

CAECILIA

A Review of Catholic Church Music



Editorial: Stand on the Chant
The Vatican Edn. of Chant (Kyrie): p. 44
" " + its Critics p. 158

The Roman Chant Richard Schuler

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A Quarterly Review devoted to the liturgical music apostolate.

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EDITORIALS

A Stand on the Chant

The editors of this journal could think with some justification that their stand on the chant has been sufficiently clear. Still, because of publishing events of the last two years, and our own presentation of differing sides, we feel that the time is proper to state a definitive stand. It is no kind of momentous decision, for we stand with the Vatican Edition, which is still the official edition of the church. "Therefore the *authentic* Gregorian chant is that which is found in the "typical" Vatican editions, or which is approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites for some particular church or religious community, and so it must be reproduced only by editors who have proper authorization, accurately and completely, as regards both melodies and the texts. The signs, called *rhythmic*, which have been privately introduced into Gregorian Chant, are permitted, provided that the force and meaning of the notes found in the Vatican books of liturgical chant are preserved." (Instruction on Sacred Music and the Liturgy, Sept. 3, 1958)

When the Vatican Edition began coming off the press in the first decade of this century, its strongest supporters did not perhaps expect it to last until the distant 1960. They had a somewhat shocking battle on their hands to bring it to light of day. Nonetheless it is still with us, as a necessity it seems to us, reflecting the wisdom of its editors. We cannot accept, on the one hand, the oft-proven artificiality of the rhythmic system of the school of Solesmes, nor on the other, the mensuralistic system of any given set of manuscripts. Some of the latter have added greatly to our knowledge of chant history; the former has only created five decades of confusion.

In this issue we reprint two articles indicative of the early conflict—not simply to fill space, but as a matter of information, which, at this late date, one might hope to evaluate without jaundice. In the next issue we shall print a little known and never Englished defense of the Vatican Edition by Peter Wagner, called *Der Kampf gegen die Editio Vaticana*. And Father Vitry will elaborate editorially.

Oversight

We are genuinely sorry to have neglected to credit Dr. Ethel Thurston with the compiling of the Stravinsky article in the last issue. She also generously procured the copyrite permissions.

Great Thanks

Caecilia is grateful to those persons who have given money (and time), and to the advertisers who have answered our distress signal of last fall. A full accounting will be given in a later issue.

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—DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER

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THE ROMAN CHANT

The influences of eastern, Asiatic, and Semitic sources on our chant are coming more and more to light. That many of the chant melodies come from the Synagogue has long been held, together with the theory that many Palestinian and Syrian influences came into the West during the pontificates of eastern popes.¹ However, a subject of equal interest is the influence that the Roman chant, with its borrowings from all parts of the world, had on the liturgical music of the West. The old saying that "all roads lead to Rome" can be stated just as truly that "all roads lead *from* Rome," carrying with them what has been gathered there from all over the world. In this article we shall investigate the Roman chant, which through the course of the Middle Ages spread out from Rome through western Europe in several different waves. Interestingly enough, while it was always "Roman," it was not always the same.

Many early popes encouraged liturgical music. There is evidence that they composed or arranged chants for the service. Among those named as editing a cycle of chants for the whole year are Pope Damasus (366-384), Pope Leo I (440-461), Pope Gelasius (492-496), Pope Symmachus (498-514), Pope Hormisdas (514-523), Pope John (523-526), and Pope Boniface (530-532). However, the most significant compilation and arrangement is attributed to Pope Gregory the Great. Very likely it was the singers in the papal service who did this work during the pontificates of the popes named, but there are three abbots of Saint Peter's who are also named as composers of chants: Catalenus, Maruianus, and Virbonus. These monks may have done the work for Pope Gregory.

The order of the Mass and the Office with the chants belonging to both was revised by Gregory for the papal ceremonies. Without opening the question of the personal role of Gregory in this work, it is sufficient to say that there is a thousand year old tradition that much of the present order in the Roman liturgy was achieved during his reign. His books replaced the older Gelasian order, and from the seventh century onward the Roman chant as compiled by Gregory began to supplant all other local chants.

Gregory's reforms were not intended for the whole Church, but rather only for Rome and for the papal functions, especially the stationary services. Thus, the low Mass continued to be celebrated according to the Gelasian Sacramentary even in Rome, and local liturgies and chants flourished throughout the West. While these

¹ For an extensive treatment of this question see Eric Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, Columbia Press, 1959.

can generally be classified into groups such as Celtic, Mozarabic, Gallican, African and Milanese, many variations existed within these categories. What has lasted to this day in the East was true of the western Church until the time of the Carolingians who attempted to achieve greater liturgical and musical uniformity as a method of unification of their domains. Thus it was not the pope but the secular rulers, aided by St. Boniface and Rhabanus Maurus, who began the spread of the Roman liturgy and chant in Gaul. In his Capitulary of Thionville (805), Charlemagne commanded that the chant from Rome be employed. The old Gallican books were burned, and Charlemagne's program made headway in Gaul. While most of the liturgical books were destroyed and little evidence remains, we do know that there was a body of church music and that bishops and abbots encouraged it. It seems to have been simpler than the chants compiled by Gregory, since the new melodies with their embellishments were difficult for the Gallican singers. The old chant disappeared or was absorbed into the new music from Rome.

Charlemagne's efforts to impose a uniform liturgy did not succeed so well in Italy, where he had to back down from his order in the face of trouble in Milan. The Milanese resisted and preserved their chant which we call "Ambrosian." Other evidence that it was not completely accepted comes from the writings of Pope Leo IV (847-855), who wrote to Abbot Honoratus in the vicinity of Rome forbidding the use of any chant except Gregorian "which is employed by the western church almost exclusively."² Other areas of Italy held on to their local variants, among them the locality of Beneventum.

In Spain, there is evidence of an early body of music that seems to have had its common origin along with the Gallican and local Italian chants. There were considerable Gothic influences and through them Byzantine influences. With the rule of the Moors in Spain, it acquired the name of Mozarabic. This music lasted through the Moslem period and fell only to the next "wave" of chant from Rome, during the eleventh century with the pontificate of Gregory VII and the beginnings of the "reconquista." Some of the old musical manuscripts remain at the monastery of Silos.

The spread of the Roman chant in England is of special interest, since it was within the lifetime of Gregory the Great that it was introduced there by the monks from Rome under Augustine. The opposition between the missionaries from Rome and the older Celtic traditions of the north culminated in the famous Synod of Whitby

² Quoted from Peter Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, p. 173.

(664). Liturgical matters were certainly the subject of discussion. The decision to accept the Roman calendar in the Paschal controversy probably indicates the further adoption of other Roman practices and customs, among them very likely the Roman chant. None of these changes was immediately accepted in all parts of the country, so we see frequent references to teachers of chant who knew the Roman music. Bede the Venerable mentions a certain James, who was precentor and deacon at Canterbury and later successor to Paulinus as Archbishop of York. He taught the chant in the way that was customary at Rome. Another was Benedict Biscop who knew the Roman chant from travel abroad, but the greatest influence came from the sending of John the archicantor of the papal chapel to England by Pope Agatho (678-682). He spent two years at the monastery of Wearmouth and taught the liturgy and chant as it was celebrated at St. Peter's in Rome. He was one of many Roman singers who went about Europe in the seventh and eighth centuries spreading the Roman song, until local schools of music assumed the task in the ninth century. There are other examples of monks from the continent journeying to England to teach music, as for instance, in 946, when some monks from Corbie went.

The great schools of chant outside Rome grew up at St. Gall in Switzerland and at Metz in Lorraine. Metz was the greater, and it became an important center for the diffusion of the Roman chant. During the lifetime of Pepin it was very famous, attracting students even from England; it remained influential until the twelfth century. Other Frankish schools were at Argenteuil near Paris, Toul, Dijon, Cambrai, Chartres and Nevers. The tenth and eleventh centuries were the high points in their development. In Germany, in addition to St. Gall, there were great schools at Reichenau in the Rhine, Hirschau and at the monastery of St. George in the Black Forest.

Just as the great developments in the ceremonies of the Mass and Office during the ninth and tenth centuries occurred in Gaul and Germany, so also it seems that the chant was expanded and changed in Gaul and Germany during these centuries particularly at Metz and St. Gall. Thus scholars have become aware of two traditions or types of chant dating from this period. Musicologists, who have studied the various extant manuscripts and attempted to date and place them, have come forth with several theories and various suggested names. Some have tried to explain the two traditions by claiming one of them to be "pre-Gregorian;" others have called the older version "proto-Roman." Dom Huglo has suggested the use of "Old Roman" and "Gregorian" to represent the two variants,

“Old Roman” indicating the music that remained unchanged in Rome through these centuries; “Gregorian” indicating the music that developed at St. Gall and Metz.

The problem stems from the following manuscripts that do not agree with the tradition of St. Gall and Metz, but rather testify to an older body of song. Some of these documents date to the end of the eighth century, although most of the manuscripts that are extant are copies from the eleventh century or later. The evidence can be divided into two classes: music for the Mass (contained in the *Graduale*) and music for the Office (contained in the *Antiphonale*). These in turn are of two kinds: those with notation and those without notation.⁴

The most significant manuscripts of the *Graduale* with notation in this Old Roman tradition are:

1. A *Graduale*, copied in 1071 by a priest named John for use in the Basilica of St. Cecilia in Trastevere in Rome. It is called Ms Phillipps 16069 and is today in London. It contains all the chants for the liturgical year in the Old Roman version, but a lacuna of about thirty pages deprives us of some of it. In addition, there are some chants of the Gregorian version consisting of tropes, sequences, and Alleluia verses that do not appear in the Old Roman books.

2. A *Graduale* found in the Vatican Library that was written and noted at the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth for use in a Roman basilica, probably the Lateran.

3. Another *Graduale* of the thirteenth century that has no trace of the Gregorian Alleluias, tropes or sequences, and seems to be in the tradition of the Basilica of St. Peter.

4. A Gregorian *Graduale* of the twelfth century that was written and noted at Saint Eutizio de Norcia, north of Rome, in which the canticle for Holy Saturday, *Vinea mea*, is set to an Old Roman melody, while even at Rome this had been replaced by a Gregorian one.

5. An *Orationale* from St. Peter's dating from the beginning of the twelfth century. It contains the Canon of the Mass and other extracts from the Missal, and, at the end, the Masses for burial and for marriage (*Rogamus te* and *Deus Israel*) and the Mass of the Major Litanies (*Exaudivit*) are found in the Old Roman version.

³ Cf. A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees*, Bruce, 1957.

⁴ Cf. Dom Michael Huglo, “Le Chant ‘Vieux-romain’” in *Sacris Erudiri* VI (1954). The information about the Old Roman manuscripts is taken from this article.

6. A Sacramentary from the end of the eleventh century for use of the Camaldusian monks of St. Philip and St. James in the Diocese of Siena. Here this same nuptial Mass is found, because the Gregorian tradition did not have a nuptial Mass and thus it was drawn from the Old Roman and from there passed into the Gregorian. It is only in the twelfth century that a melody of the Gregorian type for the texts of the nuptial Mass is found.

7. A Missal fragment from the end of the eleventh century with some Old Roman chants for the nuptial Mass.

8. A *Missale* from the twelfth-thirteenth centuries for use in St. Peter's at Rome in which some notes have been added in another hand for the Holy Saturday Alleluia, the melody being the Old Roman version.

9. Several Pontificals of the Roman Curia, all of which seem to have a common model that dates to the thirteenth century, in which three antiphons are always given in the Old Roman version.

The most significant manuscripts in the Old Roman tradition without notation are these:

1. A fragment of a *Graduale* copied in the ninth century, probably at Fulda, from a model that may have come from England or from Rome. The writing attests to an Anglo-Saxon influence, while the order of the pieces attests that the fragment is part of a group of Old Roman manuscripts.

2. A *Missale* of St. Eutizio de Norcia from the tenth-eleventh centuries. By the antiphons of the Mass it is clearly attached to the Old Roman tradition. It has preserved the ancient canticles of the Easter vigil: *Vinea* and *Cantemus*.

3. A complete *Missale* written in central Italy at the end of the tenth century. The list of Alleluias for Easter week and for the greater part of the Sunday of Paschal time is identical with that of the Old Roman tradition.

4. A manuscript containing several *Ordines Romani* and an *Antiphonale Missarum* that was written at the end of the eighth century. It has several peculiarities that can be explained only by reference to the Old Roman tradition.

The most significant copies of the *Antiphonale* with notation exemplifying the Old Roman tradition are these:

1. An *Antiphonale* from the middle of the twelfth century—the notation of which appears to be that of a group of manuscripts

that come from a transitional zone between Benevento and central Italy.

2. An *Antiphonale* from St. Peter's Basilica, dating from the second half of the twelfth century, remarkable for the relative poverty of its repertoire.

There are also some documents without notation that attest to the Old Roman tradition. They are:

1. The *Liber politicus* of Chanoine Benoit, officially registered in 1140 and 1143. The liturgical prescriptions of the *Ordo* coincide exactly with those of St. Peter's, showing that the Old Roman chant was in use in the Roman Curia itself in the middle of the twelfth century, not only in the Roman basilicas.

2. The *Ordo Antiphonarum* which has been preserved in seven manuscripts, the oldest being from the ninth century. Its interest lies in its testimony of the Old Roman practice of the Vigil of great feasts, a practice no trace of which can be found in the Gregorian *Antiphonale*. These manuscripts list at least two: Christmas and the feast of St. Peter.

3. The *Ordo* of Easter Vespers, giving the ceremonies and chants as celebrated by the pope at the Lateran during the Easter octave. Papal Vespers cannot be found in any manuscripts of the Gregorian tradition.

4. The *Antiphonale* of Corbie, which Amalarius in his *De Ordine Antiphonarii* (written after 844) compares with the Gregorian tradition at Metz. He mentions the divergences between the two traditions: "*Quae memorata volumina contuli cum nostris antiphonariis invenique ea discrepare a nostris, non solum in ordine verum etiam in verbis et multitudine responsorium et antiphonarum quam nos non cantamus.*" He cites the responses of the office of Apostles and martyrs in the Roman tradition of which he finds not a trace of the Gregorian. The chief differences between the Corbie manuscript and the Gregorian manuscripts are these:

a) the double office of Christmas in the Corbie manuscript, one for the vigil and one for the feast itself;

b) the antiphons of Matins of Easter;

c) Easter Vespers;

d) a double office of Matins for St. Peter and other saints in the Corbie manuscript;

e) absence of proper responses for the feast of the Dedication of St. Michael in the Corbie manuscript;

f) absence of a series of antiphons from the Gospel text for the Sundays after Pentecost, which figure in all the Gregorian antiphonals.

By using these sources, musicologists have come to various conclusions. Peter Wagner attributes the "Old Roman" chant to the time of Pope Vitalian (657-672) and thus considers it later than the chant of Gregory the Great. Dom Andoyer, on the other hand, calls it earlier than Gregory's chant. Stablein⁵ holds that the period of Vitalian marks the origin of this chant while the "Gregorian" is a later Frankish development. Others, including Huglo, Hucke, and Handschin,⁶ have thrown considerable light on various points of detail. Not least in practical value is Huglo's suggestion of the terms "Old Roman" for the body of chants listed above and "Gregorian" for the tradition that has come from Metz and St. Gall, the tradition that has formed the basis for our twentieth century reconstruction of Gregorian chant in the Vatican Edition.

The chant was a fluid thing, varying according to locality and century, despite efforts to preserve a tradition. This is born out by Alcuin's work of "revising" the *Antiphonale*. It is shown by such facts as the presence in Italy of both traditions, or in the Diocese of Augsburg, where both types of chant were in use until the sixteenth century, or by the fusion of the two types in the same books, shown by the presence of tropes, sequences and Alleluias in the Old Roman books and the nuptial Mass in the Gregorian books.

One should not presume that the various attempts to impose "Roman" chant constituted a continuous effort that began in the time of the Carolingians and into the eleventh century. Rather, there were several distinct drives made during the Middle Ages, but in the meanwhile the chant itself had changed and developed. Thus the chant that came out of Rome and was prescribed for use in Gaul in the ninth century was not what Gregory VII ordered to be used in Spain in the eleventh. There were really several "waves" of Roman song.

The second great wave came in the eleventh century when the product of the schools of Metz and St. Gall returned to Rome and from there went out to replace the older forms in Spain, England and various parts of Italy. The chant followed the same course

⁵ Cf. Bruno Stablein, "Choral" in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, p. 1265-1302.

⁶ Cf. J. Handschin, "La Question du chant 'vieux-romain'" in *Annales musicologiques*. II. 1954. p. 49ff.

as the liturgical changes of the period. It was spread through the Cluniac reform movement, the wanderings of the Norman conquerors, and the direct legislation of the Hildabrandine group. This is well documented for Spain, where resistance to the efforts to replace the Mozarabic chant and liturgy was encountered. The controversy that is recorded at Glastonbury Abbey in England when a Norman abbot attempted to introduce a "new" chant probably is an indication of this eleventh century wave of a new Roman song. The various letters and orders to monasteries in Italy indicate there also efforts were made to replace the old under the notion that it was "Roman" when in reality it was really Franco-Roman or "Gregorian," the product of the schools of Metz and St. Gall. This point the Spanish and the English who resisted clearly saw when they called it Gallican.

While orders were issued at various times by Frankish kings and by popes imposing the chant of Rome, these were not always observed. At best, the new chant was accepted and used; at least, it was completely ignored and the old form continued; in between, there was the process of adaptation of the new to the old, producing a mixture that in some instances ultimately became the norm for a new "wave." This accounts for the copying of Old Roman manuscripts as late as the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries right at Rome itself, as well as the retaining of the Ambrosian chant at Milan and the local version at Benevento, together with the failure to find at Rome even a single copy of the "Gregorian" chant before the thirteenth century. This likewise accounts for the fact that in manuscripts of both traditions there are many evidences of the other form. And it could be also, that when the various decrees imposing "Roman" chant were formulated the local variations did not loom as large as they do today. The collating of chant manuscripts is a nineteenth century practice.

In summary, without discounting the possibility of over-simplification, one can distinguish five main periods in the spread of the chant:

a) The music that was in use before the time of Gregory the Great, of which almost nothing is known, spread over Europe, developing local variations that produced Gallican, Celtic, Ambrosian and Mozarabic chant. Each was somewhat changed from the common original.

b) Gregory the Great compiled and revised the chant for the papal chapel and the city of Rome. This was brought to Gaul and imposed there by royal order, but it did not retain its purity. Rather

it fused with the older chant and became a kind of mixture to which the term "Gregorian" has been applied. Teaching this chant the great schools north of the Alps flourished.

c) The "Gregorian" chant, product of Metz and St. Gall, having returned to Rome with the reforms of Cluny, the various German emperors, and the Hildabrandine papacy, was now sent out as the "Roman" chant to be used throughout Europe. Records of the opposition it received in Spain and England have been cited.

d) The final victory of the "Gregorian" chant over the older versions came in the thirteenth century when the Franciscan books were officially adopted in Rome. Even though Milan retained its Ambrosian chant it was greatly infiltrated by Gregorian additions from the tradition of Metz and St. Gall. The last vestiges of the Old Roman chant melodies disappeared at the papal court itself with the sojourn of the papacy at Avignon.

e) In our own day through the Vatican Edition another new Roman chant has been given to the world. It is based chiefly on the tradition that came down from Metz and St. Gall.

Rev. Richard J. Schuler

THE VATICAN EDITION OF PLAIN CHANT *

THE first part of the Vatican edition of Plain Chant, namely, the 'Kyriale,' that is, the part containing the chants for the *Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus,* and *Credo*, as well as for the *Ite, Missa est,* and *Benedicamus Domino* and for the *Asperges* and *Vidi aquam*, has appeared at last. It had been waited for anxiously and with some uneasiness. It was an open secret that the cause of the delay lay in some dissensions amongst the members of the Pontifical Commission. When this difficulty had been overcome—we shall see presently in what manner—disconcerting rumours as to the nature of the forthcoming edition got abroad. We are now in a position to formulate an opinion, and let me say it at once, the result before us is sorely disappointing. I make this statement with the utmost pain. For I know that the opponents of the attempted return to the tradition will rejoice, and many friends of the old chants will be disheartened. But the truth must come out sooner or later, and it is best, therefore, to let it be known at once.

Let us recall what has happened. In his *Motu Proprio* on Church Music, of 22nd November, 1903, Pope Pius X ordained the return to the traditional chant of the Church. Accordingly, in a Decree of 8th January, 1904, the Congregation of Rites, withdrawing the former decrees in favour of the Ratisbon (Medicean) edition, commanded that the traditional form of Plain Chant should be introduced into all the churches as soon as possible. Soon afterwards his Holiness, in order to avoid anything like a monopoly in the chant books, conceived the idea of publishing a Vatican edition of Plain Chant, which all publishers, capable of doing it in a satisfactory manner, should be free to reprint. The Benedictines of Solesmes having, with extraordinary generosity, placed at the disposal of the Holy See the result of their long continued and expensive studies in the field of Plain Chant, Pius X published, under

* From the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Volume XIX, January to June, 1906, pp. 44-63.

25th April, 1904, the *Motu Proprio* concerning the 'Edizione Vaticana dei libri liturgici continenti le melodie gregoriane,' from which I must quote a few extracts. The document opens thus :—

Col Nostro *Motu Proprio* del 22 Novembre 1903 e col susseguente Decreto, pubblicato per Nostro ordine dalla Congregazione dei Sacri Riti l'8 Gennaio 1904, abbiamo restituito alla Chiesa Romana l'antico suo canto gregoriano, quel canto che esse ha ereditata dai padri, che ha custodito gelosamente nei suoi codici liturgici e che gli studi più recenti hanno assai felicemente ricondotto alla sua primitiva purezza.

His Holiness then proceeds to state that he has determined on a Vatican edition of the chant, and lays down a number of directions :—

(a) Le melodie della Chiesa, così dette gregoriane, saranno restabilite nella loro integrità e purezza secondo la fede dei codici più antichi, così però che si tenga particolare conto eziandio della legittima tradizione, contenuta nei codici lungo i secoli, e dell'uso pratico della odierna liturgia.

(b) Per la speciale Nostra predilezione verso l'Ordine di S. Benedetto, riconoscendo l'opera prestata dai monaci benedettini nella restaurazione delle genuine melodie della Chiesa Romana, particolarmente poi da quelli della Congregazione di Francia e del Monastero di Solesmes, vogliamo che per questa edizione, la redazione delle parti che contengono il canto, sia affidata in modo particolare ai monaci della Congregazione di Francia ed al Monastero di Solesmes.

(c) I lavori così preparati saranno sottomessi all'esame ed alla revisione della speciale Commissione romana, da Noi recentemente a questo fine istituita. . . . Dovrà inoltre procedere nel suo esame con la massima diligenza, non permettendo che nulla sia pubblicato, di cui non si possa dare ragione conveniente e sufficiente. . . . Che se nella revisione delle melodie occorressero difficoltà per ragione del testo liturgico, la Commissione dovrà consultare l'altra Commissione storico-liturgica, già precedentemente istituita presso la Nostra Congregazione dei Sacri Riti. . . .

(d) L'approvazione da darsi da Noi e dalla Nostra Congregazione dei Sacri Riti ai libri di canto così composti e pubblicati sarà di tal natura che a niuno sarà più lecito di approvare libri liturgici, se questi, eziandio nelle parti che contengono il canto, o non siano del tutto conformi all'edizione pubblicata dalla Tipografia Vaticana sotto i Nostri auspici, o per lo meno, a giudizio della Commissione, non siano per tal modo conformi, che le varianti introdotte si dimostrino provenire dall'autorità di altre buoni codici gregoriani.

There can be no reasonable doubt about the meaning of this document. Mark how, in the opening, his Holiness speaks of the chant as having been guarded by the Church jealously in her codices, and as having been restored to its primitive purity. Then, under (a) the work of the Commission is clearly defined. The melodies are to be re-established in their integrity and purity. As criterion for this is to be taken, in the first instance, the reading of the oldest codices. In the second place, however, account is to be taken of the legitimate tradition contained in the codices of later centuries. This is necessary, particularly as some melodies are not contained in the oldest codices. Such is the case, for instance, with a large number of melodies of the 'Kyriale,' which are not of Gregorian origin, but were composed centuries afterwards, some of them even later than the eleventh century, the date of our earliest staff notation MSS. Moreover, it is conceivable that in some particular point the oldest MSS. may be wrong, as each of them represents the tradition of merely one place. It would be the business of scientific criticism in such an instance to determine the original version from later evidence. Finally, the practical use of the present Liturgy is to be taken into account. This is necessary, because in some cases the wording of the liturgical text has been slightly altered in our modern liturgical books. In such cases the original melodies must be adapted to the new wording, unless, indeed, the Congregation of Rites can be induced to restore the original wording, for which the Pope makes provision under (c).

Again, under (c) the Commission is directed to see that nothing should be published which could not be properly accounted for. The meaning of this is plain. It would be absurd to suppose that the President of the Commission could 'account' for a passage by saying: 'This seems to me beautiful; therefore, I have put it in.'

Altogether the document is most wise and statesman-like, and we had reason to expect something very perfect as the outcome of it. But then something unexpected happened, as the novelist says. By a letter of his Eminence

Cardinal Merry del Val, dated 24th June, 1905, Dom Pothier, the President of the Commission, was made the sole judge of the version of the new edition, and the other members were reduced to the position of his helpers. What led up to this decision is not public history, and I have no desire to lift the curtain. Let it suffice to judge the proceedings by their result.

Ostensibly the cry got up against the redactors, the Solesmes monks, was that of 'archaism.' I need not go into the question of archaism at length. Dom Cagin has dealt with it admirably in the *Rassegna Gregoriana*, of July-August, 1905. I will make only one remark. I could understand a modern musician objecting to Plain Chant altogether, because it is archaic. But if we accept at all the chant of thirteen centuries ago, what difference does it make whether a phrase here and there is a little more or less 'archaic'?

It seems that Dom Pothier himself not long ago differed very much from those who now talk of 'archaism,' for, speaking of the variants of the Plain Chant melodies that crept in in the course of time, he said :—

Toutes ces variantes s'expliquent et, à certains points de vue, peuvent plus ou moins se justifier, mais aucune d'elles ne constitue un progrès. La manière plus simple et plus dégagée de la mélodie primitive est aussi la plus douce et la plus distinguée, celle qui a pour elle, avec le mérite de l'antiquité, celui de l'art et du bon goût.¹

And Father Lhoumeau, his pupil, and but the echo of his master, says :—

Cet examen d'une simple mélodie nous amène à des conclusions qui ressortent de l'état général du chant grégorien, car ce que nous voyons ici se retrouve partout. Si l'on veut restaurer l'art grégorien il faut toujours revenir aux sources, et ce qu'il y a de plus ancien, c'est ce qu'il y a de plus pur, de plus artistique, et non pas seulement de plus archaïque, comme peuvent le croire certaines gens.²

¹ *Revue du chant grégorien*, 15th December, 1896, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, 15th June, 1895, p. 169.

In the Preface, too, of his *Liber Gradualis* of 1895, Dom Pothier claims that he always has followed the authority of the *oldest* codices.

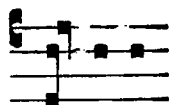
But we need not delay over this, for, as we shall see, the question of 'archaism' has not really much to do with the changes from the original made in the Vatican edition.

Dom Pothier, as soon as he had got a free hand, set to work vigorously, and at the Gregorian Congress in Strasburg last August, it was announced that the last sheet of the 'Kyriale' had got the final *Imprimatur*. At the same time the Commission, that is to say, the majority of the members present in Strasburg, declared that the 'Kyriale' represented the fruit of the long and enlightened labour of the monks of Solesmes. We shall see how much truth there is in this. For, as generally known, the Solesmes Benedictines make the reading of the MSS. their supreme law.

To get any definite information on the relation of the 'Kyriale' to the MSS., my only way was to go to Appuldurcombe, the present home of the Solesmes Benedictines, and study the MSS. They have there over four hundred of the best codices in photographic reproduction—the material on which the Vatican edition is based—and with that same generosity with which they offered the result of their studies to the Holy See, they place their library at the disposal of students. Accordingly I went there, and I now publish the result of my investigations. Within the time at my disposal it was not possible for me to go into all the cases where the Vatican edition seems to deviate from the authentic version. Giulio Bas, one of the consultors of the Commission, in a letter to the *Giornale d'Italia*, states that they number 130. Accordingly I left aside, of set purpose, all the cases that presented difficulty, that would require anything like a careful weighing of the evidence, to get at the true version, and confined myself to those where the Vatican edition is glaringly at variance with the reading of the MSS. And, alas! as the patient reader will soon see, they are only too many.

Before I take up the pieces contained in the 'Kyriale' one by one, I have to make a couple of general reflections. The first concerns the German tradition of the chant, for which Dom Pothier shows a strange predilection. One of the chief peculiarities of this German tradition is the frequent substitution of the minor third $a - c$ for the second $a - b$ or $a - b$. Is this tradition a 'legitimate tradition'? I should think not. It detaches itself at one point from the general current of tradition which flows from the time that we first can trace it, down to our own days, and remains in opposition to it ever afterwards. It may have a certain title to continued separate existence, but it has no claim to general acceptance. But there is more. I do not for a moment believe that Dom Pothier is going to accept this German tradition in its entirety.

Surely he is not going to make us sing (1)



Stá-tu- it

instead of (2)

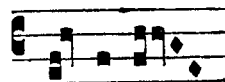


Stá-tu- it

There is a question, therefore, of making a selection. On what principle, then, is this selection to be made? The æsthetic taste of an individual? Dom H. Gaisser, one of the most prominent members of the Commission, in an interview recently published in the *Katholische Kirchenzeitung*, and again in the *Giornale di Roma*, of 3rd December, 1905, points out the danger and instability of such a criterion. He reminds us that not only is taste an individual thing, varying greatly in different people, but it is also dependent, to a very great extent, on what one has been accustomed to. Those, therefore, that have been accustomed to the 'Kyriale' of Dom Pothier's *Liber Gradualis*, including Dom Pothier himself, will be prejudiced in favour of the readings which, for some reason or

other, got into that publication. To give an example, the Vatican 'Kyriale,' in accordance with the *Liber Gra-*

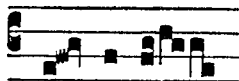
dualis, has the 'Paschal' *Kyrie* thus: (3)



Ký-ri- e

All the MSS., except the German ones, have :

(4)

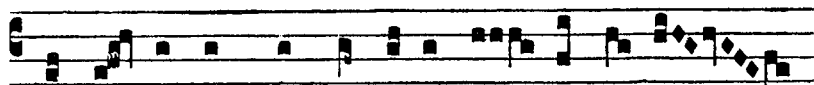


Ký- ri- e

To me it seems that the double *ac* of the Vatican version is decidedly tautological, and that the older version with its gradual rise first to *b* and then to *c* is immensely superior. Dom Pothier evidently thinks differently. But I believe he has stated that in some cases he made too much concession to the modern taste in the 'Kyriale' of his *Liber Gradualis*, and accordingly those pieces have been changed in the Vatican edition. What guarantee have we that after a few years he will not find that he made too much concession to the German tradition ?

My next remark is about the reciting note of the 8th mode. It often happens that in the course of a melody a number of syllables are recited on one note. For such recitation the Gregorian melodies had, in the 8th mode, the note *b*, while the reciting note of the psalmody in that mode seems always to have been *c*, as at present. Thus we find in the Antiphon *Vidi aquam* this passage :

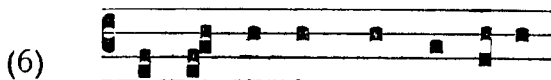
(5)



et omnes, ad quos pervénit a- qua i-sta

In the course of centuries this reciting note, owing probably to causes similar to those that brought about the German

tradition mentioned above, was almost universally changed into *c*. Thus, the *Liber Gradualis* has



et omnes, ad quos pervé-nit

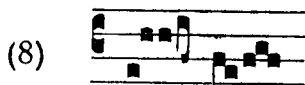
It seems to me that in many cases this change has been to the detriment of the melody. Thus in the example (5), the gradual rise of the melody, which rests first on *b*, then on *c*, and finally rises, on *ista*, to *d*, constitutes a great beauty, which is lost in the version at (6). Still, as the change was almost universal, I could understand the position of those who claim that it should be maintained. But what does the Vatican edition do? It evidently goes on the principle of 'pleasing both parties,' and gives half the recitation to *c*, half to *b*, thus :



et omnes, ad quos pervé-nit

Three syllables on *c*, three on *b*, nothing could be fairer, and nobody has any right to complain! The procedure is a great testimony to Dom Pothier's amiability, but what about his critical judgment?

In this same *Vidi aquam* we find the following :—



tém- plo

The MSS. are divided as to the figure on the first syllable

of *templo*, some have (9a) others (9b)

the best have (9c)

The version of the Vatican edition is *not found in any single one!*

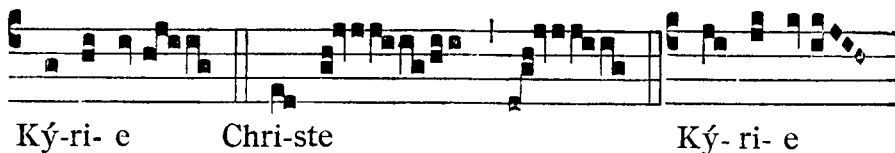
At *dextro* and the *alleluja* immediately following, all the oldest MSS. except the German have *a b g a* and *g a b a b*. The Vatican edition follows the German tradition in substituting *c* for *b*.

I have already referred to the *Kyrie* of the Mass I (*Tempore Paschali*). I have now only to call attention to the difference in the final figure of examples (3) and (4). All older MSS., neumatic and in staff notation, of all countries have the Pressus as at (4), only German MSS. of later origin have the reading (3) adopted by the *Vaticana*.

A very striking fact is met with in the *Gloria* of this Mass. All MSS. and printed editions down to the nineteenth century ascribe this *Gloria* to the 7th mode, ending it on *g*. The edition of Reims-Cambrai (1851), was the first to change the ending to *b* and thus make the *Gloria* a 4th tone melody. The Vatican edition sides with Reims-Cambrai! In this *Gloria* also the German substitution of *c* for *b* has been accepted at *excelsis, hominibus*, and the corresponding places.

In the *Agnus Dei* nine MSS. of France, England, Spain, and Metz have on *Dei* the figure *a b d*; one German, one Italian, and one French have *g b d*. The *Vaticana* follows the minority.

The *Kyrie* of Mass II (*Kyrie Fons bonitatis*) has been dealt with, in a masterly fashion, by Dom Beyssac in the *Rassegna Gregoriana*, November-December, 1904, where the MS: evidence is subjected to a thorough examination. I can confine myself, therefore, to giving some extracts showing the difference between the version of the MSS. (10)¹



¹ The last note of this example ought to be *g* instead of *a*.

and that of the *Vaticana*

(II)

Ký-rie Chri-ste

Ký-ri-e

The image shows two musical staves. The first staff contains the melody for 'Ký-rie Chri-ste', with a double bar line separating the two words. The second staff contains the melody for 'Ký-ri-e'.

In the *Gloria* of this Mass *all* the MSS. have at *propter*

magnam gloriam tuam: (I2)

gló-ri-am tu-am

The image shows a musical staff with the melody for 'gló-ri-am tu-am'.

Dom Pothier writes: (I3)

gló-ri-am tu-am

The image shows a musical staff with the melody for 'gló-ri-am tu-am'.

The second *Agnus* of this Mass is an adaptation of a trope. All the MSS. without tropes repeat the melody of the first *Agnus*.

In the first *Christe* of Mass III, all the MSS. have *e g g a*. Dom Pothier changes this into *e f g a*.

In the *Gloria* all the MSS. have a Podatus on the final syllables of *Domine Deus* and *Domine Fili*. The *Vaticana* has single notes.

The intonation of the *Sanctus* is thus in the *Vaticana*:

(I4)

San-ctus

The image shows a musical staff with the intonation for 'San-ctus'.

This piece is found in eight MSS. Seven of these have *g a b*, one has *g a c c b a g f*. Dom Pothier takes the latter

version, but omits the *b* after *c c*. The reason for this change is easy to guess. It is to avoid that *diabolus in musica* of the medieval theorists, the tritone. I admit that the tritone sometimes causes a little difficulty to modern ears. But if we are to eliminate all the tritones from the Gregorian melodies, what is to become of them? And if we are to make this concession to the modern taste, why not change other things as well, why not, for instance, sharpen the leading note? I think that the full tone under the tonic causes far more difficulty to the modern musician than a few tritones. As a matter of fact, in one case, as we shall see below (*Gloria* of No. VII), Dom Pothier has sharpened the leading note. So we cannot know what may happen before the Vatican edition is completed. But why not go a step farther and do away with the antiquated modes altogether, and present all pieces of Plain Chant either in the major or the minor mode? And, finally, why retain that puzzling rhythm of Plain Chant? Why not re-write it nicely with bars in $\frac{4}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, and $\frac{6}{8}$ time? I must confess I see no satisfactory answer to these questions. Once we leave the firm ground of the tradition, we get into shifting sands, and there is no stopping anywhere.

In the *Agnus* of this Mass all MSS. are agreed in having a single note on the first syllable of *Dei*. The *Vaticana* has three. All MSS. are agreed in having a Quilisma on *tollis*. The *Vaticana* has a simple Podatus. All MSS. are

agreed
in
reading
(15)



peccá- ta

The
Vaticana
reads:
(16)



peccá- ta

All MSS. are agreed in placing *e* on the accented syllable of *miserere*. The *Vaticana* has *f*. The melody of the second *Agnus* in the *Vaticana* is not to be found in any MS.

In the *Gloria* of Mass IV, the vast majority of the MSS. have the last figure on, *Glorificamus te* as *g f e*. The *Vaticana* has *g g e*.

The *Agnus* of Mass V is found in two MSS. At *tollis*

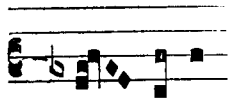
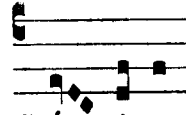
and *miserere* the one has *b*, the other *b♭*. The *Vaticana* has *c*.

In Mass VI, in the second last *Kyrie*, nearly all the oldest MSS. have two notes on the second syllable, and nearly all MSS. mark a *bb*. The *Vaticana* has one note on *ri* and has *b♭*.

In the *Gloria* the vast majority of MSS. have two notes on the final syllable of *excelsis*. The *Vaticana* has one. At the first *peccata* all the MSS. that have substantially the reading of the *Vaticana*, have the figure *a b c*. No MS. whatever has *a c* as the *Vaticana*. Of the *Amen* several variants are found, but not amongst them the version of the *Vaticana*.

In the *Kyrie* of Mass VII, the vast majority of the MSS. and all the best, place the Clivis *a f* on the second syllable of *eleison*. The *Vaticana* places it on the first.

The *Gloria* is found only in some English MSS. They all write it in *c* and have a flat at the cadence of *Deus Pater omnipotens*. The *Vaticana* writes it in *f* and omits the flat, thus sharpening the leading note, as mentioned above. At *Cum sancto Spiritu* the MSS. read

(17)	the <i>Vaticana</i>	(18)
		
Spi- ri-tu		Spi- ri-tu

The *Agnus* of Mass VIII is found only in one MS. (Paris Bibl. Nat. Lat., 905 fol. A.). On *tollis* it has the notes *f e d c*, Dom Pothier changes this into *f d d c*. At *mundi* the MS. has *f g g f*, Dom Pothier writes *f g f*. On the second syllable of *miserere* the MS. has *g*, Dom Pothier writes *g a*. On the second *Dei*, the MS. has *c a b c*, Dom Pothier writes *c a g c*. At the second *tollis* the MS. has *a g a g*, Dom Pothier writes *a g a*. It is hard to suppress one's indignation at this. But we have a long way to travel yet. So I hurry on with the bare enumeration of facts.

In the *Gloria* of Mass IX all old MSS. have *c* on the first syllable of *deprecationem*, Dom Pothier has *d*. At

Cum (sancto Sp.) thirty-nine MSS. have *e*, three have *d e*, Dom Pothier follows the minority.

In the *Sanctus* the MSS. write (19)



Dom Pothier (20)



Similarly at *Domini*. The figure at *Deus* is found in no MS. At *tua* most MSS. have *b̃ a g a*. No MS. has the reading of the *Vaticana*, *b̃ a g*.

In the *Agnus* the *Vaticana* writes (21)



Of eighteen
MSS. sixteen
have (22)



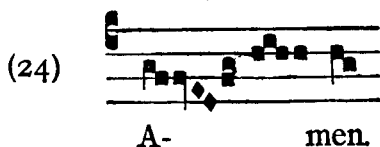
Two have
(23)



The version of the *Vaticana* finds, therefore, no authority at all in the MSS. Similarly the note on *qui* in the second *Agnus* is not found in any MS.

The *Kyrie* of Mass X, which is the older form of that in No. IX, is found in three MSS. All three have double notes on the accented syllable of *eleison*. The *Vaticana* has single notes.

The *Gloria* is found only in one MS., the one published with the Sarum Gradual by the Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society. The *Amen* runs thus in this MS.



Dom Pothier changes this into (25)



The *Sanctus* of this Mass is not found anywhere. It seems to be Dom Pothier's own composition. The same holds of the *Sanctus* No. III, and the *Agnus* No. II, of the *Cantus ad libitum*. Now there is not, of course, any objection to Dom Pothier or anybody else composing new pieces of Church music, and if they select to write in the style of the Gregorian music, they are at perfect liberty to do so. But I certainly think that such compositions ought to have no place in the Vatican edition, which purports to be a collection of medieval music. There might be some excuse in the case of new texts, for which no melody exists, though I should consider it better to arrange some existing melody to them, as was the general usage from the seventh to the fifteenth century. In the Ordinary of the Mass, however, for which we have such a large number of medieval pieces, such a procedure is altogether unwarranted.

In the *Kyrie* of Mass XI the vast majority of MSS. have on *Christe* the figure *d c b a* and suppress, in the second *eleison*, the *f g a b \flat* of the first. Dom Pothier skips the *b* on *Christe*, and writes the second *eleison* like the first. For the second *Kyrie* the vast majority of MSS. have either



or (27)



Dom Pothier writes (28)



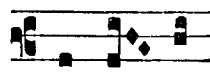
In the *Gloria* eight MSS., and these not very good ones,

write
(29)



Qui se-des

Some sixty have
(30)



Qui se- des

The *Vaticana* sides with the minority.

In the *Gloria* of Mass XII at *Filius Patris* two Treves MSS. end *e e*, twenty-five others have *e f*. The *Vaticana* has *e e*, though in the corresponding place at *tu solus sanctus* it has *e f*.

For the *Gloria* of Mass XIII there is only one MS. It

has the intonation thus

(31)



Gló-ri- a in excélsis De- o

Dom Pothier cuts out the *f* on *in*. Later on the MS. has



(32)

Dómi-ne De-us, Agnus De- i, Fí-li- us Patris

Dom Pothier changes the *c* on *Agnus* into *f*, thereby losing the pretty effect of the varied middle phrase! Could anything be more discreditable to an editor?

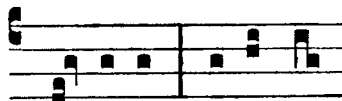
The *Sanctus* is found in two MSS., Worcester and Sarum.

Worcester has
(33)



Dómi-ni. Ho-sanna

Sarum has (34)



Dó-mi-ni. Ho-sanna

Dom Pothier
writes (35)



Dómi-ni. Ho-sanna

In the *Kyrie* of Mass XIV all the MSS. have a \flat in the second *Kyrie* melody. The *Vaticana* omits it. In the *Gloria*, on the last syllable of *miserere*, practically all MSS. have a four-note Climacus; the *Vaticana* has three notes. In the *Amen* the German codices are followed against all the others.

In the *Kyrie* of Mass XV the second *eleison* takes the reading of one MS. against forty. In the *Gloria*, at *Tu solus Dominus*, most MSS. have the intonation *e g a* or *g a a*. No MS. has the reading of the *Vaticana*.

In the *Agnus* of Mass XVI, on the last syllable of the first *miserere*, one MS. has a Clivis, thirty-seven have a Podatus. The *Vaticana* has a Clivis.

For the second *Kyrie* of Mass XVII the sources are one MS. and one printed book, both of the sixteenth century. Both divide the figure on *eleison* after *a* (*c bb a g a | f e g*) as the Ratisbon Edition and the Missal (*Benedicamus* for Advent and Lent) do. The *Vaticana* writes the notes *a f e* as a Climacus.

For the figure on the second syllable of *Hosanna* in the *Sanctus* the MS. evidence is: one for, thirty-four against.

In the *Kyrie* of Mass XVIII all the MSS. that have that melody give three notes to the first syllable of the second *eleison*. The *Vaticana* has two.

In the first *Credo*, at *visibilium* and in all the corresponding phrases, two MSS. of the late fifteenth century have *a*, all the others *g*. The *Vaticana* has *a*. At *Genitum* one MS. of the fifteenth century is followed against all others.

At *de Spiritu* only the Cistercians and Dominicans share the reading of the *Vaticana*. At *venturi* the vast majority of the MSS. and all the old ones end on *d*, not on *e*, as the *Vaticana* does.

We come now to the *Cantus ad libitum*. In passing I may note that the *Kyrie* II has only two *Christe*, evidently an oversight. The *Kyrie* VI is a later form of the Paschal *Kyrie* dealt with above. I may remark that here we meet the Pressus *c b b g*, that is simplified in the other

version. Another trifle is that in the first *Christe* the *eleison* has a different melody from the former version. The MSS. have both melodies, but each MS. gives the same form for both the older and the later version.

Kyrie X is the older form of No. XI in the body of the book. Here we find for the second *Kyrie* the melody given above as No. 27. The last *Kyrie*, however, is not found in any MS. as given in the *Vaticana*.

In the *Gloria* I we are met by an interesting psychological problem. We have seen that in many cases Dom Pothier showed a curious leaning towards the German tradition. Now this *Gloria*, attributed to Pope Leo IX, belongs mainly to the German tradition. Accordingly we find very frequently the third *a c.* Thus, the *miserere nobis* runs in the MSS. as follows :

(36)

mi-se-ré-re no-bis

What does Dom Pothier do? He changes the first *c* into *b*! *Qui potest capere, capiat.*

For the *Gloria* II we have three MSS. They are agreed

in writing		Dom Pothier	
(37)	homí-ni-bus	writes (38)	homí-ni-bus

At *deprecationem nostram* the MSS. have *e e* for *nostram*. Dom Pothier writes *d d*, although in the corresponding place, at *unigenite*, he has *e*.

For *Gloria* III there are nine MSS. They have a Pressus at *excelsis* (*g f f e*) and double *d* at *te* (*Laudamus te*, etc.) Dom Pothier has a simple Climacus and a single *d*. At *Domine Deus, Rex cælestis* six MSS. have

(39)		Dom Pothier's version (40)	
	Dó- mi- ne		Dómi- ne

is not found in any MS. Similarly, the melody of the final *Patris* is not found in any MS.

We have come to the end of our weary journey. It would be difficult to see any definite principle in all the cases where Dom Pothier has defied the evidence of the MSS. In some cases, as we have seen, he followed a special current of tradition against the general tradition ; in others a morbid fear of the tritone made him introduce changes ; But for most cases the only actuating principle that could be assigned is his 'æsthetic taste,' or shall we say, his whim ? In any case it is clear that he has given up his role as restorer of the ancient melodies, and has joined the rank of the 'reformers.'

It is a melancholy sight, this procession of the 'reformers' as they pass through the centuries, although they are headed by a St. Bernard. He at least, or rather his musical adviser, Guido, the Abbot of Cherlieu, had some show of reason for his changes. For it was on the Scriptural authority of the *In psalterio decachordo psallam tibi* that he cut down all the melodies exceeding the ten-note compass. The Cistercians were followed in a mild way by the Dominicans, who looked upon the repetition of melodic phrases, and upon the melisma at the end of the Alleluja verses as redundant. There is a gap then until we come to the end of the sixteenth century, when the cry of 'Barbarisms' was got up, and eventually, in 1614 and 1615, the *Medicæa* resulted. And now they come in regular succession through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, each subsequent editor improving on his predecessor, and according to his own peculiar 'æsthetic taste' mutilating the poor Gregorian melodies, until at last they richly deserved the general contempt into which they had fallen. In the nineteenth century the need of a return was felt. But still editors

could not resist the temptation to reform to some extent. Thus, to mention only a couple, we have the edition of Reims-Cambrai still yielding to the fear of 'barbarisms,' and the edition of Cologne reducing all Gregorian rhythm to duple time. All these editions have come and gone, and now in their wake we find the *Vaticana*, really the saddest spectacle of all, because none of the others were the direct outcome of an act of the central authority of the Church.

What next? One thing is certain to me. The *Vaticana* cannot last. Dom Pothier has, indeed, already got a considerable number of authoritative pronouncements in favour of his edition. There was first a letter from Cardinal Merry del Val, of 3rd April, 1905, of which Professor Wagner gives some extracts in a paper published for the Gregorian Congress at Strasburg. Then the other letter of 24th June, quoted above, and finally two decrees of the S.R.C., dated 11th August and 14th August, which, to some extent, annul the wise and liberal regulations as to other editions, laid down in the *Motu Proprio* of 25th April, 1904, *sub (d)* quoted above. But what is this compared with the formidable array of decrees that backed up the *Medicea*? And yet, with one stroke of the pen, an enlightened and determined Pope cancelled them all. No, this question cannot be settled by decrees. If the *Vaticana* cannot stand on the strength of its intrinsic excellence, no artificial propping up by decrees will prevent it from tumbling down.

But what are we to do? The best thing, in my opinion, would be, if the Solesmes Benedictines would publish the MS. version of the 'Kyriale.' It seems to me that the whole world, as far as it is interested in Plain Chant, is anxious to know the MS. version of it, and the monks of Solesmes would satisfy a general demand by publishing that. But if for some reason or other they should choose not to do so, or if Dom Pothier, through the power of the Congregation of Rites, should succeed in preventing the original form of the melodies of the Church from being published, then we shall have to be satisfied with the

Vatican edition for a time. We may console ourselves by the thought that of all existing editions the Vatican edition is decidedly the best. If we compare it with the 'Kyriale' of the *Liber Gradualis* or *Liber Usualis*, we find not only many of their melodies much improved, but also a considerable number of new ones added, some of them of great beauty, particularly the older and simpler forms of the *Asperges* and of the *Kyrie de Beata* and *in Dominicis per annum*. The labours of the Solesmes monks have not all been in vain. But I hope still that before long the unconditioned return to the tradition, so happily inaugurated by the early acts of our reigning Pontiff, will be fully accomplished.

H. BEWERUNGE.

THE VATICAN EDITION OF THE 'KYRIALE' AND ITS CRITICS*

NO sooner had the Vatican edition of the *Kyriale* appeared when, to the surprise of many, it was met with immediate and stormy opposition. This has had the effect of disturbing the minds of many as to the authority of this edition ; and, although the official acts of the Holy See stand in no need of defence before the Catholic faithful, it seems, however, advisable that some reply should be made and the real worth of all this opposition be carefully weighed. In Italy and Germany the outcry has perhaps been the loudest ; and it has now spread to our islands. Father Bewerunge, in his article, 'The Vatican Edition of Plain Chant' (whose inspiration was sought at Appuldurcombe), published in the I. E. RECORD, January, 1906, has now ranged himself among the opponents of the *Vaticana*. As far as I can judge, his criticisms are the most detailed and searching that have yet appeared ; and I should like to pay him the compliment of saying that if we can offer a satisfactory answer to his objections, we have answered all.

Before entering upon the main argument, it may be as well to correct a few errors of fact. On page 44, Mr. G. Bas is described as 'one of the Consultors of the Commission.' This is not the case, and the statement has caused a good deal of amusement among those who took special pains that this gentleman should be kept out of the business. If Mr. Bas states that 'the cases in which the Vatican differs from "the authentic" (that is, the Appuldurcombe) version, number 135,' he is rendering a very dubious service to his friends, for this information could only be obtained by a violation of the Pontifical secret. But a much more serious error, and one which underlies the whole article, is the statement that Dom Pothier was made 'the sole judge of the version of the new edition' (page 47), and the assumption throughout that Dom Pothier is responsible for all variants and corrections. Thus, we read that 'Dom Pothier shows

* From the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Volume XIX, January to June, 1906, pp. 324-345.

a strange predilection for the German tradition of the Chant ; another correction is supposed to bear 'testimony to his amiability, but what about his critical judgment ?' (page 51). In another part 'Dom Pothier changes the *c.* . . . Could anything be more discreditable to an editor ?' Another passage is due to 'his whim' (page 61), and finally the official edition is termed 'his edition' (page 62). There is not a single passage, as far as I can see, in which the Pontifical Commission is mentioned, the whole brunt of the attack falls upon Dom Pothier, and on him alone.

Now, this is a serious and fundamental error on the part of the critic, which vitiates the whole of his contention. Dom Pothier was not 'sole judge,' was *not* solely responsible for the changes. By the direction of the Holy Father, Dom Pothier was 'entrusted with the delicate mission of revising and correcting the edition, and in this work he will seek the assistance of the other members of the Commission',¹ and with that 'amiability' which distinguishes him, we may be sure that Dom Pothier did seek and accept the aid and suggestions of the other members of the Commission. There is not a single correction, not a single one of the versions that Father Beverunge condemns, that has not been fully discussed and approved, by the *major pars* in many cases, and in *every case* by the *sanior pars*, of the Commission. When we find such men as Dr. Wagner, Dom Janssens, members of the Pontifical Commission ; M. Moissenet, Canon GrosPELLIER, M. Gastoué, Consultors, publicly extolling and defending the versions of the *Vaticana*, it is not difficult to gather that they have thrown in their lot with Dom Pothier, and accept the responsibility for the character of the edition. Against such a weight of authority and learning, we have but one opponent, the Archæological School of Appuldurcombe, from whom all the attacks, directly or indirectly, emanate.

This attribution by the critic of the whole of the revision of the *Kyriale* to Dom Pothier alone gives rise to some unpleasant reflections. Did Father Beverunge learn this at

¹ Letter of Cardinal Merry del Val, June 24, 1905.

Appuldurcombe, where he repaired for the material of his article? But at Appuldurcombe, if anywhere, the true facts of the case were well known, and the share of the other members of the Commission in the corrections well understood. If, then, they gave their champion this false impression, and allowed him to hold up Dom Pothier *alone* to the scorn and derision of the public, it gives rise, I say, to many unpleasant reflections. But the whole statement is inaccurate, and the other members of the Commission are not at all grateful to Father Beyerunge for the manner in which he completely ignores their share of the work.

What, then, is the fundamental position that Father Beyerunge has taken up in his criticisms? It is that the Pontifical Commission has not followed in every minute detail the reading of the majority and of the oldest MSS. I need not cite passages from the article, for I fancy the author will not object to this statement of his position. Now, if we can show that this principle is unscientific, inartistic, and at variance with the terms of reference of the Commission, the whole of his objections must fall to the ground.

Father Beyerunge, in his article, the material of which he declares were gathered at Appuldurcombe, has enrolled himself as a disciple of that school, whose cry is Archæology, and nothing but Archæology, in the Chant. Perhaps we can put the position more clearly in the form of question and answer.

‘Is there not such a thing as art in the Gregorian?’—‘No,’ is the reply, ‘archæology is the only art.’ ‘But is there no possibility of an improvement in details?’—‘No; such a statement is an archæological absurdity.’ ‘Is there no place for a development in tonality and music in general?’—‘Absolutely none.’ ‘Still the universal practice has surely some title to recognition?’—‘None whatever.’

This little dialogue will give us some idea of the uncompromising position taken up by the School of Appuldurcombe.

And what is this archæology that embraces the whole

truth, and nothing but the truth, of the Gregorian? Dom Mocquereau describes it for us in the article, 'L'Ecole Grégorienne de Solesmes.'¹ You must first obtain, at very heavy cost, a large number of copies of the ancient MSS. ; only those who can afford the expense of obtaining these reproductions are entitled to enter upon the study. After obtaining a sufficient number of copies, you proceed to take a given piece of chant and number its groups and neums. Write underneath in horizontal columns all the versions of each group. Count up the agreements and the differences, which are further sub-divided according to the age of the MSS. Tabulate these and the votes of the oldest MSS. carry the day. If, however, the votes are equal, you may toss up for it, or, as Dom Mocquereau euphemistically puts it, 'follow the proceeding in the election of Matthias.' All this is excellent and valuable work, and I am far from any wish to disparage it. But, we may ask, is this science? On such a system as this anyone could undertake to restore the Gregorian. It is unnecessary to have any artistic gifts; an array of statistical tables would be all the equipment necessary for determining the text of the music. Nay, a man might not have a note of music in his composition, be unable to sing the most common interval, and yet might, on this theory, claim the right to reconstruct the Gregorian with his arithmetic against the most artistic and learned master of Plain-song. Surely this argument alone should be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the claim of the Archæological School to have the sole voice in the correction of the Chant. Such mechanical proceedings are very useful and meritorious, but they cannot be raised to the dignity of a science.

It is an assumption to say that the true Gregorian Chant is contained in the oldest codices alone. Our oldest MSS. are certainly not older than the ninth century. A good two hundred years yawns between them and the work of the great Pontiff. Are we sure that our MSS. faithfully represent the reform of St. Gregory? Some very eminent historians are strongly of the opposite opinion. In any case,

¹ *Rassegna Gregoriana*, April, 1904.

there is no proof for the assertion of our archæologists ; it amounts to little more than a probable guess. Is this a scientific basis on which to claim the right to reform Church music in the name of archæology ? It is still possible that some day the libraries of Europe may disclose a MS. of the seventh or eighth centuries, and then what would happen ? The whole of the statistical tables, the whole of the conclusions hitherto come to, would have to be revised and brought into conformity with each new discovery. Is this a scientific basis to rest a claim so proud that archæology puts forth ? And must the music of the Church be dependent upon every fresh discovery of archæology ?

But there is something more. Is it quite certain that the tradition of the Chant flowed with pure and undefiled stream from the days of St. Gregory to the ninth century ? The archæologists affirm it. But this is far from certain. Dr. Wagner, in his recent work, *Neumenkunde*, was the first to point out that in the centuries immediately after St. Gregory some very decided attempts were made to make the Chant learned and accurate, by bending its forms to the prosody of classic times, or the *Chronos* of the Greeks. Different kinds of ornaments and *fioriture* were also introduced about this time, and, under Greek influence, not only half-tones, but even quarter-tones, began to be cultivated. All this, of course, was exceedingly distasteful to the ordinary singer of the Latin Church, and a struggle ensued, which ended finally in the Latinization of the Chant, not only in the melody, but also in the execution. Had it not been for this successful resistance against the designs of the experts and theorists, the *cantus planus* would have disappeared from the Church by the twelfth century.

Until these doubts relating to the composition and execution of the melodies by the masters of the ninth century can be dispelled, we must be allowed to suspend our judgment as to perfection of the ancient MSS. in their smallest details. A scientific basis for the reform of the Chant can hardly be erected on such unsteady foundations.¹

¹ One of the most eminent historians of France thus expresses himself on this question : 'If historical research is directed solely to the discovery

The claims of archæology seem to ignore the point of view with which the Church regards the Chant, which, after all, is a collection of compositions of all times and countries, of all degrees of art ; but all distinguished by one particular style. Thus, we have productions of the later Middle Ages, those of the Renaissance, the compositions for modern and new offices, all forming the body of song that passes under the name of the Gregorian Chant, and all receiving the stamp of the Church's authority, as 'possessing in the highest degree those qualities which are proper to the liturgy of the Church.'¹ But the archæologists would have us believe that there is a certain aristocracy in the Church, that the MSS. of the ninth century are alone of pure blood, all the rest of low degree, with no claim to associate with those who can trace back their descent to Charlemagne. We often wonder how the archæologists can resign themselves to the chanting of these later barbarisms, which they are compelled so frequently to meet with in the course of the Divine Office. But the Church has to deal not with savants, but with the large body of the faithful, to whom all such questions are a matter of supreme indifference, and she will continue to add to, to revise, to complete, choral books, and to give to modern melodies a place of honour in her liturgy equal to that of the oldest chant. For the Plain Chant is a living energy, not a musty old parchment, an energy that, like the coral insect, is ever battling with the demands of the day and ever building upon the old foundations.

What does all the indignation, all the pother of the archæologists really amount too ? That perhaps one note in three hundred has been corrected ! It really comes to little more. And even this is an exaggerated estimate, if we confine ourselves to the oldest MSS. of all. For the *Kyriale*, as is well known, is quite in a different condition from that of the Proper of the Time of the old Offices. The *Kyriale* chants, on the whole, are of very much later composition. In fact,

of the ancient documents of the past just as they were ; the *traditional practice* is not bound meekly to assimilate the results of this investigation ; it ought to show in a certain measure due respect for the work of time.'—Gevaert, *Mélopée antique*, p. 211.

¹ *Motu Proprio*

the triple invocation of the *Agnus Dei* was not introduced into the liturgy until after the ninth century. Many of the melodies are compositions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And still, although these compositions are acknowledged to be distinctly inferior to those of the earlier centuries, yet we are invited to draw up statistical tables, to count up the number of agreements, and to adopt towards the corrupt precisely the same methods to be employed with the incorrupt, under penalty of being branded as arbitrary, whimsical, and unscientific, if we disagree. As if any amount of concordances of a corrupt version could establish a correct reading! This, I maintain, is an unscientific method of dealing with the revision of the Chant.

But if this claim to reform music by archæology alone be unscientific, it is also *inartistic*. To judge from the writings of the archæologists, one would conclude that there is no art in the Gregorian. But, in turning again to Dom Mocquereau's article above mentioned, 'L'Ecole Grégorienne de Solesmes,' we come across a delightful passage on Gregorian art, which quite made our mouths water at the prospect of the interesting discoveries that the archæological process seemed to offer.

Sometimes [he says], and not uncommonly, we may come across some very curious secrets of the old notation, notably certain equivalences, which, far from contradicting some teaching, go far to strengthen it. Above all, we may discover the laws of adaptation of the same melody to different texts, and we recognize how often these rules have been ignored in the adaptations made in modern times.

It is here that we can probe to the quick the methods of composition of the ancient Gregorian artists, we can admire the delicacy of their taste, the variety of the resources at their command, the deftness with which they know how to expand or contract a melody in order to clothe the text with grace. The art which they display in these circumstances is inimitable, and the æsthetic rules which they obey are lost to those who have not the means that our statistical tables offer of analysing patiently and curiously their methods.

Nothing could be more fascinating than these prospects of unfolding *the art* of the Gregorian. The secrets of the neums, the methods of composition, the art of equiva-

lences, of adornment and development of melodies, are precisely the points on which the musical world is most anxious to have a systematic exposé, for the chapter has not yet been written. The articles regularly contributed by Dom Pothier for a number of years to the *Revue du Chant Gregorien* have also revealed to us many of the secrets of the art of the Chant, the laws of cadences, the characteristics of the different kinds of Gregorian melodies, the combinations and formulas of the different modes, the relation of accent to text, the evolution of tonality, its relations with evolution of the accent and rhythm of the language, these have been unfolded to us with rare skill and insight by Dom Pothier. We feel here that we are being admitted into the arcana of the Chant, that an order and beauty here reigns which excludes all question of arbitrary proceeding. Surely, if there is any criterion by which we should proceed to the editing of the correct text, it should be that which applies these delicate and subtle laws, that can only be grasped by those who are equipped with rare musical gifts and knowledge.

After Dom Mocquereau's happy indication of the discoveries that had followed the compilation of the statistical tables, one naturally looked to see some of these principles applied to the elucidation of a Gregorian text. In this we were disappointed. Dom Beyssac, of Appuldurcombe, in his study of the *Kyrie, Fons bonitatis* (which Father Beverunge terms 'masterly'), proposes to restore to us the best reading of this melody. Is there any application of the principles of art, so charmingly sketched by Dom Mocquereau, bestowed upon this task? Absolutely none. It is nothing but a counting of MSS., the number of agreements, the determination of the majority of the votes; but as far as the writer of the article is concerned, the art of the Gregorian might be non-existent. The same remarks will apply to the whole of Father Beverunge's criticism; it is again merely a question of enumerating MSS., of pitting one nation against another, while of the principles of Gregorian art, of its claims in any recension of a text, not a word! If Dom Mocquereau has made the important

discoveries of the principles of Gregorian art, which he professes to have made from his statistical tables, he seems to have taken great pains to lock the secret up in his own breast. In any case the Archæological School have let it be clearly understood that they recognize no claims of the voice of art of the Gregorian in the preparation of the critical edition.

Now, having endeavoured to show that the methods favoured by the Archæological School are neither scientific nor artistic, let us examine how far they are in harmony with the wishes and commands of the Holy See. It has long been recognized as a dictate of practical wisdom that, when a Commission is appointed, terms of reference must be imposed, otherwise there would be great danger of the members wandering off at their own sweet will into the most opposite directions. Nor did the Holy Father neglect to take this precaution when he appointed the Commission for the Restoration of the Gregorian Chant, on April 25, 1904. The terms of reference of the Pontifical document are: 'The melodies of the Church, so-called Gregorian, shall be restored in their integrity and purity, according to the testimony of the more ancient codices, but in such a manner that particular account shall be taken of the legitimate tradition contained in the later codices and of the practical use of modern liturgy.'

The three points which the Commissioners are directed to observe in their recension are: (1) The more ancient codices; (2) the legitimate tradition contained in *later codices*; (3) the practice of the modern liturgy. These terms of reference indicate a perfectly intelligible line of procedure, but they completely exclude the platform of the archæologists. The latter admit no 'legitimate tradition,' beyond the ninth century; in their eyes 'later codices' have no more value than the evolution of the Gregorian art which they represent. It is clear that those who, holding such views, entered the Commission, would find themselves bound to struggle against the terms of reference imposed by the Holy Father. If the archæologists could not see their way to accept the Papal instructions, an impasse was bound to result. And

so it happened, in point of fact. The history of the deadlock is too well known to require re-telling.

It was hardly to be expected that the Holy Father would yield. Nothing then remained for him but to override the objections of the opponents and give Dom Pothier, who was loyally carrying out his wishes, the supreme direction of the work. It was hoped that after the Head of the Church had given such a decided mark of his disapproval of the views of the archæologists, the latter would have had the good grace to yield to such authoritative decisions. It is disappointing to have to state that this is far from the case. Discomfited in the Commission, they have now transferred their opposition to the *Vaticana* to the public Press, and the numerous attacks on the typical edition all proceed from one source, the School of Appuldurcombe. There is no use in mincing matters ; by their attitude they have placed themselves in direct antagonism to the Holy Father and to ecclesiastical authority. It is true they claim the right to hold their views on a theoretical question ; but the public will note that all the same they are attacking principles which the Holy Father and the Sacred Congregation hold very strongly, and that the archæologists are striving their utmost to discredit these principles in the eyes of the Church.

Let us put the question fairly : Is the Plain Chant to be restored for the sake of its antiquity, or because it is an admirable vehicle for the expression of the faith and piety of the people ? Or, in other words : Is the Plain Chant made for man or man made for the Chant ? To most minds the framing of this question brings its own answer. And yet the archæologists do not hesitate to state that *man was made for the Chant*, and not *vice versa*. Dom Mocquereau maintains¹ that the Chant ‘ must be taken just as it is with *its good and bad points*.’ Even if it is a question of restoration, it must not be an adaptation or improvement, but the restoration of the original.’ No consideration is to be shown to the feelings or needs of the singers. If the old forms are

¹ ‘ L’evolution dans l’esthétique et la tradition Grégorienne,’ *Rassegna Gregoriana*, 1904.

harsh and uncouth, so much the worse for the singers. They must leave the Plain Chant alone. The same writer says : ' Let us hope we have done for ever with mutilations in order to make the Chant easier to sing everywhere and by everyone. Nobody is obliged to sing the Gregorian melodies.'¹

It is unmistakably the case of ' man for the Chant,' and not ' the Chant for man.' We seem to see a reproduction of the old Pharasæism that jealously guarded the forms and overlooked the spirit which had given these forms their life and being.

In any case, this is not the object of the Holy Father. In his *Motu Proprio*, he has given public and official expression to his wish that ' this Chant (Gregorian) should especially be restored for the use of the people, so that they may take a more active part in the services, as they did in former times.'² This is again a case where the Holy See lays down the principle that the Chant is meant for the people, to which the archæologists reply that they see no reason why attempts should be made ' to make the Chant easier to sing by everyone and everywhere.'

I might here bring my article to an end, as I have adduced abundant proof that the principles upon which the archæologists have founded their objections to the *Vaticana* are supported by neither science, art, nor authority. However, it may be as well, in order to avoid all suspicions of shirking the question, to follow the critic in his patient

¹ This is one of the stock objections to the *Vaticana*. Another critic says : ' Dom Pothier has evidently been inspired by the wish to come to the aid of choirs whose artistic aspirations are very limited, and whose means of execution restricted.' It is rather amusing to note the inconsistency of the archæologists on this point. These lovers of antiquity have invented certain rhythmic signs, with which their editions are ' adorned,' in order to meet the wishes of these very singers of aspirations and execution so limited. Not that there can be any objection to such a proceeding, but it is curiously inconsistent with those sneers at Dom Pothier playing, so to speak, to the gallery. The amusing part is, that these rhythmic signs have absolutely no claim whatever to antiquity. No author of medieval times can be quoted in support of their theories of binary and ternary rhythms. And yet these sticklers for antiquity do not hesitate to introduce into their notation all sorts of hybrid modern signs precisely in order ' to make the Chant easier to be sung everywhere and by everyone.'

² *Motu Proprio*, ii. 3.

enumeration of the examples which he finds so faulty. On page 49, the critic offers two general reflections. The first is that 'Dom Pothier shows a strange predilection for the German tradition of the Chant.' I need not again enter into the persistent misrepresentation which makes Dom Pothier the 'sole judge' of the revision. If the critic had been better informed, he would have discovered, with some surprise, that the so-called German readings of the *Kyriale* are met with in MSS. of very different origin. The editors would be the last to admit that they have shown 'predilection' for any special group of MSS.; they have carefully weighed the claims of any notable portion of the Gregorian tradition.

If Dom Pothier had 'Germanized' the *Kyriale*, many more *e*'s and *b*'s would have disappeared to make place for *f*'s and *c*'s. But if the editors weigh the claims of the general voice of tradition, as expressed in German, French, Italian, and English MSS., it then becomes a question of making a selection. Our critic dreads such an idea and sounds a note of alarm. 'On what principle, then, is this selection to be made? The æsthetic taste of an individual?' And he quotes Dom Gaisser to point out the danger and instability of such a criterion. He is ever recurring to this point of 'the taste of one individual,' meaning, of course, Dom Pothier, until we shall begin to believe he is as much haunted with Dom Pothier as Mr. Dick was with King Charles' head. This perpetual fear of anyone venturing to make a selection, this marked distrust of the ability and science of any person whatsoever to form a critical judgment is characteristic of the School of Archæology. It is fortunate that the Holy Father believes that there are still artists and erudite men in the world to carry out the reform he has so much at heart.

One of the examples over which the critic waxes merry is No. 7. Referring to the change of the reciting note from *b* to *c*, he says:—

As the change was almost universal, I could understand the position of those who claim that it should be maintained. But what does the Vatican edition do? It evidently goes on the

principle of 'pleasing both parties,' and gives half the recitation

7

to *c*, half to *b*, thus :—

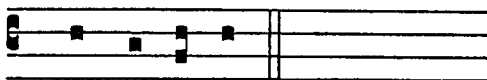


et om - nes ad quos per-ve-nit

Three syllables on *c*, three on *b*, nothing could be fairer, and nobody has any right to complain! The procedure is a great testimony to Dom Pothier's amiability, but what about his critical judgment? (page 51).

We can hardly expect the archæologists to enter into the niceties of Gregorian art that are displayed in the disposition of the notes over *ad quos* and *pervenit*. The first accentuate and determine the reciting note, while the two *b*'s in *pervenit*, the ancient reading, constitute a modulation properly so-called; the second serves as a binding to the following note. It is thus an improvement of the old reading of the *Liber Gradualis*

7 a

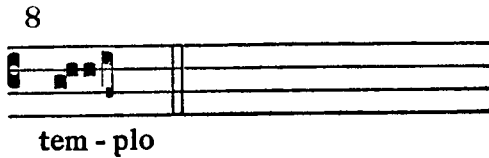


quos per-ve-nit

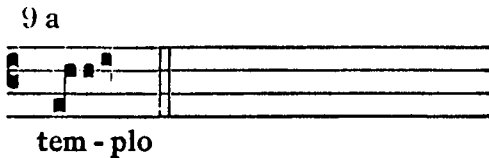
which gave, so to speak, a jolt to the melody, perhaps not a very grave fault, but certainly not very perfect. The editors thus combine the vigour and clearness of the reciting note *c*, which was an improvement of the medievalists, with the smoothness of the ancient version. It is, therefore, a test, not of 'Dom Pothier's amiability, but rather of his critical judgment.' We can hardly expect those who are pledged to the archæological party to appreciate such matters of art, but others will gain therefrom renewed confidence in the skill and taste of the revisers.

The critic never tires of repeating that the different corrections are not found in any MSS. To this I can only reply that in not a single case has any correction been adopted which is not justified by one or more MSS. I will, however, take one of the critic's own examples, and show the method he adopts to prove that the Vatican version 'is not found in any single one!' In order to still

further impress the reader with this charge, he makes a special appeal to his eyes by printing the last words in italics. Turn to example 8, on page 50, he says : 'In the *Vidi aquam* we find the following :—



'The MSS.,' he says, 'are divided as to the figure on the last syllable of *templo* ; some have



etc. The version of the Vatican is *not found in any single one!* The reader will see at once that the only difference between the two versions is the liquescent note *la* ! Now, it is well known, both by the teaching of the ancient masters and from the MSS. themselves, that there was a good deal of latitude allowed in the use of liquescent notes. As Guy of Arezzo lays down : 'Si autem eum vis plenius proferre non liquefaciens, nihil nocet.'¹ In the example 9 (a), the liquescent is omitted, in the *Vaticana* it is inserted. For this grave tampering with the MSS. the editors are accused of introducing a version *not found in a single MSS.!* I feel sure this is quite an oversight on the part of the critic, otherwise such an accusation might give rise to unpleasant rejoinders.

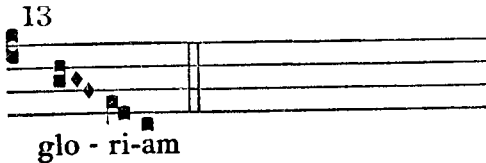
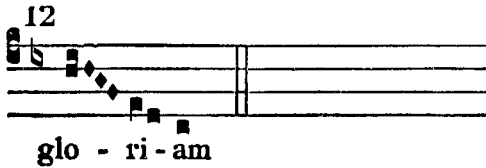
Example 10 of the *Kyrie (Fons bonitatis)* has, as I have remarked above, been the subject of a special study by the archæologists, and the Vatican version differs in one or two points from that favoured by Appuldurcombe. The Vatican



¹ Gerbert, *Scriptores*, t. ii.

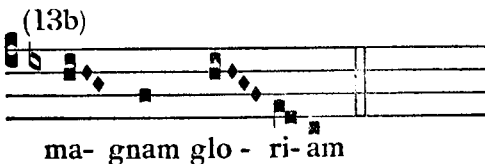
The recension favoured by Dom Beyssac (*supra*) and Father Beyerunge omits the two *a*'s marked with asterisk, and changes the *e* into *d*. The reasons which induced the editors to change the *d* into *e* seem to have been somewhat of this nature: In the primitive version the *d* would be followed by *b*, *tristropa*. When the *b* was early changed to *c*, to give more precision and vigour to the melody, certain copyists felt the necessity of changing the *d* into a *clivis*, *e d*, with stress on the *e* and not on the *d*. The *d* then became superfluous, and the editors of the Vatican suppressed it, thus restoring to the ancient phrase the freedom of the primitive attack. This same phrase has long been under consideration, and Dom Pothier in discussing it some years back held that the *d* was still possible. The Commission, however, voted its suppression. These views will not commend themselves to the archæologists, but they will show the impartial reader the scrupulous care and art that the editors lavished over every phrase of the Chant.

In examples 12 and 13, Dom Pothier is reproached with changing the melody of *all* the MSS.



into

But the critic has omitted to place before his readers the whole of the passage, or they would quickly see the reason why the editors changed it. The oldest MSS. have



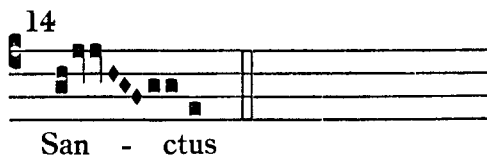
This is a case where the 'variety of resources at the

command of the ancient Gregorian artists' were evidently exhausted. The editors very cleverly corrected this to



a correction to which none but those with archæological 'bees in their bonnets' could object.

In example 14, the critic complains that the *Sanctus* of Mass III. does not follow any MSS.



The older version put a *b* instead of a *c* for the third note, and inserted another *b* after the third note. The editors, he complains, have omitted both *b*'s. The reason is a most obvious one. If the first *b* was changed into *c*, according to the traditional demand for a more decided note, it must not be left behind, but suppressed. The second *b* would induce that position of the tritone against which nearly eight centuries of musicians have protested.

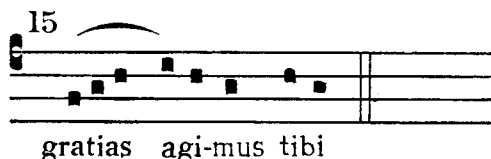
This will lead us to the discussion of the views of the critic on the nature of the 'tritone.' On page 54, after citing the above example, he goes on to say:—

The reason for this change is easy to guess. It is to avoid that *diabolus in musica* of the medieval theorists, the tritone. I admit that the tritone sometimes causes a little difficulty to modern ears. But if we are to eliminate all the tritones from the Gregorian melodies what is to become of them? . . . I think that the full tone under the tonic causes far more difficulty to the modern musician than a few tritones.

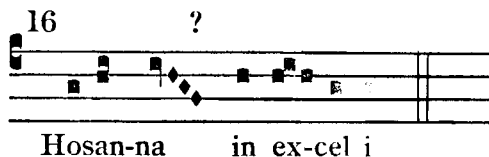
Let us take this last statement first. It is strange that Father Beverunge should maintain this with the Irish melodies ringing around him. One of their great charms is the presence of the flattened seventh, and the humblest son and daughter of Erin in England and Ireland is not known to experience any special difficulty in singing 'a full tone below

the tonic.' But with the tritone it is different. For centuries the European ear has developed a decided objection to certain positions of the tritone. This is one of those cases of 'legitimate tradition' which the Holy Father has directed the editors to respect. In the Vatican edition some of these repulsive intervals have accordingly been removed. It is somewhat surprising that Father Beverunge has not called attention to these departures from the *most* ancient MSS. in his eagerness to establish their monopoly. It was, perhaps, more prudent to pass them by, or he would have badly damaged his case before the impartial reader. I will, however, supply the omission. In some old MSS. we

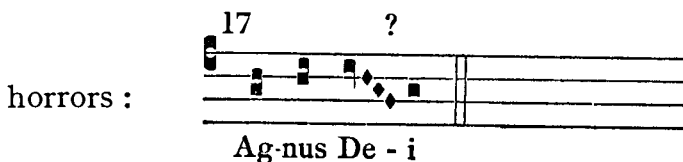
find the following :



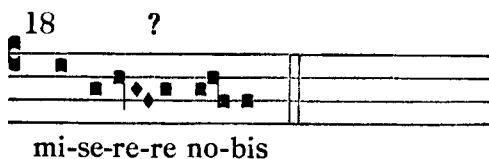
Had the archæologists had their way, we should have had this forced down our throats :



Again in the *Agnus* of Mass IV. (*Cunctipotens genitor Deus*) the archæologists tried actually to impose on us these



horrors :



We must remember that these melodies are intended to be sung by the ordinary singer whose ear is almost entirely educated by modern tonality. To propose such things to modern singers is only to implant in them a deep hatred of the Chant.

It is quite intelligible that these archaic intervals could be rendered more or less familiar to a community of religious who are accustomed to no other style of music. But the Chant is intended, not for the chosen few who can give to it an undivided attention, but for the ordinary singer nurtured in modern tonality, in order to induce him to 'take a more active part in the services of the Church.' Here, again, we see that archæology, in crying 'Hands off' to the average chorister, is opposing the wishes and directions of the Sovereign Pontiff.

Are these objectionable intervals, however, really primitive? It is allowable to doubt it. It is not at all unlikely that in these instances the *fa* was sharpened. But what is certain is that in some MSS. the *Agnus* is found written a tone lower, showing that in the Middle Ages it was felt that, with the traditional method of execution, the notation was faulty. It was therefore written thus :



And Dom Pothier, yielding to the strong feeling on the point, expressed by many members of the Commission, agreed to write it in the sixth mode in the *Vaticana*, whereby the objectionable interval is avoided. In the face of these examples, we recognize the prudence, and are grateful for the intervention, of the Holy Father, who has delivered us from the 'Chamber of Horrors' of the archæologists. This is not the only passage where the rendering seems to be at variance with the notation. It gives rise to a well-founded suspicion that some of the old MSS. did not correctly give the intervals that were actually sung. We know that the most ancient MSS. were written in neums-accents, which gave no idea whatever of the intervals. It was only by degrees that the intervals came to be represented in diastematic notation, first with one line then with two or more. But for a long time the outlines of the melody were, so to speak, in a very nebulous state, and it was

impossible that under these circumstances errors and variations in small matters should not creep in. And yet we are asked by the archæologists to believe, that in these long periods of tentative gropings after diastematic perfection, not a secret was lost, not a note misplaced.

The critic produces nearly fifty more passages for reprobation, and it is surely unnecessary to enter into a detailed discussion on each, to say nothing of the expense of furnishing musical examples, a very pressing difficulty. Of these fifty, eleven are distinctly erroneous. The critic complains that in the *Gloria* of Mass VII. the editors omit the b_b and sharpen the leading note. As a matter of fact, there are only two b 's in the piece and *both of them are flattened*. In the *Cantus ad libitum*, Kyrie II., he says there are only two *Christe*. I have examined three editions, and in all I find *three Christe*. In *Gloria III.*, the MSS. give a double d at *Te* in *Laudamus Te*; the critic declares 'Dom Pothier' only gives one. As a matter of fact, the editors have given the double d . Seven other statements are erroneous in their assertion that 'Dom Pothier's' version is unsupported by any MSS. This, as I have shown above, is altogether inaccurate, and an imputation on the venerable Abbot's honesty of purpose. Nearly forty out of the incriminated passages are condemned for the guilt of not following the statistical tables of Appuldurcombe. I have at length, in the previous part of the article, discussed the value of this archæological criterion. While giving it all due importance, I have endeavoured to prove that it has not the right to claim to be 'the sole judge' of revision of Gregorian melodies. Moreover, *every one of the changes* are such manifest improvements from a practical and artistic point of view that I wonder the critic's well-known musical taste did not rise in judgment against his archæological prejudices. I cannot resist the temptation to give an extreme example of this. He complains (page 55)

that while the MSS. give



tol-lis pecca-ta

21

the editors write

tol-lis pecca-ta

'It is hard,' he says, 'to suppress one's indignation at this.' What it is that has so stirred the critic's bile we cannot understand. For years he has probably sung the Vatican version without a qualm, and even with pleasure. But now that the version of the MSS. appears (and what a clumsy one, too), he is filled with holy indignation against those who have hidden from him such a pearl of melody!

I think that I have now trespassed quite enough upon my readers' patience, but I have some confidence that they will admit that we have good and solid reasons for supporting the Vatican edition against the attacks directed against it. These attacks, we hold, are bound to fail, for on the scientific side their principles are so feeble, and still more from the point of view of authority, in that they are in direct antagonism to the directions of the Holy See. It is gratifying to be able to record that the new *Kyriale* is spreading at a most extraordinary rate throughout the world, and it will soon be a question of the ancient dictum: '*Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*'

The critic indulges in some melancholy reflections on the 'procession of "reformers," as they pass through the centuries, although they are headed by a St. Bernard.' Is not the critic at fault here? Has he not been guilty of a most important omission? Most people are under the impression that the procession of reformers was 'headed' by St. Gregory the Great. Such a procession was far from a melancholy sight in the Church, as the centenary celebrations in honour of St. Gregory, held in Rome in 1904, can testify. St. Bernard hardly deserves to be included in the same category as the Medicean reformers, as his reform was chiefly confined to his own Congregation, a very small body in the Church.

There is, however, one aspect of the critic's case, which has caused a good deal of pain in his readers, and that is the

style in which he has allowed himself to speak of the official acts of the Holy See. Certainly the authorities at Rome would be the last in the world to attempt to stifle discussion on theoretical and scientific questions of the Chant ; but the antagonists should surely refrain from dragging in the official acts of the Sacred Congregation. I am sure that the critic hardly realizes how distressing it is to a loyal son of the Church to come across such passages as these : ‘ One thing is certain to me, the *Vaticana* cannot stand. Dom Pothier has, indeed, already *got* a considerable number of authoritative pronouncements in favour of his edition ’¹ (page 62).

How has Dom Pothier *got* these pronouncements ? Are we invited to believe that the Abbot has only to walk into Cardinal Tripepi’s office, and go forth with the documents desired, much in the same way as we get passports from the Foreign Office, just for the asking ? The whole situation would be too amusing to those who know something of Dom Pothier’s retiring and humble ways, were it not that the respect and authority of the Sacred Congregation are at stake. It is neither correct nor respectful to insinuate that Cardinal Tripepi issues decrees for the whole world on a most far-reaching matter, simply at the dictate of another, without any sense of responsibility of his exalted position. Had the critic known something of the personal holiness and integrity of this Prince of the Church, he would have realized how singularly unhappy are the suggestions that anyone could ‘ get ’ at him.

But this is not all. The critic goes on to say : ‘ No, this question cannot be settled by decrees. If the *Vaticana* cannot stand on the strength of its intrinsic excellence, no artificial propping up by decrees will prevent it from tumbling down ’ (page 62). This is really going too far. If the direction of the Chant of the Church is not to be determined by official decrees of the Holy See, by what is it then to be determined ? By archæology ? God forbid ! There is always danger that controversialists, in their eagerness to score points, lose a sense of the proportion of things. Surely

¹ ‘ *His* edition.’ This is, perhaps, one of the most offensive forms of this persistent misrepresentation.

if there is one thing clear, as the Holy Father has declared more than once, it is that the Gregorian Chant is 'the patrimony of the Church,' and it belongs to the Sovereign Pontiff, and to him alone, *to settle all questions relating to the Chant by his decrees*. If another Pope thought fit some day to cut down and shorten the melodies of the *Gradual* (an act which some people would gladly welcome), the Church would not hesitate to obey. It is surely a startling proposition to put before the faithful, that the settlement of the Plain Chant must be dependent upon the studies and decisions of a school of archæologists, and not upon Rome. Even if, by supposition, the archæologists were to succeed in impressing upon the Holy See their views and contentions (*quod Deus avertat!*) how would the 'question then be settled' for the Church except by the issue of 'official decrees'? As well might we expect the Atlantic to retire before the labours of Mrs. Partington, as to expect that the faithful of the Church will disregard 'official decrees,' in favour of an unscientific, inartistic school of archæology. This is the only distressing part of a study that is distinguished by most careful research and a thorough grasp of all the details of the edition, and our regret is all the keener that these reflections should have proceeded from a Professor of Maynooth, a College always distinguished for its almost exuberant loyalty to the Holy See.

Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?
 Who would not weep, if Atticus were he?

T. A. BURGE, O.S.B.

REVIEW

MASSES ON GREGORIAN THEMES

For Choir and Active Congregation

Since the days of St. Pius X who, in his *Motu proprio* on church music, had insisted on the active participation of the people and a return to the use of Gregorian chant even on the part of the congregation, the status of the multi-voiced choir has often been questioned. Frequently a mistaken zeal has actually eliminated the choir, at the cost, of course, of eliminating the treasury of elaborate chants and polyphonic music which the popes have so highly commended. But if that is not the solution of the problem of enlisting the active vocalization of the people in the pews, there still remains the problem of distributing the music between choir and congregation. Naturally the choir will be expected to sing the proper—this is its traditional prerogative and duty. But even the ordinary can become listless and boring if left entirely to the congregation. For some years, therefore, composers have been wrestling with the task of combining choir and congregation, unison chant and polyphony or harmony in the singing of the ordinary of the Mass. Not an easy task, this, to blend congregational singing with the music of a choir. The *alternatim* Mass has had a long history reaching back into the era of classical polyphony, but even then the practice had its pitfalls (despite the fact that in all probability only the choir was involved). In the last thirty years efforts were made by European composers like J. G. Scheel and V. Goller and Americans like P. Yon and H. Gruender to create a distinctive form of *Missa cum populo activo*. But it was not always a very successful effort; no matter what one may say about the purpose, one must grant that the fulfillment left much to be desired. It is the purpose of this paper to review some of the more recent attempts to combine the multi-voiced choir and the congregation alternating unison chants from the Gregorian ordinary and contrapuntal or harmonized music.

All of the Masses to be studied employ parts of the Gregorian *Kyriale* for the alternating unison portions. Not all, however, are actually intended for use by congregation; some would have to be adjusted for such use, although this should not prove difficult. In any case the congregation will not be expected to do more than sing parts of the Mass antiphonally with the choir. This technique should serve to vitalize the singing in the pews and enliven the whole program.

As was mentioned, the *alternatim* Mass technique has had a long history, with prototypes in the age of classical polyphony. One of the best known Masses in this type, Vittoria's *Missa Dominicalis*, has actually been adapted for use by choir and congregation (SATB and cong.; ed. by H. Mandt; Schwann). The *Kyrie* is built on the "Orbis Factor." The *Gloria* (a composition by Palestrina, adapted) is also founded on Mass XI. The Credo follows Credo I. The rest of the Mass is based on Mass XVIII. The work of editing has been skillfully done, but it is perhaps only in the *Kyrie*—which follows the original exactly in assigning the chant portions—that there is an impression of unity. Here both choir and people have the same themes alternately, whereas in the rest of the Mass the preponderance of the choir sections, with their *fugati* and *cantus firmus* treatment, tends to isolate the short chant parts, and the harmonic cadences with which the choral sections often close only serve to accentuate the disunity. We cannot help but admire the artistry of the polyphonic sections, but feel that a Mass like this will hardly aid in the restoration of the *alternatim* practice for choir and *populus*.

The same must be said of the *alternatim* Masses of Heinrich Isaac which have been edited by Dr. Louise Cuyler (University of Michigan Press). These five Masses are not arranged according to the present Vatican compilation; they employ parts of Masses I, II, IV, V, VIII, IX, XI, XII and XVII. Except for the Credo Isaac adheres to a set order of alternating unison and polyphony. The polyphonic parts are not held to a stiff scheme; for the most part the *cantus firmus* technique prevails, but often within the same section there will be transitions into coloration or figuration or imitation, and in some few sections the imitation technique predominates. The result is an extraordinarily rich and variegated design, enhanced by the liveliness of the rhythm and the sharp shades of harmony. Against such a background the chant sections appear like an antique frame to set off and embrace the whole composition. Even if these Masses are not well suited to the purposes of choir-congregation production, they are certainly to be preferred, because of their unique beauty, to many other polyphonic compositions. The present edition is scientific rather than practical; for ordinary use they would have to be re-arranged.

Among modern compositions for alternate choir and congregation, perhaps the most successful so far is the *Missa Gregoriana* of Hermann Schroeder (SATB, schola & cong.; organ; Coppenrath). More than any other composition of this sort it succeeds in making the *populus* parts an integral portion of the whole. The Mass is a composite, using *Kyrie* XVI, *Gloria* XV, Credo I, *Sanctus*, *Benedic-*

tus and Agnus X. It is noteworthy that the chant parts are all very simple, basically syllabic, and therefore eminently suitable for congregation. Tonal unity is achieved by choosing the common Phrygian tonality of the third and fourth mode. The rhythm holds all the parts together; the chant *punctum* is the standard for the note-values in the other parts. Contrast is provided by the independent melodies of the non-Gregorian sections. In the shorter pieces there is indeed a bit of choral imitation, but in the *Gloria* and *Credo* the multi-voiced parts do not adhere to a strict *cantus-firmus* technique but provide instead a continuation of the Gregorian themes in free choral declamation. The occasional extension of the ecclesiastical modalities and the avoidance of constant cadencing completes the picture of a well-rounded composition. But we must not neglect to mention the masterful organ accompaniment not only for the choir sections, where it is utterly free, but for the chant parts as well, where it sets a new standard that might well be imitated both for its movement and its unobtrusiveness.

The other Masses we are reviewing are all based on one or other of the Gregorian Masses as arranged in the Vatican *Kyriale*. The most popular by far is, of course, the *Missa de Angelis*, VIII. We all probably remember Pietro Yon's "Mass of the Angels" (TTB & cong.; J. Fischer); quite trite. Another early effort, much more valuable and serviceable, must not be overlooked—Joseph Frei's *Messe zu Ehren der hl. Schutzengel* (Ed. Cron). But the best setting so far is that by Ernst Tittel—his *Die Engelmesse* (SATB & cong., organ; Coppenrath). Rhythmically it is not as successfully unified as Schroeder's Mass, for the choir parts are not held down to the basic Gregorian tempo. Because it is based on the *Missa de Angelis* it is by and large in the major mode and will therefore commend itself to those choirs not yet fully at home with modern tonalities. However it does not offer all that one might expect from a Mass composed for *populo activo*; the portion assigned to the congregation is proportionately little. In the Kyrie, for example, forty-seven bars are given to the choir, while the congregation chimes in quite modestly with one line apiece of the well-known Kyrie and Christe melodies. But the overall artistry is what one is led to expect from the great Austrian composer. Another setting is the *Messe des Anges* of Canon Francis Potier (SAB & Cong., organ; Ed. de Schola Cantorum). Here the choir parts are really harmonized chants, in very good taste. But it will be difficult to do smoothly, for the chant theme is not always uppermost; in the Christe, for instance, it is in the inner voice and in the last Kyrie in the bottom voice. The Creed is alternate unison except for an a-cappella *Et incarnatus est*. The *Messe en l'honneur de Ste. Jeanne*

d'Arc by Msgr. M. Kaltnecker (SA or TB or SATB and org.; *Société Anonyme d'Éditions et de Musique*, Nancy) is not written for congregational participation, although it could be easily adapted to that use. But it is not a very artistic production; it is contrived, labored and at times awkward, with melodies that appear abrupt and unfinished. Another Mass based on the *Missa de Angelis*, the *Missa Decima* of Stephen Moreno, O.S.B. (SSA, organ; Leando Chenna, Torino), although adaptable to use for congregation and choir, is quite pedestrian and hardly worth the trouble. But there is a last Mass of this type that must be mentioned, eminently singable, the *Messa "De Angelis"* by Don Matteo Tosi (2 equal or mixed voices, organ; Edizioni Carrara, Bergamo). This could well be adapted for use at children's Masses. The sweetly sensitive melodies and rhythms gracefully and naturally derive from the chant texture. There is good voice leading—the parts almost sing themselves!

There is one fine Mass based on the Easter ordinary; this is the *Messe pour le Temps pascal* by the eminent Dijon choirmaster, J. Sampson (SATB [*divisi*]; Editions de Schola Cantorum, Paris). It has no Credo but does have a harmonized *Deo gratias*; it is not written for use with congregation, but could easily be arranged. The counterpoint here is wonderful (that's the word for it)! and it isn't easy, running into six parts. But a good choir might attempt this excellent work for Eastertide.

Several Masses are based on the *Missa "Cum Jubilo"*, IX, though only one is specifically set for choir and *populus*. Seminarians and priests will probably remember Father H. Gruender's *Cum Jubilo* (TTBB & cong., organ; McLaughlin & Reilly), a pleasant, plodding workhorse. None of the Masses built on Mass IX can be unreservedly commended. There is the *Messa "Cum Jubilo"* of Cesare Dobici (SA, organ; Edizioni Carrara, Bergamo), with Credo IV. There are some clichés, but the melodies flow easily and the chant accompaniments are excellent. The melodies are not independent but follow the Gregorian. However it appears too sectional, too broken up, especially in the *Gloria*. The *Credo* is quite commonplace. *Messe en l'hon. de Notre-Dame des Tables* of Henri Carol (SATB, org.; Ed. F. X. LeRoux & Cie., Strasbourg) is a much better work. The start is not promising, but from the *Christe* onwards it is very interesting, reminiscent of ancient organum, with fourths between the upper voices and consecutive open fifths. However the work is very uneven; some of the *Sanctus* harmonies sound like the Blues! Nor do the later portions adhere to the modal tonalities. Equally inconsistent is the *Messe "Cum Jubilo"* of L. Joubert (2 equal, org.; J. Millet, Lyon). This Mass has a nice organ accom-

paniment, but loses some of the modal quality with major clichés. The singing lines are nice but not extraordinary. And the *Sanctus* is completely undistinguished.

In contrast to these four Masses we have the *Missa Choralis* of Wilhelm Waldbroel (SATB a cappella & congregation w. organ; Copenrath). This is built on the *Missa "Alme Pater"*, X. The polyphonic parts of the *Kyrie*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* are quite persuasive and cunningly fitted to the chant both rhythmically and tonally. The very expressive choir parts of the *Gloria* do not always achieve the same degree of blend. All in all, this is a rewarding setting. And again the simple chant accompaniment must be commended.

There are two Masses set to the Sunday ordinary of the *Missa "Orbis Factor"* XI. There are Msgr. Kaltnecker's *Alternances Polyphoniques pour "Orbis Factor"* (4 mixed or 2 equal & org.; Société Anonyme d'Éditions, Nancy). This is a solid work with cool, elegant and very "Frenchy" lines. Not always in mode but always with the flavor of the mode. The choirmaster of the cathedral at Monaco, Henri Carol, has also a setting for the *Messe "Orbis Factor"* (SATB, org.; Ed. de "Musique Sacrée," Paris & Toulouse). Vocally the counterpoint is a bit awkward, but there are fine harmonies. The choral parts follow the Gregorian themes very faithfully, especially in the *Sanctus-Benedictus*. The *Agnus Dei* follows a carefully handled pattern. The choir parts are not hard because the counterpart is generally fancied rather than real.

Finally there is the *Messe pour les Dimanches de l'Advent et du Careme* by René Blin (TTB a cappella; Ed. F. X. LeRoux, Strasbourg). This is based on Mass XVII with the *Kyrie* in the first mode. The choir melodies are freely contrived with only a hint of the Gregorian themes. The *Benedictus* is extremely melodic—very sweet without being saccharine. Much of the Mass is on the somber side, very fitting for its penitential purpose.

Francis A. Brunner, C.Ss.R.

THE CHURCH YEAR

Proceedings of the 19th North American Liturgical Week

The Liturgical Conference, Inc., Elsberry, Mo. No. 300 the nineteenth in a series of annual conventions but the first at which a special biblico-liturgical program was arranged to supplement the general program. This is a proof, if proof is needed, of the mutual impact of reawakened liturgical and scriptural interest. The theme of this convention, held in the city which witnessed the first liturgical conference conducted as part of the National Convention of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, was the church year. Three papers in the present volume deal with this subject, unfolding the doctrine enshrined in the words of the *Mediator Dei*, that "the liturgical year is no cold and lifeless representation of past events, no mere historical record," but rather "Christ himself living on in His Church." As Father Ehmann, in his paper, "Background and Basis of the Church Year", points out: "Time is sacramental—a holy instrument of grace . . . Christ is working through, with and in his Mystical Body, using time in holy service . . ."

Besides the three basic papers on the liturgical year, the volume contains papers explaining the liturgy and the Mass and summaries of workshop discussions on such diversified topics as Spiritual Formation, Religious Communities, Education, Family Life and Missal Publishers. The discussions of study groups on various phases of the liturgical life are also included. Finally—and this is of particular interest—the book contains the papers read at the Biblical-Liturgical Institute held in conjunction with the conference. Perhaps the greatest interest for the non-specialist is centered on the question of the pericopes used or to be used at Mass. Fr. John H. Miller, C.S.C. has an interesting paper on "The Formation of the Cycles of Epistles and Gospels" and Fr. Gerald Ellard, S. J. has a paper asking "Why Not Longer Cycles of Biblical Readings?" The liturgy can, he points out, give *fresh hearing* to the Sacred Scripture by the simple expedient of having *more* and perhaps *better* readings spread over a period of from two to even four years.

This volume of the Liturgical Conference proceedings shows that the Conference is coming to grips with many of the problems inherent in making the liturgy better known and more widely appreciated. The public worship of the church is a school as well, though its educative values are often hardly understood and even less utilized. But the Conference has yet to face the question of the values inherent in music. And this is indeed surprising; was it not the *Motu Proprio* of St. Pius X on Sacred Music that gave the Liturgical Movement its start?

Francis A. Brunner, C.Ss.R.

NEWS LITTER

● Several premieres of note took place at Boys Town this Fall. On November 19th, in concert, Flor Peeters and the Boys Town Choir performed Mr. Peeter's *Entrata Festiva* (see musical supplement) and the same composer's *Missa Jubilans in Honor of St. Nicholas*. The latter was commissioned by the choir and dedicated to the Rt. Rev. Nicholas H. Wegner, P.A. . . . On December the Eighth, the Patronal Feast, the choir had the pleasure of singing the Langlais *Sacerdos et Pontifex* at the Solemn Pontifical Mass celebrated by His Excellency, the Most Reverend Gerald T. Bergan, in whose honor the piece had been commissioned during last summer's workshop. The *Entrata Festiva* is for organ, brass and unison chorus ad libitum, the *Missa Jubilans* for four mixed voices and organ, the *Sacerdos et Pontifex* for organ, two trumpets and unison chorus.

● *Beati Mortui*. J. Alfred Schehl, nationally known Catholic church organist and composer, died in Cincinnati on September 20, 1959. His career was long and most significant. In the area surrounding Cincinnati, no one exerted more influence in Church music or was more personally respected than Mr. Schehl. And his widely used compositions dominated the cause of Church music even beyond the borders of this nation. Most famous are his *Mass in Honor of the Child Jesus*, *Mass in Honor of St. Lawrence*, *Songs of Zion for Organ*, and *The St. Cecilia Hymnal*. But numerous other compositions, including Masses, Motets, and organ works are in nearly every organist's repertoire.

J. Alfred Schehl's musical talent was innate. He was born July 12, 1882, the son of an organist, and already at the age of 16, he took his first church position as organist, while at the same time, he became a member, in the violin section, of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra. This dual career lasted ten years. Then Mr. J. Alfred relinquished his symphony position to devote his entire interest to Church music. His outlook was practical. He knew the problems and conditions of Church music throughout the land. He taught and composed to fill the needs of his day. Many other Church music composers, even though they enjoyed the reputation in their own right, always consulted Mr. Schehl in practical matters of music.

Many were the friends of Mr. Schehl. They loved him for his quick, sharp wit, his sincerity, and militant energy. These qualities he retained to the very end. He continued to carry on the duties of organist at St. Lawrence Church—where he had played for the last 47 years—up until the last few months before he died.

Mr. Schehl's passing signifies the passing, not only of a single career, but of an era. His era might be termed the beginning of American Church Music, because it was Mr. Schehl and his contemporaries who began adding their own American Church music compositions. The prevailing repertoire of that time consisted almost entirely of European classical and church music composers. America owes much to these men. They were truly fearless pioneers in Catholic Church music in America.

—Omer Westendorf



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