sup>96</sup> “Novitios non solum simplices, sed professos, studentes, ac omnes Fratres nostros admonemus et in Domino hortamur, ut ea quæ ad cantum pertinent addiscere studeant, et ut maior uniformitas habeatur in Divinis Officiis, utantur, in quantum fieri poterit, Libris liturgicis de licentia Magistri Ordinis iam impressis et in futurum imprimendis, iuxta Codicem authenticum et prototypum iussu B. Humberti redactum.” *Acta Capituli Generalis* (1895), 129.

1899 in *La Couronne de Marie*, a Dominican publication that Bernard had been involved with throughout his life, and the Dominican General Chapter of 1901 published a glowing obituary praising his work for the restoration of the chant and liturgical books of the Order.<sup>97</sup>

### Conclusion

Since his death, Bernard's system of rhythmic notation with vertical bars of various heights has been a matter of some controversy: different approaches have been taken to the typographical presentation of Dominican chant, and in 1965 the Order adopted a new variation on the Solesmes rhythmic markings, although this system has not been used exclusively in later publications.<sup>98</sup> In the midst of these debates, the novelty of Bernard's rhythmic system should be borne in mind; it has certain merits, but should not be taken to represent the immemorial practice of the Order. Nevertheless, Bernard's work continues to influence the Order, as every *Graduale* published since his 1890 edition has been fundamentally based on that work, including the most recent edition published in 1950 that serves as the fount for the use of Dominican chant in the Ordinary Form of the Roman Rite.<sup>99</sup>

Bernard's efforts in the editing and publishing of the proper Gregorian chant repertoire of the Order of Preachers were painstaking and persevering, if at times limited by the scholarship and aesthetic sensibilities of his time. Many avenues remain for further research into the mutual influence of Dominican and Benedictine chant reform, the place of the Dominican *Cantus Missarum* within the mensuralist and equalist debates of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the continuities and discontinuities within Dominican approaches to music throughout history.

### Résumé

La restauration de l'ordre des Prêcheurs, survenue après la Révolution française, rend nécessaire la publication de nouveaux livres liturgiques qui permettront aux religieux de célébrer la liturgie dominicaine médiévale, malgré la confiscation de leurs livres liturgiques manuscrits et imprimés. Les chants publiés par le frère Pie Bernard apportent

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<sup>97</sup> "Le T.R.P. Pie Bernard des Frères Prêcheurs," *La Couronne de Marie*, Mai 1899, 131-135; cf. *Acta Capituli Generalis* (1901), 209-210.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. *Tonorum Communium iuxta ritum Ordinis Prædicatorum Regulæ iussu capituli generalis anno 1961 Bononiæ celebrati confectæ et a Rev.mo Patre Magistro Generali Fr. Aniceto Fernandez approbatæ* (Rome: Santa Sabina, 1965). The 1985 *Missale et Lectionarium* prints some chants according to the 1965 system, but others in a mode closer to Bernard's approach; cf. *Missale et Lectionarium* (1985), 423.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. *Missale et Lectionarium* (1985), 419-467.

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une importante contribution dans ce contexte de la renaissance de l'ordre dominicain au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et de la restauration contemporaine du chant grégorien de Solesmes. Prêtre diocésain français ayant fréquenté le futur bénédictin Joseph Pothier, le frère Bernard publie, en 1854, le premier graduel dominicain depuis plus d'un siècle. Au cours des 40 années qui suivent, il fait paraître un ensemble complet de livres pour la messe et l'office selon le rite dominicain, y introduisant tant du répertoire médiéval que des compositions plus tardives. On peut discerner deux étapes dans cette production : la première où les chants sont destinés à être chantés selon un système de rythme proportionnel, la seconde selon la rythmique « égaliste » de Solesmes.