

CAECILIA

A Review of Catholic Church Music



Gregorian Rhythm in the Gregorian Centuries . Dom Gregory Murray

Musical Instruments in Church Fidelis Smith, O.F.M.

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VOLUME 84, NO. 3

AUGUST, 1957

CAECILIA

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EDITORIALS

Sing the Chant

A reader writes that he is confused. "I thought that we were getting some place, but what do we do now?" The answer is simply: sing the chant! Not that singing it is always so simple. And not that seeming difficulties are insurmountable. It is not only a matter of acquiring the proper books (an adequate list of which appeared in Vol. 84, No. 1 of *Caecilia*) which, after all, we are presently bound to use. The impression that we have opined for two generations that the book was all we needed will not down.

This may lead us to our first point. The most important thing about singing the chant is *singing*. It is manifestly absurd to suppose that chant is something quite apart from the broad stream of music, and that the sound vocal procedure necessary to any other type of singing does not apply to it. Yet one fears this has been happening for too long. Why do Mr. and Mrs. average worshipper not get especially excited about chant? Because most of its *sounds* bad. This has nothing to do with one chant book or another. Listen to the Requiem Mass from one end of the country to the other. On the face of it, it might be read from fifty different versions, but proper vocalization and some musicianship would make amends for a great deal else.

It is not an uncommon experience to behold chant educators who have taught their charges everything but the most basic things. These will know the horrific names of all the neums and combinations thereof (the picture, if your please, is more important than the name), they are liable to know the minutest detail of emerge and submerge in matters chironomical, and probably can place an ictus even when it isn't marked. They can, for that matter, know the intricacies of the modes, and have the Vatican Preface at their fingertips. But start singing—and the musical voice, the elementary rhythm of the neums, and sensible phrasing of text and vocal line is missing. If one does not have necessary knowledge of voice placement and other tonal matters, what should he do? Either stop teaching *any* kind of singing or seek to learn from someone who does. The Holy Fathers have been as explicit about sufficiently qualified personnel as anything. Reading will help—even so small and tidy a brochure as Father Finn's "Epitome of the Choral Art". Make no mistake about it, chant, though unisonous, is part of the choral art, and not an easy part at that. So that one might conclude this paragraph with a word of caution about professional voice teachers, who manage so often to coach great voices and ruin the rest. Ours

is not so much a problem of "training" voices as of eliminating vocal defects which God did *not* usually give us.

Next in order, and not to be confused with singing the chant, is reading it. It is perhaps not musically unorthodox to remark that good singing of bad material is preferable to bad singing of good material. The contemporary penchant for reading music often ignores other important considerations. We are faced with the distressing fact that competent readers are very often incompetent singers and vice-versa. Having said this, one can, however, state confidently that the reading problem is by no means insurmountable. Here, again, without putting up straw men, one is not beyond encountering college people with decent marks in "Chant I" or "Chant 2" who cannot sol-fa a Proper. This is a totally unnecessary state of affairs. Grade School and High School students certainly can and do read chant. It is the writer's experience that this very simple manner of reading the chant in chant script is the best approach to reading of any kind. The diatonic scale, like the alphabet, is an admirable crutch, even if you never get beyond the moveable "do". Grade school children, and not only the bright ones, certainly can make chant reading part of their existence, and the sky can be the limit for high school folk. It takes only the doing. You may call this business of scales drudgery if you wish, but it is nothing like the drudgery of rote teaching to the not-so-young, and this will be the penalty for one who has not begun with scales and intervals in the first place: a devastating penury of repertoire.

The writer has in his possession a collection of chant recordings of grade school children of a very small rural parish in Wisconsin. They are among the finest he knows, and his own charges sing the proper the year around, with some of the better students singing the solo parts of the Graduals. Traditions are hard to come by, especially when, as any pastor will tell you, there is a constant turn-over of music teachers. But the fact that they can be established, even on a school level, is indisputable. Why catholic high school students cannot supply propers is a mystery—unless the song of the church, which ought to have primacy in any music program in the catholic school—is given niggardly time. Mind you, once a tradition is established, once the younger folk hear, read and sing the Proprium de Tempore and de Sanctis year in and year out, the actual practice for propers need not take more than 15 minutes a week!

Now a word about methods and text-books. First of all, the teacher must be both the method and text book. It is less than fair to expect teachers and choirmasters to establish sound traditions if they have not been given a chance to drink deeply at the wells of

liturgical song throughout the liturgical year. This need not have been in the monastery, the convent, or the seminary. For the Popes did not write their encyclicals and allocutions only for monks. (There persists too much the notion of transplanting strictly monastic elements in the parishes; and religious teachers in diocesan seminaries have no right to use the monastic rather than the Roman books in their classes or worship.) In the very first line of the *Motu Proprio*, St. Pius X marks these matters as foremost among the *pastoral cares of every individual parish*. The teacher, then, must have assimilated the meat, spirit and directives of the liturgical books, to a point of feeling a necessity to impart them. The best and only necessary text books are the Kyriale and the Graduale. One may add to these the Vesperale and the "Chants diversa mente". From the point of view of chant education, one might suggest the Kyriale for grade school students, and the Graduale for High School students. Through their formative years children may become completely conversant with these, and carry them, let us hope, into their adulthood. One might use a book like P. Baldinus van Poppel's elementary course, (see *Caecilia*, Vol 84, No. 1) but it is perhaps just as well to get into the middle of things, using brief home-made exercises to lead into any particular piece in the Kyriale. Sometimes reading exercises (and vocal exercises) might well be performed on the material at hand. The results are just as effective, and time is saved.

Then let us not forget the overwhelming importance of the text. It is absolutely essential that the teacher be as resourceful in this matter as the rest. The texts are not difficult to understand by comparative study—Father Bouyer has said that the work of the Belgian Benedictines at Bruges (Saint Andrew's Missal) is one of the highest contributions to liturgical renewal—and our schools, designed primarily for the preservation of the faith and participation in its mysteries, ought not be remiss in teaching the rudiments of the language of these mysteries, even if it finally devolves upon the religion or chant teacher to do so. It is a fair conjecture that if the time, energy, and enthusiasm spent on vernacular notions were applied in the opposite direction we might be happily on our way. "Sacred music as an integral part of the solemn liturgy shares its general purpose . . . and since its principal function is to adorn with suitable melody the liturgical text proposed to the understanding of the faithful, its proper purpose is to add greater efficacy to the text itself, so that by this means the faithful may be more easily moved to devotion and better disposed to receive in themselves the fruits of grace proper to the celebration of the sacred mysteries." (Pope Pius X, *Motu Proprio*)

Finally we come to the several different theories (and we must settle for theories) of chant performance. These will be determined by the books that are used, and by the teachers' convictions about them. For certainly the teacher or choirmaster must have a living conviction of his or her subject. And he must have sufficient knowledge of the history of plainsong and of its restoration to save him from foolish and sheer pedagogy. He may use the official Vatican books, and be so guided by a comprehensive understanding of the Vatican preface or he may use the *tolerati* Solesmes editions, and be guided principally by the Rules for interpretation in the Desclee books. The former may find helpful books like Joseph Pothier's "Les Melodies Gregoriennes", Joseph Cogniat's "Little Grammar of Gregorian Chant," Dom John's "New School of Gregorian Chant", or Marie Pierick's "Gregorian Chant Studied and Analyzed". The latter would certainly use Dom Mocquereau's two volumes on rhythm, Dom Sunol's and V.G.L.'s Text books on Gregorian Chant. Neither can afford to be without Dom John's "Chants of the Vatican Gradual." Whatever the case may be, sing the chant! We have this on the word of Pius X: "Let care be taken to restore . . . the ancient Scholae Cantorum. . . It is not difficult . . . to instruct such Scholae even in the smaller rural churches; indeed in them is found a very easy means of uniting boys and adults around the clergy, for their profit and the edification of the people." (*passim*, *Motu Proprio*)

The Bunny Hop

I am afraid we have given Bob Carroll a busy time. There was the "Forest and the Trees" in the May *Caecilia*. Then at St. Louis, he unloaded, to all the tribes of Christendom, a 22 page brochure entitled: "Are the Solesmes Editions Justifiable?" Finally, in his own *Gregorian Review*, after opining for well-cooked research and something more definite than opinion in published articles (Pray tell now, are there no opinions in the *Review*?), he feels "that there is nothing to be said." This makes it plain that the *Gregorian Review* is not about to be tainted by bad boys hollering.

About the article in *Caecilia*: It was an answer to Dom Gregory Murray, which the latter may or may not answer—except that the footnotes referring to it in his current article are Father Murray's and not the editor's. The brochure, a second effort, is serious, genteel and probably sincere. We have already congratulated Mr. Carroll on the first attempt to justify *anything* in the last forty years.

The third front is something else. The grumpy, sullen prose is unworthy of Mr. Carroll, and, writing as he does from home plate, it may not be entirely his fault. Like his numerous predecessors, Mr. Carroll may not be able to say in fairness everything he wants to say. For surely he knows better than to write as recklessly as he has. So let us set the third front very straight: To tell his ready-made readers that there is no alternative to Solesmes, to ridicule other stands as essentially negative is a ready-made falsehood. History, law and facts stand unashamed. Before the ever-changing Neo-Solesmes Editions, the Vatican Edition was. It was adopted by Pius X and enjoined upon us in the strongest legal language (Decree, Aug. 7, 1907). Not even a bishop or a religious superior may enforce the use of the permissible Solesmes editions upon his or her subjects. If no methods of chant survive in a universally used edition save that of Solesmes, just what does Mr. Carroll think the Roman Polyglott Press is? The simple method outlined in the preface of the Vatican Graduale has been in use universally since the time it appeared. What is true is that the first negation to the restored unity of the chant came from Dom Mocquereau.

Can he write off the present Vatican Editions of Dessain, Pustet, Schwann and others simply because he must go into a pout? To say that these editions are not used is idle. Flor Peeters, for example, is a practical as well as conscientious man. When he wrote his plain song accompaniments, he omitted the signs, so that they would be useful to all groups. At this very moment the Schwann Graduale is going into a new edition. There are areas in Europe where Solesmes never has, likely never will be used, and one of them is Rome. It is something of a challenge to find much outside of San Anselmo and the Desroquettes classes at the Academy that Solesmes would care to call their own. But the really sore point is that the Vatican Graduale is regaining some small ground in this country. And this is disturbing, because there may be things to explain, and the tight pedagogy of Solesmes should not be asked to explain itself to anyone but Solesmes. Students of Solesmes teachers say that there is never any ill spoken about other systems, that there is peace—peace at their price, for they, like Mr. Carroll, prefer to think nothing else exists. No one speaks of other systems. Surely not. Neither does Mother Russia tell her pundits about the United States.

Then there is the matter of opinion and “half-baked theories”. Does Mr. Carroll really suppose that the Solesmes system is anything other than a theory? Particularly, won’t someone finally admit that *Le Nombre Musical* is a purely theoretical work? One needs only a

smattering of epistemology and not a great deal of scholarship to pin point the whole business as an *a priori* figmentation—something that cannot stand the strain of any real internal criticism. The Vatican Edition too is based on theory. This is in the nature of things. But it was the theory the Holy See adopted. And it was a wise theory—one that clearly let the road open for “the learned . . . to determine the age and type of any particular Gregorian Melody, and to pronounce on its workmanship.” (Vatican Preface) But by no means was it to be permitted that men bind what is known as the Gregorian tradition within a set term of years. The mensuralists have theories too, but back in 1903, one of the greatest, Peter Wagner, considered that between obedience and theory, obedience was the virtue. The Church, with the help of research, may adopt any number of theories in the future, but it will not jump quickly at any fluttering will o’ the wisp. Why then the great pretence, the great compassion on the unwashed, the shameful omniscience and pride?

God Bless the Women

A correspondent is worried about one of our reviewers referring to a mass as having been scored for men and *women*. And wouldn’t boys or at least trebles be better? Well I doubt it. There is as much nonsense written about boy-choirs (especially by dowager critics) as anything else. The founder of this review held in trust a letter from Pius X giving him permission to use men and women in his festival choirs. He neither published it nor used it, lest he embarrass the Holy Father. He was, of course, a great gentleman. Anyway, it should always have been plain that the prohibition was aimed at establishing the ancient usage of the choir within the sanctuary. To tell the truth this seems to be the most ancient and perduring tradition of all—a few choristers joining the clergy for the edification of the people. These might be known as the years of the ecclesiastical grunt. Just when the heyday of congregational singing arrived, I have never been able to learn. If it existed, it might be called the lets-all-stand-up-and-holler period. Were the women in on it? Are they now? I should guess that they do most of it. Joking aside, there is no sense in having a boy choir, just so that you can say *we* have a boy choir. Boys ought to put up or shut up, like everyone else. One of the really great advantages about boy choirs is that eventually, at least in our era and clime, they turn into men. The musician who doesn’t know that there are not really many respectable boy choirs is impervious to shock. Another thing: what are you supposed to do with the nuns? I remember reading an old decree about their being suspended if they sang

something or other. But how do you go about suspending a nun, and what do you suspend her from? So that I was happy that Pope Pius XII said (in a summation of *previous* decrees) in *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina*: "Where it is impossible to have choir schools, or where there are not enough choir boys, it is allowed that 'a group of men and women or girls, located in a place outside the sanctuary, set apart for the exclusive use of this group, can sing the liturgical texts at Solemn Mass, as long as the men are completely separated from the women and girls and everything unbecoming is avoided.'" This means, among other things, that you had better avoid the Shaw fad of mixing things up, for "The Ordinary is bound in conscience in this matter." It was a gracious thing to give a nod to the people who have been doing most of the work for the last forty years anyway. There is another factor about women, and that is the customary wobble in their voices, something altogether unbecoming to the singing of chant and polyphony in particular. Directors like Roger Wagner (who is an ex-boy-choir man—they don't last too long) and Jim Welch manage to de-gurgle these people. And long before Anna Russell had demonstrated that the female English voice is sex-less, the writer of the review in question, who has a long tradition of a men's and women's choir properly trimmed received a note from a home-towner of our harried correspondent. It read "The Catholic programs at 1 P. M. E. S. T. are of great interest to me, your program of Sunday especially so. . . . As a church musician, I would like to make some special comment on your choir. *The boys, sopranos and altos*, deserve great praise for their good tone, musicianship and fine performance . . . their work seemed superior to the men."

Now, mind you, I am not at all opposed to the envisioned ideal of the ecclesiastical choir. On the contrary I think I work harder toward it than most. Having said these things, and having entertained some particularly evil thoughts about the tawdry sound of adolescent girls, I go back to my boys—good, bad, and indifferent, God bless them.

Apology

We do not have, at this printing, the proper accent marks for either French or German quotations. We beg your temporary forbearance in this matter. Meanwhile, we are sure that readers of these languages will know where the accents and umlauts *ought* to be.

FLOR PEETERS, A PROFILE*

Heinrich Lemacher

An European master of the organ and a composer of international rank and reputation; this is the sharply-etched profile of the Fleming, Flor Peeters. He became known in Germany principally through the "International Society for New Catholic Church Music," to which he belonged as a member of the presiding board. The Schwann and Schott publishing firms paved the way for his recognition among us. Maestro Peeters, along with the contemporary Belgian-Flemish church music circle, was introduced by Theodore Rehmann, conductor of the Aachen Cathedral Choir. He worked as well, untiringly and successfully, for the youngest of this elite group of European church musicians, whose contemporary art grows out of the oldest Catholic cultural soil.

Born July, 1903, in Thielen (Province of Antwerp), it is difficult to believe that Mr. Peeters has reached his 54th year, for we recollect vividly the years of his ascent to his present peak. One knew of his studies at the Lemmens Institute in Mechlin and his work at the Metropolitan church there. From 1923 to 1952 he was a professor at the Institute, organ teacher at the Ghent Conservatory (1931-1949), and director of the master class in Tilburg. In 1948 he was appointed professor of organ at the Antwerp Conservatory, and he has been the director of the organ department since 1952. More than 700 concerts in Europe, America and Africa have established his reputation as one of the most remarkable organists in the world. His public successes, however, have not overshadowed his very productive activity as a pedagogue.

The index of his compositions, dedicated primarily to work for the church, shows the versatility of his creativeness. In round numbers there are some 200 organ works, 100 songs, 6 masses, 20 motets, an organ and piano concerto each, 8 cantatas, 1 oratorio, and 32 piano pieces. The spirit with which his works address us, is derived from Gregorian Chant, the native tradition of the Netherlands, and a nearness to the present-day atmosphere of free rhythm and linearity. The innate ecclesiastical substance of almost all of his works are documented in sound by archaic elements together with contemporary musical language, and not simply a modern constructivism. This provides a healthy synthesis upon which personal imprint is undeniable. We recognize specific characteristics in the immediacy of musicianly expression, the spontaneity of ideas and their plastic formation. These evince—as does

* Written for the May, 1957, issue of *Musica Sacra*, Bonn, Germany.

a symphonic style—a true pathos carried out with both polyphonic and hymnic sweep. That the lyrical element is not lacking is attested by the enthusiastic reception of a wide audience.

And Flor Peeters at the organ! Whoever has spent some time listening to his fascinating playing and improvisation, will remember a happy and wonderful experience. His playing bespeaks the lavishness and authority of one endowed with creative and technical knowledge, and of one whose love for humanity is spiritually disciplined.

CATALOG OF THE COMPOSITIONS OF FLOR PEETERS

1. ORGELWERKE

Symphonische Fantasie (1925) — Gray, New York
Variationen und Finale über ein alt-flamisches Lied (1929) — Schwann, Dusseldorf
Toccat, Fuge und Hymne über "Ave maris stella" (1931) — Lemoine, Paris
Flamische Rhapsodie (1935) — Schott, Mainz
Elegie (1935) — Lemoine, Paris
Zehn Orgelchorale über alt-flamische Lieder (1936) — Schott, Mainz
Passacaglia und Fuge (1938) — Schott, Mainz
Suite modale (1938) — Lemoine, Paris
Orgelsinfonie (1940) — Lemoine, Paris
Variationen über ein Originalthema (1945) — Elkan, Philadelphia
Drei Stücke für die Orgel (1945) — Gray, New York
Lied-Sinfonie (1948) — Peters, New York
30 Choralvorspiele (1948-49) — Peters, New York
Vier Stücke für die Orgel (1949) — McLaughlin, Boston
Drei Praludien und Fugen (1950) — Schott, Mainz
Orgelmotette "Alma Redemptoris Mater" (1951) — Orgue et Liturgie, Paris
30 Choralvorspiele über gregorianische Melodien (1953-54) — Peters, New York
60 kurze Stücke für die Orgel (1955) — Gray, New York
Prélude, Canzona und Ciacona (1955) — Novello, London

2. GEISTLICHE CHORMUSIK

28 Motetten (1923, 1924, 1928, 1947) — Bergmanns, Tilburg; Schwann, Dusseldorf
Messe zu Ehren der hl. Lutgardis (1928) — Musica sacra, Mecheln
Messe "Konigin des Friedens" (1933) — Musica sacra, Mecheln
Josefsmesse (1929) — Schwann, Dusseldorf
Messe zu Ehren der hl. Godelive (1940) — De Ring, Antwerpen
Missa festiva (1947) — Schwann, Dusseldorf
Missa laudis (1956) — Schwann, Dusseldorf
99. Psalm (1936) — Bergmanns, Tilburg
Te Deum (1945) — Schwann, Dusseldorf

3. LIEDER

6 Alice Nahon-Lieder (1923) — De Ring, Antwerpen
14 Kinderlieder (1934) — Davidsfonds, Lowen
Speculum vitae (1935) — Lemoine, Paris
"Mutter", Lieder für triefe Stimme (1936) — Heuwekemeijer, Amsterdam
6 Marienlieder (1940) — Bergmanns, Tilburg
6 Minnelieder (1943) — De Ring, Antwerpen

4. WELTLICHE CHORWERKE

6 sudafrikanische Chore, 4st. a. c. — Bank, Amsterdam

5. ORCHESTERWERKE

Orgelkonzert (1944) — Peters, New York
Konzert für Klavier und Orgel (1951) — Gray, New York
Klavierkonzert (1954) — Gray, New York

6. KAMMERMUSIK

Trio für Bläser (1955) — Peters, New York
Suite für Posaunenquartett (1955) — Peters, New York

7. PÄDAGOGISCHE WERKE

Praktische Methode gregorianischer Choralbegleitung (1936) — Dessain, Mecheln
Ars Organi, Orgelmethode in vier Teilen (1952) — Schott, Brüssel
Kleines Orgelbuch (1953) — McLaughlin, Boston

8. AUSGABEN ALTER MEISTER

Altniederländische Orgelmeister des 15.-18. Jahrhunderts I (1939), II (1945),
III (1948) — Lemoine, Paris
Anthologie für die Orgel I und II (1949) — Schott, Brüssel
Ausgewählte Orgelwerke des Joh. Cabaniles (1948) — Schott, Brüssel

9. SCHALLPLATEN

Alt-niederländische Meister (1951) — Period Records, New York
Alt-englische Meister (1953) — Period Records, New York
Alt-italienische Meister (1953) — Period Records, New York
J. S. Bach (1957) — Europäischer Fonoklub, Stuttgart
D. Buxtehude (1957) — Europäischer Fonoklub, Stuttgart
P. Cornet und S. P. Sweelink — Europäischer Fonoklub, Stuttgart

“Dom Gregory’s attack on the rhythmical methods of Solesmes is very welcome. Everything in it is true and to the point. Outside the Solesmes sphere of influence, many musicians and scholars had long been aware of the inadequacy of these rhythmic theories and had distrusted the editorial methods of choosing certain MSS. to bolster up these theories while ignoring others that contained opposing evidence. In the next few years, we shall witness the publication of much work on the MSS., and it behooves Catholics to prepare themselves to meet it with an open mind. Otherwise, we shall be left clinging to an outmoded scholarship and its results.

But it is worthwhile pointing out that a search for the correct method of singing the chant is beset with difficulties. What period is to be regarded as the true traditional model? The singing of the chant has changed in each century. Who is to decide whether the sixth century or the eighth century is more worthy of respect? The MSS. evidence varies greatly in value, and is not infrequently contradictory.

As far as interim practical measures are desirable, I suggest that the ictus theory be scrapped *in toto* as far as the syllabic chants of the Ordinary are concerned. A commonsense interpretation based on the normal word accents will provide a satisfactory musical rendering. Otherwise, the ictus continues to provide a workable guide, at least until the scholars have made up their minds and come to some agreement. Future developments of these knotty problems should be very interesting.”

ANTHONY MILNER, in a review of Dom Gregory Murray’s “Plain-Song Rhythm”.
LITURGY, Church Music Supplement.

GREGORIAN RHYTHM IN THE GREGORIAN CENTURIES

*The Literary Evidence**

By Dom Gregory Murray

There can hardly be any doubt that it would be both unscholarly and foolish to attempt to understand that music of any period of the past without taking into account what the musicians of that period have to say. However difficult and puzzling their statements may appear, their guidance is something we can ill afford to ignore in our search for the authentic interpretation of the music they discuss. This, however, was not the opinion of Dom Mocquereau, who has left on record a candid confession of his own attitude to the ancient treatises on the Gregorian chant:

'It is not on the disputed texts (of the old writers) that we have based our Solesmes teaching, but on the evidence of the (musical) manuscripts, which form a solid block, often in opposition to the authors. Let us not forget that in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries there were mensuralists like Deschevrens, Houdard, Raillard and Jeannin in our own days.¹ We therefore base our theory on the unshakable rock of the well-established facts of paleography, not on the shifting sands of the medieval authors, who not only contradict one another, but often, alas! do not really know what they are talking about.'²

This is an astonishing statement from one who is often regarded as the greatest of modern authorities on the Gregorian chant. His summary dismissal of the ancient authorities would perhaps carry greater conviction had he been able to quote unambiguous literary evidence from sources of equal date in favour of his own system. The suspicion remains that the ancient authorities are discounted precisely because they do not provide such evidence. To claim

* This article is reprinted, by kind permission of the Reverend Editor, from *The Downside Review*, Summer number, 1957. It was already in print when Dr. Carroll's article "The Forest and the Trees" came to hand and will clear up some of his misconceptions. He does not seem to have read the final foot-note of the previous article.

¹ A mensuralist is one who maintains (as against the equalist systems of Dom Pothier and Dom Mocquereau) that in the golden age of the chant the notes were not all basically equal but were measured in different lengths. The modern mensuralists mentioned by Dom Mocquereau differed, it is true, in the details of their systems, although all were attempting to rediscover the authentic interpretation of the chant according to the indications of the ancient writers. If they did not succeed in their quest, at least they were looking in the right direction. They quite naturally believed that in this matter the monks of the ninth century would know better than those of the nineteenth.

² Monographie Grégorienne VII (1926), p. 31.

that they 'did not really know what they were talking about' is manifestly absurd if we recollect that they were all of them monks, with daily experience in their monastic choirs of the music in question. Nor may we forget that the best manuscripts we possess of this same music were also the work of monks of precisely the same period as the literary treatises. Admittedly there are obscurities in these treatises; but there are also passages of luminous clarity, in the light of which the obscurities tend to disappear. As we have seen, Dom Mocquereau admits that there *were* mensuralists during the Gregorian centuries; it would be interesting if clear evidence could be cited to show that during the same period there were some who were *not* mensuralists. As for the alleged contradictions in their writings, the reader of these pages will soon see for himself that on this crucial point at least there is solid agreement. Until this fact is faced, we are unlikely to recover the authentic, historical interpretation of the Gregorian chant—which is another way of saying that we are unlikely to recover the Gregorian chant itself.

If there is one thing of which we can be certain, it is that there could never have been any conscious attempt during the formative period of the Gregorian chant to evolve a completely different type of music from that obtaining at the time. It is absurd to imagine that anyone at any period could have set out to invent a musical idiom without points of contact with, or roots in, the music of the day. Furthermore, St. Gregory (†604), who is traditionally regarded as having taken the major share in giving the Gregorian chant its final form, has no serious claim to be considered a composer. Even his enthusiastic admirer and biographer, the ninth-century John the Deacon, says nothing more in this connection than that he was a 'compiler'.³ The materials of his compilation he had received from the past: they were traditional melodies already in use to which he may have given some editorial revision, but which he certainly did not invent or compose. However, it is of no real consequence whether the melodies were pre-Gregorian, Gregorian, or post-Gregorian in origin; for in any case it is obvious that they must have been composed in the current musical idiom of the time.

Now there was in St. Gregory's day a famous musical treatise, already two centuries old but destined to exert a powerful influence for many centuries to come. This was St. Augustine's *De Musica*,

³ 'Antiphonarium centonem compilavit' (*Vita S. Gregorii Magni*, II, 6; P.L., 75, 90). It is only fair to add that one modern authority, whose opinion cannot lightly be dismissed, would limit St. Gregory's share in the Gregorian chant even more drastically. According to Fr. Jos. Smits van Waesberghe, St. Gregory merely arranged 'the artistically less important parts (the so-called Office chants and the words of the variable Mass chants) . . . The Mass chants, such as the Introit, Offertory, and Communion, were not composed till years after he was dead' (*Gregorian Chant and Its Place in the Catholic Liturgy*, p. 12).

a valuable text-book on musical rhythm, written about the year 388. That it was widely known and recognised in the sixth century is clear from the fact that Cassiodorus (†575) mentions it amongst the handful of Latin musical treatises to which he was indebted and which he recommends:

‘Also the Father, Augustine, wrote six books *De Musica*, in which he showed that the human voice naturally has rhythmic sounds and melodic modulation in long and short syllables’.⁴

But before quoting some of its more significant passages it may be as well to notice an interesting reference to contemporary musical interpretation in another of St. Augustine’s writings. This passage is of particular importance because it deals specifically with the music of the Church, in fact with one of St. Ambrose’s hymns, then in popular use:⁵

‘*Deus creator omnium*: This line is composed of eight syllables, short and long alternately: the four short syllables, the first, third, fifth, seventh, are single in relation to the four long syllables, the second, fourth, sixth, eighth. Each long syllable has double the time of each short syllable. I pronounce them and I say that it is so, and so it is, as is quite obvious to the ear.’⁶

We find the same hymn instanced in *De Musica*:

‘Master: When we pronounce the line *Deus creator omnium*, where in your opinion are the four iambs and the twelve

⁴ ‘Scripsit etiam et Pater Augustinus de musica sex libros, in quibus humanam vocem rhythmicos sonos et harmoniam modulabilem in longis syllabis atque brevibus naturaliter habere monstravit’ (*Institutiones*, V. Gerbert, *Scriptores de Musica*, I, 19). In ancient terminology ‘harmonia’ refers to the successive order of notes in a scale, not (in our modern sense) to the simultaneous disposition of notes in a chord. Moreover, it is possible that by ‘long and short syllables’ Cassiodorus may also mean *musical syllables* (i.e. groups of long and short notes); for, since early musical notation was alphabetical, a combination of notes (letters) produced musical syllables, as Guido of Arezzo points out (see below, page 191). The idea of musical syllables apparently goes back to the Greeks. Thus Aristoxenus tells us in his *Harmonic Elements*: ‘The order that distinguishes the melodious from the unmelodious resembles that which we find in the collocation of letters in language. For it is not every collocation but only certain collocations of any given letters that will produce a syllable’ (Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Musical History*, p. 29). Incidentally, St. Augustine’s definition of music as ‘scientia bene modulandi’ (*De Musica*, I, 2) is adopted by Cassiodorus (Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, 16).

⁵ It is important to remember here that, as Fr. Joseph Connelly has pointed out, ‘St. Ambrose wrote his hymns to be sung’ (*Hymns of Roman Liturgy*, p. xiv). Moreover, St. Augustine himself insists that without singing there can be no hymn: ‘Si laudas Deum et non cantas, non dicis hymnum’ (Enarr. in Ps. 148, 17; P.L., 37, 1947). There is no question, therefore, that St. Augustine is talking in the passages quoted of a hymn merely as metrical verse to be read.

⁶ *Deus creator omnium*: versus iste octo syllabarum brevibus et longis alternat syllabis. Quatuor itaque breves, prima, tertia, quinta, septima, simplae sunt ad quatuor longas, secundam, quartam, sextam et octavam. Hae singulae ad illas singulas duplum habent temporis: pronuntio et renuntio et ita est, quantum sentitur sensu manifesto’ (*Confessiones*, XI, 27).

beats of which it is composed? Are they only in the sound we hear? or also in the ears of the hearer? or also in the action of the person who utters the words? or, since we already know the line, must we admit that these rhythms are also in our memory,

Pupil: I think they are in all these things.⁷

These two quotations show quite clearly that in St. Augustine's time the hymn was sung in the triple measure of iambs—not in notes of equal length in the manner of Solesmes.

But we find the same tradition three centuries later in the writings of St. Bede (†735), whose treatise *De Arte Metrica* is founded on the classical prosodic distinction of long and short syllables (the former twice as long as the latter), but whose examples are all from the current liturgical hymns. In the chapter on rhythm he tells us:

'In the manner of iambic metre the following famous hymn was beautifully written:

(O) *rex aeterne Domine,*
Rerum creator omnium,
Qui eras ante saecula
Semper cum Patre Filius.

And also not a few other Ambrosians.⁸ Similarly in trochaic metre they sing an alphabetical hymn about the judgement-day:

Apparebit repentina
Dies magna Domini,
Fur obscura velut nocte
*Improvisos occupans.*⁹

This, then, is how the liturgical hymns were sung — notice St. Bede's word 'sing', *canunt* — within a hundred years or so of receiving the Gregorian chant from St. Gregory's monks. It is obviously identical with the practice described by St. Augustine

⁷ 'Magister: Responde, si videtur, cum istum versum pronuntiamus *Deus creator omnium*, istos quatuor iambs quibus constat et tempora duodecim ubinam esse arbitreris, id est, in sono tantum qui auditur, an etiam in sensu audientis qui ad aures pertinat, an in actu etiam pronuntiantis, an, quia notus, versus est, in memoria quoque nostra hos numeros esse fatendum est? Discipulus: In his omnibus puto' (*De Musica*, VI, 2).

⁸ An 'Ambrosian' is a hymn. The word is often used by St. Benedict in his Rule (chapters ix, xii, xiii, xvii). St. Bede here seems to limit the meaning particularly to hymns in the iambic dimeter used by St. Ambrose.

⁹ 'Ad instar iambici metri pulcherrime factus est hymnus ille praeclarus (O) *rex aeterne Domine*, / *Rerum creator omnium* / *Qui eras ante saecula* / *Semper cum Patre Filius*. Et alii Ambrosiani non pauci. Item ad formam metri trochaici canunt hymnum de die iudicii per alphabeticum: *Apparebit repentina* / *Dies magna Domini*, / *Fur obscura velut nocte* / *Improvisos occupans*' (P.L., 90, 174).

two centuries before St. Gregory and, as we shall see, it still obtained in some degree in the eleventh century, when Guido of Arezzo stated: 'We often sing according to the scansion of the line in feet, so to speak, as happens when we sing the metres themselves'.¹⁰

But St. Augustine's *De Musica*, despite the mistaken assumptions of those who have not studied it, is something very much more important and valuable for our purpose than a mere treatise on metrics. In a letter to Bishop Memorius, who had requested a copy of the work, St. Augustine wrote thus:

'I have written six books solely about rhythm and, I confess, I was disposed to write perhaps another six concerning melody when I had future leisure.'¹¹

Thus the *De Musica* is the first half of a complete treatise on music. As a recent writer has observed: 'More than once in the *De Musica* Augustine makes a clear distinction between the function of the musician, who treats the quantities of the words as components of rhythm, and the grammarian who simply discusses the quantities of syllables as they have been handed down by authority'.¹² One such passage may profitably be quoted:

'But the science of music, to which belongs the reasoned measurement of words in themselves and their rhythm, is only concerned to see that the syllable in this or that place be shortened or lengthened according to the pattern of the proper measure. For if you put the word *cano* where there ought to be two long syllables and pronounce the first syllable long although it is really short, it is not a musical offence; for the lengths of the sounds reach the ear as the rhythm demands that they should. But the grammarian insists on a correction being made and directs you to substitute a word whose first syllable is long according to the authority of the ancients, whose traditions he guards.'¹³

The basis of the entire system is the strictly measured proportion of two sounds, the long and the short:

¹⁰ 'Saepe ita canimus ut quasi versus pedibus scandere videamur, sicut fit cum ipsa metra canimus' (*Micrologus*, ed. van Waesberghe, p. 171. See also Gebert, *Scriptores*, II, 16).

¹¹ 'Conscripsi de solo rhythmico sex libros, et de melo scribere alios forsitan sex, fateor, disponebam, cum mihi otium futurum sperabam' (Epist. CI; P.L., 33, 369).

¹² William G. Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth Century Polyphony*, p. 30.

¹³ 'At vero musicae ratio, ad quam dimensio ipsa vocum rationabilis et numerositas pertinet, non curat nisi ut corripiatur vel producat syllaba, quae vel illo loco est secundum rationem mensurarum suarum. Nam si eo loco ubi duas longas syllabas poni debet, hoc verbum *cano* posueris, et primam quae brevis est pronuntiatione longam feceris, nihil musica omnino succenset; tempora enim vocum ea pervenere ad aures, quae illi numero debita fuerunt. Grammaticus autem jubet emendari, et illud te verbum ponere cujus prima syllaba producenda sit, secundum majorum, ut dictum est, auctoritatem, quorum scripta custodit' (II, 1; cf. I, 1).

'It is not absurd, then, that the ancients called one beat (*tempus*, measure of time) that sort of minimum space in time occupied by a short syllable . . . (and) since just as in numbers the first progression is from one to two, so in syllables, as we progress from a short syllable to a long syllable, the long must have a double length. Accordingly, if the space that a short occupies is called correctly one beat, the space that a long occupies is to be called correctly two beats.'¹⁴

These two quantities, long and short, are combined in various ways to form feet of from two to four syllables, beginning with the pyrrhic of two short syllables and ending with the dispondee of four long syllables — twenty-eight possible combinations (II, 8). Each foot, moreover, is divisible into two parts, proportional to one another, and these parts are indicated by manual gestures called the *plausus*. The hand is first raised (*levatio*) then lowered (*positio*). There are only two movements, no matter how many beats the foot may contain. Thus for a dispondee the *levatio* and the *positio* will each last for two beats, whereas for a trochee — and here St. Augustine is in direct opposition to the Solesmes authorities — the *levatio* is for two beats and the *positio* for only one (II, 10-11).

According to St. Augustine, the essential condition for the combination of feet is that the feet should contain the same number of beats and have the same *plausus*. The iamb (u·) and the trochee (·u), therefore, cannot combine, for, although they each have three beats, the *levatio* and *positio* are of different lengths; but the tribrach (uuu) could combine with either, because its *plausus* can be of the pattern of either (II, 14). So at length we arrive at a discussion of the difference between rhythm and metre.

Rhythm results from the combination of feet of equal length and *plausus*:

'When we have a continuous succession of definite feet, which is spoiled if unsuitable feet are introduced, it is rightly called *rhythm*, i. e. number; but because this succession has no limit and no particular foot has been selected to mark an ending, this absence of measure in the series does not allow us to call it *metre*. For metre involves two things: it proceeds by definite feet, and it has a definite limit. And so it is not only *metre*

¹⁴ 'Non absurde igitur hoc in tempore quasi minimum spatii, quod brevis obtinet syllaba, unum tempus veteres vocaverunt . . . quoniam ut in numeris ab uno ad duo est prima progressio, ita in syllabis, qua scilicet a brevi ad longam progredimur, longam duplum temporis habere debere; ac per hoc si spatium quod brevis occupat, recte unum tempus vocatur, spatium item quod longa occupat, recte duo tempora nominari' (II, 3).

because of its fixed limit, it is also *rhythm* on account of the orderly combination of its feet. Thus all metre is rhythm, but not all rhythm is metre. In music the word *rhythm* is so wide in its scope that everything therein which concerns the longs and the shorts (*quae ad diu et non diu pertinet*) is called rhythm.¹⁵

A little later the disciple in the dialogue thus summarizes his master's teaching:

'Between rhythm and metre there is this difference, you have said: that in rhythm the series of feet has no fixed limit, but in metre it has. The combination of feet is common to rhythm and metre, therefore, but in the one case it is without limit and in the other case it is limited.'¹⁶

The same idea of rhythm is similarly expressed in another of St. Augustine's works:

'Whatever is not limited by a fixed ending but yet proceeds in orderly fashion with properly organized feet we call rhythm.'¹⁷

There is no need to follow St. Augustine into further detail. The main lines of his ideas (as far, at least, as they concern our present purpose) have already been revealed. For rhythm, as for metre, the basis is the constant contrast between long and short sounds, in the strict proportion of double to single. Such a proportion, he tells us in a somewhat unexpected context (a treatise on the Trinity!) has its roots deep in human nature and is an obvious characteristic of vocal music:

'This is not the place to set forth the power of that con-

¹⁵ 'Nam quoniam illud pedibus certis provolvitur, peccaturque in eo si pedes dissoni misceantur, recte appellatus est rhythmus, id est numerus: sed quia ipsa provolutio non habet modum, nec statutum est in quoto pede finis aliquis emineat, propter nullam mensuram continuationis non debuit metrum vocari. Hoc (metrum) autem utrumque habet: nam et certis pedibus currit, et certo terminatur modo. Itaque non solum metrum propter insignem finem, sed etiam rhythmus est propter pedum rationabilem connexionem. Quocirca omne metrum rhythmus, non omnis rhythmus etiam metrum est. Rhythmi enim nomen in musica usque adeo late patet ut haec tota pars ejus quae ad diu et non diu pertinet, rhythmus nominata sit' (III, 1). The expressions *diu* and *non diu* (for long and short sounds) recur both in the *Scholia Enchiridis* and the *Commemoratio Brevis* in phrases very similar to that of St. Augustine here. See below, notes 30 and 31.

¹⁶ 'Quia inter rhythmum et metrum hoc interesse dixisti, quod in rhythmico contextio pedum nullum certum habet finem, in metro vero habet: ita ista pedum contextio et rhythmi et metri esse intelligitur; sed ibi infinita, hic autem finita constat' (III, 7). This passage is closely echoed by Remigius of Auxerre in the ninth century. See below, note 25.

¹⁷ 'Quod autem non esset certo fine moderatum, sed tamen rationabiliter ordinatis pedibus curreret, rhythmi nomine notavit' (*De Ordine*, II, 14; P.L., 32, 1014). This definition is repeated verbally by Walter Odington in the thirteenth century: 'Rhythmus non est certo fine moderatus; sed tamen rationabiliter ordinatus pedibus currit' (*De Speculatione Musicae*; Coussemaker, *Scriptores de Musica*, I, 211).

sonance of single to double which is found especially in us, and which is naturally so implanted in us (and by whom, except by him who created us?), that not even the ignorant can fail to perceive it, whether when singing themselves or hearing others sing.¹⁸

The close connexion in the mind of St. Augustine between music and metrical verse is beyond dispute. In the metrical hymns, as we have seen, the musical rhythm was identical with the metre of the verse. But in other chants the musical rhythm was less limited. In all the music, however, there were long and short sounds, so that even in the non-metrical melodies these long and short sounds combined to form feet. This idea was to persist all through the Gregorian centuries and beyond them.

We have a letter written by St. Aldhelm (†709) within a century of St. Gregory's death, in which he describes the syllabus and the methods used in Rome to instruct the students. These, he says, have not only to master the secrets of the Roman laws, but

'what is much more difficult and intricate, to distinguish a hundred kinds of metres by the rule of feet, and follow the mixed modulations of the melody by a right disposition of (musical) syllables . . . But there is no room in a letter to explain these matters at length, viz. how the abtruse materials of this same metrical art are compounded of letters, syllables, feet, poetic forms, lines, tones and times (beats).'¹⁹

That music was still a 'metrical art' in the century that followed may be seen from the description given by Alcuin (†804) of instruction in the 'sacred chant':

'Iduthun instructs the boys in the sacred chant so that they may sing the sweet sounds with sonorous voices and learn of how many feet, numbers and rhythm music is composed.'²⁰

Alcuin's testimony cannot be treated lightly. Roman cantors had already been sent into Gaul under Pippin and had founded

¹⁸ 'Neque nunc locus est ut ostendam quantum valeat consonantia simpli ad duplum, quae maxima in nobis reperitur, et sic nobis insita naturaliter (a quo utique, nisi ab eo qui nos creavit?), ut nec imperiti possint eam non sentire, sive ipsi cantantes, sive alios audientes' (*De Trinitate*, IV, 2; P.L., 42, 889).

¹⁹ 'Quod his multo arctius ac perplexius est, centena scilicet metrorum genera pedestri regula discernere, et admixta cantilenaе modulamina recto syllabarum tramite lustrare . . . Sed de his prolixo ambitu verborum disputare epistolaris angustia minime sinit, quomodo videlicet ipsius metricae artis clandestina instrumenta litteris, syllabis, pedibus, poeticis figuris, versibus, tonis, temporibusque conglomerantur' (*Epist.* IV; P.L., 89, 95).

²⁰ 'Instituit pueros Idithun modulamine sacro,
Utque sonos dulces decantent voce sonora,
Quot pedibus, numeris, rhythmico stat musica discant'
(*Carmina*, 228; P.L., 101, 781).

schools at Aix-la-Chapelle, Metz, Rouen and elsewhere. Alcuin therefore knew something of the Roman tradition from his experience in Gaul. As an Englishman he would have already known it in any case, for the English tradition had also come from Rome, whence Theodore and John had been sent in the seventh century and, before them, St. Augustine and his monks.²¹

Before passing in chronological order to our next witness we must return to St. Bede (†735), whose treatise *De Arte Metrica* we have already quoted. This time, however, we must give the passage more fully:

'It seems that rhythm is in every way like metres, for it is a modulated composition of words, not by metrical rule but tested by the number of the syllables according to the judgement of the ear, like the songs of the secular poets. And indeed there can be rhythm without metre, but never metre without rhythm. This can be more clearly defined as follows: Metre is regularity with modulation: rhythm is modulation without regularity. Nevertheless you will very often find on occasion a regularity maintained in rhythm not by the restraint or artifice, but the music itself producing it by its own modulation . . . just as in the manner of iambic metre the following famous hymn was beautifully written:

(O) *rex aeternae Domine,*
Rerum creator omnium,
Qui eras ante saecula
Semper cum Patre Filius.

And also not a few other Ambrosians.²²

St. Bede is here explaining that some hymns, especially in the Ambrosian pattern, are not strictly metrical if judged by the prosodical quantities of the syllables. Nevertheless the number of the syllables is correct, and the melody (by its long and short notes) gives the impression of the proper metre. The hymn he quotes is a typical example, but it would be so only if the melody to which it

²¹ John the Deacon, *Vita S. Gregorii*, II, 8; P.L., 75, 91.

²² 'Videtur autem rhythmus metris esse consimilis, quae est verborum modulata compositio non metrica ratione, sed numero syllabarum ad iudicium aurium examinata, ut sunt carmina vulgarium poetarum. Et quidem rhythmus sine metro esse potest, metrum vero sine rhythmum esse non potest; quod liquidius ita definitur: Metrum est ratio cum modulatione, rhythmus modulatio sine ratione. Plerumque tamen casu quodam invenies etiam rationem, in rhythmum non artificis moderatione servatum, sed sono et ipsa modulatione ducente . . . quomodo et ad instar iambici metri pulcherrime factus est hymnus ille praeclarus: (O) *rex aeternae Domine,* / *Rerum creator omnium,* / *Qui eras ante saecula* / *Semper cum Patre Filius.* Et alii Ambrosiani non pauci'. (P.L., 90, 173-4.)

St. Bede's 'rhythmum sine metro esse potest, metrum vero sine rhythmum esse non potest' seems to echo St. Augustine's 'omne metrum rhythmus, non omnis rhythmus etiam metrum est'. See above, note 15.

was sung were composed of alternate short and long notes(i.e. iambs).

The following passage from the *Musica Disciplina* of Aurelian of Réomé (early ninth century) is little more than a transcription of the passage from St. Bede:

'Rhythm seems to be in every way like metres, for it is a modulated composition of words, not tested by the rule of metres but by the number of the syllables, and it is judged by the ear, like most Ambrosian hymns. So it is that the hymn (*O*) *rex aeterne Domine./Rerum creator omnium*, though composed in the manner of iambic metre, has nevertheless no regularity of feet, but is blended only by rhythmical modulation . . . For metre is regularity with modulation, whereas rhythm is modulation without regularity, and is perceived by the number of the syllables.'²³

That this passage directly depends on that of St. Bede is obvious. In fact the two texts dispel one another's obscurities. Both mean the same thing: that even if the strict rules of prosody are not observed by the author of the words, nevertheless the metrical pattern is maintained by the melodic alternation of short and long notes. Incidentally, whereas St. Bede says that '*not a few* Ambrosians fall into this category, a century later (when presumably many more hymns had been written on this less rigid principle) Aurelian says that '*most* Ambrosian hymns' were of this kind.

Any doubts we may have whether Aurelian was really familiar with such metrical methods of singing Ambrosian and other hymns are dispelled by another quotation from the same treatise in which he says that music could (and therefore did) produce all the metres:

'In metrical (music) indeed is produced every single kind of metre, wherein the melody modulates.'²⁴

Our next witness, Remigius of Auxerre (end of the ninth century), was obviously acquainted with the *De Musica* of St. Augustine:

'This is the difference between rhythm and metre: rhythm is the mere consonance of words without any fixed number and

²³ 'Rhythmus namque metris videtur esse consimilis; quae est modulata verborum compositio, non metrorum examinata ratione, sed numero syllabarum, atque a censura dijudicatur, aurium, ut pleraque. Ambrosiana carmina. Unde illud (*O*) *rex aeterne Domine./Rerum creator omnium*, ad instar metri iambici compositum, nullam tamen habet pedum rationem, sed tantum concentus est Rhythmica modulatione . . . Etenim metrum est ratio cum modulatione, rhythmus vero est modulatio sine ratione, et per syllabarum discernitur numerum' (Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, 33).

²⁴ 'Metrica (musica) vero proditur unumquodque genus metri, qua cantilena modulatur' (Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, 35).

cadence, and it continues indefinitely, bound by no law, composed of no specified feet; whereas metre is ordered with its proper feet and definite cadences.²⁵

Clearly this a paraphrase of a passage from St. Augustine which we have already quoted.²⁶ The very sequel in each case is the same: both writers proceed to explain that the minimum required for a metre is a foot and a half, and that the maximum is eight feet. Remigius is here distinguishing between the strictly regular feet and cadence of metrical melody and the irregularity of merely rhythmical melody. In view of the other evidence, both earlier and later than Remigius, it would be unjustifiable to conclude from his statement (as some have tried to argue) that merely rhythmical melody did not have its feet. According to St. Augustine, whom Remigius is following, it certainly did, though not on a fixed, regular, metrical plan. Indeed later in this same treatise Remigius talks about the various kinds of rhythmical melody and the proportions they involve. He is writing a commentary on Martianus Capella and his whole approach is one the lines of classical prosody, i. e. long and short quantities. Thus he speaks of the 'neums consisting of short and long notes' (*virgulae quibus constant brevia et longa*) and describes these varying lengths as being in strict proportion: 'as one to one . . . or two to two' (*sicut unum ad unum . . . vel duo ad duo*). 'In the iambic kind' he continues, 'the signs of the feet, i.e. the neums as above, are in double proportion to one another, as one to two, as in an iamb.'²⁷

We have now reached the period of the oldest and best extant manuscripts of the Gregorian chant and simultaneously of the most striking and important literary evidence of their authentic interpretation.

The *Scholia Enchiriadis*, traditionally attributed to Hucbald of St. Amand († c. 930),²⁸ is — like St. Augustine's *De Musica* — a dialogue between master and pupil. But here it is the pupil who asks the questions and the master who provides the answers:

'Pupil: What is rhythmical singing?

Master: It is to observe where to use the more prolonged dura-

²⁵ 'Hoc interest inter rhythmum et metrum, quod rhythmus est sola verborum consonantia, sine ullo certo numero et fine, et in infinitum funditur, nulla lege constrictus, nullis certis pedibus compositus; metrum autem pedibus propriis certisque finibus ordinatur' (Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, 68).

²⁶ *De Musica*, III, 7.

²⁷ 'Iambicum genus . . . in quo pedum signa, id est virgulae similiter ut supra, duplicem rationem ad invicem servant, sicut unum ad duo, ut in iambo' (Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, 84-85).

²⁸ If not by Hucbald, it was probably by another monk of the same monastery at much the same time.

tions and where the shorter ones. As we observe which syllables are short and which long, so too which sounds are to be prolonged and which shortened, in order that the long concur proportionally with those that are not long, and the melody may be scanned (measured out, the *plausus* indicated), as though in metrical feet. Now let us sing for practice. I will clap (beat time, indicate the *plausus* of) the feet (of which the melody is composed) and lead; you follow me:

GG G a GF/ GF a a cd d/ dc cb G ab ba GG/²⁹
Ego sum vi-a, veritas et vi-ta alle-lu-ia alleluia.

Only the last notes in the three members are long, the rest are short. So to sing rhythmically means to measure out proportional durations to long and short sounds, not prolonging or shortening more than is required under the conditions, but keeping the sound within the law of scansion, so that the melody may be able to finish in the same tempo with which it began. But if any time you wish for the sake of variation to change the tempo, i.e. to adopt a slower or a faster pace either near the beginning or towards the end, you must do it in double proportion, i.e. you must change the tempo either into twice as fast or twice as slow . . . This numerical proportion is always seemly in skilled song and adorns it with very great dignity, no matter whether the singing be slow or fast, or whether it be rendered by one or by many. Furthermore it follows that, as in rhythmical singing no one sings either more slowly or more quickly than another, the voices of a multitude sound like that of one man.³⁰

²⁹ For this musical illustration Hucbald employs the now unfamiliar daseian notation. I have therefore substituted the ancient seven-letter notation which modern readers will more readily understand. Each octave is reckoned from A up to G, the lower octave being represented by capitals, the second octave by small letters.

³⁰ 'Discipulus: Quid est numerose canere? Magister: Ut attendatur ubi productioribus, ubi brevioribus morulis utendum sit. Quatenus uti quae syllabae breves, quae sunt longae attenditur, ita qui soni producti quique correpti esse debeant, ut ea quae diu ad ea quae non diu legitime concurrant, et veluti metricis pedibus cantilena plaudatur. Age canamus exercitii usu. Plaudam pedes ego in praecinando; tu sequendo imitabere: *Ego sum* . . . Solae in tribus membris ultimae longae, reliquae breves sunt. Sic itaque numerose est canere, longis brevibusque sonis ratas morulas metiri, nec per loca protrahere vel contrahere magis quam oportet, sed infra scandendi, legem vocem continere, ut possit melum ea finiri mora qua cepit. Verum si aliquotiens causa variationis mutare moram velis, id est circa initium aut finem protensioem vel incitatioem cursum facere, duplo id feceris, id est ut productam moram in duplo correptiore seu correptam immutes duplo longiore . . . Haec igitur numerositas ratio doctam semper cantionem decet, et hac maxima suit dignitate orantur, sive tractim sive cursim canatur, sive ab uno seu a pluribus. Fit quoque ut dum numerose canendo alius alio nec plus nec minus protrahit aut contrahit, quasi ex uno ore vox multitudinis audiatur' (Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, 182-3). The phrase 'ea quae diu ad ea quae non diu' occurs also in the *Commemoratio Brevis* (see below, note 31) and is reminiscent of St. Augustine's 'quae ad diu et non diu pertinet' (see above note 15).

Hucbald's *Commemoratio Brevis* provides us with equally important and clear information:

'Caution should be observed above all that the chant is performed with diligent equality; otherwise, if this be absent, it is deprived of its essential character and defrauded of its legitimate perfection. Without this (equality) the choir is set in confusion by the discordant ensemble; neither can anyone join in harmoniously with others nor sing artistically by himself. In equity manifestly has God the creator appointed all beauty to consist, nor less that which the ear than that which the eye perceives; for he has ordered all things in measure, weight and number (Wisdom, xi, 21).

Therefore let no inequality of chanting mar the sacred melodies, not for moments let any neum or note be unduly prolonged or shortened; nor may we through lack of care sing in the course of any given melody, such as a responsory etc., more slowly than at the beginning. Similarly let not the short notes be hurried more than they should be. In fact all the longs must be equally long, all the shorts of equal brevity; the only exceptions are the distinctions (phrase-endings), which in the chant must likewise be observed with care. Everything of long duration must rhythmically concur with what is not long by legitimate and reciprocal durations, and let every single melody run its full length from end to end at the same level of speed . . . And in accordance with the length durations let there be formed short beats, so that they be neither more nor less, but one always twice as long as the other.³¹

This passage requires little comment. Its obvious importance is matched by its luminous clarity. And yet Hucbald's plea for 'equality' has been cited—omitting his subsequent insistence on strictly proportional longs and shorts, of course — in favour of 'equalist' systems of interpretation. We must not overlook the

³¹ 'Ante omnia sollicitius observandum ut aequalitate diligenti cantilena promatur; quae utique si careat, praecipuo suo privatur jure et legitima perfectione fraudatur. Sine hac quippe chorus concentu confunditur dissono, nec cum aliis concorditer quilibet cantare potest nec solus docte. Aequitate plane pulchritudinem omnem, nec minus quae auditu quam quae visu percipitur, Deus auctor constare instituit, quia in mensura et pondere et numero cuncta disposuit. Inaequalitas ergo cantionis cantica sacra non vitiet, non per momenta neuma quaelibet aut sonus indecenter protendatur aut contrahatur; non per incuriam in uno cantu, verbi gratia responsorii vel caeterorum, segnius quae prius protrahi incipiatur. Item brevicia quaeque impeditiosiora non sint quam conveniat brevibus. Verum omnia longa aequaliter longa, brevium sit par brevitatis, exceptis distinctionibus quae simili cautela in cantu observandae sunt. Omnia quae diu ad ea quae non diu legitimis inter se morulis numerose concurrant, et cantus quilibet totus eodem celeritatis tenore a fine usque ad finem peragatur . . . Et secundum moras longitudinis momenta formentur brevicia, ut nec majore nec minore, sed semper unum alterum duplo superet' (Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, 226-7). Hucbald's authorship of the *Commemoratio* is doubtful, but it dates from his time.

solitary exception that Hucbald makes to the general rule of proportionality: the phrase-endings. Here strict proportion is not necessary. The proportion he insists upon must therefore be a normal feature of the interior of phrases; it is not a question of cadences.

The concluding passage of this same treatise is as follows:

'This equity in chanting is called in Greek rhythm, in Latin number; because certainly all melody must be diligently measured after the manner of metre. This (equity) masters of schools ought studiously to impress on their pupils, and from the first they ought to form children to the same discipline of equity or rhythm, beating time with hands or feet or some other means of percussion while they sing, so as to inculcate number (rhythm). Thus by habit in their earliest years the difference between equal and unequal proportion may be known and they may show that they understand the art of praising God and rendering him intelligent service with humble devotion.'³²

But already by this time the practice of 'organum' was spreading, in which the chant was sung, no longer merely in unison, but in parallel fourths and fifths. The effect of this practice, as Hucbald tells us, was to slow down the tempo: 'a slow pace is the special characteristic of this music,'³³ so much so that 'in it, it is hardly possible to maintain proper rhythmic proportion,' between 'the short and the long notes'.³⁴ It was no doubt largely through the introduction and spread of such practices that the authentic Gregorian rhythm was lost.³⁵

Berno of Reichenau (†1048), who is said to have spent some time in Rome in the study of the chant about the year 1014, not only

³² 'Quae canendi aequitas rhythmus graece, latine dicitur numerus; quod certe omne melos more metri diligenter mensurandum sit. Hanc magistri scholarum studiose inculcare discentibus debent, et ab initio infantes eadem aequalitatis sive numerositatis disciplina informare, inter cantandum aliqua pedum manuumve vel qualibet alia percussione numerum instruere; ut a primaevio usu aequalium et inaequalium distantia calle eos (? pateat, eos) laudis Dei disciplinam nosse, et cum supplici devotione scienter Deo obsequi' (Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, 228). The obvious textual corruption in the last part of this passage in no way obscures its meaning.

³³ 'Morositate, quod suum est hujus meli' (*Musica Enchiridis*, XIII; Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, 166); 'morositate . . . quod suum est maxime proprium' (*Scholia Enchiridis*; Gerbert, *Scriptores*, I, 188).

³⁴ 'Sane punctos et virgulis ad distinctionem ponimus sonorum brevium ac longorum, quamvis hujus generis melos tam grave oporteat tamquam morosum ut rhythmica ratio vix in eo servari queat' (*Quaedam e Musica Enchiridis Inedita*; Coussemaker, *Scriptores de Musica*, II, 75).

³⁵ See Joseph Vos and Dom Francis de Meeus, 'L'introduction de la diaphonie et la rupture de la tradition grégorienne au XIe siècle' (*Sacris Erudiri*, VII (1955), pp. 177 ff.).

preserves the traditional teaching of proportional values, but also provides evidence that by then the tradition was no longer universally accepted:

'In the neums it is necessary that you pay close attention where the proportional shorter duration is to be measured and where, on the contrary, the longer duration, lest you execute as quick and short what the authority of the masters has determined should be longer and more extended. Nor should we heed those who say there is no reason whatsoever for our making now the quicker duration, now the more prolonged one, in a chant with a naturally disposed rhythm. Any grammarian will reprove you if you shorten a syllable in a line where you ought to lengthen it, no other cause existing why you ought rather to prolong the syllable than that the authority of the ancients has so ordained. Why should not the system of music, to which the quite lawful measurement and rhythm of sounds belongs, be outraged to a greater degree by your unobservance of the due quantity of held notes in their relation to the context? . . . Hence, as in metrical verse the strophe is constructed with definite measurements of feet, so the chant is composed of a fitting and harmonious combination of long and short sounds . . . Therefore let the melody of our music be characterised by the proportional quantity of the sounds.'³⁶

Although it contains expressions which are still hotly contested—indeed they were differently interpreted by early commentators—the fifteenth chapter of the *Micrologus* of Guido of Arezzo (†c. 1050) confirms much of what our previous authors have said. Guido is apparently enlarging on a passage we have already studied from Hucbald's *Scholia Enchiriadis*.³⁷ Not only is the matter similar, but also some of the expressions;³⁸

'Therefore, just as in metres (verse) there are letters and syllables, parts and feet and lines, so also in music there are

³⁶ 'Etiam pervigili observandum est cura uti attendas in neumis ubi ratae sonorum morulae breviores, ubi vero sint metiendae productiores, ne raptim et minime diu proferas quod diutius et productius praecineret statuit magisterialis auctoritas. Neque audiendi sunt qui dicunt sine ratione omnino consistere quod in cantu aptae numerositatis moram nunc velociorem, nunc vero facimus productiorem. Si grammaticus quilibet te reprehendit cum in versu eo loci syllabam corripas ubi producere debeas, nulla alia causa naturaliter existente cur magis eam producere debeas nisi quia antiquorum ita sanxit auctoritas; cur non magis musicae ratio, ad quam ipsa rationabilis vocum dimensio et numerositas pertinet, succenseat quodammodo si non pro qualitate locorum observes debitam quantitatem morarum? . . . Idcirco ut in metro certa pedum dimensione contextitur versus, ita apta et concordabili brevium longorum sonorum copulatione componitur cantus . . . Quocirca sit nostrae musicae cantilena rata sonorum quantitate distincta' (*Prologus in Tonarium*; Gerbert, *Scriptores*, II, 77-8).

³⁷ See above, page 187.

³⁸ Hucbald has 'veluti metricis pedibus cantilena plaudatur'; Guido 'quasi metricis pedibus cantilena plaudatur'.

phthongi, i.e. sounds, one, two or three of which go to form a *syllable*; the latter, either by itself or with another, constitutes a *neum*, i.e. a member of the melody; then one or more of these members make a *distinction*, i.e. a suitable place for a breath. In these things it should be noted that the entire member must be compact both in notation and in performance; a syllable even more so.

The *tenor*, however, i.e. the lengthening of the last note, which is very slight in a syllable, larger in a member, very long in a distinction, is an indication of the division in these. Thus the chant must be scanned (measured out, the *plausus* indicated) as though in metrical feet, and some sounds must have a duration twice as long or twice as short as others, or they should have a *tremula*, i.e. a varying length which is sometimes long when the line (*episema*) attached to the note so indicates.³⁹

Fr. Jos. Smits van Waesberghe, S.J., whose critical editions both of Guido's *Micrologus* and of his early commentator Aribo's *De Musica* are now published in the new *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* of the American Institute of Musicology, tells us in the second of these volumes that 'both the oldest and best MSS make it clear that there has always been uncertainty as to what Guido meant' by the three expressions *tremulam*, *varium tenorem* ('varying length') and *virgula plana* ('episema' — sign of lengthening).⁴⁰ Nevertheless Guido is clear enough in his insistence on proportional long and short notes and on the necessity of scanning the melody 'as though in metrical feet'. In this, at least, he continues the traditional teaching. The same passage then proceeds:

'And above all we must be careful, whether the members are formed by repeating the same note or by uniting two or three (different ones), that the members are always so arranged that either in the number of notes or in the proportion of their tenors (lengths) they suit one another and correspond either as equal to equal, or in the proportion of two to one or three to one, or else in sesquialteral proportion (3 : 2) or sesquitertia (4 : 3). Let the musician decide in which of these categories he will

³⁹ 'Igitur quemadmodum in metris sunt litterae et syllabae, partes et pedes ac versus, ita in harmonia sunt phthongi, id est soni, quorum unus, duo vel tres aptantur in syllabis; ipsaeque solae vel duplicatae neumam, id est partem contituunt cantilena; et pars una vel plures distinctionem faciunt, id est congruum respirationis locum. De quibus illud est notandum quod tota pars compressa et notanda et exprimenda est, syllaba vero compressus. Tenor vero, id est mora ultimae vocis, in distinctione, signum in his divisionis existit. Sicque opus est ut quasi metricis pedibus cantilena plaudatur, et aliae voces ab aliis morulum duplo longiorem vel duplo breviorum, aut tremulam habeant, id est varium tenorem, quem longum aliquotiens apposita litterae virgula plana significat (Guido, *Micrologus*, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, p. 162 ff). The slight verbal differences in the text as given by Gerbert (*Scriptores*, II, 14-15) are of no significance.

⁴⁰ Aribo, *De Musica*, ed. van Waesberghe, p. xvii.

make his melody proceed, just as the poet decides of what feet he will make his verse, except that the musician does not bind himself by such rigid rule . . .

There are, however, as it were, *prose* melodies, which do not observe these principles, for in them it does not matter if some members are greater, other less, and if in places we find distinctions without moderation, after the manner of prose. But there are what I call *metrical* chants, for we often sing according to the scansion of the line in feet, so to speak, as happens when we sing the metres themselves . . .

There is considerable similarity between metres and chants, for there are neums in place of feet and distinctions in place of lines; so that this neum goes like a dactyl, that like a spondee, another like an iamb; and you may perceive a distinction like a tetrameter (line of four metrical feet), another like a pentameter (five metrical feet), yet another like a hexameter (six feet), and many other things of the kind.⁴¹

Before leaving Guido we may quote some lines from his *Versus de Musicae Eplanatione*:

'Everyone knows how to treat the notes as though (to form) syllables and parts, members and periods; and they often sing lines in a metrical fashion.'⁴²

And so we come to our last witness, Aribo, from the latter part of the eleventh century. His comment on a phrase from the disputed chapter of Guido's *Micrologus* runs thus:

'"Or in proportion to their tenors": A tenor is the length of a note which is in equal proportion if two notes are made equal to four and their length is in inverse proportion to their number (i. e. two long notes being equal to four short ones). So it is

⁴¹ 'Ac summopere caveatur talis neumarum distributio, ut cum neumae tum ejusdem soni repercussione, tum duorum aut plurium connexione fiant, semper tamen aut in numero vocum aut in ratione tenorum neumae alterutrum conferantur, atque respondeant nunc aequae aequis, nunc duplae vel triplae simplicibus, atque alias collatione sesquialteria. Proponatque sibi musicus quibus ex his divisionibus incedentem faciat cantum, sicut metricus quibus pedibus faciat versum, nisi quod musicus non se tanta legis necessitate constringat . . . Sunt vero quasi prosaici cantus qui haec minus observant, in quibus non est curae si aliae majores, aliae minores partes et distinctiones per loca sine discretione inveniuntur more prosarum. Metricos autem cantus dico, quia saepe ita canimus, ut quasi versus pedibus scandere videamur, sicut fit cum ipsa metra canimus . . . Non autem parva similitudo est metris et cantibus, cum et neumae loco sint pedum et distinctiones loco sint versuum, utpote ista neuima dactylico, illa vero spondaico, alia iambico more decurrit, et distinctionem nunc tetrametram, nunc pentametram, alias quasi hexametram cernas, et multa alia ad hunc modum' (*Micrologus*, ed. van Waesberghe, p. 164 ff. See also Gerbert, *Scriptores*, II, 15-16).

⁴² 'Illud vero late patet, quid fiat de vocibus,
Velut syllabae et partes, cola atque commata.
Concinuntque saepe versus arte sicut metrica'

(Gerbert, *Scriptores*, II, 30).

that in the old antiphonaries we very often find the letters "c", "t", "m", indicating respectively "celeritas" (quick), "tarditas" (slow), and "mediocritas" (moderate). In olden times great care was observed not only by the composers of the chant but also by the singers themselves to compose and sing proportionally. But this idea has already been dead for a long time, even buried.⁴³

Here surely we have convincing evidence of the nature of that decadence in the rhythmic interpretation of the Gregorian chant which is universally admitted to have occurred in the eleventh century. Already at the beginning of this century Berno of Reichenau had spoken of those who no longer accepted the ancient rhythmic tradition,⁴⁴ and in the previous century Hucbald's remarks about 'organum' had pointed to the destructive effects of such slow singing upon the proper rhythmic proportions.⁴⁵ There can be little doubt that the levelling out of note-values to equal lengths was brought about chiefly, if not entirely, by this means. There is, in any case, no early evidence of equal note-values which can compare in clarity with the consistent tradition that in its golden age the chant was sung in strictly proportional long and short notes and was measured as though in metrical feet.

This, then, must be the foundation upon which to build our authentic interpretation of the ancient Gregorian manuscripts. As Dr. Peter Wagner once wrote: 'It is good historical method to interpret chant manuscripts by contemporary authors, and not to seek to refute the clearest part of the sources by the other part, which is, after all, still full of obscurities for us'.⁴⁶ The same great authority also declared: 'The original chant rhythm, intermingling variously long and short sounds, has yielded since the eleventh century to an equalistic execution that has robbed the rhythmic

⁴³ "Aut in ratione tenorū": Tenor dicitur mora vocis, qui in aequis est si quatuor vocibus duae comparatur, et quantum sit numerus duarum minor tantum earum mora sit major. Unde in antiquioribus antiphonariis utrisque c, t, m, reperimus persaepe, quae celeritatem, tarditatem, mediocritatem innuunt. Antiquitus fuit magna circumspectio non solum cantus inventoribus sed etiam ipsis cantoribus ut quilibet proportionaliter et invenirent et canerent. Quae consideratio jam dudum obiit, immo sepulta est' (Aribo, *De Musica*, ed. van Waesberghe, p. 49; Gerbert, *Scriptores II*, 227). Apart from a minor difference (Gerbert gives 'quibet' or 'quidlibet') this passage is the same in Fr. van Waesberghe's text as in Gerbert's. It should be noted however that Gerbert's text is on the whole unreliable and in many places unintelligible, being based on only two manuscripts, one containing only small fragments, the other complete but very inaccurate and marred by a number of dislocations. The outstanding need for a critical text has at last been satisfied by Fr. van Waesberghe's edition.

⁴⁴ See above, page 190.

⁴⁵ See above, page 190.

⁴⁶ Art. 'Sur l'exécution primitive du chant grégorien', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique Suisse*, 1915, p. 182.

movement of much of its attractiveness and done away with numerous means of expression.⁴⁷

The careful reader will have noticed that in the ancient authors we have studied there is no trace whatever of certain fundamental principles of the modern Solesmes interpretation of the Gregorian chant, viz. (1) that the notes are all basically equal in length, (2) that they are to be grouped exclusively in twos and threes, and (3) that the secret of correct rhythm is to know all about a novel and quite peculiar kind of 'ictus' and exactly where it comes.⁴⁸ Having built on these unhistorical foundations, and having dismissed as worthless their clear literary evidence of the Gregorian centuries, Dom Mocquereau and his school (like Dom Pothier before him)⁴⁹ have merited once more the rebuke delivered by Charlemagne in the year 787 to the Frankish singers of his own court. These had dared, even in Rome itself, to challenge the correctness of the traditional Roman version of the Gregorian melodies because it differed from their own. After eliciting from them the admission that the waters of a spring are always purer than those of the distant river to which it gives rise, Charlemagne told them quite bluntly: 'As for yourselves, go back to the source of St. Gregory, for manifestly you have corrupted the Church's chant'.⁵⁰

A Fallacy Confessed

I wonder what serious readers would think if the author of a book about the rubrics of the Mass were to argue his thesis on the following lines:

Everyone must admit that according to the rubrics the Sunday Mass is said in certain seasons (a) in *white* vestments, at other seasons (b) in *green* vestments, and at other seasons again (c) in *purple* vestments. The logical conclusion is obvious. Neither white vestments, nor green vestments, nor yet purple vestments

⁴⁷ *Gregorianische Formenlehre* (1921), p. 301.

⁴⁸ The 'ictus' is not only missing from the literary sources, it is also conspicuously absent from all the ancient manuscripts of the chant. Nevertheless it is now considered so essential to the Solesmes interpretation that no melody may be sung without inserting an 'ictus' on every second or third note—and, we may add, inserting it on principles which are only too often musically indefensible. (See the present writer's *Plainsong Rhythm; The Editorial Methods of Solesmes*.) Even in the ninth century John the Deacon complained that the singers of Gaul seemed constitutionally incapable of leaving the Gregorian chant as they found it; they always wanted to add something of their own: 'nonnulla de proprio Gregorianis cantis miscuerunt' (*Vita S. Gregorii*, II, P.L., 75, 91).

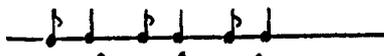
⁴⁹ It was Dom Pothier who took the main share in the preparation of the Vatican Edition of the *Graduale* and who, as author of the Preface to it, gave official status to equalist systems of interpretation.

⁵⁰ 'Revertimini vos ad fontem sancti Gregorii, quia manifeste corrupistis cantilenam Ecclesiasticam' (*Vita Karoli Magni per monachum egolism. scripta*; A. du Chesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores* (1636), II, 75).

are individually necessary for the correct celebration of Sunday Mass of the season. According to the rubrics, therefore, the Sunday Mass may be said without vestments of any of these colours.

Incredible as it may seem, this is precisely how I argued in the account of my conversion to the Solesmes principles of plainsong interpretation twenty-three years ago. This account — *Gregorian Rhythm: A Pilgrim's Progress* — originally published in THE DOWNSIDE REVIEW (1934), was subsequently produced separately as a pamphlet (twice reprinted), was serialised (in England) in *Music and Liturgy*, (in America) in *The Catholic Choirmaster*, (in France, in translation) in *La Revue Grégorienne*, and finally was included in the Solesmes series of *Monographies Grégoriennes*. Obviously, then, the article must have been fairly widely read, both by those who accepted its conclusions and those who did not. The following pages are offered in an attempt to correct the error into which, quite unwittingly, I may have led my readers. It is too much to expect that the correction will receive as much publicity as was accorded to the original error in those journals which are exclusively Solesmian; but honesty demands that logical fallacy be humbly acknowledged by its author however late in the day, and that the proper conclusion be drawn from the premises proposed.

The main argument of the article was briefly this: everyone must admit that a definite rhythm can be indicated to a listener by a succession of sounds

(a) varying *only in length*: )
 or (b) varying *only in strength*: )
 or (c) varying *only in pitch*. Such melodic formulae as the following:



are clearly understood as in duple rhythm, with the ictus (beat) on the notes marked (i). 'The mind', I wrote, 'instinctively prefers to put the ictus on the *lower* note.'

From these premises I deduced (quite correctly) that rhythm is not essentially tied to any particular one of these variations, whether quantitative (length), dynamic (strength), or melodic (pitch). But I also argued (quite incorrectly) that therefore objective rhythm can exist without any of these variations—which is a *non sequitur*.

The clue to my error was provided by Miss Dorothy Howell in a letter to the Editor of *Music and Liturgy* (April, 1935, p. 260), which must be quoted:

'Dom Murray holds that in a purely melodic passage (i.e. one devoid of any variation as to length of note or intensity of sound) the mind instinctively places the ictus on the *lower* note. (Miss Howell here reproduces the last musical illustration printed above.) But this is clearly not so. For by reversing the progression we produce what might be termed a "natural ictus" on the *upper* note:



I think the question is not one of pitch, but rather of pattern. "A sound is said to be accented when it attracts the attention of the hearer in virtue of some quality or characteristic which distinguishes it from its neighbouring sounds" (McEwen, *Principles of Phrasing and Articulation*, p. 10). When something moves and something else does not, the mover will attract attention, and in each of the examples quoted in Dom Murray's article it is the second note which moves, while the first merely repeats. For further proof of my contention I will do away with the repeated note:



The passage has now become "neutral". No longer is there any instinctive placing of the ictus, but the mind is free to impose it on the upper or lower note at will.

All this, of course, leaves unimpaired the statement that "a succession of notes varying only in pitch can awaken a sense of rhythm in the mind." But I think it is *design* which governs this and not *cadence* (using the word, as Dom Murray does, in the sense of a fall in pitch.)'

I did not see it at the time, nor, I think, did Miss Howell herself, but this criticism contains the vital clue to the fallacy that invalidates my entire argument. In the melodic patterns, whether rising or falling, it is *the note which moves* (i.e. the more emphatic note) that naturally coincides with the ictus. Hence the listener has no difficulty in sensing the rhythm of the following fugue-subject:



But, for the same reason, he may share the difficulty I experienced as a boy listening to the sequential pattern that begins in the second half of bar 2 in the subject of the great A-minor fugue:



The first bar presents the hearer with no puzzle because of the longer notes (A and B), but unless he is familiar with the score the subsequent sequence seems to be out of step, and he will want to put the ictus on the notes which move — not because there are lower (cadences, as I once thought), but because as moving notes they acquire emphasis. I am speaking, of course, of performance on the organ, an instrument which lacks the power of dynamic accent. On the percussive piano the difficulty can be obviated by making the non-moving notes louder (i.e. more emphatic) than the moving notes.

In other words, musical rhythm is indicated by emphasis of some kind. This emphasis may be quantitative, dynamic, melodic, harmonic, or even metrical. That is to say, certain notes may receive prominence by being longer, or louder, or melodically emphasized, or marked by a chord, or they may coincide with what has already been established as a structurally strong (though not necessarily louder) beat in the chosen metre. Without some such variety of emphasis, rhythm is either absent or imperceptible. An ictus which is not in some way perceptible or clearly implied as a point of emphasis is a figment of the imagination.

That the ictus (first beat of the measure, down-beat) is in fact a point of emphasis, actual or implied, is tacitly admitted by Dom Mocquereau and his followers, although denied in principle. They hold that all rhythm is fundamentally the passage from energy (up-beat, arsis) to repose (down-beat, thesis). This simplistic theory obliges them to maintain that the ictus (down-beat) is essentially a cadence, a coming-to-rest, not a strong-point. Yet Dom Mocquereau makes mention (*Le Nombre Musical Grégorien*, I, p. 78), albeit very briefly and quite inadequately, of 'feminine cadences' or (as he prefers to call them) 'post-ictic cadences'—terminology which of itself shows that the ictus cannot be essentially a cadence! Similarly both Dom Desrocquettes (*Monographie Grégorienne VIII*, p. 59) and M. Potiron (*Plainsong Accompaniment*, p. 38) tell us to ac-

company 'compound cadences' by putting our main chord on the first ictus, reserving only a minor harmonic change (such as the resolution of a suspension) for the final ictus. This can only mean that the more important ictus in such a cadence is not the final one. But if the ictus were essentially a cadence or coming-to-rest, the final ictus would always and necessarily be the most important! Both these writers, therefore, imply that there is a hierarchy of importance among the various ictus, and that it is a matter of emphasis and structural musical significance, not simply of cadence. Despite their professions of fidelity to Dom Mocquereau, then, it is clear to others, if not to themselves, that here they both ultimately reject his basic theory of rhythm, as I now do myself.

Now this is not to say that everything I wrote in 1934 is wrong. Obviously, as I said then, quantitative variation is normally the most powerful determinant of music rhythm. In fact, as we have seen, during the Gregorian centuries musical rhythm was regarded as essentially a matter of long and short sounds. St. Augustine sums up the attitude of all the later writers when he says that 'In music the word *rhythm* is so wide in its scope that everything therein which concerns the longs and the shorts is called rhythm' (*De Musica*, III, 1). But in default of quantitative variation (sometimes in spite of it) another powerful rhythmic determinant is dynamic variation: a louder note in a series of non-metrical sounds of equal length naturally indicates an ictus.⁵¹ The doctrine that in such a series (monotoned psalmody, for instance) the accent does not indicate the rhythm is an invention of Dom Mocquereau without foundation in fact: 'Magister dixit is not an argument', as M. Potiron has said (*L'Origine des Modes Grégoriennes*, p. 3). Incidentally the same faithful disciple has also confessed that his master's use of the Greek terms *arsis* and *thesis* does not correspond with ancient Greek usage: 'le memes mots n'ont pas le meme sens . . . ce qui est certain, c'est que nous prenons pas *thésis* et *arsis* au sens grec' (*Les Modes Grecs Antiques*, p. 18). So, whatever we may think of Dom Mocquereau's idea of rhythm, we shall have to admit that after all the Greeks did not have the words for it! Can we blame them?

⁵¹ As I have pointed out elsewhere (*Plainsong Rhythm: The Editorial Methods of Solesmes*, p. 10), the rhythm of the two word-groups *Déus et Dóminus* and *Dóminus Génitor* is identical, because the accentual schemes are the same. In non-metrical speech an accent indicates the ictus, as every musician knows and every student of language. But Dom Mocquereau's theory of the ictus as essentially a cadence compels him to associate the ictus with word-endings rather than with accents. For him, therefore, *Déus et Dóminus* and *Dóminus Génitor* have entirely different rhythms! Where they do differ, of course, is in *phrasing*—but that is quite another matter. I do not say (*neither did Dom Jeannin*) that the verbal accent is necessarily ictic (Dr. Carroll is quite wrong here); but simply that accent indicates the ictus in "non-metrical sounds of equal length."

THE CANTICLE OF THE SUN

Cantata for Chorus of Mixed Voices by Seth Bingham,

Opus 52, with the text of St. Francis of Assisi as translated by
Father Paschal Robinson.

The H. W. Gray Co., 159 East 48th St., New York
Agents for Novello & Co., London. Price \$1.25

Let it be said that Mr. Bingham reveres a text. Given this reverence, full technical accoutrement, and a creative imagination, one is confronted with nothing less than artistry. He may even balk at the sub-title "cantata," for it is nothing so stodgy; Seth Bingham's musical interpretation, as well as the Poverello's graceful text, has every right to be called a canticle!

The work is divided into ten sections (plus an introduction), each a choral vignette of the particular creature praised in honor of the most high omnipotent good Lord. Each receives a separate treatment, yet there is singleness of purpose. As one might expect Brother Sun is mostly powerful homophony, and the moon and stars are adorned with lovely imitations. Others are accorded both, together with the nobility, energetic rhythm, sweetness and strength that mark the best contemporary contrivances. The accompaniment is independent and properly spontaneous, belonging in an especially characteristic way to the organ.

The work can be done in its entirety, of course, as a first rate concert piece. Full Score and Orchestral Parts are available from the publisher. But one of the best things about the Canticle is that any separate part of it can be used wonderfully well for service purposes. You will find a processional or a recessional, something for lent and something for festive occasions; and what could be more fitting for Pentecost and Confirmation than the song of Brother Fire, the song of Brother Wind?

It is perhaps ungracious to suggest that the finale, which represents but two lines of the text, uses sixteen pages of music, and leaves this reviewer with an impression of an anthem somewhat overdrawn.

Francis Schmitt

CHAPTER II

THE HYMNS

Besides the Psalter and the other lyrical portions of Holy Scripture, there are yet other songs mentioned in the past Christian centuries. It cannot be ascertained what kind of hymn it was that our Lord sang with His Apostles on the day before His Passion.¹ The Apostle Paul speaks of a *charisma* of psalm-singing,² by which he means new songs which were the product of the solemn devotional mood. Tertullian relates that at the *Agape*, 'after the lighting of the candles and the washing of hands,' each might come forward and praise God from the Holy Scriptures, or following his own inspiration.³ Origen testifies that 'the Greeks in Greek, and the Romans in Latin, and each nation in its own language prayed to God and sang hymns to Him with all their might.'⁴ Such improvised songs have been rightly seen in many parts of the New Testament,⁵ as for instance in the 4th and 5th chapters of the Apocalypse etc.⁶ The world of

1 S. Matt. xxvj. 30. S. Mark xiv, 26. The Priscillianists professed to possess it, but S. Augustine declared it to be apocryphal (*Patr. Lat.* xxxiiij, 1034 foll.). When Charlemagne wished to know where this hymn was preserved, his liturgical adviser Alcuin told him in answer that it was contained in the prayer (S. John xvij.) which our Lord addressed to his Father for his disciples (*Patr. Lat.* c, 428. foll.). Perhaps the hymn was that prescribed in the Jewish liturgy for the Passover (*Ps.* 112—117, conclusion of the Hallel).

2 1 Cor. xij, at the end.

3 *Apology* 39. (*Patr. Lat.* i, 540).

4 *Contra Celsum* viij, 37. (*Patr. Gr.* xj, 1574).

5 See Bäumer in the *Kirchenlexicon* of Wetzer and Welter, (2nd ed. VI. 521); his article 'Hymnus' should be referred to for the whole of this Chapter. Probst also gives a detailed account of such songs, *Lehre und Gebet in den 3 ersten Christl. Jahrh.* (Tübingen, 1871.) 256 foll.

6 According to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 17.) the *Therapeutae* also had this kind of 'new psalms;' and he adds that not only did they understand the older hymns admirably, but also composed new ones 'in manifold metres and very fitting melodies.'

thought introduced by Christianity offered thousandfold inducements to creations of this kind, and has never ceased to inspire gifted and pious Christians to magnificent poetical productions. All the later songs which are not taken from Holy Scripture, such as the hymns, sequences, the Ecclesiastical folk-songs etc., are closely connected with these creations of primitive Christianity.

Poems of this kind were frequently called psalms, as the expressions 'psalms' and 'hymns' were for a long time often used in the general sense of 'spiritual songs.' It was only gradually that the word Hymn acquired the meaning of metrical poetry intended to be sung in praise of Christian truths or events. Originally the conception of a hymn was a wider one. ¹ Thus the two songs mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions (vij, 47) were called hymns, i. e. those which were sung at the liturgical morning and evening prayer, and which are the originals of our *Gloria in excelsis* (of the Mass) and of the *Te decet laus* (conclusion of the Sunday Mattins in the Benedictine Breviary). A very old evening hymn is the *Lumen hilare* (Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἀγίας δόξης). Clement of Alexandria is celebrated as the composer of two hymns to the Redeemer and the Instructor, ² the former of which is a particularly admirable example of the most ancient hymnody. The martyr Athenogenes composed a poem in honour of the Holy Trinity. ³ About the year 200 lived the Egyptian bishop, Nepos, whose hymns and psalms were still beloved in the time of Eusebius. ⁴ Later than this is Methodius (†311), of whom a poem on Christ and the Blessed Virgin is extant.

As early as the third century non-biblical poetry of this kind had taken root, and enjoyed such popularity that the Council of Antioch (269) found fault with Paul of Samosata, the Bishop of that town, for having abolished it in his Church 'on the ground that these psalms were not taken from the Davidic psalter, but were of later origin.' ⁵ On the other hand this popularity soon gave the heretics the opportunity of pressing their doctrines upon the people by means of hymns. In the 2nd half of the

1 S. Ambrose defines the hymn thus: 'Cantus cum laude Dei. Si laudes Deum, et non cantas, non dicis hymnum. Si cantes, et non laudes Deum, non dicis hymnum. Si laudes aliquid quod non pertinet ad laudem Dei, etsi cantando laudes, non dicis hymnum. Hymnus ergo tria ista habet, et canticum et laudem et Dei.' Gerbert, *De Cantu* I. 74.

2 *Patr. Gr.* viij, 681. foll.

3 *Ibid.*, xxxij. 205.

4 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vij, 24. (*Patr. Gr.* xx, 693).

5 Eusebius, vij, 30. (*Patr. Gr.* xx, 709 foll).

the 2nd century, Marcion and the gnostic Valentine, who came to Rome about 153, spread heretical psalms, of which Tertullian speaks. ¹ A complete gnostic psalter of 150 psalms originated from Bardesanes (†223) and his son Harmonius. ² The apocryphal acts of the Apostles (c. 200) contain many gnostic psalms. S. Epiphanius knew of similar works of Hierax. ³ Songs of this kind wrought much mischief, as the false teachers understood how to give them an attractive musical form. It was Arius in particular who thus made so many followers, and with regard to whom S. Ephraem said that the false teachers had veiled the plague of destruction in the garment of musical beauty. S. Athanasius also complains of his exquisite songs. ⁴

In order to destroy the disorder from the roots, the Council of Laodicea (between 361 and 381) forbade, in its 59th Canon, anything to be sung in the liturgy which was not contained in Holy Scripture. ⁵ The result of this decision was that most of the compositions of this sort, and those of catholic origin among them, were lost. The name given them by the Council is *Psalmi idiotici*. But other pastors did not fail to appreciate the good which was attainable in this way, and strove to cut off the excrescences and to retain what was essential, to clothe orthodox doctrine where possible in still more beautiful forms, and have it sung to yet more beautiful melodies. This procedure thereupon became the victorious one, and this is the standpoint which the Church has adopted all through the middle ages and down to the present time. Not only has she received into the inner circle of liturgy songs and hymns which do not come out of Holy Scripture, but she has permitted the faithful to render to God laud and praise, repentance and penitence, thanks and prayer, in the vulgar tongue; though there have been times when there was a wish to restrict the people's singing in the Church to a minimum, or even to banish it altogether.

The most prominent hymn-writer of the East is S. Ephraem Syrus (306—373). Not only did the Syrian hymnody reach its zenith in him,

¹ *Liber de carne Christi*, 17 and 20. (*Patr. Lat.* ij, 781 and 786).

² Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* ij, 16. (*Patr. Gr.* lxxvij, 1090).

³ *Heresies*, lxxvij, 3. (*Patr. Gr.* xlij, 175).

⁴ *De decretis Nicaeni synodi*, 16. (*Patr. Gr.* xxv, 451). It has already been mentioned above, that in Miletus hymns were accompanied with clapping of hands and dance movements. *Cf.* p. 13.

⁵ A Spanish provincial council in the 7th century took the same standpoint, and in the 9th century the opponent of Amalarius, (Agobard of Lyons,) of whom more will be said in this connexion.

but his poems became of great importance for the development of the new form in the Greek and Latin Churches. Already in his lifetime they became naturalized in the Syrian liturgy; in the later collections they occupy the first place. As most of the works of the older Eastern hymn-poets (like those of Bardesanes and Harmonius) came to an end with the gnostics and other heretics, so Ephraem's hymns belong to the oldest which are still in liturgical use. He found successors in his own Church: pre-eminent among them were Cyrillonas (2nd half of the 4th century,) Balæus, Rabulas and Isaac the Great (1st half of the 5th century) and James of Sarug (521).

The important effect which the Syrian hymn-poetry had on that of later date is in the rhythmical structure of the poetry, which was entirely dominant in Ephraem's hymns. ¹ The line is not founded on the ancient law of quantity, which combined long and short syllables with one another and formed them into various feet, but on the principle of accent and enumeration of syllables. The alternation of accented and unaccented syllables, of *arsis* and *thesis*, is its formal element of construction; while further, there is an equal number of syllables, or at least of accented ones, in the verses which correspond with one another. This new poetical form of rhythmical poetry, which is claimed by a prominent investigator to be of semitic origin, ² was to be a pioneer for future times. The style of language which underlies it has a specially musical character, and thus shewed itself extremely fruitful in giving musical form to the liturgical chant throughout the middle ages.

Ephraem's contemporary, Gregory Nazianzen, transmitted it to the ecclesiastical poetry of the Greeks without quite giving up the old classical form of poetry. ³ His successors, the Byzantine poets of later times, went further in the same direction. It was S. Hilary of Poitiers (†367) who made the Latin Church acquainted with the hymnody which had spread from Syria all over the Greek Church. Banished by Constantine to the East, this indefatigable opponent of Arianism had the opportunity of acquainting himself with the Syrian and Greek hymns, and of noticing the happy influence which they had on the people. On his return home

¹ See Hubert Grimme, *Der Strophenbau in den Gedichten Ephraems des Syrers* (*Collectanea Friburgensia* II, Freiburg, Switzerland. 1893), where the different poetical forms of Ephraem are analyzed.

² W. Meyer, *Anfang und Ursprung der Lat. und Griech. rhythmischen Dichtung*, (*Abhandlungen der Bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich.* 1885.) p. 270—450.

³ Grimme, *l. c.* 77. foll.

he translated some of these into Latin and added some new ones. The Spanish liturgist, Isidore of Seville, calls him explicitly the first Latin hymn-writer¹, and S. Jerome was acquainted with a book of hymns by him.² They are almost all lost, except a few which were discovered in 1884 by Gammurini in a MS. at Arezzo (which also contains the *Peregrinatio Sylviae*). Hilary found no right understanding of his compositions among his own people;³ and so it was not he but S. Ambrose who determined the brilliant development which the new form was to take in the West. In the days of necessity and fervent prayer, when he had shut himself up with his faithful flock in his basilica to save it from being taken possession of by the Arians, and made them acquainted with antiphonal psalmody, he also taught them to sing some hymns composed by himself.⁴ He was able by these to inspire the people so much that the Arians accused him of having bewitched them.⁵

The contrast is great between the hymns of Ambrose and those of Hilary. Those of the former are complete and perfect works of art in their contents and form. The characteristic of these hymns is that they are Christian thoughts clothed in glorious language, which is at the same time simple and popular, and composed in classically antique form. They all consist of 8 stanzas, of 4 lines each; all the lines are written in Iambic dimeters. As the hymns of Ambrose found many imitators, the name 'Ambrosian' became an appellation of hymns composed in the style of S. Ambrose's poetry.⁶ Opinions are still divided on the point as to which of these

1 *De offic*, i, 6: 'Hilarius, Gallus episcopus Picētavensis, eloquentia conspicuus hymnorum carmine floruit primus.' (*Patr. Lat.* lxxxij, 743).

2 *De viris illustribus*, (*Patr. Lat.* xxij, 699).

3 According to a statement of S. Jerome (*Patr. Lat.* xxvj, 355). Hilary spoke of the Gauls as 'in hymnorum carmine indociles.'

4 Augustine, *Confess.* ix, 7. (*Patr. Lat.* xxxij, 770.) Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii*, 13. (*Patr. Lat.* xiv, 31).

5 Ambrosius contra Auxentium, (*Patr. Lat.* xvj, 1017). 'Hymnorum meorum carminibus populū deceptum volunt. Plane nec hoc abnuo. Grande carmen istud est, et quo nihil potentius, quam confessio Trinitatis, quae quotidie totius populi ore celebratur.'

6 This designation is met with as early as the Rule of S. Benedict, and Walafrid Strabo (*De Reb. Eccl.* in *Patr. Lat.* cxiv, 954) says in regard to it: 'In officii quoque, quae b. Benedictus abbas ordinavit, hymni dicuntur per horas canonicas, quos Ambrosianos ipse nominans, vel illos vult intelligi, quos confecit Ambrosius, vel alios ad imitationem Ambrosianorum compositos. Sciendum tamen multos putari ab Ambrosio factos, qui nequaquam ab illo sunt editi.' The term 'Ambrosiani' always means only the hymns, never the other chants of the Milanese-Ambrosian Liturgy. Later writers have not heeded this, and because some medieval authors ascribe to

'Ambrosian' hymns have had the Saint himself for their author. ¹ It is certain that the four hymns

*Aeterne rerum conditor
Deus creator omnium
Jam surgit hora tertia
Veni redemptor gentium*

are due to Ambrose, as they are attested by Augustine. ² Biraghi, ³ a Milanese savant, has, on account of the agreement of the oldest Milanese liturgical books, adjudged 14 more to Ambrose, besides the four above-mentioned hymns; these are given below, in order to make clear the present condition of the question. ⁴

*Splendor paternæ gloriæ
Nunc sancte nobis spiritus
Recltor potens, verax deus
Rerum deus tenax vigor
Amore Christi nobilis
Illuminans altissimus
Agnes beatæ virginis*

*Hic est dies verus Dei
Victor, Nabor, Felix, pii
Grates tibi, Jesu, novas
Apostolorum passio
Apostolorum supporem
Aeterna Christi munera
Jesu corona virginum.*

In the footsteps of Ambrose trod *S. Augustine* (†430), who composed a song against the Donatists (about 393) which he calls a psalm, but which may also be regarded as a hymn: '*Omnes qui gaudetis pace, modo verum judicate.*' ⁵ His contemporary, *Paulinus* Bishop of Nola (†431), was the author of a book of hymns, ⁶ which has not come down to us. Outside the circle inspired by Ambrose stands his elder contemporary *Marius Victorinus Afer* (†370), among whose works are to be found three hymns to the Holy Trinity, ⁷ without metrical or rhythmical construction, which

'Ambrosiani' a measured (in modern phraseology 'bar'—) form, have expressed incorrectly the view that the chants of the Ambrosian Liturgy were sung in modern bars.

¹ Cf. Ulysse Chevalier, (*Poesie liturgique du moyen age, Rhythme et Histoire.* 1892), who gives complete information on the disputed point. p. 69. foll.

² Augustine, *Retract.* i, 21, (*Patr. Lat.* xxxij, 618). *Confess.* xi, 12, (*Patr. Lat.* xxxij, 777). *De natura et gratia*, 63, (*Patr. Lat.* xlv, 284). *Sermo*, 372 (*Patr. Lat.* xxxix, 1663).

³ Biraghi, *Inni sinceri et carmi di S. Ambrogio*, Milan. 1862.

⁴ Biraghi's conclusions have been simply taken for granted by Dreves (*Aurelius Ambrosius*, Freiburg 1893). The remaining musical part of the book is unsatisfactory both in its form and in its contents.

⁵ *Retract.* i, 20 (*Patr. Lat.* xxxij, 617).

⁶ Gennadius (5th century) *De viris illustribus*, 48, ascribes to him a *hymnarium* (*Patr. Lat.* lvij, 1083). This Paulinus is not to be confounded with the biographer of S. Ambrose of the same name.

⁷ *Patr. Lat.* viij, 1139. foll.

perhaps approach nearer to Hilary's type. From them portions are taken to form the *Officium de Trinitate*. Hymns are also ascribed to Pope Damasus († 386);¹ some of them penetrated to the medieval Liturgy, such as *Martyris ecce dies* for S. Agatha, *Decus sacrati nominis* for S. Andrew, and *Jam dudum Saulus* for the Conversion of S. Paul.

The most prominent hymn-writer of the time immediately following Ambrose is the Spaniard *Prudentius* († after 405), who still dealt solely with the forms of the classical poetry of the ancients, and occupies a more independent position than Ambrose. He is the author of two collections of hymns, the *Cathemerinon* (hymns for each day) and *Peristephanon* (hymns in honour of the Martyrs). Some of his hymns penetrated to the Spanish, and later also to the Roman Church, which uses the following hymns of his :

Ales diei nuntius (Sunday Lauds)
Audit tyrannus anxius } Holy Innocents
Salvete flores martyrum }
Nox et tenebrae et nubila (Wednesday Lauds)
Lux ecce surgit aurea (Thursday Lauds)
O sola magnarum urbium (Epiphany)
Quicumque Christum quaeritis (Transfiguration).

Most of these hymns are made up of single strophes of longer poems. The Latin hymnody of the first centuries may be said to end with Prudentius. Its further history will be dealt with in the 10th chapter.

How were the old hymns sung? In Syria and Greece the hymn-music must have approached closely to the Folksong of those countries. At any rate, as later ages have held, melodies which were in use among the people were turned to this use, in order to make the hymns themselves popular. We know nothing further in regard to their music, but the poetical forms, which were often complicated, appear to have introduced a great variety of melodies.

In the Latin Church the hymns have from the first had a more distinctly popular form. The division of the poem into lines of equal construction, of the stanzas into an equal number of equally constructed lines,—such a formation is in a high degree popular. It demands a melody which can be repeated for all the stanzas, and which reflects the single lines in their extent and structure. Generally each syllable of the text receives one note only : that is the norm for the Folksong of all times, and for melodies which are sung by large multitudes such a formation is in

¹ Chevalier, *l.c.* 67.

some sort a necessity. Whether Ambrose and his successors also composed the melodies for their hymns, or whether they resorted to popular melodies, it is certain that their melodies were simple in form. The melodies of the hymns in the Ambrosian Breviary are of a like simple structure, and many of them may go back to the 4th or 5th century, especially those which can be proved to have been sung to texts written by Ambrose.

CHAPTER III

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LITURGY AND OF THE LITURGICAL CHANT IN THE MIDDLE AGES. 1

The development of Ecclesiastical Chant from the beginnings which have been so far described was completed in the Greek and Latin Churches in different ways. Yet until the Great Schism (about 1050) there were influences on the Latin Liturgy from the Greek, *i. e.* the Byzantine, which were not without musical results. The question how much the Latin Liturgies in their oldest forms are on the whole indebted to the Greek has not yet received comparative investigation.

There are two facts to be especially borne in mind with respect to this: first, until the end of the 3rd century the liturgical language in Rome was Greek, and Latin was only secondarily thus used. S. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans in Greek, not in Latin, and all the religious documents preserved to us from early Christian Rome are written in the Greek language. Accordingly at first the Liturgy at Rome was performed in Greek, and thus they sang in Greek.

Secondly, the first and most complete development of the liturgical chant took place, as we know, in the countries of the East; it was from thence that the alternate chant of the psalms and the antiphons penetrated to the West, into Italy, Gaul and Spain; and the hymns also. Many roots therefore of the liturgical chant of the West extend to the East, to Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople.

1 The sources for the material which occupies the following chapter on the history of the Liturgy in the Middle Ages are the following: the *Ordines Romani*, the old Roman books of ceremonial (printed in *Patr. Lat.* vol. lxxviii), the Gregorian mass book, the *Liber Sacramentorum S. Gregorii Magni (ibid.)*; the writings of the medieval liturgists, Amalarius (*Patr. Lat.* vol. cv.) etc. Of connected compilations I again mention the valuable works of Cardinal Tommasi; the *Origines du Culte Chrétien (Christian Worship)* by Duchesne; the Histories of the Breviary by Bäumer and Batiffol; Gerbert *De Cantu* vol. i. also contains much material.

Under these circumstances it would be surprising if the chant of the Latin Church at first had been of an opposite nature to that of the Greek Church. On the contrary, everything points to a near relationship between them. Even after the introduction of antiphonal psalmody and hymnody, the chant of the Latin Church did not remain absolutely unaffected by the Byzantine; and it is easy to define the different stages of the development.

On investigating the texts especially of the Roman Mass, the fact emerges that they are with few exceptions drawn from Holy Scripture, especially from the Psalter. ¹ But whence come the others? There is good reason for saying that most of them are translations of a Greek original; especially the circumstance that the Masses to which they belong may be proved either to be derived from the East or to be in many ways composed of Greek elements. Their melodies may be divided into two classes: those which follow the musical laws of the remaining chants which have their texts drawn from the Bible, and those which have melodic peculiarities of their own, especially modal ones. Without doubt the chants of the first class were already known in Rome; when the Mass-music was set in order, and the arranging of the liturgical chant, the fixing and correcting of the melodies extended to them. They have been welded into an organic unity with the other parts of the book of the Mass-music, and are not musically distinguishable from them. To this class belong the Introits *Ecce advenit* of Epiphany, *In excelso throno* of the following Sunday, and probably also the Christmas Alleluia Ψ . *Dies sanctificatus* etc. ²

Entirely different circumstances attended the second class of Mass-chants, which can be proved to have been first taken into the Latin liturgy under the Greek Popes of the 7th and 8th centuries, after the settlement of the Roman Ecclesiastical chant. According to the *Liber Pontificalis* ³ Sergius I (687—701) introduced a procession before the Mass on the four feasts of the Blessed Virgin, the Annunciation, Assumption (*Dormitio*), Nativity and Purification. At the procession of the Purification our most ancient manuscripts ⁴ still contain antiphons which are very instructive as to the point in question. One of them runs Χαῖρε κεχαρισμένη, *Ave gratia plena*, θεοτόκα παρθένε, *Dei genitrix virgo*, ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἀνέτειλεν, *ex te enim ortus est*, ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης, *sol iustitiae*, etc. As verse to it is sung

¹ More of which later.

² On the Greek origin of the corresponding feasts

cf. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 257.

³ *Liber Pontif.* ed. Duchesne, i, 371. foll.

⁴ *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 653.

Κατακόσμησον τὸν θάλαμόν σου, Σιών, *Adorna thalamum tuum, Sion, καὶ ὑπόδειξι τὸν βασιλέα Χριστόν, et suscipe regem Christum, etc.* The Latin verse is still prescribed for the forementioned procession. Most of the chants of the feasts of the Elevation of the Cross imported by the above mentioned popes, and many chants of the Palm-Sunday Procession, the antiphon *Crucem tuam*, and the Good Friday *Improperia* in which the choir still answers the complaint of the Saviour to His thankless people with the exclamation *Agios o Theos, Sanctus Deus etc.*, came under the same category. The melodies of these chants, as handed down in the Medieval MSS. entirely betray their Greek character, and shew that they were later additions to the Latin Mass. They follow modal laws which are throughout different to those which govern the other Latin chants.

In addition, we meet in the oldest documents of the Latin chant numerous Greek elements. The most ancient ceremonial book of Roman origin, the first *Ordo Romanus*, prescribes for Easter Even the performance of the lessons and chants in Latin and Greek;¹ for the Easter Vespers the Alleluia verse Ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν (*Dominus regnavit. Ps. 92*) with the Ψ. Καὶ γὰρ ἐστερέωσε (*Etenim firmavit*); for the vespers of Monday in Easter week the Alleluia verse Ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν Ἰσραήλ (*Ps. 79 vv. 1, 2, 9 & 10*) and the same for Tuesday, Friday and Saturday of the same week.² Manuscripts of non-Roman origin but of the Roman Liturgy confirm the use of Greek chant in the Latin Church. Not infrequently we find the Greek *Gloria* and *Credo* (usually written in Latin character); I refer to *Cod. S. Gall.* 381, 382; the MS. 9449 of the National Library at Paris etc. Also at S. Blasien in the Black Forest the *Gloria* was sung both in Latin and Greek.³ A troper of Montauriol even has the Greek *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* provided with neums.⁴ The above mentioned Paris MS. (it belongs to the 11th century) has a number of chants in the Greek language⁵ for the Mass of Pentecost, in addition to which

1 *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 955.

2 *Ibid.* 965. Likewise in the *Liber responsalis Gregorii M.* (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 772). In the first half of the 12th century it was still the custom in Rome at the assembly following the Easter Vespers, in which the Pope entertained the company present, to sing a Greek sequence, Πάσχα ἱερὸν ἡμῖν σήμερον. *Ibid.* 1045.

3 Gerbert, *De Cantu* I. 382. As to the celebrated Greek Mass which was celebrated until the 18th century in the Abbey of S. Denis at Paris (*cf.* Fleischer, *Neumenstudien*, ii. 54.) the connexion of the psalm-verse with its melody at the Introit undoubtedly points to a redaction which cannot be earlier than the 16th century; it is probably a question of translation from the Latin.

4 *Cf.* Daux, *Deux livres choraux monastiques des 10me et 11me siècles.* (Paris, Picard, 1899). *pl.* ii.

5 The scribes seldom knew Greek, and so these renderings of Greek texts in Latin

the *Codex 1235 nouv. acquis.* of the same Library, of the 12th century, indicates for the Circumcision the Alleluia verse *Dies sanctificatus* in Greek.¹

The Greek rites have exerted a yet more lasting influence on other Latin liturgies. Hitherto but few detailed investigations have been made about it. The results of enquiry up till now give good grounds for supposing that further interesting and important discoveries are to be made in this way as to the history of Church music as well as to the Latin liturgies.²

The invasion of the Latin Church by Byzantine music which had the most important consequences took place in the time of the Carolingians: from the 8th century onward in Gaul and Germany we meet with Byzantine music and theory at every turn. As we shall presently see, even the sequences and tropes may perhaps be founded on the Byzantine music.

After the Greek Church had thus from the first given manifold support to the Latin chant and assisted in developing it, the sub-division of the two Churches followed, which led to their final separation. Since the Greek schism the liturgical relations of both churches have ceased, and in Church music they have each gone their own way, the Greek to experience the very deplorable influence of Turkish music, the Latin, while resting on the foundation of the Gregorian Chant, to bring the resources of the musical art to a wonderful development.

In the Latin Church there early grew up four forms of the Liturgy: the *Roman*, the *Milanese* or *Ambrosian*, the *Gallican*, and the *Spanish*, later

characters teem with mistakes of every kind. In the Paris MS. 9449 the Introit *Spiritus Domini*, which is provided with rich tropes, is followed by the subjoined text (fol. 49): 'Natis thos o theos ke dios corpis this tesan ey extri autu keype thosan oy me sontes autu a proposo tu autu. Gratias agamus alme Trinitatis semper. Pneuma tu kyrriu. Doxa patri ke yo ke ayo pneumat. Ke nim Kea im ke ystus oco nathon oco non amen. Pneuma tu kyrriu eplyros empti oygumenu alleluja. Keu thu tho tho sincraton panta tin nosin akyiphonis alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.' Then come other tropes to the same Introit, the Kyrie *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*, and the one of which the tropes begin with *Theoricam practicanque vitam*, also the Greek *Gloria in excelsis* (*Doxa in ipsisti: theo kepi gis eudokia*,) the Alleluia Verse *Emitte Spiritum* and its Greek translation, another Alleluia Verse 'Agalliate tho theon thon boyton ymon, halaliate tho theos Jacob, labethe psalmon termon metha cithara.' The other chants too of the same Mass have a text partly in Greek, partly in Latin.

1 *Fol. 123*: 'Ymera agios menin epiphanem ymon de utheenni kepros kenim ysatheton kyrriou othissi methos katelthinphos megalim epi thin gi.'

2 A beginning has been made by Dom Cagin in the *Pallographie musicale* vol. v. The most interesting example of such a borrowing from the Greek Church is offered by the *Sub tuum praesidium confugimus*, which Cagin gives in the form of the Greek original and in the Latin of the 10th, 12th and 14th centuries.

called *Mozarabic*. Each of these liturgies, following the primitive Christian practice, made prominent use of music. Thus in the Middle Ages there was a Roman, an Ambrosian, a Gallican and a Mozarabic chant. The question of their origin leads back to the question of the origin of the four liturgies. For a long time it has been acknowledged that the traditions of many Gallican and other churches, tracing their existence back directly to the Apostles and their immediate successors, are to be banished to the sphere of legends. As to details there is no agreement at present among liturgists. This can be easily understood, for it is only recently that interest of investigators has been directed to the history of the Liturgy and rites.

There is no doubt that the Latin Church was founded from Rome. We have a witness to this in a very old document, a letter of Pope Innocent I. to Decentius (416), in which he says: 'It is clear that in all Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and in the islands which lie between these, Churches were established by those alone whom the venerated Apostle Peter and his successors had made priests.'¹ With this agrees the result of the comparative study of the most important formularies of prayer of the Mass, of the oldest constituent parts of the Canon: they betray a common origin. But does this common characteristic concern only their forms of prayer, or is it wider-reaching? Here investigators disagree. According to one view the different Latin liturgies had a broader common basis in the first place, a Latin primitive liturgy, whose chief peculiarities are preserved especially outside Rome in the so-called particular liturgies, while in Rome itself were adopted new rites, deviating much from the primitive Latin one. This view is put forward by G. Morin,² and particularly by P. Cagin,³ who confirms it with a great display of liturgical knowledge. Less different from it than appears on the surface is the view of Duchesne,⁴ who accepts two liturgical centres in the Latin Church, Rome and Milan, as the Gallican and Mozarabic liturgies were largely tributary to the Milanese. For us the difference is not of great importance. It is an unmistakable fact that the kinds of chant are very similar to each

¹ Given in Ceriani's *Notitia liturgiae Ambrosianae*, p. 77. foll.

² Morin, *Les véritables origines du chant Grégorien*. ³ *Paléographie musicale*, vol. v.

⁴ See Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, and an article in opposition to the *Paléographie musicale* in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, Paris, April, 1900, p. 31. Duchesne especially combats the idea that Rome has changed in liturgical matters while other Christians have kept more faithfully to the customs received by them from Rome. But the history of liturgical chant affords convincing proof of this. One need only think of Amalarius and the surprise caused him by his study of the Antiphoners of Corbie and Metz (more of which later). On the whole, no Church has been so fruitful in

other; they are like children of one father, and the expression 'dialects' applied to the different liturgical chants is a happy one. As far as we are acquainted with them—of the Mozarabic and the Gallican chant we do not know much,—the Ambrosian and Roman-Gregorian have been fully preserved for us—they agree essentially in the treatment of the words of the text, the modes, the rhythm, etc.

Yet it is not improbable that the liturgy which was in use in Milan in the Middle Ages varied but little from the ancient Roman liturgy which originally spread all over Italy. As far as the music goes, the result would be that the Roman and Ambrosian chant were at first more or less identical. This supposition is supported by the fact that in the MSS. of the Roman liturgy Milanese and Roman elements have grown so closely together that it would be difficult to cut out the parts belonging to the Ambrosian without destroying the whole Roman collection. Pre-Gregorian and medieval Milanese resembled one another so closely that the remains of the pre-Gregorian chant, which till the 11th and 12th centuries were to be found at different places in the Italian Peninsula, were looked upon as regular Ambrosian pieces.¹ But while the Milanese chant came down almost unaltered far into the Middle Ages, the Roman further developed into the form in which the medieval MSS. present it, and which, as we shall see, is the work of the Roman *Schola Cantorum*.

The kinship of the forms of the chant of the four Latin liturgies is particularly striking, inasmuch as the root-forms of the liturgical chant prevail alike in all liturgies. All have *solo* and *chorus*-chant, and agree in giving to them the names of *Responsorial* and *Antiphonal* chant; in all, the responsorial chant is *richly developed melodically*, as is suitable for a soloist, while the antiphonal is simpler, more or less syllabic, as befits chants which are to be practicable for those who are not skilled singers. This contrast was so real in the Middle Ages that wherever in the MSS. an A (antiphon) is found marked at the beginning of a chant, a more simple melody may be looked for; but a rich one on the contrary wherever there stands an R (respond).²

liturgical innovation as the Roman. So there is often a contrast between primitive-Roman, *i.e.* the Roman use as it existed in Churches outside Rome, and the new-Roman, *i.e.* Roman rites as they appeared in Rome itself as the result of changes in the original use.

¹ Morin *l. c.* p. 13.

² It is necessary to keep quite distinct the performance, also by a soloist, of liturgical pieces such as the Versicles, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, which belong

How can this remarkable fact be explained? The single possibility which can be seriously considered lies in the hypothesis that *both kinds of melody belong to the ancient constitution of the Latin liturgy. There must have been richer melodies for solo, and simpler ones for chorus, before the liturgy began to develop in different directions in different localities.* The common liturgical ground occupied by both forms of melody will not allow of any other explanation. But here we fall back to a very remote date, no later than the 5th century. As has been pointed out already, the beginnings of this movement go back to the 4th century, and as regards the responsorial chant they reach back to Apostolic times. ¹

The principal forms of the common worship of God are the Mass and the Office, the service of the Altar and the devotions for the Hours. Connected together at first, as a Vigil and with an Eucharistic celebration following, they were soon separated, and developed outwardly in a different manner. Their original connexion is however still apparent in the present form of the Mass, for the actual celebration of the Sacrifice is preceded by a section consisting of readings from Scripture, psalmody, and prayer, the same elements which originally composed the Vigil, and to-day still compose the Office. In the case of the music especially, the Mass and the Office have arrived at different results. The examination of these will make clear the destiny of the liturgical chant in the Middle Ages.

neither to the antiphonal nor to the responsorial chant, but to the class of the 'lesson' and are essentially different from the pieces of chant. The Lamentations stand in the Office of Holy Week in the place where in other cases a lesson is always to be found, and, like the lessons, are always followed by Responds; this is the best proof that they are not to be placed in the same class with the chant of the Office or of the Mass. On the *Responsorium* see later.

1 In order not to be misunderstood I again emphasize the fact (*cf.* above, p. 31, note 1) that I do not wish to refer back to the 4th century that degree of melismatic music with which the solo chants of the Middle Ages are enveloped. Without doubt here also a development from simpler beginnings took place, the traces of which we can still follow. But it is only by ignoring the most certain facts of liturgical history, that the melismatic formation of melody can be made out (as has constantly been the case of late) to be the product of the 8th or 9th century. The question as to how the melismatic chant was dealt with in the Middle Ages will be treated of in the second part of the 'INTRODUCTION': it will suffice to remark here that the addition of *melismata* on the last words of the texts of the liturgical chant (*cf.* p. 34), which is mentioned as early as by Cassian, has throughout remained the most important form of the melismatic technique of the whole Middle Ages; and that a highly developed musical interpolation of this kind may quite well go back to the practices of the Jewish precentors,

CHAPTER IV

LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHANTS OF THE MASS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE INTRODUCTORY CHANTS OF THE MASS

The oldest writer on music who speaks of the liturgical chant of his time, Aurelian of Reomé, of the 9th century, puts together in the last (20th) chapter of his *Musica disciplina*¹ the different forms of the Mass music, and discusses them in the order in which they come in the Mass. His statement is as follows: 'The Office of the Mass consists in the first place of the *Antiphons* which are called *Introit*. They received the name from being sung at the entrance of the people into the basilica, and they last until the pontiff and the other ecclesiastical dignitaries in their rank have entered the church in regulated order, and have occupied the places belonging to them. Then the *Litany* is sung, in which God and Christ are entreated *to have mercy upon the people*, upon which the priest, in imitation of the angel who announced *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace towards men*, begins this very song with voice setting forth Salvation. Next is chanted the *Responsory* which is called *Gradual* after the steps (*gradus*) from which it is sung: because among the ancients the singers, like the speakers, used to take their place on such raised steps. Thus it is said of Ezra that he placed himself on the wooden steps, which he had made, in order to speak from. Hence we speak also of the *Gradual Psalms*, which, according to the literal interpretation, are so called because they were sung from the steps. The *Alleluia* we received from the Jews, to whose language the word belongs. It means

¹ Printed in the *Scriptores* of Gerbert i, 59. It is clear that Aurelian in the above-mentioned statement is following a Roman source; and this may be gathered in particular from the relation in which he places the Introit to the Procession, which is an ancient Roman arrangement.

'Praise God,' and out of reverence it was not translated into any other language; it is very fittingly sung before the Gospel, that the minds of the faithful may be prepared by this song for the reception of the words of Salvation. The chants which the Church sings to the Lord over the oblations offered are called *Offertoria*. This custom is an imitation of the ancient Fathers to whom was given the direction—'When a feast and festal day is celebrated, then ye shall sound trumpets over your sacrifices, and your memorial shall be before the Lord.' At the administration of Communion, the *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis* is first sung, that the faithful, who partake of the Body and Blood of the Lord, may with the uplifting of their voice praise That which they receive in their mouth, and in order that they may honour Him Who is turned into bodily food for them to taste, and Who, as the Church teaches, came down to be crucified, to die, and to be buried. At its conclusion yet another chant is sung, which is called the *Communio*, so that, while the people are receiving the heavenly blessing, their souls may be exalted and uplifted by sweet chanting to sublime contemplation.'

These are the chants of the Mass in the 9th century in Gaul and in Rome, for in the time of Aurelian the Liturgy prevailing in Gaul was the Roman. He does not mention the *Tractus*, because it was an alternative to the *Alleluia*; but it already existed in the 9th century. In the same way the *Sanctus* is passed over, probably because it belongs originally to the Preface with which it is immediately connected, as may still be recognized in the case of its oldest melody. The *Credo* on the other hand was not yet included in the Liturgy of Rome in the 9th century as a mass-chant, and it is on the whole the latest chant of the Mass. However, its musical arrangement, as Aurelian depicts it, is older than the 9th century; it rests upon the liturgical measures taken by Gregory the Great (†604), and is inseparably bound up with his settlement of the Liturgy of the Mass.

If we glance at the chants individually, they are seen to fall into two well-defined groups. The oldest go back to the *psalmody* and were originally whole psalms¹; they differ from one another only in their musical execution. In one case they were performed by a soloist to whom the choir responded with a refrain—we recognize here the *Cantus Responsorius*: in the other the choir was divided into two parts, which relieved one another in turn in performing the psalms—this is the *Cantus Antiphonus*. To the responsorial Mass-chants belong the Gradual-responsory and the Alleluia; to the Antiphonal, the Introit, Offertory and Communion. The Tract

1 The *Alleluia* alone may perhaps form an exception.

forms an exception, as it was sung later by the singer, without repetitions by the choir, straight through from beginning to end. These three forms have to this day never disguised the fact that they owe their origin to the psalms : their texts are still taken with few exceptions from the Psalter or the canticles. The other groups of Mass-chants are more like Hymns, and some of them are actually called hymns,—as for example *Hymnus Angelicus* (*Gloria in excelsis*) etc. The psalmodic parts of the Mass music have varying texts : as a rule each Mass has its own text for the Introit, Gradual, Alleluia (or Tract), Offertory and Communion. They are therefore called the *Proprium* and are now divided into the *Temporale*, i.e. *Proprium de Tempore* (Feasts of our Lord), and *Sanctorale*, i.e. *Proprium de Sanctis* (Feasts of Saints). The other group never changes its texts : for this reason it was placed in contrast to the *Proprium* as *Ordinarium Missae* ; it includes the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*.

The contrast in character between the *Proprium* and the *Ordinarium Missae* is shown in their liturgical position, as well as in the manner of their execution. The chants of the *Proprium* are early enough to form part of the arrangement of the Mass made by Gregory the Great ; they form an essential constituent part of the Mass, so that there is no such thing as a Mass without Introit, without Gradual, without Alleluia (or Tract) etc., disregarding the last days of Holy Week, which liturgically stand on a peculiar footing. The liturgical importance of the pieces of the *Ordinarium Missae* is less : it was built up only gradually, and, from the Gregorian Sacramentary on to the Mass book of the Council of Trent, there are many masses found in which no directions are given to sing the *Gloria* or the *Credo*. The significance of any particular feast is much more clearly shewn in the varying elements which compose the *Proprium* ; for example, it is often the case that the Introit at once leads the way, with a dramatic vividness, into the realm of thought belonging to the feast. Further, the pieces of the *Ordinarium* were of less value from the musical point of view. The *Proprium* alone is contained in the oldest liturgical books of chant ; it has formed the iron frame-work of the Mass music from Gregory's time to the present day. The *Ordinarium*, on the contrary, has a very changeful history to record. In Rome at first, as will be shown later in detail, it was sung not by the *Schola* but by the ministers assisting at the altar, or else by all the people, as was the favourite custom in Gaul. As the household of the Greek Popes of the 7th and 8th centuries contained also Greek clergy, this explains the fact, already mentioned, that these chants of the Ordinary were in many places also sung in Greek. The

Roman origin of this custom is expressly shewn by an ancient anonymous writer of Tours. ¹ On the other hand the performance of these chants by the clergy and people had a reflex effect on their melodic form : this was at first quite simple and syllabic, and demanded no particular skill.² From the moment when the choir of singers supplanted the clergy and people in their share of the chants of the Mass, and took over the execution of all liturgical chants, that is from the 11th—12th centuries, there began to appear in the Chant-books some melodies for the *Kyrie*, *Gloria* etc ; but they were set as a rule quite at the end, as evidence of their late adoption. These were rich and beautiful ; accordingly the older and simpler ones were degraded to ordinary days and to Masses for the Dead.

An alteration, of much importance both liturgically and musically, was made when the papal singers at Avignon went to Rome with Gregory XI. in 1377, and took with them the new art of harmonized chant which was flourishing in France; from that time it gradually became the custom to sing the chants of the Ordinary in harmony. Strangely enough, the *Ordinarium* thus composed in harmony was called simply 'Missa' : this reveals the fact that the Ordinary had become the principal part of the Mass from the musical point of view. This development did not bring with it any particular gain, for it is a merely unnatural circumstance that since then the chief emphasis artistically has rested on the chants of the Mass which do not necessarily belong to it and are to some extent liturgically superfluous. What a far more grateful field would have been offered to composers in the variable texts of the Mass? Though it is true, they would have been able to perform their works only once or twice during the year. ³

We must now deal with the historical development of the chants of the *Proprium* as well as of the *Ordinarium*. In so doing it is advisable, in order to bring out their connexion with the Liturgy, to take them in the order in which they follow one another in the Mass, and not to discuss the two groups separately.

INTROIT

THE ANTIPHON

'First comes the *Antiphona ad introitum*, as is appointed for various

¹ In Martene, *De ant. eccles. ritibus* I. 102, referring to Christmas. 'In missis cantatur *Gloria in excelsis* . . . nos canimus illud graece *juxta morem antiquum Romanae ecclesiae*.'

² The 2nd part of the 'INTRODUCTION' will show this from an Italian MS.

³ This is only one of numberless injuries that were inflicted on the Liturgy by singers who were accepted only on the ground of their musical skill.

seasons, for festivals, and for ordinary days.¹ Thus begins the Gregorian Mass-book, the *Liber Sacramentorum*.² In like manner the introductory Mass-chant in the *Ordines Romani* and in the medieval liturgists is called *Antiphona ad introitum*, Antiphon at the entrance—*i. e.* of the celebrant to the altar. 'It has received its name from the approach of the priest to the altar', says the author of the *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*.³ Later the chant itself is called *Introitus*; to-day the expression is no longer used of the priest going to the Altar, but simply of the opening chant of the Mass. In the Middle Ages it had yet another meaning: it often served as the name of the whole part of the Mass which precedes the *Oratio*, and the reading of the Holy Scriptures.⁴ It is not difficult to say how this meaning arose: the Mass began originally not with a chant but with reading, and the whole section which was prefixed later is the Introduction (*i. e.* *Introit*) to the Mass.

As regards non-Roman liturgies, with the Greeks of the Middle Ages the Mass opened with the chants of the *Monogenes*. The Ambrosian rite has a formula which is only in part similar to the Roman Introit, the *Ingressa*. It consists merely of a melody without a psalm or psalm-verse, from which it follows that it is of later origin; for antiphons without psalms or psalm-verses were not customary till later. In Spain, in many parts of Gaul, and in England the Introit was called *Officium*.⁵ The old Gallican liturgy as handed down to us by S. Germanus of Paris (†576) opens the Mass with an *Antiphona ad praelegendum*.⁶ Sometimes instead of *Introitus* the name *Invitatorium*⁷ is used, which formerly belonged only to the opening chant of the Choir Office, but which also corresponds well with the function of the first chant of the Mass.

1 'Inprimis ad introitum antiphona, qualis fuerit statutis temporibus, sive festis diebus, sive quotidianis.'

2 *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 25. According to Probst, *Die ältesten Römischen Sacramentarien und Ordines*, (Münster 1892, p. 386.) the first *Ordo Romanus*, as it appears to-day, was a working up in the 8th century of the ceremonial appointed by Gregory the Great himself. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* 146, similarly regards different pieces as additions of the 8th and 9th centuries.

3 *Micrologus*, I, (*Patr. Lat.* clj, 979).

4 Thus Amalarius: 'Officium, quod vocatur *introitus*, habet initium a prima antiphona, quae dicitur *introitus*, et finitur in oratione, quae dicitur a sacerdote ante lectionem.' *De off. eccles. iii*, 5. (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1108).

5 Cf. the English MS. Graduals, *e.g.* the *Graduale Sarisburiense* of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, (London), Aurelian, cited above, p. 51, and the author of the *Musica Oddonis* (Gerbert, *Scriptores* I). 6 Duchesne, *Christian Worship*. 190.

7 In the 5th *Ordo Romanus*, (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 986).

As we have noticed, the Mass began in the Greek, as well as in the Latin Church, with readings out of Holy Scripture in imitation of the Jewish liturgy. To this, testimony is borne by Justin Martyr, according to whom 'On Sunday all came together from the town and from the country, and the writings of the Apostles and the Prophets are read, as long as the time allows,'¹ and by the Apostolic Constitutions (II, 57). But Basil remarks that the reading was preceded by something of great importance for the Holy Mysteries.² This may have been psalm-chanting. In fact, in the liturgy named after him, the Mass is introduced with chanting by the Cantors.

In the Latin Church the Holy Sacrifice began with readings in the time of S. Ambrose and S. Augustine. The former relates in a letter:³ 'On the following day, it was a Sunday, after the readings and sermon I dismissed the catechumens,' etc. Here the Milanese Church knows no chant before the reading. Augustine gives a similar but much clearer description:⁴ 'Easter-day arrived, and in the morning when the people were assembled in numbers in the church . . . I went there. The church was full, and resounded with the joyful voices of all, who (on account of a sudden miracle) on all sides gave thanks to God. *I greeted the crowd*, and when all had become quiet *there was solemn reading from the Holy Scriptures*; when the time came for *my sermon*, I said only a little,' etc. According to Tommasi these words relate to an occurrence in the year 425. For a long time after the settling of the introit in the Roman Mass the old practice was still kept up in the Gallican Church. Thus in the Church of Trier in the time of Bishop Nicetius, at the beginning of the 6th century, the introit was not yet known: the *Vita* ascribed to Gregory of Tours⁵ relates of Nicetius: 'Sunday came, and behold, the King (Theodobert) stepped into the church with those who had been bidden by the priest to keep away from Communion; the readings which the old Canon had appointed were read, and the gifts were offered at the altar of God,' etc. Nothing is here said of a chant before the readings. The oldest Ambrosian *Ordinarium Missae*⁶, after the *Gloria* and the threefold *Kyrie* which follows it in the Milanese Mass, before the *Dominus vobiscum* and the *Oratio super*

1 *Second Apol.* at the end.

2 *Patr. Lat.* lxxviiij, 266.

3 *Epist.* 2. *Class.*, 20. (*Patr. Lat.* xvj, 1037).

4 Tommasi, *l. c.* xij, *praef.* 3.

5 *Patr. Lat.* lxxj, 1080.

6 See Ceriani, *Notitia Liturgiae Ambrosianae*, (Milan. 1895.) p. 3.

populum, still has the rubric: *Incipit Missa canonica*, which shows that what precedes is a later addition.

The oldest trace of the existence of the Introit in the Roman Liturgy is a passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*, according to which Pope Celestine I. (†432) ordered that the 150 Davidical Psalms should be sung before the oblation antiphonally by all, which till then had not been done, as only the Epistle of Paul was read out, and the Holy Gospel.¹ Here the introduction of a psalm at the beginning of Mass is spoken of. Perhaps a division of the Psalter among the respective Sundays and holy days was connected with it. At any rate it is always a whole psalm that is in question, not merely a couple of verses.

The way in which this psalm was originally performed may be seen from the designation 'antiphonal,' which is first found in the later MSS. of the *Liber Pontificalis*; but the uniform witness of the Middle Ages testifies to the performance of the Introit by two choirs, alternating with one another in the execution of the Verses. As in the 5th century the melody, which introduced the psalm, and was specifically called Antiphon, certainly belonged to antiphonal psalmody, this must be taken to have been the oldest form of the Introit.

According to the liturgical writings of the Middle Ages, the Introit was performed in Rome, from the time of Gregory the Great onward, as follows: when all the preparations for Mass were finished and the candles were lit, the *Schola Cantorum*, the *Paraphonistae* and the boys placed themselves in two rows before the Altar, according to their rank, and the chief of the singers, the *Prior Scholae*, intoned the antiphon to the Introit. At this moment the Pontiff, with his retinue, proceeded from the Sacristy

¹ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, 230. It is not possible, with Gevaert, (*Origines du Chant liturgique*, 14), to refer this to the original introduction of antiphonal Chant into Rome, as it is explicitly concerned with the Mass only. Antiphonal chanting was everywhere first introduced for vigils: there is its home and its original place; there it was a sort of necessity. Its addition to the Mass presupposes its use in the Office. The explanation of the passage given by Morin (*Véritables origines du Chant grégorien*, p. 46) is also not satisfactory. According to him, the introductory chant of the Mass in Rome was older, and Celestine only added a psalm to it: at first it had a form like the Milanese *Ingressa*, which up to the present possesses no psalm or psalm-verse. Against this view must be set not only the fact already noted, that the *Ingressa* is unknown to Ambrose, but also the fact that in that case the existence is assumed in the first half of the 5th century of a form of chant which is unconnected with a psalm. Now, except the hymns, there was no such thing at that time. It accords much better with the description given in the documents of that time, if we see in the *Ingressa* the result of a later arrangement.

into the church. On arriving at the Altar, and after adoring the Holy Host, he gave a sign to the *Prior Scholae* that he was to start the *Gloria* (at the end of the psalm). Bowing to the Pontiff he obeyed his command. At the *Sicut erat* the Pontiff went from the Altar to his seat, and the whole concluded with the antiphon. This description in the *Ordo Romanus I.*¹ is clear, but may be supplemented by notes in the remaining *Ordines* and other sources.

The antiphon was sung in its entirety before the psalm: the custom of only intoning it before, and never singing the whole until after the psalm, is of later date, and belongs only to the Office and not to the Mass.² Whether the whole psalm was sung, or only a few verses, and in that case how much, depended on the Pontiff, who gave the singers a sign to break off and sing the *Gloria*. The antiphon was repeated after each verse. An old description of the Mass from the Monastery of Corbie,³ which refers, it is true, only to the Bishop's Mass, remarks at the Introit: 'At a sign from the Bishop the psalm is begun by the precentor, and the Introit which alternates with it'. It does not follow for certain from this, that it was thus performed in Rome also, but it would agree very well with what we learn of the antiphonal chant in general.⁴ At the doxology, which on feast days was divided by the repetition of the Introit before *Sicut erat*,⁵ one or several verses were added, the so-called *versus ad respondendum* or *repetendum*,⁶ also called *versus prophetales*,⁷ until a deacon gave the sign

¹ *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 941.

² Tommasi (*l. c.* xij, *praef.* 6) is inclined to suppose a repetition of the antiphon before the psalm, so that each of the two choirs of singers performed it once; else it would not have been an antiphonal chant. The repetition by the chorus of the beginning part, sung by the soloist, may be proved in the case of the responsory. According to Rhabanus Maurus (*De Instit. Cler.* I. 33), antiphon and responsory were only to be distinguished from one another by the fact that at the latter the verse was sung by the cantor, and at the former by a part of the choir; therefore Tommasi concludes that in the antiphonal chant, that is to say at the Introit, the antiphon must have been repeated before the psalm, or possibly, he thinks, it was divided into two parts which were assigned to the two choirs. However, this opinion seems hazardous, as neither the *Ordines Romani* nor the liturgists say anything which can be held to support it.

³ *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 242.

⁴ This will be treated of in the 9th chapter.

⁵ I. *Ordo Rom.* (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 950).

⁶ So they are called in the oldest books of Mass-Chant, *e.g.* in Tommasi, vol. xij. *Cod. S. Gall.* 380 and 381, *Cod. Einsiedl.* 121, *Cod. Paris. Bibl. Nat.* 9448 etc.

⁷ *E.g.* the 2nd *Ordo Rom.* (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 970) and Amalarius, *Eclogae de Officio Missae* (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1318).

for the *Kyrie*.¹ A last repetition of the antiphon ended this elaborate chant.

The treatment of the Introit-antiphon with psalm, as the *Ordines Romani* show it, like the existence of the chant itself, is based on the circumstances existing at Rome. It was considered fitting to fill up the time, till the beginning of the Mass proper, with chanting,² which might be longer or shorter, as was needed. But when the Roman liturgy of the Mass, and the chant belonging to it, spread outside Rome, there arose the need of shortening the chant, because the ceremonies no longer lasted so long.³ This is not the only abbreviation instituted in the 8th and 9th centuries in France, in order to fit the rites of the Pope's Mass to the simple needs of other churches. As regards the Introit, it is these circumstances which account for the fact that in the bulk of the MSS. of the chant of the Mass which are preserved to us, after the antiphon, only a single verse is set down besides the *Gloria*: this is the custom which of course exists at the present time. To-day the antiphon is only sung *before* the verse and *after* the doxology which is attached to it.

Traces of the Introit in its original and more extended form were however still preserved in the Middle Ages. The *Consuetudines antiquae Cluniacensium* contain the direction to repeat the Introit at the principal Mass of Sunday, half after the verse and the whole after the *Gloria*; and according to Durandus⁴ it was sung three times in some churches,—before the verse, then after it, but only in an incomplete form, and again after the *Gloria* in the complete form. In the English churches up to the 16th century it was repeated entire after the verse and after the *Sicut erat* at all Masses, with the exception of ferial days and the Passion Season.⁵ A custom of this kind, which recalls the original Roman

1 2nd *Ordo. Rom. (ibid)*.

2 In an old exposition of the Mass, the purpose and task of the Introit is thus stated: 'Quoniam animus ad multa divisus, tumultibus curarum saecularium perturbatur, et non statim, ut ecclesiam ingredimur, omnium huius sollicitudinum possumus oblivisci; quo purius et attentius puriorem atque attentiore orationem ad Dominum fundere videamur: quod Antiphona ad Introitum decantatur et suavi modulatione interposita . . . praeparatio est et exercitatio animorum: ut animus populi a mundanis cogitationibus, his omnibus paulatim avulsus, ad coelestia cogitanda ac desideranda trahatur. (In Tommasi, *l. c.* xij, *praef.* 4).

3 It was only partially possible to preserve the various ceremonies of the beginning of the Pope's Mass in France, for example in places where the stations were copied, as was done in some cathedrals, Mainz, Trier etc. *cf.* Bäumer, *Breviergesch.* 316.

4 Tommasi, *l. c.* xij, *praef.* 6.

5 An English MS. of the 14th century (*Cod. Brit. Mus.* 17001, cited in the P & M.M.S. edition of the *Graduale Sarisburiense*, plate A) adds to the Introit *Ad te levavi* after the

practice, existed all through the Middle Ages in the Church of Lyons, and among the Premonstratensians and Carmelites; ¹ in this the distinction was usually made that, on the chief great feasts only, the Introit was sung in its entirety three times over, before and after the Doxology; otherwise only half was sung after the verse, as Durandus says.

A trace of the original Introit survives in the custom of putting in Missals and Graduals, not the symbol Ψ . (*versus*) before the verse of the Introit (as at the Gradual responsories), but ps. (*psalmus*), although for a long time nowhere had more than a single verse been sung. This is already found in one of the oldest books which has come down to us, the Gradual of Rheinau, of the eighth century. ²

It will be interesting to subject the text of the Introit antiphons to a closer examination. For this purpose we will take a manuscript which is accessible to everyone, the S. Gall *Codex* 339, of the 10th century, which is published in the *Paléographie musicale*, vol. i. As will be seen from the tables at the end of this book, this book contains pieces of chant for 201 days of the Church's year, and, since Thursday and Saturday after Pentecost have two Masses each, for 203 Masses. But the number of Introits is only 149, as many are sung in more than one Mass: 54 or 56 Masses have no Introits of their own. Of these 15 (or 13) come from the *Temporale* and 39 from the *Sanctorale*. The repetition of one chant in several Masses may be explained by the fact, that new formularies were no longer considered necessary for newly introduced feasts: already existing texts, with their melodies, were just taken over for them. This method was systematically followed from the 12th century onward, and from it arose the *Commune Sanctorum*, which from this time took its place in the chant-books of the Mass, along with the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*, as an independent constituent part. As the arrangement of *Codex* 339 shows, the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* are not yet kept separate, feasts of our Lord and feasts of the Saints are not yet divided into two groups, as was the custom later, but are joined together just as they follow one another

verse *Vias tuas*, this rubric: 'Repetatur officium, et postea dicatur *Gloria Patri* et *Sicut erat*: tertio dicatur officium. Et hoc per totum annum observetur, tam in dominicis quam in festis sanctorum, et in octavis et infra, quum chorus regitur, et in omnibus missis de S. Maria per totum annum, nisi a dominica passionis domini ad missam de tempore paschali.'

¹ Tommasi, *l.c.* xij, *praef.* 7.

² *Cod. Rhenaug.* xxx of the Cantonal Library of Zürich, printed by Gerbert in *Monumenta vet. liturg. Alem.* i, 362 foll.

in the Church's year. The number of Masses of the *Sanctorale* which possess no Introids of their own is almost three times as great as that of the corresponding Masses of the *Temporale*. From this we may conclude that, at the time when the new Masses were arranged, more new feasts of Saints were added than feasts of our Lord.

Of the 149 different Introit texts of *Cod.* 339 of S. Gall, by far the greater number are taken from holy Scripture; at least 143 are so,—102 of them from the Psalter, and 41 from other books of Holy Scripture, or perhaps even 45, counting allusions as well as citations.¹ The rule that the texts were taken from the psalms or from other parts of the Bible cannot be laid down as universally true. Only this much is undoubted, that the Introids of the oldest feasts of our Lord have their texts taken by preference from the historical and other books; the later Masses as well as most of those of the *Sanctorale* have texts from the psalms. When texts were to be found in the Bible, containing a direct reference to the feast to be celebrated, it was natural to choose them: see the Introids for Christmas, Easter, Ascension-Day, and Whit-Sunday. But for the feasts of the Saints recourse was had to the psalms, because in them might be found a glorification of every sort of Christian virtue. Thus psalm 44 praises the nobility of virgins, and the oldest feast of the B. V. Mary, which was celebrated on the octave of Christmas, takes from it the texts of all its variable Mass-chants. Such characteristics of particular psalms were carefully noted in the arrangement of the texts for the liturgical

¹ The Introit *Ecce advenit* is a translation from the Greek (*cf. Lib. Pontif.* i, 289); the Introit *In excelso* is the same, or else an allusion to Isaiah vi, 1. The Introit *Gaudeamus*, which has a parallel in the Introit *Laetetur omnes* which later MSS. have for the Conversion of S. Paul (*e. g. Graduale Sarisburiense*, 177) and which is also a Milanese *Ingressa* (*Paleographie musicale* v, 16), may also be a translation from the Greek office; for S. Agatha is a Sicilian Saint, and in Sicily there existed many Greek rites in the Middle Ages; to these may be added the Introit *Benedicta sit* (de SS. Trinitate), from Tobit. xij, 6, and the Introit *Dicit dominus, sermones* (de S. Clemente) which is inspired by Isaiah lix, 21. The Introit *Salus populi* must also be of Greek origin (*Dom.* xix. *p. Pent. & fer. v. p. Dom.* iij. *Quadr.*). The Introit *Salve sancta parens* which appears in the MSS. from the 12th century onwards, comes from the *Carmen paschale* of Sedulius (Book II, v. 63 in *Patr. Lat.* xix, 599), and is the only example of an Introit in metrical form. It consists of two hexameters, but in the second verse the conclusion *tenet per saecula cuius* is changed to *regit per saecula saeculorum*. The word *regit* substituted for *tenet* comes from the explanation of Sedulius' poem by Remi of Auxerre, (*cf. Revue d'histoire et de littérat. relig.* IV, 1899, I, 95); the rest had to be changed for the sake of the conclusion. For other uses of parts of the *Carmen paschale* in the liturgy, see later.

chants. ¹ Moreover the Psalter was, from the beginning, the chant-book of the Church, so that it was always drawn upon for Masses of no especial significance.

The Psalter has been especially employed for the Introits of Lent and of the Sundays after Pentecost. As to the latter, it is striking to observe that the order of the Sundays corresponds with the order of the Psalms. This order is followed up to the 17th Sunday after Pentecost, and after that time abandoned. Thus the Sundays after Pentecost are divided into two groups, from Sundays 1 to 17, and from Wednesday in the following Ember week to Sunday 24. We shall meet with similar arrangements of the psalms in other Mass texts also.

The relation of the Introit-verse to the Introit itself is as follows: when the Antiphon is the beginning of a psalm, the succeeding verses of the psalm were used as Introit-verses. But if on the other hand the text of the Introit is taken from the middle of the psalm, the first and the following verses of the psalm form the Introit-verses. This observation is already made in an old manuscript of the Vatican;² it may be seen from this that in the later Middle Ages the knowledge of the formal principles of the construction of the Introit had not yet disappeared. The study of the *Versus ad repetendum* is, in this regard, of special interest. For example, the Introit of the First Sunday in Advent *Ad te levavi* is taken from psalm 24, vv. 1—3. The Introit-verse *Vias tuas Domine* follows at once in the same psalm as v. 4, and in like manner the *℣. ad repetendum, Dirige me* which is v. 5 of the psalm: on the other hand the Introit *Sicut oculi servorum* comes from ps. 122, vv. 2 and 3, the Introit-verse *Ad te levavi* forms the first verse of ps. 122, and the *℣. ad repetendum,*

¹ They were always given particular titles according to their contents and their liturgical use. Thus Alcuin, the liturgical adviser of Charles the Great, in his order of the Psalms for weekdays (*Patr. Lat.* clj, 563 foll.) calls

Ps. 2 *Quare fremuerunt gentes* the Psalm 'de Incarnatione.'

34 *Judica domine nocentes* the Psalm 'de Passione.'

3 *Domine quid multiplicati* and

29 *Exaltabo te Deus* the Psalms 'de Resurrectione.' }
 8 *Domine Dominus noster* the Psalm 'de Ascensione.'

44 *Eruclavit cor meum* the Psalm 'de S. Maria.'

18 *Coeli enarrant* the Psalm 'de Apostolis.'

32 *Exultate iusti* and

78 *Deus venerunt gentes* the Psalms 'de Martyribus.' }
 123 *Nisi quia Dominus* the Psalm 'de Confessoribus.'

² Tommasi, *l. c.* xij, *praef.* 7.

Quia multum repleta est is v. 4. The Introit texts which are not taken from the Psalter are in most cases joined to verses of a psalm which was already taken up for the Gradual, Offertory, or Communion of the same Mass.

According to the directions now in force, the Introit is first begun when the Priest reaches the Altar and begins the first devotions. In the Middle Ages it was sung while the Celebrant with his retinue proceeded from the Sacristy to the Altar. In a certain sense the older custom is still carried on in the Masses of Easter Even and the Vigil of Pentecost, which have no Introit, because on these days the Priest goes to the Altar during the singing of the Litany; hence no further chant is necessary for the 'Entrance,' and accordingly in the Rheinau Gradual there stands here the rubric *Ad Introitum Litaniam*.¹ In some Gallican churches it was even customary to sing the Introit while the celebrant was putting on his vestments in the Sacristy, and only when the choir had reached the *Gloria Patri* did he proceed to the Altar with his assistants.²

The musical composition of the Introit was settled by the manner of its performance. It is a chorus-chant executed by the *Schola*: and accordingly it is observable that the Introit melody of the MSS. is more than mere recitation, and clothes the words of the text with a melody suitable to them. It is never as rich as the solo-melody of the Responsory or Alleluia: nor as simple as the oldest *Kyrie*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus* melodies, which were sung by all present at the Altar, and by the people also, and were therefore syllabic recitative; it is on the contrary a true choir-melody, intended for all the singers of the *Schola*. The psalmody following the antiphon falls into the same category: it quite conforms to the character of choir-psalmody, but it is somewhat richer than that of the Office, for in that case forms were necessary which were within the reach of everyone, even of those who were not very skilful in singing.

THE KYRIE ELEISON

Immediately upon the Introit there follows the *Kyrie eleison*. 'Inprimis dicitur *Introitus* . . . deinde *Kyrie eleison*,' says the Gregorian Mass-book.³ It comes from the Greek Church, where it was sung very frequently, and not in the Mass alone. In the liturgies of Mark, James, &c.,⁴ it was a cry of all the people. As it is common to all the Latin liturgies, it is justifiable

¹ Gerbert, *Monum. vet. lit. Alem.* i, 383.

² *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 251. *Ritus antiq. Missae celebr.* of the 11th century.

³ Cf. above p. 54.

⁴ Menard in his Commentary on the Gregorian Sacramentary. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 267).

to conclude that it belonged to the oldest Latin rites, and, as it is composed of Greek words, it may have been already extant in Rome when Greek was still the liturgical language there.

In the Gallican Mass the chant of the Kyrie was inserted between two other chants, the Thrice-holy, *Trisagion*, and the Canticle *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*.¹ The *Trisagion* was preceded by the Bishop, and sung first in Greek and then in Latin; as it is to be found in this place in no other liturgy, it may here be ascribed to Greek influences. The Canticle *Benedictus*, which during Lent was replaced by the *Sanctus Deus angelorum*, at least in Paris, has survived in the Mozarabic liturgy on the Sunday of S. John Baptist in Advent; the Ambrosian has no longer any trace of it.

The *Kyrie* was in general use in Gaul from the time of the Council of Vaison (529), which prescribed it for all Masses, as well as for Mattins and Vespers.² The order concerning it proves its use in all the Churches of the East and Italy. Among the latter is the Milanese, for in the books of that rite the *Kyrie eleison* occurs after the *Gloria in excelsis*, after the Gospel, and at the end of Mass. In this the Ambrosian rite resembles the Greek, in which likewise it was often sung in the Mass, after the Gloria, after the Gospel, and before the conclusion of the Mass, after the Communion.³ It must have existed in the Mozarabic Mass, as we may conclude from the intimate liturgical relations of Gaul and Spain; it has maintained its position now only in the Mozarabic Vespers.

The primitive Latin and old Roman use of singing the *Kyrie eleison* outside the Mass, still exists in the present Benedictine Office in the Vespers for Easter-day, for which it is prescribed as early as the 1st *Ordo Romanus*;⁴ it was still sung, in more recent times, instead of the *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, wherever the last traces of the Medieval Frankish-Roman liturgy has survived, e. g. in Besançon, Chalons-sur-Marne, Cambrai, also among the Premonstratensians and Carmelites.⁵ It was finally

1 Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 192.

2 Can. 3. 'Et quia tam in sede apostolica quam etiam per totas Orientales atque Italiae provincias dulcis et nimium salutaris consuetudo est intromissa, ut *Kyrie eleison* frequentius cum grandi affectu et compunctione dicatur: placuit etiam nobis ut in omnibus ecclesiis nostris ista tam sancta consuetudo, et ad matutinum et ad missas et ad vesperam, deo propicio, intromittatur.' The same Council prescribed the *Trisagion* for all masses, not only for the public ones, to which up to this time it had alone belonged.

3 Ceriani, *Notitia liturg. Ambros.* 3 & foll.

4 *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 965.

5 Ortiue. *Dictionnaire du Plain-chant.* 736. Compare also the essay of Pidoux in the *Tribune de St. Gervais*. (Paris. 1900.) p. 294. The ninefold *Kyrie* at the beginning

abolished in Trier, through the adoption of the present Roman Breviary (1888).

The introduction of the *Christe eleison* goes back to the organizer of the Roman Liturgy, Gregory I. There were some who reproached him for needlessly imitating the Greeks in his reforms; but he justified himself to them in a letter¹ in which he pointed out that there was a difference between his practice and that of the Greeks: they sang only *Kyrie eleison*, not *Christe eleison*; also they sang the *Kyrie* altogether, while he had it sung by two clergy and responded to by the people. With this agrees the statement of the first *Ordo Romanus*,² according to which the chorus of singers chant the *Kyrie*, not, as at the Introit, the *Prior Scholae*. At the Introit the singers continue to chant; at the *Kyrie* an indication is given that, while the whole *Schola* intoned, those who continued the singing were others than the singers themselves, *i. e.* the people. It was not till later that the choir of singers appropriated the chant of the *Kyrie* altogether to themselves, and the participation of the people ceased.

In the oldest *Ordines Romani* nothing is said of a threefold *Kyrie* and *Christe* as prescribed to-day. Both were sung as time demanded, a larger or smaller number of times, and then the celebrant gave the sign to break off, or to sing the *Christe*. This custom was retained in the Pope's Mass, the rite which is described by *Ordo I.*, and in the Bishop's Mass.³ The fixing of the number of the invocations at three apiece is contemporary with the introduction of the repetition of the *Kyrie* after the *Christe*. In the 9th century the present use was already known in Gaul, for Amalarius mentions the final *Kyrie eleison*, and explains the disposition of the invocations by a reference to the Holy Trinity: 'therefore the singers say *Kyrie eleison*, 'Lord, Father have mercy upon us, '*Christe eleison*, 'have mercy, Thou Who hast redeemed us with Thy Blood,' and again, *Kyrie eleison*, 'Lord, Holy Ghost have mercy.'⁴ As Amalarius had gained his knowledge of the Roman rite on the spot, and had even received instruction from Archdeacon Theodore who was always present

of the Easter Vespers was abolished by the Franciscans in the 13th century; and as their breviary gradually obtained supremacy, the old use disappeared from the Roman Liturgy. Bäumer, *Breviersgesch.* 323. The Manuscripts (and the Breviary of Trier till 1888) have for the Lauds of the 3 last days of Holy Week a touching chant set to the *Kyrie eleison*.

1 *Epist.* ix, 12. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxvij, 956).

2 *Ibid.* lxxvij, 942.

3 *Ordo Rom. I.* (*Patr. Lat.* lxxvij, 942) and *Ordo V. 6.* (*ibid.* 987).

4 Amalarius, *De eccles. officiis*, iii, 6. (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1113).

at the Masses of the Pope,¹ we can easily conclude that he had in his mind the Roman use of his time in his symbolic explanation of the disposition of the *Kyrie*-chant; and that accordingly, about the year 830, the invocations of the *Kyrie* in Rome were already ordered in the manner which has obtained ever since. The direction given in the *Ordo* published by Duchesne,² which is somewhat older than Amalarius, leads to the same conclusion: it expressly mentions that the *Kyrie*, the *Christe*, and again the *Kyrie* are always to be sung three times, once by the *Schola* and the other two times by the *Regionarii*. According to this, the limitation of the *Kyrie*, *Christe*, and *Kyrie* to three repetitions was effected in Rome about the year 800 at the latest.

In the liturgical documents of the Middle Ages the *Kyrie* was also called *Litania*. In the Greek Church it is the answer of the people to the petitions of the Officiant. Moreover in the Latin liturgies its repetition has a resemblance to the Litany, and indeed in Rome they come into organic connexion with one another in the Stations. It was the custom there that the Pope should pontificate not only in his own, but in other churches. In this case the people assembled in a church named by him beforehand, and, after the *Oratio ad Collectam*³ had been said over them, they went in a long procession to the church in which the Pope meant to celebrate Mass,—the Station-church. During this, psalms were sung, and other chants, among them the Litany of the Saints.⁴ We are still reminded of the ancient use by the titles of Masses; for example, of the last three days of Holy Week in the Missal, *Statio ad S. Joannem in Laterano*, etc. The connexion of the *Kyrie eleison* with the Litany may be clearly seen on Easter Even; this *Kyrie* is nothing else but the conclusion of the processional litany. After the *Agnus Dei qui tollis* and the *Christe audi nos*, the rubric follows in the Missal: 'Hic cantores solemniter incipiunt *Kyrie eleison*.' The same is the case on the Eve of Pentecost. The melody of the Easter *Kyrie*, as the MSS. give it, still has echoes of the Litany of the

1 In 831 or 832 Amalarius was sent by the Emperor Louis to Rome on a liturgical mission. The details are to be found in the prologue to his *Liber de ordine Antiphonarii* (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1243. foll.).

2 Duchesne, *Christian Worship*. 458. foll. According to Duchesne, this goes back to about 800 or even earlier.

3 This is the origin of the prayer now called *Collecta*, after the greeting *Dominus vobiscum*.

4 On the Stations cf. Probst, *Die ältesten Röm. Sacramentarien*. Münster. 1892. p. 324 foll., or Mönchmeier, *Amalar von Metz* (Münster. 1893. p. 126).

Saints. On the Station-days † the *Kyrie* needed not to be sung by itself, as it was contained in the Litany. In the other churches the connexion of the *Kyrie* with the Litany was not so prominent, and in time was forgotten, as the Stations were a specifically Roman institution.

The melodic character of the *Kyrie* is due to its having been appointed to be sung by all present. It was at first a simple recitative chant. When later the *Schola cantorum* executed the *Kyrie* alone, the singers were naturally no longer contented with the simple syllabic melody, but created richer ones, such as are contained in the oldest existing manuscripts. Further they took care always to use a more or less festal melody, according to the character of the day. This development arose especially from the fact that the Roman singers sang on the last syllable of the word *Kyrie* a *melisma*, suited to an expression of entreaty. The Ambrosians however continued to sing the *Kyrie* as well as the *Gloria*, *Credo*, and *Sanctus* in a syllabic fashion only, that is, in its oldest and simplest form. ²

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO

The angelic hymn was sung in the Greek liturgy in the morning office, and its use goes back to the first centuries, as it is mentioned as early as the Apostolic Constitutions (VII. 47). It was also used at solemn and private thanksgivings in the East as well as in the West. ³ It was only later that the singing of the *Te Deum* took this place.

Its introduction into the Roman Mass, according to a note of the *Liber Pontificalis* unworthy of much credit, was due to Pope Telesphorus (†154); and it certainly was sung at first only in the early Mass of Christmas Day, ⁴ no doubt in memory of the song of the angels in the fields at Bethlehem at the birth of our Lord. Its use was extended by Pope Symmachus (498—514) to Sundays and the feasts of the Martyrs.

1 'Quando litania agitur, nec *Gloria in excelsis Deo* nec *Kyrie eleison* post Introitum, nec *Alleluia* cantatur, excepta litania maiore.' *Ordo Rom. I. 25.* (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviiij, 950).

2 'Unicam servant notam' says Radulphus Tungrensis, *De Canon. observ. Propos. 23.* Durandus of Mende (*Ration. v. 233*) indicates that neums of this kind (so he names the *melismata*), sound best on the vowels *a* and *e*, and recall the *Alleluia* and *Kyrie*.

3 Chrysostom, Hom. 3. on the 18th chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians. Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Confessorum* i, 63. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxj, 762), says that priest and people, at the discovery of the body of the martyr Mallosus, sang the *Gloria* with joyful hearts. When Charles the Great visited Pope Leo III in 800, the Pope, after their mutual greeting, began to sing the *Gloria*. See Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *De Leone III.* (*cf. Patr. Lat.* lxxviiij, 570).

4 Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i, 129. *Cf.* also 130 note 3.

This also rests on the authority of the *Liber Pontificalis*.¹ But this permission concerned bishops only; priests might sing it only on Easter Day, when they represented the Pope, and on the day of their installation in priestly functions.² On the days on which Mass was preceded by the Stational procession, the *Gloria* dropped out, even in the case of the Pope's Mass, as may be seen from a rubric of the Gregorian Sacramentary. On the other hand the Papal Mass has the *Gloria* again on the Sundays in Advent; at any rate this was certainly the case in the first half of the 12th century.³

In the first half of the 11th century a movement sprang up in France with the object of obtaining leave for priests to sing the *Gloria* as often as the bishops. Berno of Reichenau (†1048) supported it energetically, and declared that it was a strange thing to allow priests to sing the *Gloria* on Easter Day, and not on Christmas Day, when it was sung for the first time by the angels upon earth: it was nowhere forbidden to priests by Holy Scripture or by the Popes; and if it was forbidden only because it was not customary in Rome, the Creed also should not be permitted, for that also did not then form part of the Roman Mass.⁴ This movement was successful: at the end of the same century the *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*⁵ makes no longer any difference between bishops and priests. It prescribes the *Gloria* for bishops and priests, for all feast days with complete office, otherwise than in Advent, the season of Septuagesima (*i.e.* the time from Septuagesima to Easter), and on the festival of the Holy Innocents (which was looked upon as a festival of mourning in the Middle Ages). As the author of the *Micrologus* everywhere makes the Roman use prominent and follows it, we can scarcely go wrong in supposing that in his time the *Gloria* was sung in Rome as often by priests as by bishops. The reason why the *Gloria* was not sung in Advent while the *Alleluia* was—as is known to have been the custom from this time onward—is mystically expounded by ritualists. The non-use of the *Gloria* sets forth the sadness of the Patriarchs who awaited the Incarnation of the Saviour, while the *Alleluia* contains the hope of

1 *Ibid.* i, 263. 2 *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 949, and Duchesne, *Christian Worship*. 166.

3 See the *Ordo* of Benedict the Roman Canon and Cantor, of the first half of the 12th century (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 1027).

4 'De quibusdam rebus ad Missae officium pertinentibus.' *Cap.* 2. (*Patr. Lat.* cxlij, 156. foll.).

5 *Cap.* 2. (*Patr. Lat.* clj, 978 foll.). As to the author, who was for a long time considered to be Ivo of Chartres, *cf.* Morin in the *Revue Benedictine* of 1891. 385. foll., who thinks it was Bernold of Constance.

deliverance ; so says an exposition of the Mass. ¹ The real reason is that the *Alleluia* is an older and generally adopted constituent part of the Mass, while the *Gloria* is always considered only a secondary mass-chant. At the present time this character of the *Gloria* is shown by there being many Masses in which it is wanting. It is only sung on days of special joy ² ; while it is missing in Lent, Advent, and elsewhere on ordinary days.

According to *Ordo Romanus I.*, the Pope presented the *Gloria* while turning to the people, ³ as at the *Dominus vobiscum*. At the *Gloria* this custom has disappeared, but it has been retained at the salutation of the faithful. According to the second *Ordo*, the choir continued *Et in terra pax hominibus*. ⁴ It is remarkable that the celebrant should himself start the *Gloria* : at the *Kyrie*, as we have seen, he signed to the singers when they were to intone it. The choir which takes up the singing after the intonation of the celebrant cannot be the choir of singers, for the 2nd *Ordo* always calls this the *schola*, while here it speaks of the 'whole choir.' By the latter must rather be meant all the clergy assisting at the Altar, to whose share the other chants of the Ordinary fell. Accordingly the oldest *Gloria*-melodies had the character of syllabic recitation : it was a recitation performed with raised voice rather than a chant. The richer melodies are of later date, and show at the first glance that they were meant to be performed by the choir of singers. Moreover Ralph of Tongres (2nd half of the 14th century) says that the *Gloria* (and *Sanctus*) in the gradual of Gregory the Great had only a few notes ; the richer melodies he considers to be the work of secular singers and without authority ; he praises the Carthusians who rejected the new melodies of this character. ⁵

From the Roman Mass the *Gloria* spread to the Mozarabic and Milanese. In the latter it was called *Laus Angelorum* ⁶ and was performed by the *Magister Scholarum* quite alone, according to the *Ordo* of Beroldus (12th century) : it was thus a kind of reading. Only on the chief festivals did the *lectors* sing the second part, from *Suscipe deprecationem nostram*

1 Hugo Cardinalis, *Explic. Missae*. 6. Cf. Gerbert, *De Cantu* I. 360.

2 When in 1198, the Monastery of S. Blaise in the Black Forest wished to introduce the *Gloria* for the Feasts of the Annunciation, Purification and of S. Blaise, as they fell *infra Septuagesimam*, they had to ask for the special permission of Pope Celestine III. See Gerbert, *ibid.*

3 *Ordo Rom. I.* 9. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 942).

4 *Ordo Rom. II.* 6. *ibid.* 970.

5 *De Canon. observ. Prop.* 23. Gerbert. *l.c.* 383.

6 In the oldest Milanese *Ordo*. Cf. Ceriani. *l.c.* 3.

onwards.¹ The Gallican liturgy replaced the *Gloria* by the *Trisagion*.² In the Church of Bethlehem the *Gloria* belonged to the daily Masses, and even to those in memory of the dead.³

It has been already mentioned that in many churches of the West the *Gloria* was sung in the Greek language; and also that this observance probably goes back to the Greek clergy who ministered in Rome in the 7th and 8th centuries.⁴

1 *Ordo* of Beroldus. *ed.* Magistretti. p. 49.

2 Duchesne, *Christian Worship*. 192.

3 Gerbert, *De Cantu*. I. 381.

4 *Cf.* above, p. 63. This use may be proved for all countries of the Gregorian liturgy. For England the Winchester Troper (Henry Bradshaw Society, p.60) is a proof, and according to Gardthausen, *Griech. Paléographie*. p. 422, the Greek *Gloria* was sung in the Monastery of S. Martial at Limoges in the 10th century.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN CHURCH

I

Historical View

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN CHURCH: AND THE ENCYCLICAL ON MUSIC

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Of the many points treated in the encyclical of Pius XII on sacred music, the question of the use of instruments in Church is also considered. The three qualities proper to liturgy as mentioned in section III of the encyclical are "let it (the music) be holy, let it be an example of genuine art, and let it exhibit the quality of universality . . ." (*sancta sit, verae artis specimen praebeat, universalitatis prae se ferat notam.*)¹ After applying these norms—restate-ments of the *Motu Proprio*—to chant, Renaissance polyphony and modern composition, the document refers these qualifications to the organ and other musical instruments also.

As treated elsewhere by the author, the organ has been associated with ecclesiastical music from the earliest times.² Yet there are other instruments which can be called into service in the production of truly sacred music as long as there is nothing profane or noisy about them.³ The question of profane and religious instruments, of course, comes back to the general discussion of profane and religious music.⁴ The instruments, as instruments, are in themselves neither religious nor profane, but may be employed for either purpose. Thus the reed *aulos*, used by the Greeks with percussion instruments in Dionysiac rites and dances, was in itself simply an instrument and nothing more. The same *aulos* was introduced into marching and drilling, according to Athanaeos.⁵ This double oboe (Oboenpaar),⁶ however, and percussion instruments could easily have led astray the early Christian congregation due to their accidental external connection and association with pagan environment and ceremonies. Yet the Jewish cognate was used in the Old Testament: the *halil*. The Septuagint translates this as *aulos* and the Vulgate as *tibia*. In the Second Temple the sound of from two to

¹ Pius XII, *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina*, in *Acta Apostolica Sedis*, Jan. 28, 1956, p. 15.

² Smith, F., O.F.M., *The Organ in the Light of Pius XII's Encyclical on Sacred Music*, in *The American Organist*, February, 1957, p. 44f.

³ Pius XII, *op. cit.*, p. 19 ". . . dummodo nihil profanum, nihil clamor et strepens redoleant, quod sacrae actioni et loci gravitati neutiquam conveniat . . ."

⁴ Smith, F., O.F.M., *The PreReformation Kirchenlied and Congregational Singing*, in *Franciscan Studies* (St. Bonaventure University) December 1956, pass.

⁵ Strunk, Oliver, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, Norton, 1950) p. 51.

⁶ Sachs, Curt, *Die Musik der Antike*, in *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, (New York, Musurgia, 1931) ed. Buecken, I, p. 24.

twelve pipes was heard twelve times annually during certain feasts. The New Testament records the use of the *halil* at funerals and funeral processions.⁷ Oboes are still *tolerated* in the Catholic Church, and instruments may be used even at funerals, if the usual prescriptions are observed.⁸

The *halil* was but one of the instruments used by the Jews. The *mna'anim* was the Hebrew name for the Egyptian *sistrum* (Greek: *seistrion*), which together with the *shawm* (not mentioned among the Jewish instruments) were two musical instruments of pagan Egyptian origin.⁹ The instruments used by the Jews in their temple services, such as the *nevel*, *kinnor*, *shofar*, *uggav*, *tof*, *paamonim*, etc., are the Jewish version of the common instrumental patrimony of the Mediterranean. Orchestras of the Egyptian temples had many points in common with those of the Temple of Jerusalem. When the psalmist (Ps. 150) called on all the temple instruments to praise Yahweh, he called upon instruments that had been used by secular and pagan Mediterranean musical interests, and which, therefore, had been used for pagan and profane purposes. But the total effect of the sentiment of the psalmist concerning the duty of all instruments and all things that had breath to praise the God of Israel, is tremendous:

Praise the Lord in his sanctuary,
praise him in the firmament of his strength.
Praise him for his mighty deeds,
praise him for his sovereign majesty.
Praise him with the blast of trumpet,
praise him with lyre and harp,
Praise him with the timbrel and dance,
praise him with strings and pipe.
Praise him with sounding cymbals,
praise him with clanging cymbals.
Let everything that has breath
praise the Lord. Alleluia.¹⁰

⁷ Gradenwitz, Peter, *The Music of Israel*, (New York, Norton, 1940) p. 53f.
Idelsohn, A. Z., *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (New York, Tudor 1948).

Sachs, Curt, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York, Norton, 1940) pp. 118 and 119, cf. *halil*.

⁸ Hanin, A., S. J., *La Legislation Ecclesiastique en matiere de Musique Religieuse* (Desclee, Paris, 1933) pp. 87 & 93 Compostellana Rescripts.

Romita, Fiorenzo, *Il Codice Giuridico della Musica Sacra* (Roma, Desclee, 1952) canon 60, No. 3, p. 25.

⁹ Gradenwitz, *op. cit.* p. 33.

¹⁰ *The Holy Bible*, vol. iii, *The Sapiential Books: Job to Sirach*, ed. Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, N. J., 1955) p. 351.

Instruments, therefore, as instruments, are neither profane nor religious, except, as music itself, religious *secundum quid*, in that they may be adjudged suitable for introduction into religious use. Yet it was the Church's experience that elements harmful to the faith and piety of the faithful could well enter the sacred precincts by means of instruments, as environmentally connected with secular or immoral practices.¹¹ It was with this in mind that Clement of Alexandria decried the use of the trumpet, timbrel, aulos, etc., all except the *lyra* and *kithara* of David. As he called the Word *Our New Song*,¹² now he also appealed to the use of but one instrument, one of peace: the *Word*. This is, of course, allegorical. In the *Paidagogos* Clement gives an allegorical interpretation to psalm 150: the trumpet was the blast of doom's day; the tongue was the harp of the Lord; our bodies organs and the sinews strings; cymbals meant the sound of man's tongue producing words, etc.¹³ The famous Alexandrian school with Origen in the lead outdid itself in allegorizing about musical instruments. For Origen, the trumpet was the efficacy of the word of God; cymbals, the soul inflamed with love of Christ, etc. Allegory did not appear only because the Church was forced to justify the fact that instruments crept into use in the sacred precincts despite bans to the contrary, as some have maintained.¹⁴ This was a partial reason. The school of Alexandria would have allegorized, ban or no ban. For Athanasius, instruments also had an allegorical content. St. Augustine, for his part, also regarded musical instruments in symbolic fashion: "On the timbrel leather is stretched, on the psaltery gut is stretched; on either instrument the flesh is crucified."¹⁵ The kithara, which in David's hands calmed the morose Saul, was for some the victory of Christ over Satan.¹⁶ Chrysostom, who wrote: "Let her (Laeta, daughter of a friend) be deaf to the sound of the organ, and not know even the use of the pipe, the lyre and the kithara," also wrote in a homily on the Acts that the kithara was the symbol of Christian love in

¹¹ Halter, Carl, *The Practice of Sacred Music* (St. Louis, Concordia, 1955) p. 21.

¹² Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, ed. Putnam.

¹³ Clement of Alexandria, Christ the Educator, in *Fathers of the Church*, vol. 23 (Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1954), transl. Simon P. Wood, C. P., p. 131f.

¹⁴ Reuter, Evelyn, *Les Représentations de la Musique dans la Sculpture Romane en France* (Paris, Leroux, 1938) p. 8 ". . . force lui fut de céder et, alors, cherchant à sa faiblesse une excuse, elle (l'Église) soumit les instruments à une édifiante et naïve interprétation symbolique destinée à racheter, par l'intermédiaire du signe, ce que leur son contenait d'impur."

Gilbert & Kuhn, *A History of Esthetics* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1953) p. 119 Cf. Chapter five, "Medieval Esthetics" on the philosophical background and meaning of symbolism.

Lang, P. H., *Music in Western Civilization* (New York, Norton, 1941) p. 54.

¹⁵ Reese, Gustave, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, Norton, 1940) p. 61f.

¹⁶ Gradenwitz, op. cit., p. 47: David's instrument was most probably not a harp but a kind of lyre.

which all virtues came together in a consonance, like the strings of the kithara, when properly played. Eusebius disapproved of all musical instruments much in the same fashion, but excluded even the kithara, calling rather the human soul the kithara, on which a fitting hymn of praise was to be sung to God. Salvian, the Presbyter, brings out the case against music in its relation to the theatre, when he decried music halls along with circuses and theatres for the obscenities.¹⁷ St. Valerian mentions the dangers of seductive songs and a libidinous voice and also mentions "unfortunate men palpitating to every note of the flute."¹⁸ No wonder that musical instruments were allegorized and sublimated.

Luther, for his part, gave a similar exegesis of the musical instruments. For him the psaltery was Christ in his divinity, sitting among the ten choirs of angels. Thus "to praise with the psalter" meant to meditate on heavenly things and on the angels. Christ, again, was the harp, and like the strings of that instrument was stretched out on the cross.¹⁹ And Luther further states that St. Jerome would condemn him as a musician—Luther played on the flute and the lute—but justifies himself by saying that Jerome had his faults also.²⁰

Indeed, Jerome did inveigh against pagan music, as did also Basil, Arnobius and Ambrose, in addition to those already mentioned. But, as we have seen, they had to cope in the early Church with the forces of paganism, magic incarnations, orgiastic rites, etc. The mentality of the Church Fathers is understandable. A similar situation is to be seen in the teachings of the rabbis of the Hellenistic period, and later in the writings of the theologians of Islam, all opposed to pagan music because it constituted a part of pagan rites.²¹ Restrictions on the part of the Church Fathers applied not only to instruments in church but also to the quality and execution of music allowed in the sanctuary,—Clement of Alexandria, for instance, disapproving of the "chromatic modulations" in use among court dancers.

Besides the organ, it is hard to say with certainty just what other instruments were used, and when, in the early Middle Ages. The miniature from the Utrecht Psalter of the ninth century may

¹⁷ Salvian the Presbyter, in *Fathers of the Church* (New York, Cima, 1947) transl. J. F. O'Sullivan, pp. 155 & 156.

¹⁸ Valerian, Homilies, in *Fathers of the Church* (Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1953) transl. George E. Ganes, S. J., pp. 339 & 340.

¹⁹ Buchwald, Georg, *Martin Luthers Leben und Lehre*. (Guetersloh, Bertelsman, 1947) p. 189 Die Musik in gottesdienstlichem Gebrauch, 5

²⁰ Luther, Martin, *Saemmelte Werke*, (ed. Erlanger 1854) vi, p. 111.

²¹ Gradenwitz, *op. cit.*,

be an artistic testimony to an already established custom of using instruments in Church.²² The *lyre*, *chrotta*, *musa* and others are mentioned in early sources, but their exact role, if any, in church music is difficult to pin down. The fact that writers such as Cassiodorus and others continued the symbolism and allegory of the Fathers helps becloud the issue. It is often hard to say whether the instruments they describe were actually used, or whether they were obsolete instruments that simply furnished the occasion for an allegorical comment. In his *De Institutione Musica* Boethius mentions the *tibia* by name, and mentions other types such as strings, percussion and the instrument run by water, the *hydraulis*.²³ Instrumental music for him is the third in his classification. Music of the universe and that of the human voice precede it.²⁴

The *liturgical drama* which arose also brought many instruments into church use. The drama in question originated from the practice of *troping*. The famous Christmas trope of Tuotilo is among the earliest,²⁵ and outstanding is the Easter presentation, *Quem quaeritis*.²⁶ These dramas mark the beginning of instrumental music as also the use of the vernacular in Church. A study of the liturgical drama would lead to a partial deepening of our concept of early instrumental church music.

We know that during the 13th century the tenor of motets sung in church were often performed in church by means of instruments.²⁷ During the 14th century instruments frequently doubled with voices in the singing of melismatic melody lines in the madrigal, and the voices failing, the melisma became an instrumental solo.²⁸ As far as opening melismata are concerned, it is possible to postulate instrumental performance as primary. Such style of madrigal performance doubtless had its counterpart in the precincts of the church. Often enough the instrument in question would be the mixture organ. The *caudae* of the *conductus*, moreover, may have been instrumental, and the three voices above the freely invented Latin text were probably taken by instruments, accompanying homorhythmically. By the 14th century, the number of instruments used

²² McKinney & Anderson, *Music in History*, (New York, American Book Co., 1949).

²³ Sumner, W. L., *The Organ* (New York, Philosophical Library, 1955) cf. p. 17f. for a detailed discussion of the water organ.

²⁴ Strunk, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

²⁵ Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

²⁶ Haas, Robert, *Auffuehrungspraxis in der Musik*, in *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft* (New York, Musurgia, 1931) IIb, p. 61.

Van Waesberghe, Jos. Smits, *A Dutch Easter Play*, in *Musica Disciplina*, vol. vii (Amsterdam, American Institute of Musicology, 1953) p. 15f.

²⁷ Reese, Gustave, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, Norton, 1940) p. 312.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 370.

in church, in addition to the organ, has been conjectured as considerable. Whatever instruments happened to be on hand would be employed, though there would be no orchestra in the modern sense of that word.

The encyclical of Pius XII on sacred music mentions the string family as highly desirable among instruments, after the organ, because of its ability to move the souls of the Christian faithful. The encyclical mentions a definite play on the emotions—which may come as a shock to stoics—"with a certain unspeakable impulse they express the emotions of the soul, whether of sorrow or gladness . . ." (" . . . seu maestos seu laetos animi sensus ineffabili vi quadam exprimunt.")²⁹ Joannes de Groccheo mentions the same thing, and singles out the *viol* as first among the string instruments. Of all the instruments in modern times, the string family probably blends best with the organ and the choir. It has a long and illustrious history, originating in the East. The first evidence of the bowed instruments is to be found in the Spanish 10th and 11th century manuscripts.³⁰ The Byzantine *lyra* became Europe's chief bowed instrument in the Middle Ages, under the name of *viele*, *fiedel*, *viola* and *fiddle*.

Joannes de Garlandia's *Introductio Musicae* defines *musica falsa*—after *Ars Nova* was afoot³¹—and mentions with other contemporaries the close connection between *musica falsa* or *ficta* and the use of instruments. However, the human voice was probably included under the designation of instruments.

Among the early contemporaries of Dufay, Jean Franchois presents us with an *Ave Virgo* with a *Trompetta Introitus*. This was to be performed in the lowest part with a slide-trumpet, after which the voices executed the *taleas* of the isorythmic motet.³² Among the works of Dufay, himself, the *cantus firmus* Mass is most important, as he was probably the first Frenchman to work in this form. Since the *cantus firmus* was in rather long time values, it would not be easily distinguished unless it were played by an instrument such as the slide-trumpet, with or without the voices of that part.

In the Renaissance, secular and religious music were brought closely together. Church music was used for secular events, and while the church had always employed wind instruments, as we have

²⁹ Pius XII, in *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³⁰ Sachs, Curt, *The History of Musical Instruments*, (New York, Norton, 1940) p. 275.

³¹ Ursprung, Otto, *Die Katolische Kirchenmusik*, in *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, VIII, p. 145f. *Instrumentalbegleitete Kirchenmusik im Stil und kuensterischer Umgebung der Ars Nova*.

³² Reese, G., *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, Norton, 1954) p. 42.

seen, it now assimilated also those instruments which made up intimate chamber music: the lutes, *viola da braccio*, *da gamba*, *violone*, probably also the *theorbo*, or archlute.³³

Gafori has a *Missa Trombetta* in the early 16th century. And in the *Choralis Constantinus* of Heinrich Isaak, the first polyphonic setting of the Propers of the Mass covering the entire church year, the style of writing of *cantus firmus* indicates the probable use of instruments to negotiate quick changes in register, long note values, and a rather wide range.

A classic example of the use of instruments in church is the *Ecce Beatam Lucem* of Striggio at Florence. It was performed in 1569 with eight *tromboni*, eight *viole*, eight *flauti grossi*, and *strumento da penna* and a *liuto grosso*.³⁴ The Gabriellis, of course, are famous for their polychoral vocal-instrumental compositions at San Marco, Venice. They need no special elaboration. This was the time of the "colossal baroque" and the splendor of the liturgical service at San Marco knew no limits. Interesting is the title of Andrea Gabrieli's early motets, "*Motecta . . . tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentalis cantatu commodissimae.*"³⁵

The orchestral effusions of the Baroque and Romantic eras were in a way already outlined in the 16th century. In 1526 Erasmus was said to have complained at the use of such varied instruments as pipes, flutes, trumpets and trombones in church. The organ was accompanied by trumpets, trombones and even kettledrums, in union with the choral parts. Haydn was later to use *timpani* in the *Agnus Dei* of the *Mass in C Major*, the *Missa Tempore Belli*, foreshadowing Beethoven.³⁶ And even Bruckner was to use a *timpani* roll at the "*et resurrexit*" of his *D Minor Mass*.³⁷ During the Renaissance, Dufay and his contemporaries, Ockeghem, Obrecht, Josquin, Brummel LaRue, to mention but a few major composers, employed instruments in church. As every student of music history realizes, the pure Renaissance *a capella* style is a figment of the imagination. The term itself did not come into being till the Baroque Era, and is displayed in a title of Ghizzolo's works.³⁸ A *capella* style was but one of three possibilities during the Renaissance. The other two possibilities were: all instruments; or, a combination of voices and instruments. Monteverdi employed the *stile antico* con-

³³ Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 239f.

³⁴ Reese, in *op. cit.*, p. 487.

³⁵ Reese, *ibid.*, p. 496.

³⁶ Geiringer, Carl, *Haydn, A Creative Life in Music* (New York, Norton, 1946) p. 302f.

³⁷ Wolff, Werner, *Anton Bruckner, Rustic Genius* (New York, Dutton, 1942) p. 258.

³⁸ Bukofzer, Manfred, *Music in the Baroque Era* (New York, Norton, 1947) p. 13f.

sciously in his sacred compositions of strict liturgical character, and employed the *a capella* style with reduced instrumentation, or with voices along.³⁹ The proponents of a pure *a capella* style in Caecilian historicism surely must have been cognizant of titles, such as "*pro vocibus vel instrumentis*" in very many of the manuscripts of the *Antiquitates Musicae Ratisbonenses*.

The orchestras that played in church during the Renaissance were better balanced and coordinated than those of "Gothic" tradition. But it was to be the Baroque Period that was to see the fusion of voices and orchestra into one glorious concert of living faith in the temple of religion. The Gabriellis at San Marco have been mentioned. Besides them, however, there are innumerable other composers who brought into the church the glorious sonority of orchestral-vocal music. Unfortunately, the liturgical balance was often upset, so that in many cases the ban on music was liturgically justifiable. The motets of Monteverdi, Grandi, Pace, Saracini and countless others brought baroque monody into church use, and Gregorian chant, the peak of medieval monody was no longer used as *cantus firmus* in the composition of Masses. Viadana's Masses for solo voices and continue are the exception. There was, of course, the school of Anerio, Allegri, Nanino, Soriano, etc., which espoused the cause of *stile antico*. Even Monteverdi wrote in *stile antico*, not as an attempt at archaicism, but rather simply by way of the natural outgrowth of the so-called polarity of styles in the Baroque Era. This, despite the fact that he was the proponent *kat' exochen* of the *prattica seconda*, as shown briefly by the defence of it against the academic Artusi in the *dichiarazione* preceding the *Il quinto libro de' madrigali*. The commentary on the forward was written by his brother, Giulio Cesare Monteverdi.⁴⁰ Schrade points out the apparent reluctance, however, with which Monteverdi composed in the *stile antico* both at Mantua and at St. Mark's in Venice.⁴¹

Besides the better known Masses of Carissimi, LeGrenzi, Landi, Lotti, etc., there were also the Masses of Chapentier, Lully and Dumont in the court of Louis XIV. We have here the beginnings of the *messe basse solennelle* also. The motets of Lully, such as the famous *Miserere*, were scored for a brilliant Lullian orchestra complete with kettledrums.⁴²

The height of the baroque gave us the incomparable duo, Bach

³⁹ Schrade, Leo, *Monteverdi, Creator of Modern Music* (New York, Norton, 1950) p. 317.

⁴⁰ Strunk, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

⁴¹ Schrade, *op. cit.*, p. 247f: Sacred Music in Mantua; p. 314f: The Composer at San Marco.

⁴² Bukofzer, *opus cit.*, p. 163.

and Handel, the former with the magnificent *Mass in B Minor*, evidently not suited to liturgical purposes today, the latter with compositions for the Catholic Church during his Italian period with the *Arcadia*. Here Handel did as the Romans by setting psalms to music, as, for example, the *Laudate Pueri* and the *Dixit Dominus*.⁴³

With Pergolesi and Jomelli, Hasse aided in the introduction of sonata and rondo form into church music, and the symphonic Masses often became more the property of instruments than voices. For the perfection of the symphonic Mass, we look to Mozart and Haydn.

Mozart and Haydn brought their musical genius to the altar during the classical period, and Mozart, particularly, was quite prolific in ecclesiastical compositions. There are eighteen Masses and the unfinished *Requiem*—completed by Suessmayer after the composer's untimely demise. In addition there were Litanies, Vespers, Kyrie's Offertories, Introits, *Te Deums* a *Tantum Ergo*, etc.⁴⁴ One fruit of his study of Bach was the great *C Minor Mass* which brought his contrapuntal vocal and instrumental proficiency to the fore. This Mass was performed in Salzburg at the *Petruskirche* in 1783.⁴⁵

Haydn's Mass of St. Caecilia was likewise unsuited to liturgical purposes, and this type of Mass composition, approaching the Neapolitan cantata style, was abandoned by the master himself, as unliturgical. After the *Missa Celensis*, Haydn stopped composing Masses until 1792, due partially to a decree by Joseph II banning more complicated instrumental forms from church use.⁴⁶ The six Masses composed between 1792 and 1802, however, are liturgically more acceptable. The vocal solos were greatly reduced, polyphony became more important, and the master strove to give more adequate interpretation to the text.⁴⁷

It was Michael Haydn whose music was probably more acceptable liturgically than that of the great Haydn, Joseph. His two *Missae Quadragesimales* were recognized as great works by Joseph Haydn and Mozart.⁴⁸

⁴³ Abraham, Gerald, *Handel, a Symposium* (London, Oxford, 1954) Chapter V: The Church Music, by Basil Lam, p. 156.

Deutsch, Otto, *Handel, A Documentary Biography* (New York, Norton, 1954) p. 19.

⁴⁴ Turner, W. J., *Mozart, the Man and his Works* (New York, Tudor, 1938) p. 435.

⁴⁵ Haas, Robert, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Potsdam, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1950) p. 74f.

Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 324, 330.

⁴⁶ Geiringer, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 302.

⁴⁸ Weinman, Karl, *History of Church Music* (Ratisbon, Pustet, 1910) p. 194.

Beethoven's *Mass in C* and his *Missa Solemnis* fall into the same class as Bach's *B Minor*, as far as liturgical suitability is concerned. No one can or would call into doubt their worth as concert Masses, however. These compositions are masterpieces of orchestral-vocal work, even if the voice leading at times reminisces of instrumentalism.

Analogous in concept to the Catholic Caecilian Movement under the patronage of Ludwig I of Bavaria, was the Berlin restoration of music according to the prototypes of Bach and Palestrina—the latter favored—under Lutheran Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia. Mendelssohn himself composed for the Berlin Cathedral in archaic fashion. During this period of revival of choral societies and of reverence for rediscovered glories of the past, reactionism was able to justify itself quite easily, in view of the type of church music being produced by the greats of the Romantic era. It was also the time of the foundation in Paris of the *Institution Royale de Musique Classique et Religieuse* by Choron. All of this was diametrically opposed to the orchestral style of the classic masters. And it was here that the modern false idea of a *capella* style originated.⁴⁹ In contrast to Berlioz, Liszt, Gounod and Franck stood the figures of Caspar Ett, Karl Proske, Mettenleiter, Schrems, Franz Witt, Haberl, Mitterer, Diebold, Wiltberger and others of the *Caecilienbewegung*.⁵⁰ Ett and Aiblinger wrote Palestrina-like church music but often with orchestral scoring. The forces of historicism supplied liturgically “proper” music to the churches in sharp contrast to the work of the real masters. The works of the latter were often unsuitable for the church, or adaptable only with the broadest musical resources, as in the case of Berlioz' *Grande Messes des Morts*. The latter reshifted the texts of the liturgy and would not be acceptable today for Church use.

Standing in stark contrast to the Caecilian works were the Masses of Franz Liszt, such as the *Missa Choralis*, *Coronation Mass* and *Missa solemnis*, the latter two scored for orchestra.⁵¹ Gounod composed fifteen Masses, one for orchestra alone, voices *ad lib!* None of these, even much of Franck's church music, are liturgically “proper” in the sense that they would integrate well with the established liturgy of the Church. However sincere were the compositions of Rossini, as the *Petite Messe Solenne*, and the *Requiem* or *Te Deum* of Verdi, these works are more for the concert hall than for the liturgical service. In the age when the orchestra was supreme,

⁴⁹ Bukofzer, *op. cit.*, p. 158f.

⁵⁰ Weinman, *op. cit.*, p. 161f.

⁵¹ Sitwell, S., *Liszt* (London, Cassell, 1955) p. 236f.

these works were masterpieces of the union of voices and instruments. The artistic effect was grandiose.

Probably the only composer of this period who used orchestra with voices in Mass compositions liturgically acceptable, and the middle ground between Romantic frenzy and dull historicism, was Anton Bruckner. Probably the most famous of his Masses was the *E Minor* scored for voices plus wind instruments. The work is adapted to the liturgy, in that the priest's opening intonation, for one thing, at the *Gloria* and *Credo* is omitted by the composer. The *D Minor* and *F Minor* Masses have a richer orchestral scoring, and the *F Minor* has a musically closer connection with the text of the liturgy.⁵²

In modern times, of course, we have the controversial Poulenc *Mass in G*, the Stravinsky *Mass*, the *Missa Brevis* of Zoltan Kodaly, the archaic *Mass in G* of Ralph Vaughn Williams, a *Mass* by Roy Harris, recent Masses by Rev. R. Woollen.⁵³ The instrumental factor other than organ does not loom as problematic in these compositions.

The entire history of the composition of Masses, motets, etc., for church use shows us what a great role instruments played in enhancing the liturgical workshop. Among Protestant denominations, the Moravians at Bethlehem, Pa., now outstanding for their Bach presentations, introduced instruments into church from their inception in this country.⁵⁴ The reason that the Church banned some baroque, classic and 19th century Masses was not that they were not great works of art, but that they did not integrate well with the established liturgy, especially that of the Mass.

Modern Masses, even when scored for instruments, are in themselves as suitable for use in divine service as is their integrating factor vis-a-vis the sacred liturgies. The fact that they are modern in idiom does not enter into direct discussion. Modern idiom should be pursued, since the Church favors the progress of the arts in all lines. Yet there is such a thing as church legislation on the use of instruments that must form a necessary part of this discussion. Modern composers will have to bear in mind the canonical *status quo* if they score Masses, motets and such like for instruments *obligato*, or for orchestra as such.

⁵² Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 256f.

⁵³ Hume, Paul, *Catholic Church Music* (New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1956) pp. 56, 64.

⁵⁴ Maurer, Joseph A. *Moravian Church Music—1457-1957*, in *The American Guild of Organists Quarterly*, Jan. 1957, p. 6.

II

Legislation

As we saw, the Fathers of the Church very early objected to the use of instruments in the Church. These objections were subsequently followed up by legislation. Simultaneously, however, we realize that often a *praxis contra legem* also accompanied the laws, much in the same way as it did the prohibition of the *Kirchenlied* during the *Hochamt* (High Mass) in Germany.

The Council of Trent banned sensuous and lascivious music from the liturgy, in the *Decretum de observandis et evitandis in celebratione Missae*.¹ Whatever in orchestral music, therefore, was too closely linked to the sensuous merely for sensuousness' sake, or reminisced of worldly influences, was apt also to distract the faithful from prayer and waft them into a world quite apart from that of liturgy. This was the Tridentine ideology. As we saw in the case of the *Kirchenlied*, however, caution must be used in pinning down exactly what is *voluptuaria et lasciva*. *Voluptas* as immoderate pleasure certainly should be banned from church, but this does not mean that all pleasure should be taken out of church music, vocal or instrumental. Pleasure is, after all, a God-given element of human activity, and no instrument is in itself an *ipso facto* producer of *voluptas*. It will therefore become a question of association, as it was in the early church: association with Dionysiac orgies. Since, however, one will look hard in XVI century history to what we would now-a-days style as Dionysiac orgiastic rites, (unless we look at the beginning of the *Carnivale* festival) we are brought to the practical conclusion that the number of instruments of the Gothic and Renaissance exuberance conflicted with the more serene (but not dull) style of more conservative elements within the church.

The Constitution of Alexander VII (Feb. 11, 1749) mentions those instruments that are tolerated in church in the Holy Year encyclical, *Annus Qui*.² Along with the instrumental music of the organ, those of other families of instruments must not be of a theatrical style nor too long. Stringed instruments were allowed and fagotti. Forbidden were timpani, hunting horns, trumpets, oboes, flutes, salteri, mandolins and all instruments of a theatrical nature. This instruction decimated the orchestra of the late Baroque and

¹ Pius XII, *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina*, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Jan. 1956, p. 9, footnote 11.

² Hanin, A., S. J., *La Legislation Ecclesiastique en matiere de Musique Religieuse* (Desclée, Paris, 1933).

Romita, Fiorenzo, *Ius Musicae Liturgicae*, (Rome, Turini, 1936).

Papal Documents on Sacred Music, in *The White List* (St. Greg. Soc'y, 1956).

early Classic periods. That would mean, legislatively, the subsequent orchestral Masses of the Haydns, Mozart and lesser lights. It is easy to see the exclusion of mandolins and perhaps salteri, but it is hard to envision the prohibition on trumpets, especially in view of their noble fanfare role at the Mass for years. Once more, the legislation was not directed against the instrument as instrument, but against the use of the theatrical style of the baroque and classic opera, to which the people were greatly addicted, once opera became of public domain and was no longer the property of princes. Haas mentions the reform movement of Archbishop Jerome in his critical biography of Mozart, and shows how in the *Missae breves* (K. 49, 65) for the Sunday service at Salzburg, Mozart restricted the orchestra to strings and organ, and showed leanings toward the stricter style of Fux and Eberlin. The four Masses of the period 1773-1774, however much under the influence of the reform of the archbishop in question, show a more developed orchestra and the influence of orchestral form as such.³

The Vicar of Leo XII, Cardinal Zurla, issued a decree on music, (Dec. 20, 1824) to the effect that among other things instrumental music was forbidden in church without special permission. Absolutely banned was music which qualified as noisy or inappropriate to the Church.

Cardinal Patri reiterated these ideas in his *Instructions for Directors of Music* (Nov. 20, 1856). Once more, special permission was necessary for the employment of instruments in Church. Forbidden was the use of drums, timpani, cymbals, all percussion and any noisy instruments. A *monitum* to composers pointed out the fact that the Church merely tolerated instrumental music, and that they must compose accordingly.

Article 12 of the *Regulations on Sacred Music* of Leo XIII (Sept. 21, 1884) points out once again that noisy instruments were forbidden: drums, bass drums, cymbals, bagpipes, the piano and so on. There seems to have been a rash of prohibitions on noisy and percussive instruments during the Romance Era, a legal testimony to their actual use in church. Continued legislation became imperative, just as it was necessary for the recent encyclical on music to point out and reemphasize certain phases of the *Motu Proprio*. Ordinarily much legislation on a subject points to widespread abuse.

The *Motu Proprio* (Nov. 22, 1903) reminds the church musician that the music proper to the church was vocal music, and that besides the organ other instruments could be used only within due

³ Haas, Robert, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Potsdam, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1950) Zweite Auflage, p. 75f.

limits, with proper safeguards and with the special permission of the local Ordinary of the diocese. The organ or other instruments must never overpower the vocal music, but rather sustain it. Instruments must be governed by the same principles that apply for any type of church music: holiness, goodness of form, universality. As we notice, the encyclical of Pius XII mentions the same thing but in different words. Once more the use of the piano is interdicted, as also are noisy instruments such as drums, cymbals, bells and so forth. Doubtless, this continued repetitiousness is witness to the fact that besides continued disobedience to the church on the part of musicians, the Pope also made copious references to previously existing legislation on the subject. He himself was to be used as source material by Pius XII on the same subject, though Pius XII does not go into particular in the prohibition of certain instruments in the encyclical, *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina*.

The *Motu Proprio* brings up the subject of bands, and forbids the use of band music in church. In special cases with due permission a limited number of wind instruments were allowed, if judiciously used and proportionate to the place, and provided that the style of the music be ecclesiastical. The use of band music outside of church, however, were permitted, with the Ordinary's leave, with the proviso that no profane pieces be used. It was rather counseled that the band limit itself to accompanying the singing of the hymns employed by the faithful in their processions. This last instance is of practical import for Corpus Christi processions in those places where the band is actually used.

In the *Papal Letter to Cardinal Respighi* the Pope mentions the scandal that could be given to non-Romans coming to Rome and hearing instruments used in church as they were in the theatre, though they themselves did not use instruments in the church of their own provenance. In this he quotes the *Annus Qui* of Benedict XIV.

The *Regulations for the Province* of Rome repeat ecclesiastical documents to the effect that the organ is the only instrument proper to the church, that others require special permission, to be granted on rare and exceptional occasions. The use of a band for processions outside church is again permitted, with due permission, provided that the band use only sacred music or preferably limit itself to the accompaniment of hymns.

On April 15, 1905 the *Compostellana Rescript* was signed regarding the use of instruments in church. The use of the violin, viola, violoncello, double-bass, flute, clarinet and trumpet came up

for explicit statement, and received an affirmative answer, in compliance with the usual conditions and the wording of the question preamble. This amounts to an explicit canonization of the string section of the orchestra, and of the basic woodwind and brass sections. Another question asked about the use of instruments in the *Office for the Dead* and the *Requiem*. Instruments, came the reply, were forbidden in the Office but allowed at the Mass, with the usual limitations, plus those of the *Requiem Mass* music regulations. The use of the harmonium for these same purposes was also permitted.

Of interest are the replies to the three questions submitted by the music commission of Joseph Cardinal M. de Herrera y de la Iglesia. This is also called the *Compostellana Rescript*, after the Cardinal's diocese. (Nov. 13, 1908) The first question submitted asked whether in *musica sacra organica* oboes, clarinets and trombones could be used. The answer given was that oboes and clarinets could be tolerated provided that they were employed moderately and that each time the Bishop's permission be granted. Asked, secondly, if percussion instruments *timbales seu tympanos* were to be considered as noisy and distracting (*fragorosa et strepitantia*), the Sacred Congregation replied by referring to article 19 of the *Motu Proprio*, banning the drum from church use. Finally, the third question, whether these same could be used in sacred music and church orchestra, met with a negative reply. The rescript was signed by S. Cardinal Cretoni, Prefect, and D. Panici, archbishop of Laodicea, secretary.

The Apostolic Constitution *Divini Cultus* of Pius XI mentions the fact that attempts were being made to reintroduce instruments into church, and forbade it. Orchestra, it is here stated emphatically, is not a more perfect ecclesiastical *musica sacra* than the human voice. The church does not thereby intend to obstruct the progress of music, but simply wishes to reiterate the fact that the voices of the people and clergy are more acceptable than instrumental music. The organ is, rather, the instrument sanctioned by time and ecclesiastical documentation.⁴

The encyclical *Mediator Dei* does not deal specifically with the topic of instruments other than the organ. In speaking of modern music, it states that nothing profane should be allowed in church or anything written only to startle the faithful. This could apply indirectly to instruments in church.⁵

Last, but not least, Canon Law states that all lascivious or improper music (*lascivum aut impurum*) whether for organ, instru-

⁴ Pius XI, *Divini Cultus Sanctitatem* in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. xxi, 1929 p. 33f.

⁵ Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. xxxix, Dec. 2, 1947, p. 590.

ments or voice, must be banned from use in church.⁶ This terminology goes back to the Tridentine prescriptions, as was seen in Chapter I. Canon 1264, 1, continues by stating that liturgical laws on sacred music are to be observed. (Section two of the same canon then deals with the singing of religious women at liturgical functions.)

Of interest to the practical musician should be the interpretations of these canonical prescriptions by recognized canon lawyers in the Church. In general, canon lawyers, in commenting on canon 1264, tend to limit themselves only to the content of the canon, without branching further. The exception to this is the commentary on canon 1264 by Ulric Beste, who in his *Introductio in Codicem* gives one of the finest interpretations of musical situation available.⁷ It is exact and to the point. He breaks his discussion of section one into six parts, not including an introductory article. In the section *De Instrumentis* he presents a fine breakdown of ecclesiastical legislation, stating with ecclesiastical documentation in mind that the human voice is superior to instrumental, reviewing the place of the organ in church services, presenting succinctly what we have already given in detail on the use of instruments within and without the church. Of interest is also a *responsum privatum* of Pius XI to Rev. Beatus Reiser, O.S.B. (June 29, 1930) concerning the use of the orchestra in church: where it has hitherto not been introduced, it should not be in the future; where it can be done away with without too much difficulty on the part of the faithful, it should be abrogated; but where it is an inveterate custom, the use of orchestra should only gradually be cut back till it disappears; in exceptional cases with the Ordinary's permission, Mass with orchestra can be permitted. Though this is only a private reply, it gives the mind of at least Pius XI on the matter. As to the words "*lascivum et impurum*", Beste is faithful to the Tridentine ideology which considered that music lascivous and improper which smacked of bad theatre and songs equally infected.

John Ferreres, S. J., gives but brief notice to the question of sacred music, in logical conformity to the plan for his volumes, *Institutiones Canonicae*.⁸ What he does present is the kernel of truth and the two main sources: the Motu Proprio, and the Council of Trent: *Musicae impurae exclusione . . .*

⁶ Canon 1264 in *Codex Iuris Canonicae*.

⁷ Beste, Ulric, O.S.B., *Introductio in Codicem* (St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, 1938), p. 619f.

⁸ Ferreres, Joannis, S. J., *Institutiones Canonicae II* (Barcinone 1918) p. 69f.

Dominicus Pruemmer's *Manuale Iuris Ecclesiastici* simply paraphrases canon 1264.⁹ In the *Epitome Iuris Canonici*, Vermeersch-Creusen are more satisfactory.¹⁰ On the words "*lascivum et impurum*" they have an interesting paragraph. Improper song is more easily discerned than improper instrumental music. This is logical, since words can have more effect than music alone. Of interest also is the citing of a decree of Alexander VII (April 23, 1657) which according to Augustine (using Terry's *Catholic Church Music*) Alexander VII designated that music as lascivious which was associated with profane dance. However, this does not appear to be Alexander's real idealogy on the subject according to the authors. If it was not Alexander VII's, it was of certain Church Fathers, as we have seen.

Bouscaren's *Canon Law Digest I*, is helpful in summing up the principles of the *Divini Cultus* of Pius XI, treating in VII of the use of instruments in church.¹¹

Fr. Woywod's *The New Canon Law* gave only what amounted to a translation of the canon on music.¹² But his *Practical Commentary on the Code of Canon Law* gives some details and sources in the commentary, including reference to the Instruction to the Archbishop of Baltimore on banning theatrical music in church.¹³

The Second Baltimore Council has a brief paragraph on sacred music, but does not deal directly with the question of musical instruments.¹⁴

As for the canons of the *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii*, no explicit mention is made of instrumental music other than the organ, and here the Council of Trent is quoted on the subject of *lascivum et impurum*.¹⁵

For one of the most complete and competent coverages of the subject, the volume of Monsignor Romita *Ius Musicae Liturgicae* is

⁹ Pruemmer, Dominic, O. P., *Manuale Iuris Ecclesiastici* (Freiburg & Breisgau, Herder, 1920) p. 444.

¹⁰ Vermeersch-Creusen, S. J., *Epitome Iuris Canonici II*, (Rome, Mechlin, Dessain 1930) p. 363, no. 586.

¹¹ Bouscaren, T. Lincoln, S. J., *The Canon Law Digest I*, (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1934) p. 597f.

¹² Woywood, Stanislaus, O.F.M., *The New Canon Law*, (New York, Wagner, 1918) p. 259.

¹³ Woywood, Stanislaus, O.F.M., *A Practical Commentary on the Code of Canon Law II*, p. 63 (New York, Wagner, 1925). This work has recently been revised and brought up to date by Rev. Fr. Callistus Smith, O.F.M., J.C.L.

¹⁴ *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis II* (Baltimore, Murphy, 1877) p. 187, no. 361.

¹⁵ *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis III* (Baltimore, Murphy, 1886) p. 59f.

hard to equal.¹⁶ Here all phases, including instrumental music, are amply treated, though the book needs to be brought up to date.

We see, then, two different pictures: one the historical position of instruments in church music, and the legislative side. Both are often misunderstood. There are historicists who consider the *ars perfecta* of 15th and 16th century with its so-called *leggi inviolabili* in too severe a light, as solely vocal without instruments at all.¹⁷ This is an exaggeration. On the other hand, there are those who do not comprehend the liturgical ideology underlying the legislative bans on musical instruments in church, and that prohibition and limitation comes not from a desire to curb art, but rather to preserve an island of sacredness in a worldly atmosphere. A balanced view must be attained in order to grasp the church's historical and legislative position concerning the use of instruments in liturgical services.

¹⁶ Romita, *op. cit.*, pass.

¹⁷ Schrade, Leo, *Monteverdi, Creator of Modern Music*, (New York, Norton, 1950) Cf. the discussion on *ars perfecta* and the difference in religious and profane music, p. 17f.

REVIEW

Masses

MISSA DE MARTYRIBUS

by Heinrich Isaac (c 1450-1517)

Louise Cuyler, Editor, University of Michigan Press, 1956.

The *Choralis Constantinus*, the monumental work of the great Flemish composer, Heinrich Isaac, contains polyphonic settings of the propers of the Mass for the entire liturgical year. "It is an epochal work, to be compared only to the *Magnus Liber Organi* of Magister Perotinus in the thirteenth century or to the *Art of Fugue* of Johann Sebastian Bach in the eighteenth. It is one of the greatest documents not only in the history of music but also in the history of art."¹

Five polyphonic Mass settings are placed after the last propers of the third book of the *Choralis Constantinus* in the Formschneider Edition (Nurnberg 1555). It is not known whether these Masses were intended by Isaac to supplement the propers, or if they were selected by Ludwig Senfl, his devoted pupil and the editor of the *Choralis Constantinus*, from the many settings of the ordinary of the Mass by Isaac which were extant at the time.

Dr. Cuyler, professor of musicology at the University of Michigan, received high praise for her edition of the third book of the *Choralis Constantinus* and has now won new laurels by her scholarly edition of the five Masses.

The "Missa de Martyribus" for discant, alto, tenor and bass, is the fourth Mass in this series. It is more simple and less imposing than the *Missae Solemne, Paschale, and Magnus Dei*, but it is none the less suitable for use at solemn celebration of major feasts of the Church year. Like the other four masses, it is written in alternate verse style and gives evidence of "his magnificent craft in polyphony. . . . Every musical ruse, device, and cliché common to the counterpoint of the Lowlanders may be perceived in Isaac's writing. The result is polyphony of the greatest freedom, variety, and inventiveness, especially as regards rhythm."²

The cantus firmi of five movements of the "Missa de Martyribus" are found in the *Liber Usualis* as follows: *Kyrie, Mass XI "In Dominicis Infra Annum"*; *Gloria, Mass II "In Festis Solemnibus"*;

¹ Alfred Einstein, note on cover jacket of *Choralis Constantinus*, University of Michigan Press, 1950.

² Five Polyphonic Masses, pg. 5.

Sanctus and *Benedictus*, Mass IX "In Festis B. Mariae Virginis"; *Agnus Dei*, Mass IV "In Festis Duplicibus". No known source of cantus firmus has been found for this Credo or that of any of the other Masses.

The polyphonic texture of the "Missa de Martyribus" is so transparent that it demands perfect clarity of performance. There are some complex rhythmic patterns in the *Kyrie* and difficult florid counterpoint in the *Pleni Sunt Coeli*, yet the Mass as a whole is not unduly difficult. The ethereal beauty of this music is ample reward for the hours of painstaking rehearsal necessary for a facile rendition. It conforms to the qualifications specified for sacred music in the "Motu Proprio" of St. Pius X and the "Musicae Sacrae Disciplina" of Pius XII.

Winifred T. Flanagan.

MISSA FLOS CARMELI

Bruce Prince-Joseph
for Soprano and TTBB
(Antiphonal Choir of Four Equal Voices Optional)

No Credo
McLaughlin & Reilly Co., Boston.
Score 80¢, Soprano Voice Part 25¢.

Directness, one might almost call it brevity, and economy of musical speech are consistently in evidence in the *Missa Flos Carmeli* by Bruce Prince-Joseph. There is harmonic freshness of a mildly dissonant type as well as contrapuntal interest here arising from the germinating theme of the chant *Flos Carmeli*. The burden of the singing load is carried by the men who can be, though not necessarily, divided into two groups: one group to sing with the soprano and organ; and a second, stationed in another section of the church, to act as an antiphonal choir of equal voices. (The latter might be made up of treble voices if such were available). This division is suggested as a possibility by the composer in his Preface and provided for in the score by asterisks and brackets as guides to the antiphonal sections. If carried out the divided choir plan produces striking and beautiful effects.

There is much in this composition to recommend it to the progressive choirmaster who is courageous enough to want to try something new. If he decides to work this composition up for performance he will become more and more impressed as rehearsals continue with the combination of originality and practicality which

the composer has achieved in his piece. The composer is obviously an experienced hand at constructing and maintaining an orderly presentation of musical sonorities. It is clear too, that he knows from having worked with them, the capabilities of the average American amateur singers who present themselves for membership in the parish choir. The range of the individual lines avoids extremes, the rhythms are simple and strong and the over-all mood of the composition is dignified and sober.

In a way, the *Missa Flos Carmeli* is an unusual one for an American to have written. It is rather the sort of musical writing one associates with the work of contemporary European rather than American composers of church music. The composition is therefore most welcome among the recent publications issued for Catholic choirmasters of the U.S.A.

Bruce Prince-Joseph is organist for the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and is a member of the faculty of Hunter College (Columbia University), New York City.

Theodore Marier

MESSE "O QUAM GLORIOSUM EST REGNUM"

for mixed voices: SATB

Tomas Luis da Vittoria

Editions Musicales de la Schola Cantorum

Paris, France. U.S.A. World Library

Here is a mass, not overly long or difficult, which exhibits many fine qualities of Vittorian polyphony. The Kyrie, beginning with lower voices paired against the trebles, has melodic lines which are shapely and vigorous. Moreover the voices are scored and spaced so that all parts sound thru admirably. The same kind of texture is maintained in the Gloria, where the pairing of voices is occasionally shifted to soprano-tenor, alto-bass for contrast. An interesting thematic reference occurs when the "Domine Deus, Agnus Dei," after a slight initial variation, quotes the "Christe eleison," note for note, thus expressing the relationship of text by musical architecture. The Credo is treated much like the Gloria with one exception. A legitimate device of polyphonic writing is the occasional relief of homophony. Just so, the "Et incarnatus est" is embedded like a gem in the heart of the Credo, all the more striking and beautiful for being the only homophonic phrase in the entire mass.

The Sanctus presents a somewhat different vocal texture as adjacent voices often move from seconds into unisons. Ordinarily this procedure is avoided in contrapuntal writing, except when the thrust of a line warrants it. Here as elsewhere, the composer's sure technique allows him ample license in the matter. In like manner the texture of the Benedictus is somewhat crowded even with the tenor omitted. Recurring melodic patterns have subtle chromatic variations which require careful listening in performance. The "Agnus Dei" rounds out the mass with full scoring and a closing thematic reference to the Kyrie.

Altho the latter part of the mass does not seem to sustain the same musical interest as the opening movements, the work as a whole will prove serviceable for many occasions.

Louis Pisciotta

Motets

GLORIA DEI

Musikverlag Schwann; World Library

"Gloria Dei" is a beautiful selection of 32 Latin motets for 2, 3, and 4 equal voices. As in his briefer collection, "Te Deum Laudamus", Mr. Schroeder has performed a great service, especially to those who must deal with equal voices. The motets are original compositions of men like Palestrina, Vittoria, Lassus, Aichinger, Handl, Sweelink, Lotti, Brahms and Croce. On the modern side, there are Schroeder, Jaeggi, Lemacher, and Otto Jochum.

This is an excellent book for both an introduction to polyphony and a continuation into more difficult numbers, since there are a few simple and beautiful pieces as well as many which would be a challenge to any choir. There are also a few pieces in a radiant homophony, offering no melodic or harmonic difficulties. But smaller choirs especially, which are not as yet very familiar with the old and very modern polyphony, will come to the conclusion that polyphonic singing is pleasant, lively and joyous.

The choirmaster will find great satisfaction in a collection which has something that can be used from Sunday to Sunday, as well as for seasonal and festive occasions. It is especially welcome in a field that is anything but over-run with good material, and we recommend its use in academies, convents and the like. The book is extremely well printed, well bound, and sells for \$2.30—a bargain for something of such good taste and something so perennial. You pay little more than 7¢ per motet.

F. Denes and F. Szynskie

AVE, VERUM CORPUS

Josquin Des Prés (1445-1521)

E. C. Schirmer Music Co., (Boston)

For Men's Voices, Arr. by A.T.D.

As a general rule male choirs are less fortunate than mixed choirs in the compositions of Classical Polyphony available to them. Mr. Davison's effective arrangement of this beautiful Blessed Sacrament Motet by Josquin des Prés warrants this review for those who may not have tried it.

The first 24 measures are really a little two-part polyphonic gem, arranged for Tenors I and II. The second 24 measures take up the remainder of the text, but repeat exactly the preceding measures. Mr. Davison indicates that the I Basses are to sing with the II Tenors, and this works out very well. The only change, then, in the second half of this motet is the addition of a third part, given to the II Basses. This third part with its rhythmic movement lends genuine polyphonic interest to the second half of the composition.

This is, of course, not difficult polyphony. The only difficulty lies in the fact that it is a delicately beautiful composition. If tenors are available who can sing a high *g* "piano", even "pianissimo", this little motet will remain a jewel in any male choir's repertory.

Elmer F. Pfeil.

GRATIAS AGIMUS

H. L. Hassler

TTBB

Annie Bank, ed., Spinozastr. 27, Amsterdam
World Library, 1846 Westwood Ave., Cincinnati 14

10¢

Any choir that has enjoyed Hans Leo Hassler's "Cantate Domino" will find his "Gratias Agimus" a natural addition to its repertory. The Latin text is this familiar expression of thanks: "We thank Thee, O Lord God, for all Thy goodness to us, who livest and reignest, God, forever and ever. Amen." It need hardly be emphasized that such a brief statement of thanks can find many uses; not the least would be that of a welcome relief in repertories overstocked with settings of the "Ave Maria" and "Laudate Dominum" texts.

The "Gratias Agimus" is only twenty-three measures long, and for this reason is obviously less demanding than the more familiar "Cantate Domino." As befits its text, the number here reviewed is more relaxed and contemplative, less intense and dramatic than the "Cantate Domino." The "Gratias Agimus" is a solidly chordal composition with a strong harmonic texture. Highlights are two very brief imitative passages and a very interesting alternation between *f* natural and *f* sharp in the melodic line from measures 14 to 23.

Elmer F. Pfeil.

O SALUTARIS

André Caplet (1878-1925)

3 equal voices

International Federation of Little Singers
119 West 57th St., New York 19

André Caplet was, I suppose, unknown to many of us until we saw his orchestral piece, "The Mask of the Red Death", listed in LP catalogues or stumbled upon this "O Salutaris" among the Musical Publications of the Pueri Cantores (Paris). But it was otherwise in the first quarter of our century. Debussy considered him a born conductor, choosing him for the 1911 performances of "Le Matyre de St. Sébastien". He also conducted in Boston during the years from 1910 to 1914. Caplet died at the age of 47 when he was reaching his zenith as a composer and conductor.

Modern in its day, the "O Salutaris" can still pass as mildly contemporary, especially by comparison with much music written since that time. Written in a chordal style, the harmonic material is not bold, but sensitive. Nevertheless, Caplet did not hesitate to use such devices as parallel triads, unresolved appoggiaturas, even a skip of a major 7th in the bass line. The suggested tempo is "Lent", and this is the key to a sensitive rendition.

Elmer F. Pfeil.

Records

THE ASSUMPTION MASS (complete) and OFFICE (in part)

chanted by the Cistercian Monks (Trappists) of Saint Joseph's Abbey Choir, on long playing microgroove record; includes hand lettered brochure with texts and translations.

available from

Cambridge Records, Inc., P. O. Box 254, Cambridge, Mass.

St. Joseph's Abbey Gift Shop, Route 31, Spencer, Mass.

McLaughlin & Reilly Co., 252 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass.

No. CRS-402—\$4.98 ea.

If it is to justify its place in the worship of the Church, chant must first of all be treated as a special form of musical art. The church musician must make of it an "end" before he can justify its use as a "means" in the liturgy. There is a parallel here with other arts which are handmaids to worship. A carefully carved reredos, for example, a stained glass window through which colors are harmoniously blended and diffused, a steeple that thrusts its crucifix boldly into the sky, are all contributing factors to the enrichment of the spiritual life of the people, and are therefore exemplary aids to worship. On the other hand an ugly pulpit, a gaudily bedecked statue, a mumbled and incoherent sermon, among other things, should have no place in the church, mitigating as these do against the overall purpose of worship. The workman must master the skills of his craft whether it be plastic art, architecture, or rhetoric before he has earned a right to offer the church the handiwork of his creative expression. Good intention alone is never sufficient. The know-how must be present.

Now all of this applies to the singing of chant. Knowledge of the craft of music and the skill to make the chant beautiful are prerequisites to the performance of chant. Without this the chant performance — alas, how often it is the case! — is a travesty in the name of religion and musical art.

How gratifying then to discover in our midst here in America, a monastic choir that cares enough to want to search for perfection in musical expression through chant, and to integrate this with their search for personal spiritual perfection. The intention is there to be sure. But more, there is also mastery of the craft of music in the song of these monks. The chant is so controlled that the listener is not consciously aware of the skill with which it is sung.

We refer specifically to the new recording "Festum Mariae Assumptae" produced by the Cisterian Monks of St. Joseph's Abbey, Spencer, Massachusetts. (The Mass is the Assumpta Est and

not the newer *Signum Magnum*). The chant as recorded here rivals the best that European choirs have so far produced and surely surpasses the output of any American choir to date. From the quiet of the Trappist way of life comes a vocal utterance that bespeaks the peace and beauty of the ageless chants. The singing is free of selfconscious mannerisms or striving for mystical effects such as one hears in many of the chant recordings that have appeared. The pitch is absolutely secure; the rhythm is unfettered and flowing; the diction carefully projected without affectation; the proportions of phrase intensities of elan and repose gauged with exactness; finally, the spirit of the music and the texts is everywhere present.

It is not our purpose here to discuss the matter of this choir's adherence to or non-conformity with the principles of the so-called Solesmes method. The listener must decide for himself whether the chant is artistic and prayerful. If he finds it is then the end for which the record was made will have been achieved. Suffice it to say further that it is no accident that this performance of chant is so inspiring. The men who sing here have worked hard to achieve the skills they now master and we are richer for having at our disposal this permanent record of their art.

The jacket design and bochure which contain and describe the chant recording are in their way also works of art. Hand drawn and hand lettered throughout these convey further to the layman something of the refinement of the spiritual life of this monastery as it reaches out and manifests itself to the people in the outside world.

The engineering, too, of the recording is of superior quality maintaining throughout proper balances between cantor, schola and choir and even producing the sound of the Abbey bells during the singing of the Magnificat, all in true proportion and in full frequency range.

To hear this recording is an unforgettable experience.

Theodore Marier

MORE CHANT

The latest release of the Solesmes series of chant recordings includes the complete Mass of Pentecost, together with Kyrie III, Gloria II, and Sanctus II, and on the verso side the complete proper of the Mass of Corpus Christi. Clearly, this is a very "practical" record, and will be of value for those choirmasters and choirs who

wish to model their singing of these beautiful musical settings on the present-day authoritative Solesmes interpretation. (London LL 1463).

Since it seems to be the order of the day to discuss in open court the relative merits of the various types of chant interpretation, I should like to quote a pertinent passage from the *British Quarterly Music and Letters* (edited by Eric Blom), which might have escaped the notice of *Caecilia's* readers. I do this not because I personally disagree with the artistic principles of the Solesmes style—a style which needs no defense from this writer or from any other—but because the passage reveals an aspect of the chant problem which might otherwise be overlooked.

Comparing the recent Beuron and Solesmes recordings (on the Archive and London labels respectively), Gilbert Reaney states in the April issue of *Music and Letters* "Unfortunately, to an ear accustomed to the sound of medieval music, plainsong often seems something of a misfit. This, I think, is partly due to the 'romantic' interpretation of Solesmes, which is considered *the* authority on plainsong. The injunction to turn our volume controls down low and keep them there is characteristic. And yet most medieval music gives the impression of being full-blooded and nothing if not straight-speaking. For me therefore Beuron is more valid, with its even and by no means veiled tone. The same is true of the rhythm. The *rubato* of Solesmes, though restrained, belies their rhythmic principles. The presence of explosive stresses, as in Sanctus XVIII, is not pleasant, and yet minor stresses are inaudible. Far more reasonable is the Beuron lengthening of notes marked originally by a bar over the note than the Solesmes *ictus*, which may be defined as an accent in the music which is ignored in performance."

Another chant release, of documentary rather than practical value, presents the Trappists of Spencer, Massachusetts, in a reading of the Cistercian version of the Assumption Mass and selections from the Assumption Office. The musical consultants for the record were Mr. Theodore Marier and Mr. Thomas Sokol. The Trappists of St. Joseph's Abbey, while retaining the notation traditional to their Order, have clearly adapted the Solesmes principles to the music; the same measureless flow that characterizes the singing of Dom Gajard's choir will be noted here. The music, generally not as ornate as the version in the Vatican editions, is nevertheless a genuine species of chant, and should be of especial interest to advanced students and to those who wish to hear variants of the standard texts. (The record is listed as CRS-402, and is obtainable from Cambridge Records, Inc., P.O. Box 254, Cambridge 38, Mass.)

Francis Guentner, S. J.

POLYPHONIC MUSIC

Among recent recordings of polyphonic music, special attention should be paid to a reading of Palestrina's deservedly popular *Missa Brevis*, done by the Netherlands Chamber Choir under Felix de Nobel (Epic LC 3359). Several records by the same competent ensemble have preceded this release: there is a fine rendition of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* (LC 3045), and a superior reading of Stravinsky's mass came out last year (LC 3231). The present record contains, besides the *Missa Brevis*, selections from an earlier and busy little work of Palestrina, the *Missa ad Fugam*; also there are three short Bach Chorales, the dramatic *Crucifixus* of Lotti, a treble-voiced *Adoramus* of Lassus, and the moving *Ecce quomodo* of Handl.

Mr. de Nobel has a top-flight choir under his command, one which I should say compares favorably with the Shaw Chorale or any other similar ensemble. Tonal quality and choral blend are a constant pleasure to the ears, and enunciation is exact without being artificial. But over and above this, Mr. de Nobel himself evidently possesses an intimate understanding of the nature of sixteenth-century music, and he succeeds in communicating this understanding to the choir. The phrasing, the respect for linear independence are always in evidence. One looks forward to more records by this fine group.

On the face of it, you would think that Italian choirs had inherited an authentic tradition in regard to the singing of Golden Age polyphony. Records of Italian choirs, however, incline one seriously to doubt the widespread existence of such a tradition. Could it be that the tenacious hold which opera has over Italy has vitiated their understanding of sixteenth-century music? At any rate, a new record presents the Choir of the Choral Academy of Lecco, under the direction of Guido Camillucci, in three works of Palestrina — a set of eight spiritual madrigals going under the title of *Le Vergini* (words by Petrarch), the double-chorus *Stabat Mater*, and the motet *Super flumina* (Vox PL 9740). The singing seems to be appreciably better than the work done by the same chorus in a *Requiem* of Victoria a couple of years ago. But there is still a tendency to overstress accents, and the homophonic sections of *Le Vergini* are treated, as I suggested above, as operatic in style; there are too many outbursts, and the delivery lacks smoothness. Still, we are not soon likely to get another recording of *Vergini*, an important composition of Palestrina's maturity, first published in 1581.

Eleven of William Byrd's finest motets—including *Sacerdotes Domini*, *Iustorum animae*, *Salve Regina*, *Assumpta est Maria* — are presented by an English group called the Renaissance Singers, directed by Michael Howard (West. XWN 18402). The blend is good, the various parts well balanced, and the tone quality generally pleasing. I should have preferred, however, more animation and buoyancy in the projection of the music; the individual sections seem somewhat restrained. Yet this is the best cross section of Byrd motets yet recorded.

Francis J. Guentner, S. J.

The Assumption Mass of the Massachusetts Trappists is reviewed twice above, and not by design. With two fingers already in the pie, there might as well be a third, if only to take into account a few further observations. Has the record anything to do with Solesmes? The Cistercian Kyriale contains rhythmic signs, the Graduale does not. However they observe them, more or less, in everything they sing, regardless of the books. It strikes one nonetheless that the trappists carry on with a good deal more rhythmic subtlety than do the usual Solesmes renditions. And more freedom and persuasion.

The real similarity to Solesmes comes in something far more telling and, I think, important: a *style of singing* which the monks at Solesmes have, and which has little or nothing to do with the books they use. This is a point not often discussed. Their singing is characterized by an alternate French verve (one might say vivace, even staccato) and legato, by an undeniably suppressed vocal procedure, and by an almost endless phrase. Now let this be. If it is their style, that is what it is, and one ought respect it as such. But simply to copy and imitate style is regretably bad musicianship. In the matter of the chant of the Abbey of Solesmes, this has become an almost universal practice, though by now probably an unconscious one.

I know friends who will take off on an antiphon in a bump-bum-deedl-de-dump fashion that is foreign to everything else they do. Then the vocal procedure at the Solesmes Abbey may be necessary to their needs, necessary to accomplish a decent unison tone; but others more gifted vocally need bear no such inhibition. I realize too that the phrasing bars of the Vatican and Solesmes editions may be arbitrary, but they are no more arbitrary than the opinion of Dr. Gustave Fellerer that you must rush through to the

double bars, and then take a really good breath, and start over again. One is minded of G. K. Chesterton's first impression of *The Swastika*. It reminded him of nothing so much as a cat chasing its tail. Yet this seems to be the ambition of most chant groups — to ape and exaggerate every last effect of someone else's legitimate style. It has brought a lethal sameness and dreariness to the chant. Put all the records away for awhile. Sing everything within the framework of the Solesmes principles if you will, and see how richer and more varied the results will be.

So I do not agree that this is the finest American record. If I want Solesmes unabashed, then give me the detailed and polished record of the Wagner Chorale, which at least has the merit of sounding better than the monks themselves. Records are not an experience but a phenomenon, and like the current craze for "taping", they do not mark us as a musical people, but a silent people. There was more music in the nation when the family stood around the piano and sang the old and tarnished songs. It is something like the hundreds of thousands who watch ball games, but never play themselves. Records, yes—but records for what? Surely not to play exactly like Heifitz, or Rubinstein, or to mimic Marion Anderson's Schubert, or do something exactly like this choir or that. But I fear it is one of our besetting faults. If a piece of chant is pleasing, even inspiring, they will tell you that you know something about Solesmes. If it is not, then you do not know about Solesmes. But they forget the plain fact that the most adroit Solesmes chant can sound very bad. It is all pretty unfair to Dom Gajard and his chanting brethren.

The bells on this recording are perhaps for Hollywood—they are so nice, the intervals so exact. Further, there is a good deal of singing on consonants, particularly the "r". Hearing Mass and Vespers at the Abbey might be an unforgettable experience, but hearing the recording is not. I agree, though, with my colleague Mr. Marier, that the record is better than most.

MISSA BREVIS—Wilhelm Killmayer

It is not difficult to write a *Missa Brevis*, if you leave out the *Credo*, *Sanctus*, and *Benedictus*. This is what Mr. Killmayer has done, however, and it leaves the rest of the mass not so *brevis*. In arranging such a production, the composer had the purpose of liberating the mass from its formal liturgical ties, in order to give the text a dramatic interpretation. Now this is not exactly a novel experiment. In two ways it doesn't quite come off. The *Kyrie*

could have been a set of syllables used for a 1954 version of the Polovtsienne Dances from Prince Igor. The Agnus Dei could be a Carmen Jones counter-part of the most miserere'n Verdi Opera. (I am not here criticizing the music itself, which is wrought with consummate skill, and drama enough, indeed.) The second way in which the experiment does not quite come off is that there is a tremendous amount of material in each of the three sections, but especially the Gloria, which might really have been done into a ravishing liturgical setting. This, of course, is an interest of prejudice. Taking the work as it is, it adds up to something of high interest but of small artistic integrity because there is an inescapable conflict of forms. This is no particular reflection on William Killmayer, for I would say the same thing of the Vivaldi Gloria or the Bach B Minor Mass. There is nothing as dramatic in a very real sense as the liturgical action this sort of music and these texts ought to fit. Margaret Hillis and the New York Concert Choir give a superb reading on a first class platter. The singing is entirely a cappella, and multi-voiced.

MASS—Lou Harrison

By contrast, Mr. Harrison's Mass is complete and meant for use in church. The text moves along in a traditional way, except that the Gloria and Credo intonations are a part of the score. The singing is either unison or in octaves, and medieval contrapuntal devices are effectively supplied by a small orchestra. The melodies are inspired by a simple kind of plainsong which the Indians sang in Spanish California and Mexico. There is no declaration that they were taken from any kind of extant themes. It appears to be a well wrought and possibly useful mass, though the limited techniques employed—it has perhaps *too much* unity—run a little dry after the Credo gets under way. But the Credo is the downfall of many composers. Take it away, and the somewhat extended Kyrie, the moving and beautiful Gloria, the brief Agnus Dei add up to something of high, uncomplicated interest. The Mass, which Mr. Harrison has dedicated to St. Anthony, was first performed in New York City, February, 1954, and is scheduled for publication this year. Both Masses are recorded through the Fromm Music Foundation by Epic, a product of C.B.S. They are on opposite sides of the same disc—LC 3307.

PRELIMINARY CHRISTMAS SURVEY

Gloria (*ad modum tubae*); Dufay, H. Flammer

The two upper parts, either SS or SA, are in strict canon. And a more lively discipline in rhythm you could not find for your choir. Words have been set to the parts originally written for brass instruments. This Gloria is, of course, from the magnificent book *Renaissance to Baroque*, Volume I, *French-Netherlands Music*. No choir should be without the whole series.

Hodie Nobis Coelorum Rex; Nanino, J. Fischer
Resonet in Laudibus; (Gallus) Handl J. Fischer

It is encouraging to see Christmas programs which utilize the great resources of polyphony. Here are two not so difficult motets with which to begin a tradition of attention to some of the more profound works.

Oxford Book of Carols; Oxford University Press

While the cost of the whole book might be rather prohibitive for the complete ensemble, it is possible to buy many of the carols separately. The Lutebook Lullaby, Greensleeves, and Mary's Wandering are issued separately. A study of this volume will no doubt lead to more variety in the carol offering at Christmas — and a variety of a very high standard.

Father Finn Carol Book; C. C. Birchard & Sons

Another volume certainly standard down through the years is this one. Many of the standard carols are well arranged. But there is also a wealth of carol material all too infrequently heard. Choirs may order the melody edition for the soprano chorus and the complete edition for the altos, tenors, and basses. Perhaps this volume should be recommended particularly to groups just beginning four-part work.

Jesus Falls Asleep; Czech Carol, Arranged by C. Alexander, Pelouquin, McLaughlin and Reilly

Arrangements as discreet as this are hard to find. So many of our people are turning out arrangements of a Hollywood variety, arrangements that dress up the piece of music beyond the bounds of good taste. Here is a simple setting with dissonance adding a sense of modernity to the carol. Mr. Pelouquin has the madrigal writer's feeling for the text. His use cadentially of the word "falls" is magnificent.

J.W.

Break Forth, O Beauteous, Heavn'ly Light—The familiar and lasting choral, from J. S. Bach's "Christmas Oratorio". SATB—C. C. Birchard; TTBB—E. C. Schirmer.

Nenia Pastorale—A lovely and popular Italian Christmas song from the pen of the gifted Bonaventura Somma. Edizione C. Casimiri, Rome SATBB

Notturmo di Bethlehem—An SA setting, Italian text, to a fragment of the gorgeous Christmas Concerto of Corelli. Edizione C. Casimiri, Rome. String parts may be taken directly from the concerto. The first two—Bach and Somma—are also successful with strings.

Mary's Lullaby, by Harry Seitz. SATB, Remick Music Corporation, New York. Holds distinction among the thousands of pieces of this kind. Easy and good. Poem by Lizette Reese.

Missa Est ist ein Ros entsprungen—Wilhelm Kurthen, L. Schwann Verlag, Dusseldorf, Germany; U. S., World Library; Polyphonic in structure, SATB. If you must have a "Christmas Mass", this is the best we have seen, exclusive of the classic polyphonic titles.

Hodie! Hodie! Jan Pieterszoon Sweelick, Theodore Presser Co. A tremendous piece of old Dutch polyphony that is a stunner as well. Need some good tenors for the SATTB setting but any choir will find it worth the work.

In Natali Domini. SATB. Michael Praetorius, Neil A. Kjos Music Co. The name bespeaks the quality of the piece. But one must issue a warning. It starts in Latin and winds up in English. I caught myself using it during the Communion at Midnight Mass one year. So did the boss.

Stille Nacht, Heilige Nacht! In a telling arrangement by Franz Philip SATB. Schwann. There are also, among arrangements too numerous to mention, The St. Mary's Press triad: the original of Franz Gruber, Michael Haydn, and Ernest White. SATB. Also a catchy solo and SATB arrangement of *Adeste Fideles* by C. v. d. Peet, World Library. It would go well with recorders for accompaniment. English and Latin Texts.

A Christmas Cradle Song; SATB, C. B. Hawley, Le Grand Orgue Edition. Very sweet, but so is Christmas. A favorite among radio listeners, but officials don't like it because, moving slowly, it takes some time.

Postlude on Adeste Fidelis (organ) by Camile Van Hulse, McLaughlin & Reilly.

Herodes—A Christmas Mystery Play, revised and adapted by Robert J. Snow. World Library. F. S.

NEWS-LITTER

● The Flor Peeters "Missa Laudis", which we announced in the May *Caecilia* as being a Schwann publication, is ready in a domestic edition of McLaughlin & Reilly, Boston. It will be used at the Boys Town Workshop with Mr. Peeters, and reviewed in the next issue.

● An article of great interest in the summer issue of the Journal of the American Musicological Society: "The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant" by Willi Apel. Mr. Apel's book on Gregorian Chant will be published by the Indiana University Press this fall.

● At the Solemn Mass at the Visitation church in Chicago last St. Patrick's day the Offertory motet and the communion hymn respectively were "Sancte Venite" and "Audite omnes Amatas." Both were composed by St. Sechnall, one of St. Patrick's nine nephews, eight of whom were bishops of Ireland. "Sancte Venite," according to the Catholic Encyclopedia, is the Latin version of a hymn traditionally heard sung by the angels during a Mass celebrated by St. Patrick in the presence of St. Sechnall. The present music of this hymn is a very ancient Irish melody.

● The Catholic Choir Guild of Bergen County (N. Jersey) plans a recital of Sacred Music in May. The Welch Chorale gave a program at their recent meeting.

● The St. Pius X Guild of choirmasters and organists met twice this spring to prepare for a pontifical Mass in Milwaukee County Stadium. Chairman was Fr. Elmer Pfeil, assisted by Fr. Irvin Udulutsch, O.F.M. Cap., Father Cletus Madsen of Davenport, and Don Hintz.

● The Washington University Choir, St. Louis, Don Weiss, Conductor, gave a stirring performance in the Graham Memorial Chapel the evening of May 5th. Included were *Tenebrae Factae Sunt*, Ingegneri; Psalm XCVII, Schutz; Chorales by Bach and three items for double chorus: *O Filii et Filiae*, Leasing; *Lord Let At Last Thine Angels Come*, Hassler; and *Jubilate Deo by Giovanni Gabrieli*. There was also music of the Eastern Church and Zoltan Kodaly's excellent and timely Hymn to King Stephen. (Available from Boosey & Hawkes in the U. S.) Father Vitry teaches chant at the University.

● There is an article about Sacred Art in the July 12 issue of that outstanding diocesan weekly, *The Indiana Catholic and Record*. Lots of things to comment on but the choicest bit is the late Paul Claudel's remark, that if the salt of Christian art were lost, it would be replaced by sugar. . . .

● On Sunday afternoon, June 30th, the Cathedral Men's Choir of the Washington (Episcopal) Cathedral premiered Robert P. Twyham's Mass for men's voices and organ. Director was Paul Callaway, and the composer played the organ. It is reported that the mass is a remarkably compelling piece of music. Other items were a Morley Magnificat and Archibald Davidson's arrangement of the *Allegrì Miserere*.

● Butterworths Scientific Publications, London, (4-5 Bell Yard, Temple Bar) announce the appearance in Sept., 1957, of the British Union Catalogue of early music. It forms a record of pre-1800 music held in the permanent collections of over 100 libraries throughout the British Isles. It contains some 55,000 entries with a separate vocal index of over 10,000 titles. Though the mass of music comes from England, Scotland and Ireland, rare foreign publications of all periods and countries are strongly represented. The catalog will appear in two volumes at \$35 per volume.

● A program by the Inland Childrens chorus, under the direction of Joseph Geiger, Dayton, Ohio, included J. Alfred Schehl's "Lord's Prayer". Mr. Geiger was a pupil of Mr. Schehl.

● Rev. Richard Schuler played the dedicatory concert on the new Wicks organ in the Church of the Holy Childhood, St. Paul, Minn., on June 25th. The program listed Bach, Scheidt, Frescobaldi, Buxtehude, Peeters, Messiaen, and Langlais.

● St. Paul's Cathedral Choir, Pittsburgh, Pa., had their annual Homecoming Mass in late June. It was the golden jubilee year as well, an some of the choristers present had sung at the dedication service fifty years ago. But the old boys didn't get away with anything. They had two previous rehearsals for two old favorites: Singenberger and Haller.

● The Newman Press, Westminster, Md., announces a "Complete Wedding Service" by Father John Selner, S.S. The book contains organ music, motets, and hymns arranged for SATB, unison and equal voices. It is available in two editions—one for the bride (who is probably not expected to sing) and one for the choir. For a time like this, it is reasonably priced.

● A short history of Christian Music in about 100 pages has been issued as an excerpt from the new French Catholic Encyclopedia. It sells for about a dollar (300 frs.)

● The Alamo Register recently featured William J. Marsh as their personality of the week, under the sub-title "For 'E's a Bloomin Good Texan". Mr. Marsh, of course, is a well known Church Musician, but a man of many other parts. He came *there* from England in 1904 to work at the cotton business. He has composed, among other things, the first opera in Texas and the official state song, "Texas My Texas". Not that things were always so musical in Texas. In 1904 the Presbyterians were the only folks who owned an organ, and Mr. Marsh was the only organist, so (with a dispensation) he played for them for 36 years. He has been organist at St. Patrick's pro-cathedral since 1920, and is presently music critic for the Fort Worth *Evening Star Telegram*.

● Father Vanden Elsen, the oldest Norbertine priest in the United States, died on July 8, in the Abbey at West De Pere, Wis. Father Vanden Elsen, who had composed a Mass in honor of St. Norbert in 1905 and a good deal of subsequent music, was also known as a phenomenal mathematician.

● It was charming to receive, from South Africa, a note addressed to "The Kind-hearted Controller of the Notice-Board. How could we help but report a little booklet called "Mass Verses", obtainable from The Monastery, Marianhill, Natal, S. A. Africa. The verses are arranged according to the parts of the mass, as suggested in Mus. Sac. Disc. The compilers show excellent taste in using hymn tunes from the Westminster hymnal, though the question of the quality of the verses themselves, despite proper sentiment, remains. Anyway, all hail to Marianhill!

● In Chicagoland . . . the annual meeting of organists and choirmasters drew around a hundred to Quigley Seminary.

● The Cecilia Society Chamber Singers, Theodore Marier, conductor, sang selected items from Palestrina, Bach and Hanson at the Isabella Stewart Gargner Museum. The Chamber Singers are members of the larger Cecilia Society of Boston, one of the country's oldest choral organizations.

● See the June issue of *Muzart* for a full account of the N.C.M.E.A. convention in St. Louis. In the same issue, Sister Cecilia gives vent to her usual good sense on the subject of choir-boys-lost. Msgr. Quigley wound up his review on a comforting note: "The optimist always sees the bottle half full. The pessimist sees only that it is half empty."

● In the May Issue we reported that J. Vincent Higgenson's Handbook for Catholic Hymnals (See *The Catholic Chormaster*, Spring, 1956) would be ready by June 15th. We failed to note that this was June 15, 1961! Anyway he reports that "now we are up to 600 mostly good tunes."

● Prof. Paul F. Laubenstein, director of the Palestrina Society of Connecticut College, New London, has retired from his post as chairman of the department of religion and chapel director—one that he held for 29 years. The society gave Palestrina's "Missa Ecce Sacerdos Magnus" as the second presentation of its 16th season. The mass, first published in 1554 at the master's own expense, is the only surviving mass which still retains throughout the original words of the cantus firmus around which the whole was constructed, together with the liturgical text of the mass. This practice of using two sets of words in the same mass (one of which might be incongruously secular) had been in vogue for perhaps a century, and was understandably forbidden by edict of the Council of Trent in 1563. The Palestrina Society sang the mass in its original form from an edition prepared especially for its use.

● Raymond J. Smith has moved from St. John the Baptist Church in Fort Wayne to Milwaukee's new St. Jude's.

● Mr. Berj Zamkochian, organist and choirmaster at St. Theresa's in West Roxbury gave a recital this spring in the Methuen Memorial Music Hall. The program was

representative—Vivaldi's Concerto in A Minor, Reubke's Sonata and the Alain Litanies, among others. Mr. Zamochian made his second European tour in July, and represented the United States with an organ recital at the World Congress of Sacred Music in Paris.

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MP

Ma - gnum No - men Do - mi - ni: E - ma - nu - el! Quod an - nun - ti

MP

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- te, gau - de - te. Ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - nei

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